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THE ROYAL ENTRY: A STUDY OF TRADITION AND
CHANGE IN THE FRENCH FESTIVALS OF THE 16TH
CENTURY.

The Ohio State University, Ph.D., 1970
Theater

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THE ROYAL ENTRY
A STUDY OF TRADITION AND CHANGE
IN THE FRENCH FESTIVALS OF
THE 16TH CENTURY

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By
Mary Ann Fruth, A.B., A.M.

* * * * * *

The Ohio State University
1970

Approved by

John H. McDowell
Division of Theatre
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INTRODUCTION

Too often scholars concerned with the history of the theatre have succumbed to the temptation for over-simplification resulting in an orderly, yet stultifying, compartmentalization. Under such a regimen those quasi-theatrical forms which admit to compromise in their non-theatrical heritage are neglected or, at best, given cursory acknowledgment. The argument for such capriciousness is invariably based on failure to meet the tenuous criteria constituting "accepted patterns" in theatre history. Unfortunately this has been the case with the treatment of Mediaeval and Renaissance "festivals," particularly politically toned festivals such as the royal entry in France. While these fêtes were produced by the most skilled local and foreign artists and artisans, often attaining a degree of visual splendor comparable to the Baroque scenic traditions of the Italian Renaissance stage, they have been assiduously neglected by the majority of theatre scholars.

Perhaps it is understandable that these festivals should have been relegated to a position of secondary importance. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as the festival developed and flourished, the simultaneous burst of activity in the theatres of Western Europe and England naturally superseded the historical importance of these "public entertainments." Private festivals, centered in the courts, appear to have assumed an acceptable status
due to their more definable theatrical nature.

The diversified nature of the festival has posed a major problem in the definition of terms for the typical public festival displays an admixture of traditional ritual, religious ceremony, political propaganda and carnival spirit. Perhaps any attempt at explicit definition is impossible or impractical. The complexity of the term is clearly shown in the definition attempted by Claude Ruggieri whose nineteenth century work in the field of French festivals has been recognized as a basic source for their study:

[ The word "fête" ] nearly always signifies that which relates to a happy day, to a solemn occasion of some kind, to the celebration of some great deeds, to a reunion, in order to be diverted by some dances and some feasts or by some public or private rejoicings; finally a fête will always be a time particularly consecrated to a cult, to a holiday, to a religious or profane ceremony, sometime sublime or popular, -- and, finally, to celebrate a memorable epoch or passing. 1

Diffuse as this catalogue of the components of a "fête" appears it apparently was not extensive enough to resolve the problem of definition for Ruggieri, for he continues:

A fête is also a day chosen to fête a prince, a father of the family, an illustrious person, a benefactor of humanity, the epoch of a birth or the day which, in the calendar, designates the patron saint of the person being fêted. We also understand by fête a disposition whose end is to reunite, to reassemble a society, a population, with the effect of celebrating an event, some great action, the

1 Claude Ruggieri, Précis historiques sur les Fêtes, les spectacles et les rejaouissances ... (Paris : Ruggieri, 1830 ), 42. OSUTC Film No. 1589. Original in the New York Public Library.
return of a cherished person, the assumption of the throne by some prince, or the birth of a royal infant; and this, as we have already observed, is celebrated by some divertissements, spectacles, games of all kinds, such as songs, dances, agreeable play and noises. It is, moreover, the collection of amusing and recreative things, as ordinary fires and feux de artifice, gymnastic or military exercises, which always begin with or are terminated with feasts. 2

While such prolixness obviously requires delimitation it is interesting to note that Ruggieri assigns a number of essentially theatrical elements to the celebration of a festival: divertissements, spectacles, songs, dances -- the whole being a "collection of amusing and recreative things."

Types of Festivals

Analysis of Ruggieri's definition reveals that the public festival, i.e. the festival which cannot be categorized as a private or familial affair, may be broken down into three major divisions: the seasonal festival, the religious festival and the political festival.

Historically the seasonal rites and cult practices of primitive societies have provided a broad background against which religious and political festivals developed. These earliest festival forms have long been acknowledged as important adjuncts to the evolution of the theatre through emphasis on mimetic action. Relationships existing between the rituals of Dionysus and the Greek theatre indicate an early link between the seasonal and religious

2 Ibid., 43.
festivals and the theatre. This association and that which existed in the Mediaeval Church when liturgy and spectacle united in the oft-hailed "rebirth" of the theatre, would seem to require no further amplification here.

It is, perhaps, more difficult to demonstrate the relationship between the political festival and the development of theatrical activity in the Renaissance. If, however, one sets forth the hypothesis that theatrical development tends to conform to the central concern of humanity in a given period, e.g., the mythological preoccupation of the Greeks, the uncontested domination of the Church in the Middle Ages, then the nationalistic and monarchical core of Renaissance society would seem to suffice as a fruitful point of departure for the origination of theatrical evolution.

The Political Festival Defined

What is this "political festival?" In general terms the so-called political festival relates to any primarily secular public occurrence involving the ruler of a nation, the nation itself, or a part of that nation, e.g., a single city. Usually this festival was celebrated in honor of a specific personnage -- most often the king himself, although mayors of cities, governors of districts, naval and military leaders and others of rank were also feted on occasion. The most lavish, hence most frequently recorded festivals, seem to have been those centering around the monarch and his immediate family.

Public celebrations ordinarily marked every event in the ruler's life. His birth, christening, marriage and coronation were
opportunities for widespread rejoicings, his funeral often a macabre spectacle. In addition to these well-marked events were the royal entries which were held to welcome the monarch into one or another of his cities or realms. As the monarch of this era seemed constantly to be travelling within his kingdom or in neighboring countries, the celebration of such "entries" was frequent.

It is possible to determine, on the basis of the occasions listed above, that the political festival often became one with respect to the seasonal or religious fête. Celebrations honoring the birth or death of a king bear strong resemblances to the seasonal festivals of early societies. Marriages and coronation ceremonies were closely tied to established religious practices. Examination of festival accounts from these latter categories indicates that aside from the addition of varying public or private divertissements there was relatively little variation from an established and proscribed pattern.

The remaining category, the entry, presents a mixture of the traditional and the novel. The entry, while embodying traditional elements, was not so firmly grounded in ritual. For this reason it may be considered a more flexible ceremony, amenable to the influences exerted by external or "foreign" trends. Further, the entry could be generally classified as the most spectacular of the festivals being, as it was, a propaganda device on the part of both visitor and visited. Expense was not spared in the production of
sumptuous entertainments with lavish décor. Citizens apparently
did not complain about the expenses incurred provided that they
received some royal favor for their money.

For these reasons the royal entry would appear to be the
most accessible and reasonable form to consider in any examination
of the relationship existing between the political festival and
theatrical development.

Factors Influencing the Selection of
Specific Festivals for this Study

A significant consideration in a study of this type is the
question of selecting the particular historical era most likely to
supply detailed evidence concerning the various aspects of the entry.
Primary source materials in the form of commemorative "festival
books," accounts of an entry, often illustrated, are not widely
available for entries occurring before the sixteenth century. In
the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries most of the festival
traditions had already begun to degenerate giving way to glittering
fêtes lacking the thematic structure found in earlier celebrations.

Examination of representative festival accounts for the

3 Theodore and Denys Godefroy include accounts of only seven­
teen royal entries taking place before 1500 ( Le Ceremonial Francois,
uz description des ceremonies, rangs et seances observes en France
en divers Actes, & Assemblees solenelles [ 2 vols; Paris: Sebastien
and Gabriel Cramoisy, 1649] I.) OSUTC Film No. 984*. Original in
the Library of Congress. Paul Le Vayer's bibliography ( Les Entrées
Solenelles a Paris des Rois et Reines de France des souverains et
Princes Etrangers, Ambassadeurs, etc. [Paris: Imprimerie Nationale,
1896 ]), (OSUTC Film No. 987. Original in the Library of Congress)
includes eighteen such accounts.
sixteenth century, apparently the most important century in the development of the French entry, seem to indicate that prior to and during the reign of Francis I (1494-1547) the entry in France had assumed its basic form. During the reign of Francis I and due quite largely to his humanistic interests the Mediaeval quality of the entry began to show the first signs of Italian influence. Under the reign of Francis' successor, Henri II (1547-1559) the growing Italian influence became evident in all aspects of the festival: its theme, décor and its artists. The three major entries occurring during the reign of Henri II might be considered a representative sampling of the trends of the time, incorporating elements of the Mediaeval and the Renaissance in their form and content.

The geographical distribution of the three festivals is also of concern here. These festivals occurred at the South (Lyon), in the North (Rouen) and in the capital of the nation, Paris. If geographical factors exerted any influence in the variations of festival practices the distribution of these three fêtes may reveal this fact.

The Printed Festival Book

A major factor influencing the selection of the festivals of Henri II as the subject of this study was the fact that primary source materials, "festival books," were available for each entry. In fact, several different accounts of each of these entries exist, affording an opportunity for comparative study. Aside from limited public records these festival accounts provide the only sources of
information relating to the royal entries. At this point in the study it seems necessary to examine the authenticity of these sources and to consider the problems which they may pose in any attempt at reconstructing the theatrical elements of the entries.

The Royal Privilege for Publication

One of the first factors which emerges from even a cursory examination of French festival books is that the printed account of a royal entry demanded a royal franchise for publication. Evidently the granting of a royal privilege was not a matter to be taken lightly. The statements of privilege included in several of the festival books make direct reference to punishments, including "confiscation of [the illicitly printed books], prison and possible fine." 4

It seems possible that one reason for jealously guarding the royal permission was the financial gain to be had from the publication of a festival book. There was, it seems, prolonged and enthusiastic public interest in the "rejoicings" which were prepared for a triumphant royal visitor. This is evidenced by the fact that

4 La Magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entree de la noble & antique Cité de Lyon faictect au Treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce Nom ... ( Lyon : Guillaume Rouille, 1548 ),1. OSUTG Film No. 1735. Original in the British Museum. See also the extract of the privilege of the king in Robert le Hoy's publication of the account of the entry into Rouen ( Cest la deduction du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles ... [ Rouen ; Robert le Hoy, 1551 ], 2. OSUTG Film No. 1743. Original in the British Museum.
seven years after the initial publication of the festival book dealing with the entry of Henri II into Rouen the privilege that had been granted to the printer, Robert le Hoy, was resold. In 1557 a new edition of the festival book was published.  

Accuracy of the Textual Accounts and Illustrations

It is impossible to judge the accuracy of the content of a single festival book. Only one instance has been found in which the printer was actually required to submit his manuscript for examination and approval before being granted the royal privilege. It is thus possible to assume that pre-publication study of the account was sometime required although such examination did not appear to be standard practice. If examination was required there may still be some question as to the expertise of the examiners, particularly if they were representatives of the king rather than persons who had been intimately connected with the planning and execution of the entry.

It is possible to assume that a strong sense of civic pride

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5 S. de Merval (ed.), L'Entrée de Henri II roi de France a Rouen au mois d'Octobre 1550, Apres un Mss de la Bibliothèque de Rouen. (Société des Bibliophiles Normands, No.18; Rouen: Henry Boissel, 1868), 1, 4-5.

6 La Magnificence de la superbe et triomphante entree ..., 1. For a similar account of prior examination see also A. Beaucousin (ed.), L'Entrée a Rouen du Roi et de la reine Henri II et Catherine de Medicis, D'Apres la relation imprimée en 1550 (Société des Bibliophiles Normands, No. 42; Rouen: E. Cagniard, 1882).
and the spirit of competition inherent in the presentation of a festival would be reflected in a more or less propagandistic approach to the account. Quite possibly a tendency to overstate and amplify the grandeur of the event might be expected and this exaggeration should be anticipated in the use of the festival book as a primary source.

None of the authors of the festival books considered here have been positively identified and this lack of identification naturally precludes any judgement regarding the impartiality of the writers.

The only criteria which remain to be used in these circumstances is that of comparison, particularly comparison of the festival book account with presumably objective relations preserved in public documents. This is only possible in one instance in the present study. Comparison of several festival books for the same entry has been the method most consistently used in order to gain the most objective picture of the actual fête.

The illustrations for the festival books pose similar problems. While the woodcuts which ornament all but the most hastily published accounts are often small works of art in themselves their authenticity must remain conjectural. Aside from the illustrations for one account of the Paris entry, generally attri

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buted to Jean Goujon, the artists as well as the authors of the festival books are anonymous. It is probable that Goujon's illustrations, deriving from the same hand that assisted in the actual design of the entry, may be regarded as authentic. In other accounts, graphic representation appears to be accurate although minor variations do occur between the textual description and the illustrations.

The use of so-called "stock" woodcuts in abridged versions of festival accounts was probably a more common occurrence than is indicated by the accounts considered in this study. Only two of these accounts contain "portrait" illustrations which probably originated in other publications and were only included by the printer as a gesture toward ornamentation.

Contents of the Festival Books

Judging by the amount of space allotted to various elements comprising the entries it would appear that authors of the accounts attached primary importance to the dress of persons appearing in the cortege. Description of costumes occupies a seemingly disproportionate number of pages. While these descriptions indicate

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8 Josèphe Chartrou, Les Entrées Solennelles et Triomphales à la Renaissance, 1484–1551 (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France, 1928), 120. The belief that these woodcuts were the work of Geoffrey Tory or his studio has been modified. Tory died in 1533. The entry for which the woodcuts were designed took place sixteen years later.

9 These variants will be treated in Chapters II, III and IV.

10 Beaucousin, loc.cit.
the colorful nature of the event they are of peripheral interest here. The spectacle which must have been presented by many ranks of gayly dressed craftsmen, soldiers and dignitaries is evident. Nevertheless, these colorful accoutrements generally represented a "ritual uniform" worn, with minor changes, for any ceremonial occasion.

Descriptions of triumphal arches, chariots, stages and other structures created for individual entries vary in detail and apparent objectivity. There appears to have been no special format for setting down "facts" regarding the design or construction of scenic elements. In many instances any attempt at factual reportage is completely missing.

The contents of the festival books are generally slanted heavily toward those items which appear to show the city and its unique festival elements in a favorable light. Naturally, this differs from one city to another although the over-all tendency is to glorify and propagandize through the festival account.

Summary of Previous Research

While there has been some reluctance to consider the public political festival as a theatrically valid form of Mediaeval and Renaissance history several scholars have recognized the possibility of such a relationship.

George Kernodle has been preeminent among those suggesting the existence of a definite relationship between festival décor and later developments in theatre architecture and the evolution of
scenic forms. Wickham's analysis of the street theatres of the English Mediaeval period presupposes the acceptance of a hypothetical continuum between the festival and secular staging. James Laver, also taking interest in the place of the festival in theatre history, has attempted to outline the importance of the form in an admittedly brief and superficial account. Withington's account of pageantry in England, while thorough, stops short of any attempt to consider the festival beyond its allegorical implications with great emphasis upon the "folk elements" common to the English festival tradition. 

Information concerning the festival in France is found almost exclusively in areas of scholarship not directly identified with theatre history. Josèphe Chartrou's essay concerning the French festival in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries is only incidentally concerned with theatre. Ruggieri's work is less detailed than Chartrou's and even less theatrical in its orientation.

12 Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages (3 vols; New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), I.
15 Chartrou, op.cit.
16 Ruggieri, op.cit.
A later, more popular account by Mourey suffers from the author's tendency to treat the topic as a means of defending French cultural supremacy. 17

For succinct, scholarly works concerning the festival it is necessary to refer to the recondite studies published in the regional historical journals of France devoted to the publication of research concerned with the preservation of artifacts, manuscripts and the knowledge of local traditions. In the course of preparation for the present study it was immediately apparent that none of the materials listed above had been considered deserving of an English translation.

While this resume is by no means an exhaustive bibliography of the literature of the French festival it perhaps serves to show the need for further study in this area, particularly from a standpoint of theatrical validity. With this in mind, the present study begins with a concise overview of the royal entry in France. Succeeding chapters are devoted to the problem of reconstructing the festival as a theatrical event on the basis of the festival book accounts for the three major entries of Henri II. It is the purpose of this study, then, to demonstrate the essentially theatrical nature of the royal entry in France, with particular emphasis upon its influence in the spreading of Italianate scenic forms, and its position in the schema of theatrical history.

CHAPTER I

THE ROYAL ENTRY IN FRANCE: HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The royal and solemn entry of the monarch into his cities represents one of the oldest French customs. Originally intended as a symbol of the ruler's authority and, in turn, an honor bestowed upon a given community, the French royal entry soon was recognized as an occasion for the display of civic wealth, talents, and resources.

Godefroy attempts to pinpoint the origin of the French royal entry by citing the festival of 588 when King Guntrun made a processional entry at Orleans. This entry, compared with the lavish displays of later festivals, was simple in the extreme, consisting of "innumerable people going out before the king with standards & banners, each singing his praises." ¹

Throughout the history of the French entry, even as late as the fifteenth century, a traditional and familiar simplicity reflected in this earliest example was maintained. The taste for conformity was so strong that even in the early sixteenth century the eschevins of the city "frequently consulted the city records as to what had been done before" when the occasion for an entry

¹ Godefroy, op.cit., 634.
arose. 2

The fixed formula, followed with little or no deviation, included the confrontation of royal and civic processions at the city gates, each party aligned in an Order of March prescribed by ancient custom. Custom similarly established the route of the cortege within the city and the placement of tableaux, theatres and decorations. 3 The participation of certain members of the court, the city government, trade guilds, bourgeois and representatives of the Church was similarly a matter of established tradition.

The strength which traditionalism exerted on the preparations

2 René Schneider, " Le Thème du Triomphe dans les entrées solenelles en France à la Renaissance," Gazette des Beaux Arts, IX (February, 1913), 86.

3 Chartrou, op.cit., 9-10; Marcel Poëte, " Origines de la Fête Triomphale à Paris," La Revue Hebdomadaire, VII (July, 1919), 360-362. Henri Sauval, in his account of the custom followed in the entries of the French kings into Paris ( Histoire et Recherches des Antiquités de la Ville de Paris [ 2 vols; Paris; Charles Moette and Jacques Chandon, 1724 ] II, 642) notes the following necessary adjuncts of the entry, as demanded by custom: the hanging of tapestries and decorative cloths along the street bordering the route of the monarch, the miraculous flow of wine from the Fountain du Ponceau, the distribution of food and drink (together or separately) to the members of the royal cortege, the representation of mystères, the bearing of the Ciel covering the royal personnages by members of the merchant guilds, releasing various kinds of birds at the Pont-au-Change, the custom of the crowd calling out "Noel," and "Vive le Roi," the swearing of the king's promise to maintain the privilege of the Church before being allowed to enter Notre Dame, the sounding of the carillon of the clock of Paris, the public dinner of the king in the palace, dancing and various divertissements. These events took place on the first day of the entry. On succeeding days custom required that the king travel to Saint Chapelle and adore the relics there, including the True Cross which "had to be shown to the people." Following the completion of these tasks the king and the court were entertained by comedies, tournaments and carrousels.
for an entry during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries may be recognized, perhaps, in the "Mediaeval" themes chosen for the "mystères" presented before the visiting monarchs. Religious motifs, strongly reminiscent of the liturgical drama of the Mediaeval period, figured in the Passion presented at the Trinité for the entry of Charles VIII into Paris in 1484; the mystery of the crucifixion displayed for Louis XII in Paris, 1498; and the Transfiguration and other mysteries of the Passion, the mystery of the five Annes of the Old Testament, and the mystery of the Adoration of the Magi, all presented at theatres erected for the entry of Anne of Bretagne into Paris in 1504.

Old Testament figures who might be regarded as archetypes of the French monarchs were also popular subjects for these representations. Charles VIII, for instance, saw a mystery of David and Goliath in Paris in 1484 and, again, in Troyes, 1486. In both instances there was an evident desire to imbue Charles with the virtues of David. Chartrou notes that Solomon, an obvious choice for comparisons, was represented in not less than four major

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4 Poëte, op. cit., 268-269. While the term "mystery" is generally used in reference to the religious drama of the Mediaeval theatre Poëte notes that this term may also designate profane representations which developed during the Renaissance.

5 Godefroy, op. cit., 214.

6 Ibid., 686.

7 Ibid., 694-695.

8 Ibid., 214.

9 Ibid., 676.
mysteries between 1486 and 1514. 10

In contrast to the plethora of characters from the Old and
New Testaments which populated the tableaus of this period a much
less important role was assigned to national and legendary French
figures. In the fifteenth century only three entries are recorded
by Godefroy which incorporated this "national" motif: the entry of
Charles VIII at Rheims, 1484, where the king witnessed a tableau in­
cluding the story of Romulus and Remus, the baptism and sacre of
Clovis, and the coronation of Pharamond; 11 in 1485, at Rouen,
the theme was the victory of Constantine; 12 in 1486 the citizens
of Paris presented a tableau of the life of Charlemagne for Anne
of Bretagne. 13 The relatively brief popularity of this theme is
noted by Chartrou who asserts that after a representation of the
baptism of Clovis at Lyon, 1515, there were no further uses of this
motif in the royal entry. 14

The décor of the entry in the fifteenth and early sixteenth
centuries was, like the themes themselves, influenced by elements
basically traditional and Mediaeval. The motif of the "tree of
Jesse," commonly found in the artistry of the stained glass windows
of earlier date, appeared in the decorations for the entry of

10 Chartrou, op.cit., 22-23.
12 Chartrou, op.cit., 24-25.
13 Godefroy, op.cit., 681
Charles VIII into Troyes, 1486; 15 in 1498 for the entry of Louis XII into Paris; 16 in 1515, at Lyon, where not one but two such trees greeted the king, Francis I; 17 and in 1517, again in Paris, where the tree was represented before the Châtelet for Queen Claude. 18 This symbolic tree, adapted to the genealogy of the French monarchy, was invariably depicted with branches terminating in fleurs de lys upon which the ancestors of the fêted ruler were seated.

The Mediaeval delight in allegorical representations also exerted no little influence over the décor of the entry. The allegory, like the Biblical theme or the theme of national legend, was used to praise the king. Chartrou records the entries into Rouen and Caen, 1532, in which Charles V saw himself represented as a "Vergier" tending his garden — France. 19 Again, the city itself might be personified as in Rouen, 1550, where sheep were introduced as a symbol of the municipality. 20

16 Ibid., 686.
17 Chartrou, op.cit., 27.
18 Godefroy, op.cit., 757.
19 Chartrou, op.cit., 34.
20 Cest la deduction du sumptueux ordre ..., 37.
Literary allegory appeared late in the fifteenth century and played an apparently less important role in the decorations and thematic structure of the entries. In 1485, at Rouen, the titles of the five tableaus presented for Charles VIII began with letters which formed the word "ROUEN." In 1547, for the sacre of Henri II at Rheims, the king's name was symbolized by a dozen girls and one young man representing the thirteen virtues: Honneur, Esperence, Noblesse, Renommée, Justice, Diligence, Equité, Verité, Amour, Liberalité, Obedience, Intelligence and Sapience -- HENRI DE VALOIS.

While these examples are by no means exhaustive listings of the particular themes common to royal entries during this period they are representative of the general trend and indicate the strong Mediaeval tradition which persisted in the planning and execution of the French royal entry during the Renaissance.

Classical Influences on the French Royal Entry

The aspect of the triomphe, or triumphal entry, strongly

21 Chartrou, op.cit., 37.

22 Godefroy, op.cit., 306.

23 Claude Ruggieri describes two types of "triumph" for deeds of greater or lesser importance. In both instances the victor entered the city accompanied by musicians, receiving the adulation of the assembled populace. In the grand entry, the hero's chariot was preceded by animals decked with flowers for ritual slaughter and was followed by the spoils of victory, including captives displayed in chains. A cortege composed of the kinsmen of the hero, his personal associates and the armed ranks of his military forces completed the picturesque procession. This account, op.cit., 23-25, conforms to the majority of the French entries of the early Renaissance.
established in Italy in the trecento obviously could be expected to influence the practices of neighboring France. Interestingly the impact of the "new" Pantheon and procession "à l'antique" was not sufficiently powerful to dislodge the traditionally Mediaeval aspect of the French royal entry; instead, a union, albeit fragile and tenuous, linked these two elements together.

Scholars have generally agreed that the classical theme did not become an important part of the French royal entry until the end of the fifteenth century. One authority, however, attempts to make a case for a much earlier advent of the classical form in French history, dating the classical theme from the sixth century. Citing the chronicles of Gregory of Tours as his source, Marcel Poète avers that the procession made by Clovis from Tours to Paris in 508 was a true processus consularis, one form of the Roman triumph. The author is unable to make any connection between this early "triumph" and the later development of the royal entry.

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24 The division is placed early in the sixteenth century by Gabriel Mourey (op.cit., x) who states that the entry of Francis I into Lyon in 1515 was "wholly French and royal" while that of Henri II into Rouen in 1550 was "antique and imperial." Antoinette Huon ("Le Thème du Prince dans les Entrées parisiennes au XVIe siècle," Les Fêtes de la Renaissance, Jean Jacquot [ed.], [Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1956], 23) remarks that in Paris entries remained very Mediaeval during the beginning of the sixteenth century until the reign of Francis I. Chartrou (op.cit., 40, 42) refuses to attempt to establish any date for the first appearance of the classical influence, commenting that while classical antiquity was manifested in some entries as early as the end of the fifteenth century, the Mediaeval spirit was perpetuated far into the sixteenth century in some locales.

25 Poète, op.cit., 350-351.
typically staged by and for the French monarch. Furthermore, Poëte fails to establish any continuation of this practice in any form of the festival in France and sadly comments "All the solemn entries in Paris ...[in the Mediaeval period] were ... foreign to the idea of victory ... ." 26

That there should be some uncertainty and hesitancy in assigning a specific point in time as the "advent" of the Italian influence is understandable. The southern areas of France, particularly Lyon, linked geographically with the Italian north, would naturally be affected by the activities of the classicists sooner than the centers of northern France and the tradition-conscious capital city. Alongside this geographical factor is a more important consideration: the adaptability and flexibility of the allegory which served to bridge Mediaeval and Renaissance influences. The allegory was not incompatible with the spirit of antiquity and could continue to exist by a mere "change of costume," for the Romans as well as the French had personified qualities and faults.27

26 Ibid.
27 Mourey (op.cit., 23) comments that the motifs imported from Greece and Rome by way of Italy were often treated "in the French manner" with eclectic and composite costuming, often fantastic in nature. Chartrou (op.cit., 54) substantially agrees with this statement noting, moreover, that while the sculptured and flat painted figures of the gods and goddesses incorporated into the architectural décor of the festival wore the drapery of Olympus the living representatives in the tableau vivant allegories were either dressed in the fashion of the day or in a "very strange style."
The antique influence is thus most easily transmitted first of all by the themes of the entry spectacle.

As scholars familiar with the trends of this period have been quick to note the bond between Mediaeval and antique culture was strengthened during this time by the existence of the legend of the nine knights, the Preux, perhaps the most popular legend of the late Middle Ages. These "Worthies" depicted the qualities of courtesy and valor from three eras: the ancient world (Hector, Alexander, Caesar), the Hebraic world (David, Joshua, Judas-Maccabeus), and the chivalric society of the Middle Ages (Arthur, Charlemagne, Godefroy de Bouillon). The popularity of these paladins was such that they were everywhere depicted in tapestries, sculpture, manuscript miniatures and even on the faces of Tarot cards. 28

In addition to the obvious impetus furnished by the legend of the Preux additional influence was exerted by the appearance of Petrarch's Trionfi, 29 by the translation into French and publication of the anonymous Songe du Poliphile (Hypnerotomachia), 30 and by the frescoes of Mantegna, nine panels depicting a triumphal cortege complete with victors, booty, captives and chariots. 31

28 Schneider, op.cit., 88-89.


30 Generally credited to the Dominican monk, Francesco Colonna.

31 André Blum, Mantegna (Paris: Librairie Renovard, n.d.), 78.
Much of the art of the royal entry has been attributed to the influence of these works. Chastel refers to this trend as one of "mannerism," defining this term, rather individualistically, as art founded on both the example and imitation of classical artists and on independent "research." Two interpretations were suggested by the aforementioned examples of "antiquity." From the influence of Petrarch and the frescoes of Mantegna came the idea of the triumph, the theme of the hero riding in his chariot. The Hypnerotomachia placed decided emphasis upon the gods and goddesses of antiquity. Both influences are recognized in the festivals considered in this study. In several instances the immediate inspiration for the works of the festival artists may be noted in the earlier works, the similarity being so striking as to preclude the possibility of coincidence.

The Cult of the Hero

A major aspect of the Renaissance "triumph" was the new shift in emphasis to the ideal of the hero. The saint, the ideal of the Middle Ages, was replaced by the contemporary symbol of individual glory and valor. While, according to Ruggieri, the grand triumph of antiquity was reserved for the great deeds of great men, in the Renaissance the great man, i.e. the monarch, was one whose great deeds were often merely the reflection of individual eminence.

33 Ruggieri, op.cit., 24.
The word *triumph* itself became a slogan of the Renaissance in France, expressing a certain voluptuousness and connoting sumptuousness, solemnity, heroism and all aspects of the antique. As Chartrou notes, "triumph" became the designation for entries even when there was no vestige of classical panoply. 34

The Influences of Classical Décor

It should hardly be surprising to note that the decorative devices used in the royal entries began to exhibit classical forms just as the themes took on classical overtones. It should, perhaps, be noted that just as classical and Mediaeval themes coexisted in the entry so also the décor of the two eras continued to be used simultaneously throughout the period under consideration. Jacquot believes that as the classical theme in art became progressively intensified there was a tendency for the Christian religion to "dress itself up" in antiquity. What developed, then, was a "décor de fête" which remained entirely Mediaeval in its concept of art with a décor created by artists inspired by antique statuary and architecture." 35 This thesis is also supported by Vanuxem who hypothesizes that because the primary influence of Italian work came to France by means of exported sculpture it was logical that the décor and ornament of architecture should show the imita-

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34 Chartrou, *op.cit.*, 70.

tion of Italy while the basic form remained essentially Medi­
aeval. 36

The effect which the Italian movement exerted on the French décor of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries has been linked to the effect which Greek civilization exerted on that of Rome from the third century B.C. Poëte, commenting on this analogy, states that in both cases "foreign artists implanted their art, a new décor produced the effect of a patchwork on the edifices which were so adorned, new architectural forms made their appearance, a thought different from that which existed earlier introduced itself, ... there was a split in the culture, the manners changed ... ." 37

In spite of the strength of the Italian influence the archi­tects of France seemed to be drawn to the Mediaeval form. During the sixteenth century France and the Pays-Bas remained faithful to Gothic architecture because it was a question of religious art, but the ornamentation and décor of the festival showed an increasing awareness of the mode "à l'antique." If, as some authorities believe, the décor of the festival served as a "proving ground" for later


37 Marcel Poëte, Une vie de cité Paris de sa naissance à nos jours (3 vols; Paris: Auguste Picard, 1924-1927) II, 95.

38 Ibid. Poëte points out that the churches Saint-Mené and Saint-Bustache (1532) were, in part, Gothic, while the Hotel de Ville (1533) was of pure Renaissance construction.
architectural developments, then one must certainly accept Gebelin’s thesis that the ephemeral nature of the festival ornamentation should not imply limited influence; the power of "diffusion" which a public fête possessed more than compensated for the work of the craftsmen. Further, these temporary "fabriques" could depend more fully upon the whims of their creators being free of the basic problems of weight and space. The décor could thus be termed an architectural "costume" in which the artist could dress the city.

The admixture of illusion and reality, i.e. fictional architecture and real architecture, is partially a result of the fact that the festival has no particular "place" of existence other than the transfigured space of the city. Chastel relates this juxtaposition of the real and the illusory to the later development in the Teatro Farnese where fictional space, the interior of the proscenium, is placed alongside the genuine space of the porticoes and arches.


41 Lawrenson, op.cit., 427-429.
of the amphitheatre. 42

In many instances, however, there is an obvious tendency to make use of existing "genuine space" or approximations of genuine space in the decoration of the festival. As a result of this practice it is not uncommon to note the symbolic architectural forms of the Mediaeval city becoming classical and triumphal as a result of their incorporation into the temporary classical décor of specific festivals.

The Triumphal Arch

What is probably the most significant and widely used symbol of the triumphal procession, the arc de triomphe, is, in many ways, a continuation of the Mediaeval concept of the fortified city gate. The incongruity which may appear when a classical arch is illustrated replete with turrets, escutcheons, tapestries and galleries which are all quite foreign to the true classical model is resolved when it is considered that this is a Mediaeval symbol rather than a classical innovation. The fact that the triumphal arch might also be made to serve as the stage for tableau presentation or a platform for an orator may also be attributed to its symbolic origin.43

While the Mediaeval gate concept sufficed in earlier entries


there was, apparently, a distinction between this device and the truly antique triumphal arch. The first mention of a festival triumphal arch, as such, occurs in the relation of the entry of Francis I into Lyon, 1515, where it is described as a "kind of gate ... richly decorated as a kind of triumphal arch." 44

It has been noted that this early triumphal arch was not a true arch but rather resembled a low vault supporting a trestle which might have served for tableau vivant staging. 45 If the attempt at copying the classical in architecture proved unsuccessful, however, the idea, that the passage of the ruler under the arch symbolized his possession of the city, seemed to be thoroughly understood by all. Although mention of the triumphal arch occurs in other early sixteenth century entries 46 it was apparently not until after the translation of the works of Serlio and Vitruvius that the motif of the Italian triumphal arch appeared in a form more purely imitative of the classical. 47

44 Cited in Chartrou, op.cit.,87.


46 Godefroy (op.cit., 773) mentions the entry of Eleanor at Bourdeaux, July 27, 1530; and Chartrou (op.cit.,87-88) cites the entry of Charles V into Orleans in 1539.

47 It is interesting to note that the entry of Henri II into Lyon in 1548 comes shortly after the French translations of Serlio (1545) and Vitruvius (1547).
Other decorative elements.- While the arch de triomphe probably served as the major architectural symbol of the triumphal entry other decorative elements were also associated with the Italian triumph. Columns, obelisks, caryatids and porticoes were constructed and decorated with medallions, arabesques, chapeaus of triumph, garlands, laurel wreaths and trophies. The triumphal chariot was generally found represented on an arch de triomphe if it did not appear in the procession itself.

The equestrian statue, reinforcing both the idea of the hero-conqueror and the Mediaeval notion of the cavalier, has also been counted as an example of classically-inspired festival ornamentation. There is, however, some difference of opinion on this last point. Since the hero of the classical triumph is invariably represented as the vanquisher riding in his chariot the French custom of representing the ruler as a chivalrous horseman on his favorite steed is a departure from the classical tradition reflecting, rather, the strong military tradition of the French monarchy.

The fountain, another common decorative theme, again seems

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48 Poëte (Une vie de cité Paris de sa naissance a nos jours, II, 125) describes the "chapeau of triumph" as a shield circled with a floral border, in the manner of the crowns of flowers worn in the Middle Ages during some celebrations.

49 "Trophies" is a term indicating booty or spoils consisting of all types of antique arms and artifacts.

50 cf. The Temple of Honor at Lyon, 1548.

51 Schneider, op. cit., 97.
to combine the spirits of Mediaeval and Renaissance artistry. Wickham has pointed out the importance of the public cistern as the natural "stage" for street pageants in the English theatre. There is little reason to doubt that the cistern or its counterpart, the public fountain, might have served the same purpose in France.

Poète, mistakenly attributing the Fountain of the Innocents to the décor of the entry of Henri II into Paris, 1549, is nevertheless valid in his appraisal of this Renaissance product which "remains Mediaeval by the place which it occupies" on the public street. Although the sculptor, Goujon, ornamented his work with nymphs and gods of antiquity there must have been some question as to the meaning which these figures held for the simple water porters who came to fill their urns at the fountain.

Exoticism.- While the influence of the Italians played the major role in effecting the transformation of the royal entry in the sixteenth century there was a further force at work -- the growing European taste for exoticism. Charron gives a full account of the influences derived from three different sources: ancient Egypt, Oriental Islam and the New World. It may be sufficient, for the

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52 Wickham, op.cit., I, 51-111.
53 Poète, Une vie de cité Paris de sa naissance a nos jours, III, 91.
54 Charron, op.cit., 111-118.
purposes of this study, to note that the "exotic" elements of the entries were juxtaposed with both classical and Mediaeval themes and decorations. This additional element in the entry attests to the eclecticism of the festival; however, the exotic element per se does not become a theme of primary importance or emphasis during the period under consideration. 55

Technical Invention.— While the trucs and artifices of the Mediaeval theatre aimed at a naive attempt at verisimilitude the vogue of the inventor or technician appears to have increased and flourished during the first half of the sixteenth century. 56 Antiquity and exoticism are linked to the ingenuity of the craftsman. The prevailing taste for that which is difficult to construct indicates a sense of beauty, an esthetic, wrapped up in the marvels of artifice. This esthetic, appearing sporadically in the festivals under consideration, probably reaches its fruition in the feux d'artifices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

55 Ibid., it was under the reign of Henri III that the more sumptuous "Oriental" fêtes were produced.
56 Chastel, "Y-a-t-il une esthétique de la Renaissance?", 25.
CHAPTER II

THE ROYAL ENTRY OF HENRI II INTO LYON, 1548

The first of the major entries of Henri II and his queen, Catherine de Medicis, occurred at the city of Lyon in September, 1548. The event followed a royal inspection of the frontiers in Piedmont and served a dual purpose: not only honoring the entry of the monarch, but also celebrating the previous marriages of two powerful Lyonnais dukes, Vendome and Aumole.  

The entry into Lyon marks the first major recorded entry festival following Henri's coronation at Rheims, July 28, 1547. This latter festival, a fixed ceremony in its organization, was replete with the typical symbolism of the more religious orientation of the Mediaeval entry.  

The Lyon entry may be considered to represent a turning

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1 La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphantentree de la noble & antique Cité de Lyon faites au Treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce Nom, et la Royne Catherine son Espouse le XXIII de Septembre M.D. XLVII ( Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1549), 4. OSUTC Film No. 1735. Original in the British Museum. The dual nature of this entry appears to have been an unusual feature. Apparently the city fathers of Lyon decided to seize the occasion of Henri's entry to pay their social debts to the recently married dukes. The festival book accounts indicate little actual participation by the Vendome and Aumole households.

2 Godefroy, op.cit., 279-293; 303-309.
point in the evolution of the French royal entry emphasizing, as it does, the classical symbol and the Italian-Roman influence. It is understandable, perhaps, that concern with ceremonies "à l'antique" should be found manifested in a city which bore a close relationship to the cities of Italy during the Middle Ages. Bourciez, for instance, insists that the example of the fête at Lyon precipitated the classic structuring of the entries at Paris and Rouen. 3

Records of the Entry: The Festival Books

The entry into Lyon is meticulously recorded in the festival books published by Guillaume Rouille, bookseller. The French edition, privileged on January 25, 1548, is prefaced by the statement that "it had been given over to people of knowledge for examination and correction, including those who had ordered the entry and also those who had made the designs for the figures, arches and other things ... ." 4

Contents of the Festival Books.- The copy of the Rouille account consulted for purposes of this study appears to be an in-

3 Edouard Bourciez, Les Moeurs Polies et la Littérature de cour sous Henri II (Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 1886), 166-167. Bourciez also points out that there was extreme rivalry between Paris and Lyon at this time. Such rivalry might be sufficient cause for Parisian emulation of a successful Lyonnais fête.

4 La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphant fête ... 2. Josèphe Chartrou, op.cit., 121, has put forth the suggestion that Maurice Sceve, poet of Lyon, was both the organizer of the fête and the author of the festival account. Sceve's assistants were purported to be the scholars Barthelemy Aneau and Guillaume du Choul, the latter an antiquary who had previously published works on Roman archaeology.
correctly bound edition, consisting of eighty-eight unnumbered pages, pages twenty-seven through thirty-one being out of sequence. The inaccuracy of the pagination is apparent when it is compared to the Italian version of the festival book, also published by Rouille. Frontispieces of the two festival accounts are shown in Figures 1 and 2 on pages 37 and 39. Examination of the two festival accounts would seem to indicate that the later, Italian version, is a rather literal translation of the earlier French account. The only addition to the Italian book, and one that is noted carefully on the title page (see Figure 2) is the inclusion of a lengthy account of the Italian comedy presented for the king and queen on the fourth day of the fête. 

Both copies of the festival book contain fifteen single

5 For the purposes of this study page references have been kept consistent with the sequence appearing in this copy.

6 La Magnifica et Triumphale Entrata del Christianiss, Re di Francia Henrico secondo di questo nome fatta nella noble & antiguæ Città di Lyon e luy & a la sua serenissima consorte Chaterina alli 21. di Septemb. 1548. Cola particolare descrizione della Comedia che fece recitare la Natione Fiorentina à richiesta di sua Maesta Christianissima ( Lyon: Gullielmo Rouillio, 1549 ). OUTC Film No. 1736. Original in the British Museum. The extensive description of the comedy played before the court may be, at least partially, political in nature. According to Lalanne (Oeuvres Complètes de Pierre de Bourdaille Seigneur de Brantôme, Vol. III; Grands Capitaines François [Paris: Libraire de la Société de l'Histoire de France, 1867] 255-258 ), the Cardinal of Ferrara, Archbishop of Lyon, went to considerable expense to import the actors from Italy and construct a theatre within a hall in his villa for the presentation of a play "rare in France."
Figure 1. — Frontispiece of the Lyon Festival Book.


OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
MAGNIFICENCE
DE LA SUPÉRBE ET TRIUMPHANTE
entrec de la noble & antique Cité de Lyon faite
éée au Treschrèsien Roy de France
Henry deuxièmne de ce
Nomm
Et à la Royne Catherine...
Figure 2. -- Frontispiece of the Lyon Festival Book.

Italian Edition.

OSUTC Film No. 1736

Courtesy of the British Museum.
MAGNIFICA ET
TRIUMPHALE ENTRATA DEL CHRL
stianis. Re di Francia Henrico secondo di questo nome
fatta nella nobile & antiqua Città di Lyone à luy &
à la sua serenisssima conforte Catterina alli 27
di Septemb. 1548.
Colla particolare descrizione della Comedia che fece
recitare la Natione Fiorentina à richiesla di sua
Maesta Christianissima.

IN LYONE, appresso Gulielmo Rouillio.
1548.
Con Privilegio.
page woodcuts in addition to the ornamental frontispiece. The illustrations include costume plates depicting the captains of the guard, representations of the major monuments or "triumphs" constructed for the entry, and illustrations depicting the ships which took part in the Naumachia staged for the royal couple on the fifth day of the fête.

The Organization of the Festival

As was the case in most royal entries of this era, a more or less formal structure was observed in the ordering of events. According to Rouille, the king arrived from Turin at Lyon on Friday, the twenty-first of September, having been preceded by the queen and the princesses and ladies of the court who were waiting to greet him. Two days later the entry proper began, the king and his party being transported to the loge constructed at the Place de Mouton in the faubourg Vaise. There is no illustration showing this royal loge, constructed according to the "ancient custom"; however, the author's textual description leads to the belief that it was a temporary, grandstand-like structure of the type commonly erected for tournaments and pas d'armes."

? La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphante entree ..., 4-5: "Ladicte loge estoit couverte d'un drap de soye verte à rouleaux & entrelasseures de fil d'argent, remplies de croissants & chiffres dudit Seigneur, & tout autour, taut dedans que dehors, tendu de riche tapisserie de haute lisse à personnages, avec arcades, & appuys sur le devant, semblablement tournoyez de autre tapisserie verte, & enrichy le tout à force festons, chappeaux de triumphe, & armoires dudit Seigneur de la Royne, & de Monseigneur Daulphin, tournoyez & environnez d'or cliquant."
In the most traditional manner, the initial aspect of the entry consisted of obeisance and homage to the king by the lords and officers of the city of Lyon, visiting dignitaries from foreign cities and nations, clergy, craftsmen arranged in extensive and colorful bands, members of the citizenry and the military. Rouille devotes more than twenty-three pages to the account of the procession which passed before the king, including minute descriptions of the traditional costumes worn by each rank of marchers, the decorations of horses and mules, and the names of visitors and citizens of rank and distinction.

The description of monuments, pastimes and divertissements planned for the first day of the entry occupies forty pages of text. The second day of the festival, given over to the entry of the queen, was exactly like that of the preceding day, with the exception that changes in décor were made to show the queen's colors and necessary alterations written for the verses and recitations. A feast and ball ended this portion of the entry. Five pages of text contain the account of the second day's activities.

On Tuesday, the third day, the festival continued with the

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8 *La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphant entree ...*, 3-28, et passim. While the listing of personnages appears to follow the standard processional format for this aspect of the entry, one unusual feature illustrates the "Roman" flavor which later appears to dominate the décor and symbolism of the fête. Midway through the parade of dignitaries a group of "gladiators" appeared and staged a combat "à l'antique" before the monarch. The twelve combatants, dressed in red and white satin costumes in the "ancient style," presented a precise drill showing the use of varieties of hand weapons, the entire exhibition taking "some little more than half an hour."
presentation of gifts to the king and queen and a Naumachia on the river. The queen and her ladies were entertained by the Reverend Cardinal of Ferrara on the fourth day. The Cardinal held a feast in his gardens preceding the presentation of a comedy for the members of the court in the evening. The festival book accounts for both days consist of seven pages of textual description.

The major "divertissement" of the festival was held on Thursday, the fifth day of the fête, when another, more elaborate, Naumachia was prepared. Nine pages of description relate to the staging of this naval battle.

On the final days of the entry assorted private events took place, the majority of these having religious and civic implications. The only divertissements included in these last days of the fête were a restaging of the gladiatorial combat (see above, page 41, n. 8) and a final "Naumachia cum feu d'artifice" staged on the river. On Monday, October 1, the king and queen left the city for Fountainbleau.

Triumphal Decorations, Monuments and Theatres

The constructed décor for the entry into Lyon was comprised of eight major "monuments" or "theatres" each of which

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9 Ibid., 86-88. The ceremonial events included the rituals of the Chevaliers de l'Ordre, ceremonial Masses and private feasts. This non-public aspect of the entry reiterates the Mediaeval form of the ceremony and has little direct bearing on the public format of the festival.
served to convey intrinsically the symbolism of the "antiqueness" of the event while extrinsically demonstrating the prestige, glory and magnificence of the host city. 10

As was the custom in the royal entry, the various monuments were erected to be seen in succession by the king as he entered the city in the company of the procession which had previously passed before him in his royal loge. The monuments, then, were designed to be observed at a certain distance and from a certain vantage point, i.e. in the case of this entry, from Henri's vantage point astride a horse, or on foot, walking beneath the royal pall.

The Obelisk.—The first monument observed by the king and his entourage was the Obelisk at Pierrencise shown in Figure 3 on page 45. This monument took the form of a squared pyramid, standing sixty troy feet in height, on a base twelve feet high. The shaft of the obelisk, supported at each corner of the pedestal by a lion, couchant, terminated in a silver crescent at its top. The four lions, each measuring one and a half feet in height, held the device

10 Jacquot, op.cit., advances the theory, generally held by students of the festival, that while the classical symbolism of the festival might have been understood by the educated humanists of the time, the masses of the audience only recognized the lavish display and the public spirit which the decorations of the entry represented. The sometime strange decoration which combined subtle allegories and garish ornamentation may possibly be explained on this basis.
Figure 3.-- The Obelisk at Pierrencise.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
L'obélisque.
of the city of Lyon in their fore paws. The entire structure was "treated" to give the impression of antiquity, the exterior rough-hewn, with grass and vegetation planted in the cracks to simulate the appearance of ancient ruins.

The decoration of the obelisk consisted of painted panels on each of the four sides. The shaft of the monument was divided into three panels, separated from one another by moldings of "grey marble." Inside the panels were painted devices; in the topmost, the device of the king showing two large turkish bows with broken strings, a silver crescent between and the crown of France above. The middle panel contained the king's monogram, two D's and an H interlaced and crowned. The lower panel bore the coat of arms of France.

The description above does not correspond to the illustration in Figure 3; however, the apparent discrepancy between the text and the woodcut is resolved by further information that the sides of the pyramid facing the river were differently treated, i.e., instead of the arms described above, there appeared a panel containing grotesques, the upper figures representing

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11 The festival book accounts give no indication of materials used for the construction of these monuments. It is possible to assume, however, that the fabricated edifices were temporary in construction (particularly as none seem to have lasted beyond the period of the fête itself) and that the "marble" moldings, for example, were of painted wood.

12 *La Magnificence de la superbe et triumphant entree* ...
Victories holding laurel wreaths and palms in their hands, with lower figures like Furies beneath the feet of the victors. The winged Furies seemed to be attempting to maintain fires burning out of antique urns while cupids beneath them struggle to extinguish the blaze with water. 13

Evidently, in reproducing the woodcut of the obelisk, the artist illustrating the festival book attempted to show the panels which appeared on all sides of the monument, reproducing four panels instead of three and failing to note the order of the two upper panels. A further, yet unexplained, inaccuracy is the scene painted on the base of the pedestal. Rouille's account gives no description of this painting, nor is there any indication of any decoration of the pedestal apart from an inscription which appeared on two sides, Nomen qui terminat astra. 14

The Courtyard of Diana.— The background of the obelisk in Figure 3 indicates the presence of a wall and a rustic vista which served as the setting for a mythologically based divertissement presented as the king passed to the right of the monument itself. Although no separate illustration of this "courtyard" appears in the festival book account the author gives a complete description of the small, artificially wooded area constructed for the presenta-

13 Ibid., 29.
14 Ibid., 28. "He whose title is bounded by the stars."
tion of the goddess Diana and her band.

According to the Rouille account, earth was banked behind the wall to a height which equalled the height of the wall and the entire area was planted with diverse trees and shrubbery which "appear[ed] to be fruit trees." 15 Tame animals including deer, hinds and kids were placed in this artificial copse. On the king's approach, trumpets sounded a signal which brought forth Diana, represented in her role as huntress, carrying the turkish bow and wearing a quiver of arrows at her side. The costume of the goddess is described as "that of a Nymph," constructed of cloth of gold and crimson satin, decorated with silver stars, pearls and embroidery. The skirts of the gown were tucked up to reveal Diana's boots, "à l'antique," while her coiffure was interlaced with strings of pearls, surmounted by a silver crescent. 16

Companions of Diana appeared, adorned in diverse "antique" styles, all constructed of taffetas and satin shot with gold thread. All were fitted with implements proper to the classic chase: some led hunting dogs on leashes; some carried small gilded lances hung with tassels; others wore hunting horns dangling from decorative sashes.

When the king had paused to watch the action of this

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15 Ibid., 32.

16 The prominence of the figure of Diana in this and other aspects of the festival, the consistent use of the crescent, the colors black and white adopted by the king, and the interlaced D and H or C and H monograms all imply recognition of the king's mistress, Diane de Poitiers.
divertissement a lion emerged from the artificial forest and went to lie at the feet of the goddess. The goddess immediately "captured" the lion and presented him to the monarch while reciting a poem commending the "lion of love" to the hands of the king. 17 This presentation was made from the parapet abutting the street.

The Portal of Pierrencise—The second major monument constructed for the entry was a mock "antique gate" fixed against the permanent city gate at Pierrencise. Figure 4 on page 51 shows the unique construction of this gate with its twisted and grooved columns, placed as a veneer over the surface of the existing portal.

At the top of the portal a painting depicted a garden with fleurs de lys where two goddesses representing Fidelity and Obedience are seated beside an inscription: Sedes ubi fata quietas. Attached scrolls bear the additional inscriptions Tuae securitas Reip and Cui Fides et Amor obedient. 18

At the corners and at the center of the pediment were vases full of flames containing flowers and boughs, denoting the fires of happiness and joy. The woodcut shown in Figure 4 deviates slightly

17 Ibid., 33. The recitation, glorifying the pleasures of the chase and the rustic life and commending the inhabitants of the forests to the care of the monarch is typical of the orations found in other festival books.

18 The inscriptions, directed to the king, urge the consideration of the nature and characteristics of these goddesses: "The seat of quiet repose;" "Observe the security of your realm;" "Where all are obedient to you in faith and love."
Figure 4. -- The Portal of Pierrencise.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Le Portal de Pierrencise.
from the monument described in the text. The pediment is shown with three crescents surmounting it while flames and gryphon-like creatures appear at the corners.

The separate pedestals of the arch bore an inscription directed to the king:

Salve ô Rex foelix qui nostra ad limina tradis.
Visurus fidamq; domum, fidosq, Penates. 19

The side of the gate facing the city is not illustrated in the festival book. From the textual description, however, it appears to have been more interesting, visually, than the aspect described above. The text describes the portal as containing a painting showing the history of "Androdus" (sic), after a marble carving found in Rome. The painting shows a figure in the act of removing a thorn from a lion below the inscription Generoie pio generousa pietas. 20 Festoons, arms and masks of gold and silver surround the entire panel.

The Triumphal Arch of Bourgneuf.- Having passed through the city gate at Pierrencise the king and court were now within the city of Lyon itself. The first monument to attract the eye of the monarch was a triumphal arch constructed over the gate at

19 Ibid. The corruptness of the Latin in this and ensuing inscriptions for this entry makes literal translation impossible without extensive emendation. The characteristic laudatory greeting is, however, easily recognized.

20 Ibid., 35.
Bourgneuf. This arch, shown in Figure 5 on page 55, was approximately fifteen feet in overall height, flanked by pairs of grooved columns twelve feet high with gilded bases and capitals. These columns were raised on pedestals decorated with gold masks, lion heads, painted festoons and similar ornaments. Between the columns two niches held figures representing Victory, Bellona, Peace and Concord, each armed with appropriate symbols.

The center panel beneath the pediment bore an inscription, abbreviated in the woodcut shown in Figure 5, directed to the king:


Figures depicting Mars, Jupiter and Romulus and Remus flanked the sides of this inscription.

A figure of Diana appeared in the tympanum with the goddess depicted sitting on a rock holding a large silver crescent and the inscription Lumen Aeternum. Two nymphs holding dogs are seated below the goddess.

The vault of the arch, some forty feet in length, was richly compartmented with gilded and silvered reliefs of flowers. An oval window pierced the center of the vault allowing light to illuminate the décor inside. At the far end of the arch, not illustrated in the festival account, angels were painted holding the device

21 Ibid., 36. Although the inscription is corrupt, the general message, commending the "ancient Roman colony" to the king, is typical of festival hyperbole.
Figure 5. — The Triumphal Arch at Bourgneuf.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
L'arc de Bourg-neuf.
of the city of Lyon: Un Dieu, Un Roy, Une Loy. Figures of Faith
and Justice in proper attire and posture flanked the device with
the appropriate descriptive tablets: In Fide and Et Justita.

The Divertissement of the Satyrs.- At the Gate of Bourgneuf,
additional divertissements were provided by a band of men,
dressed as satyrs and fauns, who played musical instruments and
entertained the king with their antics and airs. While the wood-
cut shown in Figure 5 does not illustrate this fact, the text
indicates the presence of a wall adjoining the portal at Bourgneuf.
This wall, built to simulate a classical ruin with fragments of
cornices and half columns, was planted with shrubbery and served
as the background for this classical entertainment.

The author of the festival book hastily reassures the reader
that these satyrs were really men, though nearly naked, with
bristling hair and beard, shaggy legs, the feet of goats and horned
on both the forehead and the belly. 22

Decoration of the Streets of Lyon

At Bourgneuf, Henri had followed the ancient custom,
traditional in the records of the royal entry, and received the
oldest councilors of the city who bore a royal pall for the king.
This canopy, of black and silver, was born over the monarch's head
through the streets of Lyon. Covering the king's person, so as to

22 Ibid., 37.
make him almost invisible to crowds which might have gathered to
watch his entry, seems a reiteration of the fact that the entry
was, indeed, devised to entertain the visitor and he was its pri-
mary audience.

The decoration of the city streets, often the only décor of
earlier fêtes, is dutifully recorded in the festival account.
The author describes tapestries hung from the windows on both the
ground and second floors, in such profusion that they appear to be
"glued together." Turkish rugs, in multicolors, were mixed with
the velour tapestries of black, white and green. Cloth of gold val-
ances with the arms of the king and queen were interspersed with
these tapestries and hangings.

There is little doubt that the decoration of the city
streets was staged for the king and his household alone. The festi-
val book account notes that the streets had been cleared of people
by order of the city officials. Only at certain crossroads were
the people of the city visible, primarily "ladies, damsels and
beautiful young girls" who occupied raised and carpeted enclosures

23 Ibid., 41. This practice of clearing the streets for the en-
try of the monarch seems somewhat unusual. At Henri's entry into
Troyes on May 9, 1548, only a few months before, scaffolds were con-
structed expressly for the purpose of seating the expected crowds of
onlookers. Albert Babeau ("Les Rois de France a Troyes au seizième
tsicle," Revue de Champagne et de Brie, VIII [1880], III, 32) recounts
the specifications of a contract between Jean Peschat, carpenter, and
the councilors of the city for the construction of "large, spacious
and secure scaffolds" at six stations along the entry route. While
several of these scaffolds were intended to hold "participants" in
the fête the rest seem to have been designed for "grandstand seating."
at these intersections for the pleasure and admiration of the
king.

The Trophy of France.—The fourth major monument of the
entry was the Trophy of France, illustrated in Figure 6 on page 60.
This monument, erected at the Place du Griffon, consisted of a fluted
column fifteen feet in height, painted to represent porphyry, ridged
with gold. The base, capital and stylobate were of white marble,
enriched with gold foliage. On top of the column stood a statue
representing France, dressed in blue robes sprinkled with gold
fleurs de lys, crowned with gold fleurs de lys. The figure held
a great Imperial Crown in its extended hands over a golden H. 24

Trophies of all kinds were hung from the neck of the column,
including Roman batons, spears and all kinds of antique arms, all
silvered and gilded. On the pedestal was engraved the inscription:
Suo Regi foelicis foelicis Gallia. 25

On the stylobate flanking the inscription were two statues:
at the left an old man holding a scythe and a water clock represent­
ing Time, on the right the figure of Fame, winged and holding a
golden trumpet.

On each side of the pedestal of the Trophy was a smaller
pedestal on which two young women of the city were presented, dressed

24 La Magnificence de la superbe et triomphante entree ..., 42. The festival book account indicates that the statue was construct­
ed a little larger than life size so as to be easily visible to
those who regarded it from below "with difficulty."

25 Ibid., 40. "Our King's good fortune is the good fortune of Gaul."
Figure 6. -- The Trophy of France.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Le Trophee du Griffon.
as goddesses. The goddess at the left, representing Immortality, wore large wings constructed of peacock feathers with gilded backs, a gown of crimson satin divided with lace and other colors, a headdress of gilded laurel interspersed with precious stones, and large pearl earrings. In her hands were crowns of laurel, oak and gold. In Figure 6 she is represented standing on a heap of arms and spoils intermingled with books, indicating that through arms, letters and monuments immortality is achieved on earth.

At the right of the Trophy stood Virtue, dressed as the other goddess, holding a palm with gilded fronds and a weir full of castles, cities, towers, crowns and sceptres.

On the pedestals below the figures of the goddesses were gold lion heads, festoons and compartments. The substance of the goddesses' recitations to the king were also inscribed here.

Triumphal Arch of the Saone and the Rhone. A double triumphal arch raised at the left side of the Port Saint Pol was the next major decoration along the route of the entry. This arch, shown in Figure 7 on page 63, featured fluted pilasters, gilded architraves and cornices, and a base in the form of a classical bower. At the center of the arch was a fountain emitting jets of water through the mouth of a laughing woman and the mouths

Ibid., 45. The verses spoken by these figures offered the usual testimony to Henri's dignity, virtue and fame and commended the people of France to his care.
Figure 7.-- Triumphal arch of the Saône and the Rhone.
(The Double Arch of the Port Saint Pol.)

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Le double arc du port Saint Pol.
of some serpents twined around her head.

Grotesque masks ornamented each end of the base, with a mask of a beautiful woman midway between them. Festoons of fruit and foliage hung from the mouths of the grotesques and looped across the front of the monument.

Inside the arch were two figures. At the left, the Sâone, female in form, dressed in a blue cloth and appearing to be asleep or in meditation, indicating that she represented a slow and sweet river. Her body was partially supported by an antique vase from which red wine flowed into the basin of the fountain. Reeds, rushes and canes held in the hands of the statue showed that her banks were full of herbs.

In the right half of the arch was the Rhone, depicted as a wild and furious old man, dressed in a cloth of purple. He also rested upon an urn which poured forth white wine into the fountain and the statue held an antique helm in his hand to show that his waters were navigable.

Behind these two figures was a scene constructed of artificial rocks and shrubbery full of little birds. The author of the festival book account indicates that these were artificial birds which imitated the song of real birds through "industrious artifice." 27

The vaults over the heads of these figures were richly com-

27 Ibid., 47.
partmented and filled with reliefs of roses and flowers, all gilded and silvered.

The author of the festival book comments that the fountain before this arch served as a "grand joke." Evidently many persons went forward to taste the wines pouring forth from the urns held by the Saône and the Rhone, only to be soaked with the spray of water directed from above. 28

At the bottom of the arch an inscription was directed to the king: Tantum naturae beneficium Arares et Rhodani foeliciter confluentum perpetuam tibi tois qi spondet ubertatum. 29

The Temple of Honor and Virtue.- A second triumphal arch representing the Temple of Honor and Virtue is shown in Figure 8 on page 67. This monument appeared immediately after the arch representing the Saône and the Rhone. The entry account notes that the figures of Honor and Virtue were joined together here because, according to antiquity, it was not possible to acquire honor without virtue.

The Temple was constructed to a height of sixty feet and a width equal to the square it occupied. On each of its two faces were four terminal figures in relief, two men and two women. 30

28 Ibid.
29 Ibid., 45. "All nature benefits from the happy marriage of the Arar and the Rhone, which pledge perpetual fertility to you." "Arar" is used here as the ancient name of the Saône.
30 Figure 8 shows four male figures on the pictured side of the arch. The text implies that both male and female figures were placed on each side.
Figure 8. — The Temple of Honor and Virtue.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
L'arc triumphal du Temple d'Honneur & Vertu.
The male figures were six feet in height, gilded and bronzed to resemble antique brass. A head or mask of gold was placed on each figure, just below the navel, and below this mask was a gilded tablet.  

The heads of the figures were crowned with oak and floral wreaths, for the men, and laurel wreaths for the women. On the frieze above their heads was an inscription:

Honoris virtutis Q. perpetuae Henrico Princ. Invictiss Sacrum DD.

Honor, armed in the Roman style and seated on a chair, appeared in a painting on the cornice. With her left hand Honor held a figure representing Faith and extended her right hand to an infant depicting Love. This symbolized that the city extended its love, faith and honor to Henri.

On top of the pediment were three statues representing Fame, Victory and Eternity before a "rustic" squared tower topped by a grand cornice, on the frieze of which was depicted the Triumph of Honor, drawn in her chariot by two elephants and surrounded by soldiers bearing captives and trophies of war. Appearing on the opposite face of the arch was a similar Triumph of Virtue, in her chariot drawn by unicorns, surrounded by nymphs.

The top of the Temple was dominated by a balustraded cupola,

31 These gilded tablets not only preserved the modesty of the statues, they also served to convey messages to the king: Honor- i Perpetuo (on the male figures) and Virtutae Aeternae (on the female).

32 Ibid., 47.

33 According to the text, these triumphs occupied opposite faces of the arch, cf. Figure 8.
domed at a height of eight feet. Trophies, lion heads, festoons and masks were attached to the necks of the columns supporting the dome. On the gallery of the platform were trumpeters "à l'antique" who sounded their salute to the king as he passed through the vault of the arch below.

Inside the vault two paintings had been created for the monarch's pleasure. The first painting showed Henri in mortal combat with his enemies lying dying and dead around him. The painting on the opposite side of the vault showed a naked man and woman in combat with one another, the woman holding an unsheathed sword signifying Reason and the man a drawn bow representing Sense. Figures representing satyrs, nymphs, monsters and centaurs were painted beneath this couple to signify that reason and sense surmount all violence, outrage, bestiality and ignorance.  

The Perspective of Troy.- Beyond the Rue de Flandres a perspective of a city square representing Troy had been erected as a further entertainment for the royal visitor. This perspective, shown in Figure 9 on page 71 adjoined two platforms holding live figures of persons representing Neptune and Pallas.  

34 Ibid.
35 The perspective of Troy bears such a strong resemblance to the theatrical perspectives of Serlio that it seems hard to believe that the artists who designed and constructed the festival décor were not acquainted with his work.
Figure 9.— The Perspective of Troy.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
La Perspective du Change.
Neptune, at the left, appeared as an antique god wearing a crown with points and holding his trident in his hand. Before him was a cluster of large rocks, obviously placed there to conceal the mechanism of the feat which he later performed.

At the right was Pallas, wearing a rich robe tucked up to show her antique boots. As in traditional figures, the goddess held a lance and a shield bearing the head of Medusa.

After the king had admired the perspective scene Neptune struck the rocks before him with his trident causing a mechanical horse to partially emerge from the earth, its feet, head, ears and eyes moving as if it were alive. Neptune then presented the horse, his sacred animal, to the king.

Athena, next, planted her lance in the earth where it immediately began to flower and become covered with olives, signifying that the power and strength of the king would turn the malice of his enemies into peace.

The Theatre of Occasion.—The next festival decoration was raised in the middle of the Rue Saint Joan in the square of the Grand Palace. This ornament took the form of a theatre containing the statue of a woman, over eight feet in height, poised on a base in the form of an antique urn which also served as the pedestal for a column containing the devices of the king, his monogram and fleurs de lys. This theatre is illustrated in Figure 10 on page 74.

The statue, which occupied the center of the theatre, ex-
Figure 10.-- The Theatre of Occasion.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Occasion du grand Palais.
tended a terrestrial globe in her hands, proffering the world to Henri.

In a semi-circle behind the statue were four terminal figures embellished with leaves, flowers, chains and gilding. Horns, like those of cows or sheep, extended from the heads of these figures and supported baskets of fruit, flowers and leaves which reached to the height of the cornice. Heads of stags and does ornamented the frieze.

While the woodcut shown in Figure 10 does not show their place in the decoration the textual account indicates that three circular compartments also appeared on this frieze. In these compartments were first, Opis, seated and holding a mountain covered with trees, representing the mother of all earth; opposite, Amphitrite, seated on a whale, holding a ship in her lap and pouring water from a vase; finally, at the center, Prosperity and Felicity, seated on a globe holding, respectively, a horn of plenty and a sphere.

The author of the festival book account apologizes for his failure to recount all the numerous figures of bizarre forms and grotesque decorations which enriched the walls of this theatre, stating that such a discourse would be "too long." He does note, however, that instead of the usual epitaphs, tablets, inscriptions or compartments, the fronts of the two pilasters forming the extreme ends of the semi-circle were decorated with real stag heads hung from the frieze with pelts and feet intact. Parchments
attached to the inside of these skins bore the inscriptions
Manet immota tuorum fata tibi and Imperii spes alta futuri. 36

The entire theatre of "Occasion" was raised two feet from
the ground to preserve it from possible injury through the "possible
indiscretion" of some people.

The Plaque at Portefroc. - Leaving the theatre at the square
the cortege continued toward the great Church, stopping to in­
spect a plaque set up at Portefroc, depicting an antique portal
with four columns decorated with Mauresques, between two gro­
tesques standing on tall plinths. 37

On the face of the plaque three figures were shown beneath
a vault. These represented Faith (dressed in white), Religion (in
a nun's black habit) and Hope (attired in green), these colors
agreeing with those of the king and queen.

At this point in the entry the king was greeted by the
Reverend Cardinal of Ferrara, Archbishop of Lyon, and his clergy
and accepted a new pall of black and white damask under which he was
conducted to the church where he accepted the gift of a surplice
and made his orisons in the company of the Archbishop.

The Column of Victory.- The monument called the Column of
Victory, shown in Figure 11, page 78, does not properly deserve

36 Ibid., 56. Corrupt, but freely translated as indicating
an "exalted" future as the "expectation of the realm."

37 There is no indication as to whether this "plaque" was in
relief, flat painting or in full relief.
Figure 11.— The Column of Victory.

OSUTF Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
La Colonne de Victoire en la place de l'Archevêché.
listing with the other monuments of this entry. This column was raised in the square at the Archbishop's Palace and was erected, the author implies, at the expense of that gentleman. The other monuments, previously explained, were placed in public places and secured with public funds. Nevertheless, this decoration was consistent with the style and intent of the entry and is included in the festival book as one of the monuments of the triumph.

The Column of Victory was fifty-six feet in height, raised on a pedestal of twenty-five feet. The plainness of this edifice and the use of the Doric order were designed to inspire a feeling of solidity, stability and endurance.

At each of the corners of the base was a figure representing one of the four Cardinal Virtues, each holding a long staff from which lanterns were suspended for illumination at night.

Over the capital of the column was a globe of the world, eight feet in circumference, with its land masses represented in gilt and the seas enameled in azure. A figure of Victory, six feet in height, was supported by this globe. This statue, poised as if to fly away on her extended wings, held laurel crowns in each hand.

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38 Ibid., 60. "Puys ... sortit hors pour entrer en l'Archevesche, que ledict Seineur Cardinal Ferrare avoit faict sumptuese-met preparer pour y recevoir sa Mageste."
Each side of the base pedestal of the Column was painted with bronze to represent great quantities of booty and spoils. On each face was a shield bearing the inscription: Henrico Franci Regis victoriae ac virtutibus indelebiter. 39

The Port of the Archbishop's Palace.—Figure 12, page 82, shows the Port of the Archbishop's Palace, Henri's final stop on this first day of the entry.

Over the door of the loge constructed at this point, not visible in Figure 12, were figures of a man and woman embracing, supporting themselves by leaning on urns flowing water. Between these figures was a great lion. On each side of the portal were figures in full relief representing "Silence and Admiration of the Faith," a statue holding its finger to its lips for silence; and "The Union of Christianity," represented by another figure holding a church.

Inside the loge was a great hall tapestried in gold and silver and fine silk, decorated with the devices, colors and monograms of the king and the Dauphin. Overhead, seven chandeliers hung suspended from large silver crescents.

On the other side of the loge, facing the river (the aspect visible in Figure 12), were two towers connected by a semicircular portico formed by ten full columns supporting the architrave. Four niches, painted in bronze, were spaced along this portico

39 Ibid., 59.
Figure 12. — The Port of the Archbishop's Palace.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Le Port de l'Arceuesche.
holding the figures of river gods.

A series of steps, following the curvilinear line of the portico, descended to a small circular platform from which concentric steps descended to the water. 40

When the king had passed through the loge and on to the portico he discovered a number of ships drawn up in the river waiting to take him to enjoy the pleasures of the water, including jousts, combats, music and "incredible diversions." Among these vessels, reserved for the use of the king and queen, was a large barge, one of the grandest boats on the river, which contained in its midsection a room thirteen feet long, six feet wide and twelve feet in height, with classical doors at each end. Pilasters supported the sides and corners of this room while pedimented windows with "antique" partitions pierced the walls. Figure 13 on page 85 shows a woodcut of this barge, Le Bucentaure, 41

A second level, over the room described, was encircled by a railing and balustrades. The whole exterior frame of the barge was painted red and gilded, ornamented with lion heads, fleurs de lys, and other devices.

Inside the enclosed hall or "ball room" were black and white damask tapestries. Turkish rugs covered the floor which was inlaid

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40 Ibid., 61. The text indicates the presence of sixteen steps, eight above and eight below the round central platform, cf. Figure 12.

41 "Le Bucentaure" probably derived its name from that originally given to the barge of ancient Venice.
Figure 13. -- *Le Bucentaure.*
(The Royal Barge)
OSUTC Film No. 1735
Courtesy of the British Museum.
Le Bucentaure.
in parquetry with the devices of the king. The ceiling was also compartmented and filled with devices and reliefs. The center panel of this ceiling could be lowered by means of four black and white cords to a level where it formed a banquet table. When the feasting was done the table could then be raised until it disappeared into the ceiling.

Outside the room a deck, sufficiently large to accommodate two persons walking side by side, was enclosed with red rails and gilded balustrades. On the poop of the barge was a platform raised three feet over the level of the deck which provided a canopied vantage point for the king. Windows cut in the ornamental canopy allowed him to see both sides of the river and his view into the interior of the barge was also unimpeded.

The figurehead on the prow of the barge was in the form of a gigantic gilded head holding a red cord between its teeth. This cord was attached to another vessel which towed the barge, the sailors of the pilot ship all dressed in red uniforms.

Five other vessels escorted the royal barge: a brigantine, painted red and gold, hung in crimson velours fringed and bordered in silver, its crew dressed in long robes and hoods of crimson satin; a long barque for the queen, painted green and white, with sailors attired in the same colors; a small black gondola with a curtained pavilion, all decorated with silver fringe and crescents; a slightly larger gondola covered with a vault of black velour and silver lace; and a little tan skiff, the poop covered with tan ve-
lour fringed with silver.

The king's inspection of these various vessels at his command concluded the activities of the first day of the entry.

The Entry of the Queen

The entry of Henri's queen, Catherine de Medicis, must have seemed almost anti-climactic in view of the events of the preceding day. Indeed, with few exceptions, the queen's entry duplicated that of the king.

As had been the case on the preceding day the entry began at the loge constructed at the Place du Mouton where all the cortege that had honored the king on the day before repeated homage and obeisance to his lady. The only significant difference was the omission of the gladiatorial combat, evidently thought to be a masculine diversion rather than a feminine treat.

The queen, M'dme. Marguerite, sister of the king, the Queen and Princess of Navarre, M'dme. de Vendome and M'dme. de Saint Pol as well as the princesses and ladies of the household all accompanied the entry procession toward the city dressed uniformly in white gowns with filigreed net cauls set with precious stones covering their heads.

The queens, princesses and ranking ladies were born on litters decorated with the same white cloth, figured with gold and

42 The procession was, however, transformed to the extent that the queen's colors, green and white, appeared everywhere in plumes, collars, sashes and other accessories of dress.
silver wire and silver fringe. Each lady of the queen's household was escorted by a lord of the king's entourage presenting "one of the most beautiful companies which had been seen in a long time." 43

At Pierrenoise Catherine was approached by the goddess Diana who again brought forth the lion from the forest and conquered it on behalf of the royal guest. This time, however, the lion bore the queen's arms over its heart.

A silver and green pall was presented to the queen by the councilors of Lyon at Bourgneuf. This pall was born over the litter, but not covering the queen's head, so she could be seen as well as see the various decorations of the entry.

Approaching the Trophy of France the queen's company saw the Virtues now dressed in green satin, replacing the crimson satin costumes of the previous day. The recitations made to the queen repeated in substance those made to Henri.

At this point in the entry the author of the festival book notes that the queen, delaying too long at the monuments and divertissements along the way, was no longer able to see the remainder of the displays clearly as night was approaching. For this reason a great number of torches were lighted to illuminate the streets. Inspite of the shadows the cortege finished the entry route, pausing at the statue in the Theatre of Occasion which now held forth half of the terrestrial globe previously offered to Henri, representing the queen's half of the monarchy of the world prepared for her by her

43 Ibid., 74.
The queen's entry concluded at Portefroc where the Archbishop and clergy met her with a pall of white and green damask and escorted her into the church. The service concluded, the queen was received in the Archbishop's residence for a sumptuous feast in the great hall followed by a solemn ball.

The Concluding Days of the Entry

Although the processional entries of the king and queen were the major public events in this festival the divertissements and entertainments for the royal couple continued for five days. At least one major public event, the Naumachia, occurred during this portion of the festival; however, most of the events which occurred were of a "private" rather than a "public" nature.

During the week in which Henri and Catherine were in Lyon a series of "private entertainments" were held. These aspects of the festival were presumably limited to the members of the court, the major officials of the city and the Archbishop and ranking clergy. The non-public festivities occupy comparatively little space in the festival account, presumably because the author could have no first-hand knowledge of them. Furthermore, these ceremonies, being relatively unfamiliar to the general public, would not have the same appeal to the civic spirit which is found emphasized everywhere in the earlier pages of the account. Nevertheless, the author of the festival book does record, briefly, all of the events which occurred.
Private Aspects of the Entry

Generally the private aspects of the festival may be divided into two categories. The first category could be termed the "social" events, those feasts, balls and other divertissements prepared by individuals for the entertainment of the royal visitors. The second category includes all "traditional" private ceremonies of the entry, such as the giving of gifts to the monarch, participation in religious ceremonies and ceremonial events.

The Grand Feast in the Archbishop's Garden.- Two days following the entry of the queen a grand party was held in the Archbishop's garden honoring the queen, ladies of the court, princes and Cardinals. The author of the festival book account notes only that this was a "magnificently festive affair," the Archbishop having decorated his gardens sumptuously with the aid of excellent painters who had "painted freely inside and outside." Of all this magnificence, however, the author comments upon only one painting representing the Four Grand Cardinal Virtues, in the nude, accompanying a great escutcheon of France.

The feast, which was the purpose of the entertainment, was enjoyed under a pavilion set between the palace and the garden, decorated with festoons, escutcheons and candelabras. Perspectives painted on the garden walls at the end of the paths added to

\[44\] Ibid., 75.
the beauty of the scene.

Following the feast the king, queen, princes and other members of the party entered the royal barge for the pleasures of the river. This "promenade on the water" included a collation served on the table which descended from the ceiling of the hall on the Bucentaure, with wines from Spain and Portugal, cakes and confections made in diverse animal shapes and in the shape of little pennants decorated with the arms of the princes, princesses and Cardinals who were present. 45

The Salle de la Comedie.— About five o'clock in the evening, after the excursion on the river, the king and his court entered into the Salle de la Comedie (not specifically located by the author of the text but presumably placed in the Archbishop's palace, as he had planned the event.) The decorations of the hall are described as consisting of little naked cherubs, fluttering in the air, holding lighted tapers. Large figures in half-relief, each set up under an arched pediment representing a classical portal, decorated the sides of the room. The pediments of the pseudo­portals supported the relief figures of additional cherubs and quantities of sculptured fruit.

The larger figures, twelve in number, consisted of two distinct groups: six of them, dressed in togas, represented six Florentine poets; the other six, dressed in the "classical style,"

45 Ibid., 76. The author notes that the success of this table which magically appeared from the ceiling was so great that the company reacted "as if the Celestial gods had sent the collation from on high."
represented the ancestors of the house of the Medici "who had first restored the Greek and Latin letters, Architecture, Sculpture, Painting and all other good arts by their 'resuscitation' and had introduced them into Christian Europe, which had long since been devastated by the Goths." 46 The remainder of the hall was decorated with perspectives in relief, great torches of beeswax, figures of Harpies and other strange beasts.

After the extensive description of the decoration of the hall for the comedy it is surprising that the author of the festival book allots very little space to discussion of the presentation itself. If, however, the Florentine play was of a type considered "rare" in France (see above, page 35, n.6) it is possible that the author felt compelled to devote himself to describing those things which he could better understand.

The festival account relates that the actors in this comedy were "richly and diversely dressed in satin and crimson velour, cloth of gold and silver brocaded with gold." 47 The description of the play itself gives only the information that the scene began with Dawn, crossing the perspective of the stage in her chariot drawn by two cocks, and ended with the coming of Night, who entered dressed in a costume covered with stars, wearing a silver crescent, his chariot drawn by two horses. The apology is offered

46 Ibid., 77.
47 Ibid.
by the author that this comedy was of a new mode with which he was not yet familiar. 48

Examination of the lengthier account of the comedy which appears in the later, Italian, version of the festival book, 49 seems to indicate that the play presented for the court of France was either written expressly for the entry or was adapted to fit the occasion. The presentation was mythological in character, heavily salted with praises for the French king and, more often, his Italian queen. Although the whole script was evidently written with firm adherence to the unities, i.e., eg. the unity of time which is clearly fixed as spanning a period from dawn to nightfall, the whole comedy seems to have had very little plot; instead, it was a series of loosely connected allegorical tableaus mounted with classical costume and Italian stage effects.

It is possible to attribute the incongruity of this play to two factors: the Italian heritage of the queen of France and the Italian temper of the city of Lyon. The fact that the account of the comedy appears, not in the French but only in the Italian version of the festival book, is firm indication that the comedy was directed more specifically toward Catherine de Medici. Certainly, in relation to the development of the theatre in France, where the Mystère de la Passion had only recently been staged in

48 Ibid.
49 La magnifica et triumphale entrata ... 93-121.
Valenciennes, 1547, the comedy of the Lyon entry must have seemed avant garde to its courtly audience and completely incomprehensible to the bourgeois.

The intermezzi which accompanied the comedy consisted of a more typical "festival" allegory, the representation of the "Seven Ages" accompanied by Apollo who sang and recited Tuscan poetry praising the king.

Repeated Festival Events

Two divertissements which occurred earlier in the sequence of events ordered for the entry were repeated during the closing days of the fête, both as private aspects of the celebration.

The Gladiatorial Combat.— The gladiatorial combat which had been staged as a part of the first day's activities was repeated on Friday, the sixth day of the fête, at the express command of the king. This time, however, the combat was staged indoors in the Hall of Dancing. 50 This diversion, exact in every detail to its first presentation, occupied the afternoon hours and was particularly pleasing to the queen "who would not otherwise have seen it." 51

The Second Playing of the Comedy.— The comedy which was originally presented on the fifth day of the fête was repeated for the pleasure of the king on the evening of the sixth day. Evidently

50 The Hall of Dancing is not specifically located but may refer to the hall in the loge of the Port of the Archbishop.

51 Ibid., 86.
the Salle de la Comedie could accommodate very few persons for the author of the festival book account notes that even after this second presentation for the court the play was staged for a third time, on the Monday following the king's departure, for the lords and gentlemen of the Grand Council of Lyon and other city officials who had been unable to enter at the first presentations. 52

The Traditional Private Ceremonies

Two private ceremonies, more or less traditional in the historical organization of the royal entry, also took place during the last few days of the celebration.

The Presentation and Acceptance of Gifts.- The councilors of the city presented gifts to the king and queen on Tuesday, September 25, the day after the entry of the queen. The gift made to the king was encased in a black velvet box trimmed with lace made of silver wire and black silk, the lining of crimson satin. The gift itself was a small figure of a king dressed in antique armor, seated upon a chair. In front of the figure were sculptured antique braziers and four inverted crescents with the king's monogram intertwined. The goddesses Faith and Liberality were in the foreground holding a captured lion between them. The whole figure rested on a square base with the arms of the city worked upon it.

The gift presented to the queen was displayed in a box of

52 Ibid., 88.
green velour and silver lace, with crimson satin linings. This gift, also a statue, represented the goddess Prosperity seated, holding two horns of plenty full of fruit. The cornucopias opened at the top to reveal the sculptured busts of two children. A third child, representing the Dauphin, was depicted playing with a ball, enamelled in red, at the feet of the goddess. A gold ring with the zodiac inscribed upon it was meant to indicate the Dauphin's duty to someday govern the world. All these figures were poised on a triangular base which bore the arms of the city.

Ceremonies of the Chevaliers of the Order.- The religious ceremonies connected with the observance of the Chapter of the Chevaliers of the Order occupied much of the king's time during the last few days of his visit in Lyon.

On Friday, the Eve of St. Michael, the king led his knights into vespers, all dressed in their ceremonial robes and chaperones of crimson satin and wearing the collar indicating their station as members of the Order. The Cardinals of Bourbon, Ferrara, Vendome and Lorraine celebrated the vespers service in the Church of Saint

53 Ibid., 74-75. The author does not indicate the size of these statues or the materials used in their creation. Judging from the usual procedures, however, the gifts were probably created of gold and silver and of great monetary as well as allegorical value.

54 The Chevaliers of the Order of St. Michael, instituted as a military order, August 1, 1469, by Louis XI, consisting of thirty-six men with the king as their chief. The honor of the order declined toward the end of the reign of Henri II and was replaced with the Ordre du Saint Esprit under Henri III.
Jean, where the choir had been carpeted to accommodate the king and his men. All of those knights who were absent from the ceremony were indicated by tablets bearing their arms and names which also decorated the choir. The queen and ladies of the court witnessed the ceremony from a raised enclosure placed near the high altar.

Again, on Saint Michael's Day, the entire band assembled to hear mass, this time in robes of black and violet, to honor the memory of lost companions. After this mass a banquet was held in the king's loge with all his chevaliers attending. The same order was observed on Sunday; however, on this occasion the red garments worn for the first ceremony were donned again.

There may be some question as to the "private" nature of these religious ceremonies celebrated in the largest church of the city. Whether or not the public was admitted, however, must remain conjectural. The author of the festival book account states that at the observance held on Saint Michael's Day "there was such a great crowd of people that the [king and chevaliers] could hardly pass." Whether this crowd was located inside or outside the church, however, is not indicated.

The Naumachia

The final public observance of this entry festival was set on the river, including a series of activities ranging from simple

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55 Ibid., 88.
jousts on the water to an elaborate Naumachia staged on the fifth day and a feu d'artifice on the final evening.

On Tuesday, the fourth day of the fête, the king and queen mounted the royal gondolas and were taken onto the river where the jousters of Saint Vincent and Saint George performed for them. These jousts consisted of the repeated thrusts of one small vessel at another during which time the men and boats participating were frequently capsized, only to be righted again for another attempt.

At the conclusion of the jousts the royal couple inspected the vessels which were being made ready for the Naumachia planned for the following day. These vessels escorted the royal gondolas for some length of the river, accompanied by many small boats and the musical sounds of drums, fifes, trumpets and clarions mixed with artillery sounding in salute from the shore. 56

It was not unnatural that the city of Lyon would draw upon the resources of its rivers, so important to its economic life, as a stage for the gala divertissement honoring the king and queen. Certainly the organizers of the fête were eager to make use of any "antique" devices which could be inserted into the celebration and the form of the Naumachia fit their purposes admirably.

The account on the Rouille festival book makes specific mention of the fact that the galleys participating in this "battle on the water" were, in shape, "antique," but in their de-

56 Ibid., 75.
sign and decoration, of "new and singular invention." The woodcuts illustrating the two "Admiral's galleys" or "flagships" for the contending fleets, Figures 14 and 15 on pages 101 and 103, seem to confirm the author's description.

Figure 14 depicts the vessel which served as the flagship for the band of ships bearing the colors white, black and red (the colors of the king). The prow of this galley featured a large horned head born on a serpentine neck which curved below the water line. Antique figures, grotesques, flowers, roses and gold and silver lions completed the decoration of the prow. The belly of the prow was armed with "antique" iron bars for protection, below which was a carved relief showing the labors of Hercules.

On the poop of the ship was a rounded trellis of black and silver, two great crescents surmounting the sides. Another monster with its undulating neck turned in toward the center of the galley supported a gilded lantern clamped in its jaws. Black and white taffeta flowered with damask covered the poop.

Two small galleys of different form accompanied the larger vessel. One, shown in figure 14, had a small pavilion atop its poop, the other (which does not appear in the woodcut) had no pavilion. Prows of both the smaller craft were also in the form of heads of beasts and the accoutrements of the ships were uniformly "antique" in form and red in color.

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57 Ibid., 78.
Figure 14. -- The Flagship for the King's Fleet.

The Naumachia at Lyon.

OSUTG Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
La Gallere blanche
noire & rouge.
Figure 15.— The Flagship for the Queen's Fleet.

The Naumachia at Lyon.

OSUTC Film No. 1735

Courtesy of the British Museum.
La Gallere blanche & verte.
The flagship bearing the colors of the queen, green and white, is shown in Figure 15. Like the flagship of the opposing band this vessel was extensively ornamented with classical symbols and designs. The prow of this ship, shaped as the head of a large fish, all gilded, was surmounted by the head of a serpent on the neck of a crane. At the poop a similar curvilinear form also turned to the center of the vessel and bore a lantern at its tip. 58

The masts, ropes, sails and other practical elements of this vessel were all in green and white with a banderole of white and green taffeta flowing from the topmost portion of the mast to distinguish this galley from the other which carried a banderole of white and black. The smaller ships accompanying this galley were also of varying form, consistent only in the fact that they were painted, decorated and hung with the color green and were manned by oarsmen dressed in the same hue.

All of the vessels taking part in the Naumachia were well armed and filled with soldiers fitted out with gilded shields, rondelles, scimitars, lances, grenades and pots of fire.

To begin the Naumachia all of the ships in their colorful trappings departed from the Port of Augustine, the black and red first, led by their flagship, with the other fleet following. Little

58 Ibid., 80. The description of this galley in the festival book account indicates that this form on the poop was in the shape of a serpent.
punts and barques trailed along in the wake of the larger ships to come to their assistance if they appeared to be turning over in the water. Other vessels manned by the craftsmen of the city also appeared on the river. These latter ships were filled with people from the city of Lyon, armed with halberds, arquebuses and other arms of war. The whole processional on the watery battlefield was accompanied by artillery fire and the music of trumpets, hautboys, clarions and fifes and drums.

While the vessels of the two bands arranged themselves the people of the city gathered to watch the spectacle filling "gates, windows, roofs and steeples" on both sides of the water. The author of the festival book account notes that the banks of the river appeared to be blackened with an "inestimable confusion."

The king prepared to watch this entertainment from his barge which, with the smaller ships holding the princes, princesses, lords and ladies of the court, was placed in a "tranquil" area of the river.

The assaults of the two bands of ships, one against the

59 Ibid. From the appearance of the vessels used in the Nau­machia and from the description contained in the festival book it seems that these ships were created by the hands of the artists of the fête, not necessarily the shipbuilders of Lyon. The general "seaworthiness" of the fleets might well be questioned.

60 Ibid.
other, proceeded in the usual fashion. After assuming their proper positions the ships were rowed furiously against one another, always in such a fashion that vessels of the same size combatted with one another. After each assault the disabled craft were allowed to leave the scene and those remaining continued the series of encounters. This event was repeated until it became evident that the sides were too evenly matched for there to be any real winner.

The author of the festival book comments on the care with which such a potentially dangerous divertissements was staged, relating that there was no danger to any person participating because the sailors "so ably" threw their grenades and pots of fire that no one could be injured. 61

At the termination of the Naumachia, coinciding with evening, the king's barge began to move down the river to the Convent of Observance where the monarch and his party were to take supper. All the vessels of the Naumachia and all the other boats on the river escorted the barge along the route. The number of boats was so great that the author of the festival book poetically states that "the fish took cover, as under the shadow of a great crust of ice, completely united over the river." 62

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61 Ibid., 81.

62 Ibid., 85. The author's poetic ability was obviously popular. The exact phrase is repeated in the account of the Rouen festival (C'est la déduction du sumptueux ordre ..., 107) some two years later in the account of the spectacle of the river presented for the queen.
Upon the king's return from the Convent the ships on the river and the artillery along the shore combined in a great display of torches, rockets, bombardments and artificial fire which illuminated the night in spite of rain. A grand ball was held for the court following the evening of divertissement on the river.

**The Feu d'Artifice.**

On the final night of the king and queen's visit in the city of Lyon a feu d'artifice was staged along the river banks. This display of fire, lanterns, torches and candles extended for the length of the river and was augmented by the burning of a vessel on the water and the setting off of a quantity of fuses.

The festival book account makes little distinction between the events described as a feu d'artifice and those which occurred as a portion of the Naumachia on the preceding evening. Certainly the display of fire and light staged here bears little relationship to the elaborately contrived, sophisticated pyrotechnic displays of the seventeenth and eighteenth century festivals.

**Summary**

The royal entry of Henri II into Lyon demonstrates a curious duality. The form of the entry is French and traditional while the content is Italian and antique.

The city of Lyon, proud of its Italian heritage and strongly tied to the Italian neo-classic trends of the sixteenth century im-
posed the antique upon the Mediaeval. The overt intent to simulate all things classical with exactitude, the faithful reproduction of Roman architecture, costumes and mythological allegory presents a curious phenomenon. On one hand the festival operated at the level of the humanist, the scholar, the sophisticate; on the other hand it functioned at the level of the people of the city whose enjoyment of the popular entertainments of the fête would compensate for their lack of understanding in the case of subtle allegory and obtuse symbolism.

Much importance must also be attached to the particular Lyonnais affection for the queen, Catherine de Medicis. The Italian Catherine seemed a special favorite of the pseudo-Italian Lyonnais who appear to have gone to considerable pains to express in the festival the most Italianate divertissements possible.

It would appear understandable that the success of the "classic motif" in the Lyon entry might, by engendering the spirit of competition, influence the more immediate development of interest in the antique forms in those portions of France less distinctly tied, either geographically or traditionally, to the Roman heritage. This influence, however, should only be expected to be found operating within the festival format as an element of the "competitive" nature of the fête, repeated in those cities where the desire to excel in the creation of new and proven divertissements would act as an incentive to recreate those aspects of an entry which had already been proved to be most pleasing to the monarch.
CHAPTER III

THE ENTRY OF HENRI II INTO PARIS, 1549

There is a particular importance attached to the entry made by the monarch into the capital city of his realm. The luxury expected in such a festival is directly tied to the idea, established by tradition, that the capital city represents the nation by proxy, the extent of the display provided for the entry symbolizing the esteem in which the entire nation holds the prince.

Under such circumstances it would seem logical to expect the royal entries made into Paris to represent the grandest, most sumptuous fêtes of the nation, and to anticipate the incorporation of the newest spectacles in the organization of these festivals. However, the documented records of the royal entries into Paris, dating from the fourteenth century, also firmly impress the reader with the idea that the royal entry into Paris was predominantly connected with the ceremonies of coronation, the newly anointed king making his initial "tour" of the country from Rheims, through the border cities, and then into the capital. Even the route prescribed for the entry cortege in the city of Paris has ceremonial implications based on the role of the fête as a part of the king's
It is possible, then, that the established traditionalism of the entry might be expected to temper the innovative influences of the sixteenth century.

Records of the Entry

Records of the entry of Henri II into Paris in 1549 are included in the public documents of the city as well as in several printed festival book accounts.

Public Accounts of the Entry.- The public documents of the city include the preliminary discussions concerning the organization of the entry, the names of the craftsmen and artists assigned to the construction and painting of the "displays," accounts of correspondence with the king and his provosts, and a complete description of the actual events of the festival.

1 Poète, "Origines de la Fête Triomphale à Paris," 351-354. In this thorough analysis of the history of the Parisian entry Poète points out that the religious nature of the wholly Mediaeval entry was reinforced by the route which began at the Abbey St. Denis and ended at Notre Dame, a road originally established to connect the Abbey with the city of Paris, evolving into the major North-South branch of the "Cross of Paris," those streets in the city where the paving and maintenance of the roads was a duty of the municipality and not the shopkeepers whose stores adjoined the streets. Along this established route five "consecrated" stations for the entry had been established. Tradition dictated the placement of spectacle or monuments erected to the king at these stations; the blockhouse of St. Denis, the Fountain of Ponceau, the Trinité, the Porte aux Peintres, and the Châtelet. Other stations might be utilized in the staging of an entry but the five listed here were required.

The Festival Book Accounts.- Two printed festival books provide the accounts of the organization, disposition of persons and décor and divertissements comprising the entry.

The first of these festival books is a small volume, only twenty-nine pages in length, published by Germaine de la Fosse. This account is not illustrated, although a single woodcut showing the portrait of a "king" crowned with fleurs de lys decorates the frontispiece. This appears to be a stock woodcut, used for the sole purpose of "dressing up" an otherwise slim volume.

The extensive use of abbreviations in the text of the book and the relatively poor typography (poor in comparison to other printed books of this era) lends credence to the belief that this account was printed with the greatest possible haste, probably to take advantage of immediate public demands for an account of the entry.

The second, more complete description of the Paris entry is contained in a publication from the bookseller-publisher Jean Dallier. This book, some eighty-two pages in length, is considered to be the authoritative account of the entry. In addition to the

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4 C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle hault, tres-excellent, & trespuissant Prince, le Roy treschrestien Henry deuxisme de ce nom, a fait en sa bonne ville & cite de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le seziesme iour de iuing, M.D.XLIX, (Paris: Jean Dallier, 1549). OSUTC Film No. 1745. Original in the British Museum.
ornamental Frontispiece shown in Figure 16 on page 114 the Dallier publication contains nine woodcuts representing the arches and monuments constructed for the entry, attributed to the artist Jean Goujon. There are six additional illustrations, obviously the work of a different artist or artists, which have been incorporated into the copy of the festival book available for this study. None of these illustrations are in any way relevant to the royal entry.

There is no indication of authorship for either of the printed accounts of the festival.

The Organization of the Entry

The entry of Henri II into Paris was planned to follow closely after the sacre of the queen, Catherine de Medicis, in Rheims. The

5 Jean Goujon, master "imager," Charles Dorigny, master painter and Jean Cousin, master painter, are cited in the Registres des Délégations du bureau de la Ville de Paris, III, 159, as the artists intrusted with the creation of the festival decorations under the direction of Jean Martin, master architect. There is a great difference of opinion as to the extent to which the décor of this fête was the work of any one of these men. Jean Martin, known as the translator of Vitruvius, Serlio and Alberti, has been credited with the architectural unification of the fête. Several authorities, however, eg. Pierre Champion (Paganisme et Réforme, [Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1936], 123-125) and Chartrou, (op. cit., 42-45) prefer the theory that Goujon was given free reign by the architect. Maurice Roy ("Collaboration de Philibert de Lorme aux préparatifs de l'entrée de Henry II à Paris et du sacre de Catherine de Médicis en 1549," Revue du Seizième Siècle, V [1918], 209-223) proposes his own hypothesis that the credit for the success of the décor of the entry belonged to de Lorme, appointed by the king on April 3, 1548, as the commissioner of the edifices of the realm (excepting the Louvre, already entrusted to Pierre Lescot).

6 These illustrations appear to have been bound into the volume in question at a later date.
Figure 16.— Frontispiece of the Dallier Festival Book for the Entry into Paris, 1549.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
CEST L'ORDRE QUE
A ESTE TENV À LA NOUVELLE
ET IOYEUSE ENTREE ; QUE TRES-
haut, tresexcellent, & trespuissant Prince, le Roy
treschrétien Henry deuxièmesme de ce nom, a
faïte en la bonne ville & cite de Paris,
capitale de son Royaume, le se-
zièmesme jour de Iuing
M. D. XLIX.

A PARIS,

Par Jean Dallier Libraire, demourant sur le pont saint-
Michel à l'enseigne de la Rose Blanche.

PAR PRIVILEGE DU ROY.
public accounts indicate that Henri "requested" this entry by letter to the city, demanding that no expense be spared in the construction of a magnificent entry for the celebration of his visit for "such was [his] pleasure." 7

Additional printed records of the city council dated between the receipt of the king's letter and the proposed date of the fête, June 13, 1549, chronicle the preparations for the entry. Several humorous notes are injected into an otherwise dry account of the deliberations of the city fathers. On April 7, 1549, it was brought to the attention of the council that the leasees residing along the Pont Notre Dame had refused the order to vacate their shops and houses for the use of dignitaries and officials who could observe the festival more easily from that spot. After due deliberation, the council concluded the matter by informing the recalcitrant citizens that the "profit and honor of the city" depended upon their acceptance of the earlier edict. 8 The records do not state what additional means may have been employed to "convince" the citizens.

Another incident, May 3, 1549, serves to show the disorganization which might occur even in an event so carefully organized. Charles de Pierrevive, Treasurer of France and Envoy of the King, arrived in Paris on that date to inspect the progress being

7 Registres des délibérations du bureau de la Ville de Paris, III, 158, n.1.

8 Ibid., 159-163.
made toward the preparation of the entry. It was discovered with some surprise that Charles Leconte, master carpenter of the city, responsible for the construction of the lists for the tournament and diverse arches for the ornamentation of the entry route, had not yet begun to work on these projects. In consequence, the council called M. Leconte to swear to them, in the presence of two notaries, that the work previously contracted to him would be immediately undertaken so that the entry might proceed according to plan. 9

The Entry of the King

On Thursday, June 13, which was the day on which the royal and triumphant entry was to take place, it rained. The city records state that this rain "fell impetuously and at an inconsiderate time." The king, lodged at the Abbey St. Denis, waited throughout the day for the passing of this unfestive weather and then sent word to the council of Paris that he would postpone the entry until the following Sunday. 10

The entry of the king officially began on the morning of Sunday, June 16, when the monarch, princes of France, barons and chevaliers proceeded from the Abbey of St. Denis to St. Ladre. At St. Ladre a scaffold had been erected adjacent to the priory with two sets of stairs attached to the front. These stairs were designed to accommodate those persons who would need to ascend the scaffold

9 Ibid.
10 Ibid., 163.
to make their salutations and orations to the king, one set of stairs designed for entrance and the other for exit so that the monarch's view would never be blocked by the congestion caused by persons arriving and departing.

A raised dais, canopied, occupied the center of this scaffold with the king's chair placed at its center. The dais was carpeted and draped with blue-green velour sprinkled with fleurs de lys made of drawn gold wire. 11

The Dallier festival book account states that Henri and his court waited at this scaffold for nearly an hour and a half before the procession from the city arrived. 12 The public accounts of the entry make it very evident that it was not the fault of the city or its council, Henri had arrived at St. Ladre too early -- at eight o'clock -- after notifying the councilors of Paris, on the preceding day, to attend him one hour later, at nine. 13

Procession Before the King. - As in all French royal entry celebrations tradition had established the ranks of all the estates of the people who must be represented in the line of marchers passing before the king. Thus, councilors, foreign dignitaries, the

11 C'est l'ordre ... ,36.
12 Ibid.
13 Registres des Déliberations du bureau de la Ville de Paris, III, 164. The records indicate that the council had taken great pains to insure the promptness of the procession. Citizens travelling on foot had been told to depart from the city at four o'clock in the morning; those on horseback, by ten o'clock.
clergy, the university, military troops, craftsmen and bourgeois of the city appeared before the royal scaffold in a number, estimated in the festival book accounts, as somewhat exceeding five thousand persons. 14

Both printed accounts of the festival devote considerable space to the line of march, detailing the organization of each rank of marchers, the attire of each band, and the colors, decoration and arms worn by all participants, human and animal. Each prince, baron, lord or other person of rank is listed by name, his attire, along with the attire of his pages and servants, described in minute detail. 15 The listing of gentlemen and lords appears extremely long, probably because the entry was being made into the capital city.

When all the procession had passed before the scaffold at St. Ladre, all the orations and greetings delivered, and the keys to the city presented to the monarch, the cortege turned around and returned to Paris, augmented by the king's personal suite. These ranks from the king's household numbered several hundred including princes of the blood, Chevaliers of the Order of St.

14 Comparing the accounts published by Dallier and de la Fosse it is readily apparent that the "estimates" of the numbers of marchers rarely agree. Probably the most accurate account of the participation of the city in the procession is that contained in the public record of the entry, ibid., 164-165. This account enumerates by actual numbers 2, 635 persons who took part in the procession and indicates that the cortege lasted for six hours.

15 C'est l'ordre ..., 36-46; and Les grands triumphe ..., 3-15.
Michael, gentlemen of the chamber of the king, a troop of Swiss guards, and several corps of fife and drum players. Once again, the authors of the festival book accounts devote considerable space to the detailed description of the attire, appearance and equippage of these royal persons, the accounts running somewhat longer than those of the procession above simply because the accoutrements of the king's suite were more elaborate and magnificent.

The Royal Pall.—As was the custom, the king entered into the city under a royal pall of azure velour figured with gold fleurs de lys and fringed with gold, the whole fabric covered with embroideries of his arms, monograms and devices. By tradition, the royal pall could only be born by members of six guilds of Paris who, in addition to the eschevins, who initially bore the canopy, divided the route among themselves so that each guild would bear the honor for an equal space.

The Decoration of the City Streets.—The streets of Paris comprising the royal route were decorated with the traditional carpets, tapestries and draperies which were characteristic of the French entry. Unlike the Lyon entry, however, the streets of the

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16 C'est l'ordre ..., 46-57; and Les grâdes triumphes ..., 15-18.

17 The royal pall is intermittently referred to as the "ciel."

18 Sauval, op.cit., II, 467. The six guilds given the privilege of bearing the royal pall were the drapers, master grocers, haberdashers, furriers, hosiers and goldsmiths. In 1587 the wine merchants were added to this list.
city of Paris were not cleared of people in anticipation of the king's entry. Instead, the festival book accounts state that "an incredible number of ladies, damsels, bourgeois, gentlemen, officers & men of quality and appearance, inhabitants of the said city [filled the windows, doors and openings of the houses and even watched from the rooftops] because the houses were not capable of holding such a great multitude of persons as there were there ... ." 19

Many of these persons who cheered the entry of the monarch had participated in the processional at St. Ladre earlier in the day, "returning to their adorned houses and friends in order to see the said entry with greater ease." 20

The Artillery Salute. - The account in the Dallier festival book estimates that artillery, in the number of 350 pieces, saluted the king at the commencement of his entry into the streets of Paris. 21 The briefer account of the entry estimates that there were only 200 pieces of artillery but adds that since three or four cannons were discharged at one time the entire salute lasted nearly half an hour. 22 The public accounts of the city amplify this somewhat, stating that

19 C'est l'ordre ... ., 57.
20 Ibid., 46.
21 Ibid., 44.
22 Les grands triumphe ... .,18.
the cannons of the city fired throughout the morning until about four o'clock in the afternoon, indicating that the salute to the king continued for the duration of the procession before him.

The Décor of the Entry

The decorations and monuments raised for the entry of Henri into Paris appear unique in at least two respects. First, the design and abstract ideas expressed by this design seem to have been executed with particular attention to the classical concept of the "triomphe" as expressed in the architectural principles of Serlio, Vitruvius and Alberti. In addition, the creators of these displays were all Frenchmen, not artists and artisans imported from Italy as had previously been the case.

The Triumphal Arch at the Port St. Denis. - The first of the architectural displays along the king's entry route was set up at the Port St. Denis, according to tradition and custom. This monument, in the form of a large triumphal arch, shown in Figure 17 on page 123, was constructed in a combination of the Tuscan and Doric orders. The portal of the arch was twelve feet wide and nineteen feet in height, three toises thick. On either side of the arch a

\[23\text{ Registres des Délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris, III, 169.}\]

\[24\text{ The "toise" is a rather ambiguous measurement, archaically a fathom or six feet. The meaning may also be simply "a measure" and the exact size fluctuates depending upon the table of measures adopted.}\]
Figure 17. -- Triumphal Arch at the Port St. Denis.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
diagonally cut stylobate held a male colossus, fifteen feet in height, dressed in rustic fashion. These colossi functioned as "caryatids," each holding up the capital of a Doric column. Each of the figures on the stylobates held a large silver crescent in its hands, inside of which the device of the king was inscribed.

In the frontispiece of the arch was a great escutcheon of Paris flanked by palm branches. A socle raised above the frontispiece held a classical cartouche in which was inscribed an exhortation to the king to lead his people who would follow him willingly.

The major significance of this arch was contained in the five figures represented on top of the socle. Four figures represented the Four Estates: one, in the dress of a prelate, symbolizing the Church; one, in antique dress, armed with a scimitar, signifying Nobility; a third, robed figure, depicting Council; and the fourth, a wine-grower with a hoe, representing Labor. All four were placed about a great "Hercules of Gaul" whose face was a portrait sculpture of Francis I.

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25 In spite of the facility with which the author described the architectural detail of the monuments constructed for the entry he has failed to note, here, that "caryatid" refers to the female form. These colossi should rather be compared to "Atlantes" -- the male statues which serve the same purpose, i.e. acting as a sculptured column.

26 Donec totum impleat orbem: "Until the whole circle is complete.

27 C'est l'ordre ... ., 3.
Figure 17 indicates how the dress of this Hercules corresponded to that of the classical demi-god: his body covered by a lion skin, knotted at the loins, with the rest of the figure naked. In his right hand this statue of Hercules held a lance, instead of the traditional club. A serpent twining around the lance and a branch of laurel were meant to signify "prudence in war as the occasion for victory." A quiver of arrows in a sling and a large bow, devices attributed to Henri II, completed the implementation of the figure.

Four chains extended from the mouth of this god, two of silver and two of fine gold. The account in the Dallier festival book indicates that these chains were loosely or "slackly" attached to the figures of the Four Estates to avoid the impression that they bound these figures to that of Hercules. Instead, the chains were meant to show that the Estates were voluntarily held by the eloquence of the "King-Hercules," who had "made the Hebrew, Greek, Latin and other languages flower in this kingdom much more than they had ever done before." 28

It is interesting to speculate that the subtle symbolism of this statuary might have been confusing to the common people who did not comprehend the intricacies of such allegory. At least one

28 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
account of the entry, addressed to Philippe II, then prince of Spain, from Simon Renard, his envoy in France, interpreted the chains leading from the monarch's mouth as signifying the king's plan to devour the Four Estates. 30

The keystone of this arch held a tablet upon which was inscribed the implication that Francis' subjects had honored and followed their king because of his "sweet eloquence and royal kindness," qualities which they desired to see in his successor. The inference that Henri II should follow in his royal father's footsteps could hardly escape the perception of the monarch. 31

The vault of the arch was compartmented with geometric shapes and decorated with escutcheons, arms and laurel wreaths. The author of the festival book account analyzes the meaning of this arch by stating that it was dedicated to "Strength," to show that the principle strength of the kingdom lay inside Paris. 32

The Fountain of Ponceau.- The second decoration of the entry was placed, traditionally, at the Fountain of Ponceau. Here


31 C'est l'ordre ..., 4.

32 Ibid., 2.
on the hexagonal base of the fountain itself were erected three figures of Fortune, each slightly larger than life size. These Fortunes are shown in Figure 18 on page 129, seated below a statue of Jupiter poised on a celestial globe, wielding a thunderbolt in his right hand and holding a sceptre in his left "in order to demonstrate his power in heaven, on the sea, on the earth and in the abysses." 33

The first Fortune was represented in gold and depicted the king and the kingdom. The ship's rudder in her right hand indicated that all lived under the direction of government while the inverted cornucopia in her left hand, showering a rain of gold coins, implied the numerous riches to be found in his royal majesty (Henri).

Nobility was depicted by the second Fortune, sculptured in silver. The form of the figure was that of an Amazon bearing a sword and epee, symbolizing the preparedness of the nobles to defend or offend at the pleasure of the king.

The third Fortune, cast in lead, symbolized the people. One of this figure's hands is placed upon her breast in a gesture of fidelity and innocence. A plough-share carried in the other hand depicts the diligence of labor. The festival book account describes this figure as "winged" but these wings are not visible

33 Ibid., 9.
Figure 18. -- The Fountain of Ponceau.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum,
In the woodcut shown in Figure 18.

Inscriptions applied to the frieze of the fountain describe the lot of each of the Fortunes: governance for royalty, faithfulness for nobility, and diligence for the people. On the fluted pilaster between the two major faces of the fountain itself was hung another tablet bearing the quatrains:

La grand Romain sa louange autorise,
Du sort fatal de sa prosperite;
Mais plus d'honneur a la Roy merite,
A qui sort triple et un Dieu favorise. 35

The public records of the entry include the information that the fountain itself was left to follow its own nature, flowing plain, clear water during the fête and avoiding the "legerdermain" of past times. The practice of causing the fountain to flow with red or white wine now, evidently, considered "against all reason and in perversion of the ordinary cause of things established by the sovereign Creator." 36

The Triumphal Arch at St. Jacques de l'Hospital. - The third monument for this entry was another triumphal arch placed before St. Jacques de l'Hospital. 37 This arch, of exceedingly complex decoration

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34 This is one of the very few instances in which the text of the Dallier account and the pictures illustrating it fail to agree. The very close coordination between the verbal and visual accounts seems to indicate that the artists had some hand in writing the text.

35 Ibid., 10. " The great Roman authorizes his praises by prosperity of a mortal kind. But the King has earned more honor, Favored by this trio and a God."


37 Ibid.
and obtuse symbolism, is shown in Figure 19 on page 133.

The lengthy description of the architecture and proportions of the arch illustrates the preciseness of the Dallier festival book account:

Passant oultre ladite fontaine du Ponceau, & venant devant saint Iacques de l'Hospital, se trouvoit un grad arc triumphal a deux faces, d'ordre Corinthien, conduit avecques toutes les proporcions & beaultez artificieles qui appartienent à tel ouvrage. L'ouverture avoit quatorze pieds sur vingtsix de haute, & les piles de deux costez en espoisseur ou profondeur compronoient trois toises de mesure: les pieds d'estalts estoyont iustement d'un quarré parfait avec deux tiers, sur chacun desquels se relevoyent deux colônes de Corinthe, canelées & rudentées, qui portoyent vingt-quatre pieds en longueur, depuis l' empietement iusques au diametre d'enhaulit. Leur renflement pris sur la tierce partie & demie de toute la tige mesuree en sept divisions egales. Les bases saignoient la marbre blanc, come en semblable faisoient leurs chapiteaux tant bien taillez & revestuz de leurs fuellies d'acanthe ou branque ursine, qu'ils sembloyet à la veue esblouyssante par trop les co'templer, qu'elles undoyassent au vent. La rudenture de ces colonnes estoit expressement bronzée par si excellet artifice, que c'estoit chose fort exquise. Dessus les chapiteaux regnoyent l'architrave, la frize, & la cornice, où n'y avoit un seul point à redire; mesmes c'est architrave estoit perlé & billeté par si bonne industrie suyt la vraie antiquité, qu'aucun ouvrier ou autre bô esprit entendant l'architecture, n'en eust sceu reporter que grand contentement. Quant à la frize son fons du coste'de la porte saint Denys, premierement subject à la veue du Roy, estoit d'or: & les masques relevez avec les fleurons de dessus, aussi blâcs que marbre poly, au moyen dequoy ils tenoyent en admiration les yeulx de tous regardens. 38

38 C'est l'ordre ... ... , " Passing beyond the said fountain of Ponceau, and approaching St. Jacques de l'Hospital, a great triumphal arch with two faces of the Corinthian order was found, constructed with all the proportions and beautiful artifices which belong to such a work. The opening was fourteen feet by twenty-six in height, and the supports of the two sides comprised a measurement of three toises in depth: the footing of the piers were exactly of a perfect
Figure 19.— The Triumphal Arch at St. Jacques de l'Hospital.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
After this thorough description of the facade of the arch the account continues with a resume of its decoration.

Poised above the keystone of this arch was a figure representing Gaul, her crown of three towers symbolizing Aquitaine, Belgium and the Celtic provinces. Fruits and flowers held in her hands indicated her fertility, this lesson repeated in the inscription beneath her feet, Gallia Fertilis.

Above the return of the cornices were two naked infants, painted to resemble marble, leaning on two horns of plenty. On a socle between them was the inscription Terra antiqua, poteus armes, atque ubere glebae, Terna tibi populus Galia Mater alo. 39

The socle also held two angels, each ten feet in height but square with two tiers, on each of which had been raised up two fluted and cabled Corinthian columns, twenty-four feet tall, measured from the encroachment to the diameter of the top. Their shaft was enlarged by three and a half times its measurement, divided into seven equal parts. The bases were feigned white marble, as were the capitals, all sculptured and adorned with acanthus leaves or twining branches, which seemed to the viewer far too dazzling to contemplate, as they undulated in the wind. The cabling of these columns was expertly bronzed by such excellent artifice that it was a very exquisite thing. Above the capitals loomed the architrave, the frieze and the cornice, where there was not a thing to criticize; even this architrave was polished and burnished with such good industry, following the example of true antiquity, that no worker or other good person with an understanding of architecture has been known to report any greater contentment. As for the frieze, its ends on the side of the Port St. Denis, the first seen by the king, were of gold; and the masques and reliefs and the flowers above them were as polished white marble, because of which they were held in admiration by all who regarded them."

39 Ibid., 13. The account published by de la Fosse translates this inscription, corruptly:" Moy terre noble en armes florissante et en toue biens utisses splendissante je te nourry (o ma mere françoise.)," op.cit., 19.
appearing to be of human proportions because of the height of the arch. In their right hands these angels held an escutcheon of France, three gold fleurs de lys on a field of azure. The entire escutcheon was surrounded by a collar of the Chevaliers of the Order of St. Michael and a double row of shells. In their left hands each figure held an imperial crown. The remainder of the decorations on this face of the arch included arms of the king and queen, placed in laurel wreaths, and two Victories, painted as if in flight, holding laurel wreaths and palm branches. All of the undecorated surface of the arch was painted to simulate variegated stone.

Inside the vault of the arch were compartments full of large gold roses and the devices of the king, festooned with ivy. Each flank of the vault contained a painting: one of the River Seine and one of the River Marne.

On the opposite face of the arch, which is not shown in the festival book illustration reproduced in Figure 19, the ground of the frieze was white and the masques and flowers were gold, reversing the color scheme of the first face. On this keystone was Good Fortune, dressed in a simple robe, holding a cup and a bundle of grain, with the inscription, Bonus Eventus, at the feet of the figure.

Two infants, Flora and Pomona, decorated the returns of the cornice: Flora with an urn of flowers, holding a real fleur de lys in her hand, and Pomona, carrying a pruning knife. Angels holding
the escutcheon and imperial crown seen on the first face of the arch reappeared on the second. On the socle, however, was a statue of Zephyrus, facing toward the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. This figure was depicted sounding on two antique trumpets directed at Flora and Pomona.

A double tablet beneath the feet of the figure of Good Fortune contained the verses describing the significance of both sides of the arch:

L'antique Cybele gloire produict aux Dieux,
Et preste abonament substance à la nature:  
Moy Gaule, ie produy honneur & nourriture
Au Roy, à ses sujets, & hommes de lous lieux.

Flore promet par son mari Zephyre
De fruicts & fleurs heureux evenement.
Le Roy promet par son advenement
Le vray bon heure où toute France aspire.  

The Rhinoceros and the Obelisk.- One of the most unique decorations constructed for this entry was the figure of the rhinoceros bearing an obelisk on its back, which was erected before the Church of the Sepulchre, the next station on the royal entry route.

The woodcut illustrating this monument, shown in Figure 20 on page 138, does not give a true sense of its proportions. According to the Dallier festival book, the triangular needle or obelisk stood

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40 Ibid., 17. "The ancient Sybil produced glory to the Gods, And abundantly furnished substance in the style of nature; My Gaul, I produce honor and nourishment for the king, for his subjects, and many [others] of all places. / Flora is promised by her husband Zephyrus, The happy approach of fruits and flowers. The king promises by his advance the true great honor to which all France aspires."

41 Generally linked to the influence of the Songe du Poliphile.
Figure 20.— The Rhinoceros and the Obelisk.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
some seventy feet in height, with a foundation seven feet below ground level. The pedestal supporting the structure measured nine and a half feet in height and twenty feet in length, about a toise and a half in width. The figure of the rhinoceros itself was eighteen feet in length and eleven in height.

The decoration of this enormous structure was complex. The pedestal, evidently constructed of wood, was painted to represent the grain of porphyry, jasper, serpentine and other stones, embellished with the arms of the king, the queen, laurel wreaths, crescents and monograms. The figure of the rhinoceros itself was evidently treated with some degree of realism, for the author of the account comments that the animal was finished in "the color of the bark of trees, armed with real scales." 42

Beneath the rhinoceros were figures of dead and dying animals: a lion, bear, wild boar, wolves and foxes. Girdling the rhinoceros was a wide cinch which gave the appearance of holding the obelisk onto the back of the beast.

The obelisk itself was painted on three sides to simulate porphyry, with gilded trimmings. The principal face of the needle, that facing the processional route, contained a long compartment on which was painted a hieroglyph containing the "desires of the Parisians" expressed in a Rebus. 43 These hieroglyphs, apparent

42 C'est l'ordre ... , 20.

43 A certain Oriental or exotic note is injected into the festival décor with this monument.
in Figure 20, include: a lion and a dog, each standing with one paw on an imperial crown of France, between them a large book closed with heavy clasps and containing a naked sword passing through the pages from top to bottom; a twisted serpent, a crescent, a globe resting on a step, a human foot, the poop of a ship, an open eye, a consular staff, a trident, a circle, a shield, an anchor, two hands clasping an olive branch, a horn of plenty under a shower of gold, a stag, a dolphin, a laurel wreath, an antique lighted lamp, a horse's bridle and the helm of a ship. According to the author of the Dallier account, this message addressed to the king meant

Force & vigilance puissant garder vostre Royaume: Par conseil, bonne expedition, & prudence soient voz limites estenduz, si qu'à vous soit soumise toute la ronde machine de la terre, & que dominez à la mer, ayat tousjours Dieu pour vengeur & deffenseur contre voz enemies: par ferme paix & concorde, en affluence de tous biens longuement & sainement triumphateur, vivez, regissez & gouvernez. ¹⁴

The author of the festival book makes no attempt to explain the derivation of this symbolism or the meaning attached to the individual items comprising the hieroglyph. The account of the entry

¹⁴ Ibid., 22. "Strength and vigilance will guard your kingdom; by counsel, good expedition, and prudence your boundaries will be extended so that all the round scheme of the earth will be submitted to your dominance, and the sea as well; always having God to avenge and defend you against your enemies; by firm peace and concord to triumph, live, rule and govern long and sanely, benefitted with the abundance of all things."
published in the *Registres des Déliberations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris* duplicates this information, again, with no further amplification. The small festival book published by Germaine de la Fosse completely omits any account of the rebus. In fact, this description does not even mention the figure of the rhinoceros but comments only on the lion and "other beasts" on the monument, the author concluding his account by stating

> De interpretation de lad devise plusiers gé*s doctes se poiront entendë se seulement / & deuce entendre que au dict chasteau qui estoit sur ladicte beste y avoit plusiers devises en grec & latin avec plusiers enigmes si tres magnifique & expressente que lon ne scaureit estimer & qui seroit trop longue a racompter.

Less difficult to comprehend, perhaps, was the statue of France which stood on a gilded globe at the tip of the obelisk. Three thunderbolts extended from this globe beneath a figure which was dressed in an Imperial toga of blue, sprinkled with *fleurs de lys*. The statue held a partially sheathed epee in his hand, signifying that he had vanquished the ravenous beasts lying beneath the rhinoceros. The motto of the statue, *Quos Ego*, was affixed to its base.

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46 *Les grâds triumphes ...*, 21. "Only a few learned men have been able to understand the interpretation of the said device / and the double meaning which is attached to the said chateau which was on the said beast where there were many devices in Greek and Latin with several enigmas so very magnificent and excellent that it is not possible to estimate them & which would take too long to recount."

47 *C'est l'ordre ...*, 21.
At the base of the needle was another inscription,

\[
\text{ΑΛΕΞΙΚΑΚΟΣ} .
\]

On the pedestal appeared a quatrain, spoken in the person of France:

\[
\text{Longuement a vescue & viura la memoire} \\
\text{D'Hercules, qui tant a de monstres surmontez} \\
\text{Les peuples fiers & forts par moy France domtez} \\
\text{Furent, sont & seront ma perdurable gloire.} \quad 49
\]

The Fountain of the Innocents.- Although the Fountain of the Holy Innocents was not, properly speaking, a monument of this triumph, but was begun sometime before the royal entry its completion coincided with the fête and the decoration of the Rue St. Denis. Both festival books include a brief description of the fountain but it is not illustrated.

The Portico before the Châtelet.- In the square known as the Apport de Paris was a portico in flat painting, Doric in order and dipteral in design. This portico was carefully painted with a central vanishing point achieving great depth of perspective and an illusion of three dimensional form.

In the center of the portico constructed of columns of variegated stone was a figure representing Lutece, the "new"

\[48\] Ibid., The records in the Registres des Délibérations du Ville de Paris show this as \text{ΑΛΕΞΙΚΑΚΟΣ}. Certainly the first word is better suited to the meaning of the monument than the second: \text{ἀλέξι - kakes} ; "keeping off evil," cf. \text{ἀλέξι - καίως} ; "keeping away fame (fortune)."

\[49\] Ibid., 23. "Long has lived and will live the memory of Hercules, who has surmounted all the monsters. The fierce and strong peoples subdued by my France were, are and will be my lasting glory."
Pandora. This nymph, seen in Figure 21 on page 145, was pictured kneeling on one knee in homage to the king. Her dress and coif were in the classical mode as was the urn which stood beside her and which she appeared to be opening to release the "happy presents" contained within. Above the head of the figure was inscribed *Lutetia Nova Pandora* and a quatrain written on tablets at the front of the portico explained the significance of the figure:

Iadis chacun des Dieux feit un double present
A la fille Vulcan qui s'en nomma Pandore.
Mais, Sire, chacun d'eux de tous biens me decore;
Et puis qu'a vous je suis, tout est vostre a present. 50

The woodcut in Figure 21 depicts several persons standing on the gallery overlooking the portico. This embellishment of the artists must be regarded as sheer fancy for the festival book account clearly indicates that this gallery, as well as the rest of the portico, was done in flat painting and was added to give the impression of depth and solidity, reinforced by the fact that the sky was visible through the balustrades. 51

50 *Ibid.*, 25. "Once each of the gods made a double present to the daughter of Vulcan, who he had named Pandora. But, Sire, each of them has so well ornamented me that when I am with you all of my gifts belong to you."

51 *Ibid.*, 26. If the artist responsible for the woodcuts was Jean Goujon, also credited with creating the actual portico, it is possible that he may have embellished the illustration to reinforce the three-dimensional quality of the design.
Figure 21.-- The Portico at the Châtelet.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Decoration of the Pont Notre Dame

Like the Fountain of the Innocents, the Pont Notre Dame was not a monument of the royal entry although it was one of the first permanent structures in the city erected in the "new style." The bridge in question was that which replaced the "old" Pont Notre Dame which had fallen in 1499 and was rebuilt under Louis XII and Francis I.

Whether or not the new bridge was "dedicated" at the entry of Henri II, as Pierre Champion insists, it was certainly a major visual focal point in the entry plan, having a large triumphal arch at each of its ends and a decorative arcade embellishing the shops and houses lining the body of the bridge itself. 52

The First Triumphal Arch.- On the north end of the bridge was an arch of composite order and immense proportions, the opening alone measuring eleven feet in width and twenty-two feet in height. The frieze of this arch was decorated with flowers, the cornice with several types of moldings. At the level of the cornice a plinth was raised holding a figure of Typhus ten feet in height. The face of this figure bore a close resemblance to that of the monarch, Henri II. 53

The figure of Typhus was girded with ivy and held a large

52 Champion, op.cit., 116.
53 C'est l'ordre ..., 28.
ship's mast from which billowed a taffeta sail striped with silver. Castor, sculptured in silver, and Pollux, in black, flanked the central figure, each holding a large star in reversed colors which signified immortality. The festival book account published by Dallier states that these figures also held an anchor signifying "safe navigation" but this is not apparent in the woodcut depicting the arch reproduced in Figure 22 on page 149.

Four niches pierced the front of the arch, each holding a figure of one of the Argonauts: Telamon, Peleus, Hercules and Hylas. Each of these figures was clothed in antique dress and held an oar. On the opposite side of the arch flat paintings, corresponding to the niches, depicted Theseus, Pyritous, Zetus and Calais. Because of the fact that all these figures were Greek, the inscription around the circumference of the arch was in that language: ΗΜΕΙΣ ΕΜΜΕΝΑΤΕΣ ΑΜ'ΕΤΟΜΕΒΑ. 54

Additional tablets on the flanks of the vault of the arch depicted Phryxus consecrating the golden fleece to Mars and Jason stealing the fleece and leading away Medea. Inscriptions from Virgil decorated these paintings and a cartouche in the center of the arch explained the symbolism, and the allegorical relevance, in a

54 Ibid., 29. The translation which the author of the festival book gives for this inscription is very literal: "We desire and urge you to allow us to follow you together."
Figure 22.— The Triumphal Arch on the Pont Notre Dame.

The Allegory of the Argonauts.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
quatraine:

Par l'antique Typhis Argo fut gouvernée,
Pour aller conquérir d'or la riche toison,
Et par vous Roy prudent à semblable raison,
Sera nostre grand nef hereusement mené. 55

The author of the festival book account notes that this was said to the king because "he is the pilot of the ship of Paris, not inferior to the ancient Argos." 56

Decoration of the Center of the Bridge.— Figure 23 on page 152 shows the central section of the Pont Notre Dame decorated for the entry. The thirty maisons on the bridge were painted in red and numbered in gold. Sirens cut in relief at the level of the second floor held stone festoons rising above the third floor level. These festoons were decorated with the devices of the king, i.e. the double monogram in gold on an azure field, silver crescents on a black field, double bows, thunderbolts and bows with broken strings. Serpentine-haired Medusas with open mouths completed the décor.

The Second Triumphal Arch.— A second triumphal arch decorated the south end of this bridge. This arch is not illustrated in the Dallier festival book, the account indicating that its design

55 Ibid., 30. "Argos was piloted by the ancient Typhis, in order to go and conquer the golden fleece: And similarly by your prudence and wisdom, o King, will our great ship be happily steered."

56 Ibid.
Figure 23.— Decoration of the Pont Notre Dame.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
and construction were similar to the first but with different figures.  

On the bridge face of this arch painted figures represented Calisto, Archas, Croton and Pandarus. Complementing them, in niches on the opposite face, sculptured forms of Iris and two cupids, one in the style of Plato and one in the ordinary form, appeared. A fourth form represented Genius Principes, depicted as a beautiful youth who bore a strong resemblance to Henri II.

Large figures of Phoebus and Phoebe in gold and silver occupied the plinth on this arch, both leaning on a terrestrial globe placed between them. A cartouche hanging in the center held another quatrain describing the interpretation desired by the architect:

Sire, croyez puis que de si bon cueur  
Pour vostre nom perpetuer se bande  
De demy dieux & dieux ceste grand bande,  
Que des vainqueurs vous ferez le vainqueur.  

Tablets in the faces of the vaults held paintings depicting Aurora and Hesperus, each figure placed in a scene depicting the dawn and evening skies.

Rationale of the Entry Décor

In a concluding paragraph, after extensive descriptions of the

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57 Ibid., 34.

58 Ibid., 35. "Sire, do you believe it possible that those of such good courage, this great band of demi-gods and gods bend their bows in order to perpetuate your name, who, of the victorious, will be the victor."
decorations raised for this entry, the author of the Dallier festival book proposes a curious rationale for the presence of the arches, figures and other inventions. These things were all made, he states "in order that the people would not be left loitering aimlessly either before or after the entry of the said Lord King." 59

Somewhat contrarily, the author of the shorter festival book published by Germaine de la Posse points out, here and there throughout the text, that the devices constructed for the entry were all "of grand artifice" but "nearly incomprehensible," "understood by men of knowledge," and "known to men of genius." 60 The implication to be drawn from both accounts may be that while the public could pass the time observing the beauty of the decorations they could not be expected to understand them.

Concluding Events of the First Day of the Entry

When the procession of the king's household reached the end of the entry route, before the Church of Notre Dame, tradition demanded that the king enter the church to swear his allegiance before the prelates gathered there. While this occurred, the gentlemen of the king's household and the archers of the guard, numbering some six hundred men, were fanned out in a cordon along the

59 Ibid., 36.
60 Les grands triumphs ..., 21-22, et passim.
Pont Notre Dame as far as the Rue de Calandre, where the Palace was located. 61 At the conclusion of the ceremonies at Notre Dame the king retired to the Palace, passing beneath another triumphal arch which had been constructed at its entrance.

The Arch at the Palace.- There is a discrepancy in the festival book account of the entry published by Dallier regarding the arch before the Palace on the Rue de Calandre. The author, after describing some parts of the arch, refers the reader to the illustration included in the text. There is no illustration in the copy of the festival book utilized for purposes of this study.

Briefly, the arch before the Palace is described as being "Corinthian in order" with a figure of Minerva raised at the center. This Minerva was placed on a pile of books, signifying that she was a treasury of science. Her left hand grasped her right breast from which a stream of milk flowed, symbolizing the sweetness of good letters. In her left hand this statue held some sculptured fruits.

At the returns of the cornice were figures of Harpies, each holding a lighted torch in its talons, the odor more pungent than "violets of Cyprus." Between the Harpies, on a socle, two nymphs

61 Poète ("Origines de la Fête Triomphale à Paris," 362) points out that during the king's residence in Paris he was required to remain at the Palace, considered the seat of the French kingdom. Henri obeyed this custom until the entry of the queen had been completed, then returned to his customary Paris home, Tournelles.
in classic dress held a laurel wreath ornamenting the escutcheons of the king and queen. One of these nymphs also held a trumpet, announcing the entry of Henri to the world.

The sides of the stairway leading to the level of the grand hall were also decorated with columns, over which was raised a vault of topiary work enriched with the arms of the king and queen and the Duke of Orleans (the Dauphin).

The King's Dinner in the Grand Hall. - The evening of the entry was spent in the grand hall of the palace which had been richly hung with tapestries. The king and the princes of the blood dined at the marble table centered in the gallery where velour draperies of azure sprinkled with gold fleurs de lys decorated the site of the king's throne.

Other tables placed to the right and the left of the king's table were reserved for the Chevaliers of the Order of St. Michael, princes, ambassadors and similar dignitaries. Another table was prepared for the dignitaries of the city of Paris.

The Entry of the Queen

The entry of the queen, Catherine de Medicis, newly crowned at Rheims, took place on Tuesday, June 18. The entry was, in all respects, a duplicate of that made by her husband two days before, the members of the Parisian cortege and the composition of the royal procession, now consisting of the ladies, princesses and dames of the
queen's household, carefully described in the festival accounts.

Considerable space is devoted to a description of the attire, decoration and mounting of this procession. As in Lyon, white dominated the coloration of the queen's household; in this case, ermine robes worn by the queen, princesses and ranking ladies seemed to set the motif of dress.

All of the princesses and ladies in the procession were mounted on white palfreys. Three silver chariots, each drawn by four white horses harnessed in silver, carried damsels of the queen's household, six in each car. The charioteers and ladies were all dressed in silver toile.

The queen herself, with Mme. Marguerite, traversed the entry route in a litter drawn by mules. Above the queen was born a pall of gold frieze fringed with deep crimson silk, with the queen's arms embroidered in silver wire. This pall was born by the same craftsmen who had had the privilege of carrying the king's pall on the day of his entry.

Beyond the description of the dress of the queen's household there is little amplification in the account of the entry, the

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62 The festival account published by Germaine de la Fosse (op. cit., 28) states that for the entry of the queen the harangues made at the Port aux Peintres and the Pont Notre Dame had been changed from those of the preceding entry. Since neither festival book notes any orations made at the stations along the route the author is evidently referring to changes made in the inscribed quatrains. The Dallier festival book makes no mention of such changes, nor does the account published in the Registres des Délibérations du Bureau de la Ville de Paris.
festival accounts consistently referring to the events as they had occurred on "the day of the entry of the said Seigneur [the king]."

At the completion of the procession at Notre Dame the queen, as had her husband, paused for the traditional ceremonies within the church and then passed on to the Palace for a dinner duplicating that which had been celebrated for the king.

**Concluding Events of the Entry**

Although the king and queen remained in Paris for a month following their entries there was apparently little additional public celebration beyond the tournament held in the Rue St. Anthony, discussed below. Chartrou has indicated that a Naumachia was ordered for the entry at the express command of the king, in which a fort was to be erected on one of the islands in the river to be assaulted by the ships engaged in naval battle. Because this Naumachia was thought to be in "vulgar" taste, compared with the rest of the entry, the organizers of the fête assigned its construction to Italian artists. Chartrou explains the lack of reference to the Naumachia in the accounts of the entry, hypothesizing that the artists who constructed the fête and assisted with the publication of the festival accounts purposely omitted mention of the Naumachia because it had no relevance to the previously pre-

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63 Chartrou, op.cit., 40.
Private Social Aspects of the Entry. - Only one private social event has been recorded in the accounts of the entry: a dinner and ball held in the grand hall of the palace of Cardinal du Bellay for the honor of the queen. The Dallier festival account describes the decoration for this feast as consisting of paintings representing the figures of gods and goddesses at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis (father and mother of Achilles) and beautiful landscapes which were so engaging to the eye that several of the guests forgot to eat and drink.

Rich panels and hangings of tapestry extended from the bottom of these panels to the floor of the hall, covering all four walls. Figures of grotesques and Mauresques served as borders and incidental decorations.

The dinner offered to the queen and her household was served by the eschevins and principle officers of the city of Paris, with the enfants de la ville carrying the courses, all dressed in the attire which they had worn for the entry. Music played throughout the dinner and continued afterward for a ball attended by all present, including the king who had expressed his desire to attend the feast honoring his lady.

Traditional Ceremonies of the Entry

Traditional aspects of the festival which followed the entry processions themselves included the giving and acceptance of

64 C'est l'ordre . . . , 74.
gifts, and participation in various religious ceremonies.

The Presentation of Gifts.- The presentation of gifts to the king and queen, a traditional aspect of the entry in Paris, as elsewhere, is completely omitted from the short festival account published by Germaine de la Fosse. The author of the Dallier account mentions the giving of such gifts but confesses his lack of knowledge as to their form:

Quant aux présents qui furent faitz par le Provost des marchâs & Échevins de ladite ville au Roy & Royne, ainsi qu’il est de louable & ancienne coutume, ie ne n’estudiray point à en faire autre particuliere description, mais chascun pourra entendre, qui oitutre le grand pris & valeur dont ils estayoient, louvrage en fut se beau & excellent, & principalement de celuy qui fut presente au Roy, qui ne meritent moins que d’estre mis entre les autres manufactures que l’antiquité nous a laissées en recommendation. 65

For a description of the gifts and their presentation to the royal couple it is necessary to turn to the public records which do contain the account. 66

The presentation of the gift to the queen took place at dinner on June 19. The gift, presented by the provost of the merchants of the city and the eschevins consisted of a service of

65 Ibid., 76. "As for the presents which were made to the king and queen by the Provost of the merchants of the said city, as it is the laudable and ancient custom, I have not at all studied the matter to be able to make any detailed description of them, but everyone will certainly understand that beyond the great price and value which they had, the workmanship was so beautiful and so excellent, principally that of [the gift] presented to the king, that it had no less merit than to be ranked among those other souveniers which have been left to us in esteem by antiquity."

silver, doubly plated with gold and covered with designs of fleurs de lys and crescents.

The gift to the king was presented at his residence, Tournelles, on June 20. The monarch's gift took the form of a statuette fashioned from melted gold coins, richly decorated with his arms, figures of Janus and Justice, and portrait images of Louis XII, Francis I and Henri himself.

The Feu de St. Jean. - The attendance of the king at the Vigil of Saint John the Baptist, "following the ancient custom of his predecessors," is also recorded in the city records but does not receive mention in either festival book.

The vigil was held before the Hôtel de la Ville at the Place de Greve and included, in addition to the king, the queen, princes of the blood, lords and ladies. In the king's presence the provost of the city put a white torch to the large pyre which had been prepared "according to the ancient custom." This ceremony was accompanied by a volley of artillery from the cannon of the city. Following the ceremonial fire the king and queen attended a ball in the great hall of the Hôtel de la Ville. 67

The King's Procession to Notre Dame. - A final traditional ceremony of the king's entry was his procession to Notre Dame, held on July 4. This procession, part of the unchanging ritual of the Parisian entry, encompassed the king's entire household, as well as the

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officers of the city, university and the clergy.

The purpose of this procession was to allow the king to adore the relics preserved in the church which were then carried out in solemn procession to be shown to the people. These relics included the fragments of the True Cross, the Holy Crown of Thorns, the bones of St. Sebastian and relics of St. Marcel and Ste. Genevieve. At the conclusion of the display of the relics the king and his household went into Notre Dame where they heard the Mass of the Holy Sacrament. 68

_Burning of the Heretics._— Following the celebration of the Mass and a dinner with the court, Henri participated in the burning of some heretics who had been held prisoner in the Palace for some time. The executions took place at three locations in the city: the Place Maubert, the Cemetary of Saint Jean and on the Rue St. Anthony, near the Tournelles. The king attended the pyre at the latter location, watching the fires and urging the heretics to repent and be returned to the Church. 69

It is difficult to determine whether the king's attendance at this public execution could be termed "traditional." Probably the timing of the executions to occur during the king's residence in the city could be coincidental, although Henri's intolerance toward heretics was well-known and it is possible that the executions

68 Ibid., 184.
69 Ibid.
may have been scheduled specifically for his attendance.

The Grand Tournament of Paris

Henri's reputation as a horseman and particular devotee of the joust occasioned the staging of a grand tournament on the Rue St. Anthony during the royal visit in Paris. The tournament had been published throughout France on April 1, 1549, at the same time that the king had announced his intention to make an entry into the capital city. Records of the preparation for the tournament coincide with those describing the organization of the royal festival and the tournament is duly recorded in the festival book accounts.

The Triumphal Arch for the Tournament.—The lists for the royal tournament had been plotted at the crossroads of the Church of St. Paul and the Rue St. Anthony where the pavement had been removed for the jousts and combats. At the crossroads the councilors of the city had erected a large triumphal arch in the form of an H. The arch, represented in Figure 24 on page 165, was decorated with Trophies and antique spoils, even though its architecture was Doric in order.

The perfect proportions of this arch consisted of uprights measuring three-foot-three-inches in diameter, corresponding to a height of a little less than twenty-four feet. The arch rested on pedestals ten feet in height, spaced at nine foot intervals. The opening, twelve feet wide, served as the entrance onto the lists.
Figure 24. -- The Triumphal Arch for the Tournament of Paris.

OSUTC Film No. 1745

Courtesy of the British Museum.
The lintel of the arch, cross stroke of the H, formed a cornice supporting two Victories holding palm leaves and supporting a large crescent of silver, eight feet in diameter. The arms of the king were contained in this crescent, against a black field.

Two large equestrian statues surmounted plinths higher than the capitals of the columns. The statues faced the lists as if the mounted men wished to join the combats.

A cartouche at the top of the lintel held a quatrain dedicated to the king:

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Les phalanges de Grece, & legions Romaines,
Ployerent sous le faix de noz puissans effors;
Sire, aussi ployerent les plus fins & plus fors,
Dessous vostre prudence & force plus qu'humaines.
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On the side of the arch facing St. Catherine was a statue of Mars on the projection of one pedestal and that of Dis on another.

The Scaffolds.- On each side of the arch, visible in Figure 24, were two scaffolds, each four toises in length and three in height. From these scaffolds the lords of the city watched the tournament.

On the left side of the lists was the queen's scaffold, eighteen toises long, nine feet in width, and six toises and twenty feet in height. Over this scaffold was raised a socle four feet in height decorated with architrave, frieze and cornice, the finial on top taking the form of an H held up by two K's with a crescent

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70 C'est l'ordre ... , 77. "The Phalanxes of Greece and the legions of Rome, Lamenting under the burden of our powerful efforts: Sire, they will also lament more strongly and more totally, under your superhuman prudence and strength."
in the middle. A stairway reached from the bottom stage of the scaffold to the top, and a covered walkway or bridge projected from the top stage of the scaffold to the upper floor of a nearby house. Additional scaffolds were erected for the Governor of Paris, the judges of the tournament and the heralds at arms. Two smaller scaffolds served as barricades at each end of the field where the combatants were assembled in their order of appearance. 71

The King's Arcade.- Concluding the account of the plan of the lists the Dallier festival book continues with a description of an "arcade" erected across the street from the Tournelles. This arcade contained three portals; one larger opening in the middle flanked by a smaller portal on each side. Inside the "arcade" was a grand hall "in the mode of Francis [I]." The author of the festival book waxes poetic here, commenting that this hall was "garnished with windows of glass, a thing so very superb and excellent, that one was able with good reason to call this the true work of the king [Francis], which testified to the presence of his spirit." 72

Unhappily, this is the extent of the description of this arcade and there is no illustration of it in the festival book accounts. There is also no mention, in either the festival books or

71 Ibid., 79. The unknown author of the festival book apologizes for the failure to reproduce the plan showing all of the scaffolds and lists for the tournament, noting that all of the scaffolds appear similar to those shown in the woodcut (Figure 24).

72 Ibid., 81.
the public records, as to the purpose of this arcade or its relation to the entry. It may be possible to interpret this description of the "arcade" as more properly describing the great hall which was raised in the park of the Tournelles to house the dinners and banquets which Henri desired to hold during his entry and which could not be accommodated in the limited space of the Tournelles. This hall, designed and supervised by Philibert de Lorme, was partially devised by the carpenter, Siber de Carpi, who had created the wainscoting in Fountainbleau for Francis I. 73

Summary

The entry of Henri II into Paris reflects a conflict between the traditionalism which was attached to the festivals of this city and the desires of the artists who organized and constructed the decor of the fête. This conflict is emphasized when the two festival book accounts of the entry are compared. The Dallier account, on one hand, dealing extensively with the architectural forms of the festival, explaining in professional terminology the symbolism and rationale for each figure, cornice, plinth and order used in the decoration of the monuments of the fête, expresses erudition on the part of the author and expected understanding on the part of the readers. Indeed, at times, the section of this

73 Roy, "Collaboration de Philibert de Lorme aux préparatifs de l'entrée Henry II à Paris ...," loc.cit., 219-221. The fact that de Carpi had worked as a carpenter for Francis I might explain the festival book author's reaction to the "style" of the arcade.
festival book concerned with descriptions of the monuments for the fête appears to resemble an architect's handbook rather than a popular account of the event. It is evident that this portion of the account was written by, or at least edited by, one or more of the artists in charge of the construction and design of the architectural forms.

The second festival book, published by Germaine de la Fosse, seems to reflect the point of view expected from the "uneducated" populace. The author of this volume does not ignore the décor of the festival but seems either incapable of understanding or describing it to the reader. Frequent references to the esoteric nature of the entry decorations and their appeal to "learned persons" seems to indicate the author's belief that the bourgeois of Paris could not be expected to comprehend the intricacies of classical symbolism nor appreciate the appeal of architectural excellence. It is not surprising that, more than the Dallier account, the focus of this book is directed at the description of the processional and traditional aspects of the fête.

Conceivably the intended circulation of the two festival books aimed at quite different readers. But what about the actual presentation of the fête itself? For whom was the festival actually staged? Not for the people of the city, apparently not even entirely for the king whose tastes ran to more "vulgar" entertainments and displays which were not suited to the ideas of the artists of the entry. It appears that in Paris, much more than in
Lyon, the artists of the festival designed the décor for themselves in what might be termed a reaction in plastic expression to Du Bellay's exhortation in his *Défence et illustration de la langue Française*. The French artists of the fête, following the advice of this literary manifesto, did, indeed, study the forms of classical structure and then create a new, "French" version of their own devising. They were unable, however to create a form strong enough to compete with the traditional orientation of the Parisian entry or the city of Paris itself. The result was a décor peripheral to the festival itself; appreciated for its esthetic qualities but failing to communicate the subtleties which the artists had so carefully symbolized in their designs.
In 1549, shortly after the crowning of Catherine de Medicis at Rheims and the royal entry into Paris, Henri joined his army at Boulogne in the expedition against the English fortresses at that city. The peace concluded, the monarch passed through Rouen after attending the surrender of Boulogne in 1550. It was this successful expedition as well as the "commencement of Henri's happy reign" which occasioned the triumphal entry made by the king into his "capital city of Normandy."

The Rouennais, wishing to express their thanks to their king for his successful termination of a siege which had restricted the commerce of the city for some time, mounted a display of unprecedented extravagance, the sentiments of the population being expressed in a foreword to the official festival book account of the entry which, while lengthy, is included here to indicate the general tenor of public adulation against which the entry was presented:

La plus grâde felicité dont un peuple puisse estre enrichy apres la cognoissance de Dieu, est d'avoir un Roy qui pre-celle autât ses subjectz de sainctes & louables vertuz côme de supreme Authorité & puissance; mais s'il y a nation en ce mode qui l'influence ce leste ait favorisé de ce beau & recommandable privilege la France s'en peut à bon droit glorifier. Et par especial en ce temps le Roy Henry second du nom en donne si sufisant tesmoignage qui'il n'est besoing
reduytre en memoire les gestes memorables des Roys ses predecessore dont les hittories [sic] tant modernes que antiques sont plaines, bien pouvons nous mettre en avant l'acte autant digne de luy comme tresaufrageux pour nous, Lequel il a executé avec non moindre dextérité que diligence, à lissue de son entree celebree à Paris monstrant assez n'auoir esté esbloy de la splendeur des delices & magnificences qui luy furent amplement preparées par ses subietz mais aout toujours l'oeil dreslé au but ou l'honneur la vertu la seureté & aduancement de son estat repos & felicité de son peuple atiroient son coeur vrayeméroyal, de sorte qu'en un moment il estendit les lices du tournoy de sa ville Metropolitaine iusques deuant Boullongne ville limitrophe de son royaume tirant comme un traict de ligne du centre à l'extreméte de la circumference, & non-obstant que la saison de l'yuer importunee de continuelles pluyes luy fussent merueilleusement contraires si eust il plus tost pris les places de toute extreme puissance fortissiees qui pour leur defence empeschoient la rendition de Boullongne que les ennemys ne furent quasi aduertits de son enterprise non moins difficile que le succez en fut heurieux, Car il n'est homme de bon iugement qui ne confesse les Anglois par ce moyen estre conduisct au point de la raison pour luy rendre ce que outre raison ilz detenoient & auoir enterpris sur luy, Et de cela est resultée une paix victorieuse ou victoire pacifique qui merite dautant plus grans triumphes qui moins y a eu de sang christian espandu, parquoy non sans grande occasion auons foncé la dessus la plateforme de nos deseye pour solenniser la nouvelle heureuse & tresdesirée enterree en sa bonne & ancienne ville de Rouen non pour en croistre la memoire, Car elle fera pour l'excelence du fait perpetuelle ains pour témoignage de la cognoissance que nous auons de ses vertuz & perfection heroicques, Et si la venerable antiquite à tant honore les vertueux & preux que aux s ... ples [sic] soldatz mesmes elle à eslevé statues publiques pour perpetuer la memoire des merites d'iceulx envers la republique, & bien souvent à un particulier, Quel honére debuons nous à un si grand & si vertueux Roy qui contre lesperance de tout le monde par sa force & magnanimite àtiré des mains de ses ennemys l'une des principales clefz de son royaume pour le fermer à tous ceulx qui desormais y vouldroient à force d'armes entrer, En quoy faisant il y a remit en possession actuelle plusieurs errantz desheritez restitue plusieurs fugitivz au lieu de leur naturalité, reedifié, & restauré, les temples ruynez & reuoko les ministres d'iceulx pour y continuer la servie divin finablement acquis le benefice d'heureulx repots à tous ses subietz, lequel Dieu promet à ceulx qui gardent ses commandementz c'est à s'ugaver, d'habiter la terre sans
It is against a background of public sentiment of this kind that the entry of Henri II into Rouen took place. Here, for the first

1 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... , 3-4. "The greatest happiness with which a people may be enriched, after the knowledge of God, is to have a King who brings to his subjects some sacred and praiseworthy virtues, as well as supreme authority and power; but there has been no nation in the world where the influences have been so favorable as has been the beautiful and commendable privilege of France which has been so glorified. And particularly at this time, King Henry second of that name having given such sufficient proof that he has never minimized the memory of the memorable deeds of his predecessors, those kings who fill the pages of both ancient and modern history, allowing us to feel his dignity as an advantage for ourselves. Which things he has executed with no less dexterity than diligence, at the close of the celebrated entry into Paris, demonstrating that he had not been dazzled by the splendor of the delights and magnificences which had been amply prepared for him by his subjects; but always having his eyes set to that end where honor, truth, sureness and the advancement of his estate lay and with the happiness of his people truly winning his royal heart, so that in a moment he extended his battlefield from the lists of the tournament of this Metropolitan city [Paris] as far as Boulogne, border city linked as by a straight line from the center of his kingdom to the extremity of its circumference, and notwithstanding that the season of the year, importuned with continual rains, was marvelously opposed to him, he most quickly took control of those extremely powerful fortresses upon which the defense of Boulogne depended so that his enemies were not able to avert his enterprise, an enterprise no less difficult than its successful outcome was happy. For no man of good judgement will not confess that the English withheld that which they had gained through their enterprise without respect to reason, and from that has resulted a victorious peace or a peaceful victory which merits by as much the greatest triumphs
time, the entry is truly in the tradition of the Roman "triomphe"
celebrating the victorious success of the king as a soldier and
liberator as well as welcoming him in his role as lord of the
realm. It is possible to attribute the excesses and extravagances
of the entry fête to the simple fact that the people of Rouen and

as there was little Christian blood spilled, and because of this
great occasion there has been founded on the basis of our designs
in order to solemnize the new, happy and very desired entry [of our
king] into his good and ancient city of Rouen, not in order to augment
the memory of this deed, for this will be done through the perpetua-
tion of its excellence, but to testify to the recognition that we
have made of his virtuous and heroic perfections. And as venerable
antiquity has so honored the virtuous and proud for their brave
deeds even having raised public statues to perpetuate the merits of
these to the republic, and often to an individual, What honor can
we set out for a so great and so virtuous king who, against all
expectation of the world, by his strength and magnanimity managed to
sieve from the hands of the enemies one of the principle keystones of
his kingdom in order to close it to all those who henceforth would
desire to enter there by force of arms, by doing which he has re-
stored to their possessions several disinherited errants, restored
some exiles to the place of their birth, rebuilt and restored the
ruined temples and invoked their ministers to continue the divine
service there, finally obtaining the benefit of happy tranquillity
for all his subjects, which God promises to those who keep his
commandments; that is to say, to inhabit the earth without fear,
and the descendants of them to be assured of their goods and personal
safety. Thus, see the triumph which has liberally and magnificently
been raised for the exaltation of his majesty; see the other in-
ventions devised to give him contentment portrayed here and represent-
ed in pictures, And do not consider that which has been done as all
that which we desired to do, for we protest that if we have not been
able to correspond our efforts to the eminence which his estate and
our office compels us. This must not be attributed to the fault of
our very affectionate desires but to the grandeur of his merits."
This introductory segment of the festival book indicates the tone
of the entire account. There are continuing references to the
victorious and triumphant monarch and apologies for the failure of
the city to be able to fête the king in a manner consistent with
his recent endeavors.
Normandy owed a very real and present debt of thanks to their king who had restored peace in their province with the attendant promise of continued prosperity. 2

Another factor which must be considered, at least cursorily, in regard to the fête at Rouen, is the regional or geographical climate which must have been influential in the organization of the festival. Unlike Lyon, Rouen's geographical location put the city well beyond the bounds of immediate Italianate influence. A city long regarded as "northern" in temperament, Rouen perpetuated the Mediaeval spirit longer than the cities of the south. Unlike Paris, the traditionalism of Rouen was agricultural rather than urban and mercantile rather than aristocratic. It might be possible, then, to assume that a festival such as the entry of Henri II would be influenced by strong Mediaeval overtones, agrarianism and commerce.

Records of the Entry

Several accounts of the Rouen entry appeared in the form of printed festival books. The account considered to be the most thorough and authoritative was privileged on September 3, 1550, before

2 A less idealistic interpretation of the motivation behind the glorious entry at Rouen is advanced by Andre Pottier ("Entrée de Henri II à Rouen," Revue de Rouen, V [New Series, 1835], 33) who theorizes that the governor of the province, Claude d'Annebaut, a favorite of Francis I who had lost favor with his successor, was instrumental in the organization of the sumptuous entry by means of which he hoped to regain the grace of the king. There also seems to be a general concensus that the entry at Rouen was greatly influenced by and in competition with the preceding fêtes at Lyon and Paris, cf. Chartrou, op.cit., 125 et passim, and Mourey,op.cit., 46.
the commencement of the entry. The privilege was given to one Robert le Hoy, publisher and bookseller of Rouen, who did not actually print the account of the festival until December 9, 1551. The frontispiece of this festival book is shown in Figure 25 on page 178.

The le Hoy account, one hundred and twenty-six pages in length, is liberally illustrated with twenty-four woodcuts (five of these consisting of double pages) and a score for the canticle which was sung as a part of the entry procession. Neither the author of the festival book nor the artist who created the woodcuts is identified.

A second privilege for publication was granted, in Paris, on October 12, 1550, to Robert Masselin, a publisher in that city. The Masselin account, a brief description of the order of the royal procession and the major monuments of the entry, appears to have been a hastily contrived pamphlet, much like that published by

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3 C'est la déduction du sumptueux ordre ... The copy of the le Hoy account available for this study is incomplete; one double page woodcut, depicting the Chair of Religion, is missing from the book.

4 Authorship of the festival book has, however, been variously attributed to Maurice Sceve, Claude de Taillemont, François Sagon, Sieur de Hupigny, Claude Chapuis, Sieur du Tillet and Jacques de Brévedent. No one has offered any conclusive proof that authorship by one or any of these men should be accepted as fact.

5 Publication of a festival book in another city is rare. It appears that there was considerable interest, in Rouen and in Paris, concerning the fêtes which took place elsewhere in France.
Figure 25. — Frontispiece of the Rouen Festival Book.

Published by Robert le Hoy, 1551.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
CES I. LA DEDUCTION du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles et magnifiques theatres dressées, et exhibées par les citoyens de Rouen ville Metropolitaine du pays de Normandie, A la sacré Maistre du Treffchillian Roy de France, Henry seçon, leur souuerain Seigneur, Et à Treffludire dame ma Dame Katharine de Medicis, La Royne fon epouze, lors de leur triumphant joyeux & nouvel aduenement en icelle ville, Qui fut es jours de Mercredy & icu dy premier & seçon jours d'Octobre, Mil cinq cens cinquante, Et pour plus ex­ press e intelligence de ce tant ex­ cellent triumphe, Les figurez & por­ traitz des principaux orne­ ments d'icluy yfont apposez chacun en fon lieu comme l'on pourra veoir par le discours de l'histoire.

Auec priuilege du Roy.


1551.
Germaine de la Posse for the entry into Paris in 1549. A single woodcut illustrates this book: a stock portrait representing the bust of a "royal figure," crowned and holding an epee in his hand. 6

A third festival account appeared in 1557, seven years after the entry had taken place. Jean and Robert du Gort, associates of Robert le Hoy, acquired le Hoy’s privilege and reprinted the plates used in the earlier edition with a new text in verse. This account was not available for this study. 7

The du Gort festival book is presumed to have been the source for a fourth, very uncharacteristic, account of the entry at Rouen. This book, presumably written for presentation to the king or

6 The account published by Masselin is extremely rare. Only a single copy is known to exist, held by the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. Lb 31 24. For this study the Masselin account was obtained from the theoretically exact reproduction published in 1882 by the Société des Bibliophiles Normands: L’Entrée du Roy nostre Sire faictse en sa ville de Rouen le mercredy premier de ce moy s d’Octobre, pareillement celle de la Royne qui fut le iour en suivant, (Paris: Robert Masselin, 1550), published in L’Entrée a Rouen du roi et de la reine Henri II et Catherine de Medicis, E. Beaucousin (ed.), (Société des Bibliophiles Normands, No. 42; Rouen: E. Cagniard, 1882).

7 In the preparation of this study it was impossible to find a copy of this festival book: Les pourtes et figures du sumptueux ordre plaisantz spectacles, et magnifiques théâtres, dressés et exhibés par les citoyens de Rouen, ville Metropolitaine du pais de Normandie Faictz à l’entrée de la sacre Maiesté du tres chretien Roy de France Henry second, leur souverain Seigneur, Et a très illustre Dame, ma Dame Katherine de Medicis le Royne, son espouse, Qui fut es iours de mercredi et jeudi, premier et second iour d’octobre, Mil cinq cens cinquante, (Rouen: Jean Dugort, 1557). This book is not listed in the holdings of any major European or American library or collection and the only real verification of its existence is its use as a reference for the publication of still another manuscript dealing with the entry, see below, page 180, n. 8.
Diane de Poitiers, as a personal souvenir of the entry, consists of twenty-seven verses addressed to the king in a laudatory style. Ten miniatures depicting the entry are included in the book, as well as numerous marginal decorations consisting of the arms and devices most frequently associated with Henri and his mistress. It is the presence of these significant marginal ornaments which has led to the belief that the book was not intended for public scrutiny. Figures 26 and 27 on pages 182 and 184 reproduce some of these decorations from the festival book.

The manuscript itself adds little of value to the knowledge of the festival as it must have been produced at least eight years after the actual event (if it was, indeed, based on the du Gort account). The author of the verse seems to have aimed more directly at piling hyperbole upon hyperbole in praise of the king than in any actual recounting of the events of the fête. The illustrations are nineteenth century engravings based upon the original miniatures contained in the manuscript and are of questionable historical accuracy. They have been included in this study, however, for their comparative value.  

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8 This manuscript, *L'Entree du tres magnanime tres puissant et victorieux Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce nom en sa noble cite de Rouen ville Metropolitaine de Normandie, qui fut au jour de mercredy premier d'octobre mil cinq cens cinquante, (n.p.; n.n., n.d.), was published in *L'Entree de Henri II roi de France à Rouen au mois d'Octobre 1550*, S. de Merval (ed.), (Société des Bibliophiles Normands, No. 18; Rouen; Henry Boissel, 1868). For the remainder of this study this manuscript will be referred to as the "Rouen mss."
Figure 26.— Marginal Decorations from the Rouen mss.

Société des Bibliophiles Normands
Publication No. 18
Figure 27. — Marginal Decorations from the Rouen Mss.

Société des Bibliophiles Normands
Publication No. 18
The Organization of the Entry

The le Hoy festival book account gives a detailed description of the organization of the entry and the planning procedure followed by the officials of the city of Rouen. As was the case in almost every civic celebration, the eschevins of the city, provosts of the craftsmen and principle members of the bourgeois met with the envoys of the king in order to establish the nature, arrangement and financial responsibilities of the festival. The Rouennais, however, appear to have approached the entire question of an entry with a greater degree of efficiency than that demonstrated at Lyon or Paris. The author of the festival book notes that certain "chiefs" were assigned to the various estates of the city to supervise the planning of the entry in order to assure adherence to the overall plans which had previously been adopted. Moreover, "portraits" were given to representatives of each of the estates in order that they might have the proper apparel and vestments prepared for the festival.

Although no actual mention of the names or nationalities of the artisans employed for the construction of the fête appears in either the le Hoy or the Masselin accounts, the le Hoy festival book does note the fact that foreign artists were entreated to assist in the preparation of the fête "not because they were better creators than the citizens [the Rouennais] but because their thinking would produce new and strange inventions." 10

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9 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... 7.
10 Ibid., 110.
Entry of the Dowager Queen of Scotland

On September 25, five days before the date fixed for the entry of the king, the dowager queen of Scotland, Marie of Lorraine, arrived in Rouen to make her homage to the king and to visit her daughter, Mary Stuart, then eight years old and the fiancée of the Dauphin, and her son, the Duke of Longueville.

The citizens of Rouen staged a "modest entry" for the Scotch queen although it is not described in the festival book accounts concerned with the more sumptuous entry of the French king. 11

On September 27, 1550, King Henri along with the queen and the court and other French and foreign dignitaries arrived at the Priory Bones Nouvelles, in the faubourg beyond the Bridge of the Empress Mathilde of Rouen, where the French and Scotch courts greeted each other with mutual homage and admiration.

Vigil and Feast of St. Michael. - Additional ceremonies prior to the actual entry celebration were held in the Abbey House of St. Ouen where the king and the Chevaliers of the Order met to celebrate the vigil and feast of their patron. These ceremonies are not detailed in the festival book account, although they probably were, as in Lyon, traditional religious rituals (see above, Chapter II, pages 96 ff.).

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11 Although the le Hoy account specifically mentions the staging of an "entry" for Marie of Lorraine there is no listing of such an event in any of the standard bibliographies of the festival.
The Entry of the King

On the morning of Wednesday, October 1, the king and his company entered into the faubourg St. Seuer, adjacent to the bridge leading into the city which would form the principal entry route. A large triumphal arch had been constructed here to serve as the king's "reviewing stand" for the procession which would begin the fête. This arch, shown in Figure 28 on page 189, was constructed with arcades on either side stretching away from the central vault. Stairways located at each end gave access to the arcades from which the king and his party could watch the procession made by the Rouennais. The king's arcade, on the right side, was hung with tapestries and ornamented with the arms and devices of the king. A draped dais held a royal chair so positioned that the monarch could observe the procession from both front and side views. The left arcade, similarly decorated, held the princes of the court. 12

The Procession Before the King.- In order to prepare the processional in its proper rank and order, the Rouennais had, in the meantime, crossed over the river from the city to the plain of

12 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... ., 11. Examination of the engravings which illustrate the unpublished Rouen mss., cf. Figures 30, 31 and 34 on pages 196, 200 and 208, indicate the enormous discrepancy between the illustration in the festival book and the later idealized account depicted in the miniatures. There is no resemblance between the "arcade" in the engravings and that illustrated in the woodcut in Figure 28.
Figure 28. -- Triumphal Arch for the King. Rouen, 1550.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Afin qu'en icelluy la magesté dudit seigneur peult recepvoir l'obeissâce, offres & requêtes des citoyen & habitâs d'icelle ville, & voir passer l'ordre des bâdes, charis triumphaux & trophées quem adiuit & préparâs & érigéz al'honneur, d'iceluy, tédeûzaiz de perpetuer la memoire de ses vertus heroïques, grandeur de ses richesses
Grandemont, beyond the faubourg St. Seuer. To avoid undue congestion on the bridge which was to serve as the route for the royal entry the city had previously ordered the construction of a "temporary wooden bridge" built alongside the permanent span and this structure was used for all preliminary crossings. 13

On the plain at Grandemont the line of march was assembled around several pavilions or tents, each covered with tapestries worked with embroideries showing the devices of antiquity with scenes of foreign histories, in the style of the "Moors and Numideans." Brightly colored silk hangings in the colors of the various ranks and estates of the city identified each pavilion which had been previously assigned to the various "chiefs" of the estates for use as rendezvous points. The colorful air of the plain was reinforced by the presence of "fluted posts or Corinthian columns" of gold and azure which supported the pavilions. 14

The account of the procession before the king occupies a considerable portion of the le Hoy and Masselin accounts. In usual style, the authors have undertaken to describe the line of march with great thoroughness, including the approximate numbers included in each band, the arrangement of their ranks, the color, fabric and

13 The festival book accounts do not describe this bridge in any detail, its existence is simply noted. Interestingly, whatever form the structure took it does not appear in the woodcut which illustrates the le Hoy account (Figure 45 on page 241) or in the later miniature which also depicts the length of the permanent bridge in the Rouen mss. (Figure 44 on page 238).

14 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ..., 24-25.
decoration of the dress of each estate, and the caparisons of the horses, mules and other animals which appeared in the cortege. This resume occupies fifty pages, or nearly half, of the le Hoy account, and more than a third of the brief, thirty page account published in Paris.

The Rouen procession does, however, differ in several major respects from its counterparts staged at Lyon and Paris. In addition to the ranks of clergy, officers, councilors, dignitaries and bourgeois common to all three processions there appeared, in this fête, some antique chariots and some allegorical representations which were, in effect, moving tableau vivants.

The Chairs of Triumph

One of the most distinctly antique elements in the Rouen procession was the addition of some chairs of triumph or "triumphal cars" to an otherwise traditional entry procession. The author of the le Hoy festival book account prefaces his descriptions of these chariots by stating that the city of Rouen "desired to show to his Majesty the king, not by simulation or flat painting, but by the effect of live and moving things, the express imitation of the Roman triumph, a thing well deserved by so magnanimous and virtuous a prince as is our own." 17

15 Ibid., 12-64.
16 L'Entrée du Roy nostre Sire ..., 1-11.
17 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ..., 27.
The Chair of Renown.- The first Triumphal Chariot was that of Renown, shown in Figures 29 and 30 on pages 194 and 196. According to the textual description in the le Hoy account this Chariot was drawn by four white horses, each with wings attached to its back simulating Pegasus, all bridled with silver and caparisoned with embroidered cloths. 18

The Chariot itself was decorated with diverse architectural elements: silvered moldings, friezes, cornices and metopes. A painted panel at the side of the Chariot depicted two chevaliers tilting in battle. Reliefs of masks, foliage and grotesques appeared in the compartments of the Chariot.

At the rear of the Chariot sat a lady of "incomparable" beauty, dressed in rich colors and fabrics, her surcote, gown and

18 The miniature from the Rouen mss. shown in Figure 30 on page 196 depicts the Chariot being drawn by two elephants led by fully armed knights. This obvious error in the later illustration is compounded by additional discrepancies: the figure of Death seated on the Chariot is depicted as a real skeleton, not as a man in the accoutrements of the grave; the figures of armed men lying at Death's feet, so important to the allegorical meaning of the Chariot, are completely eliminated from this picture; the chain by which Death was bound to Renown is also not visible in the miniature. It would appear that the artist who created the original miniatures for the Rouen mss. was much more concerned with depicting the "antiqueness of the triumph" than in duplicating the descriptions found in the festival account. The presence of many additional personnages dressed in "classical" style in this and other illustrations from this manuscript are not consistent with the le Hoy account or its illustrations. In one respect, however, the creator of the miniatures had been slightly more realistic than was the artist of the original woodcuts: all of the chariots in the miniatures from the Rouen mss. have clearly visible wheels which are nowhere apparent in the le Hoy illustrations.
Figure 29.-- The Chair of Renown from the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
IX hommes bien en point & armes

[Image: An illustration depicting a battle scene with soldiers and armor, possibly related to the text about men in point and arms and the depiction of a Lady with a trophée and a coat of arms with flower designs.]
Figure 30.-- The Chair of Renown from the Rouen Procession.

Miniature from the Rouen mss.

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caul covered with pearls, diamonds and rubies. Two large wings appeared to sprout from the back of this "Renown," each wing covered with designs in the form of "eyes and tongues."

In one hand Renown carried an antique trumpet of gold while the other held a long chain, attached to a man seated upon the floor of the Chariot before her in the attire of Death. Two fully armed men lie dead at the feet of this Death to signify that Death, which is the master of all men is, in turn, triumphed over by Renown. On the floor of the Chariot were antique trophies of all kinds: armor, arms and urns.

When this Chariot reached the king's triumphal arch at St. Seuer the figure of Renown arose and addressed the monarch with a huitain explaining her meaning:

Moy Renommée, ô, hault Roy trespriestian,  
Du ciel en terre, a ton loz estendue,  
I'ay sur la mort, au seu Roy pere tien,  
Donne triumphe & gloire à toy bien dëue,  
Les vertueulx, que Vertu perpetue,  
Tousiours vivantz, ie represente en moy,  
Pource Rouen, pour ta vertu congnëue,  
Sur mort te donne, immortel nom de Roy.  

Following after the Chariot of Renown and extending the allegory

19 Although the concept of the Chariot was "antique" it is interesting to note that the figure of Renown in the woodcut shown in Figure 29 on page 124 is dressed in the style of the sixteenth century.

20 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... 30.

21 Ibid. "I am Renown, o exalted, most Christian King, Who have spread your praises from the earth to the skies. I have given triumph over death to the king your father. And well-deserved glory to you, the virtuous, who virtue perpetuates, I represent immor-
came a band of fifty-seven armed men representing the fifty-seven kings since Pharamond. Each of these figures, though inconsistent in dress, was crowned and carried a royal sceptre or mace in his hands.

The Chair of Religion.- The second Chariot was the Chair of Religion, illustrated in Figure 31 on page 200. According to the festival book account this chariot was drawn by two "unicorns" caparisoned in purple and violet and attended by two men dressed in "Turkish" costume, turbanned and armed with scimitars.

The Chariot itself was similar to that conveying "Renown," with multiple cornices and friezes decorating the sides and containing figures of grotesques and armed chevaliers in the compartments along the length of the Chair. On the back of this Chariot was a bench upon which were seated three women representing Vesta, goddess of Religion, Royal Majesty and Victorious Virtue. Each of these figures carried a symbol representing her role in the allegory: Vesta, 

22 The illustration of the Chair of Religion is missing from the copy of the le Hoy account available for this study. The miniature from the later Rouen mss. shows several distinct variations from the textual description of this Chariot: the "unicorns" described in the festival book have become horses with decorative plumes affixed to their heads; only one figure, Victorious Virtue, is depicted on the Chariot itself; the heaps of trophies surrounding the lone figure on the Chariot belong, more properly, to the Chair of Renown, from which they are missing (see Figure 30, page 196). It is also interesting to note that in the background of this illustration, Figure 31, the decorations on the pediment of the king's arcade have undergone a change in shape from that apparent in Figures 30, 34 and 39.
Figure 31.— The Chair of Religion from the Rouen Procession.

Miniature from the Rouen ms.

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a small church, to show the union of Christianity; Royal Majesty, a sceptre; and Victorious Virtue, a palm frond decorated with gold paillettes. In front of this trio, at the other end of the Chariot, sat two more figures representing Reverence and Awe. All five women wore gowns of rich color and decoration liberally trimmed with pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones.

When the Chariot of Religion reached the triumphal arch of the king the figures represented upon the Chair sang a canticle of praise to the monarch:

Louange & gloire, en action de grace  
Chantons à Dieu, de la Paix vray autheur  
Par qui la France en seu repos embrasse  
Ses ennemys, saictz amys, en grand heur,  
Vive son Roy de ce bien protecteur,  
Soubz qui de Paix divers peuples iouyssent  
Donc luy est deu, cy bas, ioye & honneur  
Puis que les cieux, de la Paix s'esiouyssent.  

The le Hoy festival book contains the music for this canticle, reproduced in Figure 32 on page 203. This indicates the extent to which the author of the festival book was concerned with preserving every detail of the fête.

Behind the Chariot of Religion marched a solitary figure carrying a silver image of the Virgin, evidently the same image which the king had offered to the churches at Boulogne as a mark
Figure 32.-- Music and Lyrics for the Canticle at Rouen.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
of his "generous liberality and largesse." 24

The Chair of Happy Fortune.- The final Chariot in the entry procession was that dedicated to Happy Fortune. This Chariot, shown in Figures 3 and 34 on pages 206 and 208, was drawn by two white horses, caparisoned with saddle cloths bearing the devices of the king and his monogram. At the rear of the Chariot sat the figure of the goddess "Fortune" dressed in an antique costume with wings of peacock feathers on her back and a laurel wreath on her head.

Before the figure of "Fortune" was a royal throne upon which was seated the "beautiful and elegant personnage" representing the king, Henri II. This "king" was seated on a velour cloth of violet color sprinkled with fleurs de lys embroidered in gold wire. A royal mantle of cloth of gold and a tunic of crimson damask embroidered with the devices of the king served to costume this counterfeit Henri. In his right hand the figure of the king carried a palm frond and in his left, a gold sceptre.

The figure of "Fortune," poised above the king on a raised platform, extended her arms over his head as if to place the Imperial Crown in her hands upon the head of the king. Four additional figures on the Chariot, children, two boys and two girls, represented the descendants of the king. These latter figures were seated on the floor of the Chariot.

24 Ibid., 36.
Figure 33.-- The Chair of Happy Fortune.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
E char de deux puissantz Cheuaulx

Eloit halé par ctez courroies & cuileiries enrichis de tissus & houpes de soye saune. Chacun cheval estoit couert d'un Caprignon sous laue femée de Croiffancz d'oz argent de reliqui. Le bort argenté utiles & feuillages de broderie de semblable gypaure, & retaillié par cre-

ten & points de sort pendu en gauillies boutes de soye perlée de la coule d'avantage estoit aelendue une longue houffe de soye violett figure, & de tout à l'entour de quatre caugiez de gypaure de fil d'erilet de fil d'or & de frange de fil de soye violette sous une crepine de fil d'or. A chez de ladie houfue vne grande, li coronnée dedans la circunference d'un sant fabuleusement ou.addComponente & reliques de fil d'or & d'argent. Le reele d
Figure 34.— The Chair of Happy Fortune from the Rouen Mss.

Société des Bibliophiles Normands
Publication No. 18.
While the festival book account does not describe the decoration of this Chariot, the woodcut reproduced in Figure 33 clearly shows the escutcheon of France, supported by two mermaid-like creatures acting as figureheads of the Chariot. At the rear a rustic male figure with a reptilian tail supports a large crescent behind the figure of "Fortune." On the side of the Chair painted panels show armed men in combat, these panels framed with turkish bows centered with the masques of grotesques. Sculptured lions and other devices of the king are also visible. 25

When this Chariot reached the arcade at St. Seuer the counterfeit Henri arose and addressed himself to the real king in a huitain:

Représenter ta majesté, o syre,
Indigne suis, & tous autres fors toy,
Car ta presence, un Cesare te fait dire,
Et ton absence, incomparable roy,
Sy dont Rouen se représente en moy
Ta majesté n'en est moins excellente,
Puis que l'ordre & triumphe ou me voy,
L'honneur retourne a toy que represente. 26

Behind this Chariot, again extending the allegory, was the figure of

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25 Figure 34, the illustration from the Rouen mss., deviates from the textual description and the woodcut in the le Hoy account, although this miniature is more accurate than those preceding. The major discrepancy is the indication that two "unicorns" were used to draw this Chariot. The figure of "Happy Fortune" is also shown sitting on a wheel which, while not inconsistent with the allegorical meaning, is not noted in the text.

26 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... .53. " I am unworthy to represent your majesty, o sire, And all others are unworthy except you, A Caesar, as it is said, Both in your presence and in your absence, incomparable king. If Rouen represents you by means of me, your majesty is no less excellent, For in the order and triumph where I am seen, the honor returns to you whom I represent."
a young boy, his blond hair curled "in the style of Caesar" and his whole attire of the most luxurious fabrication. In one hand this child carried a laurel branch, interlaced with green silk and gold thread. Figure 35 on page 212 shows the representation of this "Dauphin" who also addressed lines of praise to the king:

Francoys second filz de France & d'aulphin
Ie represente à ta louenge, o, sire,
Non que semblable a luy me vueille dire
Car mortel suis & il viura sans fin. 27

In addition to these Triumphal Chariots there were several other unique aspects in this procession at Rouen.

The Sixth Band.- One rank of marchers in the procession, designated in the le Hoy account as the "Sixth Band," indicating their place in the line of march, set forth another allegory. Each of these marchers carried a live sheep in his arms. This implied not only the classical procession in which the sacrifices to the gods were carried in parade before the slaughter, but, as the sheep was the sign of the city of Rouen, the presence of the animals in the arms of the luxuriously vested warriors indicated the symbolic oblation made by the city to their victorious prince, expressed in his royal entry.

Figure 36 on page 214 reproduces the woodcut depicting this

27 Ibid., 54. "I represent Francis the second, son of France and Dauphin, for your praise, o sire, Not that I mean to say that I resemble him, For I am mortal and he will live without end."
Figure 35.-- The Figure of the Dauphin in the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Francoys second filz de France et d'aulphin
Le représente à la louenge, ô, sire,
Non que semblable à luy me veuille dire
Car mortels suis et il viura sans fin.
Figure 36.— The "Sixth Band" from the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
A sixiesme bande estoit vestue d'v.

Une Tunique de Satin violer, brode de [illegible] d'argent de relief. Liseréz de fil dor, le bort de la Tunique estoit rengré de houppes de fil d'argent. Sur le dos, poitrine & epaulettes, mesmes sur les flancs, icelle Tunique fendue au côte. Croissant l'argent enrichissoient fort l.
band and its ovine offering.

The Figures of the Elephants.- Marching close behind the "Sixth Band" came six great elephants marching in ranks, three by three. Figures 37 and 38 on pages 217 and 219 depict the design of these elephants, according to the le Hoy account. The author relates that these beasts were not real but were "imitations," "so close to nature in their form, color and proportion of their parts that even those who had seen them living in Africa judged that they saw elephants, not imitations." 28

Nowhere does the author of the festival book reveal the means by which these elephants were made to move, nor does he comment on their construction. Indeed, if the peculiar physiological characteristics evident in Figures 37 and 38 are discounted it almost appears that the artist was attempting to represent real, not artificial, animals. 29

The miniature from the Rouen mss, Figure 39 on page 221, indicates a similar "realistic" depiction of these animals. The general inaccuracies of these miniatures, however, tend to make this an unreliable source. In general, Figure 39 appears to be in accord with the textual account and the illustrations from the festival book.

28 Ibid., 42.

29 The primary concession to "unreality" which the artist has made is the small size of these beasts. One might argue that they could, in reality, be baby elephants; however, the presence of their tusks precludes that possibility.
Figure 37. -- Mechanical Elephants from the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Leur pas marchoient six grandz ele
phantz aprochans si pres du naturel, pour leur forme, couleur & proportion de membres, que ceuxmeme qui en auoient veu en Afrique de vivantz, les eussent iugez a les veoir elephans non fainz. Sur le doz delquelz estoit apliquez vne baltine garnye par dessouz de Coisinetz de
Figure 38.— Mechanical Elephants from the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Rois des elephantz portoient sur la bastine de grandz Vases de bronze, recouuertz d'or moulu, pour mieux montrer lon antique xram decorintie, enrichis de moullures & frifeures grauees & tournees de subtile industrie du plan ou ceuxx desquelz fortoit grosse flamme de feu ardent, signifiant a la grosse dont s'exhalloient & transpiroient suaves odeurs plus odorantes que
Figure 39. -- Mechanical Elephants from the Rouen mss.

Société des Bibliophiles Normands
Publication No. 18
Each of the "elephants" in the procession was trapped with an embroidered caparison, a laurel wreath surmounted by a crescent resting on the forehead of each beast. On the backs of the elephants were representations of a castle, a chateau, a ship and some elaborate antique urns from which real flames were emitted, perfuming the streets with a pleasant incense.

Twelve men, dressed in the "Moslem" fashion assisted the elephants in the procession.

The Captives.- Directly behind the elephants marched a group of bedraggled captives represented in Figure 40 on page 224. These figures symbolized hostages of battle, although they certainly seem to have little to do with the battle of Boulogne, chained by their hands to reinforce the reality of their condition. The author of the festival book describes their dress as "long robes of divers colors and foreign fashions." 30

Flora and Her Nymphs.- The appearance of the goddess Flora and two of her nymphs, Dice and Eirene, marked the last of the "unusual" aspects of the procession. These ladies, accompanied by some musicians, walked slowly along the entry route strewing the road with flowers from a basket carried by the goddess. Figure 41 on page 226 shows the appearance of these figures. 31

30 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ..., 45.

31 Flora and her nymphs are also visible in two of the miniatures from the Rouen mss., Figures 31 and 34.
Figure 40.— The "Captives" from the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
La queue des Elephantz suyuiren)

a pas morn. & l'anguide-les bras lyez, aucuns deunt autres der-
riere, la teste bata te plusieurs capitl de tire reprentant aux ve-
us de robbes longnes de duerles couleurs & façons etranges, de selz en-
rant l'effige
Figure 41. — Flora and Her Nymphs from the Rouen Procession.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Bien petit distance, semeit en chemin par vue gaillarde des marche, La déesse Flora, accompagnée de Déesse, & Eirene deux de ses Nymphes, laquelle estoit veste en furcot de drap d’or frize sur champ de velours verd bordé à double rence perles & enrichi de plusieurs houppes de fil d’or & de soye verde, la cotte
Aside from this last group, all of the other elements of classical allegory which appeared in the Rouen procession may be linked with some certainty to the influence of the frescoes of Mantegna. In the Mantegna "triumphs" several chariots, richly caparisoned elephants, captives led in chains and men bearing animals for sacrifice all figured prominently. Undoubtedly, the designers of the fête at Rouen had at least some knowledge of the works represented at Mantua.  

The Procession of the King's Household

At the conclusion of the procession of the Rouennais the household of the king began to march along the entry route with all the pomp and elegance which attended the composition of its ranks: princes, prelates, ambassadors and chevaliers. Again, both festival book accounts devote some space to the descriptions of the apparel and appearance of these marchers, although the authors seem less detailed in their narrations of this aspect of the entry than were the authors of the Lyon and Paris accounts.

32 Blum, op.cit., 80.
33 It is possible, again, to assume that some of the artists and artisans imported for this fête were Italian, possibly from the area where Mantegna's works were displayed, cf. above, page 185.
34 L'Entrée du Roy nostre Sire ..., 10-11; C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ..., 64-67.
Decorations of the Streets of Rouen. - The length of the entry route including the great bridge and the streets leading into the city had been carefully prepared for the fête. Sand had been spread over the entire length of the processional course to a foot in depth. Barricades had been erected at every crossroads to prevent the curious from venturing into the path of the parade.

All houses, shops, galleries and scaffolds were hung with rich tapestries of embroidered cloth. The most favorable vantage points in the windows of the shops and houses had been assigned to ranking persons of France and to foreign dignitaries desiring to observe the entry. The Rouennais themselves watched the procession from any possible spot, including the rooftops. Yet the festival accounts indicate that with all the mass of people attending the entry there was little noise or unruly behavior.

The discipline of the people in their attendance at their monarch's fête may be partially attributed to the fact that the archers of the guard and a special force of fifty men, delegated by the eschevins of the city, had been deployed along the entry route from the earliest hours of the day. The purpose of these guards was simply to prevent the curious from "standing insolently in the streets, as if not accustomed to seeing such spectacles." 35

35 Ibid., 12.
Spectacles, Monuments and Theatres

Unlike the entry at Paris where the major decorations of the festival were the architectural forms along the entry route, showing the ability of the Parisian artist to copy the example and precept of the classical orders, this entry at Rouen, more akin to that at Lyon, stressed the spectacle, the tableau, the ever alive and moving in contrast to the static and inanimate. There is, perhaps, implicit in the décor of this fête the sense that the Rouennais, desiring to please their monarch, were seriously attempting to fit the entry to the tastes of the king.

The Brazilian Village.- The first of the spectacles prepared for the king was the representation of a Brazilian village, situated upon an open meadow extending from the embankment of the processional route to the edge of the River Seine. This meadow, shown in Figure 42 on page 231 and visible in the view depicted in Figure 44, page 238, measured some two hundred feet in length by thirty-five in width. It was artificially planted with trees to counterfeit a real forest, with imitation shrubs and bushes interspersed with the living vegetation in order to give the proper effect and artifice to the scene.

Trunks of trees within this forest were painted red to "simulate the natural vegetation of Brazil." The tops of the trees were similarly garnished with fronds and branches simulating the foliage of the tropics. On all four sides of this forest small crude huts or houses thatched with rushes and leaves had been raised.
Figure 42.-- The Brazilian Village.

CSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Fences made of stakes driven into the ground surrounded these rustic loges, in the manner of a Brazilian village.

The population of this idyllic glade included parakeets and other species of brightly plumed birds and "monkey-like marmots," or spider monkeys, recently brought from the New World in the ships of the Rouennais bourgeois. Three hundred "natives," naked men who appeared all "tan and shaggy" also inhabited this forest scene. According to the author of the le Hoy account, only fifty of these "Brazilians" were, in fact, real natives. The other two hundred and fifty were sailors and traders who had frequented the distant country and were able to imitate the natives and converse with them in their own language.

All of these natives, real and counterfeit, were adorned with exotic ornaments. The real natives could be distinguished by the fact that the polished stones, enameled in green and white, which were worn as amulets really pierced the flesh of their cheeks, lips and ears. This effect was only "imitated" by the "French Brazilians."

According to the woodcut illustrated in Figure 42 these natives engaged in a variety of everyday enterprises and pastimes within their sanctuary. Some appear to be dancing, others climb trees and shoot at birds with bows and arrows, others appear to be simply resting.

The commerce between the Brazilians and the Rouennais was particularly featured in this spectacle. Lumber, the principle element of trade, was cut and arranged at the bank of the Seine for barter
with the sailors, representing traders, who approached the village from the river in their little skiffs and gondolas. These sailors enacted a trading scene with the natives, offering them hatchets, bill hooks and iron wedges in exchange for the trees lying at the shore. The barter made, the sailors carried the wood to a larger vessel anchored in the Seine, decorated for the entry with the arms of the king displayed on silk banners suspended from its rigging.

After this scene of trade had been enacted, the sciomachia, or shadow battle, was performed by the Indians. The battle was staged between two fictitious Brazilian tribes, the Tabagerres and the Toupinaboulx. The Tabagerres represented a tribe attacking the village of the Toupinaboulx. After a council of war a frenzied battle broke out, using the arms typical to the Brazilians: bows and arrows, maces and batons or clubs. After the battle had continued for some time the Toupinaboulx managed to vanquish the invaders, driving them out of the forest and climaxing the spectacle by burning the houses and fortresses of the Tabagerres in a kind of grand finale.

Eager to note the authenticity of this scene, the author of the festival book account concludes his narration by quoting some persons who had frequented the country of Brazil and observed the savages there as remarking on the "semblance of the truth" which this scene conveyed.  

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36 Ibid., 71.
The Grotto of Orpheus. - At the end of the bridge leading into the city a large archway of rough stone, simulating a rocky portal, had been erected for the king. The mass of this structure, shown in Figures 43 and 44 on pages 236 and 238, extended some sixty feet in width and one hundred and fifty feet in height, measured from the surface of the river. The entire structure was made to simulate stones brightly veined with minerals of different colors. Moss, ivy and brambles planted on the rocks gave an atmosphere of antiquity to the structure.

Within a grotto on the second level of this arch was a marble bench on which sat a figure representing Orpheus, dressed in a robe of azure velour, playing his harp. Over the head of the musician was stretched a rainbow, the symbol of Iris and the device of Catherine de Medicis. A large silver crescent capped the center of the curve of the rainbow.

To the right of Orpheus were nine damsels representing the nine muses, all singing and playing on violins and viols in harmony with Orpheus' harp. These muses were identically dressed, their robes in the "antique style" made of white satin embroidered with gold thread.

To the left of Orpheus was a Hercules dressed in his lion skin, occupying himself with a serpentine hydra, a mechanical figure, which had emerged from the grotto at the first sound of the king's approach.

The significance of the allegory depicted by this scene was
Figure 43.— The Grotto of Orpheus.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Figure 44.-- A View of the Bridge and Entry Route at Rouen.

Miniature from the Rouen mss.

Société des Bibliophiles Normands
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set down in a huitain written on a gilded tablet suspended from the center of the portal of the arch:

Ta maisté royalle o treschretien Roy,
Est au grand bien de tous, un Hercules sur terre,
Qui met la fier aspic, de mars en de sarroy,
Pour planter en honneur, la paix en lieux de guerre,
L'arc du ciel en croissant, pour gage & divin arre,
Comme un signe de paix, s'aparoit en tous lieux,
En monstrant bon temps proche, & malheur mis en ferre,
S'esiouyssent lescieulx, les hommes & les dieux. 37

Lamps of Castor and Pollux placed in the niches at the lower level of the grotto signified the tranquility which was approaching.

The Triumph of the River.- Having passed beneath the arch of the grotto of Orpheus the king was stopped at the middle of the bridge spanning the Seine to observe the pastimes of the river. The multiplicity of the events which this spectacle encompassed is represented in the woodcut illustrating the le Hoy account, reproduced in Figure 45 on page 241. 38

On the eastern side of the bridge a rock had been constructed on a level with the span from which came figures of Neptune and sever-

37 Ibid., 73. "Your royal majesty, o very Christian King, Is to the great benefit of all, a Hercules on earth, Who has put the fierce aspect of Mars into disarray, In order to plant, in honor, peace in the place of war. The rainbow appears in this place as a sign of peace, In order to give divine assurance, Showing good fortunes near and sadness locked away, For this, the heavens, men and gods rejoice."

38 This spectacle is also shown in the general view of the bridge and the entry route from the Rouen mss., Figure 44, page 238.
Figure 45. -- The Triumph of the River.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
all other sea gods (Enipeus, Phorcus, Palemon and Glancus) all of them covered with scales and adorned with fins tinted with the silver and azure colors of fish. Neptune, the leader of the band, approached the king and offered his trident to the monarch in a verse:

Soubz ton pouvoir, o, Roy d'honneur tresdigne,  
Combien que soys, le grand Dieu de la mer  
Ce mien Trident, & pouvior ie resigne,  
Te voyant Mars par vertu desarmer,  
Et pour monstrer, que tout soubz ta main tremble,  
Descendre vueil, pour ton nom sublimer,  
Au fons de l'eau, & mes Tritons ensemble.

Following this oration Neptune and the Tritons dove from the side of the bridge into the Seine, executing somersaults and twists in the air to demonstrate their agility in this feat.

Next, from the east of the bridge, came the facsimile of a dolphin carrying Arion on his back, the dolphin decorated with nine silver stars and a silver crescent, recalling the legend of the dolphin which saved the poet from drowning and was set in the stars in honor by the gods. Near the dolphin were several facsimiles of whales which opened their mouths and spewed forth fish in great quantities. Tritons, scaled and finned as those who appeared on

39 Ibid., 76. "Oh king of great dignity and honor, as much as it is said, Under your power the great god of the sea Resigns this my Trident and my power, Seeing you disarm Mars by your virtue, And to show you that all tremble under the power of your hand, I will descend from sight, in order to bless your name At the bottom of the waters, I and my Tritons with me,"
the bridge, straddled these whales. Some of these Tritons played musical instruments while others were armed for battle with harpoons and shields made of large tortoise shells.

A large triumphal chariot followed the whales, crossing the river as though actually moving on the wheels which supported it. This chariot was drawn by two hippopotamuses, described in the festival book account and pictured in Figure 45 as peculiar animals, horses at the front and fish at the rear. The chariot itself was decorated with the heads of beasts, from which the reins for the hippopotamuses passed to the bridles of the animals. Neptune himself sat on a raised throne at the back of the chariot holding his trident and guiding the hippos. Tritons playing upon conch shells as trumpets surrounded their king.

Each corner of the chariot contained a large mask painted in green and gold, simulating the four winds. Aeolus, also seated on the chariot, commanded these winds to blow "artificially" to the cadence of the music.

Throughout the waters of the Seine were figures of water beasts and fish, river gods and goddesses. The three daughters of Calliope, the sirens Ligia, Parthenope and Leucosia, swam in the water beside the bridge, stopping now and then to sing and entice those watching to come and join them in the water.

The Naumachia.— Not being content with the display of the river gods, the eschevins of the city of Rouen and the creators of the fête had also designed a little Naumachia for the pleasure of the
king. This Naumachia was staged on the same side of the bridge. Two ships, one representing a French vessel and the other a Portuguese privateer, engaged in mortal combat.

These ships, visible in the lower portion of Figure 45, followed the usual procedures for combat, running against one another, firing with cannons and grenades, and throwing great pots of fire into the water which became filled with rivers of flame. Finally the French vessel succeeded in destroying the Portuguese ship, totally demolishing its hull and setting its masts and sails on fire. The sailors of the privateer added to the spectacle by diving, fully clothed, into the water.

The Artillery Salute.—On the western side of the bridge and separated by that structure from the area where the antique displays and the Naumachia were staged there was arranged a number of ships, all bound together, beam to beam, stretching across the width of the river in a semi-circular arrangement. Six galleys, richly decorated with cloth of silver frieze draped over their poops and keels and banded with fringe and tassels and banderoles in the colors of the king and queen lay within the circumference of

40 L'Entrée du Roy nostre Sire ... 14. The author of the Masselin account evidently confused the Naumachia and the sciomachia for he credits the "natives" with destroying and plundering the Portuguese ship.

41 It seems possible that these ships, bound closely together, might have served as the "temporary wooden bridge" by means of which the Rouennais crossed the river on the morning of the entry.
the larger crescent of ships. At the conclusion of the Naumachia these little galleys saluted the king with a great volley of cannon and artillery which was immediately echoed by cannon placed along the banks of the river. Fortunately, interpolates the author of the festival account, the wind came from the east and the fumes of the fuses and cannon were dissipated in a short time without offending the royal nostrils.

The Arch of the Age of Gold. — After the artillery salute, which caused some disruption in the cortege of the royal household, the horses having been frightened by the smoke and noise, the procession moved along the bridge to the opposite end where the permanent gate of the city was raised. This gate, illustrated in Figure 46 on page 247, was decorated for the entry with a socle raised above the cornice of the permanent gate holding statues of two sibyls: Amalthea of Cumae and Albuna of Tibur, poised in profile holding a silver crescent between them.

A large statue of Saturn representing the "Age of Gold" stood in the circumference of the crescent held by the sibyls holding a tablet in his hands explaining the meaning of this tableau. 

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42 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... ,78.
43 For some reason the account published by Masselin refers to these two figures as "satyrs," op.cit., 15.
44 C'est la deduction du sumptueux ordre ... , 81. This arch and the figures upon it indicate the return to the "Age of Gold" expected under the reign of Henri II.
Figure 46.— The Arch of the Age of Gold.
OSUTC Film No. 1743
Courtesy of the British Museum.
The King's Pall.- Since a number of the spectacles planned for the entry of the king took place before the cortege entered the city itself, the eschevins of Rouen did not present the pall to the monarch until he had reached the arch and figures representing the Age of Gold. This pall was constructed of cloth of gold and crimson velour, bordered with a fringe of gold thread a foot in width. The king's motto was embroidered on the end of the pall within a silver crescent and the devices and monograms of the king were worked over the surfaces of the canopy. Each corner of this pall was supported by a pole, turned and embellished with fleurs de lys and monograms of the king and queen. The general appearance of the pall is seen in Figure 44 on page 238. Note, however, that the artist of this miniature has depicted the pall being born over the head of the king on the bridge before he had reached the city gates -- a serious breach of festival etiquette.

The Theatres of the Entry

One of the most Mediaeval aspects of the entry into Rouen was the construction of the three "theatres" at the end of the entry route, in each of which was an allegory eulogizing the late king, Francis I, and recommending his virtues to the new king, Henri II. In a curious miniature of the Rouen mss, all three of these theatres are grouped in a kind of "simultaneous stage" which accents their Mediaeval quality even more. This miniature, Figure 48 on page 250, seems to agree fairly consistently with the descrip-
Figure 47.-- Perspective of the Three Theatres, Rouen.

Miniature from the Rouen mss.

Société des Bibliophiles Normands
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The Theatre at Notre Dame.- The theatre raised before the church of Notre Dame of Rouen was a small platform held up at each corner by the figure of a bronzed Harpy as a caryatid. On this platform was raised a statue of Hector, about five feet in height, dressed in full antique armor and holding a shield and a broken lance.

Over the head of this figure, visible in Figures 47 and 48 on pages 250 and 253, was a large cloud which served as the ceiling for the theatre and "extended as a wall to the floor." Upon the appearance of the monarch this cloud opened to reveal several gods and goddesses. At the same time the figure of Hector began to bleed from the side and shoulder where Achilles had wounded him, this blood "boiling out" of the effigy as if "squeezed out from a syringe inside the cloud." When this "blood" hit the cloud behind Hector it formed itself into a triple crescent.

The artist who represented this scene in the festival book woodcut, Figure 48, seems to be indicating that the liquid which represented blood was directed out of the body of Hector in a fountain-like stream, aimed at that portion of the cloud where the figure of the interlaced crescents could be concealed until it was required.

The significance of this figure is somewhat difficult to grasp. A quatrain at the base of the statue indicates that this Hector "realized" that through his blood, shed by Achilles, he had gained the favor of the heavens represented in the form of the
Figure 48.— The Theatre at Notre Dame.

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
triple crescent. As most of the allegorical displays within this entry have some direct connection to the lauding of Henri II and the simultaneous praising of the dead Francis I it seems peculiar that the festival accounts attach no such sentiments to the interpretation of this figure. However, the flowing of blood and the opening of the heavens was, undoubtedly, in and of itself a highly spectacular effect and certainly one with great precedence in the Mediaeval theatre.

The Theatre de la Crosse.- At the Fountain de la Crosse, before the convent of Notre Dame du Carme, a second theatre had been raised for the entry. This theatre, illustrated in Figure 49 on page 256, consisted of two levels, held up by four pilasters of unpolished stone, decorated with gold moldings and bronze accents. The surface of the stone was marbled and decorated with veins simulating jasper and porphyry.

All of the friezes, cornices and other architectural elements of this theatre were decorated with masques and devices raised in relief and gilded, against an azure ground. The second level of the theatre was roofed over with a compartmented ceiling filled with reliefs of fruits and flowers, bordered with royal devices and Mauresques in silver.

Although the décor of this theatre was Renaissance in tone its design was essentially Mediaeval. The several levels denoting the terrestrial and celestial spheres coinciding perfectly with the representation within -- the Apothesosis of Francis I.
Figure 49.-- The Theatre de la Crosse.

"Apotheosis of Francis I"

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
Three scenes depicted the allegory of the tableau. The first of these centered around a great salamander lying within a fire which burned fiercely without consuming anything it touched. Two of the Fates, Clotho and Atropos, stood on the back of this salamander holding a snake which had coiled itself into a circle with its tail in its mouth. This scene indicated the imminent death of Francis I, a symbolism reinforced by the inscription written on the snake: Hoc est tempus.

Behind this tableau was a painted perspective showing a countryside which covered all the walls of the theatre. This perspective does not appear in Figure 49 for the scene depicted in that illustration is the last scene of the allegory and the perspective vista was not visible at that time.

When the king approached the theatre a great transformation occurred, the scene of the salamander being enclosed by a "grand and spacious" globe. This globe, although it appeared to be transparent, shone with stars. After the globe had closed around the scene the whole first level burst into flames which burned without consuming the globe but produced from its center a figure of Pegasus, which ascended to the top of the second level moving its feet, head, eyes and ears as though it were a living animal and not a mechanical effigy. This figure of the winged horse was about eight feet in length. Two large wings spread from its back and horns projected from its head. Fire issued from the nostrils and mouth of the horse as well as from the burning globe below.
At the conclusion of this scene a Triton appeared on the spandrel of the frontispiece and sounded three notes on an antique trumpet, at which signal the globe opened to reveal the final scene, that shown in Figure 49. The scene revealed represented in simulation a crowned king standing inside a grand crescent poised on a marble cube inscribed with the motto Fides. From the left side of the effigy a large heart appeared to grow out of the king's body on a long stalk, and from the heart a vine full of grapes and leaves grew luxuriously over the entire theatre. Personnages representing foreign nations were assembled at the right and left of the king, and these reached up to squeeze the juice of the grapes into the cups which they bore, drinking the liquid in obeisance.

Over the head of the king, on the second level of the theatre, a cloud bore the seven gods and goddesses who had given their names to the planets, each of these figures presenting to the king an antique sceptre or crown by way of homage.

Behind the head of the king a radiant sun of gold cast its rays in a halo, signifying good fortune. In the right hand of the effigy was a gorgon's head, with blood dripping from its severed neck, signifying the king's victorious conquests. In the left hand this figure held a gleaming epee which bloomed with beautiful flowers, symbolizing the flowering of Justice in France.

The author of the festival book, noting that the illustration of the theatre could only depict a portion of the scenes enacted there,
appended a canticle of eleven stanzas to the woodcut, as an explanation of the allegory. 45

The Theatre at the Pont du Robec.—The great square called the Pont du Robec, beside the Abbey of St. Ouen, was the site of the final display erected for the entry of the king. Here a large platform had been raised within the boundaries set by the stream which flowed through the square and the portals by which one gained access to the square from the bordering streets.

This platform, raised on simulated rocks, was planted with trees and trellised vines. The entire platform was surrounded by a trellis interwoven with vines, from which hung real gourds, pumpkins, and tomatoes. The openings through this trellis were arches of vines, each capped with a crescent.

Two full grown trees were placed at the front edge of the platform, one at either side. The topmost branches of these trees were interwoven with vines which stretched across the top of the front of the platform making a kind of archway over the whole theatre. This leafy "proscenium" was decorated with the festoons and other devices of the entry.

On each side of the platform small orchards were planted which blended into the perspective painted at the back of the platform.

45 Ibid., 91. The Masselin account, op. cit., 26, indicates that this last scene was staged only at the entry of the queen while the preceding scenes were staged at the king's entry.
platform which continued the pastoral view.

The primary characters in this scene depicting the "Elysian Fields" were representations of Francis I, an allegorical figure called Good Memory and the nymph, Egeria. These principle figures are seen in Figures 48 and 50 on pages 250 and 262.

The figure representing the late king was dressed in a royal mantle of purple and crimson velour trimmed with fleurs de lys in gold and furred with ermine. A gold crown rested on the head of the king. Good Memory stood beside the monarch, holding out in her right hand a book which she offered to King Henri, in which had been set down a chronicle of the noble deeds and actions of King Francis, written in Hebrew, Latin and Greek. This goddess wore a gold crown on her head and her large wings extended over a robe of cloth of gold covered with embroidered stars and crescents.

Egeria, the third major figure, stood behind these other two, bearing a silver ewer on one shoulder. With one hand the nymph pressed her breast, creating a fountain of water.

Two additional figures represented in this theatre were Nobility and Labor. These men were depicted in dress appropriate to their estate, lying at rest on the grass covering the platform.

An explanation of this scene of "Happy Paradise" was contained in a gilded tablet, affixed to the front of the platform of the
Figure 50. -- The Theatre at the Pont du Robec.

"The Elysian Fields"

OSUTC Film No. 1743

Courtesy of the British Museum.
theatre;

*C'est le repotz le paradis heureulx,
Des Roys qui sont des lettres amoureulx,
Francoys premier y est franc & deliure
Henry second viendra qui le veult suyure,
Bonne memoire a fait ce lieu pour eulx.* 46

Concluding Ceremonies of the King's Entry

At the conclusion of the procession of the king at the church of Notre Dame of Rouen the monarch made his traditional pledge to uphold the faith and observed the usual religious ceremonies. At the conclusion of the ritual the king was escorted to the Abbey House of St. Ou-an to rest in the palace of the Cardinal de Vandasme, Archbishop-elect of Rouen.

The Entry of the Queen

On the morning of the following day, October 2, the queen made her entry into Rouen in the same fashion that her husband had observed on the preceding day.

The queen's entry began with the procession from the plain of Grandemont duplicating in its numbers the line of march for the entry of the king. The only changes which occurred in this procession were the traditional changes in the color of the accessories of the dress worn by the Rouennais. What had been red, black and white

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*Ibid.*, 96. "This is the repose of happy paradise for those kings who were loving of letters, Free and released, Francis first is there. Henry second will come, who desires to follow him. Good Memory has made this place for them."
for the king was now changed to white and green for the queen.

At the conclusion of the Procession of the Rouennais the queen mounted a white palfrey and proceeded on the route to the city which did not vary from that of the king's entry. The lords of the king's household preceded the queen in her procession and the princesses and ladies of the court followed after her. This latter band was dressed, as the queen, in gowns of light color, cut in the Italian fashion and worked with silver embroidery. All of the ladies of the queen's household were mounted on white palfreys and each carried a white plume in her hand.

The concluding aspect of the queen's cortege was the appearance, for a second time, of the chariots which had also figured in the entry into Paris (see above, Chapter III, page 157). In Rouen, however, there were four of these chariots instead of three.

The queen's procession into the city almost exactly duplicated that of the king. All of the spectacles, tableaus and pastimes were repeated for a second time. Only one variation occurred when, at the spectacle of the river, the queen was greeted by the goddess Thetis and some Ondines instead of Neptune and the Tritons.

The Queen's Pall.- The queen, as had her husband, accepted a royal pall from the four eschevins of the city at the gate depicting the Age of Gold. The queen's pall was of cloth of silver edged with a fringe of silver thread and green silk. Two sides of this pall bore the arms of the king and queen and on the other sides were rainbows bearing the queen's device: EX RE INSPIRATA, SPES DONA.
At the conclusion of her procession and the ceremonies at the church of Notre Dame of Rouen the queen was conducted into the Abbey House of St. Ouen and welcomed to a feast prepared for her and for the king by the Admiral of France.

Concluding Ceremonies of the Fête

If the festival book accounts are accurate in their records of the concluding days of the royal entry it would appear that very little in the nature of planned entertainment of either a public or private nature occurred once the processions themselves had been held.

A probable reason for this lack of festivities was the death, shortly before the entry occurred, of the Archbishop of Rouen, Cardinal d'Amboise. Cardinal de Vadosme, the new Archbishop, had not yet been given his apostolic appointment at the time of the entry and could not, as was the custom, serve as the host to the visitors with the usual feasts, balls and entertainments typical of the fête.

Beyond the customary presentation of gifts to the royal couple the only other noted accounts were the king's administration of justice at the court of the Parlement of Rouen, and the court's attendance at the circuit of the Conards. The remainder of the time that the royal party remained in Rouen was employed in "treating the serious affairs of the kingdom and in other honest pastimes ... ." 47

47 Ibid., 118.
Presentation of Gifts to the King and Queen.—On Wednesday, the day following the entry of the queen, the eschevins of Rouen along with all the proper authorities and dignitaries of the city met at St. Ouen to present their gifts to the king and queen. The gift to the king was a gold statue, an image of the goddess Minerva, about two feet in height, standing on a plinth held by four Harpies. The goddess was represented with a palm branch in one hand and a lance in the other. The symbolism and allegory of the gift is extensively detailed in the le Hoy festival account. 48

The gift to the queen was also a gold statue, of about the same proportions, representing the goddess Astre. This goddess, the daughter of the morning star, was represented wearing a crown set with the heavens and a robe sprinkled with stars. The figure held a sword of justice in one hand and a sphere of felicity in the other. Four eagles supported the pedestal of the statue, one at each of its four corners.

Summary

The events of the entry of Henri II and Catherine into Rouen display a peculiar dichotomy. The Rouennais despite their strong

48 Ibid., 114-115. The author of the account seems compelled to treat every nuance of this statue's appearance with extensive symbolic interpretation. The descriptions appended to the account of both this and the queen's gift (ibid., 116-117) are beautiful examples of Mediaveal moralism clothed in Renaissance style.
link to the Mediaeval heritage, displayed in their festival some of the elements of the antique triumph which far surpassed the attempts to achieve classicism in the fêtes at Lyon and Paris. Similarly, although this classicism stands out as a primary intent of the festival it is always seen in juxtaposition with Mediaeval symbolism and form, partially imposed, no doubt, by tradition. More than in either of the other fêtes studied, the Rouen entry seems to have accomplished the difficult feat of linking the old and the new with seeming consistency.

It would seem that the people, and particularly the artists of the fête, had kept spectacle and pleasure as primary goals in the design of the festival. This spectacle existed on all levels from overt entertainment to subtle allegory and symbolism.

The diversification of the spectacles and their arrangement in the entry, ranging from the more novel events at the beginning (i.e. the spectacle at the river, the Brazilian village) to the more traditional elements presented in almost pure Mediaeval format at the conclusion, indicated that the Rouennais had, by this reversed continuum, admirably suited the décor and design of the fête to a population not yet wholly Renaissance in orientation, not still wholly Mediaeval in understanding.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY

On the basis of the accounts of the three major entries made by Henri II it would appear that the festivals of the mid-sixteenth century were instrumental in disseminating the influences of Italian neo-classic concepts of décor and allegory, mythology and architecture, throughout France. It is also apparent that those same influences remain attached to the festival format for some time, exerting little direct influence upon the popular theatre of France.

The strong mediaeval traditions influencing the development of the festival were also influential in effecting developments in the arts and theatre in France. Although theatrical performances in the Italian neo-classic style could be found in instances such as the entry into Lyon the more common theatrical form of this period more closely resembled the allegorical presentations staged at the entry into Rouen. In a period of transitionalism it is necessary to view the festival form as a means and not an end; as an ingredient, not a finished product.

It is essential to recognize that the royal entry, as a political festival, functioned primarily for political purposes.
In spite of the theatricality often engendered by the presence of spectacle, this festival form functioned primarily as a propaganda device, a communication link which traditionally united the cities of the realm with their monarch. These festivals, then, were designed with one particular audience in mind: the king and, incidentally, his court. In some instances, of course, this pattern might be seen to vary. In Lyon, in 1548, for example, it appears that many of the more avant garde aspects of the pageant were directed specifically toward the Italian Catherine de Medicis, eg. the presentation of the Florentine play.

Although the activities associated with an entry might also be said to operate on a "public" level, that level of communication was quite often different from the original intent. What might be considered meaningful and instructive to the primary audience of the entry could also be entertaining and spectacular to the masses; enjoyed, but not understood, by this secondary audience. The presence of a strong tendency toward didacticism in the printed festival accounts points to an anticipated lack of understanding with which the common people were expected to react to these royal fêtes.

Although the three major entries of Henri II examined for purposes of this study reveal decidedly different concepts in arrangement and design certain general trends may be seen to coexist in all of them. First, while the political nature of the French royal entry seems to allow for greater flexibility in terms of the con-
tent of the festival, the traditional aspects of French Mediaeval pageantry exerted decided limiting influences upon the mid-sixteenth century fête. Those festival elements which might be termed most traditional or standardized consistently received the most extensive and detailed descriptions in the written accounts of the entry. It may be assumed that this reflects the popularity of these aspects with the general audience for the festival accounts.

Second, the reliability of the individual festival books as an accurate record of the changes occurring within the entry format in the sixteenth century must be left open to question. Comparison of the entry accounts reveals a striking similitude in approach and literary style. If the entry itself was a victim of traditionalism the festival book accounts seem to be even more influenced. The format followed by the authors of these narrations indicates a strict adherence to "past example." Duplication of phraseology and even exact repetition of descriptions may be noted in these accounts. It seems likely that a criterion for acceptable festival book style existed and that this criterion imposed certain restrictions upon the contents of the printed narrations.

It seems doubtful that the author or publisher of the festival book would attempt to work beyond a traditional literary framework on the basis of purely commercial considerations. After all, the festival book was a commodity and its commercial value in a standardized format had already been proven.

It is interesting to note that in the one instance studied
where the festival account departed from traditional form, that of the Dallier account of the Paris entry with its emphasis upon the architectural forms of the fête, the author of the other Paris account and the author of the later le Hoy account of the Rouen entry both make distinct reference to the unusual nature of this book.

It should be recognized, of course, that the factors exercised by a traditional literary format are implicit in any journalistic account. Questioning the reliability of the festival book from the standpoint of traditional influences in no way implies questioning the validity of the account as a valuable source of study. It is essential to recognize those variables which may be considered in the use of the festival book as primary source material.

Third, the express purpose of the entry festival, the geographical and traditional heritages of the cities involved, and the operation of a strong spirit of inter-city competition all seem to be factors exerting strong influences upon the entries of the period.

The festival at Rouen, where Henri was greeted in his role as victorious prince straight from the battlefields at Boulogne, displayed a different temperament and orientation than the less-topically political entries at Lyon and Paris.

The strong propagandistic aspects of the entry were rooted in the fact that overt or covert attempts to gain monarchical
favor through sumptuosity in the display of public entertainment engendered spirited civic competitions.

Geographical differences which might be strongly linked to the prevailing strength or weakness of the Mediaeval tradition operated to impress distinctive hallmarks upon each of the entries. It would not be logical to expect the Brazilian forest of Rouen, so typical of that city's commercial aspect, to appear in a fête at Lyon. It would be equally illogical to expect to find imported Italian influences in Paris where the spirit of French artistic independence was most prominently displayed. Confusing this issue, however, is the fact that foreign artists frequently devised and constructed festival décor for the French entries. In Rouen, for example, it is not difficult to select those elements of the festival which were created by foreign craftsmen and those which derived from the Mediaeval orientation of Normandy.

If the French royal entry of the mid-sixteenth century is considered a kind of theatrical form in itself it is a transitional form. The spectacle of the entry appears peripheral to the theatre of the time yet its force in disseminating foreign, particularly Italian, ideas cannot be disregarded. Undoubtedly the form of the political festival served to expedite the advent of the neo-classic movement in the French theatre. Because of its traditional heritage, however, it also served to maintain Mediaeval concepts in a form compatible with the Renaissance.
Suggestions for Further Study

The wide range of festival activity in France between the late fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries deserves further investigation. The availability of the printed festival book accounts and some public records for these fêtes makes such investigation possible.

This study has attempted to explore the trends and effects of festivals in the mid-sixteenth century relative to the development of other theatrical activity in France. Further investigation needs to be done in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries where traditional forces would appear to be somewhat less restrictive. Similarly, comparative studies of French and Italian festivals of the sixteenth century might offer new information as to the general methods by which Italian influences entered French culture, art and theatre.

Data contained in the printed festival accounts offer an untapped source of information for the study of the development of ritual costume, particularly that of city officials and the members of the trade guilds.

The royal entry is, of course, only one form of the festival in France. Little has been done in terms of investigating other festival forms: the sacres, weddings, funerals and tournaments, for example. A study of these more court-oriented festival forms might throw valuable new light upon the development of the court ballets of the seventeenth century.
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C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle hault, tresexcellent & trespuissant Prince, le Roy treschrestien Henri Deuxiesme de ce nom, a faict en sa bonne ville & cite de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le seziesme lour de Iuing. M. D. XLIX. Paris: Jean Dallier, 1549. OSUTC Film No. 1745. Original in the British Museum.


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