

Political Communication and Public Opinion
in the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 1405-1449

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Abstract

The *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* is an anonymous Middle French historical narrative relating events in and around Paris from 1405 to 1449. The *Journal* offers important insights into one of the most turbulent periods of Paris' history, encapsulating the Armagnac-Burgundian civil conflict (1407-1435), the Lancastrian occupation of the capital (1420-1436) and the reassertion of Valois authority culminating in the expulsion of the English from Normandy in 1450. Through a concentrated analysis of the *Journal* supported by a new edition of the surviving manuscripts, this thesis examines how Parisians discussed these events, employing theoretical approaches to the public sphere, political communication and public opinion. While these ideas are typically reserved for early modern phenomena, this thesis contends that the *Journal* demonstrates the operation of medieval public spheres, framing widespread commentary upon political issues beyond the upper echelons of society that reinforced a nascent collective Parisian identity. The first part of the thesis situates the *Journal* and its author in their social, political and professional contexts, drawing upon codicological information and internal evidence. Rather than being an isolated reflection of Parisian conversation, the *Journal* captures an interrelation between the perspectives of the so-called 'Bourgeois' and his audience. This is demonstrated in the thesis' second part, that examines the *Journal's* descriptions of three key aspects of political communication in late medieval Paris, namely the official media employed by civic and royal institutions, civic ceremonies, and rumours circulating in the city. Each indicates the ways in which Parisians appropriated, contested or rejected political messages, but also how the Bourgeois himself arrogated authority by selectively reproducing instances of opinion that privileged Parisian perspectives. Finally, this thesis assesses the content of these discussions, analysing the Bourgeois' reactions to warfare, taxation and government, determining how theoretical considerations of these issues influenced urban political discourse.

Contents

Abstract	2
Contents	3
Figures	5
Abbreviations	6
Acknowledgements	8
Author’s Declaration	10
Introduction	11
The Source	28
Historiography	47
Outline of the Thesis	56
Chapter I. Identifying the Bourgeois of Paris	64
The Bourgeois’ Chief Characteristics	65
Nicolas Confranc, the Bourgeois of Paris?	78
Problematizing the ‘Bourgeois’ of Paris	90
Chapter II. Contexts and Audiences	98
The Halles District	100
The Church and Cemetery of Saints-Innocents	113
The Clergy and Chapter of Notre-Dame Cathedral	128
The University of Paris	137
The Manuscript Evidence	149
Chapter III. Official Communication & Public Space	160
Official Media of Political Communication	168
Parisian Public Space and Communication	198
Emotional Rhetoric and Communication	218

Chapter IV: Rumour and Resistance	238
Theorising Rumour	243
Rumour and <i>Fama</i> in the <i>Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris</i>	249
Rumour and the Development of the Armagnac Stereotype	269
Rumour and Resistance. The Parisian Uprisings of 1413 and 1418	290
Chapter V. Civic Ceremony and Political Communication	310
Civic Ceremonies and Processions in Fifteenth-Century Paris	318
Processions and Political Communication	335
Royal Entries and Funerals	350
Negotiation between King and City: The Case of Henry VI's Parisian Entry	362
Chapter VI. Warfare, Taxation and Good Government	388
Warfare	399
Taxation	423
Good Government	440
Conclusion	458
Appendices	464
Appendix I. Manuscript Copies of the <i>Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris</i>	464
Appendix II. Extracts from the <i>Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449</i>	493
Appendix III. Timeline of Key Events	532
Bibliography	536

Figures

Figure 1: Map of late medieval Parisian <i>quartiers</i> .	104
Figure 2: Parisian processions as recorded in Paris, Archives nationales, U//511.	321
Figure 3: Parisian processions as recorded by narrative sources.	322
Figure 4: Nature of Parisian processions as recorded by narrative sources.	327
Figure 5: Manuscript stemma of the <i>Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris</i> .	467

Abbreviations

BEC	<i>Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.</i>
BNF	Bibliothèque nationale de France.
BSHP	<i>Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France.</i>
CUP	<i>Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis</i> , ed. Heinrich Denifle, 4 Vols., (Paris: Frères Delalain, 1889-1897).
Fauquembergue	Clément de Fauquembergue, <i>Journal de Clément de Fauquembergue, greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1417-1435</i> , ed. Alexandre Tuetey, 3 Vols., (Paris: Renouard, 1903-1915).
<i>Histoire de Charles VI</i>	"Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France par Jean Juvénal des Ursins" in <i>Choix de chroniques et mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France</i> , ed. Jean Alexandre C. Buchon, (Orléans: Herluison, 1875), pp. 323-573.
Monstrelet	Enguerran de Monstrelet, <i>La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet en deux livres avec pièces justificatives, 1400-1444</i> , ed. Louis Douët-d'Arcq, 6 Vols., (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1857-1862).
MSHP	<i>Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Île-de-France.</i>
Nicolas de Baye	Nicolas de Baye, <i>Journal de Nicolas de Baye, greffier du Parlement de Paris, 1400-1417</i> , ed. Alexandre Tuetey, 2 Vols., (Paris: Renouard, 1885-1888).
<i>Ordonnances des rois de France</i>	<i>Ordonnances des rois de France de la troisième race</i> , ed. Eusèbe Jacob Laurière & Denis François Secousse et. al., 21 Vols., (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1723-1849).
Reg. Lat. 1923	Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. Lat. 1923, <i>Journal d'un Bourgeois de Paris.</i>
RSD	Michel Pintoin, <i>Chroniques du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422</i> , ed. & trans. Louis Bellaguet, 6 Vols., (Paris: Crapelet, 1839-1852).

Vivat Rex

Jean Gerson, "Pour la réforme du royaume: Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex, Vivat Rex (7th November 1405)" in *Œuvres complètes*, ed Palémon Glorieux, Vol. 7, Pt. 2, (Paris: Desclée, 1960), pp. 1137-1185.

Note on Conventions

Although the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* conformed to the medieval system of beginning the new year at Easter, all dates have been altered to correspond to the modern dating system. With regards to spelling, French proper nouns and names have been retained, even in the case of accepted Anglicised forms. Material from unpublished sources retains the original spelling, including thorns, though Vs have been changed to Us where appropriate. All quotations from the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* have been sourced from the two most complete manuscripts, Rome, Vatican Reg. Lat. 1923 and Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes MS. 432 (316). The punctuation has been modernised and accents added for clarity where relevant. Late medieval materials have been translated and all translations are the author's own unless specified otherwise.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and that I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Introduction

When Jürgen Habermas presented the idea of *Öffentlichkeit* – the (bourgeois) public sphere or “l’espace public” – in his pioneering work, *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1968), he considered the foundations of democracy by demarcating a clear shift in political attitudes, access to information and public opinion in the early modern era.¹ For Habermas, *Öffentlichkeit* was “the sphere of private people come together as a public”, involving the production of democratic, discursive spaces by early modern property owners who, through rational discussion, could mediate between state and society.² The public sphere fulfilled an important political function through its critique and commentary upon power.³ These processes were thought to have been impossible in the medieval world. Even where early modernists have questioned the focus upon the social spaces of the eighteenth century, they continue to draw important temporal boundaries marked by factors such as “la révolution de l’imprimé et les guerres de Religion”.⁴ In contrast, medieval authority was perceived to

¹ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger & Frederick Lawrence, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991), pp. 14-26. Originally published as *Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit: Untersuchungen zu einer Kategorie der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, (Berlin: Luchterhand, 1962).

² Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, 27. See also Craig Calhoun, “Introduction: Habermas and the Public Sphere” in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, (London: The MIT Press, 1992), pp. 2-3, 7-11; Francis Cody, “Publics and Politics”, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 40 (2011), pp. 38-41.

³ Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, “Introduction générale: une histoire de l’échange politique au Moyen Âge” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 5.

⁴ Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 5-14; Diane Roussel, “L’espace public comme enjeu des guerres de Religion et de la paix civile. Réflexions sur la notion d’espace public et ses métamorphoses à Paris au XVI^e siècle” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 132; Jérémie Foa, “‘Ils mirent Jesus Christ aux fauxbourgs’: Remarques sur la contribution des guerres de Religion a la naissance d’un ‘espace privé’”, *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 19, No. 2 (2007), pp. 137-9; A.E.B. Coldiron, “Public Sphere/Contact Zone: Habermas, Early Print and Verse Translation”, *Criticism*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (Spring 2004), pp. 207-210, 216-18; Jan Bloemendal, Peter G.F. Eversmann & Elsa Strietman, “Drama, Performance, Debate, Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period: An Introduction” in *Drama, Performance, Debate, Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, ed.

have been asserted and decision making accomplished not through rational discussion, but through the *repräsentativen Öffentlichkeit* – monarchical superiority exhibited *for* the public, rather than *in* public.⁵ Moreover, Habermas fundamentally argued that the absence of a critical interpretation of literature during the Middle Ages mitigated against the effective forms of “political communication” possible in the early modern period.⁶

Despite Habermas’ underestimation of the medieval world, his theory represents a useful basis for interpreting political interaction in the late Middle Ages.⁷ In recent years medievalists have assessed *Öffentlichkeit* to counter its grand narrative that juxtaposes modes of political communication and participation in the early modern and medieval worlds.⁸

Jan Bloemendal, Peter G.F. Eversmann & Elisa Strietman, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 9-12. The emphasis upon print mirrors Benedict Anderson’s thoughts in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Spread and Origin of Nationalism*, Revised Edition, (London: Verso, 2016), Chapter 3; Geoff Baldwin, “The ‘public’ as a rhetorical community in early modern England” in *Communities in Early Modern England*, ed. Alexandra Shepard & Phil Withington, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 199-202.

⁵ Translated as “representative publicness”. Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 7-11; Jürgen Habermas, Sara Lennox & Frank Lennox, “The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)”, *New German Critique*, No. 3 (Autumn 1974), pp. 50-2. Hannah Arendt argued that this public power was rooted in Christian spirituality throughout the Middle Ages. *The Human Condition*, Second Edition, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 39-67.

⁶ Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, “Introduction générale”, 6.

⁷ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, “Jürgen Habermas, Philippe le Bel et l’espace public” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 194-6.

⁸ An early approach is found in Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais*, trans. Beatrice Gottlieb, (London: Harvard University Press, 1982), 385. Stéphane Van Damme, “Farewell Habermas? Deux décennies d’études sur l’espace public” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 47. German literary scholars were among the first to react to Habermas’ ideas, in particular Bernd Thum, “Öffentlichkeit und Kommunikation im Mittelalter. Zur Herstellung von Öffentlichkeit im Bezugfeld elementarer Kommunikationsformen im 13. Jahrhundert” in *Höfische Repräsentation. Das Zeremoniell und die Zeichen*, ed. Hedda Ragotzky & Horst Wenzel, (Tübingen: De Gruyter, 1990), pp. 65-87; Gerd Althoff, “Demonstration und Inszenierung. Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit”, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, Vol. 27 (1993), pp. 27-50; Rudolf Schlögl, “Politik beobachten. Öffentlichkeit und Medien in der Frühen Neuzeit”, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2008), pp. 581-2, 592-4. For an introduction to German scholarship responding to Habermas, see Nicolas Offenstadt, “Le Moyen Âge de Jürgen Habermas: Enquête sur une réception allemande” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats*

Medieval public spheres existed, as forums for the circulation of information through formal and informal networks that involved people in the discussion of societal and political issues through a wide range of media.⁹ Civic authorities and urban inhabitants alike were aware of public opinion's potential to influence and legitimate power.¹⁰ The public sphere, in this sense, is constituted by discursive communities bound by their media of expression who can even challenge state or royal authority.¹¹ Xavier Nadrigny's studies of rumour and communication in fifteenth-century Toulouse have nuanced Habermas' approach by focusing upon Toulouse's "populations ordinaires".¹² Carol Symes has asserted that "all of the economic conditions to which Habermas ascribes the emergence of the public sphere were present in many medieval communities", and in her study of thirteenth-century Arras she has shown "how frequently and how cannily people without the power to assert themselves through more conventional means gained other types of power through the use of public media".¹³ Meanwhile, for fifteenth-century rural Castile, Rafael Herrer has argued that "non seulement les habitants des campagnes avaient accès aux divers types de discours

autour de Jürgen Habermas, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 80-4.

⁹ Phil Withington & Alexandra Shepard, "Introduction: Communities in Early Modern England" in *Communities in Early Modern England*, ed. Alexandra Shepard & Phil Withington, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 5-8.

¹⁰ Sarah Rees Jones, "Emotions, Speech and the Art of Politics in Fifteenth-Century York: House Books, Mystery Plays and Richard, Duke of Gloucester", *Urban History*, 44, 4 (2017), pp. 596-7; Christopher Fletcher, "News, Noise, and the Nature of Politics in Late Medieval English Provincial Towns", *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 56 (April 2017), 251.

¹¹ Jérôme Bourdon, "La triple invention: comment faire l'histoire du public?", *Le temps des médias*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (2004), pp. 15-17.

¹² Xavier Nadrigny, "Rumeur et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Annales du Midi*, Vol. 121, No. 265 (2009), pp. 24-5; "La 'frontière' dans l'opinion publique à Toulouse au XV^e siècle", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (2005), pp. 95-7; "Espace public et révolte à Toulouse a la fin du Moyen Âge (v. 1330-1444)", in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 321-3; *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse a la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2013), pp. 155-6.

¹³ Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theatre and Public Life in Medieval Arras*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2007), pp. 127-30.

qui circulaient dans la sphère publique, mais ils savaient de plus les adapter à leurs propres catégories politiques et les mettre au service des intérêts qu'ils jugeaient légitimes".¹⁴ These studies have rejected a conception of the circulation of information in medieval society as unidirectional, being imposed upon passive populations from above as a raw display of authority, instead privileging insights into precisely how medieval people ostensibly excluded from spheres of power manipulated symbols, language and media to assert their own views and legitimate their own political agency.¹⁵

Integral to the public sphere, in current political scholarship 'political communication' and 'public opinion' are perceived as mutually dependent, with Aude Mairey commenting that political communication remains connected "à la manière dont on conçoit la société politique (restreinte ou élargie) et les notions corollaires d'opinion publique et d'espace public".¹⁶ Such communication is predicated upon an understanding of political languages, the "typical rhetorics or idioms exchanged by a discursive community voicing its opinions about society".¹⁷ Christopher Fletcher has pointed to the strategies that

¹⁴ Hípolito Rafael Oliva Herrer, "Espace public et critique politique dans le monde rural à la fin du Moyen Âge: le royaume de Castile" in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 303.

¹⁵ Jan Dumolyn, "Urban Ideologies in later Medieval Flanders: Towards a Methodological Framework" in *The Languages of Political Society*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet & Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Viella, 2011), pp. 74-5; Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "'A Bad Chicken was Brooding': Subversive Speech in Late Medieval Flanders", *Past & Present*, Vol. 214 (2012), pp. 47-52; John Watts, "Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of 'the Commons', 1381-1549" in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. Huw Price & John Watts, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 248-9; "The Pressure of the Public on Later Medieval Politics", in *The Fifteenth Century IV: Political Culture in Late Medieval Britain*, ed. Linda Clark and Christine Carpenter, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 159-79.

¹⁶ Aude Mairey, "Les langages politiques au Moyen Âge (XII^e-XV^e siècle)", *Médiévales*, Vol 57 (Autumn 2009), pp. 5-7.

¹⁷ Jan Dumolyn, "Urban Ideologies", 69; Jean-Philippe Genet, "Image, représentation et communication politique" in *Power and Persuasion: Essays on the Art of State Building in Honour of W.P. Blockmans*, ed. P.C.M. Hoppenbrouwers, Antheun Janse, & Robert Stein, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 279-80; Robert E. Denton & Gary C. Woodward, *Political Communication in America*, Second Edition, (New York: Praeger, 1990), 14; Willem Frijhoff, "Communication et vie quotidienne à la fin

political idioms enable, “for example: coercion, resistance, dissimulation, legitimation or de-legitimation”.¹⁸ These processes are illustrated by language and rhetoric, but also rituals, symbols, signs and paralinguistic modes such as gestures, with the result that all language assumes a political sense, especially “as the embodiment of a particular intention, on a particular occasion, addressed to the solution of a particular problem”.¹⁹ Moreover, theorists have stressed communicative intentionality over content, exploring how diverse media of expression achieve specific objectives, structure the views of those distanced from political agency and engender wider commentary.²⁰ Consequently, communicative processes produce “shared meaning” within societies that define and influence the character and manifestation of power and authority.²¹ This point is far from anachronistic. For Aristotle

du moyen âge et à l'époque moderne: réflexions de théorie et de méthode” in *Kommunikation und Alltag in Spätmittelalter und früher Neuzeit. Internationaler Kongress, Krems an der Donau, 9. bis 12. Oktober 1990*, (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1992), pp. 18-24.

¹⁸ Christopher Fletcher, “What Makes a Political Language? Key Terms, Profit and Damage in the Common Petition of the English Parliament, 1343-1422” in *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, ed. Jan Dumolyn, Jelle Haemers, Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrero & Vincent Challet, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 96-8. See also Jean-Philippe Genet, “L'historien et les langages de la société politique” in *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet & Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Viella, 2011), pp. 20-22; William E. Connolly, “The Politics of Discourse” in *Language and Politics*, ed. Michael Shapiro (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), pp. 140-49; Andy Wood, “‘Poore men woll speke one daye’: Plebeian languages of deference and defiance in England, c. 1520-1640” in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 88.

¹⁹ Gerd Althoff, “Zur Bedeutung symbolischer Kommunikation für das Verständnis des Mittelalters”, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (1997), 373; Quentin Skinner, “History and Understanding in the Meaning of Ideas”, *History and Theory*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1969), 50; Christopher Fletcher, “What Makes a Political Language?”, 91; Melvin Richter, “Reconstructing the History of Political Languages: Pocock, Skinner, and the *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe*”, *History and Theory*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (February 1990), pp. 59-61; Cary J. Nederman, “Quentin Skinner's State: Historical Method and Traditions of Discourse”, *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Jun., 1985), pp. 339-352.

²⁰ Brian McNair, *An Introduction to Political Communication*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 3-5.

²¹ Jan Dumolyn, “Political Communication and Political Power in the Middle Ages: A Conceptual Journey”, *Edad Media*, Vol. 13 (2012), 35; Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 11-14; Robert T. Craig, “Communication Theory as a Field”, *Communication Theory*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (May 1999), 125; Kathleen Hall Jamieson & Kate Kenski, “Political Communication: Then, Now and Beyond” in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*, ed. Kate Kenski & Kathleen Hall Jamieson, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 3-5. This

nature operated determinatively, meaning that the power of speech was ordered for communication essential to facilitating societal harmony, with this human communicative reason evidence of the species' character as a "political animal", a view echoed by Giles of Rome (†1316) who believed that the natural end of language was the comprehension of concepts such as justice.²² St. Thomas Aquinas (†1274) asserted that society required a government founded upon human cooperation promoted by linguistic communication, with society perceived by medieval authors to be structured by exchanges "par le discours [et] selon la raison" in terms that anticipate Habermas' conclusions and culminated in understandings of a hierarchical, ordered body politic.²³

As Jan Dumolyn has argued, the study of political communication necessitates an examination of the ideological views present in political culture that are encapsulated by public opinion.²⁴ Public opinion – "individual and collective opinions outside the spheres of government" - is structured by cultural and political frameworks, both defining and defined

question has also been addressed in historical studies, for instance Barbara J. Shapiro, *Political Communication and Political Culture in England, 1558-1688*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2012), pp. 1-7, 20-24.

²² Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, ed. & trans. Peter L. Phillips Simpson, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), I, 2, 1252b30-1253b1; *Li livres du gouvernement des rois. A XIIIth Century French Version of Egidio Colonna's Treatise De Regimine Principum*, ed. Samuel Paul Molenaer, (London: Macmillan, 1899), pp. 86-7, 145-50, 269-73; Roberto Lambertini, "Political Thought" in *A Companion to Giles of Rome*, ed. Charles F. Briggs & Peter S. Eardley, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 262-3.

²³ Irène Rosier-Catach, "Communauté politique et communauté linguistique" in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), 258; Thomas Aquinas, "Commentary on Aristotle's Politics" trans. Ernest L. Fortin & Peter O'Neill in *Medieval Political Philosophy: A Sourcebook*, ed. Ralph Lerner, (New York, NY: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963), I, 34-39, pp. 309-11; *On Kingship*, ed. & trans. Gerald B. Phelan, (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1982), I, 1, pp. 3-10. On this approach to medieval political communication see Anthony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 23; Stephen H. Rigby, "The Body Politic in the Social and Political Thought of Christine de Pizan (Abridged Version) Part II: Social Inequality and Social Justice", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, Vol. 25 (2013), pp. 564-5.

²⁴ Jan Dumolyn, "Political Communication", pp. 45-8; Xavier Nadrigny, *Information et opinion publique*, 41; Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 4-7.

by the issues that predominate ideologically.²⁵ The growing number of those separate from government but concerned with its working during the later Middle Ages engendered the increasing political participation of substantial sections of society who explicitly articulated their opinions regarding state matters.²⁶ To assess these interests, Charles Connell and Leidulf Melve have advocated an approach that determines “the identity of particular publics... to try to understand issues of greatest importance to those publics”.²⁷ In a similar vein, this study aims to investigate “les formes politiques d’acquiescement ou de mécontentement populaire face aux événements et au spectacle de la monarchie”, inspired by Arlette Farge’s examination of an early modern “sphère publique plébéienne” of critique.²⁸ Through the study of propaganda, proclamations, preaching, literary communities and *fama*, medievalists have considered public opinion as being firmly embedded in social processes, culture and the context of individuals and groups participating in continuous, fluid and informal conversation about political issues.²⁹

²⁵ Arjan van Dixhoorn, “The Grain Issue of 1565-1566. Policy Making, Public Opinion and the Common Good in the Habsburg Netherlands” in *De Bono Communi: The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th Centuries)/Discours et pratique du bien commun dans les villes d’Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Anne-Laure van Bruaene & Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 202; Jay G. Blumler, Jack M. McLeod & Karl Erik Rosengren, *Comparatively Speaking: Communication and Culture Across Space and Time*, (London: Sage Publications, 1992), pp. 10-14.

²⁶ Claude Gauvard, “Le roi de France et l’opinion publique à l’époque de Charles VI” in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l’État moderne: Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15-17 octobre 1984)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1985), pp. 355-7; Christopher Fletcher, “Manhood, Kingship and the Public in Late Medieval England”, *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, Vol. 13 (2012), pp. 125-6.

²⁷ Charles W. Connell, “A Neglected Aspect of the Study of Popular Culture: ‘Public Opinion’ in the Middle Ages” in *Folk Life in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edward Peters, (Richmond, KY: Southeastern Medieval Association, 1991), 55; Leidulf Melve, “Public Debate, Propaganda and Public Opinion in the Becket Controversy”, *Viator*, Vol. 48, No. 3 (2017), pp. 80-1.

²⁸ Arlette Farge, *Dire et mal dire: L’opinion publique au XVIII^e siècle*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1992), pp. 13-14; Stéphane Van Damme, “Farewell Habermas?”, pp. 44-5, 51-6

²⁹ Jessalyn Bird, “The Wheat and the Tares: Peter the Chanter’s Circle and the *Fama*-Based Inquest Against Heresy and Criminal Sins, c.1198-c.1235” in *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Kenneth Pennington & Atria A. Larson, (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2008), pp. 763-7; Daniel Hobbins, “The Schoolman as Public Intellectual: Jean Gerson and the Late Medieval Tract”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 108, No. 5

Moreover, public opinion is considered where its expression begins to have an impact, evidencing “la conscience sociale et historique d’eux-mêmes que prennent les agents”.³⁰ Indeed, as Carol Symes has stressed, through such processes institutional authority was collectively constituted, dependent on attributes legitimised and recognised by public opinion.³¹

In recent decades questions surrounding public opinion and political communication have become prevalent for historians of late medieval France and, in particular, Paris.³² During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the city’s increasingly central political, cultural and symbolic status as the *caput regni* correlated with the endeavours of its

(December 2003), 1310; J.R. Maddicott, “The County Community and the Making of Public Opinion in Fourteenth-Century England”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 28 (1978), pp. 27-43; Séverine Fargette, “Rumeurs, propaganda et opinion publique au temps de la guerre civile (1407-1420)”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 113, No. 2 (2007), pp. 310-12; Caroll J. Glynn, *Public Opinion*, (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2016), pp. 4-11.

³⁰ Stéphane Haber, “Pour historiciser *L’Espace public* de Habermas” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 30.

³¹ Carol Symes, *A Common Stage*, 128; Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la paix au Moyen Âge: discours et gestes de paix pendant la guerre de Cent Ans*, (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007), 231; Klaus Oschema, “Espaces publics autour d’une société de cour: l’exemple de la Bourgogne des ducs de Valois” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 170; Paul Strohm, *England’s Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422*, (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 3; Ernst Kantorowicz, *Laudes Regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship*, (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 76-83.

³² Notable recent studies include Bernard Guenée, *L’opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge: d’après la chronique de Charles VI du religieux de Saint-Denis*, (Paris: Perrin, 2002); Emily Hutchison, “Knowing One’s Place: Space, Violence and Legitimacy in Early Fifteenth-century Paris”, *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2017), pp. 38-88; Michael Sizer, “Murmur, Clamor and Tumult: The Soundscape of Revolt and Oral Culture in the Middle Ages”, *Radical History Review*, No. 121 (January 2015), pp. 9-31; Veronika Novák, “La source du savoir: Publication officielle et communication informelle à Paris au début du XV^e siècle” in *Information et société à la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 151-64; Tracy Adams, “Louis of Orléans, Isabeau of Bavaria and the Burgundian Propaganda Machine, 1392-1407” in *Character Assassination Throughout the Ages*, ed. Martijn Icks & Eric Shiraev, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 124-30. See also Jan R. Veenstra, “Le prince qui se veult faire nouvel roy’: The Literature and Ideology of Burgundian Self-Determination” in *The Ideology of Burgundy: The Promotion of National Consciousness, 1364-1565*, ed. Jonathan Dacre Boulton d’Arcy & Jan R. Veenstra, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 199-206.

population – its clergy, artisans and leading bourgeois alike – to influence royal policy.³³ For Raymond Cazelles, public opinion emerges here as “un des facteurs à prendre en considération, sans doute l’élément le plus important” for the reigns of Jean II and Charles V.³⁴ Decades of institutional centralisation, represented by the establishment of bodies such as the Parlement and *Chambre des comptes* and the formalisation of their personnel, enabled Parisians to extend their influence over more distant regions in the French kingdom.³⁵ For Elisabeth Brown, Philip IV’s investment in Paris in the early fourteenth century, including the construction of the royal Palais and the performance of magnificent ceremonies, enabled the geographical consolidation of a “public sphere” previously concentrated upon the king’s person, challenging Habermasian understandings of the ‘feudal’ lord as the representative of the body politic and public sphere.³⁶ The Parisians’ growing potential influence over royal government is evidenced by the *prévôt* Étienne Marcel’s attempts to promulgate the Great Ordinance of 1357 and the ensuing uprising in 1358, and the 1382 Maillotins revolt protesting Charles VI’s re-establishment of taxes abolished upon Charles V’s death.³⁷

³³ Bernard Guenée, “Paris et la cour du roi de France au XIV^e siècle” in *Villes, bonnes villes, cités et capitales. Études d’histoire urbaine (XII^e-XVIII^e siècle) offertes à Bernard Chevalier*, ed. Monique Bourin, (Tours: Publications de l’Université de Tours, 1989), pp. 259-65; *Un meurtre, une société. L’assassinat du duc d’Orléans, 23 novembre 1407*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), pp. 121-31; Andreas Sohn, “Paris capitale: quand, comment, pourquoi?”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 64 (2007), pp. 28-35.

³⁴ Raymond Cazelles, *Société politique, noblesse et couronne sous Jean le Bon et Charles V*, (Geneva: Droz, 1982), 3.

³⁵ Peter Lewis, “The Centre, the Periphery and the Problem of Power Distribution in later Medieval France” in *Essays in Later Medieval French History*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 152; Bernard Guenée, “Espace et État dans la France du Bas Moyen Âge”, *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (July-August 1968), pp. 746-9.

³⁶ Elizabeth A.R. Brown, “Jürgen Habermas, Philippe le Bel et l’espace public”, pp. 196-99; John Durham Peters, “Historical Tensions in the Concept of Public Opinion” in *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent* ed. Theodore Lewis Glasser & Charles T. Salmon, (London: The Guildford Press, 1995), pp. 7-8; Jürgen Habermas, *Structural Transformation*, pp. 7-12.

³⁷ Samuel K. Cohn Jr., “The Topography of Medieval Popular Protest”, *Social History*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2019), pp. 401-3; *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425: Italy, France, and Flanders*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 86, 189-91; Justine Firnhaber-Baker, “A son de cloche. The interpretation of public order and legitimate authority in Northern France, 1355-1358” in *La Comunidad medieval como esfera publica*, ed. Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, Vincent Challet,

Against this backdrop, recent studies have explored the importance of public opinion, focusing particularly upon Paris, during the Armagnac-Burgundian civil conflict that raged between 1405 and 1435 due to the political vacuum resulting from Charles VI's mental illness and incapacity to rule from 1393.³⁸ Through a range of media, competing factions endeavoured to elicit the Parisian support integral to maintaining their authority over the capital and, consequently, royal institutions.³⁹ Jean sans Peur, duke of Burgundy's successful employment of propaganda and rhetoric to capitalise upon Parisian resentment towards royal taxation intended to fund French military campaigns against England has long been recognised as essential to Burgundian political successes in the 1410s.⁴⁰ In 1990 Guy Llewelyn Thompson published an insightful study of the Lancastrian occupation of Paris from 1422-1436, examining (among other aspects) Lancastrian efforts to influence Parisian public opinion in order to maintain control of the French capital and inculcate support for

Jan Dumolyn & María Antonia Carmona Ruiz, (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 2014), pp. 363-71; "The Eponymous Jacquerie: Making revolt mean some things" in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker & Dirk Schoenaers, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2017), pp. 56-62; Claude Gauvard, "Les révoltes du règne de Charles VI: Tentative pour expliquer un échec" in *Révolte et Société: Actes du IV^e Colloque d'Histoire au Présent*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1989), pp. 53-61; Léon Mirot, *Les insurrections urbaines au début du règne de Charles VI (1380-1383). Leurs causes, leur conséquences*, (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905), pp. 109-39.

³⁸ The history of this period has been covered extensively. Important monographs include Richard C. Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue: Crisis at the Court of Charles VI, 1392-1420*, (New York, NY: AMS Press, 1982); Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: la maudite guerre*, (Paris: Perrin, 1988); Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*; Malcolm Vale, *Charles VII*, (London: Methuen, 1974); Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, (London: Longmans, 1966); *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, (Harlow: Longmans, 1970).

³⁹ A series of recent studies have been dedicated to propaganda during the civil conflict, in particular the work of Emily Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds in Early Fifteenth-Century France: Burgundian Propaganda in Perspective", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 9-30; "Partisan Identity in the French Civil War, 1405-1418: Reconsidering the Evidence on Livery Badges", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2007), pp. 265-71. See also Séverine Fargette, "Rumeurs, propagande et opinion publique" 321-33.

⁴⁰ Christopher Fletcher, "La moralité religieuse comme contrat social: les officiers en Angleterre et en France à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Avant le contrat social: le contrat politique dans l'Occident médiéval, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 386-8.

Henry VI's Dual Monarchy.⁴¹ Finally, hitherto understudied but equally important are Parisian reactions to the reassertion of Valois authority and efforts to ensure reconciliation by Charles VII following Paris' recapture, that present telling insights into the consolidation of the apparatus of the French state at the close of the Middle Ages.⁴²

This thesis follows those studies that have recognised the broadening definition of the 'political' to encapsulate activities beyond central government, its institutions and members, examining power in terms of the discursive relations that frame interaction in society.⁴³ Paris' contested character during this turbulent period and its profound political changes render the city a rewarding case study for the examination of medieval public spheres, their multifarious media of communication and, ultimately, the importance of

⁴¹ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), Part III. On the English occupation of northern France after 1417 and the establishment of the Dual Monarchy see Philippe Contamine, "La 'France anglaise' au XV^e siècle. Mythe ou réalité" in *La 'France anglaise' au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Editions du CTHS, 1988), pp. 17-30; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, "Le régime anglo-bourguignon à Paris: facteurs idéologiques" in *La 'France anglaise' au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1988), pp. 53-60; Ralph A. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), pp. 217-28; Anne Curry, "Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France" in *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700*, ed. Glenn Richardson, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 23-41; Anne Grondeux, "La présence anglaise en France: Les Anglais dans la vallée de la Seine sous la régence du duc de Bedford (1422-1435)", *Journal des savants* (1993), pp. 89-109.

⁴² Early studies to this effect have been tentative or focused specifically upon Normandy. Christopher Allmand, "Local Reaction to the French Reconquest of Normandy: The Case of Rouen" in *The Crown and Local Communities in England and France in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. John Roger Loxdale Highfield & Robin Jeffs, (Gloucester: Sutton, 1981) pp. 146-147; "National Reconciliation in France at the End of the Hundred Years War", *Journal of Medieval Military History*, Vol. 6 (2008), pp. 149-164; André Bossuat, "Le rétablissement de la paix sociale sous le règne de Charles VII", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 60 (1954), pp. 137-162; Malcolm Vale, "France at the End of the Hundred Years War (c. 1420-1461) in *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. 7, ed. Christopher Allmand, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 397-407; Claude Gauvard, "Pardoner et oublier après la guerre de Cent Ans. Le rôle des lettres d'abolition de la chancellerie royale française" in *Vergeben und Vergessen? Vergangenheitsdiskurse nach Besatzung, Bürgerkrieg und Revolution/Pardoner et oublier? Les discours sur le passé après l'occupation, la guerre civile et la révolution*, ed. Reiner Marcowitz & Werner Paravicini, (Munich: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2009), pp. 28-57.

⁴³ Pierre Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire: L'économie des échanges linguistiques*, (Paris: Fayard, 1982), pp. 41-6; John B. Thompson (ed.), "Editor's Introduction" in Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, trans. Gino Raymond & Matthew Adamson, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003), 4.

public opinion in the fifteenth century. Parisian responses to civil conflict, foreign occupation and emerging state centralisation are evoked in reactions to news and policies, the rumours circulating in the city and public participation in civic ceremonies. These instances represented forums for articulating an understanding of Parisian or French identities, the questioning of political authority as well as ideological manifestations of civic unity and dynastic legitimacy. Indeed, it is through the record of events such as the Cabochien revolt in 1413, the massacres of 1418 or Henry VI of England's Parisian coronation in December 1431 that Parisian participation in royal politics becomes most evident.

Bernard Guenée's *L'Opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge* (2002) presented a methodology for the assessment of public opinion during Charles VI's reign through a close examination of the political vocabularies and attitudes in a single Latin chronicle produced by the Saint-Denis monk Michel Pintoin, the so-called *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*.⁴⁴ For Guenée, the chronicle represented an important break with the historiographical tradition of Saint-Denis, demonstrated by Pintoin's concentration upon public opinion as a means of assessing royal and aristocratic behaviours.⁴⁵ Despite Pintoin's writing in Latin and

⁴⁴ For the text, *Chroniques du Religieux de Saint-Denis contenant le règne de Charles VI de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. Louis Bellaguet, 6 Vols., (Paris: Crapelet, 1839-1852). Regarding Pintoin's authorship, see Nicole Grévy-Pons & Ezio Ornato, "Qui est l'auteur de la chronique latine de Charles VI dite du Religieux de Saint-Denis?", *BEC*, Vol. 134, No. 1 (1976), pp. 98-102. Michel Pintoin is recorded in Saint-Denis' necrology as having died on 21st February 1421. Charles Samaran therefore argued that the final passages of the *Chronique* were compiled by the royal historiographer appointed by Charles VII, Jean Chartier. "La Chronique latine inédite de Jean Chartier (1422-1450) et les derniers livres du Religieux de Saint-Denis", *BEC*, Vol. 87 (1926), pp. 150-8.

⁴⁵ Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique*, pp. 27-8. Guenée drew comparisons between Michel Pintoin and his relatively distant predecessor, Rigord (c. 1150 – c. 1209), author of the *Gesta Philippi Augusti*, arguing that the former innovated in his focus upon popular opinion. "Pintoin mentionne ce dont Rigord ne parle pas: le peuple, aux carrefours, a crié des acclamations à l'honneur du roi". See also, Bernard Guenée, "Comment le Religieux de Saint-Denis a-t-il écrit l'histoire? L'exemple du duel de Jean de Carrouges et Jacques Le Gris (1386)" in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XV^e siècle*, ed.

his relative distance from popular Parisian conversations, Guenée argued that the chronicle was not “un témoignage naïf” but, rather, “conscient du poids de l’opinion publique dans la vie politique du royaume au temps de Charles VI, Pintoin s’est attaché à en donner des analyses systématiques.”⁴⁶ In short, it was this very distance from urban influences that enabled Pintoin to historiographically assess opinion as an effective barometer of political power.

Guenée’s reliance upon the Saint-Denis text is nevertheless problematic. Pintoin, like all writers, compiled his chronicle from an inherently engaged perspective that framed his understandings of societal hierarchy and authority.⁴⁷ Guenée himself highlighted Pintoin’s tendencies to distinguish the active, influential opinions of an elite (clergymen and nobles) from reactionary or passive popular concerns.⁴⁸ Indeed, the *communis plebs* were guilty of an unreasoned ignorance that delegitimised their opinions and political agency.⁴⁹ This disavowal of urban inhabitants’ political participation, despite Pintoin’s focus upon Paris resulted from the abbey of Saint-Denis’ institutional role in articulating French royal *auctoritas*, with the chronicle produced as a continuation of the *Grandes Chroniques*

Monique Ornato et Nicole Pons, (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d’études médiévales, 1995), pp. 331-343.

⁴⁶ Bernard Guenée, *L’opinion publique*, 12.

⁴⁷ Bernard Guenée, “Le Religieux et les docteurs. Comment le Religieux de Saint-Denis voyait les professeurs de l’Université de Paris” in *Un roi et son historien. Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, (Paris: Bocard, 1999), 345; Georges le Brusque, “Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century” in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux & Neil Thomas, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 82-6. Pintoin’s literary and humanist connections are explored in Bernard Guenée, “Tragédie et histoire chez le Religieux de Saint-Denis”, *BEC*, Vol. 150, No. 2 (1992), pp. 223-30.

⁴⁸ Bernard Guenée, *L’opinion publique*, pp. 94-108. For a similar assessment, see Tracy Adams, “The Political Significance of Christine de Pizan’s Third Estate in the *Livre du corps de policie*”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2009), 395.

⁴⁹ Bernard Guenée, *L’opinion publique*, pp. 104-8. Pintoin’s antipathy for the Parisian lower classes is clearly demonstrated by his record of the 1418 massacres. *RSD*, Vol. 6, pp. 236-245, 262. See below, Chapter III.

tradition.⁵⁰ Despite his alleged neutrality and evident focus upon northern France, Pintoin's geographical and intellectual distance from Paris highlights obstacles preventing the author from truly encapsulating the breadth of opinion among the lower levels of civic society.⁵¹

Pintoin remained embedded within a system of historical reflection that consistently subordinated, generalised and neutralised popular experiences to the political agency of a French elite. Consequently, considerations of public opinion were designed not to reveal the realities of a wide participation in politics but traced shifts in royal and aristocratic authority.

Albeit a masterful study of the text, the assessment of public opinion through Pintoin's *Chronique* highlights a prevalent methodological issue. Scholarship focusing upon medieval propaganda, news and political communication have typically concentrated upon how these were controlled by political elites in a unidirectional conception of the circulation of information, engendered in part by the nature of surviving source materials.⁵² This thesis endeavours to nuance this approach by inverting the model, exploring how Parisians themselves appropriated, rejected and disseminated information to reveal their construction of delicate and fluid urban ideologies that challenged overarching conceptions of civic

⁵⁰ Regarding Paris, of the fifty-four references to collective anger Pintoin's *Chronique*, twenty-three denoted the reaction of the "ensemble des Français" and fifteen reflected the emotional state of cities. Fourteen of these references regarded Paris specifically. Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique*, 56, 80. For Saint-Denis see Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Cult of St. Denis and Capetian Kingship" in *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, ed. Stephen Wilson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 154-5; Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 32-5.

⁵¹ Vincent Challet, "Review: Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après la 'Chronique de Charles VI' du Religieux de Saint-Denis*", *Médiévales*, Vol. 45 (Autumn 2003), pp. 183-5.

⁵² Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*, (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1982), pp. 43-7.

authority and a nascent national identity that have formed the foundation to previous studies of urban history, the French civil war or the Lancastrian Dual Monarchy.⁵³

Reflecting upon the increasing generic fluidity of historiographical writing in the late Middle Ages, Jean-Philippe Genet has stressed how historical texts destined for a public beyond the traditional audiences of annals and monastic chronicles performed a dual function, simultaneously codifying “une ensemble de références qui vont pouvoir entrer dans un discours rationnel de jugement et d’estimation du présent”, and participating “au processus d’individuation qui permet à l’individu de se reconnaître comme membre [d’une] collectivité”.⁵⁴ While prompting social cohesion, historical texts also played a crucial function in the development of political culture for a wider subsection of society, influencing notions of political participation, rhetoric and opinion.⁵⁵ It is in the context of this “éclatement” of historiographical production that this thesis will examine the oral, written and symbolic forms of communication within the so-called *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, an anonymous historical record compiled between 1405 and 1449.⁵⁶ Here, political communication is assessed in terms of “communication systems” where media, more than straightforward tools, are considered as “un ensemble de structures socialement élaborées”

⁵³ Jean-Philippe Genet, “Le roi de France anglaise et la nation française au XV^e siècle”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 39 (1997), pp. 44-50; Andrea Ruddick, “Ethnic identity and political language in the king of England’s dominions: A fourteenth-century perspective” in *The Fifteenth Century Vol. 6: Identity and Insurgency in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Linda Clark, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 23-5.

⁵⁴ Jean-Philippe Genet, “Histoire et système de communication au Moyen Âge” in *L’histoire et les nouveaux publics dans l’Europe médiévale (XIII^e-XV^e siècles): Actes du colloque international organisé par la Fondation européenne de la Science à la Casa de Velasquez, Madrid, 23-24 avril 1993*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 26.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-9.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 19. Hereafter *Journal*. This study is based upon a working edition based upon the surviving manuscripts, principally Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. Lat. 1923 and Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès MS 432 (316). The most authoritative published edition of the *Journal* remains Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449, d’après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881).

determined by shared codes of symbols, signs and language.⁵⁷ As such, this thesis builds upon the work of Jan Dumolyn, who has suggested that studies of rituals, ceremonies, interaction and performance require a focus upon “the political power of the spoken and written word” to comprehend the “production, diffusion and reception of ideological discourses by historical actors”.⁵⁸ The *Journal* offers insights into the intertwined character of these multivalent forms of communication in fifteenth-century Paris.⁵⁹ Although the author’s anonymity and the relative absence of indications of the text’s audiences present obstacles to understanding how its function within an overarching public sphere, the Bourgeois (as he is known) was uniquely attentive to the rumours and opinions expressed in his surroundings that constituted a key source for his record.

Consequently, the *Journal* represents an intriguing interface encapsulating interaction between the author’s perception of political events and the expectations of his community; between Parisians and civic institutions, and more generally between the civic community and royal government.⁶⁰ By examining the oral, written and symbolic forms of communication within the *Journal*, this thesis shall demonstrate that the text provides essential insights into the nature of fifteenth-century Parisian public opinion. The approach follows recent studies of early modern public opinion, with Jan Bloemendal and Arjan Van

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 12-13. Jan Dumolyn, “Political Communication”, 50.

⁵⁸ Jan Dumolyn, “Urban Ideologies”, 71.

⁵⁹ The approach builds upon theories of reception explicated by Roger Chartier, “Crossing Borders in Early Modern Europe: Sociology of Texts and Literature”, trans. Maurice Elton, *Book History*, Vol. 8 (2005), pp. 38-41; Virginie Reinburg, “Oral Rites: Prayer and Talk in Early Modern France” in *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400-1700)*, ed. Thomas Cohen & Lesley Twomey, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 375.

⁶⁰ John Watts, “Community and Contract in Later Medieval England” in *Avant le contrat social: Le contrat politique dans l’Occident médiéval, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), 351; Claire Hawes, “The Urban Community in Fifteenth-Century Scotland: Language, Law and Political Practice”, *Urban History*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2017), 380.

Dixhoorn defining the concept as the “complex of beliefs about social, political, moral, religious and other public matters, one that can be found in larger or smaller segments of society and which originates and is expressed in a variety of ways.”⁶¹ As Charles Connell has argued, “the key to forming public opinion is communication and interaction among those who may constitute a public”, and the Bourgeois’ narrative was driven by a predominant concern for these interactions at a Parisian level in contrast to forms of civic and official communication.⁶² The *Journal* maps the conflation and tensions between individual perspective, that of a specific community and wider Parisian society during the first half of the fifteenth century. Indeed, Connell has argued that the medieval public, and its opinions, were “dynamic, not static” with their ambiguity “an asset not a liability as those who contested the public sphere shaped and reshaped their messages”.⁶³

⁶¹ Jan Bloemendal & Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Low Countries” in *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650*, ed. Jan Bloemendal & Arjan van Dixhoorn, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 4-14.

⁶² Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei*, 5; Charles Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channelling Public Ideas and Attitudes*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 16.

⁶³ Charles Connell, *Popular Opinion*, 13.

The Source

The so-called *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* was compiled between 1405 and 1449 by a cleric inhabiting Paris.⁶⁴ The surviving text, incomplete, is roughly 102,000 words in length comprising 960 passages, including a Middle French transcription of the 1420 Treaty of Troyes.⁶⁵ The original has been lost and it was already missing the first page or pages, perhaps including a prologue identifying the author and the text's purpose, when the oldest surviving copy was compiled in the 1470s, now Vatican, MS Reg. Lat. 1923.⁶⁶ The other extant copies of the *Journal* can all be traced to the Vatican manuscript, making this version the closest to the original.⁶⁷ The absence of a possible prologue complicates interpretations of the *Journal's* purpose, especially given Rosalind Brown-Grant's argument that the prologues of fifteenth-century Burgundian chronicles were essential to structuring a relationship between narratorial personage, audience and text.⁶⁸ Instead, all manuscript copies begin

⁶⁴ On the author's identity see below, Chapter I. Scholarship overwhelmingly concurs that he was a cleric, for instance Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449*, pp. x-xxIII; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, translated from the anonymous Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 14-24; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris de 1405 à 1449*, (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), pp. 11-13; Anne Curry (ed. & trans.), "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (?1449, French)" in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), pp. 175-6; Craig Taylor (ed. & trans.), "The Journal of a Bourgeois of Paris (c.1431?)" in *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 228-9.

⁶⁵ The Treaty of Troyes was omitted in the critical edition of the text published by Alexandre Tuetey in 1881. The Bourgeois' copy was a version of the French vernacular treaty found in the *Trésor des Chartes* and published in the *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 11, pp. 86-90. The *Journal's* copy was signed by the royal secretary Jean de Rinel who had joined the Lancastrian administration following Charles VI's death in 1422. Philippe Contamine, "Maître Jean de Rinel (vers 1380-1449), notaire et secrétaire de Charles VI puis de Henry VI pour son royaume de France, l'une des 'plumes' de 'l'union des deux couronnes'", *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie*, Vol. 35 (2009), pp. 117-122.

⁶⁶ Hereafter Reg. Lat. 1923. For the full history of this manuscript, see Appendix I. For possible fifteenth-century owners see Chapter II. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 14, 41; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, v; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 8-9.

⁶⁷ The manuscript stemma is presented in Appendix I.

⁶⁸ Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles of the Later Middle Ages", *Viator*, Vol. 42, No. 2 (2011), pp. 233-5.

with two examples of Burgundian propaganda publicising Jean sans Peur's victory at the Battle of Othée (23rd September 1408), the poems "La bataille du Liège" and "Les sentences du Liège", before the *Journal* begins partway through a passage describing this battle.⁶⁹

Presumably due to the poor condition of the lost original, the Vatican manuscript confuses several passages from 1405, 1408 and 1409 before pursuing a chronological narrative from

August 1409.⁷⁰ Notable omissions include passages relating Louis, duke of Orléans'

assassination on 23rd November 1407, an account of the Parisian pillaging of Jean, duke of

Berry's Bicêtre château in November 1411, and the Bourgeois' reaction to Jean sans Peur's

murder at Montereau in September 1419.⁷¹ Chronological references in the first passage for

1405 suggest that the *Journal* originally included a description of Jean sans Peur's

interception of the Dauphin Louis as he travelled from Paris to join Louis, duke of Orléans in

August 1405 and the reformist manifestos pronounced by Jean sans Peur at the capital that

month.⁷² Similar allusions to absent content in 1408 imply that the lost original also included

a description of Valentina Visconti, duchess of Orléans' appeal against Jean Petit's

Justification on 11th September 1408, inferring the Bourgeois' awareness of the pivotal

political debate surrounding Louis, duke of Orléans' assassination in November 1407.⁷³ An

examination of the text's manuscript history, transcriptions of the most pertinent extracts

and a timeline of key events are presented in the Appendices.

⁶⁹ Alain Marchandisse & Bertrand Schnerb, "La bataille du Liège" in *Écrire la guerre, écrire la paix*, ed. Simone Mazauric, (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 2013), pp. 34-8. See also Hubert Carrier, "Si vera est fama: Le retentissement de la bataille d'Othée dans la culture historique du XV^e siècle", *Revue historique*, Vol. 303, No. 3 (July-Septembre 2001), pp. 644-6.

⁷⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 12r-13v.

⁷¹ Ibid., fol. 16v. The absence of a passage regarding the sack of Bicêtre was recognised in Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 14, n. 2. A full account of the Parisian sack of the castle is presented in RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 520-2.

⁷² For an explanation of this dating, see Appendix I.

⁷³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 12r.

The *Journal* survives in ten manuscript copies, four of which have hitherto been unstudied.⁷⁴ The only fifteenth-century copy besides the Vatican manuscript is a succinct twelve-folio fragment relating the Lancastrian presence in France from the siege of Harfleur in 1415 until the French victory at Patay on 18th June 1429, now Oxford Bodley MS French d.10, which used the Vatican manuscript as its source.⁷⁵ Also notable is a late sixteenth-century copy, Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes MS 432 (316) which contains passages for 1438 missing from the Vatican manuscript.⁷⁶ Of the remaining copies, three used the Vatican manuscript as their source and four the Aix version. Of the latter, two manuscripts held at Wolfenbüttel and Chantilly have not previously been examined. These were commissioned for leading aristocrats – Augustus the Younger, duke of Brunswick-Lüneberg (1576-1666) and Louis de Bourbon, *le Grand Condé* (1621-1686) respectively.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ Excluding early modern notes found in Paris, BNF, Duchesne 49 and Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal MS 3929. At most, previous editors have known of six manuscripts. Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 8-10; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 40-42. Alexandre Tuetey’s critical edition was based upon a faulty transcription of the Vatican manuscript complemented by three known Parisian copies, one of which (Paris, BNF Fonds français 3480) he believed to be closest to the original text but is demonstrably a copy of the Aix manuscript. See Appendix I; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. ii-ix. The Aix manuscript was only brought to Tuetey’s attention as his critical edition went to print and he was unaware of the existence of the fifteenth-century Oxford fragment. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 44. The ten manuscripts are presented in Appendix I.

⁷⁵ Luke Giraudet, “Same Words, Different Story: Comparing Identity, Warfare and Emotion in the Bodleian Library’s Fragment of the so-called *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* with the Original Text”, Masters Dissertation, University of York, (2016), pp. 1-17; Léopold Delisle, “Un nouveau manuscrit du *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* (1405-1449)”, *BEC*, Vol. 53 (1892), pp. 684-5.

⁷⁶ On the relationship between the Vatican and Aix manuscripts, see Appendix I. I have followed Janet Shirley’s methodology of using this manuscript to substitute Reg. Lat 1923’s missing material, whereas Alexandre Tuetey used Paris, BNF Fonds français 3480, a second-hand copy of the Aix manuscript. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 40; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, iv.

⁷⁷ Henri d’Orléans, duc d’Aumale, *Chantilly. Le cabinet des livres: manuscrits*, Vol. 3, (Paris: Plon, 1911), 142; *Kataloge der Herzog-August-Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel*, Vol. 4, (Frankfurt: Vittorio Klostermann, 1965), pp. 117-8, no. 1745.

The text has been considered a ‘journal’ and its author a ‘bourgeois’ since the sixteenth century, reflecting early readers’ perception of a text compiled on a regular basis by a Parisian inhabitant.⁷⁸ This terminology has been challenged since the nineteenth century, with scholars stressing the author’s evident clerical status, membership of the University of Paris and ties to Notre-Dame cathedral.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, despite the recognition that Parisian ‘bourgeois’ occupied a very different socio-political status to the *Journal’s* author, the title has become integral to the text’s identity.⁸⁰ The renaming of the source is beyond the remit of this thesis and the titles ‘Journal’ and ‘Bourgeois’ will be used for consistency, with the acknowledgement that these names encapsulate anachronistic interpretations and early modern readings of the text, rather than evidence of the author’s self-identification.

The ‘journal’ categorisation should nevertheless be nuanced. The text was not compiled daily, though the Bourgeois’ writing was relatively contemporaneous to the events described, with entries typically recapitulating the events of previous weeks, months or even a year.⁸¹ For instance, historians have pointed to the Bourgeois’ repeated refusal to believe official reports that Henry VI had crossed the Channel in 1430 and was expected at Paris, despite this belief’s contradiction when the Lancastrian monarch eventually arrived at Saint-

⁷⁸ Paris, BNF Dupuy 275, fol. 1r; Denis Godefroy (ed.), *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France*, (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1653), 497.

⁷⁹ On these aspects see below, Chapter 1. For examinations of the Bourgeois’ identity see Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. ix-xliv; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 12-30; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris* pp. 11-13, 18-26; Auguste Longnon, “Conjectures sur l’auteur du journal parisien de 1409-1449”, *MSHP*, Vol. 2 (1876), pp. 310-29; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, pp. xiv-xx.

⁸⁰ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 12-14.

⁸¹ Louis-François-Joseph de La Barre, *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de France et de Bourgogne contenant un journal de Paris sous les règnes de Charles VI et Charles VII*, (Paris: Gandouin & Giffart, 1729), pp. v-vi.

Denis in November 1431.⁸² In November 1410 the Bourgeois described that such destruction had been caused by the civil conflict that “le royaume de France ne recouvrera la perte... en vingt ans ensuivant, tant viengne bien”, suggesting an attitude that did not foresee the continuation of warfare for four decades.⁸³ Other sections of the text give the impression that the Bourgeois was summarising an entire year, with much of the account of 1438 produced in that autumn.⁸⁴ Events were recorded chronologically and from mid-1413 the Bourgeois consistently signalled new entries through “item”, “dont l’emploi dans des textes politiques se remarque surtout dans les dossiers de chancellerie”.⁸⁵ Indeed, the use of ‘item’ may point to the influences of this scribal context, especially since the *greffier* Nicolas Lespoisse and the anonymous author of a journal fragment for 1412-1413 also used ‘item’ to introduce their entries.⁸⁶

Recent editors have been content to maintain the ‘Journal’ title, though the author may have conceptualised the text as a chronicle.⁸⁷ As Pierre Courroux has argued, from the fourteenth century the Middle French ‘chronique’ “désigne tout récit historique”, with the *Journal* evidencing characteristics of increasingly dominant vernacular models that “font revivre [l’histoire] par une narration, certes souvent brève, mais qui n’a rien à voir avec les

⁸² Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 13-14; Craig Taylor (ed.), *Joan of Arc*, pp. 228-9.

⁸³ The kingdom of France will not recover from the losses... for twenty years, whatever good may come. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15v.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 163; Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes MS 432 (316), pp. 312-15. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 12-14.

⁸⁵ Nicole Pons, “Un exemple de l’utilisation des écrits politiques de Jean de Montreuil: Un memorandum diplomatique rédigé sous Charles VII” in *Préludes à la Renaissance: Actes de la vie intellectuelle en France au XV^e siècle*, ed. Carla Bozzolo & Ezio Ornato, (Paris: CNRS, 1992), 248.

⁸⁶ Paris, BNF, Fonds français 23138, fols. 232r-233v; “Journal fragment, 1412-1413”, Rome, Vatican Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), fols. 103r-108v.

⁸⁷ ‘Mémoires’ has also been suggested. Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, 13; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 12; Anne Curry (ed. & trans.), “Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris (?1449, French)”, 176.

annales monastiques.”⁸⁸ However, the prologue to the Parisian Jean de Roye’s journal, compiled between 1460 and 1483, implies a contemporary awareness of a generic difference to chronicles, stating that “je ne vueil ne n’entens point les choses cy apres escriptes estre appellées, dictes ou nommées Croniques, pour ce que a moy n’appartient, et que pour ce fayre n’ay pas esté ordonné et ne m’a esté permys”.⁸⁹ This may have simply played upon the *humilitas* topos, but at the very least the prologue suggests that Roye perceived chronicle writing to be tied to notions of historiographical authority that were distinct from the scope, materials and audience expectations for Parisian journals such as the Bourgeois’.

Though lacking this traditional context, it is nevertheless clear that the Bourgeois envisioned an audience interacting with his work, contrary to notions of introspective writing suggested by modern definitions of ‘journal’.⁹⁰ The absence of a prologue or a surviving original manuscript renders an assessment of the *Journal’s* audience and purpose particularly difficult. While Janet Shirley hypothesised that the text may have been a shorthand for a future chronicle, Colette Beaune pointed to the prevalence of second-person

⁸⁸ Pierre Courroux, *L’écriture de l’histoire dans les chroniques françaises (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016), pp. 83-88. See also Bernard Guenée, “Histoire et chronique: nouvelles réflexions sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge” in *La chronique et l’histoire au Moyen-Age*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris, 1982), pp. 10-11; “Histoires, annales, chroniques: Essais sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge”, *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (1973), pp. 997-1016. Some Middle French urban chroniclers certainly exhibited an intention to produce chronicles, such as Jehan Nicolay of Tournai. Laura Crombie, “Records and Rumours from Tournai. Jehan Nicolay’s Account of a Town at War and the Construction of Memory” in *Urban History Writing in North-Western Europe (15th-16th Centuries)*, ed. Bram Caers, Lisa Demets & Tineke Van Gassen, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 102.

⁸⁹ “I do not wish nor intend that what is written hereafter be called, described as or named ‘Croniques’, because it is not my place to compile such writing and I have not been ordered nor permitted to write as such”. Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse 1460-1483*, Vol. 1, ed. Bernard de Mandroit, (Paris: Renouard, 1894), 2.

⁹⁰ Hans Robert Jauss & Elizabeth Benzinger, “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory”, *New Literary History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Autumn 1970), pp. 12-18; Laurence de Looze, “Signing off in the Middle Ages: Medieval Textuality and Strategies of Authorial Self-Naming” in *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. Doane & Carol Braun Pasternack (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 168-9.

addresses prior to 1436 when Paris was reconquered by Charles VII, after which “il écrivait pour lui”.⁹¹ The use of the second-person plural occurs at least twenty-six times before 1436, employed for references within the text itself, “comme vous avez ouy”, or to signal the narrator’s perspective, as in “Sachez bien que...”.⁹² Having been astounded by the birth of conjoined twins at Aubervilliers in June 1429, the Bourgeois supported his account by including an illustration of the twins to inform his audience, “comme vous voyez”.⁹³ Space was left for the illustration in the Vatican manuscript, with the Aix manuscript’s copyist even penning a crude version.⁹⁴ Alternatively, the second-person emphasised an event’s impact, implicating the audience as witnesses who validated the Bourgeois’ experiences, “conforme à la mentalité médiévale qui attache une importance particulière à la perception visuelle”.⁹⁵ These addresses stressed sensory experiences: “vous ne veissez gueres...” or “ne ouistez oncques...”⁹⁶ In one instance the Bourgeois even provided his audience with practical information. Describing changes to *rentes* in August 1426, he remarked that “plusieurs autres ordonnances furent faictes sur lesdites rentes, lesquelles on peut savoir ou Chastellet qui veult.”⁹⁷ The regularity of Châtelet ordinances means that the Bourgeois’ advice can only have been pertinent in the short-term, indicating a more immediate transmission of information to his audience. Altogether, these examples demonstrate that

⁹¹ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 25; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, 18.

⁹² As you have heard; you should know that. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 30r, 33v, 35r, 155v.

⁹³ Truly, I saw them and held them in my hands; as you [can] see. Ibid., fol. 117r.

⁹⁴ Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, MS 432 (316), p. 220.

⁹⁵ Maciej Abramowicz, *Dire vrai dans les narrations françaises du Moyen Âge XII^e-XIII^e siècles*, (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2007), 153.

⁹⁶ You would never have seen; you would never have heard. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 24r, 33r.

⁹⁷ Several other ordinances were issued concerning the said rents, about which more can be learned at the Châtelet. Ibid., fol. 112v.

the Bourgeois certainly expected his work to be consulted by an audience, and that it may have even functioned as an informational resource supplementing other, official sources.

In turn, this audience was probably based in Paris, given the *Journal's* indisputable Parisian character, with its urban focus discouraging the perception that fifteenth-century journals “ne se donnent aucune unité d'action”.⁹⁸ Over half (58%) of entries concern Paris and Parisians specifically. 13% consider Paris' civic government and 14% relay the actions of the Parisian clergy. Beyond Paris, the Bourgeois' interests were confined to the Île-de-France and, to a limited extent, Normandy, exhibiting an overlap of urban and regional concerns.⁹⁹ Likewise, the effects of fluctuating food prices, conflict and the weather upon the availability of supplies within the capital represent one of the Bourgeois' foremost concerns (17.6% of entries). These topics are indicative of the social, political and economic values typical of the Bourgeois' audience and perhaps wider Parisian society.¹⁰⁰ In contrast to better-studied examples of fifteenth-century historiography, including the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, the *Journal* is therefore distinguished by its specific concentration upon urban experiences.

Moreover, references to Parisian rumour and opinion constitute at least 20% of the *Journal's* entries, representing one of the Bourgeois' chief sources and a clear characteristic of this loose genre of writing.¹⁰¹ Not only did rumours present the author and his audience

⁹⁸ Jean Dufournet, “L'épanouissement de l'histoire au quinzième siècle en France”, *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 34 (2009), 75. Emphasis as in the original.

⁹⁹ On the political delineation of regions in the fourteenth century see Françoise Autrand, “Géographie administrative et propaganda politique”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 9 (1980), pp. 267-8.

¹⁰⁰ Jan Dumolyn & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, “Introduction: Urban Historiography in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe” in *Urban History Writing in North-Western Europe (15th-16th Centuries)*, ed. Bram Caers, Lisa Demets & Tineke Van Gassen, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 17.

¹⁰¹ Jean Devaux, “Le genre médiéval du journal et les chemins de mémoire: l'exemple de Jean de Roye” in *La mémoire à l'œuvre*, ed. Caroline Cazanave, (Besançon: Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté, 2014), pp. 346-50.

with an alternative to information communicated through official channels, but their anonymity and fluidity enabled the Bourgeois to distance himself from compromising political perspectives. The record of rumour and opinion also accentuated the *Journal's* projection of the city's inhabitants as the narrative's predominant agents, underscored by the Bourgeois' own eyewitness testimony and participation in rumour's circulation.¹⁰² His rare use of authoritative textual sources is significant in a period when historiographical production was tied to established institutional models and notions of textual *auctoritas*.¹⁰³ Instead, the *Journal* is symptomatic of the flourishing of 'peripheral' Middle French narratives in the fifteenth century whereby individuals experimented with these models and adapted them for new audiences.¹⁰⁴

This methodological shift is suggested by the Bourgeois' use of sources, forsaking literary or historical 'authorities' and rarely identifying documents. However, besides the transcription of the Treaty of Troyes and Liège poems, some passages exhibit a very close relationship to several other written records, including the vernacular account of a sermon announcing the Corpus Christi indulgences accorded by Pope Martin V, a letter sent by the theologian Jean de l'Olive describing the Spanish prodigy Fernand de Cordoue who was

¹⁰² Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 183; Craig Taylor (ed.), *Joan of Arc*, 228.

¹⁰³ Robert B. Tate, "The Official Chronicler in the Fifteenth Century: A Brief Survey of Western Europe", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, Vol. 41 (1997), pp. 167-70; Bernard Guenée, "'Authentique et approuvé'. Recherches sur les principes de la critique historique au Moyen Âge" in *Politique et histoire au Moyen Âge: Recueil d'articles sur l'histoire politique et l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Bernard Guenée, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981), pp. 266-72.

¹⁰⁴ Joël Blanchard, "Nouvelle histoire, nouveaux publics: Les mémoires à la fin du Moyen Âge", in *L'Histoire et les nouveaux publics dans l'Europe médiévale (XIII^e-XV^e siècles): Actes du colloque international organisé par la Fondation Européenne de la Science al a Casa de Velasquez, Madrid, 23-24 Avril 1993*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 41-2, 47-51; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*, (Paris: Aubier, 1991), pp. 69-76; Jacques Derrida, "Living On: Border Lines" in *Deconstruction and Criticism*, ed. Harold Bloom, (London: Continuum, 1979), 69.

examined in Paris in 1445, and the Twelve Articles of Accusation directed against Jeanne d'Arc at her 1431 trial.¹⁰⁵ The reluctance to explicitly identify these sources represents a substantial deviation from the strategies of contemporary chronicles and surviving Parisian journals. In both cases, authors identified and cited documentary sources to substantiate their historical claims, with the Parisian journal of Jean Maupoint often emphasising the author's possession of a physical document to support the description of an ordinance, "duquel mandement j'ai la copie ceans".¹⁰⁶ In contrast, the Bourgeois derived *auctoritas* from his employment of proverbs and Biblical *exempla*. Where the former represent "strategies with authority formulating some part of a society's common sense", Larry Scanlon has argued that *exempla* evoke social authority by connecting its representation "ideologically before the community" and exertion "within the community" as an exemplary action that transmits authority to the community.¹⁰⁷ Consequently, proverbs intimated an understanding of political behaviour that drew upon common knowledge, while *exempla* enabled the Bourgeois to rationalise events by resituating them within a broader moral paradigm. Likewise, appeals to a common knowledge of Roman tyrants, the Trojan war or

¹⁰⁵ Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fols. 398r-398v; Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, Vol. 1, ed. Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt, (Paris: Renouard, 1864), pp. 69-72; Pierre Tisset & Yvonne Lanhers (ed. & trans.), *Le procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), 400, no. 45, 422, no., 117. For an examination of these sources see below, Chapter I.

¹⁰⁶ Jean Maupoint, "Journal Parisien de Jean Maupoint, prieur de Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers (1437-1469)", ed. Gustave Fagniez, *MSHP*, Vol. 4 (1877), pp. 30-1. Similar methods are evidenced by the letters copied by Enguerrand de Monstrelet, the anonymous Cordelier and even the copy of a treaty inserted into the 1412-1413 fragment.

¹⁰⁷ James Obelkevich, "Proverbs and social history" in *The Social History of Language*, ed. Peter Burke & Roy Porter, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 44; Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 134-9; Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 34.

the Frankish king Clovis accentuated sermon-like narratives that drew important moral parallels between past and present.¹⁰⁸

Two significant stylistic traits that are distinct in the Bourgeois' writing are his stress upon eyewitness testimony and the importance of narrative focalization that, along with the concentration upon rumour, bolstered the text's mimetic qualities as an apparently "transparent, lucid medium of transmission".¹⁰⁹ Bernard Guenée demonstrated a medieval understanding of eyewitness testimony that viewed authors' direct contributions as more certain, while Peter Ainsworth has concluded that late medieval chroniclers "lived at a time when oral testimony given in good faith was deemed entirely reliable".¹¹⁰ The Bourgeois certainly employed first-person experiences to substantiate his narrative by implicating sight and geographical proximity, corroborating his account's most unbelievable moments. These references to personal experiences were typically intertwined with a vocabulary of truth, evoking an underlying tension between reality and personal recollection. Indeed, over 10% of passages (121 instances) feature declarations of certainty that substituted for the

¹⁰⁸ Jean-Philippe Genet, "Les auteurs politiques et leur maniement des sources en Angleterre à la fin du Moyen Âge", in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XV^e siècle*, ed. Monique Ornato et Nicole Pons, (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts d'études médiévales, 1995), pp. 350-58.

¹⁰⁹ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "Genealogy: Form and Function in Medieval Historical Narrative", *History and Theory*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (February 1983), pp. 44-5. The importance of eyewitness testimony in relation to rumour is explored further below, Chapter IV.

¹¹⁰ Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, 132; Peter Ainsworth, "Contemporary and 'Eyewitness' History" in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 271. See also Jeanette Beer, *Narrative Conventions of Truth in the Middle Ages*, (Geneva: Droz, 1981), 10. Both authors have pointed to Isidore of Seville's comments on eyewitness testimony as being integral to medieval perceptions of its certainty. Isidore wrote that "Among the ancients no one could write a history unless he had been present and seen what was to be written down, for we grasp with our eyes things that occur better than what we gather with our hearing; since what is seen is revealed without falsehood". Isidore of Seville, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. & trans. Stephen A. Barney, W.J. Lewis, J.A. Beach & Oliver Berghof, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), I.41.1-2, p. 67.

identification of external sources and framed a dependency upon the Bourgeois' own experience.

This sense of proximity to events witnessed or rumours heard first-hand was accentuated by a reliance upon *focalisation externe de l'extérieur*, emphasising the "narrator's own view of the 'here and now'".¹¹¹ Moreover, dramatic shifts to a *focalisation externe de l'intérieur*, focusing upon the perspectives of characters within the narrative, drew the audience closer to their experiences through the deployment of mechanisms that blur generic distinctions between chronicle and romance, as demonstrated by the Bourgeois' graphic description of the murder of a pregnant peasant at Meaux by Denis de Vauru in 1422.¹¹² Where in the chronicles of Enguerran de Monstrelet or Georges Chastelain audiences were "rarely positioned as potential witnesses", the *Journal* occasionally employed shifts in perspective from the narrator to its characters, conflating the viewpoints of audience and actor.¹¹³ This mimetic effect was crowned with the employment of direct speech imbued with stereotypical qualities. If Guibert de Nogent had argued that the chronicler's language "should fit the status of events", the Bourgeois underscored speech's historicity by conveying stereotypical attributes.¹¹⁴ Where Henry V spoke eloquently about justice to the

¹¹¹ Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles", 244.

¹¹² On this account see below, Chapter IV. Regarding the importance of these shifts for the assertion of narrative authority and the audience's proximity to the events described see Rosalind Brown-Grant, "Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles", pp. 238-9; "Narrative Style in Burgundian Prose Romances of the Later Middle Ages", *Romania*, Vol. 130, No. 519-20, (2012), pp. 360, 392-8; Sophie Marnette, "Narrateur et point de vue dans les chroniques médiévales: une approche linguistique in *The Medieval Chronicle I*, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 183; "Réflexions sur le discours indirect libre en français médiéval", *Romania*, Vol. 114, No. 434-5 (1996), 35, n. 51. For Vauru see below, Chapter IV.

¹¹³ Rosalind-Brown Grant, "Narrative Style in Burgundian Chronicles", 245; "Narrative Style in Burgundian Prose Romances", 393.

¹¹⁴ Guibert of Nogent, *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. & trans. Robert Levine, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 24. See also Elizabeth Lapina, "'Nec signis nec testibus creditur...': The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade", *Viator*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2007), 137.

knights assembled to celebrate his marriage in June 1420, the Parisian rioters of 1418 confusedly shouted and cursed, while Gascon troops at the Battle of the Herrings on 12th February 1429 exclaimed in Occitan “Viras! Viras! C’est a dire, ‘Retournez! Retournez!’”.¹¹⁵ Such spoken interactions appeared credible because they complied with the audience’s expectations, promoting verisimilitude.

A comparison with other fifteenth-century journals sheds further light upon the *Journal*’s possible purpose, since several examples suggest that reactions to political turbulence represented a motivation for writing.¹¹⁶ The journal fragment for 1412-1413 may have been compiled in response to the Burgundian siege of Bourges that year, whereas Jean Maupoint’s *Journal*, beginning in 1437, started with a Latin account of Louis d’Orléans’ 1407 assassination, while he affirmed that his narrative would focus upon “famines, guerres, pestilences et autres dispositions du temps”.¹¹⁷ When violence erupted in Paris in 1418, the Parlement greffier Nicolas de Lespoisse noted his record of these massacres on the final folios of his copy of the *Chroniques* by Guillaume de Nangis.¹¹⁸ Remarking upon his brevity and precision, Nicole Pons argued that Lespoisse’s narrative was designed to ensure “le souvenir précis de ce que l’on a vécu” in the face of violence, requiring little rhetorical

¹¹⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 66r, 47r & 114r.

¹¹⁶ Janet Shirley suggested that the *Journal* may represent “notes for a future work, perhaps even to be written by someone else”. *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 24-5.

¹¹⁷ “Journal fragment, 1412-1413”, Rome, Vatican Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), fols. 103r-108v; “Journal parisien de Jean Maupoint”, pp. 23-4.

¹¹⁸ Paris, BNF, Fonds français 23138, fols. 232r-233v. Isabelle Guyot-Bachy, “La *Chronique abrégée des rois de France* et les *Grandes Chroniques de France*: Concurrence ou complémentarité dans la construction d’une culture historique en France à la fin du Moyen Âge?” in *The Medieval Chronicle*, VIII, ed. Erik Kooper & Sjoerd Levelt, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2013), 212-23; “Culture historique et lecture de l’histoire: Nicolas de Lespoisse et son exemplaire des chroniques de Guillaume de Nangis (BNF Fr. 23138)”, in *Humanisme et politique en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Carla Bozzolo, Claude Gauvard et Helene Millet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2018) pp. 39-41; Nicole Pons, “Information et rumeurs: quelques points de vue sur des événements de la Guerre civile en France (1407-1420)”, *Revue historique*, Vol. 297, No. 602 (April-June 1997), pp. 413-16.

embellishment.¹¹⁹ This might also explain the brevity of the Bourgeois' earliest passages, before stylistic flourishes became more prominent. Moreover, contrary to Colette Beaune's suggestion that the Bourgeois was writing from one jubilee year to another (from 1400 to 1450), this political grounding explains the *Journal's* conclusion with Charles VII's capture of Rouen and reassertion of authority in Normandy in October 1449.¹²⁰

Parisian journals were therefore distinct from traditional chronicles in style, format and purpose. Where over a hundred copies of the *Grandes Chroniques* survive for the late Middle Ages (with fifty produced during Charles VI's reign alone), the Parisian journals typically survive in a single, fragmented manuscript copy.¹²¹ If the *Grandes Chroniques* represent an historiographical centre, as Kathleen Daly and Gabrielle Spiegel have argued, then the journals reveal that the historiographical 'periphery' was not simply geographically distant from Saint-Denis, but that texts produced within the capital itself could also be similarly marginal, focusing upon the city rather than the wider kingdom.¹²² They rarely provide explicit indications of their authorship or purpose and, despite their reliance upon eyewitness testimony, rumour and opinion, they remain distinct from the autobiographical stance of the *mémoires* produced in late fifteenth-century Burgundy.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Nicole Pons, "Information et rumeurs", 416.

¹²⁰ Colette Beaune, *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 13.

¹²¹ Frédéric Duval (ed.), *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge: Petite anthologie commentée de succès littéraires*, (Geneva: Droz, 2007), pp. 316-19. See also Anne D. Hedeman, *The Royal Image: Illustrations of the Grandes chroniques de France, 1274-1422*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 1-7.

¹²² Kathleen Daly, "'Centre', 'Power' and 'Periphery' in Late Medieval French Historiography: Some Reflections" in *War, Government and Power in late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 124-8; Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France*, (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 316-19; Bernard Guenée, "Les Grandes chroniques de France, le Roman aux Roys (1274-1518)" in *Les lieux de mémoire, Vol. 2: La nation*, ed. Pierre Nora, (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), pp. 189-213.

¹²³ Jean Dufournet, "L'épanouissement de l'histoire", pp. 70-1, 76; Cristian Bratu, "De la grande Histoire à l'histoire personnelle: L'émergence de l'écriture autobiographique chez les historiens

The low number of Parisian examples means that the city's urban historiography has been overlooked in recent scholarship.¹²⁴ Anne-Laure Van Bruaene has pointed to the dominance of German, Swiss and Italian models of urban writing in the current historiographical discussion, arguing that these evidence efforts to legitimate civic authority while stimulating collective urban identities.¹²⁵ Since the 1990s, attention has increasingly been paid to the phenomenon in late medieval Flemish and English towns, but there has been far less interest in French towns.¹²⁶ In part, a prevailing 'Jacobin' "centralist

français du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)", *Mediavistik*, Vol 25 (2012), pp. 97-103. See also Albrecht Classen, "Autobiography as a Late Medieval Phenomenon", *Medieval Perspectives*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (1988), pp. 89-104.

¹²⁴ For instance, a recent collection considering urban historiography entirely ignores the circumstances of northern France (excluding those towns that are now part of Belgium). Jan Dumolyn & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, "Introduction: Urban Historiography", pp. 8-9. Exceptions include the studies of fourteenth-century narratives, such as Jean Dunbabin, "The Metrical Chronicle Traditionally Ascribed to Geffroy de Paris" in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent & Andrew Wathey, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 237-40; Claude Gauvard & Gillette Labory, "Une chronique rimée parisienne écrite en 1409: les aventures depuis deux cents ans" in *Le métier d'historien au Moyen Âge: études sur l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. Bernard Guenée, (Paris: Centre de recherches sur l'histoire de l'Occident médiéval, 1977), pp. 183-231.

¹²⁵ Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, "L'écriture de la mémoire urbaine en Flandre et en Brabant (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)" in *Villes de Flandre et d'Italie (XIII^e - XVI^e siècles): les enseignements d'une comparaison*, ed. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), pp. 149-51. Communities in these regions developed multifarious media for recording the past, ranging from journals to memoirs and familial accounts. See also Lorenzo Tanzini, "De Origine Civitatis. The Building of Civic Identity in Italian Communal Chronicles (12th-14th Century)", *Imago Temporis, Medium Aevum*, Vol. 10 (2016), pp. 175-180. Franz-Josef Arlinghaus has warned against German urban unity being taken for granted in historiography, "The Myth of Urban Unity: Religion and Social Performance in Late Medieval Braunschweig" in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500*, ed. Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester & Carol Symes, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 215-18; Jenine de Vries, "It's not just about chronicles. The Variety of Forms of Historical Writing in late Medieval Towns in England and the Southern Low Countries" in *Urban History Writing in North-Western Europe (15th-16th Centuries)*, ed. Bram Caers, Lisa Demets & Tineke Van Gassen, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 64-76.

¹²⁶ Judith Pollmann, "Archiving the Present and Chronicling for the Future in Early Modern Europe", *Past & Present* (2016), Supplement 11, pp. 231, 236-9. The literature concerning English urban chronicles is extensive. Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing*, (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002); Sheila Lindenbaum, "London Texts and Literate Practice", in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 294-301; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England. Volume 2, c. 1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), pp. 230-48; Richard Firth Green, "Historical Notes of a London Citizen, 1483-1488", *The English Historical Review*,

perspective” in modern French historiography resulted in the side-lining of the *Journal*'s civic specificity, along with the phenomenon of French urban chronicles more generally.¹²⁷

Unacknowledged in Bernard Guenée's survey of historical literature, journals have only more recently been treated as part of a wider Middle French historiographical corpus.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, an examination of the *Journal* complicates Elisabeth Van Houts' assertion that a direct relationship between the strength of urban jurisdictions and chronicle production resulted in their rarity in France and England.¹²⁹ Urban historiography comprises a broad range of heterogeneous texts, and Van Bruaene has usefully distinguished three forms of memory for Flemish examples: “la mémoire urbaine officielle, la mémoire oppositionnelle et la mémoire individuelle”.¹³⁰ The first indicates historical writing supported by civic institutions, the second that produced by those excluded from civic power, and the third “des expressions de conscience historique dans lesquelles le public visé n'est pas immédiatement discernable”.¹³¹ Finally, Lisa Demets and Jan Dumolyn have proposed a methodological approach for the examination of urban historiography “taking into account the authorship and the thematic emphasis” of the texts and considering “the social environment of their circulation and the ideological strategies at work”.¹³² As

Vol. 96, No. 380 (July 1981), pp. 585-90; Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism and Medieval Literature*, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2013), pp. 157-81.

¹²⁷ Jan Dumolyn & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, “Introduction: Urban Historiography”, pp. 12-14.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 12; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*; Pierre Courroux, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, pp. 83-6.

¹²⁹ Elisabeth M. C. Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 22-26.

¹³⁰ Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, “S'imaginer le passé et le présent: conscience historique et identité urbaine en Flandre à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 55 (2003), 168.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

¹³² Lisa Demets & Jan Dumolyn, “Urban chronicle writing in late medieval Flanders: the case of Bruges during the Flemish revolt of 1482-1490”, *Urban History*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2016), pp. 28-31. See also Werner Paravicini's proposed methodology, “De la mémoire urbaine”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 55 (2003), pp. 13-17.

parameters for the generic distinction of urban historiography, these scholars have stressed the urban centre's predominance in the narrative, the civic identities of author and audience and the texts' codicological history.¹³³

Fundamentally, these conclusions are useful for an assessment of the *Journal* as a politically engaged example of "mémoire oppositionnelle", evidencing the ideological perspectives of a restricted group of Parisians.¹³⁴ Indeed, J.G.A. Pocock argued that historiographical production is rooted within a sense of 'self' formed through contestation whereupon the narrative emerges as a means *of* contestation.¹³⁵ Paris and its inhabitants ("noz gens") represented the focus of the Bourgeois' writing, exhibiting a sense of collective identity developed through historical awareness.¹³⁶ The *Journal's* Parisian character was reinforced through topographical specificity, demonstrating "la perception spatiale de la ville dont ces témoignages se ressentent, plus spécialement à la mesure de l'inscription dans le territoire urbain que cette écriture semble réaliser".¹³⁷ The historical affirmation of this group on the periphery of municipal politics reveals their investment in the outcome of events and their desire to exert control over Paris' narratives.¹³⁸ As Van Bruaene has noted,

¹³³ Pierre Monnet, "La mémoire des élites urbaines dans l'Empire à la fin du Moyen Âge entre écriture de soi et l'histoire de la cité", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 55 (2003), pp. 49-51.

¹³⁴ Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, "S'imaginer le passé et le présent", pp. 174-7.

¹³⁵ J.G.A. Pocock, "Historiography as a Form of Political Thought", *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (2011), 4; "The Origins of Study of the Past: A Comparative Approach" in *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 145-86.

¹³⁶ Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 256. See also Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, (Paris: Aubier, 1991), pp. 315-25; Frederik Buylaert & Jelle Haemers, "Record-Keeping and Status Performance in the Early Modern Low Countries", *Past & Present*, Supplement 11 (2016), 132.

¹³⁷ Pierre Monnet, "La mémoire des élites", 59.

¹³⁸ Charles Connell, *Popular Opinion*, 20; Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn & Rafaël Oliva, "La communauté comme espace de légitimité politique bilan provisoire et perspectives de recherches" in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), 189. Similar circumstances have been noted for the London Chronicles. Mary-Rose McLaren, "Reading, Writing and Recording. Literacy and the London Chronicles in the Fifteenth Century" in *London and the*

“l’interprétation de l’histoire constitue l’un des enjeux des luttes permanentes entre divers groupes de la société urbaine.”¹³⁹ In its very creation, historiography serves to “confirm, legitimate and reinforce” the continuous being of the group it identifies.¹⁴⁰ Consequently, a consideration of the *Journal* as an articulation of civic consciousness counters Paris’ isolation from considerations of late medieval historiography. Like other European cities, the *Journal* suggests that Parisians also employed historiography to voice political concerns and consolidate group identities.

In turn, the concerted study of the *Journal* has been complicated by enduring pejorative perceptions of the text’s historiographical value. While Johan Huizinga employed the *Journal* to demonstrate the “passionate intensity” of medieval life, he described the Bourgeois as an “nuchter man, die zich zelden verlustigt in stijlversiering of gedachtenspel”.¹⁴¹ For Janet Shirley, the Bourgeois “can hardly have been very eminent in any field, or at least politically, for he would not have swallowed... all of his own side’s propaganda”.¹⁴² Indeed, the Bourgeois’ simplistic style, omission of learned references and reliance upon rumour have led historians to disregard the text’s political or historical importance due to innate assumptions about his political and emotional naivety.¹⁴³ Explaining his decision to use the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis* instead of the *Journal* to assess public opinion, Guenée argued that

Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron. Proceedings of the 2004 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. Matthew Davies & Andrew Prescott (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp. 346-65.

¹³⁹ Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, “S’imaginer le passé et le présent”, 174.

¹⁴⁰ J.G.A. Pocock, “Historiography”, 5.

¹⁴¹ A prosaic man who rarely endeavours to creatively ornament his style. Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, ed. L. Brummel in *Verzamelde werken*, Vol. 3, (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1949), pp. 7-9, 256.

¹⁴² Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 16.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-24; Colette Beaune, “La rumeur”, 199.

Les éclairages qui nous sont ainsi donnés sur l'opinion publique parisienne sont riches et vivants. Mais ils restent ponctuels et terriblement partiaux. Car le 'Bourgeois' est un 'Bourguignon', partisan convaincu du duc de Bourgogne Jean sans Peur. Son journal *n'est que le témoignage sans nuances d'un 'homme de parti borné'*.¹⁴⁴

This view is ingrained in historiographical approaches. Beaune described the Bourgeois as “un clerc bourguignon”; “dans ses sources comme dans ses opinions, notre historien est bourguignon.”¹⁴⁵ Nevertheless, an examination of political communication and public opinion through the *Journal* problematises these conclusions. The Parisian identity of the Bourgeois and his audience defined his outlook, with the endorsement of the Burgundians, English or French determined by these factions' attitudes towards the capital in relation to the civic community's interests.¹⁴⁶ It is true that during the first decades of his writing, internal evidence strongly suggests that the Bourgeois' local and institutional communities closely aligned their civic objectives with those of the Burgundian dukes.¹⁴⁷ However, this relationship was not determined by a straightforward devotion to the Burgundian regime, but rather an innate understanding of how Burgundian support could reciprocally secure municipal advancement for the duke's Parisian supporters, promote wider political participation and, as a corollary to this point, ensure civic independence. This Parisian focus is more clearly demonstrated from 1418, when the Bourgeois increasingly eschewed an endorsement of the Burgundian duke and instead articulated Parisian identity

¹⁴⁴ Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique*, 12. Emphasis my own.

¹⁴⁵ Colette Beaune “La rumeur”, 191; *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 16. Numerous historians share this perspective including: Vincent Challet, “Violence as a Political Language: The Uses and Misuses of Violence in late Medieval French and English Popular Rebellions” in *The Routledge Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker & Dirk Schoenaers, (London: Routledge, 2017), 281; Régine Pernoud & Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans. Jeremy du Quesnay Adams, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), 141; Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons*, 257; Craig Taylor, *Joan of Arc*, 229; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 154.

¹⁴⁶ Anne Curry (ed. & trans.), “Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (?1449, French)”, 228.

¹⁴⁷ For this evidence, see Chapter II.

through a juxtaposition with the 'Armagnac' faction, even criticising Burgundian policy when this undermined Paris' status. With the reassertion of Valois authority over the city in 1436, this focus upon Parisian centrality was cemented through the consistent contrasting of royal and civic prerogatives. Consequently, the Bourgeois' perceived 'Burgundian' character demonstrates the outcome of underlying, fluid political conversations determined by socio-political and professional contexts that privileged an inherent emphasis upon Paris' central ideological, political and social status.

Historiography

This thesis contends that medieval public spheres existed, with the *Bourgeois' Journal* shedding light upon the formal and informal discursive networks that facilitated political commentary. Despite Habermas' stress upon the importance of technological developments such as print, the text demonstrates that late medieval urban inhabitants were more than capable of discussing societal and political issues through a wide range of media.¹⁴⁸ Methodologically, the Habermasian model has been adapted to medieval contexts by Leidulf Melve. Melve argues that public spheres develop in relation to the contentious issues faced within society. An interpreter (either a public or an individual) presents a controversial problem to a wider audience representing a potential public; in oral and

¹⁴⁸ The plurality of public spheres is stressed by Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, "Introduction générale" 9; Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place", 45, n. 21. See also Nicolas Offenstadt, "'L'histoire politique' de la fin du Moyen Âge. Quelques discussions" in *Etre historien du Moyen Âge au XII^e siècle*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2008), pp. 183-6; Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique*, pp. 10-17; Judith Pollmann & Andrew Spicer, "Introduction" in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands: Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 1; Jill Maciak Walshaw, *A Show of Hands for the Republic: Opinion, Information and Repression in Eighteenth-Century Rural France*, (University of Rochester Press, 2014), 15

written contexts, this process is underpinned by the relatively restricted networks and spaces within which information is discussed. This discussion facilitates the formation of a coherent group identity, a “compositional” public sphere that asserts political agency.¹⁴⁹

A public sphere is formed through a process of *internal* deliberations among participants in relation to other *external* groups and bodies, potentially leading to conflicting views that reinforce the identity of those participating in a given sphere.¹⁵⁰ Opinion therefore emerges as the product of tension between multiple (public) spheres, a “dynamic process of opinion-formation” involving competing or overlapping media and groups.¹⁵¹ Incorporating individuals from domestic, professional, religious, political and neighbourhood settings, medieval public spheres blurred modern notions of public and private, revealing a sliding scale of intimacy across numerous networks.¹⁵² This approach complicates Habermas’ neat distinction of private and public spheres of political action.¹⁵³ Indeed, as Klaus Oschema has already argued, the *Journal* represents an important source for assessing this “Frage des ‘öffentlichen Raums’, seiner Herstellung und Beherrschung”, with fifteenth-century French authors revealing “die Markierung des öffentlichen Raums durch die jeweils in Paris dominierenden Parteien beziehungsweise ihre Anhänger hervor”.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁹ Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 10-22; “Even the Very Laymen Are Chattering about It’: The Politicization of Public Opinion, 800-1200”, *Viator*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2013), pp. 26-7.

¹⁵⁰ Agnes Ku, “Revisiting the Notion of ‘Public’ in Habermas’ Theory – Toward a Theory of Politics of Public Credibility”, *Sociological Theory*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (July 2000), pp. 224, 230-1

¹⁵¹ Jill Maciak Walshaw, *A Show of Hands for the Republic*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁵² Shannon McSheffrey, “Place, Space, and Situation: Public and Private in the Making of Marriage in Late-Medieval London”, *Speculum*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (October 2004), 968, 986; Peter Von Moos, “‘Public’ et ‘privé’ à la fin du Moyen Âge. Le ‘bien commun’ et la ‘loi de la conscience’”, *Studi medievali*, Serie 3, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2000), pp. 505-48; Richard MacKenny, “Public and Private in Renaissance Venice”, *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (March 1992), pp. 109-12.

¹⁵³ Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, “Introduction générale”, 5.

¹⁵⁴ “Question of ‘public space’, its production and control”; “the marking of public space by each of the factions dominating Paris and more specifically by their adherents”. Klaus Oschema, “Die

Scholars have emphatically demonstrated the ways in which the dissemination of information through visual and oral media combined with written texts enabled local communities “to become part of a supra-local movement”, facilitating commentary on wider political developments.¹⁵⁵ The Bourgeois-as-interpreter assisted the political engagement of his artisanal audience, structuring a “communicative community” that articulated opinions “capable of making a difference to the public fate”, with this publicity signifying “le principe d’un contrôle critique exercé sur le gouvernement”.¹⁵⁶ Although medieval urban elites frequently tried to control the tenor of political conversation, the *Journal* testifies to peripheral discussions where rumours and opinions abounded, revealing how Parisians deployed their political understanding to secure a stake in civic authority.¹⁵⁷ From a Foucauldian approach that perceives power as being predicated upon the discursive processes that frame social relations, the ways in which Parisians appropriated and used language is central to understanding wider contests in fifteenth-century France.¹⁵⁸ As such, public spheres concurrently represented the physical context of communication, the media of communication and the text(s) communicated, whether oral or written, determined by the style of interaction between speaker, interpreter and audience – aspects that will be

Öffentlichkeit des Politischen” in *Politische Öffentlichkeit im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Martin Kintzinger & Bernd Schneidmüller, (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2011), 75.

¹⁵⁵ Jan Bloemendal & Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Literary Cultures”, 12. This contention has been championed by the series of studies published in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge. Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011). Robert Scribner, “Oral Culture and the Diffusion of Reformation Ideas”, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 5, No. 3 (1984), pp. 237-256; Adam Fox, “Rumour, News and Popular Political Opinion”, *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (September 1997), pp. 597-620.

¹⁵⁶ Richard Rorty, “Habermas and Lyotard on Post-Modernity” in *Essays on Heidegger and Others*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 38; Willem Frijhoff, “Communication et vie quotidienne”, pp. 33-4.

¹⁵⁷ Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, “Introduction générale”, 5.

¹⁵⁸ Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité, 1. La volonté de savoir*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1976), pp. 121-29.

examined throughout this thesis.¹⁵⁹ As an interpreter, the Bourgeois' writing evokes the conventional discourses employed within his community to discuss socio-political issues, delineating an "opinion community", "a group within which opinions are discussed or assumptions on certain topics are taken for granted".¹⁶⁰ Opinion communities comprise social networks, but also "imagined communities" identified by shared religion, geographical origin or political sentiment, with this exposure resulting in collective modes of talking and thinking about issues – an 'idiom' understood and used in specific contexts that is particularly important for considerations of collective urban identities in the late Middle Ages.¹⁶¹ Through this communication, environments, social relationships and authority structures are conceptualised as mutual contexts for political thought.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁹ Ward Parks, "The Textualisation of Orality in Literary Criticism" in *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages*, ed. A.N. Doane & Carol Braun Pasternack, (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), pp. 47-8; Jack Goody, *The Interface between the Written and the Oral*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 259-61.

¹⁶⁰ Claudia Strauss, *Making Sense of Public Opinion: American Discourses about Immigration and Social Programs*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15; Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), pp. 3-4. The approach borrows from the "speech community" theory in linguistic anthropology. John J. Gumperz, "The Speech Community" in *Linguistic Anthropology: A Reader*, 2nd Edition, ed. Alessandro Duranti, (Chichester: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 66-7; Ben Rampton, "Speech Community" in *Society and Language Use*, ed. Jürgen Jaspers, Jef Verschueren & Jan-Ola Östman, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 2010), pp. 275-8

¹⁶¹ Randolph C. Head, *Early modern democracy in the Grisons: Social order and political language in a Swiss mountain canton, 1470-1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 5; Christopher Fletcher, "What Makes a Political Language?", 93; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 39; Homi K. Bhabha, "Culture's In-Between" in *Questions of Cultural Identity*, (London: Sage, 1996), 55.

¹⁶² J. G. A. Pocock, "Verbalizing a Political Act: Towards a Politics of Speech", *Political Theory*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (February 1973), pp. 41-5; "The History of Political Thought: A Methodological Inquiry" in *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 3-19; "The Reconstruction of Discourse: Towards the Historiography of Political Thought" in *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 67-8; Elías José Palti, "The 'Theoretical Evolution' in Intellectual History: From the History of Political Ideas to the History of Political Languages", 396; Barbara J. Shapiro, *Political Communication*, pp. 6-7.

This discursive concordance supported the potential to contest political narratives in Parisian space.¹⁶³ As a repository of rumour and opinion the *Journal* encapsulated the political language of a Parisian subgroup – the typical rhetoric deployed by this community to articulate its socio-political views.¹⁶⁴ It is therefore crucial to assess how this discourse was conveyed through the *Journal* and the manner in which it was related to the ideas expressed by contemporary theorists, including Jean Gerson (1373-1429), Christine de Pizan (1364-c.1430) or Jean Juvénal des Ursins (1388-1473).¹⁶⁵ This is especially important since Terence Ball has argued that key political concepts, such as ‘tyranny’ or the ‘common good’, cannot be established definitively, instead being approached subjectively by every individual involved in political discussion.¹⁶⁶ The *Journal*’s compilation in tandem with events enables the historian to contextualise these concepts, reducing the distances between idea, text and reality.¹⁶⁷ This reduction reveals writing as an inherently *political* action that exposes the relationships between self and other in social and political order.¹⁶⁸ The *Journal* mediated interaction between the Bourgeois, his community and the wider civic environment, balancing authorial intention with an audience’s horizon of expectations, “the aesthetic and intellectual categories that govern the reception and interpretation” of texts by their

¹⁶³ Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, (Chichester: Ellis Horwood, 1985), pp. 12-19.

¹⁶⁴ Paul Ricoeur, “What is a Text? Explanation and Understanding” in *Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences: Essays on Language, Action and Interpretation*, trans. John B. Thompson, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 148, 158-64.

¹⁶⁵ On the connections between the Bourgeois’ perspective and the thoughts of these writers, see Chapter VI. Elías José Palti, “The ‘Theoretical Revolution’”, 392.

¹⁶⁶ Terence Ball, “Confessions of a Conceptual Historian,” *Finnish Yearbook of Political Thought*, Vol. 6 (2002), 21.

¹⁶⁷ Quentin Skinner, “Meaning and Understanding in the History of Ideas”, *History and Theory*, Vol. 81, No.1 (1969), 61; Duncan Bell, “Language, Legitimacy and the Project of Critique”, *Alternatives*, Vol. 27 (2002), pp. 329-332; Pocock, *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History*, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 10.

¹⁶⁸ Duncan Bell, “Language, Legitimacy and the Project of Critique”, 331; Sarah Rees Jones, “Emotions, Speech and the Art of Politics”, 602.

audiences.¹⁶⁹ Brian Stock has argued that literate interaction promoted the development of “textual communities” within which individual interpreters develop normative ideological practices that reform “a group’s thought and action”.¹⁷⁰ The *Journal* evidences important parallels in textual function, revealing the vocabularies employed by Parisians through which political, social and historical events were explained, typically with recourse to a moral framework.¹⁷¹

The historiographical tendency to isolate the *Journal* from its context as a passive reflection of Parisian events has obfuscated the Bourgeois’ engagement with contemporary political discussion. As an interface between official media, rumour and the Bourgeois’ own perspectives, the *Journal* traces dialogical relationships through oral, written and symbolic forms. The Bourgeois derived authority from the control that he exerted over Parisian events through his narrative, negotiating meaning between incident and audience.¹⁷² Paul Ricoeur stressed that narrative and emplotment are essential to this negotiation, with the meaning attributed to events framed by a text’s internal logic, accomplished by the Bourgeois through his conjunction of perspectives, opinions and speech acts in Parisian space.¹⁷³ With the

¹⁶⁹ Roger Chartier, “From Texts to Readers: Literary Criticism, Sociology of Practice and Cultural History”, *Estudos históricos*, Vol. 30, No. 62 (September-December 2017), pp. 744-6.

¹⁷⁰ Brian Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past*, (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 23, 100.

¹⁷¹ A similar approach has been proposed by Eric Ketelaar for Ghent. “Records Out and Archives In: Early Modern Cities as Creators of Records and as Communities of Archives”, *Archival Science*, Vol. 10 (2010), 202; Brigitte Bedoz-Rezak, “Civic Liturgies and Urban records in Northern France, 1100-1400” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 34-55. See also Duncan Bell, “Language, Legitimacy”, 337; Quentin Skinner, “Some Problems in the Analysis of Thought and Action” in *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, ed. James Tully, (Cambridge: Polity, 1988), 110.

¹⁷² Michel de Certeau, “Prendre la parole” (July 1968) in *La prise de parole et autres écrits politiques*, (Paris: Le Seuil, 1995), 51.

¹⁷³ Paul Ricoeur, *Time and Narrative*, Vol. 1, trans. Kathleen McLaughlin & David Pellauer, (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 65-76; Kenneth Sheppard, “Telling Contested Stories: J.G.A. Pocock and Paul Ricoeur”, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 39, No. 6, pp. 888.

recognition that the Bourgeois was writing for an intended audience, it becomes clear that the narrative cannot be represented as an unmediated insight into the Bourgeois' views, but encapsulated a collaborative process whereby author and audience moulded information to suit their shared perspectives. Beaune distinguished between the Bourgeois' succinct, miscellaneous passages and "de grands récits d'une rhétorique complexe et calculée qui nécessite une écriture soignée et déborde le système habituel rythmé de paragraphes courts."¹⁷⁴ However, this overlooks the underlying evaluative processes through which every piece of information contributes to a moralised interpretation of events. Shifting food prices, the weather and mystical events rhetorically substantiated notions of improvement and decline that highlighted fundamental connections between nature, divine providence, human behaviour and belief.¹⁷⁵

James C. Scott's notion of 'hidden transcripts' clarifies the *Journal's* potential as a form of "mémoire oppositionnelle", as a resource for challenging socio-political superiors through routinized and informal means of resistance that comprise the "adaptation, subversion and re-inscription of dominant discourses".¹⁷⁶ Scott argued that to maintain cohesion societies engage in a public performance of civility conditioned by relations of power between elites and subordinates (a public transcript) that is certainly evoked by the

¹⁷⁴ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 14.

¹⁷⁵ David A. Fein, "Acts of Nature and Preternatural Acts in the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (1405-1449)", *Fifteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 20 (1993), pp. 65-75.

¹⁷⁶ The terminological history of 'resistance' in Middle French has also been usefully analysed by Adrien Carbonnet, Anh Thy Nguyen & David Dominé-Cohn, "Résister au Moyen Âge, Introduction", *Questes*, Vol. 39 (2018), pp. 9-18. The foundation to this approach to power and discourse is Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power", trans. Leslie Sawyer, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Summer 1982), pp. 780-2, 789; Kevin Jon Heller, "Power, Subjectification and Resistance in Foucault", *SubStance*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (1996), pp. 98-105; Brent L. Pickett, "Foucault and the Politics of Resistance", *Polity*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (Summer 1996), pp. 445-50; Robyn Thomas & Annette Davies, "Theorizing the Micro-Politics of Resistance: New Public Management and Managerial Identities in the Uke Public Services", *Organization Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 5 (2005), pp. 685-7.

Journal's dialogical character.¹⁷⁷ In contrast, hidden transcripts present the “offstage discourse beyond the direct observation of power-holders [that] confirms, contradicts or inflects what appears in the public transcript.”¹⁷⁸ By focusing purely upon discussions taking place within a specific subsection of society, the landed bourgeoisie, Habermas’ public sphere obfuscated the reality of continuous tensions between groups who contest ideological hegemony.¹⁷⁹ Consequently, the Bourgeois’ record of contestation and criticism formed part of a public process of negotiation.¹⁸⁰ By assessing political behaviour through a moral lens, the Bourgeois questioned the legitimacy of France’s elite and presented his audience with a framework to do likewise.

Other characteristics also permit the *Journal's* identification with Scott’s notion of hidden transcripts. The text was specific to “a given social site and a particular set of actors”, as indicated by its focus upon specific geographical and institutional contexts, as well as its survival in only two fifteenth-century manuscripts.¹⁸¹ Moreover, hidden transcripts comprised micro-resistances such as tax evasion that facilitated subliminal challenges to the public transcript. If writing was one means of channelling power, the *Journal* itself emerged as a form of resistance, capturing opposition at moments of acute oppression. It concurrently

¹⁷⁷ James C. Scott’s approach to the public transcript, hidden transcript and modes of resistance have been profoundly influential for studies of early modern and medieval political communication, interaction and protest. See Christian D. Liddy & Jelle Haemers, “Popular Politics in the Late Medieval City: York and Bruges”, *English Historical Review*, Vol. 128, No. 533 (2013), pp. 780-2; K.J. Kesselring, “Deference and Dissent in Tudor England: Reflections on Sixteenth-Century Protest”, *History Compass*, Vol. 3 (2005), pp. 3-4.

¹⁷⁸ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 4.

¹⁷⁹ Jan Bloemendal & Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Literary Cultures”, 16.

¹⁸⁰ Kenneth Sheppard, “Telling Contested Stories”, pp. 880-882. Xavier Nadrigny, *Information et opinion publique*, pp. 161-74. Christian Liddy has asserted similar conclusions for later medieval English towns, *Contesting the City: The Politics of Citizenship in English Towns, 1250-1530*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 130-140.

¹⁸¹ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance*, 14.

represented and related a repertoire of behaviours that symbolically contested royal and civic authority as forms of “everyday resistance”.¹⁸² If the borders between public and subordinate transcripts were sites of constant ideological struggle, the Bourgeois’ assertion of narrative agency reveals how writing could also challenge control of the public transcript, particularly through his selective transmission of information. Parisian processions organised by John, duke of Bedford to reinforce ties between Paris and the Lancastrian regime, or news of Charles VII’s coronation at Reims, were deliberately omitted. Other events that an officially controlled public transcript sought to ignore, such as the irreverence of the commons at Henry VI’s coronation feast in December 1431, were accorded disproportionate detail by the Bourgeois.¹⁸³ A major theme of this thesis is an examination of how the *Journal* traced political contest through the consistent juxtaposition of official and popular perspectives, constituting in itself a form of everyday resistance and demonstrating the distances between official perceptions of society and those established at lower, or even individual, levels.¹⁸⁴

Consequently, this analysis of political communication reveals the Bourgeois’ engagement at two superimposed levels. At the first, the *Journal*’s insight into public opinion facilitated the mapping of authority within civic society. By privileging Parisian responses, regardless of their facticity or subjectivity, the *Journal* structured dissonances between urban experiences and the messages promoted by civic and royal officials. At a second level, the

¹⁸² Jill Maciak Walshaw has insightfully employed this notion to demonstrate the extent of rural resistance to official policies and power in eighteenth-century France. *A Show of Hands for the Republic*, pp. 61-3.

¹⁸³ On these events see below, Chapter V.

¹⁸⁴ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 31-42; Serge Proulx “Une lecture de l’œuvre de Michel de Certeau: L’invention du quotidien, paradigme de l’activité des usagers”, *Communication*, Vol. 15, No. 2 (1994), pp. 175-77

Bourgeois assessed the moral character of this human interaction. Portrayals of popular poverty, societal upheaval and urban complaint evidenced the moral corruption of the highest echelons of French society. In this schema, political communication structured through a dichotomy of ruler and ruled underpinned a parallel consideration of Christian sin and virtue. More generally, the text offers insights into the function of opinion and the operation of public spheres in one of fifteenth-century Europe's largest cities. The Bourgeois' interpretation of political communication codified elements of a nascent urban ideology comprising a heteroglossia of repertoires, demonstrating an overlap between multiple communities in medieval urban space.¹⁸⁵ Finally, this selective reconstruction of communication consolidated the boundaries of a Parisian subgroup, articulating values fundamental to their identity and interests.¹⁸⁶

Outline of the Thesis

The *Journal* therefore opens up important questions pertaining to how Parisians discussed, accepted and challenged the messages disseminated by rulers, and how these were appropriate within a system of political commentary integral to broader public spheres. To address these themes the thesis is divided into three parts. Part One, comprising **Chapters I and II**, closely examines the Bourgeois' identity, his institutional context and potential audience(s). Part Two, (**Chapters III, IV and V**), explores the nature of political communication and public opinion as expressed in the *Journal*, focusing upon 'official'

¹⁸⁵ Jan Dumolyn, "Urban Ideologies in Later Medieval Flanders", pp. 77-8.

¹⁸⁶ Jan Dumolyn, "Une idéologie urbaine 'bricolée' en Flandre médiévale: les *Sept portes de Bruges* dans le manuscrit Gruuthuse (début du XV^e)", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (2010), pp. 1039-45.

channels of communication and popular responses, rumour and resistance, and symbolic communication through royal, civic and religious ceremonies. Finally, **Chapter VI** assesses the moral and political significance of three predominant political issues discussed by the Bourgeois, namely warfare, taxation and good government.

Chapter I presents the first detailed analysis of the Bourgeois' identity since Alexandre Tuetey's 1881 critical edition, including a new hypothesis identifying the Bourgeois as the theologian, Notre-Dame canon and priest of the church of Saints-Innocents, Nicolas Confranc (†1451). The discussion re-evaluates the Bourgeois' dominant social, political and religious standpoints crucial to understanding the attitudes he adopted in his writing. **Chapter II** assesses internal evidence to determine the Bourgeois' institutional and neighbourhood affiliations. These include his membership of the University of Paris and clergy of Notre-Dame, and his connections to Paris' right bank. These contexts influenced the Bourgeois' writing and provide insights into his potential audiences, culminating in the argument that the *Journal* articulated the political attitudes of a cohesive group of the Halles district's artisanal inhabitants characterised by an opposition to royal centralisation and increasing taxation that rendered them Jean sans Peur's natural allies. Indeed, during the first decades of the fifteenth century, members of this community exploited political turbulence and asserted their loyalties to the Burgundian dukes to secure their prominence in Paris' civic administration. The *Journal's* connection to a rising class of civic officials is further confirmed by evidence of the manuscript's circulation later in the century that indicate its continued value for a Parisian right-bank family rising in municipal politics.

Chapter III examines the Bourgeois' engagement with official communication, that is, the media controlled by political and religious institutions designed to disseminate clear

ideological messages. Three channels will be studied here: civic proclamations, public executions and religious sermons. In each instance, the Bourgeois manipulated the perception of messages' legitimacy, focusing upon popular responses to validate alternative narratives that juxtaposed Parisian and royal or civic perspectives. The *Journal* suggests that, once in the public sphere, Parisians could appropriate and invert these messages for political effect. In turn, the chapter analyses how political communication was conditioned by notions of public space, demonstrating a profound interrelation in the Bourgeois' conception of messages and the spaces in which they were delivered as a condition of their authority. The connection meant that control of space was integral to the maintenance of political power by factions competing for authority in Paris, but also that space represented a forum through which Parisians contested this authority. Contrary to assumptions that the Bourgeois imbibed propaganda favourable to his own perspectives, **Chapter III** contends that the Bourgeois and his audience were able to discern and challenge attempts to influence public opinion. A final section examines the centrality of emotional rhetoric to both these processes and the Bourgeois' writing. Where Huizinga presented the Bourgeois' emotional discourse as evidence of the irrational naivety of medieval society, this thesis argues that the Bourgeois' emotional style corresponded to culturally determined notions of Christian morality that facilitated his manicheistic assessment of moral order, enabling the Bourgeois to rationalise or critique political messages.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, the Bourgeois' seemingly forthright emotional responses emerge as a more manipulative, controlled and self-aware process designed to influence audience reactions. The relationship between emotional

¹⁸⁷ Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, pp. 7-31; Jesse J. Prinz, "The Moral Emotions" in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, ed. Peter Goldie, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 520.

expression, political discourse and moral reflection attributes to the former a normative function that enabled Parisians to articulate community boundaries.

Chapter IV complements this approach by considering rumour's centrality to the Bourgeois' narrative. Rumour's role in the *Journal* has already been noted by historians, with Beaune arguing that for the Bourgeois "les nouvelles ainsi transmises de bouche à oreille sont vraies et même plus fiables que les nouvelles officielles."¹⁸⁸ Past studies have rested upon the underlying assumption that, like propaganda, the Bourgeois transparently related rumours as he experienced them or only recorded those rumours and opinions that corresponded to his 'Burgundian' character.¹⁸⁹ In response, this chapter asserts that the Bourgeois' employment of rumour could be strategic, as an element integral to the consolidation of groups with shared political attitudes. Building upon approaches drawn from sociology and recent historical studies of rumour during the French Revolution, the chapter contests the assertion that rumours proliferate due to a deficiency in information, with the *Journal* suggesting an interrelationship between rumour and official media. While rumours evidence a community's distrust of official sources, they are also deliberately fostered by these same channels to alleviate popular anxieties and affirm support.

As with the effects of propaganda, medieval urban inhabitants participated in and reflected upon the role of rumour as a predominantly oral phenomenon. Examining its role in fifteenth-century Flemish urban revolts, Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers have demonstrated how popular speech "formed an essential part of a rebellious repertoire of symbolic violence", though these "speech acts remained within a dominant ideological

¹⁸⁸ Colette Beaune, "La rumeur", 191.

¹⁸⁹ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 16.

framework... understood by all social states in the town.”¹⁹⁰ The approaches of John L. Austin and Pierre Bourdieu demonstrate how speech effected change, and medieval authorities recognised the dangers inherent in uncontrolled discussion.¹⁹¹ Speech considered as act underscores the role played by rumour in constructing and consolidating identities through contest. As Foucault argued, “le discours... n'est pas simplement ce qui manifeste (ou cache) le désir; c'est aussi ce qui est l'objet du désir; et puisque le discours n'est pas simplement ce qui traduit les luttes ou les systèmes de domination, mais ce pour quoi, ce par quoi on lutte, le pouvoir dont on cherche à s'emparer.”¹⁹² Consequently, rumour appears integral to an established public transcript for the expression of criticism and resistance. It was through the political agency that individuals arrogated for themselves in the transmission of rumour that the phenomenon emerges as a crucial element of political expression that underpinned socio-political group cohesion in the late medieval city.

Where the first part of **Chapter IV** examines rumour's presentation within the *Journal*, a second part assesses precisely this function in the reinforcement of group boundaries by tracing the development of an 'Armagnac' stereotype based upon pre-existing pejorative archetypes of soldierly behaviour.¹⁹³ Through the association of this “repertoire of common references” with the Orléanist faction, the Bourgeois conflated rumour and moral commentary, consolidating the boundaries distinguishing Parisians and Armagnacs.¹⁹⁴ When the Armagnac threat was perceived to be internal to the civic

¹⁹⁰ Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, “A Bad Chicken was Brooding”, pp. 85-6.

¹⁹¹ John L. Austin, *How to do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962), pp. 132-63; Jill Maciak Walshaw, *A Show of Hands for the Republic*, 72; Willem Frijhoff, “Communication et vie quotidienne”, 34.

¹⁹² Michel Foucault, *L'ordre du discours*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), 12.

¹⁹³ Building upon the work of Claude Gauvard, “Rumeurs et gens de guerre dans le royaume de France au milieu du XV^e siècle”, *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), pp. 281-92.

¹⁹⁴ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-1794*, (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2017), 8.

community, as when murmurs of Armagnac plots to betray Paris surfaced in 1418, the Bourgeois employed these rumours to reiterate Burgundian solidarity and retrospectively explain the massacres of suspected Armagnac supporters that year. As such, the final section of the chapter examines specifically the role played by rumour in the Parisian uprisings of 1413 and 1418, considering their presentation by the Bourgeois to rationalise a wider challenge to civic authority.

These issues of community consolidation, public opinion and political resistance are assessed further in **Chapter V**, which considers Parisian ceremony as an interface conflating official modes of communication and popular responses. Civic ceremonies' empirical features and their function as a forum for negotiation is well established, but the way their narrative reconstruction in historiographical texts evinced forms of political resistance has been overlooked.¹⁹⁵ In this respect, Alain Boureau and Philippe Buc have warned of the dangers of reducing medieval ceremonies to their abstract forms and constituent symbols.¹⁹⁶ Mirroring the examinations of official communication and rumour, the Bourgeois' selective reconstruction of ceremony reveals an embodied and subjective impression of these events that could be structured for political and rhetorical effect. In particular, the *Journal* presents a means of complementing the studies of form and meaning in medieval civic ceremony by demonstrating how participants on the fringes of the elite interpreted their function and, more interestingly, adapted and interpreted their meanings to suit their political

¹⁹⁵ For negotiation, see Neil Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328-1589*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 10.

¹⁹⁶ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 8-11; Alain Boureau, "Les cérémonies royales françaises entre performance juridique et compétence liturgique", *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 46, No. 6 (1991), pp. 1253-1264. See also David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community in Late Medieval London: The Common Profit, Charity and Commemoration*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 70-1.

perspectives. The evidence of contradictory readings of fifteenth-century Parisian ceremony underscore the potential of such textual reconstructions to articulate contested ideological standpoints and question the bases of authority.

To this effect, the chapter examines the Bourgeois' account of Henry VI's Parisian entry and coronation in December 1431 as a case study signalling ceremony's possibility to engender symbolic misrecognition and deliberate resistance. The Bourgeois emphasised dissonant elements to illustrate the distances between Lancastrian and French conceptions of authority, indicating how Parisians articulated their political centrality when this was most fragile under the Lancastrian Dual Monarchy. Civic ceremony emerges as a contractual enterprise, with royal legitimacy assured only through princes' and officials' concordance with Parisian conceptions of traditional authority.¹⁹⁷ The Bourgeois uniquely focused upon Parisian reactions and behaviours towards Henry VI's entry as a means of questioning the Lancastrian regime's ideological basis.

Chapter VI builds upon these analyses to assess the predominant political issues considered throughout the *Journal*, examining the interplay between civic and religious perspectives brought to light by the Bourgeois' focus upon warfare, taxation and good government. These issues were consistently at the forefront of societal conversations, as evidenced by their place in contemporary polemical writings and the factional propaganda that channelled these ideas to urban audiences. Armagnac, Burgundian and Lancastrian partisan literature consistently invited French men and women to reflect upon the legitimate bases of political action and royal power. As such, their place in the *Journal* reflects their

¹⁹⁷ Jean Nicolas, Julio Vald on Baruque & Sergijj Vilfan, "The Monarchic State and Resistance in Spain and the Old Provinces of the Habsburgs, 1400-1800" in *Resistance, Representation and Community*, ed. Peter Blicke, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), pp. 68, 76-82.

discussion within Parisian public spheres, whereas the Bourgeois' control over their narrative presentation simultaneously accorded him agency in the interpretation of the issues confronted by his local community.

The Bourgeois' clerical consideration of political debates presents interesting parallels with these messages that dominated contemporary political discussion, explored through a comparison of the ideas evoked by the Bourgeois with those discussed by political theorists closer to power, such as Jean Juvénal des Ursins, Jean Gerson or Jean Petit (†1411). The approach suggests that the moral contestation that characterised the first decade of the Armagnac-Burgundian civil conflict, as illustrated by Jean Gerson's *Vivat Rex* or Jean Petit's *Justification du meurtre de Louis d'Orléans*, emanated throughout Parisian society and influenced the Bourgeois' own socio-political outlook. In turn, the dialectic of political interaction between ruler and ruled that drove the Bourgeois' narrative was overlaid by this dichotomous assessment of Christian sin and virtue. Through this moral assessment of human behaviour, the Bourgeois developed a rhetorical mechanism that enabled him to trace God's influence over temporal affairs, enabling good and evil to be traced in the world. In a context of political turbulence, religious schism, heresy, societal inversion and Apocalypse, this moralisation of temporal affairs provided the Bourgeois and his audience with essential tools to arrogate a sense of agency in the determination of political legitimacy centred upon a fundamental awareness of Paris' central status.

Chapter I. Identifying the Bourgeois of Paris

During the nineteenth century the French historians Auguste Vallet de Viriville, Auguste Longnon and Alexandre Tuetey attempted to identify the so-called 'Bourgeois' of Paris, but typically their theories tended "to cancel each other out", with one disproving the other.¹ The disappearance of the original text and the absence of a prologue in the surviving manuscripts, where the author may have identified himself, have compelled historians to rely upon the internal evidence to uncover the Bourgeois' characteristics.² More recent historiography has been content to summarise these principal traits without seeking to suggest new individuals.³ Colette Beaune concluded that until new documentation surfaces, the question concerning the Bourgeois' identity is unlikely to be solved and "cela n'a guère d'importance", since so much can be deciphered from the text.⁴ Nevertheless, this chapter will address the Bourgeois' chief characteristics and previous theories pertaining to his identity, before proposing a new potential author: the Parisian theologian and canon of Notre-Dame cathedral, Nicolas Confranc. Finally, the terminology of the 'Bourgeois' itself will be problematised, given confusion surrounding its applicability to the *Journal's* author.⁵

¹ Janet Shirley, (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 14; Auguste Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII, roi de France, et de son époque, 1403-1461*, Vol. 3, (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1865), 97; Auguste Longnon, "Conjectures sur l'auteur du journal parisien de 1409 à 1449", *MSHP*, Vol. 2 (1876), pp. 318-329; Alexandre Tuetey (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449 publié d'après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881), pp. ix-xliv.

² Janet Shirley, (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 14.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-30; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris de 1405 à 1449*, (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), pp. 11-3. See also Anne Curry (ed.), "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" in *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources & Interpretations*, (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 175-6.

⁴ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 13.

⁵ Colette Beaune, (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 11; Janet Shirley, (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 20-22; Elina Suomela-Harma, "Les temps de la fin dans quelques textes de la première moitié du XV^e siècle (Alain Chartier, Juvénal des Ursins, Le Bourgeois de Paris)" in *Fin des temps et temps de la fin dans l'univers médiéval*, (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence,

The Bourgeois' Chief Characteristics

Internal evidence points to five key characteristics of the Bourgeois pertinent to his identification. First, the Bourgeois was associated with the cathedral of Notre-Dame, a connection that Janet Shirley argued could have assumed any form, from being a member of the congregation to the chapter.⁶ Alternatively, the Bourgeois could have been a member of one of the eight churches administered by the bishop or chapter of Paris, the so-called “filles d'évêque” or “filles du chapitre”.⁷ This connection to Notre-Dame is demonstrated by the Bourgeois' participation in a procession in May 1427 from the cathedral to Montmartre, then on to Saint-Ladre and Saint-Merry, with the Bourgeois stating that “*nous mîmes une heure largement a venir de Montmartre a Saint-Ladre.*”⁸ Hitherto unrecognized, this ceremony was the cathedral chapter's first Rogation Week procession.⁹ The link to the chapter is substantiated by references to other cathedral processions in the 1420s, combined with the Bourgeois' interest in episcopal politics.¹⁰ The Bourgeois endorsed the election of Guillaume Chartier as bishop in December 1447, “*homme de tres bonne renommée, et estoit chanoine de Nostre-Dame de Paris*”, with Beaune suggesting that this approval stemmed from a shared canonical status.¹¹ Similarly, the Bourgeois was critical of bishop Denis du Moulin in

1993), pp. 475-77; Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard & Guy Raynaud de Lage (ed.), *Dictionnaire des lettres françaises: le Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Fayard, 1992), 873.

⁶ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 17.

⁷ Anne Massoni, “Les collégiales parisiennes, “filles de l'évêque” et “filles du chapitre” de Notre-Dame” in *Notre-Dame de Paris 1163-2013: Actes du colloque scientifique tenu au Collège des Bernardins, à Paris, du 12 au 15 décembre 2012*, ed. Cédric Giraud, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 251-7.

⁸ It took *us* the greater part of an hour to walk from Montmartre to Saint-Ladre”. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 105v.

⁹ Victor Leroquais, *Le Bréviaire de Philippe le Bon: Bréviaire parisien du XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Rousseau, 1929), pp. 53-4.

¹⁰ On this see below, Chapter II.

¹¹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 184r; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 436, n. 15.

1441 and concerned by the pressures placed upon the canonically-elected bishops Jean Courtecuisse (1420) and Nicole Fraillon (1426), both of whom were compelled to abandon their posts by the Anglo-Burgundian government in favour of Lancastrian-backed candidates.¹² Additional evidence indicative of the Bourgeois' connection to the cathedral chapter is the fact that his record of a sermon preached on 25th May 1431, explaining papal indulgences for Corpus Christi celebrations, is a verbatim copy of a text found in the register of the chapter's acts, BNF Latin 17740.¹³

Secondly, the Bourgeois was a member of the University of Paris, as demonstrated by his description of a procession on 14th May 1447 being performed by "notre mere l'Université".¹⁴ His membership is also indicated by the use of the first person during the examination of the Spanish prodigy Fernand de Cordoue at the Collège de Navarre in 1445: "et vraiment il a disputé *a nous* au college de Navarre, qui *estions* plus de cinquante des plus parfaiz clerks de l'Université de Paris, et plus de iii mil autres clerks".¹⁵ Though Shirley argued that it is uncertain whether the Bourgeois was among the fifty doctors or three

¹² Georges Grassoreille, "Histoire politique du chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris pendant la domination anglaise, 1420-1437", *MSHP*, Vol. 9 (1882), pp. 125-48, 165-70; Véronique Julerot, *'Y a un grand desordre': élections épiscopales et schismes diocésains en France sous Charles VII*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 79, 107-115; Craig Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre-Dame, 500-1550*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 207; Laurent Tournier, "Notices biographiques des ambassadeurs, porte-parole et députés de l'université de Paris au XV^e siècle", *Laboratoire de Médiévisitque Occidentale de Paris*, accessed on 05/10/2019, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00009385>, pp. 23-4; Henri Omont, "Inventaire des livres de Jean Courtecuisse, évêque de Paris et de Genève (27 octobre 1423)", *BEC*, Vol. 80 (1919), pp. 109-10; On the Bourgeois' reactions to and awareness of Notre-Dame's involvement in political events, see Chapter II.

¹³ "Ensuit la declaracion des indulgences et pardons", Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fols. 398r-398v. The Latin bull declaring the indulgences, "Copia bulle super applicacione indulgenciorum olim ab reverentis corporis Christi concessarum", precedes this addition on fols. 396v-397v.

¹⁴ "Our mother the University". Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 183v.

¹⁵ "Truly, he disputed with *us* at the College of Navarre, [and] we were more than fifty of the most experienced clerics of the University of Paris and more than 3,000 other clerics." *Ibid.*, fol. 181v.

thousand students, the sentence structure strongly suggests the former.¹⁶ The Bourgeois' proximity to the examination is underscored by the clear textual relationship between his description of Fernand de Cordoue and a letter transcribed by the chronicler Mathieu d'Escouchy attributed to the Parisian theologian and canon of Notre-Dame, Jean de l'Olive, along with a similar account found in the Bavarian *Vierte Bairische Fortsetzung* (VBF) compiled between 1443 and 1455.¹⁷ Both accounts point to a letter disseminated by the University of Paris, as the Bavarian chronicle states, "Daz ist ain tail aines sandbriefs, der gescriben ist... von ainem von Paris."¹⁸ The greater detail in the Bourgeois' account than that found in Escouchy's chronicle or in the VBF, particularly his knowledge of Cordoue's fluency in five languages, suggests that he was more intimately involved in the prodigy's examination. If d'Escouchy faithfully reproduced Jean de l'Olive's letter, there is even a sense that l'Olive was referring to doctors like the Bourgeois when he stated that "A ceste cause y avoit des plus saiges [docteurs] qui faisoient grand doubtte qu'il n'eust acquis sa science par art magique et que ce ne fust Ante-Crist".¹⁹ The Bourgeois situated himself personally in this discussion: "Il nous fist tres grant freour, car il sait plus que ne peut savoir

¹⁶ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 15; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, (Paris: Freres Delalain, 1897), xvi.

¹⁷ Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, Vol. 1, ed. Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt, (Paris: Renouard, 1864), pp. 69-72; "Vierte Bairische Fortsetzung" in *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Deutsche Chroniken*, Vol. 2, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, (Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1877), pp. 373-4. For reactions to Fernand de Cordoue and his life, see Julien Havet, "Maître Fernand de Cordoue et l'Université de Paris au XV^e siècle", *MSHPIF*, Vol. 9 (1882), pp. 193-222. On Jean de l'Olive see Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, AD 1373-1500. A Biographical Register. Vol. II, The Secular Clergy*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 397; Constant Baloché, *Église Saint-Merry de Paris. Histoire de la paroisse et de la collégiale, 700-1910*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Oudin, 1911), pp. 60-5.

¹⁸ "This is part of a circular letter that was written... by someone from Paris." "Vierte Bairische Fortsetzung", 373.

¹⁹ "And because of this there were some very wise doctors who really feared that he had acquired his knowledge through magical arts, and that he was Antichrist". Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, 71.

nature humaine.”²⁰ The parallels between l’Olive’s letter and the *Journal* substantiates the Bourgeois’ membership of the University and that, by 1446, he was a doctor in theology participating in challenging debates. This is confirmed by one final piece of evidence.

D’Escouschy’s account describes two separate disputations: one, at which the Bourgeois must have been present, took place at the Collège de Navarre and involved “forty or fifty” doctors, whereas the second took place “en plainne université”, involving the three thousand other clerics; the VBF’s *sandbrief* specified that this second disputation took place at “Sand Pernhart”, the Saint-Bernard College.²¹ Consequently, the Bourgeois’ explicit reference to the Collège de Navarre points to his presence among the doctors who first examined Cordoue.

The Bourgeois’ status as a theologian is underscored by his interest in heresy and his access to theological or ecclesiastical resources. In Fernand de Cordoue’s case, the Bourgeois reprised arguments concerning Antichrist and the Apocalypse proposed by St. Vincent Ferrer in the early fifteenth century, while he was also consistently concerned with the Council of Basel, the Papal Schism and papal decrees.²² Considering Fernand de Cordoue, Shirley doubted the Bourgeois’ intellectual eminence, arguing that learned theologians would not have found the prodigy so frightening.²³ Fear, however, was an imperative

²⁰ “For certain, he frightened us very much, because he knows more than is possible in human nature”. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 181v.

²¹ Mathieu d’Escouchy, *Chronique*, 70; “Vierte Bairische Fortsetzung”, 374.

²² Philip Daileader, *Saint Vincent Ferrer, His World and Life: Religion and Society in Late Medieval Europe*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), pp. 137-8; Laura Ackerman Smoller, *The Saint and the Chopped-Up Baby: The Cult of Vincent Ferrer in Medieval & Early Modern Europe*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), pp. 8-9, 136-8; Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature*, (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1981), pp. 79-102; Andrew Brown, “Charisma and Routine: Shaping the Memory of Brother Richard and Joan of Arc”, *Religions*, Vol. 3 (2012), pp. 1165-7. For examples of the Bourgeois concerns, Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 42r-42v, 129r-130r, 138v, 144r, 177r, 183v,

²³ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 15.

reaction to the Antichrist, as suggested by Pierre Salmon in his *Dialogues*: the conversion of intellectuals through disputation was one of the four methods through which Antichrist would establish his authority, “car il saura toute la clergie et science de ce monde cy”, and those converted would be damned.²⁴ Nor was the Bourgeois alone in believing that “toute sa science sera de par le dyable”: the municipal registers for Châlons-en-Champagne record rumours that around Easter 1446 Cordoue was arrested in Cologne “et atteint de heresie et d’avoir ung diable avec luy qui luy enseignoit tout ce qu’il disoit, et fut ars audit Couloingne”.²⁵ In his *Recollection des merveilles advenues*, Georges Chastelain described Cordoue’s abilities as those of “un jeune antecrist”, while a University letter to Philippe le Bon, dated 22nd December 1445, warned the Burgundian duke to be wary of Cordoue’s abilities.²⁶ The Bourgeois was therefore far from alone in responding in fear, and it is with concerns regarding the Antichrist in mind that the Bourgeois penned his description. Furthermore, the Bourgeois actively participated in contemporary theological discussions, especially surrounding Jeanne d’Arc. Not only did he sympathise with the theologians responsible for Jeanne’s condemnation, “les clerics de l’Université de Paris qui si humblement la prioient qu’elle se repentist et revocast de celle malle erreur”, but the

²⁴ For he shall know all of the canon law and sciences of this world. Paris, BNF Fr. 9610, “Traité de Pierre Salemon, présenté à Charles VI (1409)”, fol. 57r; Philippe Maupeu, “Portrait de Charles VI en Nabuchodonosor. Positionnements rhétoriques dans les Dialogues de Pierre Salmon et Charles VI”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 116, No. 3 (2010), 665; Anne D. Hedeman, *Of Counselors and Kings: The Three Versions of Pierre Salmon’s Dialogues*, (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2001), pp. 33-5.

²⁵ All of his knowledge would come from the devil. Reg. Lat. 1923, 182r. “And accused of heresy and of having a devil with him who taught him everything that he said, and he was burned in Colonge”. “Third register of the council of Châlons-en-Champagne (1431-1446), fol. 2)” cited in Julien Havet, “Maître Fernand de Cordoue et l’Université de Paris au XV^e siècle”, 203. Fernand de Cordoue did not die in 1446, since in 1463-5 he was living in Rome in the service of the Greek cardinal Basilios Bessarion and died there before 24th March 1487. Vincenzo Forcella (ed.), *Iscrizioni delle Chiese e d’Altri Edificii di Roma dal Secolo XI fino al giorni nostri*, Vol. 3, (Rome: Fratelli Bencini, 1873), 216, no. 512.

²⁶ Georges Chastelain, “Recollection des merveilles advenues en notre temps” in *Cœuvres de Georges Chastelain*, Vol. VII, ed. Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, (Brussels: Huessner, 1865), 191; César-Egasse du Boulay (ed.), *Historia Universitatis Parisiensis*, Vol. V, (Paris: Pierre de Bresche, 1670), 534.

detailed information he provided regarding Jeanne's case suggests that he had access to the Twelve Articles of Accusation compiled by the promotor Jean d'Estivet.²⁷ The only information not drawn from these articles, Jeanne's incitation of the 'simple people' of Senlis to idolatry, instead evokes John, duke of Bedford's challenge to Charles VII issued at Senlis in August 1429, stating that the French king "faites séduire et abuser le peuple ignorant" through visionaries.²⁸ The allusion suggests the Bourgeois' engagement with theological and propagandistic materials concerning Jeanne's life. The Twelve Articles were sent to Paris' faculties of Theology and Canon Law for deliberation in assemblies on 29th April and 14th May 1431.²⁹ As a member of the University, the Bourgeois would have potentially interacted with these documents, or at least with individuals who had discussed them before the University's conclusions were presented to the trial.

Other references reveal the Bourgeois' interests in the interrelated issues of heresy, inquisition and apocalypse. He attentively followed the sermons delivered by Brother Richard in Paris during the spring of 1429, describing Antichrist's advent and endorsed Richard's incitation to destroy vain clothing, illicit games and even mandrakes.³⁰ Moreover, in 1418 the Bourgeois justified the imprisonment of Armagnacs such as Pierre le Gayant, "personne sismatique, herite contre la foy et... digne d'ardoir" and in 1426 he participated in a procession to Saint-Magloire "encontre aucuns hereses qui avoient herré contre notre

²⁷ "The clerics of the University of Paris who so humbly begged her to repent and recant her dreadful error." Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 131v.

²⁸ "The Duke of Bedford's challenge to Charles VII (7th August 1429)" in Monstrelet, Vol. 4, 341. Cf. Craig Taylor (ed. & trans.), *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 119-122.

²⁹ "La délibération de l'Université de Paris" in *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Vol 1, ed Pierre Tisset & Yvonne Lanhers, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1960), pp. 358-362.

³⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 114v-116v; Andrew Brown, "Charisma and Routine", 1163.

foy".³¹ In 1430, the Bourgeois described the officiality's trial of the visionary Pieronne la Bretonne, one of several women associated with Jeanne d'Arc and Brother Richard, while the following year he dedicated an extensive passage to repeating the points raised by the Grand Inquisitor Jean Graverent in his sermon condemning Jeanne d'Arc, before relating the examination of Jeanne's imposter, Claude des Armoises, in 1440.³² Finally, the Bourgeois' concern for the diabolical is demonstrated through his consistent descriptions of Armagnac behaviour, his reflection upon omens appearing throughout Paris, including the emergence of a blood-red spring in 1421, the baking of ashen-coloured bread in 1431 or the birth of conjoined twins and animals in 1429, and, lastly, in the attention he paid to rumours that the gypsies who arrived at Saint-Denis in 1427 performed magical acts.³³

It is possible to determine which churches the Bourgeois was associated with, and where in Paris he lived in the first decades of his writing. From at least 1436, the Bourgeois was closely connected to the Saints-Innocents church on Paris' right bank.³⁴ The church is the second most mentioned by the author (thirteen times) after Notre-Dame, and far more than Saint-Merry (four times).³⁵ Where Tuetey perceived the attention paid to Saints-Innocents as evidence of the canon Jean Chuffart's authorship, given his status as a member of the collegial churches of Sainte-Opportune and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois which had

³¹ Ibid., fol. 46r; 104r. On these cases see below, Chapter II and Chapter IV.

³² Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 126v, 132v-133r, 168v-169r; Pierre-Gilles Girault, "Les procès de Jeanne-Claude des Armoises" in *De l'hérétique à la sainte. Les procès de Jeanne d'Arc revisités*, ed. François Neveux, (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2012), pp. 200-205.

³³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 77v, 134r, 117r-117v, 107v-109r; David A. Fein, "Acts of Nature and Preternatural Acts in the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (1405-1449)", *Fifteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 20 (January 1993), pp. 67-68; Andrew Brown, "Charisma and Routine", 1166.

³⁴ References are frequent. Reg. Lat. fols. 55v, 101r, 114v, 157r, 160r, 163r, 170r, 175r, 181r, 185v, 187r. On these ties see also Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 12; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, xv.

³⁵ Janet Shirley argued that the Bourgeois was affiliated with Saint-Merry. *A Parisian Journal*, 20.

jurisdictional rights over Saints-Innocents, the absence of similar references to these two churches suggests that the Bourgeois' connection to Saints-Innocents was more direct.³⁶ Colette Beaune first pointed to the Bourgeois' role in the church's management and this is supported by the internal evidence.³⁷ This includes the report of a fight between beggars in the church's nave in June 1436, the attention paid to the church's confraternities, with the *pelletiers* celebrating the first Mass for Mary's Assumption in their Saint-Francois chapel in August 1437, the impact of the cemetery's closure by bishop Denis du Moulin for four months in 1441, the construction of a new cottage for the anchorite Jeanne la Verrière in 1442 and the church's dedication by the bishop in 1445.³⁸ Likewise, the Bourgeois appears to have been relatively closely connected to the Hôtel-Dieu, the hospital administered by the chapter of Notre-Dame, mentioned six times throughout the *Journal*, mostly after Charles VII's entry in 1437.³⁹ This connection underscores the author's links to Saints-Innocents, for instance during the plague in the autumn of 1418, when he reported that "on fist grans fosses aux

³⁶ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. xxiii-xxvii; Anne Massoni, *La collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois de Paris (1380-1510)*, (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2009), 328; Hélène Verlet, *Épitaphier du Vieux Paris: Vol. 6, Les Saints-Innocents*, (Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1997), lii.

³⁷ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 12.

³⁸ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 157r, 160r, 170r-170v, 175r, 181r. The Vatican manuscript states that Saints-Innocents was consecrated in February 1444 whereas an inscription upon the church dated the consecration February 1445. Alexandre Tuetey and Janet Shirley perceived the Bourgeois' date to be an error and corrected it to read 1445, whereas Beaune erroneously corrects it to 1446. However, depending on the dating systems used for these records, they may not be incompatible. The Bourgeois dated the new year from Easter, but Jean Maupoint's *Journal* indicates that Parisian clerics in the 1430s were using "l'an compté selon l'usage de l'esglise de Rome, selon lequel usage l'an commence le premier jour de janvier inclus". If the inscription followed this Roman model and the Bourgeois the more traditional system, then both accord in the church's dedication taking place in February 1445. Jean Maupoint, *Journal*, ed. Gustave Fagniez, 24; Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, "Saints-Innocents", No. 1, p. 2; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 428.

³⁹ For instance, Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 55v, 137r, 163r, 173r. On the history of the Hôtel-Dieu see Pierrette Binet-Letac, *Les sœurs de l'Hôtel-Dieu dans le Paris des XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Philippe du Bois, Marguerite Pinelle...*, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2010), pp. 11-24; Christine Jehanno, "Un hôpital au cœur de la ville: inscription spatiale et insertion sociale de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Âge", *Histoire médiévale et archéologie*, Vol. 17 (2004), pp. 35-50; Ernest Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Âge: Histoire et documents*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Champion, 1889), pp. 19-58.

Sains-Innocens... Et ceulx de l'Ostel-Dieu, ceulx qui faisoient les fosses es cymetieres de Paris, affermoient que [ils]... avoient enterré plus de cent mille personnes."⁴⁰ Likewise, in 1438, the Bourgeois reported that five-thousand people had died in the Hôtel-Dieu during the epidemic of that year.⁴¹ This connection could have resulted from the Bourgeois' involvement in the hospital's administration, given its supervision by canons of the cathedral chapter.⁴²

Finally, geographical references indicate the Bourgeois' close connection to the rue Saint-Martin area for the *Journal's* first decades, as demonstrated by his account of the efforts of those who lived on this street to repair the porte Saint-Martin in 1425.⁴³ Most of the churches mentioned by the Bourgeois were found either on the rue Saint-Martin or on the parallel rue Saint-Denis with other areas, such as the Halles marketplace, Saint-Eustache church or the Place de Grève within a short walking distance from the southern end of these two streets.⁴⁴ In 1434, the Bourgeois stated that he lived in a house, mentioned in relation to a storm in October that destroyed "une vieille salle pres de ma maison ou il avoit de grosses pierres de taille", but no other geographical indication is provided.⁴⁵ If the Bourgeois was a canon of Notre-Dame later in his career, then it is likely that he would have moved to the

⁴⁰ "great graves were dug at Saints-Innocents... and those of the Hôtel-Dieu, those who dug the graves in the cemeteries of Paris, confirmed that [they] had buried more than a hundred thousand people". Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 55v.

⁴¹ Ibid., fol. 163r.

⁴² On the relationship between the Hôtel-Dieu and Notre-Dame see Christine Jéhanno, "Entre le chapitre cathédral et l'hôtel-Dieu de Paris: les enjeux du conflit de la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, Vol. 659, No. 3 (2011), pp. 527-559; "La cathédrale Notre-Dame et l'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Âge: l'histoire d'une longue tutelle" in *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1163-2013*, ed. Cédric Giraud, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 403-418; "La série des comptes de l'hôtel-Dieu de Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge: aspects codicologiques", *Comptabilités*, Vol. 2 (2011), accessed on 05/10/2019, <http://comptabilites.revues.org/639>; Ernest Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Âge. Histoire et documents*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Champion, 1891), pp. i-vii.

⁴³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 101r-101v.

⁴⁴ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 12.

⁴⁵ An old hall near my house where there were great dressed stones. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 147r.

cloister on the Île-de-la-Cité, with Tuetey arguing that the Bourgeois, in the form of Jean Chuffart, lived near the porte Saint-Landry to the cloister's north.⁴⁶ Both Beaune and Tuetey remarked upon the short passage concerning a storm in April 1438, whereupon "fust si grant vent qu'il aracha les plus gros ormes de ceulx qui estoient devant l'isle Nostre-Dame, et le samedi de devant cheut devant la chambre maistre Hucgues un mur... en my la rue."⁴⁷

While revealing the Bourgeois' probable proximity to the Île-de-la-Cité in 1438, Beaune and Tuetey argued that 'Hucgues' indicated a member of the cathedral clergy. Only one Parisian canon was called Hugues at this time – Hugues de Dicy – who is known to have inhabited the cloister in the 1430s and who died around 1438.⁴⁸ Alternatively, two chaplains, Hugo Moquart, of the chapelle Saint-Martin-Sainte-Anne and Hugo le Muet of the chapelle Saint-Jacques appear in the synod records for 1438.⁴⁹

Several other characteristics are disputed. Beaune and Tuetey argued that the Bourgeois was closely connected to the household of queen Isabeau de Bavière, emphasising

⁴⁶ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

⁴⁷ The wind was so strong that it uprooted the greatest elm trees among those that were before the Ile Notre-Dame, and the previous Saturday a wall had fallen into the street in front of master Hugues' chamber. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, MS 432 (316), p. 311. The Ile Notre-Dame was the larger of two islands in the Seine, the other being the Ile aux Vaches, that were joined in the early seventeenth century to create the current Ile Saint-Louis. Upriver from the Ile-de-la-Cité, the Ile Notre-Dame was particularly close to the cathedral's cloister.

⁴⁸ Raised at the royal court, Hugues de Dicy belonged to an established family of Parisian civil servants. He was named among the Notre-Dame canons at the start of 1437, but had died by 1438. He had four natural children, one of whom, Perrinet, was the son of Isabeau Raguier, god-daughter of Isabeau de Bavière. Françoise Autrand, "Naissance illégitime et service de l'État: les enfants naturels dans le milieu de robe parisien XIV^e-XV^e siècle", *Revue historique*, Vol. 267, No. 2 (542) (April-June 1982), pp. 291, 294; *Naissance d'un grand corps de l'État: Les gens du Parlement de Paris 1345-1454*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1981), 59; Emmanuel des Gravières, "Messeigneurs du chapitre' de l'église de Paris à l'époque de la guerre de Cent ans" in *Notre-Dame de Paris. Huitième centenaire*, ed. J. Vrin, (Paris: Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1967), 199. A summary of Hugues de Dicy's testament (1432) can be found in Paris, BNF Nouvelles acquisitions latines, 184, fol. 96r.

⁴⁹ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//363, " Chapitre cathédrale de Paris, status synodaux et listes des participants à chaque synode annuel, 26/2/1429–11/3/1533", fols. 45v-52r.

the Bourgeois' 1424 comment that the queen was limited to eight *sétiers* of wine daily.⁵⁰

Shirley urged caution in the reference's interpretation, remarking that the Bourgeois might have known someone connected to the queen's household, or it "might mean that he handled the accounts or the catering"; it is insufficient to attribute to the author the status of *conseiller*, a role performed by Jean Chuffart from 1425 to 1433.⁵¹ The identities of several of those alluded to by Shirley are in fact known, such as Denisot Soret, identified as the queen's cook in 1421.⁵² Moreover, the prominent butcher and *échevin* Marcelet Testart was named as Isabeau de Bavière's *trésorier* from 1421 to 1424, while Anselme Appart, a Franciscan, was the dowager queen's confessor from 1424 until her death in 1435.⁵³ Both men participated in circles closely associated with the Bourgeois' own interests - Testart also lived in the Saint-Martin area, while Appart was a theology student licensed in 1433.

More widespread is the view that the Bourgeois was a committed Burgundian supporter, "un clerc bourguignon de l'entourage d'Isabeau".⁵⁴ Rather, the Bourgeois appears

⁵⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 95v; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. xxx-xxii; Colette Beaune, "La rumeur dans le *Journal du bourgeois de Paris*" in *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Âge: XXIV^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Avignon, Juin 1993*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1993), 191; Françoise Autrand, "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris" in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. 5, ed. Robert Auty, (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999), 639. None of the daily lists of food expenditures for Isabeau de Bavière's household survive. Rachel Gibbons, "The Queen as 'social mannequin'. Consumerism and expenditure at the Court of Isabeau of Bavaria, 1393-1422", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 26, No. 4 (2000), pp. 379-82.

⁵¹ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 18; Anne Massoni, *La collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, pp. 533-6.

⁵² Jean Favier (ed.), *Les contribuables parisiens à la fin de la guerre de Cent ans. Les rôles d'impôt de 1421, 1423 et 1438*, (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 175, No. A788.

⁵³ For Testart, Jean Favier, *Paris deux mille ans d'histoire*, (Paris: Fayard, 1997), pp. 419-22; *Les contribuables parisiens*, 190, 261; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 166. For Appart see Xavier de la Selle, *Le service des âmes à la cour: confesseurs et aumôniers des rois de France du XIII^e au XV^e siècle*, (Paris: École Nationale des Chartes, 1995), 314; Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, p. 485, Nos. 2329 & 2330, p. 550, No. 2427. For Isabeau de Bavière's household more generally, see Rachel Gibbons, "The Queen as 'social mannequin'", pp. 371-395.

⁵⁴ Colette Beaune, "La rumeur dans le *Journal du Bourgeois de Paris*", 191. Descriptions of the text frequently present its author as a committed Burgundian supporter. See Alexandre Tuetey (ed.),

to have identified principally with Paris, and was prepared to support or discredit any faction, be they Burgundian or Armagnac, French or English, according to their respective policies towards the capital.⁵⁵ His political leanings were fluid but certainly influenced by the context of the Halles district whose inhabitants were predominantly sympathetic to the Burgundian cause.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, only months after rejoicing at Jean sans Peur's entry into Paris in July 1418, the Bourgeois vociferously criticised the duke's ineffective policies that threatened peace.⁵⁷ The view that the Bourgeois was a 'Burgundian' results more from his profound and consistent opposition to the Armagnac faction than his own positive identification with the duke of Burgundy's party.

Some more general political trends within the *Journal* are nevertheless apparent. From 1410-1411 the Bourgeois' support for Jean sans Peur clearly emerges, and he fundamentally sympathised with the goals of the Cabochien movement in 1413, deploring its betrayal by the University of Paris and subsequent collapse.⁵⁸ From 1413 to 1418 the author exhibited increasing frustrations with Paris' oppressive Armagnac government, welcoming the Burgundian coup in May 1418 only to be disappointed with Burgundian policy thereafter.⁵⁹ Jean sans Peur's assassination on 10th September 1419 appears to have provoked the most substantial shift in the Bourgeois' attitudes, subsequently committed to

Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, pp. xxiii-xxvii; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 16; Françoise Autrand, "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris", 639; André Mary (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles VI & Charles VII*, (Paris: Henri Jonquières, 1929), 15; Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard & Guy Raynaud de Lage (ed.), *Dictionnaire*, 873; Veronika Novák, "'Párizsban mindenki erről beszélt': Hírek egy 15. századi Párizsi Polgár naplójában", *Aeta*, Vol. 4 (1999), accessed on 04/10/2019, <http://epa.oszk.hu/00800/00861/00013/99-4-10.html>.

⁵⁵ A point recognised by Anne Curry (ed.), "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris", 176.

⁵⁶ On this context, see below Chapter II.

⁵⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 54r-54v.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, fols. 25v-27v, 29r.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, fols. 43v-46v, 54r-54v.

opposing the Armagnac faction.⁶⁰ The memory of the duke's murder resurfaced at crucial points in the narrative, such as at the Battle of Verneuil in 1424 and Jeanne d'Arc's approach to the capital in 1429, to justify continued resistance.⁶¹ Following the Valois resurgence in 1429, the Bourgeois was increasingly ambivalent towards the Lancastrian regime's claim to represent a viable alternative, while simultaneously portraying the capital as being abandoned by Philippe le Bon, now preoccupied with events in the Low Countries. A gradual conflation of the terms "Francoys ou Arminalx" from 1430 anticipated the capital's return to Valois authority in 1436.⁶² While the term 'Armagnac' subsequently disappeared from the narrative, the pejorative connotations previously attributed to the faction were applied to the *écorcheurs* serving Charles VII, stimulating criticism of the Valois regime.⁶³ The Bourgeois' redirection of vocabulary and his prominent disdain for Charles VII's absence, his weak government, military inefficacy and direct taxation reveal an enduring animosity towards Valois centralisation.⁶⁴ The perceived shift in political sensibilities led an early editor, La Barre, to suggest that a new author had assumed the narrative around 1431, while Beaune has argued that the *Journal* shifted from being directed at an external audience to a work of personal reflection due to the changed political context.⁶⁵ However, the Bourgeois' ability to adapt his narrative to contemporary circumstances substantiate, first, the fluidity of the political identities mentioned above, the potential changes to the author's personal

⁶⁰ Ibid., fols. 61r-63v.

⁶¹ Ibid., fols. 99r, 118r.

⁶² Ibid., fol. 151r.

⁶³ Christophe Furon, "Gens de guerre en hiver: le cas des Écorcheurs durant l'hiver 1438-1439", *Questes*, Vol 34 (2016), pp. 104-7; Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, État et société à la fin du Moyen Âge: études sur les armées des rois de France, 1337-1494*, (Paris: Mouton, 1972), 278.

⁶⁴ On the shift in the perception of the 'Armagnacs' see Chapter IV. Regarding the Bourgeois' reactions to warfare, taxation and poor government, see Chapter VI.

⁶⁵ Louis-François-Joseph de La Barre, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France et de Bourgogne, contenant un journal sous les règnes de Charles VI et Charles VII*, (Paris: Gandouin & Giffart, 1729), vii; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 17-18.

circumstances in the mid-1430s consonant with academic achievement and the securing of ecclesiastical posts and, ultimately, his enduring hesitancy to endorse a Valois regime that ran counter to the reformist, anti-centralist attitudes of the earlier Cabochien and Burgundian movements.

Nicolas Confranc, the Bourgeois of Paris?

Nineteenth-century theories regarding the Bourgeois' identification focused upon three clerics: the theologian Notre-Dame canon Jean de l'Olive, the curate of Saint-Nicolas-des-Champs Jean Beurigout and, finally, University chancellor and Notre-Dame canon Jean Chuffart.⁶⁶ Despite Heinrich Denifle's persuasive discrediting of this last attribution, the Chuffart theory continues to appear in historiographical discussions today.⁶⁷ Each theory has evident flaws. For instance, Jean Beurigout does not appear at all in the historical record for the University of Paris during this period, at odds with the evidence indicating the Bourgeois' membership.⁶⁸ Jean de l'Olive's identification was based upon the textual

⁶⁶ Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt (ed.), *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy*, Vol. 1, 72, n. 1; Auguste Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII*, 97; Danielle Gallet-Guerne, "A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449, translated from the *Anonymous Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* by Janet Shirley, Clarendon Press, Oxford University 1968 (Review)", *BEC*, Vol. 127, No. 1 (1968), pp. 237-8; Auguste Longnon, "Conjectures sur l'auteur", pp. 318-329. See also Gustav Gröber, *Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie*, Vol. 2, pt. 1, (Strassbourg: Karl J. Trübner, 1902), 1167; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.) *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. XVl-xliv.

⁶⁷ Denifle's persuasive (Latin) essay conclusively disputing Tuetey's approach is found in the introduction to the *CUP*, Vol. IV, pp. xiv-xx. Numerous recent works attribute the *Journal* to Jean Chuffart, including: Neil Murphy, "Ceremony and Conflict in Fifteenth-Century France: Lancastrian Ceremonial Entries into French Towns, 1415-1431", *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2013), 113; Anne Curry (ed.), "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (?1449, French)", *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 175-6; Nadia Margolis, "Christine de Pizan and the Jews: Political and Poetic Implications" in *Politics, Gender and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Margaret Brabant, (New York: Routledge, 1992), 64; Françoise Autrand, "Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris", 639.

⁶⁸ As demonstrated by his absence in the *CUP*, Vol. IV and the *Studium Parisiense* database.

connection between the *Journal* and Jean de l'Olive's letter to Mathieu d'Escouchy concerning Fernand de Cordoue.⁶⁹ However, despite l'Olive's Parisian origins and status as a theologian, Notre-Dame canon and priest in the Saint-Martin area, he was only appointed to these posts in the 1440s, at the *Journal's* close, and he continued to be active long after the text's conclusion, serving as a delegate during the 1465 Guerre du Bien public, rendering his career chronologically incompatible with the Bourgeois'.⁷⁰ Finally, Jean Chuffart's involvement in court politics is incompatible with the Bourgeois' limited awareness of certain events. Chuffart was absent from Paris on numerous occasions, delivering a sermon denouncing Jean sans Peur's assassination at the Arras Congress in 1435 or participating in delegations to Charles VII (1436), the papacy (1419 and 1428), Picardy (1437) and even England.⁷¹ The *Journal* offers no indications of such travels nor the ensuing disputes, such as Chuffart's imprisonment in his hometown of Tournai in November 1429 for entering the Valois city despite having sworn allegiance to Henry VI.⁷² Likewise, Chuffart was directly implicated in the disputes surrounding the chapter's election of the bishops Courtecuisse (1420) and Fraillon (1426) that were misrepresented in the *Journal*, and Chuffart was even

⁶⁹ Mathieu d'Escouchy, *Chronique*, pp. 70-1.

⁷⁰ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV 599, No. 2509, 624, No. 2558; Paris, BNF MS Latin 5657-A, fol. 20r; Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiate*, Vol. 2, pp. 397-8; Auguste Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de l'instruction publique en Europe et principalement en France*, (Paris: Administration du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance, 1849), 378; Albert Mirot & Bernard Mahieu, "Cérémonies officielles à Notre-Dame au XV^e siècle" in *Huitième Centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1967), 246; Constant Baloché, *Église Saint-Merry de Paris*, Vol. 1 pp. 60-5. See also Darwin Smith, "Arnoul Gréban et l'expérience théâtrale ou l'universitaire naissance des mystères" in *Vers une poétique du discours dramatique au Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international organisé au Palais Neptune de Toulon, 13 et 14 novembre 2008*, ed. Xavier Leroux, (Paris: Champion, 2011), 200, n. 47,

⁷¹ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, XViii. An eighteenth-century copy of Jean Chuffart's contribution (in Latin) to the Arras Congress is found among sixteenth-century documents in Paris, BNF, Fr. 5042, fols. 95r-95v.

⁷² "Extraits des anciens registres aux délibérations des consaux de la ville de Tournai", *Mémoires de la Société historique et littéraire de Tournai*, Vol. 8 (1863), pp. 355-6.

considered a candidate for the 1426 election.⁷³ Finally, Chuffart was an enthusiastic collector of benefices, holding canonries at the cathedrals of Tournai, Cambrai, Chartres, Senlis, Paris, the collegiate church of Saint-Pierre in Lille and the Parisian parishes of Saint-Marcel, Sainte-Opportune, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Saint-Eustache and Saint-Laurent.⁷⁴ None of these are discussed in detail in the *Journal*, compared to the Saints-Innocents.⁷⁵

Despite the incompatibility of these theories with the *Journal's* internal evidence, research since the nineteenth century enables conjecture regarding the Bourgeois' identity. In particular, if the Bourgeois' account of Fernand de Cordoue's examination is interpreted as positive evidence of the author's status as a doctor in theology, Thomas Sullivan's recently published biographical register of the faculty's fifteenth-century licentiates may represent the key to his identification.⁷⁶ Of those theologians who were licensed between 1400 and 1446, one individual encapsulates the characteristics identified as belonging to the Bourgeois: Nicolas Confranc. Confranc (†c. 1451) was a canon of Notre-Dame and doctor of theology at the University of Paris, but also identified in the obits of the Collège d'Harcourt as *pastore* of Saints-Innocents.⁷⁷ That this particular church was used to define Confranc's identity suggests that, to his contemporaries, this was one of his principle occupations. There is no evidence determining when Confranc might have assumed this position, but

⁷³ Anne Massoni, *La Collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, 534; Georges Grassoreille, "Histoire politique du chapitre", pp. 138-42. On the Bourgeois' reactions to the disputes surrounding the episcopal elections of 1420 and 1426 see below, Chapter II.

⁷⁴ Anne Massoni, *La Collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, 534; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, xxxiii.

⁷⁵ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, XVii.

⁷⁶ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, x; Emilio Mitre Fernández, "Una ciudad acosada en la primera mitad del siglo XV. La capital de Francia vista por *Un Burgués de París*", *Talia Dixit*, Vol. 6 (2011), 68.

⁷⁷ L.H. Bouquet, *L'Ancien collège d'Harcourt et le Lycée Saint-Louis*, (Paris: Delalain Freres, 1891), 703, 706; Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, 167.

Clément de Fauquembergue's *Journal* indicates that on 26th August 1429, several weeks after the Bourgeois had recorded the gathering at the Palais whereupon Parisians had been invited to swear fealty to the Anglo-Burgundian regime, an unidentified "curé de Saint-Innocent" swore the oath to John, duke of Bedford in the Parlement.⁷⁸ The possibility that Confranc held the cure of Saints-Innocents until 1451 is supported by the Sainte-Opportune chapter's appointment of a "firmarius" or vicar for the church on 5th December 1451, named Jean Villepoix.⁷⁹ Confranc was not the only prominent theologian to be associated with Saints-Innocents. His colleague, the theologian Jean Pain-et-Chair (c.1400-1473), was a chaplain of the church where he established a memorial Mass in his 1471 will.⁸⁰

Confranc appears much earlier in the historical record than Jean de l'Olive, as a theological *bursarius* of the Harcourt college in 1423, before which he must have become a *maître es arts*.⁸¹ In 1429 he began his second course of lectures as a *baccalarius biblicus* and in September that year he lectured as a *baccalarius sententiaris*, joined in each cursus by Isabeau de Bavière's confessor, Anselmus Appart.⁸² By 1434 he was licensed in theology and a *magister* at the university, before serving as regent master in the theology faculty from 1434 to 1439.⁸³ Confranc's membership of Harcourt highlights his Norman background. The

⁷⁸ Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 318-19

⁷⁹ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//587, "Délibérations du chapitre de Sainte-Opportune, 1st August 1451-2nd April 1475", fol. 2r. This definition of 'firmarius' is supplied by Charles du Fresne du Change, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, new edition with additions by Léopold Favre, Vol. 3, (Niort: L. Favre, 1884), 508, c3.

⁸⁰ Paris, Archives nationales, M//185, No. 27, "Testament de Johannes Painetchar", fols. 3v-8v; F. Kenneth Jensen, "Jean Pain-et-Char (c. 1400-1473), Principal of the College of Presles at the University of Paris" in *Studium Generale: Studies offered to Astrik L. Gabriel*, ed. L.S. Domanos & R.J. Schneider, (Notre-Dame, IN: Medieval Institute, University of Notre-Dame, 1967), pp. 120-3; Anne Massoni, *La Collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, pp. 559-60; Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, pp. 402-5.

⁸¹ L.H. Bouquet, *L'Ancien collègue d'Harcourt*, 117.

⁸² Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, 485, Nos. 2329 & 2330.

⁸³ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, pp. 563, No. 2453, 574, No. 2469, 593, No. 2492, 600, No. 2510, 607, No. 2526.

college established by the Parisian canon Raoul d'Harcourt in 1280 was intended to support twelve theologians and twenty-eight arts students from four Norman dioceses (Coutances, Bayeux, Rouen and Évreux).⁸⁴ This origin is underscored by Confranc's benefices and familial connections. In April 1424 he was granted a canonry *sub reservatione* in the cathedral of Coutances.⁸⁵ Confranc's nephew Martin Meslin, a canon at Tours, held the cure of Saint-Jean-de-la-Haize in the northern suburbs of Avranches.⁸⁶ A close relative, Toussaint Confranc, was a member of the Norman nation and appointed canon at Avranches in 1461.⁸⁷ This connection to Normandy might explain the Bourgeois' attention to events in the region, demonstrated by his criticism of Simon Morhier's administration of Rouen in 1438, of John, duke of Bedford's taxation of Normandy in 1433, the English invasion of 1417-19 and his sympathy for the Norman communes' uprising in 1434, provoked by the depredations of free-lancers led by Richard Venables.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Georges Bourgin, "Quatre actes concernant les origines du Collège d'Harcourt", *BSHP*, Vol. 31 (1904), pp. 98-99; L.H. Bouquet, *L'Ancien collège d'Harcourt*, 70.

⁸⁵ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, 485, No. 2330, n. 1.

⁸⁶ In his will dated 13th June 1504 Martin Meslin (or Moslin), a canon of Tours cathedral, asked to be buried "apud ecclesiam Beate Katerine de Valle scolarium parisiensis" near the tomb of Nicolas Confranc, "avunculi mei". "Tours, Archives départementales 37, G. 145", *Ressources numériques pour l'édition des archives de la Renaissance*, accessed on 04/06/2019, <http://renumar.univ-tours.fr/xtf/view?docId=tei/TIPO475400.xml;chunk.id=n1.2;toc.depth=1;toc.id=n1;brand=default>. See also Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiate*, 385.

⁸⁷ Paris, BNF MS Latin 17740, fols. 238v-239v; "Toussanus Confrant (No. 12123)", *Studium Parisiense*, <http://lamop-vs3.univ-paris1.fr/studium/faces/profile.xhtml>, accessed on 04/06/2019. Toussaint Confranc was also a chaplain at the altar of Sts. Crispin and Crispinian in the cathedral of Notre-Dame during Nicolas' canonry, from 1446 to 1448. By 1450 he had become a canon of the Saint-Merry collegiate church. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//363, "Chapitre cathédrale de Paris, statuts synodaux et listes des participants à chaque synode annuel, 1429-1533", fols. 82r, 83v, 86r, 104r.

⁸⁸ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 164r, 143r, 43r, 46v, 54r, 56v, 147r; Michael R. Evans, "Brigandage and Resistance in Lancastrian Normandy: A Study of the Remission Evidence", *Reading Medieval Studies*, Vol. 18 (1992), 105, 125; G.L. Harriss, *Shaping the Nation: England, 1360-1461*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 565; Anne Curry, "Le service féodal en Normandie pendant l'occupation anglaise, 1417-50" in *La France anglaise au Moyen Âge*, ed. Philippe Contamine, (Paris: CTHS, 1988), pp. 255-6; Vincent Challet, "Tuchins et brigands des bois: communautés paysannes et mouvements d'autodéfense en Normandie pendant la guerre de Cent Ans" in *Images de la contestation du pouvoir dans le monde*

As a University of Paris theologian, Confranc is found teaching and taking part in the debates of the period. Jean Maupoint related a debate taking place between university theologians on 8th August 1444, shortly before Fernard de Cordoue's examination, concerning the question of conciliar authority pertaining to the Council of Basel.⁸⁹ The debate was held at the Collège des Bernardins with Jean Bérout, Guillaume Érard, Denis Sabrevois and Jean Pain-et-Chair against "le surplus de tous nos maistres de theologie".⁹⁰ In the response, on 18th August, "fut solemnelement et bien argué par nostre maistre, Jean de Conflans, chanoine de Paris et docteur en theologie."⁹¹ No canon nor doctor in theology was called Jean de Conflans at this time, leading Heinrich Denifle to conclude that this was in fact a reference to Nicolas Confranc.⁹² The debate demonstrates Confranc's connections to individuals involved in Jeanne d'Arc's condemnation trial, such as Érard and Sabrevois, potential sources for the Twelve Articles of Accusation synthesised in the *Journal*.⁹³ Moreover, on 1st June 1437, Confranc was elected as a university *nuntii*, charged with bringing a *rotulus* seeking benefices to Pope Eugene IV at Ferrara.⁹⁴ This would initially

normand (X^e-XVII^e siècle), ed. Catherine Bougy & Sophie Poirey, (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2007), pp. 142-44.

⁸⁹ Jean Maupoint, "Journal parisien", 33. For a summary of these debates concerning the Council of Basel see Michiel Decaluwé & Gerald Christianson, "Historical Survey" in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. Michiel Decaluwé, Thomas M. Izbicki & Gerald Christianson, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 24-30; Heribert Müller, "France and the Council" in *A Companion to the Council of Basel*, ed. Michiel Decaluwé, Thomas M. Izbicki & Gerald Christianson, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 384-96.

⁹⁰ Jean Maupoint, "Journal parisien", 33. For these theologians see Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, pp. 217-18, 402-5, 488-9; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, 622; F. Kenneth Jensen, "Jean Pain-et-Char (c. 1400-1473)", pp. 111-27.

⁹¹ Jean Maupoint, "Journal parisien", 33.

⁹² The confusion regarding this name is further evidenced by the dispute between 'Nicolao Conflan', or Confranc, and the German nation regarding the rent for the *Domus Dacie*, a residence for Scandinavian students, on 2nd January 1445. Heinrich Denifle & Émile Chatelain (ed.), *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Freres Delalain, 1897), 605, n. 2. Cf. H. Schück, "Svenska Parisierstudier under medeltiden" in *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, ed. Herman Lundström, (Lund: Forsta Argangen, 1900), pp. 40-43.

⁹³ Pierre Tisset & Yvonne Lanhers (ed. & trans.), *Le procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), 400, no. 45, 422, no., 117

⁹⁴ Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, 166; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, pp. 507-8, No. 2504.

appear incompatible with the *Journal's* continuous narrative, but the delegation must have returned by 30th July, when one of its participants, the representative for the faculty of canon law Eustache Marcade, organised with Jean Chuffart a feast in archbishop Regnault de Chartres' Paris residence.⁹⁵ The journey, therefore, could have taken as little as eight weeks, and it is noteworthy that for 1437 the *Journal* featured no entries between the execution of the brigand Milly de Saulx on 10th April and the siege of Meaux, beginning on 24th August, with this break in the narrative consequently coinciding with Confranc's journey to Italy.⁹⁶ Moreover, Confranc was incorporated into the Council of Basel on 17th April 1433, described as a "presbiter".⁹⁷ This may not have involved his attendance at the council itself, but would explain the Bourgeois' interest in proceedings from June 1433, and his concern for a lack of news regarding developments in 1434.⁹⁸

Nicolas Confranc was appointed as a canon of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in December 1435, later becoming the *grand pénitencier*, charged with absolving the canons and assuming the bishop's place in sermons or masses in his absence.⁹⁹ He was also *camerarius clericus*, or clerk chamberlain, which may explain the overlap between his account of the sermon delivered at Saint-Germain-des-Prés in 1431 and the appearance of this sermon in the chapter's register of acts, BNF Latin 17740, especially since the *camerarius* was responsible for the chapter's notaries.¹⁰⁰ Likewise, in 1438 Confranc appears in the list of the

⁹⁵ Heinriche Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, pp. 597-8, Nos. 2504 & 2505.

⁹⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 159v-160r.

⁹⁷ Johannes Haller, *Concilium Basiliense. Studien und Quellen zur Geschichte des Concils von Basel*, Vol. 2, (Base: Detloffs Buchhandlung, 1897), 387; Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, 166.

⁹⁸ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 147r.

⁹⁹ L.H. Bouquet, *L'Ancien collègue d'Harcourt*, 117, 594; Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, 166; Robert Gane, *Le Chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XIV^e siècle. Etude sociale d'un groupe canonial*, (Paris: Publications de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1999), pp. 40-1.

¹⁰⁰ Georges Grassoreille, "Les registres capitulaires de Notre-Dame pendant la guerre de Cent ans", *BSHP*, Vol. 9 (1882), 152.

brothers of the St. Augustine confraternity, reserved for the “ecclésiastiques du chœur, tous prêtres”, but which by the fifteenth century also included prominent Parisians, and he was still a member in 1444.¹⁰¹ Confranc’s mention in 1435 may not preclude an earlier association with the cathedral chapter, though he did not participate in the annual synod until 1438 when he appeared as a canon of Saint-Benoît-le-Bétourné until 1445.¹⁰² Nevertheless, Confranc’s membership of the chapter from 1435 correlates with the Bourgeois’ favourable comments regarding the election of Guillaume Chartier, another canon, as bishop in 1447. Several other features of Confranc’s membership of the chapter coincide with the *Journal*’s internal evidence. Confranc moved into the cathedral cloister at the earliest possible date in April 1436, after twenty weeks of service, agreeing to occupy the first house close to the cloister’s gate next to Saint-Jean-le-Rond, which had previously belonged to Jean Gerson and Charles VII’s confessor, Gérard Machet.¹⁰³ Confranc’s wealth is also demonstrated by this move, with the canon paying 118 *livres parisis* for repairs to the house.¹⁰⁴ Confranc was certainly living there in 1438, when the inventory of canon Pierre Cardonnel’s estate mentions that “une queue de vin vermeil” was kept “en l’ostel ou demeure, ou cloistre de l’église de Paris, M^e N. Confranc.”¹⁰⁵ It is as an inhabitant of the cloister that the Bourgeois may have been able to refer to a ‘maistre Hucques’ as a neighbour, perhaps referring to

¹⁰¹ Paris, Archives nationales, H⁵ 3605, “Confrérie de Saint-Augustin, comptes, 1418-1600”; Robert Gane, *Le Chapitre de Notre-Dame*, 43; Paris, BNF Latin 17740, “Procuracionem pro confratria sancti Augustini in ecclesia parisiensis, 2nd September 1444”, fols. 178r-179r.

¹⁰² Paris, Archives nationales, LL//363, fols. 45v-77r. Cf. Pierre Champion, *François Villon, sa vie et son temps*, (Paris: Champion, 1933), pp. 135-136, 159.

¹⁰³ Pierre Santoni, “Gérard Machet, confesseur et conseiller de Charles VII, évêque de Castres (1380-1448)”, *BEC* (2011), accessed on 12/07/2019, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00603390/document>, pp. 12-13, n. 5; Emmanuel des Graviers, “Messeigneurs du chapitre”, 195.

¹⁰⁴ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//114, “Registres capitulaires (1433-1437)”, 197.

¹⁰⁵ Item, the said Perrin Leinart reported on oath that a barrel of red wine was found in the house in the cloister where Nicolas Confranc resides. Louis Douët-d’Arcq, “Inventaire après décès des biens meubles de M^e Pierre Cardonnel”, *MSHP*, Vol. 7 (1880), 55.

Hugues de Dicy, who on 20th July 1436 informed his fellow canons that he would be hosting a feast for his niece's wedding at his own claustral residence.¹⁰⁶

As a canon, Confranc was responsible for discussing the chapter's preparations for Charles VII's *jocundus adventus* in November 1437, with the canons concluding that the same format should be followed as that used for "Johannes quondam Francorum regis".¹⁰⁷ Consequently, it is unsurprising that a record of Jean II's entry is found twice in the chapter's register, BNF Latin 17740, while the Bourgeois emphasised the contractual character of Charles VII's arrival at Notre-Dame upon his entry.¹⁰⁸ Confranc also oversaw the running of the Hôtel-Dieu and was appointed to confess the hospital's nuns from 1436.¹⁰⁹ At least twenty references to Confranc's involvement in the Hôtel-Dieu's administration survive from 1436-1447.¹¹⁰ Again, Confranc's connection to the institution could explain why the Hôtel-Dieu features so prominently in the Bourgeois' *Journal*, while also reinforcing Confranc's ties to the Saints-Innocents cemetery, where the hospital held jurisdictional rights.¹¹¹ Confranc was also associated with other Parisian churches, several of which feature recurrently in the *Journal*. First and foremost among these is Saint-Merry, where Confranc ensured that a fellow Norman theologian, Jean Postel, was appointed as the Saint-Nicolas chaplain in October 1438, and where in May 1440 he acquired a portion of the church's funds once due to the deceased canon Jacques Branlart.¹¹² Regarding churches on the left bank, in February 1444, Confranc was identified as "sacre theologie professor et Canonicus

¹⁰⁶ Emmanuel des Graviers, "Messeigneurs du chapitre", 199.

¹⁰⁷ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//114, "Registres capitulaires (1433-1437)", 243.

¹⁰⁸ Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fols. 41r-41v, 48v-49v; Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 161v.

¹⁰⁹ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//114, "Registres capitulaires (1433-1437)", 200.

¹¹⁰ E. Coyecqye, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris*, Vol. 2, pp. 97-119.

¹¹¹ Hélène Verlet, *Epitaphier du Vieux Paris*, Vol. 6, XV, xxxviii.

¹¹² Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fols. 81r, 119r-119v; Paris, Archives nationales, LL//363, 54v; Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates*, 443. See also Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, pp. 577, n. 14, 600, 607, 738.

prebendatus ecclesie collegiare sancti Marcelli prope parisius”, while between 1437 and 1443 Confranc was a canon of the collegiate of Saint-Benoît-le-Bétourné, joining Jean de Montigny, who later played a crucial role in Jeanne d’Arc’s nullification trial, and Guillaume de Villon, François Villon’s adoptive father.¹¹³ Confranc’s appointment to the canonry at Saint-Benoît stemmed from a dispute between two clerics contending for the post, Thibault de Vitry and Guillaume Peluquet, the chaplain of Louis, count of Vendome, with Confranc representing a neutral choice.¹¹⁴ Finally, in March 1447, Confranc received the procuration of the church of Belloy-en-France (Seine-et-Oise), delegated to his *procurateurs* among whom feature several close relatives, including Jean Confranc, Toussaint Confranc and Jean Mellin.¹¹⁵

Nicolas Confranc had relinquished his canonry by 6th September 1451 when he was replaced by Enguerrand de Parenty, and presumably died around this time.¹¹⁶ As such, the approximate date of Confranc’s death roughly conforms to that of the *Journal*, and the diminished number of entries in the *Journal* during the 1440s similarly coincide with Confranc’s declining health, with the report in June 1448 that “morbo leprae percussus

¹¹³ Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fol. 225r; Marcel Schwob, *François Villon, rédactions et notes*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), pp. 14-32; Philippe Contamine, “La réhabilitation de la Pucelle vue au prisme des *Tractatus super materia processus*: une propédeutique” in *De l’hérétique à la sainte: Les procès de Jeanne d’Arc revisités*, ed. François Neveux, (Caen: Presses Universitaires de Caen, 2012), pp. 183-7. For Montigny see Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, 492, No. 2344, 615, No. 2543; Françoise Michaud-Fréjaville, “L’effusion de sang dans les procès et les traités concernant Jeanne d’Arc (1430-1456)”, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, Vol. 12 (2005), 183; Jules Quicherat, *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d’Arc dite la Pucelle*, Vol. V, (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1869), 446.

¹¹⁴ Pierre Champion, *François Villon*, 159; Marcel Schwob, *François Villon*, 99; “Deux légataires de François Villon”, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 42, No. 6 (1898), pp. 721-22. See also François Villon, “Le Petit Testament” ed. Jean Dufournet, *François Villon. Poésies*, (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), 68, stanza 28; Jean Dufournet, “Villon et la ville”, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, Vol. 89, No. 1 (2011), 343; *Nouvelles recherches sur François Villon*, (Paris: Champion, 1980), pp. 154-61.

¹¹⁵ Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fol. 238v.

¹¹⁶ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//117, 98.

occurrit".¹¹⁷ Prior to September 1451, Confranc had already regularly absented himself from the chapter's assemblies, described in the cartulary as "infirmo".¹¹⁸ This illness is unsurprising given Confranc's connection to the Hôtel-Dieu where the sick and needy were cared for in Paris, as well as the fact that he is likely to have been the "viro venerabili N. fratri et concanonici nostro" accorded the governance of the leprosaria of Saint-Lazare ("lepresaria prope sancti Dionisi per diocese civis parisius") situated just beyond the porte Saint-Denis in an undated act from the 1440s.¹¹⁹

A doctor in theology, canon of Notre-Dame and, fundamentally, the parish priest of Saints-Innocents, Nicolas Confranc represents a viable candidate for identification as the Bourgeois. Unlike the chancellor Jean Chuffart, Confranc was not so eminent as to have been included in the highest church councils, nor to have frequently travelled in diplomatic missions or to the Council of Basel.¹²⁰ In turn, where Tuetey argued that instances such as the Bourgeois' description of the Notre-Dame choir children's singing upon John, duke of Bedford's 1434 Paris entry "témoin de la solitude avec laquelle le chancelier... s'occupait des enfants de choeur", in 1441 Confranc is similarly found examining the application of Jacques Lignage, the son of the butcher Jean Lignage, to join the choir in February 1441, revealing his own links to the choir children.¹²¹ Confranc, appearing in Jean Maupoint's *Journal*, was evidently involved in the debates taking place at the university which would

¹¹⁷ Heinrich Denifle & Émile Chatelain, *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, Vol. 2, 605, n. 2. Cf. Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, 491, No. 2342, n. 1.

¹¹⁸ From at least 5th December 1447. Paris, Archives nationales LL//116, 373.

¹¹⁹ Paris, BNF Latin 17740, 263r; between 1441 and 1450 Nicolas Confranc was the only Paris canon to have a name beginning with 'N' - none had surnames beginning with 'N'. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//241, "Chanoines de Paris, 1326-1500", pp. 140-156.

¹²⁰ Anne Massoni, *L'église Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, pp. 533-6.

¹²¹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, xx; Kouky Fianu & Darwin Smith, "Qu'est-ce que le chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XV^e siècle?" in *Notre-Dame de Paris, 1163-2013*, ed. Cédric Giraud, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 425.

have included the examination of Fernand de Cordoue.¹²² Finally, the known dates for Confranc's life and career coincide neatly with the composition of the *Journal*, as the work of a young cleric and student of the University of Paris born in the 1380s who died in or around 1451 following illness from late 1447.

There are, however, several clear obstacles to this identification. Firstly, there is no record of Confranc prior to his joining the Collège d'Harcourt as a *bursarius* in 1423. A theology bursar, Confranc would have already become a *maître es arts*, probably in Paris, but it is impossible to know when this occurred and whether there was a hiatus between his master's and the beginning of his theological training.¹²³ Second, as a member of the Harcourt college it is highly likely that Confranc would have resided within the left bank college, as its statutes prescribed, distant from the Saint-Martin and Halles communities so vividly described by the Bourgeois.¹²⁴ Third, if the theories proposing Jean Chuffart are to be refuted due to the absence of references to the churches with which he was affiliated, the same might be said for Confranc. The Bourgeois never mentioned Saint-Benoît-le-Bétourné and referred to the bourg Saint-Marcel only once, when it was attacked by the Armagnacs on 7th May 1433.¹²⁵ Finally, no positive evidence besides the Harcourt necrology connects Confranc to Saints-Innocents: few archival records for the church or for Sainte-Opportune survive prior to 1450, with the latter's register beginning in 1451.¹²⁶ It is therefore with

¹²² Jean Maupoint, "Journal parisien de Jean Maupoint" 33; Heinrich Denifle & Émile Chatelain, *Auctarium Chartularii Universitatis Parisiensis*, Vol. 2, 605, n. 2.

¹²³ Hiatuses were not uncommon. Cécile Fabris, *Étudier et vivre à Paris au Moyen Âge: Le Collège de Laon (XIV^e–XV^e siècles)*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2005), pp. 278-80.

¹²⁴ "Statuta Collegii Harcuriani" in L.H. Bouquet, *L'Ancien collège d'Harcourt*, pp. 579-90. See also below, Chapter II.

¹²⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 143v-144r.

¹²⁶ Three episcopal charters regarding Saints-Innocents survive for 1441-1448. Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, Nos. 3-5. A dispute between the churchwardens of Saints-Innocents and the canons of Sainte-Opportune was arbitrated by the *prévôt* Simon Morhier in February 1435, with two

caution that Confranc's identity as the Bourgeois should be assumed – future research concerning Parisian churches such as Saint-Benoît, Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, Notre-Dame, Sainte-Opportune and Saint-Merry, beyond the scope of the present thesis, may be able to shed further light on their clerical communities and, consequently, the *Journal's* authorship.

Problematizing the 'Bourgeois' of Paris

The term 'Bourgeois' has been used to describe the anonymous author of the *Journal* since the bibliophile Claude Dupuy first compiled notes on the Vatican manuscript, later published by Denis Godefroy, describing the text as “une chronique ou plus tost Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, prebtre, comme j'estime.”¹²⁷ This terminology was reprised in seventeenth-century editions, with the title of 'Bourgeois' becoming stuck to the source.¹²⁸ Dupuy's initial analysis encapsulated the enduring contradiction inherent in this title. On the one hand, the author was evidently an inhabitant of Paris and therefore a 'bourgeois' in its broadest sense, but as a cleric it is equally evident that he did not conform to the term's late medieval and early modern legal and civic definitions, belonging instead to the urban ecclesiastical community. This nuance is crucial, considering the debates concerning citizenship and participation in the polity taking place at the University of Paris in the

additional letters dated 1436 and 1438. Paris, Archives nationales, L//617, Nos. 54, 55 & 57. Sainte-Opportune's register can be found in Paris, Archives nationales, LL//587, “Délibérations du chapitre de Sainte-Opportune”. Finally, the fabric of the Saints-Innocents parish is indicated by one document, “Tiltres de la maison du Faisant, rue Saint-Honoré (16th April 1442)”, Paris, Archives nationales, S//3372, “Archives de la paroisse des Saints-Innocents”, Liasse 3, No. 1.

¹²⁷ “A chronicle or rather a journal [written] by a bourgeois of Paris [whom] I believe to be a priest”. Claude Dupuy, “Mémoires pour l'histoire du roi Charles VI”, Paris, BNF Dupuy 275, fol. 1r; Denis Godefroy (ed.), “Extrait d'une chronique ou plustost iournal...” in *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France*, (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1653), 497.

¹²⁸ For instance, Philippe Labbé, “Extraits d'un journal manuscrit fait par un Bourgeois de Paris” in *L'Abrégé royal de l'alliance chronologique de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, ed. Philippe Labbé, (Paris: Gaspar Meturas, 1651), 652; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 20-1.

second half of the fourteenth century, with Oresme explaining in his gloss of the *Politics* that “citoiens” were defined by their descent, status, power and possessions.

Et la cause est car cité est cité et a son estre par ordenance selon justice distributive, qui appartient mesmement as princes; et selon justice commutative, qui appartient as juges, ou selon expedient, qui appartient as conseillers. Et donques celui qui peut participer en ces operacions est citoien en partie de cité et non autre. Et aucuns appellant telz citoiens bourgeois, car il pevent estre maires ou esquevins ou conseuls ou avoir aucunes honnorables autrement nommées.¹²⁹

Subsequent authors, such as Christine de Pizan, developed this model. In *Le livre du corps de policie*, Christine distinguished three estates within “la communauté du peuple”: the clergy, the bourgeois and merchants and, finally, “le commun gens de mestier et laboureurs”.¹³⁰ Bourgeois status was clearly defined:

Bourgeois sont ceulx qui de naccion ancienne sont en lignagez es citez et ont propre surnom et armes authentiques, et sont les principaux demourans et habitans es villes rentez et heritez de maisons et de manoirs, de quoy ilz se vivent purement. Et les appellent les livres qui parle d’eulx citoiens.¹³¹

Christine and Oresme were not alone. Dividing French society into four hierarchies, with the fourth representing the people, Philippe de Mézières placed the ‘bourgeois’ and

¹²⁹ And this is because a city is a city, being ordered by distributive justice which even belongs to princes; by commutative justice which belongs to judges, or according to interest concerning counsellors. And so, he who can participate in these obligations is a citizen integral to the city and not otherwise. And some call such citizens ‘bourgeois’, because they can be mayors or *échevins* or consuls or have other similarly named functions. Nicole Oresme, *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le livre de Politiques d’Aristote, published with the text of the Avranches manuscript 223 with a critical introduction and notes*, ed. Albert Douglas Menut, (Philadelphia PA: American Philosophical Society, 1970), 115.

¹³⁰ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, (Paris: Champion, 1998), 96.

¹³¹ Bourgeois are those who are of ancient origin and descent in cities and have their own surname and official coats of arms, and they are the principal inhabitants of towns, with *rentes* and inheritance from houses and manors upon which they depend entirely; and those books that describe them identify them as ‘citizens’. *Ibid.*, 100. See also Otto Gerhard Oexle & Florence Chaix, “Les groupes sociaux du Moyen Âge et les débuts de la sociologie contemporaine”, *Annales. Histoire, sciences sociales*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (1992), 757.

merchants at the summit.¹³² To be a bourgeois, therefore, was to exhibit wealth and authority grounded in the city that ensured participation in urban government.¹³³ As such, editors' terminological decisions over the centuries are revealing of later reactions to the *Journal* and its historical importance, rather than offering a precise insight into the Bourgeois' identity, particularly regarding the confusion surrounding clerical and bourgeois status.¹³⁴

Editors since the nineteenth century have unanimously agreed that the 'Bourgeois' was not, in fact, a bourgeois of Paris.¹³⁵ As Beaune stressed, "notre auteur n'est pas un bourgeois, même s'il est bien parisien. C'est un clerc, il l'avoue lui-même."¹³⁶ However, for writers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term conveyed precisely what they intended – the notion that the author was an inhabitant of Paris, with the term epitomising his connection to the capital.¹³⁷ However, simultaneously, the name is immediately anachronistic, betraying the distance in understandings of citizenship between the medieval and early modern periods.¹³⁸ As a late seventeenth-century dictionary stated: "Bourgeois se

¹³² Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pelerin*, Vol. 1, ed. G.W. Coopland, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 453-6.

¹³³ Thierry Dutour, "La supériorité sociale à Dijon à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XIV^e début XV^e siècles)" in *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Âge: XVII^e Congrès de la SHMS*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1996), pp. 306-11.

¹³⁴ The substantial shifts in 'bourgeois' identity during the early modern period have been traced by Laurence Croq, "Des 'bourgeois de Paris' à la bourgeoisie parisienne (XVII^e-XVIII^e siècle)" in *Les histoires de Paris (XVI^e-XVIII^e siècles), actes du colloque tenu à Québec les 22-25 septembre 2010*, Vol. 1, ed. Thierry Belleguic & Laurent Tricot, (Paris, Hermann Éditeurs, 2013), pp. 267-70.

¹³⁵ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. ix-x; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 20. See also Robert Bossuat, Louis Pichard & Guy Raynaud de Lage (ed.), *Dictionnaire*, 873.

¹³⁶ "Our author is not a bourgeois, even if he is Parisian. He is a cleric, as he admits himself". Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 11.

¹³⁷ From the sixteenth century, the term 'bourgeois' invariably referred to any inhabitant of a town. See Edmond Huguet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1925), 656; *Le dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, Vol. 1, First edition, (Paris: Coignard, 1694), 120.

¹³⁸ Laurence Croq, "Droit, société et politique: La confusion des concepts et des identités pendant la période pré-révolutionnaire à Paris" in *Être parisien*, ed. Claude Gauvard & Jean-Louis Robert, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 68-9; Joseph di Corcia, "Bourg, Bourgeois, Bourgeois de Paris

dit de chaque particulier habitant de la ville”, thus Shirley’s opinion that the title of ‘Bourgeois’ had “very little to do with his position in society.”¹³⁹

However, the title was still inherently connected to social status in the minds of editors as well as the Bourgeois’ contemporaries.¹⁴⁰ When in the seventeenth century the author’s status as the ‘Bourgeois’ became fixed, the term was acquiring a very specific connotation with regards to class, authority and dignity.¹⁴¹ In dictionaries from the 1680s, ‘bourgeois’ could also mean: “quelqu’un qui n’as pas l’air de Cour, qui n’est pas tout à fait poli, qui n’est pas assez respectueux.”¹⁴² As such, the early modern editors’ decision to name the author a ‘Bourgeois’ alluded to the socio-political divides which distinguished the *Journal* from historiography associated with elite courts, inferring that the former was an ‘inferior’ historical work and evincing disdain towards those localised histories that failed to form part of the grand narratives of French history emerging in the early modern period.¹⁴³

For the fifteenth century, as Jean Favier has noted:

...le bourgeois est celui qui est membre du corps social dirigeant qui définissent les chartes, les statuts et les privilèges... est bourgeois de Paris tout chef de famille non-noble ayant dans la ville son état et son

from the Eleventh to the Eighteenth Century”, *Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (June 1978), pp. 215-29.

¹³⁹ Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel contenant généralement tous les mots françois, tant vieux que modernes, & les termes de toutes les sciences et des arts*, Vol. 1, (La Haye: Arnaud & Reinier Leers, 1690), 262; Janet Shirley (ed.), *A Parisian Journal*, 21.

¹⁴⁰ Boris Bove, “L’élite bourgeoise de Paris et l’expression de sa notabilité entre 1200 et 1400” in *Marquer la prééminence sociale*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet & E. Igor Mineo, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), pp. 99-110.

¹⁴¹ Joseph di Corcia, “Bourg, Bourgeois, Bourgeois de Paris”, pp. 225-31.

¹⁴² Someone who does not have a courtly air, who is not well-mannered or respectful enough. Pierre Richelet, *Dictionnaire de la langue française ancienne et moderne*, (Amsterdam: La Compagnie, 1732), 228.

¹⁴³ Clarisse Coulomb, “Des villes de papier: écrire l’histoire à travers la ville dans l’Europe moderne”, *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (2010), pp. 6-7, 12-13.

établissement... [qui] sont soumis aux impositions directes comme aux devoirs qui sont le guet et la garde.¹⁴⁴

Not only did being a bourgeois involve civic duties, but it had a profoundly *dynastic* overtone.¹⁴⁵ As Christian Liddy has argued for England, “citizenship was a source of identity, based upon a feeling of belonging”.¹⁴⁶ Although a more vague concept, recognition as a Parisian bourgeois encapsulated the ability to participate in civic government, the obligation to pay taxes and exhibit loyalty to the city and crown, evoking an important “emotional force”.¹⁴⁷ Citizenship meant privileges but also expectations, obligations and rights.¹⁴⁸ The medieval Parisian bourgeoisie encompassed members of those families who had risen to the upper echelons of civic government, such as the Maciot, Hesselin, Boucher and Bureau families connected to the fifteenth-century journals and who endeavoured to stress their status through their epitaphs and endowments, as well as their architectural patronage.¹⁴⁹ These families were united in their control of civic government and by their wealth, often built upon generations of dynastic alliances, and they were committed to

¹⁴⁴ Bourgeois of Paris were any head of a non-noble family possessing within the city his estate and trade, who were subject to direct taxation as well as the duties of the city guard and watch. Jean Favier, *Le Bourgeois de Paris au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Tallandier, 2012), 12.

¹⁴⁵ Boris Bove, “L’espace, piété et parenté aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles d’après la fondation d’anniversaires des familles échevinales” in *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge: Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Jacques Chiffoleau, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 267-74.

¹⁴⁶ Christian Liddy, *Contesting the City: The Politics of Citizenship in English Towns, 1250-1530*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 21; Joseph Morsel, “Comment peut-on être parisien? Contribution à l’histoire de la genèse de la communauté parisienne au XIII^e siècle” in *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen Âge. Études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Jacques Chiffoleau, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 363-4.

¹⁴⁷ Christian Liddy, *Contesting the City*, 32.

¹⁴⁸ Marc Boone, “Introduction: Citizenship between Individual and Community, 14th-18th Centuries”, in *Individual, Corporate, Judicial Status in European Cities (Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Period)*, ed. Marc Boone & Maarten Prak, (Leuven: Garant, 1996), pp. 5-7.

¹⁴⁹ On these families see below, Chapter II. Robert Descimon, “Bourgeois et habitants: Réflexions sur les appartenances multiples des parisiens au XVI^e siècle” in *Être Parisien*, ed. Claude Gauvard & Jean-Louis Robert, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 185-6; Boris Bove, “La demeure bourgeoise à Paris au XIV^e siècle: bel hotel ou grant meson?”, *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (2001), pp. 77-82.

upholding the city's privileges as royal authority increased.¹⁵⁰ The social stratum found its expression through representatives in the *prévôté des marchands*, the positions of *échevin* and *prévôt* which they regularly held, and whose leaders represented the "chose publique" of the city.¹⁵¹ As Martha Howell has succinctly concluded, to be a bourgeois was to be a member of "a commune which authored the city's 'freedom', the sphere into which external laws, outside jurisdictions, did not intrude."¹⁵² In this sense, the municipality stood as a separate entity alongside the crown and Parlement.

Clerics, the tonsured men who had been trained by church schools and went on to form the backbone of ecclesiastical and lay administration, were socially and legally distinct from the bourgeoisie, though increasing literacy rates were blurring these boundaries.¹⁵³ The extent of this difference in privilege and position varied from city to city, with Howell explaining that in late medieval Douai clerics could not bear arms (and were therefore unable to participate in the city watch), were subject to canon law which prevented them from butchering or tavern-keeping, ensured that they adopt the tonsure and only married once.¹⁵⁴ Similar restrictions applied in Paris, though the Bourgeois' comments on the increasing ubiquity of taxation in the period following 1436 demonstrates a gradual shift in

¹⁵⁰ Bernard Guenée, "Espace et État dans la France du bas Moyen Âge", *Annales ESC*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (1968), pp. 745-51.

¹⁵¹ Guy Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 52.

¹⁵² Martha Howell, "Citizen-clerics in Late Medieval Douai" in *Individuals, Corporations and Judicial Status in European Cities* ed. Marc Boon & Maarten Prak, (Leuven: Garant, 1996), 12.

¹⁵³ Christiane Deluz, "Quelques aspects de la nouvelle clergie dans la société des XIV^e et XV^e siècles" in *Le clerc au Moyen Âge*, (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 1995), pp. 134-40. On the acquisition of this status in northern France see Vincent Tabbagh, "Effectifs et recrutement du clergé séculier français à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Le clerc séculier au Moyen Âge: XXII^e Congrès de la SHMS*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1993), pp. 181-90.

¹⁵⁴ Martha Howell, "Citizen-clerics in Late Medieval Douai", 12.

the treatment of clerics.¹⁵⁵ As such, the *Journal's* author has been given a title contrary to his lived social status. As a cleric, the Bourgeois was keenly aware of the social and legal parameters which distinguished him from the city's lay inhabitants. On numerous occasions the Bourgeois presented "prebsters et clerics" as a homogenous social group, occupying the same space in urban processions.¹⁵⁶ When a tax was levied upon them in September 1437, it was "la plus estrange taille qui oncques mais eust esté faicte", given its break with the traditions of clerical exemption.¹⁵⁷ Similarly, the Bourgeois would have been subject to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction distinct from that of the Grand Châtelet, and his awareness of this distinction is demonstrated by his comment on the trial of Jean le Clerc in 1437, "lequel fut... condampné perpetuelment en oubliete, pour ce que cleric estoit."¹⁵⁸

Despite the widespread recognition that the term 'Bourgeois' is inadequate to describe the author of the *Journal*, there is a risk, as poststructuralists such as Roland Barthes argued, that the notions inherent in the term 'Bourgeois' lead to a false sense of certainty regarding his identity and authorial intent.¹⁵⁹ Through a more thorough examination of the Bourgeois' identity, place and status in fifteenth-century Parisian society, it becomes possible to clearly contextualise the *Journal* and establish a firm understanding of how, why and for whom this work was produced. The author's anonymity, coupled with an uncertainty surrounding the text's genre (journal, chronicle, diary, etc.) has rendered the

¹⁵⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 160r-160v; Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 136-59.

¹⁵⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 89v, 101v.

¹⁵⁷ The strangest tax that there had ever been. *Ibid.*, fol. 160r.

¹⁵⁸ Who was sentenced... to perpetually being in the oubliette because he was a cleric. *Ibid.*, fol. 159r; Gabriel le Bras, "Le privilège de Clergie en France dans les derniers siècles du Moyen Âge", *Journal des savants*, Vol. 20 (1922), pp. 165-70; Anne J. Duggan, "Clerical Exemption in Canon Law from Gratian to the Decretals", *Medieval Worlds*, Vol. 6 (2017), pp. 78-91.

¹⁵⁹ Roland Barthes, "La mort de l'auteur (1968)" in *Le bruissement de la langue: Essais critiques IV*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1984), pp. 65-66.

Journal liminal in historical corpora, distinct from the established histories produced within courtly circles. Nevertheless, an understanding of the Bourgeois himself enables the historian to glean further insights into the purpose behind his text and is essential to resituating the *Journal* in relation to these better-studied works.

Chapter II. Contexts and Audiences

Information about the *Journal's* contexts can only be gleaned from internal evidence and codicological information, shedding light on the Bourgeois' sources, his envisioned audience and the text's readership in the late fifteenth century.¹ Previous scholars have considered the Bourgeois' audience in relation to his perceived identity. Colette Beaune argued that prior to 1436, after which the Bourgeois stopped using the second-person, the *Journal* was destined for an audience that "ne pouvait guère être nombreux: ses collègues du chapitre ou de l'Université, aptes à apprécier de beaux morceaux d'éloquence".² When these institutions rallied to Charles VII in 1436, the Bourgeois was left without an audience: "il écrivait alors pour lui, sans modifier pourtant son écriture".³ In contrast, Shirley commented that the *Journal's* style is "so terse... that one wonders whether what we have here is nothing more than notes for a future work, perhaps even to be written by someone else".⁴ This chapter will assess these hypotheses through an examination of the Bourgeois' institutional *milieux* and the correlation between his account and their own records.

Assessing the *Journal's* topographical and institutional references, as well as codicological information, this chapter points to very different conclusions. The *Journal's* content was predominantly defined not by the Bourgeois' ties to Notre-Dame or the University, but his connections to Paris' right bank, especially the inhabitants of the sympathetically Burgundian Halles area, with these ties potentially shaping the *Journal's*

¹ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 14.

² Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris de 1405 à 1449*, (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1990), 18.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 24-5.

political content. The Bourgeois' writing imparts this district's collective memory, accentuated by detailed topographical references, the identification of inhabitants, a concentration upon their institutions' history, conversations with its members and an encapsulation of their political attitudes, the components of Pierre Nora's *lieux de mémoire* that "buttress" collective identities.⁵ Through this concentration upon the Bourgeois' environment, it becomes possible to reintegrate the *Journal* into wider Parisian political attitudes and discourse.

This attachment to the Halles is highlighted through comparisons with references to Notre-Dame and the University of Paris. The *Journal* presents substantially less information regarding these institutions, with some details inaccurate or conflicting with official records. Though the Bourgeois was a likely member of both, these discrepancies suggest that the *Journal* was not intended for an audience that could have compared its content either with official registers or their own experiences. Instead, the Bourgeois synthesised information regarding these leading Parisian institutions for interpretation by an audience distanced from their internal workings. This is supported by the evidence supplied by the Vatican manuscript, that indicates the *Journal's* patronage by lay readers on the fringes of Paris' municipal elite. The manuscript's signatures point to members of the Halles' bourgeoisie, specifically the Maciot family who rose to prominence during the 1460s before occupying municipal posts in the sixteenth century.

⁵ Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*", *Representations*, No. 26 (Spring, 1989), 12; Paul Ricoeur, *La mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, (Paris: Seuil, 2000), pp. 152-63; Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), pp. 278-82. On the relationship between historiography and collective memory see Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 39-44; Jan Assmann & John Czaplicka, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity", *New German Critique*, No. 65 (1995), pp. 128-9.

Consequently, this chapter challenges analyses that have interpreted the *Journal* in an isolated manner, resituating the Bourgeois and his writing within its Parisian contexts.⁶ As such, it becomes evident that the Bourgeois reinforced the institutional and collective memories of the community to which he belonged, articulating their political perspectives, their physical contexts and their symbolic place, delineating the right bank as a distinct entity in relation to Parisian factions and institutions. In doing so, the *Journal* emerges as more than an individual's particular and politicised interpretation of their environment, revealing how the Bourgeois actively attempted to influence the political perspectives, morals and social values of his audience while concurrently giving shape to this very community through his writing, demonstrating his function as an interpreter in the public sphere.

The Halles District

Janet Shirley first emphasised the importance of the Bourgeois' connection to Paris' Halles district, with the jurisdictional *quartiers* of Saint-Martin and the Halles the only two mentioned in the *Journal*.⁷ The topographical and prosopographical references examined below clearly demonstrate a correlation between the Bourgeois' writing and the political experiences of the Halles.⁸ Through these references, it can be tentatively suggested that the

⁶ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 12-24; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 18-26.

⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 48v, 101v, 153v; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 18-20. For the history of this district see Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Les Halles de Paris et leur quartier (1137-1969)*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2009), pp. 113-32; Jean Favier, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris au XV^e siècle, 1380-1500*, (Paris: Hachette, 1974), pp. 34-6.

⁸ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 18-19. For an assessment of Parisian topography, see Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrel, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), pp. 66-78.

Bourgeois compiled his narrative with an audience of the district's inhabitants in mind – most likely the artisans and families occupying the liminal space between the “middling sort” and the “gros bourgeois”.⁹ It is nevertheless difficult to determine how this audience would have accessed the *Journal*. It does not appear implausible that its diffusion occurred within an informal parish or neighbourhood network. This conclusion is implied by the Bourgeois' predominant focus upon the Halles area and particularly the Saints-Innocents church, his potential status as a local priest but also the fact that at least one other cleric produced a narrative with a profoundly similar focus upon events at the parish level, the 1412-1413 journal fragment.¹⁰ Privileging the perspectives of the Halles' inhabitants, their participation in political events and their relationship with overarching civic institutions, the *Journal* may have represented an important resource for artisanal dynasties rising to prominence during the early fifteenth century, as suggested by the indications of its later ownership. Indeed, benefiting from ongoing political instability and connections to the Burgundian dukes, during the Lancastrian occupation of Paris several families based in the Halles, and who increasingly codified their dynastic memories through contributions to the fabric of Saints-Innocents, rose to prominence in the municipal administration.¹¹

⁹ The Parisian elite has been studied extensively. Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Tallandier, 2012), pp. 415-439; Boris Bove, “Aux origines du complexe de supériorité des parisiens: les louanges de Paris au Moyen Âge” in *Être Parisien*, ed. Claude Gauvard & Jean-Louis Robert, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 428-432; “Espace, piété et parenté à Paris aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles d'après les fondations d'anniversaires des familles échevinales” in *Religion et société urbaine au Moyen âge: études offertes à Jean-Louis Biget*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Jacques Chiffolleau, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 266-74; “L'élite bourgeoise de Paris et l'expression de sa notabilité entre 1200 et 1400” in *Marquer la prééminence sociale*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet & E. Igor Mineo, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), pp. 95-114; Yvonne-Hélène le Maresquier-Kesteloot, *Les officiers municipaux de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Commission des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1997), pp. 88-116.

¹⁰ Rome, Vatican Library, Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), fols. 103r-108v.

¹¹ Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 88-9, 195-8; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 55-61, 153-8, 165-72.

During its first decades the Bourgeois' writing concentrated precisely upon the contested character of municipal authority, recording the vicissitudes of the Halles' experiences, while with the reassertion of Valois authority in 1436 the *Journal's* tenor shifted, focusing increasingly upon the Saints-Innocents as an important Parisian centre while juxtaposing the experiences of the civic community with processes of royal centralisation. In doing so, the *Journal* evoked the practices through which inhabitants of the right bank had secured increasing participation in municipal politics during the 1410s and 1420s, before this authority was threatened by the reassertion of direct royal authority. Their rise was conditioned by the reconfiguration of the relationship between the capital and royal centre developed through revolt, the municipality's suppression in 1383 and its reinstatement by Jean sans Peur in January 1412 as a means of securing his influence over the city.¹² The *Journal's* concentration upon this district therefore elucidates the means by which these men asserted their newly acquired political status.¹³

¹² Paris, Archives nationales, KK/950A, No. 10 "Rétablissement de la prévôté des marchands, (Paris, 20th January 1412)"; Jean Favier, *Paris au XV^e siècle, 1380-1500*, (Paris: Hachette, 1974), pp. 140-152; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 54-66; Louis Battifol, "La prévôté des marchands de Paris à la fin du XIV^e siècle", *BEC*, Vol. 52 (1891), 274; "Lettres de Charles VI, par lesquelles il rétablit la prévôté des marchands & l'échevinage de la ville de Paris", *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. IX, pp. 668-70.

¹³ Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 19-24.



Figure 1. The *quartiers* of Paris in the fifteenth century.¹⁴

The Bourgeois' experiences in this district shaped his writing. For instance, proximity to the Halles market underpinned the *Journal's* record concerning food supplies and prices as demonstrated by his eyewitness testimony, such as in June 1419 when, following a truce between the Armagnacs and Burgundians, cheeses “estoient es Halles entassez aussi haults que ung homme” or in 1446 when there were piles of pears “es Halles de Paris comme je vy

¹⁴ Michel Huard, “Les quartiers de Paris”, *Atlas historique de Paris*, accessed on 02/04/2019, <https://paris-atlas-historique.fr/37.html>.

oncques de charbon a la Croix de Greve... vj ou vij tas sans garde".¹⁵ It was also in these spaces that the Bourgeois would have encountered the publication of official information, with ten executions reported as taking place in the square north of the Halles market, accompanied by "le cry que on fist es Halles quant on les decolla".¹⁶ In September 1413, the Bourgeois noted the publication at the Halles of the peace instated by the Armagnac government, as a mark of their newly won control over the rebellious district.¹⁷

The density of living and working conditions within medieval cities resulted in inhabitants being involved in near-constant interaction, and this was especially true of the Halles, complementing the circulation of information and presenting a challenge to official media as information spread through the informal networks that "shape, enable and constrain political action".¹⁸ For instance, at the Halles marketplace, the acute food shortages experienced in 1420 were underscored by the testimony of the Halle de Beauvais' butchers who

juroient et affermoient, par la foy de leurs corps, qu'ilz avoient veu par maintes années devant passées que en l'ostel d'un seul boucher de Paris, a ung tel jour, on avoit tué plus de char que on ne fist en toutes les boucheries de Paris.¹⁹

¹⁵ Were in piles as tall as a man in the Halles; in Paris' Halles, just as I have seen coal at the Croix de Grève in the past... six or seven piles, all unguarded. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 58v, 183r.

¹⁶ The cry pronounced at the Halles when they were beheaded. Ibid., fol. 145r. On the Halles' jurisdictions see Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "La ville étudiée dans ses quartiers: autour des Halles de Paris au moyen âge", *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*, Vol. 7, No. 33 (May 1935), pp. 292-3.

¹⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 28v-29r.

¹⁸ Jennifer Nicoll Victor, Alexander H. Montgomery, & Mark Lubell, "Introduction: The Emergence of the Study of Networks in Politics", *Oxford Handbook of Political Networks*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 3; Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "La ville étudiée dans ses quartiers", pp. 288-9. This point is also raised by Lindsay Porter in her study of rumour during the French Revolution. *Popular Rumour in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-1794*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2017), 137, 206.

¹⁹ Swore and confirmed, upon the faith of their corporation, that in many of the years past they had seen at the stall of a single Parisian butcher, on any day, more meat slaughtered than was now done at all of the butchers' stalls of Paris. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 65r. On the Beauvais butchers see Sylvain Leteux, "L'Eglise et les artisans: l'attachement des bouchers parisiens au catholicisme du XV^e au XX^e

Such testimony evidences the contact between local clergymen, such as the Bourgeois, and merchants. The Saints-Innocents clergy were subject to the authority of the nearby Sainte-Opportune church, which asserted historic links to the neighbouring markets.²⁰ On 25th April 1419 parishioners including Hugues Rapiout and Jean Vaillant lamented Sainte-Opportune's poverty, rendering services at the Notre-Dame-du-Bois chapel impossible, despite the fact that it was there that Mass was first sung "de toutes les marchés et eglises voisines".²¹

Politically, the Halles had a reputation for subversive tendencies and Burgundian sympathies during the 1410s, attitudes evoked by the *Journal*, indicating that its audience may have adopted similar political stances.²² In August 1413, the *quarteniers* of Saint-Eustache refused to endorse the Pontoise treaty that would end the Cabochien revolt.²³ Following the treaty, the anonymous Cordelier recorded how "ce non obstant, ceulx du quartier des Halles demourerent tousjours bourguignon couvertement".²⁴ Jean sans Peur

siècle", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, Vol. 99, No. 2 (2004), 376; Léon Biollay, "Les anciennes Halles de Paris", *MSHP*, Vol. 3 (1876), 311.

²⁰ Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Paris, genèse de la ville: La Rive Droite de la Seine des origines à 1223*, (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1978), pp. 72, 74-5; Hélène Verlet, *Épitaphier du Vieux Paris: Vol. 6, Les Saints-Innocents*, (Paris: Comité des Travaux Historiques de la Ville de Paris, 1997), lii.

²¹ Of all the markets and neighbouring churches. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 304. Jean Vaillant was a taverner who inhabited the Sainte-Opportune cloister. Yvonne-Hélène le Maresquier-Kesteloot, *Les officiers municipaux*, 147, No. 44. Hugues Rapiout was *prévôt des marchands* between 1431 and 1434, succeeding Guillaume Sanguin (see below), as reported by the Bourgeois, Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 140v. See also Édouard Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement de Paris*, Vol. III, (Paris: Picard, 1916), 62; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 121; Jules Rouyer, "Jetons municipaux de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle", *Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1869), pp. 113-123.

²² Werner Paravicini, "Paris, capitale des ducs de Bourgogne?", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 64 (2007), pp. 473-6.

²³ RSD, Vol. 5, 86.

²⁴ Despite this, those of the Halles *quartier* remained Burgundians in secret. "La chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'", Paris BNF Fr. 23018, fol. 347r.

maintained contact with the Halles' inhabitants and in February 1414 royal edicts revealed that the duke had sent "certaines lectres patentes scellées de son séel secret... et icelles fist affichier de nuyt et secretement aux porteaulx de plusieurs eglises".²⁵ Likewise, on 11th December 1415, a *pâtissier* from the Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie parish was executed for sending letters to the duke claiming that five thousand Parisians were ready "a le recevoir et ly ouvrir la porte de Montmartre ou de Saint-Honoré" (the two gates closest to the Halles).²⁶ His execution provoked "grant murmure de sedition", compelling the Armagnac governors to take measures to prevent an uprising.²⁷ A conspiracy discovered at Easter 1416 had planned to rally the district's population at Saints-Innocents before assaulting the Louvre to detain the dukes of Berry and Anjou.²⁸ The "Geste des nobles francoys" reported that the conspirators proposed "de faire eslever par nuit, au son de la cloiche de Saint-Eustace, le commun peuple des Halles, et a celle heure courir sus a touz ceulz qui du duc de Bourgoigne estoient contraires".²⁹

²⁵ Certain letters patent sealed with his seal... and at night had these affixed secretly to the doorways of several churches. "Lettres patentes des 17 et 20 février 1413, contre le duc de Bourgogne", ed. Louis Douët-d'Arcq in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, pp. 152-161.

²⁶ To receive him and open the porte de Montmartre or the porte Saint-Honoré. Nicolas de Baye, 228.

²⁷ Ibid., 229; *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 524-5. Peter S. Lewis argued that the author of this second work was probably not Jean Juvénal des Ursins, and for that reason the convention of describing the author as the 'Juvénal compiler' and the text as the *Histoire de Charles VI* has been followed here. Peter S. Lewis, "Some Provisional Remarks upon the Chronicles of Saint-Denis and upon the [*Grandes*] *Chroniques de France* in the Fifteenth Century", *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, Vol. 39 (January 1995), pp. 159-164.

²⁸ Léon Mirot, "Le procès du Boiteux d'Orgemont. Épisode des troubles parisiens pendant la lutte des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons (Suite et fin). Quatrième partie: La vie politique et le procès du Boiteux d'Orgemont", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 25 (1912), pp. 368-75; *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 531-2; Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 139-41. For the Bourgeois' account of the sentencing of the conspirators, Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 37v-38r.

²⁹ To rally the commons of the Halles at night by the sound of the Saint-Eustache bell, and at that hour ambush all of those opposed to the duke of Burgundy. "Geste des nobles Francoys" ed. Vallet de Viriville in *Chronique de la Pucelle ou Chronique de Cousinot suivie de la Chronique normande de P. Cochon*, (Paris: Adolphe Delahays, 1859), pp. 153-4.

Following the Burgundian coup in May 1418 the Halles emerged as a centre of Burgundian support, with Saint-Eustache church becoming the site of a confraternity dedicated to St. Andrew, Burgundy's patron saint.³⁰ The Bourgeois' own ties to the district are signalled through his account of the 1418 massacres. In June, he reported how a Châtelet *sergent*, Pierre Boudaut, had been commissioned to massacre the inhabitants of the Halles days before the Burgundian entry to subjugate the duke's supporters.³¹ The passage's emphasis upon Boudaut's residence on the rue Saint-Denis suggests that he was known locally and perhaps represented a figure of vilification, not least because of his complicity in the disbanding of the prominent butchers' corporation in 1416.³² At the very least, the passage evidences the Bourgeois' awareness of the Halles' Burgundian reputation, with the threat of its potential annihilation consolidating Burgundian support. Guy Thompson has shown that Jean sans Peur relied upon "a substantial sector of society, including many clerics, the well-organised municipal hierarchy and the inhabitants of Les Halles to support him against the threats of an Armagnac resurgence".³³ Of 222 known beneficed clerics who swore the oath of fealty to Jean sans Peur in 1418, 35% were clergymen of Notre-Dame cathedral and 32% belonged to churches in the Halles region, contrasting with just fifteen (7%) for the Grève and twenty-one (9%) for the left bank.³⁴

³⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 46r-46v. See also Charlotte Denoël, *Saint André: Culte & iconographie en France (V^e-XV^e siècles)*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2004), 93; Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France, XIII^e-XV^e siècles*, (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), 107.

³¹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 48v.

³² The Châtelet finances for 1417 reveal that the *prévôt* dispatched Pierre Boudaut to Paris' suburbs to announce the sale of the newly created butchers' stalls around Paris to the highest bidder, in an effort to fragment the butcher families' monopoly on the industry. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 3, (Paris: Moette & Chardon, 1724), 274.

³³ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its people*, 158.

³⁴ The remainder belonged to churches on the Ile-de-la-Cité, with 13% at the Sainte-Chapelle. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-5. To collate this data Thompson used the list of those who swore fealty to Jean sans Peur, "État des bourgeois de Paris qui prêtèrent serment entre les mains de Jean sans Peur, duc de

The *Journal's* focus upon this Burgundian-leaning, artisanal district parallels a broader, growing merchant interest in historical writing during the late Middle Ages, as evidenced by the London Chronicles, with the implication that these lay inhabitants may have had a stake in the information presented by the Bourgeois.³⁵ This focus persisted after the Valois reconquest, with the Bourgeois drawing information from the locality and documenting its inhabitants' memories, moulding the Halles' population into a cohesive group through the references to the district's community and topography.³⁶ In 1430, the Bourgeois related how "une jeune fille née des Halles" rescued a brigand from execution by proposing to marry him; in the winter of 1438, wolves devoured a child "en la place aux Chatz derriere les Innocens".³⁷ When the Lancastrian *prévôt* Simon Morhier attacked the Halles during the Valois reconquest in April 1436, the Bourgeois reported the deaths of "ung tres bon marchand nommé le Vavasseur" as well as "Jehan le Prebtre et ung autre nommé Jehan des Croustez... tres bons mesnaigers et hommes de honneur" before the parish church of Saint-Merry on the rue Saint-Martin.³⁸ Similarly, in 1418 the Bourgeois criticised an

Bourgogne" in *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Documents et écrits originaux*, ed. Antoine le Roux de Lincy & Lazare-Maurice Tisserand, (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), pp. 371-89. See also Werner Paravicini & Bertrand Schnerb, "Les 'investissements' religieux des ducs de Bourgogne à Paris", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 64 (2007), pp. 214-16.

³⁵ Mary-Rose McLaren, "Reading, Writing and Recording. Literacy and the London Chronicles in the Fifteenth Century" in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron. Proceedings of the 2004 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Matthew Davies & Andrew Prescott (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp. 346, 351-7; Jonathan Hsy, *Trading Tongues: Merchants, Multilingualism and Medieval Literature*, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2013), 158.

³⁶ Similar roles for urban historiography have been demonstrated by Lisa Demets & Jan Dumolyn, "Urban chronicle writing in late medieval Flanders: the case of Bruges during the Flemish Revolt of 1482-1490", *Urban History*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2016), pp. 44-5; Jan Dumolyn, Johann Oosterman, Tjamke Snijders, Stijn Villerius, "Rewriting Chronicles in an Urban Environment. The Dutch 'Excellent Chronicle of Flanders' Tradition", *Lias*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2014), 95.

³⁷ A young girl born in the Halles; in the place aux Chats behind Saints-Innocents. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 122r, 163r.

³⁸ A very good merchant named... le Vavasseur; Jehan le Presbtre and another named Jehan des Croustez, good householders and men of honour. *Ibid.*, fols. 153v-154r.

obscure Armagnac, Pierre le Gayant, “personne sismatique, herite contre la foy”.³⁹ The distribution of confiscated properties by the Lancastrian regime reveals that Gayant owned a house situated on the rue des Arcis, opposite Saint-Merry, suggesting that he too was known locally.⁴⁰ Likewise, a miscellaneous passage in June 1418 described Vincent Lormoy’s appointment as a Châtelet *procureur du roi*, with Lormoy recorded in 1421 as living in the Saint-Martin *quartier*.⁴¹

The right bank’s importance to the Bourgeois’ sense of community is underscored by the passages dedicated to activities in the Halles region. After Easter 1425, the *Journal* described the efforts of the Saint-Martin *quartier*’s inhabitants to repair the porte Saint-Martin, which had been walled up, “a leurs coustz et despens”.⁴² The Bourgeois proudly stated that “les habitants de la grant rue Saint-Martin y firent si grant diligence et si bonne de leur peine et de leur argent, que on povait bien dire que ilz avoient le cueur a l’œuvre”.⁴³ The attention paid to the clergy’s involvement again points to the ties between lay and religious members of the district, with the labour fostering community bonds. Once the gate was open, the Saint-Martin inhabitants “firent bonne chere ce jour de Saint Laurens”, now able to process to the church of Saint-Laurent to celebrate the feast as a testament to the inhabitants’ devotion and the importance of local traditions, with the Bourgeois reporting

³⁹ A schismatic person and a heretic against the faith. *Ibid.*, fol. 46r.

⁴⁰ “Compte des confiscations de Paris, depuis le 20 décembre 1423” in *Histoire et recherches des antiquités de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 3, ed. Henri Sauval, (Paris: Moette & Chardon, 1724), 308. Regarding Pierre le Gayant see Appendix I, No. 217.

⁴¹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 48v. Jean Favier, *Les contribuables parisiens à la fin de la guerre de Cent ans. Les rôles d’impôt de 1421, 1423 et 1438*, (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 197, No. A1048. See also Olivier Martin (ed.), “Sentences civils du Châtelet de Paris (1395-1505), publiées d’après les registres originaux. (Suite)”, *Nouvelle revue historique de droit français et étranger*, Vol. 38 (1914), pp. 67-8, No. 69.

⁴² At their cost and expenditure. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 101r-101v.

⁴³ The inhabitants of the grande rue Saint-Martin worked with such great diligence and so well through their efforts and their money, that it can truly be said that they had their hearts in the work. *Ibid.*, 101v.

that “dist-on que passé avoit xxx ans on n’y avoit veu passer autant de gens comme ce jour y passa.”⁴⁴

It is possible to determine the Saint-Martin *quartier*'s professional character through the surviving 1421 tax roll.⁴⁵ 188 individuals representing forty-seven professions were sufficiently wealthy to be taxed, including bakers, leatherworkers, taverners and metalworkers.⁴⁶ The prevalence of the latter may explain the Bourgeois' isolated comment regarding the low price of metals in January 1419.⁴⁷ Moreover, although Saint-Martin featured the highest number of people taxed in the Grève region, it was also the poorest. The average individual contribution for Saint-Martin was 3 ounces, 11 sterling silver, half the Grève region's average of 7 ounces, 7 sterling.⁴⁸ While the tax excluded day-labourers and “frappe dans leur ensemble quelques gros métiers”, the data suggests that Saint-Martin was densely populated and home to a high proportion of the ‘middle sort’ of artisans susceptible to the increasing taxation that rendered them natural Burgundian supporters.⁴⁹ Revealing the professional heterogeneity and artisanal dominance of the *quartier*, the data implies that

⁴⁴ Held great celebrations this St. Laurent's day; it was said that so many people had not been seen passing through the gate in thirty years, as passed through that day. *Ibid.*, fol. 101v. On the importance of Saint-Laurent in the fifteenth century see N.M. Troche, “Notice historique et archéologique sur l'église paroissiale de Saint-Laurent, de la ville de Paris”, *Revue archéologique*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (October 1847-March 1848), 674; Louis Brochard, *Histoire de la paroisse et de l'église Saint-Laurent à Paris*, (Paris: Édouard Champion, 1923), pp. 27-32, 145.

⁴⁵ This data is presented in “Quartier Jehan de Vaynes” in *Les contribuables parisiens*, ed. Jean Favier, pp. 194-208. For the identification of this *quartier* see Jean Guerout, “Fiscalité, topographie et démographie à Paris au Moyen Âge”, *BEC*, Vol. 130 (1972), pp. 99-100.

⁴⁶ Many of those tax were not identified by profession. Jean Favier, *Les contribuables parisiens*, pp. 16-17.

⁴⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 57r.

⁴⁸ That is, the average for the six *quartiers* constituting the Grève region, namely the Grève, Sainte-Avoie, Saint-Paul, Saint-Anotine, Temple and Saint-Martin *quartiers*. This evaluation is based on the data presented in Jean Favier, *Les contribuables parisiens*, 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 41.

the Bourgeois may have resided in one of Paris' poorer neighbourhoods, but that his profession was focused upon the wealthier area surrounding the Halles market.⁵⁰

The Bourgeois' connection to this area is further highlighted by the description of festivities organised by the Saint-Leu-Saint-Giles parish in 1425, when "proposerent aucuns de la parroisse faire ung esbatement", with a goose and money placed upon a greased pole as a prize for whoever could reach the top.⁵¹ Where historians have attributed such events to the Lancastrian regime's policy of "bread and circuses", the Bourgeois again exhibited localised pride through his emphasis upon the parishioners' agency in organising the entertainment.⁵² A similar event was the 'jeu des aveugles et du cochon' held at the 'Hôtel d'Armagnac' on the rue Saint-Honoré west of Saints-Innocents.⁵³ Olivier Richard has suggested that the game was introduced to Paris through Burgundian influence, with its organisation communicating implicit political messages: "le choix du lieu et du spectacle revêt un caractère politique évident. Il vise à ridiculiser les Armagnacs, assimilés à ces pauvres combattants".⁵⁴ Although the Bourgeois named the location the 'Hôtel d'Armagnac', it had passed to Philippe le Bon in 1418 and was named the 'Hôtel de Charolais' in official documentation, making it more likely that the duke used his property

⁵⁰ Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, 72, 74.

⁵¹ Some of the parishioners proposed an amusement. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 102r.

⁵² Auguste Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de Charles VII, roi de France, et de son époque, 1403-1461*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Jules Renouard, 1862), 325; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 192.

⁵³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 101v-102r.

⁵⁴ Olivier Richard, "Le jeu des aveugles et du cochon. Rite, handicap et société urbaine à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, No. 675 (2015), 547. On the history of the game and the importance of the Bourgeois' account, see Irina Metzler, *A Social History of Disability in the Middle Ages. Cultural Considerations of Physical Impairment*, (Oxford: Routledge, 2013), pp. 162-4; Edward Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks Before the Blind: Medieval Constructions of a Disability*, (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2010), pp. 1-6.

to accentuate his personal ties to the Halles region.⁵⁵ In 1412 and August 1418, Jean sans Peur similarly opened his Hôtel d'Artois in the Saint-Eustache parish to the commons, inviting Parisians to banquets to strengthen these same bonds.⁵⁶

Finally, parish churches represented an important means of consolidating this Burgundian affiliation.⁵⁷ The Bourgeois' apparently miscellaneous reference to the singing of the canonical hours at Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie "comme a Notre-Dame" on 16th January 1429, for instance, assumes new meaning in light of the donation made in 1426 by Jean Fortier, counsellor to the dukes of Burgundy and parish churchwarden, to support precisely these prayers.⁵⁸ The Halles region was also a centre for the butchers' corporation, whose experiences the Bourgeois closely followed between 1416 and 1418.⁵⁹ When the corporation was reinstated in 1418, the Saint-Louis chapel in Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie

⁵⁵ Archives départementales du Nord B 1923, fols. 203v-204r, cited in Florence Berland, "La Cour de Bourgogne à Paris (1363-1422)", Doctoral Thesis, Université de Lille 3, 2011, 92.

⁵⁶ Ernest Petit (ed.), *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur, ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1419)*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1888), pp. 443-4; Florence Berland, "Access to the Prince's Court in Late Medieval Paris" in *The Key to Power? The Culture of Access in Princely Courts, 1400-1750*, ed. Dries Raeymaekers and Sebastiaan Derks, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 36.

⁵⁷ Werner Paravicini, "Paris, capitale des ducs de Bourgogne?", pp. 473-4; Werner Paravicini & Bertrand Schnerb, "Les 'investissements' religieux", pp. 197-209.

⁵⁸ As at Notre-Dame. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 114v. Étienne Villain, *Essai d'une histoire de la paroisse de Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie*, (Paris: Praolt, 1758), pp. 108-9; Michel Popoff (ed.), *Prosopographie des gens du Parlement de Paris (1266-1753), d'après les ms. Fr. 7553, 7554, 7555, 7555bis conservés au Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, (Saint-Nazaire-le-Désert: Références DL, 1996), 178. A complete summary of Fortier's service for Philippe le Hardi and Jean sans Peur up to 1412 is found in Pierre Cockshaw, *Prosopographie des secrétaires de la cour de Bourgogne (1384-1477)*, (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2006), 40, No. 30. The finest study of the Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie parish in the fifteenth century is Laurence Fristch-Pinaud, "La vie paroissiale à Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie au XV^e siècle", *MSHP*, Vol. 33 (1982), pp. 52-61.

⁵⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 38v, 39r, 41r, 60v. René de Lespinasse, *Métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1886), pp. 259-61; Laurence Fristch-Pinaud, "La vie paroissiale à Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie", pp. 11-15; Jörg Oberste, "Métropole et monastères: l'urbanisation médiévale de Paris. Le cas de la seigneurie ecclésiastique de Saint-Martin-des-Champs", *Revue historique*, No. 691 (2019), 558; Benoit Descamps, "Fenêtre sur abattoir", *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 24, No. 1 (2009), pp. 130-2.

became the site for its confraternity.⁶⁰ Like Fortier, the butchers played a crucial role in Burgundian politics, with its members leading the Cabochien revolt and later rising to prominence in the Anglo-Burgundian administration.⁶¹ As such, the Bourgeois' attention to the corporation's experience after 1416 may have been driven by local concerns, especially since several participants in the 1416 conspiracy owned houses along the rues Saint-Martin and Saint-Denis.⁶²

The Church and Cemetery of Saints-Innocents

The *Journal* highlights the interconnection of professional, dynastic, geographical and political ties to the Halles district. These relationships are encapsulated by the Bourgeois' attention to Saints-Innocents, a parish church and city cemetery that represented a heterogeneous space of competing jurisdictions and influences, used for meetings, festivities, processions, sermons and economic transactions, as well as criminal activities.⁶³

⁶⁰ Sylvain Leteux, "Liberalisme et corporatisme chez les bouchers parisiens (1776-1944)", Doctoral Thesis, Université Charles de Gaulle – Lille 3, 3rd December 2005, 65; Étienne Villain, *Essai d'une histoire*, pp. 114-5.

⁶¹ Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 160; Benoît Descamps, "La toile [sociale] et la trame [urbaine]: la place des bouchers parisiens au Moyen Âge", *Anthropology of Food*, Vol. 13 (2019), accessed on 04/10/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/aof/9814>; Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413*, (Paris: Hachette, 1888), pp. 101-5, 148-52, 185-91; René Héron de Villefosse, "La Grande Boucherie de Paris" in *BSHP*, Vol. 55 (1928), pp. 39-57.

⁶² These include individuals such as Guillaume Sanguin, who inhabited a house rue des Bourdonnais, Augustin Ysbarre who owned houses on the rue de la Chanvrerie and rue des Lombards, and Jean le Courtillier, who owned a house on the rue de la Mortellerie near the place de Grève. Guillebert de Metz, "Description de la ville de Paris" ed. Antoine le Roux de Lincy & Lazare-Maurice Tisserand in *Paris et ses historiens*, (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), 200; Jean Guerout, "Fiscalité, topographie et démographie", 102; Léon Mirot, "Études Lucquoises (Suite)", *BEC*, Vol. 88 (1927), pp. 280-1; Auguste Longnon (ed.), *Paris pendant la domination anglaise (1420-1436)*, (Paris: Champion, 1878), pp. 51-5, No. 28; Yvonne-Hélène le Maresquier-Kesteloot, *Les officiers municipaux*, 161, No. 207. The names of those implicated in the conspiracy are presented in Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont. Leur origine, leur fortune – le Boiteux d'Orgemont*, (Paris: Champion, 1913), 185.

⁶³ Paris, Archives nationales Y//2, fol. 217r; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), 23. Examples of criminal

Jurisdictionally, the priest of Saints-Innocents was appointed by the canons of Sainte-Opportune, themselves subject to the chapter of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.⁶⁴ The cemetery was divided between the administrators of the Hôtel-Dieu, the rue Saint-Denis' Sainte-Catherine hospital, the churchwardens of Saints-Innocents and the chapter of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois.⁶⁵

Saints-Innocents' cemetery was replete with murals, sculptures, epitaphs, tombs and charnel-houses funded by the Halles' inhabitants.⁶⁶ These sources enable social network analysis by evidencing the symbolic manifestation of communities through dynastic connections and social capital.⁶⁷ Moreover, the monuments were intended to morally instruct passers-by, reminding Parisians of their predecessors' contributions to the parish fabric while encouraging prayers for their memory. In doing so, they created a normative

behaviour and trade practices can be found in Henri Dulpes-Agier (ed.), *Registre criminel du Châtelet de Paris, du 6 septembre 1389 au 18 mai 1392*, 2 Vols., (Paris: Lahure, 1861-1864). Vol. 1, 218, 282, 454; Vol. 2, pp. 386, 422-5; Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, 86; Amy Appleford, *Learning to Die in London, 1380-1540*, (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2015), 87; Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living in Paris and London*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 104-6.

⁶⁴ Anne Massoni, "Les collégiales parisiennes, "filles de l'évêque" et "filles du chapitre" de Notre-Dame" in *Notre-Dame de Paris 1163-2013: Actes du colloque scientifique tenu au Collège des Bernardins, à Paris, du 12 au 15 décembre 2012*, ed. Cédric Giraud, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), pp. 257-61; *La collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois de Paris (1380-1510)*, (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2009), 51.

⁶⁵ Anne Massoni, *La collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, 151, 288; Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, pp. 69, 106-7; Guy-Michel Leproux, "Le cimetière médiéval" in *Les Saints-Innocents*, (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, Commission du Vieux Paris, 1990), pp. 39-41. On 17th September 1457 Charles VII confirmed the chapter of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois' rights in a dispute uniting the parish churches of Saint-Eustache, Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie, Saint-Sauveur and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, the Hôtel-Dieu and the Sainte-Catherine hospital in response to complaints from and transgressions by the churchwardens of Saints-Innocents. Paris, Archives nationales, L//570, "Cimetière des Saints-Innocents. 1218-1786", No. 4.

⁶⁶ Anne Massoni, *La collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, 306; Jean Favier, *Paris au XV^e siècle*, 401; Guy-Michel Leproux, "Le cimetière médiéval", pp. 44-8.

⁶⁷ Justin Colson & Arie van Steensel, "Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe" in *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Justin Colson & Arie van Steensel, (London: Routledge, 2017), 3; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities. Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, (London: Verso, 1983), 6.

framework for an idealised parish community.⁶⁸ In this light, from the late fourteenth century Saints-Innocents underwent a significant phase of architectural development that evidences the Halles' inhabitants' negotiation of this sacred space. Of fifty-four surviving epitaphs from this period, thirty were funded by individuals identified as merchants or bourgeois (or their wives); eight belonged to members of the Paris Parlement and seven were royal or Châtelet notaries.⁶⁹

Professional and dynastic characteristics were combined through the epitaphs and their relative location in the cemetery and exhibited through arms painted or engraved upon the monuments.⁷⁰ Many of the families who funded epitaphs during the first half of the fifteenth century belonged to the class of merchants who rose to prominence under the Anglo-Burgundian regime. By financing a monument, they cemented their status as leading bourgeois despite political vicissitudes and articulated their socio-political connections and civic ties.⁷¹ For instance, a quarter of the bourgeois implicated in the 1416 conspiracy to

⁶⁸ Steve Hindle, "A Sense of Place? Becoming and belonging in the rural parish, 1550-1650" in *Communities in Early Modern England*, eds. Alexandra Shepard & Phil Withington, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 96-7.

⁶⁹ This data is collated from the seventeenth-century record of the Saints-Innocents epitaphs found in Paris, BNF Fr. 8220, "Recueil d'épithaphes d'églises de Paris, Vol. 5", pp. 239-263; Paris, Archives nationales, LL//434-B, "Épithaphier du cimetière des Saints-Innocents"; L//656, No. 1 "Cartulaires des églises paroissiales de Paris au XV^e siècle, Saints-Innocents". Cf. Hélène Verlet, *Épithaphier de Paris: Les Saints-Innocents*, Vol. 6, (Paris: Comité d'Histoire de la ville de Paris, 1989).

⁷⁰ Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, pp. 109-10.

⁷¹ This approach to studying civic relationships through epitaphs follows the methodology presented in David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community in Late Medieval London: The Common Profit, Charity and Commemoration*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 97-102, 108-117. See also the approach of Christian Steer, "A Community of the Dead in Late Medieval London", *Medieval Prosopography*, Vol. 33 (2018), pp. 190-3; "'For quicke and deade memorie masses': merchant piety in late medieval London" in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, ed. Martin Allen & Matthew Davies, (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2016), pp. 78-85. My thanks to Dr. Steer and Dr. Harry for their advice on this subject.

betray Paris to Jean sans Peur funded epitaphs in the cemetery, with several of these men going on to serve as *prévôts* or *échevins* between 1418 and 1436.⁷²

Parisians connected to the Burgundian regime marked their political ascendancy through these commemorative strategies. Anne-Marie Sankovitch considered these as processes through which the parish church became an 'archive' that supplemented the fragility of human memory: "parishioners expected their archive to fully remember them in the way they intended... They sought semantic clarity and permanence".⁷³ At Saints-Innocents, one example is Jean de l'Olive (+1434), a grocer and *échevin* in 1412-1415 and 1420-1422 who endorsed the Cabochien revolt and participated in the 1416 conspiracy.⁷⁴ L'Olive was survived by his wife Marguerite Orlant, and their combined epitaph denotes the importance of their marriage, explicitly identifying Marguerite as the daughter of the wealthy Florentine "changeur et bourgeois de Paris" Henry Orlant, a dependable financier of the Burgundian dukes and Philippe le Hardi's *valet de chambre*.⁷⁵ One of Orlant's sons, Philippot, joined the Cabochien revolt, whereas another, Thomassin, participated in the 1416

⁷² For the names of those implicated in the 1416 plot see above, n. 62. For the list of those banished following the Cabochien revolt in 1413, some of whom were also implicated in the events of 1416, see Louis Douët-d'Arcq (ed.), "Noms des bannis, 1413", *Choix de pièces inédites relatives au règne de Charles VI*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Renouard 1863), pp. 367-9.

⁷³ Anne-Marie Sankovitch, "Intercession, Commemoration, and Display: The Parish Church as Archive in Late Medieval Paris" in *Demeures d'éternité: Églises et chapelles funéraires aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, ed. Jean Guillaume, (Paris: Picard, 2005), pp. 250-1. For this conceptual approach to the archive see Jacques Derrida, *Mal d'archive: Une impression freudienne*, (Paris: Galilée, 1995), 26.

⁷⁴ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 55, 58; Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place: Space, Violence and Legitimacy in Early Fifteenth-century Paris", *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2017), 64, n. 88, 90; Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 214, 361, 401.

⁷⁵ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//434-B, 61; Paris, BNF Fr. 8220, 261; Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont*, pp. 169-72; Florence Berland, "La cour de Bourgogne à Paris", pp. 224-8, 399; Henri Dubois, "Crédit et banque en France aux deux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge" in *Banchi pubblici, banchi privati et monti di pietà nell'Europa preindustriale. Amministrazione, tecniche operative e ruoli economici*, (Genoa: Società Ligure di Storia Patria, 1991), 765. Henri Orlant represents the Francization of 'Enrico Orlandini'. Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, 127.

conspiracy alongside l'Olive.⁷⁶ L'Olive's (or Marguerite's) decision to draw the attention of passers-by to this connection to the Orlants consolidated ties developed through their support for the dukes of Burgundy.⁷⁷ The adjoining charnel-house displayed the epitaph of Henry's fourth daughter Anne (†1475) and her husband André Marcel (†1475), implying the development of a focused family necropolis.⁷⁸ The epitaphs' relative location demonstrates the methods employed by the Parisian bourgeois who rose to prominence during the Anglo-Burgundian administration. A further seven families connected to the Burgundian dukes are similarly represented among the cemetery's surviving epitaphs, including household suppliers, *échevins* appointed by the Anglo-Burgundian regime to govern the city, participants in the Cabochien revolt or 1416 conspiracy and ducal counsellors.⁷⁹ Visitors to the cemetery perusing the epitaphs engaged with the symbolic and mnemonic

⁷⁶ Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont*, pp. 169-70; "1415, Marz 13. Paris – König Karl VI. Begnadigt die Genannten, die ursprünglich von der Generalamnestie ausgenommen worden waren – Auszug" ed. Otto Cartellieri in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Herzöge von Burgund*, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1912), pp. 31-2. Thomas Orlant would go on to be *échevin* in 1436. Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, 437; "Une ville entre deux vocations: la place d'affaires de Paris au XV^e siècle", *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 28, No. 5 (1973), 1250; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 321, n. 1. On Thomas Orlant's connections to the Burgundian administration see Monique Sommé, *La correspondance d'Isabelle de Portugal, duchesse de Bourgogne (1430-1471)*, (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2009), pp. 123-4, 130, 136-7, 174-5, Nos. 73, 80, 84 & 117.

⁷⁷ Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 32.

⁷⁸ Paris, Archives nationales LL//434-B, "Épitaphier du cimetière des Saints-Innocents", 52; Lazare-Maurice Tisserrand, *Les Armoiries de la ville de Paris: Sceaux, emblemes, couleurs, devises, livrées et cérémonies publiques*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874), 213, n. 1. Andry Marcel was a municipal official. Yvonne-Hélène le Maresquier-Kesteloot, *Les officiers municipaux*, 132, 244, No. 1519.

⁷⁹ The list of those buried at Saints-Innocents who belonged to families loyal to the Burgundian dukes, either as suppliers or civic administrators, is extensive, including the Guérin, Neufville, Louviers, Ysbarre, Tireverge, Dourdin and Piédefer families. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 333; Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont*, 185, 199, n. 1; "Études Lucquoises (Suite)", pp. 278-80; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 55, n. 21, 165; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 92, n. 3, 240, n. 1, 274, n. 2; Jean Guerout, "Fiscalité, topographie et démographie", 105; Bernard Prost & Henri Prost, *Inventaire mobilière et extraits des comptes des ducs de Bourgogne (1363-1477)*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1908), pp. 281, No. 1627, 624-5, Nos. 3665 & 3669; Jean Lestocquoy, "Quelques notes sur la tapisserie aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles", *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France*, (1977), pp. 183-5; Michel Popoff (ed.), *Prosopographie des gens du Parlement*, 243; André Bossuat, "Le Parlement de Paris pendant l'occupation anglaise", *Revue historique*, Vol. 229, No. 1 (1963), 24.

manifestations – invitations to prayer, monuments and heraldry – that exhibited this class's political factionalism, familial bonds and professional connections.⁸⁰

The ties between the Halles' residents and the Burgundian faction are further demonstrated by substantial alterations made to the church fabric itself. Guillaume Sanguin, a *changeur*, 1416 conspirator and *prévôt des marchands* in 1429, had enjoyed Philippe le Hardi's favour before being appointed Jean sans Peur's *premier maître d'hôtel*.⁸¹ So significant were Sanguin's financial contributions to the ducal court that Bertrand Schnerb has concluded that, following the merchant's death, "l'apurement des créances et des dettes... fut une opération complexe" for the Burgundian administration.⁸² Guillaume's investment culminated in the foundation of the Saint-Michel chapel, in which he was buried in 1441.⁸³ The chapel was decorated with tiles depicting the Sanguin arms, while Guillaume's epitaph reminded readers of his patronage and connections to Philippe le Bon.⁸⁴ These ties were complemented by others connected to the Anglo-Burgundian administration: Imbert Decshamps (†1464), a mercer involved in the 1416 plot and *échevin* in 1419-20 and 1429-30

⁸⁰ On the adoption of heraldry by Parisian bourgeois in the thirteenth century see Boris Bove, "L'élite bourgeoise", pp. 99-101.

⁸¹ Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont*, 144, 173; Florence Berland, "Du commerce à la cour", pp. 31-5; Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 432-3; Antoine le Roux de Lincy & Lazare-Maurice Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, pp. 340-7; Philippe Plagnieux, "La fondation funéraire de Philippe de Morvilliers, premier président du Parlement. Art, politique et société à Paris sous la régence du duc de Bedford", *Bulletin monumental*, Vol. 151, No. 2 (1993), pp. 359, 373-9; Léon Mirot, "Jean sans Peur de 1398 à 1405, d'après les comptes de sa Chambre aux deniers", *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (1938), pp. 133-4, n. 7.

⁸² Bertrand Schnerb, "Jean sans Peur, Paris et l'argent", *Berheifte der Francia*, Vol. 64 (2007), 272. On the gift-giving relations between Sanguin and Philip the Bold see Jan Hirschbiegel, *Étrennes: Untersuchungen zum höfischen Geschenkerkehr in spätmittelalterlichen Frankreich der Zeit König Karls VI. (1380-1422)*, (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2003), 392, 400, 454.

⁸³ Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, No. 1, 4.

⁸⁴ Fragments of these tiles were recovered during the archaeological excavations of the cemetery in the 1970s. Guy-Michel Leproux, "L'église des Saints-Innocents" in *Les Saints-Innocents*, ed. Michel Fleury & Guy-Michel Leproux, Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, Commission du Vieux Paris, 1990), 81.

was buried near Saints-Innocents' Saint-Sébastien chapel, while Jean Fortier (responsible for the canonical hours at Saint-Jacques-de-la-Boucherie) was buried in the Notre-Dame chapel with an epitaph reminding observers of his post as “conseiller de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne”.⁸⁵

Consequently, this prosopographical overview of Saints-Innocents reveals the importance of patronage on the part of Burgundian-affiliated families during the first half of the fifteenth century, contextualising princely investment in the church and cemetery. Most famously, Jean, duke of Berry financed sculptures added to the Saints-Innocents church depicting the moral legend of the *Trois Morts et Trois Vifs* in 1408 to mark Louis d'Orléans' assassination the previous year.⁸⁶ The dedicatory poem reveals the eschatological message that Berry imparted to the Halles' inhabitants:

...Touts humains corps,
Tant aye biens ou grand cité,
Ne peut eviter les discords
De la mortelle adversité.
Doncq pour avoir felicité,
Ayons de la mort souvenir,
Afin qu'apres perplexité

⁸⁵ For Imbert Deschamps, Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, No. 1, 12; Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont*, 199, n. 1; Antoine le Roux de Lincy & Lazare-Maurice Tisserand, *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, 205, 372. For Fortier, Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, No. 1, 10.

⁸⁶ Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, No. 1, pp. 1-2. Valentin Dufour, *La Danse Macabre peinte sous les charniers des Saints Innocents de Paris*, (Paris: Féchoz, 1891), pp. 38-9; Guy-Michel Leproux, “L'église des Saints-Innocents”, pp. 80-1; Sophie Oosterwijk, “Of Dead Kings, Dukes and Constables: The Historical Context of the *Danse Macabre* in Late Medieval Paris”, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 161, No. 1 (2008), pp. 133-5. The poem appears with an illumination depicting the Encounter in Jean, duke of Berry's *Petites Heures*, originally commissioned by Charles V and completed in the late fourteenth century. Paris, BNF Latin 18014, fols. 282r-286r. See Margaret Manion, “Art and Devotion: the Prayerbooks of Jean Duc de Berry,” in *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages*, ed. Margaret Manion & Bernard Muir, (Sydney: Harwood, 1991), pp. 177–200.

Puissent aux saints cieux parvenir.⁸⁷

Berry's interest in Saints-Innocents fed into a wider array of ducal investment in Parisian churches.⁸⁸ The Burgundian dukes "ont réellement 'investi' le champ religieux parisien" consolidating their ties to the city's communities; Berry similarly offered substantial donations to the Augustins convent and parish church of Saint-André-des-Arts.⁸⁹ Anticipating the *Danse Macabre*, it is possible that Berry's investment represented a thinly veiled form of political commentary, reminding the Halles' Burgundian sympathisers that Jean sans Peur was not immune to the vicissitudes of fortune, echoing the legal and theological discussions concerning tyrannicide then predominant at court.⁹⁰ Christine Kralik has argued that by the mid-fourteenth century, the *Trois Morts* was sufficiently popular "that an image of the story could function on its own without an intended textual exposition", with the image being "more successful the more striking and persuasive it was",

⁸⁷ All human beings, regardless of their wealth and lands, cannot avoid the discord of mortal adversity. So, to achieve happiness think of the circumstances of death, so that after suffering we can reach the heavens. Paris, Archives nationales L//656, No. 1, 2.

⁸⁸ Arnaud Alexandre, "'Que le roi le puisse toujours avoir près de lui'. Présence de Louis d'Orléans à Paris: résidences et chapelles privées", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 64 (2007), pp. 382-6.

⁸⁹ Bertrand Scherb & Werner Paravicini, "Les 'investissements' religieux", pp. 216-18; Françoise Lehoux, "Mort et funérailles du duc de Berri (juin 1416)", *BEC*, Vol. 114 (1956), 83. .

⁹⁰ On the relationship between these poems see Florence Warren (ed.), *The Dance of Death, edited from MSS. Ellesmere 26/A.13 and B.M. Lansdowne 699, collated with the other extant MSS*, (Oxford: Early English Text Society, 1971), pp. x-xxi; G. Huet, "La Danse Macabré", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 20, (July-December 1917), pp. 159-62. The literature on the debates following Louis d'Orléans assassination is extensive. Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), pp. 180-221; Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit. La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Picard, 1932), pp. 403-38; Corinne Leveleux-Teixeira, "Du crime atroce à la qualification impossible. Les débats doctrinaux autour de l'assassinat du duc d'Orléans (1408-1418)" in *Violences souveraines au Moyen Âge. Travaux d'une école historique*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 261-70; Lucie Jollivet, "Les humanistes français, le roi et le tyran. Débats autour du tyrannicide au sein du milieu humaniste français, 1^{ère} moitié du XV^e siècle", *Medievalista (Online)*, Vol. 23 (2018), accessed on 06/10/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/medievalista/1641>.

underscoring its propagandistic potential.⁹¹ The combined poem and sculpture therefore reminded the Halles' inhabitants that Jean sans Peur was subject to the same logic employed to legitimate Orléans' assassination, while eliciting prayer for the murdered duke to counteract the influence of Jean Petit's *Justification* pronounced that year: "Prions pour le prince susdit, et ensuivons son intendit".⁹² Indeed, the *Trois Morts'* location on the redeveloped southern entrance leading to the Sanguin chapel was poignant, representing a decidedly Orléanist stamp on the contributions of Paris' Burgundian allies to the Saints-Innocents fabric.⁹³

The famous *Danse Macabre* mural, first noted by the Bourgeois in 1425, fed into this framework of potential political contest within the cemetery.⁹⁴ While Amy Appleford has argued that the *Danse* was "an ecclesiastical, not a civic production", Sophie Oosterwijk suggested that the mural "is unlikely to have been paid for by the impoverished parish".⁹⁵ As Oosterwijk has insightfully noted, the *Danse* presented "a false sense of 'normality'" in its hierarchical representation of medieval society when contrasted with the French kingdom's fractured character.⁹⁶ The absence of a duke from the *Danse's* schema, in particular, reflects tensions surrounding the duke's role in France's political hierarchy following Jean sans

⁹¹ Christine Kralik, "Dialogue and Violence in Medieval Illuminations of the Three Living and the Three Dead" in *Mixed Metaphors: The Danse Macabre in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sophie Oosterwijk & Stefanie Knöll, (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2011), pp. 133-6, 154

⁹² Let us pray for the aforementioned prince and follow his intent. Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, No. 1, 2.

⁹³ Guy-Michel Leproux, "L'église des Saints-Innocents", pp. 80-1.

⁹⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 101r.

⁹⁵ Ibid. Amy Appleford, *Learning to Die*, 88; Sophie Oosterwijk, "Of Dead Kings, Dukes and Constables", 135. My thanks to Dr. Oosterwijk for her thoughtful contributions to this subject and feedback on this study of Saints-Innocents. On the parish's poverty see Bronisław Geremek, *The Margins of Society*, pp. 72-5, 86.

⁹⁶ Sophie Oosterwijk, "Of Dead Kings, Dukes and Constables", 138.,

Peur's assassination in 1419 and Philippe le Bon's endorsement of the Treaty of Troyes.⁹⁷ The Anglo-Burgundian domination of Paris at the time of the mural's production in 1424-5, Philippe le Bon's possession of one of the earliest copies of the *Danse* in a Parisian manuscript (dated to the late 1420s) and the character of bourgeois investment at Saints-Innocents all point to Burgundian influences.⁹⁸ As propaganda, Guillaume De Mets' description of the *Danse*, "pour esmouvoir les gens a devotion", implies its success in provoking emotional responses and highlights the employment of moralising rhetoric within the overarching context of the civil conflict.⁹⁹ Indeed, the overlap between propaganda and moral instruction is similarly demonstrated by Isabeau de Bavière's donation of an expensive, illuminated copy of the *Somme le Roi* to the Saints-Innocents parish "afin que ceste matiere fust sceue comme souveraine de tous ceulx qui la le vouldroient lire. Et le fist exprimer par un maistre en theologie".¹⁰⁰ Like the *Trois Morts* and *Danse Macabre*, the *Somme le roi* served a clear moral and didactic function, inculcating an understanding of the Ten Commandments, the twelve articles of faith, vices, virtues and the Pater Noster – the

⁹⁷ Sophie Oosterwijk, "Death, Memory and Commemoration: John Lydgate and 'Macabrees Daunce' at Old St Paul's Cathedral, London" in *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England. Proceedings of the 2008 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Caroline M. Barron & Clive Burgess, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 186-9.

⁹⁸ The manuscript containing this copy of the *Danse Macabre* was divided into three parts in the nineteenth century, now Paris, BNF Fr. 14416 (*Aventures depuis deux cens ans*), BNF Fr. 14989 (*Danse Macabre*) and the so-called "Division des Orléanois contre les Anglois", a poem depicting a debate concerning Thomas, earl of Montagu's character between Orléans' defenders and the English besieging the city in 1428. Paris, BNF Fr. 14989, fols. 1r-12v; Hanno Wijsmann, "La Danse macabre du cimetière des Saints-Innocents et un manuscrit de Philippe le Bon" in *12^e Congrès international d'études sur les danses macabres et l'art macabre en général, Gand, du 21 au 24 septembre 2005: actes du congrès*, Vol. 1, (Meslay-le-Grenet: Danses macabres d'Europe, 2006), pp. 137-42.

⁹⁹ To move people to devotion. Guillebert De Mets, "Description de Paris sous Charles VI", 193.

¹⁰⁰ So that this subject can become known as the most important of all for those who wish to read it there. And [she] had it preached there by a master in theology. Paris, BNF Fr. 22935, fol. 2r. On this manuscript see Henri Omont, C. Couderc, L. Auvray & Charles de la Roncière, *Catalogue général des manuscrits français*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Leroux, 1902), pp. 15-16; Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la librairie de Charles V*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Champion, 1907), pp. 132-4. The texts were typical of Isabeau de Bavière's personal library. Auguste Vallet de Viriville, *La Bibliothèque d'Isabeau de Bavière, femme de Charles VI, roi de France, suivie de la Notice d'un Livre d'Heures*, (Paris: Techener, 1858), 6.

ways of leading a good life prior to inevitable death, ensuring the maintenance of community cohesion.¹⁰¹ Fundamentally, this moral discourse was integral to the ways in which theologians tied to the royal court were also conceptualising the issues surrounding the French civil conflict in the first decades of the fifteenth century.

Saints-Innocents' relevance was not, therefore, confined to those local families who asserted their status and influence, instead emerging as an arena where princes and civic officials competed to inculcate moral values and political attitudes. The churchyard assumed an "important role in the mythology of Parisian identity", functioning as a site of "visuality and textuality", through sermons, processions and the "public reading and interpretation of images".¹⁰² The cemetery's moral significance was consistently evoked in fifteenth-century poetry. Contemplating the charnel-houses' skulls and glossing the *Danse Macabre*, François Villon remarked in his *Testament* (1461): "Or sont-ilz morts! ... Aient été seigneurs ou dames, Souef et tendrement nourris... Les os déclinent en poudre, auxquels ne chaut d'ébats ne ris."¹⁰³ Likewise, Jean Meschinot regarded the epitaphs of Saints-Innocents as "a remedy for

¹⁰¹ Isabelle le Masne de Chermont, "La danse macabre du cimetière des Innocents" in *Les Saints-Innocents*, (Paris: Délégation à l'action artistique de la ville de Paris, Commission du Vieux Paris, 1990), pp. 95-104. On the *Somme le roi's* moral teachings see Frédéric Duval (ed.), *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge. Petite anthologie commentée de succès littéraires*, (Geneva: Droz, 2007), pp. 56-9; Karen Green & Constant J. Mews, "Introduction" in *Virtue Ethics for Women, 1250-1500*, ed. Karen Green & Constant J. Mews, (London: Springer, 2011), pp. xii-xiii; Ellen Kosmer, "Gardens of Virtue in the Middle Ages", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 41 (1978), pp. 302-7; Rosemond Tuve, "Notes on the Virtues and Vices, Part II", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 27 (1964), pp. 42-67.

¹⁰² Emphases in the original. Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and the Living*, 101; Julie Singer, "Eyeglasses for the Blind: Redundant Therapies in Meschinot and Villon", *Fifteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 35 (2010), pp. 118-19.

¹⁰³ So they are dead! They were lords and ladies, gentle and tenderly raised. Now their bones turn to dust, they no longer enjoy games nor laughter. François Villon, "Testament" in *François Villon: Poésies*, ed. Jean Dufournet, (Paris: Flammarion, 1992), pp. 258-60, Lines 1734-5, 1760-1767. The influence of the *Danse Macabre* upon Villon's writings is often highlighted by scholars, Julie Singer, "Eyeglasses for the Blind", 115; William C. McDonald, "On the Charnel House as a Poetic Motif: Villon and German Poetry on Death", *Fifteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 19 (1992), pp. 102-6.

readerly vanity".¹⁰⁴ These reactions, combined with the Bourgeois' own attention to the cemetery's importance, reveal the cultural impact of such investments, their didactic influence and propagandistic potential.

In the context of these investments the apparently miscellaneous incidents reported by the Bourgeois, such as the beggars' shedding of blood within the Saints-Innocents church in June 1436 resulting in its de-consecration, assume new significance.¹⁰⁵ When the bishop Denis du Moulins was unwilling to re-consecrate the church, the Bourgeois expressed frustration at the inability to perform "messe, matines, ne vespres, ne corps en terre ou cymetiere ne fut, ne le saint service de nulle heure" for twenty-two days, precisely because the interdict compromised the church's ability to fulfil its obligations towards its wealthy patrons.¹⁰⁶ This also explains the Bourgeois' frustration when in 1441 the bishop placed an interdict upon Saints-Innocents that lasted four months, prompting the Bourgeois to highlight the danger that this posed to the duties towards the dead since "on n'y enterra oncques personne *petit ne grant*, ne on n'y fist procession, ne recommandacion pour quelque personne."¹⁰⁷ Consequently, the Bourgeois emphasised the importance of memory, commemoration and concentrated piety within Saints-Innocents, exhibiting its purpose for the wider community in the face of challenges posed by an avaricious bishop.

¹⁰⁴ Julie Singer, "Eyeglasses for the Blind", pp. 113-14.

¹⁰⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 157r.

¹⁰⁶ Neither masses nor matins or vespers, nor could bodies be buried in the ground of the cemetery, nor the holy services be performed at any time, nor any holy water acquired. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 157r. Several of those affiliated with the Burgundian regime whose epitaphs survive were buried around 1436: Jean de l'Olive died in 1434; Jean Fortier died in 1435, his wife Catherine de Beauvais died in 1438.

¹⁰⁷ No one was buried there, *great or small*, nor were processions performed, nor funeral prayers for anyone whomsoever. Emphasis my own. Ibid., fols. 170r-170v. High profile burials around these years include Robert Piédefer (1438) and Guillaume Sanguin (1442). It is perhaps only coincidental that no epitaphs appear to have survived for the years 1440 and 1441.

This attitude was substantially altered from 1442 when, on 11th October, the bishop blessed the immuration of the recluse Jeanne la Voirière, “et fist on ung bel sermon devant elle et devant moult grant foison de peuple.”¹⁰⁸ On 22nd February 1445, the Bourgeois reported how du Moulin re-dedicated the church in a move that Hélène Couzy has identified as confirming the series of building projects financed by patrons such as Guillaume Sanguin over the preceding decades, as suggested by the dedication’s specific reference to the newly constructed Notre-Dame chapel.¹⁰⁹ This section of the church included the St. Francis chapel funded by the *pelletiers* corporation, with the Bourgeois reporting that their confraternity sang its first Mass there in August 1437.¹¹⁰ As such, Denis du Moulin’s dedication consolidated a series of architectural developments organised through the patronage of families tied to the Anglo-Burgundian administration.

The Bourgeois’ account of the church in the late 1440s demonstrates its rise as a Parisian spiritual centre, the culmination of decades of investment. Testamentary data supports this impression: surveying 105 wills registered in the Paris Parlement in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, the highest proportion of burials (17.3%) and bequests (9.27%) went to Saints-Innocents, trumping Notre-Dame (8.95%).¹¹¹ Reflecting the

¹⁰⁸ And a good sermon was pronounced before her and before a great many people. *Ibid.*, fol. 175r. Regarding the anchorites of Saints-Innocents see Guy-Michel Leproux, “Le cimetière médiéval”, pp. 50-51; Paulette L’Hermite-Leclercq, “Le reclus dans la ville au Bas Moyen Âge”, *Journal des savants*, 1988, pp. 256-8.

¹⁰⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 181r. Cf. Paris, Archives nationales, L//656, No. 1, pp. 2-3. Hélène Couzy, “L’église des Saints-Innocents à Paris”, *Bulletin Monumental*, Vol. 130, No. 4 (1972), 291; Guy-Michel Leproux, “L’église des Saints-Innocents”, pp. 79-81.

¹¹⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 160r.

¹¹¹ This data is derived from the thirty-seven wills published by Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris sous le règne de Charles VI*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale 1880), supplemented by sixty-eight wills found in Paris, BNF, Moreau 1161 & 1162. The present analysis is not exhaustive, representing less than half of the 236 wills registered from 1392 to 1421. For a full chronological list of these wills and the edition of a small proportion of them, Marion Chaigne, “Édition des testaments enregistrés au Parlement de Paris”, *Corpus*, École des Chartes, accessed on 05/10/2019 <http://corpus.enc.sorbonne.fr/testaments/>. See also Danielle Courtemanche, *Œuvrer pour la*

culture and piety of a burgeoning upper-middle class of bureaucrats paralleling the wealthier artisans of the Halles region, half of those interred were Parlement *procureurs*, *huissiers* or *avocats* who elected to be interred in the ‘fosses aux pauvres’ as a sign of their humility.¹¹² The Bourgeois signalled Saints-Innocents’ growing status by stressing bishop Guillaume Chartier’s interest in the church, delivering a sermon there in April 1448 and again focusing on commemorative elements, according “absolucion a tous les trespassés qui... estoient excommeniez par negligence ou autrement apres leur trespassement.”¹¹³ Finally, in 1449 and 1450 the church’s ascendancy in Parisian devotional practice was signalled by the performance of two novel processions wherein Parisian children travelled to hear Mass at Saints-Innocents before proceeding to Notre-Dame in the company of the church’s relic, the head of Richard, a child allegedly murdered by Jews in Pontoise in 1179.¹¹⁴ In 1449 the procession was a crucial marker of the church’s devotional centrality. The second procession marked Charles VII’s victory at Formigny, concluding the reconquest of

postérité: les testaments parisiens des gens du roi au début du XV^e siècle, (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1997); Marion Chaigne, “Construire sa mémoire. Funérailles de Parisiennes au début du XV^e siècle” in *Faire jeunesse, rendre justice*, ed. Antoine Destemberg, Yann Potin & Emilie Rosenblieh, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 195-205.

¹¹² Gregory Hamez & Martine Tabeaud, “Du cimetière des Innocents au Forum des Halles. La marginalité au cœur de la ville”, in *Les Halles: images d’un quartier*, ed. Jean-Louis Robert & Myriam Tsikounas, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 18-24.

¹¹³ Absolution to all those deceased who had been excommunicated by negligence or otherwise after their death. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 185v. On the prevalence of excommunication for debt in late medieval France, and the threat posed to the afterlives of those threatened with the sentence, see Tyler Lange, *Excommunication for Debt in Late Medieval France: The Business of Salvation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 66-9.

¹¹⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 186v-187r. Richard’s body had been transported to Paris by Philippe Auguste; writing at the end of the century, Robert Gaguin alleged that Paris’ Lancastrian governors had exhumed Richard’s remains and left the church only with his head, such was the miraculous power of the saint’s interventions. Louis Thuasne (ed.), *Roberti Gaguini, epistole et orationes. Texte publié sur les éditions originales de 1498*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Bouillon, 1903), pp. 140-1; Rigord, “Chronique de Rigord” ed. François Delaborde in *Cœuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton, historiens de Philippe Auguste*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Renouard, 1882), 180; “Richardus” in *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina. Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, Vol. 2, (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1901), 1047, No. 7213.

Normandy, confirming the site's devotional potential, emblematic of the district's ties to episcopal and royal authority.¹¹⁵

Investment in the Saints-Innocents during the first half of the fifteenth century encapsulated the methods and media available to Parisian merchants who secured their status in the municipal government in part through their ties to the Anglo-Burgundian regime. The Bourgeois' writing, by focusing upon this site not only as his workplace but also as a rapidly developing cultural centre, offered these dynastically intertwined families a means for immortalising their contributions to the spiritual and temporal wellbeing of their parish community and to the governance of Paris. The Bourgeois' record of the increasingly close ties between the bishopric and the local church validated their patronage.¹¹⁶

The examination of the Bourgeois' neighbourhood demonstrates a close relationship between the *Journal's* content and the political attitudes of those who inhabited the Halles district. The Halles consisted of a community of artisans, wealthier bourgeois connected to the Burgundian dukes and lower-class Parisians who collectively and consistently exhibited support for the Burgundian regime during the first decades of the fifteenth century.¹¹⁷ The *Journal's* narrative fundamentally evidences this influence, suggesting that the Bourgeois

¹¹⁵ Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France*, Vol. 2 ed. Auguste Vallet de Viriville, (Paris: Jannet, 1858), pp. 200-1. Albert Mirot & Bernard Mahieu, "Cérémonies officielles à Notre-Dame au XV^e siècle" in *Huitième Centenaire de Notre-Dame de Paris*, (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1967), pp. 246.

¹¹⁶ Anne-Marie Sankovitch, "Intercession, Commemoration, and Display", pp. 253-8.

¹¹⁷ For a similar study in developments of artisanal identity in the fifteenth century, see Lisa Cooper, *Artisans and Narrative Craft in Late Medieval England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 21-35.

was writing with this community in mind, sharing and reinforcing its views.¹¹⁸ Written records such as the *Journal* were “replete with social meaning” and were essential testaments to social status rooted in the past.¹¹⁹ In this light, the text complemented the architectural and mnemonic strategies employed at Saints-Innocents, binding the parish community through the memory of its political experiences as well as through a record of devotional elements including the establishment of confraternities and the history of the parish church. Moreover, through its account of political contests framed according to the perspectives of the Halles’ inhabitants, the *Journal* may have provided a means for these Parisians to reflect upon political action and discourse, restate their cohesion and articulate their ideological goals. With the decline of Burgundian influence from the 1420s, these prerogatives shifted, with Saints-Innocents increasingly portrayed as being in dialogue with other Parisian institutions, such as the cathedral as a testament to its civic importance and that of its patrons.

The Clergy and Chapter of Notre-Dame Cathedral

The Bourgeois’ connection to Notre-Dame certainly suggests that the chapter and clergy were likely to have influenced his writing. However, within the *Journal* the paucity of details regarding the chapter’s struggles with Lancastrian authority during this period is stark in contrast to the wealth of information supplied concerning the Halles, underscoring the impression that the text was not compiled with a clerical audience in mind. The *Journal*

¹¹⁸ Brian Street, “Literacy in Theory and Practice: Challenges and Debates Over 50 Years”, *Theory into Practice*, Vol. 52 (2013), pp. 53-4.

¹¹⁹ Frederik Buylaert & Jelle Haemers, “Record-Keeping and Status Performance in the Early Modern Low Countries”, *Past & Present*, Supplement 11 (2016), pp. 131-33.

rarely overlapped with information found in the chapter's registers, instead tracing the cathedral's interaction with other civic institutions or royal authority. As such, the Bourgeois synthesised the cathedral's political and pastoral roles for an audience external to the clergy community itself. In particular, the *Journal* evidences a profound interest in the question of episcopal and, implicitly, canonical authority during the 1420s and 1430s when this was challenged by the Lancastrian regime. In contrast, from the 1440s episcopal agency was perceived predominantly in relation to Saints-Innocents. The *Journal's* representation of Notre-Dame therefore supports the conclusions elucidated above, suggesting that the Bourgeois was primarily vested in understanding the representative role performed by the cathedral for the wider civic community, especially in its contests with royal government. Fundamentally, the Bourgeois endorsed the constitutional powers of the chapter over royal imposition, evoking underlying concerns about the political turbulence that posed to Parisian institutions more generally.

The Bourgeois did not describe these challenges in detail, summarising the problematic elections of Jean Courtecuisse and Nicole Fraillon as Paris' bishops. A theologian, Courtecuisse was elected by the thirteen canons remaining in Paris in December 1420 following the death of Gérard de Montaigu.¹²⁰ The election provided the Bourgeois with a means of mapping the relationship between the capital and the Lancastrian regime immediately following the Treaty of Troyes, with the chapter rejecting Henry V's candidate, the Amiens canon Philibert de Montjeu.¹²¹ The Bourgeois' subsequent endorsement of the

¹²⁰ Georges Grassoreille, "Histoire politique du chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris pendant la domination anglaise, 1420-1437", *MSHP*, Vol. 9 (1882), 128.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 117, 127, 130; François Neveux, "(Compte-rendu. Philibert de Montjeu, évêque de Coutances (1424-1439): Christian Kleinert, *Philibert de Montjeu (ca. 1374-1439), ein Bischof im Zeitalter der Reformkonzilien und des Hundertjährigen Krieges*", *Annales de Normandie*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (2006), 95.

'proudomme' Courtecuisse is understandable.¹²² A theologian prominent in the University as the faculty's dean, Courtecuisse had been an active proponent of the Cabochien reforms in 1413 and refused to condemn Jean Petit's *Justification* in 1414.¹²³ Although the *Journal* does not provide details regarding Courtecuisse's election, the attention paid to the cathedral chapter's privileges suggests that the Bourgeois perceived the community as performing a representative role for Paris in its dealings with Henry V, especially given the assertion that Courtecuisse had been elected "par l'Université et par le clergé et par le Parlement".¹²⁴ The University was complicit in securing papal confirmation of Courtecuisse's election, received on 16th October 1421, while the Parlement had addressed letters to Henry V imploring him to accept Courtecuisse's candidature.¹²⁵ Such institutional resistance threatened to jeopardise the Lancastrians' fragile hold over Paris, especially when coupled with Henry V's attempt to tax the urban clergy in January 1422, whereupon priests subordinate to Notre-Dame "objectèrent qu'on n'avait consenti à rien aux états généraux et chacun allégua pour le moment le manque presque complet de ressources",¹²⁶ a fact emphasised by the Bourgeois himself when he reported in the winter of 1420 that "avoient... pouvres prebstres mal temps, que on ne leur donnoit que ij solz parisis pour leur messe".¹²⁷ Consequently, when the Bourgeois reported Courtecuisse's inability to abandon the safety of the abbey of Saint-

¹²² Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 75r.

¹²³ Henri Omont, "Inventaire des livres de Jean Courtecuisse, évêque de Paris et de Genève (27 Octobre 1423)", *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, Vol. 80 (1919), 109-111; Alfred Coville, "Recherches sur Jean Courtecuisse et ses œuvres oratoires", *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, Vol. 65 (1904), pp. 471-485, 509-11; Giuseppe Di Stefano, "Un sermon français inédit de Jean Courtecuisse, *Justum adiutorium*", *Romania*, Vol. 85, No. 340 (1964), pp. 418-421.

¹²⁴ By the University and by the clergy and by [the] Parlement. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 81v.

¹²⁵ Similarly, it was only through the influence of the University that the Parlement "octroia a Jehan Courtecuisse, esleu confirmé evesque de Paris, lettres recommandatoires adrecans au roy d'Angleterre". Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, 24.

¹²⁶ Georges Grassoreille, "Histoire politique du chapitre", 145.

¹²⁷ The poor priests had a very hard time since they were only paid two *sols parisis* for their masses. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 74v.

Germain-des-Prés in May 1422 “pour ce qu’il n’estoit en la grace du roy d’Angleterre”, he evoked a struggle that encapsulated wider Parisian resistance to Lancastrian authority.¹²⁸

Nevertheless, in 1422 Henry V succeeded in securing Courtecuisse’s transferral to Geneva, an event tellingly omitted by the Bourgeois, with an oblique reference to an “evesque de Paris nouvel” officiating at Charles VI’s funeral in November 1422.¹²⁹ Similarly, in September 1423 the Bourgeois glossed a vociferous dispute between this diocesan administrator, Jean de la Rochetaillée, and the Lancastrian government, when the former was appointed archbishop of Rouen. According to the *Journal*, “fist tant l’evesque de Paris qui estoit patriarche, qu’il fut arcevesque de Rouen par faulte de souffisance.”¹³⁰ Again, the case demonstrates the Bourgeois’ *distance* from the chapter in the 1420s. Rochetaillée actually refused the nomination to Rouen, arguing that he was unaware of the pope’s order of transferral and eliciting the support of Notre-Dame’s canons to remain in Paris.¹³¹ The situation was such that Rochetaillée’s successor, Jean de Nant, was waiting at the abbey of Saint-Victor to make his first entry into the city as Rochetaillée contested his transferral.¹³² The Bourgeois’ unawareness of the chapter’s endorsement of Rochetaillée, his approbation of Jean de Nant and the absence of any reference to the series of disputes between the chapter and the bishop during the latter’s tenure, supports Shirley’s argument that, if he was associated with the cathedral during the early 1420s, this cannot have been as a canon.¹³³

¹²⁸ Because he did not enjoy the king of England’s favour. *Ibid.*, 81v.

¹²⁹ The new bishop of Paris. *Ibid.*, fol. 89v. In fact, Courtecuisse’s temporary successor, Jean de la Rochetaillée, was never named by the Bourgeois.

¹³⁰ Not having had enough, the bishop of Paris, who was [also] a patriarch, did such that he managed to become archbishop of Rouen. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 94v.

¹³¹ Georges Grassoreille, “Histoire politique du chapitre”, pp. 155-9.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 156.

¹³³ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 17; Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 94v. On these disputes, see Pierre-Clément Timbal & Josette Metman, “Evêque de Paris et chapitre de Notre-Dame: la juridiction

Jean de Nant's death in October 1426 provoked a third contest, and this time the Bourgeois reported concerns regarding the failed election of the archdeacon, Nicole Fraillon, contrary to the Lancastrian candidate Jacques du Chastelier.¹³⁴ The contention again crystallised relations between Paris and the Lancastrian regime. In January 1427, the Bourgeois reported that Fraillon had been elected the previous December and "receu a Notre-Dame", with the passage's timing coinciding with Fraillon's actual withdrawal from the chapter for fear of his life on 27th January.¹³⁵ The Bourgeois' record therefore contradicted the chapter's actual circumstances, presenting Fraillon's election as a *fait accompli* that stressed the chapter's authority relative to Bedford's. It was only in June that the Bourgeois expressed consternation at Chastelier's appointment:

ne fut plus parlé de l'élection qui davant avoit esté faicte, c'est assavoir, de messire Nicolle Frallon, lequel avoit esté esleu de tout le chappitre de Notre-Dame, mais nonobstant l'ellection... ledit Nicollas Frollon en fut debouté, et l'autre dedens bouté, car ainsi le plaisoit aux gouverneurs.¹³⁶

Chastelier's nomination had, however, been confirmed in April, indicating the Bourgeois' refusal to acknowledge the *status quo* until it became incontestable. While the emphasis upon the chapter's agency reveals the Bourgeois' attachment to the cathedral's privileges, the narrative confusion suggests that he was not privy to the chapter's internal discussions.

dans la cathédrale au Moyen Âge", *Revue d'histoire de l'église en France*, Vol. 50, No. 147 (1964), pp. 67-70.

¹³⁴ Georges Grassoreille, "Histoire politique du chapitre", pp. 164-9.

¹³⁵ Received at Notre-Dame. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 105r.

¹³⁶ No one spoke any more of the election that had taken place beforehand, that is of my lord Nicole Fraillon, who had been elected by the entirety of the chapter of Notre-Dame; but despite the election... the said Fraillon was dismissed and the other admitted, for that is what pleased the governors. Reg. Lat. fols. 105v-106r.

This juxtaposition of the cathedral with Paris' governors was elaborated on 25th May 1427 when the Bourgeois described his participation in Notre-Dame's rogation procession to Montmartre.¹³⁷ Having stressed the devotion of those processing in the pouring rain, the Bourgeois was offended when John, duke of Bedford and his wife, Anne of Burgundy, rode past the clergymen

dont ilz tindrent moult peu de compte, car ilz chevaulchoient moult fort, et ceulx de la procession ne porent reculer, si furent moult toulliez de la boue que les piez des chevaulx gectoient par devant et darriere, mais oncques n'y ot nul si gentil qui, pour chasse ne pour procession, se daingnast ung pou arrester.¹³⁸

Occurring during the debate surrounding Fraillon's election, the Bourgeois signalled the tensions between the clergy and Bedford, dramatizing the regent's lack of respect for the cathedral, its liturgical and saintly traditions as well as its authority within Parisian space. The mention of Anne of Burgundy is significant, since she too had attempted to influence the episcopal election through "litteras domini regentis et domine ejus uxoris" in November 1426.¹³⁹ The account of this confrontation was, in the *Journal*, immediately followed by news of Chastelier's reception as bishop. Read together, these passages demonstrate the Bourgeois' increasing engagement with the challenges facing the chapter, evidencing displeasure at Bedford's subversion of Notre-Dame's privileges and Paris' wider independence.

¹³⁷ See above, Chapter I.

¹³⁸ For whom they had little regard because they were riding so hard, and those participating in the procession could not step back so that they were dirtied by the mud that the horses' feet kicked up before and behind them, but among them there were none kind enough to stop for [the sake of] the reliquaries or the procession. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 105v.

¹³⁹ Letters from my lord the regent and my lady his wife. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//113, "Registres capitulaires (1425-1432)", p. 72.

The Bourgeois rarely referenced chapter-specific events, instead valuing those of significance for the wider Parisian community. Processions organised to support Lancastrian military campaigns were omitted, as were the disputes in the Parlement between the chapter and bishops Jean de Nant or Jacques du Chastelier.¹⁴⁰ It was only in 1441, when the Bourgeois may well have been a canon, that he described bishop Denis du Moulin, who “avoit plus de cinquante proces en Parlement”.¹⁴¹ In turn, while identifying Chastelier as a Lancastrian governor who maintained “toute ceste mallefice et dyabolicque guerre”, the Bourgeois deliberately obfuscated connections between the chapter and the Lancastrian regime.¹⁴² When Henry VI was crowned in Paris in 1431, the Bourgeois excluded any reference to the clergy’s participation in the accompanying ceremonies or the chapter’s discontent with the English control of the coronation. In contrast, Monstrelet claimed that Jacques du Chastelier was disgruntled when the cardinal Henry Beaufort sang the Mass in Notre-Dame, while the royal officers’ reprisal of the chalice used by Henry VI to ceremoniously offer wine to the cathedral “grandement despleut aux chanoines d’y celle église, pour tant qu’ilz disoient ce appartenir a eulx de droit”.¹⁴³ In the *Journal*, however, Notre-Dame appears as a passive entity for a predominantly English ceremony, disguising the chapter’s complicity.¹⁴⁴

The last two bishops appearing in the *Journal*, Denis du Moulin and Guillaume Chartier, encapsulate the Bourgeois’ perception of Notre-Dame’s authority. First, Denis du Moulin was presented as an imposition upon the cathedral by royal power, “pour ce qu’il

¹⁴⁰ Pierre-Clément Timbal & Josette Metman, “Evêque de Paris et chapitre de Notre-Dame”, pp. 67-72.

¹⁴¹ Had more than fifty cases in the Paris Parlement. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 170v.

¹⁴² All of this evil and diabolical warfare. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 151v.

¹⁴³ Greatly displeased the canons of this church because they claimed that this belonged to them by right. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 136r-136v.

estoit du conseil du roy".¹⁴⁵ The Bourgeois repeatedly stressed that it was through this connection to the royal centre that Moulin simultaneously possessed the bishopric of Paris and archbishopric of Toulouse, reporting upon his reception on 9th October 1440 that "ainsi fut-il archevesque et evesque de Paris".¹⁴⁶ In contrast, the canons' successful election of Guillaume Chartier, "homme de tres bonne renommée" was endorsed by the Bourgeois, demonstrating the chapter's constitutional authority.¹⁴⁷ It is perhaps for this reason that the *Journal* described in detail Chartier's reception, with the canon "sacré et beney... en l'abbaye de Saint-Victor-lez-Paris" before processing to Notre-Dame, where he was received "a tres grant honneur".¹⁴⁸ The enthusiasm parallels that of the chapter's clerks who also included a description of Chartier's coronation, procession and reception in their registers, unlike for previous bishops.¹⁴⁹ The Bourgeois praised Chartier's preaching, contrasted with Denis du Moulin who had delegated the Lendit sermon in 1444 to the theologian Jean de l'Olive.¹⁵⁰ Likewise, where Moulin had threatened those possessing letters of absolution with excommunication, Chartier examined the archdeacon's registers of excommunications, "et y mist tres bonne ordonnance contre ceulx de la court de l'Eglise" such that none would be excommunicate upon their death.¹⁵¹

The Bourgeois viewed Notre-Dame as an institution attuned to and representative of Parisian concerns, capable of contesting royal authority. The *Journal's* adaptation of and

¹⁴⁵ Because he was a member of the royal council. *Ibid.*, fol. 163v.

¹⁴⁶ So he was an archbishop and bishop of Paris. *Ibid.*, fol. 169r. Pierre-Clément Timbal & Josette Metman, "Evêque de Paris et chapitre de Notre-Dame", pp. 48, 65

¹⁴⁷ A man of very good renown. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 184r. Indeed, Chartier was the first canon to be elected bishop successfully since Aimery de Maignac in 1373.

¹⁴⁸ Crowned and blessed... in the abbey of Saint-Victor-lez-Paris; with great honour. *Ibid.*, fol. 185r.

¹⁴⁹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 389, n. 1.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fols. 185v, 178r.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, fols. 179r, 185v.

deviation from narratives that were more fully developed in the chapter's registers strongly suggests that the text was not destined for an audience of canons, though the Bourgeois may well have drawn on these records.¹⁵² Despite concerns for the cathedral's political role, no evidence suggests that the narrative was destined for those intimately involved with its administration, especially in those instances where the *Journal* directly contradicts the chapter's own stances. It is also unlikely that the canons themselves, wealthy men who exhibited close ties to Paris' civic and royal institutions, would have required a text like the *Journal* for information compared to that derived from the cathedral's registers, the officiality or the Parlement.¹⁵³ Instead, it appears likely that the Bourgeois summarised the cathedral's political role for an audience less concerned by the intricacies of chapter politics and invested in the clergy's representative role for the city. Consequently, the cathedral community's portrayal was partisan, and from 1420 the Bourgeois consistently emphasised the threat posed by royal authority to the cathedral's privileges and jurisdiction. Elaborating these issues, the *Journal* concentrated upon two distinct themes: an idealisation of the Parisian bishop and the constitutional processes underpinning his authority. Predominantly, the Bourgeois favoured the chapter's authority relative to the royal imposition of bishops, presenting the canons as representatives of the city's independence threatened by royal encroachment. Due to this perspective, the ties between the cathedral and Lancastrian regime were deliberately obfuscated. As such, the behaviour of those bishops imposed by

¹⁵² On the textual connection to the chapter's acts register, see above, Chapter. I.

¹⁵³ Véronique Julerot, "Les chanoines cathédraux au parlement de Paris: Entre service de l'État et intérêts personnels" in *Église et état, église ou état? Les clercs et la genèse de l'État moderne*, ed. Christine Barralis, Jean-Patrice Boudet, Fabrice Delivré & Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), pp. 88-95; Vincent Tabbagh, "Les chanoines de la fin du Moyen Âge étaient-ils au service de l'État?" in *Église et état, église ou état? Les clercs et la genèse de l'État moderne*, ed. Christine Barralis, Jean-Patrice Boudet, Fabrice Delivré & Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2014), pp. 149-51.

royal authority, such as Jacques du Chastelier and Denis du Moulin, were earmarked for particular criticism that redounded upon Lancastrian or Valois legitimacy, with these two prelates presented as tyrants.

The University of Paris

Although Colette Beaune argued that the *Journal* was compiled for fellow University members, the scarcity of references to the University renders this hypothesis difficult to substantiate.¹⁵⁴ Key moments include concern for the arrest of the University rector in 1418 and an assault upon the rector in 1444, but between these dates passages referring to the University are intermittent.¹⁵⁵ To become a doctor in theology the Bourgeois would have studied a lengthy cursus that, altogether, lasted up to twenty years.¹⁵⁶ Even brilliant theologians required a significant amount of time to become licensed: Jean Gerson spent eleven years studying and Gérard Machet took thirteen.¹⁵⁷ Nicolas Confranc's studies lasted a similar duration, taking eleven years following his reception at the Collège d'Harcourt in 1423.¹⁵⁸ At least seventy-six theologians achieved the licentiate between 1421-1430, reflecting the higher number of individuals who began their studies during the relative stability of the

¹⁵⁴ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 18.

¹⁵⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 43v, 179r. On these incidents see Pearl Kirbe, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages: The Rights, Privileges and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris and Oxford*, (London: Medieval Academy of America, 1961), pp. 212-16.

¹⁵⁶ This presentation of the theology cursus follows Bernard Guenée, "'Scandalum inter antiquos et juvenes theologos'. Un conflit de générations à la Faculté de théologie de Paris au début du XV^e siècle?" in *Un roi et son historien: Vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis*, (Paris: Boccard, 1999), 359.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 360; Cécile Fabris, *Etudier & vivre à Paris au Moyen Âge: Le Collège de Laon (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)*, (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2005), 278; Jacques Verger, "Prosopographie et cursus universitaire" in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. Neithard Bulst & Jean-Philippe Genet, (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), pp. 316-18.

¹⁵⁸ Henri L. Bouquet, *L'ancien collège d'Harcourt et le Lycée Saint-Louis*, (Paris: Frères Delalain, 1891), 117; Paris, BNF Latin 5657A, fol. 18v; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, 559, No. 2444.

first decade of the fifteenth century. In contrast, during 1431-1440 the number of graduates dropped to fifty.¹⁵⁹ As such, when combined with deaths and migration, the community of licensed theologians in Paris was especially small - a tiny fraction of the city's population that, at the lowest estimate, represented around 80,000 people between 1421 and 1438.¹⁶⁰ Theology faculty members were expected to attend and give lectures and participate in debates concerning political and religious issues, such as the Great Schism.¹⁶¹ The *Journal* alludes to none of these circumstances, excluding the Bourgeois' awareness of a lack of news regarding the Council of Basel in 1433 and 1434.¹⁶²

The University itself represented a "fictional entity" encapsulating a consortium of different groups.¹⁶³ By the fourteenth century students spent the majority of their time in Paris within the framework of the four nations (French, Norman, Picard and English/German).¹⁶⁴ Forty-five colleges had been founded by the end of the fourteenth

¹⁵⁹ These statistics result from an analysis of the available prosopographical data from the 'Studium parisiense' project, one of the branches of the "Signs and States" research programme directed by Jean-Philippe Genet that drew information from published resources, including Heinrich Denifle's *CUP* and Thomas Sullivan's biographical registers of licentiates. The resulting "Base prosopographique des universitaires parisiens" contains upwards of 15,000 files. Thierry Kouamé & Jean-Philippe Genet, "Studium Parisiense", *Laboratoire de Médiévisitque Occidentale de Paris*, accessed on 06/09/2019, <https://lamop.univ-paris1.fr/la-recherche-au-lamop/reseaux-et-communautes/studium-parisiense/>; Jean-Philippe Genet, Hicham Idabal, Thierry Kouamé, Stéphane Lamassé, Claire Priol & Anne Tournieroux, "General Introduction to the 'Studium' Project", *Medieval Prosopography*, Vol. 31 (2016), pp. 161-70.

¹⁶⁰ J. Jacquart, "Le poids démographique de Paris et de l'Île-de-France au XVI^e siècle", *Annales de démographie historique* (1980), pp. 90-1; Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 116-17.

¹⁶¹ Jacques Verger, "Tendances actuelles de la recherche sur l'histoire de l'éducation en France au Moyen Âge (XII^e-XV^e siècles)", *Histoire de l'éducation*, Vol. 6 (1980), pp. 13-16, 20; "The first French universities and the institutionalization of learning: faculties, curricula, degrees" in *Learning Institutionalised: Teaching in the Medieval University*, ed. John H. Van Engen, (Notre-Dame, IN: University of Notre-Dame Press, 2000), pp. 5-19; P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement au Moyen Âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, au XIII^e siècle", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, Vol. 35 (1968), pp. 137-147.

¹⁶² Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 144r, 147r-147v.

¹⁶³ William J. Courtenay, *Rituals for the Dead: Religion and Community in the Medieval University of Paris*, (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre-Dame Press, 2019), 2.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-5.

century, representing an important framework for student life, though Alan Cobban has warned that before 1400 they housed only a small proportion of the overall University population.¹⁶⁵ Colleges were established to support students with shared regional origins during their studies. For the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Jacques Verger has demonstrated an increasing correlation between locality and university membership throughout France, with recruitment stemming from their respective “aire naturelle”, with 92% of Paris’ students arriving from northern France.¹⁶⁶

Paris’ colleges were governed by the varying statutes instituted by their founders. Invariably these stipulated the students’ wealth, moral character and geographical origin.¹⁶⁷ Those accorded bursaries had to demonstrate their relative poverty, with the Collège d’Harcourt fixing a maximum annual revenue of twelve *livres parisis* for artists.¹⁶⁸ Student life was, therefore, stringently regulated, with rules controlling clothing and appearance, movement outside the college and profane discussion monitored, the frequentation of taverns or ‘lieux de plaisir’ forbidden, while attendance at communal meals or masses and

¹⁶⁵ Alan B. Cobban, “The Role of Colleges in the Medieval Universities of Northern Europe, with special reference to England and France”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 71 (1989), pp. 50-53; Stéphen d’Irsay, *Histoire des universités françaises et étrangères des origines à nos jours*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Picard, 1933), 153; Simone Roux, *La rive gauche des escoliers (XV^e siècle)*, (Paris: Éditions chrétiennes, 1992), 186; Cécile Fabris, *Étudier & vivre à Paris*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁶⁶ Jacques Verger, “La mobilité étudiante au Moyen Âge”, *Histoire de l’éducation*, Vol. 50 (1991), pp. 77-81; Nathalie Gorochov, “L’université recrute-t-elle dans la ville? Le cas de Paris au XIII^e siècle” in *Les universités et la ville au Moyen Âge: cohabitation et tension*, ed. Patrick Gilli, Jacques Verger & Daniel Le Blévec, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 275-6.

¹⁶⁷ Cécile Fabris, *Étudier & vivre à Paris*, pp. 29-39, 54-69; Virginia Davis, “The Making of English Collegial Statutes in the Later Middle Ages”, *History of Universities*, Vol. 13 (1993), pp. 1-23; Henri L. Bouquet, *L’ancien collège d’Harcourt*, pp. 579-91; Michel Félibien & Guy-Alexis Lobineau (ed.), “Statuts du collège de Bayeux” in *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 5, (Paris: Desprez & Desessartz, 1725), pp. 623-9.

¹⁶⁸ Henri L. Bouquet, *L’ancien collège d’Harcourt*, 581, No. 8; Serge Lusignan, “Les pauvres étudiants à l’Université de Paris” in *Le petit peuple dans l’Occident médiéval: Terminologies, perceptions, réalités*, ed. Pierre Boglioni, Robert Delort & Claude Gauvard, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 339-342.

the recitation of prayers were carefully supervised.¹⁶⁹ Acceptance of a bursary involved an oath sworn to respect these statutes.¹⁷⁰ Moreover, corporate sentiment was fostered through concern for the memory of deceased masters and students. The thirteenth century saw “une certaine dispersion de la mémoire individuelle des morts entre plusieurs lieux parisiens”, with one central *lieu de mémoire* favoured by University masters being the convent of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers, where Nicolas Confranc was buried.¹⁷¹

Regarding language, eight colleges founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries specified that their students communicate solely in Latin, with the Collège de Plessis only allowing conversation in the vernacular with outsiders and ‘illiterati’.¹⁷² While these statutes imply that the vernacular’s use was becoming prevalent, they also demonstrate that young students entering colleges found themselves immersed in tightly-knit communities where Latin was the expected, if not the dominant, language of conversation. Indeed, University records present the institution as being dominated by a “monopole du latin”.¹⁷³ In this context, the Bourgeois’ decision to write in the vernacular is significant, suggesting the text’s

¹⁶⁹ Henri Bouquet (ed.), “Statuta collegii Harcuriani (1311)”, *L’Ancien collège d’Harcourt*, pp. 579-590. See also Cécile Fabris, *Étudier & vivre à Paris*, pp. 55-60; Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV^e siècle (1418): histoire de l’institution, de sa vie intellectuelle et de son recrutement*, (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 159-169; William J. Courtenay, *Rituals for the Dead*, pp. 46-50.

¹⁷⁰ Cécile Fabris, *Étudier & vivre à Paris*, pp. 65-6 & n. 78.

¹⁷¹ Nathalie Gorochov, “La mémoire des morts dans l’Université de Paris au XIII^e siècle”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 55 (2003), pp. 119, 123-5; William J. Courtenay, *Rituals for the Dead*, pp. 13-16. On Nicolas Confranc see above, Chapter 1.

¹⁷² Serge Lusignan, “L’enseignement des arts dans les collèges parisiens au Moyen Âge” in *L’enseignement des disciplines à la Faculté des Arts (Paris et Oxford, XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, ed. O. Weijers et L. Hertz (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 46. Ecclesiastical institutions similarly imposed rules upon young pupils, such as the choir children of Notre-Dame cathedral, where Jean Gerson promoted the use of Latin. Gilbert Ouy, “Bilinguisme ou trilinguisme? Latin commun, latin savant et français aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles” in *État et Église dans la genèse de l’État moderne, Actes du colloque organisé par le CNRS et la Casa de Velázquez, Madrid, 10 novembre et 1er décembre 1984*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 1986), 90.

¹⁷³ Philippe Riché et Jacques Verger, *Des nains sur des épaules de géants: maîtres et élèves au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Taillandier, 2006), 206.

appeal to an audience outside the University. While University sermons were delivered in Latin, contemporary theologians would often switch to French for lay audiences to effectively communicate moral teachings.¹⁷⁴ At least 35% of those theologians preaching during Charles VI's reign whose sermons survive wrote in French in this capacity.¹⁷⁵ Theologians' *diglossia* therefore represented ideological as much as straightforward linguistic choices.¹⁷⁶ While Latinity was integral to a clerical identity founded upon a close interpretation of the Bible and Church Fathers, the Collège de Cluny's statute (1308) requiring its pupils to practice French for preaching suggests that the vernacular had emerged as the most effective channel for lay spiritual education.¹⁷⁷ Margriet Hoogvliet has similarly pointed to the growing use of French vernacular Bible translations in the fifteenth century "in an urban context... [for] retail merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, servants and their close relatives".¹⁷⁸ This research further substantiates the view that the Bourgeois may not have envisioned a clerical audience, particularly one based at the University "aptes a

¹⁷⁴ Serge Lusignan, "Le français et le latin aux XIII^e-XIV^e siècles: pratique des langues et pensée linguistique", *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (1987), pp. 962-3.

¹⁷⁵ On the use of Latin and French at the University of Paris, and this proportion, see David Cormier, "Les discours de Pierre Plaoul au Parlement de Paris (1406): Un exemple des rhétoriques française et latine au Moyen Âge tardif", Master's Dissertaton, University of Montreal, August 2014, pp. 117-124.

¹⁷⁶ Serge Lusignan, *Essai d'histoire sociolinguistique: le français picard au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2012), pp. 35-9; Brian Stock, "Medieval Literacy, Linguistic Theory and Social Organization", *New Literary History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Autumn 1984), 17. See also Hervé Martin, "Les sermons du bas Moyen Âge. Un réexamen en cours", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, Vol. 86, No. 217 (2000), pp. 448-9.

¹⁷⁷ Michel Félibien et Guy-Alexis Lobineau, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, (Paris: Guillaume Despréz et Jean Desessarts, 1725), Vol. 3, 281; Serge Lusignan, *Parler vulgairement: les intellectuels et la langue française aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Second Edition, (Paris: Vrin, 1987), pp. 41-59, 141-9; Walter J. Ong, "Orality, Literacy and Medieval Textualization", *New Literary History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (Autumn 1984), 7.

¹⁷⁸ Margriet Hoogvliet, "Encouraging Lay People to Read the Bible in the French Vernaculars: New Groups of Readers and Textual Communities", *Church History and Religious Culture*, Vol. 93 (2013), 240, 266-74.

apprécieux de beaux morceaux d'éloquence" that they would have received through Latin texts.¹⁷⁹

The cohesion of the college and nation format also meant that these bodies developed clear political stances. The Collège de Navarre supplied the Armagnac government and Dauphin Charles with numerous bureaucrats, with ten serving the administration in 1418.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the Collège d'Harcourt where Nicolas Confranc was based in the 1420s, was closely connected to the Cabochien revolt. In February 1413, the college pursued a dispute with the *prévôt* Pierre des Essarts when a dead horse was left before its gate by a Châtelet *sergent*, culminating in a University petition decrying the infringement of its privileges that served as a prelude to the uprising.¹⁸¹ The theology master and college bursar, Ursin de Talevande, spoke before the assembled estates in February promoting royal reform and again on 4th August, this time in the *volte face* undermining the revolt that vexed the Bourgeois.¹⁸² In 1414, Talevande emerged at the centre of a contest between the Norman and French nations when he opposed an Armagnac-favoured candidate, Jean de Marle, for the bishopric of Coutances. The dispute culminated in Talevande's Norman supporters attacking the University rector, Jean Campan, demonstrating how profoundly the civil conflict altered relations within the University.¹⁸³ Regional allegiances should not be underestimated. Jean Petit employed Norman scholars to produce copies of the *Justification*, while Norman delegates to the Council of Constance were

¹⁷⁹ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 18.

¹⁸⁰ Nathalie Gorochov, *Le collège de Navarre*, 567.

¹⁸¹ "La geste des nobles Francoys" ed. Auguste Vallet de Virville, pp. 145-6; Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 183.

¹⁸² Serge Lusignan, *'Vérité garde le roy': La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1999), 196.

¹⁸³ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, pp. 289-92, No. 2027; Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit*, 452.

divided regarding the treatise's condemnation in 1415 and 1416.¹⁸⁴ The attitudes of Norman scholars and the Collège d'Harcourt's members alike may explain, in part, the Bourgeois' antipathy towards the Armagnacs if his identification as Confranc is accepted.

The Bourgeois' engagement with the theology faculty is evidenced by his consistent identification and praise of theologians. In 1420, Jean Courtecuisse was described as a "maistre en theologie et proudhomme"; the 1419 rector was identified as the theologian Jean l'Archer (licensed 1424), as was Jean de l'Olive (licensed 1442), appointed by bishop Denis du Moulin to preach the Lendit sermon in 1441.¹⁸⁵ Likewise, the theologian and Mathurins minister Étienne du Mesnil, who pronounced a sermon before Charles VI in 1410, was described by the Bourgeois as a "tres bonne personne".¹⁸⁶ In contrast, the unnamed rector assaulted by tax officials in 1444, Albertus Scriptoris, was an Arts master from the German Nation, which might explain the Bourgeois' failure to identify him.¹⁸⁷ Like the inhabitants of the Halles, these theologians were known for their sympathies towards the Burgundian dukes. Courtecuisse served as an ambassador to Jean sans Peur prior to Louis d'Orléans' assassination, and collaborated with Étienne du Mesnil in the condemnation of the *prévôt*, Guillaume de Tignonville, in January 1408.¹⁸⁸ The *Journal* presents Jean l'Archer as delivering

¹⁸⁴ It is perhaps for this reason that the Orléanist party believed it would be most effective to have Petit's *Justification* countered by a Norman orator. Ibid., Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 135-40, 228; "Le véritable texte de la Justification du duc de Bourgogne par Jean Petit (8 mars 1408)", *BEC*, Vol. 72 (1911), pp. 64-69; Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre une société*, 203. Monstrelet, Vol. 1, 269, *RSD*, Vol. 4, pp. 91-129; Annick Brabant, "Un pont entre les obédiences: expériences normandes du Grand Schisme d'Occident (1378-1417)", Vol. 1, PhD Thesis, University of Montreal and Université de Caen Basse-Normandie, Septembre 2013, pp. 363-5.

¹⁸⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 75r, 62r, 178r. Regarding these theologians see Thomas Sullivan, *Parisian Licentiates in Theology, AD 1373-1500: A Bibliographical Register, Vol. 2. The Secular Clergy*, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 179-84, 45, 397.

¹⁸⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r. For the Bourgeois' description of Mesnil's sermon, see below, Appendix II, No. 1.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., fol. 179r; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, pp. 642-4, No. 2586, 2591.

¹⁸⁸ Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. 4, pp. 148-9, Nos. 1843 & 1844; Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 183; *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 528-9; Alfred Coville, "Récherches sur Jean Courtecuisse", 476.

a “moult piteux” sermon in Jean sans Peur’s memory on 29th September 1419, but l’Archer was also commissioned by Philippe le Bon to draft the sermon advocating the Dauphin Charles’ condemnation for *lèse-majesté* in December 1420.¹⁸⁹ Consequently, the Bourgeois’ identification of University members implied a focus upon ‘Burgundian’ members whose sympathies mirrored those of the Halles.

Indeed, early in his writing the Bourgeois envisioned the University as being politically sympathetic to the Parisians who endorsed Jean sans Peur, assuming a representative role for the civic community. Mesnil’s 1410 sermon warned the king of the dangers posed by treachery and corruption. When the theologian was insulted by the Orléanist cardinal, Louis I of Bar, the Bourgeois related how the University rallied to his defence, while Michel Pintoin portrayed Jean, duke of Berry as conceding that the “Universitas Parisiensis, cives quoque et communitas” collectively supported Burgundy.¹⁹⁰ In June 1412 University members were compelled to join the processions eliciting divine support for the Burgundian siege of Bourges “sur peine de privacion”, thereby publicly demonstrating their endorsement of Jean sans Peur.¹⁹¹ In 1413, the Bourgeois valued the University’s involvement in the Cabochien revolt when, “par grant diligence et grant sens”, members drew up a petition accusing officials of treachery that legitimated the revolt.¹⁹² When the University subsequently performed a political *volte face* in August, abandoning the Cabochien leaders vying for reforms perceived to be favourable to Paris’ commons, the

¹⁸⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 62r; Monstrelet, Vol. 4, 19; Paul Bonenfant, *Du meurtre de Montereau au traité de Troyes*, (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1958), 177.

¹⁹⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r; RSD, Vol. 4, 342.

¹⁹¹ Upon pain of privation. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 19v.

¹⁹² With great diligence and great sense. *Ibid.*, fol. 23r. On the compilation of this dossier see Monstrelet, Vol. 2, pp. 307-32; Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, pp. 167-74.

Bourgeois was infuriated: the University had been advised by the devil and “proposerent tout au contraire de ce qu’ilz avoient devant conseillé par plusieurs foyes.”¹⁹³

This confusion regarding the University’s political stance again indicates that the Bourgeois was distant from its administration. As with Notre-Dame, the Bourgeois surveyed the University’s political engagement for an external audience, obfuscating compromising details. For example, describing a feast held at the Palais on 21st June 1428 attended by John, duke of Bedford, the Bourgeois omitted the reason for this celebration, namely the appointment of four new doctors in canon law, two of whom, Guillaume Bonnel and Alan Kirkton, had been nominated by Bedford.¹⁹⁴ Thus, the Bourgeois disguised the extent of Lancastrian influence over Paris’ institutions. He was also unwilling, or unable, to divulge details regarding the theological and political discussions taking place at the University regarding the Great Schism or war. Only definitive conclusions were reported while specific examples, such as the ‘Concile de la Foi’ organised by Jean Gerson at Paris in 1413-14 that involved attempts to discredit Jean Petit’s *Justification*, may have been omitted precisely because of their anti-Burgundian character.¹⁹⁵ When compared with the extensive transcription of sermons found in Pintoin’s chronicle, the *Journal*’s brevity reinforces the

¹⁹³ They proposed completely the opposite of what they had previously advised upon several occasions. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 25v-26r. See also Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 347, 349, 354.

¹⁹⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 111v; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, 476, No. 2309. For Guillaume Bonnel see Pierre Tisset & Yvonne Lanhers (ed. & trans.), *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d’Arc*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1970), pp. 386-7, No. 10. For Alan Kirkton see Christopher T. Allmand, “Alan Kirkton: A Clerical Royal Councillor in Normandy during the English Occupation in the Fifteenth Century”, *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 15 (1964), pp. 33-9.

¹⁹⁵ Charles Vulliez, “Les maîtres orléanais (*doctores*) au service de l’Université, de l’Eglise et des pouvoirs séculiers au temps de Charles VI” in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), 86. The Concile de la Foi is described in detail in Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 439-501; Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, pp. 239-56.

impression that the text was destined for an audience that was not heavily invested in ecclesiastical or University matters.

Deviations from the official record underscore this impression. In 1426 the Bourgeois alluded to the inquisitorial examination of five Parisians who had used incantations to discover treasure.¹⁹⁶ Alexandre Tuetey believed the reference evidenced the “main d’un prêtre de Notre-Dame mêlé aux incidents de la vie capitulaire”.¹⁹⁷ However, the account contrasts with that of the chapter’s *greffier*, Nicolas Sellier.¹⁹⁸ Firstly, the accused were not “d’obscurs hérétiques”.¹⁹⁹ Two men were Burgundian civil servants, namely Guillaume Vigner, appointed *trésorier des guerres* in 1418, and the royal notary Jean Lamy, a *Parlement procureur*.²⁰⁰ Moreover, the trial provoked a jurisdictional debate between the bishop Jean de Nant, the University and the inquisitor Jean Graverent, requiring resolution by papal decree.²⁰¹ Although the Bourgeois’ relation of the procession to Saint-Magloire in September 1426 “encontre aucuns hereses” suggests a limited awareness of these tensions, the diminution of the event’s importance may reflect a deliberate attempt to obfuscate the examination of prominent Burgundians, a point underscored by the absence of an earlier

¹⁹⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 104r.

¹⁹⁷ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, xx.

¹⁹⁸ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//113, pp. 134-8; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 209-10, n. 3.

¹⁹⁹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, xx.

²⁰⁰ For Guillaume Vigner see Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, Second Edition (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 130-1; Léon Mirot, “Dom Bévy et les comptes des trésoriers des guerres. Essai de restitution d’un fonds disparu de la Chambre des Comptes”, *BEC*, Vol. 86 (1925), 302.

²⁰¹ Zénon Kaluza has examined this case through the *Propositio* pronounced by Gilles Charlier, found in Bordeaux, Bibliothèque municipale MS 117-8, fols. 37r-50v in “Nouvelles remarques sur les oeuvres de Gilles Charlier”, *Archives d’histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, Vol. 47 (1973), pp. 161-2. Cf. Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, Vol. IV, pp. 446-8, 453, 461-2. Nos. 2262, 2265, 2273, 2287. See also Gérard Jugnot, “Les pèlerinages expiatoires et judiciaires au Moyen Âge” in *La faute, la répression et le pardon. 107^e Congrès national des sociétés savantes*, (Paris: CTHS, 1984), pp. 413-20; Franck Mercier, *La Vauderie d’Arras. Une chasse aux sorcières à l’automne du Moyen Âge*, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2005), pp. 279-285.

passage alluded to by the Bourgeois, “comme devant est dit”, regarding the trial.²⁰² The inquisition began in June 1425 but the Vatican manuscript shows no signs of text missing at this time, suggesting that the Bourgeois may have carefully revised the *Journal*.

The Bourgeois’ references to the University and its involvement in Parisian politics invariably synthesised more complex developments for an external audience, as demonstrated by the *Journal*’s deviation in the record of University contestation. At the height of Armagnac authority in February 1418, the Bourgeois reported how celebrations of Pope Martin V’s election were suppressed. When the rector Raoul de la Porte organised small-scale masses in Martin’s name, “pour tant fut mis en prison et x ou xij maistres avecques lui.”²⁰³ Read straightforwardly, the account evidenced Armagnac investment in the outcome of the Council of Constance, especially given Bernard, count of Armagnac’s continued endorsement of Antipope Benedict XIII.²⁰⁴ Tuetey argued that the Bourgeois deliberately altered the circumstances of la Porte’s imprisonment, which actually resulted from an ongoing debate regarding the collation of benefices whereupon la Porte asserted that this power belonged to the recently elected pope.²⁰⁵ However, the Bourgeois’ manipulation of the dispute to underscore an Armagnac defiance of the Council of Constance is clear, indicating an alteration of University events to suit an anti-Armagnac perspective. Similarly, the assault of the rector Albertus Scriptoris by tax officials in 1444 was related to wider challenges to University privileges by royal power. Having criticised

²⁰² Again some heretics; as stated earlier. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 104r.

²⁰³ Ibid., fols. 43r-43v.

²⁰⁴ Klaus Oschema, “Nouvelles de Perpignan en France et Bourgogne (1415) – un non-lieu historique?” in *Perpignan 1415. Un sommet européen à l’époque du Grand Schisme en Occident*, ed. Aymat Catafau, Nikolas Jaspert & Thomas Wetzstein, (Zurich: Lit Verlag, 2019), pp. 48-9; Noel Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d’Occident*, Vol. 4, (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1902), pp. 153-6.

²⁰⁵ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, 85, n. 3; Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, pp. 61-3, 76; Pearl Kirbe, *Scholarly Privileges*, pp. 236-8.

royal management of the *écorcheurs* in the previous passage, the Bourgeois described how Scriptoris had intended to “deffendre et garder les libertés et franchises de ladite Université” when students were targeted by fresh taxes.²⁰⁶ The statement that the officials “mirent la main au recteur” hints that the Bourgeois was manipulating an official account, with the text in the *CUP* reporting that “contra rectorem et procuratores Franciae et Picardiae manus levaverunt rectoremque vulneraverunt ‘usque ad effusionem sanguinis.’”²⁰⁷ Through his account the Bourgeois rhetorically situated the University within overarching Parisian contentions regarding the increasingly regular direct taxation imposed by the Valois administration.

The examination of the University context through the lens of Nicolas Confranc’s cursus indicates the problems inherent in assuming that the *Journal* was compiled for a University audience. College statutes encouraged members to converse in Latin and refrain from discussing profane topics, undermining the *Journal’s* suitability for this context. Instead, the vernacular was primarily reserved for interaction with Paris’ laity, especially regarding moral and political issues. As with Notre-Dame, it therefore seems likely that the Bourgeois drew upon his University experiences to supplement the *Journal’s* narrative, but that ultimately this record was directed beyond the confines of the University itself, situating the institution within an overarching panoply of civic institutions.

²⁰⁶ Protect and keep the liberties and exemptions of the said University. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 179r; Pearl Kirbe, *Scholarly Privileges*, 212.

²⁰⁷ Laid hands upon the rector; they raised their hands against the rector and procurators of the French and Picard [nations] and wounded the rector to the extent that blood was shed. Reg. Lat. 1923, 179r; Heinrich Denifle, *CUP*, IV, 643. Emphasis my own.

The Manuscript Evidence

Finally, the evidence supplied by the only surviving (near-complete) fifteenth-century copy of the *Journal* offers important indications regarding the text's patronage at the end of the century. The Vatican manuscript evidences the *Journal's* potential circulation, pointing to an audience of merchants rising to prominence in the city's municipal administration. Consequently, this known audience supports the conclusions offered by the internal evidence, demonstrating that the text's earliest known readers and owners were precisely members of the community whose memories were consolidated by the *Journal* during the first half of the fifteenth century.

The *Journal* was already dismembered and incomplete when the Vatican manuscript was produced during the 1470s.²⁰⁸ The manuscript's support and layout is important. Written on paper in cursive, like other fifteenth-century Parisian 'journals', little space was left between passages that start on the same line, with new passages indicated by capital letters or 'item'. The script's homogeneity over the page renders it difficult to determine immediately where one passage begins and another ends. This contrasts with other examples of fifteenth-century journals, especially the fragment of the journal for 1412-1413, which leave a line between each passage, and it is possible that the Vatican manuscript obfuscates the *Journal's* original layout.²⁰⁹ Nevertheless, Paul Saenger has argued that codicological aspects such as these facilitated silent reading, indicating that by the 1470s, at least, the text was not principally intended to be read aloud.²¹⁰ Roger Chartier has argued

²⁰⁸ For the dating of the manuscript see below, Appendix I.

²⁰⁹ Reg. Lat. 1502, Vol. 1, fols. 107r-112v. See also the manuscript copies of the *Journal* of Jean de Roye. Paris, BNF Fr. 2889 & 5062.

²¹⁰ Paul Saenger, *Space between Words: The Origins of Silent Reading*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), pp. 256-8.

that early modern private reading facilitated a “new consciousness that is constructed outside the sphere of public authority and political power”.²¹¹ However, the identity of the Vatican manuscript’s potential owners suggests that the *Journal* continued to play an important role in emerging notions of civic identity for a family reaching its ascendancy in Paris’ municipal government, perhaps fostering an important historical awareness of past civic and socio-political contests for its owners.

The material evidence offers hints at the *Journal*’s function as a “social product” altered through strategies of copying, editing and *réécriture* that reveal the ongoing interaction with and alteration of the text.²¹² These early readers of the Vatican manuscript were politically conscious and read the Bourgeois’ text in an engaged manner, as demonstrated by the erasure of the Bourgeois’ criticisms of the Dauphin Louis (Louis XI) and the removal of his reaction to Jean sans Peur’s assassination.²¹³ The only positive indication of who these owners may have been is the signature on the final folio, “Maciot”.²¹⁴ The hand is distinct from that of the text itself, meaning that Maciot was an owner rather than the copyist, a notion underscored by the same signature appearing faintly, traced with a plummet, on the right-hand margin of folio 79r.²¹⁵ Maciot also added a title in the margin

²¹¹ Roger Chartier, “Leisure and Sociability: Reading Aloud in Early Modern Europe”, trans. Carol Mossman in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman & Ronald F.E. Weissman, (London: Associated University Presses, 1989), pp. 103-4.

²¹² Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, (Paris: Seuil, 1972), pp. 65-75; Jan Dumolyn, Lisa Demets & Els de Parmentier, “Political Ideology and the Rewriting of History in Fifteenth-Century Flanders”, *Low Countries Historical Review*, Vol. 134, No. 1 (2019), pp. 79-80.

²¹³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 176r, 178v, 60v-61r. Jason Scott-Warren, “Reconstructing Manuscript Networks: the textual transactions of Sir Stephen Powell”, in *Communities in Early Modern England*, eds. Alexandra Shepard & Phil Withington, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 19, 27.

²¹⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 187r.

²¹⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 79r. This argument also been made by Colette Beaune and the recent Japanese translator of the text, Koichi Horikoshi. Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, 8; Koichi Horikoshi, “パリの住人の日記」校注 (Pari no junin no nikki: collation and annotation)”, *Jinbun: Journal of the Research Institute for Humanities at Gakushuin University*, Vol. 1 (2002), 207.

of folio 153r marking the Bourgeois' description of the Valois reconquest of Paris in April 1436.²¹⁶ Alexandre Tuetey believed that this was the signature of 'Jean' Maciot, deducing this identification from a note in BNF Fr. 10154, an early modern copy of the *Bataille du Liege* poem, that read "ce manuscrit a appartenu a Jehan Maciot".²¹⁷ Colette Beaune linked the signature to the owners of a contemporary manuscript compilation of the poetry of François Villon and Alain Chartier, Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal 3523, signed by Jean and Claude Maciot.²¹⁸ However, these names correspond to members of the municipality in the first decades of the sixteenth century, whereas two other signatures, "Gilbert Coquille" and "Berthier de Bizy" indicate members of the Coquille family alive in the late fifteenth century.²¹⁹

²¹⁶ "L' antrée des Francoys a Paris en l' an mil iiii^c xxvj". Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 153r.

²¹⁷ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d' un bourgeois de Paris*, iii.

²¹⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, 3523, fol. 409v. The dating of this manuscript has been debated by scholars of Alain Chartier and François Villon, who believe that it was produced in the 1480s, with James Laidlaw suggesting that the manuscript was compiled in 1483, though an examination of the signatures suggests that it could have been produced at an earlier date in the 1470s. Emma Cayley, "Polyphonie et dialogisme: espaces ludiques dans le recueil manuscrit à la fin du Moyen Âge. Le cas de trois recueils poétiques du XV^e siècle" in *Le recueil au Moyen Âge: La fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Tania Van Hemelryck & Stafania Marzano, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 47-53; James Laidlaw, *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 116-17. See also Giuseppe Di Stefano, "Le Lais Villon dans le manuscrit de l' Arsenal", *Romania*, Vol. 105, No. 420 (1984), pp. 526-551. For other Parisians named 'Maciot', see Richard Rouse & Mary Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, Vol. 2, (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000), 77; Chretien Cesar Auguste Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits concernant l'histoire de l'art dans le Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut, avant le XV^e siècle*, (Lille: L. Danel, 1886), 123.

²¹⁹ Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 174, 199. Gilbert Coquille and Pierre Berthier de Bizy were nobles related through marriage, originating from Nevers. Members of the same family also owned New Haven, CT, Yale University, Beinecke Library 217, a book of hours commissioned by the widow of a 'Gilbert Coquille'. On Beinecke 217 see Virginia Reinburg, *French Books of Hours. Making an Archive of Prayer, c. 1400-1600*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 57; Barbara A. Shailor, "Beinecke 217" on "Yale University Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. General Collection of Rare Books and Manuscripts. Pre-1600 Manuscripts", accessed on 31/08/2019,

<https://pre1600ms.beinecke.library.yale.edu/docs/pre1600.ms217.HTM>.

On the Coquille family see Guy Coquille, *Généalogie de la Maison des Coquilles faite par Guy Coquille, escuyer, seigneur de Romenay*, (Paris, 1603); Joseph de Maumigny, *Etude sur Guy Coquille, publiciste et juriconsulte*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1971 (1910), pp. 12-15. On Pierre Berthier, seigneur de Bizy, see L. Sandret, *Revue nobiliaire historique et biographique*, Vol. 10, (Paris: Dumoulin, 1875), pp. 205-6.

As such, the Maciot owners of Arsenal 3523 do not appear to have possessed this manuscript until the early sixteenth century.²²⁰ The prosopographical evidence presented by their signatures is nevertheless important, highlighting a Maciot family that rose to prominence at the turn of the fifteenth century. Jean I Maciot was a *changeur* who completed his apprenticeship in December 1460 and who was still alive on 14th January 1484, when he is named as Jean Duval's master.²²¹ Maciot's profession brought him into contact with aristocrats, Paris' governors and the royal court during a period when the *changeurs* were prevalent in civic politics, regularly fielding *échevins* between 1436 and 1474.²²² In 1469 Maciot purchased the silverware of the disgraced cardinal, Jean Balue, following his imprisonment; in 1478 he lent money to the crown to fund a new reliquary for St. Martin.²²³ Finally, in 1477, Maciot gave four-hundred silver marks to Pierre de Lailly, *receveur général des finances*, to reward the English diplomats John Morton, Master of the Rolls of England and Sir John Donne, captain of Calais, while in 1480 he gathered 1,000 marks of silver to be paid to the English ambassador, Sir William Hastings.²²⁴ Moreover, Maciot's connection to

²²⁰ J.C. Laidlaw, *Poetical Works*, pp. 116-17.

²²¹ Paris, Archives nationales, Z/1b/286, "Registre des changeurs", fols. 26r-26v, 75r-75v; Robert Favreau, "Les changeurs du royaume sous le règne de Louis XI", *BEC*, Vol. 122 (1964), 245.

²²² Pierre Thibaut, "Mariage, office et marchandise à Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Le marchand au Moyen Âge. Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, 19^e congrès, Reims, 1988, (Nantes: CID Éditions, 1992), pp. 165-74.

²²³ Paris, BNF Fr. 4487, fol. 27; BNF, Fr 20685, "Extraits faits dans les archives de la Chambre des Comptes: Extrait du 6^e et dernier compte de Pierre de Lailly, du 1^{er} octobre 1478 jusques au 12^e décembre 1479", 693; Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye, connu sous le nom de Chronique scandaleuse, 1460-1483*, Vol. 1, ed. Bernard de Mandrot, (Paris: Renouard, 1894), pp. 229-30, n. 4; Eugène Déprez, "La trahison du Cardinal Balue, 1469: Chansons et ballades inédites", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome*, Vol. 19 (1899), pp. 259-296; Jean-François Lassalmonie, *La boîte à l'enchanteur: Politique financière de Louis XI*, (Paris: Comité pour l'histoire économique et financière, 2002), 557.

²²⁴ Louis Thuasne (ed.), *Robert Gaguini, Epistole et Orationes: Texte publié sur les éditions originales de 1498*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Bouillon, 1904), 506; Paris, BNF, Fr. 20685, "Extraits faits dans les archives de la Chambre des Comptes: Extrait du 4^e compte de M^e Pierre de Lailly, October 1477; Compte douzieme et denier de Jehan Raguier, 1480", 672; 728.

civic politics is suggested by his marriage to Catherine Lapite, sister to Jean Lapite, clerk of the *Chambre des comptes* and *échevin* in 1499.²²⁵ Catherine and Jean's father was Guillaume Lapite, *maître marchand de vins* for 1438-40.²²⁶ Their mother, Hélène Bureau, was closely related to Jean Bureau, the victorious commander at Castillon in 1453, a member of Louis XI's council and *prévôt des marchands* in 1450-4.²²⁷ These dynastic connections meant that Jean Maciot was closely tied to this powerful family, with the Maciots appearing on the periphery of a civic elite. The relationship is confirmed by a workbook belonging to the University student, Germain Maciot, probably Jean I Maciot's son and a student in canon law in the 1490s (licensed 28th September 1501).²²⁸ The manuscript, Paris, BNF Latin 8659 (c. September 1492), contains a letter to Jean Lapite, "senatorem egregium", underscoring these ties between the two families.²²⁹

²²⁵ Catherine Lapite was buried alongside Jean Maciot in the cemetery of Saints-Innocents. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//434-B, "Épitaphier du cimetière des Saints-Innocents", 197. Regarding Jean Lapite see Léon Dorez & Marcel Fournier, *La Faculté de décret de l'Université de Paris au XV^e siècle*, Vol. 3, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1908), 15, n. 1; "Les commis au gouvernement de la ville de Paris (26 Octobre 1499)" in François Bonnardot (ed.), *Registre des délibérations du bureau de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1883), pp. 1-2, No. 2. For Lapite's appointment as *échevin* see Nicolas Moucheront, "Effondrement et reconstruction du pont Notre-Dame à Paris en 1499: réemploi et organisation du chantier", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, Vol. 129, No. 1 (2017), accessed on 01/09/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrm/3588>.

²²⁶ Yvonne-Hélène le Marequier-Kesteloot (ed.), *Les officiers municipaux*, 125. See also Alexandre Vidier, Léon Le Grand, Paul Dupieux, Jacques Monicat, Gustave Dupont-Ferrier (ed.), *Les Comptes du domaine de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1948), Col. 205.

²²⁷ Though the precise nature of Hélène's relation to Jean Bureau is unclear, her son Jean Lapite was involved in an inheritance dispute with his cousin Merry Bureau, seigneur de la Houssaye (d. 1531), Jean Bureau's nephew. Jean Bureau's father, Simon (†1438) had ten children, three of whom are unidentified. It is possible Hélène was one such child, making Jean and Catherine Lapite the nephew and niece of Jean Bureau. Hélène Verlet, *Épitaphier Saints-Innocents*, 88, n. 1; Anselm de Guibours, *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, Third Edition, Vol. 8, (Paris: Compagnie des libraires associés, 1733), 136.

²²⁸ Jan Pendergrass, "Lettres, poèmes et débat scolaire de Germain Maciot, étudiant parisien du XV^e siècle. MS. Latin 8659 de la Bibliothèque nationale de France", *Bulletin du Cange: Archivum Latinitatis Madii Aevi*, Vol. 55. (1997), 187; Léon Dorez & Marcel Fournier, *La Faculté de décret*, Vol. 3, 529.

²²⁹ Jan Pendergrass, "Lettres, poèmes et débat scolaire", pp. 241-3. Pendergrass argues that Jean Lapite was Germain's maternal uncle, but "On ne peut que le supposer sans preuve." (243). For the manuscript's date see pp. 184-5.

There is no mention of Jean I Maciot after the 1490s and it appears likely that the Jean and Claude Maciot of Arsenal 3523 represent his descendants. A Jean II Maciot, *quartenier* for Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, appears in the record from October 1503.²³⁰ A third generation subsequently comprised Claude, Jean III and Vincent Maciot who were probably Jean II's sons.²³¹ Claude Maciot was also a *quartenier*, elected *échevin* on 18th August 1528; Jean III was "trésorier du salpêtre en la généralité de France et Picardie" in 1535; finally, Vincent (†1554) was an *avocat* in the Paris Parlement and Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois *quartenier* from 1525.²³² Jean III and Vincent also married into powerful Parisian families. Jean III married Louise Hesselin, granddaughter of Denis Hesselin, the municipal *greffier*, *maître d'hôtel* for Louis XI and *prévôt des marchands* from 1470-4, whom Auguste Vitu suspected to be the patron of the Parisian journal of Jean de Roye.²³³ Vincent Maciot married

²³⁰ A *quartenier* was the municipal administrator of one of Paris' sixteenth districts, or *quartiers*. "Fournissement d'emprunt à perte de finance (21 octobre 1503)" in François Bonnardot (ed.), *Registres des délibérations*, Vol. 1, 87, No. 155. Jean Maciot is also named in the following entries: pp. 91, No. 163, 93, No. 118, 104-6, Nos. 184-5, 119-20, No. 201, 122, No. 203, 127, No. 214, 149-50, No. 241.

²³¹ The paternal link between two individuals named Jean Maciot is suggested by an 'arrêt du Parlement' for 1513, "renvoyant au prévôt de Paris le jugement du procès entre Jean Maciot et son père". Paris, Archives nationales registre H/2/1778, "L'entrée de la royne et l'ordre qui y fut tenu", fol. 123v, cited in *Les Armoiries de la ville de Paris: Sceaux, emblèmes, couleurs, devises, livrées et cérémonies publiques*, Vol. 1, ed. A. de Coetlogon & Lazare Maurice Tisserand, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1874), 222; "Livre rouge du Châtelet de Paris, no. 1120 (29 July 1513), fol. 127" in *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), 66. For Jean Maciot's *quartier*, see Philippe Contamine, "Les chaînes dans les bonnes villes de France (spécialement Paris), XIV^e-XVI^e siècle" in *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne XIV^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. Maurice Keen, Charles Giry-Deloison & Philippe Contamine, (Lille: Publications de l'Institut de recherches historiques du Septentrion, 1991), pp. 299-301.

²³² On Claude Maciot see Piganiol de la Force, *Description historique de la ville de Paris et de ses environs*, Vol. 8, (Paris: Libraires associés, 1765), 436; *Les Ordonnances royaux sur le fait et juridiction de la prevosté des marchands et eschevinage de la ville de Paris*, (Paris, 1556), pp. 155-6. For Jean III see Paris, Archives Nationales, Inventaire, MC/ET/XXXIII/24, "Donation par Émard de Ranconnet...", 1543; Ernest Coyecque, *Recueil d'actes notariés relatifs à l'histoire de Paris et de ses environs au XVI^e siècle*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1905), pp. 358-9, No. 1884. For Vincent Maciot see François Bonnardot (ed.), *Registre des délibérations*, Vol. 1, 278; Vol. 2, pp. 33-4, 36, 38, 45-7, 56, 66, 68, 77, 84, 91, 126, 155-6, 161, 167-8, 202, 233, 272-3, 275, 279-80, 202, 291, 366; Vol. 4, pp. 171-2, 346-7.

²³³ Archives Nationales, Inventaire, MC/ET/XXXIII/34, "Contrat de mariage de Françoise Macyot...", 1549; Auguste Vitu, *La Chronique de Louis XI dite Chronique scandaleuse, faussement attribué à Jean de Troyes restituée à son véritable auteur*, (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1873), pp. 53, 85-9. See also Joël

Catherine Bardon, daughter of the Parlement *procureur* Jean Bardon.²³⁴ Vincent also acquired the *seigneurie* of La Roche-Nanteau, a title held by his successors who continued to occupy posts in the Paris Parlement and inhabit the Halles district.²³⁵

The Maciot family may therefore be indicative of the identity of the *Journal's* patrons. As suggested by the internal evidence, this audience was concentrated in the Halles area. Jean I Maciot owned a house at the southern end of the rue Saint-Denis, on the *Petite Saunerie* adjacent to the Châtelet, and was buried at Saints-Innocents; his descendants administered the same area as *quarteniers*.²³⁶ Over successive generations, the Maciots inculcated ties with other bourgeois dynasties that had risen to prominence during the first half of the fifteenth century such as the Bureau and Hesselin families.²³⁷ These families also consolidated their identity by funding epitaphs at Saints-Innocents.²³⁸ For a family on the periphery of the “gros bourgeois” class, the localised knowledge supplied by the *Journal* may have been essential to the Maciot dynasty’s rapid rise in status. Despite their extensive influence over the *prévôté des marchands* following Paris’ reconquest by the Valois, the *changeurs* experienced significant decline in the last decades of the century; by 1514, the corporation surrendered its place in queen Anne de Bretagne’s entry ceremony, “disans que

Blanchard (ed. & trans.), *Chronique Scandaleuse: Journal d’un Parisien au temps de Louis XI*, (Paris: Pocket, 2015), pp. 96-7; Bernard de Mandrot, “Quel est le véritable auteur de la Chronique anonyme de Louis XI dite la Scandaleuse?”, *BEC*, Vol. 52 (1891), pp. 129-30.

²³⁴ Camille Trani, “Les magistrats du grand conseil au XVI^e siècle (1547-1610)”, *Paris et Île-de-France, Mémoires publiés par la fédération des sociétés archéologiques de Paris et de l’Île-de-France*, Vol. 42 (1991), 105.

²³⁵ Jan Pendergrass, “Lettres, poèmes et débat scolaire”, 187; Émile Raunié (ed.), *Épitaphier du vieux Paris. Vol. 4, Sainte-Eustache – Sainte-Geneviève-la-Petite*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1914), pp. 96-98, No. 1638.

²³⁶ Michel Möring (ed.), *Inventaire sommaire des archives hospitalières antérieures à 1790. Vol. 1, l’Hôtel-Dieu*, (Paris: Grandremy & Henon, Imprimeurs de l’Administration générale de l’assistance publique, 1882), 74, no. 1310.

²³⁷ Jean Favier, *Le bourgeois de Paris*, 406.

²³⁸ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//434-B, “Épitaphier du cimetière des Saints-Innocents”, pp. 8-9; Hélène Verlet (ed.), *Épitaphier du vieux Paris*, Vol. 4, 88.

de present ilz estoient en petit nombre... et a celle cause ne pourroient fournir aux fraiz de s'abiller selon qu'il est bien requiz".²³⁹ Given this corporate instability, the *Journal* provided the Maciots with an alternative means of consolidating their Parisian identity and anchoring their local heritage, articulating ties with the municipality. This grounding was all the more important given that *quarteniers* depended upon the election and support of the "notables bourgeois" in their neighbourhoods.²⁴⁰ The *Journal* may have been instructive for those who sought to articulate their Parisian identity as municipal officers increasingly staked their "vocation à représenter tous les autres: émanant de l'*universitas* bourgeoise, il entretenait des relations ambiguës, parce que potentiellement réductrices, avec les diverses communautés qui composaient la cité."²⁴¹ While perhaps not a luxurious item, the manuscript itself appears well used, worn over time and yet largely undamaged, save for the content missing from 1438 which came loose at the end of the sixteenth or even the seventeenth century.²⁴² As Walter Ong argued, the transition to a print culture subtly changed reactions to books as artefacts, but in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, it appears that the *Journal* was valued by its Parisian owners who altered and added to it, as well as by the historians who annotated the text from 1555.²⁴³

²³⁹ Saying that there were now so few members that they would not be able to afford the cost of the clothing required [for the ceremony]. "Response des maistres jurez des marchandises touchant leurs habitz (30 septembre 1514)" in François Bonnardot (ed.), *Registres des délibérations*, Vol. 1, pp. 215-16. No. 320.

²⁴⁰ Robert Descimon, "Le corps de la ville et les élections échevinales à Paris aux XVI^e Vol. 14 XVII^e siècles. Codification coutumière et pratiques sociales", *Histoire, économie et société*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (1994), 511, 514.

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 508.

²⁴² See below, Appendix I, for an explanation of why this content is missing from Reg. Lat. 1923 but present in the Méjanes manuscript.

²⁴³ Walter J. Ong, "Orality, Literacy", 2. On the manuscript's early modern history see Appendix I.

An analysis of the Vatican manuscript suggests its circulation among the members of families who had risen to the status of the minor nobility during the fifteenth century. The Vatican manuscript's potential ties to the Maciot family are a particularly important indication that the merchants of the right bank, the region with which the Bourgeois was principally concerned, represented some of the *Journal's* earliest readers. Like many of those described by the *Journal*, when the Vatican manuscript was produced Jean Maciot had only recently risen to prominence as a *changeur* in the 1460s. This rise brought the relatively unknown individual into direct contact with members of the Parisian elite, aristocracy and even the royal government, providing circumstances in which a new copy of the text may have circulated among members of the minor nobility with diplomatic or historical interests surpassing those of the *Journal's* Parisian-specific scope. By the sixteenth century, Maciot's apparent descendants had secured themselves posts in the municipal government that paralleled their precedence on the right bank as district *quarteniers*, with Vincent Maciot even becoming an *échevin*. Moreover, Jean Maciot was buried with his wife and uncle in Saints-Innocents, having secured his family's fortune through propitious marriages, evidencing strategies pursued well into the sixteenth century by his descendants. Consequently, if the *Journal* held appeal for the leading members of the Halles district who benefited from the political vicissitudes of the fifteenth century to consolidate their ascendancy within the civic hierarchy, the Vatican manuscript's ownership suggests that the text continued to function as an important basis for the identity of this class.

Conclusion

This analysis of the Bourgeois' neighbourhood and ties to the church and parish of Saints-Innocents, the cathedral and chapter of Notre-Dame as well as the University of Paris provide crucial indications regarding the *Journal's* contexts, its envisioned audience(s) and some of the author's sources. Together, these elements demonstrate the problems in assuming an identity between the Bourgeois' characteristics and those of the *Journal's* readers. Fundamentally, the internal evidence reveals that the Bourgeois was an active member of several groups simultaneously, with overlapping interests in several distinct contexts. The *Journal's* passages relating to the University of Paris and the cathedral of Notre-Dame are, however, substantially briefer and less frequent than those concerning the right bank of Paris and specifically the Halles district. At times there are clear contradictions between the information supplied by the Bourgeois and that recorded in 'official' records, such as the cathedral chapter's registers. The resulting impression is that the *Journal* was not destined, at least primarily, for an audience of members of either of these institutions, who would have probably already had a similar understanding of the relevant issues as described by the Bourgeois and would have had access to alternative sources.

Rather, the Bourgeois' presentation of the University of Paris and the cathedral of Notre-Dame situates these institutions that claimed a representative role for the city in relation to other civic institutions, underscoring those moments where their interests and political prerogatives intersected with the goals and perspectives of the artisanal inhabitants of the Halles district and the rue Saint-Martin. In particular, the *Journal* addressed the perspectives of leading members of the Halles who were members of the most influential corporations, such as the butchers, or who rose to prominence in the urban administration

due to their ties to the dukes of Burgundy. In doing so, the text consolidated their political perspectives, codified their experiences and repeatedly presented these in relation to the spaces and topography of the right bank. The text therefore encapsulated the memory of a community defined by its opposition to the Armagnac faction and its ties to the Burgundian dukes during the 1410s. During the political shifts of the 1420s and 1430s, however, the Bourgeois' writing evidences increasing interest in the role of Parisian institutions as representative of the wider civic community when confronted by the challenges to the city's independence posed by English rule or, later, Valois centralisation. Having risen to positions of municipal responsibility, this community no longer consistently viewed itself through an Armagnac-Burgundian dichotomy, but through a lens that juxtaposed civic identities with external authorities. Finally, this impression of the Bourgeois' interests and his likely audience are underscored by the evidence of the text's readership in the latter half of the fifteenth century, which suggests that the text continued to be meaningful for those who rose to prominence in civic politics and secured their status as leading members of their neighbourhood community.

Chapter III. Official Communication & Public Space

Throughout the *Journal*, official communication – the information disseminated by royal and civic bodies - was considered in tandem with popular and Parisian perspectives.¹ The Bourgeois assumed the role of interpreter described by Leidulf Melve, arrogating an important agency in the framing of a public sphere through his authorial selectivity by privileging certain narratives over others to inculcate and express specific attitudes.² Consequently, this approach evaluates the *Journal* as a determined reconstruction of material that the Bourgeois wanted his audiences to consider, and an illustration of the ways in which he expected them to react. This manipulation is evidenced through several of the narrative strategies employed by the Bourgeois to represent instances of official communication. Elements contrary to the author's socio-political beliefs and those of his audience were deliberately obfuscated, altered or omitted, while the Bourgeois used heightened emotional rhetoric to define the morality of political decisions, aristocratic behaviour and structure desired reactions. Through these processes, a close examination of popular interactions with official communication as presented through the *Journal* suggests that the Bourgeois' manipulation of information was performed in relation to his active contribution to his public sphere. It was in relation to official communication and civic

¹ Veronika Novák, "Places of Power: The Spreading of Official Information and the Social Uses of Space in Fifteenth-Century Paris" in *Towns and Communication*, Vol. 1, ed. Neven Budak, Finn-Einar Eliassen & Katalin Szende, (Akron, OH: University of Akron Press, 2011), pp. 49-51; "La source du savoir: Publication officielle et communication informelle à Paris au début du XV^e siècle" in *Information et société à la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 151-3; Christian Liddy, *Contesting the City: The Politics of Citizenship in English Towns, 1250-1530*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 142-50; Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), pp. 13-25.

² Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 12-13.

institutions that these Parisian spheres were made manifest and, in turn, the Bourgeois' channelling of both information and response through the text further structured this community of opinion.³ This appropriation of official information reveals how hidden transcripts and alternative political or historiographical narratives were developed in opposition to official perspectives.⁴

Moreover, an examination of official communication evidences the function and limits of propaganda in late medieval Paris.⁵ Jacques Ellul identified propaganda as the psychological manipulation of opinion "of which the listener is not conscious".⁶ For Ellul, propaganda was either agitative (encouraging specific behaviours) or integrative (determining specific ideological beliefs).⁷ Such processes are essential to societal interaction, though the work of Quentin Skinner nuances this approach further by

³ Claudia Strauss, *Making sense of Public Opinion: American Discourses about Immigration and Social Programs*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 15.

⁴ James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 14-16, 188-90.

⁵ Previous studies have focused upon French propaganda at the state or royal level. Bernard Guenée, "État et nation en France au Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, Vol. 237, No. 1 (1967), pp. 28-9; "Les campagnes de lettres qui ont suivi le meurtre de Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne (Septembre 1419-Février 1420)", *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, (1993), pp. 45, 57-61; Philippe Contamine, "Aperçus sur la propagande de guerre, de la fin du XII^e au début du XV^e siècle: les croisades, la guerre de Cent ans" in *Le forme della propaganda politica nel due et nel trecento*, ed. Paolo Cammarosano, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1994), pp. 5-13; Emily J. Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds in Early Fifteenth-Century France: Burgundian Propaganda in Perspective", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 3-30; Peter S. Lewis, "War, Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 15 (1965), pp. 9-21; Craig Taylor, "War, Propaganda and Diplomacy in Fifteenth-Century France and England" in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 70-9. See also James Doig, "Political Propaganda and Royal Proclamations in Late Medieval England", *Historical Research*, Vol. 71, No. 3 (1998), pp. 253-9, 270-5.

⁶ Konrad Kellen, "Introduction" in Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes*, ed. & trans. Konrad Kellen & Jacques Lerner, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1973), xi; Charles Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), 23; Michèle Fogel, "Propagande, communication, publication: points de vue de demande d'enquête pour la France des XVI^e-XVII^e siècles" in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15-17 octobre 1984)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1985), pp. 326-8.

⁷ Jacques Ellul, *Propaganda*, pp. 70-9.

promoting a distinction between the content of speech or text (illocution) and the intention of its communicator, with the result that Scott-Morgan Straker has argued that medieval propagandists had to be simultaneously constative and performative, obscuring the “gap between motive and intention”.⁸ More recently, Vian Bakir and his colleagues have presented a model of propaganda’s operation, described as non-consensual Organised Persuasive Communication (OPC) that comprises “deception, incentivisation and coercion” through which powerful actors influence behaviour.⁹ Their approach supports an important conceptual leap, from considering propaganda as straightforwardly symbolic communication, in a Bourdieuan sense, to recognising that propaganda involves *concrete* action incorporating symbolic elements.¹⁰ As such, propaganda is never simply the discursive, but a tangible practice involving the communication of ideas, their media of expression, the spaces in which they take place and overarching systems of persuasion.¹¹ Medieval studies of propaganda and official communication have nevertheless focused upon an ambiguous distinction between ‘positive’ and ‘negative’ forms.¹² The approach

⁸ Scott-Morgan Straker, “Propaganda, Intentionality and Lancastrian Lydgate” in *John Lydgate: Poetry, Culture and Lancastrian England*, ed. Larry Scanlon & James Simpson (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006), pp. 101-4; Quentin Skinner, *Vision of Politics. Vol. 1, Regarding Method*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 104-20

⁹ V. Bakir, E. Herring, D. Miller & P. Robinson, “Organised persuasive communication: A new conceptual framework for research on public relations, propaganda and promotional culture”, *Critical Sociology*, Vol. 45, No. 3 (May 2018), 2; Piers Robinson, “Media Empowerment vs. Strategies of Control: Theorising News, Media and War in the 21st Century”, *Zeitschrift für Politik*, Vol. 61, No. 4 (December 2014), pp. 474-9.

¹⁰ That is, beyond Bourdieu’s conclusion that linguistically “symbolic systems” represented “instruments of knowledge which exert a structuring power” and establish political order. Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), pp. 37-48.

¹¹ David Miller, “Sociology, Propaganda and Psychological Operations” in *Stretching the Sociological Imagination: Essays in Honour of John Eldridge*, ed. M. Dawson, B. Fowler, D. Miller & A. Smith, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 184.

¹² Charles Connell, *Popular Opinion*, 25; Simon Walker, “Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest in the Reign of Henry IV”, *Past & Present*, Vol. 166, No. 1 (February 2000), pp. 53-4; Antonia Gransden, “Propaganda in English Medieval Historiography”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 1, No. 4 (1975), pp. 363-81.

reveals a conceptual overreliance upon a white-black dichotomy that distinguishes examples where the original source of information is concealed (black) from those where the source is evident (white), with the latter often perceived as being 'accurate' or 'truthful' compared to the former, leaving no theoretical space for "half-truths or omissions".¹³ Their difference inherently stems from the disseminator's (and recipients') decision to acknowledge the informational source.¹⁴ An apparent factional basis is required for successful propagandistic persuasion, meaning that it often appeals to an established, rationalised framework designed to elicit emotional responses.¹⁵ Credibility could only be sustained through an audience's recognition that the presented information conformed to and sustained an existing logic.

Sophia Menache argued that medieval urban centres represented "the most fruitful arena for legitimizing a new order which encouraged the use of propaganda and the manipulation of popular opinion in a modern sense, though by more primitive means".¹⁶ Each of the modes of non-consensual OPC delineated by Bakir were certainly commonplace in fifteenth-century France, including deception, distortion, misdirection and incentivisation or coercion.¹⁷ However, it is also vital to recognise that the Bourgeois *himself* was invested in the dissemination of information within the public sphere to deliberately alter his audience's

¹³ Garth Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Seventh Edition, (Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, 2018), 18; John Mearsheimer, *Why Leaders Lie: The Truth About Lying in International Politics*, (London: Duckworth, 2011), 80; Bertrand Taithe & Tim Thornton, "Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion?" in *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300-2000*, ed. Bertrand Taithe & Tim Thornton (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), 2.

¹⁴ V. Bakir et. al. "Organised persuasive communication", 7.

¹⁵ Peter A. Foulkes, *Literature and Propaganda*, (London: Methuen, 1983), pp. 10-11.

¹⁶ Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei*, 7.

¹⁷ This is well demonstrated by Emily Hutchison's study of Burgundian propaganda. "*Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume*": Burgundian Propaganda under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 1405-1419", PhD Thesis, University of York, June 2006.

views – selecting, interpreting, transmitting or omitting the propaganda he encountered. It is important to nuance that for every instance where the Bourgeois refuted ‘official’ discourse through recourse to public opinion, there were occasions where he willingly transmitted tenuous information coinciding with his audience’s expectations.

Testifying to the influence of propaganda and its manipulation by those who received these messages, the *Journal* presents Parisians as constantly striving to evaluate the authority and veracity of political messages through a comparison with their own beliefs, often recognising a disconnect between official discourse and their own horizon of expectations. Instances of perceived propaganda were portrayed by the Bourgeois as being openly decried and rejected by Parisians, with rumours frequently being privileged as alternatives to official narratives. When the Bourgeois revealed these acts of resistance, it was often to question the political legitimacy of those institutions, factions or individuals responsible for disseminating the messages.¹⁸ The Bourgeois himself could be invested in the repetition of propaganda either to deliberately alter his audience’s views or, alternatively, because this propaganda concurred with the community’s and his own horizon of expectations. Propaganda could, therefore, be accepted, questioned, rejected and, indeed, unrecognised, but together these elements complicate a long-held view that the Bourgeois

¹⁸ On the links between rumour and resistance see Christopher Fletcher, “News, Noise and the Nature of Politics in Late Medieval English Provincial Towns”, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 56 (April 2017), pp. 261-6; “Rumour, Clamour, mumur and rebellion: Public opinion and its uses before and after the Peasants’ Revolt (1381)” in *La Comunidad medieval como esfera publica*, ed. Maria Antonia Carmona Ruiz, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn, Hípolito Rafael Oliva Herrer, (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 2014), pp. 199-208; Jan Dumolyn, “Les ‘plaintes’ des villes flamandes à la fin du XIII^e siècle et les discours et pratiques politiques de la commune”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 121, No. 2 (2015), pp. 404-5; Simon Walker, “Rumour, Sedition and Popular Protest”, pp. 35-9.

simply repeated propaganda that suited his narrative without considering its own impact, source and purpose.¹⁹

As Veronika Novák and Emily Hutchison have shown, official communication and the authority upon which its acceptance relied were bound to understandings of public space used in a formalised manner by officials.²⁰ The *Journal* evidences how public spaces were multiform, encapsulating heterogeneous functions and emerging as rather more porous than authorities may have wished.²¹ While assemblies in public spaces such as marketplaces maximised the public reception of official messages, they also substantially increased the dangers of dissent and subversive behaviour.²² As such, the *Journal* indicates the extent to which public spaces were perceived as areas of contest and negotiation, rather than simply forums for the unilateral communication of political information.²³

Finally, emotional displays perform an inherently communicative function and their deployment actively altered the meaning of socio-political interaction in medieval society.²⁴

¹⁹ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 16; Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique à la fin du Moyen Âge d'après la 'Chronique de Charles VI' du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, (Paris: Perrin 2002), pp. 11-12.

²⁰ Veronika Novák, "Places of Power", 52; Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place: Space, Violence and Legitimacy in Early Fifteenth-Century Paris", *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2017), pp. 43-5, 49-54, 60-74.

²¹ Carol Symes, "Out in the Open in Arras: Sightlines, Soundscapes and the Shaping of a Medieval Public Sphere" in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500: Experiences and Perceptions of Medieval Urban Space*, ed. Caroline Goodson, Anne Elisabeth Lester & Carol Symes, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 279-81.

²² Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place", pp. 50-1; James Masschaele, "The Public Space of the Marketplace in Medieval England", *Speculum*, Vol. 77, No. 2 (April 2002), pp. 390-1; Carol Symes, "Out in the Open, in Arras", pp. 279-85.

²³ Jelle Haemers, "Social Memory and Rebellion in Fifteenth-Century Ghent", *Social History*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (2011), 448; Marc Boone, "Urban space and political conflict in late medieval Flanders", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (2002), 640; Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies: Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*, (Turnhout : Brepols, 2004), 235-9.

²⁴ A plethora of recent medieval studies have recognised the importance of emotions. Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy, "L'historien et les émotions en politique: entre science et citoyenneté" in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet et Piroska Nagy, (Florence: Edizioni del

For modern Britain, Barry Richards has stressed the growing importance of emotional rhetoric used by political leaders and news media, juxtaposed with a receptive public that evokes the Bourgeois' dichotomous focus upon the aristocratic and the popular. Reacting to the rationalist perspective of the Habermasian public sphere, Richards argues that an *emotional* public sphere exists, resulting from "a highly complex field of emotional forces" integral to determining political choice, opinion and participation.²⁵ Fundamentally, these reactions in modern communication theory acknowledge the fundamental role emotions perform in news, communication and the establishment of the public sphere and analyse emotional rhetoric "as part and parcel of individuals' rational actions in public space".²⁶ The approach is indicative of a wider anachronistic belief that the public has become "increasingly emotionalised" in recent decades, with the *Journal* demonstrating the flaws in assuming that public emotional expression has only become significant in modern times.²⁷ Rather, the Bourgeois' writing evinces the centrality of emotion to political interaction in fifteenth-century Paris, with emotional rhetoric often escaping official control and

Galluzzo, 2010), pp. 21-6; Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la paix au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007), pp. 192-208; "L'histoire politique' de la fin du Moyen Âge: Quelques discussions" in *Être historien du Moyen Âge au XXI^e siècle*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2008), pp. 182-3; Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies*, pp. 50-55; Emily Hutchison, "Passionate Politics: Emotions and Identity Formation Among the *Menu Peuple* in the Early Fifteenth-Century France" in *Affective and Emotional Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreea Marculescu & Charles-Louis Morand Métivier, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 19-38; Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges, c. 1300-1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 236. See also the collected essays in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th century): Les émotions au cœur de la ville (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005).

²⁵ Barry Richards, *Emotional Governance: Politics, Media and Terror*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), pp. 57-8; Thomas McCarthy, "Practical Discourse: On the Relation of Morality to Politics" in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun, (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1992), 57.

²⁶ Omar V. Rosas & Javier Serrano-Puche, "News Media and the Emotional Public Sphere, Introduction", *International Journal of Communication*, Vol. 12 (2018), pp. 2033-5.

²⁷ See, for instance, Corinne Squire, "The Public Life of Emotions", *International Journal of Critical Psychology*, Vol. 1, No 1 (2001), pp. 27-38; Erica Burman, "Beyond 'Emotional Literacy' in Feminist and Educational Research", *British Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (February 2009), pp. 137-40.

appropriated to buttress a moralised critique of authority. Reciprocally, public feeling was managed and channelled in an Eliasian sense to determine political legitimacy and contest authority.²⁸ The social and communicative dynamic to emotional rhetoric was crucial in this setting: conformity to the norms of behaviour facilitated collective social action against identified outsiders whose emotional isolation vindicated a collectively negative moral judgement, with descriptions of emotion inherently predicated upon the “political economies in which they arise”.²⁹ By using an evaluative system of emotion throughout his writing to nuance political commentary, rationalise events and map authority, the Bourgeois asserted his own agency in condemning the wrongs of aristocratic action and evaluated the nobility according to his understanding of an emotionally-inspired divine justice.³⁰ It is therefore through his deployment of emotion and rhetoric that the Bourgeois developed a nuanced ‘hidden transcript’ with the potential to challenge official narratives and aristocratic or civic authority through a moral framework.

This chapter will demonstrate the multifarious rhetorical and narrative strategies available to the Bourgeois in his consideration of official communication related to Parisian

²⁸ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process: Sociogenetic and Psychogenetic Investigations*, Revised Edition, trans. Edmund Jephcott, ed. Eric Dunning, Johan Goudsblom & Stephen Mennell, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2000), pp. 367-78; Robert Van Krieken, “Norbert Elias and Emotions in History” in *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, ed. David Lemmings & Ann Brooks, (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 19-30; Arlie Russell Hochschild, “Emotion Work, Feeling Rules and Social Structure”, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 85, No. 3 (November 1979), pp. 566-70.

²⁹ Catherine A. Lutz & Lila Abu-Lughod, *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 13.

³⁰ Ian Forrest has assessed the clerical mechanisms underpinning the ties between emotion, trust and power in late medieval society. *Trustworthy Men: How Inequality and Faith Made the Medieval Church*, (Princeton University Press, 2018), pp. 63-88. On the normative work of emotion see Jeroen Deploige, “Studying Emotions: The Medievalist as Human Scientist?” in *Emotions in the Heart of the City (14th-16th century): Les émotions au cœur de la ville (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 12-22; Peter Stearns & Carol Stearns, “Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 90, No. 4 (October 1985), pp. 813-14.

civic, royal and ecclesiastical institutions. Through the juxtaposition of official and popular spheres of communication and reaction that the Bourgeois deliberately structured through his writing, the author arrogated an important authority in the determination of the news, propaganda and reactions that he chose to privilege for his audience. Consequently, this chapter sheds light on the importance of propaganda, space and emotion in the interplay between institutional communication and popular response in a late medieval city.

Official Media of Political Communication

The Bourgeois consistently identified several means through which he accrued the information that supplemented his narrative. These media framed a constant dialogue between official messages and Parisian responses. As Jan Bloemendal and Arjan Van Dixhoorn have argued, in the fifteenth century “the public provision of news and the formation of public opinion were collective projects to which many individuals contributed”.³¹ Beyond official channels of communication, the *Journal* evidences the “informal web of individual conversations... perpetual guesswork and deductions based on available facts, personal experiences and frameworks of interpretation” necessary for the development of coherent narratives.³² Examining communication in fifteenth-century Paris, Veronika Novák has defined official information as “tout message distribué dans la société, dont les émetteurs explicites sont des institutions ou des autorités qui s’expriment comme

³¹ Jan Bloemendal & Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Low Countries” in *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650*, ed. Jan Bloemendal & Arjan van Dixhoorn, (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 26.

³² *Ibid.*, 26.

telles".³³ Focusing upon the cry, written media and rituals, to which can be added public executions and religious sermons, Novák has followed Claude Gauvard and Colette Beaune in arguing that rumours and subversive opinions proliferate in relation to the availability of news.³⁴ More important is the recognition that the record of information was dependent upon the source's and media's ability to persuade its audience of the message's validity.³⁵ The Bourgeois appropriated these messages and incorporated them into his narrative, rarely acknowledging the real circumstances of their diffusion, reception or the author's interaction with the source. As such, once in the public sphere, officially disseminated messages quickly escaped the control of authorities. The following exploration of the Bourgeois' interaction with the official channels of communication in fifteenth-century Paris are incredibly revealing of the author's own goals and intent, his consideration of the trustworthiness of such sources and the value they presented for himself and his audience.

³³ Veronika Novák, "La source du savoir", 151.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 151-163; Claude Gauvard, "La Fama: une parole fondatrice", *Médiévales*, Vol. 24 (1993), pp. 5-9; "Introduction" in *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge: Actes du colloque international tenu à l'Université de Québec à Montréal et à l'Université d'Ottawa (9-11 mai 2002)*, ed. Claire Boudreau, Kouky Fianu, Claude Gauvard et Michel Hébert, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 17-23; "Rumeur et gens de guerre dans le royaume de France au milieu du XV^e siècle", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), pp. 287-9; Colette Beaune, "La rumeur dans le Journal du Bourgeois de Paris" in *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Âge: XXIV^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Avignon, Juin 1993*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994), pp. 191-6. See also Séverine Fargette, "Rumeurs, propaganda et opinion publique au temps de la guerre civile (1407-1420)", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 113, No. 2 (2007), pp. 311-13.

³⁵ Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, pp. 31-40; William E. Connolly, "The Politics of Discourse" in *Language and Politics*, ed. Michael Shapiro (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), 147. This approach to communication and propaganda is stressed in Bertrand Taithe & Tim Thornton, "Propaganda: A Misnomer", 3.

Civic Channels: Town Criers and Celebrations

The town cry was an essential channel of medieval urban communication.³⁶ In Paris, the municipality assumed responsibility for the diffusion of messages arriving at the Hôtel de Ville through criers assured by the city's neighbourhood officials, the *quarteniers*.³⁷ The Bourgeois referred to this medium through a passive construct, "fut crié" or "faire crier", eight-two times, or in almost 10% of the *Journal's* entries. Cries typically pertained to four broad categories, namely the pronouncement of peace, information relating to currencies, interdictions or defensive policies and, finally, orders concerning the price and availability of supplies.³⁸ Their prevalence in the *Journal* underscored the Bourgeois' concern for civic government, with the period of Armagnac dominance between 1413 and 1418 portrayed predominantly through the relation of civic ordinances. The *Journal's* criers were anonymous and the Bourgeois never distinguished between the kinds of cry he heard, though food prices, currency fluctuations and security would have been the responsibility of different officials, such as the 'crieur du vin' or the official 'crieur public'.³⁹ Throughout the *Journal*,

³⁶ Numerous studies have been undertaken concerning the cry as a communication channel. For France these include Nicolas Offenstadt, "Les crieurs publics à la fin du Moyen Âge: Enjeux d'une recherche" in *Information et société en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Claire Boudreau, Kouky Fianu, Claude Gauvard et Michel Hébert, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 203-217; Didier Lett & Nicolas Offenstadt, "Les pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge" in *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, ed. Didier Lett & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 10-27; Xavier Nadrigny, *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2013), pp. 239-68; Carol Symes, "Out in the open in Arras", pp. 288-90.

³⁷ Veronika Novák, "La source du savoir", 155; Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Enseignes, cris, textes. Les pratiques publicitaires au Moyen Âge", *Le Temps des Médias*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2004), pp. 11-14; Philippe Ménard, "Un reflet de la vie quotidienne: le dit des Crieries de Paris" in *'Plait vos oïr bone cançon vallant?': Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à François Suard*, Vol. 2, ed. Dominique Boutet, Marie-Madeleine Castellani, Françoise Ferrand & Aimé Petit, (Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle, Lille 3, 1999), pp. 607-615.

³⁸ Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "Enseignes, cris, textes", pp. 11-12; Claude Gauvard, "Introduction" in *Information et société*, 21.

³⁹ Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "À cor et à cri: La communication marchande dans la ville médiévale", *Communications*, Vol. 90 (2012), pp. 23-31; Yvonne-Hélène le Maresquier-Kesteloot, *Les officiers*

proclamations implicitly represented an instance of official communication by Paris' royal or civic governors, with the result that the Bourgeois' selectivity regarding their report exhibited his own narrative authority. Through writing, the Bourgeois was integrated into this process of diffusion. For instance, reporting a cry concerning the value of rents proclaimed in August 1428, he encouraged his audience to seek further details, "lesquelles on peut savoir ou Chastellet, qui veult".⁴⁰ Through the present tense the *Journal* itself functioned as an immediate channel for the dissemination of official ordinances. This authority was underscored by the cry's omnipresence. A quarter of the *Journal's* references to ordinances stressed their proclamation "parmy Paris", demonstrating their universal pertinence. Trumpets and minstrels communicated the announcements of peace, sometimes at odds with Parisian reactions.⁴¹ In September 1418, the Bourgeois ruefully related the proclamation of the Treaty of Saint-Maur, "qui que en fust courcé ou joyeulx, et fut criée parmy Paris a iiii trompes et a six menestriers".⁴² Moreover, if "la publication est un rouage important des mécanismes du pouvoir, un lien politique entre gouvernants et gouverné", it is significant that the Bourgeois never described Lancastrian edicts as being proclaimed "a son de trompe", suggesting that their description and recognition was inherently tied to notions of authority and, here, a refusal to acknowledge Lancastrian legitimacy.⁴³

municipaux de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle, (Paris: Commission des travaux historiques de la ville de Paris, 1997), pp. 64-66.

⁴⁰ Which can be known at the Châtelet, should anyone wish it. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 112v.

⁴¹ Nicolas Offenstadt, "Les crieurs publics à la fin du Moyen Âge", pp. 205-10; Didier Lett & Nicolas Offenstadt, "Les pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge", pp. 21-4.

⁴² Whoever was angered or joyful, and was cried at Paris with four trumpets and six minstrels. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 54v.

⁴³ Didier Lett & Nicolas Offenstadt, "Les pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge", 32. See also Sébastien Hamel, "De la voie accusatoire à la voie législative: Contrôle et utilisation du cri à Saint-Quentin aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)", *Haro! Noël! Oyé! Pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*, ed. Didier Lett & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 156-60.

The reference to the Châtelet reveals an awareness of a written counterpart that the Bourgeois referred to and even accessed to supplement his record, such as when “lettres” were published informing Parisians of Antipope Felix V’s abdication in 1449.⁴⁴ With the exception of the Treaty of Troyes, these documents were not transcribed in the *Journal*.⁴⁵ The Bourgeois’ use of official material therefore contrasts with the methodologies of other fifteenth-century Parisian journals that referred their audiences explicitly to an independent text. When Jean Maupoint, for example, related currency changes in 1444, he quoted the signature of the royal edict to authenticate his source; that same year, he informed his audience that he had “la copie céans” of an order reinstating the Lendit fair, or “le double du traicté” concluded at Tours.⁴⁶ Likewise, the anonymous journal fragment for 1412-1413 contained a copy of the truce concluded at Bourges on 12th July 1412.⁴⁷ Transcription was also employed by authors connected to court circles, such as Monstrelet, Michel Pintoin and the so-called *Chronique des Cordeliers*.⁴⁸ In contrast, the Bourgeois reduced his sources to an interpretative gloss that obfuscated their textual origin, suggesting that the *Journal* was designed to *supplement* official channels, synthesising news and its reception.

Civic celebrations were also crucial to the publicizing of political developments, exhibiting official strategies to encourage support. Their public nature also resulted in their

⁴⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 186r.

⁴⁵ The Treaty of Troyes appears in the Vatican manuscript, *Ibid.*, fols. 66v-72v.

⁴⁶ Jean Maupoint, “Journal parisien de Jean Maupoint, prieur de Sainte-Catherine-de-la-Couture (1437-1469)”, ed. G. Fagniez in *Mémoires de la Société de l’histoire de Paris et de l’Ile-de-France*, vol. IV (1877), pp. 30-32.

⁴⁷ Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), fols. 110v-111r.

⁴⁸ There are numerous examples of transcribed letters, documents and treaties in these chronicles. Monstrelet and the Pintoin’s continuator also included copies of the Treaty of Troyes in their accounts. Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 390-402; RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 408-31. While the so-called “Cordelier” summarised the Treaty of Troyes, he included numerous other letters and ordinances. Paris, BNF Fr. 23018, fols. 487v-489r; 489v-492v; 509v-511r.

emergence as a forum for wider participation in political discourse, framing criticism and moral reflection. When Paris' Lancastrian governors marked the English victory at Cravant (31st July 1423) through bonfires and dances, the Bourgeois lamented that "mieulx on deust avoir plouré; car, comme on disoit, que iij^m ou plus furent mors des Arminax".⁴⁹ Instead of perceiving the English victory as God-given, accounts of the violence provoked the Bourgeois to reflect upon the moral dangers posed by continued Christian infighting, juxtaposing the Parisian celebrations with conflict's brutality. The Bourgeois supplemented his reflections with the *exemplum* of Calchas, the Argive seer who (according to the Bourgeois) was deceived by the Devil and defected from Troy to assist the Greeks.⁵⁰ As such, the celebrations provoked within the *Journal* a thinly-veiled criticism of the political *status quo* following Charles VI's demise and the assertion of Lancastrian rule in 1422. Implying Paris' status as Troy's historical successor through the *translatio imperii*, the Bourgeois developed an analogy between the Parisians who celebrated Lancastrian victories and Calchas, persuaded by the Devil to side with their ancient enemies.⁵¹ Emulating Calchas' defection, the Parisians risked damnation due to their complicity in Christian infighting.

⁴⁹ It would have been better to cry because, as it was said, three thousand Armagnacs or more had been killed. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 93r. For the Bourgeois' reaction to Cravant, see below, Appendix II, No. 8.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 93v.

⁵¹ On the concept in France see Dominique Boutet, *Histoire de la littérature française du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Champion, 2003), 42; Frédéric Duval, "Quels passés pour quel Moyen Âge?" in *Translations médiévales: Cinq siècles de traductions en français au Moyen Âge (XI^e-XV^e siècles)*, Vol. 1, ed. Claudio Galderisi, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), pp. 47-60; Jacques Le Goff, *Medieval Civilization*, trans. Julia Barrow, (Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1988), 171; Boris Bove, "Aux origines du complexe de supériorité des parisiens: les louanges de Paris au Moyen Âge" in *Être Parisien*, ed. Claude Gauvard & Jean-Louis Robert, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 425-6. For its popularity in contemporary French literature, see Lorna Jane Abrey, "Imagining the Masculine: Christine de Pizan's Hector, Prince of Troy" in *Fantasies of Troy: Classical Tales and the Social Imaginary in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Alan Shephard & Stephen D. Powell, (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), pp. 135-7; Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiévale*, (Paris: Aubier, 1991), pp. 315-19.

Through this interpretation, the Bourgeois neutralised the impact of Lancastrian propaganda and presented Parisian support as morally compromising through reference to the “anti-English function of the Trojan myth”, excluding the Lancastrian conquerors from his understanding of the Christian community and countering their claims to a divine mandate.⁵² Moreover, the Bourgeois’ account tempered the real extent of Lancastrian influence over the religious ceremonies marking the victory by deliberately omitting any reference to the Parisian processions described by Clément de Fauquembergue and thereby disguising the religious ties that bound the capital to the Lancastrian administration.⁵³

Evidently, celebrations marking military and political developments functioned as a litmus test for popular feeling.⁵⁴ They elicited reactions ranging from begrudging compliance to outright refusal to participate. For instance, the Bourgeois emphasised Parisian scepticism in reaction to celebrations marking Henry VI’s arrival in Calais on 23rd April 1430.⁵⁵ Although “certaines nouvelles” had reached the city, the Bourgeois noted a Parisian refusal to believe the news, again omitting the religious processions to celebrate the event.⁵⁶ The omission was indicative of Parisian attitudes towards the Lancastrian regime and a desire to minimise the city’s ties to the Dual Monarchy. The Bourgeois presented the

⁵² Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette, (Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 233; “L’utilisation politique du mythe des origines troyennes en France à la fin du Moyen Âge” in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile. Actes du colloque de Rome (25-28 octobre 1982)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1985), pp. 341-2. This inversion was a constant preoccupation of fifteenth-century French polemicists. Craig Taylor, “Sir John Fortescue and the French Polemical Treatises of the Hundred Years War”, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 114, No. 455 (February 1999), 125; Peter S. Lewis, “War Propaganda and Historiography”, pp. 8-9.

⁵³ Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 105-6. For an assessment of the processions omitted by the Bourgeois see below, Chapter V.

⁵⁴ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 196-7.

⁵⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 123v-124r.

⁵⁶ Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 338-9; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris 1405-1449, d’après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881), 256, n. 1.

celebrations as vain in light of recent Armagnac successes: “le peuple s’esbahissoit de ce que les Arminaux avoient partout le meilleur... Si estoit le monde aussi comme au desespoir de ce que... les gouverneurs leur faisoient entendant que brief ilz auroient secours”.⁵⁷

Lancastrian official discourse was effectively challenged by disbelief in the announcement, “dont il n’estoit rien”, with this cynicism resurfacing again in response to Lancastrian celebrations in June, when the Bourgeois contradicted the official announcements by arguing that “n’estoit encore aucune nouvelle du roy Henry d’Angleterre qu’il fut point passé la mer”.⁵⁸ The refusal to accept the news disseminated by Paris’ governors underscored an increasingly profound distrust of official communication and, in turn, evidences an ability to discern propaganda designed to assuage popular anxieties.

Resistance to official communication was also expressed through the refusal to participate in celebrations. Just as celebrations tied the city to the outcome of military events, refusal to participate implied condemnation of royal policy. Following extensive taxation that had drawn significant criticism, the news that the Valois had captured Montereau-fault-Yonne in October 1437 and permitted the English garrison to leave freely provoked widespread Parisian condemnation, expressed through a refusal to perform celebrations to mark Charles VII’s victory: “ceulx de Paris s’en tindrent bien mal comptents, et ne firent point pour la prinse du chastel ne joie, ne feuz allumerent... et tout ce fut delaissé par ce que on avoit delivré les Anglois”.⁵⁹ The refusal to perform celebrations immediately prior to

⁵⁷ The people were astonished, because the Armagnacs had the upper hand everywhere... So was the world in such despair that... the governors made out that soon they would have aid. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 123v-124r.

⁵⁸ There was still no news of the king Henry of England’s crossing the sea. Ibid., fol. 125r.

⁵⁹ The people of Paris were very displeased, and for the capture of the castle did not organise celebrations or light fires... all of this was abandoned because the English had been allowed to go free. Ibid., fol. 161r. Cf. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, pp. 294-5.

Charles VII's first Parisian entry significantly articulated Parisians' ability to critique royal policy upon the reassertion of Valois authority.⁶⁰ Complaints regarding taxation inherently tested the boundaries of royal power and the viability of Valois military campaigns. Moreover, the Bourgeois stressed how this refusal represented the only medium for complaint, when Parisians "de nulle rien ilz n'osoient parler qui touchast le bien publicque, car ilz avoient tant d'oppressions, tant des tailles".⁶¹ Fundamentally, the leniency shown towards the English called into question the appropriate use of taxed funds for the *bien public*, with Parisians challenging Charles' legitimacy immediately prior to his entry, underscoring ceremony's function as a medium for dialogue between ruler and ruled.⁶²

Celebrations' function as a forum for negotiation is further demonstrated by the Bourgeois' record of the Parisian response to Charles VI's return to Paris on 13th October 1414, during the Armagnac governance of the capital. Once the king had entered the city, the Bourgeois described an explosion of unsolicited popular celebration: "soudainement, environ huit heures de nuyt, commencerent les bonnes gens de Paris *sans commandement* a faire feus et a baciner le plus grandement que on eust veu passé C ans devant".⁶³ The festivities contrasted with the Bourgeois' description of the Parisian celebrations for the Armagnac conquest of Soissons several passages previously, attended solely by committed

⁶⁰ Jean Chartier, *Chronique de Charles VII, roi de France*, ed. Vallet de Viriville, Vol. 1, (Paris: Jannet, 1858), pp. 237-8.

⁶¹ Did not dare to speak about anything concerning the common good, because they experienced so much oppression, [including] through taxes. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 161r.

⁶² David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community in Late Medieval London: The Common Profit, Charity and Commemoration*, (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2019), 71; Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies*, 6.

⁶³ Suddenly, around the eighth hour at night, the good people of Paris began, *without command*, to light fires and drumming more greatly than had been seen in a hundred years previously. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 33v-34r.

“bandez et bandées”.⁶⁴ As Stephen Milesen has argued, “creating and controlling noise was a significant expression of social authority... people sometimes actively resisted by making noise”.⁶⁵ This ‘rough music’ proved an effective means of revealing the limits of Armagnac authority, signalling the Parisians’ disruptive potential.⁶⁶ The unofficial celebrations exhibited their independent organisation, seizing the opportunity to communicate support for the king as an *alternative* to Armagnac rule. The seditious character of these celebrations is implied by their timing, at night, their lack of official organisation and the Parisians’ ability to occupy the city’s space with “les tables en my les rues drecées a tous venans”.⁶⁷ That these celebrations presented a medium for potentially subversive discourse is retrospectively demonstrated by Armagnac ordinances forbidding unsupervised celebratory gatherings in May 1416.⁶⁸ In short, these celebrations were described in detail by the Bourgeois to demonstrate continued popular agency despite Armagnac repression and the enduring ties that bound the Parisians to their king.

⁶⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 32r.

⁶⁵ Stephen Milesen, “Sound and Landscape”, *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, ed. Christopher Gerrard and Alejandra Gutiérrez, (Oxford: OUP, 2018), 714. Niall Atkinson has similarly demonstrated the importance of bells to coordinate the Ciompi revolt in fourteenth-century Florence, “The Republic of Sound: Listening to Florence at the Threshold of the Renaissance”, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance*, Vol. 16, No. 1/2 (September 2013), pp. 77-82

⁶⁶ Andy Wood, “Collective Violence, Social Drama and Rituals of Rebellion in Late Medieval and Early Modern England” in *Cultures of Violence: Interpersonal Violence in Historical Perspective*, ed. Stuart Carroll, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 99; Michael Sizer, “Murmur, Clamor ad Tumult: The Soundscape of Revolt and Oral Culture in the Middle Ages”, *Radical History Review*, No. 121 (January 2015), pp. 9-10, 20. On rough music see also Frederick Jonassen, “Rough Music in Chaucer’s *Merchant’s Tale*” in *Chaucer’s Humor: Critical Essays*, ed. J.E Jost E.P. Thompson, (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 229-58; Nancy Freeman Regalado, “Allegories of Power. The Tournaments of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (BN MS Fr. 146)”, *Gesta*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (1993), pp. 135-40.

⁶⁷ Tables erected in the middle of the streets for all comers. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 34r.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 38r; Léon Mirot, “Le procès du Boiteux d’Orgemont. Épisode des troubles parisiens pendant la lutte des Armagnacs et des Bourguignons (Suite et fin). Quatrième partie: La vie politique et le procès du Boiteux d’Orgemont”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 25 (1912), pp. 387-93. Similar ordinances had already been issued in the king’s name in 1408. See *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 9, pp. 293-4, 311.

Public Executions and Sentences

Besides cries and celebrations, public executions were an essential source of news for the Bourgeois, with profoundly propagandistic overtones appealing to common understandings of justice being situated within a true/false dichotomy.⁶⁹ With the sentence read in the presence of those convicted, the Bourgeois rarely questioned the validity of those executions he chose to report and these often served as a conduit for further rumours.⁷⁰ The violent “spectacular language of punishment” was integral to the effectiveness of this communication, while their exemplarity was underscored by their rarity.⁷¹ Robert Mills has argued that observers, including the Bourgeois, focused upon the “exceptional torments meted out to traitors, not the penalties administered to the vast majority of offenders”, distorting impressions of fifteenth-century justice.⁷² While true, these interpretations fail to explain precisely why these sentences occupied the Bourgeois’ attention and how they facilitated ideological communication. Indeed, the graphic descriptions of ritualised violence that occurred at executions were integral to the symbolic discourse surrounding the

⁶⁹ Esther Cohen, “Symbols of Culpability and the Universal Language of Justice: The Ritual of Public Executions in Late Medieval Europe”, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 11 (1989), 407, 410; Nicole Gonthier, *Cris de haine et rites d’unité: La violence dans les villes, XIII^{ème}-XVI^{ème} siècle*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 185-7; Claude Gauvard, *Condamner à mort au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2018), pp. 107-116; ‘De grace especial’: *Crime, état et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1991), pp. 896-904.

⁷⁰ Colette Beaune, “La rumeur dans le Journal”, 195.

⁷¹ Claude Gauvard, *Violence et ordre public au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Picard, 2005), pp. 53-60; Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering: Executions and the Evolution of Repression, from a Preindustrial Metropolis to the European Experience*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 43-5, 54-60.

⁷² Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation: Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture*, (London: Reaktion, 2005), pp. 15-16; Peter Schuster, “Le rituel de la peine capitale dans les villes allemandes à la fin du Moyen Âge Ruptures et continuités”, in *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l’Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed Jacques Chiffolleau, Claude Gauvard & Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Publications de l’École française de Rome, 2007), pp. 689-93.

“trionphe de la loi”.⁷³ The Bourgeois interpreted executions in moral and political terms, bringing to the fore of his narrative crowd expectations, political stereotypes and rumours, and such reactions challenge assumptions that medieval people were uncritical when faced with exemplary punishment.⁷⁴

The importance attributed to appearance as a medium of political communication is clearly demonstrated by two examples: the execution of the Burgundian captain Colinet de Puisieux in November 1411 and the sentencing of the Notre-Dame canon Nicolas d’Orgemont in April 1416.⁷⁵ Charged with defending Saint-Cloud, Puisieux had endangered Paris by betrayed the fortress to the Armagnacs on 13th October 1411. Upon Jean sans Peur’s capture of the town on 9th November, Puisieux allegedly attempted to hide in the spire of Saint-Clodoald chapel, “vestu en habit d’un prestre”.⁷⁶ When Puisieux was executed for treason at the Halles three days later, he appeared “vestu comme il fut prins, comme ung prestre”, before being stripped naked, beheaded and quartered.⁷⁷ The Bourgeois’ emphasis upon Puisieux’s appearance functioned as an effective means of rendering palpable his cowardice and duplicitous attempt to evoke clerical status. Puisieux’s transformation from false cleric to nakedness ritualistically conveyed his societal worthlessness as a traitor, a process underscored by rumours of the extensive damage his betrayal had provoked: “on disoit tout certainement que ledit Colinet, par sa faulce et desloyaute traison, fist dommaige

⁷³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1995), pp. 34, 49-51; Claude Gauvard, “Justification and Theory of the Death Penalty at the *Parlement* of Paris in the late Middle Ages” in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 190.

⁷⁴ Claude Gauvard, “Rumeur et gens de guerre”, 282; Pieter Spierenburg, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, 12.

⁷⁵ Henrietta Benveniste, “Dead Body, Public Body: Notes on Death by Execution in the Middle Ages”, *Law and Critique*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1993), pp. 25-32. For a detailed examination of Nicolas d’Orgemont’s sentencing see Léon Mirot, “Le procès du Boiteux d’Orgemont.”, pp. 353-410.

⁷⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 17r-17v. Cf. Monstrelet, Vol. 2, pp. 192-3; RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 508-12.

⁷⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 18r. Cf. RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 566-8.

de plus de ij^M Lyons en France".⁷⁸ This symbolic use of clothing contrasts with Nicolas d'Orgemont's sentencing in 1416, following his participation in the conspiracy to betray Paris to Jean sans Peur.⁷⁹ Despite being a latecomer to the plot, Paris' Armagnac governors recognised the political value in the conviction of a high-profile Burgundian, elevating d'Orgemont to the status of ringleader.⁸⁰ This was conveyed through his place in the procession to the Halles scaffold, with d'Orgemont seated in a cart "vestu d'un grant mantel de violet et chapperon de mesmes", flanked by two accomplices seated upon donkeys, Robert de Belloy and Regnault Maillet.⁸¹ Although d'Orgemont escaped execution due to his clerical status, his procession to the scaffold dramatized Armagnac authority by symbolically inverting the conspirators' plan to capture the dukes of Berry and Anjou, shave their heads and have *them* processed through Paris.⁸²

Nevertheless, the Bourgeois' opposition to Armagnac rule resulted in the careful reconstruction of these events, demonstrating an ability to mediate and neutralise their propagandistic potential. By emphasising the good reputation of the accused, the Bourgeois implied a profound dissonance between Armagnac and Parisian conceptions of the civic community, more so given the notable omission of references to the similar imprisonment of Armagnac supporters during the Armagnac siege of Paris in 1411.⁸³ Where in 1416 Paris' Armagnac governors sought to demonstrate the conspirators' exclusion from the civic

⁷⁸ It was said with certainty that the said Colinet, through his false and disloyal treason, had caused more than 2,000 *lyons'* worth of damage in France. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 18r.

⁷⁹ Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 140; *Histoire de Charles VI*, 532.

⁸⁰ Léon Mirot, "Le procès du Boiteux d'Orgemont", pp. 364-9.

⁸¹ Dressed in a great purple cloak and hood of the same colour. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 37v-38r. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//166, No. 88; Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 250; Claude Gauvard, *Violence et ordre public*, pp. 67-8.

⁸² Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 140.

⁸³ RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 447-51.

community, the Bourgeois' recourse to *fama publica* asserted, in contrast, that those convicted were representative of this community.⁸⁴ As a corollary to this, the Bourgeois omitted the public declaration of d'Orgemont's crimes and a humiliating ceremony of destitution at the Bastille where, "present moult grant pueple, il a esté rez en estat de diacre".⁸⁵ Nicolas de Baye's record reveals that, in a move analogous to Puiseux's execution, public transitions in d'Orgemont's appearance evoked shifts in status paralleling judicial truth. Baye, a fellow canon involved in the conviction, implied that d'Orgemont's appearance in a violet cloak exhibited his worldly pride, having been "l'un des plus riches clers de France", with this corrected by his tonsuring.⁸⁶ The case also evoked a more profound contest regarding clerical status and involvement in political issues, especially as d'Orgemont's accomplices, Belloy and Maillet, also claimed a clerical status refused to them, with the Bourgeois describing the latter as "homme de honneur et estoit en ars".⁸⁷ Where the *Journal* had emphasised a symbolic depiction of Puiseux's pride in his assumption of clerical clothing, the Bourgeois avoided any such references when describing d'Orgemont's sentencing for a crime that he and his community tacitly endorsed.

The Bourgeois deliberately reconstructed the events to counterbalance these statements of Armagnac authority, omitting details such as the conspirators' plot to assassinate the dukes of Berry and Anjou and instead stating ambiguously that they had

⁸⁴ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 38r.

⁸⁵ Before a great crowd of people, he was shaved according to his status as a deacon. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 249.

⁸⁶ One of the richest clerics in France. Ibid.

⁸⁷ A man of honour and [master] of arts. Reg. Lat. 1923, 38r. Nicolas de Baye reported that Belloy and Maillet "se disoient clers", with the latter a "homme d'église et curé". Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 249.

planned “de prendre ceulx qui ainsi tenoient Paris en subgection”.⁸⁸ The Bourgeois inverted the conviction’s rhetoric, emphasising Armagnac oppression as opposed to Burgundian betrayal and stressing the moral qualities of those executed without referencing their confession. In contrast, the Ursins compiler recorded how Belloy “*confessa... qu’ilz avoient intention de tuer le roy de Sicile, le duc de Berry et ceux qu’on soupconnoit estre... du party du duc d’Orléans*”.⁸⁹ Baye insisted upon d’Orgemont’s sentence “*considérée la confession simplement, franchement et volontairement faicte*”.⁹⁰ The Bourgeois, however, described those executed as “*moult honnestes hommes et de moult bonne renommée*”.⁹¹ Securing the memory of these men who were representative of the wider Halles community, the Bourgeois also neutralised any notion of a popular endorsement of their conviction by omitting the crowd’s reaction to the executions, contrasting with the opinions shared upon Puisseux’s death.⁹² The omission again diverges from Baye’s account, which remarked that at d’Orgemont’s ecclesiastical sentencing “*les rues d’environ Nostre-Dame, et le parvis et grant partie de l’Eglise [estoient] toutes pleines du peuple*.”⁹³ Consequently, the example of d’Orgemont’s conviction underscores the power of the Bourgeois’ selectivity to restructure Parisian events and control the memory of his immediate community, pushing back against official communication and restructuring civic narratives.

⁸⁸ To capture those who held Paris in subjection. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 37v. Details of the plot are found in Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 140; *Chroniques de Perceval de Cagny*, ed. Henri Moranvillé, (Paris: Renouard, 1902), pp. 105-7; *Histoire de Charles VI*, 531.

⁸⁹ Confessed that they had intended to kill the king of Sicily [Louis II, duke of Anjou], the duke of Berry and those who they suspected to support the Orléanist party. *Histoire de Charles VI*, 532. Emphasis my own.

⁹⁰ Considering the confession that was simply, frankly and voluntarily given. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 249.

⁹¹ Very honest men and of very good reputation. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 38r.

⁹² On the status of those implicated in the 1416 plot see above, Chapter II.

⁹³ The streets around Notre-Dame, and the parvis and a great part of the cathedral were all filled with people. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, pp. 248-9.

Observers' reactions were integral to the Bourgeois' consideration of the messages communicated through executions.⁹⁴ As Margaret Owens has argued, spectators' horizons of expectations when witnessing executions were integral to their ritual-judicial character and their validation, though with a risk of inciting "counter-discourses".⁹⁵ The Bourgeois summoned popular responses either to reinforce the guilt of the convicted, as illustrated by Pierre des Essarts' execution in July 1413, or question the sentence's validity, as with Jeanne d'Arc in May 1431. The description of Essarts' death was characterised by a profound disconnect between the behaviour of the convicted and the assembled Parisians. The disconnect underscores how emotional elements performed an inherently communicative function determined by context and normative interpretations of appropriateness that were socially constructed; the Bourgeois deliberately emphasised inappropriate emotional responses as a fundamental demonstration of immoral character.⁹⁶ Upon the scaffold Essarts

...ne faisoit touzjours que rire comme il faisoit en sa grant majesté, dont le plus de gens le tenoient pour vray foul; car tous ceulx qui le veoient plouroient si piteusement que vous ne ouyestez oncques parler de plus grans pleurs pour mort de homme, et lui tout seul rioit, et estoit sa pencee que le commun le gardast de mourir. Mais il avoit en sa volenté, s'il eust plus vesqu, de trahir la ville... et de faire lui-mesmes tres grans et cruelles occisions, et piller et rober les bons habitans de la bonne ville de Paris qui tant

⁹⁴ On the establishment of a spectating community, see Marla Carlson's study based on the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*. "Painful Processions in Late Medieval Paris", *European Medieval Drama*, Vol. 6 (2003), pp. 65-81.

⁹⁵ Margaret E. Owens, *Stages of Dismemberment: The Fragmented Body in Late Medieval and Early Modern Drama*, (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), pp. 116-26. See also Seth Lerer, "'Representyd now in yower syght': The Culture of Spectatorship in Late-Fifteenth-Century England" in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, ed. Barbara Hanawalt & David Wallace, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), pp. 35-7.

⁹⁶ Gerd Althoff "Empörung, Tränen, Zerknirschung 'Emotionen' in der öffentlichen Kommunikation des Mittelalters", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, Vol. 30 (December 1996), 67; William Miller, *Humiliation and Other Essays on Honour, Social Discomfort, and Violence*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1993), pp. 103-4.

l'aymoient loyaulment... comme il apparroit qu'il avoit prins si grant orgueil en soy.⁹⁷

Essarts' emotional inconformity, demonstrated by his mad laughter juxtaposed with the commons' pious tears, exhibited the cupidity and pride that had characterised his 'majesty' and ultimately driven him to conspire against the Parisians who supported him. With the emotional comparison underscoring Essarts' immorality, the Bourgeois resituated the former *prévôt* beyond the boundaries of the Christian community and in opposition to the Parisian body politic, prepared to sacrifice the common good, "finalité de la vie politique", for personal gain as an embodiment of tyranny.⁹⁸ He was not alone in doing so. The anonymous author of the journal fragment for 1412-1413, a narrative that exhibits profound similarities with the *Journal*, likewise asserted that Essarts was beheaded "comme traître et desloyal a la coronne" but that, "nonobstant qu'il avoit bien deservy, le peuple le pleignoit moult et ot pitié de luy".⁹⁹ This moralisation was predicated upon an innate awareness of the 'feeling rules' or normative behaviour that should govern public executions, while underscoring the performative role accorded to the crowd in the legitimisation of violence.¹⁰⁰ Moreover, this distinction inherently justified the overarching Cabochien seizure of power while asserting widespread support for the reformist

⁹⁷ ...did nothing but laugh as he had done at the time of his greatest majesty, for which reason most people considered him to be truly mad. For all those that saw him wept so piteously that you have never heard speak of greater tears for a man's death. And he alone laughed, for he believed that the commons would save him from dying. But it was his intention, should he have lived, to betray the city and deliver it into the hands of its enemies, and he himself would commit very great and cruel killings, and pillage and rob the good inhabitants of the good city of Paris who had loved him so loyally... as it appears that his pride had become so great. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 24v-25r.

⁹⁸ Bénédicte Sère, "Aristote et le bien commun au Moyen Âge: Une histoire, une historiographie", *Revue française d'histoire des idées politiques*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2010), pp. 281-2.

⁹⁹ Reg. Lat. 1502, Vol. 1, fol. 108v.

¹⁰⁰ Arlie Russell Hochschild, "Emotion Work", pp. 566-70; Claude Gauvard, *Violence et ordre public*, pp. 73-4.

movement, demonstrating the community's endorsement of the overthrow of tyrannical government.¹⁰¹

Where Essarts' guilt was demonstrated through an emotional disparity between criminal and crowd, reactions to Jeanne d'Arc's death were more complicated. Like Essarts, Jeanne's execution was structured through a juxtaposition that conveyed societal order, rationality and morality. The declaration of Jeanne's crimes was portrayed by the Bourgeois as having an immediate impact upon observers who "orent moult grant orreur quant ilz ouirent raconter les grans erreurs qu'elle avoit eues contre notre foy".¹⁰² Jeanne's disruptive character was similarly emphasised by Clément de Fauquembergue's concentration upon the written paraphernalia included in her execution, including her mitre that read "heretique, relapse, apostate, ydolatre" and the placard before the scaffold that described Jeanne as a "blasphemerresse de Dieu... malcreant de la foy de Jhesu-Crist... invocaterresse de deables, apostate, scismatique et heretique".¹⁰³ Both descriptions therefore excluded Jeanne from conceptions of the Christian community, with the Bourgeois stressing the popular shock contrasted with her obstinacy, since she "ne s'en effroioyt ne esbahissoit... comme celle qui estoit toute plaine de l'Ennemy d'enfer".¹⁰⁴ Moreover, assuming the role

¹⁰¹ Laurent Fonbaustier, "La résistance à la tyrannie dans la tradition médiévale", *Le Genre humain*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (2005), pp. 37-8. This point is stressed in an account compiled by Nicolas de Baye in the *Registre des matines* (Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 4789, fol. 476r), where he stated that Essarts was executed "par l'auctorité du roy ou des commissaires ordonnez a cognoistre des prisonniers prins puiz ii ou iii moiz a Paris". More explicitly, the Ursins compiler attributed Essarts' execution to "les bouchers et leurs alliés", *Histoire de Charles VI*, 481.

¹⁰² Were especially horrified when they heard the report of the great errors that she had committed with respect to our faith. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 131v. Although both Reg. Lat. 1923 and Aix-en-Provence, Bibliotheque Méjanes 432 (316) read "erreur", I agree with Alexandre Tuetey's correction that this was probably, in fact, "orreur" (horror).

¹⁰³ Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 13-14.

¹⁰⁴ She was neither afraid nor shocked... like one who was entirely dedicated to the Enemy of hell. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 131v.

that the commons had performed at Essarts' execution, the University of Paris "si humblement la prioient qu'elle se repentist et revocast de celle malle erreur... ou ce non elle seroit davant tout le peuple arse et son ame dampnée".¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, both narratives also betray a substantial shift in opinion following Jeanne's death. Where Essarts' execution had been integral to the legitimation of the Cabochien revolt, the Bourgeois related discussions surrounding Jeanne's execution as indicative of divided opinion regarding Valois legitimacy. "Assez avoit la et ailleurs qui disoient qu'elle estoit martire et pour son droit signeur, autres disoient que non, et que mal avoit fait qui tant l'avoit gardée; ainsi disoit le peuple."¹⁰⁶ Likewise, Fauquembergue wrote a postscript in Latin that explained that Jeanne had recanted for her sins before death, "Deus sue anime sit propicius et misericors".¹⁰⁷ Jeanne d'Arc's execution reveals both the persuasive mechanisms employed in public and their limitations. Analyses of later reactions to public executions for heresy reveal that observers rarely sympathised with "fierce prosecution" and, where persuasion depends upon the audience's inherent receptiveness to the communicated message, persistent doubts were reinforced by the crime's publicity.¹⁰⁸ Given these entrenched perspectives, the Bourgeois himself appeared unwilling to commit to a coherent narrative of Jeanne's guilt, instead objectively concluding that "quelle mauvestie ou bonté qu'elle eust faicte, elle fut arse celui jour".¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ So humbly begged her to repent and recant this evil error... otherwise she would be burned before the people and her soul damned. *Ibid.*, fol. 131v.

¹⁰⁶ There were many people there and elsewhere who said that she had been a martyr and for her true lord; others said that this was not the case, and that he who had so supported her had done wrong. So spoke the people. *Ibid.*, fol. 132r.

¹⁰⁷ "God be kind and merciful to her soul". Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, 14.

¹⁰⁸ Juliaan Woltjer, "Public Opinion and the Persecution of Heretics in the Netherlands, 1550-59" in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. Judith Pollmann & Andrew Spicer, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), pp. 103-6.

¹⁰⁹ Whatever evil or good thing that she had done, she was burned this day. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 132r.

Public sentences represented a crucial medium through which civic and royal authorities sought to control political narratives, with the judgements proclaimed presenting a key source for the *Journal*. In the text, executions emerged as an interface that juxtaposed the crowd and criminal in public space, enabling the Bourgeois to define the parameters of moral and political right. Parisian authorities were adept at employing clothing, symbolism and processional order to convey information to audiences without resorting to proclamations, and the importance of these elements is demonstrated by the detail with which the Bourgeois incorporated these events into his narrative. Nevertheless, the rhetorical manipulation of these executions also reveals how the Bourgeois exerted his own authority to determine their meaning once disseminated in the public sphere. The detail with which these events were described was relative to their perceived political value. Consequently, an analysis of the executions recorded within the *Journal* not only reveals their importance as a medium of official communication, but also the ways in which Parisians could appropriate or mitigate official meaning for their own ends. Executions were far from straightforward, direct and unilateral instances of communication between rulers and ruled. Instead, in the *Journal* they emerge as moments that *tested* public opinion and determined support for the governing regimes.

Sermons

Jeanne d'Arc's execution highlights a final key medium of communication that reached a wide audience: sermons and preaching.¹¹⁰ The parish clergy were invested with a

¹¹⁰ Veronika Novák, "La source du savoir", 154; Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei*, pp. 238-41. See also Filippo de Vivo, *Information and Communication in Venice: Rethinking Early Modern Politics*, (Oxford:

crucial role in preaching, prayer and processions that inculcated values and communicated socio-political information at a grassroots level.¹¹¹ While the diversity of preachers and sermons means that the medium could be exploited both to assert and resist civic or royal authority, this section will examine the official impetus behind the sermons recorded by the Bourgeois, how their messages were received and the circumstances integral to authoritative communication. Here, the didactic function traditionally accorded to the sermon was conflated with political messages. Emotionally encouraging audiences to assume virtuous behaviours, these same rhetorical strategies inculcated political loyalty and legitimated societal hierarchies.¹¹² Jean Gerson advocated preaching as a means of reiterating a divinely mandated hierarchy, as the “natural means” through which the public heard the word of God and maintained their spiritual life.¹¹³ The Bourgeois typically noted the combination of procession and sermon, as demonstrated by his descriptions of ritual at the Saints-Innocents. Since the fourteenth century, religious sermons had increasingly overlapped with the dissemination of political messages, with Hervé Martin suggesting that “les sources

Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 187-9; Tanja Rütten, “Forms of Early Mass Communication: The Religious Domain” in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, ed. Terttu Nevalainen & Elizabeth Cross Traugott, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 295-8.

¹¹¹ Julien Briand, “Foy, politique et information en Champagne au XV^e siècle”, *Revue historique*, No. 653 (2010), pp. 81-9. The clergy’s role in influencing public opinion during the Hundred Years War has been explored especially for fourteenth-century England. William R. Jones, “The English Church and Royal Propaganda during the Hundred Years War”, *Journal of British Studies*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (1979), pp. 20-3; Phil Bradford & Alison K. McHardy (ed.), *Proctors for Parliament: Clergy, Community and Politics, c. 1248-1539 (The National Archives, Series SC 10)*, Vol. 1 (The Canterbury and York Society), (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2017), pp. xlix-l. The efficacy of royal requests for prayers *pro rege* has been questioned in W. Mark Ormrod, “The Domestic Response to the Hundred Years War” in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Anne Curry & Michael Hughes, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 97.

¹¹² Viviane Griveau-Genest, “L’art de prêcher la faute: rhétorique et esthétique dans les sermons de Jean Gerson”, *Questes*, Vol 30 (2015), accessed on 05/10/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/questes/4248>; Carolina Losada, “Powerful Words: St Vincent Ferrer’s Preaching and the Jews in Medieval Castile” in *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400-1700)*, eds. Thomas Cohen & Lesley Twomey, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 209-212.

¹¹³ Jean Gerson, “Vivat Rex”, 1145; D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 19.

françaises mentionnent surtout des énoncés mixtes, des hybrides de sermons et de harangues, dus à des clercs ou à des laïcs, engagés dans les luttes politiques et soucieux d'exalter le roi très chrétien."¹¹⁴ Moreover, like other media, the record of sermons reveals a direct relationship with written materials circulating in Paris. In the case of the sermon explaining the indulgences for Corpus Christi announced by Pope Martin V delivered by a theology master on 25th May 1431, the Bourgeois evidently conflated a written text with the record of a sermon he attended. Although the *Journal* stressed the sermon's oral character – “la fut faicte une predicacion... ainsi furent les dessudits pardons publiez” – the Bourgeois had transcribed a vernacular copy of the papal edict.¹¹⁵ Consequently, the passage suggests that the Bourgeois supplemented his account with relevant written materials to provide authoritative information, though his refusal to acknowledge this textual support suggests that he was more concerned with the act of publication itself. Publicity functioned as a means of authorisation, with the sermon integrated into a verbal paradigm that ascribed the text's authority to the speaker, a process familiar to late medieval clerics aware that the preacher's authority stemmed not from the individual, but from the textual authorities that supported him, such as the *verbum Dei*.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Hervé Martin, “Les sermons du bas Moyen Âge. Un réexamen en cours”, *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, Vol. 86, No. 217 (2000), pp. 454-5.

¹¹⁵ There a sermon was pronounced... and in that manner the aforesaid pardons were published. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 129r, 130r. This is established through a comparison of the Bourgeois' account of the sermon with a copy of the bull (dated 17th July 1432) inserted into the cartulary of the chapter of Notre-Dame, BNF Lat. 17740 (fols. 396v-398v) by the cathedral scribe and apostolic notary Guillaume de Rivery, an associate of Jean Chuffart, the canon formerly identified as the *Journal's* author. Bruno Cyr, “Administrer la mort: les dossiers testamentaires de deux chanoines parisiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles”, Master's Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2012, p. 130.

¹¹⁶ Carolyn Muessig, “Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 28, No. 1 (2002), 86; Carlo Delcorno, “Medieval Preaching in Italy (1200-1500)” in *The Sermon*, ed. Beverley Mayne Kienzle, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 486-7.

This relationship between sermon and official text is demonstrated by the Bourgeois' description of the inquisitor Jean Graverent's preaching in Paris following Jeanne d'Arc's execution. The widespread publication of Jeanne's crimes was essential to consolidating her conviction for heresy, as indicated by the letter issued in Henry VI's name to the prelates of France on 28th June 1431.¹¹⁷ When Graverent preached in Paris on 4th July, therefore, he was fulfilling the royal prescription that "par les lieux de vostre diocese... par predicacions et sermons publiques... vous faictes notifier ces choses pour le bien et exaltacion de nostre dicte foy".¹¹⁸ The Bourgeois' decision to supplement his already detailed account of Jeanne's crimes with Graverent's sermon suggests his own perception of Graverent's preaching as the 'official' stance regarding Jeanne's beliefs, intended to allay the public doubts that the Bourgeois had evoked earlier. Indeed, Craig Taylor has suggested that Parisian theologians may have directly influenced the composition of Henry VI's letter, meaning that as a University member the Bourgeois might also have been acutely aware of the underlying tensions surrounding Jeanne d'Arc's execution.¹¹⁹ The parallels between the Bourgeois' account of Graverent's sermon and Henry VI's letter are demonstrated by the introduction

¹¹⁷ "Litterarum quas dominus noster rex scripsit prelati ecclesie, ducibus, comitibus et aliis nobilibus et civitatibus regni sui Francie" in *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, Vol. 1, ed. Pierre Tisset & Yvonne Lanhers, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1960), pp. 426-30.

¹¹⁸ You have these things publicised throughout your diocese, through public preaching and sermons, for the good and exaltation of our said faith. "Litterarum quas dominus noster rex", 430. Craig Taylor (ed.), *Joan of Arc: La Pucelle*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 227, n. 5; Philippe Contamine, "Naissance d'une historiographie. Le souvenir de Jeanne d'Arc, en France et hors de France, depuis le 'procès de son innocence' (1455-1456) jusqu'au début du XVI^e siècle", *Francia*, Vol. 15 (1987), 235. Monstrelet reproduced a copy of Henry VI's letter destined for Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, pp. 442-7.

¹¹⁹ Craig Taylor (ed.), *Joan of Arc*, 23.

of the notion that Jeanne recognised the falsity of her visions immediately prior to her death, diverging from the Bourgeois' initial account.¹²⁰ Henry's letter insisted that Jeanne

...véant approuchier son finement, elle congnut plainnement et confessa que les esperilz qu'elle disoit estre apparus a elle souventes fois, estoient mauvais et mensongiers, et que la promesse que iceulz esperilz lui avoient plusieurs fois faicte de la delivrer estoit faulse; et ainsi se confessa par lesditz esperilz avoir esté moquée et deceue.¹²¹

Graverent's sermon rendered this deception vivid, describing the Devil, "qui moult avoit grant paour qu'i ne la perdist", appearing before Jeanne following her abjuration in the guise of her saintly protectors, reassuring Jeanne that "'nous te garderons moult bien de tous'".¹²² However, when Jeanne was again brought to the scaffold, "elle appella les ennemys... en guise de sains, mais oncques puis qu'elle fut jugée nul ne s'apparut a elle pour invocacion qu'elle sceust faire. *Adonc s'avisa, mais ce fut trop tart.*"¹²³

The contrast between this account and the earlier conclusions drawn from the Twelve Articles of Accusation explains why the Bourgeois repeated an account of Jeanne's execution. Instead of altering his original account to incorporate this information, it was delineated within the narrative as a distinct, Lancastrian perspective. Given the importance of Jeanne's condemnation for illustrating the illegitimacy of Charles VII's claims to France,

¹²⁰ An official view echoed by Fauquembergue's Latin postscript, perhaps amended following the letter's dissemination.

¹²¹ Seeing that her end was nearing... admitted and confessed fully that the spirits that she claimed often appeared to her were evil and dishonest, and that the promises that these spirits had proffered to her several times to free her [from captivity] were false. And so she confessed to having been deceived and misled by the said spirits. "Licterarum quas dominus noster rex", 430. Cf. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 447.

¹²² That greatly feared that they would lose her; 'we will protect you well from everyone'. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 132v.

¹²³ She called the devils... [who were] disguised as saints, but ever since she had been condemned none appeared to her, regardless of the invocations that she knew. Hence she realised [her error], but it was too late. Ibid., fol. 133r. Emphasis my own.

the reiteration of her beliefs following her initial sentencing had jeopardised the trial's propagandistic value and risked rendering Jeanne a martyr, compelling Lancastrian propagandists to emphasise her demonic inspiration to deter beliefs, echoed by the *Journal*, that the Valois enjoyed divine favour.¹²⁴ Jeanne's dedication to her views underscored her devotion to her "droit seigneur", with her execution setting precisely the kind of dangerous example that might provoke a reconsideration of political allegiances.¹²⁵ Consequently, the ties between the *Journal*, its portrayal of Graverent's sermon and Henry's letter demonstrate how sermons were viewed as an effective means of propagandistic communication, as well as how this propaganda could be tempered through the Bourgeois' selectivity. Moreover, despite a likely awareness of Henry's letter, it was the confirmatory publication of this information as evidence of an official stance that the Bourgeois viewed as significant, with the sermon directly addressing an undercurrent of debate in the public sphere.

Graverent's sermon demonstrates the clergy's connection to political developments and their importance to wider communicational networks.¹²⁶ When, for instance, negotiations between England and France were overseen by the papal legate Niccolò Albergati in 1432 and 1433, the cardinal frequently visited Paris, preaching sermons promoting peace and informing audiences of the negotiations' progress. The cardinal's first visit to Notre-Dame on 20th February 1432 tellingly coincided with the Bourgeois' synthesis of the contenders' arguments:

¹²⁴ Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 446. The actual text of the abjuration, Joan's awareness of its content and even her personal agency in its signature were all debated in the testimonies of the later Nullification Trial. Craig Taylor (ed.), *Joan of Arc*, pp. 29, 327-8, 334-5; Régine Pernoud & Marie-Véronique Clin, *Joan of Arc: Her Story*, trans. Jeremy du Quesnay Adams, (New York: St Martin's Press, 1998), pp. 131-3.

¹²⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 132r.

¹²⁶ Veronika Novák, "Places of Power", 50.

l'un estoit nommé Charles de Valoys, et se disoit par droicte ligne estre roy de France, et l'autre estoit nommé Henry, lequel se disoit roy d'Angleterre par succession de ligne, et de France par le conquest de son feu pere.¹²⁷

Albergati's interest in keeping Parisian institutions informed of the negotiations is demonstrated both by the letters received and published by the Parlement on 15th March and the unnamed bishop the Bourgeois described as being sent by Albergati to preach a sermon at Notre-Dame in March 1433, just as English and French ambassadors met at Corbeil.¹²⁸ Although the bishop performed the office "si matin que tres grant partie de toutes ordres a ce jour faillirent", his presence nevertheless reveals the communicational ties that connected the city to overarching political developments and the potential for news to be spread through sermons.¹²⁹ The Bourgeois portrayed Parisians engaging with this news, relaying the criticism that followed the failure of talks at Auxerre in November 1432.¹³⁰ Although the Lancastrian ambassadors returning to Paris "fist entendent au peuple que tres bien besongné avoient", the Bourgeois explained that

le contraire estoit. Et quant le peuple le sceut au vray, si commencerent a murmurer moult fort contre ceulx qui y avoient esté, dont plusieurs furent mis en prinson, dissimulant que c'estoit a fin celle que le peuple ne s'esmeust.¹³¹

¹²⁷ One was named Charles of Valois, and he asserted that by direct descent he was the king of France, and the other was named Henry, who styled himself king of England by direct succession, and of France through the conquest achieved by his late father. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 138v.

¹²⁸ Fauquembergue, Vol 3, pp. 38, 41-44.

¹²⁹ So early in the morning that the majority of the members of every order failed to appear that day. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 143v.

¹³⁰ Anne-Brigitte Spitzbarth, "La diplomatie bourguignonne sous Philippe le Bon. Une diplomatie modèle?" in *La cour de Bourgogne et l'Europe. Le rayonnement et les limites d'un modèle culturel*, ed. Werner Paravicini, (Ostfilden: Jan Thorbecke, 2013), 193; Urbain Plancher, *Histoire générale et particulière de Bourgogne avec les preuves justificatives*, Vol. 4, (Dijon: Frantin, 1781), pp. 166-7; Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Librairie de la Société bibliographique, 1882), pp. 462-5.

¹³¹ Made out to the people that they had worked very hard... but the contrary was in fact true. And when the people knew the truth, they can to murmur very loudly about those who had been there [at

As such, the presence of Albergati or his associates in the city, along with the sermons they preached, were crucial to maintaining Parisian morale and ensuring continued support while confirming the representation of popular interests in these negotiations.

These sermons were typically framed by the heightened emotional state facilitated by general processions, whereupon preaching became essential to the reinforcement of moral values and notions of the Christian community, especially when the news communicated was related to the Great Schism.¹³² The importance of sermons for this news is demonstrated in 1434, when the Bourgeois lamented that “n’estoit nouvelle du conseil de Balle, ne en sermon ne autre part”.¹³³ The moral character of this preaching enabled audiences to perceive Paris’ and France’s enemies as amoral Others, as demonstrated by Graverent’s portrayal of Jeanne d’Arc. The moralisation of societal issues for political ends was, of course, nothing new. In 1405 Jean Gerson’s sermon *Vivat Rex* had focused upon the corruption resulting from lordly cupidity and Charles VI’s diminished authority, themes reprised in Jean Petit’s 1408 *Justification* for the assassination of Louis d’Orléans.¹³⁴ In the *Journal*, politico-moral boundaries were clearly reinforced by the sermon preached before the king by Etienne du Mesnil, minister of the Mathurins college in 1410 that isolated the Armagnac faction. Echoing *Vivat Rex*, Mesnil identified evil counsel and treachery as

the negotiations], of whom several were imprisoned, disguising the fact that this was to prevent the people from rising up. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 142v.

¹³² C. Clifford Flanigan, “The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective”, *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Wim Husken, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 45; Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges, c. 1300-1520*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 236.

¹³³ There was no news of the Council of Basel, either through sermons or any other means. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 147v.

¹³⁴ Jean Gerson, “*Vivat Rex*”, pp. 1150-1; Jean Petit, “*Justification*” as recorded in Monstrelet, Vol. 1, pp. 184-9.

compromising royal authority, identified with the Armagnac faction and exacerbated by growing trends of civil disorder.¹³⁵ Moreover, although the sermon was delivered at court, the Bourgeois' ability to comment suggests that attendance was not necessary for the successful dissemination of Mesnil's message.¹³⁶ The Armagnacs' moral exclusion was cemented by their excommunication, pronounced at Notre-Dame the following year.¹³⁷ Consequently, sermons not only communicated essential news but inherently shaped political attitudes, framing political identities through the reinforcement of moral boundaries that, in the *Journal*, distinguished Armagnac sinners from devoted Parisians. In this light it is more than likely that sermons at Notre-Dame or even the Saints-Innocents assumed an important role in political conversations for the kingdom at large like Paul's Cross in London, with an audience not simply of everyday Parisians, but of clerics, bourgeois and dignitaries.¹³⁸

Finally, the Bourgeois emphasised the importance of a preacher's identity and authority to the successful transmission of these messages. The anti-Armagnac sermon preached by Etienne du Mesnil in 1410 was effective, in part, due to the Mesnil's character as a reliable, trustworthy and "tres bonne personne".¹³⁹ Wandering preachers such as Brother Richard and Jean Creté relied upon their charisma, holding an ephemeral power to incite

¹³⁵ For instance, Jean Gerson emphatically warned against the dangers of flattery. "Vivat Rex", pp. 1166-7.

¹³⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r. For the Bourgeois' description of Mesnil's sermon, see below, Appendix II, No. 1.

¹³⁷ Ibid., fols. 17v-18r; RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 532-551. On these excommunications see Chapter V.

¹³⁸ Patrick J. Horner, "Preachers at Paul's Cross: Religion, Society and Politics in Late Medieval England" in *Medieval Sermons and Society: Cloister, City, University: Proceedings of the International Symposia at Kalamazoo and New York*, ed. Jacqueline Hamesse, Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Debra L. Soudt & Anne T. Thayer, (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 1998), pp 267-8.

¹³⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r.

“radical alteration”, in Weberian terms that which is “vested... in the special empowerment of the person”.¹⁴⁰ When Creté arrived in Paris in the summer of 1445, the Bourgeois described him as a “petit homme tres doulx regart... ung des meilleurs prescheurs qui oncques eust esté a Paris depuis cent ans”.¹⁴¹ Creté’s popularity was matched by his skill. He knew the Bible and *Légende dorée* in their entirety, “et tous les anciens livres de toutes nacions du monde, et oncques on ne le vit faillir de revenir a son propos, et partout ou il preschoit le moustier estoit tout plain de gens”.¹⁴² Likewise, Brother Richard was an “homme de tres grant prudence, scevant a oroison, semeur de bonne doctrine pour edifier son proisme”, combining the qualities of spiritual judgement and intellect.¹⁴³ Richard’s rhetorical skill was further demonstrated by his effect upon crowds, with Parisians “tellement tourneuz en devocion et esmuz”.¹⁴⁴ These preachers’ abilities were, naturally, essential to the persuasiveness of their message, and the Bourgeois explicitly pointed to Richard’s emulation of known preachers like Vincent Ferrer and Bernardino of Siena, the latter converting more people in Italy “que tous les precheurs qui depuis ij^c ans devant y avoient presché”.¹⁴⁵ As with public executions, the Bourgeois perceived sermons’ success as dependent upon the interplay of message, medium and audience response. When Richard

¹⁴⁰ Martin Riesebrodt, “Charisma in Max Weber’s Sociology of Religion”, *Religion*, Vol. 29, No. 1, (1999), 2; Gary Dickson, “Charisma, Medieval and Modern”, *Religions*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (2012), pp. 768-9, 776-7; Andrew Brown, “Charisma and Routine: Shaping the Memory of Brother Richard and Joan of Arc”, *Religions*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (2012), 1163, 1176. See also Max Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. Ephraim Fischhoff, (London: Methuen, 1965), pp. 46-7, 151-2.

¹⁴¹ A small man with a gentle expression... one of the best preachers who had been heard in Paris for a hundred years. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 181r.

¹⁴² And all of the ancient books of all of the world’s nations, and never was he seen to fail to return to his subject, and every church he preached within was filled with people. Ibid., fol. 118r.

¹⁴³ A man of great prudence, skilled in rhetoric, the sower of good doctrine to edify his neighbour. Ibid., fol. 114v.

¹⁴⁴ So moved and turned to devotion. Ibid., fol. 115r.

¹⁴⁵ Than all of the preachers who had preached beforehand for two hundred years. Ibid., fol. 115v. D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 21.

was compelled to leave Paris by the episcopal authorities, the Bourgeois related his enduring effect: “les gens grans et petiz plouroient si piteusement... comme s’ilz veissent porter en terre leurs meilleurs amis”, a description that paralleled the emotional response to Charles VI’s funeral, with the emotional bonds that had motivated devotional behaviour encouraging resistance to the civic authorities’ expulsion of the preacher.¹⁴⁶

The Bourgeois was highly attuned to the multitudinous media employed by Parisian and royal officials to communicate news and frequently integrated these into his narrative to map the extent of official influence. However, when the Bourgeois incorporated these messages into the *Journal*, he arrogated and deployed narrative authority to redirect or contest their purpose. Predominantly, this was achieved through a focus upon symbolic elements and a stress upon the importance of audience reactions that invariably traced official media moulding public opinion and, inversely, the extent to which openly expressed reactions could mitigate officially disseminated messages. Another phenomenon highlighted by this assessment of official communication is the Bourgeois’ reluctance to explicitly reference written texts, despite an evident awareness of their distribution and even their unacknowledged transcription into the *Journal*. What mattered to the Bourgeois was not a single authorial document and its content, but the means by which this content was made public, with publicity rendering official information authoritative. Fundamentally, the Bourgeois’ concentration upon the public effects of information in conjunction with the report describing the messages disseminated enabled him to redirect their influence,

¹⁴⁶ The people great and small wept so piteously... as if they were witnessing the burial of their best friends. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 115v. For Charles VI’s funeral, Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 89v and below, Appendix II, No. 7.

articulating an awareness of propaganda's potential and a willingness to contest official discourse by concentrating upon popular responses.

Parisian Public Space and Communication

Spaces and contexts were crucial to effective communication in the late medieval city and Paris was exemplary in this regard, as “un espace d'intense circulation de l'information et, partant, de la rumeur”.¹⁴⁷ Urban space had a heterogeneous character, “imbued with quantities and qualities marking the presence of bodies, signs and thoughts”.¹⁴⁸ As such, control over the direction of bodies, symbols and ideas in space represented a potent expression of power, with spaces historically and culturally specific, and different societies organising or using space in diverse ways.¹⁴⁹ Historiographical approaches to space typically take as their foundation Henri Lefebvre, who presented a three-fold interpretation of space comprising *spatial practice*, *representations of space* and *representational spaces* encapsulating

¹⁴⁷ Diane Roussel, “L'espace comme enjeu des guerres de Religion et de la paix civile. Réflexions sur la notion d'espace public et ses métamorphoses à Paris au XVI^e siècle”, 131; Claude Gauvard, “Rumeur et stéréotypes à la fin du Moyen Âge” in *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Âge: Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994), pp. 169-70

¹⁴⁸ Barbara Hanawalt & Michal Kobialka, “Introduction” in *Medieval Practices of Space*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt & Michal Kobialka, (University of Minnesota Press, 2000), xi; Marc Boone, “Urban Space”, pp. 622-3; Martha C. Howell, “The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity” in *Shaping Identity in Late Medieval Europe/L'apparition d'une identité urbaine dans l'Europe du bas Moyen Âge*, ed. Marc Boone & Peter Stabel, (Leuven: Garant, 2000), pp. 7-10.

¹⁴⁹ The scholarship on the relationship between authority and space for the Middle Ages is vast. See Barbara Hanawalt and Michal Kobialka, “Introduction”, x; Peter Arnarde, Martha Howell and Walter Simons, “Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2002), 522; Alain Guerreau, “Quelques caractères spécifiques de l'espace féodal européen” in *L'État ou le roi: les fondations de la modernité monarchique en France (XIV^e-XVII^e siècles)*, ed. Neithard Bulst, Robert Descimon & Alain Guerreau, (Paris: Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l'homme, 1996), pp. 87-88; Michel Lauwers & Laurent Ripart, “Représentation et gestion de l'espace dans l'Occident médiéval (V^e-XIII^e siècle)” in *Rome et l'État moderne européen*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Rome: Collection de l'École française de Rome, 2007), pp. 97-114.

social, physical and mental dimensions.¹⁵⁰ Lefebvre's triad presents space as simultaneously socially produced, culturally lived, subjectively imagined as well as a physical dimension.¹⁵¹ Most importantly for this study, representational space reflected subjective experience and an arena of contest as "space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate", consisting of a "more-or-less coherent system of non-verbal symbols and signs".¹⁵² The social element of spatial practice encapsulated this interplay between physicality and subjective representation in everyday experience. Due to its ritualised and prescribed character – through clothing, sound and spatial distinction –, official communication substantially altered space.¹⁵³ The approach complements recent scholarship that has stressed the dangers of conflating notions of the 'public sphere' with physical spaces, inviting an awareness of the relationship between the abstract 'space' of opinion and the places in which these are structured and developed.¹⁵⁴ Societies concurrently delineate mental, physical and social spaces imbued with symbolic significance, underscoring their representational meaning at specific moments, as in official communication.

¹⁵⁰ Meredith Cohen, Fanny Madeline & Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Introduction", *Space in the Medieval West: Places, Territories and Imagined Geographies*, ed. Meredith Cohen & Fanny Madeleine, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 6-9.

¹⁵¹ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 12, 15; Chris Butler, *Henri Lefebvre: Spatial Politics, Everyday Life and the Right to the City*, (New York: Routledge, 2012), 40.

¹⁵² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 39.

¹⁵³ Albrecht Classen, *Urban Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2009), 18, 32.

¹⁵⁴ This is an especially Francophone issue since Habermas' 'Öffentlichkeit' has been translated as the "espace public". Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, "Introduction générale: une histoire de l'échange politique au Moyen Âge" in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 5-8; Patrick Boucheron, "Espace public et lieux publics: approches en histoire urbaine" in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 100-2.

Building upon this interconnection, Carole Symes has demonstrated how medieval displays appropriated public space to assert their authority.¹⁵⁵ Likewise, Peter Arnade, Martha Howell and Walter Simons have argued that medieval urban representations of space were mapped through physical structures encompassing jurisdictions.¹⁵⁶ Moving beyond anachronistic interpretations of space that have modelled a strict public-private divide, an examination of the *Journal* suggests that the 'public' was defined primarily by the authority to communicate ideological and political information in given spaces as a process underscoring authority.¹⁵⁷ Publicity was essential to authority.¹⁵⁸

Fifteenth-century Parisians certainly had an awareness of specifically *public* or official spaces.¹⁵⁹ The royal edict ordering the destruction of the Grande Boucherie in 1416, inherently motivated by the corporation's leading role in the 1413 Cabochien revolt, was framed in these terms, with the accusation that the butchers' insalubrity "ne sont a tolérer ne a souffrir es lieux si publics, comme de ladite place en laquelle afflue communément grand peuple".¹⁶⁰ The ordinance underscored the Grande Boucherie's proximity to the Châtelet, revealing how the control of potentially subversive spaces was integral to the maintenance

¹⁵⁵ Carol Symes, *A Common Stage*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁵⁶ Peter Arnade, Martha Howell and Walter Simons, "Fertile Spaces", 535; Martha C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity", 11.

¹⁵⁷ Georges Duby, "Preface", in *A History of Private Life, Volume 2: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Philippe Ariès & Georges Duby, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (London: Harvard University Press, 1988), ix.

¹⁵⁸ Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264-1423*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 211-14; Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 129-30. In other instances, publicity and *fama publica* were essential to the legal substantiation of insults or crime. Martha C. Howell, "The Spaces of Late Medieval Urbanity", pp. 17-19.

¹⁵⁹ Claude Gauvard, '*De Grace especial*', pp. 495-8. For a Flemish example see Mario Damen, "The Town as a Stage? Urban Space and Tournaments in Late Medieval Brussels", *Urban History*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2016), pp. 69-71.

¹⁶⁰ Are not to be tolerated nor suffered in such public places, like at the said square in which a great number of people come together. *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 10, 361.

of civic and institutional authority.¹⁶¹ More generally, this power was manifested through the distinction of speaker and audience in public space and the Bourgeois' identification of specifically public places can be discerned through the socio-political functions they assumed, with respect to jurisdictionally-aligned institutional communication.¹⁶² This politico-legal framework meant that spaces used for official communication also emerged as forums within which Parisians challenged authority and appropriate their semiotic function.¹⁶³ Indeed, what emerges here is the principle insightfully identified by Shannon McSheffrey, whereby the *use* of space conditions the 'public' character of action, with publicity rendered "situational as well as spatial"; these conclusions necessitate the distinction of the social use of spaces from their "qualification juridique".¹⁶⁴ By describing how these spaces were used, the Bourgeois mapped respective political authorities in Paris, playing upon the relationship between the representational appropriateness of space and message.¹⁶⁵ The relativity evokes Michel de Certeau's distinction of space and place: where the latter represented elements "distributed in relationships of coexistence", these were

¹⁶¹ Benoît Descamps, "La toile [sociale] et la trame [urbaine]: la place des bouchers parisiens au Moyen Âge", *Anthropology of Food*, Vol. 13 (2019), accessed on 05/10/2019, <http://journals.openedition.org/aof/9814>; Joseph-Antoine Dubrec, "La Grande Boucherie de Paris. Notes historiques d'après des archives privées (XII^e-XVII^e siècles)", *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1715) du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1955-6 (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1957), 79.

¹⁶² Similar processes can be perceived in Venice. Claire Judde de Larivière, "Du Broglio a Rialto: cris et chuchotements dans l'espace public à Venise (XVI^e siècle)" in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 120-2.

¹⁶³ The contested and multivalent character of Parisian space is addressed in Michelle Camille, but in terms of signs and symbols rather than speech. "Signs of the City: Place, Power and Public Fantasy in Medieval Paris", in *Medieval Practices of Space* ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & Michael Kobialka, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), pp. 11-14

¹⁶⁴ Shannon McSheffrey, "Place, Space and Situation: Public and Private in the Making of Marriage in Late-Medieval London", *Speculum*, Vol. 79, No. 4 (October 2004), 986; Patrick Boucheron, "Espace public et lieux publics", 107.

¹⁶⁵ Patrick Boucheron, "Espace public et lieux publics", pp. 116-17.

transformed through their practice as space – the operations that “orient it, temporalize it and make it function”.¹⁶⁶ Finally, the *Journal*'s focus upon public space as defined by experience, practice and ideology is brought into greater focus by the relative absence of references to areas operating ostensibly beyond the realm of direct institutional authority, such as taverns or domestic settings.¹⁶⁷

The *Journal* demonstrates that precise forms of communication were expected in specific spaces that reflected institutional jurisdictions, mirroring the experiences of other late medieval cities, such as Venice, where subversive conversations and the circulation of rumour were site-specific, related to institutional centres of authority.¹⁶⁸ Medieval Paris was overlaid by a complex patchwork of distinct jurisdictions. Besides the judicial territories of individuals and institutions, such as the bishop of Paris, cathedral chapter or Parlement, up to sixty *seigneuries* claimed jurisdictional authority within the city, including seventeen religious bodies with *haute justice*.¹⁶⁹ Each jealously guarded its rights to proclaim and enforce law, with the result that “Hors du domaine royal, la loi du roi avait encore du mal à

¹⁶⁶ Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Randall, (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1988), 117; Barbara A. Hanawalt & Michael Kobialka, “Introduction”, pp. x-xii.

¹⁶⁷ On their importance to crime and the delineation of public spaces see Barbara A. Hanawalt, “The Host, the Law and the Ambiguous Space of Medieval London Taverns” in *Medieval Crime and Social Control*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & David Wallace, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 205-14.

¹⁶⁸ Claire Judde de Larivière, “Du Broglio a Rialto”, 128.

¹⁶⁹ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 49-50; Simone Roux, “Modèles et pratiques en histoire urbaine médiévale: L'espace parisien à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Histoire, économie et société*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Autumn 1994), 420; Christian Gillon, “Les étudiants et la délinquance au Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)”, PhD Thesis, Université de Cergy-Pontoise, 2017, pp. 266-281; Georges Huisman, *La juridiction de la municipalité parisienne de Saint Louis à Charles VII*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1912), pp. 199-206; Jean-Georges Vondrus-Reissner, “Présence réelle et juridiction ecclésiastique dans le diocèse de Paris (fin XV^eème-1530)”, *Histoire, économie et société*, Vol. 7, No. 1, (1988), pp. 45-8; Joseph Petit (ed.), *Registre des causes civiles de l'officialité épiscopale de Paris, 1384-1387*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1919), pp. xix-xxix.

s'imposer au début du XV^e siècle".¹⁷⁰ The Bourgeois' predominant focus upon the right bank led to the *Journal's* privileging of the executions that took place at the Halles square north of the markets, sermons in larger institutions such as the abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs and proclamations, more ambiguously, at major crossroads – focal points for the public expression of the community.¹⁷¹ Public celebrations took place in Paris' main thoroughfares, though those organised officially, such as the bonfires for the feast of St. John Baptist, were located at the place de Grève. Community cohesion was reinforced through the celebratory and devotional atmospheres associated with these spaces, as demonstrated when the Bourgeois pointed to the context of Jean sans Peur's funerary service at Notre-Dame, emphasising the cumulative effects of light, collective mourning and sermon:

...y avoit ou moustier iij mil livres de cire toutes en cierges et en torches, et ot ung moult piteux sermon... Et apres ce le firent toutes les parroisses de Paris et toutes les confraries de Paris, l'un apres l'autre, et partout faisoit-on la presentacion de grans cierges et de grans torches, et estoient les moustiers encourtinez de noyres sarges.¹⁷²

¹⁷⁰ Katia Weidenfeld, "L'incertitude du droit devant les juridictions parisiennes au XV^e siècle", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, Vol. 7 (2000), accessed on 05/10/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/crm/881>; "Le contentieux de la voirie parisienne à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, Vol. 301, No. 2 (April-June 1999), 214

¹⁷¹ Peter Stabel, "The Market Place and Civic Identity in Late Medieval Flanders" in *Shaping Identity in Late Medieval Europe/L'apparition d'une identité urbaine dans l'Europe du bas Moyen Âge*, ed. Marc Boone & Peter Stabel (Leuven: Garant, 2000), 52; James Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 4-5; James Masschaele, "The Public Space of the Marketplace", pp. 390-1; Jean-Marie Cauchies, "L'activité législative communale dans l'Occident médiéval : directions et pistes de recherche" in *Légiférer dans la ville médiévale: 'Faire bans, edictz et statuz'*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies & Éric Bousmar, (Brussels: Presses de l'Université Saint-Louis, 2001), pp. 1-15.

¹⁷² In the church there were three thousand pounds of wax all as candles and torches, and there was pronounced a piteous sermon... And after this each of Paris' parishes and all of the confraternities, one after another, did the same, and everywhere people offered great candles and torches, and the churches were decorated with black serge. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 62r.

Through collective mourning, Parisians affirmed their loyalty to the duke down to the parish level. Local churches were similarly decorated, not simply with black sheets, but with Burgundian arms - “les escus qui ont esté mis au piliers de l’esglise en faisant le service de mons. de Bourgogne”, as demonstrated by the accounts for the confraternity of the St. James Pilgrims based at Saint-Jacques-l’Hôpital on the rue Saint-Denis.¹⁷³ Moreover, architectural grandeur framed speakers’ authority. By excommunicating factional leaders or condemning heretics on the Notre-Dame parvis, the bishop of Paris drew power from the intricately awe-inspiring cathedral façade that signified the city’s centre.¹⁷⁴ It was there that the Armagnac leaders were excommunicated in 1411, where Nicolas d’Orgemont’s crimes and condemnation were publicised in 1416 and, finally, where the heretical behaviours ascribed to the female visionary Pieronne la Bretonne were preached prior to her execution.¹⁷⁵ Similarly, Jean Graverent chose the prestigious abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, which claimed jurisdiction over as many as 30,000 Parisians and was one of the city’s wealthiest institutions, to pronounce his sermon denouncing Jeanne d’Arc’s crimes in 1431.¹⁷⁶

Controlling the public sphere was “au cœur de la concurrence entre les pouvoirs” in the fifteenth century, and measures to regulate Parisian behaviour and speech are

¹⁷³ The arms that were affixed to the pillars of the church for the service in the duke of Burgundy’s memory. Henri Léonard Bordier, “La confrérie des Pèlerins de Saint-Jacques et ses archives”, *MSHP*, Vol. 2 (1876), 394.

¹⁷⁴ Michel Camille, “Signs of the City”, pp. 9-12 Patrick Boucheron, “Villes, cathédrales et histoire urbaine”, *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (2003), pp. 10-13.

¹⁷⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 18r-18v, 126v; Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, pp. 249-50.

¹⁷⁶ Siméon Luce, “Les menus du prieur de Saint-Martin-des-Champs en 1438 et 1439”, *Comptes rendus des séances de l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (1882), 112. See also Siméon Luce, *La France pendant la guerre de Cent ans, épisodes historiques et vie privée aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, (Paris: Hachette, 1890), pp. 339-359.

consistently highlighted by the *Journal*.¹⁷⁷ The most important of these was the prescription of clothing that itself constituted a medium of communication signalling adherence to the ruling regime through semiotic forms that captured “publicly recognised and remembered” relationships, often combining colour, pictorial forms and mottos.¹⁷⁸ Such recognition was crucial in the context of a civil conflict where no significant linguistic, cultural or ethnic features distinguished sympathisers. As stereotypical perceptions of ‘Burgundians’ and ‘Armagnacs’ became entrenched and repeated ordinances legitimated violence towards members of the opposing faction, open identification with the governing regime became paramount for Parisians’ survival but also integral to factions who sought to inculcate support and repress subversive speech.¹⁷⁹ Where in 1410 the Bourgeois identified Armagnacs by their sash, “car le duc de Berry portoit celle bende, et tous iceulx de par luy”,¹⁸⁰ in 1411 the Ursins compiler reported how supporters of Jean sans Peur “laisserent la croix droite blanche, qui est la vraye enseigne du roy, et prirent la croix de Saint-André, et la devise du duc de Bourgone, le sautoier”.¹⁸¹ During the vicissitudes of the ensuing

¹⁷⁷ Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la paix*, 234; Klaus Oschema, “Espaces publics autour d’une société de cour: l’exemple de la Bourgogne des ducs de Valois” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 166.

¹⁷⁸ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, (Cambridge, 1990), 260; Colette Beaune, “Costume et pouvoir en France à la fin du Moyen Âge: les devises royales vers 1400”, *Revue des sciences humaines*, Vol. 55, No. 183 (1981), pp. 125-6; Simona Slanicka, “Male Markings: Uniforms in the Parisian Civil War as a Blurring of the Gender Order (A.D. 1410-1420)”, *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1999), pp. 226-40; Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity During the Hundred Years War*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), pp. 10-11.

¹⁷⁹ Such ordinances include that issued on 3rd October 1411 legitimating violence against suspected Armagnacs and their identification as enemies. See *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 9, pp. 635-7. Cf. *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 10, 34; Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//166, Nos. 82 & 168. Their effects are described by the Bourgeois, Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 16r; RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 454-8.

¹⁸⁰ Because the duke of Berry wore this sash, and all those who followed him. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r.

¹⁸¹ Abandoned the upright white cross which is the true sign of the king and assumed the St. Andrew cross and the emblem of the duke of Burgundy, the saltire. *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 468-9.

decades, the Bourgeois signalled clothing's increasing importance as a means of publicly identifying the factions' respective supporters.

Through clothing, Parisians actively subscribed to the policies and stereotypes the factions were perceived to comprise. For instance, the Armagnac sash or 'bande' was easily conflated with the homonym 'bande' – an illegal association or armed group – used by contemporaries such as the Bourgeois to assert the faction's illegitimacy, referring to the group as the 'bandez' as soon as these symbols appeared in 1410.¹⁸² As Clifford Geertz has argued, symbols are inherently *public* elements of communication that “synthesise a people's ethos... their most comprehensive ideas of order”.¹⁸³ This symbolism was especially important in late medieval society, where signs represented a potent means of transmitting immediate information, securing loyalties and inculcating political views since “communication was primarily orally-based and belief in appearances strong”.¹⁸⁴ Consequently, prescriptions by civic governors to wear specific kinds of clothing in public compelled Parisians to make conscious choices regarding their political allegiances. Considering these issues, the Bourgeois reveals how competing factions employed an identificatory system that embodied political claims that are “produced socially and enter into the realm of assertion, contestation and negation”.¹⁸⁵ With regards to space, clothing enabled governors to manage Parisians' public presence by compelling those who would

¹⁸² Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 15r-15v. The term 'bande' was used to describe Burgundy's opponents as early as 1406 in the *Songe véritable. Le Songe véritable, pamphlet politique d'un parisien du XV^e siècle*, ed. Henri Moranvillé, MSHP, Vol. 17 (1890), 251, lines 775-782.

¹⁸³ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 89; *Available Light: Anthropological Reflection on Philosophical Topics*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 15.

¹⁸⁴ Emily Hutchison, “Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume”, 153. See also Laurent Hablot, “Les signes de l'entente. Le rôle des devises et des ordres dans les relations diplomatiques entre les ducs de Bourgogne et les princes étrangers de 1380 à 1477”, *Revue du Nord*, Vol. 84, Nos. 345-6, pp. 320-30.

¹⁸⁵ Floya Anthias, “The material and the symbolic in theorising social stratification”, *The British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 52, No. 3 (2001), 376.

oppose them to identify with the reigning faction to circulate freely, or accept relegation to private spheres. In doing so, Paris' governors implicitly employed understandings of *fama publica* to alter their adversaries' public allegiances. These strategies were prominent in the wake of the Cabochien revolt, when the Parisians had compelled the king and leading nobles to don white hoods that demonstrated sympathy for the reform movement and echoed the clothing worn by the rebels of Ghent in 1382.¹⁸⁶ In the revolt's immediate aftermath, Armagnac governors produced purple hoods "ou il avoit foison feuilles d'argent, et en escript d'argent, 'le droit chemin'", the motto representing "an overtly anti-Burgundian message"; in May 1414, criers proclaimed that it was obligatory for Parisians to wear the Armagnac sash in a move that, inversely, identified those who harboured Cabochien sentiments.¹⁸⁷ When the Armagnac governors instituted their confraternity on the feast of St. Laurent that year, the Bourgeois related the dangers of appearing in public without the sash:

N'osoit homme ne femme estre ou moustier ne a leur feste, s'il n'avoit la bande, et aucunes personnes d'honneur qui y estoient alés... en furent en tres grant danger de leur bien, pour ce qu'ilz n'avoient point de bande.¹⁸⁸

Consequently, the Bourgeois perceived prescriptions regarding clothing as a means of restricting movement or participation in public events that, ostensibly, also neutralised opportunities for subversive speech. There was certainly an official belief that unregulated confraternities could represent forums for resistance. A confraternity dedicated to the

¹⁸⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 24r; Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place", pp. 70-1.

¹⁸⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 28r-28v, 31r. On the motto see Emily Hutchison, "Partisan Identity in the French Civil War, 1405-1418: Reconsidering the Evidence of Livery Badges", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2007), 272.

¹⁸⁸ Neither men nor women dared to go to church nor to their feast if they were not wearing the sash, and some honourable people who did go... were in great danger of having their property confiscated because they were not wearing the sash. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 32v.

Eucharist established in Saint-Eustache in May 1421 was permitted “pourveu toutesvoies que en ladite confrarie ne soit faite aucune assemblée ne monopole ou prejudice de nous, de nostre royaume et de noz successeurs rois de France”, implying a risk that the confraternity would be employed to question *Lancastrian* authority following the Treaty of Troyes.¹⁸⁹

When the congregation of Saint-Laurent in Paris’ suburbs north of the porte Saint-Martin requested permission from the Lancastrian authorities to institute a confraternity in May 1428, the *prévôté* decreed that at the confraternity’s meetings “leur sera deputé aucun nostre officier qu’ilz auront tousjours present avec eulx” to mitigate subversive talk.¹⁹⁰

These strategies were pursued throughout the period, with the emphasis upon public identification increasing when civic authority was weakest. On 17th March 1436, a month before Paris’ reconquest by the Valois, the city’s Lancastrian governors ordered that “chacun portast la croix rouge, sur peine de la vie et de perdre le sien”.¹⁹¹ Clothing’s importance to resistance was, finally, demonstrated by the Bourgeois’ description of the Valois entry on 13th April. When “le peuple en sceut parmy Paris la nouvelle, si prinrent tantost la croix blanche droicte, ou la croix Sainct Andry” with their adoption signalling collective submission to the Valois.¹⁹² 1436 reveals that while clothing enabled Paris’ governors to manage presence in public space, it also offered Parisians a crucial means of

¹⁸⁹ As long as in the said confraternity no assemblies, conspiracies, or prejudices occur against us, our kingdom or our successors, the kings of France. Paris, Archives nationales, J//172, No. 70.

¹⁹⁰ One of our officers will be delegated to them whom they will have present with them at all times. Paris, Archives nationales, J//174, No. 154. Cf. Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 177. Other examples include the institution of the Saint-Denis confraternity in the Jacobins convent on the left bank on 19th February 1435, Paris, Archives nationales, J//175, No. 334. The confraternity for the weavers established in September 1422, Paris, Archives nationales, J//172, No. 146.

¹⁹¹ Everyone wear the red cross, upon the pain of death and confiscation of belongings. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 152r.

¹⁹² The people throughout Paris learned of this news, they immediately took up the upright white cross or the St. Andrew’s cross. *Ibid.*, fol. 153r.

voicing their own perspectives as a result of the political choices clothing engendered. Furthermore, the facility with which the Parisians of 1418 and 1436 adopted new symbols according to political context suggests that the city's inhabitants often had access to multiple symbols simultaneously. This is supported by surviving examples of badges that feature pins enabling them to be hidden within sleeves.¹⁹³ Other badges were deliberately neutral. Parisian tokens dated to Hugues Rapiout's tenure as *prévôt des marchands* (1431-4) displayed the city's arms with the motto "Vive le roy et ses amis", ambiguously evoking the capital's ties to the royal centre.¹⁹⁴ As such, although historians have often considered the adoption of specific signs to directly communicate statements of political ideology and identification, it is important to view them as fluid and alterable means of negotiation, with conformity essential for Parisians who simply sought to survive the consequences of shifting regimes.¹⁹⁵ In this light, Parisians may have engaged far less with the ideological meaning inherent in badges and clothing than those aristocrats who manipulated them.¹⁹⁶

These same symbols were integral to contests within public space, as demonstrated by the struggle within the Halles' Saint-Eustache parish in the 1410s. One reason for the early success of Jean sans Peur's adoption of the saltire was its potential to fuse religious

¹⁹³ Auguste Vallet de Viriville, "Notes sur deux médailles de plomb relatives à Jeanne d'Arc et sur quelques autres enseignes politiques ou religieuses, tirées de la collection Forgeais (Suite)", *Revue Archéologique*, Nouvelle Série, Vol. 3 (January-June 1861), pp. 426-7. See also Emily Hutchison, "Partisan Identity", pp. 268-74.

¹⁹⁴ Jules Rouyer, "Jetons municipaux de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle", *Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1869), 124.

¹⁹⁵ Emily Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds", 22; Denis Bruna, "De l'agréable à l'utile: le bijou emblématique à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, Vol. 301, No. 609 (January-March 1999), pp. 3-5.

¹⁹⁶ Emily Hutchison, "Partisan Identity", pp. 253-65; Michel Pastoureau, "Emblèmes et symboles de la Toison d'Or" in *L'ordre de la Toison d'Or de Philippe le Bon à Philippe le Beau (1430-1505). Idéal ou reflet de la société?*, ed. C. Van den Bergen-Pantens, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 101.

imagery with the Burgundian stance, blurring the boundaries between the moral and political.¹⁹⁷ The Ursins compiler remarked that

mettoit-on aux images des saints la devise de la croix Saint André; plusieurs prestres en faisant leur signacles a la messe, ou en batpissant les enfans, ne daignoient faire la croix droite en la forme que Dieu fut crucifié, mais en la forme comme Saint André fut crucifié.¹⁹⁸

Although exaggerated, the account demonstrates the extent to which religious and political rhetoric were conflated in church space. Several sources report how, on 13th September 1414, “ung jeune homme osta la bande a l’ymage de Saint Huistace que on lui avoit baillée, et la descira en despit de ceulx qui lui avoient baillée”.¹⁹⁹ The incident at Saint-Eustache highlights how Paris’ Armagnac governors attempted to symbolically alter the church fabric and assert their authority over a district known for its Burgundian sympathies and how, in turn, inhabitants of the Halles resisted this imposition.²⁰⁰ The removal of the sash was perceived as an act of open resistance and the Armagnac response reveals an explicit attempt to reassert control over the divided district. The culprit was “tantost prins, fust tort ou droit, [et] lui fut le poing coppé sur le pont Allaiz, devant Saint-Huistace, et fut banny a touzjours mais”.²⁰¹ The sentence was exemplary, with its performance moved from

¹⁹⁷ Charlotte Denoël, *Saint André: Culte & iconographie en France (Ve-XVe siècles)*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2004), 91-4.

¹⁹⁸ Upon the images of the saints were placed the symbol of the St. Andrew’s cross; many priests, in making the sign of the cross during the mass, or when baptising children, did not deign to make the sign of the cross in the form of Christ’s crucifixion, but in the form of St. Andrew’s martyrdom. *Histoire de Charles VI*, 466.

¹⁹⁹ A young man removed the sash that had been placed upon the statue of St. Eustace, and tore it up in spite of those that had placed it there. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 33r.

²⁰⁰ Similar processes have been demonstrated by Peter Arnade, “Crowds, Banners and the Marketplace: Symbols of Defiance and Defeat during the Ghent War of 1452-3”, *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (1994), 479.

²⁰¹ Immediately captured, whether it was right or wrong, and had his hand cut off on the pont Allaiz, in front of Saint-Eustache, and was banished forever. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 33v.

the customary Halles square to the church, while the culprit's banishment signalled the exclusion of those who symbolically or actively resisted Armagnac authority from civic society. Indeed, the control of these religious spaces was essential for the maintenance of civic authority, as demonstrated by the 1416 conspiracy, which included a plan to provoke an uprising among the "commun peuple des Halles" by ringing Saint-Eustache's bell and assembling at Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois or the Saints-Innocents.²⁰²

Following the discovery of the d'Orgemont conspiracy in April 1416, Paris' Armagnac governors redoubled their efforts to control public space and counter opportunities for subversive behaviour. On 20th April, the day after the plot's discovery, the *prévôt* Tanneguy du Chastel forbade all assemblies, an order repeated on 27th April, directly targeting "assemblées, confrairies et autres grans assemblées et nopces".²⁰³ The Bourgeois noted that weddings that did take place were monitored by Châtelet sergeants "aux despens de l'espouse, pour garder que homme ne murmurast de rien".²⁰⁴ Given the butchers' ties to Jean sans Peur and their earlier involvement in the Cabochien revolt, on 15th May the Grande Boucherie's destruction was ordered and the butchers' corporation dispersed, with new stalls established in separate areas throughout Paris.²⁰⁵ Officially undertaken for reasons of insalubrity, the letter reinstating the Grande Boucherie in August 1418 reported that Bernard

²⁰² Guillaume Cousinot, "Geste des nobles" in *Chronique de la Pucelle ou Chronique de Cousinot suivie de la Chronique normande de P. Cochon*, ed. Vallet de Viriville, (Paris: Adolphe Delahays, 1859), pp. 153-4; Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont. Leur origine, leur fortune – le Boiteux d'Orgemont*, (Paris: Champion, 1913), 275.

²⁰³ Assemblies, confraternities and other great assemblies and weddings. "Archives de la Préfecture de Police, livre vert vieil du Châtelet", fol. 71r cited in Léon Mirot, "Le procès du Boiteux d'Orgemont", 387. Cf. Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), 113, No. 1959.

²⁰⁴ At the bride's expense to ensure that no man murmured about anything. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 38r.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 38v. For instance, before the Saint-Leufroy church. Paris, Archives nationales, JJJ/170, No. 8 (10th March 1417); Joseph-Antoine Dubrec, "La Grande Boucherie de Paris", pp. 71, 76-84.

d'Armagnac and his allies, in hatred and contempt for the butchers "qui ont aidé ou favorisé... le duc de Bourgogne... firent abatre et demolir ladite boucherie disans *et faignans* que ce estoit pour la coracion de notredite ville de Paris".²⁰⁶ The move encapsulated shifts in authority, with the butchers corporation having previously asserted the right to determine the creation of new stalls in Paris.²⁰⁷ In light of these acknowledged political motives, the Bourgeois' monitoring of additional restrictions upon the butchers' rights, including their exclusion from selling wares upon the pont Notre-Dame in the first week of September, suggests a "punitive strategy" designed to neutralise the butchers' political cohesion and centrality.²⁰⁸

The subsequent redistribution of the butchers' stalls, the suppression of the corporation and confraternity and the disruption of the family ties binding the butchers represented strategies employed by Paris' Armagnac governors to neutralise this threat to civic authority and undermine their connection to the Halles. However, the Bourgeois' attention to the corporation's vicissitudes is indicative of narrative efforts to consolidate the corporation's identity despite this fragmentation. The *Journal* itself worked to produce and structure the cohesiveness and boundaries of the Halles' corporate and political identities,

²⁰⁶ Who have helped and supported the duke of Burgundy, Paris... had the said butchers' stalls torn down and demolished, stating and feigning that this was for the improvement of our said city of Paris. Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 263; Gisela Naegle, "Armes à double tranchant? *Bien commun* et *chose publique* dans les villes françaises du Moyen Âge" in *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.)/ Discours et pratique du Bien Commun dans les villes d'Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 65. On issues of pollution and the civic common good see Carole Rawcliffe, *Urban Bodies: Communal Health in Late Medieval English Towns and Cities*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), pp. 147-50.

²⁰⁷ Simone Roux, "Les bouchers et les juges à Paris à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui: Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Julie Claustre, Olivier Mattéoni et Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), 271.

²⁰⁸ Marc Boone has explored how manipulations of urban space constituted a means of mitigating urban resistance in "Urban Space", pp. 639-40

with these Burgundian sympathisers locked in a struggle with the Armagnac elite. This memory of Armagnac repression was of continued importance to the corporation in the ensuing decade. When the *prévôt* Simon Morhier commanded the butchers to provide supplies for the English army at Montargis in 1427, the corporation responded by declaring “their inability to comply, recalling their sufferings at the hands of the Armagnacs.”²⁰⁹ In doing so, the corporation deliberately pointed to the lasting effects of oppression, intimating that the Lancastrian requests could be perceived as equally oppressive and detrimental to the corporation’s good. As such, the *Journal* framed memories of political contestation essential to the identity of the Halles region, bearing witness to the urban inhabitants’ construction of an “imaginary urban landscape... constructed partly by materiality of the city, partly by modalities of identification, partly by defensive processes and partly by the ‘contents’ of the unconscious”.²¹⁰

The manipulation of space therefore framed contests between ruler and ruled. The Bourgeois also portrayed oppressive government through the restrictions placed upon the domestic sphere. On 9th May 1416, the butchers’ weapons were seized “*en leurs maisons*”, in August Parisians were ordered to reorganise their homes, removing chests, pots, baskets and kindling from windowsills that could pose a threat to Armagnac officers and, in 1421, the Bourgeois expressed discontent with the imposition of taxation by stressing transgressions of private spaces: “*et qui estoit reffusant tantost avoit sergens en sa maison et estoit mené en prinsons diverses*”.²¹¹ Inversely, revolts were characterised by transgressions

²⁰⁹ Steve Pile, *The Body and the City: Psychoanalysis, Space, and Subjectivity*, (London: Routledge, 1996), 236; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 167.

²¹⁰ Marc Boone, “Urban Space”, pp. 623-7.

²¹¹ In their houses; and whoever refused immediately had sergeants in their house and were led to various prisons. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 38v, 80r.

of the boundaries distinguishing ‘private’ aristocratic spaces from the public.²¹² As Vanessa Harding has argued, these spaces’ limits were consistently challenged in the late medieval city.²¹³ Through these transgressions, secretive aristocratic lifestyles were rendered public, a phenomenon that responded to heightened anxieties regarding the wasteful, luxurious and dangerous customs of the nobility following the *Bal des Ardents* in 1393, where the Parisians in particular had responded aggressively to the evidence of courtly frivolity.²¹⁴ For the Bourgeois, the Cabochien revolt was predicated upon a logic that blurred the boundaries between private and public, aristocratic and common. Rumours that Louis VII of Bavaria and Pierre des Essarts plotted to abduct the king under the pretence of the former’s marriage culminated in the commons’ penetration of queen Isabeau de Bavière’s bedchamber at Saint-Paul to capture her brother “et prindrent avecques lui xiiij ou xiiii, que dames que damoiselles, qui bien savoient la malvaistié”.²¹⁵ The following month, at the height of the revolt, the Cabochien captain of the night-watch, Hélion de Jacquville, overheard sounds of merriment emanating from the Dauphin’s residence. Storming the building, Jacquville openly condemned the Dauphin’s behaviour before the prince, provoked, attacked and stabbed the captain. Rumours of Jacquville’s murder spread quickly throughout Paris; the Parisians surrounded the mansion with the Dauphin spared by Jean sans Peur’s timely

²¹² These boundaries have typically been studied in terms of gender. Shannon McSheffrey, “Place, Space and Situation”, pp. 960-2; Sarah Rees Jones, “Public and Private Space and Gender in Medieval Europe” in *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith Bennett & Ruth Karras, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 248-51.

²¹³ Vanessa Harding, “Space, Property and Propriety in Urban England”, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (2002), pp. 549-69.

²¹⁴ The Parisian reaction is reported by Jean Froissart, “Chroniques” in *Oeuvres de Froissart*, Vol. 15, ed. Joseph Kervyn de Lettenhove, (Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1967, Reprint), pp. 90-2.

²¹⁵ And captured with him thirteen or fourteen [people], ladies and young women, who knew all about their evil plans. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 23v. On the Bourgeois consideration of popular conceptions of authority in 1413 and 1418, see below, Chapter IV.

intervention.²¹⁶ In 1418, the massacres of suspected Armagnacs were similarly predicated upon a search for hidden evidence within their houses, where the Bourgeois alleged that tokens were found demonstrating the inhabitants' complicity in plots to betray Paris to the English or to have the Burgundian supporters of the city massacred, as well as revealing the wealth that suspected Armagnacs had illicitly amassed.²¹⁷ These scenes reveal the contested character of Parisian space and the resulting blurring of boundaries between public and private. Popular movements were predicated upon rumours of hidden behaviours within bourgeois or princely mansions that threatened the common good and motivated their transgression, revealing a constant contest over spatial boundaries consonant with expressions of civic authority.²¹⁸

Revolts consequently evoked contest regarding the jurisdiction of public spaces. In 1418, Parisian rioters rallied simultaneously in the city's main squares of the Grève, Maubert and Halles.²¹⁹ Although the Bourgeois portrayed these gatherings as the consequence of sudden panic due to an alarm, their perceived simultaneity suggests that, just as Saint-Eustache's bell had been proposed as a signal for the commons to rally at Saints-Innocents in 1416, these spaces framed popular organisation. In 1413, the Cabochien leaders' use of space was certainly more formalised. When Louis, duke of Guyenne reasserted his authority over the capital, the Cabochiens assembled with the commons in the municipal Hôtel de Ville, emphasising the infrastructure that underpinned their authority, to encourage the commons

²¹⁶ Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413*, (Paris: Hachette, 1888), pp. 331-2; RSD, Vol. 5, pp. 78-80.

²¹⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 43v-44r. On the significance of these rumoured tokens, see below, Chapter IV.

²¹⁸ Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place", pp. 43-4, 69-74.

²¹⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 46v. For the full account of this riot, see below, Appendix II, No. 4.

to resist the counter to the rebellion.²²⁰ The building itself “could represent such intangible concepts as power, authority and legitimacy within the community”.²²¹ Attempting to maintain ideological control, the Cabochien leaders “leur monstrent comment la paix qui estoit traictée n’estoit point a l’onneur du roy, ne du duc de Bourgongne, ne au prouffit de la bonne ville ne des habitans”.²²² The Bourgeois demonstrates that the commons could also use the space itself to negotiate their ideological stance. “Le menu commun qui ja estoit assemblé... qui moult desiroient la paix, ne vouldrent oncques recevoir leurs parolles, mais ilz commencerent touz a une voix a crier, ‘La paix! La paix!’”.²²³ Those who supported peace with the princes unanimously gathered on the right-hand side of the hall, communicating through the space itself the evaporation of the Cabochiens’ political foundations. Marc Boone has described the town hall as encapsulating a “need to tie the locus of power within the city to the power to exercise organised violence”, and it is clear in the cases of 1413 and 1418 that the commons opposed to civic government recognised the importance of assembly and the symbolic use of space to legitimate and express their ideological stance as a “central spot of contestation and rebellion”.²²⁴

²²⁰ Ibid., fols. 26r-26v; Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, pp. 350-60. On the importance of town halls to urban revolts see Marc Boone, “The Dutch Revolt and the Medieval Tradition of Urban Dissent”, *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 11, No. 4-5 (January 2007), 370; Samuel Cohn Jr., *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2006), 95.

²²¹ Robert Tittler, *Architecture and Power: The Town Hall and the English Urban Community, c. 1500-1640*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4; Robert Descimon, “Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel parisien au début de l’âge moderne” in *Statuts individuels, statuts corporatifs et statuts judiciaires dans les villes européennes (moyen âge et temps modernes) : Actes du colloque tenu à Gand les 12-14 octobre 1995*, ed. Marc Boone, Maarten Prak (Leuven: Garant, 1996), 79; Christian Liddy, “Urban Politics and Material Culture at the end of the Middle Ages: The Coventry Tapestry in St. Mary’s Hall”, *Urban History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2012), pp. 221-4.

²²² And showed them how the peace that had been negotiated was not to the king’s honour, nor that of the duke of Burgundy, the good city or its inhabitants. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 26r.

²²³ The commons who were already assembled there... who greatly desired peace did not wish to listen to their words, but instead began shouting in one voice: ‘Peace! Peace!’. Ibid., fol. 26v.

²²⁴ Marc Boone, “Urban Space”, 630; Christian Liddy, *Contesting the City*, pp. 129, 144-57.

Parisian rebels also appropriated official spaces for their own ends, underscoring their claims to represent the common good. Contest regarding the jurisdictions of the Châtelet and Palais characterised the 1418 riots.²²⁵ Appropriating the public right to perform justice through the occupation of official spaces, after his murder on 12th June 1418, Bernard, count of Armagnac's mutilated body was processed through the streets before being displayed for "deux jours entiers au pié du degré du Palays, sur la pierre de marbre".²²⁶ The marble table within the Palais' hall represented "un lieu de mémoire du pouvoir judiciaire" where the constable exercised authority, oaths of loyalty were received and judicial ceremonies performed.²²⁷ The Palais and its hall had originally been designed as public spaces that demonstrated "different aspects of the royal government".²²⁸ Consequently, this violence could be interpreted as a text in itself, with Vincent Challet describing violence as a "language of dominance and submission" that developed dialogue between ruler and ruled.²²⁹ Given its ties to the constabulary, the display concurrently symbolised the Parisians'

²²⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 52r-52v; Michael Sizer, "The Calamity of Violence: Reading the Paris Massacres of 1418", *Proceedings of the Western Society for French History*, Vol. 35, 2007, pp. 29-30.

²²⁶ For two entire days at the foot of the Palais' steps, upon the marble table. Reg. Lat. 1923, 48r. Cf. "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" ed. Louis Douet-d'Arcq in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 259.

²²⁷ Yann Potin, "Les rois en leur Palais de la Cité" in *Le Paris du Moyen Âge*, ed. Boris Bove & Claude Gauvard, (Paris: Belin, 2018), 85. Michael Sizer ambiguously describes the marble table as the site "where court cases and petitions would be heard", but since the fourteenth century the table had served a specific jurisdictional function, distinct from the powers of the wider Paris Parlement. Michael Sizer, "The Calamity of Violence", 25. See Loïc Cazaux, "Le connétable de France et le Parlement: la justice de guerre au royaume de France dans la première moitié du XV^e siècle" in *Justice et guerre de l'Antiquité à la première guerre mondiale*, ed. Marie Houlemare & Philippe Nevet, (Amiens: Encrage, 2011), 54, 60. On the inversion of this space's use and, specifically, the manipulation of the *table de marbre* see Marie Bouhaik-Gironès, *Les clercs de la Basoche et le théâtre comique*, (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2007), pp. 123-5 and the review by Darwin Smith, "Marie Bouhaik-Gironès Les clercs de la Basoche et le théâtre comique (Paris, 1420-1550)", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, Vol. 64, No. 6 (2009), pp. 1468-70.

²²⁸ Michael T. Davis, "Desespoir, Esperance and Douce France: The New Palace, Paris and the Royal State" in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146*, ed. Margaret Bent & Andrew Wathey, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), pp. 201-3.

²²⁹ Vincent Challet, "Violence as a Political Language: The Uses and Misuses of Violence in late Medieval French and English Popular Rebellions" in *The Routledge Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed.

appropriation of justice within the site of royal authority and the complete subversion of Bernard d'Armagnac's power.

Throughout the *Journal*, political communication was bounded by spatial parameters tied to implicit understandings of institutional jurisdictions and civic authority. The public evoked Lefebvre's triad, presenting the intersection of subjective, social and physical experiences of space. While spaces framed authority, these semiotic processes could be inverted when the commons, as in 1418, took control of public space for their own expression. Through his concentration upon interaction in space, the Bourgeois mapped fluctuations in official and popular authority, structured through an understanding of how people could act and speak in specific places. The decision to wear forms of clothing or discuss controversial topics of conversation were conveyed by the Bourgeois as challenges to the hegemonic control of Parisian space that could be used to contest authority. Such contests subsequently came to the fore during rebellions that concurrently witnessed blurring of public and private boundaries by Paris' commons, with symbolic inversion challenging a civic government and elite as the transgression of private boundaries brought the enigmatic lives of the aristocracy into the public sphere.

Emotional Rhetoric and Communication

Early studies of medieval emotion were defined by a grand narrative developed by Norbert Elias' *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation*, which argued that the early modern

Justine Firnhaber-Baker & Dirk Schoenaers, (London: Routledge, 2017), 280 *et passim*; Michael Sizer, "The Calamity of Violence", pp. 31-2.

consolidation of state power paralleled societal ‘rationalisation’ through the control of emotional expression and its channelling into ritualised manners central to state development.²³⁰ Elias envisioned the limits of internalised social self-constraint in the medieval world, ignoring the arguably stricter and more ritualised norms that defined medieval relationships.²³¹ This teleological reading of an emotional distance between the medieval and modern complemented Johan Huizinga’s reading of texts such as the *Journal* as evidence of medieval “levens felheid”.²³² As Huizinga concluded:

Tusschen leed en vreugde... scheen de afstand grooter dans voor ons; al wat men beleefde had nog dien graad van onmiddellijkheid en absoluutheid, dien... [zij] hebben in den kindergeest.”²³³

Despite continuing to influence approaches to medieval emotion that juxtapose the modern and medieval, Elias’ theory is nonetheless valuable.²³⁴ Elias championed a

²³⁰ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*, Vol. 2, ed. Stephen Mennell, (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 152; *The Civilizing Process*, pp. 374-414; Bowen Paille, Bart van Heerikhuizen & Mustafa Emirbayer, “Elias and Bourdieu”, *Journal of Classical Sociology*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2012), pp. 79-83; Susan J. Matt, “Current Emotion Research in History: Or, Doing History from the Inside Out”, *Emotion Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (January 2011), pp. 117-18; Damien Bouquet et Piroska Nagy, “L’historien et les émotions en politique: entre science et citoyenneté” in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, eds. Damien Bouquet et Piroska Nagy, (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2010), pp. 8-9.

²³¹ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, pp. 232-6; Robert Van Krieken, “The Organisation of the Soul: Elias and Foucault on Discipline and the Self”, *Archives européennes de sociologie*, Vol. 31, No. 2 (1990), pp. 356-60.

²³² The title of the first chapter of *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, alternately translated as the “passionate intensity” or “violent tenor” of life in Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, ed. L. Brummel in *Verzamelde werken*, Vol. 3, (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1949), 5. For translations see Johan Huizinga, *The Autumn of the Middle Ages*, trans. Ulrich Mammitzch & Rodney J. Payton, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), 1; *The Waning of the Middle Ages*, trans. F. Hopman, (London: Penguin, 1990), 9.

²³³ “The distance between sorrow and joy... seemed greater than for us [today]; everything experienced had that degree of immediacy and absoluteness that... they still have in the minds of children”. *Ibid.*, 5.

²³⁴ An important reconsideration of the value of Elias’ contributions is presented in John Carter Wood, “Evolution, Civilization and History: A Response to Wiener and Rosenwein”, *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (November 2007), pp. 562-3; Robert Van Krieken, “Norbert Elias and Emotions in History”, pp. 19-42.

genealogical conception of civilization in terms of *habitus*; the connections between psychological characteristics and social structures.²³⁵ In doing so, he focused upon the emergence of socio-political strategies of emotional moderation that mitigated the ‘authentic’ display of feeling in the early modern court tied to power, underscoring a view of rationality developed by Weber, that contrasted short-term (emotional) desires with the long-term consequences of human action.²³⁶ Although the Bourgeois himself interpreted overwhelming emotion as the opposite of a ‘rational’ “*memoyre de Dieu*”, a close examination of the *Journal* similarly demonstrates precisely how emotional discourse also formed part of a strategic repertoire that framed relations between groups and individuals in fifteenth-century French society.²³⁷ Primarily, emotions represented a rhetorical tool that rationalised and moralised human behaviour.²³⁸ Emotions are inherently communicative and, with their interpretation bound by cultural norms, they are apt to rhetorical manipulation.²³⁹ Consequently, the writing of emotion was intrinsically tied to the Bourgeois’ conception of authority, through the juxtaposition of collectively and individually expressed emotions that articulated popular reactions and aristocratic

²³⁵ Loïc Wacquant, “A Concise Genealogy and Anatomy of Habitus”, *The Sociological Review*, Vol. 64, No. 1 (February 2016), pp. 64-8; Derek Hook, “Genealogy, discourse, ‘effective history’: Foucault and the work of critique”, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (2005), pp. 4-11.

²³⁶ Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. (London: Unwin Hyman, 1930), pp. 77-8); Jack Barbalet, “Beruf, Rationality and Emotion in Max Weber’s Sociology”, *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (November 2000), pp. 330-7.

²³⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 46v; Benno Gammerl, “Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges”, *Rethinking History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2012), 164.

²³⁸ Carla Casagrande & Silvana Vecchio, “Les théories des passions dans la culture médiévale” in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy & Damien Bouquet, (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), pp. 112-121.

²³⁹ Jan Plamper, “The History of Emotions: An Interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein and Peter Stearns”, in *History and Theory* 49 (May 2010), 259.

authority.²⁴⁰ This section will examine some of the ways in which the Bourgeois employed emotional rhetoric to evaluate political authority, and how emotion itself represented a significantly contested aspect of the public transcript.

In medieval studies, the relationship between political communication and emotion has been championed by Gerd Althoff who has proposed an epistemological distinction between irretrievable, lived, 'authentic' emotions and their discursive function within rhetorical systems.²⁴¹ William Reddy's recognition that emotional statements function as 'speech-acts' encapsulating a true/false assessment by author and audience is significant here, highlighting how emotions, even in ritualised settings, actively engender related sentiments.²⁴² Similarly, Paul Hyams has stressed that public emotional expression can escape authors' goals, appropriated or transformed through audience reaction.²⁴³ As Damien Bouquet and Piroska Nagy have argued, "quand on 'dit une chose qu'on ne pense pas', on produit quand même un acte de langage *réel*, qui agit sur soi et sur l'interlocuteur."²⁴⁴ For Reddy, these expressions concurrently influence actor and audience, underpinning his assertion that 'emotional regimes' form the basis to political power whereby "emotives are modelled through ceremony or official art forms; individuals are required to utter emotives in appropriate circumstances, in the expectation that normative emotions will be enhanced

²⁴⁰ This distinction has similarly been highlighted by Tracy Adams, "The Armagnac-Burgundian Feud and the Languages of Anger" in *Writing War in Britain and France, 1370-1854: A History of Emotions*, ed. Stephanie Downes, Andrew Lynch & Katrina O'Loughlin, (London: Routledge, 2019), pp. 58-9.

²⁴¹ Gerd Althoff, "Du rire et des larmes. Pourquoi les émotions intéressent-elles les médiévistes?", *Écrire l'histoire*, No. 2 (Autumn 2008), pp. 27-39; Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy, "L'historien et les émotions politiques", 24.

²⁴² William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 99-103.

²⁴³ Paul Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 60.

²⁴⁴ Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy, "L'historien et les émotions en politique", 22.

and habituated."²⁴⁵ These approaches interpret emotion as conditioned by cultural norms that distinguish social status and frame authority.²⁴⁶ They are not, however, unidirectional. Public emotional expression is negotiated and, mirroring Scott's hidden transcripts, Reddy points to the emergence of 'emotional refuges' in strict regimes that establish different spheres of emotional consensus.²⁴⁷

Recently, historiography has placed an increasing emphasis upon emotions' role in the ordering of socio-political relations in urban settings.²⁴⁸ These approaches demonstrate the complementarity of Reddy's 'emotional regimes' with Barbara Rosenwein's theory of simultaneously coexisting 'emotional communities', that is, "different groups that have their own mode of interaction, form of emotional expression and valuation of particular emotions", with both theories validating emotions' communicative importance for the structuring of socio-political relations.²⁴⁹ Emotional discourse played a crucial role in

²⁴⁵ William M. Reddy, "Emotional Liberty: Politics and History in the Anthropology of Emotions", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 14, No. 2 (May 1999), 273; Andy Wood, "'Poore men woll speke one daye': Plebeian languages of deference and defiance in England, c. 1520-1640" in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1850*, ed. Tim Harris, (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 78.

²⁴⁶ On the distinction between norms and emotion, see Peter Stearns & Carol Stearns, "Emotionology", 813; Manuel Guay, "Les émotions du couple princier au XV^e siècle: Entre usages politiques et Affectio conjugalis" in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), pp. 96-7.

²⁴⁷ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129; James C. Scott, *Domination*, pp. 4-10; Andy Wood, "Fear, Hatred and the Hidden Injuries of Class in Early Modern England", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (Spring 2006), pp. 809-11. See also Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy, "Pour une histoire des émotions. L'historien face aux questions contemporaines" in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy & Damien Bouquet, (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), 38.

²⁴⁸ For instance, Jelle Haemers, "A Moody Community? Emotion and Ritual in Late Medieval Urban Revolts" in *Les émotions au coeur de la ville (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle)* ed. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure van Braune, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 70-80; Jelle Haemers & Jan Dumolyn, "'A Bad Chicken was Brooding': Subversive Speech in Late Medieval Flanders", *Past and Present*, Vol. 214 (2012), 65; Daniel Lord Smail, "Hatred as a Social Institution in Late-Medieval Society", *Speculum*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (January 2001), pp. 94-5; Klaus Oschema, "Toucher et être touché: Gestes de conciliation et émotions dans les duels judiciaires", *Médiévales*, Vol. 61 (2011), pp. 148-155.

²⁴⁹ Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 2.

historiographical narratives that traced this interaction, as demonstrated by Bernard Guenée's analysis of public opinion, but also with regards to the rhetoric available to historians who sought to persuasively articulate their views of the world.²⁵⁰ As Carlo Ginzburg noted, "the fundamental aim of both historiography and rhetoric is effectiveness, not truth; both historians and rhetoricians attempt to convince their audience".²⁵¹ Through its presentation of emotions witnessed, felt and envisioned, the *Journal* shaped fifteenth-century experiences within this self-referential form, simultaneously eliciting audience responses that validated the text's outlook. The intricacy of some emotive passages, such as the allegorical description of the 1418 massacres, underscores the consideration that underpinned these narratives.²⁵² As such, these incidents are far from the immediate, irrational and infantile responses described by Huizinga. Rather, the Bourgeois used these moments to exhibit more cautious introspection, rhetorically reconstructing emotional experiences to provide his audience with an 'exemplary' moral reaction to political circumstances.

Emotional Regimes: The Bourgeois and Moralising Discourse

The Bourgeois' emotional rhetoric was a product of his culturally determined understandings of morality, influenced by his clerical and University status. As such, it is unsurprising that the Bourgeois subscribed to a paradigm juxtaposing emotion and

²⁵⁰ Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique*, pp. 51-75.

²⁵¹ Carlo Ginzburg, *History, Rhetoric and Proof: The Menahem Stern Jerusalem Lectures*, (London: Brandeis University Press, 1999), 39.

²⁵² Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 25-6; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris de 1405 à 1449*, (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), 14.

reason.²⁵³ Thomas Aquinas argued that emotions were not subject to the rational soul, but unruly elements triggered by cognitive circumstances that reason strove to influence. In short, for Aquinas, “emotions are good if they are rational, and morally bad if they are irrational”.²⁵⁴ This moralisation had its roots in Aristotelian and Augustinian philosophy.²⁵⁵ Aristotle argued in the *Ethics* that human happiness depended upon the mean, and the mean depended upon continence, with the emotional mean consequently essential to rational decision making.²⁵⁶ This paralleled Augustine’s discussion of the soul, arguing that if the will was wrongly directed, the emotion will be immoral.²⁵⁷ These questions were still discussed at the late fourteenth-century University of Paris.²⁵⁸ In the *Tractatus de Anima* (1380), Pierre d’Ailly asserted that human behaviour stemmed from the will as a causative force influenced by emotions; contrary to Aquinas, d’Ailly contended that “no amount of cognition could ever have extrinsic motivational force, as emotions clearly do.”²⁵⁹ In turn, Jean Gerson was concerned for emotions’ communicative aspect and aware of their

²⁵³ Bernard Rimé, “Les émotions médiévales. Réflexions psychologiques” in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), 313.

²⁵⁴ Peter King, “Aquinas on the Emotions” in *The Oxford Handbook of Aquinas*, ed. Brian Davies & Eleonore Stump, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 212, 218-223; Barbara Rosenwein, “Emotion Words” in *Le Sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy & Damien Bouquet, (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), 104; Alain Boureau, “Un sujet agité. Le statut nouveau des passions de l’âme au XIII^e siècle” in *Le sujet des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Piroska Nagy & Damien Bouquet, (Paris: Beauchesne, 2008), pp. 194-6. Robert C. Roberts, “Aquinas on the Morality of Emotions”, *History of Philosophy Quarterly*, Vol. 9, No. 3 (July 1992), 299.

²⁵⁵ Bernard Rimé, “Les émotions médiévales”, 311.

²⁵⁶ Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Ethiques d’Aristote*, ed. Albert Douglas Menut, (New York: Stechert, 1940), 365.

²⁵⁷ St. Augustine, *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson, (London: Penguin, 1984), pp. 555-6, Book XIV, Chapter 6.

²⁵⁸ Dominik Perler, “Emotions and Cognitions Fourteenth-Century Discussions on the Passions of the Soul”, *Vivarium*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (2005), pp. 264-70. These approaches to emotion and reason prominent as evidenced

by Pierre d’Ailly’s *Tractatus de Anima* (1380) which developed a psychological approach to the soul based on the thirteenth-century *Summa naturalium* and the works of Gregory of Rimini.

²⁵⁹ Peter King, “Emotions in Medieval Thought” in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion*, 182; Laura Ackerman Smoller, *History, Prophecy and the Stars: The Christian Astrology of Pierre d’Ailly, 1350-1420*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 43.

importance in rhetoric's "power to stir the passions".²⁶⁰ Gerson related rhetoric to preaching and instruction of the laity warning that "the path of intellect was closed to the unlearned" seeking God, instead underscoring the rhetorical skill through which clergymen were expected to reform French morality by influencing popular passions.²⁶¹

The Bourgeois' treatment of emotion was influenced by these emphases upon human agency, morality and instruction, demonstrated in the rare instances where his style was accentuated to substantiate moral assessments, as in the description of the 1418 massacres. Here, the Bourgeois joined Michel Pintoin in structuring events through the juxtaposition of rational authorities with popular emotion. For Pintoin, the Parisian commons were "temulenti furorem dyabolicum conceperant".²⁶² However, where the Religieux deployed this rhetoric to signal disdain for the popular seizure of authority, the Bourgeois used this same dichotomy to explain popular behaviour.²⁶³

Lors se leva la déesse de Discorde qui estoit en la tour de Mau-Conseil, et esveilla Ire la forcenée, et Convoitise et Enragerie et Vengeance, et prindrent

²⁶⁰ In 1408-9, Gerson compiled *De passionibus animae* and later between 1410 and 1415, he also produced a second pamphlet with the same title. Palémon Glorieux, "La vie et les œuvres de Gerson: Essai chronologique", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, Vol. 18 (1950-1), 173; Jean Gerson, "De passionibus animae" in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Palémon Glorieux, Vol. 9, No. 423; No. 437. See also Barbara Rosenwein, *Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions, 600-1700*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp. 229-247.

²⁶¹ Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity before Print*, pp. 116-9.

²⁶² RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 244-6. The victims of excessive and irrepressible feeling, the description echoes Christine de Pizan's description of the third estate in her 1405 *Advison*, which lacked the propensity to reason, rendering them susceptible to blinding undertaking unjust action, yet simultaneously excusing them for their 'natural' failing. Susan J. Dudash, "Christine de Pizan and the 'Menu peuple'", *Speculum*, Vol. 78, No. 3 (July 2003), pp. 219-23. On the dehumanization of the rioters see Michael Sizer, "The Calamity of Violence", pp. 28-29.

²⁶³ Florence Bouchet, "Dire l'horreur: les relations du massacre des Armagnacs à Paris (juin 1418)" in *L'horreur au Moyen Âge*, ed. Jean-Claude Faucon, (Toulouse: Éditions universitaires du Sud, 2000), pp. 7-11.

armes de toutes manieres, et bouterent hors d'avec eulx Raison, Justice, Memoyre de Dieu et Atrempance moult honteusement.²⁶⁴

Huizinga suggested that allegory was the Bourgeois' "uitdrukkingsmiddel van het tragisch besef", and while others have argued that this stylistic shift evoked profound moral uncertainty in the face of the Paris massacres, the paradigm also rationalised these complicated events.²⁶⁵ Reason, Justice and the Memory of God, unemotional qualities envisioned as safeguarding the common good, were forgotten due to overwhelming emotion.²⁶⁶ The portrayal of Ire echoed Aristotle's nuanced presentation of anger, as an emotion that 'mishears' reason, being quick to redress wrongs to the individual, with Oresme glossing: "le courroucié ot le commencement de raison et ne actent pas la fin".²⁶⁷ Anger therefore assumed a social function that implied a rational basis overtaken by the perceived immediacy of issues.

Regarding morality, the Bourgeois fundamentally considered God an *emotional* being, exhibited both in nature and the outcome of human action. Consequently, the *Journal* presented a paradigm for the socio-political interpretation of human feeling according to a

²⁶⁴ Then arose the goddess of Discord who resided in the tower of Mau-Conseil, and awoke mad Anger, and Lust and Rage and Vengeance, and they took up arms of all kinds and very shamefully expelled Reason, Justice, the Memory of God and Temperance. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 46v. For the Bourgeois' description of the massacres on 12th June 1418 see below, Appendix II, No. 4.

²⁶⁵ Way of expressing his sense of tragedy. Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, 257; Florence Bouchet, "Dire l'horreur", pp. 10-13; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 200, n. 14.

²⁶⁶ On the interrelation of justice, reason and the common good see Matthias Lutz-Bachmann, "The Discovery of a Normative Theory of Justice in Medieval Philosophy: On the Reception and Further Development of Aristotle's Theory of Justice by St. Thomas Aquinas", *Medieval Philosophy and Theology*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (2000), pp. 9-14.

²⁶⁷ The angry person has the beginnings of reason but does not await the end. Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Ethiques*, 383; *The Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle*, trans. F.H. Peters, (London: Trübner, 1906), Book VII, 6, pp. 227-8.

parallel moral binary.²⁶⁸ The dichotomy presented medieval commentators with an emotional disposition system underpinning an interpretation of the world that exhibited “pre-existing expectations about types of people summed up in roles, identities and situations”.²⁶⁹ Emotions are not culturally constructed, but their interpretation was determined by the culture enveloping the Bourgeois – read in the Bible and devotional literature, heard in preaching and physically experienced in architecture, mystery plays and the liturgy.²⁷⁰ For instance, when Henry V and Charles VI entered Paris in December 1420, the Bourgeois described the mystery of Christ’s Passion performed at their welcome: “n’estoit homme qui veist le mistere a qui le cuer n’apiteast”.²⁷¹ This imagery formed part of the Bourgeois’ everyday environment, with the Passion performed “selon que elle est figurée autour du cuer de Notre-Dame de Paris.”²⁷² This background characterised the Bourgeois’ predisposition to moral judgement through emotional evaluations. These were used unconsciously, given the symbioses of morality and emotion that framed his preconscious emotional disposition, providing models for instinctive environmental responses, but also consciously as emotional rhetoric was imbued with moral overtones designed to influence the *Journal’s* audience.

²⁶⁸ I use the phrase “social interpretation/socially interpreted” in lieu of “social construct/socially constructed”. Instead of considering emotions as socially “constructed”, this approach highlights how cultural differences emerge as a result of the different ways in which societies interpret, frame, ritualise and express these emotions – the ways in which they *interpret* them. Kenneth J. Gergen, “The Self as Social Construction”, *Psychological Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 1 (January-March 2011), 109 & especially n. 1.

²⁶⁹ George E. Marcus, *The Sentimental Citizen: Emotion in Democratic Politics*, (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), pp. 117-8; Francesca Polletta & James M. Jasper, “Collective Identity and Social Movements”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 27 (2001), pp. 289-291.

²⁷⁰ Barbara Rosenwein, “Even the Devil (Sometimes) has Feelings: Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages” in *The Haskins Society Journal: Studies in Medieval History*, XIV (2003), 2; William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 40.

²⁷¹ The hearts of all those who saw the mystery were moved to pity. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 74r. See below, Appendix II, No. 6.

²⁷² As it is depicted around the choir of Notre-Dame of Paris. *Ibid.*, fol. 74r.

This rhetoric was implemented to evaluate political behaviours, providing a narrative means of questioning aristocratic authority and establishing a script through which the Bourgeois and his audiences could ‘read’ power.²⁷³ Either the description of emotion inspired a moral assessment of behaviour, or the Bourgeois’ moral judgement evoked emotional responses. If rhetoric was essential to rendering a narrative persuasive, the emotional narrator crafted by the Bourgeois presented an interpretative ‘shortcut’ that brought the audience closer to the ‘truths’ of human behaviour that qualified moral legitimacy in the public sphere. Although Janet Shirley described the Bourgeois’ rhetoric as simplistic, the *Journal* reveals a variety of strategies employed to emphasise the importance of events.²⁷⁴ One such strategy was the use of second-person plural verbs that approximated the audience to the phenomena described.

Remarking upon the numbers of homeless and starving children in the winter of 1421 resulting directly from the heavy taxes imposed by the city’s governors, the Bourgeois stressed that “ne vous eussiez esté en quelque compaignie que vous ne veissiez les ungs lamenter ou plourer a grosses lermes, maudisant leur nativité, les autres Fortune, les autres les signeurs, les autres les gouverneurs.”²⁷⁵ Proximity engendered sympathy on the audience’s part, but this sympathy also performed a political function. As Lydwine Scordia has demonstrated, in late medieval France the rhetoric of ‘malédiction’ – of the commons cursing their lords – presented a means of contesting the political authority of tyrants by

²⁷³ Sarah Rees Jones, “Emotions, Speech and the Art of Politics in Fifteenth-Century York: House Books, Mystery Plays and Richard, Duke of Gloucester”, *Urban History*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2017), 588.

²⁷⁴ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 25-6.

²⁷⁵ Regardless of the company that you were in, you would have seen some lamenting or crying with great tears, cursing their birth, others cursing Fortune, others the lords, others the governors. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 80v.

eliciting divine intervention.²⁷⁶ Moreover, the victims' poverty accentuated their proximity to God which, coupled with their curse, accorded the suffering political power. The Bourgeois channelled this emotion through their direct appeal to God: "En disant maintes foys, 'Vray Dieu, *vindica sanguinem sanctorum!* Venge le sang des bonnes creatures qui meurent sans deserte par ces faulx traistres Arminax!"²⁷⁷

Malediction's effectiveness in the narrative was predicated upon this rhetorical proximity and the interconnection of morality and emotion. Scordia has highlighted the importance of the appeal's expression directly from the people to God, without passing through ecclesiastical structures that typically channelled this communication.²⁷⁸

Nevertheless, it is important to recognise that through their accounts of popular suffering, it was precisely clerics who harnessed the power of envisioned popular experiences to buttress their political rhetoric. In *Loquar in tribulacione* (c. 1439), Jean Juvénal des Ursins reflected upon the impact of continued fighting in France and the tyranny of the aristocratic reluctance to solve these issues.²⁷⁹ Ursins warned Charles VII that God paid heed to the clamour of the suffering, "les larmes des pauvres, les lamentations des veuves, les soupirs des orphelins", that jeopardised royal legitimacy and divine favour.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁶ Lydwine Scordia, *'Le roi doit vivre du sien': La théorie de l'impôt en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 2005), pp. 290-301.

²⁷⁷ Stating many times, 'True God, *vindica sanguinem sanctorum!* Avenge the blood of the good creatures who die unjustly because of these false Armagnac traitors!'

²⁷⁸ Lydwine Scordia, *'Le roi doit vivre du sien'*, 296.

²⁷⁹ Hervé Lebègue, "Famille royale et réforme dans les écrits de Jean Juvénal des Ursins" in *Familles royales. Vie publique, vie privée aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, ed. Christine Raynaud, (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2010), pp. 97-101; Peter Lewis, "Jean Juvenal des Ursins and the Common Literary Attitude towards Tyranny in Fifteenth-Century France", *Medium Aevum*, Vol. 34 (1965), pp. 117-20.

²⁸⁰ The tears of the poor, the lamentations of the widows, the sights of the orphans. Jean Juvenal des Ursins, "Loquar in tribulacione" in *Écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, Vol. 1 ed. Peter S. Lewis, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978), pp. 416-17.

Enabling an interpretation of relative power through this discourse, the *Journal* evokes the Bourgeois' 'emotional styles', defined by Benno Gammerl as "the experience, fostering and display of emotions [that] oscillate between discursive patterns and embodied practices".²⁸¹ Emotion was interpreted according to a dichotomy that counterbalanced aristocratic agency with popular experience.²⁸² Although emotions were universally felt, cultural stereotypes married emotional agency with political power. Gerd Althoff has argued that a prince's ability to freely express emotion was indicative of authority, as a communicative practice engendering socio-political effects.²⁸³ The description of princely emotion in chronicles, as well as responses to this agency, enabled writers such as the Bourgeois to frame the public dimension to their authority, derived from their status within a divinely ordained, hierarchical social order.²⁸⁴ Aristocratic anger, as an active and other-directed emotion that provoked action, was typically presented in juxtaposition with popular suffering that signalled the populace's powerlessness.²⁸⁵ Those rarer moments where popular anger was evoked, in contrast, tested the normative limits of aristocratic

²⁸¹ Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles", *Rethinking History*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2012), 163.

²⁸² Laurent Smagghe, "Discours princiers de l'émotion dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet & Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Viella, 2011), pp. 326-30; Tracy Adams, "The Armagnac-Burgundain Feud", pp. 66-7.

²⁸³ Gerd Althoff, "Demonstration und Inszenierung. Spielregeln der Kommunikation in mittelalterlicher Öffentlichkeit", *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 27 (1993), pp. 27-50; Catherine A. Lutz & Lila Abu-Lughod, *Language and the Politics of Emotion*, 11.

²⁸⁴ Manuel Guay, "Les émotions dans les cours princières au XV^e siècle: entre manifestations publiques et secrets", *Questes*, Vol. 16 (2009), pp. 39-40.

²⁸⁵ Bénédicte Sère, "Le roi peut-il avoir honte? Quelques réflexions à partir des chroniques de France et d'Angleterre (XIIe-XIIIe siècles)" in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), pp. 50, 63-4; Laurent Smagghe, "'Sur paine d'encourir nostre indignation': Rhétorique du courroux princier dans les Pays-Bas bourguignons à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), pp. 75-83.

authority.²⁸⁶ The Bourgeois derived authorial agency from his situation between these two poles, manipulating popular experiences as a barometer that indicated the morality of aristocratic behaviour. The marked emotional distance from the commons also underscored the Bourgeois' own social standing; while the plight of "povres gens et pouvres prebstres" was rhetorically significant, sympathy simultaneously marked social distinction as an other-oriented emotional marker.²⁸⁷

The contrast of ruler and ruled in the *Journal* also demonstrates the unequal distribution of emotional capital in fifteenth-century Parisian society. Related to other forms of Bourdieuan capital, emotional capital comprises the means of linking individual resources and processes to 'macro-structural' forces of social hierarchy, inequality and cohesion.²⁸⁸ As an interpersonal resource, the ability to manage emotional expression in public and convey it effectively, for instance through rhetoric, become skills that underpin a social advantage and are integral to the maintenance of power as a form of 'embodied' cultural capital.²⁸⁹ While sociologists have reserved interpretations of emotional capital for the domestic sphere, the *Journal* reveals the fundamental importance of emotional expression in public as a means of exhibiting and testing authority.²⁹⁰ Consequently, the

²⁸⁶ John Watts, "Public or Plebs: The Changing Meaning of 'The Commons', 1381-1549" in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Rees Davies* ed. Huw Pryce & John Watts, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 245.

²⁸⁷ Poor people and poor priests. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 74v. Karen Gerdes, "Empathy, Sympathy, and Pity: 21st-Century Definitions and Implications for Practice and Research", *Journal of Social Service Research*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2011), pp. 232-6.

²⁸⁸ Peggy Thoits, "Emotion Norms, Emotion Work and Social Order" in S. R. Manstead, N. Frijda, & A. Fischer (ed), *Feelings and Emotions*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 372.

²⁸⁹ Marci Cottingham, "Theorizing Emotional Capital", *Theory and Society*, Vol. 45, No. 5 (October 2016), 452.

²⁹⁰ Helga Nowotny, "Austria: Women in Public Life" in *Access to Power: Cross-National Studies of Women and Elites*, ed. Cynthia Fuchs Epstein & Rose Laub Cosner, (London: Allen & Unwin, 1981), pp. 147-56.

Journal's emphasis upon emotional expression and the Bourgeois' development of an emotional personage as narrator enabled the author to arrogate social and political authority for himself and his audience.

The dichotomy between individual aristocratic expression and popular response was essential for the Bourgeois' rationalisation of power, bringing to light Rosenwein's 'emotional communities'.²⁹¹ Delineating the varied modes of emotional expression, norms and moral appraisals available to distinct communities in public space, emotional communities overlapped with professional and social contexts.²⁹² For instance, when Charles VI and Henry V entered Paris for the first time following the conclusion of the Treaty of Troyes, on 1st December 1420, the Bourgeois reported their joyful first entry whereupon:

Ilz encontroient par toutes les rues processions de prebstres revestuz de chappes et de seurpeliz, portans saintuaires, chantans *Te deum laudamus, Benedictus qui venit*, et fut entre v et vj heures apres medi, et toute nuyt quant ilz revenoient en leurs eglises. Et ce faisoient si liement et de si joyeux cueur, et le commun *par cas pareil*.²⁹³

The Bourgeois emphasised the symbolic features that rendered the Parisian clergy distinct from the commons, despite their *shared* emotion, suggesting the conventional elements that framed collective interaction with royalty within a "multidimensional"

²⁹¹ Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 2.

²⁹² Barbara Rosenwein, "The Political Uses of an Emotional Community: Cluny and its Neighbours, 833-965" in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet & Piroška Nagy (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), 205.

²⁹³ In every street they encountered processions of priests dressed in copes and surplices, carrying reliquaries, singing *Te deum laudamus, Benedictus qui venit*, and this between the fifth and sixth hour of the afternoon, and all night as they returned to their churches. And they did this so happily and with such joyful heart, and the commons in a similar manner. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 74r. See below, Appendix II, No. 6.

procession fusing “narrative, sound and image”.²⁹⁴ The emotions shared by the commons and clergy undermines Rosenwein’s argument that social boundaries promote different emotional experiences, instead revealing that socio-professional markers influenced means of expression and communication.²⁹⁵ In 1420, sentimental fluidity resulted in a collective expression of joy that tied the civic community to the Treaty of Troyes. Groups were defined not by distinct emotion, but by its expression according to pre-established norms that defined socio-political status.

As Andy Wood has argued for early modern England, “domination, subordination and resistance did more than maintain a fluid, contradictory, conflictual system of social relations; they also generated feelings: repression, anger, frustration and humiliation”.²⁹⁶ Through rhetoric and his account of popular emotion, the Bourgeois appropriated authority, a “practice of dominance... which involves particular modes of emotional persuasion”, to condemn aristocratic behaviour according to his moral paradigm.²⁹⁷ For himself and his immediate audience, the text emerged as an example of Reddy’s “emotional refuge”, a “safe release from prevailing social norms... which may shore up or threaten the existing regime” distinguishing his immediate audience and the restricted public sphere to which he contributed from the culturally- and politically-determined emotional regimes that

²⁹⁴ Lawrence M. Bryant, *Ritual, Ceremony and the Changing Monarchy in France, 1350-1789*, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 33-37; Thomas A. Boogaart, “Our Saviour’s Blood: Procession and Community in Late Medieval Bruges” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashely & Wim Hüskén, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 69; Victor Turner, *Drama, Fields and Metaphors*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 35.

²⁹⁵ Jan Plamper, “The History of Emotions: An Interview”, pp. 253-4; Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, pp. 192-196.

²⁹⁶ Andy Wood, “Fear, Hatred”, 807.

²⁹⁷ Susan Broomhall, “Introduction: Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England” in *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Susan Broomhall, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.

governed wider public expression.²⁹⁸ The notion of refuge complements Scott's notion of 'hidden transcripts', responding to those public transcripts that assure domination through the "social experience of indignities, control, submission, humiliation, forced deference and punishment".²⁹⁹ Where authorities implicitly expect subordinates to repress negative emotions to ensure conformity and cohesion, emotional refuges present avenues of resistance and self-expression resulting from this dissonance between public and individual behavioural expectations.³⁰⁰ Moreover, individuals aspiring to secure social inclusion often exhibit emotional conformity in public.³⁰¹ Even in collective social and political movements, participants actively search for reasons "to recover and legitimate" emotions, with the Bourgeois contributing to this discursive process.³⁰² As such, the *Journal* indicates how those peripheral to power in fifteenth-century Paris appropriated emotional discourse to assert their own perspectives and interpret authority within the wider public sphere. The community that used and was defined by this textual refuge cut across pre-existing political and social boundaries, as evidenced by the fact that the Bourgeois, a cleric, wrote for a lay, artisanal audience.³⁰³ Emotional regimes, therefore, do not operate in a vacuum, with the *Journal* portraying shifting emotional styles that changed power relations through

²⁹⁸ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129

²⁹⁹ James C. Scott, *Domination*, pp. 111-13.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-4; Andy Wood, "Fear, Hatred", 811; Helena Flam, "Anger in Repressive Regimes. A Footnote to *Domination and the Arts of Resistance* by James Scott", *European Journal of Social Theory*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (2004), 175.

³⁰¹ Theodore Kemper, "Social Constructionist and Positivist Approaches to the Sociology of Emotions", *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 87, pp. 336-362; Randal Collins, "Stratification, Emotional Energy and the Transient Emotions" in *Research Agendas in the Sociology of Emotions*, ed. Theodore Kemper, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990), pp. 25-57.

³⁰² Helena Flam, "Anger in Repressive Regimes", 173.

³⁰³ Benno Gammerl, "Emotional Styles", pp. 163-4.

expression that means that the success of any single regime is never total and “always contested”.³⁰⁴

The *Journal* highlights the predominance of emotions in medieval public life and political discourse. Interaction between rulers and ruled was inherently determined by notions of appropriate and inappropriate emotional response that defined the political and social agency of actors.³⁰⁵ An assessment of the ways in which the Bourgeois employed emotional rhetoric, even in the most extreme of cases, to rationalise and moralise political events betrays the fact that, rather than being unthinking and childlike, emotional discourse was integral to a coherent and effective discursive logic. This logic framed the Bourgeois’ interpretation of political communication in the public sphere, with emotion functioning as an essential means of communicating princely and popular perspectives while mapping relative authority and political agency. Unlike the conclusions of modern sociologists, therefore, the *Journal* demonstrates particularly clearly the enduring emotional character of the public sphere and counters a grander narrative of ‘rationalisation’ beginning with Norbert Elias’ ‘civilizing process’ in the early modern period and accelerating with increased literacy rates and bourgeois social spaces in the eighteenth century. Consonant with the conclusions of cognitive psychologists, the *Journal* reveals an implicit conception of emotional behaviour that presented a means of rationalising and moralising human

³⁰⁴ Dan M. Kotliar, “Emotional Oppositions: The Political Struggle over Citizens’ Emotions”, *Qualitative Sociology*, Vol. 39 (2016), 270; Monique Scheer, “Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (and is that what makes them have a history)?: A Bourdieuan Approach to Understanding Emotion”, *History and Theory*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (May 2012), pp. 216-19.

³⁰⁵ Geoffrey M. White, “Moral Discourse and the Rhetoric of Emotion” in *Psychological Anthropology: A Reader on Self in Culture*, ed. Robert A. LeVine, (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 68-73; Simon J. Williams, *Emotion and Social Theory: Corporeal Reflections on the (Ir)rational*, (London: Thousand Oaks, 2001), 33.

behaviour and explaining political developments. Although the Bourgeois certainly subscribed to a conception of negative emotionality that contrasted with principles such as divine wisdom and justice, even the description of overwhelming emotion served an important function in explaining how and why the commons behaved during the 1418 Parisian massacres.

Conclusion

The Bourgeois' perception of official communication and its incorporation into the *Journal* enabled him to exert authority through the reconstruction of interactions between civic or royal authorities and Parisian audiences. The *Journal* portrayed Parisian reactions in relation to the messages disseminated through official media, thereby demonstrating the extent to which these could be questioned, accepted and rejected, reverting the processes whereby information acquired authority by accentuating the audience's role in recognising their effectiveness, granting greater agency to Parisians contrasted with overarching bodies. Consequently, this assessment highlights the means by which the *Journal* gave voice to public opinion and framed the dimensions of the public sphere, a forum that was invariably determined by spatial and rhetorical considerations that the Bourgeois integrated into his narrative. Communication was about power and legitimacy, and the *Journal's* stress upon the elements that coalesced in the processes of official communication simultaneously expressed the legitimacy of contest and codified the strategies employed by Parisians excluded from typical institutions of authority to exert their agency over political developments. In this light, the *Journal* traced a public transcript that was constantly being

produced through repeated interactions between official bodies and public opinion, framed by specific Parisian spaces, symbols and discourses

Chapter IV: Rumour and Resistance

Rumour represented an integral part of medieval urban life and its prevalence within the *Journal* was, in no small part, a consequence of the period's turbulence and a wider distrust of official sources, while evoking the sources to which the Bourgeois had most direct access in the form of the discussions taking place in his local and professional communities.¹ On the one hand, the incorporation of rumours into the *Journal* performed a stylistic function, emphasising the Bourgeois' narrative authority as a witness to events and conversations while enhancing the text's mimetic qualities by emphasising the 'reality' of Parisian reactions and opinions. On the other hand, the record and transmission of rumour also assumed a significant political role. Medieval historiography typically portrayed popular rumour in relation to royal or aristocratic authority.² Nevertheless, this same fact resulted in elite chroniclers, particularly those tied to royal or courtly circles, deliberately neutralising the political agency and participation expressed through the circulation of rumour to assert aristocratic power and distance the commons from political decision making and commentary.³ Concurrently, official discourse also sought to mitigate the potency of public opinion, speech and rumour through counter-rumours, propaganda and

¹ Colette Beaune, "La rumeur dans le *Journal du Bourgeois de Paris*", *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen-Âge. Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public, 24^e congrès, Avignon, 1993*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994), 192; Séverine Fargette, "Rumeurs, propaganda et opinion publique au temps de la guerre civile (1407-1420)", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 113, No. 2 (2007), pp. 313-16, 326; Boris Bove, "Deconstructing the Chronicles: Rumours and Extreme Violence during the Siege of Meaux (1421-1422)", *French History*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (2010), pp. 502-5; Loïc Cazaux, "Les fonctions politiques de la foule à Paris pendant la guerre civile (1407-1420)", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2011), pp. 68-70; David Coax & Jo Fox, "Rumour and Politics", *History Compass*, Vol. 13, No. 5 (2015), pp. 226-8.

² Bernard Guenée, *L'opinion publique à la fin du moyen âge d'après la chronique de Charles VI du religieux de Saint-Denis*, (Paris: Perrin, 2002), 126; Pauline Bouchaud, Mélanie Fougère-Lévêque & François Wallerich, "Faire de l'histoire: introduction", *Questes*, Vol. 36 (2017), 134

³ Pierre Courroux, *L'Écriture de l'histoire dans les chroniques françaises (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2016), pp. 760-1.

coercive measures.⁴ However, this chapter proposes that through the *Journal*, it becomes possible to resituate rumour as the expression of ingrained and often archetypal narratives that elicited important emotional responses and facilitated political participation, arguing that the behaviours that chroniclers frequently dismissed as murmuring or grumbling were evocative of far more considered political and discursive practices.

Rumour's role in the consolidation of community ideals highlights its overlap with understandings of the public sphere, especially given the fact that regardless of their geographical, professional or familial basis, groups are bound through shared information.⁵ Rumours that circulate within communities come to embody collective beliefs, but in doing so they also perform an important political function. Evocative of enduring socio-political anxieties, their expression functions as a form of social catharsis through which communities express "their state of mind... mentalities and imagination", communicating insecurities.⁶ Chris Wickham has demonstrated how, for medieval communities, *publica fama* – common knowledge and personal renown – was determined by informal conversations between community members: "the group is actually constituted by who has the right to gossip about outsiders, and moral values are constantly reinforced by gossip."⁷ For Wickham, rumour and gossip therefore function as a means of defining "the hugely complex network

⁴ The employment of these measures has been explored in modern sociology by Jean-Noël Kapferer. "Le contrôle des rumeurs. Expériences et réflexions sur le démenti", *Communications*, Vol. 52 (1990), pp. 107-117.

⁵ Michel-Louis Rouquette, "Le syndrome de rumeur", *Communications*, Vol. 52, (1990), 121; Thomas V. Cohen & Lesley K. Twomey, "Introduction" in *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400-1700)*, eds. Thomas Cohen & Lesley Twomey, pp. 3, 10-12

⁶ Bernard Paillard, "L'Echo de la rumeur", *Communications*, Vol. 52 (1990), 134; Bronisław Baczko, *Ending the Terror: The French Revolution After Robespierre*, trans. Michel Petheram, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 3.

⁷ Chris Wickham, "Gossip and Resistance among the Medieval Peasantry", *Past & Present*, No. 160 (August 1998), 11.

of social relationships which construct our social world, hierarchically and hegemonically”, providing a “direct guide to the lines of power.”⁸ Consequently, a close examination of the rumours reported in the *Journal* enables the reader to ascertain the ideological dynamics at stake in fifteenth-century Parisian political communication, as well as the means by which Parisians employed rumour to contest civic or royal authority.

Rumour was essential to the Bourgeois’ historiographical methodology and strategies of political commentary, to the extent that these were consciously considered. The *Journal* evidences similar characteristics to other urban chronicles produced during the period, such as those of London and the Low Countries, that engaged with and recorded rumour or popular speech, reflecting both increased interest in the reactions of urban inhabitants and, moreover, the ways in which authors harnessed these reactions “as a form of social power”.⁹ As an inherently politicised response to official communication, policy or events, viewing the *Journal*’s relation of rumour as strategic undermines current interpretations that argue, firstly, that the Bourgeois unquestioningly reported rumours that echoed his own political perspectives and, second, that rumour was (and is) antonymic of

⁸ Ibid., 18. *Fama* and rumour therefore play a role similar to Bourdieu’s social capital, wherein groups or individuals accrue actual or virtual resources through social relationships as a mark of an individual’s integration. Pierre Bourdieu & Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1992), 119. See also Claude Gauvard, “Introduction” in *La rumeur au Moyen Âge: du mépris à la manipulation, V^e–XV^e siècle*, ed. Maité Billoré & Myriam Soria, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2011), 27.

⁹ Jan Dumolyn, “‘Criers and Shouters’. The Discourse on Radical Urban Rebels in Late Medieval Flanders”, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Autumn 2008), 111; Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing*, (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 32, 74, 108; Andrew Gordon, *Writing Early Modern London: Memory, Text and Community*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), pp. 8-18 For similar examples see Cordelia Hess, “Nigra crux mala crux: a comparative perspective on urban conflict in Gdansk in 1411 and 1416”, *Urban History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (November 2014), pp. 571-3; Dirk Schoenaers, “‘United we stand?’ Representing revolt in the historiography of Brabant and Holland (fourteenth to fifteenth centuries)” in *The Routledge History Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker & Dirk Schoenaers, (London: Routledge, 2017), 111.

official communication, being accentuated in periods when news was scarce.¹⁰ Rather, the *Journal* supports recent research that suggests that medieval civic officials were predominantly engaged in the survey of rumour and even its exploitation to consolidate their authority in urban space, whereas news accentuated existing rumours and engendered new ones, rather than simply plugging an informational vacuum.¹¹ This chapter will analyse the Bourgeois' use of rumour, its confirmation or rejection to arrogate narrative authority and control public perspective. It was in recording rumours that the Bourgeois codified the phenomenon and, through the rumour's fixity and historical appearance in the text, its apparent veracity was accentuated. Even when rumours were proven false, the *Journal* evidences an interest in the phenomenon as a social fact – an indication of popular response that could serve as a model to his audience.

After assessing the techniques used by the Bourgeois to convey rumour and codify its impact, this chapter will consider rumour's socio-political function in two distinct ways. Firstly, an analysis of the development of a stereotypical trope through the repeated use of rumour in the *Journal* that underpinned the elaboration of perceived 'Armagnac' characteristics, permits the reader to trace the manner in which rumour consolidated

¹⁰ These views are widely held among scholars who have studied the *Journal*. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 16; Colette Beaune, "La rumeur", pp. 191-5; Claude Gauvard, "Aux origines de la chronique judiciaire: l'exemple du royaume de France aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge", *Histoire de la justice*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2010), pp. 16-17; "La 'fama', une parole fondatrice", *Médiévales*, No. 24 (1993), pp. 5-8.

¹¹ Xavier Nadrigny, "Rumeur et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Annales du Midi*, Vol. 121, No. 265 (2009), pp. 26-35; *Information et opinion publique à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 2013), pp. 157-74 Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "'A Bad Chicken was Brooding': Subversive Speech in Late Medieval Flanders", *Past & Present*, No. 214 (February 2012), pp. 57-61; Christopher Fletcher, "Rumour, Clamour, Mummer and Rebellion: Public Opinion and its Uses before and after the Peasants' Revolt (1381)" in *La Comunidad medieval como esfera publica*, ed. Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer, Vincent Challet, Jan Dumolyn & María Antonia Carmona Ruiz, (Sevilla: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Sevilla, 2014), pp. 201-4.

political identifications through juxtaposition with imagined Others, building upon and manipulating existing archetypal narratives and the use of emotional rhetoric. Through the repetition of anti-Armagnac rumours the Bourgeois effectively articulated a system of political commentary that rationalised continued Parisian opposition to the Orléanist faction.

Secondly, this chapter will explore the conjunction between the circulation of rumour and popular resistance to royal and civic authority in Paris, focusing upon the uprisings of 1413 and 1418. Armagnac authorities employed a series of measures recorded by the Bourgeois that were intended to limit the potential for political discussion among Parisians, ranging from the surveillance of public gatherings and spaces to the disruption of corporations and the employment of spies in neighbourhoods. An examination of the Bourgeois' rationalisation of these uprisings similarly evidences the political importance of popular rumour, employed within the *Journal* to explain violent behaviours and a popular assumption of power. Where, in 1413, rumours of the aristocratic exploitation of royal government were designed to legitimate the Parisian assumption of power and execution of civic officials, by 1418 the archetypal rumours concerning dangerous Others had been brought within the community, provoking a series of massacres following a heightened paranoia regarding the presence of Armagnacs within the city after the Burgundian coup in May that year. As such, the Bourgeois' decision to privilege rumour at moments of political tension reveals its fundamental role in validating Parisian political agency while concurrently delineating the boundaries of a Parisian community defined through opposition to the Armagnac faction.

Theorising Rumour

Rumours are unconfirmed instances of information whose transmission depends upon their emotional appeal and relevance to participants' socio-political interests. They consistently appear anonymous and ephemeral, lacking an authoritative source and remaining ambiguous, apparently spontaneous (or atemporal) and freely circulating in public space.¹² Rumours occupy an ambivalent place in relation to truth.¹³ Where some may believe their content, others may spread them in search of confirmation or, alternatively, in full knowledge that the information is false.¹⁴ As Jean-Noël Kapferer has argued, "Rumours do not precede persuasion, they are rather its visible manifestation. The labels 'information' and 'rumour' are not attributed before believing or disbelieving; they are *consequences of belief and disbelief*."¹⁵ Rumour's veracity, therefore, is less consequential than its interpretation by those who engage with it, its correspondence to an audience's horizon of expectations. Individual interpretations of rumour are influenced by collectively framed social and political conventions.¹⁶ Since the wartime research of Robert Knapp, theorists

¹² Séverine Fargette, "Rumeurs, propagande et opinion publique", 313; Françoise Reumaux, "Traits invariants de la rumeur", *Communications*, Vol. 52 (1990), pp. 141-2.

¹³ Claude Gauvard, "Rumeur et stéréotypes à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *La circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Âge: XXIV^e Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S., Avignon, Juin 1993*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1994), 159.

¹⁴ Contrary to Claude Gauvard's argument that rumours spread simply because their audiences believe them to be true. Claude Gauvard, "Introduction", 24; Prashant Bordia & Nicholas DiFonzo, "Psychological Motivations in Rumor Spread" in *Rumor Mills: The Social Impact of Rumor and Legend*, ed. Gary Alan Fine, Véronique Champion-Vincent & Chip Heath, (New Jersey: Transaction Press, 2005), pp. 87-92; Henk Van Nierop, "'And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars'. Rumour and the Revolt of the Netherlands" in *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 74; Jean-Noel Kapferer, *Rumors: Uses, Interpretations and Images*, trans. Bruce Fink, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), pp. 2-3.

¹⁵ Jean-Noel Kapferer, *Rumors*, 12. Emphasis my own.

¹⁶ Pierre Vidal-Naquet, "Pour ouvrir le bal", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), 251; Roger Chartier, "Genre between Literature and History", *Modern Language Quarterly*, Vol. 67, No. 1 (March 2006), 130; Hans Robert Jauss & Elizabeth Benzinger, "Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory", *New Literary History*, Vol. 2, No. 1 (Autumn, 1970), 13.

have recognised rumour's character as a form of wish-fulfilment, with information satisfying an emotional need, including a desire to explain events and allay societal anxieties; "rumour rationalises what it relieves".¹⁷ Rather than substituting for an absence of 'official' news, as recent scholars of medieval France have contended, rumours fulfill intrinsic emotional and social demands that underpin community cohesion.¹⁸

Gordon Allport and Leo Postman described this emotional investment in rumour as 'projection', "when a person's emotional state is reflected, unknown to himself, in his interpretation of his environment."¹⁹ Negative stereotypes and rumours attributed to group outsiders (such as the Bourgeois' 'Armagnacs') therefore perform a role in reinforcing a sense of self and community, dialectically substantiating the marginalisation of groups within Parisian society by identifying an 'Othered' subject.²⁰ Allport and Postman pointed to simultaneous processes of 'levelling', 'sharpening' and 'association' that lead to the coalescence of fundamental details forming rumour's core as a foundation to common

¹⁷ Robert H. Knapp, "A Psychology of Rumor", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (Spring, 1944), 23; Gordon Allport & Leo Postman, "An Analysis of Rumor", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (Winter, 1946-7), 503. See also Elena Martinescu, Onne Janssen & Bernard A. Nijstad, "Gossip and Emotion" in *The Oxford Handbook of Gossip and Reputation*, ed. Francesca Giardini & Rafael Wittek, (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019), pp. 156-60.

¹⁸ Gordon Allport & Leo Postman, "An Analysis of Rumor", pp. 503-6; Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour in Revolutionary Paris, 1792-1794*, (Basingstoke: Routledge, 2017), 5; François Ploux, "'Bruits alarmants' et 'Fausses nouvelles' dans la France du XIX^e siècle, (1814-1870)", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), 307. For a critique of Allport's and Postman's methodology and eyewitness case study, see Molly Treadway & Michael McCloskey, "Cite Unseen: Distortions of the Allport and Postman Rumor Study in the Eyewitness Testimony Literature", *Law and Human Behaviour*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (March 1987), pp. 19-25; Ethan Shagan, "Rumours and Popular Politics in the Reign of Henry VIII" in *The Politics of the Excluded, c. 1500-1800*, ed. Tim Harris, (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2001), 31.

¹⁹ Gordon Allport & Leo Postman, "An Analysis of Rumor", 504.

²⁰ Claude Gauvard, "Rumeur et gens de guerre dans le royaume de France au milieu du XV^e siècle", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), 281. Dirk Schoenaers has demonstrated the importance of 'othering' in late medieval historical narratives, "'United we Stand'", pp. 110-13. The approach is rooted in postcolonial theory, such as Edward Said, *Orientalism*, (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1978), pp. 1-7; Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Rani of Sirmur: An Essay in Reading the Archives", *History and Theory*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (October 1985), pp. 252-72.

knowledge.²¹ As rumours circulate, extraneous details are stripped from the message (levelling), with those that remain emphasised (sharpening) according to socio-political contexts (association), reflecting “the powerful attractive force exerted upon rumour by habits, interests and sentiments existing in the listener’s mind”.²² Nuancing the role performed by expectation and context, this model demonstrates rumour’s importance to the reinforcement of social bonds and establishment of public spheres, enabling communities to form core political narratives framed by a “repertoire of common references... a body of ‘knowledge’ that [rumours] simultaneously bring into existence”.²³ As rumours rise to the status of common knowledge their collective resonance eventually serves as their own proof.

Rumours that circulate within communities come to embody collective beliefs, framed by stereotypical archetypes developed through levelling and sharpening.²⁴ Their circulation evidences an inherent confirmation bias, the information forming part of an arsenal used to justify beliefs and behaviours to others, rejecting contrary evidence.²⁵ As such, rumours reinforce a subjective worldview while structuring a collective memory and conventional discourse, “common ways of talking and thinking about one aspect of a topic”,

²¹ Gordon Allport & Leo Postman, “An Analysis of Rumor”, pp. 504-6. On the relationship between rumour, gossip and common knowledge see Chris Wickham, “Gossip and Resistance”, pp. 4-6, 18; Megan Cassidy-Welch, “Testimonies from a Fourteenth-Century Prison: Rumour, Evidence and Truth in the Midi”, *French History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (2002), pp. 20-1; Michel-Louis Rouquette, “Rumour Theory and Rumour Problem”, *Diogenes*, No. 213 (2007), 38.

²² Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 215.

²³ *Ibid.*, *Popular Rumour*, 8; Jacques Revel, “Marie Antoinette in her Fictions: The Staging of Hatred” in *Fictions of the French Revolution*, ed. Bernadette Fort (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1991), 114.

²⁴ Pascal Froissart, “Elle court, elle court la rumeur: Entretien avec Pascal Froissart, propos recueillis par Vincent Grégoire”, *Sens-Dessous*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (2011), 83; Xavier Nadrigny, “Rumeur et opinion publique”, 28.

²⁵ Hugo Mercier & Dan Sperber, “Why do humans reason? Arguments for an argumentative theory”, *Behaviour and Brain Sciences*, Vol. 34 (2011), 63; *The Enigma of Reason: A New Theory of Human Understanding*, (London: Allen Lane, 2017), pp. 213-18.

that influence political perspectives.²⁶ Rumours represent the “bruit de fond”, the general buzz of communication at a local level which events can suddenly amplify, resulting in the perturbation of more established political communication structures.²⁷ For Eni Orlandi, rumour’s interdiscourse decentralises the subject and enables the individual to participate in political processes, with rumour an interface between historical events and the machinations of an underlying collective memory that reinforces group identity.²⁸ Rumour’s *fonction auteur* - its interpretation and employment by participants - has important consequences for notions of the public sphere, according participants an interpretative political agency.²⁹ Without a fixed source, rumours are subject to manipulation by those involved in their circulation, assuming fixity only when they emerge in text or official discourse.³⁰ As such, “l’imaginaire de la rumeur est essentiellement un imaginaire social et politique, au sens où il met en scène, dans un récit allégorique, des groupes sociaux et des acteurs politiques.”³¹ The proximity of rumour to community beliefs is especially important when common assumptions contrast with official communication in the public sphere, when rumours emerge as alternative narratives that reinforce community identity *in opposition to* institutions that are perceived as disingenuous, with rumours perceived as an authoritative,

²⁶ Claudia Strauss, *Making Sense of Public Opinion: American Discourses about Immigration and Social Programs*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 5-10; Claude Gauvaurd, “La Fama”, pp. 9-10.

²⁷ Bernard Paillard, “L’Echo de la rumeur”, 138.

²⁸ Eni Orlandi, “Rumeurs et silences: Les trajets des sens, le parcours du dire”, *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), pp. 258-60.

²⁹ Michel Foucault, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” in *Dits et écrits*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), pp. 803-6; Stéphane Olivesi, “Foucault, l’œuvre, l’auteur”, *Questions de communication*, Vol. 4 (2003), pp. 402-3; Eni Orlandi, “Rumeurs et silences”, pp. 264-6.

³⁰ Michel-Louis Rouquette, “Le syndrome de rumeur”, 121.

³¹ François Ploux, “‘Bruits alarmants’ et ‘Fausses nouvelles’”, 311.

valid alternative.³² As Lindsay Porter concludes, at times rumour “so resonates with the current climate that it reflects a collective desire... to believe” contrary to official news.³³

Rumour, therefore, serves a relatively unacknowledged role in socio-political relationships, enabling individuals to recognise the connections between personal feeling and more widely held reactions, consolidating the community’s emotional identity.³⁴ By articulating societal anxieties and identifying the community’s (perceived) vulnerabilities, rumours reinforce a sense of belonging.³⁵ While this relationship between rumour and emotion is demonstrated by the efforts of authorities past and present to monitor rumour as a barometer of popular feeling, emotional investment in a rumour’s credibility also explains why its official contradiction fails to counter its diffusion.³⁶

Methodologically, Porter has distinguished three important categories of rumour. First, those that are structured by archetypal beliefs found in common knowledge and collective memories, expressing “a common bond [and] shared language” while “representing timeless, universal fears.”³⁷ The prevalence of such archetypes in late

³² Christiane de Craecker-Dussart, “La rumeur: Une source d’informations que l’historien ne peut négliger. A propos d’un recueil récent”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 118, No. 1 (2012), 169; Gaelle Clavendier, “Recourir au fait divers dans les situations post-catastrophiques: Le cas des rumeurs”, *Les Cahiers du Journalisme*, Vol. 17 (Summer 2007), pp. 90, 93.

³³ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 143.

³⁴ Claude Gauvard, “La Fama”, 9.

³⁵ Michel-Louis Rouquette, “Le syndrome de rumeur”, 122; Nira Yuval-Davis, “Belonging and the Politics of Belonging”, *Patterns of Prejudice*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2006), pp. 202-3; Tuuli Lähdesmäki, Tuija Saresma, Kaisa Hiltunen, Saara Jäntti, Nina Sääskilähti, Antti Vallius, Kaisa Ahvenjärvi, “Fluidity and flexibility of “belonging”: Uses of the concept in contemporary research”, *Acta Sociologica*, Vol. 59, No. 3 (2016), pp. 239-41; Marco Antonsich, “Searching for Belonging – An Analytical Framework”, *Geography Compass*, Vol. 4, No. 6 (2010), pp. 649-50.

³⁶ Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, (London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 2; Loïc Cazaux, “Les fonctions politiques de la foule”, 66; Mary C. Flannery, *John Lydgate and the Poetics of Fame*, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), 42; Henk Van Nierop, ““And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars””, 76.

³⁷ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 138. More recently, Jill Maciak Walshaw has nuanced the approach to early modern rumour in works such as Robert Darnton’s *The Great Cat Massacre*, arguing that

medieval discourse are evident, in the rumours of sacrilegious crimes committed by Jews, perceived Muslim traits or the stereotypical portrayal of men-at-arms and brigands.³⁸

Second, contemporaneous rumours imparting the “anxieties of the day” while drawing upon these archetypes and, finally, rumours through which the community brings “the narrative of the ‘other’ within its own circle, stigmatising specific classes or indeed individuals.”³⁹ Both of these categories are exemplified by the Bourgeois’ account of rumours circulating in Paris during the 1418 massacres that exaggerated Armagnac hostility and otherness. These categories demonstrate that rumours, despite their apparent ephemerality and spontaneity as stressed by present-day historians of late medieval France, are in fact structured by extant narratives and a social imaginary that concurrently reinforce group identity and collective memory.⁴⁰

archetypes were used strategically by people distant from elite politics. *A Show of Hands for the Republic: Opinion, Information and Repression in Eighteenth-Century Rural France*, (University of Rochester Press, 2014), pp. 23-4

³⁸ David Nirenberg, *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015), pp. 119-24; Jeremy Cohen, “Christian Theology and Anti-Jewish Violence in the Middle Ages: Connections and Disjunctions” in *Religious Violence between Jews and Christians: Medieval Roots, Modern Perspectives*, ed. Anna Sapir Abulafia, (Houndmills: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 48-54; Jonathan Bloch, “Ces étrangers d’à-côté: le stéréotype du milicien flamand sous la plume du chroniqueur picard Enguerran de Monstrelet”, *Questes*, Vol. 35 (2017), pp. 51-3.

³⁹ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, pp. 112, 139-40; Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth: Conspiracy Theory and Politics in Nineteenth-Century France*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 297; H. Taylor Buckner, “A Theory of Rumour Transmission”, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Spring, 1965), pp. 54-55, 61; Warren A. Peterson & Noel P. Gist, “Rumour and Public Opinion”, *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 57, No. 2 (September 1951), pp. 161, 165.

⁴⁰ Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. Kathleen Blamey, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), pp. 342-4; Claude Gauvard, “Rumeur et stéréotypes”, pp. 158-9; Séverine Fargette, “Rumeurs, propagande et opinion publique”, 313; Colette Beaune, “La rumeur”, pp. 192-3.

Rumour and *Fama* in the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*

Rumours reported by the Bourgeois were closely connected to the circulation of propaganda.⁴¹ Colette Beaune believed that the Bourgeois' concentration upon stereotypes promoted "une lecture réductrice des événements", though it is clear that these stereotypes represented an important shorthand for the assessment of political behaviour that signalled appropriate reactions to the Bourgeois' audience, much like his emotional rhetoric.⁴² Influenced by archetypes and wider socio-political conversations, it is doubtful that rumours incorporated into the *Journal* were the product of spontaneous discussion, instead being modified by levelling and sharpening, and the Bourgeois' selective reporting. Indeed, the Bourgeois employed several rhetorical means to signal rumour, including the use of indirect speech or an emphasis upon eyewitness testimony, both of which approximated audience and subject. Given these considerations, the *Journal* represents more than a straightforward reflection of Burgundian propaganda or popular discourse. The Bourgeois' readiness to relay rumours criticising the leaders of every faction suggests that he selected material from a wider body of competing narratives in the public sphere, choosing those which suited political contexts, and articulated his community's concerns. The audience's role was crucial, with the Bourgeois' strategies inherently moulded by their horizon of expectations, as communities attempt to plausibly interpret events through their combined intellectual resources.

⁴¹ Colette Beaune, "La rumeur", pp. 192-3.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 197; Claude Gauvard, "Rumeur et stéréotypes", 158.

As a cleric, it is likely that the Bourgeois was familiar with the correlation between rumour, widespread opinion and individual reputation expressed as *fama publica*.⁴³ *Fama* was integral to conceptions of societal belonging, with Sandy Bardsley arguing that in late medieval England, a focus upon ‘Sins of the Tongue’ enabled authors “to reinscribe traditional social hierarchies and discourage disruptive and inflammatory speech.”⁴⁴ By recording incidences of subversive speech or rumour, the Bourgeois evoked *fama*’s essentially juridical framework to question aristocratic authority, mirroring the efforts of civic authorities to monitor popular criticism.⁴⁵ Where Sarah Rees Jones has argued, for York, that “turning ‘chatter’ into a record also gave it a status in the political process”, with the “very act of recording dissidence eventually [increasing] its impact on the public government of the city”, the Bourgeois similarly codified rumour and reputation within his public sphere.⁴⁶ Lori J. Walters has argued that elite authors such as Christine de Pizan were

⁴³ Claude Gauvard, “Fama explicite et fama implicite: Les difficultés de l’historien face à l’honneur des petites gens aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge” in *La légitimité implicite*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 39-41; ‘De Grace especial’: *Crime, état et société en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1991), pp. 734-40; Elisabeth Lusset, “La fama et l’infamia des clercs réguliers d’après les suppliques adressées à la pénitencerie apostolique au XV^e siècle” in *Faire jeunesses, rendre justice*, ed. Antoine Destemberg, Yann Potin et Émile Rosenblieh, (Paris : Publications de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 25-7; Nicole Gonthier, *Cris de haine et rites d’unité: La violence dans les villes, XIII^{eme}-XVI^{eme} siècle*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 132-4; Serge Lusignan, “Une affaire de mots et de couteaux: la mauvaise fortune d’un Picard à Paris” in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd’hui: Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Julie Claustre, Olivier Mattéoni & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 122-4.

⁴⁴ Sandy Bardsley, “Sin, Speech and Scolding in Late Medieval England” in *Fama: The Politics of Talk & Reputaton in Medieval Europe*, ed. Thelma Fenster & Daniel Lord Smail, (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 146.

⁴⁵ Paul Strohm, *England’s Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422*, (London: Yale University Press, 1998), 23; Jamie K. Taylor, *Fictions of Evidence: Witnessing, Literature and Community in the Late Middle Ages*, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2013), pp. 17-20. Wendy Scase similarly assesses the role of public clamour in *Literature and Complaint in England, 1272-1553*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 56-72.

⁴⁶ Sarah Rees Jones, “Emotions, Speech and the Art of Politics in Fifteenth-Century York: House Books, Mystery Plays and Richard, Duke of Gloucester”, *Urban History*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (2017), 602; Arnaud Fossier, “‘Propter vitandum scandalum’: histoire d’une catégorie juridique (XII^e-XV^e siècle)”, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome*, Vol. 121, No. 2 (2009), pp. 329-331.

acutely aware of *fama*'s political function, communicating "theological insights on government to a public no longer restricted to clerics" and developing the perception of Charles V as an ideal ruler.⁴⁷ Moralised readings of aristocratic reputation framed by popular perspectives assumed a similar function in the *Journal*, synthesising theological teachings and conveying these as political commentary that, in the Bourgeois' case, reinforced understandings of evil government. Defamatory language had typically been presented as a threat to societal cohesion and the common good, but the Bourgeois used subversive talk to structure boundaries between Parisian in-groups, representative of the common good, and those governors who threatened its stability.⁴⁸

Reputation played a crucial role in the factional contests that enveloped French towns in the 1410s.⁴⁹ Chapter III has demonstrated how clothing was used to control public presence and identify allegiances, but these considerations extended to language.⁵⁰ From its inception, the Bourgeois used the term 'Armagnac' pejoratively to designate those who "avoit autant de pitié de tuer ces gens comme de chiens", implying amoral cruelty and

⁴⁷ Lori J. Walters, "Constructing Reputations, *Fama* and Memory in Christine de Pizan's *Charles V* and *L'Advison Cristine*" *Fama: The Politics of Talk & Reputaton in Medieval Europe*, ed. Thelma Fenster & Daniel Lord Smail, (London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 119.

⁴⁸ Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "'A Bad Chicken was Brooding'", pp. 60-1, 78; Daniel Lord Smail, "Hatred as a Social Institution in Late-Medieval Society", *Speculum*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (January 2001), 108; Allyson F. Creasman, "Fighting Words: Anger, Insult, and "Self-Help" in Early Modern German Law", *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 51, No. 2 (Winter 2017), pp. 273-4. Interestingly, Trevor Dean has noted similarities in the gendered character of rumour and insult in late medieval Bologna, underscoring the ties between public/private life and defamatory or subversive speech. "Gender and Insult in an Italian City: Bologna in the Later Middle Ages", *Social History*, Vol. 29, No. 2 (2004), 221.

⁴⁹ Claude Gauvard, '*De Grace especial*', Vol. 2, pp. 728-30; Emily J. Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds in Early Fifteenth-Century France: Burgundian Propaganda in Perspective", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2012), 4, 19; Guy Lurie, "Citizenship in Late Medieval Champagne: The Towns of Châlons, Reims, and Troyes, 1417–circa 1435", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (August 2015) pp. 370, 375-80; Florian Mariage, "A la ville, au duc ou au roi? Jacques Le Louchier et la Realpolitik à Tournai au XV^e siècle", *Revue du Nord*, No. 397 (2012), pp. 882-4.

⁵⁰ Hannah Skoda has demonstrated the prevalence of such insults at the University of Paris. "Student Violence in Fifteenth-Century Paris and Oxford" in *Aspects of Violence in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Jonathan Davies, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 34.

tyranny; ‘Burgundian’ was similarly employed as an insult by Armagnacs.⁵¹ For instance, in 1420, Pierre Guiasse killed Martin Labuse for calling him “Arminac et coupaut”.⁵² That same year, the Parisian Thomas Philippe was accosted by Armagnac soldiers who called him a “faulx traictre et Bourguignon”.⁵³ Designating immoral enemies, insults drew upon the “principal fears and obsessions” of society to define community boundaries, castigating members and legitimating violence.⁵⁴ Integral to this process was an insult’s publicity, typically occurring in the neighbourhood inhabited by offender and offended.⁵⁵ In this context, the Bourgeois’ description of the rioters shouting ““Ses faulx traistres arminaz angloys!”” prior to perpetrating massacres in 1418 illustrates the means by which those perceived to pose a threat to the common good were identified and violence against outsiders legitimated.⁵⁶ Preserving oneself from identification with the enemy was therefore essential to survival. In the summer of 1419 a Parisian *jardinier*, Jean Chevalier, accused the tailor Christophe Martin of supporting the Armagnacs, hoping that through Martin’s imprisonment he could sell the cows that Martin had loaned to him. To this effect, Chevalier reported that he had heard Martin exclaim

‘Maugré on ait Dieu! Quant monseigneur de Bourgongne entra oncques en ceste ville et que puis ne gaigna croix’, et quant les Armignacs estoient a Paris

⁵¹ Killed people pitilessly like dogs. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r. See below for an examination of the development of the Armagnac stereotype.

⁵² An Armagnac and a cuckold. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//171, No. 400.

⁵³ A false traitor and Burgundian. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//172, No. 190.

⁵⁴ Claude Gauvard, *‘De Grace especial’*, Vol. 2, pp. 715-18.

⁵⁵ Daniel Lord Smail, “Hatred as a Social Institution”, pp. 94-6; Jelle Haemers, “Filthy and Indecent Words: Insults, Defamation and Urban Politics in the Southern Low Countries, 1350-1500” in *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, ed. Jan Dumolyn, Jelle Haemers, Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer & Vincent Challet, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 252-4; David Garrioch, “Verbal Insults in Eighteenth-Century Paris” in *The Social History of Language*, ed. Peter Burke & Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 111-17.

⁵⁶ These false English Armagnac traitors! Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 47v.

il gaignoit beaucoup. Et oultre qu'il avoit dit que avant qu'il feust demi an, il y auroit du sang respendu et en feroit lui-mesmes respendre.⁵⁷

Given that Martin was known to be loyal to Jean sans Peur, having sworn fealty to the duke in August 1418, Chevalier was arrested when he reported his claims to a 'commissaire' and subsequently confessed to making false accusations.⁵⁸ To restore Martin's reputation, Chevalier was subjected to several public and ritualised punishments.⁵⁹ He was first "condempné a estre tourné au pillory es Halles de Paris, mitré d'une mitre ou avoit escript en grosses lettres 'faulx accuseur'", before being led "nue teste, sans chapperon et sans sainture" to Martin's house in the rue de la Vieille Monnaie, where he publicly declared that "'je vous ay accusé faulusement et mauvaisement a tort et sans cause en vous imposant contre verité que vous tenez le party d'Armignac et de celui qui se dit daulphin'".⁶⁰ The process deliberately rehabilitated Martin in the public spaces where he had been defamed. The problems in identifying political allegiances were nonetheless prevalent,

⁵⁷ 'God damn it! We haven't earned anything since my lord of Burgundy entered this town', and when the Armagnacs had been in Paris, he had earned a lot. And besides this he had said that within six months there would be blood spilled and he himself would participate in the spilling of blood. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//171, No. 90.

⁵⁸ Antoine Le Roux de Lincy & Lazare-Maurice Tisserand (ed.), "État des bourgeois de Paris qui prêtèrent serment entre les mains de Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne au mois d'aout 1418" in *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), 379.

⁵⁹ The importance of such publicity has been stressed by Elizabeth Ewan, "Many Injurious Words': Defamation and Gender in Late Medieval Scotland" in *History, Literature and Music in Scotland, 700-1560*, ed. R. Andrew McDonald, (London: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 175; Jesus Angel Solorzano Telechea, "Fama publica, infamy and defamation: judicial violence and social control of crimes against sexual morals in medieval Castile", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 33, No. 4 (2007), pp. 409-13.

⁶⁰ Condemned to being turned on the pillory at the Halles of Paris, mitred with a mitre upon which was written in bold letters 'false accuser'; head bare, without a hood or belt; 'I have accused you falsely and unjustly, wrongfully and without cause in asserting, contrary to the truth, that you supported the party of the Armagnacs and he who calls himself the Dauphin. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//171, No. 90. The dangers of false accusations are further highlighted by a report for Montargis in September 1418, when Perrin Garasche reported that his rival, Martin Mailleau, "pour cuider faire destruire ou villener ledit Perrin, l'a injurié... en l'appellant 'brigant, traistre bourguignon et qu'il le destruiroit et feroit mourir'" Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 237.

and chroniclers relating the Parisian massacres were intensely aware of the pretext's exploitation to settle personal scores, with some killed "soubz umbre de ce que on disoit yceulz avoir esté et estre favorisans au conte d'Armignac contre le duc de Bourgoigne"; "qui estoient soupechonnez d'avoir tenu le party d'Armignac"; "ex hox solo accusati, quia Arminiacis faverant".⁶¹ Clément de Fauquembergue noted the Parlement's release of one 'Boquet' from the Châtelet, wrongfully imprisoned upon suspicion of being an Armagnac, while the loyal counsellor Robert Houel was murdered by "aucuns ses hayneux ou malveillans... pour souspecon d'avoir tenu ou favorisé... d'Armaignac".⁶² Indeed, Monstrelet concluded that "il ne faloit que dire, 'Véla ung armignach!', tantost il estoit mis a mort sans en faire aucune informacion".⁶³

The remission letters and the chroniclers' testimony provide insights into how language and rumour were being regulated in urban centres during the first decades of the fifteenth century. The formal and informal controls imposed by *fama* and political authorities underscore the dangers of considering public spaces as "le point de convergence de tout ce qui n'était pas officiel", exhibiting an 'exterritorialité' of speech.⁶⁴ While Chevalier's case in 1419 reveals the judicial measures employed to reverse reputational damage, a similar case in January 1418 indicates how rumour was policed. A labourer, Jean Jourdain, was reported

⁶¹ Under the pretext that people said they had been and are supporters of the count of Armagnac against the duke of Burgundy; Who were suspected to support the Armagnac party; For whom their only crime was that they were accused of supporting the Armagnacs. Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 131; "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 259; RSD, Vol. 6, 264.

⁶² Some of his rivals and evildoers... upon suspicion of having supported and favoured the Armagnacs. Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 129; Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 216 (30th August 1418).

⁶³ All that had to be said was, 'There's an Armagnac', and he was immediately put to death without [due] investigation. Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 271.

⁶⁴ Mikhail Bakhtin, *L'œuvre de François Rabelais et la culture populaire au Moyen Âge et sous la Renaissance*, trans. Andrée Robel, (Paris: Gallimard, 1970), 156. See also Nicolas Offenstadt, *Faire la paix au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Odile Jacob, 2007), pp. 231-2.

to have proffered “aucunes injurieuses paroles de notre personne et du gouvernement” that were recorded by “les commissaires ordonnez nagaires *sur le fait des rebellions et desobeissans*.”⁶⁵ Both letters point to the role of ‘commissaires’, Châtelet officers employed to counteract the effects of subversive speech within Paris, perhaps related to the “commission” established to prevent outbreaks of violence.⁶⁶ These documents illuminate the Bourgeois’ own report that in 1417 “par toutes les rues de Paris avoit espies qui estoient residans et demourans a Paris, qui leurs propres voisins faisoient prendre et emprisonner”, while also explaining the brevity of the Bourgeois’ entries between April 1416 and the beginning of 1418 at the height of Armagnac surveillance when expressions of Burgundian support were especially compromising.⁶⁷ Christian Liddy has similarly pointed to the status of fifteenth-century English towns as “surveillance societies” in the context of the Wars of the Roses.⁶⁸ While “medieval ideals of neighbourliness and neighbourly behaviour are inextricably linked to the act of witnessing” and testimony, what appears to have been of greater concern for the Bourgeois was the increasing institutionalisation of this *fama* to survey language and control public space, its “qualitative and quantitative expansion”.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Some injurious statements regarding ourselves and the government; the officers recently instructed to examine issues of rebellion and disobedience. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 106. Emphasis my own.

⁶⁶ *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 10, pp. 500-1.

⁶⁷ In all of Paris’ streets there were spies who resided and lived in Paris, who had their own neighbours arrested and imprisoned. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 40r. On urban spies see Benoît Léthenet, “Selon les nouvelles que vous me ferez savoir”. Essai sur le renseignement au Moyen Âge”, *Revue du Nord*, No. 402 (2013), pp. 839-40, 847-9; Pierre-Henri Guittonneau, “Entre pratique et discours: les villes de la région parisienne face au secret au début du XV^e siècle”, *Questes*, Vol. 16 (2009), pp. 12-24. Similar circumstances to Paris existed in other northern French towns, such as Reims. Julien Briand, “Les appels à la dénonciation dans la procédure judiciaire rémoise à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Hypothèses*, Vol. 12, No. 1 (2009), pp. 128-9.

⁶⁸ Christian D. Liddy, “Cultures of Surveillance in late Medieval English Towns: The Monitoring of Speech and the Fear of Revolt” in *The Routledge Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker & Dirk Schoenaers, (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 312-13.

⁶⁹ Jamie K. Taylor, *Fictions of Evidence*, pp. 90-114 (citation 91); Christian D. Liddy, “Cultures of Surveillance”, 313. See also Claire Judde de Larivière, “Du Broglio à Rialto: cris et chuchotements

The political potential of *mala fama* comprising rumour and propaganda is evidenced in the *Journal* through the Bourgeois' criticism of the Treaty of Saint-Maur concluded between the Armagnacs and Burgundians on 16th September 1418.⁷⁰ Here, the Bourgeois repeated rumours that the Armagnac leaders were responsible for poisoning the Dauphins Louis de Guyenne and Jean de Touraine, and were prepared to betray France to the English, "et savoit-on bien que ce avoit esté et fait faire".⁷¹ The Bourgeois related these rumours despite earlier attempts by the Armagnac-controlled Paris Parlement to dismiss them.⁷² On 16th July 1417, Clément de Fauquembergue described an inquest where Burgundian letters were read to the Parlement that "contiennent libelle diffamatoire... en tant qu'elles font mencion de l'empoisonnement de feu monseigneur de Guyenne et de feu monseigneur le Daulphin".⁷³ In response, the Parlement had emphasised how the two princes' bodies "furent ouvers en presence de mediciens et autres, et n'y avoit quelque signe d'empoisonnement".⁷⁴ The letters, which also contained an incitement to rebel and a Burgundian promise to lower taxes for the common good, were declared "mauvaises, sedicieuses et scandaleuses" before being torn apart and burned.⁷⁵ Such narratives evidently drew upon archetypes that expressed wider societal anxieties. In his *Justification*, Jean Petit

dans l'espace public à Venise (XVI^e siècle)" in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: Débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstast, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 128.

⁷⁰ For the Treaty of Saint-Maur see RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 278-83; Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 287-9.

⁷¹ And people knew well that this had happened and been orchestrated. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 54v.

⁷² Franck Collard, "Gifteinsatz und politische Gewalt Die Semantik der Gewalt mit Gift in der politischen Kultur des späten Mittelalters" in *Gewalt und Widerstand in der politischen Kultur des späten Mittelalters*, ed. Jörg Rogge, Martin Kintzinger, Frank Rexroth, (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2015), 342.

⁷³ Containing a defamatory libel... since they mention the poisoning of the late lord of Guyenne and the late Dauphin. Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 32.

⁷⁴ Were opened up in the presence of doctors and others, and there was found no sign of poisoning. Ibid.

⁷⁵ Evil, seditious and scandalous. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 30-3.

accused Louis d'Orléans of attempting to poison Charles VI, whereas in 1451 rumours of Agnès Sorel's poisoning resulted in Jacques Coeur's arrest.⁷⁶ The Bourgeois' description of Jeanne d'Arc's 1431 trial similarly evidences his awareness of the juridical importance of establishing *mala fama*. When Jeanne appeared on the scaffold, the Bourgeois emphasised the fact that "chacun la povait veoir bien clerement vestue en habit de homme", an integral element in her condemnation for wearing male clothing thereby publicly substantiated.⁷⁷ This was paralleled during her execution, when the fire was raked back so that Jeanne "fue veue de tout le peuple toute nue, et tous les secrez qui povent estre ou doyvent estre en femme, pour oster les doubtes du peuple".⁷⁸ In turn, the Bourgeois stressed how Jeanne d'Arc had committed "grans maux doloireux" in France "comme chacun scet", before pointing to localised cases that would have been familiar to his audience, such as her assault upon Paris "a feu et a sang" or her deception of followers in neighbouring Senlis.⁷⁹ Through this process the Bourgeois substantiated the juridical basis that, in part, underpinned the University of Paris' involvement in her trial, demonstrating the prevalence of her crimes in the archbishop of Sens' jurisdiction.

The intended impact of Jeanne's trial upon Charles VII's reputation reveals how *fama* was conveyed to situate aristocratic behaviour within a moral framework. Likewise,

⁷⁶ "Livre vert vieil premier" in *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, Vol. 1, ed. Alexandre Tuetey, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), 113, no. 1965; Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, pp. 270-1; Franck Collard, "Meutres en famille. Les liens familiaux à l'épreuve du poison chez les Valois (1328-1498)" in *Familles royales: Vie publique, vie privée aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, ed. Christine Raynaud, (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2010), 188; Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit. La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Picard, 1932), pp. 325-32; Kathryn Reyerson, "Le procès de Jacques Cœur" in *Les procès politiques, XIV^e-XVII^e siècle*, ed. Yves-Marie Bercé, (Rome: École française de Rome, 2007), pp. 123-9.

⁷⁷ Everyone could see her clearly dressed in male clothing. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 130r.

⁷⁸ All of the people saw her naked body, and all of the secrets that can and should belong to a woman, thereby clearing the people's doubts. Ibid, fol. 132r.

⁷⁹ Great, painful evils; as everyone knows. Ibid., fol. 130r.

sexualised gossip was introduced to criticise the *prévôt* Ambroise de Loré upon his death in May 1446. For the Bourgeois, Loré had been “maint amant le bien commun que nul prevost qui devant luy eust esté”, a fact demonstrated by his “luxurieux” behaviour, underscored by gossip:

on disoit pour vray qu’il avoit iij ou iiij concubignes qui estoient droictes communes, et supportoit partout les femmes folieuses, dont trop avoit a Paris par sa lacheté, et acquist une tres mauvese renommée de tout le peuple, car a paine povait on avoir droit des folles femmes de Paris, tant les supportoit, et leurs macquerelles.⁸⁰

The Bourgeois’ presentation of *mala fama* through sexualised and moralised gossip corresponds to those other sources that stressed gendered connotations, with female characteristics appearing secondary to male affairs.⁸¹ Nonetheless, good reputation was also reported to challenge civic authority. The Bourgeois omitted references to the guilt of the conspirators beheaded in 1416, instead stressing their reputation as “moult honnestes hommes et de moult bonne renommée” to challenge their execution by the Armagnac authorities.⁸² While those executed were known to be loyal to Jean sans Peur, with the draper Robert de Belloy serving as an *échevin* during the Cabochien revolt, the canon Nicolas d’Orgemont’s behaviour was more open to question. The Paris chapter’s records reveal that

⁸⁰ More indifferent to the common good than any *prévôt* who had preceded him; truly, it was said that he had three or four concubines who were entirely common, and everywhere he maintained prostitutes. And so, he acquired a very bad reputation in everyone’s view because it became almost impossible to prosecute the prostitutes of Paris since he protected them and their bawds. *Ibid.*, fol. 182v.

⁸¹ This in contrast to the rumours regarding queen Marguerite of Anjou explored by Helen Maurer, “Delegitimizing Lancaster: The Yorkist Use of Gendered Propaganda During the Wars of the Roses” in *Reputation and Representation in Fifteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Douglas L. Biggs, Sharon D. Michalove, & A. Compton Reeves, (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 172-9

⁸² A man of honour; very honest men and of very good reputation. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 38r. On these executions, see above, Chapter III.

d'Orgemont had in fact lived within the cloister with a concubine.⁸³ It is perhaps for this reason that the Bourgeois did not insist upon d'Orgemont's 'honneur', but rather his clerical status as "le doyen de Tours, chanoine de Paris, frere de l'evesque de Paris".⁸⁴

For premodern Europe, rumour has been considered a predominantly oral phenomenon. Henk van Nierop has shown how sixteenth-century Dutch urban chroniclers made brief notes of the rumours they heard orally on scraps of paper to later incorporate them into their narratives, with their reading "like being plunged into an oral world".⁸⁵ Urban centres facilitated this circulation in part due to the close proximity of individuals in public, professional and domestic settings.⁸⁶ However, as Nierop's research suggests, Lindsay Porter has stressed that rumour can circulate through any medium, rather than being confined to "le cadre du bouche à oreille, propulsé par des canaux non-officiels et populaires."⁸⁷ Where Nierop argues that rumours, due to their oral character, have "ceased to exist" by the time they are recorded in historical narratives, their repetition in the *Journal* facilitated their diffusion, with the text representing a medium for their communication.⁸⁸ Mary-Rose McLaren has argued that the compilers of the London Chronicles were similarly engaged in processes of transforming "what is essentially visual and oral into a literary

⁸³ Robert Gane, *Le chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris au XIV^e siècle. Étude sociale d'un groupe canonial*, (Paris: Publication de l'Université de Saint-Étienne, 1999), 181, n. 78. See also Léon Mirot, *Les d'Orgemont. Leur origine, leur fortune – le Boiteux d'Orgemont*, (Paris: Champion, 1913), pp. 119-123; Louis Thuasne (ed.), *François Villon. Œuvres*, Vol. 2, (Paris: Picard, 1923), pp. 180-1.

⁸⁴ The dean of Tours, a canon of Paris and brother to the bishop of Paris. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 37v.

⁸⁵ Henk Van Nierop, "'And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars'", pp. 69-73. Janet Shirley suggested a similar purpose for the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 25.

⁸⁶ For example, in 1300 London had a population of 80,000 in 5.18 square kilometres, resulting in a population density of 15,444 per km², double the density of modern-day Paris. Holly Dugan, "London Smellwalk Around 1450: Smelling Medieval Cities", *The Oxford Handbook of Later Medieval Archaeology in Britain*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 730.

⁸⁷ Claude Gauvard, "Rumeur et stéréotypes", 163.

⁸⁸ Henk Van Nierop, "'And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars'", 73.

network" in ways distinct from the processes associated with royally-appointed historiographers or monks.⁸⁹ Following the typology suggested by Kathleen Daly, through this employment of rumour Parisian journals emerge as peripheral narratives, subliminal to hegemonic 'official' histories such as the *Grandes Chroniques* by privileging urban experiences through the validation of rumour as an historical source.⁹⁰ The focus of authors like the Bourgeois and Jean Maupoint upon rumours, even when these were false, evidences a perception of their status as 'social facts' worthy of remembering and constitutive of an urban experience through their capacity to sustain collective action.⁹¹ Consequently, the inclusion of rumour suggests careful strategies linked to socio-political concerns, with their positive or negative valence asserted to legitimate or discredit political perspectives.

As such, by relating rumour *as rumour*, the Bourgeois developed the "plausible likeness, rather than objective truth" recognised by Janet Coleman as being necessary for a mimetic account.⁹² Specifically, rumour underscores the development of an *effet de réel* encapsulating the "convincing, plausible representation of objects, characters, actions and emotions."⁹³ For Roland Barthes, the effect produces "l'illusion référentielle" that induces a reader's belief and comprehension as they relate the text to their own experiences, while obfuscating the fact that the text is not, in this instance, a direct transmission of rumour.⁹⁴

This focus also enabled the Bourgeois to forego the traditionally authoritative sources used

⁸⁹ Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles*, pp. 50-1.

⁹⁰ Kathleen Daly, "'Centre', 'Power' and 'Periphery' in Late Medieval French Historiography: Some Reflections" in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), pp. 124-8.

⁹¹ Henk Van Nierop, "'And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars'", pp. 82-3.

⁹² Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 315; Pierre Courroux, *L'Écriture de l'histoire*, pp. 810-33.

⁹³ Nancy Freeman Regalado, "*Effet de réel, effet du réel: Representation and Reference in Villon's Testament*", *Yale French Studies*, No. 70 (1986), 64.

⁹⁴ Roland Barthes, "L'effet de réel", *Communications*, Vol. 11 (1968), 88.

by other chroniclers, such as letters or edicts, instead relying upon subjective rumours circulating in Paris.⁹⁵ Rumours therefore assumed a rhetorical function, whereby their repetition enhanced a descriptive mimesis that portrayed the ‘reality’ of Parisian thought, discussion and reaction.⁹⁶ Of course, such transformations could and did distort the real course of events for rhetorical and political effect.⁹⁷ But in doing so, the Bourgeois translated this ‘unofficial’ discourse into the political experience, memory and identity of the city, with rumours playing a crucial role in the consolidation of the civic community.

Writing Rumour

The Bourgeois signalled the subjectivity of rumour through indirect speech that underscored oral circulation, typically through expressions such as “on disoit” and “on affermoit”. This framework reinforced the impression of ephemerality and anonymity crucial to ‘infrapolitics’ encapsulating “muffled and indirect” resistance.⁹⁸ While the Bourgeois could not conceal his role as the transmitter of criticism, by disguising his sources he conveyed the information’s omnipresence or status as common knowledge, mitigating a demand to identify its origin. Where a source was identified, this was ambiguous. When Bedford returned from Saint-Denis with the royal sword borne before him as regent

⁹⁵ Pierre Courroux, *L’Écriture de l’histoire*, pp. 451-77.

⁹⁶ Laura Crombie has highlighted a similar phenomenon in the urban history produced by Jehan Nicolay of Tournai (1477-1479). “Records and Rumours from Tournai. Jehan Nicolay’s Account of a Town at War and the Construction of Memory” in *Urban History Writing in North-Western Europe (15th-16th Centuries)*, ed. Bram Caers, Lisa Demets & Tineke Van Gassen, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), pp. 107-8.

⁹⁷ On the indirect relationship between truth and historical writing in the fourteenth century see Sophia Menache, “Chronicles and Historiography: The Interrelationship of Fact and Fiction”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (2006), pp. 333-345.

⁹⁸ James C. Scott, “Infrapolitics and Mobilizations: A Response by James C. Scott”, *Revue française d’étude américaines*, No. 131 (2012), 114.

following Charles VI's 1422 funeral, "le peuple murmuroit fort", indicating a questioning of Bedford's character and Lancastrian legitimacy; when Charles VI left Paris due to fears of a Burgundian assault in October 1408, "le peuple fut moult troublé; et disoient bien que ce le duc de Bourgogne eusté icy qu'ilz ne l'eussent pas fait."⁹⁹ References to the 'people' or commons imply the class-character of rumour, a feature highlighted by Gauvard who insisted upon its unofficial character, juxtaposed with the official cry.¹⁰⁰ The use of the term 'dire', as opposed to others such as 'parler', also represents an interesting linguistic choice on the Bourgeois' part. 'On dit' inculcates a notion of ubiquitous conversation and common knowledge, while the content of the rumour expressed through "On disoit" assumes an "omniscient authority", legitimising otherwise unverified information.¹⁰¹ The 'on dit' therefore comprises a process of attribution whereby rumours are expressed in terms that underscore their ubiquity and status as common knowledge.¹⁰² By presenting rumours through 'on disoit', the Bourgeois envisioned them in a fixed form, not least through the past tense, as captured instances of more general public talk.

This fixity is significant due to the channels rumour established between the Bourgeois-as-witness and his audience, implicating the latter as witnesses to these public expressions. The 'on dit', a singular form, created a liminal space between the collective and the individual, at once the speech of all and none. As such, 'on disoit', 'ilz disoient' or even 'le peuple disoit' distanced the Bourgeois from any culpability for the rumours he reported

⁹⁹ The people murmured loudly; the people were greatly troubled, and they claimed that if the duke of Burgundy had been there they [the Orléanist lords] would not have done it. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 90r, 12r. On Parisian reactions to the assertion of Lancastrian authority in 1422, see below, Chapter V.

¹⁰⁰ Claude Gauvard, "Introduction", pp. 29-31; "Rumeur et stéréotypes", pp. 161-4.

¹⁰¹ Lindsay Porter has examined the use of the phrase 'On dit' in records of rumour during the first years of the French Revolution. *Popular Rumour*, 141; Myong Kim, "Une description des marqueurs évidentiels 'on dit que' et 'on dirait que'", *Travaux de linguistique*, Vol. 48, No. 1 (2004), pp. 43-50.

¹⁰² Michel-Louis Rouquette, "Le syndrome de rumeur", *Communications*, Vol. 52, (1990), 120.

as an eyewitness engaged in an historical phenomenon. This ambiguity meant that rumour could be effectively deployed within the narrative to evidence popular feeling as a form of political commentary and critique while implying a collective political consciousness. Not all rumours, however, were integrated into the *Journal* with the implicit awareness of their subjective character that indirect speech suggested.¹⁰³ Those rumours rooted in propaganda or with which the Bourgeois closely identified were portrayed as historical facts. For example, although the repeated descriptions of atrocities committed by soldiers were influenced by propaganda employed by factions to denigrate their adversaries, the Bourgeois often repeated accusations without questioning their rumoured character. Consequently, the *Journal* blurs the divide between official and unofficial information, fact and fiction or propaganda and news. Where rumours represented a medium that could sustain and diffuse widely accepted aspects of propaganda, officials also drew elements from extant rumours to render their communication acceptable to their publics. In this sense, rumour and propaganda held a mutually validating status which rendered both credible. They did not, therefore, constitute discrete categories, nor were they expressed in consistent forms. Rather, their subjectivity was deliberately manipulated for political effect.

Narrative Authority

When he did signal rumour's subjectivity, the Bourgeois frequently attested to the certainty of speech acts. These assertions were not designed (necessarily) to confirm the content of rumour, but to reinforce the veracity of *its having been said*. For instance, regarding

¹⁰³ Henk Van Nierop, "And ye shall hear of wars and rumours of wars", 76.

a rumour concerning Denis du Moulin, bishop of Paris, in 1440, the Bourgeois wrote how “*pour vray, on disoit qu’il avoit plus de cinquante proces en Parlement, car de lui n’avoit-on rien sans proces*”.¹⁰⁴ Ephemeral, speech acts themselves were substantiated by the Bourgeois’ narrative voice, emphasising his own status as witness. At stake was not the rumour’s content, itself inherently subjective, but a stress upon the veracity that this was what Parisians were saying and thinking, and how they could critique the French elite.

The Bourgeois’ selectivity accorded him authority as an arbiter of rumour’s perceived veracity. An emphasis upon witnessing events was essential to the Bourgeois’ confirmation of the least believable (or most mystical) elements of his narrative, but he also developed this first-person intervention to confirm or deny rumours circulating in Paris more generally. Indeed, there is a clear connection between the development of the first-person singular as eyewitness and an assertion of veracity throughout the *Journal*; when the Bourgeois used expressions of verisimilitude, he implied the evocation of his personal experiences. Declarations of certainty or truth through impersonal phrases appear in 121 instances (over 10% of passages), with the most common forms being “*pour vray*”, “*pour certain*”, “*vray est que*” and “*vraiment*”. These phrases functioned as substitutes for the identification of sources, with this terminology rhetorically asserting the narrative’s authenticity. Most intriguingly, the recourse to this veridical vocabulary occurred precisely when doubt was most prevalent; when concerns about the character of a ‘true’ Christian or French person, or the veracity of information, were most acute.

¹⁰⁴ Truly, people said that he had fifty cases in Parlement, because no one could have anything from him without a case. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 170v. Emphasis my own.

The Bourgeois' narrative voice performed this function through first-person interventions, evoking the author's eyewitness status and establishing authority through a spatial and temporal proximity to the information related. As Brian Stock has noted, "the self is like a potential author whose attitude towards reading and writing helps to determine the type of authority they seek to impose on a putative audience... If literate disciplines are involved, authority is 'routinized', that is, it is transferred to a text that is routinely communicated to its audience through listeners, readers or viewers."¹⁰⁵ In the *Journal*, first-person interventions evoked sermon-like discourse designed to convey moral commentary, with Elizabeth Lapina arguing that theological understanding of 'witness' were crucial to medieval historiography, particularly regarding the testimony of those disciples who saw Christ's resurrection.¹⁰⁶ This tension between seeing, believing and ultimately understanding God's will was similarly at work in the Bourgeois' interpretation of events as he reported the incidents that he had seen.¹⁰⁷

This tension is underscored by the Bourgeois' reinforcement of his personal experiences through a vocabulary of truth as a form of historical verification that

¹⁰⁵ Brian Stock, "The Self and Literary Experience in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages", *New Literary History*, Vol. 25, No. 4, (Autumn 1994), pp. 848-9. See also Larry Scanlon, *Narrative, Authority and Power: The Medieval Exemplum and the Chaucerian Tradition*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 39-53, 96.

¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Lapina, "'Nec signis nec testibus creditur...': The Problem of Eyewitnesses in the Chronicles of the First Crusade", *Viator*, Vol. 38, No. 1 (2007), 119; Elisabeth Gaucher, "Le vrai et le faux dans l'écriture de quelques biographies du XV^e siècle: 'écrire la vie, une autre histoire'" in *Écritures de l'histoire (XIV^e-XVI^e siècle): Actes du colloque du Centre Montaigne, Bordeaux, 19-21 septembre 2002*, eds. Daniele Bohler & Catherine Magnien Simonin, (Geneva: Droz, 2005), 205; Christophe Grellard, "Probabilisme et approximation du vrai au XIV^e siècle" in *La vérité: Vérité et crédibilité: construire la vérité dans le système de communication de l'Occident (XIII^e-XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 65-70. On Christian witnessing through faith see Søren Kierkegaard's notion of 'autopsy'. *Philosophical Fragments*, ed. Howard Hong, Edna Hong, Niels Thulstrup & David Swenson, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 102.

¹⁰⁷ Jean-Marie Moeglin, "La vérité de l'histoire et le moi du chroniqueur" in *La vérité: Vérité et crédibilité: construire la vérité dans le système de communication de l'Occident (XIII^e-XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 523-30.

determined the veracity of rumour. This process is demonstrated by his account of gypsies visiting Saint-Denis in August 1427. When the Parisians flocked to see the gypsies, rumours began to circulate regarding their activities as soothsayers or thieves in communion with the devil:

*Et vrayement, je y fu iii ou iiij foys pour parler a eulx, mais oncques ne m'aperceu d'un denier de perte, ne ne les vy regarder en main, mais ainsi le disoit le peuple partout, tant que la nouvelle vint a l'evesque de Paris.*¹⁰⁸

The Bourgeois situated himself in dialogue with popular rumour, emphasising his role as an eyewitness in determining the truth of the gypsies' behaviour by stressing his personal interaction with them. The narrative voice mediated Parisian experiences for a future audience. By juxtaposing popular reports with his own impression of the gypsies, the Bourgeois brought to light the potency of rumour and even its monitoring by institutions, here represented by Paris' bishop. The passage highlights the Bourgeois' determination of rumour as a historical source, while the description of his role as a witness illustrates the responsibility that he accorded to himself, as author, in the verification of these rumours.

The substantiation of rumour and sensational events is further highlighted by the Bourgeois' relation of the birth of conjoined twins at Aubervilliers in June 1429. Anticipating scepticism on his audience's part, the Bourgeois included an illustration of the children alongside the account.¹⁰⁹ Stressing his own interaction with the children, the Bourgeois

¹⁰⁸ And truly, I went there three or four times to speak to them but never did I perceive that a single penny [of mine] was lost, nor did I see them looking in hands, *but so said the people everywhere*, such that the news reached the bishop of Paris. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 108v-109r.

¹⁰⁹ The illustration was not reproduced by the copyist of the Vatican Manuscript, but a space was left on the relevant folio for its inclusion, perhaps by a more skilled artist. The scribe of the Méjanès manuscript did, on the other hand, attempt a crude sketch, apparently based on the description provided by the text. Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanès, MS 432 (0316), 220. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 235, n. 2.

conveyed through the conjunction of image and text a visual aspect that rendered the audience eyewitnesses as well. “Pour vray, *je les vy et les tins entre mes mains... et avoient, comme vous voyez, deux testes, quatre bras, deux coulz, iiii jambes, quatre piez...*”¹¹⁰ The language used by the Bourgeois countered this expected scepticism by asserting a proximity between textual and visual experiences that rendered the *Journal's* audience witnesses *through* the author's account and his illustration. The text, in this sense, codified the Bourgeois' physical proximity to the event to substantiate his account.

In contrast, the Bourgeois also employed silence to signal the political sensitivity of rumour. When articulated in the first person, this silence was presented as a decision that exhibited the Bourgeois' authorial control over the presentation of information. For instance, when envoys were sent to Paris by the dukes of Berry and Burgundy to conclude a treaty prepared at Pontoise in August 1413 to bring to an end the Cabochien revolt, the Bourgeois stressed that:

Quant est des demandes et des responcez, *je me tays*, car trop longue chose seroit, *mais bien scay* que ilz demandoient touzjours a leur povair la destrucion de la bonne ville de Paris et des habitans.¹¹¹

Through this rhetorical silence, the Bourgeois wielded narrative authority to convey what he believed to be the most important element in the negotiations for his audience, namely the Armagnacs' lasting intent to destroy the capital. This is similarly demonstrated by his identification of events that could *not* be discussed as a form of political criticism. In

¹¹⁰ Truly, I saw them and held them in my hands... and as you can see, they had two heads, four arms, two necks, four legs, four feet, and they had only one stomach as well as one navel; two heads, two backs. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 117r. Emphasis my own.

¹¹¹ I will not speak of their demands and the responses they received because it would be too long, but I know very well that they continued to request the power to destroy the good city of Paris and its inhabitants. Ibid, fol. 25v. Emphasis my own

autumn 1436, the Bourgeois argued that French captains “ne fist quelque bien *dont on doye aucunement parler, senon rober et pillier par nuyt et par jour*”.¹¹² The lack of detail was deliberate. If the diffusion of news supported political authority, then the rejection of official narratives undermined the governors’ power to influence Parisian audiences. Consequently, the Bourgeois emphasised the significance of the rumours he selected by stressing his complete access to information, with silence probably disguising real limitations. Such criticism encouraged further, extratextual political criticism on the part of the audience without directly compromising the narrator, yet with the Bourgeois retaining control over the direction of such censure. In doing so, the Bourgeois influenced political perspectives beyond the text through a paradoxical emphasis upon the unsayable.

The Bourgeois actively compensated for the uncertainty surrounding news and rumour, drawing authority from his role as an arbiter of information’s veracity. Popular and official discourses were portrayed as juxtaposed spheres that intersected through the *Journal’s* narrative. Through such juxtaposition, realms of socio-political authority were articulated which corresponded to the Bourgeois’ own political perspectives, as he privileged those narratives he believed, or at least valued. The contending voices in the public sphere concurrently mapped official perspectives and underlying societal observations on noble behaviour, popular suffering and political agency, often expressed through murmuring in response to official failures and excesses. It was through this dichotomy that the Bourgeois could privilege and validate popular as an alternative to official discourse.

¹¹² The French captains did no good of which we should speak at all, but robbed and pillaged night and day; He did nothing there that should be spoken of except wasting money and oppressing the poor people. *Ibid*, fol. 157v. Emphasis my own.

Rumour and the Development of the Armagnac Stereotype

Rumours relating the atrocities committed by men-at-arms in the Ile-de-France were among the most striking reported by the Bourgeois. Claude Gauvard has argued that these depictions drew upon archetypal notions of violent behaviour stemming from the eleventh-century Peace of God movement.¹¹³ As such, these rumours engender “des figures simplifiants et facilite focalisations, sans souci de la vérité.”¹¹⁴ Gauvard’s quantitative analysis of criminal records revealed a disparity between the prevalence of pejorative descriptions of men-at-arms in contemporary literature and the proportion of pardoned crimes that “restent minoritaires par rapport aux ranconnements et aux patis qui par ailleurs ne sont pas retenus dans le stéréotype.”¹¹⁵ Pointing to a mythification of military behaviour in fifteenth-century discourse, this research highlights rumour’s Othering function, indicating that the depredations related in the *Journal* represent that repertoire of common references through which contemporaries defined community boundaries.¹¹⁶ The Bourgeois appropriated and developed common ideas of pillage, rape, murder and theft, enhancing these stereotypical notions through their conflation with the ‘Armagnac’ faction. Recent studies have indicated that medieval urban communities were not as cohesive as previously thought, but that cohesion was “cultivated in the face of external and internal threats” given expression through rumour.¹¹⁷ Consequently, the evolution of these rumours was essential

¹¹³ Claude Gauvard, *De Grace especial*, Vol. 2, pp. 566-8.

¹¹⁴ Claude Gauvard, “Rumeur et gens de guerre”, 281.

¹¹⁵ Claude Gauvard, “Rumeur et stéréotypes”, 160.

¹¹⁶ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, pp. 135-40.

¹¹⁷ Justin Colson & Arie van Steensel, “Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Medieval and Early Modern Europe” in *Cities and Solidarities: Urban Communities in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Justin Colson & Arie van Steensel, (London: Routledge, 2017), 5. See also Lorraine Attreed, “Urban Identity in Medieval English Towns”, *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Spring 2002), pp. 571-3.

to understandings of Armagnac ‘otherness’ that reinforced a palpable sense of difference that, in the *Journal*, distinguished Parisians within the city from an ambiguous, threatening group without.¹¹⁸

By tracing stereotypical rumours in the *Journal* it becomes possible to identify how these correspond to Porter’s typology, ranging from almost folkloric narratives to troubling rumours that triggered community introspection.¹¹⁹ As Beaune and Gauvard have argued, these rumours were “essentially a revival of older beliefs”, part of wider historiographical, religious and political discourse.¹²⁰ Their emotional impact was key to shocking audiences and voicing fears of an omnipresent Armagnac threat that reinforced community cohesion beneficial to the Burgundian and, later, the Lancastrian regime. Through the processes of levelling, sharpening and assimilation, these rumours enabled Parisians to mould commonly acknowledged narratives into a specific critique of their Armagnac rivals, conflating the identities of Orléanist supporters with the imagined character of violent soldiers. As this conflation became more firmly established, it also provoked examination within Paris. As indicated above, suspicions of partisanship were prevalent in Paris during the 1410s, restated through notions of treachery or tyranny that were increasingly adapted to

¹¹⁸ Paul Zumthor, *La Mesure du monde. Représentation de l’espace au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Éditions de Seuil, 1993), 146. On the ‘otherness’ of Armagnacs in fifteenth-century French chronicles see Tracy Adams, “Feuding, Factionalism and Fictions of National Identity: Reconsidering Charles VII’s Armagnacs”, *Digital Philology*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 2012), pp. 16-18; Tim Pollack-Lagushenko, “Le parti Armagnac: nouveaux modèles de violence politique dans la France du bas Moyen Âge”, *Annales du Midi*, Vol. 118, No. 255 (2006), pp. 441-6; Michael Sizer, “The Calamity of Violence: Reading the Paris Massacres of 1418”, *Journal of the Western Society for French History*, Vol. 35 (2007), 23.

¹¹⁹ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 105.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 138; Claude Gauvard, “Rumeur et stéréotypes”, 161; Colette Beaune, “La rumeur”, 198; Jean-Michel Matz, “Rumeur publique et diffusion d’un nouveau culte: les miracles de Jean Michel, évêque d’Angers (1439-1447)”, *Revue d’histoire de l’Église de France*, Vol. 77, No. 198 (1991), 94. See also Jean-Louis Dufays, “Rumeur et stéréotypie L’étrange séduction de l’inoriginé”, *Protée*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Winter 2004), pp. 26-7.

class and neighbourhood boundaries. The repressive measures developed by Paris' Armagnac governors during this period triggered an explosion of anti-Armagnac rhetoric following the Burgundian occupation of the capital in May 1418, with rumours serving as a catalyst for popular movements. The reassertion of Valois authority in northern France from 1436 did little to dismiss these rumours. Instead, Armagnac characteristics were refocused upon rampant mercenaries and the failures of royal military policy, functioning as a means of political criticism in the last decade of the Hundred Years War.

The overlap between propaganda, opinion and rumours of the soldiery was signalled by the Bourgeois in his first identification of Armagnacs, following a sermon pronounced before Charles VI by the Mathurins minister Étienne du Mesnil in 1410, as tensions between the Orléanist and Burgundian camps increased.¹²¹ Mesnil's sermon asserted the dangers posed by the Orléanist leadership by emphasising "la cruauté que ilz faisoient par deffaulte de bon conseil".¹²² The Bourgeois tied this cruelty to the personal character and command of Bernard, count of Armagnac:

pour certain... quelconques estoit tué de dela, on disoit, 'c'est ung Armignac', car ledit conte estoit tenu pour tres cruel homme et tirant et sans pitié.¹²³

The remarks indicate the levelling and sharpening taking place among Paris' Burgundian sympathisers, conflating Bernard d'Armagnac's reputation with the envisioned behaviour of his soldiers. The move was reinforced by official documents that referred to

¹²¹ Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: la maudite guerre*, (Paris: Perrin, 1988), pp. 103-9.

¹²² The cruelty that they committed due to a lack of good counsel. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r.

¹²³ Certainly... whoever was killed in that manner, people said 'That's an Armagnac', because the said count was reputed to be a very cruel man, a tyrant and without pity. Ibid., fol. 15r. For Étienne du Mesnil's sermon and the Bourgeois' reaction, see below, Appendix II, No. 1.

Orléanist supporters as those “tenans le party de Bernart d’Armignac” or as the count’s “aliés, satellices, complices”.¹²⁴ The *Journal* indicates that this conflation cyclically reinforced the count’s reputation as responsible for Armagnac military cruelty, with multivalent discourses concerning violence condensed within the figure of the count. In doing so, the Bourgeois recast the ‘Armagnacs’ as an illegitimate political movement embodying cruelty and tyranny, introducing a series of conceptions that were reiterated during the civil conflict. Underscoring this point, where rumours were typically conveyed through indirect speech that highlighted their subjective character, the Bourgeois reported news regarding Armagnac atrocities as factual events without any insinuation of subjective or propagandistic reporting. Building upon existing archetypes integral to common knowledge, these rumours required little substantiation, with the effect of Armagnac extraneity reinforcing their plausibility.

The importance of rumours relating military depredations is underscored by their frequency. Eighty-six descriptions of military behaviour are present in the *Journal*, particularly abundant in times of acute political tension, as demonstrated by their substantial increase in 1418-19 after the Parisian massacres and Jean sans Peur’s murder at Montereau, and in 1429-30 following the Valois resurgence led by Jeanne d’Arc. In the first case, the number of reports rose from an annual average of two in 1416-17 to nine in 1418 and eleven in 1419.¹²⁵ In the second, there was a single account of violence in the years 1425-8, compared to eight in 1429 and ten in 1430.¹²⁶ Rumours of military atrocities were

¹²⁴ Supporting the party of Bernard d’Armagnac; allies, satellites and accomplices. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, no. 149 (July 1418); Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, no. 147 (June 1418).

¹²⁵ That is, from an average of 4.5% of the total number of passages per year in 1416 and 1417, to 14% of passages in 1418 and 39% of all passages in 1419.

¹²⁶ From only one of the 72 passages for the years 1425-8 to 22% of the total passages for 1429 and 38% of those in 1430.

conveyed through formulaic means that evidence their archetypal structure, principally through verb-lists. Soldiers performed a combination of actions including: *piller, rober, gaster, tuer, bouter feux, efforcer* and *prendre gens a rancon* that became integral components of Armagnac behaviour.¹²⁷ These lists became increasingly common following the Burgundian coup in 1418 and, by 1423, they had become so customary that the Bourgeois no longer repeated them fully. When Armagnacs sacked the region surrounding Mantes-la-Jolie the Bourgeois reported that they would “*piller et rober... comme acoustumé l’avoient*”.¹²⁸ This repetition of generic behaviours framed more specific rumours of Armagnac depravity by developing the audience’s credibility. As the Anglo-Burgundian alliance neared its ratification in the spring of 1420, the *Journal* reported that the Armagnacs had burned Champigny-sur-Marne:

et quant aucuns des hommes sailloient pour la destresse du feu, ilz mectoient leurs lances a l’endroit et ains qu’ilz fussent a terre, ilz estoient percez de iij ou iiij lances, ou de leurs haches. Celle cruelle felonnie firent la et ailleurs cedit jour.¹²⁹

Likewise, in 1430, it was rumoured that the Armagnacs ambushed Parisian merchants and threw the dying into burning carts; in June 1435, the French soldiers “*s’acoustumerent que tous ceulx qu’ilz prenoient ilz leur coppoient les gorges, fucent*

¹²⁷ For example, Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 24v, 49r, 61r, 91v, 110v-111r.

¹²⁸ Pillage and rob, as they were accustomed to doing. *Ibid.*, fol. 91r. Mantes-la-Jolie is located in the modern Yvelines département in the Île-de-France, fifty kilometres west of Paris.

¹²⁹ ...and when some of the men sought to jump from the dangers of the fire, the Armagnacs placed their lances at the escape so that, when the men reached the ground, they were pierced by three or four lances or cut down with their axes. It was this cruel violence that they committed there and elsewhere on that day. *Ibid.*, fol. 65r. Champigny-sur-Marne is a south-eastern Parisian suburb, fourteen kilometres from the city centre, located in the modern Val-de-Marne département, in the Île-de-France

laboureux ou autres, et les mectoient en my les chemins, et a femmes aussi bien.”¹³⁰ Each account of brutality blurred the lines between reality, rumour and propaganda, encapsulating the fears accentuated by the capital’s increasing isolation during the early 1430s.

The best known of these cases is the Bourgeois’ account of the Armagnac captains of Meaux who resisted Henry V in 1421-2, namely the Bâtard de Vauru and his cousin Denis de Vauru. Boris Bove has argued that the execution of the Vauru cousins for resisting Henry V was legitimated by the violent and tyrannical characteristics attributed to these figures, as demonstrated by the accounts that surfaced in contemporary chronicles.¹³¹ Fundamentally, surviving narratives demonised the Armagnacs, deflecting attention from Meaux’s dedication to Charles VII and Henry’s failure to quickly take the town.¹³² The Bourgeois first presented the execution of Meaux’s captain, the Bâtard de Vauru, which Remy Ambühl has argued was within the legitimate remit of Henry’s powers.¹³³ In the *Journal*, the Bâtard’s death was exemplary. The captain was “trainé parmy toute la ville de Meaulx, et puis la teste coppée et son corps pendu a ung arbre... et dessus lui fut mise sa teste en une lance au

¹³⁰ Habitually cut the throats of all those whom they captured, whether they were labourers or others, and left the in the middle of the road, and did the same to women as well. *Ibid.*, fols. 126r-126v, 149r-149v.

¹³¹ Boris Bove has tabulated the various chronicle descriptions of the siege of Meaux. “Deconstructing the Chronicles”, pp. 520-1. See also Thierry Dutour, “Le Prince perturbateur ‘meu de volonté sans mie de raison’ et les sujets mécontents : recherche sur les opinions collectives dans le royaume de France à la fin du Moyen Âge” in *Le prince, son peuple et le bien commun*, ed. Joelle Quaghebeur, Hervé Oudart & Jean-Michel Picard, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2013), pp. 353-8.

¹³² On the siege see Jonathan Sumption, *Cursed Kings: The Hundred Years War IV*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2016), pp. 744-55; Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France, 1417-1450*, (London: Little, Brown, 2009), pp. 41-44; Christopher Allmand, *Henry V*, (London: Methuen, 1992), 164-9.

¹³³ Rémy Ambühl, “Henry V and the Administration of Justice: The Surrender of Meaux (May 1422)”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2017), pp. 75-82.

plus haulte de l'arbre, et son estendart dessus son corps".¹³⁴ This tree is central to each of the descriptions of Vauru's death, as the site where he hanged peasants and prisoners who could not afford their ransoms. The Bourgeois' detailed description of the circumstances surrounding the Bâtard's death therefore paralleled the brutal acts that he had committed during his life, and similar attitudes are demonstrated by the narrative found in a short chronicle produced for Sir John Fastolf. This relates that Vauru's death was commanded by Thomas Beaufort, duke of Exeter who, upon hearing that the captain had hanged peasants at the elm tree, "ot tresgrant pitié et les fist descender et ensepulturer, et jura que s'il pouvoit avoir ledit bastart, que il le feroit mourir de pareille mort".¹³⁵ Likewise, the Ursins compiler attributed the murder of non-combatants to the Bâtard as a justification for his execution. Henry "le fist pendre a ung arbre, au dehors de Miaulx, lequel arbre on nommoit l'arbre Vorus, et estoit pour ce que ledit bastard y avoit fait pendre pluseurs povres laboureurs".¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the *Journal's* portrayal of the executions following Meaux's surrender also emphasised significant differences in the Bâtard's character when compared to that of his cousin Denis, with the latter encapsulating perceived stereotypical Armagnac qualities. The text makes no reference to the Bâtard's involvement in the peasant murders at the elm tree, instead associating these with Denis. This distinction is significant in the context of their

¹³⁴ Dragged throughout the town of Meaux, and then he was decapitated and his body hanged from a tree... and above him his head was stuck upon a pike at the top of the tree, and his standard above his body. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 84r.

¹³⁵ He was filled with pity and had the bodies taken down and buried, and he swore that if he could take the said bastard, he would put him to death in a similar manner. London, College of Arms, MS 9, 45v. On this manuscript see Benedicta J.H. Rowe, "A Contemporary Account of the Hundred Years War from 1415 to 1429", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 164 (October 1926), pp. 504-13; Anne Curry, "Representing War and Conquest, 1415-1429: The Evidence of College of Arms Manuscript M9" in *Representing War and Violence, 1250-1600*, ed. Joanna Bellis & Laura Slater, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016), pp. 139-58.

¹³⁶ Had him hanged from a tree outside of Meaux. This tree was called the 'Vauru Tree' because the said bastard had had hanged there several poor labourers. *Histoire de Charles VI*, 612.

conflation in other sources, signalling a discrepancy between legitimate resistance to the English, as represented by the Bâtard, and the tyrannical abuses committed by Armagnac troops evidenced by Denis' actions.¹³⁷

Denis de Vauru is named as one of Meaux's four captains who surrendered to Henry V to be judged in the town's treaty of surrender, but for the Bourgeois his figure came to encapsulate the anti-Armagnac stereotypes developed through Parisian rumour.¹³⁸ In the *Journal*, Denis' character was illustrated through a single detailed anecdote, describing how a young, pregnant peasant woman had failed to secure the ransom for her labourer husband, one of Denis de Vauru's prisoners. When the woman learned of her husband's death, she insulted Denis in her grief and rage, provoking the captain to tie her to his 'Arbre de Vauru', leaving her and her unborn child to be devoured by wolves.¹³⁹ Doubting the story's veracity, Boris Bove and Colette Beaune argued that it echoes explicit Lancastrian attempts to mould French opinion following the siege.¹⁴⁰ However, the description is unique to the *Journal* and is not repeated by Burgundian chroniclers who would have presumably

¹³⁷ The distinction is similarly evidenced by an abridged chronicle for the years 1403-1442 in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 4655 that states (for 1420) that "la fust prins le bastard de Vauru, capitaine des gens d'armes, qui fust décapité, et Denis de Vauru, aussy grant capitaine, fust pendu a ung ourme près de Meaulx et son estandart dessus sa teste." Nicole Pons (ed.), "Mémoire nobiliaire et clivages politiques: le témoignage d'une courte chronique chevaleresque (1403-1422)", *Journal des Savants* (2002), 334.

¹³⁸ "Traité de la reddition de Meaux (2nd May 1422)" in Paris, BNF Fr. 1278, fols. 87v-90r.

¹³⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 84v-86r.

¹⁴⁰ Colette Beaune, "La rumeur" pp. 198-200; Boris Bove, "Violence extrême, rumeur et crise de l'ordre public: la tyrannie du bâtard de Vaurus (1422)" in *La violence d'État* ed. F. Foronda, C. Barralis & B. Sère, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 123-32. Beaune asserted that the narrative of the woman's murder surfaces in numerous other chronicles, including those of Pierre de Fenin, the Religieux of Saint-Denis, the *Histoire de Charles VI*, Enguerrand de Monstrelet and Robert Blondel. While these authors do indeed refer to the 'arbre de Vauru', none relate the murder of the pregnant peasant.

seized the chance to denigrate their Armagnac enemies.¹⁴¹ Rather, Ambühl has persuasively pointed to the threat posed by the garrison at Meaux to Paris' security, linked to the fact that Parisians themselves twice petitioned Henry V to capture the town, to argue that detailed narratives such as the Bourgeois' are evocative of profound and specifically Parisian anxieties.¹⁴² In this context, the Bourgeois' account demonstrates cathartic function, not only giving voice to the fears resulting from the dangers posed by the Armagnacs in the Ile-de-France, but also presenting a figure of vilification that united the Parisian community and legitimated support for Henry V's French conquest. For Bove, the Bourgeois presented an *exemplum horribilis* and "donne une épure rhétorique parfait aux rumeurs les plus sombres qui courent dans la ville".¹⁴³ The pregnant woman's murder represented a powerful statement of the inversion of social values resulting from warfare, while the description's detail, focusing upon her wails and the wolves' tearing apart of her unborn child, provoked disgust that conditioned moral responses.¹⁴⁴

The Bourgeois' portrayal of Denis de Vauru as an antithesis to Christian values therefore illustrates a Parisian contribution to the anti-Armagnac discourse and the means by which the city's inhabitants rationalised their support for the Lancastrian regime in opposition to these 'tyrannical' figures, with Denis de Vauru described as acting "pour la grant cruaulté dont il estoit plain, car on n'ouy oncques parler de plus cruel chrestien en tyrannie".¹⁴⁵ In particular, the narrative evoked specific fears about the protected status of

¹⁴¹ For instance, Monstrelet, Vol. 4, pp. 91-6; "La chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, pp. 314-15; Jean le Fèvre de Saint-Rémy, *Chronique de Jean le Fèvre, seigneur de Saint-Rémy*, Vol. 2, ed. François Morand, (Paris: Renouard, 1881), pp. 54-5.

¹⁴² Rémy Ambühl, "Henry V and the Administration of Justice", 86.

¹⁴³ Boris Bove, "Violence extrême", 130.

¹⁴⁴ Claude Gauvard, *De Grace especial*, Vol. 2, 824.

¹⁴⁵ Because of the great cruelty with which he was filled, since none had heard of a more tyrannical and cruel Christian. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 84r-84v.

non-combatants and the maintenance of societal norms by focusing upon the woman's treatment and the death of her unborn child, a fundamental transgression conveying anxieties surrounding productivity and the very "future of Christianity".¹⁴⁶ These stereotypical notions of military violence were remembered long after 1436. When Jean du Bois wrote to Charles VII seeking the realm's remedy in 1445, he reminded him how troops from all sides of the conflict – Burgundian, English and Armagnac – had been responsible for "tant violences d'églises, comme en vierges defleurer, en femmes veufves et mariées efforcier, en femmes grosses arrachier le fruit de leur ventre du conduit de nature".¹⁴⁷

The rhetorical accentuation of details to engender disgust represents a significant element in accounts such as the Bourgeois' description of Vauru. When the pregnant woman was tied to Vauru's tree, "dessus luy avoit iiii^x ou cent hommes panduz... les bas aucunes foiz, quant le vent les faisoit brandeler, touchoient a sa teste, qui tant lui faisoient de freour que elle ne se povait soustenir sur piez"; the wolves "lui ouvrirent a leurs cruelles dens, et tirerent l'enffent hors par pieces, et le remenant de son corps despecerent tout".¹⁴⁸ Rumours regarding the roasting of men and children, the cutting of throats or the burning of merchants also elicited specific responses. The interplay of horror and disgust was central to defining the boundaries between Christian and other, as Alexandra Cuffel has demonstrated

¹⁴⁶ Boris Bove, "Deconstructing the Chronicles", 507; Claude Gauvard, *Violence et ordre public au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Picard, 2005), 210.

¹⁴⁷ So much violence towards the church, such as the deflowering of virgins, the rape of widows and married women and the tearing of the fruit from pregnant women's stomachs through their natural conduct. Jean du Bois, "Conseils et prédictions adressés à Charles VII en 1445 par un certain Jean du Bois", ed. Noel Valois, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (1909), 220. Emphasis my own.

¹⁴⁸ Above her there were eighty or a hundred men hanging... sometimes when the wind made the lower ones move the bodies touched her head, which frightened her so much that she could not keep herself upon her feet; eviscerated her with their cruel teeth and tore out the child in pieces, before tearing apart the remainder of her body. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 86r.

in her examination of impurity and filth in Crusading rhetoric, distinguishing human from unhuman and informing moral responses.¹⁴⁹ The Bourgeois conflated disgust and aversion at the treatment of Christians, stressing these elements that disturbed “identity, system, order”.¹⁵⁰ Fundamentally, the emotional reactions provoked by these rumours reinforced a sense of community solidarity based on this aversion and established clear moral boundaries that distinguished the Parisian community from their Armagnac opponents. Disgust’s role in shaping community relations is possible due to its contagious character, as a “signalling mechanism... advantageous to spread uniform aversive tendencies throughout a population”.¹⁵¹ This is also possible due to the “sympathetic magic” underpinning disgust’s function, relying upon an understanding of contagion (“once in contact, always in contact”) and similarity (“shared properties indicate shared identity”) that reinforce boundaries between the (morally) pure ingroup and the outgroup, permanently tainted by association.¹⁵² Ultimately, disgust maintains cultural orders and social hierarchies that equates unfamiliarity and harm potential with wrongness.¹⁵³ It also encourages distance from the polluting other, asserting an otherness that underpins group identity.¹⁵⁴ It can

¹⁴⁹ Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic*, (Notre-Dame, IN: University of Notre-Dame Press, 2007), pp. 3-7, 87-106.

¹⁵⁰ Julia Kristeva, *Powers of Horror. An Essays on Abjection*, (New York, NY: University of Columbia Press, 1982), pp. 4-17; Willian Ian Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 154; Robin L. Nabi, “The Theoretical Versus the Lay Meaning of Disgust: Implications for Emotion Research”, *Cognition and Emotion*, Vol. 16, No. 5 (2002), 696.

¹⁵¹ Joshua Gert, “Disgust, Moral Disgust and Morality”, *Journal of Moral Philosophy*, Vol. 12 (2015), 37; Cristina-Elena Ivan, “On Disgust and Moral Judgements: A Review”, *Journal of European Psychology Students*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (2015), pp. 25-30.

¹⁵² Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo*, (New York: Routledge, 2001), pp. 18-25, 59-71, 115-25; Nina Strohminger, “Disgust Talked About”, *Philosophy Compass*, Vol. 9, No. 7 (2014), pp. 483-5.

¹⁵³ Martha Nussbaum, *Hiding from Humanity: Disgust, Shame and the Law*, (Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), pp. 193-200.

¹⁵⁴ Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), pp. 86-9.

therefore reinforce xenophobia by determining reactions both to moral violations and a perceived outgroup, focusing on a stereotypical vision of their behaviours that, for the Bourgeois, tied the Armagnacs to violent and sacrilegious predispositions that rendered them amoral and inhuman.¹⁵⁵

Typified Armagnac behaviours gave voice to these socio-political concerns, juxtaposing the Parisian community with an ambiguous and ubiquitous Other infesting the *plat pais* beyond the city walls. Excluding his descriptions of the 1418 massacres, the Bourgeois employed 'Armagnac' exclusively to designate the armed forces serving Charles VII *outside* Paris. This spatial dynamic was crucial, and Paul Zumthor has stressed the importance of distance in structuring Otherness "qualitativement, comme étrangeté... [et] quantitativement, comme continuation spatiale".¹⁵⁶ Following the Parisian massacres in 1418, the Parisians were portrayed as being isolated by the Armagnac forces surrounding the city, with the inhabitants fearing reprisals for their endorsement of the Burgundian coup. In October, "les Arminax... venoient souvent empres Paris prendre proies et hommes et femmes", and by March 1419 the Armagnacs appeared "jusques aux portes de Paris sans cesser, et nul homme n'osoit yssir."¹⁵⁷ Armagnac proximity framed an insider-outsider contrast while also stoking fears regarding Paris' autarky. Rumours of foodstuffs being destroyed, the ambushing of merchants and murder of labourers assume meaning as expressions of concerns about the city's provision. The Bourgeois, in particular, was

¹⁵⁵ David Pizarro, Yoel Inbar & Chelsea Helion, "On Disgust and Moral Judgement", *Emotion Review*, Vol. 3, No. 3 (July 2011), pp. 267-8.

¹⁵⁶ Paul Zumthor, *La Mesure du monde*, 146.

¹⁵⁷ The Armagnacs... often came up to Paris' walls to take prey, and men and women; ceaselessly up to the gates of Paris, and no man dared leave. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 55r, 57v.

sensitive to the dangers posed by warfare, economic fluctuations, adverse weather and epidemics to the availability of foodstuffs in an already overpopulated city.¹⁵⁸

In turn, this existential threat posed to the civic community that motivated the internal hunt for Armagnacs during the massacres of 1418 was exacerbated by the reports of other towns' experiences in the Ile-de-France. When Armagnac forces captured Soissons in May 1414, the town was sacked as an example to Burgundian supporters.¹⁵⁹ The Bourgeois mitigated the praise exhibited in the ensuing Parisian celebrations by expressing horror at the Armagnac treatment of Soissons' inhabitants:

...plusieurs en furent penduz, et les femmes de religion et autres prudes femmes et bonnes pucelles efforcées, et tous les hommes ranconnez, et les petiz enffans, et les eglises et reliques pillées et livrées et vestemens. Et avant qu'il fut dix jours apres la prinse de la ville, elle fut si pillée au net qu'i n'y demoura chose que on peut emporter. Et dit-on que on n'ouyt oncques parler que les Sarazins feissent pis que firent ceulx de l'ost en ladite ville...¹⁶⁰

Soissons presented a model for later descriptions of Armagnac reprisals that performed an important rhetorical function after the Burgundian coup in 1418, legitimating

¹⁵⁸ On this see Patrick Rambourg, "Les savoirs alimentaires dans le Paris du Moyen Âge: entre pratique culinaire et hygiène alimentaire" in *Le choix des aliments. Informations et pratiques alimentaires de la fin du Moyen Âge à nos jours*, ed. Martin Bruegel, Marilyn Nicoud, Eva Barlösius, (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2010), pp. 184-7; Laurent Vissière, "La bouche et le ventre de Paris", *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (2006), pp. 85-9.

¹⁵⁹ Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 8-11; "La chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 222; RSD, Vol. 5, pp. 324-31. See also Bertrand Schnerb, *Enguerrand de Bournonville et les siens. Un lignage noble du Boulonnais aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires Paris-Sorbonne 1, 1997), pp. 109-38; Christophe Furon, "'Et libido precipitare consuevit': viols de guerre à Soissons en 1414", *Questes*, Vol. 37 (2018), pp. 87-103.

¹⁶⁰ Several were hanged, and nuns, other worthy women and maidens raped, and all of the men ransomed as well as the small children, and the churches pillaged of their relics, books and vestments. Before ten days had passed following the capture of the town, it had been ransacked so thoroughly that nothing remained that could be taken away; people said that they had never even heard of Saracens behaving worse than the actions of those of the army towards the said town. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 32r.

Parisian support for Jean sans Peur. These narratives retrospectively justified the 1418 massacres, structuring an us-or-them dichotomy that rendered the elimination of Armagnac sympathisers essential to civic stability. The threat was demonstrated by news of incidents such as the massacre of Sens' inhabitants in March 1419 by its captain, Guillaume de Chaumont, seigneur de Guitry, "pour ce que ceulx de la cité voulaient mectre les Bourguignons dedens sans son seu."¹⁶¹ This possibility of annihilation found its most vivid expression in Jeanne d'Arc's assault upon the city on 8th September 1429, with the Bourgeois portraying the Pucelle as shouting to Paris' defenders: "'Ce vous ne vous rendez avant qu'il soit la nuyt nous y entrerons par force... et tous serez mis a mort sans mercy!'"¹⁶²

Underpinning this threat was the rumour that Joan had promised her soldiers that

sans nulle faulte ilz gaignerent a celui assault la ville de Paris... et qu'ilz seroient tous enrichiz des biens de la cité, et que tous seroient mis qui y mectroient aucune deffence a l'espée, ou ars en sa maison.¹⁶³

These rumours impart the Bourgeois' sustained rhetorical efforts to rationalise Paris' political stance, justifying continued resistance to Charles VII through the repeated fears of potential reprisals. This juxtaposition was reinforced through the Armagnacs' direct contrast with non-combatants. Throughout the *Journal*, Armagnacs were portrayed as avoiding open military engagements and preying upon defenceless civilians, subverting understandings of honourable combat and the exemption of specific sections of society from violence. These rumours also performed an essential political role. For example, in 1420, the brutality of

¹⁶¹ Because the inhabitants of the town wanted to let the Burgundians enter without his knowing. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 58r.

¹⁶² 'If you do not surrender before nightfall, we will enter the city by force... and all will be put to death without mercy!' Ibid., fol. 119v.

¹⁶³ Without any difficulty they would capture the city of Paris through this assault... and that they would all be enriched by the city's goods, and that all of those people who attempted to put up any defence would be put to the sword or burned in their houses. Ibid., fol. 120r.

such crimes were destined to explicate Charles VI's submission to Henry V's demands in the conclusion of the Treaty of Troyes, culminating in the agreement that his daughter Catherine would marry the English monarch: "estoient les Arminalx plus achenez a cruaulté que oncques mais, et tuoient, pilloient, efforcoient, ardoient eglises et les gens dedens, femmes grosses et enffans".¹⁶⁴

Religious Dichotomy

Underpinning the presentation of Armagnac Otherness was the stereotype's moral function, excluding the Armagnacs from the Bourgeois' conception of the Christian community. Given the absence of immediately perceptible markers of Armagnac difference, the Bourgeois constructed a rhetorical paradigm that situated the faction as an amoral Christian antithesis. Suzanne Cawsey has similarly demonstrated the importance of conflating religious dichotomies and political rhetoric to sustain military efforts in her examination of late medieval propaganda in Aragon.¹⁶⁵ First, the Bourgeois conflated the archetype of military violence with an equally archetypal vision of Saracen behaviour, drawing from the common repertoire established by crusading rhetoric and religious literature that at once situated the Armagnacs beyond the boundaries of Christian society and reinforced Paris' status as a most-Christian city, described by Jean Gerson as "la lumiere de nostre foy"; le beau cler soleil de France, voir de toute crestienté".¹⁶⁶ This moral Otherness

¹⁶⁴ The Armagnacs were more relentlessly in their cruelty than ever before and killed, pillaged, raped, burned down churches with people inside [including] pregnant women and children. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 65v.

¹⁶⁵ Suzanne F. Cawsey, "Royal Eloquence, Royal Propaganda and the Use of the Sermon in the Medieval Crown of Aragon, c. 1200-1410", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 50, No. 3 (July 1999), pp. 454-63

¹⁶⁶ Cited in Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans, 23 novembre 1407*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), 122. This impression is similarly attested to by a number of complaint poems

was reinforced by a profound conviction that the Armagnacs represented earthly manifestations of Christian sin that framed the civic conflict in absolutes, presenting audiences with a clear distinction of good and evil. Bernard d'Armagnac and his followers were described as devils, inherently building upon the identification of Louis d'Orléans with diabolical practices in texts such as Jean Petit's *Justification* and accentuated by Charles VII's association with controversial visionaries like Piéronne, Jeanne d'Arc and Guillaume le Berger, each mentioned by the Bourgeois.¹⁶⁷ Ultimately, these rumours underpinned a paradigm that enabled the Bourgeois to rationalise Lancastrian successes as a form of divine punishment for French sin, while rumours of diabolical behaviour legitimated Parisian resistance to the faction.

Comparing the Armagnacs to Saracens, pagans and Roman tyrants, the Bourgeois evoked deeper notions of cultural alterity prevalent in the Middle Ages, whereby "le terme 'sarrasin' sert facilement de synonyme a celui de barbare".¹⁶⁸ Fuelled by crusading rhetoric, these same Christian reactions coupled notions of the 'Saracen' with apocalyptic evil, views accentuated in the wake of Nicopolis in 1396 that had especially affected the Burgundian nobility.¹⁶⁹ By comparing the Armagnacs to Saracens, the Bourgeois introduced tropes of

lamenting Paris' lost status produced in the 1430s. See Jules Delpit (ed.), *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Dumoulin, 1847), pp. 238–9, No. 380; L. Auvray, "Complainte sur les misères de Paris, composée en 1435", *BSHP*, Vol. 18 (1891), pp. 84-7; Gaston Raynaud, "La Complainte de Paris en 1436", *BSHP*, Vol. 27 (1900), pp. 36-41. The manuscript copies of these poems can be found respectively in London, London Metropolitan Archives, Letter Book K, fol. 103r; Paris, BNF Fr. 5332 fols. 81v-82v; Paris, BNF Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 6221, fols. 5r-6v.

¹⁶⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 126v, 130r-134r, 135r. Philippe Contamine, "Naissance d'une historiographie. Le souvenir de Jeanne d'Arc, en France et hors de France, depuis le 'procès de son innocence' (1455-1456) jusqu'au début du XVI^e siècle", *Francia*, Vol. 15 (1987), 235; Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism*, (London: Vintage, 1981), pp. 75-9, 128-9.

¹⁶⁸ Viviane Grivea-Genest & Pauline Guena, "Culture de l'autre: introduction", *Questes*, Vol. 35, pp. 13-15, 25

¹⁶⁹ Hilmi Kaçar & Jan Dumolyn, "The Battle of Nicopolis (1396), Burgundian Catastrophe and Ottoman Fait Divers", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 91, No. 4 (2013), pp. 917-21; Charles-

indiscriminate violence and spiritual irreverence that rendered the comparison an effective form of political commentary. The association was immediate. Relating rumours of brutality in August 1411, the Bourgeois stated that the Armagnacs

...firent tant de maulx *comme eussent fait Sarrazins*, car ilz pendoient les gens, les uns par les poulces, autres par les piez, les autres tuoient, et ranconnoient, et efforcoient femmes, et boutoient feuz. Et quiconques ce feist, on disoit 'ce font les Arminax'.¹⁷⁰

With the faction's leaders excommunicated three months later, the characterisation of Armagnac violence as Saracen became a common trope.¹⁷¹ Armagnacs undertaking *courses* before Paris in 1422 "faisoient des maulx tant que oncques firent tyrans Sarazins"; later that year they evaded Burgundy's forces, "et firent... tous les maulx que on peust pencer, comme eussent fait Sarazins".¹⁷² Such language exhibited the snowballing phenomenon as rumours gained additional detail.¹⁷³ Crucially, the comparison presented the Bourgeois with a rhetorical shorthand that facilitated the moral condemnation of Armagnac violence, summoning common knowledge of crusading discourse that enabled audiences to readily configure the Armagnac stereotype according to religious features that excluded those

Louis Morand Métivier, "Narrating a Massacre: The Writing of History and Emotions as Response to the Battle of Nicopolis (1396)" in *Affective and Emotional Economies in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andreea Marculescu & Charles-Louis Morand Métivier, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 196-202; Jacques Paviot, "L'idée de croisade à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 153, No. 2 (2009), pp. 865-9; Kiril Petkov, "The Rotten Apple and the Good Apples: Orthodox, Catholics, and Turks in Philippe de Mézières' Crusading Propaganda", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (1997), pp. 266-70.

¹⁷⁰ They committed such evils as Saracens would have done, because they hanged people, some by their thumbs, others by their feet; others they killed, others they ransomed, and raped women and started fires. And whoever did this, people said 'that is what Armagnacs do'. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 16r. Emphasis my own.

¹⁷¹ Ibid., fols. 18r-18v; *Histoire de Charles VI*, 462; Emily J. Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds", pp. 21-22; Loïc Cazaux, "Réglementation royale et usage de la force dans le royaume de France, XIV^e-XVI^e siècle", *Inflexions*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (2010), 102.

¹⁷² And committed evils as bad as those once committed by Saracen tyrants; and committed all of the evils that can be thought of, as Saracens would have done. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 81r, 88r.

¹⁷³ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 112.

identified from popular (Burgundian) understandings of the French and Christian communities, stressed by the portrayal of Armagnacs' opposition to traditional order, inherent sinfulness and willingness, even their delight, in the shedding of Christian blood.

The situation of the Armagnac faction beyond the boundaries of the Christian community enabled the Bourgeois to emphasise demonic features, as demonstrated by his diatribe following Jean sans Peur's assassination.

Cuide en ma conscience que ledit conte d'Arminac *estoit ung ennemy en fourme de homme*, car je ne voy nul qui ait esté a lui ou qui de lui ce renomme... qui tienne point la loy ne foy chrestienne. Ains ce maintiennent envers tous ceulx dont ilz ont la maistrise, comme gens qui auroient renyé leur Creatour.¹⁷⁴

The correlation of the Armagnacs with the diabolic was achieved through the repetition of rumoured anti-Christian violence, sacrilegious behaviours and heretical beliefs reinforced by official efforts including the faction's excommunication in November 1411 that eased these rumours' acceptance. For instance, when Bernard d'Armagnac was appointed French constable on 30th December 1415, the Bourgeois reminded his audience of the count's illegitimacy as a "personne *escommeniée* comme devant est dit".¹⁷⁵ Cyclically, the rumours of Armagnac depredations reinforced the sentence's validity. For example, the Bourgeois retrospectively justified the murders perpetrated by Parisians in 1418 by focusing upon the amoral characteristics of the Armagnac leaders. Remonnet de la Guerre was described as the commander of 'larrons' who "faisoient pis que Sarazins"; Philippe de Vilette, abbot of Saint-

¹⁷⁴ I believe in my conscience that the said count of Armagnac is a devil in human form, because I cannot see anyone who followed him or who claims to support him... who follows either the Christian law or faith. In fact, they behave towards those over whom they have authority like men who have forgotten their Creator. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 63r. Emphasis my own. For the Bourgeois' full reaction to Jean sans Peur's murder and his criticism of the Armagnac faction, see below, Appendix II, No. 5.

¹⁷⁵ An excommunicated person, as stated above. Ibid., fol. 37r. Emphasis my own.

Denis, was a “tres faulx papelart”; and, finally, Pierre le Gayant was a “personne sismatique, herite contre la foy” whose beliefs had already been condemned in public sermons, with the Bourgeois concluding that the cleric was “digne d’ardoir”.¹⁷⁶

Rumours surrounding the visionaries associated with the Armagnacs reinforced this perception of heretical, even diabolical, inspiration. The Bourgeois’ account of Jeanne d’Arc’s conviction focused upon her desire to destroy Paris “a feu et a sang” on the feast of the Virgin’s Nativity, and how “elle avoit fait ydolatrer le simple peuple”.¹⁷⁷ These accusations were compounded by Graverent’s later sermon, whereupon the inquisitor described Joan as “accompaignée de l’Ennemy d’enfer, et depuis vesqui homicide de chrestienté plaine de feu et de sanc”.¹⁷⁸ Jeanne’s spiritual experiences emulated Bernard d’Armagnac’s perceived diabolical inspiration, undermining the moral and political legitimacy Charles VII had accrued through her aid. This was underscored by the presence of other dubious visionaries. In 1431, Guillaume le Berger “faisoit les gens ydolatres en luy”, whereas Piéronne la Bretonne was executed in Paris in September 1430 for asserting that “Dieu... parloit a elle comme amy fait a autre” in terms that anticipated Graverent’s description of demonic interaction.¹⁷⁹ Ultimately, rumours of demonic inspiration reinforced the distinction between the Bourgeois’ conception of a pious, Christian community and an antithetical, Armagnac Other.

¹⁷⁶ Committed worse deeds than Saracens; a very false hypocrite; a schismatic person and heretic against the faith... worthy of being burned. *Ibid.*, fol. 46r.

¹⁷⁷ She had rendered the simple people idolaters. *Ibid.*, fol. 130v. Emphasis my own.

¹⁷⁸ Accompanied by the Enemy of hell, and since then lived according to Christian killing replete with fire and blood. *Ibid.*, fol. 132v.

¹⁷⁹ Rendered people idolatrous; God... spoke to her as a friend does to another. *Ibid.*, fols. 133v, 126v.

Indicative of his clerical perspective, the Bourgeois emphasised a strong connection between Armagnac desecrations and their diabolical character. In turn, these descriptions reiterated the sense of an overwhelming crisis facing Christian society, with attacks upon churches endangering a framework of social provision.¹⁸⁰ The rhetoric can be compared with those rumours associated with Denis de Vauru, contributing to an impression of the violation of fundamental societal norms by Armagnacs, with Vauru's murder of the pregnant woman a microcosmic example of wider societal discord. Consequently, as the Bourgeois warned, unless the Armagnacs returned to the fold of the Christian community, "tout le royaume est a perdicion ce Dieu n'en a pitié, qu'on y veuille de sa grace ouvrir", again situating the Armagnacs as an Other external to French, Christian society.¹⁸¹ Conflating amoral characteristics with accusations of tyrannical cruelty, such rumours therefore emerged as a fundamental means of asserting Armagnac illegitimacy as an iteration of the threat posed by the faction both to the common good and to Christendom itself.

The development of stereotypes that reinforced the boundaries between friend and foe or insider and outsider were integral to rationalising a civic conflict during which it was impossible to identify the enemy according to evident ethnic, cultural or linguistic factors. The othering of Armagnacs sustained animosity and legitimated resistance in a war where

¹⁸⁰ As emphasised by Bronisław Geremek. *The Margins of Society in Late Medieval Paris*, trans. Jean Birrell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 167-92. See also Christopher Dyer, "Poverty and its Relief in Late Medieval England", *Past & Present*, No. 216 (August 2012), pp. 45-8, 56-7; Jean Gaudemet, "La paroisse au Moyen Âge", *Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*, Vol. 59, No. 162 (1973), pp. 19-21;

¹⁸¹ The entire kingdom will be damned if God does not take pity and if we wish to elicit his grace. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 61r.

both sides simultaneously espoused an identification as being 'French'. Fundamentally, the development of the Armagnac stereotype in the *Journal* through the repetition and accentuation of Parisian rumours codified the faction's alterity through the coalescence of several archetypal rumours and stereotypes. First among these was the assimilation of the term Armagnac with understandings of cruelty and violence associated with the uncontrolled soldiery since the High Medieval Peace of God movement that had distinguished the status of combatants and non-combatants, but that in France had been exacerbated by the "Grandes Compagnies" who terrorised France in the years following the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360.¹⁸² Burgundian propagandists had drawn upon this memory when they orchestrated the ritual excommunication of Armagnac leaders at Paris on 13th November 1411, taking as their basis for this move the papal bull issued by Pope Urban V on 9th May 1367 stating that groups who took up arms against the French sovereign warranted excommunication.¹⁸³ Building upon this moral basis, the Bourgeois portrayed sedition and violence towards non-combatants as essential Armagnac characteristics by repeating rumours of atrocities, from typical notions of burning, pillaging and rape to more detailed accounts of murder designed to provoke horror and disgust. The moral dynamic suggested by the sentence of excommunication in 1411 was crucial to this dehumanisation of the Armagnac faction, further accomplished by the Bourgeois association of the faction both with commonly held assumptions regarding Saracen behaviour towards Christians and notions of diabolical inspiration. Through these stereotypical attributions, the Bourgeois alluded to and accentuated processes whereby Parisians justified their continued resistance

¹⁸² Philippe Contamine, "Les compagnies d'aventure en France pendant la guerre de Cent ans", *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*, Vol. 87, No. 2 (1975), pp. 369-76; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 223-4.

¹⁸³ *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 9, pp. 652-3; RSD, Vol. V, pp. 532-4; Monstrelet, Vol. 2, 210.

to Charles VII, despite his claim to be the rightful king of France, by situating the Armagnac faction as an antonym to Christian society. Into the 1440s, the Bourgeois continued to repeat tropes that had surfaced in his description of Armagnac behaviour, instead attributing them to French leaders as a means of questioning Valois legitimacy. When Bernard d'Armagnac's son, Bernard VIII d'Armagnac, count of Pardiac, entered Paris in June 1439, the Bourgeois evoked memories of his father to criticise French military efforts. Pardiac was "ung autre mauvais... filz du conte d'Arminal qui fut tué pour ses demerites, et admena une autre grant compaignie de larrons et de meurdriers qui pour leur mauaise vie et destable gouvernement furent nommez les escorcheurs."¹⁸⁴ Fundamentally, rumours of the *écorcheurs'* barbarity undermined Charles VII's already unstable authority.¹⁸⁵ In doing so, the *Journal* reveals the function of rumour as a means of expressing societal fears prompted by widespread violence and the threat of retribution, establishing the means by which Parisians continued to justify their political stance on an emotional, moral and political basis.

Rumour and Resistance. The Parisian Uprisings of 1413 and 1418

Although Vincent Challet has emphasised important distinctions between the two Parisian uprisings of the 1410s, the Bourgeois' accounts of the 1413 Cabochien revolt and 1418 Parisian massacres reveal the author's employment of rumour in similar circumstances to consider popular resistance.¹⁸⁶ Indeed, while Boris Bove has argued these uprisings

¹⁸⁴ Another evil man... the son of the count of Armagnac who was killed for his dishonourable behaviour, and he brought with him a great company of brigands and murdered who because of their evil lifestyle and odious government were named the *écorcheurs*. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 164v.

¹⁸⁵ For further examples see Appendix II, No. 16.

¹⁸⁶ Vincent Challet, "Violence as a Political Language: The Uses and Misuses of Violence in late Medieval French and English Popular Rebellions" in *The Routledge Handbook of Medieval Revolt*, ed. Justine Firnhaber-Baker & Dirk Schoenaers, (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 279-80. See Appendix II,

represent “avant tout une crise dynastique et politique” rather than predominantly urban concerns, their examination in fact represents an opportunity to examine a factor often ignored by Habermasian conceptions of the public sphere, with Xavier Nadrigny emphasising that “révolte et sujétion sont les deux facettes de la même relation a-critique nouée entre gouvernants et gouvernés”.¹⁸⁷ In both cases, rumour focalised Parisian anxieties and enabled Burgundian supporters to rally through cohesive narratives. Essential to the populace’s political engagement, rumours were also integral to commentators’ efforts to explain these uprisings. In 1413 and 1418, the Bourgeois repeated rumours that Armagnacs posed a threat to the king and common good, retrospectively legitimating Parisian violence. As Paolo Viola has argued, this rationalisation by observers strips violence of cultural significance, rendering it comprehensible as crowds achieve an important ideological “bricolage” to assert their perspective.¹⁸⁸ Their study, therefore, offers insights into how rumour functioned within the *Journal* as a site of contest between civic officials and Parisians, ultimately leading to the community turning upon itself. Throughout his writing, the Bourgeois actively selected from a wider variety of opinions and rumours circulating within his community and consistently reflected upon speech’s contested character in the public sphere. Predominantly, rumour counterbalanced official communication as a proof of its false or propagandistic character. The claims evoked during these revolts exhibit the third

Nos. 3 & 4 for what follows regarding the Bourgeois’ description of the Cabochien revolt and 1418 massacres.

¹⁸⁷ Boris Bove, “Alliance ou défiance? Les ambiguïtés de la politique des Capétiens envers leur capitale entre le XII^e et le XVII^e siècle” in *Les villes capitales au Moyen Âge. XXXVI^e Congrès de la SHMES (Istanbul, 1^{er}-6 juin 2005)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 139-40; Xavier Nadrigny, “Espace public et révolte à Toulouse à la fin du Moyen Âge (v. 1330-1444)” in *L’espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), 322.

¹⁸⁸ Paolo Viola, “Violence révolutionnaire ou violence du peuple en révolution?” in *Recherches sur la Revolution*, ed. M. Vovelle and A. de Baecque, (Paris: La Découverte, 1991), 96.

characteristic in Porter's typology, whereby snowballing narratives became destructive forces within the community.¹⁸⁹ In particular, the competing accounts circulating in 1418 conjure an increasingly paranoid climate, with Parisians turning on their neighbours as they attempted to identify an ambiguous and elusive Armagnac threat to the common good.

In 1413 and 1418 the Bourgeois reported rumours that the Armagnac faction intended to destroy Paris and its inhabitants to justify the immediacy of collective action. Moreover, these rumours underscored the juxtaposition of aristocratic and popular perspectives of political action. When Charles VI returned to Paris in October 1412 in the company of Armagnac lords, the Bourgeois juxtaposed popular feeling with the faction. These lords were "moult amez du roy et du commun qui avoit grant joie de la paix", but rumours of the Armagnacs' darker intentions had begun to circulate: "ilz ne tendoient que a la destrucion du roy et especialment de la bonne ville de Paris et des bons habitans".¹⁹⁰ The rumours employed to justify the 1418 massacres assumed a similar dynamic: "Tant hayoient ceulx qui gouvernoient ceulx qui n'estoit de leur bande qu'ilz proposerent que par toutes les rues ilz les prendroient et tueroient sans mercy."¹⁹¹ These rumours therefore divided Parisians along clear factional lines that overlapped with a class dynamic that reduced Parisian political tensions to a black-and-white mentality: resist the Armagnac governors or face destruction.¹⁹² Consequently, the Bourgeois' repetition of these concerns indicates the

¹⁸⁹ Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 135.

¹⁹⁰ Beloved of the king and the people who were overjoyed by the peace; they desired nothing more than the destruction of the king and the good city of Paris and its good inhabitants. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 22v.

¹⁹¹ Those who governed hated so much those who were not of their faction that they plotted to mercilessly capture and kill them on every street. *Ibid.*, fol. 43v.

¹⁹² Nicole Gonthier, *Cris de haine et rites d'unité: La violence dans les villes, XIII^{eme}-XVI^{eme} siècle*, (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), pp. 22-3. On the importance of this class dynamic to late medieval revolts, see Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "'A Bad Chicken was Brooding'", pp. 48-56.

profundity of civic division that characterised Parisian experiences of the Armagnac-Burgundian conflict, as rhetoric accentuated existing group divisions to facilitate political identification.¹⁹³ Resurfacing notions of a threat to the commons enabled largely artisanal, Burgundian supporters to unite in opposition to envisioned Armagnac violence.

In each uprising popular action was primarily motivated by a single rumour, enhanced by the Armagnac stereotype. The Bourgeois presented the Cabochien revolt as being triggered by murmurs that the upcoming marriage of Catherine d'Alençon and Louis VII, duke of Bavaria, would provide the Armagnacs with an opportunity to remove Charles VI from the capital, rendering them "maistres de Paris, de en faire leur volenté, qui moult estoit mauvaise".¹⁹⁴ In the context of widespread Parisian support for the Burgundian siege of Bourges the previous year, Parisian fears focused upon the possible reprisals that could result from continued Armagnac animosity, highlighting deeper concerns that the rapprochement between Charles VI and the Orléanists jeopardised Paris' own political place.¹⁹⁵ One of the rumour's strengths was its conflation of royal and civic political perspectives, developing a sense of mutual dependence in opposition to the Armagnacs; if the king and capital were separated, the Armagnacs would exert their authority more easily. It was in this light that the Bourgeois could therefore present the city's institutions as being united in their defence of the king and the common good to counter Armagnac conspirators,

¹⁹³ Cléo Rager, "Entre Bourguignons et Armagnacs, communauté urbaine et fidélités politiques (Troyes, 1429-1433)", *Questes*, Vol. 32 (2016), pp. 123-138.

¹⁹⁴ Masters of Paris so that they could act according to their will, which was very evil. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 23r. See also

¹⁹⁵ Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413*, (Paris: Hachette, 1888), pp. 179-84. On the perceived relationship between Paris and Charles VI, particularly in 1413, see below, Chapter VI.

with the University supported by the commons and the *prévôté des marchands*, triggering the revolt.

Likewise, the rumours that Paris' Armagnac governors were preparing to annihilate the city's Burgundian sympathisers in 1418 performed two functions. First, as in 1413, the rumour reinforced the boundaries between Armagnac and Burgundian supporters within the capital, compelling Parisians to declare their loyalties in the face of destruction. Secondly, detailed descriptions of the violent acts proposed by the Armagnacs retrospectively legitimated the immediacy and the barbarity of Parisian behaviours in the wake of the Burgundian coup. This second factor was reinforced through the rumour's snowballing, accentuated by additional rumours of an alliance between the English and Armagnacs that included an agreement to betray Paris to Henry V. By conflating Armagnac and English identities, these rumours inherently stressed Jean sans Peur's status as France's legitimate defender. More importantly, the allegation that the Armagnacs had themselves intended to betray Paris to the English justified the city's *actual* betrayal to the Burgundians as the only means of preventing its capture. Consequently, these rumours propagandistically rationalised the shift in the political *status quo*, emphasising the immediate threat posed by the Armagnac faction and demonstrating that fifteenth-century Parisians, like their eighteenth-century descendants, attempted to follow judicial procedures in the establishment of their case.¹⁹⁶

Once the Burgundians were inside the city, these rumours fuelled persecution as Burgundian soldiers and their Parisian supporters searched for evidence that confirmed

¹⁹⁶ David Andress, "Popular Violence in the French Revolution: Revolt, Retribution and the Slide to State Terror", in *Cultures of Violence: Interpersonal Violence in Historical Perspective*, ed. Stuart Carroll, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 176.

suspicions of Armagnac treachery. It is in this light that the Bourgeois reported murmurs that the Armagnacs had distributed tokens with a red cross to those who would be spared from the massacres that they were prepared to perpetrate once they had sold Paris to Henry V, “et en firent plus de xvj mil, *qui depuis furent trouvées en leurs maisons*”.¹⁹⁷ The alleged discovery of tangible evidence simultaneously justified the ransacking of homes during the search for suspected Armagnacs and stimulated belief in the conspiracy. Such rumours also evidence the accentuation of narratives reported by the Bourgeois as being disseminated through official channels the previous year when, in response to the Burgundian advance towards Paris, Armagnac propagandists had used sermons to accuse Jean sans Peur of concluding an alliance with the English, asserting that “il vouloit estre roy de France, et que par lui... estoient les Engloys en Normandie”.¹⁹⁸ Following the 1418 coup, Burgundian sympathisers inverted this rhetoric. Moreover, rumours of hidden tokens satisfied an immediate identificatory need, reflecting the real difficulties inherent in identifying Armagnacs due to an absence of distinctive physical, linguistic or cultural traits. Evidencing pervasive paranoia following years during which Parisians had been compelled to publicly identify as Armagnacs by wearing their sash or limit subversive speech due to the prevalence of spies, the notion of hidden tokens justified the transgressive ransacking of houses, “et effundrer leur tresors et piller”, while substantiating the ‘Armagnac’ identities of those imprisoned or murdered.¹⁹⁹ The search was vital not least because, in the first days

¹⁹⁷ And they had more than sixteen thousand of these made, which were subsequently found in their houses. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 44r. Emphasis my own.

¹⁹⁸ He wanted to be king of France, and that because of him... the English were in Normandy. Ibid., fol. 40r.

¹⁹⁹ Spilling out their treasures and pillaging. Ibid., fol. 44v.

following the Burgundian entry, Bernard, count of Armagnac himself went into hiding, later being found in a cellar “en tres petit et pauvre habit, portant la croix saint Andry”.²⁰⁰

The tokens illustrate the increasingly detailed character of anti-Armagnac rumours, conflated with English symbolism through levelling and sharpening. The Bourgeois first described the tokens as “ung escu noir a une croix rouge”, with this imagery perhaps sufficient to conjure thoughts of an Armagnac adoption of St. George’s cross.²⁰¹ However, when the tokens were described again in July, their appearance underscored the conflation of Armagnac and English identities.

Estoit la monnoye telle: ung pou plus grant que ung blanc de iiij deniers parisis, en la pille ung escu a deux lieppars, l’un sur l’autre, et une estoille sur l’escu; en la croix, a ung des quingnez, une estoille, a chacun bout de la croix, une couronne.²⁰²

In part, the rumour’s effectiveness was determined by the plausibility of such tokens’ existence, with the Bourgeois perhaps envisioning Armagnac equivalents to the Burgundian and French examples since discovered in the Seine during the nineteenth century, used to identify supporters of Charles VI, Isabeau de Bavière and Jean sans Peur.²⁰³ More certain is the description’s relation to English coins such as the gold noble (a model for tokens also

²⁰⁰ In very poor clothing, wearing the St. Andrew saltire. “Récit anonyme de l’entrée des troupes bourguignonnes a Paris, dans la nuit du 28 au 29 mai, adressé a un prélat a l’entourage du duc de Bourgogne, Jean sans Peur (Barcelone, Archives de la couronne d’Aragon)” in “Les journées parisiennes de mai-juin 1418: d’après des documents des archives de la couronne d’Aragon”, ed. J. Vieliard & Aznar Pardo de la Casta, *Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de France*, Vol. 76, No. 2 (1940), 132; “Chronique dite ‘des Cordeliers’” in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, pp. 255-6.

²⁰¹ A black coat of arms with a red cross. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 43v.

²⁰² And the money was like this: a little larger than a *blanc* of four *deniers parisis*; on the obverse was a shield with two leopards, one superposed upon the other and a star upon the shield; on the reverse in one of the corners was a star, and a crown at every point of the cross. *Ibid.*, fol. 50r.

²⁰³ Emily Hutchison, “Partisan identity in the French civil war, 1405–1418: reconsidering the evidence on livery badges”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2007), pp. 269-70; Arthur Forgeais, *Collection de plombs historiés trouvés dans la Seine*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Aubry, 1864), pp. 183-208; Denis Bruna, *Enseignes de pèlerinage et enseignes profanes*, (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1996), pp. 279-86.

found in the Seine) that depicted a cross on the reverse divided by four crowns.²⁰⁴ These coins were certainly in circulation in Paris at this time, as evidenced by the remission letter for Colin de Sales, pardoned for robbing Pierre Marade, *changeur*, in the Hôtel de Ville, “ou il avoit prist... xviii nobles d’Engleterre et des demis-nobles ne scet point le nombre.”²⁰⁵

Similarly, the gold florin briefly produced during Edward III’s reign depicted the king seated between leopards on the obverse, and a cross where each pointed was surmounted with a crown on the reverse.²⁰⁶ The Bourgeois’ description of the tokens, therefore, had accrued details that specified their English character, presenting an almost tangible foundation to the propagandistic portrayal of Armagnacs as traitors.

The snowballing effects of rumour could also be applied to formerly neutral symbols that emerged as catalysts for commentary and action. This phenomenon is demonstrated by the rumour that banners had been prepared for the English by the Armagnac governors, to signal the city’s betrayal, as the Bourgeois depicted the commons as shouting during the massacres on 12th June: “[ils] ont fait faire estendars pour le roy d’Engleterre... pour mectre

²⁰⁴ Arthur Forgeais, *Collection de plombs*, Vol. 3, pp. 190-4. On the prevalence of English gold coins and their model in the later Middle Ages see Martin Allen, “The Volume of the English currency, 1158-1470”, *Economic History Review*, Vol. 54, No. 4 (2001), pp. 602-3; Yves Coativy, “La représentation du souverain sur les monnaies d’or en France du XIII^e au XV^e siècle (royaume et principautés)”, *Revue européenne des sciences sociales*, Vol. 45, No. 137 (2007), pp. 34-5, 40. Commons petitions reveal that, at the very least, the English government felt too many nobles were circulating abroad in Flanders in the 1420s. Peter Spufford, “Continental Coins in Late Medieval England”, *British Numismatic Journal*, Vol. 32 (1963), pp. 131-2.

²⁰⁵ Where he had taken... eighteen English nobles and he does not know how many half-nobles. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 66 (November 1417).

²⁰⁶ Donald C. Baker, “Gold Coins in Mediaeval English Literature”, *Speculum*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (April 1961), pp. 282-4. This is not to suggest that the Bourgeois himself owned such a coin, given the florin’s limited production and consequently circulation, but that coinage certainly represented an effective means of disseminating English imagery. Only three examples exist today. For images see The British Museum, “Florin of Edward III, Coin”, The British Museum, accessed on 09/12/2017, http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1078917&partId=1.

sur les portes de Paris quant ilz l'auront livré aux Anglois!"²⁰⁷ These claims were substantiated when the Hôtel de Bourbon was sacked during riots in August. Within, the rioters found "une grant baniere comme estendart, ou il avoit ung dragon figuré qui par la gueule gectoit feu et sang", immediately viewed as further evidence of an Armagnac and English alliance.²⁰⁸ Significantly, the discovery of these symbols within the confines of domestic spaces justified popular spatial transgressions, especially regarding ducal residences. The Cordelier echoed the Bourgeois' presentation of the banner's use by the commons to confirm the continued presence of Armagnac sympathisers within Paris. Processed through the streets, it was brought before Jean sans Peur, "en lui disant, 'encores y avoit-il des Armignas a Paris'"²⁰⁹ As such, these narratives highlight the potential for banners, as symbolic objects "soumis à des regles d'encodage contraingantes et à des rituels spécifiques", to be attributed potent meanings according to political context.²¹⁰ The symbolism attributed to the banner redefined the boundaries between Parisian-Burgundian ingroup and Armagnac-English outsider. Once the duke had seen the banner from his window, implicitly confirming the rumours, the banner was torn to pieces and a fragment affixed to the rioters' weapons. The banner's fragmentation became a medium for the rumour's further circulation, with the pieces a proof adding weight to the rumour and rallying the collective movement.

²⁰⁷ 'they have made banners for the king of England... to place upon Paris' gates when they will have delivered it to the English!' Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 47v.

²⁰⁸ A large banner like a standard, upon which there was a dragon spewing fire and blood from its mouth. Ibid., fol. 52v.

²⁰⁹ Telling him that 'there were still Armagnacs in Paris'.

²¹⁰ Michel Pastoureau, "L'emblème fait-il la nation? De la bannière a l'armoirie et de l'armoirie au drapeau", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 39 (1997), 195.

The Armagnac massacres were manifested along class fault-lines, giving voice to frustrations with falling living standards due to continuous conflict. When the rioters assaulted the Châtelet on 21st August, the Bourgeois rationalised the ensuing violence as a consequence of popular frustrations, “pour ce que tout estoit si cher a Paris... car rien ne povait venir a Paris qui ne fust ranconné deux foys plus qu’il ne valloit, et toutes nuys guet de feu... faire gens d’armes et riens gagner” such that “trop souffroit le peuple de griefz” because of the Armagnacs.²¹¹ Indeed, a royal edict issued on 4th September 1418 regarding the watch indicates the scale of popular discontent: “nous avons entendu plusieurs bourgeois, manans et habitans... ont esté et sont contredisans, reffusans et se veulent exempter de aller aux guetz”, with the letter reminding the municipality that “toutes manieres de gens”, officers and clergymen included, were required to participate.²¹² Popular experiences of poverty were contrasted with an enduring impression of aristocratic wealth and bureaucratic corruption. On 21st August the commons refused to be abated until they were shown the prisoners within the Châtelet, spurred by rumours that “ceulx que on mectoit oudit chasteau estoient tousjours delivrez par argent”, asserting that conspiracy and aristocratic complicity ensured the continued threat posed to Paris by the Armagnacs and therefore demanding the devolution of justice to the commons.²¹³ When Jean sans Peur “bien

²¹¹ Because everything was so expensive in Paris... because nothing could reach Paris which was not ransomed for twice its value, and every night the watch had to be performed... men-at-arms had to be supported, and yet there were no earnings; the people suffered too much from these grievances. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 51v.

²¹² We have heard that several bourgeois, residents and inhabitants... have been and are objecting, refusing and wish to exempt themselves from the watch. Paris, Archives nationales, KK//950A, No. 25, “Pouvoir et commission au prévôt des marchands de contraindre tous les habitants de Paris d’aller au guet et a la garde des portes, (4th September 1418)”.

²¹³ Those incarcerated within the castle were always freed with money. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 52r. Claude Gauvard, “Les clerks de la chancellerie royale française et l’écriture des lettres de rémission aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles” in *Écrit et pouvoir dans les chancelleries médiévales: espace français, espace anglais*, ed. Kouky Fianu et DeLloyd J. Guth, (Louvain-La-Neuve : Fédération Internationale des Instituts d’Études médiévales, 1997), 289.

veoit qu'ilz disoient verité", he consented to show the prisoners to the crowd, only for the rioters to seize and kill them.²¹⁴ In this context, the subsequent discovery of the 'English' banner fed a rhetoric of rumour designed to substantiate the commons' authority to exact justice upon Paris' enemies. It was for this reason that both the Bourgeois and Cordelier indulged the banner's ritualistic demonstration as proof, reinforcing popular legitimacy in direct contrast to Jean sans Peur's power and enabling the rioters to go "de rue en rue parfaire leur journée, tuant en dépéchant tous ceulx que on disoit estre Armignas, eussent la croix Saint Andrieu ou non".²¹⁵

Rumour, Emotion and the Crowd

During these revolts rumours performed a fundamental emotional role, bringing to the fore shared fears and providing a medium for the expression of collective anger. This Durkheimian "collective effervescence" resulted from the physical assembly of people in space, a shared focus of attention and the means by which this focus becomes mutual (through the circulation of rumour, gestures or chanting), altering the moral terms of collective action and strengthening group solidarity.²¹⁶ Rumours accentuate the moral component of crowd behaviour, underpinning collective action in the "crucible of a

²¹⁴ Saw well that they spoke the truth. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 52v.

²¹⁵ Went from street to street to complete their day's work, killing and butchering all of those who were said to be Armagnacs, whether they had the St. Andrew's cross or not. "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'", Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 263.

²¹⁶ Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, trans. Carol Colman, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 157-9, 283-5; Randall Collins, "Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention" in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jaspers & Francesca Polletta, (London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 27-32. Stephen Greenblatt has persuasively adapted this model to his interpretation of audience reactions and engagement with early modern theatre as "social energy" in *Shakespearean Negotiations*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 16-19.

normative crisis”, with responses to perceived dangers promoting “expressions of mutual aid”.²¹⁷ Emotionally bounded collective action accords to participants an agency in political events that becomes the foundation for further action, determined by collective loyalties enhanced by participation in the circulation of rumours and conspiracy theories.²¹⁸ These groups are strengthened by the “reciprocal emotions” that rumour evokes, while experiences of fear and anxiety “can be a strong force in creating a sense of collectivity and an attractive force in collective actions”.²¹⁹

Historical interpretations of crowd behaviour are conditioned by the character and number of the surviving sources, their function and their authors’ inherent socio-political goals.²²⁰ By relating rumour, the Bourgeois delineated distinct emotional communities within Paris, captured by the juxtaposition of the emotional crowd with calm, reasoned civic officials on 12th June or Jean sans Peur on 21st August. In particular, rumour’s emotional character enabled the Bourgeois to explain the commons’ motivations, with the rumours evoking and evolving into the slogans and programmes that rationalised the crowd’s claims

²¹⁷ Anthony R. Mawson, “Understanding Mass Panic and Other Collective Responses to Threat and Disaster”, *Psychiatry*, Vol. 68, No. 2 (Summer 2005), pp. 105-8; Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1978), 7.

²¹⁸ James M. Jasper, “Emotions and Social Movements: Twenty Years of Theory and Research”, *Annual Review of Sociology*, Vol. 37 (2011), 292; Mabel Berezin, “Emotions and Political Identity: Mobilizing Affections for the Polity” in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jaspers & Francesca Polletta, (London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), pp. 86-88, 92-97.

²¹⁹ James M. Jasper, “The Emotions of Protest: Affective and Reactive Emotions in and around Social Movements”, *Sociological Forum*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (September 1998), pp. 417-421; Jan Dumolyn & Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, “Propagande et sensibilité: la fibre émotionnelle au cœur des luttes politiques et sociales dans les villes des anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons. L’exemple de la révolte brugeoise de 1436-1438” in *Emotions in the Heart of the City*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), 51; Ron Eyerman, “How Social Movements Move: Emotions and Social Movements” in *Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Helena Flam & Debra King (London: Routledge, 2005), 43.

²²⁰ Nicolas Mariot, “Faire parler les foules?”, *Hypothèses*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (2011), pp. 89-94.

to agency.²²¹ In his allegorical description of the massacres, Ire and Forcenerie were portrayed as speaking “par la bouche du peuple”, listing anti-Armagnac rumours:

‘Aussi ont-ilz fait sacs pour nous noyer et noz femmes et noz enffens, et ont fait faire estandars pour le roy d’Engleterre... Item, ilz ont fait escussions a une rouge croix plus de xxx milliers, dont ilz avoient proposé de seigner les huys de ceulx qui devoient estre tuez ou non. Si ne nous en parler plus de par le diable’²²²

These rumours were perceived to motivate Ire in contrast to the “Pitié, Justice et Raison” prompted by the *prévôt*, encapsulating a close connection between overpowering emotional inclinations and rumour.²²³ Through his emphasis upon the rumours underpinning the rioters’ violence, the Bourgeois established the crowd’s logic, implying “an aggregation of individuals with their own reasons for action, rather than a disembodied abstraction bent on meaningless destruction.”²²⁴ Moreover, the resort to allegory evidences the heightened discursive means employed by the Bourgeois to explain and describe the events that took place evoking his own strength of feeling – as Bernard Rimé has argued, traumatic or catastrophic experiences provoke an important sense of disharmony between the individual and his (ideological) conception of the world, where existing paradigms “ne

²²¹ Loïc Cazaux, “Les fonctions politiques de la foule”, pp. 66-9; For an early modern comparison see William Beik, “The Violence of the French Crowd from Charivari to Revolution”, *Past & Present*, No. 197 (November 2007), 77; Suzanne Desan, “Crowds, Community and Ritual in the Work of E.P. Thompson and Natalie Davis” in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989), pp. 56-70.

²²² By the mouth of the people; ‘Also they have made sacks to drown us and our wives and children, and they have made standards for the king of England... Item, they have made more than thirty thousand badges with a red cross, which they plotted to affix to the doorways of those who should be killed or spared. So for the devil’s sake do not speak to us any more of it!’ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 47v.

²²³ *Ibid.*, fol. 47v.

²²⁴ K.J. Kesselring, “Deference and Dissent in Tudor England: Reflections on Sixteenth-Century Protest”, *History Compass*, Vol. 3 (2005), 2; Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France”, *Past & Present*, Vol. 59 (1973), pp. 51-91.

suffit plus à absorber l'expérience".²²⁵ In this destabilisation, the Bourgeois resorted to new and more abstract paradigms to account for Parisian behaviour. It was rumour's sway in these moments that rendered its control a preoccupation for governors.²²⁶

The Bourgeois' treatment of rumour in 1413 and 1418 also sheds light on the prevalent role assumed by conspiracy theories and the ways in which they underpinned collective emotional experiences, justifying the popular seizure of authority. As Michael Barkun has argued, conspiracy theories *are not* conspiracies, but "des modes de penser, voire des modèles imposés au monde pour donner à des événements un semblant de logique", representing "des visions alternatives ou déviantes" often incompatible with official narratives.²²⁷ This is partly due to the collective formulation of conspiracy theories themselves, structuring boundaries between in-group and perceived external threat, with these theories taking root within groups that feel inherently powerless and insecure.²²⁸ Once assumed, conspiracy theories become integral to identification and difficult to counter through other informational sources, reinforcing related beliefs, as demonstrated by rumour's capacity to snowball.²²⁹ Rumours of plots to remove the king from Paris or massacre Burgundian sympathisers promoted "negative integration", heightening the sense

²²⁵ Bernard Rimé, "Les émotions médiévales. Réflexions psychologiques" in *Politique des émotions au Moyen Âge*, ed. Damien Bouquet & Piroska Nagy (Florence: SISMEL, 2010), 327. On medieval trauma see Wendy J. Turner & Christina Lee, "Conceptualising Trauma for the Middle Ages" in *Trauma in Medieval Society*, ed. Wendy J. Turner & Christina Lee, (Leiden: Brill, 2018), pp. 7-9.

²²⁶ Sophie Gotteland, "Rumeur et politique dans la cité grecque à l'époque classique", *Hypothèses*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2001), pp. 267-9.

²²⁷ Michael Barkun, "Les théories du complot comme connaissance stigmatisée", trans. Brigitte Rollet, *Diogène*, No. 249-50 (2015), 168.

²²⁸ Cass Sunstein & Adrian Vermeule, "Conspiracy Theories: Causes and Cures", *Journal of Political Philosophy*, Vol. 17, No. 2 (2009), 211. See also J. Eric Oliver & Thomas J. Wood, "Conspiracy Theories and the Paranoid Style(s) of Mass Opinion", *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 58, No. 4 (2014), pp. 952-66.

²²⁹ Michael Butter & Peter Knight, "Comblent le fossé. L'avenir des recherches sur les théories du complot", trans. Nicole G. Albert, *Diogène*, No. 249-50 (2015), 25.

of the normative threat posed by the 'bandez' that generated solidarity among Jean sans Peur's Parisian supporters.²³⁰

These conspiracy theories, simultaneously engendering and underpinned by rumour, made the normative threat to morality, societal stability and Parisian security appear real.²³¹ Moreover, rumour's ability to permeate ordinary discursive interactions promoted an increasing sense of the threat's ubiquity, with the sense that the enemy was "either circling without or drawing ever closer or, more worryingly still, hidden within", inducing a sense of constant, other-directed anxiety.²³² As a result, the discovery of the banner in the Hôtel de Bourbon, an anodyne symbol in normal circumstances, were accorded meaning consonant with underlying conspiracies, presented by the rioters as evidence of an alliance between the Armagnacs and the English.²³³ Likewise, the rumoured discovery of hidden tokens similar to badges known to have existed reinforced the impression that unidentified conspirators were ubiquitous throughout the civic community. This sense of a hidden threat subsequently found its expression in the repeated proofs provided by the Bourgeois through the increasingly detailed descriptions of tokens and symbols found in Armagnac houses.

These same conspiracies were deployed by the Bourgeois to question the legitimacy of the Armagnac governance of Paris, pointing simultaneously to the exploitation of finance

²³⁰ Michael J. Braddick, "Political Revolutions" in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. Susan Broomhall, (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 185-88. See also Jean-Bruno Renard, "Les causes de l'adhésion aux théories du complot", *Diogenes*, No. 249-50 (2015), pp. 108-118.

²³¹ Colette Beaune, "La rumeur", 198.

²³² Lindsay Porter, *Popular Rumour*, 19.

²³³ On the connection of present events with mythical or stereotypical impressions of behaviour, see Geoffrey Cubitt, *The Jesuit Myth*, 297. Colette Beaune suggested that the banner "peut s'agir d'une ancienne devise de la maison de Bourbon utilisée pour une fête". Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 128, n. 181.

by officials and plots organised through municipal government. Retrospectively justifying the Burgundian coup, the *Journal* elaborated a plot whereby the Armagnac authorities had requisitioned cloth from merchants ostensibly to manufacture pavilions for the king, “et c’estoit pour faire les sacs pour noyer lesdites femmes”.²³⁴ When the rioters took to the streets and demanded the Armagnac prisoners, the Bourgeois portrayed them as shouting fears of this same plot.²³⁵ Likewise, public executions became an important means of confirming these conspiracies through the testimony and confessions of the accused. Pierre Boudaut, a Châtelet sergeant executed on 20th June, confirmed that he had been “a l’estroit conseil des bandez, et avoit eu commission de par le prevost et les autres... de faire tuer tout le quartier des Halles”, while a week later Guillaume d’Auxerre, a wealthy draper and former *échevin* in 1415 and 1416, “congnot tant de traïsons contre le roy et son royaume que lui et ceulx de ladite bande avoient machinées, et fait aliance aux Englois que fort seroit a croire”.²³⁶ The Bourgeois emphasised the municipal status and political connections of each of the accused to the Armagnacs to legitimate their intimate knowledge of the alleged plots threatening Paris, and this knowledge was substantiated by their implication of other officers, namely the *échevin* Simonnet Taranne and the sergent ‘Monmelian’. These accusations pointed to the ubiquitous character of the threat posed by the Armagnacs by pointing to past crimes – Monmelian was responsible for beheading “le sieur de l’Ours de la porte Baudet”, a ringleader of the 1416 conspiracy - and asserted the continuing, total illegitimacy of Paris’ Armagnac governors by incriminating those who had escaped the city

²³⁴ And it was to make sacks with which to drown the said women. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 43v.

²³⁵ Also they have made sacks to drown us and our wives and children. Ibid., fol. 47v.

²³⁶ In the close counsel of the *bandez*, and had received orders from the *prévôt* and others... to have the entirety of the Halles *quartier* killed; admitted such treasons against the king and kingdom that he and those of the said *bande* and planned, and had concluded an alliance with the English, that it would be hard to believe. Ibid., fol. 48v

with the Dauphin Charles, such as Taranne.²³⁷ As with Pierre des Essarts' execution in 1413, the Bourgeois' detailed description of the circumstances of these executions legitimated the popular uprising and retrospectively justified a popular seizure of power favourable to the Burgundian faction.²³⁸

Rumours defining the boundaries between Armagnac and Parisian by presenting the former as an existential threat to the latter were integral to the Bourgeois' explanation of and justification for Parisian uprisings. In the *Journal*, manifestations of public resistance coincided with the retrospective enumeration of rumours that concurrently shed light upon the Parisian anxieties that the Bourgeois considered to legitimately motivate the revolt, be they fears of Charles VI's abduction in 1413 or the threat of annihilation by the Armagnacs in 1418, and functioned as an essential medium for rallying Burgundian sympathisers. Since those participating in these uprisings were typically described as belonging to the lower orders of Parisian society, the "populares", "menu peuple", "commun" or "gens de petit estat", the rumours they shared were manipulated by the Bourgeois to provide an essential basis to their seizure of authority in a manner that inverted the discourse of elite chroniclers such as Pintoin, who argued that the Parisians were "temulenti, furorem dyabolicum conceperant".²³⁹ Moreover, in 1418, there is clear evidence that the anti-Armagnac stereotype that had been gradually developing since 1410 snowballed, evidencing much more serious fears. In part, the gravity of the rumours reported by the Bourgeois in 1418 matched the

²³⁷ Monmelian has not been identified. The "sieur de l'Ours de la Porte Baudet" executed in 1416 was a royal *sergent d'armes* dedicated to Jean sans Peur, Jean Roche. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//172, No. 398. Simon Taranne's escape from Paris is demonstrated by the letters ordering the confiscation of his property. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//173, Nos. 202 & 550.

²³⁸ For Pierre des Essarts see above, Chapter 3.

²³⁹ RSD, Vol. 6, 230, 244; "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 263; Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 45r-45v; Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 148

altered circumstances of the revolt when compared with 1413. Five years earlier, the commons had risen within the context of grievances and reforms proposed by the University of Paris and generally endorsed by the Three Estates; in 1418, the Burgundian entry provoked violence that required more immediate justification. From an originally vague description in the Bourgeois' first entry, this rumour accrued greater detail before emerging as a clear symbol based upon real examples of coins that not only symbolised Armagnac duplicity, but demonstrated a conflation of Armagnac and English identities. Consequently, the Bourgeois' description of rumours during 1413 and 1418 demonstrates their importance for the consideration and manipulation of popular movements within a fifteenth-century historical narrative. Crucially, the legitimating aspect of these rumours demonstrated that Parisian anger was not unthinking but, on the contrary, as the killings were repeated, they came to the fore in the *Journal* as clear evidence of the commons' right to seize power in Paris.

Conclusion

Describing the prevalence of rumour in the *Journal*, Colette Beaune remarked that the Bourgeois

est le seul de sa génération à s'être intéressé au témoignage oral. Il est sans cesse en quête des rumeurs et murmures. La rumeur est omniprésente dans son œuvre.²⁴⁰

Rumour's predominance in the *Journal* was a direct consequence of the character of fifteenth-century urban interaction, particularly during the Armagnac-Burgundian conflict,

²⁴⁰ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 14-15.

with its relation enabling the Bourgeois to trace political contest. His writing sheds light upon two distinct elements of rumour's function in late medieval urban society. On the one hand, participation in the expression and development of rumour accorded Parisians agency in political events, developing their own narratives that contested official records and reinforced their own political views. These rumours also played a vital cathartic role. Through rumour, Parisians shared emotional experiences that bound members of the civic community in contrast to perceived and real threats without and, sometimes, within their groups. As a consequence of rumour's function as an implicit medium of political participation and its exclusionary character, reinforcing group and community boundaries, the Bourgeois drew upon existing, archetypal narratives to rationalise Parisian political stances, revealing blurring previously neat historiographical and conceptual boundaries that have distinguished official information, propaganda and rumour. In this light, popular speech, rumours and propaganda were fluid and intersecting, used by commentators and officials alike to define the parameters during the political turbulence of the fifteenth century. The Bourgeois was especially invested in the development and accentuation of an Armagnac stereotype that conflated the political faction with violent, anti-Christian and amoral tendencies as a means of justifying continued Parisian opposition. Similarly, the centrality of rumour and conspiracy to the popular uprisings of 1413 and 1418 indicate how rumours were incorporated into the *Journal* and employed by Parisians themselves as a means of contesting official authority, redefining the community's boundaries and legitimating the popular arrogation of power.

The predominance of rumour and the reporting of popular speech in the *Journal* parallels the absence of explicit references to written texts or official documentation assessed

in the previous chapter. Primarily, the Bourgeois was not vested in the factual content of speech itself, but rather the nature of what was said and who said it. Through this focus, the Bourgeois fundamentally accorded agency and power to public opinion in an era that had seen the leaders of competing factions become increasingly sensitive to the importance of securing Parisian support to maintain their political advantages. This concentration also represented an important historiographical shift, with attention turning from the actions of society's elite to examining more closely how Parisians considered elite behaviour. This consideration undermines the neat scholarly boundaries that have been established between official news and unofficial rumour, between the confirmed/unverified and the true/false. By according rumour a pivotal role in the *Journal*, the Bourgeois consolidating opinion's significance in the evaluation of official action or information and the consolidation. These processes were also important for the manifestation of a collective Parisian identity. Ultimately, it was through writing that the Bourgeois codified and translated a seemingly 'unofficial' and disruptive discourse into the very 'official' fabric, social memory and identity of the city and its inhabitants.

Chapter V. Civic Ceremony and Political Communication

Having explored the modes of official communication and the Bourgeois' channelling of popular opinion and rumour, this chapter will assess how civic ceremony represented an important interface between these two spheres in the *Journal*, concurrently framing official communication and providing a forum for wider participation in political discourse. Historians have long recognised the role of late medieval civic, royal and religious ceremonies as a medium for dialogue between ruler and ruled, playing an important role in ideological communication in an era where both literacy and contact with the royal centre were limited.¹ For France, Bernard Guenée asserted that ceremonies were integral to the elaboration of a "religion royale", while Lawrence Bryant suggested that, during the king's Parisian *jocundus adventus*, "la formulation des relations personnelles et associatives entre le roi et ses sujets constitue un excellent exemple de l'équilibre du pouvoir et de l'esprit constitutionnel à l'époque médiévale."² More recently, Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin has underscored the status arrogated by civic communities as pillars of royal authority, delineating the limits of princely power.³ These approaches stem from an

¹ Peter Arnade, "City, State and Public Ritual in the Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands", *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (April 1997), 304.

² Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515*, (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1968), 18; Lawrence M. Bryant, "La cérémonie de l'entrée à Paris au Moyen Âge", *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations*, Vol. 41, No. 3 (1986), 536. See also Ralph Giesey, "Inaugural Aspects of French Royal Ceremonials" in *Coronations and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Janos M. Bak (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 39.

³ Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies: Essai sur la communication politique dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons*, (Turnhout : Brepols, 2004), pp. 6-10; Robert Descimon, "Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel parisien au début de l'âge moderne" in *Statuts individuels, statuts corporatifs et statuts judiciaires dans les villes européennes (moyen âge et temps modernes): Actes du colloque tenu à Gand les 12-14 octobre 1995*, ed. Marc Boone, Maarten Prak (Leuven: Garant, 1996), pp. 74-8; Gerard Nijsten, "The Duke and His Towns: The Power of Ceremonies, Feasts and Public Amusement in the Duchy of Guelders (East Netherlands) in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 259-263.

overarching conviction that urban rituals performed a didactic function, designed to inculcate normative ideals of societal organisation that facilitated urban cohesion and recognition of hierarchical order.⁴ For instance, Charles Phythian-Adams envisioned ceremonies as integrative phenomena that promoted urban harmony, expressed social tensions and manifested the community through their “crucial clarifying role”.⁵ However, by concentrating predominantly upon the participation of urban elites in civic ceremony, these studies have typically ignored how the political messages conveyed through ritual were subsequently interpreted, appropriated or contested by urban participants beyond these upper echelons of society. This chapter proposes an examination of civic ritual from the Bourgeois’ perspective, assessing the distances between the performance of these events and their narrative reconstruction to determine how observers engaged with ideological messages.

It is from their very publicity that ceremonies derive their potential as a communicative medium. As Edward Muir has shown, “the constructed dynamics of processions created ritual-specific ways of seeing”, key to which was the “reciprocity of gazes” – the interaction through which ceremony defined the relative status of participants.⁶

⁴ Barbara Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility: Civic Culture in Late Medieval London*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 3-11; Benjamin McRee, “Unity or Division? The Social Meaning of Guild Ceremony in Urban Communities” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 189-195.

⁵ Charles Phythian-Adams, “Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450-1550”, in *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700*, ed. Peter Clark & Paul Slack, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), 69. See also Thomas A. Boogaart II, “Our Saviour’s Blood: Procession and Community in Late Medieval Bruges” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Husken, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 69; Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle*, (Paris, 1982), pp. 257-8; Barbara Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 8.

⁶ Edward Muir, “The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance”, *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 130. See also Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, “La ville. Creuset des cultures urbaines et princière dans les anciens Pays-Bas bourguignons” in *La cour de Bourgogne et l’Europe, Beihefte der Francia*, Vol.

Socio-political hierarchies depended upon the public exposure of networks of geographical, institutional and professional communities, “composant par la même autant de groupes sociaux qu’il existe de critères identitaires.”⁷ Ceremonies also establish a distinction between public figures asserting their precedence, those *seen*, and a subordinate ‘community’ of observers. The dynamic is further underscored by the relative places occupied by participants, thereby physically mapping socio-political status.⁸ However, this position depended upon a tacit acceptance and concordant interpretation of the ideological messages that ceremonies encapsulated. Indeed, scholars have generally taken it for granted that participants understood the multiple messages and rituals integral to civic ceremonies. Rather, their very publicity rendered it impossible for authorities to control these interpretations in the wider public sphere.

Philippe Buc and Alain Boureau have stressed the ambiguities inherent in medieval ritual.⁹ Andrew Brown has similarly noted how “symbolic meaning tends to evade

73 (2013), 292; Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, “Sainte Foy on the Loose, or, the Possibilities of Procession” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Wim Husken, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 62-3.

⁷ Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, *La ville des cérémonies*, 4; Peter Arnade, “City, State and Public Ritual”, pp. 315-18.

⁸ Andrew Brown, “Liturgical Memory and Civic Conflict: The Entry of Emperor Frederick III and Maximilian, King of the Romans, into Bruges on 1 August 1486”, *Publications du Centre européen des études bourguignonnes*, Vol. 52 (2012), pp. 132-4.

⁹ Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), pp. 8-11; “The Monster and the Critics: A Ritual Reply”, *Early Medieval Europe*, Vol. 15, No. 4 (2007), pp. 446-52; “Rituels et institutions” in *Les tendances actuelles de l’histoire du Moyen Âge en France et en Allemagne*, ed. Otto Gerhard Oexle & Jean-Claude Schmitt, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2003), pp. 265-8; Alain Boureau, “Les cérémonies royales françaises entre performance juridique et compétence liturgique”, *Annales. Économies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 46, No. 6 (1991), pp. 1253-1264. See also Gerd Althoff, “The Variability of Rituals in the Middle Ages” in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried & Patrick J. Geary, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 71-87. A useful introduction to the wider functionalist debate regarding ritual can be found in Dušan Zupka, *Ritual and Symbolic Communication in Medieval Hungary under the Árpád Dynasty (1000-1301)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 28-34.

immediate recognition; symbols and gestures remain ambiguous and obscure”, whereas David Harry has suggested that medieval civic officials were aware of the limitations of ritual as a communicative medium, incorporating “competing messages into the ceremonies, deliberately speaking to a range of diverse audiences.”¹⁰ Through ceremonies, multiple and fluid media, narratives, sound and image were ‘fused’ to establish meaning for the participant, evoking concurrent processes of communication and interpretation.¹¹ Indeed, Neil Murphy has asserted that child monarchs, such as Henry VI or Charles VIII, “lacked the scholarly capacity to interpret the difficult symbolism of their entries”.¹² If signs represent “everything which can be taken as significantly substituting for something else”, then it is important to recognise the political importance of symbols that embed ideological values into the cultural and psychological repertoire of observers.¹³ Umberto Eco argued that signs are relational, and can infer notions that do not exist except in the collective imagination that they reinforce and sustain.¹⁴ By engaging with symbols, observers produce “a socially shared notion of the thing that the community is engaged to take as if it were in itself true”.¹⁵ As a shared process, symbolic meaning is therefore negotiated between actors from

¹⁰ David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community in Late Medieval London: The Common Profit, Charity and Commemoration*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2019), pp. 70-1. My thanks to Dr. Harry for his thoughtful suggestions regarding ritual theory and its relevance to Henry VI’s Paris and London entries. See also Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges, c. 1300-1520*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp. 26-7.

¹¹ Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 38; Kathleen Ashley, “Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance” in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Wim Husken, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 13.

¹² Neil Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328-1589*, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 10

¹³ Umberto Eco, *A Theory of Semiotics*, (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1976), 7

¹⁴ *Ibid.*; Ulf Hedetoft, “Symbolic Politics and Cultural Symbols: Identity Formation Between and Beyond Nations and States” in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociocultural Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner & Alberto Rosa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 592-3.

¹⁵ Umberto Eco, *The Limits of Interpretation*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 41.

different, subjective and embodied perspectives. Buc and Boureau have stressed that ritual cannot be reduced to constant, symbolic parts or “chain of actions”.¹⁶ Rather, they are “séquences d’action ou de pensée” which can only be considered as interpretations, rather than hermeneutic manifestations, of ritual *as it was*.¹⁷ Kathleen Ashley has stressed that rituals and processions require interpretation not as simple communicative structures, but through their effect upon participants, exploring the “multi-layered conjunction of events” beyond a “purely linguistic message”.¹⁸ As such, narrative descriptions of ceremony impart what observers subjectively *thought happened* or *wanted* to have happen, with their meaning determined by the contexts and audiences influencing the author.¹⁹ This amounts to the fact that participation in ritual and ceremony for the observer is an embodied experience, with the perspectives of the observer shaped by their place within ritual but, simultaneously, this involvement significantly alters the observer’s perception both in the present and retrospectively, therefore “experience, beliefs, consciousness and the real are inextricably bounded”, but amount to a subjective perception.²⁰

Consequently, chronicles simultaneously indicate the messages that their authors expected civic ceremonies to transmit and capture their interpretation. The *Journal* evidences

¹⁶ Gerd Althoff, “The Variability of Rituals”, 18; Alain Boureau, “Les cérémonies royales”, 1258; Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*, pp. 2-3.

¹⁷ Alain Boureau, “Les cérémonies royales”, 1258.

¹⁸ Kathleen Ashley, “Introduction”, 12; Gilbert Lewis, *Day of Shining Red: An Essay on Understanding Ritual*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 33.

¹⁹ This argument stems from Michel Foucault’s stress upon the *fonction auteur* as a subjective control of expression and support of authority. Michel Foucault, “Qu’est-ce qu’un auteur?” in *Dits et Écrits*, Vol. 1 (1954-1969), (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), pp. 795-99; Stéphane Olivesi, “Foucault, l’œuvre, l’auteur”, *Interculturalités*, Vol. 4 (2003), pp. 402-4; Marie Bouhaïk-Gironès, “A qui profite l’auteur? Théâtre, responsabilité de la parole et fonction-auteur à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Parlement[s], Revue d’histoire politique*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (2012), pp. 27-31; Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual*: pp. 3; 9-10.

²⁰ Alberto Rosa, “Dramaturgical Actuations and Symbolic Communication. Or How Beliefs Make Up Reality”, in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociocultural Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner & Alberto Rosa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 293.

these processes of narrative reconstruction, appropriating and manipulating ceremonial messages, demonstrating how audiences contested ritual meaning. In particular, the Bourgeois articulated perceived distances between ruler and ruled as a form of socio-political commentary that formed part of the very interplay between official, ceremonial communication and Parisian response. As with rumour and propaganda, the Bourgeois-as-narrator situated himself as an interpreter of ritual for his wider community, producing material that reflected ongoing discussions regarding the meaning of the events witnessed and developing a coherent account of these ceremonies to consolidate his public sphere's identity.²¹ Given this nuance, greater attention must be paid to the ways in which contemporary authors selectively reconstructed civic ceremonies and what these tells us about the "hermeneutic struggles" surrounding fifteenth-century Parisian ritual.²²

This chapter therefore approaches issues of conceptual ambiguity surrounding ritual by examining the Bourgeois' subjective interpretation.²³ Catherine Bell's model of *ritual practice* argues that rituals involve a 'redemptive process' whereby participants construe the establishment of social and political relationships in a way "that affords the actor the sense of a sphere of action".²⁴ Consequently, the ceremonial framework for communication between juxtaposed groups accorded every member agency in the determination of civic

²¹ Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest (c. 1030-1122)*, (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 12-16.

²² Alexandra Walsham, "Review: *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* by Philippe Buc", *Past & Present*, Vol. 180 (2003), 280.

²³ Andrew Brown & Graeme Small, *Court and Civic Society in the Burgundian Low Countries, c. 1420-1530: Selected Sources*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 23. Terminological difficulties have also been signalled by Nicholas Howe, "Introduction" in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, ed. Nicholas Howe, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 1.

²⁴ Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 81-88; Kenelm Burridge, *New Heaven, New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Activity*, (New York, NY: Schocken Books, 1969), pp. 6-7; James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 4-5.

ideology, evoking ceremony's function as a forum for the development of the public transcript.²⁵ Where studies of late medieval ceremony have focused upon didactic messages conveyed by a royal or civic elite, the contributions of Buc and Bourreau, coupled with ritual practice, highlight the fragility of such assumptions; since rituals comprise a "heterogeneous repertoire" of symbols, they are inherently open to multiple interpretations that exhibit multiple agencies.²⁶ Rather, ceremonies encapsulate the varied "economy of symbolic exchanges" through which Pierre Bourdieu argued that symbolic power functions as a means of conditioning an individual's awareness of the gestural, linguistic and semiotic codes that structure interaction, alongside their ability to participate in political discourse.²⁷ If, as structured and structuring elements of communication, Bourdieu believed that these 'symbolic systems' enabled one group to dominate another, then it is also likely that the ways in which medieval authors selectively reconstructed and manipulated ceremonial events in writing presented a medium for the assertion of their own authority over the community's memory, identity and notions of group interaction.²⁸

The *Journal's* presentation and reconstruction of ceremony will be explored in two ways. First, by examining the extraordinary processions performed within religious contexts

²⁵ Michael Jucker, "Negotiating and Establishing Peace between Gestures and Written Documents: The Waldmann-Process in Late Medieval Zurich (1489)" in *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns* ed. Jacoba Van Leeuwen, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 103-5; David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, (Yale University Press, 1988), 144.

²⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The Savage Mind*, (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968), pp. 16-32; Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 3.

²⁷ That is, the *habitus* by which "collective practices are produced and the matrix in which objective structures are realised within the (subjective) dispositions that produce practices". Catherine Bell, *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*, 79; Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason on the Theory of Action*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), pp. 96-101; *Language and Symbolic Power*, 23; Remi Lenoir, "Pouvoir symbolique et symbolique du pouvoir" in *La légitimité implicite*, Vol. 1, ed. Jean-Philippe Genet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2015), pp. 49-58.

²⁸ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, 167; Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretative Sociology*, ed. Guenther Ross & Claus Wittich, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), pp. 377; 1160-2.

designed to consolidate civic identity and affirm spiritual ties between capital, king and God. By deploying Paris' spiritual capital to secure political or environmental changes in France, these processions directly accorded every participant agency in the course of political events.²⁹ Given the potentially beneficial and influential character of Parisian prayer, it is unsurprising that the Burgundian, Armagnac and Lancastrian regimes competing for control in France attempted to propagandistically exploit a devotional framework to inculcate Parisian and, consequently, divine support. This chapter therefore explores the realities of ceremony, its frequency, structure and messages, but also what the *Journal* reveals about the ways in which Parisians interpreted these messages and how they could be channelled, appropriated or excluded through writing. The Bourgeois' attitude towards these developments in his narrative, as well as his manipulation of their supposed success or failure, enabled him to comment more generally upon the levels of Parisian support that these factions could elicit. In turn, the second part of this chapter explores how ceremonies framed negotiation between ruler and ruled. Through reflections upon underlying Parisian conversations, murmurings and complaints taking place during and after these ceremonies, the *Journal* demonstrates how those excluded from power developed their own narratives of identity and, in turn, wielded them to impress understandings of kingship that were subsequently codified within the *Journal's* text. Contested ideals came to the fore in the Bourgeois' description of Henry VI of England's entry and coronation ceremonies in 1431. A cross-examination of the *Journal* with three other contemporary descriptions of these ceremonies reveals the strategies employed that the Bourgeois

²⁹ This phenomenon has been highlighted for Burgundy by Klaus Oschema, "Espaces publics autour d'une société de cour: l'exemple de la Bourgogne des ducs de Valois" in *L'espace public au Moyen Âge: débats autour de Jürgen Habermas*, ed. Patrick Boucheron & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2011), pp. 174-5.

employed to variously stress Paris' centrality or the dissonances between Lancastrian invented tradition and Parisian expectation, thereby articulating significant ideological issues inherent in the Dual Monarchy. As such, a detailed examination of the *Journal's* record of civic and religious ceremony reveals the multifarious methods available to Parisians to engage with power both directly and indirectly, articulating their own ideological understandings and even arrogating for themselves a stake in political issues and the success of royal policy.

Civic Ceremonies and Processions in Fifteenth-Century Paris

Simply defined, processions involve collective movement from one place to another with symbolic importance that distinguishes the ceremony from everyday movement, formalising and dramatizing events of importance to the community.³⁰ Paris witnessed a tremendous surge in processions in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Where on average the chapter of Notre-Dame organised a single extraordinary procession annually between 1326 and 1380, this average increased to four during Charles VI's reign.³¹ Relating this to changing devotional practices throughout Europe, Jacques Chiffolleau has argued that 1412 marked a turning point for Paris, whereupon processions appeared as events "dignes

³⁰ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett & Brooks McNamara, "Processional Performance: An Introduction", *The Drama Review*, Vol. 29, No. 3 (Autumn 1985), pp. 2-5; C. Clifford Flanigan, "The Moving Subject: Medieval Liturgical Processions in Semiotic and Cultural Perspective" in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Wim Husken, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 35.

³¹ Bernard Guenée, "Liturgie et politique. Les processions spéciales à Paris sous Charles VI" in *Un roi et son historien: vingt études sur le règne de Charles VI et la Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, (Paris: Boccard, 1999), 428.

de mémoire" in historiographical narratives.³² Historians have also assessed the Parisian ceremonial's role as a framework for social organisation and the communication of propaganda, concentrating on the messages communicated, with Guy Thompson arguing that processions effectively moulded the participants' political attitudes.³³ In contrast, this section will demonstrate how civic ceremonies functioned as a medium through which Parisians interacted with authorities and communicated their own perspectives, but also how writers challenged and obfuscated ceremonies' political influence.

Methodologically, this approach reprises Guy Thompson's distinction of 'civic' from 'royal' ceremonies.³⁴ Where the latter framed dialogue between ruler and ruled, the former denote those processions conducted under the auspices of urban institutions.³⁵ Barbara Hanawalt has argued that ceremonies served a primarily didactic purpose, instilling the values of civic society and intertwined with a reification of urban ideology based upon the 'common good', embodied in "shared, self-imposed codes of behaviour".³⁶ These arguments underpin impressions that ceremonies were pillars of a "civic religion", exhibiting the

³² Jacques Chiffolleau, "Les processions parisiennes de 1412: Analyse d'un rituel flamboyant", *Revue historique*, Vol. 284, No. 1 (July-Septembre 1990), 46; Guenée & Lehoux, *Les entrées royales*, pp. 15-17; Jean-Michel Matz, "Le développement tardif d'une religion civique dans une ville épiscopale: Les processions à Angers (v. 1450-1550)" in *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam). Actes du colloque de Nanterre (21-23 juin 1993)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995), 351.

³³ Guy Llewelyn Thompspon, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436*, (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1991), pp. 179-186.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-6; Bernard Guenée, "Liturgie et politique", 428.

³⁵ Guy Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 181; Bernard Guenée, "Liturgie et politique", pp. 431-4.

³⁶ Barbara Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, 3; Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes*, pp. 256-261. Noël Coulet has argued that during the fourteenth century an increase in the influence of corporations regarding processions meant that "la procession se municipalise et se décléricalise". "Processions, espace urbain, communauté civique", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, Vol. 17, (1982), 393; Elizabeth A.R. Brown & Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Universitas et communitas: The Parade of the Parisians at Pentecost 1313" in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley & Wim Hüskén, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 131-2.

employment of religious ritual by secular authorities.³⁷ However, processions were composed of “interlaced symbolic codes embedded inside ritual text” that resulted in a polysemy of messages interpreted by participants.³⁸ Andrew Brown has argued that “the connections between the exercise of authority and the use of ceremony are very indirect”, meaning that processions represented “an insecure means to establish social or political domination”.³⁹ Parisian processions were open to multiple interpretations by observers, with their purpose appropriated and contested by different socio-political groups during and after their performance.⁴⁰

Thompson also distinguished liturgical ‘ceremonial processions’ from ‘extraordinary processions’ “held in response to some particular event or need”.⁴¹ The former were rarely mentioned in the *Journal* and other Parisian narratives. Rather, extraordinary processions served an important socio-political function highlighted by these texts, translating

³⁷ Andrew Brown, “Civic Religion in late Medieval Europe”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 42, No. 3 (2016), pp. 339-46; André Vauchez, “Introduction” in *La religion civique à l’époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam): Actes du colloque organisé par le Centre de recherche « Histoire sociale et culturelle de l’Occident. XII^e-XVIII^e siècle » de l’Université de Nanterre et l’Institut universitaire de France (Nanterre, 21-23 juin 1993)*, (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1995), pp. 1-5; Richard Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*, (London: Cornell University Press, 1980), pp. 45-54.

³⁸ Thomas A. Boogaart II, “Our Saviour’s Blood”, 70.

³⁹ Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion*, 27; 286; David Nicholas, “In the Pit of the Burgundian Theatre State: Urban Traditions and Princely Ambitions in Ghent, 1360-1420” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minneapolis Press, 1994), pp. 272-273. See also Jan Dumolyn, “Une idéologie urbaine ‘bricolée’ en Flandre médiévale: les *Sept Portes de Bruges* dans le manuscrit Gruuthuse (début du XV^e siècle)”, *Revue belge de philologie et d’histoire*, Vol. 88, No. 4 (2010), pp. 1081-2; Christian Liddy, “Urban Politics and Material Culture at the end of the Middle Ages: The Coventry Tapestry in St. Mary’s Hall”, *Urban History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2012), 223.

⁴⁰ Edward Muir, “The Eye of the Procession”, 148

⁴¹ Guy Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 181. Extraordinary processions could be and often were religious in character. Earl Jeffrey Richards, “Ceremonies of Power: The Arrival of Thomas Aquinas’s Relics in Toulouse and Paris in the Context of the Hundred Years War” in *Relics, Identity and Memory in Medieval Europe*, ed. Marika Räsänen, Gritje Hartmann, and Earl Jeffrey Richards, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), pp. 325-332; Marc Venard, “Itinéraires de processions dans la ville d’Avignon”, *Ethnologie française*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1977), 55.

unexpected or inexplicable events into a normative discourse. Chroniclers brought extraordinary processions into relief against a backdrop of standardised ritual practice, with ceremonies drawing upon liturgical traditions and saints' cults that had become established elements in Parisian identification.⁴² Even those liturgical events described in the *Journal*, such as the bishop's first entry to the city, were loaded with political significance.⁴³ Interpretations of extraordinary processions offer tentative indications as to how Parisians conveyed ideological messages through these religious elements.

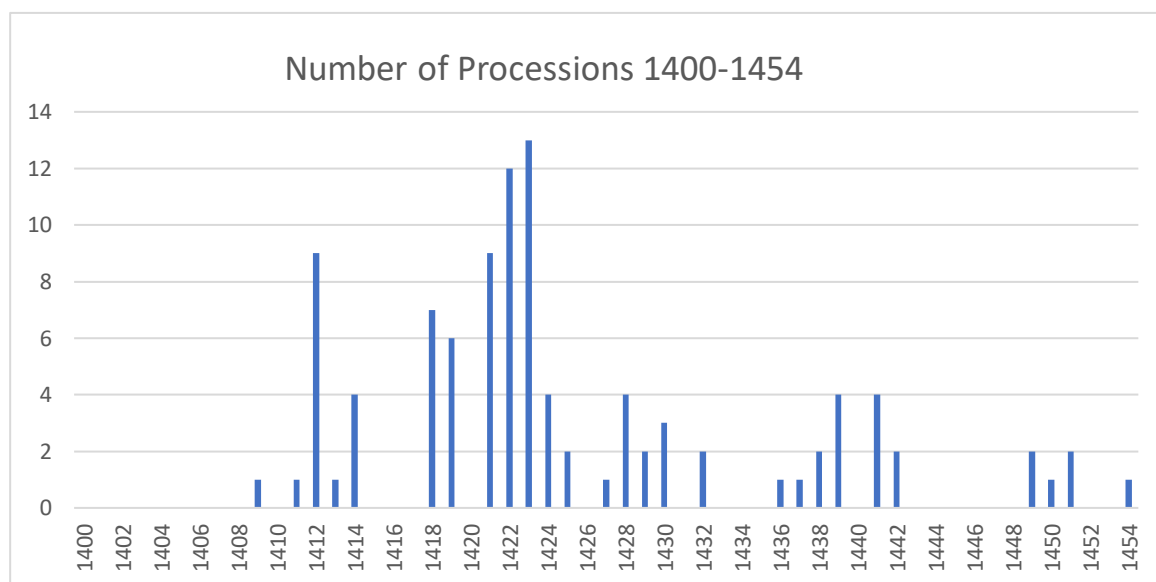


Figure 2. A reproduction of the data based on Paris, Archives nationales, U//511, presented by Guy Llewellyn Thompson in *Paris and its People under English Rule*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 180

⁴² Robert Descimon, "Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel", 81.

⁴³ On the bishop's entry see Véronique Julerot, "La première entrée de l'évêque: Réflexions sur son origine", *Revue historique*, No. 639 (March 2006), pp. 640-1, 645 (citation 647). Regarding the disputes surrounding the election of Parisian bishops in the 1420s, see Chapter II.

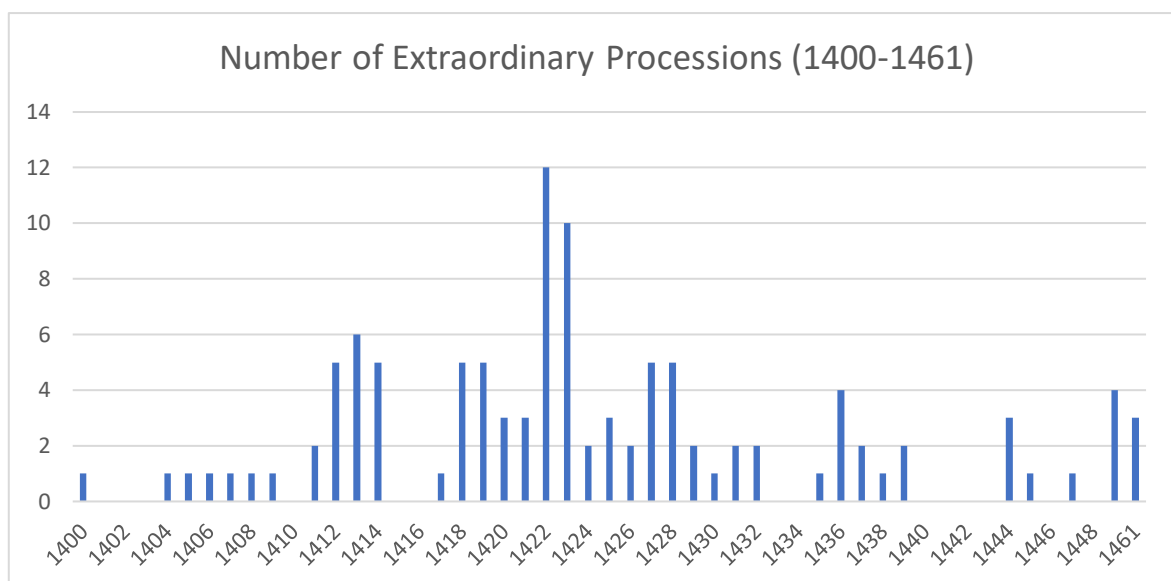


Figure 3. The number of processions mentioned in contemporary narrative sources, excluding May-July 1412.

Five different kinds of extraordinary procession can be identified in fifteenth-century sources. These include Guenée’s distinction between processions *pro rege* (for the wellbeing of the king), *pro pace* and for the Church, but also processions undertaken *for the city* of Paris and those responding to inclement weather or epidemics.⁴⁴ Although ostensibly for peace, processions *pro pace* also included ceremonies undertaken to elicit divine favour for military campaigns that, if successful, were considered to bring peace to the realm and support the common good.⁴⁵ Thompson argued that Parisian procession coincided with “periods of political disturbance” and their frequency, nature and even record reflected changing socio-political attitudes, a point supported by the available data that indicates spikes during the military campaigns of 1412 and 1414, the transition to Lancastrian governance in 1420-1422 and Jeanne d’Arc’s 1429 campaign.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Bernard Guenée, “Liturgie et politique”, pp. 428-31.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 430; Anna Michalek-Simínska, “Le rôle de processions *pro rege* en France sous Charles VI” in *Civitas Mentis*, Vol. 1, ed. Zbigniewa Kadłubka & Tadeusza Sławka, (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2005), pp. 204-6.

⁴⁶ Guy L. Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 180-1. Similar arguments have been made by Margot Fassler, “*Adventus* at Chartres: Ritual Models for Major Processions” in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-*

The Bourgeois described fifty extraordinary processions occurring between 1410 and 1450, of which twenty pertained to those undertaken to support the Burgundian siege of Bourges in 1412.⁴⁷ Consequently, over 150 extraordinary processions recorded in other narratives are omitted, while Guenée demonstrated that 110 processions were recorded in Notre-Dame's register alone for the period 1392-1422.⁴⁸ This discrepancy arises, in part, from the Bourgeois' omission of almost all of the processions organised under the Armagnac and Lancastrian regimes from 1413-1418 and 1420-1435; with thirty-two processions (to the Bourgeois' two) and eighty-five (to thirteen) omitted respectively. Due to the absence of consistent Parisian records for the period after 1436, the *Journal* emerges as the only narrative source for propitiatory processions in the 1440s (seven omitted to the Bourgeois' sixteen).⁴⁹ A comparison of these various sources with the *Journal* reveals the extent to which processions were essential for facilitating Parisian participation in and inculcating awareness

Modern Europe, ed. Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 14; Bernard Chevalier, "La religion civique dans les bonnes villes" in *La religion civique à l'époque médiévale et moderne (chrétienté et islam)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1995), 342; Jean-Michel Matz, "Le développement tardif", pp. 352-4.

⁴⁷ The best study of the 1412 processions remains Jacques Chiffolleau, "Les processions parisiennes de 1412", pp. 37-76. See also Bernard Guenée, "Le voyage de Bourges (1412). Un exemple des conséquences de la folie de Charles VI", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 140, No. 2 (1996), 788; Barbara H. Rosenwein, "Even the Devil (Sometimes) has Feelings: Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages", *The Haskins Society Journal* 14. *Studies in Medieval History*, ed. Stephen Morillo, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 1-3.

⁴⁸ This total, which is not exhaustive, is determined through a study of the journals of the Parlement *greffiers* Nicolas de Baye, Clément de Fauquembergue and their successors, the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, the so-called *Chronique des Cordeliers* and supplemented by the registers of the chapter of Notre-Dame. The methodological approach to Parisian processions was first proposed in Bernard Guenée, "Liturgie et politique", pp. 426-31.

⁴⁹ The Parlement register compiled by Clément de Fauquembergue's successors as *greffier*, Jean de Blois (beginning in December 1436) and Jean Cheneteau (after Jean de Blois' death) are understudied in this regard. X^{1a} 1482 (December 1436 – November 1443); a seventeenth-century copy of the register, Paris, Archives nationales, U//314 has been used for the following evidence. On these *greffiers* see Monique Morgat-Bonnet, "Brève histoire des origines médiévales du greffe du parlement de Paris" in *Une histoire de la mémoire judiciaire de l'Antiquité à nos jours*, ed. Olivier Poncet & Isabelle Storez-Brancourt, (Paris: Publications de l'École nationale des chartes, 2009), pp. 133-49; Anne Massoni, *La Collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois de Paris (1350-1510)*, (Limoges: Presses Universitaires de Limoges, 2009), pp. 531-3.

of political events, but also the Bourgeois' agency in managing their presentation, often obfuscating the ties between Parisians, civic institutions and factional regimes.

The contrast is clear. For the first decades of the fifteenth century most of the extraordinary processions reported by the Bourgeois related to Burgundian interests; they evidently engaged members of his local community, while their relation correlated with the Halles' ties to Jean sans Peur. Where the 1412 processions were recorded in detail by the Bourgeois, they also formed the main focus of an anonymous, contemporary journal fragment for 1412-13, with both demonstrating the profound level of Burgundian influence at the parish level and the impact of this activity upon these authors' historiographical interests.⁵⁰ Their similarities in style and content suggest that these were written by likeminded Parisian clerics invested in a record that could, perhaps, provide a framework for later devotional exercises. However, subsequent mass demonstrations organised by the Armagnac and Anglo-Burgundian regimes were unmentioned by the Bourgeois. In the rare instances that they *were* alluded to, the *Journal* focused upon their lay character, disguising the involvement of Parisian ecclesiastical institutions.

This is demonstrated by two examples. First, the Bourgeois omitted any reference to the general processions organised by Paris' Armagnac governors in May 1414 to support and celebrate the conquest of Burgundian-held Soissons. These ceremonies emulated the Burgundian strategy in 1412, with general processions to Notre-Dame or Saint-Denis and a University procession to Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers omitted by the Bourgeois.⁵¹

⁵⁰ The fragment of the anonymous journal for 1412-1413 is found in Vatican, Reg. Lat. 1502, Vol. 1, fols. 103r-108v. The fragment was first published with a brief introduction by Alexandre Tuetey, "Journal parisien des années 1412 et 1413", *MSHP*, Vol. 44 (1917), pp. 163-82. All quotations are sourced from the manuscript, hereafter Reg. Lat. 1502.

⁵¹ Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 185, 187; RSD, Vol. 5, pp. 343-5.

Instead, the *Journal* focused upon the celebrations held upon news of the victory on 22nd May, stressing the devastation wrought by the Armagnacs and implicitly juxtaposing civil conflict with notions of true, just war fought against Saracens. The governors “*firent faire les feus comme on fait a la Saint Jehan... comme si ce eussent esté Sarazins ou mescreans que on eust destruis*”.⁵² No religious institutions were depicted as participating in these celebrations, rather “*vous eussiez veu a sesdits feuz... plus de iiiij^M femmes, toutes d’estat, non pas d’onneur, toutes bandées et des hommes sans nombre*”.⁵³ Similarly, when Paris’ Lancastrian governors organised three general processions involving Notre-Dame and the parish church of Saint-Germain-l’Auxerrois to celebrate the English victory at Cravant (31st July 1423), the Bourgeois omitted the religious involvement in celebrations that in fact jeopardised Parisians’ moral wellbeing.⁵⁴ As such, a comparison with other sources demonstrates the extent to which the Bourgeois manipulated the record of these ceremonies. As a member of the University of Paris, a clergyman and an inhabitant of the right bank, he would certainly have been aware of these processions and probably participated in several of them. Despite this, he deliberately avoided referencing connections that bound the city to factions that he opposed, and even went to great lengths to invert the moral overtones of Armagnac or Lancastrian successes.

For Thompson, processions represented an essential propagandistic medium for the inculcation of support during the Dual Monarchy.⁵⁵ While the evidence provided by

⁵² Had fires lit as occurs on the feast of St. John [the Baptist]... as if it were Saracens or infidels that they had destroyed. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 32r.

⁵³ You would have seen at the said bonfires... more than four thousand women, all of status and not of honour, all *bandées*, and innumerable men. Ibid., fols. 32r-32v.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fols. 93r-93v; Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 104-6. For the Bourgeois reaction to Cravant see below, Appendix II, No. 8.

⁵⁵ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 191-99.

administrative records certainly supports the conclusion that governors attempted to harness ceremonies, the absence of references to extraordinary processions organised under Lancastrian auspices in the *Journal* is conspicuous. Besides Cravant, the Bourgeois omitted as many as ten series of processions designed to inculcate Parisian support for Lancastrian military campaigns. These included processions to support Henry V during his Loire campaign in 1421, his siege of Meaux in 1422, processions to publicise the English sieges of Montereau-fault-Yonne (4th July 1420), Pont-sur-Seine (27th May 1423), Le Mans (9th August 1425) and Pontorson (8th May 1427) as well as those held during the summer of 1429 to counter Charles VII's advance.⁵⁶ The Bourgeois also avoided describing those processions organised to articulate spiritual ties between the capital and the Lancastrian monarchy, including the ceremonies held for Henry V's and John, duke of Bedford's recovery from illness in July 1422 and August 1429, or the processions organised when Henry VI arrived in Calais in April 1430.⁵⁷ The Bourgeois was not alone. Fauquembergue's description of processions also substantially changed after Charles VI's death in October 1422. In the *greffier's* journal, at least eighteen processions *pro rege* are mentioned prior to this year, with all but two of these concerned with Charles VI's health.⁵⁸ Eight processions *pro rege* were recorded for 1422, including four for the siege of Meaux and Henry V's recuperation. However, during Bedford's regency, only one procession *pro rege* was related, in April 1430.⁵⁹ Excluding this example, from 1423 mention of ceremonies *pro rege* disappears, replaced by "pour le salut de ce royaume *et de la cité de Paris*."⁶⁰ Where the Bourgeois ignored

⁵⁶ These processions are detailed in the following sources. Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 376; Vol. 2, 24, 39, 42, 98, 183; Paris, Archives nationales, LL//253, 42; LL//113, 179, 170.

⁵⁷ Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, 52; Vol. 3, pp. 338-9; Paris, Archives nationales, LL//113, 170.

⁵⁸ Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 207, 209, 265, 289, 300, 346, 376, 386; Vol. 2, 14, 33, 39, 42, 44, 52, 54, 55.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, 338.

⁶⁰ For the salvation of the kingdom and the city of Paris. *Ibid.*, 90.

processions in order to obfuscate the ties between the capital and the Lancastrian regime, Fauquembergue similarly recorded these processions as taking place specifically for peace and for the city, circumventing endorsements of the Lancastrian monarch.

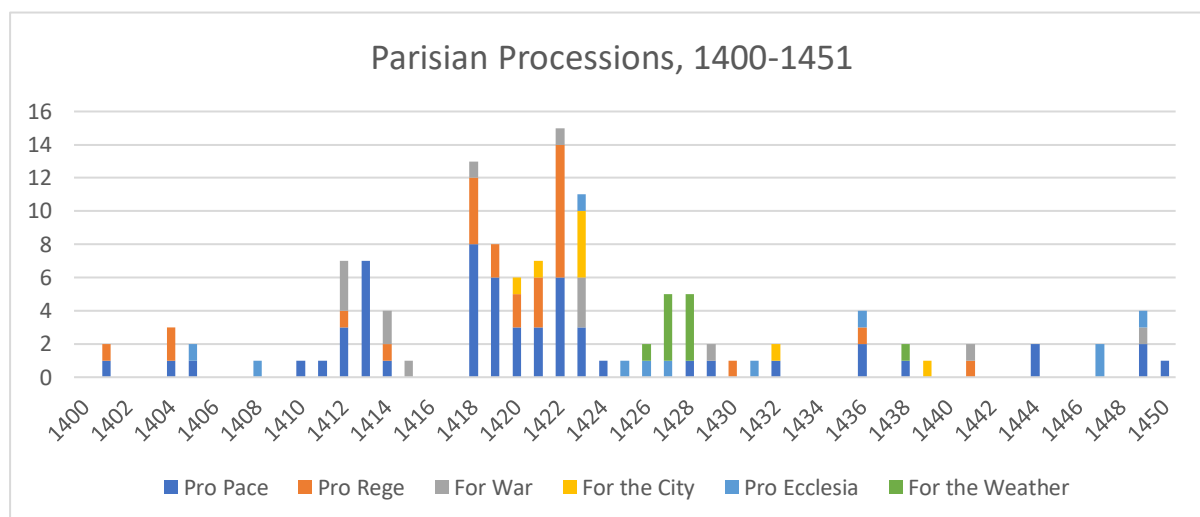


Figure 4. Nature of processions as recorded in contemporary narrative sources.

Ritual Communication: The People of Paris, the King, and God

Processions facilitated communication between the royal centre and the city.⁶¹ By beseeching God for His intercession in human affairs, participants acquired a degree of agency in the kingdom's politics, their power drawn from Parisian liturgical and saintly traditions that assumed a national character.⁶² Relics, therefore, played an essential role in the success of these processions while reinforcing collective action and identity, focusing the community through the repetition of specifically *Parisian* narratives that underscored the

⁶¹ Anna Michalek-Simínska, "Le rôle de processions *pro rege*", 207.

⁶² As demonstrated by the prominence of St. Denis. Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Huston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette, (Oxford: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 46-63.

city's enduring Christian centrality.⁶³ Juxtaposing an image of ordered society within the city with the impression of the disordered world without, processions structured an idealised microcosm of society. Moreover, processions emphasised Paris' status as an important pillar for the success of royal policy, spiritually tying king, capital and God into a greater French whole.⁶⁴ Nicolas Confranc would certainly have been aware of the procession's importance; during the siege of Meaux in 1439 the constable Arthur de Richemont had instructed the monks of Sainte-Geneviève to perform a procession with their relics every Friday. When the procession conflicted with the feast of St. Germain d'Auxerre, Confranc assisted Jean Chuffart in redirecting the Saint-Geneviève procession to Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois. The monks consented, "eu égard à la nécessité du temps".⁶⁵

This tripartite communication is clearly demonstrated by the explosion of Parisian ceremonies in the summer of 1412 during the siege of Armagnac-held Bourges.⁶⁶ In particular, the author of the journal fragment for 1412-13 explicitly viewed these processions as a medium that tied Paris to the king, underscored by his narrative's alternation between events at Bourges and Paris. For example, the author interrupted his account of processions on 13th June to relate the beginning of the siege on 9th June, including the defenders' plot to

⁶³ Robert Descimon, "Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel" pp. 87-96. For the role of processions and relics in the affirmation of urban identities see Jacques Dubois & Laure Beaumont-Maillet, *Sainte Geneviève de Paris: la vie, le culte, l'art*, (Paris: Beauchesne, 1997), 106; Moshe Sluhovsky, *Patroness of Paris: Rituals of Devotion in Early Modern France*, (Brill: Leiden, 1998), pp. 160-1; Marc Boone, "Urban Space and Political Conflict", 632; Kathleen Ashley & Pamela Sheingorn, "Sainte Foy on the Loose", pp. 58-61.

⁶⁴ Robert Descimon, "Le corps de ville et le système cérémoniel", pp. 86-7.

⁶⁵ Pierre le Juge, *Histoire de sainte Genevieve, patronne de Paris*, (Paris: Henri Coyer, 1586), pp. 118-19; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris d'après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881), 347, n. 3.

⁶⁶ For the history of this siege, Jonathan Sumption, *Cursed Kings: The Hundred Years War IV*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2016), pp. 310-23; Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons. La maudite guerre*, (Paris: Perrin 1988), pp. 119-22. For examples of the Bourgeois' description of these processions, see below, Appendix II, No. 2.

murder Jean sans Peur and capture the king, before returning to the processions on 14th June.⁶⁷ The author constructed an implicitly causal relationship between Parisian devotion and Charles VI's survival of the plot: "Notre Seigneur, qui tousjours a soustenu et secouru la noble fleur de lis, ne veult pas qu'ilz eschevassent leur tres deloyale entreprise".⁶⁸ The Bourgeois also communicated events through this framework, relating that, when Raoul de Gaucourt's soldiers were captured, they "recongurent qu'ilz cuidoient emmener le roy par force et tuer le duc de Bourgogne, mais Dieu les en garda celle foy".⁶⁹

The 1412-13 fragment presents Charles VI as being fully aware that his success was predicated upon Parisian support, demonstrating that Parisians perceived these processions as framing reciprocity between crown and capital. When Charles VI heard of Paris' processions in his absence, he

remercy a tres haultement Notre Seigneur, en disant qu'il estoit plus tenuz a la bonne ville que a tout le monde, et que il tenoit et avoit ferme esperance que Notre Seigneur luy devoit victoire sur ses ennemis par le moyen de son loyal peuple plus que par aultre chose.⁷⁰

The fragment rhetorically underscored Paris' centrality to the king's military successes. Every day, its author claimed, Charles VI and the Dauphin wrote to the city "en humblement la remerciant et priant de tousjours perseverer, comme bons et loyaulx".⁷¹ As

⁶⁷ This event was also reported by Monstrelet, Vol. 2, pp. 274-5; RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 666-669.

⁶⁸ Our Lord, who had always supported and aided the noble *fleur de lis* did not wish that they succeed in their disloyal enterprise. Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), fol. 104r.

⁶⁹ Admitted that they had hoped to capture the king by force and kill the duke of Burgundy, but God protected them this time. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 21r-21v. Emphasis my own.

⁷⁰ Very loudly thanked Our Lord, stating that he was more greatly indebted to the good city than anyone else, and that he maintained and had a firm hope that Our Lord should [grant him] victory against his enemies through the means of his loyal people more than in any other way. Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), fol. 105r.

⁷¹ Humbly thanking the city and asking it to always persevere as good and loyal [subjects]. Ibid.

such, an exchange of letters and news supplemented the spiritual connection. Michel Pintoin, who accompanied the Oriflamme to Bourges, related how news reached the king of Parisian ceremonies organised “ut expeditionem bellicam”.⁷² Pintoin similarly recognised the importance of propitiation to Charles’ success and, by extension, the kingdom’s salvation, describing how preachers reminded Paris that “quoniam humilitate et non resistencia divina flectuntur”.⁷³

In Pintoin’s view, the successful binding of ruler and ruled depended upon the moral state of every participant. When the University processed

inter celebrandum divina omnibus subsequentibus publicari statuerunt quod sic incolumitatem regis, pacem lilia deferencium et regni tranquillitatem erga auctorem et amatorem pacis Christum poterant procurerare.⁷⁴

Moral purity was conditioned by the city’s ecclesiastical institutions, with priests exhorting their congregations to confess their sins in order to secure divine mercy and consequently peace as an evident manifestation of Paris’ connections to God and its inhabitants’ agency as a support of royal authority.⁷⁵ The French king’s assertion of his ‘most-Christian’ status led to the extension of these claims to the kingdom’s populace, “assimilé au peuple d’Israel et le royaume de France a la terre sainte”, with processions affording participants a role in the definition of the French, Christian community.⁷⁶ Through the *translatio studii*, Paris represented a microcosmic concentration of French society,

⁷² For the success of his war. RSD, Vol. 4, 658.

⁷³ [that] God’s favour could be elicited through humility, not pride. Ibid.

⁷⁴ During the mass they invited all to pray to Christ, the author and lover of peace, to secure the king’s safety and the concord of the lily and the tranquillity of the kingdom. RSD, Vol. 4, 660.

⁷⁵ Ibid., Vol. 4, 660.

⁷⁶ Jacques Krynen, *L’Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), 365; Dominique Iogna-Prat, “Constructions chrétiennes d’un espace politique”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 1 (2001), pp. 59-60.

encapsulating its religious and historical traditions.⁷⁷ If the king was sacralised in part through his ties to the capital, then the redirection of these traditions against a specific faction in the French civil conflict represented an important re-articulation of the boundaries of the Christian community that excluded the king's enemies from claims to moral right.⁷⁸ Religious symbolism was essential to manifesting this distinction.⁷⁹ Such views are exemplified by the use of the Oriflamme, originally reserved for enemies of Christendom. Debates surrounding the Oriflamme's deployment at Roosebecke in 1382 resulted in the conclusion that it could also be deployed against excommunicates, with Guillebert De Mets describing the banner as a statement of the French monarchs' status as the "seulx principaulx protecteurs, champions et defenseurs de l'eglise".⁸⁰ As such, in 1412 and 1414, with each side in the French civil conflict having excommunicated the other, the Oriflamme was used by the Burgundian and Armagnac factions respectively as a means of consolidating boundaries between moral right and wrong, and between French and Other.⁸¹ The sermon preached upon the banner's collection for the Armagnacs' Soissons campaign in 1414 reminded Charles VI that French monarchs "doivent avoir fiance es devotes prieres et oroisons de sainte eglise", since "a la priere des devotes personnes plusieurs fois les princes

⁷⁷ Serge Lusignan has traced Paris' central and royal status through the *translatio studii* in *Vérité garde le roi: La construction d'une identité universitaire en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1999), pp. 225-77.

⁷⁸ Jenny Rahel Oesterle, "The Liturgical Dimension of Royal Representation" in *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns*, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 103-5.

⁷⁹ Chiara Mercuri, "Stat inter spinas liliium: Le lys de France et la couronne d'épines", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 105, No. 3 (2004), pp. 499-500.

⁸⁰ The uniquely principal protectors, champions and defenders of the Church. Guillebert De Mets, "Description de la ville de Paris sous Charles VI" in *Paris et ses historiens aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Documents et écrits originaux*, ed. Antoine le Roux de Lincy & Lazare-Maurice Tisserand, (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1867), 149-51; Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Fleur de lis et oriflamme*, (Paris: Presses du CNRS, 1991), pp. 164-7.

⁸¹ RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 630-33,

ont obtenu victoire."⁸² As such, the rhetoric surrounding the Oriflamme encapsulated the conflation of French and Christian identities that also characterised Parisian processions, stressing the moral boundaries between the competing factions and reinforcing the Christian identity of those devoted to the king.

In Paris, this was extended through a series of relic traditions. On 5th June 1412, the Oriflamme, Holy Nail, Crown of Thorns and relics of St. Eustace were joined in procession to the Sainte-Chapelle.⁸³ Just as the processions themselves encouraged participation at the parish level, these ceremonies facilitated interaction between localised cults and those of the utmost Christian importance. Notably, the procession of St. Eustace's relics, held in the parish church, enabled the district's Burgundian sympathisers to manifest devotional ties to the overarching French cause, a politicization underscored by the Burgundian dukes' own investment in Saint-Eustache, their Parisian parish church.⁸⁴ Conflating the religious and the political, this procession assimilated a Burgundian ideological stance with notions of moral right, while transforming Paris into a sacred space structured by pious behaviour.⁸⁵ The emphasis upon the ceremonies' heterogeneity underscored this unifying perspective. For the procession on 10th June, "une des plus honorables que on eust oncques veue", the

⁸² Should have faith in the dedicated prayers of the holy Church, since through the prayers of the devoted people the princes have secured victory several times. "Sermon de Philippe de Vilette" ed. Charles J. Liebman, Jr, "Un sermon de Philippe de Vilette, abbé de Saint-Denis, pour la levée de l'Oriflamme (1414)", *Romania*, Vol. 68, No. 272 (1944), 463.

⁸³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 20r.

⁸⁴ Werner Paravicini, "Paris, capitale des ducs de Bourgogne?" in *Paris, capitale des ducs de Bourgogne*, ed. Werner Paravicini & Bertrand Schnerb, 473-5; L'Abbé Koenig, *Saint-Eustache: Histoire et visite de l'église*, (Paris: Apprentis Orphelins, 1878), pp. 10-11.

⁸⁵ Miri Rubin, "Europe Remade: Purity and Danger in Late Medieval Europe", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 11 (2001), pp. 112-13; 119; Sarah Hamilton & Andrew Spicer, "Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space" in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Andrew Spicer & Sarah Hamilton, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 2-4; Mircea Eliade, *Le sacré et le profane*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1965), pp. 17-19, 25-32; Dawn Marie Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389*, (New York, NY: Routledge, 2003), xxi.

fragment enumerates the relics of twelve saints involved, including Paris' patron St. Geneviève and parish relics such as St. Opportuna and the Holy Innocent.⁸⁶

Local cults framed popular political agency. Foremost among Parisian devotions were the city's patron saints, Denis and Geneviève, whose invocation marked significant political events.⁸⁷ In 1431, the mystery of St. Denis' martyrdom greeted Henry VI during his pre-coronation procession; in 1429, Brother Richard poignantly preached at Montmartre, "bien pres ou le glorieux martir monseigneur Sainct Denis avoit esté descollé".⁸⁸ When celebrations marked Paris' reconquest by the Valois in 1436, Geneviève prevented the participants from falling ill, just as "par plusieurs foys elle a sauvé la bonne ville de Paris; l'une foys de cher temps, l'autre foys des grans eaues, et de plusieurs autres perilz."⁸⁹ The Bourgeois expected his audience to be familiar with these legends. When conspiracies were discovered in 1433, he alluded to Denis' protection of the capital, remarking that "le glorieux martir monseigneur Sainct Denis ne volt pas souffrir qu'ilz feissent telle cruaulté en la bonne cité de Paris, qu'il a autres foys gardée de sa sainte priere de tel peril".⁹⁰ Paris' reconquest in 1436 was explained in similar terms. Two hours before the French had entered the city, the Bourgeois reported their intention to pillage Paris and kill those who opposed them.⁹¹

⁸⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 20r; Reg. Lat. 1502 (Vol. 1), 103r.

⁸⁷ Paris' centrality to St. Denis' legend is demonstrated in Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 49-53. For St. Geneviève, Moshe Sluhovskiy, *Patroness of Paris*, pp. 73-87; Maria-Carmen Gras, "Les processions en l'honneur de Sainte Geneviève à Paris: Miroir d'une société (XV^e-XVIII^e siècles)", *Histoire urbaine*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (2011), pp. 7-11, 15-18.

⁸⁸ Very close to the site where the glorious martyr my lord St. Denis had been beheaded. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 116v.

⁸⁹ Many times she had saved the good city of Paris, sometimes from scarcity, other times from flooding and from many other perils. *Ibid.*, fol. 156r.

⁹⁰ The glorious martyr my lord St. Denis would not suffer them to accomplish such cruelty in the good city of Paris, that he has protected at other times from such dangers through his holy prayer. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 145r-145v.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, fol. 154r.

However, the good Christian inhabitants went to their churches and prayed to Mary and Denis for their intercession:

Et vraiment, bien fut apparant que monseigneur Saint Denis avoit esté advocat de la cité par devers la glorieuse Vierge Marie, et la glorieuse Vierge Marie par devers Notre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, car quant ilz furent entrez dedens... ilz furent si meuz de pitié et de joye qu'ilz ne se porent oncques tenir de larmoier.⁹²

Through the miracle, the Bourgeois situated Paris at the centre of a divine hierarchy of prayer, implicitly reiterating Paris' status as the New Jerusalem and echoing the model found in Jean Gerson's *Opus Tripartum* that hierarchically distinguished prayers to God, the Virgin, angels and saints.⁹³

As such, through religious ceremonies bonds were formed between three poles: city, king and God. Chroniclers emphasised their reciprocity, with Parisians participating in processions to communicate their anxieties and, in the process, regaining a degree of control over political events. Rather than a unidirectional means of imposing messages upon Parisians, successful ceremonies were predicated upon the agency, moral probity and conformity of participants. Reasserting the city's Christian character, ceremonies juxtaposed the civic community with external threats.⁹⁴ It is in this way that these rituals represented a crucial medium for political communication, reaffirming the community's ties in space and

⁹² And truly, it was clear that my lord St. Denis had been an intercessor for the city before the glorious Virgin Mary, and the glorious Virgin Mary had beseeched Our Lord Jesus Christ, for when they [the French] entered the city... they were so moved by pity and by joy that they could not keep themselves from crying. *Ibid.*, fol. 154r. For the Bourgeois' full account of the circumstances of Paris' recapture, see Appendix II, No. 13.

⁹³ Frédéric Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge: Petite anthologie commentée de succès littéraires*, (Geneva: Droz, 2007), 127. See also Jean Gerson, "La science de bien mourir" ed. G. Ouy, presented in Frédéric Duval, *Lectures françaises de la fin du Moyen Âge*, pp. 109-110.

⁹⁴ Steven L. Kaplan, "Religion, Subsistence and Social Control: The Uses of Sainte Geneviève", *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter 1979-1980), pp. 145-49.

through tradition, articulating understandings of social order and according to participants a stake in civic and royal politics as an essential, spiritual resource for ruling regimes.⁹⁵

Processions and Political Communication

For royal, civic and religious authorities, processions were intended to harmonise the political perspectives of those involved and reinforce understandings of the city's complex socio-political hierarchy.⁹⁶ Processions performed an essential role in the codification of urban ideology, itself the result of this constant underlying process of contest and consensus between Parisian bodies.⁹⁷ Processions gave communities and individuals of all social strata a stake in the elaboration of a civic ideology. Through these ceremonies, the city emerged as "un espace agissant... le lieu d'accueil des différents groupes sociaux qui la structurent".⁹⁸ As demonstrated above, through the connections between the temporal and the divine established by these ceremonies, Parisians arrogated the potential to directly influenced the events around them, ranging from inclement weather and poor harvests to political strife and military campaigns. As such, religious ceremonies also represented a crucial interface for the communication and interpretation of ideological messages. This section will explore these processes by examining the Bourgeois' descriptions of the roles performed by

⁹⁵ Kathleen Ashley, "Introduction", pp. 8-10; David Harris Sacks, "Celebrating Authority in Bristol" in *Urban Life in the Renaissance*, ed. Susan Zimmerman & Ronald F.E. Weissman, (London: Associated University Presses, 1989), 192.

⁹⁶ Barbara Hanawalt, *Ceremony and Civility*, pp. 139-40, 155.

⁹⁷ Stephen H. Rigby, "Ideology and Utopia: Prudence and Magnificence, Kingship and Tyranny in Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*" in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron. Proceedings of the 2004 Harlaxton Symposium*, eds. Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott, (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), 317.

⁹⁸ Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, "La ville. Creuset des cultures", 291; Peter Arnade, Martha Howel & Walter Simons, "Fertile Spaces: The Productivity of Urban Space in Northern Europe", *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Autumn 2002), 515-548

processions, excommunication and confraternities as a means of defining the civic community's political attitudes, assessing how these media encouraged both Parisian participation in and resistance to regimes' agendas.

Processions and Excommunication

Ecclesiastical institutions were central to the dissemination of factional messages that sought to redefine the boundaries of the Christian community, as demonstrated by the employment of excommunications during the 1410s.⁹⁹ These excommunications represented a form of 'black propaganda' whereby their source (the Burgundian or Armagnac leadership) was "credited to a false authority" to creatively deceive, in these instances the bishop of Paris.¹⁰⁰ When the bishop Gérard de Montaigu excommunicated Armagnac leaders in November 1411, the bishop and University's involvement in the sentence deflected attention from the message's real status as an element of Burgundian propaganda. The *Journal* offers an insight into the sentence's articulation:

...la devant tout le peuple fut maudicte et excommuniée toute la compaignie des Arminaz et tous leurs aidans et confortans, et furent nommez par nom tous les grans signeurs de la maldicte bande... et furent excommuniez de la bouche du Saint Père, tellement qu'ilz ne pouvaient estre absoulz par prebstre nul, ne prelat, que du Saint Père et en article de mort.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ This is also indicated in the discussion of sermons above, Chapter III. Emily Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds in Early Fifteenth-Century France: Burgundian Propaganda in Perspective", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 21-2.

¹⁰⁰ Garth Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Seventh Edition, (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE, 2018), 18.

¹⁰¹ There before all of the people all of the Armagnacs' company, and they supporters and sympathisers, were cursed and excommunicated, and there were identified by name all of the lords of the cursed *bande*... and they were excommunicated by the word of the Holy Father, such that they could not be absolved by any priest or prelate but the Holy Father and in the hour of death. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 17v-18r. Cf. *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 9, pp. 652-3.

Black propaganda's success fundamentally depends upon the audience's preparedness to "accept the credibility of the source and the content of the message."¹⁰² The Bourgeois' reconstruction of the ceremony obfuscated, consciously or unconsciously, the real degree of Burgundian influence over the excommunication, instead asserting the pope's authority. This is demonstrated by the *Journal's* divergence from Pintoin's clear identification of Burgundian involvement in the ceremony, presented as the work of a small group of royal counsellors collaborating with "professors excellentissimos in sacra pagina et in utroque jure doctors, qui duci Burgundie favebant".¹⁰³ In contrast, the Bourgeois stressed the ceremonies' repetition, stating that similar excommunications "ij ou iij foys devant avoit esté faicte a Paris".¹⁰⁴ Spatial dynamics were also important to an authoritative appearance, as evidenced by the populace's assembly before the imposing cathedral as a means of framing this ecclesiastical power. Finally, the Bourgeois accentuated the ceremony's ability to determine the moral boundaries distinguishing Parisian from Armagnac by insisting upon the tyrannical qualities of those excommunicated: "le *faulx* conte d'Arminac... frere Jacques le Grant, Augustin qui le *pis* conseilloit de tous".¹⁰⁵ These ceremonies facilitated the redefinition of Parisian perceptions of the civil conflict, to the extent that in early 1418 a Parisian labourer, Jean Jourdain, argued that he would never respect the dukes of Berry or Orléans, since they were "excommeniez".¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Garth S. Jowett & Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 20.

¹⁰³ Most worthy professors of theology and doctors in both laws, who supported the duke of Burgundy. RSD, Vol. 4, 532.

¹⁰⁴ As had been done two or three times previously at Paris. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 18r.

¹⁰⁵ The false count of Armagnac... brother Jacques le Grant, an Augustinian who was the worst of their advisors. Ibid., fol. 17v. Emphasis my own.

¹⁰⁶ Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 106.

The dating of Jourdain's remission letter suggests that his comments may have been a direct response to similar excommunication ceremonies employed by Paris' Armagnac governors. In November 1417 Pintoin described a parallel excommunication, this time emphasising a decision made "consultu Parisiensium in trino statu."¹⁰⁷ Pintoin listed the offenses attributed to Jean sans Peur and his supporters, the parvis "assistentibus similibus soliis summe auctoritatis civibus, magistratris et doctoribus Universitatis".¹⁰⁸ As in 1412, the Saint-Denis monk stressed the consensus that underpinned an ecclesiastical involvement in politics, while accentuating the illicit nature of Jean sans Peur's march upon Paris by complementing his account with the report of a failed attempt by Burgundian supporters to betray the city, "sed, divina gracia mediante, juxta ethereum cytaristam, cogitaverunt consilia que non potuerunt stabilire".¹⁰⁹ Through rhetorical juxtaposition, Pintoin presented the impression of a city united in faith against those excluded from the Christian community, and it was this devotion which ensured Paris' continued security, demonstrating the important role these excommunications could play in defining the city's religious and civic identities.

Omitting any reference to Jean sans Peur's excommunication or the failed coup that followed, the Bourgeois instead focused upon the Armagnac governors' exploitation of processions as a means of communicating *evident* propaganda. As the duke marched upon

¹⁰⁷ Through the consultation of Paris' three estates. RSD, Vol. 6, 156. The bull mentioned by the Religieux for the 1418 excommunication was the same as that used in 1411 which had been issued in 1364 and reissued in 1369 as an ordonnance against the formation of *Grandes Compagnies* in France. Cf. *Histoire de Charles VI*, 537.

¹⁰⁸ Surrounded by the most notable bourgeois, masters and doctors of the University. RSD, Vol. 6, 158. The Ursins compiler described those involved in the excommunication as "notables clerics". *Histoire de Charles VI*, 537.

¹⁰⁹ But they could not accomplish their plan for the grace of the heavens and the reaction of the holy prophet. RSD, Vol. 6, 160. Jean-Juvénal des Ursins also described the failed coup, *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 537-8.

the capital in August 1417, the Bourgeois' described how Jean sans Peur declared the abolition of taxes in the king's name:

...dont les gouverneurs de Paris prindrent si grant haine contre lui qu'ilz faisoient faire processions, et faisoient prescher qu'ilz savoient bien de vrray qu'il vouloit estre roy de France, et que par lui et que par son conseil estoient les Engloys en Normendie.¹¹⁰

Here, black propaganda channelled through an ecclesiastical framework failed. By emphasising the governors' control over the ceremonies, the Bourgeois signalled their deprivation of ritual value. Failing to inculcate the sense of a negotiated or collectively formulated message representative of more general Parisian opinions, the *Journal* articulated a dissonance between the anti-taxation rhetoric espoused by Burgundy and the anti-Burgundian rhetoric disseminated upon Armagnac orders.¹¹¹ This juxtaposition struck at the heart of the notions of good and evil government that had characterised Charles VI's reign. Jean sans Peur's commitment to a reduction in taxation was explicitly presented as the defence of the "noble chose publique de ce royaume, dissipée et despoullée", the protection of the poor and the tempering of princely cupidity, decrying those who "obtiennent par voyes innumerables les finances de ladite chose publique et icelle appliquer a leur prouffit particulier".¹¹² In contrast, the Bourgeois' vision of an aggressive Armagnac response placed an emphasis upon the governors' motivation by a more personal hatred. Armagnac

¹¹⁰ Because of which the governors of Paris had such hatred for him that they organised processions and had it preached that they knew to be truth that he [Jean sans Peur] wanted to be king of France, and that because of him and his aid the English were in Normandy. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 40r.

¹¹¹ The effectiveness of this rhetoric is demonstrated in Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons*, 177; Maurice Rey, *Le domaine du roi et les finances extraordinaires sous Charles VI, 1388-1413*, (Paris: SEVPEN, 1965), pp. 336-40

¹¹² The noble public good of this kingdom that has been dissipated and despoiled; obtain through innumerable means the finances of the said public good and employ them for their own personal profit. "Manifeste de Jean sans Peur, duc de Bourgogne. Hesdin (25th April 1417)". Paris, Archives nationales, AE/II/435.

domination of the media used to spread their messages concurrently underscored a lack of sincerity or agency for those religious institutions participating in their diffusion. Rather, the governors controlled these ceremonies, as those who “faisoient faire” processions and “faisoient prescher” sermons. Moreover, the Bourgeois obfuscated the fact that processions in the autumn 1417 reached a frequency similar to that recorded in 1412. By omitting references to these processions, the Bourgeois countered their influence, implying their ritual hollowness and disguised Parisian support for the Armagnac regime.¹¹³ With Armagnac propaganda laid bare, the Bourgeois mitigated its ability to inculcate anti-Burgundian feeling.

Consequently, the excommunications of 1411 and 1417 demonstrated the conflation of religious and political rhetoric designed to frame popular understandings of the Armagnac-Burgundian conflict. These sentences were certainly effective in the long-term. Like Jean Jourdain, four years after the Armagnacs’ excommunication, the Bourgeois referred to Bernard, count of Armagnac as a “personne escommeniée, comme devant est dit”.¹¹⁴ In 1445, Jean du Bois, writing from Paris, suggested that the souls of Frenchmen had been endangered because the supporters of both factions had been excommunicated “en les pronuncant et getant, a sains sonnans et a chandelles ardans, en plusieurs eglises en ceste cité de Paris”.¹¹⁵ The combination of processions and sermons facilitated the transmission of

¹¹³ For these processions see Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, 79, n. 1.

¹¹⁴ An excommunicated person, as stated previously. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 37r.

¹¹⁵ By pronouncing them and expelling them, with ringing bells and burning candles, in several churches in this city of Paris. Jean du Bois, “Conseils et prédications adressés à Charles VII en 1445 par un certain Jean du Bois”, ed. Noel Valois, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l’histoire de France*, Vol. 46, No. 2 (1909), 219. Jean du Bois encouraged Charles VII to send clerics to Pope Eugene V in order to request absolution for those excommunicated on both sides of the conflict. For the manuscript context for this text see Marigold Anne Norbye, “‘A tous nobles qui aiment beaux faits et bonne histoires’: The Multiple Transformations of a Fifteenth-Century French Genealogical Chronicle”, *Medieval Chronicle V*, ed. Erik Kooper, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2008), 177.

ideas from the confines of royal or aristocratic courts, where they were debated by counsellors and theologians, into the wider public sphere. Underscored by elements such as the soundscape, light and packed crowds involved, “campane pulsarentur et accense extinguerentur candele”, the identification of the moral and political boundaries separating ‘Armagnac’ from ‘Burgundian’ reiterated the ideological unity of Paris and the city’s collective identity through its juxtaposition with an external threat, simultaneously aligning the populace with the moral right encapsulated by the papal bull and royal authority.¹¹⁶

Confraternities

The proliferation of factional confraternities during the 1410s further demonstrates how religious discourse was essential to the distinction of Armagnac and Burgundian identities. Confraternities involved participation at the parish level, with their success determined by compromise evocative of that required for city-wide ceremonies.¹¹⁷ In turn, authorities were aware of their subversive potential, contrary to Colette Beaune’s assertion that they possessed “almost no political power at all”.¹¹⁸ Through their establishment, the parish church emerged as a space where ideological perspectives were negotiated and propaganda transmitted. In northern France and the Low Countries during the fifteenth

¹¹⁶ The bells ringing and with the candles being extinguished. RSD, Vol. 6, 158. On the role of processions and ritual in securing urban unity, see Franz-Josef Arlinghaus, “The Myth of Urban Unity: Religion and Social Performance in Late Medieval Braunschweig” in *Cities, Texts and Social Networks, 400-1500*, ed. Caroline Goodson, Anne E. Lester & Carol Symes, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 224-231.

¹¹⁷ Catherine Vincent, *Les confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), pp. 180-3; André Vauchez, “Les confréries au Moyen Âge: esquisse d'un bilan historiographique”, *Revue historique*, Vol. 275, No. 2 (April-June 1986), pp. 474-6; Marc Venard, “Les confréries dans l'espace urbain: l'exemple de Rouen”, *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest*, Vol. 90, No. 2 (1983), pp. 321-32.

¹¹⁸ Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, 118.

century, confraternities were typically open to all inhabitants of the city, therefore rendering them important media for the consolidation of urban social and political identities.¹¹⁹ During the civil conflict, Charlotte Denoël has highlighted how their establishment represented a vital means of inculcating grassroots support through a “parcellisation du sacré” that facilitated an “enchevêtrement du politique et du religieux”.¹²⁰ Indeed, the Bourgeois portrayed the Armagnac governors who instituted a confraternity dedicated to St. Laurent on 3rd August 1414 as saying “que ce estoit la confrarie des vrays et bons catholiques envers Dieu et leur droit signeur”, revealing an attempt to validate the faction’s moral status.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the confraternity’s success depended upon the governors’ ability to elicit institutional cooperation. Similarly to the 1417 processions, when the feast was celebrated at the Quinze-Vingts hospital in 1416, the Bourgeois emphasised the compulsion underlying its organisation that inherently invalidated its ritual aims and negated the participants’ agency: “firent chanter lesdits bandez aux XV^{xx}, fut tort ou droit, et y avoit commissaires et sergens qui faisoient chanter devant eulx telz prebstres qu’ilz vouloient, malgré ceulx dudit lieu”.¹²² The Quinze-Vingts’ opposition to the feast’s celebration followed a dispute between the hospital, supported by the bishop of Paris, and the royal *procureur* after the transgression of the church’s immunity when Châtelet officers arrested “pluseurs malfecteurs” seeking asylum,

¹¹⁹ Paul Trio, “Les confréries comme expression de solidarité et de conscience urbaine aux Pays-Bas à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 55 (2003), pp. 133-5, 141.

¹²⁰ Charlotte Denoël, *Saint André: Culte et iconographie en France (Ve-XVe siècles)*, (Paris: École des chartes, 2004), 93

¹²¹ That this was the confraternity for true and good Catholic before God and their rightful lord. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 32v.

¹²² The *bandez* had the mass sung at the Quinze-Vingts, whether rightly or wrongly, and there were officers and sergeants there who made any priests that they wished sing before them, despite the objections of the Quinze-Vingts. *Ibid.*, fols. 38v-39r.

having opposed the Armagnac governors.¹²³ When the Paris Parlement forced a resolution and ordered the Quinze-Vingts to resume its suspended offices on 30th May, the ensuing Armagnac ceremonies signalled the faction's reestablishment of its authority over Parisian space.

The Bourgeois' description of the St. Laurent confraternity contrasts with its Burgundian equivalent, that dedicated to St. Andrew established in the Saint-Eustache parish church in June 1418, following the Burgundian capture of the capital.¹²⁴ Compared to the perceived exclusionary nature of the Armagnac confraternity, the Bourgeois stressed that St. Andrew's was instigated by members of the parish themselves: "le peuple s'avisade faire en la parroisse Saint-Huitasse la confrarie Saint-Andry", without any allusion to the influence of civic authorities.¹²⁵ This aspect was underscored by the confraternity's popularity: "tant s'i mist de gens de Paris que les maistres de la confrarie disoient et affermoient qu'ilz avoient fait faire plus de lx xij^{es} de chappeaulx, mais avant qu'il fust doze heures les chappeaux furent failliz."¹²⁶ Catherine Vincent has argued that the impact of these confraternities upon the political attitudes of the Parisian populace "se laisse difficilement percevoir", however there can be no doubt that *Journal's* portrayal of the St. Andrew confraternity's popularity tellingly contrasts with the exclusionary St. Laurent feast, thereby

¹²³ Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, pp. 253-4; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 74, n. 2; Léon Le Grand, "Les Quinze-Vingts depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur translation au faubourg Saint-Antoine, XIII^e-XVIII^e siècles, *MSHP*, Vol. 13 (1886), pp. 135-6.

¹²⁴ Charlotte Denoël, *Saint André*, 93; Simona Slanicka, "Male Markings: Uniforms in the Parisian Civil War as a Blurring of the Gender Order (A.D. 1410-1420)", *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1999), 232, 241; Emily Hutchison, "Partisan Identity in the French Civil War, 1405-1418: Reconsidering the Evidence of Livery Badges", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2007), 273.

¹²⁵ The people decided to establish the St. Andrew confraternity in the parish of Saint-Eustache. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 46r-46v.

¹²⁶ So many Parisians went to the church that the confraternity's masters stated and affirmed that they had made more than forty dozen hats, but before midday they had run out. *Ibid.*, fol. 46v.

conveying widespread Parisian support for the Burgundian coup.¹²⁷ The parishioners of Saint-Eustache certainly viewed the establishment of a confraternity as essential to promoting harmony during this politically turbulent era, with the devotional concord securing the salvation of souls as well as the “paix et tranquillité confermée, ire et envie temperée, noises et riotes appaisiées, amour et charité engendrées” underpinning the foundation of two confraternities in the church in September 1418 and July 1419.¹²⁸ Assembling to celebrate St. Andrew, the Parisians of the Halles region affirmed their identity as Burgundian supporters tied to the new regime, implicitly elevated to the status of a neighbourhood patron.

Moreover, as with the light and sound associated with processions, the Bourgeois emphasised the confraternity’s sensory elements, with the distribution of rose garlands meaning that it “sentoit tant bon au moustier, comme s’il fust lavé d’eau rose.”¹²⁹ Considering these scents in the context of the concurrent Parisian massacres, Huizinga concluded that medieval people vacillated “tusschen duisteren haat en de meest goedlachsche goedmoedigheid leeft het in uitersten”.¹³⁰ However, the Bourgeois deliberately evoked scent to legitimate Parisian behaviour, having described several passages previously how heavy rain had washed the bodies of suspected Armagnacs piled in the streets such that “ne sentirent nulle malle odeur, mais furent lavez par force de la pluie leurs plaies que

¹²⁷ Catherine Vincent, *Les Confréries médiévales*, pp. 169-70.

¹²⁸ Peace and tranquillity ensured, anger and envy tempered, murmurs and quarrels appeased, love and charity encouraged. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 198; JJ//171, No. 142. Unlike later confraternities, these did not require a Châtelet sergeant to be present at their assemblies, with the Saint-Eustache confraternities even permitted to use a ‘clochete’ to cry their feasts throughout the city.

¹²⁹ It smelled so sweetly in the church, as if it had been washed with rosewater. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 46v.

¹³⁰ “...between dark hatred and the most joyful kindness, living in extremes.” Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, ed. L. Brummel in *Verzamelde werken*, Vol. 3, (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1949), 29.

au matin n'y avoit que sang bete, ne ordure sur leurs plaies".¹³¹ Conflating the absence of putrefaction with the sweet-smelling roses, the Bourgeois inferred a divine endorsement of the city's moral purification, with the confraternity tying the populace to their Burgundian saintly intercessor through sanctifying ritual. The sweetness involved in this process evoked the association of good smells with moral and saintly qualities, accentuating the positive veneration that spiritually bound Parisians to the Burgundian faction and retrospectively legitimated the massacres.¹³² In short, it becomes evident that Armagnac and Burgundian regimes alike capitalised on the localised function of confraternities to encourage political support, exploiting religious rhetoric and symbolism.

Lancastrian Ceremony

John, duke of Bedford also endeavoured to make effective use of religious ceremonies for the dissemination of propaganda.¹³³ Predominantly, however, these rituals were overlooked and omitted by the Bourgeois, thereby obfuscating Parisian complicity in the Lancastrian government and its military successes. One exception to this rule was the procession organised in response to Charles VII's resurgence in July 1429.¹³⁴ On 14th July, the Parisians undertook a general procession to Notre-Dame, where a "moult bel sermon" was

¹³¹ Did not emit any bad smell, but their wounds were washed by the heavy rain such that there was nothing but congealed blood, no foul matter at all. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 45v.

¹³² On the connection between smell and morality, see Chris Woolgar, *The Senses in Late Medieval England*, (London: Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 123-132. On relics' scent, see Paul Brazinski & Allegra Fryxell, "The Smell of Relics: Authenticating Saintly Bones and the Role of Scent in the Sensory Experience of Medieval Christian Veneration", *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology*, Vol. 23, No. 1 (2013), pp. 2-3; 11.

¹³³ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 191-7; Ralph Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), pp. 220-1.

¹³⁴ A full account of this ceremony is provided below. Appendix II, No. 10.

preached, before they processed to the Palais.¹³⁵ There, the text of the Treaty of Pouilly-le-Fort agreed between the Dauphin Charles and Jean sans Peur on 11th July 1419 was read to the audience, stressing the oaths of mutual aid and protection that had been sworn between the two princes prior to the latter's murder at Montereau, "et comment ilz receurent le precieulx corps Notre Seigneur ensemble".¹³⁶ Following this, the Bourgeois emphasised the description of Jean sans Peur's murder as the reading's climax: "lequel duc de Bourgongne lui estant a genoulx devant le Dalphin fut ainsi traitreusement murdry, comme chacun scet."¹³⁷

The procession to Notre-Dame and thence to the Palais provided the necessary backdrop to a public demonstration of the historical developments justifying continued Parisian opposition to Charles VII. Essential to this process was the revival of the memory of Jean sans Peur's assassination, common knowledge for those assembled. The *Journal* reveals the profound emotional impact the reading was perceived to have upon the Parisians:

Après la conclusion de ladite lettre, grant murmure commença, et telz avoit grant aliance aux Arminaux qu'ilz les prindrent en tres grant haine. Après la murmure, le regent de France et duc de Bedford fist faire silence, et le duc de Bourgongne se plaint de la paix ainsi enfrainte, et en après de la mort de son pere, et adoncques on fist lever les mains au peuple, que tous seroient bons et loyaux au regent et au duc de Bourgongne, et lesdits signeurs leur promistrent par leurs foys garder la bonne ville de Paris.¹³⁸

¹³⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 117v; Ralph Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 220.

¹³⁶ How they had taken the precious body of Our Lord together. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 117v. Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Vol. 1, pp. 145-149; Paul Bonenfant, *Du meurtre de Montereau au traité de Troyes*, (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1958), 14.

¹³⁷ The duke of Burgundy then kneeling before the Dauphin was treacherously murdered, as everyone knows. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 118r.

¹³⁸ After they had finished reading the letter, a great murmur arose, such that those who had once been fervent supporters of the Armagnacs regarded them with great hatred. After the murmuring had subsided, the regent of France and duke of Bedford had everyone be quiet, and the duke of Burgundy complained of the peace thus broken and subsequently of his father's death; and then the people were asked to raise their hands [and swear] that they would be good and loyal to the regent

The preceding procession had functioned as an emotional transformer, with the mood accentuated by the proclamation, with “competing feelings driven out by the main group feeling” leading to a sense of solidarity “through emotional coordination”.¹³⁹

Asserting the principal motivation for continued resistance to Charles VII, the Bourgeois’ description of the declaration demonstrates that, for Parisians, Lancastrian authority was fundamentally predicated upon the continuation of the Anglo-Burgundian alliance and the emotional ties that bound the capital to Philippe le Bon through Jean sans Peur’s memory.¹⁴⁰

This approach reveals the very complexity with which Parisians perceived Lancastrian authority. Not only did the Bourgeois make no reference to Henry’s genealogical right at a time when Charles VII was days away from his coronation at Reims, but the very text of the Treaty of Pouilly-le-Fort would have reminded the assembled Parisians of France’s historic conflict with the English and their status as illegitimate conquerors.¹⁴¹ The peace had been concluded with an explicit view to fighting the English, “nostrorum antiquorum hostium”, accused of ‘usurping’ Charles VI’s kingdom.¹⁴² Such mixed attitudes are further highlighted by the case of the Parisian mason Pierre Thoroude who, upon Philippe le Bon’s entry on 10th July jestingly asked one of the duke’s followers “que venoit faire le duc de Bourgogne a

and the duke of Burgundy, and the said lords promised the people in turn that upon their faith, they would protect the good city of Paris. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 118r.

¹³⁹ Randall Collins, *Interaction Ritual Chains*, (Princeton University Press, 2004), pp. 107-115.

¹⁴⁰ David Kerzer, *Ritual, Politics and Power*, (Yale University Press, 1988), 129.

¹⁴¹ Nicolas Offenstadt, “Traité de paix entre Armagnacs et Bourguignons: les valeurs de l’engagement (Résumé)” in *Avant le contrat social: Le contrat politique dans l’Occident médiéval, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 721-22.

¹⁴² The text of the treaty appears in RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 334-344 and in the vernacular in Monstrelet, *Chroniques*, Vol. 3, pp. 324-9.

Paris, *et s'il vouloit empeschier que le Daulphin ne feust sacré*".¹⁴³ For his implicit acknowledgement of Charles VII's right and the insinuation of Philippe le Bon's conflicted loyalties, Thoroude was pilloried at the Halles. In this climate, it is perhaps less surprising that the Bourgeois, too, avoided references to Charles' coronation.

Moreover, both procession and declaration evidence the importance of oaths for political stability.¹⁴⁴ If Charles VII's betrayal of the promises sworn in 1419 could subsequently validate the Treaty of Troyes, then the 1429 declaration likewise stressed that a Parisian betrayal of the same treaty would entail their exclusion from the realm's body politic.¹⁴⁵ These ties were reinvigorated with religious rhetoric through the procession, reiterating the notion that Charles VII had committed an irredeemable sin, echoing other instances of propaganda, such as Laurent Calot's poetical stress upon the Dauphin's responsibility for Jean sans Peur's murder and his consequence disinheritance.¹⁴⁶ Through the emotionally-charged atmosphere resulting from the collective procession and especially the sermon preached in Notre-Dame, the Bourgeois underscored the power of ceremony to substantially alter the perspectives of those who participated, encouraging his audience to

¹⁴³ And if he wanted to prevent the Dauphin from being crowned. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//174, No. 336 (October 1429). Cf. Auguste Longnon (ed.), *Paris pendant la domination anglaise (1420-1436)*, (Paris: Champion, 1878), No. 144, pp. 300-1.

¹⁴⁴ Corinne Leveleux-Teixeira, "Des serments collectifs au contrat politique? (début du XV^e siècle)" in *Avant le contrat social: Le contrat politique dans l'Occident médiéval, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 274-82.

¹⁴⁵ The Treaty of Troyes had stressed the direct involvement and commitment of the people of France to upholding the tenets of the agreement between Henry V, Philippe le Bon and Charles VI, when it included a term where "il est accordé que les grans signeurs, barons et nobles, et les estatz dudit royaume tant espirituelz comme temporeulz, et aussi les cités et nobles comunes, les citoyens et bourgeois des villes dudit royaume a nous obeissans, pour le temps, feront les seremens". Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 68v-69r. Cf. Anne Curry, "Two Kingdoms, One King: The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Creation of a Double Monarchy of England and France" in *The Contending Kingdoms: France and England, 1420-1700*, ed. Glenn Richardson, (London: Routledge, 2008), 37.

¹⁴⁶ Laurent Calot's version of the poem is published in R. Rodière & C. de la Charie (ed.), *Archives de la famille de Beaulaincourt*, Vol. 1, (Lille: Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1911), pp. 334-7.

reflect upon the narrative of the Dauphin's treachery in a similar way.¹⁴⁷ Through this same framework, the Bourgeois cemented the sincerity of the oaths that bound Parisians to the two dukes, establishing an essential bond presided over by God to defend the city's common good when confronted by inveterate sinners. Consequently, the processions rendered the relationship between the Estates and rulers determined by the Treaty of Troyes tangible, instilling a sense of mutual interdependence essential to the survival of the Anglo-Burgundian regime. Contrasted with the murmurs that the Bourgeois had described as welcoming Bedford's assumption of power in 1422, in this moment of political necessity procession and propaganda constructed a binding sense of civil community and stressed the loyalty imperative to resisting Charles VII.¹⁴⁸

The *Journal* reveals the extent to which Parisian authorities manipulated elements of religious ceremony to secure their political objectives. As moments that assembled swathes of the Parisian population in an emotionally heightened atmosphere, these messages were communicated both more immediately and effectively. They were, therefore, integral to shaping political attitudes in fifteenth-century Paris, providing the city's inhabitants and political commentators alike with the symbolic and religious discourses through which they conceptualised the boundaries of Christian, moral society and rationalised their political stances. Nevertheless, such ceremonies also enabled Parisians to insert themselves within the wider socio-political hierarchy through a religious framework that connected the devotional practices of the elite to the very localised level of parish confraternities, enabling

¹⁴⁷ Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1978) 73; Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées royales*, 8.

¹⁴⁸ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 90r.

them “to share in events that were otherwise outside their experience”.¹⁴⁹ This was further determined by the complicity necessary for the success of these politico-devotional exercises. Finally, the apparent effectiveness of these strategies was fundamentally determined by the Bourgeois’ narrative selectivity, enabling the author to control the impression of a Parisian endorsement of specific factions through the religious framework that consistently defined the boundaries distinguishing Parisians from their enemies.

Royal Entries and Funerals

During the fourteenth century, royal ceremonies emerged as a crucial medium for the communication of both royal and civic ideologies, encapsulating a ‘théatralisation’ of power.¹⁵⁰ In France, from Jean II’s reign the king’s first entry to Paris following his coronation at Reims became a “constitutive ritual” legitimising his power.¹⁵¹ This presentation of authority was inherently contractual – entries articulated royal duties, adherence to which legitimated the king’s rule and the limits to his power imposed by civic and royal institutions.¹⁵² In doing so, the entry also underscored Paris’ centrality to royal

¹⁴⁹ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 198.

¹⁵⁰ Marc Boone, “Les pouvoirs et leurs représentations dans les villes des anciens Pays-Bas (XIV^e-XV^e siècle)” in *Villes de Flandre et d’Italie (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles) les enseignements d’une comparaison*, ed. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Elisabeth Crouzet-Pavan, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 187; Joël Blanchard, “Le spectacle du rite: les entrées royales”, *Revue historique*, Vol. 305, No. 3 (July 2003), 475; Claire Sponsler, *The Queen’s Dumbshows: John Lydgate and the Making of Early Theatre*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), pp. 116-131.

¹⁵¹ Ralph E. Giesey, “Inaugural Aspects”, pp. 40-1.

¹⁵² Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance*, (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 92; Andrew Brown, “Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders in the Later Middle Ages”, *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 112, No. 446 (April 1997), 296; Gerard Nijsten, “The Duke and His Towns: The Power of Ceremonies, Feasts and Public Amusement in the Duchy of Guelders (East Netherlands) in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 237-9; Elie Konigson, “La cité et le

politics.¹⁵³ Through the conflation of institutional prerogatives, the *jocundus adventus* exhibited competing ideological perspectives concerning the nature of royal power, civic authority and corporate rights while restating notions of French socio-political hierarchy. As such, the entry exhibited competing understandings of the *auctoritas* underpinning royal *potestas*, the former being the “moral authority” and “faculty of shaping things creatively and in a binding manner” fundamental to the legitimation of royal government.¹⁵⁴ Moreover, the ceremony functioned as a forum for negotiation between “overlapping and interleaving groups”, contrary to conclusions that have focused predominantly upon dialogue between city and king.¹⁵⁵ Urban institutions and communities jostled for precedence in ways that exhibited shifting hierarchies and conceptions of the civic community.¹⁵⁶ The effervescent bubbling beneath the surface of ceremony resulted in a momentary image of the civic community presented to outsiders, subject to constant pressures and changes.¹⁵⁷ This brief fixity found meaning in the king’s tacit confirmation of the order presented before him and, in this way, the authority of ruler and ruled, king and city, were mutually reinforced through the ceremony.¹⁵⁸

prince: Premières entrées de Charles VIII (1484-1486) in *Les Fêtes de la Renaissance*, Vol. III, ed. Jean Jacquot et Elie Konigson, (Paris : Éditions du CNRS, 1975), pp. 57-60.

¹⁵³ Claude Gauvard, “Contrat, consentement et souveraineté en France” in *Avant le contrat social: le contrat politique dans l’Occident médiéval, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), 224.

¹⁵⁴ James Muldoon, “*Auctoritas, Plenitas and World Order*” in *Plenitude of Power: The Doctrines and Exercise of Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Robert C. Figuiera, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), 125.

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages*, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 140; Stephen Lukes, “Political Ritual and Social Integration”, *Sociology* Vol. 9 (1975), pp. 293-301; Andrew Brown, “Liturgical Memory and Civic Conflict”, pp. 130-1.

¹⁵⁶ Charles V. Phythian-Adams, “Rituals of Personal Confrontation in Late Medieval England”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 73 (1991), pp. 72-3.

¹⁵⁷ David Cannadine, “Introduction: Divine Rights of Kings” in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. David Cannadine & Simon Price, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 3-6.

¹⁵⁸ Jacoba van Leeuwen, *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, (Louvain: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. ix-xi.

The growing importance of the royal entry to contemporary understandings of French kingship is evidenced by the increasing detail with which historiographers recorded these ceremonies during the fourteenth century, including the entry of Isabeau de Bavière.¹⁵⁹ Protocol, tradition and repetition were essential to an authoritative ritual, guaranteeing these rulers' legitimacy and their ties to Paris. Royal ceremonies often expressed the simultaneity of dynastic rupture and traditional permanence, evidencing the importance of Ernst Kantorowicz's notion of the "king's two bodies" that emphasised the eternal continuity of the office of kingship despite each ruler's own mortality.¹⁶⁰ Paul Strohm has similarly stressed the momentary unification of the ruler's natural and symbolic persons in the funerary effigy that "secures the symbolic legitimacy of the king's reign, but also marks its end; it images the *dignitas* of which he was possessor, but announces its eligibility for transfer".¹⁶¹ According to this duality, royal power permeates throughout society. Where the king's lived body was temporally and spatially fixed, his figurative body – through its manifestation in written and spoken formulae, documents and symbols – was pervasive.¹⁶² Through this 'judicial-discursive' power, the sovereign arrogated authority as an 'irrational'

¹⁵⁹ *Les Grandes Chroniques de France: Chronique des règnes de Jean II et de Charles V*, ed. Roland Delachenal, Vols. 1 & 2, (Paris: Renouard, 1910, 1916), pp. 27-8, 3-4; Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux (ed.), *Les entrées royales*, pp. 47-58; Tracy Adams, "Isabeau de Bavière, le don et la politique du mécénat", *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 117, No. 3 (2011), 483. Entries from the close of the fourteenth century into the sixteenth century have been surveyed by Lawrence Bryant, "La cérémonie de l'entrée", 514, 524, 534.

¹⁶⁰ Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 7-9; Bernhard Jussen, "The King's Two Bodies Today", *Representations*, Vol. 106, No. 1 (Spring 2009), pp. 105-7; Bernard Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles: Les états*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1971), pp. 86-8.

¹⁶¹ Paul Strohm, *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399-1422*, (London: Yale University Press, 1998), pp. 102-3.

¹⁶² Simon During, *Foucault and Literature: Towards a Genealogy of Writing*, (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 147-50.

function of power that presented authority and legitimacy as possessions.¹⁶³ However, an analysis of the *Journal* demonstrates how, rather than filtering simply *downwards* as proposed by Habermas' notion of "repräsentativen Öffentlichkeit", the symbols and ideological bases of authority were also negotiated by heterogeneous socio-political groups through forums such as ceremonies that defined the overarching ideals embodied by the king.¹⁶⁴ A medieval appreciation of this mutually constructed public entity is demonstrated by Jean Gerson's reflections on the king's status within the body politic:

...pour tant ung roy n'est pas une personne singuliere, maiz est une puissance publique ordonnée pour le salut de tout le commun, ainsi comme de chief descent et despend la vie par tout le corps; et ad ce furent ordonnés les roys et lez princes du commencement par commun accort de tous, et en telle maniere doivent parseverer.¹⁶⁵

Gerson's thought followed the fourteenth-century Italian jurist Baldus de Ubaldis, for whom *dignitas* was "something intellectual, lasting forever miraculously, though not corporeally".¹⁶⁶ In fifteenth-century France, this notion of an undying kingship was articulated through ceremonies that inculcated a sense of dynastic permanence. During funerals, *dignitas* became exposed at its point of transition from one ruler to another. Death marked a "transition, a change in status, but not an end", and Ralph Giesey pointed to the

¹⁶³ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan, (New York: Random House, 1995), pp. 28-30.

¹⁶⁴ Leidulf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere*, pp. 7-8; Harold Mah, "Phantasies of the Public Sphere: Rethinking the Habermas of Historians", *The Journal of Modern History*, Vol. 72, No. 1 (2000), pp. 164-6; Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town", *Past and Present*, Vol. 98 (February 1983), pp. 6-18.

¹⁶⁵ For the king is not a single person, but a public power ordained for the salvation of all of society, just as life descends from the head and spreads throughout the body; and it is for this reason that kings and princes were originally instituted by common accord, and for these reason their institution should endure. Jean Gerson, "Vivat Rex", 1155.

¹⁶⁶ Joseph Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 216.

importance of the royal effigy for the maintenance of a fiction whereby *dignitas* remained with the late king until his successor's coronation.¹⁶⁷ Due to Lancastrian influences, the royal effigy was first used in France for Charles VI's funeral, demonstrating ceremony's character as "le lieu d'appropriations divers, de déchiffrements et d'interventions multiples" whereby competing notions of authority and legitimacy emerge.¹⁶⁸ Charles VI died on 21st October 1422 and, unlike his predecessors, his body lay in state until 7th November as the Paris Parlement awaited John, duke of Bedford's arrival to determine the funeral proceedings.¹⁶⁹ Although Giesey argued that the English origin of this "tradition instantanée" mattered little, in the context of Paris' transition from Valois to Lancastrian rule ritual innovations assumed a significant symbolic importance for observers, as evidenced by the Bourgeois' testimony.¹⁷⁰

The Bourgeois' description of Charles' funeral procession reveals profound anxieties associated with this transition and suggests Bedford's failure to fully convince his audience that Henry VI had assumed the French royal *dignitas*. Fundamentally, the Bourgeois perceived the communication of royal legitimacy through the emulation of ritual. This

¹⁶⁷ Ralph Giesey, "Models of Rulership in French Royal Ceremonial" in *Rites of Power: Symbolism, Ritual and Politics since the Middle Ages*, ed. Sean Wilentz, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 48.

¹⁶⁸ Alain Boureau, "Les cérémonies royales françaises", 1257. Colette Beaune "Mourir noblement à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Mourir noblement à la fin du Moyen Âge: Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, ed. Colette Beaune (Strasbourg, 1975), pp. 128-30. In England, funerary effigies had been used at least since Edward II's 1327 funeral. Henry V died in France on 31st August 1422, and his body was transported from the Bois de Vincennes to Rouen with an effigy fixed above his coffined body. See Mark Duffy, *Royal Tombs of Medieval England*, (Stroud: Tempus, 2003), 121.

¹⁶⁹ Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, no. 386; Clément de Fauquembergue, *Journal*, Vol. 2, 67-70.

¹⁷⁰ Ralph Giesey, "Effigies funéraires et puissance souveraine en Europe du XV^e siècle au XVIII^e siècle", Lecture delivered at the Collège de France, 10th June 1987, 3, accessed on 12/04/2019, http://www.regiesey.com/Lectures/Funeral_Effigies_as_Emblems_of_Sovereignty_Lecture_%5BFrench%5D_College_de_France.pdf.

phenomenon was articulated through the record of Parisians comparing their memories of the ceremonial appearances of Charles V and Charles VI in conversation:

...disoient aucuns anciens qu'ilz avoient veu son pere [Charles V] venir du sacre, et vint en estat royal, c'est assavoir, tout vestu d'escarlatte vermeille, de housse, de chapperon fourré, comme a estat royal appartient; et en telle maniere fut porté enterrer a Saint-Denis. Et aussi, comme on disoit, avoit esté cestuy roy [Charles VI] a son sacre ainsi ordonné de souliers d'asur semés de fleur de lis d'or, vestu d'un manteau de drap d'or vermeil, fourré d'armine, et comme chacun le pot veoir; mais plus noble compaignie ot a son sacre qu'il not a son enterrement. Et son pere ot aussi noble compaignie ou plus a son enterrement que a son sacre, car il fut porté enterrer de ducz et de contes, et non d'autre gent, qui tous estoient vestuz des armes de France, et y avoit plus de prelaz, de chevaliers et d'escuiers de renommée qu'il n'y avoit a compaigner ce bon roy a ces darrains jours de toutes gens, de quelque estat que ce fust.¹⁷¹

Evidently, ceremonies provoked public reflection regarding the nature of French kingship, encapsulating the 'officialising strategies' designed to transmute royal goals into "collective, publicly avowable interests".¹⁷² As such, they underscored the importance of the king's physical image for popular understandings of royalty and power.¹⁷³ The allusion to

¹⁷¹ Some elderly people described how they had seen his father return from his coronation, and how he had arrived in royal state, that is, dressed entirely in scarlet, in hose and a furred hood as is appropriate for a king; and in that same guise he was carried to his burial at Saint-Denis. Moreover, they said that this king, at his coronation, had been dressed in blue slippers sewn with gold fleurs-de-lis, wearing a red cloth-of-gold cloak furred with ermine as everyone could see; but he was more nobly accompanied at his coronation than at his funeral. And his father was just as nobly accompanied, or better, at his funeral than at his coronation, because he was carried to his grave by dukes and counts who all bore the arms of France, and not by others; and there had been more prelates, knights and squires of renown than there were of any kind of people whatsoever who accompanied this good king in his last days. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 90r-90v. For the Bourgeois' full description of this ceremony and the Parisian reaction to Charles VI's death, see below, Appendix II, No. 7.

¹⁷² Paul Strohm, *Theory and the Premodern Text*, (University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 42; Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Price, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 40. See also Lorraine Attreed, "The Politics of Welcome: Ceremonies and Constitutional Development in Later Medieval English Towns" in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 210.

¹⁷³ Armand Strubel, "Le 'chevauchier' de Charles V: Christine de Pizan et le spectacle de la majesté royale" in *Penser le pouvoir au Moyen Âge (VIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. Dominique Boutet & Jacques Verger (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 2000), pp. 385-99.

'anciens' is also significant, evoking the idea of a generational memory that enabled the Bourgeois' personal experiences to intersect with an overarching Parisian narrative.¹⁷⁴ These memories were reinforced by social determinants that accentuated the impact of the event in question; conversations among those affected, evoked in the *Journal*, were engendered as "a reaction to the emotions experienced in social contexts because of the event", with this sharing reinforcing a sense of community through an emphasis upon the memory's collective appeal.¹⁷⁵ The description is indicative of scholastic theories of memory, which asserted "that a true likeness of past sensations is held in the mind", such that these same memories could be transmitted and shared by individuals to inculcate a sense of the past perceived from the viewpoint of the present – by referencing the memories of these "anciens", the Bourgeois asserted his own ability to compare the French kings over time and consider the symbolic manifestations of their legitimacy.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁴ Janice Hume, "Memory Matters: The Evolution of Scholarship in Collective Memory and Mass Communication", *The Review of Communication*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (2010), pp. 191-2; Howard Schuman & Jacqueline Scott, "Generations and Collective Memories", *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (June 1989), pp. 377-80.

¹⁷⁵ Guglielmo Bellelli, Antonietta Curci & Giovanna Leone, "Social and Cognitive Determinants of Collective Memory for Public Events", in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociocultural Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner & Alberto Rosa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 630-1; Bernard Rimé, Catrin Finkenauer, Olivier Luminet, Emmanuelle Zech and Pierre Philippot, "Social Sharing of Emotion: New Evidence and New Questions", *European Review of Social Psychology*, Vol. 8, pp. 175-180. On the role of emotion in medieval civic ceremonies and their relation to power, see Marc Boone, "Destroying and Reconstructing the City: The Inculcation and Arrogation of Princely Power in the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands (14th-16th Centuries)" in *The Propagation of Power in the Medieval West*, ed. M. Gosman, A. Vanderjaagt & J. Veenstra, (Groningen: Egbert Forsten, 1997), pp. 1-33; Laurent Smagghe, "Plaisir de châtier, joie de pardonner: discours amoureux du prince aux villes rebelles du pays de Flandre à l'époque bourguignonne (XIV^e-XV^e siècle)" in *Amour et désamour du prince du haut Moyen Âge à la révolution française*, ed. J. Barbier, M. Cottret & L. Scordia, (Paris: Kimé, 2011), pp. 81-93.

¹⁷⁶ Janet Coleman, "Late Scholastic *Memoria et Reminiscentia*: Its Uses and Abuses" in *Intellectuals and Writers in Fourteenth-Century Europe*, ed. Piere Boitani & Anna Torti, (Tübingen: G. Narr, 1986), pp. 29, 34-5.

Fundamentally, the Bourgeois depicted the custodians of Parisian memories as recognising an uncomfortable disconnect when comparing the two kings' coronations and funerals.¹⁷⁷ Comparison was a common theme in contemporary rhetoric. Jean Courtecuisse had similarly compared the reigns of Charles V and Charles VI in his sermon *Bonum michi*, pronounced during the 1413 Cabochien revolt, asserting that if Charles V were to return to life, "com seroit-il esmerveillié et esbahy de veoir la tres miserable face et la grant immutacion qui est ou royaume, de veoir la grant distraction et dissipacion des biens et des richesses qu'il vous laissa."¹⁷⁸ In this light, collective memory assumed a timeless character that framed significant ideological discussions – in the case of 1422, considerations of the immutability of royal power and its ties to the city and French symbolism that were vital to Parisian understandings of their identity.¹⁷⁹ Indeed, the discussion related by the Bourgeois highlighted a crucial means by which contemporary observers questioned authority, exhibiting distances between Parisian understandings of French royalty and the realities of Lancastrian authority. It is not uncoincidental that the Bourgeois related this talk immediately after his remark that, upon Bedford's return to Paris carrying the royal sword, "le peuple murmuroit fort".¹⁸⁰ These murmurs echoed serious attempts to betray Paris to the

¹⁷⁷ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), pp. 220-22.

¹⁷⁸ He would be astonished to see the very miserable appearance and the profound changes of the kingdom, to see the extensive dispersion and dissipation of the goods and riches that he left to you. Giuseppe Di Stefano, "Un sermon français inédit de Jean Courtecuisse, *Justum adiutorium*", *Romania*, Vol. 85, No. 340 (1964), 422.

¹⁷⁹ Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 36-9; Jacques Le Goff, *History and Memory*, trans. Steven Randall & Elizabeth Claman, (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1992), 8.

¹⁸⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 90r. In contrast, Bedford may have sought to underscore his precedence in the funeral ceremony by commissioning a sculpted procession of mourners around the base of Charles VI's tomb, led by an image of the regent. Jenny Stratford, *The Bedford Inventories: The Worldly Good of John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389-1435)*, (London: The Society of Antiquaries of London, 1993), 113.

Dauphin. Monstrelet reported that in the summer of 1422 a plot was hatched with letters brought to the city by the wife of the royal armourer, provoking Henry V's swift return to Paris.¹⁸¹ In the winter of 1422, the Bourgeois recounted how "on ne cessoit jour et nuyt de prendre gens a Paris, que on souspeconnoit estre de leur party", implicitly following the discovery of a plot organised by the member of the *Chambre des comptes*, Michel de Laillier, to surrender the city.¹⁸² In this context, the Bourgeois' and his community's stress upon the materiality of kingship underscores Armand Strubel's argument that "l'exhibition des symboles de la souveraineté... rappellent qu'au-delà de la personne royale, ce qui est en jeu ici, c'est la royauté en tant que tradition."¹⁸³ Moreover, the *Journal* reveals the extent to which political commentary surrounding ceremony extended beyond the event, itself as observers moulded the symbols they perceived into coherent narratives of civic and royal identity.¹⁸⁴ Primarily, the unavoidable *otherness* characterising Charles VI's funeral procession inherently invalidated Henry VI's assumption of the royal *dignitas*.

The Bourgeois' use of rhetorical juxtaposition as a mode of political analysis is further demonstrated by his description of the funeral processions of Henry V and Charles VI, presented upon the same folio in the Vatican manuscript.¹⁸⁵ Depicting Henry's death at Vincennes on 31st August 1422, the Bourgeois obviated his audience's expectations. Henry's body "fut porté a Saint-Denis, *sans entrer a Paris*", a version supported by the accounts of

¹⁸¹ Monstrelet, Vol. 4, pp. 104-5.

¹⁸² Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 91v; "La chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'", Paris, BNF Fr. 23018, fol. 432r. See also Germain Lefevre-Pontalis, "Épisodes de l'invasion anglaise. La guerre de partisans dans la Haute Normandie, 1424-1429 (suite)", *BEC*, Vol. 57 (1896), pp. 44-5; Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France, 1417-1450*, (London: Little, Brown, 2009), 61.

¹⁸³ Armand Strubel, "Le 'chevauchier' de Charles V", 390.

¹⁸⁴ Jan Assmann, "Globalization, Universalism and the Erosion of Cultural Memory", *Memory in a Global Age: Discourses, Practices and Trajectories*, ed. Aleida Assmann & Sebastian Conrad, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 122.

¹⁸⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 88r-88v.

Fauquembergue and Jean Chartier's continuation of Michel Pintoin's chronicle.¹⁸⁶ The emphasis on the cortege's bypassing of Paris is significant when compared with Burgundian narratives, with Monstrelet and the anonymous Cordelier asserting that Henry's body "fut mené en grant triumphe a Paris et mis dedens l'église Nostre-Dame".¹⁸⁷ However, there is no reference to Henry's death or burial in Notre-Dame's register (in comparison to Charles VI's obsequies).¹⁸⁸ Where the Burgundian chroniclers felt it necessary to portray Henry's funeral procession as anticipating the due form of Charles VI's, Parisian records actively distanced the capital from any association with the monarch. For English authors, the movement of Henry's cortege from France to Westminster represented a reassertion of his English dynastic ties, and likewise for the Bourgeois Henry's transferral from Saint-Denis to England, *away* from an ideological centre of French authority, highlighted the disparity between Lancastrian and Valois royal traditions, especially in such close proximity to Charles VI's funeral.¹⁸⁹ In contrast, Charles VI's own funeral procession saw him move through Parisian space to Saint-Denis, before his burial "empres son pere et sa mere".¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁶ Without entering Paris. *Ibid.*, fol. 88r. Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, 58; RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 481-5. Emphasis my own.

¹⁸⁷ Was brought in great triumph to Paris and placed inside Notre-Dame cathedral. Monstrelet, Vol. 4, pp. 112-13; "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 323. Monstrelet noted that Henry's entrails were buried at the abbey of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, south-east of the Bois de Vincennes. See also Anna M. Duch, "The Royal Funerary and Burial Ceremonies of Medieval English Kings, 1216-1509", Doctoral Thesis (University of York, May 2016), pp. 57-8.

¹⁸⁸ Paris, Archives nationales, LL//112, pp. 386-8; Georges Grassoreille, "Histoire politique du chapitre de Notre-Dame de Paris pendant la domination anglaise, 1420-1437", *MSHP*, Vol. 9 (1882), 151, n. 1.

¹⁸⁹ For Middle English accounts of Henry V's death and return to England, see the appendices to Friedrich Brie (ed.), *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, Pt. 2 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1908): "Appendix D, *Galba E. VIII*", 430; "Appendix E, *MS Egerton 650*", 449; "Appendix G, *Addit. MS., Brit. Mus. 10,099, leaf 181*", pp. 493-6; "Appendix H, Extracts from Harleian MS 53", 563. See also *Ingulph's Chronicle of Croyland with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, ed. & trans. Henry T. Riley, (London: Henry Bohn, 1854), 391; "Julius B II" & "Cleopatra C IV" in *Chronicles of London*, ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), pp. 74-5, 128; *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner, (London: Camden Society, 1876), 148; "Lambeth MS 306" in *Three Fifteenth-Century Chronicles*, ed. James Gairdner, (London: Camden Society, 1880), 58.

¹⁹⁰ Before his mother and father. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 90r.

Through this juxtaposition, therefore, the Bourgeois presented to his audience the fractured foundations of Bedford's regency, with no ideological centre, no physical body within the Saint-Denis necropolis and indicating the role symbolic 'othering' performed in the reinforcement of French and Parisian identities at a moment of acute political change.¹⁹¹

Consequently, ceremonies embedded memories which structured ideological continuity, blurring the distinction between individual kings and developing collective understandings of French kingship and identity.¹⁹² These events were encapsulated by symbols, monuments, conversations and celebrations that consistently brought royal power to the minds of Parisians. In this light, royal entries and funerals represented one of the "modes opératoires" presented by Paul Ricoeur as facilitating the passage from a *mémoire privée* (that of the king or royal family) to a *mémoire publique* shared by the wider civic and national community.¹⁹³ The potential of ritual to communicate political legitimacy relied, inherently upon 'collective memory', evoking the methods through which communities express and maintain impersonal memories and create an artificial, public sphere that frames personal experience.¹⁹⁴ As such, Joël Blanchard has described royal ceremony as a "fictionnalisation de l'histoire" that necessitates active narrative strategies on the part of commentators.¹⁹⁵ Collective memories are set within social, cultural and political frames of reference that enable participants to draw meaning from past experience, with this memory externalised in "symbols such as texts, images, rituals, landmarks and other 'lieux de

¹⁹¹ Len Scales, *The Shaping of German Identity: Authority and Crisis, 1245-1414*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 63.

¹⁹² Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin, "La ville. Creuset des cultures", 300.

¹⁹³ Paul Ricoeur, *Histoire, Mémoire, Oubli*, (Paris: Seuil, 2000), 52; Charles Reagan, "Réflexions sur l'ouvrage de Paul Ricoeur: *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*", *Transversalités*, Vol. 106, No. 2 (2008), pp. 168-9.

¹⁹⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *La mémoire collective*, (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1967), pp. 33, 97.

¹⁹⁵ Joël Blanchard, "Les entrées royales", pp. 4-9.

mémoire'''¹⁹⁶ The diverse symbols displayed through or the placement and participation of groups in civic ceremony represent the “*mémoire bricolée*”, a ‘social fact’ through which Parisian society, and France more generally, invented its common past.¹⁹⁷ In doing so, it simultaneously presents a foundation for the affirmation of the community’s identity and offers a “context for reference which helps them to cope with stressful or difficult situations”.¹⁹⁸ Regarding Charles VI’s funeral, the *Journal* reveals Parisians imagining an idealisation of royal ceremony in the very absence of such a performance, demonstrating the importance of participants’ responses for the legitimation of the French king, framed by the conflation of expectations and memories.¹⁹⁹ The account demonstrates that the establishment of this memory was not unilateral. It depended upon the consensus of heterogeneous participants contributing to a public transcript that accorded Parisians a stake in the definition of French royal ideology, and the very determination of ‘Frenchness’, in the early fifteenth century.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ Jan Assmann, “Globalization”, 122; Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, “Civic Liturgies and Urban Records in Northern France, 1100-1400” in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & Kathryn L. Reyerson, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 42-6.

¹⁹⁷ Roger Bastide, “Mémoire collective et sociologie du bricolage”, *L’année sociologique*, Vol. 21 (1970), pp. 65-108; Patrick Boucheron, “La mémoire disputée: le souvenir de saint Ambroise, enjeu des luttes politiques à Milan au XV^e siècle”, *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 55 (2003), pp. 205-8; James J. Fentress & Chris Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 7.

¹⁹⁸ Bellelli, Guglielmo, Curci, Antonietta, & Leone, Giovanna. “Social and Cognitive Determinants”, 637.

¹⁹⁹ This notion of the king’s orderly behaviour as a quality of emulation was expressed by Christine de Pizan in Chapters 15 & 17 of “Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V” in *Nouvelles collection des mémoires pour servir à l’histoire de France depuis le XIII^e siècle jusqu’à la fin du XVIII^e*, Vol. 2, ed. Michaud & Poujoulat, (Paris: Editeur du commentaire analytique du code civil, 1836), pp. 24-32.

²⁰⁰ Bernard Guenée, *Histoire et culture historique*, 16; Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 223.

Negotiation between King and City: The Case of Henry VI's Parisian Entry

A consequence of the role accorded to Paris in the definition of royal ideology was the emphasis that Parisians could in turn place upon the city's centrality to the kingdom.²⁰¹ This dialogue between ruler and ruled was accentuated during Henry VI's pre-coronation procession on 2nd December 1431, presented by Ralph Griffiths as a prime example of Lancastrian propaganda.²⁰² However, Thompson has described the ceremony as "something closer to a Parisian monologue", and the Bourgeois' account reveals how Parisians perceived the entry to communicate the city's centrality to French history and identity.²⁰³ Fundamentally, the pre-coronation ceremony underscored the Dual Monarchy's contractual character, signalling the mutual dependence of capital and king. This Parisian perspective is demonstrated through a comparison with three other narrative accounts describing the entry. Firstly, an anonymous Burgundian account that served as Monstrelet's source and that may have been similar to the "publicum instrumentum" circulated following Charles VII's 1437 entry.²⁰⁴ The second is a French report copied into London, Letter Book K

²⁰¹ Gisela Naegle, "Vérités contradictoires et réalités constitutionnelles. La ville et le roi en France à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, Vol. 306, No. 4 (632) (October 2004), pp. 732-3.

²⁰² Ralph Griffiths, *Henry VI*, (Stroud: Sutton, 2004), 192. See also J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy: Aspects of Royal Political Propaganda, 1422-1432", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol. 28 (1965), 158. A complete copy of the Bourgeois' account of Henry VI's entry is included below, Appendix II, No. 12.

²⁰³ Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 203; Kristin Bourassa, "The Royal Entries of Henry VI in a London Civic Manuscript", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (2016), pp. 481-3; Jean-Philippe Genet, "Le roi de France anglaise et la nation française au XV^e siècle", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 39 (1997), pp. 52-3.

²⁰⁴ The text was published as the "Joyeuse entrée de Henri VI, Roi d'Angleterre et prétendant au trône de France, en la ville de Paris" in *Archives de la famille de Beaulaincourt*, Vol. 1 ed. R. Rodière & C. de la Charie, (Lille: Lefebvre-Ducrocq, 1911), pp. 332-7. It has been discussed in B.J.H. Rowe, "King Henry VI's Claim to France in Picture and Poem", *The Library*, 4th Series, No. 12 (1933), 78; Mary Floran, "Document relatif à l'entrée du roi d'Angleterre Henri VI à Paris en 1431", *Revue des études historiques*, Vol. 65 (1909), pp. 411-415. I have not been able to trace this manuscript further; before the First World War it was held in the collections of the château of Beauvoir-Wavans, Nord Pas de Calais. Its status as Monstrelet's source is demonstrated by a comparison of the two accounts. Monstrelet, Vol. 5,

by John Carpenter, London's common clerk from 1417 to 1435.²⁰⁵ Finally, a previously overlooked Middle English eyewitness account present in two of the *Brut* continuations known as the London Chronicles will be examined.²⁰⁶

During the pre-coronation entry, the Parisians presented to Henry VI a series of displays designed to remind the king of the capital's centrality, its importance to the maintenance of the Dual Monarchy but also its independence.²⁰⁷ These halts disrupted processional movement "for heightened and calculated effect" to present the king with messages that "inscribed social and political relations onto the terrain of the city".²⁰⁸ The Bourgeois structured his narrative to emphasise the first symbol that Henry VI encountered – the city's arms displayed above the porte Saint-Denis, "si grant qu'il couvroit toute la maconnerie de la porte."²⁰⁹ City gates represented significant points of tension. Weak points in the city's defences, they also "constituted a boundary in a fiscal as well as a social

pp. 1-4. For 'publicum instrumentum', Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux (ed.), *Les entrées royales françaises*, pp. 79-86.

²⁰⁵ London, London Metropolitan Archives, Archives of the Corporation of London, MS Letter Book K, fols. 101v-103r. The account has been published twice, in Jules Delpit (ed.), *Collection générale des documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre*, Vol 1, (Paris: Dumoulin, 1847), pp. 239-44; Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales* pp. 62-70. See also David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community*, pp. 78-80.

²⁰⁶ The account is found in its most complete form in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.9.1, fols. 208r-212r. A related version is found in Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.6.9. The former is published as Appendix F in *The Brut or The Chronicles of England*, ed. Friedrich W.D. Brie, (London: Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1908), pp. 458-465; Claire Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows*, pp. 139-40; Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing*, (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), pp. 54-8. The following references are sourced from MS O.9.1. For a description of O.9.1 see Ryan Perry & Jason O'Rourke, "Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.1", *The Imagining History Project*, accessed on 04/10/2019, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170708163317/http://www.qub.ac.uk/imagining-history/resources/short/results.php?record=96>.

²⁰⁷ Kristin Bourassa, "The Royal Entries", 479; David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community*, 81.

²⁰⁸ Claire Sponsler, *The Queen's Dumbshows*, 117.

²⁰⁹ So great that it covered all of the gate's masonry. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 135r. See also Appendix II, No. 12.

context".²¹⁰ The ship featured upon the arms was large enough to hold several men depicting Parisian civic society, with the ship the symbol of the municipality.²¹¹ Indeed, municipal badges from the 1430s exhibited this same symbolism, with one particular example stating on the obverse "Sur toutes cités Paris prise" and on the reverse, "Car sa nef figure église".²¹² Where the Bourgeois spoke of three men and Letter Book K of 'three estates' evoking a tripartite social division, the Burgundian account specified six individuals "dont l'un estoit en guise d'evesque, l'autre en guise de l'Université, l'autre en guise de bourgeois, et les III autres comme sergens."²¹³ As such, Parisian independence was underscored through a specifically civic symbolism that avoided references to the Lancastrian king and, moreover, these institutions were portrayed disproportionately in favour of the municipality through the predominance of its officials.²¹⁴ The arms' significance as a symbol of autonomy

²¹⁰ Daniel Jutte, "Entering a City: On a Lost Early Modern Practice", *Urban History*, Vol. 41, No. 2 (2014), 210.

²¹¹ By 1412 at the very least, the ship motif had been combined with three fleurs-de-lis in its sails, and a fleur-de-lis above the two castles of the ship, signalling the close connection between the *prévôté des marchands* and royal authority, as demonstrated by the seal affixed to an act for the sale of a house before the then *prévôt des marchands*, Pierre Gencien, dated 12th October 1412. "Sceau de Paris HB 84 662", *Archives nationales*, accessed on 19/05/2019, http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?ACTION=CHERCHER&FIELD_1=REF&VALUE_1=000SC028832; Lawrence Bryant, "Parlementaire Political Theory in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (1976), pp. 21-2.

²¹² Jules Rouyer, "Jetons municipaux de la ville de Paris au XV^e siècle", *Mémoires de la Société impériale des Antiquaires de France*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1869), pp. 126-7.

²¹³ Of which one was dressed as a bishop, another as a member of the University, another dressed as a bourgeois, and three others as sergeants. "Joyeuse entrée de Henri VI", 333; Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 3. This division of society was common to contemporary authors. Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 58. Donal Perret, "The Meaning of the Mystery: From *Tableaux* to Theatre in the French Royal Entry" in *Moving Subjects: Processions Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Kathleen Ashley & Wim Husken, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 203. See also Eberhard Isenmann, "Norms and Values in the European City, 1300-1800" in *Resistance, Representation and Community*, ed. Peter Blickle, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 267.

²¹⁴ The *prévôté des marchands* had been responsible for the decoration of the porte Saint-Denis, paying in total £57, 14s. 8d. for various decorations. As such, it appears unlikely that the three 'sergents' would have been Châtelet officials, but rather those belonging to the *prévôté des marchands*. Paris, BNF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 3423, fols. 3r-3v; Guy Llewellyn Thompson included the municipal accounts in an appendix to his study of London under Lancastrian rule, *Paris and its People Under*

in 1431 is further indicated by their *absence* when Charles VII returned to the city in 1437. Unmentioned by the Bourgeois, on this occasion the French king was greeted by angels carrying a shield bearing the fleur-de-lis above a motive that read that “les manans de vostre cité vous reçoivent en tout honneur et très grande humilité”, indicating conciliatory attitudes in response to the reassertion of Valois authority which Paris had resisted for almost two decades.²¹⁵

In turn, the Bourgeois accentuated the focus upon Paris by altering the pageants’ order, presented the city’s arms as the first to greet Henry, followed by a description of the Nine Worthies located within the city when, in fact, they had greeted Henry beyond its walls.²¹⁶ If extramural encounters represented the most important elements in the dialogue between city and king, as Neil Murphy argues, then this reordering significantly emphasised Paris’ importance at Henry VI’s expense.²¹⁷ The Nine Worthies’ role in the ceremony as a means of articulating Parisian identity supports this conclusion following the descriptions in other sources. Letter Book K portrays the Worthies’ as being escorted by Fama, meeting with Henry VI *beyond* the porte Saint-Denis, with the city forming the backdrop to their encounter. Dismounting before Henry, a herald introduced the pageant:

Les preux jadiz et Renommée
Tendoient qui est figuré
Ci en dame, et vous represente
Paris, qui de tout s’entente,
Sire, vous recoit humblement,

English Rule, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 244-6. See also Marc Boone, “Les pouvoirs et leurs représentations”, pp. 192-3

²¹⁵ The inhabitants of your city receive you in all honour and profound humility. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 302; Gilles le Bouvier, *Les chroniques du roi Charles VII par Gilles le Bouvier dit le héraut Berry*, ed. Henri Courteault & Léonce Celier, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), 191.

²¹⁶ Letter Book K, fol. 101r; “Joyeuse entrée de Henri VI”, pp. 332-3; Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.1, fols. 208r-v.

²¹⁷ Neil Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries*, 24.

Gardez-la amouusement,
 Car cele ville ainsi famée
 Est digne d'estre bien gouverné.²¹⁸

The Worthies encapsulated the *translatio imperii* underscoring Paris' historical renown, echoing literature that portrayed Paris as an earthly paradise and its king as David or even, in Henry VI's case given his entry on the first day of Advent, as a Christ-king – imagery also common to Lancastrian displays.²¹⁹ Other pageants underscored this impression, particularly the fountain of milk and wine at the *ponceau* Saint-Denis or the mystery of Christ's birth portrayed along the rue Saint-Denis.²²⁰ The employment of the Worthies to signal France's heritage and related conceptions of kingship evoked similar themes developed by Eustache Deschamps in two ballads that asserted that rulers should always uphold truth and “parfaicte charité”, avoiding the cupidity that moved men to cruelty and “font perdre royaume et herité”.²²¹ In *Contre les vices du temps*, Deschamps had

²¹⁸ I present to you the ancient Worthies and Renown, portrayed here as this lady, and Paris which as one, sire, receives you humbly; guard her lovingly, because this city is of such fame that it is worthy of being well governed. Letter Book K, fols. 101v-102r.

²¹⁹ Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 63-4, 72-3, 85-6; Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 180-1, 343-4; *Le Songe du Vergier édité d'après le manuscrit royal 19 C IV de la British Library*, ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre, (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982), Vol. 1, Book 1, Chapter 156, 17, p. 328; Boris Bove, “Aux origines du complexe de supériorité des parisiens: les louanges de Paris au Moyen Âge” in *Être Parisien*, ed. Claude Gauvard & Jean-Louis Robert, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2004), pp. 423-443; Élie Konigson, *L'espace théâtral médiéval*, (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1975), pp. 90-102. Similar themes characterised the London celebrations organised for Henry V's return from Agincourt. *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, ed. and trans. F. Taylor and J. S. Roskell (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 101-13. Nicola Coldstream, “‘Pavillon'd in Splendour': Henry V's Agincourt Pageants”, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, Vol. 165, No. 1 (2012), pp. 155-7.

²²⁰ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 135v. On the importance of fountains to later entries see David Gilks, “The Fountain of the Innocents and its Place in the Paris Cityscape, 1549-1788”, *Urban History*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (2018), pp. 51-55.

²²¹ Quoted from “Qualités que doit avoir un roi” (Ballad 338, c. 1381) in *Œuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, Vol. 1, ed. Auguste-Henry-Edouard, le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878), pp. 86-7, lines 21-25. “Contre les vices du temps” (Ballad 12, c. 1386) in *Œuvres complètes d'Eustache Deschamps*, Vol. 3, ed. Auguste-Henry-Edouard, le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1882), pp. 49-51. Clotilde Dauphant, “‘Qu'est devenu David et Salemon?’ Les hommes illustres dans la poésie d'Eustache Deschamps”, *Questes*, Vol. 17 (2009), pp. 106-110.

introduced the Nine Worthies to juxtapose a present state of decline with past glories.²²² This didactic role clarifies the messages the Parisians may have intended to communicate to their Lancastrian governors in 1431. Firstly, as the site of *translatio*, Paris – not the Lancastrian monarch –, embodied the *fama* of past heroes. Such use underscores heroism's status as a site of ideological competition during the period.²²³ Second, the Worthies expressed a dissonance between the idealised historical eras they represented and the reality of Paris' present destitution. If, as Anna Salamon has argued, “dans le contexte troublé de la Guerre de Cent Ans... l'évocation des Neuf Preux permet de faire rajallir leur gloire passée sur l'époque contemporaine”, an inverse articulation of difference was also possible.²²⁴ Consequently, the final line of Fama's poem assumes greater significance as the impression of a duty upon the Lancastrian regime to govern the city well and forestall further hardships. By implicitly situating these messages within the city walls rather than without, the Bourgeois articulated a sense of contractual obligation between Paris and the Lancastrians predicated upon the former's independence and historical identity.

Henry's procession along the rue Saint-Denis culminated in a much discussed, poignant “mistere” before the Grand Châtelet where he was greeted with the pageant of a

²²² “Contre les vices du temps”, *Ceuvres complètes*, Vol. 3, 87, lines 21-2. This theme was reprised in several of Eustache Deschamps' poems, including “Si les héros revenaient sur la terre, ils seraient étonnés” (Undated), *Ceuvres complètes*, Vol. 3, No. 403, pp. 192-4 and “Il est temps de faire la paix” (c. 1387-1396), *Ceuvres complètes*, Vol. 1, No. 93, pp. 199-200. On Eustache Deschamps' development of the Nine Worthies theme, see Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, “Penthésilée, reine des Amazons et Preuse, une image de la femme guerrière à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *CLIO. Histoires, femmes, et sociétés*, Vol. 20 (2004), pp. 172-6; Anne Salamon, “Les Neuf Preux: Vie d'une liste à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Cahiers de recherche des instituts néerlandais de langue et de littérature française (CRIN)*, Vol. 65 (2018), pp. 157-174; On Eustache Deschamps' political thought and the *translatio imperii* see Virginie Minet-Mahy, *Esthétique et pouvoir de l'œuvre allégorique à l'époque de Charles VI: imaginaires et discours*, (Paris: Champion, 2005), pp. 286-97.

²²³ Sophia Menache, *The Vox Dei: Communication in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 206; Jacqueline Cerquiligni-Toulet, “Fama et les preux: nom et renom à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Médiévales*, Vol. 24 (1993), 37.

²²⁴ Anne Salamon, “Les Neuf Preux: entre édification et glorification”, *Questes*, Vol. 13 (2008), 48.

boy-king wearing two crowns, flanked by the estates of France and England.²²⁵ Where J.W. McKenna, Jean-Philippe Genet and Sarah Hanley have argued that the Châtelet pageant represented a clear example of Lancastrian propaganda, Thompson pointed to its organisation by the royally appointed *prévôt* and it is clear that, even here, a Parisian emphasis upon independence was exhibited.²²⁶ The ideal of the Dual Monarchy presented through the pageant stressed Paris' centrality to the Treaty of Troyes' settlement while delineating English and French prerogatives. The pageant was divided between two stages. On the first, Burgundian and English lords supported the arms of France and England on either side of the king, figuratively demonstrating their support for the Dual Monarchy in a manner that emulated contemporary coinage and the well-known genealogy of Henry VI found in the Talbot-Shrewsbury Book.²²⁷

First signalling Henry's dependence upon the aristocracy of the two kingdoms, the pageant's simple iconography also conveyed that Henry's authority was based upon the concerted support of the people of Paris, depicted below him on a second stage.²²⁸ Here,

²²⁵ For discussions surrounding this pageant, see Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City*, pp. 178-81; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 201-4; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 87-8; Neil Murphy, "Ceremony and Conflict in Fifteenth-Century France: Lancastrian Ceremonial Entries into French Towns, 1415-1431", *Explorations in Renaissance Culture*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (2013), pp. 113-33.

²²⁶ J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy", pp. 157-160; Jean-Philippe Genet, "Le roi de France anglaise", 52; Sarah Hanley, *The Lit de Justice of the Kings of France: Constitutional Ideology in Legend, Ritual and Discourse*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 30; Guy Llewellyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 202; Joël Blanchard, "Le spectacle du rite", 493; Kristin Bourassa, "The Royal Entries", pp. 488-9; Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City*, 181. See also Marigold Anne Norbye, "Le diagramme et la politique: messages visuels dans les chroniques généalogiques des rois de France", in *Humanisme et politique en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, eds. Carla Bozzolo, Claude Gauvard et Helene Millet, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2018), pp. 174-5.

²²⁷ "Joyeuse entrée de Henri VI", 334; Letter Book K, fol. 102v; . J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy", pp. 146-51; London, British Library, MS Royal 15 E. vi, fol. 3r; Craig Taylor, "The Treatise Cycle of the Shrewsbury Book, BL Ms. Royal 15 E. vi" in *Collections in Context: The Organization of Knowledge and Community in Europe*, ed. Karen L. Fresco & Anne D. Hedeman, (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2011), pp. 147-8.

²²⁸ Donald Perret, "The Meaning of the Mystery", 193.

countering the municipality's prominence at the porte Saint-Denis, the Parisian *prévôt* took centre stage, one hand gesturing towards the arrangement of Parisian society behind him, the other presenting to the king "un escript... par maniere de requeste".²²⁹ The *prévôt's* gesture invited the king to observe the depicted Parisians who gazed up at the pageant's boy king, "son honneur et prouffit".²³⁰ As such, Letter Book K highlighted the "self-consciousness of vision in the drama" whereby the *prévôt's* figure acted as a conduit between pageant, king and Parisian audience, establishing a prism that accorded the *prévôté* significant control over the determination of their relationship.²³¹ Pointing to the lower stage, the figurative *prévôt* stressed the city's centrality to the Dual Monarchy.²³² Greg Walker has argued that such gestures invite audiences "to judge the veracity of the message expounded on the strength of their own observation", rendering the relationship between king and city open to the interpretation of observers such as the Bourgeois who refashioned its integral message.²³³

The Bourgeois' interpretation of the Châtelet pageant is evidenced only through comparison with the other extant accounts, demonstrating how the ceremony's apparently unilateral meaning could be revised and redirected as potential critique. Where Letter Book

²²⁹ A document in the form of a petition. London, Letter Book K, fol. 102v.

²³⁰ His honour and profit. Ibid.

²³¹ Seth Lerer, "'Representyd now in yower syght': The Culture of Spectatorship in Fifteenth-Century England" in *Bodies and Disciplines: Intersections of Literature and History in Fifteenth-Century England*, eds. Barbara Hanawalt & David Wallace, (University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 37.

²³² The message was relatively common for entry pageants. Katell Lavéant, "Le roi et son double: A royal entry to late-medieval Abbeville" in *Symbolic Communication in Late Medieval Towns*, ed. Jacoba Van Leeuwen, (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 46-8.

²³³ Greg Walker, *Plays of Persuasion: Drama and Politics in the Court of Henry VIII*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 11-13, n. 17; Edelgard E. DuBruck, "Gestural Communication in French Religious Drama and Art of the Late Middle Ages: The 'Passion Isabeau' and its Miniatures", *Fifteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 30, (Weybridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2005), 40.

K and the Burgundian account identify those lords holding the French shield as prominent Burgundians, the Bourgeois instead stated that there

...estoit tout le sanc de France, c'est assavoir, tous les grans seigneurs de France comme Anjou, Berry, Bourgongne, etc., et ung pou loing de eulx estoient les clerks, et apres les bourgeois, et a senestre estoient tous les grans signeurs d'Angleterre qui tous faisoient maniere de donner conseil au jeune roy, bon et loyal.²³⁴

Whether intentionally or due to the limitations of his perspective, the Bourgeois' description of the pageant distorted its idealisation of Lancastrian rule, evoking a dissonance with reality.²³⁵ The reference to the dukes of Anjou and Berry highlighted the real absence and exclusion of French aristocrats from Anglo-Burgundian government, a phenomenon frequently remarked upon by the Bourgeois since Charles VI's death.²³⁶ Fundamentally, the Bourgeois' view of the pageant presented an impossible ideal. Regarding these French lords, he would have known that the Angevin dynasty was tied to Charles VII following his 1422 marriage to Marie d'Anjou, to whom he had been betrothed since 1413.²³⁷ The house's commitment to the Valois cause was all but confirmed in the aftermath of Bulgnéville in July 1431, when René d'Anjou, claimant to the duchy of Lorraine, was defeated by his rival Antoine de Vaudémont who enjoyed Burgundian and English support and was, later,

²³⁴ There were [portrayed] all of the French princes of the blood, that is, all of the great lords of France like Anjou, Berry, Burgundy, etc., and a little further beyond them were the clerics, and after them the bourgeois; and to the left there were all of the great lords of England and together they acted as if giving advice to the king. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 135v-136r. See also Appendix II, No. 12. The Middle English account ambiguously states that alongside Burgundy appeared "alle the oder lordes of Fraunce in theire degree knelyng and offering vp their armes", Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.1, fol. 209v.

²³⁵ The dangers of semiotic misrecognition in entry pageants has been demonstrated by Anne-Marie Lecoq, "La symbolique de l'État: Les images de la monarchie des premiers Valois à Louis XIV" in *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. Pierre Nora, Vol. 2, Part 2, (Paris: Gallimard, 1986), 150.

²³⁶ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 89r, 92r, 95v.

²³⁷ Malcolm Vale, *Charles VII*, (London: Methuen, 1974), pp. 22-4; David Green, *The Hundred Years War: A People's History*, (London: Yale University Press, 2014), 190.

invited to attend Henry VI's coronation by John, duke of Bedford.²³⁸ In turn, John, duke of Berry had died in 1417, leaving his titles to Charles VII, with the duchy of Berry representing a key Valois power base. Consequently, the Bourgeois' description of the pageant evoked a quintessentially French model of government implicitly evoking the ordonnances of 1374 and 1393 that had entrusted the regency to French lords including the dukes of Orléans, Berry and Burgundy.²³⁹ The Bourgeois' view of the pageant therefore conjured an ideal of French regency developed since the 1370s that was juxtaposed with the fact that Henry VI's minority was conditioned by English convention and the circumstances of the Treaty of Troyes.²⁴⁰ The account implies the importance of nostalgia in historical reflection. As Adam Fox has argued, "there could be something inherently subversive about popular perceptions of the past", as men and women divorced from official narratives employed their own interpretations and memories to make sense of the world.²⁴¹ Just as the Bourgeois had relied upon the memories of 'anciens' to interpret Charles VI's funeral and Bedford's rise to the French regency, the evocation of Charles V's children evidenced a nostalgic notion of France distanced from the political realities of 1431, accomplishing ideological work matched by

²³⁸ Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Good: The Apogee of Burgundy*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 70-1. For the letter to Vaudémont, see below.

²³⁹ *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 6, pp. 45-55; Vol. 7, pp. 530-8. See also Jacques Krynen, "'Le mort saisit le vif': Genèse médiévale du principe d'instantanéité de la succession royale française", *Journal des savants*, (1984), pp. 196-202; Craig Taylor, "The Salic Law, French Queenship, and the Defence of Women in the Late Middle Ages", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (Autumn 2006), pp. 557-8; Anne D. Hedeman, "Copies in context: the coronation of Charles V in his *Grandes Chroniques de France*" in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. Janos M. Bak, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 80-3; Albert Rigaudière, "La *lex vel constitutio* d'aout 1374, 'première loi constitutionnelle de la monarchie française'" in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui: Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Julie Claustre, Olivier Mattéoni et Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 178-88

²⁴⁰ Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Minority of Henry VI, King of England and France" in *The Royal Minorities of Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Charles Beem, (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 162-5. See also Patrick Strong & Felicity Strong, "The Last Will and Codicils of Henry V", *English Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 378 (January 1981), pp. 85-6.

²⁴¹ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, 222.

that encapsulated in the symbolism of the Nine Worthies, illustrating the differences between an idealised past and uncomfortable present.

Instead of referring to Anjou and Berry, Letter Book K and the Burgundian account note the portrayal of the Burgundian lords Philippe le Bon, Charles, count of Nevers (mistakenly described as the duke's brother in both sources), the chancellor Louis de Luxembourg, bishop of Thérouanne and Jean de Luxembourg-Ligny.²⁴² For these writers, the pageant exemplified the Anglo-Burgundian alliance, visibly stressing Burgundian ties to the Dual Monarchy through Philippe le Bon's presentation of the French arms. Where Ralph Griffiths argued that this focus upon Burgundy represented "a reminder to duke Philip that his best interests lay with Lancaster", the pageant indicates that Henry VI's legitimacy depended directly upon continued Burgundian support, echoing the declaration pronounced before the assembled Parisians at the Palais in 1429, again accentuated by the absence of any reference in the surviving accounts to Henry's genealogical right to rule, a core component of other Lancastrian propaganda efforts.²⁴³ For instance, two Jesse trees depicting Henry's ancestry appeared in the corresponding entry to London in 1432.²⁴⁴ Finally, like the Bourgeois' allusions to a distinctly *French* mode of government, the emphasis upon Burgundy must have been jarring given the duke's own absence, having

²⁴² "Joyeuse entrée de Henri VI", 332; Letter Book K, fol. 102v.

²⁴³ Ralph Griffiths, *Henry VI*, 220; J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy", pp. 156-62; Peter S. Lewis, "War, Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 15 (1965), pp. 8-10.

²⁴⁴ Letter Book K, fols. 103v-104v; Gordon Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 63-4; David Harry, *Constructing a Civic Community*, pp. 84-5.

concluded a six-year truce with Charles VII on 13th December, leaving the Châtelet's depiction of the Dual Monarch bereft of meaning.²⁴⁵

Finally, the pageant's potential as a medium for negotiation between king and city is further demonstrated by the *cedule* delivered by the figurative *prévôt* to Henry's entourage, "escript en grosse lettre" visible to all.²⁴⁶ The poetic petition emphasised the contractual nature of the Dual Monarchy, reminding Henry to uphold Justice since "par elle, ont royaumes durée", while asserting that the Parisian people "de toute sa puissance/ a moult peine d'entretenir/ la ville en votre obeissance/ si, vous en vueills souvenir."²⁴⁷ The message was clear. Henry VI's authority could only be maintained through his fulfilment of the Treaty of Troyes' obligations: the protection of each kingdom's respective rights; the maintenance of justice; and, finally, the remembrance of Paris' loyalty to the Lancastrian regime.²⁴⁸ These same principles were later evoked by Jean Juvénal des Ursins in *Audite Celi* (1435) as conditions for good government "fondée sur III choses", namely, "la demourance des seigneurs... la justice souveraine qui y estoit de tout le royaume et le Chastelet... l'University [et] la marchandise".²⁴⁹ Henry's failure to meet these conditions would equate to the forfeiture of his right to rule. In particular, if the king ignored Paris' central status, the capital could, implicitly, withdraw its essential support for the Anglo-Burgundian regime.

²⁴⁵ Joseph Stevenson (ed.), "Letter from the duke of Burgundy to Henry the Sixth respecting a truce with France (12th December 1431)" in *Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, (London: Longman, Green, 1864), pp. 196-202.

²⁴⁶ Letter Book K, 102v. In the Middle English source this petition was described as "dyu(er)s scriptures þ(at) all they require the kyng of rightwisnesse". Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.9.1, fol. 209v.

²⁴⁷ Through her [Justice], kingdoms have endured; you should remember that [the people of Paris] with all of their power have great difficulty keeping the city in your obedience. *Ibid.*, 103r.

²⁴⁸ Anne Curry, "Two Kingdoms, One King", pp. 26-8.

²⁴⁹ Jean Juvénal des Ursins, "Audite celi" in *Écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, Vol. 1 ed. Peter S. Lewis, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978), 257.

As such, through the implicit comparison of an idealised Dual Monarchy with the realities of Lancastrian rule, the Châtelet pageant established the conditions of Paris' continued loyalty and, in doing so, signalled the capital's centrality as a pillar of Lancastrian authority in northern France by reiterating the interdependence of ruler and ruled. The contractual character of 1431 is again underscored by its difference with the iconography organised for Charles VII's entry six years later, with the Bourgeois once more glossing this imagery. In 1437 the *prévôt's* place was supplanted by Valois imagery and a concentration upon royal, rather than civic, justice. The lit-de-justice encapsulated natural, divine and human law – the latter embodied by the king in medieval political theory – while alongside the pageant was depicted the Final Judgement, presided over by the Valois patron St. Michael.²⁵⁰ The Bourgeois' decision to instead describe the pageants of 1437 as being performed “comme on fist pour le petit roy Henry”, obfuscated this counterbalancing of Paris' ideological centrality in the wake of the city's reconquest by the Valois.²⁵¹

This contrast between norm and reality is further demonstrated by the Bourgeois' commentary upon other events taking place in December 1431. As Paul Strohm has argued, the selective reconstruction of ceremony in chronicle narratives constitutes a significant medium for criticism, particularly through the detailing of *failed* ceremonies – the “negation of the success-criteria that every reader... would have borne in mind.”²⁵² Primarily, the Bourgeois indicated the failure to meet these success-criteria by stressing Henry's avoidance of Notre-Dame during the pre-coronation procession that drew attention to the Lancastrian

²⁵⁰ Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 303; Gilles le Bouvier, *Les chroniques du roi Charles VII*, 193.

²⁵¹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 161v.

²⁵² Paul Strohm, “Interpreting a Chronicle Text: Henry VI's Blue Gown” in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron. Proceedings of the 2004 Harlaxton Symposium*, eds. Matthew Davies & Andrew Prescott (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp. 335-7.

deviation from an expected format. Where the Valois *adventus* typically followed a set route along the rue Saint-Denis to Notre-Dame cathedral, the Bourgeois poignantly noted that Henry “n’ala point a Notre-Dame celle journée.”²⁵³ Given the cathedral’s constitutional role in previous ceremonies as the site where Valois monarchs repeated their coronation oath as a “legal act which brought a bit of the coronation ceremony to Paris”, Notre-Dame’s omission was poignant, particularly in comparison to Charles VII’s subsequent entry.²⁵⁴ In 1437 the royal oath formed the climax of the Bourgeois’ account, when “le roy jura comme roy qu’il tendroit loyalment et bonnement tout ce que bon roy faire devoit”.²⁵⁵ The oath’s significance is further demonstrated by its emergence as a contentious aspect of the 1437 ceremony, with other sources describing Charles VII’s refusal to swear until his counsellors had verified the oath’s content and precedent.²⁵⁶ Neil Murphy has suggested that the move was designed to deliberately highlight the limits of Parisian authority as Charles reasserted his power over the capital.²⁵⁷ The repeated transcription of the original oath sworn by Jean II in 1350 in the chapter’s acts register in the months prior to the 1437 entry suggests that the canons may have had similar concerns about Charles’ potential refusal to swear the oath and uphold Notre-Dame’s constitutional role.²⁵⁸ In either case, the evidence points to the oath’s fundamental significance in the Valois *jocundus adventus*.

As such, the *Journal’s* emphasis upon Henry VI’s avoidance of Notre-Dame in 1431 rendered the novelty of Lancastrian ceremony palpable, highlighting the regime’s deviation

²⁵³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 136r.

²⁵⁴ Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City*, 71.

²⁵⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 161v. For the complete account of Charles VII’s entry, see Appendix II, No. 14.

²⁵⁶ Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales*, pp. 84-5.

²⁵⁷ Neil Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries*, 95

²⁵⁸ Paris, BNF Latin 17740, fols. 41r-41v & 49r-49v. The oath has been published in Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales*, pp. 48-55.

from the established ritual norms that articulated Paris' ties to the Valois monarchy. The issues of authority preventing Henry's direct process to Paris emulated those that the chapter had already experienced regarding the bishop's *jocundus adventus*. In 1422 Jean de la Rochetaillée was compelled to request the chapter's permission to reside in the episcopal palace on the Ile-de-la-Cité. While he was permitted to do so, the chapter warned that "il n'entrera pas dans l'église parisienne ni dans la ville jusqu'à ce qu'il doive faire son entrée solennelle."²⁵⁹ Henry VI's entry engendered similar constitutional issues, with the king engaging in a ceremony that, according to tradition, should only have taken place after his coronation. The fact that it ran counter to wider expectations is underscored by the Middle English account of the entry that, perhaps deliberately mitigating this symbolic dissonance, related that following the Châtelet pageant Henry "rode forth to Oure Lady Chirche and made his offryng".²⁶⁰

John, duke of Bedford's own awareness of this constitutional issue is evoked by the letter in Henry VI's name inviting Antoine de Vaudémont to the coronation, where the regent anticipated a questioning of the decision to host the ceremony at Paris. The letter addressed the problem directly, asserting that "ne se doit aucun esmerveiller se ainsi faire le desirons... que par loy, constitucion ou ordonnance n'ont esté noz predecesseurs roys de France, ne sommes aussi obligez ne astrains que ne puissions prendre nosdiz sacre et couronnement en tel lieu de notre royaume de France qu'il nous plaira."²⁶¹ The claim was

²⁵⁹ Véronique Julerot, "La première entrée de l'évêque", pp. 648-9.

²⁶⁰ Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.1, fol. 209v.

²⁶¹ None should be surprised if we desire to do this... because our predecessors the kings of France were not so obliged nor compelled by [any] law, constitution or order, and nor are we, that we cannot receive our unction and coronation in any place that pleases us within our kingdom of France. Vienna, Staatsarchiv, AT-OeStA/HHStA LHA 98-1. This letter was first signalled by Colette Beaune (ed.), "Un document inédit sur Jeanne d'Arc. La lettre d'Henri VI roi d'Angleterre au duc Charles II

supported by examples of royal coronations held elsewhere than Reims, such as Charlemagne's at Soissons and Louis VI's at Orléans, drawn from les "anciennes et nouvelles croniques et istoires de France".²⁶² Nevertheless, the Bourgeois' testimony suggests that Bedford's justification was unsuccessful in mitigating the dissonance provoked by the entry's redirection, undermining the established formula of the royal entry and implicitly calling into question Lancastrian legitimacy. Paradoxically, there was no way Henry *could* fulfil these expectations prior to his coronation, thereby highlighting crucial tensions between the Lancastrian entry and French tradition. Typically, the entry route symbolised an important rite of passage that momentarily accorded Parisian space an important role in the confirmation of the rights of the newly crowned bishop or the king over the capital. Alterations to space's use provoked an awareness of political tensions.²⁶³

The issues surrounding the entry's route also highlight a significant element in the Bourgeois' account overlooked by other narratives, namely the corporations' participation. The *Journal's* description of the series of pageants was in fact framed by a concentration upon the corporations who escorted the king, focusing on each halt and the relay of the canopy that they carried, "tout en la fourme et maniere c'om fait a Notre Seigneur a la Feste Dieu".²⁶⁴ When Henry VI passed through the porte Saint-Denis and entered the city, the

de Lorraine (Rouen, le 24 octobre 1431)", *Mémoires de la Société des sciences et lettres de Loir-et-Cher*, Vol. 65 (2010), pp. 17-19. This quotation is from the original.

²⁶² The ancient and current chronicles and histories of France. Ibid.

²⁶³ Claire Billen, "Dire le Bien Commun dans l'espace public. Matérialité épigraphique et monumentale du bien commun dans les villes des Pays-Bas, à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *De Bono Communi: The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th centuries)* / *Discours et pratique du bien commun dans les villes d'Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 82; Joël Blanchard, "Le spectacle du rite", pp. 486-92.

²⁶⁴ Just as in the form and manner that is done for Our Lord at Corpus Christi. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 135r-136v. For the history of the canopy, Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales*, pp. 13-20.

échevins placed the canopy over the king's head. For the ceremony they were distinguished by the new robes that they had received along with the *prévôt des marchands* Guillaume Sanguin and the municipal clerk Jean Falle, at a total cost of 300 *livres parisis*.²⁶⁵ Likewise, ninety-six "chapeaux dorez" were also produced for the "bourgeois notables" who would accompany the king.²⁶⁶ As Henry VI processed through the city, representatives of the city's seven leading corporations escorted him, each taking up the canopy in turn after the *échevins*.

For Bryant, these corporations "Groupés ainsi autour du roi... offrent une image de la solidarité qui règne entre les dirigeants de la ville aussi bien qu'entre la ville et le roi".²⁶⁷ However, a specific role appropriated by the butchers indicates how the ceremony confirmed their rise to municipal power under the Lancastrian regime.²⁶⁸ From 1418, the butchers had been essential to maintaining Anglo-Burgundian authority in Paris, with five members serving as *échevins*, compared to just one in the previous century.²⁶⁹ Typically, the butchers were responsible for presenting pageants on the rue Saint-Denis, organising a hunt near Saints-Innocents and, in 1431, presenting Henry VI with a stag adorned with the "armes de France et d'Angleterre" at the Grand Pont.²⁷⁰ That year, however, they also

²⁶⁵ Paris, BNF, MS Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 3243, "Comptes de la ville de Paris", fol. 4r.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, fol. 3r. At a total cost of five *livres*, eight *sols parisis*.

²⁶⁷ Lawrence Bryant, "La cérémonie de l'entrée", 523.

²⁶⁸ On the political volatility of guild participation in urban administration, Anthony Black, *Guilds and Civil Society in European Political Thought from the Twelfth Century to the Present*, (London: Meuthen, 1984), pp. 67-9.

²⁶⁹ Jean de Rueil, *échevin* from 1365 to 1372. Boris Bove, *Dominer la ville: Prévôts des marchands et échevins parisiens de 1260 à 1350*, (Paris: Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques, 2004), 646. The records for 1424-8 have been lost. The five fifteenth-century *échevins* were Michel Thibert, Marcelet Tesnart, Jean de Saint-Yon, Garnier de Saint-Yon & Henri Aufroy. Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, pp. 57-62

²⁷⁰ Letter Book K, fols. 102v-103r; Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.9.1, fol. 209v. The French sources only mention the hunt, "Joyeuse entrée d'Henri VI", 334; Reg Lat. 1923, fol. 135v. On the stag's symbolism see William Blanc, "'Alors sailly un cerf': une chasse royale en plein Paris, le 2 décembre

secured an additional responsibility in escorting the king along the rue Saint-Antoine to the Hôtel des Tournelles, an invented element of Lancastrian tradition since, usually, the French monarch would have returned to the Palais on the Ile-de-la-Cité after visiting Notre-Dame cathedral.²⁷¹ Through this role, the butchers cemented their influence by endorsing Lancastrian elements of the ceremony, securing their proximity to the king at perhaps its most intimate point as he processed to his residence. The corporation's stake in the Lancastrian regime is comparatively demonstrated by its decline following Paris' reconquest in 1436, when the Grande Boucherie's master Jean de Saint-Yon was compelled to leave with the English governors.²⁷² When the Bourgeois related Charles VII's entry in November 1437, his focus shifted dramatically. Instead of describing the roles performed by each corporation in turn, the *Journal* only stated initially that: "a l'entrée les bourgoys luy mirent ung ciel sur sa teste... et ainsi le porterent jusques a la porte aux Paintres dedens la ville."²⁷³ With the *Journal* exhibiting the Bourgeois' support for the butchers since the 1413 Cabochien revolt, his omission of any reference to the corporations obfuscated the butchers' political decline.

The celebrations held after Henry VI's coronation on 16th December were also open to interpretation. Where the entry ceremony's pageants had at least ostensibly presented the

1431" in *L'humain et l'animal dans la France médiévale (XII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. Irène Fabry-Tehranchi & Anna Russakoff, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), pp. 179-92.

²⁷¹ As was the case for Philip VI, Charles V, Charles VI, Charles VII & Louis XI. Bernard Guenée & Françoise Lehoux, *Les entrées royales*, 47, 55, 57, 75, 78, 92. By 1531, the next detailed description of the corporations involved in the ceremony, the butchers had been replaced in the procession by the *bonnetiers*. Lawrence Bryant, "La cérémonie de l'entrée", 521; Guillaume Bochetel, *L'entrée de la Royne en sa ville & Cité de Paris*, (Paris: Geoffroy Tory, 1531). On the civic and political consciousness of guilds see Gervase Rosser, "Big Brotherhood: Guilds in Urban Politics in Late Medieval England" in *Guilds and Associations in Europe, 900-1900*, ed. Ian A. Gadd & Patrick Wallis, (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2006), pp. 28-32.

²⁷² Those who had been responsible for the oppression of the poor commons. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 155r.

²⁷³ Upon the king's entry the bourgeois placed a canopy over his head... and thus they escorted him to the porte aux Paintres inside the city. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 161r-161v.

ideal of a harmonised, hierarchically ordered Parisian community, the Bourgeois rhetorically inverted this image through his description of the coronation feast held at the Palais.

Il n'y avoit nulle ordonnance, car le commun de Paris y estoit entré des le matin, les ungs pour veoir, les autres pour gourmander, les autres pour piller ou pour desrober viandes ou autre chose... si grant presse y ot pour le sacre du roy que l'Université, ne le Parlement, ne le prevost des marchans, ne eschevins n'osoient entreprendre de monter amont pour le peuple, dont il y avoit tres grant nombre. ... Neantmoins s'assirent-ilz aux tables qui pour eulx ordonnées estoient, mais ce fu avec savetiers, moustardiers, lieux ou vendeurs de vin de buffet, aidez a macons, que on cuida faire lever, mais quant on se faisoit lever ung ou deux il s'en asseoit vj ou viij d'autre costé.²⁷⁴

Intriguingly, the Bourgeois' account presents a direct contrast with other narratives that emphasised the success of Henry's feast. The author of the Middle English account stressed that after the coronation, "the kyng was brought ageyn to his palyse and there set to mete with all delicacye of metes and drynkes þat myght be ordeyned, and open fest to all men þat wold com bothe pore and riche."²⁷⁵ While other Middle English accounts are far briefer, they also commonly stress the "gret fest holden at Paris".²⁷⁶ Indeed, the chronicle attributed to William Gregory demonstrates how feasts presented a medium for effective

²⁷⁴ There was no order whatsoever, because the Parisian commons had entered the hall from the morning, some to look around, others to indulge themselves, others to pillage and steal the meats or other things... [and] there was such a dense crowd for the king's coronation that neither the members of the University of Paris, nor the *prévôt des marchands*, nor the *échevins* dared to try and make their way through the people because there were so many of them... Nevertheless, [eventually] they sat down at the tables that had been prepared for them, but they sat alongside cobblers, mustard-sellers, wine-stall keepers or masons' apprentices. When they were told to move from the benches one or two would get up only for another six or eight to sit down on the other side. *Ibid.*, fols. 136v-137r. See also Appendix II, No. 12.

²⁷⁵ Cambridge, Trinity College MS O.9.1, fol. 210r.

²⁷⁶ "Appendix G: Addit. MS, Brit. Mus. 10,099" in *The Brut or The Chronicles of England, edited from MS Rawl. B 171, Bodleian Library, etc.*, ed. Friedrich W.D. Brie, Vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1906), pp. 501-2. See also "William Gregory's Chronicle of London" in *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. James Gairdner, (London: Camden Society, 1876), 173; *The Chronicle of John Hardyng*, ed. Henry Ellis, (London, 1812), 395.

ideological communication, describing the symbolic foodstuffs at Henry VI's 1429 Westminster coronation, accompanied by poetry evoking Henry's common descent from saints Edward the Confessor and Louis IX.²⁷⁷ Similarly, Monstrelet emphasised the order of Henry's Parisian feast, identifying the dignitaries in attendance and describing the sumptuous courses: "quand est parler des divers mes, de vins et de viandes... ilz seroient trop longz a racompter."²⁷⁸ The Bourgeois' divergence suggests that the feast's disorganisation represented a significant point of contention, an insult to Lancastrian honour obfuscated by Anglo-Burgundian narratives that instead underlined the Paris feast's magnificence.

In the *Journal's* Vatican manuscript, the description of the ordered Châtelet pageant and disastrous coronation feast unfold over a single folio, with the events' incongruity striking.²⁷⁹ Where the Bourgeois has portrayed the Parisians of the pageant as "bon et loyal", the feast's description betrayed the real absence of such loyalty to the Lancastrian monarch. "La besongnoient les larrons", cutting purses and stealing "plus de lx chapperons" while the people pushed away Lancastrian dignitaries who attempted to take their seats, occupied by artisans.²⁸⁰ This calamity again underscored the dissonance between norm and reality, evoking Parisian ambiguity towards the Lancastrian claim to France. This criticism was accentuated through satire. Contrary to Monstrelet's emphasis upon the feast's quality, the Bourgeois described the meat as having been cooked the previous Thursday. Just as the Westminster coronation's feast integrated symbols that communicated Henry's dynastic

²⁷⁷ "William Gregory's Chronicle", pp. 168-9; Robert Epstein, "Food and Text in the Coronation Banquet of Henry VI", *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (2006), pp. 361-7

²⁷⁸ As for relating the various courses, wines and meats... it would take me too long to tell of them. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, pp. 5-6.

²⁷⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 136r & v.

²⁸⁰ There the brigands were at work... more than sixty hoods. *Ibid.*, fol. 136v.

right, the Bourgeois conveyed the Parisian feast as a demonstration of English and French difference, evoking popular opinion. For instance, the cooking “moult sembloit estrange chose aux Francoys, car les Anglois estoient chepz de la besongne, et ne leur challoit quelle honneur il y eust”.²⁸¹ Even “les malades de l’Ostel-Dieu” would not praise their food, suggesting the impression that the Lancastrian governors had failed to reward the Parisians for their joyous welcome as an element of the contractual obligations binding ruler and ruled.²⁸² This breakdown of reciprocity was underscored by the Bourgeois when Henry left the capital on 26th December, emphasising a Lancastrian failure to inculcate popular enthusiasm:

...ledit roy se departy de Paris sans faire aucuns biens a quoy on s’atendoit, comme delivrer prinsonniers, de faire cheoir malles toutes, comme imposicions, gabelles, iiiij^{es} et telles mauvaises coustumes qui sont contre loy et droit, mais *oncques personnes, ne a secret ne en appert, on n’en ouy louer*. Et si ne fist oncques a Paris autant de honneur a roy comme on lui fist a sa venue et a son sacre...²⁸³

The Bourgeois’ assessment inverted the relationship presented through the Châtelet pageant, with Henry VI failing to meet the legal and judicial expectations voiced by the figurative *prévôt*. Justice, emphasised in the petition, was undermined by the continued imposition of taxes “contre loy et droit”, while no pardons were issued. The Bourgeois’ criticism encapsulated widespread dissatisfaction with the English entry among Parisians, and this despite the publication of a raft of remission letters “en reverence de notre sacre et

²⁸¹ Which seemed a very strange thing to the French, because the English were in charge of the organisation and they did not care for the honour of the ceremony. Ibid., fol. 137r.

²⁸² The sick of the Hôtel-Dieu. Ibid.

²⁸³ ...the king left Paris without according any of the concessions that were expected, such as the release of prisoners, a reduction in indirect taxes such as imposts, the salt tax, fourths on wine and other evil customs that are contrary to the law and right. Not a person, neither secretly nor openly, was heard praising him, and yet Paris had done more honour to him for his entry and coronation. Ibid. See also Appendix II, No. 12.

couronnement".²⁸⁴ Likewise, the privileges of the city and University of Paris were confirmed with the latter's exemption from taxes promulgated "pour contemplation de nostre sacre et couronnement" as well as to "acroistre et multiplier a l'exaltacion de nostre dicte foy et du bien publique de toute chrestienté".²⁸⁵ Nevertheless, a letter sent by the *prévôté des marchands* to Henry VI in March 1432 complements the Bourgeois' perspective, warning that it

...semble a la plusgrant partie du povre peuple que vous le ayez habandonnez et de tous poins laissez, par ce qu'ilz n'ont point eu par votre tresdesirée et joyeuse venue aucun alegement de leurs douleurs et tresgrief maux qu'ilz ont longuement enduré paciemment et endurent de jour en jour.²⁸⁶

The *prévôté des marchands'* repetition of popular complaint suggests that they may have shared these concerns. Crucially, Guillaume Sanguin and the *échevins* were intimately tied to the community of the Halles – those Burgundian sympathisers upon whom Lancastrian authority relied. Similar notions of abandonment were brought to the fore in a series of complaint poems produced prior to Paris' recapture by the Valois. The first of these, whose appeal to Bedford in England enables it to be dated to 1434, was copied into a different hand at the end of the account of Henry's Paris entry in Letter Book K. The poem lamented Paris' state, warning Bedford that "Fortune m'a virer ma chance, mettez moy hors

²⁸⁴ In reverence for our unction and coronation. Archives nationales, JJ//175, No. 27. Other examples from this register include letters no. 26, 53 and 83. Cf. Auguste Longnon (ed.), *Paris pendant la domination anglaise (1420-1436)*, (Paris: Champion, 1878), pp. 313-20, Nos. 154, 157 & 158.

²⁸⁵ In regard for our consecration and coronation; the increase and multiply the exaltation of our faith, the common good and for all Christendom. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//175, Nos. 29, 30 & 303. Cf. Auguste Longnon (ed.), *Paris pendant la domination anglaise*, pp. 324-7, Nos. 155, 156.

²⁸⁶ It seemed to the greater part of the poor people that you had abandoned them and in every point left them, because following your most desired and joyful entry they did not receive any alleviation of their pains and the great hardships that have patiently endured for a long time, and continue to endure day by day. Letter Book K, fol. 96v.

de celle dure serre, ou vous perdrez Paris et toute France".²⁸⁷ A second poem produced the following year emulates this complaint's imagery, arguing that Paris "as perdu tous ces biens, tu n'a plus riens, fors misere, peine et douleur".²⁸⁸ Both poems echoed the *prévôté des marchands'* emphasis upon the contractual character of Parisian support for the Dual Monarchy, the investment Paris was owed as the capital of Henry's French kingdom and, by 1434-5, the Lancastrian failure to reinforce the city. In this context, the Bourgeois' selective reconstruction of events echoed wider criticism of Henry VI.²⁸⁹ His presentation of the coronation encapsulated the failure of dialogue between Lancastrian centre and French capital, highlighting cultural differences: "espoir c'est pour ce que on ne les entend point parler, et que ilz nous entendent point."²⁹⁰ The Bourgeois presented English practices, Lancastrian ideals of authority and the invention of tradition as incompatible with pre-existing Parisian conceptions of French royalty and identity. The result was a profound sense of disparity that laid bare English *otherness* and articulated Lancastrian illegitimacy before the Parisian community upon which the Anglo-Burgundian regime sorely depended.

In short, interpretations of Henry VI's entry and coronation as "the zenith of English political propaganda in France" ignore important evidence that demonstrates how Parisians

²⁸⁷ I have lost Fortune's favour, deliver me from this trepidation, or you will lose Paris and all of France. Letter Book K, fol. 103r. Kristin Bourassa, "The Royal Entries", pp. 489-50.

²⁸⁸ [Paris, you] have lost all of these goods, you have nothing more besides misery, suffering and pain. Paris, BNF Fr. 5332, fol. 82r. The poem has been published in L. Auvray, "Complainte sur les misères de Paris, composée en 1435", *BSHP*, Vol. 18 (1891), pp. 84-7.

²⁸⁹ On these links see above, Chapter II.

²⁹⁰ The hope is that this is because we do not understand what they say, and they do not understand us. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 137v. The point underscores the wider argument that national identities were developing during the late Middle Ages. See David Green, "National Identities and the Hundred Years War" in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), pp. 115-130; Duncan Hardy, "The Hundred Years War and the 'Creation' of National Identity and the Written English Vernacular: A Reassessment", *Marginalia*, Vol. 17 (November 2013), pp. 22-24; Rees Davies, "Nations and National Identities in the Medieval World: An Apologia", *Revue belge d'histoire contemporaine*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (2004), pp. 567-579.

themselves interacted with these messages and their own involvement in their production.²⁹¹ Among surviving accounts, the *Journal* remains the sole example of commentary beyond courtly circles and, as such, represents an essential source for examining how Parisians themselves interacted with these messages. Through comparison with other surviving narratives, it becomes clear that the Bourgeois deliberately structured his description of Henry VI's entry and coronation with an emphasis upon the Parisian reaction it engendered to question the legitimate bases of the Dual Monarchy and emphasise the settlement's dependency upon the continued support of the capital, itself predicated upon the continued satisfaction of its demands, confirmation of its privileges and recognition of its precedence for the Lancastrian monarch.

Conclusion

The examination of civic and religious ceremony in the *Journal* reveals the extent to which these represented essential forums for dialogue between ruled and ruler, structured by and structuring ideological communication through symbolic and visual forms, elements over which the Bourgeois exerted his own authority in writing. However, most studies of late medieval civic and royal ceremony have examined their performance and development either through an empirical delineation of the events taking place or an assessment of the meaning that they sought to impose. In contrast, the *Journal* reveals how Parisian audiences themselves interpreted these messages. Through their reconstruction in writing, the Bourgeois presents an embodied perspective that strove to understand the symbolism

²⁹¹ J.W. McKenna, "Henry VI of England and the Dual Monarchy", 180.

evoked by civic and royal ceremony but that also witnessed the deployment of narrative authority to redefine this meaning from a perspective that suited the author, his audience and their wider community.

In this light, the Bourgeois' selective reconstruction of ceremony and his focus upon both popular agency in their unfolding and Parisian reactions demonstrates their centrality to the medieval public sphere as a forum for a symbolic negotiation of the legitimate bases of authority, within the city and for the overarching French royal polity.²⁹² Like rumour, these ceremonies worked by according each of their participants a sense of agency in the definition of ideological principles. Through the concentration upon ceremony, the Bourgeois signalled the continuing perception of Paris' ideological centrality for the French kingdom and the Dual Monarchy alike during an era when the capital's status was challenged on numerous fronts – from the development of rival political centres including Rouen, Caen and Lille, Bourges, Poitiers and even London, to the fragmentation of allegiances within the capital and the absence of its rulers from 1422.²⁹³ These public ceremonies revealed the manifold and complex relationships that emerged for fifteenth-century Paris between these centres and peripheries. Having arrogated a position of political and constitutional centrality in the previous century, the vicissitudes of the first decades of the fifteenth century saw an increased Parisian effort to secure this status. Ultimately, the Bourgeois used Henry VI's 1431 entry and coronation to signal the contractual underpinnings of the Dual Monarchy and the conditional character of Parisian support for

²⁹² Kathleen Daly, "'Centre', 'Power' and 'Periphery' in Late Medieval French Historiography: Some Reflections" in *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*, ed. Christopher Allmand, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000), 125.

²⁹³ Bernard Guenée, "Espace et État dans la France du Bas Moyen Âge" in *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 23 (4) 1968, 758.

Lancastrian rule in France, thereby defining the bases for English legitimacy in profoundly Parisian terms.

Besides direct dialogue with rulers, the *Journal* finally evidences the propagandistic potential of religious and civic ceremonies. Again, the Bourgeois' narrative authority determined the perceived influence of these events for his immediate community, with a large number of politically oriented processions omitted from the *Journal*. Paradoxically, perhaps, where ceremonies that represented a forum for interaction between Parisians and their rulers reiterated the city's centrality to royal policy, the Bourgeois was at pains to obfuscate the extent of Parisian institutions' involvement in and support for Lancastrian or Armagnac regimes. The ties between the city's inhabitants, divine judgement and royal authority were only made explicit when this suited the capital's prerogatives. Finally, ceremonies represented a forum for Parisian participation but, most of all, they were rhetorically malleable elements prone to alteration, reconstruction and manipulation in narratives such as the *Journal* that sought to emphasise Parisian identity and centrality when this was most threatened, stressing a collective memory of tradition, stability and power contrasted with the real political turbulence of the fifteenth century.

Chapter VI. Warfare, Taxation and Good Government

The *Journal's* concentration upon Parisian civic concerns throughout the first half of the fifteenth century presents the reader with a "little more widely representative" insight into the issues at the forefront of public debate and discourse beyond treatises or official chronicles.¹ Distant from the upper echelons of society, the *Journal* reveals engagement with socio-political issues by members of the civic artisanal and middle classes as well as the contributions of urban clergymen. Focusing upon political communication as a means of analysing the text, this thesis has shown how these issues were contested by Parisians. This chapter will examine the Bourgeois' own political and moral outlook, and how these related to ongoing conversations in Paris. The Bourgeois' selectivity demonstrates the problems that the author and his immediate community determined to be most acute, according the author agency in the condemnation or validation of political attitudes. This authority was also transmitted to the Bourgeois' audience(s), facilitating the evaluation of events largely beyond their control and affording them political agency.

¹ David Green, "National Identities and the Hundred Years War" in *Fourteenth Century England VI*, ed. Chris Given-Wilson, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), 129. Studies of political literature in the fifteenth century vary widely, ranging from assessments of the theory of individuals such as Christine de Pizan, Jean Juvénal des Ursins or Jean Gerson to polemical treatises or diplomatic materials. Examples of such research include Nicole Pons (ed.), *L'honneur de la couronne de France: Quatre libelles contre les Anglais (vers 1418 – vers 1429)*, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1990); "La propagande de guerre française avant l'apparition de Jeanne d'Arc", *Journal des Savants* (1982), pp. 191-214; Peter S. Lewis, "War Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 15 (1965), pp. 1-21; *Les écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, Vol. 3, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992), pp. 103-89; Craig Taylor, *Debating the Hundred Years War: Pour ce que plusieurs (la loy salicque) and A declaracion of the trew and dewe title of Henry VIII*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, (London: Routledge, 2002); Kathleen Daly, "Histoire et politique à la fin de la guerre de Cents ans: L' Abrégé des Chroniques' de Noel de Fribois" in *La 'France anglaise' au Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Éditions du CTHS, 1988), pp. 91-101; Daisy Delogu, "The King's Two Daughters: Isabelle of France and the University of Paris, Fille du Roy", *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (November 2013), pp. 1-21.

The *Journal* was fundamentally concerned with morality, exhibiting heightened anxieties regarding the qualities of France's rulers, its inhabitants and their collective duties for the maintenance of the common good, that ambiguous "keyword" of political rhetoric towards which spiritual and temporal authority alike must strive.² Such concerns were also at the forefront of contemporary political literature and symbolism.³ The political vacuum stemming from Charles VI's mental illness meant that fifteenth-century French society was fundamentally fissured, and social psychologists have argued that scenarios of uncertainty and instability accentuate the importance of moral frameworks for the interpretation of events.⁴ For example, Jean Gerson emphasised the importance of good government to mitigate the effects of original sin, and when Charles VII entered Paris in 1437 he was greeted by a contest between seven vices and virtues *in lieu* of the Worthies who had welcomed Henry VI.⁵

² Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, "Introduction. Du Bien Commun à l'idée de Bien Commun" in *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.) / Discours et pratique du Bien Commun dans les villes d'Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 2-6; Bernard Guenée, *L'Occident aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles. Les États*. 5th Edition, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1993), 103; M.S. Kempshall, *The Common Good in Late Medieval Political Thought*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp. 1-14; Bénédicte Sère, "Aristote et le bien commun au Moyen Âge: une histoire, une historiographie", *Revue Française d'Histoire des Idées politiques*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2010), pp. 279-82; Anthony Black, *Political Thought in Europe, 1250-1450*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 24-8.

³ Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Âge, 1380-1440*, (Paris: Picard, 1981), pp. 156-70; Franck Collard & Aude Mairey, "In the Mirror of Mutual Representation: Political Society as seen by its Members" in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c. 1300-c. 1500*, ed. Christopher Fletcher, Jean-Philippe Genet & John Watts, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 342-6.

⁴ Piero Paolicchi, "The Institutions Inside: Self, Morality, and Culture" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociocultural Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner & Alberto Rosa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 561-2

⁵ Jean Gerson, "Discours contre Guillaume de Tignonville" in *Œuvres complètes: l'œuvre française, sermons et discours*, Vol. 7, éd. Palémon Glorieux, (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1968), 600, 606; Montrelet, Vol. 5, 302; Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance*, (Geneva: Droz, 1986), 127; Jacques Krynen, "De la représentation à la

The Bourgeois was preoccupied with the aristocratic flouting of those rules necessary for the governing of society, demonstrating how those engaging with moral schema pursue “debates at the public level... about the different values that those presuppositions can equally support”.⁶ To evaluate the importance of socio-political discursive concepts in late medieval society, recent scholarship has employed ‘critical discourse analysis’ (CDA), considering discourse as a form of social practice integral to constituting (and tracing) social relations.⁷ CDA builds upon Foucauldian and Habermasian interpretations of power, with the former perceiving human interaction as encapsulating a continuous negotiation of power and the latter arguing that strategic uses of language are central to the affirmation of centralised authority.⁸ Fundamentally, these approaches contend that the discursive structures ideological conceptualisation, the formation of social relations and framing of action.⁹ Through these processes, individuals assume ‘conventional discourses’ – “oft-

dépossession du roi. Les parlementaires ‘prêtres de la justice’”, *Mélanges de l’Ecole française de Rome*, Vol. 114, No. 1 (2002), pp. 109-11.

⁶ Piero Paolicchi, “The Institutions Inside”, 563; Thierry Dutour, “Les génies invisibles de la cité: Recherche sur les espaces et les mots de la participation à la vie publique dans quelques villes de l’espace francophone de langue d’oïl à la fin du Moyen Âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècle)” in *Marquer la ville: Signes, traces, empreintes du pouvoir (XIII^e-XVI^e siècle)*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2013), pp. 463-4.

⁷ Jan Dumolyn has consistently promoted this approach to medieval texts in his studies on late medieval discourse and chronicle writing. Jan Dumolyn, “‘Criers and Shouters’. The Discourse on Radical Urban Rebels in Late Medieval Flanders”, *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Autumn 2008), pp. 111-12; “Le povre peuple estoit moult opprimé’: Elite Discourses on ‘The People’ in the Burgundian Netherlands (Fourteenth to Fifteenth Centuries)”, *French History*, Vol. 23, No. 2 (June 2009), pp. 173-4. The approach has influenced a number of further studies: Marc Boone, “The Dutch Revolt and the Medieval Tradition of Urban Dissent”, *Journal of Early Modern History*, Vol. 11, No. 4-5 (January 2007), 369; Valerie Vrancken, “United in Revolt and Discourse: Urban and Noble Perceptions of ‘Bad Government’ in Fifteenth-Century Brabant (1420-1)”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 5 (2017), 582.

⁸ Jürgen Habermas, *The Theory of Communicative Action, Vol. 2. Lifeworld and System: A Critique of Functionalist Reason*, trans. Thomas McCarthy, (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1987), pp. 119-38; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–1977*, ed. & trans. Colin Gordon, (London: Harvester Press, 1980), 136; Simon During, *Foucault and Literature: Towards a Genealogy of Writing*, (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 147-55.

⁹ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2008), pp. 2-9, 22-35.

repeated, shared schema” – to formulate opinions and discussion central to the public sphere.¹⁰

Through the Bourgeois’ discussion of issues such as warfare, taxation and good government, it becomes possible to discern the extent to which his writing echoed the conventional ways of thinking about these issues.¹¹ Where proponents of CDA in medieval studies have used extensive corpora to trace the use of specific linguistic elements, this analysis proposes to address the issues discussed by the Bourgeois thematically, comparing these issues to their expression in contemporary courtly literature and political theory.¹² The approach resituates the Bourgeois’ writing within a wider schema of political reflection, demonstrating how Parisians distant from elite spheres of authority appropriated political discourse for their own assessments of political legitimacy.

The Bourgeois’ overarching vision of society was straightforward, distinguishing two groups: the powerful and the powerless. This bipartite view was traced along the fault-lines of the French civil conflict, with the “gros bourgeois”, wealthiest citizens, merchants and bureaucrats associated with Armagnac policies and poorer urban inhabitants conflated

¹⁰ Claudia Strauss, *Making Sense of Public Opinion*, 15; Mikhail Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. & trans. Michael Holquist, (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 345.

¹¹ On their prevalence see Lydwine Scordia, ‘*Le roi doit vivre du sien*’: *La théorie de l’impôt en France (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)*, (Paris: Institut d’Études Augustiniennes, 2005), pp. 136-44; 200-5, 278-83; Nicolas Offenstadt, “Paix de Dieu et paix des hommes. L’action politique à la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Politix*, Vol. 15, No. 58 (2002), pp. 64-76; Jean Dunbabin, “Government” in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought, c. 350-1450*, ed. J.H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 501-19; Jacques Krynen, “Droit romain et état monarchique: A propos du cas français” in *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Joël Blanchard (Paris: Picard, 1995), pp. 13-23.

¹² Jean-Philippe Genet, “New politics or new language? The words of politics in Yorkist and early Tudor England” in *The End of the Middle Ages?*, ed. J.L. Watts (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 23-64; Christopher Fletcher, “What Makes a Political Language? Key Terms, Profit and Damage in the Common Petition of the English Parliament, 1343-1422” in *The Voices of the People in Late Medieval Europe: Communication and Popular Politics*, ed. Jan Dumolyn, Jelle Haemers, Hipólito Rafael Oliva Herrer & Vincent Challet, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), pp. 92-8.

with the Burgundian faction.¹³ Through this dichotomy, the *Journal* exhibited established political tropes, demonstrating the influence of authorities such as Aristotle, St. Augustine and Aquinas.¹⁴ Growing Aristotelian influence in the thirteenth century led political commentators to conceptualise society as being divided into “iii estaz qui sont partie de cité ou citiens” and “iii manieres de gens qui ne sont pas citiens ne partie de cité”.¹⁵ This distinction between those who exhibited political agency and those excluded paralleled the *Journal*'s structuring binary.¹⁶ The dichotomy also highlights a glaring omission in the Bourgeois' conception of society: the 'mean' which, as Oresme argued, “vertu fait le moien trouver par raison et eslire par volonté”.¹⁷ In the *Politics*, Aristotle argued that stable polities required a strong middle class “pource que cest policie seule est sans sedition et sans conspiracion”.¹⁸ The role attributed to the middling sort, the class that comprised the Bourgeois' lay Parisian audience, was based on their ability to rationally participate in

¹³ Bertrand Schnerb, *Less Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: La maudite guerre*, (Paris: Perrin, 1988), pp. 123-30, 190-3; Emily Hutchison, “Knowing One's Place: Space, Violence and Legitimacy in Early Fifteenth-century Paris”, *The Medieval History Journal*, Vol. 20, No. 1 (2017), pp. 57-8.

¹⁴ Their main works, the *Ethics* and *Politics* and the *City of God* were translated by Nicole Oresme and Raoul de Presles in the fourteenth century. Jean Devaux, “Introduction. Littérature et politique sous les premiers Valois”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 116, No. 3 (2010), pp. 537-40; Olivier Bertrand, “Histoire du lexique politique français: émergence des corpus aristotélicien et augustinien à la fin du Moyen Âge”, in *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet & Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Viella, 2011), pp. 168-78; Péter Molnár, “Saint Thomas d'Aquin et les traditions de la pensée politique”, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire au Moyen Âge*, Vol. 69, No. 1 (2002), pp. 71-85.

¹⁵ Cited in Claire Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle: Verbal and Visual Representations in Fourteenth-Century France*, (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1995), 257.

¹⁶ Claire Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, 262; Joël Blanchard, “Ordre et utopie: Une alliance possible? Le *Songe du vieux pèlerin* de Philippe de Mézières” in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd'hui: Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Julie Claustre, Olivier Mattéoni & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 60-2.

¹⁷ Virtue causes the mean to be found through reason and chosen by will. Nicole Oresme, *Le livre de Ethiques d'Aristote*, ed. Albert D. Menut, (New York : Stechert, 1940), pp. 162-3; Claire Sherman, *Imaging Aristotle*, pp. 60-66.

¹⁸ Because only this policy is without sedition and conspiracy. Nicole Oresme, *Maistre Nicole Oresme: Le Livre de Politiques d'Aristote*, published with the text of the Avranches manuscript 223 with a critical introduction and notes, ed. Albert Douglas Menut, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1970), 187.

political decision making in almost a Habermasian sense, since “la multitude de celles gens moiens obeist tres legierement a raison”.¹⁹

The approach echoes late medieval understandings of the body politic that stressed the dangers inherent in disproportionality, since “la policie est mal ordenee... quant par exactions ou par malvés contracts... un des membres attrait a soy trop de nourrissement, ce est assavoir des richeces par quoy tel membre est fait trop gros oultre mesure”.²⁰

Fundamentally concerned with the disruption of a divinely ordered society, Christine de Pizan argued that “toute ainsi comme le corps humain n’est mie entier, mais deffectueulx et diffourné quant il lui fault aucun de ses membres, semblablement ne peut le corps de policie estre parfait, entier ne sain ne se tous les estas... ne sont en bonne conjunction et union ensemble”.²¹ As the head of this schema, the just king moderated his passions and followed a middle course, as demonstrated by the philosopher-king Charles V, lauded for

¹⁹ The majority of these middling people are quick to follow reason. Nicole Oresme, *Politiques*, 186.

²⁰ The polity is poorly ordered when, through taxes and evil contracts, one of the members accumulates too much nourishment, that is, wealth, such that the limb becomes disproportionately large. through Ibid., 209; Cary J. Nederman, “The Living Body Politic: The Diversification of Organic Metaphors in Nicole Oresme and Christine de Pizan” in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green & Constant J. Mews, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 21-26. See also Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit. La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XV^e siècle*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), pp. 28-30.

²¹ Just as the human body is not complete, but defective and deformed when it is missing one of its limbs, similarly the body politic cannot be perfect, complete and healthy unless all of its estates are in good harmony and union together. Christine de Pizan, *Le livre de corps de policie*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, (Paris: Champion, 1998), 91. Other contemporary examples include Philippe de Mézières, *Songe du vieil pèlerin*, Vol. 2, ed. G.W. Coopland, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 249, Book 3, Chapter 236 and Eustache Deschamps, “Comment le chief et les membres doivent amer l’un l’autre” in *Œuvres complètes d’Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Auguste-Henry-Edouard, le marquis de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, Vol. 2, (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1887), 89. See also, Laurence Harf-Lancner, “Les Membres et l’Estomac : la fable et son interprétation politique au Moyen Âge”, in *Penser le pouvoir au Moyen Âge (VIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. Dominique Boutet et Jacques Verger (Paris : Presses de l’Ecole normale supérieure, 2000), pp. 120-26; Amnon Linder, “The Knowledge of John of Salisbury in the Late Middle Ages,” *Studi medievali*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (1977), pp. 315-66.

his “prudence et science”.²² Aquinas similarly equated societal balance and harmony with the common good, encapsulated by the union of men for a common cause.²³ If *proportional* inequality guaranteed political stability, the Bourgeois demonstrated how *disproportionate* inequality, in the form of Parisian destitution and the cupidity of aristocrats and bureaucrats, undermined the French body politic.²⁴ Indeed, as Oresme glossed, “partout est faite sedition pour cause de inequalité... simplement a parler, les gens funt seditions pource que il querent equalité”.²⁵

In the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries a series of French authors interrogated the overlap between political authority and moral responsibility, encapsulated by the debate surrounding Louis d’Orléans assassination in November 1407.²⁶ These debates brought to the fore moral and theological issues that defined understandings of the French civil conflict and inherently influenced the Bourgeois’ narrative, structured by the

²² Christine de Pizan, *Le Chemin de longue étude* cited in Virginie Minet-Mahy, *Esthétique et pouvoir de l’œuvre allégorique à l’époque de Charles VI: imaginaires et discours*, (Paris: Champion, 2005), 169-72; Philippe Buc, “Pouvoir royal et commentaires de la Bible (1150-1350)”, *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations*, Vol. 44, No. 3 (1989), 696.

²³ Thomas Aquinas, *On the Government of Rulers*, ed. & trans. James M. Blythe, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), Book 1, Chapter 2, pp. 63-5.

²⁴ On the growing importance of cupidity and avarice in moral and didactic literature in the High Middle Ages see Lester K. Little, “Pride Goes before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom”, *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 76, No. 1 (February 1971), pp. 27-39; Nicole Pons, “Un traité inédit de bon gouvernement: le *Triologue Quiéret* (1461)” in *Un Moyen Âge pour aujourd’hui: Mélanges offerts à Claude Gauvard*, ed. Julie Claustre, Olivier Mattéoni & Nicolas Offenstadt, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2010), pp. 167-8.

²⁵ Everywhere, sedition is provoked by inequality; put simply, people revolt because they seek equality. Nicole Oresme, *Politiques*, 206.

²⁶ These authors, ranging from Nicole Oresme and Philippe de Mézières to Pierre Salmon, Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, Alain Chartier and Jean-Juvénal des Ursins, are too numerous to discuss in any great detail here. For research into their political reflections see Jacques Lemaire, *Les visions de la vie de cour dans la littérature française de la fin du Moyen Âge*, (Paris: Editions Klincksieck, 1994), pp. 112-183; Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, pp. 119-23, 162-70, 315-26; Joël Blanchard & Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir à l’aube des Temps Modernes*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 33-58. On the debates surrounding Louis d’Orléans assassination see Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit*.

juxtaposition of Christian sin and virtue.²⁷ In particular, the *Journal* echoed the assertion, emphasised in Jean Petit's *Justification* (1408), that cupidity was the root of human sin, developing a perception of immorality rooted in the failure of specific classes, especially the aristocracy, to fulfil their obligations as part of the body politic.²⁸ Burgundian propaganda built upon this assertion, empathising with Paris' middling classes who felt disproportionately burdened by taxation.²⁹ The Bourgeois alluded to this societal disconnect following the Cabochien revolt: "les grans s'entre-hayoient, les moyens estoient grevez par sussides, les tres pouvres ne trouvoient ou gaigner".³⁰

Three issues predominant in the *Journal* will be examined here, namely warfare, taxation and good government.³¹ An assessment of the "practical routines" by which the Bourgeois discussed these issues sheds light on how Parisians more widely may have responded to the political turbulence of the early fifteenth century.³² During the fourteenth century, taxation had become increasingly regular and pervasive as a result of the continued Hundred Years War.³³ Taxation was closely related to notions of "popular consent,

²⁷ Lucie Jollivet, "Le milieu humaniste français et la réhabilitation de la mémoire de Louis d'Orléans" in *Humanisme et politique en France à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Carla Bozzolo, Claude Gauvard et Helene Millet, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2018), pp. 141-57.

²⁸ Monstrelet, Vol. 1, 184; RSD, Vol. 1, 104; D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 164-5.

²⁹ Emily Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds in Early Fifteenth-Century France: Burgundian Propaganda in Perspective", *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (Winter 2012), pp. 9-22.

³⁰ The lords hated one another, the middle classes were overburdened by subsidies and the poorest could not find anything to earn. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 28r.

³¹ Adrien Carbonnet, Anh Thy Nguyen & David Dominé-Cohn, "Résister au Moyen Âge, Introduction", *Questes*, Vol. 39 (2018), 18.

³² Thomas Slunecko & Sophie Hengl, "Language, Cognition, Subjectivity: A Dynamic Constitution" in *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociocultural Psychology*, ed. Jaan Valsiner & Alberto Rosa, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 48-9.

³³ Charles M. Radding, "Royal Tax Revenues in Later Fourteenth Century France", *Traditio*, Vol. 32 (1976), pp. 361-368; John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson and Political Society in France under Charles V and Charles VI*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 105-6; *Royal Taxation in Fourteenth-Century France: The Development of War Financing, 1322-1359*, (Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 1976), pp. 320-9; Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien', pp. 314-22; Maurice

representation, urgent necessity and the common good”, with the consequence that the relationship between warfare and taxation framed the considerations of legitimate government that dominated the Armagnac-Burgundian conflict.³⁴ The *Songe du Vergier* (c. 1378) clearly identified the exploitation of funds by aristocrats as contrary to the common good and as an example of tyrannical behaviour, whereas the theologian Nicolas de Clamanges († c. 1437) asserted that tax should only be collected upon the consent of the three estates in cases of necessity for the common good.³⁵ However, the institution of a regular *taille* from 1439 reduced the Estates’ influence within the kingdom’s administration.³⁶ Earlier Burgundian propaganda had conflated understandings of tyranny with Orléanist

Rey, *Le domaine du roi et les finances extraordinaires sous Charles VI (1388-1413)*, (Paris: SEPVEN, 1965), pp. 164-7.

³⁴ Christian Liddy, ““Bee war of gyle in borugh”: Taxation and Political Discourse in Late Medieval English Towns”, in *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*, eds. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet, Andrea Zorzi, (Rome : Viella, 2011), 467; Lydwine Scordia, “Le bien commun, argument *pro et contra* de la fiscalité royale, dans la France de la fin du Moyen Âge”, *Revue française d’Histoire des idées politiques*, Vol. 32, No. 2 (2010), pp. 297-309; Gisela Naegle, “Armes à double tranchant? *Bien commun* et *chose publique* dans les villes françaises du Moyen Âge” in *De Bono Communi. The Discourse and Practice of the Common Good in the European City (13th-16th c.)/ Discours et pratique du Bien Commun dans les villes d’Europe (XIII^e au XVI^e siècle)*, ed. Élodie Lecuppre-Desjardin & Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 56; Claude Gauvard, “L’opinion publique aux confins des états et des principautés au début du XV^e siècle” in *Les principautés au Moyen Âge. Communications du Congrès de Bordeaux en 1973, revues et corrigées: Actes des Congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l’enseignement supérieur public 4, 1973, Bordeaux*, (Bordeaux, 1979), pp. 141-5.

³⁵ *Le Songe du Vergier*, édité d’après le manuscrit royal 19 C IV de la British Library, Vol. 1, ed. Marion Schnerb-Lièvre (Paris: Éditions du CNRS, 1982), pp. 217-221; Nicolas de Clamanges, “De lapsu et reparatione iusticiae” & “De lapsu terribilissimorum in regno Franciae, Epistola LXVII”, *Opera omnia*, ed. Johannes Lydius, (Leiden: Henricus Laurentium, 1613), pp. 55, 191-7; Bertrand Schnerb, “Charles V au miroir du *Songe du Vergier*”, *Le Moyen Âge*, Vol. 116, No 3 (2010), 555; Lydwine Scordia, ‘*Le roi doit vivre du sien*’, 296; Lucie Jollivet, “Les humanistes français, le roi et le tyran. Débats autour du tyrannicide au sein du milieu humaniste français, 1^{ère} moitié du XV^e siècle”, *Medievalista*, Vol. 23 (2018), accessed on 04/10/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/medievalista/1641?lang=fr>; Gabrielle Spiegel, “Defence of the Realm: Evolution of a Propaganda Slogan”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 3 (1977), pp. 115-133.

³⁶ Jean Nicolas, Julio Valdéron & Sergij Vilfan, “The Monarchic State and Resistance in Spain, France and the Old Provinces of the Habsburgs, 1400-1800”, *Resistance, Representation and Community*, ed. Peter Blickle, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 76; Rosemary L. Hopcroft, “Maintaining the Balance of Power: Taxation and Democracy in England and France, 1340-1688”, *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (1999), pp. 73-4.

figures while associating the common good with the welfare of the lower echelons of urban society who felt prejudiced by the extensive taxation portrayed as lining the pockets of nobles and bureaucrats.³⁷ This stance coloured the Bourgeois' own interpretation of Parisian politics, indicating the effectiveness of Burgundian propaganda that married ducal politics with the concerns of Paris' artisanal classes.³⁸ These related issues also reveal greater scrutiny of the growing powers of the French state in the fifteenth century.³⁹ In part, royal power was predicated upon the king's ability to raise finance and pursue war, dependent upon a capacity to rhetorically communicate conflict's necessity for the defence of the common good and maintenance of peace, thereby substantiating the legitimacy of accruing finance.⁴⁰

These issues were moralised as a fundamental aspect of political commentary, encapsulating both the 'offstage' informal discussions of the hidden transcript and more

³⁷ Bernard Chevalier, *Les bonnes villes de France du XIV^e au XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Aubier Montaigne, 1982), pp. 94-100; Maurice Rey, *Le domaine du roi*, 195. Emily J. Hutchison systematically examined this propaganda campaign in her thesis, "Pour le bien du roy et de son royaume': Burgundian Propaganda under John the Fearless, Duke of Burgundy, 1405-1419", PhD Thesis, University of York, 2006, pp. 43-60.

³⁸ Werner Paravicini, "Administrateurs professionnels et princes dilettantes. Remarques sur un problème de sociologie administrative à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Beihefte der Francia*, Vol. 9 (1980) pp. 175-7; Philippe Contamine, "Le témoignage des ordonnances royales, début XV^e- début XVI^e siècle" in *Pratiques de la culture écrite en France au XV^e siècle*, ed. Monique Ornato & Nicole Pons, (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des instituts médiévales, 1995), 210.

³⁹ Jacques Krynen, "Genèse de l'État et histoire des idées politiques" in *Culture et idéologie dans la genèse de l'État moderne. Actes de la table ronde de Rome (15-17 octobre 1984)*, (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1985), pp. 409-10.

⁴⁰ Bernard Chevalier, "Genèse de la fiscalité urbaine en France", *Revista d'istoria medieval*, Vol. 7 (1996), pp. 22-25; Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien', pp. 135-56; M.S. Kempshall, *The Common Good*, pp. 62-5, 149-53, 319-20; Gerald Harriss, "Political Society and the Growth of Government in Late Medieval England", *Past & Present*, No. 138 (February 1993), pp. 33-4; Christopher D. Fletcher, "Corruption at Court? Crisis and the Theme of *luxuria* in England and France, c.1340-1422" in *The Court as a Stage: England and the Low Countries in the later Middle Ages*, ed. S.J. Gunn & A. Janse, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 30-2; Claude Gauvard, "Droit et pratiques judiciaires dans les villes du nord du royaume de France à la fin du Moyen Âge: l'enseignement des sources" in *Pratiques sociales et politiques judiciaires dans les villes de l'Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed Jacques Chiffolleau, Claude Gauvard & Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2007), pp. 33-7.

formalised conventions of petitions and complaint that together contested the foundations of royal authority.⁴¹ Considering this contest, popular experiences were integral to the Bourgeois' paradigm of moral evaluation; reflection upon human action in terms of popular suffering accorded the Bourgeois' rhetorical presentation of the commons real *political* power as a legitimising insight into the divine will. These juxtapositions also developed a framework for 'reading' power, whereby popular experiences validated or discredited aristocratic action. Evidencing the strength of civic consciousness, the Bourgeois also consistently focused upon the role played by Paris in notions of good government. The issues of warfare, taxation and political authority were all considered in relation to the capital, articulating a sense of Parisian political centrality that had been established ideologically during the fourteenth century while evidencing the anxieties stemming from the city's increasing isolation during the Bourgeois' lifetime. Through the moralisation of topics discussed by his fellow Parisians, the Bourgeois drew important boundaries between sinful and virtuous behaviour, consolidating Paris' Christian characteristics and reasserting the immoral illegitimacy of the city's enemies.⁴² By examining this moral framework, it becomes possible to determine how Parisians peripheral to political institutions and courtly circles themselves participated in ideological discourse.

⁴¹ The fluidity of medieval urban modes of contest has been demonstrated by Christian Liddy & Jelle Haemers, "Popular Politics in the Late Medieval City: York and Bruges", *English Historical Review*, Vol. 128, No. 533 (2013), pp. 780-1. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), pp. 4-5. A similar view has been adopted for early modern French rural communities. Jill Maciak Walshaw, *A Show of Hands for the Republic: Opinion, Information and Repression in Eighteenth-Century Rural France*, (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 198.

⁴² As seen above in his development of the Armagnac stereotype, Chapter IV. Christopher Fletcher, "La moralité religieuse comme contrat social: les officiers en Angleterre et en France à la fin du Moyen Âge" in *Avant le contrat social: le contrat politique dans l'Occident médiéval, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. François Foronda, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2011), pp. 391-6.

Warfare

The Bourgeois' interpretation of warfare was determined primarily by his empathetic concern for non-combatants, echoing other political commentators in his lamentation of the total inversion of societal order resulting from warfare.⁴³ This disruption was coupled with an interpretation of conflict explained, primarily, in terms of divine judgement. The Bourgeois scorned all forms of violence between Christians, interpreting the outcome of military engagements as divine retribution for human error that underscored broader notions of political illegitimacy. 'Just' war was that which was waged for the defence of the city and the preservation of the social order against those rhetorically situated beyond the boundaries of the Christian community who threatened France's desolation. Through this moral paradigm, the Bourgeois resumed arguments that viewed 'true war' as that fought against the enemies of Christendom, rationalising civil conflict, with the Armagnacs portrayed as external to the Christian community.⁴⁴ Moreover, this animosity towards

⁴³ Such societal debates are exemplified by Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*, ed. E. Droz, (Paris: Champion, 1923). Numerous studies have examined literary responses to fifteenth-century conflict in France, particularly in the writings of Alain Chartier and Christine de Pizan. Carla Bozzolo, "Familles éclatées, amis dispersés: Échos des guerres civiles dans les écrits de Christine de Pizan et de ses contemporains" in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21-27 July 2000)*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw & Catherine M. Muller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), pp. 119-128; Daisy Delogu, "Le Livre des quatre dames d'Alain Chartier: plaintes amoureuses, critiques sociales", *Le Moyen Français*, Vol. 48 (2001), pp. 7-21; Tania Van Hemelryck, "Le Livre des quatre dames d'Alain Chartier. Un plaidoyer pacifique", *Romania*, Vol. 124, No. 496 (2006), pp. 529-30; Marianne Ailes, "Literary Responses to Agincourt: The Allegories of *Le Pastoralet* and the *Quadrologue Invectif*", *Reading Medieval Studies*, Vol. 41 (2015), 15; Craig Taylor, "'La maleureuse bataille': Fifteenth-Century French Reactions to Agincourt", *French History*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (2019), pp. 355-77; "Alain Chartier and Chivalry: Debating Knighthood in the Context of the Hundred Years War" in *A Companion to Alain Chartier (c. 1385-1430): Father of Eloquence*, ed. Daisy Delogu, Joan E. McRae & Emma Cayley, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 154-60.

⁴⁴ These views were encouraged by crusading rhetoric. Suzanne M. Yeager, *Jerusalem in Medieval Narrative*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 137-63; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood in France during the Hundred Years War*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 111-16; Anne Curry, "War or Peace? Philippe de Mézières, Richard II and Anglo-French Diplomacy" in *Philippe de Mézières and his Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate

warfare explains the relative absence of any valorisation of chivalric qualities in the *Journal* when compared with fifteenth-century chronicles, explained in part due to the absence of an aristocratic audience.⁴⁵ Rather, the Bourgeois predominantly portrayed soldiers, knights and princes as exploitative, cruel, vain or idle, pursuing personal gain in contrast to the common good, justice and peace.⁴⁶

Throughout the *Journal*, the Bourgeois moralised conflict to legitimate Parisian perspectives, exhibiting clerical and civic reactions to violence, framed by an urban ideology focused upon peace, prosperity and stability.⁴⁷ The moral contingencies of war were evidence of divine intervention (and retribution), facilitating parallels between French and Old Testament experiences, that underscored Parisian parallels with the Israelites as God's elect.⁴⁸ This moralisation also substantiated criticism of France's elite, with continual warfare

Blumenfeld-Kosinski & Kiril Petrov, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 302-14; David Trim, "'Knights of Christ?': Chivalric Culture in England, c. 1400-c.1550" in *Cross, Crown and Community: Religion, Government and Culture in Early Modern England, 1400-1800*, ed. David J.B. Trim, Peter J. Balderstone & Harry Leonard, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2004), pp. 87-90.

⁴⁵ Examples of such historical texts include those with an indirect heritage from Jean le Bel and Jean Froissart, such as the chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet or Georges Chastellain and Jean de Wavrin, as well as the biographies produced by Gilles le Bouvier or Guillaume Gruel. For a comparison with contemporary texts examining warfare, history and society see Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 3, 12-18; Georges le Brusque, "Chronicling the Hundred Years War in Burgundy and France in the Fifteenth Century" in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux & Neil Thomas, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 77-81, 86-9. On chivalric qualities see Matthew Strickland, *War and Chivalry: The Conduct and Perception of War in England and Normandy, 1066-1217*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 19; Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 130-132; Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry: Warfare and Aristocratic Culture in England, France and Burgundy at the End of the Middle Ages*, (London: Duckworth, 1981), pp. 1-4; Christopher Allmand, "Changing Views of the Soldiers in Late Medieval France" in *Guerre et Société en France, en Angleterre et en Bourgogne XIV^e-XV^e siècle*, ed. Philippe Contamine, Charles Giry-Deoison & Maurice H. Keen, (Lille: Université Charles de Gaulle, 1991), pp. 176-8.

⁴⁶ Megan Cassidy-Welch, "Grief and Memory after the Battle of Agincourt" in *The Hundred Years War (Part II): Different Vistas*, ed. Andrew L.J. Villalon & Donald J. Kagay, (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 148.

⁴⁷ Philippe Contamine, "Charles VII, les Français et la paix, 1420-1445", *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Vol. 137, No. 1 (1993), pp. 11-13, 18-21; Georges le Brusque, "Chronicling the Hundred Years War", pp. 82-5.

⁴⁸ Joseph Strayer, "France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People and the Most Christian King", in *Medieval Statecraft and the Perspective of History: Essays by Joseph Strayer*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton

perceived as a direct consequence of aristocratic cupidity contributing to a transgression of those cultural values ensuring social stability, described by Christoph Mauntel as “eine Normverletzung ganz anderer Ebene verweist”.⁴⁹ Ultimately, the Bourgeois questioned the chivalric qualities ostensibly espoused by the nobility, instead emphasising aristocratic cowardice and indicating Parisian frustrations with the military class.⁵⁰

Warfare and Non-Combatants

The juxtaposition of non-combatant experiences with those of the nobility was central to the Bourgeois’ assessment of aristocratic behaviour. In the *Journal* non-combatants comprised a heterogeneous group – all those who did not participate in conflict, regardless of socio-economic status. This view was distanced from more nuanced considerations developed in contemporary political theory, with Honoré Bovet suggesting that exceptions did not apply to those who contributed through financial aid or counsel to conflict, while other writers stressed similar distinctions.⁵¹ In the *Journal*, the heterogeneous character of the victims of soldierly violence was signalled during the Praguerie in 1440:

University Press, 1971), pp. 300-14; Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, trans. Susan Ross Hutston, ed. Fredric L. Cheyette, (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1991), pp. 172-93; Jacques Krynen, “‘Rex Christianissimus’: A Medieval Theme at the Roots of French Absolutism”, *History and Anthropology*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1989), pp. 79-96; David Trim, “‘Knights of Christ?’, pp. 101-4.

⁴⁹ A violation of norms on a completely different level. Christoph Mauntel, “Das Maß der Gewalt”, 137. See also Christopher Allmand, “War and the Non-Combatant in the Middle Ages” in *Medieval Warfare: A History*, ed. Maurice Keen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 264-9.

⁵⁰ Maurice Keen, “Chivalry and the Aristocracy” in *The New Cambridge Medieval History. Vol VI, c. 1300-c.1415*, ed. Michael Jones, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 219-20; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 64-70.

⁵¹ Honoré Bovet, *The Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet*, ed. & trans. G.W. Coopland, (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1949), pp. 183-7, XCIII, XCV & XCVII; Philippe de Mézieres, *Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*, Vol. I, 517; Françoise le Saux, “War and knighthood in Christine de Pizan’s ‘Livre des faits d’armes et de chevalerie’” in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise le Saux & Neil Thomas, (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), pp. 102-3; Christopher Allmand,

Et tuoient et coppoient les gorges les uns aux autres, fut prebstre, ou clerç, ou moyne, menesterel, ou herault, femmes ou enfens. Brief, il n'estoit homme ne femme qui s'osast mectre en chemin pour chose qu'il eust a faire.⁵²

In early 1418, these experiences had extended to the highest echelons of society.

"Femmes d'onneur" leaving the capital to examine their properties were "efforcées, et leur compaignie bastue, navrée et desrobbée".⁵³ Even Charles VI's household servants were attacked by Armagnac men-at-arms, "et les navrerent de plusieurs plaies, et puis les desroberent de tout ce qu'ilz porent".⁵⁴ This heterogeneity underscored the profound societal disruption that the Bourgeois perceived as the consequence of sustained conflict. The stress upon victims' social status highlighted the transgression of cultural codes, demonstrated by the rape of virgins and nuns that undermined religious vows or attacks upon heralds that compromised their exemption from combat. The presentation of non-combatant experiences echoed the figure of 'People' in Alain Chartier's *Quarilogue invectif*, who complained: "Que appelle-je guerre? Ce n'est pas guerre qui en ce royaume se mayne, c'est une privée roberie, ung larrecin habandonné, force publique soubz ombre d'armes et violente rapine que faulte de justice et de bonne ordonnance fait estre loisible."⁵⁵

"War and the Non-Combatant", pp. 254-8; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 212-27; James Turner Johnson, "Maintaining the Protection of Non-Combatants", *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 37, No. 4 (July 2000), pp. 427-9.

⁵² "[Both sides] killed and cut the throats of one another, whether they were priests, clerics, monks, minstrel or heralds, women or children. In short, no man or woman dared to travel for any reason." Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 167v.

The list was repeated in the Bourgeois' depiction of the devastation wrought by *écorcheurs* in the Ile-de-France later that year: "ne homme de quelque estat qu'il fust, fust moyne, prebstre, ne religieux de quelque ordre, fust nonnain, fust femme ou enffent de quelque aage, que s'il yssoit dehors Paris, qui ne fust en grant peril de sa vie." Ibid., fol. 178v.

⁵³ Raped, and their companions beaten, wounded and robbed. Ibid., fols. 43r-43v.

⁵⁴ ...and inflicted upon them several injuries before robbing them of everything they had. Ibid., fol. 43r.

⁵⁵ What do I call war? It is not war that is led in this kingdom but private robbery, wilful theft, public violence under the pretext of armed action and violent pillage that are rendered licit due to the

The Bourgeois articulated the societal collapse resulting from these transgressions in his response to Jean sans Peur's assassination in 1419. The English invasion had disrupted traditional livelihoods and forced non-combatants from their homes:

...comme eussent esté bestes sauvaiges, dont il convient que les uns truantent qui souloient donner, les autres servent qui souloient estre serviz, les autres larrons et meurdriers par desespoir, bonnes pucelles, bonnes proudes femmes venir a honte par effors ou autrement, qui par necessité sont devenues mauvaises; tant de moynes, tant de prebstres, tant de dames de religion ou d'autres gentilz femmes avoir tout laissé par force et mis corps et ame au desespoir. ... Tant d'enfans mors nez par faulte d'ayde, tant de mors sans confession par tyrannie et en autre maniere, tant de mors sans sepulture en forestz et en autre destour, tant de mariaiges qui ont esté delaissés a faire, tant d'eglises arses et bruiés, et chappelles, maisons Dieu, malladeries ou on souloit faire le saint service Notre Seigneur et les oeuvres de miserricorde, ou il n'a mais que les places...⁵⁶

Turbulence threatened France's moral probity, with non-combatants unable to pursue their livelihoods, inculcating an atmosphere of despair that provoked the destitute to pursue violence themselves.⁵⁷ Turmoil fractured the moral ties that sustained societal

absence of justice and good government. Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*, ed. E. Droz, (Paris: Champion, 1923), 19.

⁵⁶ ...as if they were wild animals, such that now those who used to give must beg, those who used to be served must serve; in desperation, others become brigands and murderers; respectable maidens and women have been brought to shame through rape or otherwise, and have been compelled by necessity to become wanton. So many monks, priests, women of religious orders and other gentlewomen have been forced to abandon everything and surrender their bodies and souls to despair... So many children have been born dead for lack of aid, so many people have died without confession due to cruelty [*tyrannie*] and otherwise, so many of the dead lie unburied in forests and other isolated places. So many intended marriages have been abandoned, so many churches burned as well as chapels, hospitals, leper houses where once it was accustomed to perform the service of Our Lord and the works of charity, and now only the sites remain... Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 62v-63r. For the Bourgeois' reaction to Jean sans Peur's murder and the state of France, see below, Appendix II, No. 5.

⁵⁷ Similar attitudes were expressed by Jean Gerson and Jean Juvénal des Ursins. Jean Gerson, "Vivat Rex", 1138; Jean Juvénal des Ursins, "Tres reverends et reverends père en Dieu" in *Écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, Vol. 1 ed. Peter S. Lewis, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978), 56; "Audite Celi", *Ibid.*, pp. 255-6; "Loquar in tribulacione", *Ibid.*, pp. 310-11. See also Thomas Basin, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Vol. 1, ed. Charles Samaran, (Paris: Société d'Édition Les Belles Lettres, 1933), pp. 112-15.

cohesion, such as marriage, jeopardising the souls of the innocent who died unburied, unbaptised or unconfessed. This risk was accentuated by the unravelling of a network of religious support that had satisfied spiritual need. Forgetting God and moral order, the French were transformed into irrational “bestes sauvages”, intent only on fulfilling their basic needs in order to survive.⁵⁸

The Bourgeois’ descriptions of warfare therefore focused upon this impoverishment, desperation and loss of faith that reiterated the eschatological dangers posed by violence. This desperation was, in turn, presented as an element of public opinion when the Bourgeois envisaged the changing attitudes of labourers in Brie who suffered English depredations during the siege of Meaux in the winter of 1421.

Souvent on s’en plaignoit aux seigneurs... mais il ne s’en faisoient que mocquer ou rire, et en faisoient leurs gens pis trop que davant, dont le plus de laboureurs cesserent de labourer et furent comme desesperez, et laisserent femmes et enfans, en disant l’un a l’autre: ‘Que ferons-nous? Mectont tout en la main du deable, ne nous chault que nous devenons... Mieulx nous vaulsis servir les Sarazins que les chrestiens, et pour ce faisons du pis que nous pourrons. Aussi bien ne nous peut-on que tuer ou que prendre, car par le faulx gouvernement des tristes gouverneurs il nous fault renyer femmes et enfans et fouir au boys comme bestes esgarées. Non pas ung an ou deux, mais il a ja xiiij ou xv ans que ceste dance doloieuse commença...’⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Thomas Basin echoed the Bourgeois’ comments regarding the state of Normandy, painting a very similar picture of a populace beset by brigands and forced into brigandage themselves. *Histoire de Charles VII*, 53, 87, 115, 220.

⁵⁹ Often people complained to the lords... but they did nothing but mock the people and laugh, and their troops did worse than before. Because of this most of the labourers stopped working in desperation and left their wives and children, saying to one another ‘What will we do? Leave everything to the devil, it does not matter what we become... We would be better off serving Saracens than Christians, and so we should do all of the damage that we can. The worst that they can do is kill or capture us, and yet because of the false government of these treacherous governors we are forced to renounce our wives and children and flee to the woods like wild animals. Not just for a year or two, but it has now been fourteen or fifteen years since this sorrowful dance began...’ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 81r.

Again, this complaint was framed by the inherent juxtaposition of popular and aristocratic perspectives on violence, evoking the insensitivity of captains in response to popular petitions: “quant on s’en plaignoit au connestable [Bernard d’Armagnac] ou au prevost [Tanneguy du Chastel] leur response estoit : ‘S’ilz n’y fussent pas allées, ce se feussent les Bourguignons, vous n’en parlissiez pas.’”⁶⁰ Moreover, the passage highlights the place of such concerns in public conversations, further demonstrated by the reference to the wolf Courtaut killed in 1439: “parloit autant de lui comme on fait d’un larron de bois ou d’un cruel capitaine”.⁶¹ The envisaged interaction between rulers and ruled emphasised critique while suggesting that Parisian perspectives were shared widely. Relaying the captains’ mockery of popular complaint, the Bourgeois asserted their abandonment of justice. As in 1419, the profound desperation provoked by fifteen years of the “dance doloureuse” compelled labourers to abandon their faith and pursue brigandage. Societal bonds were fractured as the peasants abandoned their wives and children, whereas Christian values were paralleled with the lack of reason that rendered the peasants bestial in their flight to the woods. The Bourgeois’ envisioned dialogue was unequivocal in its attribution of culpability to France’s ruling class. The labourers addressed the destructive influence of the kingdom’s false governors who pursued warfare and exploited non-combatants to the detriment of peace, rendering the kingdom indistinguishable from the Muslim lands with which Christendom was typically juxtaposed.

⁶⁰ When people complained to the constable or the *prévôt*, these captains replied: ‘It’s their fault for going there. If the brigands were Burgundians, you wouldn’t mention it’. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 43v. Likewise, when villagers complained about the behaviour of the *écorcheurs* in 1440, the French captains replied that that “‘Se ce feussent les Angloys vous n’en parlissiez pas, vous avez trop de bien’”. Ibid., fol. 173r.

⁶¹ People spoke about him as much as they do about the brigands in the woods or cruel captains. Ibid. 1923, fol. 166r.

This abandonment of Christian order was evoked by the Bourgeois to underscore the impact of sustained conflict. Parisian destitution was so acute in 1430 that “pouvres mesnaigiers, dont les aucuns avoient femmes et enfens” abandoned the city “et commencerent par l’ennortement de l’Ennemy a faire tous les maulx que pevent faire chrestiens”.⁶² Aristocratic moral bankruptcy was employed to explain France’s transition from the most-Christian kingdom to a ‘Terre Deserte’.⁶³ The sustained impact of conflict upon villages, *bonnes villes* and the Church compelled a questioning of aristocratic authority. In turn, the portrayal of increasingly widespread desperation was integral to explaining the abandonment or inversion of societal norms that fractured a framework of religious support and royal justice, driving rebellious behaviour throughout society.

Chivalry

The focus upon non-combatant experiences complemented the near-constant disdain with which the Bourgeois portrayed the aristocracy, with conflict perceived as being driven by the personal inclinations of nobles succumbing to cupidity, vanity or sloth. As such, the *Journal* evidences the far more pessimistic urban and clerical reactions to chivalric behaviour when compared to court chronicles.⁶⁴ Jean Gerson, similarly, had openly questioned the value of a chivalric ethos in his February 1409 sermon, *Veniat Pax*, suggesting that it motivated continuous warfare where vengeance assumed the guise of justice.⁶⁵ Those few

⁶² Poor householders, some of whom had wives and children... and, through the temptation of the devil, they began to commit all of the crimes that Christians can. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 122r.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, fol. 54r.

⁶⁴ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 34; Georges le Brusque, “Chronicling the Hundred Years War”, pp. 82-5; Christopher Allmand, “War and the Non-Combatant”, pp. 265-7.

⁶⁵ Brian Patrick McGuire, *Jean Gerson and the Last Medieval Reformation*, (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005), 195.

leaders whose martial characteristics the Bourgeois praised, such as Henry V, were invariably portrayed as defenders of the poor in a world of exploitative tendencies. The concentration upon their prowess brought into focus Parisian concerns regarding justice, as the Bourgeois implicitly participated in an underlying debate regarding *noblesse*, an imprecise social category defined by “military service, wealth and a lay lifestyle”.⁶⁶ For instance, the Bourgeois praised Enguerrand de Bournonville for his defence of Paris in 1411 and Burgundian-held Soissons in 1414 as an example of martial commitment to the Burgundian faction; in 1427, Thomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, was described as “moult chevallereux et bon homme d’armes, et substil en tous ses faiz” as he secured Champagne and the Loire, juxtaposed with John, duke of Bedford who rested in French cities “a son aise”.⁶⁷

In turn, the Bourgeois’ description of Henry V, building upon chivalric literary tropes, rationalised the substantial political changes established by the Treaty of Troyes. When the assembled French and English knights requested a tournament to honour Henry’s marriage to Catherine of Valois, the Bourgeois portrayed Henry as instead requesting that the troops prepare to assault Sens, since there

⁶⁶ Gareth Prosser, “The Later Medieval French Noblesse” in *France in the Later Middle Ages, 1200-1500*, ed. David Potter, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 183-6; Robert Descimon, “The Birth of the Nobility of the Robe: Dignity versus Privilege in the Parlement of Paris, 1500-1700” in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Michael Wolfe, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1997), 98; Maurice Keen, *Chivalry*, (London: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 145-154; Malcolm Vale, *War and Chivalry*, pp. 24-31; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 68; M. Warner, “Chivalry in Action: Thomas Montagu and the War in France, 1417-1428”, *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, Vol. 12 (1998), 150.

⁶⁷ Very chivalrous, a skilled man-at-arms and astute in all of his deeds. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 16v, 31r-31v, 104v-105r.

'...pourra chacun de nous juxter et tournoier, et monstrier sa proesse et son hardement, car plus belle proesse n'est ou monde que de faire justice des mauvais affin que le pouvre peuple se puisse vivre.'⁶⁸

The Bourgeois evoked an idealised hierarchy of martial values shared by other late medieval authors, with effective combat a better mark of prowess than a superfluous tournament.⁶⁹ Moreover, justice for the poor was evidently at the forefront of the Bourgeois' concerns regarding conflict, assuming here an important rhetorical function. Furthermore, by presenting Henry V as the defender of the innocent against the 'maulvais' Armagnacs, the king's chivalric character justified Parisian endorsement of the terms of the Treaty of Troyes and submission to Lancastrian authority.⁷⁰ The portrayal therefore enabled the Bourgeois to correlate overwhelming political changes with his moralised worldview.

In contrast, the identification of immoral traits and their ascription to specific aristocratic figures facilitated a critique of authority. Three qualities demonstrated commanders' inability to uphold the common good and ensure peace, echoing common criticisms of chivalry.⁷¹ These were cupidity, stressing an aristocratic engagement in warfare for profit rather than justice, pride that was conducive to defeat in battle and, finally,

⁶⁸ Each of us will be able to joust and tourney, and demonstrate their prowess and courage, because there is no greater prowess in the world than exacting justice upon evildoers so that the poor people can live. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 66r. For this account see below, Appendix II, No. 6.

⁶⁹ Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 7; Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 95.

⁷⁰ On the defence of non-combatants see Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 178-180, 213-215; Christine de Pizan, *The Book of Deeds of Arms and of Chivalry*, trans. Sumner Willard, ed. Charity Canon Willard (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), pp. 171-4, 176-8.

⁷¹ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 35-6, 65-7; Richard Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors: The Religious Ideology of Chivalry*, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 17-30; Raymond L. Kilgour, "Honoré Bonet: A Fourteenth-Century Critic of Chivalry", *PMLA*, Vol. 50, No. 2 (June 1935), pp. 360-1.

cowardice. This schema's prevalence reveals the extent to which the Bourgeois' clerical background coloured his political perspectives.

Fifteenth-century theologians consistently argued that cupidity played a fundamental role in the destabilisation of socio-political order as a root cause of sin and warfare.⁷² In January 1416, Jean Courtecuisse had warned that

Les anciennes histoires, comme Tite-Live et plusieurs autres, notent singulièrement les Francoiz de II vices, c'est assavoir d'orgueil et d'avarice. Quant a l'orgueil et a la pompe de ce royaulme, je croy... qu'elle soit assez plus grant qu'elle n'estoit lors, et qu'elle croisse chacun jour.⁷³

The Bourgeois consistently explained military setbacks with reference to captains' desire to acquire personal gain, juxtaposing the common good with notions of military greed. When the Parisian commons' siege of Dreux was abandoned in August 1412, the Bourgeois condemned their commander for agreeing a truce with the Armagnac garrison, "et print grant argent des Arminaz, et fut du tout de la bande".⁷⁴ The assertion evoked popular frustration with obscure aristocratic negotiations, while simultaneously underscoring the urban militia's dedication. The juxtaposition resurfaced to express Parisian

⁷² Jean Petit, "Justification" in Monstrelet, Vol. 1, pp. 186-7; Christine de Pizan, "La Lamentacion sur les maux de la France de Christine de Pisan", ed. Angus J. Kennedy in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature française du moyen âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon, par ses collègues, ses élèves et ses amis*, (Rennes: Institut de Français, Université de Haute-Bretagne, 1980), 182; Mireille Vincent-Cassy, "L'envie au Moyen Âge", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (March-April 1980), pp. 263-6.

⁷³ The ancient histories, like Titus Livius and several others remark that the French alone have two vices, that is, pride and avarice. Regarding the pride and vanity of this kingdom, I believe... that they are greater now than they have ever been before, and that they increase daily. Evoking the Bourgeois' favoured comment concerning the example set by lords to their people, Courtecuisse similarly reflected that "se l'un commence, pluseurs tantost l'ensuyvent." "Sermo in processione generali facta in ecclesia Parisiensi die festi Sancti Vincentii ex ordinacione dominorum Decani et Capituli Parisiensis" in Alfred Coville, "Recherches sur Jean Courtecuisse et ses œuvres oratoires", *BEC*, Vol. 65 (1904), pp. 512-14.

⁷⁴ Received a large sum of money from the Armagnacs, and were completely turned to their side. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 22r. On this siege see RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 672-9; *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 472-3.

disappointment with the failure to capture Montlhéry in September 1418, with the Bourgeois pointing to the duplicity of knights who “prindrent grant argent des Arminaz, par ainsi qu’ilz feroient lever le siege, et ainsi firent-ilz quant ilz orent l’argent”.⁷⁵ In both cases, aristocratic betrayal evidenced the commons’ devotion to the restoration of peace:

Vray estoit que qui eust laissé faire les communes, il n’y eust demouré Arminac en France en mains de deux moys qu’ilz n’eussent mis a fin, et pour ce les hayoient les gentilz hommes qui ne vouloient que la guerre, et ilz la vouloient mectre a fin.⁷⁶

Aristocratic avarice, therefore, represented a crucial obstacle to the conclusion of peace, with similar allegations directed against French commanders in the 1430s. In 1439, the Bourgeois reported English rumours that the constable Arthur de Richemont merely pretended to pursue military campaigns “pour avoir de votre argent.” ... Brief, il n’estoit a rien bon au regart de la guerre”.⁷⁷ These years marked by extensive criticism of Richemont’s leadership in the *Journal*, particularly regarding his attempts to retake Pontoise (1437-1439), are tellingly absent from Guillaume Gruel’s own biography of the constable, who insisted that in response to Pontoise’s sudden capture by the English in 1437 Richemont “reconforta ceulx de Paris qui murmuroient fort, et mist bonne garnison a Saint-Denis, tant que tous furent tres contents”.⁷⁸ Indeed, Gruel’s insistence upon Richemont’s support for Paris

⁷⁵ Took a large sum of money from the Armagnacs, according to which deal they would abandon the siege; and so they did when they had received the money. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 53v. Other chroniclers explained clearly that the Montlhéry siege was intended to divert popular Parisian energies in order to restore order in the city following the 1418 massacres. Clément de Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, pp. 157-9; RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 266-8; Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 289-90.

⁷⁶ It was true that if the commons had been left to pursue the war, they would have ridden France of Armagnacs in less than two months and, because of this, the aristocrats who only wanted war hated them, while the commons wanted to end the conflict. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 54r.

⁷⁷ ‘To get your money’ ... In short, he was good for nothing with regards to the war. Ibid., fol. 165v. See also Appendix II, No. 15.

⁷⁸ Guillaume Gruel, *Chronique d’Arthur de Richemont, connétable de France, duc de Bretagne (1393-1458)*, ed. Achille le Vavas seur, (Paris: Renouard, 1890), pp. 142-3. On contemporary debates see also Gilles

suggests the constable's debated reputation in the capital. The association of aristocratic behaviours and avaricious tendencies enabled the Bourgeois' audience(s) to question military authority and government through the perception of mismanaged public funds, simultaneously underscoring an urban commitment to peace.⁷⁹

Theologically, cupidity, avarice and pride were interconnected human behaviours as the acquisition of superfluous worldly goods distracted rulers from their earthly ministry.⁸⁰ This theme formed a basis for moral inquiry in the late Middle Ages, with aristocratic leaders criticised for pursuing "la sentelle d'Outrecuidance et de Convoitise".⁸¹ Building upon Aristotle, Aquinas had called upon Christians to live according to the mean between prodigality and parsimony.⁸² Likewise, the Bourgeois considered military defeats as divine retribution meted out upon princes as a warning regarding their earthly pride and

le Bouvier, *Les chroniques du roi Charles VII*, ed. Henri Courteault & Léonce Cellier, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979), pp. 201-4. For a summary of the history of Pontoise during the 1430s and 1440s see Monstrelet, Vol. 6, pp. 6-24; Gaston du Fresne de Beaucourt, *Histoire de Charles VII*, Vol. 3, (Paris: Librairie de la Société bibliographique, 1883), pp. 165-93.

⁷⁹ Jan Dumolyn, "Urban Ideologies in Later Medieval Flanders: Towards an Analytical Framework", in *The Languages of Political Society: Western Europe, 14th-17th Centuries*, ed. Andrea Gamberini, Jean-Philippe Genet, Andrea Zorzi, (Rome: Viella, 2011), pp. 75-6; Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "'Let Each Man Carry on with his Trade and Remain Silent': Middle-Class Ideology in the Urban Literature of the Late Medieval Low Countries", *Cultural and Social History*, Vol. 10, No. 2 (2013), 178, 182; Ben R. McRee, "Peacemaking and Its Limits in Late Medieval Norwich", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 109, No. 433 (September 1994), pp. 831-5.

⁸⁰ As noted by Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der Middeleeuwen*, ed. L. Brummel in *Verzamelde werken*, Vol. 3, (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink & Zoon, 1949), pp. 29-33; Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société. L'assassinat du duc d'Orléans. 23 novembre 1407*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1992), pp. 84-7; *Entre l'Église et l'État: quatre vies de prélats français à la fin du Moyen Âge, XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1987), pp. 158-60; Catherine D. Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, pp. 137-44; 164-6; Richard Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 106-16.

⁸¹ The path of impudence and cupidity. "Le Songe véritable. Pamphlet politique d'un Parisien du XV^e siècle" ed. H. Moranvillé in *MSHP*, Vol. 17 (1890), 273, lines 1646-7. See also *Le Pastoralet*, ed. Joël Blanchard, (Rouen: Publications de l'Université de Rouen, 1983), 118, 188. See also Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit. La question du tyrannicide au commencement du XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Picard, 1932), 289;

⁸² Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae: A Concise Translation*, ed. & trans. Timothy McDermott, (London: Methuen, 1991), Iia, Iiae, 1. 117-19. Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien', 52.

avaricious behaviours.⁸³ The defeat at Agincourt (1415) and subsequent conquest of Normandy were rationalised through reference to pride as the motor of civil conflict:⁸⁴

...j'ose bien dire que le roy d'Angleterre n'eust esté tant hardy de mettre le pié en France par guerre, ce n'eust esté la discension qui a esté de ce maleureux non [d'Armagnac], et fust encore toute Normendie francoyse, ne le noble sanc de France ainsi espandu, ne les signeurs dudit royaume ainsi menez en exil, ne la bataille perdue... n'eussent oncques esté en la piteuse journée d'Egincourt ou tant perdit le roy de ses bons et loyaulx amys, *ce ne fust l'orgueil de ce maleureus nom Arminac*.⁸⁵

Princely pride's undermining of the common good was integral to the Bourgeois' explanation of France's decline, engendering a risk of "tres cruelle, miserable et pardurable damnation".⁸⁶ Cowardice was also summoned to explain Agincourt, with the Bourgeois relating rumours that "disoit-on communement que ceulx qui prins estoient n'avoient pas esté bons ne loyaux a ceulx qui moururent en la bataille".⁸⁷ The emphasis upon cowardice

⁸³ Andrei Sălăvăstru, "The Body Politic of Vivat Rex: An Allegorical Political Discourse and its Reception at the Court of France", *Hermenia*, Vol. 16 (2016), pp. 111-12; Nancy McLoughlin, "Jean Gerson's Vivat Rex and the Vices of Political Alliance", in *La Pathologie du pouvoir: vices, crimes et délits des gouvernants. Antiquité, Moyen Âge, époque moderne*, ed. Patrick Gilly, (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 333. On the idea of retribution and national identity see Andrea Ruddick, "National Sentiment and Religious Vocabulary in Fourteenth-Century England", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (January 2009), pp. 8-9.

⁸⁴ For instance, the Bourgeois considered Agincourt the worst defeat inflicted "oncques puis que Dieu fut né", and imputed responsibility for the disaster to "les signeurs de France prins des Angloys tout par orgueil". Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 36r-36v. See also *Histoire de Charles VI*, 519; RSD, Vol. 5, pp. 564-7. On French reactions to Agincourt see also Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 37-8; "La Maleureuse Bataille", 369.

⁸⁵ I dare say that the king of England would never have been so bold as to set foot in France by war, if it had not been for the division that has been engendered by this unfortunate name; and [therefore] all of Normandy would still have been French, nor would the noble blood of France have been spilled thus, nor would the kingdom's lords have been led away in exile, nor the battle lost... nor would they have ever been present at that pitiful battle of Agincourt where the king lost so many of his good and loyal friends, *if it wasn't for the pride stemming from that unfortunate name of Armagnac*. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 63r-63v. Emphasis my own.

⁸⁶ Very cruel, miserable and eternal damnation. *Ibid.*, fol. 63v.

⁸⁷ It was commonly said that those who had been captured had neither been good nor loyal to those who died in the battle. *Ibid.*, fol. 36v. See also Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, 141, 144.

also appears in the writings of Alain Chartier, with Craig Taylor suggesting that this enabled French authors to rationalise the defeat because of moral and tactical failings rather than outright English military superiority.⁸⁸

This conflation of immoral qualities was further articulated through knightly vanity contrasted with Paris' relative poverty. Following the conclusion of the Treaty of Amiens on 13th April 1423, the English lords entered Paris, "lesquelx menoient le plus grant estat de vesture et de joyaulx que on eust oncques veu d'aage de homme".⁸⁹ Although the Treaty of Troyes had stipulated the French and English kingdoms' political distinction, the Bourgeois' connection of the absence of French lords with the perception of English wealth implied France's subordination to the English, since "nul ne s'entremettoit du gouvernement du royaume que eulx".⁹⁰ The focus contrasts with Charles Armstrong's argument that the Amiens treaty was ostensibly concluded "pour le Relievement du Poure Peuple de ce Roiaume qui tant a souffert et seuffre de misereres", suggesting that Burgundian propagandists anticipated criticisms similar to those expressed by the Bourgeois.⁹¹ Similarly, the Bourgeois' criticisms of the Dauphin Louis in 1443 concentrated upon the prince's

⁸⁸ Craig Taylor, "'La maleureuse bataille'", pp. 371-5; Alain Chartier, *Le Quadrilogue invectif*, ed. E. Droz, (Paris: Champion, 1923), pp. 9-10, 31; Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "Two Responses to Agincourt: Alain Chartier's *Livre des quatre dames* and Christine de Pizan's *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*" in *Contexts and Continuities: Proceedings of the IVth International Colloquium on Christine de Pizan (Glasgow, 21-27 July 2000)*, ed. Angus J. Kennedy, Rosalind Brown-Grant, James C. Laidlaw & Catherine M. Muller (Glasgow: University of Glasgow Press, 2002), pp. 77-80.

⁸⁹ Who appeared in a state of the most expensive clothing and jewellery that had ever been seen by living men. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 92r.

⁹⁰ None participated in the government of the kingdom except them. Ibid.

⁹¹ Quoted from "Rymer's Foedera with Syllabus: April-June 1423" in *Rymer's Foedera Volume 10*, ed. Thomas Rymer (London: Joannem Neulme, 1739-1745), 280. British History Online, accessed on 07/10/2019, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/rymer-foedera/vol10/pp279-293>; Charles A. J. Armstrong, "La double monarchie France-Angleterre et la maison de Bourgogne (1420-1435): le déclin d'une alliance" in *England, France and Burgundy in the Fifteenth Century*, (London: Hambledon Press, 1983), 347, 372. See also Aleksandr Lobonov, "The Indenture of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, of 12 February 1430 and the Lancastrian Kingdom of France", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 130, No. 543 (April 2015), 308.

pursuits in the company of *écorcheurs*, avoiding conflict in favour of “tous les jours aller chacer et faire telles vanités”.⁹² The abandonment of duties towards the common good provoked the Bourgeois’ emphatic criticism, erased by a later reader of the Vatican manuscript: “Toute ceste doloireuse tempeste que ainsi se souffroit de ***** Dalphin et des gouverneurs faulx et traistres du roy”.⁹³ Consequently, the perception of aristocratic pride was integral to political commentary that identified the distances between a chivalric ideal and the reality of aristocratic exploitation.

Where commanders exploited conflict for personal gain, the Bourgeois also believed that cupidity undermined a knightly obligation to pursue peace and defend the realm, contributing instead to sloth and cowardice. The English threat posed to Rouen in September 1418 was ascribed to the “faulx traistres de France qui ne vouloient que la guerre, car bien savoient tous combien de rancon ilz devoient paier se prins estoit”.⁹⁴ Complementing the Bourgeois’ frustrations regarding the failure to capture Montlhéry, the accusation also contrasted with the Parisian municipality’s dispatching of three hundred lances to assist Rouen’s defence earlier that summer.⁹⁵ Aristocratic reluctance to fight was juxtaposed with the commons’ collective efforts to defend the kingdom, validating Parisian agency.

Following the Valois reconquest, the Bourgeois’ criticisms became increasingly scathing, building upon theological critiques of taxation that condemned the personal use of

⁹² Every day they went hunting or pursued other vain activities. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 175v. See also Appendix II, No. 16.

⁹³ All of this horrible storm was suffered because of the [*****] Dauphin and the false and evil governors surrounding the king. Ibid., fol. 176r.

⁹⁴ The false traitors of France who only wanted war, because they knew well the ransoms they would have to pay if they were captured. Ibid., fol. 54r.

⁹⁵ Ibid., fol. 46v. Monstrelet however also reported that Jean sans Peur sent aid to Rouen. Vol. 3, 281.

publicly accrued finances as tyrannical.⁹⁶ For instance, the *Songe Véritable* presented Faulx Gouvernement as surrounded by Orgueil, Convoitise, Envie, Avarice and others as “les gens qui le gouvernement”.⁹⁷ The Bourgeois drew upon these established tropes to question the morality of France’s aristocracy in relation to the regular direct taxation imposed by Charles VII, with the continuation of the Anglo-French conflict perceived as a pretext for aristocratic exploitation:

Quant la taille estoit cuillie et qu’ilz l’avoient par devers eulx, plus ne leur challoit que de jouer au dez ou chacer au boys ou dancier, ne ne faisoient mis, comme on souloit faire, ne joutes, ne tournois, ne nulz faiz d’armes pour paour des horions.⁹⁸

The French lords of 1444 contrast starkly with the Bourgeois’ idealised portrayal of Henry V in 1420. Here, Henry had rejected a superfluous tournament to celebrate his marriage to Catherine of Valois, declaring that the assembled knights should move to besiege Sens “et la pourra chacun de nous juxter et tournoier, et monstrier sa proesse et son hardement, car plus belle proesse n’est ou monde que de faire justice des mauveys affin que le povre peuple se puisse vivre”.⁹⁹ By comparison, the later French were so fearful of harm that they refused to demonstrate their martial skill even in jousts. In the context of a

⁹⁶ This was well established in contemporary literature. Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 86; Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit*, 219; Jean Gerson, “Vivat Rex,” 1153-4; *Le Songe du Vergier*, Vol. 1, pp. 229-232, Chapters CXXXV & CXXXVI; Lydwine Scordia, ‘*Le roi doit vivre du sien*’, 291-6; Daisy Delogu, “How to become the ‘roy des Frans’: The Performance of Kingship in Philippe de Mézières *Le Songe du Vieil Pèlerin*” in *Philippe de Mézières and his Age: Piety and Politics in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski & Kiril Petkov, (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 153-6.

⁹⁷ “*Le Songe Véritable*”, 249, lines 686-696.

⁹⁸ When the *taille* had been collected and they had the cash before them, they cared for nothing else except playing at dice, hunting and dancing. Nor did they ever do, as were organised in the past, jousts, tournaments or any deeds of arms, for fear of the hard knocks they might receive. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 176v.

⁹⁹ And there can each of us joust and tourney and demonstrate his prowess and bravery, for there is no greater deed in the world than the exaction of justice such that the poor people can live. *Ibid.*, fol. 66r.

hierarchy of prowess that represented “the defining quality of the ideal knight” the accusation was particularly damning, leading to the Bourgeois’ assertion of lordly cowardice.¹⁰⁰

Brief, tous les signeurs de France estoient tous devenus comme femmes, car ilz n’estoient hardiz que sur les pouvres laboureurs et sur les pouvres marchans qui estoient sans nulles armes.¹⁰¹

Christopher Fletcher has argued that in the late Middle Ages, the rhetoric of chivalric masculinity consolidated the royal authority to impose direct taxation to support the common good in the pursuit of warfare.¹⁰² By undermining the French princes’ martial qualities, the Bourgeois carefully questioned the state’s right to tax the populace. Rather than the kingdom’s defence, insatiable cupidity was perceived to drive France’s governors to ceaselessly exploit the commons for personal gain. In turn, this discourse explicitly encouraged the Bourgeois’ audience to consider the tyrannical nature of Valois and Lancastrian government and assess the bases to their political legitimacy, developing a nuanced critique of royal power that targeted each of the moral, rhetorical and ideological foundations of centralised power through a considered, clerical argument.

¹⁰⁰ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 91-8; Maurice Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms*, 7.

¹⁰¹ In short, all of the French lords were behaving like women, since none of them were bold except towards the poor labourers and poor merchants who had no weapons [with which to defend themselves]. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 176v.

¹⁰² Christopher Fletcher, “Manhood, Kingship and the Public in Late Medieval England”, *Edad Media. Revista de Historia*, Vol. 13 (2012), pp. 125-7; “Introduction: Masculinity and Politik” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe*, ed. Christopher Fletcher, Sean Brady, Rachel E. Moss & Lucy Riall, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 2-3; “Manhood and Politics in the Reign of Richard II”, *Past & Present*, No. 189 (November 2005), pp. 7-8. See also Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, (London: Routledge, 2013), pp. 29-31; Hugo Dufour, “‘By this my beard which hangs from my face’: The Masculinity of the French Princes in the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War” in *The Palgrave Handbook of Masculinity and Political Culture in Europe*, ed. Christopher Fletcher, Sean Brady, Rachel E. Moss & Lucy Riall, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 185-8.

Just War and the Moralisation of Conflict

The Bourgeois assessed military engagements through the prism of human morality. Christian infighting was unjustified, with military outcomes typically portrayed as a punishment for sin rather than a vindication of political right. Raymond de Penafort had argued that just conflict rested upon five elements: the person(s) concerned, the object, the cause, the spirit and authority.¹⁰³ Ultimately, the just war was pursued according to the authority of the Church or the prince to recover an object and achieve peace. Later, fifteenth-century writers such as Jean Juvénal des Ursins or Jean de Montreuil emphasised parallels between crusade, France's chosen status and just war in the kingdom's defence, with Robert Ciboule arguing in his treatise for Jeanne d'Arc's nullification trial that attacks against France, as the most-Christian kingdom, were inherently attacks against Christendom itself.¹⁰⁴ However, the Bourgeois was compelled to alter this evaluative framework to accommodate Paris' shifting political stance in the first decades of the fifteenth century. When Lancastrian power was consolidated after 1422 the Bourgeois wholeheartedly deplored the Anglo-French conflict.

¹⁰³ Cited in Philippe Contamine, "La théologie de la guerre à la fin du MA" in *Jeanne d'Arc: une époque, un rayonnement*, (Paris: CNRS, 1982), pp. 9-21. See also Philippe Contamine, "Croisade, reformation religieuse, politique et morale de la chrétienté au XIV^e siècle: Philippe de Mézières (vers 1325-1405)", *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome*, Vol. 124, No. 1 (2012), accessed on 05/10/2019, <https://journals.openedition.org/mefrim/138>; Christopher Allmand, "War and the Non-Combatant", pp. 255-60; Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien', pp. 135-9; Jane Marie Pinzino, "Just War, Joan of Arc and the Politics of Salvation" in *Hundred Years War: A Wider Focus*, ed. L.J. Andrew Villalon & Donald J. Kagay, (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 370-80.

¹⁰⁴ Robert Ciboule, "Consideratio Roberti Ciboule" in *Mémoires et consultations en faveur de Jeanne d'Arc par les juges du procès de réhabilitation*, Vol. 6, ed. Pierre Lanéry d'Arc, (Paris: Picard, 1889), 372; Peter S. Lewis, "War Propaganda and Historiography", pp. 6-7; Nicole Grévy-Pons, "Jean de Montreuil et Guillebert de Mets", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 58, No. 3 (1980), 577. See also Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 306-9.

This condemnation is evidenced by the Bourgeois' reaction to two battles fought in 1423: the English victory at Cravant (31st July) and their subsequent defeat at La Brossinière (26th September).¹⁰⁵ Each evidenced the injustice of warfare and the dangers posed by Christian division. The Bourgeois condemned Parisian celebrations marking the English victory at Cravant, stressing the danger inherent in *schadenfreude* and conflict's motivation by cupidity:

Car pou d'iceulx qui ainsi sont mors ont petite souvenance de leur Createur a l'eure, et ceulx qui les occient aussi pou, *car le plus n'y vont que pour la convoitise et non point pour l'amour de leurs seigneurs dont ilz se renomment, ne pour l'amour de Dieu, ne pour charité aucune, dont ilz sont tous en peril d'estre honteusement mors au siecle, et les ames a perdicion.*¹⁰⁶

In his ensuing diatribe comparing Paris to Troy, the Bourgeois implored his audience to reflect upon the implications of Christian infighting for salvation, with the moralisation of conflict conditioned by eschatological concerns. Though Lancastrian propagandists asserted that the victory evidenced divine favour for the English cause, the Bourgeois hesitated to accord the battle a positive interpretation, a response reiterated regarding the French victory at La Brossinière, "*dont ce fut pitié... que chrestientié destruisse l'un l'autre.*"¹⁰⁷ Moral

¹⁰⁵ For these battles see Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France, 1417-1450*, (London: Little, Brown 2009), pp. 63-4; Jean de Wavrin, *Anchiennes croniques d'Engleterre*, Vol. 1, ed. Emilie Dupont, (Paris: Renouard, 1863), pp. 226-50; Max Quantin, "Épisodes de l'histoire du XV^e siècle", *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne*, Vol. 36 (1882), pp. 28-31.

¹⁰⁶ Few of those who die in this manner even slightly remember their Creator upon their demise, and those who kill them just as little, *because most of them only participate in conflict for greed, and not for love of the lords whom they serve, nor for the love of God, nor for any charity*, and because of this they are all in danger of a shameful death in this world and their souls of being damned. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 93r-93v. For the full account of the Bourgeois' reaction to Cravant, see below, Appendix II, No. 8.

¹⁰⁷ It was such a pity... that Christians killed one another. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 94v. A series of processions were organised by Paris' Lancastrian governors to celebrate the victory at Cravant, including one (unmentioned by the Bourgeois) whereupon John, duke of Bedford displayed the Crown of Thorns to give thanks on 11th August 1423. Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, 106; Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule: The Anglo-Burgundian Regime, 1420-1436*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 191-2.

considerations were therefore integral to the Bourgeois' reflections regarding the right of conflict, and these concerns were manipulated to rationalise battles' outcome.

This rationalisation was underscored by the Bourgeois' response to Bedford's victory at Verneuil (17th August 1424), explained through an emphasis upon the Armagnacs' immoral characteristics that again obfuscated Lancastrian attempts to attribute the victory to divine favour.¹⁰⁸ Avoiding pitched battle with Bedford before the besieged castle of Ivry-la-Chausée, the Armagnacs instead captured Verneuil through "une grant traison", with their Scottish allies pretending to be captured English soldiers.¹⁰⁹ When the Armagnacs entered the town, however, they massacred Verneuil's inhabitants. As Bedford's army subsequently prepared for battle near Verneuil, Armagnac commanders despatched heralds requesting a treaty to avoid an engagement. The Bourgeois underscored this cumulative evidence of immorality through Bedford's response, "que tant de foyz avoient leur foy mentie que jamais on ne les devoit croire".¹¹⁰

This lengthy prelude stressed Armagnac cowardice, cruelty, duplicity and dishonour to frame their ensuing defeat. The Armagnac captains themselves requested peace "car moult se doubtoient de leurs pechez", recognising morality's integral role in conflict.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ For Verneuil see Michael K. Jones, "The Battle of Verneuil (17 August 1424): Towards a History of Courage", *War in History*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (2002), pp. 375-411; Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Letters and papers illustrative of the wars of the English in France during the reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England*, Vol. 2, Pt. 1, (London: Longman, 1864), pp. 32-7; Jean de Wavrin, *Anchiennes cronicques*, Vol. 1, pp. 254-73. The *Journal* remains an important source for discussing the battle, as is the so-called "Chronique des Cordeliers", that includes lists of those killed as well as the transcription of a letter recounting the battle sent to Jean de Luxembourg-Ligny, count of Guise. BNF Fr. 23018, fols. 449v-451v.

¹⁰⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 97r-97v. This version of events is similarly reported by Jean de Wavrin, *Anchiennes cronicques*, Vol. 1, pp. 258-60; "Chronique des Cordeliers", BNF Fr. 23018, fol. 449v; Monstrelet, Vol. 4, 191.

¹¹⁰ Who had broken their word so many times that they should never be believed. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 98v.

¹¹¹ They feared the consequences of their sins. *Ibid.*, fol. 98v. For the Bourgeois' description of the battle itself, see below, Appendix II, No. 10.

These themes were subsequently accentuated in the Bourgeois' description of the battle itself. The Armagnacs placed their confidence in Lombard cavalry who, as mercenaries fighting for remuneration, "ne leur fut a gueres qui gaignast ou perdit, mais qu'ilz eussent du pillage".¹¹² Instead of attacking the English rearguard, the Lombards targeted the English baggage before fleeing, "ainsi s'en allerent *honteusement comme couars et convoiteus*".¹¹³ Their flight turned the tide of the battle, which the Bourgeois had described with graphic detail: "La eussiez ouy tant doloireux criz et plaintes, tant hommes cheoir a terre que puis n'en releverent, l'un chacer, l'autre fourir, l'un mort sus, l'autre gesir a terre gueulle baiée, tant sanc espandu de chrestiens qui oncques n'avoient veu en leur vivant l'un l'autre".¹¹⁴ Other sources agree that Armagnac morale was broken after the cavalry fled, with the resulting panic portrayed by the Bourgeois as a consequence of innate sin following Jean sans Peur's assassination:¹¹⁵

...leur pechié leur nuisoit tant qu'i ne pouvaient faire chose ou ilz eussent honneur oncques, puis que le duc de Bourgogne fut tué par eulx... ains s'en commencerent a fourir moult honteusement pour sauver leurs vies.¹¹⁶

Consequently, the Bourgeois' detailed account of Verneuil was framed by notions of sinful and dishonourable behaviour. The English victory was rhetorically rationalised as a

¹¹² They only cared for pillaging, and had no regard for whoever lost or won. *Ibid.*, fol. 98v.

¹¹³ So they abandoned the battle shamefully, like cowards and greedy men. *Ibid.*, fol. 99r. Emphasis my own.

¹¹⁴ There you would have heard such painful cries and complaints, [seen] so many men fall to the ground who would never get up again; some give chase, others flee; one dead man lying upon another; others lying on the ground with their mouths wide open; so much Christian blood spilled by those who had never seen one another before. *Ibid.*, fol. 98v. Other sources also describe violence at Verneuil in detail. Monstrelet, Vol. 4, 194; Jean de Wavrin, *Anchiennes cronicques*, Vol. 1, 265.

¹¹⁵ Wavrin and Monstrelet placed specific emphasis upon the effects of the English battle cry. *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Their sin undermined them such that they could do nothing where they could claim any honour, since they had killed the duke of Burgundy... so they began to flee very shamefully to save their lives. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 99r.

form of divine retribution for Armagnac sin, with this justice mapped upon an emotionally determined morality.¹¹⁷ Burgundian sympathies were essential to this justification, evidencing wider support in Paris. For instance, divine intervention was explicitly portrayed as favouring Philippe le Bon at the Battle of Mons-en-Vimeu (30th August 1421).¹¹⁸ A pitched battle, the Bourgeois portrayed the engagement as an ambush when the duke was on pilgrimage to Notre-Dame of Boulogne-sur-Mer.¹¹⁹ Despite Burgundian soldiers fleeing upon the Armagnacs' appearance "comme consentans de la venue des Arminalz", the trepidatious circumstances underscored divine favour for the Burgundian faction.¹²⁰ Due to the duke's piety, "la Vierge Marie y fist miracle... [car] malgré eulx, par la grace de Dieu et de sa glorieuse mere, les Arminalz furent desconfiz."¹²¹ Philippe le Bon's valour was further highlighted by Burgundian chroniclers such as the anonymous Cordelier and Monstrelet, though both stressed chivalric aspects rather than divine intervention.¹²² Their divergence demonstrates the distinct strategies for the legitimation of conflict from courtly and clerical perspectives, with the Bourgeois rendering battles tests of morality and evidence of divine retribution.

The Bourgeois interpreted conflict through an all-encompassing spiritual logic that rendered battles, suffering and widespread devastation meaningful. The Battle of Verneuil

¹¹⁷ On the relationship between norms and emotional discourse see above, Chapter III.

¹¹⁸ On this battle, René de Belleval, *La journée de Mons-en-Vimeu après le Traité de Troyes*, (Paris: Aubry, 1861), pp. 71-85; Bertrand Haquette, "Réécrire l'histoire sans 'esventer les secrets des maisons'. Le cas La Viesville" in *Mémoires conflictuelles et mythes concurrents dans les pays bourguignons (ca. 1380-1580)*, ed. Jean-Marie Cauchies, *Publications du Centre Européen d'Études Bourguignonnes*, Vol. 52 (2012), pp. 59-79.

¹¹⁹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 79r.

¹²⁰ As if party to the Armagnac assault. *Ibid.*

¹²¹ The Virgin Mary performed a miracle there... because, despite [those who had fled], through God's grace and his glorious mother, the Armagnacs were defeated. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 79r.

¹²² "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'", Monstrelet, Vol 6, 302; Monstrelet, Vol. 4, 61.

was hard-fought and the Bourgeois joined contemporaries in graphically describing the extent of violence while condemning continued bloodshed between Christians. It was this inter-Christian fighting that induced him to privilege a perspective that rationalised the Lancastrian victory over the Armagnacs in terms of divine retribution. Consequently, understandings of victory and just war were predicated upon overarching interpretations of divine justice. Beyond the battlefield, however, the Bourgeois was fundamentally preoccupied with the effects of war upon non-combatants. Assessments of popular suffering were, too, integral to conceptualising the morality of France's rulers, the policies that they endorsed and the factions that they represented. For this model to be effective, the Bourgeois portrayed French society as being essentially divided between the powerful and the powerless. The experiences of the latter functioned as a rhetorical barometer developed through archetypal and stereotypical models, to demonstrate the illegitimacy and immorality of France's rulers. The result was a profound inversion of societal values wherein non-combatants emerged as the principle victims of inherently unjust and consequently unjustifiable conflict.¹²³

¹²³ Claude Gauvard, "Fear of Crime in Late Medieval France" in *Medieval Crime and Social Control*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt & David Wallace, (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), pp. 1-2, 24-29.

Taxation

Parisian reactions to the increasing burden of taxation were considered in terms of the common good, provoking direct criticism of civic or royal government.¹²⁴ Like warfare, the Bourgeois portrayed oppressive taxation as a form of immoral, anti-Christian behaviour that prevented societal cohesion. Besides evident destitution, fiscal policies complicated the availability of alms for the poor or payment of priests, thereby undermining Paris' moral and social welfare. The imposition of taxes on 2nd February 1421, for instance, occurred in the context of Parisian poverty and starvation, when "avoient povres gens et pouvres prebstres mal temps, que on ne leur donnoit que ij solz parisis pour leur messe".¹²⁵ Later, the Bourgeois condemned the exacerbation of these problems when clergymen, ecclesiastical property, confraternities and the University of Paris increasingly became the targets of taxation after 1436.¹²⁶ Indeed, just as non-combatants were contrasted with soldiers, the Bourgeois juxtaposed Parisian poverty with the lavish lifestyles of the kingdom's governors to underpin this impression.¹²⁷ In turn, the methods employed by civic officials to enforce Parisian compliance with fiscal policies were conveyed as instances of repression and

¹²⁴ Christian Liddy, "'Bee war of gyle in borugh', 467; Mathieu Caesar, "Legal uncertainty, resistance to royal taxation and rural revolts in late medieval France: The case of Beauvoir-sur-Mer and Bois-de-Céné (1480)", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2017), 344; Marc Leroy, "Sociologie du contribuable et évitement de l'impôt", *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 220-9.

¹²⁵ Poor people and poor priests suffered greatly since they were given no more than two *sols parisis* for their Mass. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 74v.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, fols. 160v, 172v, 179r. Pearl Kirbe, *Scholarly Privileges in the Middle Ages: The Rights, Privileges and Immunities of Scholars and Universities at Bologna, Padua, Paris and Oxford*, (London: Medieval Academy of America, 1961), pp. 209-10.

¹²⁷ A reading of Paris' *rentes* market during this period renders clear the extent of the city's economic collapse. Boris Bove, Benoît Descamps, Simone Roux & Yvonne-Hélène Le Maresquier, "Sources foncières et marché immobilier à Paris (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)", *Menestrel* (2015), pp. 20-23; Jean-Pierre Leguay, "La propriété et le marché de l'immobilier à la fin du Moyen Âge dans le royaume de France et dans les grands fiefs périphériques" in *D'une ville à l'autre. Structures matérielles et organisation de l'espace dans les villes européennes (XIII^e-XVI^e siècles)*, (Rome: École française de Rome, 1989), 153.

tyranny. Consequently, the Bourgeois simultaneously signalled the centrality of discussions concerning taxation to the Parisian public sphere and applied to these reflections a moralisation that portrayed fiscal demands as destructive, emphasising the populace's destitution and the constraints placed upon political participation.

The *Journal's* concentration upon the debilitating impact of conflict ensured that taxation formed an integral part of its socio-political commentary. During the first years of the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war, intertwined political propaganda and religious discourse identified taxation with aristocratic cupidity and bureaucratic corruption, as demonstrated by the pronouncement of Jean sans Peur's reformist stance at the Palais in August 1405 and the criticism of aristocratic behaviour articulated by the Augustinian friar Jacques le Grand that year.¹²⁸ Where Christine de Pizan warned that the "vice de luxure est tres vituperable par especial en prince... et moult lui tourne a grant blasme et a grant diffame", theologians including Jean Petit and Jean Gerson, or commentators such as the anonymous author of the *Songe véritable*, similarly identified cupidity and bureaucratic corruption as causes of civil discord.¹²⁹ In the context of Jean II's capture by the English, Nicole Oresme's *De Moneta* (1357-8) had decried the manipulation of currencies in socio-political terms, arguing that such processes represented an "injustice et fait tyrannique", analogous to usury.¹³⁰ As an artificial means of ensuring human intercourse and therefore

¹²⁸ Both sermons were recorded by Michel Pintoin. RSD, Vol. 3, pp. 296-305, 266-75. Emily J. Hutchison, "Winning Hearts and Minds", pp. 4, 10-16; Simone Roux, *Paris in the Middle Ages*, trans. Jo Ann McNamara (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), pp. 140-41.

¹²⁹ Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du corps de policie*, pp. 50-1; "Le Songe véritable", 254, lines 890-918; Jean Gerson, "Vivat Rex", pp. 1156-8, 1173, 1176; Jean Petit, "Justification" in Monstrelet, Vol. 1, pp. 186-9, 192-6, 202-5. Michel Mollat & Philippe Wolff, *Ongles bleus, Jacques et Ciompi: les révolutions populaires en Europe aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, (Paris: Calman-Lévy, 1970), pp. 121-4.

¹³⁰ Nicole Oresme, *Traictié de la premiere invention des monnoies de Nicole Oresme, textes français et latin*, ed. L. Wolowski, (Paris: Guillaumin, 1864), xlv. See also Cary J. Nederman, "Community and the Rise of Commercial Society: Political Economy and Political Theory in Nicole Oresme's *De Moneta*",

conducive to the common good, Oresme warned against currency's manipulation by rulers to extract the community's wealth.¹³¹ Likewise, the Bourgeois engaged with significant changes to the French economy and currency abasement that provoked important reflections concerning the 'communal functionalist' character of medieval society, evoking the harmony of the body politic.¹³² This approach conflated economic issues with notions of tyranny, especially as the Anglo-French war culminated in the imposition of regular, direct taxation by the Valois to maintain standing military forces.¹³³ This shift posed a "serious constitutional issue" throughout France, with the communities of Senlis, Meaux and Lyon echoing Paris' opposition to taxation from 1445.¹³⁴ The Bourgeois' criticism echoed Jean Juvénal des Ursins' censure of widening taxation to support troops during peacetime, especially the threat this posed to ecclesiastical and University privileges.¹³⁵ The *Journal*

History of Political Thought, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Spring 2000), 5; Adam Woodhouse, "'Who Owns the Money?' Currency, Property and Popular Sovereignty in Nicole Oresme's *De Moneta*", *Speculum*, Vol. 92, No. 1 (January 2017), pp. 86-8.

¹³¹ Oresme, *Traictié de la premiere invention des monnoies*, lii; Cary J. Nederman, "Community and the Rise of Commercial Society", 8; Adam Woodhouse, "'Who Owns the Money?'" , 105; Jeanne Quillet, "Note sur le 'traité de la première invention des monnaies' de Nicole Oresme" in *L'or au Moyen Âge: Monnaie, métal, objets, symbole*, (Aix-en-Provence: Publications de l'Université de Provence, 1983), 377.

¹³² Cary J. Nederman, "Freedom, Community and Function: Communitarian Lessons of Medieval Political Theory", *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 86, No. 4 (December 1992), pp. 977-8.

¹³³ Adam Woodhouse, "'Who Owns the Money?'" , pp. 88, 110-12; Jeanne Quillet, "Note sur le 'traité'", pp. 383-5; Mark Ormrod, "The West European Monarchies in the Later Middle Ages" in *Economic Systems and State Finance*, ed. Richard Bonney, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 131, 153-5.

¹³⁴ Paul D. Solon, "Popular Response to Standing Military Forces in Fifteenth-Century France", *Studies in the Renaissance*, Vol. 19 (1972), pp. 80-4.

¹³⁵ See, for instance, Jean Juvénal des Ursins, "Verba mea auribus percipe, domine", in *Écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, Vol. 2 ed. Peter S. Lewis, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1985), pp. 261-71; "Loquar in tribulacione", in *Écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins*, Vol. 1 ed. Peter S. Lewis, (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978), pp. 419-21. Franck Collard, "Au-delà des miroirs ou de l'autre côté: le Charles VII de Jean Juvénal des Ursins", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, Vol. 24 (2012), pp. 124-6; Albert Rigaudière, "Jean Juvénal des Ursins: Précurseur de l'absolutisme" in *Absolutismus, Ein Unersetzliches Forschungskonzept? Eine Deutsch-Französische Bilanz/L' Absolutisme, Un Concept Irremplaçable?: Une Mise Au Point Franco-Allemande*, ed. Lothar Schilling, (Munich: De Gruyter, 2008), pp. 67-8.

therefore traces Parisian reactions to the consolidation of the French state apparatus during the fifteenth century.¹³⁶

The *Journal's* portrayal of taxation was grounded in its dichotomous conception of French society. Implicitly, the Bourgeois endorsed a widespread theoretical approach that asserted that the king should live off the royal domain, leaving the *bonnes villes* to their own prosperity.¹³⁷ Christine de Pizan's *Richesse* had argued that the king "ne faudroit mettre subsides, tailles, gabelles ne aides... car s'il avoit aucun affaire, assez a du sien, sanz dangier, sanz homme vivant dommager".¹³⁸ Direct taxation consequently emerged as a contractual process. Despite only mentioning the Estates once, the Bourgeois' sustained evaluation of the relationship between taxation and warfare evinces the view that financial contributions accorded urban inhabitants a stake in royal policy, be it the direct taxation agreed by those communities or the artificial manipulation of currencies that were deemed inherently exploitative.

The *Journal* therefore points to the discursive means available to Parisians to contest taxation contrary to civic ideals of peace and prosperity during a civic conflict where socio-economic issues predominated in political rhetoric. Anxieties surrounding fiscal policy were

¹³⁶ On this process and its ideological substantiation see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 283-309; Bernard Guenée, "État et nation en France au Moyen Âge", *Revue Historique*, Vol. 237, No. 1, (1967), pp. 17-30; *States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe* trans. Juliet Vale, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), pp. 49-65; Jacques Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: Idées et croyances politiques en France XIII^e-XV^e siècle*, (Paris: Éditions Gallimard, 1993), pp. 296-338, 450-5; *Idéal du prince*, pp. 241-77.

¹³⁷ Maurice Rey, *Le domaine du roi*, pp. 41-3. The administration of the domain for the king's maintenance was a major theme of the Cabochien Ordonnance in 1413, Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413*, (Paris: Hachette, 1888), pp. 225-35; Alfred Coville (ed.), *L'Ordonnance cabochienne (26-27 mai 1413)*, (Paris: Picard, 1891), pp. 6-7, 10-11, 16, Articles 4, 12, 13 & 19. Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien', 205.

¹³⁸ Should not apply subsidies, *tailles*, *gabelles* or *aides*, because if he has any task he should have sufficient resources, without danger [and] without burdening any living man. Christine de Pizan, *Le livre du chemin de long estude*, ed Robert Püschel, (Paris: Le Soudier, 1881), 143, lines 3319-3328.

accentuated at moments of acute political and societal change. The Bourgeois focused upon these issues during two periods of political transition, namely the consolidation of Lancastrian authority over Paris from 1420 to 1424 and, later, the reassertion of Valois control over the capital between 1436 and 1440. Each instance evidences Parisian consideration of the extent of royal government and its legitimate foundations when these were least secure.

Taxation, Morality and Criticism

The *Journal* envisioned an analogy between excessive taxation and moral corruption. If the Bourgeois doubted the piety of soldiers who participated in conflict for the “*pou de pecune qu’ilz en actendoient a avoir*”, the fiscal policies designed to sustain these soldiers were considered equally immoral.¹³⁹ Considering inter-Christian warfare as fundamentally unnecessary, this same disapproval redounded upon direct taxation destined to fund armies. These issues were accentuated, ultimately, by the dual harm posed by taxation and warfare for non-combatants. Inhabitants of the *plat pais*, once taxed, might also find themselves obliged to contribute to garrisons or *appatis*, being subjected to further depredations by the soldiers they had originally financed.¹⁴⁰ Philippe de Mézières explicitly tied such developments to bureaucratic and military corruption.¹⁴¹ Indeed, rumours of commanders failing to pay soldiers despite direct taxation fed concerns that captains and

¹³⁹ The little bit of money that they expected to gain. Reg. Lat. 1923, 98v.

¹⁴⁰ Craig Taylor, *Chivalry and the Ideals of Knighthood*, pp. 217-20; Nicholas Wright, “Ransoms of Non-Combatants during the Hundred Years War”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 17 (1991), pp. 324-5; Maurice Keen, *The Laws of War in the Late Middle Ages*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), pp. 251-3.

¹⁴¹ Philippe de Mézières, *Le songe du vieil pèlerin*, Vol. 2, 385-400.

governors pocketed public finance while compelling troops to live off the land. In 1434, French soldiers pillaged the Île-de-France “pour ce que a nul des signeurs ne challoit de mectre la guerre a fin, pour ce que leurs souldoiers point ne paioent et qu’ilz n’avoient autre chose que ce qu’ilz embloient en tuant”.¹⁴² Interestingly, the Bourgeois described the monarchy’s efforts to extract wealth from Paris’ citizens in terms that echoed military behaviour, implying the illegitimacy and heavy-handedness of fiscal policy. When the Dauphin Louis arrived in Paris in April 1441, he commissioned “la plus grant taille a Paris, selon la grant povreté d’argent et de gaingne qui pour lors estoit, que on eust veue puis cinquante ans” – those who refused to contribute would “avoir sergens en son hostel *en garnison* qui tout gastoient aussitost que ilz y estoient, car ilz faisoient tres oultraiguse despence et autres mauvaises besongnes”.¹⁴³ Similarly, when a *taille* was ordered in December 1439 “de par le roy”, “on avoit tantost apres sergens en garnison qui moult grevoient le povvre commun, car quant ilz estoient dedens les maisons, ilz les convenoit gouverner de grans despens, car c’estoient les varletz au deable”.¹⁴⁴ Taxation for warfare, therefore, underpinned a perception of aristocratic cupidity and royal oppression to the detriment of the wider body politic and Paris’ poor in particular.

Fiscal abuses were explored through the dichotomy of ruler and ruled, evidencing the degree to which contributions were inherently perceived to permit commentary

¹⁴² For none of the lords viewed it as necessary to end the war, since they did not pay their soldiers and so they had nothing but that which they stole from the people that they killed. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 146v.

¹⁴³ The greatest *taille* that had been seen in Paris for fifty years, in relation to the great scarcity of silver and the poor wages that then existed; would have sergeants *garrisoned* in their houses who immediately ruined everything as soon as they were there, given their outrageous wastefulness and their other evil deeds. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 172r.

¹⁴⁴ People would soon after have sergeants garrisoned [in their houses] who greatly oppressed the poor commons, because when the sergeants were in their houses they had to be maintained at great expense, for they were the Devil’s own servants. *Ibid.*, fols. 165r-166v.

regarding political developments, according to their impact upon non-combatants. The Burgundian siege of Bourges in 1412 was concluded “quant tout le pauvre commun, et de bonnes villes et du plat pais, furent touz mengés, les ungs par tailles, les autres par pillage”, peace was agreed “car chacun estoit moult agrevé de la guerre.”¹⁴⁵ In 1428, Salisbury’s advances along the Loire resulted in “une grosse taille aussi bien aux villaiges comme es cités”, to the detriment of inhabitants who could no longer afford foodstuffs due to their decreased income.¹⁴⁶ Despite the emphasis upon royal necessity rhetorically deployed to justify increasing direct taxation from the fourteenth century, the Bourgeois typically eschewed this logic, stressing the negative consequences of prolonged taxation upon the French populace.¹⁴⁷

The clarification of fiscal powers by the Estates General in February 1436 resulted in direct taxation imposed annually, without consultation, from 1439.¹⁴⁸ In this context of

¹⁴⁵ When all of the poor commons, of the good towns and of the countryside alike, had had their stocks devoured, some by taxes, others by pillaging; because everyone was very overburdened by the war. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 21v.

¹⁴⁶ A heavy tax imposed upon the villages and cities alike. Ibid., fol. 112r. The Orléans campaign led by Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury, was jointly funded by an English direct tax and French funds; in May 1428 Bedford had induced the estates general to vote for a *taille* worth 60,000 *livres tournois* for a separate campaign targeting Angers, funds eventually diverted to Salisbury’s forces. Anne Curry, “English Armies in the Fifteenth Century” in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Anne Curry & Michael Hughes, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), 43; Charles de Beaurepaire, *Les états de Normandie sous la domination anglaise*, (Évreux: Auguste Hérissey, 1859), pp. 29-34; Juliet Barker, *Conquest*, pp. 96-7.

¹⁴⁷ John Bell Henneman, *Olivier de Clisson*, 73; *Royal Taxation*, pp. 17-24; Cary J. Nederman, “Aristotle as Authority: Alternative Aristotelian Sources of Late Medieval Political Theory”, *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 8, No. 1 (1987), pp. 31-4; Lydwine Scordia, ‘*Le roi doit vivre du sien*’, pp. 135-56; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “‘Defense of the Realm’”, pp. 115-33.

¹⁴⁸ “Instructions & Ordonnances faites par le roi Charles VII, sur la manière de lever et gouverner le fait des Aides (28 février 1436)” in *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 13, pp. 211-15. See also David Grummitt & Jean-François Lassalmonie, “Royal Public Finance (c. 1290-1523) in *Government and Political Life in England and France, c.1300-c.1500*, ed. Christopher Fletcher, Jean-Philippe Genet & John Watts, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 132-3; Russell J. Major, *From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy: French Kings, Nobles, & Estates*, (London: John Hopkins University Press, 1994), 8; John Bell Henneman, “Nobility, Privilege and Fiscal Politics in Late Medieval France”, *French Historical Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 1 (Spring 1983), pp. 16-17

increasing royal powers, the Bourgeois described the *taille* to finance the siege of Montereau in September 1437 as “*trop grosse*”, overwhelming Parisians since it “*moult les greva, car il n’estoit nul qui gaignast*”.¹⁴⁹ In 1444, the Bourgeois criticised notions of military necessity directly, indicating Parisian frustrations with the evident lack of French military successes despite persistent taxation. The claims that finances were being used to achieve peace through military campaigns were perceived as excuses employed by bureaucrats who profited in the absence of royal supervision:

...les gouverneurs soubz leurs umbres faisoient tailler sans cesser, disant que le roy et ses subjectz, mais qu’ilz eussent de l’argent, qu’ilz yroient conquerer toute Normendie. Mais quant la taille estoit cuillie et qu’ilz l’avoient par devers eulx, plus ne leur en challoit que de jouer au dez, ou chacer au boys, ou dancier.¹⁵⁰

The Bourgeois’ systematic analysis of fiscal necessity demonstrates how the direction of public finance could be critiqued through an assessment of its impact upon the commons.

This relationship reflects the wider moralisation of fiscal policy in late medieval French discourse. Unjustified taxation was symptomatic of tyrannical government, and the Bourgeois effectively deployed this commentary to question Armagnac legitimacy. When Charles VI left Paris to confront the English in September 1415, for instance, the Bourgeois correlated this with the Armagnac levy of “*la plus grant taille qu’on eust vue cueillir d’aage*

¹⁴⁹ Too great; and overburdened them, because no one earned anything. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 160r. In total, Parisians were required to contribute 36,000*l.t.* to the siege. Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris publié d’après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881), 333, n. 1.

¹⁵⁰ The governors, under the guise of their authority, incessantly enforced taxes, saying that as soon as the king and his subjects had sufficient finances they would go forth and conquer all of Normandy. But when the tax was collected and they had the money before them, they cared for nothing more than using it to play dice, or for hunting in the woods, or dancing. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 176r-176v.

de homme, *que nul bien ne fist pour le prouffit du royaume.*"¹⁵¹ The seizure of civic wealth without royal approval was evidence of the faction's authoritarian governance of Paris. The connection between royal authority and legitimate taxation was further stressed when the Bourgeois evoked Jean sans Peur's 1417 reformist manifesto as the duke marched upon Paris, proclaiming that "de par le roy et le Dalphin, et de par luy, que on n'y paiast nulle subsidies".¹⁵² The proclamation was juxtaposed with an Armagnac levy described three passages previously, imposed on Parisians "de quelque estat qu'il fust", corresponding to Armagnac effort to raise funds to combat the English.¹⁵³ Ostensibly a project to clean Paris' streets ("curer les voiries"), "quant on poyoit pour cent, on n'y mectoit mie xl, et avoient les gouverneurs le remenant", demonstrating the exploitation of public finance for factional profit.¹⁵⁴

From the 1420s, the Bourgeois evaluation of taxation incorporated notions of aristocratic cupidity, decrying the repressive measures employed by governors. Fresh taxes introduced by Paris' Lancastrian governors at Candlemas 1421 were "les enfants de l'ennemy d'enfer", their omnipresence and pervasiveness evoking the moral character of Paris' governing class, "gens oyseurs qui ne savoient mais de quoy vivre, qui pincoient

¹⁵¹ The heaviest tax that living men had ever seen imposed, which did no good whatsoever for the profit of the kingdom. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 35v. Emphasis my own.

¹⁵² In the name of the king, the Dauphin and himself, that none should pay any subsidies. Ibid., fol. 40r. The dissemination of Burgundy's manifesto is evoked by the Parlement reaction recorded by Clément de Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, pp. 30-3; RSD, Vol. 6, pp. 78-81. See also Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: La maudite guerre*, (Paris: Perrin, 1988), pp. 177-80.

¹⁵³ Regardless of their status. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 39v. See also *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 10, pp. 407-9; Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, pp. 14-18.

¹⁵⁴ For every hundred paid, the governors only allocated sixty and they kept the remainder for themselves. Reg. Lat. -m, 1923, fol. 39v. On jurisdictional rights concerning the Parisian 'voirie' see Katia Weidenfeld, "Le contentieux de la voirie parisienne à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Revue historique*, Vol. 301, No. 2 (April-June 1999), pp. 211-24.

tout".¹⁵⁵ Here, taxation emerged as an element of diabolical abuse threatening the city's common profit. This moralisation was channelled to critique specific rulers, such as Philippe de Morvilliers, the Paris Parlement's *premier président*, whose judicially repressive measures underpinned oppressive fiscal structures that prevented popular comment on Lancastrian policy.¹⁵⁶ For the Bourgeois, he represented

...le plus cruel tirant que homme eust oncques veu a Paris, car pour une parole contre sa voullenté, ou pour sourfaire aucune denrée, il faisoit percer langues, il faisoit mener bons marchans en tumbereaux parmy Paris, il faisoit gens tourner ou pillory.¹⁵⁷

The Bourgeois' comments fed into an undercurrent of public critique. Impossible to discuss the merits of fiscal policy openly, the *Journal* contributed to a hidden transcript of resistance that questioned the morality of Morvillier's character and the policies he represented, demonstrating their illegitimacy. By focusing upon specific civic officials, the Bourgeois consolidated Parisian antipathy towards the city's Lancastrian governors. Morvilliers and his allies, the *Chambre des Comptes* lawyer Jean Dole and the governor of royal finances Pierre d'Orgemont were described as "loups ravissans qui faisoient contre la deffence du Vieil Testament et du Nouvel, car ilz mengeoient la char a tout le sang, et si prenoient la brebiz et la laine."¹⁵⁸ Since these officials owed their positions to Henry V and

¹⁵⁵ The enemies from hell; idle men who did not know how to support themselves, but exploited everything. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 75v.

¹⁵⁶ Boris Bove, "Deconstructing the Chronicles: Rumours and Extreme Violence during the Siege of Meaux (1421-1422)", *French History*, Vol. 24, No. 4 (2010), 509. For Philippe de Morvilliers' career, see Philippe Plagnieux, "La fondation funéraire de Philippe de Morvilliers, premier président du Parlement. Art, politique et société à Paris sous la régence du duc de Bedford", *Bulletin monumental*, Vol. 151, No. 2 (1993), pp. 357-8.

¹⁵⁷ The cruellest tyrant that anyone had ever seen in Paris, because for a word contrary to his will, or to extract any kind of money, he had tongues pierced, had good merchants led in rubbish carts throughout Paris, had men turned on the pillory. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 79v.

¹⁵⁸ Preying wolves who acted against the laws of the Old and New Testaments, because they ate the meat with all its blood; they took the sheep and the wool. *Ibid.*, fol. 80v.

evidenced the Lancastrian monarch's growing authority over Parisian institutions, such criticism evoked tensions surrounding the legitimacy of Lancastrian rule and Paris' role in financially sustaining the English conquest at a moment of significant political transition.¹⁵⁹ The taxes' devastating impact upon the poorest in Paris implicitly contradicted Henry's commitment to justice expressed upon the Treaty of Troyes' conclusion, hinting at the compromised foundations of Lancastrian authority and imparting early Parisian reactions to the Dual Monarchy's manifestation.

Repression, Corruption and Resistance

Taxation provoked public commentary and resistance, exhibiting this perception of a contractual process. Taxes and currency alterations introduced in 1421 were presented as a danger to the common good since, when first announced, the Bourgeois remarked that "nul n'y mectoit remede pour le prouffit publique."¹⁶⁰ Paris' governors, in turn, were portrayed as repressing this same Parisian investment in discussions of the public good. Philippe de Morvilliers "faisoit jugemens si crueulx et si terribles et si espoventables que homme nul n'osoit parler contre luy."¹⁶¹ Similarly, in the wake of crippling taxation in 1437, the Bourgeois reflected upon how "le peuple de Paris... n'osoient parler [de nulle rien] qui

¹⁵⁹ An examination of French finances during the first years of the Lancastrian regime is presented in Richard A. Newhall, "The War Finances of Henry V and the Duke of Bedford", *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 36, No. 142 (April 1921), pp. 188-98; Neil Murphy, "War, Government and Commerce: The Towns of Lancastrian France under Henry V's Rule, 1417-22" in *Henry V: New Interpretations*, ed. Gwilym Dodd, (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 267-72.

¹⁶⁰ Because no one suggested any remedy for the public profit. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 77r. On these currency reforms see Philippe Lardin, "La crise monétaire de 1420-1422 en Normandie", *L'argent au Moyen Âge. Actes des congrès de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'enseignement supérieur public*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1998), pp. 109-111.

¹⁶¹ Exacted such cruel, horrible and frightening punishments that no man dared speak against him. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 79v.

touchast le bien publicque, car ilz avoient tant d'oppression, tant des tailles..."¹⁶² The process evoked widespread societal concerns regarding the risks posed by currency alterations and the confused character of information networks common to medieval markets.¹⁶³ Despite this repression of public complaint, the *Journal* indicates the diverse means through which Parisians contested royal authority. The most obvious was the threat to revolt coupled with outspoken criticism of the civic administration. Second, 'micro-resistances' and subliminal strategies were employed by Parisians to frustrate fiscal policy.¹⁶⁴

Although rare, outspoken complaint regarding fiscal policies reveal the potential for Parisians to meaningfully influence policy. Through organised responses, Parisians resorted to modes of contest developed during the fourteenth century, particularly in the revolts of 1358 and 1382 that, themselves, had focused upon issues of taxation.¹⁶⁵ In 1421, an element of public resistance was the murmur or clamour.¹⁶⁶ When currency alterations were decreed on 3rd July, "une grosse murmure" erupted in Paris.¹⁶⁷ As with previous revolts, the Bourgeois stressed that this criticism was directed at the 'gros' of Parisian institutions, "ceulx du

¹⁶² The people of Paris did not dare speak about anything concerning the public good, because they were so oppressed by taxes... Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 161r.

¹⁶³ Martha C. Howell, *Commerce before Capitalism in Europe, 1300-1600*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 22.

¹⁶⁴ James C. Scott, *Domination*, 183, 197. This approach is informed by Foucauldian readings of power. Michel Foucault, "The Subject and Power", trans. Leslie Sawyer, *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 8, No. 4 (Summer 1982), 780; *Surveiller et punir: Naissance de la prison*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1975), pp. 31-4. See also Michel de Certeau, *The Everyday Practice of Life*, trans. Steven Randall, (Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1988), pp. 38-9.

¹⁶⁵ Léon Mirot, *Les insurrections urbaines au début du regne de Charles VI (1380-1383). Leurs causes, leurs conséquences*, (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905), pp. 182-8; Samuel K. Cohn, Jr. *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200-1425. Italy, France and Flanders*, (London: Harvard University Press, 2006), pp. 82-4. Boris Bove, "Alliance ou défiance? Les ambiguïtés de la politique des Capétiens envers leur capitale entre le XII^e et le XVII^e siècle" in *Les villes capitales au Moyen Âge. XXXVI^e Congrès de la SHMES (Istanbul, 1^{er}-6 juin 2005)*, (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006), pp. 131-154.

¹⁶⁶ Michael Sizer, "Murmur, Clamor, and Tumult: The Soundscape of Revolt and Oral Culture in the Middle Ages", *Radical History Review*, No. 121 (January 2015), pp. 17-20; Emily Hutchison "Knowing One's Place", pp. 34-41.

¹⁶⁷ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 78r.

Pallays, du Chastellet".¹⁶⁸ This response was channelled and organised through pre-existing modes available to Parisians to contest royal authority. In 1421 the murmuring Parisians mustered in the Hôtel de Ville, the "foremost political and social centre of Paris", emulating the Cabochiens eight years earlier.¹⁶⁹ The Bourgeois was clear that the emotional character of those gathering in 1421 signalled impending revolt: "sy se coursa le commun et firent Parlement en la maison de la ville".¹⁷⁰ The move was effective. Seeing the Parisians rallying, Paris' governors "si orent paour" and were compelled to backtrack on the tax, offering an alteration of the terms for the payment of rents "dont le peuple se deporta et fut apaisie".¹⁷¹ Consequently, against the backdrop of earlier revolts, the Parisian complaint of 1421 reveals that the Bourgeois and his community were profoundly aware of the almost formulaic modes through which fiscal policies could be contested. Nevertheless, this initial resistance to Lancastrian taxation may have provoked the more oppressive measures later introduced by Philippe de Morvilliers to ensure Parisian compliance. When the currency was permanently re-evaluated at a more dramatic rate on 3rd November, the Bourgeois reported that "le peuple fut si oppressé et grevé que povres gens ne pouvaient vivre", but the ability to oppose these repressive practices had evaporated.¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 78r.

¹⁶⁹ Emily Hutchison, "Knowing One's Place", 49; Jean Favier, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris au XV^e siècle, 1380-1500*, (Paris: Hachette, 1974), 51. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 26r-26v; RSD, Vol. 5, pp. 10, 26, 64, 120-30. See also F. Rittiez, *L'Hôtel de Ville et la bourgeoisie de Paris: Origines, mœurs, coutumes et institutions municipales depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'à 1789*, (Paris: Durand, 1862), pp. 152-9, 191-203.

¹⁷⁰ The commons were angered and held an assembly in the city hall. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 78r.

¹⁷¹ They were frightened; as a result of this the people were calmed and dispersed. *Ibid.*, fol. 78r. On the challenges posed by rising rates in the early fifteenth century, see Simone Roux, "Modèles et pratiques en histoire urbaine médiévale: L'espace parisien à la fin du Moyen Âge", *Histoire, économie et société*, Vol. 13, No. 3 (Autumn 1994), pp. 420-3.

¹⁷² The people were so oppressed and burdened that poor people could not live. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 79r.

However, taxation could also be contested through means that stopped short of open resistance. The Bourgeois consistently described murmurs as evidence of popular criticism that carried an implicit threat of violence should the city continue to be overburdened. When Lancastrian governors substantially reduced the value of *doubles* and *niqués* on 6th September 1423, “le peuple se troubla moult”.¹⁷³ When such grumbling failed, the Bourgeois reported the extent to which Parisians insulted and cursed their governors, encapsulating a hidden transcript of resistance. Twice in the late 1430s, for example, the Bourgeois articulated criticism of the French war effort by contrasting Valois taxation with Lancastrian leniency.

On ne savoit duquel on avoit le meilleur marché, ou des Anglois ou des Francoys, car les Francois *prenoient patiz et tailles de iii mois en iij mois*, et se les pouvres laboureurs n’avoient de quoy paier, les gouverneurs les habandonnoient aux gens d’armes, les Anglois les delivroient quant ilz les pouvaient prendre par rancon.¹⁷⁴

Even capture by the English might be preferable to the continuous taxation enforced upon Parisians by the Valois state.

Refusal to comply with currency alterations represented a more indirect means of contesting policy. For instance, when ‘black’ coins of poor value were introduced in July 1423, the general populace and *changeurs* alike refused to employ them, fearing that they would be exchanged for the silver currency then in circulation. The boycott ultimately led to the new coin’s failure: “le peuple en fut si mal comptent qu’il la convint laisser, et si estoit

¹⁷³ The people were particularly angered. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 94v.

¹⁷⁴ No one knew which side offered the better deal, the French or the English, because the French took *patiz* and taxes every three or four months and, if the poor labourers could not afford them, the governors abandoned them to their soldiers; the English would set them free for a ransom, when they could capture them. Ibid., fol. 160r.

toute assennie", demonstrating the success of this means of resistance.¹⁷⁵ In 1427, when the Lancastrian governors reduced the value of the *mouton d'or* by three shillings, a move portrayed by the Bourgeois as deliberately targeting the *menu peuple* "qui n'avoit... autre monnoye que celle, qui rien ne leur valu", rather than attempt to contest the change directly, Parisians resisted indirectly.¹⁷⁶ "Si maudisoient Fortune en appert et a secret, disans leurs volentés des gouverneurs" before throwing their coins into the Seine "de droit desespoir."¹⁷⁷ Not only did the protest signal the view that Lancastrian policy was exploitative, but this desperation deliberately compromised any of the benefits the governors may have hoped to derive from the practice. By throwing their coins into the river, the Parisians signalled an unwillingness to accept further currency manipulations. If they could not benefit from their earnings, neither would the Lancastrian leaders, with the Bourgeois' claiming that "plus de cinquante fleurins ou la value en monnoye" were thrown into the river.¹⁷⁸ The resistance might have been effective, as references to currency fluctuations within the *Journal* abated over the ensuing years.

Although an equation between direct taxation and popular discontent should not be overstated, the Bourgeois echoed other writers of the early fifteenth century in his criticism of royal fiscal policy.¹⁷⁹ Several issues can be discerned at the heart of such criticism.

Primarily, the *Journal's* focus upon royal responsibility for increasing rates of taxation,

¹⁷⁵ The people were so angered by them that they had to be abandoned, although they had all been prepared. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 93r.

¹⁷⁶ Who had no other coins besides these which were now worthless. Ibid., fol. 104v.

¹⁷⁷ They cursed Fortune secretly and openly, saying what they would of the governors; in absolute desperation. Ibid., fol. 104v.

¹⁷⁸ More than fifty florins or coins of similar value. Ibid., fol. 104v.

¹⁷⁹ Mathieu Caesar, "Legal uncertainty", pp. 344-5.

especially following the Valois reconquest in 1436, implied the author's adherence to the perspective, entrenched by the fourteenth century, that "le roi doit vivre du sien".¹⁸⁰ The resulting mismanagement of finance was consequently conveyed through two perspectives. Principally, funds were expected to be raised for the defence of the common good, that is, to support the upkeep of troops destined to defend the kingdom in times of *necessity*. In the 1430s and 1440s however the prevalence of the *écorcheurs* throughout France, coupled with French commanders' apparent reluctance to pursue military campaigns to their conclusion, was clear evidence that the funds coerced from Parisians were not being put to their appropriate end. This perspective engendered a second criticism, the enduring notion that evil counsellors, commanders and even kings misappropriated these finances to support luxurious lifestyles to the detriment of the common good. The Bourgeois never used the term 'tyranny' to describe this behaviour, reserving this language for the criticism of the physical violence exerted by soldiers upon non-combatants, but his description of financial exploitation leaned towards a reading of political abuse that echoed notions developed in the writings of John of Salisbury, Thomas Aquinas, Giles of Rome or, more recently, Jean Gerson, that concentrated upon lordly cupidity.¹⁸¹

This focus upon taxation nevertheless provided the Bourgeois with important ideological means to trace the contested character of civic and royal authority. Parisians were crucially willing to flex their rebellious muscles regarding issues of taxation, and the

¹⁸⁰ Lydwine Scordia, 'Le roi doit vivre du sien', pp. 49-57, 335-40; Maurice Rey, *Le domaine du roi*, pp. 41-3.

¹⁸¹ John of Salisbury, *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. & trans. Cary J. Nederman, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 27-30, 104-6; Quentin Taylor, "John of Salisbury, the *Policraticus*, and Political Thought", *Humanitas*, Vol. 19, Nos. 1-2 (2006), 136; Thomas Aquinas, *On the Government of Rulers*, ed. & trans. James M. Blythe, (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997), pp. 63-4; Jean Gerson, "Vivat Rex", 1158 Jean-Philippe Genet, "The Problem of Tyranny in Fifteenth Century England", *Moreana*, Vol. 50, Nos. 192-3 (2013), 50.

reformist attitudes inherent in the revolts of 1413 and 1418 were, at least in part, concerned with issues comprising regular, heavy taxation and the perceived misappropriation of finance by evil counsellors.¹⁸² In 1421, Parisians evidently built upon this heritage to initially test the nascent Anglo-Burgundian government, especially as Henry V sought to impose fresh taxes to support his conquest of central France. The later period of the *Journal* witnessed a similar questioning of royal authority, with the Bourgeois either emphasising the nature of the burdens placed upon Parisians or the undermining of established privileges, such as those exempting the clergy and the University of Paris from tax to illustrate the issues that brought the capital into direct contest with the Valois monarchy.¹⁸³ Ultimately, Parisians used every means at their disposal to directly and indirectly frustrate the impact of regular taxation, ranging from assemblies as a show of force to symbolic acts of resistance such as throwing coins into the Seine.

To discuss taxation was, therefore, to discuss the extent of state power, and such conversations were increasingly important as French centralisation and the establishment of regular taxation became more apparent. The Bourgeois' reactions are indicative of Parisian responses to important changes in the state apparatus looking forward to the early modern period, particularly the establishment of the standing army providing France with the military means to pursue more aggressive and expansionist campaigns by the end of the century.¹⁸⁴ The royal monopolisation of these practices correlated with growing concerns regarding the decline of civic powers, the privileges of urban institutions and indeed the

¹⁸² As expressed by the Bourgeois himself. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 23r-23v, 51r-52v; Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, pp. 137-48.

¹⁸³ Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 160r-160v, 179r.

¹⁸⁴ Emmanuel le Roy Ladurie, *The French Royal State: 1460-1610*, trans. Juliet Vale (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1994), pp. 74, 80-1.

capital's independence in the wake of Charles VII's rapid resurgence after 1429 and his steady recalibration of French royal power.

Good Government

Two interconnected issues conditioned the Bourgeois' interpretation of royal authority in the early fifteenth century. The first was a normative ideal of the king, encapsulating the principles of "noblesse de courage, chevalerie et sagece".¹⁸⁵ The wise king should ensure the equitable performance of justice, the maintenance of peace and, as a corollary to these two elements, the defence of the common good over that of the individual. Second, these duties were supported by a supply of good counsel by loyal Frenchmen who mitigated against the risk of tyranny.¹⁸⁶ This consideration of good government implicitly evoked the commonplace schema of the body politic, with the monarch representing the head and the members cooperating to ensure societal harmony. The king should be able to discern good advice from bad, and rule according to the former – a ruler unable to resist the caprices of his advisers was a tyrant by virtue of his negligence.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, this

¹⁸⁵ Christine de Pizan, "Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V" in *Nouvelle collection des mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France*, Vol. 1, ed. Jean François Michaud & Jean Joseph François Poujoulat, (Paris: Proux, 1832), 592; Michael Richarz, "Prudence and Wisdom in Christine de Pizan's *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles VI*" in *Healing the Body Politic: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Karen Green & Constant J. Mews, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 99-102, 107-10; Armand Strubel, "Le 'chevauchier' de Charles V: Christine de Pizan et le spectacle de la majesté royale" in *Penser le pouvoir au Moyen Âge (VIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. Dominique Boutet & Jacques Verger (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 2000), pp. 390-3; Kate Langdon Forhan, *The Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, pp. 80-6; Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, pp. 109-18.

¹⁸⁶ Jacques Krynen, *Idéal du prince*, pp. 144-8; Philippe Contamine, *Le moyen âge: le roi, l'Église, les grands, le peuple, 451-1514*, (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 2002), pp. 458-468. Jean Gerson, "Vivat Rex", pp. 1164-6; Nicole Oresme, *Politiques*, 124, 135, 152.

¹⁸⁷ Jean Gerson, "Vivat Rex", pp. 1164-6; Albert Rigaudière, "Le bon prince dans l'œuvre de Pierre Salmon" in *Penser le pouvoir au Moyen Âge (VIII^e-XV^e siècle)*, ed. Dominique Boutet & Jacques Verger (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 2000), pp. 377-83; Hervé Lebègue, "Famille royale et réforme dans les écrits politiques de Jean Juvénal des Ursins" in *Familles royales: Vie publique, vie privée aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, ed. Christine Raynaud, (Aix-en-Provence: Presses Universitaires de Provence, 2010), pp. 97-8.

examination reveals the extent to which ideas discussed by contemporary political theorists filtered down to those more distant from power, demonstrating the effectiveness of Burgundian propaganda strategies under Jean sans Peur. Reactions to government shifted over the course of the Bourgeois' writing, and this shift was conditioned by Paris' declining ideological centrality to Valois authority, stemming from the cumulative impact of civil conflict and Lancastrian occupation.

The king was expected to set an example for his people that inculcated virtue and ensured societal stability.¹⁸⁸ Violence towards non-combatants was portrayed as a direct consequence of the immorality of their commanders. 'Armagnacs' were named thus, the Bourgeois asserted, "car ledit conte estoit tenu pour tres cruel homme et tirant sans pitié".¹⁸⁹ The proud demeanour of Charles VII's mistress, Agnès Sorel, upon her visit to Paris in 1448 redounded upon Charles VII's moral character. Sorel was the "amie publiquement au roy de France, sans foy et sans loy et sans verité a la bonne royne... [et] sans ce qu'elle eust point honte de son peché".¹⁹⁰ Insisting upon Sorel's sinful lifestyle, the Bourgeois lamented the impact of her presence upon royal reputation and the example this set for France's inhabitants: "Quelle pitié quant le chef du royaume donne si malle exemple a son peuple, car s'ilz font ainsi ou pis, il n'en oseroit parler".¹⁹¹ The portrayal of Sorel's inherently gendered and sexualised behaviours represented an informal means of demonstrating Charles VII's violation of the societal morals that he was expected to enforce, at least from

¹⁸⁸ D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 164.

¹⁸⁹ Because the said count was reputed to be a very cruel man, a tyrant and without pity. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 15r.

¹⁹⁰ The king's public mistress, unfaithfully, illicitly and untruthfully to the good queen... despite the fact that she showed no shame for her sin. *Ibid.*, fol. 184r.

¹⁹¹ What a pity, when the head of the kingdom gives such a bad example to its people, because if they do the same or worse, he would not dare speak of it. *Ibid.*, fol. 184v. See also Appendix II, No. 17.

the Bourgeois' clerical perspective.¹⁹² As such, the *Journal* suggests that assessments of aristocratic reputation enabled Parisian commentators to map power and critique authority.¹⁹³ For instance, when Philippe le Bon failed to emulate his Lancastrian counterpart by provisioning Paris during the harsh winter of 1430-31, the Bourgeois reported Parisian derision of the Burgundian duke: "On dit communement que la premiere année du mariaige on doit complaire a l'espousée, et que ce sont tretoutes nopces... Ainsi disoit-on du duc de Bourgongne et pis assez."¹⁹⁴ Ultimately, the mockery conveyed a sense of Parisian abandonment, given that the inhabitants "l'amoient tant comme on povait amer prince", while also implying Philippe le Bon's idleness, lack of control and even subordination to his wife.¹⁹⁵ Such gossip emerged in the narrative as an element of the Bourgeois' commentary that buttressed his assessment of prevalent socio-political issues.¹⁹⁶

Moreover, the absence of a stable royal centre for much of the Bourgeois' writing meant that evidence of good rulership was limited. French monarchs were expected to pursue peace and prosperity, maintain social order by upholding justice and defend the

¹⁹² Laurence Poos, "Sex, Lies and the Church Courts of Pre-Reformation England", *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, Vol. 25, No. 4 (Spring 1995), pp. 585-591; Jan Dumolyn & Jelle Haemers, "'A Blabbermouth can barely control his tongue': Political Poems, Songs and Prophecies in the Low Countries (Fifteenth-Sixteenth Centuries)" in *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400-1700)*, ed. Thomas Cohen & Lesley Twomey, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 280-88.

¹⁹³ Elizabeth Horodowich, "The Meanings of Gossip in Sixteenth-Century Venice" in *Spoken Word and Social Practice: Orality in Europe (1400-1700)*, ed. Thomas Cohen & Lesley Twomey, (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 321-5.

¹⁹⁴ It is commonly said that for the first year of marriage one must please one's wife, and that is a result of the nuptials... Such things and worse the people said about the duke of Burgundy. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 128r. For the complete version of the Bourgeois' comparison of the dukes of Bedford and Burgundy, see below, Appendix II, No. 11.

¹⁹⁵ Who loved him as much as a prince could be loved. *Ibid.*, fol. 128r; Henric Bagerius & Christine Ekholst, "Kings and Favourites: Politics and Sexuality in Late Medieval Europe", *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (2017), pp. 304-8.

¹⁹⁶ Jörg R. Bergmann, *Discreet Indiscretions: The Social Organization of Gossip*, (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 29.

Church.¹⁹⁷ This perception of the king's role came to the fore in the *Journal* in two particular instances – Charles VI's funeral and Henry V's marriage to Catherine of Valois. The former insisted upon the king's duties to ensure peace, lamenting Charles' death as presenting a definite obstacle to an end to France's division. As the king's body was borne through Paris to Saint-Denis, the Bourgeois described Parisian onlookers as exclaiming "'Jamais n'aurons que guerre puisque tu nous as laissés. Tu vas en repos, nous demouron en toute tribulacion et en douleur!'"¹⁹⁸ In contrast, an alternative and far more positive idealisation of royal duty was exhibited in the Bourgeois' description of Henry V, depicted as being committed to war to "faire justice des mauveys affin que le pouvre peuple se puisse vivre".¹⁹⁹ Inherently, the Bourgeois' portrayal of Henry V as encapsulating ideal royal qualities represented an important means of legitimating Parisian adherence to the Treaty of Troyes.

These perceptions were more generally influenced by the political circumstances of the early fifteenth century. Charles VI's mental illness provoked a power vacuum that resulted in the Bourgeois' portrayal of the king as passive, susceptible to misinformation and even outright betrayal by his counsellors.²⁰⁰ Throughout the *Journal*, this vacuum was the site of an important contest over royal influence that juxtaposed Armagnac aristocrats and Parisians sympathetic to the duke of Burgundy. As demonstrated in Chapter V, religious processions supporting the Burgundian campaign against Bourges in 1412 evoked the union of capital and king. When the offensive culminated in a stalemate and the Paix d'Auxerre,

¹⁹⁷ Christine de Pizan, "Le livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V", pp. 4-7.

¹⁹⁸ 'We will never have anything but war now that you have left us! You go on to rest, we remain in tribulation and in pain!' Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 89r. For the Bourgeois' description of Charles VI's funeral and the Parisian reaction, see below, Appendix II, No. 7.

¹⁹⁹ Exact justice upon evildoers so that the poor people can live. *Ibid.*, fol. 66v.

²⁰⁰ Michel Pintoin was similarly aware of Charles VI's illness, and instead stressed the king's dependence upon his counsellors during his moments of lucidity. Bernard Guénéé, "Le portrait de Charles VI dans la Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis", *Journal des savants*, (1997), pp. 149-53.

the Bourgeois lamented that the peace was concluded “par faulx traistrez privez qui estoient entour le roy”.²⁰¹ As true supporters of the king, the Parisians were well aware of the Armagnac intent underlying this rapprochement: “ilz ne tendoient que a la destrucion du roy et especialment de la bonne ville de Paris et des bons habitans”.²⁰²

Already in 1411, Burgundian propaganda had asserted that the Armagnacs “n’avoient guerre que au bon roy et a la bonne ville de Paris”, reiterating these ties between ruler and ruled that accorded Parisians an important sense of agency in royal politics and articulated the city’s ideological centrality.²⁰³ Indeed, the city’s role in counselling the king had already been alluded to when, in 1410, Étienne du Mesnil “monstra la cruaulté que ilz [les princes] faisoient par *deffaulte de bon conseil*, disant qu’il failloit *qu’il y eust des traistres en ce royaume*”.²⁰⁴ The city’s representative access to the king, evidenced in 1410 by Mesnil’s sermon and the support that he received from the University when insulted by Armagnacs leaders, was considered by the Bourgeois as essential to combatting treacherous influences that jeopardised royal authority and the common good. The report coincided with the “*famam falsa*” that Michel Pintoin reported as circulating in Paris, relating “*quod ambicio dominandi et thesaurizandi cupiditas est causa dissencionis*”, evidencing a wider recognition that princely corruption threatened Paris’ status.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ By false traitors surrounding the king. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 21v.

²⁰² Their only goal was the destruction of the king and particularly of the good city of Paris and its good inhabitants. Ibid., fol. 22v.

²⁰³ Were only committed to war against the king and the good city of Paris. Ibid., fol. 15v.

²⁰⁴ Showed him the cruelty that the princes committed due to a lack of good counsel, saying that it must be that there are traitors in the kingdom. Ibid., fol. 15r. Emphasis my own. See also Appendix II, No. 1.

²⁰⁵ The ambition to govern and the desire to amass wealth are causes of civil strife. RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 373.

This civic duty to assist the king underpinned the Bourgeois' account of the Cabochien revolt, situating the Armagnacs as a threat to both "le roy et le prouffit commun".²⁰⁶ The *Journal* depicted the intervention of the University and the *prévôté des marchands* as essential to foiling a plot to kidnap Charles VI, "et emmener le roy pour estre maistres de Paris, de en faire toute leur voulenté, qui moult estoit malvaise".²⁰⁷ In this light the Cabochien revolt was *not* transgressive, but a means of reinforcing royal authority while upholding the common good.²⁰⁸ The ensuing Armagnac reactionary government was portrayed as endeavouring to sever these bonds between king and capital, with the Bourgeois focusing upon the abuses performed by the Armagnac royal counsel. Parisians were widely aware of these issues, judging by the remission letter issued for the Saint-Ladre labourer, Jean Jourdain, accused of publicly asserting that due to the fact that Charles VI was "bien fol et enragié... n'estoit que ordure du fait de notre conseil et que les guerres en estoient venues".²⁰⁹ Recognising the limits of the king's own abilities, the Bourgeois therefore advocated a greater role for sympathetic, Parisian and Burgundian royal counsellors. In this context, the Armagnac's were perceived to exploit Charles VI's mental illness to enforce repressive policies, supported by the exclusion of the city' representatives, including Jean sans Peur, from the processes of political decision making. After 1413, the influence of evil

²⁰⁶ The king and the common profit. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 22v.

²⁰⁷ And lead away the king to be the masters of Paris and do with it whatever they willed with their evil intent. *Ibid.*, fol. 23r.

²⁰⁸ Raymond Cazelles, "Une exigence de l'opinion depuis Saint Louis: la réformation du royaume", *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire de France* (1962-1963), pp. 92-5.

²⁰⁹ Considering our counsel, that if we [i.e. Charles VI] had been well advised no man would have dared speak against us, and all of this foul business was a result of our council and the wars that they had provoked. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 106 (January 1418).

counsellors was therefore perceived to distance the French monarchy from Parisian prerogatives.²¹⁰

As such, notions of treachery, evil counsel and the diminution of royal authority were central to the Bourgeois' conceptualisation of civil conflict. In early 1412, the Bourgeois complained that skirmishes between the Armagnacs and Burgundians were not worth mentioning, "car on ne faisoit rien a droit pour les traistres dont le roy estoit tout advironné".²¹¹ In turn, the importance of good counsel was widely recognised, as demonstrated by the 1412 pardon for the herald Jacques Mestreau, who had drunkenly claimed that:

...les seigneurs de ce royaume se rebellerent a l'encontre de nous et nostre couronne; et que on avoit osté de nostre Conseil les bons proudommes qui desja s'en estoient alez... et que nous estions mal conseilliez, et qu'il n'avoit nulz proudommes entour nous.²¹²

Where Mestreau emphasised Charles VI's responsibility for remedying France's crisis, the Bourgeois stressed Armagnac exploitation of the king's illness as a significant factor in the disruption of ties between ruler and ruled. With Charles VI "mallade et enfermé" in the autumn of 1413, the Armagnacs undid the Cabochien revolt's reformist gains and reasserted their control over the capital; in February 1415, when the king "estoit tousjours mal dispousé", the faction was portrayed as exploiting these circumstances to

²¹⁰ Katherine J. Lewis, *Kingship and Masculinity in Late Medieval England*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 32.

²¹¹ Nothing was done properly because of the traitors who completely surrounded the king. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 18v.

²¹² France was at risk of experiencing the same political upheaval as had been seen in England [the overthrow of Richard II], unless God was merciful and people remedied the situation, by which he meant that the lords of this kingdom had rebelled against us and our crown, and that good and trustworthy men had already been removed from our Council... and that we were poorly advised, and that there were no trustworthy men with us. JJJ/166, No. 14 (February 1412).

appoint Bernard d'Armagnac governor "de tout le royaume de France".²¹³ Moreover, during this period Armagnac rule was depicted as preventing wider access to the king. Charles VI was held in the Louvre "de si pres que homme ne poait parler a lui... dont le povre commun de Paris avoit moult de destrece au cuer, qu'ilz n'avoient aucun chef qui pour eulx parlast", with Jean sans Peur prevented from accessing the king.²¹⁴ After 1413, therefore, the theme of inaccessibility repeatedly resurfaced as evidence of the "mauvais conseil qui pour lors estoit entour le bon roy".²¹⁵ Rhetorically, these emphases upon the king's indisposition fundamentally invalidated Armagnac claims to legitimacy by pointing, instead, to the king's own inability to effectively govern.

The disputed character of the royal centre from 1422 meant that issues of counsel abated until the reassertion of Valois authority in 1436. Thereafter, Charles VII's persistent avoidance of the capital compromised the constitutional dynamic that had once rendered Paris the kingdom's "mestresse cité".²¹⁶ The Bourgeois regularly lamented Charles' absence, remarking in 1439 that "il n'avoit ne roy, n'evesque qui tenist compte de la cité de Paris, et ce tenoit le roy tousjours en Berry, ne il ne tenoit compte de l'Isle-de-France, ne de la guerre, ne de son peuple".²¹⁷ When Charles VII *did* visit, he arrived "comme ung homme estrange", demanding taxes that further impoverished the city before departing "derechief en son pais de Berry a celle fin que on ne lui demandast quelque relache de malles costes".²¹⁸ Again,

²¹³ Unwell and infirm; still indisposed; of all of the kingdom of France. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 29r, 37v.

²¹⁴ So closely that no one could speak to him... [and] as a result the commons of Paris were greatly distressed because they had no leader who would speak for them. Ibid., fol. 29r.

²¹⁵ The evil counsel that then surrounded the good king. Ibid., fol. 32r.

²¹⁶ Ibid., fol. 154v.

²¹⁷ There was neither a king nor a bishop who cared for the city of Paris, and the king remained in Berry and had no concern for the Ile-de-France, nor for the war, nor for his people. Ibid., fol. 163v.

²¹⁸ Like a stranger; immediately for his country of Berry to avoid being asked for any reductions to the *maltôtes*. Ibid., fols. 172v, 173v.

distance compromised Parisian involvement in the processes of political administration and exacerbated anxieties regarding the influence of evil counsellors who consolidated their influence over the king “comme on fait ung enfant en tutelle”.²¹⁹ Moreover, Charles’ absence was interpreted as disdain for the fate of his kingdom. For instance, the Bourgeois construed the 1444 Swiss campaign designed to rid France of the *écorcheurs* as a misdirection of French resources.²²⁰ The king

laissoit son royaulme, qui estoit tout meslé d’Angloys... et ilz alloient lui et son filz en estranges terres ou ilz n’avoient rien, despendre et gaster ses gens et la finance de son royaulme. Et en bonne foy ilz ne faisoient en dix ou en xij ans... quelque chose que ce fust pour le bien du royaulme.²²¹

This military mismanagement was consistently ascribed to “gouverneurs faulx et traistres au roy”, echoing the rhetoric associated with Charles VI’s reign.²²² The trope of evil counsel was reinforced by the discursive undercurrents that concentrated upon aristocratic immorality and concerns regarding Paris’ waning status. If theories of the body politic stressed the cooperative participation of all parts, the Bourgeois feared the accumulation of finance by the head, to the detriment and death of the wider organism, with accentuated anxieties regarding the degree of aristocratic abuse at every level of the social hierarchy due to the perception of royal inaction.

²¹⁹ Just as children in kept in tutelage. Ibid., fol. 173r.

²²⁰ Duncan Hardy, “The 1444–5 Expedition of the Dauphin Louis to the Upper Rhine in Geopolitical Perspective”, *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (2012), pp. 358-70.

²²¹ Left his kingdom which was plagued by the English... and he and his son went into foreign lands which did not concern them, using up and wasting their money, men and the kingdom’s finances. And, in good faith, in ten or twelve years they had done nothing of any kind for the good of the kingdom. Ibid., fols. 178v-179r.

²²² Governors who were false and treacherous to the king. Ibid., 176r. See also Appendix II, No. 16.

Where the Bourgeois conceived of an important role in counselling the king for Paris and its institutions, notions of evil government were concentrated upon the 'tyrannical' character of France's princes, those who represented evil counsel and a danger to the kingdom's common good. As Jean-Philippe Genet has argued, "the Middle Ages experienced tyranny and lived with it, and the word itself may be considered a word of the current language".²²³ Henry V's portrayal by the Bourgeois as an ideal ruler through his commitment to the justice for the poor was antonymic of the notion of the tyrant found in texts such as Augustine's *City of God*, presented as the 'unjust' ruler.²²⁴ Fundamentally, Aristotle and Augustine perceived tyranny as the usurpation of the common good for personal gain, themes central to the Bourgeois' treatment of chivalry and warfare discussed above.²²⁵ In turn, John of Salisbury's conception of tyranny had been integral to Jean Petit's *Justification* in 1408 that had developed assertions of the threat posed by Louis d'Orléans to the common good, advocating the licit removal of tyrants by force: "il est licite à chacun subject, sans quelque mandement, de occire ou faire occire traistre desloial ou tirant, et non point tant seulement licite, mais honorable et méritoire".²²⁶ The Bourgeois' evocation of 'tyranny', however, evoked a sense closer to that employed by Giles of Rome, focusing

²²³ Jean-Philippe Genet, "The Problem of Tyranny", 44.

²²⁴ St. Augustine, *City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson, (London: Penguin, 1984), Book II, Chapter 21, 73.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 73; Aristotle, *The Politics of Aristotle*, ed. & trans. Peter L. Phillips Simpson, (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), Book 6, Chapter 10, Book 7, Chapter 10.

²²⁶ It is legal for every subject, without command, to kill or have killed a disloyal traitor or tyrant. And not simply licit, but also honourable and commendable. Jean Petit, "Justification" in Monstrelet, Vol. 1, 206 and, more generally, pp. 206-23; Richard Rouse & Mary Rouse, "John of Salisbury and the Doctrine of Tyrannicide", *Speculum*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (October 1967), pp. 695-700; K.L. Forhan, "Salisbury Stakes: The Uses of 'Tyranny' in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*", *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp.397-407; Stephen H. Rigby, "The Body Politic in the Social and Political Thought of Christine de Pizan (Abridged Version). Part I: Reciprocity, Hierarchy and Political Authority", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistiques*, Vol. 24 (2012), pp. 476-9.

specifically upon the concept's strong association with unmediated violence.²²⁷ The Bourgeois' use of the term 'tyranny' was overwhelmingly attributed to the Armagnac faction (70% of instances), typically evoking military cruelty towards non-combatants. As seen above, the Armagnac faction was defined by the personal behaviour of Bernard, count of Armagnac, "tres cruel homme *et tirant*".²²⁸ The repeated characterisation of Armagnac military behaviour as 'tyrannical' throughout the *Journal* enabled the Bourgeois to therefore position the faction as enemies to the common good, defined in terms of the experiences of those distanced from government and accentuating the Bourgeois' continual dichotomy of noble and popular perspectives.

Furthermore, evil counsellors and cruel lords alike were characterised by inexperience and wilfulness. The Bourgeois ascribed responsibility for the abandonment of the siege of Bourges in 1412 to the intervention of Louis, duke of Guyenne, motivated by "sa volenté plus que de raison, et croit les jeunes et les folz".²²⁹ When the Dauphin died in December 1415 the Bourgeois reiterated his view that the prince had been "moult plain de sa volenté plus que de raison", expressing wider Parisian dissatisfaction with Guyenne's intervention in royal politics from 1412 and, in all likelihood, the Dauphin's role in the overthrow of the Cabochien revolt.²³⁰ These perceptions of evil government explicitly evoked the rhetoric surrounding Louis d'Orléans assassination in November 1407, revealing the potential influence of Jean sans Peur's propaganda strategies, including the publication

²²⁷ Jean-Philippe Genet, "The Problem of Tyranny", pp. 49-50. See also Stephen H. Rigby, "Aristotle for Aristocrats and Poets: Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* as Theodicy of Privilege", *The Chaucer Review*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2012), pp. 278-81; Graham McAleer, "Giles of Rome on Political Authority", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 60, No. 1 (January 1999), 30.

²²⁸ A very cruel man and a tyrant. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 15r-15v.

²²⁹ His will rather than reason, and believed [in the advice] and young and mad men. Ibid., fols. 22r-22v.

²³⁰ Filled with self-will rather than reason. Ibid., fol. 36v.

and dissemination of Jean Petit's *Justification* for Orléans murder, upon wider understandings of government. Such notions were conjured in the Bourgeois' criticism of Philippe le Bon in 1422.²³¹ The duke

...mendoit telle vie dampnable et de jour et de nuyt, *comme avoit fait le duc d'Orléans et les autres signeurs qui estoient mort moult honteusement*, et estoit gouverné par jeunes chevaliers plains de folie et de outrecuidance, et gouvernoient selon ce qu'ilz se gouvernoient et eulx selon lui, et en verité de Dieu a nul d'eulx ne challoit d'accomplir sa voullenté.²³²

By comparing Philippe le Bon to Louis d'Orléans, the Bourgeois effectively redirected Petit's condemnation of the latter, highlighting the more general juxtaposition of lordly behaviour with the common good. With Petit's *Justification* legitimating tyrannicide, the Bourgeois' manipulation of this rhetoric implied that Burgundy, too, may justifiably be resisted. This legitimation was accompanied by a moral dynamic, with God's omniscience central to the denunciation of the Burgundian pursuit of worldly pleasures, influenced by the whims of evil counsellors, with *convoitise* again emphasised as the *radix omnium malorum*.²³³ Louis d'Orléans' attempts to satisfy his desire for power and wealth had encouraged him to commit *lèse-majesté*, through which Petit's argument demonstrated the rising importance of the concept of treachery as an assault upon the common good.²³⁴ By succumbing to this same "voullenté", Philippe le Bon undermined the Anglo-Burgundian

²³¹ Alfred Coville, *Jean Petit*, pp. 300-4.

²³² Led such a damnable lifestyle day and night, just like the duke of Orléans and the other lords who had all died very shamefully, and he was governed by young knights driven by madness and impudence, and so he behaved like they did, and they like he; and by God's truth nothing mattered to them but the fulfilment of their own desires. Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 81v-82r.

²³³ *Radix omnium malorum est cupiditas*. Timothy, 6, 10; Jean Petit, "Justification" in Monstrelet, Vol. 1, pp.186-7; Lucie Jollivet, "Le milieu humaniste", 141. See also Tracy Adams, "Valentina Visconti, Charles VI and the Politics of Witchcraft", *Parergon*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (2013), pp. 18-21.

²³⁴ Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, 191.

regime's moral bases by acting against the common good. As such, the *Journal* echoed contemporary political literature, critiquing the political dangers engendered by false counsel and asserting the distances between an idealised common good and aristocratic behaviour. Rather than being directed against the king directly, these criticisms advocated increased royal independence to neutralise aristocratic immorality.

Understandings of political legitimacy were invariably tied to policies regarding warfare and taxation, themes that were foundational to the Bourgeois' political commentary. These interpretations substantiated understandings of moral behaviour informed by political theory and theological literature, as well as the ideas expounded in contemporary sermons and conveyed through the symbolic elements of ceremony that sought to represent royal ideology. Evil counsellors who pursued war for personal financial gain, with little thought for peace or the common good, were envisioned by the Bourgeois as figures of particular vilification. Such criticism represented a wider and established view that the royal centre was subject to constant, duplicitous influences that distanced the commons and, moreover, the people of Paris from the effective operation of government. These contentions were vividly expressed during uprisings in 1413 and 1418, but also a crucial factor in determining Parisian support for the Burgundian faction, as aristocratic counsel was juxtaposed with Paris' own connection to the royal centre.

Jean Juvénal des Ursins strenuously argued against the dangers of a passive tyranny whereby the kingdom was led to destitution due to the monarch's failure to correct and duly admonish his advisers. Drawing upon the metaphor of the body politic, Ursins warned that the king was "l'arme de la chose publique, et oncques l'arme ne destruisit le corps, mais le

corps bien l'arme".²³⁵ This internecine destruction, the *Journal* implies, could be reversed through the restitution of the essential ties that bound the capital and the royal centre together as the *caput regni*.²³⁶ If the presence of the king and his institutions in the capital had been integral to Paris' assumption of a geopolitically central status in the kingdom of France during the fourteenth century, then the *Journal* evidences Parisian anxieties concerning the continued absence of monarchs from 1422 and the dangers that this posed to the population's ability to influence political decision-making.

The Armagnac-Burgundian conflict and Paris' subsequent occupation by the English provoked a substantial alteration to these ideological bonds that had been bond encouraged at an institutional level by figures such as Jean Gerson, who insisted that the University of Paris' status as the "fille du roi" gave it a unique role in advising on political matters as an extension of the king himself.²³⁷ If the union of capital and king encapsulated good, ordered government, then their separation was perceived as engendering mutual decline. This view was evoked in 1419 when the Bourgeois lamented the king's fortune, compelled to reside with Isabeau de Bavière at Troyes, "a povre mesnie, comme futilz et deschassés hors de leur lieu par leur propre enfant, qui est grant pitié a pancer a toute bonne personne".²³⁸ Implicitly, the bonds between Paris and Charles VI were indicative of France's chosen status and evocative of the challenges facing the wider French populace. In 1419, negotiations with the English were portrayed as a profound ideological blow to the preeminent status of the

²³⁵ The weapon of the common good, and never can the weapon destroy the body, but the body can destroy the weapon. Jean Juvénal des Ursins, "Tres reverends et reverends père en Dieu", 83.

²³⁶ Bernard Guenée, *Un meurtre, une société*, pp. 121-5.

²³⁷ Nancy McLoughlin, *Gerson and Gender: Rhetoric and Politics in Fifteenth-Century France*, (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), pp. 65-8, 85-95.

²³⁸ With a poor retinue as those who have fled and been expelled from their rightful place by their own child, which is a very piteous thought for any good person. Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 63v.

French monarchy, “et fut une dure chose au roy de France que lui, qui devoit estre le souverain roy des chrestiens, convint qu’il obeist a son anxien ennemy mortel”.²³⁹ Paris’ subjugation to the English was conveyed in similar terms. From 1421, the Bourgeois’ envisioned Paris through parallels to the fallen Jerusalem of Jeremiah’s Lamentations, governed by “loups ravissans” loyal to Henry V. When Charles VI finally died, the Bourgeois presented the Parisians as crying that

‘...nous sommes bien taillez que nous ne soions en la maniere de la chetyvoison des enfans de Israel, quant ilz furent menez en Babilonie’... et vraiment leurs lamentacions estoient assés semblables a ceulx de Geremie le prophete qui crioit au dehors de Jherusalem quant elle fut destruite, *Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo*.²⁴⁰

If Charles VI represented the *rex christianissimus* brought to his knees, then Paris’ experienced analogous suffering, as the earthly manifestation of God’s New Israel. This perception of Paris’ ideological and eschatological role persisted into the later decades of the Bourgeois’ writing, even as the city’s influence appeared substantially reduced during Charles VII’s reign. When the city was reconquered in 1436, the Bourgeois reflected upon the capital’s experience of occupation in similar terms as those used in 1422, “car en verité oncques les juifs qui furent menez en Caldée en chetivoison ne furent pis menez que estoit le pouvre peuple de Paris”.²⁴¹ Paris’ reunification with its rightful king symbolised a reassertion of France’s spiritual pre-eminence, since “celles choies doivent bien donner a

²³⁹ And it was a hard thing for the king of France, who should have been the sovereign king of all Christians, to be compelled to obey his ancient mortal enemy. *Ibid.*, 58v.

²⁴⁰ Ravenous wolves; We are in such a state that we are like the children of Israel who were led into captivity into Babylon... and truly, their lamentations were much like those of the prophet Jeremiah who cried before Jerusalem when the city was destroyed: ‘*Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo*’. *Ibid.*, fols. 80v, 89r-89v. See also Appendix II, No. 7.

²⁴¹ For truly even the Jews who were led away into captivity in Chaldea did not experience as great a hardship as had the poor people of Paris. *Ibid.*, fol. 155r.

tout bon chrestien voulenté et devocion de remercier notre Creatour".²⁴² From 1436, the *Journal* stressed themes of political reconciliation and religious centrality, through the 1437 reinterment of Bernard, count of Armagnac to the return of precious artefacts, with the arrival of the Passion relics in August 1445, secreted away by a Saint-Denis monk "pour le temps que les Anglois gouvernoient le royaume".²⁴³ Overshadowing this apparent stability, however, was the spectre of Paris' altered relationship with Charles VII. The king's persistent absence, the pervasive character of taxation and its challenge to the privileges of Paris' churches and University revealed a new dynamic to the relations between king and capital. As Charles VII's authority had grown during the 1420s, Paris' exclusion from and opposition to Valois authority had undone its role as an ideological pillar of Valois power, ultimately demonstrated by Charles VII's and later Louis XI's lukewarm attitude towards the capital.

Conclusion

The Bourgeois was fundamentally concerned with how and why Parisians reacted to the societal issues they were confronted with during the first half of the fifteenth century. As such, through an analysis of the *Journal* this chapter has demonstrated the profound influence of the political and religious discourse and ideas frequently associated with leading courts at lower levels of Parisian society. The Bourgeois nuanced the issues of warfare, taxation and good government consistently discussed by Parisians through his own clerical lens. Peace and prosperity remained the ultimate civic goods, unsurprisingly for an

²⁴² These events should give every good Christian the inclination and devotion to thank our Creator. *Ibid.*, 155v.

²⁴³ During the time that the English governed the realm. *Ibid.*, fols. 161v-162r, 180r.

author writing within an artisanal context. High taxes and conflict disrupted the work and livelihoods of merchants and traders to the detriment of the city's body politics, just as rampaging soldiers compelled labourers to abandon their own obligations – morally, socially and economically – to become brigands in desperation. While frustrating Paris' economy, the spiritual destitution also wrought by warfare, taxation and evil counsel was fundamentally condemned. Taxes were imposed upon clergymen and church properties only to be spent frivolously by the evil counsellors of the king and the Dauphin without a thought for the common good and the people of the realm. The result of such exactions, when coupled with warfare, were perceived by the Bourgeois to encapsulate a profound loss of faith among the French populace, all the more dangerous in a world perceived to exhibit the characteristics consonant with Antichrist's arrival.

Consequently, spiritual considerations were fundamental to the conceptions of national and civic feeling expressed within the text, hinting at the Bourgeois' perception of the eschatological place of the French kingdom, its people and its king. Despite persistent political crises, the Bourgeois never abandoned the view that France, and Paris in particular, represented a New Israel. In this light, the English represented only temporary conquerors, a retributive scourge for French (and specifically Armagnac) sin, a view validated by French successes from 1436. Despite heavy taxes, and despite the failings of French military commanders, successes such as the Treaty of Tours in 1444, the gradual return of precious relics to the capital, the end of the Great Schism or the final conquest of towns such as Rouen enabled Parisians, including the Bourgeois, to reassert their spiritually central status to the kingdom.

Nevertheless, upon the *Journal's* conclusion the state of France and Paris had been irreversibly changed. Paris' ideological status within Valois ideology was fundamentally undermined by its inhabitants' participation in the 1418 coup that had resulted in Charles VII's exile, their resistance to Valois authority for almost two decades and their endorsement of a foreign conqueror, particularly through Henry VI's coronation. In 1436, therefore, Paris emerged not as the king's counterpart as the *caput regni*, but as an entity *subjected* to Charles VII's authority, its political influence entirely compromised. As a result of high taxation, continuous warfare and its increasing distance from the king's person, the Paris of 1449 was a shell of the imposing political figure it had been in 1405, and the Bourgeois' record of complaint in the last decades impart the anxieties of an urban community that, once so integral to the French civil conflict of the 1410s, was now largely prevented from participating directly in royal politics.

Conclusion

This thesis has reassessed overlooked elements in the historiography of fifteenth-century France and Paris, drawing important conclusions for methods of textual interpretation, the development of urban historiography during this period and the methods by which individual authors engaged with their civic community. The Bourgeois was predominantly concerned with reporting the actions, discussions and responses of Parisian inhabitants to the political vicissitudes experienced by the capital during the first half of the fifteenth century. Consequently, the *Journal* represents an essential source for examining the multitudinous questions surrounding notions of a medieval public sphere and public opinion, the media framing political discussion in one of late medieval Western Europe's largest cities and, finally, the ways in which Parisians developed their own narratives to critique authority and reinforce their own civic identity. Although the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* has been edited and mined for details regarding the French civil conflict, Lancastrian occupation of France and Parisian history for centuries, it has never represented the subject of its own, focused, historical study. Therefore, this research has first endeavoured to reignite discussions surrounding the Bourgeois' identity, the *Journal's* purpose, its potential audience(s) and the communities that informed the Bourgeois' writing, that have not been examined since the nineteenth century. Instead of viewing the *Journal* as an isolated reflection of Parisian events and opinions, the text should be considered as a collaborative process, framing interaction between the Bourgeois' views and his envisioned audience's horizon of expectations, assuming an active role in shaping these same perspectives.

Foundational to this approach has been the reassessment and detailed analysis of the *Journal's* codicological and internal evidence, with immediate results including the

establishment of an authoritative working edition that rectifies earlier errors.¹ This work has also crucially challenged assumptions surrounding the text's fifteenth-century provenance and readership. While earlier studies argued that the text was compiled for a restricted audience of the Bourgeois' peers, either members of the University of Paris or the cathedral chapter, the cross-examination of the *Journal's* content with the Bourgeois' contexts and its early patronage indicates that the narrative may have satisfied the socio-political demands of lay Parisians engaged in civic politics. Not only were these individuals concerned by the economic and political issues raised throughout the *Journal*, they also secured their ascendancy in municipal politics by successfully navigating the factional conflict of the first decades of the century. Several decades after the *Journal's* conclusion, the codicological evidence suggests that families such as the Maciots may have employed the text to similarly cement their status in the city and their local neighbourhood, engaging with the collective memory of the Halles' inhabitants.

In countering the Bourgeois' uncomfortable isolation in modern historiography, a principal contention of this thesis has been that the *Journal* evokes dialogue between a Parisian cleric and his audience(s), with the text emerging as an interface between the Bourgeois' authorial intent and his audience's expectations. Therefore, the text represents a particularly effective means of assessing public opinion during this troubled era of Parisian history. Twenty years ago, Bernard Guenée argued that the Bourgeois' inherent 'bias' invalidated the *Journal* as a source for the considered analysis of public opinion, but this work has been motivated by the impression that it is precisely *because* of this willingness to evoke how a specific Parisian community discussed and critiqued royal or civic agendas,

¹ This codicological analysis and examples from the working edition are presented in the Appendices.

often according to very specific political perspectives and goals, that the *Journal* is integral to understanding late medieval public spheres. Counter-balancing Guenée's concentration upon the *Chronique du Religieux de Saint-Denis*, an analysis of the *Journal* reveals the writings of an individual who was consistently engaged in the discussions occupying Parisian society and contemporaneously reacting to events. The Bourgeois' sentiments, opinions and animosities shifted over years and even weeks as he mirrored wider Parisian interpretations of political turbulence.

Theoretically, such conclusions add weight to the strong arguments that have been developed in recent years asserting the presence of public spheres in the Middle Ages and, more importantly, countering the grand narratives that have traditionally perceived the early modern period as an era of significant change in the ways societies functioned politically. Technological developments such as the printing press accentuated processes that the *Journal* suggests were already present in later medieval society. Then, as in eighteenth-century coffeehouses, people could and did gather to discuss political issues that they rationalised and critiqued according to the moral or normative systems that they envisioned as governing societal interaction. The *Journal* reveals the efforts of an individual to concurrently record these conversations when they emerged in public space, integrating Parisian complaint and rumour into an ongoing commentary regarding the state of civic society.

Political communication represented a driving force for the Bourgeois' narrative. Inherently, the *Journal* did not represent either an objective account or an unmediated reflection of events as they occurred. Instead, the Bourgeois selectivity privileged specific events and underscored the *reality* of Parisian talk, rumour and opinion surrounding these

same events. What mattered was not what occurred, but how it was considered. The Bourgeois' descriptions of the various modes and media of political communication examined in this thesis consequently emerged as sites of contest in Paris. Assessing the blurred and fluid boundaries between official and unofficial or verbal and written communication through the *Journal* has prompted important insights into how Parisians themselves accepted, contested and rejected political information in an effort to assert their own power or identity and arrogate for themselves a role in political developments and decision-making. Moreover, through his writing the Bourgeois himself appropriated significant authority over this perception of the exchanges between rulers and ruled. Through inherent notions of space, symbolism and emotional discourse, the Bourgeois employed important rhetorical mechanisms that framed Parisian political perspectives, emphasising the contested character of official communication.

Moreover, the analysis of the political themes discussed by the Bourgeois presented in Chapter VI suggests that Parisians distanced from the highest echelons of political society, particularly those who mediated between the city's commons and its elite through civic institutions or churches, shared many of the concerns expressed in theoretical or religious literature. Demonstrating the influence of the Burgundian propaganda disseminated during the first decades of the fifteenth century, the Bourgeois employed similar moral schema to those presented by individuals such as Jean Petit to question the legitimacy of aristocratic and royal authority. As such, the *Journal* indicates how Parisians could adapt moral rhetoric to rationalise the city's political stances. Like the polemical treatises in circulation at royal and ducal courts, the Bourgeois privileged a view of the world where the fundamental goods of peace and prosperity integral to civic stability were jeopardised by human sin. At

the heart of these concerns with societal fragmentation were the dangers that this posed first to Paris' established constitutional and political role as the *caput regni*, as the city's influence waned following continued political turbulence, and, secondly, the threat that French sin represented for its eschatological and salvific destiny. Throughout his writing, the Bourgeois was at pains to resituate Paris as a spiritual centre, paralleling the French capital's experiences with that of the Old Testament's Jerusalem, reduced to ruin by Nebuchadnezzar. The moral rhetoric discrediting the Armagnacs was reinforced through instances perceived to encapsulate a manichaeistic juxtaposition of good and evil enabled the Bourgeois to reduce interpretations of the civil conflict to a fundamental moral binary. In doing so, he rationalised Paris' decline as divine retribution for human sin, but retribution necessary to restore and reinforce the faith of Parisians as God's chosen people, reiterating their elect status.

Consequently, this study not only elucidates the importance of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, but also demonstrates the wider rhetorical and discursive mechanisms available to Parisians who interpreted the multivalent conflict that characterised late medieval France, legitimating their political decisions and collective identity. The thesis has combined approaches from a broad range of historical, sociological, literary and political scholarship to determine historical writing's functions in a fifteenth-century city, revealing a constant interplay between the perspectives of author/interpreter and envisioned audience within the public sphere, as well as the means by which the reconstruction and codification of this interaction mapped relative authority in urban space. For the Bourgeois, Parisian involvement in political events, be it through rebellion, the circulation of rumour or presence

in ceremonies, was historically significant, evidencing both the potential and the constraints of civic intervention.

Ultimately, this points to the dangers of oversimplifying those texts that escape neat generic classification and suggests the real importance of Paris' overlooked urban historiography. Further research can complement the approaches identified here. On the one hand, the wealth of information supplied by the *Journal* invites a comparative re-examination of other fifteenth-century urban texts, primarily assessing other Parisian narratives such as the journals of Jean Maupoint and Jean de Roye, but also looking beyond the capital to the traditions of other northern French towns. This survey would situate the late medieval urban historiography of France in relation to the burgeoning analyses of urban chronicles produced in England, Germany, Italy and the Low Countries. On the other, the registers of the chapter of Notre-Dame, the Parlement or the fragmentary records surviving for the *prévôté des marchands* – all employed here but whose exhaustive study is beyond the remit of the present work – can further clarify our understanding of how Parisians reacted to processes of state centralisation during the fifteenth century. Such research can nuance the themes highlighted by the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, enhancing our understanding of late medieval public opinion, political communication, propaganda and discourse, illuminating political participation beyond the restricted spheres of medieval France's elite.

Appendices

Appendix I. Manuscript Copies of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*

Although the original manuscript of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* (hereafter *Journal*) is lost, six manuscript copies of the text have been identified since the nineteenth century, largely due to the efforts of French historians such as Jules Quicherat, Alexandre Tuetey and Léopold Delisle.¹ Tuetey's introduction to his critical edition, published in 1881, examined five of these manuscripts, including a sixteenth-century copy held in Aix-en-Provence's Bibliothèque Méjanes. However, the Aix manuscript was only brought to Tuetey's attention by Quicherat as the edition went to print, meaning that the manuscript was not intensively studied by the editor.² While later editions incorporated the Aix manuscript into their studies, the range of known manuscripts has remained unchanged since Léopold Delisle's description of the fragment in the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library in 1892. Neither Janet Shirley nor Colette Beaune, the text's twentieth-century translators, expanded upon this selection of manuscript copies.³ However, recent research assisted greatly by developed catalogues and digitisation projects at various libraries, particularly the Bibliothèque nationale de France, has enabled the identification of a further six early modern copies, bringing the total to twelve.

¹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris d'après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881), pp. ii-ix; Ulysse Robert, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Champion, 1879), 9, no. 319; Léopold Delisle, "Un nouveau manuscrit du *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris (1405-1449)*", *BEC*, Vol. 53 (1892), pp. 684-5.

² Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 44.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 40-2; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris de 1405 à 1449*, (Paris: Librairie Générale Française, 1990), pp. 8-10.

To summarise the state of extant copies, the oldest is a late fifteenth-century manuscript held at the Vatican Library (Reg. Lat. 1923), while a fifteenth-century fragment of short extracts copied from this example is now held at the Bodleian Library, Oxford (MS French d. 10). The most complete surviving copy is held at Aix-en-Provence's municipal library, Méjanes MS. 432 (316), written in two sixteenth-century hands. Six copies of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* are held at the BNF at Paris. Three of these are near-complete copies: Fonds français [Anciens fonds], 3480 (seventeenth-century); Fonds français [Supplément français] 10145 (eighteenth-century) and Fonds français [Petits fonds], 23230 (seventeenth-century). The remaining three are manuscripts which feature extracts from the *Journal* compiled by various historians: Fonds français, Duchesne 49 (seventeenth-century), Fonds français Collection Dupuy, 275 (late sixteenth-century) and Fonds français [Supplément français], 10303 (late sixteenth-century) compiled by André Duchesne (1584-1640), Claude Dupuy (1545-1594) and Pierre de l'Estoile (1546-1611) respectively.⁴ An additional series of extracts written by the eighteenth-century historian Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon (1730-1811) are held in the BNF's Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Anciens fonds, Manuscrits français 3929.⁵ Finally, two complete seventeenth-century copies are held at the

⁴ On these three sixteenth-century historians, see J.C. Laidlaw, "André Du Chesne's Edition of Alain Chartier", *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 63, No. 3 (July 1968), pp. 569-74; Charles Samaran, "Sur la mort d'André Du Chesne", *BEC*, Vol. 137, No. 1 (1979), pp. 59-60; Jérôme Delatour, *Une bibliothèque humaniste aux temps des guerres de Religion : les livres de Claude Dupuy, d'après l'invention dressé par le libraire Denis Duval (1595)*, (Paris: École des Chartes, 1998); Tom Hamilton, *Pierre de L'Estoile and his World in the Wars of Religion*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), Introduction & Chapter 6; Michel Chopard, "En marge de la grande érudition, un amateur éclairé: Pierre de L'Estoile" in *Histoire et littérature: les écrivains et la politique*, (Paris: PUF, 1977), pp. 205-35; Florence Greffe & José Lothe, *La vie, les livres et les lectures de Pierre de L'Estoile: Nouvelles recherches*, (Paris: Champion, 2002)

⁵ For this historian see Hélène Dufresne, *Érudition et esprit public au XVIII^e siècle: le bibliothécaire Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon (1730-1811)*, (Paris: Nizet, 1962).

Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly and the Herzog August Bibliothek of Wolfenbüttel: Chantilly MS 0876-0877 (two volumes, 1686) and Herzog August, 3.1.81 Aug. fol., (c. 1643).

As such these copies range from large, well-kept and neat manuscripts produced for bibliophiles to scrawled notes compiled by early historians, revealing substantial French historical interest in the text since the sixteenth century and a growing interest among aristocratic collectors such as Louis II de Bourbon-Condé, “le Grand Condé”, (1621-1686) and August der Jüngere, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneberg and prince of Wolfenbüttel (1579-1666), one of the most prolific book collectors of the seventeenth century.⁶ This readership challenges the relatively peripheral historical status that the *Journal* has acquired in twentieth-century editorial descriptions. An awareness of the range of extant manuscripts and their relationship also sheds light upon the quality of existing editions, revealing that the manuscript Tuetey believed to be closest to the original, Fr. 3480, is in fact a fourth-generation copy.⁷ The manuscript stemma is:

⁶ On Louis II de Bourbon-Condé, see Katia Béguin, *Les princes de Condé: Rebelles, courtisans et mécènes dans la France du grand siècle*, (Paris: Champ Vallon, 2012); “La fortune du Grand Condé: un enjeu de l’après-fronde (1654-1660), *Revue historique*, Vol. 297, No. 1 (January-March 1997), pp. 57-84; Mark Bannister, *Condé in Context: Ideological Change in Seventeenth-Century France*, (London: Legenda, 2000). On August der Jüngere, Duke of Braunschweig-Lüneberg and the Wolfenbüttel library see Nigel F. Palmer, “Review: *Katalog der mittelalterlichen Helmstedter Handschriften. Teil I: Cod. Guelf. 1 bis 276 Helmst.*, descriptions by Helmar Härtel, Christian Heitzmann, Dieter Merzbacher, and Bertram Lesser (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012)”, *Medium Aevum*, Vol. 84, No. 1 (January 2015), pp. 136-7; Renate Pieper, “Trading with Art and Curiosities in Southern Germany before the Thirty Years War” in *Markets for Art, 1400-1800*, ed. Clara Eugenia Núñez, (Sevilla: Publications of the University of Sevilla, 1998), pp. 88-89.

⁷ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, iv.

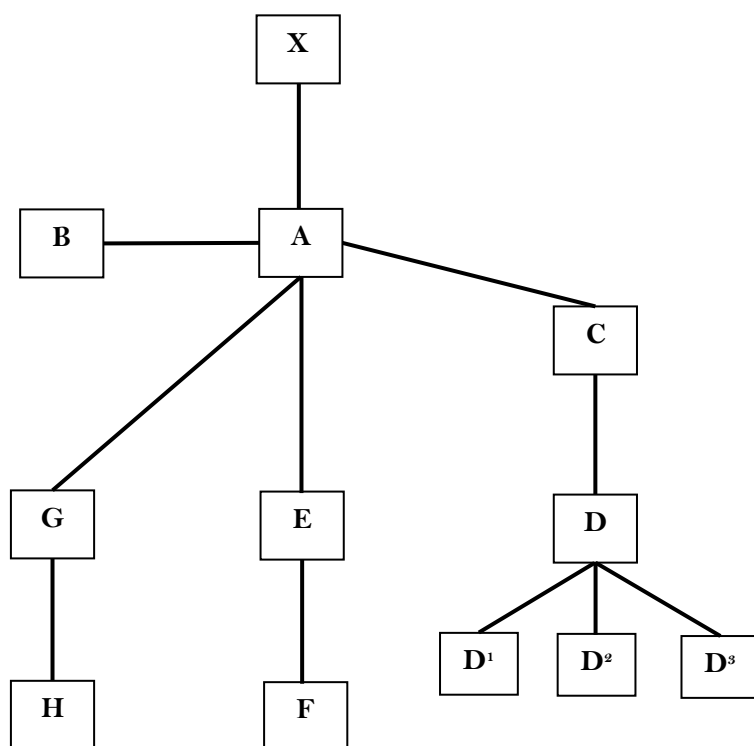


Figure 5 Manuscript Stemma of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*

X – The lost original manuscript, completed c. 1450.

A – Vatican, MS Reg. Lat. 1923, (c. 1470s)

B – Oxford, Bodleian MS. French d. 10 (late fifteenth-century).

C – Aix, Méjanes MS. 432 (316) (mid-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century).

D – Paris, BNF MS. 23230 (first third of the seventeenth century).

D¹ – Paris, BNF MS. 3480 (first half of the seventeenth century).

D² – Wolfenbüttel, Bibliothek Herzog August, 3.1.81 Aug. 2° (c. 1643).

D³ – Chantilly, MSs 0876-0877, (1686).

E – Paris, BNF Dupuy 275, (late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century)

F – Paris, BNF 10303, (early seventeenth-century)

G – Paris, BNF MS. 10145 (eighteenth-century, before 1729).

H – Paris, BNF, Bib. de l' Arsenal, MS. 3929 (mid eighteenth-century, after 1729).⁸

⁸ Note, the brief style of the notes in BNF Duchesne 49 makes the manuscript impossible to situate within this stemma.

Manuscript Copies of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*

1. Vatican MS. Regina Latina 1923 (c. 1470-1480)

187 folios, 27.5cm L x 19.6cm W (Written space: 19.2cm L x 11.5cm W).

Collation: 1-3²⁰, 4²⁰ wants 1, 2, 3 after f. 60, 5¹⁶, 6²⁰, 7²⁶ wants 26 with an added singleton (f. 163), 8²⁰, 9⁴.

Vatican MS. Reg. Lat. 1923 is the oldest extant manuscript copy of the *Journal*.⁹ The Vatican manuscript is paper, and there is no reason to doubt that this would have been the support for the original, especially given recent work demonstrating the increasing use of paper by Parisian ecclesiastical institutions in the last decades of the fourteenth century.¹⁰ The same fifteenth-century hand features throughout but this is certainly not the original text, as demonstrated by the disordered format of the *Journal's* first entries. Without a prologue, the *Journal* begins abruptly at the end of the Bourgeois' account of the Battle of Othée, fought on 23rd September 1408.¹¹ Passages relating events in November 1408, March 1409 and June 1409 and a *nota* regarding a storm in 1411 follow, after which half of folio twelve verso is left blank. On the following page the *Journal* resumes part-way through an account of September 1405, beginning "dix ou douze jours apres...", before returning to

⁹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, v; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 41; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 8.

¹⁰ Caroline Bourlet & Isabelle Brethauer, "L'utilisation du papier comme support de l'écrit de gestion par les établissements ecclésiastiques parisiens au XIV^e siècle. Résultat d'une enquête" in *Matériaux du livre médiéval: Actes du colloque du Groupement de recherche (GDR) 2836 "Matériaux du livre médiéval"*, Paris, CNRS, 7-8 novembre 2007 ed. Monique Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda & Caroline Bourlet, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), pp. 171-8.

¹¹ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 12r. On the Battle of Othée, see Yves Charlier, "La bataille d'Othée et sa place dans l'histoire de la principauté de Liège", *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique liégeois*, Vol. 97 (1985) pp. 138-278; Hubert Carrier, "Si vera est fama. Le retentissement de la bataille d'Othée dans la culture historique au XV^e siècle", *Revue historique*, Vol. 303, No. 3 (July-September 2001), pp. 639-70.

1409 on the same folio verso without a break in the text.¹² Hereafter, the *Journal* follows a chronological order until November 1449. The ordering of these entries suggests that the Vatican scribe was copying from a text whose first quire was already disorganised, particularly as these first folios form part of a complete quire in the Vatican manuscript. Allusions to material now lost from the sections of 1405 and 1408 demonstrate that the original text included an account of the escalation of hostilities between the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans in August 1405, perhaps the pronouncement and distribution of a Burgundian reformist “manifesto” on 21st and 26th August 1405, and possibly a relation of Valentine Visconti, duchess of Orléans’ petition for justice following Louis d’Orléans’ assassination, countering Jean Petit’s *Justification* and taking place at the Louvre on 11th September 1408, given that this assembly was systematically juxtaposed with Jean sans Peur’s victory at Othée in other contemporary accounts.¹³ Consequently, these missing years may also have contained the Bourgeois’ reaction to the assassination of Louis of Orléans on 23rd November 1407, an account of Jean Petit’s *Justification* and perhaps a prologue where the Bourgeois identified himself and his reasons for writing.¹⁴

¹² Alexandre restructured the text in his 1881 edition so that it began with this passage from 1405, followed by the material concerning 1408, 1409 and 1411 which are placed in their respective years in the edition. This methodology was copied by Janet Shirley and Colette Beaune in their later editions. See Louis François Joseph de la Barre (ed.), *Memoires pour servir à l’histoire de France et de Bourgogne*, (Paris: Gandouin & Giffart, 1729), iv; Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris d’après les manuscrits de Rome et de Paris*, (Paris: Champion, 1881), 1.

¹³ For the events of 1405 see Léon Mirot, “L’enlèvement du dauphin et le premier conflit entre Jean sans Peur et Louis d’Orléans (1405)”, *Revue des questions historiques*, Vol. 51 (1914), pp. 329-355 & Vol. 52 (1914), pp. 47-88, 369-419; Richard Vaughan, *John the Fearless: The Growth of Burgundian Power*, (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002), pp. 34-5. For accounts of 1408 see RSD, Vol. IV, pp. 94-140; Monstrelet, Vol. 1, pp. 336-50, 387-90; *Histoire de Charles VI*, pp. 440-1.

¹⁴ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 14.

The manuscript's dating to the 1470s is supported by three watermarks, similar to Briquet's 5824, 9183 and 7064 (dated 1471-9).¹⁵ Moreover, comments criticising the behaviour of the Dauphin Louis, later Louis XI (r. 1461-1483) were crudely erased, suggesting that the manuscript was read and altered during Louis' reign.¹⁶ Likewise, the removal of three folios relating the Bourgeois' reaction to Jean sans Peur's assassination in September 1419 that were originally part of the Vatican manuscript gives the impression that the Franco-Burgundian rivalry that escalated during the 1470s was ongoing, with sympathy for the duchy unwelcome or compromising. This evidence points to the manuscript's compilation during Louis XI's reign, probably prior to Charles le Téméraire's death in January 1477, with a *terminus ad quem* of August 1483.

The manuscript's first eleven folios contain the two poems that feature at the beginning of all complete copies of the text, the *Bataille du Liege* and the *Sentences du Liege*, compiled by the Burgundian herald Jacquet de la Ruelle, a "faiseur et recorder de beaulx diz" paid six francs by Jean sans Peur on 31st December 1408 for composing these poems.¹⁷ These materials were probably not a new addition to the text when the Vatican manuscript was compiled, appearing on the first quire contiguously with the *Journal's* text, suggesting that either the Bourgeois or an early reader included them in the original and indicating the contemporary circulation of Burgundian propaganda. Similarly, the Middle French text of

¹⁵ These are Nos. 5824, a Dauphin mark (dated to Paris after 1474, also 1475, 1477 and 1479), 7064, a Fleur de Lis (dated 1471) and 9183, a Letter Y mark (dated 1472, 1473 & 1476) Charles Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes: Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier*, Vol. 2 (Paris: Alphonse Picard, 1907) pp. 340-1, 391; Charles Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, Vol. 3, 487.

¹⁶ Rome, Vatican MS Reg. Lat. 1923, fols. 176r & 178v.

¹⁷ Dijon, Archives départementales de la Côte-d'Or, B1558, fol. 101r, cited in Alain Marchandisse & Bertrand Schnerb, "La bataille du Liège" in *Ecrire la guerre, écrire la paix: Actes du 136^e Congrès national des Sociétés historiques et scientifiques*, ed. S. Mazauric (Perpignan: CTHS, 2011), 34.

the Treaty of Troyes was transcribed into the narrative from fols. 66v to 72r.¹⁸ Besides the disarray of the *Journal's* entries, there are three other notable omissions in the Vatican manuscript: an account of the pillaging of Jean, duke of Berry's Bicêtre château by Parisians in October 1411; three folios concerning Jean sans Peur's assassination in 1419; and, finally, the last folios of the seventh quire containing the Bourgeois' account of 1438, 1,350 words in length. These sections were removed at different times. The material regarding Bicêtre was already missing in the Vatican scribe's source, since the quire is complete and there is no evidence of damage to the manuscript where the narrative is truncated.¹⁹ The Bourgeois himself may have removed the material, uncomfortable recalling the event after the duke donated Bicêtre to the chapter of Notre-Dame in 1416.²⁰

Regarding Jean sans Peur's assassination, a seventeenth-century annotator noted on the manuscript, "*desunt 3 feuilletz*", though Tuetey remarked that "*l'oeil le plus exercé ne peut apercevoir la moindre trace de lacération.*"²¹ However, an examination of the watermarks reveals that three folios in this quire are missing the corresponding halves for their respective sheets, confirming the annotator's suspicions. Moreover, this demonstrates that the material was not removed by the original author but in fact copied into the Vatican

¹⁸ Alexandre Tuetey and later editors have omitted the text of the treaty from their editions, instead referring to the identical copy published in the *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 9, 86. Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 140, n. 4.

¹⁹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, 14. On the sack of Bicêtre see RSD, Vol. 4, pp. 520-3; Monstrelet, Vol. 2, pp. 196-7; *Histoire de Charles VI*, 465.

²⁰ Michel Félibien & Guy-Alexis Lobineau, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Guillaume Desprez & Jean Desessartz, 1725), 660. The donation was confirmed in 1432, 1441 and 1443. Paris, Archives nationales, S/192; Paul Bru, *Histoire de Bicêtre (Hospice – Prison – Asile)*, (Paris: Lecrosnier, 1890), pp. 5-6, 341. See also Florian Meunier, "Le renouveau de l'architecture civile sous Charles VI, de Bicêtre à l'hôtel de Bourbon" in *La création artistique en France autour de 1400*, ed. Élisabeth Taburet-Delahaye, (Paris: École du Louvre, 2006), pp. 219-46.

²¹ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, vi. See also Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 142.

manuscript and subsequently removed. During his own lifetime, the Bourgeois was content to retain his reaction to the murder at Montereau, despite the reassertion of Valois authority.

Finally, the missing content from 1438 is found in the later Aix manuscript.²² A comparison through Juxta software reveals that the Aix manuscript is a copy of the Vatican version, with the presence of the material for 1438 suggesting that the Aix copy was produced prior to this material becoming separated from the Vatican manuscript.²³ The 1438 material may have become separated because they were written on singlets inserted at the end of the seventh quire, with the last remaining leaf featuring a unique watermark (Briquet 9183) and corresponding to a stub earlier in the quire.²⁴ Where the reaction to Jean sans Peur's death had already been lost by the sixteenth century, the material for 1438 was therefore probably still present when the Aix scribe copied the Vatican manuscript after 1567.²⁵ When the manuscript was copied again in the seventeenth century (BNF Fr. 10145), the 1438 section had been lost.

Early Modern Provenance

The Vatican manuscript's provenance can be traced to the mid-sixteenth century. The manuscript was owned successively by the Parisian magistrate Claude Fauchet (1530-1602), the bibliophile and Parlement *conseiller* Paul Petau (1568-1614) and queen Christina of

²² Aix-en-Provence, Méjanes MS. 432 (316), pp. 311-315.

²³ Juxta Commons is a collation tool for comparing various witnesses of a text. It can be accessed on <http://juxtacommons.org/>. For a discussion of the uses and drawbacks of Juxta, see Matthew E. Davis, "Juxta", *Early Modern Digital Review*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (2018), pp. 181-5. My thanks to Dr. Kristin Bourassa for recommending the software to me early in the project.

²⁴ Charles Moise Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, Vol. 3, 487.

²⁵ On the dating of the Aix manuscript see below.

Sweden (1626-1689) before being incorporated into the Vatican Library's holdings during Alexander VIII's papacy (1689-91).²⁶ Upon her conversion to Catholicism, Christina moved to Rome with 2,145 manuscripts from her collection.²⁷ When she died in 1689, these manuscripts were bequeathed to cardinal Decio Azzolini (1623-1689), whose nephew Pompeo then sold the collection to Alexander VIII, from whom the manuscripts were passed on to the Vatican library.²⁸

Christina acquired the Vatican manuscript from the French bibliophile Paul Petau's son around 1650.²⁹ Petau was one of a series of historians interested in the *Journal*, alongside his colleagues André Duchesne, author of the fragment in BNF Duchesne 49, and Claude Fauchet.³⁰ Léopold Delisle believed that Petau acquired a substantial number of manuscripts following Fauchet's death in 1602, though some may have been acquired indirectly when

²⁶ S.W. Bisson, "Claude Fauchet's Manuscripts", *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 30, No. 3 (July 1935), pp. 311-23; Charles Isaac Elton & Mary Augusta Elton, *The Great Book-Collectors*, (London: Kegan Paul, 1893), pp. 161-2; Jeanne Bignami-Odier, "Guide au département des manuscrits de la bibliothèque du Vatican in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 51 (1934), pp. 205-239; Paul Lacroix, "Sur la Bibliothèque historique de la France du P. Lelong et de Fevret de Fontette", *Bulletin des Arts*, vol. 4 (1846), pp. 251-258; Jacques le Long, *Bibliothèque historique de la France contenant le catalogue de tous les ouvrages tant imprimez que manuscrits qui traitent de l'histoire de ce royaume*, (Paris: Gabriel Martin, 1719), 742; Hippolyte Aubert, "Notice sur les manuscrits Pétau conservés à la Bibliothèque de Genève, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, Vol. 70 (1909), pp. 247-302.

²⁷ Léon Dorez, "Documents sur la bibliothèque de la reine Christine de Suède", *Revue des bibliothèques*, Vol. 2 (1892), 136.

²⁸ On the history of the Vatican Library's acquisition of the Petau manuscripts through Christina of Sweden, see Vicki Hamblin, "A Reassessment of the Vatican Library's *Mistère du siège d'Orléans*", *Manuscripta*, Vols. 43-44 (2003), 65, n. 1; Friedrich Blum, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 4, (Halle: Edward Anton, 1830), 58; B. Dudik, *Iter Romanum*, (Vienna: F. Manz, 1855), pp. 141-175; Léon Dorez, "Documents", pp. 129-140; Georges de Manteyer, "Les manuscrits de la reine Christine aux Archives du Vatican", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, Vol. 17 (1897), pp. 285-8; Bernard de Montfaucon, *Bibliotheca Bibliothecarum Manuscriptorum Nova*, (Paris: Briansson, 1739), 83. See also Paris, BNF Latin 9372, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum*, fol. 111r.

²⁹ Charles Isaac Elton & Mary Augusta Elton, *The Great Book Collectors*, 162; Valentin Dufour, *Bibliographie artistique, historique et littéraire de Paris avant 1789*, (Paris: Laporte, 1882), 275.

³⁰ On the importance of Paul Petau's library see Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1868), pp. 287-289.

Fauchet's Parisian houses were ransacked, following his exile from the city in 1589.³¹ Fauchet certainly owned the manuscript in the sixteenth century, and his testimony and annotations, dated 1555, provide the earliest record of interest in the *Journal*. Here, Fauchet described the source of information he had copied regarding the examination of Fernand de Cordoue in 1446:

...il est advenu que i'ay trouvé cecy en lisant vn livre escript a la main en forme de cronique, mais je pense plus tost que se soit vn pappier journal ou memoires de quelque personne studieuse, car il descript si menuement ce qui est advenu en Paris depuis l'an 1409 jusques a l'an 1449, qui ne laisse rien tant seroit il petit, et bien souvent choses frivolles...³²

Crucially the evidence that Fauchet owned the manuscript in 1555 refutes Valentin Dufour's theory that the Vatican manuscript was acquired by Petau, along with the unique manuscript of the *Mistere du Siege d'Orléans*, from the collections of the abbey of Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleur), pillaged in 1562.³³

Fauchet offers no indication regarding how he acquired the manuscript. His extensive use of the *Journal* is evidenced by the annotations in his hand found in the margins throughout the Vatican manuscript, including comments describing the author: "il semble

³¹ Urban Holmes & Maurice Randoff, "Claude Fauchet and his Library", *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Vol. 44, No. 1 (March 1929), pp. 229-242; Madeleine Dillay, "Quelques données bio-bibliographiques sur Claude Fauchet (1530-1602)", *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, Vol. 33, No. 1 (1932), pp. 35-82.

³² It so happened that I discovered this [account] when reading a handwritten book in the form of a chronicle, though I think that it is more a paper-journal or the memoires of some studious person, since he so regularly describes what was taking place in Paris from the year 1409 until 1449, [and] he doesn't leave out anything, no matter how small it is, and often writes of frivolous things... Claude Fauchet, "Veilles et observations de plusieurs choses dignes de memoire en la lecture d'aucuns autheurs francois par C.F.", BNF MS 24726, fols. 44r-44v.

³³ Valentin Dufour, *Bibliographie artistique*, 275; M.A. Champollion, *Paléographie des classiques latines d'après les plus beaux manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale de Paris*, (Paris: Ernest Panckoucke, 1837), 43. See also Vicki Hamblin, "A Reassessment", 65.

que l'auteur ait esté homme d'église ou docteur de quelque faculté, pour le moins de robe longue".³⁴ That Fauchet was using the manuscript around 1555 is underscored by a note commenting on the date of the feast of St. Clément of Metz, stating "c'est le 23 novembre, il fault mectre ceste année 1555 avec ceste la".³⁵ Alongside Fauchet's notes emerge those of another sixteenth-century historian, commenting in circa 1567, as demonstrated by five references to that year, for instance in their comments on the Cabochien revolt: "comme en ceste presente année 1567."³⁶ The historical references supplied by the second annotator suggest that he can be identified as Étienne Pasquier (1529-1615), who in 1596 published extracts from the *Journal* in his *Recherches de la France*, and who is therefore the only other sixteenth-century historian known to have read the *Journal* besides Fauchet and Dupuy.³⁷ Indeed, Pasquier and Fauchet shared backgrounds as members of Parlement families who pursued legal careers, and were members of interrelated professional, social and scholarly circles.³⁸ Pasquier's own use of the Vatican manuscript is supported by a marginal annotation on folio 15r where the Bourgeois first described the Armagnac sash, or 'bende'. A

³⁴ "It seems that the author was a church man or doctor in some faculty, or at least a university graduate". Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 181v. The identity between these hands was first recognised by Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, vii.

³⁵ "It [Saint Clement's Day] is the 23rd November, this year's [saint's day?] needs to be put with that". Ibid., fol. 14v.

³⁶ "Just as in this present year 1567". Ibid., fol. 25v. This is probably a reference to the siege of Paris undertaken by the Protestant Louis I de Bourbon-Condé in October 1567 and defeated by the royalist forces under Anne de Montmorency (though the commander lost his life) at Saint-Denis on 10th November, with the assistance of the Parisian militia. The comment may have been written as these events unfolded, or shortly thereafter.

³⁷ Introducing his chapter describing the arrival of gypsies in France, Pasquier wrote: "Il est tombé vn vieux liure entre mes mains en forme de papier iournal, par lequel vn Theologien de Paris, soigneux de recueillir les choses qu'il voyoit, nous redigea diligemment par escrit tout ce qu'il aduint de son temps, spécialement en la ville de Paris, de l'autorité duquel ie me suis aidé en quelques endroits de cest oeuvre." Etienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France, reveues et augmentées de quatre Liures*, (Paris: Mettayer & l'Huillier, 1596), fol. 213r; Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal, 1405-1449*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), pp. 42-43.

³⁸ J.G. Espiner-Scott, "Claude Fauchet et Estienne Pasquier", *Humanisme et Renaissance*, Vol. 6, No. 3 (1939), pp. 352-60.

note appears in Pasquier's hand on the origin of the term 'bende', later corresponding to a chapter in his *Recherches*, "Du mot de *Bande*, dont les Francois usent pour Assemblée", where the historian referred to the evidence found in "Mon ancien papier journal, en un lieu ou il décrit le siege que les Orleannois avoient mis deuant Paris", before relaying the Bourgeois' account of 1411.³⁹

2. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS French d. 10 (c. 1470-1520)

12 folios, 20cm L x 13.5cm W (Written space, 16cm L x 9cm W). Quires 1-2⁶.

The manuscript copy of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris* held at the University of Oxford's Bodleian Library, MS French d.10, is a 4,500-word long fragment of the *Journal* detailing military and political events involving the kingdoms of France and England, as recorded by the Bourgeois during the period beginning with Henry V's landing at Harfleur, Normandy on 18th August 1415 and ending with the Valois victory at the Battle of Patay on 18th June 1429. Alexandre Tuetey was unaware of this manuscript's existence when he published his critical edition of the *Journal* in 1881, and the fragment was only brought to light by Léopold Delisle in 1892.⁴⁰ Despite its status as the only other fifteenth-century copy of the *Journal*, the manuscript has not been studied in great detail by more recent editors.⁴¹

³⁹ Étienne Pasquier, *Recherches de la France revues et augmentées de quatre livres*, (Paris: Mettayer, l'Huillier, 1596), fols. 335r-335v.

⁴⁰ Léopold Delisle, "Un nouveau manuscrit", 685. See also, Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Part IV. The Manuscripts of the Rye and Hereford Corporations; Capt. Loder-Symonds, Mr. E. R. Wodehouse, M.P., and Others*, (London: Eyre and Spottishwoode, 1892), 507; "French Manuscripts: MS. Fr. d. 10", *The Bodleian Library*, University of Oxford, accessed 14th September 2017, <http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/online/medieval/french/french.html>.

⁴¹ Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, pp. 41-2; Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. 8-9

The manuscript is in a late fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century hand, and was originally bound in the vellum will of Marguerite d'Aubigné before being rebound in the nineteenth century. The will features a faded codicil on the reverse, dated 1st October 1516, meaning that the will and manuscript were combined after this date.⁴² When the manuscript was rebound, the will was folded and stuck onto the twelfth folio which was partially restored. Given the lack of additional evidence, a conservative dating of the manuscript points to the period c. 1470-1520. This is supported by the manuscript's single watermark, corresponding to Briquet's 1091, belonging to paper produced in Baume-les-Dames.⁴³ Although Briquet found this watermark used in a manuscript dated 1592, Jules Gauthier revealed that a paper mill had been operating at Baume-les-Dames since 1448, before passing into the family of Pierre Cointet in 1487.⁴⁴ Briquet believed that this style of watermark had been used by the Cointet fabricants since the end of the fifteenth century, suggesting that the manuscript could have been produced in the 1490s, if not earlier.

Comparing Bodley MS. French d.10 and Vatican Reg. Lat. 1923 through Juxta software reveals a certain textual relationship between the two, with identical *lacunae* and spelling variations. Although the Bodleian redactor appears to have been creative with the layout of extracts, the fragment contains no additional material absent in other copies, leading to Delisle's conclusion that "les variantes fournies par ce manuscrit n'offrent point d'importance".⁴⁵ The most significant differences between the Vatican and Bodleian copies

⁴² Contrary to Shirley's and Beaune's dating of the will to 20th January 1512. *Ibid.*, 42; *Ibid.*, 9.

⁴³ Charles-Moïse Briquet, *Les Filigranes*, Vol. 1, 90.

⁴⁴ Jules Gauthier, *L'Industrie de papier dans les hautes vallées franc-comtoises du XV^e au XVIII^e siècle*, (Montbéliard: Victor Barbier, 1897), 7, 19, 27, 31. See also L. Besson, *Mémoire historique sur l'Abbaye de Baume-les-Dames*, (Besançon: Turbergue & Jacquot, 1845), pp. 66-68.

⁴⁵ "The variations present in this new manuscript are of no importance". Léopold Delisle, "Un nouveau manuscrit", 685.

result from alterations, typically made to dates, to render the redacted version chronologically coherent. The manuscript's brevity led Janet Shirley to question how much of the original the redactor had access to, but the scribe's manipulations reveal that this is a calculated reworking of the original, with information from a variety of originally distinct passages being cut, amalgamated and subsequently rendered comprehensible.⁴⁶ The manuscript would appear to be complete, as suggested by the only example of a capital letter at the beginning of the first folio and the increasingly liberal use of paper towards the end, leaving sufficient space for a sixteenth-century owner, George Newdigate, to add four lines.

Moreover, the copyist's ability to manipulate the text without the obvious appearance of omissions indicates his confidence as a French speaker, falling prey to only a few grammatical errors, stemming from the omissions provoking a disconnect between singular objects and plural verbs. English scribes could be equally erudite in French, but when this fluency is coupled with Marguerite d'Aubigné's will and its connections to northwest France, it seems highly likely that the fragment was produced on the continent. The lack of care in the second half suggests that it may not have been the final, finished document, or that it was simply not intended for a large audience. As the only surviving copy in this style, the fragment's lack of diffusion indicates that it probably satisfied an individual's interest in military or political history.

Remarking upon the redactor's selectivity, Janet Shirley concluded that "obviously it was designed to suit English taste".⁴⁷ Likewise, Colette Beaune remarked that the passages

⁴⁶ Janet Shirley (ed.), *A Parisian Journal*, 42.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

were “tous consacrés dans une optique anglophile aux victoires anglaises sur le continent” and that, moreover, “Tous les passages sceptiques vis-à-vis de l’Angleterre ont été coupés.”⁴⁸ Neither conclusion is based upon a particularly close study of the fragment. It is difficult to see how a manuscript that concluded with Joan of Arc’s relief of Orléans and the military ‘disaster’ of Patay, without mentioning English victories such as Cravant, glorified English military activity during the period.⁴⁹ Throughout the fifteenth century, English chroniclers avoided mention of Joan’s successes – her capture and execution were considered worthy of remembering, not her embarrassing defeat of the English.⁵⁰ Moreover, if the manuscript *was* intended for an English audience, why did it end in June 1429 immediately before Charles VII’s coronation at Reims, instead of culminating in the Bourgeois’ detailed description of Henry VI’s Parisian coronation in December 1431? A brief description of Henry’s coronation features in most contemporary English histories, and a document designed for an English audience would surely have followed this model.⁵¹ Beaune’s assessment is also open to doubt. Although the English victories at Agincourt and Verneuil are recorded, so too are the defeats at Baugé, La Brossinière and Patay. Her final comment, that all passages criticising the English have been omitted, is certainly incorrect. Besides English defeats, the redactor also repeated the Bourgeois’ criticisms of English military cruelty, financial exploitation and the failings of the Armagnacs, thereby presenting a narrative of the initial defeat and later

⁴⁸ Colette Beaune (ed. & trans.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, 9.

⁴⁹ Juliet Barker, *Conquest: The English Kingdom of France, 1417-1450*, (London: Little Brown, 2009), 123.

⁵⁰ Stephanie Tarbin, “‘Pucelle de Dieu’ or ‘Wicche of Fraunce’: Fifteenth-Century Perceptions of Joan of Arc” in *Venus and Mars: Engendering Love and War in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1995), 124, 127.

⁵¹ Mary-Rose McLaren, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing*, (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2002), 52; Meredith Clermont-Ferrand, “Joan of Arc and the English Chroniclers” in *The Medieval Chronicle* ed. Erik Cooper, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2011), pp. 163-4; W. T. Waugh, “Joan of Arc in English Sources of the Fifteenth Century” in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J.G. Edwards, V.H. Galbraith & E.F. Jacob, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), pp. 393-6.

resurgence of the Valois. The redactor's specific focus upon the English reflects, rather, an intense fascination with Otherness which concurrently strengthened a sense of French nationality, although this could have been interpreted in reverse by a later English audience.

The Oxford Fragment's Provenance

The Bodleian manuscript once formed part of the library of Thomas Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury (1636-1713) before being auctioned by his descendants at Sotheby's on 1st July 1861.⁵² It was later purchased by Alfred Brotherston Emden (1888-1979) and donated to the Bodleian Library in 1921. The manuscript is signed at the bottom of folios 1r. and 12v. by 'George Neudigate', who accompanied his signature with a rebus depicting a gate. Janet Shirley dated his hand to the sixteenth century, though little other evidence points to Newdigate's identity, save the similarities between his rebus and a seal depicting a gate superposed by the Letters N, U and encircling a D, used by Thomas Newdigate of Newdigate, Surrey, in 1497.⁵³

If the two were related, it may be that George Newdigate was a member of the cadet branch of the Newdigate family that had settled in Middlesex.⁵⁴ Two sixteenth-century George Newdigates appear in the family's genealogy. The first was a monk at Chertsey Abbey in the early sixteenth century, a grandson of the royal serjeant John Newdigate and elder brother of Francis Newdigate, a steward in the household of Edward Seymour, duke

⁵² Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Thirteenth Report, Appendix, Part IV*, 507.

⁵³ Janet Shirley (ed.), *A Parisian Journal*, 42; John Gough Nicholas, "The Origin and Early History of the Family of Newdegate", *Surrey Archaeological Collections*, Vol. VI (1874), 246.

⁵⁴ Frederick Crisp, *Visitation of England and Wales*, Vol. 7 (London: 1907), pp. 34-37.

of Somerset, who went on to marry the dowager duchess after his master's death.⁵⁵ George and Francis' niece, Jane Dormer, was Queen Mary's maid of honour and later duchess of Feria. They also had an uncle, George Newdigate, who died c. 1545, and who was the younger brother of Sebastian Newdigate, executed in 1535 for refusing to accept Henry VIII's ecclesiastical supremacy.⁵⁶

Regarding the will in which the manuscript was bound, Marguerite d'Aubigné was the last direct descendant of the seigneurs of Aubigné and Coudray-Macouart. Marguerite was relatively wealthy, leaving sufficient money to compensate thirteen girls who would stand around her body bearing candles during her funeral, bequeathing 120 *livres* to Jeanne Salomon and one hundred shillings to the vicar of the church of St. Hilayre in La Claye, the town of her deceased husband, Jean Royrand, seigneur of La Claye and Bretignolles. Jean Royrand, in turn, was descended from a noble family from Poitiers: his ancestor was Jeanne Gillier, the widow of Pierre Royrand who married the *premier président* of the Paris Parlement Jean de Vailly, who accompanied Joan of Arc in Orléans in January 1430.⁵⁷ Jean Royrand's grandfather Jacques was named *sieur* of La Claye in an act dated 1447 and his

⁵⁵ The monks of Chertsey were moved to Bisham Priory in 1537. No evidence, however, conclusively identifies George Newdigate as being among the monks moved there. "Houses of Austin canons: The priory of Bisham" in *A History of the County of Berkshire*, ed. P.H. Ditchfield & William Page, (London: Victoria County History, 1907), pp. 82-5; "The Abbot of Byssham to Cromwell (26th December 1537)", *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, Vol. 12, Pt. 2, ed. James Gairdner, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891), 444, No. 1267.

⁵⁶ Frederick Crisp, *Visitation*, pp. 34-37; "Newdigate, Francis (1519-82)", *History of Parliament Online*, <https://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/newdigate-francis-1519-82>; Francis Newdigate's will can be found in The National Archives, Prob., 11/65, ff. 225-6, accessed on http://www.oxford-shakespeare.com/Probate/PROB_11-65_ff_225-6%20.pdf; "Newdegate Muniments: Notes from the Newdegate Chartulary. Newdegate MS A. 108", ed. Frederick Crisp in *Fragmenta Genealogica*, Vol. 12, (London: Frederick Crisp, 1906), pp. 1-37.

⁵⁷ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS French d.10. G. Dupont-Ferrier, "Les avocats à la Cour du Trésor", *BEC*, Vol. 98 (1936), 140; *Prosopographie des gens du Parlement de Paris*, éd. M. Popoff, 1996, p. 207; E Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement*, Vol. 3, 1916, p. 36; Didier Neuville, "Le Parlement royal à Poitiers (1418-1436)", *Revue historique*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1878), pp. 376-8; Paul Guérin, *Archives historiques du Poitou*, Vol. 7, (Poitiers: Oudin, 1896), 256, n. 1.

father or brother, Nicolas, was a prominent bourgeois of Poitiers.⁵⁸ There is no mention of the Bodleian fragment in Marguerite's will. However, one particularly interesting individual is named as the first of Marguerite's executors, Jacques Rouault, seigneur de Riou et Pompeyle (sic). Jacques was the nephew of Joachim Rouault who led an illustrious career fighting for the crown during the *Guerre du bien public* in 1465, governing Paris during the Burgundian siege and frequently mentioned in Jean de Roye's journal.⁵⁹ His brother, Jacques, seigneur du Greffier and Riou, was named *bailli* of the Norman Pays-de-Caux in 1461 and left two sons, Louis and Jacques, the latter referred to in Marguerite's will. Their connection is proven by the 1482 record of Jacques pleading in a dispute against François d'Aubigné, Marguerite's father.⁶⁰

As an executor, Jacques Rouault could have possessed a copy of the will which he may have later used as a cover for the Oxford fragment. This connection to the Rouault family may also offer an explanation for how the manuscript moved to England; the date of Jacques' death is unknown, but he did die unmarried, leaving his lands and titles to his first cousin once removed, Thibaut Rouault.⁶¹ Thibaut served at court in 1518-19 and made his wealth through a propitious marriage to the widow, Jeanne de Saveuses. During the 1530s

⁵⁸ Paul Guérin, *Archives historiques*, Vol. 32, 29, n. 1; Alfred Richard, *Inventaire analytique des archives du château de La Barre*, Vol. 2, (Saint-Maxient: Reversé, 1862), pp. 113-4, No. 1487.

⁵⁹ René de Belleval, *Nobiliaire de Ponthieu et de Vimeu*, (Amiens: Lemer, 1862), pp. 283-5; Pierre de Guibors (Père Anselme), *Histoire généalogique et chronologique de la maison royale de France*, Third Edition, Vol. 8, (Paris: Compagnie des Libraire Associez, 1733), pp. 98-9; Malcolm Vale, *Charles VII*, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1974), 220; Philippe Contamine, *Guerre, état et société à la fin du Moyen Âge: Etudes sur les armées des rois de France (1377-1494)*, (Paris: Mouton, 1972), 280.

⁶⁰ Paris, Archives nationales, X^{2a} 45, 3rd & 26th August, 1482; *Actes Royaux du Poitou*, Vol. 10, MCCCXVII, fol. 173, accessed on 15/09/2017,

<http://corpus.enc.sorbonne.fr/actesroyauxdupoitou/tome10/1317>.

⁶¹ René de Belleval, *Nobiliaire*, pp. 284; David Potter, "The Private Face of Anglo-French Relations in the Sixteenth Century: The Lises and their French Friends" in *The English Experience in France, c. 1450-1558*, ed. David Grummitt, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), 209.

Thibaut was performing “secret services” for king François I, as well as acting as a messenger for the court, before eventually serving in 1542 as ensign in the contingent of the commander and diplomat, Anne, *connétable* de Montmorency and commanding the defence of Outreau during the English siege of Boulogne in 1554-5.⁶² In 1533 Jeanne de Saveuses was chosen by Arthur Plantagenet, First Viscount Lisle, bastard son of Edward IV and Lord Deputy of Calais (1533-40) to foster, educate and introduce at the French court his step-daughters, Anne and Mary Basset.⁶³ An offshoot of this personal connection was an extensive correspondence and exchange of gifts between the two families, documented in the *Lisle Letters* collection. Consequently, Thibaut’s socio-political status may have provided a medium for the fragment’s circulation, exchanging hands several times between English and French owners associated with the Calais Pale, a community which also saw the transmission of texts from the continent to England through these interlinked relationships.

3. Aix, Cité-du-Livre, Bibliothèque Méjanès, MS 432 (316) (After 1567- Before 1637)

182 folios, 30.6cm L x 21.1cm W (Written space 25.7cm L x 14.5cm W). Collation 1-6¹², 7¹⁴, 8-15¹².

The Aix copy of the *Journal* is written in two hands which have been dated to the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though there is reason to doubt this.⁶⁴ The first fourteen folios, including the poems the *Bataille du Liège* and the *Sentences de Liège*, and the

⁶² David Potter, “The Private Face”, pp. 209-210.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 200; Muriel St. Clare Byrne (ed.), *The Lisle Letters*, Vol. 3, (London: University of Chicago Press, 1981), pp. 9, 133-140.

⁶⁴ This dating is provided by Alexandre Tuetey in his introduction, determined by the editor with the help of the historian Philippe Tamizey de Larroque. Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d’un bourgeois de Paris*, viii.

last ninety-three folios are in the 'later' hand of Scribe A. Despite the change in scribe, however, it is worth noting that at the beginning of the manuscript Scribe A wrote on the same paper as the 'earlier' Scribe B. Scribe A also wrote on the same quire as Scribe B when they returned to the text, though the final four quires are from a stock of thinner paper. The manuscript is complete and was rebound on 30th March 1842.⁶⁵

The occurrence of these hands on the same quires suggests that their chronological relationship is not clear cut. It cannot be a straightforward case of missing or damaged quires being replaced by a later scribe given their writing upon the same quire. It is also unlikely that the manuscript was compiled over a forty- or fifty-year period. Instead, it reflects the combined efforts of two scribes working together in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The hands in the Aix manuscript are similar, but not identical, to those of Fauchet and Pasquier in the margins of the Vatican manuscript. These historians may not be responsible for the Aix manuscript, but the resemblance indicates that the Aix manuscript is relatively contemporary to their readings of the Vatican manuscript in 1555 and 1567. The Aix manuscript bears witness to a project undertaken by two writers of different generations, rather than different eras, copying contemporaneously. This is underscored by Scribe B's use of catchwords on almost every other folio verso, suggesting that they were uncertain as to when they would leave their work and Scribe A would continue. Likewise, when Scribe A left their work on folio 15v (three folios into the second quire), they left a catchword for Scribe B.

⁶⁵ As indicated by a note on the final flyleaf: "paginé et recousu 30 mars 1842, journal [d'un Bourgeois] de Paris."

Alexandre Tuetey had only just learned of the Aix manuscript when he published his critical edition of the *Journal* in 1881.⁶⁶ Tuetey recognised that the Aix manuscript contained the material missing from Vatican Reg. Lat. 1923 regarding 1438 but found in BNF 3840 (which he believed to be “celui qui se rapproche le plus de la version primitive”), and concluded that the Aix manuscript was either a copy of the latter, or of a lost original.⁶⁷ However, processing BNF 3480, BNF 23230 and the Aix manuscript through Juxta software demonstrates that the Aix text is the most complete copy of the *Journal*, that 23230 was a copy of the Aix manuscript and that, in turn, 3480 was a copy of 23230. This trend is further demonstrated by the fact that notes written by Fauchet and Pasquier in the margin of the Vatican manuscript subsequently appear in these copies, in the same hand as the scribe for the relevant page. Moreover, Scribe A copied the layout of the Vatican manuscript, even including a crude illustration of the conjoined twins born at Aubervilliers in 1429 where a space for this had been left blank in Reg. Lat. 1923. In contrast, none of the subsequent manuscripts in the Aix tradition replicated this layout, demonstrating that the Aix manuscript must have been directly copied from the Vatican version.

The inclusion of the marginal notes added to the Vatican manuscript by Fauchet and Pasquier in the Aix copy means that the latter was produced after 1567. Moreover, a signature on the title page of BNF 23230 shows that this manuscript was bought by the Parlement conseiller Henri du Bouchet in 1637 and consequently, this year emerges as the *terminus ad quem* for the Aix manuscript's production.⁶⁸ It is difficult to date the manuscript

⁶⁶ The manuscript was brought to his attention by Jules Quicherat. Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, viii; Ulysse Robert, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits des bibliothèques de France*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Champion, 1879), 9, no. 319

⁶⁷ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, pp. iv, viii-ix.

⁶⁸ Henri du Bouchet, seigneur de Bournonville left his collection of manuscripts and printed books to the library of the abbey of Saint-Victor in a will dated 27th March 1652. On most of these books, Du

more precisely. An exact match for a watermark found on paper used by Scribe B is Briquet 8079, dated to 1580, further points to the manuscript's production in the final decades of the sixteenth century.⁶⁹

An *ex-libris* affixed to the front cover indicates that the manuscript belonged to Charles de Basqui, marquis d'Aubais (1686-1777), an eighteenth-century bibliophile and historian. This specific *ex-libris* was used by Baschi after 1724, meaning that the book was possibly acquired after this date, given that earlier acquisitions display two older *ex-libris*.⁷⁰ The only other signature is that of "Ch. Charost, 1721", an early eighteenth-century collector of rare books.⁷¹ It is possible that the Aix manuscript was the work of the French historians and bibliophiles using the Vatican manuscript during this period, especially as it is suspected that Claude Dupuy produced his own copy in the seventeenth century.⁷² However, neither scribe's hands are identical to those of Fauchet or Dupuy, nor are they similar to the copyists of BNF 23230 or 3480. Instead, the real significance of the Aix

Bouchet wrote his name, their year of purchase, their price and occasionally their donor. Léopold Delisle, *Le Cabinet des manuscrits*, Vol. 2, pp. 233-4; Jean-Pierre Willesme, "La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Saint-Victor de Paris", *Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes*, Vol. 17 (2009), pp. 244-5.

⁶⁹ This example can also be found in the Gravell Watermark database, http://www.gravell.org/record.php?&action=GET&RECID=1065&offset=6&rectotal=52&query=SELECT%20DISTINCT%20%2A%20FROM%20records%20WHERE%20MATCH%20%28P_DESC%29%20AGAINST%20%28%27%2B%22Letter%22%27%20IN%20BOOLEAN%20MODE%29%20ORDER%20BY%20YEAROFUSE%20

⁷⁰ Prosper Falgairolle, "Les Ex-Libris du Marquis d'Aubais", *Archives de la Société française des collectionneurs d'ex-libris*, Vol. 9, No. 4 (April 1902), pp. 55-59.

⁷¹ I can find little else about the bibliophile 'Ch. Charost', who has not been identified. His name appears on several other manuscripts and rare printed works. For instance, see Ernest Langlois, *Les Manuscrits du Roman de la Rose*, (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1974), 175.

⁷² As reported by Denis Godefroy in the introduction to the extracts published in his 1653 edition of the *Histoire de Charles VI* attributed to Jean-Juvenal des Ursins: "un exemplaire escrit tout de la main de M^{re} Cl. Dupuy, conseiller du roy en sac our de Parlement, personnage de haute vertu, et d'une illustre recommandation, qui a aussy luy-mesme avec soin et curiosité fait l'extrait susdit. Communiqué par M^{sre} Iac. Dupuy, conseiller du roy en ses conseils et prieur de S. Sauveur, son f(rere)." Denis Godefroy, *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France, et des choses memorables advenues durant 42 années de son regne, depuis 1380 jusques a 1422, par Jean Juvenal des Ursins*, (Paris: L'Imprimerie royale, 1653), 497.

manuscript is that it is the oldest extant copy of the material for 1438, which must have become detached from the Vatican manuscript in the seventeenth century after this copy was made.

4. Later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century manuscripts

Nine later manuscripts are copied from the Vatican and Aix manuscripts, which are the following:

Parisian Manuscripts

- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds français 3480 (Second quarter of the seventeenth century). 467 folios, 30.3cm L x 20.3cm W. (Written space: 25.8cm L x 15.1cm W)
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds français 10145 (Eighteenth-century, before 1729). 137 folios, 27.6cm L x 19.7cm W. (Written space: 24.4cm L x 13.6cm W)
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds français 10303 (first decade of the seventeenth century). 278 folios, 32.6cm L x 25.1cm W. (Written space: 24.5cm L x 16.2cm W)
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Fonds français 23230 (Before 1637). 357 folios, 34cm L x 19.5cm W. (Written space: 20.6cm L x 11.8cm W)
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Arsenal 3929 (Eighteenth-century). 194 folios, 25cm L x 20cm W.
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Duchesne 49 (First half of the seventeenth century). 2 folios.
- Bibliothèque nationale de France, Dupuy 275 (Late sixteenth- or early seventeenth-century). 34 folios.

Manuscripts in Other Libraries

- Wolfenbüttel, Bibliothek Herzog August, 3.1.81, Aug 2°. 506 folios, 35.5cm L x 22.1cm W. (Written space: 24cm L x 10.5cm W)
- Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Château de Chantilly, MSS 0876-0877. Two volumes, 192 & 232 folios. 23.5cm L x 17.2cm W; 24.2cm L x 18cm W. (Written space: 16.9cm L x 11.2cm W; 17.3cm L x 11.3cm W)

BNF Fr. 3480, Fr. 23230, the Wolfenbüttel and Chantilly manuscripts all belong to a tradition stemming from the Aix manuscript. The Paris manuscripts are near-contemporary, but a comparison of their text through Juxta software reveals that, contrary to Tuetey's assumption that Fr. 3480 was a direct copy of a lost original, Fr. 23230 is a first-hand copy of the Aix manuscript and Fr. 3480 is a subsequent copy of Fr. 23230.⁷³ Similarly, the Wolfenbüttel and Chantilly manuscripts are later copies of Fr. 23230, the former compiled in 1641 and the latter in 1686.

The 23230, Wolfenbüttel and Chantilly manuscripts only contain the text of the *Journal*. In contrast, the copy of the *Journal* in 3480 occupies folios 264r to 464v. The text here is preceded by sixteenth-century diplomatic correspondence and followed by the "extraict d'une lettre missive" dated 22nd September 1639. 23230, Wolfenbüttel and Chantilly are written in one hand throughout, whereas 3480 appears in two hands, with the second scribe appearing on fol. 351v. Unlike the Aix manuscript, both hands are clearly contemporary, dating from the first half of the seventh century. All four manuscripts are compiled in quires of eight.

A note on the first folio of BNF 23230 indicates that it was bought in 1637 by Henri du Bouchet, seigneur de Bournonville and *conseiller* in the Paris Parlement, and was among the books left in his will in 1652 to the abbey of Saint-Victor, from which it passed into the collections of the BNF. The copy in 3480 was probably produced shortly after 1637, perhaps around 1639, the date of the diplomatic materials inserted after the text of the *Journal*. It could have been copied by Bouchet's peers, who would have had access to both diplomatic

⁷³ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, iv.

and historical documents. Their proximity is supported by a shared watermark, with the manuscripts using a similar paper stock. In turn, the Wolfenbüttel manuscript was commissioned by Augustus the Younger, duke of Brunswick-Lüneberg (1576-1666) for his library, while the Chantilly manuscript was apparently copied for Louis de Bourbon, *le Grand Condé* (1621-1686) by his secretary, l'avocat Soru, "sorte de commissionaire en librairie", who frequently sent his master manuscript copies.⁷⁴

None of these manuscripts offer important variations when compared with the Vatican or Aix manuscripts, nor do the Wolfenbüttel or Chantilly copies deviate significantly from 23230. That these manuscripts belong to the same tradition is demonstrated by their shared omissions. For instance, the author of 23230 missed a sentence in 1431, "Item, a tous prebstres qui devoctement celui jour et chacun jour des octaves celebreront en la reverence de la feste pour chacun jour cent jours de vray pardon", and these omissions are subsequently found in the later copies.⁷⁵ This evidence reverses Tuetey's conclusion that 3480 was a first-hand copy of the lost original. Rather, it is a fourth-generation copy, passing through the Vatican, Aix and 23230 manuscripts beforehand.⁷⁶ Such omissions demonstrate the shortcomings of Tuetey's overreliance upon 3480 to complement the Vatican manuscript. Likewise, small clues lead to the conclusion that the Wolfenbüttel and Chantilly manuscripts are copies of 23230. For instance, the Wolfenbüttel scribe occasionally failed to expand abbreviations found only in 23230.⁷⁷ Similarly, the *avocat* Soru misread the Roman numerals in 23230, rendering 'ii' '11' in his copy.⁷⁸ These later

⁷⁴ Henri d'Orléans, duke of Aumale, *Histoire des princes de Condé*, Vol. 7 (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 1896), 699; Chantilly, *Le Cabinet des Livres manuscrits*, Vol. 1 (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1900), 189, No. 221.

⁷⁵ Reg. Lat. 1923, fol. 129v.

⁷⁶ Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, iv.

⁷⁷ Paris, BNF Fr. 23230, fol. 33v.

⁷⁸ Chantilly, Château de Chantilly, MS 0876, fol. 45v; Paris, BNF Fr. 3480, 287r.

manuscripts highlight the trajectory of the *Journal's* reception. Beginning with the scholarly interest of French bibliophiles and historians in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, by the turn of the eighteenth manuscript copies of the *Journal* formed part of the collections of several elite aristocrats, including Christina of Sweden.

The remaining manuscripts are more direct copies of the Vatican version. Firstly, Dupuy 275 and BNF 10303 are textually linked. Dupuy 275 is a selection of extracts in note form produced by Claude Dupuy (1545-94), accompanied by notes added by his son Pierre, including the influential title “chronique, ou plus tot ung journal par un bourgeois, ou prebtre” later reprised by Denis Godefroy.⁷⁹ A similar series of notes were produced by the historian André Duchesne (1584-1640), comprising two folios (132r-133v) of BNF Duchesne 49. Through comparison via the Juxta software, the presence of small portions of sentences omitted in the Aix family of manuscripts indicates the notes’ proximity to the Vatican manuscript. The notes were later used by the Parisian diarist Pierre de l’Estoile (1546-1611), who copied the extracts into his journal, BNF Fr. 10303. The evidence of corrections and additional material being added during the composition of Dupuy 275 suggests that this was an ongoing work of notetaking, whereas the absence of such confusion in 10303 likewise demonstrates that this was produced from a reading of Dupuy’s notes. Dupuy’s notes were subsequently passed on by his brother Claude to Denis Godefroy, who published the extracts in an appendix to his 1653 edition of the *Histoire de Charles VI* attributed to Jean Juvenal des Ursins. Godefroy also alluded to a complete transcription compiled by Dupuy, since lost.⁸⁰

⁷⁹ Paris, BNF Dupuy 275, fol. 1r. See also Denis Godefroy (ed.), *Histoire de Charles VI*, 497.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

The final complete version of the *Journal* is BNF 10145, an eighteenth-century copy of the Vatican manuscript that formed the basis to Louis François Joseph de la Barre's edition, published in 1729. La Barre acknowledged that he had relied upon this manuscript, a transcription produced by the Benedictine monk, Dom des Salles.⁸¹ In the nineteenth century 10145 was separated from the *Liege* poems, with the latter being catalogued as a separate manuscript, BNF 10154. As Tuetey explained, 10145 is a poor-quality copy with numerous errors in transcription and spelling, subsequently present in the 1729 edition.⁸² The absence of the section from 1438, found in the Aix branch of manuscripts, demonstrates that 10145 was copied from the Vatican manuscript, and that this material had become separated from the manuscript between the end of the sixteenth century and the start of the eighteenth. A further manuscript from this strand was produced in the later eighteenth century, in the form of notes compiled by the French historian Hubert Pascal Ameilhon copied from La Barre's published 1729 edition, now BNF Arsenal 3929.⁸³

Conclusion: Methodology for a New Edition of the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*

The extracts from a working edition presented in this thesis follow Janet Shirley's earlier methodology, with the Vatican manuscript serving as the basis for the edition, supplemented by the Aix manuscript for the missing 1438 material.⁸⁴ The advantage of compiling a new critical edition is that the accurate relation of the Middle French text should

⁸¹ P.-L. Jacob, "Sur la Bibliothèque historique de la France (Suite et fin)", *Bulletin des Arts*, Vol. 4 (1845-6), 253.

⁸² Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, iii.

⁸³ "Hubert-Pascal Ameilhon (1730-1811)", BNF Data, http://data.bnf.fr/12497886/hubert-pascal_ameilhon/. Accessed 12/09/2017.

⁸⁴ Janet Shirley, *A Parisian Journal*, 42.

bring scholars closer to the original text while facilitating precise linguistic analysis. Moreover, the edition benefits from updated explanatory notes drawing from the vast amount of scholarship published since 1881, correcting several analytical errors. Consequently, the approach is significantly different from Tuetey's own methodology in 1881, where this edition relied upon a second-hand transcription of the Vatican manuscript, supplemented with BNF 3480, with the editor unaware of the earlier Bodleian and Aix manuscripts. Besides adding the material concerning 1438 found in BNF 3480, Tuetey also chose to include any deviations, modernisations or additional words he found in these sentences. The focus of the present edition is the preservation of the text as it appears in the fifteenth-century Vatican manuscript, with alterations in the subsequent sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies indicated in the footnotes. Although these later copies are incredibly informative with regards to the *Journal's* later reception, the absence of an alternative manuscript tradition from that of the Vatican manuscript means that, for the moment, this copy is the closest to the original text. In turn, because all of the manuscripts featuring the lost material from 1438 stem from the Aix copy, this manuscript is the closest the historian can get to the original of this section of the *Journal*.

Appendix II. Extracts from the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris, 1405-1449*¹

1. Étienne du Mesnil's Sermon Concerning the Armagnacs, 1410

17. (November 1410). Et ung pou devant avoit presché devant le roy le ministre des Mathurins,² tres bonne personne, et monstra la cruauté que ilz faisoient par deffaulte de bon conseil, disant qu'il failloit qu'il y eust des traitres en ce royaume; dont ung prelat, nommé le cardinal de Bar,³ qui estoit audit sermon, le desmenty et nomma "villain chien", dont il fut moult hay de l'Université et du commun, mais a pou lui en fu, car il praticoit grandement avecques les autres qui portoient chacun une bende, dont il estoit ambassadeur, car le duc de Berry etc. portoit celle bende, et tous iceulx de par luy. Et ce tindrent tellement en celle bande qu'il convint que ledit prevost⁴ fust desposé pour l'envie qu'ilz avoient sur le

¹ These extracts are taken from the two most complete copies of the text: Rome, Vatican MS Reg. Lat. 1923 and Aix-en-Provence, Bibliothèque Méjanes MS 432 (316).

² Previous editors of the *Journal* have confused the identity of the Minister of the Mathurins with that of its 'Maître Général', Renaud de la Marche, who occupied that post from 1382 to 1410. Renaud de la Marche was the superior of the Minister, Étienne du Mesnil, who received his doctorate in theology in 1390. The record for his license in theology shows that Étienne du Mesnil held the post of Minister of the Mathurins in 1389 Paris, BNF Latin 5657A, fol. 10v. He was certainly minister in 1403, years before the sermon described by the Bourgeois. CUP, IV, pp. 75-77, no. 1793. It was Étienne du Mesnil, therefore, and not Renaud de la Marche, who was responsible for sermons preached on the Notre-Dame parvis in August 1408 and before the king in 1410, while in 1411 he signed a letter declaring the excommunication of the Armagnac leadership. He played an active part in the University's case against the *prévôt* Guillaume de Tignonville in 1408. In December 1415 Mesnil was arrested for insulting Jean V, duke of Brittany, with "plusieurs injures". S. Moreau-Rendu, *Les Captifs libérés: Les Trinitaires et Saint-Mathurin de Paris*, (Paris: Nouvelles éditions latines, 1974), pp. 82-85; Jules Viard, "Le couvent et l'église des Mathurins de Paris", *BSHP*, Vol. 61 (1934), 52; *Histoire de Charles VI*, 462; Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 132. Paris, Archives nationales X^{1a} 4790, fol. 328r, cited in Noël Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, Vol. 4, (Paris: Alphone Picard, 1902), 25 n. 2.

³ Louis, cardinal of Bar (†1430) was the fifth son of Robert, duke of Bar (†1411) and would become the *de jure* duke of Bar in 1415. In 1410 Louis de Bar was bishop of Langres.

⁴ Pierre des Essarts (†1413), *seigneur* of La Motte-Tilly and Villerval, was a royal counsellor and *maître d'hôtel* appointed as *prévôt* of Paris on 30th April 1408 in a Burgundian move to replace Guillaume de Tignonville. Paris, Archives Nationales, X^{1a} 1479, fol. 26; Y2, fol. 255r. In 1410 Essarts also occupied posts as a *président* in the *Cour des Aides* and the *Chambre des Comptes*, as well as the position of *grand bouteiller de France*, charged with the administration of the lucrative royal vineyards. G. Dupont-Ferrier, "Les audiences et les séances du Conseil à la Cour des Aides de Paris", *BSHP*, Vol. 60 (1933), 26. Having drawn the ire of the Orléanist faction, Pierre des Essarts withdrew to the Duke of Burgundy's court in Flanders in 1411. "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'", Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 205.

commun de Paris qu'il gardoit si bien, car aucuns et le plus de la bande⁵ qui⁶ cuidoient de certain que on deust piller Paris.⁷ Et tout le mal qui ce faisoit de dela, chacun disoit que ce faisoit le conte d'Armignac,⁸ tant estoit de malle volenté plain. Et pour certain on avoit autant de pitié de tuer ces gens comme de chiens; et quelconques estoit tué de dela on disoit "c'est ung Armignac",⁹ car ledit conte estoit tenu pour tres cruel homme et tirant et sans pitié. Et certain, ceulx de ladite bende eussent fait du mal plus largement, ce ne fust le froit et la famine qui les fist traictier comme une chose non achevée, comme pour en charger arbitres. Et fut fait environ le vj^e jour de novembre mil iiiiC et x,¹⁰ et s'en alla chacun a sa terre jusques a ce que on les mandast, et qui a perdu si a perdu; mais le royaulme de France ne recouvra la perte et le dommaige qu'ilz firent en vingt ans ensuivant, tant viengne bien.¹¹

2. Examples of the 1412 Processions

35. (30th May 1412). Et si tost que ceulx de Paris sceurent que le roy estoit en la terre de ses ennemis, par commun conseil ilz ordonnerent les plus piteuses processions qui oncques eussent esté veues de aage de homme: c'est assavoir, le penultime jour de may oudit an, jour

⁵ This is the first mention of the *bandez* in the *Journal*, though the term perhaps dates from as early as 1406, following the *Songe véritable* that describes those opposed to Jean sans Peur as "ceulx des bandes qui prennent aides et amendes". *Le Songe véritable, pamphlet politique d'un parisien du XV^e siècle*, ed. Henri Moranvillé, *MSHP*, Vol. 17 (1890), 251, lines 775-6. Cf. Bertrand Schnerb, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons: La maudite guerre*, (Paris: Perrin, 1988), pp. 49-50.

⁶ All of the manuscripts include this "qui" which has no bearing on the sense of the sentence.

⁷ In an audience before the king on 24th September 1410 at the Palais, Charles III, king of Navarre had stated that "quoniam vulgo dicitur quod ambicio dominandi et thesaurizandi cupiditas est causa dissencionis nostre et cognatorum nostrorum". *RSD*, Vol. 4, pp. 370-373.

⁸ Bernard VII, count of Armagnac (†1418) became the effective leader of the Orléanist faction in 1410, with his daughter Bonne d'Armagnac marrying Charles I, duke of Orléans. On 15th April 1410, the French princes Jean, duke of Berry, Charles, duke of Orléans, Jean V, duke of Brittany, Jean, count of Clermont and Bernard d'Armagnac, had secretly met to form the so-called 'Ligue de Gien' against Jean sans Peur.

⁹ The term 'Armagnac' was used as an insult, coupled with other pejorative terms such as "traître, larron, coupaut". Archives nationales, JJ//171, No. 400.

¹⁰ This obscure passage refers to the departure of the princes from Paris, stipulated by the Treaty of Bicêtre concluded on 2nd November 1410.

¹¹ The Bourgeois' optimism strongly suggests that this passage was compiled in or around 1410.

de lundi, firent procession ceulx du Palais de Paris, les ordres mendians et autres,¹² tous nuds piez, portans plusieurs saintuaires moult dignes, portant la sainte vraie Croix du Pallays, ceulx de Parlement; de quelque estat qu'ilz fussent, tous deux et deux, quelque xxx^M personnes apres avecques, tous nudz piez.

36. (31st May 1412). Le mardi derrenier jour de may, oudit an, partie des parroises de Paris firent procession, et leurs parroisiens autour de leurs parroisses, tous les prebstres revestuz de chappe ou de sourpeliz, chacun portant ung sierge en sa main et reliquez, tous piez nudz; la chasse saint Blanchart,¹³ de saint Magloire,¹⁴ avecques bien ij^C petiz enfens devant, touz piez nudz, chacun cierge ou chandelle en sa main; tous les parroisiens qui avoient puissance une torche en leur main, tous piez nudz, femmes et hommes.

39. (3 June 1412). Le vendredi ensuivant, iij^e jour de juing, oudit an, fut faicte la plus belle procession qui oncques fut gueres veue; car toutes les parroisses et ordres, de quelque estat qu'ilz fussent, allerent tous nuds piez portant, comme davant est dit, saintuaire ou cierge en habit de devocion, du commun plus de xl^M personnes avecques, tous nuds piez et a jeun sans autres secrectes abstinances, bien plus de iiij^M torches allumées. En ce point allerent portant les saintes reliques a Saint-Jehan-en-Greve; la prindrent le precieulx corps Notre Seigneur que les faulx juifs boullirent,¹⁵ en grant pleurs, en grans lermes, en grant devocion.

¹² The procession followed an itinerary with stations at the Jacobins, the Carmelites and the Bernardins before proceeding to Saint-Martin-des-Champs via the rue Saint-Denis, returning via the rue Saint-Martin to the Sainte-Chapelle on the Ile-de-la-Cité. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 67.

¹³ St. Blanchard (celebrated 11th March) was a locally revered saint whose celebration does not seem to have extended beyond the regions of Brie and Ile-de-France. Diane Carron, "Peuple de saints et pèlerinages dans les diocèses d'Autun et de Nevers – du temps des martyrs au temps des réformes – IV^e-XVIII^e siècles", Vol. 1, Doctoral Thesis, Université de Bourgogne, 2006, 193.

¹⁴ St. Magloire is far better known, a sixth-century Breton saint who established a monastery. The saint's remains were moved to Paris in c. 970 following the Norman invasion of Brittany, resulting in the establishment of the Saint-Magloire abbey. René Merlet, "Les origines du monastère de Saint-Magloire de Paris", *BEC*, Vol. 56 (1895), pp. 238-43.

¹⁵ That is, the relics of the Billettes miracle, a Jewish Host desecration recorded to have taken place in 1290 where a Jewish usurer, Jonathan, attempted to destroy a Eucharist that miraculously bled when cut. The relics of the host were preserved at the parish church of Saint-Jean-en-Grève from 1290. A chapel was also constructed to honour the relics, the *église des Billettes* on the rue des Jardins where the miracle had occurred. John of Thilrode. "De Miraculo hostiae a Judaeo parisiis anno domini M. CC. XC, multis ignominiis affectae" in *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, Vol. XXII, ed. Natalis de Wailly & Léopold Delisle (Paris: Imprimerie impériale, 1865), pp. 32-33; Anne Lombard-Jourdan, "La naissance d'une légende parisienne: Le miracle du Lendit", *Annales. Histoire, Sciences sociales*, Vol. 28, No. 4 (July-August 1973), pp. 992-4; Jessica Marin Elliott, "Jews 'Feigning Devotion': Christian Representations of Converted Jews in French Chronicles Before and After the Expulsion of

Et fut livré a iiii evesques, lesquelx le porterent dudit moustier a Sainte-Geneviefve a telle compaignie du peuple commun, car on affirmoit que ilz estoit plus de lij mil; la chanterent la grant messe moult devoctement, puis rapporterent les saintes reliques ou ilz les avoient prinses a jeun.

3. The Cabochien Revolt, 1413

65. (27th April 1413). Et cependant l'Université, qui moult amoit le roy et le commun, fist tant par grant diligence et grant sens qu'ilz orent tous ceulx par escript de la maldite et faulce traison; et la greigneur partie de tous les grans en estoient, tant gentilz comme villains, et quant l'Université par grant cure orent mis en escript, especialment tous ceulx qui pouvaient nuire,¹⁶ cependent revindrent les dessusdits qui fuiz s'en estoient et furent les bons varletz¹⁷ et brassèrent ung mariaige de la femme au conte de Mortaing,¹⁸ qui mort estoit, au frere de la royne duc de Baviere.¹⁹ Et estoit leur maleureuse intencion de faire leurs nopces loing, et de emmener le roy pour estre maistres de Paris, de en faire toute leur voulenté, qui moult estoit malvaie; et l'Université qui tout savoit ce le fist savoir au duc de Bourgongne et au

1306" in *Jews and Christians in Thirteenth-Century France*, ed. Elisheva Baumgarten & Judah D. Galinsky, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015).

¹⁶ After the Estates General of January 1413 failed to confirm reforms, the University and city's representatives requested a second audience before Charles VI, before which they collective various socio-political and economic complaints into a dossier. The University's demands were initially met with action. On 24th February, the *prévôt* of Paris, the *prévôt des marchands*, the *échevins*, the officers of the royal domain and of the *cour des aides* were suspended, leaving Jean sans Peur in complete control of the royal government. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens et l'ordonnance de 1413*, (Paris: Hachette, 1888), pp. 167-79.

¹⁷ A specific reference to Pierre des Essarts who had sided with the Armagnacs in 1412. In April 1413, Essarts returned to Paris upon the invitation and under the protection of the increasingly independent Dauphin, Louis, duke of Guyenne. *Ibid.*, pp. 180-3.

¹⁸ Catherine d'Alençon (†1462), daughter of Pierre II, count of Alençon (1340-1404) and widow of Pierre de Navarre, count of Mortain (1366-1412). She subsequently married Louis VII, duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt who received the county of Mortain as a dowry on 4th March 1413. Paris, Archives nationales JJ//167, No. 111.

¹⁹ Louis VII, duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt (1368-1447), queen-consort Isabeau de Bavière's brother, had first been married to Anne de Bourbon (†1408), daughter of Jean de Bourbon, count of La Marche.

prevost des marchantz qui avoit nom Andriet d'Espéron,²⁰ né de Quinquenpoit,²¹ et aux eschevins.²² Si firent tantost armer la bonne ville et clerks davantdiz comme paoureux²³ et cassés s'enfuirent ou chastel de Saint-Anthoine et la ce bouterent par force, et le frere de la royne fist le bon varlet et servoit le roy aussi comme s'il n'en sceust riens, et ne se mut oncques d'avec le roy.

67. (22nd May 1413). Et la sepmaine de devant l'Ascencion²⁴ fut la ville derechief armée et allerent en l'ostel de Saint-Paul ou le frere de la royne estoit,²⁵ et la le prindrent, vouldist ou non, et rompirent l'uys de la chambre ou il estoit et prindrent avecques lui xiiij ou xiiiij, que dames que damoiselles, qui bien savoient la malvaistié,²⁶ et furent tous menez au Louvre

²⁰ André d'Épernon, a *changeur*, was the son of the Parisian Jacques d'Épernon. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//1037, fols. 51r, 71. On 16th March 1413, André d'Épernon succeeded Pierre Gencien as *prévôt des marchands*. Paris, Archives nationales, KK//1009, fol. 1r. André d'Épernon was an active member of the Cabochien government, breaking into the Bastille to arrest Pierre des Essarts Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 185; Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, 38. After the collapse of the Cabochien revolt, Pierre Gencien was reinstated as *prévôt* in Épernon's place on 9th September 1413. André d'Épernon also appears as a *changeur du trésor* between 1411 and 1422 and as the *trésorier des guerres* in 1428. Archives nationales KK//33, H. Moranvillé "Extraits de journaux du Trésor (1345-1419)" *BEC*, Vol. 49 (1888), 436; G. Ritter, "Extraits du Journal du Trésor 1423-1424", *BEC*, Vol. 73 (1912), 471. No record of him is found beyond June 1431, Archives nationales, Y//5231, fol. 40; Jean Favier, *Les Contribuables parisiens à la fin de la Guerre de Cent Ans*, (Geneva: Droz, 1970), 252.

²¹ The Épernon family resided on the left bank in the jurisdiction of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, and not on the rue Quincampoix. Shirley pointed out that this may indicate a topographical reference stemming from the Bourgeois' own local interest, given this street's location on Paris' right bank. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal 1405-1449, translated from the anonymous Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 71, n. 1.

²² The *échevins* were Jean de Troyes (royal surgeon, † before 1424), Jean de l'Olive, *épiciier* (†1434), Robert de Belloy, draper (†1416, executed for participating in a plot to betray Paris that year) and Garnier de Saint-Yon (who fled the capital following the collapse of the revolt, and returned in 1418 to become *échevin* in 1422 and 1434, as well as the *grand maître* of the butchers' corporation). Archives nationales KK//1009, fol. 1r.

²³ The Aix scribe was unable to read this word and expanded the abbreviations, resulting in the word "parurent". Méjanès, p. 44.

²⁴ 22nd May 1413.

²⁵ Having invested the royal residence with other Cabochien leaders, the *échevin* Jean de Troyes presented to Jean sans Peur a new list of suspected criminals that the Parisians sought to arrest, including Louis VII, duke of Bavaria, Guillaume de Boisratier, archbishop of Bourges, and the queen's ladies-in-waiting, evocative of a move to limit Isabeau de Bavière's influence over the royal government. Although Louis VII surrendered himself to appease the crowd, armed Parisians led by the captain Hélon de Jacquville searched the hôtel and entered the queen's private chambers in order to arrest her ladies-in-waiting. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, pp. 197-203.

²⁶ Louis VII, duke of Bavaria was imprisoned in the "tour delez le Louvre", Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 1479, fol. 256r. The queen's ladies-in-waiting, Catherine de Villiers, Bonne Visconti, Isabeau Maréchal, Marguerite Aubin and Isabeau des Barres were imprisoned in the Palais' *conciergerie*. In her edition of the *Journal*, Colette Beaune states that these women were raped in prison. No clear

pelle melle; et si cuidoit ledit frere de la royne le lendemain espouser sa femme, mais sa chance tourna contre sa volenté.

75. (1st July 1413). Item, le premier jour de juillet iiiij^c et xiiij, fut ledit prevost prins dedens le Palays, trayné sur une claye jusques a la Heaumerie ou environ, et puis assis sur ung ais en la charrecte *res tout jus*, une croix de boys en sa main, vestu d'une houppelande noire dechicquetée²⁷ fourrée de martres, unes chausses blanches, ungs escafinons noirs en ces piez; en ce point mené es Halles de Paris, et la on lui couppa la teste, et fut mise plus hault que les autres plus de trois piez. Et si est vray que, depuis qu'il fut mis sur la claie jusques a sa mort, il ne faisoit touzjours que rire, comme il faisoit en sa grant majesté, dont le plus des gens le tenoient pour vray foul; car tous ceulx qui le veoient plouroient si piteusement que vous ne ouyestez oncques parler de plus grans pleurs pour mort de homme, et lui tout seul rioit, et estoit sa pencee que le commun le gardast de mourir. Mais il avoit en sa volenté, s'il eust plus vesqu, de trahir la ville et de la livrer es mains de ses ennemis, et de faire lui mesmes tres grans et cruelles occisions, et piller et rober les bons habitans de la bonne ville de Paris qui tant l'aymoient loyaulment; car il ne commandoit rien qu'ilz ne feissent a leur povair, comme il apparoit qu'il avoit prins si grant orgueil en soy, car il avoit assez offices pour six ou pour huit filx de contes ou de bannerez. Premierement il estoit prevost de Paris, il estoit grant bouteillier, maistre des eaues et des forestz; grant general cappitaine de Paris, de Cherebourgs, de Montargis; grant fauconnier, et plusieurs autres offices, dont il cuillyt si grant orgueil et laissa raison, et tantost Fortune le fist mener a celle honteuse fin.²⁸ Et saichez

historical evidence substantiates this claim, but the Religieux states that upon their release weeks later they swore "detencionem et liberacionem suam sub perpetuo silencio tenerent consepultas". RSD, Vol. 5, 90; Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 202.

²⁷ 'Dechiquiee' in Méjanès, p. 47. Interpreted as 'd'échiquier' in subsequent Parisian copies.

²⁸ Besides the offices noted above, Pierre des Essarts was appointed *maître des eaux et forêts* on 5th March 1412. The office was a target of the Cabochien reform which proposed the abolition of the office of *souverain maître*, devolved instead to *maîtres* who would be limited to six in number. Édouard Decq, "L'administration des eaux et forêts dans le domaine royal en France aux XIV^e et XV^e siècles (Suite et fin)", *BEC*, Vol. 84 (1923), 109. Essarts was not, however, the royal *grand fauconnier*, with this title instead belonging to Eustache de Gaucourt, sire de Vicy between 1406 and 1415. Louis Moréri, *Le dictionnaire historique ou mélange curieux de l'histoire sacrée et profane*, Vol. 4, (Basel: Jean Brandmuller, 1733) 24. The University's remonstrances reveal that in February 1412, Pierre des Essarts received 6,000 *francs* for the command of Cherbourg, 2,000 for the town and castle of Montargis and the same for Evreux. RSD, Vol. 4, 755. Essarts' belongings were confiscated after his death, but his widow Marie de Ruilly secured their restitution to her family on 5th August 1413. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//167, no. 177, p. 282.

que quant il vit qu'il convenoit qu'il mourust, il s'agenouilla devant le bourel et baisa ung petit ymaige d'argent que le bourel avoit en sa poitrine, et lui pardonna sa mort moult doucement, et pria a tous les signeurs que son fait ne fust point crié tant qu'il fust decollé, et on lui octroya.

77. (4th August 1413). Et le lendemain,²⁹ jour de vendredi, quatriesme jour d'aoust, comme ce le dyable les eust conseillez, proposerent tout au contraire de ce qu'ilz avoient devant conseillé par plusieurs foys, car leur premiere demande fut que on meist hors tous les priconniers qui de la traison, dont Pierre des Essars et messire Jaques de la Riviere³⁰ et Petit-Menil³¹ avoient eu les testes coppées,³² estoient droit maistres et menistres, et estoient le duc de Baviere, frere de la royne de France, messire Edouart duc de Bar,³³ le sire de Boissay et deux de ses filz,³⁴ Anthoine des Essars³⁵ frere dudit Pierre des Essars, et plusieurs autres, lesquelx estoient emprinsonnés au Louvre, au Palays et au Petit Chastellet; en apres, que tous ceulx qui contrediroient leurs demandes touchant la paix fussent tous habandonnez

²⁹ The Peace of Pontoise was agreed on 28th July to defuse the Cabochien revolt. In response, the Cabochien leader Jean de Troyes devised a series of counterproposals against the Armagnac princes, and rallied the city's *quarteniers* on the 3rd August to secure their approval of continued resistance. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 349.

³⁰ Jacques de la Rivière, seigneur d'Auneau, son of Bureau de la Rivière and Marguerite, dame d'Auneau and of Rochefort. A leading member of Charles VI's court, he was well known for his chivalric prowess. Imprisoned by the Cabochiens on 28th April, he reportedly attempted suicide by hitting himself repeatedly with a tin jug, having confessed to acts of treason. Despite his wounds, he survived for nine days. Coville argued that "ce suicide semble une histoire inventée", proposing an alternative account whereby the Parisian captain Helion de Jacquville entered Rivière's cell and assaulted him with an axe. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 328; RSD, Vol. 5, 56; Monstrelet, Vol. 2, 370.

³¹ Simon du Mesnil, called 'le Jeune' was the Dauphin's *écuyer tranchant*, accused of being party to the conspiracy against the king. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//167, No. 163, p. 262.

³² 'Tranchées', Méjanes, p. 49.

³³ Édouard III, duke of Bar (†1415) had pursued a neutral path since the Paix de Chartres in 1409.

³⁴ Robert de Boissay was a royal chamberlain and the *concierge* of the Bois de Vincennes in 1413. J.-P. Foucher, "Le Bois de Vincennes du IX^e au XV^e siècle" in *Vincennes aux origines de l'état moderne*, (Paris: Presses de l'École normale supérieure, 1996), 41. One of his sons, Jean de Boissay, was a royal *maître des requêtes* and a canon of Notre-Dame from 1408. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//110, fol. 88. A son of Boissay, perhaps the same, is noted as the Dauphin's chamberlain on 22nd February 1413. Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a}, 1479, fol. 49.

³⁵ Antoine des Essarts was a royal *valet tranchant*, squire, keeper of the purse and the royal library as well as the Palais' *concierge* from 20th November 1411. He was targeted by the remonstrances presented by the University to the king in 1412 regarding corruption and the extortion of royal finance. Monstrelet, Vol. 2, 315. Arrested at the same time as his brother, Antoine escaped execution (at least once due to poor weather) and in thanks erected in the cathedral of Notre-Dame a statue of St. Christopher. Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 1479, fol. 247; RSD, V, 76; "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 216; Édouard Gourdon, *Les Églises de Paris*, Paris, 1843.

leurs corps et leurs biens. Assez autres demandes firent ilz, et ne proposerent point pour la paix de ceulx qui avoient gardé a leur povair la ville de Paris et qui avoient esté consentans d'emprinsonner les devantdits prinsonniers pour leur demerites. Et si savoient-ilz bien que tous les bandez les hayoient jusques a la mort. Iceulx hayz estoient maistre Jehan de Troyes,³⁶ mire juré de la ville de Paris, concierge du Palays, deux de ses filx, ung nommé Jehan le Gouayz³⁷ et ces deux filx, bouchers, Denisot Caboche,³⁸ Denisot de Saint-Yon,³⁹ tous deux bouchers, ledit Caboche cappitaine du pont de Charenton, ledit de Saint-Yon cappitaine de Saint-Cloud. Iceulx estoient en la presence quant le propos fut octroié, qui leur sembla moult dure chose, et s'en vindrent tantost en l'ostel de la ville, et la assemblerent gens et leur monstrent comment la paix qui estoit traictée n'estoit point a l'onneur du roy,

³⁶ Jean de Troyes was a royal surgeon from at least 1397. Archives nationales, X²² 12, fol. 20. In 1412 he was one of the judges appointed against the Armagnacs before becoming *échevin* that year. Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 1479, fol. 212v. Troyes fled the city and was subsequently formally banished. Louis Douët-d'Arcq, *Choix des pieces inédites*, Vol. 1, 367. Residing in Flanders at the Burgundian court, he would return to the city in 1418 when he was reinstated as an *échevin*. He died before the end of 1424, as demonstrated by a case regarding the inheritance of his wife, Jeanne, who herself had died in 1412. Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 1480, fol. 362v; X^{1a} 4793, fol. 393; X^{1a} 4794, fol. 15v. The royal secretary and author of Henry VI's genealogical poem, Laurent Calot, was his nephew. Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People under English Rule*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 164-5.

³⁷ Thomas le Gois was the patriarch of this family of butchers belonging to the *boucherie* of Sainte-Geneviève. He had three sons, Guillemain, Guillaume and Jean. Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 166. Thomas le Gois participated in the Cabochien revolt and was forced to flee the city following its collapse; by 1415 he had been granted an annual pension of 500 *francs* by Jean sans Peur. Guillemain was killed in a skirmish fighting for Burgundian forces against Jacques II de Bourbon, count of La Marche, in 1411. *Histoire de Charles VI*, 473. Jean le Gois assumed a leading role in the Cabochien revolt and was banished from the city on 12th December 1413. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 386. In 1420 he participated in the negotiations leading to the Treaty of Troyes. Named a butcher of the *Grande Boucherie* in 1422, the sole appointment by Henry VI upon his accession, he pledged allegiance to the Lancastrian regime and received a post as the *gouverneur général des finances*. In 1436, he defended the porte Baudoyer, resisting Arthur de Richemont's reconquest of Paris. Guy Llewelyn Thompson, *Paris and its People*, 167, 236; Auguste Longnon, *Paris pendant la domination anglaise*, 70. Guillaume le Gois was a supplier of meat to Élisabeth de Goerlitz, duchess of Brabant in 1411. Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 4789, fol. 88r. Banished from Paris in December 1413, Guillaume followed Thomas and Jean to Artois in the company of Jean sans Peur. "Chronique dite 'des Cordeliers'" in Monstrelet, Vol. 6, 219.

³⁸ Simonnet le Coutellier, known as Simon Caboche, was a skinner of the *Grande Boucherie* who was appointed captain of the Pont de Charenton during the revolt. Upon the revolt's collapse he fled to Flanders before returning to the capital in August 1418. *Histoire de Charles VI*, 543; RSD, Vol. 5, 385.

³⁹ Alexandre Tuetey argued that "Denisot de Saint-Yon" was an error, referring instead to Denis de Chaumont, one of the *Grande Boucherie*'s skippers. Denis de Chaumont featured alongside Simon Caboche and the Le Gois family at the height of the Cabochien uprising. Chaumont left Paris in Caboche's company, seeking refuge at the Burgundian court before returning to Paris and swearing the oath of fealty to Jean sans Peur on 25th August 1418. Alfred Coville, *Les Cabochiens*, 5, 63, 185, 188, 333

ne du duc de Bourgogne, ne au prouffit de la bonne ville ne des habitans, mais a l'onneur desdits bandez qui tant de foys avoient menty leur foy. Mais, ja pour ce, le menu commun qui ja estoit assemblé en la place de Greve armez touz a leur povair, qui moult desiroient la paix, ne voudrent oncques recevoir leurs parolles, mais ilz commencerent touz a une voix a crier: "La paix! la paix! et qui ne la vieult, si se traie au lieu senestre, et qui la vieult ce traie au costé dextre." Lors se trairent tous au costé dextre, car nul n'osa contredire a tel peuple.⁴⁰

91. (25th September 1413). Item, le xxv^e jour de septembre iiiij^c et xiiij, demistrent le Borgne de la Heuse⁴¹ de la prevosté de Paris et firent prevost de Paris ung de leur bande nommé Andri Marchant.⁴² En conclusion, il ne demoura oncques nul officier du roy que le duc de Bourgogne eust ordonné qui ne fust osté ne deposé, sans leur faire aucun bien; et faisoient crier la paix aux sabmediz es Halles, et tout le plat pais estoit plain de gens d'armes de par eulx. Et firent tant par *placebo*⁴³ qu'ilz orent tous les greigneurs⁴⁴ bourgeois de la ville de Paris de leur bande, qui par semblant avant avoient moult amé le duc de Bourgogne pour le temps qu'il estoit a Paris, mais ilz se tournerent⁴⁵ tellement contre lui qu'ilz eussent mis corps et chevance pour le destruire, lui et les siens; ne personne, tant fust grant, n'osoit de lui parler que on le sceust, qu'il ne fust tantost prins et mis en diverses prinsons, ou mis a

⁴⁰ Méjanès: "Et qui la veult si traie au lieu senestre, et qui la veult ce traie au costé dextre, car nul n'osa contredire a tel peuple", p. 50.

⁴¹ Robert de la Heuse, called the 'Borgne' or 'one-eyed' was a trusted commander of Waléran III, count of Saint-Pol. He was also a royal counsellor and chamberlain, and captain of Paris in 1413 before being appointed *prévôt*. Jean Favier, *Nouvelle histoire de Paris au XV^e siècle, 1380-1500*, (Paris: Hachette, 1974), 413.

⁴² André Marchant was a lay counsellor in the Paris Parlement from 1389. E. Maugis, *Histoire du Parlement*, Vol. III, 1916, 46. According to Nicolas de Baye, he was received as *prévôt* on 22nd September as a result of "l'eleccion faite de lui au grant conseil". Vol. 2, 146. On 23rd October 1414 he was replaced by the dedicated Armagnac, Tanneguy du Chastel, yet managed to reacquire his post through royal letters the next day. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 1, pp. 193-4. Once definitively replaced by Tanneguy du Chastel in 1415, Marchant was named *bailli* of Chartres on 14th December, then of Sens on 27th December and finally of Evreux until he was replaced in 1418. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, pp. 232-4; Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 173. After the Burgundian coup in Paris, his belongings were confiscated. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches*, Vol. 3, pp. 293, 213.

⁴³ That is, the term from the Vulgate of Jerome, Psalm 114:9, "Placebo domine". In the Middle Ages this emerged as a pejorative term for flattery, as demonstrated by Chaucer's character in the Merchant's Tale, 'Placebo', a sycophant. C.E. Kerr, I. Milne & T.J. Kaptchuk, "William Cullen and a missing mind-body link in the early history of placebos", *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine*, Vol. 101, no. 2 (February 2008), 89; D. Moerman, *Meaning, Medicine and the 'Placebo Effect'*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁴⁴ Méjanès: 'eurent tous les greniers des bourgeois', p. 55.

⁴⁵ Méjanès: 's'estonnerent', p. 55.

grant finance, ou banny. Et mesmes les petiz enfans qui chantoient aucunes fois une chancon⁴⁶ qu'on avoit faicte de lui, ou on disoit: "duc de Bourgongne, Dieu te ramaint a joye", estoient foullez en la boue et navrez villaynement desdiz bandez;⁴⁷ ne nulz n'osoit les regarder ne parler ensemble en my les rues, tant les doubtoit on pour leur cruaulté, et a chacun mot: "Faulx traistre, chien bourgoignon, je regny ben ce vous ne serez pilliez".

4. The 1418 Burgundian Coup and Ensuing Parisian Massacres

204. (29th May 1418). Ainsi estoit⁴⁸ Paris gouverné faulcement et tant hayoient ceulx qui gouvernoient ceulx qui n'estoient de leur bande qu'ilz proposerent que par toutes les rues de Paris ilz les prendroient⁴⁹ et tueroient sans mercy, et les femmes ilz noyroient. Et avoient prinses par leurs forces les toilles de Paris aux marchans et a autres sans paier, disant que c'estoit pour faire des tantes et des pavillons pour le roy, et c'estoit pour faire les sacs pour noyer lesdites femmes, et encore plus, ilz proposerent que avant les Bourguignons venissent a Paris ne que la paix ce feist, ilz rendroient Paris au roy d'Engleterre, et touz ceulx qui pas ne devoient mourir devoient avoir ung escu noir a une croix rouge, et en firent faire plus de xvj mil, qui depuis furent trouvées en leurs maisons. Mais Dieu qui scet les choses abscondées⁵⁰ regarda en pitié son peuple et esveilla Fortune, qui en soursault⁵¹ se leva comme chose estourdie et mist les pans a la saincture, et donna hardement a aucuns de

⁴⁶ At this time a ballad against the Parisians was sung in other towns, mentioned in a remission letter according on 2nd September 1413 to Florent d'Encre, captain of Melun, who had tortured an individual who arrived in the town with a harp and a copy of this song. The minstrel, suspected of spying for the Armagnacs, confessed to having been sent to Melun by the archbishop of Sens, Jean de Montaigu, and was subsequently imprisoned in Paris' Petit-Châtelet and the Palais' *conciergerie*. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//167, No. 176, pp. 280-282. Likewise, in August 1419 a remission letter was issued for Perrinet Martin at Bertigny-sur-Oise in the southern Paris suburbs, who provoked a fight with a former soldier by singing "une chancon des bourguignons" in a tavern and refusing to stop when asked "car plusieurs autres le avoient chanté et chantoient chacun jour". Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//171, No. 59, p. 78.

⁴⁷ Méjanes: 'estoient foullez en la boue et navrez desdict bandés vng villainement, ne nul n'ausoict les regarder ne parler ensemble en my les rues', p. 55.

⁴⁸ Méjanes: "ainsi estre gouverné Paris faulcement", p. 83.

⁴⁹ Méjanes: "par toutes les rues ilz enteroient et tueroient sans mercy", p. 83.

⁵⁰ Méjanes: "absouldées", p. 84.

⁵¹ Méjanes: "Et esveilla Fortune qui en son sault se leva comme chose estourdie", p. 84.

Paris⁵² de faire assavoir aux Bourguignons que ilz tout hardiement venissent le dimanche ensuivant qui estoit xxix^e jour de may a heure de mynuit, et ilz les mectroient dedens Paris par la porte Saint-Germain, et que point n'y eust de faulte, et que pas ne leur faudroient pour mourir, et que point ne doubtassent Fortune, car bien sceussent que toute la plus grant partie du peuple estoit des leurs.

208. (1st June 1418). Item, vray est que dimanche xxix^e jour de may, a l'entrée des Bourguignons, avant qu'il fust nonne de jour, on eust trouvé a Paris gens de tous estatz, comme moynes, ordres mendiens, femmes, hommes, portans la croix Saint-Andry ou de croye ou d'autre matiere, plus de deux cens mille sans les enfans. Lors fut Paris moult esmeu,⁵³ et se arma le peuple moult plustost que les gens d'armes, et avant que les gens d'armes fussent venus estoient tant aprouchez lesdits bandez par force qu'ilz estoient a l'endroit de Tyron.⁵⁴ Adong vint le nouveau prevost de Paris a force de gent, et tantost a l'aide de la commune respoussa, abatant et occiant a grans tas jusques dehors la porte Saint-Anthoine, et tantost le peuple moult eschauffé contre lesdits bandez vindrent par toutes les hostelleries de Paris querant les gens de ladicte bande, et quant⁵⁵ qu'ilz en porent trouver, de quelque estat qu'il feust, fust prisonnier ou non, aux gens d'armes estoit amené en my la rue et tantost tué sans pitié de grosses haches et d'autres armes; et n'estoit homme nul a celui jour qui ne portast quelque armeure dont ilz feroient lesdits bandez en passant par empres. Depuis qu'ilz estoient tous mors estanduz, et femmes, et enfens, et gens sans puissance qui ne leur pouvaient pis faire, les maudisoient en passant par empres

⁵² Surviving records enable the identification of the conspirators involved in Paris' betrayal and the rewards that they received amounting to 200 *livres parisis* of rent (or 2000 *livres* in a single payment). The conspirators were 1) Jean de l'Isle (†c. 1438), priest, canon of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois in 1420 and University rector in 1426. Anne Massoni, *La collégiale Saint-Germain l'Auxerrois*, (Limoges: Presses universitaires de Limoges, 2007), 550. 2) Grégoire Ferrebouc, *notaire et secrétaire du roi* from 1422-1436. 3) Michel le Macon, priest; 4) Guillaume de Foletemps; 5) Jean Dieupart, *marchand* and *écuyer de cuisine du roi*; 6) Jean Gile (Gilles) (†before 1427), royal *valet de chambre* in 1422; 7) Mathieu Holant (Hola), *coutelier*. Finally, the best-known individual involved is Perrinet le Clerc, who stole the keys for the porte Saint-Germain from his father Simmonnet le Clerc, a *dizainier*. Pierre le Clerc was later appointed *monnayeur* of France. For these details, Paris, Archives nationales, JJJ/171, nos. 185-195. See also Louis Douët-d'Arcq, *Choix de pieces*, Vol. 1, No. CCI, pp. 413-14; Auguste Longnon, *Paris pendant la domination anglaise*, pp. 34-5; Henri Sauval, *Histoire et recherches*, Vol. 3, 310.

⁵³ An Armagnac counterattack was launched from the Bastille on 1st June, culminating in a battle on the rue Saint-Antoine.

⁵⁴ The house belonging to the Abbey of Tiron, situated on the present-day rue Tiron.

⁵⁵ Méjanès: 'Et qu'il en puerent trouver', p. 86.

disans: "Chiens traistres, vous estes mieulx que a vous n'appartient, encore en y a il. Que pleust a Dieu que tous feussent en tel estat." Et si n'eussiez trouvé a Paris rue de nom ou n'eust aucune occision. Et en mains que on n'yroit cent pas de terre depuis que mors estoient, ne leur demouroit que leurs brayes, et estoient en tas comme porcs ou milieu de la boe, qui moult grant pitié estoit car pou fu celle sepmaine jour a qu'il ne pleust moult fort. Et furent celle journée a Paris mors a l'espée ou d'aultres armes en my les rues, sans aucuns qui furent tuez es maisons, cinq cens vingt deux hommes, et plut tant fort celle nuyt que oncques ne sentirent nulle malle odeur, mais furent lavez par force de la pluie leurs plaies que au matin n'y avoit que sang bete, ne ordure sur leurs plaies.

215. (12th June 1418). Item, le dimenche ensuivant, xij^e jour de juing, environ xj heures de nuyt, on cria: "alarme alarme" (comme on faisoit souvent alarme) a la porte Saint-Germain,⁵⁶ les autres crioient a la porte de Bardelles.⁵⁷ Lors s'esmut le peuple vers la place Maubert et environ, puis apres ceulx de deca les pons comme des Halles et de Greve⁵⁸ et de tout Paris, et coururent vers les portes dessusdites, mais nulle part ne trouverent nulle cause de crier alarme. Lors se leva la déesse de Discorde qui estoit en la tour de Mau-Conseil,⁵⁹ et esveilla Ire la forcenée⁶⁰ et Convoitise et Enragerie et Vengeance, et prindrent armes de toutes manieres, et bouterent hors d'avec eulx Raison, Justice, Memoyre de Dieu et Atrempance⁶¹ moult honteusement. Et quant Ire et Convoitise virent le commun de leur accort, si les

⁵⁶ On the west side of Paris' left bank, leading to the (then) suburban abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés.

⁵⁷ Also on Paris' left bank, on the south-eastern side of the city.

⁵⁸ The references to the Halles, Maubert and Grève point to three important *quartiers*. The place Maubert was the largest square on the left bank of the city, whereas the place de Grève (where the Hôtel de Ville was located) fulfilled a similar rallying function for the inhabitants of the right bank, as demonstrated during the Cabochien revolt. The Halles *quartier* was known for its Burgundian sympathies.

⁵⁹ There are no evident Middle French literary references to a "tour de Mauconseil". Perhaps the phrase was a thinly veiled reference to the Burgundian faction through an allusion to Jean sans Peur's Parisian residence, the Hôtel d'Artois? The hôtel was located on the north side of the rue de Mauconseil, adjoining the rue de Bourgogne, just north of the Saints-Innocents cemetery – the Bourgeois' neighbourhood. Building works including the construction of a prominent tower (still standing today on the rue Étienne Marcel) had only recently been completed in 1412. As Florence Berland has argued, "élevée dans un contexte de vive tension, cette tour est un véritable manifeste politique, inscrivant de façon pérenne, monumentale et spectaculaire le pouvoir de Jean sans Peur au sein de l'espace parisien." "La cour de Bourgogne à Paris (1363-1422)", Doctoral thesis supervised by Bertrand Schnerb, Université Chares de Gaulle – Lille 3, 26th November 2011, 87.

⁶⁰ Méjanes: 'Ire la sornée', p. 89.

⁶¹ Méjanes: 'Atrempance', p. 89.

eschauffa plus et plus, et vindrent au Palays du roy. Lors Ire la desvée leur gecta sa semence tout ardent sur leurs testes; lors furent eschauffez oultre mesure, et rompirent portes et barres, et entrerent es prinsons dudit Pallays a mynuit, heure moult esbahissant a homme surprins. Et Convoitise qui estoit leur cappitaine et portoit la baniere devant, qui avec lui menoit Traison et Vengeance qui commencerent a crier haultement: "Tuez! Tuez ces chiens traistres arminaz! Je reny bien, se ja pié en eschappe en ceste nuyt!" Lors Forcenerie la desvée, et Murtre⁶² et Occision occirent, abatirent, tuerent, murtrirent tout ce qu'ilz trouverent es prinsons sans mercy, fut de tort ou droit, sans cause ou a cause. Et Convoitise avoit les pans a la sainture avec Rapine sa fille et son filx Larrecin, qui tost apres qu'ilz estoient mors ou avant leur ostoient tout ce qu'ilz avoient, et ne volut pas Convoitise que on leur laissast neis leurs brayes pour tant qu'ilz vaulsissent iiij deniers,⁶³ qui estoit une des plus grans cruaultés et inhumanité chrestienne a aultre de quoy on peust parler. Quant Meurtre et Occision avoit fait ce, revenoit tout le jour Convoitise, Ire, Vengeance qui dedens les corps humains qui mors estoient botoient toutes manieres d'armes, et en tous lieux et tant que, avant que prime fust de jour, orent de coutz de taille et d'estoc ou visaige tant que en n'y pavoit homme congnoistre quel qu'il fust, ce ne fut le connestable et le chancelier qui furent cogneuz ou lict ou tuez estoient.

216. (12th June 1418). Apres allerent cedit peuple par l'ennortement de leurs déesses qui les menoiert, c'est assavoir, Ire, Convoitise et Vengeance etc. par toutes les prinsons publicques de Paris, c'est assavoir a Saint-Eloy, au Petit Chastelet, au Grant Chastellet, au Four l'Evesque, a Saint-Magloire, a Saint-Martin-des-Champs, au Temple, et partout firent comme devant est dit du Pallays. Et n'estoit homme nul qui en celle nuyt ou jour eust osé parler de Raison ou de Justice, ne demander ou elle estoit enfermée, car Ire les avoit mises en si profonde fosse que on ne les pot oncques trouver toute celle nuyt, ne la journé ensuivant. Si en parla le prevost de Paris au peuple et le seigneur de L'Isle-Adam en leur admonnestant Pitié, Justice et Raison, mais Ire et Forcenerie respondit par la bouche du peuple: "Malgré bieu, sire, de votre Justice, de votre Pitié et de votre Raison! Mauldit soit de Dieu qui aura ja

⁶² Méjanes: 'Murmure', p. 89.

⁶³ Méjanes: 'Pourtant qu'ilz ne vaulcissent que trois deniers', p. 89.

pitié de ses faulx traistres arminaz angloys ne que de chiens! Car par eulx est le royaulme de France tout destruit et gasté, et si l'avoient vendu aux Engloys".⁶⁴

217. (12th June 1418). Item, est vray que devant chacune desdites prinsons, avant qu'il fust dix heures de jour, estoient tous entassés comme ce fussent chiens ou moutons, et n'en avoit nul pitié: "Aussi ont ilz fait sacs pour nous noyer et noz femmes et noz enfens, et ont fait faire estandars pour le roy d'Engleterre et pour ces chevaliers, pour mectre sur les portes de Paris quant ilz l'auront livré aux Englois. Item, ilz ont fait escussions a une rouge croix plus de xxx milliers, dont ilz avoient proposé de seigner les huys de ceulx qui devoient estre tuez ou non. Si ne nous en parler plus de par le diable que pour vous n'en laisserons riens a faire par le sang Dieu!" Quant le prevost vit qu'ilz estoient ainsi eschauffez de la faulce Ire qui les menoit, si n'osa plus parler de Raison, de Pitié ne de Justice et leur dist: "Mes amys, faictes ce qu'il vous plaira." Ainsi s'en allerent es prinsons dessusdites, et quant ilz trouvoient trop fortes prinsons ou ilz ne pouvaient entrer, si boutoient dedens force de feu et ceulx qui dedens estoient n'avoient riens de quoy leur aider, si estaingnoient et ardoient la dedens a grant martire. Et ne laisserent en prinson de Paris, sinon au Louvre, pour ce que le roy y estoit,⁶⁵ quelque prisonnier qu'ilz ne tuassent ou par feu ou par glayve.⁶⁶ Et tant tuerent de gens a Paris, que hommes que femmes, depuis celle heure de mynuyt jusques au lendemain xij heures, qu'i furent nombrez a mille cinq cens dix-huit, et furent le connestable,⁶⁷ le chancelier,⁶⁸ ung cappitaine nommé Remonnet de la Guerre,⁶⁹ maistre Pierre de l'Esclat,

⁶⁴ Janet Shirley treated the final segment of this quotation, 'et si l'avoient vendu aux Englois' as a separate comment inserted by the Bourgeois due to the change in verb tense from present to the *plus-que-parfait*. However, the context implies that the commons were asserting that the Armagnacs had formally agreed to betray France to the English and presented this as an historical fact. Janet Shirley (ed. & trans.), *A Parisian Journal*, 118, n. 1.

⁶⁵ For his safety, Charles VI had been taken to Louvre on 1st June, "apres disner". The next day his council held a meeting in the fortress: "Curie fuerunt ad Consilium ex parte Regis in Lupara convocatum mandate." Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, 132.

⁶⁶ Méjanes: 'quelque prisonnier qu'ilz ne tuassent ou par feu, ou par sang ou par glayve', p. 91.

⁶⁷ Bernard, count of Armagnac had been named French constable in 1415.

⁶⁸ Henri le Corgne, known as de Marle, knight and *seigneur* of Versigny, was named *quatrième président* in the Paris Parlement on 29th January 1393 and rose to *premier président* on 22nd May 1403. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 1, pp. 63-4. In the wake of the Cabochien revolt Henri de Marle was elected chancellor on 8th August 1413. Nicolas de Baye, Vol. 2, pp. 130-2. Marle was also a canon of Notre-Dame from 1379, and the *conciierge* of the Palais in 1417.

⁶⁹ Raymonnet de la Guerre was a Gascon captain committed to the Armagnac cause. In 1415 he is noted as commanding 1,000 men in the county of Étampes, Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//169, No. 9. In December 1415 he commanded the garrison at Saint-Denis. On 24th January 1416 he led troops to

maistre Pierre Gaiant,⁷⁰ maistre Guillaume Paris,⁷¹ l'évesque de Coustances, filx du chancelier de France.⁷² en la court de darriere devers la Cousture,⁷³ et furent deux jours entiers au pié du degré du Palays sur la pierre de marbre, et puis furent enterrez ces vij a Saint-Martin en ladite court de derriere la Cousture, et tous les autres a la Trinité,⁷⁴ entre lesquelx mors furent trouvez tuez iiij evesques du faulx et dampnable conseil,⁷⁵ et deux des presidens de Parlement.⁷⁶

attack Burgundian forces in the "pays de Santers", near the Beauvaisis. Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 131, 133, 141.

⁷⁰ Pierre le Gayant was a Châtelet notary from c. 1391 and named in documents dated to 1402. Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 1479, fol. 6v; Y//2, fol. 204. In 1406 he was implicated in a complaint by another notary named 'Fresnes', who stated that Gayant had prevented him from signing Châtelet letters in order to take the work himself. Gustave Fagniez, "Fragment d'un répertoire de jurisprudence parisienne au XV^e siècle", *MSHP*, Vol. 17 (1890), pp. 43-44, No. 93; Julie Claustre, "De l'obligation du corps à la prison pour dette: l'endettement privé au Châtelet de Paris au XV^e siècle" in *La dette et le juge. Juridiction gracieuse et juridiction contentieuse du XIII^e au XV^e siècle (France, Italie, Espagne, Angleterre, Empire)*, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 2006), 128. Subsequently, in 1408 Pierre le Gayant was accused of heresy for having spat upon a cross and, in his defence, le Gayant argued that he had been "né pres de Paris, avoir vecu bien et loyaument, estre bon notaire et avoir exercé l'office de clerc criminel du Chatelet xvii ans". Paris, Archives nationales, X^{1a} 4788, fol. 183. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et antiquités*, Vol. 3, 308, 322; Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//171, No. 193.

⁷¹ Less is known about the Châtelet *examineur* Guillaume Paris, except that he identified himself ("examineur de par le roy, nostre sire, ou Chastellet de Paris") on 24th November 1407 as one of the officials participating in the investigation led by the *prévôt*, Guillaume de Tignonville, into the assassination of Louis d'Orléans. P. Raymond (ed.), "Enquête du prévôt de Paris sur l'assassinat de Louis, duc d'Orléans (1407)", *BEC*, Vol. 26 (1865), 224. For the distribution of his belongings, see the previous note regarding Pierre le Gayant.

⁷² Jean de Marle, son of the chancellor Henri de Marle, was named *maître des requêtes* of the royal hôtel in 1409. In 1414 he managed to secure an appointment as bishop of Coutances in Normandy, despite heated resistance from the University of Paris' Norman Nation, which supported the nomination of Ursin de Talevande.

⁷³ The 'couture' refers to the cultivated land adjoining the abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs, on Paris' right bank.

⁷⁴ La Trinité was a hospital located on the rue Saint-Denis, opposite the church of Saint-Sauveur and parallel to the abbey of Saint-Martin-des-Champs on the rue Saint-Martin. L. Tesson, "L'hôpital de la Trinité", *Commission municipale du vieux Paris, 1916* (1918), pp. 197-212.

⁷⁵ These bishops were: Guillaume de Cantiers, bishop of Evreux from 1400; Pierre Fresnel, bishop of Lisieux from 1415; Jean d'Achery, bishop of Senlis from 1415; finally, Jean de Marle, bishop of Coutances. Monstrelet reported that Jean Langret, bishop of Bayeux and Geoffroy de Pérusse des Cars, bishop of Saintes, were also victims, but these individuals escaped. Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 270.

⁷⁶ The members of the Paris Parlement murdered on 12th June included the counsellors Jean de Vitry (whose belongings were accorded to Jean Caucousin) and Oudart Gencien, *conseiller lai* in the Paris Parlement from 1394 and the brother of Benoit Gencien, a monk of Saint-Denis also murdered in 1418. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//170, No. 251; E. Maugis *Histoire du Parlement*, Vol. 3, 1916, p. 49; Auguste Longnon, *Paris pendant la domination anglaise*, 313. Two *procureurs* of the Parlement, Oudart Correl and Jean de Combes, were also murdered. Henri Sauval, *Histoire et Recherches*, Vol. 3, 317.

5. The State of France following Jean sans Peur's Assassination, 1419

282. (29th September 1419). Helas! Tout premier Normendie en est toute exillée, et la plus grant partie qui souloit faire labourer et estre en son lieu, lui, sa femme, sa mesnie, et estre sans danger marchans, marchandises, gens d'eglise, moynes, nonnains, gens de tous estaz, ont esté boutez hors de leurs lieux, estrangers comme eussent esté bestes sauvaiges, dont il convient que les uns truandent qui souloient donner, les autres servent qui souloient estre serviz, les autres larrons et meurdriers par desespoir, bonnes pucelles, bonnes proudes femmes venir a honte par effors ou autrement, qui par necessité sont devenues mauvaises; tant de moynes, tant de prebstres, tant de dames de religion et d'autres gentilz femmes avoir tout laissé par force et mis corps et ame au desespoir, Dieu scet bien comment. Helas! Tant d'enfans mors nez par faulte d'ayde, tant de mors sans confession par tyrannie et en autre maniere, tant de mors sans sepulture en forestz et en autre destour, tant de mariaiges qui ont este delaissés a faire, tant d'eglises arses et bruiies, et chappelles, maisons Dieu, malladeries ou on souloit faire le saint service Notre Seigneur et les oeuvres de miserricorde, ou il n'a mais que les places, tant d'avoir mussé, qui jamais bien ne fera, et de joyaulx d'eglise et de reliques et d'autres qui jamais bien ne feront, ce n'est d'aventure. Brief, je cuide que homme ne pourroit, pour sens qu'il ait, bien dire les grans, miserables, enormes et dampnables pechez qui se sont ensuyviz et faiz puis la tres maleureuse et dampnable venue de Bernart, le conte d'Arminac, connestable de France. Car, oncques puis que le nom vint en France de Bourguignon et d'Arminac, tous les maulx que on pouroit pincer ne dire ont esté tous commis ou royaulme de France, tant que la clamour du sang innocent espandu crie devant Dieu vengeance.⁷⁷ Et cuide en ma conscience que ledit conte d'Arminac estoit ung ennemy en fourme de homme, car je ne voy nul qui ait esté a lui ou qui de lui ce renomme, ou qui porte sa bende, qui tienne point la loy ne foy chrestienne. Ains ce maintiennent envers tous ceulx dont ilz ont la maistrise, comme gens qui auroient renyé leur Creatour, comme il appert par

⁷⁷ The theme of innocent blood being spilt and resulting pollution or devastation is prominent in the Bible. For instance, in the prophecy of Joel 3:19 that predicts the devastation of Egypt due to the shedding of innocent blood and Genesis 4:10 depicting Abel's blood crying to God from the Earth and resulting in divine vengeance.

tout le royaume de France. Car j'ose bien dire que le roy d'Angleterre n'eust esté tant hardy de mettre le pié en France par guerre, ce n'eust esté la discencion qui a esté de ce maleureux non, et fust encore toute Normendie francoyse, ne le noble sanc de France ainsi espandu, ne les signeurs dudit royaume ainsi menez en exil, ne la bataille perdue, ne tant de bonnes gens mors, n'eussent oncques esté en la piteuse journée d'Egincourt ou tant perdit le roy de ses bons et loyaulx amys, ce ne fust l'orgueil de ce maleureus nom Arminac. Helas! A faire cestes maleureuses oeuvres ilz n'en auront de remenant que le pechié, et s'ilz n'en font amendement durant la povre vie du corps, ilz en seront en tres cruelle, miserable, et pardurable dampnacion. Car, certes, on ne peut riens mesconter a Dieu, car il scet tout, plain de misericorde, ne s'i fye homme nulz, ne en longue vie n'en autre chose de folle esperance ou de vaine gloire, car en verité il fera a chacun droit selon sa deserte.⁷⁸ Helas! Je ne cuide mie que depuis le roy Clovis, qui fut le premier roy chrestien, que France fust aussi desollée et divisée comme elle est aujourd'uy; car le Dalphin ne tant a autre chose jour et nuyt, lui et les siens, que de gaster tout le pais de son pere a feu et a sang, et les Anglois d'autre costé font autant de mal que les Sarrazins. Mais encore vaut il trop mielx estre prins des Angloys que des gens du Dalphin qui se dient Arminaz; et le povre roy et la royne depuis la prise de Pontoise ne se meuvent de Troyez a povre mesnie, comme fut ilz et deschassés hors de leur lieu par leur propre enfant, qui est grant pitié a pancer a toute bonne personne.

6. The Treaty of Troyes, 1420

300. (2nd June 1420). Item, le jour de la Trinité iiiij^c xx, qui fut le ij^e jour de juing, espousa a Troyes ledit roy angloys la fille de France, et le lundi ensuivant, quant les chevaliers de France et d'Angleterre voldrent faire unes joustes pour la solempnité du mariaige de tel prince, comme acoustumé est, le roy d'Angleterre, pour qui on vouldoit faire les joustes pour lui faire plaisir, dist, oiant⁷⁹ tous, de son mouvement: "Je prie a monseigneur le roy, de qui j'ay espousée la fille, et a tous ses serviteurs, et a mes serviteurs je commande, que demain au

⁷⁸ Corinthians, 3:8 - Now he that planteth and he that watereth are one: and every man shall receive his own reward according to his own labour.

⁷⁹ Méjanès: 'Dict avant tous de son mouvement', p. 123.

matin nous soyons tous prestz pour aller mectre le siege devant la cité de Sens ou les annemys de monseigneur le roy sont, et la pourra chacun de nous jouter et tournoier, et monstrier sa proesse et son hardement, car plus belle proesse n'est ou monde que de faire justice des mauveys affin que le povre peuple se puisse vivre." Adonc le roy lui octroya et chacun si accorda, et ainsi fut fait, et tant firent que le jour Saint Barnabé, xj^e jour dudit moys de juing, fut la cité prinse,⁸⁰ et de la vindrent assegier Montereau-ou-fault-Yonne.⁸¹

313. (1st December 1420). Item, depuis que la ville de Meleun fut prinse furent noz signeurs, c'est assavoir, le roy de France, le roy d'Engleterre, les deux roynes, le duc de Bourgogne, le duc rouge⁸² et plusieurs autres signeurs, tant de France que d'ailleurs, demourans a Meleun et a Corbeil jusques au premier jour de decembre, jour Saint Eloy, qui fut a ung dimenche. Et cedit jour entrerent a Paris a grant noblesse, car toute la grant rue Saint-Denis par ou ilz entrerent, depuis la seconde porte jusques a Notre-Dame de Paris, estoient encourtinées les rues et parées moult noblement, et la plus grant partie des gens de Paris qui avoient puissance furent vestuz de rouge couleur. Et fut fait en la rue de Kalende devant le Palais ung moult piteux mistere de la passion Notre Seigneur au vif, selon que elle est figurée autour du cueur de Notre-Dame de Paris, et duroient les eschauffaux environ cent pas de long, venant de la rue de la Kalande⁸³ jusques aux murs du Palais, et n'estoit homme

⁸⁰ Sens surrendered after only a few days of the siege – Henry V arrived at the town on 6th June and by the 11th it had capitulated. Monstrelet, Vol. 3, 407; RSD, Vol. VI, 442-4 News of the town's capture reached Paris on 13th June. Fauquembergue, Vol. 1, pp. 369-70. Jean le Hongre was named captain, Paris, Archives nationales, X¹² 64, fol. 50.

⁸¹ The Anglo-Burgundian army arrived before Montereau-fault-Yonne on 16th June 1420. Guillaume de Chaumont, *seigneur* of Guitry held the town for the Armagnacs, but by 23rd June the walls had been taken by the English forces, with the garrison retreating to the town's castle. Once inside the city, Philippe le Bon inquired as to the burial place of his father and exhumed the remains in the church of Notre-Dame that were then translated to Champmol. The garrison in the town's castle surrendered on 1st July. Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 403-6; RSD, Vol. VI, 458; Jonathan Sumption, *Cursed Kings: The Hundred Years War IV*, (London: Faber & Faber, 2016), 703.

At this point in the Vatican manuscript, a transcription of the Treaty of Troyes, agreed on 21st May 1420 between Charles VI, Henry V and Philippe le Bon is found, preceded by a heading: "Cy ensuit la traicté fait entre les roys de France et d'Engleterre et tout leur conseil". The copy is identical to that found in the *Trésor des chartes*, JJ//171, No. 124, pp. 147-151 and published in the *Ordonnances des rois de France*, Vol. 11, 86. The copy is signed by Jean de Rinel, a royal secretary involved in Anglo-Burgundian negotiations in 1419 and 1420. Philippe Contamine, "Maître Jean de Rinel (vers 1380-1449), notaire et secrétaire de Charles VI puis de Henry VI pour son royaume de France, l'une des 'plumes' de l'union des deux couronnes", *Cahiers des Annales de Normandie*, Vol. 35 (2009), pp. 115-134.

⁸² Louis VII, duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt, Isabeau de Bavière's brother.

⁸³ The rue de la Calandre was on the Ile-de-la-Cité and joined the Palais to Notre-Dame, past the church of la Madeleine.

qui veist le mistere a qui le cueur n'apiteast. Ne oncques princes ne furent receuz a plus grant joye qu'ilz furent, car ilz encontroient par toutes les rues processions de prebstres revestuz de chappes et de seurpeliz, portans saintuaires, chantans *Te deum laudamus*, *Benedictus qui venit*, et fut entre v et vj heures apres medi, et toute nuyt quant ilz revenoient en leurs eglises. Et ce faisoient si liement et de si joyeux cueur,⁸⁴ et le commun par cas pareil, car rien qu'ilz feissent pour complaire ausdiz signeurs ne leur ennuyoit.

7. Charles VI's Funeral, 1422

387. (9th November 1422). Item, il fut ordonné a Saint-Paul comme a tel prince appartenoit, et y mist on tant pour l'ordonnance comme pour actendre aucun des signeurs du sanc de France pour le compaigner a metre en terre, car il fut a Saint-Paul depuis le jour de son trespasement devantdit jusques au ix^e jour d'octobre⁸⁵ ensuivant, jour Saint Martin. Mais oncques n'y ot a le compaigner celui jour nul du sang de France quant il fut porté a Notre-Dame de Paris ne en terre, ne nul signeur que ung duc d'Engleterre nommé le duc de Betefort,⁸⁶ frere de feu le roy Henry d'Angleterre, et son peuple et ses serviteurs, qui moult faisoient grant deuil pour leur perte, et especialment le menu commun de Paris crioit quant on le portoit parmy les rues: "A! Tres cher prince, jamais n'aron si bon, jamais ne te verron. Maldicte soit la mort! Jamais n'aurons que guerre puisque tu nous as laissés. Tu vas en repos, nous demouron en toute tribulacion et en toute douleur, car nous sommes bien taillez que nous ne soions en la maniere de la chetyvoison des enfans de Israel, quant ilz furent menez en Babilonie." Ainsi disoit le peuple en faisant grans plains, parfons suspirs et piteux.

⁸⁴ The clergy's participation was carefully organised in advance. On 29th November a letter addressed to the Parlement from Charles VI and stressed by royal counsellors, ordered the churches' clergy to process with their relics to the porte Saint-Denis to meet the kings of England and France. The chapter of Notre-Dame, however, decided that it would not travel further than the limit of its jurisdiction before the Hôtel-Dieu on the Ile-de-la-Cité. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//112, fol. 299.

⁸⁵ November.

⁸⁶ John, duke of Bedford, returned to Paris on 5th November and, after visiting the cathedral of Notre-Dame, proceeded to meet Isabeau de Bavière at Saint-Paul where Charles VI's body was lying in state. Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 67-8.

394. (11th November 1422). Item, on donna a disner a tous venans, et fut le mercredi qu'il fut enterré. Et quant il fut enterré et couvert et que l'évesque de Paris,⁸⁷ qui avoit dicte la messe, et son diacre l'abbé de Saint-Denis,⁸⁸ et le sousdiacre l'abbé de Saint-Crespin,⁸⁹ qu'ilz orent dit les commandaces des trespasés, ung herault cria haultement que chacun priast pour son ame, et que Dieu voulsist sauver et garder le duc Henry de Lanclostre, roy de France et d'Angleterre. Et, en criant ce cry, tous les serviteurs du roy trespasé tournerent ce dessus dessoubz leurs maces, leurs verges, leurs espées, comme ceulx qui plus n'estoient officiers.

395. (11th November 1422). Item, le duc de Bedford, au revenir, fist porter l'espée du roy de France davant luy comme regent, dont le peuple murmuroit fort, mais souffrir a celle foys le convint.

396. (11th November 1422). Item, a tel jour proprement, le jour Saint Martin d'yver,⁹⁰ et avecques a telle heure comme il entra a Paris au revenir de son sacre,⁹¹ au xliij^e an de son regne, fut il porté enterrer a Saint-Denis, le jour Saint Martin d'yver. Et disoient aucuns anciens qu'ilz avoient veu son pere venir du sacre,⁹² et vint en estat royal, c'est assavoir, tout vestu d'escarlatte vermeille, de housse, de chapperon fourré, comme a estat royal appartient; et en telle maniere fut porté enterrer a Saint-Denis. Et aussi, comme on disoit, avoit esté

⁸⁷ Jean de la Rochetaillée (†1437), titular patriarch of Constantinople (1412) and previously bishop of Geneva (from 1418) had been appointed as caretaker of the Parisian diocese following the dispute surrounding the chapter's election of Jean Courtecuisse as bishop, contrary to the wishes of Henry V, in 1420.

⁸⁸ Jean de Bourbon, named in a dispute registered in the Paris Parlement on 23rd November 1423 between the abbot and the monks of Saint-Denis. Michel Félibien, *Histoire de l'abbaye royale de Saint-Denys en France, contenant la vie des abbez qui l'ont gouvernée*, Paris 1706, p. 343; Donatella Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda, "Des rois et des moines. Livres et lecteurs à l'abbaye de Saint-Denis (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)" in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guénéé*, ed. Françoise Autrand, Claude Gauvard & Jean-Marie Moeglin, (Paris: Éditions de la Sorbonne, 1999), 355.

⁸⁹ Jean de Serainville, abbot of Saint-Crépin-le-Grand of Soissons from 1404 to 1424. Serainville was also dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Paris in 1416 and 1417, and taught at the University until 1430. In 1424 he was appointed at abbot of Saint-Taurin in Évreux, before being transferred to the abbey of Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, in the Parisian suburbs, in 1429. Thomas Sullivan, *Benedictine monks at the University of Paris AD. 1229-1500. A Biographical Register*, (New York: Brill, 1995), pp. 313-315; *CUP*, IV, 78, 482, 483, 490; "Cérémonial de l'inhumation du roi Charles VI" ed. Crescent de Guiton, vicomte de Guiton de la Manche, *Revue Anglo-Française*, Vol. 2, No. 2 (1841), pp. 296-301.

⁹⁰ 11th November.

⁹¹ On 11th November 1380 Charles VI had made his first entry to Paris. The king was buried at Saint-Denis on the same date in 1422.

⁹² Charles V, crowned in 1364, made his first entry to Paris on 28th May that year.

cestuy roy⁹³ a son sacre ainsi ordonné de souliers d'asur semés de fleur de lis d'or, vestu d'un manteau de drap d'or vermeil, fourré d'armine, et comme chacun le pot veoir; mais plus noble compaignie ot a son sacre qu'il n'ot a son enterrement. Et son pere ot aussi noble compaignie ou plus a son enterrement que a son sacre, car il fut porté enterrer de ducz et de contes, et et non d'autre gent, qui tous estoient vestuz des armes de France, et y avoit plus de prelaz, de chevaliers et d'escuiers de renommée qu'il n'y avoit a compaigner ce bon roy a ces darrains jours de toutes gens, de quelque estat que ce fust.⁹⁴ Et veu ce, les grans lamentacions que le pouvre peuple faisoit de si debonnaire avoir perdu, et le pou d'amis qu'ilz avoient, et la foison d'ennemis, n'est pas merveilles se ilz doubtoient moult la fureur de leurs ennemis et ce ilz disoient la lamentacion Jeremie le prophete: "*Quomodo sedet sola civitas.*"⁹⁵

8. Reaction to the Battle of Cravant, 1423

413. (3rd August 1423). Item, le jour de l'Invention Saint Estienne, iij^e jour d'aoust, fut faicte grant feste a Paris au soir comme de faire grans feus, dancier tout ainsi comme a la Saint Jehan,⁹⁶ mais ce estoit moult piteuse chose a pancer pourquoy la feste se faisoit, car mieulx on deust avoir plouré; car, comme on disoit, que iij^M ou plus furent mors des Arminalx par

⁹³ Charles VI.

⁹⁴ Charles V's funeral took place at Paris on 24th-26th September 1380. As Jean Delachenal notes, "...nous ignorons presque tout de ce cérémonial, et pour en avoir une idée il faudra nous reporter aux obsèques de la reine Jeanne, célébrées deux ans auparavant". Jean Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, Vol. 5, (Paris: Picard, 1931), 420.

⁹⁵ This is the very beginning of the Lamentations of Jeremiah: "Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo? Facta est quasi vidua domina gentium, princeps provinciarum facta est sub tributo". Lamentations 1:1.

⁹⁶ These celebrations were organised in response to the English victory at Cravant, near Auxerre, on 31st July 1423. From 30th June the Armagnacs had besieged Cravant's Burgundian garrison, with an Anglo-Burgundian force dispatched to relieve the town. The ensuing battle saw the allied Armagnac and Scottish forces annihilated, with between 2,500 and 5,000 dead. The commanders John Stewart of Darnley and Louis, count of Vendome, were captured. News of the victory reached Paris "bien tard" on 3rd August, with processions subsequently held on the 4th to Notre-Dame, the 6th to Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois and the 11th to the Sainte-Chapelle, where the Passion relics were presented to John, duke of Bedford. Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 104-107.

armeset quelque ij^m prins,⁹⁷ et quelque xv^c noiez pour eschever la cruelle mort que ceulx qui les suivoient leur promectoient. Or, veez quel dommaige et quel pitié par toute chrestienté, car pou d'iceulx qui ainsi sont mors ont petite souvenance de leur Createur a l'eure, et ceulx qui les occient aussi pou, car le plus n'y vont que pour la convoitise et non point pour l'amour de leurs signeurs dont ilz se renomment, ne pour l'amour de Dieu, ne pour charité aucune, dont ilz sont tous en peril d'estre honteusement mors au siecle, et les ames a perdicion.

414. (3rd August 1423). Item, quans lieux demourez inhabitez comme villes, chasteaulx, moustiers, abbayes et autres, hélas! Quans orphelins on peut en terre chrestienne trouver, et quantes pouvres femmes vefves et chetives par telz occisions. Hélas! Se ung chacun de nous regardoit bien se autel douleur nous estoit advenue ou promise, com grant douleur et com grant hayne nous perceroit les cueurs de noz ventres, et com grant volenté nous aurions de en estre vengez, et tout pour ce que nous n'avons nul regart au temps qui est a advenir, lequel est moult douteux tant au regart de cruelle mort par vengeance divine, pour la joye que nous avons du mal d'autruy et de la destruction dont on nous peut tous juger homicides, car on dit que bonne volenté est réputée pour fait. Et si dit Notre Seigneur par la bouche de l'apostre: "Qui de glaive ferra, de glaive mourra."⁹⁸ Nous faisons semblant, comme fist Calcas,⁹⁹ ung devineur de Troyes la grant, lequel alla a son dieu qui estoit nommé Appollo par le congé du roy Priant pour demander lesquelx seroient vaincuz, ou ceulx de la grant Troye ou les Gregois, si lui fut respondu que en la fin Troye seroit destruite, pourquoy il laissa sa cité et ses amys et s'en alla par devers les Gregoys et leur dist le respons d'Appollo, par quoy ilz luy firent moult grant joye pour celle foys pour le respons

⁹⁷ Fauquembergue similarly states that 3,000 were killed and as many captured, with only thirty Englishmen dying. Vol. 2, 105.

⁹⁸ An important Biblical proverb, originally found in Matthew 26:52. Here, Christ states: "Converte gladium tuum in locum suum: omnes enim qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt". The message is also evoked in Apocalypse, 13:10. "qui in captivitate in captivitate vadit; qui in gladio occiderit oportet eum gladio occidi. Hic est patientia et fides sanctorum."

⁹⁹ In ancient literature, such as in the Iliad, Calchas is a Greek augur who predicts the favourable wind which drives the Greek ships to Troy. Calchas' transformation into a Trojan defector first occurred in Benoît de Saint-Mauré's *Roman de Troie* and developed in the Latin *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287) by Guido Delle Collone to be assumed by Boccaccio in *Il Filostrato* (c. 1335-40) and subsequently Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1385).

d'Appollo.¹⁰⁰ Ouquel Appollo le dyable conversoit, qui dist a Calcas que les Gregoys vaincroient, mais il leur cela la tres grant douleur qui leur en advint, car tous perirent, car tres pou en eschappa, que tous ne fucnt occis ou perilliez en mer a leur retour, ne Calcas n'ot oncques puis joye que ung pou quant il vint avecques les Gregois, ne oncques puis on ne se fia en luy. Or, veez quelle douleur il en advint aux deux parties pour vouloir avoir vengeance, car l'Escripiture¹⁰¹ tesmoigne que la moururent par glaive ou par feu plus de xxij^c milliers de hommes, dont tres grant partie d'Orient demoura vefve et orpheline de toute chevalerie, car pou ou neant en eschappa qui peust rapporter les nouvelles plaines de douleur en son pays. Et pour ce pour l'amour de Dieu ayons pitié de nous mesmes, en crainant la main de Notre Sauveur Jhesu Crist, car nul ne scet que a l'ueil lui pend, car a telle mesure que nous mesurons nous serons mesurez.

9. The Battle of Verneuil and Aftermath, 1424

434. (17th August 1424). Adong il n'y ot plus parlé, les deux osts vindrent l'un contre l'autre et commencerent a frapper et mallier l'un sur l'autre de toutes manieres d'armeures¹⁰² de guerre que on peust pancer, de traict ou d'autre chose. La eussiez ouy tant doloureux criz et plaintes, tant hommes cheoir a terre que puis n'en releverent, l'un chacer, l'autre fouir, l'un mort sus, l'autre gesir a terre gueulle baiée, tant sanc espendu de chrestiens qui oncques n'avoient veu en leur vivant l'un l'autre, et si venoient ainsi tuer l'un l'autre pour ung pou de pecune qu'ilz en actendoient a avoir. La bataille fut moult cruelle, que on ne savoit qui en avoit le meilleur. Les Arminalx avoient grant fiance aux Lombars qu'ilz avoient ordonnés de venir par derriere rompre la bataille du regent de France, lesquelx n'oserent oncques ce faire,

¹⁰⁰ Jamie Fumo has discussed in detail the unique role attributed to Apollo by Guido delle Colonne, suggesting that this is the narrative used by the Bourgeois for his *exemplum*. *The Legacy of Apollo: Antiquity, Authority and Chaucerian Poetics*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 113.

¹⁰¹ The Bible does not discuss the Trojan war, meaning that the Bourgeois is loosely referring to the written history of the conflict.

¹⁰² Méjanès: 'd'armes de guerre', p. 182.

quant ilz virent la haye des chevaulx qui par derriere estoit. Si ne leur fut a gueres qui gaignast ou perdist, mais qu'ilz eussent du pillage; si tuerent les pouvres varletz et paiges qui dessus les chevaulx estoient, et orent le cueur failli de aider a leur gent, et prindrent tous les bons chevaulx et tout ce qui dessus estoit trousseé, et ainsi s'en fuirent sans plus revenir vers leur pais, ainsi s'en allerent honteusement comme couars et convoiteus. Quant les Arminalx virent qu'ilz ne venoient point si furent moult esbahiz, si leur fut dit par ung herault comment les Lombars s'en estoient fouiz sans cop ferir pour le pillage. Si furent les Arminalx si esbahiz qu'i ne sorent quel conseil prendre, et si estoient entré en bataille plus de xv^M, mais leur pechié leur nuisoit tant qu'i ne pouvaient faire chose ou ilz eussent honneur oncques, puis que le duc de Bourgongne fut tué par eulx. Quant les Angloys les virent esbahiz, si se raliert et leur courent sur moult asprement de tout leur povair et prennent terre sur eulx plus et plus, si asprement que les Arminalx ne porent plus souffrir l'estour, ains s'en commencerent a fouir moult honteusement pour sauver leurs vies, et les gens du regent les poursuivirent jusques devant Verneuil ou Perche.

10. Response to the Valois Resurgence, 1429

550. (15th July 1429). Et le dixiesme jour dudit moys vint le duc de Bourgongne a Paris a ung jour de dimenche, environ six heures apres disner, et n'y demoura que cinq jours, esquelx cinq jours y ot moult grant conseil et fut faicte procession generale,¹⁰³ et fut fait ung moult bel sermon a Notre-Dame de Paris. Et au Palays fut publiée la chartre ou lettrecomment les Arminalx traicterent jadis la paix en la main du legat du pappe,¹⁰⁴ et en oultre que tout estoit

¹⁰³ On the 15th July a general procession to the abbey of Saint-Magloire was organised to thank God for Philippe le Bon's arrival in Paris. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//113, p. 169.

¹⁰⁴ The Treaty of Pouilly-le-Fort was concluded between the Dauphin Charles and Jean sans Peur on 11th July 1419 as a precursor to their meeting at Montereau. As the text of the treaty stated, for the Dauphin: "Nous avons promis et juré en la main du reverend pere en Dieu, Alain, évesque de Léon en Bretagne... sur la vraie croix et sainte évangiles pour ce atouchées de noz mains, sur la foy et serement de nostre corps fait l'une a l'autre, par nostre part du paradis, en parole de prince et

pardonné d'un costé et d'autre, et comment ilz firent les grans sermens, c'est assavoir, le Dalphin et le duc de Bourgongne, et comment ilz receurent le precieux corps Notre Seigneur ensemble, et le nombre de chevaliers de nom d'un lez et d'autre en ladite lettre ou chartre mirent tous leurs signes et seaulx. Et apres comme le duc de Bourgongne voulant et desirant la paix dudit royaume, et voullant acomplir la promesse qu'il avoit faicte, se submist a aller en quelque lieu que le Dalphin et son conseil vouldroient ordonner. Si fut ordonné par ledit Dalphin ou ses complices la place, en laquelle place le duc de Bourgongne se comparu, lui dixiesme des plus privez chevalliers qu'il eust, lequel duc de Bourgongne lui estant a genoulx devant le Dalphin fut ainsi traiteusement murdry, comme chacun scet. Apres la conclusion de ladite lettre grant murmure commença, et telz avoit grant aliance aux Arminalx qu'ilz les prindrent en tres grant haine. Apres la murmure le regent de France et duc de Bedford fist faire silence, et le duc de Bourgongne se plaint de la paix ainsi enfreinte, et en apres de la mort de son pere, et adoncques on fist lever les mains au peuple, que tous seroient bons et loyaux au regent et au duc de Bourgongne,¹⁰⁵ et lesdits signeurs leur promistrent par leurs foys garder la bonne ville de Paris.

11. Criticism of Philippe le Bon, 1431

592. (30th January 1431). Item, passa septembre, octobre, novembre, decembre, janvier, jusques au penultime jour qui estoit la feste Sainte Bauldour,¹⁰⁶ que le duc de Bedford, lequel on disoit le regent de France, vint a tres belle compaignie,¹⁰⁷ car il amena avec lui bien

autrement en outre que faire se pourra et peut, les choses qui s'ensuivent." Monstrelet, Vol. 3, pp. 322-329.

¹⁰⁵ This implies the oath of fealty to the Treaty of Troyes sworn at the ceremony. It was also demanded from the clergymen attending a séance of the Paris Parlement on 26th August that included Jean Chuffart and the "curé de Saint-Innocent". The following day, Philippe de Ruilly, treasurer of the Sainte-Chapelle and Marc de Foras, a Parlement *greffier* and archdeacon of Thiérarche visited Paris' churches and recorded the oaths of the city's clergymen. Fauquembergue, Vol. 2, pp. 318-320.

¹⁰⁶ The feast of St. Bathild, 30th January.

¹⁰⁷ John, duke of Bedford, returned to Paris from Rouen on 30th January with much needed supplies for the capital. On 12th January, the chapter of Notre-Dame had organised a procession for the safekeeping of goods arriving via the Seine. Paris, Archives nationales, LL//113, p. 231. On 30th January the boats were waiting to enter the city between Paris and Saint-Denis. Fauquembergue, Vol. 3, pp. 2-3.

cinquante six bateaux et xij fonssez tous chargez de biens de quoy corps de homme doit vivre, et ne les volt oncques laisser qu'il ne les veist touzjours ou feist veoir tant qu'ilz fussent a Paris. Et disoit tout le peuple que passé a iiij^c ans ne vint si grant foison de biens pour une foy, et disoit on par maniere d'esbatement: "Le duc de Bedford a amené par le plus fort temps pour estre en riviere qu'on vit oncques gueres faire." Car le vent fut sans cesser bien trois sepmaines si tres cruel qu'on le vit oncques, et touzjours il plouvoit, et les eaues si tres parfaitement grandes, et les Arminax qui de toutes pars mectoient grans embusches pour le destruire et sa compaignie, mais oncques ne l'oserent assaillir, et si fu tesmoigné par les heraux qu'ilz estoient bien iiij contre ung, et disoit on pour ce que en ce fort temps et contremont l'eaue que le duc de Bourgogne en feroit venir aval eaue du pais d'amont deux¹⁰⁸ telz temps, car il est regent de France, et verra on bien comment il besongnera bien. Mais il sera avant apres Pasques, l'an mil CCCC xxxj, car a present il est trop embesongné pour sa femme¹⁰⁹ qui a geu nouvellement d'un beau filx qui fut christianné le jour Saint Anthoine en janvier, mais il fut né le jour du moys de¹¹⁰ Et on dit communement que la premiere année du mariaige on doit complaire a l'espousée, et que ce sont tretoutes nopces, et pour celle cause n'a peu assez vacquer devant Compigne tant qu'il eust prinse. Ainsi disoit on du duc de Bourgogne et pis assez, car ceulx de Paris especialment l'amoient tant comme on povait amer prince; et en verité il n'en tenoit compte s'ilz avoient faing ou soif car tout ce perdoit par sa negligence, aussi bien en son pays de Bourgogne comme entour Paris. Et pour ce disoient ilz ainsi comme gens moult troublez, pour ce que on ne gaignoit rien, car marchandise ne couroit point. Par ce mouroient les pouvres gens de fain et de pouvreté, dont ilz le maudioient souvent et menu, moult doloirement et a secret et en appert, comme desesperez et non creans, qu'il tiengne jamais nulle chose qu'il promecte.

¹⁰⁸ Read: 'dans'.

¹⁰⁹ Isabella of Portugal (22nd February 1397-17th December 1471) was the daughter of João I, king of Portugal (+1433) and was Philippe le Bon's third wife, after Michelle of Valois (+8th July 1422), Charles VI's daughter, and Bonne of Artois (+17th September 1425), daughter of Philippe, count of Eu. Isabella of Portugal married Philippe le Bon at Bruges on 10th January 1430, her arrival in the Low Countries having been delayed by a violent storm that transported her to England (and not to Aragon, as the Bourgeois stated). Isabella played politically important roles, managing the Burgundian lands in Philippe le Bon's absence and even negotiating on his behalf.

¹¹⁰ Gaps have been left in the Vatican and Aix manuscripts for these dates to be entered. The child, Antoine, was born on 30th December 1430 and died aged thirteen months. Upon the child's death, Monstrelet reported Philippe le Bon as crying: "Pleust a Dieu que je fusse mort aussi josne, je me tenroie bien heurés". Monstrelet, Vol. 4, 430.

12. Henry VI's Parisian Entry and Reaction to his Coronation, 1431

626. (1st December 1431). Item, le dimanche ensuivant, premier jour des advens, vint ledit roy a Paris par la porte Saint-Denis, laquelle porte devers les champs avoit les armes de la ville, c'est assavoir, ung escu si grant qu'il couvroit toute la maconnerie de la porte, et estoit a moitié de rouge et le dessus d'azur semé de fleurs de lis, et au travers de l'escu avoit une neuf d'argent, grande comme pour trois hommes.

627. (1st December 1431). Item, a l'entrée de la ville par dedens estoit le prevost des marchans et les eschevins, tous rouges et vestuz de vermeil, chacun ung chappel en sa teste. Et aussitost que le roy entra dedens la ville ilz lui mirent ung grant ciel d'azur sur la teste, semé de fleurs de lis d'or, et le porterent sur lui les iiij eschevins¹¹¹ tout en la fourme et maniere c'om fait a Notre Seigneur a la Feste-Dieu, et plus, car chacun crioit: "Nouel!" par ou il passoit.

628. (1st December 1431). Item, devant lui avoit les ix preux et les ix preues dames, et apres foison chevaliers et escuiers,¹¹² et entre les autres estoit Guillaume qui ce disoit le Berger, qui avoit monstré ses plaies comme Saint Francoys dont devant est parlé,¹¹³ mais il ne povait avoir joie, car il estoit fort lié de bonnes cordes comme ung larron.

¹¹¹ The four *échevins* serving in December 1431 were Marcelet Testart, butcher; Guillaume de Troyes, son of the royal surgeon and Cabochien leader Jean de Troyes; Robert Clément, a *changeur* with ties to the Low Countries; and Henri Aufroy, a *quartenier* in 1421-3. The *prévôt des marchands* at this time was Guillaume Sanguin, a *changeur* as well as *conseiller* and *échanson* of Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy. Sanguin, Troyes, Clément and Testart are all recorded as receiving new robes for the occasion of the royal entry along with Jean Falle, the municipal clerk, at the value of 60 *livres parisis* each. Paris, BNF Nouvelles acquisitions françaises, 3243, fol. 4r; Paris, Archives nationales, KK//1009, fols. 3-4.

¹¹² The nine worthies are listed in the account of Henry VI's coronation procession in London, London Metropolitan Archives, Letter Book K, fol. 101v. These were the Nine Male Worthies: "Hector de Troyes, le roy Alixandre, le vaillant Josué, le roy David, Julius Cesar, Judas Macabeus, le roy Charlemaigne, le roy Artus, Goddefray de Billon". They were accompanied by the Nine Female Worthies: "La royne Penchasillée, la preuse Deiphille, la royne Synoppe, la vieille Semiramis de Babiloine, la belle Menalippe, la sage Ypolite, la royne Lampheto, la vierge Thenca, la royne Chamaris".

¹¹³ No earlier passages referring either to St. Francis or Guillaume le Berger are present in surviving manuscript copies of the *Journal*.

630. (1st December 1431). Item, encore devant le roy y avoit xxv heraux et xxv trompectes, et en ce point vint a Paris; et regarda moult les serainnes du ponceau Saint-Denis, car la avoit trois serainnes moult bien ordonnées, et ou milieu avoit ung lis qui par ses fleurs et boutons gectoit vin et lait, et la buvoit qui vouloit ou qui povait; et dessus avoit ung petit bois ou il avoit hommes sauvages qui faisoient esbatemens en plusieurs manieres, et jouaient des escus moult joieusement que chacun veoit tres volentiers. Apres s'en vint devant la Trinité, ou il avoit sus eschaffaut le mistere depuis la Conception Notre Dame jusques que Joseph l'amena en Egipte pour le roy Herode qui fist decoller ou tuer vij^{xx} iiiij milliers d'enfans masles; tout cela estoit ou mistere, et duroient les chauffaux depuis ung pou par dela Saint-Sauveur¹¹⁴ jusques au bout de la rue Demetal¹¹⁵ ou il a une fontaine que on dit la fontaine de la royne.

631. (1st December 1431). Item, de la vint a la porte Saint-Denis ou on fist la decolacion du glorieux martir monseigneur Saint Denis, et a l'entrée de la porte les eschevins laisserent le ciel qu'ilz portoient et le prindrent les drappiers, et le porterent jusques aux Innocens, et la fut fait une chace d'un cerf tout vif, qui fut moult plaisant a veoir.

632. (1st December 1431). Item, la laisserent les drappiers le ciel et le prindrent les espiciers jusques devant le Chastellet, ou avoit moult bel mistere, car la avoit droit encontre le Chastellet a venir de front le lit de justice. La avoit ung enfant du grant du roy et de son aage, vestu en estat royal, housse vermeille et chapperon fourré, deux couronnes pendans, qui estoient tres riches a veoir a ung chacun, sur sa teste, a son costé dextre estoit tout le sanc de France, c'est assavoir, tous les grans seigneurs de France comme Anjou, Berry, Bourgongne etc., et ung pou loing de eulx estoient les clerks, et apres les bourgeois, et a senestre estoient tous les grans signeurs d'Angleterre qui tous faisoient maniere de donner conseil au jeune roy, bon et loyal, et chacun avoit vestu sa cote de ses armes, et estoient iceulx de bonnes gens qui ce faisoient.

633. (1st December 1431). Et la laisserent les espiciers le ciel, et le prindrent les changeurs, et le portent jusques au Palays royal, et la baisa les saintes reliques et puis se parti; et la

¹¹⁴ The Saint-Sauveur church, opposite La Trinité hospital on the corner where the rue Saint-Sauveur met the rue Saint-Denis.

¹¹⁵ The rue Darnetal, now the rue Greneta, on the south side of La Trinité hospital and cemetery that joined the rue Saint-Denis to the rue Saint-Martin.

prindrent le ciel les orfevres et le porterent parmy la rue de Kalende et parmy la Vieille Jurie¹¹⁶ jusques davant Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre,¹¹⁷ et n'ala point a Notre-Dame celle journée. Quant ce vint devant Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre les orfevres laisserent le ciel, et le prindrent les merciers qui le porterent jusques a l'ostel d'Anjou, et la le prindrent les peletiers qui l'aportèrent jusques devant Saint-Anthoine-le-Petit,¹¹⁸ et apres le prindrent les bouchers qui l'aportèrent jusques a l'ostel des Tournelles. Quant ilz furent devant l'ostel de Saint-Paul, la royne de France Ysabel, femme de feu le roy Charles vj^e de ce nom, estoit aux fenestres, avec elle dames et damoiselles; quant elle vit le jeune roy Henry, filx de sa fille, a l'endroit d'elle, il osta tantost son chapperon et la salua, et tantost elle s'enclina vers luy moult humblement, et se tourna d'autre part plorant. Et la prindrent les sergens d'armes le ciel, car c'est leur droit, et fut baillé au prieur de Sainte-Katherine dont ilz sont fondeurs.

635. (16th December 1431). Item, apres son sacre vint au Palais disner lui et sa compaignie,¹¹⁹ et digna en la grant salle a la grant table de marbre, et tout le remenant parmy la salle ca et la, car il n'y avoit nulle ordonnance, car le commun de Paris y estoit entré des le matin, les ungs pour veoir, les autres pour pour gourmander, les autres pour piller ou pour desrober viandes ou autre chose; car icellui jour a icelle assemblée furent emblez en la presse plus de xl chapperons, et coppés¹²⁰ mordans de saintures grant nombre, car si grant presse y ot pour le sacre du roy que l'Université, ne le Parlement, ne le prevost des marchans, ne eschevins n'osoient entreprendre de monter amont pour le peuple, dont il y avoit tres grant nombre. Et vray est que ilz cuiderent monter devant ij ou iij foys amont, mais le commun les reboutoit arriere si fierement que par plusieurs foys leur convenoit trebucher l'un sur l'autre, voire iiij^{xx} ou C a une foys; et la besongnoient les larrons. Quant tout fut escoulé le commun, ilz monterent apres, et quant ilz furent en la salle tout estoit si plain que a peine trouverent ilz

¹¹⁶ The rue de la Juiverie was located on the Ile-de-la-Cité, continuing the rue du Marché-Palu and ending at the rue de la Lanterne near Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre.

¹¹⁷ Saint-Denis-de-la-Chartre was one of the fourteen parish churches of the Ile-de-la-Cité.

¹¹⁸ The Petit Saint-Antoine chapel was originally a foundation of the Hospital Brothers of St. Anthony for victims of ergotism, whose foundation in Paris was permitted by Charles V in 1361. It was situated along the rue Saint-Antoine, west of the Hôtel des Tournelles.

¹¹⁹ For the banquet Henry VI sat at the marble table in the Palais. On a separate table sat his uncle Henry Beaufort, cardinal of Winchester, Pierre Cauchon, bishop of Beauvais and Jean de Mailly, bishop of Noyon "comme pers de France". On the other side of the hall were Humphrey Stafford, sixth earl of Stafford, Thomas Langholme, count of Mortain and Thomas Montagu, earl of Salisbury. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, pp. 5-6.

¹²⁰ Méjanes: "chapperons et cappes", p. 573.

ou ilz se peussent asseoir. Neantmoins s'assirent ilz aux tables qui pour eulx ordonnées estoient, mais ce fu avec savetiers, moustardiers, lieux ou vendeurs de vin de buffet, aidez a macons, que on cuida faire lever, mais quant on en faisoit lever ung ou deux il s'en asseoit vij ou viij d'autre costé.

636. (16th December 1431). Item, ilz furent si mal servis que personne nulle ne s'en louait, car le plus de la viande, especialment pour le commun, estoit cuide des le jeudi de devant, qui moult sembloit estrange chose aux Francoys, car les Anglois estoient cheffz de la besongne et ne leur challoit quelle honneur il y eust, mais qu'ilz en fussent delivrez. Et vraiment oncques personne ne s'en loua, mesmement les malades de l'Ostel-Dieu disoient que oncques si pouvre ne si nu relief de tout bien ilz ne virent a Paris.¹²¹

638. (17th December 1431). Item, vray est que ledit roy ne fut a Paris que jusques a lendemain de Noel. Ilz firent unes petites joustes lendemain de son sacre;¹²² mais, pour certain, maintes foys on a veu a Paris enfans de bourgoys, que quant ilz se marioient, tous mestiers comme orfebvres, orbateurs, brief gens de tous joieux mestiers en admendoient plus que ilz n'ont fait du sacre du roy et de ses joustes et de tous ses Angloys, mais espoir c'est pour ce que on ne les entend point parler, et que ilz ne nous entendent point; je m'en rapporte a ce qui en est, car pour ce qu'il faisoit trop grant froit en celui temps et que les jours estoient cours, ilz firent ainsi pou de largesse.

639. (26th December 1431). Item, vray est que lendemain de Noel, jour Saint Estienne, ledit roy se departy de Paris sans faire aucuns biens a quoy on s'atendoit, comme delivrer prisonniers,¹²³ de faire cheoir malles toutes, comme impositions, gabelles, iiiij^{es} et telles

¹²¹ The Hôtel-Dieu was the oldest hospital in Paris, first attested to in the ninth century and certainly in place as an institution by the early thirteenth century. It was adjacent to the cathedral of Notre-Dame on the Ile-de-la-Cité and managed by the cathedral chapter. In 1431, the *mâitre* of the Hôtel-Dieu was Jean de Domilliers, who occupied the post from 1427 to 1442, the prioress was Jeanne la Page, appointed on 22nd June 1422 and mentioned for the last time in the archives in 1436. Across its five halls, the Hôtel-Dieu housed 303 beds and could house up to 1,500 people in an epidemic. Two hundred members were sent by the master to attend Charles VII's funeral procession in 1461. Ernest Coyecque, *L'Hôtel-Dieu de Paris au Moyen Âge. Histoire et documents*, Vol. 1, (Paris: Champion, 1891).

¹²² The Bourgeois' account of the tournament is substantially different to Monstrelet's, who wrote that "Lendemain furent faites belles joustes en l'ostel de Saint-Pol, desquelles emporterent le cry et eurent la voix des dames, le conte d'Arondel et messire Jehan, bastard de Saint-Pol, comme les mieulx joustans". Monstrelet, Vol. 5, 6.

¹²³ This is not strictly true, as several pardons appear in the Chancery records "pour mémoire de noz sacre et couronnement par nous prins nouvellement en notredite ville de Paris apres notre nouvelle

mauvaises coustumes qui sont contre loy et droit, mais oncques personnes, ne a secret ne en appert, on n'en ouy louer. Et si ne fist on oncques a Paris autant de honneur a roy comme on lui fist a sa venue et a son sacre, voire veu le pou de peuple, les males gaignes, le cueur d'yver, la grant charté de vivres, especialment de boys; car ung meschant fagot tout vert valloit touzjours iiij deniers ou vj tournois. Et vray est qu'il faisait si fort yver qu'il n'estoit sepmaine qu'il ne gelast tres fort deux ou trois jours, ou il negoit jour et nuyt, et avecques touzjours ou il plouvoit, et si commença des la Toussains.

13. Paris' Reconquest by the Valois, 1436

737. (13th April 1436). Tantost apres vindrent parmy Paris le connestable¹²⁴ devantdit et les autres signeurs,¹²⁵ aussi doucement comme se toute leur vie ne se feussent point meuz hors de Parys, qui estoit ung bien grant miracle, car deux heures devant qu'ilz entrassent, leur intencion estoit et a ceulx de leur compaignie de piller Paris, et de mectre tous ceulx qui les contrediroient a mort. Et par le recort d'eulx, bien cent charrectiers et plus qui venoient

venue en icelé". Among those pardoned was Jeanne Coton, the widow of Jean Castel (†1425), Christine de Pizan's son, who in 1418 had fled Paris with Coton and now wished to return to her family. Paris, Archives nationales, JJ//175, No. 26 (27th December 1431), p. 27. Cf. Karen Green, "Was Christine de Pizan at Poissy, 1418-1429?", *Medium Aevum*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (2014), 100; Marie-Jospeh Pinet, *Christine de Pisan, 1364-1430. Étude biographique et littéraire*, (Paris: Champion, 1927), 192. Letters were also issued confirming the privileges of the city and the University of Paris dated 26th December 1431. JJ//175, Nos. 19 & 20, p. 29.

¹²⁴ Arthur de Richemont (24th August 1393-26th December 1458) was the second son of John (Yann) IV, duke of Brittany and brother to John (Yann) V. He was perceived to play an important role in securing the fluctuating allegiance of the duchy for both England and France. Captured at Agincourt, he was released and present at the Parisian entry of the kings of England and France in December 1420. In 1423, shortly after the Council of Amiens had concluded a tripartite alliance between the dukes of Brittany, Bedford and Burgundy, Arthur married Jean sans Peur's eldest daughter and the widow of the Dauphin Louis, duke of Guyenne, Marguerite of Burgundy. Despite these ties to the Burgundian duchy, Arthur was appointed Charles VII's constable in 1425, joining Jeanne d'Arc's forces at Beaugency in June 1429. After the death of his nephews, Arthur de Richemont became duke of Brittany in 1457, reigning for thirteen months. E. Cosneau, *Le connétable de Richemont (Arthur de Bretagne) (1393-1458)*, (Paris: Hachette, 1886).

¹²⁵ The other lords present at Paris' reconquest were Jean d'Orléans, count of Dunois, Philippe, *seigneur* de Ternant, Jean de Villiers, *seigneur* de l'Isle-Adam and Simon de Lalaing.

apres l'ost admenerent blez et autres vitailles, disant: "On pillera Paris, et quant nous aurons vendu notre vitaille a ses villains de Paris, nous chargerons noz charrectes du pillage de Paris et remporterons or et argent et mesnaige, dont nous serons tous riches toutes noz vies." Mais les gens de Paris, aucuns bons chrestiens et chrestiennes, se mirent dedens les eglises et appelloient la glorieuse Vierge Marie et monseigneur Saint Denis, qui apporta la foy en France, qu'ilz voulsissent deprier a Notre Seigneur qu'il otast toute la fureur des princes devant nommez et de leur compaignie. Et vraiment, bien fut apparant que monseigneur Saint Denis avoit esté advocat de la cité par devers la glorieuse Vierge Marie, et la glorieuse Vierge Marie par devers Notre Seigneur Jhesu Crist, car quant ilz furent entrez dedens, et qu'ilz virent que on avoit rompue a force la porte Saint-Jacque pour leur donner entrée, ilz furent si meuz de pitié et de joye qu'ilz ne se porent oncques tenir de larmoier. Et disoit le connestable aussitost qu'il se vit dedens la ville aux bons habitans de Paris: "Mes bons amys, le bon roy Charles vous remercie C. M. fois, et moy de par luy, de ce que si doucement vous lui avez rendue sa mestresse cité de son royaume. Et s'aucun de quelque estat qu'il soit a mesprins par devers monseigneur le roy, soit absent ou autrement, il lui est tout pardonné."¹²⁶ Et tantost sans descendre fist crier a son de trompe que nul ne fust si hardi sur peine d'estre pandu par la gorge de soy loger en hostel de bourgeois, ne de mesnaiger, oultre sa volenté, ne de reprocher ne de faire quelque desplaisir ou piller personne de quelque estat, non s'il n'estoit natif d'Angleterre et souldoier, dont le peuple de Paris les print en si grant amour que avant qu'il fust lendemain n'y avoit celui qui n'eust mis son corps et sa chevance pour destruire les Anglois. Apres ce cry furent cerchées les hostelleres pour trouver les Anglois, et tous ceulx qui furent trouvez furent mis a rancon et pillez, et plusieurs mesnaigers et bourgeois qui s'enfouirent avec le chancelier dedens la porte Saint-Anthoine; ceulx la furent pillez, mais oncques personne de quelque estat qu'il fust, ne de quelque langue, ne tant eust mal fait contre le roy, n'en fut tué.

¹²⁶ The letters of amnesty accorded to the inhabitants of Paris by Charles VII were published at Notre-Dame and in the Hôtel de Ville on 14th April. Fauquembergue, Vol. 3, 195. The text of the amnesty granted by Charles VII can be found in Michel Félibien, *Histoire de la ville de Paris*, Vol. 3 (Paris: Desprez & Desessartz, 1725), 558. Cf. Alexandre Tuetey (ed.), *Inventaire analytique des livres de couleur et bannières du Châtelet de Paris*, (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1899), No. 536, 32.

741. (20th April 1436). Item, le vendredi ensuivant,¹²⁷ pour la grace que Dieu avoit faicte a la ville de Paris, fut faicte la plus solempnelle procession qui fust faicte passé avoit C ans, car toute l'Université petis et grans furent a Sainte-Katherine-du-Val des-Ecolliers,¹²⁸ chacun ung cierge ardant en sa main, et estoient plus de iiij mil, sans autres personnes, que prebstres ou escolliers. Et pour certain oncques on ne vit cierge qui destaingnist depuis les lieux dont ilz partirent jusques a ladite eglise, que on tenoit a droit miracle, car il faisoit ung temps plueus et venteux. Et celles choses doivent bien donner a tout bon chrestien voulenté et devocion de remercier notre Creatour, et especialment de l'antrée qui fut si benignement et si doucement faicte, comme vous avez ouy devant; et en deveroit on faire tous les ans louange a Notre Seigneur, car comme ce fut droicte prophecie, l'offertoire de la sainte messe de celui jour en parle assez de ce faire, car il dit: *Erit vobis hic dies memorialis et diem festum celebrabitis solempnem domino in progenies vestras legitimum sempiternum diem alleluia* iij fois.¹²⁹

742. (22nd April 1436). Item, le dimenche ensuivant¹³⁰ fut faicte procession generale¹³¹ tres sollempnément, et ce jour plut tant fort que la pluie ne cessa tant que la procession dura,

¹²⁷ 20th April 1436.

¹²⁸ The convent of Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers was located on Paris' right bank, close to the Tournelles. Its members were derived from the priory of the Val des Ecoliers, University masters who had sought solitude to pursue their reflections in 1201. Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers consequently had close ties to the University of Paris and was a regular destination for University processions. Jean Maupoint, the author of another Parisian journal, was elected prior of the convent in May 1438.

¹²⁹ This was the offertory prayer for Good Friday. The source is Exodus, 12:14, "habebitis autem hanc diem in monumentum, et celebrabitis eam sollempnem Domino in generationibus vestris cultu sempiterno." Processions were held annually to mark the city's reconquest, as demonstrated by the Parlement *greffier's* record of a procession taking place on Friday 10th April 1439 "que l'en fait chacun an a avril pour rendre graces a Dieu de la reduction d'icelle ville au roy nostre sire", Paris, Archives nationales, U//314, fol. 311r. Similarly, the fragmentary accounts for the Hôtel de Ville for the year 1440 reveal payments (amounting to seventy-three *sols parisis*) for chaplains, an organ-player, the choirmaster and the churchwardens of Notre-Dame for the performance "d'une messe a note chantée en ladite eglise par l'ordonnance du conseil du roy et de ladite ville le premier vendredi d'apres Paques pour rendre grace et remercier notre seigneur J. Ch. et sa benoiste mere de la grace qu'ils firent aux habitans de ladite ville pour que a telle journée icelle ville se reduisit et mit en l'obeissance du roy en repulsant ses ennemis", Paris, BNF, Nouvelles acquisitions françaises 3243, fol. 6r.

¹³⁰ 22nd April 1436.

¹³¹ The general procession on 22nd April involving the reliquary of St. Geneviève was organised by the Notre-Dame chapter following a decision made during a meeting of the canons on 18th April, "to give thanks to God for the joyful entry of the constable Richemont and other lords of France in the name of the king and the duke of Burgundy". Paris, Archives nationales, LL//114, p. 207.

qui dura bien iiij heures, que aller, que venir. Et furent les signeurs de Sainte-Geneveve¹³² moult agrevez de la pluie, car ilz estoient tous nudz piez, mais especialment ceulx qui portoient le precieux corps de madame Sainte Genevieve et Saint Marcel¹³³ orent moult de paine, car a grant peine se soustenoient sur les carreaux.¹³⁴ Et vrayment ilz estoient si trempez de la pluye, comme s'ilz eussent esté gectez dedans Sainne, et pour certain ilz suoient si fort qu'ilz desgoutoient tous par le visaige de sueur, tant estoient vains et travaillez, et pour certains oncques nulz de tous ceulx n'en fut oncques maumis, ne mallade, ne decouragé, qui me semble droit miracle de madame Sainte Genevieve, qui peut bien faire par ses merites par devers Notre Seigneur et plus que tant, comme il appert, par devers Notre Seigneur en sa sainte legende, comment par plusieurs foys elle a sauvé la bonne ville de Paris;¹³⁵ l'une foys de cher temps, l'autre foys des grans eaues, et de plusieurs autres perilz.

14. Charles VII's Parisian Entry, 1437

772. (12th November 1437). Car quant il vint a Paris, lequel y vint lendemain de la feste Saint Martin d'yver,¹³⁶ l'an mil iiij^c xxxvij, dont on fist aussi grant feste comme on pouroit faire a Dieu, car a l'entrée de la bastide Saint-Denis par ou il entra, tout armé au cler, et le dalphin, jeune d'environ dix ans,¹³⁷ tout armé comme son pere le roy; et a l'entrée les bourgoys luy

¹³² The abbey of Sainte-Geneviève on Paris' left bank was originally founded in 502 by Clovis I. When St. Geneviève, famed for encouraging the Parisians to withstand the threat of the Huns in 452, herself died in c. 502, she was buried in the abbey. The abbey was then destroyed in the ninth century and rebuilt in the twelfth, with ties to the Cluniac order.

¹³³ St. Marcel was one of Paris' patron saints, as a fourth-century bishop of the city. At the end of the tenth century a church located in the Parisian suburb of Saint-Marcel was built upon his alleged burial place, becoming a collegiate church by 1158.

¹³⁴ The reliquary of St. Marcel was integral to processions involving St. Geneviève, with the latter not leaving the abbey without first being joined by St. Marcel. Steven Kaplan, "Religion, Subsistence and Social Control: The Uses of Sainte Geneviève", *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 13, No. 2 (Winter 1979-80), 152.

¹³⁵ Geneviève's life was recorded by Jacobus de Voragine in the *Golden Legend*, while the *Vita sanctae Genovefa* was allegedly compiled in the sixth century, shortly after the saint's death.

¹³⁶ 12th November.

¹³⁷ Louis XI (†1483) was born on 3rd July 1423, meaning that he was fourteen when he entered Paris in 1437.

mirent ung ciel¹³⁸ sur sa teste comme on a a la Saint Sauveur a porter Notre Seigneur, et ainsi le porterent jusques a la porte aux Paintres dedens la ville.¹³⁹ Et entre ladicte porte et la Bastide avoit plusieurs beaux misteres, comme a la porte des Champs avoit angles chantans, a la fontaine du ponceau Saint-Denis moult de belles choses qui moult longues seroient a raconter, devant la Trinité la maniere de la Passion, comme on fist pour le petit roy Henry quant il fut sacré a Paris, comme davant est dit.

773. (12th November 1437). Item, a la porte aux Paintres aussi, et devant Chastellet, et devant le Pallays, sinon que depuis ladicte porte aux Paintres tout fut tandu a ciel jusques a Notre-Dame de Paris, cenon le grant pont. Et quant il fut devant l'Ostel-Dieu ou environ, on ferma les portes de ladicte eglise de Notre-Dame et vint l'evesque de Paris, lequel apporta ung livre sur lequel le roy jura comme roy qu'il tendroit loyalment et bonnement tout ce que bon roy faire devoit. Apres furent les portes ouvertes et entra dedens l'eglise, et se vint loger au Palays pour celle nuyt, et fist on moult grant joie celle nuyt, comme de bassiner, de faire feus en my les rues, dancier, menger et boyre, et de sonner pluseurs instrumens. Ainsi vint le roy a Paris, comme devant est dit.

774. (25th November 1437). Item, le jour Sainte Katherine¹⁴⁰ ensuivant, fut fait ung moult solempnel service a Saint-Martin-des-Champs pour feu le conte d'Arminac qui fut tué, comme devant est dit, environ dix neuf ans devant dedens le Pallays, et y ot bien ce jour xvij^c cierges alumez, et de torches a la value, et tous prebstres qui voldrent dire messe furent paieez; mais on n'y fist point de donnée, dont on s'esbahyt moult, car telz iiij^m personnes y allerent qui n'y fussent ja entrez s'ilz n'eussent cuidé que on y eust fait donnée, et les maudirent qui avant prièrent pour luy. Et tout ce service fist faire le conte de Pardriel ou de la Marche,¹⁴¹ le mainsné filx du conte d'Arminac devant dit, et y fut le roy et chevaliers d'Anjou, et tous ceulx de Notre-Dame et des collieges de Paris, tous revestuz.

¹³⁸ As in 1431, the canopy was first carried by the city's *échevins* and returned by municipal sergeants to Sainte-Catherine-du-Val-des-Écoliers at the entry's conclusion. *Journal de Jean Maupoint*, 24.

¹³⁹ The porte aux Peintres was the vestige of the early thirteenth-century porte Saint-Denis constructed as part of Philippe Auguste's wall. Becoming useless with the construction of Charles V's wall in the fourteenth century, the gate was demolished in 1535.

¹⁴⁰ 25th November.

¹⁴¹ Bernard VIII d'Armagnac (26th March 1400-4th May 1462), count of Pardiac and of La Marche, viscount of Carlat and Murat, was the younger son of Bernard, count of Armagnac, murdered at Paris in 1418. In 1422 Bernard VIII was named lieutenant and general captain of the *bailliage* of Mâcon and

15. Rumours Concerning Arthur de Richemont, 1438

791. (24th June 1438). Item, la fille du roy nommée Marie,¹⁴² qui estoit religieuse a Poissy,¹⁴³ alumna le feu d'un costé, et le connestable de l'autre, lequel on disoit estre plus favorable aux Anglois que au roy, ne aux Francoys, et disoient les Anglois qu'ilz n'avoient point peur de guerre ne de perdre tant comme il seroit connestable de France; qu'il en estoit je n'en scay rien, mais Dieu le scait bien. Et pour vray il se monstroit tres mauvais ou tres couart en toutes ses besongnes, car il alla la sepmaine d'apres la S. Jehan devant Pontoise,¹⁴⁴ et tantot les menuz gens qui avec luy estoient gaignerent l'une des plus fortes tourres qui fust en la ville, et quant il vit que l'on besongnoit si asprement, il fist tout laisser et s'en refouy a Paris, et dit qu'il ne vouloit pas faire tuer, ne les bonnes gens. Et pour certain le peuple qui avec luy estoit juroit que s'il ne les eust point laissez, que a tres pou de temps ilz eussent gaigné la ville et chastel.

16. Reactions to Taxation and Criticism of the French Aristocracy, 1440-3

the seneschalty of Lyon. He fought at the Battle of Patay in 1429, was appointed lieutenant general of the county of La Marche in 1435 as a result of his marriage to Eleonor de Bourbon, the daughter and only child of Jean de Bourbon, count of La Marche and of Castres and king-consort of Naples from 1415. In 1441 Bernard VIII was named governor of the Limousin and, in 1461, general lieutenant of Languedoc and Roussillon. Through his marriage, Bernard VIII also acquired the title of duke of Nemours.

¹⁴² Marie de Valois (1393-1438) was the sixth child of Charles VI and Isabeau de Bavière and entered the Dominican priory of Poissy at the age of four, where the prioress was Marie de Bourbon, sister of Jeanne de Bourbon, Charles V's wife. Christine de Pizan described visiting Poissy and meeting Marie de Valois in her 1400 poem, *Le dit de Poissy*, relating "C'est madame Marie, jeune et tendre". Paul Pougin (ed.), "*Le dit de Poissy* de Christine de Pisan. Description du prieuré de Poissy en 1400", *BEC*, Vol. 18 (1857), 539. By the time of the Bourgeois' writing, Marie had become prioress and, as the *Journal* later reveals, she died of the plague in 1438.

¹⁴³ The priory of Poissy was located 25 kilometres west of Paris. Founded by Philippe IV in honour of his grandfather St. Louis, the priory was located in the saint's birthplace. It was one of the wealthiest in France, with as many as two hundred nuns. Historians have traditionally believed that Christine de Pizan, having fled Paris, spent her last years at the priory. See Karen Green, "Was Christine de Pizan at Poissy, 1418-1429?", *Medium Aevum*, Vol. 83, No. 1 (2014), pp. 93-103.

¹⁴⁴ Pontoise had been recovered by the English on 12th February 1437.

844. (October 1440). Item, en cellui moys, fut faicte une grosse taille¹⁴⁵ pour aller rescourre Harefleu¹⁴⁶ que les Anglois avoient assegé, et fut cuillie, et puis n'en firent autre chose Francoys; et ceulx de Harefleu par force de famine ce randirent aux Anglois,¹⁴⁷ et si estoient bien les Francoys vingt mil, comme on disoit, ou plus, et les Angloys n'estoient pas plus de viij^M qui touzjours gaignoient pais. Et vrayement il sembloit que les signeurs de France fouissent tousjours devant eulx, especialment le roy qui avoit avec lui tant de larrons; car les roys estrangers disoient aux marchans du pais de France, quant ilz alloient en leur pais, que le roy de France estoit le droit ourme aux larrons de chrestienté.¹⁴⁸ Et pour certain ilz ne mentoient mie, car tant en y avoit en l'Isle-de-France qu'elle estoit toute peuplée de gens pires que ne furent oncques Sarazins, comme il apparoit par les grans enormes pechez et tyrannie qu'ilz faisoient au povre peuple de tout le pays ou le roy les menoit, comme des enffans nouveaulx, mais la plus grant tyrannie que on eust oncques bien veue, car ilz les ostoient aussitost qu'ilz estoient nez de leur mere, et les eussent plustost laissez mourir sans baptesme que jamais pere ne mere les eussent euz sans grant rancon.

884. (13th October 1443). Item, en la fin d'aoust vint le Dalphin a Paris et y fut environ iij jours, et apres alla a Meaulx, et la fut aucuns jours que oncques n'alla a l'eglise, que tous les jours aller chacer et faire telles vanités ou pis, et avec lui avoit quelque mil larrons qui toute

¹⁴⁵ The aid levied in Paris for the delivery of Harfleur was immediately used for other means. From 4th October 1440, the Paris Parlement seized the occasion to secure its remuneration, forbidding Adam Houdon, the tax's receiver, "de vuider ses mains des deniers de se recepte, tellement que la court ne soit païée de mil frans, dont elle a esté assigné sur ledit aide, sur peine de le recovrer sur lui". Paris, Archives nationales X^{1a}, 1482, fol. 151v.

¹⁴⁶ Harfleur had been captured by the French in 1436, significantly disrupting English communications along the Seine and forcing the English to use the port of Honfleur. John Holland, duke of Exeter would command the siege with an army of five hundred men-at-arms and 1,500 archers, while John Beaufort, duke of Somerset would field a force of a hundred men-at-arms and three hundred archers to defend the siege against relief forces, increased to 400 lances and 1,200 archers upon news of French forces mustering at Argentan. Michael K. Jones, "The Beaufort Family and the War in France, 1421-1450", PhD thesis, University of Bristol, 1982, pp. 138-146.

¹⁴⁷ Harfleur surrendered on or before 28th October 1440, having been besieged since August. The French did in fact assault the English siege lines on 14th October but failed to break the defences organised by Sir John Talbot. Monstrelet, Vol. 5, pp. 422-3.

¹⁴⁸ By the fifteenth century, the practice of exercising justice under an elm tree was archaic, but the metaphor here suggested that the presence of brigands in France was indicative of the absence of justice altogether. Jacques Brosse, *Dictionnaire des arbres de France. Histoire et légendes*, (Paris: Bartillat, 2002), pp. 133-6.

destruisirent l'Isle-de-France... Et toute ceste doloireuse tempeste que ainsi se souffroit de *par le*¹⁴⁹ Dalphin et des gouverneurs faulx et traistres au roy, ne ce faisoit que pour ce que le povre peuple ne povait pas paier les grans tailles¹⁵⁰ et autres subsides a quoy on le mectoit de jour en jour, et faisoient entendant que on faisoit ces aides pour aller devant Le Mans, les autres disoient devant Rouen, les autres disoient devant Mante. Et faisoient ainsi entendant les faulx gouverneurs au peuple, et tant tindrent ces faulces parolles que le peuple estoit tout apaisié de leurs domaiges, pour esperance qu'on avoit qu'ilz feissent aucune chose de bien, mais leur esperance fut toute vaine, car ilz tindrent tant le povre peuple en celle esperance que l'yver commença; lors fut dit par les faulx gouverneurs que on ne pourroit tenir siege jusques au temps nouvel, et que le roy avoit moult a faire ou il estoit tres grant besoing, et que son filx allast par devers luy et sa compaignie hastivement. Ainsi se party le Dalphin le xiiij^e jour d'octobre, l'an mil iiiij^c xliij, quant il ot sa part de la taille, sans faire aucun bien que *gaster*¹⁵¹ tout le pais et destruire.

17. Agnès Sorel Visits Paris, 1448

938. (April 1448). Item, la darraine sepmaine d'avril, vint a Paris une damoiselle, laquelle on disoit estre amie publiquement au roy de France, sans foy et sans loy et sans verité a la bonne royne qu'il avoit espousée, et bien y apparroit qu'elle menoit aussi grant estat comme une contesse ou duchesse, et alloit et venoyt bien souvent avecques la bonne royne de France, sans ce qu'elle eust point honte de son peché, dont la royne avoit moult de douleur a son cueur, mais a souffrir luy convenoit pour lors. Et le roy pour plus monstrier et

¹⁴⁹ These words have been erased in the Vatican manuscript. In italics are the words that have been substituted for the erasure in Méjanès, p. 340. The erasure suggests, however, that this may have featured a pejorative adjective condemning the Dauphin Louis.

¹⁵⁰ Taxation had become regularised since Paris' reconquest in 1436, with increasing demands placed upon the Parisian population. Following levies for the sieges of Pontoise and Harfleur, in June 1442 a new aid was ordered by Charles VII for which Henry des Danés was the administrator, with the funds collected according to *quartiers* and *cinquanteniers*. Paris, Archives nationales, Z^{1a} 13, fol. 130v.

¹⁵¹ This word has been erased in the Vatican manuscript. Méjanès skipped the omitted text, and reads "quant il ot sa part de la taille sans faire aucun bien que tout le pais destruire", p. 341. The missing word must have been a negative verb, and the Bourgeois frequently employed 'gaster' – to lay waste to – when describing the soldiery's impact in France.

magnifester son grant pechié et sa grant honte, et d'elle aussi, luy donna le chastel de Beauté,¹⁵² le plus bel chastel et jolis et le mieulx assis qui fust en toute l'Isle-de-France. Et ce nommoit et faisoit nommer "la belle Agnes",¹⁵³ et pour ce que le peuple de Paris ne lui fist une telle reverence comme son grant orgueil demandoit, que elle ne pot celler, elle dist au departir que ce n'estoient que villains et que ce elle eust cuidé que on ne luy eust fait plus grant honneur que on ne lui fist, elle n'y eust ja entré, ne mis le pié, qui eust esté domaige, mais il eust esté petit. Ainsi s'en alla la belle Agnes le dixiesme jour de may ensuivant a son peché comme devant. Helas! Quelle pitié quant le chef du royaulme donne si malle exemple a son peuple, car s'ilz font ainsi ou pis, il n'en oseroit parler, car on dit en ung proverbe: "Selon signeur, mesnie duyte", comme nous avons d'une dame, royne de Babiloine, nommée Semiramis,¹⁵⁴ qui fut une des neuf preuses, qui fist de son propre filx son amy ou

¹⁵² The castle of Beauté was a royal residence built by Charles V in 1373 on the border of the Bois de Vincennes, near Nogent-sur-Marne, ten kilometres east of Paris. The castle returned to the royal domain after Agnès Sorel's death, being occupied by Charles, duke of Berry during the siege of Paris in the *Guerre du bien public* in 1465. "Inventaire de ce qui se trouvait dans le château de Vincennes et dans celui de Beauté en 1420", *Revue archéologique*, Vol. 11 (September 1854), pp. 449-463; Alfred Coville, "La relation de la mort de Charles V", *Journal des savants*, 1933, pp. 209-222; Georges Minois, *La guerre de Cent ans*, (Paris: Perrin 2016).

¹⁵³ Agnès Sorel (c. 1422-1450) became Charles VII's mistress in 1443 with whom she had three children who were subsequently legitimated. Charles VII gave her several fiefdoms, including those of Beauté, Vernon, Issoudun and Loches. She was accorded an official title as the royal mistress and, the subject of rumour and jealousy at court, died prematurely in February 1450, resulting in the arrest and trial of the wealthy merchant Jacques Coeur, one of her main suppliers and executor of her will, in 1451, accused of her murder as well as a series of other amoral crimes. The exhumation and examination of her remains in 2005 revealed high levels of mercury found in the remains, suggestive of ingestion 48 to 72 hours prior to death. An overdose of mercury could have been accidental, voluntary or deliberately administered by the royal physician, Robert Poitevin. Philippe Charlier, "Qui a tué la dame de Beauté? Étude scientifique des restes d'Agnès Sorel (1422-1450)", *Histoire des sciences médicales*, Vol. 40, No. 3 (2006), pp. 255-263.

¹⁵⁴ The Babylonian queen Semiramis was well-known in the Middle Ages. Following Isidore of Seville, Vincent of Beauvais' thirteenth-century *Speculum historiale* portrayed Semiramis as violent, hot-blooded and cruel. In the fourteenth century, Boccaccio followed Dante's condemnation of Semiramis in *De Mulieribus Claris* (1362) while, in her *Livre de la cité des dames* (1405), Christine de Pizan responded with an attempt to validate Semiramis' supremacy in arms and valour. Acknowledging Semiramis' failings, Christine argued that because she had lived before the age of Christian law, she could be excused for not knowing better regarding the morality of her behaviour. From the fourteenth century, Semiramis was also presented among the female Nine Worthies. Brenda Deen Schildgen, *Dante and the Orient*, (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002), pp. 94-5; Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, trans. I.W. Raymond, 49-50.

Appendix III. Timeline of Key Events

Date	Event
26 th September 1405	In the context of growing tensions between the dukes of Burgundy and Orléans, Jean sans Peur asks the Parisians to arm themselves to defend the city.
23 rd September 1408	Burgundian victory at the Battle of Othée.
17 th March 1409	Charles VI returns to Paris with Jean sans Peur after the Paix de Chartres.
17 th October 1409	Execution of Jean de Montaigu, <i>grand maître</i> of the royal hôtel under Jean sans Peur's orders.
August 1410	Orléanist forces pillage the region surrounding Paris.
August (?) 1410	Étienne de Mesnil, minister of the Mathurins, delivers a sermon in Charles VI's presence, condemning Jean, duke of Berry.
2 nd November 1410	The Paix de Bicêtre is concluded, momentarily ending hostilities.
August 1411	The Armagnacs assault Paris again.
23 rd October 1411	Jean sans Peur returns to Paris with a contingent of English archers.
8 th -10 th November 1411	The Burgundians recapture Saint-Denis and Saint-Cloud.
10 th November 1411	The Armagnac leaders are excommunicated at a ceremony performed at Notre-Dame.
12 th November 1411	Colinet de Puisseux is executed for betraying Saint-Cloud.
6 th May 1412	Charles VI and Jean sans Peur leave Paris to besiege Bourges.
30 th May-20 th June 1412	Consecutive processions held in Paris to support the siege of Bourges.
22 nd August 1412	Paix de Pontoise ends hostilities.
23 rd October 1412	Charles VI returns to Paris.

27 th April 1413	Outbreak of the Cabochien revolt.
1 st July 1413	The former <i>prévôt</i> Pierre des Essarts is executed by the Cabochien leaders.
4 th August 1413	The Armagnacs retake control of Paris, with order restored by the Dauphin Louis de Guyenne. The Cabochien leaders make a last stand at the Hôtel de Ville before fleeing.
21 st May 1414	The Armagnacs capture Soissons and pillage the city.
13 th October 1414	Charles VI returns to Paris.
25 th October 1415	English victory at the Battle of Agincourt.
22 nd December 1415	Funeral for the Dauphin Louis at Notre-Dame.
18 th -24 th April 1416	Discovery of a Burgundian plot to betray Paris. Sentencing of the canon Nicolas d'Orgemont, execution of the conspirators.
15 th May 1416	Destruction of the Grande Boucherie.
August 1417	Jean sans Peur advances on Paris.
29 th May 1418	Paris is betrayed to the Burgundians.
12 th June 1418	The first Parisian massacres. Bernard, count of Armagnac is murdered.
14 th July 1418	Jean sans Peur and Isabeau de Bavière enter Paris.
21 st August 1418	Second series of Parisian massacres.
16 th September 1418	Treaty of Saint-Maur between the Armagnacs and Burgundians.
19 th January 1419	The English capture Rouen.
11 th July 1419	Peace of Pouilly-le-Fort between the Dauphin Charles and Jean sans Peur.
30 th July 1419	The English capture Pontoise.
10 th September 1419	Jean sans Peur murdered at Montereau-fault-Yonne.
21 st May 1420	Treaty of Troyes between Henry V and Charles VI.
1 st December 1420	Henry V and Charles VI enter Paris.
22 nd March 1421	Armagnac victory at the Battle of Baugé.
1 st May 1422	The English capture Meaux.

31 st August 1422	Death of Henry V.
21 st October – 11 th November 1422	Death and burial of Charles VI. John, duke of Bedford becomes regent for Lancastrian France.
31 st July 1423	English victory at the Battle of Cravant.
26 th September 1423	Armagnac victory at the Battle of La Brossinière.
17 th August 1424	English victory at the Battle of Verneuil.
8 th September 1424	Triumphal entry of John, duke of Bedford at Paris.
Easter 1425	The <i>Danse Macabre</i> is completed at Saints-Innocents.
17 th August 1427	The gypsies appear at Saint-Denis.
12 th February 1429	English victory at the Battle of the Herrings.
16 th -26 th April 1429	Brother Richard preaches at Paris.
8 th May 1429	Orléans is delivered by Jeanne d'Arc.
8 th September 1429	Jeanne d'Arc is defeated before Paris.
April 1430	Discovery of a plot to betray Paris.
3 rd September 1430	Pieronne la Bretonne, a companion of Jeanne d'Arc, is executed at Notre-Dame.
30 th January 1431	John, duke of Bedford returns to Paris with supplies.
30 th May 1431	Execution of Jeanne d'Arc.
4 th July 1431	Jean Graverent delivers a sermon regarding Jeanne d'Arc.
2 nd December 1431	Henry VI enters Paris.
16 th December 1431	Henry VI is crowned king of France at Notre-Dame.
3 rd September 1432	Discovery of a plot to betray Paris involving the nuns of Saint-Antoine.
13 th November 1432	Death of Anne, duchess of Bedford.
September 1433	Two plots to betray Paris are discovered.
18 th December 1434	John, duke of Bedford returns to Paris.
14 th -21 st April 1435	Philippe le Bon, duke of Burgundy, visits Paris.
1 st June 1435	The Armagnacs capture Saint-Denis.
14 th September 1435	Death of John, duke of Bedford.
21 st September 1435	Conclusion of the Arras Congress. Charles VII and Philippe le Bon are reconciled.

24 th September 1435	Death of Isabeau de Bavière.
13 th April 1436	Arthur de Richemont recaptures Paris for Charles VII.
29 th November 1436	Announcement that the Poitiers Parlement will return to Paris.
12 th February 1437	The English recapture Pontoise.
12 th November 1437	Charles VII enters Paris.
February-July 1440	The Praguerie.
July 1441	Daily processions to support the French siege of Pontoise (captured 19 th September).
28 th May 1444	Treaty of Tours between Henry VI and Charles VII.
4 th September 1444 – 14 th March 1445	University strike protesting taxation.
2 nd August 1445	The Passion relics are returned to Saint-Denis.
April (?) 1446	Examination of Fernand de Cordoue at the University of Paris.
4 th December 1447	Election of Guillaume Chartier, bishop of Paris.
Late April 1448	Agnès Sorel visits Paris.
28 th October 1449	Parisian processions to mark Charles VII's recapture of Rouen.

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