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Dijon, Burgundy

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Chapter 6

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In early August 1349, returning to England from Avignon as the newly consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Bradwardine passed through Burgundy and called at Dijon. Just over three weeks later, on 26 August, back in London, the distinguished theologian died of the plague. He had become infected precisely in Dijon, since the pandemic had reached Châlon-sur-Saône and Dijon by early August 1349.¹ This anecdote perhaps too neatly exemplifies Dijon's role in our period: a moderately populated, 'second-rank' city on an important road, worthy of an English archbishop's halt, exerting strong local influence while producing significant repercussions elsewhere in Europe. At first sight, there seems little to recommend the traditional capital of the duchy of Burgundy for a specifically *literary* history between 1348 and 1418, the period immediately predating the glorious efflorescence of arts and *belles-lettres* at the courts of the later Valois Burgundian dukes, Philip the Good (r. 1419–67) and Charles the Bold (r. 1467–77). Compared to other places in our volume, Dijon might be considered a sort of 'absent city', lacking eminent figures who, like Machaut at Reims, might emblemize their native or adopted place. What Dijon lacks in homespun literary figures, however, it makes up for in its first two Valois dukes, Philip the Bold (r. 1363–1404) and John the Fearless (r. 1404–19), two figures of key historical, and literary-historical, importance in Burgundy's rise to regional, and trans-regional, greatness.

Before the fourteenth century no poet or *chansonnier* may be securely associated with Dijon, excepting perhaps Guiot de Dijon (*fl.* 1215–25), a composer, to whom some seventeen fine songs are ascribable in two manuscripts, but who never sang about his putative birth-place.² Two thirteenth-century *dits* mention Dijon, but only briefly. In *La Bataille d'Anfer et de Paradis*, for example, Dijon is simply woven into a dizzying string of cities hosting jousts (l.138), a throwaway mention suggesting that Dijon occupies proportionately less importance, as a Burgundian site, than places such as

¹ Gummer, *Scourging*, 246–7.

² Busby, *Codex*, ii. 553; for an edition of Guiot's corpus, see Guiot, *Canzoni*.



FIGURE 6 Dijon, portal of the Charterhouse of Champmol by Claus Sluter, c.1400.

Source: Wikimedia Commons.

Auxerre or Vézelay, to which a small passage is accorded (ll. 126–33).³ Dijon is also mentioned briefly in the *Departement des livres*, a text recounting the dispersal of the library of a debauched clericus between twenty-eight different localities. The only book associated with Dijon in that text, ‘mon Kalendrier’ (l.22), a calendar presumably of the *temporale* and the *sanctorale*, is stridently religious and didactic, as are the other two texts that the *Departement* mentions as ending up in other Burgundian towns.⁴ For engagement with Dijon within a specifically courtly context one must wait some time for the advent of Guillaume Dufay (c.1397–1474).⁵

It was in 1361, following the death of Philip of Rouvres and extinction of the Capetian ducal line, that Burgundy passed to the French king John II as the next of kin. He, in turn, granted it in 1363 as a vassal territory to his son, Philip the Bold, who had acquired his epithet after fighting, aged just 14, at his father’s side in the disastrous

³ Corbellari, *Voix*, 266–73. Dijon is also among the topical references in *Floovant*, a little known *chanson de geste*: Busby, *Codex*, ii. 559.

⁴ Edited in Engels, ‘Autobiographie’, 76–9; see also Léonard, ‘Bibliothèque’.

⁵ In spending some of his career under Philip the Good, Dufay composed the isorhythmic motet *Moribus et genere*, which was likely intended for the ducal chapel at Dijon: see Strohm, *Rise*, 250 and n.320. Dufay’s own teacher was Nicolas Grenon, one of the composers employed in Philip the Bold’s personal chapel (De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 26).

battle of Poitiers and then sharing his father's imprisonment in England.⁶ John expressly noted Philip's courageous behaviour when making him, his youngest son, duke of Burgundy and First Peer of France, a lavish grant and title confirmed by Charles V in 1364.⁷ Through his propitious marriage with Margaret (Marguerite) of Male, originally widow of Philip of Rouvres and heiress to considerable territories, Philip became in 1384 ruler of Flanders, Brabant, and Artois in the north-east, of Rethel, east of Champagne in France, and, in the south, of Nevers and the Free County of Burgundy (a region directly adjacent to the Duchy of Burgundy, but under the vassalage of the Holy Roman Empire).⁸ This vast territory had several centres of administrative and juridical authority, with its southern holdings answering to Dijon and Rouvres, as well as also to Beaune and Dôle, while its northern areas looked to Lille and later Ghent. Key symbolic sites of ducal power—in particular their burial site at the Chartreuse of Champmol—remained with Dijon in the south. But Philip and John spent much of their time outside Dijon within their various and disconnected territories, and they also had their sights firmly set on the vacuum of power in Paris, a vacuum resulting originally from Charles VI's minority and, post-1392, from his madness. Thus, if the literary history in our period of a place like Reims is that of the people living and working within the city walls, then Dijon offers us a different model: a city *decentralized* within a non-contiguous, plurilingual, and pluricultural territory situated partly in France and partly in the Holy Roman Empire. Nevertheless, at the same time, we see Dijon emerging as distinctively *Burgundian*, an identity itself predicated on Burgundy's intrinsic heterogeneity.

The ambiguity of Dijon's urban status had been underlined in one of its earliest extant descriptions, namely the third chapter of Gregory of Tours's *Historia Francorum*. Noting the area's 'satis iocunda compositum' ('pleasant enough configuration') in fertile territory with a wealth of vineyards ('uberrimi viniisque repleti'), Gregory stresses Dijon's strong walls, thirty feet high and fifteen feet thick, with their thirty-three towers and four gates facing the four corners of the earth. Gregory concludes this favourable description with a curious phrase: 'cur non civitas dicta sit, nescio' ('I do not know why [it] is not called a city').⁹ Gregory's wonderment at Dijon's reduced status of *castrum*

⁶ The practice of granting large tracts of territory as vassal states to younger members of the royal family that would revert back to the crown in event of their lack of male heirs was known as *apanage*, and was much used by the Capetian and Valois dynasties to promote stability within their lands (see Wood, *Apanages*). When John took possession of the Duchy of Burgundy after the death of Philip of Rouvres, however, he allowed the territory to keep its established customs, including the right of female succession. The Duchy of Burgundy was, therefore, granted as a fief, affording Philip immense autonomy and ruling power, well beyond that offered by traditional *apanage*: see Schnerb, *État*, 40–3, and Vaughan, *Philip*, 3.

⁷ See the text of John's *ordonnance* quoted in Schnerb, *État*, 37–8.

⁸ Chapters on neighbouring locales are thus important here: see especially Chapter 3, 'Valenciennes (Hainault)', but also Chapters 32 and 33 ('Brussels' and 'Bruges').

⁹ *Gregorii*, ed. Krusch and Levison, 120–1. Keith Lilley sees Gregory's focus on Dijon's fortifications as one early example of 'imagined cosmological and cosmogenic meanings associated with urban forms' in Western medieval culture: *City*, 27–8. See also Gras, *Histoire*, esp. 41–5.

(fortified town), rather than city, anticipates Dijon's later fortunes as putative seat of Burgundian ducal power that, nevertheless, housed the first two Valois dukes but rarely, at least during their lifetimes. As the extensive itineraries for Philip and John's highly mobile lifestyle reveal, the dukes could go years without visiting their realm's capital.¹⁰ The most time spent by Philip in Dijon within a calendar year of his reign was approximately thirteen weeks, in 1363, the very year in which his father granted him the Duchy of Burgundy. By the end of his reign, between 1396 and 1404, Philip's attempts to maintain power in Paris after Charles's first attack of madness in 1392, and the growing challenge to that power in the person of the king's brother, Louis of Orléans, kept Philip primarily in Paris and its environs. Economic affairs, meanwhile, necessitated his presence in his Northern Burgundian territories, so that the governance of Dijon and the Southern Burgundian territories fell largely to his wife Margaret and to John, his heir.¹¹

Upon inheriting Burgundy after his father's death in 1404, John made similar arrangements. Spending much of his time embroiled in the increasingly chaotic politics of early fifteenth-century France as well as of his own Northern Burgundian territories, John in 1407 installed his heir, Philip, then count of Charolais and the future Philip the Good, as his main representative in Dijon. In 1409 he transferred his son to Ghent and had his own wife, Margaret of Bavaria, assume *de facto* rule of Southern Burgundy. Dividing her time fairly equally between Dijon and nearby Rouvres, Margaret had some autonomy to make administrative decisions in both of these locales without consulting her husband.¹² Following his complete absence from Dijon for five years, John spent twelve weeks in the city in 1415 during his exclusion from French government in one of the multiple reversals of the Burgundian–Armagnac civil war. He returned to Dijon in October of that year, thus sitting out the Battle at Agincourt that claimed the life of so many of his peers.¹³ His last two visits occurred the year before his death, immediately before and after the Burgundians triumphantly reclaimed Paris on 29 May 1418.

The infrequency of the dukes' presence in Dijon did not seem to have a deleterious effect on the city's own system of governance, nor on its economy. Dijon, a merchant city trading mostly in grain, wool, and wine, was governed by a mayor and a complicated system of multiple councils, as well as by a separate twenty-person board of aldermen. Mayor, aldermen, and councils met as often as twice a week, and decisions were made by majority rule, rather than by mayoral fiat.¹⁴ In certain cases, council meetings could be opened up to the larger (noble) public, as in 1387, when as many as 229 people were in attendance.¹⁵ From its pre-Valois days, Dijon had been allowed to administer its own city

¹⁰ Petit, *Itinéraires*.

¹¹ Vaughan, *Philip*, 151–2 and *John*, 4; Schnerb, *État*, 107–8. For useful statistics on the amount of time Philip and later John spent in Paris during their reigns, see Ewert, 'Changer', esp. 111–12.

¹² Vaughan, *John*, 9, 173–5.

¹³ On John's role in the Burgundian–Armagnac conflict, see, in particular, Schnerb, *Jean sans Peur* and *Armagnacs*; Famiglietti, *Intrigue*; and Guenée, *Meurtre*.

¹⁴ Dutour, *Notables*, 114–18.

¹⁵ Dutour, *Notables*, 131.

ordinances, its own judiciary system, and its own process of internal taxation for the city. The dukes appointed the captain of the city's guard, imposed taxation for the Burgundian state, and put forward candidates for mayor, but otherwise all ducal decisions had to be approved by the Dijonnais council—which the dukes could temporarily suspend, but never dismiss.¹⁶ In addition to governing the city and the surrounding regions, the Dijonnais government also housed the main records archive for all of Southern Burgundy as well as a *chambre des comptes* that also had some authority over Northern Burgundy.¹⁷ After 1386, financial, economic, and judiciary matters in the adjoining territories of Nevers and the County of Burgundy also came under Dijon's control.¹⁸

Conflicts between the Burgundian dukes and the Dijonnais nobility usually revolved around the selection of mayors, taxation, and the dukes' degree of support for Dijon's local affairs, but, save one armed stand-off in 1377, they rarely turned bellicose.¹⁹ Philip's own ducal council in Paris tended to be heavily staffed with subjects from Dijon, as well as from Flanders.²⁰ This state of affairs continued under John's rule, and he too employed members of Dijon's wealthiest families in his own ducal council.²¹ Dijon was hard hit by the plague, and lost further population by the plague's recurrence in the summer of 1400, but it emerged relatively unscathed from the troubles of the Hundred Years War, especially from the dangerous phases following the battle of Poitiers in 1356.²²

Despite the dukes' lively interest in affairs in Paris and Flanders, Dijon was, nevertheless, always more than a mere *lieu de passage*, for Philip clearly intended to render it a symbolic seat of Burgundian power. In 1377 the Carthusian order, following Philip's encouragement, established a large monastery, containing twice the usual number of monks, just outside Dijon.²³ The cornerstone to what became known as the Charterhouse of Champmol was first laid in 1383 on the feast day of Bernard of Clairvaux. Bernard was not a Carthusian, but he was a 'Burgundian'; his brilliant monastic career had started in Cîteaux, in Southern Burgundy, mother house of the Cistercian order.²⁴ The church at Champmol was formally consecrated five years later,

¹⁶ Dutour, *Notables*, 108–11. The appeals court for the Duchy of Burgundy, however, was in Beaune, while the neighbouring County of Burgundy resolved matters at Dôle, and there was an occasional court also set up at St Laurent-lès-Chalon: Vaughan, *Philip*, 120; Schnerb, *État*, 105.

¹⁷ Vaughan, *Philip*, 148–9.

¹⁸ Vaughan, *Philip*, 117–19; Schnerb, *État*, 105. The Northern Burgundian territories were, meanwhile, from 1386 similarly centralized around Lille in Flanders (Vaughan, *Philip*, 129–30; Schnerb, *État*, 98–104) and moved by John to Ghent in 1407: Vaughan, *John*, 18–19.

¹⁹ Vaughan, *Philip*, 161–2. The worst crises over taxation took place immediately after the disastrous Battle of Poitiers (1356), pre-dating Philip's reign: Dutour, *Notables*, 165–6.

²⁰ Vaughan, *Philip*, 212–14.

²¹ Vaughan, *John*, 191–2.

²² The death toll in Dijon compares with that of other localities in Burgundy, such as Givry, near Chalon-sur-Saône (see Gras, 'Régistre'). On the threat of English *chevauchées*, see the excerpt from Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica* edited in Rickert, *World*, 294–6. On the menace of the Grandes Compagnies post-1356, see Schnerb, *État*, 34–6.

²³ Schnerb, *État*, 125–7.

²⁴ Prochno, 'Fondation', 169.

and a large team of Flemings, Burgundians, and Parisians would continue working on its famous portal, the Well of Moses sculpture, and the majestic ducal tombs through the reign of Philip the Good. These included the architect Dreux de Dammartin, who had also worked on the Louvre, the famous sculptors Jean de Marville, Claus Sluter, and Claus de Werve, and painters such as Jean de Beaumetz and Melchior Broederlam.²⁵ Champmol thus convoked the craft and labour of Western Europe's finest artists, rendering it a fitting seat for a territory of such rich cultural diversity.

In addition to his artistic commissions, Philip was also solicitous to create at Champmol a magnificent library of paraliturgical materials: his accounts demonstrate, from 1384 to 1390, a surge in commissions from Parisian scribes and illuminators of volumes destined for Champmol.²⁶ Texts of Nicole Oresme, Nicholas of Lyra, Gratian, Pierre Bersuire, Guillaume de Deguileville, Bonaventure, and Robert le Chartreux were to be found at Champmol, along with two volumes (titles unknown) gifted to the charterhouse by Avignon pope Clement VII in 1391. It was also home to a scriptorium that brought together scribes from Dijon and other parts of Burgundy, as well as visitors from Paris, to produce largely paraliturgical materials, as we know from the *ex libris* of a few manuscripts, including a missal, a breviary, and an antiphony, all currently found in the Bibliothèque municipale of Dijon. This scriptorium seems also to have produced liturgical volumes for Philip's wife Margaret, for John, and for Anthony, duke of Brabant and John's brother.²⁷ When declaring in 1386 that Champmol would be his final resting place, Philip was effectively establishing Dijon as the true capital of Burgundy while explicitly breaking with the earlier Capetian Burgundian ducal dynasty (traditionally interred at Cîteaux).²⁸ He was also taking the somewhat unusual step of not only choosing, but building his own future resting place.²⁹ Champmol thus became the newly visible representation of Valois power for posterity, not unlike the role played by the Abbey of Saint-Denis for the French kings. Indeed, John emulated the French royal practice of passing a night in Saint-Denis before official entry into Paris by spending the night at Champmol before entering Dijon for the first time as Burgundy's new duke in June of 1404.³⁰

Philip's building of Champmol contributed to the rich religious life of Dijon, a city that also boasted the imposing Benedictine abbey of Saint Bénigne, Dijon's patron saint. Dijon also contained a number of smaller religious houses, among them a residence for the archbishop of Langres, to whose diocese Dijon belonged, and Le Petit Cîteaux, a residence for visiting abbots. The Cistercian mother house was located about fifteen miles to the south, and the surviving documentary literature of Cîteaux suggests close relations with Dijon: chapters and annual audits were sometimes convened in Dijon, at

²⁵ See Châtelet, 'Commandes', 165–81; Lorentz, 'Peintres'; and Lindquist, *Agency*.

²⁶ De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 64.

²⁷ Damongeot-Bourdat, 'Manuscrits', 208; De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 64–5.

²⁸ Schnerb, *État*, 128. ²⁹ Gaude-Ferragu, 'Dévotions', 9, 15–17.

³⁰ Schnerb, *État*, 129. Cf. Petit, *Itinéraires*, 342.

Le Petit Cîteaux, rather than in Cîteaux itself. Such traffic between Cîteaux and Dijon increased during the Hundred Years War: Cîteaux's monks sought shelter in their Dijon residence on at least two occasions, in 1360 and again in 1365, when the abbey was sacked by mercenaries fighting for the *Grandes Compagnies*.³¹

Even in times of peace, a high level of dispersion has been noted for the book-holding of religious houses, particularly in this region. In the famous catalogue of the Abbey of Clairvaux drawn up in 1472 by Pierre de Virey, for example, a missal without a calendar (now probably Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 1157, fos. 1–38) is reported as ‘apud Divionem quondam, nunc in Valle Vinearum’ (‘once at Dijon, now in Val-des-Vignes’), a sure sign, if a proportionately rare one, of the volume's high degree of mobility. The text appears, in other words, to have been transferred from Dijon to the Abbey of Val-des-Vignes (*Département* of Aube), established in 1252 but joined with Clairvaux in 1393.³² Again at Cîteaux, the testimony afforded by the inventory drawn up at the instigation of Abbot Jean de Cirey (1476–1501) in 1480–2 reveals no fewer than seventeen different repositories for various categories of books—a *habitus* of scattered holding which reflects established usage.³³ The Dominicans settled in Dijon in 1237. Their establishment benefited from the liberalities of the ducal family, but their small house was always overshadowed by and subservient to the abbey of Saint Étienne of Augustinian canons.³⁴ Although it never hosted a *studium generale*, its intellectual resources were held in high esteem from the start: papal privilege was granted in 1244 to the *clerici* attending the lectures delivered by its chaired professor in theology; such a favourable situation appears to have persisted throughout the later medieval period. A detailed inventory of its library, drawn up in 1307, with subsequent additions, reaches an impressive total of 131 volumes. The convent library thus seems to have been exceptionally well stocked to support study in *sacra pagina*, with strengths in biblical tools, essential theology, and first-hand *pastoralia*. Interestingly, while it contained a particularly rich variety of recent, thirteenth-century devotional works, the Church Fathers were less well represented. In short, it reveals itself to be a working library particularly geared towards instructing preachers.³⁵

Dijon's most significant book collection, however, belonged to its two Valois dukes: Philip and John were both avid bibliophiles and commissioners of literary material, though their efforts were, of course, modest in comparison to the glittering patronage of the later Philip the Good.³⁶ While many of their books surely accompanied Philip and John on their breathless itineraries around eastern France and the Low Countries, this library spent at least some time rooted in Dijon, in the Tour de librairie (Library

³¹ See Lalou, ‘Notes’; King, *Finances*, 8–15.

³² Vernet and Genest, *Bibliothèque*, 294 (no. 1856/item X15).

³³ Bondéelle, ‘Trésor’, 74; see also Damongeot-Bourdat, ‘Bibliothèque’, 236.

³⁴ Dondaine, ‘Dominicains’, 113–14. ³⁵ Dondaine, ‘Dominicains’, 121–2.

³⁶ See Doutrepont, *Littérature*; Hughes, ‘Library’; De Winter, *Bibliothèque*; Busby, *Codex*, i. 656–64; *Librairie*, ed. Bousmanne et al.; Wijsman, *Luxury*, esp. 145–58, and Jeannot, *Mécénat*.

Tower) attached to the main ducal residence.³⁷ Numbering approximately 250 volumes, the library was one of the largest secular collections in contemporary Europe, exceeded only by those of noted bibliophiles Charles V, John of Berry (Jean de Berry), and Giangaleazzo Visconti. Its composition is known to us from three detailed inventories: May 1404, drawn up after Philip the Bold's death and containing 80 entries; May 1405, drawn up after the death of Philip's wife, Margaret of Male, and containing 149 entries; and the inventory of 1420, drawn up by Philip the Good one year after the assassination of his father John at Montereau, containing 252 entries.³⁸ Judging from the reappearance of texts from the earlier inventories in the 1420 avatar, John appears to have inherited the totality of his parents' books and kept them together, while working to enlarge the library with new commissions and acquisitions. This library's diverse contents mirror the heterogeneous make-up of the dukes' own territories, their continual interest in what lay beyond Burgundy's geographic borders, and, most significantly, their vast political ambitions. In other words, the Burgundian library of Philip the Bold, his wife Margaret, and their son John can tell us much about the incipient values of Valois Burgundy.

Almost half of the volumes listed in De Winter's edition of Philip's inventory, thirty-two in total, are religious and paraliturgical, destined for use in Philip's chapel: Bibles, books of hours, missals, psalters, and breviaries. One of these, now Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 166, was in 1402 the first major artistic commission of the Limbourg brothers. These celebrated miniaturists, nephews of Jean Malouel, primary painter at Philip's court, were later to produce the exquisite *Trés Riches Heures* of John of Berry.³⁹ With devotional literature, the number of religious or religious-inspired works in Philip's library reaches almost two-thirds, a proportion in keeping with that of the libraries of John of Berry and Charles V. Roughly two-thirds of Margaret's library, however, was composed of secular literature.⁴⁰ John's additions augment the number of paraliturgical materials, but they now constitute but a third of the total.⁴¹ This material is primarily in Latin and French, although a few of the works are noted in the inventory as being written all or partially in Middle Dutch and as belonging to Margaret (e.g. nos. 28, 32, 35).⁴² French-speaking Margaret's ownership of Dutch texts speaks to the linguistic variety of Burgundy and reminds us of the importance

³⁷ De Winter, 'Bibliothèque', 32, and Jeannot, *Mécénat*, 9. Books must also have been housed in other cities where the ducal family spent much of their time, such as Arras and Paris: cf. Doutrepoint, *Littérature*, pp. xliii–xliv.

³⁸ The inventories of 1404 and 1405 have been edited in De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 121–42 and 142–70, respectively, and the inventory of 1420 in Jeannot, *Mécénat*, 148–244. A new edition of these inventories is forthcoming in *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii*, ed. Falmagne and Van Den Abeele, and the manuscript totals from each inventory listed above come from there, as cited in Wijsman, *Luxury*.

³⁹ De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 107–11, and see Chapter 5, 'Lusignan'.

⁴⁰ De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 47. ⁴¹ Jeannot, *Mécénat*, 10.

⁴² There is further a book of hours in Latin and Dutch adorned with the arms of John's wife, Margaret of Bavaria, daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria-Straubing and count of Hainault, Holland, and Zeeland, in the 1420 inventory (no. 15).

of Dutch to its Northern territories. In fact, one of John's major governmental reforms in 1405 was to transfer the administrative seat of Northern Burgundy out of French-speaking Lille: first to Dutch-speaking Oudenaarde and then, in 1407, to Dutch-speaking Ghent. On 17 August 1409, he even issued an *ordonnance* explicitly recognizing the multilingualism of his Northern subjects: government members were encouraged to communicate with Dutch-speaking subjects in Dutch, and to speak among themselves in Dutch—except in the council chamber, where formal sessions would continue to be conducted in French.⁴³

Another notable aspect of the Valois dukes' paraliturgical materials is the large number of texts—including breviaries, processions, and repertories of hymns and offices for individual saints—listed as containing musical notation for use in the chapel choir (nos. 38–46, 48–52, 58–62).⁴⁴ Philip and Margaret also owned musical repertory manuscripts of more contemporary music that anthologized motets and other kinds of *formes fixes* lyric, such as virelais and ballades (nos. 64, 65, 66); such collections speak to Philip and Margaret's, and later John's, predilection for music at court.⁴⁵ One of these musical manuscripts (no. 65), now identified as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, BnF 23190, also known as the Trémoille manuscript—of which, unfortunately, only a bifolium with a table of contents and two notated lyrics remain—deserves particular mention. Craig Wright has suggested that the 'Michel de . . . ia . . .' named in its largely illegible colophon may be Michel de Fontaine, chaplain to Charles V and, after his death, cantor of the Sainte Chapelle in Paris; Philip's accounts list several purchases of books of motets from the Sainte Chapelle. Originally containing 114 individual lyrics in Latin and French, set to music, the Trémoille manuscript included multiple works by Machaut, such as the famous motets *Qui es promesses / Ha! Fortune* and *Amours qui ha / Faus Semblant*, as well as motets ascribed to that other great fourteenth-century master, Philippe de Vitry, such as *Colla iugo / Bona condit / Libera me domine* and *Cum statua / Hugo*. Dated 1376 by its colophon, it is also one of the earliest known collections of such music and, had it remained intact, would have been one of the most extensive musical repertory manuscripts of its time.⁴⁶ Sharing texts with a variety of later *formes fixes* lyric anthologies, produced in the later fourteenth and early to mid fifteenth centuries, in places as far-flung as Paris, the French- and Dutch-speaking regions of the Low Countries, Northern Italy, and even Prague, the Trémoille manuscript points to Burgundy's role as a hub, both geographic and cultural, for these disparate European regions.⁴⁷

⁴³ Vaughan, *John*, 18–19, citing from *Placcaerten van Vlaanderen. Ordonnancien, statuten, edicten ende placcaerten . . . van Vlaendren*, 3 vols (Ghent, 1639), 237–44.

⁴⁴ No. 51 is, moreover, a bundle of eight processions. See also Wright, *Music*, 55–83, 146–7.

⁴⁵ See Wright, *Music*, 23–53.

⁴⁶ For background and transcription of the table of contents with identification of known works, see Wright, *Music*, 147–58 and Bent, 'A Note'.

⁴⁷ The manuscripts in question are: Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Codex 902 (formerly French 15); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale BnF 6771 (a.k.a. Codex Reina); Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château MS 564 (a.k.a. the Chantilly Codex); Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale MS 1328; Utrecht,

The inventories also list two volumes of Machaut (nos. 215, 246). Given the presence of one of them in the 1405 inventory of books belonging to Margaret, many of which she inherited from her father Louis of Male, this volume may conceivably be the copy of the *Voir Dit* that Eustache Deschamps famously described presenting to a pleased Louis at his court in Bruges.⁴⁸ The provenance of other volumes in the ducal library further speaks to the significant cultural role played by Burgundy's Northern territories. While much of the library appears to have been produced in Paris, De Winter's analysis of extant manuscripts from the library reveals quite a few items copied in ateliers in Lorraine, Artois, and Flanders in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These include a miscellany of Crusade-oriented and more contemporary chronicles (no. 183), the didactic works *Le Livre du Vergier de Solas* (no. 107) and *Sydrac le Philosophe* (no. 130), and an anonymous early fourteenth-century Old French translation, with dialectal features suggesting that the text had been composed in the County of Burgundy, of the famous mid-thirteenth-century falconry treatise *De arte venandi cum avibus* by Frederick II Hohenstaufen, Holy Roman Emperor (no. 98).⁴⁹ As with the Dutch paraliturgical materials, the presence of such works suggests that Margaret's own geographical origins in the Francophone Low Countries may have exerted some influence on the make-up of the library.⁵⁰

A few volumes came from even further afield: in 1398, Philip received from Blanche of Navarre, his grandfather Philip VI's second wife, a 'Psautier de Saint Louis' produced in York at the very end of the twelfth century (no. 70).⁵¹ Margaret, meanwhile, owned a late thirteenth-century volume of Guillaume le Clerc's *Bestiaire divin* made at the scriptorium at St Albans (no. 132), and records of her Arras possessions list a volume, now identified as Paris, Bibliothèque nationale fr. 9084, that is an Old French translation of William of Tyre's *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* and its Old French continuation, *Le Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Tresorier*. This manuscript was executed at the very end of the thirteenth century by French scribes at the far end of the Mediterranean, in Acre.⁵² Such geographically far-flung acquisitions underscore Burgundy's emergent role as a centre for competing cross-cultural influences.

In addition to items physically produced outside France, the ducal library proved particularly receptive to new, foreign literary material. For instance, it contained Jean

Universiteitsbibliotheek MS 6 E 37 II; Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royale de musique MS 56.286 (copy of destroyed Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale MS M.222.C22); Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale MS Panciatici 26; and Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky MS XI.E.9. For discussions on the relationships between these manuscripts and between the musicians in the regions where the manuscripts were produced, see Strohm, 'Fragments', and Plumley, 'Episode'.

⁴⁸ Deschamps, Ballade 127 (*Œuvres*, i. 248–49).

⁴⁹ See De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 237–9 (chronicle miscellany); 201–3 (*Vergier*); 232–3 (*Sydrac*); and 203–5 (falconry).

⁵⁰ Busby further notes that her section of the library had an 'antiquarian' bent, containing a substantial number of thirteenth-century texts and manuscripts: *Codex*, ii. 658.

⁵¹ De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 260–1.

⁵² De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 240–2 (Guillaume le Clerc), 75, 257–9 (William of Tyre).

de Vignay's translation into Old French of a treatise on the art of warfare (no. 140) by Theodore Palaiologos, marquess of Montferrat (r. 1306–38), a region sandwiched between the Duchy of Savoy and the Duchy of Milan that Theodore inherited from his mother. As son of the Byzantine emperor Andronikos II Palaiologos, Theodore wrote the original treatise in Greek, c.1326, and translated it himself into Latin in 1330, as he explains in the text. These texts, excepting a fragment of the prologue to the Latin version, have been lost.⁵³ Vignay's roughly contemporary translation into Old French thus remains the only known version of this work, extant only in two manuscripts.⁵⁴ The earlier of these, now Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 11042, represents Philip the Bold himself, enthroned and addressing his troops, leaving no doubt that the manuscript was specially commissioned for the duke; its prominent foregrounding of the arms of Flanders and the visual motif of the daisy (Fr. *marguerite*) suggests that it may have been produced c.1384, when Philip first came into possession of his Northern territories, inherited by Margaret.⁵⁵ Philip's investment in this text, preserved in the library that he founded, along with the dukes' ownership of manuscripts from places like St Albans and Acre, speaks to the permeability of borders within their discontinuous territories, situated on the very border between medieval Western and Central Europe, looking down to the Mediterranean and over towards the East.

In 1403, meanwhile, Philip received from the influential merchant Jacques Rapondi—originally from the Tuscan city of Lucca, who served as Philip's supplier of books, plate, and other *objets de luxe*—the first translation into French of Giovanni Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris*, an anonymous translation completed, according to the manuscript's colophon, in 1401 (no. 100).⁵⁶ Given the tight time-frame, Philip's copy may possibly be the first exemplar of this anonymous translation.⁵⁷ The subject matter of this book 'of famous women' resonates with the kinds of additions that John, who had six daughters, later chose to make to the library during his reign.⁵⁸ Many of his acquisitions concerned didactic and instructional reading material aimed at women, such as Watriquet de Couvin's allegorical work *Li Miroir as dames* (c.1324, no. 131); a French 'Griseldis', translating Petrarch's Griselda story (no. 143);⁵⁹ and the conduct

⁵³ See the introduction to the edition of the text: Theodore, *Enseignements*, esp. 2–6. The Latin fragment, preserved only in the sixteenth-century *Cronica di Montferrato* by Benvenuto da Sangiorgio (d. 1527), is edited on pp. 25–41.

⁵⁴ On the translation, see further Theodore, *Enseignements*, 10–19, and Bastin, 'Théodore Paléologue'.

⁵⁵ De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 213–14. The second, fifteenth-century manuscript, Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 9467, appears to be a copy of the first: Theodore, *Enseignements*, 19.

⁵⁶ On his and his brother Dino's key role as financiers and luxury dealers to Philip's and John's courts, see Mirot, 'Lucquoises'; Buettner, 'Jacques Raponde'; and Jeannot, *Mécénat*, 63–9.

⁵⁷ See Buettner, 'Jacques Raponde', 27–32, who suggests that Jacques may have instigated the translation into French; De Winter, *Bibliothèque*, 206–7. John of Berry received a copy of this text, but in February 1404: no. 209 in Delisle, *Recherches*, 256–7.

⁵⁸ Cf. Wijsman, *Luxury*, 151–5.

⁵⁹ Jeannot identifies this text as the translation composed by Philippe de Mézières (c.1384–9), but an anonymous translation was also circulating at around the same time.

manual *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry pour l'enseignement de ses filles* (1371–2), which, interestingly, is noted in the 1420 inventory as being ‘couvert de cuir rouge bien usé’ (‘covered with well used red leather’), suggesting frequent consultation (no. 109).

Such interest in female-centred texts might also help explain John’s growing collection of texts by Christine de Pizan. This section of the ducal library already contained, in Philip’s time, the *Chemin de long estude* (1402–3, no. 133) and the *Mutacion de fortune* (1403, no. 101), the latter offered by Christine to Philip himself as a New Year’s *étrennes* gift in 1404 (now Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 9508). In keeping with his father’s predilection for collecting the most contemporary texts, John went on to acquire *Le Dit de la pastoure* (1403, no. 127), *Ladvision Christine* (1405, no. 120), *Le Livre de la Cité des dames* (1405, no. 112), and *Les Sept Psaumes allégorisés* (1409–10, no. 9).⁶⁰ Not listed in the inventory but directly connected to the Burgundian dukes was Pizan’s *Livre des fais et de bonnes mœurs du roi Charles V le Sage*, a text commissioned from her, as its opening pages explain, directly by Philip himself in a private tête-à-tête at the Louvre in 1404, not long after her *étrennes* gift of the *Mutacion*. In recounting this meeting, Pizan marvels that the duke received her with the courtesy befitting a person of high social stature.⁶¹ Her encomiastic lament over his death at the opening of Book II goes on to strike a deeply personal note: he was, she says, a ‘confort, aide et soustenail de vie . . . à moy et au petit colliege veduval de ma famille’ (‘a comfort, aid and life support . . . to me and to my little widowed family community’).⁶²

The dukes’ interest in possessing the most contemporary and fashionable courtly literature of their day is further attested by their ownership of two copies of *Le Livre de cent ballades*, composed c.1389 and already present in the 1405 inventory (nos. 175, 195). This text, consisting of 113 lyrics, stages a debate in loosely narrativized form over whether loyalty or inconstancy should prevail in matters of love. The young, love-struck narrator is instructed by a wise, older knight that chivalrous behaviour consists of loyalty towards one’s object of affection, of distinction in battle, and of the tireless acquisition of further military glory to promote one’s good name. Some months later, a very different view of love is expounded to him by a noble lady of the court: fixating all of one’s attention on a single woman may prove painful if the affection is unrequited, she says; the simultaneous courtship of multiple women would be better. Met with consternation and resistance on the part of the young knight, the lady suggests that the question be formally debated. The end result, the narrator explains in the penultimate ballade, has been the collaborative creation of this work between the narrator and the debate’s three judges, all of whom uphold the old knight’s position (Ballade XCIX, ll.

⁶⁰ Cf. Busby, *Codex*, ii. 656. A second copy of the *Chemin de long estude* made its way into the 1420 inventory, as no. 134, but is less sumptuous than the other volume; perhaps, as De Winter speculates, it was a presentation copy intended for a lesser member of the ducal family, such as John’s brother Anthony of Brabant (*Bibliothèque*, 219).

⁶¹ Christine de Pizan, *Charles V*, 43. ⁶² Christine de Pizan, *Charles V*, 111.

30–6). Neatly narratively divided into two precise halves, the one hundred ballades are a feat of formal ingenuity, cycling through seven sub-types of differing metre, stanza length, and rhyme structure in four-ballade sequences.⁶³

In addition to exciting interest for its structural virtuosity, the *Livre de cent ballades* had a significant historical connection to Valois Burgundy, for its multiple authors were all real-life, well-known figures. The judges co-authoring the work are identified in the text as Jean II le Meingre, aka Boucicaut, the great military leader made Marshal of France in 1391; Philip of Artois, the count of Eu, son-in-law to John of Berry, and, in 1392, Constable of France; and Jean de Creseques, Marshal of the French army in Hungary in the 1390s. In the final ballade, moreover, the co-writers invite ‘tous les amoureux’ (‘all lovers’) to weigh in on the decision (l. 1), eliciting thirteen outside responses from likewise real-life, contemporary figures that are found appended to extant manuscripts of the *Livre*. These respondents notably include Philip’s brother, John of Berry; their nephew, Louis of Orléans (here still named ‘Monseigneur de Touraine’); Philip the Bold’s Grand Chamberlain Guy VI de la Trémoïlle; and Guillaume de Tignonville, who was to become Provost of Paris in 1401.⁶⁴ De Tignonville was already well-known in literary circles: Margaret owned his French translation of the *Dicta et gesta philosophorum et antiquorum* (no. 236).

Multiple members of this coterie of co-authors and thirteen respondents—Boucicaut, John of Berry, Louis of Orléans, Guillaume de Tignonville, François d’Auberchicourt, Jean de Chambrillac, and Charles d’Ivry—also belonged to the so-called Cour amoureuse. This intriguing institution, of which only a foundational charter plus four more armorial manuscripts, with lists of members, remain, seems to have been a *formes fixes* poetry competition, held or projected to be held every year on Valentine’s Day. Founded in 1401, it seems to have been modelled on the famous Northern French *puy*s, which were competitions of poetic confraternities going back as far as the late twelfth century in Arras and spreading to London, Rouen, Valenciennes, Dieppe, and Lille by the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶⁵ Philip the Bold himself was the Cour amoureuse’s second officer, named in the charter as ‘premier conservateur de la court amoureuse’ directly after Charles VI, its ‘souverain conservateur’; the charter explains that establishing the Cour amoureuse has been Philip’s joint idea with Louis II of Bourbon (also an uncle to Charles VI).⁶⁶ It was in Philip’s Parisian residence, the Hôtel d’Artois, that the Cour amoureuse charter claims to have been promulgated, and Philip’s sons and grandsons were all members. The membership list—with some 952 shields copied into the Cour’s several armorial rolls—

⁶³ See *Cent ballades*, pp. xxvi–xxvii; Cerquiglini-Toulet, ‘Lyrisme’.

⁶⁴ *Cent ballades*, pp. lvi–lxviii.

⁶⁵ For a discussion of the extant manuscripts, edition of the charter and full list of members, see *Cour*, ed. Bozzolo and Loyau. On the *puy* of Arras, see Berger, *Nécrologe*, i. 46–7. On *puy*s culture and its foundations, see Gros, *Poète*; Vincent, *Confréries*; Brusegan, ‘Culte’; Butterfield, *Poetry*, 133–50; and Symes, ‘Confraternity’.

⁶⁶ For Philip’s central role in the Cour amoureuse, see *Cour*, i. 35, ll. 15–25, and p. 48. See further Piaget, ‘Cour amoureuse’; Straub, ‘Gründung’; and Bozzolo and Ornato, ‘Princes’.

overwhelmingly features noblemen from Northern France, the Low Countries, and the Southern Burgundian territories, the majority in Burgundian service through the 1430s. Strong connection between the *Livre de cent ballades* and the *Cour amoureuse* underscores the *Livre's* Burgundian ties.

Guillaume de Tignonville's response in the *Livre de cent ballades* offers clues to the identity of the text's fourth—and main—co-author, from whose viewpoint the story is being told, a personage addressed simply as 'Seneschal'. Gaston Raynaud identifies this figure as Jean II, the Seneschal of Eu, in the service of Philip of Artois, count of Eu.⁶⁷ Interestingly, a slightly later chronicle, *Le Livre des faits du bon Messire Jehan le Maingre, dit Bouciquaut* (1409), detailing the exploits of Boucicaut, one of the *Livre de cent ballades's* other main co-authors, offers outside evidence for the *Livre's* coterie composition in noting that Boucicaut and Philip of Artois composed the *Livre de cent ballades* 'ou voyage d'oultre mer' ('during a voyage to Outremer'). The text goes on to relate that Boucicaut, while on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, learned that Philip of Artois had been arrested in Damascus and voluntarily joined him in prison: Raynaud supposes that this episode may have been the Outremer voyage in question.⁶⁸ The authors' own distinguished military careers and thirst for exotic locales thus energizes the first half of the text, in which the old knight, named by subsequent respondents as Hutin de Vermeille, real-life chamberlain to Charles V, uncle by marriage to Louis II of Bourbon, and, indeed, an old man in 1389 (he died the following year),⁶⁹ encourages the young Seneschal to prove himself by seeking his fortune. Ironically, three of these co-authors would barely outlive the sage old knight: the Seneschal of Eu himself, Philip of Artois, Jean de Creseques, as well as respondent Guy de la Trémoille, died at the disastrous Battle of Nicopolis in 1396 during the ill-fated crusade against the Ottoman Turks planned by Philip and led by John (where he gained his 'Fearless' sobriquet).

The *Livre* is much more than a pleasant pastiche composed to pass a prison sentence. Arguing for the *Roman de la Rose* as a major intertext for the *Livre*, Jane Taylor shows that key *Rose* terms like 'service' and 'franchise' carry great ideological weight in the *Livre de cent ballades*. The old knight's conflation of loyalty in love with military exploit enmeshes the young lover within a set of mimetic power structures; love at court becomes indistinguishable from service in and for a court. In advocating inconsistency, the lady, on the other hand, recalling the *Rose's* *Vieille*, destabilizes the ideal of single-minded chivalric service. The work's thirteen outside responses, which do not uniformly maintain the position of the old knight, and which often dissolve into

⁶⁷ On what little is known of the Seneschal d'Eu's life, see *Cent ballades*, pp. xliii–liv.

⁶⁸ Lalande (ed.), *Bouciquaut*, I, ix, 15–20 (p. 32), I, xvi, 45–100 (pp. 63–4); *Cent ballades*, pp. xlvi–xlviii. Interestingly, Lalande's edition notes that the phrase concerning Boucicaut's composition of the *Livre de cent ballades* was added in the margin of the only extant manuscript of the *Livre des faits*, Paris, BnF fr. 11432, on fol. 8v. 'Outremer' means 'overseas'.

⁶⁹ Christine de Pizan names Hutin de Vermeilles with Othon de Grandson (see Chapter 7, 'Savoy') twice in her corpus as foremost exemplars of contemporary chivalric prowess, in *L'Épître au dieu d'amours*, ll. 224–44 (1399) and in *Le Debat de deux amans*, ll. 1619–21 (1400).

equivocating support for either side, lend uneasy support to the maintenance of contemporary chivalric ideals.⁷⁰

This curious work, produced by men who died fighting the Ottoman Turks in Philip the Bold's service, interestingly offsets the Burgundian library's fascination with tales of bygone chivalry in the era of the Crusades. In addition to the aforementioned translation and continuations of William of Tyre, the library contained two copies of Villehardouin's *Conquête de Constantinople* (nos. 183, 194), Jean Hayton's *Fleur des histoires d'Orient* (no. 111), the crusader romance *Le Roman du chevalier au cygne* (no. 180), and other works engaging with Outremer, such as *Floire et Blancheflor* (no. 212), and *Mandeville* (no. 234). Most remarkably, the 1420 inventory lists an unusual and little-known text (no. 149) that, like the French translation of Theodore Palaiologos' wartime treatise, survives only in two manuscripts. The text in question is *Le Canarien* by Pierre Boutier and Jean le Verrier, an account of the conquest of the Canaries for Castile between 1402 and 1404 by two early *conquistadores*, Gadifer de la Salle and Jean IV de Béthencourt, both noble men-at-arms in Louis of Orléans' service.⁷¹ There are, however, two rather different versions of this work. The earlier tells how Béthencourt betrays de la Salle by secretly negotiating with King Henry III of Castile to become sole ruler of the archipelago (as a Castilian fiefdom); de la Salle returns home penniless.⁷² This version is extant only in London, British Library, Egerton MS 2709, datable to c.1420. The second version, now in Rouen and written much later, downplays de la Salle's role in the conquest while celebrating Béthencourt's honest and triumphant achievement.⁷³ The illuminated Egerton MS matches the description in the 1420 inventory of the Burgundian library, and it seems likely that the Valois dukes would have possessed precisely this earlier pro-de la Salle version (the Egerton MS itself): a 1372 record indicates that de la Salle won 31 francs from Philip the Bold in *jeu de paume*, and he was also a member of the *Cour amoureuse*, two details suggesting de la Salle's connection to the Burgundian court and its literary circles.⁷⁴ This curious text's presence in a library full of ancient tales of overseas conquest speaks to the dukes' active interest in *contemporary* conquest and crusade, an interest most saliently illustrated by their own involvement in the 1396 disaster at Nicopolis.

⁷⁰ Taylor, 'Rose'. On transforming chivalric ideals in late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century romance composed in and around the Burgundian court, see further Brown-Grant, *Romance*.

⁷¹ For detailed discussion of these men's earlier exploits and the conquest itself, see vol. 1 of Rafols and Cioranescu (eds), *Canarien*, 108–62, 197–229 (Béthencourt) and 163–96 (de la Salle), and see further Chapter 52.

⁷² Edited in Vols 2 and 3 of *Canarien* by Rafols and Cioranescu, as well as in *Canarien*, ed. Aznar, Pico, and Corbella.

⁷³ See *Canarien*, ed. Rafols and Cioranescu, i. 230–97, and Keen, *Nobles*, 121–34.

⁷⁴ Oddly, Rafols and Cioranescu make no mention of the Burgundian library in their discussion of the Egerton MS (i. 233), but Doutrepont makes the identification in *Littérature*, 243–4. On the 1372 record, see *Canarien*, ed. Rafols and Cioranescu, i. 167–8, 323, and Petit, *Itinéraires*, 490. On de la Salle and his literariness, see further Keen, *Nobles*, 132–3. On other possible reasons for Burgundian interest in the pro-de la Salle text see Goodman, *Chivalry*, 104–33.

Spurred by growing Ottoman expansion into the Balkans amid the political instability plaguing the declining Byzantine Empire, the crusade to aid Sigismund, then king of Hungary, in beating back Ottoman Sultan Bayezid I was originally conceived as an Anglo-Franco-Burgundian operation to be headed by John of Gaunt, Louis of Orléans, and Philip the Bold himself. Gaunt and Orléans unexpectedly withdrew, however, and Philip conferred leadership of the crusade upon John, then count of Nevers and just shy of his twenty-fifth birthday. Underscoring that this was a Burgundian project, John and his crusading army set out from *Dijon* on 30 April 1396, joined forces with Sigismund in Buda, and passed into Bulgaria to meet the Ottoman host at Nicopolis on 25 September.⁷⁵ In Froissart's account, John's army failed to apprehend the size and stealth of the Ottoman host. Rejecting Sigismund's orders to hang back, the *Livre de cent ballades* co-author Philip of Artois insisted that John's army take home the glory by leading the vanguard.⁷⁶ Froissart, eloquently brief, adduces a pointed literary comparison:

et par euls et par leur fole oultre-cuidance et orgueil fut toute la perte, et le dommage que ils receurent, si grant que depuis la bataille de Ronchevaux où les douze pers de France furent mors et desconfis, ne receurent si grant dommage.

and because of them, and because of their mad arrogance and pride, the loss and the misfortune that they incurred was so great that not since the battle of Roncevaux, where the twelve peers of France were brought to death and vanquished, had [the French] incurred so great a misfortune.⁷⁷

Imprisoned along with the survivors, John endured two years of captivity that began with Bayezid's large-scale public massacre and mutilation of those in John's army not destined for slavery; John kneeled before Bayezid to plead for the *Livre de cent ballades*' co-author Boucicaut's life.⁷⁸ John's crippling ransom saw Philip raising taxes all over Burgundy (except, interestingly, a recalcitrant Flanders), borrowing from other European rulers (particularly his nephew Charles VI), striking deals with Tuscan bankers and merchants, and even pawning articles of ducal plate. Nevertheless, the count of Nevers re-entered Dijon in well-staged triumph on 22 February 1398 as John the Fearless.⁷⁹

The Nicopolis disaster inspired Philippe de Mézières, chancellor of Cyprus and crusade visionary to sovereigns across Europe, to write Philip in 1397 *Une epistre*

⁷⁵ For the build-up and preparations for the expedition to Nicopolis, see Vaughan, *Philip*, 60–8, Schnerb, *État*, 115–19, and Contamine and Paviot's introduction to Mézières, *Epistre*, 53–60. Deschamps' Ballade 1316, on the Nicopolis disaster, gives the list of participants in the campaign as 'maint baron et le roi de Hongrie, | François, Anglois, Bourgongnons, Alemans' (ll. 13–14: 'many lords and the king of Hungary, the French, the English, the Burgundians, the Germans'), thus drawing a clear and important distinction between 'French' and 'Burgundian' in his near-contemporary literary response to the event: *Œuvres*, vii. 77–8.

⁷⁶ Froissart, *Chroniques*, xv. 314.

⁷⁷ Froissart, *Chroniques*, xv. 315–16. For the classic and most comprehensive discussion of the entire expedition and battle, see Atiya, *Nicopolis*.

⁷⁸ Froissart, *Chroniques*, xv. 327–28.

⁷⁹ On raising the ransom, Philip's subsequent debts, and Flanders' refusal, see Vaughan, *Philip*, 72–8; Schnerb, *État*, 122–3; Setton, *Papacy*, 360–8.

lamentable et consolatoire.⁸⁰ Extant in a single manuscript, this letter is listed in the 1420 inventory (no. 122) and is now Brussels, Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, MS 10486. Composed in Mézières' trademark style of practical advice interspersed with exempla, parable, and dream vision, the *vieux pèlerin's* last work pleads for realization of the project that had been occupying him for the past thirty years: the unification of war-torn Europe under the banner of militant Christendom against all infidels.

Mézières addresses himself to his 'tres amé et tres singulier seigneur' ('most beloved and most excellent lord') both to console and to counsel. Mézières attributes the defeat to two distinct problems. First, John's army, likened by Mézières to a human body, had an imbalance of the four humours that guarantee sure victory: order, discipline, obedience, and justice. Such imbalance, Mézières explains at length, has caused all major military defeats from ancient Greece to the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 (the same in which 14-year-old Philip was captured alongside his father). Secondly, Mézières argues, the Burgundians erred fatally in joining with Sigismund's army of 'sismatiques' ('schismatics'), i.e. its ranks of Wallachians, Serbs, and Bulgarians, for 'une pomme perie mise ou milieu de XL fera les autres pourrir' ('a rotten apple placed among forty more will make the others rot').⁸¹ Mézières' distrust of Orthodox Christianity, in the Balkan regions specifically, traces back to his earliest writings in the late 1360s and climaxes with this final work.⁸²

Mézières proposes a variety of solutions. Tuscan bankers, who regularly treat with Turks, should be involved in setting terms of ransom—but the only real solution is crusade. Mézières goes on to outline his vision of a united Christian host operating in the name of the Passion of Jesus Christ. This would be 'une cité portative', a portable city that is at once, Mézières explains, the realization of Augustine's City of God, in which knights will be nourished with the body and the blood of Christ and all Christian virtues, and also—in a startling and complete abandon of the allegorical mode—the Christian version of the nomadic lifestyle of the 'grant can de Tartarie' ('the great Khan of Tartary'), who travels with his vast army by horse and camps in tents.⁸³ Might Mézières possibly be thinking here of Tamerlane, at the very height of his powers in 1397, who was about to advance ever eastward for his conquest of Delhi in 1398? Bayezid would, in any case, lose to Tamerlane at the Battle of Ankara just a few years later, in 1402. In what then reads almost as a premonition of some major divisions by 'nation' at the Council of Constance in 1414–18, Mézières also suggests that this united Christian 'portable city' be divided into three main groups, with three offensives that may combine to deliver Europe from the infidel: (1) France, England, Scotland, Lombardy, Tuscany, Rome, Naples, and Sicily to attack Bayezid directly; (2) the territories of the Upper and Lower

⁸⁰ On shocked European reactions to Bayezid's massacre of the prisoners, see DeVries, 'Christian Prisoners'. For Mézières' far-flung career, see Contamine and Paviot's introduction to Mézières, *Epistre*, 12–45; Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières*; and Chapter 61.

⁸¹ Mézières, *Epistre*, 119.

⁸² Thus Petkov, 'Rotten Apple'.

⁸³ Mézières, *Epistre*, 196.

Rhine, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary to recapture Constantinople before joining the first group in their fight against Bayezid via the Bosphorus; and (3) Castile, Portugal, Aragon, Navarre, and Majorca to concentrate on Muslim Granada and the North African coast.⁸⁴

Philip's crusade, led by John from Dijon, crystallized in its lofty ambitions, if not in its execution, Burgundy's pretensions as an emergent geo-political player in late medieval Europe. Mézières' enthusiastic elevation of Nicopolis as an inauspicious yet rectifiable beginning presaging the advent of Christian glory over unbelievers, addressed explicitly to Philip, envisions the Burgundian duke as an enterprising and capable leader with the authority, alongside that of the warring sovereigns of England and France, to unite a heterogeneous Christian community. Who better, indeed, to unite multiple peoples, speaking multiple languages, spread out over a whole continent, than a ruler who had already accomplished much the same, on a smaller scale, in his own discontinuous and plurilingual territories?

It seems appropriate to conclude this account of disaggregated but highly influential Burgundy by considering the widely travelled Burgundian Guillebert de Lannoy, a real-life counterpart of the ideal young lover described by the old knight in the *Livre de cent ballades*.⁸⁵ This consummate knight errant, as detailed by his remarkable self-authored *Voyages et ambassades*, began his career with a bewildering variety of military conflicts, including invasion of the Isle of Wight in 1399 to avenge Richard II's death, the quelling of rebellion in Liège in 1408 with John the Fearless, and the siege of Antequera in Muslim Granada led by Ferdinand I of Aragon in 1410.⁸⁶ After attending the public reading of Jehan Petit's notorious *Justification* in Paris, in which the theologian Petit defended John's outrageous assassination of his cousin Louis of Orléans in 1407, Lannoy went on to become John's cupbearer and was later among those Burgundians who accompanied Philip the Good to recover John's body after *his* assassination in 1419. Continuing in ambassadorial service under Philip the Good, Lannoy supplemented his extensive travels with pilgrimages and personal trips. He thus became one of the earliest Western travellers to Novgorod (Chapter 70) and Pskov, for which his *Voyages et ambassades* have received particular attention.⁸⁷ In 1414, he joined the Teutonic knights at Danzig (Chapter 39) in their ongoing regional conflict with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Wandering through Samogitia, in modern-day Lithuania, and Courland, in modern-day Latvia, Lannoy finally reached Riga, seat of the Livonian Order, and then headed on to 'la grant Noegarde en Russye' ('Great Novgorod in Rus').⁸⁸

⁸⁴ Mézières, *Epistre*, 186–91; on *nationes* at Constance, see Chapter 82.

⁸⁵ See Mund, 'Travel Accounts', especially for bibliography on Lannoy on p. 106 n. 10, and Chapter 3 for his poetic exchange with Jean de Werchin.

⁸⁶ The *Voyages et ambassades* have been edited by Serrure and by Potvin. Citations from Serrure.

⁸⁷ Bertrand notes that Lannoy must have made his trip in 1414 and not 1413 as he recounts: Bertrand, 'Un seigneur'.

⁸⁸ See further Chapter 70.

Lannoy's evocation of Rus', unusually detailed and lengthy compared with the rest of his *Voyages*, becomes increasingly exotic: we learn, for example, that the Russians, despite being Christians, wife-swap for money in the marketplace, and that one's eyelids can freeze together in a Russian winter (20–1). While no other locale excites such extremes of detail, two other places in Lannoy's description similarly draw him from the sparse default of itinerary mode. The first is the Holy Land, which sees Lannoy abandoning first-person narration in favour of an exhaustive enumeration of key sites (48–69). The second is the British Isles, in which Lannoy detours from an arranged mission in order to visit Saint Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg (Chapter 24). Lannoy supplements his description of the British Isles by invoking Britain's valorized Arthurian past, noting that one of his stops, Carlisle, is 'ou le roy Artus tenoit sa court' (122; 'where King Arthur held his court'), and that 'Strenebwich' has a castle built by Arthur.⁸⁹

Such enrichments through use of ethnographic detail, enumeration, and recourse to legend set these three places—the Holy Land, the British Isles, and Rus'—into high relief against Lannoy's otherwise spare account. Highlighted in this way, these locales form distinctive borders to his known world, capturing that spirit of Burgundian yearning for the beyond laid out elsewhere in this chapter. Lannoy's account tells us in miniature of events pertaining to a specifically Burgundian history: the routing of the Liégeois, the *Justification* of Jehan Petit, the assassination of John the Fearless at Montereau. It enfolds these Burgundian events, however, within a global vision. Always looking for the next place to travel, Lannoy exemplifies the Burgundian ducal ambition ever to look outside and beyond itself.

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⁸⁹ Lannoy describes 'Strenebwich' (122) as a fine merchant city on the river 'Soith' that one gets to by bridge, that has a castle linked to Arthur, and that lies somewhere between St Andrews and Dumfries. Lannoy is possibly referring here to Stirling, a port strategically located on the River Forth (s for f being an easy scribal error), home to Stirling Castle with its so-called King's Knot associated with the Arthur legend, and accessible via a famous bridge (Stirling Bridge, hence 'Strenebwich'), site of a major battle in 1297 during the Wars of Scottish Independence.

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