Writing (Hi)story:
Gascony in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*

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Writing (Hi)story: Gascony in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* (Short Abstract)

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Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, composed of four Books, relate the first stages of the Anglo-French conflict later known as the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453).

This thesis explores Froissart's textual journey(s) to Gascon lands (south-west of modern-day France) and history/stories. Relying on Gérard Genette's and Mikhail Bakhtin's narrative theories, it uses literary and narratological tools to analyse three passages from Book I and III concerned with Gascony: the Earl of Derby's Gascon campaigns (Chapter 1); the Black Prince's Gascon campaigns and the principality of Aquitaine (Chapter 2); Froissart's personal journey to and stay at the court of Gaston Fébus, count of Foix-Béarn (Chapter 3).

One aim of the study is to investigate the representation of the region but it also argues that the Gascon passages have wider implications for the *Chroniques*, Froissart's work as a whole, and the writing of history in the fourteenth century. At the turn of the twentieth century, Froissart's 'history' was often disparagingly discussed by scholars due to factual inaccuracy and literary embellishments: such a 'historical narrative', it was felt, fell short of history and was nothing more than an entertaining story presenting outdated chivalric ideals. Although this approach has been partly revised, some critics still view the *Chroniques'* earlier Books as being a narratively straightforward reflection of such a chivalric ideology, lacking critical hindsight on fourteenth-century events and society, and thus presenting paradoxical and irreconcilable tensions with later Books to the extent that they are occasionally deemed to be an entirely different kind of work than their later counterparts.

The narrative thread of Froissart's Gascon (hi)story explored here allows the revision of such views and shows that Froissart's narrative is far from narratively and ideologically straightforward. This complexity is present as early as the first versions of the Book I, which should be envisaged in parallel, not in opposition, with the 'later' *Chroniques*. Similarly, the various tensions (e.g. fiction/history; ideal/real) underpinning the whole work, manifested in the portrayal of Gascony/the Gascons, are best approached in terms of co-existence, not antagonism. Such a multi-faceted work (a mirror and/or product of the fourteenth century?), *à mi-chemin* between history and fiction, between conflicting yet co-existing perspectives, is precisely what makes Froissart's *Chroniques* valuable to literary critics, philologists, and historians alike.

Writing (Hi)story: Gascony in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* (Long Abstract)

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This thesis explores Froissart's textual journey(s) to Gascon lands (south-west of modern-day France) and history/stories. Relying on Gérard Genette's and Mikhail Bakhtin's narrative theories, it uses literary and narratological tools to analyse three passages from Book I and III concerned with Gascony. One aim of the study is to investigate the representation of the region but it also argues that the Gascon passages have wider implications for the *Chroniques*, Froissart's work as a whole, and the writing of history in the fourteenth century.

The Introduction, besides mapping out the study's aims and methodological considerations (its scope and limitations), reflects on the status of (medieval and modern) historiography and on the benefits of a coterminous literary and historical approach. In other words, 'histories telling stories' (i.e. (hi)stories) could and should enlighten historians and philologists alike. Froissart, this larger-than-life story-teller, and his (hi)story fit in these renewed historiographical approaches. Indeed, Froissart has often been referred to as a valuable writer but a poor historian; his concern for a well-written, 'romanesque' story (in *bel langaige*) has been seen as obscuring, even opposing, any historical intent. The rest of the Introduction is devoted to assessing the landscape of Froissartian reception and studies over the centuries. In the six hundred years between the writing of the *Chroniques* and the turn of the twentieth century, there had developed a rather conflicted, 'love-hate', approach to Froissart's work. In particular, the nineteenth-century positivist school of thought deemed Froissart's 'history' unworthy due to factual inaccuracy and literary embellishments: such a 'historical narrative', it was felt, fell short of history and was nothing more than an

entertaining story presenting outdated chivalric ideals. This chronicler was nothing more than a superficial historian who completely lacked critical hindsight on the world in which he lived. In Auguste Molinier's words, Froissart is *un homme du monde aimable, un esprit curieux, un peu léger, mais ce n'est ni un penseur, ni un politique, ni même une âme passionnée*. Such views persisted throughout the nineteenth century and beyond, with Johan Huizinga partly echoing them in his *Waning of the Middle Ages* in the second half of the twentieth century. Opinions were nevertheless changing on the way history was written and for what purpose. Renewed readings of Froissartian materials were pioneered by F.S. Shears in the 1930s with his monograph, *Froissart, chronicler and poet*. Shears implied that there was perhaps more to the *Chroniques* than merely an apology for a lost-chivalric past and called for both a literary and historical approach to his work. The call was heard by scholars such as Peter F. Ainsworth, George T. Diller, Michel Zink, and Laurence Harf-Lancner in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s. Froissart was and still is being read *dans tous les sens*.

There has been one region portrayed in the *Chroniques* which has somewhat eluded researchers' gaze: Gascony. It is, I argue, a crucial narrative thread to follow to study formal and ideological tensions usually said to oppose Books I(-II) and Books III(-IV) of the *Chroniques*; history and fiction in Froissart's work; or Froissart's blind 'chivalric' ideology and the more pragmatic reality of the fourteenth century. Indeed, despite changing attitudes towards Froissart's historical prose, the *Chroniques'* earlier Books and versions are still sometimes considered a narratively straightforward reflection of a chivalric ideology focused on the past, lacking critical hindsight on fourteenth-century events and society, and thus presenting paradoxical and irreconcilable tensions with later Books to the extent that they are occasionally deemed to be an entirely different kind of work than their later counterparts. The passages under close scrutiny in this thesis – concerned with Gascony/the Gascons and borrowed from Book I and III of the Chroniques – show otherwise.

The first part ‘Chronicling Gascony? (Hi)story of the Gascons, 1345–1371’ explores two Gascon episodes from Book I. Chapter 1 analyses the account of the Earl of Derby’s chevauchée in Gascony (1345–1346). It is the first extended Gascon narrative of the *Chroniques* and, as such, a Gascon ‘prelude’ of sorts. It is also the only Gascon episode which experiences the re-writing process ‘in full’ – that is from Froissart’s source (Jean le Bel’s *Chronique*) to the final version of Book I (the Rome manuscript, composed in the early 1400s). The analysis of the mechanisms implied in this re-writing process (inspiration, borrowing, expansion, – presented in the first section of this chapter) and the use of a specific ethnic/regional lexicon demonstrate that, although the representation of Gascony/the Gascons becomes more precise with every version, the portrayal remains coherent throughout Froissart’s work (albeit unrefined in the earlier versions of Book I), thus suggesting a stronger correspondence between the ‘earlier’ and the ‘later’ *Chroniques* than has been previously implied.

Chapter 2 presents the second Gascon episode of Book I: the account of the rise and fall of *La Grande Aquitaine* under the leadership of Edward III’s son, Edward of Woodstock, prince of Wales and Aquitaine. The assessment of the situation in the *lontainnes marches* from 1355 to 1371 – narratives confined to the borders of Gascony as well as those concerned with the Gascons ‘abroad’ – is explored through lexical redundancy/omission of regional/ethnic terminology, the comparison with a seemingly comparable context (the Breton situation), and the use of a specific type of narrative signs (war cries) as potential *enseignes*/signs of allegiance and/or (regional) identity. Besides a clear Gascon interest on the narrator’s part (which does not seem to be shared by his contemporaries) this study also presents a narrative inclination to consider the pre-1361 duchy of Aquitaine as a homogenous entity and the post-1361 principality of Aquitaine as a forced fusion of heterogeneous provinces and lords. The following section is centred on the tension arising from the

seemingly ambivalent portrayal of the Gascons (*signe d'amour et […] grans pourfis: c'est tout ce que Gascon aiment et desirent*), highlighted as early as the first versions of Book I (in the Gascon 'prelude') and running throughout the rest of the work. Such a tension does not necessarily indicate opposition, but co-existence. The Gascon knight, like its 'military' counterpart, the *routier*/company captain, is an 'in-betweener': never truly standing at the centre of civilisation or completely outside of it. He can be loyal but greedy; self-interested but worthy of praise. He is also *point estable*: French one day, English the next. While there may well be the expression of a certain chivalric ethos regarding prowess and war in Froissart's 'earlier' narrative (for example in the presentation of the Gascon Captal de Buch's and Gaston Fébus' 'romanesque' rescue of noble ladies trapped in Meaux during the event known as the Jacquerie), there is also a clear acknowledgment of changing practices – not all despised by the narrator. Equally, there may be certain 'chivalrous' qualities or behaviour which may be regarded in a harsher light in the early versions of Book I than originally thought. The portrayal of the prince and his attitude towards his Gascon subjects highlight the above point in the last section of Chapter 2. Early signs of narrative fractures (or *failles*) can be detected in Froissart's (hi)story of the prince's and Gascon failure of *La Grande Aquitaine*. It is again a portrayal *en demi-teinte*. The narrator, unlike his contemporaries, does not openly incriminate either party: he lets the reader decide, *fust à tort* or *fust à droit,* if the crumbling of the principality is the prince's responsibility (because of his own 'castles in Spain') or that of the angry Gascon voices rebelling against their overlord. There are no hapless victims or corrupted kinslayers in this Gascon narrative, only the depiction of realistic flaws and of the complex reality of the fourteenth century/Froissart's time in all its depth and multiple perspectives. This explains the multi-faceted dimension of his work and his portrayal of Aquitaine for the period 1355–1371 and that as early as the first versions of Book I.

The second part of this thesis 'Narrative Journeys. (Hi)stories by the Gascons' explores Froissart Gascon (hi)story as presented in Book III. Chapter 3 analyses the *Chroniques'* account of Froissart's journey to and stay at the court of Gaston Fébus, count of Foix-Béarn (a narrative known as the *Voyage en Béarn*). Such a journey is at the crossroads of numerous paths: fiction/history, chronicle/autobiography, or the positive/negative portrayal of Fébus (to name but a few). This chapter begins with two introductory sections: one on theoretical and lexical frameworks concerning the notions of (narrative) voice, perspective, and polyphony as envisaged by Gérard Genette and Mikhail Bakhtin; the other on problems of translation, dialogue, and language in the *Voyage* (and the *Chroniques* as a whole). It then considers the formal characteristics and various functions of certain Gascon characters turned intradiegetic narrators: Espan du Lion, the anonymous squire(s), and the Bascot de Mauléon. The next section reflects on the actual 'polyphonic' quality of the passage as well as the implication(s) of the presence of the Gascon narrators for narrative authority and strategy. In other words, who has authority in the *Voyage* (authority to narrate; authority to tell the truth; authority to take responsibility; authority to express their opinion)? The answer is not always straightforward and this Gascon narrative is once again complex and subtle – a recurring motif in this thesis. The last section of the chapter opens up the discussion to ideological matters in the light of the preceding analysis of intradiegetic narrators and narrative strategy. By considering Froissart's multiple (physical and metaphorical) journeys as well as the differing yet co-existing portrayals of Gaston Fébus (supported by the Gascon narrators and/or by Froissart-protagonist and -narrator), this part shows how the *Voyage* is a deceptive narrative about a narrative, offering (like its Book I counterpart, although differing in stylistic technique) conflicting yet dependent perspectives. The Gascon narrators turn out to be essential to the construction of such a multi-faceted narrative and to Froissart-narrator's and author's subtly controlled formal and ideological design(s).

This thesis concludes that Froissart's (hi)story presents a specific and controlled image of Gascony/the Gascons *à mi-chemin* of many perspectives. Such an image is coherent from Book I's early versions of the 'Gascon prelude' to Book III (and IV) and fits into wider narrative and ideological contexts. This analysis confirms that Froissart-author-narrator is not merely concerned with a distant, chivalric past, even though at times such ideology prevails in his work. Cracks and loopholes are carefully crafted and thus controlled. The analysis of the Gascon narratives in Book I sheds light on a nuanced portrayal of the Gascons and their prince. Similarly, Book III presents Gaston Fébus' realistic and idealistic traits in the *Voyage*. The Gascon (hi)story is thus proof that even if formal strategies differ between Book I and Book III, the books may share a common and complex ideological purpose which presents the 'chivalric ideal' as a recurrent, at times dominant, ideology in Froissart's work (*une idéologie de surface*) while at the same time acknowledging its many *failles*. Thus the various tensions (e.g. fiction/history; ideal/real) underpinning the whole work, manifested in the portrayal of Gascony/the Gascons, are best approached in terms of co-existence, not antagonism. Such a multi-faceted work is in the end both a mirror and product of its own time, highlighting the complexities of this fourteenth century *en transition* and the complex writing of its history. Envisaging the work *à mi-chemin* between history and fiction, between conflicting yet co-existing perspectives, is precisely what makes Froissart's *Chroniques* valuable to literary critics, philologists, and historians alike.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviated Titles – Published Sources

Amiens	FROISSART, J. 1991. *Chroniques. Livre I, Le manuscrit d'Amiens : Bibliothèque municipale no. 486*. Ed. G. T. DILLER. 5 vols. Geneva: Droz.
Anthology	FROISSART, J. 2001. *Jean Froissart: an Anthology of Narrative & Lyric Poetry*. Eds. K. M. FIGG and R. B. PALMER. New York: Routledge.
Chanson	CUVELIER. 1990. *La Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin de Cuvelier*. Ed. J.-C. FAUCON. 3 vols. Toulouse: Éditions universitaires du Sud.
Chron. norm.	*Chronique normande du XIVe siècle*. 1882. Eds. A. MOLINIER and E. MOLINIER. Paris: Librairie Renouard.
Chron. rom.	ESQUERRIER, A. 1895. *Chroniques romanes des comtes de Foix*. Eds. F. PASQUIER and H. COURTEAULT. Foix, Paris: A. Picard et fils.
Chron. Saint-Denys	*Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*. 1994. Eds. L. BELLAGUET and B. GUENEE. 3 vols. Paris: Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques.
Chron. Val.	*Chronique des quatre premiers Valois (1327-1393).* 1862. Ed. S. LUCE. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France.
Grandes chron.	*Les Grandes chroniques de France : selon que elles sont conservées en l'église de Saint-Denis en France*. 1836. Ed. P. PARIS. 6 vols. Paris: Techener.
Hist. Charles VI	JUVÉNAL DES URSINS, J. 1836. *Histoire de Charles VI, roy de France, et des choses mémorables advenues durant quarante-deux années de son règne, depuis 1380 jusques à 1422*. Paris: Chez l'éditeur du commentaire analytique du code civil.
JB ARB	LE BEL, J. 1863. *Les Vrayes Chroniques de messire Jehan le Bel*. Ed. M. L. POLAIN. 2 vols. Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique.
JB SHF	LE BEL, J. 1904. *Chronique de Jean le Bel*. Eds. J. M. É. VIARD and E. DEPREZ. 2 vols. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France.
KL	FROISSART, J. 1867–1877. *Oeuvres de Froissart. Chroniques*. Eds. KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE and ACADÉMIE ROYALE DE BELGIQUE. 29 tomes in 28 vols. Brussels: V. Devaux.
LG I & II	FROISSART, J. 2001. *Chroniques. Livre I (première partie) et Livre II*. Eds. P. F. AINSWORTH and G. T. DILLER. Paris: Le Livre de Poche.
LG III & IV	FROISSART, J. 2004. *Chroniques. Livre III : du voyage en Béarn à la campagne de Gascogne et Livre IV : années 1389-1400*. Eds. P. F. AINSWORTH and A. VARVARO. Paris: Le livre de poche.

Meliador	FROISSART, J. 1895. *Méliador*. Ed. A. LONGON. 3 vols. Paris: Firmin Didot.
Mirot	FROISSART, J. 1957. *Chroniques*. Eds. L. MIROT and A. MIROT. Paris: Klincksieck.
Rome	FROISSART, J. 1972. *Chroniques, début du premier livre, édition du manuscrit de Rome Reg. lat. 869*. Ed. G. T. DILLER. Geneva: Droz.
SHF	FROISSART, J. 1869–. *Chroniques de Jean Froissart*. Eds. S. LUCE, et al. 15 vols. Paris: Société de l'histoire de France.
Vie	CHANDOS HERALD. 1975. *La Vie du Prince Noir by Chandos Herald*. Ed. D. B. TYSON. Tübingen: M. Niemeyer.

Other Abbreviations

esp.	especially
Voyage	*Le Voyage en Béarn*

The most quoted published sources are cited in the body of text and notes by abbreviated title (followed by the relevant volume in roman numerals and cited pages/verses if applicable). Other published sources/secondary works are cited by author and date in the main body of text. In the notes, these are first cited in fuller form and then by author and date.

INTRODUCTION

I. The *Chroniques* and the Gascon Narrative(s): Writing a Story or Making History?

> A l'endemain aprés messe nous montasmes sur chevaulx et partismes de Tharbe et chevauchasmes vers Jorre [...]. Si passasmes au dehors, et tantost nous entrasmes ou païs de Berne. Là s'arresta le chevalier sur les champs, et dist:
> « Vez ci Berne. » (LG III & IV:159)

Espan du Lion, a local knight in the service of Gaston III, count of Foix-Béarn, said these words to his travelling companion Jean Froissart in 1388, on their way to Béarn, a mid-Pyrenean region in the south-west of modern-day France. Rather, this is what he allegedly said, as reported in Book III of Froissart's *Chroniques*. Froissart was a man of the North and a clerk of Hainaut (in modern-day Belgium), and as such one may wonder first what drove him to write about the continental south-west, Gascony, and to journey there;[1] second, what Froissart (both as protagonist and author) knew of this region before and after his travels. To echo Espan's alleged words, the question at hand is in fact not only what Froissart saw of Gascony/Béarn but also what he saw in Gascony/Béarn.

Froissart was born in Valenciennes in 1337 (or possibly 1338).[2] From 1361 to 1369 he served Queen Philippa (also a native of Hainaut), Edward III's wife and Queen of England. A chronicler, romancer, and poet, Froissart wrote narrative and lyric poetry (*dits*, *débats*, *pastourelles*) as well as an Arthurian romance, *Meliador*. The work for which he is most remembered is his prose chronicle composed of four books which were written (some of which re-written several times) between the late 1370s (or early 1380s) to the time of his death (c. 1405, presumably in his canonry of Chimay).[3] The *Chroniques*' narrative spans

[1] His interest for the region and its people? His taste for travels and adventures? His desire to hear of feats of arms and great deeds from all over his world?
[2] On Froissart's debated date of birth, biographical details, and the Hainaulter situation in the fourteenth century, see DEVAUX, J. 2000. "From the Court of Hainaut to the Court of England: the Example of Jean Froissart." Ed. C.T. ALLMAND. *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 1–20.
[3] See Part I, Chapter 1-III for more details on the *Chroniques*' re-writing process.

ninety years, from the late 1310s/1320s to the early 1400s, and relates the first stages and development of the Anglo-French conflict later known as the Hundred Years' War in which Gascony has a significant part to play. Froissart-narrator's intention, stated in the *Chroniques*' various prologues, is to recount 'les grans merveilles et li biau faits d'armes qui sont avenue par les grans guerres de France et d'Engleterre et des royaumes voisins' (LG I & II:71). Gascony is one of these neighbouring territories and Froissart's attention in the *Chroniques* occasionally turns to the Gascon scene and situation. Froissart-traveller's feet led him twice to Gascon destinations – to the Bordelais region in 1366–1367 and to Béarn in 1388–1389.[4]

Like Froissart before me, my pen (if not my feet) led me to Gascony. In the same way as the *Chroniques*' stated intention to relate authentic *biau faits d'armes* may in fact only be the first layer of a deeper, more complex formal and ideological design, this study outgrew its original intended aim: to present the *Chroniques*' portrayal of Gascony. The present work is therefore a textual and analytical journey into Froissart's (hi)story – i.e. stories making history as well as history telling stories – via many crossroads and intersections: textual/physical, fictional/real, literary/historical, or formal/ideological. Ultimately, this journey/study's 'terminus' is not merely the *Chroniques*' representation of Gascony, although it definitely is a stop along the way. Froissart's Gascon (hi)story as presented in his *Chroniques* serves as narrative thread to (re-)explore new or, rather, renewed horizons and territories which, in the light of this specific thread, may need to be carefully re-evaluated: namely the relations between the *Chroniques*' various books (and Froissart's other works), and between these works' actual import(s), the writing of history, and Froissart's fourteenth-century world.

To prepare for such a journey, the following introduction will map out this study's intentions in more detail as well as its methodological considerations (scope and limitations) and corpus. It will end with a review and assessment of the landscape of Froissartian

[4] See Figures 2–4 (pp. 192–193) for maps of France and Aquitaine in the fourteenth century.

reception and studies. It will first start with a few words on (medieval and modern) historiography and renewed historiographical approaches relevant to Froissart's work and this study.

1. Problems and *Problématiques*

a. Froissart, (Hi)stories, Chronicles, and Historiography

> Strictly speaking, the word 'chronicle' describes a record or register of events in chronological order. In practice, when used to describe medieval texts, it is commonly employed (as it was in the middle ages) to describe any work the subject-matter of which claimed to be essentially historical, whether that meant events in the past or events contemporary with the time at which the author wrote. (Given-Wilson 2004:xix)

Even if, as Given-Wilson suggests, the use of 'chronicle' (*cronique*) went beyond its meaning, *stricto sensu*,[5] other historiographical terms were used in the Middle Ages to refer to historical genres. While 'chronicles' had mostly replaced 'annals' by the fourteenth century, 'history' (*istoire*) was still prominently used, according to Bernard Guenée.[6] In principle, chronicles and histories are not synonymous: chronicles are shorter and less detailed; histories are narratives freed from sequential matters and ruled by topical relevance, as opposed to the strict chronology observed in chronicles.[7] In practice, however, the distinction is less clear-cut. This explains why phrases such as *cronique historiée* or *cronique non pas historiée* are found in fourteenth-century historiographical works. Froissart is one of the chroniclers who occasionally opts for such expressions.[8] The reason, Guenée adds, why histories and chronicles share such 'indecisive frontiers' is that none of these historiographical works set

[5] See also DE MEDEIROS, M.-T. 1979. *Jacques et chroniqueurs : une étude comparée de récits contemporains relatant la Jacquerie de 1358*. Paris: Champion, p. 7, n. 2.
[6] See GUENEE, B. (1973) "Histoires, annales, chroniques. Essai sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge." *Annales. Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 28.4, 997–1016; GUENEE, B. 1977a. *Le Métier d'historien au Moyen Âge : études sur l'historiographie médiévale*. Paris: Université de Paris I Panthéon-Sorbonne, Centre de recherches sur l'histoire de l'Occident médiéval; GUENEE, B. 1986. "Histoire et chronique. Nouvelles réflexions sur les genres historiques au Moyen Âge." Ed. D. POIRION. *La Chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Âge. Colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 3–12; GUENEE, B. 1991. *Histoire et culture historique dans l'Occident médiéval*. Paris: Aubier Montaigne.
[7] GUENEE (1973) p. 1008.
[8] Mirot p. 222.

out to explain their narratives.[9] In that sense, medieval historical narratives are 'stories' (and even sometimes 'fictional stories') rather than 'history' in the modern sense of the word – i.e. an explanatory narrative dependent on causal relations. When discussing the status of histories and chronicles in the late Middle Ages, Laurence Harf-Lancner actually gives more credit to medieval historiographers' causal design, especially Froissart's: 'la chronique énumère les événements ; l'histoire les éclaire ; la chronique historiée de Froissart rapporte les faits tout en les plaçant dans la chaîne de causes et de conséquences dans laquelle ils s'insèrent' (2003:162). Froissart's 'stories' have more (modern) historical value than first meets the eye. In truth, it is only relatively recently that historians have begun to accept that (modern and/or medieval) historiography and historical narratives are indubitably telling stories, being, in essence, a linguistic artefact immersed in language:[10]

> Story is our essential mode of explanation because it turns the unmeaning "and next, and next, and next…" of reality into significant sequence; any series of events […] which can be described in a single intelligible and significant pattern is a story, and the verbal arrangement that describes the pattern is narrative. (Partner 1986:94)

Scholars thus came to the realization that histories which told stories could and should enlighten historians and philologists alike. In that sense, medieval historical narratives (i.e. (hi)stories) could be approached in a new light. The study of Froissart, this larger-than-life story-teller, and his work called for a fresh start and renewed readings. Before that fresh turn, the first who approached Froissart in a new light, was F.S. Shears in the 1930s with his monograph, *Froissart, chronicler and poet*, by calling for coterminous literary and historical approaches to the works of Froissart.[11]

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[9] GUENEE (1973) pp. 1008–1011.

[10] See PARTNER, N. F. (1986) "Making Up Lost Time: Writing on the Writing of History." *Speculum* 61.1, 90–117; ROBERTS, G., ed., 2001. *The History and Narrative Reader*. London: Routledge.

[11] A call which is still made today by Skorge, Varvaro, and Ainsworth, urging modern historians 'to learn afresh how to read Froissart productively' AINSWORTH, P. (2005) "Jean Froissart: A Sexcentenary Reappraisal." *French Studies* 59, 364–372, here p. 372; see also SKORGE, K. M. 2006. "Ideals and Values in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*." Dr. art. Thesis, University of Bergen, p. 204. See below (Introduction-II) for more information on Froissartian reception.

Historians such as Gabrielle Spiegel have explored the impact deconstruction and post-modernism have had on this new approach to modern (and medieval) historiography.[12] Such attitudes gave way to renewed critical theories for interpretative history. Although it is not the aim of this study to discuss at greater length the movements (such as 'New Historicism') influenced by the aforementioned attitudes, the question of modern historiography and its changing views towards historical narratives and literary methods is nevertheless vital to my own research and is worth mentioning, albeit briefly. As my study is concerned with 'non-historical' concepts for discussing Froissart's chronicles, it necessarily argues that literary tools enlighten historical narratives in ways which, as shall be seen, may prove distinct from, yet connected to, conclusions reached through other methods (e.g. factual, anthropological, etc.). Moreover, Froissart has often been referred to as a valuable writer but a poor historian;[13] his concern for a well-written, 'romanesque'[14] story (in *bel langaige*) obscuring, even opposing, any historical intent. Following the thread of Froissart's Gascon narratives – originally merely explored to determine his representation of the region – led me to realise that while tensions of many kinds exist in Froissart's narrative (between history and fiction; ideal and reality; chivalry and pragmatism; Books I-II and Books III-IV amongst others), the concept of co-existence, rather than opposition, might be more suited to approach these tensions.

b. Aims and Methodological Considerations: Scope and Limitations

In the course of my research, it became clear that in approaching Froissart's historical narrative Gascony (the Gascons) was an appropriate illustrative window. This is due to its

[12] SPIEGEL, G. 1995. *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-century France*. Berkeley: University of California Press; SPIEGEL, G. 1997. *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. See also WHITE, H. (1975) "Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination." *History and Theory* 14.4 pp. 48–67; PARTNER (1986); WHITE, H. (2005) "Introduction: Historical Fiction, Fictional History, and Historical Reality." *Rethinking History* 9.2-3, 147–157.

[13] For example GUENÉE (1991) pp. 72–73; see *infra* Introduction-II.

[14] The concept and meaning of 'romanesque' shall be developed and explained further in the course of this study; see esp. Part II, Chapter 3-III, p. 141.

place in the *Chroniques*, both in terms of form and structure (with Gascony/the Gascons featuring in extended sequences in Books I and III) and also in terms of message (these passages present a specific region/people/protagonists, as well as more general tensions underlying the rest of the narrative). Moreover, the status of Gascony has been relatively overlooked by Froissartian literary critics and historians alike.[15] Thus, such a *microlecture* does not hinder a wider interpretation of Froissart's work. The aim of this study is therefore to examine the *Chroniques*' 'Gascon stories/narratives' not only to determine their representation of the region/people, but also to infer a more general significance to the *Chroniques*' formal and ideological design(s).[16]

Endeavouring to define 'Gascony' as a geographical, political, and social entity is no easy task, even less so regarding late medieval 'Gascony'. In fact, it has rarely denoted a geographical, political, and social unit all at once. The ongoing Anglo-French conflict partly revolved around the disputed status of a continental south-western province, for the most part under the authority of the crown of England, known as Gascony, Aquitaine, or Guyenne.[17]

[15] See *infra* Introduction-II.

[16] Regarding historiography as an 'ideological' genre, Gabrielle Spiegel notes: '[h]istoriography, as the medieval genre *par excellence* devoted to a "realistic" representation of the social and political world, is at the same time a genre thoroughly saturated with ideological goals. Especially in the Middle Ages, historical writing, precisely to the degree that it claimed to be free of imaginative elaboration, served as a vehicle of ideological elaboration. […] Texts both mirror and generate social realities, are constituted by and constitute social and discursive formations, which they may sustain, resist, contest, or seek to transform depending on the individual case.' She continues by pointing out that in the moulding of a literary (and historical) text there is 'a host of unstated desires, beliefs, understandings, and interests that arise from pressures that are social as well as literary and that impress themselves upon the work, sometimes consciously, sometimes not' SPIEGEL (1995) pp. 5, 10. Conscious or unconscious desires, beliefs, understandings, and interests are what I imply when I write of Froissart's ideological design(s)/purposes. At first glance, such 'conscious' ideological design appears to be mainly geared towards chivalric values (*biau faits d'armes*). A closer look enables to realise that it is a much more complex and deeper 'ideology' which transpires in the *Chroniques*, chivalry merely being an *idéologie de surface*. On the concept of chivalry, see BARBER, R. W. 1970. *The Knight & Chivalry*. London: Longman; BARBER, R. W. 1980. *The Reign of Chivalry*. New York: St. Martin's Press; VALE, J. 1982. *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270–1350*. Woodbridge: Boydell; KEEN, M. H. 1984. *Chivalry*. New Haven: Yale University Press; SKORGE (2006) pp. 4–12; VERNIER, R. 2007. *The Flower of Chivalry: Bertrand du Guesclin and the Hundred Years War*. Woodbridge: Brewer.

[17] A feudal strife between England and France which would assume large proportions stemmed from a dispute over the status of the duchy: Edward III King of England, Duke of Aquitaine, was expected to pay homage to the King of France for his continental dominion. This was enough for Edward III to raise his claims to the throne of France. Edward III's claim originated from his mother, Philip IV of France's daughter, making him the most direct heir to the throne of France (see Figure 5, p. 194 for a genealogy of the houses of France and England). However, the French crown was given to Philippe de Valois, future Philippe VI of France and Philippe IV's nephew, on the grounds that succession was not allowed through female line, thus resurrecting the long-extinct

While these three terms are, in the late Middle Ages, quasi-synonyms,[18] *Gascony* was often used to refer to the 'English' part of the region while *Guyenne* referred to 'French' territories.[19] In this study, I will mostly use 'Gascony'/the 'Gascons' (and occasionally Aquitaine/Guyenne) as these are the terms most commonly found in the *Chroniques*. The lexical distinctions noted above are somewhat looser in Froissart's chronicle, with Gascony (and to a lesser extent Aquitaine) referring to the broad south-west of what is now modern France. It is a term referring to a people rather than to a political allegiance. The political and administrative limits of this south-western region are not, however, precisely defined in the *Chroniques*. This is hardly surprising as 'this perceived existence of a Gascon people never corresponded to political or administrative unity in the late Middle Ages', Guilhem Pépin notes (2012:88). Moreover, the fourteenth-century history of Aquitaine is one of changing frontiers and shifting allegiances.[20] In that sense, lexical imprecision in the *Chroniques* reflects the fourteenth-century Gascon situation, which was one of blurred geographical and

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Salic law. For more detail on the Hundred Years War and its start, see SEWARD, D. 1978. *The Hundred Years War: The English in France, 1337–1453*. London: Constable; SUMPTION, J. 1990. *The Hundred Years War*. Vol. I. London: Faber and Faber; BURNE, A. H. 1999. *The Crecy War: a Military History of the Hundred Years War from 1337 to the Peace of Brétigny, 1360*. Ware: Wordsworth; ROGERS, C. J. 2000. *War Cruel and Sharp: English Strategy Under Edward III, 1327–1360*. Woodbridge: Boydell; CURRY, A. 2003. *The Hundred Years' War, 1337–1453*. New York: Routledge; FOSSIER, R. and J. VERGER 2005. *Histoire du Moyen Âge. Tome IV, XIIIe-XIVe siècles*. Brussels: Complexes; CONTAMINE, P. 2007. *La Guerre de Cent ans*. 8th ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France; MINOIS, G. 2008. *La Guerre de Cent ans : naissance de deux nations*. Paris: Perrin.

[18] See PEPIN, G. (2006) "Les Cris de guerre 'Guyenne!' et 'Saint George!'. L'expression d'une identité politique du duché d'Aquitaine anglo-gascon." *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 62, 263–281.

[19] A slight distinction can be found between the terms Aquitaine and Gascony in that Aquitaine was more often used to refer to the institutional, political, and administrative territory (the duchy of Aquitaine); Gascony to the geographic and demographic region and therefore potentially to a wider territory than merely the 'Anglo-Gascon' province. See LABARGE, M. W. 1980. *Gascony, England's First Colony: 1204–1453*. London: Hamish Hamilton, p. 1.

[20] On Aquitaine/Gascony/Guyenne and its history in the (late) Middle Ages, see LODGE, E. C. 1926. *Gascony Under English Rule*. London: Methuen; COURTEAULT, P. 1938. *Histoire de Gascogne et de Béarn*. Paris: Boivin & cie; VALE, M. G. A. 1970. *English Gascony, 1399–1453: A Study of War, Government and Politics During the Later Stages of the Hundred Years' War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; DUPUY, M. 1973. *Les Grandes heures de l'Aquitaine*. Paris: Perrin; BORDES, M. and P. CASTELA 1977. *Histoire de la Gascogne des origines à nos jours*. 1st ed. Roanne: Horvath; LABARGE (1980); BELTOUR, X. 1999. *Le Particularisme aquitain-gascon au Moyen-Âge*. Pau: Princi Negue; RENOUARD, Y. 2005. *Histoire médiévale d'Aquitaine: études*. Belin-Beliet: Princi Negue; PEPIN, G. 2007. "The Relationship Between the Kings of England and their Role as Dukes of Aquitaine and their Gascon Subjects: Forms, Processes and Substance of a Dialogue (1275–1453)." D.Phil. Thesis, University of Oxford; PÉPIN, G. 2012. "Does a Common Language Mean a Shared Allegiance? Language, Identity, Geography and Their Links with Polities: the Cases of Gascony and Brittany." Eds. H. SKODA, et al. *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe : Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 79–101. See also Figures 1–4 in the Appendices.

political borders, despite overall linguistic unity. In other words, two Gascon men who shared a common language (Gascon)[21] could fight on two different sides – e.g. French and English. The only Gascon frontier which did not evolve in the fourteenth century (for obvious reasons) is that of the Atlantic Ocean to the west. In the first decades of the 1300s, the Anglo-Gascon duchy of Aquitaine encompassed not much more than a coastal strip of land stretching roughly from Bordeaux (north) to Bayonne (south). Throughout the century and beyond, English or French campaigns/*chevauchées*[22] came to shift these borders, with varying degrees of success. The most 'successful' of these shifts was in favour of the English crown in 1360. Under the treaty of Brétigny, many border-regions of Gascony (the Poitou and Saintonge to the north; the Périgord, Quercy, and Comminges to the east) 'turned English' becoming politically integrated into Edward III's duchy of Aquitaine and textually integrated to Froissart's Gascony.[23] The duchy in the 1360s reached proportions unseen since the time of Henry II Plantagenet and Eleanor of Aquitaine: the once small strip of land had become *la Grande Aquitaine*.[24] Also somewhat included in Gascony/Aquitaine in the *Chroniques* is Béarn. While the two territories are sometimes distinct (e.g. 'de Gascoingne et de Berne' (KL XV:134)), Bearnese men are presented as Gascons (e.g. 'li Gascon de Berne' (LG III & IV:240)). The need to specify that these Gascon men came from Béarn probably arose because while the men could identify as Gascons, Béarn was not part of the duchy but a sovereign land ruled by Gaston III, count of Foix-Béarn.[25] Nowadays, the Bearnese would probably take offence at being called 'Gascon'[26] but in the fourteenth century this seemed to

[21] On Gascon and its linguistic place among the *Langue d'Oc* (or *Langes d'Oc?*), see LAFITTE, J. and G. PÉPIN 2009. *La 'Langue d'Oc' ou leS langueS d'Oc ? Idées reçues, mythes et fantasmes face à l'Histoire*. Monein: Pyrémonde.
[22] For more detail on the *chevauchée* military tactics, see SEWARD (1978) p. 38.
[23] Occasionally, Froissart specifies what 'part' of Gascony these regions are from: e.g. Périgord is 'en le haute Gascongne' LG I & II p. 470.
[24] See *infra* Part I, Chapter 2.
[25] See *infra* Part II, Chapter 3.
[26] The creation of a specific Bearnese identity (as opposed to a Gascon one) stems precisely from the fourteenth century and Gaston III's politics of independence and sovereignty. It was reinforced further in the late sixteenth

pose no problem.[27] To conclude on this brief overview of the geographical, political, and lexical limitations of Aquitaine/Gascony, despite its ill-defined boundaries in the *Chroniques*, one thing is certain: Gascon lands are distant marches and the Gascons are, to Froissart, man of the North, foreigners.[28]

The two principles which have both defined and delimited my research are intertextuality and formal properties. As far as intertextuality is concerned, the choice of corpus shall be developed shortly. While the main focus of this thesis is the *Chroniques*, it is also my intention to bring to light noteworthy parallels and oppositions with contemporary works: other French and vernacular chronicles (some of which are Froissart's sources), as well as other genres tackled by this prolific author (e.g. narrative poems; Arthurian romance).

As for formal properties, historians, as mentioned above, have come to revise the significance of literary tools for historiography. Literary critics, maybe less surprisingly, have also called for a literary approach to medieval historiography. It is my intention, too, to turn to 'rhetorical devices and literary techniques' (Spiegel 1997:xv) in Gascon passages/narratives – i.e. sequences about Gascony or concerned with the Gascons – to explore the *Chroniques*. Then again, a choice must be made regarding which specific devices/techniques to use. At the most elementary level, lexicon proved surprisingly enlightening. As briefly mentioned above, political, geographic, and social terminology is anything but straightforward regarding Gascony. Focusing on Froissart-narrator's use of terms to name the region, its inhabitants, and their lexical evolution seemed like a first logical step, explored in both Chapters 1 and 2.[29] Froissart has often been referred to as a simple narrator; the other main formal approach is thus concerned with narratology i.e. narrative voice(s)/comments;

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and early seventeenth centuries thanks to the most famous of Bearnese men, Henri IV, *le Béarnais*, king of France and Navarre.

[27] See PEPIN, G. (2008) "Quand le Béarn se disait gascon " *La Lettre de l'Institut béarnais et gascon* 16, 6–8.

[28] '[M]ais tousjours y avoit des pillars et des robeurs en la Languedoch, lesquels estoient estrangiers des nations loingtaines, de Gascoingne et de Berne' KL XV p. 134.

[29] For a detailed listing of chapters of this thesis, see *infra* p. 34.

author/narrator(s)/characters relationship; narrative structure and frequency; reported discourse (especially direct discourse).[30] While most of the focus on narratology will be devoted to Chapter 3,[31] Chapters 1 and 2 will still offer insight into the narrator's comments and involvement. These are the prisms through which this study will analyse the *Chroniques'* Gascon passages. Through them, I will show that Froissart's Gascon narratives, and to a larger extent his historical work, cannot be envisaged merely in terms of simplicity and idealism. In fact, this study highlights a certain degree of formal and ideological complexity and depth, noticeable as early as the first versions of Book I. The aims of this research are therefore 1) to determine the *Chroniques*' representation of Gascony/the Gascons in selected passages; 2) to examine how these narratives and the image of Gascony/the Gascons therein confirm and/or re-evaluate the work's purpose and formal/ideological impact.[32]

Gascony/the Gascons appear relatively frequently in the *Chroniques*. This study is centred on three extended Gascon narratives rather than shorter, less substantial mentions of the region and its people.[33] This focus on longer sequences enables a more comprehensive formal and ideological approach – the evolution of said sequences is more apparent and can be discussed more fully. Book II will be mentioned only on occasion, focusing as it does mostly on 1380–1382 Flemish troubles; Breton, Scottish, and Iberian matters; 1381 English

[30] Relying mostly on Gérard Genette's and Mikhail Bakhtin's narratological theories and concepts which will be explained and discussed in the course of this study; see Part II, Chapter 3. For a definition of reported, direct, indirect, and free indirect discourses, see MARNETTE, S. 2005. *Speech and Thought Presentation in French: Concepts and Strategies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, esp. pp. 23–28. Although the present study is mostly concerned with 'direct discourse' and its status in the *Chroniques*, one should keep in mind that 'the term 'reported' should be understood as establishing a connection between two discourses, relating one discourse to another (a meaning that is clear in the French word *rapport*). As such, the structure of reported discourse involves strategies of discourse *presentation* and not merely of discourse *reproduction* (entailing the pre-existence of a specific utterance). Second, the generic term 'discourse' covers speech, thought, attitudes and writing: the three former types being placed on a *continuum* ranging from external speech to inner speech to attitude towards a mental content (and some internal perceptions). […] Third, the concept of reported discourse must encompass both the discourse of the other(s) and the discourse of the self […]' ibid., p. 78.

[31] A narratological approach is also justified for the study of the *Voyage* (*en Béarn*), the focus of chapter 3, as this passage, despite being much studied, has not yet been the object of a detailed narratological analysis centred on Gascon protagonists/narrators; see Part II, Chapter 3.

[32] See SPIEGEL (1995) pp. 5–10 on the 'relational reading' of text and context, historiography and ideology.

[33] These shorter Gascon mentions or interventions (especially the ones from Book IV) will at times be mentioned in relation to their longer counterparts. Narrative sequences concerned with other regions/people (e.g. Brittany, Flanders) will also be referred to for comparative purposes.

peasants' revolt and the 1382 Parisian uprising. Gascony/the Gascons feature more prominently in Book IV (e.g. mention of Froissart's journey to Bordeaux in 1366–1367). Books I and III offer the most extensive Gascon narratives: the Earl of Derby's *chevauchées* in Gascony, 1345–1346 (Book I); Edward of Woodstock's campaign and rule in Aquitaine, 1355–1371 (Book I); Froissart's account of his journey to and stay at Béarn, 1388–1389 (Book III). These three sequences will be studied in detail below. Interestingly, Books I and III are still deemed today to be methodologically, structurally, and ideologically opposed, so much so that they have been referred to as two different works altogether.[34] Parallel to this severance (Books I-II vs. Books III-IV), the *Voyage* sequence has been much studied but never really compared to preceding Gascon narratives. While it is my intention not merely to draw oppositions between Gascon passages from Book I and III but also to determine their similarities, it is important to first study passages from various books separately in order to then (potentially) bring them back together.

2. Corpus

I mostly relied on printed editions. Even though I did make use of such tools as the Online Froissart project,[35] this study (at the risk of looking untrendy) has not been primarily focused on manuscript studies, partly because Froissartian studies have already been skilfully approached from that angle.[36] The *Chroniques*' published editions that I have used are the following:

[34] See ZINK, M. 1998. *Froissart et le temps*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France and George T. Diller in his introduction to Book II (LG I & II pp. 692–693).

[35] *The Online Froissart* (version 1.4 (November, 2012)). Eds. P. AINSWORTH and G. CROENEN. <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart> (last accessed: December 2013). This website/project includes several reproductions of manuscript copies of the first three Books of the *Chroniques*.

[36] For excellent research on the *Chroniques*' manuscript tradition, and the relationship text/image, I would like to draw attention to the work of Peter Ainsworth, J.N.N. Palmer, Laurence Harf-Lancner, George T. Diller, and Godfried Croenen; e.g. DILLER, G. T. 1981. "Froissart: Patrons and Texts." Ed. J.J.N. PALMER. *Froissart: Historian*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 145–160; PALMER, J. J. N. 1981a. "Book I (1325–1378) and its Sources." Ed. J.J.N. PALMER. *Froissart: Historian*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 7–24; HARF-LANCNER, L. and M.-L. LE GUAY (1990) "L'Illustration du livre IV des *Chroniques* de Froissart : les rapports entre texte et image." *Revue d'histoire et de philologie* 96n 93–112; AINSWORTH, P. 1998. "Configuring Transience: Patterns of Transmission

- The *Lettres gothiques* editions (= LG I & II; LG III & IV);
- George T. Diller's edition of the Rome manuscript (= Rome);
- George T. Diller's edition of the Amiens manuscript (= Amiens);
- The edition of *La Société de l'Histoire de France* (= SHF);
- Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition (= KL);
- The Mirots' edition (= Mirot).

As regards Froissart's poetic work, I have consulted anthologies and separate printed editions of his romance, *Meliador*.

- *Meliador* (= *Meliador*);
- Kristen Figg's *Jean Froissart: An Anthology of Narrative & Lyric Poetry* (= *Anthology*).

As for contemporary works, I have chosen to leave aside Geoffroi de Charny's *Book of Chivalry* and Ramon Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, given that comparisons with Froissart's chronicle have already been made.[37] I have mostly consulted vernacular prose and verse chronicles. These were mostly French, but also included a couple of Latin, Italian, and Occitan historical narratives.

- Le Bel's *Chronique*. The editions of *La Société de l'histoire de France* (= JB SHF) and of *L'Académie royale de Belgique* (= JB ARB);
- *La Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* (= *Chron. Val.*);
- *Les Grandes chroniques de France* (= *Grandes chron.*);

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and Transmissibility in the Chroniques (1395–1995)." Eds. D. MADDOX and S. STURM-MADDOX. *Froissart Across the Genres*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 15–39; HARF-LANCNER, L. 1998b. "Image and Propaganda: The Illustration of Book I of Froissart's *Chroniques*." Eds. D. MADDOX and S. STURM-MADDOX. *Froissart Across the Genres*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 220–250; AINSWORTH, P. 2006. "Froissart et « ses » manuscrits: textes, images, codex et ressources électroniques." Eds. M. ZINK, et al. *Froissart dans sa forge : actes du colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004*. Paris: AIBL, pp. 213–230; CROENEN, G. 2009. "La Tradition manuscrite du Troisième Livre des *Chroniques* de Froissart." Ed. V. FASSEUR. *Froissart à la cour de Béarn : l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 15–59.

[37] See SKORGE (2006).

- *La Chronique normande du XIV^e siècle* (= *Chron. norm.*);
- *La Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys* (= *Chron. Saint-Denys*);
- Chandos Herald's *Vie du Prince Noir*, Diana B. Tyson's edition (= *Vie*);
- Cuvelier's *Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin* (= *Chanson*);
- Juvénal des Ursins's *Histoire de Charles VI* (= *Hist. Charles VI*);
- Richard Barber's translation of Geoffrey le Baker's Latin chronicle;
- Arnaud Esquerrier's *Chroniques romanes des comtes de Foix* (Occitan) (= *Chron. rom.*);
- Giovanni Villani's *Nuova Cronica* (Italian).

II. A Long Tradition of Froissartian Reception: How to Make One's Mark?

As my study will show, I am greatly indebted to other scholars, in particular the research by Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros (her 'regional' approach to the *Chroniques* (2003)), Alberto Varvaro (his study of the *non-dit* and role(s) of direct discourse, history, and fiction (2006b, a, c, 2011)), and, of course, Peter Ainsworth, George T. Diller, Michel Zink, and Laurence Harf-Lancner who took part in the first true reassessment of Froissart's historical/ideological/literary value and without whom the shape of Froissartian study would no doubt be very different.[38] I must also mention Kristel Mari Skorge's unpublished thesis 'Ideals and Values in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*' (2006) in which she calls for a re-evaluation of Book I's ideological import. My study very much lies in the continuity of hers (which in turn owed much to Diller's and Ainsworth's). We may have reached similar conclusions, for instance regarding the need to reassess the differences between Books I and

[38] To name but a few of their works: AINSWORTH, P. 1990b. *Jean Froissart and the Fabric of History: Truth, Myth, and Fiction in the Chroniques*. Oxford: Clarendon Press; DILLER, G. T. 1984. *Attitudes chevaleresques et réalités politiques chez Froissart*. Geneva: Droz; HARF-LANCNER, L. 1990. "Chronique et roman : les contes fantastiques de Froissart." Ed. N. CAZAURAN. *Autour du roman*. Paris: Presses de l'école normale supérieure, pp. 49–65; ZINK (1998).

III, but our methods are clearly distinct. I have focused my attention on re-writing, lexicon, and narratological considerations. Our respective thematic focuses, although at times intersecting, also differ: Skorge specifically looks at the *Chroniques*' narratives of military sieges and defeats (Crécy, Calais, and Poitiers), and princes' ideals and failures (Edward of Woodstock, Gaston III, and Richard II),[39] whereas I centre my research on narratives concerned with one region and its inhabitants.

As hinted above, Froissart's historical/ideological 'rehabilitation' is a relatively recent phenomenon which tends to coincide with the renewed conceptualisation and value of narrative historiography. F.S. Shears was one of the few in the first half of the twentieth century – perhaps the first – who implied that there was maybe more to the *Chroniques* than merely an apology of a lost chivalric past.[40] What Shears' study may have lacked was a grasp on the inherent complexity and tensions underlying the narrative. Such a view truly blossomed under the pens of Peter F. Ainsworth, George T. Diller, Michel Zink, and Laurence Harf-Lancner in the 1970s and especially in the 1980s. I shall come back to these decades (and the next), rich in original and redefining research, but, for now, I would like to make a backward leap and assess what the landscape of Froissartian studies looked like 'pre-Shears'.

It is important to appreciate that in the six hundred years between the writing of the *Chroniques* and the turn of the twentieth century, there had developed a rather conflicted, 'love-hate', approach to Froissart's work. The abundant manuscript and printed tradition of the *Chroniques* attests to the readers' interest in the work: over one hundred manuscripts produced over the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; continuous reprints of the chronicle from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century including numerous translations. In

[39] It is specifically with this point that our thematic focus intersects given that I, too, pay attention to the ideal/realistic representations of Edward of Woodstock and Gaston III as they are depicted in the Gascon narratives.

[40] SHEARS, F. S. 1972. *Froissart, Chronicler and Poet*. 2nd (1st 1930) ed. Folcroft, Pa.: Folcroft Library Editions, pp. 150–154.

terms of sheer quantitative production, the *Chroniques* could claim to be the most famous French chronicles of the late Middle Ages. This reputation, however, took a turn for the worse in the nineteeth century under the influence of positivist historiography. This specific school of thought – focusing primarily on unadulterated, historical facts – and their unfavourable treatment of Froissart's historical narrative is best represented in the words of Auguste Molinier writing for *Les Sources de l'histoire de France des origines aux guerres d'Italie*:

> Aujourd'hui, on le juge plus sévèrement et on distingue dans Froissart l'historien et le chroniqueur. Le premier est peu sûr, léger, sujet à des erreurs et à des confusions regrettables, sa chronologie est souvent fautive, il se trompe sur les noms propres, et il rapporte aveuglément ce qu'on lui a raconté, sans même avoir l'idée de soupçonner la véracité de ses informateurs ; il rapporte successivement sur tel fait important les versions les plus opposées, sans jamais essayer d'en faire la critique et de comparer les témoignages. Il est partial et tout dévoué à ses protecteurs ou amis, à ceux qu'il fréquente pour le moment et qui le renseignent. Enfin, il n'a vu que le côté extérieur des choses ; il connaît mal les négociations et les secrets de la politique ; il n'a du monde de son temps qu'une idée superficielle, et n'a jamais deviné les intentions des princes. Très ennemi des classes populaires, il les juge comme une quantité négligeable et s'indigne de leurs révoltes contre l'ordre des choses établi, qui lui semble parfait, car il s'y est fait une excellent place. En un mot, c'est un homme du monde aimable, un esprit curieux, un peu léger, mais ce n'est ni un penseur, ni un politique, ni même une âme passionnée.[41]

Such opinion stuck throughout the nineteenth century and beyond. In the twentieth century, the most famous and extensive criticism, echoing the one above, is to be found in Johan Huizinga's *The Waning of the Middle Ages*.[42] Nineteenth-century scientific influence regarding Froissart's historical value does not die fast. Even today, scholars can fall victim to 'positivist relapse' by declaring that the *Chroniques* are not a worthy historiographical work because of their factual flaws. The tradition of Froissart as a simple and naïve author/narrator[43] pre-dates the nineteenth century: Michel de Montaigne[44] deemed *le bon*

[41] V. 4, Paris: Picard, 1904, pp. 12–13, quoted in VARVARO, A. 2011. *La Tragédie de l'histoire : la dernière œuvre de Jean Froissart*. Paris: Classiques Garnier, p. 54. For more details on the evolution of Froissart's reputation and criticism see ibid., pp. 53–56 and DILLER (1984) pp. 2–8.

[42] HUIZINGA, J. 1962. *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the 14th and 15th centuries*. Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday Anchor Books, esp. pp. 65–66.

[43] For a summary of such a view (to which he does not adhere) see VARVARO, A. 2006b. "La Condamnation du sire de Clary : Froissart entre code chevaleresque et loi du roi." Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 277–287, here p. 286.

[44] A Bordelais/Gascon, for the record.

Froissard fort simples.[45] The lack of value of Froissart's work was not limited to chronicles: Auguste Longnon, who, in 1895, published Froissart's original Arthurian romance, *Meliador*, deemed it underserving in comparison to its twelfth- and thirteenth-century counterparts, due to its lack of plot unity.[46] The movement initiated by Shears and carried on by Ainsworth, Diller, et al., which resisted Froissart's tarnished reputation both as chronicler and romancer, came precisely through an effort to bring together chronicle and romance, history and literature, truth and fiction. By approaching the chronicles from various angles (ideological, literary, linguistic, etc.) and being less dependent on historical facts, the aforementioned critics and those others who followed suit were able to create new groundwork from which to study Froissart's work. Florence Bouchet notes that 'chaque âge a relu Froissart en fonction de son propre horizon d'attente' (2009:190). I would add that from the 1970s onwards, it isn't one '*horizon d'attente*'[47] which surfaced as regards Froissart, but many. I echo Peter Ainsworth who points out that Froissart's readers – scholars or *simple quidam* alike – may and should approach Froissart *dans tous les sens*:

> La lecture des *Chroniques* peut être linéaire, ponctuelle, unidirectionnelle, et contrôlée par les préoccupations de tel ou tel chercheur ; le grand public, d'ailleurs, les lit le plus souvent sous forme d'extraits ou de morceaux choisis. Elles gagnent, cependant, à être lues 'dans tous les sens', dans leur contexte discursif originel, et selon des régimes de lecture variés (qui changeront selon les propriétés inhérentes au texte, et selon les dispositions particulières à chaque nouveau lecteur). (Ainsworth 1993:55)

Among all the possible *lectures* and *microlectures* of Froissart's works, some focused on specific passages of the *Chroniques*, linguistic matters, intergeneric/intertextual considerations, the relationship of ideal/real, and/or on the coexistence and interplay between

[45] *Les Essais*, P. VILLEY (ed.), Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 1992, p. 417, quoted in DE MEDEIROS, M.-T. 2003. *Hommes, terres et histoire des confins : les marges méridionales et orientales de la chrétienté dans les Chroniques de Froissart*. Paris: Champion, p. 343. This view did not prevent Montaigne from enjoying the work overall; see BOUCHET, F. 2009. "Froissart à la cour de Gaston Fébus : lire et être lu." Ed. V. FASSEUR. *Froissart à la cour de Béarn : l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 179–190, here p. 190.

[46] See Longnon's Introduction to his edition of *Meliador*; on the romance's reception, see DEMBOWSKI, P. F. 1983. *Jean Froissart and his Meliador: Context, Craft, and Sense*. Lexington: French Forum.

[47] A concept famously borrowed from Hans Robert Jauss's reception theory.

literary and historical writing.[48] These lists (of interests and scholars) are far from exhaustive.[49] One specific *horizon d'attente* potentially relevant to this study might be called 'ethnographic' (i.e. focused on specific populations). I use the term here rather anachronistically to refer to the researchers' *horizon(s) d'attente* rather than necessarily to one of the *Chroniques*' aims. While it is undeniable that the text focuses on numerous regions, part of Froissart's fourteenth-century world, it is questionable whether it truly shows 'ethnographic aims' (i.e. aiming to *present* populations' habits and customs).[50] Scholars have in the last decades centred their readings of the *Chroniques* on the various regions/peoples – or *nations*[51] – featured in the chronicle. Froissart's Scotland, Ireland, Iberian Peninsula, Frisia, or Barbary Coast have all been subject to critical scrutiny.[52] There has been one region

[48] AINSWORTH, P. (1972) "Style direct et peinture des personnages chez Froissart." *Romania* 372.4, 498–522; DE MEDEIROS (1979); HARF-LANCNER, L. (1980) "La Chasse au blanc cerf dans le 'Meliador' : Froissart et le mythe d'Acteon." *Marche Romane* 30.3-4, 143–152; ZINK, M. (1980) "Froissart et la nuit du chasseur." *Poétique* 41, 60–76; DILLER, G. T. (1987) "Froissart's *Chroniques*. Knightly Adventures and Warrior Forays: 'Que chascun se retire en sa chascunière'." *Fifteenth-century Studies* 12, 17–26; DE MEDEIROS, M.-T. (1995) "La Besogne de Juberot : Froissart et la bataille d'Aljubarrota." *Nord* 25, 23–28; ZINK, M. 1995. "Le reflet du présent et l'ombre de la mémoire dans les *Chroniques* de Froissart." Ed. C. CORMEAU. *Zeitgeschehen und seine Darstellung im Mittelalter: l'actualité et sa représentation au Moyen Âge*. Bonn: Bouvier, pp. 88–99; ZINK (1998); HARF-LANCNER, L. 1999. "Une Légende mélusienne dans les *Chroniques* de Froissart : l'histoire du seigneur de Coarraze et de son serviteur Horton." Eds. J.-M. BOIVIN and P. MACCANA. *Mélusines continentales et insulaires. Actes du colloque international tenu les 27 et 28 mars 1997 à l'Université Paris XII et au Collège des Irlandais*. Paris: Champion, pp. 205–221; DILLER, G. T. (2001) "Romanesque Construct in Froissart's *Chroniques*: the Case of Pierre de Craon and Louis d'Orléans." *Fifteenth-century Studies* 26, 66–74; SKORGE (2006); VARVARO, A. 2006d. "Problemes philologiques du Livre IV des *Chroniques* de Jean Froissart." Eds. G. CROENEN and P.F. AINSWORTH. *Patrons, Authors and Workshops: Books and Book Production in Paris Around 1400*. Louvain: Peeters, pp. 255–277; VARVARO, A. 2006a. "Aspects littéraires du Livre IV des *Chroniques* de Froissart. L'espace du non-dit." Eds. M. ZINK and O. BOMBARDE. *Froissart dans sa forge : actes du colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004*. Paris: AIBL, pp. 173–182.

[49] See also PALMER, J. J. N., ed., 1981b. *Froissart: Historian*. Woodbridge: Boydell; MADDOX, D. and S. STURM-MADDOX 1998. *Froissart Across the Genres*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida; CASTELLANI, M.-M. and J.-C. HERBIN, eds. 2006. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl; ZINK, M. and O. BOMBARDE 2006. *Froissart dans sa forge : actes du colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004*. Paris: AIBL. Listing all the many contributions of Froissartian studies would be impossible in such a short allotted space here. For brevity's sake, I have focused, in this 'literary review', on the major and most primordial research relevant to my thesis. Many other references relating to Froissart's chronicles, romance, and poetry will be made in the course of this study.

[50] The present study, at least, will discuss and question this issue; see Part I, Chapter 2-V.

[51] See SHEARS (1972) pp. 122–127. It is worth noting that, to Froissart, *nation* tends to merely refer to someone's place of birth (in that sense his *nations* are regions); see HARF-LANCNER, L. 1998a. "Les Frontières de l'Europe et de la civilisation dans les *Chroniques* de Froissart." Eds. E. BAUMGARTNER, et al. *Problèmes interculturels en Europe XVe-XVIIe siècles*. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, pp. 239–253, here p. 239.

[52] DIVERRES, A. H. (1965) "Jean Froissart's Journey to Scotland." *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 1 54–63; HENRI, C. 1976. "Une Écriture, relais entre un monde perçu et un monde recréé : étude sur le réalisme dans la dernière rédaction du premier livre des 'Chroniques' de Jean Froissart." Mémoire de licence, Liège University,

portrayed in the *Chroniques* which has somewhat escaped researchers' gaze so far: Gascony. It is true that the *Voyage* has indeed been one of the favoured critical *microlectures* of late.[53] However, it has rarely been studied in relation to other Gascon narratives, especially those preceding it.[54] In other words, what is, for many, the defining passage of Book III and the *Chroniques* has never truly been compared to its Gascon counterparts. After all, the 1355–1371 Gascon narrative is, too, that of a journey: Froissart-chronicler did go to Bordeaux in 1366–1367, although the reader only learns this later on.[55] Thus, by using Gascony as both a link between Books I and III and an entry point into the *Chroniques*, I hope to bring *ma pierre à l'édifice*, and contribute to fresh Froissartian and, to a larger extent, historiographical readings. Despite the extensive scholarly tradition succinctly mentioned above, there is still room for improvement, or, at least, refinement especially when it comes to the assessment of Book I and its relationship to Book III.[56] I truly hope that this study will add an extra layer to the foundations that previous scholars have started to build. In that sense, I would not dare claim to revolutionize Froissartian studies but merely and humbly to push its scope and insight an extra step further.

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pp. 28-37; DIVERRES, A. H. (1989) "Froissart's Travels in England and Wales." *Fifteenth-century Studies* 15, 107–122; BAUMGARTNER, E. (1992) "Écosse et Écossais: l'entrelacs de la fiction et de l'histoire dans les *Chroniques* et le *Meliador* de Froissart." *L'image de l'autre européen XVe-XVIIe siècles* pp. 11–21; BOIVIN, J.-M. 1993. "L'Irlande et les Irlandais dans l'œuvre de Froissart : métamorphose d'un mythe." Eds. J. DUFOURNET and J.-C. AUBAILLY. *Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble : hommage à Jean Dufournet, professeur à la Sorbonne Nouvelle : littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Champion, pp. 227–241; CONTAMINE, P. 1996. "Froissart and Scotland." Ed. G.G. SIMPSON. *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994*. East Linton: Tuckwell Press, pp. 30–44; HARF-LANCNER (1998a); DE MEDEIROS (2003); VARVARO (2011) pp. 57-65.

[53] TUCOO-CHALA, P. 1981. "Froissart dans le Midi pyrénéen." Ed. J.J.N. PALMER. *Froissart: Historian*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 118–131; DILLER, G. T. 1998. "Froissart's 1989 Travel to Béarn: A Voyage Narration to the Center of the *Chroniques*." Eds. D. MADDOX and S. STURM-MADDOX. *Froissart Across the Genres*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, pp. 50–60; FASSEUR, V., ed., 2009. *Froissart à la cour de Béarn : l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir*. Turnhout: Brepols.

[54] The only synthetic work I have found as regards Gascony/the south-west in the *Chroniques* is a relatively unknown article, LALANDE, D. (1988) "Froissart et le sud-ouest de la France." *Garona* 4, 19–44.

[55] See Part I, Chapter 2.

[56] Only recently has Peter Ainsworth 'rehabilitated' Book II, tying it to Book III (and IV) while still disregarding Book I's value and prose AINSWORTH, P. 2000. "Froissart and His Second Book." Ed. C.T. ALLMAND. *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 21–36, here pp. 24–27. In short, Book I remains, *seul contre tous*, the lesser book. Even Alberto Varvaro in his study of Book IV states that not much remains of Froissart's '*illusions d'autrefois*' (i.e. those of Books I) in his more 'mature' work (i.e. Books III-IV) see VARVARO (2011) pp. 168–171. As far as I am aware, only Kristel Mari Skorge (and to a lesser extent Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros) has been calling for and considering an ideological re-evaluation of Book I; see SKORGE (2006).

The first part of this thesis, entitled 'Chronicling Gascony? (Hi)story of the Gascons, 1345–1371', is concerned with the first two Gascon sequences from Book I. Chapter 1, 'From *Chronique* to *Chroniques*: Re-Writing the Gascon Prelude (1345–1346)', considers how the account of the Earl of Derby's *chevauchées*, a 'prelude' of sorts, lays an essential albeit unrefined foundation for future Gascon narratives to come. This episode is the only Gascon passage which experiences the re-writing process 'in full' – that is from Froissart's source(s) through to the final version of Book I. Such a process allows a first insight into the *Chroniques*' representation of Gascony/the Gascons and Froissart's work as chronicler. Chapter 2, '*La Grande Aquitaine,* the Gascons, and their Prince (1355–1371)', examines Froissart's (hi)story of the rise and fall of *La Grande Aquitaine* under the leadership of Edward III's son, Edward of Woodstock, prince of Wales and Aquitaine. It discusses the representation of the Gascons fighting at home and abroad and their relationship with their prince, thereby raising the question of the reality of the *Chroniques*'/the narrator's idealised and chivalric outlook in Book I. In a shift one could call metaleptic,[57] narratees become narrators; 'the (hi)story of the Gascons' becomes '(hi)stories by the Gascons' through a (narrative) journey from Hainaut to Béarn, from the *Chroniques*' Book I to Book III, from the thesis's Part I to Part II ('Narrative Journeys. (Hi)stories by the Gascons'). In Part II, Chapter 3, 'Bearnese (Hi)stories and Gascon Narrative Voice(s)', considers how Gascon protagonists assume the role of intradiegetic narrators whilst Froissart's narrative voice seemingly hides behind his Gascon narrative counterparts and his own protagonist-figure. While Chapter 2 is focused on the relationships of Edward of Woodstock/Gascons/narrator/author, Chapter 3 is very much centred on that of Gaston III/Gascons/narrators/author to reveal the work's ideological impact through questions of (narrative) authority, diegetic verisimilitude, and historical reality/fictionality.

[57] See Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of 'metalepsis'.

PART I

Chronicling Gascony?

(Hi)story of the Gascons, 1345–1371

CHAPTER 1 – FROM *CHRONIQUE* TO *CHRONIQUES*: RE-WRITING THE 'GASCON PRELUDE' (1345–1346)

I. Introduction – the Earl of Derby's Campaigns: Froissart's First (Textual) Contact with Gascony

> Or weil-je, si je puis, maintenant raconter les aventures et faitz d'armes avenus en Gascongne, en Xaintonge et en Poitou ; car ilz ne sont pas moins à prisier que ceulx dont j'ay parlé. (JB ARB II:25)

Like Jean le Bel (another chronicler from Hainaut) and Jean Froissart after him, I would like to turn my attention to Gascony during the 1345–1346 campaigns led by Henry of Grosmont, future duke of Lancaster, first earl of Derby, Edward III's cousin, and the King's Lieutenant in Aquitaine.[58] These *chevauchées* are the first major wave of English success in Aquitaine since the beginning of the dispute over the Anglo-Gascon duchy and the crown of France in 1337 (Minois 2008:58–111). It may explain why le Bel devotes a large piece of his narrative (written, from c. 1357 to c. 1370, to the glory of Edward III and relating events from 1326 to 1361) to events in Gascony for the years 1345–1346 (Chareyron 1996:35). Jean Froissart, using le Bel's *Chronique* as source for the first phases of the Anglo-French conflict, develops the narrative further. Le Bel's and Froissart's are the most detailed chroniclers' accounts: Giovanni Villani dedicates only three small chapters to these matters;[59] the *Grandes Chroniques de France* one chapter and a couple of paragraphs;[60] the *Chronique normande du*

[58] On the Earl of Derby and his military campaigns, see BERTRANDY, M. 1870. *Étude sur les Chroniques de Froissart, guerre de Guienne, 1345-1346, lettres adressées à M. Léon Lacabane*. Bordeaux: de Lanefranque; FOWLER, K. A. 1969. *The King's Lieutenant: Henry of Grosmont, First Duke of Lancaster, 1310–1361*. London: Elek; ROGERS, C. (2004) "The Bergerac Campaign (1345) and the Generalship of Henry of Lancaster." *Journal of Medieval Military History* 2, 89–110; MINOIS (2008) pp. 91–94.

[59] VILLANI, G. and G. PORTA 1990. *Nuova cronica*. Vol. III. Parma: Guanda, Libro Tredicimo: XLVII (pp. 406–411), LXI (pp. 440–442), and LXXVII (pp. 476–477). On both Giovanni and Matteo Villani's chronicles, Hoskins notes 'although as an Italian seemingly remote from the events of the Hundred Years War, the Villani family was widely involved in banking and commerce and the chronicles of Giovanni and subsequently Matteo Villani are well respected sources for events during the war' HOSKINS, P. (2009) "The Itineraries of the Black Prince's *Chevauchées* of 1355 and 1356: Observations and Interpretations." *The Journal of Medieval Military History* 7, 12–37, here p. 24, n. 43.

[60] *Grandes chron.* V pp. 438–442, 459, 464–465 . It has been suggested that Froissart also borrowed from *Les Grandes Chroniques de France* for Book I; see MOEGLIN, J.-M. (2006) "Froissart, le métier d'historien et l'invention de la Guerre de Cent Ans." *Romania* 124, 429–470, here p. 429. While I think it may be true for some passages, I do not think it is the case here: overall, as le Bel's account is more developed than the *Grandes chroniques*', it makes sense that Froissart's written source would be, in this instance, le Bel's.

XIVème siècle a few pages (*Chron. norm.*:63, 65–74); the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* only a few paragraphs (*Chron. Val.*:12–13).

Despite (or perhaps because of) the length of le Bel's and Froissart's accounts, scholars have noted a variety of historical inaccuracies and omissions: toponymy and topography are at times patchy; numbers are exaggerated and dates are mixed up.[61] While inaccuracies are at times worth noting, I would like to stress that it is not fundamental to the purpose of this research and, as George T. Diller notes, '[c]e seront donc, moins les faits et les dates de Froissart qui nous intéresseront, que leur place dans la narration, leur éclairage particulier, leur substance morale et psychologique' (1984:8).[62]

Thus, I approach the 1345–1346 Gascon sequence as a window first onto Froissart's re-writing process (from the *Chronique* to the *Chroniques* and various versions of Book I);[63] and second into his first textual encounter with and perception of Gascony. In 1345–1346, the future chronicler was but a child; he had not yet started writing his history (nor had he set foot in Gascony) and would only do so a couple of decades after the events described. At first glance, the *Chroniques*' narrative of those events may seem somewhat detached from Froissart's personal voice, being impersonal and heavily influenced by le Bel's account. A faint but perceptible voice, distinct from le Bel's, does make an appearance which paves the way for future Gascon narratives.[64]

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[61] See, for example, *Grandes chron.* V p. 442 n. 441; SHF III p. xxiii n. 7; LG I & II pp. 459, 504 (n. 1 and n. 7 respectively).

[62] See also HENRI (1976) p. iv.

[63] This re-writing process proves to be much more than merely a stylistic re-writing, unlike what F. S. Shears implied, stating that 'these modifications [...] bring no fresh light to bear upon the former narrative'; see SHEARS (1972) pp. 185–189, here pp. 186–187.

[64] On the concept of voice/narrative voice, see MARNETTE, S. 1998. *Narrateur et points de vue dans la littérature française médiévale : une approche linguistique*. Bern: Lang; MARNETTE, S. and H. SWIFT, eds. 2011. *Les Voix narratives du récit médiéval : Approches linguistiques et littéraires*. vol. 22; see also Part II, Chapter 3. Regarding narrator/voice, I will, for now, refer to Sophie Marnette's definition: '[l]e narrateur est l'instance textuelle qui raconte l'histoire et qui, le cas échéant, est désignée par la 1ère pers. : "*je*, narrateur raconte une histoire à *vous*, auditeur(s)/lecteur(s)." Dans les récits à tendance impersonnelle, le *je* est pratiquement absent du texte mais latent : "l'histoire est racontée [par *je*]." Dans ce dernier cas, l'auditeur/lecteur est en présence d'une voix non personnelle qui lui raconte une histoire en usant très rarement de la 1ère pers. mais qui peut à certaines reprises émettre des opinions et présenter les événements selon une perspective qui est extérieure à celle des

II. From *Chronique* to *Chroniques*: Inspiration, Borrowing, and Expansion

> Voirs est que messires Jehans li Bieux, jadis canonnes de saint Lambiert de Liège, en croniza à son temps auqune cose. Or ay je che livre et ceste histoire augmenté par juste enqueste que j'en ay fait en travaillant par le monde et en demandant as vaillans hommes, chevaliers et escuyers, qui les ont aidiés à acroistre, le verité des avenues, et ossi à aucuns rois d'armes et leurs mareschaus, tant en Franche comme en Engleterre où j'ay travillié apriès yaux pour avoir la verité de la matère; car par droit tels gens sont juste inquisiteur et raporteur des besoingnes, et croy que pour leur honneur il n'en oseroient mentir. (SHF I/2:209)

Froissart makes no secret (as shown above in the Prologue to Book I) of the fact that he borrowed from le Bel.[65] Despite this, he does not merely reproduce le Bel's material. Gerald Nachtwey justly notes that, despite the assumption of 'verbatim duplication', the two chronicles are not identical (Nachtwey 2011). He calls for a reassessment of the narrative relationship between these works in order to try and understand 'the changes that Froissart effected' and the 'two chronicles' difference of "voice"' (2011:121). Froissart's voice expresses the aim to *acroistre* his *matère* thanks to informants and witnesses. And *acroistre* he does: '"[h]istorier", c'est amplifier', says Christine Ferlampin-Acher (2005:196). The account of Derby's Gascon *chevauchées* is a case in point regarding the re-writing process from *Chronique* to *Chroniques*. Some passages are copied almost word-for-word;[66] others are considerably expanded or simply added.[67] Rather than listing all these modifications/additions, I will point to a couple of significant alterations and near-verbatim

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personnages' MARNETTE (1998) p. 20. As for the distinction author/implied author, I envisage the notion of implied author, as Gérard Genette and Sophie Marnette did, as '"l'image de l'auteur dans le texte" telle que le lecteur peut la reconstruire' ibid., p. 17, n. 7. The phrase 'Froissart-author' used in this study most often refers to such an image whereas 'Froissart-chronicler' calls the 'real/historical' Froissart to mind. I will come back to this matter in Chapter 3.

[65] See also SHF II pp. 1–2; LG I & II pp. 71–72. On le Bel/Froissart relationship, see CHAREYRON, N. 1996. *Jean le Bel : le maître de Froissart, grand imagier de la guerre de Cent Ans*. Brussels: De Boeck Université; HARF-LANCNER, L. 2003. "De la Prouesse du chevalier à la gloire du clerc : les prologues des *Chroniques* de Froissart." Eds. E. BAUMGARTNER and L. HARF-LANCNER. *Seuils de l'oeuvre dans le texte médiéval*. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne-nouvelle, pp. 147–175, here pp. 156–158; MOEGLIN (2006).

[66] Verbatim passages are not necessarily devoid of interest and can bear the marks of the borrower's interpretation; see SPIEGEL (1995) pp. 2–5 and SPENCE, J. 2013. *Reimagining History in Anglo-Norman Prose Chronicles*. Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, p. 22.

[67] A very informative table detailing correspondence between le Bel's chapters and Book I's versions can be found in the Diller edition of Rome pp. 1006–1007.

borrowings to emphasise the effects these processes have on the narrative, namely the heightened focus on Gascony/the Gascons and the subtle move from partiality to neutrality.[68]

Structurally, there are two distinct sections regarding le Bel's and Froissart's accounts and their correspondence. These happen to match the 'historical phases' of Derby's expedition – i.e. the first *chevauchée* (1345) and the second (1346) (Fowler 1969:53–74). The events concerned with the 1345 *chevauchée* are summed up in chapter LXVII of le Bel's *Chronique* (JB ARB II:39–43). Apart from a couple of details regarding how certain towns surrendered, le Bel's account is a narrative summary: 'Aprez, le gentil conte conquist par force et par assault le fort chastel qu'on appelle Segrat, et aprez, la trèsforte ville et chastel de la Ryelle […]. Aprez, quant il eut pris la ville […] il ala par devant Montpesat […]' (JB ARB II:41). Such a summary may be due to le Bel's lack of information regarding specific regional events. Indeed, he previously noted about Gascon and Scottish matters (1340):

> [D]es aventures sourvindrent en ce temps en Gascongne, en Poitou et es aultres marches, je ne suys mie bien infourmé et n'en faiz point de mention ne de celles d'Escoce entre les Anglès et les Escots, car je pourroye faillir à voir dire; si vault mielx que je m'en taise jusques à tant que j'en avray meilleur loisir et que j'en seray mielx infourmé, car j'en diroye envis aultre chose que la verité. (JB SHF I:212; quoted in De Medeiros 2005:126)

Its counterpart in the *Chroniques* takes up thirty chapters.[69] Froissart adds precisions about the circumstances of specific battles; the population's reaction; Derby's attitude; etc. By contrast, the sections regarding 1346 are near-identical in le Bel's and Froissart's accounts.[70] One might wonder as to what drove Froissart to expand the first section. He may have sought (and found) informants to *acroistre* his *matère* as the Prologue's narrator suggests. These expansions are, in any case, significant by revealing and bringing Gascony into clearer focus

[68] At least, as far as France and England are concerned; it seems that, on the contrary, the *Chroniques*' narrator is partial about the Gascons, see *infra*.
[69] §§205–235 for the A&B version (for more detail about Book I's different versions, see *infra* Chapter 1-III); see also SHF III pp. 43–96; LG I & II pp. 460–507.
[70] JB ARB II pp. 41–60; SHF III pp. 109–128; LG I & II pp. 518–536.

as a major 'theatre of war'.[71] Such focus is apparent when comparing his account of Edward III's decision of sending the Earl of Derby to Gascony with le Bel's:

> A celle feste de Windesore vindrent encores messages au roy de par la bonne cité de Bordeaulx, et de par les seigneurs de Gascongne, requérant secours et ayde de gens d'armes, sique avant que la feste fust finie il ordonna lesquelz de ses gens iroient en Gascongne, et lesquelz en Bretaigne, pour secourir la vaillant contesse de Montfort, et combien il y envoyeroit de gens en chascune partie; et proposa qu'il iroit luy mesmes en Flandres [...]. (JB ARB II:35)

Le Bel carries on with comments about the Flemish situation before returning to the Earl of Derby and the expedition's preparations. The same account in the *Chroniques* reads thus:

> La feste durant et seant, pluiseur nouvelles vinrent au roy de pluiseurs pays. Et par especial il y vinrent chevalier de Gascongne, li sires de Lespare, li sires de Chaumont et li sires de Muchident, envoiiés de par les aultres barons et chevaliers qui pour le temps de lors se tenoient englès, telz que le signeur de Labreth, le signeur de Pumiers, le seigneur de Monferant, le signeur de Landuras, le signeur de Courton, le signeur de Longerem, le signeur de Graili et pluiseur aultres, tout en l'obeissance le roy d'Engleterre, et ossi de par le cité de Bourdiaus et ceste de Bayone. Si furent li dessus dit messagier moult bien venu, bien recuelliet et conjoy dou roy d'Engleterre et de son conseil. Si remonstrèrent li dessus dit au roy comment petitement et foiblement ses bons pays de Gascongne et si bon ami et sa bonne cité de Bourdiaus estoient conforté et secouru. Se li prioient li dessus dit qu'il y volsist envoiier un tel chapitainne et tant de bonnes gens d'armes avoech lui, qu'il fuissent fort assés et poissant de resister à l'encontre des François qui y tenoient les camps, avoecques ceulz qu'il trouveroient ens ou pays. Li rois respondi moult liement et leur dist que ossi feroit il. (LG I & II:458)

Froissart gives much more detail than his predecessor. He lists all the Gascon lords who *se tenoient englès* and insists on others who were *tout en l'obeissance le roy d'Engleterre*. The theme of the Gascon lords' fragile loyalty (*pour le temps*) is introduced. In the Rome manuscript (the final version of Book I) the stress on loyalty/betrayal is even stronger.[72]

Even though le Bel's and Froissart's versions of the second phase of Derby's expedition are mostly similar, differences still occur. For example, in the *Chronique* (JB ARB II:57), the reader is told how at the siege of Aiguillon (1346) Walter Manny (a Hainaulter knight of the English party) leaves the siege with some of his men to gather food. On one of these sorties, he encounters an unnamed *mareschal* of the French army. Manny sends for, and

[71] The *OED* defines 'theatre of war' as 'a particular region or one of the separate regions of the world in which a war is being fought', cf. 'theatre' *The Oxford English Dictionary Online* (version December 2013). Oxford University Press <http://dictionary.oed.com> (last accessed: 10 January 2013). George T. Diller also refers to them as 'theatres of action'; DILLER (2001) p. 71.

[72] 'Et avoient requis chil signeur au roi que il vosist de là en Giane envoiier auqunes gens d'armes et archiers de par li, pour tenir et faire frontière à l'encontre d'auquns **rebelles barons** et chevaliers dou pais, qui constraindoient **ses honmes et ses obeissans** ou pais de Bourdelois, d'Auberoce, de Bregerac et de la Riole, par quoi on euist vraie connissance en Giane que li rois d'Engleterre estoit lors sires' SHF III p. 258, my emphasis.

receives, help from the castle eventually triumphing and stealing the cattle the French were bringing along. One version of the same account in the *Chroniques* (Amiens II:366)[73] is almost the same; the narrator, however, discloses the name of the *mareschal*, Charles de Montmorency [Carlez de Montmorenssi], who was wounded and saved *in extremis*. These extra details are also found in the A&B version of the *Chroniques* (LG I & II:531–533):[74] the English troops still defeat the French, yet here the latter retain their cattle. Finally, in the Rome manuscript (Rome:664–665),[75] no information is given as to whether Charles de Montmorency is wounded; the cattle is hidden and 'les Englois n'orent aultre cose que l'esbatement des armes' (Rome:665). Most importantly, the narrator cannot name the most deserving side (i.e. the 'winning' side?):

> Et se departirent les Englois et les François casquns l'un de l'autre. Messires Gautiers dit de Manni et li compagnon d'Agillon rentrerent en la garnison, et li François retournerent en l'oost. Et ne savoient chil qui parloient de ce rencontre a qui donner l'onnour de la journee, ou as François ou as Englois. (Rome:665)

The narrative gradually shifts from an absolute English victory (with the added perk of the stolen cattle in le Bel's account and the Amiens version) to an inconclusive battle. The extra details (e.g. Montmorency's name) may be narrative blanks eventually completed by Froissart's informants met along his forthcoming travels (the fate of the cattle could have been altered for the same reason). What may prove more dubious is whether the chronicler was able to find eye-witnesses who could inform him of the encounter's outcome. In the Rome prologue, Froissart-author-narrator removes mention of his written source, le Bel, and only refers to potential eye-witnesses (knights, heralds, etc.) (Rome:35; quoted in Harf-Lancner 2003:163–164). That said, the Rome manuscript was composed over fifty years after the events described; it is thus entirely possible to assume that Froissart enacted this change without relying on external sources, written or oral. The narrator's indecisive outcome might

[73] See also ibid., pp. 344–345.
[74] See also ibid., pp. 123–125.
[75] See also ibid., pp. 345–346.

therefore be a product of the chronicler himself – i.e. an invention – rather than gleaned information. The 'later' *Chroniques* (i.e. Rome version, Book III, & Book IV) have often been described as having a pro-French stance, no doubt due to passages such as that presented above. I believe however that it suggests a stance of neutrality rather than one of shifted partisanship.[76] The passage presented above is only one example of the re-writing process between *Chronique* and the 'many' *Chroniques*. While the altered structure, development, and expansions brought to le Bel's original account have shown that there is a heightened Gascon focus in Froissart's narrative, the above example has also demonstrated that more attention should be devoted to the re-writing process within the *Chroniques*' themselves.

III. From Amiens to Rome? Re-writing Gascony

In the nineteenth century, Froissart's two main editors, the Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove and Siméon Luce, distinguished three to five different versions of Book I. Today, most critics settle for three major versions/families: A&B, Amiens, and Rome.[77] As Diller points out, however, 'si l'on tombe d'accord pour distinguer trois rédactions distinctes du premier Livre, cela ne permet pas d'affirmer avec assurance l'ordre de leur rédaction' (LG I & II:62–63). While there is no doubt that the Rome manuscript is the last one to have been written in the

[76] As early as the A&B version, the prologue states the narrator's intent not to 'porter partie, ne coulourer plus l'un que l'autre, fors tant que li biens fais des bons, de quel pays qu'il soient' LG I & II p. 71. On Froissart and neutrality, see ibid., p. 12 n. 11; STAHULJAK, Z. 2001. "Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*: *Translatio* and the Impossible Apprenticeship of Neutrality." Eds. R. BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI, et al. *The Politics of Translation in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, pp. 121–142; HARF-LANCNER (2003) pp. 156–157; STAHULJAK, Z. 2006. "Neutrality Affects: Froissart and the Practice of Historiographic Authorship." Ed. V.E. GREENE. *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*. New York: Palgrave-McMillan, pp. 137–156.

[77] Godfried Croenen has recently noted, in a conference paper entitled *Reconstructing a publication history of Froissart's Chronicles*, that there may be a total of over eleven versions. I would like to thank Dr Helen Swift for procuring me Dr Croenen's handout for that paper. For the purpose of this study, I will settle on the three main families noted above; see introductions in LG I & II pp. 9–36 and pp. 61–69 and in Amiens I pp. iii–lv; see also PALMER (1981a); DILLER (1984) pp. 18–20, 148–156; ZINK (1998) pp. 1–48; HARF-LANCNER (2003) pp. 147–149; DE MEDEIROS (2003) pp. 11–28; GUENÉE, B. 2008. *Du Guesclin et Froissart : la fabrication de la renommée*. Paris: Tallandier, pp. 68–71.

early 1400s,[78] the relative age of the first two versions of Book I is much more uncertain (LG I & II:66; Moeglin 2006:431). This is potentially problematic: when the text varies from one redaction to the other, there is a need to identify the original version, the modified one, and their respective dates of composition. De Lettenhove and Luce disagreed on chronological matters: the former (the Belgian editor) considering Amiens to be the original version, with the latter (the French editor) believing A&B to have been produced first. Until recently, it was Luce's theory which was most commonly adopted: a first redaction of Book I was thought to have been achieved by 1373 (*la première rédaction proprement dite*; i. e. the A manuscripts) followed by a revised version (*la première rédaction révisée*; i. e. the B manuscripts), then by another account towards 1377–1378 (*la seconde rédaction*; i. e. the Amiens manuscript). These conclusions have since been (at least partially) revised.[79] A closer look at both versions highlights historical and stylistic discrepancies which would suggest that Amiens, or at least part of it, was the first version. This is George T. Diller's conclusion and the one adopted here.[80] However, some unresolved issues persist.[81] Most modern critics agree that the *Chroniques*, as we know them today, were not composed before 1369.[82] J.N.N. Palmer considers Amiens to have been composed as late as 1390;[83] George T. Diller and Marie-Thérèse de Médeiros agree that whilst parts may have been composed at a later stage, the majority was probably already written by the early 1380s (Zink 1998:40; De Medeiros

[78] The manuscript only extends to the year 1350; see LG I & II p. 67. On Rome's re-writing, see ZINK (1995) pp. 98–99.
[79] See *supra* n. 77 for references.
[80] As well as J.N.N. Palmer's; see PALMER (1981a); PALMER (1982) "Froissart et le Héraut Chandos." *Le Moyen Âge. Revue d'histoire et de philologie.* 88.2, 271–292. Recently, Jean-Marie Moeglin has suggested a different order altogether: A, Amiens, B, then Rome, see MOEGLIN (2006). I am however not entirely convinced due to cases (such as the Aiguillon episode described above) which highlight a closer correspondence *Chronique*/Amiens (see *supra* p. 40).
[81] LG I & II p. 66. George T. Diller considers that the Amiens manuscript, at least until section 852 (i.e. 1372), is indeed the first redaction (Amiens I p. xix). For the purpose of this study in which Froissart's Gascon accounts of Book I will be analysed for the years 1345–1346 and 1355–1371, the Amiens version as original thus fits.
[82] ZINK (1998) pp. 16–17. That does not mean that Froissart had not taken careful notes of witnesses' accounts and sources, pre-1369.
[83] PALMER (1981a); PALMER (1982). He bases his argument on the fact that Froissart would have borrowed from Herald Chandos's *Vie du Prince Noir* (1385–1386), his account of the Black Prince's Spanish campaigns, which I do not find entirely satisfactory; see Chapter 2.

2003:16–17). I agree with the latter critics on this issue, if only because it seems highly unlikely that Froissart was still finishing the first version of his first Book whilst simultaneously completing the third, which we know was written post-1389 (i.e. post trip to Béarn), probably in the early 1390s.

Returning to the *Chroniques*' narrative, the narrator, as mentioned above, announces how Edward III sends troops to Gascony, Brittany, and Ireland. Gascon affairs are mentioned first because Derby 'eut le plus grant carge, et ossi les plus belles aventures d'armes', or at least so the narrator states here in A&B (LG I & II:460) and Amiens (SHF III:261). The narrator in Rome does not give his reasons for mentioning the Gascon situation first – critics have noted how the Rome version is more critical than descriptive.[84] The re-writing process will be examined in this section to see the extent of alterations to the 'Gascon prelude' and the significance of such changes.

> (1) Vous devés sçavoir que grandes nouvelles furent en France de celle bataille d'Auberoce, et trop petite plainte avoient li Gascon des François. Et disoient li auqun, l'un à l'autre: « Ha Dieus ! laissiés aler. Ces Gascons sont englois à moitié ; il ne desirent à avoir aultre signeur que le roi d'Engleterre. » Qant chil signeur de Gascongne, qui à la bataille d'Auberoce avoient esté pris, vinrent en France pour remoustrer au roi et à son consel conment les besongnes de Gascongne se portoient mal et porteroient, car les Englois tenroient les camps, qui ne lor iroit au devant, et voloient ossi estre auqunement aidiet de lors raençons, uuls ne voloit à euls entendre, ne il ne pooient avoir point d'audiense ; mais les faisoit on là croupir et seoir au palais ou ailleurs, tant que il estoient tout lasset et tout hodet, et encores, avoecques tous les damages que il avoient eus, despendre lors deniers et laissier lors gages ou lors gens en crant aval Paris ; ne il ne pooient veoir le roi, ne parler à lui, ne il ne se savoient à qui traire, pour avoir responses de lors requestes. Et se il faisoient auqunes supplications, et il les poursievissent à ceuls à qui il les avoient baillies, on lor disoit : « Retournés demain ou apriès, » et chils demain ne venoit onques. Tous les jours estoit ce à reconmenchier. Dont ce venoit et tournoit à ces barons et chevaliers de Gascongne à trop grande desplaisance, et maudisoient l'orgoel de France, et le sejour où li rois et si consilleur estoient, et se departoient de Paris malcontent et plus endebté assés que quant il i estoient venu pour esploitier. (SHF III:295)

The theme of a Gascon lack of loyalty is here (in Rome) quite apparent. It is an original passage, not found in Amiens or A&B, and clearly reminiscent of another from Book III.[85] It seems that ultimately the narrator, post-1400, deems the Gascons *point estable* still as well as

[84] On the Rome manuscript and its 'perception of reality', see HENRI (1976) p. iv esp.; on the final version of Book I see also Introduction in Rome; DILLER (1984); Introduction in LG I & II pp. 65–66.

[85] 'Tele est la nature des Gascoings : ilz ne sont point estable, mais encores aiment ilz plus les Angloiz que les François, car leur guerre est plus belle sur les François que elle ne soit sur les Angloiz, c'est li uns des plus principaulx incidences qui plus les y encline' LG III & IV p. 312.

englois à moitié. The topos of Gascon shifting allegiances is far from new.[86] It is, however, expressed in different ways in Amiens and A&B. The battle of Auberoche (1345)[87] is presented as a turning point for Gascon fidelity. The many Gascons fighting on the French side at Auberoche are so crushed that 'tout li plus grant de Gascongne' are made prisoners and about to 'turn English' (LG I & II:487):[88] 'tout consideret, il se misent en l'obeissance dou conte Derbi qui representoit adonc là le personne dou roy d'Engleterre, et li jurèrent faulté et hommage, et le recogneurent à signeur' (LG I & II:487–488). This shift, *tout consideret*, is supported by the use of ethnic and allegiance terminology. Apart from the section referring to Gascons who *se tenoient englès*, the majority of specific references to the Gascons as an ethnic/regional group, before Auberoche, are made in relation to their adherence to the French party.[89] After the battle of Auberoche, however, the number of references to the Gascons 'on the English side' starts to increase in all three versions.[90] It must be acknowledged that there is also an increase – albeit not as noteworthy – in le Bel's *Chronique* of the use of 'Gascon' coupled with English allegiance (JB ARB II:49); there are, however, few instances of 'Gascon/French' pre-Auberoche given that the *Chronique*'s account is here extremely succinct. Even though some of the uses of 'Gascon/English' in Froissart's chronicle (especially Amiens) may have been borrowed directly from le Bel's, there are many cases in which 'Gascon/English' is used in the *Chroniques*' narrative and not in le Bel's. The transfer of Gascon terminology first in relation to French then English allegiance emphasises the narrator's acknowlegment of a Gascon loyalty shift. It is far from

[86] The comment on the Gascon lords 'qui pour le temps de lors se tenoient englès' LG I & II p. 458 comes back to mind.
[87] An uncontested English victory, the crowning achievement of Derby's 1345 *chevauchée*.
[88] In Amiens, 'toutte le fleur de Gascoingne' is taken prisoner by the English and sent to Bordeaux, SHF III pp. 291–292.
[89] '[L]i Gascon franchois' ibid., p. 265 (Amiens); 'les barons de Gascongne, qui François se tenoient' LG I & II p. 477 (A&B) and 'des chevaliers de Gascoingne qui pour Franchois se tenoient' SHF III p. 282 (Amiens).
[90] 'Gascons que Englès' LG I & II p. 523 (A&B); 'Gascons et Englès' SHF III p. 332 (Amiens) ; '[l]i contes Derbi et les Gascons et Englois' Rome p. 764.

being the last.[91] Other chroniclers make note of such a transfer;[92] however, the *Chroniques*' narrative, the most extended pre-Auberoche, is the one in which the shift is the most (lexically) apparent, and appears in early versions of Book I. This acknowledgment is much reinforced in the Rome version: the Gascons are *rebelles barons* (from an English point of view) and *Englois à moitié* (from a French one) – both perspectives explain and reinforce the narrator's comment on the *point estable* Gascons in Book III.[93]

There is another glimpse of the Rome narrator's more explicit perspective on the Gascons. All three versions report the failed English attempt at seizing the town of Périgueux and the Gascon lords' (of the French party) plan to surprise the English – asleep in their camp – with an attack.[94] The Rome narrator is the only one to venture an explanation as to the Gascon tactics: '[l]i contes de Pieregorth et ses oncles et li chevalier, qui en Pieregorth estoient, sceurent bien où les Englois estoient alé logier. Si se avisèrent de euls resvillier, car Gascons sont moult convoitous et se prendent priés de euls aventurer pour gaegnier' (SHF III:277). In the 1400s when Froissart-chronicler writes the final version of Book I, its narrator seems to have a partially negative opinion of the *convoitous* Gascons. Yet his portrayal is not uniformly negative. Another original Rome comment states that, when Derby's men return to Bordeaux in 1346 with numerous prisoners, 'en recrurent courtoisement les auquns sus lors

[91] The Gascon allegiance situation will be later reversed. In fact, the Gascon grievances against the French, noted in quote (1) above, will find its exact counterpart (i.e. grievances against English leadership) for the years 1369–1371 in the second extended Gascon narrative (see Chapter 2).

[92] The *Chron. Val.* notes that 'le duc de Lenclastre avoit grant gent; car foison de Gascoins s'estoient tournez Angloiz' *Chron. Val.* p. 12; Villani uses phrases such as 'l'Inghilesi e Guasconi di loro parte' VILLANI, et al. (1990) p. 409; the *Grandes chron.* not only mentions that the Gascons 'commencièrent à brisier les trieves en faisant pluseurs courses sus le royaume et les gens de France' but is also quite specific as the men breaking the truce are not just Gascon but are *Gascons* and *Bordelois*, see *Grandes chron.* V p. 438. The *Chron. norm.* does not seem to specify the change – or at least it is not apparent as, apart from one example found of 'Anglois et Gascoins' (*Chron. norm.* p. 67), the narrator mostly uses *Anglois* and *François* on their own and does not rely on the use of 'Gascon' much.

[93] Besides, given the time-frame of the Rome redaction, it is highly unlikely that the French direct discourse, accusing the Gascons of being 'half-English' (allegedly reported by the narrator) is accurate. It is much more logical to assume that it is one of Froissart's constructed direct discourses shedding light on the narrator's own perspective. In other words, in this case and many others, the narrator's voice speaks through his characters or as Diller phrases it in his Introduction to his Amiens edition: 'Froissart narrateur va jusqu'à vouloir fondre sa voix dans la parole de ses héros' (although the term hero may be somewhat exaggerated); see Introduction Amiens p. xxviii. On Froissart's 'imagined direct discourses' and their ideological implications, see Chapter 3.

[94] SHF III pp. 275–277 (Amiens); LG I & II pp. 473–477 (A&B); SHF III pp. 277–278 (Rome).

fois, qui depuis paiierent a lor aise, car en tels coses Englois et Gascons ont esté moult courtois' (Rome:763–768). It may be, however, that if the Gascons (and the English) are courteous *en tels coses*, they are not civilised with regard to other matters. In any case, what seems clear is that while the Rome narrative voice appears much more explicit and emphatic, the earlier versions already acknowledge Gascon 'shiftiness' lexically.

IV. Conclusion – A Prelude to What is About to Follow?

The earlier versions of this Gascon narrative do borrow from le Bel's; however, some parts are without doubt expanded. It is precisely this expansion which allows us to detect, as early as the Amiens version, an opposition between Franco-Gascon on the one hand (pre-Auberoche) and Anglo-Gascon on the other (post-Auberoche). What is much more apparent than in any other chroniclers' accounts is the swaying Gascon allegiance. This lexical assessment of the situation is reinforced in Rome through narrative comments about Gascon character and behaviour. In other words, the Rome narrator's voice is more easily noticeable than in the earlier versions of Book I. His perception of Gascony is expressed in more direct terms although it is already detectable – albeit faintly – in Amiens and A&B.

Despite le Bel's influence on the *Chroniques*' early versions, the first extensive Gascon narrative lays the foundation for a specific kind of narrative perception of Gascony/the Gascons for subsequent 'histories' through (1) the lexical use of ethnic/regional and allegiance terminology to highlight Gascon loyalty shifts; (2) the use of direct discourse as potentially representative of the narrator's voice; (3) the rise of narrative comments/voice emphasizing the narrator's perception of the Gascons. This specific narrative, a 'Gascon prelude' of sorts paves the way for forthcoming accounts.

CHAPTER 2 – *LA GRANDE AQUITAINE*, THE GASCONS, AND THEIR PRINCE (1355–1371)

I. **Introduction – *La Grande Aquitaine*, 1355–1371**

1355 marked the end of the first phase of open hostilities between England and France. By then, campaigns had already been fought and won: the 1340 naval battle of Sluys in Flanders was an English victory, whilst Edward III's successful *chevauchée* in Normandy saw the crowning achievement of the battle of Crécy in 1346 (Seward 1978:41–75). War was fought on all fronts: Normandy, Flanders, or Brittany. The Duchy of Aquitaine was no exception. Anglo-French skirmishes were not new in Gascony (Barber 2003:110), as demonstrated by the 1345–1346 Gascon prelude. In 1355 the situation in English Aquitaine was critical: during the previous five years, hostile military actions in the duchy had resulted in France regaining territory in Saintonge and Poitou (Barber 1978:102; Seward 1978:77–101). Local *seigneurs* called their English overlord for help. Some went to England to complain about Jean d'Armagnac (the King of France's lieutenant in Languedoc) and his policy. It was the Gascon lords who suggested that Edward III should send his eldest son, Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales and future Prince of Aquitaine (later known as the Black Prince), to the rescue of English continental territories. The prince was then aged twenty-five and had not yet had the opportunity to lead an army. Moreover, no English King (or heir) had visited the duchy for over fifty years.[95] Sending the Prince of Wales as the King's lieutenant in Aquitaine to the rescue of local lords was both a military and political decision; it would 'enhance Gascon loyalty' (Hewitt 1958:7). In Chandos Herald's *Vie du Prince Noir*, the benefits of sending a

[95] The last one had been Edward I in 1286–1289; see BARBER, R. W. 1978. *Edward, Prince of Wales and Aquitaine: A Biography of the Black Prince*. London: Allen Lane, p. 113.

prince to Aquitaine are expressed via Edward of Woodstock's very first direct discourse in which the theme of love between the Gascon lords and their king/prince is introduced.[96]

Edward of Woodstock and his army embarked on ships from Plymouth to Bordeaux in September 1355. For the following two years his Anglo-Gascon army carried out two *chevauchées*: one incursion into the Toulousain marches in 1355 and one into the Poitou region in 1356 culminating in the battle of Poitiers on 19 September. Both expeditions were resounding successes: border cities and castles surrendered to the English; a tremendous number of French lords were taken prisoner, including Jean II of France at Poitiers. As a result, the treaty of Brétigny was signed in 1360, granting the English extended continental possessions in the south-west.[97] This gigantic domain, nearly as vast as the twelfth-century region ruled by Henry II of England and Eleanor of Aquitaine, rekindled English hopes of a '*Grande Aquitaine*'. In 1360 it seemed an attainable goal: peace had been achieved. In July 1362, 'le duché d'Acquitainne et touttes les terres appartenans et respondans à celle' (Amiens III:277) became a principality under the leadership of Edward of Woodstock, Prince of Wales and, now, Aquitaine. Given the chronicler's regard for the region both textually and personally (Froissart-chronicler's first journey to the south-west took place in 1366–1367), one can wonder what image he presents of Gascony in the sixteen years – from 1355 to 1371 – when the fate of Aquitaine was so tightly linked to that of its prince and one can compare that vision with that of his contemporaries.

[96] 'Un jour il [the prince] dit au roi son piere/Et a la roigne sa miere:/»Sire«, fait il, »pur Dieu mercy,/Vous savez bien qu'il est ensy/Q'en Gascoigne vous ayment tant/Lui noble chivaler vaillant/Q'ils ont grant paine pur vostre guerre/Et pur vostre honour conquere;/Et si n'ont point de chieftaine/De vostre sang, c'este chose certaine./Et pur ce, si vous le trovez/En vostre conseille que faisissez/Envoier la un de voz filtz,/Ils en serroient pluis hardis.«' *Vie* pp. 63, vv. 533–546; BARBER, R. W. 1979. *The Life and Campaigns of the Black Prince: From Contemporary Letters, Diaries and Chronicles, Including Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince*. London: Folio Society, p. 92. Love for one's overlord/vassals is, as shall be seen, a recurrent topos in both Chandos Herald's and Froissart's narratives, one defining for Gascon identity and allegiance, see *infra* Chapter 2-III and -IV.

[97] '[C]'est assavoir de Bergorre, d'Agenes, de Kaoursin, de Pieregorch, de Roergue, de Poito, de le Rocele, de Saintongue et de Limozin, le comté d'Agouleme, le fief de Thouwart, le fief de Belleville, avoecq toutte la ducé de Gyane si avant que elle s'estendait anchiennement' Amiens III p. 243.

This chapter offers a literary analysis of Jean Froissart's account of Edward of Woodstock's campaigns and authority in and beyond Aquitaine in the first book of the *Chroniques*. It shows how the sequence deepens and sheds light on Froissart-author-narrator's Gascon (hi)story and perception while also discussing the notion of an Anglo-Gascon identity in the *Chroniques*. This perception, as shall be seen, is rooted in duality and co-existing tensions. In turn, Froissart's vision of *la Grande Aquitaine* highlights a broader conception of his world and figure of the prince. This chapter therefore deals with the following questions: (1) why did Froissart turn his attention to the south-west in that period? (2) What vision of (a greater) Gascony/the Gascons, and their prince does the narrative present? (3) Does reflecting on (1) and (2) enable refinement of the ideological significance of earlier versions of Book I?

The present chapter relies on literary tools – lexical analysis, interlace, reported discourse, narrator's involvement/comments, and intertextuality – to answer the above questions and to show how the *Chroniques* construct a specific story and perspective which is at times endorsed, and at others opposed by contemporary narratives, thus highlighting various narrative and ideological designs. Despite the study's literary methodological approach, the presentation of the historical framework will be required at times; whenever possible, it will be relegated to footnotes pointing to relevant secondary references in order to avoid overload of information.

The first section will start by examining the narrator's assessment of the situation in the *lontainnes marches*, and by reflecting on the shift in his perception as regards the status of Aquitaine, pre- and post-Brétigny. The Gascon situation, as presented in the *Chroniques*, will then be compared (ideologically and lexically) with the narrator's portrayal of the 1364 Breton conflict to determine how Gascon circumstances may be envisaged differently from other regional contexts. The rest of the section will analyse passages (from the *Chroniques* and contemporary accounts) concerned with Gascons fighting abroad in Normandy and Spain.

The representation of Gascon character and behaviour will then be considered by looking at historical (or pseudo-historical) events (e.g. the Gascon reaction to Jean II's emprisonment in Bordeaux). The last section of this chapter will compare idealistic vs. realistic contemporary treatments of the relationship between the Prince of Aquitaine and his Gascon subjects, from the creation of the principality to its crumbling.

II. **The Situation in the *Lontainnes Marches*, 1355–1371**

The narrator, making use of interlace, jumps between theatres of war. He frequently reminds his readers of previously discussed matters through his use of prolepsis, analepsis, and transitions (Calin 1993:229). After devoting a part of his chronicles to the Duke of Lancaster's *chevauchée* in Normandy in 1369, he then moves on to the aforementioned Aquitaine troubles by stating 'or revenons as lontainnes marches' (Amiens IV:70). In spite of such a phrase referring to Gascony, the narrative also features more remote lands e.g. Spain, Scotland, or Ireland. In the sense of 'borderland', one can see how the definition of *marches* could also encompass Aquitaine, being a duchy whose variable political frontiers delineate the Kingdoms of France and England. Furthermore, it does not seem too much of a stretch to deduce that Aquitaine – a few weeks' journey from Paris, London, or Hainaut[98] – could be *lontainnes* from Froissart's 'centre', France and England (De Medeiros 2003:12). In this respect, many other displays of war in the Anglo-French conflict could also be *lontainnes*.[99] There may, however, be more to this term than a simple matter of distance. Indeed, the dissociation between Froissart's world and Aquitaine's also manifests itself through the use of *lontainnes*, which here may refer to a land with a different language, culture, and strange customs. In short, *lontainnes* in its figurative sense could be synonymous with 'foreign'.

[98] There is a famous anecdote in Book IV in which Charles VI bets that he can cover the distance Montpellier-Paris faster than his brother, the Duke of Touraine. In the end, the duke arrives first after having managed the feat of doing the trip in merely four days (KL XIV pp. 80–82).

[99] It is the case of another of Froissart's 'not-so-distant marches', Brittany, whose status will be developed further in this section; see *infra* Chapter 2, II-2.

This section will be devoted to analysing the *Chroniques*' representation of the context and events unfolding in these *lontainnes marches* from 1355 to 1371 and the presentation of a 'Gascon specificity', both politically and narratively. The use and frequency of ethnic/regional/allegiant terminology will be called upon once more, highlighting two different conceptions of Aquitaine: a united duchy but a divided principality. The comparison of the 1364 Breton war of succession as presented in the narrative will serve to show the political and lexical complexity of the Gascon situation. The study of Gascons fighting abroad in Normandy and Spain will offer further points of comparison, this time with contemporary accounts – the *Chronique*, *Chanson*, *Chron. Val.*, *Chron. norm.*, *Grandes Chron.*, and the *Vie*. Finally, the analysis of different forms of war-cries, as signs of an (Anglo-Gascon) identity or mere expression of (English) allegiance, will be considered.

1. Aquitaine at War: A United Duchy, a Divided Principality

Let us consider two different yet similar narratives: two campaigns, led by the same man fifteen years apart. The first – the 1355–1356 *chevauchées* in Languedoc and Poitou – was the crowning achievement of a young prince in all its glory, the paragon of prowess, the 'flower of chivalry', *chevauchant* from one military success to the other.[100] It culminated in a crushing English victory at Poitiers and the subsequent creation of the principality of Aquitaine. The other – the 1369–1371 expeditions/raids in the peripheral districts of Aquitaine (Quercy, Rouergue, Poitou, and Saintonge – see maps in the Appendices) – led to the destruction of the principality and the so-called sacking of Limoges by an aged, ill, and cruel prince in the twilight of his life.[101] Two campaigns, one leader (Edward of Woodstock), one place (Aquitaine). However, one can wonder whether it was indeed the same leader or

[100] For more detail on the *chevauchée*, see ROGERS, C. (2009) "The Black Prince in Gascony and France (1355–56), According to MS 78 of Corpus Christi College, Oxford." *The Journal of Medieval Military History* 7, 168–175.

[101] For more detailed information on the historical background of these two operations in the south-west, see HEWITT, H. J. 1958. *The Black Prince's Expedition of 1355–1357*. Manchester: Manchester University Press; HARVEY, J. 1976. *The Black Prince and his Age*. London: Batsford; MINOIS (2008) pp. 112–226; HOSKINS (2009).

place in both narratives. To begin with, the small duchy became a huge principality encompassing border territories which had either not 'been English' for over a century or had simply never been under English dominion. The *Chroniques*' story of the failure of *La Grande Aquitaine* reflects the changes that took place between 1355 and 1371 and is a narrative of both unity and division.

While the narrator uses the adjective *franchois* a mere ten times for the first campaign, the term is used over thirty times after the treaty of Brétigny, particularly in reference to the late 1360s expeditions. Furthermore, *franchois* is in most post-Brétigny cases used in conjunction with the verb *tourner* – i.e. 'to turn French'. The lexical focus in the later Gascon context is therefore laid on men 'gone to the other side': on Gascon lords, formerly of the English party, who shifted allegiance, thus highlighting Anglo-Gascon tensions within the principality.

Lexical dualism goes further. When, before the creation of the principality, the narrator refers to the duchy and its people, he generally does so in a unifying way either as Aquitaine/Gascony as one entity or as Anglo-Gascon as a united ethnicity/allegiance: *Gascon/Gascoingne* is mentioned thirteen times, *Aquitaine* nine, *Gascoingne et Engleterre* six and *Englés et Gascon* (as adjectives/substantives) nineteen times. After 1361, however, the phrase *Englés et Gascon* is only found twice on its own.[102] Besides, while *Aquitaine* and *Gascoingne/Gascon* are still used separately (nine and fifteen times respectively), there are notable occurrences of longer expressions juxtaposing the various provinces and districts (e.g. Poitou, Saintonge, etc.) which were not included pre-1361. It is only logical that these phrases would start appearing after the creation of the principality as those territories had been added to the Crown of England under the Brétigny agreement. Were it not for the decrease in use of the *Englés et Gascons* phrases, one could argue that there is no more to be said about the

[102] This count excludes the Spanish campaign which not only did not take place in Aquitaine but also had a special status; see Chapter 2-II.3.b and -IV.2.

narrator's perception of the region. The decrease of 'Anglo-Gascon' occurrences and striking plethora of 'multi-regional' terms in the later period suggests an increased narrative focus on the post-1361 fragmentation of the principality, and a corresponding decrease in focus on the duchy's unification. In comparison, the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* also acknowledges Anglo-Gascon unity in the 1355–1356 campaign (*Chron. Val.*:52–57) as well as Gascon defection to the French side post-1361 (*Chron. Val.*:154–163, 237–238). However, the term *Guienne* used as one single unit (as opposed to broken down provinces) is still commonly used in the narrative post-1361 and well beyond. In a passage referring to Jean de Grailly's attempt at a reconquest in the early 1370s, *Guienne* is used twice, *Angloiz et Gascons* twice, and *Angloiz* three times (*Chron. Val.*:238–240). There seems to be much less emphasis on fragmentation and division. There are moreover no instances in which the narrator lists all the peripheral regions now encompassed in the principality (the closest example is a reference to places turning French 'en Poitou comme en Saintonge' (*Chron. Val.*:244)). Chandos Herald, too, notes the duchy's unity leading to Poitiers's military success.[103] He is, however, much less loquacious on Gascon events post-1361.[104] It appears thus that the *Chroniques*' portrayal of Aquitaine is specifically based on its dichotomous status and on tensions between unity and division.

Another original element, supporting the narrator's claim for a united duchy pre-1361, is the statement that few strangers are part of the English army in the 1356 *chevauchée*:

> (1) [I]l [the prince] se parti de Bourdiaux à belle compaignie de gens d'armes .III. mille armures de fier, chevaliers et escuiers, tant d'Engleterre comme de Gascoingne car d'estraigniers y eult petit et estoient .IIII^{m}. archiers et .VI^{m}. brigans de piet. (Amiens III:83)[105]

[103] The narrator notes that **all** the Gascon barons come to pay homage to the prince on his arrival in Gascony (*Vie* p. 65, vv. 616–638 and BARBER (1979) p. 93) although this hyperbole is somewhat weakened by the mention that the prince does have enemies in Gascony (whether these enemies are French, Gascon, or English is for the reader to decide; see *Vie* p. 66, vv. 652–653).
[104] His focus is mostly the account of the Spanish campaign (roughly 2,000 lines for a 4,000-verse-long poem).
[105] The same account in Jean le Bel reads '[e]n ce temps mesmement se parti le prince de Galles de la cité de Bordeaulx, sur Gyronde, à tout trois mille armeures de fer, seigneurs, chevaliers, et escuiers de Gascongne et d'Angleterre, quatre mille archiers et trois mille brigand de pyé' JB ARB II p. 195; there is no mention that strangers are amongst them.

In this passage, the Gascons stand on equal terms with the English men – both groups are legitimate members of the 'Anglo-Gascon' army, unlike 'foreign' members of other regional parties. In the following paragraphs, Froissart lists the different knights composing the prince's army and, more importantly, the regional groups to which they belong:

> (2) Or vous voeil compter le plus grant partie des seigneurs qui en ceste chevauchie furent et premierement
> d'Engleterre: li comtez de Warvich, li comtes de Sufforch—chil estoient li doy marescal del hoost—et puis li comtez de Sallebrin et li comtez d'Askesufforch, messires Renaux de Gobehen, messires Richars de Stamfort, messires Jehans Camdos, messires Bietremieux de Broues, messires Edouars Despenssiers, messires Estievenes de Gouseigon, li sires de la Warre, messirez Jamez d'Audelee, messires Pieres d'Audelee ses frerez, messires Guillaummez Fil Warine, li sirez de Bercler, li sirez de Basset, le sires de Willebi;
> Gascons: li sires de Labrech, lui .IIII^{e}. de frerez, messire Ernaut, messier Ainmemon et Bernardet li mainnés, li sirez de Pumiers, lui tiers de frerez, messires Jehans, messires Helies et messires Ainmemons, li sirez de Chaumont, li sirez de l'Espare, li sirez de Muchident, messires Jehans de Grailli cappittainne de Beus, messires de Aimeris de Tarse, li sirez de Rosem, li sirez de Landuras, li sirez de Courton;
> et encorres y furent d'Engleterre: messires Thummas de Felleton et Guillaummes, ses frerez et li sirez de Braseton. Et se y furent li sires de Salich et messires Danniaux Pasele;
> et de Haynnau: messires Ustasses d'Aubrechicourt et messires Jehans de Ghistellez. Encorrez y eut pluisseurs chevaliers et escuiers que je ne puis mies tout noummer.
> (Amiens III:83–84)

The narrator presents the composition of the prince's army thus: the English, the Gascon, the English again, and finally the Hainaulter knights. One could argue that, because the Hainaulter group was not specifically mentioned and singled out in quote (1) above (as opposed to the Gascon and English knights), they are therefore part of the *estraigniers*. Two elements oppose this deduction: first, the Hainaulter knights are listed as *pluisseurs* in quote (2) and not *petit* as the foreign party is implied to be in quote (1); second, it is unlikely that knights hailing from the chronicler's native land, Hainaut, would be considered utterly 'foreign' by the narrator.[106] In any case, there is no doubt that the two main regional identities in the army are the English and the Gascons. The Hainaulters, despite likely being significant and worth of mention in the eyes of Froissart-chronicler's and -narrator, are objectively a relatively minor group in the war waged in Aquitaine. This is supported by the fact that the

[106] The Hainaulter contingent in (2) seems to be an addition as Jean le Bel does not specify it (in fact, he does not single out any knights fighting for the prince and simply refers to them as *Angloys*/*Angles* or, most often, *Angloys et Gascon*, ibid., pp. 197–203). His account of the 1356 *chevauchée* and the battle of Poitiers is much shorter than Froissart's implying that the latter again considerably expanded the account.

prince's retinue is simply referred to as *Englés* or, more often than not, *Englés et Gascon*: never once as the Anglo-Gascon-Hainaulter army.

By contrast, the 'French' soldiers in 1356 come from various regions, some significantly remote and foreign (e.g. Scotland, Germany), others significantly close to Aquitaine (e.g. Auvergne), and some set to become future provinces of the principality (e.g. Poitou) (Amiens III:99).[107] By presenting the French army as a heterogeneous melting-pot, Froissart-narrator conveys the idea of fragmented French troops composed of many foreigners, contrasting with the Anglo-Gascon forces. It has been argued that the 1355–1356 *chevauchées* were an English success due to their united leadership and a French debacle because of the multi-regional groups and leaders of their army; this argument seems to be corroborated by the way the 1355–1356 expeditions are presented in the *Chroniques*.

Through the narrator's use of ethnic/regional terminology a specific identity/allegiant pattern stands out. Pre-1361, a degree of unity is hinted at in the English duchy of Aquitaine through the cohesion of the Anglo-Gascon army, with such a cohesion contrasting with the multi-regional French army. Post-1361, the situation has changed, with the enlargement of English south-western territories forming the newly created principality of Aquitaine. The increased number of provinces leads to greater difficulties in the administration of the principality.[108] These observations tend to show that the *Chroniques*' narrator did not (lexically and politically) envisage the duchy in the same light as the principality.

[107] Jean le Bel more specifically lists the 'origins' of the 'French' army: '[i]l avoit en sa bataille le duc de Bourbon, et grand foison des chevaliers et seigneurs de Provence, de Lymosin, de Poytou, de Tourainne, de Berry, de Bourgongne, de Savoye et de pluseurs aultres pays; et si avoit le conte de Nassou et grand foison d'Alemans; tant en y avoit que la terre en estoit toute couverte' ibid., pp. 197–198. The numeric hyperbole serves to highlight English and Gascon worth and victory. This might also explain why le Bel does not specify the exact composition of the Anglo-Gascon army.

[108] It is worth noting that this loss of unity on the English part, despite resulting in the loss of English vassals and territories, does not necessarily imply a clearer, increased homogeneity on the part of the French. Indeed, many disparate 'French' regions are still accounted for by Froissart in 1369–1370; see Amiens IV p. 41: in this section alone, there are ten specific mentions of the different regional groups (France, Burgundy, Brittany and Auvergne) in the French forces; see also Amiens III p. 260.

2. The Bretons 'on Two Sides': The Breton vs. the Gascon Context

Gascony was not the only 'fragmented' theatre of war. The Bretons, too, were torn between two opposing allegiances.[109] While the situation may look, at the outset, comparable – two peripheral regions split between two allegiances – Froissart-narrator's lexical treatment of both situations suggests otherwise.

1364 marked the final episode of the Breton 'war of succession' (1331–1364) culminating at the battle of Auray (29 September). Overall, the Breton conflict was only a minor confrontation between France and England – theoretically then at peace with each other – but a confrontation nonetheless,[110] which naturally made Froissart turn his attention to Brittany for a good fifteen chapters.[111]

Froissart, as with his depiction of the battle of Poitier, goes on to specify the composition of Charles de Blois's 'Franco-Breton' army before Auray (Amiens III:337) and moves on to that of the 'Anglo-Breton' army: '[o]r vous parlerons dou convenant des Englés et des Bretons de l'autre costet' (Amiens III:337). Phrases such as *de l'autre costet* or *d'un lés* are never used by the narrator when referring to Gascony between 1355 and 1371 – even though in practice Gascons fought on both sides. Froissart's account of the Breton conflict is laden with phrases hinting at a bi-partite Brittany,[112] and at the duchy's unity post-unification under the Montfort banner: '[e]t [Montfort] rechupt les fois et les hoummaiges des gentils

[109] Jean de Montfort and Charles de Blois (see Figure 7 in Appendices for a genealogy of the House of Brittany). For a detailed historical background, see SUMPTION (1990) pp. 370–389; VERNIER (2007) pp. 38–39. On Bretons, identity, war, and the *Chroniques*, see JONES, M. 1976. "'Mon pais et ma nation': Breton Identity in the Fourteenth Century." Eds. C.T. ALLMAND and G.W. COOPLAND. *War, Literature, and Politics in the Late Middle Ages*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 144–165; JONES, M. 1981. "The Breton Civil War." Ed. J.J.N. PALMER. *Froissart: Historian*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 64–81; JONES, M. 2003. *Between France and England: Politics, Power and Society in Late Medieval Brittany*. Aldershot: Ashgate. For a comparison of the Gascon and Breton situation regarding language, identity, and allegiance, see PÉPIN (2012).

[110] Officially, neither French knights nor English knights were meant to participate in the conflict; in practice, most of them did; see VERNIER (2007) pp. 75–76.

[111] §§ 775–790 in Amiens III pp. 329–362.

[112] 'Bertran de Claiequin et li Breton d'un lés', 'Franchois et Bretons d'un lés', 'entre les autres chevaliers bretons et englés', 'li Englés et li Breton dou costé le comte de Montfort', 'li Englés et li Breton de Monfort', 'li chief des seigneurs englés et bretons d'un lés', 'tout li baron de Bretaingne de leur costé mort et pris' ibid., pp. 344, 346, 347, 350, 356.

hommes de Bretaingne, barons, chevaliers et escuiers et de toutte la ducé **entirement**' (Amiens III:361, my emphasis). In other words, in the *Chroniques*' narrative, Brittany is split in two and then united under one leader (Jean de Montfort). Such a situation does not explicitly occur in Gascony. While Froissart acknowledges that Gascon lords defect to the French side from 1369 onwards, they are not lexically presented 'from one side' and 'the other', unlike the Bretons.[113] In that regard, the *Vie*'s narrator is much more explicit:

> Comencea guerre en Aquitaine;
> […]
> La veissez guerre mortele
> Et en pluseurs lieux moult cruele.
> Les frieres furent contre le friere
> Et les filtz encountre le piere.
> Chescun de eux se partie tenoit
> A quelle part qui mieltz li plesoit;
> (*Vie*:155–156 vv. 3898–3906)

This narrator's intent, unlike the *Chroniques*' (see *infra* Chapter 2-IV), is to show the prince as completely blameless for the Gascon troubles occurring after the Spanish campaign, presenting the Gascons as complete traitors, guilty of '[…] traisons et fauxetées/[…] de touz costées' (*Vie*:156 vv. 3909–3910). The *Vie*'s pathos (*frères ennemis*; son vs. father) here increases Gascon responsibility and faults.

At first glance, the Breton and Gascon situations may appear similar in the *Chroniques*' narrative: two decade-long conflicts on the territorial margins of England and France. However, the political situation partly explains the differences accounted above: the Breton episode, despite French and English involvement, truly was a civil, internal war, with a 'leader/champion' representing each Breton faction – Jean de Montfort or Charles de Blois. One could argue that analogous 'champions' also existed in Gascony: namely Jean de Grailly, *Captal de Buch*[114] (the ever faithful right hand of the Prince of Wales and Aquitaine, one of the few non-English members of the Order of the Garter), and the count of Armagnac and his

[113] Except at the battle of Cocherel; see *infra* Chapter 2-II-3.a.
[114] A title granted to the lords of the *Captalat de Buch*, part of the *Pays de Buch*, south of the Médoc and south-west of Bordeaux. He was an extremely important Gascon protagonist; he is presented in the *Vie* as a 'chieftain en Gascoigne' (*Vie* p. 62).

nephew the count of Albret (the rebellious vassals at the head of the Anglo-Gascon insurrection in the south-west in the late 1360s – see below). Despite effectively being 'leaders' for their respective Gascon parties, neither the Captal nor Armagnac/Albret were actually claiming leadership for the principality: one was fighting under the name of Edward of Woodstock; the others under Charles V, King of France. In short, the Gascon conflict never was an actual civil war but a vassalic feud turned nation-wide conflict; a difference the *Chroniques*' narrator appears to understand well. The Gascons as a regional group are mostly presented as siding with the French (e.g. pre-Auberoche during Derby's 1345–1346 campaigns) or with the English (in the 1355–1356 campaigns) but rarely both at once, even when the narrative presents the principality (post-Brétigny) as a fragmented whole. In other words, the Gascons can only have one overlord,[115] the king of France or the king of England. However, more than once in the *Chroniques* (and more than other regional groups), the Gascons 'turn their coats', shifting between overlords.

Rounding off his account of the Breton war of succession, Froissart unequivocally emphasises that, unlike the Anglo-Gascon case, the Anglo-Breton relationship is not one of subordination but of alliance, Brittany seeking the 'consseil et confort des Englés' (Amiens III:352, see also 360). A more cautious reading would be that the reason why Froissart is less binary in his treatment of the Gascons is that the situation is simply much more complex in Aquitaine than in Brittany. The Breton case may be described as fighting between two sides of the same regional group and each being supported by a more powerful and, dare I say, interested ally (Vernier 2007:39). In comparison, the Gascon case is anything but simple and

[115] One's *seigneur naturel* (i.e. legitimate lord; see PEPIN (2012) p. 90, KRYNEN, J. 1981. *Idéal du prince et pouvoir royal en France à la fin du Moyen Âge (1380-1440). Étude de la littérature politique du temps*. Paris: Picard, p. 8); a phrase originally used in a feudal sense: '[l]e mot naturel, *naturalis*, était utilisé au XIe et XIIe siècles dans un contexte féodal. Le lien qui unissait le vassal au seigneur était dit naturel s'il était héréditaire et légitime. Au XIIIe siècle le mot commence à être employé pour caractériser les rapports complexes mais évidents qui se sont noués entre un peuple, un prince et une terre' GUENEE, B. 1971. *L'Occident aux XIVe et XVe siècles : les états*. 1st ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, p. 130. Froissart uses the term 'naturel seigneur le roy d'Engleterre' in Book II to refer to the Gascon lord of Mussidan's overlord as opposed to 'le roy de France' who is not the Gascons' *seigneur naturel*, LG I & II p. 714. In Book II, the phrase 'liege seigneur' can also be found to refer to the king of England and his relationship to the Gascon lords, ibid., p. 882.

cannot be reduced to Gascons fighting on the English side and, *de l'autre costet*, Gascons fighting on the French one: frontiers and allegiances keep shifting one way or another. Comparing the 'clearer' Breton situation[116] with its Gascon counterpart emphasises the specificity of the Gascon story: narratively and lexically, Froissart constructs an ambivalent narrative serving to underline an ambivalent Gascon situation.

3. The Gascons Abroad: Friends vs. Friends and Unexpected Alliances

If Froissart does not present the Gascons fighting on both sides 'at home', things take a different turn 'abroad'. In the 1360s, the Gascons are involved in various foreign theatres of war, the most noteworthy being Normandy (1364) and Spain (1365–1368) (Minois 2008:168–209). Between 1360 and 1369, France and England are officially at peace.[117] The *drôle de paix* (Vernier 2007:60; Minois 2008:168) not only implies more numerous skirmishes but also creates awkward scenarios: war in the guise of peace means that compatriots are in a position to fight one another whilst fighting alongside former foes. The *Chroniques*' narrative thread in the 1360s is a case in point for these unusual circumstances in which the Gascons find themselves involved.

a. The Battle of Cocherel, 1364: Gascons a Gascons s'espourveront

Anglo-Gascon troops led by the Captal de Buch, accompanied Navarrese forces on an incursion into French Norman territory in 1364.[118] They were met by the French army at Cocherel (16 May). According to Froissart's account of the preliminary stages of the battle, Jean de Grailly meets with an English herald, *le Roy Faucon*, who gives him information on the French army:

[116] At least, it seems, in the narrator's eyes.
[117] It is the 1369 Anglo-Franco-Gascon conflict which sparks the resumption of 'official' hostilities.
[118] Charles II 'le Mauvais', king of Navarre, was at war with the King of France over a Burgundian inheritance feud (see Figure 5 in the Appendices). Edward III's English and Gascon lords made idle by the truce lent their swords to both Navarre and France (led by du Guesclin). Edward III turned a blind eye to this 'off-record' breaking of the truce. see FOWLER, K. A. 2001. *Medieval Mercenaries.* Vol. I. 2 vols. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 86–117; VERNIER (2007) pp. 63–64, 69; MINOIS (2008) pp. 179–186.

> —Et quelx gens sont il, dist li captaux et quelx cappittainnes ? Ja di le moy, je t'em pri.
> —En nom Dieu, sire, il sont bien mil et .V^{c}. combatans et toutte bonne gens d'armes. Si y sont: messires Bertrans de Claiequin, li comtez d'Auchoire, li viscomtes de Biaumont, messires Loeys de Chalon, li sirez de Biaugeu, li mestres des arbalestriers messires Bauduins d'Annekins, messires Loeys de Hanneskirekes, messires Oudars de Renti, messires li arceprestrez, messires Engherans d'Uedins. Et si y sont de Gascoingne : les gens le seigneur de Labrech, li sires de Mouchident, mesires Ammenions de Pumiers, li soudis de Lestrade.
> Quant li captaux oy noummer les Gascons, si fu trop durement esmervilliés. Et dist si comme en lui ariant :
> —Par le cap saint Anthonne, Gascons à Gascons s'espourveront.
> Or le disoit il pour lui car il estoit gascons.
> (Amiens III:298–299)

Direct discourse and the character's astonished voice here support the singularity of the scene. No other contemporary account (from the corpus) depicts such a scene and dialogue pre-Cocherel. More importantly, the *Chroniques* are the only narrative to centre its narrative on Gascons fighting other Gascons. Cuvelier mentions the Captal fighting with the Navarrese while the Gascon Arnaud de Cervole, the 'Archpriest', fight with the French but the narrator never lingers on their regional origins. Cocherel is presented as an Anglo-Navarrese vs. Franco-Breton battle (*Chanson* I:92–115).[119] For the *Chanson*'s narrator, the real shock regarding shifting allegiances comes from 'Pierre de Saquainville, .I. chevaliers normans' (v. 4470) fighting on the Anglo-Navarrese side but 'qui puis s'en repenti' (v. 4730). Jean-Claude Faucon notes about the *Chanson* that '[l]es seuls cas dénoncés comme des trahisons concernent les seigneurs normands, au service des Navarrais' (*Chanson* III:147). In other words, the Gascon case is of little interest for the author-narrator of the *Chanson*, unlike his *Chroniques*' counterpart. The Gascons have a more significant part to play in the narrative of the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*. However, they are still not represented as fighting each other: '[s]ur la riviere d'Eure, emprez Cocherel, fut la bataille des François, Normans, Picars et Bretons contre le captal de Bucs o ses Gascons, Angloiz et Navarrois' (*Chron. Val.*:145–146). The Gascons feature prominently (either as a singular entity or in conjunction

[119] Gascon knights are indeed mentioned in the whole Norman campaign but not specifically labelled 'Gascon', e.g. the *Basque de Mareuil* (*Chanson* I p. 75, vv. 3564–3567). Unlike what the name suggests, the *Basque de Mareuil* was indeed Gascon (from Béarn) and not Basque; see PÉPIN, G. 2011. "Towards a Rehabilitation of Froissart's Credibility: The Non Fictitious Bascot de Mauléon." Eds. A.R. BELL, et al. *The Soldier Experience in the Fourteenth Century*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, pp. 175–190, here pp. 183–184.

with the English and Navarrese) but they are always described as fighting with the Captal (*ses Gascons*), never against him.[120] The *Chroniques* seems to be the only account with a 'Gascon vs. Gascon' focus at Cocherel. The use of direct discourse draws the reader's attention, as the speech is uttered through the mouth of a Gascon lord himself, the Captal.[121] The narrator, in this paragraph, withholds the information that the Captal is Gascon. At first, he is only described as '[m]essire Jehans de Ghailli qui s'appelloit captaus de Beus, qui pour le temps estoit conduisierez et souverains de touttes les gens le roy de Navarre' (Amiens III:298). Later on, he is only referred to as *li captaus de Beus*. The reader has to wait for the mention that *Gascons à Gascons s'espourveront* for an explanation of the Captal's bafflement and anger: *or le disoit il pour lui car il estoit gascons*. Given the Captal's reputation as the prince's right hand, providing information about his origin is probably superfluous. In truth, it is hard to believe its purpose is to inform the reader of the Captal's roots, but it is in all likelihood provided to justify his reaction as well as intensifying dramatic tension. Use of the noun/adjective 'Gascons' thrice in the span of a couple of lines functions as a portent for the Captal's capture by his own kinsmen later on during the battle of Cocherel (Amiens III:309–310).[122]

The insistence on the Captal's origin is slightly altered in A&B, which supports the idea that the narrator's intention is not principally to inform the reader as to the Captal's background but rather to stress that his compatriots are fighting on the opposite side:

[120] There is an original episode in the *Chron. Val.* which sees the Captal dining with Jeanne de Navarre (*Chron. Val.* pp. 144–145). The narrator tells us that the king of Navarre had agreed to their wedding. In fact, the Captal had married Rose d'Albret in 1350. In any case, this episode very much draws attention to the Captal's figure whom the reader is told was given a kiss by Jeanne at the end of the meal and '[m]oult plut celui baisier au captal' (p. 145).

[121] Before the battle, the Gascons fighting for the Franco-Breton troops keep expressing (mostly in direct discourse) their desire to specifically target the Captal's battalion, officially because if the leader is taken it will confuse the whole army; see SHF VI pp. 116–117. The narrator, during the battle, confirms the Captal's prediction that Gascons will seek, find, and eventually fight other Gascons: '[e]t s'adrecièrent cil Gascon à le bataille dou captal et des Gascons: ossi il avoient grant volenté d'yaus trouver' ibid., p. 124.

[122] In the *Chron. Val.*, it is a Breton knight 'surnommé Betin' who actually captures the Captal (*Chron. Val.* p. 147). In the *Chanson*, the reader is only told that the Captal is taken prisoner but not by whom (*Chanson* I p. 115).

> — « Et quelz gens sont il, dist le captaus, et quelz capitainnes ont il ? Di le moi, je t'en pri, doulz Faucon. » — « En nom Dieu, sire, il sont bien mil et cinq cens combatans et toutes bonnes gens d'armes. Si y sont messires Bertran de Claiekin, qui a le plus grant route de Bretons, li contes d'Auçoirre, li viscontes de Byaumont, messires Loeis de Chalon, li sires de Biaugeu, monsigneur le mestre des arbalestriers, monsigneur l'Arceprestre, messires Oudars de Renti. Et si y sont de Gascongne, vostre pays, les gens le signeur de Labreth, messires Petiton de Courton et messires Perducas de Labreth ; si y est messires Aymenions de Pumiers et messires li soudis de Lestrade. »
> Quant li captaus oy nommer les Gascons, si fu durement esmervilliés, et rougia tous de felonnie, et replika sa parolle en disant : « Faucon, Faucon, es[t] ce à bonne verité ce que tu dis que cil chevalier de Gascongne, que tu nommes, sont là, et les gens le signeur de Labreth ? » — « Sire, dist li hiraus, par ma foi, oïl. » — « Et où est li sires de Labreth ? dist li captaus. » — « En nom Dieu, sire, respondi Faucons, il est à Paris dalés le regent le duch de Normendie, qui s'appareille fort pour aler à Rains, car on dist ensi partout communement que dimence qui vient, il s'i fera sacrer et couronner. » Adonc mist li captaus sa main à sa tieste, et dist ensi que par mautalent : « Par le cap saint Antone, Gascon contre Gascon s'esprouveront. » (SHF VI:111–112)

In both versions, the Captal's origin – *car il estoit gascons/vostre pays* – highlights a tragic and peculiar situation. In A&B, the bad omen is somewhat stronger, given that the whereabouts of the Gascon lord of Albret are mentioned: he is in Paris, with the Duke of Normandy, the *Dauphin*. This information – undisclosed in Amiens – points to Albret's sympathies for the future King of France and his future defection from the English party in 1369. A few chapters later, in both variants, Froissart-narrator will again stress Franco-Gascon friendly relations by stating that Charles V will receive and congratulate 'par especial monsigneur Bertran de Claiequin et les chevaliers de Gascoingne, monsigneur Ainmenion de Pumiers et les autres car li vois alloit que par yaulx avoit esté li bataille desconfite et li captaux pris' (Amiens III:319).[123] Returning to the Cocherel excerpt, the disbelief and anger shown by the Captal, supported by the interjection *par le cap saint Anthonne* and the adjective *esmervilliés*, is manifest in both versions. It is even more apparent in A&B via the Captal's physical reaction inserted in the narrative enclaves, *rougia tous de felonnie* and *adonc mist li captaus sa main à sa tieste, et dist ensi que par mautalent*, and the repetition of Faucon's name in the dialogue, *Faucon, Faucon, es[t] ce à bonne verité*.

This direct discourse, likely one of the chronicler's represented rather than reproduced discourses (see Chapter 3), emphasizes the narrator's views via that of his characters. Through the Captal's response, it is the narrator's own stupefaction which is portrayed. One can

[123] See also SHF VI p. 134.

wonder why the episode clearly revolves around the Gascons and leaves our chronicler in such awe. In and of itself, Froissart is unsettled by a vassal opposing his own lord. Kenneth Fowler notes regarding the Franco-Anglo-Gasco-Navarro-Breton conflict in Normandy that '[f]ew mercenary companies were prepared to fight against their kinsmen and former companions in arms, and most of the Gascons had fought with the Black Prince at Poitiers' (2001:95) partly explaining the Captal's bewilderment to see his kinsmen fighting on the other side. It would have been possible, for the narrator, to pick knights hailing from other regions who, in this *drôle de paix*, did exactly the same thing (e.g. the Norman Pierre de Sacquainville). This specific Gascon focus has, I contend, several functions: to announce future Gascon loyalty shifts and also to present a 'good', loyal Gascon (the Captal)[124] against a 'bad', coward one (Arnaud de Cervole), in turn serving to highlight Gascon tensions. This passage shows that the rallying under the French banner of such high Gascon lords as Albret in the early days of the principality bodes ill for its future. The fact that the narrator shows consternation through the mouth of the Gascon lord most faithful to the English cause is evidence that other Gascon lords' wavering fidelity is being noted. It also highlights Froissart's disapproval of the practice to seek out war at the expense of one's vassalic duties. The worst blow for the Captal at Cocherel is surely the realisation that his own vassal, Arnaud de Cervole, stands among his enemies. Later, during the encounter with the *Roy Faucon*, the Captal resentfully presents his deceitful liegeman in a bad light:

[124] Most contemporary narratives present the Captal as a worthy knight e.g. *Chron. Val.* p. 153; *Vie* pp. 62–64. The *Chanson* in particular presents him as a worthy foe for Bertrand du Guesclin; his only 'shortcoming' however is to have refused to 'shift' to the French side: 'Hardiz fut le castal et plain de grant vaillance;/S'il eüst bien amé le royaume de France/De la chevalerie feust la fleur et la branche./Mais pour l'amour d'Englois moru de grant pesance/Dedens une prison ou pou ot de plaisance./A Cocherel porta moult vaillament sa lance,/Des François abati grandement la bobance' *Chanson* I p. 109, vv. 5320–5326. The 'neutral' Froissart finds the Captal even worthier for not having strayed allegiances.

> Adont parla Faucon pour Prie .I. hiraut que li archeprestres envoyea là avoecq lui et li dist :
> —Sire assés près de chy m'atent ungs hiraux franchois que li arceprestrez envoie deviers vous liquelx arceprestrez, che dist Prie li hiraux, parleroit vollentiers à vous.
> Dont repondi li captaux et dist :
> —Faucon, dittes au hiraut qu'il n'a que faire plus avant et qu'il die a l'arceprestre que je ne voeil nul parlement à lui.
> Adont li demanda messires Jehans Jeuiel et dist :
> —Sire, pourquoy ? Espoir es chou pour vo prouffit.
> —Jehan, Jehan, non est més est li arceprestres si grans barterés que, s'il venoit jusquez à nous, en nous comptant gengles et bourdes, il aviseroit et ymagineroit no force et nos gens; si nous porroit tourner à grant contraire. Si n'ay cure de ses parlemens. (Amiens III:299–300)

During the battle, the Archpriest is said to have fled (SHF VI:124–125). One can wonder whether this implies a last-minute remorse at fighting against his overlord (his fleeing the scene of battle is not noted in other chronicles). However, the narrator appears to imply his action is an act of cowardice rather than redemption: '[e]t pour ce que en armes on ne doit point mentir à son loyal pooir, on me poroit demander que li Arceprestres […] estoit devenus, pour ce que je n'en fai nulle mention. Je vous en dirai le verité' (SHF VI:124).

As is often the case in the *Chroniques*, Froissart-narrator declares he has truthfully recorded what he was told: '[s]i comme je l'oy recorder le roy Faucon' (Amiens III:310), and 'en le manière que je vous di. […] si com je oy depuis recorder ceulz qui y furent d'un costé et d'autre' in A&B (SHF VI:127–128). As Richard Vernier suggests, it is quite unlikely that '"riding out of a wood," [the Captal] met "by chance" a herald of the King of England. […] Ostensibly a neutral, since there was peace between his master and France, one wonders what he was doing there' (2007:70). That Froissart-narrator does not mention *le Roy Faucon* as his main source in one instance is enough to cast doubt on the reliability of both the informant and the narrator; the dialogue is in all likelihood made up. This doubt is supported by the repetitions *Faucon, Faucon* and *Jehan, Jehan* used in apostrophe to display oral vividness. This constructed/imagined direct discourse thus conveys even more powerfully the narrator's disbelief at the idea of vassals betraying their natural lord out of idleness, greed, or fear. Given the particular status of the principality and the tendency of high Gascon lords – such as the lord of Albret – to show contempt and disdain for their overlord, and of many Gascon

'warlords' to enrol with the Great Companies (see Chapter 2-III), it seems only natural that the Gascons were, in Froissart's eyes, the perfect candidates to highlight this particular practice.[125] Yet if the Gascons can fight against each other, they can also fight alongside their former enemies.

b. Franchois, Englés, Gascon et Breton: *Friends and Foes*

In 1365 the King of France, infuriated by the Great Companies (see below Chapter 2-III) ravaging his land, ordered Bertrand du Guesclin to take these troops of mercenaries away to Spain where a conflict of inheritance was taking place between Pedro I of Castile, known as 'the Cruel', and his bastard brother Enrique of Trastamara (Fowler 2001:149; De Medeiros 2003:29–79; Vernier 2007:86).

The force was composed of knights coming from a wide variety of places (Brittany, England, Gascony, etc.). It seems surprising that such a disparate army, whose soldiers were recently waging war against each other, would march to Castile. However, many knights found themselves 'unemployed' during the *drôle de paix*. They were thus looking for war where they could find it and, in 1365, war was in Spain. Froissart-narrator does not fail to notice this rather unlikely situation and lists the different knights enrolled on the expedition and, more interestingly, the region they come from:

> (1) Tant esploitierent cil signeur de Franche: premierement messires Jehans de le Marche fils qui fu à monsigneur Jaque de Bourbon, messires Bertrans de Claiequin, [...] li Alemans de Saint Venant, messires Gauvains de Bailloel, messires Jehans de Bergettez et pluisseur autre bon chevalier et escuier de Franche, de Bourgoingne, d'Artois et de Picardie; et de la p[r]inçauté: messirez Ustasses d'Aubrecicourt, messires Mahieux de Gournay, messires Hues de Cavrelee, [...] et tout cil qui conduisoient lez Compaignes [...]. (Amiens III:367)

The punctuation found in George T. Diller's edition[126] significantly highlights the opposition between regional factions (France with Burgundy, Artois, and Picardy vs. England with the

[125] There is however an example in Book II of peace established between two Gascon men of diverging allegiance: the Franco-Gascon lord of Albret and his cousin, the Anglo-Gascon Perducat d'Albret. Perducat gives his land to another Anglo-Gascon knight at his death but makes him promise not to wage war on his Franco-Gascon cousin; see LG I & II pp. 882–883. In other words, there are rare cases in which family ties and 'Gasconness' prevail over allegiance.

[126] The same punctuation is to be found in Siméon Luce's edition, SHF VI p. 357.

principality). These markers may seem like a judicious supplement, as the narrator first groups the 'French *et al.*' knights and then the 'English and Gascon' ones, although a paragraph later the chronicler does describe the army as a whole, composed of 'Franchois, Englés, Gascon et Breton' (Amiens III:367) without much opposition.[127] The *Vie*'s narrator groups even more regions together: 'Englois et François et Bretoun,/Normand, Pikard et Gascoun/Entrerent dedeins Espaigne;/Auxi fist la Grant Compaigne' (*Vie*:96 vv. 1735–1738; see also Barber 1979:107). The A&B version is clearly less segregative than its Amiens counterpart in (1).[128] In other words, the narrators of both the *Chroniques* and *Vie* present these men as belonging to one single army (against Pedro's Spaniards), despite their previous differences and the fact that they hail from varied regions.[129]

A year later, however, the prince decided to wage war against Enrique and du Guesclin's troops, at the request of Pedro I.[130] In the span of a year, the prince first allowed his Anglo-Gascon vassals to go to Spain to dethrone King Pedro alongside 'former enemies' (e.g. knights of the French party) and then recalled them, thus making enemies of friends and friends of enemies once again. The Anglo-French 'truce' was, more than ever, a *drôle de paix*. Chroniclers' attitudes to this perplexing and unconventional situation vary. In the *Chroniques des quatre premiers Valois*, the English knights leave du Guesclin's army as soon as their leader, Huw de Carveley hears that the prince is on his way to Spain (*Chron. Val.*:173–

[127] Thus, the punctuation may be laying too much emphasis on the dichotomy French allegiance vs. English allegiance in Diller's and SHF editions.

[128] In the A&B version, knights of the principality (who are named first) are still singled out but French knights are no longer specified as 'being French': 'Si y alerent de la princeaulté et des chevaliers du prince de Galles, messire Eustace d'Aubrecicourt, messire Hue de Cavrellee, […] messire Perducas de Labreth et plusieurs aultres. Si se fist tout souverain chief de ceste emprinse messire Jehan de Bourbon, conte de la Marche, […] par le conseil et adviz de messire Bertran du Guesclin, car le dit conte estoit adont un moult jeune chevalier. En ce voiage se mist aussi en grant route le sire de Beaujeu, qui s'appelloit Antoine, et plusieurs aultres bons chevaliers' MS 864, fol. 257r, Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, reproduction in *The Online Froissart*, digital photography by David Cooper and Colin Dunn (unfortunately no digital image is available for the Amiens counterpart folio on *The Online Froissart*).

[129] The same conclusion can be reached for the narrator of the *Chron. Val.* p. 164.

[130] The consequences of this decision for the prince and his *Grande Aquitaine* as presented in the *Chroniques* will be explored below; see *infra* Chapter 2-IV-2.

174).[131] Similarly, the prince's companions join him without much hesitation in the *Vie du Prince Noir*. Even though the *Vie*'s narrator states that Enrique did not need the service of the English knights anymore (*Vie*:102–103 vv. 1971–1981), the 'bastard king', resentful of such a defection, impedes their return.[132] In the above contemporary accounts, the prince's knights have been dutifully respecting their vassalic duty: they turn back to the prince without a sign of discontent or exasperation. Attitudes are somewhat different in Cuvelier's *Chanson* and in the *Chroniques*. In the *Chanson*, Huw de Carveley, acting once more as the English knights' leader and also, on this occasion, as their spokesperson, laments that he should leave Bertrand's army: 'Aÿ, sire! dist il. Faut il que departons ?' (*Chanson* I:235 v. 11822). Reason however prevails over regret: 'N'y a que du bien faire, ainsi le veult raisons,/Que vous servez vo maistre, ce doit faire proudons' (*Chanson* I:235 vv. 11843–11844). As much as the English knights wish to remain with du Guesclin – because in the narrator's eyes he is the better lord – vassalic duties take precedence. This does not prevent Carveley expressing his regrets. As a result, '[l]a departie fu piteuse au dessevrer' (*Chanson* I:235 v. 11850). By contrast, Froissart's English knights 'se partesissent bellement et sagement de che roy bastart' (Amiens III:378). Even though they comply,[133] they are not, however, completely agreeable to their departure from Bertrand's army:

[131] In the previous paragraph some English knights plot du Guesclin's murder prevented only because Huw de Carveley, who did not wish to be 'coulpable ne consentant de la mort d'ung si preux et si vaillant chevalier' (*Chron. Val.* p. 173), warns du Guesclin in time. This original anecdote highlights the plotting English knights' extreme loyalty to their prince who had 'trop grant despit que ung tel home [du Guesclin], simple bachellier, se mettoit en aramye contre eulx' (ibid., p. 171). Huw de Carveley is presented as the worthy knight here. His worth is later confirmed when he joins the prince's army.

[132] 'Touz les compaignons de la galle/Retournerent en Acquitaine;/Mais avant eurent moult de paine,/Car quant le bastard sceust de verrai/Qe lui Prince, sanz nul delay,/Voilloit le roi dan Petre eider,/Moult lour purchacea d'encombrer,/Trencher lour fist les chimyns,/Et touz les soirs et les matins/Maint embusshee sur eux sailler/Et par maintes voies assailler/Des geneteurs et des vilains' *Vie* p. 103, vv. 1994–2005. It is not surprising that the *Vie*'s narrator presents Enrique, the bastard, the prince's foe, as treacherous and disregarding vassalic duties while the prince's Spanish enterprise is '[…] le plus noble emprise/Q'onqes cristiens emprist' ibid., p. 93, vv. 1642–1643.

[133] Enrique lets them go 'car il se sentoit fors assés de misse et de gens parmy chiaux qu'il prieroit en manderoit en Franche et en Arragon, pour resister contre le princhе' Amiens III p. 379. The *Chroniques*' narrator thus implies that Enrique does not need the Anglo-Gascon knights anymore. In the *Chroniques*, Enrique does not pursue them or impede their journey back to the prince. The narrator, however, subtly hints that Enrique is not entirely unaffected by their departure even though, on the outside, he remains stoic: 'par samblant, li roys Henris

> Quant li chevalier du princhе, qui remandet estoient oïrent ces nouvelles et qui là sejournoient pour atendre le passaige qui se devoient faire en Grenade et sus le royaumme de Bellemarine dont li apparans et li coummenchemens estoit si grans et si biaux c'à merveilles et que passet avoit .XXX. ans on ne le vit si bien appareilliet ne si bien estoffet de touttes coses, si en furent mout courouchiet. Nonpourquant il n'oserent ne veurent mies demourer oultre le vollenté de leur signeur le princhе.
> (Amiens III:379)

The reason given by Froissart for the Anglo-Gascon knights' annoyance at being recalled is that the Granada expedition promised to be rewarding and lucrative, not that Bertrand was a great leader as implied by the *Chanson*'s narrator. The prince's knights are portrayed as angered by the call back forcing them to fight against a king they helped place on a throne and in a region they had already visited and presumably looted. It might be another subtle hint, on the part of the *Chroniques*' narrator, of Gascon *convoitise* here.[134] Nevertheless, the Granada enterprise would not merely have been lucrative, it would have also been noble (a crusade against the Granadian Moors). The Anglo-Gascon knights abandon their dreams of riches to join their overlord: in Froissart's narrative too, vassalic duty has precedence over wishes (of wealth and glory). This passage, however, is supplemented – albeit lightly – with dramatic irony given that a few folios beforehand John Chandos expressed deep concerns for the rightfulness of the prince's Spanish enterprise (see *infra* IV-2.a) and also that the Gascon knights will end up turning against their prince, because of the consequences of that campaign (see *infra* IV-2.b).

The various narratives discussed above employ disparate approaches to deal with this unlikely episode of the *drôle de paix*. These various approaches match their narrator's agendas. In some cases, the Anglo-Gascon knights are presented as completely devoted to their prince in order (a) to amplify the Black Prince/du Gesclin rivalry (*Chron. Val.*) or (b) to elevate the prince's noble Spanish enterprise and undermine Enrique's claims (*Vie*). In other

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n'en fist nul compte' ibid., p. 379 – the use and meaning of *par samblant/semblant* will be further discussed in Chapter 3-II.3 and -III.1.a.

[134] *Convoitise*, although very often associated to the Gascons, is not just a Gascon trait. Spaniards, too, are prone to *envie* and jealousy. The difference may be that while Gascon *convoitise* is mostly material (i.e. greed), Spanish *envie* is linked to chivalric codes (i.e. jealousy at not being 'la premiere bataille' in the Franco-Spanish army). See DE MEDEIROS (2003) pp. 26–27.

cases, these knights show some discontent because (a) Bertrand is a worthy and loved leader (*Chanson*) or (b) the Granada 'crusade' promised both high deeds and wealth (the *Chroniques*). What these narratives have in common, however, is that Anglo-Gascon vassalic duties take precedence over personal interests or desires. That said, the *Chroniques*' treatment of the episode is part of a broader narrative whose focal point is the deterioration of the prince's relationship with his Gascon vassals.

4. *Enseignes* of (Anglo-Gascon) Allegiance and/or Identity: War-cries

Irit Ruth Kleiman in her monograph *Philippe de Commynes: Memory, Betrayal, Text* explores some of Philippe de Commynes's 'non-verbal textual rhetoric' (2013:51) especially through the use of certain visual 'signs' (*enseignes*) such as banners, scars, coins, or graffiti as the expression of Commynes's loyalty and identity (Kleiman 2013:50–94). I propose to explore a different but related kind of 'narrative sign', that of the verbal 'war-cries' in the context of the *Chroniques*' treatment of (Anglo-Gascon) allegiance and identity.[135]

At the battle of Poitiers, in 1356, Froissart notes that the 'sires d'Englure qui porte lez armes de Sallehadin' shouts '"Damas!"' (Amiens III:111). This knight, despite fighting under the French banner, is yelling an interjection reminiscent of his native land, his regional identity rather than his party loyalty.[136] Other war-cries can be more complex:

> Quant li Fanchois se furent enssi ordonné, ainchois que li signeur se trayssent en leurs bataillez où il estoient estaubli, il regarderent entre yaux et pourparlerent à lequelle bannierre ou pignon il se retrairoient et quel crit il criroient. Si fu de premiers acordé entre yaux qu'il criroient:
> —Nostre Damme! Auchoire!
> Més li comtez [d'Auxerre], qui là estoit presens y refuza et s'escuza et dist que il estoit li ungs des jonnes chevaliers qui là fust et le premierre besoingne arestee où il avoit estet si ne volloit mie que on lui fesist celle honneur més fust baillie à .I. autre où elle fuist mieux emploiiee c'à lui. Dont fu regardé d'un conmun acord c'on crieroit:
> —Saint Yve! Claiequin!
> Et pour yaux mieux recongnoistre:
> —Nostre Damme! Claiequin! (Amiens III:304)

[135] In the *Chron. Val.*, the narrator refers to war-cries several times as 'cris des ensaingnes', *Chron. Val.* pp. 160–161, 177. For more details about the significance of war-cries in the Middle Ages, see LETT, D. and N. OFFENSTADT, eds. 2003. *Haro! Noël! Oyé! : pratiques du cri au Moyen Âge*. Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne and PEPIN (2006).

[136] '[L]e cri exprime une identité dans l'action. Il sert alors à caractériser un parti, un corps ou un groupe' LETT and OFFENSTADT, eds. (2003) p. 13.

At the heart of the passage above is a reflection on the purpose of war-cries.[137] They need to be easily recognisable; *Saint Yves* – the very recent patron of Brittany[138] – is replaced above by the more famous French interjection *Notre Dame*. In this case, an *enseigne* of 'party allegiance' substitutes one of 'regional identity', for clarity's sake.[139] In other words, allegiance here has precedence over identity. This explains why Froissart-narrator uses phrases such as '[a]vant, banniere, ou nom de Dieu et de saint Gorge!' (Amiens III:426) uttered by Gascon knights of the English party. Such cries express English allegiance and not regional identity. Examples can nevertheless be found of dual (allegiance/identity) war-cries:

> Si assembla li roys et et messires Phelippes, ses mainnés filz, à le bataille des marescaux d'Engleterre, le comte de Warvich et le comte de Sufforch et des Gascons. Là crioient li Franchois leur cri:
> —Monjoie! Saint Denis!
> Et li Englés:
> —Saint Gorge! Giane! (Amiens III:110)

Froissart contrasts the French, with their uniquely French war-cry – *Montjoie* and *Saint Denis*, both typical French interjections and emblems/*enseigne* of French allegiance – with the 'English' – or, rather, the Anglo-Gascons and their dual war-cry – *Saint George*, the expression of an English allegiance and *Guyenne* that of a Gascon identity/fidelity to the duke of Aquitaine.[140] Guilhem Pépin argues that Froissart must have confused the actual order of this dual war-cry during the battle of Nájera (1367) as Chandos Herald, Pedro Lopez de Ayala, and Fernão Lopez all present the cry as 'Guyenne' first, then 'Saint George'

[137] A noteworthy purpose of war-cries in historical narratives is protection/good fortune. Such use is not found in any of the chroniclers discussed above, but is in Geoffrey le Baker's account of the prince's 1356 campaign – which, according to Clifford Rogers, is 'clearly based on a campaign diary written during the *chevauchée*', and 'provides by far the most detailed and accurate narrative we have of this expedition' ROGERS (2000) p. 317 quoted in HOSKINS (2009) p. 17 – '[b]oth sides met boldly, roaring out the names of St George and St Denis in the hope that they would sway the battle in their favour' BARBER (1979) p. 77. In this type of use of war-cries, patron saints are called to bless the fighting armies; such instance is less focused on signs of allegiance or identity.

[138] Yves Hélory de Kermartin is canonised by Clement VI in 1347.

[139] On a battlefield, especially when many regions were represented, recognising one's allegiance was vital; equally important, one might argue, is the narrative clarity: a reader should be able to recognise knights according to their respective parties.

[140] It is especially clear that war-cries can express fidelity to a party as 'cheer-cries': 'Et crioient ceulx de Paris à sa venue: "Mont Joye Saint Denis au duc de Normendie nostre droit seigneur!"' *Chron. Val.* p. 86. If *Monjoie/Saint Denis* can express fidelity to the duke of Normandy/French party, its counterpart *Saint George/Guyenne* does too regarding the English party/duke of Aquitaine; see PÉPIN (2006) pp. 270–271.

(2006:269). It is true that Lopez de Ayala fought at the battle of Nájera, but while Herald Chandos may have indeed been a first-hand witness at that battle, too, rhyming constraints must not be overlooked for the latter chronicle: 'La crioit homme a haute gorge/En maint lieu: »Guiane! Seint George!«' (*Vie*:82 vv. 1233–1234). That said, I do not see why it is impossible that either order could have been used.[141] Pépin however goes on to conclude that '"Guienne!" était toujours crié avant "Saint Georges!" ce qui nous montre l'importance de l'existence d'un duché de Guyenne (ou d'Aquitaine) autonome pour ceux qui l'utilisaient' (2006:270). I find this conclusion somewhat hasty. As a counter-example, I would cite 'les Gascons crierent "Saint George!"' (*Chron. Val.*:155).[142] In other words, the narrator presents the Gascons as expressing a sign of English allegiance only.[143] I think what Pépin fails to see is that in historical narratives/chronicles a war-cry is as much a textual (i.e. narrative signs) as it is an extra-textual verbal construct. As Isabelle Guyot-Bachy notes, war-cries and specifically collective ones are devices/*figures de style* which may indeed correspond to a real, extra-textual practice but also serve a narrative purpose (Guyot-Bachy 2003:111). They are a deliberate choice, one it seems most likely made by the author-narrator himself, who may – or may not – have witnessed the battles he describes, rather than by the extra-textual soldiers who may – or may not – have uttered the cries. Direct discourse, particularly exclamations and war-cries, again may serve to unite the narrator's voice to his protagonists'. War-cries thus highlight a certain vision of allegiance vs. identity for the authors themselves rather than merely for the extra-textual group whom the cries are meant to represent. In other words, the narrator of the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* may have overlooked *Guyenne!* because Gascon identity and/or fidelity to the duke of Aquitaine did not matter. In

[141] Pépin admits that '[c]es témoignages ne permettent pas de définir si les Anglais criaient uniquement "Saint Georges!" et si les Gascons criaient de leur côté "Guienne !". Il est possible que leur utilisation simultanée ait amené les Gascons des armées du roi-duc à associer les deux cris de guerre', PEPIN (2006) p. 269.
[142] See also *Chron. Val.* p. 156.
[143] In fact, I have not found a single example in the *Chron. Val.* in which the Gascons are found shouting 'Guyenne'.

the same way, the *Chroniques*' narrator seems to value allegiance to the king of England more than allegiance to the duke of Aquitaine as he puts *Saint George* first.[144] As for the chroniclers putting *Guyenne* first, whilst Chandos Herald's narrative may have been syntactically influenced by rhyming constraints, it is not too far-fetched to envisage that Ayala and Lopez, two Iberian chroniclers/authors, would have put fidelity to the duke of Aquitaine/Gascon identity before English allegiance, the latter being potentially more alien for them.

To conclude, the use of war-cries as narrative *enseignes* in chronicles are as much (if not more) the expression of the 'perception' of a group's allegiance and/or identity by chroniclers/authors/narrators as it is the expression of that group's actual, extra-textual identity/allegiance. In the *Chroniques*, the use of 'Anglo-Gascon' (*Saint George! Guyenne!*) or simply English (*Saint George!*) cries suggests that fidelity to the king of England had precedence over loyalty to the duke of Aquitaine or to Gascon identity. However, the fact that the Gascons are still presented as shouting 'Guyenne!' also suggests that the narrator, unlike his counterpart from the *Chroniques des quatre premiers Valois*, does acknowledge Gascon allegiance and identity.

5. Conclusion – Assessing the *Lontainnes Marches*: Froissart's Gascon Focus

The analysis of the Gascon context has shown the *Chroniques*' narrator's inclination to consider the pre-1361 duchy as a homogeneous entity through his use of the compound expression *Englés et Gascon*. As for the post-1361 principality, the chronicler seems to perceive it as a forced fusion of heterogeneous provinces and lords which the prince will find too difficult to control and administer (see below).

The comparison with the Breton situation as presented in the *Chroniques* is also proof of the specificity of the Gascon context: the former is a civil war in which the Bretons are

[144] The shift may be all the more significant and deliberate (rather than merely historically inaccurate) as Froissart may have used Chandos Herald's narrative as a potential source for the Spanish campaign; on this potential influence, see below Chapter 2-IV-2.

presented as fighting on both sides at once; the other is a vassalic dispute in which Gascons are either fighting for the king of England or the king of France but rarely presented as fighting for both. Moreover, although Froissart regularly hints at some Gascon lords' pronounced sympathies for the King of France, foreshadowing future defections, his reticence to use the phrase *French and Gascon* is representative in the sense that Aquitaine's overlords are without question the King of England and the Prince of Wales. This explains why, despite expressing the Gascon lords' discontent at being called back, they all join the prince's army when he decides to take part in the Spanish campaign. Nevertheless, even if vassalic duties have precedence over personal wishes, the narrative does express thinly veiled tensions as the prince's decision to go to Spain will have dire consequences for the fate of the principality and Gascon loyalties.

Last but not least, the situation of the *lontainnes marches* shows a clear Gascon interest on the narrator's part. From 1355 to 1371, a major section of the narrative is devoted to Gascon matters. Whether this sudden interest is only motivated by Edward of Woodstock's presence and influence on the duchy/principality and/or by other motives will be further explored below. In any case, Froissart-chronicler did travel to the south-west in 1366–1367 and would logically be more informed about these than he was about the 1345–1346 campaigns.[145] The narrator at times centres his account on the Gascons even in non-Gascon narratives (e.g. Cocherel), unlike his contemporaries. In fact, the concern expressed for Gascons fighting each other not only emphasises the narrator's conception of vassalic duties once more but also shapes the *Chroniques*' specific image of the Gascons; an image which revolves around co-existing tensions and which runs through the whole of the narrative from Book I to Book IV.

[145] To find one of the few narrative traces of his presence in the south-west at that time, one may look at the fourth Book of the Chroniques (KL XV p. 142; SHF VII p. iii, n. 1).

III. Froissart's Conflicting Gascons? *Amour* and *Profit*

Narratively speaking, Froissart's first journey to Aquitaine in no way resembles the one he made to the court of Béarn in 1388–1389.[146] Without the fourth Book's noting of Froissart's presence in the region in 1367,[147] it is particularly difficult to guess in the first Book's account that Froissart was actually present at Bordeaux at the same time as the prince.[148] For someone who is so keen on presenting his sources, it is truly striking to find almost no mention of his own stay. Froissart's choice to have his witness-figure stand back has important consequences for his portrayal of the region, as Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros suggests, 'c'est surtout par des remarques ponctuelles, au fil de la narration que se dessinent les traits d'un peuple et d'un pays dans les *Chroniques*' (2003:147). That said, despite Froissart-protagonist's lack of involvement in the 1355–1371 narrative, the narrator's views on the Gascon become especially apparent: an ambivalent figure whose allegiance keeps swaying from England to France and vice versa; a figure caught between seemingly contradictory principles: loyalty and personal interest; worth and greed.

At the battle of Poitiers in 1356, King Jean II de France is taken prisoner by the Anglo-Gascon forces. This famous episode is recounted in Jean le Bel's *Chronique* and in both earlier variants of Book I. In le Bel's account, the capture of King Jean takes up one line: '[e]t y fut pris le roy Jehan, qui s'y combati le mielx' (JB ARB II:199). The sentence is considerably expanded in Froissart's A&B version:

> […] Là eut adonc trop grant presse et trop grant bouteis sus le roy Jehan , pour le convoitise de li prendre ; et li crioient cil qui le cognissoient et qui le plus priès de lui estoient : « Rendés vous, rendés vous aultrement vous estes mors. »
>
> Là avoit un chevalier de la nation de Saint Omer, que on clamoit monsigneur Denis de Morbeke ; et avoit depuis cinq ans ou environ servi les Englès, pour tant que il avoit de sa jonèce fourfait le royaume de France par guerre d'amis et d'un hommecide que il avoit fait à Saint Omer [...] si se avança

[146] See *infra* Chapter 3.
[147] See *supra* n. 145.
[148] The only mention in Book I of his presence in Bordeaux is to be found in the A&B version: 'si com je fui adonc enfourmés, car j'estoie lors pour le temps à Bourdiaus' SHF VI p. 232.

en le presse, à le force des bras et dou corps, car il estoit grans et fors ; et dist au roy en bon françois,[149] où li rois s'arresta plus c'as aultres : « Sire, sire, rendés vous. »
Li rois, qui se veoit en dur parti et trop efforciés de ses ennemis et ossi que sa deffense ne li valoit mès riens, demanda en regardant le chevalier : « A cui me renderai jou ? à cui ? Où est mon cousin le prince de Galles ? se je le veoie, je parleroie. » — « Sire, respondi messires Denis de Morbeke, il n'est pas ci ; mès rendés vous à moy, je vous menrai devers lui. » — « Qui estes, dist li rois ? » — « Sire je sui Denis de Morbeke, uns chevaliers d'Artois ; mès je siers le roy d'Engleterre, pour tant que je ne puis ou royaume de France et que je y ay fourfait tout le mien. »[150]

Adonc respondi li rois de France, si com je fui depuis enfourmés, ou deubt respondre :[151] « Et je me rench à vous, » [...] Là eut grant priesse et grant tirich entours le roy, car cescuns s'efforçoit de dire : « Je l'ay pris, je l'ay pris » ; et ne pooit li rois aller avant [...]. (SHF V:54–55)

Here is the same account in the Amiens version:

Et y eut adont trop grant priesse au roy Jehan car chacuns li crioit:
—Rendés vous, rendés vous!
Là avoit .I. chevalier de le nation de Saint Omer que on clammoit monsigneur Denis de Morbecke et avoit pour son advanchement[152] grant temps servi le roy englés, coumment qu'il fuist artisiens. Més de jonnesse, pour aucunes forfaitures, il avoit perdu le royaumme de Franche; pour chou s'estoit il trés en Engleterre. Si vint si bien à point que il estoit là dallés le roy où chacun pressoit et tiroit à lui et lui disoit:
—Rendés vous! Rendés vous!
Li roys qui se veoit en dur parti et trop efforchiés de ses ennemis et que sa deffensce ne li valloit riens, demanda:
—À qui me renderai je?
Chils messires Denis li respondi en franchois:
—À moy, sire, qui sui chevaliers et de le nation de vostre royaumme.[153]
—Et à vous, dubt dire li roys, me reng je.
[...] Là eut grant priesse et grant tirich car chacun volloit dire:
—Je l'ay pris! Je l'ay pris!
Et là avoit .I. appert escuier de Gascoingne[154] que on noummoit Bernart de Trutes et s'armoit d'or à .II. trutes de geulles qui y clammoit grant part.
Là fu li roys de France, depuis qu'il fu pris en grant peril et priés ochiz par envie. Més li roys, qui sages estoit et qui vit leur estrit, leur dist mout courtoisement:
—Seigneur, Seigneur, appaisiés vous car j'ay assés pour chacun de vous faire tout riche: si me menés deviers mon cousin le prinche.
(Amiens III:117–118)

The development from le Bel's line to Froissart's several paragraphs, juxtaposing narrative segments and direct discourse, is particularly significant.[155] King Jean yields to Denis de

[149] Mentions of specific languages is rare enough in the *Chroniques* that it points to its importance in this passage: noting how the knight speaks to the King in good French reinforces the link between the King, the knight, and worth.
[150] A reinforcement of the loyalty of the knight towards the King: Morbecke is only of the English party by necessity because he cannot be of French allegiance as his life would be forfeit for having killed a man in Saint-Omer. In other words, the knight is not 'English at heart' but indeed French which explains why the King surrenders to him here.
[151] An indication that Froissart is aware of not reproducing direct discourse from actual, 'real' dialogue.
[152] The notion of 'advancement', not found in A&B, implies that there is more to it than the knight being 'forced' to be of English allegiance because of his 'French' crime: he is also clearly interested in social and pecuniary advantage.
[153] The fact that the knight considers himself to be 'French' despite his English allegiance is presented here in much more explicit terms than in A&B.
[154] In A&B, no Gascon knight is singled out.

Morbecke, for whom Froissart goes to great lengths to explain that he is fighting on the English side, but is, in truth, French (he speaks to the King *en bon françois*). It justifies the narrator's account in explaining why Jean surrenders to this particular knight, because of his status, identity, and his 'reluctant' allegiance. The narrative keeps insisting on King Jean as the target of great *convoitise*, so much so that both variants display the exact same sentence, after the king gives himself up, *là eut grant priesse et grant tirich entours le roy, car cescuns s'efforçoit de dire: "Je l'ay pris, je l'ay pris"*. One Gascon knight, Bernard de Trutes, brazenly claims a role in the king's capture. One wonders why this Gascon knight is named in one variant (Amiens) and not in the other. It is quite possible that Froissart got this information through a witness of the battle of Poitiers, especially as his arms are also detailed. What is striking, however, is that Froissart-narrator should only mention this single name, as in both excerpts it is stressed that many a knight was trying to lay hold of King Jean. It is hard to believe that this Gascon name is coincidently used here: even if the information was given to Froissart-chronicler by a Poitiers witness, it still serves the purpose of portraying Bernard de Trutes, and with him the Gascons in a self-interested, greedy (*convoiteus*) manner.[156]

But not all of the *Chroniques* passages throw a bad light on the Gascon man. Jean le Bel already hints that at the same battle of Poitiers, Gascon and English men treated their prisoners respectfully. Froissart-narrator keeps the passage almost entirely intact in his account bar one detail: le Bel's 'Gascons et Angloys' (JB ARB II:201–202) is replaced by the generic 'il' or 'cescuns'/'ciaus' (A&B) (SHF V:64) or 'chascuns'/'chiaus' (Amiens III:122). There is no reason to believe that it does not apply to both groups as, a few paragraphs before the same quasi-identical passage in Amiens, the narrator stresses that '[Englés et Gascon] si se desarmerent et fissent desarmer leurs prisounniers et lez honnourerent tant qu'il peurent'

[155] The *Vie* does not report such events, only that '[m]ais la force poi lui [Jean] vailli/Car le Prince lui tant assailli/Qe illoeqes fuist a force pris' *Vie* p. 85, vv. 1351–1353 (see also BARBER (1979) p. 102), while the *Chron. Val.* only specifies that an Englishman (i.e. of English allegiance) captures the king (*Chron. Val.* p. 55).
[156] Supported by Jean's general reply that he had enough *pour chacun de vous faire riche*.

(Amiens III:119) thus highlighting English and Gascon honour. This description is in direct opposition to the subsequent paragraph portraying German unchivalric customs (SHF V:64–65).[157]

The two Gascon knights who best represent the epitome of the worthy knight are the Captal de Buch and Gaston III (Fébus), count of Foix-Béarn. 1358 marked the peasant uprising known as the *Jacquerie* in some northern regions of today's France.[158] The city of Meaux was besieged by the *Jacques*; its inhabitants opened the city doors to them (Pailhés 2007:46–47). Le Bel's and Froissart's accounts differ: whilst they both agree that the rebellious peasants and townsfolk are slaughtered and the city set on fire, le Bel's account exhibits how the nobles from the city defended themselves (JB ARB II:225–226), while for Froissart-narrator it is the Captal and Gaston who save the nobles and ladies trapped in Meaux:[159]

> En ce tamps que ces meschans gens couroient revinrent de Prusse li comtes de Fois et li captaus de Beus ses cousins. Si entendirent sus leurs chemin, si comme il devoient entrer en Franche, le pestilence et l'oribleté qui couroient sus les gentilz hommes; si en eurent chil doy signeur grant pité. [...] Si entendirent là que la duçoise de de Normendie et la duçoise d'Orliiens et bien .CCC. dammes et dammoiselles et li dus d'Orliiens ossi estoient à Miaux en Brie, en grant meschief de coer pour celle Jakerie. Chil doi bon chevalier s'acorderent qu'il yroient veoir ces dammes et les recomforteroient à leur pooir, quoyque li captaux fust englés. Més il estoient adont trieuwes entre le royaumme d'Engleterre et celui de France: si pooit bien chevauchier partout et ossi il volloit là monstrer sa gentillece en le compaignie de son oncle le comte de Fois. (Amiens III:144)[160]

[157] The line on English and Gascon honour might then only serve to emphasize German barbarism; on Froissart's attitudes towards the German, see SHEARS (1972) pp. 145–146. Despite Froissart's comment, English and French knights were known to kill prisoners rather than ransom them as shown in a day-to-day diary of the Crécy campaign in Normandy or in Geoffrey le Baker's chronicle BARBER (1979) pp. 39–40, 43. Killing prisoners, however, was not common or, rather, accepted practice, hence the *Chroniques*' narrator's disapproval; see BEAUNE, C. 1985. *Naissance de la nation France*. Paris: Gallimard, p. 332.

[158] See DE MEDEIROS (1979). Her reading is particularly enlightening as she is comparing le Bel's and Froissart's account and concludes that Froissart's version is a 'romanesque adapatation' of le Bel's (p. 65); see also NACHTWEY, G. (2011) "Scapegoats and Conspirators in the Chronicles of Jean Froissart and Jean le Bel." *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 36, 103–126, esp. p. 104; AINSWORTH (1990b) pp. 90–91, 109–111. For an analysis of the tensions and contradictions inherent in Froissart's narrative in post-Poitiers France, see DILLER (1987).

[159] The *Chron. Val.* only refers to the count of Foix in this episode who is not coming back from Prussia and happens to 'bump into' the *Jacquerie* by chance (*Chron. Val.* p. 69). The ties between the French crown and Fébus are here very explicit whereas the count's allegiance is not mentioned in Froissart's narrative (see below). Only Froissart seems to mention the Captal being involved in the episode; see *Grandes chron.* VI pp. 112–115; *Chron. norm.* pp. 130–131; *Chron. rom.* p. 52.

[160] See also SHF V pp. 103–104.

The narrator does not mention that the Captal and Fébus are both Gascon knights. As with the Cocherel episode, it is highly probable that mentioning the origins of lords of Jean de Grailly's and Gaston Fébus' calibre is unnecessary. The audience might simply be expected to know that those knights were from Gascony. There is, however, mention of an 'origin' for the Captal who *fust englés*. This comment is clearly referring to the Captal's loyalty rather than his region of birth. If Jean de Grailly is of English allegiance, this is not really the case for the Count of Foix.[161] In the complex game of Gascon allegiance, Froissart is very aware that Fébus is not 'English'; at the same time neither does he say in this excerpt that he is 'French' (unlike what seems to be implied in the *Chron. Val.*, *Grande chron.*, or *Chron. rom.*).[162]

One might wonder what drove the narrator to present the Captal, an 'English' knight, protecting French nobles. The Captal, despite belonging to the English party and because of the *trieuwes* between France and England, *pooit bien chevauchier partout*. The use of free indirect discourse here relays once more the Captal's words, although this time more subtly than in the Cocherel episode: the Captal's inherent right, as a worthy, *gentil* knight, is to go and to display honour wherever he deems right. In any case, it is indicative of that the narrator used two extremely famous Gascon knights, of the same family but of slightly diverging fealty, to exemplify an act of chivalry clearly dear to the chronicler's eyes (especially as no mention of them is made in le Bel's *Chronique* and no mention of the Captal is made in other primary sources).

Excellent fighting skills are also portrayed as a positive Gascon trait. The *Chroniques*' narrator notes of the battle of Poitiers: '[b]ien est voirs que li Franchois estoient .V. tans de

[161] As Claudine Pailhès notes 'ils [the Captal and Gaston] n'eurent aucune arrière-pensée politique dans leur intervention. Le Captal de Buch était ouvertement 'anglais' et n'avait aucun motif de venir au secours du dauphin de France, le comte de Foix était neutre' PAILHES, C. 2007. *Gaston Fébus : Le prince et le diable*. Paris: Perrin, p. 46. In fact, Gaston Fébus always displayed a puzzling neutrality, at times verging towards a sympathy for the French party; see STAHULJAK (2001), STAHULJAK (2006), and *infra* Chapter 3.

[162] Nachtway argues that the Captal and Fébus were 'nominally on opposite sides of the French-English "contention"'. I do not agree with this view even though I agree that the stress on the Captal's English loyalty 'highlights the fact that Froissart structures the Jacquerie as a challenge to the entire […] nobility' NACHTWEY (2011) p. 111.

gens que li Englés mais les gens d'armes englés et gascon estoient toutte gens d'eslite. Et ossi estoient en vérité li plus des Franchois et bien se monstrerent' (Amiens III:104). A similar comment can be found in the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois*: 'les Gascons et Angloiz que l'en tient à des meillieurs guerroiers du monde' (*Chron. Val.*:242). The two narrators equate Gascon knights with English ones, and Froissart-narrator presents both groups as outshining their French counterparts. The French suffered a crushing and humiliating defeat at Poitiers, so it is logical that the narrator would describe both camps in these lights, but it is meaningful that the Gascons are surpassing the French too. Froissart-narrator recognises Gascon merits where he could have just described the 'English' army as a whole, as he often does. Le Bel also commented on Anglo-Gascon skills: '[c]elle grande aventure avint au prince de Galles l'an mil CCCLVI, lendemain de la feste Saint-Lambert, ou moys de septembre, laquelle chose doibvent bien les Angloys et les Gascons faire mettre en leurs croniques, car oncques si belle aventure n'avint à poy de gens en crestienté' (JB ARB II:200). The Gascon knights thus seem to deserve their place amongst worthy and honourable fighters and knights.

Remembering Jean II's capture, however, this portrait is far from being representative of a perfect portrayal. Jean was a captive in Bordeaux in the winter 1356–1357. Froissart recounts that preparations were then under way to send him to England (SHF V:79–80). Both Le Bel and Froissart show the Gascon lords as having strong opinions about this decision, and being unwilling to be taken advantage of:

> Et voulentiers eust amené le prince de Galles le roy Jehan en Angleterre, mais ces seigneurs de Gascongne qui avoient esté au prendre n'y vouloient pas consentir, par quoy il demoura tout celluy yver à Bourdeaulx avecques le roy Jehan; et luy fist mander tous ses menestrels et tous ceulx auxquelz il povoit prendre soulas et pluseurs parlemens avoit souvent entre eulz, maiz nul ne vint à fin, et quant ce vint au temps d'esté, le roy Jehan fut enmené en Angleterre, et mis en ung beau chastel qu'on clame Vindessore. Je ne sçay comment ce fut, ne comment ces seigneurs de Gascongne le consentirent, mais encores y estoit-il au jour que cil escript fut fait. (JB ARB II:202–203)

Le Bel-narrator suggests that the reason why Edward and Jean stayed in Bordeaux over the winter is that the Gascon lords simply vetoed their departure, but fails to discuss the cause of this opposition. That the lords *qui avoient esté au prendre* refuse to let go of such a booty may

reflect le Bel's own views of the Gascons as self-interested, but this is never made explicit. The *Chroniques*' narrator, in contrast, makes his opinions clear:

> Quant ce vint que li saisons approça que li princes deubt partir, et que ses besongnes estoient ensi que toutes prestes, il manda tous les plus haus barons de Gascongne, [...]. Et leur fist et moustra à ce donc très grant signe d'amour, et lor donna et prommist grans pourfis: c'est tout ce que Gascon aiment et desirent.[163] [...]
> Quant li Gascon entendirent que li princes de Galles, ainsnés filz dou roy leur signeur, en voloit mener hors de leur poissance le roy de France que il avoient aidiet à prendre, si n'en furent mies de premiers bien d'acort, et disent au prince: « Chiers sires, nous vous devons toute obeissance et loyal service, et nous loons de vous en quanques nous poons; més ce n'est pas nostre intention que le roy de France, pour lequel nous avons eu grant traveil à mettre ens ou point où il est, vous nous eslongiés ensi; car, Dieu merci, il est bien et en bonne cité, et sommes fort et gens assés pour le garder contre les François, se de poissance il le vous voloient oster. »
> Adonc respondi li princes: « Chier signeur, je le vous acorde moult bien; mès monsigneur mon père le voet avoir et veoir. Et dou bon service que fait li avés et moy ossi, nous vous en savons gré, et vous sera grandement remuneré. »
> Nequedent, ces parolles ne pooient brisier les Gascons que li princes leur eslongast le roy de France, jusques à tant que messires Renaulz de Gobehen et messires Jehan Chandos y trouvèrent moiien, car il sentoient les Gascons convoiteus;[164] se li disent: « Sire, sire, offrés leur une somme de florins, et vous les verés descendre à vostre requeste. » Adonc leur offri li princes soixante mil florins; il n'en veurent riens faire. Finablement, on ala et trettia tant de l'un à l'autre que uns accors se fist parmi cent mil frans que li princes deubt paiier et delivrer as barons de Gascongne, pour departir entre yaus, et en fist se debte. Et leur fu la ditte somme de florins delivrée [...]. (SHF V:80–81)

The *Chronique*'s narrator only states that several councils took place between the prince and his Gascon vassals and that all issues were resolved, while Froissart-narrator is very specific about the negotiations and the 100,000 florins finally paid.[165] He focuses on Gascon greed and cupidity, presenting the Gascon lords as rather unruly while, paradoxically, reasserting their loyalty to the Prince (*nous vous devons toute obeisance et loyal service, et nous loons de vous en quanques nous poons;* ***més***…; and this 'but' is essential). The Gascon lords acknowledge Edward of Woodstock as their overlord whilst shamelessly opposing the prince. Even more surprising is the narrator's treatment of the same episode in the Amiens version:

[163] *Amour* and *profit* are two fundamental facets of the Gascon man and are instrumental in the tension inherent in their portrayal in the *Chroniques*. *Profit* relates to their more pragmatic (and potentially less chivalrous) side; it is because of profit that so many Gascon knights and soldiers enrol in the companies (see *infra*). *Amour* hints at the double-responsibility of the Gascons' relationship with their overlord: on one hand the Gascons owe their overlord loyalty; on the other, the overlord (i.e. Edward of Woodstock) must treat them with deference/*amour* (see *infra* Chapter 2-IV).
[164] Another way for the narrator to present the Gascons interested in *profit*.
[165] There is no mention of Gascon discontent and negotiations in other primary sources; *Vie* p. 88 (see also BARBER (1979) pp. 103–104); *Chanson* I p. 52; *Chron. Val.* p. 58.

> Or avint que sus le quaremme et environ Pasques, li prinches de Galles par l'acord et consentement des Gascons se parti de Bourdiaux à grant navie et belle et bien pourveue de gens d'armes et enmena le roy Jehan en Engleterre, monsigneur Phelippe son fil et tous les seigneurs prisonniers qui adont estoient à Bourdiaux. (Amiens III:130)

The story of Jean's transfer from Bordeaux to England takes up six lines in le Bel and depending on Froissart's version either twenty-seven or four lines: in one of his accounts, the Gascons are shown as utterly greedy and openly insulting to the prince, while in the other they simply agree and consent to his request! If Amiens is indeed the earliest version, the chronicler might have altered the narrative in A&B to emphasize the protagonists' behaviour (a weak prince and his unashamed vassals?).[166] Regardless of the variants' chronology, it is possible to guess – albeit without certainty – that Amiens might be the most likely version:

> There is, however, no record of this payment, and Froissart is, as usual, making a good story out of a rather more mundane affair. If there was a dispute, the Gascon lords were hardly on strong ground, as the rights in such a prisoner had been specifically reserved to Edward; and the payments made were probably the usual end-of-campaign rewards to a successful army which Froissart has treated as a single item rather than sums paid to individuals. (Barber 1978:151–152)

To Herbert James Hewitt, 'in Froissart the episode is made dramatic' (1958:146). Such a statement is probably true for A&B but not for Amiens. However, even if Amiens is the most likely version, A&B serves an interesting purpose: to express the narrator's (and author's?) opinion of the Gascon man. Before this episode, his views on their self-interestedness and unruliness were implied by the narrative (e.g. in the capture of King Jean during the battle of Poitiers). In this excerpt, the audience is presented with a stance expressed via a narrative comment imbued with an inherent co-existing tension: *amour* and *pourfis*, *c'est tout ce que Gascon aiment et desirent*. In short, I would go further than Hewitt, who suggests, 'the story

[166] Let us not forget that Froissart-author was writing for the aristocracy. It is possible that he didactically decided through his re-writing to insist on what worthy knights should not do: oppose their overlord and be greedy. On the other hand, Froissart-chronicler was in Bordeaux in 1367. Was it his meetings with numerous Gascon men that strengthened his resolve to show them in such a bad light? Was it his disappointment of knights' behaviour (especially knights enrolled in the Companies) that prompted him to stress bad vassalic behaviour?

is in accord with Froissart's view of the Gascon character' (1958:147). I would submit that it is this episode which first openly presents and defines his opinion on the Gascons.[167]

The military figure who best epitomises the tension between *convoitise* and prowess in the narrative is no doubt the captain of the mercenary bands called the companies or *routes* (Amiens III:256).[168] They are a plague for the French Crown as real as the Black Death, led by captains who, according to the *Chroniques*' narrator, are for the most part Anglo-Gascon: '[e]t ossi li plus grant partie des cappittainnes estoient gascon et englés, homme tenant dou roy d'Engleterre et dou prinche. De quoy li roys de Franche et tous li royaummes se contentoit mal' (Amiens III:364). Froissart-narrator refers to them earlier as 'ces pilleurs englez et autres' (Amiens III:268) and 'ces guerieurs qui se noummoient Englés' (Amiens III:198) implying that the *routiers* soldiers call themselves 'English' when they would not deserve to be called thus. In truth, many regions were represented among the soldiers enrolled in the Companies.[169] Froissart specifically lingers on the English and Gascon captains at the head of those mercenary bands (Amiens III:256).

The Gascon Seguin de Badefol is one of Froissart's 'favourite' *routiers*: '[e]t avoient cez Compaingnes dou Pont Saint Esperit fait .I. cappittainne souverain entre lez autres, c'estoit messires Seghins de Batefol et s'escripsoit en ses lettres et se faisoit adont coummunement appeler : *Amis à Dieu et ennemis à tout le monde*' (Amiens III:267).[170] Before that, the narrative introduces him: 'li plus grans mestres entre yaux estoit uns chevaliers de Gascoingne, qui s'appelloit messire Segins de Batefol' (Amiens III:256). The

[167] There is an interesting parallel to be made here with Book II's representation of another ambivalent people, the Flemish, see HARF-LANCNER (1998a) p. 240; DEVAUX, J. 2006. "Froissart et les troubles de Flandre : ressorts en enjeux d'un conflit (1379-1382)." Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 81–98, here pp. 92–93.

[168] On the *Chroniques*' more detailed conception of the *routiers*, see NACHTWEY (2011) pp. 112–119. On *routiers* in general, see CONTAMINE, P. 1984. *War in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 160; FOWLER (2001) pp. 1–23; VERNIER (2007) p. 81; MINOIS (2008) pp. 168–209.

[169] Fowler identifies 35 Englishmen and 18–20 Gascons out of 97 captains of *routes*, see FOWLER (2001) pp. 323–325.

[170] On Seguin de Badefol, see ibid., pp. 75–85.

narrator appears thus merciful to this Gascon while lengthily informing the reader about the captain's fortunes (Amiens III:271).[171] The narrator acknowledges all the 'misdeeds' perpetrated by the man – 'prist', 'embla', 'esciella', 'couroit tout le pays' and 'y fist trop durement de grans dammaigez' (Amiens III:271) – but nevertheless calls for God's forgiveness. Séguin de Badefol is a case in point: the Anglo-Gascon captains are indeed presented as ruthless and self-interested, offering their services to the highest bidder, behaviour of which Froissart strongly disapproves. The chronicler nevertheless admits that some of these captains are skilled companion-at-arms, 'li fleur de leurs gens d'armes' (Amiens III:264).[172] Froissart also acknowledges that some of these men, despite their noble birth, could not rely simply on nobleness and needed to find alternate ways to 'advance themselves' to gain a higher social (and pecuniary) status.

The *Chroniques*' narrative presents an inherently bi-faceted attitude towards the *routiers*: on the one hand the narrator despises 'ces malles gens' (Amiens III:263) for forsaking their overlord out of self-interest, destroying 'sainte crestieneté sans raison' (Amiens III:391); on the other hand, he cannot but acknowledge some of these men's finesse and desire for self-promotion. These desires are far from being despised by Froissart-narrator, as long as they are pursued in respectable and civilised ways.[173] Other chroniclers, by contrast, have more black-and-white views; this is the case for Aymeric de Peyrac who is, as

[171] His portrayal is reminiscent of another Gascon company captain, the Bascot de Mauléon, whose life-story is one of the most famous of the *Chroniques* as it is told, in the *Voyage*, by the Bascot himself; see *infra* Chapter 3.
[172] Most of these captains were actually of noble birth; see VERNIER (2007) p. 60.
[173] The Meaux episode comes back to mind. The man who best represents this 'self-promoting' and 'self-made knight', so to speak, in Froissart's eyes, is Bertrand du Guesclin, not a company captain per se, although he did lead a large group of *routiers* to Spain as shall be seen below; see GUENÉE (2008). Du Guesclin's English counterpart is none other than John Chandos who will have such an important (and positive) part to play in the Spanish enterprise in the narrative (see *infra* Chapter 2-IV). On John Chandos in the *Chroniques*, see AINSWORTH, P. 1993. "Asneton, Chandos et "X" : Jean Froissart et l'éclosion des mythes." Ed. J.-C. AUBAILLY. *Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble : hommage à Jean Dufournet, professeur à la Sorbonne Nouvelle : littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Âge*. Paris: Champion, pp. 55–73. On the *Chroniques* and the concept of 'advancement' as both symbol and reality, see MCROBBIE, K. (1971) "The Concept of Advancement in the Fourteenth Century in the *Chroniques* of Jean Froissart." *Canadian Journal of History* 6, 1–19.

Paul Mironneau notes, much more disapproving of the *routiers* (2009:116).[174] It is no stretch to see how, in the *Chroniques*, the Gascon man – greedy yet respectable knight – best epitomises the *routiers* captain *par excellence* and vice versa, which explains why so many *routiers* are Gascons in Froissart's narrative.

The tension that transpires in the *Grande Aquitaine* section (*signe d'amour et […] grans pourfis: c'est tout ce que Gascon aiment et desirent*) is at the heart of Froissart-narrator's portrayal of the Gascon man in the *Chroniques*. It is clearly highlighted as early as the first versions of Book I (hinted at in the 1345–1346 account) and runs throughout the rest of the work. Both the Gascon knight and the *routier* captain (whose portrayals often overlap) are 'in-betweeners': never truly standing at the centre of civilisation (France and England) or outside of it as men of the far distant marches (e.g. Spain, Germany) do. The Gascon knight can be loyal yet greedy; he can be French one day, English the other; he can be self-interested yet worthy of praise. I emphasized in the previous section how the narrator insists on vassalic duties and put English allegiance before Gascon allegiance and identity. These observations may point to the *Chroniques*' narrative as the reflection of an outdated chivalrous mentality in the fourteenth century aimed at the chronicler's target audience, the nobility.[175] I believe that the reality of the *Chroniques*' narrative is slightly more complex than a simple opposition between Froissart-author-narrator's chivalrous 'idealistic ideals' and fourteenth-century real

[174] De Peyrac, a man loyal to Armagnac, also shows a harsh opinion of the Gascons (especially Bearnese men) in his chronicle; see MIRONNEAU, P. (1993) "Gaston Fébus et la Fortune." *Médiévales* 24, 149–162, here p. 152.

[175] This has been argued particularly as far as the earlier versions of Book I are concerned. Pierre Tucoo-Chala notes that '[à] travers les pages de Froissart, le lecteur du XXe siècle perçoit un chaos informe, une succession de désordres, de violences, une suite remarquable de traîtrises, de manquements à la parole donnée, d'assassinats. Or le chroniqueur voit les choses autrement ; il écrit: "je crois que depuis la création du monde et depuis que l'on a commencé à se battre, on ne trouvera dans aucun récit autant de merveilles et d'exploits militaires". Pour lui la guerre de Cent ans est une suite de prouesses dignes d'être décrites par un grand reporter, d'affrontements d'homme à homme. Les combats ne cessent que pour laisser la place à des tournois somptueux, à des fêtes d'un luxe raffiné. Or Froissart est le fidèle reflet de la mentalité du monde seigneurial où il trouve ses lecteurs dont il doit flatter les tendances les plus profondes. À la limite, il s'agit d'une sorte de falsification consciente de la réalité pour permettre de laisser croire aux chevaliers que leur vie se déroule conformément à un schéma réunissant l'idéal chrétien et l'honneur des hommes d'armes' TUCOO-CHALA, P. 1976. *Gaston Fébus : un grand prince d'Occident au XIVe siècle*. Pau: Marrimpouey, p. 33.

practices. Pierre Tucoo-Chala, who states Froissart's *falsification consciente de la réalité* (see n. 175), recognises that the situation in the fourteenth century is complicated:

> Vers le milieu du XIVe siècle coexistent au sein de la chevalerie trois types d'hommes se mouvant dans des univers mentaux différents : les idéalistes estimant indispensable de respecter en toute circonstance le code de l'honneur, répudiant toute manœuvre stratégique comme une traitrise, concevant le combat comme un jugement de Dieu ou l'on s'affronte loyalement en fonçant l'un contre l'autre ; les réalistes estimant au contraire ces pratiques révolues, utilisant toutes les méthodes pour gouverner à condition d'avoir le succès, meurtre et parjure compris ; à mi-chemin certains essayèrent de tenir compte des faits tout en essayant de sauver les apparences. Edouard III d'Angleterre appartenait à cette dernière catégorie, Jean II le Bon à la première ; le résultat était connu d'avance. Charles II le Mauvais roi de Navarre pencha vers la solution annonçant les tyrans de la Renaissance en utilisant largement le poison à des fins politiques. Fébus devait se situer dans ce monde en mutation rapide. (Tucoo-Chala 1976:35)

So did Froissart. I am not sure the chronicler really belongs in the 'idealist' column in Tucoo-Chala's tri-partite division. While there may still be a certain amount of delusion about prowess and war in Froissart's narrative, there is also a clear acknowledgment of changing practices – not all despised by the author/narrator.[176] Equally, there may be certain 'chivalrous' qualities or behaviour which may be regarded in a harsher light by the chronicler than originally thought (see Chapter 2-IV below). The tensions perceptible in the *Chroniques*' portrayal of the Gascon knight/*routier* captain present a narrative very much *à mi-chemin* between expected ideals and reality. Froissart more fittingly belongs to the category of men taking the facts into account but trying to save appearances.[177] How are appearances saved in the *Chroniques*? Potentially by being a seemingly straightforward, prowess-oriented narrative when in fact there might be discernible cracks in this deeply chivalrous ideal.[178] The more the narrative unfolds, the more cracks become visible (see Chapter 3). In other words, what turns out to be 'fake' may not be 'reality itself' as it is presented in the narrative but rather the

[176] For instance: the possibility of advancement regardless of nobility status; praises – or at the very least tolerance – of unchivalrous military techniques (ruse, strategy). Many company captains and Gascon knights encompass these traits as well as more traditional chivalrous ones.

[177] This may be, after all, what Pierre Tucoo-Chala means when he presented Froissart as purposefully falsifying reality. However, that comment may not be giving enough credit to the inherent and co-existing tensions Froissart-narrator observes which do not really imply a fake conception of reality but rather a complex and intricate perception of it. There is of course a crucial question to address: that of how aware Froissart (as protagonist, narrator, and/or implied author?) might be of his reality and its tensions. I will leave the question of consciousness open for now and come back to it in the next chapter.

[178] That is what Book I's Prologue announces, at least. The *Chroniques* would not be the first example of a Prologue's authorial/narrative voice not quite matching that of the rest of the text.

deeply chivalrous ideal which is but the first, obvious, and straightforward layer in the narrator's perception of reality. In any case, the chivalrous ideal does not appear to be the author/narrator's complete (or maybe even only) perception of reality. I would like to explore Book I a little further to try and determine whether the portrayal of the degrading relationship of the prince with his Gascon subjects is indeed entirely straightforward, or whether this simple portrayal masks a more ambiguous narrative.

IV. The Prince and His Gascon Subjects: Castles in Spain and Rising Voices

In 1366, it only takes the prince's voice to call back his faithful Anglo-Gascon knights back.[179] Despite the knights' discontent they do not yet dare oppose their prince. As previously noted, the decision to go to Spain will prove pivotal for the prince's relation with his Gascon subjects. The following section will analyse the *Chroniques*' narrative of the deterioration of Anglo-Gascon relationships in the late 1360s, and early 1370s leading to the fall of *la Grande Aquitaine* and its prince. It will examine how the rise of specific and collective Gascon voices (*les vois dou pays d'Aquitaine*) parallels the – albeit subtle – rise of a narrative voice at odds with a simple chivalrous message.

1. *The Prince and His Subjects:* Emerging Tensions and Narrative Pessimism

There are three different phrases used in the account of events set in 1355–1361 to refer to the land/people of Aquitaine in relation to their prince: *li prinches et ses gens* (six times); *li gens dou princhе* (once); and *le terre dou princhе* (twice). For the period 1362–1371, nine different phrases, used seventeen times in total can be spotted: *des barons et des chevaliers de sa terre*; *son pays*; *la terre dou princhе; ses subgés; au princhе et à ses gens; le pays/li pais dou princhе; ses pays; ses feaux et amés chevaliers*. Were it not for three other phrases, one could

[179] On the Spanish campaign, the battle of Nájera, and the prince's reputation, see BOOTH, P. 2012. "The Last Week of the Life of Edward the Black Prince." Eds. H. SKODA, et al. *Contact and Exchange in Later Medieval Europe : Essays in Honour of Malcolm Vale*. Woodbridge: Boydell, pp. 221–245.

say that the narrator presents the prince as the all-powerful leader of his land and his Gascon subjects throughout the narrative. Towards the beginning of the 1369–1371 account – i.e. the principality's 'crumbling' phase –, the chronicler twice intersperses the expressions *en leur pays* and *en leurs terres*, hinting at the prince's vassals reclaiming **their** land. The narrator clearly introduces an opposition between the Gascon lords and their *seigneur naturel* through the use of singular possessive determiners *ses/sa/son* (the prince's) and *leur/leurs* (the Gascon lords'), proof of Anglo-Gascon tensions. Tensions which, one would assume, would not be implied in the 'early days' of the principality when all was well between the prince and his subjects.

In the winter of 1362–1363, the prince was in Aquitaine to receive homage for the principality from his Gascon vassals (SHF VI:82, Amiens III:278).[180] The narrator presents Aquitaine, through the Gascon lords' voices (in direct discourse):[181] 'sans [the prince's] royaumme c'estoit li plus grans du monde' (Amiens III:278). Yet the short phrase inserted in Amiens *ad ce commencement* strongly implies that if the Gascon lords were supportive of their natural lord to start with they would not be for long. Twice in the same paragraph the narrator strongly insinuates that the prince was loved by everyone 'in the beginning': '[m]és ad ce commencement, il y fu durement ammés d'uns et d'autres et aprist à connoistre les gentilz hommes et le pays' (Amiens III:277).[182]

[180] See also BARBER (1978) pp. 179–180.

[181] It is not the first, nor the last time that the narrative uses direct discourse to express the views or voices of a crowd or group: NICHOLS, S. G. (1964) "Discourse in Froissart's *Chroniques*." *Speculum* 39, 279–287. It is a technique Froissart-narrator will particularly make use of in his Book IV to express the Londoners discontent, see MORSE, R. 1991. *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 113; see VARVARO (2011).

[182] No such narrative nuance can be found in the *Vie* 'Et l'amoient de bon amour/Tut li subgit et tout li sien/Car il lour fesoit moult de bien./Moult [le] prisoient et amoient/Cils qui entour lui demoroient,/Car largesse le sustenoit/Et noblesse le governoit,/Sens et atemperance et droiture,/Raisoun et justice et mesure,/Homme pooit dire par raison/Qe tiel prince ne trovast hom/Qi alast serchier tout le monde/Si come il tourne a le rounde' *Vie* pp. 92–93, vv. 1620–1632. The passage is as – if not more – hyperbolic than the *Chroniques*' although it focuses more on the figure of the prince himself than on his princedom. However, the insistence on the *amour* the Gascon lords show the prince is also freighted with dramatic tension as the *Vie*'s narrator later blames the Gascon lords' treacherousness for the crumbling of the principality; see *infra* Chapter 2-IV-2.

The phrase *ad ce commencement* is not in A&B, yet this variant is not completely devoid of pessimistic remarks: '[e]t meismement li contes de Fois le vint veoir auquel li princes fist grant feste' (SHF VI:82). Despite this seemingly cheerful observation the adverb *meismement* implies narrative surprise: the count of Foix is far from being the prince's most loyal vassal (i.e. everything was well in the principality of Aquitaine – at least 'at the start' – if 'even' the count of Foix came to see the prince). The narrator continues by referring to what would be developed later in his *Chroniques* as one of the main Gascon criticisms of the prince's administration: the appointment of too many English knights (SHF VI:82).[183] Froissart evades the issue in Amiens, never mentioning that most of the seneschals and other officers appointed are actually English when the ones 'dismissed' are Gascon (Amiens III:277).

Both versions have a pessimistic quality to them. Nevertheless, it is apparent that Amiens is the more pessimistic of the two, or at least contains the most dramatic tension. While A&B already bodes ill for the future, it only does so retrospectively: the reader understands the underlying warning (too many English officials appointed) only if they already know that this will be the cause of the Gascon lords' rebellion. In contrast, even if the reader is unaware of the prince's failure and the Gascon lords' defection, they cannot fail to perceive the pessimistic Amiens narrative voice contrasting with the hyperbolic one: *ad ce commencement* everything was well, but not for long.

2. *Les Vois dou Pays d'Aquitaine*, 1367–1370

> Or parlerons dou princhе de Gallez et des merveillez qui avinrent en Acquittainne dont il estoit sirez et recorderons, au plus justement que nous porons, coumment et pourquoy il fu gueriiés et reperdi tous les pays et les senescaudiez qui li estoient donnees et acordees par le traitiet de le pais, si comme il est chi dessus contenut sus l'an mil .CCC.LXI. et coumment ossi il s'em parti et s'en revint arriere en Engleterre. (Amiens III:452)

[183] For more detail on local administration and its evolution in France, England, and Europe in the fourteenth century, see GUENÉE (1971) pp. 181–189.

It is the narrator's desire to present, in the most truthful way possible, not only how events led to the prince losing all the territories which had been granted to the English crown after Brétigny, but also why they happened. In the above passage emphasis is clearly laid on the prince, who was subject to aggression and subsequently lost his territories – the issue of Gascon responsibility is not explicitly dealt with. This focus may be due to the prince being elevated as one of Froissart's 'heroes' but, given the matter at hand (he lost all his land; he turned back to England), I would suggest that the excerpt subtly emphasises the prince's own responsibility in this failure which begins with Spain (Russell 1981; Fowler 2001:155–239; De Medeiros 2003).[184]

a. The Beginning of the End: The Decision to Go to Spain

It is Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros's belief that 'Froissart ne se prononce pas ouvertement sur ce point [le bien-fondé d'une intervention en Espagne]' (2003:64). In fact, the narrative presents the narrator's opinion, albeit subtly, which is critical of the prince's decision to help Pedro of Castile, a 'bougre et mauvais crestiien' (Amiens III:365).[185] The argument of reason with which John Chandos attempts to convince the prince in the narrative is useless against Edward's discourse of ideals and values: no bastard (Enrique) should usurp a throne.[186] In this sequence, the prince turns to his councillor, Thomas Felleton, seneschal of Aquitaine, to heed his opinion on the matter. The English knight is particularly embarrassed and 'ne vot mies desdire Camdos ne ossi courouchier le princhе oultre se vollonté' (Amiens III:372), and so suggests that the prince should seek the Gascon lords' opinion instead:

> Et là remonstra li princhеs qui fu moult sages chevaliers et bien enlagagés, coumment li roi d'Espaigne li prioit et requeroit, pour Dieu et par pité, qu'il le volsist conforter contre son frere le bastart qui l'avoit deshireté. Or dist li princhеs de Galles là plus avant, en coulourant les besoingnes dou roy dan Piere car il dist enssi:
> —Biau signeur, il est bien voirs que tout roy et enfant de roy doient legierement descendre à tels priieres où kas qu'il en sont priiés et requis car c'est contre droit et raison d'un bastart courounner et

[184] See Figure 1 in the Appendices for a map of France and the Iberia Peninsula towards 1360.
[185] The *Chroniques*' narrative is relatively clement to Pedro; the *Chanson* presents him as the 'real' bastard having been fathered by a Jew.
[186] Interestingly, in the A&B version, it is through a collective voice, and not just Chandos', that the warning 'Qui trop embrace, mal estraint' is made (SHF VI pp. 201–202; see also DE MEDEIROS (2003) pp. 60–61).

> tenir terre et royaumme et que nuls sirez ne s'i devoit assentir et qui le fait ou a fait, il erre maisement. Et est tout vray, dist li prinches, que monsigneur mon pere et li roys dans Pieres ont certainnes aloieanches et confirmations enssamble, pour quoy nous y sommes mout tenu à adrechier et ce roy deshireté conssillier. Si vous pri que vous en voeilliés dire vostre entente car nous avons bonne vollenté de lui aidier, se nous le veons ne trouvons en vous.
> Adont respondi li comtes d'Ermignach, qui estoit li plus grans de toutte Gascoingne et dist:
> —Monsigneur, nous ne voullons mie ne poons se il plaist à Dieu vostre bon pourpos brisier ne estaindre. Et moult honnouraublement vous nous monstrés et parlés de cesti voiaige. Si consseille més que ce soit li acors et li conssaux des barons qui sont chy, que vous envoiiés querre le roy dant Piere par aucuns de vos chevaliers à le Caloigne là où il se tient et, lui venu deviers vous, si nous remandés. Nous orons et verons quel cose il volra dire, ossi toutte votre bonne vollenté et la besoingne enssi que elle se porte. Maintenant voeilliés le escripre et cargier à .II. ou .III. chevaliers de vostre consseil qui s'en voissent en Engleterre et qui le remonstrent au roy vostre pere et à son conseil, si sarons qu'il en voront respondre. Car, monsigneur, qui voelt emprendre .I. si grant fait que d'un roy couronnet, deshiretet et hay et escachiet de ses hommes, remettre par force en son pays et en si grant royaumme comme de celi d'Espaigne et bouter hors celi qui tient le possession par l'acort et consentement de tout le pays et de ses voisins le roy d'Aragon et le roy de Navarre, il ne se puet trop bien fonder ne enfourmer ne avoir bon consseil ne examiner touttes besoingnes ne quel fin ellez puevent prendre.
> Li conssaux le comte d'Ermignach fu vollentiers oys et creus et dist chacuns plainnement:
> —Il parolle bien.
> Meisement li prinches dist qu'il le feroit enssi.
> (Amiens III:374–375)

The prince embellishes (*coulourant*) Pedro's affairs, which might support the fact that the narrator finds the Spanish enterprise imprudent (otherwise, there would be no need for the prince to *coulourer* his speech). The warning issued by the count of Armagnac bodes ill for the future: he strongly insists that Enrique has the support *de tout le pays*, a subtle hint that the prince has, for now, the support *de tout [son] pays* (Aquitaine), but that the Spanish *besoingnes* and their outcomes (*quel fin ellez puevent prendre*) may be putting the fragile Anglo-Gascon relationship at risk.[187] The Count of Armagnac, who 'speaks well' and is also 'the greatest of Gascony', thus becomes a significant protagonist in the narrative. Armagnac's warning and his status amongst the Gascon lords, coupled with the aforementioned narrative comment *ad ce commencement*, heighten dramatic tension.

[187] There is no mention of such a debate between the prince and Armagnac in the *Vie* although the prince does seek council. It has been argued that Froissart may have borrowed his account of the Spanish campaign from Chandos Herald's, PALMER (1982); DEVAUX (2000) pp. 18–19. While that may indeed be the case for the battles (e. g. Nájera), the narratives are so far apart in their presentation of events leading to the campaign (and their interpretation) that Froissart must have relied on other sources (oral and written) as well, one of which could very well have been himself. The author of the *Vie* did accompany John Chandos to Spain while Froissart stopped at Dax; that said, Froissart was a primary witness to the preparations of the campaign before being sent back by the prince, and therefore may have a very different personal perspective.

b. Consequences of the Spanish Campaign: La Querelle des Gascons

Before the beginning of the campaign, the narrator insists on John Chandos's dislike for the *outrageuse* Spanish enterprise (through indirect discourse):

> [E]t disoit messires Jehans Camdos [...] que chilx voiaiges d'Espaingne estoit une outrageuse emprise et se metoit en aventure de perdre son [the prince's] pays par deux conditions: li une si estoit que se il estoit desconffis dou roy Henry enssi que les fortunes sont mervilleuses, il avoit tant d'ennemis de tous costés que ses pays en seroit tous perdus; au mieux venir il desconfesist le roy Henri et remesist che roy Piere en son royaumme, si se trouveroit il si endebtés enviers touttes mannierres de gens et especiaument ces Compaignes lesquelx on ne paie mies à sen aise, qu'il li porroient à son retour faire une trés grande guerre et moult adammagier son pays. (Amiens III:381)

It is the second of Chandos's near-prophecies that 'comes to pass': the battles are won in chivalrous due form, Enrique relinquishes the Crown, and Pedro is back on the throne (although not for long). It is surprising, if indeed Froissart borrowed his account of the Spanish campaign from Chandos Herald (Palmer 1982), that there is no mention whatsoever of Chandos's reticence concerning the potential outcome of the expedition in the *Vie*. By contrast, there is one character in the *Chanson* who expresses pessimism regarding the Spanish enterprise; it is neither Chandos nor Armagnac (the prince's vassals obediently follow their prince) but Joan of Kent, the prince's wife (*Chanson* I:232). There may even be a hint of dramatic irony in the prince's direct discourse reaction to Joan's reticence:

> "Qui veult avoir renom des bons et des vaillans,
> Il doit aler souvant a la pluie et aux champs
> Et estre en la bataille, ainsi que first Rolans
> Et li bers Oliviers et Ogier li poissans,
> Li .IIII. filz Aymon, Charlemaigne li grans,
> Li ducs Lyons de Bourges et Guion de Tournans,
> Parceval le Galois, Ancelot et Tristans,
> Alixandre et Artus, Godeffroy li sachans,
> De quoy cil menestrel font ces nobles ronmans.
> Par saint George, dist il, en qui je suy creans !
> Je renderay Espaigne et tous les appendans
> A celui qui en doit mieulx estre possessans."
> (*Chanson* I:232–233 vv. 11699–11710)

The *Chanson*'s narrator mentions a few lines previously that '[c]ar par le fait d'Espaigne ou li princes ala/Print une maladie qui a mort le mena' (vv. 11678–11679). In other words, Spain itself defeats the prince (although through disease as opposed to the kind of feats of arms a

Roland or an Olivier is remembered for), not the other way round.[188] By contrast, the *Vie*'s narrator presents the prince (vv. 1620–1638) and his campaign in extremely laudatory terms, describing the Spanish enterprise as '[…] le plus noble emprise/Q'onqes cristiens emprist;/Car par force en son lieu remist/Un roi q'avoit desheritée/Son friere bastard et maisné' (*Vie*:93 vv. 1642–1646). If Chandos and Armagnac historically expressed reserve, they are textually (and deliberately?) kept quiet (*Vie*:100–101 vv. 1885–1940). Both Chandos Herald and Froissart were in Bordeaux during the deliberations regarding the decision to go to Spain. While the *Vie*'s narrator keeps silent about the disapproval of the prince's vassal, only mentioning 'Chescun disoit ce qe lui semble/Bon a faire de cel emprise' (vv. 1926–1927), his *Chroniques*' counterpart shows no such reticence. It is entirely possible that the kind of debate mentioned in the latter narrative did take place and that Chandos Herald, writing in order to praise the Black Prince,[189] did not wish to present opposition to the noble enterprise/the prince. The *Chroniques*' narrator clearly has no problem doing so, which calls for a reassessment of the alleged, unquestioning positive portrayal of the prince in Book I's earliest versions.[190] Froissart-narrator, addressing his reader (*si devés savoir*), targets the prince and points out that he finds himself nearly bankrupt and heavily in debt after 1367:[191]

> Si devés savoir que cestre emprise li [the prince] cousta trop grossement et s'endebta enviers pluiseurs chevaliers et escuiers qui n'en furent mies trop bien paiiez; més il estoit si gentils et si nobles de couraige que tout chil qui avoient à faire à lui s'en contentoient bien et si estoit si amés et si doubtés de touttes gens d'armes que nulx ne l'osoit courouchier bonnement. (Amiens III:453)

[188] Paul Booth has recently raised the hypothesis that the prince's *maladie* (usually understood as dysentery) may have been more mental (e.g. depression/nervous breakdown) than physical BOOTH (2012) pp. 242–245.
[189] Or the house of Lancaster, as Palmer suggests; see PALMER (1982).
[190] It also calls for a reassessment of the *Chroniques*' dependence on Chandos Herald's account, at least for what precedes the campaign.
[191] This campaign can be seen as economically opposed to the 1355–1356 ones which had very much refilled the prince's chests; see BARBER (1979) pp. 50–77. Hoskins notes about the 1355 *chevauchée* that even though it had no decisive battle, it proved a huge economic, psychological, and military advantage for the prince HOSKINS (2009) p. 24. The Spanish campaign is to some extent its exact opposite: one decisive battle (Nájera) but an economic, psychological, political, and human failure. It also contrasts with Book IV's account of the late-fourteenth-century crusade in the Levant: presented as a good cause but a failed campaign and defeat against the Turks led by Bayezid 1st at Nicopolis (1396, in modern Bulgaria); on this episode, see VARVARO (2011) pp. 138–147.

As this quote suggests, the absolute faith in the prince shown by his loyal subjects was about to fade. With the intention to 'bail out' the prince, Froissart narrates that councillors advised Edward of Woodstock to implement a tax, a *fouage* until his debts were redeemed and his chests refilled (Amiens III:457). Proof once more of the trust, albeit ephemeral, between the prince and his Gascon vassals, the Gascon lords are consulted on the raising of the tax (and respond to his call). One of the main reasons behind the Gascon lords' strong opposition to the raising of the tax in *leur pays* is that it 'sambloit as barons et as chevaliers par especial que le peuples en seroit trop grevés et qu'il estoit assés presses en autre mannierre des grans levees que li offisciier dou princhе faisoient sus les petittes gens' (Amiens III:458). The prince's officers cause a greater problem to the Gascons: not only are they English and not local men but, more importantly, they endeavour to play a large role in Gascon administration. The *Chroniques*' narrator stresses the Gascon reticence at letting 'pure English' (i.e. foreigners in local eyes) interfere in Gascon affairs (Amiens III:453–454). Thus, the final straw, and the catalyst for the lords' loss of trust in their prince, is not actually his failure to repay his debts or his raising heavy taxes – although these actions contributed to Gascon animosity – but the increased meddling in Gascon matters (Barber 1978:210–212). Moreover, the prince's other *faux-pas* in the narrative is a failure to truly understand Gascon character and thus to effectively lead them:

> Bien en venoit la congnissanche au princhе que les vois dou pays d'Acquittainne estoient telles, més il n'en faisoit nul compte et disoit que c'estoit follie et ygnoranche de ceux qui y penssoient car il n'avoient autre resort que en se court ou celle dou roy d'Engleterre son pere més ceste ne volloit il mies excepter. [...] Et quant il [the lords of Gascony] venoient en le court dou roy de Franche, il estoient liement et bellement requeilliet dou roy et de ses gens et c'est tout chou que gens d'armes demandent et especialment chil des marches de Gascoingne. Car il ne puevent ammer ung seigneur se il n'est drois compains et amis entre yaux et se il ne les requeille, chacun seloncq son estat, liement.[192] (Amiens III:454)

[192] The Gascon characteristic that they need *amour* to be led is reiterated here (see *supra*).

By contrast, Bertrand du Guesclin is shown as a good leader in the *Chanson* because he instinctively knows and understands his men (*Chanson* III:136).[193] Despite Froissart-narrator's overall opinion of Gascon character as fickle and self-interested, the blame is here projected mainly onto the prince who proves himself a bad ruler. The Wheel of Fortune turns even for the (seemingly) worthiest (Zink 1998:59; Varvaro 2006c:132–133):[194] if the prince seems an 'ideal' candidate/hero for Froissart's potential ideal lord, the end of his career shows that, as early as the first versions of Book I, he is a flawed and realistic character.

The Spanish campaign is presented by Froissart as having heavy consequences for the fortunes of the prince and his principality. Echoing Chandos's foretelling, it proved to be an economic and political failure, despite being a military success.[195] The prince found himself surrounded by new and former enemies (Enrique of Trastamara, Charles V) and fake allies (Pedro of Castile). The narrator deplores English control over the Gascon administration; heavy taxes on the local population; and, ultimately, the prince's failure to understand Gascon behaviour resulting in the loss of the Gascons' trust and confidence in their ruler. In the *Chroniques*, the 'querelle des Gascons' (Amiens III:459) seems simply unavoidable and is mainly the prince's fault. The prince favours a 'noble enterprise' by upholding chivalric standards – evicting a bastard from the Castilian throne – crowned by military success. It could and should have been the apex of the prince's career. It is in fact his demise. His lack of

[193] Interestingly the same comment is made in the later *Chroniques* about Charles VI when he expresses his desire to visit his 'loingtaines marches de la Languedoch' as a king 'devoit visitter ses terres et congnoistre ses gens et sçavoir et apprendre comment ils estoient gouvernés, et ce luy seroit grant honneur et prouffit, et l'en ameroient trop mieulx ses subgets' KL XIV pp. 30–31. This is exactly what the prince fails to do in his own *lontainnes marches*.

[194] Zink is quite right to note that Fortune, in the *Chroniques*, is not merely evoked in order to 'se dispenser […] de proposer une explication des événements qu'il relate où l'enchaînement des effets et des causes est au contraire fortement souligné' ZINK (1998) p. 59, n. 20, quoted in VARVARO, A. (2006c) "Jean Froissart, la déposition et la mort de Richard II. La construction du récit historique." *Romania* 124, 112–161, here p. 133, n. 72. There may be a parallel to be drawn here between Book I and Book IV, between the Prince's *retournement de Fortune* and that of his son, Richard II. Both are responsible for their own demise and 'turn of the Wheel'; see HARF-LANCNER, L. 2006b. "*La Tragédie du roi Richard II* de Jean Froissart." Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 99–110, here p. 105; VARVARO (2006c) pp. 167–168.

[195] An early acknowledgment, on the narrator's part, that prowess is not everything? See GUENÉE (2008) p. 187.

basic human understanding, at the expense of the Gascon lords (and also at his own expense!), shows him to be a prince who tried doing the chivalrous deed (and succeeded) but politically and humanly failed. We are still a century away from Commynes's portrayal of Charles the Bold as a reader of epic tales who wanted to be remembered as literary hero and his absolute failure to be so (Kleiman 2013:76). We are even further away from Don Quixote's castles in Spain. To some extent, the narrator presents the prince's Spanish enterprise as his very own 'castles in Spain'.[196] That said, in subsequent part of the *Chroniques*, the prince and Edward III are remembered posthumously as the 'flower of chivalry' (especially in the Rome prologue or in Book IV when Froissart recounts the troubled reign of Richard II);[197] his 'pride' and 'recklessness' are nevertheless mentioned in later Books/versions – especially in Book III in relation to Gascon matters (LG III & IV:310–311). Peter Ainsworth contrasts the narrative's representations of the prince in Books III and I and notes of the former's representation that it is a '[c]ritique assez cinglante du prince d'Aquitaine et de ses officiers. Dans le premier Livre des *Chroniques*, le prince de Galles demeure encore l'un des héros de Froissart' (LG III & IV:311). On the contrary, I suggest that this very *critique cinglante* is a mere reminiscence of Book I. Book III (here the very end of the *Voyage en Béarn* sequence, see Chapter 3) is directly linked, rather than opposed, to Book I's own Gascon narrative sequences. In any case, the premise that the early versions of Book I are presenting an overly ideal portrayal of the prince while subsequent parts (Book III-IV and Book I's Rome version) are displaying a critical and harsh treatment is clearly too simplistic. Careful re-evaluation reveals a more

[196] DE MEDEIROS (2003), esp. chapter I. That does not prevent Froissart from also acknowledging the purely military success of the Spanish campaign and especially the battle of Nájera: 'et y tint gage et camp de bataille, par quoi on poet bien dire que toute Espagne fu un jour à lui et à son obeissance' SHF VII p. 51. I do not agree with McRobbie's assessment that Froissart does not appreciate the irony that 'his [the prince] army soon melted away, and he departed, fatally sick, and unpaid' MCROBBIE (1971) p. 16. The narrator expresses this albeit subtle 'irony' mainly through John Chandos's words – at the very least much more than Chandos Herald does.

[197] Rome pp. 38–39. On Richard II and the *Chroniques*, see STOW, G. B. (1985) "Richard II in Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*." *Journal of Medieval History* 11, 333–345; HARF-LANCNER (2006b); SKORGE (2006) pp. 129–173; VARVARO (2006c). While Stow presents a sombre Ricardian portrait in Froissart's narrative, Harf-Lancner and Varvaro are a little bit more nuanced. Terry Jones is currently working on a monograph reassessing Richard II's portrayal 'in foreign eyes'.

ambivalent attitude in the earlier as well as the later *Chroniques*. As far as Gascony and *la Grande Aquitaine* are concerned, what is looming ahead, post-Spanish 'victory', is the principality's implosion. Two Gascon leaders, in the narrative, become the spokespersons of the 'rebellious' Gascon faction: the count of Armagnac and the lord of Albret (Amiens III:454).

c. Tourner François: *Albret and Armagnac*

One of the first times that the lord of Albret is presented as an active protagonist in Froissart's narrative, the preparations for the Spanish campaign are under way:

> —Sire de Labrech, à quelle cantité de gens d'armes me [the prince] porés vous bien servir en ce voiaige d'Espaingne?
> Li sires de Labrech fu tous appareilliés de respondre et li dist:
> —Monsigneur, se je volloie priier tous mes feables et mes amis, j'en fineroie bien jusques à mil lanches et toutte ma terre gardee.
> —Par mon chief, dist li prinches, sire de Labrec, c'est moult belle cose et je doy bien amer le terre où j'ay .I. tel baron qui me puet à .I. besoing servir à .M. lanches. Et je les retiengs tous, dist li prinches.
> —Che soit, où nom de Dieu! ce respondi li sires de Labrech qui s'enclina vers lui et tout vostre soient. (Amiens III:383)

At the outset, this episode, recounted almost identically in both versions of Book I (SHF VI:218), appears to be no more than a casual account, as if Froissart-narrator was offhandedly telling his reader about an occasion when he heard the Prince and Albret having a conversation ('une fois estoit à Bourdiaux en recreation li prinches de Galles' (Amiens III:383)). The dialogue, embedded in a long narrative section (the preparations of the Spanish campaign), would appear completely anecdotal were it not for the narrator's proleptic transition and bad omen: '[d]e ceste retenue dubt depuis estre avenus grans maux, si comme vous orés avant en l'istoire' (Amiens III:383). Moreover, this sequence follows John Chandos' 'prophecies' regarding the Spanish campaign (De Medeiros 2003:65). The end of the account can be found later in Book I of the *Chroniques*:

> Vous avés bien oy recorder chy dessus en l'istoire que [...] il [the prince] demanda une fois au seigneur de Labrech, par grant avis à quel somme de gens il le poroit servir en ce voiaige. [...]
> Ung grant temps apriés, [...] li prinches et ses conssaux regarderent à ses besoingnes que il ne pooit mies se desnuer son pays de gens d'armes que fuisson n'en y demourast pour garder le pays se il besongnoit et que mieux valloit que il menast touttez les Compaingnes qu'il en laiast nul derriere; et où

> cas qu'il aroit touttez les Compaingnes et grant plentet d'Englés et de barons, il n'avoit que faire de tant de Gascons. Si contremanda au seigneur de Labrech le plus grant partie de ses gens, en disant ensi:
> —Sire de Labrech, je vous remerchy grandement de vostre bel serviche et tant qu'à ceste fois, nous nos deporterons bien d'une partie de vos gens. Nous avons regardé et comsideré nostres besoingnes: si n'en vollons en che voiaige que .CC. lanches; més prendés et eslisiés lesquelx que vous vollés et les autres laissiés leur faire ailleur leur prouffit.
> Quant li sires de Labrech oy ces nouvelles, si fu tous penssieus et courouchiés et retint les messaiges du prince, tant qu'il se fu conssilliés; et quant il respondi, il rescripsi enssi:
> —Monsigneur, je sui tout esmervilliés de ce qu'à présent m'avés escript et segnefiiet que je donne .VIII[c]. lanches congiet, lesquelles, à vostre requeste et coummandement, j'ai ja de grant tamps retenu et leur ai fait brisier pluisseurs biaus voiaiges qu'il euuissent pris et eu, se ilz n'esperaissent à aller en vostre service en Espaingne: pour quoy, monsigneur, je ne les saroie eslire ne poroie desevrer les uns des autres car il me sont tout un. Si vous plaise assavoir que ja vous n'arés les ungs sans les autres car, se vous m'avés,[198] vous les arés tous. Autrement, je ne me saroie ne poroie honnerablement escuzer enviers yaux.
> Telle fu la substance de la responsce[199] que li sires de Labrech fist adont au princhе: de coy li princhеs fu tous merancolieux et .I. tamps enfellonniés sus le dit seigneur de Labrech et en dubt y estre priés mal pris au seigneur de Labrech, le terme pendant que on sejournoit à Bourdiaux sus l'emprise de ce voiaige d'Espaigne. Més li comtes d'Ermignach amoiena les besoignes et rafrenna le princhе et apaisa son nepveult li signeur de Labrech et fu où voiaigne d'Espaigne més che fu tous des darreniers et n'y eut que .CC. armues de fier. Depuis le revenue d'Espaigne il n'aloit ne venoit point en le cour dou dit princhе, de quoy li Englés disoient qu'il le faisoit par presumtion et qu'il estoit trop grandement orguilleus. Enssi demorerent les haynnes ens es coers de ces .II. signeurs, qui puisedi s'espanirent, si comme vous orés recorder assés prochainnement en l'istoire. (Amiens III:455–456)

The narrator foreshadows the Gascon troubles ahead in a subtle fashion. First, the reader is presented with a seemingly harmonious exchange between the prince and Albret. The narrative comment lets the reader assume that there is more than meets the eye in this apparently amicable vassalic relationship. The narrative then carries on to Spanish preparations, returning to Albret and the prince (and their deteriorating relationship) some seventy pages later. The English perspective expressed in the narrative is that Albret is overly proud; in this episode, the prince appears fickle – dare I say *point estable* – although the narrator does not describe his behaviour in such crude terms.[200] The second prolepsis (*enssi demorerent les haynnes ens es coers de ces .II. signeurs, qui puisedi s'espanirent, si comme vous orés recorder assés prochainnement en l'istoire*) portends the dire fate of the principality to an even greater extent. Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros has moreover noted how the A&B

[198] George T. Diller wonders whether there is a word missing from the manuscript; I do not believe this is the case as I read these clauses as *if I am yours, they are all yours (too)*.
[199] Again, an acknowledgment on Froissart's part that direct discourses are not faithful accounts of what was actually said but instead the 'substance', the gist of an actual/potential conversation.
[200] The use of free indirect speech, *il n'avoit que faire de tant de Gascons*, does convey capriciousness quite efficiently. This episode also presents the prince in a bad light as someone who does not know how to motivate/convince his men to follow him and risk their lives. In Froissart's narrative, company captains like Robert Knolles are better motivators/leaders than the prince here; see NACHTWEY (2011) p. 113.

version adds a linguistic drift between the prince and his Gascon subject(s) by stating that the prince speaks to his English knights 'en englès' (SHF VI:218; see also De Medeiros 2003:65). Embedded in the Spanish campaign therefore are anecdotal accounts of the prince's relationship with his Gascon vassal(s): an amicable relationship foreshadowing conflict with Albret in turn foreshadowing conflict with many other Gascon lords.[201] In Froissart's words, the two lords will become the prince's 'grant ennemit' (Amiens III:485), and will 'motivate'/convince other lords to follow their lead. In the narrative, there is a pre- and post-Spanish campaign regarding Anglo-Gascon relations. The passage concerned with the lord of Albret's men structurally and thematically highlights this notion.

With this embedded episode, the narrator emphasises the Spanish campaign as the turning point for Anglo-Gascon relations and its heavy consequences for the principality. The main Gascon protagonists, namely the count of Armagnac and the lord of Albret, are the embodiment of Gascon discontent. Dissatisfied by the prince's attitude and policy, they appeal to the king of France, giving Charles V the chance to reopen hostilities and claim his lost south-western territories once more.

In Froissart's account of the final years of the principality, a blatant Gascon dislike for the prince is to be found, in addition to a sudden love for the kingdom of France (SHF VII:115). In the narrative, one can make out a Gascon desire for a trusted and suitable ruler of Aquitaine (reflective of the author/narrator's own values?) rather than a pure *convoiteus* desire for commercial gain which would dictate Gascon allegiance. As soon as their expectations are not met – be they regarding Jean d'Armagnac's policy in 1355 as the French King's lieutenant or about the prince's administration and rule in 1369[202] – the Gascons turn to the 'other option' and have no remorse in 'turning their coats'. In that regard, the Gascon man is practical and changeable not only because of his longing for wealth but also, and quite

[201] I found no account of the prince/Albret episode in other chronicles.
[202] Interestingly, Gascon grievances against the French in 1345 and 1355, and against the English in 1369 are extremely similar (see *supra* Chapter 1).

importantly, because of his wish to be ruled the way he sees fit (*amour* as well as *profit*); and that may well be something the author/narrator fully endorses.

The last straw for Anglo-Gascon relations in the narrative comes with Chandos' death in 1370.[203] The narrator notes that what little sympathy still remained in Gascon hearts towards the English cause is wiped out by Chandos' passing (Amiens IV:70). In the light of Chandos' enlightened advice about the Spanish campaign and acute observations about Aquitaine,[204] it is no wonder that the narrator considers his death as the last step in the complete loss of Gascon trust in their prince. Despite the fact that most Gascon knights rallied to the French party, the prince could still rely on a certain number of local lords (e.g. the Captal de Buch) and even a few Gascon captains such as two of the Pommiers brothers, Elie and Jean (Amiens III:481–482). The third brother, Amanieu, rejects the concept of 'being' either French or English, deciding instead to embark on foreign adventures (SHF VII:209). This remark, although anecdotal, is insightful: the reason presented by Froissart-narrator for Amanieu's departure is that he was exasperated by the constant allegiant/territorial variation of Aquitaine/Gascony. While this specific example is an isolated one in the *Chroniques*, the narrator does, however, insist on the *variement*, the loss and indecision the local population faced from 1369 onwards: '[a]dont estoient les terres en grant variement car .I. jour estoient franchois et l'autre englés, ne point de estableté n'y avoit fors li plus fors tenoit le plache: quant plus fors revenoit il reconcqueroit chou qui avoit estet concquis' (Amiens III:483).[205] For most of the Gascon local population a 'shameful peace' (French or English) is better than being dead or risking losing everything:

[203] For a detailed analysis of the episode of John Chandos's death, see AINSWORTH (1993).
[204] The importance of good vs. bad council and taking good advice into consideration, touched upon here in Book I, are thematic threads which will be encountered later and expanded particularly in Book IV with Richard II and his *Marmousets* as cases in point; see VARVARO (2006c) pp. 141–142; VARVARO (2011). On the prince and his council in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, see GUENÉE (1971) pp. 141–142 and pp. 189–195.
[205] On Froissart's treatment of local populations and *menues gens*, see CONTAMINE, P. 2006. "Jean Froissart, chroniqueur des 'menues gens'." Eds. M. ZINK and O. BOMBARDE. *Froissart dans sa forge : actes du colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004*. Paris: AIBL, pp. 33–51.

> Et dissent li plus sage et qui le plus avoient à perdre que à le longe il ne se poroient tenir as gens le princhе et que mieux leur valloit à faire une pais honteuse que d'iaux mettre em peril et en adventure de tout perdre. À ce consseil entendirent touttes mannierres de gens vollentiers car il n'avoient nul gentil homme qui les gardast ne consseillast. (Amiens IV:25)

Froissart-narrator further notes that the English and Gascon knights still loyal to the prince are truly bewildered by the loss of so many cities and the ease with which the towns turn French (Amiens IV:94). More than just astonishment, the prince shows no self-control on this matter, and his anger is boundless in the narrative,[206] leading ultimately to the absolute collapse of Anglo-Gascon relations and of the principality.

3. The 'Falling-Out' of the Prince and His Gascons: Victims, Traitors, and (Fallen) Angels

If the Gascons are to blame for their changeability, fickleness, and arrogance in the *Chroniques*, the prince is guilty of haughtiness.[207] When relating the relationship between the prince and Albret, the narrator recounts: '[e]t en fu adonc li sires de Labreth en grant peril, car li princes estoit durement grans et haus de corage et crueulz en son aïr, et voloit, fust à tort, fust à droit, que tout signeur asquelz il pooit commander tenissent de lui' (SHF VI:233). There is a subtle yet unmistakable criticism of the prince's behaviour by Froissant-narrator in the above comment *fust à tort, fust à droit*,[208] although the use of antithesis means that open criticism is avoided. The same kind of narrative circumspection can be found earlier when the narrator presents contrasting reactions to the prince's decision to assist Pedro:

> Li aucun disoient que li princes emprendoit ce voiage par orgueil et presumption, et estoit courouciés de l'onneur que messires Bertrans de Claiekin avoit eu de conquerre tout le royaume de Castille ou nom dou roy Henri et de li faire roy. Li autre disoient que pités et raisons le mouvoient à ce que de voloir aidier le roy dan Piètre à remettre en son hiretage; car ce n'estoit mies cose deue ne raisonable d'un bastart tenir royaume et porter nom de roy. Ensi estoient par le monde pluiseur chevalier et escuier en diverses opinions. (SHF VI:213; quoted in De Medeiros 2003:63)

[206] Anger (particularly the display of good vs. bad anger) is another recurrent motif in the *Chroniques*. The matter will be discussed further with regard to Fébus's violent anger in Part II, Chapter 3.

[207] Pride is not a quality entirely despised in the *Chroniques*. There is a good and a bad pride: 'pride is the spur to action. True, it is sometimes criticized, but only when it meets with no success' MCROBBIE (1971) p. 12; to be sure, the prince's 1369–1370 expeditions and last years at the head of the principality did not meet with success. I would also add that the 'pride' McRobbie is referring to here is 'pride in arms' (e.g. to be the best in battle); the type of pride the prince is exhibiting here is 'political' and even, to some extent, ethical by refusing to receive and treat his Gascon subjects in due form.

[208] The rarity of this type of narrative comment (Froissart-narrator usually favours direct discourse, in the mouth of his characters, to express a certain judgment or ideology) makes its presence here all the more significant.

By contrast, the *Vie*'s narrator is much more categorical: the prince is completely guiltless while his treacherous Gascon vassals, his former friends, all turn against him.[209] That narrator imputes the renewed Franco-Anglo-Gascon war to the Gascons, in a passage filled with pathos (likely serving to increase their culpability and the consequences of their actions) (*Vie*:155–156 vv. 3898–3912). In the *Vie,* the conclusion is simple: the prince is an innocent victim of Fortune: 'Mais homme voit sovent avenir/Qe, quant il doit mysavenir,/Li meschief après l'autre vient' (*Vie*:157 vv. 3955–3957). Fortune, as was mentioned before, also has a part to play in the *Chroniques,* although the prince is far from blameless in that narrative: in the narrator's eyes there seems to be a sense that the prince somewhat 'pushed his (bad) luck'. While the *Vie* exonerates its hero of any fault and diabolises the Gascon 'kinslayers' (and indirectly 'princeslayers'?), the *Chanson de Bertrand du Guesclin* equates the prince with a fallen angel.[210] The *Chroniques*' narrator, it seems, is less opinionated (*fust à tort, fust à droit*). In other words, the *Chroniques*' account of the rise and fall of *la Grande Aquitaine* should not and cannot be envisaged in dualistic terms: the prince is not a perfect chivalrous ruler even though, at one point in the narrative (that of his youth), he might have come close to that ideal; the Gascon lords are unruly vassals, but with somewhat legitimate reasons for being so. In Froissart's narrative, no party escapes blame. There is a striking parallel with a short Gascon narrative in Book IV. During Froissart's final journey to England in 1393, the chronicler is told by Jean de Grailly – the Captal's eponymous bastard son – how the lords of Aquitaine are waiting for an audience with Richard II as they are displeased with the king's choice to leave the duchy in the hands of the Duke of Lancaster (KL XV:147–166). While this

[209] 'Assetz tost aprés ce avient/Qe a Anguyleme logier vient/Lui noble Prince d'Acquitaine,/Et la, c'este bien chose certaine,/Li comencea la maladie/Qe puis dura tut sa vie,/Dont fuist damage et pitée./Adonqes comencea fauxetée/Et traisons a governer/Ceux qui le devoient aymer;/Car cils q'il tenoit pur amis/Adonqes feurent ces enemis./[…]/Et pur ceo, si tost qe homme savoit/Qe li noble Prince estoit/Malades, en peril de mort,/Ses enemis feurent d'acort/De la guere recomencier' *Vie* pp. 153–154, vv. 3815–3835. Note how the narrator makes no connection between the 'noble Spanish enterprise' and the prince's disease unlike the *Chroniques*' and the *Chanson*'s narrators.

[210] 'Et par son grant orgueil qui l'avoit enchanté/Perdi vie et honneur et sa noble duchié./Ainsi que li faulx angle furent du ciel versé/Par l'orgueil et le vice ou ilz furent entré,/Ainsi cheÿ li princes dont je vous ay parlé,/Vous orrez bien conment, se je suy escouté' *Chanson* I p. 231, vv. 11618–11623.

specific story could be in every way similar to the rise of the *vois dou pays d'Aquitaine* in 1367–1370, it is not the case. Both parties (the Gascon lords and the Duke of Lancaster) show circumspection: the narrator (Froissart) informs the reader that 'plusieurs actions raisonnables y avoient proposé et proposoient, lesquelles je détermineray et esclarchiray en poursieuvant la matière, quant temps et lieu sera' (KL XV:148); Jean de Grailly, as intradiegetic narrator,[211] notes that '[c]es seigneurs [of Gascony] parlèrent au duc de Lancastre qui les receupt moult grandement et doulcement, car bien le sçavoit faire' (KL XV:153). There seems to be no hard feeling between the Gascon lords and Lancaster. In fact, Lancaster, in Jean de Grailly's metadiegetic narrative, is shown wanting to protect the Gascon people (KL XV:151), a far cry from Edward of Woodstock's portrayal and attitude of revengeful rage as shown in the Limoges episode.[212] A second intradiegetic narrator, Richard Stury (an English knight), also gives his views on the matter: despite the disagreement, Lancaster 'ne veult que par doulceur aler avant en ceste besoingne' and this is why the Gascon lords have agreed to see the king to sort the matter out 'avant que plus grant mal ne s'en engendre' (KL XV:159). What transpires is, again, that the Gascon voice, *la parole de tout le pays*, is expressing its desire of *amour* for/from one's lord: 'c'est la parole de tout le pays qui veult demourer en l'obéissance de vous, très-redoubté sire et roy, et ou demaine de la noble couronne d'Angleterre' (KL XV:162). It may be due to Edward of Woodstock's and the Gascons' past mistakes that, in 1393, *les vois dou pays d'Aquitaine* are finally heard.

Returning to the late 1360s and the Black Prince, some episodes in the account of the prince's final years in Aquitaine picture him as revengeful and merciless – a portrait far from that of the humble young prince kneeling before and serving at Jean II's table after the battle of Poitiers. The prince would not tolerate one of his vassals even considering turning French: loyal vassals should remain by their overlord's side:

[211] The narrative method employed in this Book IV sequence (the use of a Gascon intradiegetic narrator, privy to the whole story) is very similar to the one found in the *Voyage en Béarn*; see Part II, Chapter 3.
[212] See *infra*.

> En ce tamps manda li prinches de Galles en Angouloime, là où il se tenoit tous malades, le viscomte de Rochuwart que il venist parler à lui car li prinches estoit emfourmés que il se volloit tourner franchois. Si vint li viscomtes deviers le prinche. Si trestost qu'il fu venus li prinches le fist prendre et mettre en prison courtoise et bien garder et jura qu'il ne partiroit de là jusques à tant que il aroit bonne causion dou dit viscomte qu'il seroit bons Englés et demouroit dalés lui et ses gens en touttes besoingnes, enssi q'uns feables doit demourer dalés son seigneur. (Amiens IV:11)

Enssi q'uns feables doit demourer dalés son seigneur seems to be here a continuation of the prince's indirect discourse (*jura que...*). In that sense, the phrase might be representative of the prince's views rather than Froissart-narrator's although, given the status of reported discourse in the *Chroniques*, it might be highlighting discursive ambiguity. In short, does the narrator side with the prince's behaviour or with the Gascons here? He might, in the end, agree with both: a loyal vassal should indeed remain with one's lord as long as the said lord is showing them *amour*. Phrases such as 'che fu bien raisons' (Amiens IV:11) might equally point to the narrator lamenting the prince's attitude and thus supporting the Gascon lords' discontent. Narrative contradictions emphasise a double (multiple even) perspective. In other words, if clemency, forgiveness, and indulgence are to be understood as qualities a worthy ruler should possess, then the narrator's doubts about the prince's behaviour in Gascony appear very sincere. If this is indeed the case, criticisms are rarely openly expressed; seldom does Froissart challenge the prince's actions as utterly wrong.[213] The fate of the principality of Aquitaine and its inhabitants, lords and local population, conveniently acts as the perfect case to subtly allude to the distance between the prince's behaviour and that of an ideal ruler. In a sense, since the text never openly blames the prince and finds mitigating circumstances for Gascon defections, the reader is left to choose whether the prince's behaviour and/or the Gascon attitude *fust à tort* or *fust à droit*.[214]

[213] Had he still some faith in the prince as ultimately a good ruler (especially if seen in opposition with Richard II's reign and his more 'obvious' failures) or did he want not to offend the English court or the aristocracy for whom he was writing? Both are possible.

[214] Neutrality, after all, is a defining leitmotiv of Froissart's narrative. Many critics have noted how the chronicler/narrator, in later Books, lets the reader draw their own conclusions, AINSWORTH (1990b); BROWNLEE, K. 2000. "Mimesis, Authority, and Murder: Jean Froissart's *Voyage en Béarn*." Eds. K.D. UITTI and R. BLUMENFELD-KOSINSKI. *Translatio Studii: Essays by his Students in Honor of Karl D. Uitti for his Sixty-fifth Birthday*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 65–85: we may be faced here with one of the early instances – albeit less obvious than in later examples – of such strategy.

I will turn to two final examples emphasising the narrative's ambivalent view of the prince. First, there is the very famous case of the sack of Limoges in 1370 (Froissart, Amiens IV:111-112).[215] The narrator presents, and appears saddened by, the prince's brutality towards the inhabitants.[216] Critics have argued that the sacking of Limoges was not the slaughter that Froissart-narrator says it was (Barber 1978:224–226, 1981:33–34; Vernier 2007:156–157). In the *Vie*, the prince is presented as a ruler rightfully reclaiming his territory (Limoges) which had been turned *par fauxetée* (*Vie*:159–160 vv. 4036–4056). The narrator of the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* notes that 'moult des citoiens mistrent à mort pour ce qu'ilz s'estoient renduz Françoiz' (*Chron. Val.* 1862:210) once the city of Limoges is taken. However, the rest of the account is much closer to a 'regular' siege than to a massacre (*Chron. Val.*:209–210). The *Chroniques*' account is thus in all likelihood distorted by Froissart-narrator, consciously or not. If the account is much removed from its referent, it is likely that the authorial/narrative instance has exaggerated it. By pretending to give a reliable account of what may in fact be ahistorical, the narrator may be, for once, openly blaming the Prince for his merciless and brutal – albeit potentially fictional – behaviour at Limoges.[217] However, it

[215] On Edward of Woodstock strategy and military goals in 1369–1370, see SAVY, N. (2009) "The *Chevauchée* of John Chandos and Robert Knolles: Early March to Early June 1369." *The Journal of Medieval Military History* 7, 39–56, here p. 56.

[216] Nachtwey notes, regarding Froissart's interpretation of the nobility's violence during the *Jacquerie*, that 'violence *exercised by knights* maintains social order and specifically maintains the hierarchies that prevent society from falling into chaos' NACHTWEY (2011) p. 119. While this is true of the noble reaction to the *Jacquerie* which, in and of itself, disrupted social order – it is a social 'inversion' ibid., p. 120 –, it is not the case for Limoges: if anything, it is the prince's reaction which disrupts social order. Slaughter, rape, and violence were far from uncommon for those kinds of *chevauchées*. Killing men instead of ransoming them was not uncommon either, see BARBER (1979) pp. 39–40, 43. More often than not, however, the lord in charge of the expedition is presented as trying to legally and punitively prevent such behaviour, not encourage it: it is the case of the Earl of Derby, in Froissart's account of the 1345–1346 Gascon expedition, who notes '[q]ui merci prie, merci doit avoir' and does not retaliate on the inhabitants of Bergerac (LG I & II p. 468). Geoffrey le Baker notes that, in the 1355 *chevauchée*, soldiers burnt Seissan despite the prince's strict orders not to do so (BARBER (1979) p. 63).

[217] George T. Diller notes, when talking about Book IV's episode of Charles VI's first fit of madness, that '[i]n numerous narrative episodes, besides those under study here, Froissart dwells upon the dark, inexorable behaviour of his protagonists. In a reputedly chivalric universe, the separating line between honorable valiance and acts of *démesure* exists to be transgressed' DILLER (2001) p. 72. I posit that, in the Limoges case and as early as the earliest versions of Book I, we are in the presence of one of those acts of transgression which transform Froissart's narrative 'into a deep, problematic representation of reality' and 'do not fit the convenient labels so often reserved for his prose: "colorful", "superficial", "naïve celebration of chivalry"' ibid., p. 73. Diller deems Gaston Fébus's murder of his own son (see *infra* Chapter 3) as 'the most disturbing of such

must be considered that the 'exaggeration' of Limoges may not be Froissart-author-narrator's own doing. The chronicler relied heavily on informants who, if possible, were first-hand witnesses. It is possible – although impossible to determine with accuracy – that any hyperbole is due to the informant (who in this case is not named), and not the narrator. No source (or comment that Froissart-narrator has been previously informed of the matter) is given for the account of the Limoges episode; we will thus unfortunately never know who is truly at the origin of the distorted event.

In another instance, Froissart-narrator relates that the prince has not completely forgotten how to be ungrudging towards his subjects and be open to forgiveness. Edward of Woodstock manages to convince a Gascon captain, Perducas d'Albret, to renounce turning French (Amiens IV:15). It is one rare instance in the later passages on the principality that presents the prince in such a magnanimous light. Despite this gesture of good-will, the narrator notes that the harm is already done: '[m]és quoyqu'il fust segnefiiés et publiiés, je n'oy oncques dire que nulx s'en retournast englés, qui devenu estoient franchois més se tournoient tous les jours franchois, si tost qu'il pooient avoir .I. peu de laisseur pour venir en France' (Amiens, IV:123). Because the Gascon knights had lost all trust in their natural lord, or because of their pride, or possibly because of both, the Gascon lords who turned French would not and did not return to the English cause.

4. Conclusion – Portrayals *en demi-teinte*

> Mes peres, en cui pas n'est morte
> Encores grant chevalerie,
> Issi hors et sa compagnie,
> Et cuida son honte vengier.
> (*Meliador*:5 vv. 1533–1536)

In Froissart's *Meliador*, Florée's father, despite his age, has not yet 'lost' his chivalry. The contrary may apply to the prince in the *Chroniques*: his chivalry dies (or at least part of it) the

conduct' ibid., p. 73. Acts of transgression/violence seem to bring the two figures, the prince (Book I) and Fébus (Book III), together.

day he set foot in Spain; the day that, paradoxically, he makes the chivalrous decision to free Castile from a bastard king. Rather, the Spanish campaign is still officially presented as a chivalrous and military successful campaign and yet it is ultimately a failure that bears heavily on the prince of Aquitaine (De Medeiros 2003:67–73).

Froissart casts a nuanced light on the principality and its prince in both earlier versions of Book I, which supports the claim that the *Chroniques*' complex portrayal of men started to be discernible earlier than hitherto believed. It is clear that the narrative's turning-point for the fate of *la Grande Aquitaine* and for deteriorating Anglo-Gascon relations is the Spanish campaign. Whether this is the result of the prince's stubborn insistence on his plan to support an undeserving monarch, or because he returns bankrupt and ill, he is presented by the narrator as having lost his skills to rule and to be loved.[218] From this point onward in the *Grande Aquitaine* narrative, a Gascon dislike for the English predominates. The Gascons are presented as not able to trust a lord they cannot love (because he does not love them in return) and not able to follow a lord they cannot trust. Through the expression of the voices of Aquitaine, led by Armagnac and Albret, the narrator shows a Gascon identity that rejects the prince's policy. Ultimately, he never explicitly states whether this whole situation *fust à tort* or *à droit*, letting the readers make up their own mind. He is certainly not as categorical as the *Vie*'s narrator, who presents the Gascons as corrupted kinslayers and the prince as a hapless victim, or the *Chanson*'s, for whom the prince's pride is nothing short of Lucifer's greatest sin. The *Chroniques*' narrator is both *à mi-chemin* from and at the crossroads of these antithetical perspectives.[219] What is clear is that the narrative of *la Grande Aquitaine* does not present the prince merely as 'Froissart's greatest hero' (Shears 1972:104; see also Barber

[218] Ironically, the narrator of the *Vie* notes with regard to Pedro of Castile 'Si qe homme doit dire, a voir counter,/Ne doit estre sires clamés/Qui de ses hommes n'est amez' *Vie* pp. 96, vv. 1758–1760; see also BARBER (1979) p. 107. Of course, in the *Vie*'s case, the Gascon vassals are to blame and show their overlords 'grande desloialté' (p. 96 v. 1752). That said, it seems that both the *Chroniques*' and the *Vie*'s narrators agree that a leader cannot rule if he lost *amour* (from and to his vassals).
[219] The use of *à mi-chemin* recalls Tucoo-Chala's quote (see *supra* III p. 86).

1981:34–35). Kristel Mari Skorge has noted that if the prince is celebrated in the narrative pre-Brétigny, it is because he is able to 'reconcile the traditional ideals of chivalry and courtesy with caution, sound judgement, strategic understanding and tactical skills' (Skorge 2006:199).[220] Similarly, Froissart is far from being merely idealistic in his account of the downfall of the principality which crumbles because of very human flaws: misunderstandings and wrong decisions (for the prince: pursuing his castles in Spain in the face of opposition/wise council; taxing the Gascons heavily; appointing English men to administer Gascony; for the Gascons: defecting to the French side as soon as the prince shows them contempt). The prince is neither a saint nor a demon;[221] the Gascons are neither good nor bad. The Gascons' and the prince's portrayals are all *en demi-teinte*. The narrator seems already to be drawing away from idealistic views on events and protagonists and depicts instead the complexity of reality through multiple perspectives which could appear at first contradictory but in the end appear to co-exist (De Medeiros 2003:64). Such a technique is developed and refined in Books III and IV; however, it is clearly already noticeable in the early versions of Book I. For that reason, 'early' and 'later' *Chroniques* may have more in common than hitherto believed. To draw as strong an opposition between them as has been done in the not-so-distant past may simply be forcing an unnecessary split upon them.

The Gascons and the prince are thus all realistically flawed. The prince could not care less about his subjects (*il n'avoit que faire de tant de Gascons*); in return, the Gascons prove just as arrogant and resentful towards the English (SHF VI:233). They are prone to leave their

[220] This interpretation goes against Michael Schwarze's contention that Froissart's 'pragmatic hero' (i.e. a figure reconciling ideal and realistic values – as opposed to Froissart's 'exemplary hero') only arises in Book IV SCHWARZE, M. 2009. "Froissart sous l'empreinte du pouvoir." Ed. V. FASSEUR. *Froissart à la cour de Béarn : l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 73–84, here pp. 79–83. Schwarze also states that 'heroism' displayed in the 'older' *Chroniques* is 'intangible' ibid., p. 83 but this hardly seems to be the case with the prince's portrayal.

[221] '[L]e comportement du prince d'Aquitaine, tel que le fixe ce texte, oscille entre des traits de grandeur et des traits de faiblesse : conforme au modèle chevaleresque par son exquise courtoisie à l'égard d'un souverain déchu, son respect du droit et de la parole donnée, le prince s'en écarte par l'orgueil que lui inspire sa condition, son obstination et son avidité. Même si le traitement des traits en présence n'est pas identique – les traits valorisants étant largement soulignés, les autres plus souvent suggérés ou insinués – ces éléments témoignent d'une vision distanciée de l'événement' DE MEDEIROS (2003) p. 62.

natural lord as soon as he has failed to fulfil their expectations. The prince, by showing cruelty when he could have shown mercy, by showing harshness when he could have shown forgiveness, may have alienated his Gascon subjects from his cause. To conclude, I would like to echo Peter Ainsworth who noted regarding three of Book I episodes (including John Chandos' death):

> Les trois épisodes analysés ne représentent qu'une partie infime des *Chroniques* ; mais ils représentent en même temps un phénomène récurrent et constant. C'est le *texte* et ses avatars (ici, travail de réécriture effectué à partir de et sur des poncifs en principe bien assis dans leur contexte idéologique), plutôt que les intentions affichées de son auteur/acteur, qui laisse apparaître des failles dans la surface apparemment lisse et uniforme des *Chroniques*. C'est le texte qui – tout en jetant les fondements mêmes d'une idéologie – en pose simultanément quelques pierres d'achoppement. De cette façon, le discours en apparence le plus conservateur, dans les *Chroniques*, s'avère beaucoup moins univoque qu'on ne l'avait cru.[222] (Ainsworth 1993:69)

V. Conclusion – Early Signs of Narrative Fracture

> Comme le captal fut en l'abbaie où Morelet l'avoit mené, il se desconforta moult et disoit: « A! A! Guienne, tu es perdue vraiement! » Lors lui dit Morelet: « Sire, comme dittez vous ce! Guienne n'est pas perdue, ains est gaingnie. » — Adonc, dit il, perdue est elle vraiement quant au roy d'Angleterre, et gaingnie povez dire quant à monseigneur le roy de France.' (*Chron. Val.*:242)

The Captal's words in the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* remind us that, in the end, failure or success is but a matter of perspective and in the *Chroniques*' Gascon narrative of 1355–1371 perspective is everything and is multiple. In the Introduction to Chapter 2, I raised three distinct yet connected questions with regard to that particular narrative: (1) why did Froissart turn his attention to the south-west in that period? (2) What vision of (a greater) Gascony, the Gascons, and their prince is the narrative presenting? (3) Does reflecting on (1) and (2) enable us to qualify critical assessment of the ideological significance of earlier versions of Book I? It is now time to return to these in the light of the analysis above.

(1) Froissart devotes a significant amount of his narrative to 'the Gascon story', i.e. Aquitaine and its inhabitants for the period 1355–1371. This interest, however, should be qualified: it is because of its political situation and privileged relations between France and

[222] Given that sharp and apt analysis of some specific parts of Book I, I find it quite surprising that Ainsworth, in other works, fails to see some of the ideological *failles* of other parts of Book I (e.g. the prince's portrayal in the Gascon narrative, see Introduction in LG III & IV p. 311, n. 1) or Book I's earlier versions altogether, see AINSWORTH (2000), esp. p. 27.

England that Froissart turns his attention to the south-west. It becomes the chronicler's focus point whenever it becomes a place of Anglo-French fighting. George T. Diller notes in his introduction to the *Lettres gothiques* edition of Book I that the *Chroniques* are laden with binary oppositions, all subordinated to the great rivalry between France and England (LG I & II:67–69). The tensions detected in Froissart's portrayal of the Gascon man and of the prince's relations with his Gascon subjects may be part of this binary thread. In any case, the 'ethnographic' aspect of the *Chroniques* referred to in the Introduction should therefore be questioned: Froissart-author is not ultimately writing to present the customs of a people but (officially) to present, through *mervelles* and *grans fais d'armes*, those of a social group which could or should embody chivalric values best. For the period 1355–1371, the best incarnation of this social group seems, at first, to be Edward of Woodstock. By following the prince's fortunes, Froissart's audience is led to follow Aquitaine's. From the 1350s to the 1370s, the prince's history is inseparable from that of his principality; so are their narrative threads in the *Chroniques*. The duchy/principality and its people take shape through the course of events unfolding around and about Edward of Woodstock. The region serves as a platform to highlight the prince's behaviour. As such, this Gascon narrative has more significance than merely being about Gascony.

(2) The evaluation of Froissart's viewpoints on Gascon behaviour is approached in terms of co-existing tensions. Gascons do engage in chivalrous society and are part of a 'culture commune qui [les] oppose aux populations inquiétantes des confins de l'Europe' (Harf-Lancner 1998a:240). They are on occasion superior to the French (at Poitiers in 1356) or at least equal to the English knight. In that sense, they also take part in the construction of the chivalrous ideal in the narrative;[223] in some cases (e.g. Gaston and the Captal at Meaux), they are even instrumental in the narrative's chivalrous discourse (on the surface). Yet the Gascon

[223] What Ainsworth referred to above as 'les fondements d'une idéologie', 'la surface apparemment lisse et uniforme des *Chroniques*'; see *supra* IV-4, p. 109.

world is far from 'ideal'. Gascon chivalric behaviour is tainted by unworthy flaws: greed, self-interestedness, rashness. Did they not try to get a pecuniary compensation for Jean II's departure from Bordeaux? Did they not unashamedly join the Companies? In fact, by moving further away from England and France, everything seems to point to a dissipation of the chivalrous ideal in the *Chroniques*: Germans and Spaniards are presented as barbaric and uncourteous with their prisoners.[224] The more Froissart explores the *lontainnes marches*, the more his 'idealised' values are disintegrated. It explains why the chronicler's vision of the region is one *à mi-chemin*: this is what Gascony is geographically, politically, and ideologically. Given its geographical location, Aquitaine shares some characteristics with the Spanish marches; given its political situation and its ties with England and France, it can also be worthy of a civilised land. In short, there is the centre (France and England), the margins of civilisation (Gascony) and what is beyond civilisation (Spain, Germany). The Gascon marches, these *lontainnes marches*, are a 'zone frontière', as is Northumberland for England and Scotland (Harf-Lancner 1998a:243).[225] It is after all no surprise that it is to Béarn that Froissart goes to enquire about foreign matters in 1388–1389: he goes as far as civilisation expands; he will never go beyond this southern 'final frontier'.

This so far is the presentation of Froissart's narrative as one trying to 'save appearances'. Appearances can however be misleading and this *discours en apparence conservateur* has undeniable *failles*. As early as Book I the prince's ideal status does not remain ideal for long. At Poitiers in 1356, he is portrayed as the paragon of chivalry; at Limoges in 1371, he is presented as a ruler torn between magnanimity, haughtiness, and uncontrollable violence. Most importantly, what could have been for the prince the most

[224] 'Aultre courtoisie ne scèvent li Espagnol faire, ils sont sannable as Alemans' SHF VIII pp. 48–49; see also DE MEDEIROS (2003) pp. 161, 337.

[225] Scotland features heavily in the *Chroniques* as well as Froissart's Arthurian romance, *Meliador*. In fact, the duality of civilisation/wilderness as well as 'in-between spaces' also permeate the narrator's ideological outlook in *Meliador*. Gascony, however, does not feature in the romance as one of those 'in-betweens'; see DEMBOWSKI (1983) pp. 82–83. On notions of centre and periphery in late medieval historiography, see DALY, K. 2000. "'Centre', 'Power' and 'Periphery' in Late Medieval French Historiography." Ed. C.T. ALLMAND. *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, pp. 124–144.

chivalrous and worthy deed of his noble career, the Spanish enterprise, ends up being his demise. Yet one should not expect the text to demonize the prince (like the *Chanson* does) or the Gascons (like the *Vie* does). Even if potentially not fully conscious (and definitely not entirely endorsed by the narrative voice), these are the first signs of Froissart-author-narrator's portrayal of the complexity of reality.[226] It has been argued, however, that Froissart-author-narrator's more realistic (pessimistic?) views of his 'ideal' heroes only become apparent in the chronicler's later works:

> A vrai dire, ce n'est que vers la fin de sa carrière que Froissart trahit des doutes profonds quant à la viabilité du rêve chevaleresque. Les premières rédactions du premier Livre affichent, presque sans interruption, l'engouement du chroniqueur pour le panache de la chevalerie. Il faut attendre le troisième Livre et surtout le quatrième, ainsi que la dernière rédaction du premier Livre, pour que l'écriture des *Chroniques* trahisse une compréhension morale plus éclairée, plus désabusée aussi, à l'égard du grand rêve chevaleresque. (Introduction in LG I & II:33)[227]

The narrative's nuanced tone – even if less apparent than in the later Books – seems to already be detectable in the first version of Book I as far as the prince and Aquitaine are concerned.[228] The *Chroniques*' Gascon story (1355–1371) goes beyond shaping the chronicler/narrator's representation of the region: it starts shaping the limits and *failles* of the ideal/values on the surface. Much earlier than is acknowledged by most critics there is a realistic and intricate thread in Book I of the *Chroniques* and in the story of Aquitaine and its prince.[229]

(3) Froissart's (hi)story of the distant Gascon marches is a composite, ambivalent and subtle narrative. Beyond the blurry vision which could result from this representation, what is

[226] This all so subtle depiction of the crumbling of *la Grande Aquitaine* could be a way to openly avoid undermining the aristocracy for whom Froissart was writing; or it may be that Froissart has not yet come to terms with this complexity of reality; that said, it is clear that the narrative (and its ideological implications) is not all turned towards a distant past (and its romancing) 'capable of redeeming a cause that has been lost'; on historiography, ideology, and the past, see SPIEGEL (1995) p. 1; SPIEGEL (1997).

[227] Once more an example of Ainsworth's contradictions regarding Book I's ideological import.

[228] The narrator does so through an obvious structural/narrative control (even if that control, *fust à tort, fust à droit*, implies leaving the reader decide for themselves), see DILLER (1987) p. 24; ZINK (1998) p. 51; Introduction in LG I & II pp. 67–68. Chapter 3 will show that while intentions to show the complexity of reality are even more obvious in Froissart's narrative from Book III onwards, narrative strategies and control are expressed in very different ways.

[229] Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros is not one of those critics: 'très vite ses *Chroniques* sont beaucoup plus qu'un mémorial de la prouesse guerrière et débordent largement ce cadre pour s'attacher à l'actualité princière et chevaleresque de leur temps' DE MEDEIROS (2003) p. 342.

considered here is the complexity of reality (De Medeiros 2003:342–343),[230] the struggle between an 'ideal' of *la Grande Aquitaine* and the 'real' Aquitaine. This desire to render the complex reality of men explains the multi-faceted dimension of his work and his portrayal of Aquitaine for the period 1355–1371. Considering Froissart-author-narrator's vision as dualistic is in the end too simplistic. He gives multiple dimensions to men and facts and uses varied and sometimes contradictory testimonies to reveal their complexities: the prince is not all good and the Gascons are not all bad. This ideological thread, continued and much expanded in Book III and IV of the *Chroniques*, reunites with the south-west once more in the figure of another seemingly idealised prince, Gaston Fébus and his land of Béarn.

[230] Medeiros notes that Froissart's '[i]nvestissement total […] amène le chroniqueur dans sa quête de vérité à approfondir, à nuancer […]. Et c'est probablement ce sentiment et ce désir [de rendre compte de la complexité du réel] qui commandent une représentation jamais univoque, faisant la part du bien comme celle du mal, des hommes et terres de l'extrême Sud et de l'Orient' (ibid., p. 343) and, I should add, of Gascony.

PART II

Narrative Journeys.
(Hi)stories by the Gascons

CHAPTER 3 – BEARNESE (HI)STORIES AND GASCON NARRATIVE VOICE(S)

I. **Introduction**

In *Speech and Thought Presentation in French*, Sophie Marnette notes that reported discourse is a rarer occurrence in chronicles than in other genres such as the *chansons de geste* or prose romances. When discourse is reported, chroniclers tend to favour indirect discourse over direct discourse: '[t]he number of Direct Discourses accounts for less than 40% of the overall number of reported discourses in the chronicles (except Froissart 2 […])' (Marnette 2005:198). Marnette's chronicle corpus is composed of three excerpts from the *Chroniques* – from Book I, III, and IV (2005:221 n. 236):

> An apparent exception to the preference for Indirect Discourse in the chronicles is to be found in Froissart's *Voyage de Bearn* (Froissart 2 in my corpus), which uses a very high amount of Direct Discourses (89% of the overall number of reported discourses and more than 8 Direct Discourses per one Indirect Discourse). In that particular excerpt of Book III of his chronicle, Froissart narrates his trip to the court of Gaston Phoebus and his different encounters with informants that told him stories relating to the countryside and to the count Phoebus himself. He reports all these stories in Direct Discourse, i.e. supposedly in the words of his informants and even explains how he jotted all these anecdotes down as soon as he arrived at his hostel at the end of a day's traveling. (Marnette 2005:201–202)

The unique discursive status of the *Voyage*[231] noted by Marnette indubitably raises questions. One can wonder whether this formal shift in Speech Presentation is representative of more profound narratological, structural, or even ideological changes in the *Chroniques* (note however that the discursive shift found in the *Voyage* is less noticeable in Marnette's final excerpt – that of Book IV which mostly returns to a more 'traditional' mode of narration). If direct discourse becomes the 'dominant mode' (Brownlee 1991:253) of reported 'speech', it might impact on the relationship between narrator(s) and protagonist(s), on narrative voice(s), or on authorial voice(s).[232] The protagonists' status might especially be

[231] On the *Voyage*, see (among others) TUCOO-CHALA (1981); AINSWORTH (1990b) pp. 140–161; DILLER (1998); ZINK (1998) pp. 63–88; BROWNLEE (2000); FASSEUR, ed., (2009).

[232] If indeed there is such a thing as 'authorial voice', see n. 235 below. On the complex (implied) author/narrator relationship, Roberta L. Kruger notes: 'the term 'author' is used to refer to the implied authorial function created by the narrator's interventions in a text. […] The terms 'author's voice' and 'narrator's voice' recognize the

transformed: the more direct discourse, the more opportunities for the characters to 'tell their own stories'. One of the points of inquiry raised and adopted by Sophie Marnette and Helen Swift in *Les voix narratives du récit medieval: Approches linguistiques et littéraires*, is the potential plurality of narrative voices: '[u]ne voix narrative, se limite-t-elle à la voix du narrateur, ou devrait-on adopter une acception plus souple qui accorderait ce statut à d'autres sujets parlants ? [note 2: On envisagerait alors le terme de 'voix narrative' à la fois comme voix de la narration (voix qui narre) et voix dans la narration (voix qui est narrée par le narrateur)]' (2011:1). In that sense, protagonists/speaking-subjects can and should be envisaged as potential (narrative) voices. I would also add that theses voices can refer to 'voices narrated by the narrator which in turn narrate'. In other words, in some cases (explicited below) protagonists may function as (intradiegetic) narrators: some of the *Voyage*'s Gascons fall in that category.

In *Homo narrans: Pour une analyse énonciative et interactionnelle du récit*, Alain Rabatel notes that 'la technique [manner] est là au service de la compréhension, et aussi de la production' (2008:487). Thus, the present analytical approach ultimately serves another purpose, leading to broader ideological considerations and to a deeper understanding of the link between text (the *Voyage*/the *Chroniques*) and context(s) (Rabatel 2008:491–492). In the following section, (narrative) voices interacting, playing against, or complementing each other will be examined; as will the impact on authorial and ideological intent. While in the two

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reader's reconstruction of a writing or performing subject from the text's *énonciation*. I understand the relationship of 'implied author' to 'narrator' in these texts to be variable, sometimes one of equivalence and sometimes one of difference [note 12: The relationship between the 'implied author' and the 'narrator' is problematic. Formalist critics insist on the strict separation of 'author' and 'narrator'. Some speech-act and reader-response theorists would argue that this is true in the abstract but not in practice. As Susan Sniader Lanser maintains, most readers assume that the narrator's voice coincides with the implied author's, unless a difference between the narrator and the author is in some way marked or signalled. [...] Lanser points out that we recognize author-narrator equivalence in inverse proportion to the degree that the narrator is 'fleshed-out' as a textual character [...]]. In many verse romances, the narrative voice seems to coincide with the authorial voice. In other cases, the authorial voice seems distinct from the narrator's, particularly when the narrator is characterized in a role other than that of a writer' KRUEGER, R. L. 1987. "The Author's Voice: Narrators, Audience, and the Problem of Interpretation." Eds. K. BUSBY, et al. *The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, pp. 115–140, here pp. 117–118. Although these remarks were made about verse romances, they also seem generally pertinent to chronicles and the *Chroniques*.

preceding chapters of this thesis, the focus was on Froissart's (hi)story of the Gascons, this part is concerned with (hi)stories by (metadiegetic) Gascons and the mechanisms through which Froissart-author-narrator enables these characters 'to (seemingly) take the reins of the narrative'. The various Gascon narrative 'voices' presented in the *Voyage* – Espan du Lion, the anonymous squires, and the Bascot de Mauléon – and their function in the main narrative raise the question of 'polyphony' (see below). I would like to show how the analysis of intradiegetic narrative voices widens the discussion to include diegetic voice(s) and authorial intent. The first section of this chapter will be devoted to the various Gascon characters-turned-narrators, the formal processes allowing them to assume a narrative role and their function in the narrative. I will then broaden this narrative scope and consider the role and figure of the primary voice(s), Froissart-protagonist and -narrator. I will discuss their narrative control and authority over both diegesis and metadiegesis and ponder the polyphonic aspect of the *Voyage*. Ultimately, this study of (meta)diegetic narratives and voices enables a wider reflection on ideological implications as regards Froissart-author's vision of his world and of Gaston (Fébus);[233] this reflection will make up the third and final section of this chapter.

1. Voice(s), Perspective(s), and Polyphony: Theoretical and Lexical Adjustments

In this introductory section, I will briefly discuss concepts relevant to my purpose, namely voice(s) and perspective(s), relying on Gérard Genette's narrative theory, and polyphony as outlined by Mikhail Bakhtin and reconsidered by Alain Rabatel (Genette 1972:esp. 183–267; Bakhtin 1981:esp. 259–422; Rabatel 2008).[234]

[233] On Fébus, see TUCOO-CHALA (1976); TUCOO-CHALA, P. 1991. *Gaston Fébus, prince des Pyrénées, 1331-1391*. Pau: J.& D. éditions; PAILHÉS (2007); VERNIER, R. 2008. *Lord of the Pyrenees: Gaston Fébus, Count of Foix (1331–1391)*. Woodbridge: Boydell; AINSWORTH, P. 2011. "Le Fébus de Froissart." *Gaston Fébus. Prince soleil 1331–1391. Exhibition catalogue: musée de Cluny, musée national du Moyen Âge, Paris, 30 November 2011–5 March 2012; musée national du Château de Pau, 17 March–17 June 2012*. Paris: Musées nationaux, pp. 44–51.

[234] See also MARNETTE and SWIFT, eds. (2011) and esp. BATEMAN, C. 2011. "Irrepressible Malebouche: Voice, Citation and Polyphony in the *Roman de la Rose*." Eds. S. MARNETTE and H. SWIFT. *Les voix narratives du récit médiéval : approches linguistiques et littéraires*. Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes. Vol. 22, 9–23.

What is a voice? On perhaps the most obvious level, a voice is physiological: it is the ability to produce sound. In that sense, can we speak of voice(s) in a text, a written entity? (Note that medieval texts, most of which were meant to be read aloud, may be bridging that oral/written gap.) Voice can also simply refer to 'a person who speaks' in life or in texts. The questions of the identity of 'textual' speaking instances and their modes of speech have inspired philosophers, linguists, and literary critics (among others). In turn, these interrogations lead to a fundamental issue: whose perspective is being expressed through these words and this voice, that of the person 'speaking' or some other instance (the narrator, implied author, or 'real' author of a text? (see Krueger 1987))?[235] The problem with textual voices is that, in a written work, there is a necessity to recreate the 'illusion' of speech through intermediaries: the narrator reporting characters' speech; in turn, the narrator's speech reflecting (or distorting!) the implied author's voice.[236] A text creates a multiplicity of voices and, by extension, a multiplicity of perspectives; paradoxically, it also often creates the illusion of a single speaking subject, of a single narrative instance, and of a single point of view. At the heart of this 'veiled' multiplicity are different yet connected narrative levels, as Gérard Genette aptly shows with the following example of *Manon Lescaut*:

> La rédaction par M. de Renoncour de ses *Mémoires* fictifs est un acte (littéraire) accompli à un premier niveau, que l'on dira *extradiégétique* ; les événements racontés dans ces Mémoires (dont l'acte narratif de des Grieux) sont dans ce premier récit, on les qualifiera donc de *diégétiques*, ou *intradiégétiques* ; les événements racontés dans le récit de des Grieux, récit au second degré, seront dits *métadiégétiques*. De la même façon, M. de Renoncour en tant qu'« auteur » des *Mémoires* est extradiégétique : il s'adresse, quoique fictif, au public réel, tout comme Rousseau ou Michelet ; le même marquis en tant que héros

[235] It is sometimes difficult to effectively discern voice and perspective/point of view; see MARNETTE, et al., eds. (2011) pp. 1–2. Genette simplifies the matter by asking the question 'qui voit?' with regard to point of view and 'qui parle?' with regard to voice, GENETTE, G. 1972. *Figures III*. Paris: Seuil, p. 203. Alain Rabatel opts for reuniting the two concepts under the label of 'voice' by considering that voice applies to both a linguistic and a symbolic aspect. In that sense, voice can refer to the linguistic voice (i.e. 'who speaks?') or to the ideological voice (i.e. perspective) RABATEL, A. 2008. *Homo narrans : pour une analyse énonciative et interactionnelle du récit*. Vol. II. 2 vols. Limoges: Lambert-Lucas, p. 374. Thinking in terms of this dual linguistic/ideological voice, the case of the implied author proves delicate: while characters, and even narrator(s), can indeed be given a physical – albeit fake – voice, the same is not true of the implied author who can only expose his 'ideological voice'.

[236] The distinction made above (see footnote 235) between implied author's voice (ideological) vs. narrator(s)/characters' voices (both linguistic and ideological) is fundamental, particularly to understand the narrator(s)/implied author relationship, the potential discordance between the primary narrator's voice and that of the implied author, and the illusion of 'a single narrative instance'.

> des mêmes *Mémoires* est diégétique, ou intradiégétique, et avec lui des Grieux narrateur à l'auberge du *Lion d'or*, ainsi d'ailleurs que Manon aperçue par le marquis lors de la première rencontre à Pacy ; mais des Grieux héros de son propre récit, et Manon héroïne et son frére, et comparses, sont métadiégétiques : ces termes désignent non des êtres, mais des situations relatives et des fonctions. (Genette 1972:238–239)

These various narrative levels all feature in the *Voyage*: Froissart as extradiegetic narrator presents Froissart as intradiegetic protagonist interviewing intradiegetic Gascon 'informants' who, in turn, tell metadiegetic narratives sometimes including (Gascon) characters as metadiegetic protagonists. Furthermore, these narrative levels are not, as will be seen in the case of the *Voyage*, completely dissociated: narrative breaches can occur; narrative levels can be violated. Such interferences are called metalepses (Genette 1972:243–246, 2004).

Moving on from Genette to Bakhtin, we turn from the concept of voice/narrative levels to that of voice/polyphony (Bakhtin 1981:259–422; Holquist 1990: esp. 34). For some critics, like Oswald Ducrot, polyphony literally only means 'poly-'/'-phony' i.e. 'une pluralité de voix' (1980:44). However, Bakhtin distinguishes 'heteroglossia' – '*another's speech in another's language*, serving to express authorial intentions but in a refracted way' (1981:324)[237] – from 'polyphony' – a diversity of voices in which those of the characters conflict with that of the narrator (Bakhtin 1984:5–46; Holquist 1990:34; the latter mentioned in Bateman 2011:20). In other words, Bakhtinian polyphony is not only concerned with a 'simple' multiplicity but also with the relationship, within these multiple voices, of authorial power with narrative authority and with characters' autonomy. Bakhtinian polyphony may therefore imply a loss of control of the main (or primary) narrative instance and a gain of control of characters and/or secondary narrative instances. Alain Rabatel, re-assessing Bakhtinian theory, legitimately asks whether polyphony can truly relate to an 'equality of narrator(s)'/character(s)' voices' or whether it is part of a more subtle narrative strategy, hiding the main narrative instance from plain sight but, in fact, never truly losing its narrative

[237] In other words, heteroglossia defines a type of discourse which is double- or multi-voiced: '[i]t serves two speakers at the same time and expresses simultaneously two different intentions: the direct intention of the character who is speaking, and the refracted intention of the author' BAKHTIN, M. M. 1981. *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press, p. 324.

control (Rabatel 2008:375). It is from this angle (multiplicity/equality (?) of voices vs. narrative and ideological authority) that I will approach the *Voyage* and, by extension, the *Chroniques*.

Voice proves to be an extremely useful linguistic, literary, and ideological tool,[238] bridging the gap between characters and narrator(s) and between narrator(s) and author (Rabatel 2008:520); a tool which has often been mentioned by Froissartian critics but never truly examined in depth. Laurence Harf-Lancner speaks of 'voix discordantes' (1990:56); Michel Zink of 'voix du récit' (1980:76), also mentioned by Peter Ainsworth (1990b:150). Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros mentions 'narrateurs seconds' (1995:26); Florence Bouchet, 'narrateurs intradiégétiques' (2009:181). Finally, Kevin Brownlee notes that there are 'three successive intra-diegetic narrators' in the *Voyage* (2000:67). Most of these critics mention these 'special voices' almost in passing; they do not make explicit what makes these 'voix du récit' secondary/intradiegetic narrators in their own right. In Book I, the *Chroniques'* narrator refers to the Gascon lords' discontent with the Black Prince's rule of Aquitaine as *les vois dou pays d'Aquitaine* (Amiens III:454; see Chapter 2). This occurrence emphasises the dual linguistic/ideological use of voice exemplified by Rabatel (see n. 235 above): as the expression of the lords of Aquitaine's dissident sentiments (their 'ideological voices') and as the actual utterances of their displeasure with Edward of Woodstock (their 'linguistic voices'). In other words, the Gascons were already given both a linguistic and ideological 'voice' in Book I, particularly through Froissart's treatment of the Lord of Albret, the Lord of Armagnac, and the Captal de Buch. It appears that Book III goes one narrative step further, with some Gascon characters becoming intradiegetic/secondary narrators whilst 'Froissart' becomes the intradiegetic actor of his *Voyage*. In other words, the *Voyage* operates a metaleptic inversion of sorts: intradiegetic characters become intradiegetic narrators while

[238] One especially relevant to historical narratives as '[s]aying "what happened" means "saying". Saying means voice' MORSE (1991) p. 232.

extradiegetic narrator turns intradiegetic character. The purpose of this chapter is to examine and analyse these new *vois d'Aquitaine* and their relation to Froissart-actor/narrator/author/chronicler in the *Voyage* and beyond and to reflect on the ideological impact of the text's narrative strategy. But first I would like to raise the issue of communication in the *Chroniques* and the *Voyage*.

2. 'Translating' and Re-Constructing the *Chroniques*: A Problematic Dialogue

The *Voyage*'s specific speech context (see above p. 115) produces the same effect noted by Kevin Brownlee for the *Roman de la Rose*, a 'diegetic speech situation' (1991:253): characters engage in extended speech with notable dialogical interactions with Froissart-protagonist. Brownlee's observation regarding Jean de Meun is also applicable to Jean Froissart:

> [T]he very identities of these characters are defined by—are coterminous with—their discourse. Thus, the ways in which discursive interaction takes place within the context of the story line constitute a fundamental part of Jean's overall narrative strategy. (Brownlee 1991:253)

The dialogic situation created in the *Voyage* – between protagonists and also between narrator(s)/character(s) – is clearly part of Froissart-author's narrative strategy and this chapter will show how it arises.[239] There is, however, a caveat to be made regarding these seemingly flawless narrative and linguistic interactions: that of artificial communication. Indeed, despite heightened exchanges between characters/narrators, three elements come to qualify the apparent lack of control of the primary narrator and to hint at a broader, much more authoritative, narrative strategy. These three factors are the hierarchy of languages (French vs. Gascon in this case), the linguistic modes of transmission (oral vs. written), and the unsaid (silences/*non-dits*).

[239] This strategy of linking characters and discourse together is potentially reminiscent of Froissart's narrative *dits*, especially of the *Prison amoureuse* and its use of mythology, allegory, and its discursive and dialogical (albeit epistolary) situation between the two main 'characters', 'Rose', and the poet, 'Flos'; see Introduction in FROISSART, J. 1974. *La Prison amoureuse*. Paris: Klincksieck, pp. 17–29. Links between Froissart's chronicle and poetry (romance and *dits*), especially their mythological focus, will be explored below Chapter 3-IV.1.b, p.169.

In the *Voyage*, as in the rest of the *Chroniques*, Froissart relies on first- or second-hand testimonies – witnesses hailing from all over Europe – to construct his narrative. While most of these witnesses would probably have been able to speak French,[240] it would not necessarily be their native language.[241] Accounts – especially in direct discourse – are presented as immediate and actualized and yet, not only are they all rendered in one unique language, French, but they are moreover expressed through one single idiolect,[242] that of Froissart (Ainsworth 1990b:149, 1990c). Indeed, the vocabulary and phrases used by the informants whose speech is directly reported are in no way different from those used by Froissart-protagonist (and even -narrator). The paradox therefore is that the potential multiplicity of voices – extradiegetic narrator, intradiegetic narrators, intradiegetic characters, and metadiegetic characters – is presented via a unique language, French, and via a unique idiolect, Froissart's. Given Froissart's Hainaulter origins it is hardly surprising that French would be used as the linguistic medium of the *Chroniques*. In fact, Froissart-narrator subtly but relentlessly hints at the superiority of French over other languages, Gascon included: '[w]henever French is spoken, Froissart underlines its usage and remarks on its quality, while he routinely neglects to mention the use of other languages' (Stahuljak 2001:132). Stahuljak's comments should, however, be qualified: the mention and use of other languages is not completely neglected. Whilst it is true that, for most of Froissart's informants, the actual linguistic medium used to converse with them remains unspecified,[243] Froissart gladly points

[240] Which still, in the fourteenth century, retained its quality of universal language although a shift, from universal to national language, was starting to occur; see BEAUNE (1985) pp. 395–416; STAHULJAK (2001); BUTTERFIELD, A. 2009. *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[241] The possibility of misunderstanding arising from this linguistic 'complication', between Froissart-chronicler/-protagonist and his informants, is raised by Guilhem Pépin as one of the potential reasons for Froissart-narrator's inaccuracies concerning the Bascot de Mauléon's life; see PÉPIN (2011) pp. 189–190 and *infra* Chapter 3-III.2, p. 156.

[242] The variety of language used by a single individual; the 'linguistic style', so to speak, unique to a person. Questions of linguistic idiolects and literary styles are, of course, linked; see RABATEL (2008) pp. 471–484.

[243] Was Froissart interacting with his informants directly in French, or was he accompanied by interpreters? Interpreters are never featured in the *Chroniques*: did Froissart have no need for them and did he therefore speak exclusively with informants who could actually speak French? It seems to be the case in Book IV, at least in so far as the narrator notes that Henry Chrysteade, one of Froissart's informants and intradiegetic narrator of Book

out that his conversations with Gaston Fébus take place in French. Fébus interacts with Froissart 'non pas en son gascon, mais en bon et beau françois' (LG III & IV:174).[244] If French is *bon et beau*, Gascon likely isn't (Beaune 1985:291–308). Such a linguistic judgment is corroborated when a Gascon word manages to find its way into the *Voyage* in the episode when Fébus, mad with anger, kills his own son: '[e]t le premier mot que le conte dist, ce fu en son gascon: "Zo, Gaston, traïtour!"' (LG III & IV:184).[245] The interjection *zo*[246] is indeed reminiscent of Fébus's native language. Despite this unprecedented Gascon occurrence, the privileged medium of transmission of the *Chroniques* is, first and foremost, French – even when Gascon interlocutors are introduced and, most importantly, are speaking. The use of French as the almost-exclusive medium for what Froissart presents as truthful first-hand or second-hand accounts is potentially problematic.[247] One cannot but acknowledge that, despite Froissart's authenticity claims, the lexicon, grammar, or phrases attributed by the narrator to other 'foreign' parties are in fact his own.

This process of 'translation' (from a potential foreign language – Gascon – into French and, most importantly, from various idiolects – the Gascons' 'real' idiolects/languages – into Froissart's textual idiolect) hints already at Froissart-narrator's forged delegation of authority and at the forged autonomy of the Gascon character-narrators. These character-narrators present, via Froissart-author-narrator's words and French idiolect, metadiegetic narratives and

IV, is 'moult homme de bien et de prudence grandement pourveu et assés bien parlant la langue de France' KL XV pp. 167–168.

[244] Note that a similar comment is made about Richard II in Book IV. When the king is offered one of Froissart's manuscripts (presumably of poetry), the narrator notes that Richard 'regarda dedens le livre en plusieurs lieux et y lisy, car moult bien parloit et lisoit le franchois' ibid., p. 167.

[245] See folio 221v of MS 'Saint-Vincent' Besançon 865, *Online Froissart*.

[246] A similar phrase is to be found later: 'Haa! traïtour! pour quoy ne mengues tu?' LG III & IV p. 187; see also folio 222v, MS Besançon 865 *Online Froissart*. The first word/interjection is no longer Gascon but French. The occurrence of *zo* above is the only example I have found of a Gascon word used in the *Voyage* (or the rest of the *Chroniques*) even though the demon Horton (see below) is said to be speaking in Gascon (LG III & IV p. 283). The use of Gascon by a mythical creature alienates this language even more.

[247] On the evolution of the 'eye-witness' in late medieval (travel) narratives and the link between an experiencing and an ethical narrator, see FRISCH, A. 2004. *The Invention of the Eyewitness: Witnessing and Testimony in Early Modern France*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, esp. Chapter 2.

even quote metadiegetic characters. Even the discourses of these metadiegetic characters are presented in the same idiolect.

The use of Froissart's idiolect for testimonies told in direct discourse is not specific to the *Voyage* but applies to the rest of the *Chroniques*.[248] Froissart-author-narrator relies on first-hand and second-hand witnesses as early as Book I of the *Chroniques*. Oral testimonies serve to authenticate Froissart's narrative. By reporting witnesses' accounts – and speech – Froissart guarantees the veracity of his story. The *Voyage* is the occasion for Froissart-author-narrator to reflect on his historiographical methods and work as collector of information:

> Des paroles que messire Espaeng de Lion me comptoit estoie je tout resjouy, car elles me venoient grandement à plaisance, et toutes trop bien les retenoie. Et si tost que nous estions descendus ensemble es hostelz, je les escrisoie, feust de soir ou de matin, pour en avoir miex la memoire ou temps à avenir, car il n'est si juste retentive que c'est d'escripture. Et ainsi nous chevauchasmes ce matin jusques à Morlens, mais avant que nous y venismes, je le mis encore en paroles […]. (LG III & IV:162)

This famous and oft-quoted passage aptly highlights the relationship between orality (*paroles*, *mettre en paroles*) and written words (*escrisoie*, *escripture*). The problem it foregrounds is two-fold. The first issue is the seemingly paradoxical nature of the relationship oral/written in Froissart's text: from enjoyable, dynamic, but fleeting dialogic interactions to reflexive, static, but lasting solitary activity. Despite their clearly opposed characteristics and goals, the oral and the written also appear mutually dependent: the oral cannot be committed to posterity without the written (*car il n'est si juste retentive que c'est d'escripture*); the written cannot be authenticated without the oral. In fact, the quasi-simultaneity of putting oral words in writing (*si tost que… feust de soir ou de matin, pour en avoir miex la memoire ou temps à avenir*) emphasises the trustworthiness and authenticity of the written account – or at least, this is the readers' impression (Zink 1998:68). Thus, if the dialogue between Froissart-protagonist and characters – be they character-narrators or not – is somewhat hindered by issues of 'translation' (of characters' utterances into Froissart's idiolect and/or of oral speech into written words), communication between Froissart-narrator-author and the reader is also in

[248] Neither is it specific to the *Chroniques*, see *Chanson* III pp. 94–95.

turn impeded. The reader is forced to detect and re-construct what is, in fact, a subtle and methodical narrative planning.

The reader's need to re-construct the narrative goes beyond issues of 'translation'. The *Voyage*, despite its abundance of direct discourse, also partially relies on suggestive silences and unrevealed secrets. Alain Rabatel notes how a lack of utterance – Froissart's *non-dit* for Alberto Varvaro (2006a)[249] – can be as meaningful as uttered/spoken/written words and can, in fact, serve extra- or intradiegetic enunciators (Rabatel 2008:374) – i.e. narrators. In that sense, the unsaid expresses a specific perspective, e.g. Espan du Lion refusing to share the story of the Young Gaston's murder, or Froissart leaving the intradiegetic Gascon character-narrators taking charge of Bearnese stories (see below). Attention should be now given to these Gascon character-narrators (what they say or do not say), reflecting on what makes them intradiegetic narrators in their own right and their roles in the narrative.

II. **The Gascon Characters: Intradiegetic Narrators and Narrative Roles**

In the *Voyage*, while the diegetic narrative (the journey) is told by Froissart as extradiegetic narrator, intradiegetic narrators recount metadiegetic narratives (often local Bearnese tales) to Froissart-protagonist. Not all Gascon voices, however, assume the role of secondary narrator on the intradiegetic level; some remain 'regular' diegetic characters. Such is the case of Fébus, even though his figure is at the heart of the *Voyage*'s narrative. Froissart-narrator notes that the count 'volentiers […] parloit' (LG III & IV:177) to Froissart-protagonist about feats of arms from Béarn and its neighbouring regions without ever letting the reader know precisely what the count actually revealed. Thus, Fébus – unlike Espan du Lion, the anonymous squire(s), or the Bascot de Mauléon – is not a character turned narrator. Fébus's case will be further discussed below (see Chapter 3-IV); for now, let us focus on the Gascon

[249] See also LAMAZOU-DUPLAN, V. 2004. "Le Drame d'Orthez (1380) ou les stratégies du silence." Eds. L. BANTIGNY, et al. *Printemps d'histoire. La khâgne et le métier d'historien : pour Hélène Rioux*. Paris: Perrin, pp. 275–286; VARVARO (2011).

characters who do assume a narrative role. The following section will highlight that the time-frame and circumstances of Froissart-travelling-protagonist's meeting with these narratively privileged Gascons do not simply follow unforeseen turns of events, as Froissart-narrator implies. A tight narrative structure and coherence are discernible and account for the (albeit fleeting) prominence of these Gascon protagonists in the narrative.

1. Espan du Lion: The 'Narrator-Guide'

Following Book III's prologue, Froissart-narrator sets off on his 'narrative journey'; Froissart-protagonist, on the other hand, does not set off for Béarn just yet. Despite a couple of paragraphs, at the end of the Prologue, wherein Froissart-narrator summarises his travel to, and stay at, Orthez (LG III & IV:91),[250] the following chapters (§§ 2–4 in the L*ettres gothiques* edition (Zink 1998:66–67)) are devoted to Spanish and Castilian matters, as detailed in the stated aims of the prologue. Chapter 5, however, analeptically takes the reader back to the Gascon situation in 1363 and to the Black Prince/Fébus relationship (LG III & IV:106).

The narrative geographically and structurally brings us back to Gascon matters: the reader's attention thus shifts to Froissart-protagonist-narrator's trip to Béarn and to aforementioned events from Book I, 'si comme il est contenu ci dessus en nostre histoire' (LG III & IV:106). Ultimately, this chapter is the occasion to (re)focus the narrative on Froissart-author-narrator-protagonist and *his* 'histoire'. This passage is a turning point in which, for the first time, the journey justifies the narrative:[251] '[j]e, sire Jehan Froissart, fay narracion de ces besoignes pour la cause de ce que, quant je fus en la conté de Fois et de Berne, je passay

[250] Nothing hints, for now, that this travel narrative will be expanded upon and that Froissart-protagonist will have a prominent part to play in its unfolding; Froissart-narrator could have simply carried on with describing feats of arms and adventures he heard of in Béarn without staging himself as protagonist and recipient of tales told by intradiegetic narrators.

[251] Yet Book III's prologue announces that it is the need/desire to write the narrative which justifies the journey. The prologue will be discussed below, see Chapter 3-IV.1.a.

parmi la terre de Bigorre'[252] (LG III & IV:109). This sentence encompasses all of Froissart's selves using first a 'je + name' authorial formula often found in chronicles' prologues. In other words, this passage is reminiscent of a prologue's *seuil*, and *espace intermédiaire* (Marchello-Nizia 1986:13; Mortelmans 2006; Brown-Grant 2011). While Froissart's authorial figure *fay narracion de ces besoignes* (thus also referring to Froissart's narrative self), the use of the first-person deictics in ***je*** *fus en la conté de Fois et de Berne* and ***je*** *passay* refers to Froissart's experiencing-self and enables the shift to a more personal narrative. It is logical that, once this narrative 'threshold' (a prologue to Froissart-protagonist's physical journey) has been crossed, Froissart's own *histoire* and personal *story* truly begins in the following chapter (chapter 6 in the *Lettres gothiques* edition):

> En ce temps que je emprins à faire mon chemin et de aler devers le conte de Fois, pour tant que je ressoignoie la diversité du païs où je n'avoie onques esté ne entré, quant je me fuz partis de Carcassonne, je laissay le chemin de Thoulouse à la bonne main et prins le chemin à la main senestre, et vins à Montroial, et puis à Fougens, et puis à Bellepuis, la premiere ville fermee de la conté de Foys, et de là à Maiseres, et puis au chastel de Savredun ; et puis vins à la belle et bonne cité de Paumiers, la quele est toute au conte de Fois, et là m'arrestay pour attendre compaignie qui alast à Berne où le dit conte se tenoit. (LG III & IV:113)

Froissart-protagonist's journey allegedly starts at Carcassonne, whilst one might argue that Froissart-chronicler's actual departure occurred in Hainaut itself. Of that part of the (real) journey, the narrator remains silent. The Carcassonne-Pamiers leg of the trip is, however, dealt with in a couple of sentences, a mere narrative summary (Genette 1972:129), while the Pamiers-Orthez section takes up over six chapters.[253] What, then, is the difference between the first condensed – and thus uninspiring? – part of the journey and the much more detailed second? Surely Froissart-chronicler must have heard of adventures worthy of his *histoire* from Carcassonne to Pamiers. What may have prevented the narrative from 'properly' unravelling in the first instance is that not only does Froissart-protagonist not know the land well for he *n'avoi[t] onques esté ne entré*, but he has no-one to show him the way and tell him eventful

[252] Bigorre is east of Béarn; see Figure 4 in the Appendices.
[253] End of §6 to beginning of §13 in the *Lettres gothiques* amounting to roughly sixteen folios in Besançon MS 865, see *Online Froissart*.

accounts. In fact, Froissart-narrator, like his intradiegetic counterpart, is also entering unknown and perilous territories (Diller 1998:53).[254] As hinted in the analeptic chapter 5, the anticipated chronological narrative begins to dissolve and turns into a 'topographical' one.[255] Events recounted are no longer merely motivated by their date and succession but, rather, by Froissart-protagonist's encounter with places worthy of interest. He thus needs to be accompanied by someone privy to these places and events: both Froissart-narrator and protagonist need a guide in order to lead them (narratively and physically respectively) to Orthez. It is when Espan du Lion makes an appearance at Pamiers [Paumiers] that the narrative truly blossoms and that metadiegetic accounts start occurring:

> Quant j'euz sejourné en la cité de Paumiers trois jours, la quele cité est moult desduisant, car elle siet en beaux vignobles et bons et à grant plenté, et est advironnee d'une belle riviere et clere et large assez que on appelle l'Aliege, en ce jour me vint d'aventure un chevalier de l'ostel du conte de Foiz qui retournoit d'Avignon, le quel s'appelloit messire Espaeng du Lyon, vaillant homme et sage, et beau chevalier, et pouoit lors estre en l'aage de cinquante ans. Je me mis en sa compaignie […]. (LG III & IV:113)

Froissart-narrator insists he spent three days in Pamiers before he finds his 'perfect' guide. Three days seem like a long time to find a 'geographical' guide familiar with the region: Pamiers is only twelve miles north of Foix (see Figure 4) – surely other local knights or squires were equally suited for the task of leading Froissart safely through the Foix-Bigorre-Béarn region. Espan is not merely a local man but also one who fosters close relations with Fébus: he can serve as a guide in both a physical and narrative sense. Froissart-narrator-protagonist, however, is not the only one benefitting from the partnership: Espan 'en ot grant joye, pour savoir des besoignes de France' (LG III & IV:113). The agreement is one of mutual interest and a dialogic relationship is established between the two men: 'il se desduisoit le plus du jour à moy en demandant nouvelles ; et aussi quant je lui en demandoie,

[254] Just before the above-mentioned paragraph, Froissart insists on the presence of companies roaming the land and stresses on several other occasions how hazardous the journey can be for clueless travellers: 'et y a moult de perilleux passages pour gens qui seroient advisez' LG III & IV p. 128.

[255] Or 'autobiographical' one according to Michel Zink, which, to him, explains the change in narrative technique; see ZINK (1995) pp. 95–96. Analepsis, prolepsis, and changes of narrative rhythm are not new occurrences in the *Chroniques*; however, the fact that the narrative seems no longer motivated by chronology is original to Book III.

il m'en respondoit' (LG III & IV:114). It is, however, mostly Espan's news the reader is directly told. In terms of the specificities of Espan's direct discourses, his interventions including metadiegetic tales are relatively long tirades (sometimes taking up the space of a whole chapter), occasionally quoting metadiegetic protagonists in 'embedded' direct discourse. For the most part, the same discursive characteristics are to be found with all the intradiegetic narrators. The journey still spurs a dialogic exchange between two voices: that of Froissart who questions and that of Espan who replies. While Espan physically guides Froissart-protagonist to Béarn, it is Espan's and Froissart's voices combined which guide the reader through the *Voyage*'s first part of the narrative, from Pamiers to Orthez.

The moment Froissart and Espan reach Orthez is also the moment Espan stops being Froissart's main source of information and, thus, a character-narrator. The journey geographically draws to an end and so does Espan's time as intradiegetic narrator. Espan's last direct discourse as secondary narrator expresses his refusal to disclose the story of the Young Gaston's murder by Fébus:[256]

> [1] [Froissart is speaking] "[…] mais encores d'une chose, se je le vous osoie requerre, je vous demanderoie volentiers : par quelle incidence le filz au conte de Fois mourut ?"
> Lors pensa le chevalier, et puis dit:
> "La matiere est trop piteuse ; si ne vous en vueil point parler. Quant vous vendrez à Or[t]ais vous trouverez bien, se vous le demandez, qui le vous dira."
> Je m'en souffri à tant, et puis chevauschasmes et venismes à Morlens. (LG III & IV:172)

As soon as Espan openly acknowledges his narrative shortcoming, *si ne vous en vueil point parler*, his purpose as intradiegetic narrator becomes obsolete. For what is the use of a narrator who refuses to speak? This refusal is final and concludes chapter 12 of Book III. It marks the loss of Espan's narrative status but also quite literally that of his linguistic voice (except for one further occurrence of direct discourse discussed below) as the two men reach the town of Morlaàs [Morlens], roughly thirty-two miles from Orthez. In other words, the

[256] It is not the first time Froissart-narrator-protagonist enquires about the Young Gaston's murder. The first time the knight turns him down, he leaves him with a glimmer of hope by pretending to grant Froissart's request but giving the pretext that the matter is too long to tell for now as the day draws to an end. Froissart-protagonist tries his luck a second time before being rebuffed for good by Espan in his third attempt to uncover the truth.

final destination is not yet reached (Brownlee 2000:76). In any case, the end of the two men's travel (and of Froissart's and Espan's partnership) follows Espan's discourse of refusal and is summarised by Froissart-narrator in less than two sentences:

> A l'endemain nous partismes et venismes disner à Montgerbel, et puis montasmes et busmes un coup à Erciel, et puis venismes à Ortais sur le point de souleil esconsant. Le chevalier descendi à son hostel, et je descendi à l'ostel à la Lune […]. (LG III & IV:173)

The two men part, with Espan's rejection their last reported dialogue during the journey. In fact, the final leg of the journey from Morlaàs to Orthez, another narrative summary, resembles that from Carcassonne to Pamiers: deprived of any stories and deprived of direct discourse. Espan-narrator is no more.

In the rest of the *Voyage*'s narrative, Espan is mostly mentioned in passing, either with regard to how he and Froissart-protagonist parted (LG III & IV:173), or to reiterate how he refused to disseminate gossip: '[j]e tendoie trop fort à demander et à savoir, pour tant que je veoie l'ostel du conte de Fois si large et si plantureux, que Gaston le filz du conte estoit devenus, ne par quel accident il estoit mort, car messire Espaeng de Lion ne le m'avoit voulu dire' (LG III & IV:178). Even when Espan could potentially revert to a secondary-narrative function, the moment seems to have passed:

> Et aussi le gentil chevalier messire Espaeng de Lion, en la quele compaignie je estoie entrez ou pays, et au quel je m'estoie descouvert de mes besoignes, m'acointoit de chevaliers et d'escuiers qui me savoient recorder justement ce que je demandoie et requeroie à savoir. (LG III & IV:223)

Espan, however, is still acting as a liaison between Froissart-protagonist(-narrator) and Béarn/Bearnese men here (by introducing Froissart-protagonist to knights and squires):

> Là vi venir un escuier gascon qui s'appelloit le Bascot de Maulion […]. Et quant je l'oÿ nommer, et vy que le conte de Fois et chascun lui faisoit grant feste, si demanday à messire Espaeng de Lion : "N'est ce pas li escuier qui se parti du chastel de Trigalet quant le duc d'Anjou sist devant Mauvoisin ? —Oïl, respondi il, c'est un bon homme d'armes pour le present, et un grant capitaine." Sur ceste parole, je m'acointay de li […]. (LG III & IV:197)

The siege of Mauvoisin, an adventure previously told by Espan, during the journey to Orthez (LG III & IV:134–136), and the Bascot de Mauléon's introduction spur Espan-protagonist's final *parole*. Espan has, therefore, several roles to play in the *Voyage*: he acts as the first of

the Gascon secondary narrators, a guide introducing Froissart-narrator-protagonist to the stories of Béarn; a 'fallen narrator', he later acts as a liaison between Froissart and future, potential secondary narrators.

Espan's role as 'narrator-guide' is essential to the narrative structure and coherence (Diller 1998:53). Even if Espan refuses to disclose the story of the murder, he is ultimately responsible for its telling or, at least, is a catalyst for Froissart's further investigations into the matter, both by spurring the chronicler's curiosity and also by gradually hinting at Fébus's darker side which may not resonate in tune with his assumed ideal figure.[257]

2. The Anonymous Squires: Discourse(s) of Subversion

Espan's silence leaves Froissart-narrator-protagonist yearning for more information regarding the *drame d'Orthez* – the Young Gaston's murder (see Harf-Lancner 1980; Zink 1980; Grisward 1986; Ainsworth 1990b:158–161, 1990c; Harf-Lancner 1990, 1999; Lamazou-Duplan 2004). It will not be long, however, before Froissart-protagonist finds a new informant, more willing to disclose the ugly truth. The move from Espan to the next intradiegetic narrator includes a transition, in chapter 13, in the form of a narrative sequence ('a new beginning in the discourse of the *Voyage*' (Brownlee 2000:176)) told by Froissart's extradiegetic narrator. He presents the count of Foix-Béarn in a good light by drawing a very laudatory if somewhat formulaic portrayal of Fébus (LG III & IV:174–177) emphasizing how honourable and international the Bearnese court is (LG III & IV:177). The ideal 'melting pot' – as well as Fébus's demeanour, 'le seigneur du monde qui le plus volentiers veoit estrangiers, pour oïr nouvelles' (LG III & IV:173) – enables Froissart-chronicler-protagonist to learn of local, neighbouring, or distant *fait d'armes* (LG III & IV:177). The audience,

[257] Espan's first story shaping Fébus's persona is the account of Fébus's murder of Pierre-Arnaud de Béarn, his own cousin. This episode will be discussed below, see Chapter 3-IV-2-b, p. 174.

explicitly interpellated,[258] is reminded of the Prologue of Book III both in form (heightened involvement of Froissart-author-narrator)[259] and content (Fébus' laudatory portrayal and reminder of the journey's aim). Such a narrative sequence is short-lived. As soon as Froissart has 'refreshed' the reader's memory that the chronicler-narrator has been informed of many a knight's feats of arms, the narrative shifts back to a metadiegetic narration and the embedded tale of the Young Gaston's murder. Froissart-narrator notes that his curiosity on the matter is piqued all the more, as Fébus's son died despite the previous observation that *l'ostel du conte de Fois* was *si large et si plantureux* (LG III & IV:177–178). In these circumstances, the narrative sequence discussed above appears to justify his inquiring (*par quel accident* the Young Gaston *estoit mort* (LG III & IV:178)) and to introduce his meeting a new intradiegetic narrator, an anonymous squire.

In spite of Fébus's laudatory and formulaic portrayal, the narrative takes a scandalous direction with this squire's tale. The *piteuse matiere* reached a deadlock with Espan. Froissart-protagonist, once at Orthez, 'tant en enquis' (LG III & IV:178) that he does get *le fin mot de l'histoire*. The squire as narrator and scandalmonger makes a timely appearance in the narrative as a figure able (and willing?) to tell the full *histoire* and its *fin mot*. The intradiegetic Froissart once more becomes an audience of the metadiegetic tale through a diegetic speech situation: the squire's utterance is lengthy; his metadiegetic *je*-discourse inserted in the diegetic narrative; metadiegetic characters – Fébus, the Young Gaston – are being quoted. The common formal characteristics in the speeches of Espan and the squire suggest that the stylistic and linguistic features of their discourse are what determine their status as intradiegetic narrators. However, given the nature of the tale told by the squire, the

[258] 'Et **vous** di que […]' LG III & IV p. 174. As Sophie Marnette points out '*you* is relatively infrequent' and the reader-listener rarely involved, MARNETTE, S. 2006. "Experiencing Self and Narrating Self in Medieval French Chronicles." Ed. V.E. GREENE. *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature*. New York: Palgrave-McMillan, pp. 115–134, here p. 127.

[259] 'Le conte Gaston de Fois dont **je parole** […]. Et vous **di** que [...]' LG III & IV p. 174; '[e]n cel estat que **je vous di** le conte de Fois vivoit' ibid., p. 177 (referring to Froissart's narrative self). On the difference between 'narrative self' and 'experiencing self' in medieval French chronicles, see MARNETTE (2006).

role of this new secondary narrator differs from Espan's. While the latter's function was to introduce Froissart and guide him through the region and stories of Béarn, the new narrator's role is to disclose scandalous tales in full.

I would posit that this second intradiegetic narrator has two functions. The squire's full disclosure enables the revealing of the mystery of the Young Gaston's death, thus satiating Froissart-protagonist's and the reader's curiosity. In a *Deux Ex Machina*-type moment, Froissart-protagonist having tried but failed to uncover the truth with Espan, the squire's figure is convinced(/manipulated?) to tell the story. His first and most obvious role is to simply tell the tale. His second, related, role is that of relieving Froissart-narrator-author of any responsibility for (re-)telling the tale – I will return to that matter (Chapter 3-III).

The same anonymous squire divulges another potentially subversive tale, that of Pierre de Béarn, Fébus's own bastard brother: his somnambulism ('malade par fantosme' (LG III & IV:189)), and his quasi-fantastic fight with a bear. The 'official' justification for telling that particular tale is to explain why the countess of Biscaye, Pierre's wife, left him (LG III & IV:189). Structurally this story follows that of the murder of the Young Gaston. At the outset of chapter 14, in a handy narrative summary, the reader is told how after hearing the murder story Froissart takes leave from the squire: 'et le remerciay de ce que à ma plaisance il avoit fait son compte. Depuis le vi je en l'ostel de Foix pluseurs fois, et eusmes moult de parlemens ensemble, et une fois li demanday de messire Pierre de Berne' (LG III & IV:189). Froissart-narrator does not divulge other matters discussed with the squire but only the one concerned with Pierre de Béarn.

The figure of the squire – often unnamed and thus potentially multiple – is frequent in the *Chroniques*' narrative. A second anonymous squire is responsible for telling another potentially scandalous tale for the house of Foix-Béarn, that of the Lord of Coarraze and his 'personal demon' Horton who could travel miles in a mere instant and thus inform his master

of news from afar (LG III & IV:276–287). This tale is used to suggest that Fébus himself might be served by a magical being similar to Horton.[260] This matter may well be the most controversial of the Bearnese stories and is assumed by this second squire. Of all the subversive tales recounted by the two squires, it is the only one for which Froissart-narrator specifies the setting – a 'secretive' corner of the chapel of Orthez. Froissart-protagonist goes even as far as promising to keep the matter hidden – at least as long as he remains in Béarn:

> — Et, beau doulz sire, di je [Froissart], l'ymaginacion que vous y pensez, vueillez la moy dire et desclairier, et je vous en sauray bon gré. Et se ce est chose qui appartiengne à celer, je le celeray bien, ne jamais – tant que je soye en ce païs – je n'en ouvreray ma bouche.
> — Je vous en pri, dist l'escuier, car je ne vouldroie que on sceust que je l'eusse dit. Si en parolent bien les aucuns en couvert quant ilz sont entre leurs amis."
> Adonc me traist il en un anglet de la chappele du chastel à Ortais, et puis commença à faire son compte et dist ainsi: [...]. (LG III & IV:278)

Given the focus on secrecy (the promise, the corner of the chapel, etc.), this metadiegetic narrative is the most subversive of all and has implications for Froissart-narrator's narrative authority and Fébus's portrayal (see below Chapter 3-III and -IV).

3. The Trials and Tribulations of a *Routier*'s Life: Prowess turned Profit?

Structurally the first squire's story is, like Espan's previously, followed by one of Froissart-narrator's sequences. Despite the intervention of yet another squire – as mere character-informant (LG III & IV:195) – Froissart-narrator presents another laudatory portrayal of Fébus and Béarn. The extradiegetic narrator asserts that, all things considered, this court and its lord do not compare with any other:[261]

> Briefment, à parler de verité et par raison, l'estat du conte de Fois qui regnoit pour ce temps que je di estoit tout parfait, et il de sa personne si sage et si percevant, que nul hault prince de son temps ne se pouoit comparer à lui de sens, d'onneur et de largesce. (LG III & IV:196)

It may be because this sequence directly follows that of the squire, who had shed a darker light on Fébus, that Froissart-narrator is overly hyperbolic, trying to balance the narrative out,

[260] On Fébus' 'magical powers', particularly necromancy, see MIRONNEAU (1993) pp. 150, 158.
[261] The unmatched quality of the Bearnese court is not only highlighted by the panegyric lexicon but also by Froissart's use of the past subjunctive to reinforce its peerless status: 'là ouy sonner et jouer des orgues aussi melodieusement comme je fis onques en quelconque lieu où je feusse' LG III & IV p. 196.

so to speak. In any case, this passage appears inconsistent with the squire's discourse and voice. Froissart-narrator reminds the reader once more of his alleged aims, though specifies that 'desqueles je parleray clerement et plainement quant temps et lieu en sera' (LG III & IV:197). The readers are explicitly told that they will need to summon their patience to hear of recent feats of arms. That said, they will be somewhat indulged as Froissart-narrator proceeds to meet yet another Gascon squire, the Bascot de Mauléon, a company captain (Keen 1976:42–43; LG III & IV:197). The name should be familiar:

> "N'est ce pas li escuier qui se parti du chastel de Trigalet quant le duc d'Anjou sist devant Mauvoisin ?
> — Oïl, respondi il [Espan du Lion], c'est un bon homme d'armes pour le present, et un grant capitaine." (LG III & IV:197)

Should the reader detect a hint of reproach in Espan's discourse – the Bascot being *un bon homme d'armes* but only *pour le present*? Either he did not use to be or may not be in the future.[262] Despite the Bascot's status as a great captain, company men are, after all, mercenaries.

Narratively, Froissart-protagonist's and Espan's brief exchange above connects the Bascot's future metadiegetic narrative to Espan's previous one. It is neither en route to Orthez nor in the confidential corner of the Orthez chapel that this latest Gascon informant narrates his tales. His account occurs 'une nuit aprés soupper, seant au feu et attendant la mienuit que le conte de Fois devoit soupper' (LG III & IV:198). Despite their different settings (the Pamiers-Orthez 'journey hiatus'; the sojourn at Orthez waiting for an audience with Fébus in a corner of the chapel or by the fireplace in the inn), the meetings with the Gascon intradiegetic narrators all have in common that they seem to coincide with a lull in the main,

[262] When describing the Bascot, Froissart-narrator also presents him as a worthy man but with a hint of caution: '[l]à vi venir un escuier gascon qui s'appelloit le Bascot de Maulion, et pouoit avoir pour lors environ cinquante cinq ans, appert homme d'armes par semblant et hardi' ibid., p. 197. The phrase *par semblant* is not one usually used by Froissart-narrator when depicting other knights and squires suggesting that he is somewhat reticent to openly vouch for this company captain, at least not before hearing his story; see PICOCHE, J. 1976. *Le Vocabulaire psychologique dans les Chroniques de Froissart*. Paris: Klincksieck, pp. 90–91 on the use of *(par) semblant* in the *Chroniques*.

diegetic narrative and are therefore conducive to (metadiegetic) story-telling.[263] These embedded stories thus fill in diegetic gaps. The Bascot de Mauléon, like Espan or the anonymous squires before him, makes a timely appearance during one of those gaps. Froissart-protagonist is introduced to the Bascot by the latter's cousin, another company captain, Garcie-Arnaut [Ernauton], Bourc de Caupenne (LG III & IV:197). Froissart-narrator presents the Bascot's account, his *compte* as he did with the other intradiegetic narrators by the phrase 'il commença son compte et dist ainsi: […]' (LG III & IV:198).[264] This *compte* is again a lengthy metadiegetic narrative (roughly twelve folio pages – two chapters and a half in the *Lettres gothiques* edition); this time, however, 'on parole et devise d'armes' (LG III & IV:198): it is thus the tale most in keeping with Froissart-chronicler's alleged aims (to report *fait d'armes*).[265] Froissart-protagonist and the reader are reminded of distant battles and armed encounters involving 'capitaines de toutes nacions, Englois, Gascoings, Espaignolz, Navarrois, Alemans, Escoz et gens de tous pays' (LG III & IV:200). That said, despite the international range of protagonists claimed to be involved above, these men are *capitaines*, i.e. company men. The Bascot speaks 'de sa vie et des armes où en son temps il avoit esté, tant de pertes comme de proufis' (LG III & IV:198). Froissart-protagonist, it seems, has a glimpse of the *pertes* and *proufis* incurred by a *routier*'s life, indicated through the repetition of the lexical fields of money and profit in the Bascot's discourse.[266] Those benefitting from

[263] Froissart-narrator is neither the first nor the last to use these now common-place settings to frame narratives and to introduce story-telling and stories within the story: Boccacio used the *mise en scène* of the prolonged sojourn to frame his *Decameron*; the night setting is used in the *One Thousand and One Nights* during which Scheherazade also tells stories 'pour passer la nuit' LG III & IV p. 220; Chaucer used the context of the journey for his *Canterbury Tales*.

[264] See also ibid., pp. 178, 278.

[265] Officially, at least, because, as will be shown below, the Bascot's discourse is mostly focused on *profit* which brings to mind Froissart-author-narrator's comment in the B and Rome prologues: '[e]nsi se diffère et dissimule li mondes en pluiseurs manières. Li vaillant homme traveillent leurs membres en armes, pour avancier leurs corps et acroistre leur honneur. Li peuples parolle, recorde et devise de leurs estas, et de leur fortunes. Li aucun clerch escrisent et registrent leurs avenues et baceleries' SHF I/2 p. 5; Rome p. 37; quoted in HARF-LANCNER (2003) p. 166. While it is clear that Froissart-clerk-chronicler belongs to the third category, it is less obvious where to fit the Bascot: the men fighting in order to *acroistre leur honneur* or the people speaking about *leurs estas et fortunes*? The Bascot may be another example of a man *à mi-chemin* here.

[266] Given that Froissart's lexicon is not generally primarily focused on 'profit' as Kenneth McRobbie suggests and unlike what Johan Huizinga posits, it is significant that this lexical field should appear prominent in the

pecuniary gain are either mentioned collectively (LG III & IV:200–201) or individually, often referring to the Bascot, in which case profit is linked with first-person markers '[j]e […] fis pour ce temps ou païs et en la marche de Moulins moult grandement mon prouffit' (LG III & IV:204). The Bascot occasionally focuses on another captain's gain (LG III & IV:202). Seizing a castle, Froissart-protagonist and the reader learn, can be profitable in various ways (LG III & IV:211). These potential sources of 'income' amount to tidy sums of money, with probably the most lucrative source being holding knights to ransom. During the battle of Sancerre the company captain Guichard Aubergeon stresses – in embedded direct discourse in the metadiegesis – that his wounded prisoner, John Aymery, should be looked after: '[g]ardez moy bien ce prisonnier, et faictes diligence qu'il soit estanchiez de sa plaie, car il est bien tailliez, s'il me demeure en vie, que il me paie .xx^{m}. frans' (LG III & IV:208). Despite Guichard's insistence, the Bascot comments that the prisoner eventually dies 'car cil à qui il [Guichard] l'avoit enchargié, par sa grant mauvaistié le laissa tant seignier que il en mourut' (LG III & IV:209). We are reminded of Froissart-narrator's bewildered comment in Book I upon the description of the Spaniards killing all noble prisoners. Such a comment can be read as a criticism of unchivalric behaviour. Bascot's metadiegetic comment, the *grant mauvaistié* of the anonymous man who let John Aymery die by sheer negligence, highlights Guichard's pecuniary loss. The Bascot's narrative operates, therefore, a shift from unknightly to unprofitable behaviour and, by extension, from moral to material worth.

One of the original tales told by the Bascot is concerned with his taking of the castle of Turie in the Albigeois region. He recounts how he and five other companions 'cross-dressed' in order to enter the town incognito and seize the castle (LG III & IV:211–213). The account

Bascot life-story; see HUIZINGA (1962) pp. 66, 90–91; MCROBBIE (1971) pp. 5, 11. Profit, McRobbie points out, is not necessarily a bad unchivalric aim in Froissart's narrative and is sometimes linked with honour (ibid., p. 18). I do not think the Bascot's focus on profit is shown in a bad light here either; however, I believe it is more strongly linked to notions of necessity (profit as a means of subsistence) than to honour.

portrays a dialogue during which the disguised men put on feminine voices in the locals' tongue:

> [The Bascot is speaking] "Les femmes que nous encontrions nous disoient :
> 'Haa ! Sainte Marie ! que vous estes matin levees !'
> Nous respondions en leur langaige à fainte voix:
> 'C'est voir !' et passions oultre et venismes ainsi tous six à la porte. Quant nous y feusmes venus, nous n'y trouvasmes autre garde que un savetier qui mettoit à point ses fourmes et ses rivés. Li uns de nous sonna un cornet pour attraire noz compaignons qui estoient en l'embusche. Le savetier ne s'en donna garde. Bien oÿ le cornet sonner, et demanda à nous :
> 'Femmes, harou ! Qui est ce là qui a sonné ce cornet ?'" (LG III & IV:212)

Despite the metadiegetic narrator's comment that the language is 'local' and that the voices are affected, the reader does not get the 'full linguistic experience' given that there is no textual shift from French to the *langue d'oc*.[267] There is no change of idiolect either: *Haa ! Sainte Marie !* is the kind of exclamation typically used by Froissart-protagonist. The mere mention of the alteration in voice pitch and language (even if linguistically fake as unrendered in the direct discourse) nevertheless reinforces the visual disguise with a vocal one.

'Incognito stories' are a relatively common occurrence in the *Chroniques*. In Book I, we are told that Edward III, the Black Prince and some of their men, came in secrecy to Calais and fought against French troops 'sans cognissance de ses ennemis, desous le banière monsigneur Gautier de Mauni' (SHF IV:70–84, here 79; quoted in Crane 1997:68). Susan Crane in her article, 'Knights in Disguise', concludes that Edward's tale 'concentrate[s] attention on his chivalric skills and courage independent of his established status as sovereign and military leader' (1997:68–69). In other words, the aim of this type of incognito is an increase in renown, unrelated to the knight's status. But these stories are concerned with knights passing themselves off as other – anonymous/lesser – knights. Crane identifies cross-dressing as another type of disguise, using the examples of Edward III and the Order of the Garter's famously alleged story of its creation and that of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*:

[267] The interjection *harou* (or *haro*) is indeed French: cf. 'harou' in *DMF : Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* (version 2012). ATILF - CNRS & Université de Lorraine <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> (last accessed: 29 October 2013).

> [T]he garter and girdle narratives carry a potential for shame.
> Edward stoops to retrieve an intimate garment as his courtiers titter; Gawain succumbs to cowardice as he accepts the lady's girdle. At the point where shame still inheres in the action and the garment, Edward and Gawain could be said to cross-dress, with all the loss of status that represents for men in the heterosexual paradigm. [...] The potential shame is suppressed as the feminine garment becomes a token of honor for a new chivalric brotherhood. It is this trajectory from shame to honor that involves the adopted garments in the gender hierarchy and invites the notion of cross-dressing. (Crane 1997:75)

It is rather regrettable that Crane makes no mention of the sort of cross-dressing tales we are presented with in the Bascot's metadiegetic narrative, as I deem her interpretation rather one-sided. While Edward's story of disguise might indeed focus on renown and honour, this is far from the case with the Bascot's anecdote: attention shifts once more towards pragmatic profit. His tale starts and ends with how much money he made by having seized this castle. It starts with '[s]i envoyay adviser et espier la ville et le chastel de Turie en Albigois, le quel chastel depuis m'a valu, que par pillaiges, que par pattis, que par bonnes fortunes que je y ay eues, cent mil frans. Et vous diray comment je le prins et conquis' (LG III & IV:211) and ends with '[a]insi prins je la ville et le chastel de Turie, qui m'a fait plus de proufit et de revenue par an, et tous les jours quant il venoit à point, que le chastel et toutes les appendences d'icelui à vendre au plus destroit et plus chier ne valent' (LG III & IV:212–213). The Bascot tells Froissart-protagonist and the reader that he took the Turie castle because he was in dire straits (LG III & IV:211). It is neither honour nor fame the Bascot is seeking, but gain, and also mere subsistence. If the goal here is not to prove one's worth but just 'earn a living', there is no need for unnecessary blood-shed: the cross-dressing tactic proves the cleverest and safest. Once the six disguised men are in, the town and castle are taken with disconcerting ease (LG III & IV:212). Crane notes that '"[i]ncognito" in its many fourteenth-century manifestations encompasses both concealed identity modelled after romance plots and fictive identity borrowed from them' (1997:66);[268] the above example shows that this is not entirely true: the Bascot's tale appears as the ultimate *routier*'s adventure – pragmatic and, dare I say, realistic

[268] Incognito stories can also be modelled after epic plots, see below and SUARD, F. 2006. "Le Souvenir épique dans les *Chroniques*." Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 259–275.

in the sense that it is rooted in practical considerations (profit and sustenance). These pragmatic concerns emerge as rather alien to Froissart's alleged interests of prowess, chivalrous deeds, and feats of arms. To some extent, while Edward III was represented as a romance hero with his tale of disguise, the Bascot's own tale makes him a perfect example of a mundane company captain. For someone looking forward to listening to the Bascot *parler d'armes*, Froissart-protagonist is curiously silent upon hearing this original story, which is apparently far removed from Froissart-author's own expectations. There is no comment on the potential unworthiness and shamefulness that Crane notes about cross-dressing stories. On the contrary, when the Bascot asks his interlocutor whether he is well informed about his life and adventures, Froissart merely replies '[p]ar ma foy […] sire, ouil' (LG III & IV:213). Such an answer does not suggest judgement; in the end, we do not know whether the author (and narrator) thinks better or less of the Bascot after hearing the latter's tale. Despite the Bascot's insistence on profit and ruse, other elements may explain why Froissart-author does not judge the Bascot harshly. In addition to profit, the other leitmotif in the Bascot's life-story is indeed his loyalty to the English side (LG III & IV:211) but also, on a more 'local' level, to his own Gascon lord, the Captal de Buch.[269] Upon hearing that the Captal needs reinforcements, the Bascot leaves his comfortable and profitable castle:

> Je tenoie lors un chastel que on appelle le Bieq d'Allier, assez pres de La Charité en alant en Bourbonnois, et avoie .xl. lances dessoubz moy, et fis pour ce temps ou païs et en la marche de Moulins moult grandement mon prouffit [...]. Quant les nouvelles me furent venues que le Captal mon maistre estoit en Costentin et assembloit gens à pouoir, pour le grant desir que je avoie de lui veoir je me parti de mon fort [...]. (LG III & IV:204)

It is during this very campaign that the battle of Cocherel was fought. In Book I, Froissart-narrator (through the Captal's words) commented harshly on Gascons fighting against the Captal's troops. The Bascot fights on the 'right' side by remaining loyal to his local lord. It would thus explain why company captains such as the Bascot are seen in a good light: the

[269] The same focus on loyalty and personal interests is expressed in the *Chanson* regarding Bertrand du Guesclin; see *Chanson* III p. 138.

Bascot's life-story is proof that pragmatic considerations are indeed compatible (and co-existing) with honourable qualities. The life of a *routier* need not be simply profit-seeking; the Bascot often insists on the fact that 'poor' companions simply have no choice, especially in time of truce, but to seize castles of their own accord or to fight their own (profitable) battles if they want to survive (LG III & IV:200). The Bascot's account presents a redeeming and realistic portrayal of the *routiers*: it is indeed a life of trials and tribulations led by danger ('[j]e en sçay petit – excepté moy – qu'ilz ne aient esté tous occis sur les champs' (LG III & IV:211)), *pertes* and *profit*, by good and bad fortune ('[j]'ay aucune foiz esté ruez just tant que je n'avoie sur quoy monter; à l'autre foiz riches assez, ainsi que les bonnes fortunes venoient' (LG III & IV:211)), but also by loyalty.[270]

III. Voices, Authority, and Narrative Strategy

The intradiegetic narrative voices in the *Voyage*, their roles, and the ways in which they are formally constructed (lengthy discourse, diagetic speech situation, etc.) might lead to the following conclusions: the multiplicity and shifts of diegetic and metadiegetic voices potentially overshadows the primary narrator's own voice;[271] these formal devices, direct discourse especially, account for the dramatization and romanesque writing[272] of the *Voyage*'s

[270] It is worth mentioning here the *Chroniques*' portrayal of another *routier*, in Book IV, that of the Limousin Mérigot Marchés. For a study of this narrative sequence, see AINSWORTH, P. (1990a) "'Ceci n'est pas un conte': The Story of Mérigot Marchés in the Fourth Book of Froissart's *Chroniques*." *Fifteenth-century Studies* 16, 1–22; AINSWORTH (1990b) pp. 109–139. Froissart's opinion towards the *routiers* is not one of mere indulgence but moral uncertainty: '[i]t might be said in conclusion that certain episodes in the *Chroniques* bear witness to a degree of moral uncertainty on the part of the chronicler. Some, such as the text studied in this article, appear to explore contradictions in fourteenth-century chivalrous ethics even as they attempt to rationalize them [...]. Even if Froissart were unaware of the manner in which these contradictions reveal themselves, that would not in any way diminish either their fascination or the power of their testimony' AINSWORTH (1990a) p. 22. That some *routiers* captains are shown in a good light and others less so accounts for Froissart's distance from an idealistic perspective. If the latter were the case, his vision of the *routiers* would be highly stereotypical but these examples emphasise that not all *routiers* are altogether bad or good.

[271] As Gérard Genette puts it, the 'changement de voix narratives' implies 'une prise de congé désinvolte' on the (primary) narrator's part, GENETTE, G. 2004. *Métalepse : De la figure à la fiction*. Paris: Seuil, pp. 28–29.

[272] In the sense of romance-like writing (as opposed to historical writing) but also, more generally, of the type of writing referring to a chivalric ideal/glory, what Laurence Harf-Lancner refers to as 'vocabulaire romanesque' (HARF-LANCNER (2003) p. 65), i.e. *merveille*, *aventure*. On Froissart's romanesque writing/construct, historiography and romances, see Introduction in Rome p. 31; quoted in MADDOX, et al. (1998) p. 10; HARF-LANCNER (1980); AINSWORTH (1990a) p. 7; HARF-LANCNER (1990) pp. 51–52; ZINK (1995) pp. 90–91;

narrative. I propose in this section to re-evaluate these 'conclusions' in the light of (1) narrative authority and perspective; (2) authorial control and authorial/narratorial role(s); (3) historicity and fiction. I have hinted at the possibility that Froissart-author/narrator might be relinquishing responsibility in the metadiegetic narratives analysed above; I would like to suggest that, in fact, the use of Gascon intradiegetic voices as witnesses (and the use of direct discourse) legitimizes Froissart-implied-author's own discourse. What is at stake with these stories by the Gascons is therefore the question of authority and responsibility in the *Voyage.*

1. Authority and the Illusion of Narrative Autonomy

a. Delegating Authority and Polyphony: An Enunciative Forgery

The *Voyage* marks, within the *Chroniques'* narrative, a metaleptic shift (Genette 2004:27): from a (mostly) heterodiegetic narrator in Book I and II to a (mostly) homodiegetic narrator in Book III and IV. By becoming, more often than not, a witness of the events he describes, Froissart-protagonist (and occasionally -narrator) enters his own diegesis. Furthermore, Alberto Varvaro notes, regarding Froissart's return to England in Book IV (and which also applies to the *Voyage*), that there are several intradiegetic levels within the main narrative:

> [L]e récit historique acquiert, en fait, deux niveaux diégétiques situés à deux stades chronologiques différents : celui du personnage qui a vécu les événements et celui de l'historiographe qui les enregistre par le biais de son récit. Il y a même un troisième niveau, ultérieur : l'écriture historiographique. (Varvaro 2011:42)

For Sylvie Lefèvre, these intermingling narrative levels and threads are the signs, in the *Voyage*, of 'un nouveau Froissart, celui qui mêle sa propre vie à son récit d'histoire, en un télescopage des temps et une virtuosité énonciative inédits' (2009:129). Lefèvre insists on the

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DEMBOWSKI, P. F. (1996) "*Meliador* de Jean Froissart, son importance littéraire : le vrai dans la fiction." *Études françaises* 32.1, 7–19; ZINK (1998) p. 51; HARF-LANCNER (1999); DILLER (2001); HARF-LANCNER (2003) pp. 164–171; DE MEDEIROS (2003) p. 89; LAMAZOU-DUPLAN, V. 2006. "Froissart et le drame d'Orthez: Chronique ou roman ?" Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 111-141; MARNETTE (2006) p. 127; MOEGLIN (2006); BOUCHET (2009) p. 180; FASSEUR, ed., (2009) p. 9. See also ZUMTHOR, P. 1975. "Roman et histoire: aux sources d'un univers narratif." Ed. P. ZUMTHOR. *Langue, texte, énigme*. Paris: Seuil, pp. 237–248; POIRION, D. 1982. *Le Merveilleux dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge*. 1st ed. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, p. 105.

perfect control and mastery over his narrative, yet the sequences assumed by the secondary narrators, via direct discourse, suggest that this 'new Froissart' is less prominent as *I*-narrator-author than as *I*-character-witness (Marnette 2006; Rabatel 2008:514). Froissart's status as protagonist may hint at a lack of narrative control or, at the very least, at a passive narrative involvement, leaving the Gascon intradiegetic narrators seemingly 'in control'. It is such paradoxes that we wish to examine here: how can Froissart-author-narrator both relinquish responsibility and authority and keep a tight control over his narrative?

Direct discourse appears to 'let the characters speak for themselves', the narrator momentarily eclipsed. One of these characters, however, is Froissart-protagonist. I noted above that two of the characteristics of the Gascon narrators' sequences are their long metadiegetic direct discourse speeches coupled with dialogic passages between the character-narrator and Froissart-protagonist.[273] Thus, if indeed Froissart-narrator's influence is receding in these narrative sequences, Froissart's presence is still strongly felt via Froissart-protagonist. There is the potential for a 'translation of narrative power', not necessarily, as would be expected, from extradiegetic narrator to intradiegetic narrators but indeed, in a metaleptic shift, from Froissart-narrator to Froissart-protagonist. Froissart-protagonist might in fact be wielding control of the (meta)diegesis, the Gascon characters-witnesses 'narratively manipulated' by both Froissart-protagonist and Froissart-narrator into taking charge of the stories. Various textual hints point to Froissart-protagonist's authority. First, the number and type of Froissart-protagonist's utterances, within the speech situation, is significant. The table below shows the number of interrogative sequences uttered by Froissart-protagonist in his exchanges with each Gascon narrator (the two anonymous squires have been grouped together) compared with his other interventions: e.g. statements, negations.

[273] For more detail on these exchanges and others (e.g. Froissart/Fébus), see BOSSY, M.-A. 2002. "Donnant, donnant : les échanges entre Froissart et ses interlocuteurs à la cour de Gaston Fébus." Eds. C. HUBER, et al. *Courtly Literature and Clerical Culture*. Tübingen: Attempto, pp. 29–38.

TABLE 1 – FROISSART-PROTAGONIST'S DIRECT DISCOURSE INTERVENTIONS

Type of Interventions	With Espan du Lion	With the Squires	With the Bascot de Mauléon
Interrogative	29	7	0
Other	19	6	5

Froissart-protagonist is much more 'proactive' in his exchanges with Espan than with the other Gascon narrators. This is not completely surprising; after all, Espan is not only Froissart's first point of contact with Béarn and its stories but is also the one narrator who 'resists' him.[274] His questions are mostly concerned with Espan's Bearnese stories rather than Bearnese topography or toponymy. When Espan's narrative reaches the thorny subject of the Young Gaston's murder, Froissart bombards Espan with questions:

> [Espan is speaking] "[...] Il tint son cousin germain le viconte de Chastelbon, et qui est son heritier, .viij. moys en la tour à [Ortais] en prison, puis le raençonna il à .xl. mil frans.
> — Comment, sire ? di je au chevalier, n'a donc le conte de Fois nul enfant, que je vous os dire que le viconte de Chastelbon est son heritier ?
> — En non Dieu, dist il, non de femme espousee, mais il a bien deux beaux jeunes chevaliers bastars que vous verrez, que il aime autant que soy meismes, messire Ieuwain et messire Gracien.
> — Et ne fu il onques mariez ?
> — Si fu, respondi il, et est encores, mais madame de Fois ne se tient point avecques lui.
> — Et où se tient elle ? di je.
> — Elle se tient en Navarre, respondi il, car le roy de Navarre est son cousin, et fu fille jadis du roy Loÿs de Navarre.
> — Et le conte de Fois n'en ot il oncques nul enfant ?
> — Si ot, dist il, un beau filz qui estoit tout le cuer du pere et du païs, car par lui pouoit la terre de Berne, qui est en debat, demourer en paix, car il avoit à femme la suer au conte d'Ermignach.
> — Et sire, di je, que devint cil enfes ? Le puet on savoir ?
> — Oïl, dist il, ce ne sera pas maintenant, car la matiere est trop longue, et nous sommes à ville, si comme vous veez."
> A ces motz je laissay le chevalier en paix [...]. (LG III & IV:158–159)

Froissart-narrator notes that he 'leaves Espan in peace' after this exchange, giving the reader the feeling of having been witness to an interrogation rather than a casual conversation. Paradoxically, the fact that Espan does not submit to Froissart-protagonist's insistent request does nothing to undermine Froissart-protagonist's control: as Kevin Brownlee suggests, this game of questions/dodges builds up narrative suspense (see n. 274). Espan occasionally

[274] Kevin Brownlee especially notes that Froissart-protagonist's reiterated questions regarding the death of the Young Gaston serve a double compositional purpose as initial link between this murder and that of Pierre-Arnaut de Béarn's and as marker of suspense, delaying the actual story, BROWNLEE (2000) p. 75.

questions Froissart-protagonist; however, his interrogative sentences never seem to have the same authority over the narrative as that of Froissart-protagonist. On the contrary, they refocus the attention on Froissart's '*histoire*', i.e. the *Chroniques*' main narrative:

> [Espan is speaking] "Vela Mauvoisin. Avez vous point en vostre histoire, dont vous m'avez parlé, comment le duc d'Anjou, du temps qu'il fu en ce païs et que il ala devant Lourde, y mist le siege et le conquist, et le chastel de Trigalet sur la riviere que nous veons ci devant nous, qui est au seigneur de la Barre ?"
> Je pensay un petit et puis di:
> "Je croy que je n'en aie riens et que je n'en fu onques enfourmez. Si vous prie que m'en recordez la matiere, et je y entendray volentiers." (LG III & IV:129)

Froissart-protagonist's authority over Espan is also verified by Froissart's references to his own chronicler-self. It is only through this chronicler-self that what Espan has narrated can be set in *memoire perpetuele* – i.e. Espan's oral and 'authentic' words can only be legitimised and recorded in memory through Froissart's written words (LG III & IV:172). It is Froissart as protagonist who leads or, to re-use Ducrot's extended theatre metaphor (1980:45), 'directs' Espan's metadiegetic narrative. Froissart-protagonist needs Espan to tell these oral stories and assume a narrative role because they are prompted by Béarn's topography/toponymy and Espan is privy to these; once this initial guiding step is engaged, the roles become reversed and Froissart-protagonist is the one guiding Espan's narrative. As soon as Froissart-protagonist gets as much information as he can from Espan (with the latter refusing to divulge the story of the Young Gaston's murder) Froissart-narrator retakes (officially) charge of the narrative and quickly wraps up the narrative of the journey to Orthez. He then finds a new intradiegetic narrator, the anonymous squire, manipulated by Froissart-protagonist too.

At this stage, Froissart-protagonist's direct discourse interventions are much less frequent than with Espan (see Table 1, p. 144). The whole narrative of the Young Gaston's murder is devoid of any direct discourse commentaries on Froissart-protagonist's part. It is structurally framed by Froissart-narrator's laudatory comments towards Fébus, opening with the formulaic portrayal of Fébus and his court and ending with the sorrow Froissart-narrator feels for the count upon hearing the story (LG III & IV:189). Alberto Varvaro has aptly noted

how the *non-dit* in Book IV of the *Chroniques* could be as powerful a narrative and ideological strategy as any (2006a, b, 2011:79–87). Shears, before him, had commented on 'Froissart's silences' (1972:176). I believe that one finds a similar situation in the *Voyage*, the fact that Froissart-protagonist 'does not say anything' during this episode highlights a certain kind of control, that of deliberate non-involvement.[275] Froissart-protagonist resumes his dialogue in direct discourse with the squire(s) when he is told the stories of Pierre de Béarn and, later on, Horton. At the very end of the nearly-uninterrupted tale of Pierre's sleepwalking, Froissart-protagonist asserts his voice of authority by (1) being reminded that the request for such a tale was made by Froissart himself, (2) being asked by the squire for his opinion on the matter, (3) giving his own interpretation of the story, making the connection between the *auctoritas* of classical tales. The passage is worth quoting in full here:

> "Or vous ay je compté de messire Pierre de Berne, dist l'escuier, selonc ce que vous m'en avez demandé, et c'est chose toute veritable, car ainsi en est et ainsi en advint, et que vous en semble ?"
> Et je, qui tout pensif estoie pour la grant merveille, respondi et dis :
> "Je le croy bien, et ce puet bien estre. Nous trouvons en l'escripture que anciennement les dieux et les deesses à leur plaisance muoient les hommes en bestes et en oyseaux, et aussi bien faisoient les femmes. Aussi puet estre que, cel ours avoit esté un chevalier chaçant es forests de Bisquaie, si courrouça ou dieu ou deesse en son temps, pour quoy il fu muez en fourme d'ours, et faisoit là sa penitance, si comme Atteon fu muez en cerf.
> — Acteon ? respondi li escuiers, doulz maistres, or m'en comptez le compte, et je vous en pri.
> — Volentiers, di je. Selon les anciennes escriptures nous trouvons escript que Atteon fu un appert, faitiz et jolis chevalier, et amoit le deduit des chiens sur toute riens, dont il advint une fois que il chaçoit es boys de Thessale, et esleva un cerf merveilleusement grant et bel, et le chaça tout le jour et le perdirent toutes ses gens et ses levriers aussi. Il, qui estoit fort ententif et desirant de poursuivir sa proie, suivi la chace et la trace du cerf tant qu'il vint en une pree ou boys enclose et advironnee de haulx arbres, et là en celle pree avoit une tresbelle fontaine. En celle fontaine pour soy rafreschir se bailgnoit Diane la deesse de chasteté, et autour de lui estoient des pucelles. Le chevalier s'embati sur elles, ne onques il ne s'en donna garde. Si ala si avant que il ne pot reculer. Elles qui furent honteuses et estranges de sa venue, couvrirent errant leur dame qui fu vergoigneuse de ce que elle estoit nue, mais par dessus toutes ses pucelles elle apparoit et vit le chevalier. Si dist :
> 'Atteon, qui ci t'envoya, il ne t'ama gueres. Je ne vueil pas, quant tu seras ailleurs que ci, que tu te vantes que tu m'aies veu nue, ne mes pucelles. Et pour l'outraige que tu as fait il t'en fault avoir penitence. Je vueil que tu soies tel et en la fourme que le cerf que tu as huy chacié est.'
> Tantost Atteon fu muez en cerf, [qui] de sa nature aime les chiens. Ainsi puet il avenir de l'ours dont vous m'avez fait vostre compte, et que la dame y scet autre chose, ou savoit, que elle ne disist pour l'eure ; si la doit on tenir pour excusee."

[275] Froissart-narrator famously announces not to take sides between France, England, or other countries in his prologue. Is Froissart-narrator showing the same kind of 'neutrality' towards the responsibility of the Young Gaston's murder? Most likely. There is also a potential parallel between Froissart-narrator's deliberate non-involvement and Fébus' political non-involvement with France or England, see STAHULJAK (2001); STAHULJAK (2006); SOULEAU, P. 2012. "Renouer avec un passé chevaleresque ? Le dialogue franco-anglais dans les *Chroniques* de Jean Froissart." Ed. E. EGEDI -KOVACS. *Dialogue des cultures courtoises*. Budapest: Collège Eötvös József ELTE, pp. 271–288.

L'escuier respondi :
"Il puet estre."
Ainsi finasmes nous nostre compte. (LG III & IV:193–195)

Froissart is explicitly asked for his opinion and conclusions on the matter and, this time round, willingly obliges: whether or not Pierre's wife knew about the knight turned into a bear is of no importance, and she therefore should not be blamed. By comparison, the accusation of moral guilt as regards the Young Gaston's murder is left in the mouth of the squire. This question of blame – implicating the king of Navarre, Charles *le Mauvais* – opens and closes the squire's *compte* '[s]on pere l'occist voirement, mais le roy de Navarre lui donna le coup de la mort' (LG III & IV:188). In the case of Pierre's sleepwalking, Froissart-protagonist is more than willing to venture an interpretation. In doing so, Froissart uses the Ovidian *auctoritas*. In a metaliptic twist, Froissart-protagonist (the textual recipient of the squire's tale) invades the metadiegesis by taking charge of the rest of the tale; he becomes another metadiegetic narrator by telling his own *compte*, prompted by the squire and legitimised by the *escripture*. The anonymous squire (the original metadiegetic narrator of the tale) becomes recipient in his turn and thereby loses his narrative status. It is a true metaleptic *jeu* at play in this narrative sequence, one in which intradiegetic character-narrators exchange, in turn, their own metadiegetic tales. The result here is the creation of a hybrid metadiegesis assumed by both the squire and Froissart-protagonist-(intradiegetic)-narrator. It is not uncommon for Froissart-narrator-author to occasionally refer to himself by a first person plural marker (e.g. 'en nostre païs' (LG III & IV:172)), yet it seems possible, in the case of this specific *compte*, to interpret Froissart-narrator's concluding remark, *ainsi finasmes nous nostre compte*, as referring not to Froissart only but also to his narrative partnership with the squire and their hybrid *compte*. In the case of the other squire's tale – which potentially incriminates Fébus as meddling in magical matters – the story's moral is not uttered by Froissart-protagonist, although it is prompted and suggested by him in the form of a question:

> [The squire is speaking] "Or vous ay je recordé de la vie de Horton et comment il servy un temps de nouvelles trop volentiers le seigneur de Corasse.
> — Il est verité, di je à l'escuier qui le conte m'avoit faict et dit. Et à ce propos, pourquoy vous le commençastes ? Le conte de Fois est il servy d'un tel messagier ?"
> L'escuier respondi :
> "En bonne verité, c'est l'imaginacion de pluseurs hommes en Berne que oïl, car on ne fait riens ou païs, ne ailleurs aussi – quant il veult, et il y met parfaitement sa cure – que tantost il ne le sache." (LG III & IV:286–287)

Froissart-protagonist clearly 'directs' the metadiegetic tale once more but does not take responsibility for its conclusion. This other *non-dit* may not be as strong as in the case of the Young Gaston's murder story as Froissart-protagonist does intervene in this squire's narrative. That said, while the account of the march to and battle of Aljubarrota (1385) – reported by this very squire – is told in a 'traditional' narrative way,[276] a layered narrative strategy is used for the account of Fébus's potential 'magical powers' in order to relieve Froissart-narrator-author of the responsibility of reporting such shocking 'gossip'. In this instance, even the intradiegetic narrator endeavours to be discharged of the responsibility of the tale. First, the word *ymaginacion/imaginacion*, used by both the squire and Froissart-narrator, highlights that the tale is but hearsay. Second, it is not Fébus who features in the story but one of his vassals, the Lord of Coarraze. The connection with Fébus is only conjectural; the count of Foix-Béarn is never explicitely incriminated by the squire. Thus the squire, despite effectively 'spilling the beans', eschews personal responsability for telling the tale (*je ne vouldroie que on sceust que je l'eusse dit*). The intradiegetic narrator bypasses the use of first-person singular markers, especially when making judgemental claims about Fébus, and instead uses the first-person plural ('point ne savons en ce païs, au voir dire, comment il use, fors que par ymaginacion' (LG III & IV:278)), or third-person plural ('[s]i en parolent bien les aucuns en couvert quant ilz sont entre leurs amis' (LG III & IV:278)/'c'est l'imaginacion de pluseurs hommes en Berne' (LG III & IV:287)) which weakens his accountability.

[276] Froissart is the sole narrator here; the squire is mentioned as mere informant after the account is made; see LG III & IV p. 277.

Narrative control is even more manifest in the light of Froissart-protagonist's *promesse de Gascon* – a fitting (and here rather ironic) phrase meaning an unkept/unreliable promise – proving himself to be a rather untrustworthy recipient: the irony of Froissart-protagonist's promise to keep the matter *celé* as it is about to be unveiled in the text makes it even more apparent how manipulative he is with the Gascon character-narrators. Thus, even though direct discourse gives the illusion of leaving Froissart(-narrator) in the background, his presence and control over both diegesis and metadiegesis is strongly felt through the manipulative involvement of Froissart(-protagonist). However, Froissart-protagonist's voice and discourse of authority do not rob the Gascon characters of their fleeting yet manifest narrator status. They remain the ones apparently in charge when the matter becomes controversial and subversive. The erasure of the extradiegetic narrator is, for Alain Rabatel, nothing more than a mere narrative strategy, and therefore, an enunciative forgery:

> En d'autres termes, l'absence du narrateur, en tant qu'il interviendrait directement par ses commentaires, ou par l'intermédiaire de ses porte-parole, si elle a une réalité structurale, n'en est pas moins un simulacre énonciatif. Le narrateur, en tant que figure d'auteur, est toujours là, y compris lorsqu'il fait parler ses personnages en s'effaçant. (Rabatel 2008:376)

This enunciative illusion allows for a re-assessment of the polyphonic value of the *Voyage*. This section of the *Chroniques* is, undoubtedly, narratologically and structurally complex: the multiplicity of figures (narrator, characters, and character-narrators) and of voices could, in theory, highlight a heightened independence of the *Voyage*'s characters from its main narrator and, most importantly, denote the equality of these voices. These characters', and especially character-narrators', voices would then come to challenge that of the main narrator. In that sense, the *Voyage* would actually be polyphonic in a Bakhtinian sense. Bateman, in her article 'Irrepressible Malebuche', asks '[c]an the *Roman de la Rose* be considered polyphonic in the sense that the ideological perspective of the author does not dominate the narrative?' (2011:20). This question is also worth asking of the *Voyage*.

The authoritative voice of Froissart-protagonist, 'directing' that of the Gascon character-narrators, has been unveiled above; it is the first obstacle to the true polyphonic status of the *Voyage*. For characters (and their voices) to be effectively independent, Alain Rabatel notes that no character voice should be dominant and no character should assume the incarnation of the author-figure (2008:375). The prominence of Froissart-protagonist, as likely incarnation of the author-figure, thus limits other characters' independence. Besides, there is no such thing as a multiplicity of 'styles' in the *Voyage*: the character's idiolects are Froissart-narrator-protagonist's. Despite the apparent autonomy of the metadiegetic narrative voices – Espan's intentional silences, the squires' subversive tales, the Bascot's life-story of profit – which appear to distance Froissart-narrator's voice from their discourses, the *mise en scène* of Froissart-protagonist obfuscates the polyphonic quality of the passage by establishing a hierarchy/power-relationships of characters' voices and by failing to completely eradicate a main authorial voice (Froissart-protagonist being its incarnation within the diegesis). Polyphony, in the sense of equality of voices, proves to be illusory and indeed serves Froissart-author's enunciative forgery.

There is one final relationship to consider: that between Froissart-protagonist(-narrator-author) and the Bascot de Mauléon. It may well be the most accomplished narrative illusion; one in which polyphony appears the strongest but is, in fact, possibly the weakest in that it paradoxically reflects Froissart's authorial voice more than others. Textual hints seem to indicate that Froissart-protagonist enjoys the same kind of control he did with the other Gascon narrators: within a dialogical speech context, Froissart-protagonist is represented as the voice of authority:

> Lors me dist l'escuier :
> "Je croy bien que vous avez toutes ces choses, et comment le roy d'Angleterre passa et vint devant Chartres, et comment la paix fu faicte des deux roys.
> — C'est verité, respondi je, je l'ay toute, et les traittiez comment ilz furent faiz."
> (LG III & IV:199–200)

This exchange asserts Froissart-protagonist's as the 'master', the *beaux maistres*, of his chronicle. The promise of keeping the Bascot's words in *memoire perpetuele* reinforces authority (LG III & IV:220). If the Bascot wants to enjoy posterity, he needs Froissart's authority. That said, other clues in the text point to the Bascot's autonomy as character, narrator, and voice. As intradiegetic and, most importantly, homodiegetic narrator (i.e. by recounting his life, the Bascot is logically a first-hand witness of most of the events he describes), the Bascot appears authentic and trustworthy. He acknowledges that many more adventures have occurred in his life, some of which he shall not and could not divulge, thus highighting his potential control (LG III & IV:213).

Froissart, both as narrator and as protagonist, appears, on first meeting him, to stand in awe of the Bascot. He is struck by the degree of reverence with which this mere Gascon squire is treated at the inn of the Moon (LG III & IV:197). The discrepancy between what Froissart(-author-narrator-protagonist) assumes this character to be *par semblant* and what he witnesses in Béarn may be what prompts him to enquire further and to devote a large part of his *Voyage* to him. It would also explain why the first contact between the two men is not straightforward. While the narrator tells us simply that '[j]e me mis en sa compaignie' (LG III & IV:113) when he first met Espan du Lion, he needs the intervention of Garcie-Arnaut to be introduced to the Bascot (LG III & IV:197) but also to get him to talk about his personal life: 'son cousin le mist en voie de parler et à recorder de sa vie et des armes où en son temps il avoit esté, tant de pertes comme de proufis, et trop bien lui en souvenoit' (LG III & IV:198). Of all the Gascon character-narrators the Bascot appears to be the one who seems the least easy to manipulate and, therefore, the one most likely to be expressing an independent perspective.

This apparent independent perspective is amplified by the play on narrative frequency. Most of the events disclosed in the Bascot's tale – apart from his incognito tale (see above

Chapter 3-II.3) and another anecdote – have already been told, heterodiegetically, by Froissart-narrator in Book I – the Meaux episode, the battles of Cocherel and Auray, or the Spanish campaign (most of these analysed in Chapter 2 of this thesis). This time round, they are told by a homodiegetic secondary Gascon narrator, the Bascot. If indeed Froissart-author ultimately disagreed with the Bascot's perspective (profit) on the companies, why would he have included his account in the main narrative? Let us remember that Froissart-protagonist promises the Bascot that he will chronicle and write everything he has seen or heard 'qui appartiengne à ce que je en face memoire en la noble et haulte histoire' (LG III & IV:220) – i.e. whatever is worthy of chronicling. Even if this comment is to comfort the Bascot that his words will be kept in *memoire perpetuele*, Froissart-author must have deemed them worthy of being recorded since they found a place in his *Chroniques*. On the other hand, one wonders whether Froissart-author's neutral intentions imply he will report even the perspectives of which he does not approve. Let us not be fooled, Froissart-author makes a conscious choice about who/what should appear in his narrative and about who should be allowed to tell their tale and be given a voice. For example, Garcie-Arnaut is not given that kind of opportunity after the Bascot ends his tale:

> A ces motz prinst la parole le Bourc de Campane, qui s'appelloit Ernauton, et commença à parler et eust volentiers, à ce que je me peuz appercevoir, recordé la vie et l'affaire de lui et du Bourc Anglois, son frere, et comment ilz s'estoient porté en armes en Auvergne et ailleurs, mais il n'eust pas le loisir de faire son compte, car la gaite du chastel sonna pour assembler toutes gens d'aval la ville à Ortais, qui estoient tenuz d'aler au soupper du conte de Fois. (LG III & IV:220)

Froissart stayed a total of approximately twelve weeks at Orthez. The alert reader of the *Chroniques* would have noticed that Froissart-narrator is not shy of perseverence when he wants to learn a specific tale; for a reason unknown, Froissart-narrator seems uninterested in Garcie-Arnaut's life-story and will not satisfy the latter's eagerness to impart it. The bell is what, in the account, prevents Garcie-Arnaut from telling his tale, though this might be another deliberate narrative construct (Zink 1998:77). Despite the appearance of 'succession de récits amenés et enchaînés par les hasards du quotidien, transcrits tels que Froissart les a

recueillis, dans leur verve spontanée' (Zink 1998:68), Froissart-author does not leave his narrative to chance and, while Froissart-narrator does not usually analyse political or social situations using *I*-narration, his opinion is indirectly expressed via diegetic characters (and at times narrators). As Alberto Varvaro notes, 'Froissart préfère éviter l'énonciation directe de tout type de jugement ; il ne peut alors que déléguer cette fonction à l'un de ses personnages, qui le formulera au discours direct comme étant sien' (2006c:124).[277] This conception of direct discourse is what makes the Bascot's apparent independent perspective somewhat forged because it is precisely Froissart-author's method of analysing a political/social situation – in this case, the vicissitudes of a *routier*'s life. What emerges behind the Bascot's words is another sample of the *Chroniques*' complex ideology.[278] The *Voyage* is polyphonic in that Froissart-narrator seemingly hides behind his Gascon character-narrators; this polyphony is, however, illusory in it serves an overarching authorial ideological perspective (Ainsworth 1990b:150–151; Bateman 2011:20). What Finn E. Sinclair has noted for Froissart's *dits* thus coincides with the *Voyage*: 'Froissart plays with the layering and overlapping of textual voices, with memory and with time, all of which are important in the construction of the text as an artefact and memorial that nonetheless carries the mark of the authorial 'voice' (in all its multiple guises)' (2011:142). In other words, the narrator's voice may be ostensibly hidden, but still tangible.[279] The narrative choice to which Fiona McIntosh is referring below seems to be unnecessary in Froissart's case:

[277] VARVARO (2006a); see also VARVARO (2011) p. 94. Varvaro further notes that this is a 'fonction essentielle du discours direct comme siège de l'élaboration du jugement historique, bien plus que comme expression de la pensée de celui auquel la pensée est attribuée' VARVARO (2006c) p. 124. This trait is already noticeable in Book I and noted in the previous chapter (e.g. direct discourse used by the Captal during the battle of Cocherel or by Chandos during the Spanish campaign).

[278] As far as the *routiers*/Gascons are concerned, this complex ideology is already discernible in Book I although through a very different stylistic and methodological approach (see Chapter 2-III).

[279] Direct discourse may be deceiving in that regard but 'dès qu'il y a dialogue entre personnage, discours rapportés, il existe toujours une hiérarchie entre locuteur citant et locuteur cité, au profit du premier' RABATEL (2008) p. 376.

> Nos auteurs seraient-ils en face d'un choix ? Faut-il rapporter les paroles des personnages quitte à mettre en danger l'autorité du narrateur, ou faut-il narrativiser ces explications, quitte à éliminer tout le système de délégation d'autorité, pourtant essentiel pour rapporter des faits surprenants et conserver une certaine charge morale au discours ? (McIntosh 2002:233)

The *Voyage*'s narrative strategy and enunciative forgery enable delegation while never completely losing track of its primary narrator's authority.[280]

b. Froissart's Je(u): Autobiographic and Metaleptic Shifts

The enunciative forgery and apparent lack of narrative control is not just achieved through a multiplicity of voices but also through a multi-layered first-person voice. Scholars have reflected on the multiple roles assumed by the *je* in medieval chronicles: author, narrator, narrative coordinator, witness, or protagonist (Marchello-Nizia 1986; Given-Wilson 2004; Guenée 2005; Marnette 2006; Brown-Grant 2011). Peter Ainsworth speaks of a 'veritable *mise en scène du je*' (1990b:143–144) in the *Chroniques*. A double perspective/authority of Froissart's textual persona, noted by Zrinka Stahuljak and Kevin Brownlee, is enabled by the dissociation of *je*-author and *je*-protagonist (Brownlee 2000; Stahuljak 2001). Each role assumed by Froissart's *je* operates within each diegetic level observed by Alberto Varvaro: the *je*-witness/protagonist works within the diegetic level 'du personnage qui a vécu les événements'; the *je*-narrator within the diegetic level 'de l'historiographe qui les enregistre par le biais de son récit'; the *je*-author within the diegetic level 'de l'écriture historiographique' (2011:42). The *Voyage*, it can be argued, is an autobiographic shift. Philippe Lejeune notes that the 'autobiographic pact' implies a correspondence between author, narrator, and protagonist's identity (1975:15).[281] For Lejeune, an autobiography is a 'récit rétrospectif en prose qu'une personne réelle fait de sa propre existence, lorsqu'elle met

[280] McIntosh adds that '[l]e dialogue est directement lié à ces questions, car l'idiolecte est souvent le signe le plus tangible de la délégation d'autorité' MCINTOSH, F. 2002. *La Vraisemblance narrative : Walter Scott, Barbey d'Aurevilly*. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne Nouvelle, p. 233; the Gascon narrators' idiolect is inexistant, which is a sign that Froissart-narrator's voice (and thus ideology) is seeping through theirs.

[281] Of course, this identity match is not strictly actual as protagonist, narrator, and (implied) author can all be a deformed representation of their extra-textual model, see LEJEUNE, P. 1975. *Le Pacte autobiographique*, Paris: Seuil.

l'accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l'histoire de sa personnalité' (1975:14). Michel Zink argues that it is precisely this 'accent on Froissart's life' that makes the *Voyage* and subsequent parts of the *Chroniques* 'move' from chronicle to memoirs.[282] Alberto Varvaro, on the other hand, sees the heightened presence of the autobiographic *je* not as a cause of this 'generic' shift but as a consequence of Froissart's quest for authenticity (Varvaro 2011:39–40). Varvaro also points out that not all episodes and events of Book IV are witnessed by the chronicler, which contradicts an absolute generic shift. That the time of the events catches up with the time of enunciation necessarily has its part to play in the shift, and the *Voyage* is in any case partly autobiographical (Ainsworth 1990b:145). Whether it is intentional or not, Froissart ultimately speaks more about himself and his method in the *Voyage*. This dissociated and (pseudo-)autobiographical *je* (De Looze 1997) is partly what allows the *Voyage*'s narrative to be metaleptic:

> L'ambiguïté du pronom *je* […] forme donc assez clairement ce qu'on peut appeler un *opérateur de métalepse*. […] On peut donc, à ce titre, tenir pour métaleptique tout énoncé sur soi, et partant du discours, et par inclusion tout récit, premier ou second, réel ou fictionnel, qui comporte ou développe un tel type d'énoncé. (Genette 2004:109–110)

It is through these *jeux d'identité*, as Genette calls them (2004:112), that the various diegetic levels and 'univers' (2004:106) become apparent in the *Voyage* and other subsequent parts of the *Chroniques*.[283] I would add that this narrative and identity *je(u)* goes deeper than diegetic levels; it invades the metadiegesis, too, as each secondary narrator (Froissart-protagonist included) assumes the role of *je*-narrator within their metadiegetic narratives. Froissart's double perspective, noted by Brownlee and Stahuljak, turns out to be more than double, yet also united (Froissart-author/narrator's; Froissart-protagonist's; Gascon secondary narrators'

[282] See ZINK (1998) pp. 17–18, 84; HARF-LANCNER (2003) pp. 148, 159–160; DE MEDEIROS, M.-T. 2005. "Temps du moi, temps du monde dans *la Chronique* de Jean le Bel." Eds. E. BAUMGARTNER and L. HARF-LANCNER. *Dire et penser le temps au Moyen Âge : frontières de l'histoire et du roman*. Paris: Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, pp. 119–135, esp. pp. 134–135.

[283] This explains why various diegetic levels are less easily discernible in Book I and II.

as Froissart's perspective 'in disguise').[284] There is an interesting parallel to draw between Froissart's multiple and metaleptic personae in the *Chroniques* and in his poems. Regarding Froissart's poetic creation, Finn E. Sinclair notes:

> The reader's appreciation of Froissart as a coherent and identifiable individual is destabilized by the way in which the author constructs and deconstructs his image as character and narrator in the flow of time and of writing. His invocation of the fleeting nature of time and the transformative qualities of memory, together with the multiple perspectives he brings to bear on his depiction of the self as lover, dreamer, narrator, and writer, produce an image that is polyvalent and metamorphic. (Sinclair 2012:438)

These conclusions regarding Froissart's poetic personae fittingly match those aforementioned on Froissart's 'chronicling identities'.[285]

2. Narrative Motivation, Diegetic Verisimilitude, and Historical Reality

> Truth was a word much used by medieval chroniclers. Jean Froissart, the most famous chronicler of the fourteenth century, declared in the prologue to his *Chroniques* that he had travelled widely in order to search out valiant knights and esquires so as to ask them about 'the truth of events' (*la verité des avenues*) and that he had interrogated numerous heralds and their marshals – 'who, upon their honour, dare not lie' – in order to learn 'the truth of the matter' (*la verité de la matère*).[286] [...] Broadly speaking, the word 'truth' when used in contexts such as these might bear one of two meanings: 'accuracy', or 'trustworthiness'. Neither was quite as simple as it might sound. (Given-Wilson 2004:1)

Froissart's truth claims, as suggested by Given-Wilson above, are reiterated in Book IV's prologue in an even stronger way, by addressing the reader directly (LG III & IV:344). Truth does not simply hold a privileged place in the *Chroniques*' prologues. As Peter Ainsworth suggests, the *Voyage* portrays Froissart-author-narrator-protagonist seeking the truth (1990c:93–94). The intention of truth is one of the 'horizons of expectations' of chronicles (Guenée 1973, 1977a, b, 1986; Given-Wilson 2004:1).[287] However, Bernard Guenée points out one potential issue regarding Froissart's status as historian:

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[284] Peter Ainsworth suggests that Froissart's multiple voices serve as 'focal point' for other voices: those of his interlocutors (and therefore, I would add, those of the Gascon narrators) and those of these interlocutors' own interlocutors; see AINSWORTH, P. (1990c) "Knife, Key, Bear and Book: Poisoned Metonymies and the Problem of *Translatio* in Froissart's Later *Chroniques*." *Medium Aevum* 59.1, 91–113, here pp. 94–95.

[285] On Froissart's poetic *je*, see also LECHAT, D. 2005. *'Dire par fiction' : métamorphoses du Je chez Guillaume de Machaut, Jean Froissart et Christine de Pizan*. Paris: Champion, esp. Chapter 3.

[286] Amiens I p. 209.

[287] On the rise of vernacular prose historiography in the thirteenth century as the 'language of truth', see SPIEGEL (1995), esp. pp. 221–222.

> Il y a donc au Moyen Âge, bien des façons d'être historien. Les 'gens de lettres' eurent certes la plume la plus séduisante. Si bien que, parlant d'historiens au Moyen Âge, c'est, par exemple, un nom comme celui de Froissart qui vient d'abord à l'esprit. Et le discours des humanistes a tellement impressionné leurs successeurs qu'ils en firent les pères de l'histoire 'moderne'. Mais si l'on considère que le propre de l'historien n'est pas le discours, mais ce lent effort ingrat et obscur qui lui permet enfin de découvrir et reconstruire le passé dans sa vérité, l'éclat des gens de lettres pâlit singulièrement. (Guenée 1991:72–73)

Froissart's historical authority is undermined by his *plume séduisante*, his 'enunciative virtuosity'.[288] If that were the case, truth-seeking would be another of Froissart's forgeries (i.e. a 'literary game', (Beer 1981:85)), more in the service of the 'fictionality of fiction' than the 'veracity of history':

> Signs pointing to the fictionality of fiction are many and well known. The list is extensive: authors' intrusions; narrators' intrusions; multiple narrators; [...]; incompatibilities between narrative voice and viewpoint and characters' voices and viewpoints; incompatibilities between viewpoint and verisimilitude, especially omniscient narrative; signs modifying the narrative's pace and altering the sequence of events (backtracking and anticipation, significant gaps, prolepsis, and analepsis); mimetic excesses, such as unlikely recordings of unimportant speech or thought (unimportant but suggestive of actual happenings, of a live presence, creating atmosphere or characterizing persons); and, finally, diegetic overkill, such as the representation of ostensibly insignificant details, the very insignificance of which is significant in a story as a feature of realism. (Riffaterre 1990:29–30)

This chapter so far has been devoted to highlighting Froissart-author-narrator's complex narrative strategy, multiplicity of voices and discourses. By laying emphasis on the *Voyage* as primarily a narrative 'telling a story' – in fact many stories – is Froissart-author depriving it of its historical value?[289] Cannot the fictional and the historical coexist? In his introduction to *The History and Narrative Reader*, Geoffrey Roberts notes, quoting Lawrence Stone, that 'historians have always told stories';[290] yet he later points out, quoting Louis Mink this time, that 'narrative is a "product of imaginative construction, which cannot defend its claim to truth by any accepted procedure of argument or authentification"'.[291] Is a narrative too fictional, too constructed, to be truthful? These considerations should, of course, be reassessed

[288] On the complex relationship between the 'embellishment of words' and 'the truths' they depict, see MORSE (1991).

[289] By extension, am I depriving it of its historical value by also focusing on narratology rather than 'purely historical' considerations? Not if one remembers the critical value of 'history telling stories' mentioned in the Introduction; see also MICKEL, E. J. (2012) "Fictional History and Historical Fiction." *Romance Philology* 66.1, 57–96, here pp. 93–94.

[290] Lawrence Stone, 'The Revival of Narrative' in ROBERTS, ed., (2001) pp. 281–298, here quoted in the edited volume's introduction, ibid., p. 2

[291] Louis O. Mink, 'Narrative Form as a Coginitive Instrument' in ibid., pp. 211–220, here quoted in the edited volume's introduction, ibid., p. 9

in a medieval context. Suzanne Fleischman, Laurence de Looze, and Emanuel Mickel have all called for a re-evaluation of the relationship between history and fiction in the Middle Ages (Fleischman 1983:299–300; De Looze 1997; Mickel 2012).[292] It is in the light of this relationship that the question of (1) the historicity of the Gascon character-narrators and (2) the use of the *merveilleux* will be addressed.

As far as the Gascon character-narrators are concerned, a distinction should be made between Espan and the Bascot (both named) on one hand and the anonymous squires on the other. That said, the question as to whether these character-narrators are grounded in historical facts or literary construct can be raised for both 'categories' (Fleischman 1983:281). Is Espan a historical character? To put it in more philological terms: does Froissart's Espan have an extra-textual referent and is he, therefore, grounded in 'reality'?[293] Many of the Froissartian critics have ventured an interpretation. While some, like George T. Diller and Michel Zink, appear ready to make the claim that Espan is indeed nothing but fictional,[294] others have been more circumspect and have noted that a historical figure named Espan du Lion is mentioned in Bearnese documents.[295] It is possible to assume that an extra-textual Espan did exist. The reality of a referent is not in the least inconsistent with the fact that Froissart's Espan may indeed be a literary construct in the sense that his representation in the *Voyage* may not *stricto sensu* correspond to that referent.[296] The same can be said of the Bascot de Mauléon's case. It is interesting to note how similar the evolution of critics' conclusions has been for these two

[292] See also MORSE (1991) pp. 5–13, 85–124; SPIEGEL (1997) pp. xi–xxii. On the relationship between history and fiction in general, see WHITE (2005), esp. p. 149.
[293] A referent in what Ruth Morse calls the 'pre-text', MORSE (1991) pp. 231–248.
[294] '[T]here is evidence to suggest that Espan de Lyon, the principal 'voice' of the *Voyage* and a recurrent hero of books 3 and 4, may be a fictional creation' DILLER (1998) p. 57. See also ZINK (1998) p. 77. Diller's evidence – that the observation was made by Peter Ainsworth – is not very strong. Indeed, Peter Ainsworth himself must have revised his opinion on Espan's historicity given that, in the *Lettres gothiques* edition of Book III, several notes point to his actual existence (n.7 p.140 and n.1 p.176 in LG III & IV; noted in LEFÈVRE, S. 2009. "Décrire, écrire, s'écrire : les langages de l'identité dans le Livre III des *Chroniques* de Froissart." Ed. V. FASSEUR. *Froissart à la cour de Béarn : l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 129–143, here p. 131).
[295] TUCOO-CHALA, P. and C. SANDOVAL 1981. *Gaston III Fébus, vicomte souverain de Béarn, et son temps : 1331-1391*. Pau: Les Archives, p. 13; quoted in LEFÈVRE (2009) p. 131; LAMAZOU-DUPLAN (2006) p. 120. See also volume 12 of SHF (n.13 p.x, quoted in LEFÈVRE (2009) p. 131).
[296] Which brings back to mind the comment regarding the autobiographical protagonist, narrator, and (implied) author as deformed representation of their extra-textual model; see *supra* n. 281.

Gascon character-narrators. Even though absence of proof is not proof of absence, Kenneth Fowler concluded that the Bascot was probably fictional, because no other documented traces of him could be found (2001:14). This view has recently been revised by Guilhem Pépin:

> Curiously enough, although it was only a supposition on Fowler's part, it seems that many medievalists have now begun to think that the Bascot probably never existed and that Froissart's interview was an elaborate forgery based on different testimonies. In fact, a clutch of reliable contemporary documents mention the Bascot de Mauléon holding a 'fortress' and acknowledging the authority of the king of England. (Pépin 2011:175)[297]

The Bascot de Mauléon's referentiality – like Espan's – does not signify that the exchanges between Froissart-protagonist and the Bascot took place 'just the way' Froissart-narrator tells them; it merely suggests that some kind of extra-textual exchange may have taken place between Froissart-chronicler and his informants (Pépin 2011:190).[298] This is supported by the characteristic of Froissart's direct discourses as represented, not reproduced, language (Cerquiglini 1981:13; Morse 1991:63–64, 110–113; Varvaro 2011:96). Words uttered in the narrative by Espan or the Bascot are not the 'transcription of a real discourse' (Varvaro 2011:96) but convey truthfulness. That aspect of direct discourse which runs through the whole of the *Chroniques* (see Chapter 2 above) leads Varvaro to conclude that the use of direct discourse should not be considered as a literary technique but rather as a way to add a literary twist to a narrative which remains historical (Varvaro 2011:91–101). While I agree that the *Voyage*'s historical narrative is indeed not merely 'turned into' a literary narrative through its direct discourses, I believe that they are literary constructs nonetheless as they create truthfulness and the 'impression' of reality.[299] In other words, Froissart-narrator 'imagines' the *Voyage*'s dialogues between Froissart-protagonist and Espan or the Bascot (which is not to say that extra-textual dialogues between Froissart-chronicler and these

[297] I would like to thank Dr Pépin for letting me read an early draft of that article.
[298] For Michel Zink, it is the *mise en scène* of Froissart's own protagonist and the *mise en scène* of the meetings between Froissart-protagonist and informants which is invented; see ZINK (1998) p. 77.
[299] While direct discourse can have the effect of dramatizing the narrative and make it more 'lively' (and thus fictional/romanesque?), it also serves to make it more 'believable' (and thus authentic even if 'invented'?); see VARVARO (2011) p. 97. On Froissart, direct discourse, and its various functions see NICHOLS (1964); AINSWORTH (1972); VARVARO (2011) p. 92.

Gascon men did not exist).[300] Espan du Lion's *paroles* (LG III & IV:162) which are diligently recorded by Froissart-protagonist[301] – or so we are told by Froissart-narrator – should not be taken literally and I am not sure Froissart-narrator-author intends to be understood literally here.

The case of the squires is slightly different in that they are anonymous (Ainsworth 1990b:158). As such, there will never be any way to 'confirm' the presence or absence of their extra-textual referents.[302] Véronique Lamazou-Duplan notes of the first squire that '[s]on anonymat, étonnant chez Froissart, s'explique par la gravité du secret qu'il révèle. [...] On peut donc émettre deux hypothèses: ou Froissart protège son informateur, ou l'écuyer est un personnage créé pour introduire le merveilleux ou raconter l'inavouable, l'indicible' (2006:121). The use of anonymity is hardly surprising in Froissart's works. The presence of an anonymous squire is already noted by F.S. Shears when Froissart was enquiring, in Book I, about Edward II's deposition and death (Shears 1972:25; Zink 1995:93). In this instance, Froissart is again found in the position of enquirer; the old squire – like his Bearnese counterparts – is revealing potentially controversial matters. A pattern of 'old anonymous squires' is discernible in the *Chroniques*; if that is indeed the case, these squires may well be mere fictional devices[303] that may be used to tell truthful yet controversial stories.[304] Even the *merveilleux* stories of Béarn of which the squires mostly take charge come across as reliable –

[300] 'Il "imagine" – au sens où lui-même emploie ce mot […] – c'est-à-dire qu'il reconstitue la réalité dans sa pensée selon un calcul vraisemblable' ZINK (1998) p. 77.
[301] See AINSWORTH (1990b) p. 149 on Froissart's note-taking method.
[302] Kevin Brownlee notes about the first squire that he is later 'identified as Ernauton du Pin'; see BROWNLEE (2000) p. 67. I must confess I find this comment rather puzzling as I have found no textual correlation between the squire and Ernauton du Pin (who is presented as the innkeeper of the Moon Inn) in the *Voyage*; he is also the only critic I have come across who makes such a claim.
[303] The fictionality of the *Chroniques*' squires would also be supported by the fact that squires – not all of them named – have an important part to play in Froissart's *Meliador*; see DELOGU, D. (2001) "Armes, amours, écriture. Figure de l'écrivain dans le Méliador de Jean Froissart." *Médiévales*, 133–148, esp. pp.134–139.
[304] While there is no doubt that the murder of the Young Gasont did indeed take place, its 'mirror' story, the murder of Pierre-Arnaud de Béarn by Fébus, is fictional and is, in fact, not told by one of the squires but by Espan du Lion; see STAHULJAK (2006) pp. 140–143.

if difficult to believe[305] – and *naturelles* in the *Voyage*'s narrative (Zink 1998:77; Varvaro 2011:100). Facts and information, whether they are true or false, are presented as truthful in the *Voyage* (Varvaro 2011:91).[306] Genette notes that metaleptic narratives are a guarantee of the narrative's truthfulness or, at least, of the reader's presumption of truthfulness even if the diegetic recipient of the metadiegetic story can doubt its authenticity (Genette 2004:122 n. 1). Orality as a marker of authenticity blurs the lines of demarcation between reality and fiction:

> [L]'univers évoqué par un récit, si proche soit-il dans le temps et/ou dans l'espace, n'a, pour ses auditeurs ou lecteurs, d'autre existence que celle, toute langagière, d'un objet de récit, dont le statut même, réalité ou fiction, dépend entièrement du degré de véracité accordé à ce récit : si Ulysse dit vrai, son récit est factuel, s'il fabule, son récit est fictionnel, mais les Phéaciens qui l'écoutent, courtoisie mise à part, n'ont guère le moyen de trancher entre ces deux hypothèses. Il va de soi que, dans la seconde, la diégèse fictionnelle représentée dans (par) ce récit – celle des voyages imaginaires d'un Ulysse fabulateur – est ontologiquement hétérogène à celle où se situe l'acte de narration : la cour 'réelle' d'Alkinoos. Dans la première, cette distinction radicale entre réalité et fiction s'efface évidemment, mais non pas le caractère tout aussi radicalement langagier de cette diégèse, à laquelle les auditeurs phéaciens n'ont d'autre accès que leurs oreilles, et leur confiance plus ou moins justifiée en la véracité de leur hôte. (Genette 2004:106–107)

The case of the Gascon intradiegetic narrators and Froissart-protagonist at the court of Béarn corresponds to the first situation mentioned above by Gérard Genette; a situation in which reality and fiction are less distinct: the Gascon narrators *disent vrai* and it makes their tales – including the *merveilleux* ones[307] – diegetically truthful even though there is no possibility of verifying their 'extra-textual' truth. In the diegesis (and metadiegesis), factual fiction and factual reality are both credible (Morse 1991:238; Kelly 2009:150–151). It is this credibility or rather, this shared *semblance* of credibility, that enables Froissart-narrator (with the help of the secondary Gascon narrators) to connect historical and fictional tales.[308] I am therefore

[305] Froissart goes to great lengths to assure that even though the tale of Horton may be the whimsical beliefs of some 'Gascon men', it is a truthful tale.

[306] Even when the information is given to entertain, *pour passer la nuit*, these pieces of information are, in the words of the Bascot de Mauléon, *toutefois vraies*; see LG III & IV p. 220.

[307] On the fusion of *'mencion* historique' and '*mensonge* romanesque', historiography and romance, realism and merveilleux see FERLAMPIN-ACHER, C. 2005. "*Perceforest* et le temps de l'(h)istoire." Eds. E. BAUMGARTNER and L. HARF-LANCNER. *Dire et penser le temps au Moyen Âge : frontières de l'histoire et du roman*. Paris: Presses Sorbonne nouvelle, pp. 193–216, esp. pp. 214–215; VARVARO (2006c) p. 152.

[308] For instance, the Lord of Coarraze and Horton (fictional) and the fact that Fébus learns almost instantly of news he should not know about (historical); the murder of Pierre-Arnaut (fictional) and that of the Young Gaston (historical): Peter Ainsworth has also noted, regarding the two murder stories, how they could also be brought together through metonymies and specific imagery, see AINSWORTH (1990c); KELLY, D. 2009. "La Mort et

unconvinced when critics note that these fabulous stories contradict historical truth (Bossy 2002:32; Bouchet 2009:181) when, I believe, they should be envisaged in parallel.[309] The complexity and depth of the *Voyage* regarding truth does not come, in my opinion, from the dichotomous relationship of history and fiction, truth and fables, but from the fact that, while all stories, fictional or historical, are presented as truthful, truth is 'hidden' in the *Voyage* and still difficult to unearth (Kelly 2009:157). The Gascon narrators seem to highlight how truth should not necessarily be revealed: Espan expresses it through his silence, his refusal to divulge the despicable yet truthful story of the Young Gaston's murder; the Bascot clearly states that he is not willing to tell and cannot tell Froissart-protagonist about all his adventures; the first squire insists that what he is telling Froissart-protagonist should remain *celé*. I wonder, therefore, whether the veiled shiftiness/silences of the intradiegetic narrators is related to the fact that they are Gascon. This assumption may simply be an overemphasis on my part on the role of the Gascons in the narrative – these characters may be Gascon simply because Froissart-protagonist is in Béarn and needs to meet 'local' informants (while Froissart-narrator needs intradiegetic narrators) privy to 'local' stories. At the same time, the three Gascon narrators are also paradoxically voices of authority: Espan is one of Fébus' esteemed knights; the anonymous squire is old and also of an esteemed position (Zink 1995:93); the Bascot is treated with extreme reverence at the inn of the Moon. That said, Froissart-narrator's account of what he has learnt during his journey in Béarn ends with a comment from Froissart-narrator – already noted in the course of this analysis – that the Gascons are capricious and fickle: '[t]ele est la nature des Gascoings : ilz ne sont point estable' (LG III & IV:312). The remark serves, in the passage, to highlight how often the Gascons shift between French and English allegiances, but there is no reason to believe that it

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l'imagination en Béarn: un exemple original du style poétique chez Froissart." Ed. V. FASSEUR. *Froissart à la cour de Béarn : l'écrivain, les arts et le pouvoir*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 145–157, here pp. 154–155.

[309] This observation is supported by Fleischman's and De Looze's comments that the medieval relationship of history and fiction is to be understood in different terms than its modern counterpart, see *supra*.

could not also apply to these three Gascon figures shifting from character to narrator, from authenticity/truthfulness to refusal/unwillingness to convey the truth.[310] In fact, the use of the phrase *point/peu estable* is far from original. It can also be found in Froissart's *dits*, as early as the *Paradis d'amour* (1361–1362) and, more interestingly, in *Le Joli buisson de jonece* (1372–1373). In the latter, the phrase 'peu estable' (*Anthology*:320 v. 1417) is attributed to the *buisson*. Finn E. Sinclair has noted how the shifting and elusive nature of the bush reflects the unreliability of events and their recording (2012:431). In that sense, the *point estable* Gascons may well be like the merry yet shifting and transmuting bush. The unreliability of the events being told in the *Voyage* may be read *entre les lignes* despite the narrative voices' insistence on authority and truth. What may be again at play here is the co-existence of seemingly contradictory concepts: unreliability, doubt, authority, authenticity, and truthfulness. In any case, there clearly is a tantalizingly resonant coincidence between Froissart's chronicles and poetry through the use of the word *estable*. Sarah Kay has noted that the reality of the *buisson* is 'constantly shifting according to the subjective position of the one who thinks, and the language he or she uses to think with'.[311] To some extent, the reader also faces the subjectivity of reality in the *Voyage*.

To conclude, the 'accuracy' of the diegesis to its extra-textual referent is not as important as it might first seem.[312] That is not to say that the question of referentiality should be entirely overlooked. There is no reason to believe that the Gascon character-narrators and their tales have no extra-textual referents. What is essential for understanding the *Voyage*'s narrative is that, no matter these referents' actual referential truth/reality, their diegetic

[310] In this sense, it would be an extra way for Froissart-narrator to avoid responsibility for the tales told by the Gascon narrators while cleverly managing to keep the truthfulness of the tales themselves unchallenged.

[311] *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007, p. 126, quoted in SINCLAIR, F. E. (2012) "Poetic Creation in Jean Froissart's *L'Espinette amoureuse* and *Le Joli buisson de jonece*." *Modern Philology* 109.4, 425–439, here p. 431, n. 19.

[312] Oswald Ducrot points out 'si pour écrire il faut être, ce n'est pas nécessaire pour raconter', DUCROT, O. 1984. *Le Dire et le Dit*. Paris: Minuit, p. 208. Or, maybe, the word 'accuracy' is simply infelicitous for a medieval context, as Ruth Morse suggests; MORSE (1991) p. 238.

counterparts are represented as truthful and authentic; at the same time, the primary narrator is setting many 'narrative precautions' (the multiplicity of voices, of diegetic levels; the 'Gasconness' of the intradiegetic narrators?) to avoid objectively assuming responsibility for these truthful stories. In the end, Froissart-narrator presents a truthful narrative full of narrative loopholes enabling Froissart-author to say, if necessary and bluntly put, *ce n'est pas moi qui l'ai dit, ce sont les Gascons*! Truthfulness is at the heart of Froissart's narrative strategy and motivation: the narrative is manipulated and constructed to make it believable and authentic but also to shield its very creator/teller. The greatest trick of all is to create a relationship of authority between Froissart-narrator-protagonist and the Gascon intradiegetic narrators while apparently absolving Froissart-author-narrator of his authorial responsibility. True, this enunciative forgery, as well as the presumption of authenticity, can *fictionalise* the historical narrative.[313] Some critics, potentially too focused on the fictionality, historical/factual incoherence, and literary construct of the *Voyage*, have argued that it – as well as the *Chroniques* as a whole – was more literature than history.[314] I would be more inclined to agree with Peter Ainsworth's opinion on the matter, which is that the *Voyage*'s literariness can be indeed read historically:[315]

> [T]he *Voyage* may justifiably be read in poetic mode as a questing, mythopoeic narrative – which does not mean that it cannot (must not) also be read by historians within a different and radically critical perspective. The *Chroniques* sit provocatively and most appealingly betwixt the Muse of history and her poetic sisters, and who is to say that they should not? (Ainsworth 1990c:105)[316]

[313] This is what Gérard Genette notes regarding non-fictional narratives: '[j]'ignore encore quelle est, dans tous ces détails narratifs ou descriptifs, la part de l'imagination, dont Michelet ne manquait certes pas, et celle de l'information puisée aux sources, mais l'effet produit par leur présence est évident : Barthes n'avait certes pas tort de la qualifier d'*effet de réel*, puisqu'il s'agit toujours d'un détail 'qui ne s'invente pas' et qui donc 'fait vrai', mais, paradoxalement, l'effet de cet effet est une *fictionalisation* du récit historique, qui s'y anime jusqu'à rejoindre le régime fictionnel du pur roman' GENETTE (2004) pp. 92–93.

[314] Even George T. Diller, usually qualified in his interpretations, concludes that 'the dissonant elements that compose the *Meliador* episode suggest that Froissart may have largely fabricated the passages in which he describes reading his romance before Gaston and his court. […] Such a deep fictional construct would attest again to the *Chroniques* as history subordinated to œuvre' DILLER (1998) p. 57. Paradoxically, Diller has also noted elsewhere that the reader 'a affaire à un texte qui se situe au carrefour de l'histoire et de la littérature' DILLER (1984) p. 6.

[315] And also that Froissart's 'historicity' can be read literarily. Co-existence is again at the heart of the *Chroniques*.

[316] See also ZINK (1998) pp. 59–61.

Geoffrey Roberts point out that '[t]he postmodernists urge that the truth of historical narratives is not a matter of fact but of values'; if we indeed approach the *Voyage* with this perspective in mind, the *Voyage*'s and the *Chroniques*' historical narrative is 'true' in that it reflects the *Chroniques*' and its author's complex values.

3. Conclusion – *Une Voix Pour Toutes; Toutes Pour une Voix*

The main question I have tried to answer in this section is the following: who, in the *Voyage*, has authority (authority to narrate; authority to tell the truth; authority to take responsibility; authority to express their opinion)? The answer is not always straightforward: despite the delegation of narrative (and ideological) authority, Froissart(-author-narrator)'s presence is still strongly felt and reflected in Froissart-protagonist's; despite the multiplicity of voices and potential for polyphony, it is, in the end, Froissart's authorial voice which may be the most strongly felt, even if Froissart's *je* and perspective are fragmented. In other words, Froissart and all his personae need the Gascon characters: Froissart-protagonist could not obtain the information he needs without them; Froissart-narrator would not be able to allegedly delegate his authority and yet let his voice be heard through them.[317] The Gascon intradiegetic narrators appear, therefore, as 'brilliant devices' to convey the authorial and narrative complexity of the *Voyage* (Bouchet 2009:180). As such, they seem to draw the narrative away from history and push it towards fiction. Laying too much emphasis on the potential fictionality of the Gascon character-narrators and their tales is perhaps missing the point – I am not convinced that this question mattered as much (or at least not in the same way) for Froissart and his contemporary audience:

> Meaning here is essentially intra-textual: the reader knows there is an extra-textual referent at the source of the tale (and indeed potentially throughout its duration, should he wish to make the leap into framing, historical reality), but finds pleasure in the relations obtaining between protagonists and situations within the emergent structure of the text itself. (Ainsworth 1990b:112–113)

[317] '[E]n faisant s'exprimer l'autre, on s'exprime soi-même' as Oswald Ducrot points out, DUCROT, O. and D. BOURCIER 1980. *Les Mots du discours*. Paris: Minuit, p. 47. For a discussion of the interdependance between narrator and characters, see RABATEL (2008) p. 494.

Maybe it is in this overall lack of interest in its extra-textual referentiality that the *Voyage*'s narrative (and to a larger extent that of the *Chroniques*) falls short of history. It is, however, undeniable that one of Froissart's aims is truthfulness and authenticity which is achieved through these 'literary constructs', the 'fictionalities of fiction' to which Michael Riffaterre was referring: direct discourse, anecdotes, authorial and narratorial involvement, etc. It is also undeniable that the complex narrative frame and narrative strategy of the *Voyage* has an ideological function.[318] Ideology and values are as much part of historical narratives as truth and literary constructs.

IV. Voices, Ideology, and Narrative Strategy

It is not my intention to overlook the historical and ideological implications of the *Voyage*, and of the *Chroniques* as a whole. Ultimately the multiplicity of voices, questions of narrative and historical authority, and perspectives, serve to draw a specific – ostensibly contradictory – portrayal of Gaston Fébus and his court. Such a portrayal comes to reflect Froissart-(implied)-author's ideology (Harf-Lancner 1990:56–57).[319] In that sense, it can be argued that there are two interlaced dimensions in the *Chroniques*, narrative and ideological:

> [L]e premier, superficiel, est constitué par le récit, naturellement explicite;[320] l'autre plus profond et implicite, concerne le système complexe de valeurs parfois contradictoires qui est à la base du comportement des personnages historiques et de l'évaluation qu'en fait chaque fois le chroniqueur. On a trop longtemps admis que ce plan manquerait chez Froissart, qu'il serait par excellence le chroniqueur non-problématisant, sans profondeur, un conteur fascinant mais superficiel. Notre épisode dément un jugement par trop limité. Je n'entends pas soutenir que Froissart serait un philosophe de l'histoire: il nous suffit de nier sa superficialité et d'exiger une analyse plus sophistiquée. [...] Le chroniqueur à la parole fluide réserve les choses les plus importantes à la silencieuse intelligence de ses lecteurs. (Varvaro 2006b:286–287)

[318] Alberto Varvaro notes with regard to Froissart's *non-dits*: '[i]l ne serait pas difficile de présenter d'autres exemples de ce qui apparaît tout à la fois comme une technique narrative et une modalité de pensée. Le non-dit, ou – si l'on préfère – le sous-entendu, l'implicite, possède sans aucun doute une signification sur le plan historiographique, car il laisse apparemment ouverts les problèmes idéologiques majeurs de cette époque' VARVARO (2006a) p. 176.

[319] See also BROWNLEE (2000); STAHULJAK (2006).

[320] If by 'explicit' and 'superficial' Varvaro implies that this framework is easy and obvious, I do not agree. I believe that the above section has shown that Froissart's narrative strategy and multi-layering of voices and the apparent fluidity of his words make his narrative anything but straightforward even though it (and its main narrative voice) appears unambiguous at first sight; see also AINSWORTH (1990c) p. 91. This tension between

I concur with Varvaro's analysis of the *Chroniques*' superficiality 'on the surface' only. It is time to turn our attention to one specific Gascon character, one *personnage historique* whose *évaluation* is at the heart of the *Voyage*, seen through the prism of Froissart-narrator-protagonist's and the Gascon intradiegetic narrators' multiple perspectives. That character is Fébus.

1. The *Voyage*'s Multiple Journeys

A close reading of the *Voyage* reveals the central place held by Fébus in the narrative; a focus originally ignored in Froissart-narrator's stated prologue plan. Before focusing on this portrayal, let us first consider how Froissart-author-narrator introduces the intentions behind his textual and actual *Voyage* (Ainsworth 1990b:140–161).

a. Setting off on a Journey: The Prologue, the Meta-Journey, and the Metanarrative

Christiane Marchello-Nizia rightly deems the medieval historian's prologue an 'espèce de seuil, […] espace intermédiaire, […] zone de franchissement vers la temporalité narrative, […] lieu privilégié où un locuteur s'instaure en auteur' (1986:13). This is especially applicable to Book III's prologue as it is not only a figurative and narrative *zone de franchissement* but indeed a literal one from the *prochaines marches* to the *longtainnes*. This physical/geographical *zone de franchissement* is Béarn. At the outset, this prologue appears typical of the historiographic genre/chronicles of the time: authorial intentions are made apparent (Guenée 1986:3) – namely, to hear and report 'la greigneur partie des besoignes qui estoient avenues ou royaume de Castille, ou royaume de Portingal, ou royaume de Navarre, ou royaume d'Arragon et ou royaume d'Engleterre, ou pays de Bourdelois et en toute la Gascoingne' (LG III & IV:91). The authorial role is expressed through the first-person voice and phrase 'je + name' (*Je, sires Jehans Froissars*), thus emphasizing his

apparent narrative simplicity and depth could be explained by a potential conflict between narrative voice (seemingly simple) and implied author's intentions (complex). I shall return to this possible polarity in the conclusion to this chapter.

'authorial/witnessing role in this first person voice so as to signal his responsibility' (Brown-Grant 2011:29).[321] Despite Froissart-author's assertion of responsibility, the narrative that follows (i.e. the *Voyage*) disrupts this claim by not focusing on the aforementioned *besoignes*.[322] The hint of a more complex authorial presence and Froissart's multiple identities may already be found in the Prologue: its authorial voice and *je* 'defines itself in three different but interrelated ways' (Brownlee 2000:67–68). It presents 'the relation between this authorial *je* and his *œuvre*', that between 'the professional writer and his primary patron', and, finally, shows 'the process by means of which Froissart-character will gather and refine his "raw" historical material, and then revise it in terms of the imperatives of an "art language" in order to transform it into the language of Froissart-author' (ibid.). Regardless, Froissart-author-narrator remains silent about the forthcoming focus on Fébus and his history/stories, the good and the bad alike; in that sense, this prologue is essential in establishing a significant aspect of Froissart-author's narrative and ideological strategy, the *non-dit* (Varvaro 2006a, 2011).[323]

The Prologue is a narrative 'intermediary place' and so is the *Voyage* itself: literal, metaphoric, and diegetic *lieu d'échanges* between knights of various regions and the chronicler, between Froissart-chronicler and Fébus, between Froissart-author/-narrator/-

[321] See also MARCHELLO-NIZIA, C. 1986. "L'Historien et son prologue : formes littéraires et stratégies discursives." Ed. D. POIRION. *La Chronique et l'histoire au Moyen Âge. Colloque des 24 et 25 mai 1982*. Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, pp. 13–25, here p. 16; HARF-LANCNER (2003); GUENEE, B. (2005) "Ego, je. L'affirmation de soi par les historiens français (XIVe-XVe s.)." *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* pp. 597–611; MORTELMANS, J. 2006. "'Escrire et mettre par mémoire.' La Fausse objectivité dans les chroniques en moyen français." Eds. C. VAN HOOREBEECK, et al. *L'Écrit et le manuscrit à la fin du Moyen Âge*. Turnhout: Brepols, pp. 239–250.

[322] What Marie-Thérèse de Medeiros calls, concerning le Bel's *Chronique*'s chronology and aims, a 'dérapage de la "matière"' DE MEDEIROS (2005) p. 123, 'hors sujet' ibid., p. 124, and 'vagabondage narratif' ibid., p. 128; see also AINSWORTH (1990c) p. 93. It is interesting to note the increasing presence of the *je*-author-narrator in the prologues of the *Chroniques*' various Books (and versions), aptly observed by Laurence Harf-Lancner. She carries on by saying that Book III's prologue, a focus on the *je*-author-narrator, becomes a justification of the chronicler's choice of turning his attention to Spanish matters (HARF-LANCNER (2003) p. 154) which makes, in my opinion, the intentional dissonance between Book III's prologue and the *Voyage* even more striking.

[323] I do not agree with Michel Zink's analysis that the 'real' prologue of the *Voyage* and, to a larger extent, of Book III is that of Book IV – i.e. the one in which 'il a pris conscience qu'il fait autre chose qu'au début' ZINK (1998) p. 78. What Michel Zink takes, in Book III's prologue, for a lack of consciousness and, therefore, an unconscious *oubli*, may well be a deliberate strategy on the chronicler's part. Alberto Varvaro does not concur with Michel Zink as he considers that Book IV does not even have a prologue but a mere homage to Froissart's patrons; see ibid., pp. 64–65; HARF-LANCNER (2003) pp. 149, 160; VARVARO (2006a) p. 174.

protagonist, and finally between Froissart's personae and the Gascon character-narrators. The travelling account is also a figurative journey, a *mise en abyme*, illustrating how the narrative arose. The *Voyage* is both a meta-journey and a metanarrative; it is also a textual hybrid, historical by nature, and yet at the crossroads of autobiography, travelogue, *dit*, and romance (Diller 1998:51, 57).

b. Intertextuality and Textual Hybridity

Critics have noted that the dangers Froissart-protagonist faces whilst travelling to Bearnese and Gascon lands with Espan du Lion (LG III & IV:128) are reminiscent of the dangers faced in the *Lancelot en prose* (Diller 1998:53; Bouchet 2009:182). The difference is that Froissart 'ne quête pas le Graal, mais des informations pour ses chroniques' (Bouchet 2009:182). The concept of permeability of genres is essential for a medieval context.[324] There is much interaction between Froissart's works and that of his contemporaries, which provides an intertextual richness worth discussing – albeit briefly – to understand both authorial intentions and Fébus's complex portrayal in the *Chroniques*.[325] Froissart's incognito stories can be compared (with caution) to those found in romance and epic (Crane 1997; Suard 2006).[326] Furthermore, the metanarrative is reinforced by an intertextual *mise en abyme*: the reading of *Meliador* in front of Fébus and his court (LG III & IV:173–174; Bouchet 2009:182–187):

> For a short moment in the composition of his *Chroniques*, during these late winter night readings of his romance, Froissart portrays himself as hero of his own work, who by his words commands the silence and complete attention of Gaston Fébus and his court, thus successfully bridging the time between prose of his *Chroniques* and the ideal, verse universe of his *Meliador*. (Diller 1998:52)

[324] ZUMTHOR, P. 1972. *Essai de poétique mediévale*. Paris: Seuil; JACKSON, W. T. H., et al. 1985. *The Challenge of the Medieval Text: Studies in Genre and Interpretation*. New York: Columbia University Press; DUFF, D. 2000. *Modern Genre Theory*. Harlow: Longman; LEHTONEN, T. M. S. and P. MEHTONEN 2000. *Historia : The Concept and Genres in the Middle Ages*. Helsinki: Societas Scientiarum Fennica; WHETTER, K. S. 2008. *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance*. Aldershot: Ashgate; on Froissart and genres, see MADDOX, et al. (1998).

[325] On intertextuality, see Genette's seminal work: GENETTE, G. 1992. *Palimpsestes : La littérature au second degré*. Paris: Seuil.

[326] In fact, in the *Chanson*, Bertrand du Guesclin is occasionally portrayed as using such a ruse: he dresses as a peasant or *vigneron*, see *Chanson* I pp. 82–85.

This ‘crowning moment of this opening voyage narration’ (Diller 1998:52) brings both Froissart-protagonist and the narrative to a halt. The mention of the reading of *Meliador* (yet another unmentioned aim in the Prologue) is inserted between Froissart’s arrival at Orthez and Fébus’ panegyric portrayal. Operating a temporary shift in the narrative’s focus (i.e. the reading of *Meliador*), it turns Fébus from *personnage historique* into *prince merveilleux*, says Florence Bouchet (2009:184).[327] The intertextual link between *Meliador* and the *Chroniques* is made even more intricate as, in a multi-layered *mise en abyme*, the *Voyage*, including the reading of *Meliador*, features in Froissart’s *Dit dou Florin*, a *dit* in which Froissart’s persona shares a dialogue with the last coin (*florin*) in his purse (*Anthology*:15; see also Dauphant 2009):

> Tu sces comment je me parti
> De blois et sus un bon parti
> Dou conte gui mon droit seignour
> Je qui ne tenc qua toute honnour
> Et qui moult desire avoie
> Daler en mon temps une voie
> Veoir de fois le gentil conte
> Pour un tant que de li on compte
> Moult de largheces et de biens
> [...]
> Jai la este si longemet
> Dales lui quil ma pleu voir
> Se je desiroie a avoir
> De son estat la cognoissance
> Je lai eu a ma plaisance
> Car toutes les nuis je lisoie
> Devant lui et le solacoie
> Dun livre de melyador
> Le chevalier au soleil dor
> Le quel il ooit volentiers
> Et me dist cest un beaus mestiers
> Beaus maistres de faire telz choses
> (*Anthology*:500–502 vv. 269–299)

The poet-narrator’s intentions seem at odds with its *Chroniques*’ counterpart: in Book III’s prologue the narrator’s aim is to visit Béarn in order to learn about neighbouring feats of arms, whereas in the *Dit*, the narrator’s aim is to visit Fébus because he has heard that he is a great lord, generous and wealthy (Dauphant 2009). Froissart’s *Chroniques* and *Dit* appear to

[327] See below Chapter 3-IV.2.

each be holding one piece of the 'puzzle of authorial intentions' (each work is then one side of the same '*florin*'). That said, neither the *Chroniques* nor the *Dit* say a word about the journey's aim to also uncover the controversial truth about Fébus and his family. Froissart's many 'hats' – chronicler, poet, romancer – enable him to weave the threads of his various narratives: '[l]e *Dit dou Florin*, en faisant l'écho des *Chroniques* et de *Méliador*, regroupe trois genres hétérogènes par la forme et par le fond : la prose historique, les vers d'un roman et les vers du dit' (Dauphant 2009:173). In the *Voyage*, Froissart is not just chronicler, author, narrator, and protagonist, he is also represented as a poet and even, to some extent, *jongleur*, having composed and reading *Meliador*, thus adding extra layers to his already multiple and complex identity (and thus intentions?).

As Laurence Harf-Lancner notes, the *Chroniques* as well as, I would add, *Meliador* and Froissart's *dits* are strongly representative of the *parenté* of genres in the Middle Ages (1990:52). Many other narrative threads are interwoven in Froissart's works: the myth of Actaeon which appears in the *Chroniques*, *Meliador*, or the *Espinette amoureuse* (and also ties Froissart's and Ovid's works together);[328] the sleepwalking of both Pierre de Béarn (in the *Chroniques*) and Camel de Camois (in *Meliador*) (Bouchet 2007; Kelly 2007); the potential assimilation of Gaston Fébus as Meliador, knight of the golden sun, or as Camel, a troubled knight, which potentially account for Fébus's two (contradictory?) facets in the *Chroniques* (see below, Chapter 3-IV.2).

This rapid 'journey' through the *Voyage*'s intertextuality and intentions, both declared and concealed, calls for a closer look at Fébus's representation(s) – a non-existent aim in

[328] See GRAHAM, A. (1963) "Froissart's Use of Classical Allusion in His Poems." *Medium Aevum* 32, 24–33; BRADLEY-CROMEY, N. 1980. "Mythological Typology in Froissart's *Espinette amoureuse*." *Res publica litterarum* III, 207–221; HARF-LANCNER (1980); ZINK (1980); GRISWARD, J. H. 1986. "Froissart et la nuit du loup-garou, la fantaisie de Pierre de Béarn : modèle folklorique ou modèle mythique ?" Eds. J. LAFOND, et al. *Le Modèle à la Renaissance*. Paris: Vrin, pp. 21–34; HARF-LANCNER (1990); HUOT, S. (2002) "Unruly Bodies, Unspeakable Acts: Pierre de Béarn, Camel de Camois, and Actaeon in the Writings of Jean Froissart." *Exemplaria* 14.1, 79–98.

Book III's prologue but half-acknowledged in the *Dit dou Florin* – in the light of narrative/narratological prisms presented in the previous sections.

2. The *Voyage*'s Multiple Voices and Fébus's Multiple Personalities

a. Fébus's Shining Sun

It can be argued that Gaston Fébus is presented as an ideal lord in two different yet connected ways: first as paragon of chivalry and second as literary hero. The laudatory portrayal given by Froissart-author is, of course, representative of the former (LG III & IV:174–177; see also Skorge 2006:30–57); it is also supported by Fébus's description in the *Dit dou Florin*:

> Et vraiement il ni fault riens
> Que largheces et courtoisies
> Honnour sens et toutes prisies
> Auon poet recorder de noble homme
> Ne soient en celui quon nomme
> Gaston le bon conte de fois
> (*Anthology*:502 vv. 278–283)

Largece, courtoisie, honour: these are the traits of an ideal, perfect, and chivalrous lord. In the *Chroniques*, Froissart-narrator does not simply praise Fébus for his moral virtues:

> Et vous di que je ay en mon temps veu moult de chevaliers, roys, princes et autres, mais je n'en vi onques nul qui feust de si beaux membres, de si belle fourme ne de si belle taille : viaire bel, sanguin et riant, les yeux vairs et amoureux là où il lui plaisoit son regart getter. (LG III & IV:174)

This physical portrait, despite being rather formulaic (although it should be noted that physical descriptions of the sort are a rarity in the *Chroniques*), is, as Kristel Mari Skorge suggests, a means to 'integrate Gaston Fébus in the physical ideal of the time; to create a picture of a charismatic chivalrous hero, a man other men would admire and obey' (2006:34). Regarding this 'official' portrait of Fébus, Kevin Brownlee notes that it is supported by Froissart-author (I would rather say -narrator here) and is thus one side of his double perspective (Brownlee 2000); Froissart-protagonist, on the other hand (with the narrative help of the Gascon narrators), offers his 'unofficial' portrayal. This 'double' perspective is, in my

opinion, more complicated: for example, Fébus's ideal picture is occasionally integrated into the dialogues between Espan and Froissart-protagonist:

> "Sire, di je [Froissart] au chevalier, en [florins] a il grant foison ?
> — Par ma foy, dist il, au jour d'ui le conte de Fois en a bien par trente fois cent mille, et n'est onques an qu'il n'en donnast .lx. mille, car nul plus larges grant seigneur en donner dons ne vit au jour d'ui."
> Lors lui demanday je :
> "Sire, et a quelz gens donne il ces dons ?"
> Il me respondi :
> "Aux estrangiers, aux chevaliers, aux escuiers qui vont et chevauchent par son païs, à heraulx, à menestrelz, à toutes gens qui parloient à lui. Nul ne se part sans ses dons, car qui les refuseroit, il se courrouceroit." (LG III & IV:140–141)

This exchange clearly reinforces Fébus's chivalrous virtue of *largece*. There is a hint, however, that it might not be all positive for Fébus: the word *courrouceroit* suggests his violent demeanour. Impulsive anger is fundamental to understanding Fébus's treatment of his son and cousin as presented in the *Voyage*'s narrative. A reference to Fébus's ire – by the Gascon narrator presumably the most 'favourable' to the lord (i.e. Espan) – should be seen here as a dire portent. Still, this passage focuses more on Fébus's virtues than potential flaws. Besides, his generosity is reiterated in the *Dit dou Florin*: he is 'larghes aux estragniers' (*Anthology* v. 333).

It is Fébus's formulaic portrayal which enables comparisons between his *Chroniques*' portrayal and romance heroes of Froissart-romancer's diegesis. Clotilde Dauphant suggests that Fébus's court, as described by both the narrator of the *Chroniques* and that of the *Dit dou Florin*, right before the reading of *Meliador*, allows a comparison of Fébus's figure with that of Meliador (Dauphant 2009:168–169). It is true that despite the setting – the middle of the winter night – Fébus' court is described in the *Dit* as radiating daylight/sunlight (*Anthology* vv. 351–363). The parallel between the two figures could thus be supported as the solar link Fébus (Phœbus)/Meliador (Knight of the Golden Sun) is manifest. In fact, in *L'Espinette amoureuse* the poet-narrator recounts the classical story of Phébus 'li diex dou solel' and Daphné (*Anthology*:184). That said, in the *Chroniques*, neither Froissart-narrator nor Froissart-protagonist actually use Gaston's nickname, Fébus (Cerquiglini-Toulet 2009).

Froissart-poet compares Fébus's court to an earthly paradise (*Anthology*:504 v. 364); in that sense, a parallel can be drawn with the whole Arthurian world of *Meliador*. This Arthurian world is one depicting a time during Arthur's *jonece* before anything 'wrong' befalls the king and his knights. Fébus as lord of this *paradys terrestre* could thus be equated to Arthur (Bouchet 2009:185). That said, this early Arthurian world is not completely utopian, as the poet-narrator tells us: 'Et vivoit on plus rudement/I(lluech) que les gens ne font ores' (*Meliador*:2 vv. 24–25). That a Fébus/Arthur correspondance may be suggested is conceivable; yet the world of the *Chroniques* is not one of *jonece*, unlike its Arthurian counterpart. When Froissart meets Fébus, the wheel of Fortune has already turned: he has rejected 'his own Guinevere'– Agnes, his wife; he has killed 'his own Mordred' – Gaston, his son. The light of his golden sun has already faded (Cerquiglini-Toulet 2009).

b. Fébus's Shady Sun

> De toutes choses il [Fébus] estoit si tres parfait que on ne le pourroit trop louer. (LG III & IV:174)

So Froissart-narrator tells the reader. Yet a close reading of the *Voyage* reveals a far-from-perfect portrayal. I believe two fundamental representations of Fébus are at the root of his seemingly contradictory image in the *Voyage*: his apparent chivalrous perfection and status as ideal hero of times past (mostly assumed by Froissart-narrator) vs. his flawed personality and pragmatic, fourteenth-century-representative behaviour (mostly assumed by the Gascon narrators/Froissart-protagonist). Yet again, this matter may be more complicated than it seems.

Espan presents his lord as generous with anyone: strangers, knights, squires, heralds, minstrels, etc. (see above); he concedes, however, that whoever refuses his gifts angers him. Froissart-narrator also notes Fébus's attitude towards money in his panegyric portrayal:

> Onques fol oultraige ne fole largesce n'aima, et vouloit savoir tous les mois que le sien devenoit. Il prenoit en son païs pour sa recepte recevoir, à ses gens servir et administrer, .xij. hommes notables, et de deux mois en deux mois estoit de deux servy en sa dicte recepte, et au chief des deux moys ilz se changeoient, et deux autres en l'office retournoient. Il faisoit du plus especial homme au quel il se

> confioit le plus son contreroleur, et à cellui tous les autres comptoient et rendoient leurs comptes de leurs receptes. Et cil contreroleur comptoit a conte de Fois par roulles ou par livres escrips, et ses comptes laissoit par devers le dit conte. Il avoit certains coffres en sa chambre où aucune foiz il faisoit prendre de l'argent pour donner à au[cun] seigneur, chevalier ou escuier quant ilz venoient par devers lui, car onques nul sans don ne se departi de li. Et tousjours multiplioit son tresor pour les aventures et les fortunes attendre que il doubtoit. (LG III & IV:175–176)

Froissart-narrator reiterates Espan's comment: Fébus is generous with lords, knights, and squires; no-one leaves without a gift. The rest of his fortune, which Fébus obsessively increases, is kept for future adventures. Froissart-narrator's portrayal of Fébus appears every bit worthy of a chivalrous and perfect lord. That said, the first part of the portrayal quoted above does deals with pragmatic, and not ideal, qualities. Fébus never makes *fole largesce*; he keeps a tight grip on his finances. This is not the portrayal of an idealised romance hero but a down-to-earth, prudent administrator (Skorge 2006:62–63; Cerquiglini-Toulet 2009:68–69). In what can be considered another metaleptic intrusion, Froissart-narrator's comment echoes Froissart-protagonist's stupefied question and Espan's answer:

> — Haa! sainte Marie! sire, di je, à quele fin garde il [Fébus] tant d'a[r]gent et d'où li vient tant ? Sont ses revenues si grandes com pour tout ce assouvir ? Je le sauroie volentiers, voire, se il vous plaisoit que je le sache.
> — Oïl, dist le chevaliers, vous le saurés, mais vous m'avez demandé deux choses; si fault que je vous compte l'une après l'autre, et je vous delivreray premier de la premiere. [...] Je vous di que le conte de Fois se doubte tousjours pour la guerre que il a au conte d'Ermignach, et pour les envies de ses voisins le roy de France ou le roy d'Angleterre, lesquelz il ne courrouceroit pas volentiers.[...] Si fist tailles en son païs et sur ses villes qui encores y durent et dureront tant comme il vivra, et prent sur chascun feu par an deux frans, et le fort porte le foible. Et là a il trouvé, et treuve encores, grant avoir par an. Et tant volentiers le paient ses gens que c'est merveilles, car parmi ce il n'est nul François, Angloiz, ou pillars qu'ilz leur facent tort ne injure d'un seul denier, et est toute sa terre aussi saulve que chose puet estre, tant y est bien justice gardee ; car en justiçant c'est le plus crueulx et le plus droiturier seigneur qui vive. (LG III & IV:143)

Despite the non-idealised portrayal of Fébus regarding pecuniary matters, there is no question that Froissart-protagonist (and presumably implied author) is impressed with Fébus's control over his land and people: he may be harsh (*crueulx*) but he is fair (*droiturier*). These features are the mark of a worthy, genuine, and experienced lord. In fact, Jean Devaux has suggested that Fébus, in his quality of good politican and shrewd administrator, might be paralleled with the historical figure of Guillaume I of Hainaut, Queen Philippa's father (Devaux 2000:2).

Two other comments draw Fébus further away from an idealised figure. Froissart-narrator, in his account of the Black Prince, Joan of Kent, and Fébus's meeting over the count of Armagnac's ransom (LG III & IV:105–109), notes that Fébus is 'sage et soubtil' and 'en ses besoignes assez clair veoit' (LG III & IV:108). In other words, he is a shrewd politician (Cerquiglini-Toulet 2009:69). Moreover, the second anonymous Gascon squire notes that Fébus' mysterious skill of being able to know of distant news instantly brought him 'grant prouffit, car on ne perdroit point ceans une cuillier d'or ou d'argent, ne riens qui soit, que il ne le sceust tantost' (LG III & IV:287). Fébus's portrayal as subtle and profit-interested allows for a further assimilation with another figure for whom profit matters, the Bascot de Mauléon. Such a connection draws Fébus closer to a figure shaped by the fortunes of the fourteenth century rather than one cast in the mould of romance or epic. Thus it seems that Fébus is not the image of a young shining Arthur but indeed that of the old Gaston himself, an outstanding, experienced administrator, and politician. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet has pointed out that in a subsequent physical description of Fébus, in Book IV, the count of Foix is described by the narrator as 'bel prince, de belle fourme et de belle taille, à nud chief, ungz cheveulx sur le gris, houppus, rechercellez, tous espars (car onques ne portoit chaperon)' (LG III & IV:414). It indeed confirms Froissart's portrayal of an aged Fébus (Cerquiglini-Toulet 2009:67). Were this analysis of his portrayal to end there, Fébus would appear as a worthy and praised figure in the *Voyage*: a fourteenth-century ideal – but not an idealised hero – in the sense that he represents the archetype of the good contemporary ruler, *à mi-chemin* between chivalrous ideal and pragmatic realism (Tucoo-Chala 1976:35). However, if Fébus shows sound – albeit harsh – judgment with his people, the narrative also reveals that it is precisely this which he lacks with his family:

> Dans ces coups de sang, le comte de Foix perd tout contrôle de lui-même : il ne maîtrise plus ses paroles, les insultes, l'usage du gascon se substituant au langage attendu d'un prince; à celui qui fait bonne chière à ses visiteurs, succède un homme qui, tel un animal, saute par-dessus les tables, couteau à la main, agrippé au cou sans savoir ce qu'il fait. (Lamazou-Duplan 2006:132–133)

Severity accompanied by sound judgment is the mark of a good ruler, whilst cruelty accompanied by irrational anger is the mark of a troubled man – an animal.[329] In contrast, Bertrand du Guesclin is presented in the *Chanson* as portraying a good kind of anger (*Chanson* III:136). Fébus, in the *Chroniques*, shows signs of both personalities. Right after the (albeit fictional) murder of Pierre-Arnaud de Béarn by Fébus, Froissart comments '[h]aa! Sainte Marie [...] et ne fu ce pas grant cruaulté ?' and Espan responds in an elusive way '[q]uoy que ce feust [...] ainsi en advint il. On s'avise bien de lui courroucier, mais en son courroux n'a nul pardon' (LG III & IV:158). Anger once again is at the heart of Fébus's personality in Espan's and Froissart-protagonist's discourses and also, unsurprisingly, in the first anonymous squire's account of the murder of the Young Gaston.[330] 'Si le courroux est un des éléments du pouvoir, la manifestation la plus redoutable de la puissance, la non maîtrise de soi détonne avec ce qui est attendu d'un prince et stigmatise le pécheur', notes Lamazou-Duplan (2006:133). While I agree that there clearly is a distinction in the multi-layered and multi-voiced portrayal between a good and a bad anger, I do not concur with the interpretation that *courroux* is exclusively used for the public sphere. Espan's comment quoted above regarding Pierre-Arnaud's murder has both public and personal implications. *Courroux* is responsible for Fébus killing his own cousin and announces the story of his son's murder. Pierre-Arnaud's death is part of Fébus's familial drama; *courroux* is his personal downfall.[331] The main difference between the cousin's and the son's murder may be that while the former is discursively condemned by Froissart-protagonist,[332] the latter is not – Froissart-protagonist does not intervene during the squire's account. Moreover, Fébus is relieved of his guilt by both the squire and Froissart-narrator (Brownlee 2000:73–74).

[329] Irrational anger is in many historical narratives a negative description, 'bad ethos' as Ruth Morse points out; see MORSE (1991) pp. 99–100. On Fébus and anger see MIRONNEAU (1993) p. 154.
[330] On the link between the two murders see AINSWORTH (1990c); BROWNLEE (2000); STAHULJAK (2006).
[331] For a detailed list of the vocabulary of violent emotion in the *Chroniques*, see PICOCHE (1976) pp. 159–174.
[332] Phrasing the question (*ne fu ce pas grant cruaulté ?*) makes the condemnation somewhat implicit reinforced by Espan's elusive answer (*quoy que ce feust ainsi en advint il*).

Unnatural and animalistic violence is also indirectly connected to Fébus and familial drama through his bastard brother, Pierre, his fight with the bear, and his sleepwalking. The blatant intertextuality of the episode between the *Chroniques* and *Meliador* necessarily equates historical with romance accounts, as noted above. Not only does Camel de Camois also suffer from the same ailment in *Meliador* (and is punished for it) but one of the very few supernatural episodes[333] in Froissart's Arthurian romance is in fact a one-on-one fight between Gratiien, an Italian knight, and a *grant et hideus* bear (*Meliador*:155–158 vv. 5310–5395).[334] In the romance, Camel is indirectly responsible for Gratiien's fight after which a damsel in distress is saved;[335] in the chronicle, it is implied by the joint narrative of Froissart-protagonist and the squire that it is the bear fight itself which turns Pierre into a sleepwalker and drives his wife away. Intertextuality reveals mirrored and inverted situations. Parallels can be drawn between Camel and Pierre (Huot 2002; Bouchet 2007; Kelly 2007), between Pierre and the anthropomorphic bear, and, to a larger extent, between Camel and Fébus.[336] Fébus can be equated with Pierre, his heirless brother estranged from his wife, and with the metamorphosed knight/bear, itself equated with Actaeon:

> Il semble bien que dans l'esprit de Froissart, Actéon le chasseur, qui 'amoit le deduit des chiens sur toutes riens', Actéon qui, selon le *Joli Buisson de Jonece*, 'Les chiens ama et les oisiaux' (v. 2243) soit une figure possible de Gaston Phoebus. L'insistance que met Froissart à souligner le caractère involontaire de la faute d'Actéon, surprendre Diane nue, trouve un parallèle dans la faute de Phoebus qui tue 'involontairement' son fils. (Harf-Lancner 2006a:93)

[333] Peter Dembowski notes that *Meliador* is a realistic romance; see DEMBOWSKI (1983) pp. 88–89.

[334] The bear is a highly symbolic and anthropomorphic animal in the Middle Ages; a one-on-one fight with a bear is especially supernatural and goes against hunting treatises of the time, including Fébus's own *Livre de la chasse*; PASTOUREAU, M. 2011. *The Bear: History of a Fallen King*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, esp. pp. 186–189.

[335] 'Gratiien kills a "grant et hideus" bear, saving thereby from certain death a beautiful, young and helpless damsel who has ventured into the forest to fetch water from a healing fountain for her brother, whom Camel has wounded' DEMBOWSKI (1983) p. 77.

[336] Peter Dembowki notes that Camel 'is the only character in the romance who acts like a true anarchistic *seigneur* of Froissart's own epoch' ibid., p. 64 and yet Michael Schwarze also notes that 'le personnage est explicitement positif dans la mesure où il maîtrise les manières courtoises et surtout possède le courage et la bravoure qui, jusqu'à sa mort, font de lui un chevalier – presque – sans reproche' SCHWARZE, M. 2006. "L'Anthropologie médiévale en transition. À propos du *Méliador* de Froissart." Eds. M. ZINK and O. BOMBARDE. *Froissart dans sa forge : actes du colloque réuni à Paris, du 4 au 6 novembre 2004*. Paris: AIBL, pp. 147–171, here p. 160. Fébus also shows courage and bravery *presque sans reproche* – if not for murdering his son – until his death, which occurs, in Book IV, after a *chasse à l'ours* (see KL XIV pp. 325–339)! On the episode of the count's death and its position, interlaced with similar narratives (e.g. Charles VI's first fit of madness), see DILLER (2001).

In other words, the ideological significance of this episode is indirectly centered on the figure of Gaston Fébus. There is no obvious *rapprochement*, in the form of a direct question, as in the case of the Lord of Coarraze and Horton's story, yet the parallels and connections with Fébus are too numerous not to consider it part of Fébus's 'darker' side; a side tying Fébus to 'un autre monde maléfique' through his fascination with night (Harf-Lancner 1990:57), therefore opposing his previous link with the Sun/Meliador: he dines at midnight; he is read *Meliador* at midnight; Pierre de Béarn's disorder is associated with sleep, night, and nightmares (Verdon et al. 2002:165–166).

A legitimate question to ask is why the *Voyage*'s narrative shifts, more often than its Arthurian counterpart, towards the fantastic (through sleepwalking, heroic fights with bears, metamorphoses, personal demons, and *Melusinian* tales (Harf-Lancner 1999)). The intrusion of the *merveilleux* in a historiographical work is far from a rare occurrence (Classen 2002:xii–xiii). Besides, (fictional) *merveilleux* tales, as noted above, do not necessarily oppose authenticity/truthfulness (see above Chapter 3-III.2). In the case of the *Voyage*, their presence can also be justified by a certain perception of Béarn (and Gascony as a whole, already discussed in Book I's analysis). 'Berne en la haulte gascongne' (*Anthology* v. 169) is at the periphery of civilisation and wilderness; as such, Bearnese *merveilleux* tales may be more easily noted (and accepted) than those of more 'central' and 'civilised' places (e.g. England, France, or Flanders):

> Froissart se trouve ainsi à parler d'un pays qu'il ne connaît pas ; c'est pourquoi leur homogénéité avec le *core* s'atténue ou disparaît. […] Dans le *core*, le surnaturel et la magie n'ont aucun poids, les hommes agissent selon une rationalité conditionnée – évidemment – par l'idéologie du temps, les événements se succèdent selon des schémas interprétables rationnellement. Dans la périphérie, cette règle est entachée par l'apparition du surnaturel, en Ecosse comme à Orthez, mais les comportements restent fondamentalement les mêmes. Le surnaturel, par contre, peut dominer dans les aires éloignées, comme par exemple à Naples. (Varvaro 2011:58–59)

In other words, the political and geographic situation of Béarn and Gascony is what allows the *merveilleux*/supernatural to pervade the narrative with relative legitimacy. Béarn in the *Chroniques* has the same sort of marginal status as the 'forest' does in romances:

> On voit ainsi que ni la forêt ni le désert ne sont des sauvageries intégrales, ni des solitudes absolues. Ils sont les lieux de l'extrême marge où l'homme peut s'aventurer et y rencontrer d'autres hommes. [...] En définitive, ce qui est 'sauvage' n'est pas ce qui est hors de portée de l'homme, mais ce qui est sur les marges de l'activité humaine. [...] Entre ces rôles asymétriques que sont la sauvagerie et la culture, le chasseur sauvage et fou est un médiateur ambigu, ce qu'est aussi, à sa façon, l'ermite. (Le Goff 1985:71–72)

Fébus, also a *médiateur ambigu*, is not mad or wild, but instead a keen hunter. The use of the *merveilleux* serves to satisfactorily explain the unexplainable regarding Fébus's behaviour (Harf-Lancner 1990:59). Yet Froissart-narrator leaves these *merveilleux* and subversive tales for others (the interdiegetic Gascon narrators) to tell, not necessarily because of their fantastic/fictional quality, but because they directly or indirectly incriminate Fébus (Harf-Lancner 1999:215). Sylvia Huot has argued that the tale of Horton [Harton] 'contribute[s] to what we might term the mythologization of the nobility. The story of Harton is but one element in an elaborate glorification of Gaston Phébus as individual feudal lord' (Huot 2003:417). She adds linking the tale of Pierre and the bear with that of Horton:[337]

> The death of Actaeon as speaking subject, as well as the partial dissolution of Pierre as an integrated self, implicitly supports the emergence of Gaston as all that these unfortunates are not: opulent, powerful, all-knowing, godlike in bearing as in name. [...] In the richly textured narrative of Froissart's visit to Béarn, it is always Gaston who emerges triumphant in contradiction to those around him: master of the hunt, of political intrigue, of self-fashioning and social control. (Huot 2003:418)

This view, in my opinion, is a serious misreading of the *Voyage*'s narrative. Pierre and Fébus are both wifeless and, most importantly, heirless. Issues of inheritance are at the heart of the *Chroniques* and the *Voyage*; as such, their stories draw Pierre and Fébus together, not apart. A close reading of the *Voyage's* multiple perspectives and multilayered voices show that while it is true that Fébus appears a very controlled, harsh but fair, ruler, he is far from showing the same self-control in the personal sphere. In my opinion, it is not unreasonable to connect Pierre's sleepwalking fits with Fébus's rageful outbreaks. The use of Gascon during these episode is proof enough, I believe, that Fébus loses control by not speaking *en bon et beau françois* anymore. In those instances, Fébus is far from retaining 'complete mastery over his

[337] She notes that Horton's story 'occurs not long after the account of Pierre de Béarn's somnambulant frenzies' HUOT, S. (2003) "Dangerous Embodiments: Froissart's Harton and Jean d'Arras's Mélusine." *Speculum* 78.2, 400–420, here p. 418. In fact, both stories are seven chapters apart (in the *Lettres gothiques* edition); Pierre's story follows directly that of the Young Gaston's murder.

body and his public image' (Huot 2003:419). As represented by the *Chroniques*' squire, the murder of the Young Gaston is not a premeditated, cold-blooded act to enhance and elevate Fébus as cultural icon (Huot 2003:419). It is a tragic, deplorable, and personal act, part of the unexplainable downfall of the very public house of Foix. It is a narrative, unassumed by its primary narrator, during which a father murders a son and yet is excused; not because Froissart-author tries to promote Fébus to the status of cultural icon but because Froissart-author is bewildered.[338]

Froissart at times twists the truth and creates stories – e.g. Pierre-Arnaud's murder – to make his 'truth' (his values and ideology) and his history apparent. If his aim had indeed been to portray Fébus as an absolute ideal, nothing prevented him from remaining silent about the murder. Other chroniclers did so (Lamazou-Duplan 2004, 2006, 2009). Local chroniclers, such as Michel de Bernis[339] or Arnaud Esquerrier (*Chron. rom.*), are quasi-silent regarding the extinction of Fébus's direct line. Véronique Lamazou-Duplan notes that Michel du Bernis omits the tricky year when the *drame d'Orthez* took place, presumably not by mistake but indeed by 'voluntary ellipsis' (2004:280–281). As for Arnaud Esquerrier, his chronicle only records that '[d]e lu [Fébus] no demorec degun fil leyal, sino Mossen Yvan lo bastard'(*Chron. rom.*:62). It is clear that the strategies of local chroniclers writing to honour and to write the

[338] Claude Gauvard notes regarding homicide : '[l]a plupart du temps l'homicide ne fait que restituer un honneur blessé par l'injure et par conséquent il s'insère logiquement dans les lois acceptées de la vengeance. L'homicide est nécessaire. Il ne défait pas une réputation, il la restaure et comme tel il est considéré par tous ceux qui appartiennent au pays de connaissance comme 'un beau fait'. [...] L'homicide est nécessaire au maintien des valeurs reconnues par l'ensemble de la société car celle-ci les place moins dans la vie d'un homme que dans la restauration de l'honneur. Avec l'homicide, nous sommes donc aux antipodes du fait divers. En revanche, le fait divers commence quand le coupable se révèle insaisissable ou quand certains types de crimes sont commis qui remettent en cause les fondements de l'ordre social. Le coupable insaisissable, c'est celui qui laisse comme souillé le sol sur lequel il a commis son crime. Aucune explication ne vient éclairer le geste, aucune vengeance n'est possible. La société est menacée par la pollution et par l'inconnu' GAUVARD, C. 1994. "Rumeur et stéréotypes à la fin du Moyen Âge." Ed. M. BALARD. *La Circulation des nouvelles au Moyen Âge : XXIVe Congrès de la S.H.M.E.S. (Avignon, juin 1993)*. Paris: Collection de l'École française de Rome, pp. 157–177, here pp. 171–172. Fébus, through infanticide/loss of heir is responsible for the collapse of social order which is made apparent when Espan and Froissart-protagonist have a conversation about whether bastards should inherit; see LG III & IV p. 168.

[339] BIU, H. (2002) "Du panégyrique à l'histoire : l'archiviste Michel de Bernis, chroniqueur des comtes de Foix (1445)." *Bibliothèque de l'école des Chartes* 160.2, 385–473 which includes du Bernis's partly rhymed chronicle honouring the counts of Foix.

'official history' of the counts of Foix greatly differ from Froissart's: this episode, for them, simply never happens (*ni écrit, ni connu*, so to speak).[340] On the contrary, another meridional yet Latin account, that of Aymeric de Peyrac, abbey of Moissac, is very incriminating of Fébus.[341] Given that Moissac is in Armagnac lands, Bearn's *terre ennemie* (Tucoo-Chala 1976:19–20), the shift from silence to incrimination is easily explained. Accounts from French chronicles – besides Froissart's – also exist (Lamazou-Duplan 2006:111); most are rather succinct (*Chron. Val.*:284; *Chron. Saint-Denys*:633–635) even though, interestingly, the *Chronique des quatre premiers Valois* incriminates *les enfans au conte de Fois* (i.e. the heir and the natural son?) as well as the King of Navarre in the poison attempt. None of his children are said to be murdered, but simply imprisoned. Jean Juvénal des Ursins in his *Histoire de Charles VI* starts off with a comment close to Esquerrier's: '[c]ar il [Fébus] n'avoit lors aucuns enfans' (*Hist. Charles VI*:382). Des Ursins, unlike du Bernis or Esquerrier, carries on and gives an explanation for Fébus's lack of heir:

> Et est vray que aucun temps paravant il avoit un tres-beau fils, duquel il tenoit l'estat moyennement le mieux qu'il pouvoit, mais non mie si grandement que le fils eust bien voulu. Et estoit fils de la soeur du Roy de Navarre, et s'en alla audit Roy de Navarre son oncle soy plaindre de son pere, en disant qu'il ne tenoit conte de luy, non plus que d'un simple gentilhomme de son hostel. Et fut par aucun temps avec sondit oncle, lequel conseilla à sondit neveu qu'il empoisonnast son pere, et ainsi il seroit comte de Foix, et seigneur de tout, et qu'il luy feroit finance de bonnes et fortes poisons, et prescha tant sondit neveu, fils dudit Comte, qu'il s'y consentit. Et prit les poisons, et s'en vint vers son pere, cuidant mettre à execution le conseil que sondit oncle luy avoit donné. Et tous les jours espioit l'heure qu'il le pourroit faire, et aucunes fois alloit en la cuisine de son pere, ce qu'il n'avoit accoustumé de faire. Et d'adventure la petite boüette de ladite poison cheut à terre, et fut levée par un des gens du Comte, et monstrée aux physiciens et apoticaires, qui disoient que c'estoitent tres-mauvaises poisons. Si fut le fils pris et arresté. Un homme estoit, qui avoit gagné à mourir, auquel en fut baillé avec autres viandes, et tantost mourut. Le Comte fit interroger son fils, et examiner, lequel confessa la chose, ainsi que dessis est escrite. Et pour ceste cause, il luy fit coupper la teste, et aimoit mieux que le Roy eust ladite comté, que nul autre, et pour ce luy donna. (*Hist. Charles VI*:382)

This version highlights Fébus's responsibility and guilt: the *Voyage*'s crime of passion becomes a cold-hearted execution (Tucoo-Chala 1976:93–96). Moreover, while the *Voyage* portrays the Young Gaston as a young boy (thus excusing him from any responsibility in the

[340] On du Bernis, Esquerrier and their representation of Béarn, see DALY (2000) pp. 130, 138.
[341] 'Dans une chronique universelle latine achevée en 1399-1400, il fait un sombre portrait de Gaston Fébus, dans lequel, entre autres, il écrit qu'il "tua son fils de sa propre main, son seul fils légitime"' LAMAZOU-DUPLAN (2006) p. 111.

knowledge of the murderous plot),[342] Juvénal des Ursins portrays the son as being well aware of his act. Froissart-author acknowledges the murder, unlike local chroniclers favourable towards Béarn, but downplays both Fébus's and the Young Gaston's involvement. Who is guilty, then? One should remember that for the squire (and for Froissart-author-narrator?) the answer is simple: the King of Navarre who gives the Young Gaston *le coup de la mort*. While the theory that this narrative is an anti-Navarrese piece of propaganda is tempting, it is not entirely satisfactory (Lamazou-Duplan 2006:133–141); it seems clear that the squire (and Froissart?) tries to avoid incriminating Fébus for a crime which is *pitteuse matiere*. That said, Froissart-author does tell this story as part of the chronicler's quest for truth, *à demander et à savoir*. Yet Froissart, writing for an aristocratic audience, potentially including Fébus, cannot really take charge of such an account of human vices and impulsive rage. The intradiegetic Gascon narrators are thus essential to the *Voyage*'s narrative. Through them, another complex and potential dual aspect of Froissart's ideology is made apparent: while a close reading of the ideological strategies of the *Voyage* presents a complex vision of his world, one perfectly aware of its evolutions, it also shows that Froissart-chronicler-author may not have considered his target audience, aristocracy, ready/willing to see them plainly. These strategies are well hidden under the *Voyage*'s/*Chroniques*' literary forgery; the narrative and enunciative traces are left for the reader to find on their own (Ainsworth 1990b:160; Brownlee 2000:74; De Medeiros 2003:13 n. 19).

V. Conclusion – A Deceptive Narrative about and by the Gascons

The *Voyage en Béarn* is a narrative about a narrative. Yet it is not acknowledged as such: the prologue deceptively announces it as being about feats of arms, while in truth there is much more to it. It is about Froissart-protagonist/narrator/implied author/chronicler/poet; and about

[342] The squire/Froissart's version is embroidered here as the Young Gaston was, at the time of death, a married eighteen-year-old, i.e. not a child anymore.

a certain vision of the world, once again, it seems, *à mi-chemin* between the ideal of chivalry and fourteenth-century reality. It is also a narrative about Gascon men (Bascot, Fébus) and by Gascon men (Espan, squires, Bascot). The Gascon intradiegetic narrators standing at the forefront of the *Voyage* are Froissart-narrator's shields, preventing him from 'officially' taking charge of 'unofficial' Bearnese (hi)story. It is, most importantly, a narrative laden with tensions: between narrative voices and narrative control; truthfulness and subversion; narrative reliability and witnesses' fickleness (the *point estable* Gascons?); fiction and history; historiography and generic intrusions; and last but not least, between Froissart's various identities, especially those of narrator and implied author.[343] Ultimately, this tension in Froissart's identity raises the question phrased by Alberto Varvaro: '[l]'auteur qui traite de cette façon les moments cruciaux de son histoire est-il un chroniqueur naïf ou un véritable maître dans l'art du récit?' (2006c:154). I would suggest that what Varvaro calls the chronicler's *histoire* is both his history and his story, and also that when he asks whether Froissart is a naïve chronicler, we may legitimately ask whether he is also a naïve narrator. The answer is not an easy one. There are, I contend, at least two competing perspectives: the first, the most obvious, is represented by a narrative voice delivering all the panegyric sequences about Fébus (which explains why some critics have considered that the narrative was merely laudatory towards Fébus); the other, more toned down, is hinting at the count's more subtle portrayal, neither completely good nor bad, ideal or realistic (as was ultimately the Black Prince's and the Gascons' portrayal in Book I). It is this second perspective, a fusion of multiple voices (Gascon intradiegetic narrators', Froissart-protagonist's) that works against Bakhtinian polyphony because it serves to represent Froissart-implied-author's veiled outlook.

[343] What Kevin Brownlee calls 'a contrastive double authorial intentionality' BROWNLEE (2000) p. 66. Froissart's various *je*-statuses are not exclusive to the *Chroniques*: it is a feature also found in his *dits*; see LECHAT, D. 2003. "Prolixité et silence dans les prologues de quelques dits de Machaut et de Froissart." Eds. E. BAUMGARTNER and L. HARF-LANCNER. *Seuils de l'oeuvre dans le texte médiéval*. Paris: Presses de la Sorbonne-nouvelle, pp. 131–146, esp. n. 5 p. 145. Hybridity and intertextuality truly permeate Froissart's works.

This narrative strategy, although most developed in the *Voyage*, is not entirely unique to it. Book IV also features intradiegetic narrators through direct discourses and metadiegetic tales: Jean de Grailly (KL:148–166; see also Zink 1998:22–23), Richard Stury (KL:156–166), and Henry Chrysteade (KL:166–182).[344] These interventions in Book IV also take place during a *voyage* and a 'primary narrative *temps mort*', during Froissart's last journey to England, waiting for an audience with Richard II. Thus, even if the *Chroniques* revert to a more 'traditional historiographic' narrative in the rest of Book III and IV, there are still remnants of Froissart-implied-author's 'journey/*Voyage*' and authorial strategy.

[344] See Chapter 2-IV.3.

CONCLUSION

Ce sont les cadets de Gascogne
De Carbon de Castel-Jaloux ;
Bretteurs et menteurs sans vergogne,
Ce sont les cadets de Gascogne !
Parlant blason, lambel, bastogne,
Tous plus nobles que des filous,
Ce sont les cadets de Gascogne
De Carbon de Castel-Jaloux :

Œeil d'aigle, jambe de cigogne,
Moustache de chat, dents de loups,
Fendant la canaille qui grogne,
Œil d'aigle, jambe de cigogne,
Ils vont, – coiffés d'un vieux vigogne
Dont la plume cache les trous ! –
Œil d'aigle, jambe de cigogne,
Moustache de chat, dents de loups !

Perce-Bedaine et Casse-Trogne
Sont leurs sobriquets les plus doux;
De gloire, leur âme est ivrogne!
Perce-Bedaine et Casse-Trogne,
Dans tous les endroits où l'on cogne
Ils se donnent des rendez-vous…
Perce-Bedaine et Casse-Trogne
Sont leurs sobriquets les plus doux !

Voici les cadets de Gascogne
Qui font cocus tous les jaloux !
O femme, adorable carogne,
Voici les cadets de Gascogne !
Que le vieil époux se renfrogne :
Sonnez, clairons ! chantez, coucous !
Voici les cadets de Gascogne
Qui font cocus tous les jaloux !
(Rostand 1901:Act II, sc. 7)

Il est une autre unité, dont il est peut-être permis de faire honneur à la Gascogne c'est l'unité de tempérament et d'esprit. Le Gascon est, par nature, homme d'action. Agir – ou s'agiter – est pour lui un besoin instinctif. Il s'explique par les traits de son caractère. Et d'abord, il est fier, il a un très haut sentiment de sa dignité, de sa valeur personnelle. Si on fait mine de l'offenser ou de le railler, il se cambre, il se cabre, il met flamberge au vent, se dresse, l'épée ou le verbe haut. Sa fierté a un envers : la vanité, la jactance, un naturel penchant à la vantardise et à la hâblerie. La fierté gasconne a engendré un sentiment très noble, l'amour de l'indépendance, et aussi un autre, personnel, l'ambition, la passion d'être le premier. En second lieu, le Gascon est brave. Le Gascon pleutre et rodomont est un Gascon légendaire. Le vrai Gascon aime et recherche le danger, risque sa peau avec allégresse, sait se battre et mourir. La Gascogne a produit une admirable lignée d'hommes de guerre. Elle a toujours été un « magasin de soldats », depuis Barbazan, La Hire et Xaintrailles, qui aidèrent Jeanne d'Arc à bouter l'Anglais hors de France; […].
S'il est fier et brave, le Gascon n'est pas téméraire. Il est capable de raisonner et de réfléchir, non par modestie et sens de la mesure, mais par prudence. Il sait se tirer d'un mauvais pas. C'est qu'il a l'esprit naturellement vif et alerte, souple et rebondissant sans peine. C'est aussi qu'il a le verbe facile, l'éloquence toujours prête. La Gascogne a été un pays d'orateurs, de diplomates, de courtisans spirituels et raffinés, une pépinière d'hommes politiques, voire d'hommes d'État. Ces gens-là ont le sens pratique des réalités. Ils savent ce que parler veut dire. Ils ne sont jamais dupes de leurs hâbleries. C'est qu'au fond, le Gascon est sceptique. Il n'ignore pas que pour réussir — et réussir, c'est sa grande affaire — il faut savoir « céder au temps ». (Courteault 1938:vii–viii)

Some of the Gascon traits noted by Paul Courteault in 1938 are uncannily reminiscent of the *Chroniques*' Gascon portrait. The Gascon man is a proud, skilled, yet sly fighter; he is concerned with success and boasts easily. Last but not least, he has a strong sense of reality, i.e. the reality of his time. Froissart's Captal de Buch, the Bascot de Mauléon, or Fébus would have found a place in the list of famous Gascon names Courteault goes on listing. In the six hundred years between Froissart and Courteault, the representation of the Gascon man appears to have evolved little.

Froissart may not be the first name that comes to mind when one thinks of authors who shaped a certain representation of Gascony/the Gascons. In terms of (hi)story by and about the Gascons, one may more easily think of Michel de Montaigne (a Bordelais/Gascon personal history/memoirs), Edmond Rostand (whose *Cyrano de Bergerac*'s famous *tirade* on *Les Cadets de Gascogne* is quoted above), or Alexandre Dumas and his (fictional) histories on the Gascons. Montaigne has already been mentioned in the course of this study as a keen, albeit harsh, reader of Froissart. There is no way of knowing whether Rostand was part of Froissart's readership. Dumas, on the other hand, was not only one of the chronicler's avid readers but also used Froissart's materials as inspiration.[345] His less famous works include *Monseigneur Gaston Phœbus* and *Le Bâtard de Mauléon* in which Froissart-protagonist meets the Bascot de Mauléon much like the chronicler did in the *Voyage en Béarn*. In fact, for most people, the most famous textual Gascon representation surely is Dumas's D'Artagnan, 'héros le plus renommé de Dumas', and his *mousquetaires* (Diller 2006:211). No doubt that Dumas's image of these proud, swaggering, and skilled *Cadets de Gascogne* – who are, like their *Chroniques*' counterparts, rather *point estable*, or, as Rostand would say, *plus nobles que*

[345] It is the same kind of interest one finds in Walter Scott and especially in their shared interest for Scotland; see AINSWORTH, P. 1996. "Froissart the Writer and Walter Scott: Chivalry and its Inheritance in the *Chroniques* and *Old Mortality*." Eds. P.E. BENNETT, et al. *France and Germany in Scotland: Studies in Language and Culture: Papers from the Centenary Celebrations of the Departments of French and German at the University of Edinburgh, 1994–1995*. Edinburgh: Dept. of French, University of Edinburgh, pp. 65–80; MCINTOSH-VARJABÉDIAN, F. 2006. "Walter Scott lecteur de Froissart." Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 165-177, here pp. 165–177.

des filous – is partly based on the *Chroniques*'. In this light, the correlation between Courteault's Gascon and Froissart's suddenly appears less surprising.

Returning to the *Chroniques* and their immediate literary and historical context, Froissart's narrative presents a specific and controlled image of Gascony/the Gascons which is coherent from Book I's early versions of the 'Gascon prelude' up to Book IV. This image of a region and its people is *à mi-chemin* of many geographical and metaphorical roads. Gascony is at the periphery: it is a *lontainne marche* in which *merveilleux* stories can pervade; yet it retains characteristics of a courtly and civilised Franco-English centre. This situation is reflected in the representation of the Gascons: *amour* and *profit* is everything the Gascons desire. In the course of Froissart's chronicle they assume narrative roles, apparently giving them legitimacy and authority. Despite this they are *point estable* and keep shifting allegiances. Individual figures also reinforce a nuanced portrayal of Gascony/the Gascons: both the prince of Aquitaine and Fébus are neither merely romance heroes/chivalric ideals, nor simply pragmatic, shrewd, and violent leaders/politicians; the Bascot de Mauléon is defined by both loyalty and profit. These men are, in the *Chroniques*, neither good nor bad; they are pragmatic – ruled by the Fortunes of their time. They encompass what may, at first, seem conflicting values, but which are in fact co-existing values. The *Chroniques*' Gascon (hi)story formally and structurally reflects what Diller calls a 'courtly albeit ambiguous' narrative (2001:66). The analysis of lexicon, reported discourse, and (narrative) voices highlights an intricate and subtle narrative control over such (hi)story.

Such is the *Chroniques*' image of Gascony/the Gascons on a 'micro-level', i.e. in the passages analysed above. As mentioned in the Introduction, the study's first and original aim (the *Chroniques*' representation of Gascony/the Gascons) has proved to have wider implications. Froissart's Gascon narrative acts as a common thread leading to broader reflections, both on Froissart's work and beyond. Through its Gascon (hi)story, the

Chroniques' ideological import can be refined. This analysis confirms that Froissart-author-narrator is not merely turned towards a distant, chivalric past (as Johan Huizinga assumed) even though such ideology at times prevails in his work (e.g. the Meaux episode). However, as Peter Ainsworth, George T. Diller, Michel Zink, Laurence Harf-Lancner, or Alberto Varvaro have re-evaluated, Froissart's *idéologie de surface* presents cracks and loopholes which, it seems, are carefully crafted and thus controlled. The present study, therefore, follows those of the aforementioned critics and confirms their conclusions. However, it goes one step further, as it contends that these controlled cracks are in fact visible earlier than hitherto believed, as early as the first versions of Book I. Analysis of the Gascon narrative in Book I (especially that of *La Grande Aquitaine*) revealed a nuanced portrayal of the Gascons and their prince, as opposed to one simply elevating the prince to the ranks of hero/victim or condemning the Gascons as mere traitors responsible for the fall of the principality. Similarly, Book III (and IV) presented a somewhat mixed portrayal of the prince as a worthy yet overly proud man; the same goes for Fébus, who is portrayed with both realistic and idealistic traits in the *Voyage*. In other words, I strongly encourage critics to envisage Book I (II) and III (IV) in parallel rather than in opposition for future (*micro*)*lectures* of the *Chroniques*. The Gascon narrative is proof that even if narrative strategies differ between Book I and Book III (what with the narrative, metaleptic, and autobiographic shifts noticed in the *Voyage*), the books may share an ideological purpose. In fact, there even are notable stylistic parallels between Book I and III (especially in the use of direct discourse as represented moral/social/political message rather than 'reproduced language'). In that sense, I do not abide with Zink's contention that Book I and Book III are two separate kinds of work. Rather, I envisage Books III-IV as being the logical evolution (albeit with noteworthy differences) of Books I-II. Froissart's Gascon (hi)story is thus a case in point (far from the only one[346]) which highlights

[346] Jean Devaux comments on another privileged prism through which to approach the *Chroniques* (Book II and Flemish matters): '[l]a relation des troubles de Flandre s'offre dès lors à nous comme une parfaite synthèse de

that tensions noted and analysed in the course of this work (Book I vs. Book III; fiction vs. history; reality vs. idealism) should be considered in parallel, and not merely in terms of contradiction and opposition. In other words, it may be more useful for Froissartian studies to envisage the *Chroniques* as showing multiple perspectives/models and being the reflection of a certain ideal and its 'cracks/failures' all at once. Such a position has even broader implications as it may also be adopted for the late medieval period as a whole and not just the *Chroniques*, as Bernard Guenée suggests:

> Entre le temps du vassal et le temps du sujet, il y a le temps du vassal et du sujet, où la société politique tente de s'organiser sur des bases qui ne sont ni 'féodales' ni 'modernes', dont le système du contrat et de l'ordre de chevalerie représentent deux aspects parallèles et complémentaires. […] Les princes des XIVe et XVe siècles ne sont hostiles ni aux institutions féodales ni à ces institutions nouvelles qui sont plus propres à leur temps et contribuent à encadrer la noblesse de leur États. (Guenée 1971:235)

The fourteenth century and the *Chroniques*, if both envisaged in terms of parallelisms and complementarity, imply that Froissart is an author (chronicler, romancer, and poet), 'ni féodal, ni moderne', who reflects the reality of his time. In that sense, his stories which made history/his history which told stories are a significant window onto this 'transitional' fourteenth century regardless of historical flaws and inaccuracies. This historical narrative thus has stories left to tell; stories which, as I have tried to argue, prove significant for the writing of (medieval) history and Froissart's fourteenth-century world. The renewed critical journey into Froissart's *Chroniques* is far from being complete: the present study is but part of the voyage.

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l'art du chroniqueur' DEVAUX, J. "Froissart et les troubles de Flandre : Ressorts en enjeux d'un conflit (1379-1382)." Eds. M.-M. CASTELLANI and J.-C. HERBIN. *Actes du colloque international Jehan Froissart : Lille 3-Valenciennes, 30 septembre-1 octobre 2004*. Paris: Société de langue et de littérature médiévales d'oc et d'oïl, pp. 81–98, here p. 98.

I. **Maps**

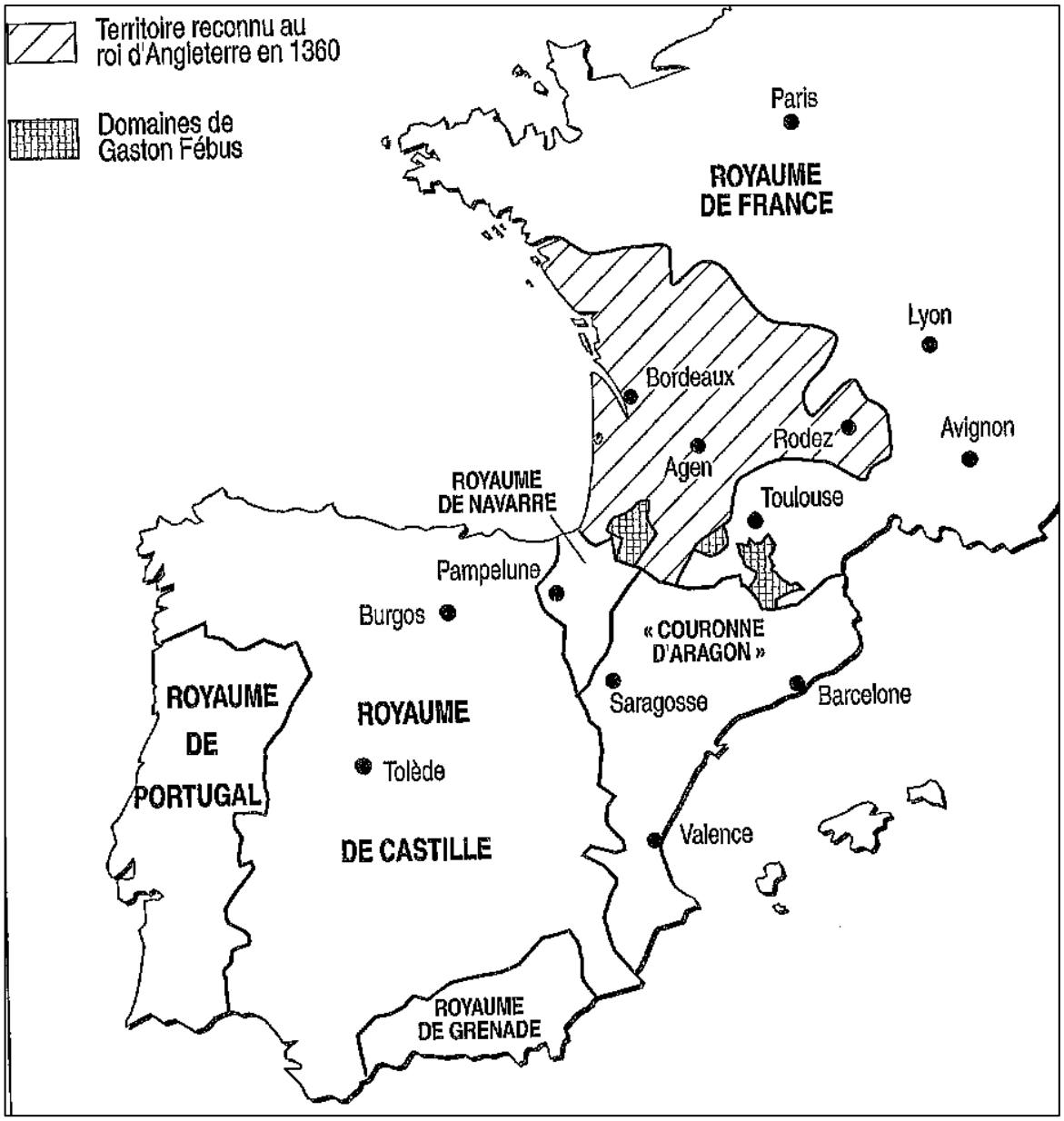

FIGURE 1 – FRANCE AND THE IBERIAN PENINSULA TOWARDS 1360
(SOURCE: (PAILHÉS 2007))

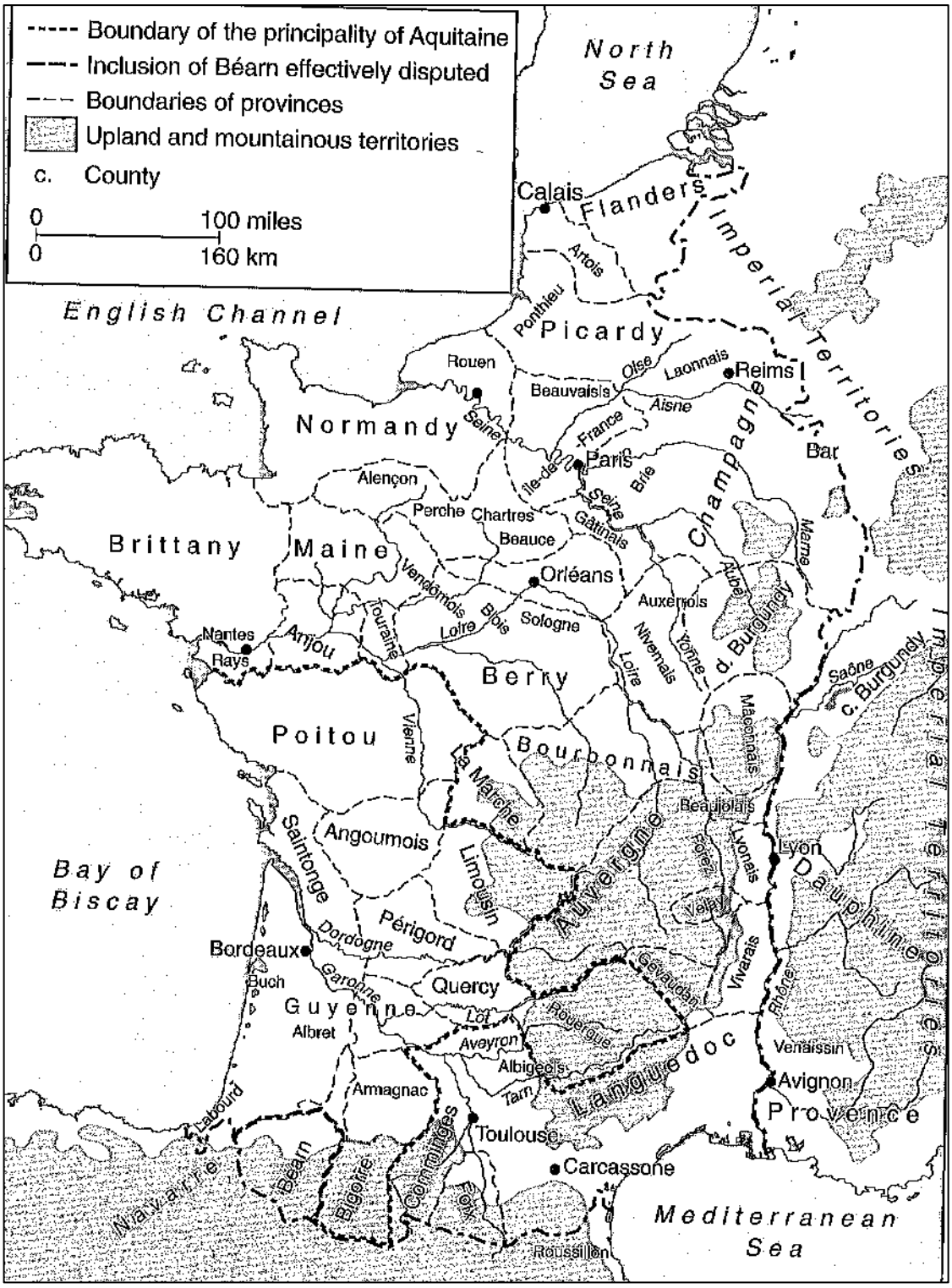

FIGURE 2 – THE PROVINCES OF FRANCE AND THE PRINCIPALITY OF AQUITAINE
(SOURCE: (FOWLER 2001))

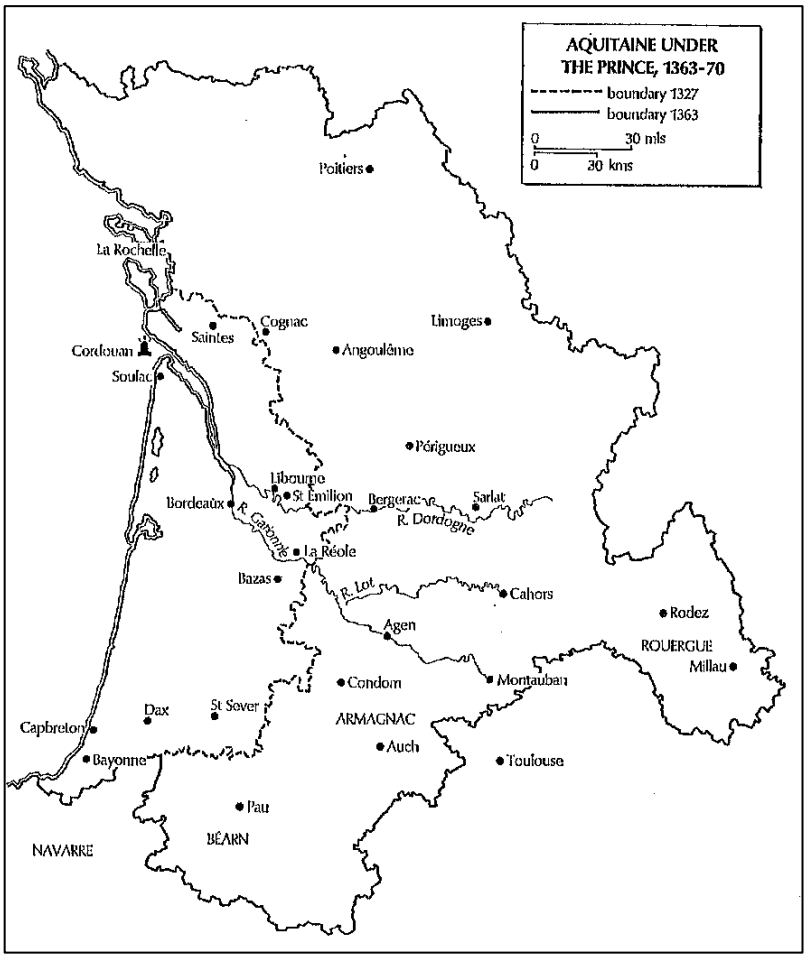

FIGURE 3 – AQUITAINE UNDER THE PRINCE
(SOURCE: (BARBER 1978:176))

FIGURE 4 – POLITICAL MAP OF THE PYRENEES IN THE 14TH CENTURY
(SOURCE: (PAILHÉS 2007))

II. **Genealogies**

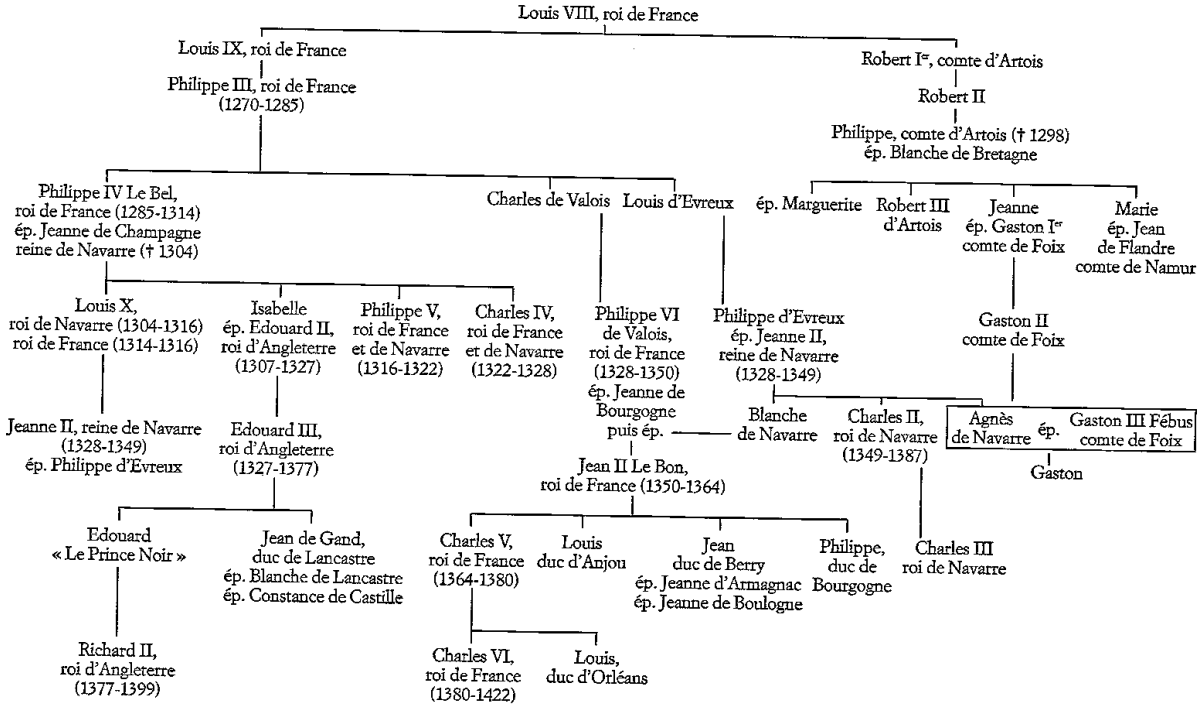

FIGURE 5 – HOUSES OF FRANCE, ENGLAND, AND NAVARRE
(SOURCE: (PAILHÉS 2007:353))

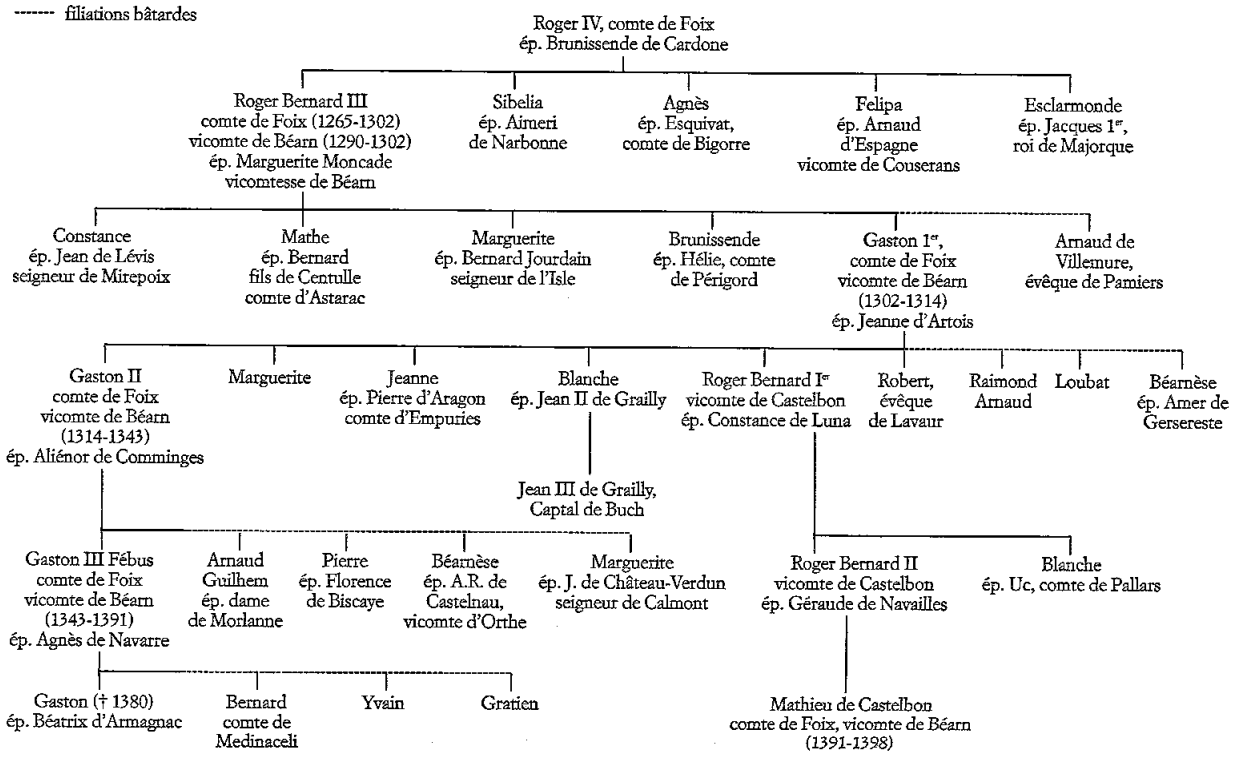

FIGURE 6 – HOUSE OF BÉARN
(SOURCE: (PAILHÉS 2007:354))

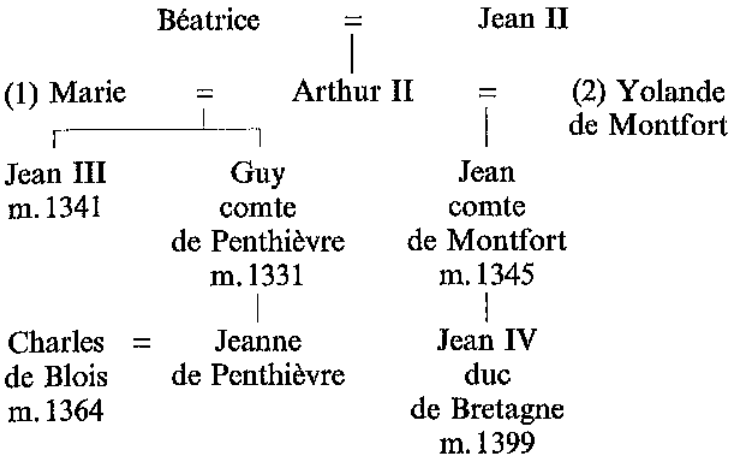

FIGURE 7 – HOUSE OF BRITTANY
(SOURCE: (CONTAMINE 2007:11))

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