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# Politics in Translation: Language, War, and Lyric Form in Francophone Europe, 1337-1400

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# Politics in Translation: Language, War, and Lyric Form in Francophone Europe, 1337-1400

## **Abstract**

This dissertation investigates the fraught relationship between England and French-speaking Continental Europe in the late fourteenth century by uncovering a contemporary cross-regional discourse that theorized this relationship. The dissertation examines the so-called *formes fixes*, an important lyric genre widely used across Francophone Europe in the late Middle Ages. It argues for this genre's emergence as a privileged medium for Francophone poets to explore the difficulty of retaining trans-European cultural affinity during the rise of protonationalist and regionalist faction in the Hundred Years War. This was a long-term conflict ostensibly between England and France, lasting from 1337 until 1453, that involved multiple other European regions within its theater. The dissertation organizes itself around a large, but little studied, late medieval manuscript anthology of *formes fixes* lyric, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 902 (formerly French 15). Never fully edited, the Pennsylvania manuscript is the largest, oldest, and most formally and geographically diverse *formes fixes* collection extant today. Chapter One argues that, unlike other, later, *formes fixes* anthologies, the Pennsylvania manuscript is not structured by author or sub-genre, but rather by form, chronology, geographic diversity, and dialectal difference. It thus reveals not only its compiler's awareness of the diffusion of *formes fixes* lyric, but a desire to memorialize this genre's transmission across regional divides. Chapter Two explores the political effects of the diffusion of *formes fixes* lyric by mapping literary borrowings between a corpus of anti-war texts in this anthology and other lyric corpora written in France, England, and the Low Countries. Chapter Three focuses on Francophone responses, both positive and negative, to the transmission of *formes fixes* lyric into England, centering on the implications of Eustache Deschamps' praise of his English Francophone contemporary, Geoffrey Chaucer, as a "great translator" of *formes fixes* lyric. Chapter Four examines the adoption of *formes fixes* lyric in the work of Chaucer and his English Francophone contemporary, John Gower. It demonstrates that, like their Continental counterparts, Chaucer and Gower also view the appropriation of *formes fixes* lyric as a means of carving a geopolitically specific identity out of Francophone cultural belonging.

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POLITICS IN TRANSLATION:  
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Yelizaveta Strakhov

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in

Comparative Literature and Literary Theory

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POLITICS IN TRANSLATION: LANGUAGE, WAR, AND LYRIC FORM IN  
FRANCOPHONE EUROPE, 1337-1400

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2014

Yelizaveta Strakhov

*To my father,  
who too writes beautiful short-form poetry.*

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## ABSTRACT

POLITICS IN TRANSLATION:  
LANGUAGE, WAR, AND LYRIC FORM IN FRANCOPHONE EUROPE, 1337-1400

Yelizaveta Strakhov

David Wallace

Rita Copeland

This dissertation investigates the fraught relationship between England and French-speaking Continental Europe in the late fourteenth century by uncovering a contemporary cross-regional discourse that theorized this relationship. The dissertation examines the so-called *formes fixes*, an important lyric genre widely used across Francophone Europe in the late Middle Ages. It argues for this genre's emergence as a privileged medium for Francophone poets to explore the difficulty of retaining trans-European cultural affinity during the rise of protonationalist and regionalist faction in the Hundred Years War. This was a long-term conflict ostensibly between England and France, lasting from 1337 until 1453, that involved multiple other European regions within its theater. The dissertation organizes itself around a large, but little studied, late medieval manuscript anthology of *formes fixes* lyric, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 902 (formerly French 15). Never fully edited, the Pennsylvania manuscript is the largest, oldest, and most formally and geographically diverse *formes fixes* collection extant today. Chapter One argues that, unlike other, later, *formes fixes* anthologies, the Pennsylvania manuscript is not structured by author or sub-genre, but rather by form, chronology,

geographic diversity, and dialectal difference. It thus reveals not only its compiler's awareness of the diffusion of *formes fixes* lyric, but a desire to memorialize this genre's transmission across regional divides. Chapter Two explores the political effects of the diffusion of *formes fixes* lyric by mapping literary borrowings between a corpus of anti-war texts in this anthology and other lyric corpora written in France, England, and the Low Countries. Chapter Three focuses on Francophone responses, both positive and negative, to the transmission of *formes fixes* lyric into England, centering on the implications of Eustache Deschamps' praise of his English Francophone contemporary, Geoffrey Chaucer, as a "great translator" of *formes fixes* lyric. Chapter Four examines the adoption of *formes fixes* lyric in the work of Chaucer and his English Francophone contemporary, John Gower. It demonstrates that, like their Continental counterparts, Chaucer and Gower also view the appropriation of *formes fixes* lyric as a means of carving a geopolitically specific identity out of Francophone cultural belonging.

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**Introduction**  
**Out of the Ashes: Eustache Deschamps' "Nouvel Langaige"**

“Boëldieu, je ne sais pas qui va gagner cette guerre.  
 La fin, quelle qu'elle soit, sera la fin des Boëldieu et des Rauffenstein.”

“Boëldieu, I do not know who will win this war. Whatever the outcome,  
 it will be the end of the Boëldieus and the Rauffensteins.”  
*La Grande Illusion* (1937)

<p>Je ne sçay qui aura le nom          D'aler par les champs desormais;          Un temps vi qu'engles et gascon          Parloient tuit et clers et lais:          “San capdet” et “Saint George m'aist!”          Adonc estoient en usaige          Et redoubtez par leurs meffais:          Toudis vient un nouvel langaige.</p>	<p>I do not know who will have the title          To go through the fields from now on;          One time I saw that everyone, clergy and laypeople,          Was speaking English and Gascon:          “Blessed lord!” and “Saint George aid me!”          That is what was spoken at the time,          But fear greatly their misdeeds:          A new language always comes.</p>
<p>Après ces deux vindrent breton;          Des autres ne tint l'en plus plais;          Trop acurent ceuls leur renom,          Et n'oissiez dire jamais          Fors qu’“a dieu le veu” en toux fais;          N'y avoit si foul ne si saige          Qui ne fist bretons contrefais:          Toudis vient un nouvel langaige.</p>	<p>After those two came Breton;          One spoke no more of the others;          These ones had accrued too much of a reputation,          And you would never hear anything spoken          But “God willing” at all event;          There was no one so mad or so wise          As to not have himself pass for Breton:<sup>1</sup>          A new language always comes.</p>
<p>Oubliez sont, plus n'y fait bon,          Il est de leur langaige paix;          L'en ne parle que bourgoignon:          “Je regny de”—voi ce! Or fais          Demande qui sont plus parfaits          A bien raençonner un mesnaige          De ces .IIII., dont je me tays:          Toudis vient un nouvel langaige.</p>	<p>They are forgotten, the tides turned,<sup>2</sup>          Their language has fallen silent;<sup>3</sup>          One speaks nothing but Burgundian:          “I renounce God”—there you have it! Now I ask<sup>4</sup>          Which of these four is most able          To fully ransom a homestead,          But about this I fall silent:          A new language always comes.</p>
<p>L'envoy          Prince, quelz gens aront le don          Cy après d'avoir l'eritaige          De possider cil tiltre ou nom?          Toudis vient un nouvel langaige.</p>	<p>The envoy          Prince, which people will be granted the favor          To have later the hereditary right          To possess this title or name?          A new language always comes.</p>

<sup>1</sup> The text edited in Eustache Deschamps, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Auguste-H.E. Queux de St.-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud, *Société des anciens textes français*, 11 vols (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1878-1903), I, 217-218, has “fust” for “fist” in this line, but “fist” makes far more grammatical sense.

<sup>2</sup> “Plus n'y fait bon” literally means “the situation there was no longer favorable”; I therefore chose a looser, but pithier translation.

<sup>3</sup> There is, obviously, a play on words here between the primary meaning of “paix” as “peace.”

<sup>4</sup> “Je regny de” literally means “I renounce God” but was used as the opening of a curse: cf. *Dictionnaire du moyen français* (1330-1500).

Eustache Deschamps is responding here to a real-life set of circumstances: the convergence of different armies from different regions of Europe that were embroiled in the complicated series of conflicts known as the Hundred Years War—England, Gascony, Brittany, and Burgundy.<sup>5</sup> These armies broke, in endless waves, over Deschamps' own home region in Champagne. Deschamps is specifically referring to the so-called *chévauchées* of the English and Gascon *routiers*, or mercenaries, from the 1360s through the 1380s.<sup>6</sup> He further invokes the armies of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, newly mobilized to quell uprisings in their Northern Flemish territories; these would further march on Brittany in the early 1380s.<sup>7</sup> These roving bands of *routiers* that participated within the major campaigns of the Hundred Years War in the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were a novel and particularly destructive phenomenon: these loosely organized and largely autonomous battalions of soldiers swept through the countryside, employing covert guerrilla tactics of ambush, kidnapping, the siege and capture of individual towns or fortresses, and the looting, pillaging, and burning of whatever stood in their way.<sup>8</sup> In his description of English mercenaries, Thomas Grey's

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<sup>5</sup> Philippe Contamine mentions this work in passing in *Guerre, état et société à la fin du Moyen Âge: Études sur les armées des rois de France* (Paris: Mouton, 1972), 157, as does Mireille Vincent-Cassy, "Les Hommes de guerre à la fin du Moyen Âge: étrangers et/ou hérétiques," in *Étrangers et sociétés: représentations, coexistences, interactions dans la longue durée*, ed. Pilar González-Bernaldo, Manuela Martini and Marie-Louise Pelus-Kaplan (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2008), 215; Vincent-Cassy offers interesting statistics on the number of actual foreigners employed within the ranks of the armies fighting for the kings of France from 1360-1430.

<sup>6</sup> See, in particular, Frank Burr Marsh, *English Rule in Gascony, 1199-1295* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Publications, 1912); Margaret Wade Labarge, *Gascony, England's First Colony, 1204-1453* (London: H. Hamilton, 1980); and Benoît Cursente, *Des Maisons et des hommes: la Gascogne médiévale (XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Toulouse: Presses Universitaires de Mirail, 1998); and ch. 3 of Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War I: Trial By Fire* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1991).

<sup>7</sup> For a succinct overview, see Richard Vaughan, *Philip the Bold: The Formation of the Burgundian State* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1962; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2002), 16-38.

<sup>8</sup> See, in particular, Herbert James Hewitt, *The Organization of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1962); Maurice Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages*

*Scalacronica* underscores, in reference to English campaigns in the Normandy region, the lawlessness and low social class of participating soldiers:

numbers of Englishmen who lived by the war invaded Normandy, plundered castles, seized manors, and carried on such warlike operations in the country by help of those of the English commonalty, who flocked to them daily against the King's prohibition. It was astonishing how they went in bands, each on their own account, without an appointed captain, and wrought much oppression in the country ... they so acted that all Christian people were filled with astonishment.<sup>9</sup>

Gray here laments the ever growing number of English soldiers who are joining the war and forming self-governing, well-armed units that eschew the traditional forms of warfare along with the traditional administrative hierarchies of army formation. Philippe de Mézières similarly bemoans the cruelty of the soldiers engaged in such activities, describing these *routiers* as:

the second and third-born sons, and others, who by the custom of the land have little or no portion in the inheritance of their fathers, and who by poverty are often constrained to follow wars that are unjust and tyrannical so as to sustain their estate of *noblesse*, since they know no other calling but arms; and therein they commit so much ill that it would be frightening to tell of all the pillaging and crimes with which they oppress the poor people.<sup>10</sup>

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(Routledge, 1975); the wealth of essays collected in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1994); Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War, c. 1300-c.1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2001), 73-76 and 120-35; and Clifford J. Rogers, *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327-1360* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2000). See also Vincent-Cassy, "Les Hommes," 217-19, especially on contemporary sources labeling *routiers* as heretics, comparable to Herod for their slaughter of the innocents (that is to say, of inhabitants of rural communities), as well as the use of the more ambiguous and fascinating term "estrangiers" (strangers, foreigners) to characterize them.<sup>9</sup> Cited and translated in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. Clifford J. Rogers (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 1999), 167.

<sup>10</sup> Oxford, Bodley MS Ashmole 865, fol. 423 (statutes of the Order of the Passion), cited and translated in Maurice H. Keen, "Chivalry, Nobility and the Man-at-Arms," in *War, Literature and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Christopher T. Allmand (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1976), 43.

Mézières' description notes another significant aspect of these soldiers: all too often, they were people who had been driven to their chosen path through the same acts of dispossession that they were themselves levying on their targets.

Deschamps chooses a curious metaphor as a means of representing the successive cycles of oppression wrought by these English, Gascon, Breton, and Burgundian soldiers upon the region. He describes each new faction as bringing with it its own personal war-cry—"San capdet!" for the Gascons, "Saint George m'aist" for the English,<sup>11</sup> "a dieu le veu" for the Bretons, and the blasphemous "Je renie de" for the Burgundians. These war-cries become metonymic in Deschamps' ballade for the language, or *patois*, spoken by each respective group that gets imposed upon the conquered populace. By repeating the invading army's war-cry, the community joins, or pretends to join, that army's political cause in order to stay alive, adopting whatever new political allegiance comes. Thus, the speaker of the lyric originally observes the community around him speaking English and Gascon, as the mercenaries from those regions tear through his fields, but the arrival of the Bretons puts a stop to these two languages that the community has but recently acquired. Faced with the fearsome Bretons, the community carefully erases their previous linguistic knowledge and replaces it with the Breton war-cry. Yet no sooner have they perfected this new language to the point of being able to "contrefaire" or *pass for* Breton, when the theater of war suddenly shifts yet again. Deschamps' community finds itself before a new threat, and thus a new language, that immediately supplants that which has

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<sup>11</sup> On the invocation of Saint George as an English battle cry during the Hundred Years War, see Anne Curry, *The Battle of Agincourt: Sources and Interpretations* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2000), 274-78, and O. DeLaborderie, "Richard the Lionheart and the Birth of a National Cult of St. George in England: Origins and Development of a Legend," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 39 (1995): 37-53.



preceeded: all now diligently repeat the Burgundian war-cry, professing Burgundian fealty. Each new band of pillagers conquers both by sword and tongue, and the community's serial acquisition of multiple regionalist political allegiances, represented as the successive assumption of new languages, becomes their only means of survival. As the refrain darkly prophesies, still more languages—still more newly donned and quickly cast off political identities—are in store for this beleaguered community, and there is no end in sight.

Deschamps' specific list of the four types of soldiers—English, Gascon, Breton, and Burgundian—interestingly problematizes the meaning of “langaige” in this lyric. Gascony's nobility spoke French in the fourteenth century, but its common folk spoke Gascon, which is related to Occitan, and matters were further complicated by Gascony's long-standing relationship with England.<sup>12</sup> The English, of course, speak a wholly different language from the French, and in his other lyrics elsewhere Deschamps mocks their alien-sounding words. In his well-known confrontation with two menacing English soldiers in an English-occupied Calais, through which Deschamps was passing in, most likely, 1384 with his friend, the Savoyard *poète-chevalier* Oton de Granson, Deschamps transliterates the soldiers' English taunts within his French:

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<sup>12</sup> See Gerhard Rohlfs, *Le Gascon: études de philologie pyrénéenne* (Tübingen: Walter de Gruyter, 1977) and Jean-Pierre Chambon and Yan Greub, “L'Émergence du protogascon et la place du gascon dans la Romania,” in *La Voix occitane, Actes du VIIIe Congrès de l'Association Internationale d'Études Occitanes, Bordeaux, 12-17 octobre, 2005* (Bordeaux, 2009), 787-94. On Gascony and England, see footnote 6 above. For an excellent overview of these questions that specifically connects the Gascons' linguistic otherness with their role as mercenaries in the Hundred Years War, see Guilhem Pépin, “Does A Common Language Mean A Shared Allegiance? Language, Identity, Geography and Their Links with Politics: The Cases of Gascony and Brittany” in *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*, ed. Hannah Skoda, Patrick Lantschner, and R.L.J. Shaw (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2012), 80-91.

L'un me dist: "Dogue!" L'autre: "Ride!" ... The first one said: "Dog!" The other one: "Ride!" ...  
 "Goday!" fait l'un, l'autre: "Commidre!" "Good day!" said one, the other: "Come hither!"<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, of course, as numerous studies into the late medieval linguistic situation of the British Isles have shown, the administrative, legal, and courtly language of fourteenth-century England was predominantly French, both in its Insular as well as in its several Continental varieties, including the dialect spoken in Paris and the surrounding Île-de-France region as well as other major *patois*, such as Picard.<sup>14</sup> Edward III of England (r. 1327-1377) was married to Philippa, a Picard French speaker from Hainault, whose lady-in-waiting became Chaucer's own wife. Edward's court glittered with courtiers who had come to England from the Francophone parts of the Continent; England also held members of the French royalty, including Jean II of France (r. 1350-1364) and his son Philip, as well-treated prisoners of war in the late 1350s and early

<sup>13</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, V, 79-80 (no. 893); on this lyric, see Arthur Piaget, *Oton de Grandson: sa vie et ses poésies* (Lausanne: Librairie Payot, 1941), 167-8; Haldeen Braddy, *Chaucer and the French Poet Graunson* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1947), 8-9; James Wimsatt, *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 239-40; David Wallace, *Premodern Places: From Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 54-56, and Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 141-43.

<sup>14</sup> The question of the extent as well as kind, or kinds, of French spoken in later fourteenth-century England is complex: see, among others, Christopher Cannon, *The Making of Chaucer's English: A Study of Words* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Laura Wright, *Sources of London English: Medieval Thames Vocabulary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Tim William Machan, *English in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), and Serge Lusignan, *La Langue des rois: le français en France et en Angleterre* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2004), as well as the rich variety of essays collected in *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D.A. Trotter (Woodbridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2000) and *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c. 1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (Woodbridge, UK: York Medieval, 2009). It is interesting to consider, for example, that the promulgation of the Statute of Pleading in 1362, requiring pleadings in court to be heretofore made in English because, the Statute claimed, people were having difficulties pleading their cases in the French spoken within the courts, was, nevertheless and somewhat ironically, recorded in the ordinances in French: R.F. Yeager, "Politics and the French Language in England During the Hundred Years War: The Case of John Gower," in *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War in French and English Cultures*, ed. Denise N. Baker (New York: SUNY Press, 2000), 137. The Statute also did not really seem to take, for as late as the *Scrope v. Grosvenor* trial of 1385-91, it was in French that Chaucer gave his testimony before the court: edited in *The Controversy between Sir Richard Scrope and Sir Robert Grosvenor in the Court of Chivalry, AD 1385-1390*, ed. N.H. Nicholas, 2 vols (London: Samuel Bentley, 1832), I, 178-89, and also in *Chaucer Life-Records*, ed. Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 370-74.

1360s.<sup>15</sup> When Deschamps speaks of his community's adopting the "languaige" of the English soldiers, then, does he mean English, or does he mean Chaucer's Prioress' "Frenssh ... After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe, | For Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe" (*General Prologue*, ll. 124-26)?<sup>16</sup> We note that Deschamps uses the word "capdet" in his representation of the Gascon war-cry, which means "leader, captain" or "lord, eminence" but is also, as the *Dictionnaire du moyen français (1330-1550)* reveals, a term specifically used *in Gascon* to refer to a younger son who makes his living as a soldier, in other words, the same kind of *routier* described by Mézières in the passage above. In writing out the Gascon's war-cry, then, Deschamps cleverly draws attention to the Gascon language itself, along with Gascony's culture of participating in mercenary activity. Yet when giving the war-cry of the English, Deschamps does not choose to transliterate English, as he does in the Calais ballade quoted above, but instead gives the phrase in French—"Saint George m'aist!"—which suggests that he could instead be thinking of the insular French dialect, rather than of English. By giving the English war-cry in French, Deschamps importantly reminds us of the *Frenchness* of the English.

Similar ambiguities attend Deschamps' mention of the other regions. Brittany's aristocracy was also fully Francophone, but it fostered two regional languages: Breton, in the West, which is a Celtic language most closely related to Welsh and Cornish, and Gallo that is not a separate language, but a *patois*, similar to the Norman and Picard

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<sup>15</sup> See, in particular, Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*.

<sup>16</sup> This and all subsequent citations of Chaucer from *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry Benson et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987; 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. 2008).

dialects.<sup>17</sup> When we get to “Burgundian,” moreover, it becomes even less clear to which language or dialect, precisely, Deschamps may be referring: the common folk there spoke in the Burgundian *patois*, but Burgundy itself, like the other three regions, was Francophone among its governing aristocracy. It passed in 1361 from its last Capetian duke, Philip of Rouvres, to the French crown and was then granted as an autonomous fief to Philip the Bold, of the French royal house of Valois. In 1384 Philip acquired, through marriage, a number of scattered territories that included Picard-speaking Artois and Dutch-speaking Flanders.<sup>18</sup> “Burgundian,” then, like “English,” is a slippery linguistic designation.

In such a way, Deschamps’ representation of successive invasions of soldiers as the successive invasions of new “langaiges” reminds us that the area which we now call “France” was, in the mid-late fourteenth century, a territory containing a rich variety of languages and dialects. Large tracts of this territory were changing hands rapidly between multiple, often radically opposed factions speaking those different languages and dialects. Deschamps thus reminds us that the Hundred Years War was not a war between England and France, as commonly assumed: it was a series of wars in a politically and linguistically heterogeneous area of Europe, which encompasses Béarn in the Pyrenees; Dauphiné on the Franco-Italian border; Savoy in modern-day French-speaking

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<sup>17</sup> On Breton, see François Falc’hun, *Histoire de la langue bretonne d’après la géographie linguistique* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963) and *Les Origines de la langue bretonne* (Rennes: Université de Bretagne Occidentale, 1977); and Léon Fleuriot, *Le Vieux Breton: éléments d’une grammaire* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1964). On Gallo, see Frede Jensen, *Old French and Comparative Gallo-Romance Syntax* (Tübingen: Niemayer, 1990). See also the excellent overview of the differences between Brittany *bretonnante* and Brittany *gallo* and those areas’ political allegiances during the Hundred Years War in Pépín, “Common Language,” 91-99.

<sup>18</sup> See Bertrand Schnerb, *L’État bourguignon, 1363-1477* (Paris: Perrin, 1999), 37-43, 59-94; Vaughan, *Philip*, 3, 16-38.

Switzerland; Hainault in modern-day Belgium and the Southern Low Countries; Artois in north-eastern France; England, particularly in the London region, across the Channel; Brittany in the north-west; and Gascony in the south-west. At the same time, while harboring multiple regional languages and dialects, this heterogeneous territory was, nevertheless, united by the Francophone culture of its ruling sovereigns and governing aristocracy, who communicated with one another in mutually intelligible dialects of French.

French, in the dialect of Île-de-France, is also the language in which Deschamps' speaker communicates in this ballade, which suggests that it is also the language of the invaded community with which the speaker so strongly identifies himself. The image of this French space being forced to adopt multiple languages, or *patois*, in order to survive, contains profound class overtones: the language of the aristocracy is no longer tenable in a world overrun by soldiers who, coming from the strata of the lesser nobility and the commoners, speak their English (or their insular French), their Gascon, their Breton or Gallo, and their Burgundian dialect because they lack the education to communicate in the French of Île-de-France. Deschamps' metaphor of these armies of languages illustrates not just the physical threat of *routier* violence but the threat posed to a cross-regional aristocratic stratum of Francophone speakers by the regional and social diversity of the people involved within this endless and bewildering series of conflicts. In losing, or hiding, their Île-de-France French in order to pass for speakers of these other "languaiges," Deschamps' community is being forced to suppress its cultural identity in order to cloak itself repeatedly with a host of new, endlessly changing identities defined

by specific geographical regions and imposed by emergent political forces. “Nouvel langaige” here stands for the newly formed groupings that identify themselves by their geopolitics and demand, by force, if necessary, that the communities they encounter adopt these new modes of self-definition. This demand, Deschamps seems to be saying, is as unfamiliar and as difficult to master as a “nouvel langaige,” a formulation that draws attention to the negative connotations of the term “nouveau” in Old French as that which is *unexpected, surprising, or strange*. In a sense, geopolitical affiliation does require the adoption of a set of *strange* new terms, for it is a fundamentally different mode of self-identification than the sense of belonging to a cross-regional culture that can easily straddle geopolitical boundaries.

Deschamps’ ballade also contains a second and profoundly personal autobiographical register, for the other theme threading through the lyric is that of property ownership. In his opening lines, the speaker wonders who will have the “nom” (a word that can mean either *name* or *land title*) to walk through “les champs” (*the fields*), and he reiterates the same question again in the envoy to the ballade: “quelz gens aront le don | Cy apres d’avoir l’eritaige | De possider cil titre ou nom?” (ll. 25-27: which people will be granted the favor later on to have the hereditary right to possess this title or name). After describing the four kinds of mercenaries that have descended upon his region, the speaker poses another question (ll. 20-23):

.... or fais  
 Demande qui sont plus parfaits  
 A bien raençonner un mesnaige  
 De ces .IIII., dont je me tays....

.... now I ask  
 Which of these four is most able  
 To fully ransom a homestead,  
 But about this I fall silent....

This mention of a home that, it seems, has fallen captive, like a prisoner of war, and requires a ransom to be paid for its deliverance, coupled with that reference to having a *nom* in order to walk through *les champs* in the first line, points to this ballade's being part of a larger ballade cycle that Deschamps wrote about his destroyed estate in Vertus. Eustache Deschamps' given name appears actually to have been Morel; Christine de Pizan's address to him, for example, is titled by her *L'Epistre a Eustace Morel*, rather than Deschamps. In a ballade written not long after 1380, *Je fus jadis de terre vertueuse*, Deschamps describes himself as having been born in Vertus, in Champagne, once a happy and prosperous land (ll. 5-8):

Jusques a cy avoit mon nom nommé:	Until now I had my own known name:
Eustace fu appellé dès enfans;	Eustace I had been called from when I was a child;
Or sui tout ars, s'est mon nom remué:	But now I am all burnt, and thus my name has changed:
J'array desor a nom Brulé des Champs.	From now on I will be named the Burnt One of the Fields. <sup>19</sup>

In the second stanza, Deschamps goes on to explain that he used to have an estate in Vertus that was called the "Maison des Champs" (l. 12: the House of the Fields), but it was burnt down to the ground by English soldiers during the war (ll. 13-14). From now on, therefore, Eustache Morel will call himself "Brulé des Champs" in memory of what he has lost to the English in the Hundred Years War. This new appellation comes up in several more ballades: in *Guerre me font tuit li .iiij. element*, he again conflates his body with his estate, describing himself as having been "ars ... toute generalment" (l. 9: burnt ... all over). He goes on to say (ll. 17-22):

Vertus n'est pas: on m'appelle autrement ...	Vertus is no more: I have a different name ...
Autre place me convaindra conquerre	I am going to need to acquire another place
Et autre nom; le mien est confondus.	And another <i>nom</i> ; mine has been destroyed. <sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, V, 5-6 (no. 835); see also no. 836 in V, 6-7, again on the destruction of the estate.

<sup>20</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, V, 17-18 (no. 845).

Punning on the dual meaning of “nom” as both *name* and *title*, Deschamps is saying that, having lost his estate, he needs to acquire new title to a new estate, but he is also saying that he needs a new name, a new sense of self. The destruction of his property and of his region in the Hundred Years War becomes his own destruction—like his estate, like the fields of France, he too is all “brulé”—and he is thus forced to recast his entire identity, as land-owner, as Champenois, as Eustache. In *J’ay servi par .xx. et .vij. ans*, he gives himself the name by which we continue to call this author to this day as he reiterates his previously made appeals for a royally-granted annuity: “povre Eustace des Champs.”<sup>21</sup> Eustache Morel’s experience in the Hundred Years War literally changed him.

This situation described by Deschamps in this ballade—namely, the appearance of new regionalist fissures during the Hundred Years War that cut across a cross-regional Francophone cultural space—constitutes the subject of this project, while Deschamps’ and his contemporaries’ declarations of new authorial selves, born of the ashes of war, provides its focus. As these pages will show, the Hundred Years War forced the Francophone poetic community, united by language, education, and cultural capital, to start reconfiguring its understanding of itself as a community, as the regions across which it stretched became increasingly bitterly politically divided. This project therefore

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<sup>21</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, VI, 168-69 (no. 1190). See further *Au roy supplie Eustace humblement*, in which Deschamps, naming himself “Eustaces” in the opening line, addresses himself to King Charles VI, reminding him of his years of faithful service to his father and asking him for an annuity as recompense for his destroyed estate. In the penultimate line he refers to himself as “le pauvre brulé” (the poor burnt one): II, 86-87 (no. 250). In *A mes seigneurs sur le fait du demaine*, when inquiring after the payment of his salary, he again refers to himself in l. 2 as “povres Brulez des Champs”: V, 45-46 (no. 866). See further I.S. Laurie, “Eustache Deschamps: 1340(?)–1404,” in *Eustache Deschamps, French Courtier-Poet: His Work and His World*, ed. Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi (New York: AMS Press, 1998), 1-2, Wallace, *Premodern*, 49-50, and Butterfield, *Familiar*, 136-37, where she makes a similar point, noting: “... Eustace rises from the ashes of English devastation to become a latter-day poetic master.”



examines the ways in which Francophone poets attempted to theorize their place within this newly emergent interstice of political and cultural belonging.

Studies that examine the particular set of poets considered in the following chapters—Eustache Deschamps, Geoffrey Chaucer, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, Philippe de Vitry, Jean De Le Mote, Jean Campion, and John Gower—belong to the field loosely designated as “Anglo-French,” or else “Chaucer and his French contemporaries,” in homage to James Wimsatt’s ground-breaking study of the same name. This traditional formulation appropriately highlights the central players engaged in the Hundred Years War. At the same time, as analysis of Deschamps’ ballade uncovers, the term “French” risks amalgamating Francophone Europe into a vast, undifferentiated space. The Hundred Years War involved territories beyond the traditional borders of England and France, and those territories also produced, in turn, extraordinarily peripatetic figures, such as Froissart, who spent time in Hainault, England, Blois, and Béarn, or Granson, whose life took him from Savoy to England, Spain, and Burgundy. When we call these poets Chaucer’s “French” contemporaries, when we include them into the “French” half of “Anglo-French,” we lose the nuance of their geopolitical background, the very background of which they themselves were acutely aware, as they participated within transregional Francophone poetic culture. Similarly, when we relegate Chaucer and Gower to the “Anglo” side of “Anglo-French,” we posit an intractable rift between these poets and their Francophone contemporaries that does not reflect Chaucer’s and Gower’s multilingualism, their numerous adaptations and translations of Francophone material, nor the indelible influence of contemporary Francophone literature

upon their work, as many scholars have excellently demonstrated.<sup>22</sup> More importantly, relegating these poets to the “Anglo” side does not reflect what will be one of the central arguments of this project: that some of the methods by which Chaucer and Gower articulate the unique Englishness of their poetic identities resonate profoundly with those of their Francophone contemporaries, who were also theorizing the relationship between geopolitical and cultural self-identification.

Taking my cue from Butterfield’s observation that Chaucer is a “cross-channel author,”<sup>23</sup> I offer “cross-Channel studies” as a more fitting term for the work that this project seeks to do. As Françoise Lyonnet and Shu-Mei Shih point out, “[c]ritiquing the center, when it stands as an end in itself, seems only to enhance it; the center remains the focus and the main object of study. The deconstructive dyad center/margin thus appears

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<sup>22</sup> On Chaucer, see, in particular, the seminal work done by John L. Lowes, “The Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* as Related to the French *Marguerite* Poems and the *Filostrato*,” *PMLA* 19.4 (1904): 593-683; James Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the French Love-Poets: The Literary Background of The Book of the Duchess* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968), *The Marguerite Poetry of Guillaume de Machaut* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), and *Contemporaries*; William Calin, *A Poet at the Fountain: Essays on the Narrative Verse of Guillaume de Machaut* (Louisville, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1974); Elizabeth Salter, *English and International: Studies in the Literature, Art and Patronage of Medieval England*, ed. Derek Pearsall and Nicolette Zeeman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); John J. Anderson, “The Man in Black, Machaut’s Knight and their Ladies,” *English Studies* 73.5 (1992): 417-430; R. Barton Palmer, “Chaucer’s *Legend of Good Women*: the Narrator’s Tale” in *New Readings of Chaucer’s Poetry*, ed. Robert G. Benson and Susan J. Ridyard (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2003), 183-194; Steven Davis, “Guillaume de Machaut, Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*, and the Chaucer Tradition,” *Chaucer Review* 36.4 (2002): 391-405; James Wimsatt, “*Dit du Bleu Chevalier*: Froissart’s Imitation of Chaucer,” *Medieval Studies* 34 (1972): 388-400 and Susan Crane’s response: “Froissart’s *Dit dou Bleu Chevalier* as a Source for Chaucer’s *Book of the Duchess*,” *Medium Ævum* 61.1 (1992): 59-74; Braddy, *Chaucer*; John Scattergood, “Chaucer’s *Complaint of Venus* and the ‘Curiosite’ of Graunson,” *Essays in Criticism* 44.3 (1994): 171-189; and Helen Philips, “The *Complaint of Venus*: Chaucer and de Graunson,” in *The Medieval Translator* 4, ed. Roger Ellis and Ruth Evans (Binghamton, NY: SUNY Press, 1994), 86-103. Thus far, R.F. Yeager has been the main scholar working on Gower’s French texts: see, in particular, his “Politics”; “John Gower’s French and His Readers” in Wogan-Browne (ed.), *Language*, 141-45, (rpt. in *John Gower, Trilingual Poet: Language, Translation, and Tradition*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton, John Hines, and R.F. Yeager [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010], 304-14); and “John Gower’s Audience: The Ballades,” *Chaucer Review* 40.1 (2005): 81-105.

<sup>23</sup> Butterfield, *Familiar*, xxix.

to privilege marginality only to end up containing it.”<sup>24</sup> Although Lyonnet’s and Shih’s critique is aimed at the deconstructive approach in modern postcolonial and globalization studies, their call for a reassessment of marginalities that would *not* have constant recourse to a single center, productively resonates with the late medieval Francophone moment of the Hundred Years War. This moment has, as these pages will show, no one dominant center of power, as political and cultural supremacies shift and intersect between different regions of Francophone Europe.

In opposition to the “centripetal and centrifugal” notion of the global, which “assumes a universal core or norm” against which marginalities get evaluated, Lyonnet and Shih suggest the “minor transnational ... a space of exchange and participation wherever processes of hybridization occur and where it is still possible for cultures to be produced and performed without necessary mediation by the center.”<sup>25</sup> By suggesting “cross-Channel” as a replacement for “Anglo-French,” I advance a different way of thinking about mid-late fourteenth century Francophone poets that decenters both England and France. By thinking “cross-Channel,” we can think about Hainault and London, or Flanders and Béarn, within a framework that has room for thinking about Paris, but is not confined to thinking always about Paris. Like Lyonnet and Shih, I too want to understand the “creative interventions that networks of minoritized cultures produce within and across national boundaries,” with the obvious caveat that we are, of course, discussing here a pre-national and hence pre-transnational space in which

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<sup>24</sup> Françoise Lyonnet and Shu-Mei Shih, introduction to *Minor Transnationalism*, ed. Françoise Lyonnet and Shu-Mei Shih (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 3.

<sup>25</sup> Lyonnet and Shih, introduction, 5.

“minority” has a very different valence.<sup>26</sup> The term “cross-channel” further neatly draws attention to the key topographical feature of Francophone Europe—the Channel that is *both* a fundamental dividing line *and* a major thoroughfare of bodies, goods, texts, manuscripts, and ideas.

The fact that it is bodies, goods, texts, manuscripts, *and* ideas that are circulating simultaneously around a tumultuous Francophone Europe during the Hundred Years War is precisely that which renders work within cross-Channel studies challenging from a methodological perspective. Scholars have therefore tended to approach the field from specific angles that afford much-needed circumscription of the sheer bulk of this material. Thus, much work in the field has centered on charting the vectors of literary influence between individual authors, an area pioneered by Wimsatt’s original study, *Chaucer and the French Love Poets* and, ever since, somewhat dominated by a focus on Chaucer.<sup>27</sup> Individual figures who were particularly compelled—whether or not by personal choice—to traverse the geopolitical borders of Francophone Europe have received special attention in a series of monographs exploring their poetic output.<sup>28</sup> Book historians have followed the trail of the vast quantities of Francophone reading material

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<sup>26</sup> Lyonnet and Shih, introduction, 7.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. footnote 22 above.

<sup>28</sup> See, e.g. Piaget, *Grandson*; Braddy, *Chaucer*; Claude Berguerand, *Le Duel d’Othon de Grandson (1397)* (Lausanne: Université de Lausanne, 2008); the edited volume *Froissart across the Genres*, ed. Donald Maddox and Sara Sturm-Maddox (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1998); the major edited volumes on Deschamps: Sinnreich-Levi (ed.), *Eustache Deschamps ; Autour d’Eustache Deschamps: Actes du Colloque du Centre d’Etudes Médiévales de l’Université de Picardie-Jules Verne, Amiens, 5-8 Novembre, 1998*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Amiens, 1999), 73-77; and *Les “Dictes vertueux” d’Eustache Deschamps: Forme poétique et discours engagé à la fin du Moyen Âge*, ed. Miren Lacassagne and Thierry Lassabatère (Paris: Presses de l’Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2005); and Mary-Jo Arn, *The Poet’s Notebook: The Personal Manuscript of Charles d’Orléans (Paris, BnF MS fr. 25458)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008).

that made its way across the Channel.<sup>29</sup> But it has been the 2009 publication of Butterfield's *Familiar Enemy* that has decisively altered the playing field in its studied reorientation of focus away from Chaucer and its intentional inclusion of some lesser-known and some heretofore ignored works alongside the usual suspects.<sup>30</sup>

Where literary studies has tended, thus far, to work within a sources and analogues model attending to specific authors or texts, a wider-angle view on Francophone exchange, one that has been able to encompass the simultaneous circulation of bodies, texts, *and* manuscripts, has long been a feature of musicology work on courtly music in this period.<sup>31</sup> Having originally turned to musicological studies purely for historical background, I eventually realized that musicology's focus on, first and foremost, the formal characteristics of music offers a powerful model for theorizing the "cross-Channel" without privileging centers. Starting from the question of "who is borrowing what from whom?" tends swiftly to lead to discussions centered on individual

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<sup>29</sup> See, in particular, Julia Boffey, *Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyric in the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1985); Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998); and Margaret Connolly and Yolanda Plumley in "Crossing the Channel: John Shirley and the Circulation of French Lyric Poetry in England in the Early Fifteenth Century," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 311-32.

<sup>30</sup> Butterfield cleverly reckons with the imposing stature of Chaucer in *The Familiar Enemy*, writing: "If this study has a presiding genius it is therefore Chaucer, but more as an *eminence grise* than a striding colossus who blocks our other views." I attempt the same approach within this project by setting him up as rather a red herring in my opening chapter, in which I revisit Wimsatt's suppositions about his potential authorship of the so-called "Poems of Ch," deconstructing Deschamps' address to him in my third chapter, and then finally turning to him, but en route to Gower in my final chapter.

<sup>31</sup> See, e.g., such seminal studies as Craig Wright, *Music at the Court of Burgundy (1364-1410): A Documentary History* (Ottawa: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979); John Stevens, *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050-1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Reinhard Strohm, *The Rise of European Music, 1380-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993); Christopher Page, *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997); and Yolanda Plumley, "An 'Episode in the South'? Ars Subtilior and the Patronage of French Princes," *Early Music History* 22 (2003): 103-68. Butterfield's own background in musicology is felt in the panoramic organization of *The Familiar Enemy* and in its equal privileging of known authors alongside unknown and unattributed works.

authors and thus, inevitably, into the weight of previous scholarship on those authors and, from there, into disciplinary distinctions and divisions (Chaucer studies, housed in English departments, versus Machaut studies, housed in Romance Languages departments, etc). We might instead, like musicologists, ask first *what* is being borrowed and why (as well as how) one particular thing gets borrowed over another thing. In this way, we can concentrate not only on specific actors or places within the Francophone cultural network but also on the larger processes of borrowing and translation that structure the network itself, a valuable and, indeed, as we will see, particularly fitting endeavor for a field like cross-Channel studies.

This project therefore looks at a set of authors—Eustache Deschamps, Geoffrey Chaucer, Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart, Philippe de Vitry, Jean De Le Mote, Jean Champion, and John Gower—not because they are all engaging specifically with one another, but because they are all engaging with the same literary *form*: a particular lyric genre known as the *formes fixes*, a cumulative term for the multiple formal variations of meter and rhyme that characterize this lyric.<sup>32</sup> I argue that this lyric form becomes the privileged medium for mid-late fourteenth-century Francophone poets across Europe to

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<sup>32</sup> On the origin and development of the *formes fixes*, see, among others, Willi Apel, “Rondeaux, Virelais and Ballades in French Thirteenth Century Song,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7.2 (Summer 1954): 121-130; Gilbert Reaney, “The Development of the Rondeau, Virelai and Ballade Forms from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut,” in *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. H. Hüsch (Regensburg, 1962), 421-7; Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince: l'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orleans* (Paris, 1965), 311-478; Lawrence Earp, “Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut,” in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, ed. Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable and James Wimsatt (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 101-131; Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 58-76; Marc-Rene Jung, “La Naissance de la ballade dans la première moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle, de Jean Acart à Jean de le Mote et à Guillaume de Machaut,” *L'analisi linguistica e letteraria* 1-2 (2000): 7-29; and Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially 273-90.

work through the paradox of exhibiting cultural unity despite political enmity. Produced all over Francophone Europe, by all the major poets of the mid-late fourteenth century,<sup>33</sup> borrowed across politically divided regions, and endlessly adaptable to both political and non-political forms of expression within those regions, this genre gave rise to sustained reflection on wartime community building. Furthermore, as we are about to see, its reliance on strict formal features of meter and rhyme, along with its use of a well-defined canon of conventional topoi, rendered any process of translation and innovation within the genre glaringly visible and, hence, particularly encouraging of subsequent authorial self-reflection on the processes of borrowing and adaptation. I chose, then, to begin this introduction with Deschamps' nuanced explorations of language, war, and authorial identity in his ballades not just to put forth my critique of "Anglo-French" but also because these ballades are *representative* of a complex, cross-regional, and cross-generational discourse taking place within the *formes fixes* genre during the Hundred Years War. Fascinating as they are, Deschamps' ballades are neither indicative of a particularly idiosyncratic poetic genius nor revelatory of some specifically Deschampian interest in contemporary politics: everyone is doing it.

My project organizes itself around a large, but little studied, late medieval manuscript anthology of *formes fixes* lyric, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 902 (formerly French 15), also known as the Pennsylvania Chansonier, or the Pennsylvania manuscript. Never fully edited, and its complete text available only in my own transcription, the Pennsylvania manuscript is the largest, oldest, and most formally

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<sup>33</sup> *Formes fixes* lyric continued to be written through the entirety of the fifteenth century, but that is fodder for a later project.

and geographically diverse *formes fixes* collection extant today. Gathering lyric from France, England, Hainault, the Franco-Italian border, and Savoy, it is an invaluable documentary witness to the spread of *formes fixes* lyric across late medieval Europe. This manuscript became the object of brief scholarly attention in the early 1980s when James Wimsatt hypothesized that Chaucer himself may have, possibly, written some of its French verse. Although I ultimately argue against Wimsatt's suggestion in my first chapter, I interpret his hypothesis as a productive thought experiment that informs my methodological intervention into the war-time relationships between Francophone contemporaries.

I further take Wimsatt's point about the geographic diversity of the manuscript's lyrics as a basis for deeper exploration into the compilation's intricate order. I show that, unlike other *formes fixes* collections, this anthology is not structured by author or sub-genre, but rather by form, chronology, geographic diversity, and dialectal difference. I therefore argue that this manuscript reveals not only its compiler's awareness of the diffusion of *formes fixes* lyric, but also a desire to record that diffusion in the service of a literary history. This anthology's project of taxonomizing the genre within a decade or so of Deschamps' own taxonomical *ars poetica* for the *formes fixes*, *L'Art de dictier* (1392), the first of its kind, testifies to a late medieval impulse to historicize this genre's development. This manuscript thus suggests a contemporary recognition of the genre's immense significance for the period. My analysis of the manuscript's organization in turn enables my examination of individual authors' self-reflexive engagements with the *formes fixes* in my other three chapters.



My second chapter explores three poets' distinctive yet importantly overlapping responses to the ravages of the Hundred Years War. These are all composed in an identical and highly idiosyncratic variation on the pastourelle, an earlier lyric genre incorporated into the *formes fixes* sometime in the early fourteenth century. The three poets are Deschamps, Froissart, and a figure from Hainault for whom no name is known and whose work is extant only in the Pennsylvania manuscript. Each adapts a traditional type of pastourelle, in which shepherds comment on the pleasures of the simple life, into politicized works, in which shepherds discuss, instead, events of the Hundred Years War. The three poets are all, moreover, responding to the same phenomenon which we have just observed in the ballade above by Deschamps: namely, the rise in numbers of mercenaries who conduct war through rack and pillage, rather than combat, in the mid-late fourteenth century.

That all three poets are working in the same narrow tradition—any other examples of such lyric remain, so far, unknown—is made manifest by their use of identical formal structures, topoi, and opening staging formulae. Each poet, however, uses his politicized pastourelle to make a radically distinct statement about the Hundred Years War that is configured by his own specific geopolitical frame and relationship to other communities within Francophone Europe. Each poet further employs key references to works from classical antiquity—Ovid, in particular—to sharpen his political statement, a practice that we will continue to examine in the third and fourth chapters of this project. Chapter Two therefore demonstrates two related phenomena about mid-late fourteenth century *formes fixes* lyric: (a) its ready capacity for formal innovation into a

“nouvel langage” for responding to political change; and (b) its production of lateral networks of literary borrowing that encourage political divergence, even as they build literary community.

Having demonstrated the political effects of literary borrowing, I turn, in my third chapter, to a discourse *about* this very phenomenon. I examine Deschamps’ famous praise of Chaucer as a “great translator,” a phrase that has been placed under much scholarly scrutiny, given Deschamps’ notoriously anti-English politics. I argue that the phrase needs to be read within the context of its known, but understudied source: two texts also found in the Pennsylvania manuscript. These are an exchange of invectives, also in *formes fixes*, between two Francophone poets from different parts of Europe: Philippe de Vitry, from France, and Jean De Le Mote, from Hainault, who resided in England. I also look at a follow-up to this exchange, between Le Mote and a Francophone Flemish poet, Jean Campion, that is preserved in a different manuscript. The exchanges revolve around Le Mote’s choice to pursue a literary career at the Francophone court of Edward III, a choice that Vitry and Campion both condemn as politically traitorous. They also condemn it as aesthetically laughable because, they both claim, Le Mote’s use of exempla from previous literary sources, a common feature of *formes fixes* lyric, is non-traditional and, hence, improper. I argue that Vitry’s and Campion’s politico-poetic censure conceals profound regionalist anxieties over how Le Mote is translating *formes fixes* poetry, and, by means of those exempla, *literary heritage* over to English soil. Given, however, that Vitry is French and Campion is Flemish, their

censure, while identical on the surface, emerges out of two completely different geopolitical concerns, requiring sustained individual attention to both authors.

Le Mote's staunch defense of his decision to write in England, meanwhile, celebrates what I claim is an arcadian vision of a "Francophonie." Arguing for freedom in his own personal re-interpretation of previous literary sources, he calls Vitry and Champion out on their regionalist biases against his work. He goes on to argue that literary culture, as *translatio studii*, can successfully transcend and subsume the *translatio imperii* of political faction. Again, however, his two responses to Vitry and Champion need to be evaluated differently for the distinct geopolitical framework within which each response is operating. Returning to Deschamps, I argue that his curious characterization of Chaucer as a "great translator" constitutes an active endorsement of Le Mote's vision, though again, Deschamps' position in Champagne is crucial towards understanding the import of his address. I go on to show that Deschamps, in fact, sets Chaucer up as his literary equal, rather than, as previous scholars have argued, his implicit inferior. I therefore offer a new reading of this address, in which I suggest that Deschamps' engagement with Chaucer is not marked by hierarchical attitudes towards English culture, *de haut en bas*, but rather reveals a lateral mode of engagement across a space of Francophonie, *despite* the two poets' geopolitical differences.

Having explored a Continental Francophone discussion on composing *formes fixes* in England, we turn, in the final chapter, to an insular perspective on the same phenomenon. I thus examine how two Francophone poets engage with the *formes fixes* in England: Chaucer himself in the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* and John

Gower in the *Traitié selonc les auctors pour essampler les amantz marietz*. In these works, Chaucer and Gower compose specifically the type of *formes fixes* lyric that relies on the usage of literary exempla, which is, as I show in the previous two chapters, a site for intense political debate among Francophone poets in this period. I first deepen my discussion of the role of exempla in *formes fixes* lyric by demonstrating how such exempla, in a sample taken again from the Pennsylvania manuscript, invite rumination over poetics, as much as over politics, in mid-late fourteenth century *formes fixes* lyric. I then focus on the places in the *Prologue* and the *Traitié*, in which Chaucer and Gower proclaim the poverty and insufficiency of their appropriations from the Francophone *formes fixes* tradition. I argue that, more than mere modesty topoi, these moments continue to address, from the other side of the Channel, the relationship between *formes fixes* lyric, geopolitics, and transnational culture explored by Chaucer's and Gower's Francophone predecessors and contemporaries. Like other Francophone poets, Chaucer and Gower see the translation of *formes fixes* lyric as a means of carving a geopolitically specific identity out of Francophone cultural belonging. These instances of self-professed linguistic inferiority are thus hardly expressions of literary anxiety; that is to say, they do not operate from a hierarchical logic (English *below* French). Rather, they operate by a *lateral* logic that testifies to Chaucer's and Gower's deep familiarity with and active participation in a discourse, propelled by *formes fixes* lyric, over local yet Francophone authorial identity and self-representation during the Hundred Years War.

The final aim of this project is two-fold. By demonstrating the mid-late fourteenth century use of *formes fixes* lyric as a powerful medium for thinking through identity and

community in Francophone Europe during the Hundred Years War, I hope to draw some much-needed attention to this fascinating genre, which has largely received short shrift among literary scholars of the medieval.<sup>34</sup> I also hope, through this analysis of lyric form among a group of Francophone European poets, to offer up a new way of thinking about objects of study that simply resist, try as we might, the disciplinary categories into which we attempt to put them. In the end, when faced with something for which the existing labels do not quite fit, what else can we do but propose a “nouvel langage”?

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<sup>34</sup> When we consider the bulk of the scholarship on any of the major Francophone poets who work primarily in genres other than the *formes fixes* or short-form lyric (Machaut, Froissart, Chaucer, Gower, and, going into the fifteenth century, Pizan, Chartier, Lydgate), the pattern has consistently been to focus overwhelmingly on those authors' longer narrative works with little examination of their shorter lyric, particularly their stand-alone short lyric collections (as opposed to lyric intercalated into longer narrative works, such as Machaut's *Livre du Voir Dit*, or Froissart's *Prison amoureuse*). Important exceptions to this pattern will be noted in the subsequent pages.

**The Form of Things:  
Constructing a Literary History of the *Formes fixes* Tradition  
in the Pennsylvania Manuscript**

With 310 works in total, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 902 (formerly French 15) is the most extensive and varied collection of French *formes fixes* lyrics known to scholarship today.<sup>35</sup> 101 folios in length, it likely dates to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries, though its exact provenance remains unknown. The works that have been identified among its lyrics, which feature no authorial attributions in their rubrics, belong to Guillaume de Machaut, Oton de Granson, Eustache Deschamps, Grimace, Philippe de Vitry, Jean De Le Mote, and Nicole de Margival, thus representing a half-century of French courtly love *formes fixes* poetry from Hainault, to Champagne, to Savoy, to all the way down on the Franco-Italian border, and even over to England. The compilation also contains a large number of unattributed lyrics, some known from roughly contemporary or slightly later, early-mid fifteenth century sources, and some extant exclusively in this document.

Remarkably, this enormous manuscript, the largest and earliest extant collection of *formes fixes* lyric, has remained largely neglected by medieval scholars, an omission likely occasioned by the paucity of evidence surrounding the manuscript's provenance and by its *sui generis* composition and content. The most extensive treatment of the manuscript has come in an unpublished dissertation by Charles Mudge and a short study by James Wimsatt. They both associate the manuscript with the milieu of Isabeau of

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<sup>35</sup> The manuscript is available fully digitized online: [http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/detail.html?id=MEDREN\\_3559163](http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/detail.html?id=MEDREN_3559163). For a full list of its contents, with number of lyric and folio, see Appendix I.

Bavaria, queen consort to Charles VI, and posit that this manuscript may be none other than the “livre des balades messire Othes de Grantson,” a work Isabeau seems to have cherished, for she commissioned two heavy golden clasps for it in 1401.<sup>36</sup>

Wimsatt makes an extensive case for why Granson is the exemplary candidate for the volume’s unknown compiler. The anthology opens with a set of political pastourelles from the region of Hainault that have strong parallels with political pastourelles by Jean Froissart, himself a native Hainuyer who spent much of his career in England, at the same court in which Granson himself served.<sup>37</sup> The core of the collection is comprised of Machaut, dominant figure of the whole courtly love tradition, whose influence on Granson and the other poets of the later fourteenth-century *formes fixes* tradition is paramount. There is one lyric by, and several more attributable to, Deschamps, whom Granson knew personally, as recounted in a lyric by Deschamps himself about that nerve-racking trip through Calais that we saw briefly in the Introduction.<sup>38</sup> The manuscript contains another important pair of lyrics that likewise draws attention to England, namely

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<sup>36</sup> Vallet de Viriville, *La Bibliothèque d’Isabeau de Bavière, femme de Charles VI, roi de France* (Paris: J. Techener, 1858), 24-25. An entry on the previous page of Isabeau’s accounts also mentions the purchase of another lay work: “un livre nommé *Les Cent balades*,” purchased in 1399. Viriville assumes, perplexingly, on 13-14, that these two entries refer to a single volume. In the preface to his edition of *Le Livre de cent ballades* compiled by the Seneschal of Eu and his coterie circle, Gaston Raynaud reiterates Viriville’s suggestion, positing that the two entries might be referring to what is now Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, a manuscript containing both *Le Livre de cent ballades* and a number of lyrics, including many ballades, by Granson: *Les Cent Ballades, poème du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle composé par Jean Le Seneschal ...* (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1905), xix-xx. Piaget believes the two entries to refer to two separate works, arguing that Isabeau is unlikely to have needed to pay money for any work by Granson who, surely, would have made of it a gift to her: *Grandson*, 111-12.

<sup>37</sup> See James Wimsatt, “Froissart, Chaucer and the Pastourelles of the Pennsylvania Manuscript,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer: Proceedings* 1 (1984): 69-79, and *Contemporaries*, 193-209, and, for an edition, William Kibler and James Wimsatt, “The Development of the Pastourelle in the Fourteenth Century: An Edition of Fifteen Poems with an Analysis,” *Medieval Studies* 45 (1983): 22-78.

<sup>38</sup> See Gaston Duchet-Suchaux, “Émergence d’un sentiment national chez Eustache Deschamps,” in Buschinger (ed.), *Autour*, 73-77; Earl Jeffrey Richards, “The Uncertainty of Defining France as a Nation in the Works of Eustache Deschamps,” in Baker (ed.), *Inscribing*, 159-76, especially 169-70; Wallace, *Premodern*, 54-56; and Butterfield, *Familiar*, 139-43.

the exchange between Jean De Le Mote and Philippe de Vitry, in which Vitry attacks Le Mote for having moved to England, to join the same court that later housed both Froissart and Granson.<sup>39</sup> Finally, there are two discrete sections of lyrics by Granson himself, making the Pennsylvania manuscript the earliest extant witness to his work and the third largest extant collection of Granson's poetry.

But Wimsatt has another, very significant reason for arguing that Granson is the possible compiler of the Pennsylvania manuscript. Between fols. 75v and 86r the manuscript contains fifteen non-consecutive lyrics in multiple forms: balades, chansons royaux, and one rondeau. These are on various themes—unrequited love, requited love, bereavement, betrayal—and they all, curiously, have the letters “Ch” written next to them (see Image 1 in Appendix II).<sup>40</sup> There is no known attribution to the lyrics, and they appear in no other manuscripts. Intriguingly, the markings are not in the hand of the collection's three scribes, though they are French *batârde*, like the rest of the manuscript, and of approximately the same period: the letters are larger and the “h” has open upper and bottom lobes, unlike the fully closed “h” elsewhere in the manuscript. The markings are placed in various locations under or close to the individual lyric's rubric in a randomized manner suggesting that they were added after the pages had already been copied. Interestingly, the appearance of the markings coincides with the recruitment of two new scribal hands to copy the main text. Most of the anthology is copied by a single

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<sup>39</sup> For editions and analysis, see Ernest Pognon, “Ballades mythologiques de Jean De Le Mote, Philippe de Vitri, Jean Champion,” *Humanisme et Renaissance* 5.3 (1938): 385-417; F.N.M. Diekstra, “The Poetic Exchange between Philippe de Vitry and Jean de le Mote: A New Edition,” *Neophilologus* 70 (1986), 504-19; James Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of “Ch,”* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2009), 65-79, and *Contemporaries*, 43-76; and Ardis Butterfield, *Familiar*, 114-130.

<sup>40</sup> For an edition, see Wimsatt, *Ch*, 16-45.



scribe, and, unfortunately, we have no way of knowing whether this main scribe is also the manuscript's compiler or just a copyist. A new hand appears at the beginning of quire 10 halfway down fol. 73r for just two lyrics and again in the middle of quire 11 on fol. 82v, where it adds an extra line, stanza, and envoy in the margins below a "Ch" lyric. The last lyric labeled "Ch" also marks the end of the main scribe's section: a third hand takes over until the abrupt end of the manuscript halfway down on fol. 93v towards the end of quire 11.

In the late seventies, Rossell Hope Robbins proposed that Chaucer's earliest literary productions must have been in French. Chaucer's familiarity with the French *formes fixes* literary tradition is undeniable: in the *Merchant's Tale*, Damian writes May a love letter "[i]n manere of a compleynt or a lay" (l. 1881); the birds in the *Parliament of Fowls* sing a rondeau for which, Chaucer emphasizes, the music "imaked was in Fraunce" (l. 677); and Aurelius pours his love for Dorigen into "manye layes, | Songes, compleintes, roundels, virelayes" (ll. 947-8). Most importantly, when Alceste intercedes for Chaucer before the God of Love in the *Prologue* to the *Legend of Good Women*, she reminds the God of Love that Chaucer has written "many an hymphne for your halydayes, | That highten balades, roundels, virelayes ..." (F. 422-23; G. 410-411), while, in his *Retraction*, "Chaucer" speaks of having composed "many a song and many a leccherous lay" (l. 1086). It would, Robbins argued, be surprising if a poet with a Francophone wife, working in a Francophone court and extensively familiar with contemporary Francophone poetry had never once written something in French, when his direct contemporary, John Gower, for example, wrote two whole cycles of balades as well as an

extended narrative poem, all in French.<sup>41</sup> Robbins therefore suggests that “scholars might start looking for texts of anonymous French poems of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries ... for possible Chaucerian items.”<sup>42</sup>

Taking up Robbins’ suggestion, Wimsatt proposes “Ch” to be an abbreviation for none other than Chaucer himself, given the links with England elsewhere in the manuscript.<sup>43</sup> In particular, Chaucer’s famous celebration of Granson in the *Complaint to Venus* as “flour of hem who make in Fraunce,” which makes Granson the only contemporary French-speaking author whom Chaucer names in his entire corpus, suggests that the two poets knew each other well.<sup>44</sup> Therefore, Wimsatt hypothesizes, Granson, as potential compiler of the whole manuscript for Isabeau of Bavaria, was particularly well-placed to have included Chaucer’s French lyric into this compilation. The possible association of Chaucer with the Pennsylvania manuscript further rests on Wimsatt’s claim that the version of the text of the French source for Chaucer’s *Complaint of Venus* found specifically in the Pennsylvania manuscript is the closest, of all other extant manuscript witnesses, to the version used by Chaucer himself.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The two cycles have been recently published in John Gower, *The French Balades*, ed. and trans. R.F. Yeager (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2011).

<sup>42</sup> Rossell Hope Robbins, “Geoffroi Chaucier, Poète Français, Father of English Poetry,” *Chaucer Review* 13.2 (Fall, 1978): 103-04.

<sup>43</sup> It is particularly interesting, in this regard, to note that one of the lyrics in the manuscript, the anonymous serventois *En avisant les esches Atalus* (found in the manuscript as lyric no. 11) has its speaker holding open an eagle’s beak and peering within to see numerous wondrous images; the speaker then flies away from the eagle in order to survey the world from on high and then comes to the House of Daedalus. The possibility of connections between this strange lyric and Dante’s *Commedia* along with, in particular, Chaucer’s *House of Fame* is highly tantalizing; see Wimsatt, “Froissart,” 78, and *Contemporaries*, 132-5, which traces out some striking parallels between these three texts.

<sup>44</sup> See Braddy, *Chaucer and Wimsatt*, *Contemporaries*, 210-41.

<sup>45</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 56-58 and *Contemporaries*, 213-19.

Wimsatt's argument neatly accounts for several of the more notable features of this remarkable document: its English connections as well as its English interests, the deeply mysterious "Ch" mark, and the anthology's prominent place among extant manuscripts of Granson's work. Indeed, his radical hypothesis that "Ch" might stand for Chaucer represents an important early instantiation of Ardis Butterfield's later claim, in a different context, that "[f]rom a medieval point of view, Chaucer is part of the history of French culture, rather than French culture being part of the history of Chaucer."<sup>46</sup>

Wimsatt's thought experiment has had immense repercussions for the history of the field to which his monograph has given a name—"Chaucer and his French contemporaries"—in reminding us of the deep cultural ties between England and Continental Europe that render it possible that Chaucer could indeed be the author of a series of fifteen French lyrics. When we look at the Pennsylvania manuscript's codicological features and at its relationship to its contemporary material context, however, and when we attend to this document as a material artifact, we arrive at several, very different interpretations of the same features on which Wimsatt alights. These alternate explanations do not—perhaps frustratingly—necessarily link the manuscript to one identifiable historical figure like Granson, or Chaucer, but they do instead provide a more complex and ultimately more productive understanding of this document as evincing, within its pages and through its organizational structure, a significant response to contemporary cultural developments within the courtly love lyric tradition that have important bearing on our understanding of cross-Channel cultural exchange.

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<sup>46</sup> Ardis Butterfield, "Chaucer's French Inheritance," *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 21.

In this chapter I will show that the over-arching organization of the manuscript, as well as patterns of attribution in other, similar lyric compilations of the same period, militate against reading “Ch” as Chaucer. I suggest instead that “Ch,” whatever it means, is unlikely to stand for Chaucer because the lyrics’ authorship—even if they were all written by the same person—is not the criterion governing their inclusion into and emphasis in this anthology. In fact, to view “Ch” as necessarily indicating any kind of author reveals our own assumption that authorship is the dominant taxonomic principle of a medieval anthology, itself indicative of our own modern post-Romantic focus on the Author to the neglect of other literary features, like genre and form. Meanwhile, the careful disposition of the lyrics within this anthology suggests that the Pennsylvania manuscript’s compiler is interested in these lyrics for reasons other than their authorship. Namely, his *ordinatio* showcases a keen awareness of the immense geographic spread of the *formes fixes* lyric tradition and of the history of the formal innovations that this tradition has undergone over the course of the fourteenth century. It further suggests that his primary aim is to use the possibilities for serialization afforded by the format of the lyric anthology in order to construct a literary history that centers on *form*, rather than on authorship. This manuscript’s presentation of a literary history of the *formes fixes* lyric tradition just a decade or two after Eustache Deschamps’ own taxonomizing of the proper forms of *formes fixes* lyric in his *Art de dictier* (1392), the first *ars poetica* devoted to composing within this genre, speaks to an immense interest in codifying this type of poetry, in all of its heterogeneity, at the close of the fourteenth century. Such a focus on memorializing the formal qualities of this lyric tradition thus affords us key insight into

the phenomena that this project sets out to examine: namely, why late medieval poets engage so closely with form in their use and adaptation of specifically *formes fixes* lyric across regions divided by the Hundred Years War and why they turned to the *formes fixes* in particular when theorizing wartime cross-Channel literary exchange.

### **I. The Pennsylvania Manuscript: Physical Features, Contents, and Background**

The manuscript comprises 101 folios in a modern binding in twelve gatherings of eight folios and a final gathering of five folios, foliated in a later hand and ruled in two columns with 32-39 lines per page, 35 lines per page predominating. The folios are 300mm x 250mm, bound to 300mm x 240 mm. The text block measures roughly 195-200mm x 170-180mm. The quality of the parchment varies significantly from gathering to gathering as well as within gatherings, from thick, white, well-processed folios to thin, poorly drained folios with prominent hair follicle markings, holes, and gashes. The anthology was made in two separate booklets, as evidenced by the fact that fols. 1r-48v are ruled in ink with a triple middle gutter, whereas in the second half of the manuscript the ruling has been simplified by placing just a single middle gutter on the page; the ruling here also alternates between ink and lead. There is also no catchword on fol. 48v, and fol. 49r starts with a new lyric. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that the booklets were separately produced and joined together only later, though that was a popular practice in the period.<sup>47</sup> The scribe of the first booklet continues the second

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<sup>47</sup> On booklets and fascicular production, see P.R. Robinson, "The 'Booklet,' A Self-Contained Unit in Composite Manuscripts," *Codicologica* 3 (1980): 46-69, and Ralph Hanna, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations," *Studies in Bibliography* 39 (1986): 100-111; "Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England," in *The Whole Book: Cultural*

booklet, although his ink is darker, and he is working with a different, thicker quill.<sup>48</sup> As noted above, two more scribes appear in this second booklet: one comes in only briefly to write out two lyrics on fols. 73r-v and to add an extra line, stanza, and an envoy to a work on fol. 82r. The third and final scribe takes over halfway down the page on fol. 86r and continues until the abrupt end of the compilation halfway down the page on fol. 93v.

The organization of the volume suggests over-arching design and careful planning. It begins with a set of unattributed pastourelles and serventois, written in the dialect of Hainault and extant only in this manuscript; these run from fols. 1r-8r. Immediately following, from fols. 8r-16v, comes a set of lyrics by Granson. The next set, running from fols. 16v-29r, consists of primarily unattributed balades and several unattributed lais; among them are found one lyric by Deschamps, the balade exchange between Vitry and Le Mote, and one lyric from Machaut's *Loange des dames*, a self-contained collection of *formes fixes* poetry included as a separate section in all of Machaut's major collected-works manuscripts. From fols. 29r-39v is a set of lyrics that are all by Machaut and almost all taken from his *Loange des dames*. Intriguingly, here these *Loange* lyrics are arranged in a unique order, even though the *Loange*'s eleven other witnesses demonstrate a largely stable organization from manuscript to manuscript. This entirely rearranged version of Machaut's *Loange* is succeeded by a set of

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*Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany*, ed. Stephen G. Nicholls and Siegfried Wenzel (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 37-51; and *Pursuing History: Middle English Manuscripts and Their Texts* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996), 21-34.

<sup>48</sup> The hand that starts the second booklet is definitely working in a darker ink and a thicker quill. The letter forms are largely identical, though the l's and the g's have a slightly different ductus. The second section might be, perhaps, slightly later and thus represents an evolution in the original scribe's hand. Despite the presence of some kind of difference, the new booklet works directly with the organization of the one preceding, as we will see in this chapter, so I do not think that the two booklets were created separately from each other or at drastically different dates.

unattributed virelais, balades and rondeaux, mostly extant only here, with a balade by Granson and, at the very end, another small grouping of Machaut's *Loange* lyrics; this set runs to fol. 48r, or the end of the first booklet.

The second booklet begins on fol. 49v with Machaut again, this time copying a set taken almost entirely from among balades that Machaut set to music, which, like the lyrics of the *Loange*, also occur within a discrete section in all of his collected-works manuscripts. These lyrics, however, are interspersed with several other works, which are not by Machaut but are, rather, mostly unattributed. From fol. 59v, the Machaut selection exhibits another alteration: it becomes dominated by examples of Machaut's virelais, which we had not earlier seen in the manuscript, and they are derived from a new source, Machaut's long narrative dit with intercalated lyrics, *Le Livre du Voir Dit*.<sup>49</sup> This extensive Machaut section, which forms the entire middle third of the compilation, gives way, at fol. 72v, to a varied set of unattributed balades, rondeaux, and chansons royaux until, at fols. 80r-82v, we get a second small grouping of balades by Granson. The manuscript concludes with another set of unattributed works, extant only here, of mostly balades and rondeaux with another three works from Machaut's *Loange*. Several of the balades copied in the compilation's final quire, moreover, contain envoys, a formal feature borrowed from the earlier fourteenth-century puy tradition that came into the balade sometime towards the end of the fourteenth century and became a prominent

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<sup>49</sup> Wimsatt posits that this arrangement is suggested to Penn's compiler by the internal organization of Paris, BnF fr. 9221, a major collected-works manuscript eventually owned by Machaut's patron, Jean de Berry: *Ch*, 54-55.

feature in the fifteenth century.<sup>50</sup> On a very basic level, therefore, the compilation appears to open and close with a set of unattributed works, unique to this manuscript, and places a large selection of Machaut's lyrics, drawn from three major sources within his own work, at its physical center, framed by other unattributed lyrics as well as by work from Granson. The following chart visually reproduces the categorizations suggested above:

Table 1. Schema of Contents of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Codex 902

Folios	author	form	notable features
1r-8r	unattributed	pastourelles, serventois	in Hainuyer dialect
8r-16v	Granson	balades & complaintes	
16v-29r	mostly unattributed	mostly balades, several lais	1 Machaut, 1 Deschamps, Vitry-Le Mote exchange
29r-39v	Machaut	balades, rondeaux, chansons royaux	from <i>Loange des dames</i> in unique order
40r-48v	Machaut & unattributed	balades, rondeaux, virelais	1 Granson; anon until 47v, then Machaut
49r-59v	mostly Machaut	mostly balades	from lyrics that Machaut set to music
59v-72r	mostly Machaut	balades, virelais, rondeaux	from those set to music & <i>Voir Dit</i>
72v-79v	unattributed	balades, rondeaux, chansons royaux	"Ch" lyrics interspersed here
80r-82v	Granson & unattributed	balades	"Ch" lyrics interspersed here
82v-93v	mostly unattributed	balades, rondeaux	3 Machaut, others only extant here; some balades have envoys

There are no early records for the Pennsylvania manuscript before it eventually surfaced in the early twentieth century. In his description and partial edition of the manuscript in 1932, Giulio Bertoni referred to it as belonging to Leo S. Olschki's personal collection, as did Arthur Piaget in his 1941 edition of Oton de Granson's work.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See Poirion, *Poète*, 373-74; James C. Laidlaw, "L'Innovation métrique chez Deschamps," in Buschinger (ed.), *Autour*, 127-40, especially 127-28, 130, 134, and Yeager, "Audience," 82-83. Cf. Laidlaw, "The *Cent balades*: The Marriage of Content and Form," in *Christine de Pizan and Medieval French Lyric*, ed. Earl Jeffrey Richards (University Press of Florida, 1998), 53-54, where he notes that the number of envoys in Pizan's *Cent Balades* increases in later recensions of the work between 1399 and 1411.

<sup>51</sup> Giulio Bertoni, "Liriche di Oton de Grandson, Guillaume de Machaut e di altri poeti in un nuovo canzoniere," *Archivium Romanicum* 16.1 (Jan-Mar 1932): 1-32. Piaget was clearly not acquainted with the



At some point, the antiquarian bookseller Lawrence Witten seems to have purchased the manuscript from Olschki and sold it to the University of Pennsylvania in 1954.<sup>52</sup> Lacking a colophon and any identifications of ownership, the manuscript itself provides few clues as to its own background. In a later hand, written across the top of the first folio, are the words “Droit & ferme.” Fly-leaf marginalia suggests that the manuscript’s eventual owners were Italian, which may explain its resurfacing in a private collection in Florence: fol. 94r has five lines from sonnet 146 of Petrarch’s *Rime sparse* written in a later Italian humanist hand, and fol. 97r has the beginnings of an index of first lines to the compilation that gets through A and stops three entries into B; the hand here is also Italian and may be the same as the one that did the foliation throughout the manuscript. Finally, fol. 101v has a scribbled line in Italian in an Italian cursive hand.

In his 1972 Ph.D dissertation, Charles Mudge proposed that the manuscript might have originally emerged from the milieu of Isabeau of Bavaria. He bases this conclusion on two pieces of evidence: the motto written at the top of the first folio that he links to Bavaria, and the presence in the anthology of two acrostics by Oton de Grantson on the name Isabel, based on which he proposes that this manuscript may be the “livre de ballades messire Othes de Grantson” from Isabeau’s accounts.<sup>53</sup> In his work on the manuscript, Wimsatt agrees with Mudge’s suggestion, though he acknowledges two significant counter-arguments: (a) that one-third of the Pennsylvania manuscript’s

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actual manuscript, since he reproduces erroneous information about the manuscript from Bertoni’s article, so perhaps he is just repeating Bertoni on the manuscript’s provenance: *Grandson*, 115-116.

<sup>52</sup> Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch, *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania to 1800* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965), 57.

<sup>53</sup> Charles Mudge, introduction to *The Pennsylvania Chansonnier: A Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century* (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1972), 1-54, especially 10-16.

content is by Machaut, not Granson; and (b) that the manuscript is not adorned with any miniatures and does not boast the kind of exquisite decorative programs of other late medieval royal presentation copies. Wimsatt's solution for these unusual features is that Granson is figuring in Isabeau's inventory entry not as author, but as compiler of the manuscript in question, whereby Wimsatt takes the phrase "livre des ballades messire Othes de Grantson" to mean "a book of ballades *of* Granson," rather than "a book of ballades *by* Granson." Wimsatt writes: "... if Granson had personally ordered the manuscript to be made for Queen Isabel, the attribution of the whole to him would be quite natural. And if he had dedicated (or rather rededicated) the Isabel poems to her, her contentment with an unilluminated codex would be understandable—the texts themselves would possess the main personal interest."<sup>54</sup>

Wimsatt supports his hypothesis by pointing additionally to the very rough indications of a chronology governing this volume: the pastourelles and serventois with which it opens are, he argues, internally datable to the late 1350s and early 1360s,<sup>55</sup> while the very end of the collection is taken up with ballades that have envoys, revealing them to be late fourteenth-early fifteenth century productions. Wimsatt posits that Granson may have come across material such as the Hainuyer pastourelles and the Vitry-Le Mote exchange during his service at the heavily Hainault-connected English court of Edward III. Granson's return to Savoy after his father's death in 1386 explicates for Wimsatt the presence of later fourteenth-century ballades with envoys included in the end of the manuscript: these may have been the kind of lyrics that Granson was coming across in

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<sup>54</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 88.

<sup>55</sup> See Kibler and Wimsatt, "Development."

Savoy during his stay there. Finally, the manuscript's abrupt end in the middle of the page on fol. 93v, with the rest of the gathering fully ruled but blank, finds for Wimsatt its reasonable explanation in Granson's ignominious death by judicial duel in 1397 that may have halted the production of the compilation that he had commissioned.<sup>56</sup>

## II. Isabeau of Bavaria and the "livre des balades messire Othes de Grantson"

The first major piece of evidence used by Mudge and Wimsatt to argue for Isabeau of Bavaria's ownership of the compilation are Granson's acrostics on the name Isabel. Unfortunately, when taken by themselves, these Granson acrostics cannot tell us much of anything. Arthur Piaget's suggestion that this Isabel must be none other than Isabeau of Bavaria has since been disproved by Normand Cartier, who shows that there were several women with this extremely popular name with whom Granson did or could have come into contact during his peripatetic life, so that identifying the acrostics with a single historical figure is manifestly impossible.<sup>57</sup> That said, the high degree of conventional love imagery in these lyrics—distance from one's beloved, lovesickness, the lady's excellence among women, etc—makes them indeed highly adaptable to this popular name, so that perhaps they could have been repurposed to indicate Isabeau of Bavaria, or later read as indicating her, even if they did not do so originally.

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<sup>56</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 88-89. On Granson's life, see Piaget, *Grandson*, and Braddy, *Chaucer*, and on his duel and death, Berguerand, *Le Duel*.

<sup>57</sup> See Arthur Piaget, "Oton de Grandson, Amoureux de la Reine," *Romania* 41 (1935): 72-82 and *Grandson*, 156-64, and Normand R. Cartier, "Oton de Grandson et sa princesse," *Romania* 85 (1964): 1-16. It is important also to note that, having been born in ca. 1370, Isabeau of Bavaria could hardly be the addressee of some of Granson's earlier acrostics (on amorous themes), which, as we shall shortly see, may be firmly dated to the early 1370s.

The other major piece of evidence taken by Mudge and Wimsatt to support the association of the manuscript with Isabeau of Bavaria is the motto “Droit & ferme” that is written across the top of its first folio in a hand different from any of the others found in the manuscript (Image 2 in Appendix II). Citing for his evidence Henri Tausin’s *Supplément au dictionnaire des devises historiques et héraldiques*, where “Droit & ferme” is listed as the motto of the “royaume de Bavière,” Mudge claims that this motto belongs to the royal house of Bavaria and therefore suggests an association with Isabeau.<sup>58</sup> There is, however, no clear indication anywhere in Tausin’s work of his sources for the provenances of the different mottos. It is also unclear what “Bavière” signifies in this context, as four Bavarian branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty emerged by 1392: Bavaria-Ingolstadt, ruled by Isabeau’s father and, later, her brother; Bavaria-Landschut, ruled by one of her uncles; Bavaria-Munich, ruled by another one of her uncles; and, lastly, Bavaria-Straubing, ruled by a separate branch of the Wittelsbach house that also held Holland, Zeeland and Hainault.<sup>59</sup> I have not so far been able to identify to which precise branch the motto belongs, nor have I found it present in any documents with a known connection to Isabeau.

I have, however, found another manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal fr. 2872, with the exact same phrase, “Droit & ferme,” written on its final folio in a hand strikingly similar to that used for the motto in the Pennsylvania manuscript. In this second manuscript, the hand writing the motto is also different from the main hand in the

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<sup>58</sup> Henri Tausin, *Supplément au dictionnaire des devises historiques et héraldiques*, (Paris: Lechevalier, 1895), 130.

<sup>59</sup> Wimsatt also attributes the motto to Isabeau of Bavaria in *Ch*, 3, without providing any additional explanation, as do Connolly and Plumley, “Crossing.”

manuscript (Image 3 in Appendix II).<sup>60</sup> Arsenal fr. 2872 is a compilation of astrological and scientific treatises, copied by a single scribe in a late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century French bâtarde hand similar, though not identical, to those of the Pennsylvania manuscript. One of the works included in the Arsenal document is a French translation of the *Liber novum judicum* by Robert Godefroy, astronomer to Charles V, completed in 1361, as well as a treatise on alchemy by the late thirteenth-early fourteenth century alchemist and astrologer Arnaud de Villeneuve. The Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal has a later fifteenth-century manuscript, MS 2889, containing a French translation of another botanical treatise by Arnaud de Villeneuve, which specifies, in its colophon, that this translation had been executed at the bequest of Isabeau of Bavaria. The connection of Godefroy with Charles V’s court and Isabeau’s manifest interest in Arnaud de Villeneuve renders it plausible that Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS fr. 2872, with the same motto written in a remarkably similar, possibly identical, hand, might also be connected with her, though we cannot be certain.

There is, moreover, an interesting visual parallel between the Pennsylvania manuscript and Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, MS fr. 2872. In addition to the motto “Droit & ferme,” the Pennsylvania manuscript has on the same folio, and nowhere else in the manuscript, an inhabited initial: the pale outline of a little face comes out of the decoratively elongated first initial of the right-hand column (Image 2 in Appendix II). The Arsenal manuscript has, scattered throughout its contents, similar (though better executed) inhabited initials of faces, palely sketched and emerging out of decoratively

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<sup>60</sup> This manuscript is available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60002894>.

elongated initials and decorative ascenders (Image 4 in Appendix II). The parallel could be simple coincidence, but the identical date range of both manuscripts, their use of similar hands, and the identical motto, written in what may be the same hand in both codices, argue in favor of a possible association between the two.

While there is, unfortunately, little concrete evidence to connect the Pennsylvania manuscript to Isabeau of Bavaria, its three hands do correspond to the type of French batârde hand that was regularly used for copying manuscripts of secular work in this period more generally and that was specifically employed at the court of Charles VI as well as the courts of his immediate family members. For example, John of Berry's late-fourteenth-century copy of the *Roman de la Rose*, now Paris, BnF, MS fr. 12595, as well as an early fifteenth-century copy of *Le Livre de cent ballades* of the Seneschal d'Eu, now Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2360, are also executed in the same kind of hand.<sup>61</sup> Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22452 and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 20615, both collections of several royal ordinances and letters copied for Charles V, Charles VI, Philippe the Bold and Isabeau, ranging in date from 1375 to 1417, are executed in hands virtually identical to those in the Pennsylvania manuscript.<sup>62</sup> A similar French Gothic batârde hand is also used to copy the so-called Queen's Manuscript (London, British Library, MS Harley 4431) presented by Christine de Pizan to Isabeau herself, as well as Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22935, a work entitled

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<sup>61</sup> These are available fully digitized online; John of Berry's *Rose*: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b60002167>; and *Le Livre de cent ballades*: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9059203d.r=Le+Livre+des+cent+ballades+par+JEAN.langEN>.

<sup>62</sup> Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22542 is available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9062249h>.

*Le Miroir du Monde* with a colophon indicating that it was commissioned for Isabeau.<sup>63</sup> Isabeau's own will (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 6544, dated 1411) and her household accounts (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 10370, dated 1420-22), are also copied in hands virtually identical to those of the Pennsylvania manuscript (compare Image 5 with Image 1 in Appendix II).<sup>64</sup>

Looking more closely at the physical characteristics of the Pennsylvania manuscript against those of manuscripts that we know are related to the late fourteenth-early fifteenth-century French royal court sheds some further light on the origins of the compilation. The manuscript's three scribes conform to a uniform layout and decoration program: they rubricate each poem with an indication of its sub-genre (balade, rondeau, lay, virelay, complainte, chanson royal, pastourelle, serventois), offering no authorial attributions of any kind; they abbreviate refrains after their first instance to one or two words; they decoratively indent abbreviated refrains for virelais and rondeaux; and they rubricate envoys to ballades.<sup>65</sup> Large pen-work decorated initials occur regularly throughout the manuscript, along with some decoratively elongated ascenders in the first lines of text columns; the size of the initials and ascenders becomes more pronounced and

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<sup>63</sup> These manuscripts are available fully digitized online; Pizan's manuscript: [http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley\\_ms\\_4431\\_f001r](http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=harley_ms_4431_f001r); and *Le Miroir*: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8452548m.r=Miroir+du+monde.langEN>. On the Queen's Manuscript being an autograph of Pizan herself, see Gilbert Ouy and Christine M. Reno, "L'Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan," *Scriptorium* 34.2 (1980): 221-38, and Sandra Hindman, "The Composition of Christine de Pizan's Collected Works in the British Library: A Reassessment," *British Library Journal* 9.2 (Autumn 1983): 93-123.

<sup>64</sup> Isabeau's accounts are available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9063223k.r=Comptes+de+la+reine+Isabeau+de+Bavi%C3%A8re.langEN>.

<sup>65</sup> On the development of visual cues on the page to facilitate reading and their movement from scholastic manuscripts to manuscripts of secular texts and the relationship between the visual organization of material on a page to the organization of multiple materials within a bound volume, see Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of 'Ordinatio' and 'Compilatio' on the Development of the Book," *Scribes, Scripts and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), 35-70.

more delicately executed over the course of the compilation, but no illumination or ink other than red and black is used (Images 6, 7, 8 in Appendix II).

Only the final scribe deviates from this general visual program and only when he gets to the final quire of the manuscript. When he takes over from the main scribe in the middle of quire 11, his rubrics and the decorated initials continue to look the same as those done by previous scribes. The third scribe does immediately introduce a new visual feature into his portion of quire 11: he does not rubricate the word “Lenvoy,” which marks out the envoy, but only draws a red dash through the “L”. In quire 12, however, the third scribe begins a subtly different visual program: he decoratively indents alternating lines, not just refrains, in rondeaux, and, most significantly, he draws enormous initials with far more extensive decoration in the text and in the rubrics than elsewhere in the manuscript. He is also leaving 4-5 lines of space for rubrics, as opposed to the previous sections of the manuscript that largely leave only 1-3 lines. The third scribe’s initials are in a similar style to the work of the previous scribes but have been executed with far greater care and are of a distinctive type, known in French as *initiales cadelées*, found nowhere else in the anthology (Images 9 and 10 in Appendix II). The third scribe is also using a much darker ink for the text and a brighter red ink for the rubrics than everyone else. Despite these visual differences, however, this quire is not physically separate from the rest of the manuscript: the preceding quire has a catchword and its final text, the unattributed balade *Puis que je voy que ma belle maistresse*, carries over across the quire break. Quire 12 is thus part of the whole manuscript’s second booklet and looks broadly visually similar to the folios before it, and yet it seems to be of



a slightly higher quality than the rest of the collection, though, interestingly, it contains some of the poorest parchment. It also appears that someone, possibly the third scribe, then went back and added some extra ornamentation, in the form of dentellation and flourishes, to the other scribes' decorated initials in order to make all the initials appear more visually uniform (Image 11 in Appendix II).

These visual features, along with the inhabited initial on the first folio and the flourish work on the "Droit et ferme" phrase, constitute the manuscript's only decoration. No space and no guide marks have been left for any additional illuminated initials, borders or miniatures. Instead, the decorated initials, though executed with care and finesse, are in the same ink as the rest of the text and have clearly been drawn in by the scribes themselves as they copied the texts. The rubrics are also being done by the scribes themselves: there are indications of what is to go into the rubrics still visible in the margins, but the hands of the rubrics match and are keyed to the three hands in the manuscript's main text.

This manuscript was, in other words, created as a completed product by its scribes, with no recourse to outside rubricators or illustrators. Its total absence of any specialized decoration militates against the supposition that this manuscript was an expensive presentation copy for Isabeau, or any other member of the royal family in this period. Other extant presentation copies executed for Isabeau, like Pizan's Queen's Manuscript, or the afore-mentioned *Miroir du monde* that identifies her as the intended audience and owner of the volume (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22935), have lavish full-page frontispieces, miniatures, decorated borders, and luxurious historiated initials. At the

same time, the Pennsylvania manuscript's use of multiple scribes, all evidently working together towards a uniform and sophisticated visual program, likewise argues against this manuscript's being just a personal copy for private use, on the model of what might be called a household or commonplace book, such as, for example, Paris, BnF, MS naf 6221. A compilation of *formes fixes* lyric by Machaut, Deschamps, and others, broadly similar to the Pennsylvania manuscript in content, this latter volume is executed in a single, cramped French cursive hand; it boasts no decoration, narrow top and bottom margins, whole sections that are struck through, as well as random blocks of missing text, suggesting that it is a single person's private poetry album of sorts.<sup>66</sup> Our manuscript instead seems to occupy some kind of transitional space between a luxurious presentation copy destined for a wider courtly audience and the private lyric compilation destined for personal use.

The closest visual analogues that I have been able to find for the Pennsylvania manuscripts are in courtly secretarial documents. The afore-mentioned manuscript of Isabeau's accounts (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 10370), provides an interesting basis for comparison: like our manuscript—and particularly like its final quire—Isabeau's accounts are written in a clear, neat French bâtarde hand that is, in fact, strikingly similar to that of our first scribe, and its section headings, unrubricated but differentiated instead through use of a *textura script*, feature those same kinds of large, well-executed, but not illuminated *initiales cadelées*, written in by the scribe himself (Images 12 and 13 in Appendix II). Another set of accounts from the reign of Charles VI (Paris, BnF, MS fr.

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<sup>66</sup> This manuscript is available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84490518>.

7843), dated to the 1390s, demonstrates yet more examples of these kinds of scribally ornamented initials similar to the kinds we find in the Pennsylvania Manuscript (Image 14 in Appendix II).<sup>67</sup>

Indeed, various documents from the reign of Charles VI, as well as of Charles V—accounts, letters, ordinances, all copied by royal secretaries—possess this same kind of visual format: decorative ascenders in first lines of text, large initials with some flourishes, but little else in terms of ornamentation, and they are all, again, written in French batârde hands that are both similar to each other and to those in the Pennsylvania manuscript. On the basis, then, of visual evidence from manuscripts linked to key figures of the French royal court in the final decades of the fourteenth century and the opening decades of the fifteenth century, I suggest that the Pennsylvania manuscript is unlikely to be the “livre des balades Messire Othes de Granson” for which Isabeau had commissioned two finely-wrought golden clasps. This anthology is hardly a presentation copy, but a far simpler production, possibly the work of several royal secretaries operating at the royal French court in this time period, and it is therefore unlikely to have been outfitted with such a costly binding.<sup>68</sup>

But why would a manuscript containing the work of so many distinguished poets of the period *not* have been made as a presentation copy, particularly if Isabeau was interested enough in Granson and the *Livre de cent ballades* of the Seneschal d’Eu, which is also a collection of *formes fixes* lyrics, to have ordered the latter from a bookmaker and

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<sup>67</sup> This manuscript is available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9060567v>.

<sup>68</sup> We note that Paris, BnF, MS fr. 20026, a mid-fifteenth-century copy of Alain Chartier’s work made for Charles d’Orleans and his wife, Marie de Clèves, also features simpler decorated initials made by the scribe himself, but this work does still have a lavish, multi-colored frontispiece; this is also available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8451111w.r=alain+chartier.langEN>.

outfitted the former with two golden clasps? For what, in other words, may this particular document have been intended? One possibility is that the Pennsylvania manuscript represents some sort of draft copy stage. In addition to multiple manuscript commissions, Isabeau's accounts also demonstrate her ongoing interest in retooling and refurbishing books already in her collection. Throughout her accounts we see entries of payments to various scribes and bookmakers for various commissions of covers, bindings, and clasps. These additions seem to be motivated in some cases by aesthetics—like the golden clasps commissioned for the Granson collection in 1401—but in others by more practical needs. Also in 1401, for example, she had a small book of hours cleaned, whitened (*blanchy*), and bound with gold-embossed leather.<sup>69</sup> In 1416, Isabeau commissioned a cut of blue, reinforced (*renforcié*) satin to add as a second layer to an existing cloth wrapping for a book of hours.<sup>70</sup> In 1402, a scribe named Gervasoit de Deuil cleaned, gathered and *recopied* both the text and the musical notation (“rescript et renoté”) of two breviaries for the queen's chapel, for which he also made a leather binding, a protective wrapping and two latten clasps.<sup>71</sup> In other words, Isabeau clearly cared for her book collection and went back to it, refurbishing old books, adding both costly and protective elements to them, and significantly, as we can see from the last example, getting them *recopied*.

There is evidence external to Isabeau's accounts to suggest that she commissioned copies of existing books that she already owned. The index to the lavish presentation

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<sup>69</sup> Viriville, *Bibliothèque*, 24.

<sup>70</sup> Viriville, *Bibliothèque*, 27.

<sup>71</sup> Viriville, *Bibliothèque*, 26.

volume entitled *Le miroir du monde* (Paris, BnF, MS fr. 22935) specifies in its opening rubric (emphasis added):<sup>72</sup>

Cy commence le livre qui est appelle *Le mirouer du monde* ... Et pour la bonte de ce livre la royne Ysabel de France *en* a fait mettre *un* a l'Eglise des Innocens a Paris afin que ceste matiere fust sceue comme souveraine de tous ceulx qui la le voudroient lire...

Here begins the book titled *Le miroir du monde* ... And for the goodness of this book, the queen Ysabel of France had *one* placed at the Eglise de Saint-Innocents in Paris so that this teaching would be exalted by all those wish to read it there ...

If the book placed in the church were the volume itself, the pronoun would have to be “le”—“la royne Ysabel de France *l’a* fait mettre a l’eglise ...” (the queen Ysabel of France had *it* placed into the church). The “en ... un” construction indicates a plurality, meaning literally “of these ... one,” which suggests that there was more than one copy of this text, and that its copying was commissioned by Isabeau herself. There is yet further evidence that books owned by Isabeau were later recopied by other people, indeed well after her death. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Cod. gall. 22 (late fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries) opens with the following rubric:<sup>73</sup>

A la loenge de dieu, de la vierge souveraine, de tous sains & saintes de paradis, et a la requeste de tresexcellante & redoubtee dame & puissant princesse, Dame Ysabel de Baviere, por la grace de dieu royne de France, je ay translate ceste Passion de Jhesu, nostre saiveur, de latin en francois, sans y adjouster moralite, ystoire, exemples ou figures . l’an mil trois cens quatre vins et dixhuit.

In praise of the Lord, of the exalted Virgin, of all the saints in heaven, and at the behest of the most excellent and feared lady and powerful princess, Lady Ysabel of Bavaria, by the grace of God Queen of France, I have translated this Passion of Jesus, our Savior, from Latin into French, without adding any moral, tale, examples or characters [in] the year 1398.

<sup>72</sup> Transcription from manuscript with abbreviations silently expanded.

<sup>73</sup> Transcription from manuscript with abbreviations silently expanded and punctuation added, for clarity. The manuscript is available fully online: <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0004/bsb00047310/images/index.html>.

Isabeau's accounts list a payment made to a scribe in 1398 for having copied "un Livret de devociens auquel est contenue la Passion de Nostre Seigneur" (a small Book of Devotions containing the Passion of Our Lord),<sup>74</sup> very likely this same text. The lavish quality of the Munich manuscript, featuring borders, miniatures, an index, and a full-page frontispiece, copied in that familiar late fourteenth-early fifteenth century French batârde hand, suggests that it might be the work originally commissioned by Isabeau.

Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS fr. 2386 is a later, early fifteenth-century copy of the same text, featuring the same original 1398 opening rubric denoting Isabel's commission. It is, however, significantly less lavish: it has a large historiated initial on fol. 1r as well as space left for a large-scale miniature that was never executed; the rest of the manuscript is largely unadorned, with just a few scattered decorated initials and decorative ascenders. This less expensive copy was clearly intended for a different kind of audience. Yet another copy of the same text, reproducing that same rubric from 1398, is found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 13095. This version is written in a cramped, messy, fifteenth-century Gothic cursive hand in two columns with narrow margins and no decoration or visual differentiation of any kind, save a textura script to indicate new chapter headings, accompanied by larger initials.<sup>75</sup> This was apparently hastily produced and intended for yet a different kind of audience, probably for private, personal use, judging from the lack of decoration.

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<sup>74</sup> Viriville, *Bibliothèque*, 21.

<sup>75</sup> This manuscript is available fully digitized online:

<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b90615853.r=C2%AB+Passion+de+J%C3%A9susChrist%2C+%C2%BB+traduite+du+latin.langEN>.

Yet another version of the same text, with the same opening rubric, surfaces much later in the fifteenth century: this is Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, MS fr. 2038. Gorgeously decorated and copied in a neat Gothic textura script, this manuscript boasts, in addition to decorated borders and historiated initials, delicate full- and half-page miniatures unusually covered with protective cloth "curtains" that are affixed directly to the manuscript page and also embroidered. Remarkably, a scribal colophon appended to the end of the text reveals this copy to have been executed in 1466 by a nun, who identifies herself as "Seur Rogiere de Seuauile, religieuse de Saint Matteu a Paris."<sup>76</sup> This striking document gives, unfortunately, no other indication of its purpose save announcing its direct links with Isabeau's original commission.

From Viriville's introduction to Isabeau's accounts, moreover, we learn of yet another manuscript copy of this same text, the opening rubric of which, reproduced by Viriville, matches verbatim the one found in all the other copies. This manuscript of the *Passion de Jhesu-Crist*, according to Viriville's description, bears a mark of ownership from Marie de Clèves, third wife of Charles d'Orléans, and has a frontispiece representing Charles and Marie kneeling in prayer, which suggests a *terminus post quem* of 1440, the date of their marriage.<sup>77</sup> I have not, unfortunately, been able to track down yet the specific manuscript to which Viriville was referring in 1858, but Viriville's note further testifies not only to the popularity of this text, but also to the varied readership it clearly enjoyed, from different circles within the French royal court and high nobility, to a private residence, to a convent.

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<sup>76</sup> Transcription from manuscript with punctuation silently added.

<sup>77</sup> Viriville, *Bibliothèque*, 14-15.

The rubric to the *Miroir*, as well as the multiple manuscript copies of the *Passion*, testify to the fact that works commissioned and owned by Isabeau were copied during her own lifetime and continued to get copied well after her death for varying purposes and for varying kinds of readers. The Pennsylvania manuscript might be one such copy, executed with some care but not illustrated or illuminated, of a now lost deluxe presentation manuscript. An analogous example is provided by Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1585, a manuscript now identified as a direct and hastily produced copy of the privately-owned Ferrell MS 1, a lavish manuscript of Machaut's collected works; both are dated to the 1370s.<sup>78</sup> Not unlike the Pennsylvania manuscript, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1585 contains little ornamentation other than large, rubricated initials. It also features a substantial number of corrections made by the scribes to the text, which is also observable on multiple folios in the Pennsylvania manuscript, where words and occasionally whole lines are struck out or have been erased and rewritten. The visual similarity between the two documents renders it possible that Pennsylvania was also a copy produced from something originally more luxurious and may have even, like BnF fr. 1585, been intended as an exemplar from which further copies might be created, though in that case its division of labor between the scribes, particularly where one steps in to copy just two lyrics, seems a bit strange.

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<sup>78</sup> Alternatively known as the Vogüe manuscript, or sometimes the Ferrell-Vogüe manuscript, this codex, formerly of the private Wildenstein collection in New York, is now privately owned by James and Elizabeth Ferrell and is on loan to the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. For the dating and circumstances of production of both Ferrell and its copy, see Elisabeth Keitel, "La Tradition manuscrite de Guillaume de Machaut," in *Guillaume de Machaut, Colloque-Table Ronde, organisé par l'Université de Reims, Reims, 19-22 avril 1978* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1982), 75-94, especially 82-89; François Avril, "Les Manuscrits Enluminés de Guillaume de Machaut," in *Machaut*, 117-133, especially 124-26; Lawrence Earp, "Machaut's Role in the Production of Manuscripts of His Work," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 42.3 (Autumn, 1989): 461-503, especially 476-80; and especially Margaret Bent, "The Machaut Manuscripts Vg, B and E," *Musica Disciplina* 37 (1983): 53-82. Only Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1585's copy of the *Prise d'Alexandrie* comes from a separate exemplar and was attached to the manuscript later. It is available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449032x>.



There is, however, an alternative possibility. The secular, lyric content of this manuscript—for all the interest it presents for us today—rendered it far less valuable in its own period and, as a result, less worthy of the time and expense of miniatures, illumination, and costly binding. Late medieval inventories of libraries tended to provide, in addition to a brief description of a particular work’s content, an indication of the book’s quality as material object, noting presence of illumination, the material of its binding and, often, the book’s exact price. The royal inventories for the library of Charles V and Charles VI, dated between 1373 and 1424, usefully demonstrate the kinds of books that were circulating in Isabeau’s court and, most importantly, which of them were *objets de luxe*. Thus, unsurprisingly, entries for copies of the Bible, as well as for various other paraliturgical texts, tend to describe sumptuous objects, as, for example: “4. Une Bible très belle, couverte de drap de damas ynde ... à deux fermoirs d’or esmaillés de France ...” (a very beautiful Bible, covered in a cloth of Indian damask ... with two enameled French golden clasps).<sup>79</sup> Works by *auctores* can also be beautifully bound, as, for example, “Un livre nommé *Ethiques*, couvert de soie blanche et vert ... très bien historié et escript, à deux longs fermoirs d’or, esmaillez de France, de menue lettre de forme, en françois et à deux coulombes ...” (a book called *The Ethics* [of Aristotle], covered in white and green silk ... very finely decorated and copied, with two long golden enameled French clasps, in a slender *textura script* in two columns).

But all the entries in this inventory that correspond to compilations of specifically *formes fixes* lyric as well as of motets are described very differently, as, for example:

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<sup>79</sup> Léopold Delisle, *Recherches sur la Librairie de Charles V: Partie II, Inventaire général des livres ayant appartenu aux rois Charles V et Charles VI, 1364-1422* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1907), 3; translations are my own.

1228. Chançons, pastourelles couronnées, demandes d'amours, servantois de Nostre Dame, en ung livre jadiz couvert de parchemin et de present couvert de cuir rouge sans empreintes, escript de lettre courant ...

1229. Un livre couvert de cuir ... où sont motez et chançon, escript de lettres de forme, en françois et latin ... A deux fermoirs de laton.

1230. Item un livre de motez et chançons notées, partie en latin et partie en françois ... Partie à une coulombe, partie à deux, partie à trois. Couvert de cuir rouge, à deux bouillons de cuivre ...

1233. Lais notez en ung cayer couvert de parchemin ...

1237. Un livre de chans royauls, notez, escripz en françois, de lettre formée, à deux coulombes ... Couvert de cuir rouge, à ii fermoirs de laton.

1228. Chansons, pastourelles crowned [at a puy], demandes d'amours, serventois of [the confraternity of] Notre Dame, in a book once covered with parchment and now covered in unstamped red leather, written in cursive script ...

1229. A book covered in leather ... in which there are motets and chansons, written in textura script, in French and Latin ... With two latten clasps.

1230. *Item* a book of motets and chansons with musical notation, partially in Latin and partially in French ... Partially in single, partially in double and partially in triple columns. Covered in red leather, with two copper weights ...

1233. Lais with musical notation in a quire covered in parchment ...

1237. A book of chansons royaux, with musical notation, written in French, in textura script, in two columns ... Covered in red leather, with two latten clasps.

The costliest binding in this whole list is one of red leather with clasps of latten (a brass alloy), and one of the books is in just a limp parchment binding. No entry for any lyric compilations includes any mention of more precious materials. Yet despite their simple bindings, these books are, we must remember, the personal property of two sovereigns of France. We note also that entry 1228, a compilation containing pastourelles, serventois, and love poems—which matches, interestingly, the first three lyric form categories anthologized in the Pennsylvania manuscript—is described as being written in cursive, rather than in textura, and was originally contained in just a fragile parchment cover before acquiring a simple binding of unstamped red leather. Lyric compilations are not,

in other words, necessarily fancy productions, even when found in royal libraries and, specifically, in the royal library that may have housed the Pennsylvania manuscript.

Surviving examples of musical repertory manuscripts of *formes fixes* lyric similar to the ones being described in Charles V and Charles VI's inventory confirm the tendency towards relative plainness in these kinds of documents. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 564, otherwise known as the Chantilly Codex, a major musical repertory manuscript of the early fifteenth century, has little by way of decoration other than some flourishing on its initials (with the exception of two whimsically decorative pieces by the fifteenth-century composer Baude Cordier written in the initial fly-leaves of the manuscript that were clearly copied separately from the rest of the manuscript).<sup>80</sup> Similarly, Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS [alpha].M.5.24, a related musical repertory manuscript from the same period, has some flourishing and a few historiated initials, but little other ornamentation and certainly no frontispieces or miniatures. Lest it seem that perhaps the Italians are just loth to decorate their musical manuscripts, we observe the same phenomenon in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek, MS 6 E 37 II, where the only decoration comes in the form of the enlarged rubricated initials demarcating lyric incipits and separate voice parts.<sup>81</sup> Even the so-called Codex Reina, aka Paris, BnF, MS naf. 6771, a large and varied musical repertory manuscript, also from this period, only boasts slightly enlarged penwork initials.<sup>82</sup> The Pennsylvania manuscript

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<sup>80</sup> The marginal decoration now present in the manuscript has clearly been added by a later reader during the premodern period.

<sup>81</sup> This manuscript is available fully digitized online: <http://objects.library.uu.nl/reader/index.php?obj=1874-203588&lan=en#page//12/14/24/121424569370768374705372992570726879040.jpg/mode/1up>.

<sup>82</sup> This manuscript is also available fully digitized online: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8449045j>.

may thus have simply not been the kind of document into which money would have ever been invested, even though a French sovereign may have still owned it.

In addition to revealing how late medieval lyric compilations were appraised in terms of their, it seems, relatively low monetary value, the inventories for the royal libraries of Charles V and Charles VI also shed light on the way such compilations were catalogued in terms of their content: that is, what they were understood to be compiling between their pages. We tend to approach late medieval anthologies nowadays by thinking about *who* is in them, eagerly seeking out authorial attributions when those are wanting in the rubrics themselves. Thus, for example, the Pennsylvania manuscript's modern binding reads "French Lyric Poetry Machaut Grandson" on its spine, and the online catalogue entry for the manuscript's digital fascimile on the University of Pennsylvania's Penn in Hand website describes it as a "[c]ollection of 310 poems by Guillaume de Machaut, Oton de Grandson, Brisebarre de Douai, Eustache Deschamps, Philippe de Vitry, and others."<sup>83</sup> These phrases are certainly descriptive of this manuscript that is almost one-third made up of Machaut, is a major early collection of Grandson, and contains a range of celebrated fourteenth-century authors, indeed prompting Wimsatt to assume that "Ch" must be a marker of authorial attribution.

If we recall, however, the entries in the inventory of Charles V and Charles VI do not give any names of authors included in the compilations. Instead, the description is entirely oriented towards specifying lyric form: "chançons, pastourelles couronnées,

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<sup>83</sup> The attribution of one lyric to Brisebarre de Douai (aka Jean Le Court) is made complicated by the fact that the work only shares an incipit and rhyme schemes with a religious lyric by that poet found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1543, fol. 99r. The same incipit is recorded in the anonymous *Regles de la seconde rettorique* (1411-32), a later *ars poetica*, as an example of a serventois by Brisebarre, but the rest of the lyric in the Pennsylvania manuscript is unique: see Mudge, introduction, 4, n. 5.

demandes d'amours, servantois de Nostre Dame, en ung livre," "un livre ... où sont motez et chançon," "lais notez en ung cayer," "un livre de chans royauls," etc. The entries can be even more oblique: at no. 1076 we have "demandez et reponces d'amours" (amorous pleas and responses) and at no. 1078, "jugemens d'amours, en ryme" (love judgments in verse).<sup>84</sup> All of these entries refer specifically to compilations of short-form lyric, volumes similar to the Pennsylvania manuscript. Circulating in the French royal court, these volumes of fourteenth-century *formes fixes* and other contemporary lyric may have easily contained works by poets like Machaut and Froissart, but, if they did, that information is now long lost. In these entries, authorship is not deemed to be an indispensable feature for accurately describing a lyric compilation—but its multiple forms are. This intriguing discrepancy between the author-centered modern catalogue entry and the form-centered late medieval inventory entry reveals two distinct approaches towards a codex like the Pennsylvania manuscript, raising in turn the question of what, exactly, a late medieval lyric collection is collecting and how that collection would have been understood in its own period.

Indications of authorship for secular courtly love works in the late medieval inventory seem to be, instead, reserved mainly for single-author collected works, such as John of Berry's "livre de Machaut" (a book of Machaut) listed at nos. 282-83 in his inventory, which has been identified as referring to Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221, a lavish manuscript of the complete collected works of Machaut.<sup>85</sup> The specification of authorship here seems to be indicating that the author's total output is contained in the codex. John

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<sup>84</sup> Delisle, *Recherches*, 176-77.

<sup>85</sup> Delisle, *Recherches*, 268.

of Berry's inventory also features, meanwhile, "[u]n livre compilé de plusieurs Balades et ditiés, fait et composé par damoiselle Christine de Pizan ..." (a book compiled of several ballades and ditiés, made and composed by Lady Christine de Pizan), now identified as Paris, BnF, MS fr. 835. This volume consists of Pizan's short-form lyrics and some others of her shorter works: her *Cent ballades*, the *Epistre au dieu d'Amours*, *Le Débat de deux amants*, *Le Livre de trois jugements*, *Le Dit de Poissy* and materials related to the *Rose Querelle*. For this manuscript by Pizan, which is not a complete collected-works codex but is mainly devoted to certain kinds of poetry written by her, the entry provides both an indication of formal features as well as an indication of authorship. I therefore suggest that the "livre de ballades messire Othes de Grantson" is most likely precisely what it sounds like: a collection of short-form poetry, all, or primarily all, written by Grantson. A large and formally varied collection like the Pennsylvania manuscript, on the other hand, would have been far more likely described by recourse to its multiple *formes fixes* lyric types, rather than to its collection of authors, probably on the model of no. 1228 in the inventory of the library of Charles V and Charles VI, quoted above.

We recall, however, that one of the reasons for why Wimsatt wants this text to be Isabeau's book of Grantson is because it might neatly explain the textual relationship between Penn's version of Grantson's *Cinq balades ensuyvans* and the exemplar that Chaucer was using for the *Complaint of Venus*. This relationship is one of Wimsatt's key pieces of evidence for suggesting the English and specifically *Chaucerly* orientation of the compilation to support his hypothesis that "Ch" stands for Chaucer. The version of

the *Cinq balades* found in Penn, Wimsatt argues, is textually closest to Chaucer's probable exemplar than that of the ballades' other manuscript witnesses, which are:

1. Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire MS 350, ca. 1430: contains 75 works by Granson, largest extant Granson collection.
2. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, early fifteenth century: 38 works by Granson.
3. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya MS 8, ca. 1420-1450: 13 works by Granson alongside other French and Catalan lyrics.

Only Pennsylvania and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201 place all five ballades used by Chaucer for his adaptation into a single block that corresponds to the structure of Chaucer's *Complaint of Venus*; Lausanne and Barcelona both place the ballade that comes fifth in Pennsylvania and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201 *first*. Chaucer's *Complaint*, however, translates phrases from the balade that comes fifth in Pennsylvania and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201 in the final lines of his work, clearly following a source that reproduces the same order.<sup>86</sup> Wimsatt also points out that while the Lausanne, Paris, and Barcelona manuscripts all identify these poems as "balades" in their rubrics, the Pennsylvania Manuscript has, in the margin next to the first poem in the series, a note to the rubricator reading "complainte." Over the lyric itself, the original rubric has been scratched out, and a new rubric, "balade," has been written in.<sup>87</sup> The texts of the Pennsylvania Manuscript, then, seem to be connected to some version of the *Cinq balades ensievans* that were known as *complaintes*, which could explain the decision to title the adaptation the "*Complaint of Venus*".<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> For excellent work on Chaucer's translation of Granson's *Cinq balades*, see Scattergood, "Curiosite" and Phillips, "*Complaint of Venus*."

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Mudge, introduction, 12.

<sup>88</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 57

Wimsatt goes on to compare the different manuscript variants of the *Cinq ballades* in order to claim that Chaucer is consistently closer to the readings found in the Pennsylvania manuscript.<sup>89</sup> For example, Chaucer’s “ful encomberous is the usyng” is matched by the reading in both Penn and BnF fr. 2201 that has “encombreaux a user” vs. Lausanne’s “encombreaux a passer.” Similarly, Wimsatt notes that the spatial indication in Chaucer’s “Chese the best that ever on erthe went” better echoes the variant in the Pennsylvania manuscript that reads “de tous les lieux eslire” (to choose of all the places) than Lausanne’s reading “de tous les bienz eslire” (to choose of all the good things) and BnF fr. 2201’s “de tous les bons eslire” (to choose of all the good men). Yet none of the examples that Wimsatt provides of a reading in the Pennsylvania manuscript that would be closest to that of Chaucer’s source is, in fact, unique to that manuscript.

Table 2. Manuscript Variants of Granson’s *Cinq balades ensievans*

Ref	Pennsylvania	Lausanne	fr. 2201	Barcelona	Chaucer
I, 5	ses doulz fais <b>femenins</b>	ses doulz fais, ses maintiens	ses doulz fais <b>femenins</b>	de feis <b>famanins</b>	4: the <b>manhod</b> and the worthynesse <sup>90</sup>
IV, 2	faciez <b>chier</b> comparer	faciez bien comparer	faciez bien comparer	faciez <b>chier</b> comparer	26: that men ful <b>dere</b> bye
IV, 18	<b>encombreaux a</b> <b>user</b>	<b>encombreaux a</b> passer	<b>encombreaux a user</b>	angoisseux a <b>usser</b>	42: ful <b>encomberous</b> is the <b>usyng</b>
V, 11	de tous les <b>liex</b> eslire	de tous <b>les bienz</b> eslire	de tous <b>les bons</b> eslire	de tous les <b>lieulx</b> eslire	60: Chese <b>the beste</b> that ever on <b>erthe</b> went
V, 13	ayme, cuer, <b>si</b> <b>fort com</b> tu porras	ayme, cuer, ainsy que tu pourras	ayme, cuer, ainsy que tu pourras	ayme, cuer, <b>si fourt</b> <b>quant</b> tu pourras	61: love wel, hert, and lok thou <b>never</b> <b>stente</b>

Thus, the gendered reference to “fais” as “femenins” that is reflected, Wimsatt argues, in Chaucer’s mention of “manhod” is found in the Pennsylvania, Paris, and Barcelona

<sup>89</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 58.

<sup>90</sup> Chaucer switches the gender of the speaker from male to female, hence his use of “manhood” to replace “femenins.”



manuscripts. “Chier comparer,” translated by Chaucer as “ful dere bye,” is found in both Pennsylvania and Barcelona. “Encombreaux a user” is found in Pennsylvania and Paris, while Barcelona and Lausanne each have half of the phrase. Chaucer’s phrase “Chese the *best* that ever *on erthe* went,” meanwhile, seems actually to echo all the available readings provided by each of the four manuscripts in its combination of the idea of space (“erthe”), which echoes Pennsylvania’s and Barcelona’s “lieux” (spaces), with the idea of supreme value (“the best”), which echoes Lausanne’s “bienz” (goods) and Paris’ “bons” (good people). Even the “si fort que” reading in the final example, which in its intensity speaks better, Wimsatt argues, to Chaucer’s “lok thou never stente” is shared by Pennsylvania with the Barcelona manuscript. Thus, each of the readings that Wimsatt identifies as indicative of a special relationship between the version of the *Cinq balades* in the Pennsylvania manuscript and Chaucer’s original source occurs in at least one of the other manuscript witnesses, particularly in the Paris and the Barcelona manuscripts (the latter of which Wimsatt unaccountably excludes from his discussion).

Yet even though the Pennsylvania manuscript cannot, unfortunately, be shown to have a singular relationship with Chaucer’s source for the *Complaint of Venus*, this comparison of variants between the available manuscripts of the *Cinq balades* does reveal an interestingly close textual relationship between the Pennsylvania, Paris, and Barcelona manuscripts, while the Lausanne manuscript emerges as the witness that is most removed from the version that would have been available to Chaucer. In the Pennsylvania manuscript, the *Cinq balades* occur at the end of its first selection from Granson. Found between fols. 8v-16v, this first Granson grouping is almost exactly eight

folios long, i.e. the size of a single gathering, which suggests that the exemplar for this section may have been an independently circulating booklet.<sup>91</sup> All of the texts in this first Granson grouping are found in the Lausanne manuscript; thirteen of them are also found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, and ten are also found in the Barcelona manuscript. Of the other ten Granson lyrics in the Pennsylvania anthology, eight are found between fols. 80r-82v and are all ballades, thus comprising a second discrete set within the Pennsylvania anthology. Of this second set, seven are otherwise extant in the Lausanne Manuscript and *nowhere else*. In other words, the Pennsylvania anthology's Granson lyrics are divided into two sections, of which the first is readily found in three other manuscript witnesses, while the second set is only otherwise present in one. These two sets, separated in the anthology, thus demonstrate independent manuscript transmission patterns.

The fact that ten of the lyrics from the first Granson set in Pennsylvania are also shared with the Barcelona manuscript may shed some further light on why the Granson works in the Pennsylvania manuscript are found in two distinct sets copied 64 folios apart from one another. One of the Granson works found in the Barcelona manuscript, at fols. 174r-76r, is a version of his *Complainte de l'an nouvel* with intercalated stanzas by

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<sup>91</sup> Cf. the in-depth discussion on how, analogously, fifteenth-century English anthologies of secular verse were produced from independently circulating booklets of works by Chaucer, Lydgate, etc. in Julia Boffey and John J. Thompson, "Anthologies and Miscellanies: Production and Choice of Texts," in *Book Production and Publishing in Britain, 1375-1475*, ed. Jeremy Griffiths and Derek Pearsall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989; 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. 2007), 279-316. It is important to distinguish, however, between anthologies like Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Fairfax 16 or Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 346, in which individual units were produced by different scribes, working separately but in collaboration, where those units are copied with the ultimate intention of binding them together, and through-copied manuscripts, such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 638, or the Pennsylvania anthology, in which only traces of the use of individually circulating booklets as exemplars is evident by the length of discrete sections of content.

Florimon de Lesparre in the form of a *tenco*, or debate, between the two poets. Each stanza is rubricated in the Barcelona manuscript with “Granson” or “Lesparra” to indicate the change in speaker.<sup>92</sup> Florimon de Lesparre and Granson were fellow captives in Spain from 1372 to 1374.<sup>93</sup> The Barcelona manuscript, produced in Spain in the early fifteenth century, must therefore derive its Granson lyrics from an exemplar of Granson’s work that dates from Granson’s own Spanish captivity, hence the presence of the Esparre-Granson *tenco* in that manuscript.<sup>94</sup> What this means in turn is that the rest of the Granson lyrics in that manuscript must have a *terminus ad quem* of 1372-74, the duration of his Spanish captivity, before which and after which Granson was in England.<sup>95</sup>

All of this evidence points to a much simpler explanation for the textual relationship between the *Cinq balades* in the Pennsylvania manuscript and Chaucer’s source. The *Cinq balades*, present in that first discrete grouping of Granson in Pennsylvania, as well as in the other manuscript witnesses, notably Barcelona, must date from early on in Granson’s career, when he was already residing at the English court. The balades’ collection in a gathering-sized set within the Pennsylvania compilation, as well as their presence in the other manuscript witnesses, suggests that they had circulation as an independent booklet. The proximity of the version in the Pennsylvania manuscript to Chaucer’s source is thus hardly due to any specific connection between Chaucer and the

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<sup>92</sup> This manuscript is available fully digitized online: <http://mdc.cbuc.cat/cdm/compoundobject/collection/manuscritBC/id/118818/rec/1>.

<sup>93</sup> Piaget, *Grandson*, 136-37 and Oton de Granson, *Poésies*, ed. Joan Grenier-Winther (Paris: Honoré Champion, 2010), 11, n. 10.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Braddy, *Chaucer*, 28-29 and 74-75; see also 13-17, where he cites several fifteenth-century Castilian, Catalan and Portuguese poets who rank Granson alongside Guillaume de Lorris, Jean de Meun and Machaut and imitate his style in their own verse.

<sup>95</sup> For documents confirming Granson’s residence in England at various times from the 1370s-1390s, including before and after his Spanish captivity, see Braddy, *Chaucer*, 38-49, especially 40-42.

Pennsylvania manuscript in particular but, rather, simply indicates that this independent booklet must have been immensely popular and enjoyed an extensive cross-European circulation: from England, where it fell into Chaucer's hands, to France, where it ended up first in the Pennsylvania manuscript and then in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, and finally even Spain, to where it must have traveled in the possession of Granson himself and was eventually copied into the Barcelona compilation. The fact, however, that the Pennsylvania manuscript reproduces the same order to which Chaucer adhered in his translation, does raise the intriguing possibility that the Pennsylvania manuscript's source for these lyrics either came directly from England, or, at the very least, via few intermediaries.

It is further worth noting that the connection between Granson's *Cinq balades*, Spain, England and, potentially, the Pennsylvania manuscript itself, resurfaces some decades later in a different, but intriguingly related manuscript context, namely John Shirley's famous rubrics to Chaucer's *Complaint of Venus* in his anthology, Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, compiled between 1430 and 1432.<sup>96</sup> Shirley's is the earliest of the Chaucer poem's manuscript witnesses, and it is he who both attributes the *Complaint* to Chaucer and states that it is a translation of a French original by Granson.<sup>97</sup> His is also the earliest extant manuscript witness to place the *Complaint of Mars* before the *Complaint of Venus* and to treat the two poems as a pair.<sup>98</sup> Shirley specifies on p. 130 (the manuscript is paginated, rather than foliated) that the *Complaint of Mars* had been

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<sup>96</sup> On this remarkable document, see Connolly, *Shirley*, 69-101. This manuscript is available fully digitized online: [http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/R\\_3\\_20/manuscript.php?fullpage=1&startingpage=1](http://sites.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/R_3_20/manuscript.php?fullpage=1&startingpage=1).

<sup>97</sup> Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, "'Chaucer's Chronicle,' John Shirley, and the Canon of Chaucer's Shorter Poems," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 20 (1998): 207, and Connolly, *Shirley*, 85.

<sup>98</sup> Connolly, *Shirley*, 85-86

“made by Geffrey Chaucier at þe comandement of þe rennomed and excellent prynce, my Lorde þe Duc John of Lancastre.”<sup>99</sup> He concludes the *Complaint of Mars* with the information that “som men sayne that [the complaint] was made by my lady of York, daughter to þe Kyng of Espaygn, and my Lord of Huntyngdoun, some tyme Duc of Excestre.” At the end of the *Complaint of Venus* on p. 142, Shirley adds a second rubric: “Hit is sayde þat Grauntsomme made þis last balade for Venus resembled to my Lady of York aunsweryng þe complaynt of Mars.”

These rubrics are quite circuitously worded, and a debate has raged over the veracity of Shirley’s attribution here. The “lady of York” in question seems to be Isabel of York, formerly of Castille, who accompanied her sister Costanza to England upon the latter’s marriage in 1371 to John of Gaunt, that is, the “duc John of Lancastre” mentioned in Shirley’s first rubric. In 1372 Isabel married John’s youngest brother, Edmund of Langley, 1<sup>st</sup> Duke of York and was somewhat damningly described by Thomas Walsingham in his *Chronica Majora* as “volupta” (given to pleasure), while Holland seems to have enjoyed an unsavoury contemporary reputation.<sup>100</sup> But what exactly Shirley’s rubrics are conveying remains a strange mixture of fact and equivocation. One statement is indisputable—Chaucer’s *Complaint of Venus* is an adaptation of Granson’s *Cinq balades*; John of Gaunt, moreover, did have ties of patronage and protection with both Chaucer and Granson. But why *Mars* and *Venus* both, being so different in length, scope, and mode, should be somehow connected to some English court scandal, the details of which have not come down to us, has continued to puzzle Chaucerians,

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<sup>99</sup> All citations from my own transcription with silent expansions and punctuation silently added.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Connolly, *Shirley*, 86.

particularly since, as Connolly has pointed out, Granson's *Cinq balades* are written from the perspective of a male speaker, so it seems unclear why (or how) Granson should have "made his last balade for Venus resembled to my Lady of York."<sup>101</sup> The relationship between these two very different poems, *Mars* and *Venus*, remains unclear from the rubrics, nor is it clear how one work by Chaucer and a translation by Chaucer of a cycle by Granson could be working together as an allegory of a court scandal. Connolly concludes that "Shirley's method of presenting this information may be the key to interpreting its validity; his comment is qualified by the opening phrase, 'hit is sayde,' indicating that Shirley takes no responsibility for the information he is conveying."<sup>102</sup>

I wonder, however, whether the tabloid quality of Shirley's rubrics, together with their diffident "hit is sayde" and "som men seyn," might be indicative not of enthusiasm for repeating decades-old gossip, but rather of a confused awareness on the part of Shirley that Granson's *Cinq balades* have something to do with Spain. We have strong evidence from the presence of the *Cinq balades* in the Barcelona manuscript to believe that these works of Granson, in a version strikingly similar to the one found in the Pennsylvania manuscript and to the original source used by Chaucer for his *Complaint*, ended up with their author in Spain in 1372, the same exact year that Isabel of Castille married Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, and became Isabel of York. I wonder, therefore, whether Shirley's rubrics might not be the result of a contamination of these

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<sup>101</sup> Rodney Merrill suggests that Granson's *Cinq balades* might be a response to Chaucer's *Complaint of Mars*, with Chaucer's *Complaint of Venus* as a secondary response to Granson's response, but there is little external evidence to support such a hypothesis: "Chaucer's Broche of Thebes: The Unity of 'The Complaint of Mars' and 'The Complaint of Venus,'" *Literary Monographs* 5 (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973): 9.

<sup>102</sup> Connolly, *Shirley*, 86.

two separate events, namely, Granson's Spanish captivity in 1372 while under John of Gaunt's service and the Spanish Isabel's 1372 marriage to John of Gaunt's brother. Whether this conflation was produced by Shirley himself or simply occurred at some point in the popular imagination between the 1370s and the 1430s, we, of course, cannot know. But it is interesting that one of Granson's acrostics on the name Isabel, *Je souloye de mes yeux avoir joie*, is found in the Barcelona manuscript, as well is in that first set of Granson lyrics in Pennsylvania and in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, which suggests that it is one of Granson's earlier works, dating from the early 1370s. Braddy goes so far as to suggest that this work is found in the Barcelona manuscript because it may have been, in fact, written directly for Isabel's marriage to Edmund.<sup>103</sup> As I have already noted, we cannot know whom Granson himself intended by this capacious name, but the existence of that Isabel acrostic in the early 1370s strengthens the possibility of later readers like Shirley forming an association between Granson's *Cinq balades* and Isabel of York.

I therefore wonder whether the later reemergence, in an English scribe's rubric, of this link between the *Cinq balades* and Spain might not be pointing to some kind of dimly remembered, cross-European retention into the fifteenth century of all of these connections as well as an attempt to make sense of them. In his salacious evocation of a scandalous adultery taking place amid the higher echelons of English nobility, Shirley's presentation of Chaucer's *Complaint of Venus* emerges as an uneasy and uncanny rhetorical performance that may be attempting, at over a half-century's remove, to be domesticating, if not coarsening, a disorientingly transregional literary moment.

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<sup>103</sup> Braddy, *Chaucer*, 77-78.

Shirley's Trinity compilation further shares one work with the Pennsylvania manuscript, the unattributed balade *A vous, dame, humblement me complains*. Remarkably, Shirley's rubric for that lyric (and that lyric alone) reads: "le balade que fist faire le duc de Bavier" (the balade that the Duke of Bavaria commissioned). It is not entirely clear which Duke of Bavaria is being named: Connolly and Yolanda Plumley point out that either Louis VII of Bavaria, brother to Isabeau of Bavaria and Duke of Bavaria-Ingolstadt (c. 1368-1447, r. 1413-1443) is intended here, or else Louis III, Count Palatine of the Rhine (1378-1436), who, as a member of the Wittelsbach family, could also have been known by this title, and who married Blanche of England, daughter of Henry IV, in 1402.<sup>104</sup> Either way, the reference to the Wittelsbachs, Isabeau of Bavaria's own family, in a rubric for the only work shared between Trinity and the Pennsylvania compilations is extremely suggestive, almost as if Shirley had somehow come across the Pennsylvania manuscript, or some reference to it. I do not pretend to be offering any concrete explanation for these phenomena, but the intriguing connections between Shirley's rubrics, Granson's trans-European literary activities, and the Pennsylvania manuscript are a significant reminder of the ways in which synchronic networks of literary affiliation intersect with—and leave their mark on—diachronic networks of textual transmission.

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<sup>104</sup> Connolly and Plumley, "Crossing," 324-25 and n. 37.



### III. The Poems of “Ch”

So if the Pennsylvania MS is not the “livre de balades messire Othes de Grantson,” if its connection to Granson is only tangential, as I have been so far suggesting, then what are we to do with that strange set of “Ch” markings? Is “Ch” Chaucer? Can “Ch” still be Chaucer even if this compilation was probably not put together by Oton de Granson himself? Or might it mean something different? In the second half of this chapter, I will briefly consider the “Ch” markings within the context of contemporary practices of authorial attribution before moving on to examine the role that they play within the collection as a whole. I ultimately suggest that “Ch,” whatever it means, is unlikely to stand for Chaucer. Although we know next to nothing about the manuscript’s provenance nor its compiler, the careful organization of the lyrics within its pages reveals a keen awareness of the changes and developments within the *formes fixes* tradition that were taking place over the course of the mid-later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The “Ch” lyrics are singled out in the Pennsylvania manuscript because they constitute an integral element in this *ordinatio*, in which questions of authorship are ultimately subsumed into a prevailing interest in form. By turning away from guesses as to what, or whom, “Ch” might stand for and considering instead the role that the markings might be playing in the manuscript as a whole, we will arrive at a clearer understanding of the intentions behind this remarkable compilation, which seeks, I argue, to construct a literary history of the *formes fixes* lyric tradition because, as the rest of this project will demonstrate, the *formes fixes* become in this period a highly privileged genre for working through the same kinds of disorientingly transregional,

politically complex moments as we have just seen with Granson's Spanish captivity above.

### a. Authorial Attributions in Contemporary Lyric Compilations

Lyric compilations of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries do not seem to follow a standard operating procedure when it comes to authorial attribution: a poet's name may or may not appear in the rubric next to his or her work, and the decision to include an attribution seems to depend on the personal preference of a particular manuscript's compiler. Thus, for example, a work by Granson beginning with *Je souloye de mes yeux avoir joie*, is rubricated simply "Complainte" in the Pennsylvania manuscript, and "Lay en complainte" in the Lausanne manuscript, but in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, it is called "Complainte de Granson," and, in the Barcelona anthology, it is called "Congie que prist Micer Otto de Granson de sa dame" (the leave that Monsieur Otto de Granson took of his lady).<sup>105</sup> In some compilations, the practice of authorial attribution can be inconsistent even within a single manuscript, such as in Paris, BnF, MS Rothschild 2796 (432a), a fifteenth-century compilation of longer works and lyrics by Alain Chartier, Deschamps, Granson, and others. In this codex, for example, all the works indicate only the form or perhaps a brief title for a piece, but fol. 81r gives us, for some reason, the following rubric, "Le passe temps de michault," indicating that the work is by Michault le Caron, aka Taillevent.

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<sup>105</sup> See Granson, *Poésies*, 148.

For the most part, however, lyric compilations tend to look much like the Pennsylvania manuscript in terms of primarily rubricating form and giving no authorial indications. This practice is analogous to that of the large collected- and partially-collected-works manuscripts, such as those of Machaut (e.g. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1584; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1585; and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221, to name but a few) or Froissart (e.g. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 831), that tend to organize sections of those authors' *formes fixes* lyric in precisely this manner, by simply rubricating each work with an indication of its respective form (balade, rondeau, virelai, etc). In those cases in which consistent authorial attribution within rubrics for lyrics *does* occur inside a secular lyric compilation, it tends to be demarcating something quite specific about the author in question. We find such a pattern of consistent authorial attribution, for example, in manuscripts of *Le Livre de cent ballades*, a collection of balades encased within a loose narrative structure, composed mainly by a poet known to us as the Seneschal d'Eu in probably the late 1380s. To this text thirteen prominent noblemen of the period—including John of Berry and Louis of Orléans, brother to Charles VI and father of Charles d'Orléans—wrote responses, also in balade form, that are included in all manuscripts of the work.<sup>106</sup> The names of these noblemen are invariably given in the rubrics over each of their responses.

A similar situation is found in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 25458, the manuscript of Charles d'Orléans' work, commissioned by the poet himself around 1439-1440 in England, towards the end of his captivity there. After bringing it back to France with him,

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<sup>106</sup> For an edition and detailed introduction to the text, including a discussion of its coterie of authors, see *Les Cent Ballades*, ed. Gaston Reynaud, *Société des anciens textes français* (Paris: Librairie de Firmin-Didot, 1905).

Charles began both to add his own verse to the original manuscript and asked dozens of his friends, his family, and members of his household, such as his squires and cupbearers, to contribute their own lyrics to the manuscript in order to produce a kind of coterie poetry album. Charles continued to add to the codex in this way up until his death in 1465.<sup>107</sup> Charles' own verse is largely rubricated in the codex with only an indication of its form, though his name, generally given as "Orlians," also appears, particularly in sequences that constitute poetic exchanges with other contributors to the volume. Meanwhile, the outside contributions—from a staggering forty other people—are carefully identified by name, or noble title, just like the responses to the main narrative in the *Le Livre de cent ballades*. Similarly to the *Cent Ballades* responses, moreover, the list of Charles' fellow contributors comprises some of the most illustrious noblemen, as well as poets, of their day, including Philip the Good and John of Burgundy, Charles' own wife Marie of Clèves, René d'Anjou, and the courtier-poets Jean de Garenceières, Georges Chastellain, Olivier De La Marche, and François Villon. Some attributions are occasionally not given, but, overall, there is a focused effort to record the contributors' identities.

This pattern of attribution seems thus to be aimed at noting lyrics that are being contributed to a text, or to a volume, that has been designed from the outset to receive such contributions. The last balade in the main text of *Le Livre de cent balades* explicitly invites its audience to produce judgments, to be penned down in balade form, on the

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<sup>107</sup> For an edition of this stunning document, see *The Poetry of Charles d'Orléans and His Circle: A Critical Edition of BnF MS fr. 15458, Charles d'Orléans' Personal Manuscript*, ed. John Fox and Mary Jo-Arn, trans. R. Barton Palmer, with contribution by Stephanie A. V. G. Kamath (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2010). See also Jane H.M. Taylor, *The Making of Poetry: Late-Medieval French Poetic Anthologies* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 83-146, and Arn, *Poet's Notebook*.

debate about love outlined in the main narrative.<sup>108</sup> The noblemen's appended ballades are all written in response to this exhortation, and their inclusion is therefore encoded into the inception of the work. Charles' manuscript, meanwhile, appears to have been designed from the outset with extra folios of blank space at the end of its various sections as well as blank halves of folios for contributions to be physically added.<sup>109</sup> In a different way, it is also a volume that was always designed to receive additional contributions.

This attribution practice seems, furthermore, to be particularly interested in noting the identities of those people who are, in addition to their poetic pursuits, also, or even primarily, noblemen and noteworthy political players, such as John of Berry or Philip the Good. A fascinating analogous example may be found on the other side of the Channel in the afore-mentioned Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, compiled by John Shirley. This is a manuscript that contains plenty of authorial attributions—indeed, it is our source for the attributions of several of Chaucer's shorter poems—but, interestingly, its later owner, Chaucer's early sixteenth-century editor John Stow, went through and separately added his own set of further marginal notations to some of Shirley's inclusions. For example, in addition to work by Chaucer, Lydgate, Hoccleve, some Latin works, and a substantial number of unattributed French *formes fixes* lyrics, Shirley also included five French lyrics by William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, as well as a sixth French lyric that he describes as a work of which de la Pole was fond.<sup>110</sup> Shirley names de la Pole in his rubrics simply by his title, "lord of Suffolk/Conte de Suffolk." In the margins to the five

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<sup>108</sup> *Le livre de cent ballades*, 199-200.

<sup>109</sup> Fox and Arn (eds.), *Poetry*, xix-xx.

<sup>110</sup> Connolly, *Shirley*, 89. These occur on pp. 25, 32, 33, 35-36, 36, and 36-37 (this last one is the one that Shirley identifies as de la Pole's having simply read and enjoyed, but not authored).

lyrics that Shirley attributes to de la Pole's authorship, Stowe carefully adds the words "william de la pole," filling out the attribution with the man's full name. Elsewhere, on pp. 149 and 154, Stowe also adds "vi" to Shirley's mentions of "Kyng Henry," as well as "homffray duke of glocestre" next to a rubric on p. 158 that mentions "my lord of Gloucestre" and "the seconde" to Shirley's "kyng Richarde" on p. 356. But where Shirley has, for example, only written "Chaucer" in a rubric, instead of the full "Geffrey Chaucer," Stow does not add the poet's first name into the margins; his additions to Shirley's rubrics exclusively concern royal and noble figures. Analogous to the attribution patterns in *Le Livre de cent ballades* and in Charles d'Orléans' personal manuscript, Stowe's interest here seems to be in members of the nobility who are somehow involved with these poetic works. Stowe seems particularly invested, moreover, in noting William de la Pole's authorship: he notably does not expand de la Pole's full name in the rubric to the sixth lyric, in which Shirley describes de la Pole as a reader of, but not author of the work.

If "Ch" is indeed an attribution of authorship, then it might be performing the same kind of work as the attributions that I have just been describing. Late medieval lyric compilations appear to be generally quite haphazard in their authorial attributions of work to prominent, well-known poets operating in that period. If the author in question is, however, a primarily amateur poet, otherwise known for his high social ranking, and if the manuscript is an additive *ad hoc* production that is seeking to bring multiple works from multiple contributors together, then authorial attributions seem to come thick and fast. If that is the case, however, then "Ch" is probably unlikely to be Chaucer and is

rather demarcating something about that author's elevated prominence within the echelons of French courtly nobility.<sup>111</sup>

But why assume that the markings are an indication of authorship in the first place? The Pennsylvania anthology does not exactly fit the model of the *Livre de cent ballades*, nor of Charles d'Orléans' coterie manuscript; it is a lyric compilation of precisely the kind that tends not to get authorial attributions. Looking at the manuscript's organizational features more closely, in fact, suggests that its *ordinatio* might not even be particularly author-centered. Organization by authorship does seem, on first glance, to be a major feature of this collection: a large section of work by Machaut occupies the very core of the manuscript, framed by two discrete sets of lyric by Granson. Positioning Machaut, the reigning master of the *formes fixes* tradition, literally at the heart of this volume, the Pennsylvania manuscript's unknown compiler seems to be emphatically highlighting authorship—Machaut's authorship—as the collection's primary focus. Yet the Machaut and Granson section are repeatedly intercut with other, unattributed lyrics that fragment the author-centered organization of these lyrics. In terms of its rubrics, moreover, the Pennsylvania manuscript seems to go out of its way to *avoid* authorial

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<sup>111</sup> It is interesting to note in connection with this supposition that the only other place I have, so far, come across the abbreviation "Ch" is in the final will and testament of Katharine Beauchamp, *née* Mortimer, daughter of the infamous Roger Mortimer. Katherine was the wife of Thomas de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and grandmother of Richard de Beauchamp, tutor to Henry VI and patron of John Shirley. On her deathbed in 1369, she left her son, Thomas de Beauchamp, eventual heir to the family, what is listed in the will simply as "a book of ch": see Susan Hagen Cavanaugh, *A Study of Books Privately Owned in England, 1300-1450*, Order no. 8028845, University of Pennsylvania, 1980 (Ann Arbor, MI: ProQuest) (accessed 1 July 2013), 79. That Katherine chose to give the book to her son speaks to the high monetary value of the work in question, as other wills from the period tend to reserve books as legacies to female family members, household servants and the like: see, e.g., the other entries in Cavanaugh. The Beauchamp family's prominence and connections to both the courts of Edward III and Richard II, as well as to those of Charles V and Charles VI on the other side of the Channel, renders this minor detail highly suggestive, but, unfortunately, shrouded in enigma.

attributions. A lyric by Granson, on fols. 8v-10r, for example, is known as “La Pastourelle Granson” in its eight other manuscript witnesses but is here rubricated only as “Complainte de pastour et de pastourelle amoureuse” (love complaint of a shepherd and shepherdess).<sup>112</sup> Similarly, the ballade exchange between Vitry and Le Mote is here shorn of the authors’ names in its rubrics, whereas its other manuscript witness, Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3343, makes sure to identify both poets.

Thus, although reading “Ch” as Chaucer does provide a neat and provocative explanation for the shadowy evocations of England in its contents, Wimsatt’s hypothesis comes up against two significant characteristics of this manuscript: (a) its own ambiguous relationship towards authorship as a mode of categorizing the lyrics; and (b) its predilection for labeling form rather than authorship in the rubrics. Taken together, these elements raise the strong possibility that “Ch” could be standing for something else: a different person’s name, a form (*chanson*, for example), or a wholly different order of classification altogether. An attention to paleographical and codicological detail, focusing specifically on where and how the lyrics appear in the manuscript, can help shed light on the reason for their possible inclusion into the compilation.

### **b. Scribal Features of the Copying of the “Ch” Lyrics**

The “Ch” lyrics are concentrated within quires 10 and 11 of the twelve-quire codex, and they are the only lyrics to be singled out by means of marginalia in the whole

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<sup>112</sup> The other witnesses are: Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, MS 350, fols. 118v-122v; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1131, fols. 192v-194v; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 24440, fols. 228v-230v; Barcelona, Biblioteca Catalunya, MS 8, pp. 685-91; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 2201, fols. 99r-103r; Paris, BnF, MS fr. 833, fols. 174v-175v; Lausanne, Bibliothèque cantonale et universitaire, MS 4254, fols. 17r-21r, and Carpentras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 390, fols. 69r-72v.



manuscript. In the absence of shared content or lyric form, however, it is difficult to see what exactly motivates the emphasis on these specific texts. One immediately arresting phenomenon is that some of them seem incomplete or miscopied, in stark contrast to the other 295 lyrics in the collection. Thus, for example, “Ch” lyric *Venez veoir qu’a fait Pymalion* is filled out with extra lines by a different hand on fol. 82v. The final stanza of “Ch” lyric *Entre les biens que creature humaine* on fol. 75v, a chanson royal, is missing its fifth line (as evident from the rhyme scheme), and its envoy has only two lines as opposed to the more typical four- or five-line envoy usually found in a chanson royal: Eustache Deschamps prescribes a four to five-line envoy for the chanson royal in his *ars poetica*, *L’Art de dictier* (1392), and the examples of chansons royaux elsewhere in the Pennsylvania manuscript are all at least four lines long.<sup>113</sup> Similarly, “Ch” lyric *Je cuide et croy qu’en tous les joieux jours* on fol. 76v has a half-line scratched out and rewritten in what might be the same hand as the one doing the “Ch” markings.<sup>114</sup> Further, the envoy in the next “Ch” lyric, the chanson royal *Aux dames joie & aux amans plaisance* has only one line, and in “Ch” lyric *Humble Hester, courtoise, gracieuse* on fol. 78v, two lines have been scratched out and rewritten in darker ink in the same hand that made the previous correction.<sup>115</sup> That hand reappears again to make corrections in another chanson royal marked “Ch,” the lyric *Pour les hauls biens amoureux anoncier* on fol. 79v, where the envoy again has only two lines. Lastly, “Ch” lyric *Mort le vy dire et se ni avoit ame*

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<sup>113</sup> Eustache Deschamps, *L’Art de Dictier*, ed. and trans. Deborah M. Sinnreich-Levi (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1994), 78. Cf. Laidlaw, “L’Innovation,” 137: Machaut’s shortest chanson royal envoy in his whole corpus is still three lines, while Deschamps’ is four.

<sup>114</sup> The added line has a letter “h” with very similar open lobes and general shape as the “h” in “Ch,” and the ink is the same darker color.

<sup>115</sup> In particular, the very broad “r” looks strikingly similar to the “r” in the previous correction, and the ink is the same darker color.

on fol. 85r-v, a ballade, is also missing its final two lines, as evident from the rhyme scheme.

Thus, of the fifteen lyrics marked “Ch,” four were copied in what looks to be an unfinished state, one was left unfinished and completed by another hand, and two more were miscopied and corrected by yet another hand that may possibly be the same as the one making the “Ch” markings. This phenomenon gives rise to several possible explanations. The simplest is that, for whatever reason, the main scribe was doing a rushed job on this section, and, indeed, his hand is a bit messier in precisely these quires than in his other work elsewhere in the manuscript. Yet none of the other 26 lyrics found alongside and between the “Ch” lyrics are missing any of their lines, and in the one other instance where a line is skipped, in the anonymous *Dames de pris qui amez vostre honnour* on fol. 81r, the scribe writes it into the margin. Among the other 295 lyrics in the manuscript, there are only three other works with missing lines; in all instances those lacunae occur in the middle of stanzas and are most likely the result of simple scribal eye-skips.<sup>116</sup> Missing final lines are unique to the “Ch” lyrics.

A second possibility immediately suggests itself: could “Ch” be some kind of abbreviation indicating that there is an error in the copied text in need of resolution, something like “*changer*”? This seems unlikely, since, first and foremost, such an abbreviation is entirely unattested, to my knowledge, in contemporary French manuscripts and, secondly, since eight of the “Ch” lyrics have no evident scribal faults of any kind. Meanwhile elsewhere in the main scribe’s section there are, instead, X’s in the

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<sup>116</sup> These are: *Amour vraye en paix seurement* (fol. 25r), Machaut’s *Dame, je muir pour vous compris* (fol. 30v), and Machaut’s *Se trestuit cil qui sont et ont este* (fols. 33r-v).

margins of lyric that have been evidently gone over and corrected. A third possibility remains: “Ch” means something else, but there was also something incomplete about the exemplar for specifically the lyrics with that “Ch” marking. Significantly, the scribe did not leave any space to come back and write in the missing lines or extensions to the shortened envois, even though, having by this point copied over 200 other *formes fixes* lyrics, he was surely in the position to notice that the works that he was copying have unequal stanzas, missing refrains, and oddly short envois. His decision to leave no room for extra lines thus probably indicates that he was faithfully reproducing his exemplar and had evidently little opportunity to acquire a better one.

The likelihood of an imperfect exemplar for precisely these lyrics is supported by what happens in the one instance of extensive correction in the whole manuscript, which takes place in this “Ch” section. As noted above, a different hand adds an extra line, a stanza, and an envoy to the unfinished “Ch” lyric *Venez veoir qu’a fait Pymalion*. Since there is no room left by the main scribe, the second scribe’s addition runs into the lower margin of the page (see Image 15 in Appendix II). Curiously, this emendation perfectly fits the metrics and rhyme scheme of the original lyric, but it hardly matches its textual content. The whole lyric, with both scribes’ contributions, reads as follows (I have italicized the added portion):

Venez veoir qu’a fait Pymalion;	Come see what Pygmalion has made;
Venez veoir excellente figure;	Come see the excellent person;
Venez veoir l’amie de Jason;	Come see Jason’s beloved;
Venez veoir bouche a poy d’ouverture;	Come see the small mouth;
Venez veoir de Hester la bonte;	Come see the goodness of Esther;
Venez veoir de Judith la beaute;	Come see the beauty of Judith;
Venez veoir les doulz yeulz Dame Helainne;	Come see the sweet eyes of Lady Helen;
Venez oir douce voix de Serainne;	Come hear the sweet voice of the Siren;
Venez veoir Polixene la blonde;	Come see blonde Polyxena.

Venez veoir de plaisance la plaine,  
Qui n'a de tout pareille ne seconde.

Avisez bien sa gente impression;  
Avisez bien sa maniere seure;  
Avisez bien l'imaginacion  
De son gent corps a joieuse estature;  
Avisez bien sa lie humilite;  
Avisez bien sa simple gaiete;  
Avisez bien comment de biens est plaine;  
Avisez bien sa faiture hautaine;  
Avisez bien comment elle suronde  
En meurs, en sens autant que dame humaine  
Qui soit vivant a ce jour en ce monde.

Ymaginez humble condicion  
Qui la maintient en parfaite mesure  
Si qu'en elle a de tout bel & tout bon,

Au tant que dame ou vaillance prent cure.  
Ymaginez sa gracieusetete;  
Ymaginez son sens amoderé;  
Ymaginez l'excellence hautainne  
De son estat que Leesce a bien mainne,  
Et vous direz, "Vela dame, ou habonde  
Honneur, savoir, avis, joie mondaine,  
Sens, simplesce, bonte & beaute monde."

C'est ma dame, dont j'atens guerredon;  
C'est mon confort; c'est ma pensee pure;  
C'est mon espoir; c'est la provision  
Des hautains biens en qui je m'asseure;  
C'est ma joie, mon secours, ma sante,  
Mon riche vuet, de long temps desiré,  
A mon doulx ressort, ma dame souveraine;  
C'est celle aussi, qui tous les jours m'estraîne  
De la joieuse et tresamoureuse onde  
De qui Penser venant du droit demaine  
*De Loyaute, que Leesce areonde*

*Dame que j'aim, flour de perfection,  
Rousee en may, soleil qui tousdis dure,  
Flun de dolcour a cui comparoison  
D'autre dame belle ne s'amesure,  
Quant a mon vueil, ne a ma volente,  
Si vrayement qui mi bien sont enté  
En vous du tout. Ne soit de vous lointainne  
Pitie pour moy, donner garison sainne,  
Car trop seroit ma tristesse parfonde  
S'elle n'estoit de vostre cuer prochainne,  
Fuiant Dangier que Bonne Amour confonde.*

Come see her who is full of pleasure,  
Who has among all no equal nor second.

Observe well her lovely appearance;  
Observe well her confident manner;  
Observe well the image  
Of her lovely body of delightful stature;  
Observe well her joyful humility;  
Observe well her sweet gaiety;  
Observe well how she is full of goodness;  
Observe well her lofty form;  
Observe well how she surpasses  
Equally in self-conduct and in reason any mortal lady  
Who is living today in this world.

Consider her humble qualities  
Which maintain her in perfect moderation  
And she looks after what is most beautiful  
and good (?)  
Like a lady with virtue.  
Consider her grace;  
Consider her moderate good sense;  
Consider the lofty excellence  
Of her state, which Joy guides towards good,  
And you will say, "Here is a lady in whom abounds  
Honor, wisdom, judgment, earthly joy,  
Good sense, sweetness, goodness, and flawless beauty."

This is my lady from whom I await reward;  
This is my comfort; this is my only thought;  
This is my hope; this is the provision  
Of the lofty benefits in which I am assured.  
This is my joy, my aid, my health,  
My powerful yearning, long desired,  
For my sweet remedy, for my sovereign lady;  
She it is also who rewards me every day  
With the joyous and deeply loving tide  
From which Thought coming from the true domain  
*Of Loyalty that Delight increases*

*Lady that I love, flower of perfection,  
Dew in May, everlasting sun,  
River of sweetness, to whom no other  
Beautiful lady could ever measure by comparison,  
With regard to my yearning and my desire,  
So truly my good is grafted  
Completely unto you. May Pity for me not be  
Far from you, giving sound protection,  
For my sadness would be too profound  
If Pity were not near your heart,  
Fleeing Danger which destroys Good Love.*

*L'envoy*

*Princes de puy, savez vous qui demainne  
Ma dame en bien a joieuse faconde  
Et ce qu'elle est? De deduit chievetainne,  
Si qu'a la voir les cuers de vices monde ...*

*The Envoy*

*Prince(s) of the puy, do you know who governs  
My lady in goodness with joyous eloquence,  
And what she is? Mistress of delight,  
And upon seeing her the heart of vice cleanses... (?)<sup>117</sup>*

In both scribes' parts, the text is clearly garbled in several places. Yet until the second scribe's addition, the entire lyric is structured around anaphora: "venez veoir" in the first stanza, followed by "avisez bien", then "ymaginez" and "c'est" in the third and fourth stanzas. The first four stanzas, moreover, constitute a poem of praise for one's beloved. The final stanza, added by the second scribe, is instead addressed to the lady and begs her for pity, suggesting an unrequited lover's complaint. It is, of course, possible to have such a thematic turn within a *formes fixes* lyric, where the final stanza becomes an apostrophe to the beloved, but the suddenness of the turn, combined with the vanishing of that anaphoric structure, suggests that the two parts do not quite fit. In fact, the line with which the second scribe completes the unfinished fourth stanza does not work grammatically with the rest of the lyric since it fails to contribute a main verb for the final clause:

<i>C'est celle aussi, qui tous les jours m'estraîne</i>	<i>She it is also who rewards me every day</i>
<i>De la joieuse et tresamoureuse onde</i>	<i>With the joyous and deeply loving tide</i>
<i>De qui Penser venant du droit demaine</i>	<i>From which Thought coming from the true domain</i>
<i>De Loyaute, que Leesce areonde</i>	<i>Of Loyalty that Delight increases<sup>118</sup></i>

The envoy, moreover, makes little grammatical sense, particularly in its final line, as if it might also be unfinished. Some kind of flawed exemplar for specifically the lyrics

<sup>117</sup> Transcribed from the manuscript with silently expanded abbreviations, added punctuation and added accents to past participles when necessary to avoid linguistic confusion (e.g. *desiré* vs. *desire*). Translation is my own, making as much sense of ungrammaticalities as possible.

<sup>118</sup> Wimsatt emends "venant" to "avient" in his edition to get around precisely this problem.

marked “Ch” would explain why the second scribe’s emendation works metrically but does not quite seem to match the themes or structure of the original lyric.

### c. Formal Features of the “Ch” Lyrics

This evidence pointing to a shared, flawed exemplar for just under half of the fifteen lyrics suggests that they might, in fact, constitute a discrete corpus, but it still does little to explain why they are singled out and grouped at this point in the manuscript. When we consider more closely those of the “Ch” lyrics that are ballades, however, a specific kind of congruence between the lyrics stands out. Of the ten “Ch” balades, which all contain three stanzas, only one has a stanza that is eight lines long; the other eight have longer ten-line stanzas, and the final one even features a twelve-line stanza. As Wimsatt has pointed out, lyrics with such longer stanzas were not usually set to music; their use suggests the work of a poet who is likely not a musical composer.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, Daniel Poirion and James Laidlaw, among others, have shown that the ten-line stanza is extremely rare in the corpus of Machaut or Froissart, who both favored the seven- and eight-line stanza, but is commonly found in the work of later poets, namely Deschamps (who preferred this length above other variations) and Granson, as well as the authors of the *Livre de Cent Ballades*, and early fifteenth-century poets such as Alain Chartier, Guillebert de Lannoy, and Jean de Garancières.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 10.

<sup>120</sup> See Poirion’s table in *Poète*, 374-5 and Laidlaw, “L’Innovation” and “*Cent balades*,” 58-61. Interestingly, neither Pizan nor Charles d’Orléans seem to favor the ten-line stanza but keep instead, Pizan especially, to the seven-, eight- and nine-line stanza of the earlier Machauldian tradition, cf. Laidlaw, “*Cent balades*,” 65-66.

These “Ch” balades all have, moreover, the exact same rhyme scheme, *ababbccdd*. Though a variety of other rhyme schemes for balades with ten-line stanzas were available in this period, this rhyme scheme is the very one prescribed by Deschamps in the *Dictier* for a balade of this structure, testifying to its popularity specifically towards the end of the fourteenth century.<sup>121</sup> Machaut, for example, only uses it twice in his whole corpus, and Froissart uses it only eight times, whereas Deschamps uses it 542 times, or in a striking 45.5% of his lyrics. It is also frequently found in the work of Granson, in the *Livre de Cent Ballades*, in the 1404 poetic exchange of Lannoy and Jean de Werchin, and in the work of Garancières.<sup>122</sup> The structure of the “Ch” balades thus suggests that they may have been composed in the later fourteenth or early fifteenth centuries, precisely around the time that the manuscript was compiled, making them some of the most recent work to have been included in the anthology.

The positioning of these lyrics in the collection now appears to be reflective of their chronological relationship to the rest of the manuscript’s content. Only four other ballades that contain ten-line stanzas and use this rhyme scheme occur in the manuscript before the appearance of the “Ch” lyrics: one is Le Mote’s response to Vitry and the other three are by Granson, whose work also appears intercalated within the “Ch” lyrics section.<sup>123</sup> However, after the first appearance of the “Ch” lyrics, such longer balades occur in the manuscript with greater frequency and are grouped close together from fols. 84r-92v, as nos. 268, 279, 281, 290, 302, 305, 307, all unattributed and extant only here.

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<sup>121</sup> Deschamps, *Dictier*, 72-74.

<sup>122</sup> See Poirion’s table in *Poète*, 385-87.

<sup>123</sup> The Granson lyrics are: *Salus asses par bonne entencion* (fol. 10r), *J’ay en mon cuer .i. eul qui toudiz veille* (fol. 11r), and *Je vous mercy dez belles la plus belle* (fol. 72v).

Four of them, moreover, have envoys, dating them definitively to the later fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries that saw the introduction of this formal innovation. Entirely missing from Machaut's corpus, the envoy is present in over two-thirds of Deschamps' balades, as well as in a substantial amount of those by Granson. Deschamps prescribes its use for balades in his *Art de dictier*, noting there that adding an envoy is a fairly recent practice.<sup>124</sup> Only three other balades with envoys occur earlier in the manuscript: Granson's aforementioned *Salus assez*, all the way back on fol. 10r, as well as two more, the unattributed *De la douleur que mon triste cuer sent* and *Vray dieu d'amours, plaise toy secourir*, both found on fol. 72v-73r immediately preceding the first appearance of "Ch" in the manuscript.

Thus far Chaucer's authorship of the lyrics continues to be an active possibility. They were written later than the other work in the manuscript, and the scribe's exemplar for them was flawed in some kind of non-recuperable manner, a situation that geographic distance from the original source could very well explain. I contend, however, that the inclusion of these lyrics serves a very different function within the full scope of this collection, a function to which their authorship is ultimately of secondary concern, but the lyrics' particular formal characteristics, suggestive of their later date, are paramount. It is no accident that the "Ch" lyrics begin one folio after the end of the extensive selection from Machaut that covers the entire middle third of the compilation. The Machaut selection begins with works taken from the *Loange des dames*, proceeds with a selection of lyric from among the lyrics that Machaut set to music and ends with lyrics

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<sup>124</sup> Deschamps, *Dictier*, 78. The envoy must have traveled across the Channel almost immediately after having been introduced, as we already find it in the short-form lyric of both Gower and Chaucer.



excised from Machaut's longer narrative work, *Le Livre du Voir Dit*. Yet this internal categorization by sources within Machaut's own literary corpus actually belies a complex statement about the *formes fixes* tradition itself, a statement in which the "Ch" lyrics turn out to play a vital role.

**d. The Pennsylvania Manuscript's Machaut Section: Re-Organizing the *Loange des dames***

The Pennsylvania manuscript's selection of Machaut's work is remarkable for the extreme attention that it pays to the formal qualities of Machaut's lyrics, a feature that is particularly observable in the compilation's striking rendition of the *Loange des dames*. The *Loange des dames*, a self-contained collection of Machaut's *formes fixes* lyric, boasts a remarkably fixed and stable internal organization across all the major Machaut collected-works manuscripts. The Pennsylvania manuscript is the only one of the *Loange*'s twelve extant witnesses to re-arrange completely its organization, and it does so drastically.<sup>125</sup> The manuscript's choice entirely to reconfigure the *Loange* in a manner that does not follow any other available manuscript witnesses already suggests some degree of intentionality behind its project of including Machaut's work as the centerpiece to the anthology; the sheer virtuosity of this reorganization, as we are about to see, leaves no doubt as to the presence of calculated design.

While the order of the individual Machaut lyrics in the Pennsylvania codex seems at first glance to be perfectly random, the lyrics turn out to be subordinated to an over-

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<sup>125</sup> Cf. Lawrence Earp's concordance for the *Loange* lyrics across its major witnesses, including Pennsylvania, that effectively demonstrates the overall stability of their order in the various Machaut collected-works manuscripts and their radical re-arrangement in the Pennsylvania manuscript: *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York: Garland, 1995), 247-54.

arching, and strikingly precise, structure. The manuscript's *Loange* section opens with a set of lyrics, at nos. 81-92 in the compilation, that alternate ballades with rondeaux:

Table 3. Sequence of Rondeaux and Balades in Pennsylvania's *Loange*

Fol.	No.	Form & Incipit
	81	Rondel, "Doulce dame, quant vers vous fausseray"
29v	82	Balade, "Dame plaisant, nette & pure"
	83	Rondel "Mon cuer, qui mis en vous son desir a"
	84	Balade, "Il n'est douleur, desconfort, ne tristece"
30r	85	Rondel "Cuer, corps, desir, pover, vie & usage"
	86	Balade, "Trop est crueulz le mal de jalousie"
	87	Rondel, "Blanche com lis, plus que rose vermeille"
30v	88	Balade, "Doulce dame, vo maniere jolie"
	89	Rondel, "Dame, je muir pour vous compris"
	90	Balade, "Nulz homs ne puet en amours prouffiter"
	91	Rondel, "Partuez moy a l'ouvrir de vos yeulx"
31r	92	Balade, "Je ne suis pas de tel valour"

Immediately following, lyrics nos. 93-105 regularly alternate chansons royaux and rondeaux:

Table 4. Sequence of Chansons Royaux and Rondeaux in Pennsylvania's *Loange*

Fol.	No.	Form & Incipit
	93	Chancon royal, "Onques mais nul n'ama si folement"
31v	94	Rondel, "Par souhaidier est mes corps avec vous"
	95	Rondel, "Trop est mauvais mes cuers qu'en .ii. ne part"
	96	Chancon royal, "Amours me fait desirer loyaument"
32r	97	Rondel, "Sans cuer dolans je vous departiray"
	98	Chancon royal, "Cuers, ou mercy fait et cruautez ydure"
32v	99	Rondel "Quant madame ne m'a recongneu"
	100	Chancon royal, "Je croy que nulz fors moy n'a tel nature"
33r	101	Rondel, "De plus en plus ma grief douleur empire"
	102	Chancon royal, "Se trestuit cil qui sont et ont este"
33v	103	Rondel, "Pour dieu, frans cuers, soiez mes advocas"
	104	Chancon royal, "Se loyautez et vertus, ne puissance"
34r	105	Rondel, "Certes, mon oeil richement visa bel"

In the next consecutive set, lyrics nos. 106-113, we get three complaintes and one balade, again alternating with a set of rondeaux:

Table 5. Sequence of Complaintes and Rondeaux in Pennsylvania's *Loange*

Fol.	No.	Form & Incipit
	106	[Complainte], "Deux choses sont qui me font a martire"
34v	107	Rondel, "Doulce dame, tant com vivray"
	108	Balade, "Je prens congie a dames, a amours"
	109	Rondel, "Se tenir veulz le droit chemin d'onneur"
35r	110	Complainte, "Amours, tu m'as tant este dure"
37r	111	Rondel, "Se vo courroux me dure longuement"
	112	Complainte, "Mon cuer, m'amour, ma dame souveraine"
38v	113	Rondel, "Je ne pourroye en servant desservir" <sup>126</sup>

The major Machaut manuscripts already demonstrate some attention to organizing the *Loange* by its different lyric forms: they all separate the complaintes into a separate section following the *Loange*, and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1584 also lists the chansons royaux in their own section in its index. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 similarly maintains a separate section for the *Loange*'s rondeaux.<sup>127</sup> But these early glimmerings of division by form in the Machaut manuscripts become the Pennsylvania manuscript's veritable driving force here. Its version of the *Loange* transforms into a meticulously heterogeneous collection, emerging, to borrow Hélène Basso's formulation, as "des exemples d'un maximum de techniques de l'écriture, de 'manières' dont composer rondeau, ou ballade" (examples of a maximum array of writing techniques, of 'ways' of composing the rondeau or the balade).<sup>128</sup>

The remarkable complexity of the organization of the Machaut lyrics in the Pennsylvania manuscript begs the insistent question: how was it ever achieved? To mix

<sup>126</sup> I have reproduced the rubrics and incipits of the lyrics exactly as they are found in the manuscript, silently expanding contractions. Brackets indicate a missing rubric, for which I have supplied content based on the scribbled notes to the rubricator that are found on the margins of the page across from each rubric.

<sup>127</sup> For a list of contents to all complete- and partial-works manuscripts of Machaut, see Earp, *Guide*, 73-128, especially, for BnF, MS fr. 9221, 92-94, and, for Pennsylvania, 115-118.

<sup>128</sup> Hélène Basso, "Presence de Machaut dans quelques recueils collectifs," in *De vrai humain entendement: Etudes sur la littérature française de la fin du Moyen Age offertes en hommage à Jacqueline Cerquiligni-Toulet, le 24 janvier 2003*, ed. Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Jean-Yves Tilliette (Genève: Droz, 2005), 19.

and match forms so meticulously, the codex's scribe would have had to have recourse to a peculiarly flexible exemplar, presumably unbound, that would allow him to move so fluidly between the *Loange*, the *Voir Dit*, and the different sub-sections of the musical section, culling one lyric here, one lyric there. Wimsatt suggests that, in gathering first from the *Loange*, then from the lyrics that Machaut set to music and concluding with lyrics taken from the *Voir Dit*, the Pennsylvania manuscript's compiler is following the overall organization of the major Machaut collected-works manuscript, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221. Lawrence Earp further posits that Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 must be the Pennsylvania's manuscript exemplar for all of its Machaut lyrics. Earp observes, for example, that Pennsylvania begins its section of lyrics taken from the *Voir Dit* with Machaut's lai *Malgre Fortune* that is followed by an unattributed rondeau, *Doulz cuerz gentilz plain de toute franchise*. This rondeau is only otherwise attested in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 where it is also placed directly after *Malgre Fortune* and where both texts follow the *Voir Dit*.<sup>129</sup>

That the Pennsylvania compilation's Machaut selection may potentially be linked to Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221, rather than to any of the other collected-works Machaut manuscripts, is already extremely intriguing. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 was produced sometime in the 1390s, and the Pennsylvania manuscript concludes with works clearly

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<sup>129</sup> Earp, "Machaut's Role," 492, n. 56, and *Guide*, 115-16 and n. 70. Earp also states here, confusingly, that "107 of the 109 texts of Machaut in *PHu 15* [=Penn] ... derive directly from E [=BnF fr. 9221]," without much further clarification. If Earp means that the Pennsylvania manuscript's lyrics derive from BnF fr. 9221 in terms of their readings, then he is not entirely correct, for in certain places the Pennsylvania manuscript has competing variants to BnF fr. 9221. If he means simply that 107 of the 109 lyrics are also found in BnF fr. 9221, then he is also not entirely correct: five of Pennsylvania's Machaut lyrics are, in fact, not found in BnF fr. 9221, as his own concordance demonstrates. There is a lot more work to be done on the relationship between these two codices.

written toward the end of the fourteenth century or early fifteenth century. The two codices also derive from the same social milieu, with Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 belonging to John of Berry, uncle to Charles VI, while our manuscript, as we have already seen, appears to be linked to the courtly circles of Charles VI and Isabeau of Bavaria. Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 is, moreover, a particularly interesting candidate for being Pennsylvania's exemplar, because, unlike the other major collected-works manuscripts, it seems to have been produced from a number of separately copied fascicles, which helps explain how the Pennsylvania manuscript's scribe is able to weave so precipitously between different sections of Machaut's *Loange*.<sup>130</sup>

It is possible to get a bit of a sense of how the scribe of the Pennsylvania manuscript worked with Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 by going back to the very first part of Penn's *Loange* section where balades are interspersed with rondeaux:

Table 6. Rondeaux in Pennsylvania's *Loange* Compared to Other Machaut Manuscripts

MS	rondeau sequence						fol. range	# fol.
Ferrel	64	67	80	82	97	118	10v-17v	7
BnF fr. 1584	64	67	80	82	97	118	187v-194r	8
BnF fr. 22546	60	63	76	78	93	114	51v-56v	7
BnF fr. 9221	199	200	204	205	207	213	16r-16v	1
Penn	81	83	85	87	89	91	29r-31r	2

While the scribe did not reproduce the exact order of these rondeaux as they are found in the other major manuscripts, his sequence maps best onto the sequence in Paris, BnF, MS

<sup>130</sup> See William Kibler and James Wimsatt, "Machaut's Text and the Question of His Personal Supervision," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 20.1 (1987): 41-53, who show that BnF fr. 9921 has versions of the *Jugement du roy de Behaingne* and the *Remede de Fortune* not found in any of Machaut's other major collected-works manuscripts other than the earliest one, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1586. Its musical section also derives from several manuscript sources: see Bent, "Manuscripts." It contains, moreover, several unique rubrics for some of the works in the *Loange*: see Earp's concordance for the *Loange* in *Guide*, 247-54.

fr. 9221, where the rondeaux occur in a separate section that follows the rest of the *Loange*, as opposed to the other Machaut manuscripts, where the corresponding works are scattered over multiple folios. The Pennsylvania manuscript's scribe likely simply looked to this separate section every time he wanted to fit a rondeau in-between the other *Loange* lyrics before him. He did something similar for other sequences as well:

Table 7. Chansons Royaux in Pennsylvania's *Loange*  
Compared to Other Machaut Manuscripts

MS	chansons royaux sequence						fol. range	# fol.
<b>Ferrel</b>	19	45	46	47	48	117	3v-17v	14
<b>BnF fr. 1584</b>	19	45	46	47	48	117	180r-194r	14
<b>BnF fr. 22546</b>	16	41	42	43	44	113	46v-56v	10
<b>BnF fr. 9221</b>	55	56	57	58	59	60	5r-5v	1
<b>Penn</b>	93	96	98	100	102	104	31r-33v	2

Here, for example, it is in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 again that the order of the chansons royaux matches best with the order in the Pennsylvania manuscript.

The picture yielded by these concordances is that of an intricate reading practice. In his pursuit of this almost dizzying formal variety, the Pennsylvania manuscript's scribe was nonetheless proceeding in a strictly systematic manner. He pilfered discrete sequences from BnF fr. 9221 and carefully interweaved them with one another in order to produce this bewildering effect of, to recall Basso again, rich and varied formal possibility. It is important to note, however, that not all of the sequences in the manuscript may be mapped onto Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 in quite this convenient a manner, suggesting the possibility of other, additional exemplars for some of the Machaut lyrics in the Pennsylvania manuscript and, therefore, a yet higher degree of complexity

for its project. This scribe's process is all the more remarkable for also having, to a certain degree, over-arching narrative arcs in mind. The first ten lyrics of the Pennsylvania anthology's version of the *Loange*, comprising that opening balade-rondeaux sequence just described above, for example, are all love lyrics about requited affection, while the chanson royal-rondeau sequence that immediately follows is all about the torments of unrequited love.

The care with which these formal sequences are arranged suggests an astonishing degree of sophistication behind the Pennsylvania manuscript's enterprise, which bespeaks, in turn, a profound intentionality. But what is this re-articulation actually trying to achieve and what kind of reception and understanding of Machaut might it be affording? The *Loange des dames* collection, in which the Pennsylvania manuscript's scribe is, as we can see, extremely interested, occupies an important place within Machaut's lyric corpus. It is called consistently, with some minor variations from manuscript to manuscript, "les balades ou il n'a point de chant" (the ballades in which there is no music/song) or the works "non mises en chant" (not set to music/not sung). The manuscripts in which these rubrics occur are the privately-owned Ferrell MS 1 (on fol. 1r); Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1584 (prefatory index and fol. 177v); and Pennsylvania's at least partial exemplar, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221 (prefatory index). All of these Machaut codices are important witnesses within the manuscript transmission of his collected works.<sup>131</sup> Ferrell and Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1584 were both copied in the 1370s within Machaut's own lifetime. The latter manuscript, BnF fr. 1584, contains, moreover, the

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<sup>131</sup> This kind of rubric also occurs in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 843, a late fourteenth-early fifteenth century copy representing a 1360s stage in the Machaut manuscript transmission, see Earp, *Guide*, 95, 115-118. For each rubric's exact wording, see 237-38.

famous index headed by the line “Vesci l’ordenance que G. de Machaut wet qu’il ait en son livre” (here is the order that G. de Machaut wants there to be in his book), the firmest evidence we have of Machaut’s supervision of his own collected-works manuscripts.<sup>132</sup> The *Loange* is, in other words, a small collection of lyrics, written by Machaut, that are expressly non-musical and not intended, as a whole, ever to be set to music.

In opposition to his emphasis on the non-musical nature of the *Loange*, Machaut had a second cycle of lyrics that he did set to music, and all of Machaut’s major collected-works manuscripts always copy it with musical notation and separately from the *Loange*. In most of the major Machaut manuscripts, the *Loange* and the musical section occur on polar opposite ends of the codex, most notably in Ferrell; in its copy, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1585; in the potentially Machaut-supervised Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1584; and the later Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221. Three of these four manuscripts are the same ones that take pains to underscore in their rubrics the non-musical quality of the *Loange*.<sup>133</sup>

In the Pennsylvania manuscript, however, the uniquely reorganized lyrics taken from the *Loange des dames* are immediately followed by lyrics taken from among those works that Machaut set to music. This close juxtaposition, which places two radically different types of Machaut’s *formes fixes* lyric side by side, is unique among the late

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<sup>132</sup> The text does read “wet” for, presumably, “vuet” in the manuscript, and this reading is conventionally reproduced in Machaut scholarship. On the question of Machaut’s supervision of his manuscripts, see, in particular, Sarah Jane Williams, “An Author’s Role in Fourteenth Century Book Production: Guillaume de Machaut’s ‘Livre ou je met toutes mes choses,’” *Romania* 90 (1969): 433-54, and “Machaut’s Self-Awareness as an Author and Producer,” in *Machaut’s World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Madeleine Pelter Cosman and Bruce Chandler (New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1978), 189-97; Earp, “Machaut’s Role”; Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); and Deborah McGrady, *Controlling Readers: Guillaume de Machaut and His Late Medieval Audience* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006).

<sup>133</sup> For the order of the contents in Machaut’s major collected-works manuscripts, see Earp, *Guide*, 77-97.



medieval anthologies that excerpt Machaut's lyrics. Of the lyrics taken from the musical section, moreover, only the texts are copied into the Pennsylvania manuscript, and the compiler leaves no space for music on the page. In such a manner, Machaut's two vastly different lyric cycles—one intended for music and one intended for reading—are presented visually identically in the Pennsylvania manuscript.

Of course, the conjoining of these two distinct cycles within the Pennsylvania manuscript could be taken as mere accident: the scribe could have simply wanted to copy as many of Machaut's *formes fixes* lyrics as possible, so he started with the *Loange* and proceeded with the musical section. Yet the delicate *ordinatio* of the *Loange* sequence in the Pennsylvania manuscript, weaving rondeaux together with ballades, chansons royaux, and complaintes in a manner that suggests an extreme focus on the distinct formal qualities of Machaut's *formes fixes* lyrics, argues against such accident. Furthermore, the manner in which the transition between the two cycles of lyrics is effected in the Pennsylvania manuscript plainly demonstrates that this juxtaposition is anything but random. As we are about to see, the scribe of the Pennsylvania manuscript appears to be not only acutely aware of the *Loange*'s non-musical quality, but, in fact, actively responds to and subverts this aspect of the *Loange* through his ongoing, meticulous formal *ordinatio* within his Machaut selection. In such a way, his presentation of the Machaut material becomes more than just a compulsive attention to formal variety, but a meditation on the cultural changes attending *formes fixes* lyric in the later fourteenth century.

**e. The Pennsylvania Manuscript's Machaut Section: Adding to the *Loange des dames***

As we have just seen, the Pennsylvania manuscript's scribe copies lyrics from Machaut's *Loange* in precise sequences: the first alternates balades and rondeaux, the next alternates chansons royaux and rondeaux, the third alternates complaintes and rondeaux, and a fourth alternates balades with rondeaux again, ending on fol. 39r. Then, for the next four folios, we have another discrete sequence, but it is no longer by Machaut; instead it consists of *unattributed* balades that alternate with virelais and two rondeaux, just as precisely as the other forms did in the preceding *Loange* section:

Table 8. Sequence of Virelais and Balades in Pennsylvania's *Loange*

Fol.	#	Form & Incipit
40v	121	Virelay, "Fin cuer tresdoulz a mon vueil"
41r	122	Balade, "Espris damours nuit & jo(ur) me co(m)plains"
	123	Virelay, "Doulz regart par subtil atrait"
41v	124	Rondel, "Revien espoir consort aie p(ar) ty"
	125	Rondel, "Espoir me faut a mo(n) plusgra(n)t besoin"
	126	Virelay, "Par un tout seul escondire"
42r	127	Balade, "Un chastel scay es droiz fiez de le(m)pire"
	128	Virelay, "Vostre oeil par fine doucour"
42v	129	Balade, "Beaute flourist & jeunesce verdoye"
	130	Virelay, "Sans faire tort a nullui"
43r	131	Virelay, "Biaute bonte et doucour"
	132	Balade, "Larriereban de mortele doulour"
43v	133	Virelay, "Je me doing a vous ligement"
	134	Balade, "Quico(n)ques se co(m)plaigne de fortune ..."
44r	135	Virelay, "Onques narcisus en la cle(re) fontaine"

This new sequence is then followed by a set of just virelais, still all unattributed. In such a way, Pennsylvania's deliberately re-organized selection from the *Loange* concludes with a virelai-balade sequence and a set of virelais, all *not* written by Machaut. This whole arrangement is then followed by four more Machaut lyrics, two rondeaux and two virelais, that occur *before* the quire (and first booklet) breaks. That we come back to

Machaut on the last page of this booklet, rather than on the first page in the second booklet, makes a strong case against simply viewing this unattributed sequence as the scribe's effort to fill the end of a booklet with whatever he had on hand, but rather as a deliberate intercalation.

But where could these unattributed lyrics have come from? And why place them in this position in the manuscript, sandwiched between a selection of lyrics from the non-musical *Loange* and a batch of lyrics taken from among those works that Machaut set to music? We recall that Wimsatt and Earp trace a connection between Pennsylvania and BnF fr. 9221, a connection strongly supported by the way in which discrete sequences in BnF fr. 9221 reappear in the Pennsylvania manuscript's *Loange*, as we have just seen. Separately, in her research on BnF fr. 9221 and its exemplars for its own selection of Machaut lyrics, Margaret Bent has argued that while BnF fr. 9221 seems to have copied most of its Machaut's lyrics that are set to music from an earlier authoritative collected-works Machaut manuscript, Paris, BnF, MS fr. 1585, its scribe also seems to have had access to some other textual exemplar. She notes, for example, a lyric for which the musical notation stops after a point in the text that corresponds directly to where a folio is missing in BnF fr. 1585, but the text, without the music, continues, suggesting the manuscripts' reliance on more than one exemplar.<sup>134</sup>

Some years before Bent, Wolfgang Dömling argued convincingly for the important manuscript relationship, with regard to both text and music, between the Machaut lyrics set to music in BnF fr. 9221 and texts of the same lyrics found in multiple

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<sup>134</sup> Possibly significantly(?), this same lyric is also found in Penn as no. 215 on fol. 68v.

late fourteenth- and early-fifteenth century musical repertory manuscripts that anthologize the musical works by Machaut with other unattributed works from the period.<sup>135</sup> These manuscripts are as follows:

1. Paris, BnF, MS ital. 568
2. Paris, BnF, MS naf. 6771 (aka Codex Reina)
3. Paris, BnF, MS naf. 23190 (*formerly* Château-de-Serrant, Bibliothèque de la Duchesse de Tremouille, index only)
4. Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1328
5. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 564 (aka the Chantilly Codex)
6. Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royale de musique, MS 56.286 (copy of the destroyed Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS M.222.C22)
7. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 26
8. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS [alpha].M.5.24
9. Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115
10. Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, MS XI.E.9
11. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek, MS 6 E 37 II

As Bent further notes in her work on Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221,

[i]n no case is the relationship so close as to suggest direct copying [between BnF fr. 9221 and the musical repertory manuscripts] in either direction. However, it is striking that the pieces which [BnF fr. 9221] did not take from [BnF fr. 1585, its main exemplar,] belong to the group which includes those also in circulation among the repertory manuscripts, whereas those copied from [BnF fr. 1585] did not enjoy that wider dissemination.<sup>136</sup>

To rearticulate and reconnect this snarled set of observations. (1) According to Earp, there is a relationship between the Machaut lyrics in the Pennsylvania manuscript and those in BnF fr. 9221. (2) According to Dömling, there is a relationship between BnF fr. 9221 and the texts of Machaut lyrics in a group of later musical repertory manuscripts, in which the Machaut is being collected with other, unattributed lyrics. (3) According to Bent, BnF fr. 9221's section of Machaut's lyrics set to music was partly copied from one

<sup>135</sup> Wolfgang Dömling, "Zur Überlieferung der musikalischen Werke Guillaume de Machauts," *Die Musikforschung* 22.2 (April/Juni, 1969): 189-95.

<sup>136</sup> Bent, "Manuscripts," 72.

exemplar, BnF fr. 1585, and partly from some other source(s). (4) According to Bent again, the Machaut lyrics that BnF fr. 9221 *does not* take from BN fr. 1585 include lyrics that later appear in the musical repertory manuscripts, which suggests that the exemplar(s) for some of BnF fr. 9221 has/have a circulation that is separate from the collected-works Machaut manuscripts and is connected to a musical repertory corpus.

To this, I present: (5) of those unattributed balades and virelais that conclude the Pennsylvania manuscript's version of Machaut's *Loange*, two are found in the following manuscripts: in Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1328; in Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royale de musique, MS 56.286 (copy of the destroyed Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS M.222.C22); in Paris, BnF, MS naf. 23190 (of which only the index survives, formerly known as Château-de-Serrant, Bibliothèque de la Duchesse de Tremouille); and in Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliothek, MS 6E37 (see chart in Appendix III). All of these are musical repertory manuscripts listed by Dömling as having a strong link to BnF fr. 9221. The ensuing middle "musical" section of Machaut in the Pennsylvania codex has parallels among *both* its chosen Machaut texts *and* the unattributed lyrics intercalated *alongside* them, with almost the entire list of musical repertory manuscripts identified by Dömling as containing parallels with BnF fr. 9221.

The Pennsylvania manuscript thus appears to be a link in a far-flung and heterogeneous manuscript network that stretches—as we can see from the list above—from Northern France to the Netherlands and down to Italy and connects three very different kinds of codices together: (1) the collected-works manuscripts of Machaut, namely BnF fr. 9221 as well as BnF fr. 1585, its partial exemplar; (2) a giant, cross-

European swathe of musical repertory manuscripts, where Machaut lyrics are mixed with unattributed lyrics, all copied with their music; and (3) the Pennsylvania manuscript, which loses the music and re-arranges the order of the Machaut lyrics by, it seems, at least partly basing itself on BnF fr. 9221, and yet appears to form part of this very same matrix in its placement of its selection of Machaut lyrics within a wider literary context that re-emerges, in bits and pieces, in these *later* musical repertory manuscripts.

Writing at around the same time as Bent and after Dömling, Reinhard Strohm separately finds a strong link between BnF fr. 9221 and another Machaut lyric, the rondel *Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon nee*, in yet another musical repertory manuscript, this one a fragment, from Ghent, located in the Abbey of the Groenen Briel with shelfmark 3360, dated by Strohm to ca. 1385.<sup>137</sup> This very same rondeau is also found in the Pennsylvania manuscript. The Ghent fragment further contains an unattributed balade, *Se Lancelos, Paris, Genievre, Helaine*, that is found in several more manuscripts from that same musical repertory corpus, as well as—I have found—in the Pennsylvania manuscript. Strohm posits that there must be some missing node between BnF fr. 9221 and the musical repertory manuscripts that would account for this striking transmission pattern, and he proposes that node to be Flanders, with this Ghent fragment as a surviving example of a Flemish poetic highway of sorts.<sup>138</sup> Bent's findings, of BnF fr. 9221's apparent reliance on sources other than BnF fr. 1585 for its musical section, texts from which also enjoy circulation in that later fifteenth-century Northern French-Flemish-Italian musical repertory manuscripts, separately confirm Strohm's hypothesis that there

<sup>137</sup> Reinhard Strohm, "The Ars Nova Fragments of Gent," *Tijdschrift van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 34.2 (1984): 116.

<sup>138</sup> Strohm, "Ars Nova," 119-120.

is some missing link, but Bent's conclusions suggest rather that this link is close to BnF fr. 9221 from the very beginning. Not being a musical manuscript, the Pennsylvania manuscript clearly cannot be this missing link, but it is, I suggest, given its close relationship and nearly contemporaneous dating with BnF fr. 9221, a (hyper-literary) derivative of what precisely might be the missing piece in the manuscript transmission puzzle.<sup>139</sup>

These intersecting lines of transmission now suggest to us a very practical reason for why the Machaut section is intercut in the Pennsylvania manuscript with these unattributed lyrics: they were evidently circulating with the Machaut material. The unattributed virelais-balade section finishing off the Pennsylvania anthology's version of the *Loange* and its organization of its next section of Machaut emerge, in other words, as a deliberate representation of a pre-existing, already anthologizing Machauldian tradition. This is fascinating in and of itself since it makes the Pennsylvania manuscript one of the earliest sources extant to demonstrate the existence of a late medieval practice of anthologizing Machaut with other poets. It is further striking that this material, otherwise found in fifteenth-century musical repertory manuscripts, is being placed at the end of the *Loange* in the first place. The *Loange* is Machaut's explicitly non-musical compilation of lyric, famously rubricated as the lyrics "ou il n'a point de chant" (the lyrics in which there is no music/singing) in the other collected-works manuscripts. Machaut himself only wrote one virelai that he included in the *Loange*, and all of his other virelais were set to music, which makes the insertion of *unattributed* virelais, works *not* by Machaut, into

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<sup>139</sup> There is, obviously, a lot more work to be done here, which will eventually take the form of its own chapter in later stages of this project.

this meticulously organized sequence, provocative.<sup>140</sup> This section emerges as a desire to fill out some kind of taxonomy: having copied balades, rondeaux, chansons royaux, complaintes, as well as one lai, our scribe evidently felt like he needed to continue with a *formes fixes* type not yet represented, the virelai. Lacking any available in Machaut's own *Loange*, he looked for them elsewhere. This insertion of unattributed work has the effect, then, of a kind of supplement to Machaut, a finishing and rounding off of the virelais-less *Loange* on his behalf.

It creates, moreover, a bridging effect between the non-musical *Loange* selection and the rest of the Machaut lyrics in the manuscript, of which an overwhelming number is, from here on in, taken from among those lyrics that Machaut set to music; these lyrics set to music continue, moreover, to be intercalated with lyrics otherwise found in that later tross-European musical repertory corpus. In fact, the Pennsylvania codex's second booklet starts on fol. 49r with two Machaut lyrics, and the second of these is a virelai, as if picking up directly from the section of virelais *not* by Machaut that immediately preceded. From this point on, there is less of a focus on alternating the forms so meticulously, for almost all of the lyrics here are ballades, with several scattered lais and rondeaux. More importantly, however, Machaut's work is no longer presented as a single consecutive block, as it had been up until those intercalated virelais and balades; instead it is intercut in multiple places by unattributed lyrics, of various forms, mostly ballades, that later surface in those musical repertory manuscripts. The intercalation of these

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<sup>140</sup> On virelais in the *Loange*, see Earp, *Guide*, 238-43.



unattributed works demonstrates an understanding of Guillaume de Machaut as always already inscribed into a much larger cross-European musical tradition.

Virelais, meanwhile, are conspicuously absent from among both the Machaut and the non-attributed lyrics over the course of this whole section until we get to the lay *Malgre fortune* and its accompanying rondeau, otherwise found only in BnF fr. 9221 where both works come immediately after the *Voir Dit*. In the Pennsylvania manuscript, the first lyric to follow *Malgre Fortune* and the rondeau is a virelai by Machaut that is taken from the same *Voir Dit*. From here on in, until the end of the entire Machaut selection in Pennsylvania, we get fourteen lyrics from the *Voir Dit* interspersed with more lyrics from among those that Machaut set to music, and a disproportionate number of them—16 out of 27 total—are virelais, all by Machaut, 13 from among those only set to music and three more that are also found in the *Voir Dit*. In such a way, this part of Penn’s Machaut compilation seems to be repaying the virelais debt of the opening *Loange* section. If the *Loange* section seemed to require a supplement of missing virelais, then this final *Voir Dit* section, in a neatly parallel structure, suddenly proffers us a veritable bouquet of virelais from Machaut’s quill.

In rounding out the *Loange* with those “missing” virelais then, the Pennsylvania manuscript’s compiler is fundamentally altering the program of the *Loange* by adding a form that seems to have been, for Machaut, expressly musical, even as the actual Pennsylvania anthology, of course, contains no music. By adding virelais *written by someone else* to the *Loange* in this manner and fluidly continuing with other lyric that Machaut set to music, Pennsylvania’s compiler overwrites Machaut’s own treatment of

the *Loange* as a self-contained collection of *formes fixes* lyric and a self-contained collection that was, moreover, never intended to be set to music. Machaut's authorship of the *Loange* lyrics thus becomes subordinate to a wholly re-oriented set of concerns, in which poetic form, particularly in its relation to music, assumes center stage, to the point that work *not* by Machaut is being added to the Machaut selection. Indeed, music seems to emerge here as a veritable taxonomic principle, an invisible, but lasting presence on the pages of this purely literary anthology.

#### **f. Lyrics for Singing vs. Lyrics for Reading**

This astoundingly meticulous *ordinatio* further works to highlight deftly the two main performative potentials for lyric explored by Machaut in his own engagement with the *formes fixes*: the individual lyric that is intended only to be read, and the individual lyric that is intended to be sung. In this way, the manuscript's intricate organization of this Machaut selection almost seems to be complementing—indeed, illustrating—Deschamps' famous binary that pits “musique naturele” against “musique artificiele” in his *Dictier*. Writing after Machaut's death, Deschamps codifies in his *ars poetica* the rigorous distinction between lyric set to music and sung and lyric to be read aloud. By “musique artificiele,” Deschamps means what we now traditionally refer to as music, the work of producing melodic sound by means of instruments and voice. “Musique naturele,” he explains, is so called “pour ce qu'elle ne peut estre aprinse a nul, se son propre couraige naturelement ne s'i applique ...” (because it cannot be taught to anyone unless his own thought is naturally inclined to it). He clarifies that it is “une musique de

bouche en proferant paroules metrifiees, aucunefoiz en lais, autrefoiz en balades, autrefois en rondeaulz ... et en chancons baladees” (an oral music producing words in meter, sometimes in lais, other times in balades, other times in rondeaux ... and in chansons baladées [= virelais]). “Musique naturele” is, in other words, *formes fixes* lyric.

He goes on to specify how one is to perform this “musique naturele” before the public:

Et ja soit ce que ... les faiseurs de [musique naturele] ne saichent pas communement la musique artificiele, ne donner chant par art des notes a ce qu'ilz font, toutesvoies est appellee musique ceste science naturele pour ce que les diz et chancons par eulx ou les livres metrifiez *se lisent de bouche, et proferent par voix non pas chantable* tant que les douces paroles ainsis faictes et *recordees par voix* plaisant aux escoutans qui les oyent ...

And even though ... the makers of [natural music] generally do not know artificial music, nor how to provide music with the art of notation for what they make, nonetheless this natural science is called music, for dits [long narrative poems] and chançons and books in meter *are read out loud by them and are produced by a non-singing voice* such that the sweet words thus composed and *repeated by the voice*, are pleasing to those who hear them ....<sup>141</sup>

As this passage suggests, by the time Deschamps composed this treatise in 1392, the fissure between lyrics for reading and lyrics for singing, the beginnings of which are already evident in the Machauldian corpus and registered in its manuscript transmission, was evidently turning into a clean break.

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<sup>141</sup> Deschamps, *Dictier*, 62-64, emphasis added; translations are my own. On this striking classification of poetry as music and Deschamps' complex distinction of poetry from rhetoric and the possible sources for his thought, see Robert Dragonetti, “La poésie ... c'est musique naturele”: Essai d'exégèse d'un passage de *l'Art de Dictier*,” in *Fin du Moyen Age et Renaissance: Mélanges de philologie française offerts à Robert Guette* (Anvers: Nederlandse Boekhandel, 1961), 49-64; I.S. Laurie, “Deschamps and the Lyric as Natural Music,” *Modern Language Review* 59.4 (Oct 1964): 561-70; Kenneth Varty, “Deschamps' *Art de Dictier*,” *French Studies* 19.2 (April 1965): 164-67; Glending Olson, “Deschamps' *Art de Dictier* and Chaucer's Literary Environment,” *Speculum* 48.4 (Oct 1973): 714-23; Ludmilla Evdokimova, “Rhétorique et poésie dans *l'Art de dictier*,” in Buschinger (ed.), *Autour*, 93-102. For the provocative view that Deschamps' articulation does not, in fact, constitute any radical departure from previous musical tradition, see John Stevens, “The ‘Music’ of the Lyric: Machaut, Deschamps, Chaucer” in *Medieval and Pseudo-Medieval Literature*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1984), 109-29.

The “Ch” lyrics come immediately after this Machaut section, in which the distinction between lyrics for reading and lyrics for singing is emphasized with such virtuosity by a careful *ordinatio* that closely examines lyric form. The “Ch” lyrics have, we recall, little thematic unity between them, but they are linked by their identical formal structure, which is characterized by the longer stanzas that contributed to *formes fixes* lyrics’ “literary turn” away from music, as described by Deschamps in his *Dictier*. Even while there are several scattered examples of ten-line stanza lyrics, without envoys, set to music in extant musical repertory manuscripts, the form that unites the “Ch” lyrics is also the form most prevalent among those poets—Deschamps, Granson, the authors of the *Livre des Cent Ballades* and their successors—who are not only working in the late fourteenth-early fifteenth centuries but themselves lack any musical background, even as they look back in appreciation and derive their inspiration from the poet-composer, Guillaume de Machaut. Indeed, Deschamps’ own vast corpus of over 1500 lyrics features only one lyric that we know to have been ever set to music: somewhat fittingly, it is his lament on the death of Machaut—and the music for it is not composed by him, but by a late fourteenth-century composer named F. Andrieu.<sup>142</sup> The final development of the envoy in the ballade thoroughly severed that form from its musical roots because the structure of the envoy rendered a ballade unable to be sung within the conventions of music composition of the period, and, for whatever reason, composers chose not to attempt to adapt to this change in lyric form.

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<sup>142</sup> For a fascinating argument that Deschamps never intended for this work to be set to music and, in fact, originally wrote it as one half of a six-stanza *ballade double* that was later—and still is—treated as two separate but linked works so that it could be set to music, see Robert Magnan, “Eustache Deschamps and His Double: ‘Musique Naturele’ and ‘Musique Artificiele,’” *Ars Lyrica* 7 (1993): 47-64.

The dominant taxonomic principle behind the Pennsylvania manuscript is thus hardly author-centered; it is focused, above all, on the formal characteristics of the lyrics included in the compilation. In such a way, this manuscript's over-arching arrangement brings into focus the evolution of *formes fixes* lyric. It is therefore hardly surprising that this history should involve not only a chronological axis but also a geographical one. Wimsatt's suggestion that "Ch" denotes Chaucer comes from what he perceives to be this anthology's orientation towards England. I wonder, however, whether England really does occupy primacy of place for this collection or whether it might be, rather, presented here as *one of* the several places in which Francophone culture reigns, demonstrating the *formes fixes*'s geographic breadth rather than being, as Wimsatt suggests, a particular focal point of the collection. Thus, when this manuscript includes pastourelles that seem to exert an influence on Froissart, who later lived in England, or the balades of the *chevalier-poète* Granson, whose peripatetic life sent him back and forth across the Channel, I question whether it is really invested in England *qua* England, or, rather, simply brings England within this Francophone poetic field, always in the service of its totalizing enterprise.

"Ch" might, indeed, stand for an author's name, and that name might indeed be Chaucer. As I have hoped to show in this discussion, however, the lyrics' having been composed by a single author—if they even were—is less significant to the overall intentions behind this compilation than their distinctive formal features that help to illustrate a key development in *formes fixes* lyric for the project of the collection as a whole. As Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet reminds us, "[l]e terme *recueil* peut désigner un

acte, celui d'accueillir puis de recueillir, ou un lieu: un objet" (the term *collection* can designate an act, that of collecting and then of recollecting, or a place: an object).<sup>143</sup>

Medieval compilations are constituted both by the preliminary work of selecting material as well as by the finished articulation of that process, visually represented by the disposition of those selections in the manuscript itself. The cultural and historical value imposed on being able to identify—with insistent certainty—the text of a Machaut or a Deschamps within a collection often works to eclipse the anthology's other, unattributed pieces. At best, the hunt for an authorial attribution conceives of other, unattributable lyrics in the ever subordinate position of framing and contextualizing the work that has been successfully identified and thus reconstitutes the compilation as a set of articulated fragments rather than a cohesive whole. The Pennsylvania manuscript is a striking example of a compilation for which it is, in fact, authorship that is subordinate to a host of other concerns concentrated around, first and foremost, lyric form, its multiple uses, and the alteration of those uses over time. Whatever "Ch" ultimately stands for, it marks in this manuscript the acquisition of a new exemplar, containing new literary material that responds to the lyric copied immediately before it. "Ch" marks the change in a literary tradition that the manuscript's compiler seeks to represent within his *ordinatio*.

Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet identifies three dominant anthologizing impulses in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The first is the careful, meticulous anthologization of one's own collected works, such as we see actualized in the major manuscripts of Machaut, Froissart, Pizan, and fictionalized in works like Machaut's *Voir*

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<sup>143</sup> Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "Quand la voix s'est tue: la mise en recueil de la poésie lyrique au XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles," in *La présentation du livre: Actes du colloque de Paris X-Nanterre*, ed. Emmanuelle Baumgartner and Nicole Boulestreau (Paris, 1987), 314.

*Dit* or Froissart's *Prison amoureuse*. In this impulse, work is self-consciously recopied and self-organized and becomes a way of fostering literary self-preservation and self-aggrandizement. The second impulse involves the coterie group of friends and peers, composing lyrics for and with one another, sharing incipits and refrains, in friendly dialogue and genial competition. We see this impulse registered in the group composition of *Le Livre de cent ballades* as well as in Charles d'Orléans' coterie album, into which numerous other hands added lyrics in dialogue with his own work. The third impulse that Cerquigliani-Toulet identifies is "non plus celui de la totalisation ou de l'album, mais celui de l'extrait, du choix" (no longer that of totalization nor of the album, but that of the extract, of the selection).<sup>144</sup> This last kind of collection she defines as an anthology in the truest sense of the word, and her dominant example is the *Jardin de plaisance* of the late fifteenth century. She articulates this third impulse as having an explicitly memorial and collective gathering function that envisages an audience broader than solely the space of the court.

To my mind, the Pennsylvania Manuscript at once partakes of and responds to each of these three impulses but ends up producing something entirely different. In its inclusion of a roughly chronologically organized and geographically varied array of fourteenth-century *formes fixes* lyrics, it is undoubtedly retrospective, like the third kind of anthology that Cerquigliani-Toulet describes. At the same time, it is also actively responding to the self-collected works impulse of figures like Machaut and Froissart in its active re-anthologization of someone like Machaut into a novel order that emphasizes the

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<sup>144</sup> Cerquigliani-Toulet, "La voix."

multiplicity of forms within his work. In so doing, it makes Machaut the figurehead in this retrospective amalgamation of fourteenth-century lyric and the personification of a whole tradition that is binding poets like Granson, Deschamps, and Vitry together into a network of shared, coterie influences. This manuscript is, in other words, an active rewriting, or over-writing, of self-anthologization; a kind of representation of the idea of the poetic coterie; as well as, simultaneously a retrospective, self-theorizing collection that is attentive to, first and foremost, the historical development of lyric form. I would therefore classify it actually as belonging to a *fourth* impulse, which I define as an active attempt at codifying and taxonomizing the fourteenth-century *formes fixes* tradition by paying attention at once to its dominant authorial figures, to its dominant genres *and* to the networks of affiliation that those authors and forms create together. In so doing, this compilation produces a literary history of fourteenth-century *formes fixes* lyric.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

We began, some pages ago, with James Wimsatt's three hypotheses: (a) that Oton de Granson may have been the compiler of the Pennsylvania manuscript; (b) that this volume may be the "livre de messire Othes de Grantson" mentioned in Isabeau of Bavaria's accounts; and (c) that the fifteen lyrics marked "Ch" may be representing Granson's inclusion of French lyric by his English contemporary and friend Geoffrey Chaucer into the collection. In the course of revisiting these claims, we have considered the Pennsylvania manuscript within its broader context, looking at once at other materials, especially lyric anthologies, circulating at the late medieval royal and noble



French courts, as well as at other collections of *formes fixes* lyric—those of Machaut, those of other lyric anthologies, and those of musical repertory manuscripts—contemporary to or produced slightly later within the period. Placing the manuscript within this context, it has become apparent that our very approach of thinking about a lyric anthology in terms of its inclusion of major poets is in need of some revision. Even complete collected-works codices centered on a specific author, like Machaut, evince a profound interest in organizing *formes fixes* lyric by their individual forms, sometimes going so far as to separate specific forms out into discrete sections, like we saw in Paris, BnF, MS fr. 9221. The royal library inventory of Charles V and Charles VI, meanwhile, has demonstrated for us that lyric anthologies and musical repertory manuscripts were itemized by the individual lyric forms contained within them, rather than by their authors.

This focus on form is brought to its apotheosis in the retrospective project of the Pennsylvania anthology, which brings together lyrics from all over Francophone Europe in the service of the literary history that it seeks to construct. In looking more closely at the formal features of the lyrics marked “Ch” and their specific placement and organization within the manuscript, moreover, we discern that the collection as a whole is fundamentally concerned with telling the story, through its organization of individual lyric, of the historical formal development of *formes fixes* lyric from a more musical to a more literary form in the latter decades of the fourteenth century. If the manuscripts of Machaut’s *formes fixes* lyric, other lyric anthologies, and the library entries used to describe such collections demonstrate the significance of form over authorship as the dominant principle behind categorizing this kind of lyric, then the Pennsylvania

manuscript reveal a new project of *theorizing* the role of form in the *formes fixes* as a genre. As I will show in the rest of this project, the Pennsylvania anthology's compiler were hardly alone in this desire to theorize the *formes fixes*.

The geographical scope of the Pennsylvania manuscript aptly illustrates the enormous spread of *formes fixes* lyric all over Francophone Europe. The manuscript's close textual ties, in its selection of materials evidently anthologized early on with the lyric of Machaut, to a network of manuscripts extending across the Low Countries and Northern Italy further showcases the expansive diffusion of *formes fixes* lyric all across late medieval Europe, a Europe that was, at this point in time, heavily at war. Our earlier discussion of the single gathering-sized set of lyrics by Granson, that contains a version of the *Cinq balades ensievans* close to the one used by Chaucer, which resurfaces in interesting ways in the 1430s compilation of John Shirley, also reminds us of the extreme portability of this lyric across regional—and generational—divides. The fifteenth-century Barcelona manuscript of Granson's work, evidently produced from an exemplar going back to the days of Granson's Spanish captivity in 1372-74, cogently illustrates the ways in which the Hundred Years War, in its displacement of troops all around its multiple theaters, paradoxically fostered close cultural contact between peoples who, despite their political and linguistic differences, had, nevertheless, strong shared cultural interests and investments.

In this chapter, we have been teasing out the indelible centrality of concerns surrounding form to the *formes fixes* genre on the grand scale of the codex. In the next chapter, we are going to narrow initially our focus on the opening set of lyrics in the

Pennsylvania manuscript in order to consider another way in which the sophisticated anthologistic sequencing of individual *formes fixes* lyrics can be used not, this time, to reflect on the *formes fixes* as a genre but in order to produce political meaning. As we may recall from earlier in this chapter, the opening set of lyrics in the Pennsylvania manuscript are mostly pastourelles, and, as we will further see, they function as a stand-alone, self-contained cycle that levies, through its careful internal organization, a powerful critique of the ongoing Hundred Years War from the perspective of inhabitants of Hainault. As I will go on to show, the Pennsylvania manuscript is not unique in its inclusion of politicized pastourelles of this kind, for we have similar types of lyric written by the Champenois Deschamps and the Hainuyer Froissart, which also levy their own individuated critiques of the war, though each author offers a strikingly different position on the conflict that speaks to his own particular geopolitics. By opening his literary history of the *formes fixes* with a sharp vilification of the Hundred Years War, the Pennsylvania manuscript's compiler is responding to the emergence of *formes fixes* lyric in the late fourteenth century as a powerful vehicle for critiquing, commenting on, and theorizing the disastrous effects of the Hundred Years War on Francophone Europe. At the same time, as the close literary ties between Pennsylvania's pastourelles and those of Froissart and Deschamps will show, the widespread borrowing of *formes fixes* lyric across those same regions helped advance cross-regional cultural contact and community, despite war's ravages.

**Keeping the Wolves at Bay:  
Borrowing the Pastourelle for Political Critique**

In investigating the question of whether “Ch” may be interpreted as Chaucer in the previous chapter we arrived at the conclusion that to read “Ch” as necessarily standing in for any kind of author figure was counter-productive to the evident organizational interests of the Pennsylvania manuscript itself. Looking instead at the lyrics’ formal structure and their placement within the manuscript has revealed the Pennsylvania anthology to be invested in the project of constructing a literary history for the *formes fixes* genre, a literary history concerned, moreover, less with authors and far more with the major developmental changes to individual forms of *formes fixes* lyric that result in its “literary turn.” The previous chapter’s discussion has therefore raised two significant points. Firstly, the organizational project of the Pennsylvania manuscript, together with Deschamps’ writing of a nearly contemporary *ars poetica* for the *formes fixes*, *L’Art de dictier*, which was to spawn a series of derivative treatises over the course of the whole fifteenth century, points to a profound late medieval interest in taxonomizing this particular lyric genre, specifically in terms of its individual *forms*. Secondly, the starting point of our discussion—do the “Ch” lyrics constitute examples of the “balades, roundels, virelayes” (F. 423) that Alceste claims the Chaucer-I figure of the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* has written over the course of his lifetime?—reminds us that this lyric genre readily crossed the boundaries of regions locked, within this period, in bitter struggle over succession to the French throne.

In this chapter we are going to examine the ways in which late medieval engagement with form in *formes fixes* lyric was able to facilitate cross-regional borrowing, thus building literary community, while simultaneously articulating geopolitical divisions during the Hundred Years War. To this end, I consider three late-fourteenth century corpora of *formes fixes* lyric, belonging to the genre of the pastourelle: the first by an anonymous poet from Hainault, extant only in the Pennsylvania manuscript,<sup>145</sup> the second by Eustache Deschamps,<sup>145</sup> and the third by Jean Froissart.<sup>146</sup> The unknown Hainuyer poet, along with Deschamps and Froissart, all use a particular variation on the pastourelle, which was a lyric genre depicting pastoral themes that was integrated within the *formes fixes* in the early fourteenth century. In the three poets' unusual variation on this *formes fixes* sub-type, the implicit social criticism, that is, as some scholars have argued, a perennial feature of the pastourelle, becomes transformed into historically specific political discussions of the Hundred Years War. The close ties of these politicized pastourelles with traditional pastourelle motifs, as well as their intimate literary relationship to one another, are signalled by the lyrics' opening lines. The anonymous Hainuyer poet has three pastourelles that open in the following way:

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<sup>145</sup> Conceivably, the pastourelle section of the Pennsylvania manuscript may have been authored by more than one person, but its sophisticated organization, which highlights and enhances over-arching themes threading through the entire cycle, as well as the evidence pointing to its independent circulation outside the manuscript (all discussed below), strongly suggest the existence of a single author, or compiler, behind the cycle. For simplicity's sake, I will refer to this figure as "the anonymous Hainuyer poet" and use the pronoun "he," though, of course, female authorship is not outside the realm of possibility. In their edition of this corpus, Kibler and Wimsatt ("Development," 25) see the works as a unified corpus, but not as a narrative cycle.

<sup>146</sup> Edited, respectively, in Kibler and Wimsatt, "Development"; Deschamps, *Œuvres*, II, 1-2 (no. 315), III, 45-49 (nos. 336, 337), 51-53 (no. 339), 62-64 (no. 344), and 93-95 (no. 359); and Jean Froissart, *Œuvres*, ed. Auguste Scheler (Bruxelles: Victor Devau, 1871), II, 307-52, and *The Lyric Poems of Jehan Froissart: A Critical Edition*, ed. Rob Roy McGregor, Jr. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), 151-93; citations of Froissart from this latter edition. (NB: the two editions number the pastourelles differently, I am following McGregor's system.) All translations are my own.

Table 9. Opening Formulae of the Anonymous Hainuyer Poet's Pastourelles

no.	original text	translation	modern location
4	De sa Amiens plusieurs bergiers trouvoy...	By Amiens I came across several shepherds ...	halfway between Paris and Calais
5	Plusieurs bergiers et bergerelles Choisi l'autrier seans en un larris	I spotted the other day several Shepherds and shepherdesses, sitting in a fallow field	not applicable
6	Trois bergiers d'ancien aez Pour le chault dessoubz un buisson ... Trouvay	I came across three shepherds of advanced age Beneath a bush because of the heat	not applicable

As we can see, these opening lines follow a largely stable template. Deschamps' pastourelles open in a remarkably similar manner:

Table 10. Opening Formulae of Eustache Deschamps' Pastourelles

no.	original text	translation	modern location
336	L'autrier si com je m'en venoie De Busancy, de Setenay Oy plusiers gens en ma voie	The other day when I was coming From Buzancy and Stenay I heard several people on my way	approx. halfway between Rheims and the Franco-Belgian border
337	N'a pas long temps que m'en aloye En pelerinaige a Boulogne Femmes trouvoy enmi ma voye	Not long ago when I was headed To Boulogne-Sur-Mer on pilgrimage I came across some women on my way	Calais coastal region
339	L'autre jour vi un charruier Bien pres du pont de Charenton	The other day I saw a ploughman Quite close to Charenton-Le-Pont	outside of Paris
344	Antre Beau Raym et le parc de Hedin Ou moys d'aoust qu'om soye les fromens, M'en aloye jouer par un matin. Si vi bergiers et bergieres aux champs	Between Beaurain and the park of Hesdin In the month of August when one reaps the wheat, I was headed out for pleasure one morning. And I saw shepherds and shepherdesses in the fields ...	Artois region outside of Arras, of which Beaurain is now a suburb
359	Entre Guynes, Sangates et Callays, Soubz une saulz assez pres du marcage De pastoureaulx estoit la un grand plays	Between Guines, Sangatte and Calais Under a willow quite near a fen There was a big discussion between shepherds	Calais coastal region
1009	Entre Espargnay et Damery Vi pastoures et pastoureaulx En la prairie pres d'Ay	Between Épernay and Damery I saw old and young shepherds In the meadow near Ay	near Rheims, in Champagne
1058	En un pais plein du soulas Vy chevauchier [au] petit pas Esperance, Leesce et Joye ... La avoit pastoures et tropeaulx De jeusnes brebis et d'aigneaulx	In a pleasant region ... I saw riding at a small step Hope, Delight and Joy ... There were shepherds and herds Of young sheep and lambs ...	not applicable

Deschamps too sets up his pastourelle in the exact same manner as the anonymous Hainuyer poet above, though he is, we notice, often much more specific about his geography, locating his traveler on a midpoint between two particular cities or towns. He also has his narrator encounter other types of laborers beyond shepherds, such as a ploughman in one case and peasant women in another; in the case of no. 359, furthermore, the traveler-narrator is missing. Deschamps also deploys traces of this model in a different kind of lyric, represented by the final example, which transports us into a purely allegorical landscape, without geographic markers, but is still identifiably related to this pastourelle corpus by its opening lines.

The final of our three poets, Jean Froissart, is also the most prolific in his use of this form, and his opening formulae leave no doubt as to the close literary ties between his corpus and that of Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet. I give here the opening lines from fifteen of his pastourelles, omitting the other five that, like Deschamps' allegorical treatment above, lack geographic specificity but do also open in the exact same way as those of the other two poets above:

Table 11. Opening Formulae of Jean Froissart's Pastourelles

no.	original text	translation	modern location
1	Entre Aubrecicourt et Mauni Priés dou cemin, sus le gaschiere, L'autre jour maint bregier oï	Between Auberchicourt and Masny Near the road, on the fallow field, The other day I heard many shepherds	in northeastern France, between Douai and Valenciennes (medieval Hainault)
2	Entre Eltem et Westmoustier, En une belle prairie, Cuesi pastouriaus avant ier	Between Eltham and Westminster In a beautiful meadow The day before yesterday I spotted peasants	outside of London (between two of the royal residences of the 14 <sup>th</sup> century English kings)
3	Pour aler a Melun sus Sainne Ens ou droit chemin de Paris, Aussi dalés une fontainne Vi l'autrier bregiers jusqu'a sis	To go to Melun along the Seine Straight from Paris, By a spring The other day I saw shepherds having just sat down	between Paris and Fontainebleu, along the Seine

4	Entre le Louviere et Praiaus L'autre jour deus bregiers oï	Between La Louvière and Praiaus(?) The other day I heard two shepherds	east of Mons, Belgium (medieval Hainault)
5	Ens uns beaux prés vers et jolis, Assés prés de Bonne Esperance, Bregieres et bregiers assis Vi l'autre ier en bonne ordenance	In a beautiful, green and pretty field, Quite close to Bonne-Espérance, I saw the other day shepherds And shepherdesses seated in an orderly fashion	outskirts of Estinnes, Belgium, south-east of Mons (medieval Hainault)
6	Entre Binch et le bos de Hainne En l'ombre d'un vert arbrissiel Vi bregieretes en grant painne L'autre jour, pour faire un capel	Between Binche and Haine forest, In the shadow of a green sapling, I saw little shepherdesses the other day Taking great pains to make a wreath	Binche, Belgium (medieval Hainault)
7	Entre le Roes et le Louviere Vi awoen dessous un ourmel ... Mainte touse et maint pastourel	Between Le Roeulx and La Louvière I saw under an elm Many young girls and many shepherds	north-east of Mons (medieval Hainault)
8	Entre Luniel et Montpellier Moult priés d'une grant abbeïe Vi pastourielles avant ier	Between Lunel and Montpellier Very close to a large abbey I saw shepherdesses the day before yesterday	southern coast of France
9	En un biau pré vert et plaisant, Par dessus Gave la riviere, Entre Pau et Ortais seant, Vi l'autrier ensi qu'a prangiere Maint bregier et mainte bregiere	In a beautiful and pleasant green field By the River Gave, Located between Pau and Orthez, I saw the other day at lunchtime Many shepherds and many shepherdesses	Franco-Spanish border (Orthez was the medieval royal seat of Gaston Phébus)
11	Entre Lagni sus Marne et Miaus, Prés d'un bos en une valee, Pastourelles et pastouriaus Vi l'autrier en une assamblee	Between Lagny-sur-Marne and Meaux Near the forest in a valley, Shepherds and shepherdesses I saw the other day in a group	just east of Paris
12	Entre Lille et le Warneston Hors dou chemin en une pree, Vi le jour d'une Ascension... De pastoureaus grant assamblee	Between Lille and Warneton Beyond the road in a field I saw on the Feast of the Ascension A large group of shepherds	between Lille, France and the modern Franco- Belgian border (medieval Flanders, post-1369 part of Burgundy)
14	Assés prés de Roumorentin En l'ombre de deus arbrisseaus, Vi l'autre jour en un gardin Pastourelles et pastoureaus	Quite near Romorantin-Lathenay In the shadow of two saplings, I saw the other day in a garden Shepherdesses and shepherds	approx. halfway between Blois and Bourges (medieval residence of Jean de Berry)
15	Assés prés dou castiel dou Dable, Liquels est au conte Daufin, Vi l'autre ier ordonner leur table Bregiers et bregieres ...	Quite near the castle of Dable(?), Which is in the County of Dauphiné, I saw the other day arranging their table Shepherds and shepherdesses ...	Dauphiné is in the south- east of France, by the Franco-Italian border, medieval capital Grenoble
16	Assés prés du Bouch la Roïne, En l'ombre d'un vert arbrissel, Vi l'autrier a l'eure qu'on disne, Mainte touse et maint pastourel	Quite close to Bourg-la-Reine, In the shadow of a green sapling, I saw the other day at lunchtime Many young girls and many shepherds	just south of Paris

Thus Froissart follows the exact same formula as Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet, although, interestingly, his pastourelles are set over a much broader swathe of Francophone Europe: outside of Paris, at the Franco-Spanish and Franco-Italian borders, in northeastern France and Hainault, and, intriguingly, even in England. The settings are places intimately connected with Froissart's own peregrinations: he



hailed from Valenciennes in Hainault, resided in England from 1361 as secretary to Queen Philippa of Hainault until her death in 1369, whereupon he began to receive a benefice from L'Estinnes, back in Hainault (cf. the setting of pastourelle no. 5). In the 1370s he was under the patronage of Guy of Blois (cf. the setting of pastourelle no. 14), and from 1381 until 1384 he was the secretary to Wenceslas of Brabant, until the latter's death, at which point he became chaplain to Guy of Blois. In 1388, he undertook a six-month journey to Orthez, home to the influential Gaston de Foix, aka Gaston Phébus (cf. the setting of pastourelle no. 9), which he recounted in a famous section of his *Chroniques*, commonly known as the *Voyage en Béarn*. He visited England once more in 1395 to present Richard II with a manuscript of his poetry.<sup>147</sup>

As we can observe from the geographies presented by these three corpora, the area of northeastern France and Hainault appears to form the link between the three sets of pastourelles, which suggests that this particular politicization of the pastourelle might originate from that region. Both the anonymous poet found in the Pennsylvania manuscript, as evidenced from the dialect of his pastourelles, and Froissart are from Hainault. Deschamps, meanwhile, travelled within Picardy, in northeastern France, as well as Hainault, and those travels left their mark on his poetry: he wrote one ballade in the Picard dialect and another in which he complained comically of the Hainuyer custom

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<sup>147</sup> See the Kristen M. Figg and R. Barton Palmer, introduction to Jean Froissart, *An Anthology of Narrative and Lyric Poetry*, ed. and trans. Kristen M. Figg and R. Barton Palmer (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1-34; on the *Voyage en Béarn*, see further Peter F. Dembowski, *Jean Froissart and His "Meliador": Context, Craft, and Sense* (Lexington, KY: French Forum, 1983); George T. Diller, "Froissart's 1389 Travel to Béarn: A Voyage Narration to the Center of the *Chroniques*," in Maddox and Sturm-Maddox (ed.), *Froissart*, 50-62; and Kevin Brownlee, "Mimesis, Authority, and Murder in Jean Froissart's *Voyage en Béarn*," in *Translatio Studii: Essays By His Students in Honor of Karl D. Uitti for His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski et al. (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 65-86.

of accepting no other culinary condiment but mustard.<sup>148</sup> Yet while William Kibler and James Wimsatt have discussed the relationship between the lyric corpus found in the Pennsylvania anthology and the pastourelles of Froissart and, in passim, Deschamps, and while scholars such as Joël Blanchard and Laura Kendrick have noted the link between the pastourelles of Froissart and Deschamps, no thorough triangulation between the three has, to my knowledge, ever been presented.<sup>149</sup>

The anonymous Hainuyer poet, Deschamps, and Froissart are unique, to my knowledge, in their adoption of the pastourelle in order to comment on the ongoing war. As this chapter will show, although the three sets of pastourelles are unmistakably part of a single literary network, each corpus expresses a radically distinct political position on the ongoing conflict of the Hundred Years War. Thus, while the anonymous Hainuyer poet employs the form to lament the destruction caused to Hainault by multiple enemies, among which he pointedly includes the French, Deschamps deploys the same from a different, and much broader, geopolitical perspective to rail against the English and to critique the actions of the French government during the war. Froissart does something

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<sup>148</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, V, 69-70 (no. 884), and IV, 282-83 (no. 780); on his travels to Picardy, see Laurie, “Deschamps,” 15-16.

<sup>149</sup> See Kibler and Wimsatt, “Development,” 32-33. Wimsatt notes in “Froissart, Chaucer,” the relationship between the Pennsylvania manuscript corpus and Froissart’s pastourelles and offers the fascinating suggestion that Chaucer’s interest in representing common laborers (the Miller, the Reeve, the Canon’s Yeoman) may have something to do with this pastourelle tradition (this argument flows from his suggestion that Chaucer may have been familiar with the Pennsylvania manuscript). See further Joël Blanchard, *La pastorale en France aux XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Recherches sur les structures de l’imaginaire médiéval* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1983), 69-89, and Helen Cooper, *The Pastoral: Mediaeval into Renaissance* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1977), 75 (who note the relationship between Deschamps and Froissart); and Laura Kendrick, “L’Invention de l’opinion paysanne dans la poésie d’Eustache Deschamps,” in Lacassagne and Lassabatère (eds.), *Dictez*, 163-82, especially 171ff (who notes the relationship between Deschamps and Froissart and, on 173, n. 24, briefly mentions the Pennsylvania pastourelles). Kendrick also suggests, on 172-73, a possible parallel between Deschamps’ pastourelles and *The Song of the Husbandman*, an alliterative Middle English work from c. 1340, in which a farmer complains of excessive taxation; this is an intriguing suggestion that I would like to pursue further at a later point.

still different and no less formally sophisticated: he uses this politicized variation on the pastourelle to discuss a variety of securely datable historical events taking place over a decade and a half of the Hundred Years War, from 1364 to 1389. These discussions are pursued, moreover, from a staggering variety of geopolitical perspectives that works to produce a meta-commentary on the very fungibility of this highly politicized variation on the pastourelle across Francophone Europe. In this way, we move, in the three corpora, from the narrow regionalist perspective of the anonymous Hainuyer poet to Froissart's representation of a plurality of perspectives from all over Francophone Europe, each differently affected by the Hundred Years War.

Through this triangulation, I intend to show how the heavy literary borrowing of formal elements of *formes fixes* lyric across multiple Francophone regions was able to be harnessed in order to foster divisive politics, even as the processes of borrowing and adaptation testify to the strong cross-regional ties of its practitioners. As we are about to see, the aspect of the war that particularly engages the three poets' attention is the advent of mercenary warfare and enforced taxation, side-effects of specifically the Hundred Years War that were particularly devastating to the rural populations of Francophone Europe. This new kind of warfare, I argue, demanded new paradigms for thinking about destroyed communities, and the three poets' novel transformation of the pastourelle can therefore be understood as responding to the need to address and theorize a type of violence previously unseen.

## I. Origins and Features of the Fourteenth-Century Pastourelle

The *pastourelle* is a notoriously slippery term, even by medieval standards, and its definition is occluded by the taxonomies of modern scholars, such as Michel Zink and Geri Smith, who tend to refer to it as a genre.<sup>150</sup> The *pastourelle* originated in thirteenth-century troubadour and trouvère lyric and became incorporated as a category within *formes fixes* lyric sometime in the early fourteenth century.<sup>151</sup> However, while it assumed a stable lyric form within the *formes fixes* genre (five octosyllabic stanzas with a refrain, much like a *chanson royale*), the *pastourelle* continued to be first and foremost defined by the pastoral setting of its content and its non-courtly, bawdy and/or violent evocation of sex, its key feature that sets it apart from other *formes fixes* sub-genres which treat of courtly love.<sup>152</sup> Our three corpora, it should be noted, largely fit the prescribed form, though both Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet have two lyrics each with decasyllabic stanzas; Froissart and the Hainuyer poet, moreover, use exceptionally long stanzas of 13 and up to even 16 lines.<sup>153</sup> Deschamps himself mentions the *pastourelle* only in passing in his *ars poetica*, but he notes significantly, if obliquely, that they and *sote ballades* “se font de semblables taille et par la maniere que font les ballades amoureuses, excepte tant que les maters se different selon la volonte et le sentement du faiseur” (are composed to be of similar length and style as ballades about love, except

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<sup>150</sup> See Michel Zink, *La Pastourelle: poésie et folklore au Moyen Age* (Paris: Bordas, 1972), Blanchard, *Pastorale*, and Geri L. Smith, *The Medieval French Pastourelle Tradition: Poetic Motivations and Generic Transformations* (Tallahassee: University Press of Florida, 2009).

<sup>151</sup> On the question of its origins, see Edmond Faral, “La Pastourelle,” *Romania* 49 (1923): 236-41.

<sup>152</sup> See Zink, *Pastourelle*, 109. Cf. the introduction to Deschamps, *Dictier*, 39, and Kibler and Wimsatt, “Development,” 23-25, who further offer interesting information on the classification of *pastourelles* in fifteenth-century *formes fixes* treatises.

<sup>153</sup> Cf. Kibler and Wimsatt, “Development,” 28.

that their content is different, according to the will and intention of the poet).<sup>154</sup> While this definition does not reveal much, it is significant that Deschamps also distinguishes the pastourelle first and foremost by its content.

Indeed, an interest in the pastoral was hardly limited to the *formes fixes*: as Helen Cooper notes, “writer after writer in the Middle Ages takes up the same essential subject, the shepherd, and treats him in essentially the same ways, consciously working in a literary tradition that cuts across all the usual generic classifications of mediaeval literature and culture into religious or secular, drama or lyric, romance, carol, homily, royal entry and so on .... [It is] a mode of thought or presentation, a particular optic on the world ...”<sup>155</sup> Thus, the pastourelle’s most stable feature is its plot, which most often consists of a conversation on a spring or summer day, in some idealized *locus amoenus* such as a field, grove, orchard, garden, etc, between a shepherdess and a knight, or else another shepherd.<sup>156</sup> The man in the pastourelle is trying to have sex with the woman, sometimes by means of seduction, sometimes by means of bribery or coercion, sometimes by means of outright physical violence. In response, the shepherdess teases, acquiesces, bargains, resists, fights back, or does not, or cannot; the pastourelle, of which approximately 150 are extant in Old French, represents an almost infinite set of variations

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<sup>154</sup> Deschamps, *Dictier*, 94. Cf. the early fourteenth century Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 308, an early fourteenth-century chansonnier of lyrics that taxonomizes the lyrics by their metrical features, save the pastourelle category, which is based not on the lyrics’ form at all but on their pastoral setting: Zink, *Pastourelle*, 18, 32.

<sup>155</sup> Cooper, *Pastoral*, 48.

<sup>156</sup> Though Zink observes that it is strictly shepherdesses who tend to be encountered in open spaces, like fields, while other kinds of damsels, including ladies, tend to be encountered in closed spaces, like orchards and gardens: *Pastourelle*, 86-87.

on this basic scenario.<sup>157</sup> Readers of Chaucer might recognize the opening of the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, in which a knight rapes a woman in a field, as loosely related to the pastourelle.

As Cooper observes, “[t]he sexual availability of the shepherdess of the *pastourelles* overlaps with ideas of Golden Age free love, but the motif can be treated as male fantasy, as female tragedy, or as a measure of deep moral disorder.”<sup>158</sup> Thus the pastourelle may be purely bawdy and comic, even where violent rape is involved, and there are certainly examples of the genre in which the very violence of the rape is brutally eroticized, though the reader is equally often reassured that the shepherdess ultimately “wanted it.”<sup>159</sup> Furthermore, the nature of the shepherdess’ scruples often suggests a young woman ultimately eager for and unashamed of sexual congress: although in some pastourelles she may fear losing her virginity and demand marriage of the knight or insist on her fidelity to her shepherd lover, she is also often depicted as only balking for fear of

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<sup>157</sup> For detailed overviews of the pastourelle, see Faral, “Pastourelle”; Zink, *Pastourelle*, especially 5-63; Cooper, *Pastoral*, 47-71 (who gives valuable background on a range of pastoral genres and includes important Middle English analogues), and Smith, *Medieval*, 17-69. There are also a few late medieval Middle English pastourelles, which have been briefly discussed by John Scattergood in “The Love Lyric Before Chaucer,” in *A Companion to Medieval English Lyric*, ed. Thomas G. Duncan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), 60-65. Carissa Harris, via electronic correspondence, suggests elevating the number of insular pastourelles to ten, wherein she includes examples from Middle English as well as Middle Scots alehouse lyric, in which the *locus amoenus* and interaction between woman and predatory man has been transferred to the alehouse interior; this corpus, newly identified by her, constitutes the subject of her current research.

<sup>158</sup> Helen Cooper, “Speaking For the Victim,” in *Writing War: Medieval Literary Responses to Warfare*, ed. Corinne Saunders, Françoise Le Saux and Neil Thomas (Woodbridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 219.

<sup>159</sup> Faral, “Pastourelle,” 227-29; Smith, *Medieval*, 33-34; and Kathryn Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens: Writing Rape in Medieval French Literature and Law* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 104-21. Fascinatingly, Smith notes at least one example in which the situation is reversed, so that the shepherdess rapes the narrator: *Medieval*, 35. Cf. Zink’s discussion of the Spanish *serranilla*, an example of which is found in Juan Ruiz’s *Libro de buen amor*, in which male travelers are attacked by giant, monstrous women in remote mountain overpasses: *Pastourelle*, 39, 86-96.

her mother's rebukes for having extramarital sex or for fear of her lover's jealousy.<sup>160</sup>

Andreas Capellanus' treatise on courtly love sanctions violence as a means of extracting sex from peasant women, which would suggest that the pastourelle is depicting the rape of shepherdesses as a basically normative act.<sup>161</sup>

Zink notes, however, that, despite the uncourtliness of the shepherdess, the emphasis on the violence of rape constitutes a moral critique of the knight-rapist as well, such that "il est bien difficile de savoir de qui l'on se moque" (it becomes quite difficult to know who is being made fun of).<sup>162</sup> At the same time, however, the emphasis on the first person account in the pastourelle "crée une complicité forcée entre l'auditeur et le poète séducteur, [et] il contribue à rendre la bergère plus radicalement étrangère en empêchant l'auditeur, quoi qu'il arrive, de se mettre à sa place ..." (creates a forced complicity between the listener and the seducer poet, [and] it contributes towards making the shepherdess more radically foreign in preventing the listener, whatever happens, to put himself in her place).<sup>163</sup> Thus, while the knight's behavior is under reproach, the very structure of the pastourelle, being depicted from the knight-rapist's point of view, makes audience identification with the rape victim difficult, if not impossible.

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<sup>160</sup> Zink, *Pastourelle*, 56-57, 60.

<sup>161</sup> Andreas Capellanus writes: "We say that it rarely happens that we find farmers serving in Love's court, but naturally, like a horse or a mule, they give themselves up to the work of Venus, as nature's urging teaches them to do ... And if you should, by some chance, fall in love with some of their women, be careful to puff them up with lots of praise and then, when you find a convenient place, do not hesitate to take what you seek and to embrace them by force. For you can hardly soften their outward inflexibility so far that they will grant you their embraces quietly or permit you to have the solaces you desire unless first you use a little compulsion as a convenient cure for their shyness." Text edited in Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, ed. and trans. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 149-50.

<sup>162</sup> Zink, *Pastourelle*, 62.

<sup>163</sup> Zink, *Pastourelle*, 118.

Smith pushes further the argument that the pastourelle can also be a significant vehicle of social critique aimed not just, or not exclusively, at the sexually active shepherdess but also at the coercive man of the pastourelle, who is usually elevated by several social degrees from the woman and often bribes the shepherdess with expensive objects from his aristocratic world in exchange for sex.<sup>164</sup> The isolated quality of the pastourelle's bucolic setting emphasizes the knight's literal penetration into a world in which he does belong and in which his own courtly social norms are no longer a standard to be followed.<sup>165</sup> Indeed, by having or even seeking sex (whether consensual or coerced), the knight is no longer upholding the ideal of courtly love that is, by definition, or at least to all appearances, asexual. As Smith points out, "[t]he knight's interactions with the shepherdess expose his hidden dark side, the tendencies that his social code controls but does not eradicate, which also suggests that that code is but a device, a disguise, to be cast aside when no one is looking."<sup>166</sup>

In such a way, the pastourelle, from its very origins as bawdy verse, is arguably fundamentally constituted as a vehicle for social critique, which renders it a ready candidate for appropriation in the service of a political critique. Other types of pastourelles revolve around the idyllic love affairs of young shepherds, often named some variation of Robin and Marot/Maret/Marion;<sup>167</sup> another branch depicts the representation of pastoral life more generally in which shepherds are being represented as

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<sup>164</sup> Smith, *Medieval*, 22-26, 28-30.

<sup>165</sup> Smith, *Medieval*, 21.

<sup>166</sup> Smith, *Medieval*, 50.

<sup>167</sup> For an extensive list of names for shepherds and shepherdesses in pastourelles, see Faral, "Pastourelle," 251, n. 3.



revelling or having a conversation over a meal while the narrator looks on.<sup>168</sup> This latter type of *pastourelle* that depicts shepherds' revelry or meals, as witnessed by a narrator, can also evoke intimations of violence: the shepherds' pastimes, for example, often end in an altercation or a dispute, culminating in a physical violence that exposes the contingency of the bucolic ideal.<sup>169</sup> The shepherd revelry/conversation-type *pastourelle* also participates in the kinds of implicit social critique that Zink and Smith note in the knight-shepherdess *pastourelle*, for in these works the representation of the pastoral "simple life" is often presented in stark contrast to the over-complicated world of the aristocracy. A good example of such critique is Philippe de Vitry's *Dicts du Franc Gontier*, in which the narrator overhears the shepherd Gontier, who is eating a humble repast of bread, cheese, fruit and nuts, offer the following thanks to God (ll. 19-28):

<p>“Ne scay,” dit il, “que sont piliers de marbre,  Pommeaux luisans, murs vestus de peinture.  Je n’ay paour de trahison tissue  Soubs beau samblant, ne qui empoisonné soye  En vaisseau d’or. Je n’ay la teste nue  Devant tyran, ne genoil qui se ploye.  Verge d’huissier jamais ne me desboute;  Car jusques là ne me prend convoitise,  Ambition, ne lescherie gloute,  Labour me plait en joyeuse franchise ...”</p>	<p>“I don’t know,” he said, “what marble pillars are,  Or shining knobs, walls covered with paintings.  I am not afraid of treachery formed  Beneath well-seeming, nor that I might be poisoned  With gold plate. My head is not bared  Before the tyrant, nor is my knee bent.  The officer’s rod never abuses me,  For cupidity does not take me to that point,  Nor ambition, nor avid debauchery,  Labor pleases me in its joyful freedom ...”<sup>170</sup></p>
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<sup>168</sup> Some contemporary scholars, such as Cooper, distinguish this kind of lyric from the *pastourelle* by the term *bergerie* (from OF *berger*, shepherd). This is, however, a modern distinction; extant manuscript rubrics to lyrics of either branch refer to them simply as “*pastourelles*,” whether they depict a knight’s rape of a shepherdess or the revelry of shepherds: Smith, *Medieval*, 1 and Cooper, “Speaking,” 216. See Blanchard who prefers the term “*pastorale*”: *Pastorale*, 17-27, especially 17 where he outlines his critique of the term “*bergerie*.” I will be adhering to the term “*pastourelle*” throughout my discussion, specifying to which sub-type I am referring.

<sup>169</sup> Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 24-27. Cf. *La douçour del tens novel*, in which the narrator’s joining of the revelry to dance with one of the shepherdesses provokes jealousy from another shepherd who objects to the narrator’s intrusion into their space; a fight ensues, and the narrator is chased off by the shepherds: text given in Zink, *Pastourelle*, 136-138.

<sup>170</sup> Text from *Les Œuvres de Philippe de Vitry*, ed. Prosper Tarbé (Reims: P. Reignier, 1850), 140; translation is my own.

Vitry's shepherd Gontier may lack the trappings of a wealthy life at court but, as he points out, he also has no obligations of vassalage and no fear of political intrigue, so that his own agricultural labor becomes, in the clever reversal of the final line, an extension of his freedom.<sup>171</sup> In such a way, the pastourelle, as a lyric form, was always associated with some kind of sociopolitical critique, which explains why Deschamps, Froissart, and the anonymous poet should turn to it to declare their views on the Hundred Years War.<sup>172</sup> As we will shortly see, the anonymous Hainuyer poet, Deschamps, and Froissart are clearly highly aware of the conventions of the pastourelle: each includes at least one example of a traditional pastourelle, and each further plays with its conventions in his particular corpus in order to further his political opinion.

## II. Silence of the Lambs: The Pastourelles of the Pennsylvania Manuscript

Of the three poets, the anonymous Hainuyer poet's awareness of and engagement with traditional pastourelles is perhaps the most apparent, since his pastourelles form a self-contained lyric cycle that propels forward its political critique of the Hundred Years War through a sophisticated juxtaposition of traditional pastourelles alongside non-traditional politicized pastourelles. The pastourelles are placed at the very beginning of the Pennsylvania anthology, and they are extant only in that manuscript. They differ radically from the rest of the collection both with regard to their form—they are the only pastourelles included in the collection—and with regard to their highly political content, not shared by the rest of the lyrics in the anthology. They voice a powerful critique of the

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<sup>171</sup> Cf. Cooper on the tradition of shepherd as wise teacher in *Pastoral*, 71-79.

<sup>172</sup> Cf. again Cooper on later fifteenth-century French works, such as *Le Pastoralet*, that use figures from the pastoral to comment on contemporary political events, particularly war, in *Pastoral*, 79-85.

Hundred Years War from the perspective of the war's victims in the rural regions of Hainault that were most historically affected by the devastating pillaging of the multiple armies that passed through it in the mid-late fourteenth century. They are also, unlike the rest of the Pennsylvania anthology, composed in the regional dialect of Hainault, which, together with their geographic setting in places like Amiens, suggests that they were composed somewhere within that region.

This opening set is so strikingly different from the rest of the Pennsylvania compilation that it is tempting to think that it might not fit with the rest of the volume, having been somehow added later. Indeed, the anonymous Hainuyer's poet's lyrics appear successively from fols. 1r-8r, i.e. on fifteen manuscript pages, or in just under a single gathering, which suggests that the sequence may have originally been written to circulate as an independent booklet. We have just seen, in the previous chapter, the library inventory of Charles V and Charles VI describing certain collections of lyrics as individual quires, wrapped in no more than limp parchment, rendering it possible that the exemplar for this sequence may have circulated in such a manner.<sup>173</sup> The sequence's close parallels with the late-fourteenth-century work of Deschamps and Froissart supports the idea that these lyrics, or something like them, may have enjoyed independent circulation in that period: both Deschamps and Froissart died in c. 1404, roughly contemporaneously with the production of the Pennsylvania manuscript. The anthology, however, we recall, is through-copied up until fol. 73r and evidently, judging from its visual schema and the arrangement of its contents, designed to work as a coherent

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<sup>173</sup> See, for example, no. 1233 in Delisle, *Recherches*.

volume. Furthermore, the third lyric copied after this opening pastourelle sequence is rubricated “Complaint de pastour et de pastourelle amoureuse” (Love complaint of a shepherd and shepherdess); it is also a pastourelle, albeit with no political accents.

Written by Granson, this lyric constitutes the first item by that poet in the collection and stands at the head of a lengthy Granson sequence, as if furnishing a smooth transition between the two sections. There is, moreover, a work in the very final section of the volume, copied by the third scribe and containing lyrics with formal features revealing them to be contemporary with the production of the manuscript, which reprises the pastoral themes found in the opening sequence. In such a way, the placement of the political critique at the opening of the codex appears to be deliberate, and this evocation of the savage violence of the Hundred Years War thus neatly frames the Pennsylvania manuscript’s construction of a literary history for the *formes fixes*, a point to which we will return.

The anonymous Hainuyer poet’s pastourelle sequence opens with a text, *Un viel pastour nommé Hermans*, that is actually not a traditional pastourelle of the kind described above but just a situation placed in a pastoral setting. This lyric reproduces in miniature a move that other works in the sequence will repeat, on various planes of organization, again and again: a sudden shift in meaning that re-orientes our understanding of the preceding. The lyric recounts the death-bed wish of an old shepherd to his son, to whom he is leaving his livestock, and there is much humor to be had from the discrepancy between the *gravitas* of the deathbed and the banality of the deathbed wish. Thus, the old man lengthily instructs the son on the propriety of outerwear, warning him

against wearing tunics without hose that will leave his backside and genitals exposed. The bathetic quality of this deathbed scene becomes serious towards the end of the text, however, when the father suddenly reminds the son that it was to the shepherds that “l’ange alast apparant ... en disant: | ‘Puer natus est,’” (ll. 49-50: “the angel appeared ... saying: ‘The son is born.’”).<sup>174</sup> The sudden use of Latin in this line instantly raises the poem into a register that transforms the rather silly scene into a grander meditation on life and death, this father-son pair into the Father-Son pair. As the father passes away, the son hears a voice coming down from heaven, assuring him that he too will be taken up to God one day. In this way, comic realism gives way to Christian miracle. The devotional elements of this poem thus evoke the notion of the unique privileged position of the lowly shepherd as mouthpiece for the divine that echoes the position of the shepherd in Philippe de Vitry’s *Dicts de Franc Gontier*, who was able to critique courtly life from his pastoral remove.<sup>175</sup> In this way, the evocation of God in this opening to the pastourelle collection in the Pennsylvania anthology implicitly sets up and valorizes the sociopolitical critiques expressed by shepherds in the rest of the sequence.

The second pastourelle, *Robin seoit droit delez un perier*, introduces two themes that will continue to recur over the course of the whole sequence: predestined misfortune and gendered power play. In this pastourelle, a shepherd and shepherdess, Robin and Maret, argue over astrological influence. Maret maintains that even were one to be as worthy as Hector or as humble as Job, his success in life would still depend exclusively

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<sup>174</sup> Text of this and all subsequent citations from this sequence comes from my transcription of the Pennsylvania manuscript, with silent expansion of abbreviation and added punctuation; translation is my own.

<sup>175</sup> Cf., on devotional Christian pastoral elements in medieval passion plays, Cooper, *Pastoral*, 90-99, and Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 241-82.

on “la vertu de constellacion” (ll. 35-39: the power of the constellations). Robin is shocked by Maret’s belief in the planets. Were that to be true, he argues vehemently, then women become prostitutes simply “par la vertu de constellacion” (ll. 49-52) i.e. their sin would be predetermined, leaving no room for free will, which would counter Christian doctrine. Of the seven liberal arts, he continues, astronomy is surely the least exact science; it deceives all of the “plusgrans” (greats) and is therefore largely useless (ll. 56-65). Maret gets the final say, however, when she responds archly (ll. 69-71):

Affulez vo cappel.	Put on your hat.
Il plouvera, car je voy l’arc ou ciel	It’s going to rain, for I see the rainbow
Par la vertu de constellacion.	By the power of the constellations.

Robin and Maret’s amusing exchange presents a miniature, low-stakes power struggle in the ostensible form of a flirtation that recalls the gendered struggle of the traditional pastourelle, even if its subject matter is somewhat loftier.<sup>176</sup> Robin has tried to silence Maret by reminding her that astronomy falls under the seven liberal arts of the university curriculum, and his casual mention of the “plusgrans” seems to be an attempt to crush her argument under the weight of scholastic (male) authority. At the same time, his odd choice of example, the predestined prostitute, reminds us uneasily of the tragic fates of premodern women who pay for a sole act of indiscretion—or rape—with a lifetime of infamy, a fate indeed uncomfortably close to the potential real-life experience of any shepherdess seduced—or raped—by a passing knight or shepherd. Maret, however, will not be backed into a corner. She has already affirmed her own access to learned knowledge through her earlier allusions to Hector and Job. In her final volley, she does away with learned discourse altogether by bringing in the lived experience of a person

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<sup>176</sup> On female wit in pastourelles, see Smith, *Medieval*, 43-45.

who spends much of her time outdoors. Whether or not the skies can truly determine one's fate, she suggests, they can certainly determine something, namely the weather, and all of Robin's bookishness will not save him from a squall. The second lyric of the sequence thus portrays a clever female interlocutor who can cannily use both daily experience and scholarly authority to make her male opposition look ridiculous, even as the tragic fate that befalls women, who deal less successfully with potential suitors, looms in the background of the lyric.<sup>177</sup>

If I have gone into this text in some detail, it is because the two themes it introduces, gender power plays and the influence of (mis)fortune, will become extremely important for the over-arching narrative created by rest of the anonymous Hainuyer poet's pastourelle sequence. The theme of planetary influence returns in the fourth lyric, *De sa Amiens plusieurs bergiers trouway*, but the tone is now far from comic. We are still engaged with the rustic life of shepherds, but the plot no longer concerns male-female relations: instead, we open with that traditional formula, shared between this poet, Deschamps, and Froissart, of the travelling narrator who comes across a group of shepherds, in this case, in Amiens. One of the shepherds speaks of having lost two hundred sheep, his breeding ram, and his sheepdog, i.e. his entire livelihood. A friend attempts to console the hapless shepherd by explaining that his situation is simply the fault of the planets, "car chascun a predestinacion" (l.28: for every man is predestined). After all, even the son of a cobbler can become an archbishop, and even a prince can rot

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<sup>177</sup> The interplay between lived experience and bookish authority in Maret's speech in this, and, we shall shortly see, other pastourelles in this sequence, forms an interesting parallel to Chaucer's *Wife of Bath*, whose tale opens with a knight raping a maiden in a field, a potentially intriguing avenue to explore beyond the purview of this chapter.

to death in prison (ll. 46-50). While ostensibly simply developing a similar—and commonplace—theme of planetary influence, this lyric introduces its readers to the precarious reality of the shepherd whose livelihood relies on the fragile lives of animals and plants. The shepherd, as the first lyric in the sequence has shown us, is a privileged mouthpiece for God, but in this fourth lyric in the sequence, he is more of a Job than a visionary, as the lyric itself suggests by inviting the reader to meditate on Job's suffering in the penultimate line of its envoy.

In the next lyric, *Plusieurs bergers et bergerelles*, the theme of socioeconomic plight is yet further augmented. The lyric opens with the same motif of the traveler who comes across a group of shepherds lunching on a humble meal of onions and rye bread. They are discussing the current socioeconomic situation of the region that has led their fellow shepherds to become homeless beggars, selling their very clothes and their very knives for bread (ll. 23-4). The group of shepherds worry that such a fate will befall them too, for Reason and Peace have gone missing, and Justice has retired to India (the refrain of the poem). The lyric goes on to develop a traditionally idealized image of India as the legendary Christian community of the just ruler Prester John, in which no one is sold into servitude, no one lies, and in which the rich aid their community (ll. 34-36).<sup>178</sup> This ideal world is then explicitly compared by the shepherds to their own region, in which, they lament, wolves eat sheep with impunity for there is no one to guard the animals (ll. 41-3). If in the previous lyric, rural poverty was presented as an individualized phenomenon attributed to arbitrary planetary influence, then in this pastourelle, rural poverty has

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<sup>178</sup> See, in particular, Charles Fraser Beckingham and Bernard Hamilton, *Prester John, the Mongols, and the Ten Lost Tribes* (Ashgate: Variorum Publishing, 1996) and Charles E. Nowell, "The Historical Prester John," *Speculum* 28.03 (1953): 435-445.



become the problem of an entire community, and it is now given a clear and specific cause: a breakdown in the administrative and judicial framework of the region that has failed to protect its community from predatory elements.

The Hainuyer poet is invoking here the real historical violence levied on the rural inhabitants of north-eastern Francophone Europe—marked here by that geographic reference to Amiens—by English mercenaries. As we saw above in the Introduction, these were new kinds of soldiers engaged in a new kind of warfare, the *chevauchée*, a gruesome intimidation tactic of pillaging and burning towns and villages, particularly favored by the armies of Edward III and Edward the Black Prince in the 1350s and 1360s. In his *Chroniques*, Froissart describes the soldiers on *chevauchée* as a relentless war machine, killing and imprisoning men, women, and children and leaving nothing but burnt buildings and fields in their wake.<sup>179</sup> A French chronicle by Jean de Venette paints a harrowing image of the destruction visited by the English on the rural regions that they passed through from the point of view of French survivors:

The English destroyed, burned, and plundered many little towns and villages in this part of the diocese of Beauvais, capturing or even killing the inhabitants ... The fields were not sown or plowed. There were no cattle or fowl in the fields. No cock crowed in the depths of the night... No hen called to her chicks ... No lambs or calves bleated after their mothers in this region ... No wayfarers went along the roads, carrying their best cheese and dairy produce to market. Throughout the parishes and villages, alas! went forth no mendicants to hear confessions and to preach in Lent but rather robbers and thieves to carry off openly whatever they could find. Houses and churches no longer presented a smiling appearance with newly repaired roofs but rather the lamentable spectacle of scattered, smoking ruins to which they had been reduced by devouring flames ... What more can I say? Every misery increased on every hand, especially among the rural population, the peasants, for their lords bore hard on them, extorting from them all their substance and poor means of livelihood ...<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>179</sup> Froissart, *Œuvres*, V, 339-52.

<sup>180</sup> Citation from Rogers (ed.), *Wars*, 169.

In its evocation of the desolation, Venette's passage constructs a parallel between the populace and its animals when he describes the simultaneous lack of livestock in the fields and of peasants in the country roads and villages. The absence of animals going about their daily business of grazing, birthing, and nurturing mirrors the absence of human beings, going about their own daily routines. This overlay of scenes of animals onto scenes of people powerfully conflates barnyard animals, who rely on their peasant caretaker for their protection, and their peasant owners, who rely on their animals, and on the products produced by their animals' bodies (wool, milk, cheese, eggs, etc), for their own sustenance and economic survival. Such conflation, as we are about to see, is not limited to this chronicle but becomes the dominant conceit of the pastourelle cycle in the Pennsylvania manuscript.

The very next lyric in the Hainuyer poet's sequence, *Trois bergers d'ancien aez*, picks up immediately where the preceding left off by abruptly raising the stakes behind the invocation of wolves and sheep in the service of a critique of administrative justice. In this pastourelle, a traveler again comes across some shepherds who are sitting down to a humble noonday repast of milk and shelled peas, again described in the careful detail that lends color to the scene even as it reminds us of the rigors of peasant life: there is no meat in this meal.<sup>181</sup> A shepherdess stops by with troubling news (ll. 13-15):

Que ne scay quel gent de parage	Some noblemen, I don't know who,
Ont esleu – de quoy j'ay merveilles –	Have retained—and I marvel at this—
Un leu por garder les oeilles.	A wolf to guard the ewes.

The wolf-sheep motif that we had just encountered in the previous lyric has just become significantly starker here: in the previous lyric, wolves are simply eating defenseless

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<sup>181</sup> Cf. Smith, *Medieval*, 24, on the focus on rustic food in *pastourelles*.

sheep, as wolves do, and the problem is that no one is bothering to hunt or trap them. Here the unnamed and unknown “gent de parage” have intentionally endangered the sheep by giving the wolves direct access to and power over them, so that the idea of sheep and wolves is no longer a realistic reference to animals and their natural predators but, instead, an evident synecdoche for peasants and the soldiers that are going after them.

At this point, in contrast to the preceding lyrics in the sequence and in the very moment that wolves and sheep clearly turn allegorical, the text suddenly becomes pointedly historically specific to the Hundred Years War. Hinaux, the eldest shepherd of the three in the conversation, begins to recall all the military turmoil he has seen over the course of his lifespan, which, the text informs us, has been one hundred years (l. 43). Hinaux’s earliest memory is of Saint Louis’ crusade to Tunis in 1270 (suggesting, a 1360s date for the poem, as Hinaux presumably would have to have been at least a young child in 1270, provided the author of the work is aiming for any accuracy).<sup>182</sup> This recollection is followed by a bewildering array of other place names in which Hinaux has been a witness to some kind of military operation (ll. 22-26, 47-52, 57-58). The lyric’s editors, Kibler and Wimsatt, have identified these geographic locations as the sites of numerous historical campaigns and sieges of the Northern French and Flemish theater of the Hundred Years War:

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<sup>182</sup> Cf. Kibler and Wimsatt, “Development,” 33-34: they suggest the wolf guarding the ewes image may be a reference to the Treaty of London (1359) or the Treaty of Brétigny (1360), which accorded Edward III large tracts of land on the Continent.

Mons en peure = **Mons-en-Pévèle, France**, close to the modern Franco-Belgian border, site of battle between Philip IV and the Flemish in 1304 and a city fallen to Edward III in 1340 and later burned by William of Hainault

Cassel = **Cassel, France**, also close to the modern Franco-Belgian border, site of Philip VI's quashing of a Flemish rebellion in 1328

Bouvines = **Bouvines, France**, also on the modern Franco-Belgian border, the site of a military camp of Philip VI in 1340

Rel = possibly **Rethel, France**, in the northeast, burned by the French in 1359 during the *chevauchée* of Edward the Black Prince<sup>183</sup>

Escaus = identified in the lyric as a river, thus referencing **Scheldt** (in Flemish), aka Escaus (in French), which divided medieval Flanders from medieval Brabant, but this is possibly being confused by the lyric's author with the city of **Scheldt, Belgium**, site of a 1356 battle in which Louis de Male of Flanders besieged Brabant

Tun = **Thun-l'Éveque, France**, also in the northeast, a city lost to the English early on in the Hundred Years War and where the English were besieged in 1340 by the Duke of Normandy

Tournay = **Tournai, Belgium**, on the modern Franco-Belgian border, besieged unsuccessfully in 1340 by Edward III and Flemish allies

Bourc Vvaynes = possibly (**Burgh, i.e. city?**) **Vannes, France**, on the other side of the country in Bretagne, captured by the English in 1342

Cazant = **Cadzand, the Netherlands**, a coastal town from which the French raided passing English ships that was attacked in turn by the English in 1337<sup>184</sup>

The old shepherd has even seen the king of England doing homage to Philip (ll. 52-56), i.e. Edward III's official oath of recognition of Philip VI's claim to the French throne when the latter was crowned in 1329, a crucial moment in the pre-history of the Hundred Years War; the original conflict began when Edward publicly recanted this oath. At the end of his lengthy litany, the ancient shepherd concludes that, in all this time, during all these events, he never once saw a wolf appointed to guard sheep. His friend, Hubaut, adds that even during the Black Death outbreak (the author probably intends the initial

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<sup>183</sup> Chaucer was, notably, captured during this campaign and brought to nearby Rheims, at the same time that an elderly Machaut was, reluctantly, conscripted to defend the city walls: see Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 78-84.

<sup>184</sup> See Kibler and Wimsatt, "Development," line notes to text edited on 50-54.

and most devastating one of 1348), which Hubaut has survived, even then no one let wolves guard sheep (l. 63). Both old shepherds thus underscore, through the use of a synecdoche of wolves and sheep for predatory governing forces and defenseless peasants, that the current political situation is worse than anything that has happened in and around Hainault as well as northeastern France and Bretagne in the last disastrous hundred years.

This detailed overview of a century of political instability, topped off by the allusion to the calamitous effects of the Black Death, is particularly striking in its repeated demonstration that, while the Hundred Years' War is taking place mainly between the English and the French, there is a variety of ongoing and equally destructive regional conflicts that heavily involve the neighboring Flemish, who also become the targets of the lyric's political critique. The shepherds themselves are, significantly, not veterans of any of these conflicts: Hinaux the old shepherd, "vi" (saw) the king go off to campaign in Tunis as well as the "desconfiture" (routing) at Mons-en-Pévèle, Cassel, Bouvines, and Rethel, and that verb "vi" is repeated three more times before each new grouping of towns and historical events in his litany. This anaphora emphasizes that Hinaux is no war veteran, no active participant, but a repeated witness to this cataclysmic series of conflicts. The anonymous Hainuyer poet further uses forms of the verb "veoir" (to see) in a delicate anaphoric structure within the penultimate line of every stanza before the refrain (emphasis added):

Mais onques, mais en tout mon aage, Ne vi ne oy de mes oreilles Un leu pour garder les ouelles.	But never, in all my years, Have I ever seen nor heard with my ears Of a wolf guarding ewes.
Mais ne vy de jours na chandeilles Un lieu pour garder les oailles.	But in no days nor any nights have I seen A wolf guarding ewes.
Qui onc veist, de ce me conseilliez, Un leu pour garder les ouelles?	Who has ever seen, please tell me, A wolf guarding ewes?
Car plus ne verras, or y veilles, Un leu pour garder les oailles.	For never more will you see, though you stand watch here, A wolf guarding ewes.

This repeated use of forms of the verb *to see* serves to accentuate the role of the shepherds as passive witnesses. From this perspective, the shepherdess' inability to name the "gent de parage" (noblemen), that have appointed wolves to guard sheep, points to the sheer number of military leaders who have barreled through the region over the years, one after another, each with different agendas and different enemies, while the shepherds continue to tend their flocks and eat their shelled peas under the noonday sun. Through this juxtaposition of a dizzying list of military conflicts with the peaceful pastoral atmosphere, this lyric effects a powerful critique of the Hundred Years War from the point of view of its beleaguered country folk, which suffer equally from war, regardless of who might be attacking and who might be defending the region.

The next lyric, *Madoulz li bergiers & ses fieulx*, the seventh in the sequence, is another father-son dialogue within a pastoral setting, recalling the first lyric in the series, and it continues to develop the acute political critique raised in the fifth and sixth lyrics. It lacks the traditional pastourelle opening from the perspective of the unnamed traveler, but vestiges of the geographic component of the opening formula remain, since we learn that the father and son are "desa Amiens et Picardie" (l. 2: by Amiens and Picardy). The scene opens with Madoulz talking to his weeping son, who has just lost the flock of sheep

that he had been tending to a band of raiding soldiers. The theme of loss of animals, originally invoked in those earlier lyrics of the sequence, thus emerges as an expanding narrative concern within the pastourelle cycle: after one simply unlucky shepherd in the fourth lyric, we encounter a community in a lawless region in the fifth lyric, followed by a community in a war-torn region in the sixth lyric, and now, here in the seventh, we have a family reeling from the aftermath of a recent armed attack. Madoulz's immediate concern is with the identity of the pillagers: was it the Navarrese (l. 11)? The anonymous Hainuyer poet is clearly referring here to the mercenary armies of Charles the Bad, King of Navarre (r. 1349-1387), who repeatedly ravaged the French and Flemish countryside and, in particular, recruited more mercenaries from specifically Hainault in 1358 for a notoriously vicious campaign of terror to repress through rack and pillage the Jacquerie peasant revolt. Contemporary chroniclers report instructions given to Charles the Bad's mercenaries to simply kill any human being that they came across.<sup>185</sup>

The son responds that the cry he heard the raiders utter was "Saint George," which was the battle cry of the English army already in the late eleventh century and was, as we may recall from the Introduction, particularly associated with Edward III and his war campaigns.<sup>186</sup> Madoulz continues to ask if the boy heard anything else that might identify the evil-doers, asking again if they were perhaps Flemish, or French, and the boy replies that they were actually Boulonais but that he was not able to identify their arms (ll. 26-31). As Kibler and Wimsatt point out, the reference to the Boulounais adds further ambiguity to the possible identity of the raiders since Boulogne was switching hands

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<sup>185</sup> On the revolt and its repercussions, see Jonathan Sumption, *The Hundred Years War. Volume II: Trial by Fire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), 327-50, especially 334-36.

<sup>186</sup> See footnote 11 of the introduction.

between the French and the English in the late 1350s and early 1360s.<sup>187</sup> In response, Madoulz evokes the wolf imagery, familiar to us from the preceding lyric, when he points out bitterly: “Et n’est ce mie grans destrois quant no[s] voisin font pis que leu?” (ll. 43-4: Is it not a great torment when our neighbors act worse than wolves?). In this reformulation of the symbolism of the wolf and the sheep, the shepherds are now even more explicitly the victimized prey of internecine warfare that has subsumed all ties of kinship: the wolves are their own immediate neighbors. These two shepherds’ inability to distinguish their attackers—and the multiple possibilities for who these attackers might be, Navarrese, English, French, Flemish, *or* the Boulonais, the latter being themselves sufferers of political instability—strengthens still further the message of the preceding lyric: that what matters in the Hundred Years War is the catastrophic violence incurred by its innocent bystanders, rather than who is right, or who is winning, given the rapidity with which the theater of war is changing in this region.

The rest of Madoulz and his son’s discussion offers a deeper exploration of other factors, in addition to widespread militarization, that were historically contributing to the highly volatile situation in mid-late fourteenth-century Hainault. In this way, the lyric neatly picks up the theme of socioeconomic injustice that had already been introduced in *Plusieurs bergers et bergerelles*, the fifth lyric in the sequence that had imagined the allegorical figure of Justice as exiled to Prester John’s idealized kingdom in India. Having failed to establish the identity of the attackers, Madoulz now laments that—adding insult to injury—the attackers have but recently been made squires, whereas

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<sup>187</sup> See Kibler and Wimsatt, “Development,” 34 and line notes to text edited on 54-58.



previously they were just eating barley bread (ll. 45-47). Madoulz's comment suggests that he believes these attackers to be mercenaries, raised up from the lowest social strata and undeservedly outfitted with arms and chainmail, rather than true knights or warriors. After the battle of Poitiers in 1356, in which the French disastrously lost their king, John II, to English captivity, the Eastern and Northern French countryside was indeed overrun not only by the armies of the English and of Charles the Bad of Navarre but also by notoriously vicious roving bands of mercenaries, known as the Grande Compagnies; together these multiple groups terrorized local populations.<sup>188</sup> Madoulz develops this observation further in the next stanza when he explains that these men only look like knights on the outside but were they to be placed in hand-to-hand combat or a joust, their lack of proper training would be instantly revealed (ll. 49-61). He concludes: "S'il estoie paix affichie, on en pendroit tele harchie" (ll. 72-3: Were peace to be declared, one would hang such a menace).<sup>189</sup> In addition to building on the ongoing theme in this pastourelle cycle of the collapse of administrative justice, Madoulz's evocation of barley bread, signifier *par excellence* of the peasant social strata, implicitly reminds us that young men become mercenaries out of poverty, turning to the spoils of war when there is not enough to eat. We are reminded of Philippe de Mézières' similar observations on the motivations of such soldiers that we saw above in the Introduction. In such a way, the shepherds' situation is revealed to be a vicious cycle, as the loss of livelihood pushes able-bodied men into perpetuating the very same crimes of which they were the original victims.

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<sup>188</sup> Sumption, *War I*, 351-404.

<sup>189</sup> I take "harchie" as a substantive related to "harceler" (with the Picard substitution of "chi" for "ci"), meaning *to provoke, assault, torment*.

After this most direct instance of sociopolitical critique, the pastourelles cycle seems to switch gears, suddenly presenting the reader with several traditional, and occasionally quite comic, pastourelles. Nothing expressly political re-emerges until the very last lyric of the sequence where we get an elaborate, stylized beast allegory that appears starkly different, genre-wise, from the historically specific political lyrics that we have just considered. Yet even though the overtly political critique of the Hundred Years War appears to have been put on hold, there is a persistently ominous feeling brewing within the ostensibly cheerful pastoral subject matter in this second half of the lyric sequence that resonates with the troubling themes raised in its first half.

The eighth lyric, *Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps*, whisks the reader back into the amorous world of our two shepherds, Robin and Maret. Robin is again professing his love to Maret, who points out to him that his suit is a lost cause. The metaphor she uses to illustrate the futility of Robin's endeavor, however, is quite curious: she tells Robin that he stands as much of a chance in successfully winning her over as Maret's own sheep had stood against the wolf that had attacked and killed it the day before (ll. 7-13). Here that now familiar wolf-sheep imagery, used to such potent effect to represent the historical plight of shepherds in mid-late fourteenth-century Hainault earlier in the sequence, has been placed into the apolitical context of the lovelorn suitor and the rhetorically clever female who puts him off, a situation that we have already seen in the second pastourelle, in which Maret told Robin to watch out for the rain. Just like Robin's example of the prostitute was jarring to the cheerful atmosphere of that other lyric, so too Maret's

example of a wolf killing a sheep as a metaphor for unsuccessful courtship invokes a disturbingly violent image of the relations between men and women.

In the lyric's next stanza, Robin tries his suit again, comparing Maret's beauty to figures such as Guinevere and Laodamia, a conventional, albeit somewhat sinister set of comparisons: after all, Guinevere's adultery with Lancelot brought about the dissolution of the Round Table, while Laodamia, according to authors such as Ovid, Lucan, and Servius, requested the gods for permission to die with her husband, who was the first Greek to be killed in the Trojan war. As per the later tradition evoked in Hyginus' *Fabulae*, she also committed suicide after his death.<sup>190</sup> Maret again dismisses Robin's appeal to literary authority with an example rooted in her own daily, lived experience: she asks Robin whether, were she to be gored by a wolf as her sheep had been, Robin would know how to bring her back to life? He would not, she answers for him, implying that, for all his rhetoric, Robin lacks the practical knowledge necessary to a shepherd, whose profession is to care for his flock. Were Robin as beautiful as Absalom, she continues, as strong as David when he smote Goliath, as brave as Hector and Joshua, or as clear-eyed as Argus, he would still get nowhere with her (ll. 27-39).

Again, the exchange is comic, but the evocation of violence against women persists in this text, for Maret has now put herself in the place of the abducted and attacked sheep that no lover, however worthy or handsome, would be able to rescue. After another impassioned and flowery speech from Robin, Maret suggests slyly that maybe he is simply talking too much, which prompts Robin finally to get to the implicit

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<sup>190</sup> Laodamia's story appears in Ovid, *Heroides*, 13, and *Epistolae ex Ponto* 3, I, 110; Lucian, *Dialogues of the Gods* 23.1; Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* VI, l. 447, and Hyginus, *Fabulae* 103, 104.

point of the whole scene: he grabs her by the waist and wrestles her to the ground. In this way, the scene does, in fact, end with violence, at which the wolf-sheep imagery had been hinting all along—but we are quickly reassured that the imminent sexual act is consensual when she happily acquiesces to his embraces (l. 65). In the twelfth lyric of the sequence, *Es plus lons jours de la Saint Jehan d'esté*, Robin and Maret return as blissfully happy lovers, begging the sun not to set so that they can remain a while longer with one another in the fields.

The ninth and thirteenth lyrics of the sequence, however, *En un marchais de grant antiquité* and *S'amours n'estoit plus puissant que nature*, continue to infuse a troubling aspect into the pastoral setting of Robin's and Maret's love. Immediately after the happy tussle on the ground at the close of the eighth lyric of the sequence, we find Robin again at the opening of the ninth lyric (ll. 2-5) observed by our now familiar travelling narrator, whom we have seen previously in this cycle as a witness to those other, politicized pastourelles:

Trouvay Robin plorant sur son mouton,	I found Robin crying over his sheep,
Lui decortant, a veir fu grant pité,	Flying(?) it, it was a great pity to behold,
Et puis disoit, "Bergiere de renon,	And then he said, "Shepherdess of reputation,
Qui t'a ravy ne m'ama pas granment."	The one who ravished you did not love me greatly."

A friend comes by to comfort Robin over the loss of his beloved, reminding him that even Argus, for all his hundred eyes, lost his wife Io, which becomes the refrain for the lyric. The friend continues his speech of consolation with a conventional enumeration of literary exempla of other men betrayed by women:

**Adam** = betrayed by Eve

**Hector** = the lyric explains that the Trojan War was the cause of Hector's untimely death, which was itself caused by Helen's adultery with Paris

**Samson** = betrayed by Delilah

**Aristotle** = medieval antifeminist sources often figure him as having been bridled and ridden by his female lover, rendering him an example of how women emasculate men

**Vergil** = similarly associated with emasculation in medieval antifeminist texts as having been hung up in a basket by his female lover<sup>191</sup>

**Holofernes** = betrayed by Judith

**Merlin** = betrayed by the object of his love, Viviane

The lyric concludes with Robin's swearing that he will never trust a woman again, whereby the loss of the love object evoked in the opening lines is now firmly reinscribed into a betrayal. More disconcerting, however, is the fact that, in those opening lines, Robin is crying *over* his sheep, suggesting that the sheep is dead or wounded.<sup>192</sup> As he cries over the sheep, he asks a significantly overdetermined question of the unnamed shepherdess: "qui t'as ravy?" Derived from the Latin *raptus*, itself a legal term, *ravir* can

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<sup>191</sup> On Vergil in a basket, see J. Berlioz, "Virgile dans la littérature des *exempla* (douzième au quinzième siècles)," in *Lectures médiévales de Virgile: Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome* (Rome, 1985), 65-120. The image of Aristotle bridled by a woman (Phyllis) comes from the highly popular *Lai d'Aristote* (second quarter of the thirteenth century), previously erroneously attributed to Henri d'Andeli and now ascribed to Henri de Valenciennes: see Alain Corbellari, "Un Problème de paternité: le cas d'Henri d'Andeli. II. Arguments littéraires," *Revue de linguistique romane* 68 (2004): 47-56 and François Zufferey, "Un Problème de paternité: le cas d'Henri d'Andeli. II. Arguments linguistiques," *Revue de linguistique romane* 68 (2004): 57-78. Aristotle and Phyllis also became a widely used pictorial motif in sculpture, tapestry and manuscript illustration: see *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting (1250-1500)*, ed. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Heckman (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 295-96 and associated bibliography. For the antifeminist tradition more broadly, see R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), as well as *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts*, ed. Alcuin Blamires, Karen Pratt and C. William Marx (Oxford: Clarendon, 1992), for an anthology of common medieval antifeminist discourse.

<sup>192</sup> In addition, "decortant" may be a variant of "descorcier", or *to flay*, as Kibler and Wimsatt suggest, which would further support my point about the evocation of violence against women in this poem. But I am troubled by the "lui" in "lui decortant," since the pronoun ought to be "li." It seems more likely that "lui" is functioning as the object of "a veir" and that "decortant" means something else, unless "lui" is not, of course, just a scribal slip.

mean either *to abduct* or *to be raped*.<sup>193</sup> Coming directly after the lyric, in which Maret first compared Robin's failed suit to the death of a sheep, devoured by a wolf, and then imagined herself in the dying sheep's place, this lyric also disturbingly conflates wounded sheep with women. Such a conflation actually makes perfect sense given contemporary understandings of *raptus*; as Corinne Saunders shows, "*Raptus* of women in fact involves both kinds of theft: either sexual use of the woman's body is stolen by her attacker or her person is stolen by her abductor. Sex is thus interpreted as a commodity similar to the financial gain represented by marriage, and the definitive issue is robbery rather than trauma or violation."<sup>194</sup>

Given the previous lyric's comparison and given the fact that Robin cries *for* a sheep as he asks who *ravished* his beloved, the text strongly suggests that an act of violence against a woman has already been committed, albeit somewhere off-stage. The lyric's refrain, moreover, explicitly references the tragic fate of Io, raped by Jupiter and also turned into a domesticated barnyard animal, a cow; we note also that Maret had compared Robin to Argus, Io's guardian, in the previous lyric. The explicit references to Ovid throughout this part of the sequence suggests that the Hainuyer poet's association between ravished women and ravished animals is being suggested to him by the *Metamorphoses*.

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<sup>193</sup> See Gravidal, "Ravishing," 1-11; Corinne Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), 76-119 (where she deals with the legal definition of *raptus* in medieval canon law and in the commentary tradition). For interesting sets of legal case studies on *raptus* and virginity in medieval England, see Kim M. Phillips, "Four Virgins' Tales: Sex and Power in Medieval Law," in *Medieval Virginites*, ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 80-101, and Caroline Dunn, *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction and Adultery, 1100-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

<sup>194</sup> Saunders, *Rape*, 81.

Robin's friend's list of thwarted lovers, and Robin's own misogynist rejection of all women as inherently false, reverses the stigma of rape onto women in a timeless example of the processes of victim-blaming, and we are reminded of the traditional pastourelle, as discussed by Smith, in which the shepherdess is represented as having ultimately "wanted it," or else as ultimately enjoying the rape act. At the same time, the conflation of ravished women with dead sheep reminds us of all the other dead sheep that have been repeatedly appearing in this lyric sequence, where they have stood in for the most innocent victims of wartime violence in a corrupt and unjust world. The misogynistic register thus jars with the lyric's opening scene, and the sympathies of the text remain oddly ambiguous. Are we supposed to mourn with Robin the ravished woman? Are we mourning him as a now abandoned man? Are we to mourn them both? Are we to mourn them equally?

The penultimate lyric of this sequence, *Decha Brimeu sur un ridel*, brings us back to plucky Maret and her clever debates with potential suitors, but what takes place in this lyric is markedly different from the situations in which Maret has previously appeared. *Decha Brimeu sur un ridel* begins almost exactly like *Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps*, in which Robin made flowery speeches to an unimpressed Maret who eventually got him to stop talking and to join her in a rough but, the text assures us, consensual romp in the grass. In *Decha Brimeu sur un ridel*, however, Maret is approached by a different shepherd named Brun, and the exchange between the characters emerges as a parodic inversion of Robin's and Maret's previous dialogue. If Robin was at least attempting some kind of eloquence by comparing Maret's beauty to that of Guinevere, Brun simply

opens his mouth and says: “Trop vous aim par especial” (l. 9: I really like you a lot) and offers her a piece of cake.<sup>195</sup> Maret does not even entertain this possibility but scoffs at him immediately to get lost (ll. 10-11). Brun persists, and she finally tells him off by means of a complicated analogy with the Book of Tobit that mocks his masculinity, whereby she once again invokes literary authority against a significantly less educated, here downright boorish interlocutor. But the mocked man’s response in this lyric is very different: Brun throws himself on top of Maret, and she starts to scream. Robin, who happens to be passing by, runs to save her and beats Brun “si qu’a poy ne le fist crever” (l. 57: in such a way that he just barely did not kill him). In this lyric, then, the disturbing suggestion of violence against women that has been bubbling under the surface of the other lyrics involving Robin and Maret has now burst through the text. Consensual love-play has turned into assault, and the wolf that gored the sheep has here acquired fleshly form and brute strength.

Strikingly, the opening of this lyric explicitly recalls that of the politicized pastourelles in the first half of the lyric cycle: the whole scene between Maret and Brun is being witnessed by a passing traveler (ll. 1-2: “Decha Brimeu ... Coisi Maret la fille Ansel”—By Brimeu ... I spotted Maret, Ansel’s daughter). Furthermore, like two of the politicized pastourelles, the scene also has a geographic marker identifying it as taking place in northeastern France: “decha Brimeu,” (l. 1: by Brimeaux), in the Artois region, south of Calais. The attempted rape of Maret, who had been earlier in the cycle compared to a sheep, is here pointedly set within the same geographic region that sees the repeated

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<sup>195</sup> Cf. the topos of bribing women for sex: Smith, *Medieval*, 28-31.



onslaught of mercenaries robbing shepherds of their sheep. It is, moreover, directly after this geographically-situated depiction of violence against women that overt political critique is powerfully brought back into the pastourelle sequence with its final lyric. Although it is not a pastourelle but, rather, an allegorical dream vision in a closely related form of the serventois, it is clearly intended as a conclusion to the preceding sequence, given its themes and given that two other texts, *Onques ne fu en mon dormant songans* and *En avisant les esches Atalus*, occurring as the tenth and eleventh lyrics in the sequence respectively, are also allegorical dream visions. The narrator here dreams of a conversation between a black lion and a golden leopard; as Kibler and Wimsatt point out, these avatars, derived from contemporary royal coats of arms, signify the House of Flanders and of England.<sup>196</sup> Allegories of Dame Fortune and of France, the latter fittingly represented as a fleur-de-lis in azure, the armorial bearing of the House of Valois, are also present. The lyric opens with the leopard, i.e. England, in the process of complaining to Fortune that she has cast him off her proverbial wheel, and Fortune arguing that the leopard has deserved it for his greed (ll. 21-30). The dating of the work is difficult to establish—only one of the lyrics in the sequence is potentially datable to the late 1350s or early 1360s—so the situation may be referring to any number of defeats by the English during the first phase of the Hundred Years War.

Meanwhile the fleur-de-lis, i.e. France, stands nearby, in the flat expanse of the allegorical vision, and is gathering forces of bears, boars, and griffins, clearly smaller

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<sup>196</sup> Kibler and Wimsatt, “Development,” line notes to text edited on 75-78. See also Caroline Shenton, “Edward III and the Symbol of the Leopard,” in *Heraldry, Pageantry and Social Display in Medieval England*, ed. Peter R. Coss and Maurice Hugh Keen (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2002), 69-81.

dynastic houses that are joining with France in allegiance against their common enemy.

The fleur-de-lis' swelling ranks renders the Flemish lion uneasy, and his words to the

English leopard in the text are revelatory:

... "Haut Saturne ne Cheure	... Lofty Saturn and Capricorn
Ne luisent plus pour ti, ny en ton nom.	Do not shine for you, nor in your name.
Si ay tresgrant peur quant le conclusion	Thus I have a great fear that the conclusion
Me [de] grant forest exillie n'en soit.	May be that I will be exiled from the great forest,
Se ten pays a le fleur s'appaisoit.	If your country were to make peace with the flower,
Chascun courroit sur moy, gueule baée,	And everyone would run over me, snout gaping,
Et toy aussi." & de ces mos rioit	And you too." And at these words
Et se moquoit fortune, la dervee.	Mad Fortune laughed and mocked.

The Zodiac signs of Saturn and Capricorn, says the Flemish lion to the English leopard, no longer shine for England, or, in other words, England's fortune is out of favor with the constellations. In this way, this final lyric has brought us right back to our very first introduction to Robin and Maret, in which we saw our first discussion of the influence of the constellations on the (mis)fortunes of men and women. In that lyric, the idea of the stars' influence was expressed ironically as a debate between two lovers, but it was immediately reiterated in a far more serious manner in the following lyric that had compared the unfortunate shepherd, who had lost his livelihood through fault of misaligned stars, to Job. The Flemish lion worries that he will end up exiled from the forest or, worse, if England bows to the flower (i.e. the French fleur-de-lis), then everyone will run all over Flanders "guele bae," a phrase that literally means *with gaping snout or muzzle*. The Flemish lion's final words to the English leopard, "et toy aussi" (and you too) can be taken in one of two ways: if "toy" is nominative, then the lion is saying that England will also trample him, or, if accusative, then that both he and England will be trampled; perhaps the ambiguity is intentional.

The use of beast allegory in this final lyric brings us right back to the wolves and the sheep that we saw used in such different contexts earlier in the sequence, were they hinted at and ultimately presaged the eruption of physical violence. This final lyric of the sequence ties together the main strands of the fourteen lyrics that have come before it, namely the evocation of violence, symbolized by wild animals, along with the place of Northern Francophone Europe in the endless warfare between England and France during the Hundred Years War. Flanders is represented in this lyric as an animal encircled by multiple predators, none of whom show any sign of willingness to back down and end the conflict. Flanders' unfortunate position, and its geographical proximity to Hainault, seems to be intended to remind the reader of the marginal regions, like Hainault, that get dragged into and bear the brunt of other, more central political players' conflicts.

These lyrics levy a striking critique of the Hundred Years War in their representation of the perilous situation besetting the rural poor in war-torn Hainault, caught between multiple warring factions and protected by none of them. Even though France, in the final lyric's political allegory, may be uniting at least some of these factions under its banners, any hope for peace entailed by the possibility of this unification is undercut by the image of gathered troops as dangerous animals, ready to run riot. This lyric sequence thus uses animal imagery to draw a strong relationship between the violence against women in everyday life and the violence against the rural populace and countryside during the Hundred Years War. Through the figuration of sheep into women, this violence against sheep, gored by wolves, and the violence against women, raped by men, becomes also violence levied against the land, gored and raped by

Charles the Bad, Edward III, and everybody else.<sup>197</sup> At the same time, this pastourelle cycle's easy association of sheep with women raises questions about the affective limits of such allegory. Is the association intended to inspire a kind of sympathy from the audience, in other words: the innocent victimized sheep becoming the innocent victimized woman? Does an abducted, killed, and eaten sheep invoke the same affective response as a raped woman? Or, rather, does a raped woman simply occupy the same status as a slaughtered animal? When directly likened unto sheep and, through the sheep, implicitly unto the land, are women just emerging here as mere units of property value, whatever voice and authority Maret may seem to possess in her dealings with Robin and Brun?

The Hainuyer poet's construction of meaning through the sophisticated coordination of individual lyrics into a cohesive whole is highly unusual. His organization of this sequence suggests a markedly sophisticated understanding of the pastourelle, whereby he plays traditional and politicized pastourelles off of one another in order to bring the pastoral mode's deep connections with sociopolitical critique into full relief. Such organization points to a late medieval interest in experimenting with how meaning may be produced out of the serialization of texts on the pages of a lyric anthology. This remarkable lyric sequence thus affords us a significant insight into medieval anthologies which, despite being the dominant material form in which medieval texts have come down to us today, continue to be treated as largely haphazard

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<sup>197</sup> Cf. Smith's observation that the sexual act in the *pastourelle*, even when consensual, is often described as being done "à" or *to* the woman, invariably lying on her back upon the ground, rather than with her: *Medieval*, 52.

assemblages of material, particularly when they are not organized around an identifiable—often canonical—set of authors.

By way of conclusion to this discussion of the anonymous Hainuyet poet's pastourelles, I would like to touch briefly on the placement of this remarkable sequence of lyrics at the very front of the Pennsylvania anthology. This sequence, with its sharp political critique and its sophisticated textual play, is a striking opening for a volume that is bringing together apolitical love lyric from the multiple regions of Francophone Europe—France, England, Hainault, Savoy, and the Franco-Italian border—that continued to be embroiled within the Hundred Years War when this anthology was being produced in the very end of the fourteenth or very beginning of the fifteenth centuries. Insisting, as it does, on the factionalism and internecine strife plaguing war-torn Francophone Europe, imbricated with the lives and loves of women, the pastourelle sequence of the Pennsylvania manuscript casts a long shadow over the ostensibly apolitical and homogeneous love lyric, much of it voiced *by women*, collected in the rest of the anthology. Without the pastourelles, we might forget that the two most prominent authors present in the anthology, Guillaume de Machaut and Oton Granson—their vast cultural importance reified by the large number of their works included in the collection—fought on opposing sides in the Hundred Years War even though their work shares a literal, as well as a poetic, language. The pastourelles remind us that the Pennsylvania manuscript's inclusion of so many poets from so many French-speaking regions speaks at once to the breadth of Francophone lyric culture in late medieval Europe, but also to its divisions. The homogeneity of the poems' literary content is thus

revealed to be in a strong tension with the heterogeneity of their historical provenance, and that tension is invested with a powerful ideological force. In such a way, the pastourelles' placement at the opening of the compilation casts the pall of war over a collection that is, as we have seen in the previous chapter, already extremely invested in taxonomizing and historicizing fourteenth-century formal developments within the *formes fixes*. As the rest of this chapter—indeed, this dissertation—will go on to show, the Pennsylvania manuscript's compiler's explicit invocation of the Hundred Years War at the head of this remarkable *formes fixes* collection points to the prominent role played by *formes fixes* lyric within discourse surrounding the Hundred Years War.

Furthermore, the individual component formal elements through which the anonymous Hainuyer poet is able to construct his meaning—his reliance on barnyard animal imagery as well as on representations of the animal kingdom as allegories for government; his interest in women; his politicization of the pastourelle with special attention paid to staging its events within a specific geographic location; and even, finally, his evocations of Ovid—are also all found in the politicized pastourelles and several other, related anti-war lyrics of Deschamps. By exploring Deschamps's own engagement with animals, women, geography, and Ovid in his pastourelles vis à vis those of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, we will arrive at a deeper understanding of how Francophone poets refashioned mutually shared tropes and lyric forms to frame their individual political views.

### III. But Some Animals Are More Equal Than Others in Deschamps's Pastourelles

Although he does not play traditional and politicized pastourelles off of each other in the manner of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, Deschamps is also clearly familiar with the dominant conventions of the pastourelle form and sophisticated in his engagement with those conventions. In no. 315, *En retournant d'une court souveraine*, his unnamed narrator is riding home from a royal court and comes across Robin and Marion in a *locus amoenus* (here, a grove); they are munching on a rustic meal of bread and garlic as Robin discusses the pleasures of simple life.<sup>198</sup> Robin and Marion live off the land (ll. 12-16), they make their own clothes (ll. 20-23); they have no fear of thieves (ll. 25-27) or of soldiers (ll. 34-35). Just like Vitry's Franc Gontier, they experience no fear of being poisoned at court or of tyrants (ll. 33-34), and they can only pity the challenging lives of courtiers (ll. 40-46). In the envoy, the narrator acknowledges and reflects on the truth of Robin's words. The plain life of the shepherds is here idealized as the truest and safest existence, and the shepherd himself is represented as having keen insight, despite his rural remove, into the troubled goings-on of courtly aristocratic life.

The shepherd's privileged position as commentator on events far from his daily purview, along with his unexpected acuity, gain traction in Deschamps' politicizations of the pastourelle, which articulate some of the same concerns as the works of the anonymous Hainuyer poet. In no. 359, *Entre Guynes, Sangates et Callays*, the shepherds discuss the need to take back Calais since English armies continue to threaten the region; the shepherds therefore agree to take their livestock and flee their lands because of the

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<sup>198</sup> Text from Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 1-2.

English soldiers' relentless onslaught (ll. 6-10). Similarly, in no. 336, *L'autrier si com je m'en venoie*, in which the narrator comes across shepherds between Busancy and Stenay, halfway between Rheims and the modern Franco-Belgian border, a group of shepherds laments the theft and killing of all their livestock by the men of "roy Rabajoie," (King Killjoy), an evident joke on "Montjoie," the battle cry of the armies of Charlemagne.<sup>199</sup> Deschamps' shepherds are particularly troubled by the behavior of these soldiers that they are encountering (ll. 41-49):

Mais la chose qui plus m'anoye,	But what anguishes me the most
Est celle que je vous diray,	Is what I am about to tell you,
Que tuit on de ce faire joye	That they all derive joy from doing this
Et se font vaillant en tel glay.	And present themselves as valiant in this honor.
Le temps passé autrement ay	In bygone days I saw warriors differently
Veu guerrier sanz rien perir ...	[Who] did not destroy anything ... <sup>200</sup>

Just as Madoulz, in the Hainuyer poet's cycle, had noted that the soldiers now attacking him and his son are only trained in ignominious pillaging and would never succeed at proper knightly combat, so too, echoing Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, Deschamps' shepherds speak of encountering a new type of soldier. This new type of soldier is all the more threatening because, unlike the soldiers of the past, he brings with him a new kind of destruction paired with a completely new set of values that are at odds with established chivalric codes.

Deschamps further shares with the anonymous Hainuyer poet an understanding of the vicious cycles of violence into which the mercenaries' actions entrap shepherds, leaving them no choice but to turn mercenary themselves and to perpetuate the same crimes. In the Hainuyer poet's cycle, Madoulz notes that the new mercenaries used to eat

<sup>199</sup> Cf. Kendrick, "Opinion," 166.

<sup>200</sup> Text from Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 45-47.



barley bread, a detail that suggests that these mercenaries were but recently peasants themselves, which is, we remember, historically accurate; leaders like Charles the Bad recruited mercenaries from the rural population of Hainault specifically. In Deschamps' no. 1009, *Entre Espargnay et Damery*, the traveler observes a conversation between a group of shepherds between Épernay and Damery, in Champagne, in which one shepherd proposes to the others that they join a passing troop of mercenary soldiers because of their penury; as raiders, he argues, they will never go hungry. The other shepherds talk him out of this decision, pointing out the shameful nature of the kinds of activity in which this type of soldier indulges (ll. 39-46):

Lors dist Guichart, "C'est tout honny:	Then Guichart said: "It is completely shameful:
Mal temps ont moutons et aigneaulx;	Sheep and lambs have it bad;
Larrons reignent et laroncieulx ...	Robbers and thieves reign ...
Escuiers s'appellent garçons	Boys are called squires
Et pillent de jour et de nuit ..."	And pillage day and night ..." <sup>201</sup>

Deschamps is, thus, responding to the same kind of fear before a brand-new and different type of lawless warfare, perpetuated by young, untrained soldiers, as seen in the work of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, as well as in Gray's and Venette's chronicles. Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet's similar responses to mercenaries' attacks on peasants reflect the messiness of a conflict in which collateral damage to the rural poor is incurred as much by populations actively involved in the war effort as by regions dragged into the conflict by accident of geographical situation alone, regions that, in turn, find themselves joining the war through lack of other available economic options. The appropriation of pastourelle form for similar political critique between an Hainuyer and a Champenois, in other words, reflects the very contingency of regional borders in a war that was

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<sup>201</sup> Text from Deschamps, *Œuvres*, V, 268-70.

ostensibly between two geopolitical bodies, just beginning to define themselves as “nacion,” yet spilled far beyond those countries’ borders.

The reference to sheep as the primary victim of the mercenary soldier in Deschamps’ lyric is also fully in line with the centrality of the sheep as synecdoche for the rural populace in the work of the anonymous Hainuyer poet. In Deschamps’ no. 339, *L’autre jour vi un charruier*, the travelling narrator comes across a group of laborers, which includes a shepherd; a woman in the group laments: “Trop voy nature amenuisier: | Enfant ne sont fors qu’avorton” (ll. 11-12: too much I see nature getting weaker: children are all but still-born). The word “avorton” that she uses, however, can also refer to a still-born lamb; the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, cites this word employed with this animal-related meaning in 1387, i.e. during Deschamps’ own lifetime, in French royal accounts.<sup>202</sup> The slippage between human and animal, specifically between human and sheep, suggested by the use of “avorton,” is pushed further by the response that she receives: the shepherd immediately joins in the conversation, affirming that lambs are being born “taurastre,” i.e. *horned*; lamb births and human births have become equally unnatural.<sup>203</sup> The ewes are further discovered as being nothing but skin and bones and covered with mange; the other laborers chime in, reporting blighted harvests and spoiled vineyards (ll. 21-40). Each concludes his description with the refrain: “Il ne regne au jour

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<sup>202</sup> See *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France*, ed. L. Douët-d'Arcq, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris : Renouard, 1874), 250.

<sup>203</sup> The *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* as well as Godefroy’s *Dictionnaire de l’ancienne langue française* both supply “fully adult” as the definition for this word; unfortunately, the example both give is of this very line from Deschamps. Given, however, that *taureau* means bull and “-astre” (now “-âtre”) is a suffix connoting mixedness or impurity, sometimes with a pejorative connotation (e.g. *verdastre*, greenish or greeny-, particularly in the sense of mixed with another color, like *bleu-verdastre*, greenish-blue, or the modern *douceâtre*, sweetish, sickly-sweet), it is possible that “taurastre” means “bull-ish,” particularly since an alternative meaning for *taurastre* is bullock. In other words, the lambs are coming out looking like bulls, i.e. *horned*.

d'ui que folz" (only madmen reign these days), so that the lyric emerges as a clear indictment of the times, with the plague on both animal and land as a stand-in for the failure of poor political governance. Like the anonymous Hainuyer poet, Deschamps too associates the impact of the war with administrative failure and dysfunction.

The anonymous Hainuyer poet, however, does not explicitly name the government that he is critiquing: he talks about Justice having repaired to the land of Prester John and the unidentified "gent de parage" who have knowingly endangered sheep by appointing wolves guard them, and he pointedly emphasizes the multiplicity of simultaneous conflicts, involving multiple armies, that overlap in the Hainault theater of war. Deschamps' critique, by contrast, is far more direct in naming its objects, whom he identifies primarily as the English, though France too does not escape his wrath. Thus, if the anonymous Hainuyer poet holds to a more narrowly regional perspective, lamenting Hainault's geographic proximity to conflict, Deschamps targets the Hundred Years War's two principal actants, England and France, in adopting a wider-angle view on the causes of the war as a whole.

In his discussion of Deschamps' pastourelles, Blanchard argues that the shepherds' discussion of what the French government needs to do in order to deliver the shepherds from their miserable fate, such as take back Calais, is evidence of an optimistic view on the war as imminently ending.<sup>204</sup> As we look closely at the lyrics, however, it appears rather that Deschamps' critique is, in fact, sharply focused on the inaction of the French government that holds little promise of successful resolution. Thus, in no. 344,

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<sup>204</sup> Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 69-70, 74.

*Antre Beau Raym et le parc de Hedin*, for example, the narrator is travelling outside of Arras, in the Artois region of northeastern France, when he comes across the now familiar group of shepherds in a field who are having a conversation about the ongoing war.<sup>205</sup> The speaker overhears a shepherd tell a shepherdess that the French and the English are imminently to sign a peace treaty at Boulogne, after, it is indicated later in the lyric, ten years of protracted but so far fruitless negotiations (ll. 6-8, 15). The shepherdess scoffs: “Paix n’arez ja s’ilz ne rendent Calays” (refrain: You will not have peace until they return Calais). The rest of the lyric proceeds as an argument between the shepherds as to whether or not peace between the French and the English will ever be achieved, with the most protracted speeches belonging to the skeptics, who despair of an easy resolution to the conflict. As the skeptics point out, the king is in his minority (l. 32), and Jean de Berry and Philippe de Bourgogne will not accept the peace treaty until Calais is rendered back to the French (ll. 47-49). Deschamps is referring here, of course, to the long-standing English occupation of Calais, following its disastrous siege in 1347, that allowed the English to gain an important foothold on the Continent.<sup>206</sup> Blanchard identifies the date of this work as written after August, 1384, based on its indications that the French king is still in his minority, that peace negotiations have gone on for a decade (ll. 15-16), and that Jean de Berry and Philippe de Bourgogne are directly involved in the peace negotiations.<sup>207</sup> The shepherds, represented as fully discerning the complexity of the conflict, display a profound pessimism as to the resolution of the Hundred Years War,

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<sup>205</sup> Text from Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 62-64.

<sup>206</sup> See further Sumption, *War I*, 535-86, and *War II*, 1-50; Wallace, *Premodern*; Susan Rose, *Calais: An English Town in France, 1347-1558* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008); and Butterfield, *Familiar*, 39-43.

<sup>207</sup> Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 72.

and the French government's stubbornness in peace negotiations emerges in their discourse as an important element that is prolonging the conflict.<sup>208</sup>

The strength of the Hainuyer poet's political critique is, we remember, centered on the figure of the slaughtered sheep. Furthermore, the lyric with which the whole pastourelle cycle in the Pennsylvania manuscript culminates is not a pastourelle at all, but rather a beast allegory that imagines Continental Europe as a forest, with France, England, and Flanders as wild animals that correlate to the contemporary armorial bearings of those principalities. Although the anonymous Hainuyer poet's switch from pastourelle to beast allegory appears rather sudden, such intimacy between pastourelle and beast allegory finds its direct analogue in Deschamps' work. In no. 341, *En une grant fourest et lee*, Deschamps's speaker, who is travelling through a forest, comes across a group of animals who are having a conversation:

<p>En une grant fourest et lee  N'a gaires que je cheminoie,  Ou j'ay mainte beste trouvée,  Mais en un grant parc regardoye,  Ours, lyons, et liepars veoye,  Loups et renars qui vont disant  Au povre bestail qui s'effroye:  "Sa de l'argent, ça de l'argent!"</p>	<p>In a large and wide forest  A little while ago I was walking,  And I found there many animals,  And I saw a large park  [Where] I saw bears, lions, and leopards,  Wolves, and foxes, who went around saying  To the poor livestock, which took fright:  "Come on, money, money!"<sup>209</sup></p>
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The lyric's first stanza sets up a scene that is quite reminiscent of our familiar pastourelle opening formula, except animals have replaced shepherds and the atmosphere is

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<sup>208</sup> Kendrick sees this ballade as more intended to amuse the reader through the incongruity of shepherds holding a serious political discussion, though she does agree that there is a weighty critique behind the irony: "Opinion," 170-71. On the outspoken and unambiguous nature of Deschamps' critique of the French government's *laissez-faire* attitude towards the war, cf. a pair of allegorical dream vision lyrics, Ballade 387 and 388, in which Deschamps imagines France as a headless body prone, helplessly, on the ground: Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 155-59. Cf. also Balade 394, in which Deschamps addresses himself to Charles VI and Richard II, begging them both to lay aside their stubbornness and to think more closely on their suffering subjects, whereby he presents the two sovereigns as equally reprehensible in their pursuit of war: III, 170-72.

<sup>209</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 56-57.

ominous. The narrator sees a number of predatory woodland creatures circling a group of barnyard animals to demand money off of them. The first animal to respond, the sheep, says that it has already been sheared four times this year and has no more wool to offer (ll. 11-12). The goat, in turn, explains that it cannot pay because its harvest has been destroyed, while the sow says that she will be forced to beg in the streets for lack of money (ll. 25-26), to which a wolf suggests that she should just sell her bristles (l. 28). In this beast allegory that opens with the formula that we normally observe in the *pastourelle*, Deschamps is addressing the excessive taxation strategies of the French royal government that was elevating taxes to raise funding for the war, an object of widespread contemporary critique by other figures in this period, such as Machaut, and contemporary chroniclers, such as Venette above.<sup>210</sup>

Deschamps' other poetry continues to critique the French government's response to the war through the use of beast allegory that, in the same way as the final lyric of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, relies on animal imagery related to contemporary armorial bearings, overlaid onto the traditional hierarchies of the animal kingdom. In no. 192, *Je, Sebille, prophete, la Cumayne*, for example, Deschamps imagines Vergil's Sybil prophesying the boar's conquest over the lion and the rise of the winged stag, a visual symbol favored by Charles VI for his tapestries and livery in this period.<sup>211</sup> Moreover, the

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<sup>210</sup> Cf., e.g. Machaut's inveighing against unsustainably high taxation in the dream vision sequence of the *Livre du Voir Dit* (1363-65), ll. 5486-97, in Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre du Voir Dit*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Cerquigny and Paul Imbs (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1999).

<sup>211</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, II, 9-10 (no. 192). For the origins of the winged stag symbol in Charles VI's reign, see Sandra L. Hindman, *Christine de Pizan's Epistre Othéa: Painting and Politics at the Court of Charles VI* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1986), 148-52 and associated bibliography. Deschamps' other beast allegories representing France and its contemporary political state are (all found in Deschamps, *Œuvres*): no. 159 (I, 288-89); no. 180 (I, 315-16); no. 181 (I, 317-18); no. 229 (II, 57-58); no. 331 (III, 35-37); no. 389 (III, 159-61); and no. 405 (III, 197-99).

sheep, such a potent symbol for the Hainuyer poet, assumes a privileged place in Deschamps' beast allegories as well. Deschamps' sheep emerge, like his shepherds, as the most discerning of all the animals. Thus, in no. 327, *En mon dormant vi une vision*, the speaker has an allegorical dream vision in which he sees a young lion, on whom a young leopard has been repeatedly waging war (ll. 3-4).<sup>212</sup> The lion, however, instead of fighting back, is spending his time strangling sheep and pigs and menacing cows, ewes, and goats, while the leopard successfully battles stags and boars and therefore encroaches deeper into the forest (ll. 5-12). A sheep comes before the lion and reproaches him: "Vous foulez tous vos bestaulz!" (l. 23: You are mistreating all your livestock!). The sheep goes on to point out that the animals are all scattering and leaving the forest for places like Savoy and Ardenne (ll. 24-26). A hare seconds the sheep's admonition, warning the lion: "Tant de bestail detruire n'est pas bon!" (l. 33: It's not good to destroy so much livestock!). Chastened, the lion arms his animals and goes forth to recover his lost territories. Although Deschamps's speaker coyly avers upon waking that he has no interpretation for this strange dream (l. 54), this allegory is a transparent denunciation of the inaction of Charles VI, clearly in his minority at the time of the lyric's composition, against the equally minor Richard: hence "un jeusne lyon" and "un lepardiau," which recalls the association of the leopard with England in the anonymous Hainuyer poet's work. Instead of fighting the English leopard, the French lion has turned on his most vulnerable subjects, his livestock, i.e. his peasants. Like the shepherds in his pastourelles,

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<sup>212</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 26-27. Cf. Kendrick's brief discussion of this lyric in "Opinion," 165-66, where she notes that Deschamps uses beast allegory to represent the suffering of the peasant strata in order to avoid directly critiquing the king from his own voice and perspective.

Deschamps has the sheep of his beast allegories as possessing the clearest picture and sharpest critique of the pitiable state of France's governance.<sup>213</sup>

The association, then, of politicized pastourelle with political beast allegory that hinges on the centrality of the sheep as synecdoche for shepherd specifically, and for peasantry more generally, is shared between Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet. But why is the sheep such an important figure for both poets? It might seem to be dominant purely for its Christological associations, yet, other than the opening pastourelle of the Hainuyer poet's cycle with the father upon his deathbed, neither poet engages in any particularly pointed way with Christian symbolism. In her analysis of Gower's famous beast allegory dream vision in the *Vox clamantis*, in which Gower imagines the Peasants' Revolt of 1381 as a group of normal barnyard animals that have run completely riot (asses and oxen throwing off burdens and yokes, pigs behaving like wild boars, etc.), Maura Nolan has pointed to Gower's use of marked references to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.<sup>214</sup> While Gower's use of beast allegory seems to be simply emphasizing the inhumanity and degeneracy of the peasants, his buried allusions to passages in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, she argues, are "invoking a world in which the central division between the animal and the human becomes fragile, subject to

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<sup>213</sup> Cf. Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, pp. 159-61 (no. 389), in which Deschamps describes the revolt of the Flemish against Louis de Male as the revolt of livestock against the black lion who has been eating them indiscriminately.

<sup>214</sup> Maura Nolan, "The Poetics of Catastrophe: Ovidian Allusion in Gower's *Vox Clamantis*," in *Medieval Latin and Middle English Literature: Essays in Honour of Jill Mann*, ed. Christopher Cannon and Maura Nolan (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2011), 113-33. It is also interesting to note that Chaucer's beast allegory, *The Nun's Priests's Tale*, includes a pointed reference to the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, when the noise made by the farmers in hot pursuit of the fox, who has snatched away Chauncleer, is described as louder than that made by "Jakke Straw and his meynee" when they marched against the Flemish (ll. 3394-96). Of course, it is not the animals themselves that are being compared to peasants in this tale, but Chaucer's reference to Jack Straw might be interesting to read against the contemporary Francophone political beast allegory context at some point in the future.



transformation and change.”<sup>215</sup> One of Gower’s allusions, as Nolan points out, comes from Pythagoras’ speech in Book 15 that deals expressly with the role of animals within the agricultural labor economy.

Pythagoras’ speech is worth looking at in detail for its discussion of the relationship between humans and animals that, as we are about to see, is greatly illuminating to the workings of our pastourelles. In this speech, Pythagoras reproaches his audience for consuming the meat of animals, particularly of those animals that are themselves herbivorous, namely horses, sheep, and cattle, as distinct from carnivorous tigers, lions, wolves, and bears (ll. 112-22). At this point in his speech, Pythagoras invokes the bygone Golden Age: as described in Book 1 of the *Metamorphoses*, the Golden Age transitions into the Silver Age when humans first use animals to till the earth, or, in other words, with the birth of agriculture; the Silver Age is then replaced by the Bronze Age that brings with it, among other bad things, war. Pythagoras’ speech, coming in Book 15, rewrites the causality of that Four Ages narrative slightly (ll. 133-44):

That time long since past, which we now refer to as ‘golden,’  
 was blessed in the fruit of its trees, and in its wild herbs,  
 and in the absence of blood smeared on men’s faces.  
 In that time, the birds flew through the air without danger,  
 the fearless rabbit went wandering over the meadows,  
 and the fish was not brought to the hook by its credulous nature.  
 All lived without ambushes; none had a fear of deception,  
 And peace was everywhere. But after that bringer of trouble,  
 whoever he was, who envied the lion his dinner,  
 had crammed his greedy gut with the flesh from a body,  
 had led us down the wrong path; for it may be that iron  
 was first stained with the warm blood of the beast that he  
 butchered ...

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<sup>215</sup> Nolan, “Poetics,” 123.

Animals are not a focal point in Ovid's earlier description of the Golden Age, back in Book 1, where people are described as eating fruit and acorns in a landscape that appears to be absent of animals; they only appear in the discussion of the Silver Age in the form of oxen newly bent to the farmer's yoke. In Pythagoras' speech, however, they assume center stage, whereby their safety from any predators becomes the central image of his evocation of the Golden Age. Pythagoras locates the cause for the ending of the Golden Age not in agriculture, as in Book 1, but, rather, in the first consumption of animal meat. In Book 1, iron is first introduced in the context of the first wars, and the first shedding of human blood: "for iron, which is harmful, and the more pernicious gold (now first produced) create grim warfare, which has need of both; now arms are grasped with bloodstained hands ..." (ll. 191-93). In his speech, however, Pythagoras associates iron not with the first shedding of human but with the first shedding of *animal* blood. In Ovid's first account of the Four Ages, in Book 1, the Golden Age ends when humans start to use animals in agriculture, whereas in Pythagoras' retelling of the Four Ages myth in Book 15, the Golden Age ends when humans start to eat animals; in such a way, it is already Ovid who maps the notion of using animal labor and the notion of consuming animals onto one another.

Pythagoras further describes the spread of the practice of eating animals as an act of revenge by humans against animals for their behavior: pigs are killed because they dig up crops and goats because they eat grapes meant for wine. But there is one animal, the cruel treatment of which is, for Pythagoras, inexplicable and inexcusable (ll. 154-57, emphasis original):

But what did *you* ever do, sheep, to merit *your* murder?  
 You who were born to serve man with milk from your udders  
 and with the soft wool wherewith we make our garments,  
 your life is surely more useful to us than your death is!<sup>216</sup>

The sheep occupies a privileged position in Pythagoras' passionate denunciation of animal consumption, for the sheep is the epitome of complete non-participation within a set of aggressive and exploitative power structures. If killing a pig or a goat is arguably justified by the animal's eating habits that cause difficulty with harvesting crops, the sheep, by contrast, takes nothing from humans, not even food. Taking nothing, it *freely* offers instead two different types of valuable product that can sustain the human body in two different ways: milk/cheese and wool. To kill the sheep emerges as an act not just of violence against an animal but of thoughtless human self-destruction, as the sheep is the perfect subject of the agrarian economy that affords nothing but benefit to the human: a body that consumes fuel inedible to humans and yet creates two useful products, a body completely composed of nothing but use-value. Collapsing the boundary between animal and human, Pythagoras concludes his lengthy tirade by reminding his audience that the cries of slaughtered animals sound just like human cries (ll. 531-35). Book 15 concludes with the ruler Numa, who has traveled to hear Pythagoras speak, returning to his native lands, where he is able, with the knowledge he has acquired, to impose peace within his warring territories (ll. 548-56), suggesting that Pythagoras' defense of vegetarianism has been, all along, a mirror-for-princes.

Deschamps does not have a direct allusion to Pythagoras' speech, like Gower, but one of his lyrics, no. 318, *Une brebis, une chievre, un cheval*, another beast allegory on

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<sup>216</sup> Text edited in Ovid, *Metamorphosis: A New Translation*, ed. and trans. Charles Martin (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 2004).

the subject of the excessive taxation of peasants during the Hundred Years War, engages with similar questions as Ovid's *Metamorphoses* as to the fundamental importance of the proper treatment of animals in the agrarian economy while also expressing nostalgia for a valorized past. In this lyric, Deschamps presents a group of haggard, overworked barnyard animals—a sheep, a cow, two oxen, a horse, a goat, and an ass—who describe to each other, in vivid and gruesome terms, the ways in which “les barbiers” (the barbers), identified as monkeys, wolves, and bears, have been over-shearing and over-working them until their skins are, as the text lists, “entamée” (l. 12: wounded), “pelée” (l. 14: flayed), “affolée” (l. 15: mutilated), and “mangié” (l. 17: eaten away) down to the bone three times a year (ll. 8-20).<sup>217</sup> This imagery reminds us of the beast allegory analyzed above, with its pastourelle-like opening, in which the sheep tells the wolves that it has already been shorn four times this year and has no more wool to give. The discourse of the sheep is, again, the longest in the lyric. The sheep wishes the original creator of the shears could be hanged for his invention (l. 18) and goes on to develop a nostalgic vision of the past (ll. 21-30):

Ou temps passé tuit li occidental  
 Orent long poil et grande barbe mellée  
 Une fois l'an tondoient leur bestal,  
 Et conquistrent maint terre a l'espee.  
 Une fois l'an firent fauchier la pree:  
 Eulz, le bestail, la terre grasse estoit  
 En cel estat, et chascuns laboroit;  
 Aise furent lors noz peres premiers.  
 Autrement va, chascuns tont ce qu'il voit:  
 Pour ce vous pri, gardez vous des barbiers.

In bygone times all the Western Christians  
 Had long hair and big beards that flowed together.  
 They sheared their livestock once a year  
 And conquered many lands by the sword.  
 They harvested the field once a year:  
 They, the livestock, and the land were fat  
 In this state of being, and everyone worked;  
 Our first fathers were well off back then.  
 [Now] it goes differently, everyone shears what he sees:  
 Therefore I pray you, beware of the barbers.

<sup>217</sup> Text edited in Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 7-8. By monkeys Deschamps might be intending the so-called “Marmousets,” the former advisors to Charles V originally dismissed by Charles VI’s regents but brought back by Charles, against his regents’ wishes, when he came into his majority; cf. Kendrick’s brief discussion of this lyric in “Opinion,” 164-65, where she suggests the same interpretation.

The reference to an original creator of an agrarian tool, coupled with the immediate invocation of a “temps passé” suggests that an Ovidian Four Ages framework underpins this lyric. The sheep invokes a valorized past in this passage that matches the Ovidian Bronze Age, the post-agrarian society that Ovid describes, in Book 1, as “crueler by nature and much more disposed | to savage warfare but not yet corrupt” (ll. 168-71). Warfare has already taken place in the time recounted by Deschamps’ sheep, but agrarian labor, in the form of harvesting and shearing, is still kept to a healthy minimum, and everyone works together in a functional economy. By contrast, the animals of the present day have been overworked to the point of no longer being able to labor properly: the horse says that its back can no longer support the weight of a harness (l. 13), and the goat warns that shearing too close to the skin ruins it (l. 47). When Deschamps thus imagines the over-taxation of peasants in the Hundred Years War as the over-working of animals in a lyric that invokes a valorized agrarian past, he appears to be reaching back—as Nolan has shown that Gower does too—to Ovid’s own conflation of the violence of war with violence against animals in his two discussions of the Four Ages in the *Metamorphoses*.

The Ovidian subtext of this lyric explains the centrality of the figure of the sheep in the work of both Deschamps and the Hainuyer poet. For the Hainuyer poet, the sheep is also, we may recall, associated with an Ovidian framework: the ravished shepherdess mourned by Robin, as he cries over his wounded sheep, is explicitly compared to Io from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. The Ovidian Four Ages subtext also explains the mirror-for-princes overtones of Deschamps’ beast allegories and the politicized flavor of the

pastourelles. The sheep is present not just, or not necessarily only, for its Christological association but also for its particular role in the agrarian economy as explicated within Pythagoras' speech in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Consuming nothing of value within the human economy (i.e. nothing that humans can also eat), yet offering two products valuable to humans in return, the sheep is the perfect laboring body. To eat the sheep is to harm the whole agrarian economy for the sake of briefly alleviating individual hunger, which thus becomes the most fundamental and anti-social waste of resources possible. From this perspective, the association of sheep with women in the pastourelles of the Hainuyer poet makes sense, for the raped woman is removed from circulation in a medieval marriage economy that likewise views women as important for their ability to further the family line, for their ability to be a fruitful, bearing, producing body, like the body of the sheep in the agrarian economy. The eating and overworking of sheep, an image to which Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet, both return again and again is thus symbolic of a horrifying new warfare, in which humans ultimately attack their very own futures in going after the most sustainable of regional economies.

Although the anonymous Hainuyer poet achieves his critique through the careful juxtaposition of different types of pastourelles with a beast allegory, whereas Deschamps works within the politicized pastourelle and beast allegory separately, the reliance of both authors on similar imagery of the sheep speaks to a close relationship between their poetic corpora. Nevertheless, despite this evident link, the two poets are from different regions, and their geopolitical distinctions are strongly reflected within the scope of their political work. From the anonymous Hainuyer poet's narrower treatment of the problems

besetting specifically Hainault, which is being assaulted by different mercenary armies on all sides, we come to the wider-angle view of Deschamps. Deschamps's pastourelles, complemented by his beast allegories, analyze the Hundred Years War as not solely an external threat but also an internal problem that is destroying France from the inside out. The work of Froissart offers a still different perspective on the war in refusing to adopt a specific position, or even a specific judgment, on the conflict. Instead, Froissart plays with the very adaptability of the politicized pastourelle mode in order to display a diversity of possible responses to the ongoing conflict within a France represented as a space at once completely heterogeneous and yet also intimately knit together.

#### **IV. Make Love Not War: Froissart's Pastourelles**

As evidenced from his repetition of that same opening formula used by the other two poets, Froissart is clearly working within the same politicized variation of the pastourelle, though, while his work contains clear parallels with the corpora of the anonymous Hainuyer poet and Deschamps, it substantially departs from them as well. Thus, for example, Froissart does not engage with beast allegory in his twenty pastourelles, though he does, like the Hainuyer poet, use some mythographic references in his work.<sup>218</sup> His pastourelles are also significantly more varied, with some holding to the traditional, apolitical pastourelle whereby the narrator observes shepherds at revelry, holding beauty competitions, or picking flowers, while in others he watches shepherds comment on subjects such as clothing, bookish learning, and the virtues of daisies, rather

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<sup>218</sup> See, e.g., Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 341-44 (no. 16); see Smith, *Medieval*, 132.

than on contemporary politics expressly. The contemporary political events discussed by the shepherds are also much more varied: only two armed conflicts, of the kind that we observe mentioned in the work of the Hainuyer poet and Deschamps, are referenced. Froissart's shepherds instead tend much more to comment on events that are contemporary but less specifically pertaining to the Hundred Years War such as royal weddings, or the virtues of Gaston Phébus.

The travelling narrator is also much more foregrounded in Froissart's work and often reveals himself in the envoy to be a stand-in for Froissart the chronicler himself, gesturing to his own personal interactions with figures like Wenceslas of Brabant and Gaston Phébus. Froissart's insertion of his own authorial persona into the pastourelles is heightened by the variety of the geographic markers in their opening formulae, a variety that mirrors Froissart's own restless wanderings around Francophone Europe. The geographic markers of his pastourelles include areas surrounding Mons, in Froissart's own native Hainault, along with Eltham and Westminster, which were home to the court of Edward III, in which Froissart spent the years between 1361 and 1369 in service to Philippa of Hainault. His next two patrons were Wenceslas of Brabant until the latter's death in 1383, and Guy of Blois, and both are objects of the shepherds' discussions in pastourelles set within, or near, those patrons' lands. Gaston Phébus, at whose court Froissart spent ten weeks in 1388-89, is also the subject of two pastourelles set near Orthez, home to Phébus' court.

Froissart does not merely stage his pastourelles in areas, in which he had personally travelled: the contemporary political events evoked by his shepherds further



reveal themselves to be directly linked to events that the real-life Froissart the chronicler has himself witnessed and mentioned in his *Chroniques*. Thus, no. 2, *Entre Eltem et Westmoustier*, describes the return of Jean II into captivity in Eltham in 1364, an event that took place while Froissart was at the English court.<sup>219</sup> Similarly, Froissart accompanied Joan II, Countess of Auvergne, ward of Gaston Phébus, to her wedding to Jean de Berry in 1389, the same wedding that is described by the shepherds in no. 14, *Asses pres dou castiel dou Dable*.<sup>220</sup> As Smith observes:

Froissart's pastourelles, especially those with historical content, are a privileged place in which the narrator as witness and recorder parallels the author's own extratextual role, similarly mimicked by the narrator of the *Chroniques*. Making strategic use of secondhand testimony and eyewitness accounts, but also mingling with the shepherds or speaking from within the poetic space to the audience outside, the pastourelle narrator is an image of Froissart-historian as he circulates among important people, interviews witnesses, and communicates his vision through written testimony about exemplary events and individuals.

Froissart's pastourelles seem, thus, to be looking at a very different order of politics than the work of the Hainuyer poet and of Deschamps. Instead of starving and victimized shepherds, Froissart seems to be describing happy shepherds discussing largely cheerful and exciting events that Froissart the author had himself witnessed. These discussions often, moreover, take on the form of lengthy lists of, for example, the arms of particular dynastic houses, as in no. 9, *En un biau pré vert et plaisant*, or of the lords present at a royal wedding, as in no. 16, *Assés prés dou Bouch la Roïne*, which recounts the royal entry into Paris of Isabeau of Bavaria on August 20, 1389, also described in the *Chroniques*. In this latter pastourelle, a shepherdess even offers a shepherd, who has

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<sup>219</sup> Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 308-10; see Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 75.

<sup>220</sup> Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 337-39; see Smith, *Medieval*, 150.

witnessed and is recounting Isabeau's entry into Paris, a cake if he will write down "en un rolle" (l. 47: in an armorial roll) the names of the lords present at the wedding. As Blanchard and Smith have both argued, such moments, in which the unexpectedly literate shepherd emerges as a kind of royal herald, underscore that the pastoral is here pure conceit for Froissart's insertion of himself, in his role as chronicler, directly into these lyrics.<sup>221</sup> His pastourelles thus appear to be some sort of lyrical counterpart to the *Chroniques*, which suggests an appropriation of the pastourelle for the purpose of mere historical record, rather than for the same kind of sharp political commentary observable in the work of Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet.

For Blanchard, the structure of these pastourelles, in which the shepherds are recounting to each other, and to the eavesdropping narrator/I-figure, their experiences of seeing a royal wedding, or Isabeau's entry into Paris, or the tale of Gaston Phébus' attack on the Jacquerie, pulls contemporary politics into the realm of posterior reportage. Political events are set into the space of the atemporal pastoral idyll, in which history becomes mere story.<sup>222</sup> This effect is heightened by the way in which Froissart does not just draw the political and the pastoral together, as Deschamps and the anonymous Hainuyer poet do; he seems fully to recast the political into the mode of the pastoral. Thus, for example, the marriage of Marie, daughter of Jean de Berry, to Louis III de Châtillon, son of Froissart's patron Guy de Blois, is described in no. 13, *Asses pres de*

<sup>221</sup> Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 77 and Smith, *Medieval*, 143.

<sup>222</sup> Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 77-78. Cf. Wimsatt who suggests that Froissart's pastourelles "embody an attempt to domesticate the fourteenth-century pastourelle to the court mode—that is, to the Machaut tradition": "Chaucer, Froissart," 76. On the next page, he further observes: "While they clearly grow from ... the pastourelle that we see in the Pennsylvania poems, they alter it fatally ..." He also briefly mentions here Deschamps' pastourelles and refers to them as more "static" and less concerned with depicting the historical condition of shepherds than the Pennsylvania pastourelles.

*Roumorantin*, as a wedding between “[l]a pastourelle de Berri | Avec le pastourel de Blois” (refrain: the shepherdess of Berry with the shepherd of Blois). Froissart’s “pastoralization” of the political, along with his focus on courtly events like royal weddings, further leads Smith to argue that in “gentrifying the poems to express a courtly worldview, Froissart demonstrates his desire to create in the present something evoking an idealized past ... In confronting his contemporary reality with the best of an idealized pastoral fiction, Froissart casts the present as a kind of new golden age of its own.” With this view, she echoes Blanchard who observes that

[l]e trouble initial provoqué par l’apparition d’un argument politique dans le décor pastoral se résorbe progressivement ... Travestis dans l’espace de la fête, de carnaval, [les événements] perdent définitivement leur condition “historique” pour être projetés dans le mythe.

the initial trouble provoked by the appearance of a political argument within the pastoral setting is progressively absorbed ... Dressed in the space of the festival, the carnival, [the events] definitively lose their “historical” condition to become projected into myth.

In other words, if the Hainuyer poet and Deschamps deploy the pastoral mode in order to stage the real lived experience of peasants during the Hundred Years War, pulling pastoral poetics into the world of contemporary politics, Froissart seems to be performing the obverse. He transposes political events into the apolitical mode of the pastoral, blunting their historical force.

Yet, as we have just seen with the work of Deschamps, the evocation of a valorized past, the end of an Ovidian Golden Age, is crucial to Deschamps’ political message, and the memory of a happy Golden Age also haunts Gower’s *Vox clamantis*. Indeed, in those works the memory of the destruction of that Golden Age is closely tied

to the origins and development of agrarian labor, and it therefore serves as a powerful commentary, achieved through the medium of the pastourelle, on a hopeless and violent wartime present. From this perspective, Froissart's own engagement with the idyllic pastoral mode deserves reevaluation. In what remains, I would like to peel back the pastoral elements that seem to unmoor the political events discussed by Froissart's shepherds from their anchor in historical reality into the blank expanse of idyllic time. In so doing, I aim to show that Froissart, like the anonymous Hainuyer poet and Deschamps, too uses the pastourelle for contemporary sociopolitical commentary, except that his view on the Hundred Years War, precisely in its focus on events like royal weddings and in its idealizing mode, reveals an optimistic hope for eventual peace.

Froissart's twelfth pastourelle, *Entre Lille et le Warneston*, seems to reprise themes similar to what we have already seen with the anonymous Hainuyer poet and Deschamps in its lament over the destruction caused by military conflict as shepherds bemoan the loss of their livestock to marauding soldiers (ll. 11-23). The reason for this destruction, however, is revealed to be not the grand scale Anglo-French conflict of the Hundred Years War but a much smaller and more localized struggle between the Flemish city-states of Bruges and Ghent, of which the shepherds, similar to the ones in the work of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, are the unfortunate casualty. One of the shepherds says that peace will not be restored until the arrival of the fleur-de-lys (ll. 25-28), which sounds like the kind of indictment of French wartime inertia that we had seen in the work

of Deschamps.<sup>223</sup> However, one of the shepherds then goes on to express his desire to take up arms in order to aid the community in beating back this enemy (ll. 49-56):

“Or ferai ferrer mon plançon,”	“I will have iron put on my club,”
Ce dist Robins de la Bassee,	Robins de la Bassee said this,
“Mon camail et mon haubregon	“I will put on my chain-mail and breast-plate
Roller, et fourbir mon espee ...	And I will have my sword polished ...
Pour grasce ou pour honnour conquerre ...”	To conquer grace or glory ...”

The pastourelles of the other two poets have offered us images of peasants so undone by the privations of war that they have joined, or seek to join, mercenary armies of pillagers for lack of any other economic option. Froissart, however, depicts a shepherd who is looking to join the army for the noble cause of protecting his own region from the enemy. Another shepherd agrees with Robin, arguing that they all need to support and believe in the French (ll. 60-64):

Car je ne puis orgueil amer,	For I cannot love pride,
Més nous devons de coer penser	But we must with our hearts think
Au roy Charle, ce jone enfant,	Of King Charles, that young child,
Comment il vient de coer oster	How he comes bravely to remove
L’orgueil de Bruges et de Gand.	The pride of Bruges and Ghent.

The final stanza of this lyric, moreover, reveals that Robin’s fervor, while laudable, might not, after all, be necessary for another shepherd recounts that “nos gens” (l. 67: our people) have forded the river and passed Ypres and Cassel so that, he believes, the Flemish have already been trounced (ll. 65-76). Although a final shepherd warns, in the envoy, that Bruges and Ghent might continue to pose a threat to the region (ll. 81-85), this lyric emerges as markedly more optimistic than the work of the Hainuyer poet and of Deschamps. While the latter two poets present only the misery of the shepherds’ situation and its lack of resolution, due to the administrative dysfunctions plaguing the region,

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<sup>223</sup> Cf. Smith, *Medieval*, 159.

Froissart offers salvation for the shepherds in the form of the victorious French army, headed by a young Charles VI, whose youth is not a drawback nor testament to his inaction, unlike in Deschamps' poetry, but seems instead to complement his valor. These shepherds, moreover, directly identify with the French army, referring to them as “nos gens” (our people).<sup>224</sup> In this lyric, the shepherds are presented as a part of the general community that is capable of action, rather than as its marginalized, victimized elements who are being forced to watch destruction and political inaction helplessly from the sidelines.

This kind of strong optimism as to the resolution of political disturbance is also found in no. 6, *Entre Binch et le bos de Hainne*, in which the travelling narrator listens to a conversation between two shepherdesses about the imminent return of the duke of Luxembourg and Brabant, that is to say, Froissart's patron Wenceslas, to his lands in 1372. The shepherdesses welcome this news with joy, noting that Wenceslas' restoration to his territories means that they will now be able to pasture their sheep in peace (ll. 54-57). Again, the misfortunes of the times are evoked, but the solution that will result in a return to peace is always already present in the text. Pastourelle no. 9, *En un biau pré vert et plaisant*, similarly presents the image of successful military exploit and resolution. In this lyric, shepherds are discussing the different arms of various regions all over Francophone Europe, from the Low Countries to the Pyrenees, focusing in particular—as emphasized by the lyric's refrain—on the arms of Béarn and Foix, i.e. on those of Gaston Phébus. In the third stanza, one of the shepherds goes on to recount an episode in the

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<sup>224</sup> Cf. Smith, *Medieval*, 161-62.

ongoing conflict, also reported in the *Chroniques*, in which Phébus' armies came to the rescue of the duchesses of Normandy and of Orléans, along with their 300 ladies, when they were besieged in Meaux by the Jacquerie in 1358 (ll. 55-60).<sup>225</sup> In addition to offering specific praise to Phébus, whose patronage Froissart was courting, this lyric suggests more generally that chivalry is still alive within the Hundred Years War and that the new forms of conflict, as represented by the revolt of peasants and the formation of new mercenary armies, so feared and deplored by the anonymous Hainuyer poet and Deschamps, may yet be quelled by the successful military exploits of capable rulers.

From this perspective, Froissart's transposition of contemporary political events into the idyllic world of the pastourelle is not evacuating those events of their historical meaning but, rather, reinvesting them with the historical agency to effect a future restoration of peace. By referring to historical actants as figures within the pastoral landscape—Jean II as “chils qui porte les fleurs de lis” (refrain: he who bears the lilies) in no. 2 (*Entre Eltem et Westmoustier*), or the aforementioned Marie, daughter of Jean de Berry, and Louis III de Châtillon as “la pastourelle de Berri | et le pastour de Blois” in no. 14 (*Assés prés de Roumorentin*)—Froissart does not remove those characters out of history into the atemporal space of the pastoral. Rather, he underscores the potential of those figures to bring about the return of the idyllic time and space of the pastoral that had been in place before the advent of the Hundred Years War. The transposition of the political into the pastoral thus emerges as a political statement of its own, rather than as an evacuation of political import.

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<sup>225</sup> See Froissart, *Œuvres*, II, 468-69.

The prospect of marital alliance as a means of uniting politically disparate regions in Continental Europe further holds Froissart's particular interest in two of his pastourelles: the aforementioned no. 14, as well as no. 15 (*Assés prés dou castiel dou Dable*), which tells of the wedding of Jean de Berry with Jeanne d'Auvergne in 1389. In these two pastourelles, Froissart specifically imagines the restoration of peace as achievable through the economy of marriage. In no. 15, which is set in Dauphiné, the narrator observes a group of shepherds raise a glass of spring water, in the absence of wine, for the marriage of "le pastourel de Berri | Et la pastoure de Boulongne" (refrain: the shepherd of Berry and the shepherdess of Boulogne). In recounting the wedding, the shepherds express, in particular, their delight at the regional alliance to be produced by such a marriage (ll. 50-52):

La chose vient a bonne fin,	The thing heads to a good conclusion,
Et se nous est moult honnourable,	And it is very honorable for us
Quant Boulongne aurons a voisin ...	To have Boulongne for our neighbor ...

In no. 14, the emphasis on the power of marriage and family to knit geographic regions together is pushed yet further, when the shepherds discuss the impending marriage of Jean de Berry's daughter Marie and Guy of Blois' son Louis III de Châtillon. The marriage is described by the shepherds as "les noces estrettes | De Lyons et de flours de lys" (ll. 39-40: the tight-knit marriage of the lion and the lily). The lyric goes on to emphasize that the groom, in his physical body, already unites two regions, Hainault and Flanders (ll. 42-43), by which Froissart is referring to Louis' descent, on both sides, from multiple lords holding small principalities in various parts of Hainault and the Flemish Low Countries. Louis' marriage to Berry's daughter will therefore, it seems to be suggested, link all of these different regions together into an even stronger compact. The



fourth stanza then emphasizes what such a union will ultimately mean for the whole region in which the shepherds are situated; this region is, notably, identified in the lyric as being around Romorantin-Lathenay, a town that is itself actually located halfway between the groom's native Blois and the bride's native Bourges, thus representing the newly forged alliance between Guy de Blois and Jean de Berry in spatial terms. As the shepherds prepare to go to the wedding, one of them expresses a, by now very familiar to us, concern over his flock of sheep (ll. 54-56):

Reponre me fault mes germettes, Mes moutons et mes brebisettes; Si je les perc, je sui honnis.	I must hide my young ewes, My sheep and my little ewes; If I lose them, I am to blame.
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To this anxiety, another shepherd responds that there is nothing to worry about, for the wealth of the lords present at the wedding will enrich everyone, and “[t]ous biens nous donront en ce mois | La pastourelle de Berri | Avec le pastourel de Blois” (ll. 60-64: The shepherdess of Berry along with the shepherd of Blois will give us all the goods this month). By this point, we have seen, time and time again, that the loss of sheep in this kind of politicized pastourelle stands in for the lawlessness and penury of the countryside destroyed by the ravages of the Hundred Years War. This little aside thus emerges, following the optimism elsewhere observable in Froissart's pastourelles, as a promise that this “mariages nouveaux” (l. 36: new marriage) will ultimately lead to newfound peace and stability within the region between Blois and Bourges.

In the final stanza of this pastourelle another shepherdess goes on to recount the double wedding at Cambrai of “[f]rere et soer, soer et frere né | De Bourgogne et Haynau aussi, | Dont nous sommes tout resjoy” (ll. 75-77: the brother and sister, sister and brother, born of Burgundy and also Hainault, about which we are all delighted). This

rather sinister sounding event reveals itself to be referring to the double wedding at Cambrai in 1385 of two brother-sister pairs: of John the Fearless, son of Philip of Burgundy, to Margaret of Bavaria, and of John's sister, Margaret of Burgundy, to Margaret of Bavaria's brother, William II, Duke of Bavaria-Straubing, who was also, among his other titles, Count William IV of Hainault. The double emphasis on sibling pairs in the perplexing syntax of this line only underscores the close familial ties between regions that an effective marital alliance will be able to foster and further enrich through the promise of new generation. In their representation of pastoral revelry over events such as royal weddings, then, Froissart's pastourelles are hardly recusing themselves from political commentary but, rather, using elements of the pastoral—in a still different and unique manner from that of Deschamps and of the anonymous Hainuyer poet—in order to promote a vision of a countryside that can be, and will be, recovered and restored from the ravages of war.

Whereas the anonymous Hainuyer poet laments the descent of multiple warring factions onto the Hainault region and Deschamps deplores the stalemate warfare of the English and the French and, in particular, the self-destructive inertia of the French government that has turned on its own economy, Froissart presents a Continental Europe that can successfully transcend its internal regionalist divisions. Gaston Phébus can leave his seat at Orthez in order to rescue the duchesses of Normandy and Orléans who are trapped in Meaux; the French can save the shepherds by crossing into Flemish territory to rout its inhabitants; Hainault and Flanders, Bourges and Blois, Burgundy and Bavaria can be brought together through the tight bonds of marital biopolitics. Froissart's far-flung

geographic distribution of his pastourelles' settings, which he places all over the map of Francophone Europe, from Westminster in England, to Mons in Hainault, all the way down to Dauphiné on the Franco-Italian border and Orthez on the Franco-Spanish one, mirrors his totalizing vision, in which peace, as represented by revelling shepherds, will be able to extend over and palliate the scars of divisive warfare.

## **V. Conclusion**

As we have seen, each of the three poets uses a particular politicization of the traditional pastourelle in order to achieve a very distinct political message and in order to comment on the Hundred Years War from a specific geopolitical frame. The anonymous Hainuyer poet is invested in representing one restricted geographic region's suffering in a dangerously unpredictable and multi-layered conflict. He achieves his commentary by delicately juxtaposing politicized pastourelles together with variations on traditional pastourelles that hinge on the symbolic figure of the suffering sheep as stand-in for both suffering shepherd and, strikingly, suffering woman, underpinned by allusions to Ovidian rape and human-animal metamorphosis. Deschamps is also interested in the figure of the sheep as a stand-in for the suffering shepherd, and he uses the figure of the sheep to link his politicized pastourelles together with beast allegory, both underpinned with allusions to the end of an Ovidian Golden Age. In this way he ultimately produces a commentary on the wartime mismanagement of the French economy that has relied on overtaxation to raise funds for an endless and intractable conflict and sabotaged its own economy. Froissart seems to be taking a wholly different approach, in which it is not the pastourelle

that is politicized but politics that appears to be “pastoralized” and pulled out of their historical context into a distant and removed Ovidian Golden Age, although, as we have just seen, that very move contains within itself a profound and politically-motivated cry for widespread peace.

These three poets achieve their very different political messages by using not just the general lyric form of the pastourelle, but a specific politicization of that form which is readily identifiable through the formulaic quality of its opening lines—*Passing through place X, I saw a group of shepherds discussing Y*. In this opening formula, the specific geographic marker is precisely the key lexical difference that anchors that particular lyric to its particular geopolitical frame, which then informs its unique political message. The anonymous Hainuyer poet’s pastourelles are all set within parts of Hainault, while Deschamps’ geographic circle widens to include regions in Champagne and closer to Paris, and Froissart’s pastourelle space opens up completely to include almost all of Francophone Europe, from England, to Hainault, to the Franco-Italian and Franco-Spanish borders. Froissart thus shows the politicized pastourelle to be infinitely appropriable, into ever more geographically expansive circles, by means of its repetitive and formulaic formal qualities, for a starting variety of geopolitically specific aims. In this way, he creates a meta-commentary on the capacity of *formes fixes* poetry at once to represent multiple, divergent regionalist opinions and yet knit its practitioners together into a powerful and cross-regional literary network that can transcend regionalist factionalism even as its content underscores—and deplores—the existence of that same factionalism.

A key aspect of the political work done more overtly by the pastourelles of Deschamps and of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, and performed in the pastourelles of Froissart more implicitly, has been a reliance on an Ovidian subtext. We have observed the ways in which direct references to figures such as Io in the anonymous Hainuyer poet's pastourelles subtend its insistent conflation of dead, wounded, and stolen sheep with ravished women and, in turn, with ruined peasants. We have further seen that the central figure of the sheep of Deschamps' pastourelles and political beast allegories appears to hark back to the importance of the image of the sheep within Pythagoras' re-evocation of the causality behind the end of the Ovidian Golden Age. More generally, mythographic exempla, derived from Ovid as well as from other classical sources, and later texts mediating those classical sources, such as the *Roman de la Rose*, as well as from the Old Testament and more recent romance, are another distinguishing feature that all three sets of pastourelles have in common. Thus, the anonymous Hainuyer poet has Robin and Maret constantly employ mythographical exempla in their dialogues, comparing each other to Hector, Joshua, Tristan, Guinevere, Laodamia, Io, etc., as we have earlier seen. Deschamps' pastourelle no. 1009 (*Entre Espargnay et Damery*), in which a shepherd contemplates joining the passing armies of mercenaries, is sternly reminded that Roland, Charlemagne, and Arthur did not engage in such warfare (ll. 55-56). In Froissart's eighth pastourelle (*Entre Luniel et Montpellier*), a shepherdess tells of how her beloved has left for the courts of Gaston Phébus to bring that lord four greyhounds named Brun, Hector, Tristan, and Roland,<sup>226</sup> and in no. 13 (*Asses pres dou*

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<sup>226</sup> Smith points out that the courtly register evoked by the dogs' names encodes another instance of

*Bourch la Rojne*), a shepherd tells his parents the tale of Jason's winning of the golden fleece.

The use of such exempla is one of the aspects that most strongly links pastourelles to other type of *formes fixes* lyric, in which mythographic exempla are generally prominently featured. To take just the lyrics of the Pennsylvania manuscript as a sample, speakers compare their lady to Pygmalion's Galatea and to Helen (nos. 9, 10, 11, 47, 57, 153, 179, 245, 263); they bring up the love pangs of Narcissus and the music of Orpheus (nos. 10, 11, 19, 58, 135, 189, 260); and both male and female speakers liken their torments unto those of Dido and Medea (nos. 35, 58, 136, 241, 252, 263)—to note but the main figures of the Ovidian tradition alluded to in the collection and to leave aside passing mentions of more minor characters. Such references occur in all sections of the manuscript, across all the known authors represented in the compilation and across all categories of *formes fixes* lyric. In this way, mythographic exempla emerge as an important constitutive feature of this lyric, one of the features that can be particularly easily borrowed and re-appropriated across the work of multiple authors working in the *formes fixes* genre all over Francophone Europe. Picking up on this chapter's discussion of the appropriability of *formes fixes* lyric as a means of producing a political statement in this period, the next chapter is going to focus expressly on the politics behind borrowing, appropriating and refashioning mythographic exempla. As we are about to see, the question of who uses mythographic exempla, and of which source they derive their exempla from, becomes central to a fascinating set of poetic exchanges between

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Froissart's insertion of his own biography into the pastourelles, for he himself brought a gift of greyhounds to Gaston Phébus in 1388: *Medieval*, 166.

several poets scattered over Francophone Europe who are deliberating and debating the question of whether one can write *formes fixes* poetry across the Channel in England and, if so, what forms ought an English *formes fixes* poetry take? In such a way, having explored three sets of overtly political lyrics written in a heavily shared and borrowed lyric form, we are going to shift towards examining a poetic conversation, written during and responding to the Hundred Years War, about the politics of borrowing lyric form itself.

**Chaucer's English Garden:  
On Translating French Poetry across the Channel**

In the preceding chapter we traced out how the reuse of pastoral motifs across multiple Francophone European regions produced multiple critiques of the Hundred Years War that operate through multiple geopolitical lenses. In this chapter we will delve deeper into the political effects of borrowing *formes fixes* lyric by exploring a literary conversation about how the act of appropriating and translating lyric form becomes, *in and of itself*, a kind of political action. As we will see, the question of borrowing and sharing reusable motifs—in this case, allusions to figures from antiquity—became closely intertwined, in the mid-late fourteenth century, with questions concerning the forms that poetry ought to take as it moves across different parts of Francophone Europe, specifically Paris and the Champagne region, the Hainault region, and across the Channel into England. If the anonymous Hainuyer poet, Deschamps, and Froissart borrow and share in order to affirm their unique geopolitical situations, then the poets considered in this chapter actively theorize, through their use of the *formes fixes*, *how* borrowing and sharing—and *what kinds of* borrowing and sharing—allow people to affirm their unique geopolitical situation.

Sometime towards the end of the fourteenth century, the French poet Eustache Deschamps wrote a ballade that was addressed to Chaucer.<sup>227</sup> This address constitutes the

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<sup>227</sup> Various dates have been proposed for this text: Jacques Kooijman suggests between 1377 and 1380 in “Envoi des fleurs: A propos des échanges littéraires entre la France et l’Angleterre sous la Guerre de Cent Ans,” in *Études de langue et de littérature françaises offertes à André Lanly*, ed. Bernard Guidoux (Nancy, 1980), 181; Wimsatt posits the late 1380s in *Contemporaries*, 248; Murray L. Brown holds to 1391 in “Poets, Peace, the Passion, and the Prince: Eustache Deschamps’ ‘Ballade to Chaucer,’” in R. Barton Palmer, *Chaucer’s French Contemporaries: The Poetry/Poetics of Self and Tradition* (New York: AMS



only known direct acknowledgment of Chaucer's literary activity to have been made within the English poet's own lifetime. In the lyric, Deschamps compares Chaucer to multiple venerable figures, such as Socrates, Seneca, and Ovid, as one who has illuminated England. He further commends Chaucer for having translated that Ur-text of French courtly love literature, the *Roman de la Rose*, "en bon anglès" (l. 16: into good English) and for planting a literary garden in England that will be full of French plants, i.e. French literature.<sup>228</sup> Throughout the work, he famously repeats in the refrain: "Grant translateur, noble Geoffroi Chaucier!"

Deschamps' presentation of Chaucer as, first and foremost, a translator from French into English aptly illustrates the extremely complicated relationship between French and English culture in this period that we have been thus far investigating. Thus, where earlier critics had scarcely doubted the sincerity of Deschamps' high valuation of Chaucer, William Calin tempered the enthusiasm by questioning how much this ballade could really be saying about Chaucer's fame on the Continent and Deschamps' interest in English literature. Many of Deschamps' other lyrics, as we have seen in the preceding chapter, testify to his strongly anti-English and proto-nationalistic sentiments, and there is no evidence that Deschamps, in fact, knows more than a few words of English.<sup>229</sup> The insistent refrain within the lyric—"grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier"—has the

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Press, 1999), 188; and Laurie, "Deschamps," proposes c. 1396. Each date is fixed during a period of favorable political negotiations between England and France that might be seen to soften Deschamps' usually virulent anti-English stance in the Hundred Years War.

<sup>228</sup> For the best text, see Butterfield, *Familiar*, 144-47; translation of the ballade is my own.

<sup>229</sup> For positive readings of the ballade, see, for instance, T. Atkinson Jenkins, "Deschamps' Ballade to Chaucer," *Modern Language Notes* 33.5 (May 1918): 268-78; John Stevens, "Music" and Murray L. Brown, "The Order of the Passion of Jesus Christ: A Reconsideration of Eustache Deschamps' 'Ballade to Chaucer,'" *Medievalia* 11 (1989): 219-44. On Deschamps' proto-nationalism, see, in particular, Gaston Duchet-Suchaux, "Émergence"; Richards, "Uncertainty"; and Butterfield's detailed discussion of Deschamps and late medieval uses of "nacion" in *Familiar*, 130-143.

ring of praise to it, but it is also potentially dismissive, or, at the very least, vexed. In line with the culturally dominant role of French literature *vis à vis* English in this period, Deschamps appears to be presenting Chaucer as purely a translator and compiler that is putting together a collection of works imported from the Continent.

The most curious aspect of Deschamps' ballade to Chaucer, however, is also the one to have been the least considered. As James Wimsatt has noted, Deschamps' ballade to Chaucer makes use of several phrases taken from an earlier, mid-fourteenth century literary source: a semi-vicious, semi-comical exchange of invectives in *formes fixes* over artistic merit and poetic license between Philippe de Vitry, an early French humanist from outside of Paris, and Jean De Le Mote, a native of Hainault, from where he moved to England to join the court of Edward III; we may remember these two figures from Chapter One, where they came up as two of the authors identifiable as included into the Pennsylvania manuscript. This exchange consists of a *formes fixes* ballade by Vitry, in which he attacked Le Mote for his decision to live and write poetry in England, calling Le Mote *both* a political traitor to his country *and* a terrible poet. Le Mote's fault, as it emerges from Vitry's ballade, lies not only in his decision to decamp to England but also, significantly, in his innovative uses of pseudo-literary allusion when composing what modern scholars refer to as mythographic ballades, a mode within the *formes fixes* genre heavily reliant on a recognizable catalogue of allusions to antiquity, the Old Testament and medieval romance, such as we discussed briefly at the close of Chapter Two. Vitry's immediate juxtaposition of a political judgment on Le Mote's actions with an aesthetic judgment on Le Mote's poetry suggests that the two are, for him, strongly related. Indeed,

in his response, Le Mote opposes both of the accusations at once, arguing that both his politics *and* his poetics should be beyond reproach. He goes on to defend his choice of pursuing a literary career across the English Channel by pointedly upholding his pursuit of innovative literary allusion. Vitry's sentiments towards Le Mote's misuse of classical allusion are further repeated and intensified in the work of a second poet, Jean Campion, himself from Flanders, in his own follow-up invective to Vitry, to which Le Mote also responds.

Wimsatt's identification of these intriguing textual parallels between Deschamps' ballade to Chaucer and the Vitry-Le Mote exchange went largely unremarked until Ardis Butterfield suggested in *The Familiar Enemy*, that Deschamps cites from this earlier exchange in a reprisal of Vitry's negative stance towards English literary production and that Deschamps' address to Chaucer should be read as double-edged in its seeming praise. As I will show, however, Deschamps' allusions to this exchange all come not from Vitry's attack on Le Mote, but, instead, from Le Mote's *response*. In this response, Le Mote justifies the value of his poetic activity on English soil, articulating what I claim is an arcadian vision of a triumphant "Francophonie" in opposition to Vitry's proto-nationalist convictions concerning where and, most importantly, *how* French poetry should be written. Deschamps draws on Le Mote's response to Vitry in order to valorize Chaucer's translation of French poetry into the English language. I further show that, in an even more striking move, Deschamps goes on to equate Chaucer's achievements *as a translator* to Deschamps' own lifelong literary accomplishments, proclaiming Chaucer as his literary double precisely because he is translating from French into English.

Deschamps' address to Chaucer, along with its Vitry-Le Mote intertext, thus transforms our conception of late medieval cross-Channel cultural hierarchies in revealing that the notion of an English literary culture was hardly being dismissed or ignored by Francophone poets in this period; rather, it was hotly debated—and vigorously defended—in the context of emergent protonationalist sentiment arising during the Hundred Years War. Furthermore, as we will see, the vehicle and simultaneously the object of this cross-regional and cross-generational debate over the virtues and merits of translation between regions bitterly divided by the Hundred Years War is the *formes fixes* lyric genre itself. In such a way, the Vitry-Le Mote exchange, Campion's follow-up to it, and Deschamps' reiteration of it in his address to Chaucer testify to an emergent discourse that was attempting to theorize, through the *formes fixes*, the same phenomenon of borrowing *formes fixes* elements across regions divided by the Hundred Years War in order to assert one's geopolitics that we have just been investigating in the preceding chapter.

### **I. The Vitry-Le Mote Exchange: Manuscripts, Background, and Dating**

The Vitry-Le Mote exchange is found in only two manuscript copies. The first is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin 3343 (fols. 110r-v), a vast fifteenth-century 173-folio miscellany in one scribal hand of excerpts from works primarily in Latin: Vergil, Ovid, Priscian, Macrobius, Boethius, Bede, Alcuin, Bernard of Clairvaux, Valerius Maximus and various other auctores, as well as anonymous Latin epigrams, chronicle fragments, and a few scattered Latin and French lyrics. Its total lack of

adornment and use of a single cramped, hurried Gothic cursive hand suggest a collection most likely for personal use. In this manuscript, the Vitry-Le Mote exchange is framed by two ballades by Jean De Le Mote and by Jean Campion's aggressive follow-up to Vitry's accusations, which prompted a second bout of self-defense from Le Mote, copied after Campion's ballade in this manuscript.<sup>230</sup> Le Mote's response to Campion is then followed in the manuscript by a Latin *jeu-parti* between Campion and another poet, Jean Le Savoie, in which Vitry figures as a judge; this latter work will not form part of this discussion, but this cumulative grouping suggests that Vitry, Le Mote, and Campion formed part of a poetic coterie of some kind.<sup>231</sup> The second manuscript containing the Vitry-Le Mote exchange is our familiar Pennsylvania manuscript that we have been exploring throughout our discussion. It contains, on fols. 23r-v, only the ballades sent between Vitry and Le Mote without the framing context found in the other manuscript.

Philippe de Vitry, clerk, canon and eventually bishop of Meaux, worked in various administrative capacities for Philip VI and Jean II and was hailed by his contemporaries and immediate successors as the preeminent poet and composer of courtly love poetry and music of his day, though little of his *œuvre* remains extant. He is credited with the development of a new school of musical thought known as the *ars nova*, which went on to influence Machaut: thus, for example, the anonymous *Règles de la seconde rhétorique*, written, given the list of authors it references, probably sometime in the first decade of the fifteenth century, describes Vitry as the poet who “trouva la maniere de motes, et des balades, et des lais, et des simples rondeaux, et en la musique

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<sup>230</sup> Campion's contribution and Le Mote's response to him is edited in Pognon, “Ballades,” 411-12, and Wimsatt, *Ch*, 71-72.

<sup>231</sup> See Pognon, “Ballades,” 403-04.

trouva les .iiij. prolacions, et les notes rouges, et la novelete des proporcions” (invented the manner of motets, of ballades, of lais, of simple rondeaux, and in music he invented the four prolations, and the red notes, and the innovation of proportions).<sup>232</sup> Petrarch called him “poeta nunc unicus Galliorum” (a poet unique among the Gauls today) and lamented his passing in a marginal note in his cherished personal copy of Vergil.<sup>233</sup> Deschamps ranked him and Machaut alongside the great high medieval scholastics Peter Comestor and Hrabanus Maurus as masters of their specialties.<sup>234</sup>

Mentions of Jean De Le Mote’s career first come up in 1325-26 in the records of the court of Guillaume de Hainault, whose daughter Philippa became Edward III’s consort in 1328 and brought over to England from Hainault much of her retinue. One of her ladies-in-waiting went on to become Chaucer’s wife. The marriage of Edward and Philippa may have prompted Le Mote’s own move across the Channel, though the exact date of his arrival to England is uncertain. A record from 1338, however, shows that

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<sup>232</sup> Text from Ernest Langlois, *Recueil d’arts de seconde rhétorique* (Paris, 1902), 12; for the dating of the treatise, see Langlois’ introduction, xxvi-xxviii (although NB that Langlois erroneously gives Froissart’s death as 1411, instead of c. 1404). For Vitry’s extant works and possible further attributions, see Leo Schrade, “Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries,” *Musical Quarterly* 42.3 (July 1956): 330-54; Ernest H. Sanders, “The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28.1 (Spring 1975): 24-45; and Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, “The Emergence of Ars Nova,” *Journal of Musicology* 13.3 (Summer 1995): 285-317. See also Sarah Fuller, “A Phantom Treatise of the Fourteenth Century? The Ars Nova,” *The Journal of Musicology* 4.1 (Winter 1985-86): 23-50, for an interesting discussion on the potential misattribution of the treatise, *Ars nova notandi*, to Vitry himself, instead likely authored by his disciples. Excitingly, Anna Zayaruznaya is currently working on the first scholarly monograph to be entirely devoted to Vitry.

<sup>233</sup> The line occurs in a letter from Petrarch to Vitry, dated ca. 1350, edited from the original manuscript in Paulin Paris, *Les Manuscrits français de la bibliothèque du Roi* (Paris: J. Techener, 1836), III, 180-181. For Vitry’s friendship with Petrarch and detailed summaries of what little is known about Vitry, see A. Coville, “Philippe de Vitri: Notes Biographiques,” *Romania* 59 (1933): 520-47, and Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey, “Vitry, Philippe de,” Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online (Oxford University Press), accessed 13 Sep 2013. For his humanistic interests, see also Andrew Wathey, “Philippe de Vitry’s Books,” in *Books and Collectors 1200-1650: Essays Presented to A.G. Watson*, ed. J. Carley and C. Tite (London, 1997), 145-52 and “Myth and Mythography in the Motets of Philippe de Vitry,” *Musica e Storia* 6.1 (1998): 81-106, especially 94ff.

<sup>234</sup> Deschamps, *Œuvres*, VIII, 177-78 (no. 1474, l. 28); he names the two poets alongside each other again in no. 872, ll. 5-6: *Œuvres*, V, 53-54.

Edward granted Le Mote an annuity, which suggests that Le Mote must have already been living in England by that year. Le Mote was also paid for providing the king with entertainment in Eltham, one of the royal residences, in 1343.<sup>235</sup> He also spent time in Paris from 1340 to 1341 at the household of noted patron of the arts, Simon de Lille, goldsmith to Charles IV of France and Philip VI of France. While at de Lille's household, Le Mote was commissioned to write two works: the devotional *Voie d'enfer et de paradis* and an Alexander romance entitled *Le Parfait du paon*, the third installment in an Alexander romance cycle after Jacques de Longuyon's *Les Voeux du paon* and Jean Le Court, aka Brisebarre Le Douai's *Le Restor du paon*.<sup>236</sup> Of Jean Champion little is known save the rubric accompanying his contribution in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3343 that identifies him as occupying ecclesiastical posts in Tournai and Bruges in 1350.<sup>237</sup>

The paucity of information on all three figures makes precise dating of the ballade exchanges impossible. The date of Le Mote's death is unknown, but a contemporary lists Le Mote after Vitry and Machaut as one of the foremost living poets of his day in 1350;<sup>238</sup> Vitry died in 1361. Nigel Wilkins suggests a *terminus post quem* for the exchange, based on an allusion in Le Mote's response to a motet by Vitry, *Cum*

<sup>235</sup> Nigel Wilkins, "Music and Poetry at Court: England and France in the Late Middle Ages," in *Words and Music in Medieval Europe* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate Variorum, 2011), 192, citing Edward's household accounts: National Archives of the United Kingdom, Public Records Office (PRO), Exch. Misc. Bks. E36/204, fol. 84v. For Le Mote's career generally, see also Wimsatt, *Love-Poets*, 147-49 and *Contemporaries*, 48-58, and, on the Vitry-Le Mote-Champion exchange, 63-76.

<sup>236</sup> See Mary Rouse and Richard Rouse, "The Goldsmith and the Peacocks: Jean de le Mote in the Household of Simon de Lille, 1340," *Viator* 28 (1997): 281-305 and Janet Van Der Meulen's intriguing argument that Le Mote's *Parfait du paon* is a negative response to the praise of England in the *Roman de Perceforest*, spurred by Edward III's public declaration of his right to the French throne and marshaling of his English royal arms with those of the French king in, precisely, 1340: "Simon de Lille et sa commande du *Parfait du Paon*: pour en finir avec le *Roman de Perceforest*," in *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Book Production in Paris around 1400*, ed. Godfried Croenen and Peter Ainsworth (Louvain: Peeters, 2006), 223-38.

<sup>237</sup> See Pognon, "Ballades," 402-05.

<sup>238</sup> Gilles le Muisis, *Poésies*, ed. Kervyn de Letterhove (Louvain: J. Lefever, 1882), I, 89.

*statua/Hugo Hugo*, that was definitively composed after 1356.<sup>239</sup> We may therefore conclude that the whole ballade sequence was probably composed sometime in the middle of the fourteenth century.

## II. Outlandish Poetry: Philippe de Vitry to Jean De Le Mote

In his balade, the first in the exchange, Vitry advances two accusations towards Le Mote: a politically-motivated denunciation of Le Mote's choice to reside in England as well as an aesthetic dissatisfaction with Le Mote's poetry. While these two complaints appear to be separate from each another, the delicate structure of Vitry's ballade formally juxtaposes them within the text, suggesting that, for him, the quality of a poet's work and his geographic location are significantly interlinked. I present here the full text of Vitry's ballade with certain words left temporarily untranslated since I will be discussing potentially divergent readings further on in my analysis:

De terre en Grec Gaule appellee, Castor [fuitis, fuyans] comme serfs En Albion de flun nommee, Roys Antheus devenus serfs. Nicement sers Quant sous fais d'anfent fains amer D'amour qu'Orpheus ot despite. [Lou], tu n'as d'amour fors l'amer, En Albion de Dieu maldicte.	Out of the land called Gaul in Greek, Runaway beaver, fleeing like a <i>serfs</i> To Albion named for the river, <i>Roys Antheus devenus serfs.</i> You serve foolishly When childishly you feign to love With a love that Orpheus despised. Wolf, you have of love nothing but the bitter part In Albion cursed by God.
T'umbre de fuite yert accuse Par Radamancus le pervers Et de Roy Minnos condempnee A vij tours de queue a revers [Eacus pers] Contraindra ta langue a laper, Comme de renoié traïte, De Flagiton, l'amere mer, En Albion de Dieu maldicte.	Your shade will be accused of flight By the cruel Rhadamanthus And condemned by King Minos With seven turns of his tail backwards. Pallid Aeacus Will force your tongue to lap, Like that of a renegade traitor, From Phlegethon, the bitter sea, In Albion cursed by God.

<sup>239</sup> Nigel Wilkins, "En Regardant vers le Païs de France: the Ballade and the Rondeau, a Cross-Channel History," in *Words and Music*, 299-300.



Certes, Jehan, la fons Cirree  
 Ne te congnoit, ne li lieux vers  
 Ou maint la vois Caliopee.  
 Car amoureux diz fais couvers  
 De nons divers,  
 Dont aucun enfés scet user  
 Com tu, qui ne vaulz une mite  
 A Pegasus faire voler  
 En Albion de Dieu maldicte.

Certainly, John, the fountain of Cirrha  
 Does not know you, nor the green place  
 Where the voice of Calliope remains.  
 For you make love poems filled  
 With diverse names,  
 Which any child knows how to use  
 Like you, who are not the slightest bit worthy  
 Of making Pegasus fly  
 In Albion cursed by God.<sup>240</sup>

Vitry opens this invective with the emasculating image of Le Mote fleeing to England like a beaver, an animal reputed in bestiary lore for biting off its testicles when pursued.<sup>241</sup> Vitry then prophesies that Le Mote's move will damn his soul to hell where he will be punished as a "renoié traïte" (a renegade traitor) by the three mythical judges of the Underworld: Minos, Aeacus and Rhadamanthus. Remarkably, Vitry's description of Le Mote's fate here involves what may be the earliest allusion in French to Dante's *Inferno* (V. 1-20), when he describes Minos' coiling his tail seven times.<sup>242</sup> As Diekstra points out, since Minos stands outside the second circle, and each coil of the tail represents how many more circles the damned soul must go further down (V. 11-12: "cignesi con la coda tante volte | quantunque gradi vuol che *giù* sia messa," emphasis added), Minos is sending Le Mote's shade to the very end of the line, the ninth circle of

<sup>240</sup> Text from Diekstra, "Exchange," 508, notes on 511-14. The words in brackets represent Dekstra's emendations for corrupted scribal readings. In l. 2, for example, the Pennsylvania manuscript has "Castor & polus comme serfs" where the Paris manuscript reads "Castor fuitis, fuyans comme serf." Given the prevalent animal imagery throughout the stanza, the Paris reading is preferable to the evident confusion of the Pennsylvania manuscript's scribe of "castor" (*beaver*) with Castor, brother to Pollux in Greco-Roman mythology. Any explanations for Diekstra's readings on which my own analysis does not touch may be found in his editorial notes.

<sup>241</sup> See, e.g. Debra Hassig, "Sex in the Bestiaries," in *The Mark of the Beast: The Medieval Bestiary in Art, Life and Literature*, ed. Debra Hassig and Debra Higgs Strickland (New York: Garland, 1999), 77-78 and associated bibliography.

<sup>242</sup> Wimsatt, *Ch*, 69. Butterfield suggests that this detail might also be another backhanded reference to the "Anglais coué" or tailed Englishman slur derived from Wace and prevalent in fourteenth-century anti-English discourse: *Familiar*, 125-26.

hell reserved for traitors.<sup>243</sup> Le Mote's move to England thus evidently represents, for Vitry, the ultimate and most condemnable form of treason.

At this point, Vitry transitions to pass judgment on Le Mote's literary merits. As in the first half of his ballade, he continues to employ classical allusion in his second accusation, thus structurally linking the two charges by means of this literary mode. Vitry writes (ll. 5-7):

Nicement sers	You serve foolishly
Quant sous fais d'anfant fains amer	When childishly you feign to love
D'amour qu'Orpheus ot despite.	With a love that Orpheus despised.

The substance of Vitry's displeasure with Le Mote comes out with full force in his significant choice of phrase in the quotation above: "nicement *sers*" (you *serve* foolishly). This word speaks at once to the literary trope, familiar from the *Roman de la Rose*, of the courtly lover as the subject who renders homage and swears vassalage to Love, personified as an autocratic male sovereign. At the same time, the verb *servir* hints at the service rendered by the court poet in composing verse in praise or lament of events occurring in the life of his patrons: we might think here of Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess*, written on the occasion of his patron, John of Gaunt's loss of his wife to the plague, or Guillaume de Machaut's *Confort d'ami*, written as a consolation to King Charles II of Navarre during his imprisonment. Undertaking to employ his artistic skill to represent a subject dictated by events at court or by a patron's personal bequest, the courtly poet's art comes to embody his service, so that his involvement in courtly affairs and his role in contributing to the literary culture around him become

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<sup>243</sup> Diekstra, "Exchange," 514. Citation from: Dante Alighieri, *Inferno*, ed. Robert Hollander and Jean Hollander (New York: Doubleday, 2000).

indistinguishable.<sup>244</sup> By using this richly multivalent term *servir*, Vitry gets at the very heart of what it means to be a *courtly* poet in both the sense of writing courtly love literature and writing at and for someone's court. In Vitry's eyes, Le Mote's service to courtly love in his poetry is inextricable from his service at the court of Edward III.

Vitry continues to use classical allusion as he expands on the poor quality of Le Mote's verse. He claims that Le Mote has never been to the locales frequented by Calliope, muse of epic poetry, nor to the "fountain of Cirrha," that is, the fountain of Hippocrene in Helicon, home to the Muses (ll. 20-21). He further specifies what precisely he finds so distasteful about Le Mote's poetry (ll. 22-28):

... amoureux diz fais couvers	... you make love poems filled
De nons divers,	With diverse names,
Dont aucun enfés scet user	Which any child knows how to use
Com tu, qui ne vaulz une mite	Like you, who are not the slightest bit worthy
A Pegasus faire voler	Of making Pegasus fly
En Albion de Dieu maldicte.	In Albion cursed by God.

Again Vitry infantilizes his opponent: where earlier Le Mote had served "childishly," now he is also writing in an unsophisticated manner, simply stuffing his poetry with "diverse names" that any child could use. By labeling Le Mote's work puerile, Vitry seems to be outlining a particular understanding of what forms poetry ought to take, as if there is some kind of literary tradition or school, which Le Mote is flouting.

A representative example of Le Mote's own work sheds some light on what Vitry might be intending by his curious statement. As Wimsatt has suggested, the two ballades immediately preceding the Vitry-Le Mote exchange in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3343 emerge as cogent instances of Vitry's critique, as if perhaps purposefully furnished to perform

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<sup>244</sup> On this phenomenon, see, in particular, Richard Firth Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

this function.<sup>245</sup> A quick glance at a stanza from one of these preceding ballades reveals a highly hermetic text, brimming with what Vitry aptly terms “diverse names”:

Ras nonpourquant des bestes sauvagines	Nevertheless Ras is strangled
Est estranglee, et Thisbee est escorchie,	By savage beasts, and Thisbee is flayed,
Et Helainne est a toutes discipline[e]	And Helen is beaten by everyone
Par trop amer, et pendue est Helye	For loving too much, and Helye is hanged
Par les cheveux; Lucidaire est bruye,	By her hair; Lucidaire is burned,
Flore, Yde, Edee [v?]ont en mer tout contraire,	By contrast, Flore, Yde, and Edee go into the sea (?);
Tholomee, Asse firent jaloux detraire,	Tholomee and Asse had the jealous one torn apart,
Si que d’amours n’orent fin ne entrée	And so of love neither Ras, Tisbe, Helainne,
Ras, Tisbe, Helainne, Elye, Lucidaire,	Elye, Lucidaire, Flore, Yde, Edee
Flore, Yde, Edee, Asse ne Tholomee.	Asse nor Tholomee had no end and no beginning. <sup>246</sup>

Representing various allusions to what looks like mythography, these names certainly appear to justify Vitry’s complaints, whether through their unfamiliar context or their downright obscurity. Ras, Lucidaire and Edee, for example, are names of minor characters in a series of late medieval French romances treating the life of Alexander the Great, to which Le Mote had written a continuation, *Le Parfait du paon*, in 1340.<sup>247</sup> By the name Asse, Le Mote might perhaps be intending a daughter of Nilus, the god of the Nile River. The name Yde might perhaps be referring to “Ida the huntress” who is mentioned in one line of the *Aeneid* (9, l. 177) as having sent Nisus to join Aeneas’ followers; the other names are similarly occasionally decypherable as indicating minor characters from Greco-Roman mythology. Vitry’s charge, that Le Mote sprinkles his poetry with too many “diverse names,” thus appears to be well-founded. This ballade does indeed reflect a predilection for extensive name-dropping, and there is little to go on in terms of context for pinning down some of these allusions, since Le Mote just lists

<sup>245</sup> Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 71-72.

<sup>246</sup> Text from Pognon, “Ballades,” 408. I have supplied a guess in brackets to clarify what looks like a corrupted line.

<sup>247</sup> See Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 72-73. “Lucidaire” was also the title by which Honorius Augustodunensis’ *Elucidarium*, a medieval devotional text, was known in French translation, but Lucidaire here is clearly the name of a person.

these “diverse names” with little to no explanation for why this character might be relevant to the narrative at hand. When Le Mote does use recognizable exempla, furthermore, he changes the well-known stories to which these exempla refer, such as when he explains that Thisbe was flayed to death or that Helen was beaten for her love.<sup>248</sup> These innovations suggest that he is not only mixing established classical traditions but also, perhaps, even inventing wholly new ones, an excess of literary whimsy that seems to be raising Vitry’s hackles.

Vitry also calls Le Mote, in l. 4, an “Antheus devenus serfs,” an interesting term worth some investigation since it can refer to two separate mythological figures, Actaeon or Antheus, which would substantially alter the meaning of the line. Wimsatt has translated Antheus as Arthur, taking “roys” as a form of “roi,” *king*. As Diekstra argues, however, there is little evidence to substantiate this name as being a spelling variant for “Arthur.” He instead takes “Antheus” to mean Actaeon, citing the twelfth-century *Roman de Thèbes* that describes “Antheon ... Qui apres fu en cerf muez” (ll. 9127-28: Antheon ... who was afterwards transformed into a stag), where “Antheon” is clearly appearing as a spelling variant for Actaeon. “Antheon” as a name for Actaeon also appears in Christine de Pizan’s *Livre de Mutacion de fortune*, who has: “A Antheon l’ont bien moustré | Qui par ses propres chiens oultré | Y fu, si tost com cerfs devint ...” (ll. 4847-49: It was made apparent to Antheon, who was destroyed by his own dogs as soon as he became a

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<sup>248</sup> Cf. Pognon’s discussion of Le Mote’s practice in both lyrics of placing two characters side by side and mixing up (purposefully?) their stories, or alluding to the fate of one character in his description of the fate of another: “Ballades,” 395-6.

stag).<sup>249</sup> Diekstra therefore translates “Roys Antheus devenus serfs” as “Rude Actaeon having become a stag,” loosely translating “roys” (*rigid, severe, powerful, violent*) and taking *serfs* as a spelling variant for *cerf*, which fits with the other animal imagery found in the stanza (beaver and, further down, wolf). Diekstra’s translation suggests that Vitry sees Le Mote, like Actaeon who stumbled upon Diana bathing, as having trespassed into the private, sacred space of poetry and has therefore been obliged to save himself in flight. Barred and distant from Calliope’s haunts and from Helicon, Le Mote’s move to England renders him an exile within a poetic geography that imaginatively maps Paris onto Mount Parnassus. Vitry seems, therefore, to be implying that Le Mote has committed a crime.

As Diekstra acknowledges, however, “Antheus” was also used in this period to refer to Antaeus, the apparently indomitable giant whom Hercules ultimately vanquishes. Antaeus is rendered as “Antheus” in Jean de Meun’s translation of Boethius’ *Consolatio* (Nicholas Trevet also has “Anteus” in his commentary), in Chaucer’s *Boece* (IV. m. 7) as well as in the *Monk’s Tale* (l. 2108), and in Dante’s *De Monarchia* (II. 7. 10), which Vitry, given his citation of the *Inferno*, may have conceivably also come across.<sup>250</sup> Reading “Antaeus” better justifies the use of the adjective “roys,” meaning *powerful* or, in a more negative sense, *violent*, within this line. In this case, *serfs* as an orthographical variant for *cerf* (stag) would no longer make sense, but it could instead be taken as a variant for *serf*, meaning slave, or servant, which could fit with Antaeus, whom Hercules

<sup>249</sup> Text edited in Christine de Pizan, *Livre de mutacion de fortune*, ed. Suzanne Solente (Paris: A&J Picard, 1959). Cf. Deschamps’ later no. 901, ll. 3-4, in *Œuvres*, V, 91-92: “...Antheus, en la fourest douteuse, | Quant cerfs devint ...” (Antheus, in the dangerous forest, when he became a stag).

<sup>250</sup> Diekstra, “Exchange,” 512. See also A.J. Minnis, *Chaucer’s Boece and the Medieval Tradition of Boethius*, *Chaucer Studies* 18 (Woodbridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 1993), 152.

subdued: thus “Antaeus having become a servant.”<sup>251</sup> Coming early on in the first stanza of the poem, the allusion—if *serfs* is to be taken as *servant*—thus foregrounds the theme of service in the next line, in which Vitry tells Le Mote that he serves foolishly in love, superimposing service to courtly poetry onto service at a royal court.

The second interpretation, of Antheus as Antaeus, offers a different, more subtle, meaning to Vitry’s phrase, and one that still touches directly on the issue of Le Mote’s geographical location. The mythological Antaeus is a giant whose strength comes from contact with the ground (his mother); Hercules is only able to overpower him when he thinks to lift him up into the air, thus severing his contact with the ground and therefore with his source of physical power. If Le Mote is supposed to be an Antaeus, rather than an Actaeon, then Vitry’s phrase may be taken to imply that Le Mote’s departure from the Continent to England has removed him from his parental ground, i.e. the Continent, from which he gathers (poetic) strength, and he is now weakened on this distant, unfamiliar English soil. Recalling the beaver, to which Vitry had earlier compared Le Mote, who bites off his own testicles in flight, Le Mote’s move to England has rendered him, Antaeus-like, figuratively impotent.

Whether he intends Actaeon or Antaeus (and given the complexity inherent in this work, he may plausibly be punning on both names), Vitry is using allusion to mythological figures from antiquity in order to discuss both aspects of his dissatisfaction

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<sup>251</sup> Regardless of whether “Antheus” be read as indicating Actaeon or Antaeus, I think the other instance of *serfs*, in l. 2, should definitely be read as *servant*, rather than *stag* or *deer*, since “Runaway beaver, fleeing like a deer,” which is the translation suggested by Diekstra, seems like an odd mixing of animal imagery. A beaver fleeing like a servant is also a perplexing image, but given that Le Mote is the beaver, and the image is supposed to convey emasculation and cowardice, “servant” makes slightly more sense to me than “deer.”

with Le Mote: his move to England, as well as his poorly crafted verse, inferior because of its own use of obscure and potentially pseudo-mythography. Vitry's reliance on classical formulae to crystallize both of his accusations towards Le Mote works to link them together into a parallel structure within the poem; through such a procedure, moreover, Vitry is implicitly modelling for Le Mote how classical allusion ought to be employed, that is to say, legibly. Vitry's twin charges thus emerge as a single, interrelated accusation, as if the real issue for him is not just that Le Mote is writing poetry badly *and* residing in enemy land, but that he is *writing poetry in enemy land altogether*. That Vitry is explicitly knitting Le Mote's poetic activities with his geographic location becomes startlingly explicit in the final lines of his invective when he assures Le Mote that he will never succeed "a Pegasus faire voler | En Albion de Dieu maldicte" (in making Pegasus fly in Albion cursed by God).

Vitry's dismissive attitude towards Le Mote's "diverse names" thus materializes as a criticism of the latter's imaginative brand of classical allusion, which departs from familiar terms and familiar literary contexts. In its venture into uncharted literary territory, Le Mote's alternative use of mythography in England reifies the ways in which a poetic tradition can change and develop as it is literally translated further away. In associating Le Mote's outlandish work with his choice to move across the Channel, Vitry's complaint emerges as a suspicion of the kinds of newfangled poetry that may be produced in distant territories when removed from the rigors of centralized French poetic production. Using classical allusion as a means of policing regional borders, Vitry



expresses here a fear of the products of unchecked *translatio studii* that must therefore be dismissed as paltry and puerile.

### III. Domesticating the Outlandish: Jean De Le Mote Responds to Philippe de Vitry

In his response, however, Le Mote patently displays that one can produce Francophone poetry in England on par with Continental French productions according to Vitry's own standards. That is, in contrast to the profusion of obscure names in his ballade above, Le Mote's use of classical allusions in his answer to Vitry is governed by a simplicity that ensures legibility, just as Vitry's prescriptions had insisted. Despite this demonstration of an ability to follow Vitry's stylistic conventions, however, Le Mote concludes with a forceful defense of his own literary method, in which he vindicates the practice of translating a poetic tradition across the Channel into England:

O Victriens, mondains Dieu d'armonie,  
 Filz Musicans et per a Orpheus,  
 Supernasor de la fontaine Helye,  
 Doctores vrays, en ce pratique Auglus,  
 Plus clers veans et plus agus qu'Argus,  
 Angles [en chant], cesse en toy le lyon;  
 Ne fais de moy Hugo s'en Albion  
 Suis. Onques n'oÿ ailleurs bont ne volee;  
 Ne je ne sui point de la nacion  
 De terre en Grec Gaulle de Dieu amee.

Mais [foleanse] enluminans envie  
 Par fauls procès raportés d'Oleus  
 T'a fait brasser buvrage a trop de lie  
 Sur moy, qui ay de toy fait Zephirus.  
 Car en la fons Cirree est tes escus,  
 Tous jours l'ay dit sans adulacion.  
 Or m'as donné Acu pers Flangiton,  
 Fleuve infernal, et les vij tours d'entrée  
 Sept tourmens sont. Je ne vueil pas tel don.  
 De terre en Grec Gaulle de Dieu amee.

Contre mal bien [ferme] sers en Albie,  
 Castor, [ne leus], ne roys serfs Antheus.

O man of Vitry, earthly god of harmony,  
 Son of Musicans and peer of Orpheus,  
*Supernasor* of the fountain of Helicon,  
 A true doctor, an Aulus Gellius in this teaching,  
 More clear-sighted and more sharp than Argus,  
 An angel in song, restrain the lion in you;  
 Do not make a Hugo out of me because I am in Albion.  
 I've never heard that anywhere in any way;  
 And I am in no way of the *nacion*  
 Of the land in Greek called Gaul, loved by God.

But folly which makes envy burn  
 Through false information about me reported by Aeolus  
 Has made you brew a drink with too many dregs,  
 Me who has made of you a Zephirus.  
 For your escutcheon is in the fountain of Cirrha,  
 I have always said it without adulation.  
 Now you have given me the pallid Aeacus of Phlegethon,  
 The infernal river, and the seven *tours* of the entrance  
 Are seven torments. I do not wish for such a gift  
 From the land in Greek called Gaul, loved by God.

Against evil I staunchly serve in Albion,  
 No beaver, nor wolf, nor *roys serfs Antheus*.

Et si li roys Minos enquierit ma vie,	And if king Minos investigates my life,
Il trouvera Eclo et ses vertus	He will find Echo and her powers
Pour contrestreter contre Radannatus,	To oppose Rhadamanthus,
S'il m'acusoit d'aucune traïson.	If he did accuse me of any treason.
[N'ains noms ne mis en fable n'en] chançon	Nor have I ever put any name in fiction or in song
Qui n'ait servi en aucune contree.	Which has not served in any country/region.
Sy te suppli, ne banny mon bon nom	So I entreat you, do not banish my good name
De terre en Grec Gaulle de Dieu amee.	From the land in Greek called Gaul, loved by God. <sup>252</sup>

Where Vitry declares Le Mote a practitioner of love abhorrent even to Orpheus, Le Mote lays it on thick, all the while claiming that none of this is flattery (l. 16): he gives Vitry numerous compliments, including that he is Orpheus' "peer" (l. 2) and that his shield is in that same fountain of Cirrha, that is the Hippocrene, repeating Vitry's own elaborate circumlocution. Le Mote even gives Vitry the strange appellation "supernasor" (l. 3), which appears to be a wordplay on the Latin adjective "supernus," meaning *lofty* or *heavenly*, and Ovid's family name, Naso. Vitry becomes, in Le Mote's formulation, a kind of "Super Ovid," transcending the auctor himself. Le Mote goes on to downplay Vitry's condemnation of his soul to eternal hellfire as a "don" (l. 19: gift) that he could really do without, thanks. It is, however, unfortunately difficult to discern in this work whether or not Le Mote has picked up on Vitry's allusion to Dante's *Inferno* since he touches on the image but obliquely and in passing.<sup>253</sup>

Throughout his response, Le Mote generally maintains this complimentary, perhaps even hyperbolically positive tone that is distant from the character attacks that Vitry himself has levied onto him. There are but two moments suggestive of more

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<sup>252</sup> Text from Diekstra, "Exchange," 509, notes on 514-18. As with Vitry's ballade above, I follow Diekstra's edition with minor silent emendations and leave untranslated words that will be discussed at greater length below.

<sup>253</sup> Diekstra translates *tours* as "towers" and suggests that Le Mote is probably unfamiliar with the reference and is simply invoking the image of triple-walled Tartarus from *Aeneid* VI, 548. Butterfield keeps Wimsatt's translation of *tours* as turns and suggests that Le Mote does understand the reference: *Familiar*, 127. Wimsatt remains undecided: *Ch*, 69. Equally unfortunately, Le Mote's reference to "roys serfs Antheus" is too brief to aid in illuminating the Actaeon/Antaeus question.

pointed retorts. In the first, Le Mote praises Vitry as being “plus clerc veans et plus agus qu’Argus” (l. 5: more clear-sighted and more sharp than Argus). Vitry, astute reader of mythography that he presents himself to be, ought surely to recognize this periphrase as a rather dubious compliment: in the *Metamorphoses*, Ovid recounts how Mercury lures the hundred-eyed Argus to sleep and then to his death (1, 668-88). Le Mote further suggests that (ll. 11-13):

... foleanse enluminans envie	... folly which makes envy glow
Par fauls procés, raportés d’Oleus,	Through false information about me reported by Aeolus
T’a fait brasser buvrage a trop de lie	Has made you brew a drink with too many dregs,

Here he implies that Vitry’s invective is motivated by jealousy, yet this jealousy seems to be not so much professional as that of someone who has heard false rumors disseminated by Aeolus, god of the winds. Through this clever use of classical allusion, Le Mote puts himself in the position of a calumniated lover, whose betrayal has yet to be substantively proved. In this canny self-presentation, then, Le Mote demonstrates a capacity for delicate play with literary allusion that is, moreover, exceedingly strategic. The only unfamiliar “diverse name” within this response is that inventive formulation “supernasor,” a creative neologism specifically formulated to flatter his opponent. In this way, while Le Mote does appear, in his other verse, to have an alternate understanding of classical reception, as a practice of rewriting, reappropriating and straying into the obscure, his own rejoinder demonstrates his mastery of a more conservative approach towards using allusions drawn from antiquity that matches that of Vitry. He thus neatly renders void the charge that his poetry is childish and unsophisticated by exhibiting an extensive knowledge of legible mythography, and of the classical *auctores* in particular.

Le Mote goes on to mount a defense of his creative rewriting of antiquity that gets at the very heart of Vitry's demi-political, demi-aesthetic objections. In one of the more striking moments of his riposte, he insists that Vitry not attack him for his choice to live in England, since, he says (ll. 9-10):

... je ne sui point de la nacion                      ... I am in no way from the *nacion*  
De terre en Grec Gaulle de Dieu amee.      Of the land in Greek [called] Gaul, loved by God.

Le Mote's use of the word "nacion" here merits close attention. The *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* identifies a profound transformation in this word's definition and usage over the course of the fourteenth century. Sources dating from the early to mid-fourteenth century tend to use the term in the sense of *birth, extraction, origin, or lineage*, but from the middle third and particularly by the end of the fourteenth century, the term is also found increasingly used in the sense of the *people or population* of a particular town, city, or region, united by territory and/or language. In her illuminating discussion of the term, Butterfield unravels some of these definitions by looking in particular at the use of "nacion" within university and merchant circles. There the word "nacion" was a term for an organization or guild, a practice that originated at the University of Bologna in the late twelfth century. Members of the individual "nacion" could come from a variety of geographical locations: Butterfield notes that the "French nacion" at the University of Paris included Spaniards, Italians, and Levantines, while the "English nacion" comprised the Flemish, Scandinavians, Finns, Hungarians, the Dutch, and the Slavs. In these fluid structures, members tended to be linked as much by ties of language, as by those of

territory, financial and economic interests, as well as institutional affiliations, all operating within a complex matrix of multiple possibilities for mutual interpellation.<sup>254</sup>

Le Mote is writing in the early-mid fourteenth century, which would suggest that he is employing the term in its agnatic sense of *birth* or *lineage*, though it is possible that the slightly later sense of *people* or *population* is already coming into play.<sup>255</sup> Read in the context of the rest of his response to Vitry, however, Le Mote's use of "nacion"—"I am in no way of the *nacion*, of the land in Greek called Gaul, loved by God"—offers a unique definition of the term that suggests Le Mote's radically alternate understanding of his own relationship to France. Le Mote hails from and has spent his professional career in Hainault and England, both Francophone territories but neither of them actually subject to French sovereign rule. Le Mote is claiming, therefore, that Vitry cannot accuse him of political betrayal or treason because Le Mote is not a French "national," lending the term a meaning that seems almost to echo our modern usage. Clearly, as his work shows, Le Mote is evidently a French speaker, as well as evidently a French poet, but he is not, he claims, from the French "nacion"—he is not a French political subject. According to him, he and Vitry are from different, albeit contiguous worlds. Le Mote's use of "nacion" thus markedly diverges from the term's flexible, expansive definition within his own time period; unlike his own contemporaries, he ties the idea of "national" belonging to geographic territory that is itself being defined in its strictest, most political

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<sup>254</sup> Butterfield, *Familiar*, 130-35.

<sup>255</sup> Le Mote might also be aware of the emergent metonymic use of the term as *country*, *region* or *territory* that is already attested in Brisebarre de Douai's *Li Restor du paon* (1338), the second text in the aforementioned *Paon* cycle, to which Le Mote himself added the third and last installment, *Le Parfait du paon* (1340): Jean Brisebarre, *Li Restor du paon*, ed. Enid Donkin (: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1980), l. 357, 788.

sense: as a region governed by a sovereign. Although he patently shares linguistic and cultural ties with the residents of the French sovereign state, Le Mote claims no affinity with France, defining “nacion” not broadly, as one sees in other contemporary usages, but rather extremely narrowly. For him “nacion” is a *purely* geopolitical entity.

Le Mote offers Vitry a very different conception of what being “French” means and of where and how “French” poetry should be written. Le Mote goes on to say (ll. 27-28):

N’ains noms ne mis en fable n’en chançon,    Nor have I ever put any name in fiction or in song  
 Qui n’ait servi en aucune contree.                Which has not served in any country [or, region].

While Vitry had conjoined Le Mote’s service in a distant, peripheral court with his service to Orpheus as altogether poor, traitorous, and unsavory, claiming that Le Mote serves poetry just as badly as he serves his country, Le Mote has here flipped that statement around. He has never used any name, he says, that has not served equally well in *any other country/region*, resisting Vitry’s exclusionary geography that is casting his *outré* verse as the unbridled literary practice of the European hinterlands.

Le Mote’s sentiments towards his own life in England are further articulated in a lyric fragment, copied in an early fifteenth-century musical repertory manuscript, Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château MS 564 (aka the Chantilly Codex). . Only one stanza of this lyric is preserved, but its “diverse names” leave little doubt as to the identity of its author:

En Albion de fluns environee	In Albion, surrounded by the waters,
Mene Antheus une tres noble vie,	<i>Antheus</i> leads a very noble life.
Mes roy Minos a sa cort condampnee	Now King Minos at his condemned court
Qu'a fayt venir Lucidaire et Helie	Who made Lucidaire and Helie
E [Dedalus], par sa sutil mestrie,	And [Dedalus], arrive [there] through his subtle art,
Fait contre droit la roue bis tonner	Makes the dark wheel turn backwards
Tant que je voy que Zephirus n'a mie	So much that I see that Zephirus scarcely has
En luy povoir qu'il puisse contraster.	In him the power to be able to oppose this. <sup>256</sup>

The opening lines of this fragment clearly point back to Vitry's address, which begins with the comparison of Le Mote's flight to Albion with that of "Antheus." The opening line here "En Albion de fluns environee" further echoes Vitry's own "En Albion de flun nommee" (l. 3), while the mentions of Lucidaire and Helye recall Le Mote's own ballade, which precedes the Vitry-Le Mote exchange in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3343, quoted above, in which Helye is hanged by her hair and Lucidaire is described as having been burned. For the next line, the text in Chantilly reads "Dalida par sa sutil mestrie" (Dalida with her subtle art), which, aside from the name "Dalida," so closely echoes the line in the Lucidaire-Helye ballade by Le Mote reading "Ne Dedalus od sa gaye maistrie" (l. 4: Dedalus with his unfortunate art) as to render it highly likely that "Dalida" is a scribal corruption.

While the full meaning of the stanza is not entirely clear, perhaps due to a corrupt text, its opening lines are an unambiguous defense of living as an Antheus—whether to be taken as Actaeon or Antaeus—in England, whereby Le Mote is evidently recuperating Vitry's dismissive characterization as a triumphant literary persona. In this work, moreover, unlike in his response to Vitry, Le Mote actively performs the innovative use of classical mythology that characterizes his other work by bringing in those perplexing

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<sup>256</sup> Cf. Wilkins, "En Regardant," 301-02, and, for an edition of the work with its music, see Gilbert Reaney, "The MS Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1047," *Musica Disciplina* 8 (1954): 104-06.

Lucidaires and Helies (arriving where? for what purpose?) as well as Zephirus (opposing what, or whom?). The invocation of King Minos offers further evidence as to this fragment's being a second and direct response to Vitry's invective, though the curious detail of Minos' turning a "dark wheel" gives some pause. In no classical mythographic or later commentary source that mentions Minos as one of the judges of the dead—Apollodorus' *Library*, Deodorus Siculus' *Library of History*, Philostratus' *Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, Horace's *Odes*, Propertius' *Elegies*, Statius' *Thebaid*, Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid*, Fulgentius, or any of the Vatican Mythographers—is Minos described as turning a dark wheel. This detail therefore suggests that Le Mote may be developing Vitry's own original description of Minos' "tours de queue" (coils or *turns* of the tail), taken from Dante, into a new image of Minos' turning not his tail, but a wheel, a rewriting that testifies further to Le Mote's eagerness to appropriate and transform received literary tropes into transformatively novel concepts. This fragment, in celebrating Antheus' noble life in Albion, thus parades Le Mote's innovative classical mythology in its celebration of what happens to poetry when it moves across the Channel.

For Vitry, Le Mote's politics are just as reprehensible as his poetics, and both must therefore be labeled as existing beyond the pale. He is fundamentally suspicious of the transferability of courtly love poetry which can, in its shared uses and appropriations of commonplaces, such as references to classical mythology, travel across regional boundaries and develop into a completely alternate poetics. For this reason, it becomes important for him to argue that the differences in Le Mote's poetry are evidence of his



childishness, his boorishness, his unsophistication. Le Mote, however, rejects this superimposition of Paris onto Mount Parnassus, conceiving instead of an expansive monolingual culture where *translatio studii* serves equally within a plurality of physical locations, a plurality of “centers,” that exist above and beyond political faultlines. This reorganization of political and cultural geographies ultimately serves to elucidate Le Mote’s intriguing *avant la lettre* claim that he is a French speaker but not a French “national” with its surprising definition of “nacion” as a purely political formation. Le Mote counters Vitry’s implicit understanding that the sovereign state must also be the navel of the cultural domain. His characterization of the “nacion” as political is to be understood in its most negative sense: France, to him, is the *merely* political entity that has no ownership of Francophone cultural material and no oversight as to that material’s growth and development in territories beyond France’s immediate purview.

#### **IV. Center and Periphery: Jean Champion’s Follow-up**

The final pair of texts copied after the Vitry-Le Mote exchange in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3343 reveals that Vitry was not alone in his negative evaluation of Le Mote’s poetry as well as in his concerns over the emergence of a *translatio studii* gone rogue. The reprisal of Vitry’s accusations in a second text suggests that Le Mote’s activities were not just the object of one particularly conservative poet’s scorn but figured within a broader and, notably, multiregional discussion. A third poet named Jean Champion penned another condemnation of Le Mote’s writing; his overt reference to Vitry’s original address to Le Mote in his lyric makes it clear that his invective represents a direct follow-up to the

original exchange. Even more than Vitry, Champion fixates on Le Mote's alleged inability to use classical allusion properly in a response to Le Mote's work that further reveals the close connection between the values attached to poetic propriety and the phenomenon of cross-regional translatability. While his critique is similar to that of Vitry, Champion's own geographical situation in the French-speaking Low Countries has a significant effect on the tone and structure of his ballade, as well as on the tone of Le Mote's response to him, in a manner that further complicates the border identity politics raised by the Vitry-

Le Mote exchange:

Sur Parnase a le Mote Cyrre et Nise.  
Cuide avoir chilz songié, qui le Parfait  
Des Vens imparfist, et beu a devise  
De la fontene Elycone que a fait  
Li chevaux volans, dont moult s'a mesfait—  
Che dist li Victriens, dieus d'armonie—  
Car ne congnoist ne congneu. Mené  
Ne li ont Clio, Euterpe, Uranie,  
Thersicore, Erato, Melpomené,  
Thalye, Calliope, et Polimnie.

Espoir Caron en Phlegethon l'esprise,  
Ou Athleto en Lethés l'eut attrait,  
Ou en Cochite ou Thesiphone est prise,  
Pour lui mectre el point qu'elle Athamas  
lait,  
Quant en ses dis noms de Bretesque mait  
Que n'ont congneu poete en Meonie,  
En Manthe, en Peligne, en Verone né,  
Ne Flaccus, Clio, Euterpe, Uranie,  
Thersicore, Erato, Melpomené,  
Thalye, Calliope, et Polimnie.

Si lo que se dis de le femme Anchise  
Ou de son fil, l'archier volage estrait,  
Taise tes noms! Mieulx en vaulra s'emprise.  
Et se [l'aveugle] Ramnuse [et] o son lait  
L'a allechié, j[a] les talaire[s] n'ait

Le Mote has Cirrha and Nysa on Parnassus.  
He, who has rendered imperfect "Le Parfait [du Paon],"<sup>257</sup>  
Believes to have dreamed this and to have drunk abundantly  
From the fountain of Helicon that  
The flying horse made, in which he has greatly erred—  
The man from Vitry, god of harmony, says so—  
For [Le Mote] neither knows nor knew.  
Clio, Euterpe, Urania, Terpsichore  
Erato, Melpomene, Thalia, Calliope  
And Polyhymnia did not guide him.

Perhaps Charon [has] burnt him in Phlegethon,  
Or Alecto has drawn him into Lethe,  
Or into Cocitus where Tisiphone is held,  
To put him in the state in which she leaves Athamas,

When he places into his poetry Breton names  
Which no poet born in Maonia,  
Nor in Mantua, nor of the Paeligni, nor in Verona  
Nor Flaccus, Clio, Euterpe, Urania,  
Terpsichore, Erato, Melpomene, Thalia,  
Calliope, nor Polyhymnia have ever known.

So I advise you that if you speak of Anchises' wife,  
Or of her son, the archer of winged charm,  
Silence your names! This enterprise will be worth more.  
And if Rhamnusia blinds [Le Mote] and nourishes him  
With her milk,<sup>258</sup> then may he not have the winged sandals

<sup>257</sup> The original manuscript version reads "Parfait des vens," but, as Pognon and Wimsatt also suggest, this is surely a scribal error for "Parfait du paon," the third installment in the *Paon* cycle, authored by Le Mote. The meaning of the line is somewhat difficult to render, but Champion is evidently punning on the title of Le Mote's work and the verb *parfaire* (to accomplish, realize, complete, perfect).

Persé, harpen, ne egyde Gorgonie,  
[Ne] Syringe ou barbiton l'ait demené

A l'onnour Clio, Euterpe, Uranie,  
Thersicore, Erato, Melpomené,  
Thalye, Calliope, [ne] Polimnie.

Of Perseus, nor [his] sword, nor the Gorgon shield,  
May neither Pan's flute nor the Greek lyre have brought  
him

To the honor of Clio, Euterpe, Urania,  
Terpsichore, Erato, Melpomene, Thalia,  
Calliope, nor Polyhymnia.<sup>259</sup>

The most immediately obvious feature of Champion's invective is its use of multiple names taken from antiquity, particularly in the second stanza, which cannot but recall the "diverse names" in the two ballades by Le Mote copied in Paris, BnF, MS lat. 3343.

Unlike Le Mote's characters, however, those of Champion are perhaps somewhat *recherché*, but they are hardly unfamiliar: the lengthy tally in the refrain, for example, is just a complete inventory of all the names of the nine Muses. All the other names, bewildering as they seem in their profusion, almost all refer to extremely well-known, standard personages from Ovid and Vergil. In such a way, Champion appears to be showing up Le Mote's own use of classical allusion by displaying a similarly enumerative practice, but one that cannot be faulted for any flights of fancy.

Champion's first stanza treats images similar to those of Vitry: Le Mote has only dreamt of Parnassus and of having drunk from Helicon, the Muses have nothing to do with him. Champion's first line, however, immediately highlights a significant difference between his address and Vitry's original invective, even though the general gist of both works—that Le Mote's poetry is condemnable—is identical. Champion says, in his first line, that Le Mote has placed a Cirrha and a Nysa on top of Mount Parnassus. Nysa is a new term that we have not seen before, but Cirrha recalls the "fountain of Cirrha" named

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<sup>258</sup> This represents my suggested emendation of the doubtlessly corrupt text here, which reads, in Pognon's transcription: "Et se l'avule en Ramnuse o son lait | L'a allechié."

<sup>259</sup> Text from Pognon, "Ballades," 411, with several of my emendations in brackets in an attempt to resolve thorny syntax. I am grateful to Kevin Brownlee for help with several lines.

by both Vitry and Le Mote. Vitry, we recall, phrases his charge that Le Mote is a poor user of classical allusion by the very means of classical allusion in a sort of game of one-upmanship: Orpheus would despise Le Mote's practice of love, the Muses do not know him, Pegasus will not fly for him. However, while Vitry clearly knows his classical authorities, particularly his Ovid, as evident from his lyric and as scholars such as Andrew Wathey and Margaret Bent have traced in his work elsewhere, he seems also to have had other resources at his disposal for culling classical allusions, as revealed by his reference to a "fountain of Cirrha."<sup>260</sup> Wathey identifies an *ex libris* belonging to Vitry in an extant manuscript copy of a text known as Papias Grammaticus' *Elementarium*, an encyclopedic compendium, composed in mid-eleventh century, comprising extensive entries on various mythographical names and references.<sup>261</sup> Wathey demonstrates evidence that Vitry relies heavily on the *Elementarium* for mythological details in several of his motets and suggests that Vitry might be using it in his address to Le Mote as well.<sup>262</sup>

In fact, Vitry's periphrase "fountain of Cirrha" as a synonym for "Hippocrene" is traceable precisely to Papias' *Elementarium*, where Cirrha is glossed as one of the two peaks found on top of Mount Parnassus, instead of its more common identification in

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<sup>260</sup> Wathey, "Myth," 83-84, and Margaret Bent, "Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* and its 'Quotations,'" in *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Dolores Pesce (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 82-103, which discusses the sophisticated use of citations from Ovid's *Epistolae ex Ponto* and *Metamorphoses* in two motets in the *Roman de Fauvel*, very possibly authored by Vitry, that, further, allude intertextually to Vitry's invective motet *Cum statua/Hugo Hugo*, a work to which Le Mote alludes in turn in his response to Vitry, when he asks Vitry not to make a Hugo out of him. On this motet in particular, see Anna Zayaruznaya, *The Monstrous New Art: Divided Forms in the Late Medieval Motet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

<sup>261</sup> Wathey, "Myth," 87.

<sup>262</sup> Wathey, "Myth," 91.

classical works such as Statius' *Thebaid*, Pausanias' *Description of Greece*, and Claudian's *Gigantomachy* as a port in Delphi, in the same region as but not actually *on* Parnassus.<sup>263</sup> In telling Le Mote that he has never been to the "fountain of Cirrha," then, Vitry is using a reference not to an actual classical source, but to a later mediating one, very likely this eleventh-century digest of mythological references, a copy of which he owned. The *Elementarium* renders the other peak of Mount Parnassus as "Nysa," which is, like "Cirrha," a toponym also traceable to classical mythology, but in antique literature it refers to the mountain on which Bacchus was raised, rather than to a part of Mount Parnassus. Papias is likely getting his own information from Isidore of Seville, who also gives Cirrha and Nysa as the names for the two peaks in his *Etymologies*.<sup>264</sup> Champion is dismissing this topography, that comes from Papias' *Elementarium* and Isidore's *Etymologies*, as yet another example of Le Mote's whimsical inventions, but, even though he has displaced this critique entirely onto Le Mote, Champion's censure implicitly also calls out Vitry for using a mythology that is derived from an intermediary tradition, rather than directly from antiquity.

Campion then goes on to excoriate Le Mote for his use of allusion in terms very similar to but significantly more pointed and more labored than those of Vitry's invective. Le Mote will suffer the torments of hell, Champion writes (ll. 15-18):

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<sup>263</sup> The only modern edition of the *Elementarium* stops with the letter A: *Papiae Elementarium*, ed. V. de Angelis, vols. 1-3 (Milano: Cisalpino-Goliardica, 1977). See, otherwise, Papias, *Elementarium doctrinae rudimentum*, ed. Boninus Mombritius (Venice, 1496), 33, available fully digitized online: [http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set\[mets\]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digital-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00057500\\_mets.xml](http://dfg-viewer.de/show/?set[mets]=http%3A%2F%2Fdaten.digital-sammlungen.de%2F~db%2Fmets%2Fbsb00057500_mets.xml).

<sup>264</sup> See, under, *Paradiso* I, 16: *La Divina Commedia*, ed. Umberto Bosco e Giovanni Reggio (Florence: Le Monnier, 1979), *Dartmouth Dante Project Online*, accessed 13 Sep 2013.

quant en ses dis noms de Bretesque mait,	when he places into his poetry Breton names
Que n'ont congneu poete en Meonie,	which no poet born in Maonia,
En Manthe, en Peligne, en Verone né,	nor in Mantua, nor of the Peligni, nor in Verona
Ne Flaccus ...	nor Flaccus have ever known ...

Campion's specific reason for why Le Mote deserves punishment echoes Vitry: Le Mote's poetry is characterized by what Champion intriguingly labels "noms bretesques," or, literally, *Breton names*, probably by analogy with *bretonner*, meaning to stutter or speak haltingly, or to speak Breton (cf. Deschamps' "Bretons bretonnants" back in the Introduction).<sup>265</sup> Champion's insult is, moreover, ornately intertextual, far more than anything present in Vitry's invective. In these lines Champion is constructing a direct allusion to none other than Ovid, diffuse references to whom have appeared in both Vitry's invective and in Le Mote's response: specifically, it echoes one of the poems in Ovid's *Amores*, in which Ovid vaunts his everlasting fame and his own work's endurance for generations to come. Ovid refers to himself there as "Paeligni ruris alumnus" (3. 15.3: ward of the countryside in Paeligni) and goes on to proclaim that (3.25. 7-8):

Mantua Vergilio, gaudet Verona Catullo	Mantua rejoices in Vergil, Verona in Catullus
Paelignae dicar gloria gentis ego ...	I will be hailed the glory of the people of Paeligni <sup>266</sup>

Thus, in receiving no praise from Homer, born in Maonia; Vergil, born in Mantua; Ovid himself, born in Sulmo, home to the people of Paeligni; Catullus, born in Verona, nor Horace, Le Mote becomes, in Champion's clever formulation, antithetical to the classical tradition himself. Where Le Mote had called Vitry "supernasor," a kind of Super Ovid,

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<sup>265</sup> It is, however, also possible that Champion is instead intending *bretesché*, meaning "crenelated" from the noun *bretesche* which refers to fortifying battlements that are crenellated and otherwise architecturally designed to withstand armed attack. There is also a less common meaning for the verb derived from this term, *breteschier*, meaning "to imprison or enchain." In this case, "noms bretesques" might be taken figuratively as indicating unnecessarily, ponderously ornate terms, but some derivative from *bretonner*, in the sense of awkward speech, does seem more likely.

<sup>266</sup> Text from Ovidius, *Carmina Amatoria*, ed. Antonio Ramírez De Verger (Munich: K.G. Saur Verlag, 2003).

Campion denies to Le Mote any connection to that classical heritage, further strengthening this insult by engaging an ironic reference to a passage by a classical *auctor* in which that *auctor* is vaunting his own fame.

This negative comparison to Ovid is not the only element at work within Champion's extravagant affront. He is, in addition, performing a cunningly mocking parody of what David Wallace has termed the "sixth of six topos," whereby an author imaginatively inserts himself, or is inserted, in a (self-)laudatory gesture as the last member within a handpicked canon of five known literary figures from the past, from which he draws his inspiration and of which he implicitly becomes, by virtue of his placement in the emphatic final position, the culmination. Dante's *Inferno* IV is perhaps the most famous example of this device, when Vergil brings Dante to the shades of Homer, Ovid, Horace, and Lucan, and they welcome him as the sixth poet in their midst. This moment is later famously echoed by Boccaccio in the *Filocolo*, when he implores his book to follow in the footsteps of Vergil, Lucan, Statius, Ovid, and Dante (2, 376-78), as well as by Chaucer in *Troilus and Criseyde*, when he begs his work to render homage to Vergil, Ovid, Homer, Lucan, and Statius (5, 1791-92).<sup>267</sup> It also occurs, of course, at that crucial midpoint of the *Roman de la Rose* where Jean de Meun places himself as sixth within a line-up of the five literary greats that have preceded him: Tibullus, Gallus, Catullus, Ovid, and Guillaume de Lorris (ll. 10969-11032). In a further layer to this palimpsest of allusions, Jean de Meun's own use of the "sixth of six topos" in the *Rose* is itself an elegantly veiled intertextual reference to Ovid's same *Amores* where Ovid

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<sup>267</sup> See David Wallace, *Chaucer and the Early Writings of Boccaccio*, (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 1985), 50-53, and *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 80-82.

laments the death of Tibullus, whom he portrays as joining Catullus and Gallus in Elysium (3.9, 59-68).

Campion, however, inverts this “sixth of six topos” by naming a set of five illustrious literary figures in order to claim that Le Mote is entirely *unworthy* of belonging to this classical literary lineage, demanding of him in l. 23 “Taise tez noms!” (Silence your names!). In dismissing Le Mote’s names as “Breton,” Campion seems to be suggesting that Le Mote is far from the cultural centers of Paris, where poets draw from the pure wells of antiquity, and is instead deep in the dark woods of Brocéliande, where folk mythology runs rampant. In his attack on Le Mote he is actually going a step further than Vitry: he is not just insisting on Le Mote’s distance from Paris but is, in fact, re-inscribing him within an alternate geography in which Le Mote is no longer across the Channel, but all the way on the still more distant shores of Bretagne, the land to which the ancient inhabitant of Albion, the Britons, were said to have fled after their decimation by the Angles and the Saxons, as Geoffrey of Monmouth recounts. By labeling Le Mote’s exempla “bretesques” in this way, Campion relegates Le Mote both geographically and temporally, all the way back into legendary British history, rendering Le Mote’s verse doubly outlandish, *passé* as well as peripheral.

Vitry’s own use of allusion in order to show up Le Mote is, we recall, extensive, but it relies on a set of highly familiar, rather hackneyed topoi, commonly used to represent the arts of poetry: Helicon, Orpheus, Pegasus. Campion, however, is taking not only the content but also the very form of his critique of Le Mote to the next level. In addition to burying that clever reference to Ovid’s own self-promotional verse in his



*Amores* within an inverted “sixth of six” device that denies Le Mote entry to a classical pantheon, Campion also employs a variety of other prodigiously intertextual allusions, such as when he personifies the concept of envy by means of the term “Rhamnusia” in l. 24. This name is an epithet for Nemesis, goddess of retribution or envy, that derives from a famous statue of that goddess worshipped at a temple in Rhamnos; this same epithet is used by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses* (3, 406) and Statius in the *Silvae* (2. 6, 69-79).<sup>268</sup> Campion goes on, in the next lines of that stanza, to continue engaging references to Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* by cleverly weaving into his French text specific Latin words from Ovid. Campion calls Perseus’ winged sandals “talaires” and his sword a “harpen,” for which Ovid employs identical terms in the *Metamorphoses* (4, 667, 730; 5, 69). It is, as Ovid recounts, from the blood of the Gorgon Medusa slain by Perseus that Pegasus is born and goes on to kick the ground with his hoof in order to create the fountain of Hippocrene on Mount Parnassus. Campion is saying, in other words, that Le Mote is fueled by envy and will, unlike Perseus, never perform the act that gave poetry its avatar, the winged Pegasus. Where Vitry just says that Le Mote will never succeed in making Pegasus fly, Campion constructs a whole lattice of carefully placed Ovidian allusions in order to evoke the events leading up to the birth of Pegasus, all in order to make the same point.

Thus, while Vitry seems happy to source equally at once from traditional classical authors as well from a medieval mythographical digest and even from other, more proximate figures writing in the vernacular, such as Dante, Campion fills his address to

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<sup>268</sup> Cf. Pognon, “Ballades,” 416, notes to ll. 17 and 24.

Le Mote with far more delicate intertextuality. Similarly, while Vitry is content to use fairly pedestrian classical topoi for discussing the arts, such as Parnassus, Helicon, Pegasus, and Calliope, Champion expands to the fullest the literary potential of exceptionally, exhaustively erudite allusion by code-switching between the Latin of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and his own French verse. Just as Champion's assault reads like Vitry's invective raised to a second power, so too Le Mote's response to Champion is significantly sharper, lacking any of the playful flattery that he employed towards Vitry:

<p>Tu, Campions, appel faisans Par le voye regalien: Mote n'est point chevaulx volans, Ains vit en le rieule Eliien. Tu comprends le Philistien Et il David en combatant, Par quoy en fleuve Tantalus Te baigneront en argüant Tribles, Florons, et Cerberus.</p>	<p>You, Champion, [who is] making an appeal Through official channels: [Le] Mote is no flying horse, But rather he lives by the rule of Helicon. You constitute the Philistine While he is David in combat, So that Tribles, Florons, and Cerberus will bathe you in the river Of Tantalus, as they torment you.</p>
<p>Sces tu tous les mondains rommans Et tous les noms, .v. et combien? Je doubt que li fruis des Lubans Vraiment ne soient li tien. Il ne m'en cault du Victrien: Son castoy pren de cuer joyant. Mais tu! Va, s'apren Bergibus! La tiennent escole de cant Tribles, Florons, et Cerberus.</p>	<p>Do you know all the earthly romances And all the names, five and how many more? I fear that the fruit of Lebanon Truly is not yours. I do not care about the man of Vitry: I take his chastising with a rejoicing heart. But you! The devil take you! There [in Hell?] Tribles, Florons, and Cerberus Maintain a singing school.</p>
<p>Tu, qui tous vens yes congnoissans, Congnois tu le Mur Gracien, Le roc ou Phebus est regnans, Et tous les clans de cel engien Et de Cerberus le Mairien? Nennil, certes. Mais d'Aridant Congnistras au fons la jus, Car la te menront galopant Tribles, Florons, et Cerberus.</p>	<p>You, who know all the winds, Do you know the Wall of the Graces, The rock where Phoebus reigns, And all the ornaments of that art, And of Cerberus of the sea? Certainly not. But of Eridanus You will know the juice at the bottom, For Tribles, Florons, and Cerberus Will take you there at a gallop.<sup>269</sup></p>

Le Mote draws an explicit contrast here between his two attackers in affirming that Vitry's reprimands hardly bother him, whereas Champion can go straight to hell. Le Mote

<sup>269</sup> Text from Pognon, "Ballades," 410. I am grateful to Kevin Brownlee for his help with some of the lines.

goes on to grill Champion on whether the latter is actually as familiar with the various names and terms found in antique mythology as he claims to be: “sces tu les mondains rommans | Et tous les noms, .v. et combien?” (ll. 10-11: do you know the earthly romances and all the names, five and how many more?), implying that Champion’s own command of classical literary allusion is severely circumscribed. He further seems to taunt Champion through mixing highly legible allusions (Phoebus’ rock, i.e. Parnassus, Eridanus the river god) with more of his eccentric, perplexing references, such as Tribles, Florons, and the mysteriously waterborn Cerberus. The Cerberus of classical mythology is the monstrous three-headed dog that guards the gates of Hell, but he does not come from the sea and has little to do with the infernal rivers. Le Mote, in other words, is pointedly more mocking and inflammatory in his response to Champion than in his playfully jocular return to Vitry.

Thus, while the content of the two exchanges continues to revolve around the same themes, the tone, as well as the examples of how classical allusion ought to be used, is strikingly different. Champion’s address to Le Mote is far more self-consciously classicizing and his relegation of Le Mote to the distant reaches of Europe more pronounced than in Vitry’s address. Le Mote’s response to Champion is also proportionately more vitriolic, as if the playing field between them is somehow different than the one in Le Mote’s exchange with Vitry. That playing field seems, however, like it should be strikingly similar: after all, like Le Mote, Champion too hails from the peripheries of Francophone Europe, namely, Bruges and Tournai in French-speaking Flanders that borders directly on the French-speaking territory of Hainault that is Le

Mote's own home region. Champion's Northern Francophone origins are, in fact, betrayed by the Picard dialect of his lyric, when he writes "chilz" for the more standard "cil" of the dialect of Île-de-France, or "*che* dist li Victriens" (l. 6: the man of Vitry says this), instead of the Parisian "*ce* dist li Victriens."<sup>270</sup>

In light of his geographical belonging, Champion's attachment to strict classical purity, through that tortured, *précieux* use of allusion, emerges as the particularly acute anxiety of a geopolitically marginalized poet with a very different relationship to his French-speaking border identity than Le Mote. His sense of his own marginalization launches him so far in Vitry's direction that his position actually becomes more conservative than Vitry, as reflected in the intensified rigor and sophistication of his mode of deploying classical allusion. Thus, even though it seems wholly identical in content to Vitry's objections, Champion's negative judgment of Le Mote's activity is actually emerging from a completely different set of power relations. Concomitantly, the overt anger in Le Mote's response, by contrast with his light tone towards Vitry, underscores the significant raising of the stakes in this second discussion. To be condemned by a political subject of sovereign France appears to be very different for Le Mote than to be condemned by a fellow French-speaker from a peripheral region outside of France that is next door to his own. Champion's literary conservatism throws a wrench into Le Mote's conception of Francophonie by manifesting a thoroughly different relationship with Paris and a radically alternate diasporic consciousness.

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<sup>270</sup> Cf. Pognon, "Ballades," 403.

## V. The Service of Translation: Deschamps to Chaucer

The ballade exchange between Vitry and Le Mote demonstrates a set of conflicting attitudes towards the flowering of a courtly love literary culture across the Channel, and the questions raised by those two poets concerning the viability and literary merit of a culture of translation on English soil did not end there. Some decades later, Deschamps addressed a ballade of his own to another poet living across the Channel. Unlike Le Mote, however, this poet was writing not in French but in his own native vernacular, English. Deschamps' lyric, in full, reads as follows:

O Socrates plains de philosophie, Seneque en meurs et Auglux en pratique, Ovides grans en ta poeterie Bries en parler, saiges en rhetorique, Aigles treshaulz, qui par ta theorique Enlumines le regne d'Eneas, L'Isle aux Geans, ceuls de Bruth, et qui as Semé les fleurs et planté le rosier, Aux ignorans de la langue pandras, Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.	O Socrates, full of philosophy, Seneca in morality, Aulus [Gellius] in his teaching,  Great Ovid in your poetry, Concise in speech, wise in rhetoric, An eagle on high, who, by your knowledge Illuminates the kingdom of Aeneas, The island of the Giants, those of Brutus, and who has  Sown the flowers and planted the rosebush, You will take the language to those who do not know it, <sup>271</sup> Great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer.
Tu es d'amours mondains diex en Albie, Et de la Rose, en la terre Angelique, Qui d'Angela saxonne et puis flourie Angleterre, d'elle ce nom s'applique Le derrenier en l'ethimologique, En bon anglès le livre translatas,  Et un vergier ou du plant demandas De ceuls qui font pour eulx actorisier, A ja longtemps que tu edifias, Grant translateur, noble Geffroy Chaucier.	You are the earthly god of love in Albion  in the angelic land/land of the Angles which [was] of Saxon Angela, and then flowered [into] 'Angleterre,' that name coming last In the etymological series derived from [Angela's name], And of the <i>Rose</i> , the book of which you translated into good English, And for a long time now you have been constructing an orchard, For which you have asked for plants from those Who write poetry to create authority for themselves, Great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer.
A toy pour ce de la fontaine Helye Requier avoir un buvraige autentique,	And for this reason, I ask to have from you A genuine draught from the fountain of Helicon,

<sup>271</sup> See Butterfield, *Familiar*, 144-47, for a discussion of the challenges in translating this line.

Dont la doys est du tout en ta baillie,  
 Pour rafrener d'elle ma soif ethique;  
 Qui en Gaule seray paralitique,  
 Jusques a ce que tu m'abuveras,  
 Eustaces sui, qui de mon plant aras.  
 Mais pran en gré les euvres d'escolier  
 Que par Clifford de moy avoir pourras,  
 Grant translateur, noble Geffroy  
 Chaucier.

The source of which is entirely under your jurisdiction,  
 With which to quench my fevered thirst;  
 I, who will remain paralyzed in Gaul  
 Until you let me slake my thirst,  
 Am Eustache, whose plants you will have,  
 But take these school-boyish writings, which you will be able  
 To have from me via [Lewis] Clifford, in good spirit,  
 Great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer.

L'Envoy  
 Poete hault, loenge [d'escuirie],  
 En ton jardin ne seroye qu'ortie.  
 Considere ce que j'ai dit premier:  
 Ton noble plant, ta douce melodie,  
 Mais pour sçavoir, de rescripre te prie,  
 Grant translateur, noble Geffroy  
 Chaucier.

Envoy  
 Lofty poet, famed among the squires,  
 I would be but a nettle in your garden.  
 Consider what I said at the beginning:  
 Your noble plant, your sweet melody.  
 But I do beg you for official confirmation of receipt,  
 Great translator, noble Geoffrey Chaucer.

Deschamps' address to Chaucer contains several key verbal echoes of the Vitry-Le Mote exchange that are suggestive of Deschamps' close knowledge of that earlier conversation regarding writing poetry on English soil:

Le Mote to Vitry (l. 1): O Victriens, *mondains dieu* d'armonie  
 Deschamps to Chaucer (l. 9): Tu es d'amours *mondains dieux* en Albie

Le Mote to Vitry (l. 3): *Supernasor* de la *fontaine Helye*  
 Deschamps to Chaucer (l. 3): *Ovides grans* en ta poeterie

Le Mote to Vitry (l. 4): Doctores vrays, *en ce pratique Auglus*  
 Deschamps to Chaucer (l. 2): Seneque en meurs et *Auglux en pratique*

Le Mote to Vitry (l. 13): T'a fait brasser *buvrage* a trop de lie  
 Deschamps to Chaucer (ll. 21-23): A toy pour ce de la *fontaine Helye*  
 Requier avoir un *buvraige* autentique  
 Dont la doys est du tout en ta Baillie

Deschamps' particular rendering of "Auglus Gellius" as "Auglux" just like Le Mote, as well as his use of that unusual formulation "fontaine Helye" for Helicon, point to his direct acquaintance with Le Mote's text and suggest that the Vitry-Le Mote exchange is a significant literary context for Deschamps' characterization of Chaucer as a "grant

translateur.”<sup>272</sup> These echoes have, however, gone largely unnoticed until Butterfield’s recent suggestion that these phrases come up because Deschamps is occupying a similar, if not even more rigid, position as Vitry on the subject of cross-Channel literary activity. After all, she argues, like Vitry, Deschamps too is a Francophone poet on sovereign French soil writing to a marginalized figure living in a country that, elsewhere in his poetry, he notoriously fears and despises, as his lament over the destruction of his estate, discussed in the Introduction, makes manifest.<sup>273</sup> Butterfield therefore reads all of Deschamps’ compliments to Chaucer as subtly backhanded. Deschamps’ portrayal of the source of the fountain of Helicon as being in Chaucer’s “baillie” (l. 23: jurisdiction), for example, disturbingly recalls for her, in its legalistic use of the term “baillie,” the English siege and subsequent occupation of Calais in 1346 and the destructive pillaging of its surrounding region by the troops of the Black Prince in the decades to come. As Butterfield concludes, “We saw that de le Mote was accused of treachery for speaking

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<sup>272</sup> NB also that in an overtly anti-English lyric, no. 26, in which Deschamps hopes fervently that England be wiped off the very face of earth, he has the line: “En esperant, que la redempcion | De Gaule en grec sur la terre d’Albie | Voy approchier ...” (ll. 3-5: hoping that I see coming the redemption of the Gaul in Greek on the land of Albion): see *Œuvres*, I, 106-107. These formulations recall Vitry’s “De terre en grec Gaule appellee” (l. 1) as well as Le Mote’s refrain “De terre en Grec Gaule de Dieu amee” and his reference to Albion as “Albie” in l. 21. Furthermore, in another ballade describing hell, Deschamps invokes Phlegethon, Aecus and Rhadamanthus: *Œuvres*, I, 251-52, (no. 124).

<sup>273</sup> Deschamps further has two overtly anti-English ballades, for example, that recall the prophecies of Merlin described in Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace regarding Britain’s eventual downfall and destruction. In the refrains to both of these ballades, Deschamps paints idealizing visions of a future in which England is no more: in the first, he imagines that “om dira: Angleterre fu cy” (one will say, England was here), while, in the second, people from other regions and passers-by will be able to point and say “Ou temps jadis estoit ci Angleterre” (once upon a time, England was here): no. 211 in *Œuvres*, I, 33-34, and no. 26 in *Œuvres*, I, 106-107, noted in the previous footnote above.

French *for* the English. Chaucer, in a similar vein, was accused by Deschamps of being a translator.<sup>274</sup>

Yet all of the parallels between Deschamps' address to Chaucer and the Vitry-Le Mote exchange come not from Vitry's address to Le Mote, but from Le Mote's *response*, in which, as we have just seen, Le Mote vigorously defends both his life and poetic production in England, proclaiming the capacity of poetry to circulate beyond political confines within a broader and more varied Francophone landscape. Deschamps' seemingly counter-intuitive choice to allude to Le Mote's side of the invective exchange could therefore be intended ironically, as Deschamps' citations—earthly god, great Ovid, Aulus Gellius—all hearken back to moments in which Le Mote is in the process of elaborately flattering Vitry. It is possible that Deschamps is just subtly mocking Chaucer by addressing him in the same terms as Le Mote does his aggressor.

The exact phrases that Deschamps is borrowing from Le Mote, however, are hardly random: within Le Mote's response, they had served a critical function. They all pinpoint uses of classical allusion that Le Mote, as we recall, deploys strategically in order to demonstrate that, while he may play fast and loose with some of his classical allusions, he has an excellent knowledge of the classical authors. Le Mote thereby implies that his rewriting of antiquity should not be chalked up to simple literary ignorance but, rather, represents a practice of informed and sophisticated literary revision for poetic ends in the service of his vision of a geographically extensive Francophone culture. Otherwise put, Deschamps invokes the very places in Le Mote's response that

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<sup>274</sup> Butterfield, *Familiar*, 237. Cf. the similar conclusions of Deschamps' ballade as an example of condescension towards Chaucer in John M. Bowers, "Chaucer After Retters: The Wartime Origins of English Literature," in Baker (ed.), *Inscribing*, 99-100.



illustrate what is most at stake in the Vitry-Le Mote debate over translation. By repeating those specific phrases, he invokes that earlier conversation's treatment of mythography as the primary criterion for measuring the scope, merit, and suitability of translation efforts.

Similar phrases occur, moreover, in one other work by Deschamps: his lament over the death of Machaut.<sup>275</sup> Deschamps, in fact, devoted several ballades to Machaut, with whom he professed a special connection, claiming, in a separate ballade, how Machaut “m’a nourry et fait maintes douçours” (raised me and accorded me many kindnesses).<sup>276</sup> In his lament, Deschamps likewise names Machaut the “mondains dieux d’armonie” (l. 1: earthly god of harmony) and describes him as being the stream and the channel of the “fons Cirree” and the “fontaine Helie” (ll. 9-10), again employing those unusual terms—“Cirree” and “Helie”—that point back specifically to the Vitry-Le Mote exchange and Le Mote’s response in particular. The reference to Machaut as a channel (*doys*) of the “fontaine Helie,” meanwhile, further echoes the ballade to Chaucer, where Deschamps describes the “doys” of the “fontaine Helye” as being under Chaucer’s jurisdiction. The recurrence of these strikingly similar verbal parallels implies that there is some kind of relationship for Deschamps between Machaut and Chaucer, particularly with regard to the Vitry-Le Mote exchange. Given Deschamps’ deep attachment to the figure of Machaut, whom he sees as his literary father in a certain way, his association of Machaut with his English contemporary Chaucer is quite astonishing.

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<sup>275</sup> No. 124 in Deschamps, *Œuvres*, I, 244-45.

<sup>276</sup> No. 447 in Deschamps, *Œuvres*, III, 259-60. This statement may have been what motivated the anonymous author of the *Règles de la seconde rhétorique* to describe Deschamps as Machaut’s actual biological nephew, although blood relation between the two authors has never been proved: Langlois, *Recueil*, 14; see further Laurie, “Deschamps,” 2-3.

A closer look at Deschamps' lament to Machaut helps illuminate this surprising triangulation of Le Mote, Machaut, and Geoffrey Chaucer. Deschamps concludes his lament over Machaut with an exhortation to all "gentils Galois" (gentle Gauls) to mourn Machaut's death with him. Earlier in the same ballade, however, Deschamps explains the ramifications of Machaut's death in the following way: "Car l'en plourra en France *et en* Artois | La mort Machaut, le noble rhetorique" (ll. 7-8: For the death of Machaut, the noble rhetorician, will be mourned in France *and in* Artois, emphasis added). Artois was a Francophone region of Europe with a complex political and cultural relationship to sovereign France. It was, throughout the fourteenth century, home to a vibrant literary culture perhaps best encapsulated in its famous confraternities of home-grown poets, who annually held a *puy*, which was a special type of lyric competition. The earliest records detailing the establishment of a so-called "Confrérie de jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras" dates as early as 1194, and further records in the thirteenth century testify to the organization's ongoing popularity.<sup>277</sup> A haven for *trouvères*, Artois was also home to that monumental figure in the development of late thirteenth-early fourteenth-century

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<sup>277</sup> On surviving records of the *puy* of Arras, see, in particular, Roger Berger, *Le Necrologe de la confrerie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194-1361)*, *Memoires de la commission departementale des monuments historique du Pas-de-Calais, XI-2 et XIII-2* (Arras, 1963, 1970), vol. 1, 46-7. For a detailed account of *puy* culture and its foundations, see Gérard Gros, *Poète, la vierge et le prince du Puy : étude sur les Puy marials de la France du Nord du XIVe siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992) and *Le Poème du Puy marial: étude sur le serventois et le chant royal du XIVe siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1996); Catherine Vincent, *Les Confréries médiévales dans le royaume de France: XIIIe-XVe siècles* (Paris: A. Michel, 1994); Rosanna Brusegan, "Culte de la Vierge et origine des puy et confréries en France au Moyen Age," *Revue des langues romanes* 95.1 (1991): 31-58; Butterfield, *Poetry*, 133-150; and Carol Symes, "The Confraternity of Jongleurs and the Cult of the Virgin: Vernacular Devotion and Documentation in Medieval Arras," in *The Church and Vernacular Culture in Medieval France*, ed. Dorothea Kullman, *Studies and Texts 165* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2009), 176-97. On the London *puy* and for an argument on its possible close relationship with specifically the *puy* of Arras, see Anne Sutton, "Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: The London Puy and its French and London Contexts, circa 1300," *The London Journal* 17.1 (May 1992): 1-17.

Francophone lyric, Adam de la Halle.<sup>278</sup> From a political standpoint, Artois also occupied a complex position within Francophone Europe over the course of the fourteenth century. Originally belonging to a cadet branch of the Capetians in the late thirteenth century, Artois was part of the Duchy of Burgundy from 1318 to 1361, at which point it passed to the House of Dampierre and became part of the holdings of Flanders until 1369, when the marriage of Margaret III, Countess of Flanders, and Philip the Bold, first Valois Duke of Burgundy, brought Artois, along with Flanders, under new Burgundian rule.<sup>279</sup>

By writing “en France et en Artois,” then, Deschamps emphasizes that the two French-speaking regions are separate geopolitical entities; the syntax of the phrase, in fact, sets them up as either end of an extended territory. For Deschamps, then, the loss of Machaut, a native of Champagne, a province within the bounds of sovereign France, is to be felt just as keenly in this other space, which he has set up as France’s distant opposite. In other words, despite the political distinctions between France and Artois, Deschamps argues that Machaut is equally a part of both regions’ literary culture and that both should therefore feel his loss equally keenly. Deschamps’ phrase “en France et en Artois” suggests, in a formulation strikingly reminiscent of *Le Mote*, that poetry can take root in different regions and connect them culturally, despite the political differences between them. I suggest, therefore, that for all of his politically anti-English sentiments expressed

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<sup>278</sup> On his life and contributions to the French *formes fixes*, in particular, Sylvia Huot, “Transformations of Lyric Voice in the Songs, Motets, and Plays of Adam de la Halle,” *Romanic Review* 78.2 (1987): 148-64; Earp, “Lyrics”; Mark Everist, “‘Souspirant en terre estrange’: The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut,” *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 1-42; and Butterfield, *Poetry*, 151-70.

<sup>279</sup> On the political history of Artois, see Jacky Theurot, *Au temps de Madame Mahaut, Comtesse d’Artois, de Bourgogne palatine et dame de Salins: aspects de la vie comtoise (1285-1329)* (Besançon: Cêtre Editions, 2012); Charles T. Wood, *The French Apanages and the Capetian Monarchy, 1224-1328* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1966); Charles Hirschauer, *Les États d’Artois de leurs origines à l’occupation française, 1340-1460* (Paris: Champion, 1923); and Jean Lestocquoy, *Histoire de la Flandre et de l’Artois* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949).

in his other poetry elsewhere, Deschamps is not occupying Vitry's position when it comes to judging poetic production on English soil. Instead, believing, like Le Mote, in the value of poetry's potential to move across different areas of Francophone Europe, despite their political factionalisms and regional distinctions, Deschamps cites from Le Mote's response to Vitry in both his lament over Machaut and in his address to Chaucer because he sees *both* of these figures as reprising the role originally performed and propounded by Le Mote. Chaucer is the "grant translateur" not because Deschamps is dismissing the quality of his work as 'mere' translation, but, rather, because Deschamps is finding greatest virtue in the poet who promotes the *translatio* of literary culture across geographical and political divides.

Yet despite the direct verbal echoes between Le Mote's response to Vitry, Deschamps' lament to Machaut, and his ballade to Chaucer, the triangulation does continue to puzzle. Deschamps' easy association of Chaucer with both Le Mote and Machaut seems to be obfuscating a substantial difference between Chaucer and these two figures. While Machaut translates, in the loosest sense of the term, across the geopolitical divide between France and Artois, and while Le Mote translates classicizing French poetry across the Channel, Chaucer literally translates from French into English. Deschamps' ballade seems, moreover, to be patently aware of this key distinction in its emphasis that Chaucer has translated the *Roman de la Rose* "en bon anglès" (into good English). The missionary overtones of Deschamps' statement—"Aux ignorans de la langue pandras" (you will take the language to those who do not know it)—seem only to underscore the distance between France and England in its implicit recognition that, in

bridging the linguistic gap within his own country, Chaucer will move only further away from France, receding ever deeper into his own zone of cultural contact. Deschamps, we recall, does not ask Chaucer for any of his work, since he was, almost certainly, unable to read it. Thus, even though, Chaucer too engages with Francophone literary culture on English soil, this engagement is marked by a crucial linguistic alterity that renders the relationship between Deschamps and Chaucer markedly different from the one between Deschamps and Machaut, or between Vitry and Le Mote.

When it comes to Chaucer's actual literary output, furthermore, Deschamps' ballade appears aware of only one of Chaucer's works, the *Romaunt of the Rose*, Chaucer's unfinished translation of the *Roman de la Rose*. Deschamps also refers ambiguously to Chaucer's "fleurs" (flowers) and "vergier" (orchard), for which, he tells us, he hears that Chaucer is soliciting French plants. Given that Deschamps proposes to send Chaucer some of his own work, the vast majority of which we know was written in short-form verse, it is reasonable to suggest that by "fleurs" Deschamps means Chaucer's own short lyrics. Chaucer's shorter lyrics and the *Romaunt*, however, represent but a very small part of his total literary output. If Deschamps' only knowledge of Chaucer's oeuvre is that he wrote the *Romaunt* and some short lyrics, then his comparison of Chaucer to Le Mote, or, more particularly, Machaut, seems downright incongruous.

As André Crepin has briefly noted in passing, however, there are several striking parallels between Deschamps' ballade to Chaucer and a different work by the French

poet.<sup>280</sup> In this separate lyric, Deschamps reflects on the literary achievements of his lifetime as well as on his place within literary history. Strikingly, the dominant metaphor that Deschamps uses, throughout the lyric, in discussing his literary career is that of a large garden:

Doulz Zephirus, qui faiz naistre les flours,  
Printemps, Este, Autompne, et Aurora  
Plourez o moy mes doulentes doulours  
Et le jardin que jadis laboura  
Fons Cireus, ou Galiope ouvra,  
Qui de ses fleurs avoit fait un chapel  
Si odorant, si precieus, si bel  
Que de l'odour pouoit guarir touz maulx  
Quant un fort vent le print par cas isnel:  
S'ainsi le pers, c'est trespovres consaulx.

Continuelz fut vint ans mes labours  
Aux fleurs semer ou Ovides planta  
De Socrates et Seneque les mours,  
Et Virgiles mains beaus mos y dicta,  
Et Orpheus ses doulz chans y nota,  
Poetrie fut au tour du sercel,  
Rhetorique le fist ront comme annel,  
Lettres y mist et les noms de plus haulx  
Si plaisamment que maleureus m'appel:  
S'ainsi le pers, c'est trespovres consaulx

Si pri Juno, la deesse d'amours,  
Et a ce vent qui mon fruit ravi a,  
Aux dieux de l'air qu'ilz me facent secours,  
Ou autrement tout mon fait perira,  
Car mon las cuer james rien n'escrira  
Et ne vouldra riens faire de nouvel.  
Conseilleiez vous a Eustace Morel,  
Si me rendez mes choses principaulx,  
Ou me bailliez copie du jouel:  
S'ainsi le pers, c'est trespovres consaulx.

L'envoy  
Prince, avisez mes piteuses clamours  
Et faictes tant que mes chapeaux sont saulx,  
Car moult y a des diverses coulours:  
S'ainsi le pers, c'est trespovres consaulx.

Sweet Zephirus, who makes the flowers come out,  
Spring, Summer, Fall, and Aurora,  
Mourn with me my painful suffering  
And the garden which the fountain of Cirrha once  
Cultivated, where Calliope worked,  
[And mourn] him who had made a wreath of its flowers,  
So sweet-smelling, so precious, so beautiful,  
That with its fragrance it could heal all suffering,  
When a strong wind took it by sudden chance:  
If I have thus lost it, it is a miserable situation.

I labored continuously for twenty years  
To sow flowers where Ovid had planted  
The virtue of Socrates and Seneca,  
And there [where] Vergil wrote many beautiful words,  
And there [where] Orpheus composed his sweet songs.  
Poetry was around the ring [of the wreath],  
Rhetoric made [the wreath] round like a circlet,  
I put letters there and the loftiest names  
So easily that [now] I call myself wretched:  
If I have thus lost it, it is a miserable situation.

So I pray Juno, the goddess of love,  
And this wind which snatched my fruit,  
And the gods of the air that they help me,  
Or otherwise all of my work will perish,  
For my weary heart will never write anything again  
And would not want to make anything new.  
Aid Eustache Morel,  
And so return to me the things most important to me,  
Or deliver me a copy of the precious object:  
If I have thus lost it, it is a miserable situation.

Envoy  
Prince, consider my piteous complaints  
And make it so that my wreaths stay intact,<sup>281</sup>  
For there are so many different poems there:  
If I have thus lost it, it is a miserable situation.<sup>282</sup>

<sup>280</sup> André Crepin, "Chaucer et Deschamps," in Buschinger (ed.), *Autour*, 41; see also passim Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 252-53.

<sup>281</sup> There is, I believe, a clever wordplay in this line on the expression "chapeau de sauz," or literally *wreath of the willow tree*, used as an image of mourning, cf., e.g., Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, 1. 6.

Rendered in Latin as “Fons Cireus,” but still recognizable as our fountain of Cirrha, this reference instantly evokes a now readily familiar poetic topography. Calliope, mother to Orpheus and muse of epic poetry, whom we have already seen in Vitry’s address to Le Mote, also makes an appearance in Deschamps’ twenty-year-old garden, to which Ovid has lent a helping hand in fostering the words of Socrates and Seneca, and which Vergil and Orpheus have used as a place in which to write their work. Tragedy has struck this beautiful enclosure, however: Deschamps has made a wreath from the flowers of this garden, aided by the allegorizations of Poetry and Rhetoric that have helped him lend the wreath a perfect shape (ll. 16-17), but it has been lifted by the wind and taken from him. In the final stanza and the envoy, Deschamps begs for the return of his beloved wreath, claiming that, having lost everything, he can never write anything new ever again. He asks for its restoration or, at the very least, for the miraculous production of an identical copy.

The wreath of flowers from the garden is, evidently, an image representing a manuscript of Deschamps’ work. Made up of individual flowers and “couleurs” (more commonly translated as *colors*, but here clearly being used in its additional figurative sense in the late medieval period, *poems*), this wreath is a literal representation of the etymological sense of the term “anthology”: ἀνθολογία (*anthologia*) and its Latin counterpart, *florilegium*, or flower-culling. The anguished tone of the final stanza (“otherwise *all of my work* will perish”) suggests that this lost wreath is a collected-works manuscript of everything that Deschamps has ever written. Following this metaphor

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<sup>282</sup> Edited in Deschamps, *Œuvres*, V, 229-30 (no. 984).

through logically, it becomes evident that if the wreath, figuring the collected-works manuscript, consists of individual items plucked from a larger garden, then the garden must represent something more expansive than even the complete collected-works codex. The garden is therefore not any specific set of works but an allegory for the whole space of the literary imagination: it is that locus of creativity, from which the poet gathers individual flowers, that is, produces his works. The figures represented as staying, working, or contributing to the garden in the second stanza—Ovid, Socrates, Seneca, Vergil, and Orpheus—thus become representations of Deschamps' primary poetic influences, who lend him both the aid and the raw material to produce the flowers (individual works) later collected into the wreath (manuscript) and now, tragically, lost.

Thus, Deschamps describes both himself and Chaucer as performing a remarkably similar activity: they both cultivate flower gardens. Rather than figuring a set of works then, Chaucer's garden, with its flowers and the orchard for which he needs more plants, must represent the space of Chaucer's literary mind that contains and exceeds the individual works that he has produced. In such a way, Deschamps' naming of only one of Chaucer's texts, his translation of the *Rose*, should not indicate that Deschamps is unaware of the full range of Chaucer's activity.<sup>283</sup> Rather, by presenting both himself and Chaucer as gardeners, Deschamps seems to be positing a significant relation between the cumulative output of his own poetic career in France and that of Chaucer in England. Deschamps' garden is, moreover, not only described in terms that recall Chaucer's English garden, but it also, in its inclusion of a fountain of Cirrha, as well as in its

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<sup>283</sup> We note, moreover, that Deschamps does not just name any Chaucerian text, but Chaucer's translation of the *Rose*, the courtly love work that constitutes a dominant influence on all poets working in the fourteenth century courtly love tradition.



mention of Orpheus and Calliope, explicitly recalls the description of Parnassus in the Vitry-Le Mote exchange. Whereas Vitry had denied to Le Mote a place within that privileged landscape, Deschamps puts Chaucer directly into it and goes on to join him there as well. Having first posited a relationship between Chaucer, Machaut, and Le Mote through a tissue of allusions, Deschamps now further brings himself into this transgenerational network of poetic influences that he has been celebrating.

The cast of characters that Deschamps imagines as operating within his garden is, moreover, oddly reminiscent of the figures to which he compares Chaucer in the first stanza of the other ballade. With one exception, they are identical: Ovid, Socrates, Seneca, and Vergil recur in both poems, and where Deschamps' garden has Orpheus, the mythic inventor of music, the ballade to Chaucer has Aulus Gellius, a figure that Deschamps has lifted directly from Le Mote's response to Vitry. Deschamps further describes his wreath as having been formed into a perfect shape by "poeterie" and "rhetorique," (ll. 16-17), the same two terms that he applies to Chaucer, who is a great Ovid in his "poeterie" and wise in his use of "rhetorique" (ll. 3-4). In both texts, that word pair *poeterie/rhetorique* occurs in the same order and is emphasized syntactically by its placement in the emphatic first position in Deschamps' lyric on the wreath and, by contrast, in the emphatic rhyme position in his ballade to Chaucer.

In the lyric on the wreath, Deschamps goes on to give his full name when he asks, in l.27, that Juno and the gods aid "Eustace Morel." *Morel*, we might remember from the Introduction, is the surname with which Deschamps appears to have been born. By contrast, "Des champs" (literally, of the fields) is the name by which the poet calls his

home estate; after it was burned down by the English in a spate of wartime pillaging (the same pillaging that occupies his attentions in his *pastourelles*), Deschamps announced in a ballade that he will, from now on, go by the name “Brulé des Champs” (burnt of the fields) in memory of his ruined home.<sup>284</sup> His given name, then, occurring in the third stanza, comes *sixth* after the five figures that he describes as working and residing in the literary garden that he has set up as the space of his creative imagination. Thus, in the work bemoaning the loss of his collected-works manuscript, Deschamps names himself, “Eustace Morel,” as the owner of the literary garden that contains the work of Seneca and Socrates and is being cultivated and frequented by Ovid, Vergil, and Orpheus, using that same “sixth of six” topos of authorial self-valorization employed by Jean de Meun, Dante, Boccaccio, by Chaucer himself, and so cleverly inverted against Le Mote by Champion.

In the first stanza of his ballade to Chaucer, meanwhile, Deschamps calls Chaucer a Socrates, a Seneca, an Aulus Gellius, and an Ovid. In ll. 5-7, he names Chaucer an eagle who has illuminated “le regne d’Eneas | L’Isle aux Geans, ceuls de Bruth,” (the kingdom of Aeneas, the Island of the Giants, those of Brutus). This expansive formulation simultaneously invokes Vergil’s *Aeneid* as well as the afterlife of that text in the originary myth laid out by Geoffrey of Monmouth in *History of the Kings of Britain* and translated into Anglo-Norman by Wace. After listing Socrates, Seneca, Aulus Gellius, Ovid, and, via this circuitous literary reference, Vergil, Deschamps proceeds to

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<sup>284</sup> See the discussion of Deschamps’ name change in the Introduction; of further interest to us here is no. 845, in which he further discusses the burning of his estate and his need to change his name; in the envoy, significantly, he asks for his name to be transformed *as Actaeon was transformed*: we note that he gives the name “Antheus” for Actaeon, the same term used by Vitry to characterize Le Mote discussed above: *Œuvres*, V, 17-18.

place “great translator, Geoffrey Chaucer” as the *sixth* and final name within the stanza. Deschamps thus presents both himself *and* his English contemporary as the sixth figures within an almost identical literary line-up, from which, following the conventions of that literary device, they emerge as *twain* in their status as heirs to antiquity.

The dating of Deschamps’ autobiographical poem cannot, unfortunately, be ascertained with any certainty, rendering it difficult to plot the direction of influence between Deschamps’ characterization of himself and his characterization of Chaucer. Regardless of which lyric came first, however, Deschamps clearly appears to be placing Chaucer on equal footing with his own self—and precisely in Chaucer’s role as an English translator. By forging this dynamic set of parallels between his own and Chaucer’s literary gardening, by invoking the echo of Le Mote’s defense of translating French poetry onto English soil, and by further linking Chaucer to Machaut, Deschamps raises the actual, literal translation of French into English to an act of supreme literary achievement. In the process, he also asserts his own lofty literary standing. Deschamps’ literary garden is sown with the virtues of Seneca and Socrates planted there by Ovid himself; if Chaucer’s garden is supposed to be an analogue to Deschamps’ own, then Deschamps is the new Seneca and Socrates that Chaucer will be planting. This implicit presentation of himself as a Seneca and a Socrates, sown into a garden by an Ovid-Chaucer, only emphasizes further Deschamps’ sense of his own proximity to Chaucer, for he has also explicitly described Chaucer as a new Socrates and a new Seneca. Deschamps is representing the work of a French poet and the work of an English translator of French

poetry as achievements that are fully equivalent in their mutual derivation from a classical literary heritage.

Deschamps' recognition of Chaucer's merit does not, however, come without a caveat. Vitry's accusation against Le Mote had, as we remember, two distinct, but importantly related parts: a denunciation of Le Mote's move to England on political grounds and a dismissal of Le Mote's poetry on the basis of aesthetics. Writing whimsically inventive poetry in England, Le Mote is declared a childish poet, unfit for proper worship of the Muses. This charge of immaturity stands in for Vitry's suspicion towards both the fact of French poetry's successful spread outside sovereign France and, moreover, towards what Le Mote has done with French poetry in England. In Vitry's eyes, the translator must remain faithful: Le Mote must not play fanciful games with classical allusion but produce the same kind of poetry on the cultural periphery of England as Vitry is producing in Paris. Le Mote, of course, occupies the diametrically opposed position; he imagines a free zone for any kind of literature, a literature that borrows liberally from its models in the service of a new poetry, for a new time, in a new place.

Deschamps, we have just seen, elevates Chaucer, in his role as translator, to a position of remarkable authority. Indeed, he constructs Chaucer as his poetic equal. At the same time, however, even as he presents himself and Chaucer as twin heirs to a classical heritage, he describes his own work as but future nettles in Chaucer's English garden. He further adds that the work that he sends to Chaucer is only "euvres d'escolier" (school-boyish writings), accusing himself suddenly of poetic immaturity, a charge that

we have already previously seen wielded so politically in Vitry's address to Le Mote. Deschamps' sudden diffidence about the quality of the work that he is sending, along with his prediction of its lowly status next to the other flowers in Chaucer's English garden, suggests to me an ultimate misgiving about the textual effects of translation activity. Casting Chaucer in the role of Le Mote through his allusions to Le Mote's side of the invective exchange, Deschamps, it would seem, should wholly support the idea of Chaucer's total poetic license as a translator. Yet, while he endorses the idea of Chaucer's translation project whole-heartedly, when it comes to the translation of his own works, he appears to gain sudden reservations over their fate once they reach English soil. His downplaying of their merit by claiming them to be but his *juvenilia* emerges as a kind of preemptive move, just in case the cultural exchange does not fully succeed.

Deschamps then promotes Le Mote's vision of a "Francophonie," in which he has Chaucer occupying a central role, but the vague fear of losing something in translation darts nervously between the lines of his ballade. This fear is exposed still further in that small but significant qualifier to Deschamps' description of Chaucer's work: Chaucer has not just translated the *Roman de la Rose*—he has translated it into "*bon anglès*" (*good English*). Chaucer may be a "great" translator, equal to Deschamps in his literary merit, but that title is contingent on Chaucer's using "good English," a condition that Deschamps never explicitly defines, but which nevertheless underscores the continued difficulties faced by fourteenth-century Francophone poets in negotiating the disjuncture between the cultural unity yet political enmity at work between France and England within this period.

## VI. Conclusion

The invective exchanges between Philippe de Vitry and Jean De Le Mote, the follow-up exchange between Jean Campion and Le Mote, and Deschamps' reuse of citations from Le Mote's response to Vitry in his lament over Machaut and in his address to Chaucer reveal a thoughtful, far-reaching discussion between a group of Francophone poets, scattered across Paris, Champagne, Hainault, Flanders, and England, concerning how *formes fixes* poetry translates across these politically disparate, yet profoundly culturally linked European territories. Where the organization of the Pennsylvania manuscript demonstrated for us one compiler's desire to gather and carefully taxonomize *formes fixes* lyric from all over Francophone Europe in the service of a literary history, and where the anonymous Hainuyer poet, Deschamps, and Froissart show us how Francophone poets relied on the very transregionality of *formes fixes* lyric to respond to the emergence of regionalism and protonationalist sentiment during the Hundred Years War, the poets explored in this chapter self-reflexively turn to the forms of *formes fixes* lyric itself in order to theorize the very phenomenon of transregional formal borrowing during this rise of regionalism and protonationalism.

In so doing, they explicate for us the impetus behind the Pennsylvania manuscript compiler's project, as well as Deschamps' decision in 1392 to prescribe the rules for composing *formes fixes* lyric into the first *formes fixes ars poetica*: the *formes fixes* were not just extremely popular all over Francophone Europe during the Hundred Years War, they were an extraordinarily important genre that functioned as a medium for understanding the intersection between cultural and political belonging in response to the

newfound pressure that had been placed on that intersection by the Hundred Years War. Writing poetry in the Francophone court of Edward III across the Channel suddenly became writing poetry in the English court of Edward III in the nation of England, enemy to the nation of France. Translating and transferring poetic form across these newly defined boundaries could no longer be an act of cultural borrowing but became always already an act of political appropriation, a *translatio studii* that was suddenly edging uncomfortably close to *translatio imperii*. The poetic exchanges that we have been examining within this chapter reveal, in the endless delicate nuances of their accusations and defenses, just how difficult it was for Francophone poets in the mid-late fourteenth century to negotiate pre-existing cultural affinity across these newly formed rifts of political division.

In the exchanges that we have just considered, a central aspect of *formes fixes* lyric's translatability has been its use of mythography. Didos, Narcissi, Lancelots, Esthers, Davids, Laodamias, and other figures populate the *formes fixes* lyric written all over Francophone Europe in this period. Vitry, Le Mote, Champion, and Deschamps demonstrate in their discussions that the synchronic translator of *formes fixes* must also be, first and foremost, a diachronic translator of the accumulated weight of the literary authorities: the classical authors, the Bible and its commentaries, medieval Ovidiana such as the *Roman de la Rose*, and earlier medieval authors working in the *roman d'antiquité*, *chanson de geste*, and *roman de chevalerie* traditions. It is the translator's approach to mythography that becomes the measure of the suitability of his poetry, whether the poet believes—as Champion and, to a lesser extent, Vitry—in strict adherence to canonical

mythography—or, as Le Mote and, to a lesser extent, Deschamps—in the poet's prerogative to toy with canonical mythography. The stakes behind evaluating this poetry's suitability are furthermore, as we have seen, extremely high, for in judging this poetry's performance in the realm of aesthetics, these poets are all also judging its performance in the realm of politics. Aesthetics *is* politics in *formes fixes* poetry of the Hundred Years War.

Having thus looked at a group of poets exploring the ramifications of writing *formes fixes* lyric in England, we cross the Channel ourselves in this next and final chapter to consider these poets' Francophone contemporaries, Geoffrey Chaucer and John Gower, and their own engagement with this very same lyric. As we are about to see, these two poets also ruminate extensively on their own uses of mythography within works that continue to problematize the issues raised by Vitry, Le Mote, Campion, and Deschamps. Furthermore, in the same manner as all the other poets considered within the previous two chapters, Chaucer and Gower too engage with the *formes fixes* in order to work through for themselves the cultural affinities that render them Francophone and yet the political circumstances that render them English.



**“Jeo sui englois”:  
Eloquent French, Sufficient English, and the Force of Exemplarity**

In the previous chapter we have considered a number of responses by Francophone poets to the question of how (or even whether) a *formes fixes* culture ought to take root and flourish across the Channel from the Continent over in England. In that discussion, mythographical exempla, and their deployment in contemporary *formes fixes* lyric, reveal themselves to be an important gauge for these authors in determining the robustness of a *formes fixes* literary tradition that is not located in or around Paris, nor within France. In their discussion of an English *formes fixes* literature, Vitry, Campion, Le Mote, and Deschamps ponder differing modes of employing classical allusion. Should one faithfully reproduce classical allusions or should one be granted license to innovate? Should one stick to a known and familiar repertoire or purposefully deploy obscure references? In these poets' discussions, the usage of antiquity emerges as the hallmark of good taste and takes on, as we have seen, a significant political cast within the ongoing context of the Hundred Years War.

In what follows, I would like to examine two works produced by two English-born and English-speaking, yet Francophone poets that also engage directly with the *formes fixes* genre and that also manipulate a bevy of classical allusions: namely, Chaucer's *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women* and John Gower's *Traitié selonc les auctours pour essampler les amantz marietz*. We have no way of knowing, of course, whether Chaucer or Gower were themselves at all aware of the poetic exchange between Vitry, Campion, and Le Mote, and whether Deschamps' ballade was ever actually read

by its addressee, though Le Mote's presence at the court of Edward III as well as Deschamps' acquaintance with the English Lewis Clifford,<sup>285</sup> and the evident friendship between Chaucer and Gower, certainly suggest that the two English poets could have directly known about this ongoing cross-Channel debate. Regardless of whether or not they actually read or heard at all of this discussion, Chaucer and Gower use the *formes fixes* to engage on their own end, from England, with the same kinds of questions concerning the "propriety" of a Francophone-inspired literature produced on English soil. Remarkably, just like the Vitry-Le Mote-Campion-Deschamps discussion, Chaucer's and Gower's exploration of how to produce literature on English soil also revolves heavily around the employment of mythographical exempla in *formes fixes* lyric.

The stakes of their discussion are, however, rather different in that Chaucer and Gower consider, in their works, not just the propriety of a literature on English soil but also the propriety of the different literary languages made available to English poets for the creation of such a literature. In Chaucer's *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*, Geoffrey waxes lyrical over a daisy, his favorite flower over all the rest. After lengthy praise of the flower's beauty and virtues, Geoffrey exclaims: "Allas, that I ne had Englyssh, ryme or prose, | Suffisant this flour to preyse aryght" (F. 66-67). As James Wimsatt, Barry Windeatt, and other scholars have shown, Chaucer is here implicitly comparing his poetry to the contemporary corpus of narrative works by Machaut,

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<sup>285</sup> Deschamps also mentions "l'amoureux Clifford" in the refrain to a ballade that also addresses itself, interestingly, to the Seneschal d'Eu, purported main co-author of the *Livre de cent balades*: *Œuvres*, III, 375-76 (no. 536). According to Froissart (*Œuvres*, XV, 164, 194), Clifford participated in the negotiations that led to the marriage between Richard II and Isabelle of Valois, Charles VI's and Isabau of Bavaria's daughter. On his life, see W. T. Waugh, "The Lollard Knights," *The Scottish Historical Review* 11.41 (Oct., 1913): 58-63.

Froissart, and Deschamps that play on the word “Marguerite,” which translates to *daisy*.<sup>286</sup> Chaucer’s reference to his lack of ‘sufficient English’ vis-à-vis this existing French corpus seems to be a meditation, then, on the potential of English to achieve the same poetic heights as the work of Chaucer’s contemporaries in Continental Europe. Meanwhile, Gower apologizes in the final *formes fixes* ballade of his *Traitié* for not having “de François la faconde” (XVIII, l. 24: eloquence in French), for, he says, “jeo sui englois” (l. 26: I am English).<sup>287</sup> Thus, if Vitry, Campion, and Le Mote debated the geopolitical effects of producing poetry in England, and if Deschamps enlarged the question by also considering the hierarchical distinctions between writing in French as opposed to writing in English when he named Chaucer a “grant translateur,” then Chaucer and Gower sharpen their considerations of English poetry specifically around the hierarchies of the literary languages available to them for the writing of that poetry.

In focusing on the places in these texts where Chaucer and Gower proclaim the poverty and insufficiency of their language—English for Chaucer, French for Gower,—and the difficulty of translating Francophone literature, I aim to show that these moments are more than mere expressions of modesty and humility, popular for the period. Rather, they continue to address, from the English side, the relationship between *formes fixes* lyric, geopolitics, and transnational culture explored by Chaucer’s and Gower’s Francophone predecessors and contemporaries. Like their Francophone counterparts, both English poets see the translation of *formes fixes* lyric as a means of carving a locally

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<sup>286</sup> See, in particular, Lowes, “Prologue”; Wimsatt, *Marguerite*; B.A. Windeatt, *Chaucer’s Dream Poetry: Sources and Analogues* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1982), as well as the textual notes in the Riverside Chaucer.

<sup>287</sup> Quotations taken from John Gower, *French Balades*; translations are my own.

specific identity out of Francophone cultural belonging. These instances of self-professed linguistic inferiority are thus hardly expressions of literary anxiety before the Francophone tradition but testify instead to Chaucer's and Gower's deep familiarity with and active participation as interlocutors in an ongoing trans-European literary discussion over vernacular authorial identity and self-representation.

### **I. The Significance of Exemplarity in *Formes fixes* Lyric**

The Vitry-Le Mote-Campion-Deschamps discussion concerning poetic production in England points to the indelible importance of classical allusion in self-reflexive discussions of the values and virtues of composing *formes fixes* lyric, particularly within the political context of the Hundred Years War. Given, however, that we cannot be certain as to whether Chaucer and Gower were acquainted with any of this discussion, it is instructive to consider briefly the role of mythographic exempla in other, non-overtly politicized contemporary *formes fixes* lyric of the kind that Chaucer and Gower would have been encountering and of the kind that they themselves emulate in the *Prologue to the Legend* and the *Traitié*. Approaching the Pennsylvania manuscript—with its 310 *formes fixes* lyric arranged in that comprehensive, near encyclopedic fashion to construct a literary history—as a convenient case study, we discover that mythographic exempla are not only pervasive in the *formes fixes* but also symptomatic of their capacity for self-conscious ruminations on the representative power of poetic language itself. In other words, exemplarity within the *formes fixes* is a mode unto itself for poets to understand and represent the functions and uses of poetic language.

Exemplarity is a vital constitutive feature of *formes fixes*, and it is often used by *formes fixes* poets to embroider on the emotion presented in the lyric by plunging the reader into a literary rabbit hole of previous authors' descriptions of similar experiences. Thus, the unattributed lyric copied as no. 58 in the Pennsylvania manuscript, *Harpe, rote, eschiquier, ciphonie*, gives the following comparison for the speaker's troubled state (ll. 18-20):

Atropos m'avra en sa prison,	Atropos will have me in her prison,
Qui m'apareille .i. chapel de soucie,	Dressing me with a wreath of worry,
Tel com jadis ot l'amie Jason ...	Just like the one worn once by Jason's beloved ... <sup>288</sup>

Similarly, the unattributed lyric no. 189, *Se Lancelot, Paris, Genievre, Helaine*, invokes literary specters to offset the speaker's sentiments (ll. 1-4):

Se Lancelot, Paris, Genievre, Helaine,	If Lancelot, Paris, Guinevere, Helen,
Tristran, Yseut, Juno ne Narcissus	Tristan, Isolde, Juno or Narcissus
Avec Pallas souffrirent onques paine	With Pallas ever suffered torment
Pour bien amer, encor en sueffre plus ...	For love, I suffer more ...

*Formes fixes* poets often further underscore the authoritative role played by the exemplum within the text by emphasizing its literariness: thus, in *Phiton le merveilleux serpent*, found in the Pennsylvania manuscript as no. 60, Machaut writes (ll. 1-4): "Phiton le merveilleux serpent | ... Sicomme Ovides le descript" (Phiton the wondrous serpent ... as Ovid describes him). Such heightened awareness of the textual weight behind the use of an exemplum is not just confined to the major poets. In the unattributed no. 45, *Pymalion, Paris, Genevre, Helaine*, for example, the poet adduces a long list of unhappy lovers depicted in classical antiquity, the Old Testament, and medieval romance as a way of authorizing his own sentiments regarding love; moreover, he pointedly draws our

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<sup>288</sup> This and subsequent citations in this section from my own transcription of the Pennsylvania manuscript; translations are my own.

attention to his reliance on multiple textual sources by means of the refrain: “Prouver le puis pour vray come Euvangile | Par Salemon, Aristote et Virgille” (I can prove it to be Gospel truth by Solomon, Aristotle, and Vergil). In this lyric, authority is accorded in equal measure to classical works and the Bible; indeed, to mix exempla from antiquity with ones from the Old Testament as well as medieval chivalric romance was a standard feature of *formes fixes* mythography.<sup>289</sup> By layering multiple orders of textual authority, this poet thus offers a meditation on the exemplum’s capacity to instruct in and through its weighty, even palimpsestic, literariness.

This kind of meditation on the textual role of the mythographic exemplum is yet more heightened in other *formes fixes* lyrics. In one of the “Ch” lyrics, *Fauls Apyus, pires que Lichaon* (no. 241), for example, the female speaker compares herself to Dido and Medea and her false lover to Jason, Nero, and Judas in a standard abandoned woman complaint formula. In the final stanza, however, she suddenly addresses herself to Venus, asking (ll. 31-33):

Pourquoy ne fu l’aventure anoncié	Why wasn’t the <i>aventure</i>
Du bel Helaine et celui de Medee,	Of lovely Helen and that of Medea made known
Quant tu me fis jadis l’amour celee?	When you offered me back then a love kept secret?

Instead of simply comparing the speaker, in her unhappy state, to Helen and Medea, the poet presents his heroine as a poor intradiegetic reader who has failed in her knowledge of classical literature and thus failed to avoid the pitfalls of love. In this way, the poet draws attention to the instruction offered by literary exempla to the extradiegetic reader: the abandoned woman’s lack of knowledge of Helen’s and Medea’s tales lead to her

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<sup>289</sup> On the equal auctoritas of texts from antiquity as well as the Bible, particularly the Old Testament, cf. A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988; repr. 2010), 115.

downfall, but the audience, through reading or hearing this lyric, may be able to avoid a similar fate. We observe a successful iteration of the same process in a lyric attributable to Machaut, *Ceulz dient qui ont amé* (no. 157), in which the male speaker says that, even though other lovers have recounted to him the joys of love, he has “prevue” (foreseen) by the examples of Helen as well as of Pyramus and Thisbee that love is but a fount of sorrows (ll. 1-8). Unlike the speaker of the previous lyric, this lover has been a successful reader of literary exempla and is therefore capable of understanding his condition, performing within the text the same learning from auctores that the lyric’s audience is supposed to be doing as well.

Another “Ch” lyric, *Humble Hester, courtoise, gracieuse* (no. 245), has the speaker compare his lady favorably to Esther, Judith, Thisbee, Helen, etc, with whom she shares not just their respective virtues, we learn, but also consignment to the grave. The speaker tells us that, in his grief, he has discovered that: “Phylis ... m’est exemplaire a mon las deviser” (ll. 13-16: Phyllis ... is exemplary to my wretched account). Rather than simply pepper their lyrics with exempla to demonstrate their knowledge of antiquity, these poets are, in fact, self-reflexively commenting on the didactic and illustrative function served by exempla both to teach lovers about love and, significantly, to offer lovers (and the poets who describe them) the words and images to illustrate and depict their condition. Thus, this bereaved speaker, the poet suggests, can use the exemplum of Phyllis in order to articulate his sorrow and give voice to his own trauma. Even in this quite conventional and love-centered *formes fixes* lyric, the mythographic exemplum emerges as a means of thinking through the descriptive workings of lyric language itself.

The exemplum's pointed commentary on the expressive potential of language comes through with particular authorial self-awareness in *Onques ne fu en mon dormant songans* (no. 10), in which the speaker has a dream vision of entering a palace, in which he sees Absalon's hair, Pygmalion's "ymaget" (l. 15: little image), Narcissus' fountain, and numerous figures from antiquity, the Old Testament, and medieval Arthurian romance. It only becomes clear in the following stanza that these are not actual objects, nor people, but all "ymages" (l. 31: images) of objects and people that are being presented to the speaker in order to explain to him what happens to those who love too much. The figurative function of the exemplum as decorative and didactic is here made literal by turning the textual object into an actual object of visual instruction within the plot of the text, revealing a thoughtful engagement with how allusion and intertextuality function as literary devices by rendering the text as a metaphorically architectural space.<sup>290</sup> It is, moreover, particularly interesting that one of the images beheld by the speaker here is Pygmalion's own "ymaget." That is, in a highly over-determined textual moment that pulls both Ovid and the *Rose* into the subtext of the lyric, the speaker is seeing an *image of the image* originally made by Pygmalion: in other words, an image of Galatea, who was herself originally an image of a woman so perfect that Pygmalion fell in love with it and begged Venus to have it brought to life.<sup>291</sup> Comparisons of the beloved

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<sup>290</sup> Cf. the same operation in René d'Anjou's *Livre du Cuer d'Amours Espris* (1457).

<sup>291</sup> See in particular, Thomas D. Hill, "Narcissus, Pygmalion, and the Castration of Saturn: Two Mythographical Themes in the *Roman de la Rose*," *Studies in Philology* 71.4 (1974): 404-26; Kevin Brownlee, "Orpheus' Song Re-Sung: Jean de Meun's Reworking of *Metamorphoses* X," *Romance Philology* 36.2 (1982): 201-09 and "Pygmalion, Mimesis, and the Multiple Endings of the *Romance of the Rose*," *Yale French Studies* 92 (1999): 193-211; Reinier Leushuis, "Pygmalion's Folly and the Author's Craft in Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*," *Neophilologus* 90 (2006): 521-33; and, most recently, Jonathan Morton, "Queer Metaphors and Queerer Reproduction in Alain de Lille's *De planctu naturae* and



to Pygmalion's Galatea also occur in other *formes fixes* lyric. In *Je puis trop bien ma dame comparer* (no. 153), for example, Machaut likens his obdurate, unyielding lady to Galatea prior to her fleshly transformation, whereas the unknown poet of *De toutes roses ne qui qu'un seul bouton* (no. 57) compares his lady's appearance to the beauty "naturelle" of Helen and denies any comparison of her with Pygmalion's "ymage morte" (dead image) since his lady is so full of life (ll. 9-14).

In the unattributed *Quant plus regart le gracieux viaire* (no. 47), allusions to Pygmalion become linked both to the role of the lady in the poet's life as well as to the challenges of representing her poetically. The lady, the speaker tells us, is "de beaute ... a tous exemplaire" (l. 3: in her beauty ... exemplary to all); her face is like a "gracieux mirour" (charming mirror) that both instructs the speaker in and shows to him ("m'aprent et monstre") the meaning of honor (ll. 11-12). The speaker concludes the lyric by likening himself to Pygmalion because, like that great sculptor, he too needs the help of the god that "la sceusse pourtraire" (would have known how to represent her) as he admits his own inability to do his lady representative justice with his words (ll. 15-19). In this lyric, then, the beloved herself is an exemplum of virtue by means of her face that, mirror-like, reflects honor.<sup>292</sup> At the same time, the speaker of no. 47 finds himself,

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Jean de Meun's *Roman de la rose*," in *Dante and Desire in the Middle Ages*, ed. Manuele Gragnolati et al. (Oxford: Legenda, 2012), 208-26.

<sup>292</sup> A similar notion of the beloved's face as image, or mirror, is echoed in several other lyrics where she is variously described as an "ymage ... pourtraite" (Grimace, *Dedens mon cuer est pourtraite une ymage*, no. 38: image ... portrayed), a "pourtraiture" (Machaut, *Dieux, beaute, douceur, nature*, no. 210: image), or "painture" (the unattributed *Voir ne vous puis, helas, ce poise moy*, no. 268: painting), which is "emprins et figurez" (Machaut, *Sans cuer m'en vois doulent & esplourez*, no. 169: realized and fashioned) on the lover's heart or memory, a trope that also speaks, of course, to medieval memorial practices: see Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; 2nd ed. 2008) and *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

Pygmalion-like, helpless in effecting a perfect mimesis of this beloved, who is herself mimetic. These references to Pygmalion thus bring to the fore an anxiety over the capacity for language to be expressive to its fullest potential.

As this brief survey of the role played by mythographic allusions in a representative sample of *formes fixes* lyric demonstrates, even in apolitical lyric that treats of love and loss, literary exempla are nodes around which significant questions of poetics and literary representation can coalesce. In the following pages we will see how Chaucer's and Gower's work with the *formes fixes* taps into that genre's innate penchant for using mythographic exempla as a vehicle for authorial self-reflection. Such self-reflection can, as in the lyrics above, be confined to the realm of pure poetics, but it can also, as we observed in the previous chapter, acquire a profoundly political cast as poetics itself becomes the object of cross-Channel political debate. In the case of Chaucer's *Prologue to the Legend*, and Gower's *Traitié* then, I submit the following argument: in these texts, Chaucer and Gower too deploy the mythographic *formes fixes* lyric as a testing ground for theorizing questions of linguistic representation and poetic expression in the same manner as their Francophone counterparts. Given, however, that for them the question of representation and expression is necessarily bound up with the question of literary language—language that, as we saw above, they acutely problematize in drawing attention to the poverty of their French and their English—we realize that the mythographic ballade in their work too becomes a site for political self-inquisition over the appropriate language to be used for English poetry.

## II. April Showers Bring May Flowers: Chaucer's *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*

The *Prologue to the Legend* is the only of Chaucer's works that exists in two substantively different manuscript versions, the F version, which is considered the earlier and survives in eleven manuscripts, and a second version, G, considered a later revision, which survives only in Cambridge, Cambridge University Library Gg. 4.27; this version downplays somewhat Chaucer's ruminations on the status of English literature with regard to contemporary Francophone poetry, and so my argument will but briefly refer to it.<sup>293</sup> The *Prologue* is a text in which Chaucer is remarkably reflective over his lengthy literary career, reviewing the multiple forms in which he has worked (shorter lyrics, longer narrative poems), the multiple kinds of work he has produced (courtly love literature, devotional material, didactic material) and, notably, his work of translating texts into English. It also happens to contain an inset mythographic *formes fixes* lyric, *Hyd, Absalon, thy gilte tresses clere*, as well as an explicit reference to Chaucer's having previously composed "many an humpne for your [the God of Love's] halydayes, | That highten balades, roundels, virelayes" (F. 422-23), an evocation of Chaucer's work within the *formes fixes* that led Wimsatt to suggest that the poems of Ch, or something like them, may have been authored by Chaucer himself. As we have seen repeatedly in the

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<sup>293</sup> The lines in F, "And whan this book ys maad, yive it the quene, | On my byhalf, at Eltham or at Sheene" (496-7), mentioning the royal residences, have been taken as referring to Anne of Bohemia; the omission of these lines in G suggests that it is the later version, revised after Anne's death in 1394, although the possibility that it, in fact, pre-dates F remains: see Julia Boffey and A.S.G. Edwards, "The *Legend of Good Women*" in *The Cambridge Companion to Chaucer*, ed. Piero Boitani and Jill Mann, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 112-13. For a list of the eleven manuscripts containing the F version, see the textual notes to the Riverside Chaucer, 1178. On the downplaying of concerns over contemporary Francophone literature in the G version, see Rita Copeland, *Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages: Academic Traditions and Vernacular Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 191-92.

preceding pages, mythographic *formes fixes* lyric is an important vehicle in this period for exploring and articulating one's authorial identity, particularly as connected to one's geopolitics. Chaucer's lament, in a work in which he reflects on his entire preceding literary career, that his English is "insuffisaunt" in comparison with contemporary Francophone literary material therefore strongly suggests that his explicit inclusions of and references to the *formes fixes* are hardly an accident but deserve our close attention.

As several scholars have noted, the *Prologue* owes its shape to two main literary sources. On the one hand, the staging of a judgment on an author for previously writing poorly of women is lifted by Chaucer directly from Machaut's *Jugement du roy de Navarre*, in which Machaut's Guillaume finds himself obliged to defend his portrayal of women in his literary *œuvre* before a stern judge and is sentenced to write a new work in praise of women in order to redeem himself.<sup>294</sup> On the other hand, as Rita Copeland has observed, the *Prologue* is also engaging with the Latin *accessus* tradition, notably the *intentio auctoris*, in which a commentator articulates the reason for, or aim with which, an author has written a particular work: in such a way, the *intentio auctoris*, as Copeland argues, "could serve to articulate an immanent principle of structure" for an anthology or compilation of scattered works.<sup>295</sup> Copeland points to a specific twelfth-century *intentio auctoris* in an *accessus* in the commentary tradition for Ovid's *Heroides*, the latter a key source for many of the female figures in Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*; the parallels between this *accessus* and Chaucer's *Prologue* (and, I would add, Machaut's *Jugement du roi de Navarre*) are striking. In this *intentio auctoris*, it is explained that Ovid had

<sup>294</sup> Cf. Florence Percival, *Chaucer's Legendary Good Women* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 1; Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 161-63.

<sup>295</sup> Copeland, *Rhetoric*, 187-88.

stood accused before Caesar for writing scurrilously of women in his earlier, bawdier works and has therefore composed a new book, the *Heroides*, in order to offer Roman women an exemplum (“unde librum scripsit eis, istum exemplum proponens”) of female behavior to emulate, as well as to avoid, in matters of love.<sup>296</sup>

The *Prologue*'s simultaneous echoing of both a Latin commentary and a contemporary text by Chaucer's illustrious Francophone contemporary crystallizes a tension with which the entire *Prologue* grapples, namely the immense importance of *both* authoritative classical works, with their medieval commentaries, *as well as* of more proximate French and Italian sources to Chaucer's literary endeavors. This tension is, of course, central to Chaucer's articulation of himself as an authorial figure in his entire literary output, and so the following pages will only be able to tug at one thread of this vast subject. This tension is also, we recall, precisely the same one with which Chaucer's Francophone contemporaries grapple in their discussions over the translation of *formes fixes* lyric across Francophone Europe. As I am about to demonstrate, in the *Prologue* Chaucer, like his Francophone contemporaries, relies on mythographic *formes fixes* lyric—by which I mean, the inset *Hyd, Absalon*—in order to negotiate his literary position with regard to contemporary vernacular poetry on the one hand and the classical auctores on the other. In so doing, he emphasizes his status as an English author as he explores the question of what constitutes “sufficient English” by comparison to contemporary Francophone Marguerite poetry. A term with a rich semantic register in Middle English, “suffisaunt” can mean at once *adequate* or *enough*, but it can also mean

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<sup>296</sup> R.B. C. Huygens, *Accesus ad auctores; Bernard d'Utrecht; Conrad d'Hirsau; Dialogus super auctores* (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 32, qtd in Copeland, *Rhetoric*, 188.

*proper* or *appropriate*. Taken in the first sense of *adequate*, the idea of the English language as “sufficient” seems to be exploring its flexibility or elasticity in shaping meaning. Taken in its second sense of *proper*, however, Chaucer’s phrase asks a slightly different question that takes us into the realm of literary taste. It asks whether English is a suitable medium for attempting to describe the daisy: not *can* English be a vehicle for representation, but *should* it? By exploring the capacities of his English with regard to contemporary French culture, Chaucer reveals himself to be engaging with similar questions as Vitry, Le Mote, Champion, and Deschamps concerning the propriety and suitability of a flourishing English literary culture, and, like those poets, he will also deploy mythographic *formes fixes* lyric in order to answer these questions.

The *Prologue* to the *Legend* opens by discussing the value and significance of “olde bokes” in lending *auctoritas* to that which is not accessible through lived experience, such as, for example, the afterlife (F. 1-28). Describing his faith in and admiration for the ancient doctrines and old stories contained within his library, Geoffrey admits that there is only thing that can cause him to drop his books and leave his study: the month of May when the flowers come (F. 29-39). Of these May flowers, the one that most excites Geoffrey’s attention and reverence is the daisy, which becomes the central subject of the following 150-odd lines, as he details his praise and worship of that flower. As several scholars have shown, this lengthy passage on the daisy is replete with allusions and whole passages lifted from the Marguerite poetry of Chaucer’s French-speaking contemporaries, a veritable homage in English to Machaut’s *Dit de la marguerite*, Froissart’s *Dit de la margheritte* and *Paradis d’amours*, as well as the *Lai de*

*franchise* and several ballades addressed to the daisy by Deschamps.<sup>297</sup> The frame narrative's shift from "olde bokes" to the subject of the daisy, reified by a change of setting from inside Geoffrey's study to outside in his garden,<sup>298</sup> thus immediately sets up an opposition between the works of the *auctores* and the space of contemporary courtly love poetry as well as of romance, which is underscored by that pointed reference to it being the beginning of May.

The problem of praising the daisy in English literature as opposed to in contemporary Francophone literature is registered immediately when Geoffrey laments, in the F version alone, "Allas, that I ne had Englyssh, ryme or prose | Suffisaunt this flour to preyse aryght" (ll. 66-67). Geoffrey goes on, in both versions of the *Prologue*, to ask lovers who "make" poetry, and who have already reaped the harvest, to help him (F. 68-78):

For wel I wot that ye han her-biforn  
Of makyng ropen, and lad away the corn,  
And I come after, glenyng here and there,  
And am ful glad yf I may fynde an ere  
Of any goodly word that ye han left.  
And thogh it happen me rehercen eft  
That ye han in your fresshe songes sayd,  
Forebereth me, and beth nat evele apayd,  
Syn that ye see I do yt in the honour  
Of love, and eke in service of the flour ...

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<sup>297</sup> See, in particular, Lowes as well as Wimsatt's additions and critique of some of Lowes' findings in *Contemporaries*, 165-68. Chaucer's reference, in F.72 and 82, to lovers that are "with the leef or with the flour" further points to the cross-Channel literary ties of the *Prologue*, as Deschamps has three ballades and a rondeau on the followers of the leaf versus the flower, one of which (no. 765) is addressed to Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt: see nos. 764, 765, 766, and 766 in *Œuvres*, IV, 257-65; see further Lowes, "Prologue," 608-10; Richard Firth Green, *Poets*, especially ch. 4; and Joyce Coleman, "The Flower, the Leaf and Philippa of Lancaster," in *The Legend of Good Women: Context and Reception*, ed. Carolyn P. Collette (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006), 33-58.

<sup>298</sup> The G version makes the opposition of interior and exterior particularly explicit: while in the F version, Geoffrey bids farewell to his "bok" (l. 39) as he leaves to gaze upon the flowers, in G, he bids farewell to his "studye" (l. 38). Cf. Copeland, *Rhetoric*, 191.

This moment lays bare certain apparent anxieties. Chaucer presents his English ruminations on the daisy as belated in comparison to Marguerite poetry and portrays his own work as but the mere repetitions of contemporary Francophone masters, who have already reaped poetry's full harvest, leaving him, Ruth-like, to pick the humble gleanings of what is left. This deferential self-appraisal of his work as being but simple 'rehearsing' is reflected in practice, for the long disquisition on the daisy is indeed a fairly straightforward, if virtuosic, stitching together of various lines from contemporary Marguerite poetry, translated into an English that, Geoffrey worries, is not "suffisaunt." Geoffrey's response to the appearance of a beautiful lady dressed like a daisy further demonstrates the mere "rehearsing" that Geoffrey admits himself to be performing within his English poetry. Upon seeing the lady/daisy, Geoffrey, in the F version, composes the following ballade in her praise (F. 247-69):

Hyd, Absolon, thy gilte tresses clere;  
 Ester, ley thou thy meknesse al adown;  
 Hyd, Jonathas, al thy frendly manere;  
 Penelopee and Marcia Catoun,  
 Make of youre wifhod no comparysoun;  
 Hyde ye of youre beautes, Ysoude and Eleyne;  
 My lady cometh, that al this may disteyne.

Thy faire body, lat yt not appere,  
 Lavyne, and thou, Lucesse of Rome toun,  
 And Polyxene, that boghten love so dere,  
 And Cleopatre, with al thy passyoun,  
 Hyde ye your trouthe of love and your renoun;  
 And thou, Tisbe, that hast for love swich peyne:  
 My lady cometh that al this may disteyne.

Herro, Dido, Laudomia, all yfere,  
 And Phillis, hangyng for thy Demophoun,  
 And Canace, espied by thy chere,  
 Ysiphile, betrayed with Jasoun,  
 Maketh of your trouthe neythir boost ne soun;  
 Nor Ypermystre of Adriane, ye tweyne:  
 My lady cometh, that al this may dysteyne.



By this point in our lengthy discussion, a lyric such as this one is starting to look very familiar, despite its being written in English. The enumerative structure with its profusion of classical and Old Testament exempla—Absalom, Esther, Helen, Dido, Ariadne, etc—reveals *Hyd, Absalon* to be a highly conventional example of a mythographic *formes fixes* ballade. Machaut, for example, has a ballade that opens with the following stanza:

Ne quier veoir la beaute d'Absalon,	I do not seek to see the beauty of Absalon,
Ne d'Ulixes le sens et la faconde,	Nor the wits and eloquence of Ulysses,
Ne esprouver la force de Sanson,	Nor experience the strength of Samson,
Ne regarder que Dalida le tonde,	Nor watch Delilah shear him,
Ne cure n'ay par nul tour	Nor do I care in any way
Des yeux Argus, ne de joie greignour,	About the eyes of Argus, nor about the highest joy,
Car pour plaisance et sans aide d'ame,	Because, out of pleasure and without help from the soul,
Je voy assez, puis que je voy ma dame.	I see enough because I see my lady. <sup>299</sup>

Froissart has a similar ballade, with the same refrain, in which the first stanza reads:

Ne quier voir Medee ne Jason,	I do not seek to see Medea nor Jason,
Ne trop lire ens ou mapemonde,	Nor read too much of the map of the world,
Ne le musique Orpheus ne le son,	Nor [do I seek] the music and sound of Orpheus,
Ne Hercules, qui cerqua tout le monde,	Nor Hercules, who circled the whole world,
Ne Lucesse, qui tant fu bonne et monde,	Nor Lucrece, who was so good and pure,
Ne Penelope ossi, car, par Saint Jame,	Nor Penelope either, for, by Saint James,
Je vois asses, puis que je voi ma dame.	I see enough because I see my lady. <sup>300</sup>

In *Hyd, Absalon*, then, we truly see Geoffrey 'rehearsing' the work already done by his illustrious Francophone contemporaries as he produces his own perfect renditions of *formes fixes* poetry into English.

The God of Love's accusation towards Geoffrey problematizes further the issues attendant with working in English. The God of Love initially rebukes Geoffrey for his proximity to the daisy, a proximity to which, he says, a worm has more right than Geoffrey

<sup>299</sup> Text from my transcription of the Pennsylvania manuscript, where this lyric occurs as no. 179; translation is my own.

<sup>300</sup> Quoted in Wimsatt, *Contemporaries*, 183.

(F. 315-18). Geoffrey is then revealed to be guilty because he is hindering Love's servants from proper worship of love generally through his "translacioun" (F. 324-26) and specifically because he has "in pleyn text, withouten nede of glose .... translated the Romaunce of the Rose" (F. 328-29) and also written the *Troilus* (F. 320-35).<sup>301</sup> The God of Love's accusation directed at Geoffrey seems to be both about the fact that he is working in English and that he is working within the courtly love tradition: he worships the daisy too closely—a worship that we have just observed to be producing English imitations of contemporary Francophone poetry so perfect as to seem almost slavish—and he is also merely translating the *Rose*, that Ur-text of the courtly love tradition, without, significantly, "gloss," i.e., it seems, interpretation. He has composing the *Troilus*, another text that revolves heavily around the themes of courtly love, and in which, we may note, Antigone's song in Book 1 functions very much like an intercalated *formes fixes* lyric in imitation of the contemporary narrative dits of Machaut and Froissart.<sup>302</sup> It appears, then, that the God of Love's rebuke centers on Geoffrey's having

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<sup>301</sup> Although the G version omits the same anxieties over "Englyssh suffisaunt," it is interesting that the emphasis on faulty translation grows stronger here when the God of Love describes Geoffrey's composition of the *Troilus* in the following terms: "Hast thow nat *mad in Englysh* ek the bok | How that Criseide Troilus forsok ...?" (G. 264-64, emphasis added). In this version, the God of Love then goes on to list a series of "olde bokes," to which Geoffrey ought to have been turning in his composition, such as "Valerye, Titus, or Claudian ... Jerome agaynst Jovinian," which have been taken to refer to works traditional to the antifeminist tradition, such as the *Epistola Valerii ad Rufinum* and Claudian's *De raptu Proserpinae* (see textual notes to the Riverside Chaucer). Helen Phillips proposes, however, that "Claudian" might instead refer to a minor work of that author titled *In Praise of Serena*, which includes a favorable mention of Alceste, while, similarly, "Valerye" might instead refer to Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia* in their French translation by Simon de Hesdin, which also includes praise of Alceste: i.e. the God of Love is turning Geoffrey's attention not necessarily to antifeminist discourse but to "olde bokes" that are justly praising women, specifically Alceste: Helen Phillips, "Register, Politics, and the *Legend of Good Women*," *Chaucer Review* 37.2 (2002): 114-15.

<sup>302</sup> Cf. also Ardis Butterfield's discussion of the close relationship between the mise-en-page of *Troilus* manuscripts and that of manuscripts of contemporary Francophone courtly love poetry in: "Mise-en-page in the *Troilus* Manuscripts: Chaucer and French Manuscript Culture," in *Readings from the Margins: Textual Studies, Chaucer, and Medieval Literature*, ed. Seth Lerer (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1996),

spent too much of his time working with and translating contemporary courtly love literature, as represented by the French *Rose* and Boccaccio's Italian *Filostrato*. Indeed, Alceste tries to defend Geoffrey's actions before the God of Love by suggesting that perhaps Geoffrey simply was not being, or could not be, properly discriminatory about his choice of source material: "he useth thynges for to make; | Hym rekketh noght of what matere he take, | Or him was boden maken thilke tweye | Of som persone, and durste yt nat withseye ..." (F. 364-67), and anyways, she adds, translation work is not such a terrible thing (F. 369-70). Chaucer similarly invokes the standard translator's defense in arguing that he has simply tried to render "what so myn auctour mente" in his versions of the *Troilus* and the *Rose* and had no intention to speak poorly of women at all (F. 470).

The God of Love, however, continues to reproach Geoffrey, this time for failing to recognize the lady arrayed as a daisy who is trying to help Geoffrey out. When Geoffrey admits that he does not recognize the lady's identity, the God of Love reminds him that he should, in fact, be able to do so (F. 510-12): "Hastow not in a book, lyth in thy cheste, | The grete goodnesse of the quene Alceste, | That turned was into a dayesie ...?" Geoffrey, we thus discover, has been forgetting the information contained inside his "olde bokes." If he spent more time with his books in his study, the God of Love seems to be suggesting, and less time trying to worship and praise daisies in his garden, he would actually realize that the personified daisy before him bears direct relevance to those forgotten books of his study, for she has her roots in classical antiquity. Thus, in the final lines of the F version of the *Prologue*, we see Geoffrey awake and dutifully hitting the

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40-80. Butterfield suggests that, visually, the *Troilus* was being presented by late medieval scribes as a work closely in line with Continental courtly love texts.

books back inside his library in order to compose the *Legend of Good Women*, a new project imposed on him as penance by Alceste: dallying with daisies in the garden outside has been forgotten, and it is “olde bokes” that once more occupy Geoffrey’s full attention. The *Prologue to the Legend* seems, in other words, to be drawing a firm opposition between contemporary literary models and those from classical antiquity, an opposition reified between the the outdoor space of the garden and the enclosed space of the study.

On closer inspection, however, that stark binary between the old books and contemporary literature suddenly blurs, for the list of works that Alceste adduces in Geoffrey’s defense, as examples of his proper service to the God of Love, includes items such as the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Parliament of Fowls*, texts in which Chaucer’s literary debt to contemporary literature, particularly contemporary Francophone literature, is paramount. Most interestingly, the list also includes “balades, roundels, virelayes” (F. 422-23), i.e. the same kind of contemporary *formes fixes* lyric to which *Hyd, Absalon* belongs. Clearly at least some of Geoffrey’s engagement with contemporary Francophone literature is therefore deemed to be perfectly acceptable. So what, exactly, is incurring the God of Love’s wrath towards Geoffrey’s work of translating his contemporaries? The answer, I suggest, comes towards the end of the *Prologue* to the *Legend* when, after it has been revealed that Geoffrey has not immediately recognized Alceste, even though one of his (neglected) books contains Alceste’s story, Geoffrey incurs one final literary rebuke from the God of Love (F. 537-40):

Thanne seyde Love, “A ful gret necligence  
Was yt to the, that ylke tyme thou made  
‘Hyd, Absolon, thy tresses,’ in balade,  
That thou forgate hire [Alceste] in thi song to sette ...

Geffrey's final flaw is that he has not only failed to remember reading about Alceste in his "olde bokes" but that he has also failed to include Alceste as an exemplum in the ballade *Hyd, Absalon* composed earlier within the diegesis of the *Prologue* (F. 537-40). We recall that *Hyd, Absalon* is a conventional example of a Francophone *formes fixes* ballade, rendered into English: conventional in its form and, significantly, extremely conventional in its choice of the literary exempla of Dido, Thisbe, Helen, Absalon, Ariadne, and so on.<sup>303</sup> In fact, that oddly long and detailed list of exempla in *Hyd, Absalon* largely spans the gamut of the list of exempla that tends to recur, over and over again, in contemporary Francophone *formes fixes* lyric: Jonathan and "Marcia Catoun" are atypical of exempla often used within the *formes fixes*, and both Hypsypole and Canacee are not generally found, but the rest of the names are highly conventional to the narrow canon of exempla repeatedly deployed within that genre.

The story of Alceste, meanwhile, does not come down in all that many classical sources: it is known from the play of the same name by Euripides, from Homer's *Iliad*, Antoninus Liberalis' *Metamorphoses*, Diodorus Siculis' *Library of History*, Pseudo-Apollodorus' *Library* and the *Library Epitome*, and Higynus' *Fabulae*.<sup>304</sup> Alceste is also mentioned in passim in Ovid's *Ars amatoria*, as well as Claudian's *In Praise of Serena* and Simon de Hesdin's French translation of Valerius Maximus' *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, both sources that, interestingly, as noted above, Helen Phillips identifies as

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<sup>303</sup> Cf. Percival's point that exempla of feminine virtue laid out in *Hyd, Absalon* are "naively decorative rather than seriously examined": *Chaucer's*, 4.

<sup>304</sup> Lee Patterson notes that virtually all of Chaucer's allusions are traceable to compendia like Hyginus' *Fabulae*: see his *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press), 133. Percival concurs that the story of Alceste was an unusual subject for the period and Chaucer would have likely come across it in a source like Hyginus: *Chaucer's*, 50.

part of the God of Love's list, given in the G version, of sources that Geoffrey ought to be reading.<sup>305</sup> Alceste is also treated in Boccaccio's *De genealogia deorum*, Chaucer's likeliest source, although in none of the works here mentioned is she turned into a daisy, which appears to be a Chaucerian invention.<sup>306</sup> In other words, the story of Alceste was hardly widely-known in Chaucer's own period and had been further rewritten by Chaucer himself. The inclusion of Alceste, therefore, among Dido, Thisbe, Laodamia, etc. into *Hyd, Absalon* would, in fact, make for a very strange and thoroughly *unconventional formes fixes* ballade given the narrow repertoire of exempla enjoyed by that lyric form and given that Chaucer's representation of Alceste as a daisy is rewriting what few mentions of Alceste there are in classical antiquity.

I suggest therefore that the God of Love's reproach of Geoffrey does not concern engagement with contemporary courtly love literature altogether, but is a critique instead of a specific *type* of contemporary Francophone literature: the mythographic *formes fixes* lyric that relies on very conventional and very widely known mythological exempla. The God of Love is pointing out a failure of deep classicism in this type of contemporary Francophone lyric and is urging Geoffrey to return to his books in order to delve deeper into the literature of the *auctores*. It is for this reason that he phrases his verdict to Geoffrey in the following manner (F. 548-57):

But now I charge the upon thy lyf  
 That in thy legende thou make of thys wyf ...  
 Thise other ladies sittynge here arowe  
 Ben in thy balade, yf thou kanst hem knowe,  
 And in thy bookes alle thou shalt hem fynde.  
 Have hem now in thy legende al in mynde ...

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<sup>305</sup> See footnote 16 above.

<sup>306</sup> Cf. John M. Fyler, *Chaucer and Ovid* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979), 116.

The God of Love thus tells Geoffrey that all of the women that he had previously included into *Hyd, Absalon*, i.e. that are treated within the narrow canon of exempla featured in contemporary mythographic *formes fixes* lyric, are also featured in the books found in Geoffrey's study, i.e. in the literature of classical antiquity produced by the *auctores*. He therefore urges Geoffrey to attend to this classical literature when he treats of these women further in his writing; in other words, he urges Geoffrey to go back to the original textual sources of classical antiquity, rather than to more recent, mediating *formes fixes* lyric. It is for this same reason that the daisy becomes recast over the course of the *Prologue* as Alceste, an exemplum of female virtue found in few literary sources that is completely atypical of the mythographic *formes fixes* and therefore requires a deeper knowledge of antiquity for which Geoffrey has to turn to more directly classical sources. Contemporary Francophone literature, we discover, is a profoundly enticing model for the kind of work that English poets want to be producing—it literally lures Geoffrey out of his study—but, the God of Love suggests, there are significant limitations to what it is able to offer to the aspirational poet. If, then, at the opening of the *Prologue* to the *Legend*, we saw Geoffrey lamenting that his “Englyssh” was not “suffisaunt,” then by the end of the *Prologue*, it is French, we discover, that is actually “insufficient” because of its overly narrow treatment of antiquity. The God of Love sends Geoffrey away from the daisy and back into his study because as long as Geoffrey continues purely to rehearse the words and glean the fields of his Francophone contemporaries, his English will *like French* be insufficient.

By bringing explicit references to *formes fixes* lyric into the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer is able to articulate his own understanding of how

English poetry ought to position itself with regard to its contemporary classicizing Francophone models. He is, we realize, exploring the same questions as the poets in Chapter Three, in whose discussion too mythographic *formes fixes* lyric, and the levels of mythography with which that lyric was engaging, constituted a benchmark for evaluating the propriety and virtuosity of a poetic culture in England. Indeed, in emphasizing in his *Prologue to the Legend* the importance of drawing directly from classical authorities, rather than just from the narrow canon of Francophone *formes fixes* mythography, Chaucer seems to be adhering to the position of a figure like Jean Campion, who wove, we recall, direct citations from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* cleverly into the language of his own *formes fixes* lyric. Yet, in rewriting Alceste as a daisy, Chaucer is, of course, also partaking of the same kind of inventiveness that characterizes the work of Jean De Le Mote, an inventiveness that Le Mote openly defends and celebrates as part of his method of translating the *formes fixes* over to English soil. Like his Francophone contemporaries, Chaucer uses the mythographic *formes fixes* to articulate the unique geopolitical status of the English poet—a unique English “suffisaunce”—with regard at once to the work of his contemporaries as well as retrospectively with regard to preceding literary history. As we are about to see, moreover, Chaucer's use of the *formes fixes* to declare a geopolitically specific authorial self is not restricted to him alone but is shared by his own English-born Francophone contemporary, John Gower.



### III. “Pour essampler les autres du present”: French Exempla and Latin Apparatus in Gower’s *Traitié*

Multiple scholars have drawn attention to Gower’s construction of a pointedly multilingual authorial persona that emerges both from individual Gowerian texts as well as from the collocation of multilingual texts in extant manuscripts of his work.<sup>307</sup> For example, 26 out of the 61 manuscripts containing either the *Confessio* or the *Vox Clamantis* have, towards the end, the Latin poem *Quia unusquisque*, a kind of leave-taking in which Gower proclaims himself as author of three books over the course of his lifetime, the first in French (l. 5: “Primus liber, Gallico sermone editus”), the second in Latin (l. 9: “Secundus enim liber, sermone Latino metrico compositus”), and the final in English (l. 14: “Tercius vero liber ... Anglico sermone conficitur”).<sup>308</sup> This image for posterity of Gower as the author of three texts in three languages is further enhanced by his tomb at Southwark Cathedral, which was restored in 1958 following early modern antiquarian descriptions by the likes of John Stow, John Leland, and Thomas Berthelette and later drawings. In the tomb, Gower’s effigy is represented as reclining on a pillow of

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<sup>307</sup> I do not intend to revisit the old claim made by George Maucalay and John Fisher and substantively disproved by Ian Doyle and Malcolm Parkes concerning Gower’s supervision of his own manuscripts; I am referring instead to the various paratextual material in extant Gower manuscripts that draws attention to his multilingualism: on the question of Gower’s possible supervision, see the introduction to George Campbell Macaulay, *The Complete Works of John Gower*, 3 vols, *Early English Text Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900-01), John H. Fisher, *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 58-60; I.A. Doyle and M.B. Parkes, “The Production of Copies of the *Canterbury Tales* and the *Confessio Amantis* in the Early Fifteenth Century,” in *Medieval Scribes, Manuscripts and Libraries: Essays Presented to N.R. Ker*, ed. M.B. Parkes and Andrew G. Watson (London: Scolar Press, 1978), 163-212, and Peter Nicholson, “Gower’s Revisions in the ‘Confessio Amantis,’” *Chaucer Review* 19.2 (Fall, 1984): 123-43.

<sup>308</sup> Edited in John Gower, *The Minor Latin Works with In Praise of Peace*, ed. R.F. Yeager and Michael Livingstone (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005). For a list and discussion of manuscripts containing this work and other Latin textual material, see Siân Echard, “Last Words: Latin at the End of the *Confessio Amantis*,” in *Interstices: Studies in Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A.G. Rigg*, ed. Richard Firth Green and Linne R. Mooney (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 99-121, list of manuscripts on 113-15.

his three books, thus emphasizing his literary activity.<sup>309</sup> Further commenting on Gower's mastery of multiple languages is the presence, on the tomb, of an epitaph in Latin, along with a Latin funerary verse (also copied next to an illumination of a tomb at the end of a Gower manuscript, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 59 [T.2.17], on fol. 129r), and three images of allegorized Charity, Mercy, and Pity, depicted with scrolls containing French couplets.<sup>310</sup>

In analyzing Gower's emphasis on his own multilingualism, scholars have pointed to the important overlap between Gower's manipulation of his three languages and his own personal politics, namely his increasing support of Henry, then Earl of Derby, in the turbulent decade of the 1390s that saw the decline of Richard's favor with his people and that led to Henry's usurpation of the English throne in 1399. This overlap, between Gower's poetico-linguistic investments and political allegiances, is particularly readily observable in Gower's revisions to his descriptions of the content of the *Vox Clamantis* in the same *Quia unusquisque*:

*The early version:*

Secundus enim liber, sermone latino versibus exametri et pentametri compositus, tractat super illo mirabile euentu qui in Anglia tempore domini Regis Ricardi secundi anno regni sui quarto contigit, quando seruiles impetuose contra nobiles et ingenuos regni insurrexerunt. Innocenciam tamen dicti domini Regis tunc minoris estatis causa inde excusabilem... declarat.

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<sup>309</sup> John Stow, to whom the earliest description of the tomb belongs (*A Survey of London* [1603], rpt. ed. Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1908], II, 57-8), has the three books represented as the pillow in the order of their actual composition, which matches their listing in *Quia unusquisque*, that is, *Speculum Meditantis* (a.k.a. *Mirour de l'Omme*) as the top book, followed by *Vox Clamantis*, followed by *Confessio Amantis* on the bottom, but the modern restoration has the order as *Vox*, *Speculum*, then *Confessio*: John Hines, Nathalie Cohen, and Simon Roffey, "Iohannes Gower, Armiger, Poeta: Records and Memorials of His Life and Death," in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Siân Echard (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 39-40.

<sup>310</sup> Hines, Cohen, and Roffey, "Iohannes," 36-37. On this verse and its relationship to Gower's manuscripts and his tomb, see Echard, "Last Words."

The second book, having been composed in Latin verse of hexameter and pentameter, treats that remarkable event which took place in England in the fourth year of the reign of King Richard II, when the tenants aggressively revolted against the nobles and freemen of the kingdom. However, it declares the excusable innocence of the said Richard on account of his minority at that time....<sup>311</sup>

*The intermediate version:*

Secundus liber versibus exametri et pentametri sermone latino componitur, tractat de variis infortuniis tempore regis Ricardi secundi in Anglia multipliciter contingentibus, vbi pro statu regni compositur deuocius exorat.

The second book, composed in Latin verse of hexameter and pentameter, treats the various and multiple misfortunes having taken place in England during the reign of King Richard II, wherein the author entreats most devoutly for the state of the realm.

*The late version:*

Secundus enim liber sermone latino metricè compositus tractat de variis infortuniis tempore Regis Ricardi Secundi in Anglia contingentibus. Vnde non solum regni proceres et communes tormenta passi sunt, set et ipse crudelissimus rex suis ex demeritis ab alto corruens in foueam quam fecit finaliter proiectus est.

The second book, having been composed in Latin meter, treats the various misfortunes having taken place in England during the reign of King Richard II. Because of which not only were the nobles and the common people tormented, but that most cruel king himself, plummeting from his height because of his own sins, was in the end cast into the ditch that he himself made.

As we can see, in the early version of his description of the *Vox*, Gower seems happy to absolve Richard of responsibility for the Peasant's Revolt as he was in his minority at the time; the intermediate version displays an uneasy reckoning with the Peasant's Revolt, neither absolving nor (yet) condemning Richard but simply deploring the contemporary political situation. By the final version, Richard is the "crudelissimus rex" who has brought about his own political downfall. Fittingly, the intermediate and late versions of *Quia unusquisque* also see the rededication of the *Confessio* to Henry, as opposed to

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<sup>311</sup> Text edited in Gower, *Complete Works*, II, 479-80; translations are my own.

Richard.<sup>312</sup> The representation of Gower's changing politics within his already self-conscious presentation of his authorial persona in *Quia unusquisque* demonstrates, in Echard's words, "a developing sense of political commitment in Gower's conception of his poetic identity ...."<sup>313</sup> Yeager's as well as Arthur Bahr's work on London, British Library, MS Additional 59495 (a.k.a. the Trentham MS), the only manuscript of the French *Cinkante Balades* that also includes the French *Traitié* and a number of pro-Henry verses composed in Latin and English, has further shown how closely Gower's self-reflexive play with multiple languages is bound up with his politics.<sup>314</sup>

Yeager also reminds us, importantly, that Gower's focus on the internal conflicts attending the English realm, so interestingly played out through Gower's treatment of his three languages, should not indicate a wholly insular political perspective. The three monarchs in power during Gower's lengthy lifetime—Edward III, Richard II, and Henry IV—had ever-shifting, fraught relationships with France in the Hundred Years' War, and Gower's interest in internal politics therefore belies an interest in external politics as well.<sup>315</sup> Pointing to the concurrence of Gower's Lancastrianism and his return to composing in French and Latin after working on the English *Confessio*, Yeager argues that "with [Gower's] rejection of Richard came not a rejection of English as a poetic medium, certainly, but nonetheless a re-evaluation of it in relation to French and Latin as

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<sup>312</sup> On the recensions of Gower's *Confessio*, see, in particular, Macaulay, *Complete Works*, II, cxxvi-cxxxviii; Nicholson, "Gower's Revisions"; Frank Grady, "Gower's Boat, Richard's Barge, and the True Story of the *Confessio Amantis*: Text and Gloss," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 44.1 (Spring, 2002): 1-15; and Wim Lindeboom, "Rethinking the Recensions of the *Confessio Amantis*," *Viator* 40 (2009): 319-48. Cf. R.F. Yeager's discussion of similar revisions to the *Vox Clamantis*, in which Richard is rendered increasingly more culpable, in "Politics," on 147-48.

<sup>313</sup> Echard, "Last Words," 105.

<sup>314</sup> See Yeager, "John Gower's French."

<sup>315</sup> Yeager, "Politics," 135.

media for reaching the king and for commenting on political events, including the then-suspended hostilities with France.”<sup>316</sup> Building on Yeager’s useful reminder that Gower’s politics are not purely insular but always already necessarily cross-Channel, I will show here that Gower’s assertion of his multilingualism as the dominant marker of his authorial persona is not only about his shifting monarchical allegiances but is, more broadly, in line with the ongoing cross-Channel discussions over the forms to be taken by poetry, particularly English poetry, during the Hundred Years War.

Six Gower manuscripts also include *Eneidos*, *Bucolis*, a short text “quod quidam Philosophus in memoriam Johannis Gower ... composuit” (that a certain Philosopher in John Gower’s memory ... composed), in which the speaker lauds Vergil as the most famous of the classical poets for his composition of three great works: the *Aeneid*, the *Ecloughes*, and the *Georgics*.<sup>317</sup> Gower too has written three books, the speaker continues, but there is an important difference between the two poets (ll. 8-12):

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<sup>316</sup> Yeager, “Politics,” 148. I do think, however, that Yeager may be over-emphasizing Richard’s lack of interest in French culture when he argues that Gower turns to French because he is turning towards Henry (150-53): Richard was born in Bordeaux, he had received a manuscript of French poetry from Froissart, who reported his French to be excellent (Froissart, *Œuvres*, XV, 167-68), and the 1390s saw protracted negotiations over peace between England and France along with Richard’s marriage to Isabella of Valois, daughter of Charles VI. French and relations with France would have, in other words, been very much on Gower’s mind in the early 1390s, so that his decision to return to writing in that language need not be seen as motivated purely by a newfound affinity with the Lancastrians. That said, there is a lot more work to be done generally on the relationship between French *formes fixes* poetry and the Lancastrian usurpation, for we also observe the anthologization of French *formes fixes* poetry with pro-Ricardian works condemning the Lancastrian usurpation on the other side of the Channel as well, in the late 1390s and early 1400s. I aim to pursue this intriguing cross-Channel phenomenon that demonstrates some kind of association between the rise of the Lancastrians with *formes fixes* lyric in a future book project.

<sup>317</sup> Edited in Gower, *Minor Latin*. *Quam cinxere*, another short Latin work celebrating Gower’s literary fame that is appended to the end of 29 of 49 extant manuscripts of the *Confessio* and is taken to be authored by Gower himself, is, like *Eneidos*, *Bucolis*, also headed by a rubric that attributes it to a “certain philosopher” (“Epistola super huius opusculi sui complementum Iohanni Gower a quodam philosopho transmissa”: a letter about the completion of this, his little work, sent to John Gower by a certain philosopher). Yeager therefore suggests that *Eneidos*, *Bucolis* may have plausibly also been written by Gower himself: “John Gower’s French,” 135.

[Vergil] Latinis tantum sua metra loquelis  
Scripsit, ut Italicis sint recolenda notis;

Te tua set trinis tria scribere carmina linguis

Constat, ut inde viris sit scola lata magis:  
Gallica lingua prius, Latina secunda, set ortus

Lingua tui pocius Anglica complet opus.

[Vergil] wrote his poems only in the Latin tongue  
So that they might be appreciated by the famous Italian  
worthies.

But it is clear that you [Gower] wrote your three poems in  
three languages,

So that wide schooling might be given to more men.  
First the French tongue, Latin second, then at last  
English,

The speech of your birth, completes the work.

As Echard points out, “This is a paradoxical piece ... asserting in Latin that the key aspect of Gower’s poetic identity is his mastery of the vernacular.”<sup>318</sup> Gower is, in fact, being elevated *above* Vergil in this piece precisely for his ability to compose literature in more than one language, whereas Vergil only had Latin. We note also that English is here too placed in the emphatic final position, as the culmination of Gower’s poetic achievement, mirroring both *Quia unusquisque* and Gower’s tomb. *Eneidos, Bucolis* tends to be, moreover, found at the very end of emphatically multilingual compilations of Gower’s work: in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 3 and London, British Library, MS Harley 3869, it stands as the final text following the English *Confessio Amantis* with its six-line Latin explicit, the short Latin poems *Quam cinxere* and the afore-mentioned *Quia unusquisque*, the French *Traitié*, and the Latin *Carmen super multiplici viciorum pestilencia*. A similar phenomenon is observed in two other manuscripts—Oxford, All Souls College, MS 98 and Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian MS T.2.17—which include the Latin *Vox Clamantis*, the *Chronica Tripertita*, *Quia unusquisque*, and the French *Traitié*, with *Eneidos, Bucolis* again coming as the very last text.<sup>319</sup> Both *Quia*

<sup>318</sup> Echard, “Last Words,” 108.

<sup>319</sup> See Echard’s manuscript list in “Last Words.” About this manuscript context, Echard writes, somewhat confusingly, that it “seems to reflect more [the *Eneidos, Bucolis*] opening lines—the comparison to

*unusquisque* and *Eneidos, Bucolis* (the latter never appears without the former) thus construct, in Latin, Gower's life as the narrative of his literary composition from French, through Latin, to English, a linguistic progression that, both texts assert, establishes his claim to posterity.

As Yeager has noted in passing, the comparison between Gower and Vergil set up by *Eneidos, Bucolis* echoes in spirit, if not in any specific turns of phrase, Deschamps' ballade to Chaucer, in which, we recall, Deschamps renders a "sixth of six topos" that compares Chaucer to Socrates, Seneca, Aulus Gellius, Ovid, and (notably, in the emphatic final position) Vergil. Yeager concludes that "[s]ide by side, the two hardly echo each other, but there is about them an edgy similarity, sufficient to suggest a bit of competition over who might be known as the better 'translateur' in the future."<sup>320</sup> The resonance on which Yeager is picking up has, of course, to do with that special status conferred on allusions to antiquity within these discussions of writing poetry in England and what form—as well as what language—English literature ought to be adopting. Following Yeager's brief note on the proximity between these two works through, I want to seize on this integral relationship that we keep seeing, over and over again, between allusions to antiquity, the ties between English and French literary production, and the emergence of a flourishing poetic culture in England that looks to, yet also emphatically separates itself from, contemporary Francophone lyric forms.

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Virgil—than its actual content—the assertion of Gower's vernacular, and particularly, of his superlative use of English" ("Last Words," 108). I think, on the contrary, that the extraordinary linguistic variety of the texts to which *Eneidos, Bucolis* is clearly offering some kind of final summation in four of its six extant manuscripts only heightens the Latin poem's celebration of Gower's multilingualism.

<sup>320</sup> Yeager, "Audience," 95.

Gower's *Traitié* is a cycle of eighteen *formes fixes* ballades, written in French with an extensive Latin apparatus, that rely on exempla from antiquity, the Old Testament, and medieval Arthurian romance in order to instruct its audience—or, as Gower puts it, “pour essampler” (to offer an example)—about the evils of adultery. It is extant in 13 fifteenth-century manuscripts, in nine of which it follows the *Confessio* in its so-called “second” and “third,” or “Henrician” recensions and in two of which it follows the *Vox Clamantis* and the vehemently anti-Ricardian *Chronica Tripertita*; it is otherwise found in the only extant manuscript of Gower's other French *formes fixes* cycle, *Cinkante Balades* (the afore-mentioned, and very pro-Henry, Trentham manuscript). A fragment is also found in a copy of Nicholas Love's *Meditationes Vitae Christi*.<sup>321</sup> The *Traitié* insistently emphasizes its author's trilingualism to its audience. At the same time, teaching through exempla derived from mythography is announced from the text's opening lines as the work's fundamental and primary aim, and exemplarity is then repeatedly emphasized throughout the work. For this reason, the *Traitié*, which shares twelve of its fourteen exempla with the *Confessio*, has been called a simplified or flattened out version of that much longer and monumental English-language endeavor.<sup>322</sup> Yet, if that were simply the case, then the *Traitié* could have just been a shorter narrative poem, functioning as a kind of abridged *Confessio*, rather than a cycle of mythographic *formes fixes* ballades, composed in French, a form in which, as we have seen above as

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<sup>321</sup> For a full list of Gower's mss, see Derek Pearsall, “The Manuscripts and Illustrations of Gower's Works,” in Echard (ed.), *Companion*, 74-79.

<sup>322</sup> Cathy Hume, “Why Did Gower Write the *Traitié*?” in Dutton, Hines, and Yeager (ed.), *Trilingual*, 266; cf. Yeager's observation that, because of the confines of the ballade form, the *Traitié*'s exempla “seem narratively thin beside their English counterparts,” though they are also more “pungent”: “Gower's French,” 150.



well as in Chapter Three, the exemplum occupies a highly privileged place, in which authorial self-reflection and issues of language, poetics, and politics can all converge. Gower, as we are about to see, taps into this feature of the *formes fixes*: in the *Traitié*, exemplarity becomes the primary site of his canny negotiations between the authoritative possibilities afforded by different literary languages in this text.

As we are about to see, the *Traitié*'s Latin apparatus and French main text repeatedly mutually destabilize each other and often require parallel reading for the *Traitié* to accomplish its stated instructional aim. In this way, the *Traitié* troubles the hierarchy of Latin and French with respect to each other as guarantors of authoritative discourse in a text that includes no English and yet insistently reminds its audience of its own Englishness. Gower thus draws on the self-reflexive meditations on literary language and artistic representation as practiced in the mythographic *formes fixes* ballades of his Francophone contemporaries, using allusions to antiquity to negotiate his command of and access to three literary languages. His construction of a multilingual authorial persona is not only engaging with the calamitous internal events of Richard's fall from grace in 1390s England but is also participating within the broader, Hundred Years' War-fueled cross-Channel discourse about the role of *formes fixes* lyric in articulating powerful geopolitically-oriented authorial stances.

The *Traitié* immediately draws attention to its choice of literary language in nine of the manuscripts in which it follows the English *Confessio*. In these, it begins with a short prose proemium reading:

Puisqu'il ad dit ci devant en englois par voie d'essample la sotie de celui qui par amours aime par especial, dirra ore apres en françois a tout le monde en general un traitié selonc les auctours pour essampler les amantz marietz ...

Because he recounted just before in English, by means of examples, the foolishness of him in particular who loves with courtly love, now he will recount in French, to the whole world generally, a treatise following the auctores to offer an example to married lovers ...

Although the *Traitié* does reproduce almost all the same exempla as the *Confessio*, as if it were just a simple abridgment, Gower constructs here a multi-level contrast between the authorial project of the *Confessio* and that of the *Traitié*, which involves several layers of distinction: of language (English v. French), of subject matter (the *Confessio*'s Amans v. all married lovers) and, interestingly, of audience, which was not specified for the *Confessio* but is articulated for the *Traitié* as being “a tout le monde en general” (to the whole world generally). The issue of language continues to haunt the entirety of this text which, again like the *Confessio*, contains an ongoing Latin apparatus of glosses that accompanies the main French text. The question of language, as well as of audience, comes up again in the very final stanza of the work, in which Gower reiterates that his *Traitié* is to be sent “[a]l’ université de tout le monde” (XVIII, 22: to the community of the entire world”), to which he adds, as we have briefly seen above, a disclaimer for the work as a whole (ll. 24-27):

Et si jeo n'ai de françois la faconde,	And if I do not have eloquence in French,
Pardonetz moi qe jeo de ceo forsvoie:	Forgive me for losing my way with it:
Jeo sui englois, si quier par tiele voie	I am English, thus I seek by such a way
Estre excusé ...	To be excused ...

In this moment, Gower returns to the idea of French as the epitome of cosmopolitanism, the language of “the whole world,” yet, in immediately recusing himself from this

linguistic collectivity, he underscores his own separation from this community, his *wandering away* from it, that takes the form of his Englishness: “jeo sui englois.”

At the same time, linguistic analysis of a sample of Gower’s *Mirour de l’Omme* reveals Gower as employing up to three times as many Continental French usages and grammatical formations, even Continental orthographies, as opposed to contemporary insular French (or what has been variously termed “Anglo-Norman,” “Anglo-French” or “French-in-England”) forms. His French lexicon is, moreover, infused with brand new words that are just being first attested on the Continent in his own lifetime.<sup>323</sup> Merrilees and Pagan therefore conclude that Gower’s language is, in fact, consciously ‘Continentalized.’<sup>324</sup> Yeager concurs with this assessment, finding in the *Traitié* and *Cinkante Balades* still more Continental terms drawn from the courtly love literature of Gower’s contemporaries, such as Machaut and Froissart.<sup>325</sup> Any professions of linguistic inadequacy in Gower’s conclusion to the *Traitié* are further belied by his full appropriation of the Continental *formes fixes* ballade, the formal elements of which he reproduces perfectly, although his meter does, interestingly, as Martin Duffell and Dominique Billy have shown, reveal stress patterns more characteristic of English rather

<sup>323</sup> Brian Merrilees and Heather Pagan, “John Barton, John Gower and Others: Variation in Late Anglo-French,” in Wogan-Browne (ed.), *Language*, 128-130. A number of these Continental words, interestingly, are also particularly Latinate in their morphology.

<sup>324</sup> Merrilees and Pagan, “John Barton,” 134. Cf. Brian Merrilees, “Including Gower,” in *Present and Future Research in Anglo-Norman: Proceedings of the Aberystwyth Colloquium, 21-22 July 2011/La recherche actuelle et future sur l’anglo-normand: Actes du Colloque d’Aberystwyth, 21-22 juillet 2011*, ed. David Trotter (Aberystwyth: The Anglo-Norman Online Hub, 2012), 43-48. In a talk at the most recent International John Gower Society conference, held June 30-July 3 at the University of Rochester in Rochester, NY, Pagan returned to this argument, modifying some of its findings; in particular, she reduces the number of words originally listed by her and Merrilees as occurring purely in Continental sources, as work on the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* continues to develop. Her final conclusion is that Gower’s language represents a striking hybrid of insular and Continental terms, unparalleled by other insular authors composing in French within this period.

<sup>325</sup> Yeager, “John Gower’s French,” and, on his practice of cento from Continental French texts, *John Gower’s Poetic: The Search for a New Arion* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1990), 60-113, especially 106ff.

than contemporary Continental French.<sup>326</sup> Furthermore, Gower was, evidently, not only familiar with the 1360s-1380s *formes fixes* tradition as practiced by the likes of Machaut and Froissart but also with its later formal developments, immediately contemporary to his own composition within that form in the early 1390s: his *Cinkante Balades* contain envoys, and he favors, in both of his lyric cycles, the longer, decasyllabic line that reflects the later fourteenth-century “literary turn” discussed back in Chapter One.<sup>327</sup> The stated lack of eloquence in French is, therefore, an evident posture. These lines are then immediately followed by nine lines of *Latin* verse that repeat the articulated aim of the *Traitié* of teaching married lovers through literary example (ll. 1-3). The *Traitié* is, in other words, repeatedly demonstrating that Gower is trilingual while, at the same time, reminding its audience of Gower’s fundamental *Englishness*, not unlike *Quia unusquisque*, *Eneidos*, *Bucolis*, and the tomb, which all afford Gower’s command of

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<sup>326</sup> Martin J. Duffell and Dominique Billy, “Le Décasyllabe de John Gower ou le dernier mètre anglo-normand,” *Revue de linguistique romane* 69 (janvier-juin 2005): 73-95. Their findings concerning the innate “Englishness” of Gower’s meter suggest an answer to Tim William Machan’s intriguing question, when he writes: “Outside of the rhetorical conventions that denigrate Anglophones’ limitations with French, what would it mean, medievally, for speakers to reveal their non-nativeness through the variations in their language? Would this have meaning within a linguistic repertoire the way a Hispanic accent in and of itself does in the United States today or a West Indian accent does in the United Kingdom? Could it be exploited for social or literary effect?” in “Medieval Multilingualism and Gower’s Literary Practice,” *Studies in Philology* 103.1 (Winter, 2006): 8.

<sup>327</sup> The formal elements of Gower’s two cycles, the concomitant vogue for ballade cycles on the Continent, such as the success of the *Livre de cent ballades* and Pizan’s *Cent ballades*, written in response to the original *Livre*, and the strong manuscript connection between the *Traitié* and the “Henrician” recension of the *Confessio Amantis*, lead Yeager to posit a c. 1390-1393 date of composition for the *Traitié* and the *Cinkante Ballades*, with the *Traitié* likely composed closer to 1390 and the *Cinkante Ballades* closer to 1393: Yeager, “Audience.” Arguing that the *Traitié*’s marked focus on kingship in its choice of exempla as well as its tone suggests that the addressee is a king himself and *already* guilty of adultery, Cathy Hume proposes that Gower may be denouncing either Edward III’s notorious adulterous affair with Alice Perrers, which lasted from the early 1370s until his death in 1377, in which case the *Traitié* could have been composed between late 1376 and Edward’s death in June 1377. Alternatively, Gower may be denouncing John of Gaunt’s famous adulterous liaison with Katherine Swynford, which began at around the same time as his marriage to Costanza of Castille in 1371, after which he took to styling himself “King of Castile”; proposing Gaunt as the more likely addressee, Hume suggests a date between 1389 (when Swynford returned to court) and 1394, when the two officially married: “Why Did?”, 273-4.

English pride of place by placing it in the emphatic final position. It is as if Gower is suggesting that Englishness is, in fact, comprised of—or *grows out of*—multilingualism.

The careful and highly self-conscious manner in which the French *Traitié* positions itself with regard to both English and Latin makes its adoption of mythographic *formes fixes* lyric, itself a form already so invested in questions of literary self-expression, pointed. Gower announces in his opening rubric, as well as in the closing Latin verse, that the main project of the *Traitié* is instruction through exempla, and he continues to draw attention to exemplarity throughout the work.<sup>328</sup> Like his Francophone contemporaries, he draws attention to the textual weight subtending an individual exemplum; when condemning godless adulterers, for example, he writes in Balade IX (ll. 4-6):

Du quoi jeo trieus une cronique escrite	About which I find a chronicle written
Pour essampler, et si jeo le recite;	To serve as an example, and so I tell it
L'en poet noter par ceo qu'il signifie...	So that one can thus note what it means...

Similarly, in Balade XV he reminds his readers of the purpose that exempla serve (ll. 1-4):

Comunes sont la cronique et l'istoire	Well-known are the chronicle and story
De Lancelot et Tristrans ensement;	Of Lancelot together with Tristan;
Enqore maint lour sotie en memoire,	Their folly yet persists in memory
Pour essampler les autres du present ...	To serve as an example for others in the present day ...

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<sup>328</sup> In other manuscripts, where the *Traitié* follows other works, like the *Vox Clamantis*, the opening rubric does not emphasize Gower's choice of French for this text but continues to maintain a focus on exemplarity: "C'est un traitie quel Johan Gower ad fait selonc les auctours touchant l'estat de matrimoine dont les amantz marietz se pourront essampler a tenir la foi de lour seintes espousailles" (this is a treatise which John Gower composed following the auctores concerning the state of matrimony, of which married lovers may be able to use as an example of how to maintain the vows of their holy nuptials): text from Gower, *French Balades*, 34.

In these passages, Gower demonstrates the same kind of awareness of the palimpsestic force of the exemplum for the purposes of instruction as articulated in contemporary Francophone *formes fixes* lyric. It is therefore all the more significant that he pairs his *formes fixes* exempla with a Latin apparatus that is frequently at odds with their content and didactic message.

Several scholars have remarked on the complicated interplay between Latin apparatus and English main text in the *Confessio*. Derek Pearsall has argued that the Latin verses and glosses serve as a “fixative” that frame the “precarious, slippery, fluid” English not unlike the iron hull of a ship, though he also notes that the Latin often provides a very different reading of an individual English exemplum’s message, which leaves both Latin and vernacular equally open to interpretation.<sup>329</sup> Winthrop Wetherbee sees instead the alternative interpretations of exempla offered by the Latin apparatus as elements that “express the difficulty of invoking the authority of the Latin pedagogical tradition as a control on the vernacular text, and provide a vehicle for Gower’s assertion of his status as a vernacular author.”<sup>330</sup> Yeager refers to this phenomenon as producing a unique reading experience of “layered interpretation, one might say ‘conversational,’ or even choric, interpretation, given the several ‘voices’ present in the marginalia, the poetic narrative in Middle English, and the Latin verses.”<sup>331</sup> Siân Echard pushes these

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<sup>329</sup> Derek Pearsall, “Gower’s Latin in the *Confessio Amantis*,” in *Latin and Vernacular: Studies in Late-Medieval Texts and Manuscripts*, ed. A.J. Minnis (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1989), 13-25, especially 18, 20-22.

<sup>330</sup> Winthrop Wetherbee, “Latin Structure and Vernacular Space: Gower, Chaucer and the Boethian Tradition,” in *Chaucer and Gower: Difference, Mutuality, Exchange*, ed. R.F. Yeager (University of Victoria, 1991), 10.

<sup>331</sup> R.F. Yeager, “English, Latin, and the Text as ‘Other’: The Page as Sign in the Work of John Gower” in *Medieval English Poetry*, ed. Stephanie Trigg (London: Longman, 1993), 214.

observations still further when she argues that the meaning of the Latin apparatus is almost always disjointed from and destabilizing to the English text of the *Confessio*, and, most importantly, that the vernacular also *does not* then step in to fill the authoritative void produced by the dysfunctions of the Latin apparatus. Rather, she observes, “Gower’s Latin problematizes the question of authority in the *Confessio* by presenting a reader with several competing authoritative voices, Latin and vernacular, none of which seems capable of taming the text.”<sup>332</sup> Furthermore, as she adds, “The conclusion does not, however, demonstrate that authority is to be transferred from the moribund language of the fathers to the vital new vernaculars ... Far from being the secure source of auctoritas, language—all language—is shown to be radically unreliable.”<sup>333</sup> Most recently, Andrew Galloway, pointing to the larger history of Latin glossing to English texts in the late medieval period, has suggested that we might actually read the English text of the *Confessio* as itself a gloss that can, at times, overtake and domesticate its Latin apparatus, requiring us to read both Latin and English together as existing in an uneasy relationship to one another that cannot be contained within a simple hierarchical structure.<sup>334</sup>

The *Traitié* also presents a complex relationship between its vernacular main text and Latin gloss, whereby, although the Latin glosses ostensibly seem to be offering—and sometimes do offer—a summary of the French text, in reality both Latin and French can omit different, key pieces of information from their respective retellings of the same

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<sup>332</sup> Siân Echard, “With Carmen’s Help: Latin Authorities in the ‘Confessio Amantis,’” *Studies in Philology* 95.1 (Winter, 1998): 9.

<sup>333</sup> Echard, “Carmen’s Help,” 9.

<sup>334</sup> Andrew Galloway, “Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*, the *Prick of Conscience*, and the History of the Latin Gloss in Early English Literature,” in *John Gower: Manuscripts, Readers, Contexts*, ed. Malte Urban (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), 39-70.

exemplum or provide radically competing versions of the same events. In order to gain the full didactic force of the exemplum, then, the audience is required, in multiple cases, to read the Latin and the French alongside one another within this already highly self-consciously multilingual text, which suggests that both languages are, in some way, deficient in their capacity to instruct.

We may readily observe one such example of marked discrepancy between Latin and French renditions in the exemplum of Jason and Medea. The Latin summary informs the reader that Jason betrayed Medea with Creusa “unde ipse cum duobus filiis suis postea infortunatus decessit” (because of which afterwards he himself, the unfortunate one, with his two sons, passed away). As any reader of Ovid knows, there is somewhat more to this story, and the French version provides a far fuller account in *Balade VIII*: Jason wins the Golden Fleece with Medea’s help, they marry, but then, after she has borne him two sons, he promptly abandons her for Creusa; moved by rage and despair (ll. 15-16: “Medea, q’ot le coer de douleur clos, | En son courous ...”: Medea, whose heart was enclosed by grief, in her anger ....), she slaughters their children in front of Jason (ll. 17-19). In addition to giving a fuller version of the Ovidian story, the French version makes clear why the exemplum serves a didactic purpose within a treatise condemning adultery: Jason’s inconstancy causes his wife to murder their children and destroy their family unit. The Latin version, meanwhile, does not present the death of Jason’s children as the direct consequence of his adulterous actions, but rather, in evacuating causality, it renders the story somewhat flat: he cheated, and then he died. Lest it seem, however, that the Latin glosses are purely aiming at a bare-bones, cut-and-dry summary of the action in the



French text, intended simply to orient the reader within the *Traitié*, we discover other instances of discrepancy between Latin apparatus and French text that suggest a far more complicated relationship at work between these two languages.

Thus, in the exemplum of Lancelot and Tristan, it is the Latin gloss that actually offers the clearer explanation for the purpose served by the exemplum to the overall project of the work. The Latin gloss gives a very brief description of Lancelot as a valiant knight who “fatue permavit” (foolishly loved) Guinevere, while Tristan “simili modo Isoldam regis Marci auunculi sui uxorem violare non timuit” (in the same way was not afraid to violate [rape?] Isolde, the wife of King Mark, his uncle), and for this reason (“ob hoc”: because of this) they both died “infortunii dolore” (unfortunate and in pain). It is thus evident, from this Latin summary, that Lancelot and Tristan are both guilty of adulterous, even violent passions that lead directly to their demise. When we come to the French version of the same exemplum, however, we find a ballade (no. XV) that begins by mentioning Lancelot and Tristan, noting, as we just saw above, that their stories are “comunes” (l. 1: well known), that the two lovers’ folly “enqore maint ... en memoire” (l. 3: still persists ... in memory), and that their tales function “pour essampler les autres du present” (l. 4: to offer an examples to others in the present day). We then expect the second and third stanzas of the ballade to offer us a discussion in French of Lancelot’s love for Guinevere and Tristan’s for Isolde, following the pattern established in the *Traitié* as a whole by this point. Instead, however, Gower launches into an allegorized image of “d’amour la foire” (l. 8: the marketplace of love), where Cupid offers lovers draughts of sweetness and of bitterness. The rest of the ballade goes on to develop a set of

conventional binary images of love's duality (fortune is white to one lover and black to another, one lover is happy, one suffers, etc.). In this case, then, it is the Latin gloss that actually explains the reason for including Lancelot and Tristan into this treatise on adultery, whereas the French version offers no further details but reminds the reader instead that this exemplum has already been treated by previous literary sources with which it evidently expects the reader already to be familiar. The Latin thus explains the exempla, while the French merely underscores that the two stories *are* exempla.

There is another moment in the *Traitié* in which differences between the Latin and the French remind—indeed, warn—the reader of the vagaries of textual transmission. In the exemplum of Hercules, the Latin summary relates, following Ovid, that Hercules cast his wife Deianira aside in favor of Iole, but then it reads: “unde ipse cautelis Achelontis ex incendio postea perit” (because of wary Achelons [Hercules] afterwards perished in a fire).<sup>335</sup> This summary conflates two separate events in the Hercules myth: Ovid recounts that Hercules fights the river god Achelous for Deianira's hand. A long time *after* the combat with Achelous, Deianira suspects that Hercules has betrayed her with Iole and sends him a shirt stained with Nessus' poisoned blood that, heated by proximity to the fire of an altar, burns Hercules up (*Heroides* IX; *Metamorphoses* IX, ll. 239-60). The French version of the same exemplum follows the original Ovidian version far more closely: Hercules is described as having battled Achelous for Deianira (VII, ll.

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<sup>335</sup> I have not been able to view all the *Traitié* manuscripts, but this reading “ipse cautelis Achelontis” is shared by Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Fairfax 3; New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn Collection, MA fa.1; and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.2, so it does not appear to be just one scribe's particular slip or misreading.

5-6), and then “bien tost apres” (l. 8: quite soon afterwards) he leaves Deianira for Iole, and, as a result (ll. 17-19):

... Hercules, ensi com dist l'auctour,	... Hercules, as the author says,
D'une chemise, dont il se vestoit,	Was so deceived by a shirt, which he put on,
Fuist tant deceu, qu'il soi mesmes ardoit.	That he burned himself up.

The French version is omitting a few elements of the story, such as how Hercules received the shirt, why or how it “deceived” him, and why it caused him to burn up in flames, but the French is, nevertheless, not reproducing the Latin version’s attribution of Hercules’ death to the workings of Achelous.<sup>336</sup> Given this odd discrepancy between Latin gloss and French text, the French version’s passing reference to the story as having an older, authoritative source (“ensi com dist l’auctour”) emerges as a pointed reminder of the existence of literary genealogies and the potential for issues and errors in textual transmission.

In still other cases, the reader is required to read both the Latin gloss *and* the French account in order simply to garner the full exemplum. We have already seen a minor instance of this process in the Jason and Medea exemplum, where the Latin version informs us that Jason died, but the French does not mention his death. A starker iteration of the same phenomenon is observed in the exemplum of Agamemnon: here, the Latin gloss recounts that Egisthus, having committed adultery with Clytemnestra, Agamemnon’s wife, killed Agamemnon; the murder was later avenged by Orestes. The French version of the same in Ballade IX informs us that Egisthus “ot subgite”

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<sup>336</sup> The *Confessio*, incidentally, starkly separates Hercules’ combat with Achelous from Hercules’ death by having the two episodes in different sections of the narrative, where the combat with Achelous is found in Book 4 (ll. 2045-2134) as an example of “Decerte” or “Meritoriousness,” while the tale of Hercules, Deianira, and Nessus is found in Book 2 (ll. 2145-2326) as an illustration of “Fals-Semblant.”

Clytemnestra “de fol amour” (l. 12: subjected Clytemnestra to mad love), an interesting choice of verb that contains some suggestion of force and domination. The French version goes on to say that Agamemnon perished through Clytemnestra’s treachery, for which her own son, Orestes, killed her, while Egisthus went to the gallows (ll. 15-20). The two versions are, of course, broadly similar, but the main antagonist of the exemplum is, significantly, different from one version to another. The Latin has Egisthus as the unambiguous force behind the murder, while the French has Egisthus as the instigator of the original adultery (with that interesting selection of the term “ot subgite”), but it is Clytemnestra who is instead emphasized as the criminal here, although, we note, the French text does not clearly explain how exactly Agamemnon dies. The full story thus emerges only after both the Latin and the French accounts are read side by side, whereupon it becomes clear that Egisthus and Clytemnestra are both responsible for Agamemnon’s death. Given the necessity of reading both text and gloss in order to arrive at the ultimate point of this tale, it is significant that Gower again draws our attention to the literariness of this exemplum when he emphasizes that this story comes from a “chronique escrite | Pour essampler” (ll. 4-5: a chronicle written to offer an example).

A strikingly similar phenomenon occurs in the exemplum of David, in which, again, the full events of the story only become clear after both Latin and French versions are read side by side. Thus here the Latin gloss reveals:

Qualiter ob peccatum regis Davidi, de eo quod ipse Bersabee spousam Vrie ex adulterio impregnauit, summus Iudex infantem natum patre penitente sepulcro defunctum tradidit.

How because of King David's sin, through which he impregnated Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, in adultery, the highest Judge handed the child, born dead to the penitent father, over to the grave.

Again, the French version in *Ballade XIV* runs somewhat differently: in it we discover that David has not just committed adultery with Bathsheba; he has, in fact, “*Urie fist moertrir | Pour Bersabee, dont il ot son plesir*” (l. 4: had Uriah killed for the sake of Bathsheba, from whom he had his pleasure), for, as the text cautions, “*l’un mal causoit un autre mal venir, | L’avolterie a l’omicide esgarde*” (ll. 12-13: one evil caused another evil to come, adultery looks to homicide). The final stanza then recounts David's profound penitence for his actions but, interestingly, contains no mention of the child. Again, both Latin and French here become necessary to the reader in order to uncover the full didactic force of the exemplum, for in the original version in 2 Samuel 11-12—the version to which Gower pointedly draws attention when he introduces the French version with the phrase “*sicom le bible enseine*” (l.3: as the Bible teaches)—David commits adultery with the married Bathsheba, who conceives a child from that encounter, and David therefore intentionally sends Uriah into the thick of battle and instructs the battalion's commander to have his men hang back from Uriah so that he is sure to get killed (2 Samuel 11: 14-16). As punishment for David's actions, the Lord has his and Bathsheba's first-born child, the one conceived in adultery, die (2 Samuel 12: 15-18). Thus, only the Latin version contains the conception of the child from the adulterous union and the child's death, while only the French version contains that significant detail that David had Uriah killed (in a phrasing that, in omitting the exact circumstances of Uriah's death, also intensifies the criminality of David's actions: “*Uriah fist moertrir*”).

Only by reading the two versions side by side may the reader gain the entire Biblical story of David and Bathsheba with the full extent and ramifications of David's behavior.

Finally, three more exempla in Gower's *Traitié* render the relationship between Latin and French still more intricate by offering versions of the same exemplum so inconsistent that neither a privileged reading of one language's version over another *nor* a parallel reading of both language's versions can offer any reconciliation. Thus, in the very first exemplum offered by the *Traitié*, the Latin gloss recounts (emphasis added):

Et primo narrat qualiter Nectanabus rex Egipti ex Olimpiade vxore Philippi regis Macedonie magnum Alexandrum *in adulterio genuit*, qui postea patrem suum *fortuito casu* interfecit.

And first it relates how Nectanabus, the king of Egypt, from Olympias, wife of Philip, king of Macedonia, *begat in adultery* the great Alexander, who later *accidentally* killed his [natural] father.

The French text, meanwhile, reads (VI, 1-11, emphasis added):

Nectanabus ...  
Olimpeas rencontre matrimoine,  
L'espouse au roi Philipp, *ad violé*,  
Dont Alisandre estoit lors engendré ...  
Avint depuis qe, sanz nulle autre essoine,  
Le fils occist le pere *tout de grée*.

Nectanabus ...  
*Raped* Olympias, wife to King Philipp,  
Contrary to matrimony,  
Whereupon Alisandre was engendered ...  
It later came to pass that, without any other cause,  
The son killed the father *intentionally*.

Where the Latin told us that Nectanabus begat Alexander in adultery, a neutral verb suggesting a potentially consensual extramarital affair between Nectanabus and Olympias, the French unambiguously declares that Nectanabus forced himself on Olympias against her will. Furthermore, while Nectanabus' death in the Latin apparatus is an accident, in the French version Alexander kills Nectanabus, acting out of free will and with intent. The Latin and the French thus afford two very different interpretations of the same events, leaving the didactic aim of the exemplum hopelessly perplexing. The

Latin version suggests that adultery leads to misfortune, while the French version renders Nectanabus guilty of a very different crime, no longer simply adultery, but rape.

The Nectanabus exemplum is not alone in its use of the distinction between languages to get at distinctions in degree of crime, as well as in degree of intent, motivation, culpability, and causality. In the exemplum of Albinus and Rosamund, the Latin apparatus reports:

Qualiter Helmege miles Rosemundam regis Gurmondi filiam Albinique primi regis Longobardorum vxorem adulterauit: vnde ipso rege mortaliter intoxicato dictam vxorem cum suo adultero dux Rauenne conuictos pene mortis adiudicauit.

How the knight Helmege committed adultery with Rosamund, daughter of King Gurmond, wife of Albinus, distinguished king of the Lombards: wherefore, the king having been mortally poisoned, the duke of Ravenna judged the said wife and the adulterer guilty on pain of death.

The detail of Rosamund's parentage—that she is Gurmond's daughter—seems initially to be somewhat extraneous here. In the French version, however, we discover why that detail is present: Albinus has actually killed Gurmond in battle and married his daughter Rosamund (XI, 1-6, emphasis added):

Albins, q'estoit un prince bataillous,  
Et fuist le primer roi de Lombardie,  
*Occist*, com cil qui fuist victorious,  
Le roi Gurmond par sa chivalerie;  
*Si espousa sa file* et tint cherie,  
La quelle ot noun la belle Rosemonde.

Albinus, who was a valiant lord,  
And was distinguished king of Lombardy,  
Since he was the victorious one, *killed*  
King Gurmond through his prowess;  
*And so he married his daughter* and held her dear,  
She who was called the beautiful Rosemonde.

After presenting this part of the story, the French ballade goes into its refrain: "Cil qui mal fait, falt qu'il au mal responde" (He who does evil must answer to the evil). This refrain, where the referent for "cil" is clearly Albinus himself, suggests that it is Albinus' actions that are reprehensible, even though the Latin apparatus only describes him as the

victim of Helmege's and Rosamund's nefarious murder plot.<sup>337</sup> The French version goes on to underscore that Rosamund does not love Albinus because he has killed her father, and it is *for this reason* that she cheats on him (XI, 10-11):

La dame, q'estoit pleine de corous	The lady, who was full of anger
A cause de son pere, n'ama mie	On account of her father, did not at all love
Son droit mari, ainz est ailours amie;	Her proper husband, and thus was another's beloved;
Elmege la pourceust et fist inmonde.	Elmege lay with her and made her impure.

The "He who does evil" refrain comes immediately after these lines, now including Rosamund, *along with* Albinus, as an example of bad behavior. The final stanza explains that Helmege and Rosamund poisoned Albinus and were executed by the Duke of Ravenna (XI, 15-21):

Du peché naist le fin malicious:	An evil end is born of sin:
Par grief poison Albins perdist la vie;	Albinus lost his life through poison's torment;
Elmege ove sa dame lecherous	Elmege with his shameless lady
Estoient arsz pour lour grant felonie;	Were burnt for their great crime;
Le duc q'ot lors Ravenne en sa baillie	The duke who, at that time, governed Ravenna
En son paleis lour jugement exponde:	Pronounces the verdict on them in his palace:
Cil qui mal fait, falt qu'il au mal responde.	He who does evil must answer to the evil.

Here the "He who does evil" refrain now demonstrates that all three actors of this little drama have been fittingly punished for their crimes. In such a way, the Latin gloss presents Albinus as an innocent victim of Rosamund's adulterous plot with Helmege, whereas the French significantly complicates the motivations for Rosamund's actions and presents Albinus as an equally guilty party who has also received his just deserts.

There is one final exemplum in the *Traitié*, in which a similar process happens; here too, as in the case with the Nectanabus and Alexander exemplum, the central

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<sup>337</sup> In the *Confessio*, Albinus' actions are painted out to be even more reprehensible: despite his having killed her father, Albinus and Rosamund enjoy a happy marriage until he has her drink from a goblet that he then reveals to have been fashioned from her own father's skull. Rosamund plots revenge and enlists the help of Helmege, who is in love with her, to murder Albinus for her; fittingly, it illustrates the evils of boasting: Book 1, ll. 2459-680.



question is of whether or not a rape has been committed. In the exemplum of Lucrece, the Latin gloss says that Lucrece dies after having been “vi oppressa” (overwhelmed by force), a description unambiguously connoting violence done against her. Tarquin and his son are then declared to be “sceleris auctores” (authors of the wickedness), and their disinheritance and downfall is briefly narrated. The French version of the same story in Ballade X presents a very different angle on the same events: Tarquin is described as having “la pensé vileine” (l. 8: base thoughts), and it is then recounted that he “avoit pourgeu Lucrece ...” (had lain with Lucrece). The French text is thus far less explicit than the Latin version about the nature of the crime. The ballade goes on to say that Tarquin was exiled. Again supplying key information missing from the Latin gloss, which has said only that Lucrece died, the French version relates that Lucrece went on to kill herself, which “fuist pité, mais l’en doit bien entendre: | Si haut pecché covient en bass descendre” (ll. 13-14: was a pity, but one must understand: in such a way, it is meet for high sin to be brought down). In the French text Gower thus expresses regret for Lucrece’s suicide, *but*, he seems to suggest, she participated in this sin and had to pay the price. In such a way, whereas it is unambiguously clear from the Latin gloss that Tarquin is the villain and Lucrece his innocent victim, the French text appears to be casting judgment not only on Tarquin but also on Lucrece, transferring some degree of responsibility for the crime onto her as well.

Gower thus uses the interplay between main text and apparatus, a hierarchy of texts that he further underscores by his choice of the hierarchized French and Latin, respectively, in order to emphasize or omit key details within an exemplum, or else to

highlight nuanced differences in motivation and causality within an exemplum, thus greatly destabilizing its potential didactic effects by his use of these two different languages. In so doing, he repeatedly up-ends the very hierarchy that he has set up through his adopting French for his main text and Latin as authoritative apparatus or gloss. Certain exempla require reading of the main French text for their instructive aim to emerge within the *Traitié*; certain others require reading of the Latin gloss; others require parallel reading of both French main text *and* Latin gloss; and yet others cannot offer clarity even after a parallel reading but leave the reader instead with two irreconcilable versions of the same exemplum. Confoundingly, there are also some exempla in the *Traitié*, in which the French main text and Latin gloss completely agree, as in the cases of Ulysses, Paris and Helen, Procne and Philomela, and Valentinian.<sup>338</sup> Neither French nor Latin is thus revealed to be always entirely complete, or *sufficient*, on its own in its production of meaning; rather, that meaning is produced through their juxtaposition and recombination at the hands of their author, John Gower.

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<sup>338</sup> These discrepancies beg, of course, that eternal question: how would this text have *actually* been read by the average reader encountering it in the late fourteenth century, particularly since, as with manuscripts of the *Confessio* (cf. Echard, “Carmen’s Help,” especially 16-25), some *Traitié* manuscripts (e.g. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.2 or Princeton University, Firestone Library, MS Taylor 5) render the Latin apparatus literally marginal on the manuscript page and in the same ink as used in the main French text, while others (e.g. Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn Collection, MS fa.1 or Glasgow, University Library, Hunterian MS T.2.17) have the Latin apparatus rubricated and inserted into the main text columns where it gains the visual appearance of authoritative chapter headings. In her analysis of readers who made up tables of contents for the *Confessio*, Echard has shown that, for example, the table of contents in the Taylor manuscript has been prepared by someone working largely from the English text alone, without reading the Latin apparatus, while the tabulator of Oxford, Magdalen College, MS 213 was, alternatively, clearly relying on both Latin apparatus and English main text: “Pre-texts: Tables of Contents and the Reading of John Gower’s *Confessio Amantis*,” *Medium Aevum* 66.2 (1997): 270-287. On the question of how readers would have understood or appreciated Gower’s use of Latin, see also Joyce Coleman, “Lay Readers and Hard Latin: How Gower May Have Intended the *Confessio Amantis* to Be Read,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 24 (2002): 209-234.

Placed within a text that ends with that declaration of its author's Englishness ("jeo suis englois"), this linguistic play between French main text and Latin apparatus emerges as a study in which literary language of the ones available to a late fourteenth-century English poet becomes most appropriate for a didactic treatise on the evils of adultery. The answer in the case of French and Latin, Gower seems to be suggesting, is, at once, *both and neither*. In certain cases, Latin and French reproduce, or else perfectly complement, one another, and successfully perform meaning. In equally as many other cases, however, French and Latin offer radically differing accounts of a single exemplum, leaving the reader at a total interpretive impasse, which begs the question of how this text is intended to be read.

The answer, I think, emerges from Gower's claim that the text is intended for "tout le monde" (the whole world). The immense popularity of the exempla chosen by Gower here (Alexander, David, Jason and Medea, etc)—that is to say, a knowledge of literary history—becomes the guarantor of meaning where language, or, in this case, the translation between *multiple languages*, fails to do the same. The knowledge of the best-known figures from antiquity, the Bible, and Arthurian romance—a knowledge of a literary culture *shared across the languages*—is thus shown to supplement the limitations of the individual linguistic utterance. Gower seems to suggest that, above and beyond the three literary languages available to the late medieval English reader, English, French, Latin, with their complicated relationship to one another, there is also a shared literary culture available to "tout le monde" (the whole world) in which the English *Traitié*, and its English reader, are able to participate. Gower signals his insertion of his work into a

transregional literary culture through his adoption of a French form that has already treated these literary exempla at length. Where the individual language fails to offer meaning, translingual and transregional culture, he seems to suggest, can take over. In such a way, Gower can speak to “tout le monde” in any one of his three languages—Latin, French, *or* English—because he is always already speaking in a common tongue of shared cross-European mythography, despite his linguistic and geographic remove across the Channel from the Continent.

#### **IV. Conclusion**

Both Chaucer and Gower thus reveal themselves to be directly engaging with the mythographic *formes fixes* in their own work, composed on the English side of the Channel, in order to assert, just like their Francophone contemporaries, the literary suitability of their English authorial production. For both poets this idea of literary suitability is also, importantly, bound up with the relationship of their native vernacular, English, to the other dominant literary languages of the period, French as well as, significantly, Latin. Chaucer’s use of the mythographic *formes fixes* is closely in line with the cross-Channel conversations of Vitry, Le Mote, Campion, and Deschamps: like these poets, Chaucer too explores the kinds of uses of classical allusion that would be most appropriate for the development of a literary tradition, in this case, an English one. Chaucer demonstrates himself to be no less invested in the notion that the vernacular poet is, first and foremost, a “grant translateur” of classical antiquity into his or her present day and that the *form* by which a poet translates antiquity—as well as the form of his or

her translation of contemporary literature—is what grants the poet a place within the literary pantheon.

By appropriating the mythographic *formes fixes*' established practice of using exempla to comment on linguistic representation, Chaucer is able cleverly to demonstrate the limited canon of the Francophone mythographic ballade tradition. He aligns himself somewhat with the view also propounded by Campion, that the mythographer must draw directly from the wells of classical antiquity, yet he also partakes of the kind of inventive whimsy that characterizes Le Mote's lyric. In so doing, Chaucer winds up proposing a new type of mythography for a new type of literary language—a newly sufficient language—that surpasses its models by recombining and layering different kinds of uses of antiquity on top of one another within a single text. The new English poet, Chaucer seems to suggest, is thus able at once to participate within the multiple models for treating mythography already available in contemporary Francophone poetry and yet, in reconfiguring those models, he is also able to display their individual limitations and therefore to surpass them.

Gower also appropriates the existing uses of mythographic exempla within the contemporary Francophone *formes fixes* tradition, whereby he further enhances the *formes fixes*' interest in exemplarity as the site for rumination on literary language in his addition of a Latin gloss that sometimes highlights, sometimes supplements, and sometimes greatly complicates the meaning of exempla within the French main text. That the biggest discrepancies between the two languages used in the *Traitié*, French and Latin, are staged over mythographic exempla suggests that in Gower's work too the

*formes fixes* are emerging as a medium through which questions concerning geopolitics, authorial self-representation, and the expressive capacities of language may be posed. Beginning and ending with a declaration of its author as a fundamentally English poet with a vexed relationship to the French language, Gower's little treatise thus emerges as a meditation on the multilingualism of late medieval England, in which he is seeking to discover which language might be best suited for an English author to realize his (or her) poetic aims.

The affinity that Yeager had noted between Deschamps' ballade to Chaucer and *Eneidos, Bucolis*, in both of which an English poet is being praised at once for his command of more than one language and is explicitly compared to the literary greats of antiquity, speaks to a contemporary desire, articulated on both sides of the Channel, to reckon in some way with an emergent English literature and, concomitantly, an emergent geopolitical sense of English identity. This English identity reveals itself to be significantly partaking of and yet also vitally distinct from Continental literary culture precisely in and through its profound awareness of that culture's existence. In adopting the *formes fixes* to explore the sufficiency of their literary language, Chaucer and Gower reveal, within their demonstrations of the value of their English literary endeavors, their profound engagement with an ongoing contemporary Francophone discourse that is similarly theorizing the relationship between geopolitical singularity and cross-regional cultural attachments. In such a way, while "Ch" may not, in fact, be Chaucer and the Pennsylvania manuscript may not be specifically oriented towards including English

works, nevertheless, Chaucer, along with Gower, reveals himself to be heavily inscribed within that remarkable *formes fixes* compilation's cross-regional enterprise.

### Afterword

Over the course of the preceding chapters, we have been examining the important role of *formes fixes* lyric within a late medieval poetic discourse by means of which Francophone poets sought to theorize the interstice between cultural and political belonging in wartime Francophone Europe. In the process of this examination, we have been teasing out two important, and interrelated, claims about late medieval cross-Channel literary relations: firstly, that networks of literary affinity were structured not just by the individual relations between certain late medieval poets but, rather, first and foremost, by those poets' mutual engagement with certain literary forms. Taking a specific form, the *formes fixes*, as the object of its investigation, this project has sought to offer a richer panoramic view of late medieval cross-Channel culture, a view that can include the interpersonal interactions between poetic coteries, the transmission of individual texts to multiple types of readers, and the acts of reception and interpretation produced by the anthologization of individual texts and their authors into manuscripts and those manuscripts' further circulation. By concentrating on form, we can begin to break down the implicit and long-standing hierarchies that have heretofore oriented the field around well-known authors and single-authored manuscripts to the exclusion of unattributed poetry and anthologies organized around principles other than matters of authorship.

In addition to this more methodological claim, a second, historical claim emerges out of the specifics of this investigation: that cross-regional engagement with *formes fixes* lyric succeeded in producing a rich variety of relationships between the *formes fixes*'



individual practitioners, as well as a diversity of readerly responses, that impel us to problematize our understanding of centers and margin of cultural and political power in late medieval Francophone Europe. A model of cross-Channel studies that focuses purely on late medieval Paris as a center and represents all other regions as peripheral to Paris cannot accommodate the geopolitically conditioned adaptation of the pastourelle across the work of Deschamps, Froissart, and the anonymous Hainuyer poet explored in Chapter Two, nor the intensity of Flemish Champion's critique of Hainuyer Le Mote and the sincerity of politically anti-English Deschamps' praise of English Chaucer's poetry, explored in Chapter Three, nor the sophisticated critiques levied by Chaucer and Gower on contemporary Francophone poetry even as they appropriate its own poetic processes for the buttressing of their own literary projects, explored in Chapter Four. Along with the methodological hierarchies that focus our attention on the author, our historical hierarchies, by means of which we posit inflexible relationships between different regions of Francophone Europe, are likewise in need of revision.

Revision, at the same time, hardly means wholesale dismantling. The Pennsylvania manuscript's presentation of Granson's work as, loosely speaking, framing the central Machaut core, as well as its decision to open with the pastourelles cycle of the anonymous Hainuyer poet, importantly remind us that concerns surrounding authorship co-exist with concerns surrounding form in late medieval *formes fixes* anthologies. In his radical re-organization of Machaut's *Loange des dames* with that addition of virelais by unattributed authors, the Pennsylvania manuscript's compiler overwrites an existing tradition of collected-works manuscripts of Machaut's entire corpus, revealing his

significant interest in how constructions of authorial identity may be manipulated by later anthologization. Furthermore, while the poets examined in the preceding pages do all engage with the same lyric form, they are also engaging with one another directly. Thus, in the re-orientation of our focus onto form, we should, nevertheless, continue to think through how these poets foster their own authorial self-image, through their engagement with form, and how their self-image continues to be constructed in manuscripts retrospectively collecting their work.

The breakdown of hierarchies surrounding the relationship between different regions of Francophone Europe also requires careful nuance lest, in our attempts to de-center Paris, we run the risk of flattening out the cultural and political topography of Francophone Europe into the very kind of undifferentiated “French” space that this project has been seeking to avoid. Thus, in seeking out examples of cross-Channel relations that complicate our pre-conceived notions surrounding the relationship between England and the Continent, we need to continue to take seriously the fact that Christine de Pizan refused Henry IV’s invitation to his English court, or that Charles d’Orléans, although he learned English during his nearly twenty-five years of captivity on English soil, used it for a shorter lyric cycle and would continue to produce in French up until his death. At the same time, the early fifteenth century saw the English trounce the French repeatedly upon their very own soil, *translatio imperii* progressing swiftly into *translatio studii* when John of Bedford seized Charles VI’s royal library and brought many of its volumes back to England in a move that showcased the hunger of the English for French cultural products, even as it demonstrated English military supremacy. In the same

period, engagement with the *formes fixes* would continue unabated with figures such as Quixley translating Gower's *Traitié* and Lydgate translating Deschamps.

Beyond the dissertation stage, then, this project aims to come to rest in the early fifteenth century, ending as it began: that is to say, by looking closely at a *formes fixes* anthology, in which concerns of form co-exist with concerns of authorship and in which cross-Channel relations occupy center stage. While we began this investigation with a manuscript that anthologizes *formes fixes* lyric with a few works that may, or may not, be by Chaucer, we will end it by looking at a manuscript that openly anthologizes French *formes fixes* lyric with Chaucer's short-form English lyric, explicitly naming Chaucer in the rubrics. I intend here the manuscript that has come up several times already within our discussion, John Shirley's Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.20, a remarkable anthology, dating to the early 1430s, of Latin, French, and English works. Many of these are prefaced with extensive rubrics, in which Shirley names some of the authors that he includes and, particularly interestingly, draws attention to those authors' translations and adaptations of pre-existing Latin and French materials.

Shirley's compilation is, in fact, the main source for the attribution of several works to Chaucer, including, as we have already seen, the *Complaint of Venus*, which Shirley describes as a translation from Granson. Shirley further includes a variety of Chaucer's other, shorter, stand-alone poems and excerpts from his longer works that intercalate lyrics on the model of Machaut and Froissart. The first Chaucerian item copied by Shirley into the manuscript is one such excerpt: "Anelida's Complaint" from *Anelida and Arcite*, divested of its larger narrative, and placed immediately after two full

quires of French *formes fixes* lyric. Omitting authorial attributions for any of this French material, Shirley introduces “Anelida’s Complaint” with a lengthy rubric, explicating that it has been “englisshed by Geffrey Chaucier.” The rest of the anthology contains many more examples of authorial attribution—especially of English poets—and many more emphases on those poets’ projects of translation, adaptation, and borrowing.

Shirley’s carefully curated placement of “Anelida’s Complaint” as the next text after two quires of French *formes fixes* lyric, with that curious characterization of its being a work that Chaucer has “englisshed,” highlights that text’s profound debt to contemporary Francophone sources and begs the kinds of questions explored elsewhere within this project. Is Shirley “Frenchifying” Chaucer here? Or is he, rather, announcing a radical separation between Chaucer and his Francophone contemporaries? Should we read the treatment of the preceding *formes fixes* lyric as so many anonymous works in heightened contrast to the emphasis on authorial attribution that accompanies the inclusion of Chaucer? Are they being presented as “minor,” as “background,” or as “filler” before the centrality of the (new?) English poet? What does Shirley mean when he, as Deschamps before him, presents his Chaucer as an “Englischer” and a “translator”? In this moment, along with many others in Shirley’s anthology, the two sets of hierarchies that this project seeks to problematize—that of author vs. form, particularly within the late medieval anthology, and that of Francophone Continental culture vs. England—converge with dynamic force. In such a way, Shirley’s compilation will allow us further to probe the intersection of authorial identity, cross-Channel relations, and the role of the *formes fixes* in late medieval lyric anthologies.

## Appendix I

Contents of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, MS Codex 902<sup>339</sup>

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
1 <sup>8</sup>	1r	1	Pastourelle, “[U]N viel pastour nomme Hermans”
	1v	2	Pastourelle, “Robin seoit droit delez un perier”
	2r	3	Pastourelle, “En un friche vers un marchais”
		4	Pastourelle, “De sa Amiens plusieurs bergiers trouvoy”
	2v	5	Pastourelle de justice, “Plusieurs bergiers et bergerelles”
	3r	6	Pastourelle, “Trois bergiers d’ancien aez”
	3v	7	Pastourelle, “Madoulz li bergiers & ses fieulx”
	4v	8	Pastourelle amoureuse, “Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps”
	5r	9	Pastourelle, “En un marchais de grant antiquite”
	5v	10	Pastourelle, “Onques ne fu en mon dormant songans”
		11	Serventois amoureux, “En avisant les esches Atalus”
	6v	12	Pastourelle amoureuse, “Es plus lons jours de la Saint Jehan d’este”
	7r	13	Serventois pastourel, “S’amours n’estoit plus puissant que nature”
	7v	14	Pastourelle, “Decha Brimeu sur un ridel”
	8r	15	Serventois, “Par bas cavech & pesant couverture”
		16	Balade, “Le char d’or fin gemme mena Phebus”
	8v	17	Balade, “Qui est de moy vivant plus dolereux”
		18	[Granson], Complainte de pastour et de pastourelle amoureuse, “Une jeune gentil bergiere”
2 <sup>8</sup>	10r	19	Balade, “Pitagoras en ses chancons divines”
		20	[Granson], Balade, “Salus asses par bonne entencion”
	10v	21	[Granson], Balade, “Je congnois bien les tourmens amoureux”
		22	[Granson], Balade, “Je vous choisy, noble loyal amour”
	11r	23	[Granson], Balade, “J’ay en mon cuer .i. eul qui toudiz veille”
		24	[Granson], Balade, “Loyal amour, ardant & desireuse”
	11v	25	[Granson], La Complainte de l’an nouvel, “Jadis m’avint que par merancolie”
	12r	26	[Granson], Complainte, “Je souloye de mes yeulx avoir joye”

<sup>339</sup> Incipits are reproduced from my own transcription with abbreviations silently expanded and punctuation silently added. I have also rendered “virelay baladé” with an accent for clarity.

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
3 <sup>8</sup>	13r	27	[Granson], Souhait en complainte, "Il me convient par souhait conforter"
	13v	28	[Granson], L'estrainne du jour de l'an, "Joye, sante, paix"
	14r	29	[Granson], Le lay de desir en complainte, "Belle, tournez vers moy vos yeaulx"
	15v	30	[Granson], Balade, "Il n'est confort qui tant de bien me face"
		31	[Granson], Balade, "A mon advis dieu, raison, et nature"
	16r	32	[Granson], Balade, "Or est ainsi que pour la bonne et belle"
		33	[Granson], Balade, "Certes amour c'est chose convenable"
	16v	34	[Granson], Balade, "Amours, sachiez que pas ne le veulz dire"
		35	Balade, "Dur Moises de langoureuse mort"
		36	[attrib. Machaut], Balade, "Ce qu'ay pense voulez que je vous die"
	17r	37	[attrib. Machaut], Balade, "En un vert jardin joly"
		38	[Grimace], Balade, "Dedens mon cuer est pourtraite une ymage"
		39	Balade, "Onques mais n'amay ne ne demenay"
	17v	40	Balade, "Esgare sui je en divers destour"
		41	Balade, "De bon eur en grant maleurete"
	18r	42	Balade, "Se tu monde estre veuls en ce monde"
		43	[Balade], "He, loyaute, bien te pues reposer"
	18v	44	[Deschamps], Balade, "Vous qui avez pour passer vostre vie"
		45	Balade, "Pymalion, Paris, Genevre, Helaine"
		46	Lay, "Sans avoir joye deport"
	20r	47	Balade, "Quant plus regart le gracieux viaire"
	20v	48	Balade, "Dame que j'ain plus qu'autre creature"
		49	Balade, "Il a long temps qu'en moy maint .j. desir"
		50	Balade, "Amours me fist recevoir grant honneur"
	21r	51	Balade, "La grant doucour & le courtois parler"
		52	Balade, "Ne scay comment .j. cuer plain de dolour"
		53	Balade, "Helas, bien voy qu'il me convient finer"
		54	Balade, "Je ne puis trop amour louer"
		55	Balade, "Se veuls au jour d'ui vivre en paix"
	22r	56	Balade, "Ou estes vous, joye et esbatement"
		57	Balade, "De toutes roses ne qui qu'un seul bouton"
		58	Balade, "Harpe, rote, eschiquier, ciphonie"
	22v	59	Balade, "Je croy qu'il n'est creature mondaine"
		60	Balade, "A vous, dame, humblement me complains"

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
4 <sup>8</sup>	23r	61	Balade, "Se la puissant royne Semiramis"
		62	[Philippe de Vitry to Jean De Le Mote] Balade, "De terre en Grec Gaule appellee"
	23v	63	[Jean De Le Mote to Philippe de Vitry] La response, "O Victriens, mondains dieu d'armonie"
		64	Lay, "Se fortune destinee et menee"
	25r	65	Balade, "Amour vraye en paix seurement"
		66	Balade, "Bien appartient a dame de hault pris"
		67	Balade, "Raison se seigne & honneur se merueille"
	25v	68	Balade, "Bien doy amours parfaitement loer"
		69	Balade, "Maint amant ay veu desconforter"
	26r	70	Balade, "Se cruaulte, felonnie, & regour"
		71	Balade, "Se dieu me doint de vostre amour jouir"
		72	[Machaut], Balade, "Qui des couleurs saveroit a droit jugier"
	26v	73	Balade, "Certes mes plours ne font que commancier"
		74	Balade, "Il a long temps qu'amay premierement"
		75	Balade, "Trop me mervueil de ce monde present"
	27r	76	Balade, "Toutes vertus voy au jour d'ui perir"
		77	Balade, "A justement considerer"
	27v	78	Lay, "Se pour doulereux tourment"
	29r	79	Balade, "Se la sage Rebeque estoit vivant"
		80	Balade, "Aspre reffus contre douce priere"
		81	[Machaut, same as no. 119], Rondel, "Douce dame, quant vers vous fausseray"
	29v	82	[Machaut], Balade, "Dame plaisant, nette, & pure"
		83	[Machaut], Rondel, "Mon cuer, qui mis en vous son desir a"
		84	[Machaut], Balade, "Il n'est douleur, desconfort, ne tristece"
	30r	85	[Machaut], Rondel, "Cuer, corps, desir, pover, vie, & usage"
		86	[Machaut], Balade, "Trop est crueulz le mal de jalousie"
		87	[Machaut], Rondel, "Blanche com lis, plus que rose vermeille"
	30v	88	[Machaut], Balade, "Douce dame, vo maniere jolie"
		89	[Machaut], Rondel, "Dame, je muir pour vous compris"
		90	[Machaut], Balade, "Nulz homs ne puet en amours prouffiter"
		91	[Machaut], Rondel, "Partuez moy a l'ouvrir de vos yeulx"
	31r	92	[Machaut], Balade, "Je ne suis pas de tel valour"
		93	[Machaut], Chancon royal, "Onques mais nul n'ama si folement"
	31v	94	[Machaut], Rondel, "Par souhaidier est mes corps avec vous"

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
5 <sup>8</sup>		95	[Machaut], Rondel, "Trop est mauvais mes cuers qu'en .ii. ne part"
		96	[Machaut], Chancon royal, "Amours me fait desirer loyaument"
	32r	97	[Machaut], Rondel, "Sans cuer dolans je vous departiray"
		98	[Machaut], Chancon royal, "Cuers, ou mercy fait et cruautez ydure"
	32v	99	[Machaut], Rondel "Quant madame ne m'a recongneu"
		100	[Machaut,], Chancon royal, "Je croy que nulz fors moy n'a tel nature"
	33r	101	[Machaut], Rondel, "De plus en plus ma grief douleur empire"
		102	[Machaut], Chancon royal, "Se trestuit cil qui sont et ont este"
	33v	103	[Machaut], Rondel, "Pour dieu, frans cuers, soiez mes advocas"
		104	[Machaut], Chancon royal, "Se loyautez et vertus, ne puissance"
	34r	105	[Machaut], Rondel, "Certes, mon oeil richement visa bel"
		106	[Machaut], Balade, "Deux choses sont qui me font a martire"
	34v	107	[Machaut], Rondel, "Doulce dame, tant com vivray"
		108	[Machaut], Balade, "Je prens congie a dames, a amours"
		109	[Machaut], Rondel, "Se tenir veulz le droit chemin d'onneur"
	35r	110	[Machaut], Complainte, "Amours, tu m'as tant este dure"
	37r	111	[Machaut], Rondel, "Se vo courroux me dure longuement"
		112	[Machaut], Complainte, "Mon cuer, m'amour, ma dame souveraine"
	38v	113	[Machaut], Rondel, "Je ne pourroye en servant desservir"
		114	[Machaut], Rondel, "Mercy vous pri, ma doulce dame chiere"
	115	[Machaut], Balade, "Amours me fait desirer et amer"	
	116	[Machaut], Rondel, "Quant j'ay l'espart de vo regart, dame d'onnour"	
39r	117	[Machaut], Rondel, "Comment puet on mieulx ses mauz dire"	
	118	[Machaut], Balade, "Trop me seroit grief chose a soustenir "	
	119	[Machaut, same as no. 81], Rondel, "Doulce dame, quant vers vous fausseray"	
	120	[Machaut], Lay, "Pource qu'en puist mieulx retraire"	
6 <sup>8</sup>	40v	121	Virelay, "Fin cuer, tresdoulz a mon vueil"
	41r	122	Balade, "Espris d'amours, nuit & jour me complains"
		123	Virelay, "Doulz regart, par subtil atrait"
41v		124	Rondel, "Revien espoir, consort aie party"
		125	Rondel, "Espoir me faut a mon plusgrant besoin"



<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
		126	Virelay, "Par un tout seul escondire"
	42r	127	Balade, "Un chastel scay es droiz fiez de l'empire"
		128	Virelay, "Vostre oeil par fine doucour"
	42v	129	Balade, "Beaute flourist & jeunesse verdoye"
		130	Virelay, "Sans faire tort a nullui"
	43r	131	Virelay, "Biaute, bonte, et doucour"
		132	Balade, "L'arriereban de mortele doulour"
	43v	133	Virelay, "Je me doing a vous ligement"
		134	Balade, "Quiconques se complaigne de fortune perverse"
	44r	135	Virelay, "Onques Narcisus en la clere fontaine"
		136	[Granson], Balade, "Se Lucesse, la tresvaillant rommaine"
	44v	137	[Machaut], Lay, "Amours, se plus demandois"
	46r	138	Virelay, "A toy, doulz amis, seulement me complains"
		139	Virelay, "A poy que mon cuer ne fent"
	47r	140	Virelay, "Avec ce que ne puis plaire"
		141	Virelay, "Mon tresdoulz cuer & ma tresdouce amour"
	47v	142	[Machaut], Balade, "Amis, mon cuer & toute ma pensee"
		143	Virelay, "N'est merveille se je change coulour"
	48r	144	Virelay, "Tresdoulz & loyaulz amis, ou j'ay mis"
		145	[Machaut], Rondel, "Puis qu'en oubli sui de vous, doulz amis"
	48v	146	[Machaut], Balade, "En l'onneur de ma douce amour"
		147	[Machaut], Balade, "Honte, paour, doubtaunce de meffaïre"
		148	[Machaut], Rondel, "Helas, pourquoy se demente et complaint"
7 <sup>8</sup>	49r	149	[Machaut], Chanson Royal, "Joye, plaisance, et douce nourreture"
		150	[Machaut], Virelay, "Dame, a vous sans retollir"
	49v	151	[Machaut], Balade, "Une vipere ou cuer ma dame maint"
		152	[Machaut], Balade, "N'en fait, n'en dit, n'en pensee"
	50r	153	[Machaut], Balade, "Je puis trop bien ma dame comparer"
		154	[Machaut], Balade, "Riches d'amour et mendians d'amie"
	50v	155	[Machaut], Balade, "Douls amis, oy mon complaint"
		156	[Machaut], Balade, "Le desconfort de martire amoureux"
	51r	157	[attrib. Machaut], Balade, "Ceulz dient qui ont ame"
		158	[Machaut], Balade, "Se je me plain, je n'en puis mais"
	51v	159	Balade, "Dame plaisant   De beaute   Souveraine"
		160	[Machaut], Balade, "Phiton, le merveilleux serpent"
	52r	161	[Machaut], Rondel, "Dame, se vous n'avez aperceu"

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
		162	[Machaut], Balade, "Esperance qui m'asseure"
		163	[Machaut], Rondel, "Quant ma dame les mauls d'amer m'aprent"
	52v	164	[Machaut], Balade, "De fortune me doy plaindre et loer"
		165	Balade, "Dame de moy bien amee"
		166	[Machaut], Balade, "Se quanqu'amours puet donner a ami"
	53r	167	[Machaut] Lay, "Ne scay co(m)ment co(m)mencier"
	54v	168	[Machaut], [Balade], "Beaute, qui toutes autres pere"
		169	[Machaut], Balade, "Sans cuer, m'en vois doulent & esplourez"
	55r	170	[Machaut], Balade, "Amis dolens, m'as et desconfortez"
		171	[Machaut], Balade, "Dame, par vous me sens reconfortez"
	55v	172	[Machaut], Demi lay, "Ma chiere dame, a vous mon cuer envoy"
	56r	173	[Machaut], [Balade], "Gais et jolis, lies, chantans, et joyeux"
		174	[Machaut], Balade, "De triste cuer faire joyeusement"
		175	[Machaut], Balade, "Quant vrais amans aime amoureusement"
	56v	176	[Machaut], Balade, "Certes je dy et sen quier jugement"
		177	[Machaut], Rondel, "Tant doucement me sens emprisonnez"
		178	[Machaut], Balade, "Quant Theseus, Hercules, et Jason"
	57r	179	[Machaut], Balade, "Ne quier veoir la beaute d'Absalon"
		180	Balade, "Flour de beaute de tresdoulce odour plaine"
		181	[Machaut], Rondel, "Se vous n'estes pour mon guerredon nee"
	57v	182	[Machaut], Lay, "S'onques douloureusement"
	59v	183	Balade, "Mercy ou mort ay long temps desire"
		184	Balade, "He, doulz regart, pourquoy plantas l'amour"
		185	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, "Combien qu'a moy lointaine"
	60r	186	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, "Puis que ma doulour agree"
	60v	187	Balade, "Par un gracieux samblant"
		188	[Machaut], Balade, "Jugiez, amans, et ouez ma douleur"
	61r	189	Balade, "Se Lancelot, Paris, Genievre, Helaine"
		190	[Grimace], Balade, "Se Zephirus, Phebus, et leur lignie"
		191	[Grimace], Balade, "Se Jupiter, qui par grant melodie"
	61v	192	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, "Se mesdisans en accord"
	62r	193	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, "C'est force faire le vueil"
		194	Rondel, "Dame, doucement attrait"
	62v	195	Rondel, "Douls amis, de cuer parfait"
		196	[Machaut], Le lay de plour, "Malgre fortune et son tour"
	64v	197	[attrib. Machaut], Rondel, "Doulz cuers gentilz, plain de toute franchise"

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
9 <sup>8</sup>	65r	198	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Cent mil fois esbaye”
		199	[Machaut], Rondel, “Tant com je seray vivant”
		200	[Machaut], Balade, “Se par fortune, la lasse et la desuee”
	65v	201	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Dame, vostre doulz viaire”
		202	[Nicole de Margival], Rondel, “Soyes liez et menez joye”
		203	[Machaut], Balade, “Ne soyes en nul esmay”
	66r	204	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Onques si bonne journee”
		205	Rondel, “Esperance, qui en mon cuer s’embat”
	66v	206	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Helas, et comment aroye”
		207	[Machaut], Rondel, “Autre de vous jamais ne quier amer”
	67r	208	[Machaut], Balade, “Le plus grant bien qui me viengne d’amer”
		209	[Machaut], Rondel, “Tresdoulz ami, quant je vous voy”
		210	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Dieux, beaute, douceur, nature”
	67v	211	[Machaut], Balade, “Le bien de vous qui en beaute florist”
		212	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Se d’amer me repentoye, ne faignoye”
	68r	213	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “En mon cuer a un descort”
	68v	214	Rondel, “Ma dame douce & debonnaire, flour de valour”
		215	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Mors sui, se je ne vous voy”
	69r	216	Rondel, “Amis doulz, amer sans retraire”
		217	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Plus dure que un dyamant”
	69v	218	Rondel, “Doulce pite que or t’esveille”
		219	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Dame, mon cuer emportez”
	70r	220	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Tres belle et bonne mi oeil “
	70v	221	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Doulce, plaisant, et debonnaire”
		222	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Cilz a bien fole pensee”
	71r	223	[Machaut], [Balade], “Nes qu’on pourroit les estoilles nombrer”
		224	Rondel, “Toute belle, bonne, cointe, et jolie”
	71v	225	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “L’oeil qui est le droit archier”
226		[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Plus belle que le beau jour”	
72r	227	[Machaut], Virelay baladé, “Je ne me puis saouler”	
72v	228	[Granson], Balade, “Je vous mercy, dez belles la plus belle”	
	229	Balade, “De la douleur que mon triste cuer sent”	
10 <sup>8</sup>	73r	230	Balade, “Vray dieu d’amours, plaise toy secourir”
		231	Balade, “Povre, perdu, dolente, et esgaree”
73v	232	Balade, “Gente, belle corps fait par compasseure”	
	233	Balade, “Puis qu’ainsi est que ne puis nullement”	

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
	74r	234	Lay, "Au commencier du mois du may"
	75v	235	Chancon royal, "Entre les biens que creature humaine" – Ch
	76r	236	Balade, "Mort je me plain · de qui · de toy"
		237	Balade, "Onques doulour ne fu plus angoisseuse" – Ch
		238	Balade, "S'amour plaisoit ses tresors defermer"
	76v	239	Balade, "Je cuide et croy qu'en tous les joieux jours" – Ch
		240	Chancon royal, "Aux dames joie & aux amans plaisance" – Ch
	77r	241	Balade, "Fauls Apyus, pires que Lichaon – Ch
		242	Balade, "Nous qui sommes trois filles a Phebus" – Ch
	77v	243	Complainte amoureuse, "Ma douce amour, ma dame souverainne"
	78v	244	Balade, "Plus a destroit et en plus forte tour" – Ch
		245	Balade, "Humble Hester, courtoise, gracieuse" – Ch
		246	Balade, "Des yeulx du cuer plorant moult tendrement"
	79r	247	Balade, "Se tu seuffres por moy painne & martire"
		248	Balade, "Maintes gens sont, qui d'une grant valee"
	79v	249	Chancon royal, "Pour les hauls biens amoureux anoncier" – Ch
		250	Balade, "Cuidiez vous, je vous en pry"
	80r	251	[Granson], Balade, "Or ne scay je tant de service faire"
		252	[Granson], Balade, "A Medee me puis bien comparer"
	80v	253	[Granson], Balade, "Or n'ay je mais que doulour et tristescé"
		254	[Granson], Balade, "Vous qui voulez l'oppinion contraire"
		255	Balade, "He, dieux amis, qui vous meut a ce faire"
11 <sup>8</sup>	81r	256	[Granson], Balade, "Se mon cuer font en larmes & en plours"
		257	Balade, "Dames de pris, qui amez vostre honneur"
	81v	258	[Granson], Balade, "Qui veult entrer en l'amoureux servage"
		259	Balade, "C'est bonne foy de deux cuers amoureux"
		260	Rondel, "Qui veult faire sacrefice a Venus" – Ch
	82r	261	[Granson], Balade, "Ne doy je bien Male Bouche hair"
		262	Balade, "Qui en amours quiert avoir son desir"
		263	Chancon royal, "Venez veoir qu'a fait Pymalion" – Ch
	82v	264	[Granson], Balade, "Amis, pensez de loyaument amer"
		265	Balade, "A ce printemps que je sens revenir"
	83r	266	Complainte amoureuse, "Doulx ami, que j'aim loyalment"
	84r	267	Balade, "Adieu, adieu, jeunesse, noble flour"
		268	Balade, "Voir ne vous puis, helas, ce poise moy"
		269	[Machaut], Balade, "Pluseur se sont repenti"

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
12 <sup>8(-3)</sup>	84v	270	[Machaut], Balade, "Langue poignant, aspre, amer & ague"
		271	[Machaut], Balade, "Amis, si parfaitement"
	85r	272	Virelay, "Le doulx songe que l'autre nuit songoie"
		273	Balade, "Mort le vy dire et se ni avoit ame" – Ch
	85v	274	Balade, "Oez les plains du martir amoureux" – Ch
		275	Balade, "De ce que j'ay de ma douleur confort" – Ch
	86r	276	Balade, "Qui partiroit mon cuer en .ii. parmi" – Ch
		277	Rondel, "Mon tresdoulx cuer & ma seule pensee"
		278	Virelay, "Vous ne savez le martire"
	86v	279	Balade, "Pourquoy virent onques mes yeulx"
	87r	280	Rondel "Puis qu'ainsi est qu'amours m'ont estrangee"
		281	Balade, "Vous me povez faire vivre ou mourir"
		282	Rondel, "Mes yeulx, mon cuer, & ma pensee"
	87v	283	Chancon royal, "Mere, je sui assez povre de sens"
	88r	284	Rondel, "Se vo doulx cuer ne mue sa pensee"
		285	Virelay, "Bien doy chanter liement"
	88v	286	Balade, "Tout droit au temps que doivent les doulcours"
		287	Rondel, "Par ma foy je n'en puis mais"
		288	Balade, "Puis que je voy que ma belle maistresse"
	89r	289	Rondel, "Quant je ne puis vers vous mercy trouver"
		290	Balade, "Mon seul vouloir, mon seul bien, ma maistresse"
	89v	291	Rondel, "Certes, belle, se je denoye"
		292	Balade, "Jamais nul jour ne pourray desservir"
		293	Rondel, "Vo grant beaute qui mon cuer tient joyeux"
	90r	294	Balade, "Puis qu'amours m'ont donne tel hardement"
		295	Rondel, "Je ris des yeulx et mon povre cuer pleure"
		296	Balade, "Se je n'avoye plus de biens"
	90v	297	Rondel, "Tant mi fait mal le partir de ma dame"
		298	[Balade], "A vous le dy, courroux, dueil, & tristresce"
	91r	299	Rondel, "Plus qu'autre belle se je sui loing de vous"
	300	Balade, "Ce seroit fort que je peusse avoir joye"	
	301	Balade, "Oyez mes plains, tous loyaulx amoureux"	
91v	302	Balade, "Belle, qui de toutes bontez"	
	303	Balade, "Des que premiers vo beaute regarday"	
92r	304	Rondel, "Tant qu'il vous plaira"	
	305	Balade, "A l'eure que bergiers leur pain"	
92v	306	Rondel, "Ma belle amour, ma joyeuse esperance"	

<i>Quire</i>	<i>Fols.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Content (author if known, lyric form as given in ms, incipit)</i>
		307	Balade, "Entre mon cuer & mes yeulx grant descort"
	93r	308	Balade, "Tu as tant fait par ta tresbonne attente"
		309	Balade, "En mon dormant m'avint la nuit passee"
	93v	310	Balade, "Aucunes gens dient qu'en bien amer"

## Appendix II

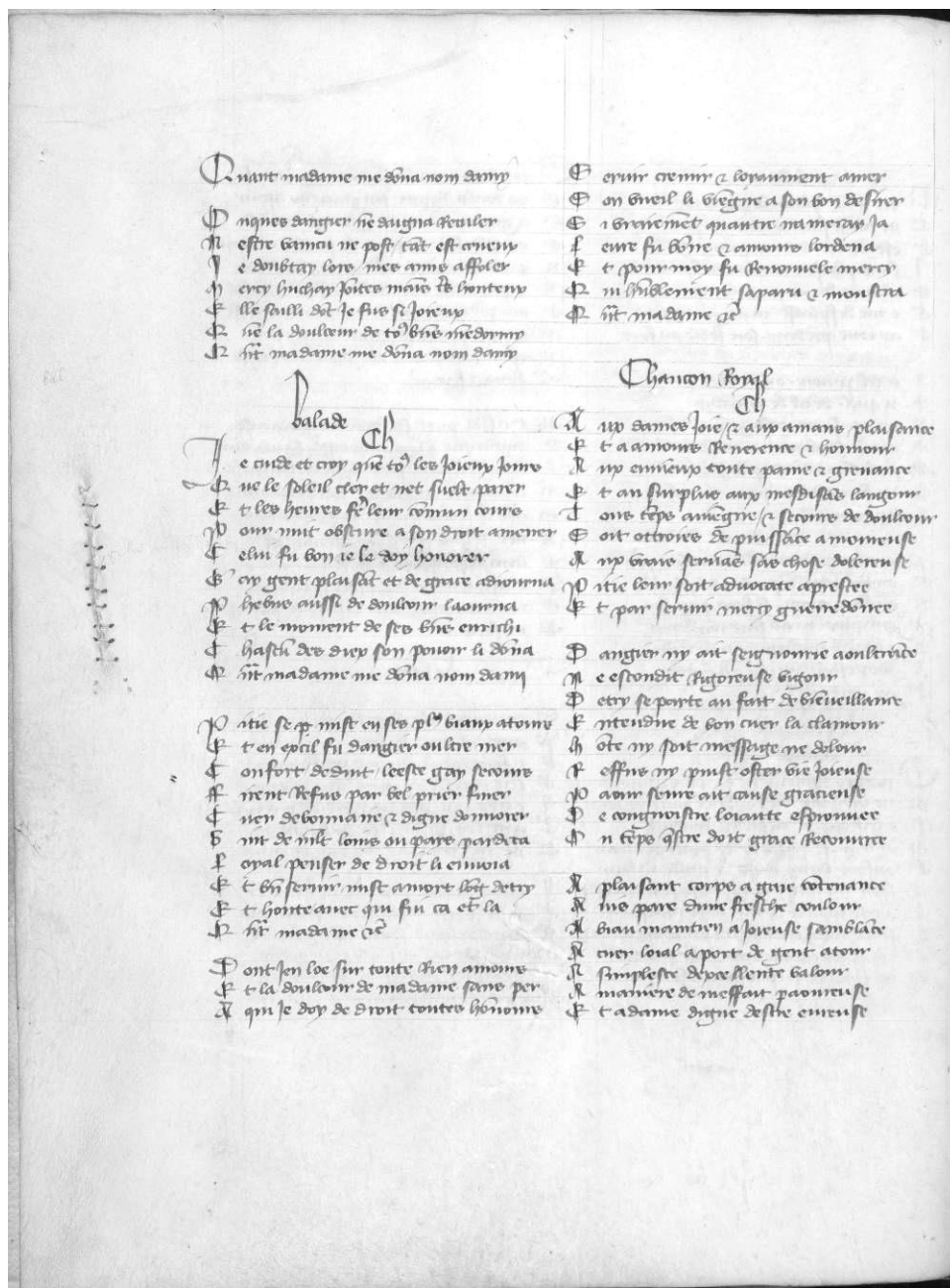


Image 1. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Codex 902, fol. 76v.  
 Source: Penn in Hand, University of Pennsylvania

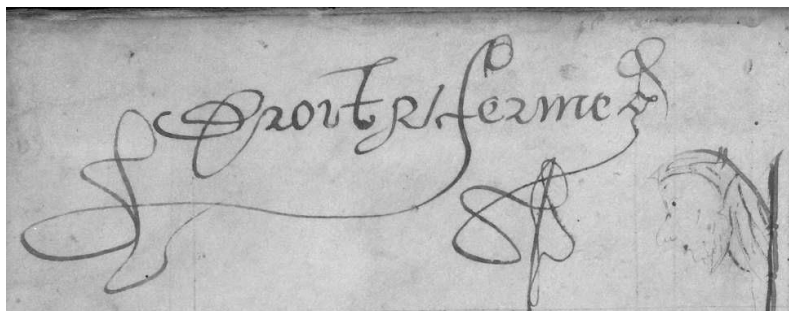


Image 2. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Codex 902, fol. 1r (detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand, University of Pennsylvania



Image 3. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, fr. 2872, fol. 477v (detail)  
Source: Gallica



Image 4. Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal, fr. 2872, fol. 343v (detail)  
Source: Gallica

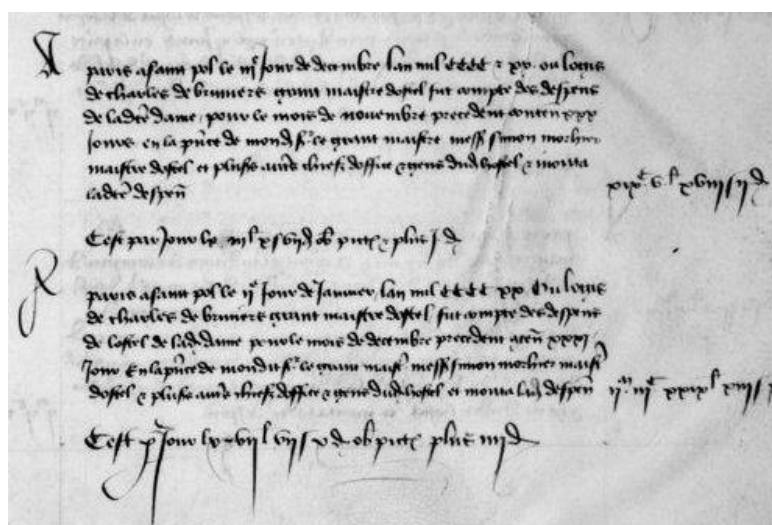


Image 5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 10370, fol. 2r (detail);  
Source: Gallica



Initials in Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Codex 902:



Image 6. Fol. 59v (detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand

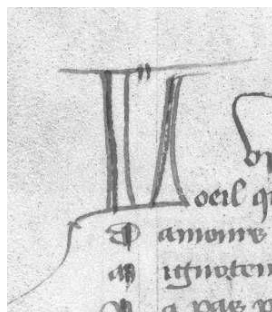


Image 7. Fol. 71v (detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand

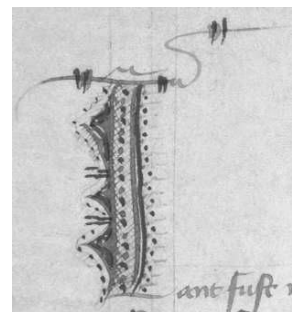


Image 8. Fol. 33r (detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand



Image 9. Fol. 89v  
(detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand

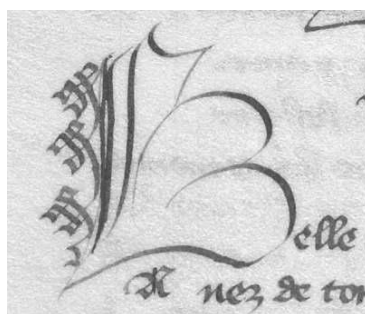


Image 10. Fol. 91v (detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand



Image 11. Fol. 74r  
(detail)  
Source: Penn in Hand



Image 12. Paris, BnF, MS  
fr. 10370, fol. 1r (detail)  
Source: Gallica



Image 13. Paris, BnF,  
fr. 10370, fol. 5v (detail)  
Source: Gallica

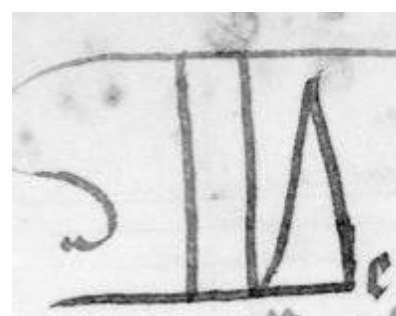


Image 14. Paris, BnF,  
fr. 7843, fol. 1r (detail)  
Source: Gallica



**Appendix III:  
Chart of Manuscript Sources for Anonymous Lyrics  
Intercalated in the Machaut Section of the Pennsylvania Manuscript**

no.	fol.	author	naf 23190	Reina	Chantilly	Utrecht	Cambrai	Brussels	Florence	Modena	BN ital	Prague
74	26v	Anon										
122	41r	Anon										
124	41v	Anon	x			x	x	x				
125	41v	Anon	x			x	x	x				
144	48r	Anon		x								
147	48v	Machaut	x						x			
160	51v	Machaut	x									
164	52v	Machaut	x	x	x			x				
166	52v	Machaut										
168	54v	Machaut	x			x						
173	56r	Machaut		x						x		
177	56v	Machaut	x									
178	56v	Machaut		x	x							
179	57r	Machaut		x	x							
181	57r	Machaut		x			x		x	x		x
183	59v	Anon	x	x		x						
189	61r	Anon										
190	61r	Grimace			x						x	
191	61r	Grimace			x						x	
202	65v	Margival	x									x
270	84v	Machaut										

1. Paris, BnF, MS ital. 568
2. Paris, BnF, MS naf. 6771 (aka Codex Reina)
3. Paris, BnF, MS naf. 23190 (*olim* Château-de-Serrant, Bibliothèque de la Duchesse de Tremouille, index only)
4. Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1328
5. Chantilly, Bibliothèque du château, MS 564 (aka the Chantilly Codex)
6. Brussels, Bibliothèque du Conservatoire royale de musique, MS 56.286 (copy of the destroyed Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS M.222.C22)
7. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, MS Panciatichi 26
8. Modena, Biblioteca Estense e Universitaria, MS [alpha].M.5.24
9. Ivrea, Biblioteca Capitolare, MS 115
10. Prague, Národní knihovna České republiky, MS XI.E.9
11. Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 6 E 37 II

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