

Nuptial Pageantry in Medieval Culture and Folk Custom: in Quest of the English *charivari*.

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Customs whose purpose is to demonstrate disapproval of social, sexual or domestic behaviour which is in breach of traditional "folk-law", but not subject to official or legal sanction, are valuable to the historian in offering otherwise scarce insights into community relationships and popular ideologies within both medieval society and those vernacular cultures in which medieval traditions persisted. In what follows such customs will be collectively designated by the term "charivary", unitalicized and with English spelling (and implied English pronunciation) in a sense synonymous with the German *Rügebrauch*, "castigation custom".¹ Charivaries in this sense are also a significant aspect of a given society's performance culture, a folk pageantry, and indeed in many ways qualify as a form of theatre in their own right: they are often (in deploying costume, properties and mimetic action) analogous to conventional drama, and can even (as in the scandal plays of Basque tradition) encompass fully-fledged dramatic performances.² Finally other cultural products – narrative and pictorial as well as dramatic – can include, depict or describe charivaries, or contain material and motifs plausibly analogous to charivaries: identifying such reproductions and exploring such analogies therefore qualify as substantial contributions to a historically alert appreciation of the works concerned.

¹ See my earlier article, "Protesting Inversions: Charivary as Folk Pageantry and Folk-Law," *Medieval English Theatre* 21 (2000, for 1999): 63-93, whose findings the present study both elaborates on and – in the specific context of weddings – questions.

² Julio Caro Baroja, "Le charivari en Espagne," in *Le Charivari: Actes de la table ronde organisée à Paris (25-27 avril 1977) par l'École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales et le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, ed. J. Le Goff and J.-C. Schmitt (Paris, The Hague & New York: Mouton & École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1981): 75-96, at 87 (and 88 for Catalonia); Patri Urkizu, ed., *Recueil des farces charivaresques basques* (Baigorri: Éditions IZPEGI, 1998). For some English castigatory folk plays and jigs see David Rollison, "Property, Ideology and Popular Culture in a Gloucestershire Village 1660-1740," *Past & Present*, 93 (November 1981): 70-97; C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1959; repr. 1972, 37-50; C. J. Sisson, *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (London: Cass, 1970), ch. III, "The Jig," pt. ii, "Michael and Frances in Yorkshire," and pt. iii, "Fool's Fortune in Shropshire".

While the castigation in such traditional demonstrations can be aimed at delinquents as diverse as strike-breakers and fornicators, and misdemeanours ranging from enclosures and price-rises to sodomy, the classic trigger for a charivary has long (and with considerable justification) been seen as a domestic situation which in some way challenges contemporary popular notions of the normal and proper: a marriage rendered dysfunctional by a scolding or unfaithful wife and an accordingly browbeaten or cuckolded husband; the wedding of a somehow “odd” couple. In the authoritative *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopaedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs* Lorraine Stock describes “charivari” as:

A medieval folk custom or ritual consisting of a noisy, masked demonstration, often performed at night, enacted to mortify some wrongdoer in the community, The typical impetus for enacting this ritual was perceived marital disorder. In rural areas remarrying widows or widowers were the most frequent victims of charivari, especially if there was a gross disparity between the age of the bride and the groom.³

And in a distinguished study of medieval visual culture which encompasses their treatment of these traditions, Michael Camille states:

Known in England as 'Rough Music', the *charivari* was a procession of loud instruments – the pots and pans and utensils of everyday life – calculated to rattle the nerves of social miscreants, adulterers, wife-beaters or unmarried couples, but most often to complain at second marriages.⁴

There are indeed quite a few marriages in medieval narrative, drama and art which defy medieval popular norms and so would have qualified for a charivary, and whose treatment in the artwork concerned therefore invites discussion in terms of the (domestic) charivary: Noah and his recalcitrant wife in the mystery cycles and their sources; the Wakefield shepherds and their (off-stage) wives; any number of old men with frisky young wives in *fabliaux* and *novella*, like the paradigmatic January and May of Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*; not to mention the holy if not always happy family of Joseph and Mary. Meanwhile, for the immediately post-medieval period, there is a whole sub-branch of the Bakhtinian, “carnavalesque” approach to English Renaissance drama which explores the “charivaresque” connotations of faltering marriages and odd couplings in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries: Othello and Desdemona, Petruchio and Kate (in *The Taming of the Shrew*), Bottom and Titania (in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), the Duchess and her steward in Webster's *Duchess of Malfi*, and of course Hamlet's mother and her second marriage to her first

³ Carl Lindahl and John McNamara, eds., *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopaedia of Myths, Legends, Tales, Beliefs, and Customs*, 2 vols. (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2000), 159-162.

⁴ Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992), 145.

husband's brother (additionally qualified for castigation as being incestuous by Elizabethan standards).⁵

Such studies would however have greater claim to achieving a truly historical (as opposed to a historicist) appreciation of medieval and Renaissance narrative, art and drama if they were more stringent in applying appropriate – including historical – distinctions. Domestic (marriage-oriented) charivaries are not a universal phenomenon, and there are parts of medieval Europe where they were unknown. It would consequently be inappropriate to explore the charivaresque perspectives of a narrative, picture or play from one of these regions by invoking evidence from another region which did have domestic charivaries. Correspondingly in a given region domestic charivaries may be documented at one period and not at others, or their form and function can vary over time (for example in recent centuries wife-beaters have challenged scolds as the major target in England). It would accordingly be equally inappropriate to explore the charivaresque perspectives of a narrative, picture or play from a period (in a given region) for which domestic charivaries are not documented by invoking evidence from another period for which they are. Finally it is advisable to distinguish between different types of charivary, first and foremost in terms of the behaviour they are designed to castigate, and the distinction already signalled between charivaries aimed at, respectively, social, sexual and domestic misdemeanours should be deepened to encompass the difference within the last category between what will here be distinguished as *marital* charivary and *nuptial* charivary, respectively. It would be inappropriate, without further ado, to explore the charivaresque perspectives of a narrative, picture or play involving one type of domestic situation, by invoking evidence of charivaries provoked by the other type of domestic situation. Since the two are often conglomerated in authoritative statements, it will be appropriate to elaborate on the differences in function, form and terminology.

Marital charivary demonstrates disapproval of an *established marriage* which is (by prevailing popular standards) dysfunctional. Its classic form is the parade, a procession which has something to display: in this case the culprits (from their own perspective, the victims), more often surrogates for them, and sometimes effigies of them. They are paraded through the streets, mocked and condemned by disharmonious shouts and noise (rough music), sometimes accompanied by explicatory declarations, visually enhanced – since the trigger is typically a dominant or gadding wife – by symbols of inversion (the "husband" with a distaff; riding backwards; petticoats displayed like banners), or the ubiquitous cuckold's horns. The English term is correspondingly a "riding" (and the

⁵ For a brief review of charivaries of various kinds actually performed within the action of Elizabethan plays (as opposed to action which can be construed as analogous) see Bruce R. Smith, *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 154-156.

French *asouade* has analogous connotations⁶), the best-documented local traditions being the early-modern “Skimmington Ride” of the south west (the name referring to the large spoon or ladle with which the “wife” in the parade beats the husband-figure), and the “Stang Riding” of the north (named after the pole on which the mocked figure – usually the husband or his surrogate – borne aloft).⁷ The incidence of observances is of necessity sporadic, determined by the occurrence of the offence, or rather the spread of rumours of such occurrence, although in some local traditions the observance can be “saved up” for the congenial environment of a seasonal festival such as Shrovetide or whitsun.⁸

Nuptial charivary in contrast reacts to a marriage *as it is being established*: that is, in connection with the wedding. Its incidence, while sporadic for the performers, is therefore related to the life-cycle pattern of customs for the culprits/victims, here the nuptial sequence with its complex of rituals, pageantry and revelry extending from the betrothal to the morning after the wedding night. The factor triggering a nuptial charivary is some (by the standards of the ambient community) provocative discrepancy between the bride and groom: in wealth or age, say, or (in some regions and periods) if one of them has been married before. Its classic form is the house-visit, either to the venue where the wedding-feast is being held, or to the residence where bride and groom are spending their wedding-night. The performance is characterized by rough music and shouting (perhaps with derisive rhymes) by a crowd, some of whom can be elaborately masked. Historically the French term *charivari* applies specifically to such nuptial charivaries, and (duly italicised, and with an implied French pronunciation) will be used in this restricted sense in what follows.⁹ A typical example of early documentation and definition is provided by the 1448 Council of Tours which condemned “the infernal racket made with implements and voices known as *cariuarium*, *vulgariter charivari* around the houses of newly-weds *in ipsorum detestationem et opprobrium post eorum secundas nuptias*”.¹⁰

⁶ Specifically, of being paraded backwards on a donkey: Arnold van Gennep, *Le Folklore français contemporain*, 4 vols. (Paris: Picard, 1937-58), vol. I, *Du Berceau à la Tombe; Cycles de Carnaval-Carême et de Pâques* (1943; repr. Paris: Robert Laffont, 1998) 531.

⁷ Edward P. Thompson, “Rough Music,” in *Customs in Common* (London: Merlin Press, 1991), ch. VIII.

⁸ Major studies of the English ridings include Martin Ingram, “Ridings, Rough Music and the ‘Reform of Popular Culture’ in Early Modern England,” *Past and Present*, 105 (November 1984), 79-113, and “Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England,” in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Barry Reay (London: Croom Helm, 1985), 166-197. For late-medieval French records see Roger Vaultier, *Le folklore pendant la guerre de cent ans d'après les lettres de remission du trésor des chartes* (Paris: Librairie Guénégaud, 1965), 40-42.

⁹ The standard account for recent French tradition is van Gennep, *Le Folklore français contemporain*, I, 527-540.

¹⁰ (“to express abhorrence and disgust at their second marriage”). E.K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903) I, 153, n. 2.

The Italian *mattinata* similarly designates specifically nuptial (house-visit) charivaries, the name this time reflecting their night-time auspices.¹¹

While evidently sharing some features (like the “rough music” of clashed metal objects), and while taking Europe as a whole there is much overlapping and variation, in any one community they are generally recognized as distinct customs, even and especially when they are confused, witness the dispute in the Bourges area of France in 1401 when the father of a bride acknowledged that while the circumstances might justify the performance of rough music in a “chalmery”, but threatened to complain to the authorities when she was in addition paraded through the churchyard.¹²

It is a startling circumstance, not sufficiently emphasized in the literature on the subject, that *there is no documentation for either marital or nuptial charivary in medieval England*. The country seems to have belonged to what may have been a contiguous area, also comprising Scandinavia and the North and North East of German-speaking regions, in which domestic charivary was unknown in this period.¹³ Until contradicted by concrete evidence (which would

¹¹ The name is appropriate in the sense that the canonical “matins” was a night-time service, although there may be a morning element in their origins. This study has been considerably influenced by the information on and insights into the Italian tradition in the invaluable studies of Christiane Klapisch-Zuber. As these have had a complex translation and publication history, it may be of some value to list them here. There are two (somewhat overlapping) studies, one on the *mattinata* custom itself, the other on the implications of nuptial charivary for the treatment of the wedding of Joseph and Mary in Italian art. The first began as a paper presented to the Round Table on *Charivari* organized by the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique in Paris on 25-27 April, 1977 and an abbreviated version was published as “La ‘mattinata’ médiévale d’Italie” in the proceedings volume, *Le Charivari*, ed. Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt (Paris, The Hague & New York: Mouton & École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1981), 149-163. One translation (by James Smith Allen) of the full paper was published as “The Medieval Italian Mattinata,” *Journal of Family History* 5 (1980): 2-27, another, trans. Lydia Cochrane, as “The ‘Mattinata’ in Medieval Italy” in Christiane Klapisch-Zuber’s *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: U Chicago P, 1985), 261-282. The second study appeared initially as “Zacharie ou le père évincé: Les rituels nuptiaux toscans entre Giotto et le Concile de Trente,” *Annales, E.S.C.* 34.6 (Nov.-Dec., 1979): 1216-43. One translation (by Elborg Forster) was published as “Zacharias; or The Ousting of the Father: The Rites of Marriage in Tuscany from Giotto to the Council of Trent,” in *Ritual, Religion and the Sacred* (Selections from the *Annales*, Vol. VII), ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1982), 24-56, another trans. Lydia Cochrane, in Klapisch-Zuber’s *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, 178-212.

¹² As documented in a letter of pardon cited by Claude Gauvard and Altan Golkalp, “Les conduites de bruit et leur signification à la fin du moyen âge,” *Annales, E.S.C.* 29 (1974): 693-704, at p. 698. The same letter is cited in Vaultier, *Le folklore pendant la guerre de cent ans*, pp. 31-32, where the objection is ascribed to the groom.

¹³ Ernst Hinrichs, “Le charivari et les usages de réprimande en Allemagne: État et perspectives de la recherche,” in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff & Schmitt, pp. 297-306, at p. 299. Punishments resembling the charivary (say riding backwards) imposed by the official judicial system do not qualify as castigation *customs*, and were anyway usually applied to other

make things considerably easier),¹⁴ this lack of evidence has broader implications which are equally startling. While the studies of Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, given the ample documentation of the custom in the country and period concerned, can legitimately and convincingly explore the cultural ramifications of nuptial charivaries in medieval Italian art (notably in connection with the wedding of the “odd” couple, Joseph and Mary),¹⁵ the absence of domestic charivary in medieval England effectively disqualifies those attempts which have been made to explore the charivaresque perspectives of dysfunctional marriages or the weddings of odd couples in medieval English drama.¹⁶

Meanwhile for the immediately post-medieval period, while there is substantial documentation for marital charivary (in the form of Skimmington rides and analogous demonstrations against aggressive wives) in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, the nuptial house-visit charivary (the *charivari*) remains unknown.¹⁷ Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter have pertinently noted that William Prynne, in his wide-ranging and obsessively informed castigation of seventeenth-century performance culture, *Histrionomastix*, defines “chareuari” in a manner (“A Play in the nature of a Mummerie Masque or Stage-play”) which suggests “he did not know precisely what it was”.¹⁸ Nor is nuptial charivary convincingly documented under any other name.¹⁹ Studies which nonetheless explore the charivaresque perspectives of weddings in the plays of Shakespeare and his contemporaries have consequently been obliged (knowingly or otherwise) to evoke documentation (if at one or more removes) for *French* traditions, or for English *marital*, as supposed to nuptial, charivary, or for English

than domestic offences – see Malcolm Jones, “Folklore Motifs in Late Medieval Art II: Sexist Satire and Popular Punishments,” *Folklore* 101 (1990): 69-87.

¹⁴ In addition to consulting the standard studies I have checked the available volumes in the Records of early English Drama project, whose remit also includes castigation customs.

¹⁵ Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, “The Medieval Italian Mattinata”; “Zacharias; or The Ousting of the Father: The Rites of Tuscany in from Giotto to the Council of Trent.”

¹⁶ As undertaken for example by Theresia De Vroom, “In the context of ‘rough music’: the representation of unequal couples in some medieval plays,” *European Medieval Drama* 2 (1998): 237-60; Richard J. Moll, “Staging Disorder: *Charivari* in the N-Town Cycle,” *Comparative Drama* 35 (2001): 145-61. Martin Stevens, *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 87, notes correctly that the behaviour of Noah's dominating wife would have been subject to a *charivari* “in France,” but the remark seems to imply the custom is relevant for the York play.

¹⁷ Ann Jennalie Cook, *Making a Match: Courtship in Shakespeare and his Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 164 associates “rough music” with weddings in English villages, but entirely on the basis of reference (n. 70) to studies which deploy only continental (or recent English) evidence for nuptial charivaries at this period.

¹⁸ Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, *Masks and Masking* (Aldershot: Ashgate), 46, n. 143.

¹⁹ Ingram, “Ridings, Rough Music and the ‘Reform of Popular Culture’ in Early Modern England,” p. 101 n. 54 remarks that second marriages were not a normal occasion for charivaries in England; see also his “Ridings, Rough Music and Mocking Rhymes in Early Modern England,” p. 169 (the characteristic context for ridings was marital).

nuptial charivary *several centuries later*, none of which is adequate to the purpose.²⁰

That nuptial charivary *is* documented – sporadically but just adequately – in more recent English folk tradition (19th–20th centuries), no more proves its existence in the Middle Ages than does the analogous (and more massive) recent documentation in the case of the mummers' plays. But while an examination of nuptial charivary in England for its own sake would strictly-speaking lie outside medieval studies, the situation nonetheless offers an invitation to a comparative study which, in determining why medieval and Renaissance England had no *charivari*, may help explain why parts of continental Europe did. Similarly a historical, developmental exploration of when, why and how the customary castigation of the weddings of odd couples by means of a raucous house-visit emerged in or was introduced into England, may in turn provide insights of more general significance into the nature of medieval nuptial charivary elsewhere in Europe, and its place within “nuptial pageantry”. Given the limitations of space (not to mention the current state of research), what follows will in fact have more to offer by way of discussing potential insights than in actually pinning down the history of nuptial charivary in England.

Nuptial Pageantry

Perhaps because it is a quintessentially liminal moment, when not one but two people are crossing an important threshold in their life-cycles, and when fragments which fission from two different households fuse to produce a new nuclear family, a wedding is an extremely vulnerable moment for the couple concerned, and putting them very much at the mercy, for good or ill, or even in the Anglo-Norman legal sense, of the community at large. Accordingly, when and where it exists, *charivari* is merely one of an extensive and varying complex of nuptial observances qualifying as what I have termed *encounter customs*: tra-

²⁰ Michael Bristol, “Charivari and the Comedy of Abjection in *Othello*,” *Renaissance Drama* NS. 21 (1990): 3-21; Inga-Stina Ekeblad, “The ‘Impure Art’ of John Webster,” *RES* NS. 9 (1958): 253-67, at 261-62; Frank W. Wadsworth, “‘Rough Music’ in *The Duchess of Malfi*: Webster’s Dance of Madmen and the Charivari Tradition,” in John L. MacAloon, ed., *Rite, Drama, Festival, Spectacle: Rehearsals toward a Theory of Cultural Performance* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1984), 58-75; Thomas McFarland, *Tragic Meanings in Shakespeare* (New York: Random House, 1966), 62 [on *Othello*]; François Laroque, *Shakespeare's Festive World*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 287-89 [on *Othello*]; Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1983), 127-128 [on *Hamlet*]; Bruce Thomas Boehrer, “*Epicoene*, Charivari, Skimmington,” *English Studies* 75 (1994): 17-33; Ian Donaldson, *The World Upside-Down: Comedy from Jonson to Fielding* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), ch. II, “‘A Martyrs Resolution’: *Epicoene*”. (These strictures do not apply to other studies, or to those parts of these studies, which explore Shakespeare's treatment of established but dysfunctional marriages in terms of contemporary marital charivaries.)

ditional, deliberately engineered confrontations between distinct social groupings, in this instance the household in the process of being created by the wedding (and to a degree the respective households from which bride and groom derive), and the community among whom they reside, or significant sub-communities like the more or less formalized youth-groups, which bride and/or groom are now in the process of leaving.²¹

In some of these customary encounters the household plays the active role (the community the reactive), notably in the parades (wedding processions) by which the bride and groom, their relations and affinity traverse the community's territory, with a good deal of formality, spectacle and pageantry, to and from the church.²² More than simple celebratory displays, these parades are an effective (sometimes a legally recognized) announcement to the community of the establishment of the new household, and of course also provide an opportunity to demonstrate the wealth, status and social connections of the contributory households involved.²³ In some local traditions the virginity of the bride (and/or the potency of the groom) was demonstrated to the community by the parade of a bloody undergarment the morning following the wedding night.²⁴

Not surprisingly therefore the community or its sub-communities can respond by taking the initiative (as the active party) in staging encounters which take the reverse form, interceptions, of precisely these parades, with the purpose for example of exacting largesse, or demonstrating good will (typically the throwing of grains, the antecedents of modern confetti),²⁵ or ill will (for example in the throwing of dirty water, or the display of insulting symbols).²⁶ But as already noted the classic nuptial charivary of continental European traditions, like the French *charivari* or the Italian *mattinata*, belongs to a category of customary encounters involving a third pattern, that of the house-visit. As such it is part of a small but varied cluster of nuptial house-visit customs in which an (active)

²¹ For encounter customs in general see my "Customary Drama: Social and Spatial Patterning in Traditional Encounters," *Folk Music Journal* 7.1 (1995): 27-42, and "The Morphology of the Parade," *European Medieval Drama*, 6 (2003 for 2002): 1-30.

²² For processions in the context of the early-English wedding-sequence, see L.E. Pearson, *Elizabethans at Home* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 342-5.

²³ Nicole Belmont, "The Symbolic Function of the Wedding Procession in the Popular Rituals of Marriage," *Ritual, Religion and the Sacred*, ed. R. Forster & O. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 1-7; Lyndal Roper, "'Going to Church and Street': Weddings in Reformation Augsburg," *Past and Present* 106 (1985): 62-101, esp. (for parades) p. 66.

²⁴ Galina Kabakova, "Le Corps féminin et les choses en Polécie: un système symbolique à la fin du xxe siècle," *Annales E.S.C.* 47 (1992): 595-611, at p. 598; when these conditions were not fulfilled a black flag was paraded instead.

²⁵ Edward Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage*, 3 vols., 5th edn. (London: Macmillan, 1925), II, 474-77.

²⁶ It should be added for completeness sake that insulting interceptions of wedding processions, which qualify as charivaries in the general (castigation custom) sense, are sporadically recorded in early-modern (but not medieval) England; see my "Protesting Inversions," pp. 30-31.

community/sub-community stages an encounter by intruding on the (reactive) household, their incidence extending from the wedding day itself (visits to the venue for the feast), through the wedding night, noisy ones to interrupt consummation; quiet ones to listen to it²⁷, among them perhaps medieval descendants of the *epithalamium* of antiquity, rowdy songs and drums designed to drown out the screams of the virginal bride upon “feeling the first forces of her stiffe and rigorous young man”, as George Puttenham put it in 1588.²⁸ The morning after there were more customary visits, like the English “hunt's up”, to awaken the bride and congratulate her on her new status,²⁹ or (in continental analogues) to witness her receipt of the groom's “morrow gift”.³⁰

And just as the interception is the opposite of the parade, so (to complete the picture) a final category of encounter custom is the opposite (in terms of the distribution of active and reactive roles) of the house-visit, the *reception*, the household taking the initiative to receive members of the community on a customary occasion, one of the best-known and longest surviving being the (lyke-) wake in which a bereaved household receives neighbours and friends for both refreshment and (occasionally notorious) pastimes during the nights between the death and the funeral. The obvious example under nuptial auspices is the traditional hospitality extended in connection with the wedding feast to paupers, who would receive the left-overs (broken meats) at the threshold or even participate in the feast.³¹

Nuptial Charivary in England

Against the background of these clarifications we may re-examine the evidence, such as it is, for the nuptial charivary in England, and assess the relationship of the traditions discernible to the better-documented continental customs, as represented by the French *charivari* or the Italian *mattinata*.

²⁷ On the latter see Vaultier, *Le folklore pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 17.

²⁸ George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* [1588], ed. G.D. Willcock and Alice Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 51; Catherine Bates, in “Love and Courtship,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearian Comedy*, ed. Alexander Leggatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 102-122, at 105, astutely refers to this as “rough music”.

²⁹ Jill L. Levinson, ed., *Romeo and Juliet*, Oxford Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), note (p. 287) to 3.5.34.

³⁰ Klapisch-Zuber, “The Medieval Italian Mattinata,” 21-23 provides a review which is useful independently of whether, as she proposes, the castigatory charivari emerged in this context.

³¹ Paul Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, vol. I (Leipzig: Wilhelm Heims, 1910), 96-97 for recent German tradition; Pearson, *Elizabethans at Home*, 353. The actual guests at the feast – many of them anyway relatives of the bride and groom – are better seen as extensions of the household, and participating in a household celebration, rather than a household-community encounter.

Closest to the continental pattern is the situation in nineteenth-century Cornwall, where nuptial and marital charivaries were distinguished very much along the lines sketched above. As reported by a local informant, marital irregularities (typically immorality of one of the spouses) were castigated by a “riding”, a noisy parade of guised surrogates:

A cart was got, donkeys were harnessed in, and a pair personating the guilty or suspected were driven through the streets, attended by a train of men and boys. ... the attendants acted as trumpeters; the bullock’s horns used by the fishermen at sea for fog or night signals were always available for the purpose. The mummers [presumably those impersonating the couple] were very cautious, by careful disguise in dress or voice, and avoiding of anything directly libellous in their rather ribald dialogue, to keep themselves out of the clutches of the law.

Nuptial charivaries, meanwhile, were prompted by a significant discrepancy in age between bride and groom, or the wedding of a couple who in some other way had made themselves a matter of notoriety, the miscreants on their wedding night being subjected to a “serenade” (evidently under house-visit auspices) on “tin-kettles, pans, marrow-bones, &c.” known as a “shallal”, and the author of an 1887 survey had heard of one occurring a couple of years previously.³² A somewhat atypical instance, as recalled by the father of historian A.L. Rowse in 1923, is designated by the evidently synonymous term, “kiddly band” deriving from the local word for the kettles and pans used to produce the row. Performance was provoked by the wedding of a bride (Eliza) twenty years older than her groom (Ernie):

A barrel of beer was broached in May’s cow-house; two fellows impersonated Eliza and Ernie, marching up and down the village to the accompaniment of mouth-organs, comb-and-tissue paper, beating drum, tin-pan, the rattle of bones. Singing went on all through the night, till three or four the next morning.³³

The occasion – the wedding of a well-qualified odd couple – matches that of a classic continental *charivari*, but it is evident that the performance – a parade of figures representing the culprits/victims accompanied by rough music – more resembles a charivary (including the Cornish “riding”) prompted by a dysfunctional marriage: on this occasion the nuptial charivary seems to have been deliberately enhanced by bringing forward features of the marital charivary, per-

³² M.A. Courtney, “Cornish Folk-Lore. Part III,” *The Folk-Lore Journal* 5 (1887): 177-220, at 216-7. An evidently derivative account in a popular survey, T. Deane & T. Shaw, *The Folk-lore of Cornwall* (London: Batsford, 1975), 54, blurs the distinction between marital and nuptial customs. Thompson, “Rough Music,” in *Customs in Common*, 470, n. 3 also refers to the Cornish “shallals,” which made light comment on the reputation of bride and bridegroom, or on their suitability.

³³ A.L. Rowse, *A Cornishman at Oxford* (1965; repr. London: Jonathan Cape, 1974), 74. Neither of these accounts, regrettably in the light of later discussion, specifies whether the newlyweds were expected to pay for the beer.

haps by way of suggesting that a failed marriage is the likely outcome of the wedding of this odd couple.

Also very familiar when seen from a continental perspective is modern tradition in East Anglia, where the local term was the “rough band” or, with more specific reference to the utensils involved: tin kettling, tinning or tin panning.³⁴ The typical factor provoking a nuptial charivary was discrepancy between the ages of the couple, as in the following local reminiscence of an incident from around 1900 reported by folk-life historian George Ewart Evans:

... a man some bit over sixty ... took up with a young girl who lived next door, ... and though she were no more than eighteen he started courting her. Then we heard the couple were going to get married – had to, I reckon. ... and when us lads heard about the wedding someone said: “Let’s give ’em the *Rough Band*”.

When the wedding feast is well under way they secretly bar the door of the house so it cannot be opened from the inside, then commandeer metal objects from a nearby blacksmith’s:

We took the owd baths and irons and started off round the village hitting blazes out of these tins and things The whole village was out in no time to see what was up, but they could see it was the *Rough Band* and said nothing. Then we stopped outside the house where the wedding party was, and hit those owd things so you could hear the din for miles. Of course, those inside the house heard as soon as we started; but when they tried to open the front door they couldn’t³⁵

Barring the door to prevent the aggrieved parties coming out and dealing with the provocation may be a local twist, but otherwise we have the familiar medieval European auspices of the nuptials of an “odd” couple, and the performance context of a nocturnal house-visit to the venue of the celebration (preceded by a parade to attract attention and gather a crowd), with the now familiar performance of rough music.

But as in continental traditions, visits of the rough band could also be prompted by “regular” weddings involving no provocative discrepancy between the couples concerned:

We didn’t use to have big balls and things like that: when my brothers and I got married we packed as many as we could into the house. ... and

³⁴ Enid Porter, *The Folklore of East Anglia* (Totowa: Rowman and Littlefield, 1974), 27.

³⁵ George Ewart Evans, *The Pattern Under the Plough* (1966; repr. London: Faber & Faber, 1971), ch. 11, “The Rough Band,” here from 115-118. The Suffolk evidence, as recorded by Evans, is the only documentation E.P. Thompson offers (“Rough Music,” 484) for a sustained tradition of nuptial house-visit charivary in modern England. His later assertion (p. 493) that rough music “might be enacted against the re-marriage of widows or widowers” is based on studies whose evidence for nuptial charivaries is exclusively continental: Van Gennep’s *Folklore français*, Violet Alford, “Rough Music or Charivari”, *Folklore* 70 (1959): 505-518; Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France”, *Past & Present* 50 (Feb., 1971): 41-75.

the people used to come and give us a Rough Band. They'd say, "Oh, So-and-So is getting married; we'll have to go and give him a Rough Band". They'd pick up anything and they'd go down round the house and give us this sing-song, rattling tins and old pails or anything you could get hold of to make a noise with. As soon as the people in the wedding-party heard, they'd say: "Hello, some of the blokes outside are giving us a Rough Band; we'd better call them in and give 'em a drink". That was the thing to do.³⁶

George Ewart Evans notes that the purpose here is clearly exaction: "as soon as the Rough Band had taken their portion of the wedding meat and drink, they dispersed", and suggests that the contradiction between the two accounts just cited can be resolved in chronological terms – an original observance associated specifically with the wedding of an odd couple was extended (opportunistically?) to all weddings, symptomatic of a loosening of tradition. But in the account he cites there may also be a hint that the observance is something of a customary obligation ("we'll have to ...") for the performers, and it would be inadvisable without further ado to rule out the reverse scenario, with the odd-couple charivary as a special form of a basic custom which might otherwise be observed at "normal" weddings.

While the traditions of East Anglia and the West Country are just sufficient to demonstrate that England did eventually develop nuptial charivaries, similar to their continental analogues, this does seem to have been a relatively recent development: some of the more promising earlier evidence for the custom in England proves, on closer inspection, to be inadequate, although it may be suggestive of some the mechanisms involved in the processes of change and development.

We may examine first what seems to be a one-off invention of a nuptial charivary on the Isle of Wight in February 1782, as reconstructed by E.P. Thompson from reports in the *Hampshire Chronicle*.³⁷ When a butcher of Newport married "an elderly maiden of good fortune" a group of fellow butchers presented themselves outside the house as a "marrowbone" orchestra, making a din by banging bones and meat-cleavers together, only to be angrily rebuffed. Bob Bushaway, who has also examined the incident, sees the groom's response as reflecting *his* interpretation of the performance as "'rough music' and as the mark of the community's disapproval of his fortune-hunting",³⁸ i. e. as an English *charivari*, which would make this one of our earliest references to nuptial (castigatory) charivary in England – or rather one of our earliest references to someone who thought it might happen. But Bushaway and Thompson agree that in the eyes of the performers this was a traditional observance, quite possibly

³⁶ Evans, pp. 117-8.

³⁷ Thompson, "Rough Music," in *Customs in Common*, p. 483.

³⁸ Bob Bushaway, review of *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff & Schmitt, in *Folklore* 94 (1983): 133-4.

customary at any wedding of a butcher, and indeed Thompson reports Chambers' *Book of Days* (1878) to the effect that:

In London and elsewhere butchers' men made up bands, with marrow-bones beating on cleavers (ground to the production of notes like a peal of bells), and attended wedding-parties until paid off with money or beer.³⁹

The *Chronicle's* report of their response to the rebuff suggests that this was also the case with the butchers in the Isle of Wight incident: "They had been expecting to be treated instead of being threatened with prison as a riotous mob". In other words as an encounter custom the nuptial house-visit with the marrow-bone band (whose music was evidently not all that "rough") qualified as an exaction, or in the conventional folkloristic euphemism, a *quête*, in which some kind of display or entertainment was offered in anticipation of reward – in the context of a wedding effectively a traditional means of obtaining a share of the celebratory fare (just as calendrical *quêtes* are in quest of seasonal fare, say mince pies at Christmas, eggs at Easter or soul cakes at All Souls). This particular observance, performed by the groom's fellow craftsmen, strikingly echoes the deposition of a group of French weavers following a night-time fracas outside the house of a pair of newlyweds in the town of Dreux in 1390:

it should be appreciated that it was the custom of that place and of that region that when someone got married, they should receive of the groom, or of his representative, one or two quarts of wine ... or money to the same value, and particularly those who were *of the same craft or in the same employment as the groom*, and that it was customary that those who made the aforementioned demand sang a song by way of disport.⁴⁰

But if the incident thus far does not demonstrate the reality or the notion of nuptial charivary in eighteenth-century England, it has more to offer, since the groom's rebuff provoked the group to return with a much more aggressive demonstration, in E.P. Thompson's words: "They returned, each with a pair of rams' horns fixed on their heads, and a drummer which they had hired ... beating the cuckolds march". This now qualifies emphatically as a castigatory demonstration, and so technically a nuptial charivary, but that this enhancement of the performance was necessary ironically confirms that the original entertainment was not intended to carry this interpretation, and the violence of the incensed groom's response, firing on the group, killing one and wounding two, equally suggests that the enhanced show was itself unprecedented. Indeed if it qualifies *functionally* as a nuptial charivary, in content and form it is not a *charivari*: the display of horns suggesting cuckoldry was more appropriate to, and regularly featured in, *marital* charivaries, and the "cuckolds march" played by the drummer is both more appropriate to marital auspices and suggestive of a parade. Our disappointed butchers seem to have succeeded in *inventing* a nuptial charivary,

³⁹ Thompson, "Rough Music," p. 484 (this form of music-making looks very much like an antecedent of the modern xylophone).

⁴⁰ Cited in Dieter Dünninger, *Wegsperre und Lösung* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1967), 214 (my translation, and emphasis supplied).

effectively – as encountered above in later Cornish tradition – by redeploying features from the marital charivary: the process might be seen as analogous within performance culture to the intertextuality familiar in literary traditions. And the castigation involved in this second visit is – accordingly – secondary: a negative response not to the wedding, but to the wedding party's rebuff of their initial performance, which had customary but other than castigatory functions.

An illuminating antecedent for this transfer of performance features from marital charivaries to a nuptial house-visit context occurs in Richard Brome's *The English Moore, or The Mock Marriage*, of 1636.⁴¹ The play has documentary value to the extent that such citizen-comedies were designed to represent a society recognizable to the audience as their own. An old miser has just married a reluctant young woman, understandably without any celebration or revelry, but their wedding-night is interrupted by the intrusion of a group of men wearing vizards and horns, and playing whatever kind of rough music is signalled by a “noyse of Sowgelders [sic] hornes” (I.iii.104): The context suggests that “noise” here has its modern meaning, rather than – as more usual in the period – referring to a band of musicians. A prologue spoken by Mercury (I.iii.130ff.), supported by an explicit stage direction referring to the performers as “*Masquers*” (I.iii.152) identifies the performance as a wedding masque.

While theatre history tends to associate masques at this period with the Jacobean and Caroline court, less spectacular and expensive analogues were customary in less exalted households on festive occasions, including weddings. That careful observer of comings and goings in London's streets, Henry Machyn, recorded in his diary (in his idiosyncratic spelling) several masques at the wedding banquets of substantial citizens in the early years of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. For example on 9 October 1559 at the wedding of an unnamed merchant to the daughter of Wylliam Blakwell, town-clerk, after the ceremony participants and guests went “to ys plasse to dener; ... and at nyght ther cam ij goodly maskes as has bene”, while on 27 January 1561 the wedding of Wylliam Belleffe, Vintner, to the daughter of alderman Malore was celebrated with “... a gret dener, and at nyght soper, and after a maske and mummers” (the difference between a masque and a mumming will be touched on shortly).⁴² Taking the

⁴¹ Richard Brome, *The English Moore; or The Mock Marriage*, ed. S.J. Steen (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1983); references will be given in the main text. In another play written (in collaboration with Thomas Heywood) by Brome, *The Late Lancashire Witches* (printed 1634), there is a mocking demonstration against a newlywed couple, but it is evidently some days later, and prompted by an essentially marital misdemeanour, the groom's failure to consummate the marriage: it is correspondingly in conformity with the English of marital charivary in name (“Skimmington”) and form (a parade of surrogates on horseback, the wife wielding a “ladle,” headed by a drummer). *The Late Lancashire Witches*, ed. L. H. Barber (New York: Garland, 1979), ll. 1779-1991.

⁴² *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D. 1550 to A.D. 1563*, ed. John Gough Nichols, Camden Society, Series I, No. 42 (London, 1848; repr. New York: Johnson Repr. Corp., 1968), 215 and 247-8; see also pp. 82, 288, 300 (another instance of masque and mumming).

custom rather for granted, Machyn does not explain who the masquers were or why they came, but in speaking of their coming (“ther cam”) he clearly indicates that the context was a house-visit. To judge from another play (if with vastly inferior documentary credentials), Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the visiting performers may have been members of the local community, their performance a demonstration of courtesy and good will (however mixed with expectation of reward).⁴³

In the case of the wedding masque in *The English Moore* the bride suggests precisely that the performers come from that important sub-community also associated (in other times and places) with the *charivari*, the youth-group (“the Batchelors”, I.iii.122), and that these “merry harmless frends” have come “to congratulate our honord Mariage” (I.iii.120;123). While confirming the house-visit auspices and complimentary function of the wedding masque under normal circumstances, under the particular circumstances in the play the suggestion is deeply ironic, since while in its form the performance of the intruders comprises the conventional masque sequence of entry, prologue and masked dance with symbolic content, its matter is insulting. The masquers are guised as “*A lawyer with stagges hornes followed by a Courtier. A Countrey Chuffe with Rammes hornes, & a Souldier. An Vsurer with Goates hornes, & a Scholler. A spruce Cittizen with Oxe hornes, & a Butcher*” (I.iii.152-156), and Mercury offers a pointed explication of the symbolism (in terms of marriage without love), before introducing their dance to the tune of “The Cuckolds Ioy”, played by a regular group of musicians (I.iii.180-183). As in the incident from the Isle of Wight (whose “Cuckold's March” might conceivably have been the same tune), particular circumstances have prompted the *ad hoc* construction of a *charivari*, redeploying material and symbolism (the horns and other invocations cuckoldry) from existing traditions of *marital* charivary within the framework of a wedding masque (implying that this unequal marriage will ineluctably qualify the groom for a cuckold's marital charivary in due course).⁴⁴

Both this and the Isle of Wight case, furthermore, in constructing a nuptial charivary in this extempore manner, suggest a traditional castigation custom in the manner of the French *charivari* had not yet developed in England. But at the

⁴³ See my “Midsummer Metadrama: ‘Pyramus and Thisbe’ and Early English Household Theatre,” *Angles* 5 (2005): 31-43.

⁴⁴ Thompson, “Rough Music,” in *Customs in Common* refers to isolated (and idiosyncratic) incidents of grotesque parades advertising and ridiculing the weddings of couples in some way considered unorthodox in Exeter 1817 (p. 482) and Barnsley 1844 (p. 483), and cites one report that the remarkable “stag-hunt” form of the marital charivary could be performed “on the wedding night of a man who has married a girl of light character” (p. 492). The transfer of customary activity from a marital to a nuptial context (which is what these seem to represent) also occurred in an incident in London in 1737, reported by Thompson in his “Rough Music Reconsidered,” *Folklore* 103 (1992): 3-26, at p. 12, when a demonstration was provoked by a marriage of a man in his seventies to a girl of eighteen: it was referred to at the time as “a grand Hudibrastic Skymmington,” evoking both the marital form of charivary and the celebrated account of one such in Samuel Butler’s satirical *Hudibras*.

same time they have provided glimpses of other customary house-visits, the wedding masque and the marrowbone orchestra, which may even be variant transformations – respectively early and late, or wealthy and humble, or benevolent and exactive – of the same nuptial custom, and with which the history of the nuptial charivary in England may be in some way entangled.

Form and Function

That the nuptial charivary is in some way related to other house-visit customs prompted by a wedding is also suggested by the way that the Suffolk evidence exactly reproduces the confusion familiar in continental traditions, medieval and traditional, between performances provoked by odd-couple weddings, and similar and virtually identical observances prompted (in some places at some times) by all weddings. In an earlier study attempting an initial survey of the field I resolved – or rather avoided – this question by applying strictly a purely functional definition of charivaries as castigation customs, so that nuptial house-visits not involving this function did not qualify for consideration, even if virtually identical with others that did in terms say of the performance (especially rough music), or traditional name (rough band, *charivari*, *mattinata*). The present return to the subject, in addition to exploring the emergence of English nuptial charivary, is designed precisely to confront (if not resolve) the relationships between these castigatory and non-castigatory manifestations of similar, related, or even identical customs.

In so doing I engage, from my own direction, in a discussion opened, with exemplary discipline, by Roger Pinon.⁴⁵ Rejecting contextual and functional factors, Pinon sees rough music as the definitive feature of *charivari*, but the definition of *charivari* he achieves (p. 404), “un vacarme discordant, produit par des instruments bruiteurs, parodiant des instruments de musique ou produisant des sons peu agréables en vue de rendre notoire une situation que le ou les charivarisés préféreraient a priori garder plus discrète”, is consequently close to being a definition of “rough music”. The present study, arbitrarily but consciously, explores a custom defined simultaneously in terms of auspices (nuptial), performance context (house-visit) and content (rough music), leaving function as the variable to be explored.

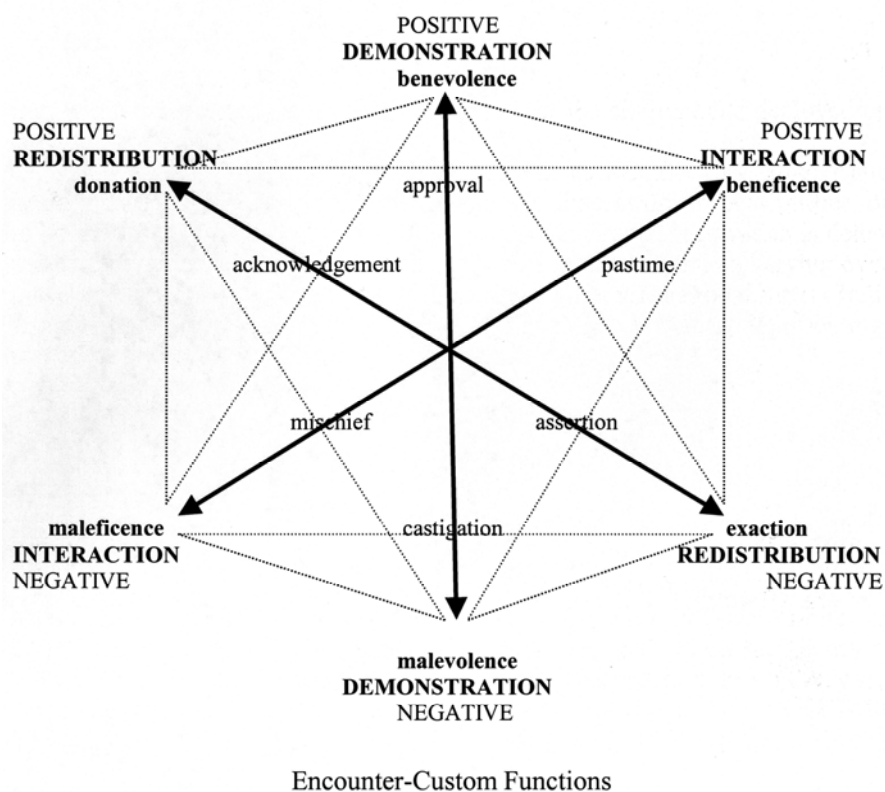
By way of preamble it is evidently useful to appreciate that the form and function of encounter customs do not necessarily have a fixed relationship: castigation can be expressed by means other than rough music; rough music can express other functions than castigation. As Dieter Dünninger has observed in highly systematic and comprehensive study of another nuptial encounter custom:

⁴⁵ “Qu'est-ce qu'un charivari? Essai en vue d'une définition opératoire,” in *Kontakte und Grenzen: Probleme der Volks- Kultur- und Sozialforschung. Festschrift für Gerhard Heilfurth zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Ina-Maria Greverus et al. (Göttingen: Otto Schwartz, 1969), 393-405.

Nicht einmal in einem bestimmten abgeschlossenen Brauchbezirk, wie etwa dem Brauchtum der Hochzeit, darf ohne weiteres von der Gleichheit der Handlungsform auch auf die Gleichheit des Brauchsinnes geschlossen werden.⁴⁶

Rough music may in some instances be the symbolic opposite of the harmony of instrumental music (as deployed in the wedding ceremony, the wedding processions, or the wedding feast), and so indicative of disapproval or castigation, but it may also be the only form of loud noise that can be collectively achieved by people who do not have access to musical instruments, or the skills to play them. And the noise can be effective rather than expressive, designed to draw attention to something rather than communicating an opinion about it; countering, without necessarily opposing, the “noise” of the church bells deployed on behalf of the wedding party.⁴⁷

The function of a given encounter custom (as identified by context and performance) should be expressed in relation to a spectrum of possibilities, or rather in terms of a matrix of several spectra, occupying a space which is determined by the functions discernible in individual instances (and so varying over place and time). I suggest, as in the following figure, a hexagonal matrix built around three axes, each with positive and negative extremes, representing, respectively:



⁴⁶ Dünninger, *Wegsperre und Lösung*, p. 201.

⁴⁷ Cf. Belmont, “The Symbolic Function of the Wedding Procession in the Popular Rituals of Marriage,” p. 6: “... between the noisemaking of a wedding and that of a charivari there was no real difference in kind, only degree”.

In theory at least almost every axis thus established can be operative: a given performance of an encounter custom can be not merely more or less malevolent, or more or less mischievous, it can also be at some intermediate point between demonstration and interaction, or between redistribution and interaction, or between redistribution and demonstration, all in their positive to negative degrees. Seen from this perspective, differences between regions and changes over time in what is ostensibly the same custom become altogether more conceivable, as do the ambivalences and ambiguities within a given local tradition which seem particularly characteristic of nuptial encounters: “Le rituel parle plusieurs langues, discourt à plusieurs niveaux”.⁴⁸

A classic instance of such ambiguity in connection with a nuptial house-visit is provided by the various near-contemporary accounts and interpretations of the notorious *bal des ardents* at the royal court in Paris in 1392. During the wedding celebrations for a lady of the court who had been married twice (or, depending on source, three times) previously, the young King Charles (already showing symptoms of the insanity which dogged his reign) staged an incursion into a banquet leading a group of dancers dressed as wild men (their costumes covered with a fatally combustible mixture of unspun flax and tar), who performed a raucous, and possibly obscene, morris (*choreas sarracenicis*). The Chronicle of a monk of St Denis (just quoted), although not using the term *charivari*, specifically identifies the performance with a custom indulged in by “people who foolishly believe that it is the height of dishonour for a woman to remarry [*mulieri nupcias iterare ignominiam execrabilem reputant*]”, and who express their disapproval by “disguising themselves with masks and by cross-dressing, and inflict all kinds of affronts on the couple”.⁴⁹ Jean Froissart, for his part, characterizes the show merely as an entertainment (*esbatement*),⁵⁰ while the *Histoire de Charles VI* of Jean Juvénal des Ursins speaks even less specifically of “a revel [*une feste*] ... of chained wild men, all hairy ...”.⁵¹ On the other hand Froissart indicates in passing that the young king took the opportunity of his disguise to flirt with the ladies of the court, who in turn unsuccessfully tried to persuade him to reveal his identity,⁵² behaviour which would rather qualify the visit as a mumming – and mummings (whose purpose was to facilitate interaction between visitors and hosts at some point on the spectrum between pas-

⁴⁸ Isaac Chiva, “Les Rituels de parenté: Présentation,” *Annales, E.S.C.* 33 (1978): 623-4 (a lucid review of theoretical perspectives on the ambiguity of nuptial customs), at 624.

⁴⁹ *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le Regne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, ed. & trans. M.L. Bellaguet, 2 vols. (Paris: de Crapelet, 1839-40), II, 64-70 (Latin original) / 65-71 (parallel mod. French translation), quotation from pp. 64-66 / 65-67 (my English translation).

⁵⁰ Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, in *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. K. de Lettenhove (1867-77; repr. Osnabrück: Biblio, 1967), XV, 84-92, the designation as “esbatement” at 85.

⁵¹ Jean Juvénal des Ursins [1388-1473], *Histoire de Charles VI, Roy de France*, 2nd edn. ed. Denys Godefroy (Paris: De l'Imprimerie royale, 1653), 93. My thanks to the Royal Library, Copenhagen, for facilitating access to this volume.

⁵² Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. K. de Lettenhove, XV, 87.

time and mischief), like other normally Christmas observances such as masques, could be prompted by the festive auspices of a wedding, as witnessed (above) by Henry Machyn in Elizabethan London.⁵³

Indeed there is an English analogue to the ambiguity of the *bal des ardents* in an account (fictive but evidently to be taken as realistic) of an English country wedding in a 1606 quarto pamphlet, *Choice, Chance and Change*, attributed to Nicholas Breton, except that here the observance is not merely ambiguous but ambivalent: a deliberate and conscious hybrid of two normally distinct customs (neither, as it happens, castigatory). The knight who as father of the bride hosts the banquet, has hardly called for social dancing to begin when there enters “a messenger from a maske” who delivers as speech that included “a deal of trash, as was not worth remembrance”, and in this evidently poorly rehearsed show, before he was finished:

with a drum & bag pipe came such a morice daunce, a maske I would say ther; but they made fools merry, and themselues sporte: I could say little in their Commendation, but that for their cost and their cariage, bred and cheese, and a cup of ale, had ben a sufficient banquet for such a company: who hauing daunced, which they did very ill fauouredly, fel to dicing, being both Maskers and mummers, when after the rate of nine shillings among eightene of them, they fell to plaie, and hauing gotten some ten groates, struck vp the drumm with no little mirth: for, though they cared not for their mony, yet theire gaines would pay for their vizards: and for their clothes, they were but borrowed of their neighbours: but thus, after they had masked and mumed, away they went⁵⁴

The purpose of the visitors is ostensibly benevolent and complimentary (at the positive end of the demonstration axis), the prologue noting that they have come “for the honor of that knight” (we are probably to imagine they are estate tenants or employees of the householder), but the writer clearly imagines that they will

⁵³ Twycross and Carpenter, *Masks and Masking*, 144-8 discuss this incident in the context of their authoritative study of late-medieval tradition, but their conclusions (which query the connection with both charivary and mumming) are undermined by reliance solely on Froissart’s account, to the extent that the “ ‘queer gestures’ and ‘horrible wolfish cries’ ” which Enid Welsford refers to in her discussion in *The Court Masque* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927), 43-44 suggesting the performance was a *charivari*, are dismissed as existing “only in her imagination” (p. 145, n. 79). The monk of St Denis’s account (which Welsford cites for these features and the charivary connection) is summarized and discussed in Henri Rey-Flaud, *Le Charivari: Les Rituels fondamentaux de la sexualité* (Paris: Payot, 1985), 120-25, which would better qualify for such strictures, translating the original’s *choreas sarracenicis* as “sarrasine endiablée” (p. 122) and attributing to the account his assumption that the dancers would have worn bells and blackened their faces. Loraine K. Stock, “Bal des Ardents,” in *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopedia*, 58-61, offers comprehensive summaries and discussion of the two earlier sources, and tends to agree with Froissart that the performance was conceived of as a (wedding) masque.

⁵⁴ *Glimpses of Merry England in the Olden time. Choice, Chance and Change*, ed. A.B. Grosart (Manchester: the subscribers, 1881), 45-46.

be rewarded for their efforts with refreshment, even though their show by his assessment merits only “bred and cheese, and a cup of ale” (we are on the exaction side of the redistribution axis): the refreshment is substituted however by their winnings at the dice game (mum-chance) customarily performed between visitors and hosts in a mumming (on the interaction axis, at pastime).⁵⁵

Charivari: Castigation and Exaction

It remains to be seen whether our understanding of the classic continental forms of the *charivari* is enhanced by such enlightenment as has been achieved in the pursuit of the English nuptial charivary, and it may transpire, ironically, that the key to understanding the custom’s complex functions lies precisely in the *absence* of the *charivari* in medieval England and elsewhere in Europe.⁵⁶

One factor is undoubtedly the varying attitudes to second marriages, an aspect which, as we have now seen in two connections, loomed large in the notion of the custom entertained by the medieval ecclesiastical authorities on the continent. This is an area in which, perhaps unexpectedly, ecclesiastical attitudes were more liberal than popular attitudes: the church demurred at second marriages only to the extent of according them less elaborate rites.⁵⁷ In England public opinion seems to have been similarly tolerant: in a revealing exchange in 1513, at a meeting in Tournai with the widowed Margaret of Savoy, King Henry VIII suggested that since the re-marriage of widows “was the fashion of the ladies of England, and that it was not there holden for evil”, and since indeed “the ladies of his country did re-marry at fifty and three-score”, she might care to wed an English nobleman of his court who was conveniently available. She responded that “it was not here the custom, and that I should be dishonoured, and holden a fool and light”.⁵⁸ This royal exercise in comparative ethnography suggests that as something normal and acceptable re-marriage would be unlikely to

⁵⁵ See also Twycross and Carpenter, *Masks and Masking*, 182, for an account in an English book published in 1563 of a wedding banquet on which there intruded “disguisers who enter in masks, dance with the women, but also bring out money for mumchance”.

⁵⁶ The perhaps surprising omission in what follows of discussion of the fullest and earliest account of a medieval French *charivari*, in Chaillou de Pesstain's additions to the *Roman de Fauvel*, is due to Nancy Regaldo's persuasive demonstration of its exceptional status and literary character in her “Masques réels dans le monde imaginaire. Le rite et l'écrit dans le *charivari* du *Roman de Fauvel*, ms. B.N. fr. 146,” in *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale*, ed. M.L. Ollier (Montreal & Paris: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal et Librairie philosophique J. Vrin, 1988), 116-26.

⁵⁷ J. Molin and P. Mutembé, *Le Rituel du mariage en France du XIIe au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1974), 243-4.

⁵⁸ Cited in Ian Lancashire, ed. *Two Tudor Interludes* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980), 167, note to *Hick Scornor* (1514), l. 112-3, a condemnation of the practice of marrying old women for their money, and citing *Letters and Papers ... of the reign of Henry VIII*, I, 2941. It may also be relevant that unlike the English, French ecclesiastical courts treated matrimonial problems as criminal matters: see James A. Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), 545.

provoke customary castigation in England. Meanwhile in Denmark, a country totally innocent of nuptial charivary in the Middle Ages (or it would seem at any other period) re-marriage of widows and widowers was also normal, indeed considered by both folk wisdom and homiletic authority as a duty – to oneself and to others lacking a partner; there was a corresponding tolerance for marriages between partners with considerable age-differences.⁵⁹

It remains questionable nonetheless whether nuptial charivaries prompted by second marriages were seen by the participants themselves as castigating second marriages *as such*. There is little overt evidence on the ground of overt antagonism towards the weddings of odd couples, beyond sly digs at “the old cat and the young mouse” in the accompanying chants,⁶⁰ or the desperately sad confession of a fifteenth-century French participant in a *grans chalivalie* that he joined the protest because the bride “had been married on two occasions previously and also because he had never been married and he wanted to marry her himself”.⁶¹ But there is an equally eloquent if silent statement in the circumstance that, in stark contrast to the marital charivary, which was emphatically designed to make the offending scold or unfaithful wife reform or leave the neighbourhood, the nuptial charivary *never seems intended to prevent the marriage in question*. If it were one would expect incidence more often than it is in the days between the announcement of the betrothal and the nuptials themselves, rather than on the wedding night, when intervention is effectively too late. Nor does the *charivari* seem to announce an ostracising of the couple from the local community.

Most strikingly, of course, is the fact that in most regions of France and Italy and at most periods such nuisance as the rough music etc. caused could invariably be stopped by offering the performers refreshment, or money in lieu, and that such payment offered ahead of the wedding of even the oddest couple could substantially reduce the animosity of the demonstration (effectively transforming it into complimentary celebration), or even prompt its cancellation.⁶² The significance of this is again highlighted by the contrast with marital charivaries, which could not be bought off in this way, and which never seem to involve exaction: there is an overt and non-negotiable intention to condemn and castigate. The *charivari*, in other words, occupied a place in the functional matrix on the axis between redistribution and demonstration somewhat closer to exaction than to castigation (in retrospect rendering my choice of the term

⁵⁹ Troels Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det sekstende Århundrede [Everyday Life in Scandinavia in the Sixteenth Century]*, 6th edn. rev. Erik Kjersgaard (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1969), vol. VI, 415; see also 421-25.

⁶⁰ van Gennep, *Le Folklore Français*, I, 538.

⁶¹ From a letter of pardon, quoted by Martine Grinberg in “Charivaris au moyen âge et à la Renaissance: Condamnation des remariages ou rites d’inversion du temps?,” in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, 141-147, at 141.

⁶² van Gennep, *Le Folklore français*, I, 528; Christiane Klapisch-Zuber in “La ‘mattinata’ médiévale d’Italie,” in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, 151 and 152 s.

“charivary” for castigation customs in general singularly inopportune). And any castigation involved (as also in the Isle of Wight case) seems to have been not so much of the *primary* misdemeanour – the wedding of an odd couple – as of the *secondary* misdemeanour, reluctance or refusal to pay what amounted to a fee for licence to commit this breach of (folk)law. This, as much as castigation of the wedding itself, features in the ditties of the performers in recent French tradition:

Dis donc vieille carcasse –
 Veux-tu pas nous payer –
 Les droits de la badôche –
 Aux enfants du quartier –
 Nous sommes des bons drôles –
 Des garçons sans souci –
 Il nous faut des pistoles –
 Ou bien charivari!⁶³

A model for this attitude to infringements as something to be allowed at a price rather than punished was readily available in the world of official law and administration where dispensations from adherence to particular regulations could similarly be obtained for a fee,⁶⁴ together with the still operative judicial practice of imposing a prison sentence if a fine is not paid.

With this perception the distance between *charivaris* aimed at the weddings of odd couples and those prompted by the weddings of “regular” couples narrows decisively. In medieval France and Italy as much as in nineteenth-century Suffolk, all weddings (at least in some districts) might be subject to a noisy house-visit performance, predominantly coinciding with the wedding feast, by members of the community or (more likely) the youth sub-community. Whatever its celebratory or complimentary function, it also encompassed an element of exaction, designed to exact, in return for this gesture of courtesy and a traditional entertainment, a share of the festive fare (or money with which to acquire it elsewhere).⁶⁵ In early-modern France the customary status of the demand for “wedding wine” was sufficiently acknowledged to be included in some ritual guidelines.⁶⁶ This share of “bread, wine and meat” was known in late-medieval France as the “ban”⁶⁷, a term which has judicial connotations, perhaps stemming

⁶³ van Gennep, *Le Folklore français*, I, 538.

⁶⁴ There is a convenient literary source to hand in Swift's depiction of Lilliputian conditions which are manifestly a mirror of those in England: shortly after Gulliver's arrival, the Prince “directed that those who had already beheld me should return home, and not presume to come within fifty yards of my house without license from the court, whereby the secretaries of state got considerable fees”. *Norton Anthology of English Literature*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt *et al* (New York: Norton, 2000), 2342.

⁶⁵ Van Gennep, *Le Folklore français*, I, 465-67; Dünninger, *Wegsperre und Lösung*, 245-254.

⁶⁶ André Burguière, “The Marriage Ritual in France: Ecclesiastical Practices and Popular Practices (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries),” in *Ritual, Religion and the Sacred*, ed. R. Forster and O. Ranum (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 8-23, at 20.

⁶⁷ Vaultier, *Le folklore pendant la guerre de cent ans*, 18-21.

from the rights of a lord of the manor in relation to his tenants. Some fourteenth-century French instances in which the *charivari* seems to have been somehow “granted” by the seigniorial lord may imply that the local youth-group saw itself as acting on behalf of the manorial lord from whom tenants should obtain licence to marry.⁶⁸

The element of exaction would become primary, and acquire a significant element of castigation, in cases where the groom had not yet paid his dues to the local youth-group. In his 1714 *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacrements* abbé Jean-Baptist Thiers listed among the insolences inflicted on bridal couples “to insult and to make great hue and cry, or a charivari, *when they refuse to give money to those who ask for it*”,⁶⁹ and the situation has not changed in more recent tradition: “Tout fiancé ou marié ... qui refuse de payer à la Jeunesse les droits accoutumés, à un moment ou à un autre du scénario nuptial, se fait faire un charivari”.⁷⁰

The wedding of an odd couple would reproduce this confrontation with greater intensity and with a lower threshold between exaction and castigation. The sense on the part of the visitors of their justification in making the exaction would be stronger, amounting even to an absolute right (sometimes indeed upheld by the local authorities),⁷¹ while for their part the “odd couple” might feel that the observance was inappropriate to their circumstances, or in the case of a re-marriage that their dues in this respect had been paid on an earlier occasion. And if – in a doomed and counterproductive attempt to avoid attention – the couple declined to arrange the customary wedding feast, they would merely exacerbate and extend the circle of community resentment.⁷² As Lorraine Stock notes (continuing the *Encyclopaedia* entry on *charivari* cited above): “...because remarriages were often conducted quietly and privately at night, the community was deprived of a daylong occasion for festivity and free food and drink”.⁷³ This would also ensure the displacement of the observance to the more charged environment their wedding night.

⁶⁸ Vaultier, *Le folklore pendant la guerre de cent ans*, pp. 30-31. On medieval seigniorial control over tenants’ weddings (and the manorial fine, or *merchet* permitting weddings), see G.G. Coulton, *The Medieval Village* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 79-83.

⁶⁹ Emphasis supplied. Cited in N. Belmont, “The Symbolic Function of the Wedding Procession,” 3.

⁷⁰ Van Gennep, *Le Folklore français*, I, 532.

⁷¹ Grinberg, “Charivaris au moyen âge et à la Renaissance,” at 142-3 even cites instances where the money collected in connection with re-marriages was devoted to practical or pious purposes within the community.

⁷² This is somewhat analogous to the insight achieved by Christiane Klapisch-Zuber in “La ‘mattinata’ médiévale d’Italie,” in *Le Charivari*, ed. Le Goff and Schmitt, 149-163, although in a much more sophisticated analysis of the complex web of legal and financial rights and obligations linking the various participants

⁷³ See above, n. 3, and Van Gennep, *Le Folklore français*, I, 534.

This significance of the redistributive aspect of the *charivari* is effectively confirmed by an interesting pattern in the international comparisons. For it is striking that nuptial charivary, where it occurs (be it for odd weddings or for all) is merely one of a range of encounter customs by which members of the community make the wedding an opportunity to exact resources from the bride and groom: for example by kidnapping one of the parties and holding them to ransom, or the very widespread interception custom – the *Wegsperre* or *barrière* -- in which the path of the wedding procession is blocked by a chain, rope, or other obstacle, which is removed only on the payment of what is effectively a toll, however it is camouflaged as payment for proffered refreshment. The latter custom is also interesting in the present context in reproducing the inconsistency of the *charivari* with regard to application to all weddings or to those specially qualified, in this case when one of the parties to the wedding hails from another village, in which case the exaction can also be seen as a license fee for a breach of customary *mores*.⁷⁴ Many of these customs are also indirect exactions on the households of the couple's parents, and in recent tradition in parts of France they could be supplemented by more direct encounters, the households visited by aggressive gangs of youths demanding largesse and threatening to kill (and eat) their poultry if not satisfied.⁷⁵

The natural habitat for nuptial charivary seems therefore to be an environment in which a wedding is seen as an opportunity for the community or its sub-communities to profit at the expense of the household(s) involved. It may therefore be no coincidence that in areas where (at periods when) nuptial charivary is unknown the reverse is the case, a wedding seen as an occasion when it is the duty of the community to provide resources to aid the bride and groom in establishing their new household. Here too the transfer of resources takes the form of customary encounters which are redistributive exactions, but now in the opposite direction with the (nascent) household as the active party. The classic form in late-medieval and early-modern England was the bride-ale which, properly understood, qualifies as a reception with an exactive purpose, as in the analogous church-ale and the notorious manorial scot-ales: one of the category's last surviving forms is the modern American “rent-party”. In connection with their wedding, the young couple arrange a drinking party at which they sell ale which they have brewed (the ingredients too perhaps supplied by well-wishers), to members of the community whose attendance is also a demonstration of benevolence, devoting the profits of the event to the acquisition of things necessary for setting up home together. The bride ale could also be the occasion for more direct and overt giving, the bride sitting on a stool with a dish in her lap, in which coins were placed by the guests.⁷⁶ In late-medieval Sweden it seems to

⁷⁴ Dünninger, *Wegsperre und Lösung*; van Gennep, *Le Folklore français*, I, pp. 386-96, “La Barrière”.

⁷⁵ Van Gennep, *Le Folklore Français*, I, 282.

⁷⁶ Notions of the bride ale have been distorted by a celebrated but atypical re-creation during the entertainments for Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575; the reality is better described

have been the wedding banquet itself which provided the auspices for donations, as reported by Olaus Magnus:

those who attend these weddings, such as relations on both sides of the family and also friends, generously bring a large quantity of presents: horses, for instance, cattle, flocks, beds, cloth, and produce, so that with these fortunate auspices they may begin and complete a happy life together.⁷⁷

In more recent Scandinavian folk tradition the same process has taken the form of house-visits, the bride or groom (or both, but not together) undertaking a customary perambulation of local households to collect gifts of cloth, corn, equipment, crockery, cutlery, or the like. That this is a custom rather than simple begging is signalled by the use of a specially decorated bag to receive the gifts, and the observance of behavioural taboos such as not receiving the refreshment which would be accorded to all other visitors, or crossing the threshold, or speaking.⁷⁸

Return to England

The indiscriminate all-wedding *charivari* or *mattinata* was unknown in medieval and early-modern England because the house-visit had the function of a community exaction, and English weddings were seen as occasions rather for exaction on the part of the new household. Weddings did attract customary house-visits like the nuptial masque, and even the humbler marrow-bones orchestra may go back to Elizabethan times, if this is what Shakespeare had in mind when in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* he has Bottom call for "tongs and bones" when offered musical diversion during his (admittedly odd) coupling with Titania.⁷⁹ But their function was celebratory and benevolent, a demonstration of good will on the part of the household's social affinity or dependents. Irish folk tradition similarly knew a nuptial house-visit custom in which local youths, guised in straw costumes, intruded on wedding feasts to dance, in the

by the sources cited and analysed in Judith M. Bennett, "Conviviality and Charity in Medieval and Early Modern England," *Past and Present* 134 (Feb., 1992): 19-41, at 31-33. See also H.S. Bennett, *Life on the English Manor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 264. The entry (by Madeleine Jeay) on "Marriage Traditions" in *Medieval Folklore: An Encyclopaedia*, 628-632 diametrically misrepresents the "bride's ales" (p. 631) in making them tavern parties hosted by the groom and the English equivalent of continental "tributes" by which the groom "had to compensate his mates for their loss of a potential wife with money, or, more often, wine and food".

⁷⁷ Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus Septentrionalibus* (1555), trans. Peter Fisher and Humphrey Higgs as *A Description of the Northern Peoples, 1555*, ed. Peter Foote, vol. II (London: Hakluyt Society, 1998), 695.

⁷⁸ Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det sekstende Århundrede*, vol. V, 306-8.

⁷⁹ In the present state of the evidence his is more likely thinking of this customary entertainment than of the rough music of a nuptial charivary, as suggested by Evans, *The Pattern Under the Plough*, 118-119.

masque manner, with the bride and the other girls present, the notion being that this would confer good fortune.⁸⁰ The visitors in such encounters might well receive refreshment, but this was not their primary aim. That there were no odd-couple *charivaries* in medieval England was not because, in contrast to France and Italy, there was no antagonism towards second marriages, but because both in England and on the continent these were seen as different from other weddings in degree rather than kind: in regions where weddings prompted exaction the weddings of odd couples would do so more emphatically; in regions where weddings did not prompt exactions the weddings of odd couples would not do so either.

This suggests in turn that a prerequisite for the emergence of an English nuptial charivary, whatever the processes actually involved, was a substantial post-medieval shift in attitudes towards weddings on the part of other members of the community, from a spirit of *benevolent reaction* – responding with donations to customary encounters initiated by the couple concerned – to a spirit of *assertive action* – taking the initiative to impose customary exactions on the couple. It may be no coincidence that recent tradition in East Anglia has acquired not merely the nuptial charivary (for both orthodox and odd couples) but also a recognisable variant of the exactive interception (*Wegsperre* or *barrière*), with bridal couples emerging from the church met with a crowd of youths and children playing rough music until bought off with (respectively) beer or coins.⁸¹

While the underlying causes of this shift (ultimately, one suspects related to the breakdown of community spirit reflected in the early-modern outburst of witchcraft accusation,⁸² and culminating in the agrarian revolution) must be left to social and cultural historians, a student of performance culture might offer some remarks on the process of the emergence. Simple migration of the custom (once the environment was receptive) is a possibility, not least given the proximity to continental Europe of both Cornwall and East Anglia, contiguity in the latter case reinforced perhaps by the substantial settlement of French Huguenot refugees in the weaving towns of the region in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But then it is odd that the name or some variant of it was not taken over at the same time, as happened in the analogous case of the American shivaree, which is clearly an import and significantly well-documented in areas of French settlement.⁸³ early usage of the English “charivary” is rare, and applied exclusively to the custom in France. More likely is something less drastic, a shift in function, or the shift in the balance *between* functions, of an existing, nuptial, house-visit custom, from demonstration to exaction, in step with the

⁸⁰ Alan Gailey, “Straw Costume in Irish Folk Customs,” *Folk Life* 6 (1968): 83-93, at p. 90.

⁸¹ Porter, *Folklore of East Anglia*, p. 27.

⁸² The pioneering study of Alan Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Harper & Row, 1970), located the impulse to witchcraft accusations in villagers’ need to justify their reluctance to respond to requests for charitable aid from their poorer neighbours.

⁸³ Mark Morris, “The Tradition of the Shivaree,” *Midwestern Folklore* 22 (1996): 5-15.

changing relationship between community and wedding couple sketched above. The process might involve little more than a shift in the status of the refreshment supplied to the performers, from a subsidiary acknowledgement on the part of the reactive household, to the primary goal on the part of the visitors, which in turn would open up the extreme option of aggressive exaction modulating into castigation characterizing a fully-fledged odd-couple charivary now virtually indistinguishable from the *charivari* of continental tradition.

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52

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HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

niederösterreich kultur

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Vorwort

Das vorliegende Heft von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* zeigt in besonderem Maße die Breite und ‚Internationalität‘ sowohl von Fragestellungen als auch von Forschungsinitiativen im Rahmen der Geschichte von Alltag und materieller Kultur des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit. Wir danken den partizipierenden Beiträger(inne)n für ihre wertvollen Untersuchungen, von Reykjavik bis zur Université des Antilles-Guyane.

Annie Saunier beschäftigt sich komparativ mit der Opferrolle des Kindes in verschiedenen spätmittelalterlichen französischen Quellen. Dorothee Rippmann und Salvatore Novaretti analysieren Quellen zur Ernährung und können dabei wichtige Kontexte zur Gesundheit und zu allgemeinen Fragen von Kulturausformung und Mentalität liefern. Vilborg Auður Ísleifsdóttir-Bickel widmet sich der Armenfürsorge und deren Entwicklung im spätmittelalterlichen Island. Tom Pettitt vermittelt neue Ergebnisse zur Kultur der Performanz im spätmittelalterlichen und frühneuzeitlichen England.

Wir danken allen Mitgliedern und Freunden von *Medium Avum Quotidianum* für das kontinuierliche Interesse und die gute Zusammenarbeit. Wir hoffen, auch in Zukunft dazu beitragen zu können, dass jene Breite des Forschungsfeldes und die Relevanz komparativer und kontextsensitiver Analysen weiter verfolgt und einen Schwerpunkt der Untersuchungen darstellen wird.

Gerhard Jaritz, Herausgeber