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**TOWARD AN URBAN STAGE:
LAW AND PERFORMANCE IN PARIS, 1515–1559**

by

NADINE D. PEDERSON

**A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Theatre
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York**

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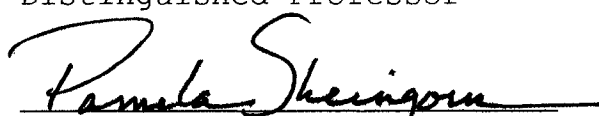
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Abstract

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One major but rarely studied era of change in French theatre is the moment of its institutional formation, which took place during the first half of the sixteenth century—a moment often referred to as the shift from medieval to Renaissance or Early Modern performance. As Paris grew into a centralized Renaissance capital city during the reigns of François I (1515–47) and Henri II (1547–59), performance was confined to certain spaces and assigned certain textures, inscribed by what governing bodies saw as the proper way to conduct life in their Renaissance city. No single set of documents tells more about the relationship between Paris and performance than the city’s laws and legislation. The relevant official documents fall into three general categories: laws passed by the king, legislation of the Parlement of Paris, and municipal regulations.

The first chapter introduces the project, outlining the methodology used, offering a description of lawmaking institutions, and giving a detailed explanation of sources. Chapter 2, “The Theatrical City,” shows how laws and municipal performers interacted in Paris, describes the hierarchy of the different groups of performers who were legally censored or sponsored, and offers a picture of typical audience participation in performances. Chapter 3, “Public and Private Performers,” looks at more traditionally-studied groups of actors: confraternities and guilds; clerks and students; and court performers. Chapter 4, “A Topography of Paris,” considers places of performance in light

of urban development and changes in the allocation of space; the city's first permanent theatre, temporary theatre structures, and costumes used in performance and regulated by sumptuary laws are discussed. Chapter 5, "Censorship," explores the legal reasoning behind suppression of certain kinds of performance, including arguments based on contemporary religion, politics, and urban issues. Chapter 6, "Sponsorship," looks at the other side of the censorship issue, revealing that almost twice as many laws were passed in support than in suppression of performance, and introduces the office of master of the revels. The last chapter assembles a picture of the ways in which performers integrated themselves into the urban environment, revealing the first significant steps toward the Early Modern stage.

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* This map of Paris uses the format below:

I a	II a	III a	IV a
I b	II b	III b	IV b
V a	VI a	VII a	VIII a
V b	VI b	VII b	VIII b

ABBREVIATIONS

AN	Archives nationales, Paris.
<i>Archives curieuses</i>	<i>Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVII, ou collection de pièces rares et intéressantes</i> . . . Edited by M.L. Cimber, F. Danjou, et al. 27 vols. Paris: Beauvais, 1834–40.
BHVP	Bibliothèque de la ville de Paris.
BL 504.h.5 [1557]	<i>Les Ordonnances et edictz faictz par le Roy treschrestien Henry deuxiesme du nom, depuis son advenement a la couronne jusques a present, mis par ordre du temps de leur date & publication</i> . . . Paris: Vincent Sertenas, 1557.
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale, Paris.
BnF ms. fr.	Manuscrits occidentaux, fonds français.
BnF nouv. acq. fr.	Manuscrits occidentaux, fonds français, nouvelles acquisitions.
Boislisle, <i>Chambre des Comptes</i>	Boislisle, Arthur Michel de. <i>Chambre des Comptes de Paris. Pièces justificatives pour servir à l'histoire des premiers présidents (1506–1791)</i> . . . Nogent-le-Rotrou: A. Gouverneur, 1873.
Delamare, <i>Traité</i>	Delamare, Nicolas. <i>Traité de la Police</i> . 4 vols. Paris: Michel Brunet, 1713–38.
Du Boulay	Du Boulay, César Egasse. <i>Historia Universitatis Parisiensis</i> . . . 6 vols. Paris: 1667–73.
Félibien	Félibien, Michel. <i>Histoire de la ville de Paris</i> . Edited by Guy Alexis Lobineau. 5 vols. Paris: G. Desprez & J. Desessartz, 1725.
Fontanon	Fontanon, Antoine. <i>Edits et ordonnances des roys de France</i> . 3d ed. 4 vols. in 3. Paris: Claude Morel, 1611.
François, ord.	Institut de France. <i>Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier</i> . 9+ vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale and CNRS, 1902–. Followed by ordinance number.
François, <i>Catalogue</i> , n.	Institut de France. <i>Collection des Ordonnances des rois de France. Catalogue des actes de François Ier</i> . 10 vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887–1908. Followed by catalogue entry number.
Godefroy	Godefroy, Théodore. <i>Le cérémonial françois</i> . Edited by Denys Godefroy. 2 vols. Paris: Cramoisy, 1649.
Henri, <i>Catalogue</i> , ord.	Institut de France. <i>Collection des Ordonnances des rois de France. Catalogue des actes de Henri II</i> . 6+ vols. Paris: Imprimerie nationale and CNRS, 1979–. Followed by catalogue ordinance number.
<i>Index Chronologicus</i>	Jourdain, Charles Marie Gabriel Bréchillet, ed. <i>Index Chronologicus Chartarum Pertinentium ad Historiam Universitatis Parisiensis</i> . . . Paris: Hachette, 1862.

- Isambert François-André, et al., eds. *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises: depuis l'an 420 jusqu'à la Révolution de 1789* . . . 29 vols. Paris: Belin-Leprieur/Verdière, 1821–33.
- Journal* *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier (1515–1536)*. Edited by Ludovic Lalanne. Paris: Jules Renouard et Cie, 1854.
- Laborde, *Les comptes* Laborde, Léon de, ed. *Les comptes des bâtiments du roi, 1528–1571, suivi de documents inédits sur les Châteaux royaux et les beaux-arts au XVI siècle*. 2 vols. Paris: J. Baur, 1877–80.
- Lepinasse René de. *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris (14^e–18^e siècle)*. 3 vols. Histoire générale de Paris. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886–97.
- Les loix [1543]* *Les loix, statuts & ordonnances roiaulx, faictes par les Feus Rois de France, puis le regne de Monseigneur Saint Loïs, jusques au regne du Roi Francois, premier du nom, a present regnant* . . . Paris: Arnoul L'Angelier, 1543.
- Miraulmont, *Prevost* Miraulmont, Pierre de. *Le Prevost de l'Hostel, et Grand Prevost de France. Avec les Edicts, Arrests, Reglements & Ordonnances concernans sa Jurisdiction*. Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1615.
- Les Ordonnances royaux [1595]* *Les Ordonnances royaux, sur le faict et jurisdiction de la prevosté des marchands, et eschevinage de la ville de Paris*. Paris: Federic Morel, 1595.
- Ordonnances . . . troisième race* *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race, recueillies par ordre chronologique* . . . 23 vols. Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1723–1849.
- Recueil . . . Bazoche* *Recueil des Statuts, ordonnances, reiglements, antiquitez, prérogatives et prééminences du Royaume de la Bazoche* . . . Paris: Cardinal Besongne, 1654.
- Recueil des principaux tiltres* *Recueil des principaux tiltres concernant l'acquisition de la propriété des Masure & place où a esté bastie la Maison (appelée vulgairement l'Hostel de Bourgongne) sise en cette Ville de Paris* . . . Paris, 1632.
- Registres* Bonnardot, François, et al., eds. *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*. Vol. 1–5. Histoire générale de Paris. Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883–92.
- Sauval Henri. *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*. 3 vols. Paris: Charles Moette & Jacques Chardon, 1724.

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

It is said that at its origin, theatre was an act of healing, of healing the city. According to the action of fundamental, entropic forces, no city can avoid an inevitable process of fragmentation. But when the population assembles together in a special place under special conditions to partake in a mystery, the scattered limbs are all drawn together, and a momentary healing reunites the larger body, in which each member, re-remembered, finds its place.

— Peter Brook, *Threads of Time*

Project Description

One of the deeper issues in theatre history is the question of how different modes of performance develop over time: what kinds of factors stimulate—or stifle—change? In *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practices*, Roger Chartier suggests the following approach to that question: “What any history must think about is thus the *difference* that all societies bring into play (using various forms) to separate a particular domain of human activity from daily routine and, indissociably linked to that difference, the *dependencies* that inscribe (in multiple ways) aesthetic and intellectual inventions within their conditions of possibility.”¹ One major but rarely studied era of change in French theatre is the moment of its institutional formation, which took place during the first half of the sixteenth century—a moment often referred to as the shift from medieval to Renaissance or Early

¹ Roger Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff: History, Language, and Practices*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), 22.

Modern performance.² If we apply Chartier's formula to this historical problem, looking at performance as necessitating a "difference" from the daily routine of life in early Paris, we can begin to ask what the "dependencies" inscribing new forms of performance might have been.

The concurrent development of Paris as a centralized Renaissance capital city and performance as an institution during the reigns of François I (1515–47) and Henri II (1547–59) indicate what those dependencies likely were: as Paris grew in importance in relationship to the rest of France, performance was confined to certain spaces and assigned

² On the concept of institutional formation in Early Modern France, see Denis Richet, *La France Moderne: L'Esprit des institutions* (Paris: Flammarion, 1973); see also Albert Rigaudière, *Pouvoirs et institutions dans la France médiévale. Tome 2: Des temps féodaux aux temps de l'État*, 3d ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 2003). This medieval/Renaissance periodization is particularly difficult in theatre history studies. The collection *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui: Moyen Âge et Renaissance. Actes du 115e congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris: CTHS, 1991), begins with two essays on the state of scholarship—Élisabeth Lalou, "Le théâtre et les spectacles publics en France au Moyen Âge: État des recherches," 9–33; and Madeleine Lazard, "Le théâtre français de la Renaissance: État des questions," 35–47. I believe this is a reflection of the ongoing tendency for scholars of medieval theatre to include the first half of the sixteenth century within their scope, versus the skittishness of Renaissance scholars to acknowledge the diverse and concurrent nature of that phase in French theatre. Although the field continues to broaden in terms of types of performance studied, French Renaissance theatre is still very much in a state of inquiry. See also Ronald W. Vince, *Renaissance Theatre: A Historiographical Handbook* (Westport, CT and London: Greenwood Press, 1984), 139–80. Further complicating the issue are the terms "Renaissance" and the broader "Early Modern" (with its connotations of the beginning of the modern age), which will be used interchangeably in this study. Although some scholars take issue with the use of "Renaissance" as a general historical period, Arlette Jouanna, for one, points out that even though it can be seen more narrowly as a movement in arts and letters, those ideas were disseminated to the culture at large: "La notion de Renaissance: réflexions sur un paradoxe historiographique," *Revue d'histoire moderne & contemporaine* 49.4bis (2002): 5–16. Periodization of history and literature has been debated recently in a special issue of *Modern Language Quarterly* 62.4 (December 2001) called *Periodization: Cutting Up the Past*, and another of *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 102.5 (sept–oct 2002), called *La périodisation en histoire littéraire. Siècles, générations, groupes, écoles*. In the latter is a particularly interesting article by Frank Lestringant, who claims that the Renaissance in French theatre did not take place until the late sixteenth century: "Renaissance ou XVIe siècle? Une modernité étranglée," 759–69.

certain textures, inscribed by what governing bodies saw as the proper way to conduct life in their Renaissance city.³ No single set of documents tells more about the relationship between Paris and performance than the city's laws and legislation. The relevant official documents fall into three general categories: laws passed by the king, legislation of the Parlement of Paris, and municipal regulations. A systematic study of these documents in the tradition of the *annalistes* will show both the patterns and disruptions within their discourse, producing responses to the following questions: What types of performers or performances are being supported, suppressed, and/or ignored? What are the reasons given for such support/suppression? Around which municipal or national events do these laws relating to performance cluster? And, finally, what can these laws tell us about the "indissociable link" between the development of performance and the development of a Renaissance urban center?⁴

The broader term "performance"—as opposed to the more specific term "theatre," with its connotations of scripted drama, identifiable playwrights, and fixed performance space—is more applicable for a study of the variety of spectacle that took place in sixteenth-century France. In *Performance: A Critical Introduction*, Marvin Carlson points out one of the central challenges of using this term: "The recognition that our lives are structured

³ On François I, see R.J. Knecht, *Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and Jean Jacquart, *François Ier* (Paris: Fayard, 1981). On Henri II, see Ivan Cloulas, *Henri II* (Paris: Fayard, 1985); and Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henry II, King of France 1547–1559*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988).

⁴ On the *annalistes*, see Jean-Pierre V.M. Hérubel, "The 'Annales Movement' and its Historiography: A Selective Bibliography," *French Historical Studies* 18 (1993): 346–55; and Guy Bourd , "L' cole des «Annales»," and Herv  Martin and Bourd , "L'histoire nouvelle, h riti re de l' cole des «Annales»," in *Les  coles historiques*, 2d ed. (Paris: Seuil, 1997), 215–70. For more recent examples, see the special issue of *Annales ESC, Histoire et Droit*: 57.6 (nov–d c 2002).

according to repeated and socially sanctioned modes of behavior raises the possibility that all human activity could potentially be considered as ‘performance’.”⁵ This study does not include all human activity as performance, but encompasses more events than many previous theatre studies have considered. In looking at the evidence presented in legal documents, I cannot help but come to the conclusion that audiences and producing organizations in the Early Modern period had a different and more encompassing idea of the performing arts than we think they did. Writing in 1735, Pierre François Godart de Beauchamps in his *Recherches sur les théâtres de France* claimed to be aiming for a literary audience, and that his work was not in fact a history of theatre.⁶ His emphasis on dramatic literature is evident from the presentation of his research and his own comments:

Peu à peu le goût s’étendit & s’épura [from Mysteries & Moralities]; l’imprimerie inventée sous Louis XI. les lettres rétablies sous François I. ouvrirent une nouvelle carrière; les livres devinrent communs; on apprit les langues; on fit des traductions; on s’enhardit même jusqu’à faire des comédies toutes françaises.⁷

But even a work on the history of dramatic literature could not ignore non-literary performance. The first volume of Beauchamps’ three-volume work contains a section on theatre buildings, and the third is devoted to “Tournois, carousels, pas d’arms, comédies, mascarades, momeries, et ballets” from 1548 to 1735, Italian theatre in France, and French actors.

⁵ Marvin Carlson, *Performance: A Critical Introduction* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996), 4.

⁶ Pierre François Godart de Beauchamps, *Recherches sur les theatres de France, depuis l’année onze cens soixante-un, jusqu’à present*, 3 vols. in 1 (Paris: Prault père, 1735). Beauchamps began his preface: “L’ouvrage que j’annonce au Public, n’est point une Histoire du Théâtre: cette entreprise est au-dessus de mes forces. J’ai fait des recherches, je les ai mises par ordre, dans la vûë qu’elle pourroient être utiles à ceux qui aiment ce genre de littérature.”

⁷ *Ibid.*, 168–69.

Even while writing about what we would call traditional scripted theatre, Beauchamps included other kinds of performances, including those that relied heavily on dance, or music, and public displays like tournaments and *pas d'armes*. In my research, I have found that these kinds of activities—scripted drama, public storytelling, processions, entertainments (including music, dance, jousting, acrobatics, and other games), and public displays (such as ceremonial bonfires)—were all considered performing arts. Jean Alter, in *A Sociosemiotic Theory of Theatre*, warns against a broad view of many kinds of activities as theatre:

Some theatre scholars have yielded to the temptation and evolved theories that, in the words of Bernard Beckerman, could equally apply to “traditional European plays, less familiar non-Western drama, and the inchoate forms emerging from the present state of theatrical chaos.” Under the catchword of “theatre,” the same writer groups, together with drama, such varied events as circuses, dances, and sport games. For other scholars, theatrical activity covers all types of ritual performances [Richard Schechner]. The insights thus gained are often valuable; they are not at issue. But the reliability of a theory founded on speculation must be questioned.⁸

Alter would probably say that I have indeed fallen prey to “temptation” and included too many “non-theatrical” cultural performances in this study, such as processions and royal weddings and funerals. As we shall see, the nature of the legal evidence makes it difficult to separate these activities from “theatrical” events: in the documents regarding royal entries, for instance, we have entertainments as varied as scripted plays, pantomimes, and tableaux vivant—all referred to under the single heading of “mysteries.” These were followed by banquets that included masques and other kinds of dancing, and sometimes bonfires throughout the city. My point is that if the producers of such events did not make a distinction

⁸ Jean Alter, *A Sociosemiotic Theory of Theatre* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

between what Alter calls “theatrical” and “non-theatrical” events, I believe it would be anachronistic to do so in this study.

John J. MacAloon’s essay on cultural performance in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle* outlines many of these divergent issues in the battle between “lumpers” and “splitters.”⁹ I would posit myself as a conservative lumper, because although I include public ceremony in this study, I do not include more specific rituals such as the king’s *lit de justice*. In terms of performers, the legal documents mention such established categories as court performers, law clerks, students, members of guilds and confraternities, and some itinerant or street performers.¹⁰ Additionally, the audience’s role in performance will be taken into account, along with various groups of city-wide performers—for example, participants in processions. What I will not be discussing is the less-established kind of performer who crops up in the laws of this time: the professional beggar.¹¹ The reason for this is that unlike the cases of other kinds of performers, the audience present was largely unaware that the beggar—with his monologue, make-up, and carefully chosen costume—was performing at all.¹²

The chronological parameters for the study were inspired by the trend among theatre historians to single out the famous decision of the Parlement of Paris forbidding the

⁹ John J. MacAloon, “Introduction: Cultural Performances, Culture Theory,” in *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle*, ed. John J. MacAloon (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 1–15.

¹⁰ For established categories, see Louis Petit de Julleville, *Les comédiens en France au Moyen Âge*, 2d ed. (Paris: Léopold Cerf, 1889; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968).

¹¹ See Bronislaw Geremek’s works, especially *Les fils de Caïn: Pauvres et vagabonds dans la littérature européenne (XV^e–XVII^e siècle)*, trans. Joanna Arnold-Moricet, et al. (Paris: Flammarion, 1991).

¹² I intend to work on a separate study of the medieval/Renaissance professional beggar as performer in a legal context. Recently, a similar study was been done on England by Paola Pugliatti at the University of Florence called *Beggary and Theatre in Early Modern England*, released by Ashgate in June 2003.

Confraternity of the Passion to perform religious plays, providing a convenient date for the end of medieval theatre and the beginning of the Renaissance on stage.¹³ By choosing to study the broader Parisian legal record under François I and Henri II, we can finally read this ruling in its own context. It was not simply part of a growing anti-theatrical prejudice, but one of many similar attempts in a variety of spheres to revise public life. Leaders were swept up in the need to organize institutions for everything, to impose order on the chaos being created by new social and economic systems—especially in the Renaissance city. Life in France was becoming institutionalized, and along with it, performance.

French historians refer to the period of time under the reigns of François I and Henri II as the “premier absolutisme,” reflecting the kings’ mania for order and control.¹⁴ Many of the institutional reforms took place in the legal system of France.¹⁵ Among these were the codification of Parisian customary law in 1510–15, the establishment of poor laws (including

¹³ Take, for example, two articles based on this model by Graham A. Runnalls, “Mysteries’ End in France: Performances and Texts,” in *Medieval European Drama: Papers from the Third International Conference on Aspects of European Medieval Drama* (Camerino, 3–5 July 1998), ed. S. Higgins and F. Paina (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 175–86; and his “Sponsorship and Control in Medieval French Religious Drama: 1402–1548,” *French Studies* 51 (1997): 257–66.

¹⁴ Joël Cornette, *Histoire de la France: L’affirmation de l’état absolu, 1515–1652*, rev. and exp. (Paris: Hachette, 1994), 69. For general works on sixteenth-century France, see Frederick J. Baumgartner, *France in the Sixteenth Century* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995); Donald Stone, Jr., *France in the Sixteenth Century: A Medieval Society Transformed* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969); Ivan Cloulas, *La France de la Renaissance* (Paris: Martinière, 1993); Arlette Jouanna, *La France du XVI^e siècle, 1483–1598*, 2d rev. ed. (Paris: PUF, 1997); Bernard Quilliet, *La France du beau XVI^e siècle (1490–1560)* (Paris: Fayard, 1998); Janine Garrisson, *Royaume, Renaissance et Réforme, 1483–1559* (Paris: Seuil, 1991); Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Paris au XVI^e siècle*, Nouvelle histoire de Paris (Paris: Hachette, 1986); and Robert Muchembled, *Cultures et société en France du début du XVI^e siècle au milieu du XVII^e siècle* (Paris: SEDES, 1995).

¹⁵ See esp. Donald R. Kelley, *Foundations of Modern Historical Scholarship: Language, Law and History in the French Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970).

a welfare system, the Grand Bureau des Pauvres, in 1544), the new requirement that laws must be recorded and transmitted in the French language instead of Latin (1537), the official entitlement of the Commissaire de Police in 1521, reforms in the structure of the king's council, an increase in the power of the Parlement of Paris, and the attempted regulation of virtually every aspect of urban life. During this particularly fertile time in French legal history, attitudes and beliefs appear in legal documents in a specific manner; these new expressions were made possible by the use of the vernacular. After Henri II's death, the city was wracked with civil strife, the Wars of Religion, and an unstable monarchy; the post-1559 legal record takes on a different character, providing a suitable termination point for this study.¹⁶

Methodology

In Philippe Sueur's history of public law in Early Modern France, the author describes law as a cultural product, reflecting the time, place, and people who created it.¹⁷ Sixteenth-century jurists were well aware of the intertwining of contemporary society and legal discourse. One of these jurists, Pierre Rebuffi (1487–1557), insisted that the very nature of human beings had changed during his lifetime, and that every day some new problem was born into French civilization that must be addressed through law. He wrote of a “raison du temps”—a kind of logic specific to that particular moment in France's history and to the history of France's center of cultural production, Paris.¹⁸ Other jurists, such as Étienne

¹⁶ See Robert Muchembled, *La société policée: Politique et politesse en France du XVI^e au XX^e siècle* (Paris: Seuil, 1998), 24.

¹⁷ Philippe Sueur, *Histoire du droit public français XV^e–XVIII^e siècle*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris: PUF, 1993–94), 1:25.

¹⁸ Pierre Rebuffi, *Ordonnances, loix, edictz et statutz royaux de France . . .*, rev. and exp., 3 vols. (Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1559), 1: introduction.

Pasquier (1529–1615) and Jean Bodin (1530–96), expressed similar sentiments.¹⁹ Part of that logic, expressed through legal documents, speaks to the place of performers and performances in the everyday life of sixteenth-century Parisians. Esther Cohen argues for such an approach to the study of law as a socio-cultural product: “As a product of the human mind, law is an integral part of any culture. As a social mechanism, it is an expression of social structures. It is shaped at one and the same time by social realities and by the perception of these realities in contemporary minds, and in turn exercises a significant influence upon continuing social and cultural formations.”²⁰ The history of performance studied through the lens of law during this time period yields a more contextualized picture than—for instance—the study of playscripts, and reveals the world in which theatre was produced.

The assumption that all laws concerning performance dealt with curtailing it and none with promoting it, as well as the need to know how effective these laws were in controlling performance, present a kind of resistance to a generalized study of law and performance. The question of effectiveness cannot be answered for either side, because there is no comprehensive record of performance during this time to which it can be compared. It is much easier to latch on to a handful of uncontextualized laws—writing a history of key events in the development of theatre—than to look at a wide range of legal texts that present fragmentary and sometimes contradictory evidence.

¹⁹ See Corrado Vivanti, “*Les Recherches de la France* d’Étienne Pasquier: L’invention des Gaulois,” in *Les lieux de mémoire. II. La Nation*, ed. Pierre Nora (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 1:215–45. See also Jean Bodin, *Les six livres de la République* (Paris: Jacques du Puys, 1583) [available on the BnF’s Gallica website, <http://gallica.bnf.fr>]; and Étienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France* (Paris: L. Sonnius, 1621).

²⁰ Esther Cohen, *The Crossroads of Justice: Law and Culture in Late Medieval France* (Leiden, New York, and Köln: E.J. Brill, 1993), 1.

But as Joseph Roach points out: “Because a law is written and officially enacted does not necessarily mean that it will be obeyed or even enforced; because it is disobeyed or circumvented, however, does not mean that it is without consequences.”²¹ Instead, a new question needs to be formulated along the lines of Derouet’s on law and family practice: “In reality, the difference between law and social practices cannot simply be understood in terms of respect for or transgression of specific norms, but in terms of the categories which the law uses to formalize these practices, make sense of them and confer upon them a certain legitimacy.”²² It is not so much a question of whether a few laws directly suppressed a certain kind of theatre, but the relative value of these laws within their own socio-cultural context as part of the larger legal record.

To offer an example of this approach, the Polish *annaliste* Bronislaw Geremek’s work on the fringes of society captures the timeliness of his evidence. In his study *Les marginaux parisiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, Geremek presents a systematic investigation of manuscripts in the Archives nationales from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.²³ He supplemented these with manuscripts from the Bibliothèque nationale, the Archives de l’Assistance publique, the Bibliothèque de la Préfecture de Police, and the Bibliothèque de la Chambre des Députés. Because he was also interested in the application of laws, rather than simply the legal discourse, he had to look at a wider range of documents. Geremek’s methodical work revealed a way to chronicle the fate of marginal, hitherto silent people in the history of Paris.

²¹ Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), 56.

²² Bernard Derouet, “Les pratiques familiales, le droit et la construction des différences (15^e–19^e siècles),” *Annales ESC* 52 (1997): 369–92; the quote is from the English summary.

²³ Bronislaw Geremek, *Les marginaux parisiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, trans. Daniel Beauvois (Paris: Flammarion, 1976), 57–82.

An examination of the documents yields information about how these people lived: their activities, their methods of survival, even their attitudes and beliefs.

The statistical data Geremek was able to compile painted a fresh picture of existence on the fringe, as opposed to one based on old assumptions made in the absence of evidence. For instance, many past historians accepted the commonplace that the marginal classes—criminals, prostitutes, those without trade or skill—were prone to breaking the oft-repeated laws against blasphemy. They may have been, but in fact very few arrests were made on that charge. Violent crime was also relatively rare; theft and so-called crimes against the state (usually stealing from official stock) were the most frequent charges. Instead of making an assumption and looking for bits and pieces of evidence to support that assumption, Geremek analyzed an entire set of documents for its internal logic. As Richard Strier advocates, we should not ask how an assumed historical reality could be linked to certain documents, but ask, “on the basis of the texts themselves, how these documents see the world.”²⁴

That being said, the temptation to take legal documents out of context and assign meanings to them is a trap that can entice even the most accomplished scholars. In a 1999 article entitled “Drama and Community in Late Medieval Paris,” Graham A. Runnalls was misled into arguing for the existence of a play performed by the Confraternity of the Passion called the *Mystery of the Trinity*. He based this on the following excerpt from a municipal

²⁴ David L. Smith, Richard Strier, and David Bevington, eds., *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre, and Politics in London, 1576–1649* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 224.

ruling of 5 December 1530 (confusingly assigning it to the provost of Paris rather than the provost of merchants):

Aux Maistres de la Passion, pour le Mistere de la Trinité: aux Maistres de la Passion a esté remonstree que messieurs de la ville veuillent entendre quel mistere ilz veillent jouer, pour leur dire ce que bon leur semblera, lesquelz ont promis de rendre response lundy prochain.

[To the Masters of the (Confraternity of) the Passion, for the *Mystère de la Trinité*: to the Masters of the (Confraternity of) the Passion it was pointed out that the city councillors wish to know what mystery play they are intending to perform, so that they can give them their opinion on it; the masters have promised to reply next Monday.]²⁵

As we shall see in future chapters, this is a formula used by the municipality to make certain that all of the different groups who performed mystery plays at their accustomed stations for royal entries would be ready for the performance. Oddly, Runnalls overlooks the rest of the document in which an identical section requests the same of the master *fripriers*, and another of the butchers. As for the title of the play, the church of the Trinité was the performance domain of the Confraternity of the Passion; the standard formula in these documents was “for the Mystery of the [Fountain of the] Innocents,” “for the Mystery of the Châtelet,” etc. Even the internal logic of this short excerpt—the mandate is for the confraternity to state “what mystery play they are intending to perform”—should make it clear that there would have been no title given at that point in the production process.

The urban stage of Paris in the sixteenth century saw a wide range of performers on its boards. The question becomes: are legal documents appropriate evidence for studying theatre during this time? How can we discuss so many classes of people involved in

²⁵ In *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alan Hindley (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 29.

production by using a single kind of source? In 1988, Robert Finlay published an essay in *American Historical Review*, taking historian Natalie Zemon Davis to task for her book on the celebrated sixteenth-century case of Martin Guerre.²⁶ Finlay objected to Davis's use of the evidence to claim, among other things, that the wife in the case was likely the accomplice of her husband's imposter. He found Davis's use of Greenblatt's concept of self-fashioning (applied to the imposter) out of place, considering that these were peasants and not Renaissance nobles. Most seriously, Finlay took Davis's question, "Where does self-fashioning stop and lying begin?" and turned it around to ask his own: "In historical writing, where does reconstruction stop and invention begin?"²⁷

In her own essay—a response to Finlay's—in the same issue of *American Historical Review*, Davis was explicit about her research methods, describing how she drew mainly from two narratives written by members of the court involved in the trial, and filled in the gaps with any and every piece of writing that could be tied to the time of the trial and the people involved in it.²⁸ Davis points out that there is a problem inherent in trying to write history

²⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, *The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1983). In 1560, Arnaud du Tilh was executed for assuming the identity of Martin Guerre (and living with his wife) for three years.

²⁷ Robert Finlay, "The Refashioning of Martin Guerre," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 569.

²⁸ Davis, "On the Lane," *American Historical Review* 93 (1988): 574–75: "My core sources were the *Arrest Memorable* of Judge Jean de Coras, the special commissioner and reporter for the Guerre case to the Parlement of Toulouse; the *Historia Admiranda* (*Histoire Admirable*) of Guillaume Le Sueur, a text I discovered and whose author turned out to be a law clerk for another judge in the trial . . . ; and the decisions concerning the case in the registers of the Parlement of Toulouse. Around these, I clustered evidence of peasant doings and sayings from all the village archives in question . . . ; from the criminal records at Toulouse; and from sixteenth-century printed accounts about the region. In the absence of the full depositions and testimony from the trials and of rural diaries and letters, this is the best one can do in the study of a primarily illiterate, sixteenth-century peasant society. The world of the judges and their court I build from the same concentric circles of research, starting with

about illiterate people; even the literate ones leave gaps that she must fill. She refuses to draw a line in the sand as Finlay seems to urge; she sees “complexities and ambivalences everywhere” while, according to her, Finlay sees “absolute truth, established with no ambiguity by literal and explicit words.” One of her main refutations of Finlay is that he “does not recognize socio-cultural exchange as a serious historical event.”²⁹ What Davis means by a socio-cultural exchange is often one of class, as in the Martin Guerre case where a judge presides over and later writes about a group of peasants and their activities. The judge’s book (*Arrest Memorable*) is the evidence of that exchange, and Davis’s interpretation of this quasi-literary source is one of the strategies Finlay finds objectionable.

Davis has consistently put forth these kinds of socio-cultural exchange events as the core of her historical evidence. In the introduction to *Society and Culture in Early Modern France*, she describes her views of social structure: “I picture a many-dimensional chart in which the axes of measurement represent qualitatively different kinds of power, property, and control, as well as other variables—such as sex and age—that can determine social organization.”³⁰ Davis combs the archives for clues about her chosen group—the poor, women, clerics—and uses the tension created by the socio-cultural exchange between that group and the group responsible for the evidence to her advantage by drawing a more

evidence from the jurists themselves—books and letters they wrote, cases they judged, and the like—and spreading to the practice of other criminal courts and the prescriptions for criminal procedure published by sixteenth-century judges. Throughout, I worked as a detective, assessing my sources and the rules for their composition, putting together clues from many places, establishing a conjectural argument that made the best sense, the most plausible sense, of sixteenth-century evidence.”

²⁹ Ibid., 574.

³⁰ Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975; Rpt., 1991), xvii.

complex picture of the places the groups occupied within the social structure. For instance, in *Fiction in the Archives*, Davis compares the evidence of different drafts (or testimony) of crime stories, created by different classes of people, that culminated in letters of remission to the king. Davis uses the differences in these drafts as evidence of social history in sixteenth-century France. She sees no reason not to grant a non-traditional source the status of historical evidence—not even for the sake of her peers.

Roger Chartier takes up this question of sources and writing about different groups of people in his book, *On the Edge of the Cliff*, in which he considers history to be part of a “time-honored genre of a conversation with and among the dead.”³¹ In Chartier’s case, his dead historians of choice are Michel Foucault, Michel de Certeau, Louis Marin, Norbert Elias, and Philippe Ariès, who “shared an emphasis on the historicity of social forms, intellectual categories, systems of representations, fields of discourse and objects, and the basic structures of personality.”³² These are the conditions under which Chartier sees himself as writing history, and the influence of these past historians echoes throughout his works.

“Popular culture is a category of the learned.”³³ With this sentence, Chartier declares war on a largely class-based category of history. With those who are *ipso facto* in the opposite category writing about popular culture, how can we ever hope to portray the concept accurately? Though he uses the phrase himself in his books, he is skeptical of the applications of historical models based on the idea.³⁴ Chartier’s own works on the history of

³¹ Chartier, *On the Edge of the Cliff*, 1.

³² *Ibid.*, 2.

³³ Chartier, *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 83.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, esp. 84–87.

books and readers in Early Modern France phrase the question of the impact of printing not on literate or non-literate people, but on a more general idea of the ‘people’ and their culture than some of his fellow historians admit: “the culture of the greater number.”³⁵ In *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, he objects to what he sees as the three main presuppositions of the notion of popular culture:

First, that it is possible to establish exclusive relationships between specific cultural forms and particular social groups; second, that the various cultures existing in a given society are sufficiently pure, homogeneous, and distinct to permit them to be characterized uniformly and unequivocally; and third, that the category of “the people” or “the popular” has sufficient coherence and stability to define a distinct social identity that can be used to organize cultural differences in past ages according to the simple opposition of *populaire* versus *savant*.³⁶

To the contrary, the evidence Chartier examines shows “fluid circulation, practices shared by various groups, and blurred distinctions” among the larger population of France. This has remarkable resonance for the history of theatre in Renaissance Paris.

³⁵ Chartier, *The Order of Books: Readers, Authors, and Libraries in Europe between the Fourteenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), 23.

³⁶ Chartier, *The Cultural Uses of Print in Early Modern France*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 3.

Lawmaking Institutions

In Renaissance Paris, the world of lawmaking institutions was headed by the king.³⁷ For the monarchs, François I and Henri II, the Conseil d'état (king's council) was the administrator of royal justice, whose personnel included the constable, the grand master, the admiral of France, and the chancellor (head of civil administration).³⁸ This council exercised legislative powers in the form of instruments variously described as ordonnances, declarations, edicts, and arrets drawn up by the Chancery.³⁹ The Grand Conseil—the judicial

³⁷ For the institutional organization of Paris and France, see Gérard Chianéa, *Histoire des institutions publiques de la France (476–1870): tome 2, Essor et déclin de l'Etat monarchique (1492–1789)* (Grenoble: Presses Universitaires de Grenoble, 1995); see also Roger Doucet, *Les institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: A&J Picard, 1948); and Gaston Zeller, *Les institutions de la France au XVI^e siècle*, 2d ed. (Paris: PUF, 1987). Janine Garrisson, *A History of Sixteenth-Century France, 1483–1598: Renaissance, Reformation and Rebellion*, trans. Richard Rex (London: Macmillan, 1995), offers an accessible summary in English translation. For the monarchic institutions, see Bernard Barbiche, *Les institutions de la monarchie française à l'époque moderne, XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle*, 2d ed., rev. and exp. (Paris: PUF, 2001). On the development of law, see Antonio Padoa-Schioppa, ed., *Legislation and Justice* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

³⁸ On royal acts and the powers of the king and his councils, see Sueur, 1:142–51; 1:216–23; 2:56–97; 2:229–33; and 2:246–70. See also Roland Mousnier, *Le Conseil du Roi de Louis XII à la Révolution* (Paris: PUF, 1970).

³⁹ Gabriel Lepointe, *Histoire des institutions et des faits sociaux*, rev. ed. (Paris: Montchrestien, 1963), 509, offers the following definitions of key legal terms used in this study:

- *ordonnances*: on a grand scale, these are acts of the king; in the narrow sense, acts that encompass permanent, generic measures regulating a certain matter or (more often) reforming the administrative procedure on a series of points
- *édit*: a regulation regarding a very specific matter, region, or specialized category and governing only that specific area
- *déclaration*: an act that interprets and refines a pre-existing law
- *lettres patentes*: acts that apply only to an individual or a small group of individuals; these include:
 - *lettres de grâce*: pardons
 - *lettres de justice*: official rulings on court cases
 - *mandements*: acts addressed to administrators; in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, called *lettres de sceau*
 - *brevets*: personal grants or concessions

section—handled appeals and conflicts between rival jurisdictions, petitions against royal officers, disputes involving fiefs and ecclesiastical benefices, and criminal matters involving benefices, as well as tithes and the management of hospitals and charitable foundations. Although the Grand Conseil tended to usurp the traditional power of the Parlements, it was presided over by officers called *maîtres de requêtes*, jurists who were often members of the Parlement of Paris.

The Parlement de Paris consisted of a council of judges. There were several other parlements throughout France, but the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris included half the country.⁴⁰ It issued *arrets*, judgments, letters, and decrees; registered letters patent, *ordonnances*, and royal acts from the king and his council; reformed and formally established customary laws. The Grande chambre was the original court, and dealt with civil cases. The Tournelle was the criminal chamber. This institution became responsible for arbitrating jurisdictional disputes among lesser institutions. When François issued a confirmation of the Parlement's privileges at the beginning of his reign in 1515, he proclaimed that the sovereign court of Paris and of France was to be the highest court in the land, supported by the king and having the last word in matters pertaining to the king, his court, the archbishop, and other cases important to the realm, including appeals.⁴¹

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- *acquits de comptant*: acts addressed to treasurers or tax collectors
 - *lettres de cachet*: private letters
 - *arrêts*: acts regarding mostly individual or local matters.
- ⁴⁰ For an overview, see Sueur, 2:196–208. See also the following books available on Gallica: Félix Aubert, *Recherches sur l'organisation du Parlement de Paris au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: L. Larose & L. Tenin, 1912); Ernest Glasson, *Le Parlement de Paris: Son rôle politique au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1898; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine–Megariotis, 1974); and Edouard Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. Picard, 1913–16).
- ⁴¹ Institut de France, *Ordonnances des rois de France. Règne de François Ier*, 9+ vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale and CNRS, 1902–), ord. 2; also in Théodore Godefroy, *Le*

On the municipal level, two lawmaking institutions held power in Paris. The main institution responsible for the implementation of mandated performances was the Bureau, with its provost of merchants, aldermen (*échevins*), and procurer, and barrister. These officials were elected by the city council, and the whole group together, plus a representative of the Parlement of Paris, one from the Châtelet, and municipal officers, made up the Bureau of the city of Paris.⁴² The Bureau regulated day-to-day affairs in the city, both civil and criminal; it issued *règlements*, *sentences*, and *mandements*.⁴³ A second municipal institution, the Châtelet, was headed by the provost of Paris and had its own court, police, and prisons. The Châtelet's primary function was policing—carrying out the regulations and laws that were issued by the abovementioned institutions.⁴⁴

The Church was also a lawmaking institution. During the Renaissance, the application of canon law was restricted more and more to matters of theology and to members of ecclesiastical orders (including the University of Paris). As the king and Parlement increased their jurisdiction in arbitration and civil cases, the Church saw a diminishment of its legal influence in the public sphere. For instance, the Concordat de Bologne, negotiated between Pope Leo X and François I and issued in the form of a bull, could not become law in France

cérémonial françois, ed. Denys Godefroy, 2 vols. (Paris: Cramoisy, 1649), 1:278–79. For Henri II's confirmation, see François-André Isambert, et al., *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises* . . . 29 vols. (Paris: Belin-Leprieux/Verdière, 1821–33), vol. 13, n. 121 (mars 1550) [available on Gallica]. On the history of the Parlement of Paris in English, see J.H. Shennan, *The Parlement of Paris* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1968).

⁴² Sueur, 1:406–08. For a general picture of the municipal administration of Paris, see Jean Favier, *Paris: Deux mille ans d'histoire* (Paris: Fayard, 1997), 551–82.

⁴³ See Barbara Diefendorf, *Paris City Councillors in the Sixteenth Century: The Politics of Patrimony* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), esp. 5–14.

⁴⁴ See Sueur, 2:186–95. On policing and punishment, see Nicole Gonthier, *Le châtimement du crime au Moyen âge, XIIIe–XVIe siècles* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 1998).

until the king issued letters patent and the Parlement registered them. Likewise, decrees of the various councils were not officially recognized in France, unlike in most other Catholic countries.⁴⁵ Linked to the Church was the University of Paris, which had been largely independent of the king and parliamentary rule in the Middle Ages. According to François I's ordonnance confirming the privileges of the masters, doctors, regents, students, officers, and servants, the university had jurisdiction over most internal matters. When the Parlement registered the ordonnance almost a year later, it added reservations and modifications so that the university was clear that it had no jurisdiction over criminal cases, confirmation of offices, elections, marriages, sacraments, or cases of appeal.⁴⁶ Due to the Church's highly restricted legal sphere, its decrees will rarely be considered as part of the record of law for this study.

Sources

The sources listed below represent an extensive body of legal texts regarding performers, performances, and performing conditions in Paris from 1515–59.⁴⁷ In approaching

⁴⁵ Sueur, 2:136–40 and 2:176–79; also Richet, 26–27. For canon law, see R. Naz et al., eds., *Dictionnaire de droit canonique: contenant tous les termes du droit canonique avec un sommaire de l'histoire et des institutions et de l'état actuel de la discipline*, 7 vols. (Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1935–65).

⁴⁶ François, ord. 51. The Parliamentary modification is printed in the footnote below the ordonnance. The law is also in Antoine Fontanon, *Edits et ordonnances des roys de France*, 3d ed., 4 vols. in 3 (Paris: Claude Morel, 1611), 4:423. See also *Privilèges concédez par les roys de France à l'Université de Paris*. . . (Paris: H. Blanvillain, 1612).

⁴⁷ Initial research tools include Henri Hauser, *Les sources de l'histoire de France. XVI^e siècle (1494–1610)*, 4 vols in 2. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et fils, 1906–09; rpt. Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1967); Gabriel Lepoint, *Petit précis des sources de l'histoire du droit français* (Paris: Domat-Montchrestien, 1937); François Olivier-Martin, *Histoire du droit français des origines à la Revolution* (Paris: Domat-Montchrestien, 1948; rpt. Paris: CNRS, 1984); Steven Rowan, *Law and Jurisprudence in the Sixteenth Century: An Introductory Bibliography*, Sixteenth Century Bibliography, 26 (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1986); and Sueur's bibliographical essays.

them, every effort has been made at thoroughness: all the Early Modern and contemporary editions have been subject to a page-by-page analysis, while the catalogue indexes have served as a guide to manuscript and more obscure printed sources.⁴⁸ The details of each relevant law have been entered into a searchable database, which at the time of this writing consists of more than 2,200 legal documents. The results of this scrutiny represent an extensive study of laws and legislation during the first half of the sixteenth century in Paris.

The question of what constitutes a “legal document” is complicated by the shifting structures of the lawmaking institutions described above. An *ordonnance* issued by François I is easily included, but what of an entry in the registers describing the “administration” of one of the king’s letters patent carried out by the Bureau? The contemporary tendency would be to eliminate the latter, but in the sixteenth century that kind of document was part and parcel of legal discourse. As Philippe Sueur points out, “administration” as a separate institution did not exist in France until the eighteenth century; documents regarding the interpretation of the administration of a law—so prevalent in the registers of the Parlement of Paris and the

⁴⁸ For legal terms, see Henry Saint Dahl, *Dahl’s Law Dictionary/Dictionnaire Juridique Dahl: Français–Anglais/Anglais–Français. Dictionnaire juridique annoté, avec des définitions tirées des codes, de la jurisprudence, des lois et de la doctrine* (Paris: Dalloz; Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1995); Claude-Joseph de Ferrière, *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique: contenant l’explication des termes de droit, d’ordonnances, de coutumes et de pratique. Avec les jurisdictions de France . . .*, new ed., rev. and exp., 2 vols. (Paris: Veuve Brunet, 1769) [on Gallica]; and François Ragueau, *Glossaire du droit françois contenant l’explication des mots difficiles qui se trouvent dans les ordonnances des roys de France, dans les coutumes du royaume, dans les anciens arrests et les anciens titres . . .*, rev. and exp. by Eusèbe de Laurière (Niort: L. Favre, 1882) [on Gallica]. Also useful are Gabriel Audisio and Isabelle Bonnot-Rambaud, *Lire le français d’hier: Manuel de paléographie moderne XVe–XVIIIe siècle*, 2d ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1997); and Michel Reulos, *Comment transcrire et interpréter les références juridiques (droit romain, droit canonique et droit coutumier) contenues dans les ouvrages du XVIe siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1985).

Bureau—were considered a kind of legislation and have been so treated in this study.⁴⁹ Lest this broader, more Early Modern definition of law render the amount of material impossible to master, a further distinction has been made between financial accounts (subsequent records of expenditures to carry out a mandated performance) and royal letters issued ordering the treasurer, for instance, to pay a certain sum to a certain person for production costs incurred. The former have been largely excluded, and the latter retained. In addition, a certain number of notarial documents (contracts) have been included to illustrate specific instances of performances, but since such contracts do not provide much in the way of the context in which they were issued, I have not carried out a systematic study of this type of document.⁵⁰ As for non-legal historical documents (memoirs, etc.), they have been included when their perspective was essential to understanding the background of a particular law.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Sueur, 1:269.

⁵⁰ For the use of notarial documents in writing history, see Jean-Paul Poisson, *Notaires et société. Travaux d'histoire et de sociologie notariales*, 2 vols. (Paris: Economica, 1985 and 1990); and Jean Hilaire, *La vie du droit: coutumes et droit écrit* (Paris: PUF, 1994), esp. 255–87. The most cited collections of notarial documents include Ernest Coyecque, ed., *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols., *Histoire générale de Paris* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905–24); and Catherine Grodecki, ed., *Histoire de l'art au XVI^e siècle, 1540–1600: Documents du Minutier central des notaires de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: Archives nationales, 1985–).

⁵¹ Useful sources include *Archives curieuses de l'histoire de France, depuis Louis XI jusqu'à Louis XVII, ou collection de pièces rares et intéressantes . . . publiées d'après les textes conservés à la Bibliothèque royale (et aux Archives des collections Guizot, Buchon, Petitot et Leber*, ed. M.L. Cimber, F. Danjou, et al., 27 vols. (Paris: Beauvais, 1834–40) [first series, vols. 1–15, available on Gallica]; the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous le règne de François Premier (1515–1536)*, ed. Ludovic Lalanne (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1854; rpt. New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1965); and Jacques Du Breül, *Le theatre des antiquitez de Paris . . .* (Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1612). Also of use is Constant Leber, ed., *Collection des meilleurs dissertations, notices et traités particuliers relatifs à l'histoire de France: composée, en grande partie, de pièces rares, ou qui n'ont jamais été publiées séparément, pour servir à compléter toutes les collections de mémoires sur cette matière*, 20 vols. (Paris: G.-A. Dentu, 1838) [on Gallica].

1. Guidebooks, Catalogues, and Dictionaries

The Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques (Institut de France) embarked on a project over a hundred years ago which is still in progress: to catalogue all of the major acts of the ancien régime monarchs. The format of the catalogue is chronological, with a summary of each act and a bibliographical note that matches it to an archive and, where possible, a printed source. The catalogue for François I is complete in ten volumes (analytical inventory of Archives nationales X^{1A} 8611–15),⁵² with a companion set of volumes that contain transcripts of a selection of laws from the catalogue.⁵³ The catalogue for Henri II is still underway (analytical inventory of Archives nationales X^{1A} 8616).⁵⁴

For royal acts in the years not covered by the abovementioned Institut de France project and Parliamentary acts, two major sources are helpful. Blanchard's 1715 catalogue, an analytical inventory of Archives nationales X^{1A} 8602–8713, lists laws that can be found in Early Modern editions of Fontanon, Rebuffi, Girard and Joly, Corbin, Guénois, and Delamare, among others (see section 3 below).⁵⁵ Isnard's catalogue of printed royal acts in the collection of the Bibliothèque nationale is a treasure trove of Early Modern and contemporary editions grouped either by topic or by monarch, and his preface is an excellent guide to BnF

⁵² Institut de France, *Collection des Ordonnances des rois de France. Catalogue des actes de François Ier*, 10 vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1887–1908).

⁵³ Volume 9 covers laws through December 1539.

⁵⁴ Institut de France, *Collection des Ordonnances des rois de France. Catalogue des actes de Henri II*, 6+ vols. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale and CNRS, 1979–). Volume 6 covers the year 1552.

⁵⁵ Guillaume Blanchard, *Compilation chronologique contenant un recueil ou abrégé des ordonnances, édits, déclarations et lettres patentes des rois de France . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris: Veuve Moreau, 1715). Specifically, laws under François can be found on pages 1:421–604; under Henri, 1:605–793. An earlier edition of Blanchard's catalogue is available on Gallica.

shelfmarks.⁵⁶ For rulings regarding the University of Paris, C. Jourdain's *Index Chronologicus Chartarum Pertinentium ad Historiam Universitatis Parisiensis* . . . (Paris: Hachette, 1862) is the standard catalogue. An additional work, Auguste Jal's *Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire*, provides concise archival notes on particular performers. Although many of Jal's sources are Early Modern account books, he also cites a fair number of legal documents in his entries.⁵⁷

Michel Antoine's *Guide des recherches dans les fonds judiciaires* is the essential guidebook for legal manuscript sources.⁵⁸ Particularly helpful is his description of the relevant inventory books of the Archives nationales, which catalogue the manuscript registers in one of three ways (listed in descending order of detail): *inventaire analytique*, *inventaire sommaire*, *répertoire numérique*. All of these catalogues name extant printed sources of the documents when they are known to exist, in addition to the location of the manuscripts in the archives.

2. Manuscripts

Due to conservation issues with series X^{1A} (Parlement of Paris) at the Archives nationales, it has been preferable to consult primarily seventeenth- and eighteenth-century copies of registers in the manuscript division at the Bibliothèque nationale.⁵⁹ The following

⁵⁶ Albert Isnard, ed., *Catalogue générale des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque nationale: Actes Royaux*, vol. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1910).

⁵⁷ Auguste Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique de Biographie et d'Histoire*, 2d ed., 2 vols. (Paris: 1872; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970). See also Alfred Franklin, *Dictionnaire historique des arts, métiers et professions exercés dans Paris depuis le XIII^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris and Leipzig, 1905–06; rpt. Marseille: Laffitte, 1987).

⁵⁸ Michel Antoine, et al., *Guide des recherches dans les fonds judiciaires de l'ancien régime* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1958).

⁵⁹ The Palais de Justice has been the site of several major fires, notably in 1618, 1737, and 1776. The fire on 24 May 1871 during the Paris Commune destroyed a great number of

list of series, details of which can be found in the BnF's manuscript catalogue, have been particularly useful: ms. fr. 21152–21188; 21194–21220; 21228–21295; 23708–23811; nouv. acq. fr. 2103–2477; 7979–8500; 9827–10000.⁶⁰ As of this writing, the Archives nationales are still housed in their temporary home in the rue Richelieu; fortunately, series K and KK were readily available on microfilm, and will continue to be once the collection is moved back into its renovated home.⁶¹

3. Early Modern Editions⁶²

By far, the most accessible information can be found in Early Modern printed editions of legal texts. Isnard's preface reveals a series of relevant BnF shelfmarks of laws printed individually by various sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century printers and bound together in *recueils*, or collections. A list of the most relevant can be found in the bibliography; most of these are still in sufficiently good condition to be part of the main reading room's collection, rather than spirited away to the reserve room.

manuscript registers. Luckily, the copy of the Registers of Parlement for 1254–1790 was saved. See Jean Favard, *Au coeur de Paris, un Palais pour la Justice* (Paris: Gallimard, 1995), esp. 52–55, as well as Alfred Fierro, *Histoire et Dictionnaire de Paris* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1996), "Incendie." For a general background, see Yves-Marie Bercé and Alfred Soman, "Les Archives du Parlement dans l'Histoire," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 153 (1995): 255–73.

⁶⁰ See the *Catalogue générale des manuscrits français*, 18 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1868–1918); and Perrier and Vidier, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français. Table générale alphabétique des anciens et nouveaux fonds (nos. 1–33264) et des nouvelles acquisitions (nos. 1–10000)*, 6 vols. (Paris: E. Leroux, 1931–48). See also *Le Parlement de Paris au fil de ses archives*, special issue of *Histoire et archives* 12 (juillet–décembre 2002).

⁶¹ See Jean Favier, ed., *Les Archives Nationales: État des inventaires. Tome premier: L'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Archives nationales, 1985), available on the website of the Archives.

⁶² A good range of texts is presented in R.J. Schoeck, Natalie Z. Davis, J.K. McConica, et al., "A Finding List of Renaissance Legal Literature," *Renaissance and Reformation* 4 (1967/68); see esp. "Part Three" in 4.3 (April 1968): 97–126. See p. 106 for an introduction to the history of printed laws in France.

Useful collections for municipal administration include *Les Ordonnances royaux sur le faict et jurisdiction de la prévosté des marchands et eschevinage de la ville de Paris* (Paris: Federic Morel, 1595; BnF LK7-6767) and Pierre de Miraulmont's *Le Prevost de l'Hostel, et Grand Prevost de France. Avec les Edicts, Arrests, Reglements & Ordonnances concernans sa Jurisdiction* (Paris: Pierre Chevalier, 1615; BnF 8-Z LE SENNE-12163).

For royal statutes, the fundamental and much-cited collection by Antoine Fontanon, *Edits et ordonnances des roys de France*, 3d ed., 4 vols. in 3 (Paris: Claude Morel, 1611) prints mainly royal acts and their registry in Parlement, especially if the Parlement objected to some of the provisions of the law. For royal statutes prior to François I, the 23-volume *Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race* (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1723–1849) is the standard collection, available in a twentieth-century facsimile edition (Farnborough, Hants.: Gregg, 1967–68).

Three other frequently cited sources are the *preuves* (appended source documents) of Michel Félibien's *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, 5 vols. (Paris: G. Desprez & J. Desessartz, 1725); Nicolas Delamare's *Traité de la Police*, 4 vols. (Paris: Michel Brunet, 1713–38); and Henri Sauval's *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, 3 vols. (Paris: Charles Moette & Jacques Chardon, 1724). These offer a wide variety of legal documents, although Félibien has a tendency to quote part of a law, summarize, then quote again without consistent editor's marks. Delamare also suffers from a certain number of typesetting mistakes, but these can usually be counter-balanced by cross-checking dates in one of the catalogues mentioned above.

Jacques Corbin's *Le Code Louis XIII* (Paris: J. Quesnel, 1628) and other late sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century collections of ordonnances include many

early sixteenth-century laws—see especially those listed in the bibliography by Charles-Antoine Bourdot de Richebourg (1724), Eusèbe de Laurière (1699), Claude de Ferrière (1714), Pierre Guénois (1679), Philippe Antoine Merlin (available in a modern edition, 1825–28), Jean Papon (1569), and Girard and Joly (1645). The British Library has its own collection of Early Modern French laws (especially important when the much picked-over BnF copies are not available); two particularly relevant compilations are Pierre Rebuffi's *Ordonnances, loix, edictz et statutz royaux de France . . .* (Lyon: Claude Senneton, 1559; Shelfmark 504.h.1–3); and *Les Ordonnances et edictz faictz par le Roy treschrestien Henry deuxiesme du nom* (Paris: Vincent Sertenas, 1557; shelfmark 504.h.5).⁶³

More specifically, the *Recueil des principaux tiltres concernant l'acquisition de la propriété des mesure et place . . . l'hôtel de Bourgogne . . .* (Paris, 1632; BnF 4-LK7-7425) offers legal documents regarding the Confraternity of the Passion in Paris. For a collection regarding the basoche, see *Recueil des Statuts, ordonnances, reiglements, antiquitez, prérogatives et prééminences du Royaume de la Bazoche* (Paris: Cardinal Besongne, 1654; BnF F-26317). For letters patent from the king and extracts of rulings of the Parlement of Paris regarding the university, the standard collection is C.E. Du Boulay's six-volume *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis* (Paris: 1667–73; available on Gallica), reprinted in the twentieth century (Frankfurt-am-Main: Minerva, 1966); volume six concerns the sixteenth

⁶³ A 1559 edition of the same book is available at the Folger Shakespeare Library ([rare] K 5172 1559 Cage fo). See also the New York Public Library's copy of *Les loix, statuts & ordonances roiaulx, faictes par les Feus Rois de France, puis le regne de Monseigneur Saint Loïs, jusques au regne du Roi Francois, premier du nom, a present regnant* (Paris: Arnoul L'Angelier, 1543).

century. Finally, Godefroy's two-volume *Le cérémonial françois* (Paris: Cramoisy, 1649) offers a miscellany of legal documents regarding processions, weddings, funerals, and the like.

4. Modern Edited Collections

The *Registres des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*, part of the series "Histoire générale de Paris," is an edition of the municipal registers in the Archives nationales (H 1778–1880) for the years 1499 through the early seventeenth century. These include the Bureau's *mandements*, official letters from the monarch addressed to the Bureau, and decisions of the Parlement of Paris relative to the Bureau's business. Edited by François Bonnardot, et al, the years 1515–59 are treated in volumes 1–5 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883–92). The registers for the years 1517–27 were lost sometime in the later years of François I's reign, but the editors have endeavored to piece together entries from other sources.⁶⁴ Also part of the series "Histoire générale de Paris" are the three volumes of René de Lespinasse's *Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris (14^e–18^e siècle)* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886–97), offering legal documents concerning Paris guilds.

The 29-volume *Recueil général des anciennes lois françaises . . .*, edited by Isambert, Decrusy, Armet, Jourdan, and Taillandier (Paris: Belin-Leprieur/Verdière, 1821–33), can be frustrating due to the astonishing number of typesetting errors (including pagination); but the collection is widely available and is particularly useful for following chronological trends in lawmaking. Rich in royal ordonnances and Parliamentary legislation, it serves as a compliment to the many Early Modern editions listed above. A reprint edition is available in four volumes (Ridgewood, NJ: Gregg, 1964–66); the original edition is available on Gallica.

⁶⁴ *Registres*, 3:302, note 1.

More specific modern collections include Arthur Michel de Boislisle's *Chambre des Comptes de Paris* (Nogent-le-Rotrou: A. Gouverneur, 1873), available on Gallica; and León de Laborde's two-volume *Les comptes des bâtiments du roi, 1528–1571* (Paris: J. Baur, 1877–80; rpt. Nogent-le-Roi: Librairie des arts et métiers-éditions, 1999). For laws regarding Reformation issues, two of the best collections are James K. Farge, *Le parti conservateur au XVI^e siècle. Université et Parlement de Paris à l'époque de la Renaissance et de la Réforme* (Paris: Collège de France, 1992); and Nathaniel Weiss, *La Chambre ardente: Étude sur la liberté de conscience en France sous François I^{er} et Henri II (1540–1550)* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1889).

Overview

The following two chapters deal with the people of Paris as actors and audience members. Chapter 2, “The Theatrical City,” shows how laws and municipal performers interacted in Paris, describes the hierarchy of the different groups of performers who were legally censored or sponsored, and offers a picture of typical audience participation in performances. Chapter 3, “Public and Private Performers,” looks at more traditionally-studied groups of actors: confraternities and guilds; clerks and students; and court performers. Chapter 4, “A Topography of Paris,” considers places of performance in light of urban development and changes in the allocation of space; the city's first permanent theatre, temporary theatre structures, and costumes used in performance and regulated by sumptuary laws are discussed. Chapter 5, “Censorship,” explores the legal reasoning behind suppression of certain kinds of performance, including arguments based on contemporary religion, politics, and urban issues. Chapter 6, “Sponsorship,” looks at the other side of the censorship issue,

revealing that almost twice as many laws were passed in support than in suppression of performance, and introduces the office of master of the revels.

* * * * *

Studies on the relationship between performance and the city are not rare.⁶⁵ While Renaissance London—basking in its Shakespearean glow—has inspired works too numerous to cite here, sixteenth-century Paris remains practically untouched. As Philip Benedict points out, works focusing on the eighteenth century in France, and especially on the causes of the Revolution, are far more plentiful in ancien régime studies than those devoted to the sixteenth century. For major reasons, he cites the accessibility of primary sources—both in terms of volume of material and relative ease of interpreting that material—and the importance of the Revolution to the identity of the French nation. As for Paris, he claims its size discourages historians from writing about it; “nearly all of the most important studies have been devoted to the larger provincial towns, whose size suited them well to being the subject of a *doctorat d'état*.”⁶⁶

The same is true of theatre studies. Most recently, Charles Mazouer's *Le théâtre français de la Renaissance* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2002) picks up where Madeleine

⁶⁵ Recent work includes the collection of essays edited by Marie-France Wagner and Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic, *Les arts du spectacle dans la ville (1404–1721)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001). For an example of using theatrical texts to construct a historical view of Paris, see Madeleine Lazard, “Paris dans la comédie humaniste,” in *Études seiziémistes offertes à Monsieur le Professeur V.-L. Saulnier . . .* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), 315–25. For medieval urban performance, see Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, eds., *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); and Jean-Charles Payen, “Théâtre médiéval et culture urbaine,” *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 35 (1983): 233–50.

⁶⁶ Philip Benedict, ed., *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989; rpt. 1992), 2.

Lazard's overview left off.⁶⁷ Although Mazouer's aim is to put the plays of the sixteenth century into their performance context, he still agrees with the eighteenth-century Parfaict brothers on the primacy of playtexts as evidence in writing the history of early theatre in spite of their questionable relationship to performance.⁶⁸ Disregarding the specificity of a Renaissance capital city, the author continues the trend of making generalizations about theatre practices in Paris based on more accessible examples from Provincial theatres. This study represents an attempt to address that disparity; to explore the advent of the institutionalized urban stage in Renaissance Paris; and, through investigating the legal record, to "re-remember" (in Peter Brook's words) the performers and performances that have left their traces behind.

⁶⁷ Madeline Lazard, *Le théâtre en France au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: PUF, 1980). For recent scholarship (mostly in French), see also Charles Mazouer, "Vingt ans de recherches sur le théâtre du XVI^e siècle. Première partie: le théâtre sérieux," *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle* 16/2 (1998): 301–25; and "Vingt ans de recherches sur le théâtre du XVI^e siècle. Deuxième partie: le théâtre comique, les genres nouveaux, les spectacles de cour, le théâtre scolaire," *Nouvelle Revue du Seizième Siècle* 17/2 (1999): 301–18. See also Mazouer's previous book, *Le théâtre français du moyen âge* (Paris: SEDES, 1998).

⁶⁸ François and Claude Parfaict, *Histoire du théâtre françois*, 15 vols. (Amsterdam: 1734–49; rpt. in 3 vols. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967).

CHAPTER TWO THE THEATRICAL CITY

The frequent city-wide entertainments in Paris under François I and Henri II served as a stage for many groups of legislated performers.¹ So many different groups participating in civic culture naturally gave rise to conflict; many of the battles over who could perform what took place on festival occasions with their attendant processions. The legal record is full of evocations of precedent for such entertainments, but how could precedent be followed at a time when jurisdictions were shifting, new offices were being created, and new occasions for festivals were surfacing?² These new issues gave rise to a number of disputes throughout the reigns of these kings—disputes that did not end with Henri's death in 1559.³ This chapter

¹ For an overview of Parisian festivals, see Jean Favier, *Paris*, 335–89; René Héron de Villefosse, *Solennités, Fêtes, et Rejouissances Parisiennes*, Nouvelle Histoire de Paris (Paris: Hachette, 1980); and Marcel Fosseyeux, “Processions et pèlerinages parisiens sous l’ancien régime,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France* 71–72 (1944–45): 19–43. A more comprehensive look at royal entries can be found in Joseph Chartrou, *Les Entrées solennelles et triomphales à la Renaissance (1484–1551)* (Paris: PUF, 1928); Bernard Guenée, and Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: CNRS, 1968); and Lawrence M. Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual, and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1986). See also Bryant’s article “La cérémonie de l’entrée à Paris au Moyen Age,” *Annales ESC* 41 (1986): 513–42; and Ralph E. Giesey, “Modèles de pouvoir dans les rites royaux en France,” *Annales ESC* 41 (1986): 579–99. See also Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüskens, eds., *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, Ludus, 5 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2001); and Alexandra F. Johnston and Wim Hüskens, eds., *Civic Ritual and Drama*, Ludus, 2 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1997). Parts of this chapter were presented at the Comparative Drama Conference in Columbus, OH (April 2003) as “‘À son de trompe & cry public’: Mandating Municipal Performance in Renaissance Paris.”

² See esp. the introduction to volume 3 of Jean Jacquot, ed., *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, 3 vols. (Paris: CNRS, 1956–75).

³ For examples of religious processions during the second half of the sixteenth century, see Frances A. Yates, “Dramatic Religious Processions in Paris in the Late Sixteenth Century,” *Annales musicologiques* 2 (1954): 215–70 + plates.

will describe the relationship between laws and city-wide performers by exploring the process by which these urban performances were legally mandated, considering different jurisdictions. Next, we will explore how these jurisdictional groups used laws to establish themselves hierarchically as performers within the developing urban context. Finally, a discussion of legislated crowd control and how laws fostered audience participation will round out the picture of Paris as a theatrical city during the Renaissance.⁴

“À son de trompe & cry public”: Legally Mandated Performers

As discussed in the Introduction, the three main law-making powers involved in mandating performances were the crown, the Parlement of Paris, and the municipal institution known as the Bureau.⁵ This was not necessarily a chain of command; certainly, discussions and negotiations among these three institutions took place.⁶ At the performance level, the final responsibility lay with the Bureau, whose provost of merchants was largely in charge of planning, delegating, and/or participating in city-wide ceremonies and entertainments.⁷ By

⁴ The extraordinary frequency of processions during this time should not be underestimated. See Michèle Fogel, *Les cérémonies de l'information dans la France du XVI^e au milieu du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1989). Fogel offers an appendix of public processions and Te Deum in Paris (1494–1610) on pp. 433–42; her list of nearly 200 dates for the first half of the sixteenth century alone is dizzying.

⁵ For the relationship among these three, see Jean Barbey, *Être roi. Le roi et son gouvernement en France de Clovis à Louis XVI* (Paris: Fayard, 1992).

⁶ See Stéphane Gruber-Magiot, *Les conflits de coutumes en matière de contrats dans la jurisprudence des parlements: de Dumoulin au Code civil* (Paris: PUF, 1980); Roger Doucet, *Etude sur le gouvernement de François I^{er} dans ses rapports avec le Parlement de Paris* (Algiers: Carbonel; Paris: Champion, 1921–26); Arlette Lebigre, *La justice du roi: la vie judiciaire dans l'ancienne France* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1988); Jean Reynal, *Histoire des institutions judiciaires* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1964); and Christopher W. Stocker, “The Politics of the Parlement of Paris in 1525,” *French Historical Studies* 8 (Fall 1973): 191–212.

⁷ Useful background can be found in Paul Robiquet, *Histoire Municipale de Paris, Tome I: Depuis les origines jusqu'à l'avènement de Henri II*, 2d ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1904); and

looking at examples of the Bureau's working methods and their development during the first half of the century, we can see how these three main institutions wielded their jurisdictional power in the creation of performance.

At the beginning of the sixteenth century, Parisian lawyers were immersed in the transformation of medieval customary laws from oral tradition to written text.⁸ The larger trend in law moved away from an arbitrary and shifting legislative process based on community agreement to the establishment of statutes based on the Early Modern fixation with "the common good."⁹ A similar phenomenon was taking place at the municipal level with the Bureau's deliberations regarding performance. For the entry of an important person into Paris, the king would issue letters patent to the municipality describing his wishes for the ceremonial greeting ("veult et entend estre fait"). The official response from the municipality to the king was a legally binding agreement to follow these wishes "pour l'onneur du Roy et en luy obeissant."¹⁰ Next, the Bureau would meet in the Hôtel de Ville (town hall) to generate an official plan, as on 15 February 1500 for the Princess of Castille's entry:

Antoine Le Roux de Lincy and Victor Calliat, *Hôtel de ville de Paris mesuré, dessiné, gravé et publié par Victor Calliat . . . avec une histoire de ce monument et des recherches sur le gouvernement municipal de Paris . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris: Carilian-Goeury, 1844–59). See also Jacques Heers, *La ville au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Fayard, 1990).

⁸ See François Olivier-Martin, *Histoire de la coutume de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1925; rpt. Paris: Éditions Cujas, 1972) and his "Un document inédit sur les travaux préparatoires de l'ancienne coutume de Paris," *Nouvelle revue historique du droit français et étranger* 42 (1918): 192–227. For an overview, see Sueur, 2:25–160.

⁹ On this shift, see Bruce Lenman and Geoffrey Parker, "The State, the Community and the Criminal Law in Early Modern Europe," in *Crime and Law: The Social History of Crime in Western Europe Since 1500*, ed. V.A.C. Gatrell, Bruce Lenman, and Geoffrey Parker (London: Europa Publications, 1980), 11–48. See also Donald R. Kelley, "'Second Nature': The Idea of Custom in European Law, Society, and Culture," in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 131–72.

¹⁰ *Registres*, 1:9 (4 janvier 1500).

en l'Ostel de la ville de Paris, où estoient les Commis au gouvernement de lad. ville, les Conseillers, Quarteniers, bourgeois et gens d'Eglise en grant nombre, a esté conclud que lesd. Commis, accompagnés desd. Conseillers, Quarteniers et bourgeois en nombre compettent et honnestement habillés, yront au devant de Madame la Princesse de Castille luy faire la reverence, et que les rues esquelles elle passera seront tendeues, et que de par lad. Ville luy seront faiz presens comme on a acoustumé faire aux s^m du sang royal; le tout en ensuivant et accomplissant le contenu es lettres envoyées de par le Roy à icelle ville.¹¹

They decided who and how many would participate, their dress, that the streets along the processional route would be decorated, and that the city would offer the princess gifts as it was customary to do (“on a acoustumé faire”) for someone of her rank.¹² This is typical of the early sixteenth century—to our eyes, a very general plan based on custom, “en ensuivant et accomplissant le contenu es lettres envoyées de par le Roy à icelle ville” (following and fulfilling the contents of the letters sent by the king to the city). As time went on, the municipality would have to add more detail to encompass the developing complexity of city-wide entertainments.

Complexity also depended on the importance of the visitor(s) to the king. In December 1500, ambassadors of the Holy Roman Empire paid a visit to Paris. The king ordered the municipality to welcome “les ambassadeurs de l'Empire le plus honnestement et au plus grant honneur que possible leur sera, et tant qu'ilz seront en lad. ville les festoient tant et si largement que faire se pourra, et après les deffrayent sans leur souffrir payer aucune

¹¹ Ibid., 1:21 (15 février 1500). The *quarteniers* were the district officials of Paris, responsible for establishing the tax rolls and municipal election rolls for each *quartier* of the city; they were assisted by the *cinquanteniers* (in charge of 50 men) and the *dizainiers* (in charge of 10 men).

¹² For what Natalie Zemon Davis calls an “ethnography of gifts,” see her recent book, *The Gift in Sixteenth-Century France* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000).

chose.”¹³ On this occasion, the Bureau consulted with the two royal officers the king had assigned to the ambassadors in order to get a sense of their tastes. Part of their entry’s entertainment included a representative of the university, “Loys Pinel, docteur en theologie, grant maistre du college de Navarre” who offered a “proposicion” in Latin to pay homage to them.¹⁴

Sometimes the municipality had a difficult time rounding up the appropriate number of well-dressed people for the reception of a dignitary. For instance, in the register regarding the 1501 entry of the archduke of Austria (Philippe le Beau, 1478–1506) and his wife, we find:

et afin que mesd. s^{rs} les Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins soient plus honestement accompagnez, les Quarteniers bailleront par escript des plus souffisans et meulx habillez et montez de leur quartier; desquelz mesd. S^{rs} en esliront jusques à nombre competent; et à ce que plus voluntiers ilz facent leur devoir d’eux bien vestuz et montez pour l’onneur de ladicte ville, ilz seront mandez particulièrement par lesd. Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins de lad. Ville.¹⁵

Sending out individual mandates to participants would become more and more frequent throughout the century.

In January 1502, the municipality met to read letters from the king regarding the entry of the new queen, Anne de Bretagne.¹⁶ The governor of Paris, the provost of merchants and aldermen, and a president of the Parlement of Paris mandated the quarteniers to appear as per

¹³ *Registres*, 1:51 (19 décembre 1500). This function of the Bureau was consistent throughout the first part of the century; see *ibid.*, 3:191–92 (22 septembre 1549); Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5408.

¹⁴ *Registres*, 1:52 (20 et 21 décembre 1500).

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:62 (16 novembre 1501).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:63 (5 janvier 1502) [two entries on the same date]; also printed in Godefroy, 1:686–87.

usual, but this time they were ordered to give a list of the participants' names to the city clerk, "bien et honnestement habillez avec grand nombre de bourgeois des plus souffisans de leur quartier et des meulx monter et habillez."¹⁷ To carry the canopy over the queen, the guilds each elected four representative spicers, goldsmiths, and furriers, and were ordered to give the clerk the names of an additional two to three dozen guild members who would fill out the ranks. The canopy was always carried by members of the *six-corps*—the elite guilds, established at the end of the Middle Ages.¹⁸ The Bureau liked to believe that these artisans and merchants were more enthusiastic than the typical citizen about participating: "Lesquelz ont respondu que très volontiers chascun selon estat, ilz se habilleront honnestement et le meulx que faire le pourront."¹⁹

Another regulation from 1502 finds the provost of merchants legally mandating the order in which the guilds will be carrying the canopy over the legate (George d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen). The provost's argument stresses that this decision was founded on advice and ancient custom, and that all parties concerned must sign an agreement with the city clerk, so that no fights—inappropriate to the ceremony—would break out. According to the provost, the main reason for this agreement was to avoid confusion as to the order of performers.²⁰

¹⁷ *Registres*, 1:65 (15 janvier 1502); also printed in Godefroy, 1:688.

¹⁸ At the 1431 coronation of Henri VI of England, these included the drapers, spicers, moneychangers, goldsmiths, mercers, furriers, and butchers (this last group included due to their alliance with the invading English). By 1504 and Anne de Bretagne's entry, the *six-corps* were the drapers, spicers, furriers, mercers, moneychangers, and goldsmiths. At Queen Claude's entry in 1517, the clothes-dyers (*teinturiers*) were also honored as a seventh guild in the group, but did not retain their place in the entry of Eleanor in 1531. See Fierro, *Histoire et Dictionnaire de Paris*, "Six-corps."

¹⁹ *Registres*, 1:65–66 (15 janvier 1502); also printed in Godefroy, 1:688–89.

²⁰ *Registres*, 1:67–68 (16 février 1502).

Meanwhile, the Bureau was still working on the queen's entry. The king sent further letters to the municipality dated 30 October 1504 with the exhortation to act as though they were preparing for his own entry: "vous preparez de vostre part ainsi le faire comme vous voudriez faire à nostre propre personne." Although at this stage the municipality was very much tied to custom, there is an inkling of things to come when the king ends his letter with the following pronouncement: "Et en ce faisant nous ferez chose que aurons très agreable et que retiendrons à memoire quant besoing sera."²¹

The king mandated the Bureau to carry out a range of performances, as when he sent letters missive in 1509 ordering the municipality to light bonfires and participate in solemn processions to celebrate the peace of the Treaty of Cambrai between Louis XII, Emperor Maximilian I, and Charles of Spain.²² Another example would be the entry that was not an entry; for instance, the king's visit to the city in March 1510 after his return from Italy has the king entering the city from the Gate (*Porte*) of Saint-Jacques with Cardinal d'Amboise and the princes, along with other members of the aristocracy, but "n'y a point eu de forme d'entrée, car led. S'avoit par avant escript à la Ville qu'il vouloit que la gloire de sad. victoire fut rendue à Dieu et non à luy." The municipality simply assembled along with "plusieurs notables bourgeois et marchans, et des sergens de la Douzaine et de la Ville, aussi des gens du Guet, et des archers et arbalestriers de lad. Ville" to pay reverence to the king. The king

²¹ Ibid., 1:93–94 (7 novembre 1504); see also Godefroy, 1:690–95.

²² *Registres*, 1:151 (22 mars 1509). Bonfires were part of the habitual public celebrations for such events; see the bonfires ordered to celebrate the peace treaty with the emperor in 1538: *ibid.*, 2:375–76 (25 et 26 juillet 1538). On Louis XII, see Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Louis XII* (Stroud, UK: Sutton, 1994); and Bernard Quilliet, *Louis XII, Père du Peuple* (Paris: Fayard, 1986).

attended Parlement the following day and heard the president of the Parlement, the provost of merchants, and the university give speeches “à la gloire de la victoire.”²³

The king’s mandate could override municipal custom in the sixteenth century. On the occasion of the cardinal of Saint-Croix (Roman ambassador of the duke of Saxe, Frédéric II le Sage) visiting the city in August 1512, the king sent letters asking for him to be received by the municipality. The provost complained to the king that the municipality did not officially greet such dignitaries, but as the king “le mandast par expès,” they would do it anyway.²⁴

On the other hand, sometimes the king did not send an official mandate and the Bureau would take the initiative or risk the king’s displeasure. This was the case with the reception of the English ambassador, in town for the entry of Mary Tudor (sister of Henry VIII) in 1514: “ainsi qu’on a acoustumé et que bon semblera à mesd. s^{rs} Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins, combien neantmoins qu’il fut bien requiz avoir lettres du Roy expresses à ceste fin; car ceste ville, qui est capitale du Royaume, n’a point acoustumé d’aller au devant de quelque prince ne d’ambassades sans lettres expresses du Roy.”²⁵ Here we have two opposing customs: the custom of the municipality as the representative of France greeting the new queen’s ambassador, and the custom of the king mandating the Bureau’s performance. The Bureau elected to stick with community consensus, to the point that they decided to model Mary Tudor’s entry on that of her predecessor, Anne de Bretagne.²⁶ In 1517, the order of the royal entry of Anne’s daughter, Queen Claude, was identical to that of her mother.²⁷

²³ *Registres*, 1:154 (16 et 17 mars 1510); also in Godefroy, 1:730–31.

²⁴ *Registres*, 1:188–89 (21 août 1512).

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:212 (29 août 1514).

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:212–13 (2 septembre 1514).

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 1:240–41 (17 mai 1517).

When François I took the throne, the privileges of the provost of merchants, aldermen, bourgeois, residents, and inhabitants of Paris were among those confirmed in 1515.²⁸ The wording of the ordonnance argued for endowing the Bureau with special power, since it administered the most important city in France: Paris was acknowledged to attract many eminent residents, aristocrats, and people of influence due to the presence of the university; and being the capital of the realm, the city was home to the high court of the Parlement, the Chambre des Comptes, Aides, Treasury, and other important courts of the land. Therefore, with this ordonnance the king confirmed the Bureau's special rights, freedoms, and privileges; he stated these were necessary in order to carry out municipal duties, which included the control of trade on the Seine and its tributaries, and the health, well-being, and livelihood of the city and all who were in it—those visiting the city as well as those living in Paris temporarily or permanently. The king also confirmed the judicial power of the city council in the interests of advancing the cause of justice, policing, and administration of the city, which—he claimed—had been less than effective up until this point.²⁹

Municipal records give details of how city officers announced events and their subsequent city-wide entertainments. The *Ordinaire de Paris* for 1529–30 lists a payment to a notary from the Châtelet, Gilbert de Hadicq, for arranging the public proclamation of peace on 18 August 1529 “sur la pierre de Marbre de la Cour du Palais, & par les Carrefours de Paris, entre le Pape, le Roi, l’Elu Empereur Roi de Castille & de Germanie, le Roi

²⁸ On François I, see also Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François Ier imaginaire: Symbolique et politique à l’aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987).

²⁹ François, ord. 50; also in Fontanon, 2:1180–81 (avril 1515); and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 27.

d'Angleterre & le Roi de Hongrie & de Boheme, suivant l'ordre du Roi." De Hadicq's expenses included a payment to the silk merchant Michel Bailly:

pour six aulnes un quart de taffetas violet azuré de Gennes renforcé, pour faire les bannieres de six trompettes qui ont servi à faire ledit cri & publication de Paix, dix livres dix-huit sols neuf deniers tournois, qui est au prix de trente-cinq sols l'aulne; audit Bailly pour vingt-un aulnes de frange d'or & de soie pour servir ausdites bannieres, cent dix sols trois deniers.³⁰

Further payments were made to Jean le Sourd, "pour avoir taillé lesdites bannieres, & y avoir cousu lesdites franges, & avoir livré quatre aulnes de ruban de soie pour attacher lesdites bannieres ausdites trompettes"; to the painter Leon Bachet, "pour avoir peint & doré lesdites bannieres, & en chacune d'icelles apposé trois fleurs-de-lis d'or d'un côté, & de l'autre côté une Salamandre semée de feux"; and to the six trumpeters on horseback, Michel Gaultier, Pierre Giboin, Bertrand Braconnier, Jaques Massue, Guillaume le Beau, and Jaques de Laval. The dissemination of the law was as flamboyant as the subsequent procession and entertainments.³¹

In spite of the work that went into such elaborate public announcements, François had good cause to be concerned about the administration of Paris. One Wednesday in September 1530, the Bureau called a meeting to deliberate on the plans for Eleanor's upcoming entry.

³⁰ Sauval, 3:611.

³¹ For an explanation of money in sixteenth-century Paris, see Martin Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972); he includes a chart of monies as Appendix F. Some useful equivalents: 1 *livre* = 20 *sous* = 240 *deniers* (i.e. 1 *sou* = 12 *deniers*); 1 *livre paris* = 1.25 *livres tournois*. Baumgartner, *Henri II*, offers Appendix A on the monetary system of France: "*écu d'or soleil*, also known as the *écus au soleil*, was the principal and largest gold coin in circulation in France. It had roughly the same value as the *scudi* of the papal Curia. Most accounts, however, were expressed in terms of the *livre tournois*, a monetary unit of account. Its rival, the *livre paris*, had largely disappeared by 1547. . . In 1519 the *écu* was pegged at two *livres*; it rose to 2.25 l in 1533; to 2.50 l in 1550 (at which time the *henri* replaced the *écu* for ten years); and was set at 3 l in 1575."

Unfortunately, almost nobody showed up, so the meeting was rescheduled for Friday and mandements issued for those who had been absent to attend.³² Once they finally met, their first decision was to look to the customary preparations.³³ This time, however, they called for a survey of all previous queens' entries. Since the record was extensive, the Bureau appointed two councillors, two quarteniers, and two bourgeois to read all the material ("lesdictz articles") and report back to them. These appointees produced the following articles, the first attempt at codification for such an event listed in the *Registres*:

- Processional route for the royal entry [Le chemyn qui sera tenu pour aller au devant de la Royne Éleenor à son entrée]: the governor of Paris and the provost of merchants and the aldermen were to verify the condition of the streets personally.
- Paving of the Roads [Pour diligenter ce que le Roy doibt paver hors la porte Saint Martin. Pour faire les gardefoulx au pont des Marez]: the treasurer of France was to be asked to pay for new paving of the roads.
- Infantry [Pour avoir mille hommes de pied]: the city was to find a way to have one thousand of the "enfants de Paris" on foot dressed in the queen's colors as part of the procession—as long as it was not at their expense.
- Cavalry [Pour avoir cent enfans de la Ville bien en ordre à cheval]: one hundred young men of good family from Paris were also to participate in the procession on horseback (again, as long as the city did not have to pay).
- Galleries on the Notre Dame bridge [Ordonnance pour les boutiques du Pont Nostre Dame]: the gallery shops on the bridge were to be reserved for the ladies, "et que en chascune y ait quelques belles jeunes femmes et filles pour tapisserye."
- Processional route [Le chemin pour aller de la rue Saint Denis à Nostre Dame]: the route used between Saint-Denis and Notre Dame was to be the road in front of the Châtelet and the Gate of Paris, then turning at the "crucifix Saint Jacques" onto the bridge of Notre Dame.
- Stages constructed by the city [Pour les eschaffaulx que la Ville doibt faire]: at the Gate of Saint-Denis, Ponceau, and the Gate of the Paintres.

³² *Registres*, 2:73 (7 septembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:777.

³³ *Registres*, 2:77 (29 novembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:779–80.

- Stage constructed by the Confraternity of the Passion [L'eschaffaulx des maistres de la Passion]: in front of the Trinité.
- Stage constructed by the second-hand clothes dealers [L'eschaffaulx des Frepriers]: in front of the fountain of the Innocents.
- Stage constructed by the confraternity of butchers [L'eschaffaulx des maistres Bouchers de la Grant Boucherie]: according to their usual custom.
- Processional order [L'ordre de ladicte Entrée]: customary order from past entries.
- Banquet [Pour l'ordre du bancquet]: to be well organized and the most magnificent possible.
- Tournament [Pour les lices et perrons]: lists and barriers in the rue Saint-Antoine near the Tournelles will be built without incurring expense to the city, if possible (i.e., the crown would pay).
- Coats of arms [De ne faire autres armoires que du Roy et de la Royne]: only the king and queen's coats of arms were to be displayed on the stages.
- Present for the princes [Pour faire present à mess^{rs} les Enffans du Roy].
- General dress [Pour faire abiller d'une parure ceulx qui iront au devant de la Royne, et une partie de soye]: all those who present themselves to the queen must be dressed in finery, and if possible silk; if anyone refuses, they are to be threatened with a fine of 100 livres.
- Dress of the archers and crossbowmen [Pour faire abiller les archers, arbalestiers et hacquebutiers, chascune bende d'une parure]: these groups must also be dressed in finery.
- Crowd control [Pour mettre ordre à la presse qui pourra estre à ladicte Entrée]: the governor of Paris is to take control instead of letting the provost of merchants and aldermen supervise.
- Follow-up meeting [Assemblée à lundi prochain]: on the next Monday at 8:00 a.m.

Pursuant to these articles, the municipality issued mandements to those concerned to return Monday at 8:00 a.m. for a meeting “que l’on espere de brief.”³⁴

Even with this kind of careful planning backed up by legal mandates, the municipality could not control everything. Queen Eleanor arrived in Paris without their knowledge on 11 February 1531: “Ce jour d’huy, la Royne Alienor est venue de Saint Germain en Laye en ceste ville de Paris, environ l’heure de quatre heures de relevée, sans faire forme d’entrée. Et pour la saluer, l’on a faict tirer partie de l’artillerie de ladictte Ville, par ce qu’il ne fut possible tout la faire tirer; au moyen de ce que les Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins n’en avoient esté advertiz que deux heures avant que ladictte dame entrast en cestedictte Ville.”³⁵ Fortunately, the city was able to take a few weeks to finish their final preparations for the royal entry. On Monday, 27 February, the municipality gave the guilds plenty of warning to be ready with their costumes no later than next Sunday, to be on time, and “se trouveront ou lieu qui leur sera mandé.”³⁶

The Bureau also issued their own mandates without the king for such occasions as the Feast of Saint John the Baptist in June, when bonfires lit the Place de Grève “de l’ordonnance

³⁴ *Registres*, 2:77–80 (1 décembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:780–83. For details of the follow-up ordonnances, see *Registres*, 2:80–82 (5 décembre 1530), or Godefroy, 1:83–86; and *Registres*, 2:85–87 (12 décembre 1530), or Godefroy, 1:786–89. Sauval, 3:613, also offers evidence of how these articles were implemented in the *Ordinaire de Paris*, 1530–31: “Trois Trompettes qui ont assisté à publier par la Ville de Paris de nettoyer les rues & abattre les auvents, pour l’entrée de la Reine. Six Trompettes qui ont assisté ensemble ledit jour de l’entrée, dès trois heures du matin, à publier par ladite Ville qu’on eut à nettoyer les rues, ayant assisté ledit jour sur l’échafaut devant le Chastelet, à jouer durant que la Reine, les Princes & Gentilhommes passoient. Quatre Trompettes qui ont depuis assisté à publier au Palais les deffences aux Clercs & Pages de ne faire noises ne porter d’armes, sur peine de la hart.”

³⁵ *Registres*, 2:105 (11 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:792.

³⁶ *Registres*, 2:106 (27 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:794.

de messieurs les Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins, ainsi que l'on a acoutumé faire à tel jour par chascun an, pour l'honneur et reverence de la fest monseigneur Saint Jehan Baptiste, paroisse dudict Hostel de Ville, et banquet oudict Hostel de Ville." The provost of merchants and aldermen accompanied the royal princes from the Louvre to the town hall to light the fire: "nosdictz seigneurs les Daulphin et ducz d'Orleans et d'Angoulesmes, accompagnez de monseigneur le conte de Nevers et plusieurs autres jeunes princes et seigneurs."³⁷

Participants could make things difficult if they did not follow the directives of the Bureau. On Friday, 22 November 1532, the Bureau met to plan and issue mandates for the reception of the new bishop of Paris, Jean du Bellay. They voted to follow their established ceremony in the Abbey Saint-Victor.³⁸ On Monday morning, the participants gathered at 6:00 a.m. at the town hall, only to discover that the new bishop had other plans: he sent word that he was waiting at the Abbey Sainte-Geneviève and ordered the provost and aldermen to perform the ceremony there. The municipal officers deliberated for two hours, finally deciding

³⁷ *Registres*, 2:123 (23 juin 1531).

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 1:77–79 (19 et 21 mai 1503). When the previous bishop of Paris made his entry into the city on Sunday, 21 May 1503, speeches were ordered to be given by the provost of merchants and the abbot of Saint-Victor's at the Abbey Saint-Victor at around 6:00 a.m. They moved on to Sainte-Geneviève, where there were speeches by the provost, the abbot of Sainte-Geneviève, and more ceremonies. Finally, they moved on to Notre Dame, where the master of ceremonies was the dean of Notre Dame. At the banquet and its entertainments given at the "hostel episcopal," the church officials, the provost and his lieutenants, the aristocracy, and members of Parlement and Châtelet were in the main room with the bishop; the Chambre des Comptes was relegated to another room; and university officials were in another gallery "en bas au jardin"; and the officers of the bishop and nearly 500 bourgeois were in "la grant salle."

that they would agree to the change of venue—but not without pointing out to the bishop what he had missed by not attending the customary observance at Saint-Victor.³⁹

Events as well as people required the Bureau to act on short notice. Following the Affair of the Placards, an incident that took place on the night of 17–18 October 1534 when anti-Catholic tracts (placards) were posted throughout Paris and other French cities (and—most importantly—on the king’s bedroom door at the château d’Amboise), a public proclamation was issued on Sunday, 17 January 1535, that the following Thursday would be a feast day without work so that all could attend or participate in a *procession generale*. The Bureau made quick arrangements for decoration: “Item, le lundy ensuivant, dix huitiesme, fut crié à son trompe par tous les carefours de Paris que chacun feist nettoier les rues par où ladicte procession passeroit, tendre tout de belles tapisseries, et que chacun chef d’hostel eust à tenir ou faire tenir à son huys une torche ardante en la main et nue teste.”⁴⁰

For the procession of Sainte-Geneviève to plead for drier weather after two months of rain in July 1535, it was the Parlement of Paris who gave the legal order; the author of the *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* claimed it had been raining since Easter and that good weather returned after the procession. The municipality echoed this: “Et le landemain, le beau temps, serain, chault et secq fut donné par la grace de Dieu et l’intercession de la bonne dame

³⁹ Ibid., 2:153–54 (22 novembre 1532).

⁴⁰ Ibid., 2:195–99 (21 février 1535); also in Félibien, 4:686–89 and 5:343–46. In another last-minute feat for the emperor’s entry on 1 January 1540, the municipality describes how the “enfants de la ville . . . faisoient merveilles de piquer leurs chevaulx de leurs esperons dorez et faire bondir et aulter leursd. chevaulx; dont le Roy, les princes et le peuple estoient très contans et joyeux de les veoir, et estoient esmerveillez commant en si peu d’heures ilz furent prestz, actendu qu’ilz n’en savoient riens vingt quatre heures devant. Et si le cappitaine, qui fut Germain Boursier, l’eust sceu deux jours devant, ilz eussent esté plus de cinq cens, ainsi qu’il a dit depuis”: *Registres*, 3:7–10 (1 janvier 1540); also in Félibien, 5:351–57.

madame sainte Genevieve.”⁴¹ In November, another procession was ordered “par ordonnance et mandement du Roy et injunction de la Court de Parlement . . . pour la bonne prosperité et sancté du Roy et moderation du temps.” This ordonnance ordered the provost of merchants and aldermen to mandate in turn the city councillors, quarteniers with their notable bourgeois, archers, and crossbowmen to participate.⁴² Other powerful officials could call for events as well: in August 1536, the bishop of Paris, Cardinal Du Bellay, being also the lieutenant general for the king in Paris and Ile-de-France, mandated the procession with the reliquaries of Sainte-Geneviève and Saint-Marcel.⁴³ Another example would be the letters missive issued from the cardinal of Bourbon (Louis, bishop of Laon), abbot of Saint-Denis, to the Bureau for a procession at Saint-Denis in March 1537.⁴⁴

The events of December 1536 are an example of the Bureau’s having to seek out the king when he did not send letters giving them instructions. The provost and the procurer went to Fontainebleau to ask about the king of Scotland’s Paris entry and to testify to the fact that the municipal coffers were depleted from the campaign against the emperor. Two days later, they received their response from the king:

au sortir de son disner, en la presence de messeigneurs les Chancelier, Grand Maistre, cardinal Du Bellay et plusieurs autres, nous dict et declaira qu’il vouloit que ledict roy d’Escosse feist son entrée en cestedicte ville par la porte Saint-Anthoine . . . Et peu après, nous fut ledict propos reiteré au Conseil dudict Sr et enjoinct nous trouver le landemain au Conseil pour

⁴¹ *Registres*, 2:207–08 (13 juillet 1535); see *Journal*, 458. This was by no means unusual. On 7 March 1545, there is a parliamentary ruling for the funeral of Augustin de Thou, with procession and burial in the church of Saint-André-des-Arts; he had been confirmed in office less than a year earlier: see BnF F-23668 (43).

⁴² *Registres*, 2:209–10 (3 novembre 1535). The king had been suffering from an abscess while near Dijon; see *ibid.*, 2:209, note 2 (quoting AN, Parlement de Paris, X^{1A} 1538, fol. 604r).

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 2:281–82 (24 août 1536).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:321–23 (28 mars 1537).

entendre ce que icelluy Sr vouloit estre faicte par sadicte Ville pour ladicte entrée et mariage dudict roy d'Escosse et de madame Magdalaine de France.⁴⁵

According to the standard formula of the king's letters, he would normally consult with his council and other advisors before deciding what the Bureau's instructions were; sometimes the chancellor would send letters on behalf of the king. This was a rare example of the municipality directly contacting the king's council, inspired by their concern over funding the entertainments.⁴⁶

As part of preparations for the procession celebrating the peace between François I and the emperor in 1538, the Bureau sent a clerk to ask the chapter at Notre Dame politely "qu'il convenoit" to celebrate a mass the following Wednesday on the occasion. Exhibiting a high degree of cooperation, "lesquelz de Chappitre feirent response qu'ilz estoient serviteurs et amys de ladicte Ville et que messieurs de ladicte Ville seroient les très bien venuz et trouveroient tout prest."⁴⁷ Since Notre Dame fell outside of civil jurisdiction for such an event, the Bureau had to follow the protocol of requesting their participation instead of mandating it in the name of the king.

The Bureau often had to fight for the acknowledgment of its judicial powers in local matters. On 27 December 1546 François had issued them letters patent that clarified their

⁴⁵ Ibid., 2:309–10 (11 décembre 1536).

⁴⁶ Sometimes Henri II did not issue letters regarding entertainments, but his word still had the force of law. Such was the case regarding the entry of the princess of Ferrara. The provost of merchants and aldermen met with the king at Saint-Germain-en-Laye for other business and the king ordered them "verbalement" (verbally) to follow his instructions for the entry; see *ibid.*, 3:139 (26 novembre 1548).

⁴⁷ Ibid., 2:369–72 (3 juillet 1538); also in Félibien, 5:348–51. *Registres*, 2:369, note 2, says that the chapter of Notre Dame de Paris held special deliberations on 2 July that authorized the procession coming to the church and also the *service d'action de grâces* (citing AN, LL 243, p. 269). See also Sauval, 3:621.

jurisdiction, but these documents were still not recognized when Henri came to the throne in April 1547.⁴⁸ Henri confirmed their privileges in December of that year; Parlement did not deign to register the Bureau's powers and make them official until Henri passed a new ordonnance on 12 July 1548.⁴⁹ At the same time, the king was attempting to stabilize the corpus of laws. He commissioned Jean du Tillet in 1547 to compile a collection of the laws and ordonnances of the kings of France for use by the courts.⁵⁰ The jurist Pierre Rebuffi was given permission later that year to have his own codified collection of laws printed, with the king's privilege for six years from the date of the initial impression.⁵¹

Under Henri, there was increasing tension between the municipality and the court over expenses—many of which were for city-wide entertainments. The Bureau took the opportunity, when going to pay their official respects to the new king, of pointing this out in the presence of the council:

Et de faict, leur on faict remonstrance des grandes charges et affaires que a supporté lad. Ville de Paris, depuis quatre ans, au moyen desquelles la pluspart des habitans d'icelle sont povres, supplians très humblement iceulx Connestable et Chancelier, chascun en particulier, le voulloir remonster au Roy, et qu'il luy plaise à son nouvel advenement à la Couronne, exempter lad. Ville de Paris de la somme de XLm escuz, que le feu Roy, que Dieu absoille, leur avoit faict demander, pour leur part de la cotization des villes closes de son Royaulme, pour la souldes des gens de guerre à pied, pour ceste année; ce que promirent faire lesd. Srs Connestable et Chancelier, et tenir la main pour faire descharger lad. Ville de Paris et habitans d'icelle de lad. somme, ou de partie. Et lors led. Sr Connestable leur dit qu'ilz feissent chercher en leurs

⁴⁸ *Registres*, 3:79 (4 avril 1547); see also Fontanon, 1:841 (octobre 1547); also in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 29.

⁴⁹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1836; AN, KK 1012, fol. 81–83. See also ord. 6113 (janvier 1550), "Creation d'un office d'assesseur des prévôt des marchands et échevins de Paris pour tenir la juridiction de la ville."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, ord. 608.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, ord. 809. This privilege was extended in later years. Rebuffi also held royal approval to print a book of the official privileges of the university; see *ibid.*, ord. 810.

registres tout ce qu'ilz avoient par escript des entrées des Roys, specialement quant le filz a succédé au Royaulme, après le decès du pere, et qui luy envoyassent ce qu'ilz en trouveroient, parceque le Roy entendoit faire la plus grande pompe et magnificence, tant ès obseques et enterrement du feu Roy, son pere, et messeigneurs ses deux freres, que aussi à son entrée, et aussi à l'entrée de la Royne.⁵²

It is not clear from this testimony if the king and his council intended to help with the expenses; what is certain is that Henri and the council were going to insist on the most elaborate events that had taken place in Paris to date.

In fact, Henri was to order the Bureau not to be hindered by customary entertainments and to spare no expense. He sent letters missive to the provost of merchants and aldermen on 15 March 1549, asking them to break with tradition and do something new for his entry:

vous advisez entre vous, en vostre Bureau, tous les moyens exquis à faire triumphes et pompes en la plus grande magnificence que l'on pourra faire et adviser, et sans vous arrester ne reigler à ce qui a esté faict par le passé, ès autres entrées des Roys et Roynes, noz predecesseurs, mais faire plus amples magnificences et triumphes . . . affin que n'y faictes faulte; autrement nous donnerez occasion de malcontentement. Et la despence qui sera ainsi faicte par voz advis, nous voullons estre allouée ès comptes du Receveur de lad. Ville par voz acquitz et mandemens, sans y faire aucune difficulté. Car tel est nostre plaisir . . . Signé: HENRY⁵³

The Bureau's efforts paid off in additional support from the crown. The king expressed his fullest affection for the citizens of Paris and the town officers in his 1553 confirmation of their privileges and exemptions, and indicated that he would stretch those privileges as far as possible in light of the expanding requirements and necessities of the city.⁵⁴ Henri also addressed the problem of evolving legal discourse by issuing a declaration in the same year that his own laws were retroactive regarding any pending case, intending thereby to clear up

⁵² *Registres*, 3:77–79 (1, 2 et 3 avril 1547); also in Godefroy, 1:298–300.

⁵³ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4495; printed in *Registres*, 3:158, n. 1.

⁵⁴ Fontanon, 2:1181–83 (juin 1553).

a great amount of confusion in the courts as well as attempting to solidify statutory law and his own royal authority.⁵⁵

Under Henri, the Bureau also became more stringent in following the king's orders regarding mandated performances. In September 1555, Henri issued an ordonnance for a procession, but the city officers themselves did not take part "parce qu'on ne leur en avoit riens mandé"; they were not on the list.⁵⁶ This contrasts with the assumption earlier in the century of their participation in customary entertainments, as in the example of the 1514 English ambassador mentioned above. The Bureau's secretary also became more careful about creating an accurate record of how the king's letters were carried out. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the texts of speeches were rarely recorded; for the speech given by the provost of merchants for the entry of Legate Antoine II Trivulzio in January 1558, the secretary felt compelled to add the following note: [The speech] "n'est cy enregistrée, par ce qu'elle ne m'a point esté baillée, combien que l'ay demandée plusieurs fois."⁵⁷

"Le tout en bel ordre": Performers' Hierarchy

The various groups within this system of civic entertainment production often found themselves at odds with each other. Just as jurisdictional disputes arose among the different law-making bodies in the sixteenth century, so too did disputes arise when it came time for these performers to participate in public processions. In such cases, members of a higher-ranking institution were brought in to arbitrate. No matter how carefully the Bureau tried to

⁵⁵ Ibid., 1:636 (16 septembre 1553); also in BnF F-46810 (4) and F-46808 (4).

⁵⁶ *Registres*, 4:388 (26 septembre 1555).

⁵⁷ Ibid., 4:515–16 (2 et 3 janvier 1558).

mandate performances in advance, the actual events were characterized by last-minute arguments and jostling for more powerful places in the hierarchy.⁵⁸

Sometimes these arguments involved a plea to be less prominent. One group of performers the Bureau had significant immediate jurisdiction over was that made up of the artisanal and mercantile corporations. Take the case in 1502, when master mercers Estienne Seneschal, Nicolas Beguin, Jehan Janvier, and (by proxy) Robichon Loys claimed that their guild had elected Mathurin Croquet, Guillaume Parent, Jehan Cuvier, and Simon Choppin, “merciers bourgeois,” to carry the canopy over the queen for her entry. Croquet and Parent came forward to contest their election, claiming that they had not been chosen and had a paper signed by two or three dozen mercers to that effect. The Bureau ruled that Seneschal, Beguin, Janvier, and Loys would carry the canopy, and that all members of the mercers’ guild would contribute to the expense.⁵⁹ This last provision leads to the conclusion that the masters’

⁵⁸ For the corporative structure of Paris, see François Olivier-Martin, *L'Organisation corporative de la France de l'Ancien Régime* (Paris: Librairie du Recueil Sirey, 1938); and Abel Poitrineau, *Ils travaillaient la France: métiers et mentalités du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1992). See also Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes, l'État et la société dans la France de la fin du XVe siècle* (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995); and his earlier work, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIVe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1982). On the notion of Renaissance hierarchy, see Roland Mousnier, *Les Hiérarchies sociales de 1450 à nos jours* (Paris: PUF, 1969); Arlette Jouanna, *Ordre Social: Mythes et hiérarchies dans la France du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1977); Jeffrey Denton, ed., *Orders and Hierarchies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Europe* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1999); Jean-Marie Constant, *La société française aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Ophrys, 1994); George Huppert, *Bourgeois et gentilshommes: la réussite sociale en France au XVIe siècle*, trans. Paule Braudel and André Bonnet (Paris: Flammarion, 1983); and Willem Pieter Blockmans and Antheun Janse, eds., *Showing Status: Representations of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999). For a recent approach, see James R. Farr, “Cultural Analysis and Early Modern Artisans,” in *The Artisan and the European Town, 1500–1900*, ed. Geoffrey Crossick (Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 1997), 56–74.

⁵⁹ *Registres*, 1:66 (17 janvier 1502); also printed in Godfroy, 1:688–89.

thwarted idea was to stick lower-ranking guild members with the cost rather than absorb it themselves.⁶⁰

To process into the city for the entry of Anne de Bretagne in 1504, the following order was mandated: two sergeants from the Bureau, wine sellers, archers, crossbowmen, municipal sergeants, the provost of merchants with the aldermen and the clerk, the city councillors, the quarteniers, the drapers' guild, the spicers' guild, the furriers' guild, the mercers' guild, the moneychangers, the goldsmiths, and many other bourgeois and merchants of all different statuses. The provost of merchants gave a short speech welcoming the queen to the city, and she replied with thanks to the municipality, offering to be their intercessor with the king if there were disagreements. "Toutes les autres bendes venues avec mesd. s" le Prevost des Marchans et Eschevins demeurent em bas à cheval, lad. Dame donna charge à mond. s' le Prevost de faire mettre par ordre toutes icelles bendes pour les veoir marcher, où elle print grant plaisir; et retournerent ainsi en ordre jusques en ceste ville de Paris." Once they reached the city from Saint-Denis, they were met by the provost of Paris and officers of the Châtelet, generals of finance and justice, the Chambre des Comptes, Treasury, and finally the chancellor and the Parlement of Paris.⁶¹

One of the early mandates from the sixteenth century that tried to fall back on "l'ordre ancien" (the traditional or old order) but failed miserably involved the 1509 processions celebrating the Treaty of Cambrai. The officers of the Parlement of Paris were to take the

⁶⁰ Cost was a serious consideration for the guild members. In 1514, for the entry of Mary Tudor, the milliners carried the canopy in place of the moneychangers, "lesquelz Changeurs s'en sont excusez à ceste foyz, et requiz en estre deschargez . . . disans estre de present en petit nombre pour fournir à telz fraiz": *Registres*, 1:216–17 (4 et 6 novembre 1514); see also Godefroy, 1:737–46.

⁶¹ *Registres*, 1:95–97 (18, 19 et 20 novembre 1504).

right-hand side of the street, followed by other officers of the king in hierarchical order; on the left side of the street were the provost of merchants, city councillors and officers, nobility, bourgeois and merchants. The problem arose with the officers of the *Chambre des Comptes*, who had been in the habit of splitting up and mixing half of their group with either side, “*en divertissant l’ordre ancien*.” The Bureau was not happy about this intrusion and sent the city clerk to the first president of the *Parlement* to get an actual ruling on where these people were supposed to march. The *Parlement* ruled that the Bureau and its officers were to come first on the left-hand side, and that the officers of the *Chambre des Comptes* must find another place and cease arguing about it. They ended up on the right-hand side, behind the *Parlement*.⁶²

Disputes often took place just before or during the processional performance itself. Later that same year (1509), there were yet more arguments about order. A fight broke out in *Notre Dame*, just before the procession was about to start, between the officers of the *Châtelet* and those of the Bureau. Those of the *Châtelet* wanted to march ahead of the city officers (which had never been done before), so they allowed the presidents of the *Parlement* of Paris to decide. The city won, as representing the capital of the realm, and the procession continued calmly.⁶³ Again, in 1512, the *Parlement* had to intercede in an argument between the religious officials at *Saint-Germain-des-Prés* and *Saint-Martin-des-Champs*, who were under orders to hold a procession between *Notre Dame* and *Sainte-Geneviève* the next day. The court settled the dispute by having members of *Saint-Germain-des-Prés* march on the left and those from *Saint-Martin-des-Champs* on the right on the way from *Notre Dame* and take

⁶² *Ibid.*, 1:151–52 (22 et 23 mars 1509).

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 1:152–53 (20, 22 et 23 mai 1509).

the reverse positions on the way back. This was, again, to avoid arguments on the day of the procession (“aucun scandale & desordre”).⁶⁴

For the funeral of Anne de Bretagne in 1514, the provost of merchants and the aldermen were at a loss as to the protocol for the procession because it had been over one hundred years since a queen had died before a king, not to mention the issue that she had been queen to two different kings (Charles VIII and Louis XII). In the end, they settled on the line of succession as a guide. On the way to Notre-Dame-des-Champs, the royal family marched directly after the body, followed by the rest of the aristocracy, then the provost of merchants and the rest of the city officers.⁶⁵ Representatives of the Parlement and other courts marched in front of the body.⁶⁶ For the procession from Notre-Dame-des-Champs to Notre-Dame-de-Paris, the church officials marched in the center of the street, in front of the body; they were followed, on the right side of the street, by the nobility of Bretagne and other members of the aristocracy; on the left were officers of the court. After were two kings-at-arms (of France and Bretagne), followed by the provost, then the queen’s captain. After the body processed the queen’s squire, officers of the Parlement, members of the queen’s chamber, the aristocracy, and the city officers.⁶⁷ This experience came in handy; when Louis XII died on the first of January, 1515, the Bureau decided to follow the protocol that had been established for Anne’s funeral.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ Félibien, 4:627 (30 juin 1512). This was a long-standing argument; see Du Boulay, 6:26–28 (14 mars 1506).

⁶⁵ *Registres*, 1:208–10 (8–10 et 12–14 février 1514).

⁶⁶ Félibien, 4:627 (8 février 1514).

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 4:627–29 (13 février 1514).

⁶⁸ *Registres*, 1:220 (1 janvier 1515) and (6 janvier 1515). For the funeral of Louise of Savoy, François I’s mother, the Bureau looked over their registers when decided how best to fulfill the king’s letters for the funeral arrangements and decided that they would base them on the

To quell disputes around François' procession in March 1524, a lieutenant of the archers acted as a sort of stage manager. For the lining up of the procession, he was ordered to hold in his hands a roll containing the king's own ordained hierarchy for the convoy.⁶⁹ Even with a stage manager and written documentation, the disputes continued. On 13 April 1527, the *Chambre des Comptes* asked *Parlement* to settle the question of their place in ceremonial and public processions.⁷⁰

This apparently did not help, and in the face of continued disputes, François passed an *ordonnance* in 1528 regarding the order of processions when he himself would be present. First, church officials, two by two, according to their rank; next, officers and chevaliers of the orders, two by two, according to their rank; François, the king of Navarre, and the cardinal of Lorraine; foreign ambassadors, by rank; officers of the *Parlement* on the right side of the street with officers of the *Chambre des Comptes* on the left; gentlemen of the king's chamber and other members of the royal court; gentlemen of the city of Paris (provost, guilds, bourgeois); and captains and archers of the guard (archers, crossbowmen, *arquebusiers*). This

funeral of Queen Claude. In the procession were the eighty *crieurs jurez* of the city, "sonnans leurs cloches": *ibid.*, 2:129–32 (17 octobre 1531). The bell ringing was standard for state funerals; see the funeral of the governor of Paris, Jean de la Barre, in *ibid.*, 2:176–77 (5 mars 1534); and Félibien, 5:342. On funerals, see Ralph E. Giesey, *The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France* (Geneva: Droz, 1960; rpt. 1983); Jennifer Woodward, "Funeral rituals in the French Renaissance," *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 385–94; and Jean Balsamo, ed., *Les Funérailles à la Renaissance: XII^e colloque international de la Société Française d'Étude du Seizième Siècle (Bar-le-Duc, 2–5 décembre 1999)* (Geneva: Droz, 2002).

⁶⁹ Félibien, 3:581–82 (12 et 14 mars 1524) and 4:645–46 (11 mars 1524). Later, the king appointed a master of ceremonies—an office formally created by Henri III 1 July 1585; see Marie-Lan Nguyen, "Les officiers de la Maison du Roi et le cérémonial public de Henri III à Louis XVI," DEA mémoire, Université de Paris IV–Sorbonne, Paris, 2000. Prior to that time, a master could be appointed on a case-by-case basis, as in April of 1558 when the master of ceremonies was Jean Pot, also the provost of Paris (*Registres*, 4:533, note 1).

⁷⁰ Boislisle, *Chambre des Comptes*, 34–35. On 28 September 1531, an official ceremonial order for the funerals of queens was registered in the *Chambre des Comptes*: *ibid.*, 43–45.

order was signed personally by the king in the presence of high-ranking members of the royal court.⁷¹

For the queen's entry in 1531, the municipality mandated that quarteniers would maintain their privilege of marching just behind the city councillors, with nobody else in front of them.⁷² The king, however, had a tendency to make exceptions to his own laws. In late 1530, the city councillors objected to an order by the governor of Paris to march as a group with the provost of merchants and aldermen, wearing the same costumes, for the entry of François' new queen, Eleanor. The governor replied that it was the express wish of the king, but the councillors held a meeting and decided to refuse to march unless the provost and aldermen marched behind, with the city procurer between the two groups. Once again, the Parlement was designated as arbiter.⁷³

For the entry of the legate in 1530, more controversy ensued: one of the people elected to carry the canopy over the queen from the mercers guild, Claude Le Lieur, claimed that he was not a member of the confraternity of mercers nor "de leur estat" and therefore could not be elected; the municipality ordered him to obey notwithstanding. In addition, the provost revoked the original mandement of the goldsmiths and their four representatives were forbidden from coming to the Hôtel de Ville the next day to carry the canopy.⁷⁴

The provost's authority was not always sufficient in such matters. In 1531, the governor of Paris appeared at the Bureau to announce the final order of the procession for the queen's entry: first, the clergy; one thousand footmen; one hundred men on horseback;

⁷¹ François, ord. 486; also in Félibien, 3:582.

⁷² *Registres*, 2:85–87 (12 décembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:786–89.

⁷³ *Registres*, 2:88–89 (13 décembre 1530).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:92–93 (19 décembre 1530).

the municipality; the Châtelet, officials of the court of Aides; generals of Monnaies; the Chambre des Comptes; the Parlement.⁷⁵ Only those of high rank were permitted to give speeches representing their corporate body. When the queen's entry took place, deputies of the church, the university, the city, the generals of justice (including the Châtelet, Aides, and Monnaies), the Chambre des Comptes, and the Parlement of Paris were allowed to make welcoming speeches to the new queen. One of the more detailed mandates of the Bureau specifies that the aforementioned one hundred men on horseback are actually the "Enfants de Paris," or the sons of the most important and influential bourgeois of the city. Leading the parade of the city representatives were sergeants on horseback, followed by the merchant guilds, then the arquebusiers, archers, and crossbowmen (each group having two trumpeters before them), brought up at the rear by more sergeants on horseback.

Next in line were three pages of the governor of Paris on horseback, twenty archers of the governor, and the governor himself, accompanied by the provost of merchants. Following them were the aldermen of the city, two by two, and then the procurer and the city clerk. After came the city councillors, two by two. Next, the treasurer, sixteen quarteniers, and the four masters of each of the main guilds accompanied by large numbers of their members (drapers, spicers, mercers, furriers, milliners, goldsmiths), and more merchants and bourgeois marched. The city councillors objected to the procurer marching with the clerk, since he was not technically part of the corporation of the city, but they were told that for this occasion, the procurer of Paris would march with the city clerk, and their objection would be noted. The governor of Paris ordered him to march after the clerk.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 2:106–07 (27 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:789–91.

Godefroy's account of the procession adds that after the courts marched the university, with three thousand students walking in pairs; they were followed by the *bacheliers*, and then the regents, treasurers, procurers, and four beadles of the college of Quatre-Nations. Next came the doctors, lead by the beadles of their respective faculties. Finally, the rector of the university and the dean of the faculty of theology (with his attendant four beadles) marched, followed up by the councillors and officers of the university.⁷⁶

Meanwhile, the Bureau tried to shift the burden of canopy-carrying to different guilds. For the entry of the king of Scotland in 1536, Jehan Colas, representative of the wine merchants' guild, consulted with the masters and reported to the Bureau that nobody had ever seen or heard of their guild carrying the canopy at a royal entry. Further, he took the opportunity to testify to the guild's excessive expenses, the harsh winter, and the abhorrent behavior of other guilds (such as the spicers') who were meddling illegally in the wine trade, as reasons why the wine merchants should not be responsible for the canopy.⁷⁷

Another argument surfaced between the provost of merchants and the Chambre des Comptes for a procession in 1537. Right before they were due to line up, the first president of the Parlement told the provost and aldermen that for this one time only, the first president of the Chambre des Comptes would be marching next to the provost on the left-hand side of the street, and the officers of that chamber would be mixed in with his own; the Parlement would march on the right-hand side as usual. The provost was upset, since they had established that the Comptes would march on their own, separate from the city, but the first

⁷⁶ *Registres*, 2:111–14 (16 mars 1531); see also Godefroy, 1:796–801; and *Index Chronologicus*, 336–37.

⁷⁷ *Registres*, 2:314 (28 décembre 1536).

president of Parlement assured him that it was only for this one time, and that it would not affect future processions—no precedent was being set.⁷⁸

More controversy ensued in 1539 regarding the emperor's entry, to the point that the provost of merchants, aldermen, the procurer, and treasurer of the city tracked down the chancellor at his home and waited for him to finish his dinner in order to gain an audience. The city councillors and the procurer disagreed about who should march first; since the chancellor had been a city councillor and a lieutenant of the city, they assumed he would be familiar with such disputes and would know how to settle the situation ("il en avoit veu quelques altercation et seroit bon y pourveoir"). When it came to light that a provisional judgment had already been made for the councillors and aldermen to march in front of the procurer, the chancellor insisted that the procurer stick to the judgment and that the provost and aldermen could not change the order.⁷⁹ During the procession, the emperor himself was conscious of his own rank in the city. The municipality tried to place the elaborate canopy over his head once he reach the Gate of Saint-Antoine as they had planned, "ce qu'il ne vouloit acorder, disant ce appartenir au Roy." He was finally persuaded.⁸⁰

Aware of the issues surrounding performance hierarchy for processions, Henri tried to be firmer by creating a commission on 21 December 1548 to establish the rank of "Princes, Officiers de la Couronne, & autres grands Seigneurs du Royaume de France."⁸¹ Henri expressed a desire to know the history of rank "du temps de nos predecesseurs Roys de France" until his own time for "toutes grandes & solonnelles Assemblées." He insisted that

⁷⁸ Ibid., 2:321–23 (28 mars 1537).

⁷⁹ Ibid., 3:3 (11 novembre 1539).

⁸⁰ Ibid., 3:7–10 (1 janvier 1540); also in Félibien, 5:351–57.

⁸¹ Godefroy, 1: introduction.

the registers of the court of Parlement be consulted for “bons & loyaux Extraits” that “feront mention speciale de la qualité de l’Assemblée” to verify the order—these included meetings of the Estates, royal entries, the *lit de justice*, or “autres solennelles Assemblées, esquelles les Rangs & ordres se soient gardez.” Further, Henri exhorted officials to consult with various members of other institutions about their registers—such as those of the Chambre des Comptes, or in the Trésor des Chartes in Paris—for examples similar to those from Parlement. The commission was to collate all of these documents and hand them over to the chancellor as fast as possible.

In an attempt to apply the findings of this commission, Henri issued a declaration of the processional order for his and the queen’s 1549 entry on 29 April.⁸² Back at the Bureau, the secretary noted the exact number of guild members who were marching in the procession. Among them, we find, “Les libraires, cinquante. Ilz ne tiendrent pas promesse.” The booksellers’ absence was nothing compared to the fray over the treasurer’s absence (he was ill) and the city councillor’s refusal to let Robert de Beauvais, the *contrôleur des deniers communs* appointed by the king, march in front of them.⁸³ Although de Beauvais had obtained a mandement from the king to the provost of merchants and aldermen that gave him the same rank in ceremony as the treasurer, the provost refused to honor it.⁸⁴

⁸² Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4640; AN, K 957, n. 15 and 15bis; KK 1012, fol. 155r–v; printed in *Registres*, 3:161, note 3.

⁸³ For the ongoing conflict between Robert de Beauvais and the Bureau, see *ibid.*, 3:146–50 (17 janvier 1549), and 155–57 (15 mars 1549).

⁸⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4715, issued on 16 May 1549 and partially printed in *Registres*, 3:166, note 2: “Voullant pourvoir à tout ce qui concerne l’ordre et police qui doibvent estre en nosdictes entrées, pour eviter à disordre et confuzion, vous mandons, connectons et expressement enjoignons par ces presentes que, en faisant led. de Beauvais joir et user des previlleiges et auctoritez, libertez et droictz qui sont et deppendent de sond. estat et office, vous lui pourvoyez et donnez lieu, reng et place telz que la qualité de sond. estat et office le

For the solemn procession and Te Deum celebrating the peace treaty in February 1556, the secretary of the Bureau noted that for processions that did not include the sovereign courts, the provost of merchants was to sit in what was normally the first president of Parlement's chair at Notre Dame; when the courts were present, the provost and aldermen were to sit in the high seats on the left-hand side.⁸⁵ Later that year, an argument broke out between the lieutenant criminal and the provost of merchants over who could sit in what chair at Notre Dame to hear the mass as part of the procession in honor of Sainte-Geneviève. The lieutenant criminal sat down in the chair above the provost, and the provost informed him that no other lieutenant criminal had ever done that, and the two of them went to the presidents of the Parlement to ask what should be done. The presidents ordered the lieutenant to find another seat, and the mass finally began.⁸⁶

Hoping to settle this debate once and for all, Henri issued an edict in April 1557 regarding the order of judicial officers and municipal officers at public assemblies. Having heard of the arguments that took place at these assemblies and having seen them for himself, the law claims that Henri intended to put a stop to the miscarriage of justice, loss of face in front of foreigners, and general reduction in the authority of the officers caused by such behavior. After consulting with the aristocracy and other influential people, he decided that his perpetual and irrevocable royal statute would impose the following hierarchy at all public assemblies, whether he was present or not: Parlement, Chambre des Comptes, Cour des

veult et requiert, avec le Receveur de nostredicte ville de Paris, tant à nostredicte entrée que ès autres assemblées, ceremonies et actes d'honneur qui se feront doresnavant en icelle" (cited as AN, K 957, n. 7; in fact, this document is n. 17).

⁸⁵ *Registres*, 4:409–10 (17 février 1556).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 4:439–40 (13 juillet 1556).

Aides, Chambre des Monnaies, provost of Paris and the officers of Châtelet, provost of merchants, aldermen, and municipal officers. Each of these groups was to march separately and distinctly from one another.⁸⁷ Two years later, Henri would have been rolling over in his grave, if only he had made it that far before the fight broke out: during his funeral convoy, the provost of Paris and the Châtelet insisted on marching alongside the Bureau, with the Châtelet on the right and the city on the left. The provost of merchants refused and insisted that they march separately, according to the wishes of the master of ceremonies for the funeral.⁸⁸

“Pour obvier à la foule du peuple”: Audience Participation

Another performer in the above hierarchy was the audience itself.⁸⁹ When it came to lining the streets, performance organizers viewed the people as an element of the entertainment, more visual decoration than audience. The audience’s presence at public events was legally mandated, and the Bureau did its best to create a specific role for them within public entertainments. The city established a system of policing the crowd during public performances—a necessity, considering the creative behavior of some audiences. In practice, the *quartentiers* relinquished their normal duties to the *cinquantiers* so that they could join with the sergeants of the Châtelet as a major force of municipal order.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Isambert, vol. 13, n. 370. For a detailed list of the processional order of the trades and crafts, see *Registres*, 4:495–96 (fin d’août–commencement de septembre 1557).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 5:37–38 (11 août 1559).

⁸⁹ For medieval audiences, see Claire Sponsler, “The Culture of the Spectator: Conformity and Resistance to Medieval Performances,” *Theatre Journal* 44 (1992): 15–29.

⁹⁰ For instance, see *Registres*, 1:65 (15 janvier 1502); also printed in Godefroy, 1:688. See Daniela Romagnoli, ed., *La ville et la cour: des bonnes et des mauvaises manières* (Paris: Fayard, 1995).

These officers came together with the confraternity of archers and crossbowmen, consisting of 120 archers and 60 crossbowmen who were mandated to serve the king, the city of Paris, and the public good.⁹¹ Since they incurred a great deal of expense fulfilling their duties (or so the wording of their privilege states), they were exempt from most kinds of taxes. They had to keep in fine shape to serve; if any of their number could not fulfill his duties due to sickness or age, he had to find someone to replace himself.⁹² In 1524, François created a new company of one hundred arquebusiers along the same lines as the archers' confraternity, to be chosen by the provost of merchants and aldermen. With their practice simultaneously referred to as an "art et exercice" (art and exercise or sport), and a game—one of their duties was "jouer une fois la sepmaine a jour de feste"—they were both police and performers.⁹³

For instance, at Eleanor's entry they were ordered to "faire sonner l'artillerye après que la Court de Parlement sera entrée en la ville; et pour la faire sonner, y aura ung signe sur le clocher de l'église Saint Ladre." Later in the same register, we see that trumpeters accompanied these confraternities: "Item, sera faict aux tromppettes present de chascun cent solz tournois, qui est en somme toute trente troys [livres], combien que par cy devant l'on ayt seulement acoustumé leur donner douze livres. Et leur sera enjoinct de servir les archers, arbalestiers et hacquebutiers en la maniere acoustumée, sur peine de privation de leurs offices."⁹⁴ Sometimes the artillery went awry: during the emperor's entry in 1540, "on ne le

⁹¹ For an overview, see Treva J. Tucker, "Eminence over Efficacy: Social Status and Cavalry Service in Sixteenth-Century France," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 32 (2001): 1057–83.

⁹² François, ord. 53.

⁹³ Ibid., ord. 369.

⁹⁴ *Registres*, 2:106–07 (27 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:794–95.

povoit à peyne veoir pour l'impetuosité des coups d'artillerye qui sans cesse tiroient depuis son partement dud. Sainte Anthoine jusques à lad. porte, qu'on estimoient bien à huit cens coups de canon."⁹⁵

The mandements for the Princess of Ferrara's entry in 1548 give a better indication of how artillery was handled as part of the entertainments. There were "plusieurs coups d'artillerye tirée de dessus les boulevvers et rampars de lad. Ville" when the provost of merchants and the city met up with the princess at the Bastille, just before their speeches. Just before the actual procession into the city, there were "plusieurs coups de canon tirez." A footnote by the editor of the *Registres* tells us that Claude Durant, the *cannonier ordinaire* of the king, was in charge of this display, although it was paid for by the municipality.⁹⁶

This practice continued under Henri II, whose July 1549 entry included continuous artillery fire during the day to keep the attention of the mass of spectators watching from their doors and windows, as well as to impress the great number of important people who would be spilling into Paris from other parts of France and foreign countries to see "le plus magnifique triumphe qui jamais fut faict à Empereur ou Roy, soit du temps des Egiptiens, Chaldes, Assiriens, Hebrieux, Persans, Mediens, Grecz, Romains, François, Germains, que autres."⁹⁷ The king was not pleased with reports of processional policing abuse early in his

⁹⁵ *Registres*, 3:7–10 (1 janvier 1540); also in Félibien, 5:351–57. This was a frequent problem, according to *Registres*, 4:407–09 (16 février 1556).

⁹⁶ Félibien 5:358–60; also in *Registres*, 3:139–41 (4 décembre 1548); see p. 140, note 2, for the text from AN, KK 286^A, fol. 23. Sometimes canon fire resulted in damage, as on 12 July 1549 when Henri issued a mandate for the treasurer general to pay the Célestins of Paris 350 livres tournois "donnée par le roi pour les indemniser du bris de leurs verrières occasionné par les salves d'artillerie tirées à la naissance de [Louis] d'Orléans, fils du roi" (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5058).

⁹⁷ *Registres*, 3:164–79 (16 juin 1549); also in Félibien, 5:361–74; see also Godefroy, 1:879–93. See also *C'est l'ordre qui a esté tenu à la nouvelle et joyeuse entrée, que treshault*,

reign. As part of a 1553 commission to investigate the current status of the archers, crossbowmen, and arquebusiers before their yearly official demonstration, their duties and privileges were once again underlined. Their two main responsibilities were to defend the city and to take part in the processions, acts, and ceremonies in the presence of the king and the aristocracy, the sovereign courts, the officers of the city, and the inhabitants as well as foreign visitors. Unfortunately, many members of the company had been lax, and not even a quarter of them bothered to show up for a procession the month before. There were complaints of acts of blasphemy, insubordination, and other delinquent behaviors, so the present commission was charged with making certain each member of the company was in appropriate form for the official showing, and if not, to fine the member and rectify the situation.⁹⁸

Other municipal records show examples of security measures taken during performances. In the *Ordinaire de Paris* for 1504–05, we find a payment to nine sergeants from the Châtelet for taking five prisoners out of town during the queen's entry (Mary Tudor), guarding them, and returning them safely to the Châtelet prison after the entertainments were over.⁹⁹ The same process is described in the *Ordinaire* for 1514–15, when a total of twenty prisoners, "lesquels prisonniers ou partie d'iceux sont larrons, meurtriers & épieurs de chemins," were kept out of town six days and nights, then brought

tresexcellent, et trespuissant Prince, le Roy treschrestien Henry deuxieme de ce nom a faicte en sa bonne ville et cité de Paris . . . le seizieme jour de Juin M. D. XLIX (Paris: Jacques Roffet, 1549). For an analysis and collection of the evidence relating to this royal entry, see I.D. McFarlane, *The Entry of Henri II into Paris 16 June 1549* (Binghamton, NY: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1982).

⁹⁸ *Registres*, 4:120–21 (24 février 1553). Henri had confirmed the privileges of the *arquebusiers* in January 1550 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6110).

⁹⁹ Sauval, 3:538.

back to Paris after the queen's entry (Anne de Bretagne).¹⁰⁰ The pattern starts to become more radical under François I; during the year 1516–17, the sergeants were paid for keeping ten prisoners out of town for twice as much time—twelve days and nights—during Queen Claude's entry.¹⁰¹ By the time we reach Eleanor's entry mentioned in the *Ordinaire* of 1530–31, there are payments for the movement of forty-nine prisoners, a further fifteen prisoners (held for eighteen days), sixteen more prisoners, and finally forty-four members of the embroiderer's confraternity (who had been in the Châtelet at the order of the king; the record does not give a reason for their imprisonment)—a grand total of one hundred and twenty-four people.¹⁰²

In addition to removing the potential distraction of prisoners, the municipality manipulated audience behavior through several strategies: armed security officers, physical barriers, the placement of spectators in key locations, and the spectacle of the entertainments themselves. In 1509, for the processions and bonfires celebrating the Treaty of Cambrai, the municipality mandated the archers and crossbowmen to be present, “chascun ung baston blanc en la main: qui faisoit beau veoir. Et par ce moyen n'y eust fousse ne desordre.”¹⁰³ The bourgeois and inhabitants of each section of the city were to be roused by the municipal officers and made to attend the Te Deum at Notre Dame and afterwards to celebrate with bonfires in the streets and squares of the city, pursuant to letters missive from the king.¹⁰⁴ Later that year, during the procession celebrating the victory of the Battle of Agnadell over

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 3:592.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 3:596.

¹⁰² Ibid., 3:614.

¹⁰³ *Registres*, 1:151–52 (22 et 23 mars 1509).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 1:151 (22 mars 1509).

the Venetians, sergeants from the Châtelet, the dixaniers, and archers marched at the head to “empescher la presse.”¹⁰⁵

Crowds in the streets were not the only participants capable of spirited behavior. For the banquet at the Hôtel de Ville given for the entry of Mary Tudor in 1514, we find the following:

la compaignie y fut si grosse que tout led. Hostel de la Ville, hault en bas, estoit remply de gens en maniere que l'on ne s'y pavoit tourner. Et ne fut possible aux archers de la garde ne autres savoir fere passaige par la vifz pour monter en hault lad. Dame ne mond. Seigneur; mais après qu'elle eust esté assez longuement attendant à cheval soubz l'allée dud. Hostel pour gaigner le pié de lad. vifz, luy convint, pour soy jetter de la foule, descendre et entrer dedans le logiz du concierge . . . et monterent en hault par une petite vifz bien estroite respondant au Bureau de Messrs, et de là par le greffe se rendirent en la Grant Salle . . . la presse y estoit si grande . . . ce ceulx qui estoient establiz à porter les viandes ne pavoient avoir passage pour les porter.¹⁰⁶

If elite invitees were capable of cramming into the banquet hall so that Mary could not enter and the food could not be served, we can imagine that the outdoor crowds were even more raucous at such events.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 1:152–53 (20, 22 et 23 mai 1509).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 1:218–19 (26 novembre 1514). The municipality was still complaining about this debacle three years later in the midst of making plans for Queen Claude's entry: *ibid.*, 1:240 (4 mai 1517).

¹⁰⁷ See *ibid.*, 4:522 (14 février 1558), and 4:522–23 (17 février 1558) for the performance by Jodelle (1532–73) and the singers of the king's household at the king's banquet in February 1558, where there were so many people in the great hall acting so rowdily that nobody could hear the actors and the performance had to be called off. The Bureau had tried to set up a security force of sorts, but according to their own description, it failed: “Monsr de Lezigny, Me d'hostel du Roy, feist venir en la Grande Salle trente archers de la garde pour garder les portes, et leur fut prié de ne laisser entrer personne en lad. Salle s'ilz n'estoient mandez; et toutes foys ilz feirent entrer leurs congnoissance et tant de gentizhommes de la Court, que lad. Salle estoit si pleine qu'on ne se pouvoit remuer; et y eust si grande confusion que cela osta le plaisir que le Roy et les Princes y devoit prandre . . . Messrs de la Ville alloient et venoient par lad. Salle pour cuyder mettre ordre; mais ilz ne pavoient, pour les gens de Court qui ne vouldoient obeyr” (4:522–23 [17 février 1558]). For a fictional account of this performance, see Florence Delay, *L'Insuccès de la fête* (Paris: Gallimard, 1980; rpt. 1990).

The assumption of such crowd behavior is consistent throughout the records of sixteenth-century Parisian events. For the funeral of Queen Anne, the city council constructed barriers at all the intersections to keep the great number of people who would be watching away from the convoy; the quarteniers of the neighborhoods where the procession would pass were instructed to keep guard with “bastons noircys pour ce fere.”¹⁰⁸ Barriers were also ordered for Louis XII’s funeral in 1515, following the example of the funeral of Anne de Bretagne.¹⁰⁹ Continuing the formula, barriers were erected for the entry of François’ queen and daughter of Louis XII, Claude de France, in 1517. In addition, guards were to be placed along the sides of the road with the intention that the crowd not press forward into the procession route or engage in disorderly conduct.¹¹⁰

In 1521, all of Paris was ordered to be present to see a procession with holy relics and the king’s crown, in order to give thanks that the king’s life had been preserved after a blow to the head.¹¹¹ Not everyone was interested in being ordered to watch a performance. In May of 1524, the Parlement, being informed that the inhabitants of monasteries, churches, hospitals, and colleges in Paris were not in the habit of presenting themselves for the

¹⁰⁸ *Registres*, 1:208–10 (8–10 et 12–14 février 1514); and Félibien, 4:627–30.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:220 (6 janvier 1515).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:238–39 (16 mars 1517); also printed in Godefroy, 1:759–61. Such disorderly conduct surrounding processions continued under Henri II. For instance, on 4 February 1553, the Bureau received letters from the king’s privy council at the request of the bishop of Paris, complaining of “confusion et desordre, au moyen du peuple et des chevaux qui se mettent en passent parmy les gens de son Eglise et du clergié de ladicte ville, et en ce faisant troublent et confondent l’ordre et rang de lad. procession, dont il advient que lesdictes processions sont faictes avec moins de reverence et honnesteté.” The bishop called for better policing by the forty archers (*Registres*, 4:113–14 [4 février 1553]).

¹¹¹ Félibien, 4:637 (22 janvier 1521).

procession of Saint-Sacrement, admonished them for their scandalous behavior and ordered that they come outside and stand in front of their doors when the procession passed.¹¹²

The same trend continued in the 1530s. The archers, crossbowmen, and arquebusiers surrounded the procession for the legate in 1530 “pour garder la foule du peuple.”¹¹³ For a procession in January 1531, “du nombre desquelz arbalestiers avec leur cappitaine, en ont esté envoiez quarante à messrs de la Court de Parlement pour mettre ordre que le peuple ne face presse parmy les rues.”¹¹⁴ The same was true of Queen Eleanor’s entry.¹¹⁵ For the bonfires of the Feast of Saint John the Baptist in June of that year, the formula appears once again: “pour garder la foule et tumulte du peuple, y estoient, ainsy que ont acoustumé, tous les arbalestriers, archers et hacquebutiers de ladicte Ville, vestuz de leurs hocquetons d’orfaverye, avecques leurs bastons et hacquebuttes, faisans voye et gardans la foule et opression dudict peuple.”¹¹⁶

There are further descriptions of audience behavior reported in notes added to performance mandates. On one occasion in 1535 on the bridge of Notre Dame, the people viewed narrative tableaux designed to invoke devotion in whomever looked at them. Another spectacle was specifically designed to manipulate the crowd: François I extinguished the candle he was carrying and folded his hands to pray: “Ce voyant par le peuple, n’y avoit grand ne petit qu’il ne plorast à chaudes larmes et qu’il ne priast Dieu pour le Roy, que ledict

¹¹² Ibid., 4:646 (23 mai 1524).

¹¹³ *Registres*, 2:93–95 (20 décembre 1530); and Félibien 5:335–37.

¹¹⁴ *Registres*, 2:98–99 (10 janvier 1531).

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 2:106–07 (27 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:794–95.

¹¹⁶ *Registres*, 2:123 (23 juin 1531). On armed guards, see also *ibid.*, 3:139 (26 novembre 1548); 3:189 (26 août 1549); 4:374 (24 juillet 1555); 4:409–10 (17 février 1556); and 4:518–19 (16 janvier 1558).

peuple veoit en si grande devotion et faisant ung si devot acte, digne de grande memoire, et est à presupposer qu'il n'y a juif ou infidelle veoyant l'ememple du Prince et après de son peuple qui ne se feust converty à la foy." Earlier in the procession, the spectators were also supposedly moved to tears by the king's musicians playing the hymn of Saint-Sacrement, "tant grand personnage feust il."¹¹⁷ Later that year during a procession where the reliquary of Sainte-Geneviève was displayed, the performance was so well orchestrated that the people were (once again) supposedly in tears.¹¹⁸

Some events required more security than others. After the Affair of the Placards, François ordered an elaborate procession in January 1535. The principals of all the colleges of the University of Paris were ordered to keep their students locked inside, watching the procession from the window, so that they would not mix with the people and cause problems; the students were also to refrain from drinking on that day. The usual barriers were erected so that the procession would not be interrupted, but this time two dixaniers and two archers were to stand guard at each barrier. Louis Le Roy, sieur de Chavigny and gentleman of the king's chamber, marched in the midst of the procession "mettant ordre en son endroit ad ce qu'il n'y eust desordre à ladicte procession."¹¹⁹ Even for more run-of-the-mill processions, such as the one between Sainte-Chapelle and Notre Dame in October 1537, "y avoit de par ladicte Ville soixante archers, arbalestriers et hacquebutiers, qui sont vingtz de chacun nombre, pour mettre ordre à faire serrer le peuple."¹²⁰ In 1538, the full contingent of armed security officers was present for a solemn procession celebrating peace between the king and

¹¹⁷ Ibid., 2:195–99 (21 janvier 1535); also in Félibien, 4:686–89 and 5:343–46.

¹¹⁸ *Registres*, 2:207–08 (13 juillet 1535).

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 2:195–99 (21 janvier 1535); also in Félibien, 4:686–89 and 5:343–46.

¹²⁰ *Registres*, 2:335 (8 octobre 1537).

the emperor, walking along the procession on either side of the participants and protecting them from the audience. The night before, the church of Saint-Jehan-en-Grève was to announce the procession by ringing bells “par ung armonieux carillon,” the sound of which was designed to move the people to feel devotion.¹²¹

In the 1540s, the establishment of poor laws encroached on audience behavior. One article in the 1543 regulations forbade the common residents of Paris from watching performances by itinerant performers. The complaint is that “plusieurs du populaire & gens de mestier” go to see “jeux de basteleurs & jongleurs” and give them money instead of giving that money to the poor, “preferant leur mondaine curiosité à la charité divine.”¹²² At the bonfires held in front of the city hall, the poor were usually given bread and wine for attending the celebrations; in the order for the bonfire to celebrate the 1544 treaty between Charles V and François, the city was also required to have guards on hand to make sure that rich people did not drink the wine provided for the poor.¹²³

The poor—as well as their religious counterparts, the four mendicant orders—were ordered to participate in processions as well, particularly when the occasion required a solemn reminder to the audience members of their own mortality.¹²⁴ This was a long-established

¹²¹ Ibid., 2:369–72 (3 juillet 1538); also in Félibien, 5:348–51.

¹²² Fontanon, 1:911–15 (12 novembre 1543); and Félibien, 3:622–28. For jongleurs, see Edmond Faral, *Les jongleurs en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910). For more on the social status of jongleurs in the Middle Ages, see Carla Casagrande and Silvana Veccio, “Clercs et jongleurs dans la société médiévale (XIIe et XIIIe siècles),” *Annales ESC* 34 (1979): 913–28.

¹²³ *Registres*, 3:42 (20 septembre 1544); and Félibien, 4:710–11. For another example, see the order to announce the peace treaty between France and England in 1550 in *Registres*, 3:201–02 (29 mars 1550).

¹²⁴ See Jacques Le Goff, “Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: l’implantation des ordres mendiants” *Annales ESC* 23.2 (1968): 335–52; and his “Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale” *Annales ESC* 25.4 (1970): 924–46.

tradition in funerals; for instance, at Louis XII's father's funeral on 21 February 1505, the four mendicant orders joined the procession at the Gate of Saint-Jacques along with the other clergy from the various parishes of the city.¹²⁵ Municipal records show that the *Chambre des Comptes* was ordered to grant money to the mendicants and religious orders each year, and considered their participation in public processions part of their duties.¹²⁶ Louis XII's funeral in 1515 saw the four mendicant orders marching with torches for the final part of the procession.¹²⁷ The mendicant orders were frequently the vanguard of the poor's presence in processions. For the funeral of Alberto Pio, comte de Carpy, at the beginning of 1531, the Bureau was sent letters missive from the king and subsequently mandated the following order leading the procession: the mendicant orders, followed by other convent orders who were dedicated to serving the poor (Billettes, Blancz-Manteaulx, Sainte-Katherine, Saint-Esprit, Hôtel-Dieu), and after, the crieurs de corps et de vins, then the poor, dressed in mourning clothes and carrying one hundred torches. Eight Cordeliers carried the body, with four more on each corner of the coffin; the body itself was dressed in the robes of a Cordelier, causing Clément Marot to satirize Carpy in his *Second épître du coq à l'âne*, referring to him as the person "qui se fit moine après sa mort" (who became a monk after his own death).¹²⁸

The city's poor were legally assigned their own processions in 1543, with a very practical purpose. Parlement created a commission on the poor 24 August, and the result was

¹²⁵ Ibid., 1:101–02 (21 février 1505).

¹²⁶ See examples in Sauval, 3:548, *Ordinaire de Paris*, 1508–09; 3:548–49, *Ordinaire*, 1508–09; and 3:550, *Ordinaire*, 1509–10.

¹²⁷ *Registres*, 1:220 (6 janvier 1515).

¹²⁸ Ibid., 2:101–03 (16 janvier 1531). Later that year, a regulation establishing the ceremonial order for queens' funerals was registered in the *Chambre des Comptes*: Boislisle, *Chambre des Comptes*, 43–45 (28 septembre 1531).

the ruling of thirty-seven articles passed on 12 November. This legislation stated that the alms system depends mostly on the good bourgeois of Paris and other residents, who had cooled a great deal since the start of the “institution de la communauté des pauvres,” so that alms had diminished three quarters or more. The clergy therefore were to entice their parishioners to be more generous for the good and prosperity of Paris if they feed and educate the poor “en commun”; the law warns of the horrors which will ensue if these people return to the streets to beg, such as “des larrecins, paillardises, pestes & authres plusieurs crimes & malefices.” The Parlement argued for these laws on the basis of the common good, contrasting “le grand bien & prospérité” with “les grands maux & inconveniens” that will come if this order is interrupted. People should give money for “Dieu & la republique” to the coffers of the poor.¹²⁹

So that everyone will be more inclined to give to the poor, the Parlement ordained that the commissioners of the poor organize a public procession from time to time (depending on the weather). The poor would walk through the streets two-by-two, the first carrying “l’enseigne de nostre salut, la croix sur les espauls, avec telles autres enseignes de la passion du benoist Saviour” and with those poor who know the litanies chanting them (call and response form). This procession was to be followed up by four or five governors of the said poor, then at least six curates or vicars and priests. After the procession would be a mass, with the poor saying prayers on their knees for the prosperity and health of the king and the

¹²⁹ Fontanon, 1:911–15 (12 novembre 1543); also in Félibien, 3:622–28.

princes, the residents of Paris, and especially for their benefactors, in order to show the people how much the poor merit the help they are given.¹³⁰

When Henri II took the throne, security was increased and audience manipulation went beyond attempting to induce emotional (as in the case of tears) or practical (as in the case of donations) reactions in the spectators. Barriers were ordered “au coing des rues par où le Roy passera” during Henri II’s entry in 1547.¹³¹ For his 1549 entry, there were so many spectators “que aussitost seroient nombrées les estoilles du ciel et les grains de sable de la mer que l’on eust peu compter ce peuple.” The audience itself was an element of decoration, especially those watching from the windows:

En verité les gentilzhommes et dames, acouldées aux fenestres sur des tapis divers d’excelente manufacture, rendoient une beaulté si grande que jamais on n’en veist la pareille, et par especial les dames aux visaiges angeliques tant bien parées de carquans, jaserans, chesnes, bagues et autres dorures par dessus leurs atours et robbes de velours ou de soye, que l’on eust plus tost estimé Paris ung petit paradis que une cité ou ville terrienne . . . [the seigneurs and gentlemen who were following the king] faisoient voltiger, bondir, pennader et braver leurs chevaux de telle sorte que c’estoit une merveille, et sembloit que ces bestes domestiques entendissent qu’il estoit lors temps ou jamais de faire service à leurs maistres; à l’occasion de quoy, toute l’assemblée demoura tousjours ravye comme en extase, depuis que la maison du Roy triumphateur se print à monster sur les rences, jusques à ce qu’il feust à Nostre Dame de Paris.¹³²

Although the crowd was supposedly thrilled by the dancing horse display, there were problems as well: “Quant le Roy eut quelque peu de temps arresté devant led. portique [Châtelet, Porte de Paris], pour ce que la presse estoit grande au carrefour de la Boucherie

¹³⁰ This practice continued under Henri II and was even disseminated through the printing press. On 7 July 1547, Henri II granted a privilege to “Andry Roffet, dit Le Faulcheur, libraire de Paris, pour imprimer les articles fournis par l’eveque de Macon, grand aumonier de France, contenant les causes de la procession generale” (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5029).

¹³¹ *Registres*, 3:80–82 (19 et 21 avril 1547); also in Godefroy, 1:301–03.

¹³² *Registres*, 3:164–79 (16 juin 1549); also in Félibien, 5:361–74; and Godefroy, 1:879–93.

de Paris, où il failloit trouver pour aller sur le pont Nostre Dame, Sa Majesté se remeist en chemyn et, en allant tout le petit pas, arriva sur le bout d'icelluy pont.” Henri cannot have been thrilled to have his own processional route blocked, even if by his own subjects.

Looking at the preparations for Henri II's entry in 1549, the municipality mandated that the tenants of the buildings on the bridge of Notre Dame lend their front rooms to the municipality or members of the nobility. Specifically, they wanted to arrange “les plus honnestes personnages de lad. Ville avec des plus nobles, belles et honnestes damoiselles” in the windows—beautiful young women literally served as window dressing.¹³³ This was reiterated in May, when the Bureau again showed the letters patent from the king to the residents of the bridge and mandated them to vacate their space during the entertainments. The secretary of the Bureau claimed that most cooperated: “la plus grande partie desquelz sont comparuz et ont dit qu'ilz voullioient obeyr au Roy et à lad. Ville.”¹³⁴

Sometimes the behavior of the audience could be overly enthusiastic. The visit of the Turkish ambassadors in 1552 caused such a stir that the archers had to stand guard at the door of their lodgings to keep curiosity-seekers from entering to catch a glimpse of the foreigners. The provost of merchants also had a problem showing the ambassadors around the city, since the crowd following them was huge. The guests had to be surrounded by archers and crossbowmen, since all of the spectators were trying to get close to the ambassadors and even to touch them.¹³⁵

¹³³ *Registres*, 3:158–59 (7 avril 1549). This had been the case in Eleanor's 1531 entry.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3:162 (mai 1549).

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 4:73–74 (26 novembre 1552).

A contingent of archers was necessary to protect the decorations as well: thirty archers were ordered to guard the canopy used for Legate Paul's entry on 8 April 1554 when he left it outside to enter Notre Dame; they were to wait with it in front of the doors to the church. This did not go as the municipality had planned: the archers decided to abscond with the canopy and take it to the church of their confraternity. The municipality went before the Parlement to file a complaint on 13 April; the court ordered the return of the canopy to the provost of merchants, to be used for future processions.¹³⁶

Sometimes the audience could even be entreated to say a few lines. So many spectators crowded into the Place de Grève to hear the news of the treaty among France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire in 1556 that the actual announcement had to be made by several heralds-at-arms, so that it could be heard. After the announcement came the artillery fire, which was so enthusiastic that smoke covered the entire square and nobody could see a thing through the haze. This did not manage to scare away the crowd, who stayed for free wine and bread, distributed to the poor who were supposedly shouting, "Vive le Roy!"¹³⁷

In the fall of 1556, the entire city turned out for the funeral convoy of the much-loved François Le Picart, dean of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and doctor of theology. The regulation reports that all the spectators were in tears, especially the "pauvres et simples gens" who had found inspiration in his message. There were so many people in the streets along the convoy

¹³⁶ Ibid., 4:272–74 (8 et 13 avril 1554). In the *Domaine de Paris* for 1533–34, there is an item that describes how a man was hanged in front of the Louvre for stealing the king's canopy "de drap noir & d'argent trait" as it was being held in the Louvre's *grande salle* for one of the king's entertainments (Sauval, 3:616).

¹³⁷ *Registres*, 4:407–09 (16 février 1556).

route wanting to see Le Picart one last time that it was difficult for the procession to move forward; apparently, the archers who were present to hold the people back were not successful.¹³⁸ Although we might tend to take these descriptions of passionate spectators with a grain of salt, the Bureau and Parlement did feel compelled to record their failure as well as their success at controlling the crowds.

* * * * *

These three ways of looking at laws regarding municipal entertainments—how they were mandated; what disputes arose; and audience participation—offer a broad, multi-faceted view of the theatrical city that was Paris in the first half of the sixteenth century. Woven into this urban tapestry was the ever-developing legal system, serving as both backdrop and conduit for legally mandated city-wide performances. The processional civic entertainments discussed in this chapter were by no means the only theatrical activity taking place at the time. Other groups of performers, such as more traditional players of mysteries, farces, and masques, will be discussed in the following chapter.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 4:450–51 (17 et 18 septembre 1556).

CHAPTER THREE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE PERFORMERS

This chapter will discuss the laws and legislation regarding groups of performers in Paris who offered public, outdoor performances with unrestricted audience access, as well as those who offered performances of a more private nature—often indoors, and often with a paying audience.¹ These kinds of performers most closely match our contemporary idea of actors, and it will come as no surprise that a fair amount of research has been carried out regarding their organization and performances.² Since these actors were often paid for their work, the various account books (of the city, the king's household, etc.) offer a certain amount of financial information that has been snapped up by scholars. The present study is concerned with the regulation of these performers rather than evidence of their livelihood; therefore, use of accounts as sources will be limited to those that contribute to the background of the laws. In addition, a handful of contracts among the different performers will be discussed.

Two major categories of private performers include the Parisian law clerks and university students. The Parlement of Paris and the Châtelet each had its own performance

¹ See Jean-Claude Aubailly, "Le théâtre profane et son public: Étude des envois," *Tréteaux* 21 (1980): 1–15. See also Gustave Cohen, *Études d'histoire du théâtre en France au Moyen-Age et à la Renaissance*, 6th ed. (Paris: Gallimard, 1956); Alan E. Knight, *Aspects of Genre in Late Medieval French Drama* (Manchester and Dover, NH: Manchester University Press, 1983); Madeleine Lazard, ed., *Aspects du théâtre populaire en Europe au XVIème siècle* (Paris: Société française des seiziémistes/Centre Nationale des Lettres, 1989); and Marie-France Wagner and Claire Le Brun-Gouanvic, eds., *Les arts du spectacle au théâtre (1550–1700)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2001).

² For an overview of medieval and Renaissance performers and performing groups, see Petit de Julleville, *Les comédiens en France*, as well as the more recent synthesis by Mazouer, *Le théâtre français de la Renaissance*.

organization called the basoche, which had its own legal jurisdiction and “roi” (king) of the basoche.³ At the court of the Chambre des Comptes, the head of the clerks’ jurisdiction was named the “Empereur de Galilée” (Emperor of Galilee). All three of these organizations were under the ultimate jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris; this might account for why we have so many more extant laws regarding the Parlement’s own group of law clerks than we have for the other two groups. The university had its own governing body, but most of the regulations that will be discussed were issued from the dominant Parlement of Paris—often subsequently reissued by the university council. Confraternities and guilds fall into both the public and private domains, giving performances independent of higher authorities as well as being called upon to provide entertainment for royal entries and other civic celebrations. Mandates from the Bureau, rulings from the Parlement of Paris, and royal letters and ordonnances make up the body of law for these groups. The final section of the chapter discusses performers at court. Since most were in the employ of the king or his family (except in cases when the performers were members of the aristocracy themselves—and even then, they were often granted payments from the crown), the legal evidence for these performers is drawn largely from royal acts.

³ See esp. *Statuts et ordonnances de la Royaume de la Bazoche, faites, reformées et accordés (sic) par la cour aux supposts d’icelle en l’année 1586, en procedant sur les requests présentées tant par le procureur de communauté que lesdits supposts, maistre JACOB, chancelier régnant*, in Adolphe Fabre, *Études historiques sur les clercs de la Basoche suivies de pièces justificatives* (Paris: Potier, 1856) [on Gallica].

Private Performers: Clerks and Students

In the fifteenth century, both groups of young men—clerks and students—saw increasing legislation of their performance activities.⁴ Charles VII attempted to suppress one of the students' favorites, the Fête des Fous (Feast of Fools), which was celebrated from 26–28 December each year. He passed two major laws forbidding the festival in 1438 and 1445.⁵ Later in the century, the University of Paris tried to curtail student games and performances by passing internal rulings, such as the ones on 27 November 1487 and 4 November 1488.⁶ The basoche, in their turn, were famous for May Day celebrations and their “monstres” (from *montrer*, to show or display)—costumed processions with a variety of

⁴ For an overview of the University of Paris, see André Tuilier, *Histoire de l'Université de Paris et de la Sorbonne. Tome I: Des origines à Richelieu* (Paris: Nouvelle Librairie de France, 1994). Student performances are specifically covered in L.-V. Gofflot, *Le Théâtre au collège au Moyen Âge à nos jours* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907; rpt. New York: Burt Franklin, 1964); the book is a bit heavy on the seventeenth century to be much use for Renaissance background. See also Roger Chartier, Dominique Julia, and Jacques Ravel, eds., *Les universités européennes du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle: histoire sociale des populations étudiantes*, 2 vols. (Paris: École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1986–89). For an introduction to the basoche, see Howard Graham Harvey, *The Theatre of the Basoche: The Contribution of the Law Societies to French Mediaeval Comedy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1941); see also Lucien Genty, *La Basoche notariale: origines & histoire du XIVe siècle à nos jours de la cléricature notariale et de la cléricature en général . . .* (Paris: Delamotte fils, 1888) [on Gallica]. Genty offers a summary of the Parlement's basoche on 72–125, the Châtelet's on 126–36, and the Comptes' on 137–39. Marie Bouhaïk-Girones is currently working on a doctoral thesis in history from the University of Paris VII on the basoche. See also Jody Enders, *Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1992).

⁵ Du Boulay, 5:690–91. In fact the festivities and performances carried out by the university students included Twelfth Night celebrations, and so lasted into January.

⁶ Ibid., 5:777 and 782–83, respectively. See Tuilier, 1:272–73. On the Fête des Fous, see esp. Jacques Heers, *Fêtes des fous et carnivals* (Paris: Fayard, 1983). On the traditions surrounding groups of young male performers, see Natalie Zemon Davis, *Society and Culture*.

accompanying entertainments. On 17 August 1443, the Parlement of Paris insisted they clear all performances through the court, including the customary May Day plays.⁷

A 15 May 1476 ruling by the Parlement addressed all clerks of the basoche at the Palais and Châtelet, and forbade them to play without permission in farces, sotties, moralities, or other plays in front of an audience (“à convocation du peuple”) either at the Palais or Châtelet or in any public place. The court threatened banishment.⁸ The following year, on 19 July 1477, the Parlement issued the same injunction, but this time named Jehan l’Esveillé, referred to as king of the basoche (apparently at the Palais, as the Châtelet is not mentioned), and other players, threatening them with public beating before their banishment if they performed without permission.⁹

The Parlement was also a source of support for the basoche, as was—surprisingly—the municipality for the clerks of the Chambre des Comptes and the Châtelet. On 6 May 1501, the Parlement issued 10 livres parisis to the basoche for May Day performances.¹⁰ In the *Ordinaire de Paris* for 1504–05, we find a payment from the city of Paris to “Louis de la Cherne, Empereur de Galilée, ving-cinq livres tournois, à lui & à ses Supôts Clercs, frequentans la Chambre des Comptes, pour plusieurs Extraits par eux faits en la Chambre des Comptes, & pour subvenir à plusieurs dépens que faire leur a convenu &

⁷ Charles Desmaze, *Le Châtelet de Paris, son organisation, ses privilèges. Prévôts-conseillers, chevaliers du Guet. Notaires, procureurs, commissaires, huissiers. Registres. Prisons et supplices. Bazoche. Tribunal de la Seine (1060–1862)* (Paris: Didier, 1863), 392. This is a curiously underused source for the basoche, considering Desmaze’s lengthy chapter on law clerks and treasure trove of manuscript citations.

⁸ Félibien, 4:601 (15 mai 1476). On sotties, see Heather Arden, *Fools’ Plays: A Study of Satire in the Sottie* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); and Olga Anna Dull, *Folie et rhétorique dans la sottie* (Geneva: Droz, 1994).

⁹ Félibien, 4:601 (19 juillet 1477).

¹⁰ Desmaze, 392.

conviendra durant cette année pour les affaires dudit Empire.”¹¹ On 18 July 1505, the Parlement gave 30 livres to its own clerks—a significant increase from just four years ago, when the payment had been 10.¹² The *Ordinaire* for 1505–06 shows the municipality paying “aux Clercs du Chastelet seize livres parisis, en recompense de la somme de vingt-cinq livres tournois qu’ils disent avoir mise & frayée pour le disné qui a été fait le jour & fête de S Nicolas en May dernier passé, aux Lieutenans, Conseillers, Advocats, Procureur du Roi, & autres Officiers dud. Seigneur aud. Chastelet.”¹³

There are cases of infractions: for instance, in 1506 the clerks of Châtelet performed in the “salle du Louvre” on Saint Nicholas’s Day after being forbidden by Parlement; since this performance was paid for by the municipality on a yearly basis, this is an example of Parlement stepping in to override the city’s jurisdiction.¹⁴ Such injunctions did not necessarily have a lasting detrimental effect on the clerks, since the Parlement continued to fund their plays: on 23 February 1509, they were paid for their performances at Twelfth Night celebrations.¹⁵ The municipality’s record for 1510–11 offers yet another example of a payment by the city to the clerks of the Chambre des Comptes: “A Jehan de la Forge Empereur de Galilée & ses Supots Clercs, frequentans la Chambre des Comptes.”¹⁶

¹¹ Sauval, 3:538.

¹² Desmaze, 392.

¹³ Sauval, 3:540. I suspect the secretary conflated the two customary performance days—one in May and one on Saint Nicholas’s Day (6 December).

¹⁴ *Journal de Germain Chastelier, conseiller au Parlement de Paris*, cited in Michel Rousse, “Le Théâtre des farces en France au Moyen Âge,” 5 vols. (Doctorat d’état, Université de Rennes II, 1983), 4:132.

¹⁵ Desmaze, 392.

¹⁶ Sauval 3:554.

Sometimes the Parlement's support of the basoché extended to performances that never took place. For instance, on 1 February 1515 the receivers (or tax/fine collectors) of the basoché pleaded before the Parlement of Paris to be reimbursed for their expenses for the "preparations" they had made to "jouer & danser" at the previous Twelfth Night celebrations. According to the request, the Parlement had ordered the cancellation of their performance due to the death of Louis XII (1 January 1515). The basoché therefore asked if the court would give them one or two payments of 60 livres parisis, which the court had done in the past; they were given one to reimburse their costs—60 livres being double what they had been given ten years before.¹⁷ They did have a chance to perform that month at the banquet for the entry of François I; the Parliamentary registers include a statement that "les basochiens danserent devant ledict seigneurs," as well as the queen, a host of ambassadors, and other members of the court.¹⁸

Concurrent with these basoché performances were student performances, comparatively unregulated by the Parlement.¹⁹ Petit de Julleville, following various historical sources, describes satires played in several colleges (but does not mention which ones) on the occasion of Anne de Bretagne's entry into Paris.²⁰ He also writes about performances of farces at the colleges of Coqueret and Plessis in 1507 for the Duc de Calabre (the future duc

¹⁷ Félibien, 4:633 (1 février 1515 *mané*).

¹⁸ Ibid., 4:633–34 (23 février 1515 *mané*). The Parfaict brothers say, "les Basochiens furent introduits, qui représentèrent une farce, et exécutèrent des danses dont le Roi fut très satisfait" (Parfaict, *Histoire du théâtre françois*, 2:106); see also Louis Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Léopold Cerf, 1886; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1967), 364.

¹⁹ See Robert Bossuat, "Le théâtre scolaire au Collège de Navarre (XIV^{me}–XVII^{me} siècles)," in *Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre du moyen-âge et de la renaissance offerts à Gustave Cohen . . . par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis* (Paris: Nizet, 1950), 165–76.

²⁰ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 357; he claims these took place in 1503.

Antoine de Lorraine); the accounts of Calabre's trip also mention sums paid to the Enfants-sans-souci of Paris. On 11 June 1508, Petit de Julleville mentions a performance by students in the Place Saint-Étienne of the morality *Le Nouveau-Monde*.²¹

The first major legislation for university performances at this time came on 5 January 1516, when the Parlement of Paris called together the principals and regents of the colleges of Navarre, Bourgogne, Bons-Enfants, Marche, Cardinal-le-Moine, Boncourt, Harcourt, Tresorières, and Justice at the University of Paris, and ordered that they allow no "farces, sotties" or other "jeux" to be performed that would offend the honor of the king, the queen, the king's mother, the aristocracy, or anyone at the court. The Parlement would be in charge of punishing those who ignored their ruling.²²

One such case of a so-called "offensive" performance took place in December 1516 and involved at least one member of the basoche. The *Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris* tells of the arrest of Jacques le bazochin, Jehan Seroc, and Jehan du Pontalez, three "joueurs de farce" who were hauled in front of the king at Amboise to answer for their performances in Paris offending the queen mother. The chronicler tells us they were held prisoner in Blois until Shrovetide, escaped, and sought sanctuary in the Cordeliers' church in Blois until about a month before Queen Claude's entry into Paris (May 1517), when they were granted amnesty to return to the city.²³

²¹ Ibid., 360. The Enfants-sans-souci were performers of *sotties*; there is much debate about if they were a separate troupe or if they were attached to the basoche and/or the Confraternity of the Passion. They are closely associated with the celebrated Pierre Gringore (see below).

²² Félibien, 4:634 (5 janvier 1516); also printed in *Index Chronologicus*, 323, article MDLXXII.

²³ *Journal*, 44. See also Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 365. "Jacques le bazochien" is possibly Jacques Mathieu; see René Struel, "Notes sur Maître Jacques Mathieu Le Bazochien," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot* . . . 2 vols. (Paris: Damascène Morgand, 1913; rpt.

The basoche of the Chambre des Comptes continued to be in favor, as the city paid them for entertainments during the holiday season of 1518–19: “Estienne le Fevre, Tresorier & Receveur Général des Finances de l’Empire de Galilée, pour lui aider à soutenir & supporter les frais qu’il lui a convenu & conviendra faire, tant pour les gasteaux, jeux & estats faites à l’honneur & exaltation du Roi à la feste des Rois.”²⁴ In 1521, the Parlement of Paris gave the basoche their customary 60 livres parisis to help defray the cost of the “monstres & jeux” that they performed in May.²⁵ The force of tradition among young performers was as strong as ever; for instance, that same year a performance took place at the Collège du Plessis making fun of Noël Beda, prompting him to try to forbid performances at the university through an internal ruling, but the Collège des Nations decided to go ahead with their play on Twelfth Night as usual.²⁶ Beda was not the only one worried about satire. On 27 December 1523, the Parlement of Paris reissued their 1516 warning against “farces ou jeux scandaleux” being played at the various colleges of the University of Paris, especially those that might contain “scandaleuses” dialogues about the king and his court.²⁷

Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), 2:417–29. Pontalais will be discussed in the section “Performers at Court”; see Jody Enders, *Death by Drama and Other Medieval Urban Legends* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 8–10 and documents 8.3–8.4 of the appendix, for another of the actor’s supposed arrests.

²⁴ Sauval, 3:603. See also *ibid.*, 3:607, *Domaine de Paris, 1523*, “Louis Vente, Tresorier & Receveur General de l’Empire, ving livres parisis pour lui aider à supporter les frais qu’il lui a convenu faire aux Rois, en ensuivant les bonnes coustumes & ordonnances dudit Empire, &c. L’Empire est la Jurisdiction des Clercs de la Chambre des Comptes, comme la Bazoche au Palais; on l’appelle l’Empire de Galilée.” What is not clear is if this last commentary about jurisdictions came from the hand of the municipal secretary or Sauval.

²⁵ Félibien, 4:637 (14 mai 1521).

²⁶ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 368.

²⁷ Félibien, 4:645 (27 décembre 1523).

As the political situation degenerated in France with the defeat at Pavia and François I being taken prisoner by Charles V, the Parlement became more concerned about performances. On 29 December 1525, the Parlement of Paris forbade the colleges to perform “jeux, farces, moresques”—especially at the upcoming Twelfth Night celebrations as they normally did—or they would be arrested and taken prisoner. Among the reasons given for this was that the king had been captured and therefore the country was in mourning; it was not a time for things “volontaires et piquantes,” which, according to the Parlement, served the function of permitting people to say things that might incite sedition. The colleges were also in danger of losing their university rights and privileges.²⁸

Once the situation had relaxed, so did restrictions on performance: the Parlement ordered a payment to the basoche on 16 June 1526 for “jeux et sotties” in honor of the king’s return.²⁹ More interesting was the order for a payment on 18 June 1528, when the Parlement gave 138 livres to the basoche “pour leur jeu” instead of the usual 60.³⁰ Up until this point, the legal documents give us little information about the basoche itself. That changed the next month with a 14 July 1528 Parliamentary ruling describing an appeal from within the jurisdiction of the basoche.

The case was between Rolland Chauvieux and Jacques Daluys, described as clerks of the Palais basoche, captain and lieutenant of the Band of Women (“bande des Femmes”) in that year’s Realm of the Basoche, with Colas Ami representing the injured party.³¹ De

²⁸ *Index Chronologicus*, 331, article MDCXXI; a shorter version is printed in Félibien, 4:674 (29 décembre 1525).

²⁹ Parfaict, 2:109; see also Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 372.

³⁰ Desmaze, 392.

³¹ *Recueil . . . Bazoche*, 40–46. Also printed in slightly shorter form in Desmaze, 399–402, who uses Pierre de Miraulmont’s *Mémoires* as a source: *Mémoires de Pierre de Miraulmont*

Thou, representing Chauvieux and Daluys, began his argument by presenting information about the basoche of the Palais itself, describing how the clerks were accustomed to presenting “Jeux & Monstres” each year, and so organized these entertainments by electing a king, a chancellor, twelve masters of *requêtes* (or petitions), four receivers and treasurers, bailiffs, captains, and lieutenants. He argues that this tradition has been going on so long that nobody remembers a time when it did not take place; the jurisdiction of the basoche, according to De Thou, goes back to customary law. Then he describes how each of the six or seven “Capitaines de bandes” is accustomed to making a drawing on parchment of each group and their particular costumes and props, and how the clerks who wish to be a part of a particular group sign their names under this drawing. They are thus officially contracted to show up at the “monstre” with costumes to match the picture, under threat of a fine of 10 ecus.

Among these bands is the aforementioned Band of Women, and a certain person signed his name as lieutenant of the captain of that band, but he did not appear at the “monstre.” The king of the basoche and his chancellor subsequently ruled that he was to be fined the 10 ecus and presented the ruling in due form to a bailiff of the basoche to execute. The bailiff delivered the pronouncement to the party and commanded him to pay the fine, but the party refused. Since rulings of the king of the basoche were legally binding, the bailiff seized the party’s cloak and left with it, giving it for safe keeping to a certain Jean Boisson, who promised to relinquish it only under orders from the king of the basoche or his council.

. . . *sur l’origine et institution des Cours souveraines et autres juridictions subalternes, encloses dans l’ancien Palais royal de Paris* (Paris: A. L’Angelier, 1584), available on Gallica.

The party subsequently appealed to an “Official de Paris” [from the Châtelet], who had no jurisdiction over the basoche. It seems that Chauvreux and Daluys were so outraged by this breach of jurisdiction that they called both the party and the officer in front of the king of the basoche. The basoche court then ruled, with much rhetoric about the importance and seriousness of their jurisdiction, that it was an abuse of law and demanded expenses, damages, and interest.

The so-called injured party’s version of events was quite different: having claimed that he was too ill to attend the “monstre” on foot with the Band of Women, he was subsequently ordered to attend by the king of the basoche and his chancellor anyway. He requested that he be given a chance to prove his excuse, so two doctors were dispatched from the basoche to visit him and report back. When the two masters of petitions entered the party’s mother’s house, they found him sitting in a chair in an upstairs bedroom, wearing a nightcap and a fur-trimmed nightgown. Conceding that he was ill and could not attend the “monstre,” they made their report to the king and his council. The king ordered him to come anyway, and because he refused his robe was removed from his body without so much as his being presented with a formal ruling and being given a chance to pay his fine. It was this abuse of power that sent the party to a city official to get an arrest warrant, which was executed. De Thou, taking on the party’s claim that there had been no ruling and that his version of events was the correct one, read an extract from the “Registres de la Bazoche” aloud in which the party was indeed condemned to pay the fine.³² Parlement heard the testimony of the “Official de Paris”

³² This is one of several tantalizing references to an official register of the basoche, presumably destroyed in one of the many fires at the Palais de Justice. I have not been able to find definitive documentation of its destruction.

disavowing the party's claim, ruled that he was misled by the city official and sent the whole mess back to the king of the basoche and his council to hear the following week, ordering that the king of the basoche "traittera amiablement ses sujets." The court also ordered that Colas Ami's request on the part of the party for the return of his fur-trimmed nightgown be heard before the king of the basoche.

Student behavior was also being legislated by means of internal jurisdictions. On 23 December 1529, the Parlement passed a ruling warning the principals of the colleges to keep their students in line during the upcoming Twelfth Night performances.³³ This was renewed by the university corporation, who wished to preempt further intervention into university business by the Parlement in 1533 (on the occasion of the Marguerite de Navarre scandal discussed below); 23 December 1538;³⁴ and 22 December 1545.³⁵ Considering the draconian measures the university attempted to institute regarding this festival in 1559, these rulings obviously made very little difference.³⁶ May Day performances were also the focus of concern: on 28 April 1539, the university passed an internal ruling trying to curb what they considered to be the excesses ("fanaticâ pompâ") of these celebrations by students.³⁷

In October and November 1533, a scandal provoked by the supposed condemnation of Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir de l'Ame pécheresse* by the university for suspected heresy coincided with a performance at the Collège de Navarre of a morality play parodying the situation, "où une femme quittait sa quenouille pour un Évangile traduit en français que

³³ Du Boulay, 6:214. See Tuilier, 1:312.

³⁴ Du Boulay, 6:330.

³⁵ Ibid., 6:398.

³⁶ Ibid., 6:526. See Tuilier, 1:353–54.

³⁷ Du Boulay, 6:335–36.

lui présentait une furie.”³⁸ Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549, also known as Marguerite d’Angoulême), the king’s sister and queen of Navarre, was famous for her protection of Protestants. In the play, she was represented by the fury, holding a torch in her hand and lighting the realm on fire. After being reprimanded by the king for attacking his sister, the university held a meeting and blamed the condemnation on the faculty of theology; the faculty met and claimed that they had not condemned it either. Beda, exiled principal of the college of Montaigu, was accused of being the instigator of the performance.

The satire of the basoche was not appreciated either. Subsequent to the basoche’s May Day performances in 1536, the Parlement of Paris ruled on 20 May that at the next “montre” in June the group was forbidden to perform any “jeux” or spectacles or writings that criticized or signified an actual person—which seems impossible, since satire and parody were their specialties. They were threatened with prison and permanent banishment from the courts.³⁹ Some of the basoche groups appear to be tamer than others. During the Epiphany of January 1537, the clerks of the Chambre des Comptes were still delivering cakes and entertainments to the homes of the high officers of Comptes with the full support of the city.⁴⁰

One year later, we find an indication that the clerks of Parlement were not behaving quite as well: on 23 January 1538, the Parlement of Paris granted permission to the basoche to perform “à la table de marbre” in the Palais the “cry ou jeu” they had presented to the

³⁸ J.K Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform in Early Reformation France: The Faculty of Theology of Paris, 1500–1543* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), 203–04; *Index Chronologicus*, 337; Tuilier, 1:321–23; and Alberic Cahuet, *La Liberté du Théâtre en France et à l’Étranger: Histoire, Fonctionnement et Discussion de la Censure dramatique* (Paris: Dujarric, 1902), 36. See also Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 379–80.

³⁹ Félibien, 4:690 (20 mai 1536).

⁴⁰ Sauval, 3:619.

Parlement for consideration (a sort of preview performance), exactly as it was, with no changes. They were threatened with prison and corporal punishment if they performed anything else. The Parlement tacked on a future provision that the receivers or their successors were no longer allowed to perform anything at all without the permission of the Parlement, and the play had to be scripted two weeks before their request to the court.⁴¹ This discourse leads to the conclusion that the basoche's practice was to give a cleaned-up version of their plays in preview performance to secure permission and then alter the script in performance. Sometimes even the preview performance was unacceptable, as on 11 March 1545 when the Parlement forbade them to perform the play they had proposed on the basis of bad weather and "peril de maladies."⁴²

The basoche's traditional June "montre" fared better with the authorities. According to a Parliamentary ruling from 25 June 1540, the basoche's lawyer, Antoine Menard, asked that court be cancelled the next day plus the following Monday in order for them to present their customary performances. The procurer general of the Parlement testified that, informed that this year's procession and entertainments were in such fine form that he wished François I to view them, he had arranged for the king to be in Paris the next day with a great entourage. Since the basoche would need all the time they could get to prepare for a royal audience, and since they all had to meet in the Palais to begin the procession, the next morning the "grand' Salle" of the court would be full of "grand bruit & tumulte," what with the "Tambours & phifres" playing, so that there was no way the court could hope to be in

⁴¹ Félibien, 4:694 (23 janvier 1538); mentioned in Harvey, 195; and Desmaze, 393. See also Fabre, 168–69, where he cites this as being from AN X^{1A} 1540, fol. 121.

⁴² Félibien, 4:714 (11 mars 1545). Desmaze lists this as 10 March 1545.

session since such things required peace and quiet. The court agreed and granted the request to entirely shut down the Parlement for those two days.⁴³ Further proof of the basoché's entertainments comes with a contract for costumes dated 26 June 1540:

Marché entre Jehan de Laulnay, joueur de tambourin de Suisse, rue Greneta, et Alexandre Scot, joueur de fifre, rue du Temple, d'une part, et Claude Chorel, clerc au Palais, capitaine de la bande des Chevaliers de la Table ronde du roi de la Bazoche, moyennant une paire de chausses de drap gris souris, doublées de vert, bouffant de taffetas jaune, une casaque de satin de Bruges jaune, un bonnet gris à plumes et 21 s. t.⁴⁴

Not only do we have evidence of the musicians' hiring, but also their payment and costumes.

Some performers were more willing than others. In the Parliamentary registry for 3 April 1546 (confirmed at the court of the basoché on 21 May) is a ruling between the procurer general of Parlement and the "Communaute du Royaume de la Bazoche" regarding ratification of a petition they had presented to the Parlement on 30 January of that year, with Guillaume Denets, clerk of Claude Parisot, procurer in Parlement as well as being one of the four treasurers and receivers general of the basoché, against the ratification of the two petitions on one side, and Guillaume le Maire, clerk of Pierre Lalement, also procurer in Parlement, petitioner of the ratification of the petition on the other side. The pleadings were heard and a ruling issued 19 February in which the court offered to look at all the evidence from both sides. The court placed all rulings and ordonnances and the accusations brought by each party against each other on hold, including the ruling of 29 January in favor of Le Maire against Denets, other petitions brought by Le Maire regarding Denets, the personal examinations made on Le Maire by doctors and surgeons, of which one was ordered by the

⁴³ *Recueil . . . Basoché*, 46–47.

⁴⁴ AN, Minutier central, XI, 2. Printed in Maurice Connat, "Documents inédits du minutier central," *BHR* 12 (1950): 98–113; this act is on p. 113.

court at the request of the procurer general and the basoche, the pleading and ruling of 14 July 1528. Another petition was presented to the court by the procurer general and the basoche on 25 February 1546. In order to make a definitive ruling, the Parlement called for depositions from Le Maire's lawyers, especially about his previous cases which seemed excessive and false and a waste of the basoche court's time, mentioning the 1528 fiasco with the Châtelet officers versus the Parlement's basoche court.

Le Maire presented yet another petition on 4 March 1546, and Denets and the procurer of the king of the basoche were supposed to respond the next day. Yet another petition came before Parlement on 16 March filed by Le Maire, when he requested that Denets and the basoche be made to present themselves to an officer of the Parlement, to offer new information as to the nature of his pleading and false declarations that had come to light and so warrant a new hearing in a new court. So the court finally called them all together and berated Le Maire for his rebellious conduct and lack of respect for the basoche's court, ordering that he solemnly swear to the Parlement to obey all rulings issued from the basoche council. Considering the conduct of his accusers, the court granted the petition made on March 14 [sic] by Le Maire where he requested that the pleading be heard with a change of venue. However, the court also declared Le Maire a subject of the realm of the basoche and under their jurisdiction. They further ruled not to arrest him for other judgments handed down by the basoche council for "insolences & exceds" and ordered that the whole thing be called to a halt since Desnets seemed to be at fault as well. No damages were to be paid to either side, Le Maire's clothing should be returned to him once and for all, and Le Maire had to return all money received as treasurer of the basoche. The king of the basoche is in charge of this process, and the exchange must take place within a week. The Parlement takes the

opportunity to reiterate that all members of the basoche are under the jurisdiction of that council and must not seek outside arbitration if they have disputes amongst themselves. If the basoche clerks engage in “seditions, mutineries & discentions,” they are threatened with prison and an arbitrary fine. The court entreats them to promote a peaceful realm, leading to the conclusion that the basoche of the Palais was anything but a smoothly-functioning association.⁴⁵

The Parlement continued its protection of the basoche in other matters as well. On 2 June 1546, Desmaze tells us that a bailiff (he does not mention from which jurisdiction) cut down the May tree planted in the courtyard of the Palais by the basoche and was sued in court. The bailiff offered to plant another one, but he was declared guilty and the Parlement declared that he was no longer allowed in the courtyard.⁴⁶ With the advent of Henri II, the basoche performed *Le Cry de la Basoche* during the days just before Lent of 1548 as an attempt to ingratiate themselves to the new king as well as the Parlement.⁴⁷

University performances continued under Henri, and there is evidence that the Renaissance in dramatic literature was in full swing. On 18 February 1549, the Parlement of Paris gave permission to the “maistre, principal & boursiers” of the college of Cardinal Le Moine to perform plays in their college during that year—except, under threat of arrest, those that would give “offense particuliere au scandale public.”⁴⁸ That same year, the Collège de

⁴⁵ *Receuil . . . Bazoche*, 47–53.

⁴⁶ Desmaze, 393.

⁴⁷ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 388. See Emile Picot, ed., *Sottie pour le cry de la Bazoche*, *Recueil général des sotties*, 3 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1912) [on Gallica].

⁴⁸ Félibien, 4:744 (18 février 1549). This issued just as the Bureau is making plans for the king & queen’s entry, *Registres*, 3:153–55 (16 février 1549).

Coqueret put on a production of *Plutus* by Aristophanes, translated by Ronsard.⁴⁹ Pasquier tells us that in 1553 Jodelle's *Cléopâtre captive* was presented first at the Hôtel de Reims for Henri II, and then at the Collège de Boncourt.⁵⁰ Brantôme related that the king was so impressed with Jodelle's performance in the title role that he granted him 500 ecus.⁵¹

Other kinds of entertainment by students did not fare so well. On 7 June 1550, the Parlement of Paris ordered that for the customary procession to Saint-Denis for the Lendit fair in June to buy parchment, the officers and rector of the university must accompany the students in groups of no more than twelve, and that the students were not allowed to be armed in any way.⁵² On 14 June 1554 and 26 July 1558, the Parlement of Paris finally forbade the procession by students to the Lendit fair altogether.⁵³

Regulation of basoche performances under Henri was more and more tied to practical concerns. On 12 January 1552, the Parlement, "considérée la cherté du temps, a fait défense aux clerks de la basoche et à ceux du Châtelet de faire, cette année, aucunes farces, banquets ne autres dépenses."⁵⁴ It is hard to know if this refers to "expensive times" regarding the

⁴⁹ Gustave Lanson, "Étude sur les origines de la tragédie classique en France. Comment s'est opéré la substitution de la tragédie aux mystères et moralités," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France* 10 (1903): 194; and Claude Binet, *La vie de Pierre de Ronsard*, ed. Paul Laumonier (Paris: Hachette, 1909), 13.

⁵⁰ Pasquier, *Recherches*, bk. 6, ch. 7.

⁵¹ Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme, *Les Vies des grands capitaines françois*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. L. Lalanne (Paris: Renouard, 1867), 3:289. See also Tuilier, 1:370–71; and Lanson, 177.

⁵² *Index Chronologicus*, 361, article MDCCCXIII. The Parlement had passed early rulings trying to curb the behavior of the students, who often brought instruments as well as weapons and could be counted upon for various kinds of spontaneous performances during the long procession north of the city. For the 1542 and 1549 rulings, see Du Boulay, 6:379–80 and 433; as well as Tuilier, 1:353–54.

⁵³ Du Boulay, 6:475 and 6:522–23.

⁵⁴ Desmaze, 393.

added expenses of France's war against Charles V, or if this is meant to signify "delicate times," having something to do with the new legislation promoting respect for churches and church services.⁵⁵

On 2 June 1552, the Parlement issued a ruling regarding a petition filed the previous January (in response to the above) by the basoche, forbidding them from performing their customary "jeu & moralite" accompanied by the "festin" and banquet that they normally played each year on the first Thursday after Twelfth Night. But considering they had spent a great deal of money on these entertainments as well as the banquet, which were not allowed to take place, and that they had indeed performed May Day entertainments, they were granted an 80-livre reimbursement, to be paid out of the account of 1,000 livres set up by the Parlement for "les affaires d'icelle." The law does not state if that account was designated especially for performances, or just incidental expenses.⁵⁶

In an example of a superior jurisdiction overriding earlier rulings, the Parlement ruled on 13 April 1553 that the basoche council could not constrain its clerks to perform if they did not wish to, and furthermore were not allowed to "sonner le tabourin" in the "salle du palais" before six o'clock.⁵⁷ The basoche may have softened their tone, because on 8 January 1556, the Parlement gave permission to the basoche to perform "jeux modestes, sans aucun scandale," in the same rooms.⁵⁸ The basoche were reimbursed for their performances again

⁵⁵ On the latter, see Lucien Romier, *Les origines des guerres de religion*, 2 vols. (Paris: Perrin, 1913–14), 1:220–96. The key Parliamentary rulings on 21 January 1550 and 9 June 1552, as well as Henri II's ordonnance of 27 June 1551, will be discussed in further detail in the chapter on censorship.

⁵⁶ Félibien, 4:756–57 (2 juin 1552).

⁵⁷ Desmaze, 393–94, and Roland Delachenal, *Histoire des avocats au Parlement de Paris (1300–1600)* (Paris: Plon, 1885), 109; Delachenal cites AN, X^{1A} 4953, fol. 36v.

⁵⁸ Desmaze, 394.

with a 15 June 1557 ruling by Parlement.⁵⁹ On 10 January 1559, the Parlement gave permission for the entire year's worth of upcoming performances of "jeux modestes."⁶⁰ The following year, a 9 January 1560 ruling did just the opposite out of respect for the death of Henri II; on 8 January 1561, they were granted permission again (which seems odd, since François II had died only a month before).⁶¹ As will be discussed further in the chapter on censorship, clerks and students as performers were famous for their spirited behavior; law-making bodies were not so interested in suppressing their performances (in fact, they often sponsored them) as they were in regulating the content of those performances.

Public and Private: Confraternities and Guilds

According to theatre historians, the most famous of performing confraternities in Paris was the Confraternity of the Passion, often cited as the first real theatrical troupe in the city. Much has been made of their supposed monopoly on performance, but as we shall see, they were not the only association of the confraternity/guild type to perform regularly—simply the best documented. The royal charters granted to the Confraternity of the Passion have been printed and reproduced in both Early Modern and contemporary books, whereas the activities of other guilds and confraternities remain in manuscript form. In order to highlight this difference, this section will present the legislative evidence for the Confraternity of the Passion, followed by a discussion of other associations of this type and their interactions in city-wide public entertainments.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 394.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 395.

⁶¹ Ibid., 395. Félibien also prints later documents regarding the basoche: 5:13 (12 juin 1582) and 4:444–45 (7 septembre 1713).

Other confraternities regularly performed mystery plays on a yearly basis, but they seem to have gone unregulated, even by their own statutes.⁶² Their own account books and information from playscripts/printed plays offer the most information. For instance, the Confraternity of Notre-Dame-de-Liesse has left a collection of twelve plays performed from 1536–43 and 1547–50, most written by Jehan Louvet (who was also a member of the Confraternity of the Passion) and performed “au siège” of the confraternity each September.⁶³ A contract tells us that a *Mystère de Saint Christophle* was performed in Paris at the Hôtel d’Orléans in 1540. G.A. Runnalls is of the opinion that it was probably the work of the Confraternity of Goldsmiths.⁶⁴ What is interesting about his thesis is that confraternities based

⁶² For confraternities in the Middle Ages, see Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIIIe–XVe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994); see also Jeanne Deschamps, *Les confréries au Moyen Âge* (Bordeaux: Bière, 1958).

⁶³ BnF ms. nouv. acq. fr. 481, described by Louis Petit de Julleville, *Les mystères*, 2 vols. (Paris: Léopold Cerf, 1880; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968), 2:608–13. Petit de Julleville also claims that Notre-Dame-de-Liesse performed *La Moralité de la Vendition Saint Joseph* at the Trinité in 1538: 2:645, giving further indication of the links between this confraternity and the Confraternity of the Passion. Among the acts regarding Notre-Dame-de-Liesse are letters patent from Henri “à l’encontre de l’hôpital du Saint Esprit [de Paris]” on 24 November 1549 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5677; mentioned in the registers of the Parlement of Paris). For background on the confraternity, see Marcel Poète, “La confrérie de Notre-Dame-de-Liesse ou confrérie aux Goulus,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France* 30 (1903): 176–80; his appendix prints the act of Charles VI authorizing the confraternity in April 1413 (pp. 178–80). It was housed in Saint-Esprit, whose buildings were contiguous to the Hôtel de Ville; see BnF ms. fr. 11778 for the organization of the hospital of Saint-Esprit-en-Grève. Graham A. Runnalls has summarized the evidence surrounding Louvet, the Confraternity of Notre-Dame-de-Liesse, and the Confraternity of the Passion in “Jean Louvet: compositeur de mystères et homme de théâtre Parisien (1536–1550),” *BHR* 62 (2000): 561–89.

⁶⁴ Ernest Coyecque, ed. *Recueil d’actes notariés*, 1:294, articles 1513–14; G.A. Runnalls, “A newly-discovered French play? Le Mystère de Saint Christophle,” *Romance Philology* 24 (1970–71): 464–77. See also Élie Konigson’s physical reconstruction of this performance in *L’espace théâtral médiéval* (Paris: CNRS, 1975), 174–78. On mystery plays, see Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954; rpt. 1967); Raymond Lebègue, *La tragédie religieuse en France: Les débuts (1514–1573)* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1929); and G.A. Runnalls, *Études sur les mystères: Un recueil de 22 études sur*

around crafts were supposedly forbidden according to article 185 of the Edict of Villers-Cotterêts (10 August 1539).⁶⁵ These kinds of performances remain curiously outside of the realm of legal discourse.⁶⁶

The first widely-available document comprises the letters patent written by Charles VI from December 1402, giving the already-existing Confraternity of the Passion, “ceste foiz pour toutes & à tousjours perpétuelment,” authority to create and perform any kind of “Misterre,” be it the story of the “Passion & Résurreccion” or stories of male and/or female saints, according to their own choice.⁶⁷ Previously, the law states, the confraternity was required to secure permission from the king each time they performed; these letters conferred augmented privileges to the confraternity so that they would have the freedom to play whenever they wished. In addition, Charles VI stipulated that they could play either for the court or for the people of Paris, within the city or the suburbs, in whatever indoor or outdoor space (“lieu & place”) deemed appropriate, as long as they did not cause offence by their performance. The last section of the document is the most revealing, since it specifies what

les mystères français, suivi d'un répertoire du théâtre religieux français du Moyen Age et d'une bibliographie (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1998).

⁶⁵ François, ord. 944; also in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 288; and scattered throughout volume 1 of Fontanon; see also Lespinasse, 1:67–68 (articles 185–92).

⁶⁶ For a sense of the structure of confraternities in Paris, see Jean-Baptiste Le Masson, *Le Calendrier de toutes les confréries de Paris . . .* (Paris: Martin Collet, 1621). Under the Hospital of the Trinité, Le Masson mentions that the confraternity of “maistres Tailleurs d’habits” and that of “compagnons” celebrated at the Trinité on Ascension, and the confraternity of the “comédiens de l’Hostel de Bourgogne,” still continued to celebrate there in the seventeenth century: 119–20. A general overview of confraternities and guilds can be found in Étienne Martin Saint-Léon, *Histoire des corporations de métiers. Depuis leurs origines jusqu’à leur suppression en 1791 . . .*, 3d ed., rev. and exp. (Paris: F. Alcan, 1922; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine–Megariotis, 1976), esp. 272–93. See also Émile Coornaert, *Les Corporations en France avant 1789* (Paris: Gallimard, 1941).

⁶⁷ *Ordonnances . . . troisième race*, 8:555–56. Also printed in *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 34–37.

legal protection the confraternity should benefit from on the actual day or days of a performance, be it in front of the king or the people: they were allowed to move about freely, dressed in whatever manner they wished—wearing whatever the performance required—without harassment or interference.⁶⁸ Their safety was assured by the king's protection during their performances, and no officer of the court or municipality was allowed to bother the performers. On 12 March 1403, three members of the confraternity presented these letters to the provost's lieutenant at the Châtelet, who assigned them protection for that year.

In the sixteenth century, François I confirmed the privileges of the Confraternity of the "Passion & Resurrection de nostre Seigneur, fondée en l'Eglise de la Trinité à Paris" in letters of January 1519, relying especially on those of Charles VI in December 1402.⁶⁹ The confraternity had contacted him with fears of losing their privileges; he had not confirmed them since taking the throne in 1515. The king states that he, "inclinans liberalement à la supplications & requeste desdits supplians," is pleased to confirm the privileges granted to them by previous kings. These letters were registered at the Châtelet 1 March 1519. However, the Parlement was still keeping an eye on them for practical reasons. Due to an outbreak of disease in the same year, the Parlement of Paris forbade the performing of the *Mystery of the Passion* by the masters of the confraternity, the members "qui sont ordonnez

⁶⁸ "... & lesquelz Maistres, Gouverneurs & Confrères dussusdiz, & un chascun d'eulx, durant les jours esquelx ledit Misterre qu'ilz joueront se sera, soit devant Nous ou ailleurs, tant en recors comme autrement, ainsi & par la manière que dit est, puissent aler, venir, passer & repasser paisiblement, vestuz, abilliez & ordonnez un chacun d'eulx, en tel estat que le cas le désire & comme il appartendra selon l'ordonnance dudit Misterre, sans destoubier ou empeschement."

⁶⁹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 941 (janvier 1519). Printed in *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 37–38.

à jouer” and all others attached to their group. The punishment would be a fine of 1,000 livres parisis to be paid directly to the king, plus imprisonment.⁷⁰

We have several documents relating to independent performances given by the Confraternity of the Passion during this time—some of them rather controversial. They performed *La Passion* in 1539, announced by a “montre” on 18 May and performed from 19 May through 10 August of that year at the Hôtel de Flandre; Petit de Julleville is of the opinion that *Le Sacrifice d’Abraham* was performed for François at the Hôtel de Flandre in the same year.⁷¹ These seem to have been relatively tame. However, on 16 December 1540, the members of the Confraternity of the Passion assembled at the Hôtel de Flandre to proclaim their intention to perform the *Mystery of the Acts of the Apostles*: “Assavoir tant des maistres entrepreneurs dudit mystere: que gens de justice plebeyens et aultres gens ayans charge de la conduict diceluy: Rethoricien et aultres gens de longue robbe et de courte.” For the announcement in Paris, the convoy included “les deux directeurs dudit mystere rethoriciens. Assavoir ung homme ecclesiastique et l’autre lay . . . Item alloient apres les quatre (*Hamelin. Potrain. Loncrot. Chollet) entrepreneurs dudit mystere.” The document offers an “assignation” of the time and place for the auditions: “le jour et feste Sainte Estienne [26 décembre] premiere ferie de Noel et suivant: en la salle de la passion; lieu accoustume a faire les recordz et répétitions des mysteres jouez en ladicte ville de Paris.”⁷²

⁷⁰ Félibien, 4:636–37 (2 septembre 1519). See also Alice Demartres, “Étude sur l’histoire et l’organisation de la confrérie parisienne de la Passion, 1402–1677,” (doctoral thesis, École des Chartes, Paris, 1939), 12, where she cites this as AN X^{1A} 1521, fol. 313v.

⁷¹ Demartres, “Histoire et Organisation de la Confrérie Parisienne de la Passion (1402–1677),” abstract in *École nationale des chartes: Positions des thèses* 67 (1939): 45–46; Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, 2:137 and *Comédiens*, 65.

⁷² *Le Cry et proclamation publique pour jouer le mistere des Actes des Apostres en la ville de Paris, faicte le Jeudy seiziesme jour de decembre, l’an mil cinq cens quarante par le*

Things did not go as smoothly as the confraternity could have wished. On 10 June 1541 Parlement ordered the city council to keep the four entrepreneurs from performing the *Actes des Apostres*, which they were supposed to play on Thursday. They were not allowed to play the seventh part because it fell on a feast day, nor could they play on Sunday or at solemn feast days, with the threat of appropriate punishment. By 21 June, the Parlement had considered the previous ordonnance and for one time only permitted the three entrepreneurs of the mystery to play the following Wednesday, because their normal performance date was taken up with the feast of Saint John the Baptist (24 June).⁷³

Parlement continued to harass the confraternity, objecting to their intention to perform the *Mystère du Vieil Testament* in 1542. On 12 December 1541, the procurer general of the Parlement attacked the performances of the actors in *The Acts of the Apostles* during that year, saying that the troupe was made up of illiterate men including a joiner, a tapestry-maker, and a fishmonger; the procurer complained of apocryphal materials, of “farces lascives et momeries” added to the mystery play, and was especially unhappy with the actors’ lack of training and terrible pronunciation. He considered both the actors and the entrepreneurs to be ignorant—“artisans mécaniques.”⁷⁴ The Parlement’s plan was to no avail, because on 18

commandement du Roy nostre sire Francoys premier de ce nom et monsieur le prevost de Paris, affin de venir prendre les roolles pour jouer le dict mistère (Paris: Denys Janot, 1541; rpt. Paris: J. Pinard, 1830) [BnF Res-YF-2911]. Also printed in Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, 1:365–67; see also 2:140. According to Demartres, *Positions des thèses*, 45–46, performances began 8 May and ended 25 September. For a history of the printed editions of this play and their privileges, see Raymond Lebègue, *Le Mystère des Actes des apôtres: Contribution à l’étude de l’humanisme et du protestantisme français au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1929).

⁷³ Félibien, 4:702 (10 juin 1541). Petit de Julleville oddly dates this as 1542 in *Comédiens*, 70.

⁷⁴ Cited as AN, X 4914, fol. 80–82, and printed in Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, 1:424; in *Comédiens*, 67–69, he dates this as 9 December. Also printed in Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau historique et critique de la poésie française et du théâtre français au*

December 1541, François issued letters authorizing Charles le Royer and his associates, being the “maistes et entrepreneurs du jeu et mistaire de l’Ancien Testament” to perform that mystery play during the course of the next year.⁷⁵

The Parlement registered the abovementioned law on 27 January 1542 after examining the letters patent of the previous 18 December written at Eschon. The Court declared that Charles le Royer and his master entrepreneurs of the play and mystery of the Old Testament could perform, but warned them not to commit any “fraudes, fauses ne abus” and not to interpose anything profane or lascivious into the performance, nor take anything out; they also were ordered to play within a reasonable time frame. The charge for the entry would not be more than 2 sols tournois for each person, and extra charges of not more than 30 ecus would be conferred for the loges in the theatre. Performances were required to start promptly one hour after noon and continue until 5:00 p.m., without intermissions. No scandals, fights, or agitations, or other faults (so as not to insult the honor of the king, who gave them permission to play) were permitted, with the threat of arbitrary fine and prison. In the interests of the poor, and because of the distraction of the people from divine service and therefore loss of contributions to the poor box, Royer and his entrepreneurs must donate the huge sum of 1,000 livres tournois to the treasury of the poor in Paris—500 livres at the beginning and 500 after the performance.⁷⁶

seizième siècle, rev. ed. (Paris: Charpentier, 1869), 193–95; reproduced in Enders, *Urban Legends*, appendix 8.2. The 1843 edition of Sainte-Beuve is available on Gallica.

⁷⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 12242 (18 décembre 1541). Registered in Parlement 27 January 1542, “sous reserves.”

⁷⁶ Félibien, 4:702–03 (27 janvier 1542). See also Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, 2:141; printed in *Comédiens*, 69–70. Demartres, *Positions des thèses*, says that the performances ran from 8 May through 22 October.

The Parlement changed its tune when it needed to impress a visitor, commanding the confraternity to perform the *Mystery of the Old Testament* after dinner for the duke of Vandôme, 13 June 1542: “Ce jourd’huy le ducq de Vandosme est venu a la cour . . . et sur ce qu’il a requis qu’il fut permis aux maistres entrepreneurs du mistere du *Viel Testament*, jouer ce jourd’huy après disner parce qu’il avoit desir voir le jeu, et qu’il estoit pressé se retirer ou il estoit envoyé par le roy, la dicte cour a non seulement permis, mais a ordonné en faveur du dict sieur ducq aux dicts maistres entrepreneurs faire jouer ceste après disnée.”⁷⁷

On 30 August 1548, a notarized document from the Châtelet regarding the sale of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, which was to become Paris’s first permanent theatre space, offers a wealth of information on the confraternity at that moment. It concerns one Jean Rouvet, “Marchand Bourgeois de Paris,”⁷⁸ and “honorable” men Jacques le Roy and Jean le Roy, master masons; Hermant Jambe-fort, master paver, and Nicolas de Gendreville, “Conducteur du charroy de l’Artillerie” of the king, all “Bourgeois de Paris,” and currently masters and governors of the Confraternity of the Passion, who were to purchase part of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. One of the intriguing things about this document is that it contains a mention of a group which is thought to be the Enfants-sans-souci, and appears to be a kind of sub-troupe of the confraternity due to their signatures on the document: “Item, sur vingt-cinq livres tournois de rentes racheptables, pour trois cens livres tournois deues chacun an a ladicte

⁷⁷ Petit de Julleville, *Comédiens*, 70.

⁷⁸ Henri II created the office of “ouvrier du serment de France en la Monnaie de Paris” for Rouvet on 19 September 1547 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1028). Among the roles dated 9 December 1547, Rouvet was ordered to pay 600 livres “comme pleige d’un nomme Darthois, pour outre-passe d’une vente de bois, defauts de pieds corniers et autres delits” (ibid., ord. 1698).

Confrerie, par sire Henry Guyot & Jean Olivier, dit Margot, sur la maison des Sots attendans, assise en ceste dite ville de Paris, rue de Darnetal.”⁷⁹

Close on the heels of this document is the famous 17 November 1548 ruling of the Parlement of Paris. The Confraternity of the Passion, with continuing privileges of the kings of France, was allowed to present “plusieurs beaux mysteres à l’édification & joye du commun populaire, sans offense generale ou particulere”; the members made a request to the Parlement of Paris for permission to play in their new theatre at the Bourgogne. They claimed that their old “salle de la Passion” at the Trinité having been taken away by parliamentary ordonnance to house the poor, they needed to move into the Bourgogne. The Parlement granted them permission to perform and stressed that it was forbidden for anyone else to perform plays in Paris except “sous le tiltre” of the confraternity and “au profit” of them. Further, the Parlement forbade the confraternity from playing the “mystere de la Passion de nostre Sauveur, ne autres mysteres sacrez” under threat of fine. They were nevertheless permitted to play other “profane” mysteries, “honestes & licites” that didn’t offend or “injure” (insult) “autre personne.” The ruling ends with the injunction against all others performers “de

⁷⁹ *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 25–33. The document was signed by “Jacques le Roy, & Jean le Roy, maistres Macons a Paris, Nicolas de Gendreville, Courtier jure de chevaux, & Jambefort maistre paveur a Paris, tous a present Maistres & Gouverneurs de ladite Confrerie de la Passion & Resurrection de nostre Seigneur, fondee en l’Eglise & Hospital de la Trinite a Paris, Adrian Gervais Doyen de ladite Confrerie, maistre Anthoine Caille maire Sotte, Me Pierre Hemon Huissier du Roy nostre Sire, en la Cour des generaux de la Justice de ses Aydes, Jean Louvet Sergent a verge au Chastelet, Prevoste & Vicomte de Paris, Jean Fade, François Poutrain, Charles le Royer, & Michel Lyon, tous anciens Maistres d’icelle Confrerie; Toussaint de Fresnes, Nicolas de Compans, Jean Dureau, Guillaume Hochart, Martial Vaillant, Pierre de Ruë, Jean Godefroy dit Poireau, Jean Joyau, Richard Georges, Jean Lesguillier, Denys le Boiteux, Mathurin Darnois, Nicolas Hervé dit Venise, Jean Bertrand, Pierre le Mercier, François Hueble, Pierre Foucquet, Pierre Royer, Jean Reculé, Nicolas Scot & Nicolas Gayant, tous Confreres d’icelle Confrerie,” giving a valuable list of performers who often remain anonymous.

jouer ou représenter dorénavant aucuns jeux ou mystères” in the city or surrounding areas except under the name and for profit of the confraternity.⁸⁰ With what may be suspect timing, the Parlement issued this ruling just before the king’s return to Paris.⁸¹

In January 1555, Henri II confirmed the Confraternity of the Passion’s monopoly through *lettres de chartes*. Oddly, scholars have ignored the fact that he was in favor of religious plays and that his confirmation overturned the Parlement’s ruling: “donnons autorité, congé & licence de faire & jouer les Mystères dessusdicts, & autres jeux honnestes & recreatifs, sans offenser personne, en leur sale de la Passion, dicte l’Hostel de Bourgogne, ou autre lieu & place licite à ce faire, qu’ils pourront trouver plus commode, si bon leur semble.” Most letters of this type will refer to earlier rulings by previous kings and the Parlement, but Henri does not mention the Parliamentary ruling of 1548; it therefore becomes a bit of a slap in the face to add the customary formula “nonobstant quelsconques Ordonnances, restrictions, mandemens, deffenses & lettre à ce contraires.”⁸² In law, at least, the confraternity was free to perform whatever they liked for the remainder of Henri’s reign.

In addition to the Confraternity of the Passion, other guilds and confraternities were called upon to present public entertainments from time to time. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Bureau had been in charge of organizing formal city entries for some time, and the system was firmly in place by the sixteenth century. For the reception of the archduke of

⁸⁰ Ibid., 33–34. Also printed in Félibien, 4:743 (17 novembre 1548). This ruling was reissued on the occasion of the confirmation by Henri IV (1589–1610) of the confraternity’s privileges; the Parliamentary ruling was on 28 November 1598, *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 66–67.

⁸¹ *Registres*, 3:138 (17 et 18 novembre 1548).

⁸² *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 38–39. The confraternity’s privileges were confirmed in March 1560 by François II (40–41); in January 1567 by Charles IX (42–47); in January 1576 by Henri III (47–49); Henri IV in April 1598 (49–50); and Louis XIII (51–53).

Austria (Philippe le Beau, 1478–1506) and his wife in November 1501, the entry in the *Registres* mentions that the city was planning entertainments (“jeux”) at the Gate of Saint-Denis and the Gate of the Painters.⁸³ The same was true at another entry for the archbishop of Rouen (George d’Amboise) in February 1502, where the Bureau was in charge of having “jeux et misteres honnestes” played at those two locations.⁸⁴ The historian Sauval mentions a quittance for the now-famous actor-author-director Pierre Gringore and the carpenter Jehan Marchant, “pour avoir fait & composé” the mystery at the Châtelet and “ordonné des personnages.”⁸⁵

When the Bureau was making plans for the queen’s entry in January 1502, all the city officers were ordered to dress appropriately to accompany her in a procession. The “gens de l’Université de Paris habillés” were mandated by the Bureau to “trouver quelque bonne

⁸³ *Registres*, 1:62 (16 novembre 1501).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:67 (13 février 1502).

⁸⁵ Sauval, 3:533–34, *Ordinaire de Paris, pour l’année finie à la saint Jehan-Baptiste, 1502*: “A Jehan Marchant & Pierre Gringoire, Compositeurs & Charpentiers, qui ont fait & composé le mystere fait au Chastelet de Paris à l’entrée de Mr le Legat, ordonné des personnages, iceux revestus & habillés ainsi qui audit mystere étoit requis, & pareillement d’avoir fait les échafaults qui étoient à ce necessaires, & pour ce faire, fourni le bois, cent livres . . . A Jehan Marchand, Charpentier de la grand’coignée & Pierre Gringoire, Compositeurs, cent livres, pour avoir fait & composé le mystere fait au Chastelet à l’entrée de Mr l’Archiduc, ordonné des personnages, iceux revestus & habillés ainsi qu’en mystere étoit requis, & pareillement d’avoir fait les échafaux qui étoient à ce necessaires . . . A eux [Gringore et Marchand] la somme de cinquante livres parisis, pour accomplir le mystere qui se devoit faire à l’entrée de la Reine de France lesquels ont fait & préparé la plus grande partie du mystere, pour parfaire & accomplir quand le bon plaisir sera à ladite Dame faire ladite entrée; ainsi que lesdits Marchand & Gringoire se sont obligés pardevant deux Notaires.” Gringore participated in at least six Parisian entries in the sixteenth century: for Archduke Philip of Austria and his wife in 1501; the legate’s in 1502; Anne of Brittany in 1504; Mary Tudor in 1514; François I in 1515; and queen Claude in 1517. See esp. the introduction to Charles Read Baskervill, *Pierre Gringore’s Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris: An Unpublished Manuscript* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). For a summary of the available evidence on Gringore, see Alan Hindley’s critical edition of Gringore’s *Le Jeu du Prince des Sotz et de Mere Sotte* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2000).

invention” in rhyming French. This would be “prononcé” by a richly-dressed “personnage.” The “nobles bourgeois” were to dress their children up to accompany the provost and aldermen. Most interestingly, the Bureau mandated “les Bouchers et Maistres de la Passion, pour leur prier qu’ilz facent chascun en son esgard quelque chose honneste comme ilz ont acoustumé faire.”⁸⁶ This surprisingly suggests that the butcher’s guild was on an even footing with the Confraternity of the Passion during this time and indicates that it was common practice for both groups to put on plays at such events. The next day, the butcher Guillaume Tibart was called to the town hall for his official summons to both march in the procession with the provost and aldermen, and to create “jeux honnests” at the Grande Boucherie for the king and queen, “ainsi que autres fois a esté fait.”⁸⁷

Discussing the entry of the queen in November 1504, the Bureau decided it would have made “beaulx et grans misteres es portes et autres lieux de lad. ville où on les a acoustumé faire esd. entrées.”⁸⁸ In the report of the entry later that month, the Bureau’s secretary recorded further details of the mysteries. The one at the Gate of Saint-Denis at midday was probably a tableau vivante with two characters (“deux personnages”) named Loyalty and Honor and three more named Justice, Clergy, and “Comun.” An “acteur” recited a poem about the five characters. At the Ponceau fountain was a painting. At the Trinité was the mystery of the transfiguration and other mysteries of the passion performed by the Confraternity of the Passion. At the Gate of the Painters (confusingly also called the Old Gate

⁸⁶ *Registres*, 1:64–65 (13 janvier 1502); also in Godefroy, 1:687–88. The butchers were based at the cemetery of Saint Jean, according to the privileges granted to them by Louis XII and confirmed by Henri II in June 1550 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6755).

⁸⁷ *Registres*, 1:65 (14 janvier 1502); also in Godefroy, 1:688.

⁸⁸ *Registres*, 1:93–94 (7 novembre 1504); also in Godefroy, 1:690–95.

of Saint-Denis) was another mystery of *Cinq Annes* from the Old Testament, into which they incorporated Anne, “noble royne de France.” At the fountain of Saint-Innocent (the Innocents) was a mystery called *Trois Roys* “qui vinrent aorer Notre Seigneur, et autres misteres qui furent faiz par les Frepriers.” In front of the Châtelet, “y avoit autres misteres.” In front of the second door of the Palais in the rue de la Calende was yet another mystere.⁸⁹ All of these involved performers of some kind; the laws stress the visual aspect of these mysteries rather than the quality of the spoken words.

The recorded activities of Pierre Gringore picked up around this time: on 25 February 1512 at Les Halles (the commercial center of Paris), he performed his famous group of plays: *Le jeu du Prince des Sots*; *La Moralité de Peuple Français, Peuple Italique et l'Homme Obstiné*; and *La Farce de Dire et Faire*.⁹⁰ Somewhere between 1510 and 1514, the confraternity of masons and carpenters based at the chapel of Saint-Blaise, rue Galande, commissioned him to write a *Mystère de Saint Louis*.⁹¹ For the entry of Mary Tudor, sister of Henry VIII, the Parlement ordered “jeux & esbattemens” to honor her in several places throughout the city where stages were erected. The same mentions “instrumens &

⁸⁹ *Registres*, 1:95–97 (18, 19 et 20 novembre 1504). See also Henri Stein, “Le Sacre d’Anne de Bretagne et son entrée à Paris en 1504,” *Mémoires de la Société de l’Histoire de Paris* 29 (1902): 268–304; the quittance for Gringore and Marchand in Sauval, *Ordinaire de Paris, pour un an fini à la St Jean 1505, Me Jehan Teste, Receveur & Voyer ordinaire*, 3:537: “Mes Jean Marchand & Pierre Gregoire cent livres, pour par eux avoir fait les eschafaux, & fait faire le mistere sur la porte dudit Chastelet de Paris à l’entrée de Madame la Reine, qui fut par elle faite en cette Ville de Paris, quis & livré par eux les habillemens & autres choses necessaires appartenantes pour ledit mistere”; and Charles Oulmont, “Pierre Gringore et l’entrée de la reine Anne en 1504 (D’après un document inédit),” in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Picot*, 2:385–92.

⁹⁰ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 361–62.

⁹¹ Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, 2:583; and *Comédiens*, 56. See Élisabeth Lalou, “Les cordonniers metteurs en scène des mystères de Saint Crépin et Saint Crépinien,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 143 (1985): 91–115.

trompettes” playing during the banquet that would follow, but no other private performance.⁹²

Other sources mention participation by Gringore, who prepared a *Mystère du Roy Salomon et la reine Saba*.⁹³ When charged with the organization of this entry, the municipality stated that since they were responsible for the “misteres et ebatemens es portes et autres lieux acoustumez,” that they needed to “veoir les Registres de la Ville pour prendre exemple es autres entrées faictes par cy devant par les Roynes deffunctes, à savoir commen l’on s’y debvra conduire et gouverner.”⁹⁴ They came to the conclusion that they would have staged “beaulx misteres, jeux et esbatemens es portes et autres lieux acoustumez par où lad. Dame passera.”⁹⁵ The municipality’s account of the disastrously crowded banquet claims that the reason people were crammed into the Hôtel de Ville was that “chacun vouloit veoir les sollempnitez du service, auquel eust de moult beaux entremetz, jusques à xii^e, en representation de plusieurs bestes sauvaiges et devises du Roy, de la Royne et de Madame.”⁹⁶

⁹² Félibien, 4:631 (6 novembre 1514); see also *Registres*, 1:216–17 (4 and 6 novembre 1514); and Godefroy, 1:737–46.

⁹³ Sauval, *Ordinaire de Paris pour un an fini à la St. Jean, 1515*, 3:593–94, offers yet another quittance for Gringore and Marchand: “A Jehan Marchand, Charpentier, & Pierre Gregoire, Historien & Facteur, demeurant en cette Ville de Paris, la somme de cent quinze livres parisis, à eux ordonnée par les Tresoriers de France, par leur Lettre du quatorze Novembre 1514, pour avoir suivant la bonne & louable coutume, & qu’il est decent faire aux entrées des Rois, Reines & Enfants de France en cette Ville de Paris à l’honneur & louange & exaltation de leurs personnes & decoration de ladite Ville, fait faire les échafaux, composé les mysteres, habits des personnages, loué tapisseries & salarié les Chantres, Menestriers & autres personnes pour servir aux mysteres qu’il a convenu faire à l’entrée de la Reine faite en cette Ville le cinq de ce present mois au devant du portail du Chastelet de Paris, qui est le principal Siege de la Jurisdiction ordinaire; lequel mystere a été bien & honnestement fait & accompli, & au grand nombre de personnages faisans ledit mystere qu’il a convenu audit Marchand & Gregoire salarier, les vestir & accoustrer selon la qualité des personnes qu’ils representoient, &c.” See also the *Comptes de la Ville de Paris*, BnF ms. nouv. acq. fr. 3243, fol. 63; and Baskervill’s edition of the pageants.

⁹⁴ *Registres*, 1:212 (29 août 1514).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:212–13 (2 septembre 1514).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:218–19 (26 novembre 1514).

With the coming of François I's reign, there was also a mystery played in front of the Trinité by the Confraternity of the Passion for his entry.⁹⁷ Apparently, performances by sanctioned guilds and confraternities were not the only entertainments offered that year. According to the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, a priest named Monsieur Cruche—"grand fatiste"—and several other performers erected a platform and performed in the Place Maubert in April 1515, offering a *sottie*, a *sermon joyeuse*, a morality, and a farce. At least one of the plays poked fun at one of the new king's mistresses; the chronicler tells us that the king and eight or ten gentlemen were to dine at the "taverne du Chateau" in the rue de la Juifverie, and someone sent a false request to Monsieur Cruche, asking him to perform for them. He did, and the king's gentlemen attacked him. The chronicler describes how he tried to escape their punishment by showing his tonsure, claiming ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but was unsuccessful.⁹⁸ Cruche's associate, Gringore, supposedly gave a performance of his own, *La Sottie des Chroniqueurs*, in May 1515.⁹⁹ This did not prohibit him from being hired by the city again; at Queen Claude's entry on 12 May 1517, allegorical mysteries created by Gringore and Marchant were presented in front of the Châtelet.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Sauval, *Ordinaire de Paris pour un an fini à la St. Jean, 1515*, 3:594, quittance for Gringore and Marchand: "A eux [Gringore et Marchand] cent quinze livres parisis pour leurs peines, salaires & vacations, d'avoir fait, devisé & composé le mystere qui a été fait à la Porte de Paris, pour la decoration de l'entrée du Roi nostre Sire, qui fut faite en cette Ville de Paris le quinzième jour de ce present mois de Fevrier, ainsi qu'il est accoutumé faire d'ancienneté, comme pour les recompenser des frais par eux faits en accoustremens de draps de soye, échafaux, engins & autres choses qui leur a convenu avoir pour agréer ledit mystere." See also the *Comptes de la Ville de Paris*, BnF ms. nouv. acq. fr. 3243, fol. 65v.

⁹⁸ *Journal*, 13–14. See also Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 365.

⁹⁹ Charles Oulmont, *Pierre Gringore: La poésie morale, politique et dramatique à la veille de la Renaissance* (Paris: 1911; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1976), 297.

¹⁰⁰ Godefroy, 1:756; Sauval, *Ordinaire de Paris pour l'année finie à la St. Jean 1517*, 3:596–97 (quittance): "M^e Pierre Gregoire, Compositeur & Historien, & Jehan Marchand Maistre Juré Charpentier, cent livres parisis, pour par eux avoir fait faire le mystere qui a été

For Queen Eleanor's entry, according to the memoir compiled by the Bureau during their 1530 meeting, there were three main performance stages erected: one by the "maistres de la Passion" at the Trinité; one by the fripiers in front of the fountain of the Innocents;¹⁰¹ and one by the "maistres Bouchers de la Grande Boucherye . . . ainsi qu'ilz ont costume." The jousting "lyces et perrons anciennement acoustumez" in the rue Saint-Antoine were to take place. Mandements were issued to the groups listed above, among others, to be present at the Bureau the following Monday at 8:00 a.m. (12 December); listed separately were the "maistres des misteres," referring to the people in charge of all the entertainments along the parade route.¹⁰²

fait devant le Chastelet le jour que la Reine a fait son entrée en cette Ville de Paris, suivant le devis & marché fait avec eux par le Lieutenant Criminel, Procureur du Roi & Greffier audit Chastelet, attaché à l'Ordonnance des Tresoriers de France sous l'un de leurs signets le vingtième May 1517." Other "misteres et esbattemens" were planned by the municipality at the usual places along the procession route; see *Registres*, 1:238–39 (16 mars 1517) and Godefroy, 1:759–61.

¹⁰¹ François' edict of June 1544 regarding the status of privileges for the fripiers of Paris does not mention their performances but certainly describes their access to costumes: Fontanon, 1:1054–56 (juin 1544); also printed in Lespinasse, 3:430; and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 386. At least one master fripier, Pierre Folleville of the rue des Mathurins, played an important part in providing costumes for entertainments in the second half of the century: see Georges Wildenstein, "Un fournisseur d'habits de théâtre et de mascarades à Paris sous Henri III," *BHR* 23 (1961): 99–106. Wildenstein reproduces extracts from Folleville's inventory dated 16 January 1581, describing a wide range of costumes and masks for various kinds of "jeux, comédies et mascarades."

¹⁰² *Registres*, 2:77–80 (1 décembre 1530); and Godefroy, 1:780–83. On one of the most famous of these French "Master of Mysteries," Jean Bouchet (who practiced outside the Paris area), see Francis Bar, "Jean Bouchet et le théâtre de tradition médiévale," in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon* (Rennes: Institut de Français, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 1:13–21; and Madeleine Lazard, "Un ordonnateur de mystères au XVI^e siècle: le procureur poitevin Jean Bouchet," in *Études sur Étienne Dolet: le théâtre au XVI^e siècle: le Forez, le Lyonnais et l'histoire du livre, publié à la mémoire de Claude Longeon*, ed. Gabriel-André Pérouse (Geneva: Droz, 1993), 139–50. See also Jennifer Britnell, *Jean Bouchet* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986).

The “messieurs de la Ville” wanted to be informed of which play the “Maistres de la Passion” intended to perform so they could give their approval (on Monday the twelfth); they issued remonstrances to the creators of the mystery plays “suivant le volloir et intention du Roy.” There was an identical entry for the master fripiers, but the butchers’ entry was a bit different, referring to the stage in front of the Châtelet, which was not their usual playing place: “Aux Bouchers de la Grand Boucherye de Paris a esté remonstré que messieurs de la ville veuillent entendre l’intencion de leur mistere pour leur en dire sur ce leur advis.” The butchers asked for a copy of the registers that described one of the mysteries at the Châtelet, and said they would get back to the Bureau the following Monday.¹⁰³

At the Monday meeting, the Confraternity of the Passion is oddly not mentioned (perhaps all was well), while the fripiers were ordered to perform their “mistere selon le pourtraict qu’ilz ont exhibé ou dict Bureau” and ordered to pay for it themselves. As for the butchers of the Grand Boucherie, they were ordered to perform in the customary manner and build the platforms near Châtelet. They offered to do it for the pleasure of the “Gouverneur et messieurs de la ville,” but directed those gentlemen to the registers they had looked over, because it was the officers of the Châtelet who were customarily responsible for the platforms. The footnote says that the costs of the mystery were paid by the Prévôté de Paris, citing an account from 1531 that paid two “menuisiers” (joiners) 115 livres parisis for having built the platforms, written the play, rented the tapestries, and paid the “chantres et ménestrels en veu de jeu scénique.”¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ *Registres*, 2:80–82 (5 décembre 1530); also printed in Godefroy, 1:783–86.

¹⁰⁴ *Registres*, 2:85–87 (12 décembre 1530); and Godefroy, 1:786–89. See Sauval, *Ordinaire de Paris, 1531*, 3:614: “A deux Menuisiers, pour avoir, suivant la bonne & louable coustume & qu’il est decent, fait aux entrées des Rois, Reine & enfans de France en cette Ville de Paris,

At the early deliberation for the entry of Charles V, the Bureau states that it intended to follow the king's instructions to the letter, and to that end to create the most magnificent "misteres, triumphs" and other things as possible, including going outside their usual stock of theatre folk ("mander partout"—even outside Paris) to find "gens savans inventeurs, pour faire les theatres et choses convenables et decentes à lad. entree."¹⁰⁵

Another mention of "mystères" in the Bureau's register for Charles V's entry (1 January 1540) reports the organization of "misteres, theatres, triumphs," and later says it is the "paintres et orfevres de faire les theatres et triumphs." There is a description of the "beau mistere . . . sur ung grant eschaffault" at the Baudoyer Gate. It describes a "belle nymphe et dame celeste, nommé *Aliance*" who enters the stage, set as the "parc François," from the door marked "Paix" (on the other side, the door marked "Guerre" is clearly locked). The register does not mention who performed this role, but it was a speaking role; the end of the paragraph reads, "Et lad. Aliance disoit . . ." but breaks off and is blank where the monologue should have been recorded.¹⁰⁶

à la louange & exaltation de leurs personnes & décoration de ladite Ville, fait faire les eschafaux, composé les misteres, habits des personnages, loué tapisseries, salerie les Chantres, Menestriers & autres personnes, pour avoir servi aux misteres qu'il a convenu faire à l'entrée de la Reine faite en cettedite Ville le jour de dernier passé, au devant du Portail du Chastelet de Paris, qui est le principal Siege de la Jurisdiction ordinaire, lequel mistere a été bien & honnestement fait & accompli, & en grand nombre de personnages faisans ledit mistere, & c. cent quinze livres parisis"; and Germain Bapst, *Essai sur l'histoire du théâtre: la mise en scène, le décor, le costume, l'architecture, l'éclairage, l'hygiène* (Paris: Hachette, 1893), 132, for city accounts.

¹⁰⁵ *Registres*, 3:3 (10 novembre 1539).

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, 3:7–10 (1 janvier 1540); these and the other meetings regarding Charles V's entry are also printed in Félibien, 5:351–57. See Jacquot, *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, 2:437–38. On tournaments, see Sydney Anglo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Richard Barber and Juliet Barker, *Tournaments: Jousts, Chivalry, and Pageants in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1989); and Francis Henry Cripps-Day, *The History of the Tournament in England and France* (London:

Following the letters missive of Henri II on 12 April 1547, the Bureau met to plan both the funeral of François and the new king's entry.¹⁰⁷ The Bureau decided that "beaulx eschauffaulx et misteres" would be erected/made in the customary places, and that mandements would be issued to "paintres, inventeurs, et gens de bon esperit, pour composer et adviser ausdictz misteres."¹⁰⁸ As the editors of the *Registres* note, there are great details of the visual entertainments, which was typical of the Bureau; the Parlement of Paris concerned itself with rank and order. But they fail to mention entertainments like the tournaments in the rue Saint-Antoine and the representation of a mock naval battle on the Seine—an "assaut donné à la redoute construite dans l'Ile Louviers pour la circonstance."¹⁰⁹

The city officers, led by the provost of merchants, invited the provost of Paris and officers of Châtelet to a dinner at the city hall, complete with violins and other musicians, after the official proclamation of the treaty with Charles V and Philip II of Spain in February 1556.¹¹⁰ There was dancing—"Dames et Damoiselles," who had come to see the solemn

Bernard Quaritch, 1918; rpt. New York: AMS, 1982). See also Jacques Heers, *Fêtes, jeux et joutes dans les sociétés d'Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2d ed. (Montreal: Institut d'études médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1982); and Claude-François Ménéstrier, *Traité des tournois, joustes, carrousels et autres spectacles publics* (Lyon: Jacques Muguet, 1669) [on Gallica]. See also BnF ms. fr. 24450, *Recueil de cartels, de mascarades et de tournois du XV^e au XVII^e siècle*, esp. fol. 231 and 303.

¹⁰⁷ Printed in *Registres*, 3:80 (13 avril 1547); and Godefroy, 1:300–01.

¹⁰⁸ *Registres*, 3:80–82 (19 et 21 avril 1547); also in Godefroy, 1:301–03.

¹⁰⁹ *Registres*, 3:179, note 1: see AN, KK 286^A, fol. 94+, fol. 149+. For the details of the entry of Henri into Paris on 16 June 1549, see *Registres*, 3:164–79; also printed in Félibien, 5:361–74; see also Parlement, dated 16 and 18 June, in Godefroy, 1:879–93.

¹¹⁰ On music, see Édith Weber, *Histoire de la musique française, 1500–1650* (Paris: SEDES, 1996), who also discusses dances and ballets; Howard Mayer Brown, *Music in the French Secular Theatre, 1400–1550* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); Brown, ed., *Theatrical Chansons of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963); and the overview in François Lesure, "Les joueurs d'instruments et la musique instrumentale à Paris au XVI^e siècle," *BHR* 12 (1950): 373–75. See also H.M.C. Purkis, "Les intermèdes à la cour de France au XVI^e siècle," *BHR* 20

proclamation, performed a single-sex dance.¹¹¹ For the banquet at the Hôtel de Ville following the next day's procession, there is no mention of dancing or performance, but all the religious leaders were invited (two tables: one for the church, one for the city, placed opposite each other). After dinner, there were benedictions and then six "clerons et trompettes" of the city gave two blasts in the Grande Salle (Great Hall) to signal their joy at the treaty; "puis chascun s'en retourna à ses affaires."¹¹² This kind of subdued banqueting behavior was not at all typical of court entertainments at royal banquets, as we shall see below.

Performers at Court

Just as the Confraternity of the Passion performed both independently (privately) and for city events (publicly), many of the performers who entertained at court lived a fluid existence. To take that very organization for example, the members of the confraternity had a long history of performing for the court as well as under the abovementioned circumstances.¹¹³ The butchers' guild also performed for royalty.¹¹⁴ Petit de Julleville, following the memoirs of Fleurange, describes a performance by the basoche in Mary Tudor's honor in 1514.¹¹⁵ He also cites a payment in 1532 to "Le sieur Rousseau, Empeureur de

(1958): 296–309; Purkis, "Choeurs chantés ou parlés dans la tragédie française au XVI^e siècle?" *BHR* 22 (1960): 294–301; and B. Bernhard, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménétriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* ser. 1, vol. 3 (1841–42): 377–404; vol. 4 (1842–43): 525–48; vol. 5 (1843–44): 254–84 and 339–72.

¹¹¹ *Registres*, 4:407–09 (16 février 1556). On dance, see Germaine Prudhommeau, *Histoire de la danse*, 2 vols. (Paris: Éditions Amorphe, 1986–89); and Margaret M. McGowan, *L'art du ballet de cour en France, 1581–1643* (Paris: CNRS, 1963).

¹¹² *Registres*, 4:409–10 (17 février 1556).

¹¹³ *Ordonnances . . . troisième race*, 8:555–56 (décembre 1402).

¹¹⁴ *Registres*, 1:65 (14 janvier 1502).

¹¹⁵ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 363.

Galilée” (of the law clerks at the *Chambre des Comptes*), from François I for “dances, morisques, mommeries et autre triomphes que le Roi veut et entend estre faits par les clerks de Galilée, pour l’honneur et recreation de la Reine.”¹¹⁶ As for the status of the official court fool, Auguste Jal points out that although he or she was paid from the treasury of the king’s “menus plaisirs” (revels), he or she could be as highly placed as a valet of the chamber, or fall at the bottom of the list of the king’s household.¹¹⁷

The famous fool Triboulet is mentioned in the king’s *lettres de don* (letters of donation) to François Bourcier, the governor who kept up with his linens and lodging, on 6 February 1524.¹¹⁸ Another mandement to the treasurer of France on 12 September 1526 orders him to pay Bourcier 40 livres tournois for the present year, not specifying for what type of services.¹¹⁹ Triboulet does not actually ever seem to have been given a mandate for direct payment; in 1531, Gilbert Violet, “barbier et valet de chambre” of the admiral of

¹¹⁶ Ibid., 379; see also *Comédiens*, 94–95. This is from the *Ordinaire de Paris*, 1531–32; see Sauval, 3:615: “Guillaume Rousseau, Empereur de l’Empire de Gallilée, & Suppôts d’icelui, Clerks en la Chambre des Comptes, vingt-cinq livres Parisis, aux frais & charges dudit Empire; mesmement aux dances morisques, mommeries & autres triomphes que le Roi veut & entend être faites par eux pour l’honneur & recreation de la Reine.”

¹¹⁷ Jal, *Dictionnaire Critique*, “Fous en titre d’office,” 1:596–605; Jal offers a wealth of information from accounts for the various fools at court discussed in this section. See also Maurice Lever, *Le sceptre et la marotte: Histoire des fous de cour* (Paris: Fayard, 1983); and Barbara Swain, *Fools and Folly during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932). For the organization of the royal household, see Jean-François Solon, *La cour de France* (Paris: Fayard, 1987); and Jean-Marie Constant, *La vie quotidienne de la noblesse française aux XVIe et XVIIe siècles* (Paris: Hachette, 1993). For primary sources on the royal household, see esp. Jean Du Tillet, *La chronique des roys de France . . .* (Rouen: Le Mégissier, 1551) [on Gallica] and his *Recueil des roys de France . . . ensemble le rang des grands de France . . .*, 2 vols. (Paris: P. Mettayer, 1618). The office of master of the revels will be discussed in the chapter on sponsorship.

¹¹⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 17752; AN, KK 98, fol. 185v. Triboulet’s governor under Louis XII had been a certain Michelle Vernoy, according to Jal, “Fous en titre d’office.”

¹¹⁹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 18809; BnF ms. fr. 5502, fol. 30v.

France, was ordered to be reimbursed for clothing and other necessities for Triboulet and his governor that year.¹²⁰ Triboulet is specifically mentioned as the king's "fou" (fool) in a mandement dated around 1534 where the king orders a full costume to be made for him.¹²¹ It was a family affair: Jal cites payments to Triboulet's brother, Nicolas Fleurial or Ferrial, who worked in the king's kitchen. Jal also mentions a contemporary fool of Triboulet's named Jouan, who was the fool of Marguerite de Valois, and a female fool at François' court called Madame de Rambouillet, citing a 17 January 1528 payment to her and her sister, Jehanneton Guyotonne.¹²²

There were a number of random entertainers/advisors at court. A donation ordered from the king around 1534 describes Paule Belmissere, "de 'Pontreme,' qui a fait compositions, devis et harangues de plusieurs matières et diverses sciences 'esquelles il croit estre bien expert' et dont il donne récréation au roi."¹²³ Around August of that year, Belmissere "au pays d'Italie" was granted money to help him with his expenses "qu'il a faite en suivant la cour."¹²⁴ Payments were mandated on 20 January 1533 for the clothes which the king gave to Jean Robert, "clerc de sa chapelle" and Guillaume de Nouvel, "chapelain du cardinal de Lorraine en consideration du passe-temps qu'ils lui ont donne et donnent chaque jour, au jeu de la lutte, particulièrement lors de la derniere entrevue des rois." This is the only mention of these two performers in the index.¹²⁵ And a mandate on 11 March 1535 ordered the treasurer to pay Jean de Pichelin, seigneur of Villemanoché, for the "passe-temps qu'il

¹²⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 28053; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:205.

¹²¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 28776; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:270 (5 août 1534).

¹²² AN, *Menus Plaisirs*, KK 100, fol. 32.

¹²³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 29101; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:271–72 (5 août 1534).

¹²⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 28871.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 5285; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:209 (20 janvier 1533).

donne chaque jour à la reine et au roi.”¹²⁶ In October 1538, we find a grant for the king’s entertainment by Guillaume de Louviers (or Louvières), “plaisant.”¹²⁷ In the same month, the king granted Jacques Loye a very small sum “pour le plaisir que le roi prend à le voir parfois jouer à la paume.”¹²⁸ Briandas the fool is mentioned on 6 March 1539, given by the king the office of “boutefeu et buvetier de la Cour des generaux des aides a Paris” to sell at his own profit.¹²⁹ In the same month, the king ordered a payment to Hans Ber, Hans Turiq, Peter Zich, and their “compagnons”—all members of the Swiss Guard—“en récompense du passe-temps qu’ils donnèrent au roi en dansant en sa présence, le jour des Rois dernier.”¹³⁰

The king was not the only one with a fool on retainer. The queen, Eleanor of Austria, had a fool named Cathelot; the king mandated a payment to her governess, Françoise Girard, for “les soins et la nourriture” (care and feeding) of the “folle de reine” on 21 February 1534.¹³¹ On 19 May 1536, Cathelot is described as the fool belonging to the household of Madeleine and Marguerite de France in letters of donation from the king to her, as well as Girard, for their clothing.¹³² Cathelot is mentioned again in a donation from the king on 10

¹²⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 7589; BnF ms. fr. 15632, n. 628.

¹²⁷ François, *Catalogue*, n. 31784; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:249. Mixed in with the registers of 1533, we find evidence that Louvières and two companions—Charles de Clerambault and Jean Dubois—were fined by the Parlement of Paris for an unnamed infraction (François, *Catalogue*, n. 28484).

¹²⁸ Ibid., n. 31821.

¹²⁹ Ibid., n. 10899.

¹³⁰ Ibid., n. 30964.

¹³¹ Ibid., n. 6762; BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 869. A 1533 gift from the king granted a life-long pension to Françoise Girard as it had to her mother, to help with living expenses and to provide dowries for her daughters (*Catalogue*, n. 28450). This passed to her sister, Cécile Girard, on 22 February 1538 on the occasion of Françoise’s death (n. 9694). See also a payment to Françoise as “gouvernante de Kathelot, folle de la Royne” in 1533–34, printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:270 (5 août 1534).

¹³² François, *Catalogue*, n. 8455; AN, KK 91, fol. 233.

June 1537 to pay for her “accoutrements.”¹³³ The dauphin’s household had its own fool as well: on 18 July 1536, there is mention in a mandement of the king giving money for a costume for a Master Martin, known as “le Bailli,” listed as household fool for the dauphin and his brothers.¹³⁴

The king’s contact with other courts gave him the opportunity to enjoy the performances of other court fools. On the occasion of the king’s meeting with the emperor at Aigues-Mortes and Villeneuve-de-Tende in 1538, he offered new clothes to a list of people at court, including the plaisant of the pope named Le Roux and to the fool Briandas.¹³⁵ He also gave money to a plaisant of the emperor named Perricquou, as well as the emperor’s trumpet player named Sépluchre and his group.¹³⁶ There is a second payment to Perricquou “pour la recreation par lui donnee au roi.”¹³⁷ He seemed to like this plaisant so much that at Aigues-Mortes he gave him a gold chain belonging to his son’s nurse, and later issued a mandement to pay her.¹³⁸ Obviously not wanting the plaisant of the pope, Le Roux, to feel

¹³³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 9064; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:398–99 (*Mémoire de ce qui fault pour le service du Roy*). For accounts regarding Cathelot, see Jal, “Fous en titre d’office,” esp. for a discussion of AN registers KK 91, fol. 233 and KK 101 (18 October 1529). He believes she was replaced by a new queen’s fool, La Jardinière, and her governess Charlotte Mariel, citing accounts of Catherine de Medici and François II for 1556, 1559, and 1560. On Catherine de Medici, see Ivan Cloulas, *Catherine de Médicis*, 2d ed. (Paris: Seine, 1989).

¹³⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 8571; AN, KK 91, fol. 239v. There is a quittance for a Jean Martin, “joueur de flute de la Chambre,” on 26 February 1551 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 8095; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 3154, fol. 24).

¹³⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 31902; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:251 (3 septembre 1538).

¹³⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 31908; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:251–52 (3 septembre 1538).

¹³⁷ François, *Catalogue*, n. 31978; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:252 (3 septembre 1538).

¹³⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 32007; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:253 (3 septembre 1538).

left out, the king gave him an “image d’or” at Villeneuve-de-Tende and had to mandate payment to his goldsmith in October 1538.¹³⁹

Some of the court fools were rewarded quite generously with titles as well as gifts. Jean Antoine Lombard, “dit Brusquet,” is mentioned in letters patent on 29 July 1547 as resigning the office of “concierge and garde du palais du roi et munitions” in Marseille.¹⁴⁰ On 12 April 1548, Brusquet was granted the office of “viguier d’Antibes.”¹⁴¹ Jal cites payments regarding Lombard/Brusquet, “valet de chambre du feu Roi” for receiving black cloth to wear at the funeral of Henri II. In addition to Brusquet, Jal mentions accounts regarding another fool of Henri II’s, Tony, in 1559, and his governor La Farce.

In addition to court fools, there were theatrical troupes that followed the court around and participated in various and sundry festivities. The king and the members of the court were active themselves in such festivities—especially when it came to dancing or tournaments. Few laws mandating courtly entertainments state by name who the performers were, but there were definitely certain kinds of performances assigned to certain kinds of performers. For instance, we have evidence that the Bureau was not used to organizing courtly entertainments of masques and other kinds of dancing. They were mandated on 15 June 1528 to arrange “mommeryes, moriques et autres joyeusetez” for the wedding of Renée de France and the duke of Ferrara (Hercule d’Este), but since it was a “question de chose nouvelle . . . que l’on

¹³⁹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 31815; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:249–50. François issued many payments to musicians of the Pope in June 1538; see François, *Catalogue*, n. 31537–42 and n. 31552.

¹⁴⁰ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 736.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., ord. 2786. Printed in Maurice Rimbault, “Jean-Antoine Lombard, dit Brusquet, vigieur d’Antibes en 1548,” *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques* 17 (1904): 40–42.

n’avoit veue par cy devant faire par ladicte Ville,” they asked to be excused from the duty, pleading that “ladicte Ville n’est usitée pour se mesler de telz affaires.”¹⁴²

As an example of royal participation, the author of the *Journal* reports François’ performances in October 1516 in masques and mummeries. From January through May 1517, the author reports that the king and his young minions have been running around the city in disguise, causing all sorts of trouble.¹⁴³ The *Journal* also mentions a banquet held on 22 December 1518 at the Bastille for the reception of the English Ambassadors with “moresques d’hommes et femmes,” “masques habillez en hommes,” and “femmes qui dansent.” As part of the celebrations, there were jousts a few days later in front the Tournelles—jousts in which the physical lists were arranged by the Bureau, but the performing left to the court.¹⁴⁴ A few years earlier, the municipality had entrusted the building of the lists to Monsieur Jullyé, “chevalier, lieutenant de la compagnie mons^r le Grant Escuyer son frere” who had pleaded successfully with the king to be in charge of the tournament on the occasion of the king’s entry into Paris.¹⁴⁵ The municipality agreed with this and planned to construct lists according to the same specifications he used to build those for the entry of Mary Tudor a few months before.¹⁴⁶

Occasionally, someone from court was recruited directly to work for the Bureau. Such was the case with Jehan (or Jean) du Pontalaix (or Pontalais) on the list to receive a mandement to be at the Bureau, along with the “maistres des misteres” and “les inventions

¹⁴² *Registres*, 2:26–27 (15 juin 1528).

¹⁴³ *Journal*, 43 and 54–55.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 76–77.

¹⁴⁵ *Registres*, 1:220 (18 janvier 1515).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1:215 (13, 15 et 25 septembre 1514).

des Italiens, messrs Mathée et ses compaignons” on Monday 12 December 1530 for the entertainments at the queen’s entry.¹⁴⁷ At the Monday meeting, Jehan du Pontalais showed up as mandated by the governor, along with Master André, “italien.” Being in the king’s service, they were ordered to “faire et composer farces et moralitez les plus exquisés et les plus brief que faire ce pourra, pour resjoir le Roy et la Royne, à l’entrée.” Pontalais also promised to be “subget” to master André and to obey him.¹⁴⁸ In a subsequent mandate preparing for the entry, the municipal register states, “Item, fault veoir les habillemens et les filles de maistre Jehan du Pont Alaix”; right below, it reads, “veoir l’estat des Morisqueux.”¹⁴⁹

Eleanor of Austria arrived in Paris on 11 February 1531 without the customary entertainments; according to the Bureau, this was because they only had two hours’ notice of her arrival.¹⁵⁰ To make up for this, she processed in an open “littiere” with Madeline and Marguerite de France from the Louvre to the Tournelles palace surrounded by a great number of gentlemen and ladies, to a tournament opened by none other than the dauphin (François de France, the future Henri II’s older brother, who died in 1536) with twenty of his courtiers.¹⁵¹ The registers of the Parlement of Paris mention that the banquet held for Eleanor of Austria in March 1531 was followed by “dances, lesquelles y eut grande compagnie de

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 2:77–80 (1 décembre 1530); and Godefroy, 1:780–83. See Jean Frappier, “Sur Jean du Pont-Alais,” in *Mélanges d’histoire du théâtre . . . Gustave Cohen*, 133–46. The king granted Jean Mathée, “Italien,” a gift of 200 ecus soleil around June 1532 (François, *Catalogue*, n. 28403).

¹⁴⁸ *Registres*, 2:85–87 (12 décembre 1530); and Godefroy, 1:786–89. For Pontalais and the Italians, see Émile Picot, *Pierre Gringore et les Comédiens Italiens* (Paris: Damascène Morgand & Charles Fatout, 1878), esp. 23–27. See also Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne, XVIe–XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Aubier, 1997).

¹⁴⁹ *Registres*, 2:106–07 (27 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:794–95.

¹⁵⁰ *Registres*, 2:105 (11 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:792.

¹⁵¹ *Registres*, 2:105 (16 février 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:793.

masques bien ordre.”¹⁵² This was a common occurrence; at the post-bonfire banquet in the Hôtel de Ville held on the occasion of the festival of Saint John the Baptist on 23 June 1531, the dauphin and his brothers danced.¹⁵³

After the entry “Maistre Jehan du Pont Alaix a baillé par escript . . . au Receveur de la Ville, Philippes Macé, l’intelligence pour le sens moral des misteres qu’ilz a jouez es portes Saint Denis, et Painctres et au Ponceau, ce jour de l’entrée.” The secretary of the register says he can’t be more specific, because the receiver Macé did not want to give them over to be added to the register.¹⁵⁴ Around 1534, the king issued mandements for a payment to “Jehan de Lespine du Pontalletz dit Songecreux, qui a ci-devant suivi le roi avec sa bande et joue plusieurs farces devant lui, pour son passe-temps.”¹⁵⁵ He was still following the king around, according to a mandement for a donation “pour l’aider a vivre a la suite du roi” in March 1538.¹⁵⁶ In the late 1530s, he and his son-in-law were granted a “continuation de bail” for nine more years (calling him Jean de l’Espinay) and a pension to their surviving family upon their deaths.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵² *Registres*, 2:113, n. 2, citing AN, X^{1A} 1534, fol. 425 v. Presumably this includes the aforementioned morris dancers. See Thoinot Arbeau, *Orchésographie et traicté en forme de dialogue par lequel toutes personnes peuvent facilement apprendre & practiquer l’honneste exercice des dances* (Lengres: Jehan des Preyz, 1589) [on Gallica], esp. fol. 94r–95v on morris dancing.

¹⁵³ *Registres*, 2:123 (23 juin 1531).

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:111–14 (16 mars 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:796–801; and *Index Chronologicus*, 336–37.

¹⁵⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 29102 (mistakenly identifying him as “Fougereux”); printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:272 (5 août 1534). Jal cites the household accounts for the year 1533, finding an entry “A Jean de L’espine du Pont Alletz (*sic*) dict: *Songe-creux*, qui a par cy devant suiuy ledict seigneur avec sa bande, et joué plusieurs fois deuant luy, pour son plaisir et recreation” (in Jal, “Comédiens inconnus,” 412–13). See also Rousse, *Doctorat*, 4:184, citing this as AN, J 961⁸, n. 98.

¹⁵⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 29554.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 27057.

The king and princes continued to be the main performers in tournaments. In early 1534, the king issued a mandement for a large payment covering “les accoutrements de tournoi du roi et de sa bande et du Dauphin et de sa bande.”¹⁵⁸ Masques, mummeries, and tournaments often went hand-in-hand, as with the mandated payments for the celebrations surrounding the wedding of the duke of Longueville and Mary of Guise in August 1534. Pierre Rousseau, the accountant for the *argenterie* in the dauphin’s household, was reimbursed from the coffers of the Louvre for purchasing “trois robes de velours noir, à bandes de broderie de canetille d’or tiré, accoutrements de masques, saies et caparaçons baillés auxdits princes, pour leur servir aux noces . . . et au tournoi donné à cette occasion.”¹⁵⁹ Further payments were mandated for the tournament from the king’s accounts: “Pour les accoustremens du tournoy, tant du Roy et de sa bende que de monseigneur le Daulphin et de la sienne”; the king’s *argentier* was also reimbursed for “plusieurs draps de soye et de layne, fil d’or et d’argent pour fillures, brodures, fourrures, bougran, frize, toille d’argent, faulx pennaches et plumatz manufactures, et autres choses servans à faire habillemens au Roy pour le tournoy fait ou mois de Février derrenier en ceste ville de Paris, et pour acoustrement de mommons qui ont esté faiz en iceluy mois”¹⁶⁰ In that same year, the king furnished costumes for masques on the occasion of the marriage of Monsieur de Nevers.¹⁶¹ Further payments were ordered in January 1539 to the dauphin’s and king’s households for tournaments and masques.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., n. 28741.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., n. 28867; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:369 (listed as 1538).

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., 2:406 (listed as 1538).

¹⁶¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 30722.

¹⁶² Ibid., n. 30859 and n. 10689, the latter printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:242–43. See also the August 1537 mandate to pay for the dauphin’s costumes for a masque (François,

In either November or December 1538, the king mandated a payment to Pierre de La Oultre, “maitre compositeur et joueur de farces et moralites . . . [et] ses compagnons qui ont joue plusieurs fois devant le roi.”¹⁶³ On 22 May 1541, the king mandated a payment for the personal and troupe expenses of one Robert Cusson, “joueur de farces, dialogues et moralites a la suite du roi.”¹⁶⁴ Theatrical troupes were not the only ones following the court as entertainment that earned a paid place: the king ordered a pension and “entretien a la cour” for six months (beginning the following January) in November or December 1538 to a “gentilhomme espagnol” named Juan d’Alman who was an “inventeur” of many “jeux de cartes subtils” that provided recreation to the king.¹⁶⁵ On 3 September 1538, Jehan Maillard was granted a donation for his “compositions . . . en rithme de plusieurs matiere facécieuses et plaisantes, rédigées en ung livre qu’il a présenté au dit Seigneur.”¹⁶⁶

Three notarial records from 1544 offer evidence that there was at least one established theatrical troupe at court—that of Jehan Anthoine. On 22 April 1544, Anthoine accepted his apprentice, Gregoire Baufre, whose father Estienne Baufre lived on the rue Darnetal in Paris, as a member of the company to act at the court and elsewhere in France.¹⁶⁷ Anthoine is described as performing “anciens” (classical) Roman plays for the king. Baufre’s replacement

Catalogue, n. 30298; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:234 [15 septembre 1537]).

¹⁶³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 32152; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:254 (12 novembre 1538).

¹⁶⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 11938, BnF ms. fr. 25722, n. 646.

¹⁶⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 32153; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:254 (12 novembre 1538). Card games had become a popular court entertainment by the fifteenth century. See Jal, “Cartes à jouer,” 320–21. He had been at the court since at least October 1538, when we find a grant “en récompense du passe-temps qu’il donne au roi «au subtil maniment des cartes»” (François, *Catalogue*, n. 31783; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:249).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:241.

¹⁶⁷ Coyecque, *Recueil d’actes notariés*, 1:579–80, n. 3160.

apprentice is described in a second notarial act of the same date: Nicolas Le Clerc of the rue du Murier, musician specializing in Swiss tambourine—again, the “anciens” Roman plays are mentioned as being the focus of his training.¹⁶⁸ In the articles of incorporation for the company dated 23 September 1544, we are given information on the company’s structure.¹⁶⁹ There were six principal partners in the profit-sharing company: Jehan Anthoine, Anthoine Veronne, Christofle de Veronne, Angel de Veronne, Thomas Molynier, and Guillaume Quatrece, “joueurs d’anticques, moralitez, farces et autres jeux rommains et francoys.”¹⁷⁰

It is not clear how often these actors performed at court, or if they were involved in the many banquet entertainments. For the dancing (“bal”) after the banquet held at the palace of cardinal du Bellay on 19 June 1549 in honor of Catherine de Medici’s entry into the city, the king ordered the Enfants de la Ville to lead the ladies of the court in a dance.¹⁷¹ Her entry coincided with the festival of Saint John the Baptist, so at the traditional banquet held in the Hôtel de Ville, the king and queen were entertained by the dancing of “les dames et demoiselles de lad. Ville.”¹⁷² The Bureau’s register for the banquet given in honor of the Swiss ambassadors on 1 October 1549 is rather vague, and the editors provided a

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 1:580, n. 3161.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 1:598, n. 3264; another troupe of six actors (or perhaps the same one?) was paid by the king ten years earlier (1533–34) for entertainment during his stay at Villiers-Cotterêts: “A six joueurs de farces et moralitez, en don et faveur des plaisirs, récréations et passe temps qu’ilz ont faictz audit Seigneur à jouer nouvelles farces et comédies de matières joyeuses” (printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:270 [5 août 1534]).

¹⁷⁰ These three acts are discussed in Stephen K. Wright, “Records of Early French Drama in Parisian Notary Registers,” *Comparative Drama* 24 (1990): 232–54. For two notarial acts regarding companies from the nearby town of Chartres, see Maurice Jusselin, “Formation de deux troupes de comédiens français à Chartres, en 1549,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 89 (1928): 456–58; the acts are dated 11 March 1549 and 26 November 1549.

¹⁷¹ *Registres*, 3:180–82 (19 juin 1549). See also Félibien, 5:374–78.

¹⁷² *Registres*, 3:182–84 (20 juin 1549).

reproduction of the city accounts for that festivity. These include payments to a Jean Verne, “dit maître Gonnin, joueur d’esbattemens” and his troupe for providing entertainment to the ambassadors; and to Simon Jacquart, Gilles Chéron, and Guy Laurent, “danseurs de morisques,” and their troupe for giving a performance after dinner for the ambassadors.¹⁷³

On 14 February 1558, the secretary of the *Registres* recorded the following event:

Vint au Bureau ung nommé Jodelle, poete du Roy, qui entreprint de faire et composer une comedie ou poesye devant le Roy; et fut achepté grande quantité de draps de soye et de canetille d’or pour faire les acoustremens; et luy fut baillé une chambre pour luy et ses compaignons pour faire leurs aprestz. Mais quant ce vint à jouer, les chantres estoient enrrouez, et y avoit si grande confusion et presse en la Grande Salle, qu’ilz ne sceurent achever leur jeu: par quoi ce fut argent perdu.¹⁷⁴

In the description of the banquet, the secretary states that after the king ate, “ceulx qui doievent jouer la comedie entrerent dedans la Salle à grande force, et commencerent à chanter; mais ilz estoient enrrouez, et n’en fut pas tenu grand compte.” An hour later, the king and princes moved upstairs to the Grand Bureau from the Grande Salle of the Hôtel de Ville: “Ce pendant, les Dames dansoient à ung coing de lad. Salle.”¹⁷⁵ On the 21 February, Jodelle and the actor who played Orpheus were brought before the Bureau and commanded in the name of the king and of the city to return “les habitz de soye et dorez” that they had used for the performance of “la poeyse et moralité” played before the king and princes the previous

¹⁷³ Ibid., 3:193–94 (1 octobre 1549).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 4:522 (14 février 1558). See Etienne Jodelle, *Le Recueil des inscriptions, figures, devises et masquarades, ordonnés en l’Hostel de Ville, à Paris, le jeudi 17 de février 1558. Autres inscriptions en vers heroïques latins, pour les images des Princes de la Chrestienté, par Estienne Jodelle* (Paris: André Wechel, 1558), reprinted in *Le recueil des inscriptions, 1558: A Literary and Iconographical Exegesis*, ed. Victor E. Graham and W. McAllister Johnson (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972). Frustrated by how badly the performance went, Jodelle was granted permission to print this corrected version of the entertainments.

¹⁷⁵ *Registres*, 4:522–23 (17 février 1558).

Thursday. They refused and were thrown into prison. The Bureau records claim that none of the material was recovered except for “quelque meschante testiere, qui ne valloit pas cinq sols.”¹⁷⁶

In 1558, at the wedding celebrations for the dauphin François (later François II) to Mary Stuart, a huge banquet was thrown in the Palais. After dinner, the tables were cleared away and Mary Stuart began the dancing with her sister-in-law, Elisabeth de France;¹⁷⁷ they were joined by the queen Catherine de Medici, Marguerite de France, Jeanne d’Albret, the other daughters of Henri II, and other duchesses and princesses. Apparently, this was single-sex dancing. Then the official “triumphs” entered from the Chambre Dorée (Chambre du Plaidoyé), featuring a Mercury and his Venus. The account describes several triumphs featuring male singers, and a chariot with the nine muses, also singing. The account claims the “triumphs et mommeryes” lasted more than two hours, “mais pour la grande beaulté qu’on trouvoit à voir lesd. triumphes passer, on trouvoit le temps bien court.” These were followed by a half-hour of dancing from the princesses again. This in turn was followed by an entertainment by the royal masters of petitions, entering in six boats with an actor dressed

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 4:524 (21 février 1558).

¹⁷⁷ Jal mentions a payment for her costume when she acted in a tragedy at Blois in 1556; “Elisabeth de France,” 531. This was Mellin de Saint-Gelais’ *Sophonisbe*, performed for Henri II at Blois by the daughters and ladies-in-waiting of Catherine de Medici; see Raymond Lebègue, “Sophonisbe au Chateau de Blois,” in *Études sur le théâtre français. I: Moyen âge, Renaissance, baroque* (Paris: A-G Nizet, 1977), 160–65. Lebègue described the scene: “Tous les rôles furent tenus par des acteurs bénévoles, qui appartenaient à la Cour. Un contresens a fait croire à tous les historiens modernes que le vieux poète et ses collaborateurs avaient joué eux-mêmes; ce qui est faux. Le registre de l’argenterie et le manuscrit Belin [of the works of Saint-Gelais] donnent les noms des acteurs: ce furent la reine d’Ecosse, âgée de 13 ans et 4 mois, les princesses royales Elisabeth et Claude, âgées de 11 ans et de 8 ans ½, Diane d’Angoulême, Mlle de Rohan, la maréchale de Saint-André, etc. . . . Je pense que le principal rôle fut donné à Marie Stuart, qui était plus âgée que ses futures belles-soeurs et dont la précocité intellectuelle était universellement admirée” (161).

as a masked prince in each, and they ‘sailed’ to the marble table where the ladies were sitting and took aboard the queen, Mary Stuart, Jeanne d’Albret, and the three princesses (Elisabeth, Marguerite, and Claude). They placed them in the thrones in the middle of each boat, and took them away . . . “Et s’en allerent coucher.” And that was the end of the entertainments.¹⁷⁸

For an entry in the *Registres* in January 1559, describing the “preparatifz faict au despens de la Ville par ordonnance du Roy” (preparations made at the expense of the city by ordonnance of the king), the “Messieurs de la Ville” set the stage for “le jeu de la karozele.” At 8:30 in the evening, a group of twelve men dressed as Turks and playing instruments—supposedly turkish music—came out of the Tournelles palace; they were followed by the king and the dauphin, and other princes, also dressed as Turks. On the other side of the street (from the constable’s lodgings) came a group dressed as Moors; they engaged in combat (“courroient sur petitz cavalins la grand poste, en gectans les ungs contre les autres desd. boules de terre cuitte creuze”), first two-by-two, then eight-to-eight, then twelve-to-twelve, then all together. “Puis se ralirent ensemble, et se rengerent deux à deux ung grant rond, et aud. son des intrumens turquoys dansoient à cheval et faisoient crys et huées à la mode des Turcs et des Mores.”¹⁷⁹

For the marriage of Madame Claude, Henri II’s daughter, to Charles II, duc de Lorraine, in 1559, Petit de Julleville tells us that the Enfants-sans-soucy performed a farce at court (possibly *Le pauvre villageois* by J. Quintil).¹⁸⁰ But the most famous entertainment of celebrating that marriage was Henri II’s fatal tournament. It began on 29 June 1559, when

¹⁷⁸ *Registres*, 4:534–39 (1e 24 avril 1558).

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 5:17–18 (20 janvier 1559).

¹⁸⁰ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 394; *Comédiens*, 184–85.

he “romprit plusieurs lances” jousting other nobles. He continued on Thursday (Saint Peter’s Day) and Friday (Saint Paul’s Day—the secretary mentions this was not properly celebrated, due to the tournament).

Aussi il advient ced jour que, ainsi que le Roy couroit contre monsr de Lorge [comte de Mongommery, capitaine de sa garde écossaise], rompirent leurs lances, et donna led. Lorge ung tel coup en l’estomac du Roy en rompant sa lance, que icelle lance se esclatta par grande portune, et ouvrit ung esclat la visere du Roy, entrerent les esclatz dedans la teste au dessus de l’oeil et le persa de sorte qu’il tumba contre la lice, estans encores sur son cheval, et fut prins et porté aux Tournelles, où la fiebvre le print. Neantmoins les chirurgiens le penserent et feirent ce qui leur fut possible, mais ilz declairerent qu’il estoit en danger de mort.

He died on the 10 July.¹⁸¹

* * * * *

If we look at the different groups of private and public performers in the first half of the sixteenth century in Paris, it is apparent that their world of performance was one of fluid boundaries. Given the range of performers, the much-cited monopoly of the Confraternity of the Passion is not particularly important during this time, and thus the often-cited 1548 law, once it has been placed in context, does not take on the importance that has been attributed to it. Having examined the situation through the lens of law, we can see that public and private performers were an integral part of Parisian life. No doubt expanding the confines of this type of evidence in future studies to include more financial records, diary entries, and other eyewitness testimony will show an even broader range of performance activity.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ *Registres*, 5:33 (29 juin 1559). Henri II’s death was far from the only one at court tournaments. The *Journal*, 436–37, reports that François I killed a Monsieur de Fontaines in February 1534 at jousts in the Louvre.

¹⁸² Pierre Sadron lists (without documentation) a number of active associations of performers in medieval and sixteenth-century Paris in his article, “Les associations permanentes d’acteurs en France au Moyen-âge,” *Revue d’histoire du théâtre* 3 (1952): 220–31.

CHAPTER FOUR A TOPOGRAPHY OF PARIS

Having looked at various categories of performers, we turn to the question of their performances—in what physical context did they take place?¹ In *Les Marginaux Parisiens aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Bronislaw Geremek includes a chapter entitled “La topographie sociale de Paris” in which he plots the concentration of poverty, lodging, crime, and prostitution in the city.² Just as the social topography of Renaissance Paris can be traced, so too can the theatrical topography. During this time, performances wove themselves into the fabric of the city. As Élie Konigson has asserted: “The urban space—but prior to or simultaneously with that, the space of the home which is its initial cell—is perceived and experienced as a space which is dramatized or dramatizable by the same token and at the same time as it is organized and experienced as a space for exchange.”³ These dramatized spaces of exchange were not confined to a certain “theatre district” at this point in Paris’s

¹ On the development of the Renaissance city, see Pierre Lavedan, Jeanne Hugueney, and Philippe Henrat, *L’Urbanisme à l’époque moderne: XVIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques; Geneva: Droz, 1982); Paris is treated specifically on 57–60; see also Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies, ed., *Les cités au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris: Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 1977); André de Chédeville, Jacques Le Goff, and Jacques Rossiaud, *La ville en France au Moyen Âge: des Carolingiens à la Renaissance*, rev. and exp. (Paris: Seuil, 1998); Roger Chartier et al., *La ville des temps modernes: de la Renaissance aux Révolutions*, rev. and exp. (Paris: Seuil, 1998); and Jean-Luc Pinol, ed., *Atlas Historique des Villes de France* (Barcelona: Centre de Cultura Contemporània de Barcelona; Paris: Hachette, 1996). An early version of the first section of this chapter was presented at the Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies Conference in Tempe, AZ (February 1999), as “Performance and the Topography of Renaissance Paris.”

² Geremek, *Les marginaux parisiens*, 85–116.

³ Konigson, “Dramatized Spaces Between History and Anthropology,” *Theatre Research International* 19 (1997): 41. See also Marvin Carlson, *Places of Performance: The Semiotics of Theatre Architecture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989); Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (London: Blackwell, 1991); and the approaches in Barbara A. Hanawalt and Michael Kobialka, eds., *Medieval Practices of Space* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

theatre history; they saturated the urban landscape.⁴ Further, the space of the performer's bodies—defined by the costumes they wore—can also be considered as dramatized or dramatizable.

The growth of the city necessitated changes in the allocation of space and building materials, resulting in more and more laws concerned with housing the extensive population of the poor as well as curtailing urban sprawl. Within that developing urban space, most performers continued to stake out their customary places of performance, linked with their individual status—for instance, the basoche at the courts, the students at the university, the poor in front of churches, the guilds along established civic processional routes. When it came to costumes, however, sumptuary and other laws reveal an increasing desire to break with tradition and stretch the boundaries of dramatized spaces. One particular group—the Confraternity of the Passion—was caught up in the pressures of the changing urban landscape, prompting them to create their first permanent home.⁵

⁴ On Paris, see Xavier de Planhol and Paul Claval, *An Historical Geography of France*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Paris: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1994), especially chapter 7, "Paris and the Parisian centralization"; Henri Gourdon de Genouillac, *Paris à travers les âges: histoire nationale de Paris et des Parisiens depuis la fondation de Lutèce jusqu'à nos jours . . .*, ed. Henri Martin, 5 vols. (Paris: F. Roy, 1879–80) [on Gallica]; Pierre Thomas Nicolas Hurtaut, *Dictionnaire historique de la ville de Paris et ses environs*, 4 vols. (Paris: Moutard, 1779; rpt. Geneva: Minkoff, 1973) [on Gallica]; Félix and Louis Lazare, *Dictionnaire administratif et historique des rues de Paris et de ses monuments* (Paris: Félix Lazare, 1844) [on Gallica]; Bernard Rouleau, *Paris, histoire d'un espace* (Paris: Seuil, 1997); and Rouleau's *Le Tracé des Rues de Paris. Formation, typologie, fonctions*, 5th ed. (Paris: CNRS, 1988).

⁵ For Parisian architecture, see Anthony Sutcliffe, *Paris: An Architectural History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993); Georges Poisson, *Histoire de l'architecture à Paris* (Paris: Hachette, 1997), part of the Nouvelle histoire de Paris series; and David Thomson, *Renaissance Paris: Architecture and Growth, 1475–1600* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1984). See also Françoise Boudon, André Chastel, Hélène Couzy, and Françoise Hamon, *Système de l'Architecture urbaine. Le Quartier des Halles à Paris* (Paris: CNRS, 1977); Charles Sellier, *Anciens Hôtels de Paris* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1910), and Amédée Boinet, *Les Eglises Parisiennes : moyen âge et Renaissance* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1958).



Figure 1. Ia

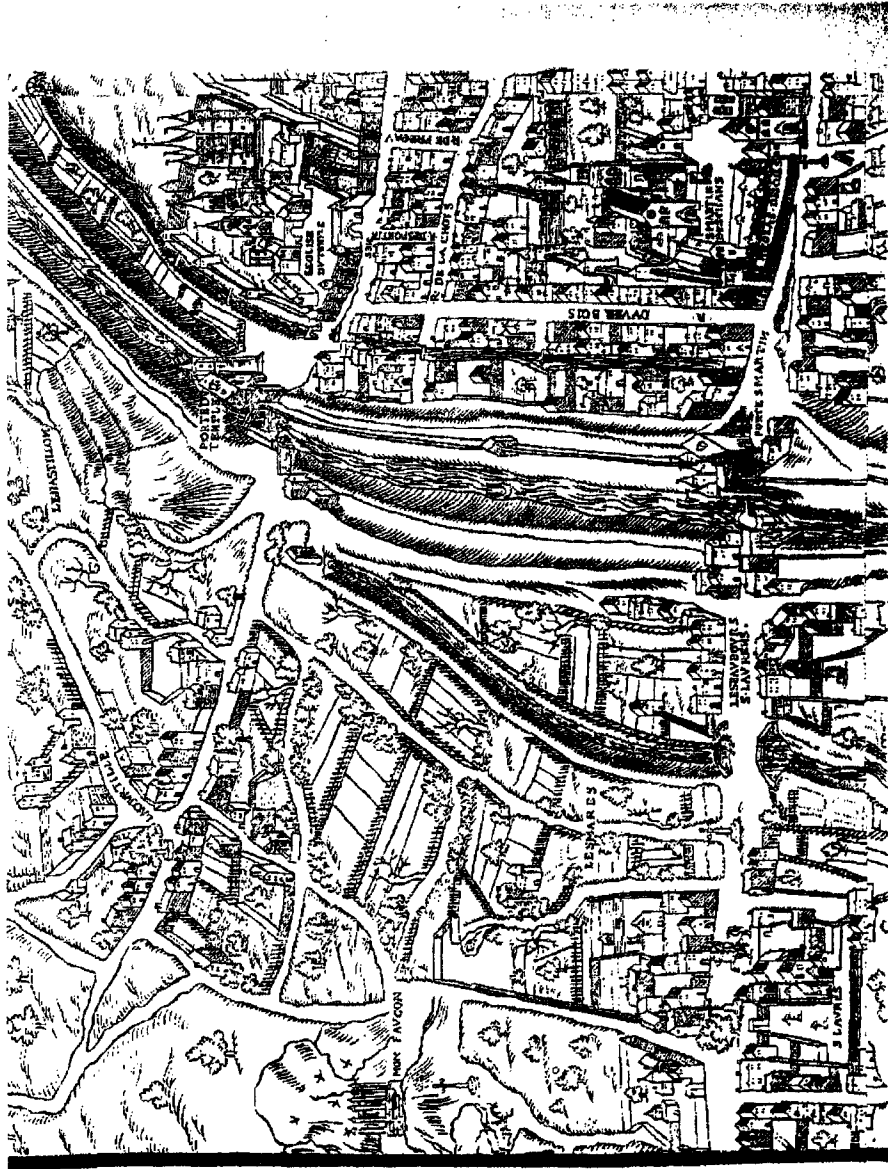


Figure 2. Ib



Figure 4. IIb



Figure 5. IIIa

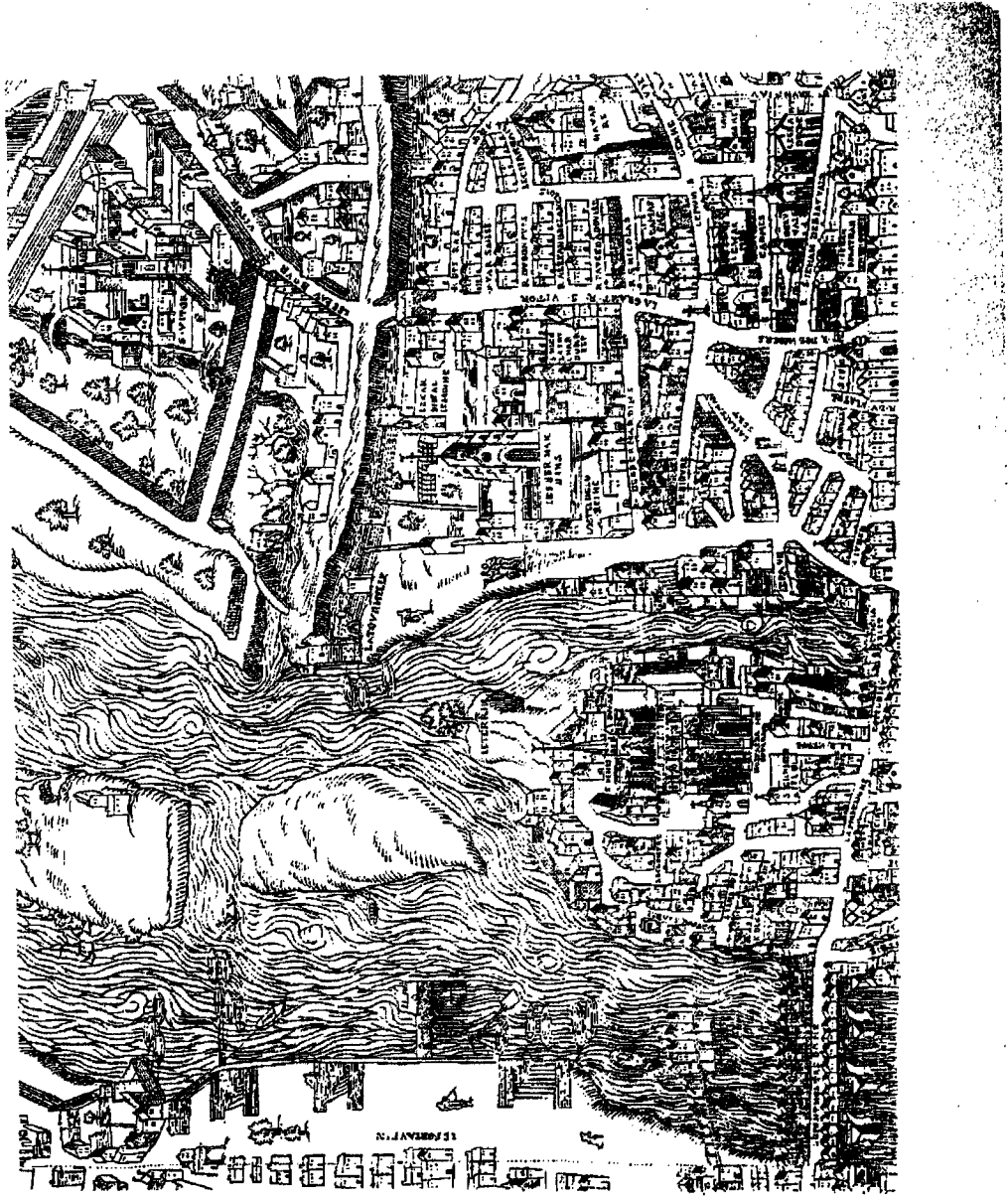


Figure 6. IIIb

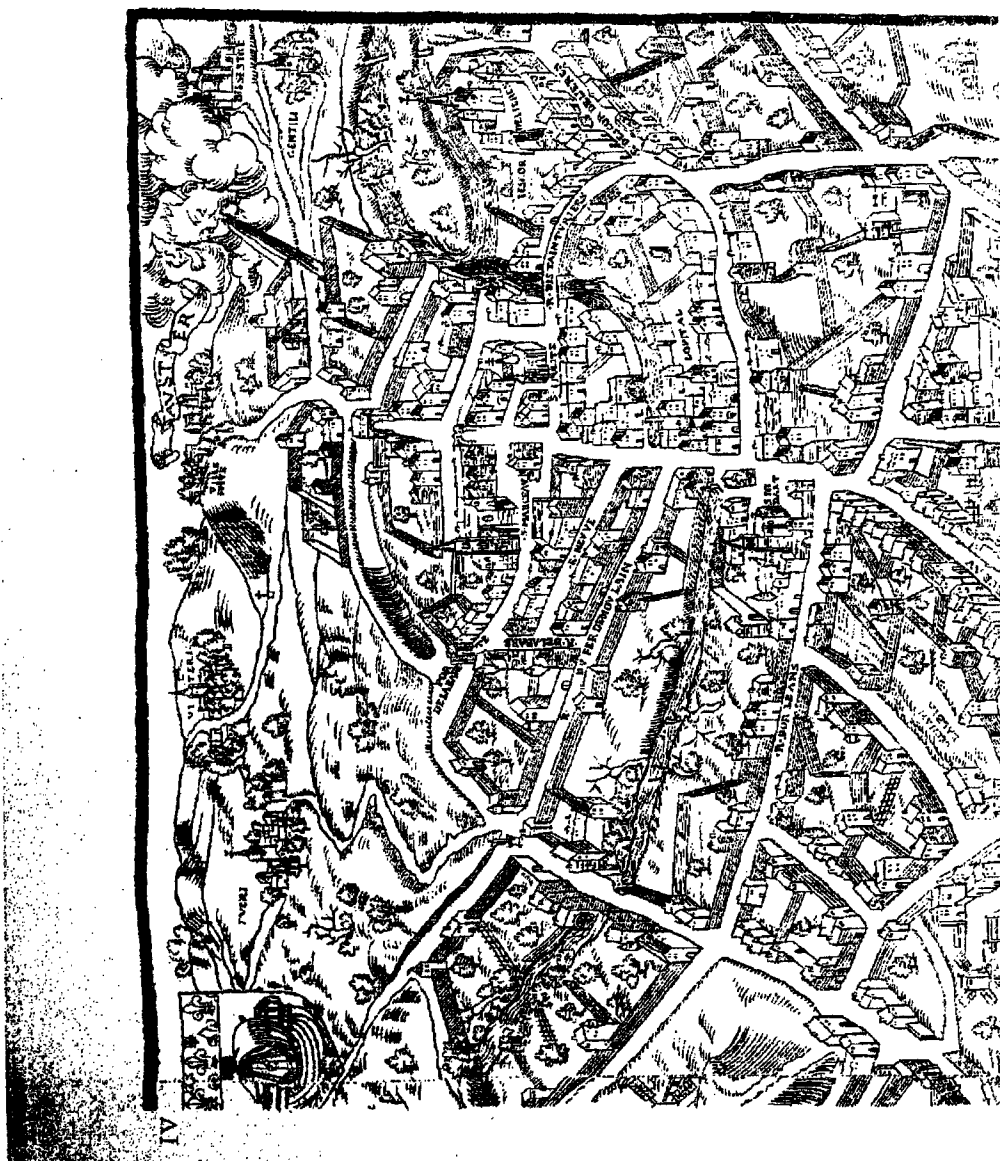


Figure 7. IVa

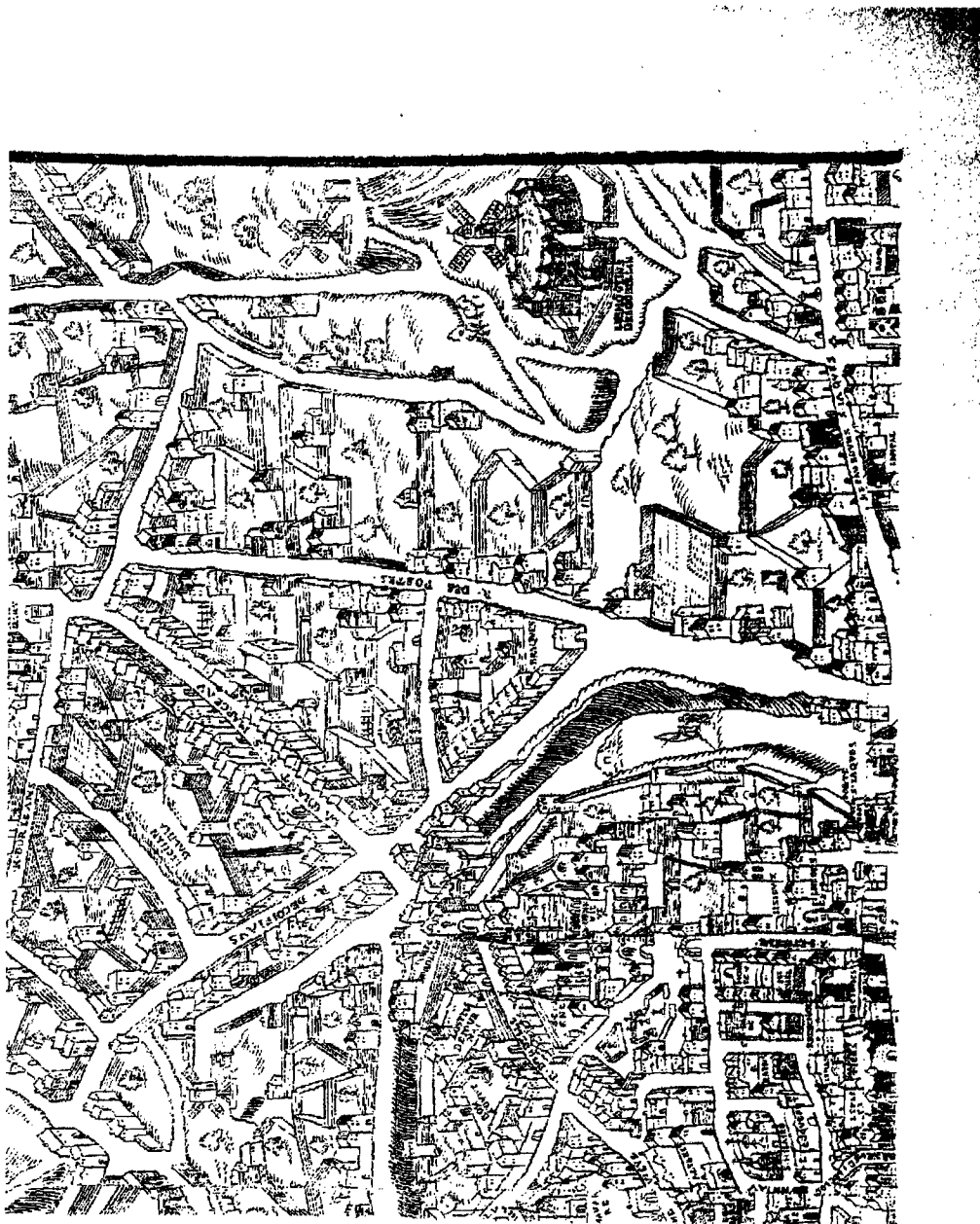


Figure 8. IVb



Figure 9. Va



COLLECTION DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DE L'HISTOIRE DE PARIS ET DE L'ÎLE-DE-FRANCE

Figure 10. Vb

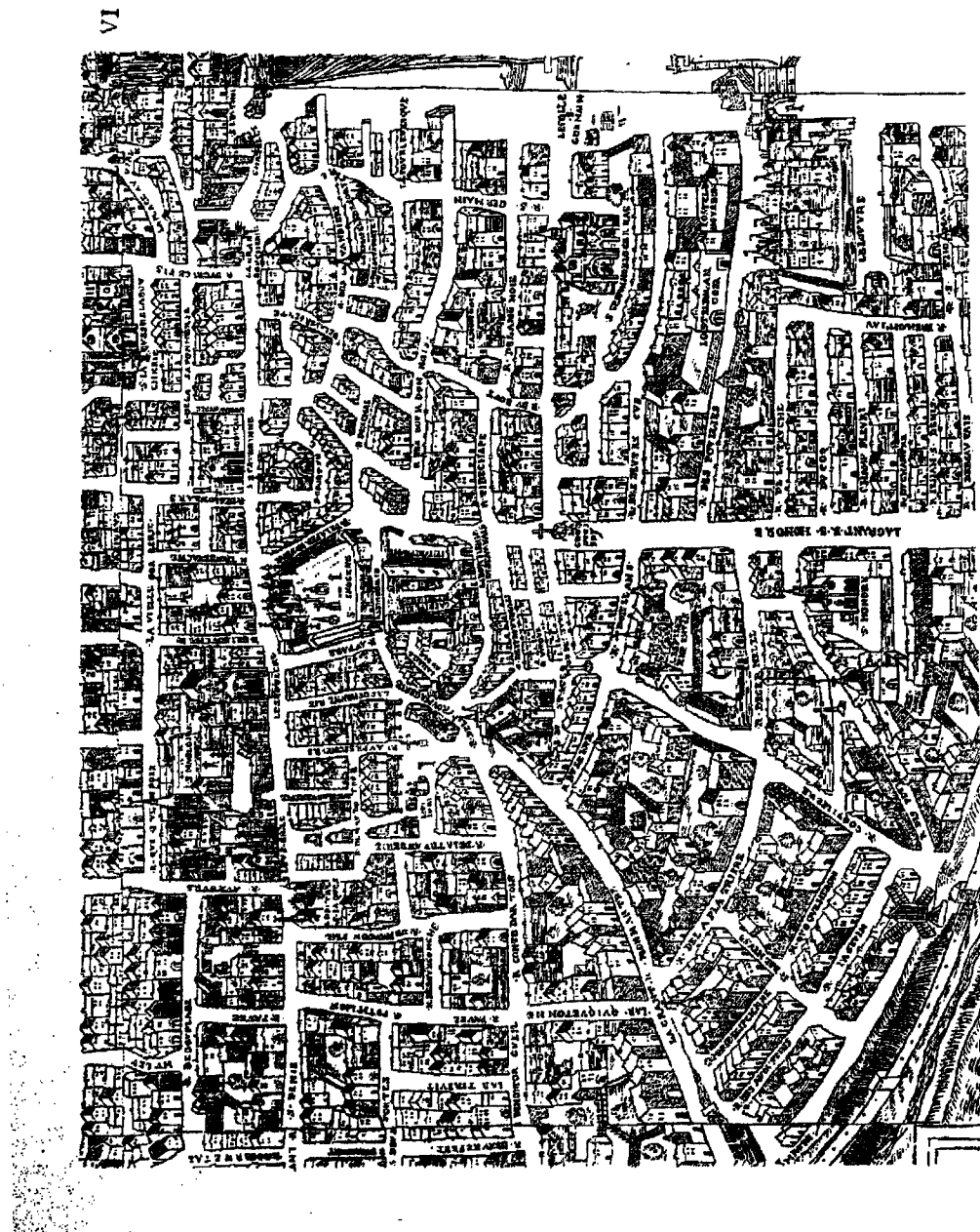


Figure 11. VIa

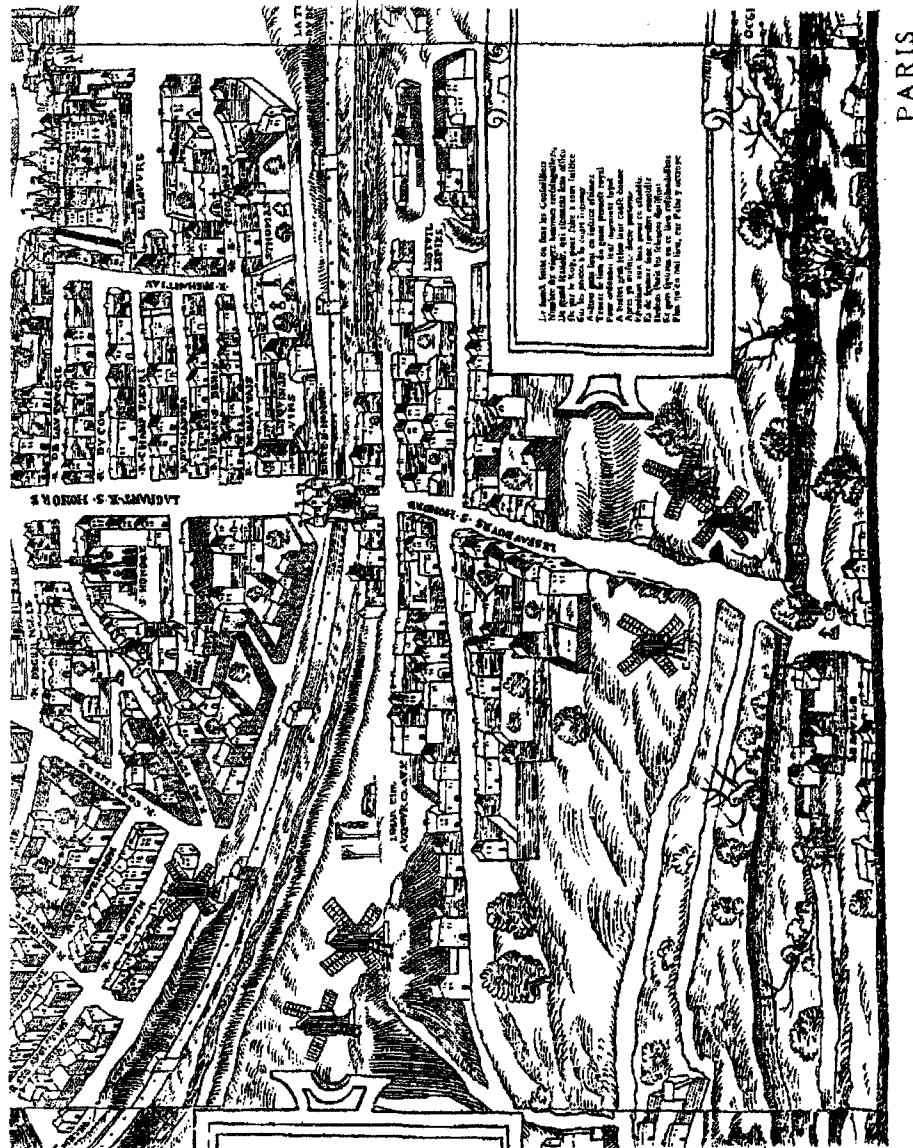


Figure 12. Vlb



Figure 13. VIIa

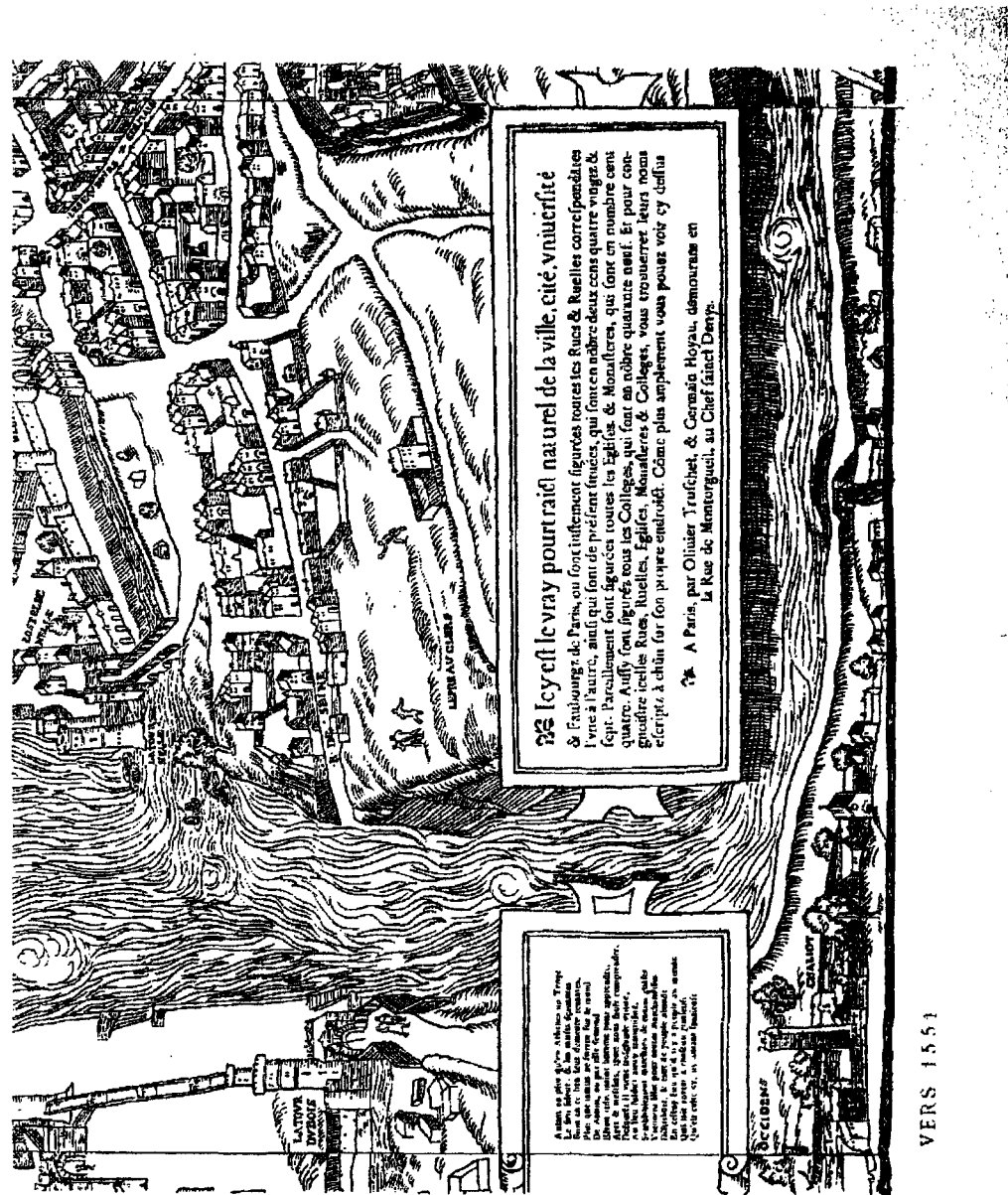


Figure 14. VIIb

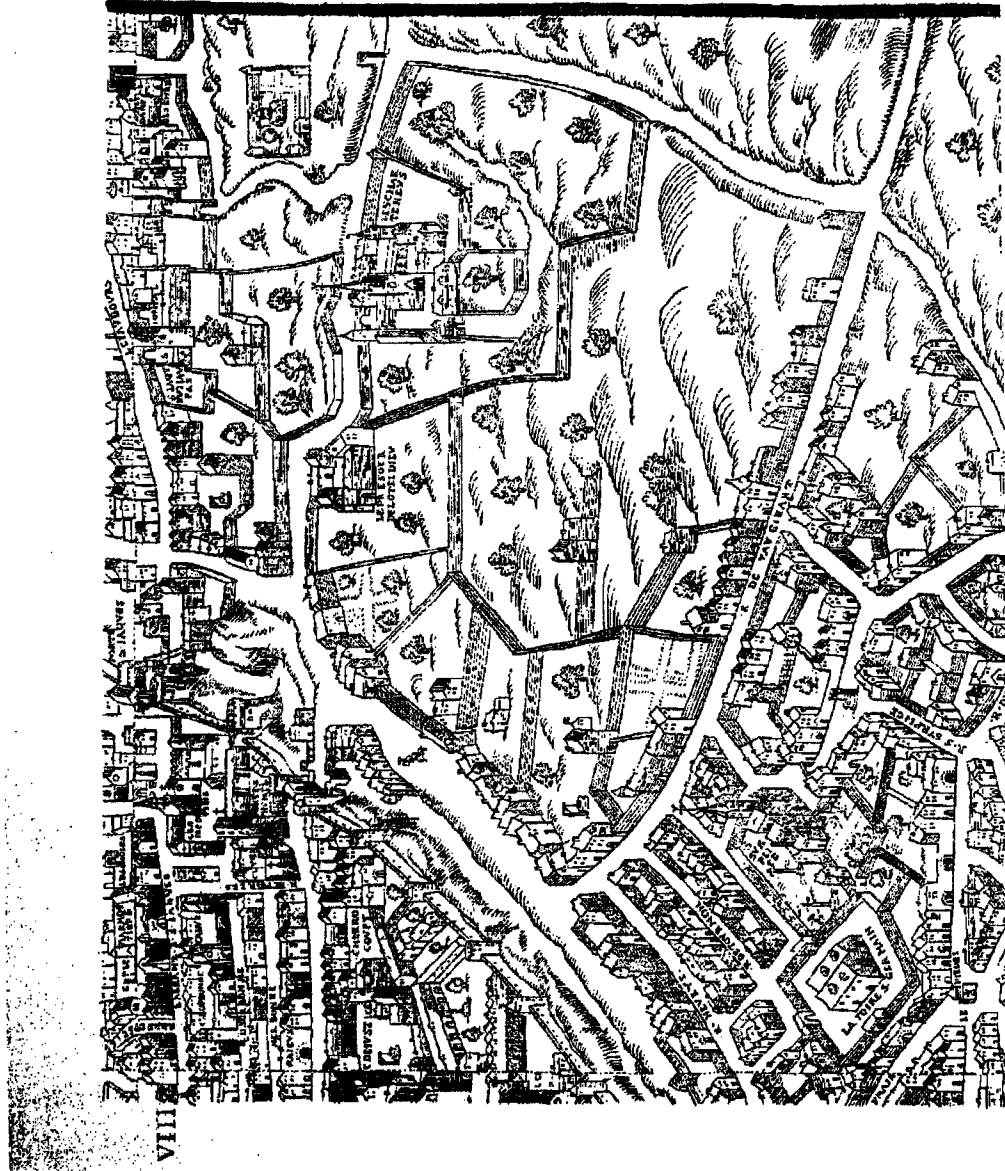


Figure 15. Villa



Figure 16. VIIIb

Urban Development and Allocation of Space

Using the activities of the Confraternity of the Passion as a case study, this section will look at how the overall physical context of performance in Paris began to change during the first half of the sixteenth century.⁶ The city had to contend with a growing group of marginal residents and visitors; this gave rise to the legal reformation of the city's hospital spaces.⁷ Authorities allocated new space to the poor, including the hospital of the Trinité, the confraternity's main performance space.⁸ Under François I and Henri II, lawmakers

⁶ For a map of the city of Paris that illustrates most of the features discussed, see the edition of the so-called "Plan de Bâle" by Jules Cousin, *Paris vers 1551: Plan de Paris sous le règne de Henri II/ par Olivier Truschet et Germain Hoyau: reproduit d'après l'exemplaire unique de la Bibliothèque de Bâle* (Paris: A. Triade, 1908), reproduced on the previous pages; other editions of this map are available in many of the museum bookstores in Paris, such as those at the Carnavalet Museum and the Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris; see also the web version at <http://www.paris.org/Maps>. For further primary sources, see Adolphe Berty et al., eds., *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris*, 6 vols., 2d ed., Histoire générale de Paris (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1885–97); François de Belleforest, *L'ancienne et grande cité de Paris*, Anciennes descriptions de Paris, 7 (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882); and Sieber, ed., "Description de Paris."

⁷ See esp. *Recueil des édits et déclarations concernant les hospitaux et maladeries de France* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1675).

⁸ On the poor, see Bronislaw Geremek, "Povertà," in *Enciclopedia Einaudi*, 16 vols. (Turin: G. Einaudi, 1977–84), 10:1154–82. For the unique situation of Paris, see Geremek, *La Potence ou la pitié: L'Europe et les pauvres du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, trans. Joanna Arnold-Moricet (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 165–73; for the medieval period, see Sharon Farmer, *Surviving Poverty in Medieval Paris: Gender, Ideology, and the Daily Lives of the Poor* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002); Jean-Louis Goglin, *Les misérables dans l'Occident médiéval* (Paris: Seuil, 1976); and Michel Mollat, *Les Pauvres au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1978); as well as Mollat, ed., *Études sur l'histoire de la pauvreté: Moyen âge–XVIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris: Sorbonne, 1974). For more on the Early Modern period, see Mousnier, *Hiérarchies sociales*, and Jean-Pierre Gutton, *La Société et les pauvres en Europe (XVIe–XVIIe siècles)* (Paris: PUF, 1974). For a historical overview of the socio-political issues surrounding the poor, see Philippe Sassier, *Du bon usage des pauvres: Histoire d'un thème politique, XVIe–XXe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990). Jelle Koopmans, *Le Théâtre des exclus au Moyen Âge: hérétiques, sorcières et marginaux* (Paris: Imago, 1997) offers a study of the character of the marginal person in dramatic literature within the social context of the Middle Ages. For more examples of studies of marginal characters, see Marie-Thérèse Jones-Davies, ed., *Misère et gueuserie au temps de la Renaissance* (Paris: Université de Paris–Sorbonne, 1976). For a range of marginal people in the Middle Ages, see Michael Goodich, ed., *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins*

displayed a marked desire to confine and control these groups for the “common good” of the realm and especially Paris, where they comprised as much as one-third of the population.⁹ At the same time, authorities were seeking new sources of income that would benefit the realm as well as the city; this resulted in the sale of certain properties under the royal domain, including the Hôtel de Flandre (which the confraternity rented after leaving the Trinité) and most importantly the Hôtel de Bourgogne, which the confraternity purchased in order to construct Paris’s first purpose-built, permanent public theatre space.¹⁰ As a background to this chain of events, we will explore the laws that controlled new construction—including those regarding restrictions on building materials—mindful of the fact that the confraternity somehow managed to overcome these barriers and build their theatre space.

When Charles VI issued his letters in favor of the Confraternity of the Passion in 1402, he stated that the confraternity was already established in the church of the Trinité in Paris.¹¹ One hundred and thirty-some years later, seemingly out of nowhere, the government

of Medieval Society (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998). For a general history, see Louis Rivière, *Mendiants et Vagabonds* (Paris: Victor Lecoffre, 1902) [available on Gallica]. See also Geremek, *Inutiles au monde: Truands et misérables dans l’Europe moderne (1350–1600)* (Paris: Gallimard/Julliard, 1980).

⁹ Louis Sieber, ed. and trans., “Description de Paris, par Thomas Platter le jeune, de Bâle (1599),” *Mémoires de la société d’histoire de Paris et de l’Île de France* 23 (1896): 167–224.

¹⁰ Besides the works by Demartres, a very basic summary of the evidence directly related to the confraternity’s playing spaces can be found in Vimont, “La confrérie de la Passion et les origines du théâtre Français à la Trinité et à l’Hôtel de Bourgogne,” *Bulletin de la société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Île-de-France* 67–68 (1940–41): 49–55. Although they focus on the latter half of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth, see S. Wilma Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Le théâtre de l’hôtel de Bourgogne, I: 1548–1635* (Paris: Nizet, 1968); and William Leon Wiley, *The Hôtel de Bourgogne: Another Look at France’s First Public Theatre* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1973).

¹¹ Printed in *Ordonnances . . . troisième race*, 8:555–56. Also printed in *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 34–37.

forced the confraternity to move from their customary performance space twice within a short span of time. This displacement did not materialize out of thin air, so the question becomes: What is happening to the topography of Paris during this particular time to cause such a sudden upheaval?

One aspect of this change in topography was an inflation in the price of wood. Article 37 of François' ordonnance of March 1516 regarding the *eaux et forêts* describes the process by which this took place; those who were in charge of the wood trade had "par inadvertence oblyé" (inadvertently forgotten) to replant the forests, resulting in a shortage that pushed up the price of wood on the market. In the same law, we get more information about the process of buying and selling wood to build structures; in article 54, the king describes how wood is cut down each day for building royal ships, chateaux, and other buildings "sans mesure ou ordonnance," by which process the forests are destroyed. He advocates a "bonne deliberacion" between the builders and those in charge of the forests, resulting in the marking of trees to be cut down, officially measured, and delivered to the builders like any other wood for the general market. In addition, a written record is to be kept of the transaction, so that when the forests are examined, those in charge have proof of the amount of wood given to royal builders.¹²

¹² François, ord. 80 (mars 1516). See also François' ordonnance of 21 March 1517, printed in Fontanon, 2:270–71, and in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 46. For correction of abuses to the 1516 statutes, see François, ord. 181 (janvier 1519), esp. article 28; also printed in Fontanon, 2:271–76, and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 66. For François' edicts of May 1520 regarding the transportation of wood on the Seine, see François, ord. 254 (27 mai 1520) and ord. 255 (mai 1520); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 79. By May 1523, François felt it expedient to create an office of king's procurer for *Eaux et Forêts*; see François, ord. 348 (mai 1523). There was still a shortage of firewood in Paris in 1535; see *ibid.*, ord. 681 (4 février 1535). See also the 22 May 1539 "Ordonnance interdisant la fabrication et l'utilisation des échelas de quartier de chêne" (*ibid.*, ord. 917) and the 2 June 1548 "Mandment au prévôt de Paris en vue de l'observation de l'édit du 22 mai 1539 interdisant l'utilisation du chêne pour la confection des échelas" (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3065).

Such wood was used for state-mandated building projects. On 13 August 1519, François ordered the creation of the Hôpital de la Charité in Paris; building was begun, but never completed due to lack of funds. In the ordonnance, he refers to his predecessors' building of "ung noble, devot et somptueux Hostel Dieu" to house and feed the poor who needed help and were suffering in the city, as well as "toutes autres povres creatures humaines de la christianité de quelzconques lieux qu'ilz soient" who had fallen ill. The king describes, as a rather backhanded comment, how the governors of the Hôtel-Dieu, "par pitié et compassion, et en voulant recueillir humainement" all those who are sick—including those with communicable diseases—have welcomed so many of the sick that now even the residents, hospital workers, pregnant women, and children have become infected and are dying.¹³ François took further steps on 1 March 1520 by creating a commission for Jean Briçonnet, president of the Chambre des Comptes, and Pierre Duval, doctor in theology and canon at Notre Dame, for the reformation of hospitals in the diocese of Paris.¹⁴

After epidemics in 1519 and an especially virulent outbreak in 1522, combined with price inflation and bad crops that created an influx of people into Paris, the city administrators realized that they would need a more elaborate system to control the poor.¹⁵

¹³ François, ord. 222 (13 août 1519).

¹⁴ Ibid., ord. 239 (1 mars 1520); *Catalogue*, n. 1150. See also the 6 April 1522 "Ordonnance touchant les hospitaux de Paris" in Félibien, 4:637. For an overview of the reformation of hospitals, see Fosseyeux, "L'Assistance parisienne." For information about what appears to be the earliest printed book on poor regulations, see Pierre Lacombe, "Notice bibliographique sur la police des pauvres de Paris par G. Montaigne (Vers 1560)," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 43 (1916): 83–90. The manuscript version of this (1555–57) is reproduced by Ernest Coyecque, "L'assistance publique à Paris au milieu du XVI^e siècle," *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France* 15 (1888): 105–18. See also *Statuts pour les hospitaux des pauvres enfermez (28 novembre 1611)*, in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 15:271–84; and *Mémoire concernant les pauvres qu'on appelle enfermés (1612)*, in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 15:241–70.

¹⁵ Quilliet, *La France du beau XVI^e siècle*, 230.

In a major step in 1519, the title of Grand Aumônier de France was established, and the control of all hospitals passed from the religious orders into the hands of the state.¹⁶ In a speech made on 15 March 1525, the president of the Parlement of Paris declared that Paris should follow the example of Amiens, which had expelled all of the foreign poor in order to better care for their own poor. Three weeks later the provost of merchants addressed the Parlement and vehemently objected to that plan, as well as the plan to isolate the poor in separate sections of the city—that was just asking for more disease. He suggested instead a work plan at the lowest possible salary, which he argued would be against repression while reforming the institutions of the poor. The fear of a revolt of the poor—especially if they were clustered together—was a major issue. The debates continued; authorities decided to refuse entry to the city of poor foreigners and to create work for those without employ. A tax for the poor was introduced in spring 1525. The real political decision to establish a welfare system took place in 1525 during these debates, encouraged by the throngs of poor throughout the city streets—and on the steps of the law courts.¹⁷

The shortage of wood and the building of hospitals were inextricably linked, and theatre was often thrown into the mix. This was the case in 1525, when letters from the regent were issued on 10 February exempting from tolls the wood purchased for a performance of “l’istoyre des glorieux saints martyrs Félix, Fortunat et Achillée” in Valence, near Paris; the wood was later to be turned over for the construction of a hospital. The players’ argument was that they needed to “preserver et garder leur ville des pestes et

¹⁶ Mollat, *Les Pauvres*, 339.

¹⁷ For an overview, see Geremek, *La Potence*, 165–73; see also his “Le marginal,” in *L’homme médiéval*, ed. Jacques Le Goff (Paris: Seuil, 1989), 381–413. Relevant laws include those in Félibien, 4:654 (13 mars 1525); 4:654–55 (15 mars 1525); 4:665–66 (14 juin 1525); 4:666 (19 juin 1525); 4:666–67 (21 juin 1525); 4:667–69 (23 juin 1525); 4:669 (23 juin 1525); and 4:673–74 (24 octobre 1525).

aultres maladyes et inconveniens, et la tenir en prosperité et sancté”—in other words, the performance was to take place for the same reason as the hospitals were being built. Louise of Savoy agreed to the request: “savoir faisons que nous, en contemplation des dicts glorieux corps saints [which were supposed to be buried in Valence], esperant que leur intercession pourra ayder au roi notre seigneur et filz et à son armée, estant de là les monts, et à nous aussy.”¹⁸ The regent’s concern for François’ safety as well as the need to help the poor meant that the people of Valence were allowed to build their theatre.

On 13 December 1527, François issued letters of authorization for the administrators of the Hôtel-Dieu to sell the materials destined for the construction of the new Hôpital de la Charité. François states that in 1519, he had ordered the creation of the new hospital to house the “mallades de peste,” who would normally have gone to the Hôtel-Dieu, in order to isolate them from other sick patients. He is vague about his reasoning, but says that the building project can not go on—he makes reference to his own project of rebuilding the Louvre and the subsequent lack of funds available—and therefore gives the lands of the Charité to the Hôtel-Dieu, as well as the materials, which they are free to sell.¹⁹

By the beginning of the 1530s, we find a laws ordering the enlargement of the Hôtel-Dieu, which is still suffering from overcrowding. On 14 July 1531, François created a special commission to investigate the situation of children living in the Hôtel-Dieu and

¹⁸ François, ord. 383 (10 février 1525); *Catalogue*, n. 2118.

¹⁹ François, ord. 475 (13 décembre 1527); *Catalogue*, n. 19417. See also François, ord. 491 (13 juillet 1528; *Catalogue*, n. 3063; registered in the Grand Conseil ten days later); and François’ regulation for the presentation of hospital accounts on 22 November 1535 (François, ord. 711; *Catalogue*, n. 8197).

described the deplorable conditions there.²⁰ The Parlement's subsequent ruling tells us that people were sleeping "six, sept, huict, neuf dans un lit," with no distinction between sick and well residents. The government was particularly concerned that this arrangement would add to the current outbreaks of plague in the city. This prevalence of the plague likely inspired the Parlement to finally grant the hospital's request for a new building, which they had been asking for since the mid-1520s.²¹

August 1533 brought a fresh outbreak of disease and new measures by the city and the Parlement for helping the poor. These included a public renewal—i.e., public proclamation in the squares of Paris—of the now-standard anti-begging law (no public begging; all able-bodied vagabonds must leave the city). The Châtelet officers were to keep a weekly watch on the distribution of alms, taking prisoner those who pretended to be sick and put themselves on the rolls, as well as arresting any beggars loitering in the streets and in front of churches. These measures were also necessary because the receiver general of the poor had only been given half the revenue he was expecting. This long and detailed

²⁰ François, ord. 564 (14 juillet 1531); *Catalogue*, n. 20231; in the space of four months in 1522, there were 18,000 recorded deaths of children from contagion in the Hôtel-Dieu, which led to the 1534 creation of the hospital des Enfants-Dieu or Enfants-rouges (*ibid.*, n. 7490 and n. 8769), which opened in 1541 (n. 11946).

²¹ Printed in Félibien, 4:679–80 (1 février 1532); see also *Registres*, 2:135, n. 2. For further issues in the creation of Paris's welfare system, see G. Bloch, "Inventaire sommaire des volumes de la collection Joly de Fleury concernant l'assistance et la mendicité," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 69 (1908): 63–168; François de Calvi, *Histoire générale des larrons contenant les vols, massacres, assassinats, finesses et subtilités qui se sont par eux faictes en France et principalement en la ville de Paris. Avec punitions exemplaires . . . tant par Arrest des Cours Souveraines que Subalternes . . .*, rev. and exp. (Paris: Thomas de La Ruelle, 1629) [on Gallica]; Jean Martin, *La police et reiglement du grand bureau des pauvres de la ville & faulxbourgs de Paris. Avec un petit traité de l'aumosne tiré des Saintes Ecritures, tant du viel que du nouveau testament, & autoritez des saints docteurs. Aux citoyens de Paris. Ensemble la complainte de Charité malade aux riches terriens . . .* (Paris: Gervais Mallot, 1580) [on Gallica]; and Louis Parturier, *L'Assistance à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime et pendant la Révolution* (Paris, 1897; rpt. Geneva: Mégariotis, 1978) [on Gallica].

municipal ordonnance was adopted the same day by the Parlement of Paris—an unusual event.²² On 11 December 1533, François mandated a “don aux pauvre indigents de Paris de la somme de 12,000 livres tournois, à prendre sur ce qui reste à payer de l’imposition mise sur les maisons de ladite ville”; this was issued on the same day as the king issued letters favorable to the mendicants and other religious communities.²³

Another major building project taking place at this time was the city hall—the Hôtel de Ville. On 24 April 1533, François granted the provost of merchants and aldermen (and the inhabitants of Paris) a certain amount of high-quality wood from one of his forests for the project.²⁴ The previous day, François had issued an order diverting all “deniers communs de la ville de Paris” toward the construction of the new building until further notice. One of his reasons was that the Louvre project was consuming all the royal funds.²⁵ Nearly identical letters were issued on 6 August 1534, this time giving permission to the provost of merchants to use half the aforementioned funds to construct fountains and quays. The Bureau had appealed to the king after being ordered to build a “sumptueux” new city hall and said they really needed those two other projects as well for the good of the Parisian

²² *Registres*, 2:168–70 (13 août 1533); the Parlement registry cited is AN, X^{1A} 1536, fol. 453r.

²³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 6597.

²⁴ *Registres*, n. 5734. See Robert W. Berger, ed. and trans., *In Old Paris: An Anthology of Source Descriptions, 1323–1790* (New York: Italica Press, 2002), esp. 45–56. Writing in 1577–79 (under Henri III), the Venetian ambassador’s secretary described a great number of building projects begun in the first half of the sixteenth century that were still unfinished at the time of his writing; the Hôtel de Ville was one of the few that at least appeared finished: “I shall mention simply the Hôtel de Ville, built in grand style, where the municipal magistrates, heads, and officers of the city assemble to present gifts and contributions to the king and where spectacles and banquets and similar proceedings are given to His Majesty in the name of the Parisian people” (47). For the original Italian (with facing French translation), see Niccolò Tommaseo, ed. and trans., *Relations des ambassadeurs vénitiens sur les affaires de France au XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols., Collection des documents inédits sur l’histoire de France, ser. 1 (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1838) [available on Gallica], 2:594–95.

²⁵ François, ord. 624 (23 avril 1533); *Catalogue*, n. 5718; see also n. 5719, 7227, and 20514.

public.²⁶ Work continued on the Hôtel-Dieu as well during the 1530s, but the need for space for the poor and sick mushroomed.²⁷ By the spring of 1536, the aldermen in the parish of Saint-Eustache convinced Parlement that there was a serious need for a hospital in their section of town.²⁸

The original home of the confraternity was, as stated, the church of the Trinité in the rue Saint-Denis. Jacques Du Breül, in his 1612 *Le theatre des antiquitez de Paris*, tells the story of the founding of the Trinité's hospital and chapel. In 1202, two gentlemen created a structure to shelter pilgrims so they would not have to sleep on the ground. They built a "fort belle grande salle" that was a full storey above ground level, thus saving them from the damp. Du Breül claims the room was built with stone arches, and that it was 126 feet long and 36 feet wide. This was the room that the confraternity rented to play their pieces, all based on Christian themes, with farces following the main productions.²⁹ In 1536, Parlement decided that the two largest rooms in the Trinité should be put to other uses. The act they subsequently passed describes how the great room on the Trinité's upper level was now to be converted into a hospital for those with infections and the pox, rather than used for farces

²⁶ François, ord. 668 (6 août 1534); *Catalogue*, n. 7282. The masters of works for the city, Pierre Sambiches, Jaques Coriasse, Jehan Asselin, Loys Caqueton, and Dominique de Courtonne, were ordered to be more vigilant with their work crews for the "edifice et bastiment de l'Hostel neuf de Ville, et qu'ilz ne voient disner ensemblement, à ce que partie d'eulx soient ordinairement pour avoir regard sur tous lesdictz ouvriers, si tous ensemblement n'y peuvent estre" (*Registres*, 2:183 [19 juin 1534]). On 27 November 1540, the king granted "Lettres portant réduction de l'impôt sur le vin octroyé aux prévôt des marchands et échevins de la ville de Paris, par ordonnance du 31 octobre 1536, et application des deniers en provenant à la construction de l'Hôtel de Ville, ou aux réparations des remparts" (François, *Catalogue*, n. 11736). See also Babelon, *Paris*, 550.

²⁷ See Félibien 4:686 (10 septembre 1535); 4:690 (16 mai 1536); and 4:690–91 (30 mai 1536).

²⁸ Ibid., 4:689 (3 mars 1536).

²⁹ Du Breül, 964–65. See *Registres*, 2:211–12 (20 janvier 1536); 2:213–14 (3 février 1536); and 2:211–12, note 1.

and other plays. Because of this new urban priority, the confraternity lost the space that had been its theatre for more than a century.³⁰

What is not clear is how long it took for this law to be enforced. In January 1537 François issued letters officially founding the new children's hospital for "enfants trouvés" (abandoned children). In the name of royal authority, François ordered that the children always be dressed in red clothing as a sign of the charity they were receiving and that the children would thus be called the "Enfants de Dieu" (Children of God); quickly, they became known as the "Enfants-rouges" for their red costumes.³¹ The Enfants-bleus, who ran about the city in blue clothing, were the city's orphans of known parentage. These "enfants assistés" were housed in the hospital of Saint-Esprit and later moved to the Trinité.³²

By 1539, the confraternity had moved into the Hôtel de Flandre, near the Trinité and directly in front of the church of Saint-Eustache.³³ We know the group's whereabouts from an announcement in the *Cronique du roy François* dated 1539 that states they would be

³⁰ Printed in Félibien, 4:689 (14 janvier 1536). See also the Parlement's act of 13 August 1552 (BnF F-47077 [43]); Henri's edict of 12 February 1554 (Fontanon, 1:890–91 and 4:674; also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 284; BnF FZ-2066; and BnF F-46804 [3]); and Henri's edict of June 1554 with subsequent registry in Parlement 15 November 1554 (Fontanon, 4:675–76; also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 305; and BnF FZ-2066). Félibien prints the following ordonnances regarding the Trinité: 3:629–33 (regulation from 1 July 1545); 3:633 (Parlementary arrêt of 6 August 1545); 3:633–34 (same, 12 March 1552); 3:634–35 (Henri, 12 February 1554; registered in Parlement 1 March 1554); 3:635–37 (Henri, 12 December 1554; registered in Parlement 2 March 1555). The 12 March 1552 arrêt is also printed in BnF FZ-2066.

³¹ François, ord. 770. For its administration under Henri II, see *Registres*, 3:231–32 (9 décembre 1550). On 11 December 1538, the king and Parlement gave the governors of these children special permission to beg in the churches of Paris on their behalf (BnF F-23668 [38]); by 22 June 1541, the king was ordering that they do so (BnF F-23610 [131]). See also BnF F-23668 (39) [6 septembre 1543].

³² For a summary of the orphanage system in Paris, see Goglin, 179–81.

³³ See Favier, *Paris*, 147 and 737; and Jacques Hillairet, *Connaissance du Vieux Paris*, 5th ed. (Paris: Rivages, 1993), 117–18 and 123.

performing the *Mystery of the Passion*.³⁴ Graham Runnalls offers further evidence of this in a recent article about a notebook in the Bibliothèque de Berne written by Jacques le Gros, a silk merchant in Paris. His eldest son Jacques, aged ten, played several parts in that production; Runnalls thinks Le Gros may have been a member of the Confraternity of the Passion. Le Gros described his son's performance on 19 June in front of the royal family, and others throughout that year.³⁵

During the confraternity's early years at the Flandre, the government turned its attention to the streets of Paris. François' ordonnance of November 1539 proclaims that there was a great and immediate need to fix the pitiable state of the streets. In the strongest language possible, he describes roads full of refuse and dung, breeding infection among the people and offending those who try to pass; indeed, many of the streets are so full of garbage that it is impossible for a horse or chariot to get through. All of this seems very dangerous to the king, besides being offensive and against common sense—any good and honorable person could see what a horror the streets have become, he proclaims. Therefore, he offers thirty-two articles that decree how the streets are to be cleaned, maintained, and paved. He explains that all people—no matter what their class—must construct roads in front of their

³⁴ Georges Guiffrey, ed. *Cronique du roy François, premier de ce nom* (Paris: Renouard, 1860), 268–69 (18 mars 1539): “Le dimenche XVIIIe jour de may oudict an [1539] fut faict une monstre à Paris du mistere et jeu de la Passion, qui fut chouse fort triumpante et magnifique, car tous les personnaiges estoyent habillez de velours, drap d’or, satin et d’autres de soye de diverses couleurs, et n’y avoit personnaige qui ne fust habillé de differant habit, qui estoit chouse admirable et delectable a veoir. Et le lundi, lendemain de la Pentecouste, XXVIe jour dudict mois oudict an, on commensa a jouer ledict jeu et misteire au logis de Flandres, qui est ung fort grand logis, ouquel y avoit plusieurs eschaffaulx fort sumptueulx et tenduz de riches tapisseries, pour recepvoir les princes qui assisterent, et mesmes le roy et messeigneurs le Daulphin et duc d’Orleans, ses enffans, et aultres princes et gentilzhommes en grand nombre; et commencerent cedict jour à jouer le mistere d’Abraham et sacrifice de Isaac, son seul filz et unique.”

³⁵ Graham A. Runnalls, “Le *Livre de Raison* de Jacques le Gros et le Mystère de la Passion joué à Paris en 1539,” *Romania* 118 (2000): 138–93.

dwellings at a reasonable grade, so that the gutters can flow freely. Furthermore, he gives instructions as to what can be tossed into the street, how fresh water must be tossed out after urine, and that every day water must be thrown into the gutters to keep them flowing. He imposes punishments for offenders: a fine for the first infraction, a much larger fine for the second, and corporal punishment for the third. If the situation warrants, the citizens can even be turned out of their homes. Each Parisian business is given specific instructions about how to dispose of its commercial refuse, and tailor-made punishments are listed for breaking the law.³⁶ As if thirty-two articles were not enough, François further refined these procedures and punishments the following year.³⁷

By 1543, the lawmakers began to concern themselves with dilapidated buildings. In September, the king decided to sell off a number of properties that belonged to the crown, including the Hôtel de Flandre and the Confraternity of the Passion's future home, the Hôtel de Bourgogne.³⁸ In this long and detailed edict, François explains the impetus behind the sale. He describes these listed buildings as useless, uninhabitable (though of course there were people living in them), and abandoned (at least by people of quality), in ruin and degraded, and bringing little or no profit or satisfaction. He claims that they serve to greatly shame, hinder, and deform the city of Paris. In contrast, his idea is to build and enlarge the attractive places he believes are required for the temporary and permanent housing of the

³⁶ François, ord. 968; *Catalogue*, n. 11299. Also printed in Fontanon, 1:876–70; and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 294 (abridged version).

³⁷ He issued this on 28 January 1540 in 12 articles: Fontanon, 1:879–80 (28 janvier 1540); abridged version printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 295.

³⁸ On the allotment of the Hôtel de Flandre see Maurice Dumolin, *Etudes de Topographie Parisienne*, 3 vols. (Nogent-le-Rotrou: Daupeley-Gouverneur, 1929–31), 2:341–400. On the division into lots of the Hôtel Saint-Pol, see Léon Mirot, “La Formation et le Démembrement de l’Hôtel Saint-Pol, à propos d’un plan aux Archives Nationales,” *La Cité, Bulletin Trimestriel de la Société Historique et Archéologique du IV^e Arrondissement de Paris* 15 (1916): 269–319.

many people who are flooding into the city. As it is, he claims, the majority of these people are forced to house themselves in buildings outside the enclosure of the city because they cannot find a suitable place within it. The king argues that this will prove problematic in time of war, when there will be no way to protect them. The other major issue mentioned is the presence of many evil young men and unscrupulous people, who also live in buildings on the outskirts of the city.

François goes on to reason that if the crown sells these properties within the city, the money gained would be useful immediately for cash-flow purposes, paying for the astounding and almost insupportable expenses of the rest of France. Selling could also provide the government with money in time of war. The king has an underlying philosophy, which he describes in the following excerpt:

Nous desirans singulierement la Décoration de nostredite Ville de paris, Capitale de notre Royaume, & subvenir à la commodité & soulagement du peuple, resident en icelle, ayant aussi en recommandation & affection le bien, augmentation & conservation de notre Domaine, duquel pour nous aider & subvenir à la nécessité de nosdites affaires, avons été & sommes contraints avec très-trand regret, interest & dommage, vendre & aliener certaines portions qui Nous étoient utiles, & dont il ne s'est pû ni pourra par aventure autant recouvrer de deniers comme l'on fera desdites Places inutiles & de nul profit.³⁹

³⁹ *Edits de François Ier (du 20 septembre 1543) et d'Henry second (du 14 septembre 1548) Pour l'Alienation des Hostels de Bourgogne, Artois, Flandres, Etampes, le Petit Bourbon de Tancarville, l'Hostel de la Reine près saint Paul, Quay des Celestins, Halles de Paris, & les sejours de Bourgogne, Artois, Flandres & Bretagne, situez à Conflans, près Charenton* (Paris: Pierre Prault, 1744), BnF F-23610 (138) [20 septembre 1543]; also in *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 3–8; and Félibien, 5:768–71 (registered in Parlement 11 October 1543; registered in the Chambre des Comptes 13 October). For background on this sale, see Thomson, *Renaissance Paris*, 30–37. The major source for the first theatre space is the *Recueil des principaux tiltres* (1632). The full title of this collection of documents tells us that the building was situated in Paris at the rue Mauconseil and rue neuve Saint-François, and the purpose of the collection was to show that the members of the confraternity were “vrais & legitimes acquereurs, propriétaires & possesseurs dudit Hostel de Bourgogne, & justifier pardevant le Roy [Louis XIII], nos Seigneurs de son Conseil, & par tout ailleurs où il plaira à sa Majesté, leur innocence.”

From this passage, we know that the king has granted these properties to various nobles, and they are not going to be very pleased with his decision to sell them to other people. He is trying to present reasoning that they cannot deny, including the idea that the capital city of France must be tended to, and that this decision is for the greater good of France. Any objection would sound like treason. As for the new buyers, he entreats them to use the properties according to their proper heritage. They will have the responsibility of fixing them up into habitable properties, doing honor to the city as well as to the properties surrounding them.

The sale of the confraternity's home and other real estate did not work out as smoothly as the king had hoped. Both Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes registered the edict above in October of 1543, and many subsequent rulings were issued.⁴⁰ Once again, the exact year of the confraternity's expulsion from their then-home, Flandre, cannot be proven. Considering the great resistance to the sale of these properties, the popular assumption that the confraternity had to leave as soon as the 1543 edict was issued is unlikely, as subsequent documents will show.

The next major document dealing with the Bourgogne is a *procès verbal* from 18 March 1544, by notaries from the Châtelet in the presence of commissioners Saint-André, Dauvet, and De Poncher. The document certifies that the Parisian bourgeois Jean Rouvet purchased lots three, five, and nine through thirteen of the Bourgogne, and a portion of those were then sold on to the Confraternity of the Passion.⁴¹ The testimony tells us that the

⁴⁰ Félibien, 5:771–75 (18 mars 1544); *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 9–22. See also Félibien, 4:714 (21 janvier 1545).

⁴¹ On 9 April 1547, Henri issued a “Mandement au Grand Conseil de donner avis au roi sur la requête présentée par Jean Rouvet, marchand de Paris, et consorts, pour être indemnisés de la revocation de deux sauf-conduits qu'ils avaient obtenus le 26 mars 1544” (Henri,

commissioners from the 20 September 1543 edict began working on Monday, 29 October, creating a report on the spaces to be sold. After the assessment, there was a public announcement throughout Paris on Saturday 10 November and Monday 19 November. The document tantalizingly describes that the buildings and spaces were to be sold “selon les pourtraits & figures qui en auroient esté faits & attachez sur Tableaux de bois és portes desdits Hostels, portes du Palais, Chastellet, & autres lieux publicqs.”⁴² Any scholar lucky enough to come across an extant copy of one of these drawings—highly unlikely, since they were meant to be temporary—would have an accurate picture of the Bourgogne’s raw space.

On Saturday, 24 November, the commissioners gathered in the rooms of the Hotels Bourgogne and Artois along with a crowd of people and various royal officials for the auction. The testimony then lists who bid on and purchased what, including Jean Rouvet’s successful bid:

La neufiesme place contenant pareille largeur & longueur que chancune des deux premieres declarées [vingt-cinq pieds & demy de largeur sur seize toises de longueur], tenant d’une-part à la huictiesme place desdits Hostels venduë au dit André Barat, d’autre part à la dixiesme cy-apres declarée, aboutissant d’un bout pardevant sur la Ruë neufve de quatre toises de largeur faite esdits Hostels de Bourgongne & Arthois, & d’autre bout par

Catalogue, ord. 25; presented in the Grand Conseil on 21 January 1548). On 19 April 1547, he issued a “Mandement au Grand Conseil de donner avis sur la requête de Jean Rouvet, marchand de Paris, et consorts, tendant à avoir 96.345 l., 6 s., 8 d. t. d’indemnités pour les dommages par eux subis du fait de la revocation, à la date du 9 juillet 1544, de deux sauf-conduits qu’ils avaient obtenus du roi pour l’exportation de 2.000 tonneaux de vin” (ibid., ord. 89; presented in the Grand Conseil 21 January 1548; granted a partly favorable response by 16 July 1548). On 19 September 1547, Henri issued letters of “Création, à l’occasion de l’avenement du roi, d’un office d’ouvrier du serment de France en la Monnaie de Paris, en faveur de Jean Rouvet, marchand et bourgeois de Paris” (ord. 1028). Around 9 December 1547, Henri granted a “Don au capitaine Sigogne, port-enseigne des archers de la garde du roi etant sous la charge de M. de Chavigny, d’une amende de 600 l. encourue par Jean Rouvet, comme pleige d’un nomme Darthois, pour outre-passe d’une vente de bois, défauts de pieds corniers et autres delits” (ord. 1698; BnF ms. fr. 5127, fol. 62).

⁴² *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 9–22; the sale registration is printed on 23–24. See also Félibien, 5:771–75. Measurements in *toises* are calculated at 1 *toise* = 6 feet.

derriere à la troisieme place pareillement cy-devant declarée, par Nicolas Coupe à trois cens livres tourn. par Maistre Guillaume Poussepin à trois cens dix livres tournois par ledit Coupe à trois cens vingts livres tournois, par *Jean Rouvet* à quatre cens livres tournois, par ledit Coupe à quatre cens dix livres tournois, par le Grand à quatre cens trente livres tournois, & par ledit *Rouvet* à quatre cens cinquante livres tournois, & à luy demeurée au feu esteint.

There is no mention of a building on lots three, nine, ten, or thirteen; buildings are mentioned on lots five, eleven, and twelve. It was settled that Rouvet would pay the king 4 livres parisis per year. In December, Rouvet purchased lots three, five, nine, and ten, (each 25 feet by 96 feet), eleven, twelve, and thirteen (each 36 feet by 96 feet), for the total cost of 5,210 livres tournois, promising to pay each year 12 deniers parisis per lot in charges, as well as 79 sols parisis in perpetual annual rent. Lots twelve and thirteen were to cost Rouvet an additional 12 deniers parisis due to their condition, with 4 livres 19 sols parisis in perpetual annual rent. In addition, Rouvet promised to build or remodel habitable houses on the property and look after their upkeep. This sale had been registered in Parlement on the previous 20 December (1543).

Three years later, on 17 July 1547, Henri created a commission for Nicolas de Poncher, president of the Chambre des Comptes, Louis Allegrain and Thierry Dumont, counselors in the Parlement of Paris, and Jean de Pommereau, *maître des comptes*, to complete the sale of the properties (including the Bourgogne) ordered on 20 September 1543. According to the document, the original commissioners, François de Saint-André, a president of the Parlement, and Robert Dauvet, president of the Chambre des Comptes, had only partially completed their duties.⁴³ This was not the only problem with the acquisition

⁴³ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 679; various manuscript copies of parliamentary registration (3 août 1547), including BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2160, fol. 178v; 8048, fol. 149v.; and ms. fr. 21202, fol. 66v–68v; mentioned in Delamare, *Traité*, 4:357.

of the Bourgogne; its former owner was not pleased about losing it. That same year, Henri issued letters of confirmation for Diego de Mendoza, “premier maître d’hôtel du roi,” giving him an annual sum of 1,000 livres to compensate for the revenue lost on Bourgogne, Flandre, and Artois.⁴⁴ By 1548, Henri II had to issue a confirmation of the original 1543 edict, in the form of a letter to the new commission. He sympathizes with the problems involved, especially because many of the former tenants who had been granted the property have refused to leave. His solution is to transfer the powers of the current tenants to the commission; in other words, he grants them the property so that they become the landlords, and can therefore sell on his behalf.⁴⁵

The next important document is the lengthy contract, signed on 30 August 1548, between Rouvet and the leaders of the Confraternity of the Passion. Rouvet permanently signed over his title to property at the Bourgogne to the officers of the confraternity after the members had deliberated in their old home, the chapel of the Trinité, “lieu accoustumé pour eux assembler, à traicter, adviser, conclurre & deliberer des negoces & affaires d’icelle Confrerie,” and agreed to the purchase. The contract gives us a description of the confraternity’s dissatisfaction with their space in the Hôtel de Flandre: it was too expensive, they were unsure of when they were going to be asked to vacate the space, and large spaces

⁴⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1947. See also François, *Catalogue*, n. 15065 and n. 30591.

⁴⁵ *Edits. . . Pour l’Alienation* (14 septembre 1548); Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3577: “Commission à Robert Dauvet, président à la Chambre des comptes, André Baudry, président aux Enquêtes, Thierry Dumont, conseiller au Parlement de Paris, Claude de La Croix, maître des comptes, commissaires députés par le roi pour l’aliénation des maisons et places vagues appartenant au roi dans Paris, pour vendre aux enchères la maison du sr de Mendoza, maître ordinaire de l’hôtel, et les maisons de Bourgogne, Artois, Flandre et Brabant, sises à Conflans près de Charenton.” On 28 April 1549, Henri issued a mandement to Parlement “de vérifier et homologuer les baux, adjudications et délivrances faits et à faire par les commissaires du roi chargés de mettre aux enchères l’hôtel de la Cour la Reine et autres maisons et emplacements appartenant au domaine royal en la ville de Paris et aux environs” (ibid., ord. 4635; registered in Parlement 28 May 1549).

in their neighborhood that suited their purpose were difficult to come by. All of this resulted in a loss of income and so they were intent on finding a permanent home that could be fully owned by the confraternity.⁴⁶

The “masure” was to be 102 feet by 96 feet (17 by 16 toises) situated “en l’Hostel de Bourgogne, n’agueres par iceluy *Jean Rouvet* bailleur acquise du Roy nostredit Seigneur, en plusieurs places.” The confraternity was to be responsible for the 16 livres parisis to the king in annual charges for the *ordinaire* of Paris, plus 225 livres tournois perpetual annual rent. In addition, the confraternity promised as a condition of sale to have newly built “une grande sale, & autres edifices, & bastimens pour le service de la Confrerie,” within two years; “en laquelle grande sale y aura plusieurs loges, dont ledit *Rouvet* en aura une à son choix, pour luy, ses enfans & amis, leurs vies durant, sans aucune chose en payer, ne diminuer de ladite rente.” The property includes a house and its grounds on the rue de Maudetour (at the sign of Saint Leonard), within a tax area that accessed 40 sols parisis per year for the church of Saint-Jacques-de-l’Hôpital in the rue Saint-Denis (neighboring the Bourgogne space). Also, the confraternity will have rent of 25 livres due to them annually from Henry Guyot and Jean Olivier, “dit Margot, sur la maison des Sots attendans,” in the rue de Darnetal. Rouvet is to receive his payment for the properties in four equal payments to total 4,500 livres tournois. The agreement was made on 18 July 1548 and registered on 30 August, with signatures. On 17 November 1548, the confraternity secured permission from the Parlement to perform in their new home “en ladite sale nouvelle” and confirmed

⁴⁶ *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 25–33.

their so-called monopoly on performance in Paris; the question of exactly when this new performance space was constructed has yet to be answered.⁴⁷

At the same time as the confraternity bought their space at the Bourgogne, the government passed major laws regarding the construction of new buildings. Minor laws had been written earlier, such as the act forbidding the construction of further tennis courts, and ordering that the owners of existing ones appear before Parlement within three days for a ruling to see if the buildings should be torn down.⁴⁸ The argument underlying that particular law was that too many students were wasting their time in the structures, and if the buildings no longer existed, the students would go back to their studies.⁴⁹ The problem must have worsened, because in November of 1548, Henri passed a major edict prohibiting building of any kind. This was his first major law addressing the problem of urban sprawl in Paris.⁵⁰

Henri's edict begins by saying that one of the requirements of the crown is to guard and protect the capital and most important city in France, Paris. It must be well-kept and organized, and anything that will bring disorder and confusion will not be tolerated. In the

⁴⁷ Ibid., 33–34; and Félibien, 4:743. This act describes how the hall of the Passion in the Trinité had been used for the past three years for the poor and sick, and that the confraternity had found other space to mount their productions. This is the source of much confusion for theatre historians, because it would mean that the confraternity left the Trinité in 1545, and that does not work with the date of their performance at Flandre. Maugras, in his book on actors and law in France, gives the date as 1545 (74), while Deierkauf-Holsboer writes 1535 as the last year the confraternity played in the Trinité's hall (*Bourgogne*, 16). I have not examined the manuscript, but a simple suggestion would be that "three years" was either wrongly written or transcribed, and should in fact be "thirteen years." Thirteen years fits with the evidence of the Parliamentary act allocating the Trinité to the poor. To review all the numbers: 1535 was the confraternity's last year in the Trinité hall; in 1536 the hall was turned over to the poor and—according to the thirteen-year theory—the group moved into the Hôtel de Flandre; and 1539 is the date we know there was a performance at the Flandre.

⁴⁸ See "Places of Performance" below.

⁴⁹ Félibien, 4:704–05 (24 juillet 1543).

⁵⁰ Henri, *Catalogue*, n. 3966; printed in Fontanon, 1:842; BnF F-23610 (161) and (162); BnF F-2010; Félibien, 3:642–43; Isambert, vol. 13, n. 72; and BL 504.h.5 [1557], 17v.

last twenty years, he says, a great number of houses have been built in the city proper as well as at the edges of the city, and new ones are built every day. Because of this construction, many people from other cities and villages in France are attracted to Paris. Since it is easy to find a place to live, they leave their hometowns to take advantage of the flexible economic climate in Paris. But this causes the population of other cities and villages to dwindle, which adds to the tax burden in those places. He is arguing that the unfettered growth of Paris is not good for the country. Further, the unfettered growth of Paris is not good for its citizens. If these newcomers happen to be artisans, they take work away from native Parisian artisans without having contributed to the apprenticeship system. Once trained, the Parisian artisans are lured away from their original masters to work in other shops created by these interlopers. All of this causes higher wages among artisans, because the Parisian masters have to pay their workers more in competition with the outsiders. And since they have to make up the money somehow, the price of merchandise has become greatly inflated.

In addition to all these calamities (proclaims the king), many of these new houses fall into the hands of unscrupulous men, taverners, brothel-keepers, and gamesters who cause the ruin of a great number of young men. These youngsters are attracted to the lifestyle of the unemployed, consumed by these places, and therefore lose their youth in such vices. And even worse, they harden, and learn to commit murder, rape, theft, and other crimes that greatly damage and undermine the political balance required in Paris. Besides, so many men consume too much food and drink, firewood, and other necessities. In such a time as this, with things already disorderly and confused enough, these men and their consumption of scarce goods will reduce Paris to such a state of confusion that irreparable ruin is sure to follow.

Therefore, the king is passing two articles. The first one says that no additions or new buildings will be constructed—no matter where, no matter how powerful or rich the patron, no matter if permission was already given or if it is given in the future; the punishment will be confiscation of the building and its contents, and the building will be destroyed by the master of works. If anyone sees an infraction of the rule, it must be reported, or the official will be deprived of his post and rank. The second article prohibits all masons, engravers, carpenters, and roofers, under punishment of an arbitrary fine, to build, repair, or in anyway contribute to these illegal buildings. Anything new—anyone new—is suspect and likely ruining the delicately created balance of Paris. On 17 January 1549, Parlement issued their registration of the November 1548 edict. A further clarification stated that anything built in the last twenty-five years could be deliberated on by the court. The Parlement also called on the provost of Paris and the officers at the Châtelet to carefully and diligently look into the crimes cited in the edict.⁵¹

In the midst of this hysteria, the confraternity somehow managed to construct a playing space in their part of the Hôtel de Bourgogne. Considering the fate of their last two performance spaces, the theatre at the Bourgogne could only exist if it fit with the current topographical plan. An indication that the authorities were on the side of the confraternity's building their theatre was the issuance of an edict on 14 September 1552 (the year of the aforementioned contracts) which revoked all previous gifts "faites à terres vaines et vagues dependant du domaine du roi." This edict was registered in Parlement on 22 October at the command of the king, and especially concerned the properties of the Bourgogne and the others set out by commission in 1543.⁵² Although perhaps not targeted specifically at the

⁵¹ Fontanon, 1:842–43 (17 janvier 1549); also printed in BL 504.h.5 [1557], 18r–18v.

⁵² Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 11721; printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 227.

problems the new owners of the Bourgogne were having, the resulting support of their ownership could only aid them in the construction of their theatre.

By the time Henri II issued his charter regarding the confraternity in January 1555, they are allowed to perform “en leur salle de la Passion, dicte l’Hostel de Bourgogne, ou autre lieu & place licite à ce faire qu’ils pourront trouver plus commode si bon leur semble.”⁵³ Charles IX’s letters, dated January 1567, record how after the confraternity purchased their space at the Hôtel de Bourgogne, “sur laquelle lesdits supplians ont depuis, tant pour la seureté du payement & assiette desdites deux rentes cy-dessus, que pour le bien & commodité de ladite Confrerie, fait bastir & edifier de nouveau une grand’sale, avec certains autres edifices & bastimens pour raison de laquelle acquisition, & des lots & ventes.” What is most interesting is the registration of these letters of amortization in the Chambre des Comptes on 25 February 1568 discussing the contract of 30 August 1548:

Autre Contract faict & passé pardevant lesdicts Notaires, le premier jour de Juillet, mil cinq cens cinquante-deux, contenant l’acquisition faicte par Henry Guyot, Marchand Bourgeois de Paris, d’un commencement d’edifice en ladicte mesure; une coppie de Contract faict & passé pardevant Jacques Joyeux, & René Barriere, Notaires oudict Chastelet, le cinquiesme jour de Mars mil cinq cens cinquante & un: Contenant l’acquisition faicte par Jean du Bois Marchand & Bourgeois de Paris, d’une place encommencée à bastir, contenant huit toises de long, sur trois toises de large, ou environ, assise à Paris ruë de Mauconseil. Autre coppie de contract faict & passé pardevant Rossignol & Allart Notaires oudit Chastelet de Paris, le trentiesme Octobre mil cinq cens soixante cinq, contenant l’acquisition faicte par Jean du Verger Sergent ou Chastelet, Prevosté & Vicomté de Paris, d’une maison qui se consiste en un corps d’Hostel, court, puits, lieux & appartenances d’icelles, ainsi qu’elle se comporte, assise à Paris, ruë Mauconseil.⁵⁴

If this document is accurate, building began in March 1552 of a space measuring approximately 48 by 18 feet, which is significantly smaller than the space that existed in the

⁵³ *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 38–39.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 42–47. See also Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Bourgogne*, 168–69 (app. 1).

seventeenth century. The fact that Guyot—heretofore designated as a member of the troupe of sots—is named in the 1 July 1552 contract regarding the “commencement d’edifice en ladite mesure” leads to speculation that perhaps this was a smaller theatre space for sotties. Another explanation could be that the confraternity’s purchase of the land was contingent on their building upon it, and so they put up a smaller structure until they had the funds to enlarge their theatre. By December 1612, Louis XIII’s letters give the confraternity permission “de jouer, ou faire jouer en tous tels lieux & places qu’ils voudront choisir & eslire, & notamment en la sale qu’ils ont fait edifier à leurs despens, appelée Bourgogne, au lieu de celle qu’ils occupoient en ladite Eglise de la Trinité”—referring to their own purpose-built space.⁵⁵

As the historians tell us, most of the documents we do have about the permanent space date from the seventeenth century. Wiley’s *Early Public Theatre* offers drawings of a building from mid-seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century maps, but they bear no relationship to the early 1550s Plan de Bâle and its cluster of buildings and courtyards on the property. Deierkauf-Holsboer, however, reproduces two documents that refer to a small and a large theatre coexisting in the seventeenth-century Bourgogne space; perhaps this is the explanation for Guyot’s building contract above—assuming it was for a small theatre and not some other type of building.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 51–53.

⁵⁶ Deierkauf-Holsboer, *Bourgogne*, 179–80 (app. 8 [8 avril 1606]) and 181–82 (app. 10 [12 février 1607]). Deierkauf-Holsboer’s reconstruction of the Hôtel de Bourgogne theatre is as follows:

“L’édifice s’étendait en bordure de la rue Mauconseil sur une façade de 18 m et avait plus de 33 m de longueur. Il avait deux entrées, l’une donnait accès à la salle par la cour, l’autre par la rue Mauconseil; il n’est pas exclu qu’il ait disposé d’autres portes. La scène était construit à environ 1 m au-dessus du niveau du parterre et avait 18 m de large et 12 m de profondeur. Le plateau occupait par conséquent une superficie d’au moins 216 m², ce qui était exceptionnel pour l’époque. Quelques loges pour les comédiens étaient bâties le long

Looking at the whole of what happened to constructed spaces in Paris during the Renaissance offers an explanation for what happened to the theatrical space of the confraternity. The space of the Trinité hall—once the long-standing refuge of the Confraternity of the Passion—was overwhelmed by the epidemic problem of the poor and the sick in the 1530s. In the 1540s, the space of the Hôtel de Flandre—ugly, fallen into disrepair—was sold to raise money for the state and to make way for more attractive structures. And in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Hôtel de Bourgogne—once a temporary residence for nobility passing through Paris—was purchased by the confraternity. For the first time in the history of Paris, theatrical space became a fixed part of the Renaissance urban landscape, deemed—in legal discourse—one of the things “utiles et nécessaires” for the “salubrité” of the inhabitants of Paris, as well as the city’s “décoration et aisance.”⁵⁷

des murs latéraux de la scène; il n’est pas fait mention, toutefois, du nombre de ces loges.

“Au-dessus de la première scène était établie une seconde scène dont nous ignorons les dimensions. Un escalier prenait naissance dans les dessous du théâtre et conduisait à ce premier et second plateau.

“L’espace compris entre le devant de la scène et l’entrée de la salle, rue Mauconseil, était entièrement occupé par un vast parterre, il s’étendait sur 20 m de long et 18 m de large, c’est-à-dire sur une superficie de 360 m².

“Le long des murs latéraux de la salle au-dessus du parterre était bâti un rang de loges, probablement douze en tout; c’est-à-dire six loges épousant chacun des deux côtés. Au-dessus de ces loges était établi le paradis. L’amphithéâtre, qui avait une profondeur d’environ 7 m, prenait naissance à la fin de ces rangs de loges. Aucune cloison ne séparait ces dernières de l’amphithéâtre. Des galeries étaient érigées au-dessus de l’amphithéâtre jusque ‘sous le pignon’ de la salle.

“Il n’y avait pas de bancs le long des parois latérales du parterre” (19–20).

⁵⁷ Fontanon, 1:843–44 (14 mai 1554); also in BL 504.5 [1557], 129v–30r; and Isambert, vol. 13, n. 299.

Places of Performance

Having discussed the establishment of Paris's permanent Renaissance theatre space, we turn to temporary performance spaces throughout the city.⁵⁸ Laws regulating performance activities stipulated specific places for these events to take place.⁵⁹ They offer information about a variety of entertainments, many of which took place in their customary medieval stations along the rue Saint-Denis (entering the city from the north and winding into the center of the city to Notre Dame). The real innovation in temporary spaces during this time was the increased use of the eastern section of Paris on what we currently refer to as the right bank—the area from the Hôtel de Ville stretching along the rue Saint-Antoine to the Bastille.

A useful approach to discussing these laws is to work through the various sections of the city. Paris was divided into sixteen municipal quarters plus suburbs for policing and administration. The sections were as follows:

⁵⁸ The title of this section was inspired by Marvin Carlson's *Places of Performance*.

⁵⁹ For theatrical space and staging in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, see Konigson, *L'espace théâtral médiéval*; and the classic by Gustave Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge*, 3d ed., rev. and exp. (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1951). See also Michel Rousse, "L'espace scénique des farces," in *Le théâtre au Moyen âge: Actes du deuxième colloque de la Société Internationale pour l'Étude du Théâtre Médiéval, Alençon, 11–14 juillet 1977*, ed. Gari R. Muller (Montreal: Éditions Univers, 1981), 137–46. For a general text on stage design in France, see Nicole Decugis and Suzanne Reymond, *Le Décor de théâtre en France du moyen âge à 1925* (Paris: Compagnie française des arts graphiques, 1953), especially chapter 1, "Des Origines à 1548," 13–33; and chapter 2, "La Renaissance," 34–52; and Donald Clive Stuart, *Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1910). See also Barbara Wisch and Susan Scott Munshower, eds., *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque*, 2 vols. (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1990).

La Cité:

1. Quartier Notre-Dame

La Ville:

2. Quartier Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois
3. Quartier des Saints-Innocents, later called Quartier de Sainte-Opportune
4. Quartier Saint-Honoré
5. Quartier Saint-Eustache
6. Quartier Saint-Jacques-de-l'Hôpital, later called Quartier des Halles
7. Quartier Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie
8. Quartier du Saint-Sépulcre, later called Quartier Saint-Denis
9. Quartier Saint-Martin
10. Quartier du Saint-Esprit, or de la Grève
11. Quartier du Cimetière Saint-Jean, later called Quartier de la Mortellerie
12. Quartier du Temple, later called Quartier de Sainte-Avoye
13. Quartier Saint-Gervais, later called Quartier de la Verrerie
14. Quartier Saint-Antoine, later called Quartier Saint-Antoine et Saint-Paul

L'Université:

15. Quartier Sainte-Geneviève, later called Quartier de la place Maubert
16. Quartier Saint-Séverin, later called Quartier de la Harpe

Faubourgs [suburbs]:

1. Faubourg Saint-Honoré
2. Faubourg Saint-Ladre, or Saint-Denis
3. Faubourg Saint-Martin, or Saint-Laurent
4. Faubourg Saint-Victor, and Bourg Saint-Médard
5. Faubourg Saint-Marceau, and Quartier de la rue de l'Arbalète
6. Faubourg Saint-Jacques, Saint-Michel, or Notre-Dame-des-Champs
7. Faubourg Saint-Germain⁶⁰

We will approach these quarters from the north, moving into the center of the city, then west, south, east, and finally discuss the spaces outside the city used for performance.

⁶⁰ As established by Babelon, *Paris*, 508–16, whose map of the quarters is reproduced on the next page. See Robert Descimon and Jean Nagle, "Les quartiers de Paris du Moyen Age au XVIIIe siècle. Évolution d'un espace plurifonctionnel," *Annales ESC* 34 (1979): 956–83.



Figure 17. Map of the sixteen quarters of Paris. From Jean-Pierre Babelon, *Nouvelle Histoire de Paris: Paris au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1986).

City gates and other major public sites were key stations for entertainments. The municipality was traditionally responsible for the mysteries at the Gate of Saint-Denis, the fountain of Ponceau (also known as the fountain of the rue des Égouts), and Paintres or Painters' Gate (also known as the Old Gate of Saint-Denis, at the intersection of what are now the rues Turbigo and Aux Ours; it was part of the wall of Philippe-Auguste); the Confraternity of the Passion performed in front of the Trinité; the fripiers in front of the fountain of the Innocents or Saint-Innocent (at the corner of the rues Saint-Denis and Aux Fers); and the butchers in front of the Grand Boucherie. The Châtelet and the rue Calende also served as stations for mystery plays during processions and entries; these were played on temporary stages.⁶¹

Other structures were pressed into service for civic entertainment; for the queen's entry in 1504, the municipality ordered that twelve or fifteen houses along the route be designated as possible stopping points for the cortege, in case the queen or her ladies and gentlemen experienced "feblesse" during the procession and needed to refresh themselves with bread and wine.⁶² Stations were well established by the beginning of the sixteenth century. During her entry, the queen stopped for performances at the Gate of Saint-Denis, the fountain of Ponceau, the Trinité, the Gate of the Painters, the church Saint-Leu-Saint-Gilles, and the fountain of Saint-Innocent.⁶³ The queen passed the chapel of Sainte-Katherine-de-la-Grant-Rue-Saint-Denis (on the rue Saint-Denis at the corner of the rue des Lombards) before stopping at the Châtelet for more entertainments; these were followed by

⁶¹ See Joël Blanchard, "La conception des échafauds dans les entrées royales (1484–1517)," in *Le Langue, le texte, le jeu: Perspectives sur le Théâtre médiéval*, special issue of *Le Moyen Français* 19 (1986): 58–78.

⁶² *Registres*, 1:94 (16 novembre 1504).

⁶³ For the fountain of the Innocents, see Naomi Miller, "The Form and Meaning of the Fontaine des Innocents," *Art Bulletin* 50 (1968): 270–77.

yet more “devant la deux^e porte du palais devant la rue de la Calende” before the queen could finally head to Notre Dame. After mass, the queen returned to the Palais for a banquet.⁶⁴

One of the few named artistic teams we know about who were responsible for constructing such temporary stages was comprised of Jehan Marchant or Marchand and Pierre Gringore. From a series of examples in municipal records, we know that besides writing the play and directing it, they provided costumes—sometimes silk—and built the stages in front of the Châtelet, providing their own wood; Marchand is referred to as a master carpenter.⁶⁵ These documents also tell us that the team rented tapestries, paid workers to build the sets, spent money to build machines, and paid performers (specifically referred to as singers)—sometimes large numbers of them.

Gringore and Marchand’s provision of wood was not unusual; those responsible for civic entertainments were subject to the same wood shortage mentioned earlier in this chapter. For instance, the Bureau had difficulty securing wood and other provisions for the queen’s entry in early 1531: a certain painter named Noël Bellemaire, who was in charge of decorating part of the Notre Dame bridge, was ordered to resell the wood and nails at a reasonable price; a wood merchant named François Tixerrant, “dit le Petit Marault,” stressed his own previous offer from the second of that month to take care of the wood (barring problems with damp and freezing).⁶⁶ For the same entry, the guild of the fripiers made a deal with a painter for the construction and decoration of the stage for their mystery, but he was dragging his feet due to the wood shortage. On 7 February 1531, the Bureau ordered him to

⁶⁴ *Registres*, 1:95–97 (18, 19 et 20 novembre 1504).

⁶⁵ The documents are printed in the previous chapter and include Sauval, 3:533–34, 537, 593–94 (two entries), and 596–97.

⁶⁶ *Registres*, 2:99–100 (12 janvier 1531).

finish within four days on pain of fine and prison. The painter in turn sued Noël Charpentier, “entrepreneur de charpente,” who was in charge of erecting the stage, and he was ordered to have it “ready and perfect” as of Saturday, 11 February.⁶⁷

Another interesting aspect of the preparations for the entry was the inclusion in the Bureau’s list of mandates for Italian designers of a Monsieur Mathée and his fellows. They brought designs (“pourtraictz”) for the “inventions” of the mysteries that they had been requested to create at the Gate of Saint-Denis, Ponceau, and the Gate of the Painters. The Bureau requested a price estimate for the building of the sets, and they quoted 4,000 livres tournois (including wood). Out of that sum, they planned to take four hundred ecus for themselves, along with a paymaster and an accountant.⁶⁸

Bridges leading to the quarter of Notre Dame were also important sites of decoration and entertainment along the route. In 1577–79, the Venetian ambassador’s secretary described the bridges of Paris:

The Pont Notre-Dame can be numbered among the most beautiful things in all of France. It is entirely of stone, so beautiful and wide that there are houses of stone as well on both sides, and sixty-eight attached shops of the same form and height; there is so much space in between that three vehicles can pass abreast. And it is so closed-in that he who had no experience of it would have judged it to be a street: this happened to me the first time I was in Paris. I was on the bridge and asked the way to get there; and since I was told I was there, I thought I was being made fun of. The Pont au Change. . . is also covered on both sides with houses and shops, more numerous than the Pont Notre-Dame, but they are almost all in roughcast and wood; the bridge

⁶⁷ Ibid., 2:86, note 1 (citing AN, Z 6811, fol. 495r).

⁶⁸ Ibid., 2:80–82 (5 décembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:783–86. The question of designers is not a significant part of legal discourse and so will not be discussed in depth in this chapter. For Italian designers at court see Annex 3, “Les Italiens dans les maisons Royales” of Dubost, *La France italienne*. He relies heavily on BnF ms. fr. 7854–56, “Officiers domestiques des rois, reines, princes et princesses de France depuis Henri II jusqu’à Louis XIV.” See also J. Guiffrey, “Liste des artistes de la maison du roi, de la reine ou des princes du sang pendant les XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles,” *Nouvelles archives de l’art français* (1872): 55–108.

itself rests on wooden piles, and therefore neither carts nor coaches are permitted to pass. This bridge is so-called because upon it and in the vicinity are found the shops of the goldsmiths and jewelers, in such numbers, I believe, as are found in three or four of the leading cities of Italy, not excluding Rome or Naples . . . The Petit-Pont . . . aligned with that of Notre-Dame, and that of Saint-Michel, aligned with the Pont au Change, are also both covered with large shops and houses in stone and roughcast.⁶⁹

The *Registres* are filled with descriptions ordering decoration for these bridges for civic performances.⁷⁰

The bridges connected greater Paris with the Ile-de-la-Cité, home of the cathedral of Notre Dame and the symbolic heart of the city. For the wedding of the king of Scotland to the princess Magdalaine de France in 1536 an elaborate temporary theatre structure was built in the space around Notre-Dame: a eight- or nine-foot-wide gallery was constructed to go from the bishop's house, running along the nave of Notre Dame to the square in front of the cathedral. This gallery turned in front of the great door of the church and led to a raised theatre of 30 or 36 feet (five or six toises) "en tous sens," of which seven or eight feet intruded inside the church building. A staircase descended directly from the theatre into the church—the wedding ceremony of the king and princess was conducted on this elevated platform. After mass, the company exited the church by the transept door (on the side of the church next to the bishop's house) via a staircase opening out onto the gallery. The Bureau had used municipal masters of works to build the "galleries, theatre et escallier," and the king insisted it be at the city's expense because he wanted it done quickly, for the last day of December. The wedding was to take place the first of the year; the Bureau was to take money from the amount allotted by the king to build the city hall and fountains for half the

⁶⁹ Berger, *Source Descriptions*, 49–50. For Italian and French versions, see Tommaseo, *Relations des ambassadeurs vénitiens*, 2:598–601.

⁷⁰ See also chapter 2.

charges, and the other half from taxes collected by the city (“aides ordinaires”). The Chambre des Comptes was ordered to approve of the transaction.⁷¹ Given that the king’s letters were issued two and a half weeks before the event, the municipality obviously had the ability to arrange for the construction such temporary theatre spaces at short notice.

For certain entries, the king demanded radical structural changes in Notre Dame itself. Such was the case on 10 December 1518 when a royal representative requested that the chapter of Notre Dame demolish the stone wall that separated the altar and the chancel of the cathedral, the better to make room for the English ambassador and his entourage.⁷²

While the canons were in chapter there came to them noble lord Gabriel de la Chastre, soldier, lord of Nançay, sent, as he said, on behalf of our lord king, who stated that said lord king had recently decided to receive honorably the ambassadors of the king of England in the church of Paris. And, in order that this be done in a more magnificent fashion, he had decided that the stone wall, which is between the choir and the altar, be demolished, for which demolition he sent workers. But the workers were afraid that after the demolition of the wall the canons might take action against them, and they did not wish to place a hand on the wall until assurances had been given regarding its reconstruction. And so the canons were asked for their consent. They pointed out to him that the church of Paris, which was perfect in all its parts, had never been subject since the time of its construction to any harmful transformation in any area; and although the lord canons may not be able to change the will of our lord king, the church, which is sumptuously built and a work of admirable and delicate stone, by the demolition of the abovesaid wall would suffer the greatest damage. And so, in good conscience, the lord canons said they could not give their consent to this. Said lord de la Chastre responded that the canons knew well that, willy nilly, what the king wanted

⁷¹ *Registres*, 2:309–10 (11 décembre 1536). A similar theatre structure was used on 24 April 1558 for the marriage of the prince to the queen of Scotland (ibid., 4:534–39). See also *Discours du grand et magnifique triumphe faict au mariage de tresnoble et magnifique Prince François de Vallois Roy Dauphin, filz aîné du tres-chrestien Roy de France Henri II. du nom, et de tres haulte et vertueuse Princesse madame Marie d’Estreuart Roine d’Ecosse* (Paris: Annet Briero, 1558), reprinted in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 3:249–59. See also *Festin donné à la Royne Catherine au logis épiscopal de l’évesché de Paris, Le dix-neuvième jour de juing 1549*, in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 3:417–22.

⁷² Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 218–19.

would be done, and that afterwards [the wall] would be restored at the king's expense and perhaps in a better state than it is now.⁷³

The wall was replaced with a large tent with the golden salamander of François embroidered on it.⁷⁴ The monarchy continued to use Notre Dame as a space of royal ceremony; another example of extensive decoration was carried out for the funeral of Henri II.⁷⁵

Also in the center of the city were two main banqueting spaces, created by converting the largest rooms in the Palais de Justice and at the Hôtel de Ville.⁷⁶ The Palais, with its great marble table and courtyard spaces, was also home to the basoche of the Parlement of Paris.

⁷³ Printed in *ibid.*, Appendix A, doc. 17 (citing AN, LL 133, pp. 654–5).

⁷⁴ On 16 June 1526, François issued a regulation regarding the “contestations entre le chapitre cathédral et l’évêque de Paris au sujet des réparations de l’église et des ornements sacrés.” The reasoning was thus: “De la partie de noz amez orateurs les doyen, chanoines et chappitre de Paris, nous a esté exposé que lad. eglise est d’ancienne fondacion royal, laquelle nous, et noz predecesseurs roys de France, ont eue en singuliere recommandacion, eu esgard qu’elle est fondée en l’honneur de la tres glorieuse et sacrée Vierge Marie, Mere de Dieu, et que c’est l’église cathedrale de la ville principale et cappitale de nostre royaume, et en icelle se faict et celebre jour et nuyt le service divin en grant honneur et reverance; et a ceste cause a esté icelle eglise construite et ediffiée sumptuesusement, tant en cueur, nef, pilliers, tours, couvertures et autres edifices, lesquelz, d’autant qu’ilz sont amples, hault et sumptueux, requierent grans fraiz pour estre entretenuz.” The bishop of Paris was ordered to collect money from his diocese to pay for these “ainsi qu’il a esté décidé par plusieurs jugemens et arrestz des cours de parlement de nostred. royaume,” including the “chappes, chassubles, ensemble de chandeliers, encenciers, croix, burettes d’argent et autres ornemens” as well as repairs of things within the church, including the salaries of the workers. The regulation goes on to list all of the parts of the church and its furnishings that are in disrepair. There have been complaints that the bishop has refused to pay the workers for these projects, “au grant peril et danger delad. eglise et edifices d’icelle, diminucion de l’honneur de Dieu, de sad. gloireiuse Mere et du service divin, et au prejudice et interest desd. exposans” no matter how repeatedly and how graciously he is requested to do so. To avoid the “emynente ruine” of the church and as its protector, the king ordered the bishop to appear before Parlement so that he could set up a system of payment and arrange for the work to be verified (François, ord. 423 [16 juin 1526]; *Catalogue*, n. 18690).

⁷⁵ See François de Signac, seigneur de La Borde, *Le Trespas, et Ordre des obseques, funerailles, et enterrement de feu de tresheureuse memoire le Roi Henri deuxieme de ce nom, Tres-chrestien, Prince belliqueux, accompli de bonté, l’amour de tous estats, prompt et liberal, secours des affligez* (Paris: Robert Estienne, 1559); reprint in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 3:335–41.

⁷⁶ These were discussed in the previous chapter, as were the various performances of the basoche.

The basoche of the Châtelet performed in the space of their own court; both groups are also mentioned as performing in unspecified public places throughout Paris.⁷⁷ The clerks of the Chambre des Comptes are described as performing at their own court at the Palais as well as at the homes of the high court officers.⁷⁸

The various spaces of the Louvre, the palace to the west of the center of the city, served for entertainments on many occasions. The clerks of the Châtelet ran into trouble in 1506 performing in the “salle du Louvre.”⁷⁹ In addition to banqueting rooms and tournament spaces in the courtyards, the tennis courts of the Louvre appear frequently in mandates regarding payments. For instance, in January 1533 François issued a mandate to pay Barthélemy Guetty (Getti), 300 ecus soleil for—among other things—paintings of satyrs and nymphs for the tennis courts at the Louvre.⁸⁰ Tennis courts became increasingly popular in the second half of the sixteenth century, as described by the Venetian ambassador’s secretary in the 1570s:

There is no doubt that much of the city is occupied by racket-courts, the number of which rises to more than 1800, and it is calculated that a thousand *écus* daily are spent on tennis . . . The French very much enjoy this game, which they play with so much elegance and comportment that it is a marvel.⁸¹

The popularity of the tennis courts may not have extended to 1,800, but Berty’s *Topographie du vieux Paris* describes at least sixty—many of which were flourishing in the first half of

⁷⁷ Félibien, 4:601 (15 mai 1476).

⁷⁸ Sauval, 3:538 and 3:619.

⁷⁹ *Journal de Germain Chastelier, conseiller au Parlement de Paris*, cited in Rousse, Doctorat, 4:132.

⁸⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 28466. In July 1537, François confirmed the 1467 statutes of the *faiseurs d'esteufs*—those responsible for the materials used in the tennis courts—and augmented them from five to eight articles; printed in Lespinasse, 3:529–30. See also Sauval, *Ordinaire de Paris pour l'année finie à la St. Jean 1503*, 3:535: “Reparations au jeu de paulme de la halle” (in the commercial center of the city).

⁸¹ Berger, *Source Descriptions*, 50–51. For the Italian and French, see Tommaseo, *Relations des ambassadeurs vénitiens*, 2:600–01.

the sixteenth century.⁸² What is not known is how many of these structures were used for performances as well as tennis. The most famous examples come to us from the seventeenth century: the Maison de la Croix-Blanche, a house with a tennis court inside belonging to the duchess of Schomberg, which was transformed into Molière's *Théâtre-Illustre* (1641–1645),⁸³ the Jeu de Paume de la Bouteille, which was transformed into an opera stage in 1671 and where Molière performed from 1673 to 1688;⁸⁴ and the Maison de l'Étoile in the rue de l'Ancienne Comédie, consisting of two small buildings which housed a tennis court, which was purchased in 1688 by the *comédiens du roi* and became the home of the Comédie-Française until 1770.⁸⁵

The area to south of the Seine—known today as the left bank—was dominated by the university. Student performances appear to have taken place at most colleges: we have legal documents that name the Collège de Coqueret and du Plessis,⁸⁶ and the colleges of Navarre, Bourgogne, Bons-Enfants, Marche, Cardinal-le-Moine, Boncourt, Harcourt, Tresorieres, and Justice at the University of Paris.⁸⁷ Other private spaces were used for performance in this section of the city as well. Two notarial acts, dated 13 April and 30 April 1540, tell of a performance of a Saint Christopher play at the Hôtel d'Orléans. There was covered seating and a stage of 60 feet by 15 feet, with a 6-foot backdrop.⁸⁸

⁸² Most of these are described in Berty's *Topographie*, vol. 3; see the index in vol. 4.

⁸³ Ibid., 3:40.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 3:212.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 3:78. On the transformation of tennis courts into theatres, see Wiley, *Hôtel de Bourgogne*, 158–77. See also Julian Marshall, *The Annals of Tennis* (London: Horace Cox, 1878); and Albert de Luze, *La magnifique histoire du jeu de paume* (Bordeaux: Delmas; Paris: Bossard, 1933).

⁸⁶ Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire*, 360.

⁸⁷ Félibien, 4:634 (5 janvier 1516); and *Index Chronologicus*, 323, article MDLXXII. For a table of all Parisian colleges in the sixteenth century, see Babelon, *Paris*, 519–22; see also volumes 5 and 6 of Berty's *Topographie*.

⁸⁸ In Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés*, n. 1513 (for construction of the stage) and n. 1514 (for the musicians); the full text can be found on the web, edited by Graham Runnalls, at

The 1540s saw an increasing use in the eastern section of the city for civic entertainments. For the Emperor's entry on 1 January 1540, the procession traveled to Saint-Antoine-des-Champs, where the provost of Paris and his officers left their horses and entered into a kind of wooden house that the king had ordered built there. They joined the emperor and the French princes, and the provost of merchants presented the emperor with the key to the city while inside. At the Gate of Saint-Antoine, there was a triumphal arch with the coat of arms of the emperor which had been built by the Bureau. At the Tournelles palace, there was another triumphal arch; at the Baudoyer Gate, there was "ung beau mistere" on a large stage, elaborately decorated. The group processed toward the center of the city, to the edge of the "haulte Vennerie," where there was another mystery; on the Notre Dame bridge there were yet more decorations and triumphal arches.⁸⁹ Similarly, for the entry of the Princess of Ferrara in December 1548, the municipality went to greet her "a little past the Bastille Saint-Antoine" and processed to the Hotel de Reims, where they banqueted.⁹⁰ As part of Henri's entry celebrations, there were "montres des métiers de Paris" in June 1549: all week long the guilds had been doing formal displays, and "pour le premiere foy"—according to the legal document—they assembled at the Gate of Saint-Antoine and processed to the Vincennes forest, "où ilz furent si bien moulliez de la pluye que ceulx qui avoit porté leurs beaux habitz de soye des coulleurs du Roy et de la Royne furent gastez."⁹¹

<http://www.uhb.fr/alc/medieval>. For theories on physical reconstructions based on this evidence, see Wright, "Parisian Notary Registers," 236–39; Élie Konigson, *L'espace théâtrale médiéval*, 174–78; Henri Rey-Flaud, *Le Cercle magique: Essai sur le théâtre en rond à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Gallimard, 1973), 239–45; and Cohen, *Histoire de la mise en scène*, 83 and 136–37.

⁸⁹ *Registres*, 3:7–10 (1 janvier 1540); also printed in Félibien, 5:351–57.

⁹⁰ *Registres*, 3:139–41 (4 décembre 1548); also printed in Félibien, 5:358–60.

⁹¹ *Registres*, 3:163 (14 juin 1549).

Temporary theatre buildings were constructed in this area as well. One example dates from 1518, a year for which the records from the Bureau happen to be missing, making it essential to rely on other sources for the description of the temporary theatre constructed in the court of the Bastille. The occasion was the marriage of the Dauphin and Mary Tudor, with festivities on 22 December 1518. The most complete description is from a *livret* dedicated to Chancellor Antoine du Prat by Bernadin Rince Millennoys, Master of Arts, Doctor of Medicine, who claims to have no experience describing performances; the *livret* ends with “Plaudissez des mains en joye, et vous suffise. Car j’ay descript les jeuz oultre la coustume de mes estudes.”⁹² Millennoys’ account describes a “théâtre du siège tribunal” and a “théâtre au devant du siège tribunal”; during the banquet, there were “tables théatralles” which were taken up after eating to make way for twelve masked performers.⁹³

Another fixture of royal entries that required building was the tournament. For the entry of Mary Tudor, there were tournaments ordered by the king to be held in the rue Saint-Antoine near the Hôtel d’Angoulesme (behind the church of Saint Paul). There were “lices, contrelisses et arrierelisses,” and the master of works of the city created all of the “devys” designed by Monsieur Jullié, chevalier, lieutenant under the Master of Horse. There were also “eschaffaulx” for the king and queen, the judges and heralds.⁹⁴ The same model was used for the tournaments at the entry of François I a few months later.⁹⁵ For the emperor’s

⁹² (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1519 n. st.), reprinted by Alfred Bonnardot, ed., *Les rues & églises de Paris, vers 1500; une Fête à la Bastille en 1518; le supplice du maréchal de Biron à la Bastille en 1602* (Paris: Léon Willem, 1876).

⁹³ This temporary theatre space has been reconstructed by Françoise Boudon, Monique Chatenet, and Anne-Marie Lecoq, “La mise en scène de la personne royale en France au XVI^e siècle: premières conclusions,” in *L’État moderne: Genèse. Bilans et perspectives. Actes du Colloque tenu au CNRS à Paris les 19–20 septembre 1989*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: CNRS, 1990), 243.

⁹⁴ *Registres*, 1:215 (13, 15 et 25 septembre 1514).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:220 (18 janvier 1515).

entry in 1540, there were to be lists in the rue Saint-Antoine, and the municipality was responsible for having the pavers of Paris pave the street, “qui cousta gros deniers.” The joke was on them, however, when king had the tournaments moved from the rue Saint-Antoine to the Louvre.⁹⁶

This tournament field adjacent to the rue Saint-Antoine was called the Tournelles park. Catherine Grodecki recently published an edition of notarial contracts regarding the royal architect Philibert Delorme (1514–70), two of which concern the building of a “salle de festin provisoire dans la parc des Tournelles”—a temporary festival structure on the Tournelles tournament field. The first, a 18 May 1549 contract with the master carpenters Jean and Léonard Fontaine, pertains to the entertainments for Henri’s royal entry. The structure is to be 120 feet (20 toises) by 40 feet (6 toises 4 piedz) and 22 feet in height, with 10 ceiling beams. Each of the four corners will have a small pavilion, with a room of 18 feet (3 toises) square and adjoining a small dressing room (6 by 9 feet) with a height of about 12 feet. At two ends of the building between the pavilions was a raised covered dais with pillars holding up its roof; within the room was a high dais 36 feet (6 toises) square. The carpenters were in charge of purchasing all the requisite wood; after the tournament, they were allowed to take all the building materials and use them for their own profit. Their total budget was 1,300 livres tournois; they were to be advanced 650 livres tournois by a certain Simon Goille

⁹⁶ Ibid., 3:7–10 (1 janvier 1540); also printed in Félibien, 5:351–57.

(whom we will meet in the chapter on sponsorship), “commis par led. Sire à tenir le compte des fraiz et despence de la salle et feullée que l’on doibt faire aux Tournelles à Paris.”⁹⁷

The second contract, from 30 April 1559, describes a slightly larger structure with a more complicated performance space. The building was 120 feet by 48 feet (8 toises); four pavilions at the corners were 24 feet (4 toises) by 12 feet (the part that was open to the room); king’s pavilion at one end of the room was 24 feet square, and at the opposite end of the room, a *perron* (an upper stage or lodge, usually raised about six feet high) of 24 feet long by 12 feet wide between two panels; and outside (of the upper stage?), a pavilion of 24 feet long by 12 feet wide.⁹⁸

The street remained a popular performance space. On 12 January 1559, the provost of merchants and one of the aldermen went to the rue Saint-Antoine on the king’s order to meet with Sr de Carnavallet [François de Kernevenoy], who was in charge of the “jeu de karozele”; the Bureau was going to be in charge of construction. The area for the performance was to run “depuis le coing de la maison d’Evreux jusques au coing de la rue Saint Pol.” Since the street was deserted, they claimed they could easily install two barriers on it, “l’une commençant au coing de la maison d’Evreux et traversant au travers de lad. rue au bout de la rue Saint Pol,” and construct doors at each end. The Bureau stated that they

⁹⁷ AN, Minutier central, XIX 178; printed in Catherine Grodecki, ed., *Les travaux de Philibert Delorme pour Henri II et son entourage: documents inédits recueillis dans les actes des notaires parisiens, 1547–1566* (Nogent-le-Roi: Librairie des Arts et Métiers-Éditions Jacques Laget, 2000), 31–32. For recent scholarship on the royal architect, see Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Philibert de L’Orme, architecte du roi, 1514–1570* (Paris: Mengès, 2000).

⁹⁸ AN, Minutier central, XIX 294; printed in Grodecki, *Delorme*, 32–33. In medieval tradition knights errant used the *perron* to proclaim a challenge or tell of an adventure. A temporary “salle d’honneur” was built on the same space for Henri II’s funeral; see the description in François de Signac, seigneur de La Borde, *Le Trespas, et Ordre des obseques, funeraillies [Henri II]*, in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 3:316–24.

were going to need to take down the cross and a tree in front of the church of Sainte-Katherine-du-Val-des-Ecoliers (to be put back later), as well as make over the pavement (too many holes) and cover it with sand; all this was mandated to the masters of works for the city (masons and carpenters), and they were to hire workers to get it done as fast as possible. In addition, since the performance was to take place at night, mandates were issued for people to provide torches and lanterns; all the wood used in the festivities was to be sold for the profit of the municipality.⁹⁹

On the Seine just below this eastern section of the city were the islands used for a mock naval battle on the occasion of Henri II's royal entry. On 14 May 1549, Henri sent letters to the provost of merchants and aldermen to ready the Louviers island, including constructing a harbor and a defendable fort above it that would be attacked in a performance of a siege. They were also to build bridges from the Ile-aux-Vaches and Ile Notre-Dame.¹⁰⁰ This must have been an expensive temporary structure, because on 14 May 1549, Henri issued letters of authorization to the provost of merchants and aldermen to sell 1,250 livres tournois of bonds (*rentes*) to raise 15,000 livres tournois to pay for this construction.¹⁰¹ On the same date, he issued a mandement to the provost and aldermen once again to confirm the construction of the harbor and fort for the entertainments at the royal entry.¹⁰²

Fairgrounds outside the city surely maintained their medieval character during this time, with marginal performers such as jongleurs and professional beggars working the

⁹⁹ *Registres*, 5:16–17 (12 janvier 1559). See also *ibid.*, 5:17–18 (20 janvier 1559); also printed in Félibien, 5:388. See also Boislisle, *Chambre des Comptes*, 87–88; and *Registres*, 5:33 (29 juin 1559).

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 3:162, n. 3; see AN, K 957, n. 16; and the extensive description in AN, KK 286^A, beginning with fol. 149.

¹⁰¹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4712; AN, K 957, n. 16c; registered in Parlement on 28 May and in the Chambre des Comptes on 31 May.

¹⁰² Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4713; AN, K 957, n. 16a and b.

crowds. Campardon and Albert expressed doubts about troupes of performers at the fairgrounds of Saint-Germain and Saint-Laurent prior to the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁰³ But a 5 February 1596 ruling harkens back to a previous local ordonnance from the Châtelet dated 10 November 1548, giving the confirming text as follows: “nous avons permis et permectons aux deffendeurs de jouer et représenter mistères profanes, licites et honnestes sans offencer ou injurier aucunes personnes ès faulxbourgs de Paris et pendant le tems de la foire Saint-germain seullement, sans tirer en conséquence.”¹⁰⁴ If the later document is correct, this was an example of permission granted by the municipal authorities for annual fairground performances.¹⁰⁵ The question of what these performers and their audiences were wearing to such performances—as well as performances in other sections of the city—will be approached in the next section.

¹⁰³ Emile Campardon, *Les Spectacles de la Foire. Théâtres, Acteurs, Sauteurs, et Danseurs de Corde, Monstres, Géants, Figures de Cire et Jeux mécaniques des Foires Saint-Germain et Saint-Laurent, des Boulevards et du Palais-Royal depuis 1595 jusqu'à 1791* (Paris: Berger-Levrault, 1877; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970). See Isabelle Martin, “Une mise au point sur la guerre des théâtres à Paris: origines et péripéties. Le Théâtre de la Foire, la Comédie-Française, les Confrères de la Passion: intérêts, droits, contradictions et privilèges,” *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 49 (1997): 345–55; and her *Le Théâtre de la Foire: Des tréteaux aux boulevards* (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2002).

¹⁰⁴ Campardon, *Spectacles de la Foire*, viij–x.

¹⁰⁵ Another space just outside Paris, the *Pré-aux-clercs* which was used by the basoche and university students, will be discussed in the next chapter.

Sumptuary Laws and Costumes

In sixteenth-century Paris, the current distinction we would be tempted to make between theatrical costumes and daily clothing did not exist. Clothing served to identify the space of the people wearing it—their socio-economic status, their association with certain professions or organizations, even their age and gender.¹⁰⁶ At a time and place when costumes were considered by lawmakers to be crucial for the maintenance of order and stability, people found themselves increasingly pressured to conform to a set of sumptuary laws. The pertinent laws fall into three major categories: those that deal with guilds related to the clothing trade (in other words: who is providing the material and costumes); typical sumptuary laws that explain how cloth and clothing were regulated; and specific instances of how the first two categories of laws played out in practice. The attempt to regulate the costumes worn for mandated performances—as when outfits were specified and/or designed for civic performances or when the basoche had to present drawings of their outfits—was not significantly different from rulings ordering certain classes (such as students and the poor) to identify themselves through their clothing. When it came to court performance, the king himself issued mandates that provided clothing for the participants—including

¹⁰⁶ For costuming practices, see Gustave Cohen, “Le costume dans le théâtre religieux du moyen âge,” *Revue de Belgique* 38 (1903): 29–53. See also Alan Hindley, “Costume Drama: Some Functions of Dress in the French Comic Theatre, 1450–1550,” *RORD* 39 (2000): 179–201. For general background on dress in the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, see Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Se vêtir au Moyen âge* (Paris: Adam Biro, 1995), esp. 171–84, which discusses costumes, processions, jongleurs, etc.; and the English version, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997). See also Etienne Giraudias, *Etude historique sur les lois somptuaires* (Poitiers: Société française d’imprimerie et de librairie, 1910). For an analysis of masks and costumes using evidence found in the texts of dramatic literature, see Georges Forestier, *Esthétique de l’identité dans le théâtre français, 1550–1680: le déguisement et ses avatars* (Geneva: Droz, 1988). For a bibliography of early works on dress, see René Colas, *Bibliographie générale du costume et de la mode*, 2 vols. (Paris: Librairie René Colas, 1933; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine; Paris: Librairie Gaspard, 1991).

members of the aristocracy—for masques and other kinds of dance performances, as well as tournaments. As we shall see, the people of Paris often broke the more restrictive laws, using costumes to question their assigned places of performance.

In September 1531, François issued letters patent to the *tondeurs de draps* (fabric shearers) increasing their apprenticeship time from two to three years, arguing that this would be in the interest of the public good. His reason was based on the increase in international trade: fabric from England, parts of France, and Italy are imported into Paris, and masters cannot train apprentices to work with these new fabrics in only two years (which is resulting in complaints about the quality of their work at present).¹⁰⁷ In another example of support for the cloth industry, the king allowed the corporation of drapers in Paris to maintain their confraternity in the church of the Innocents, as an exception to the general abolition of such confraternities, as long as they did not hold any banquets or illicit assemblies,¹⁰⁸ he reissued these letters one year later as well.¹⁰⁹

In September 1542, François issued letters patent approving the statutes (36 articles) of the *teinturiers de soies et toiles* (silk and fabric dyers). Article 12 forbids the dyers from using cheap dye on silk which will ruin the fabric; they can only use it on old wool and second-hand clothes. The best dyes must be used on silk and fine fabrics, because these are “ordinairement vendues aux princes et gentilz hommes”; the fine for breaking this article was 100 sols parisis. Article 19 shows that certain fabrics can be physically dangerous: “Item, que aulcun desdits maistres ny aultres ne pourront vendre fil noir de chaudière ne droict noir ny soye noire à couldre qui soient puant, ne de mauvaise huile corrompue, et

¹⁰⁷ Lespinasse, 3:111–12 (IV).

¹⁰⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 11915; printed in Lespinasse, 3:165–66.

¹⁰⁹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 12455; extract printed in Delamare, *Traité*, 1:374.

aussy ne pourront vendre soye grasse ne savonnée de savon noir, parce que lesdits fils de soye sont choses qui se mectent en la bouche et pourroient engendrer poison ou infecture au corps et en la bouche,” (with the same fine). Article 20 shows just how rigid the rules were regarding the hierarchy of silks, insisting that silks from different places not be used in the same outfit—a kind of diluting more expensive silks with cheaper silks and then selling them for the price of the expensive one, which is deemed illegal. Similarly to article 19, article 33 forbids using soaps or oils that are putrid or rotten to clean or treat cloth, especially things like Bruges satin, for a fine of only 40 sols parisis. Article 34 describes in detail the intense level of control over stock, stipulating that all merchandise imported into Paris for sale has to be brought to the municipal hall to be examined by master mercers before it can be sold, with a 40 sols parisis fine.¹¹⁰

Restrictions regarding the mercers were relaxed to facilitate trade.¹¹¹ On 12 June 1543, François issued a mandement to Jean Morin, lieutenant criminal, to arrange for the mercers to get back their “biens de la confrerie” founded in the church of Saint-Seplucre in the rue Saint-Denis, because their confraternity was not really artisinal. It was deemed purely merchant, and (according to the king) one of the most important and necessary in the city

¹¹⁰ Lespinasse, 3:121–26 (V); Cf. the ordonnance of Henri II on 19 December 1548 (*Catalogue*, ord. 4022; printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 76). Henri issued letters patent in March 1559 confirming the same statutes; see Lespinasse, 3:126 (VI).

¹¹¹ See Pierre Vidal and Léon Duru, *Histoire de la Corporation des Marchands Merciers, Grossiers, Jouallières, le troisième des six corps des marchands de la ville de Paris, publiée sous les auspices de la Chambre syndicale de la mercerie en détail* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1912), 77–79. This book is an excellent overview of the guild; the BnF copy, 4-Z LE SENNE-973 (1), is bound with a number of individually printed Early Modern statutes regarding the mercers.

of Paris.¹¹² By 20 July, the king had also granted the drapers yet more leeway: the right to measure their cloth “selon l’ancienne forme & costume,” unlike the other merchants.¹¹³

As for the second-hand clothes dealers, a June 1544 edict regarding the grand chamberlain of France also confirmed the privileges of the fripiers in Paris while trying to curtail illicit activities. As article 6 reads:

Nul maistre frippier n’acheptera aucunes denrées ne marchandises de larron ne de larronnesse à son escient, ne en bordel, ne en taverne, s’il ne sçait de qui: ne chose mouillée ne sanglante, s’il ne sçait dont le sang et la moulleure viennent: ne de mezel ou de mezelle, ne de bourreau ne de bourrelle, hostels-Dieu, ne hospitaux, ne nul garniment de religion, s’il n’est despencé par droicte usure, ou que le venduer ait puissance de son supérieur: et pour obvier aux abus qui se pourroient commettre, et qui en pourroient advenir.¹¹⁴

These activities continued to be a problem under Henri, and on 14 November 1547 he issued an ordonnance “reduisant le nombre des fripiers revendeurs et colporteurs à Paris et interdisant toute nouvelle reception.”¹¹⁵

On 2 September of that year, the king issued a declaration ordering the Parlement to publish and register the edict of August 1544 creating the 24 offices of *auneurs et courtiers de drap* in Paris.¹¹⁶ On 20 December, he issued a declaration regarding the separate rights

¹¹² François, *Catalogue*, n. 22628; printed in Lespinasse, 2:258–60.

¹¹³ Fontanon, 1:975–76 (20 juillet 1543); this refers to the edict of 19 April 1541. See also Lespinasse, 3:166.

¹¹⁴ Fontanon, 1:1054–56; also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 386; and Lespinasse, 3:430. See also the collection of regulations printed in BnF F-23740 (174).

¹¹⁵ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1477; mentioned in BnF nouv. acq. fr. 3651, fol. 753; registered in Châtelet 5 December 1547.

¹¹⁶ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 955; mentioned in BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2148, fol. 283; and 8293, fol. 60 (26 novembre 1547). Henri issued another confirmation of François’ August 1544 edict in January 1548 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 2143). This was still not solved by 6 January 1549, when Henri sent a mandement to the procurer general and the *avocats du roi* at the Parlement of Paris, asking them to send him a copy of the edicts of August 1544 and January 1548, and “l’enquête de *commodo et incommodo* faite à leur sujet . . . ainsi que les enquêtes et procédures faites en la matière” (ibid., ord. 4235).

and privileges of the *maîtres pourpointiers* and the *maîtres couturiers-tailleurs* of Paris.¹¹⁷ The following year, Henri confirmed the statutes of the drapers (March 1548),¹¹⁸ in September, he issued a confirmation of the privileges of the mercers.¹¹⁹ Continuing the trend in January 1550, Henri confirmed the statutes of the milliners of Paris, making it clear that they had a monopoly on hats. Article 28 states, “Et aussy deffendu à tous frepiers, revendeurs, revauldeurs et tous autres de ne faire aucuns bonnets d’habillement par eulx achetez et de drap neuf ou vieil, par ce que ce n’est l’estat desdits frepiers et que, par telz deguisements, les larrecins peuvent estre recellez, et ce sur peine de confiscation desdits bonnetz et d’amende arbitraire.”¹²⁰ The second-hand clothes dealers were once again contributing to the disguising of people by selling hats illegally.

On 17 November 1551, Henri issued letters patent confirming the statutes of the *brodeurs*. These 25 articles are particularly concerned with gold thread embroidery and the silk or fine cloth on which it is embroidered. Of particular interest is article 18: for the embroiderers attached to the court—they were not allowed to do any work for anyone in the city or suburbs of Paris, nor make things to sell independently. Article 19 states that the members of the guild had to work in official workshops and not at home.¹²¹ As we shall see below, these measures were aimed at insuring the production and exchange of clothing would be support royal edicts regarding who could wear what kind of costume.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., ord. 1753; mentioned in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 37.

¹¹⁸ Lespinnasse, 3:166. See also the 2 March 1555 ruling by the Cour des Aides regarding the regulation of the drapers (BnF F-23696 [358]).

¹¹⁹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3699; printed in *Déclarations des loys, statuts et ordonnances pour les marchands merciers . . .* (Le Mans: F. Ysambart, 1669). Henri reconfirmed their statutes in 32 articles on 16 March 1558 (Lespinnasse, 2:260–65).

¹²⁰ Ibid., 3:249–53 (IV); Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6111.

¹²¹ Printed in Lespinnasse, 2:174–77.

One of the most colorful descriptions of sumptuary practices in the fifteenth century come from an edict of Charles VII:

Et lors fut remonstre audit Seigneur, que de routes les nations de la terre habitable n'y avoit point de si difformée, variable, outrageuse, excessive, n'inconstante en vestemens & habits, que la nation François: & que par le moyen des habits on ne cognoist l'estat & vacation des gens, soient Princes, Nobles hommes, Bourgeois, Marchands, ou gens de mestier, par ce que l'on toleroit à un chacun se vestir, & habiller à son plaisir, fust homme ou femme, soit de Drap, ou d'or, ou d'argent, de Soye ou de laine, sans avoir esgard à son extraction ny à son estat & vacation. Et à cest cause plusieurs bonnes maisons en ont esté mises à destruction & pauvreté, par les boubans outrageux desdicts François, qui est grandement au dommage de la chose publique: à laquelle il appartient selon droit que les sujets d'icelle demeurent & soient riches.¹²²

One of the more remarkable aspects of this law is the attention paid to a national identity; French dress is—according to the king—the most “difformée, variable, outrageuse, excessive” (deformed, variable, outrageous, excessive) in the world. The king is horrified by the notion of individual choice of clothing for pleasure; clothing is to make people identifiable, and so the men and women of France should wear markers that are appropriate to their role. He stresses the notion that dressing inappropriately has led to the downfall of many “bonnes maisons” (good houses), since the public good rests on these families, their manner of dress is “grandement au dommage” (greatly detrimental) to France. He lists a punishment of confiscation of the clothes or material and a fine of 60 livres parisis. The king further orders that drawings be made of the different kinds of clothing to be worn according to status; “sur lesdictes peines, & de quelle maison il soit, il faut porter le patron de son estat,

¹²² *Les Ordonnances royales [1595]*, 235. For a discussion of the major sumptuary laws in Early Modern France, see Michèle Fogel, “Modèle d’État et modèle social de dépense: les lois somptuaires en France de 1485 à 1660,” in *Genèse de l’État Moderne . . .*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet and M. Le Mené (Paris: CNRS, 1987), 227–35.

alias il y auroit confusion, & rien certain.” This edict was still cited as a core law at the end of the sixteenth century.

Being able to identify a person as a legitimate resident of the city was the basis for many of the prohibitions against masks and disguises. For instance, many criminals had mixed with the student crowd. Even in the fifteenth century, Charles VII was complaining about young men passing for students. His ordonnance stated that no students were allowed to carry weapons, and that all had to wear the insignia of the school they attended as well as carry a certificate from the principal of that university.¹²³

In a similar vein, the 27 April 1514 arrêt against masks—referred to as “faux visages” (false faces)—the Parlement complained that these were being made, sold, and worn in Paris to the effect of great “scandales & inconveniens,” causing “choses impudiques & vilaines” to take place. Therefore, the court ordered all masks being sold—even at the law courts—to be gathered up and burnt publicly. Anyone wearing a mask would have it seized and would be fined, irrespective of their social status.¹²⁴

Another prohibition, issued 9 May 1539, dealt with the issues of illegal assemblies and masks/disguises. It said that nobody, no matter what estate, position, or situation, without exception, may travel under any circumstances through the “villes, citez, forestz, bois, bourgs et chemins” of France “armez de harnoys secrectz ou apparens, seulz ny en compaignie, masquez ne desguisez, soubz quelque cause ou occasion que ce soit.” Others were forbidden to receive such people in their homes, be they hotels or private residences. If those who were approached for lodging did not report these disguised men to the

¹²³ *Les ordonnances royales [1595]*, 237.

¹²⁴ Félibien, 4:630 (27 avril 1514). Also in Jean Papon, *Recueil d'arrests notables*, 1328–29, dated 25 April.

authorities, they would be considered accomplices and subject to the same punishment as those disguised.¹²⁵

The text of the Parliamentary ordonnance of 20 August 1554 against false students describes people who claim to be students, wearing their hats so low as to be unrecognizable. The court ordered students not to wear low hats, belts with swords, or “chausses de couleurs deschiquetees” (motley trousers). Some students (real or false) had been spending all of their time with swordmasters, who were grouped within the “Escrimeurs, joueurs d'espée & basteleurs” living in seedy areas. In the midst of these students and vagabonds were those who, after “joué & rodé” all day, retire to cabarets and taverns at night to plan illegal assemblies and theft.¹²⁶

In terms of more general laws, François I tried to regulate clothing at its source early in his reign. On 18 February 1517, he passed an ordonnance forbidding the sale (especially export) or import of silk or gold or silver cloth. His reasoning also concerned the good of France:

Comme, depuis que par la grace de Dieu sommes parvenuz à la couronne, ayons trouvé, à nostre très grant regret et desplaisir, noz subjectz avoir esté grandement foulez et apouvriez, tant par guerres que pour la superfluité, abbuz et desordre des habillemens, des draps d'or, argent et soye, que indifferamment portent et plus que ne convient à leur estat, dont l'or et argent qu'est le nerf et force de la chose publique sort hors nostre royaume, et que desirons sur toutes choses faire vivre nosdictz subjectz en paix, repos et tranquillité, et les enrichir et remettre sus, et extirper et abolir toutes causes et occasions à ce contraires, avons, tant par guerres et victoires qu'il a pleu

¹²⁵ François, ord. 915; *Catalogue*, n. 11025; also in Fontanon, 1:644–45; Isambert, vol. 12, n. 269; and *Les lois [1543]*, fol. XCIX. François confirmed this ordonnance on 16 July 1546 (Fontanon, 1:645–46; also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 416). There were exceptions to these laws against masks and disguises, as we see in the *Ordinaire de Paris* for 1532–33, which contains a “Publication de permission de porter masques par la Ville de Paris jusques au jour de Caresme-prenant; ladite publication faite le sixième Fevrier 1532.”

¹²⁶ Fontanon, 1:891–92 (20 août 1554). An Early Modern printed copy, BnF F-47077 (46), dates this as 20 September. On the profession of swordmaster, see Anglo, *The Martial Arts*.

à nostre Redempteur nous donner, où n'avons espargné nostre propre personne, que par traictez et convencions, eu paix et amitié avec les ennemys de nostre couronne, et recouvré nostre duchié de Milan qui indeuement avoit esté occupée sur nostre très chier seigneur et beau père le feu roy Loys, que Dieu absoille, et ne reste à present que oster et abolir de nostre royaume, pays, terres et seigneuries ledict desordre et abbuz d'iceulx draps d'or, d'argent et soyes.¹²⁷

This statement is remarkable for the king's implied disapproval at how his predecessor, Louis XII, had let his grasp on the dress of his people slip due to his focus on the Italian wars. François stresses the importance of gold and silver—the “nerf et force” of the public good, and how God has given him victory in war and a chance to refill the depleted royal coffers. He offers a three-point plan: no importing fine fabrics and silk; those merchants who have such fabrics in their stocks have six months to sell them to churches “pour faire ornemens,” to “princes de nostre sang,” or to get them out of the country. After six months, the fabric will be confiscated without notice, and one-third will go to the “denunciateur.” The last provision is that “cousturiers, poupointiers, chaussetiers, ouvriers de cielz, courtines, couvertures, coustepointes et autres parmens de maisons” were not allowed to sew or work with such materials under threat of the fine of 100 sols tournois.

Passing such laws must have been disheartening for the king when even his own finance officers were guilty of wearing inappropriate clothes. An 8 June 1532 ordonnance describes how the king wished “de tout nostre coeur punir et corriger” the thievery, abuse, and disguising (among other charges) taking place in France by those who are charged with the administration of royal finances. He accuses them, their wives, children, and servants of wearing clothing, furs, and jewelry above their station, as well as possessing too many horses, servants, houses; they even grant their daughters excessive dowries. All of this is an

¹²⁷ François, ord. 103 (18 février 1517).

indication that they are pilfering from the royal coffers in order to buy such clothing. He therefore institutes certain measures; the first article forbids them and their wives and children from wearing silk or fine cloth in any form, nor fur trim, nor expensive jewelry, which, he claims, is against the interests of the king and his subjects.¹²⁸

The poor, too, were the subject of sumptuary laws in sixteenth-century Paris. Those poor who were working on public projects were not allowed to wear any “*enseigne déployée*,” under threat of whipping for the first offence.¹²⁹ Poor children were required to dress in red or blue, according to their welfare institution, with adults on the poor rolls commanded to wear red and yellow crosses.¹³⁰ Examples from the poor regulations of the 1550s stipulate that those on the poor rolls must display their “*marques*”—“*une croix de toile rouge et jaulne qu’ilz doibvent porter sur l’espaule droict, afin d’estre congneuz*.” The poor were also to be checked for “*impostures et desguisemens, dont plusieurs usent pour avoir occasion de belistrer et vivre sans rien faire, en frustrant les vrays paouvres de leurs aumosnes*.”¹³¹

Obviously, the wearing of clothing other than that appropriate to one’s station continued to be a problem, and the “common good” or “good of the realm” continued to be used to argue for new sumptuary laws. On 8 December 1543, the king issued an injunction against all his subjects except the “*enfants de France*” from wearing silk and fine clothing; all those possessing such clothing must dispose of it within three months. His reasoning is that buying foreign silks and fine materials means that money goes into the pockets of

¹²⁸ Ibid., ord. 595 (8 juin 1532); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 186; and Fontanon, 2:621–25.

¹²⁹ *Registres*, 2:271 (12 août 1536).

¹³⁰ Coyecque, “L’assistance publique,” 107 (art. 1). This system is reiterated in art. 11 (111).

¹³¹ Ibid., 110 (art. 8).

foreigners who will side with France's enemies; the king also wishes to save his subjects from useless expense.¹³²

Henri had the same problems as François, and his arguments echoed those of his predecessor. As early as 19 May 1547, Henri had issued another injunction against wearing gold and silver cloth, arguing that it was a "grande & superflue despense de tout inutile," when gentlemen and others in France spent money on gold and silver cloth and fancy trims and embroidery; he argues that this expense takes up their whole (or at least most) of their wealth, which should be used instead in the service of the king and the public good, as well as for their own needs and transactions. The king reinvokes the sumptuary laws of François, and limits the wearing of such clothing to the aristocracy and their entourage, under pain of confiscation of the clothing.¹³³

¹³² Fontanon, 1:980–81 (8 décembre 1543); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 372. See also François, ord. 689 (6 avril 1535); and *Catalogue*, n. 4840. On 18 July 1540, François passed a detailed ordonnance regarding the importation of fine cloth (Fontanon, 2:503–05; also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 310). See also Fontanon, 2:453–54 (16 octobre 1540); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 312. To compare the regulation of the importation of cloth to other taxed items, see François' 20 April 1542 ruling in Fontanon, 2:455–64 (20 avril 1542). The illegal importation continued, as shown by the following subsequent laws from François, *Catalogue*: n. 4737, 6080, 7868, 9245, 28320, and 28944. Henri took steps toward domestic production of silk on 14 July 1551 (Isambert, vol. 13, n. 156).

¹³³ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 253; printed in Fontanon, 1:981 (19 mai 1547); BnF F-46804 (11); and BL 504.h.5 [1557], 3r. On 13 August 1548, the Bureau met to decide what changes to ask the king for in his edict regarding the taxes on silk and fine cloth, deciding that if the king and his council wanted the bonds to be bought back quickly, they needed to raise the amount they were taking on these imports for the benefit of the city (*Registres*, 3:135). On 3 September 1548, Henri issued a royal authorization to the provost and aldermen to raise money "par moyen de constitutions de rentes au denier douze sur les aides qui, pour ce faire, et suivant le tarif inclus dans les présentes, seront imposées à l'entrée des draps d'or et d'argent, de velours, de soie et de laine dans la ville . . . jusqu'au rachat des dites rentes" (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3537; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2160, fol. 282v–283 [6 octobre 1548]). Henri followed this by issuing, on 23 September, a "jussion à la Chambre des vacations du Parlement de Paris d'entériner les lettres du 3 septembre dernier autorisant la ville de Paris à lever 90 000 l. t. au moyen de constitutions de rente sur les impositions des draps d'or et d'argent, velours, soie et laine" (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3619; AN, K 957, n. 4 and n. 41; KK 1012, fol. 78v).

On 12 July 1549, Henri issued a lengthy sumptuary law. Although largely a confirmation of François' ordonnance, the edict goes into more detail, and Henri claims that the problem of getting his subjects to wear appropriate clothing is becoming worse and worse: "mais augmentent de jour en autres telles excessives superfluitez d'habillemens et accoustremens entre gentil-hommes, dames et damoiselles; gens d'église, et de justice, et autres hommes et femmes de tous estats: lesquels par ce moyen on ne peut choisir ne discerner les uns avec les autres." Again, we see that the king did not believe individual pleasure was as important as being able to identify one's membership in a group; certain subjects were trying to circumvent the system, and he was not pleased. Parlement did not take too kindly to this edict, issuing a list of questions on 17 August 1549 asking if children under ten were included, and also what they themselves were supposed to wear: "Si sur ces mots gentils-hommes, les gens de Justice & robe longue qui sont gentils-hommes sont compris. Et en ce plaira considerer que souz ombre de ce l'Edict n'est point garde: car chacun se dit gentil-homme."¹³⁴

¹³⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5065; printed in Fontanon, 1:981–83 (12 juillet 1549); also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 96; BnF F-46805 (4), (5), and (5bis); and BnF F-46852 (1). The Parliamentary document is in Fontanon, 1:983; as well as BL 504.h.5 [1557], 22v–23r. Henri responded on 17 October 1549, printed in Fontanon, 1:983–84; BL 504.h.5 [1557], 44r. On 18 May 1550, Henri issued *lettres closes* mandating the Parlement of Paris to publish in Paris yet again the sumptuary ordonnance of 1549 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6571; BnF ms. fr. 23746, fol. 23–26). He issued the same letters to the Cour des Aides on the same day (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6572); Parlement gave their response on 23 May 1550 (BL 504.h.5 [1557], 44r–44v; printed (along with 17 August 1549 response) in BnF F-46805 (5 bis); BnF F-46805 (7); and BnF F-46804 (11): "Nos amez & seaux, nous avons veu les articles des difficultez par vous envoyez a nostre trescher & seal Chancelier, sur aucus poincts contenus en l'Edict prohibitif de porter draps de soye: sur lesquels & en marge d'iceux, nous avons faict escrire & apostiller l'interpretation d'iceux poincts, telle que nous voulons estre suivie en l'observation d'iceluy Edict, & presentement les vous renvoyons: voulant & vous mandant iceux faire entretenir, ensuivre & observer selon ladite interpretation, & advertir les substituts de nostre Procureur es sieges du ressort de nostre Parlement de Paris, pour obvier aux doutes qui s'en pourront sur ce faire ausdites sieges." Henri reissued the 18 May 1550 law on 18 March 1551, "vu son inobservation" (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 8237; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 8049, fol. 411). The king did take these sumptuary laws seriously, even if his

If the law texts themselves were confusing to lawmakers, imagine how this confusion left the door open for differing interpretations—and hence, costuming practices. For the queen's entry in 1504, the municipality records note that the guild representatives carrying the canopy over the queen were to be dressed in silk; the bourgeois accompanying the provost of merchants and aldermen were to be dressed in silk robes at 80 livres parisis each, which would be arranged and paid for by the municipal receiver.¹³⁵ The receiver had done such a good job furnishing the provost and his entourage with robes that it was decided “pour les bons services que led. Receveur a faiz à lad. Ville,” for this one time only, he would have a gown worth 80 livres parisis as well.¹³⁶ But the municipality decided in the end that his office did not merit such expense, no matter how impressive his service to the city.

In another variation, participants actually avoided wearing costly costumes. This was the case on 30 September 1514, when the Bureau met to discuss costumes for the queen's entry. Having convoked the drapers, spicers, furriers, mercers, and goldsmiths to find out “de quelz habitz de soye ilz seroient vestuz” to carry the canopy, they were informed by the moneychangers that “de present ilz estoient en petit nombre, comme de cinq ou six seullement; et à celle cause ne pourroient ofurnir aux fraiz de s'abiller selonq qu'il est bien requiz, sans leur grant grief et detriment,” and asked to be excused. The milliners took over for them. As for the sixteen quarteniers, they tried to get out of wearing silk costumes, “disans que telz habitz n'appartiennent ne consonent à leurs estatz, et mesmement qu'ilz ne portent point le ciel aux entrées des Roys ne des Roynes; mais bien seront vestuz de bonnes

Parlement and others did not; for example, on 1 July 1552, he issued an injunction against the royal procurer to keep him from interfering in the trial of one Jean Espert, bourgeois merchant of Paris, found “vêtu d'habits contraires aux ordonnances somputaires” on the fairgrounds of Guibray (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 11270).

¹³⁵ *Registres*, 1:93–94 (7 novembre 1504); see also Godefroy, 1:690–95.

¹³⁶ *Registres*, 1:94 (16 novembre 1504).

robbes d'escarlante violette, tous de livrée, pour acompaigner le Corps de la Ville: si ont esté receuz ad ce faire.”¹³⁷ This theme of costumes being appropriate to one's estate would continue.

Sixteen years later at Eleanor's entry, the spokesman of the quarteniers, Jehan Turquain, told the governor that in consideration of the queen, in celebration of the good treatment of the princes while captive in Spain, and because Eleanor was the cause of the peace they were now enjoying, the quarteniers intended to dress in “robbes de drap noir fin, doublées de velours, et sayons de velours et pourpointz de satin cramoisy vermeil, nonobstans que ce ne soit leur estat.” The governor insisted that they be dressed in “satin tanné,” and Turquain responded that he had no “charge de ses compaignons” but he would tell them what was said.¹³⁸ In the end, the quarteniers gave in and agreed to wear “satin tanné.”¹³⁹

Civic entertainments were not the only occasions on which costumes came to be controversial; there was a serious problem at court as well. On 1 November 1530, François issued a declaration condemning to death those who stole from the royal household. Apparently, the problem was rampant:

Comme par la grosse fluence de gens qui conversent journellement en nos logis, durant le temps que y sommes logez, plusieurs larcins, puis aucun temps en ça, ayent esté faits en iceux, tant des ornemens de nostre chappelle, vaisselle d'argent, que habillemens appartenant a nous et a autres, par gens, qui sous ombre d'estre bien vestus et bien habillez, on leur souffre entrer partout, sans avoir l'oeil par eux; et pareillement par autres, qui sous couleur

¹³⁷ Ibid., 1:215–16 (30 septembre 1514).

¹³⁸ Ibid., 2:85–87 (12 décembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:786–89.

¹³⁹ *Registres*, 2:88–89 (13 décembre 1530); also in Godefroy, 1:789–91. On 2 March 1531, François sent *lettres de cachet* to the Chambre de Comptes regarding their costumes for the royal entry, ordering them to be reasonable about their expenditures (BnF F-23740 [154]; also printed in Boislisle, *Chambre des Comptes*, 42).

de quelques connoissance qu'ils ont a aucuns de nostre suite, entrent partout.¹⁴⁰

He complains that servants have been robbing him as well, without even knowing the value of what they steal. Performers in the service of the court, such as Cathelot the fool, had wardrobes that could be pilfered, as we see in a legal document dated 10 June 1537, “Mémoire de ce qui fault pour le service du Roy.”¹⁴¹ Other descriptions of costumes at court show an extensive use of false gold and silver. For example, on 18 January 1539, François issued an order to pay 970 livres 13 sous 6 deniers tournois for “deux acoustremens de masques” to be used in court performances, where we find such materials used.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ François, ord. 547; also printed in Miraulmont, *Prevost*, 314–17; and BnF F-23610 (111).

¹⁴¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 9064; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:398–99:

Pour Kathellot, la folle de Mesdames:

Dix aulnes de satin vert de Bruges pour faire robbe à Kathellot, la folle, pour lui servir les festes

Huit aulnes frizé pour doubler le bas corps et manches de lad robbe

Troys aulnes et demye de velloux jaulne doré pour luy faire chapperon et manches, et bander lad robbe tout autour à troys bandes

Vingt-quatre aulnes futaine blanche de Millan pour luy faire deux robbes

Dix aulnes bougran blanc pour doubler lesd dux robbes

Cinq aulnes drap blanc pour luy faire deux cottes

Dix aulnes frizé pour doubler lesd cottes

Deux aulnes et demye de fustayne blanche pour faire deux corps de cotte et doubler le corps d'une robbe

Une aulne de velloux pour faire ung collet, une cornette de des manchons

Huit aulnes de serge pour luy faire manteau de nuyt fourré

Deux aulnes de serge pour luy faire deux d'aventaulx

Deux paires de chausses

Vingt quatre aulnes toille de lin pour faire une douzaine de chemises

Dix aulnes de bonne toille pour luy faire couvrechefz, colleretes, toretz, coiffes et mouchouers

Deux tiers fin drap noir pour faire chapperon à domp Françoise Girard, gouvernante de lad. Kathelot.

Le don en accustrement faict par le Roy François à Kathelot la folle monte la somme de six vingts quatre livres ung solz sept deniers tournois, cy . . . 124 l. 1 s. 7 d.

¹⁴² François, *Catalogue*, n. 10689; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:242–43:

Estat de deux acoustremens de masques, que le Roy a ordonné estre présentement levez en son argenterie:

Vingt aulnes damas rouge pour faire partie des dits acoustremens à IIII^l l'aune . . .

Under Henri II, the tradition of carefully designed costumes for civic entertainments continued. For the entry of the king in 1549, the three captains of the archers and crossbowmen of the city were ordered to show up wearing costumes “telle qui leur sera baillée par pourtraict.”¹⁴³ There were designs for all the costumes; we find that all the guilds had to be dressed “selon le pourtraict à eulx monstre, à leur despens.” The same was true of the Enfants de Paris, single or married. With the latter group, the problem was that the costume designed was so expensive that there were not enough young men from the “meilleurs maisons de Paris” who could afford to pay for their costumes—certainly not the

III^{xx}!

Six aulnes satin vert pour servir aux dits acoustremens à LXXV sous l’aulne . . .

XXII^l X^s.

Sept aulnes toile d’or faulx pour servir aus dits acoustremens à IIII^l X^s l’aulne . . .

XXXI^l X^s.

Deux aulnes et demye satin turquin pour couvrir deux payre de brodequins à LXXV sous l’aulne . . . VIII^l XVII^s VI^d.

Quatre pièces bougran pour doubler les dits acoustremens à XXX^s la pièce . . . VI^l.

Cinquante aulnes taffetas blanc, bleu et incarnat à LX^s l’aulne . . . VII^{xx} X^l.

Quatre aulnes toile d’argent faulx pour servir aus dits acoustremens à IIII^l X^s l’aulne, vallent . . . XVIII^l.

Cent houppes IIIe aulnes petit frange, XXV grant frange, III^e aulnes de cordon de fil d’or faulx poisant ensemble IIII^e M à XXV^s l’aulne, comprins la façon, vallent . . . V^e!

Six douzaines de boutons de fil d’or faulx rond et long pour servir aus dits acoustremens à III^s pièce, vallent IX^l XVI^s.

Deux panaches de plumes blanches ___e pris de IIII^l X^s pièce . . . IX^l.

Façons du tailleur . . . XXX^l.

Une aulne et demye toile d’or faux pour parachever les dits acoustremens à IIII^l X^s l’aulne . . . VI^l XV^s.

Deux payres de brodequin de marroquin à LX^s pièce . . . VI^l.

Deux masques argentez par dedans à XLV^s pièce, vallent . . . IIII^l X^s.

Façons des deux acoustremens de teste comprins les cartons, chappeaulx, botynes et tour d’embas d’iceulx acoustremens IIII^{xx} X^l.

Somme que monte le dit estat, neuf cens soixante dix livres, treize sols, six deniers tournois, fait à Paris le XVIII^e jour de Janvier, l’an mil V^e trente huit.

¹⁴³ *Registres*, 3:155 (6 mars 1549). The king issued *lettres closes* on 22 March 1549 confirming the Bureau’s mandate for 400 archers and 200 gentlemen from court to accompany him on 15 May (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4517; see also ord. 4518 and 4519).

number of people who were supposed to be participating according to the plan for the entry.¹⁴⁴ On the same occasion, the Aides marched “de robes rouges d’escarlade,” in spite of the Parlement’s injunction.¹⁴⁵ On 15 June 1549, Henri issued *lettres closes* confirming that the members of the Cour des Aides were authorized to wear scarlet robes at the king’s entry, notwithstanding the injunction made by Parlement. They would push the envelope even more in the coming years.¹⁴⁶

On 4 January 1553, during a procession for the *Corps Sainctz*, the three presidents of the Aides showed up not only in scarlet robe, but with fur-trimmed hats, “chose nouvelle et inacoustumée.” The members of Parlement objected and sent a bailiff to tell them to take off their hats, which they refused to do. The Parlement threatened them with a fine of 10,000 livres parisis; the Aides’ response was to send representatives to the king to ask him permission to wear the fur hats. He granted a one-time permission, at which point the Parlement sent the procurer general to the king to remind him that the Aides was not part of the sort of important court which had the right to wear scarlet robes with fur hats, that such a thing had never been done before, and that this costume was the property of the Parlement—“son ymage et representation, et creéz par st Charlemaigne à l’exemple des cent senateurs de Romme.” The Parlement’s officers spent quite a while explaining the significance of this particular costume to the king. The king conferred with his council and cleverly decided to let the Parlement rule on the matter. Not surprisingly, they ordered the Aides to take off their hats on pain of 2,000 livres parisis per person still wearing them; also not surprisingly, the officers refused. The Parlement then sought the help of the “seigneur

¹⁴⁴ *Registres*, 3:160–61 (avril 1549).

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 3:164–79 (16 juin 1549), esp. 3:167, n. 2, citing X^{1A} 1565, fol. 170v (15 juin 1549); also in Félibien, 5:361–74. See also Godefroy, 1:879–93.

¹⁴⁶ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4890; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2373, fol. 99.

de Lesigny Pierre Vive, Me des Ceremonyes,” who told them the king had ordered them to remove their hats according to the ruling of Parlement. Vive requested that they comply, arguing that their refusal would result in a huge scandal. They still declined, so he sent them to speak with the king directly. The officers argued that their authority as a sovereign court was equal to the Parlement’s; the king (probably sick of hearing about it at this point) “pour cesser leur differend,” said he would look into it, and had them leave the hats with him; the procession then took place as planned.¹⁴⁷

On 24 April 1558, plans for the marriage of the prince and the queen of Scotland brought the Bureau back to the 1504 issue. There was a controversy about the municipal *greffier* (registrar) being dressed in the same robes as the aldermen of the Bureau (long gown of scarlet and tan satin), which some of the aldermen objected to and sent a letter to the first king’s procurer. The registrar’s argument was that his title was “Greffier après Messrs les Eschevins, selon l’ancienne ordre, comme il apert par tous les Registres, Ordonnances et Tableaulx de lad. Ville.” He should be among the aldermen just as the registrar of the court was present among the councilors of the court, as had always been done in public displays. But he hadn’t wanted to make a fuss up until now, wearing the blue and red gown and cap as was worn in the time of king Jean le Bon who was held prisoner in England, “comme il appert par les Annales de France que Estienne Marcel, Prevost des Marchans, bailla au Duc de Normandie, Regent en France, son chaperon pers et rouge qu’il portoit, pour sauver la vie dud. Regent.”

Evidence was presented that during the time Claude Guyot was provost of merchants (1548–50), the members of confraternities distributing bread to the poor wore robes of red

¹⁴⁷ *Registres*, 4:89–93 (4 janvier 1553). The incident is also recorded from the Parlement of Paris’s perspective in Félibien, 4:759.

and blue. During Eleanor's entry in 1531, he said the "façon" had changed for the sergeants of the city from wearing white fur collars (due to the winter) to a collar made of damask, as was the present case. Members of Parlement used to wear different gowns as well. Further evidence was presented from the 1300s, when the Carmelites used to wear black and white striped outfits (for which one of the streets of Paris was supposedly named—rue des Barrez), but supposedly children made fun of them, and the king ordered them to change their robes to the present style—all black with a white hood.

Par quoy appert que, selon le temps et pour causes raisonnables, on peult changer d'habit, pourveu qu'il soit commun en ung coleige et communauté, non pas par une ambition ne curiosité, comme on voit aujourd'uy que les prestre s'abillent en seculiers, les marchans en gentilzhommes, les femmes portent habitz d'hommes: qui est renversé l'ordre de raison, et est ung scandalle et deshonneur à ceste noble ville capitale de ce Royaulme, qui doibt estre le mirouer et exemple d'honneur, modestye et gestes des autres villes, laquelle doibt tellement estre réglée qu'il n'y aict que redire.¹⁴⁸

Judging from the argument above, change in costume was acceptable by the mid-sixteenth century as long as it was deemed a reasonable use of clothing ("pour causes raisonnables") by the governing authority; changes were required to be applied to a group of people at large and not an individual. The descriptions of women dressing as men, clerics dressing as secular subject, and merchants dressing as gentlemen give us a picture of what was considered dangerous and therefore illegal in the capital of France during the Renaissance.

¹⁴⁸ *Registres*, 4:534–39 (24 avril 1558).

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What stands out while exploring the establishment of Paris's permanent theatre space, the shifting temporary spaces in the city, and the regulation of clothing and costumes during this time is an emphasis on what lawmakers deemed practical. Use of buildings was determined by the needs of the urban community; the space in the eastern part of the city showed the greatest potential for temporary use; and the costumed space of the inhabitants of Paris was circumscribed more by a desire for stability than regard for an individual's influence or merit. In the next two chapters, we will discover how the twin forces of censorship and sponsorship influenced the development of theatre in Renaissance Paris.

CHAPTER FIVE CENSORSHIP

The traditional story of theatrical censorship during this time in Paris centers on the Confraternity of the Passion, the Parliament's curtailing of performances using religious material, and what scholars have seen as actors and playwrights filling the gap by turning back to the classics.¹ Chronologically, this argument falls apart—playwrights in France were adapting and translating classical era plays long before 1548. Folded in with this story is the idea of the rise of the so-called anti-theatrical prejudice, pervasive among nineteenth-century historians of the theatre but lingering just as strongly today.² Frederick Hawkins, in 1884, referred to the 1548 ruling as the “decree of the Parlement [that] marked an epoch in stage history.”³ This, combined with the Protestant movement, supposedly led the clergy to be “uncompromising opponents of theatrical amusement in any shape. They suddenly discovered that the drama was bad in principle.”⁴

¹ See esp. Maugras, *Les comédiens hors la loi*, 1, 66–69, 76.

² Examples are Zbigniew Wilski, “La situation sociale des acteurs en Europe du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle,” *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 41 (1989): 411–21; Jonas Barish, *The Anti-Theatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Cahuet, *La Liberté du Théâtre en France*; and Victor Hallays-Dabot, *Histoire de la censure théâtrale en France* (Paris, 1862; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970). One article by Gianni Cariani, “Autorité et théâtre à la fin du Moyen Age. Conflits et enjeux,” *Revue d'histoire du théâtre* 44 (1993): 35–44, is particularly quick in assigning a chronology of censorship to fit this pattern based on a handful of laws printed in Delamare, Félibien, and the Parfaict brothers. I presented many of the nineteenth-century ideas in a paper, “Historiography of French Renaissance Theatre in the Nineteenth Century,” at the conference “Le 19^e siècle renaissant/Renaissance in the 19th Century,” sponsored by the Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies and the Joseph Sable Centre for 19th Century Studies at the University of Toronto, Canada (October 2001).

³ Frederick Hawkins, *Annals of the French Stage from its Origin to the Death of Racine*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1884), 1:32.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:34.

In fact, the relationship between sacred and secular does lie at the heart of censorship during this time—but not in the way previous scholars have framed it. In this chapter, we will look at the increasing tension between sacred and secular authority in the areas of law and policing, exploring how those circumstances contributed to the institutionalization of theatrical censorship.⁵ Next, we will investigate the Reformation background, looking at how secular control over religious information and practice was imposed on the people of Paris by carefully shaping the ways in which these ideas with their attendant actions were printed and performed. Finally, we will look at the urban environment—censorship imposed under the guise of the safety of the people of Paris and the realm; this was another area in which secular lawmakers were concerned with what they saw as a very practical fear of retribution by God for misbehavior, as well as other threats to the stability of the crown by popular unrest.

“Emotion populaire”: Laws, Policing, and Censorship

Much of the confusion regarding sacred and secular attitudes toward theatre and censorship begins with the difference between ecclesiastical and civil jurisdictions. Many scholars, looking at regulations for clerics, assume these restrictions applied to all people. For

⁵ See Nancy Lyman Roelker, *One King, One Faith: The Parlement of Paris and the Religious Reformations of the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996). See also Michèle Fogel, *L'État dans la France moderne de la fin du XVe siècle au milieu du XVIIIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1992). Also useful are Honoré Antoine Frégier, *Histoire de l'administration de la police de Paris, depuis Philippe-Auguste jusqu'aux Etats généraux de 1789, ou Tableau moral et politique de la ville de Paris durant cette période, considéré dans ses rapports avec l'action de la police*, 2 vols. (Paris: Guillaumin, 1850) [on Gallica]; and Charlotte C. Wells, *Law and Citizenship in Early Modern France* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

instance, Canon 138 established that clerics could not participate in anything inappropriate to their saintly status, including professions designated as “indecoras artes.” They were not to participate in games of chance that involved money; carry weapons unless they had reason to be afraid for their lives; no hunting; and no entering inns or taverns (*tabernae*) or similar places without absolute necessity. These prohibitions became the standard formula for future decrees. Canon 140 went even further, stating that clerics could not attend plays, dances, or frivolous celebrations (*pompae*), as they were not appropriate to their status as clerics, or because their presence would provoke gossip, especially in theatres. The editor of the *Dictionnaire de droit canonique* sees this prohibition as moderate, since it did not forbid clerics from attending all ceremonies or concerts which might take place in a public theatre; it was not the space that was deemed bad (*odium loci*), but the nature of the performance and what actions might arise from it.⁶

This idea of the consequences of a performance is evidenced in a civil ordonnance recorded by the provost of Paris on 14 September 1395. The people of the city were forbidden to perform anything that could provoke scandal or gossip—the subject of the pope, the king, or reference to what we now call the Great Schism—on pain of fine with two months in prison on bread and water:

Soit crié de par le roy, etc. Nous deffendons à tous dicteurs, faiseurs de dits et de chançons, et à tous autres menestriers de bouches et recordeurs de diz, que il ne facent, dyent ne chantent en places ne ailleurs, aucuns ditz, rymes ne chançons qui facent mention du pape, du roy notre seigneur, de nos diz seigneurs de France, au regard de ce qui touche le fait de l’union de l’Èglise ne les voyages que il ont faits ou feront pour cause de ce, sur peine d’amende volontaire et d’être mis en prison deux mois au pain et à l’eau. Escript soubz

⁶ See R. Naz, *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, 3:851–52.

nostre signet, le mardy quatorzième jour de septembre, mil trois cent quatre vingt quinze.⁷

According to Delamare, this ordonnance was never repeated or referred to in subsequent ordonnances, giving the impression that it was specific to that particular time of crisis.⁸ The main idea—that referring to current events and personalities could stir up trouble—would continue throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.

One of the most important changes in law during the sixteenth century was the increasing concern with and repression of blasphemy and heresy—“perversités de la langue.”⁹ As with performance in the 1395 ordonnance above, these crimes were of most concern to authorities because of their potential to destabilize the community and even the realm: “Blasphémer, c’est contester la hiérarchisation des valeurs fondamentales, donc sacrées, bouleverser le sens de la déférence obligée, nier la vertu d’obéissance et, à terme, douter de l’essence même du pouvoir qui les fonde. Enfin c’est aussi troubler l’équilibre général de la société.”¹⁰ Besides the civil disorder and “emotion populaire” provoked, blasphemy was “un acte de rébellion . . . un signe de désobéissance qui, en touchant Dieu, atteint le prince.”¹¹ In

⁷ Printed in Bernhard, *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* ser. 1, vol. 3 (1841–42): 404.

⁸ Delamare, *Traité*, bk. 3, tit. 3, ch. 2, p. 436.

⁹ Alain Cabantous, *Histoire du blasphème en occident: Fin XVIe–milieu XIXe siècle* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1998), 57. See also the English translation: *Blasphemy: Impious Speech in the West from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century*, trans. Eric Rauth (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002).

¹⁰ Cabantous, *Histoire du blasphème*, 69–70.

¹¹ Ibid., 83–84, citing C. Le Brun de La Rochette, *Le procès civil et criminel* (Rouen, 1609), 134. See also Benoît Garnot, “La législation de la répression des crimes dans la France moderne (XVI^e–XVIII^e siècle),” *Revue historique* 593 (jan–mar 1995): 75–90; Garnot’s *Justice et société en France aux XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles* (Paris: Ophrys, 2000); Claude Gauvard, «De grace especial»: *Crime, État et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, 2 vols. (Paris: Sorbonne, 1991); and Richard W. Kaeuper, *War, Justice, and Public Order: England and France in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

terms of punishments during this time, scholars see the increasing use of arbitrary fines—set by the court—as a centralized kind of repression that had an important impact in the shaping “des pratiques, des comportements et des catégories de perception qui sont les signes de la construction de l’Etat moderne.”¹² Ironically, the same fines that could be used as a form of repression against performers and others also funded their performances; the basoche of the Parlement, for example, were always sponsored through collected fines.

Many changes were taking place in the day-to-day policing of Paris during this time as well. In the 1523 ordonnance which created the office of lieutenant criminal for each local jurisdiction (including Paris), the king described the pathetic conditions of law enforcement. Faced with an uproar of complaints from the people of France about the enforcement of legal decisions, he decided to appoint an officer to make certain that trials did not drag on and punishments were actually carried out. Justice must be quick, so that all crimes would be dealt with immediately, putting fear and terror into others who might be thinking of committing the same offense. He also pointed out the practicality of confiscating goods and collecting fines quickly, since those monies funded the administration of the realm.¹³

The 25 September 1523 ordonnance against blasphemers is a rich example of how secular policing was intimately tied to religious concerns:

¹² Henriette Benveniste, “Le système des amendes pénales en France à la fin du Moyen Age. Une première mise en perspective,” *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 70 (1992): 1–28. See also Jean-Marie Carbasse, *Histoire du droit pénal et de la justice criminelle* (Paris: PUF, 2000); Nicole Gonthier, *Cris de haine et rites d’unité: la violence dans les villes* (Turnhout and Brussels: Brepols, 1992); Gonthier’s *Le châtimeut du crime*; and Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

¹³ Fontanon, 4:647 (14 janvier 1523); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 98.

Comme il ait pleu a Dieu nous appeller a la fleur de nostre aaige, commē l'ūn de ses principaulx ministres, au regime, gouvernement et administration de ce noble et digne royaume et couronne de France, divinement et miraculeusement instituté et approuvé, pour la moderacion, direction, tuition et protection de tous les estatz d'icelluy, et spécialement pour la conservacion, sublevacion et defense de l'estat commun et populaire, qui est le plus foible, le plus humble et le plus bas . . . qui tousjours a esté doulx, humble, craintif et gracieulx en toutes choses, obsequieulx a son prince et seigneur naturel, lequel il a tousjours recongneu, amé, servy et obey, sans vaguer, changer ne varier, vouloir admettre, souffrir ne recevoir domination de autre prince . . . ; laquelle amour, devotion et concorde, bien entretenue entre le roy et ses subjectz, soubz la crainte et amour de Dieu, qui tousjours a esté servy devotement en France, a rendu le royaume florissant, triumpant, craint, doubté et extimé par toute la terre; or le vray moyen par lequel les roys peuent et doivent conserver, perpetuer et augmenter cest amour, consiste en justice et en paix.¹⁴

The law puts forth the idea that if the king and his subjects served God, he would bless the realm of France; and furthermore, the best way for the king to assure God's favor was to impose justice and peace—in other words, stability. The king asserts that government institutions were divinely created and authorized for the protection of the people of France. In keeping with his idea of protection, he goes on to prohibit anyone, no matter what their status, to play upon the “tabourin” in order to call people to any kind of assembly without having letters patent from the king addressed to the “governor, bailiff ou seneschal.”

By looking at legislation regarding the justice system during this time, we can see that in practice, these institutions did not receive the cooperation—internally or externally—that the king claimed they deserved. If policing was no deterrent to those who would break the law (as seen above), neither were the inefficient trials facing offenders. François passed an edict regarding the court at the Châtelet in 1527 and other regulations regarding trials in

¹⁴ François, ord. 359 (25 septembre 1523); *Catalogue*, n. 1907. Also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 115; Fontanon, 3:167–69; and *Les loix [1543]*, fol. XLVII.

sovereign courts in 1529.¹⁵ The problem of false testimony and the issuance of false contracts was so severe that in 1532 the king made those offenses punishable by death, depending on the seriousness of the case.¹⁶ In addition, people were still taking the law into their own hands; on 31 December 1532, François issued an “interdiction des assemblées avec port d’armes, et ordre de soumettre les querelles d’honneur aux cours de justice.” This laws dealt with two main things: vigilante justice and dueling—the second, from this point on, was converted into a crime of lese-majesty, because dueling subverted the royal justice set forth by the king for his subjects.¹⁷

Finally, the major reform of the justice system came in August 1539 with the ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts.¹⁸ Article 108, for instance, imposes a heavy fine on third-party opposition to any judgment made by a sovereign court.¹⁹ Frivolous accusations against the court by the accused of a miscarriage of justice are also forbidden (article 10), and the trial cannot be delayed in that manner (article 11).²⁰ People sentenced to the seizure of their goods could be fined or otherwise punished for interfering (stopping or simply arguing) with the official announcement of their sentence and the taking of their goods (article 78).²¹ Those

¹⁵ François, ord. 474; also in Fontanon, 1:229–30 (novembre 1527). See also *ibid.*, 1:584–85 (18 mai 1529); Isambert, vol. 12, n. 159; François, ord. 506; and *ibid.*, ord. 511 (octobre 1529); Miraulmont, *Prevost*, 265–74.

¹⁶ François, ord. 587; shorter versions printed in Fontanon, 1:670–71 and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 182. There were also problems with officers of the financial court issuing false letters of relief for debts; see Fontanon, 2:620 (16 mai 1532); also in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 183.

¹⁷ François, ord. 610 (31 décembre 1532); *Catalogue*, n. 5208; see also n. 25451.

¹⁸ François, ord. 944; also scattered throughout vol. 1 of Fontanon.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:578–79 (août 1539).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 1:606 (août 1539).

²¹ The problem of interference with the *sergents à verge* at the Châtelet as they were officially proclaiming judgments and laws was a long-standing one, and important laws were passed during this time to encourage the appropriate functioning of this office. I discussed these laws and their historical significance in a paper, “Disseminating Discourse: The Medieval Criers

people, however, had the right to see a written form of the judgment with the seal of the judge; if they did not have the opportunity to see the official judgment in the proper form, the ruling could be annulled (article 79). However, if they tried to appeal the decision using false testimony, they would be fined further (article 80).²² To escape other kinds of false testimony, no depositions could be taken from anyone regarding their personal administrator, such as a guardian or protector (article 131). All decisions of the court must be written down and registered (article 132).²³ Another aspect of the ordonnance of Villers-Cotterêts was that it was responsible for reducing the power of ecclesiastical courts by claiming jurisdiction over blasphemy as a crime; Cabantous stresses that this was not a clear-cut distinction, and the ecclesiastical judges were not pleased.²⁴ This was a major step towards secularizing aspects of society that had heretofore been controlled by the church.

In June 1544, another edict of the king regarding criminal judgments and policing ordered yet another crackdown on enforcement of the laws in the courts, referring to “les grands larcins, pilleries & ranconnemens, rapt, homicides, tromperies, affrontemens, insidiations, abus, malversations, & autres grands maux, crimes & delicts qui se font & commettent chacun jour en nostredite Cour & suite d’icelle.”²⁵ Not only were the actions of

of Paris” at the conference “The Discourse of Law and Justice in Medieval Europe,” Fordham University’s Center for Medieval Studies, New York City (March 2004).

²² Fontanon, 1:632–33 (août 1539). This was still a problem under Henri, and he issued a more detailed ordonnance in 1551; see *ibid.*, 1:633–35 (3 septembre 1551), and the Parliamentary commentary on 1:635–36 (23 novembre 1551); also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 165.

²³ Fontanon, 1:752 (août 1539); see also the edict on sentences issued by the Châtelet in *ibid.*, 1:230–31 (mars 1544); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 384; and two edicts issued by Henri in May 1553 in *ibid.*, vol. 13, n. 256 and n. 260.

²⁴ Cabantous, *Histoire du blasphème*, 66–67. See also François, ord. 929; *Catalogue*, n. 11072 (24 juin 1539).

²⁵ BnF F-23610 (143); also in Miraulmont, *Prevost*, 232–47.

the accused a problem in the courtroom, but the actions of the court officers had the potential to be equally corrupt. François insisted on the impartiality of the courts when dealing with cases brought by or against friends and kinsmen of the magistrates or councillors, and imposed a fine on those members of the court who failed to comply. In the same edict, he insisted that all rulings contrary to a royal edict, statute, declaration, or ordonnance would be considered null and void, since laws issued by the king were perpetual and irrevocable (at least until he died).²⁶ As for the notaries of the Châtelet, he insisted that the Parlement oversee the accurate reporting of testimony and agreements in that court, and that all their sentences be announced publicly and carried out to the letter.²⁷ The increasing strictures of the legal system would make it easier for authorities to censor all kinds of behavior, including performance.

A dramatic example of civil courts encroaching on the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts took place on 8 October 1547, when Henri created a new chamber in the Parlement of Paris, the Second Tournelle, to judge trials of heresy and blasphemy. Pierre Lizet and François de Saint-André were named as presidents and were to rule on the cases along with fourteen other councillors.²⁸ Later, an ordonnance of November 1549 was issued to establish

²⁶ Fontanon, 1:586–87 (mars 1546). François tried to eliminate further problems by reducing the number of judicial officers later that year; see *ibid.*, 2:579–80 (août 1546); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 418.

²⁷ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4034. See also *ibid.*, ord. 4936 (juin 1549), various imprints (see Isnard, *Actes Royaux*, n. 2, 53–55, 263, 511–14, 702, 900–903); BnF F-23668 (54) [29 juin 1549]; also printed in Fontanon, 1:74–75; and Isambert, vol. 13, n. 92; Desmaze, 394 (9 juillet 1549); Henri, ord. 6181 (11 février 1550); also in Desmaze, 394; Fontanon, 4:251; and Fontanon, 1:352–54 (octobre 1554); also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 316.

²⁸ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1204; printed in Weiss, *La Chambre ardente*, 418–21. On 22 September 1548, Parlement recorded receiving letters from the king dated 12 September ordering them to continue their trials of “Luthériens et hérétiques, perturbateurs du repox et tranquillité de ce royaume très chrestien,” during the session break (*ibid.*, 229).

a legal definition of blasphemy that made a distinction between two types of the crime, each to be judged in a different court: ecclesiastical courts had jurisdiction over simple heresy, stemming from ignorance or bad language; heresy with—in the words of the law—“scandale public, commotion populaire, sédition ou autres crimes, emportans offenses publique” was supposed to be judged by both royal and ecclesiastical courts.²⁹ On 27 June 1551, the Edict of Châteaubriant once again stated that simple heresy was to be judged by the ecclesiastical courts, but civil disorder issuing from heresy was to be judged without appeal in the royal courts; further, searches were authorized, and the death penalty could be invoked for people in possession of prohibited books. The edict also stated that the articles of faith of 1543 were to be read aloud every Sunday in the churches.³⁰

Still, the ability of the civil authorities to mete out justice in Paris was questionable. The same year, on 12 December, Parlement issued a ruling to deal with the multitude of complaints regarding the quality of policing in Paris. According to them, the city was in an uproar, and it was all the officers' fault: “des abus, fautes, insolences, rebellions, blasphemes, larrecins, voleries, meurtres, & autres maux infinis” were being committed every day through “negligence” and lack of power on the part of these officers. Therefore, they ordered that crimes must be reported within twenty-four hours, all blasphemous acts must be reported, and the sergeants would henceforth be responsible for a specific section of the city. And since the sergeants were also in the habit of hanging out with criminals and ignoring the offenses they

²⁹ Cabantous, *Histoire du blasphème*, 66–67. See also the 21 January 1550 “Déclaration du Roy portant attribution de juger souverainement et en dernier ressort de toutes causes, tant civiles que criminelles, à tous les présidaux du ressort du parlement de Paris,” printed in BnF F-46806 (2).

³⁰ Fontanon 4:252–57; also in Isambert 13 n. 155; BnF F-46807 (4) or (5) or (6) or (7); and F-27582 (1).

committed against the people, the ordonnance barred them from eating or drinking in the company of such men, or even speaking to them.³¹ In addition, Henri revised François' 1523 ordonnance (see above) in 1554, and expanded it the following year.³²

Evidence that policing was not effective can be found in Henri's edict of 1557, where he describes how the "sectateurs" at public assemblies are gaining influence on the public at large:

induisans et séduisans le pauvre peuple à leurs opinions, et le retirant et destourant du lieu de l'obéyssance de l'église, et de la justice temporelle, tendant d'hérésie à blasphème, scandale, sédition, et en crime de leze majesté divine et humaine à quoy est très-requis et necessaire de pourvoir, pour l'honneur de Dieu, conservation de la religion chrestienne, et pour le bien, repos et tranquillité de nos sujets.³³

Furthermore, the juxtaposition of temporal justice and church rule, the fear of both human and divine lese-majesty, and the desire for peace among the king's subjects as well as the honor of God are all examples of the religious nature of supposedly secular laws.

Especially during the 1540s and 1550s, we see a heightened tension between sacred and secular areas of law, and a pattern of civil authorities encroaching on religious concerns. At the same time, reforms in the justice system gave more power to the courts by cracking down on policing and the application of their rulings and the king's statutes, strengthening judicial institutions. This strength would allow for forms of censorship—both of books and

³¹ Fontanon, 1:887–90 (incorrectly dated 22 décembre 1551); also printed in BL 504.h.5 [1557], 62v–64r; BnF F-23668 (57) and (58); and F-47076 (37).

³² Fontanon, 1:418–28 (novembre 1554); also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 323; and Fontanon, 1:429 (mars 1555); also in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 333.

³³ Fontanon, 4:258–59 (24 juillet 1557), also printed in Isambert, vol. 13, n. 382.

of performances—to be imposed more easily during the Reformation than they had been in the Middle Ages.³⁴

“Heresies de Genesve & aultres”: The Reformation Setting

It is hardly surprising that new Protestant ideas sparked strong reactions in the Catholic lawmakers of France. In terms of censorship, their aim was to regulate behavior in sacred places—such as churches and cemeteries—as well as the kind of information to which the public was exposed. Censorship during this time was not usually just a matter of forbidding performance or printing outright; it was a matter of replacing objectionable material with what the authorities viewed as appropriate by creating or confining the institutions responsible for this material (e.g., limiting membership in the printers’ guild, or curtailing the subject matter of the Confraternity of the Passion’s plays). We have already seen examples of this in previous chapters: for instance, the Parlement’s insistence on seeing the plays of the basoches before approving the public performances, and the Bureau’s scrutinizing designs and mystery plays before their implementation during civic performances. What becomes apparent while placing this against the Reformation background is that authorities were concerned with establishing clear limits on who had access—in terms of dissemination as well as reception—to sacred spaces and religious ideas.

According to both secular and religious authorities, games and performances provided opportunities for people to commit acts of blasphemy and heresy. Games of action, which included dance and other festivities (for instance, the “jeu de la karoze” described in chapter

³⁴ See examples in Donald R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology: Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

3), were particularly suspect.³⁵ On 8 October 1520, François I issued letters prohibiting public dancing on feast days or in holy places in the diocese of Meaux; he applied them to Paris on 7 January 1521.³⁶ His reasoning was that such “jours des saintz dimanches, festes Nostre Dame, de apostres et autres festes commandées en mère sainte Eglise” were “totallement ordonnées pour le service de Dieu.” Dancing at these solemn festivals was a scandal and an insult to God and the Church, which could bring down the wrath of God and “permettre mortallitez, guerres et famines, à la desolacion de nostredict peuple.” Included under this prohibition was the vague term “assemblés,” which could mean practically any kind of unauthorized gathering in churches or cemeteries; apparently, “insolences, laxivitez, blasfêmes, murtres, bateries, defloremens de vierges et autres crimes” took place during them. The penalty for such behavior at feast time was “excommuniement et censures ecclesiastiques,” or, if the officials wished, “prinse de corps et saisissement de biens . . . selon l’exigence des cas.” In addition, François cautioned his people not to use such past behavior at festivals as an excuse for current behavior. He had been chosen by God, and knew what was best for his people in the here and now; he must protect them all from such famine, war, and pestilence as this behavior could bring.

Several points about this law stand out. First, the belief that a certain kind of performance could damage not only individual people but also the city is evident. Second, civil authorities have the right to mete out punishment during a religious event, indicating that religious ceremonies held within the city were also the city’s concern. This continued to be

³⁵ Michel Reulos, “Jeux interdits et réglementés,” in *Les Jeux à la Renaissance*, ed. Philippe Ariès and Jean-Claude Margolin (Paris: J. Vrin, 1982), 635–48.

³⁶ François, ord. 270 (8 octobre 1520); *Catalogue*, n. 1254. For 7 January 1521, see *ibid.*, n. 32355 (BnF ms. fr. 8080, fol. 105); and n. 1296 (BnF ms. fr. 14368, fol. 77v).

a problem, as we see with the 20 March 1533 letters issued by the king, giving the Grand Conseil jurisdiction over the “excès et violences commis dans les églises, abbayes et bénéfices du royaume.” The king argued that the people committing these offenses in sacred spaces were “gens non ayans Dieu devant les yeulx.”³⁷

Games of chance—especially dice and cards—were looked down upon not only for their potential to lead souls astray, but also as an inappropriate use of time and money. The same argument as seen above—the threat of public unrest—is an important part of the text of laws forbidding them. Games with dice (like *tric-trac*) and games of skill (*palets, quilles, billes*) were outlawed by Charles IV; but Charles VIII on October 1485 authorized noble prisoners at the Châtelet to play tric-trac and chess.³⁸ On 14 June 1532, as part of reforms of the financial offices, François forbade all those who had access to public money to use it for gambling, on pain of whipping, banishment, and confiscation of goods. The king had been informed that the majority of his administrators were using public money to play dice and cards; when they lost, the royal coffers were depleted. As for those who were known to have won, he was claiming for the crown double the amount of their winnings.³⁹ The ordonnance

³⁷ François, ord. 618 (20 mars 1533); *Catalogue*, n. 5553. See also ord. 561 (10 mai 1531), *Catalogue*, n. 3997; printed in Fontanon, 1:128–29, and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 174; and *Catalogue*, n. 4246 (5 septembre 1531).

³⁸ See Jean Michel Mehl, *Les Jeux au royaume de France: du XIIIe au début du XVIe siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990)—especially for government intervention. See also Harold de Fontenay, “Notice sur un jeu de cartes inédit du temps de Louis XII,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 6th ser., vol. 2 (1866): 1–21.

³⁹ François, ord. 596 (14 juin 1532); *Catalogue*, n. 4635; also printed in Fontanon, 2:625; BnF F-23610 (120); and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 187. See also *Catalogue*, n. 4646 (20 juin 1532) and n. 5076 (27 novembre 1532).

of 24 July 1534 forbade soliders from “le jeu de dez et de cartes, pour autant que ce sont jeux qui engendrent vouluntiers noises, debatz et dissentions.”⁴⁰

The authorities decided that the best way to control gambling was to establish an official, legal opportunity to gamble. In May 1539, François issued an edict authorizing a game called “blanques”—a kind of lottery—in all the cities of France, naming Jean Laurens as “maître et facteur de la blanque à Paris.” As the king stated, his subjects, “enclins et desirans jeuz et esbatemens, se sont souventesfois, a faulte de jeuz honorables permis ou mis en usaige, appliquez par cy devant et [s’] appliquent encores a plusieurs aultres jeuz dissouluz,” which took up all of their time and provided opportunities for the players to “commis et comectent blaphemes envers Dieu, injurs et excès envers les personnes.” The king claims that the only reason his subjects have been participating in these “jeuz dissouluz” (dissolute games) is that he has yet to offer them an alternative to satisfy their enthusiasm for such pastimes. His proposal is to introduce the Italian game of blanques, currently legally played in Venice, Florence, and other renowned cities cited for their excellent policing; in these cities, the game is known to be under “condicions honnestes et louables statuz, ordonnances et articles utiles et necessaires pour l’entretennement d’icelle et pour obvyer a tous abbuz et calumpnies.”⁴¹

Another legal game popular during this time was tennis. In a ruling issued by Parlement on 27 March 1548 (curiously not read publicly in Paris until 24 December of that year), the court cites complaints of playing during Easter, players hanging out in cafés

⁴⁰ Ibid., n. 23456; printed in Fontanon, 3:146–50; and Isambert, vol. 12, n. 206. Parlement forbade Parisians to “tenir brelan en leurs maisons et d’y laisser jouer aux dés, cartes et quilles” on 22 December 1541: Delamare, *Traité*, 1:488–89.

⁴¹ François, ord. 913; *Catalogue*, n. 11042. Also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 271.

(*cabarets*) and taverns, skipping divine service, gorging themselves on food, saying blasphemous things, committing crimes and thefts, and generally injuring real Christians, whom the state has an obligation to protect. The court is especially concerned with people playing on holy days and at times of divine service, including the time surrounding Pentecost, Ascension, All Saint's Day, Christmas, etc. Included in this law is a prohibition against sounding trumpets or tabourins announcing performances of "basteleurs ou autres" during the times of services "ou que lon presche la parolle de Dieu, auquel chascun bon Chrestien doit vacquer es jours dessus nommez," on pain of prison and corporal punishment.⁴²

What is absent from these laws curtailing dancing, games, and other performances is the threat of execution. In cases where these things led to heresy, however, there was a greater danger of being hanged or burned alive. William Monter estimates that approximately one-seventh who were accused, or about five hundred people, were executed for heresy between 1523 and 1560; he finds that executions increased sharply after 1542, experienced a lull in the first few years of the 1550s, and then returned to the high levels of the 1540s in 1559.⁴³ The idea among certain theatre historians that actors were favorites for public

⁴² BL 504.h.5 [1557], 13r–13v. See the law from 13 September 1547: Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 995; printed in Miraulmont, *Prevost*, 360–361. See also Elisabeth Belmas, "La police du théâtre à l'âge classique," in *Théâtre et spectacles hier et aujourd'hui: Époque moderne et contemporaine. Actes du 115e Congrès national des sociétés savantes (Avignon, 1990)* (Paris: CTHS, 1991), 293–302.

⁴³ William Monter, "Les exécutés pour hérésie par arrêt du Parlement de Paris (1523–1560)," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 142 (1996): 191–224. See also Monter's "Heresy Executions in Reformation Europe, 1520–1565," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 48–64; and his *Judging the French Reformation: Heresy Trials by Sixteenth-Century Parlements* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1999). Also useful is Bernard Schnapper, "La justice Criminelle rendue par le Parlement de Paris sous le règne de François Ier," *Revue d'histoire du droit français et étranger* 52 (1974): 252–84.

execution cannot be corroborated by the evidence.⁴⁴ Weiss's *La Chambre ardente* offers some examples of public performance judged as heresy by the Second Tournelle at the Parlement. For instance, in the register of rulings against "Luthériens" from April to October 1547, we find on 3 May 1547 three men brought to the Conciergerie for blasphemy and singing "meschantes chansons en françoys au grand marché" of Meaux and in other locations; after a public confession, they were released.⁴⁵ On 26 May, the Parlement also released a royal valet and lute player from the king's court, with a warning that he would be watched in the future.⁴⁶ The next day, we find the arrest of a man who wrote a "chanson scandaleuse," which was ripped up in his presence as he recanted with bare head and feet.⁴⁷

Other performers did not fare so well. On 8 March 1549, the Parlement issued a ruling against Jean Bourgeois, "dit *Hector*, appelé l'*enfant sans soucy*," from Rouen, for blasphemy. He was to be questioned under torture for the names of his "accomplices" (meaning fellow performers), taken from the Conciergerie to the cemetery of Saint-Jean to be burned alive, and his goods were to be confiscated. The Parlement added that he could be hanged first if he recanted; if not, his tongue would be pierced before the burning.⁴⁸ The next day, we see Bourgeois gave over his fellow sots: Clément Lourdet, "dit *Narcissus*," Jean de la Garde, "dit

⁴⁴ Public burnings of heretics were part of royal festivities under François I; see *Registres*, 2:195–99 (21 janvier 1535); also in Félibien, 4:686–89 and 5:343–46; more details can be found in *Journal*, 444. Burnings as spectacle continued under Henri II; see "Le Martyr de quatre Luthériens brûlés vifs à Paris après une procession générale du roi Henri II, au commencement du Juillet," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* 9 (1860): 123–25. See also Michel Bée, "Le spectacle de l'exécution dans la France de l'Ancien Régime," *Annales ESC* 38.4 (juillet–août 1983): 843–62.

⁴⁵ Weiss, *La Chambre ardente*, 2.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 6–7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 337.

En Cas,” René Pomponne, “dit *Leaudet*,” Noël Lemaître, “dit *Troillus*,” Michel Boucher, “dit *Priam*,” and Antoine Value, “dit *Ascanais*, autrement appelé les enfans sans souci.” These men escaped execution by publicly proclaiming, in front of the great door of Notre-Dame, that they had spoken of God and the saints disrespectfully, “et qu’ils ont tenu en leur possession livres réprouvés.”⁴⁹ The said books were burned in front of the offenders, and Bourgeois was executed on the seventeenth of that month.

This brings us to the question of how the censorship of books ties into the censorship of performance.⁵⁰ On 9 January 1534, the faculty of theology at the university had reported to the Parlement that there were certain “simples gramariens ou rhetoriciens,” who were not part of the faculty, reading scripture out loud and interpreting it for students. These same people were also posting information in public places throughout Paris, “contre la foy & chose publique Chrestienne.”⁵¹ This culminated in the famous Affair of the Placards on the night of 17–18 October, when signs questioning doctrine regarding the Eucharist were posted in Paris and five other French cities. Not surprisingly, authorities took measures to curtail the spread of religious information; their major target was printed books.

On 23 February 1535, François issued letters creating a commission in the Parlement of Paris to elect 24 masters in charge of overseeing printing. This was on the heels of his

⁴⁹ Ibid., 342–43. See also Henri’s 18 May 1550 law regarding increasingly harsh punishments for repeat offenders of blasphemy: Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6573; printed in BnF F-23610 (169), and Miraulmont, *Prevost*, 453–74.

⁵⁰ See Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, 2: Appendix 1. See especially the work of James K. Farge, including *Orthodoxy and Reform*; “Early Censorship in Paris: A New Look at the Roles of the Parlement of Paris and of King Francis I,” *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 25 (1989): 173–83; and “Early Censorship of Printed Books in Paris: New Perspectives and Insights,” in *Le contrôle des idées à la Renaissance* . . . , ed. Jesús Martínez de Bujanda (Geneva: Droz, 1996), 75–91.

⁵¹ Félibien, 4:682–83.

injunction against printing (under threat of hanging) without permission dated 13 January of the same year. The law states that the only books to be printed in Paris were those that were approved and deemed necessary for “le bien de la chose publique,” and forbidding printing of new works without express permission.⁵² As far as public readings of sacred books, Parlement decreed on 17 January 1536 that “doresnavant, outre les lectures qui ont accoustume estre faites es colleges des Mendians et en aucuns colleges de l’Universite de Paris, il y aura quatre lectures ordinaires du Vieil et du Nouveau Testament, tous les jours depuis le lendemain de la Saint-Martin jusques au dernier jour d’aout, excepte les jours de dimanches et festes solennelles.”⁵³

On 16 July 1535, François issued an ordonnance that initiated a new tactic: to assimilate people who were disseminating heretical ideas rather than completely ridding France of them. Desiring that all of his subjects live in “unifformyté de foy et loy chrestienne” for peace and the public good, he decided to suspend corporal punishment and recall to the realm those who had been banished, as long as they would abjure within six months their anti-Catholic beliefs, and no longer “lire, dogmatiser, translater, composer ne imprimer, soit en public ou en privé, aucune doctrine contrariant a la foy crestienne.” He claims there has been a calming down of heretical activity, largely due to making an example of certain people

⁵² François, ord. 686 (23 février 1535); *Catalogue*, n. 7559. Parlement passed a series of rulings curtailing the sale of paper as well: 27 June 1522, 23 December 1524, 18 March 1538, 4 April 1540, 15 December 1544, 18 March 1548, 9 December 1550, 10 December 1551 (Lespinasse, 3:673–75).

⁵³ *Index Chronologicus*, 339, article MDCCIII.

through public penance.⁵⁴ François reissued the same ordonnance (again, offering a six-month grace period) on 31 May 1536.⁵⁵

Further solidifying the centralization (and therefore control) of book printing, François issued letters on 28 December 1537 forbidding all printers or booksellers to sell books in Latin, Greek, or any other old or new language, before giving a copy to Mellin de Saint-Gelais (the king's librarian at Blois) or his representatives; or to sell books printed abroad under the same conditions—subject to deliberation by the king's council or the courts. As François explained:

Comme depuis nostre advenement a la couronne, nous ayons singulierement sur toutes autres choses désiré la restauration des bonnes lettres qui par longue intervalle de temps ont esté absentes, ou bien la congnoissance d'icelles si empeschee et couverte de tenebres d'ignorance qu'elle ne se pouvoit avoir ne recouvrer pour l'edification, nourriture et contentement des bons et saintz esperitz, qui par ce moien sont durant ce temps demourez inutiles, abastardiz et esloignez de leur bonne et naturelle inclination, prenant vice pour vertu, mais graces a Nostre Seigneur nous avons tant faict et si bien et songneusement travaillé que la pristine force, lumiere et clarté desd. bonnes lettres a esté en son entier restituee et reduicte en nostred. roiaulme, lequel se peult aujourd'huy dire sur tous les aultres, de quelque regne qu'ilz ayent esté, le plus decoré et fleurissant en toutes sciences et vertueuses disciplines, dont nouveaulx livres et monnuemens sont chascun jour mis et redigez par escript et les anciens illustrez, lesquelles euvres estans veues après nous, feront veritable preuve de cest tant digne et louable restitution des lettres advenue de nostre temps par les dilligence, cure et labeur que y avons mis et mectons.⁵⁶

This was part of the French king's plan to restore a life of letters to his kingdom (and, incidentally, the beginning of what we now know as the Bibliothèque nationale with its *dépôt légal*). The king's insistence on having a copy of every book for himself was both a measure

⁵⁴ François, ord. 701; *Catalogue*, n. 7990; also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 216 (mistakenly dated 15 juillet 1535).

⁵⁵ François, ord. 741; *Catalogue*, n. 8476.

⁵⁶ François, ord. 828; *Catalogue*, n. 9476.

of control over printing as well as a form of sponsorship, considering his professed love of books and desire to collect them. On 17 March 1538, he issued a declaration clarifying these letters.⁵⁷

In this climate where books could not be printed without express permission, the Confraternity of the Passion did not dare to perform without the authorities' consent—until they were sure that the performance would be at the “bon plaisir et vouloir du roy, pour icelluy ou leur faire telle permission qu'il plaira audit Seigneur ordonner,” and so they submitted their mystery of the Old Testament to the Parlement for permission on 12 December 1541.⁵⁸ The procurer general raised objections about the actors being uneducated “en telles affaires”—meaning religion—who added apocryphal stories in order to lengthen the play, as well as “farces lascives et mommeries.” He complained that their performances, lasting six or seven months, resulted in “cessation de service devin, refroidissement de charitez et d'aumones, adultères et fornications infinies, scandales, dérisions et mocqueries”—all of which sound very much like the same arguments against dancing and gaming. Audience members were supposedly skipping their “messe paroissiale, sermons et vespres” on feast days to go to the theatre in order to hold on to the best seats for the day (eight or nine in the morning to five in the afternoon). This resulted in the cancelling of sermons: the members of the confraternity effectively “ont césse les prédications, car

⁵⁷ François, ord. 846; *Catalogue*, n. 9854. See also the 31 August 1539 letters confirming the “Statuts accordes aux imprimeurs parisiens, portant reglement sur les droits et devoirs de leurs compagnons et sur les marques d'imprimeur”: François, ord. 951; *Catalogue*, n. 11168; also printed in Lespinasse, 3:707–09.

⁵⁸ Cited as AN, X 4914, fol. 80–82, and printed in Petit de Julleville, *Mystères*, 1:424; in *Comédiens*, 67–69, he dates this as 9 December. Also printed in Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve, *Tableau historique* (1869), 193–95; reproduced in Enders, *Urban Legends*, appendix 8.2. The 1843 edition of Sainte-Beuve is available on Gallica. See also Cahuet, 38–39.

n'eussent eu les prédicateurs qui les eussent escoutez.” When the audience left the theatre, they made fun of the play and especially the players, “hautement et publicquement” in the streets, including technical difficulties—“le Saint-Esprit n’avoit point voulu descendre.” Parish priests, wanting to see the play, would skip saying vespers or say them on their own at noon (the wrong time); the singers and chaplains at Sainte-Chapelle in the Palais did the same.

The procurer general’s opinion of the substandard performances of the actors was covered in chapter 3, but the point is that he was concerned about the effect their bad acting had outside the theatre: “tellement qu’au lieu de tourner à l’édification leur jeu tourne à scandale et dérision.” He ends up claiming (perhaps sarcastically) that ignorant audience members will misunderstand what they hear and end up converting to Judaism: “Il y a plusieurs choses au *Vieil Testament* qu’il n’est expédient de déclarer au peuple, comme gens ignorans et imbécilles qui pourroyent prendre occasion de judaïsme à faute d’intelligence.” This argument is reminiscent of one from a ruling issued by Parlement a few years before, on 14 June 1538, in which the court accused officers of the Châtelet of negligence and “leur ordonne, & ejoint sur les peines à eux indictes, que si aux jours des saints Dimenches, & festes ils treuvent des basteleurs, allant sonner le taborin, & trompeter par la ville durant le divin service, à sçavoir le matin pendant que l’on dit la grand messe, & apres disner durant la predication, & les vespres.”⁵⁹

⁵⁹ BnF F-23714 (8). For a subsequent law regarding “basteleurs, jongleurs & autres semblables,” see Fontanon, 4:574–75 (19 décembre 1543); also printed in Isambert, vol. 12, n. 375; François, *Catalogue*, n. 13497. See Henri’s declaration confirming this on 3 March 1549 (Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4456).

As mid-century approached, there was a growing fear on the part of authorities about the dissemination of Protestant ideas.⁶⁰ On 11 December 1547, Henri forbade all printers and booksellers from printing or selling books regarding “Sainte Écriture,” especially those imported from Germany or Geneva, without having been examined by the faculty of theology of Paris first.⁶¹ This concern with control over religious ideas and their use in laymen’s hands culminated—for theatrical purposes—in the 17 November 1548 ruling of Parlement. The court forbade the Confraternity from playing the “mystere de la Passion de nostre Sauveur, ne autres mysteres sacrez” under threat of fine; instead, they were permitted to play “profane” plays, “honestes & licites,” as long as they did not refer specifically to any individual (as in the case of parody).⁶² Again, this fits the pattern we have seen above: a legal strategy of one type of entertainment being not just forbidden outright, but replaced by a less-threatening form. A few years later, on 14 December 1553, Parlement issued the following injunction

⁶⁰ See Jonathan Beck, “La moralité du *Concil de Basle*: «polémique» théâtrale ou propagande?” in *Le théâtre au Moyen âge: Actes du deuxième colloque de la Société Internationale pour l’Étude du Théâtre Médiéval, Alençon, 11–14 juillet 1977*, ed. Gari R. Muller (Montreal: Éditions Univers, 1981), 253–62. See also Émile Picot, *Les moralités polémiques ou la controverse religieuse dans l’ancien théâtre français* (Paris: 1887; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1970); Gerard Dirk Jonker, *Le protestantisme et le théâtre de langue française au XVI^e siècle* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1939); Raymond Lebègue, “Théâtre et politique en France aux XVI^e siècle,” in *Culture et politique en France à l’époque de l’humanisme et de la Renaissance . . .*, ed. Franco Simone (Turin: Accademia delle scienze, 1974), 427–37; Purkis, “Cœurs chantés . . .”; and Bénédicte Louvat, “Le théâtre protestant et la musique (1550–1586),” in *Par la vue et par l’ouïe: littérature du Moyen âge et de la Renaissance*, ed. Michèle Gally and Michel Jourde (Fontenay-aux-Roses: ENS éditions, 1999), 135–58.

⁶¹ Henri, *Catalogue*, n. 1716; printed in Fontanon, 4:373–74; Isambert, vol. 13, n. 34; BnF F-46801 (18) and F-46804 (15); BL 504.h.5 [1557], 9r–10v; and Corbin, *Le Code Louis XIII*, 1:37–38. See also Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 2935 (3 mai 1548).

⁶² *Recueil des Principaux Tiltres*, 33–34; also printed in Félibien, 4:743 (17 novembre 1548). This ruling was reissued on the occasion of the confirmation by Henri IV (1589–1610) of the Confraternity’s privileges; the Parliamentary ruling was on 28 November 1598: *Recueil des principaux tiltres*, 66–67.

right before the holidays: “La court a ordonne & enjoinct au prevost de Paris ou ses lieutenans, de pourvoir & deffendre a tous basteleurs & jongleurs de sonner le tabourin & faire jeux ou assemblees durant l’Advent, sur peine de punition corporelle.”⁶³ Like the members of the Confraternity of the Passion, these performers were not censored completely—just during the religious season of Advent.

The definitive law regarding street performers was not passed until 31 January 1561, with the closing of the Estates General of Orléans. Article 24 “fait defenses a tous Joueurs de farces, Bateleurs, & autres semblables gens, de jouer les jours de Dimanches & de Festes, aux heures du Service divin; de se vestir d’habits Ecclesiastiques, & de jouer des choses dissoulues, ou de mauvais exemple; a peine de prison, & de punition corporelle: il fait aussi defenses a tous Juges de leur donner permission de jouer que sous les conditions.”⁶⁴ The admonition not to wear ecclesiastical clothing or to perform on Sundays, feast days, or during hours of divine service summarizes previous laws from the first half of the century and attempts to definitively remove the realm of secular performance from the religious arena.

“Pour propos scandaleux”: The Safety of the Realm

The other major group of laws dealing with censorship warns of the danger to Paris and France at large if performances invoke current events. Satire was viewed as particularly destabilizing, because by making fun of those in authority, satirists undermined that

⁶³ Félibien, 4:764.

⁶⁴ Delamare, *Traité*, bk. 3, tit. 3, ch. 2, p. 436; see also Cahuet, 40; and Jean Dubu, *Les Églises chrétiennes et le théâtre: 1550–1850* (Grenoble: Presses universitaires de Grenoble, 1997), 20.

authority.⁶⁵ The link between divine justice and royal justice was invoked in the previous section; this creeps into laws that censored performances on the basis of the presence of urban ills such as epidemics and bad weather.⁶⁶ Near the beginning of François' reign, the Parlement ordered the Confraternity of the Passion to cease performances as of Friday, 2 September 1519, due to an outbreak.⁶⁷ The bad weather of March 1531 caused Eleanor's entry into Paris to be delayed from the ninth—the day after her coronation at Saint-Denis—to the sixteenth.⁶⁸ That same year saw an epidemic in the city lasting from August of 1531 into September of 1533.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ André Winandy, "La satire comme instrument politique au XVI^e siècle," in *Culture et politique en France à l'époque de l'humanisme et de la Renaissance*. . . , ed. Franco Simone (Turin: Accademia delle scienze, 1974), 269–91. See also Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell, *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2000); Cynthia J. Brown, *The Shaping of History and Poetry in Late Medieval France: Propaganda and Artistic Expression in the Works of the Rhétoriciens* (Birmingham, AL: Summa Publications, 1985); Brown's *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1995); Martine Grinberg, "Carnaval et société urbaine, XIV^e–XVI^e siècle: le royaume dans le ville," *Ethnologie française* 4.3 (1974): 215–44; and Louis Petit de Julleville, *La comédie et les mœurs en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Léopold Cerf, 1886; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1968).

⁶⁶ Jean-Noël Biraben, *Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens*, 2 vols. (Paris and La Haye: Mouton and École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 1975–76). Annexe IVb is a list of outbreaks in France 1347–1786, including those in Paris during this time: 1500, 1510, 1519, 1522–23, 1529–33, 1544–46, 1548, 1553–55, 1560. See also Claude Hohl, "Les pestes et les hôpitaux parisiens aux XVI^e siècle," thesis abstract in *Positions des thèses de l'École des Chartes* 73 (1960): 49–52. For the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see Agostino Paravicini Bagliani and Francesco Santi, eds., *The Regulation of Evil: Social and Cultural Attitudes to Epidemics in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998).

⁶⁷ Félibien, 4:636–37.

⁶⁸ *Registres*, 2:111–14 (16 mars 1531); see also Godefroy, 1:796–801; and *Index Chronologicus*, 336–37.

⁶⁹ Félibien, 4:680. See Archille Chereau, ed., *Les ordonnances faictes et publiees a son de trompe par les carrefours de ceste ville de Paris, pour eviter le dangier de peste (1531)* (Paris: Willem, 1873); and *Registres*, 2:135, note 1.

On 25 September and 11 October 1544, Parlement issued rulings regarding the current state of plague in Paris.⁷⁰ In November of that year, the provost of merchants partly blamed the poor of the city for the “maladies contagieuses, comme peste et autres . . . à cause de la frequentacion qu’ilz font avec le peuple,” as well as the influx of beggars from Champagne and Picardy bringing illness into the city.⁷¹ The problem was still rife several months later on 11 March 1545, when Parlement watched a preview performance by the basoche and decided that the danger of contagion and the bad weather in Paris were reasons to forbid the performance.⁷² The spread of illness by having groups of people in close contact was not the only reason for halting the performance; a fear of provoking the wrath of God (in terms of both illness and harsh weather) by allowing frivolous entertainments was part of the Parlement’s concern.⁷³

This was also the background to the famous 1548 ruling regarding the Confraternity of the Passion. On 7 August 1548, Parlement issued a lengthy ordonnance regarding the plague at the Conciergerie, arranging to have sick prisoners moved to the Hôtel-Dieu and well ones to other spaces.⁷⁴ In the register from 8 August to 30 October, we have a general ruling from the Parlement dated 8 August 1548: “La Cour, vu l’enconmbrement des prisons et les

⁷⁰ Félibien, 4:711.

⁷¹ *Registres*, 3:45–46 (5 novembre 1544).

⁷² Félibien, 4:714.

⁷³ At the end of that month, Parlement passed an ordonnance against blasphemy, complaining of the threat to the “Republique Chrestienne” that one can hear on the streets of Paris—“blasphemes, vilains sermens & maugreemens de Dieu.” The court claims that all of the previous ordonnances passed by kings have been ignored and that these must be reinstated with efficacy. Therefore, Parlement outlines in detail the punishments against blasphemers for each subsequent offence (doubling, etc.): Fontanon, 4:238–39 (31 mars 1545); also in BnF F-47077 (38). Henri reaffirmed this law in his ordonnance two years later: Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 11; printed in Fontanon, 4:239–40 (5 avril 1547), and BL 504.h.5 (1557), 1r.

⁷⁴ Félibien, 4:742–43.

dangers de pestes, pour obvier à l'extension de la contagion, ordonne de visiter les prisonniers et d'envoyer les malades ou suspects de maladie à l'Hôtel-Dieu, avec défense aux maitre, prieure et autres qui ont la surveillance de laisser partir les dits prisonniers quand ils auront recouvré la santé."⁷⁵ Unfortunately, upon their return on 17 August three prisoners were found dead of plague, so that the Parlement decided to reconvene at the monastery of the Augustinians.⁷⁶

Other unusual events, such as the death of a king, made the Parlement wary of public entertainments in the same way. On 1 February 1515, Parlement issued a ruling granting the basoche 60 livres parisis to reimburse their expenses for a performance cancelled due to the death of Louis XII.⁷⁷ A year later, the Parlement turned toward the dangers of satire—especially regarding the new king and his administration. A ruling issued on 5 January 1516 admonished the heads of the various colleges at the university not to let their students perform any plays “contre l'honneur du roy, de la royne, de madame la duchesse d'Angoulesme, mere dudit seigneur roy, des seigneurs du sang, ne autres personnages estans autour de la personne dudit seigneur.” The punishment for infractions was vague at this point.⁷⁸

The reason that satire at the university was considered threatening to the city and realm was that the ideas discussed there could have destabilizing consequences. On 25 April

⁷⁵ Printed in Weiss, *La Chambre ardente*, 190. Parlement declared itself out of session until the day after Assumption (16 August), ordering that the whole Conciergerie be cleaned and the refuse be carried away from the Seine. Weiss cites a register quoting 66 dead in 1547 from contagion in the prison of the Grand Châtelet alone; see 190–91, note.

⁷⁶ Félibien, 4:743.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 4:633 (1 février 1515). See also Cahuet, 35.

⁷⁸ *Index Chronologicus*, 323, article MDLXXII; abbreviated version printed in Félibien, 4:634. See also Cahuet, 35.

1518, an edict was passed forbidding all those attached to the university in any way, no matter what their status or current relationship with the institution, to assemble in any kind of group in order to discuss affairs of state, policing, or administration for the public good in Paris or France, under threat of banishment from the realm and the confiscation of property. If the rector, deans, or procurers were to hear of any such assembly and not put a stop to it immediately, they would be considered guilty of holding the assembly themselves. The stated reasoning behind this law was that there were many foreigners at the university—both students and professors—and the open discussion of such matters invited arguments and confusion. Further, certain foreigners would take advantage of such discussion to pervert the state and the public good in dangerous ways.⁷⁹

This became even more dangerous in the 1520s, when France was at war. In August of 1523, a coalition that included the Emperor Charles V, Henri VIII of England, and Pope Hadrian VI (among others) was formed against François I. In December, with holiday entertainments looming, the Parlement ordered the heads of various colleges to forbid performances of “farces ou jeux scandaleux, & où soient dictes paroles scandaleuses du roy, des princes & de ceux qui sont autour de sa personne, sur peine de s’en prendre à eux.”⁸⁰ By 1525, things had become critical; in February, the king was defeated at Pavia and taken prisoner by Charles V. On 14 October of that year, the Parlement reported an event often attributed to the basoche:

ce jour de relevée, sont venus en la grand cour du palais de ceans quatre personnes à cheval, desguisez, contrefaisans les postes, ayans des chaperons vers en leurs testes, que on dict estre montez à cheval à la porte S. Michel, &

⁷⁹ François, ord. 154; *Catalogue*, n. 814; Du Boulay, 6:104.

⁸⁰ Félibien, 4:645.

sont venus courans par les ruës jusques audict palais, où ils crioient & publioient certains rimes contenans en substance que le roy estoit mort, & que madame mere du roy regente en France en avoit grand deconfort; que les sages le celoient, & qu'il falloit que les fols le declarassent & publiassent, & plusieurs autres choses contre l'honneur dudict seigneur & de nostredicte dame & de la maison de France; & leur a esté respondu par le perron de la sainte chapelle, & se sont après retirez courans par les ruës, jusques à N. D. des Champs où ils sont descendus; & l'on a mis gens après, pour sçavoir qui ils sont.⁸¹

No wonder that ten days later, on the twenty-fourth, the Parlement reissued the ordinance for the night watch and the use of lanterns in Paris.⁸² On the heels of these incidents, Parlement issued another order a few weeks later (4 November 1525), this time appointing one of its councillors with the task of secretly ("secrettement") finding out the source of this false news about the king. This was particularly important since the English ambassador was to arrive that day, and the Parlement feared such gossip would jeopardize the peace treaty signed between France and England by the queen mother as regent.⁸³

Not surprisingly, on 29 December 1525, Parlement passed a lengthy ruling on upcoming performances at the university's colleges:

Du vendredi 29 décembre [1525]. Ce jour, MM. Robert Dugast, Estienne Leroux, Richard Tourmente, Jean de Tartas, Olivier de Lesquer, principaux des collèges de Cocquerel, de Justice, de Harcourt, de Lisieux et du Plessis, et maistre Anthoine Sylvestre, maistre des anciens du collège de Navarre, M^e Simon Leroux, scribe, et Wldequin Thyvet [sic], receveur de l'Université de Paris, sont venus en la Court de céans, auxquels M^e Charles Guillart, président en ladite Court, a dict que la Court les a mandez, pour pourvoir aux inconvéniens qui peuvent arriver en ceste ville de Paris par le moyen des escolliers qui sont de présent en l'Université. Et sçavent la désolation du royaume par la prinse du roy, qui de présent est en Espagne détenu ès mains de l'empereur; ont veu la grande ruine arrivée devant Pavie, et la perdition de tant de gens nobles et des principaux dui royaume, qui est

⁸¹ Ibid., 4:673.

⁸² Ibid., 4:673–74.

⁸³ Ibid., 4:674.

telle que le royaume est devenu sans deffence, et *est sine capite et viribus*; et ne consiste la force d'icelluy, qu'en l'union et en l'obéissance, qui a esté telle qu'elle a conservé jusqu'à présent le royaume en son entier; est celle qui le deffend; et quand la chose publique de Rome estoit en sa fleur, elle n'a jamais esté gardée et conservée, sinon par l'union des nobles et du peuple; que cette ville de Paris est composée de toutes nation et diversitez de gens en tous estats, et *in tanta urbe multa sunt et varia ingenia*; qu'on a coustume, a la feste des Rois, de jouer pour les collèges; et soubz ombre de jeux, s'il étoit permis, y auroit quelques gens qui *latenter* pourroient dire des paroles qui pourroient mouvoir le peuple à sédition; ce qui n'est requis, mais est de nécessité le tenir en paix; et à Rome, *republica afflicta, interdicebantur ludi publici*, mesmement *circenses*; et *utebanteur Romani vestibus luctuosis*; que la chose de France n'eust sceu avoir plus grand mal ne occasion de se douloir, que de la prinse de son prince, joint la perte des nobles qui y sont morts, et la ruyne de la force de France; et faut qu'ils considerent l'affliction de la chose publique; que les jeuz, farces, moresques, ce sont choses volontaires et picquantes; et s'il estoit permis de jouer, il en adviendrait de la folie, et ne pourroient les principaux des collèges estre maistres; et s'il advenoit tempeste et sédition en ceste ville, ce seroit pour la mettre en tout le royaume; ce qu'il faut éviter nécessairement et se contenir *in luctu publico*; et de ne jouer n'en peut venir que bien.

Par quoy, la Court leur a ordonné et leur enjoint de ne permettre en leurs collèges, de ne jouer aucuns jeux, ne y faire farces ne moresques; et le tout faire cesser, sur peine de s'en prendre à leurs personnes; et oultre, de faire sçavoir au recteur, de l'Université et aux principaux des autres collèges cette présente ordonnance, afin que de leur part ils la gardent et observent, et qu'il n'en arrive inconvenient.

Et sur ce, a ledict M^e Robert Dugast, principal dudit collège de Cocquerel, dict que l'Université, voyant la désolation du royaume et le temps qu'il est; prévoyant aux inconveniens qui pourroient advenir à cause des jeux, a jà pourveu à ce que la Court leur a ordonné et commandé, [à passer] *quidem dies lugubres in cubiculis suis, et non solum diem, sed annum*; et a jà longtemps qu'ils ont adverty les escolliers, qu'ils ne fassent en leurs compositions, aucunes choses contre l'honneur du royaume. Et le xxvi^e jour du mois passé, le recteur fit assemblée, où il leur fit promettre *per jusjurandum*, qu'ils obviroient aux disputations et invectives injurieuses et scandaleuses; et fait exprès commandement qu'on y mettroit *per compita* deffences de non jouer, sur peines de privations des droits et privilèges de l'Université. Que ledict recteur a esté nouvellement esleu, et n'a encore prins sa chappe, et pour ce qu'il n'a accoutumé aller sans chappe, il n'est venu au mandement qui luy a esté fait; et supplie la Court de le tenir pour excusé; aussi sont venus en petit nombre, mais se chargent en advertir et faire sçavoir l'ordonnance de laditte Court, tant audict recteur que autres, tellement qu'il ne'en arrivera inconvenient. Et pour ce que, soubz ombre des escolliers, aucuns mauvais garçons, comme les imprimeurs et autres, mesmement les

escolliers qui demeurent hors des collèges, ont accoustumé de jouer, et sont ceux qui pourroient faire la division, et sur lesquels ils n'ont aucune puissance, supplient la Court faire faire deffenses de ne jouer, et la faire publier; car quant est de ceux qui demeurent ès collèges, ils en respondront et s'en chargent. Et sur ce, leur a ledict Guillard, président, dict qu'ils facent faire les deffences particulières par chacun collège, à leurs escolliers et aux autres, sur peine de privation des droits et privilèges de l'Université; et en cela, s'ils ont affaire de l'auctorité de la Cour, elle les supportera et fera ce qu'elle devra; et quant aux deffences qu'ils requièrent, la Court en advisera, pour y pourvoir.

Ce faict, se sont les dessus-dicts retirez.⁸⁴

Given the state of the realm due to the capture of the king and the death of members of the aristocracy, the court wanted to fend off problems arising in Paris due to student behavior at the upcoming Twelfth Night celebrations. Specifically, Parlement was afraid that “soubz ombre de jeux” the students would say things that would incite their audience to acts of sedition—plays are not dangerous in themselves, but the ideas they present and actions they might inspire in the audience are. The argument is furthered by the assertion that “jeuz, farces, moresques” incite wild behavior that even the college authorities cannot control. And if there is seditious behavior in Paris, the story goes, there will be sedition in the rest of France. Therefore, the Parlement asserts that it might be better not to have the performances at all. In an interesting twist, the “mauvais garçons” mixing with the students include “Imprimeurs et autres” (printers and others), and according to the court often participate in these college performances.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ Extract in *ibid.*; full text is from *Index chronologicus*, 331, art. MDCXXI. This is briefly mentioned in Charles Mazouer, “Théâtre et carnaval en France jusqu’à la fin du XVIe siècle,” *Revue d’histoire du théâtre* 35 (1983): 155. I include the full text here since the abbreviated version seems to be the only one discussed by scholars.

⁸⁵ For an example of this mingling of the criminal classes with students, see Fontanon, 1:891–92 (20 août 1554). An Early Modern printed copy, BnF F-47077 (46), dates this as 20 September.

Another group of young men, the basoche, were warned by the Parlement against satire. On 20 May 1536, the court forbade them to perform or write anything “taxans ou notans quelque personne que ce soit.” The innovation in this ruling was that any member of the basoche known to have engaged in satire or parody was to be reported by name to the court, and he would be put in prison and banished forever from the Palais.⁸⁶ Two years later, on 23 January 1538, Parlement permitted a basoche performance for the following Thursday on the “à la table de marbre en la maniere accoustumée,” as long as they kept to the performance as shown to the court and did not add anything “qui est hormis lesdictes choses rayées.”⁸⁷

The young men of the basoche and those of the university were linked through their shared use of a space on the edges of Paris—the Pré-aux-clercs—for their outdoor games. There had been a long-standing feud between these youths and the adjacent Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.⁸⁸ One of their objections was that the residents of the abbey had built a sort of viewing stand to watch them without their permission. A 10 July 1548 ruling of Parlement describes a particularly violent clash between the students and basoche on one side and those at the abbey on the other. The document states that “plusieurs Clercs de ce Palais se sont élevez & assemblez, & ont fait de grands excedz & scandales à quoy est necessaire pourvoir promptement pour éviter à grand inconvenient qui pourroit advenir.” The chancellor

⁸⁶ Félibien, 4:690. See also Cahuet, 36.

⁸⁷ Félibien, 4:694 (23 janvier 1538); mentioned in Harvey, 195; and Desmaze, 393. See also Cahuet, 36–37; renewed on 7 May 1540.

⁸⁸ For an overview, see Fabre, 44–56.

of the basoche was called upon to calm the clerics, which he did, threatening with hanging those who were guilty of illicit assembly or carrying arms.⁸⁹

On 19 January 1549, the Parlement issued another ruling regarding the students at the university incident, forbidding them from participating in “*assemblées illicites, commotions,*” etc., and demolishing property, under threat of hanging.⁹⁰ The Parlement was unsuccessful in imposing order on the basoche and students; on 23 January 1549, Henri issued *lettres closes* mandating the court to take extreme measures to keep the young men from disobeying their orders.⁹¹ In the midst of all of this controversy, on 18 February, the Parlement gave its permission for the students at the college of Cardinal Le Moine to perform plays in their college during the year (with the same admonition not to create public scandal or offend any individual).⁹² This reinforces the idea that theatre in itself was not considered a threat to the realm during this time.

⁸⁹ Du Boulay, 6:407–28.

⁹⁰ Félibien, 4:743–44. See also the 21 January ruling, 4:744.

⁹¹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4266; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2132, fol. 100.

⁹² Félibien, 4:744.

* * * * *

Censorship in Renaissance Paris arose from a shifting relationship between religious and secular elements of the culture. When the state began to regulate ecclesiastical matters, performances based on religious texts—as well as entertainments encroaching on sacred spaces—were increasingly curtailed in the name of civil stability. Further, lawmakers believed that it was particularly important to address what they saw as the urban necessities of Paris, looking at the effects of epidemics, weather, and political satire in the capital city and their subsequent influence on the rest of France. As we have seen, there are instances where the line between censorship and sponsorship is not quite clear. While one kind of entertainment was taken away, it was often simultaneously replaced with another, state-sanctioned one. That institutional mechanism will be contemplated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

SPONSORSHIP

Authorities in Renaissance Paris used laws not only to censor performance but also to sponsor it; in fact, the legal record is much more generous in offering examples promoting entertainment than quashing it. The king, Parlement, and the Bureau supported performance through legal mandates to performers; by ordering payments to those involved in productions; and by commissioning individuals to oversee the production and/or payment process. In the first section of this chapter, we will look at what kind of events triggered legally mandated performance, focusing on the language used in legal documents to justify their sponsorship. Next, we will investigate how these performances were funded by looking at laws that mandated wages and reimbursements to those involved. The last part of this chapter will introduce the office of master of the revels at the French court—perhaps the most important innovation in sponsorship during this time—which was officially created with the advent of Henri II's reign.

Actions and Reactions

Performances that were mandated or officially approved of by lawmakers clustered around fixed traditional festivals of the liturgical calendar (such as Twelfth Night) or more sporadic events such as weddings, funerals, and royal entries. In addition to these civic festivities, performances—mainly processions—were mandated in reaction to some kind of crisis: when something happened out of the “natural” order of things, such as bad weather, plague, or public acts of blasphemy. In chapter 2, we looked at the process of production for

civic entertainments; this section will take a closer look at the language in the mandates for such performances.

When a crisis situation arose in Paris, one of the most frequent reactions was to invoke the help of Sainte-Geneviève, patron saint of the city. Processions were held in her honor to stop heavy rains and storms during the summers of 1505, 1521, 1523, 1527, 1529, 1535–36, 1541–43, 1551, and 1555. Additional pleas for better weather were made publicly to the saint in 1509, 1512, 1522, and 1530 to end floods, and in 1517, 1524, 1548, and 1556 to end droughts. Urban problems also prompted processions for Geneviève: in 1521, she was invoked to fight a food shortage; in 1557, she was asked for help against epidemics; and a procession was held in her honor in 1528 for the common good—“nécessité publique.” As the capital of France, Paris was responsible for asking its patron saint to intercede in causes for the whole of France; processions for victory in war or to maintain peace were invoked in 1509, 1512–13, 1517, 1522–23, 1529, 1536, 1542–43, 1552–53, and 1557–58. In 1517 and 1559, the patron saint was asked to help via a procession with royal sickness. Among the many processions held on occasions of heretical acts, the saint was invoked in 1535, 1542, 1549, and 1551–52.¹

On the occasion of the Treaty of Cambrai in 1509, letters missive from the king to the municipality noted that it was customary to light bonfires in celebration of treaties, specifically in Paris “pour ce que c’est la capitale et principale de nostre Royaulme;” the treaty had been

¹ Moshe Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France* (Leiden, New York, Köln: Brill, 1998), esp. 218–20. See also E. Le Liepure, *L’ordre et ceremonie observee tant en la descente de la chasse madame Sainct Geneviefve patron’ de Paris, qu’en la procession d’icelle* (Paris: Jean du Carroy, 1611), reprint in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 15:347–54.

ratified “graces à Dieu nostredit createur.” Therefore, the people of Paris were to attend or participate in processions “pour rendre louanges et graces, et mercier nostred. Createur de lad. paix, et le prier et requerir devotement pour l’entretienement et conservacion d’icelle, et pour la santé et prosperité de Nous et de nostred. Royaulme.” Not only would the people be pleasing God, but the king as well: “Et en ce faisant, vous Nous ferez très grant et agreable plaisir.”²

Strangely enough, pleasing God was not part of the formula for the visit of the cardinal of Saint-Croix (Roman ambassador for the duke of Saxe, Frédéric III le Sage) in 1512. The king sent letters to the municipality, stressing his own personal affection for the man: “nous portons singuliere amour et affection, nous desirons singulierement qu’il soit receu et honoré par toutes les villes de nostre Royaulme.”³ In addition, the cardinal was going to be in town on royal business which is, in turn, important to the king. The king claims that he loves and respects the cardinal personally (not just his office), so he must be received not just in Paris but in all of the cities of the realm.

The entry of Mary Tudor was particularly important politically, as letters from the king to the municipality invoke the treaties and alliances with “nostre très cher et très amé frere et cousin le roy d’Angleterre,” including the treaty and marriage with the sister of the English king. “Nous, desirans de tout nostre cueur qu’elle y soit par vous recueillie, honorée et receue le plus honorablement et grandement que faire ce pourra,” the king writes and

² *Registres*, 1:151 (22 mars 1509). See also *ibid.*, 1:152–53 (20, 22 et 23 mai 1509).

³ *Ibid.*, 1:188–89 (21 août 1512).

mandates the Bureau with the formula: “en vous priant et mandant vous preparer et fere preparer toutes les choses qui sont requises à sad. entrée et reception.”⁴

The people of Paris did not always cooperate with mandated performance. On 23 May 1524, we find a ruling from Parlement stating such a problem: “la cour a esté advertie que aucuns des monasteres, eglises, hspitaux & colleges de cette ville de Paris ne parent au devant d’eux, ne sortent, ne viennent avec leurs ornemens & encensiers au devant du precieux corps N.S.J.C. le jour du S. Sacrement, qui est scandalle à tout le peuple.” Everyone is therefore ordered (be they laymen or clergy) to be in front of their decorated buildings, “honorablement parez” (suitably dressed), “pour faire honneur & adorer ledict S. Sacrement, sur peine de faire en la main du roy de tout leur temporel.” The court further orders the Provost of Paris to publish the ruling in the squares of Paris.⁵ Interestingly enough, no spiritual consequences are mentioned for not attending this procession; the related damage incurred by ignoring the order would be to the people of Paris and the realm, rather than to God.

During the time of François I’s captivity in Spain, the Parlement of Paris received letters from the regent mandating general and local parish processions throughout the city and diocese “pour la prosperité & santé du roy, sa prompte & bonne delivrance, conservation de ses royaume & estat.” The court had to decide if they should hold these larger general processions or simply continue the smaller ones already ordered (being held in each parish twice a week); the Parlement decided to keep the parish processions and not to do a large general procession in Paris “pour éviter à ce que aucunes grosses assemblées ne se fassent en cette ville de Paris, de peu du tumulte & insolence, & aussi pour la peste qui commence à

⁴ Ibid., 1:212–13 (2 septembre 1514).

⁵ Félibien, 4:646.

venir en cettedicté ville.” In addition, each day prayers were to be said in the parishes as well as the convents and other clergy in the city of Paris, “tant pour la santé & prospérité du roy & sa briève delivrance, que de madicté dame & messieurs les enfans dudict seigneur, & pour la conservation & entretenement du royaume & de ceux qui ont l’administration de la chose publique.”⁶ Since the health of the king was linked to the health of the realm and those who administer the public good (which would be the lawmakers themselves), they wanted to comply with the wishes of the regent. The problem was how to avoid creating huge crowds for fear of violence and the spreading of illness while still honoring their obligations.

That fall, after receiving news of the king’s improved health, Parlement declared a recess for the following day when its members would participate in a general procession to “rendre graces à Dieu de la santé qu’il a donnée & restituée au roy, & pour le supplier que son plaisir soit le mettre bien tost en bonne santé en liberté en son royaume.”⁷ Since the pleas for the king’s health had worked, the regent ordered further processions on 30 January 1526 for the king’s freedom and the freedom of France (“pour prier Dieu pour la delivrance du roy, tuition & protection du royaume”). These took place on 1 February.⁸ Whether or not these processions were instrumental in the king’s eventual freedom, the Parlement was not taking any chances; they ordered another procession and Te Deum in Notre Dame on 23 April “pour rendre graces à Dieu de ce qu’il luy a pleu delivrer le roy & le remettre en ce royaume.”⁹ François was equally generous about the freedom of his allies. On 14 January 1528, he issued a mandate to the provost of Paris for processions, bonfires, “et autres rejouissances” to

⁶ Ibid., 4:654–55 (15 mars 1525).

⁷ Ibid., 4:673 (octobre 1525).

⁸ Ibid., 4:674–75.

⁹ Ibid., 4:675.

celebrate the liberation of pope Clement VII, who was held prisoner for seven months by emperor Charles V (his own captor) after the sack of Rome.¹⁰

That same year, a procession was ordered “pour mitiguer l’ire de Dieu” (to temper the anger of God) for an act of blasphemy, with the king himself as the central actor. On the night of 31 May–1 June, the day after Pentecost, a stone statue of the Virgin Mary in a small niche behind the church Petit Saint-Antoine had been mutilated by removing Mary’s head and the head of the infant Jesus. The municipal officers, officers of the Parlement and the Chambre des Comptes, king, and nobles came to the church of Sainte-Katherine-du-Val-des-Escholliers one morning to hear a mass by the bishop of Paris. Then the king, with a white candle in his hand and bare head, along with the other princes and gentlemen (also with candles), processed to the place where a statue of the Virgin Mary had been destroyed near the church of Saint-Antoine and replaced it with a wooden statue covered in silver while saying a devotion.¹¹

The king sent letters dated 10 January 1531 to the municipality on the occasion of the death of Alberto Pio, count of Carpy, who was exiled to France by Charles V and died there of the plague. François ordered sumptuous funerals for him, because he “estoit estranger, avoit fait plusieurs services au Roy, laissé ses terres et seigneuries, estoit personnage de lettres et de grande recommandation, chevalier de son ordre.” Pio’s most famous works were

¹⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 32471.

¹¹ *Registres*, 2:26 (12 juin 1528); and another account in Du Boulay, 6:210: “Ce jour a esté dit que les Recteur & Université de Paris ont deliberé en leur Congregation naguères faite, de faire une Procession generale partant de l’Eglise des Mathurins pour aller à Saint Catherine du Val des Escholiers & doivent passer par ladite ruë & faire pose & se arrester au lieu où le cas dont est question, a esté commis, pour y faire Oraisons & Prières pour mitiguer l’ire de Dieu.” For similar events, see Félibien, 4:728 (10 janvier 1547); and Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 9965 (18 décembre 1551); BnF ms. fr. 23746, fol. 270.

written against Luther and Erasmus, which the king considered part of the “trés grans et recommandables services qui nous a par cy devant faictz durant sa vie.”¹²

As the Reformation gained momentum in France, more acts of public sacrilege and blasphemy took place. On 19 October 1534 (after the Affair of the Placards), the Parlement ordered that the following Thursday would be a procession of the Holy Sacrament, asking for God “entretenir l'integrité” (to maintain the integrity) of the church and that “correction soit faicte des scandaleux & heretiques placars & livres qui ont esté attachez & plaquez en pluseurs carrefours & lieux de la ville de Paris, au grant vitupere, scandalle & deshonneur de Dieu & de nostre mere l'Eglise.” These were to be followed by more processions on Sunday.¹³ Processions continued well into January, and the king participated in these events: “A l'honneur de Dieu nostre Createur, de la glorieuse vierge Marie et de tous les benoistz Saintz et Saintes de Paradis, le Roy Très Chrestien, adverty des erreurs qui ont par cy devant pululé et des execrables placquars et livres hereticques affixez et gectez par les rues et carrefours de Paris par meschans de la secte de Luther et autres de leur mauldicte secte.” The king met with his council to decide how to “reparer l'injure faicte à Dieu”; these measures included a general procession in which the Holy Eucharist and all the most beautiful reliquaries of Paris would be used (21 January 1535). The patron saint of Paris was brought into the procession as well by means of her reliquary: “et devant ladicte chasse y avoit quatre torches blanches aux armoiries de ladicte Ville, et que icelle Ville y avoit envoyées, pour ce que c'est l'ancienne gardinene de Paris.”¹⁴

¹² *Registres*, 2:101–02 (16 janvier 1531).

¹³ Félibien, 4:685; see also *Registres*, 2:192.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 2:195–99 (21 janvier 1535); also in Félibien, 4:686–89 and 5:343–46. .

War was another case in which processions were held. In September 1544, Imperial forces crossed into French territory. Having received letters from the king saying he was not doing well in battle, the municipality decided (before any other practical measures, like closing the city gates) “que on doibt premierement se retourner vers Dieu, nostre createur, en luy demandant secours et pardon, et faire processions generalles et particulieres, chascun jour, descendre les corps saincts et les saintes reliques, en les prians interceder pour nous envers Dieu.”¹⁵ The treaty of Cr  py was signed by Charles V and Fran  ois I on the 18th of that month. Henri II was more successful in some of his negotiations and military campaigns; on 26 April 1550, he issued *lettres closes* to the Parlement to give thanksgiving to God for the capture of Boulogne.¹⁶ On the same day, he issued *lettres closes* to the Bureau informing them of the same event, and to be present the following day for a thanksgiving procession headed by the bishop of Paris.¹⁷

On 29 March 1559, Henri sent letters to the provost of merchants and aldermen, saying that they had always “tenuz au renc de noz plus chers et recommandez subjectz et serviteurs” and therefore wanted them to be among the first to hear that he had just closed the peace treaty of Cateau-Cambr  sis. He was sending “memoires” to publicly proclaim with thanksgiving processions and “autres demonstrations acoustum  es” (other customary demonstrations) in which the Bureau should participate “   l’aise duquel bien il a pleu    Dieu donner    toute la Chrestient  , et que, selon la bonne et grande demonstration que vous nous avez tousjours faicte de vostre sincere affection en la subvention de noz affaires, vous

¹⁵ *Registres*, 3:40–42 (6 septembre 1544).

¹⁶ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6451; BnF ms. fr. 23746, fol. 15v–16v.

¹⁷ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 6452; printed in *Registres*, 3:210.

n'oubliez riens de ce qui se pourra faire au recouvrement de ce que nous attendons de vous pour nous ayder à faire payer et licentier les forces que nous avons sur les bras.”¹⁸ Not only did the king expect the municipality to pay for celebrations, but also for the funding of the soldiers. Debates between the king and the Bureau over who was to pay for what kind of civic entertainments were a hallmark of the system of sponsorship in Paris during this time.

Laws, Finances, and Patronage

In the courts of François and Henri, a master of the *chambre aux deniers* took care of the financial services for the royal household, so-called “ordinary” day-to-day expenses (*ordinaires*); clothing, furniture, and dishes were purchased and maintained by another officer, the *argentier*.¹⁹ Although these two were mandated to pay for many expenses regarding entertainments, the king also had a master of the revels—the *trésorier des menus plaisirs*—who took care of many of his private expenses.²⁰ When it came to major

¹⁸ Ibid., 5:25–26 (29 mars 1559).

¹⁹ R.J. Knecht, “The Court of Francis I,” *European Studies Review* 8 (1978): 1–22. See also Lucien Bély, *La société des princes, XVIème–XVIIIème siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Sylvie Charton-Le Clech, *Chancellerie et culture au XVIe siècle (les notaires et secrétaires du roi de 1515 à 1547)* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires du Mirail, 1993); and Maïté Etchechoury, *Les Maîtres des Requêtes de l’Hôtel du Roi sous les derniers Valois (1553–1589)* (Geneva: Droz; Paris: Honoré Champion, 1991). On the organization of the “grands officiers” of the court, see Père Anselme, *Histoire des grands officiers de la Couronne de France: avec l’origine et le progrez de leurs familles, ensemble le catalogue des chevaliers de l’ordre du S. Esprit, dressée sur plusieurs chartes d’églises, histoires, chroniques, titres, registres & mémoriaux de la chambre des comptes de Paris. Tome second . . .*, vol. 2. (Paris: Estienne Loyson, 1674) [on Gallica]. For municipal officers, see Bernard Quilliet, *Les Corps des officiers de la prévôté et vicomté de Paris et de l’Île-de-France, de la fin de la guerre de cent ans au début des guerres de religion: étude sociale*, 2 vols. (Lille: Service de Reproduction des thèses–Université de Lille III, 1982).

²⁰ I will be discussing the office of the master of the revels in the next section. For background on patronage, see Sharon Kettering, *Patronage in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), esp. article 1; c.f. Kristen B. Neuschel, *Word of Honor:*

entertainments—such as a royal entry or funeral—the king would commission officers to deal with those “extraordinary” expenses (*extraordinaires*).²¹ For both civic performances and court entertainments where the Bureau was involved in planning, the municipality was also required to pay performers and what we would call the production staff for their work. Because all of this—court or municipality—involved public money, strict accounts were to be kept and presented to the *Chambre des Comptes* for auditing before the treasury could be mandated to reimburse anyone.²² Although the legal part of the process of paying for performances had been established by this time, it was far from clear which institution would see its revenues depleted for the sake of entertainment.

Several entries in the *Ordinaire de Paris* for the early sixteenth century show that the city provided and paid for tapestries to decorate various locations in Paris for mandated

Interpreting Noble Culture in Sixteenth-Century France (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989). See also Ronald G. Asch and Adolf M. Birke, *Princes, Patronage, and the Nobility: The Court at the Beginning of the Modern Age, c. 1450–1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

²¹ See also Philippe Hamon, *L'argent du roi: les finances sous François Ier* (Paris: Comité pour l'Histoire Economique et Financière de la France, 1994); Hamon's "*Messieurs des finances*": *Les grands officiers de finance dans la France de la Renaissance* (Paris: Comité pour l'Histoire Economique et Financière de la France, 1999); G. Jacqueton, "Le Trésor de l'épargne sous François Ier (1523–1547)," *Revue historique* 55 (1894): 1–43; and 56 (1894): 1–38; Edouard Meynial, "Études sur l'histoire financière du XVI^e siècle," *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger* 44 (1920): 451–515, and 45 (1921): 459–583; Richard Bonney, "Guerre, fiscalité et activité d'État en France (1500–1660): quelques remarques préliminaires sur les possibilités de recherches," in *Genèse de l'État Moderne . . .*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet and M. Le Mené (Paris: CNRS, 1987), 193–201; and Bernard Chevalier, "Fiscalité municipale et fiscalité d'État en France du XIV^e à la fin du XVI^e siècle: deux systèmes liés et concurrents," in *Genèse de l'État Moderne . . .*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet and M. Le Mené (Paris: CNRS, 1987), 137–51. For primary sources, see Pierre-Joseph-Spiridion Dufey, *Histoire, actes et remontrances des Parlemens de France: Chambre des comptes, Cours des aides, et autres cours souveraines, depuis 1461 jusqu'à leur suppression. Tome premier, 1461 à 1756* (Paris: Galliot, 1826) [on Gallica].

²² On the judicial fiscal system, see Wolfe, *The Fiscal System of Renaissance France*.

events, usually banquets, at the Louvre and the Châtelet,²³ the Tournelles,²⁴ and the bishop's house.²⁵ An example of this custom was when the municipality was only given notice on Thursday 23 November 1514 for a Sunday banquet in honor of Mary Tudor: "Et incontinant, pour ce que le temps estoit bref pour donner ordre et provision à tel affaire, car l'on se doubtoit bien qu'elle admeneroit grosse suytte," the Bureau mandated a group of people to come to the Hôtel de Ville to advise them, including "tapissiers, poullailliers, cuysiniers, espiciers, entremetteurs de festes et autres gens experts en telz actes," who gave them advice on what needed to be done, including decorating the banquet and entertainment rooms, arranging the banquet with meats and other courses, and finding out which foods were immediately available in large quantities.²⁶

The king also assigned officers to be in charge of such projects. On 10 January 1515, François created a commission for Morelet du Museau, the royal argentier, to deal with the expenses and keep the accounts for the funeral of Louis XII.²⁷ He was quickly promoted to other fiscal duties: on 10 March, the king had him dually appointed to the office of treasurer of wars and payer of wages in the Chambre des Comptes.²⁸ The next month, François issued

²³ Sauval, 3:540 (1505–06).

²⁴ Ibid., 3:550–51 (1510).

²⁵ Ibid., 3:554 (1511).

²⁶ *Registres*, 1:218–19 (26 novembre 1514).

²⁷ François, *Catalogue*, n. 37; AN, KK 89, fol. 2v. See also *Comptes des dépenses pour les obsèques et funérailles de feu le roy Louis XII, qui décéda le premier jour de janvier en l'an 1514*, in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, vol. 2, 71–81. On Morelet de Museau, see André Lapeyre and Rémy Scheurer, *Les notaires et secrétaires du roi sous les règnes de Louis XI, Charles VIII et Louis XII (1461–1515): Notices personnelles et généalogiques*, 2 vols. (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, 1978), 1:231–32.

²⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 15825.

a mandate for him to close out the expenses for the funeral.²⁹ This took longer than expected, because on 3 May 1518, François granted a gift to him of 1,000 livres tournois to keep for himself from the funds allotted to him to pay off the cost of the funeral of Louis XII.³⁰ His son profited from his father's status, as in September 1537 when the king granted letters annulling the death sentence pronounced in absentia by the judges of the Tour Carré against Morelet du Museau (fils), treasurer of the pensions for the Swiss League, royal notary and secretary, as well as negating the ban of him from exercising royal office.³¹ The elder Morelet de Museau had also been behind on his accounts, as we see with a March 1539 ruling when the descendants of a certain Louis Dodieu, "marchand fournisseur de l'argenterie du roi," were granted 3,135 livres to complete the accounts for the merchandise provided during the quarters of October 1514 and January 1515 which Morelet senior promised to pay when he was argentier, to be taken from the goods of Morelet by one Jean Bazanier, in charge of the administration of his estate.³²

A major reform took place in the fiscal system of France on 18 March 1523 with the creation of the office of treasurer of France—*Trésorier des Épargnes and Receveur des Revenus Casuels*—in favor of Philibert Babou.³³ Babou was put in charge of "la trésorerie de

²⁹ Ibid., n. 222; BnF ms. fr. 25720, fol. 13; mentioned in AN, KK 89, fol. 119v. See also François, *Catalogue*, n. 16645; BnF ms. fr. 25720, n. 107; and *Catalogue*, n. 16646; AN, KK 289, fol. 266 (2e compte de Jean Sapin).

³⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 822; BnF ms. fr. 25720, fol. 113; mentioned in AN, KK 89, *Comptes des funérailles de Louis XII*, fol. 120.

³¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 21334.

³² Ibid., n. 30959. See also n. 13742 and n. 27433.

³³ BnF F-23740 (150). Further letters were sent from François to the Chambre des Comptes on 27 March 1523 and received a positive response from them on the same day (ibid.). On Philibert Babou the elder (1484–1557), see Lapeyre, 1:14–16. For his illustrious career in court finances, see the article by Philippe Hamon entitled "Babou" in *La France de la Renaissance: Histoire et dictionnaire*, by Arlette Jouanna, Philippe Hamon, Dominique

la Sainte-Chapelle du Palais, à Paris” in February 1531.³⁴ In 1537, the king mandated the Chambre des Comptes to allocate extra money to Babou, assigned by the king to set up the great room in the Palais, the room in the Louvre, and the lists for the jousts and tournaments for the wedding of the king of Scotland and Madeleine de France.³⁵ On 22 January 1536, François issued letters making Babou a post as surveyor of the king’s works (including “Chambord, Fontainebleau, Loches, Chenonceaux et autres”).³⁶

Under Henri, Babou was issued undated letters of commission, referring to him as “maître d’hôtel ordinaire du roi” and giving him power to authorize all expenditures relating to the king’s coronation and royal entry into Paris—to make deals or buy things like gold or silver cloth, silk, wool, trim, metalwork, or feathers to use on the pavillions and harnesses as well as for the construction of lists and scaffolding/stages required; Duboys, the argentier for the household, will pay for them.³⁷ These were likely issued around the same time as the *lettres closes* to the provost of merchants and aldermen from 12 April 1547, asking them to discuss what they need to do for the funeral of François and the entry of the king and queen.³⁸ On the same day, he issued a twenty-eight-article ordonnance regulating the administration and “garde” of finances, “leur maniement, leur distribution et la reddition des comptes.”³⁹

As a powerful man with an illustrious career, Babou was not typical of the people who were mandated to arrange entertainments. For civic performances, the payments for

Biloghi, and Guy le Thiec (Paris: Robert Laffont, 2001), 615–16.

³⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 24073.

³⁵ Ibid., n. 30621.

³⁶ Ibid., n. 8266; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 1:16.

³⁷ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1879; BnF ms. fr. 18111, fol. 270v–71.

³⁸ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 42; printed in *Registres*, 3:80, and Godefroy, 1:300–01.

³⁹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 43; printed in Fontanon, 2:631–36; Isambert, vol. 13, n. 2; and BnF F-20939 (139). See also the 17 March 1549 regulation in *ibid.* (140).

instrumentalists were usually taken care of by one central figure. This was the case for the 1531 entry of Eleanor, when the Bureau had Pierre Chartier, referred to as the captain of the 1,000 footsoldiers of the city, pay the “fiffres et tabourins” (eighteen of them) in the procession, and stipulated that the musicians were not to ask for further payment from the city.⁴⁰ On the same occasion, the king mandated the treasury to pay the master of the chambre aux deniers 4,000 livres to cover part of the expenses for the banquet and entertainments at the Palais given in honor of the queen at her entry.⁴¹ In the same register, the aforesaid master is referred to as Jacques Bernard, and granted 5,677 livres “pour employer au fait de son office,” and especially to pay off debts from the previous year.⁴² Continuing in the same register, he was granted 1,500 livres “pour payer la dépense de festins donnés par le roi.”⁴³ Costumes and food were all of a piece when it came to the banquets; see a mandate for the treasury to pay Bernard 2,000 livres tournois “pour les provisions de viandes et autres depenses du festin” at the Louvre.⁴⁴ On 11 April 1531, François issued a mandate to the treasurer to give him 200 livres tournois in order to pay a certain Dominique de Courtonne for the stages built at Saint-Denis for the queen’s coronation, and for works that he built in Paris “dans la salle ou eut lieu le festin” for the queen’s entry.⁴⁵

Two years later, these accounts were still not settled: we find a mandate for the Comptes to allocate to the accounts of the chambre aux deniers 8,589 livres 9 sous 1 denier,

⁴⁰ *Registres*, 2:107 (6 mars 1531); also in Godefroy, 1:796.

⁴¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 27805.

⁴² *Ibid.*, n. 27573.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, n. 27574.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 5400; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 424. See also Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:203 (12 mars 1531).

⁴⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 3959.

including 1,752 livres 9 sous 6 deniers for the “festin donne par le roi en la grande salle du chateau du Louvre a la reine et autres princes et princesses de sa compagnie” on Sunday 26 February 1531, as well as 6,836 livres 19 sous 7 deniers for the “royal” entertainments presented to the queen in the great room of the Palais on the day of her entry (16 March 1531), and for the decorated stages in the church of Saint-Denis for the coronation on Sunday, 5 March.⁴⁶ The argentier at that time, Nicolas de Troyes, was also in charge of procuring materials for performances; on 21 February 1533, treasury was ordered to pay him 1,136 livres 10 sous tournois for gold cloth, silk, feathers, etc., for the entertainments put on by the king in the Louvre for carnival.⁴⁷

In 1533, François issued an order for the Chambre des Comptes “retablir et allouer aux comptes dudit Jacques Bernard les sommes portées sur sept cahiers verifiés, certifiés et signés,” offering an example of what the master of the chambre aux deniers could be expected to oversee. These seven registers detailed money spent on the English Ambassadors who arrived in Paris 15 May 1527; an account for the ambassadors of the kings of Hungary and Poland, during June of that year; expenditures made for the visit of the duke of Ferrara (arrival 22 May 1528); the wedding celebrations of the duke of Ferrara and the duchess of Chartres held in the Palais in the great Saint-Louis room (27 June of that year); the funeral of de Lautrec esquire in Notre-Dame the following 14 September; entertainments given at the Louvre on that occasion; and expenditures made for the duke of Suffolk (first of June 1529).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Ibid., n. 28667.

⁴⁷ Ibid., n. 5443; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 446.

⁴⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 28668; from the “Role des mandements et provisions que le roi a ordonne d’expedier a Jacques Bernard, maitre de sa chambre aux deniers et commis a la recette generale des finances extraordinaires et parties casuelles.”

To offer an idea of the range of items the argentier could be assigned, we can look at an August 1537 decree regarding Nicolas de Troyes, who was to receive money from the treasury to pay for the following expenses for the queen of Scotland's wedding: to a goldsmith for jewelry made for the queen of Scotland, the sum of 6,243 livres 9 sous 3 deniers; to an Italian linen-maker, 675 livres 8 sous; for fabric, 1,307 livres; to a tailor for making clothes, 120 livres 5 sous; to a second tailor, 37 livres; to someone who made armbands and collars, 409 livres 10 sous; and to the person who did the trim and buttons, etc., with gold and silver thread, 248 livres 7 sous.⁴⁹ In the same register, he is granted money to pay off a royal tailor for making the king's costumes for the masque, 80 livres; to someone for ribbons and fringe of gold and silver thread and silk to decorate the bed given by the king to the queen of Scotland, 62 livres 10 sous; part of the wages of two tapestry-makers (presumably part of the royal household, since wages are referred to), 496 livres 4 sous 6 deniers; and to the maker of the queen of Scotland's luggage (trunks), 260 livres 10 sous.⁵⁰ Also in the same register is a mandate to pay Victor Barguin, as treasurer of the princesses' household, 1,280 livres 14 sous 7 deniers to reimburse a silversmith for making and repairing the silver dishes given by the king to the queen of Scotland, including cases for them and other costs.⁵¹

Funding was always a problem; on 3 March 1549, Henri issued letters of authorization for the Bureau to take 6,000 livres tournois from the budget surplus of the Aides in order to sell bonds to the bourgeois, resulting in an amount of 30,000 livres raised to pay for the

⁴⁹ Ibid., n. 30297.

⁵⁰ Ibid., n. 30298; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:234 (15 septembre 1537).

⁵¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 30299.

entertainments at the entry of the king and queen.⁵² On 15 March 1549, he issued *lettres closes* mandating the Bureau to decide how to decorate the entry of the king and queen in the most elaborate way without being hindered by what had been done in the past, because the king planned that the expenditures made for such an entry would be allotted by the receiver of the city without any difficulty. The letter from the king to the Bureau says he wants everything bigger and better, and that they are to hand their bills and receipts in to the receiver and he will take care of it, by order of the king, since they are doing all of these things by his request.⁵³

On 23 March, Henri issued almost identical letters in the form of a mandate to the Bureau to spend whatever they needed to, no matter how much, because the expenditures would be admitted into the accounts of the receiver of the city and taken out of the taxes collected.⁵⁴ Expenses were mounting, and on 18 April 1549, Henri issued letters of authorization to the Bureau to subsidize the expenditures for the upcoming entries an additional 12,000 livres tournois from other tax sources.⁵⁵ Obviously, this was not sufficient, because on 28 May 1549, Henri issued *lettres closes de créance* to the Parlement of Paris, sent via his *maître d'hôtel*, regarding the previous letters of 14 May demanding that they contribute 15,000 livres tournois for expenses for the king's entry into Paris.⁵⁶ Things were much simpler when it came to the king's private entertainments, as well shall see below.

⁵² Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4455; AN, K 957, n. 9; KK 1012, fol. 93v–95v; BnF ms. fr. 11688, fol. 88–91.

⁵³ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4495; AN, K 957, n. 10; printed in *Registres*, 3:158, note 1.

⁵⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4521; AN, K 957, n. 11; KK 1012, fol. 96r–v.

⁵⁵ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4613; AN, K 957, n. 13.

⁵⁶ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 4761; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 2132, fol. 109.

The Office of Master of the Revels⁵⁷

Much has been written about the office of the master of the revels in Renaissance England, but scholarship barely touches on its contemporary counterpart at the French court: the “trésorier des menus plaisirs.”⁵⁸ This is likely the result of the presence of published editions of the English revels documents, while the French legal documents and account books remain in manuscript form or individually printed pamphlets. Even though the record is sporadic—dispersed throughout the Archives nationales and the Bibliothèque nationale and possibly elsewhere—these laws reveal how the development and establishment of an increasingly integrated household officer to manage the revels contributed to the permanence of court entertainments in Renaissance France. Under François I, the strain between the king and the Chambre des Comptes over financial accounting practices caused the monarch to pass several laws forbidding the financial courts access to his accounts for entertainment expenses; but by 1557, the office is fully integrated into the household accounts of Henri II. By identifying the people who held this office and looking at some of their duties at court, we can construct a picture of the early French masters of the revels as influential individuals who came to the office by way of other financial positions at court.

⁵⁷ Part of this section was presented at the European Science Foundation Conference “Court Festivals of the European Renaissance and After: Performance and Permanence” in Italy (September 2003), as “Establishing Entertainment: The Accounts of the Trésorier des Menus Plaisirs under François I and Henri II.”

⁵⁸ For an overview of the English revels accounts and the methods by which the registers were kept, see Sybil M. Jack, “The revels accounts: this insubstantial pageant faded leaves not a wrack behind?” *Renaissance Studies* 9 (1995): 1–17. A comprehensive overview is the work by W. R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994).

In the Middle Ages, we have accounts from a few masters of the revels. Even in the fifteenth century, all these people held financial offices as well, and like other offices at court, the Revels seems to have been very much a family affair. Under Charles VIII, Denis Marcel was in charge of paying the aumônes for the king's household from at least 1484–94 and also assigned payment of the revels during the late 1480s. The king granted him a pension starting in 1491; he died around 1517. His son Jacques Marcel became receiver general of finances.⁵⁹ From 1491–93, Thomas Bohier took over the revels and so-called secret affairs of the king.⁶⁰ His other positions at court included notary and secretary from 1489, “secretaire signant en finances” 1493–94; receiver general of Bretagne, 1491–94; and general of finance for Normandy until he died (1494–1524).⁶¹ After his death, his financial accounts were questioned by the commission of the Tour Carrée and his descendants had to pay huge fines.⁶²

⁵⁹ Lapeyre, 1:218.

⁶⁰ BnF ms. fr. 32511, fol. 407v and 420.

⁶¹ Lapeyre, 1:44–46. See François' mandates of 11 August 1517 (François, *Catalogue*, n. 16448) and 17 April 1520 (ibid., n. 17248; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 1483, n. 44). Guillaume Prudhomme took over his office in Normandy on 1 July 1524 (François, *Catalogue*, n. 17802).

⁶² His son, Antoine Bohier, was a gentleman of the chamber and royal secretary under François I. See ibid., n. 10685 (17 January 1539): “Mandement à la Chambre des Comptes et aux juges de la Tour carrée, ordonnant de tenir quitte Antoine Bohier, général des finances, de la somme de 190,000 livres tournois, montant de la condamnation prononcée contre son père, feu Thomas Bohier, par lesdits juges de la Tour carrée, moyennant les paiements qui suivent, faits par ledit Antoine: la terre, seigneurie et château de Chenonceaux que le roi a pris pour 90,000 livres tournois; le quart de la vicomté d'Orbec. pour 10,000 livres; les greffes des prévôtés de Senlis et de Meaux, pour 9,055 livres; la somme de 18,112 livres 1 sou 4 deniers que Sa Majesté devait audit Thomas Bohier; la somme de 22,832 livres 18 sous 8 deniers, payée en trois termes, en deniers comptants; et du surplus, montant à 40,000 livres, le roi a fait don et remise à Antoine Bohier, de sorte que celui-ci est complètement déchargé de sa dette.”

Bohier's son-in-law, Jean Du Bois de Fontaine (1452–1539), is mentioned as the master of the revels in 1496.⁶³ He was the controller general of finance in Languedoil from 8 March of that year, then receiver general of the Outre-Seine in 1504. He, too, got into financial trouble and was deprived of his offices on 26 April 1505.⁶⁴ Under Louis XII, Henri Bohier, the younger brother of Thomas, became receiver general of Languedoc and then of Languedoil as well as master of the revels. Continuing the trend, he also ran into trouble with lawsuits and was deprived of his offices and imprisoned, but saved from execution by chancellor Duprat. He died in the 1540s.⁶⁵

A name that comes up in connection with the revels office in the early part of François' reign is André Le Roy, seigneur de La Bastide (died ca. 1523).⁶⁶ In the king's household, he served as chamberlain, master of the revels, and "commissaire ordinaire des guerres."⁶⁷ On 6 May 1518, François issued a mandate to Jean Sapin, receiver general of Languedoil and Guyenne, to give 2,000 livres to Le Roy, "commis au paiement des menus plaisirs du roi";⁶⁸ identical letters were issued on 14 May of the same year.⁶⁹ On 28 June, Sapin was ordered to give Le Roy yet another 2,000 livres;⁷⁰ and he was mandated to make

⁶³ BnF ms. fr. 8310, fol. 160v.

⁶⁴ Lapeyre, 1:117.

⁶⁵ The revels documents are found in BnF ms. fr. 2927, n. 8, fol. 70–78: "Roolle des parties et sommes de deniers paiées . . . par maistre Henry Bohier, conseiller du roy . . . receveur general de ses finances et par luy commis à tenir le compte et faire le paiement des deniers de ses plaisirs et menuz affaires de sa chambre . . . durant les moys de juillet, aoust et septembre derreniers passez, aus personnes, pour les causes et ainsi que cy apres."

⁶⁶ For two key finance reform laws from the end of Louis XII's reign that include the master of the revels, see *Ordonnances . . . troisième race*, 21:413–15 (11 juin 1510) and 21:451–53 (24 novembre 1511).

⁶⁷ Lapeyre, 1:208–09.

⁶⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16710; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 275.

⁶⁹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16713; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 275v.

⁷⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16748; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 276.

payments of 1,000 livres on 16 August,⁷¹ 28 September 1518,⁷² 7 October,⁷³ and 28 November.⁷⁴

In a set of undated letters patent, probably from the beginning of his reign, the king gave René de Puyguyon, seigneur de Cherveux and Bois-René, “tresorier des menus plaisirs,” protection from having to keep a copy of his accounts for anyone other than the king; the king was to give his orders to Bois-René verbally, and his written account was to be destroyed after the king saw it, because certain items and people mentioned were to be kept secret.⁷⁵ As we learn from the king’s letters of 23 May 1516, René de Puyguyon was a gentleman of the chamber in the king’s household, and was granted the office of captain of Cherbourg on that date.⁷⁶ On 26 September 1517, François granted him the office of sénéchal d’Agenais.⁷⁷ Although we have no evidence of direct succession, it is likely he took over as master of the revels before or upon Le Roy’s death in 1523; in the accounts for household expenses for that year as published by Roger Doucet, we find the following payments of interest:

Pour les plaisirs dud. seigneur [le roy] pour lad. année XXIII^m l.t., cy . . . XXIII^m l.t.

Pour les menuz affaires et nécesitez de la chambre dud. seigneur III^m l., cy . . . III^m l.t.

Pour les chantres dud. seigneur et pour la chappelle ordinaire, pour les estatx espédiez montans la somme de XIII^m v^c l.t., cy lad. somme de . . . XIII^m v^c l.t.

Pour la maison de la royne, pour toutes les offices tant au payement des officiers, chambre aux deniers, argenterye, escuyrie, voyaiges, aulmosnes et plaisirs montant la somme de VIII^{xx} v^m l., cy . . . VIII^{xx} v^m l.

⁷¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16786; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 276v.

⁷² François, *Catalogue*, n. 16801; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 276v.

⁷³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16805; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 277.

⁷⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16826; mentioned in AN, KK 289, fol. 277v.

⁷⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 25778; BnF ms. fr. 14368, fol. 189v.

⁷⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 16156.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 730; BnF nouv. acq. fr. 3644, n. 1003.

Pour l'estat de monseigneur le Daulphin, messeigneurs et dames ses frères et seurs, pour ceste présente année commancant en janvier tant pour le payement des gaiges des officiers, argenterye et escuyrye et autres menues despenses durant lad. année, la somme de LX^m l., cy lad. somme de . . . LX^m l.⁷⁸

In the list of royal pensions and gifts for that year is “monseigneur de Boisrenne.”⁷⁹ This business of the secret accounts was not well liked by the court of the Chambre des Comptes; on 30 April 1527, François had to issue letters forbidding them to bother René de Puyguyon.⁸⁰

In the mid-1520s, we have Jean Sapin, the receiver general, taking over the office; this seems to have been a stop-gap measure, as we will see below. On 7 March 1527, François issued a mandate for payments regarding the revels from 1 October 1524 through January 1526.⁸¹ We find further payments to Sapin as master of the revels throughout 1528.⁸² Here we have some confusion about the terms “menus affaires” and “menus plaisirs.” In 1531, Sapin was in charge of the “menues affaires” of the chamber, indicating that for that year at least, the miscellaneous expenses for the chamber were separate from the revels, since we have accounts from Claude Aligre for that time.⁸³

⁷⁸ Roger Doucet, *L'État des finances de 1523* (Paris: Auguste Picard, 1923), 87–88.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 133. See also *Extraits des comptes de dépenses de François Premier*, in *Archives curieuses*, ser. 1, 3:79–100.

⁸⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 2658; registered in the Chambre des Comptes on 10 November 1527.

⁸¹ Ibid., n. 19069; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 5502, fol. 61v.

⁸² François, *Catalogue*, n. 2862 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 180), n. 2892 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 181v), n. 2942 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 183), n. 2944 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 183v), n. 3120 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 184–85), n. 3205 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 185v), n. 3211 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 186v), n. 3233 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 187), and n. 3263 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 188).

⁸³ Ibid., n. 27733 and 28147.

Sometime between May 1524 and April 1529, François issued letters for Jean de La Barre, seigneur de Veretz, provost of Paris, and first gentleman of the chamber, considering him to be no longer indebted to the king for any monies given to him for the revels and protecting him from having to deal with any claims for reimbursement.⁸⁴ La Barre had been granted the office of provost on 18 April 1526.⁸⁵ After his revels experience, La Barre went on to become governor of Paris and part of the commission to deal with the ransom money paid to the emperor for the princes in the late 1520s.⁸⁶ In 1532, he was part of a commission to sell certain buildings on the grounds of the king's châteaux;⁸⁷ he was rewarded the following year with a house in the lower court of the château de Blois.⁸⁸

Sometime before 30 April 1526, François issued letters granting a delay to Philibert Babou le jeune, son of the treasurer of France (see above), in taking the office of master of the revels because of his youth. He assigned Babou's father's clerk, Claude Aligre or Haligre, to take over the office as his intermediary.⁸⁹ Aligre, on the other hand, received his first payment for the revels on that date, to cover expenses for April and May.⁹⁰ Aligre also served Louise of Savoy—the king's mother—as secretary at the same time.⁹¹ Two years later, on 25

⁸⁴ Ibid., n. 26407.

⁸⁵ Ibid., n. 18588 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 5502, fol. 7v); see also n. 2869 (mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 567); and n. 2881; printed in *Registres*, 2:10.

⁸⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 3561; BnF ms. fr. 6545, fol. 266.

⁸⁷ François, *Catalogue*, n. 4643; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 1:12.

⁸⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 5825; see also n. 20613, 6275, 6241 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 607), 6614, 6740 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 736), 7993, and 31126.

⁸⁹ Ibid., n. 25718; BnF ms. fr. 14368, fol. 122v. I have not been able to find evidence that Babou ever did fulfill this office.

⁹⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 18602; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 5502, fol. 9v.

⁹¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 2847 (20 January 1528; mentioned in AN, KK 96, fol. 563v); and n. 19657 (September 1528).

November 1528, François granted Aligre the office of master of the revels “au lieu et place” of Babou le jeune.⁹²

To offer an idea of how much the king was spending on entertainments at this time, we have a mandate from François in 1530 or 1531 for the receiver general to reimburse Aligre 36,410 livres that the revels account was—to use a modern phrase—overdrawn.⁹³ On 20 June 1530, François mandated the Chambre des Comptes to allocate 69,867 livres 10 sous 3 deniers to Aligre for the year 1529; he had receipts for most of that—according to the mandate—except for the 19,230 livres which he had handed over in cash to the king “pour en disposer tant au jeu que ailleurs à son plaisir.”⁹⁴ On the same date, François issued an identical mandate for 17,320 livres 14 sous 9 deniers to cover the first four months of 1530, out of which 2,779 livres 10 sous went in cash to the king.⁹⁵

Around January 1531, Aligre was granted a smaller cash reimbursement for revels expenses “en plus de l’ordinaire.”⁹⁶ On 26 March 1531, François issued a series of mandates for payment to the master of the revels without mentioning him by name, including 250 ecus to a royal goldsmith,⁹⁷ 255 ecus for seventeen hawks (or possibly the artillery of the same name),⁹⁸ a gift of 50 ecus for a royal clockmaker,⁹⁹ a payment to a gentleman for money lost

⁹² Ibid., n. 3240; AN, KK 100, fol. 2. We have copies of two of Aligre’s full accounts for the office, prefaced with letters granting him the charge (Archives nationales, KK 100). The first account is 132 leaves and runs from the first of December 1528 through December 1529; the second account comprises 48 leaves and runs from the first of December 1529 through 10 May 1530.

⁹³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 27572.

⁹⁴ Ibid., n. 3718; mentioned in AN, KK 100, fol. 17v.

⁹⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 3719; mentioned in AN, KK 100, 2e partie, fol. 5v.

⁹⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 27807.

⁹⁷ Ibid., n. 3925.

⁹⁸ Ibid., n. 3926.

⁹⁹ Ibid., n. 3927; same payment is in Laborde, 2:202 (n. 45).

by the king on the preceding 1 March in a tennis competition against the cardinal of Lorraine (and others; 302 ecus),¹⁰⁰ 100 ecus to a maker of cross-bows (for six),¹⁰¹ a mandate to pay a tapestry-maker 30 ecus for the three-month rental of tapestries for the king's lodgings at Saint-Germain-en-Laye and those of the cardinal of Lorraine,¹⁰² a payment to a jeweler for a necklace (143 ecus),¹⁰³ an order to pay a certain Madame de la Rochebaraton 500 ecus to fulfill her gift of 1,000 from the king,¹⁰⁴ an order to pay 100 ecus for gift vases,¹⁰⁵ 483 ecus due to pay the balance for pearls on the king's clothing,¹⁰⁶ 230 ecus to a silk merchant from Tours,¹⁰⁷ 30 ecus for beads for the king,¹⁰⁸ and a gift of 100 ecus to the duke of Guise's squire for a tilting-horse given to the king from the duke's master of horse, and to be reimbursed by the king's master of the revels.¹⁰⁹ On 26 March 1531, François ordered the distribution of 250 ecus to Monsieur de Saint-Pol and the grand master for winnings at the tennis courts during the preceding February.¹¹⁰ Around December of that year, Aligre was reimbursed for the previous six months of revels payments.¹¹¹

On 18 May 1532, François issued a mandate to pay Aligre the 4,350 livres tournois to complete the total sum of 6,405 livres tournois paid to a jeweler for a "table de diamant."¹¹²

¹⁰⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 3928.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., n. 3929.

¹⁰² Ibid., n. 3930.

¹⁰³ Ibid., n. 3931; same payment is in Laborde, 2:202 (n. 46).

¹⁰⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 3932.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., n. 3933.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., n. 3934.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., n. 3935; also in Laborde, 2:202 (n. 48).

¹⁰⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 3936.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., n. 3937.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., n. 3924.

¹¹¹ Ibid., n. 27931.

¹¹² Ibid., n. 4564; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 341.

On 23 May 1532, he issued a further mandate to pay Aligre (still referred to as the master of the revels) 840 livres tournois to pay towards various jewelers whose accounts would not be settled until August.¹¹³ That summer, we see that Aligre was in charge of acquiring tapestries using gold, silver, and silk thread.¹¹⁴ On 16 September 1532, he arranged for the purchase of jewels;¹¹⁵ and on 28 December 1532, Aligre paid for expenses related to the tournament held for the queen's entry.¹¹⁶ On 15 January 1533, Aligre was in charge of purchasing jewels for the king to give to the vicomte de Châteauneuf.¹¹⁷

By 13 February 1533, when François issued letters validating the payments for the aforementioned tournament totaling 19,638 livres 1 sou 9 deniers, Aligre is referred to as the former master of the revels.¹¹⁸ On 28 May of the same year, he was paid the balance for one of his jewel purchases, and we find out that he had resigned his post of master of the revels in favor of Pierre Duval but was still a valet in the king's household.¹¹⁹ On 28 August 1533,

¹¹³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 4584; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 151.

¹¹⁴ François, *Catalogue*, n. 29150; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:375, "A M^e Claude Halligre, trésorier des Menus Plaisirs du Roy, la somme de 3, 690 l t pour la valeur de 1,800 escuz sol., à raison de 41s. pièce, à luy ordonnée par icelluy seigneur pour convertir et employer ou faict de son office, mesmement pour icelle bailler à Pierre de Pannemarque, tapissier, demeurant à Brucelles, pour partie de 7,500 escuz, à laquelle somme a esté faict pris et marché par led seigneur avec led Pannemarque pour la tapisserie de fil d'or, d'argent et de soye qu'il doit faire pour led. seigneur, et ce, des deniers provenant des restes des comptes, amendes de la Tour carrée, et autres deppendans de la commission de messieurs de Bonnes et Rapponel, pour cecy."

¹¹⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 4885; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 340. See also *Catalogue*, n. 4939; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 332.

¹¹⁶ We have full accounts for that tournament in a manuscript at the BnF. François, *Catalogue*, n. 5201; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 343; see also *Catalogue*, n. 5027; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 290 (8 novembre 1532).

¹¹⁷ François, *Catalogue*, n. 5253; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 553.

¹¹⁸ Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:211–12; another copy is printed on 2:405–06.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 2:220.

there was a further reimbursement of 20,500 livres for another jewel purchase.¹²⁰ By February 1539, François had to mandate payment of 200 livres per year to Aligre for his post as valet; it seems he had been left off the list of officers of the household, and was owed back wages as well as current ones.¹²¹ To make things even worse, it is clear from a mandate of 10 July of that year the Chambre des Comptes had still not paid him for the tournament at the queen's entry in 1531 (eight years before); François had to confirm his previous letters of 13 February 1533 ordering payment.¹²² By 9 December 1541, they had paid all but his salary for the tournament (2,653 livres 19 sous 6 deniers), so the king intervened once more.¹²³ Fidelity paid off on 10 October 1548, when he received Henri's protection: the new king issued letters ennobling Aligre;¹²⁴ ten days later, Henri confirmed all letters and gifts assigned by François regarding Aligre, including the letters balancing all accounts as the former master of the revels.¹²⁵

Pierre Duval, Aligre's successor, was first issued payments on 15 January 1533 to employ for the revels during that month.¹²⁶ On 12 February, he was paid for purchasing jewels

¹²⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 6187; BnF ms. fr. 25721, n. 409; also mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 303. See also the payment dated 1538 in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:405.

¹²¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 31059.

¹²² Ibid., n. 11108; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 10387, fol. 5.

¹²³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 12231; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 10387.

¹²⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3826; Jean-Baptiste-Pierre-Jullien Courcelles (dit le chevalier de), *Histoire généalogique et héraldique des pairs de France, des grands dignitaires de la couronne, des principales familles nobles du royaume, et des maisons princières de l'Europe* . . . , 12 vols. (Paris: le chevalier de Courcelles, 1822–33), vol. 3, article "Aligre."

¹²⁵ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3798; BnF ms. fr. 5127, fol. 87v. François' letters are dated 22 September 1543, referring to the *acquits* of 11 February 1535, 26 November 1536, 15 May 1543, and 5 July 1546.

¹²⁶ François, *Catalogue*, n. 5254; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 1.

for the king, just as his predecessor had done.¹²⁷ In fact, during his tenure from at least 1533 through 1534, all of the purchases he made of clothing, tapestries, jewels, as well as payments for entertainments, follow the same pattern as Aligre's.¹²⁸ He was also rewarded by Henri II; on 5 January 1549, the new king made him a royal secretary.¹²⁹

On 24 August 1537, the king issued letters declaring that the money he spent on "menus plaisirs" (these also included jewelry, etc., in addition to entertainments) was to remain private. François decreed that "les gens de nos comptes a Paris ne autres noz juges et officiers, quels qu'ilz soyent, n'ayent aucune connoissance du faict, garde et administration de nosd. bagues et joyaux, distribution d'argent mis en noz mains de nosd. menus plaisirs et de jeu" and that anyone who was given the administration of funds should be free from harassment of any kind or from any official:

impose et imposons silence tant pour ledict passe que pour l'advenir et la ou en icelle nostre Chambre des comptes auroient este par cy-devant quelques acquitz, papiers et inventaires touchans et concernans nosdictes bagues, joyaux, menus plaisirs et argent du jeu et d'icelles faict registres pour ce, a este cella faict sans nostre vouldoir et intention, nous voulons et ordonnons iceux casser, rompre et lacerer sans rien en retenir ou reserver en quelque

¹²⁷ François, *Catalogue*, n. 5369; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15628, n. 383. See also Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:213.

¹²⁸ François, *Catalogue*, n. 5466 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 2 and 3), n. 5670 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 23), n. 5671 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 164), n. 5721 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 43), n. 5752 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629), n. 6126 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 814), n. 6296 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 813), n. 6693 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 582), and n. 6741 (mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 736).

¹²⁹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5941; see Abraham Tessereau, *Histoire chronologique de la Grande Chancellerie de France, contenant son origine, l'estat de ses officiers, un recueil exact de leurs noms depuis le commencement de la monarchie jusqu'à présent, leurs fonctions, privilèges, prérogatives, droits et réglemens* . . . (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, 1676), 102.

facon et maniere que ce soit de sorte qu'en icelle Chambre n'en demeure plus aucune memoire.¹³⁰

This provision makes it difficult for scholars to trace the development of the office of the revels during this time in France.

We know that on 1 November 1539, François created a commission for Nicole or Nicolas Le Jay, a royal secretary, to pay for the expenses regarding the emperor's visit to Paris.¹³¹ On 10 June 1544, François signed letters personally for a "Mandement a la Chambre de Comptes d'allouer aux comptes du tresorier de l'epargne une somme de 1,800 livres tournois, qu'il a remise au roi pour "ses plaisirs et affaires."¹³² On 1 April 1547, Henri put Le Jay in charge of paying for the expenses related to François' funeral.¹³³ He issued further letters regarding this to the Chambre des Comptes on 8 April.¹³⁴ In addition to being master of the revels, Le Jay was in charge of paying the officers of the chapel royal (or rather, chapels royal: chant and polyphony).¹³⁵ On 18 June 1547, he was asked to resign his office of master of the revels in favor of Simon Goille, at which time we discover he was in charge of paying all royal musicians as well as the members of the king's stable. On 1 March 1552, Henri granted Le Jay one of the eight newly created offices of *maîtres des comptes* in Paris.¹³⁶

¹³⁰ François, ord. 807; *Catalogue*, n. 9236. Also printed in Bapst, *Histoire des joyaux de la couronne de France* (Paris: Hachette, 1889), 39.

¹³¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 11275.

¹³² *Ibid.*, n. 13936; BnF ms. fr. 25723, n. 847.

¹³³ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5; *Comptes des funerailles de François Ier*, BnF ms. fr. 10392, fol. 3–6.

¹³⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 20; BnF ms. fr. 10392, fol. 334v–38. See also ord. 158 (BnF ms. fr. 10392, fol. 429v); and ord. 3640.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, ord. 497; BnF ms. fr. 5127, fol. 41v.

¹³⁶ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 10564; he was sworn in on 7 April 1552.

For Simon Goille under Henri II, we have the text of several letters patent from the king. On 18 June 1547, these letters—registered in the *Chambre des Comptes*—created “en titre d’Office formé de Trésorier Payeur des menuës affaires de la Chambre du Roy, des Postes & des Chevaucheurs de l’Ecurie”; like Le Jay, Goille would be combining his duties of revels officer with the miscellaneous expenses for the chamber, as well as the stables. The letters discuss how Le Jay fulfilled this function under the previous king, but the office became technically vacant when François died, and now Le Jay is requesting confirmation of his office. However, Henri decided he would rather transfer the office to Simon Goille, since—according to the document—he has a much closer acquaintance with him than Le Jay; he does grant Le Jay 10,000 livres to clear his accounts and in recognition for the service rendered to his father. We also find out that people fulfilling this office were previously appointed by commission and that this structure entailed several different people with limited authority based on custom rather than an officially created office. Henri decided that Goille would be granted the “Etat & Office ainsi par Nous nouvellement créé de Trésorier & Payeur, tant desdits menuës affaires de nostre Chambre, que des Joueurs d’instruments, Chantres & Chapelains de nosdittes Chambre & Chapelle de Musique & de Plainchant, Postes & Chevaucheurs de nostreditte Escuierie” until his death at a salary of 1,000 livres per year, and he is required to take the oath of office in front of the officers of the *Épargne*. Further, Henri orders the *Chambre des Comptes* and the treasurer of the *Épargne* not to interfere with Goille’s duties, which will begin on the first of July.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Ibid., ord. 515; printed in BnF F-23740 (182). Early on, we see difficulties with the *Comptes*; on 15 January 1548, Henri issued a “Mandement aux gens des comptes à Paris d’allouer à Simon Goille, payeur des menus affaires de la chambre, chantres, chapelle, postes et chevaucheurs de l’Ecurie, la somme de 75 l.t. pour les gages de Philippe de Fontaines,

On 21 October 1548, Henri issued further letters patent mandating the Chambre des Comptes to levy taxes that will be used to defray the expenses Goille has been paying for. And this is where we find out that he has been assigned duties beyond his predecessor Le Jay; his accounts also include expenses for travel (including payments for boats and their crews) and miscellaneous repairs to the king's lodgings, as well as any extraordinary expenses required by the king personally.¹³⁸ The following year, on 21 November 1549, Henri confirmed his initial letters patent regarding Goille, and we find out further specifications of his additional duties: "les frais pour le payement des Postes, Assises, Entrées, Tournois, Baptesmes de noz enfans, Festins, Pontz & Basteaulx pour noz passaiges & conduite, & aultres semblables commissions." We also find out that the Chambre des Comptes never registered the letters creating the office for Goille, because they claimed they were not in the form of an edict, and so when Goille tried to close his accounts for the first year, he ran into difficulties. Henri therefore ordered the Comptes "lire, publier & enregistrer" the letters and to stop harassing Goille. They did so on 11 December.¹³⁹

Throughout 1550 and 1551, we find specific mandates from the king for Goille to pay wages to people who should have automatically been included in his accounts—squires from the stable, musicians, etc.—which leads one to believe that the problem did not lie solely with the lack of cooperation from the Chambre des Comptes.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, on 21 May 1551,

chantre de la chapelle du roi, du quartier d'octobre dernier passé" (ord. 2039; BnF ms. fr. 25724, n. 25).

¹³⁸ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 3802; printed in BnF F-23740 (185).

¹³⁹ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5609; printed in BnF F-23740 (187).

¹⁴⁰ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 5823, ord. 5854 (BnF ms. fr. 25724, n. 108), ord. 6192 (BnF ms. fr. 25724, n. 133), ord. 7271 (BnF ms. fr. 23746, n. 163), ord. 7839 (BnF ms. fr. 3154, fol. 13r-v), ord. 8149 (BnF ms. fr. 3154, fol. 52), ord. 8234 (BnF ms. fr. 3154, fol. 62 and v), and ord. 8611 (BnF ms. fr. 5128, fol. 31).

Henri made Goille, “tresorier des menus plaisir du roi,” a royal secretary.¹⁴¹ Goille went on to become the master of works as well in June 1556.¹⁴² By 1557, we can see how well this office was integrated into the royal household. At the Archives nationales is a register designated KK 106, which gives us the household accounts by quarters. Looking at these, we see a clearly defined category of “dons, voyages, recompenses, affaires de chambre, menuz plaisirs.”

The other royal households had revels payments as well. For example, in the mid-1530s, we find a payment to the princess Madeline for her “menus plaisirs.”¹⁴³ On 26 February 1534, the household of the duchess of Orleans received money for revels.¹⁴⁴ There were regular payments to the dauphin’s household, as on December 1537 when he received additional monies beyond the stipulated 1,000 ecus per quarter for entertainment.¹⁴⁵ In August 1538, we discover that Antoine Juge was in charge of paying for the revels in the queen’s household.¹⁴⁶ Throughout at least 1538 and 1539, Jean Dessouslefour was in charge of the queen’s revels.¹⁴⁷

We have more information about one of the dauphin’s masters of the revels. Under François I, this was primarily Jean Duval (died May 1547), son of Denis Duval who was a notary and secretary of the king and officer of finance; Denis worked for Thomas Bohier. Jean

¹⁴¹ Ibid., ord. 8629; see Tessereau, *Chancellerie*, 104.

¹⁴² Printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 1:266–69 (5 octobre 1556). See also subsequent letters regarding Goille and this office in BnF F-23740 (220) [registered in the Chambre des Comptes on 27 January 1559], *ibid.* (222), and Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:88–92.

¹⁴³ François, *Catalogue*, n. 27571.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., n. 6781; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15629, n. 384.

¹⁴⁵ François, *Catalogue*, n. 29973.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., n. 32034.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., n. 31836.

took over his father's charges of secretary for the king and greffier of Normandy, becoming general of finances for Normandy in 1524 and treasurer of France the same year. He married the daughter of Guillaume Prudhomme (who had taken over Bohier's office in Normandy). The records concerning Duval are a bit confusing, since he had a cousin of the same name; both were grandsons of Pierre Duval, "marchand-bourgeois" of Paris—himself not to be confused with the Pierre who was master of the revels for the king; his cousin was *changeur du Trésor* under François I.

Jehan Duval is mentioned as being in charge of keeping the costumes and decorative materials used in the funeral of Anne de Bretagne in 1514.¹⁴⁸ From a royal mandate issued on 7 August 1527, we know that Duval was still trying to collect his reimbursement for the funeral of Queen Claude de France (died 1524), when he was in charge of those accounts.¹⁴⁹ His main function, however, included keeping the accounts for the household of the dauphin and other princes. Among the letters issued by François on 30 August 1535 was a mandate for the Épargne to pay Duval for their revels during the third quarter of that year.¹⁵⁰ He was also in charge of paying the salaries of the officers of the princes' household and other expenses.¹⁵¹ Even after the death of the dauphin François in August 1536 and the advent of the future Henri II as dauphin, Duval maintained his position in the household. In the registers for 1537, François issued mandates for the Épargne to pay Duval for "les aumôner, affaires de

¹⁴⁸ Félibien, 4:629–30 (18 février 1514 excerpt from the registers of the Parlement of Paris). He was assisted by "Ragerin le Lieur marchand & bourgeois de Paris." See also *Registres*, 1:208–10 (8–10 et 12–14 février 1514).

¹⁴⁹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 19312; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 5502, fol. 94.

¹⁵⁰ François, *Catalogue*, n. 8074; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15632, n. 507. See also n. 8071; BnF ms. fr. 15632, n. 490; and n. 8073; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15632, n. 491.

¹⁵¹ François, *Catalogue*, n. 8075; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15632, n. 508; and n. 8076; mentioned in BnF ms. fr. 15632, n. 519.

chambre, dons et menus plaisirs du dauphin et du duc d'Orléans" during the previous January quarter.¹⁵² In the same register, we see that his duties included paying for the princes' clothing during the festivities surrounding the wedding of the queen of Scotland.¹⁵³ In August of that year, he was in charge of paying for more clothing for the dauphin, his brother the duc d'Orléans, their gentlemen of the chamber, heralds, and trumpet players.¹⁵⁴ In the same register, Duval received 1,500 livres for their "affaires de la chambre, aumônes et menus plaisirs" for the April quarter,¹⁵⁵ as well as payment for the argenterie.¹⁵⁶

In May 1538, Duval was reimbursed over 4,000 livres for tournament expenses,¹⁵⁷ and in June, we find his regular 1,500 payment for revels and miscellaneous expenses, including travel.¹⁵⁸ This register includes payments for the outfits worn at the meeting with the pope at Villeneuve-de-Tende.¹⁵⁹ Duval's accounts reflect that this trip was extremely expensive, with multiple reimbursements being ordered by the king for entertainments, clothing, and staff in the princes' household.¹⁶⁰ His payments for expenses in the third quarter of the year were reimbursed in December 1538,¹⁶¹ as well as a payment from the king to Jean Duval for being a royal secretary during that year.¹⁶² The dauphin Henri was not pleased with the favor

¹⁵² François, *Catalogue*, n. 30588; see also n. 30582 and n. 30595.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, n. 30601; printed in Laborde, *Les comptes*, 2:396. See also *Catalogue*, n. 30604. Duval was in charge of paying the wages of all domestic staff as well as the officers of the *dauphin* and his brother: see *ibid.* n. 29287, n. 29291, n. 29300, and n. 30323.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, n. 30356.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, n. 30359.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, n. 30360.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, n. 32117.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, n. 31579.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, n. 31590; see also n. 31521, n. 31585–86, n. 31623, and n. 32038.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, n. 31721, n. 31750, n. 31668, n. 31723, n. 31758–59, and n. 31790.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, n. 31185–87.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, n. 31889.

Duval received from his younger brother, Charles d'Orléans.¹⁶³ Once Henri became king in 1547, Duval was forced to resign and died quickly thereafter, with Pierre de Juglart taking over his office of royal secretary in May.¹⁶⁴

Henri issued privileges for members of the royal family and royal household in 1549 which were, as noted by the jurist Fontanon, similar to those granted to the university. Since those around the king obviously must be treated differently from other people, and because kings have always managed their households in such fashion as to keep the members' loyalty and affection, these members must be granted certain privileges. The security of the realm was also an issue. Those outside the permanent royal household who were asked to render special services from time to time were to maintain complete confidentiality and not become involved in the projects of the household, under threat of a great fine.¹⁶⁵ Henri did not take kindly to outside influences; later in the year, he admonished the court of Aides for trying to place restrictions on those in his household.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ See the payments ordered in 1539: *ibid.*, n. 31152–53, n. 30885–87, n. 30941–42, and n. 30982.

¹⁶⁴ Henri, *Catalogue*, ord. 1880.

¹⁶⁵ Fontanon, 2:1144–46 (2 février 1549).

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:1146–47 (17 novembre 1549).

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Although it is likely there had always been people in charge of paying for the king's "menus plaisirs," the office itself gained a real foothold under François I—especially if we consider the accounts of Claude Aligre—and was finally legally established by Henri II with the appointment of Simon Goille. This early stage of the French revels office has not received the attention it deserves, especially compared to its English counterpart. These laws and their attendant accounts regarding the master of the revels in the first half of the sixteenth century, the legal documents that deal with payments for civic entertainments, and the discourse used in mandates for performances during this time offer valuable tools for examining the institutionalization of theatrical sponsorship in France.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION: THE URBAN STAGE

There remain skeptics who focus on the paucity of sources for most studies . . . Yet is it better, or even safer, to stick to the terrain of official documents? One could argue that a reading of these can . . . remain one-dimensional, with the reader taken in by the sacredness of the signature.¹

— A. Lloyd Moote, *French Historical Studies*

The “paucity of sources” to draw from for a study of Parisian Renaissance theatre has deterred scholars from writing about this time in theatre history for centuries. Some might argue that this particular study could be viewed as “one-dimensional” due to its use of legal documents rather than playscripts and theatrical registers as evidence. But are legal documents really one-dimensional? James K. Farge, writing about his own use of them to study the Reformation, commented that “the language of official documents is often stereotyped and repetitive. But this does not necessarily render it false or meaningless, since the attitudes which inspire such language are themselves often authentically rooted and enduring.”² As stated in chapter one, the fact remains that there are no theatrical registers for Paris during this time, and the plays we have do not necessarily reflect what was generally being performed. By focusing on accessible sources—legal documents—we can decode some of those “rooted” attitudes Farge invokes—in this case, towards theatre—and interpret how

¹ A. Lloyd Moote, “Introduction: New Bottles and New Wine: The Current State of Early Modernist Biographical Writing,” *French Historical Studies* 19 (1996): 923.

² Farge, *Orthodoxy and Reform*, 251.

these attitudes contributed to the shift from community-based medieval productions to a more institutionalized, Early Modern theatre.³

In chapter two, the idea was to take these legal sources and try to reconstruct how Paris functioned as a theatrical city, focusing on mandated, official performances, and to look at some audience behavior. As Kathleen Ashley has noted, “It is remarkable that *procession*—arguably the most ubiquitous and versatile public performance mode until the seventeenth century—has received so little scholarly or theoretical attention.”⁴ Who were the people involved in performances? Who were these participants in civic culture? Laws were particularly useful in terms of seeing how the Bureau was evolving as a producing organization during this time. We saw how different groups were jostling for position as civic performers, since those disputes had to be solved through the legal record. As for the audience, we have more reports on what was expected of audiences than accounts of what they actually did; this is an area where eye-witness testimony might be profitably be woven in with legal documents to create a more complete picture.

Some of the major findings in this chapter included Henri II’s insistence on new entertainments for his entry in 1549; instead of looking at traditional celebrations, he opted for innovation, tying these mandated performances to statutory law rather than customary. When it came to the performers’ hierarchy, arguing in public was less shameful than ceding one’s place in the order of processions. This arguing did pay off in certain situations, due to the authorities’ habit of granting one-time only status just to settle the dispute and get on with

³ This would be an example of the approach advocated by Robert D. Hume, *Reconstructing Contexts: The Aims and Principles of Archaeo-Historicism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

⁴ Ashley, *Moving Subjects*, 7.

the procession. By the time Henri comes to power, he disagrees with this public behavior on the grounds of losing face in front of foreigners, and passes his own laws regarding this hierarchy. As far as audiences were concerned, the question of contemporary awareness surfaces: did the people watching really interpret these entertainments as we would, or, for that matter, as the organizers intended? People were habitually pressing in to see and be seen at banquets, to the detriment of the person in whose honor the entertainment was being given.

Chapter three, although exploring what should be the most familiar territory of student performers, the basoche, the confraternities, and court performers, turns out to have the most fragmentary evidence. Both the law clerks and the students gave performances that included dance and song; these were largely tied to the calendar of holidays. The missing registers of the basoche are perhaps the most striking loss to scholars; their organization under a “king” of the basoche offers a counterpart to the hierarchies discussed in chapter two—one wonders if students were not organized similarly. The biggest difference between these young men as performers and the confraternities and guilds was the question of money: the Confraternity of the Passion, for instance, charged admission for their performances. We also see a pattern with these performers of royal support, even when the Parlement tried to interfere; this is most evident in the issuing of letters patent by Henri II after the court had forbidden religious topics in plays.⁵ The section on performers at court shows how interwoven the municipality

⁵ This is curiously ignored by scholars. Petit de Julleville, in *Les comédiens*, notes that the confraternity’s monopoly was confirmed in the 1555 letters, but does not mention their substance (76). Graham Runnalls, one of the most respected scholars currently working in the field, does not even cite the *Recueil des principaux tiltres*—not to mention the 1555 letters—in his article “Sponsorship and Control,” choosing instead to use Petit de Julleville as his source. Gianni Cariani, “Autorité et théâtre,” boldly gives the following description to 1548 in the chronology at the end of the article: “Le Parlement interdit toute représentation à la Confrérie de la Passion.”

and the court could be—for instance, when it came to tournaments and *pas d'armes*, the Bureau built the lists but members of the aristocracy served as performers. Other entertainments at court offered opportunities for professional card players and fools, as well as at least one theatre company.

What is striking about these chapters is the emphasis on a kind of corporate structure of all of these performers within their various groups: the different participants in civic processions, jostling for their place in the hierarchy; the “monarchy” of law clerks; the tiered structure of guilds; the actual monarchy at court. A kind of institutionalization becomes evident in the organization of performers at the same time as this trend was enveloping the city of Paris itself.

In the words of the playwright Thornton Wilder, describing his experience studying archaeology at the American Academy in Rome and taking part in digs:

When one has swung a pickax which will reveal the curve of a street four thousand years covered over which was once an active, much traveled highway, one is never quite the same again. You look at Times Square as a place about which you imagine someday scholars saying: “There appears to have been some kind of public center here.”⁶

The challenge of chapter four was to identify theatrical spaces within Renaissance Paris. We are fortunate to have maps which correspond to the places mentioned in legal documents, but the buildings themselves are gone. France’s first permanent theatre space was built during this time—what could be called a Renaissance contrast to the various medieval temporary stages erected within buildings and outside key stations in the city. When it came to costumes, the

⁶ Thornton Wilder, interview by Richard H. Goldstone (Winter 1956), in *Playwrights at Work, The Paris Review Interviews*, ed. George Plimpton (London: The Harvill Press, 2000), 16–17.

busy cloth trade on one hand and increasingly stringent sumptuary laws on the other gave people a field on which they could test the authorities' regulation of their own performance space.

In chapter five, we questioned the prevailing view that the Reformation swooped down on theatrical activity and inspired censorship of performance. Tensions between sacred and secular jurisdictions and issues of heresy and blasphemy—as well as concerns of protecting the king and realm—did spark a change in how theatre was regulated. Writing from a theatre department, we are always quick to take the side of the performers, forgetting that in this case, the evidence shows that all-out suppression was rare; the authorities did not take away anything without replacing it with something else, and the reasons for their rulings did not stem from an anti-theatrical prejudice.

There is a similar cynicism when it comes to sponsorship. The first section of chapter six reveals that the reasoning behind legally mandated performances was very different from our contemporary sensibility. The elaborate structure set in place to allot money from public funds to pay for entertainments, and the legal establishment of the office of master of the revels, indicate that the authorities considered performance an important part of their activities. This royal office is particularly important, having been ignored for more than a century after documents regarding the *trésorier des menus plaisirs*' English counterpart came to light. Since some of the court structure of England was borrowed from France during this time, it would be useful to make the French documents available—not just for their own sake, but also for comparison to study their possible influence in a wider scheme. It is perhaps

another quirk of ancien régime studies that this office has never been studied in its early stages. My location of the letters creating the office is a significant step towards a remedy.⁷

The common thread among the chapters in this section is one of “practicality.” That idea is everywhere—in chapter four, we see it in the authorities’ allocation of space; in their increasing use of the heretofore underused eastern section of the city; in curtailing the wearing of clothing by certain people because they could no longer be accurately identified. In chapter five, the increasing threats to the realm from the use of satire or religious themes in performances that could provoke sedition led to a careful distinction between allowing plays that were “harmless” versus censoring ideas that could stir up trouble. The pattern of sponsorship in chapter six shows how the authorities felt it necessary to mandate performances in order to mitigate the anger of God. The establishment of a permanent revels officer was perhaps the most practical move of all.

Chartier’s “conditions of possibility”—discussed in the introduction to this study—do include reforms in the legal system. Sarah Hanley argues that the mid-sixteenth century brought the advent of a kind of case law in France.⁸ Since this period of this study concentrates on the shift away from customary towards codified law system (statutory law), what happens in the next part of the century when we have case laws and jurists becoming famous? What effect does that have on developing institutions? She argues that the notion of precedent is introduced for the second half of the sixteenth century (especially via the jurist

⁷ My next project will be an annotated edition of the revels documents.

⁸ Sarah Hanley, “The Jurisprudence of the Arrêts’: Martial Union, Civil Society, and State Formation in France, 1550–1650,” *Law and History Review* 21.1 (2003): 1–40.

Papon).⁹ How does this new transmission of law change the development of theatre? I would be interested in undertaking two further studies, exploring what happened under François II (1559–1560), Charles IX (1560–1574), and Henri III (1574–1589)—the last of the Valois; and what took place under Henri IV (1589–1610).

The use of law to uncover the world of theatre and performance in sixteenth-century Paris has attacked, in Thomas Postlewait's words "the immediate problem of how to constitute an event. In turn, the intermediate challenge is to construct the context for that event."¹⁰ Scholars may not always like the results of these reconstructions; it would be easier to hold to old ways of writing about theatre history—ways which yield more discrete chapters in textbooks, with no blurring of boundaries between traditional theatre and performance, or the periods of medieval and Renaissance.¹¹ But I agree with Johan Huizinga's assessment: "The picture displayed by the Renaissance is one of transformation and hesitation, one of transition and of intermixture of cultural elements."¹²

* * * * *

This dissertation was originally conceived to be a counterpart to Gildersleeve's *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Theatre*—heavy on the presentation of primary

⁹ See also her book, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual, and Discourse* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983).

¹⁰ Thomas Postlewait, "Writing History Today," *Theatre Survey* 41.2 (November 2000): 98.

¹¹ See Marvin Carlson, "Theatre History, Methodology and Distinctive Features," *Theatre Research International* 20.2 (2000): 90–96; Carlson, "Theatre and Performance at a Time of Shifting Disciplines," *Theatre Research International* 26.2 (2001): 137–44; and Patrice Pavis, "Theatre Studies and Interdisciplinarity," *Theatre Research International* 26.2 (2001): 153–63.

¹² Johan Huizinga, "The Problem of the Renaissance," in *Men and Ideas: History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance: Essays*, trans. James S. Holmes and Hans Marle (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1960), 286.

sources and with a lighter hand to interpretation. Judging from the number of books that have been written based on the documents presented in that book, her contribution was a valuable base for further scholarly work. I have argued that the development of law during the reigns of François I and Henri II had a significant impact on the conditions in which performance took place during that time. By examining legal documents, I have been able to assemble a picture of the ways in which performers integrated themselves into the urban environment of Paris, revealing what I consider to be the first significant steps in the shift from medieval to Renaissance or Early Modern theatre.

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Henry IV. & Louys le Iuste XIII. à present regnant; Verifiées & registrées par tout où besoin auroit esté: Ensemble autres pieces y apparenans, le tout pour monstrier que lesdits Doyen, Maistres, Gouverneurs & Confreres, sont esdits noms vrais & legitimes acquerieurs, propriétaires & possesseurs dudit Hostel de Bourgogne, & iustifier pardevant le Roy, nos Seigneurs de son Conseil, & par tout ailleurs où il plaira à sa Majesté, leur innocence. Alencontre des convices, et calomnies theatrales, de Robert Guerin, dict la Fleur, Hugues Gueru, dict Fleschelles, Henry le Grand, dict Belle-ville, Pierre Mestier, dit Belle-roze, & autres Comediens leurs associez, soy disans Comediens du Roy de l'Eslite Royale: accusans tres-faussement (sauf correction) lesdicts Doyen, Maistres, Gouverneurs & Confreres, d'estre usurpateurs d'iceluy Hostel de Bourgogne. Le contenu se verra de l'autre part. Paris, 1632.

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