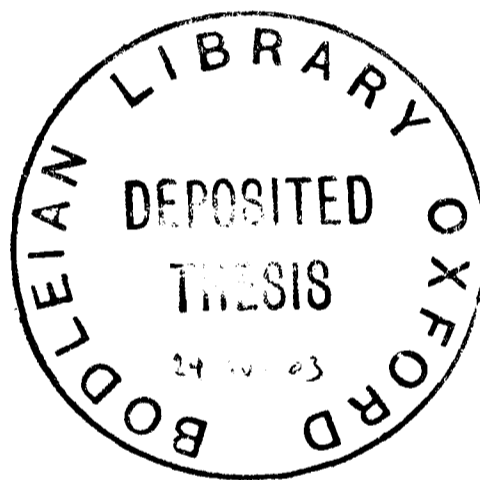


# Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context

Emma Jane Cayley



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In early humanist France two debating traditions converge: one literary and vernacular, one intellectual and conducted mainly via Latin epistles. In this thesis I demonstrate how the two fuse in the vernacular verse debates of Alain Chartier, secretary and notary at the court of Charles VII. In spite of considerable contemporary praise for Chartier, his work has remained largely neglected by modern critics. I show how Chartier participates in a movement that invests a vernacular poetic with moral and political significance, inspiring such social engagements as the fifteenth-century poetic exchange known as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.

I set Chartier in the context of a late-medieval *debating climate* through the use of a new model of participatory poetics which I term the *collaborative debating community*. This is a dynamic and generative social grouping based on Brian Stock's model of the *textual community*, as well as Pierre Bourdieu's sociological categories of *field*, *habitus* and *capital*. This dialectical model takes account of the socio-cultural context of literary production, and suggests the fundamentally competitive yet collaborative nature of late-medieval poetry. I draw an analogy here between literary debates and game-playing, engaging with the game theory of Johan Huizinga and Roger Caillois, and discuss the manuscript context of such literary debates as the materialisation of this poetic game. The collaborative debating community I postulate affords unique insights into the dynamics of late-medieval compositional and reading practices.

# *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context*

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In this thesis I frame the fifteenth-century poet Alain Chartier's unique contribution to a vernacular poetic. Two strands of debate converge in Chartier's French verse debate poems: the first, literary and vernacular, is practised by such medieval poets as Christine de Pizan or Guillaume de Machaut, the second, more intellectual, is practised in humanist circles at Paris and Avignon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Critical interest in Chartier's work is often limited to his French verse debate *La Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424) and the prolonged literary and poetic quarrel it sparked, known as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, which generated both sequels and imitations of Chartier's original poem. The main focus has, however, been on the development of the *Querelle* itself, rather than on its origins. I attempt here to shift that focus back to Chartier's original poem and to his other vernacular verse debates, examining the *debating climate* in which Chartier was writing, and in which such social engagements as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* were fostered. Through a close re-reading of Chartier's French verse debates through his Latin and French prose, I effect a rehabilitation of what have traditionally been dismissed as 'joyeuses escritures'. These vernacular debate poems, far from conventional poems of little importance, engage with and reject conventional courtly topoi through a *meta-rhetorical discourse* by which Chartier sets up correspondences with his Latin and French prose. I suggest that Chartier contributes to the valorisation of a vernacular poetic which occurs in early

humanist France by investing his French debate poems with moral and political significance.

I develop a new dialectical model of participatory poetics in early humanist France which I term the *collaborative debating community* in order to deal with the literary and poetic interaction of Chartier, his contemporaries and successors. The collaborative debating community, based partly on Brian Stock's notion of the *textual community* as an interpretative body as well as Pierre Bourdieu's categories of social organisation, is a dynamic and generative grouping whose coherence derives not only from the common interpretative strategies it applies to textual analysis, but also from the production of texts in response to this analysis (*collaborative fictions*). I show how the participants in literary debate adopt *debating positions*, both in fictional poetic debates and in literary quarrels such as the early fifteenth-century *Querelle de la Rose*, blurring boundaries between the fictional and the 'real' in an attempt to perpetuate debate and defer closure. The poets and scholars involved in these literary communities seem to be competitors in an elaborate and purposeful game. Here I draw on the game theory of Huizinga and Caillois in addition to Bourdieu's categories of *field*, *habitus* and *capital*, to suggest a dynamic and playful set of relations between the participants in debate based on a principle of collusion within competition. Poet-players compete within a field to acquire forms of capital which translate into material, social or intellectual gain. Symbolic capital is what is most valued in any given field, so that in the poetic field, for example, rhetorical prowess might be much sought after. The field itself is defined by the dialectical network of relations it assumes between positions within it. One may move within the field only in relation to other positions, and in relation to one's own symbolic capital. Bourdieu's notion of habitus refers to the

relationship between products and the socio-historical practices that produce them, and is pertinent to a discussion of the transmission of debate in manuscript form. I discuss the manuscript context of such literary and poetic exchanges as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* as the materialisation of the poetic game played between the members of a particular collaborative debating community. This model helps to identify patterns of coherent organisation in manuscript collections that are not immediately apparent, giving unique insights into the compositional and reading practices of the later Middle Ages.

In my first two chapters, I trace the socio-cultural parameters of both the literary and intellectual debate traditions, showing how literary, intellectual and legal influences combine to foster a climate of collaborative debate, competition and exchange in early humanist France. I examine early literary debate forms such as the Virgilian *eclogue*, troubadour *tenso*, *demande d'amour* or *jeu-parti*, and develop a new typology of debate. These literary forms combine with the dialectic of the Scholastic *disputatio* and the model of the judicial trial to shape the later medieval debate poem. I investigate the networks of collaborative relations established between poets at this time, both at the level of the text, in concrete *loci* such as the *puy*s, and within the manuscript compilation seen as a space of play. Enthusiasm for debate is such that poets often fabricate exchanges; I take the example of Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades* here. The 'real' literary exchange represented by the *Querelle de la Rose* is contrasted with this pattern of fictional collaboration in my second chapter. I suggest that even here, the boundaries between fictitious and 'real' exchanges are often blurred. The *Querelle de la Rose* is set in the context of practical, diplomatic and literary debating taking place in chancery circles at Paris and Avignon. The literary debating is often carried out via Latin epistles, and is

conceived of as an intellectual game and a distraction from political and diplomatic matters. Scholars compete with one another to improve their epistolary style, and adopt debating positions, often engineering polemical exchanges. It is in this climate that scholars begin to discuss Jean de Meun's section of the *Roman de la Rose*. The ensuing quarrel broadly opposes Christine de Pizan and a humanist diplomat, Jean de Montreuil. Christine refuses to 'play the game' on Jean de Montreuil's terms, and he likewise refuses to engage with her, leading to a stalemate in which debate can no longer be perpetuated. Christine effectively puts an end to the debate through publication of edited versions of the responses generated by the *Querelle*.

In my third chapter I show how the two debate traditions sketched in my first two chapters combine in Chartier's verse. Chartier operated in the same diplomatic milieu as the scholars involved in the *Querelle de la Rose*, and his Latin works comprise diplomatic orations and epistles as well as more literary texts. His Latin works are frequently collected in manuscript collections with those of early humanist scholars, suggesting their common style and preoccupations. Chartier's French verse has often been considered in two distinct categories: the 'joyeuses escritures' and the 'serious poems'. I reject this distinction here, rehabilitating the 'joyeuses escritures' through a close rereading of these poems through Chartier's Latin and French prose works. I show how, through a meta-discourse operating across his corpus, Chartier breaks away from the intellectual play of the early humanists to lend the game of the debate text a more serious aim. Chartier's ideological investment in vernacular debate is part of a late-medieval move towards the valorisation of a vernacular poetic, confirmed by the proliferation of arts of poetry written at this time. This social and moral engagement through poetry, and

specifically debate poetry, is manifested in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* which is the focus of my final two chapters. Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans mercy* generates a series of poetic sequels and imitations which trace dialogic links with one another and with the original poem. Poets who engage with Chartier's text do so in a spirit of competitive play and collusion, attempting to trump previous moves in the game and thus acquire prestige (symbolic capital). I classify the sequels and imitations into four cycles and investigate the creative modes and intertextualities that weave throughout. These poems are collected in forty manuscripts that I discuss in my final chapter. Again using the collaborative debating community and models drawn from game theory, I look at the manuscript context of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* as a material space of play within which texts, and poets beyond the texts, dialogue and compete with one another. I use the image of the chessboard which appears in several of the texts collected in the *Querelle* manuscripts as an analogy for the poetic game of the individual debate text and of the *Querelle* as a whole.

Through my reinterpretation of Chartier's verse debates both in dialogue with his Latin and French prose and in their wider socio-cultural context, I hope to re-establish Chartier as a leading light in early humanist circles whose contribution to vernacular eloquence went far beyond that of his contemporaries.

## *Preface*

I would like briefly to acknowledge the help of various institutions, groups and individuals who have been instrumental in the completion of this thesis. First, I would like to thank the Taylorian Library in Oxford, and St. Anne's College Library, as well as the Bodleian Library, and their manuscript reading room, the Duke Humfrey. I am also grateful to have been able to use the resources of the Cambridge University Library and of the British Library. I was fortunate in securing an affiliation to the École Normale Supérieure in Paris for three months, where I was able to pursue the codicological research that forms the backbone of my thesis. I am indebted to the École Normale for the use of their libraries, and for the opportunity to spend time at the Bibliothèque Nationale, rue Richelieu, the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, and the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (IRHT). I am very grateful for the financial support of Oxford University and St. Anne's College who jointly awarded me the Paget Toynbee Olwyn Rhys scholarship to enable me to pursue my doctorate. I am also grateful to the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB), who supported me through my final year of doctoral research. St. Anne's College generously provided grants for my travel to various national and international conferences.

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Other thanks go to family, friends and colleagues who have encouraged and tolerated me throughout.

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## Abbreviations

For full details of all works, see the Bibliography.

Arsenal	Paris, Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal
<i>BDSM</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>La Belle Dame sans mercy</i>
B. L.	British Library
B. M.	Bibliothèque Municipale
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
<i>Breviaire</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>Breviaire des nobles</i>
CNRS	Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique
CUP	Cambridge University Press
<i>Curial</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>De vita curiali</i>
<i>DDFA</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours</i>
<i>DHVV</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain</i>
<i>Dialogus</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis</i>
<i>DRM</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>Debat de reveille matin</i>
EETS	Early English Text Society
fr.	fonds français
lat.	fonds latin
Godefroy	Godefroy, <i>Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française</i>
<i>GRLMA</i>	<i>Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters</i>
IRHT	Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes
<i>LQD</i>	Alain Chartier, <i>Livre des Quatre Dames</i>
MSS	Manuscripts
OUP	Oxford University Press
<i>Rose</i>	Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, <i>Le Roman de la Rose</i>
<i>SATF</i>	<i>Société des Anciens Textes Français</i>
Vat. Reg.	Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Regina

## Introduction

The literary production of the later Middle Ages in France is characterised by a participatory culture that is essentially competitive. Contemporary enthusiasm for literary competition is manifested both by the proliferation of debate poems which are written at this time, and by prolonged literary quarrels acted out in verse and prose. What brings this about is the convergence of two debate traditions in early humanist France. The first, literary and vernacular, is exemplified by such elegant conceits as Machaut's *Jugement* poems or Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades*; the second, more intellectual, and often conducted via Latin epistles, is prevalent in learned, humanist circles at Paris and Avignon. Both modes are essentially playful: the protagonists assume *debating positions*, and adopt complex personae. In this thesis, I explore the operation and dynamics of the communities that these debate traditions suppose: the modes whereby they form, the identities manifested in the texts that preserve them. In particular I focus here on the unique contribution of Alain Chartier, whose French verse debates mark the convergence of these two debate traditions. By situating Chartier within his cultural context, I show how he participates in both intellectual and literary debate, fusing the two to forge a new strain of socially engaged debate.

Alain Chartier (1385/95-1430)<sup>1</sup> was born in Bayeux, France and, after a university education in Paris, became notary and secretary at the court of Charles

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<sup>1</sup> Much ink has been spilt over the question of Chartier's exact birth date which is thought to lie somewhere between 1385 and 1395. Walravens's long discussion ends inconclusively: 'nous préférons renoncer à déterminer la date exacte de la naissance d'Alain Chartier, pour dire seulement qu'il naquit à la fin du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle'. See Walravens, *Alain Chartier, études biographiques, suivies de pièces justificatives, d'une description des éditions et d'une édition des ouvrages inédits* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff-Didier, 1971), pp. 10-15. Laidlaw simply refers to Walravens's discussion

VI,<sup>2</sup> and at that of the Dauphin (later to become Charles VII). Chartier's prowess in French prose and verse was to earn him considerable renown among his contemporaries, and later the title of 'pere de l'eloquence françoise'.<sup>3</sup> This self-styled 'lointaing immitateur des orateurs',<sup>4</sup> wrote debates in both Latin and the vernacular, in prose and in verse, as well as composing Latin letters and orations as part of his diplomatic business.<sup>5</sup> The early humanist scholars Jean de Montreuil, Nicolas de Clamanges, and Gontier Col, among others, were also part of the chancery milieu at Paris and Avignon in which Chartier operated. Though it is unclear whether Chartier ever met these scholars, he was undoubtedly greatly influenced by their writing and use of classical *auctoritates*.<sup>6</sup> When thinking about the interaction of Chartier, his predecessors and contemporaries, I have found it useful to trace models of social organisation from the material (predominantly textual evidence) available, and to this end developed a methodology based around the concept of the *collaborative debating community*. This model is derived partly from Brian Stock's *textual community* which is a historical grouping that derives its

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in the introduction to his edition of Chartier's French verse, *The Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, (Cambridge: CUP, 1974), p. 2. Hoffman too renounces the quest: see Hoffman, *Alain Chartier, His Work and Reputation* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 9-12. I am inclined to opt for the earlier of the two dates, putting Chartier's birth between 1385-90 (and probably nearer 1390) in agreement with Joret-Desclosières (1876) and Piaget (1901). This would seem to be the more sensible option, putting Chartier in his late twenties and thirties when he produced the bulk of his mature literary output.

<sup>2</sup> Laidlaw admits that there is no evidence that Chartier served Charles VI as a secretary, other than a statement in the prologue of the *Quadrilogue invectif*, written before Charles VI's death, in which he describes himself as 'Alain Charretier humble secretaire du roy nostre sire et de mon tresredoubté seigneur monseigneur le regent', *Quadrilogue invectif*, ed. Droz (Paris: Champion, 1950), ll. 3-5, p. 1, also Chartier (1974), p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> This title is bestowed on Chartier by Fabri in his *Le Grand et Vrai Art de pleine rhétorique* of 1521. See the 3 volume edition by Héron (Rouen: A. l'Estringant, 1889-90), I, p. 72.

<sup>4</sup> Chartier introduces himself thus in the prologue to his *Quadrilogue invectif* (1422). See Chartier (1950), l. 6, p. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See Laidlaw's (1974) chronological table of Chartier's documented movements, pp. 18-21. For Chartier's Latin works see *Les Oeuvres latines*, ed. Bourgain-Hemeryck (Paris: CNRS, 1977).

<sup>6</sup> These scholars were a generation earlier than Chartier, but may have coincided at Paris before the Burgundian siege of 1418 forced the Dauphin and his court, including Chartier, to flee to Bourges. Jean de Montreuil and Gontier Col were among those massacred during the Burgundian attack. See Thomas, *De Johannis de Monsterolio vita et operibus* (Paris, 1883), Coville, *Gontier et Pierre Col et l'Humanisme en France au temps de Charles VI* (Paris: Droz, 1934), and Ornato, *Jean Muret et ses amis: Nicolas de Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil* (Geneva: Droz, 1969).

social coherence from the common reading and interpretation of a text or body of texts, as I shall elaborate in my second chapter.<sup>7</sup> Stock's textual community, however, is essentially non-productive, whereas my collaborative debating community is a productive and dynamic social entity, generating what I term *collaborative fictions*. The collaborative debating community derives its coherence not simply from its reading and interpretation of texts, but from its own written responses to those texts and from the material *loci* in which these responses are gathered. Like the model of the *hermetische Lyrik* which Jörn Gruber develops for the earlier troubadour corpus, the participants in these elaborate poetic or intellectual games are all initiates, playing by certain sets of rules.<sup>8</sup> Expanding on Gruber's more formalistic model, I draw on the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu<sup>9</sup> to suggest a dynamic field of playful and competitive relations between texts and poets. This approach better reflects the socio-cultural issues involved in the participatory literary culture of late-medieval France, and indeed is employed by Jane Taylor in her recent study of François Villon's poetry.<sup>10</sup> Taylor refers to a late-medieval 'poetics of engagement: debate, response, provocation, competition',<sup>11</sup> suggesting that individual literary works of this period should be situated in their specific cultural context. Originality and individual authorial prowess can thus be defined in relation to a specific socio-cultural field, acknowledging and confronting the anachronism inevitable when assessing medieval literature by modern standards. My model of the collaborative debating community is reinforced by Bourdieu's

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<sup>7</sup> See Stock, *Listening for the Text: On the Uses of the Past* (Baltimore/London: John Hopkins University Press, 1990).

<sup>8</sup> See Gruber, *Die Dialektik des Trobar: Untersuchungen zur Struktur und Entwicklung des occitanischen und französischen Minnesangs des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1983).

<sup>9</sup> Bourdieu's theories are revealingly explored in the context of medieval literature in a series of essays collected in a special issue of *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 33 no. 3 (1997) edited by Gaunt and Kay. See in particular their preface to the volume, 'Introduction: theory of practice and practice of theory', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 33 no. 3 (1997), 193-203.

<sup>10</sup> See Jane H. M. Taylor, *The Poetry of François Villon: Text and Context* (Cambridge: CUP, 2001).

<sup>11</sup> Jane H. M. Taylor (2001), p. 7.

theory of field in which different species of capital are at stake. Within these late-medieval communities of poets and scholars, then, the literary product is not the single work of an isolated individual, but rather the result of a knowing collaborative effort, in which each individual strives to ‘trump’ his predecessors (and even himself) intellectually and artistically in response to previous moves in the game. Engagement in literary debate suggested itself to me (drawing on Bourdieu’s notion of the field as game) as an elaborate textual game, in which texts can be seen as moves in a competitive struggle between players to acquire prestige (Bourdieu’s symbolic capital). To this end I also draw on Huizinga’s and Caillois’s sociologies of play and game,<sup>12</sup> suggesting parallels between the game (of love) within the text, the game supposed by the debate form itself, and the wider textual game in which the collaborative debating community participates. I ask to what extent this textual game may have a serious purpose in terms of the transmission of forms of poetic knowledge, particularly in the case of Chartier’s French verse.

The Bakhtinian sense of the situatedness of the language utterance is particularly appropriate to the socio-cultural model of literary activity I adopt. For Bakhtin, the utterance is fundamentally dialogic, and thus always assumes a social context of interaction between interlocutors; dialogue is always embodied as discourse, and must always have an author (speaker).<sup>13</sup> In the literary debate this oral dialogue is always mediated textually, be it through the figure of the narrator in the text, the jongleur reciting the text, an authorial subjectivity, or through the audience (reader or listener) of the debate. The interplay and slippage of the oral and the textual modes thus effected in the literary debate will prove crucial to my

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<sup>12</sup> See Huizinga, *Homo ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1998) and Caillois, *Les Jeux et les hommes: le masque et le vertige* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991).

<sup>13</sup> See Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981).

discussion. The literary debate, as Badel puts it, is a 'dialogue en récit'.<sup>14</sup> A literary dialogue (direct dialogue minus the narrator) is therefore always staged as a debate situation, with an authorial subjectivity, a reader or listener mediating the character's utterances. The private forum of the dialogue becomes the public performance of the debate as soon as it is mediated by a third agent. This distinction between the concepts of debate and dialogue is vital to an understanding of the dynamics of the *debating climate* of early humanist France since private (often epistolary) dialogues are opened up as debates for 'public' enjoyment as soon as they are passed to or otherwise experienced by a third party.

The socio-cultural model I adopt assesses not only actual historical and synchronic communities of scholars and poets, but also virtual and often diachronic communities supposed both by the dialectical links forged between texts which all respond to an initial text, and between the texts transcribed together in manuscript form. I am interested in manuscript context as the materialisation of the textual collaborative game, and the unique insights it gives into medieval reading practices, following such scholars as Huot and Armstrong.<sup>15</sup> Examples of the collaborative debating communities I postulate in the later medieval period which relate to prolonged scholarly and literary quarrels are the *Querelle de la Rose*, and the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. The first of these grew from the controversy occasioned by Jean de Meun's portrayal of women in his continuation of Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*<sup>16</sup> and generated mainly epistolary responses exchanged in both Latin and the vernacular between scholars at the Paris chancery

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<sup>14</sup> See Badel, 'Le Débat', in *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters VIII/1*, ed. Poirion (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1988), 95-110, p. 98.

<sup>15</sup> See Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge: CUP, 1993) and more recently Armstrong, *Technique and Technology: Script, Print, and Poetics in France, 1470-1550* (Oxford: OUP, 2000).

<sup>16</sup> See Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Strubel (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1992).

and the author Christine de Pizan over a period of a few years at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In contrast, the later fifteenth-century *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, provoked by Alain Chartier's poem *La Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424), generated further poetic sequels and imitations of Chartier's original over a period spanning more than half a century.<sup>17</sup>

In my first two chapters I set the scene for subsequent discussion of Chartier's work, with a broad investigation of the origins and operation of the debating climate of early humanist France, narrowing to a more specific focus on certain literary and intellectual debates and quarrels of this period. I investigate the literary, legal and intellectual antecedents of debate in my first chapter, examining how earlier dialogued forms from the Virgilian *eclogue* to the troubadour *tenso*, *demande d'amour* and northern French *jeu-parti*, combined with the scholastic *disputatio* and the model of the judicial trial, shape the late-medieval debate poem, and foster an enthusiasm for collaborative debate. I provide a brief survey of the intellectual and predominantly Scholastic tradition that formed a scientific basis for literary debate, before turning to the legal mode that had such a profound influence on the debate genre in the later Middle Ages. After engaging with previous critical work on debate, I trace the broad outlines of the literary tradition. I then focus on socio-cultural groupings of poets whose playful collaboration through debate, both virtual and actual, at the level of the individual text, the manuscript collection, or the poetic institution, inscribes them in a wider pattern of debate and dialogue that characterises the literary production of the later medieval period.

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<sup>17</sup> Another essential difference between these two prolonged debates or *querelles* is that most of the pieces attached to the *Querelle de la Rose* were not themselves in debate form, but simply epistolary responses (except Jean Gerson's *Traité d'une vision faicte contre 'Le Ronmant de la Rose'*). By contrast, the responses generated during the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* are themselves debates (mainly of the type *jugement*, see chapter I, p. 31).

In my second chapter I move to the intellectual and practical debating carried out by groups of humanist scholars in the Royal chancery at Paris, and the Papal chancery at Avignon in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. I give an account of the debating climate in early humanist France in which political and religious divisions are expressed through written accounts, both diplomatic treatises and debates. In the chanceries, scholars also exercise their epistolary style by indulging in debate with colleagues on literary topics. They adopt what I term debating positions as part of an elaborate intellectual game, often playfully assuming a strong polemical tone. In this way, scholars compete for symbolic capital within chancery milieux. This is very much the milieu in which Chartier was later to operate. (Chartier's engagement in contemporary politics through literary debate, however, lends the game a more 'serious' purpose and is part of a new valorisation of vernacular verse.) It was also in this atmosphere that the *Querelle de la Rose* erupted. I explore Christine de Pizan's vernacular intervention in the *Querelle*, and her interaction (or lack of it) with Jean de Montreuil and the defenders of Jean de Meun's *Rose*. Christine refuses to conduct the *Querelle* according to Jean de Montreuil's rules and publishes her own edited version of the *Querelle* dossiers.<sup>18</sup> Thus, though seemingly ostracised from the game and out-trumped, she in fact out-trumps Montreuil and his colleagues by rewriting the rules.

Chartier is unusual in that he participates in two debate traditions – intellectual and literary – writing debates both in Latin and in the vernacular. In my third chapter, I demonstrate how the two strands combine in Chartier's *oeuvre*. By tracing intertextualities between the Latin and French prose and French verse, I effect a rehabilitation of his French verse. The common critical consensus on

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<sup>18</sup> For a discussion of the composition of these dossiers, see *Débat sur le 'Roman de la Rose'*, ed. Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1977).

Chartier's 'joyeuses escritures'<sup>19</sup> has been that they are conventional courtly poems of little originality or import. I refute this theory, and demonstrate Chartier's rejection of a corrupt courtly discourse from within the confines of the courtly poem through a close rereading of the French verse through the Latin and French prose. I establish, in this chapter, that Chartier was a leading light in early humanist circles, whose contribution to vernacular eloquence went far beyond that of his contemporaries. I shall suggest that Chartier's works inspired a community of thought and debate about the nature of the poetic voice and mission that helped to promote vernacular verse as a fit medium for the transmission of knowledge. The *senefiance* that could be conveyed by vernacular poetry is confirmed by writers of arts of poetry, the *seconde rhétorique*, such as Boccaccio<sup>20</sup> or Fabri. The potential for social and intellectual engagement through poetry was later to be manifested in such prolonged poetic exchanges as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. The new reading of Chartier's French verse works through his Latin and French prose that I propose is supported by the manuscript context of Chartier's French verse. This material context sees Chartier's French verse frequently juxtaposed with his French prose and also with his Latin works the *Dialogus* and the *De vita curiali*. I explore the dialogic links thus forged through the collation of these texts in manuscripts of Chartier's work.

I address the literary and poetic quarrel known as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* in my fourth and fifth chapters. In my fourth chapter I begin by

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<sup>19</sup> I use Hoffman's term. Hoffman divides Chartier's French verse into two categories: 'joyeuses escritures' and 'serious poems', see Hoffman (1975), 39-43. Hoffman classifies in the 'joyeuses escritures' Chartier's *Lay de plaisance*, *Debat de reveille matin*, *Complainte contre la mort*, *Belle Dame sans mercy*, *Excusacion* and the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*. The 'serious poems' are the *Livre des Quatre Dames*, the *Lay de paix*, the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain*, and the *Breviaire des nobles*.

<sup>20</sup> See Boccaccio, *Genealogie deorum gentiliium libri*, ed. Romano, 2 vols. (Bari: G. Laterza, 1951), and Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100-c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 373-438, especially pp. 420-38.

tracing creative modes within the *Querelle* as a whole and through its various minor cycles. I raise questions about the nature of literary invention and textual relations within this community of texts, and seek to answer them through the application of my model of the collaborative debating community, suggesting the fundamentally collaborative and competitive urge of the *Querelle* poets. The collaborative fictions generated by the interaction of these poets are gathered in forty manuscripts. I look in my fifth chapter at the manuscript context of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* as the materialisation of the poetic game engaged in by the *Querelle* poets. Here I revert to the game theory of Johan Huizinga and Roger Caillois and the sociology of Pierre Bourdieu to suggest a dynamic field of playful dialogic relations between texts, and poets beyond the texts. These manuscripts often bear traces of coherent planning which are not immediately explicable. The game of chess, an image found in many of the texts collected in this body of manuscripts, provides a useful organising metaphor. The examination of these contradictory yet complementary texts in material spaces of play gives us a unique insight into reading and compositional practices in the Middle Ages.

Chartier's work, highly esteemed by medieval and Renaissance authors, and in spite of two excellent recent editions of the French verse and Latin works respectively,<sup>21</sup> has been curiously neglected. I hope to reverse that neglect, and to set him firmly at the junction – and pinnacle – of two cultures, Latin and vernacular, learned and literary.

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<sup>21</sup> I refer to Chartier (1974) and Chartier (1977). Droz's (1950) edition of the *Quadrilogue invectif* is the most recent, and there is a recent edition of *Le Livre de l'Espérance*, ed. Rouy (Paris: Champion, 1989).

## CHAPTER I

### ‘*Je vous demande par la force du geu*’: The Literary, Legal, and Intellectual Antecedents of Late-Medieval Debate

Je vous demande par la force du geu, lequel vaut mieux: joïr sans desirer, ou desirer sans jouyr? Desirer sans jouir.<sup>1</sup>

This *demande d’amour* which appears in London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21<sup>2</sup> presents an interesting parallel between the game constituted by the *demande* itself, and the game of love as played through the *demande* structure, as Margaret Felberg-Levitt remarks in her recent edition.<sup>3</sup> I locate yet a third layer of allusion in these lines, to the broader collaborative poetic game at work in late-medieval France which, like the game of love, is played in a constant state of desire for continuation rather than completion; the end of the game (closure) is often deliberately deferred in order to perpetuate the game, and further poetic exchange solicited from within the text, either by virtue of that text’s lack of closure,<sup>4</sup> or by specific calls for continuation. The phrase ‘la force du geu’ is suggestive of a poetic game which is a highly wrought system, played out according to specific and recognised rules of

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<sup>1</sup> This is edited from London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21. See *Les Demandes d’amour*, ed. Felberg-Levitt (Montreal: CERES, 1995), p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> It is significant, as I shall discuss later, that as well as 87 prose and verse *demandes d’amour*, this manuscript also contains on fols. 78<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>v</sup> Oton de Granson’s *Belle Dame qui eut mercy*, one of the imitations of Chartier’s *Belle Dame sans mercy*, listed by Piaget in *Romania* 33 (1904), 200-206; nine *ventes [venditions] d’amour* on fols. 45<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>; Jean de Garençières’s *Complainte d’amant* on fols. 14<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>, and in a series of 42 ballades from fols. 15<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>r</sup>, a ballade which forms part of the *Concours de Blois* exchange between Charles d’Orléans and others; incipit: ‘Je meurs de soif bien près de la fontaine’. There is also a copy of Christine de Pizan’s *Epistre au dieu d’Amours*, fols. 52<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>. For a description of this manuscript see Meyer, ‘Notice d’un recueil manuscrit de poésies françaises du XIII<sup>e</sup> au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle, appartenant à Westminster Abbey’, *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens textes français* 1 (1875), 25-36, and also Felberg-Levitt (1995), 50-54. See Appendix A for a list of the contents of this manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> See Felberg-Levitt (1995), p. 134, note 29.

<sup>4</sup> Deferral is achieved by a variety of means. In the debate poems of both Chartier and Christine de Pizan, the final judgement is never pronounced, leaving the debates inconclusive. Chartier also operates a vocabulary of closure by which he destabilises the conclusions to his verse debates. See my article, ‘Drawing Conclusions: The Poetics of Closure in Alain Chartier’s Verse’, forthcoming in *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 28 (early 2003).

engagement, on which all collaborators must agree. This particular collaborative poetic debating game is privileged by the debating climate of late-medieval France, which fed on earlier intellectual, legal and literary structures, and in which an economy of exchange was nourished between debating poets. I borrow the term economy of exchange from Bourdieu's study of the economy of linguistic exchange. Bourdieu situates linguistic exchange within the context of markets, asserting that:

les discours ne reçoivent leur valeur (et leur sens) que dans la relation à un marché – la valeur du discours dépend du rapport de forces qui s'établit concrètement entre les compétences linguistiques des locuteurs, entendues à la fois comme capacité de production et capacité d'appropriation et d'appréciation.<sup>5</sup>

The *demande* genre will be evaluated as a structuring element for formal games (*Le Jeu des demandes et réponses d'amours, Le Roi qui ne ment, Le Jeu aux rois et aux reines*),<sup>6</sup> for literary texts and for debate poems (such as Machaut's *Jugement* poems, Christine de Pizan's *Livre du dit de Poissy*), in the context of parallel literary genres such as the *vente* or *vendition d'amour*,<sup>7</sup> and in the wider context of literary debate and exchange in the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries in France. I engage with Gruber's dialectical model of poetic exchange in the troubadour corpus to show how my model of the late-medieval collaborative debating community both feeds off and expands on Gruber's more formalistic

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<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu, *Ce que parler veut dire* (Paris: Fayard, 1982), ch. 2, p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> See Felberg-Levitt (1995), and her article, 'Jouer aux *Demandes d'amour*', *Le Moyen Français* 39-41 (1995-6), 93-124; Firth Green, 'Le Roi qui ne ment and Aristocratic Courtship', in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context*, ed. Busby and Kooper (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1990); Hoepffner, 'Les Voeux du paon et les Demandes amoureuses', *Archivum Romanum* 4 (1920), 99-104; Langlois, 'Le Jeu du roi qui ne ment et le jeu du roi et de la reine', *Romanische Forschungen* 23 (1902), 163-73.

<sup>7</sup> See Lazard, 'Ventes et demandes d'amour', in *Les Jeux à la Renaissance: Actes du XXIII<sup>e</sup> colloque international d'études humanistes, Tours – Juillet 1980*, ed. Ariès and Margolin (Paris: J. Vrin, 1982), 133-49; Bergeron, 'Les Venditions françaises des XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Le Moyen Français* 19 (1986), 34-57.

model.<sup>8</sup> The *Cent Ballades* (1389)<sup>9</sup> is taken as a model of the fictionalisation of collaboration. Jean de Werchin's *Le Songe de la barge* (1404-1415), and an exchange of forty-six ballades with his equerry Gilbert de Lannoy (late 1404), are also cited as instances of poetic collaboration.

The *loci* of such literary debates and contests, played out not only at the level of the text or manuscript compilation, but often formally enclosed within poetic institutions and groups such as the *puy*s of northern France, the *Cour amoureuse* of 1400,<sup>10</sup> or the *Consistoire de la gaie science* of Toulouse (founded in 1324), are of particular significance.<sup>11</sup> Poetic competition was also fostered under the aegis of a proliferation of chivalric and literary orders such as *L'Écu d'or* (founded by Louis de Bourbon), the *Toison d'or* (founded in 1430), or *L'Ordre de la dame blanche à l'escu vert* (founded by Jean Le Meingre, or Boucicaut<sup>12</sup> in 1399), and the fictional *Ordre de la Rose* created by Christine de Pizan in 1401, and championed by the duc d'Orléans.<sup>13</sup> I suggest how these poetic associations often mirror the practices of intellectual or legal institutions. A survey of such intellectual

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<sup>8</sup> See Gruber (1983).

<sup>9</sup> This work forms a triptych with Christine de Pizan's *Cent Ballades* and the subsequent *Cent Ballades d'amant et de dame* (1409-10), which were very much influenced by, and play off, Jean le Seneschal's earlier collaborative collection. I am grateful to Professor Kevin Brownlee for his illuminating comments on this literary patterning.

<sup>10</sup> See Bozzolo and Loyau, *La Cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI*, 3 vols. (Paris: Léopard d'Or, 1982-1992), and Piaget, 'La Cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI', *Romania* 20 (1891), 417-54.

<sup>11</sup> See *Les Joies du gai savoir: recueil de poésies couronnés par le Consistoire de la gaie science*, ed. Jeanroy (Toulouse: Imprimerie et Librairie Édouard Privat, 1914), and *Las Leys d'amors: manuscrit de l'academie des Jeux Floraux*, ed. Anglade, 4 vols. (Toulouse: Imprimerie et Librairie Édouard Privat, 1919).

<sup>12</sup> Jean le Meingre, called Boucicaut, was also a member of the *Cour amoureuse* of 1400, and one of the four initial composers of the *Cent Ballades*. See Jean le Seneschal, *Cent Ballades*, ed. Raynaud (Paris: SATF, 1905), and also the anonymous *Livre des faits de Jean le Meingre, dit Boucicaut* (1406/7-1409), edited by Lalande in the *Textes littéraires français* series, (Paris/Geneva: Droz, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> Christine de Pizan's *Dit de la Rose* (1402) describes the founding of this order, essentially for the protection of women from slander: 'A bonne Amour je fais veu et promesse, / Et a la fleur qui est rose clamee, / A la vaillant de Loyauté deesse, / Par qui nous est ceste chose informee, / Qu'a tousjours mais la bonne renommee / Je garderay de dame en toute chose, / Ne par moy ja femme n'yert diffamee; / Et pour ce prens je l'Ordre de la Rose', vv. 197-204. See *Poems of Cupid, God of Love: Christine de Pizan's Epistre au dieu d'Amours and Dit de la Rose; Thomas Hoccleve's The Letter of Cupid*, ed. Fenster and Erler (Leiden: Brill, 1990).

and legal structures (textual, social and material) in the medieval period will serve to demonstrate how these structures are absorbed and reproduced in literary texts. The focus in this chapter, then, is on *literary* debate. By tracing the literary, legal and intellectual antecedents of late-medieval literary debate, I show how *demandes* and *ventes d'amour* as well as other literary games and exchanges (predominantly of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in France) represent part of a wider pattern of playful and collaborative debate which was to find full expression in later literary contests such as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. This playful and collaborative debate was to continue throughout the fifteenth century with such exchanges as those of the *Concours de Blois* (c.1457-1460), a series of ballades, initiated by Charles d'Orléans, and inspired by the line 'Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine',<sup>14</sup> or the collection entitled *Les Douze Dames de rhétorique* (c. 1463-1464), a partially epistolary collaboration between Georges Chastelain,<sup>15</sup> Jean Robertet,<sup>16</sup> Jean de Montferrant and M. de la Rière.<sup>17</sup> I am also concerned with the way in which the manuscript tradition of some of these literary debates<sup>18</sup> engages

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<sup>14</sup> This series of ballades is preserved in an autograph manuscript of Charles d'Orléans, Paris, BNF, fr. 25458. See *Charles d'Orléans: Ballades et rondeaux*, ed. Mühlethaler (Paris: Librairie générale française, 1992).

<sup>15</sup> In *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris: Champion, 1909), Doutrepoint notes that Georges Chastelain also participated in a dispute that arose between France and Burgundy, writing the satirical work *Prince* against Louis XI. The quarrel was further fuelled by poems written about the destruction of towns: the *Complainte de Dinant* attacked Tournai and Liège, to which Tournai replied with the *Correction des Liégeois*, the *Sentences de Liège*, *Complainte de la cité de Liège*, *Rebellion des Liégeois*, and other poems. A *ballade fette pour Amiens* (1471) reproaches the town for breaking the peace.

<sup>16</sup> For Jean Robertet's involvement in this epistolary collaboration and others, see Jean Robertet, *Oeuvres*, ed. Zsuppán (Geneva: Droz, 1970).

<sup>17</sup> See Jean Robertet; George Chastelain; Jean de Montferrant, *Les Douze Dames de rhétorique*, ed. Cowling (Geneva: Droz, 2002), and an earlier edition by Louis Batissier (Moulins: Desrosiers, 1838).

<sup>18</sup> I shall be looking in particular at Jean de Werchin's *Songe de la barge*, and the exchange of 46 ballades between Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut, and Gilbert de Lannoy, his equerry, both preserved in a sole manuscript: **Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686**, which also contains Chartier's *La Belle Dame sans mercy* and Achille Caulier's *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, as well as the manuscripts of the *demandes* and *ventes d'amour*, four of which contain either works by Chartier (**Paris, BNF, fr. 1130; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 205; Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale, L. II. 12**), and/or texts of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle (**Turin, B.N., L.II.12; London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21**). Turin, B.N., L. II. 12 also contains a *complainte* by Jean le Seneschal (on fols.

with that of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*,<sup>19</sup> extending the metaphor of play here to suggest a network of dialogic and playful relations between texts within and across manuscript collections.<sup>20</sup>

Let me start with the intellectual influences on literary debate. The Scholastic tradition of *disputatio*, the intellectual and scientific basis of the late-medieval literary debate, is well documented in accounts of medieval university curricula, providing one of the principal methods of teaching and learning in France from the 1150s on. The Theology faculty in Paris, a model for many other faculties across Europe, divided learning into two exercises, studied morning and afternoon respectively.<sup>21</sup> The first of these exercises, *lectio*, involved reading of the *auctoritates*; the second, *disputatio*, was divided into four or five parts: a *quaestio* on a specific topic, a proposition in response, objections to the proposition, a *determinatio* delivered by the master, then possibly answers to the objections.<sup>22</sup> The exercise of *disputatio* is recorded in the statutes from 1215, and was practised in the faculties of Medicine and Law as well as Theology. The *quodlibet*, attributed to Thomas Aquinas, developed from the *disputatio* in the mid-thirteenth century.<sup>23</sup> The main difference between the two seems to have been that the *quodlibet* was not a regular mode of teaching. University lectures on set texts were conducted through *quaestiones*. After a close reading of the text, *quaestiones* would be raised and

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148<sup>r</sup>B-149<sup>v</sup>B), one of the four original authors of the *Cent Ballades*, a late fourteenth-century poetic exchange (1389). Also significant is **Paris, BNF, fr. 19139**, a manuscript which is the sole witness to the poetry of Jean de Garencières who engaged in poetic exchanges with both Charles d'Orléans, and Jean de Bucy, author of one of the thirteen responses to the *Cent Ballades*. London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21 also contains a version of Garencières's *complainte* XXIX, 'Belle, prenez temps et espace' (fols. 14<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>19</sup> See my chapter on the manuscript context of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* (V), and Appendix A, which contains brief descriptions of the manuscripts mentioned above.

<sup>20</sup> I shall elaborate on this notion in my final chapter (V).

<sup>21</sup> See Verger, *Les Universités au moyen âge* (Paris: Quadrige/PUF, 1999 (1<sup>st</sup> ed. 1973)).

<sup>22</sup> See Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1974).

answered with recourse to various *auctoritates*. The closely argued structure of the *disputatio* would be influenced by the student's grasp of grammar and logic, both of which were studied at Paris (as elsewhere) in the Arts faculty (though rhetoric was excluded from the Paris curriculum in the mid-thirteenth century).<sup>24</sup> The *disputationes* were often copied down for circulation after their public performance, and Bazan conjectures that some bypassed the performance stage, and were composed purely for copying.<sup>25</sup> The copying of these *disputationes* might have been done by the participants, by the master himself, or by a clerk (*socius*). Many recueils of *disputationes* and *quodlibets* have come down to us, often carefully organised by topic.<sup>26</sup> These recueils would have been circulated among students and masters for practice. The *disputatio* might be separated from its *determinatio* (judgement) within the body of the collection, mirroring the deferral of judgement that might occur at the end of the oral version of the *disputatio*. The master might give a *determinatio* on the spot, or more likely, deliver his judgement separately, after the public performance of the *disputatio*. A different judge might occasionally have been invited to give the *determinatio*.

The Scholastic method developed from a vogue for dialectic. Hunt,<sup>27</sup> Le Goff,<sup>28</sup> and Murphy<sup>29</sup> concur that this may have been a response to the newly

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<sup>23</sup>See Bazan, *Les Questions disputées et les questions quodlibétiques dans les facultés de théologie, de droit et de médecine* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1985), and also Glorieux, *La Littérature quodlibétique*, 2 vols. (Paris: Kail, 1925-35).

<sup>24</sup>For a more detailed picture of the medieval university and its origins, see Hastings Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987) edited by Powicke and Emden; Ferruolo, *The Origins of the University: The Schools of Paris and the Critics 1100-1215* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1985).

<sup>25</sup>Bazan (1985).

<sup>26</sup>Bazan (1985) mentions Douai 434 which contains 572 disputes of Parisian masters from 1230, as well as Assisi 158 and Worcester MS. Q. 99 which contain *disputationes* held at Oxford and Paris at the end of the thirteenth century. See also Glorieux, 'Les 572 questions du ms de Douai 434', *Recherches de Théologie ancienne et médiévale* 10 (1938), 123-267.

<sup>27</sup>See Hunt, 'Aristotle, Dialectic and Courtly Literature', *Viator* 10 (1979), 95-129.

<sup>28</sup>See Le Goff, *Intellectuals in the Middle Ages*, trans. Fagan (Cambridge, MA/Oxford: Blackwell, 1993).

<sup>29</sup>See Murphy (1974).

available Latin translations of the *Logica nova*, consisting of Aristotle's *Analytica priora*, the *Analytica posteriora*, the *Topica* and the *De sophisticis elenchis*.<sup>30</sup> The last two of these four treatises were widely adopted as manuals of dialectic for university students. Book VIII of the *Topica* contains advice for the proper conduct of a *disputatio*. Aristotle here makes a vital distinction between contentious and dialectical argument which will be useful for my later exploration of subjectivity in the debate poem:

Criticism of an argument when it is taken by itself is not the same thing as when it forms the subject of questions; for often the person questioned is the cause of the argument not being properly discussed, because he does not concede the points which would have enabled the argument against his thesis to have been properly carried out [...] He who asks his questions in a contentious spirit and he who in replying refuses to admit what is apparent and to accept whatever question the questioner wishes to put, are both of them bad dialecticians.<sup>31</sup>

In a seminal article, Tony Hunt traces the influence of dialectic on the development of courtly literature, and particularly the dialectical reasoning set out by Aristotle in his *Topica*.<sup>32</sup> Hunt identifies three main areas of influence. First the concept of *courtly love* itself which he suggests is fundamentally dialectical in nature, and 'susceptible of dialectical treatment'; then the 'construction of poetic works themselves on the dialectical model of oppositions and correspondences'; and third the 'prominent part played by ratiocination itself in the frequent debates found in the romances'.<sup>33</sup> In a recent study of contradiction in twelfth-century courtly literature, Sarah Kay recognises the pervasiveness of dialectic, but nuances Hunt's argument by asserting that courtly texts adopt the dialectical model in a playful and

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<sup>30</sup> These four works were translated into Latin by James of Venice around 1130. See Minio-Paluello, 'Iacobus Veneticus Grecus, Canonist and Translator of Aristotle', *Traditio* 8 (1952), 265-304, and Aristotle, *Posterior Analytics; Topica*, ed. Goold; trans. Tredennick and Forster (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997).

<sup>31</sup> Aristotle, *Topica* VIII, X-XI, 161a-b, pp. 718-9.

<sup>32</sup> See Hunt (1979) and Aristotle (1997).

<sup>33</sup> Hunt (1979), p. 108-9.

subjective way that contradicts the scientific and objective spirit of dialectic as practised by the Scholastics:

Although courtly contradictoriness may reflect the views current among twelfth-century dialecticians, it may also contradict – in the sense of flout – the principles of rightful argument which many of them extolled.<sup>34</sup>

Courtly texts of the earlier medieval period often pivot on a series of paradoxes and contradictory discourses (the erotic and religious for example) that Kay suggests disturb the surface of the text, but that need not be reconciled as scholars have attempted. Kay detects a psychoanalytic dimension to these textual disturbances that she explored previously in her study of the interpenetration of the *chanson de geste* and the medieval romance. Following Fredric Jameson, Kay demonstrates how certain aspects of the historical or social context of the text are ‘repressed’, but struggle to the surface as ‘conflicting narratives’.<sup>35</sup> Kay’s theories offer an interesting alternative and even complementary angle for my consideration of the dialogical relationship between Chartier’s Latin and French works. To adopt Jameson’s terminology as mediated through Kay: the Latin and French prose works provide a clue to the ‘political unconscious’ of the French verse (though I shall suggest in my third chapter that Chartier’s moves are largely self-conscious).

The dialectical model of the *disputatio* clearly subtends many of the longer debate poems of the later medieval period in which an initial proposition (equivalent to the *quaestio*) is stated, then argued from two or more points of view (*propositio*), each protagonist refuting the opposing view, and stating his own case. The

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<sup>34</sup> See Kay, *Courtly Contradictions: The Emergence of a Literary Object in the Twelfth Century*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), p. 19.

<sup>35</sup> Kay, *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), and also Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981).

*determinatio* is reached, often in the form of a judgement, which may be deferred to an extra-textual point in the future.<sup>36</sup>

Alain Chartier's *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* provides an example of the logical progression of the *disputatio* as it becomes embedded in poetic structure. In Chartier's debate poem, the legacy of the *disputatio* combines with the *demande d'amour* and is informed by the more subjective strain of conflictual poetry exemplified by the *jeu-parti*. The scene is set in a castle, where the forlorn narrator figure finds himself amid a noble company of ladies and knights, who are amusing themselves after dinner with questions of love,<sup>37</sup> 'et en parlant a demander se mirent / Que c'est d'amours', vv. 27-28.<sup>38</sup> The debate itself is proposed by one of the ladies present, who asks,

S'en amours a biens et plaisirs si haulx  
Et d'autre part dueil et mortelx assaulx,  
Duquel y a plus? De biens ou de maulx?, vv. 202-04.

This question proposed by the lady, as well as the original, 'Que c'est d'amours', both resemble *demandes* formulae, transcribed in various variant forms in the body of *demande* manuscripts.<sup>39</sup> The *demande* around which the debate balances is similar to that posed in Christine de Pizan's *Livre du debat de Deux Amans*

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<sup>36</sup>As well as providing a structural model for literary debate, the *disputatio* provides a pattern for gender conflict throughout the history of debate, a point I shall address later in this chapter.

<sup>37</sup>This after-dinner occupation resembles the courtly game of *demandes d'amour*, usually played in mixed company in order to exploit erotic tension. On this function of the *demandes* see particularly Firth Green (1990).

<sup>38</sup>See Chartier (1974), 158-95.

<sup>39</sup>Felberg-Levitt divides the manuscripts and printed editions of the *demandes* into eight groups based on their content and phrasing. She edits the first *demande* type I cite here (Que c'est d'amours?) from 4 groups of manuscripts: 1, 2, 4, 6; the formula varies from group to group. In group 2 it appears, 'Beau sire, je vous demande, qu'est amours?' to which the answer comes, 'Dame, c'est une vertu invisible, dont la substance et les euvres monstrent la voullenté et maniere d'aymer; et commence amour par regard', p. 178. The second, used by both Christine de Pizan and Chartier, appears in three groups: 1, 2, and 4. In group 4 it appears, 'Beau sire, je vous demande, duquel loyal amans s'i treuvent plus en amours: du bien, ou du mal?' to which the knight replies, 'Dame, il y a plus de bien; car nulz ne puet tant endurer en amours que ung tout seul bien ne garrisse tout', Felberg-Levitt (1995), p. 214.

(1400).<sup>40</sup> Two knights take up the debate in Chartier's poem. The first, whose general appearance reflects his argument, being 'en bon point, sain, alegre et joyeux', v. 212, argues that 'en amours a plus joye que douleur', v. 670. He is contradicted by a second knight, the antithesis of the first in both appearance and opinion; he is 'pensif et pale', v. 679, and argues that 'en amours a plus de mal que de bien', v. 1110. These two conflicting arguments are then followed by a brief recapitulation by each knight, in an attempt to refute the other's claims. A *determinatio* in the form of a judgement is then called for. Jean de Grailli, Conte de Foix is appointed judge, but the conclusion to the debate is projected beyond the end of the text, since the Conte is absent on a campaign, and is to be presented with a written version of the debate on his return.<sup>41</sup> The structure of Chartier's poem, probably one of his earlier debates,<sup>42</sup> is also greatly influenced by the process of judicial trial, in spite of its courtly setting. The *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* was later to precipitate the debate genre, 'out of the garden and into the courtroom', as Joan McRae puts it.<sup>43</sup> These judicial trial models, and earlier poetic forms such as the *demandes*, *joc-partits*, or *tensos* combined with the scholastic model of the *disputatio*, shape the late-medieval debate poem.

Bloch's often flawed survey of the relationship between law and medieval French literature gives a picture of the climate in which judicial trial in the twelfth

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<sup>40</sup> Christine de Pizan's debate is set at a party where the guests are amusing themselves with questions of love, asking 'Que c'est d'amer', v. 365. Christine's narrator figure then leaves the party with a *dame*, a *bourgeoise*, and two knights: 'cil qui fu blanc et / Palle ou vis', vv. 317-18, and another, 'joyeux', v. 350, and they begin to debate the narrator's question: 'Dittes, sire, car plus estes rassis / Et le plus sage, / Vo bon avis de l'amoureux servage, / S'il en vient preu, joye, honneur ou dommage', vv. 403-06.

<sup>41</sup> There is a further obstacle to closure here: the Conte de Foix is appointed to judge the debate, but Chartier adds the caveat, 's'il lui plaist, son advis en droit', v. 1230, suggesting that a final *determinatio* may never be given.

<sup>42</sup> See Laidlaw's discussion of the dating of this poem in the introduction to his edition, 1974, pp. 29-32. I put this debate later than Laidlaw, c. 1419-20: see chapter III, pp. 107-8.

century onwards tended to replace the traditional trial by battle or duel. For him, 'the substitution of an inquisitory procedure for battle transformed the archaic test of martial strength into a test of intellectual strength within the confines of formal debate'.<sup>44</sup> The shift towards judicial debate is understood by Bloch as an attempt to verbalise physical conflicts, in a society increasingly aware of the power of the spoken or written word and in the light of a failing feudal system. He further identifies the three conditions that, from the twelfth century on, will lead to a widespread culture of debate: 'a highly developed system of civil judicial procedure, vernacular debate literature, and philosophical dialectic'.<sup>45</sup> The conclusions reached in this survey, though, are less than satisfactory, as Lisa Jefferson points out in her study of medieval oaths, vows and promises.<sup>46</sup> Bloch does not examine the later Middle Ages in much detail, but concentrates mainly on earlier disputes between troubadours, singling out the *joc partit* and the *tenso* as verbally competitive forms. The *Querelle de la Rose* and the *Concours de Blois* are mentioned as later examples of verbal conflict, but the omission of Chartier or any reference to the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* is rather surprising, particularly given the legal nature of many of the sequels. Jefferson's less ambitious study focuses on specific legal aspects underpinning one text. She reinterprets the first part of the prose *Lancelot* in the light of her thorough investigation of medieval canon and secular law, and concludes that the climate of theological and legal

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<sup>43</sup> See McRae, *The Trials of Alain Chartier's Belle Dame Sans Mercy: The Poems in Cyclical and Manuscript Context* (unpublished thesis: University of Virginia, 1997), p. 20. I am very grateful to Professor McRae for allowing me to read a copy of her thesis.

<sup>44</sup> See R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley/London: University of California Press, 1977), p. 139.

<sup>45</sup> Bloch continues, 'the rise of an inquisitory court system, in which argumentation was practised in the place of battle, along with the increasingly dialectical patterns of Latin and vernacular poetry, attest to the tremendous importance in all areas of cultural life – **legal, intellectual, and literary** – of what remains the verbal form of violence *par excellence*: the debate', p. 164.

<sup>46</sup> See Jefferson, *Oaths, Vows and Promises in the First Part of the French Prose Lancelot Romance* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1993), p. 27, note 83.

debate in thirteenth-century France influenced and shaped the literary text. One such debate arose over the validity of bonds and oaths sworn under duress and the exercise of free will. Jefferson argues that the writer of the *Lancelot* must have been aware of these legal issues, and makes his characters act accordingly.<sup>47</sup>

By the end of the thirteenth century, the *Parlement de Paris* had developed a complex *inquisitio* procedure, a brief exposition of which will clearly show the influence of the judicial trial procedure on medieval literary debate texts.<sup>48</sup> The plaintiff would plead his case in the *Grand Chambre* before the defendant and the court, after which the defendant might call for an adjournment to seek counsel. The plaintiff would then write a *litis contestatio*, or statement of accusation, which was subsequently delivered to the defendant for his response. *Enquêteurs* were despatched by the judge to seek out witnesses and information, which was then recorded by *greffiers*. The information gathered (compiled in an *inquisitory dossier* by the *greffier*) would be assessed at the *Chambre des Enquêtes*, and finally, in the *Grand Chambre*, an *arrêt* or judgement would be pronounced in the name of the king. The use of *inquisitory dossiers* is further evidence for the verbalisation and textualisation of conflicts. In his recent typology of literary debates, Pierre Bec asserts that the judicial setting functions as a dramatisation of the debate poem, staging the poetic competition that generates the text as an actual contest within the

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<sup>47</sup> 'When we look again at our fictional text in the light of our knowledge of this legal and theological dispute, we are drawn to the seemingly inevitable conclusion that whoever wrote it was fully familiar with the issues of debate, and that he is making his characters portray in action the truth of the maxim: *coactus voluit, sed voluit*', Jefferson (1993), p. 212. Jefferson looks at an earlier period, and a different genre of medieval literature than is the focus of my study, but my inclusion of her theories here is intended to provide a precedent for the influence of the legal mode on medieval literary production.

<sup>48</sup> See Ducoudray, *Les Origines du Parlement de Paris et la justice aux XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1902) and Autrand, *Naissance d'un grand corps de l'Etat: les gens du Parlement de Paris 1345-1454* (Paris: Sorbonne, 1981).

text.<sup>49</sup> The performative aspect of literary debate that, as I mentioned in my introduction, is a prerequisite of the genre, allows the author to manipulate a cast of personae. The introduction of judicial structures to literary debate concretises this sense of theatricality. The appointment of a judge is common to both early debates (such as the *tenso* and *jeu-parti*), and later *dits* such as Machaut's mirrored *Jugements*<sup>50</sup> or Christine de Pizan's love debate poems.<sup>51</sup> Later, the *cour d'amours* was to move from its traditional bucolic setting to relocate in an actual court of law, as McRae remarks,<sup>52</sup> and so the debate is recast as the fictional image of the medieval trial. The late-medieval poetic debate thus draws imaginatively on oral competition as embodied in the legal trial, just as the written versions of the *disputatio* draw on an essentially oral and competitive exercise, without necessarily recording an actual oral performance.<sup>53</sup>

The medieval court *greffier* corresponds to the figure of the narrator-scribe in the debates of Alain Chartier,<sup>54</sup> who observes the dispute, and is called upon to record it, adopting the role of 'simple cleric' (*Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, v. 1245).<sup>55</sup> In later texts, the figure of the *greffier* surfaces in a fictional courtroom,

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<sup>49</sup> 'L'intervention d'une tierce personne (haut personnage, cour mondaine ou public populaire) [...] «théatralise» la performance, lui donne la dynamique d'une véritable compétition et [...] finalement, est la seule à en déterminer l'issue', Bec, *La Joute poétique: de la tenson médiévale aux débats chantés traditionnels* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 2000), p. 28.

<sup>50</sup> See Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne and Remede de Fortune*, ed. Kibler and Wimsatt (Athens/London: University of Georgia Press, 1988), and Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Jugement du roy de Navarre*, ed. Barton Palmer (New York/London: Garland, 1988).

<sup>51</sup> See Christine de Pizan, *The Love Debate Poems*, ed. Altmann (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1998).

<sup>52</sup> See McRae (1997), p. 20.

<sup>53</sup> As I mention on p. 15, many of the textual versions of *disputationes* and *quodlibets* were composed straight onto paper without passing through an oral performance stage.

<sup>54</sup> Chartier's two longer debate poems: the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, and the *Livre des Quatre Dames*, draw much of their inspiration from the innovative narrative *dit* form of Machaut's *Le Jugement du roy de Behaigne* (before 1342) and *Le Jugement du roy de Navarre* (1349), and of Christine de Pizan's debate poems, *Le Livre du debat de Deux Amans* (1400), *Le Livre des trois jugemens* (1400) and *Le Livre du dit de Poissy* (April 1401).

<sup>55</sup> In the *Livre des Quatre Dames* (1416), Chartier's narrator figure records the debate as a present to be sent to his lady, so that she may judge, and return an oral or written statement: 'or est arbitre / De ce debat que j'enregistre / Et qu'a jugier lui administre', vv. 3432-34. In the *Debat de reveille matin* (before 1424), the narrator figure asserts that he recorded the debate he overheard: 'si mis en escript

appearing in Baudet Herenc's *Parlement d'Amours*, the first of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* sequels, along with other personifications who exercise legal functions within the court.<sup>56</sup> Further poems in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* explicitly take the judicial trial as their model for a fictitious court of love. *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*<sup>57</sup> and *Les Erreurs du jugement du povre triste amant banny*<sup>58</sup> are both set in law courts. The second of these poems, like the *Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, is related entirely by a narrator figure in the third person; there is no direct engagement. This oblique style of narration emphasises the legal character and formality of the poems, mirroring the composition of the *inquisitory dossier*. A later prose text, the *Arrêts d'amours* (1460-1466),<sup>59</sup> which has close intertextual links to the *Querelle* cycle, employs a similar oblique narration through the figure of a clerk who overhears some of the *arrêts* pronounced by a *greffier* in the *Parlement d'Amours*. The *Arrêts*, in spite of its legalistic terminology and its court setting, is nonetheless a literary text in the *Belle Dame* tradition, and as such subject to the same rules as other literary texts

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ce qu'ilz dirent / Pour mieulx estre de leur butin', vv. 365-66. The narrator of Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424) overhears the debate concealed behind a trellis, but does not refer explicitly to the textual recording of the debate, and similarly in the *Excusacion* (1425), though here, Chartier's narrator is simultaneously the observer of debate and a participant. The narrator figure of the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain* (1416-1424) appears only at the end of the debate, here asserting that he has had the debate recorded by another copyist: 'quant je l'ay fait escrire, / J'ay a l'escrivain deffendu / Du moustrer', vv. 436-38.

<sup>56</sup>In chapters IV and V, I discuss patterns of invention and mimesis in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. See McRae's edition (1997) of the four immediate sequels of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*: Herenc's *Le Parlement d'Amours*, *La Dame lealle en amours*, Achille Caulier's *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, and *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, all of which involve scenes within a court of love. McRae lists the presence of legal figures in the various sequels: a *dieu d'Amours* who corresponds to the king as the head of the Parliament; *les présidens* (whose number varies in the sequels: 12 in the *Parlement* and 15 in *Dame lealle*); the *procureur* and *avocats du roi* (*Espoir* and *Desir* are the *procureurs* in *Parlement*, as in *Dame lealle* and *Cruelle Femme*); a *huissier* (called *Doulx Penser* in *Parlement*; *Dame lealle*; *Cruelle Femme*); a *greffier* (*Parlement*; called *Gracieulx Parler* in *Cruelle Femme*); and the *avocats du deffendeur* (*Belle Dame* adjourns the court in order to summon these in *Parlement*, they appear as *Loyaulté* and *Verité* in the *Dame lealle*, and *Fiction* and *Faulceté* in the *Cruelle Femme*).

<sup>57</sup> See Piaget's edition in *Romania* 34 (1905), 375-411.

<sup>58</sup> See Piaget's edition in *Romania* 34 (1905), 412-16.

<sup>59</sup> See *Les Arrêts d'amours*, ed. Rychner (Paris: Picard, 1951). Rychner attributes the *Arrêts* to Martial d'Auvergne, but this is rather dubious.

generated by the *Querelle*, and by collaborative poetic exchange in general. These game rules are amply demonstrated in the verse epilogue to the *Arrêts*, when a device ostensibly intended to emphasise the veracity of the account actually undermines the entire structure of the text, and leaves the *Arrêts* inconclusive and unstable.

Ainsi le greffier s'avança  
 De plusieurs autres arrestz dire,  
 Mais de tous ceulx qu'il prononça  
 Ne peuz rien rapporter ne escripre;  
 Il avoit ung peu la voix basse  
 Tant qu'on ne le pavoit entendre,  
 Et puis ma plume estoit fort lasse,  
 Par quoy n'eusse sceu rien comprendre  
 [...]  
 Helas! jugemens sont douteux,  
 Nul n'est saige qui s'i fie, vv. 5-12; 19-20.

Not only is the narrator unsure about the other *arrêts* that were pronounced that day, the reader infers that the *arrêts* that have been recorded may be suspect, and subject to reversal (mimicking the frequent reversal of verdicts in appeals procedures).<sup>60</sup>

Two important late-medieval debate poems, Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames* (1440-1442),<sup>61</sup> and Pierre Michault's *Le Procès d'Honneur féminin* (after 1461),<sup>62</sup> adopt the model of the judicial trial for their defences of the female sex. Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames* builds a defence of women on a foundation of virtuous women, literary, historical and mythical, much in the same way that Christine de Pizan built the edifice of her *Livre de la cité des dames* (1405-

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<sup>60</sup> These reversals and unstable endings are characteristic of much debate poetry. The poets engaged in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* use this closural ambiguity as an implicit challenge to occasion further poems. Machaut, Christine de Pizan and Chartier all employ the technique of deferred judgements (the verdict reached in Machaut's *Jugement du roy de Behaigne* is overturned in his *Jugement du roy de Navarre*). See Armstrong, 'The Deferred Verdict: A Topos in Late-Medieval Poetic Debates?', *French Studies Bulletin* 64 (Autumn 1997), 12-14.

<sup>61</sup> See Martin le Franc, *Le Champion des dames*, ed. Deschaux, 5 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1999).

<sup>62</sup> See Pierre Michault, 'Le Procès d'Honneur féminin de Pierre Michault', ed. Folkart in *Le Moyen Français* 2 (1978), special edition. This poem is preserved in a sole manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3521, which also contains imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. See my chapter on the image of chess in this and other *BDSM* manuscripts (V).

7).<sup>63</sup> In the *Champion des dames*, the judicial trial sequence follows a physical battle (in book I) in which *Franc Vouloir* attempts to defend the *château d'Amours*, which houses the *dames*, and which is being assaulted by *Malebouche* and his followers. The subsequent trial by jury pits *Franc Vouloir* and his supporters (characters such as *Nature* and *Sainte Église*) on the side of the *dames* and *Amours* against *Malebouche* and his five lawyers who are the detractors of women (*Bref Conseil, Vilain Penser, Trop Cuidier, Lourt Entendement* and *Faux Semblant*). *Verité* finally judges in favour of *Franc Vouloir* and crowns him victor. A significant intertextuality which connects the *Champion des dames* to the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, locates Chartier's *Belle Dame* in Martin le Franc's cemetery of the *chapelle d'Amours*, where she lies, 'en notable et haultain repos', v. 1912; no longer the 'dame au cueur noircy', v. 1904, as Achille Caulier had labelled her in his sequel *La Cruelle Femme en amours*,<sup>64</sup> but waiting to join the *dieu d'Amours* in the *paradis d'Amours*, 'en conclusion finale', v. 1925. Pierre Michault takes Martin le Franc's poem as the model for his *Procès d'Honneur féminin*. *Honneur féminin*, in the shape of an old man, is accompanied by the narrator to a court at which figures from classical and medieval literature (and particularly those authorities cited in what became known as the *Querelle des femmes*) join the ranks of the allegorical figures. Martin le Franc, Alain Chartier and Boccaccio<sup>65</sup> support

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<sup>63</sup> Gaston Paris records that Martin le Franc's *Le Champion des dames*, dedicated to Philippe le Bon, met with a less than rapturous reception at the court of Burgundy, and provoked le Franc into further poetic activity, writing the poem, *Complainte du livre du Champion des dames a maistre Martin le Franc son acteur*, shortly after sending the original work to Philippe around 1442. (In writing that his book was ill received, le Franc was probably self-consciously playing with the notion of continuation and response, though, and so should not be taken entirely seriously.) The poem is written in the form of a dialogue between the author and his book, imitating the practice of classical poets such as Ovid and Horace. See Paris, 'Un poème inédit de Martin le Franc', *Romania* 16 (1877), 383-437.

<sup>64</sup> Martin le Franc also refers to the sequel poem *La Dame lealle en amours*, describing the *Belle Dame* as 'la dame leale', v. 1921.

<sup>65</sup> Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* (1355-59) was regarded as a profeminine treatise, and discusses famous and virtuous women of the past (biblical/historical/literary), earning its author a place among the other champions of women in Michault's court. It became known widely through the vernacular

*Honneur féminin*, led by their *procureur*, *Vray Rapport*, while Juvenal,<sup>66</sup> Matheolus<sup>67</sup> and Jean de Meun<sup>68</sup> form the defence team, led by *Faux Parler*; the defendant is simply known as *l'Inculpé*. It is particularly relevant that the trial sequence in *Le Procès d'Honneur féminin* should consist of a prosecuting side made up of the defenders of women, and a defence made up of detractors, since the traditional medieval pattern was a defence of women against male attack: woman's *responsio* to male *quaestio*, as Solterer would put it.<sup>69</sup> The defence is finally quashed, and *Honneur féminin* declared victorious, while Juvenal, Matheolus, and Jean de Meun are indicted, 'desloyaux, faulx, inicques et mauldis, dampnez en feu ensemble leurs maulx dis'. The four parts of Michault's trial: *deductions* (defence pleas), *replicques*, *duplicques*, and *protestacions*, are mirrored in the structure of the *Arrêts*, and reflect a similar order of statements in the medieval judicial trial.

The theme of the defamation and the concomitant notion of the defence of women is one which runs throughout the later medieval debate tradition, from the early fifteenth-century *Querelle de la Rose*, in which Christine de Pizan, supported by Jean Gerson, accuses Jean de Meun of slandering women in his vastly popular

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translation of 1401 by Laurent de Premierfait, *De cleres et nobles femmes*. See *De casibus virorum illustrium (Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes)*, ed. Gathercole and trans. Laurent de Premierfait (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968). Ironically though, Boccaccio also wrote antifeminist texts such as *Il Corbaccio* (1355). See Blamires, *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 166-76; also id., *The Case for Women in Medieval Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

<sup>66</sup> The silver age Latin poet Juvenal wrote the virulent antifeminist Satire VI (2<sup>nd</sup> century A.D.), and was widely imitated in the medieval period.

<sup>67</sup> Matheolus, also known as Mathieu de Boulogne, wrote the antifeminist *Liber lamentationum Matheoluli* (1295), which became widely known in the later Middle Ages through the vernacular translation of Jean Le Fèvre (1371-2). Le Fèvre subsequently wrote a profeminist text, *Le Livre de leesce*, which refutes Matheolus's antifeminist claims, and which was a source for Christine de Pizan.

<sup>68</sup> Jean de Meun is, of course, cited for his misogynistic continuation of Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose* (c. 1275), which sparked the early fifteenth-century epistolary exchange known as the *Querelle de la Rose*. See chapter II.

<sup>69</sup> See Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley/London: University of California Press, 1995), and also Joan Kelly, 'Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des femmes*, 1400-1789', *Signs* 8 (1982), 4-28: 'caught up in opposition to misogyny, the feminists of the *querelle* remained bound by the terms of that dialectic. What they had to say to women and society was largely reactive to what misogynists said about women', p. 27.

*Roman de la Rose*,<sup>70</sup> to the later *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, in which Chartier's heroine is both figuratively and actually put on trial. In the *Querelle de la Rose*, Christine de Pizan is left in the role of respondent, a role that Solterer ascribes to women throughout the debating tradition, from the High Middle Ages onwards:<sup>71</sup>

The response increasingly became a field for challenging the dominant feminine symbols in poetic discourse. [...] While the woman's response displayed a contestatory aspect typical of so much of medieval literature, it derived its particular force from the *disputatio*. Moreover, it resembled the set role of *responsio* in these debates as they were conducted in the schools and the universities.<sup>72</sup>

In her fascinating study, Solterer demonstrates how women's response to male discourse, though ostensibly mimetic of the master's work, can weaken the dominant discourse through a coherent system of opposition to it, according to a principle of contrariety and not contradiction.<sup>73</sup> Through the use of accusations of slander – a woman's arsenal – woman's response to male attack finally culminates in the criminal charges of slander purportedly levelled against Chartier for his *Belle Dame sans mercy*.<sup>74</sup>

Although, with Solterer, I agree that women's role in medieval debate was very much that of response, the debate surrounding the *Belle Dame sans mercy*,

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<sup>70</sup> In my second chapter I shall discuss the problem of Christine de Pizan's vernacular intervention in what is essentially a male-dominated Latin debate between the humanist secretaries and notaries Jean de Montreuil, Gontier and Pierre Col, and her position outside the patriarchal *jeu*.

<sup>71</sup> However, as I also discuss at greater length in my second chapter which focuses on the *Querelle de la Rose*, Christine de Pizan engineers her own version of the *Querelle*, and includes a sequence of the *Querelle* letters in manuscripts of her personally organised and collected works. In this way she is able to re-establish her position, and by selecting and publishing the letters with her own *oeuvre*, achieve control and even authorial status over the material. She even effectively imposes closure on the *Querelle*.

<sup>72</sup> Solterer (1995), intro., pp. 10-11.

<sup>73</sup> Contrariety, according to the Aristotelian square of oppositions, holds two opposite objects in coexistence, whereas in contradiction the two opposing objects cancel one another out. Solterer (1995), pp. 103-04 and also Kay (2001).

<sup>74</sup> The ladies who allegedly send Chartier a letter in response to his *Belle Dame sans mercy* summon him to court to answer charges: 'journée est assignee au premier jour d'avril a vous et a voz parties adverses', l. 11-12, *Lettre des dames a Alain*, Chartier (1974), pp. 360-61. Gretchen Angelo explores the woman's responses in Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*, in relation to the uncourtly behaviour of Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* in 'A Most Uncourtly Lady: The Testimony of the *Belle Dame*

indisputably intense and long-lived, was played out, I believe, according to other motives than those she attributes to the players. The question of the defence of women was an important part of the *Querelle*,<sup>75</sup> but the motives behind it were two-fold, stemming also from a desire for competition and collaboration between poets.<sup>76</sup> It is to the playful poetic antecedents of medieval literary debate that I now turn, in a closer investigation of the conditions that nurtured a debating climate in late-medieval France, in which collaboration through debate was the principal creative mode.

The competitive poetry of the troubadours and trouvères has been addressed in a number of important and relatively recent studies, leading to a renewal of critical interest in the debate genre (which had been largely neglected, or only partially addressed).<sup>77</sup> Earlier studies include Hans Walther's 1920 survey of medieval Latin debate poetry,<sup>78</sup> and Michel-André Bossy's anthology of medieval debate poetry, which concentrates on the period up to the fourteenth century.<sup>79</sup> Ito Toshiki produced a competent, if dry, thesis in 1974, which attempted to trace the antecedents of debate to classical times, and to provide a typology of French medieval debate.<sup>80</sup> Pierre-Yves Badel's chapter on debate in Daniel Poirion's seminal *GRLMA* survey of fourteenth- and fifteenth-century French literature is the

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*sans mercy*', forthcoming in *Exemplaria* vol. 15 no. 1 (March, 2003). I am grateful to Dr. Angelo for sending me a copy of this article.

<sup>75</sup> As I shall discuss in chapter III, Chartier's motives stemmed from a desire to promote the valorisation of female discourse, but more importantly to free language from the corrupt influences of a courtly or self-serving discourse.

<sup>76</sup> This inherent desire for continuation should also be situated within the socio-economic context of many of these court poets, whose livelihoods depended on the creative process, and for whom poetic closure would have entailed loss of money, prestige and position.

<sup>77</sup> These include Paterson, *Troubadours and Eloquence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975); Gaunt, *Troubadours and Irony* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989); and Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).

<sup>78</sup> See Walther, *Das Streitgedicht in der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters* (Munich: Beck, 1920).

<sup>79</sup> See Bossy, *A Garland Anthology of Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works* (Paris: Garland, 1987).

most often cited authority on the genre, and spans an impressive area, situating debate in its socio-historical context, and drawing on rhetorical theory from Plato's *Republic* to Fabri's *Grand et Vrai Art de pleine rhétorique*<sup>81</sup> in the sixteenth century.<sup>82</sup> Badel provides a set of distinctions that are initially useful for my consideration of Chartier's work in the context of his literary contemporaries and predecessors, and clarify the complex strands of influence shaping the late-medieval debate. Badel recognises the difficulty in attempting a typology of the debate which was not clearly defined as a genre in medieval rubrics (the term *dialogue* was often substituted for *débat* and vice versa). He does distinguish, however, between the terms *dialogue*, 'un mode de représentation, le rapport au discours direct d'un entretien à deux', and *débat*, 'un événement, un faire, une situation conflictuelle, un litige'.<sup>83</sup> *Dialogue* then refers to the mode of transmission, *débat* to the subject of conflict itself. A debate can be related in *dialogue*, but the term *débat* does not necessarily refer to the poetic mode itself. The medieval *débat* is frequently written in the form of a *dit*.<sup>84</sup> The *dit* is defined in a recent study by Monique Léonard as:

Une oeuvre littéraire rédigée en vers, non chantée, plutôt brève, dont l'auteur cherche à transmettre une sénéfiance, grâce à quelques procédés stylistiques.<sup>85</sup>

Léonard here builds on Jacqueline Cerquiglini's earlier conclusions. Cerquiglini identifies three conditions that characterise the *dit*: an aesthetic of discontinuity, a first-person enunciation spoken by a *clerc-écrivain* figure (the narrator), and a

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<sup>80</sup> See Toshiki, *Les Débats dans la littérature française du moyen âge* (unpublished doctoral thesis, Paris, 1974).

<sup>81</sup> See Fabri, *Le Grand et Vrai Art de pleine rhétorique*, ed. A. Héron, 3 vols. (Rouen: A. l'Estringant, 1889-90).

<sup>82</sup> See Badel (1988), 95-110.

<sup>83</sup> Badel (1988), p. 98.

<sup>84</sup> Badel (1988) cites Christine de Pizan who refers to her debate poems as *dits*. The term *livre* frequently precedes *débat* in the titles of her poems as of Chartier's in manuscript rubrics, reinforcing our sense of the debate as the poetic subject rather than the poetic mode, p. 98-99.

<sup>85</sup> See Léonard, *Le Dit et sa technique littéraire: des origines à 1340* (Paris: Champion, 1996).

didactic aim.<sup>86</sup> Alain Chartier's debate poems are typical of what Badel terms 'dialogues en récit', in that they use a first-person narrator who frames and records the debate that unfolds between two or more further characters.<sup>87</sup> I suggest that the mediation of a direct dialogue between two protagonists by the narrator turns the dialogue form (as Badel recognises it) into a debate, since the narrator acts in some sense as a *locus* for the performance of the conflict between the speakers. On a conceptual level, as I argued in my introduction,<sup>88</sup> the literary dialogue is always already a debate, as it is always mediated by a third agent, be it the authorial subjectivity (possibly in the guise of a narrator) or the reader/listener. In other words, the literary dialogue can only ever be experienced via a performance, either reading or hearing.

Badel makes a further distinction between what he sees as the three main types of debate literature in the late-medieval period: the *dialogue*, *jugement* and *débat*. The *dialogue*, inspired by classical and patristic models, privileges dialectic over rhetoric, and establishes one interlocutor in a position of dominance over the other. Usually composed in prose, the *dialogue* is focused on the topic of discussion rather than the subjectivities of the debaters which play no role in the debate. According to Badel, this genre represents 'des points de vue en conflit'.<sup>89</sup> The term *dialogue* is extended by Badel to include debates of more than two interlocutors, such as Alain Chartier's prose works, the *Livre de l'Esperance* and *Quadrilogue*

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<sup>86</sup>What Cerquiglini infers by 'aesthetic of discontinuity' is too complex to explain briefly here, but she summarises her position by comparing the *roman* and the *dit*: 'Le roman comme genre est du côté de la conjointure et d'une narration au passé, le dit du côté de la disjonction et d'une énonciation au présent', 'Le Dit,' *Grundriss der Romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters VIII/1*, ed. Poirion (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1988), 86-94, p. 87.

<sup>87</sup>Two of Chartier's debate poems fall into the category of *dit*: the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* and the *Livre des Quatre Dames*. Laidlaw argues that these are both early debates, based on the similarity of their *dit* form compared with the form of late debates such as the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, or *Debat de reveille matin*. See my chapter III for a discussion of Laidlaw's conclusions.

<sup>88</sup> See *Introduction*, pp. 4-5.

<sup>89</sup> Badel (1988), p. 102.

*invectif*. The *jugement* is calqued on the model of the *jeu-parti* (to which I shall come presently), and is first embodied in Guillaume de Machaut's mirrored *dits*, the *Jugement du roy de Behaigne* and *Jugement du roy de Navarre*.<sup>90</sup> This poetic form sets the dialogue of two or more characters within a narrative frame, and relies more on the exchange of a few long speeches than the more frequently exchanged responses of the *dialogue*. It is usually composed in continuous verse. A request is made by the interlocutors to the clerkly narrator to nominate a judge for the debate, and he is charged with the textual recording of the dialogue. Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames* and *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* would naturally fall into this category of debate. Another sub-category of the *jugement*, not covered by Badel, is the *songe* (or dream vision debate) in which the narrator is transported to a dream landscape where he observes a debate unfolding.<sup>91</sup> A more developed form of *jugement/songe* type sees the dream intrigue unfolding in an allegorical or actual courtroom.<sup>92</sup> The *débat*, by contrast with the *jugement*, organises dialogue into short responsive stanzas, which tend to emphasise the 'élément conflictuel'.<sup>93</sup> Badel asserts, however, that what he terms *débat* is simply 'une pièce d'un jeu de société' and does not carry *senefiance* as the *dit*, *jugement* or *dialogue* may. This is particularly obvious, he states, when the *débat* turns on a question of love. Badel gives Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* or *Debat de reveille matin* as examples of this more frivolous type of debate, a categorisation I shall refute in my third chapter. Badel's final category of *débat* seems to be a convenient repository for everything that refuses to fit under *dialogue* or *jugement*. He subdivides *débat* into four

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<sup>90</sup> See Kibler and Wimsatt (1988), and Barton Palmer (1988).

<sup>91</sup> In this category of *jugement/songe* we could place Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* as well as many of the sequels and imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The *songe* may of course exist independently of the *jugement* genre.

<sup>92</sup> See my discussion of the legal settings of the sequels and imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*.

<sup>93</sup> Badel (1988), p. 104.

categories by theme: amatory, moral (Chartier's *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain*), religious, and those inspired by scholarly exercises. Further nuances can be introduced into Badel's classification, however, through a consideration both of subjectivity and of *senefiance* in the *débat*, as I shall suggest.

A new anthology by Pierre Bec is the most complete survey of literary debate to date, spanning a period of almost four thousand years.<sup>94</sup> Bec's anthology is angled towards a typology of the *tenso*, which he defines as:

une composition dialoguée en vers [...] dans laquelle deux (ou plusieurs) interlocuteurs se lancent une sorte de défi sur un sujet quelconque et rivalisent d'adresse et d'ingéniosité pour défendre des points de vue contraires (*Avant-propos*).

Bec makes a useful distinction between the *tenso*, a poetic contest between two players, performed before an audience, with a winner and a loser, the *débat*, a non-musical genre which involves the opposition of personifications or inanimate objects, not necessarily performed before an audience, and the *dialogue amoureux*, a dispute between the sexes.<sup>95</sup> The origins of literary debate are, according to Bec, to be found in *adamanduga*, Mesopotamian disputes, preserved in textual form in ancient *Sumerians* and *Akkadians*, and in which the various merits of seasons, jobs, objects, animals, trees and so on are debated in alternating couplets, with a final judgement imposed by a king or divinity. Bec asserts somewhat extravagantly that this tradition of literary conflict was then transmitted via Syrian and Arabic literature to Classical Greece and Rome. It seems likely that these debate cultures grew up more independently of one another than Bec suggests. The clashes of debating poets, closer to the predominant mode of literary debate in the medieval period, found expression in the *agôn* (struggle/contest) of Euripides and Aeschylus

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<sup>94</sup> See Bec (2000).

<sup>95</sup> Bec (2000) classifies Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* as a *dialogue amoureux*, for example; *Introduction*, p. 23.

staged in Aristophanes's play *The Frogs* (405 B.C.),<sup>96</sup> and in the *agôn* of Hesiod and Homer from the popular apocryphal poem written sometime between the second centuries B.C. and A.D. The bucolic contests of shepherds in Theocritus's *Idylls* of the third century B.C.<sup>97</sup> became the inspiration for the *amoebaeon* (responsive) song of Virgil's Latin *Eclogues*.<sup>98</sup>

The Greek concept of *agôn* is significant for the collaborative poetic endeavours of late-medieval poets, and particularly the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* poets, since it encompasses the complementary notions of struggle and skill. In his sociological study of games, Roger Caillois appropriates the Greek concept and sets up the categories of *agôn* and *alea*, the first of these denoting games of skill such as chess, the latter games of chance such as dice.<sup>99</sup> This distinction illuminates the skilful, rule-bound and competitive game being played by late-medieval poets.

In Europe, the debating mode increasingly manifested itself in a multiplicity of literary forms. The early Latin *conflictus* and *altercatio* both stage disputes over the relative merits of winter and summer,<sup>100</sup> body and soul,<sup>101</sup> flowers,<sup>102</sup> and so on.

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<sup>96</sup> See Aristophanes, *Frogs*, ed. Dover (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

<sup>97</sup> See Theocritus's *Idyll V*: a confrontation between Comatas and Lacon leads to a singing contest, judged by Morson; *Idyll VIII* stages an *amoebaeon* (responsive) singing contest; and *Idyll X* pits the reapers Milon and Bucaeus against one another. See Theocritus, *The Idylls*, ed. Wells (London: Penguin, 1989).

<sup>98</sup> See Virgil's third *eclogue* (c. 42 B.C.) for the poetic contest between Menalcas and Damoetas with Palaemon in the role of judge. This is an instance of *amoebaeon* song, influenced by Theocritus's *Idylls* I, IV, V, and VIII. Virgil's seventh *eclogue* stages a similar contest between the shepherds Corydon and Thyrsis. See *Virgil: The Eclogues and Georgics*, ed. R. D. Williams (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1996); and Lyne's edition with Day Lewis's translation of both the *Eclogues* and the *Georgics* in *The World's Classics* series: OUP, 1983.

<sup>99</sup> See Caillois, *Les Jeux et les hommes: le masque et le vertige* (Paris: Gallimard, 1991).

<sup>100</sup> An early model of this type of debate is Alcuin's ninth-century *Conflictus veris et hiemis*, which spawned later poems such as the twelfth-century *Altercatio hiemis et aestatis*.

<sup>101</sup> The earliest model is the twelfth-century *Visio Philiberti*, a dream vision in which the sleeper witnesses the dispute of a soul and body. In a later adaptation of this model, the *Pèlerinage de l'âme* (1355-1358), Guillaume de Deguileville stages a dispute between a pilgrim's soul and his corpse in Purgatory. See the edition by Stürzinger (London: Nichols & sons, 1893).

<sup>102</sup> Sedulius Scottus's *Rosae liliique certamen* (see *Sedulii Scotti carmina*, ed. Meyers (Turnholt: Brepols, 1991)) is the model for Froissart's *Plaidoirie de la rose et de la violette* (1392-1393). See Jean Froissart, *'Dits' et 'débats'*, ed. Fourrier (Geneva: Droz, 1979).

Twelfth-century goliardic poems such as the *Altercatio Phyllidis et Florae*, and the *Concilium romarici moncium* (*Council of Remiremont*) spawned a series of debates known as *Débats du clerc et du chevalier*, in which two *dames* dispute their preference for a clerkly or knightly lover respectively, exemplified in the late twelfth/early thirteenth French poem, *Florence et Blancheflor*, also known as the *Jugement d'amour*.<sup>103</sup> These debates, Bec suggests, develop from the *adamanduga* type, and have more in common with that early form (*débat* in Bec's typology) than with the Greco-Roman poetic singing contests, *Idylls* and *Eclogues* (*tenso* in Bec's typology). I nuance Bec's typology by making a clear distinction between the early literary debates (*débats*) whose subject is the source and focus of conflict (wine v. water; clerk v. knight), and the debate whose subject is largely irrelevant, the focus being instead the opposition and conflict between two or more subjective interlocutors, be they poets, clerks or lovers (*tenso*). This opposition may manifest itself overtly in the terms of the dialogue, or covertly in the ironic subversion of rival discourses. The second of the categories I identify was practised in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by Occitan troubadours via the conflictual lyric forms known as *tenso*,<sup>104</sup> *joc-partit/partimen*, double *sirventes*,<sup>105</sup> and *pastorela*,<sup>106</sup> while jongleurs exchanged *coblas*.<sup>107</sup> The earliest *tenso* dates from around 1135, and opposes the Occitan poets Marcabru and Uc Catola, whereas the earliest *partimen* is

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<sup>103</sup> Another surviving French poem in this genre is *Hueline et Aiglentine*; in addition there are two Anglo-Norman versions, *Blanflor et Florence*, and *Melior et Ydoine*. See *Les Débats du clerc et du chevalier dans la littérature poétique du moyen âge*, ed. Oulmont (Paris: Champion, 1911).

<sup>104</sup> The *tenso* was usually a contest between two interlocutors; a poetic contest between more than two was known as a *tornejament*.

<sup>105</sup> The *sirventes* was satirical in character, and formed the basis for the double *sirventes*: an exchange of opposing and often rhythmically identical verses between two poets. See Jeanroy, 'Un Duel poétique du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Annales du Midi* 27-28 (1915-16), 269ff.

<sup>106</sup> The Occitan *pastorela*, also popular in France (*pastourelle*) from the early twelfth century, was a debate between a knight and a shepherdess or peasant girl, in which the former attempted to woo the latter.

not recorded until 1190.<sup>108</sup> The distinction between the *tenso* and *partimen* (this latter a term only used much later) seems particularly subtle. In general, the term *tenso* may be used to denote a *partimen*, but not vice versa.<sup>109</sup> In a discussion of the Occitan *tenso* and the Arrageois *jeu-parti*, Michèle Gally identifies the *tenso* as a freer form than the *jeu-parti* or *partimen*.<sup>110</sup>

The French *jeu-parti* (Occitan *partimen/joc-partit*), flourished in the North of France in the second half of the thirteenth century, and was particularly popular at Arras;<sup>111</sup> the majority of the *jeux-partis* edited in Långfors's comprehensive *recueil* were composed by poets belonging to the *école d'Arras* who are documented in the register of the *Confrérie des jongleurs et bourgeois d'Arras*.<sup>112</sup> The *jeu-parti* and the *demande d'amour* share common elements and often debate identical questions of love. In the traditional *jeu-parti*, one poet suggests the initial topic for debate in the form of a *demande*, the other chooses his preferred response, and debate ensues in the form of alternate stanzas; finally appeals are made to two appointed judges respectively, though the judges' answers are not supplied.<sup>113</sup> Interestingly, Michèle Gally<sup>114</sup> notes that the *jeu-parti* frequently remains unresolved since each interlocutor refuses to alter his arguments in the light of his

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<sup>107</sup> The *cobla* was the basic unit of the *tenso*, but also a genre in its own right. The *cobla esparsa* was a single couplet, which might then be exchanged in longer antithetical sequences. See for example the contest between Peire Bremon Ricas Novas, and Gui de Cavaillon, in Bec (2000), pp. 243-46.

<sup>108</sup> This is a debate between Folquet de Marseille and Tostemps.

<sup>109</sup> See Bec (2000).

<sup>110</sup> See Gally, 'Entre sens et non-sens: approches comparatives de la tenso d'oc et du jeu-parti arrageois', in *Il genere «tenzone» nelle letterature romanze delle origini (atti del convegno internazionale Losanna 13-15 novembre 1997)*, ed. Pedroni and Stäubli (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1999), 223-35.

<sup>111</sup> See *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*, ed. Långfors, Jeanroy and Brandin (Paris: Champion, 1926).

<sup>112</sup> Jehan Bretel (d. 1270) is one of the most prolific of the authors of *jeux-partis*, and is registered among the members of the *Confrérie*.

<sup>113</sup> Långfors's (1926) definition of the *jeu-parti* is widely cited: 'une pièce lyrique de six couplets de deux envois: dans le premier couplet, l'un des deux partenaires propose à l'autre une question dilemmatique et, celui-ci ayant fait son choix, soutient lui-même l'alternative restée disponible. Dans les deux envois, chacun des deux partenaires nomme un juge. Il n'y a dans les textes aucune trace d'un jugement que ceux-ci auraient prononcé', pp. V-VI.

opponent's response. The term *jeu-parti* itself was used to designate an ineluctable situation both in battle and in the game of chess and may,<sup>115</sup> as Paul Remy argues through H. J. Murray,<sup>116</sup> have developed as a term for poetry from its use in chess.<sup>117</sup> These *jeu-partis* or problems in chess, like their poetic namesakes, were commonly written down and collected in manuscript form for the edification and entertainment of 'princes et damoiselles', this material context literally transcribing play.<sup>118</sup> Each *jeu-parti* (poem or chess game) is inscribed in a wider pattern of play. The stalemate reached in chess naturally gives rise to a rematch, as the impasse reached in the debate poem solicits future judgement and further debates. In one typical *jeu-parti*, Jehan Bretel poses Jehan de Grieviler an amatory dilemma:

Grieviler, vostre ensient  
 Me dites d'un ju parti:  
 Se vous amés loiaument  
 Et on vous aime autresi,  
 Li qieus sera mieus vos grés,  
 U chele qui vous amés  
 Sera bele par raison  
 Et sage a tres grant fuison,  
 U sage raisnaument  
 Et tres bele outreement? (*Recueil général des jeux-partis*, XXVII)<sup>119</sup>

Variations on this same theme are recorded in Groups 1, 2, 4, 6, and 7 of the *demandes d'amour* manuscripts.<sup>120</sup> It is not necessarily clear which form (*jeu-parti*

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<sup>114</sup> See Gally (1999).

<sup>115</sup> Paul Remy explains that the term *jeu-parti* in chess refers to, 'un problème, c'est-à-dire une position déterminée des pions qui, par sa difficulté, rend la fin de la partie indéçise'. See his article 'De l'expression «partir un jeu» dans les textes épiques aux origines du jeu-parti', *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale* 17 (1974), 327-33, p. 330.

<sup>116</sup> For an exhaustive history of the game of chess in Europe see Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913).

<sup>117</sup> See Remy (1974). The analogy of the game of chess (which I shall explore further in my final chapter V) may illuminate the playful dialectical networks through which poems are generated in a *collaborative debating community*.

<sup>118</sup> Murray (1913) mentions 30-40 extant manuscripts of these problems, mostly copied between 1340-1450, including Paris, BNF, fr. 1173, and an early printed edition (Denis Janot) preserved in Vienna, whose incipit reads: 's'ensuit jeux Partis des eschez: Composez nouvellement Pour recrer tous nobles cueurs et pour eviter oysiveté a ceulx qui ont volenté: desir et affection de le scavoir et aprendre et est appellé ce Livre le jeu des princes et damoiselles'.

<sup>119</sup> Långfors, 1926, pp. 98-102. Jehan de Grieviler follows (or sets) the *demande* pattern by choosing the first option.

or *demande*) had the greater influence on the other,<sup>121</sup> as Felberg-Levitt observes,<sup>122</sup> since although the *demandes* were not actually formally collected in manuscripts before the fourteenth century,<sup>123</sup> they were incorporated in both literary texts and society games from the thirteenth and possibly early twelfth centuries.<sup>124</sup> In contrast to the *demande d'amour*, however, the *jeu-parti* is characterised by the subjectivity of the interlocutors, who frequently become personally involved in their contest, each more concerned to discredit the other's arguments than with the topic itself. As Jean-Claude Mühlethaler observes in a recent article:

Le recours à l'injure crée aussi, en focalisant l'intérêt sur les interlocuteurs et les modalités du discours plutôt que sur le sujet posé, l'espace pour une mise en scène du moi. Ainsi s'abolit, du moins ponctuellement, la distance esthétique qu'imposent les conventions formelles du jeu-parti.<sup>125</sup>

This focus on the subjectivity of the interlocutors moves the debate genre away from the more purely scientific *disputatio* or *dialogue* whose goal is to move logically to an objective *determinatio* or conclusion. This notion of a scientific and objective focus on the argument as opposed to a subjective focus on the debater is already addressed in Aristotle's influential treatise on dialectic, the *Topica*, as I mentioned earlier. Kay develops this concept of a poetic subjectivity in her study of

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<sup>120</sup> Group 1 MSS preserve the *demande* as follows: 'Sire, je vous demande, lequel vous ameriés plus chier: ou que vostre amie fust belle par raison et sage outrement, ou sage par raison et belle outrement?' to which the response comes: 'Dame, qu'elle fust sage outrement et convenablement belle; car combien que beaulté soit une chose moult desiree et prisie, si la surmonte la vertu de sens, d'autant que le souleil surmonte la lune', Felberg-Levitt (1995), p. 190.

<sup>121</sup> Felberg-Levitt notes many instances of correspondences between the *demandes* and the *jeux-partis* in her edition.

<sup>122</sup> Felberg-Levitt (1995).

<sup>123</sup> Felberg-Levitt edits the 363 existing prose and verse *demandes d'amour* from twenty-five fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts.

<sup>124</sup> Ilvonen suggests that the *juer d'amor* which the troubadour Guillaume IX, Conte de Poitiers, evokes in verses dating from the early twelfth century is evidence for the existence of a formal game involving *demandes d'amour*. See Ilvonen, 'Les *demandes d'amour* dans la littérature française du moyen âge', *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 14 (1912), 128-44.

<sup>125</sup> See Mühlethaler, 'Disputer de mariage: débat et subjectivité: des jeux-partis d'Arras à l'échange de ballades et de rondeaux chez Eustache Deschamps et Charles d'Orléans', in *Il genere «tenzone» nelle letterature romanze delle origini (atti del convegno internazionale Losanna 13-15 novembre 1997)*, ed. Pedroni and Stäuble (Ravenna: A. Longo, 1999), 203-21, p. 208.

the troubadour corpus.<sup>126</sup> Kay argues that a ‘sense of *self*’ emerges from the very conventions of troubadour poetry, challenging Zumthor’s contention that subjectivity has no place in the medieval lyric.<sup>127</sup> In his complementary study, Simon Gaunt identifies irony as the subjective element within troubadour lyric that resists a purely formalistic interpretation, engaging with Gruber’s model of the *dialectic* of troubadour poetry.<sup>128</sup> Gruber establishes a pattern of poetic composition based on intertextuality. Each successive troubadour poet absorbs the poetic structures of his contemporaries and predecessors into his own text, and elaborates them, in a consciously competitive move. For Gruber, each troubadour is part of an initiated group, producing highly inflected work: the *hermetische Lyrik*, inaccessible to the non-initiate. In other words, there is an implicit collaboration between the troubadour poets, one that can only be traced through the text itself. Gruber’s model, although a challenge to the traditional formalist analysis of medieval lyric, does not take account of the wider socio-cultural implications of these dialectical networks. Gaunt goes further, to suggest that it is specifically *ironic* intertextual play that characterises troubadour poetry. The troubadour poet playfully ironises convention and tradition from within its very confines,<sup>129</sup> setting up a competitive dialogue with earlier poets, that establishes a socio-cultural context for his own contribution. It is precisely this socio-cultural context that is a basis for the late-medieval collaborative debating communities I postulate, and which takes account, as Gaunt acknowledges, of the material context within which poetry is transmitted. Jane Taylor engages with Gruber’s intertextual dialectic, as well as Pierre Bourdieu’s model of social dialectic, in her study of François Villon’s poetry to

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<sup>126</sup> See Kay (1990).

<sup>127</sup> Kay (1990), p. 5, and Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Paris: Seuil, 1972).

<sup>128</sup> Gruber (1983), and Gaunt, *Troubadours and Irony* (Cambridge: CUP, 1989).

trace a pattern of reciprocal poetry in the later Middle Ages into which Villon taps.<sup>130</sup>

The personal, subjective conflict of disputing scholars/poets in the scholastic *disputatio* is irrelevant; conflict in this case is determined by and centred on the initial topic or question. The shift to a more subjective style of argumentation involving the poet's own fragmented subjectivities allows for an authorial engagement in literary debate and situates it in a socio-cultural framework. I suggest that the subjective element apparently lacking in the 'scientific' *demande d'amour* genre is provided through the variety of social and literary contexts into which it is absorbed. The *demandes d'amour* were a popular social pastime, intimately connected with the *jeu-parti*, as we have seen, and reflected in a series of literary debates, ranging from Andreas Capellanus's well-known treatise on courtly love, the *De amore* (1181-6),<sup>131</sup> Richard de Fournival's *Consaus d'amour* and *Li Commens d'amour* (before 1250), to Machaut's late fourteenth-century *Jugement* poems, Christine de Pizan's love debate poems, or Chartier's *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* and *Livre des Quatre Dames*.<sup>132</sup> So the courtly game is reflected in the text, itself part of the wider pattern of poetic game through which the text is

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<sup>129</sup> I discuss in my third chapter how Chartier ironises courtly convention from within a traditional courtly poetic form.

<sup>130</sup> See Jane H. M. Taylor (2001), especially chapter 1: *Painted eloquence and serious games*, pp. 6-32.

<sup>131</sup> The *De amore* was dedicated to Capellanus's friend Gautier, and designed to provide instruction in the art of courtly love. Book II contains a series of male-female love disputes, and includes 21 judgements pronounced by noble women (Marie de France; Aliénor d'Aquitaine; Alix de Champagne; Marie de Champagne; Elisabeth de Vermandois; Ermengarde, vicomtesse de Narbonne).

<sup>132</sup> See my earlier discussion of Chartier's *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* in the context of its reliance both on the scholastic *disputatio* and on the *demande* form (also Christine de Pizan's *Livre du debat de Deux Amans*). Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames* (Chartier (1974), pp. 196-304) is structured around the debate of four ladies whose lovers have respectively been killed, been imprisoned, gone missing, or deserted at a recent battle (probably Agincourt). This recalls the dispute in Christine de Pizan's *Livre du dit de Poissy*, between a *dame* and a squire; the squire is forced to see the lady he loves and who rejected him on a regular basis, whereas the *dame's* lover is imprisoned abroad. The challenge here is to elect the unhappier of the two plaintiffs. See Christine de

generated, creating an effect of *mise en abyme*. Both *demande* and poetic game must be classified as *agôn*, contests of skill, governed by predetermined rules of engagement. A further *mise en abyme* is detected in the medieval texts that incorporate the *demande* within the context of formal game playing. The three games of *Le Jeu des demandes et responces d'amour*, *Le Roi qui ne ment* and *Le Jeu aux rois et aux reines*, are often alluded to in medieval texts.<sup>133</sup> The rules of these formal games, structured around the *demande d'amour* unit, may be established from the various literary sources.<sup>134</sup> The most widely cited is *Le Roi qui ne ment*, of which *Le Jeu aux rois et aux reines* appears simply to be a pastoral version. Evidence suggests that *Le Roi qui ne ment* was played in a group of nobles of mixed gender; a King would be chosen to preside (there might be a crowning ceremony, in an echo of the crowning of victorious poets in the *puys*), and he might also have participated in the asking and answering of questions of love casuistry. The game unfolded as a series of subtle, often delicate questions were posed and answered by the participants, in pairings of opposite sexes. In fact, as Richard Firth Green suggests, *Le Roi qui ne ment* allowed its players to engage in a 'mock courtship'.<sup>135</sup> These three games are staged in Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces's *Le Chevalier errant* (1359),<sup>136</sup> Jacques de Longuyon's *Les Voeux du paon* (1312-13),<sup>137</sup> Jean de Condé's *Le Sentier batu* (1313-40)<sup>138</sup> and Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de*

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Pizan, *The Love Debate Poems*, ed. Altmann (Gainesville, Florida: University Press of Florida, 1998), 203-74.

<sup>133</sup> Examples include Jacques Bretel's *Tournoi de Chauvency* (c.1285) which mentions both *Le Roi qui ne ment*, and *Le Jeu aux rois et aux reines*, and possibly *Le Jeu des demandes et responces d'amour*; see Felberg-Levitt, p. 23. Machaut mentions *Le Roi qui ne ment* in his *Remède de Fortune* and *Voir Dit*; Froissart in *L'Espinette amoureuse*. A game similar to *Le Roi qui ne ment* is played in Boccaccio's *Filocolo*.

<sup>134</sup> *Le Chevalier errant* describes the game of *demandes et responces d'amour*, recording a series of thirty-one *demandes* whose topic is the plight of lovers from mythology, romance or history. See Felberg-Levitt (1995).

<sup>135</sup> See Firth Green (1990).

<sup>136</sup> This romance stages the game of *demandes et responces d'amour*.

<sup>137</sup> See Hoepffner (1920).

*Robin et Marion*.<sup>139</sup> Here the game does not generate the text, as for the literary debates mentioned earlier, but may provide a textual mirror that reflects the self-conscious practice of the author.<sup>140</sup> The physical tournament, or duel, expressed in the verbal poetic conflict of the *tenso* or debate, is reflected on a further level in the poeticised contests represented within these texts.<sup>141</sup> Another game, *ventes* or *venditions d'amour*, seems to have developed later, and was most popular in courtly circles in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France. The *venditions* are preserved in nine manuscripts,<sup>142</sup> and with two exceptions<sup>143</sup> are always collected with *demandes d'amour*.<sup>144</sup> The dialogic ethos is similar to that of the *demande*, and erotic tension between the sexes is again exploited. The game was a poetic female-male exchange, in which a lady or gentleman offered a symbolic flower, bird or object for sale to her/his fe/male interlocutor, and s/he was expected to respond with another line or lines of verse, respecting the rhyme sequence; failure to respond, or repetition, might result in a forfeit being imposed.<sup>145</sup> The element of skill involved

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<sup>138</sup> This *fabliau* ends in shame for the Reine who is presiding over the game, when the knight she has embarrassed with a pertinent question at the beginning of the *partie*, asks her, 'Y a-t-il du poil entre vos jambes?' to which she responds in the negative; the knight then retorts, 'En sentier qui est batus ne croist point d'erbe', Felberg-Levitt (1995), p. 19.

<sup>139</sup> Adam de la Halle's *pastourelle* stages the down-market version of *Le Roi qui ne ment*, known as the *Jeu aux rois et aux reines*. See Langlois (1902).

<sup>140</sup> The episode of the game of *Le Roi qui ne ment* in *Les Voeux du paon* is significant in the context of the game of chess that also opposes the protagonists of this text (a further instance of *agôn*). References to the game of chess and to playing chess, like the *demandes* and the games based on them, suffuse medieval poetry and as Merritt Blakeslee has shown are particularly frequent in troubadour lyric. See chapter V for a discussion of chess in the context of debate and game, and also Blakeslee, 'Lo Dous Jocx sotils: La partie d'échecs amoureuse dans la poésie des troubadours', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 28 (1985), 213-22.

<sup>141</sup> See chapter V for a discussion of chess in medieval literature.

<sup>142</sup> See Bergeron (1986), pp. 34-35, note 2, for all manuscript and printed sources of the *ventes*. On the *ventes* see also Lazard (1982).

<sup>143</sup> Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 218, fols. 102v-3r; Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, 3636, fols. 228-29<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>144</sup> I omit the five manuscripts of Christine de Pizan's *jeux a vendre* from my total. See Bergeron (1986).

<sup>145</sup> For example: 'Je vous vens le **vers chapellet**. /-Nul amant ne puet estre let, /Mais que ses taches soient bonnes, /De loiaulté suive les bonnes, /Si sera digne que l'en l'aime /Et que sa dame ami le claime', Christine de Pizan, *Jeux a vendre*, 22. The symbol of the courtly *vers chapellet* is part of the network of intertextualities which link the poems of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.

in these verbal exchanges is reminiscent of the *demandes*.<sup>146</sup> Christine de Pizan composed seventy *jeux a vendre*, which are included in copies of her collected works.<sup>147</sup> In choosing to model her poems on these improvised, and essentially performative *venditions*, Christine turns the courtly pastime into an elaborate game of ventriloquism in which she manipulates both female and male speaking voices. Bergeron discusses the oral/textual character of the *venditions*, and suggests that Christine's *jeux a vendre* (as with the anonymous collections of *venditions* transcribed in manuscripts) are primarily a written genre, not mere transcription of oral improvisation: 'que les *Jeux à vendre* de Christine de Pizan soient le produit d'une écriture, nul n'en disconviendra'.<sup>148</sup> In the last of Christine's *jeux a vendre*, she inserts an anagram signature, as she often does elsewhere in her writing,<sup>149</sup> emphasising their specifically textual character. The anagrams of 'Crestine', and Christine's late husband 'Estien' (du Castel) are metaphorically contained within the 'escriinet' ('writing' box); from within textuality, gender identities may be thus asserted, and confused:<sup>150</sup>

Je vous vens l'**escriinet** tout plein.  
 -Mon nom y trouverez a plain  
 Et de cil qu'oncques plus amay,<sup>151</sup>  
 Par qui j'ay souffert maint esmay,  
 Se vous y querez proprement;  
 Or regardez mon se je ment, *Jeux a vendre*, 70.

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<sup>146</sup> Felberg-Levitt (1995 b), provides a list of the qualities desirable in a player of the formal game *Le Roi qui ne ment*, which we may also ascribe to debating poets in general: *la véracité; la foi; la courtoisie; le respect; la sagesse; le sang-froid; la promptitude; la vivacité d'esprit* and *la spontanéité*; and finally *l'agilité verbale*.

<sup>147</sup> See Christine de Pizan, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, 3 vols. (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1886-96). For the *jeux a vendre* see volume I, pp. 187-205.

<sup>148</sup> See Bergeron (1986), p. 54.

<sup>149</sup> See *Le Livre du debat de Deux Amans* (vv. 2021-23); *Le Livre des trois jugements* (vv. 1526-31); and *Le Livre du dit de Poissy* (v. 2075), in Christine de Pizan (1998).

<sup>150</sup> It is difficult here to establish the gender of the speaker and the respondent, as in many of the *venditions* (see Bergeron), but Christine perhaps knowingly leaves the ambiguity, in order to challenge the traditional gender roles. It is interesting in this light that her signature and that of her late husband are intertwined in one word, suggesting a fusion of male and female identities within the text, reflected in the ambiguous form of the *jeu a vendre*.

<sup>151</sup> A third word may also be found concealed in the 'escriinet': 'Crestien'. Christine often plays on the similarity of the letters forming both her name and her faith.

Christine's playful use of ventriloquism can also be seen in her *Cent Ballades*, and *Cent Ballades d'amant et de dame* where she engages with Jean le Seneschal's earlier *Cent Ballades* (c. 1389). She sets up a knowing reversal of the male-authored dialogue that governs Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades*, where the female interlocutor *la Guignarde* is essentially a puppet in the hands of male creators, by manipulating her own male puppets.

Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades* refers to itself in the penultimate ballade as a collaboration between four poets: Jean le Seneschal (sénéchal d'Eu), Philippe d'Artois (conte d'Eu), Jean de Crésecque and Jean Boucicaut. It remains unclear how far, if at all, each of these historical figures actually contributed to the body of the text, though it emerges in the course of the responses that Jean le Seneschal is the principal narrator.<sup>152</sup> The poetic responses to the *Cent Ballades*, written by thirteen further poets,<sup>153</sup> and transcribed with the *Cent Ballades* in the six extant fourteenth-<sup>154</sup> and fifteenth-century manuscript versions and two eighteenth-century copies,<sup>155</sup> may have been composed for a formal *puy* that took place in Avignon in October-November 1389, at which Jean, duc de Berry, composer of one of the

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<sup>152</sup> See Raynaud's discussion of the attribution of authorship in the introduction to his edition of the *Cent Ballades*, 1905.

<sup>153</sup> The names of these thirteen, recorded in the manuscripts, are **Renaud de Trie**; **Jean de Chambrillac**; **Monseigneur de Touraine (Louis d'Orléans)**; Lionnet de Coesmes; **Jacquet d'Orléans**; **Guillaume de Tignonville**; **Monseigneur de Berry (Jean, Duc de Berry)**; Jean de Mailly, **Charles d'Ivry**; **François d'Auberchicourt**; Guy VI de la Trémoille; Jean de Bucy; Raoul, le bâtard de Coucy. MS A preserves a fourteenth response, possibly added by the owner of the manuscript, Charles II d'Albret, after 1421. See Jean le Seneschal (1905), for this later response. I have emphasised in bold those eight who were documented members of the *Cour amoureuse*.

<sup>154</sup> The oldest manuscript copy is C- Paris, BNF, fr. 2360, dating from the late fourteenth century, and which Raynaud takes as the base ms for his edition of the *Cent Ballades*.

<sup>155</sup> Raynaud lists six manuscript versions: **A-** Paris, BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 1664; **B-** Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1680 (491); **C-** Paris, BNF, fr. 2360 (old 8047); **E-** Paris, BNF, fr. 826 (old 7211); **F-** Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 11218-11219; **G-** Paris, BNF, fr. 2201 (old 7999); and two copies: **B<sup>1</sup>**- Paris, BNF, fr. 759 (18<sup>th</sup> century copy of B); **F<sup>1</sup>**- The Hague, Royal Library, 71 G. 73 (18<sup>th</sup> century copy of F). MS A preserves all thirteen responses, as does MS B, MS C has 11 (without XII and XIII), MS E has a lacuna, and lacks most of response X, and the following responses, MS F transcribes 11 (without XII and XIII); MS G has a lacuna, and lacks the end of XII, and response XIII.

responses, presided.<sup>156</sup> Many of the alleged participants in this poetic collaboration were, around ten years later, to become members of Charles VI's *Cour amoureuse* (1400), whose armorials list two of the named collaborators in the *Cent Ballades*, and at least eight of the authors of the responses.<sup>157</sup> (The *Cour amoureuse* may of course itself be an elaborate literary fabrication, designed to give a social and material context for the poetic endeavours of its members.)

The *Cent Ballades* dramatises the conflict between the counsels of a *mondain chevalier*, versed in the ways of love and battle (referred to as *Hutin* [de Vermeilles] in the responses), and of a *dame* (referred to as *la Guignarde* in the responses), both of whom seek to instruct a *jeune chevalier*, the narrator of the poem (later identified with Jean le Seneschal in the responses) in amatory matters. The wise *chevalier* urges the narrator to maintain the love of one lady alone, thus espousing *Loiauté* and rejecting *Fausseté*: 'dessoubz l'ombre de Fausseté ne vous logiez' (XLIX), while the guileful *dame* later attempts to persuade the young *chevalier* to cast his nets wider: 'en maint lieu faciez amie' (XC), since 'qui partout seme, partout queult' (XCI). The narrator rejects her advice: 'pour vous n'en feroie rien' (XCIV), citing the *chevalier's* arguments. But the *dame* persuades the narrator to embark on a quest to discover 'le plus eüeux conseil' (C). To this end, the narrator consults his companions and throws the debate open to the general public. He creates the fiction of an external poetic collaboration – a 'compagnie

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<sup>156</sup> The idea of the formal puy is Raynaud's, and was contested by Barbara Altmann in a recent paper delivered in Tübingen at the Xth triennial ICLS conference, July/August 2001.

<sup>157</sup> **Jean le Seneschal** is listed as one of the 24 *ministres* of the *Cour* and **Jean de Boucicaut** was also a member of the *Cour*, as well as founding his own chivalric order: *La Dame blanche à l'escu vert* (1399). Eight of the authors of the responses to the *Cent Ballades* are listed in the charter: Renaut de Trie (*escuyer* of the court); Jean de Chambrillac (also one of the thirteen *chevaliers* of Boucicaut's order); Louis d'Orléans (one of the eleven *conservateurs* of the *Cour amoureuse*); Jacquet d'Orléans, Charles d'Ivry, Guillaume de Tignonville (*ministre* of the *Cour*); Jean, Duc de Berry (*conservateur* of the *Cour*); François d'Auberchicourt (also a *chevalier* of Boucicaut's order).

d'esbanoy'<sup>158</sup> – from within the text, citing the names of his would-be collaborators

in the penultimate ballade of the collection:

Et depuis,  
Enquestay de cest affaire  
Au **conte d'Eu**, que je truiz  
Prestz et duiz  
A toute loiauté faire  
[...]  
Puis volz **Bouciquaut** atraire  
Pour parfaire,  
Et **Creseques** raconduiz,  
Que leur respons volentaire  
Pensse estraire  
De leurs bouches: s'en parçuiz  
Qu'en loiauté sont instruiz  
Et aduiz,  
N'autre amour ne leur peut plaire.  
Par nous fu ce livre estruiz;  
Mais je y luiz:  
A toute loiauté faire! (*Ballade XCIX*)

The narrator figure asserts here that the debate, of which he has been the focus, rather than the simple scribe, has been a collaborative literary project, involving himself, Philippe d'Artois, Jean Boucicaut and Jean de Cresécque. The veil of fiction is thus torn somewhat, since the narrator figure both claims the veracity of the debate he has participated in, through the use of first-person narrative, and signals its fictionality by referring to it as a literary composition in which others, who did not explicitly belong to the fictional world of the debate, participated: 'par nous fu ce livre estruiz'. The narrator refers to the possible outcome of the debate, explaining that he enlisted the help of these collaborators in order to achieve closure:

Il m'estoit necessaire  
D'a chef traire  
La matiere que j'ensuis. (*XCIX*)

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<sup>158</sup> *Ballade XXXII*, v. 4.

However, a further ripping of the fictional veil occurs as the *Cent Ballades* closes without the conclusion solicited from the narrator's collaborators: 'puis vols Bouciquaut atraire / **Pour parfaire**, / Et Creseques raconduiz' (XCIX). In fact, no written responses are provided to substantiate the narrator's claims that his companions all support the cause of *Loiauté*. Far from concluding the debate, the floor is then opened in the final ballade to other poets. Further ballades are solicited purportedly to resolve the continuing debate:

Sy **prions** tous les amoureux  
Que chascun seulz  
Par une balade savoir  
**Nous** face lequel des conseulx  
Leur semble entr'eulx  
Mieudre a tenir. (C)

The narrator here uses the first-person plural form, supporting his claim for collective authorship in the previous ballade, the plurality of authorship echoing the polyphony of the debate itself, and mirroring the fracturing of textual identities, parallel to but not assimilated to the historical identities of the poets. So the framework of collaboration is not only externally imposed on the *Cent Ballades*, it may be seen as part of the poem's deep fictional structure, and intimately linked to the text's lack of closure. This fiction of collaboration is further maintained by the series of responses that, as I mentioned, follow the text of the *Cent Ballades* in all the extant manuscript copies. Barbara Altmann has described the transition from the *Cent Ballades* to these responses in the manuscript tradition in terms of a shift from fictional to actual collaboration. I suggest, however, that these responses bear traces of a coherent planning consistent with the notion of a larger fictional design whose aim is not to achieve closure, but to perpetuate debate. Further, in referring to the *Cent Ballades* as a non-fictional debate, the authors of the responses, like the narrator, implicate themselves in the fictional framework of the poem.

Seven of the thirteen responses uphold the cause of *Loiauté*, represented by the chevalier *Hutin*, two are undecided, two ambiguous, and a further two support the promiscuity advocated by *la Guignarde*. A final conclusion or judgement is not imposed. The transmission of these responses with the *Cent Ballades* suggests that they were intended as part of the poetic whole. There is a textual order within the responses which arises from specific intertextualities, and which further implies deliberate compositional design. Renaud de Trie's response, the first in the series, appears to be a direct response to the challenge issued by 'nous' in the last of the *Cent Ballades*; Renaud begins 'Je vous mercie doucement / Entre vous .iiii. compagnons'. Guillaume de Tignonville (VI) defers to the company of poets to whose challenge he is responding, explicitly naming all four; Jean de Bucy states that he is responding to 'vous [...] seigneurs, qui demander / Avez voulu par si bonne ordenance / Qu'une balade chascun veulle ordenner / des amoureux' (XII). Jean de Mailly is the only poet to address his challengers in the singular: 'doux Seneschal, m'alez vous demandant...' (VIII).

The responses not only refer back to the *Cent Ballades* by means of explicit semantic, rhythmical and conceptual reminiscences, but also refer to one another, instituting a textual order and coherence which was later to be found in the web of semantic and thematic relations drawn between the texts of the *Querelle de la Rose* or the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* which institute intertextual dialogue at once with the *Rose* or the *Belle Dame sans mercy* respectively, and with the other texts that form the *Querelles* proper. In his response, Louis d'Orléans refers to the previous two in the series by Jean de Chambrillac and Renaud de Trie, both of whom supported *la Guignarde's* arguments: 'de bon cuer vous pri, / Chambrillac, Regnault, humblement / Que ne soustenez point cecy / Qu'avez soustenu ça

**devant**' (III). Guillaume de Tignonville evokes Charles d'Ivry's response (IX) in the refrain to his ballade (VI) (Raynaud suggests for this reason that the ballade may be out of place in the sequence), as well as referring to the 'folour' of Chambrillac and Renaud de Trie. Jean de Bucy further refers to the sequence of responses solicited by the narrator/s of the *Cent Ballades* (XII). His use of the words 'ordenance' (v. 32) and 'ordenner' (v. 33) here emphasise the literariness of the enterprise.

The process of collaboration which is inscribed figuratively in the economy of poetic exchange between poets of the late-medieval court, within the material manuscript anthology, and within the physical framework of the competition or *puy*, may also operate, then, on a fictional level within the literary framework of the text. This notion of a fictional collaboration is suggestive of a complex set of collaborative, competitive exchanges that both arise from, and create debate in and around the text. We might refer to a meta-discourse of debate in the *Cent Ballades* focused on collaborative exchange.

Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut (like Jean le Seneschal, a *ministre* of the *Cour amoureuse*), seems with his debate poem *Le Songe de la barge* (c. 1404-1415) to engage with Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades*, as I shall suggest, and so writes himself into a medieval tradition of collaborative and responsive poetic exchange. *Le Songe de la barge* was perhaps also intended as a response to Christine de Pizan's earlier request to Werchin as elected judge of her *Livre des trois jugemens*: 'le demourant commet a parfiner / A vo bon sens', vv. 1521-22.<sup>159</sup>

Werchin's dream vision, however, far from presenting the 'demourant', and

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<sup>159</sup> There is some confusion as to whether Jean de Werchin was also the appointed judge of the *Livre du dit de Poissy*, which is addressed to an 'estrange / Bon chevalier vaillant, plein de savoir', vv. 1-2), but Altmann suggests that as Werchin was not absent from France, it was more likely to have been Jean de Boucicaut or Jean de Châteaumorand (both members of the *Cour amoureuse*). (Christine's nomination of Boucicaut would make sense, particularly in the light of her responses

delivering judgement on the cases heard before the court of the *dieu d'Amours*, persists in delaying closure. The narrator, recently rejected by his lady, is transported in a dream from a *barge* to a court of Love in session where he overhears five amatory disputes brought before a *dieu d'Amours* by *chevaliers* and their *dames*. These cases are promised future conclusions by the *dieu d'Amours*: 'tous jugeray', v. 1532. Of the five, one is finally resolved, though the initial judgement of the *dieu d'Amours* is rejected by the plaintiffs, and one is judged by the narrator, but not the *dieu d'Amours*; the others remain unresolved. Finally the narrator prepares to plead his own case before the court, but at this point he is abruptly woken from his vision:

Lors voul partir  
 Pour en aler devant Amours gehir  
 Les griefs doulours que j'avoye a souffrir,  
 Mais droit alors vint sur ma nef ferir  
 Une grant barge, vv. 3430-34.<sup>160</sup>

*Le Songe de la barge* might be seen as an indirect response to Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades*, in that the struggle of *Loiauté* and *Fausseté* which governs the latter debate poem here pervades the conflicts which are brought for adjudication before the *dieu d'Amours*, and is made explicit in the final debate between a lady and her younger lover who has left her for another woman. At the close of the lady's speech, the narrator silently berates the lover's infidelity:

Et a mon cueur parfaitement sembloit  
 Que **leaulté** faire ne luy faisoit,  
 Mais **faulseté**  
 L'avoit ainsy a son acord fermé, vv. 2988-91.

The narrator then delivers his own judgement after the knight has made his defence, in the absence of any reaction by the *dieu d'Amours*:

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[*Cent Ballades*; *Cent Ballades d'amant et de dame*] to the *Cent Ballades* on which he allegedly collaborated.) See Christine de Pizan (1995), pp. 203-74.

Mais lors pensay **faulseté** l'enorta  
A ainsy faire;  
Ne me pourroit pas sembler le contraire, vv. 3233-35.

In choosing to pass judgement on this case, Jean de Werchin, via his constructed textual self, is perhaps adding his response to the sequence inspired by Jean le Seneschal's *Cent Ballades*. So Jean de Werchin, through *Le Songe de la barge*, participates in a debating tradition which involves both virtual (fictional) and actual collaboration. The participants of the fictional debate are involved in a collaborative project of sorts, and beyond the text – through it – the author collaborates with previous texts and poets. While the influence of the *jeu-parti*, *demande d'amour* and *jugement* can clearly be read through *Le Songe de la barge*, Werchin's poetic exchange (of late 1404) with Gilbert de Lannoy (also a member of the *Cour amoureuse*) is calqued on the *tenso* model, the contest (*agôn*) of two or more poets. Werchin's textual self, within the sequence of forty-six ballades, is styled after the *mondain chevalier* type (*Cent Ballades*), experienced in love, who advises a younger *chevalier*, Lannoy's persona, on the necessity of renouncing his love for a lady who has rejected him. Lannoy<sup>161</sup> refuses to accept Werchin's advice, wishing to remain loyal to his lady, but Werchin insists, in terms reminiscent of *la Guignarde's* exhortations to the *jeune chevalier* of the *Cent Ballades*, and in the course of ballade XVIII suggests that their debate should be judged by Lannoy's lady:

Mais je vous pry, de volenté certaine,  
Puis qu'en tel vueil vous estes si ferméz,  
Qu'a vo dame que tenez souveraine  
Nostre debat a loisir remonstrez,  
Et qui tort a d'elle soit condempnéz,  
Puis me faictes savoir ce qu'en dira.

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<sup>160</sup> See Jean de Werchin, *Le Songe de la barge*, ed. Grenier-Winther (Montreal: CERES, 1996), pp. 3-94.

<sup>161</sup> When I mention Lannoy, Werchin, and Lannoy's lady in the context of the ballades, I refer to the fictional construction of these figures within the text.

Ainsy sarons que le droit soustendra.  
De nostre estrif n'a meilleur jugeresse.

Werchin and Lannoy's sequence, like *Le Songe de la barge*, forges semantic and thematic links with the *Cent Ballades*. The conflict of *Loiauté* and *Fausseté* is again played out through these ballades, with Lannoy swearing loyalty to his lady, and rejecting Werchin's advice in strong terms, just as *la Guignarde's* advice is rejected by the *jeune chevalier* of the *Cent Ballades*. Lannoy's lady herself is accorded a voice in ballade XL in which she speaks to encourage the young *chevalier* in his loyalty:

Si vous pry doncques que bien celee  
Soit vostre amour de vo costé,  
Et **loyaulté** tousjours gardee  
Sans regarder a **faulseté**, XL, vv. 21-24.

The direct intervention of Lannoy's lady here may approximate a judgement on her part: her continued encouragement of Lannoy's love shows her rejection of Werchin's advice to him. In the penultimate ballade Lannoy submits his plaint to the jurisdiction of the *dieu d'Amours*, implying that a conclusion to this debate will be imposed:

Sy pry Amours que ma querelle  
Luy veulle monstrer sans sejour,  
Et que [de] tout mon fait se mesle, XLV, vv. 21-23.

The final ballade is a direct plea by Lannoy to his lady to end this *querelle*, and 'oste[r] la tristesse' by granting him *mercy*. The proliferation of perspectives set up in this sequence of ballades, spoken through the voices of Werchin, Lannoy and the lady respectively, is rendered more complex by the references to other poets within the textual body. The figure of Lannoy apostrophises not only Werchin, the *dieu*

*d'Amours*, and his lady, but also the poets Lourdin de Saligny<sup>162</sup> and Jean de Garençières (*ballade* II), and possibly Pierre de Hauteville, prince of the *Cour amoureuse* (*ballade* V), to whom he refers as 'Princes', taking as his model the traditional address to the prince of a *puy*. Jean de Werchin thus inscribes himself in an existing tradition of collaborative exchange with his *Songe de la barge* and the ballade sequence, this latter work itself perhaps a fictional collaboration.

The polyphony created by this proliferation of voices operates in various *loci*: within the text itself, through the collaboration that generates the text, within the formalised frame of the *Cour Amoureuse* or *puy*, and on the level of the manuscript anthology. It is significant for these layers of poetic collaboration that Jean de Werchin's *Songe de la barge* and the ballade sequence are collected together, and make their sole appearance in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686) which also contains Chartier's *Complainte pour la mort*, his *Belle Dame sans mercy*, the sequel poems: *Parlement d'Amours* (Baudet Herenc), and Achille Caulier's *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, as well as texts collected in other manuscripts belonging to the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle.<sup>163</sup> Similarly, four manuscripts which contain *demandes d'amour* and *ventes d'amour* sequences also collect works by Chartier: Paris, BNF, fr. 1130; Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 205; Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale, L. II. 12, and/or texts of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle: Turin, B. N., L. II. 12; London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21.<sup>164</sup> The Turin manuscript also contains a *complainte* by Jean le Seneschal, the probable originator of the collaborative poem the *Cent Ballades*. The compilation of these texts in the same manuscript connects the *Querelle de la Belle*

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<sup>162</sup>Also recorded in the armorials of the *Cour Amoureuse* as a 'chevalier thresorier'. See Piaget, (1891). See also Bozzolo and Loyau (1982-1992).

<sup>163</sup> See Appendix A for a list of contents of this manuscript and others under consideration here.

<sup>164</sup> See Appendix A.

*Dame sans mercy* with this previous literary debate and others, creating a conflictual community within a context of material transmission. London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21 contains a version of Garençières's *complainte* XXIX, 'Belle, prenez temps et espace', as well as *demandes* and *ventes d'amour*, and *La Belle Dame qui eut mercy* (probably by Oton de Granson)<sup>165</sup>: a poem attached to the tradition of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. Of additional significance is Paris, BNF, fr. 19139, a manuscript which is the sole witness to the poetry of Jean de Garençières, the poet apostrophised by Lannoy in the course of his exchange with Werchin, and which also contains poems of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle.<sup>166</sup> Jean de Garençières also engaged in poetical exchange with both Charles d'Orléans, and Jean de Bucy, author of one of the thirteen responses to the *Cent Ballades*. Connections are thus drawn in this manuscript between poets engaged in three separate poetic collaborations: the *Cent Ballades*, the exchange of ballades between Jean de Werchin and Gilbert de Lannoy, and the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.

What I hope to establish here is a pattern of dialogic exchange between debate texts and the poets beyond those texts, which is reinforced by the organised anthologisation of such texts within these manuscripts. The intersection of one debate tradition with another within the manuscript collection points to a network of relations between debating poets and their texts which extends beyond one *querelle* and connects with others; a complex pattern of collaboration is then revealed. This patterning of manuscript compilations may also be observed in Paris, BNF, fr. 9223 (post 1453), a collection of diverse lyric pieces, many attached to specific poetic

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<sup>165</sup> See Piaget's edition in *Romania* for a discussion of authorship.

<sup>166</sup> See also Piaget, 'Jean de Garençières', *Romania* 22 (1893), 422-81.

challenges such as that initiated by Charles d'Orléans, on the verse 'En la forest de longue atente'.<sup>167</sup>

The manuscript collection provides one *locus* for playful poetic collaboration, while the *Cour amoureuse*, *puy*, or chivalric order provides another conceptual playground, within which poetic debate is the habitual mode of communication, and which is informed by legal and intellectual structures. The *Cour amoureuse*, whose charter was established in the *Hôtel d'Artois*, Paris, on St. Valentine's Day, 1400, was based on models of poetic competition such as the northern *puys* at Lille, Amiens, Rouen or Tournai, or the *chambres de rhétorique* that decided on questions of literary style.<sup>168</sup> It was established primarily for the defence and honour of women, a stipulation included in the statutes of many chivalric orders of the period, such as Christine de Pizan's *Ordre de la Rose*,<sup>169</sup> but also for the nurture of a vernacular poetic culture.<sup>170</sup> Another foyer which had been created for the development and reward of a vernacular poetic was the *Consistoire de la gaie science*, established in Toulouse in 1324.<sup>171</sup> This organisation was itself born of a poetic challenge, issued by a group of seven troubadours from Toulouse to poets from the Languedoc. Annual competitions (the *Jeux Floraux*)<sup>172</sup> were held by the *Consistoire*, for which *joies* or prizes would be awarded. The poetic endeavours of the *Consistoire* were regulated by a book of rules, the *Leys d'amor*, written in 1356 by two prominent lawyers: Guilhem Molinier and Berthomieu Marc. The

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<sup>167</sup>Charles d'Orléans was involved in a series of poetic exchanges, including the *Concours de Blois*: a series of poems inspired by the verse 'je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine'. See *Rondeaux et autres poésies du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Raynaud (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1889) for an edition of the Paris manuscript (BNF, fr. 9223).

<sup>168</sup>See Cerquiglini-Toulet, *The Colour of Melancholy: The Uses of Books in the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (Baltimore/London: The John Hopkins Press, 1997), pp. 43-44.

<sup>169</sup>Christine describes the founding of this order in her *Dit de la Rose*, see Fenster and Erler (1990).

<sup>170</sup>See Piaget (1891).

<sup>171</sup>See Jeanroy (1914).

<sup>172</sup>The winning poems would be judged according to categories distinguished by flowers such as the *violette*, *églantine* or *souci*.

association modelled itself on the organisation of a university with its book of statutes, its Chancellor, the practice of sitting exams, and the conferring of mock academic titles (there were two academic ranks to which one might aspire: *Bachelier* or *Docteur en gaie science*). The *Cour amoureuse* was a similar organisation with a charter, holding *puy*s, and electing winners, though the hierarchy was modelled on that of the court rather than on the intellectual ranking of the university, with a Prince of the *puy* at its head (Pierre de Hauteville), *conservateurs, ministres, présidents, conseillers* and so on. As I have shown, many of the poets involved in literary debate in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries became attached to the *Cour amoureuse* in some capacity. This was a formalised playground that provided a material forum for collaborative debate (even if it only ever existed within the confines of an elaborate collective fiction).<sup>173</sup> A conceptual forum was provided within the debate text itself by the model of the judicial trial or by the intellectual model of the *disputatio*. The judicial model is located in the informal *cour d'amour* settings such as that of Werchin's *Le Songe de la barge*, or the sequels of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* (*Parlement d'Amours*; *La Dame lealle en amours*; *La Cruelle Femme en amours*), as well as the more formal trial settings of later debates attached to this cycle. The *disputatio* fuses with early conflictual literary forms such as the *demande d'amour* or *jeu-parti* to shape the late-medieval debate poem formally.

The response to the *demande d'amour* I cited at the beginning of this chapter, 'desirer sans jouir', seems then to represent a fundamental poetic code which operates via the socio-cultural groupings I term collaborative debating communities. For these court poets, closure and hence fulfilment entails not only the

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<sup>173</sup> I mentioned earlier in this chapter the possibility that the *Cour amoureuse* was merely an

end of desire and of the game, but the end of creative endeavour, prestige, and ultimately subsistence. The late-medieval poet often operates a deferral of closure by postponing the final *determinatio* or *arrêt* to an extra-textual future. As I have suggested, collaboration is specifically linked to lack of closure.<sup>174</sup> This can be seen in the sequences of continuation and imitation in the literary *querelles* arising from the *Cent Ballades*, or the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, and in the dialectic of the debate poem proper where resolution means the cessation of playful discourse. Finally, in the manuscript anthology, a network of playful and collaborative relations between texts is maintained and thus perpetuated. The tradition of literary exchange in the context of play and competition, as I have shown, is deeply rooted in medieval culture, from the earliest troubadour *tensos* and *joc-partits*, to the French *jeux-partis*, *demandes d'amour* and *ventes d'amour*. This vernacular culture, together with the formal organisation of intellectual learning in the universities and a developing judicial system, created a vogue for debate which flourished throughout the later Middle Ages. Groups of poets collaborate in debating communities – actual or fictionalised – either materially in *loci* such as the court, *puy*, *Cour amoureuse* or manuscript collection, or figuratively through the text itself, and through the intertextual networks traced by the poet.

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elaborate fiction, created in order to perpetuate poetic play.

<sup>174</sup> I shall return to the theme of closure in my third chapter.

## CHAPTER II

*'Tu recites, je replique; et quant nous avons fait et fait, tout ne vault riens'*:<sup>1</sup> Explorations of a *Debating Climate* in Early Humanist France

The *Querelle de la Rose*<sup>2</sup> is perhaps the best-known literary debate of the late-medieval period. This early fifteenth-century epistolary quarrel was largely provoked by the controversy surrounding Jean de Meun's portrayal of women in his continuation of Guillaume de Lorris's *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>3</sup> As a purportedly 'real' debate, this *Querelle* will provide a contrast with the fictitious literary debates I discussed in my first chapter. Its development within chancery milieux was fostered by an existing climate of literary and practical debating in contemporary French and Italian court society. I propose here to give an account of this debating climate, focusing on the private exchange and circulation of epistles and treatises among close circles of clerks and scholars in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. I briefly explore the formal diplomatic and legal debating taking place in these intellectual and literary circles in France, looking particularly at the body of work generated by the disputed English claim to the French throne, often referred to as the *Querelle anglaise*.<sup>4</sup> To this end, I also address the debate over the healing of the Great Schism (1378-1417),<sup>5</sup> and the burning issue of regal as opposed to papal

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<sup>1</sup> See Christine de Pizan, *Response de Cristine a maistre Pierre Col sur le Romant de la Rose*, in *Débat sur Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Hicks (Paris: Champion, 1977), ll. 363-65, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> All references to the *Querelle* documents are to Hicks's edition, unless otherwise stated.

<sup>3</sup> See Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun (1992).

<sup>4</sup> I refer especially to Craig Taylor, *La Querelle anglaise: Diplomatic and Legal Debate during the Hundred Years War, with an Edition of the Polemical Debate 'Pour ce que Plusieurs' (1464)* (unpublished DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 1998). I am grateful to Dr. Taylor for allowing me to refer to his thesis in my work and also to Professor Peter S. Lewis, of All Souls' College, Oxford, for advice on the socio-historical issues surrounding political debate in early humanist France. See Lewis, *Essays in Later Medieval History* (London/Ronceverte: The Hambledon Press, 1985).

<sup>5</sup> The standard authority on the Schism is Valois, *La France et le Grand Schisme d'Occident*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1896-1902). For one of the early humanists involved in the discussions over the healing of the

power.<sup>6</sup> I show here both how literary debate feeds off more formal diplomatic debating in chancery circles, and how political and ethical debate may, in certain circumstances, be shaped by literary knowledge.

I base myself on Brian Stock's model of the textual community as an interpretative body that derives its social coherence from common interpretations of a text or body of text. As Stock explains:

We can think of a textual community as a group that arises somewhere in the interstices between the imposition of the written word and the articulation of a certain type of social organization. It is an interpretive community, but it is also a social entity.<sup>7</sup>

I also engage with Pierre Bourdieu's categories of social organisation to suggest a new socio-cultural model for participatory literary production at this time which I refer to as the collaborative debating community. As I mention in my introduction, Stock's textual community is largely non-productive, whereas the collaborative debating community I postulate is a generative body, producing what I call collaborative fictions. This community, then, derives its social coherence not only from its interpretations of text/s, but from its production of further text/s in response to those interpretations, forming a network of collaborative relations between texts and poets/authors which corresponds with Bourdieu's notion of field. The collaborative fictions produced are bodies of work whose separate parts are connected through a network of internal intertextual references, like Gruber's concept of the self-referentiality of the troubadour corpus.<sup>8</sup> Debate is often conducted through a system of debating positions whereby the participants adopt a

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schism, see Jean Courtecuisse, *L'Oeuvre oratoire française*, ed. di Stefano (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1969).

<sup>6</sup> See Krynen, *L'Empire du roi: idées et croyances politiques en France, XIII<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Gallimard, 1993), and id., *Idéal du prince et du pouvoir royal en France à la fin du moyen âge (1380-1440)* (Paris: Picard, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> See Stock (1990), p. 150.

range of personae within the text. These debating positions may be designed specifically to polemicise and thus perpetuate debate. The model of fifteenth-century debate I term the collaborative debating community is examined in this chapter through these notions of debating positions and collaborative fictions. Further on I shall apply the notion of the collaborative debating community to such literary exchanges as the series of sequels and imitations which Alain Chartier's poem the *Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424) inspired. Chartier himself, as I suggest in my third chapter, is implicated both in this later poetic community and in the earlier humanist community I investigate in this chapter.

I am concerned here with selected letters exchanged between the two polarised groups of colleagues often associated with the rise of Humanism in France, namely those attached to the chanceries at Paris and Avignon.<sup>9</sup> I look in particular at the literary letters of Jean de Montreuil,<sup>10</sup> Provost of Lille, and secretary and notary to Charles VI (whom Antoine Thomas in 1883 described as the first French humanist), and at his contribution to the *Querelle de la Rose*. I further discuss Jean de Montreuil's earlier literary disputes, and explore his exchanges with Ambrogio dei Migli,<sup>11</sup> a visiting Milanese scholar. Also involved in the *Querelle de la Rose* were the brothers Gontier and Pierre Col, both royal secretaries and notaries as well as ambassadors, attached to the Paris chancery, and Jean Gerson, eminent

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<sup>8</sup> Gruber (1983).

<sup>9</sup> Nicole Pons talks of the Paris chanceries in the plural, her term encompassing the entourages of the Dukes of Berry, Burgundy and Orléans, as chancery secretaries might also have worked at these courts. See Pons, 'Les Chancelleries parisiennes sous les règnes de Charles VI et Charles VII', in *Cancellaria e cultura nel medio evo*, ed. Gualdo (Vatican City: Archivio Segreto Vaticano, 1990), 137-68.

<sup>10</sup> I refer to Thomas's comment that Jean de Montreuil was the first French humanist. See Thomas (1883). Thomas is identified as the first so to classify Montreuil by Combes, *Jean de Montreuil et le chancelier Gerson* (Paris: J. Vrin, 1942). Combes here lists numerous other scholars who concur with Thomas's assertion (ibid. pp. 13-15).

theologian and Chancellor of the University of Paris. Of those attached to the papal chancery at Avignon<sup>12</sup> (such scholars as Jean Muret, Pierre d'Ailly, Giovanni Moccia, and the prolific translator Laurent de Premierfait), I focus on Nicolas de Clamanges,<sup>13</sup> a bright light in the University of Paris who caused general dismay among his colleagues by accepting a post at Avignon in 1397 following the election of Pope Benedict XIII. Jean Gerson, Nicolas de Clamanges, and Jean de Montreuil were all scholars at the famous *Collège de Navarre* in Paris where they received a rigorous formation under the patronage of Charles V, and later Charles VI, that was to shape their literary and political careers. In a recent study, Nathalie Gorochov examines the complex links between the *Collège de Navarre* and the chancery milieu.<sup>14</sup> It is clear that Paris and Avignon, as the two main cultural and intellectual centres in France at this time, were intimately linked, not least through the flow of scholars and diplomats moving between the two. Gorochov describes a constant 'va-et-vient' of *nonces* (embassies) between the royal and papal courts.<sup>15</sup> As a result of the Italian bias of the court at Avignon, compounded by the dispute over royal autonomy from papal obedience, tensions inevitably arose that paradoxically strengthened the literary bonds between the two communities, fostering their written confrontations.

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<sup>11</sup> The epistolary exchanges of French humanists with their Italian models and contemporaries (Petrarch, Coluccio Salutati, Ambrogio dei Migli and Cardinal Galeotto Tarlati da Pietramala) are fundamental to our discussion of the climate of debate from which the *Querelle de la Rose* sprang.

<sup>12</sup> The humanist circle attached to the papal chancery thrived under Pope Benedict XIII, but was dispersed in 1408 following the assassination of Louis d'Orléans in 1407, and Benedict XIII's excommunication of Charles VI. See Ornato, *Jean Muret et ses amis: Nicolas de Clamanges et Jean de Montreuil* (Geneva: Droz, 1969).

<sup>13</sup> Nicolas de Clamanges moved from the University of Paris to the papal chancery in 1397 to accept a post in the court of Benedict XIII, the newly elected Pope, to the great dismay of his Parisian colleagues. Ornato ingeniously plots the complex movements of other members of the two circles in his book (1969).

<sup>14</sup> See Nathalie Gorochov's exhaustive study of the *Collège, Le Collège de Navarre de sa fondation (1305) au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle (1418)* (Paris: Champion, 1997). Jean de Montreuil enters the *Collège* in 1374, Nicolas de Clamanges in 1375, Jean Gerson in 1378.

<sup>15</sup> Gorochov (1997), ch. XV, pp. 433-71.

Turning to the prolific author and scholar Christine de Pizan, I examine her part in the *Querelle de la Rose*, and her motives for the publication of the first 1402 dossier of the *Querelle*.<sup>16</sup> I then discuss her role as compiler and editor of this dossier and subsequent collections.<sup>17</sup> The nature and purpose of Christine's intervention in the *Querelle* is vital to an understanding of its mechanics, set within the context of previous literary debates staged by the groups of early humanists in Paris and Avignon. I suggest that there is a 'playfulness' about debate in these circles. Scholars engineer and even fictionalise conflicts in a desire to perpetuate literary play. Christine de Pizan's letters are written in an entirely different spirit from those penned by her male supporters and opponents, all of whom collude in the game of debate by adopting debating positions, often vituperative in their polemic. These positions constitute moves in the literary field of play, and generate collaborative fictions.

In their introduction to a recent special issue of *Forum for Modern Languages*, Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay explore the work of the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, and discuss the relevance of his theory of practice for medieval studies, focusing on his rejection of a structuralist hermeneutics in favour of a dialectical methodology expressed through the notions of field, habitus,<sup>18</sup> and symbolic

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<sup>16</sup> This first dossier was published on 1<sup>st</sup> February 1402, under the patronage of Queen Isabeau of France, and Guillaume de Tignonville, Prevost of Paris, and is limited to the epistolary exchanges of Gontier Col and Christine herself, as well as two dedicatory letters addressed to her two patrons respectively. There are no extant witnesses of this first manuscript.

<sup>17</sup> A second dossier finished on 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1402, in which Christine includes the initial epistolary exchange in an edition of her own works, is preserved in three manuscripts: Paris, BNF, fr. 12779; Chantilly, Musée Condé, 492-493; BNF, fr. 604. A later dossier, compiled by Pizan after 2<sup>nd</sup> October 1402 contains the original exchange of letters between Col and Pizan, plus Pierre Col's response (June-September 1402) to both Christine's letter to Jean de Montreuil (pre 13<sup>th</sup> September 1401), and to Gerson's treatise against the *Rose* (18<sup>th</sup> May 1402). This dossier is also preserved in three MSS: Berkeley, UCB, 109; BNF, fr. 835; London, B.L., Harley 4431.

<sup>18</sup> Bourdieu defines habitus as 'a system of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes', in *Le Sens pratique / The Logic of Practice*, trans. Nice (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), p. 53. I discuss habitus in my

capital.<sup>19</sup> I suggest that the dialectical structures inherent in interpretative groups such as those at Avignon and Paris encourage this approach. Socio-cultural competition between individuals is addressed in Pierre Bourdieu's *Logic of Practice*, through his notion of societies as fields of play within which players struggle competitively (but in collusion with one another) to acquire forms of symbolic capital. By symbolic capital, Bourdieu refers to whatever is valued (materially, socially, or intellectually) in any given community and provides its owner with status (material/social/intellectual) in that community, what Bourdieu describes as 'trump cards'.<sup>20</sup> We could think, for example, of publication in the academic field or film credits in the acting world as forms of symbolic capital. Capital is played for, won and lost by the members of a field much like in a game. The players of this game 'agree, by the mere fact of playing [...] that the game is worth playing [...] and this collusion is the very basis of their competition'.<sup>21</sup> So the collusion between members of a particular community, and hence collaboration, even in the antagonism of competition and debate, is the social glue that enables the perpetuation of the game within a certain field. All players must necessarily collude in this group fiction; those who do not are automatically excluded. The success of the game depends on the participation of all its players and their recognition both of the rules and of the particular symbolic capital at stake in the field. Symbolic capital

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final chapter (V) in the context of the relationship between the text and the manuscript (its means of transmission).

<sup>19</sup> See Gaunt and Kay (1997), 193-203.

<sup>20</sup> As Gaunt and Kay (1997) put it: 'This symbolic capital refers to the honour or prestige derived from certain practices that may be translated into high status or into material gain, or both', pp. 195-96. For a discussion of symbolic capital see Bourdieu (1990).

<sup>21</sup> Bourdieu's sociology, at times complex, is cogently summarised, appropriately enough, in dialogue with Loïc J. D. Wacquant. See Bourdieu and Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge/Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), p. 98.

in terms of the *querelles* conducted in chancery circles, for example, might refer to good epistolary style.

The evidence we have of literary letter-writing in the chanceries comes mainly from the surviving epistolary collections of Jean de Montreuil and Nicolas de Clamanges.<sup>22</sup> The relatively closed circulation of chancery letters is no doubt largely to blame for their disappearance, as well as the destruction of archives during the Burgundian assault on Paris in 1418 in which Jean de Montreuil and many of his chancery colleagues, including the Col brothers, were brutally murdered.<sup>23</sup> Jean de Montreuil and his colleagues in chancery circles were frequently involved in literary disputes, worked out on paper, alongside the habitual diplomatic debating that constituted the bulk of their office. The copying and transmission of these literary exchanges, often in epistolary form, attests to what I term the debating climate of early humanist France.<sup>24</sup> Christine de Pizan, although no doubt a political actor as Zimmermann suggests, was not engaged in debate on the same level.<sup>25</sup> An instance of the conflict of Christine's and Montreuil's approaches to debate is seen in a political and legal wrangle known as the *Querelle anglaise*, in which the English claim to the French throne was disputed.<sup>26</sup> Both Jean de Montreuil and Christine de Pizan engage in discussion of a version of the Salic

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<sup>22</sup> See Jean de Montreuil, *Opera*, ed. Ornato, 4 vols. (Turin: G. Giappichelli, 1963-1986), I: *Epistolario*; II: *L'Oeuvre historique et polémique*; III: *Textes divers, appendices et tables*; IV: *Monsteroliana*; Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera omnia*, ed. Lydius (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967), and more recently his *Epistolario*, ed. Cecchetti, Turin, 1969 (typewritten thesis). Gorochov also refers to the letters of Gérard Machet which are edited by Santoni: *Gérard Machet, confesseur de Charles VII et ses lettres* (typewritten thesis, École des Chartes, 1968).

<sup>23</sup> See Ornato (1969), and Lewis (1985).

<sup>24</sup> I shall discuss specific examples of the transmission of these exchanges later on.

<sup>25</sup> See Zimmermann, 'Vox femina, Vox politica: The *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France*', in *Politics, Gender, and Genre: The Political Thought of Christine de Pizan*, ed. Brabant (Boulder/San Francisco/Oxford: Westview Press, 1992), 113-27.

<sup>26</sup> See Craig Taylor (1998).

Law (though Christine only indirectly through her *Livre de la cité des dames*),<sup>27</sup> which excluded women and their cognates from ruling. This law rendered invalid the English king Edward III's claim to the French throne, since he stood to inherit through his mother, Queen Isabeau of France. The *Querelle anglaise* is characterised by a series of polemical treatises, including the redaction of two treatises by Montreuil, each in both Latin and French versions: *Regali ex progenie/A toute la chevalerie* (1408/1408-13), and the *Traité contre les Anglais* (1413-16).<sup>28</sup> Montreuil's treatises and others, Taylor asserts, were intended to be used not as political propaganda, but as diplomatic manuals. The medieval custom of compiling sources provided useful diplomatic tools for chancery and governmental use, particularly in terms of aide-mémoires for oral debate, at a time when the French royal archives were in some disorder, and material was not readily accessible.<sup>29</sup> Montreuil himself drew on previous compilations for his treatises, and particularly the *Memore abrege* (1390).<sup>30</sup> One of the arguments against the English claims to the French throne that carried considerable weight in the French political arsenal was the question of Salic Law. Montreuil's discussion of this law in his polemical treatises provided source material for many diplomats, and traced the first set of clear guidelines justifying the exclusion of women from rule (where previously one had only been able to draw on vague customary law as a justification). However, as Sarah Hanley argues, Montreuil's version of the Salic Law was a cunning mixture of truth and invention. Montreuil invokes the authority of Charlemagne and uses a secondary manuscript source (for information on the *De allodio* ordinance of the Salic Law which excludes women from the right to inherit land) which is itself

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<sup>27</sup> See Christine de Pizan, *La Città delle dame*, ed. Caraffi and Richards (Milan: Luni, 1998).

<sup>28</sup> See Jean de Montreuil (1975): II.

corrupt, while claiming to have read an original Latin law, written in 1328.<sup>31</sup>

Crucially, Montreuil included the interpolated phrase 'in regno' (in the kingdom), present in his manuscript source, but not in the original ordinance. In the *Traité contre les Anglais*, Montreuil writes:

Et aussi par coustume et ordonnance faite et approuvee et notoirement tenue et gardee des devant qu'il eust onques roy crestien en France et expressement confermee par Charlemaigne, femme ne masle qui ne vient seulement que de par femme et non descendant de masle de sang royal de France ne succede point ne est habile de succeder a la couronne de France.<sup>32</sup>

Hanley suggests that Montreuil's treatise is a response to Christine's *Livre de la cité des dames* (1405). Christine's city is built in part by fabled female rulers, emphasising the viability of female rule. Montreuil's support of the Salic Law in successive treatises would thus represent an undermining of Christine's female-led city at its very foundations. Some of the authorities Montreuil relies upon are not only highly suspect, but proverbial, supported more by the popular tradition of misogynous attacks on women's capabilities than by the word of the law. Hanley makes a useful distinction between Christine's and Montreuil's contribution to the unfolding *Querelle des femmes*.<sup>33</sup> She observes that while Montreuil adopts a position backed largely by the misogynist *literary* authority of such writers as Ovid, Juvenal and Jean de Meun, Christine refuses to play the game entirely in a literary

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<sup>29</sup> See Craig Taylor (1998).

<sup>30</sup> See Lewis (1985).

<sup>31</sup> See Hanley, 'Identity Politics and Rulership in France: Female Political Place and the Fraudulent Salic Law in Christine de Pizan and Jean de Montreuil', in *Changing Identities in Early Modern France*, ed. Wolfe (Durham, North Carolina/London: Duke University Press, 1997), 78-94. The *De allodio* ordinance prohibiting the inheritance of land by females pertained to allodial lands only, and as Hanley explains, this ordinance was 'mediated' by others in the full redaction of the Law. This Salic Law was based on Merovingian (c. 507-11) and Carolingian (802-3) versions, neither of which mentioned the rights of succession to the throne. Montreuil relied on Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, 10306 which gives second-hand a fragment of the Salic Law with the interpolation 'in regno': 'Mulier vero nullam in regno habeat portionem' (Indeed, a woman shall have no stake in the kingdom).

<sup>32</sup> See Montreuil (1975): II, ll. 85-90, p. 164.

sphere, appealing to the highest political and legal authority outside the text to support her arguments.<sup>34</sup> Taylor argues, against Hanley, that Montreuil's treatise was not expressly intended as a response to Christine's *Cité des dames*, with which I concur. I suggest, however, that both these theories are compatible when one looks in the broader sense at the activity of debate, and how it is conceived of by the two authors. Montreuil was engaged in more than one debate in his polemical treatises, dealing first and foremost with the *Querelle anglaise* but, consciously or otherwise, making a move in the slowly evolving *Querelle des femmes*. He used his expertise in debate to fabricate arguments, based partly on a popular and literary misogynist culture, which would refute all female claims to authority, including Christine's. So literary knowledge is seen to shape and alter political and legal knowledge. Montreuil's version of the Salic Law was widely drawn upon for sources of diplomatic and legal argumentation during the *Querelle anglaise*.<sup>35</sup>

The *Querelle anglaise* and the partition of France into Burgundian and Armagnac/Orléanist factions during the Hundred Years War provide concrete instances of political divisions which are played out in literary form at this time. A well-known later example of this fusion of the literary and the political is the anonymous *Debat des herauts d'armes* (1453-61) in which an English and a French herald present their respective cases before *Dame Prudence*. The debate unfolds as each herald responds in turn to the initial question posed by *Prudence*, 'Qui est le royaume chrestien qui est plus digne d'estre approuché d'Honneur?'<sup>36</sup> This debate,

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<sup>33</sup> On the *Querelle des femmes* see Angenot, *Les Champions des femmes: examen du discours sur la supériorité des femmes 1400-1800* (Montreal: University of Québec, 1977), Joan Kelly, 'Early Feminist Theory and the *Querelle des femmes*, 1400-1789', *Signs* 8 (1982), 4-28.

<sup>34</sup> By publishing and circulating the dossiers of the *Querelle de la Rose* to Queen Isabeau de Bavière and Guillaume de Tignonville, the Provost of Paris, among others, as I shall discuss.

<sup>35</sup> See Craig Taylor (1998) and Lewis (1985).

<sup>36</sup> See *Debat des herauts d'armes*, ed. Pannier and Meyer (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1877).

following what appears to be a late-medieval device, remains unresolved.<sup>37</sup> *Dame Prudence* instructs the heralds to copy down their arguments in a book which will be both instructive and enjoyable for ‘jeune noblesse’, and promises to deliver her verdict once other heralds from Christian countries have been heard.<sup>38</sup>

Polemical treatises were written alongside these more literary debate texts, and were popular among diplomatic communities.<sup>39</sup> These treatises were often written in a monophonic complaint form rather than in the polyphonic form of the debate. In the category of polemical complaints we can place François de Monte-Belluna’s *Tragicum argumentum de miserabili statu regni Francie* (1356),<sup>40</sup> Jean de Montreuil’s *Regali ex progenie/A toute la chevalerie* (1408/1408-13) and the *Traité contre les Anglais* (1413-16),<sup>41</sup> as well as Christine de Pizan’s *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France* (1410). Christine de Pizan’s earlier *Livre de l’advison Cristine* (1399-1405),<sup>42</sup> though, falls in the genre of polemical dream vision debate, or *songe politique* to borrow Marchello-Nizia’s term.<sup>43</sup> Christine’s narrator, ‘Cristine’, encounters a succession of allegorical figures in a dream landscape including that of *Libera* (France), who delivers a long complaint on the state of the nation before

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<sup>37</sup> I discuss closure in late medieval poetry in my next chapter. See also Armstrong (1997), 12-14, Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry and the Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia/London: University of Missouri Press, 1990), and my article, Cayley (forthcoming in early 2003).

<sup>38</sup> ‘Puis dit: Heralx de France et d’Angleterre, je dis par mon appoinctement que vous baillerez par escrit les faitz et les raisons que avez dit d’une part et d’autre sur la question par moy faicte. Et desquelles raisons sera fait ung beau petit livre qui se nommera Passe-temps, qui sera moult prouffitable a jeune noblesse et a poursuivans en vostre office; et y pourront joieusement passer temps, veoir et aprendre du bien grandement et largement; puis je auray advis o les lisans et o les oyans le dit livre, et auray ouy les heraux des autres roys crestiens; et en temps et en lieu je donray ma sentence’, *Debat des heraults*, ch. 142, p. 52.

<sup>39</sup> Craig Taylor (1998), and Daly, ‘Mixing Business with Leisure: Some French Royal Notaries and Secretaries and their Histories of France, c. 1459-1509’, in *Power, Culture, and Religion in France c. 1350-c. 1550*, ed. Allmand (Bury St Edmunds, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 1989), 99-115.

<sup>40</sup> See François de Monte-Belluna, *Le Tragicum argumentum de miserabili statu regni Francie*, ed. Vernet, *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l’Histoire de France 1962-1963* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964), 101-63.

<sup>41</sup> Montreuil (1975): II.

<sup>42</sup> See Christine de Pizan, *Le Livre de l’advison Cristine*, ed. Dulac and Reno (Paris: Champion, 2001).

asking 'Cristine' to intervene on her behalf with the princes of the realm.<sup>44</sup> Alain Chartier's vernacular prose work *Le Quadrilogue invectif* (1422), a debate between Lady France and the three estates,<sup>45</sup> and his *Livre de l'Esperance* (1428-30)<sup>46</sup>, a dream vision in which the narrator discusses the plight of France with a series of allegorical figures, were no doubt greatly inspired by the polemical complaint (and particularly by Monte-Belluna and Montreuil), but also drew on a tradition of polemical literary debates (and specifically *songes politiques*) like Christine's, as I suggest in my next chapter. Chartier's particular use of the medium of literary debate as a vehicle for political engagement, was to inspire such figures as Jean Juvénal des Ursins, a lawyer at the *Parlement de Paris* from 1400-1418. In Jean Juvénal's dream vision *Audite celi* (1435), the narrator encounters a 'devote creature' who relates her meeting with the allegorical figures of France, England, and the Church, at Arras. These personifications have come together to debate the question of the French crown. The vision ends, however, before the discussions can get underway.<sup>47</sup> It is significant in the light of Chartier's influence that Jean Juvénal's debate is collected with five works of Chartier in Paris, BNF, fr. 1128,<sup>48</sup> and that André Duchesne's collected edition of Chartier's works from 1617 contains extracts from Jean Juvénal's *Tres reverends* and *Loquar in tribulacione*.<sup>49</sup> I discuss

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<sup>43</sup> See Marchello-Nizia, 'Entre l'histoire et la poétique: le *Songe politique*', *Revue des Sciences humaines*, 55 (1981), 39-53.

<sup>44</sup> See Christine de Pizan, *Lamentacion sur les maux de la France*, in *Mélanges de langue et littérature française du Moyen Age et de la Renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon*, ed. Kennedy (Rennes: Institut de Français, Université de Haute Bretagne, 1980), vol. 1, 177-85.

<sup>45</sup> See Chartier (1950).

<sup>46</sup> See Chartier (1989).

<sup>47</sup> See Jean Juvénal des Ursins, *Écrits politiques*, ed. Lewis, 3 vols. (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1978-1992), I, pp. 93-281.

<sup>48</sup> These are Chartier's Latin dialogue, *Dialogus familiaris*; the French prose works, *Quadrilogue invectif* and *Livre de l'Esperance*; and his French verse, *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* and *Lay de paix*. For the French verse see Chartier (1974), 155-95 and 410-20 respectively; for the Latin dialogue see Chartier (1977), 245-325.

<sup>49</sup> See Chartier, *Les Oeuvres*, ed. Duchesne (Paris: Pierre le-Mur, 1617).

the significance of manuscript context as material evidence of the collaborative debating communities I postulate in my final chapter.

As Krynen asserts, the writers of such polemical works associated the French-English conflict with the division in the Church known as the Great Schism (1378-1417), which saw rival popes establishing obediences from Avignon and Rome respectively.<sup>50</sup> These scholars further believed that Charles VI, as monarch, had a key role to play in the healing of the Schism.<sup>51</sup> The opposition of regal and papal power, debated in Christian political thought since Pope Gelasius I's distinction between the temporal and spiritual kingdoms in the fifth century A.D.,<sup>52</sup> inspired a series of important debates, often set out as scholastic *disputationes*.<sup>53</sup> These debates were to influence such humanist scholars as Jean Gerson and Pierre d'Ailly (a Master of Theology at the *Collège de Navarre* who was succeeded as chancellor of the University of Paris by Gerson in 1395), in their discussions over the healing of the Schism. Jean Gerson was involved in diplomatic talks with the antipope Benedict XIII and Gregory XII of Rome during his embassies to Avignon (1403-4), Marseilles and Rome (1407).<sup>54</sup> In the *De potestate regia et papali* (1303) the Dominican Jean de Paris (Jean Quidort) issued a challenge to the dominance of papal power through his rejection of the concept of the 'plenitude of power' which

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<sup>50</sup> See Oliver O'Donovan and Joan Lockwood O'Donovan, *From Irenaeus to Grotius: A Sourcebook in Christian Political Thought 100-1625* (Michigan/Cambridge, England: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1999), pp. 389-96.

<sup>51</sup> Krynen (1981).

<sup>52</sup> O'Donovan (1999), pp. 177-79. Gelasius I (pope from 492-496), wrote famously in a letter to Emperor Anastasius: 'Two there are, august Emperor, by which this world is ruled: the consecrated authority of priests and the royal power. Of these the priests have the greater responsibility, in that they will have to give account before God's judgement seat for those who have been kings of men', p. 179.

<sup>53</sup> I discuss the *disputatio* in my first chapter. These debates include the *Disputatio inter clericum et militem* (1296), the *Quaestio in utramque partem* (1302) and the *Quaestio de potestate papae* (known as *Rex pacificus*). See Krynen (1993).

<sup>54</sup> For a comprehensive summary of Gerson's religious and political thought see O'Donovan (1999), pp. 517-29.

gave the Papacy both temporal and spiritual power over the people.<sup>55</sup> Many thinkers supported the view that the monarchy was itself a divine institution and not subject to papal rule. The role of the monarch was explored in a proliferation of *miroirs des princes* which set him at the head of the political body, or *corpus mysticum*,<sup>56</sup> and established guidelines for good leadership which would ensure the well-being of the whole body. *Ardant Desir*, the principal protagonist of Philippe de Mézières's allegorical *Songe du vieil pelerin* (1389),<sup>57</sup> written for Charles VI, embarks on a tour to examine the state of Christian morals around the world. Mézières employs the two popular political metaphors of the French ship of State and the chessboard (as social hierarchy) to instruct the king in his regal duties.<sup>58</sup>

The divisions inherent in the State and Church and the desire for an autonomous monarchy in France led to a great flourishing in the later Middle Ages of both practical and literary debate. Such scholars as Jean de Montreuil, Christine de Pizan, Jean Gerson, and later Alain Chartier, were to engage both in political and literary debate, the literary often shaping, as well as being shaped by the political. The polyphonic voice within the literary debate form mirrors such external political or social divisions, and promises a remedy with its final judgement or resolution, but one that is not always forthcoming, as I shall suggest.

I now turn to focus on the epistolary and predominantly literary debating which took place in chancery circles at the end of the fourteenth century in France.

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<sup>55</sup> For a summary of Jean de Paris's contribution to the debate see O'Donovan (1999), pp. 397-412.

<sup>56</sup> See O'Donovan (1999). The notion of the *corpus mysticum* in late medieval thought is derived from St. Paul's notion of the Church as the body of Christ (1 Cor. 10: 17). However, the term was gradually to lose its religious connotations through its application to the temporal nation, and to the political community. See also John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (1159); *Policraticus: Of the Frivolities of Courtiers and the Footprints of Philosophers*, ed. and trans. Nederman (Cambridge: CUP, 1990).

<sup>57</sup> See Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du vieil pelerin*, ed. Coopland, 2 vols. (Cambridge: CUP, 1969).

A quarrel opposing Jean de Montreuil and the Italian Ambrogio dei Migli<sup>59</sup> will illustrate the enthusiasm for debate among these circles, and the collaborative nature of such exchanges. Composed between the autumn of 1397 and the spring of 1398,<sup>60</sup> this epistolary exchange immediately predates the *Querelle de la Rose*, and debates the mastery of two literary giants, Cicero and Virgil. In Epistle 131 (*Querimoniarum seu*),<sup>61</sup> Jean de Montreuil urges his unknown correspondent to give an opinion of an enclosed dossier of letters, all of which are addressed to Nicolas de Clamanges (probably Epistles 129, 130 and 132).<sup>62</sup> Their common topic is the series of disputes staged between Jean de Montreuil and the Milanese scholar Ambrogio dei Migli. In this debate, as in the later *Querelle de la Rose*, Jean de Montreuil addresses his opponent indirectly through an intermediary, or series of intermediaries: in the case of Epistles 129, 130 and 132, it is Nicolas de Clamanges to whom Montreuil airs his grievances against Migli. The rhetorical violence of the debate between Montreuil and Migli, as evidenced in these epistles, was such that Nicolas de Clamanges felt moved to step into the breach, sending conciliatory letters to Montreuil and Migli respectively.<sup>63</sup> However, the letter addressed to Migli from Clamanges, urging him to curb his ingratitude, was sent through Gontier Col, who subsequently refused to forward it to Migli.<sup>64</sup> This occasioned further letters from Montreuil to Col (epistles 137, 144 and 161), and possibly led to epistle 106, the

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<sup>58</sup> I discuss the metaphor of the French ship of State in my third chapter, and the chessboard as space of poetic play in my final chapter.

<sup>59</sup> See Ouy, 'Humanisme et propagande politique en France au début du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Ambrogio Migli et les ambitions impériales de Louis d'Orléans', in *Culture et politique en France à l'époque de l'humanisme et de la Renaissance*, ed. Simone (Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1974), 13-42.

<sup>60</sup> See Ornato (1969), *appendice IV*, pp. 233-38.

<sup>61</sup> Montreuil (1963): I, 194.

<sup>62</sup> See Ornato's discussion of these individual epistles: Montreuil (1986): IV, pp. 209-13.

<sup>63</sup> These are letters VI and VII in *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio: tome II*, ed. Martène and Durand (Paris: Montalant, 1724), p. 31; p. 33.

<sup>64</sup> See Ornato (1969), *appendice IV*.

most venomous of the series. The three epistles 137, 144, and 161 constitute a new dispute between Montreuil and Gontier Col.

Montreuil's grievances against Ambrogio dei Migli are literary in character; he reproaches him on three counts. Montreuil relates in Epistle 130 how Migli has claimed that Cicero deems the practice of rhetoric useless (and how Migli has himself stated that it *is* quite useless), and in Epistle 132 how Migli has accused Cicero of contradiction. In Epistle 129, Montreuil is indignant that Migli should esteem Ovid more highly than Virgil:

Est hic **quidam degener** in hac parte et futilis **Ambrosius nomine**, familiaris tuus quondam et michi; nunc vero, et quamdiu isto perstiterit in errore, inimicus capitalis, **ausu** qui temerario palam ac vicibus repetitis, dictu mirum et terribile cogitatu, magistrum illum amoris Ovidium, quia forsani illi vacat, prefato **poetarum parente Virgilio**, prothnefas, ingenii excellentioris asseveravit extitisse, Ep. 129: *Mirabilem et*.<sup>65</sup>

Montreuil's later astonishment at Christine de Pizan's judgement of the work of a man he regards as a master (Jean de Meun) is comparable with this earlier clash; Montreuil defends literary excellence and authority in the face of the impudent claims of both Migli and Christine. The classical invective Montreuil employs in Epistle 154 (*Ut sunt mores*) which is part of the later *Querelle de la Rose* emphasises the similarity in his approach to his two 'correspondents':<sup>66</sup>

Audies, vir insignis, et videbis pariter in contextu cuiusdam mee rescriptionis in vulgari, quam inique, iniuste et sub ingenti arrogantia nnulli **in precellentissimum magistrum Johannem de Magduno** invehunt et delatrant, precipue **mulier quedam, nomine Cristina**, ut dehinc iam in publicam scripta sua ediderit: que licet, ut est captus femineus, intellectu non careat, michi tamen audire visum est Leuntium grecam

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<sup>65</sup> 'There is that degenerate round here who goes, oddly enough, by the name of Ambrosius: once your friend and mine; but now, and for as long as he persists in his error of judgement: our arch enemy, who with open and reckless audacity and repeatedly – something astonishing and frightening to contemplate – has asserted quite wrongly, perhaps because he studies him, that it is obvious that Ovid, that master of love, is of greater intelligence than our aforementioned Virgil, father of poets', Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 187-91. All translations from the Latin are my own unless otherwise stated.

<sup>66</sup> I have highlighted in bold the words and phrases in this passage, and the earlier passage from Epistle 129, which seem to me to coincide.

meretricem, ut refert Cicero, que **'contra Theophrastum, philosophum tantum, scribere ausa fuit'**, Ep. 154.<sup>67</sup>

Montreuil here employs the same technique of oblique reference to the target of his indignation, not addressing Christine directly, but through a third party, the recipient of the letter.<sup>68</sup> She is evoked scathingly as 'mulier quedam', just as Ambrogio is referred to in epistle 129 as 'quidam degener'. 'Real' dialogue is thus thwarted, as the debate is turned aside and reported, rather than taking place directly: it becomes a 'dialogue de sourds', as Badel puts it.<sup>69</sup> This type of obliquely angled epistle seems to indicate an extreme and vituperative debating position adopted by Montreuil in his dealing with Christine de Pizan and Migli, since he addresses himself directly both to Gontier Col and to Cardinal Pietramala in the course of *their* disputes. Migli and Christine effectively become demonised fictional characters in Montreuil's invective, to be manipulated as he chooses. Montreuil however becomes 'reconciled' with Migli, the proof of this being an epistle directly addressed to him (Epistle 109). I shall raise the issue of obliquely addressed epistles and thwarted dialogue again later in conjunction with discussion of the purpose and form of the correspondence that partially constitutes the *Querelle de la Rose*.

When in the course of Epistle 154 Montreuil compares Christine to 'Leontium, the Greek whore',<sup>70</sup> we cannot but be referred back to his treatment of

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<sup>67</sup> 'O famous man, you will see and hear, in one of my writings in the vernacular, how unfairly, unjustly, and arrogantly some people have accused and attacked the most excellent Master Jean de Meun. I speak especially of a certain woman named Christine, who has just recently published her writings, and who, within feminine limitations, is not, admittedly, lacking in intelligence, but who, nevertheless, sounds to me like 'Leontium the Greek whore', as Cicero says, 'who dared to criticize the great philosopher Theophrastus'', Hicks (1977), II. 2-10, p. 42. English translation: *La Querelle de la Rose: Letters and Documents*, ed. Baird and Kane (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978).

<sup>68</sup> The recipient has not been identified, but Ornato suggests a well-known poet such as Eustache Deschamps or Honoré Bouvet. Montreuil (1986): IV, pp. 235-36.

<sup>69</sup> See Badel, *Le 'Roman de la Rose' au XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle: étude de la réception de l'oeuvre* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), ch. VIII, p. 414.

<sup>70</sup> My italics.

Ambrogio dei Migli to whom he refers in Epistle 106 (*De Intimatione*)<sup>71</sup> as a venomous snake hidden underground, who emerges into the light:

De intimatione tua regratians, vir insignis ac fidelissime, letor utique et gaudeo, ac magnam michi cedit ad cautionem, quod anguisequus ille ligur non degenerans suum virus amarissimum *introrsus diu latens, tandem evomuit et erupit*, Ep. 106.<sup>72</sup>

This classical metaphor of the snake representing a treacherous individual had previously been adopted in a public letter of May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1390 addressed by Coluccio Salutati, the Florentine Chancellor, to all Italian leaders. Salutati refers to the Milanese prince Giangaleazzo Visconti as ‘serpens ille ligusticus’ (that Ligurian serpent), hidden in the ‘latebris’ (shadows). Witt notes that Salutati’s metaphor plays also on the Visconti family’s crest, a snake, or *biscia*. This letter was a calculated move in the series of conflicts that erupted between Florence and Milan from 1390 on.<sup>73</sup> The two Milanese ‘serpents’, Migli and Visconti,<sup>74</sup> are further linked by Ambrogio dei Migli’s stint as notary in Giangaleazzo Visconti’s chancery.

Montreuil possessed a copy of Salutati’s private correspondence, totalling two hundred letters, which he describes offering as models of style to young

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<sup>71</sup> In Epistle 106, Montreuil addresses Gontier Col on the subject of a letter sent to Col by Migli, and subsequently passed on to Montreuil by Col: a letter which constituted a virulent invective against Montreuil. Epistle 106 is dated by Ornato to after the spring of 1400, possibly even the spring of 1401, and follows on from Montreuil’s epistles 137, 144 and 161. The last of these appears to have met with a frosty reception from Migli who, Ornato suggests, took Montreuil’s flippant tone in this letter quite seriously. It is partly Migli’s reaction to this letter (161), addressed to Gontier Col, with which Montreuil takes issue in epistle 106. Montreuil (1986): IV, pp. 185-89; 217-21.

<sup>72</sup> My italics highlight the vocabulary of concealment and exposure. ‘I am most grateful for your communication, most loyal and excellent man, I rejoice and delight in the news, and must now be greatly on my guard, for that Ligurian snake who has long lain hidden with the most bitter poison accumulating inside him, has at last burst forth and spewed it out’, Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 148-59.

<sup>73</sup> See Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and his Public Letters* (Geneva: Droz, 1976), pp. 58-63, and id., *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works, and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1983).

<sup>74</sup> A further voice linking Christine de Pizan to these Milanese serpents is the biblical serpent which in Jean de Meun’s *Rose* represents the treachery of woman. Genius uses the metaphor of the snake to warn the lover to avoid women, ‘Fuiéz! fuiéz! fuiéz le serpent venimeux’. Christine takes issue with this statement in her letter to Jean de Montreuil, *Reverence, honneur*: Hicks (1977), ll. 173-4, p. 17.

scholars (Epistle 93).<sup>75</sup> Montreuil's later use of Salutati's classical image in his invective against Migli suggests his own stylistic debt to the chancellor. In a recent article, Nicole Pons discusses Coluccio Salutati's formative influence on French scholars and on Jean de Montreuil in particular.<sup>76</sup> Salutati, she argues, may have been instrumental in the establishment of literary circles in France within which the *ars dictaminis* was practised through reading and writing. Salutati effectively instigates the type of epistolary jeu littéraire upon which Montreuil embarks with his colleagues at the Paris and Avignon chanceries and which defines many of the exchanges found in his letter collection including his contribution to the *Querelle de la Rose* to which I shall return.<sup>77</sup>

The classical metaphor of the snake used by both Salutati and Montreuil derives from the *Aeneid*, a work upon which Montreuil draws extensively in his epistles. The image of the serpent as a portent both of doom and of regeneration is a key motif throughout the epic poem; Virgil often uses the serpent as a symbol of hidden treachery.<sup>78</sup> In Book II, the Greeks lie in wait in the marshes and, later, are concealed within the Wooden Horse. Virgil's use of the metaphor ties the treachery of the Greeks here to the appearance throughout his poem of assorted serpents.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> See Pons (1990), pp. 142-3.

<sup>76</sup> See Pons, 'La Présence de Coluccio Salutati dans le recueil épistolaire de Jean de Montreuil', *Franco-Italica: Serie Storico-Letteraria* 1 (1992), pp. 9-24. See also Ornato (1969), p. 81, no. 47. Pons observes that Montreuil replaced the 'vouvoiement médiéval' with the 'tutoiement classique' in his private correspondence under Salutati's influence. This method of address became standard among humanists of Montreuil's circle.

<sup>77</sup> See Pons (1992), pp. 15-17.

<sup>78</sup> For Virgil's use of the serpent as symbol see Pöschl, *The Art of Vergil: Image and Symbol in the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1962); McAuslan and Walcot, *Virgil* (Oxford: OUP, 1990).

<sup>79</sup> I am thinking here of the twin serpents which come across the sea from Tenedos, the island where the Greeks are waiting in concealment, to devour the priest Laocoön as he attempts to dissuade the Trojans from taking the Wooden Horse, a gift of the Greeks, into their city. These twin serpents symbolise the Greek leaders Agamemnon and Menelaus who will come from the same direction as the serpents, also bringing death in their wake. See Virgil, *Aeneid Bks. I-VI*, ed. R. D. Williams (Surrey: Nelson, 1992), Book II, vv. 199-227, pp. 31-32.

Montreuil's comparison of Migli with a snake<sup>80</sup> thus refers us to this series of classical associations with the slippery, treacherous Greeks: and specifically to the Greek whose deceit set the fall of Troy in motion: Sinon,<sup>81</sup> to whom Montreuil compares Migli in Ep. 106:

Fuit alius compatriota valens suus, cuius nomen me auffugit, [...] qui huic nostro Sinoni multas curialites humili mendico et egentissimo impenderat atque fecerat, et [...] de stercore erexerat pauperem, Ep. 106.<sup>82</sup>

The fact that Migli is Italian forges a further link between Sinon and Migli. For Virgil, the outsiders are the Greeks, for Montreuil it is the Italians, and specifically the Milanese, who are to be mistrusted. When Montreuil then compares Christine de Pizan to a Greek, and a foreigner, associating her semantically with Migli,<sup>83</sup> there are implications for Christine's presence in the *Querelle de la Rose*, which, at best, is merely tolerated by her interlocutors. Given that Migli is branded Greek for his treachery to Virgil, and for his nationality, one might then say that Christine is branded Greek for her treachery to Jean de Meun (hence to French scholarship) and

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<sup>80</sup> Montreuil further compares Migli in Epistle 106 (*De Intimatione*) to a 'vipera crudelis', Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 148-59.

<sup>81</sup> Sinon came as a suppliant into the midst of the Trojans, pretending that he had escaped death at the hands of the Greeks and, falsely having won their sympathy, persuaded them that the Wooden Horse had been built by the Greeks to appease Minerva, and that if the Trojans were to take it within their city walls, it would bring great prosperity to Troy. See *Aeneid*, Bk. II, vv. 57-194.

<sup>82</sup> 'There was another excellent compatriot of his, whose name escapes me, [...] who stood by this Sinon of ours when he was a humble beggar and in the greatest need, and did all kinds of courtly services for him, and [...] now rises up from the filth a poor man', Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 113-17, p. 151.

<sup>83</sup> The semantic and racial link between Migli and Christine is heightened by a mutual connection with Lombardy. Montreuil compares Migli to a Lombard in Epistle 109 (*O quam vere*), composed sometime after spring 1400/1401: 'vereor ne in illo **Longobardorum** numero ascribaris, a quibus si aliquid queritur, proprium non, ubi vero quid affertur eis, quodlibet intelligent ydioma', Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 6-8, p. 192: 'I am afraid that you might be tarred with the same brush as those **Lombards** who say, when anything is requested of them, that they do not have it, but when something is brought to them – no matter what – then that is a language they understand'. Ornato explains that, 'le terme *Lombard* était certes depuis longtemps synonyme d'*usurier* mais J d M s'appesantit sur sa plaisanterie comme s'il tenait à montrer que le terme était pour lui à double sens'. Christine states in the *Mutacion* that she was born near Lombardy: 'Je fu nez pres de **Lombardie**', *Le Livre de la mutacion de Fortune par Christine de Pisan*, ed. Solente (Paris: Picard, 1959), I: v. 166, p. 13. A further voice behind the text thus links Christine and Migli, not just in terms of their alien status, but ties them both to the same region, and to a people connected with the insalubrious

for her sex. Montreuil thus implicates Christine and Migli within a textual space, setting both up as fictional constructs and as traitors. He attempts to control Christine's intervention in the *Querelle* through his rewriting of her role, a role that she subsequently refuses to play.

The racial tension 'on paper' between the French scholar Montreuil and the Italian Migli may have been exacerbated because of a previous heated literary exchange involving Cardinal Galeotto Tarlati da Pietramala, in which Nicolas de Clamanges adopted the role of intermediary. The exchange stemmed from a dispute about the superiority of Italian culture. This was a dispute that was to prove crucial for the development of Humanism in France, and to cement the literary bonds between Montreuil and his colleagues at Paris and Avignon. As Dario Cecchetti puts it in his work on this early *querelle*:

Vi sono alcuni fatti, di per sé occasionali, che diventano miti della storiografia e sono assunti come simbolo di situazioni culturali caratterizzanti un'epoca, o addirittura vengono evocati ogniqualvolta si tratti di determinare un periodo o creare una nuova categoria storica. Tale è il caso della corrispondenza polemica fra Nicolas de Clamanges e il Cardinale da Pietramala.<sup>84</sup>

This particular *querelle* had at its origin a letter penned by Petrarch to Pope Urban V in 1368 in which the infamous phrase 'oratores et poete extra Italiam non querantur' (orators and poets should not be sought outside Italy) appears. Cardinal Pietramala then sparked the later controversy with his public letter of 2<sup>nd</sup> December, 1394 (*Sepe alias*)<sup>85</sup> addressed to Nicolas de Clamanges, congratulating him on the style of his previous letters, after all quite surprisingly well written for a Frenchman. Montreuil and his colleagues at the royal chancery in Paris were riled by the assertion of the

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occupation of money-lending, 'usuriers' belonging to a level of society not so far removed from that inhabited by prostitutes (we recall Montreuil's categorisation of Christine as a *meretrix*).

<sup>84</sup> See Dario Cecchetti, *Petrarca, Pietramala e Clamanges: storia di una «querelle» inventata* (Paris: CEMI, 1982).

Italian contingent at Avignon that a strong literary culture could not exist in France independently of Italian influence. Clamanges's responses to Pietramala: the *Perpulchras pater* and the *Quod in superiori*,<sup>86</sup> the latter constructed in the form of a *disputatio* on the Petrarchan phrase quoted above, argue for the transmission of literary excellence from Antiquity, through Italy to France: the *translatio studii*. The *Quod in superiori* answers Pietramala with lists of French orators and poets who, in Clamanges' view, have inherited great style and ability from the ancients.<sup>87</sup>

Montreuil joined the fray with two epistles of his own: 96 (*Non dici*, December 1394 – March 1395), and 149 (*Venit ad*, June 1395),<sup>88</sup> both addressed to Cardinal Pietramala.<sup>89</sup> The first of these expresses incredulity that Pietramala should subscribe to Petrarch's opinion of French culture:

Ais enim, pater circumspectissime, si rite audita recordor, in Petrarcha legisse (eloquar an sileam?) extra Italiam poetas aut oratores non esse querendos; dicit extra Italiam oratores non esse querendos aut poetas, Ep. 96.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>85</sup>Ornato (1969), *appendice* IV, pp. 233-38.

<sup>86</sup> These are Epistles IV and V in Martène and Durand (1724).

<sup>87</sup> 'Si rerum gestarum scriptores postulas, Gregorium Turonensem accipe Severumque Sulpicium, gestorum beatissimi Martini luculenta descriptione relatores. Possem alios permultos et antiquos et recentiores commemorare. [...] Ex recentioribus autem primo Bernardus occurrit, deinde Hildebertus Cenomannensis, Yvo Carnotensis, Odilo, Hugo et Petrus Venerabilis, abbates Cluniacenses, Hugo denique et Richardus, canonice sancti Augustini regule sectatores. Possum Alanum et Galtherum, qui Alexandri gesta metro eleganti digessit, et alios plerosque [...] colligere', Ep. V, Martène et Durand (1724): 'If you are asking about writers of histories, take Gregory of Tours and Severus Sulpicius, or the biographer of blessed Martin with his excellent disposition of facts. I could recall many many other ancient or more recent examples. [...] Out of the more recent examples first comes Bernardus, then Hildebertus Cenomannensis, Yvo Carnotensis, Odilo, Hugo and Peter the Venerable, the abbots of Cluny, and finally Hugo and Richardus, followers of the canonical rule of St. Augustine. I could also include Alanus and Waltherus, who arranged the deeds of Alexander into elegant verse, and many others'.

<sup>88</sup> Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 171-73.

<sup>89</sup> Epistle 138 (*Nichil profecto*), written between September 1397 and July 1398, and addressed to the secretary of an Avignon Cardinal, again deals with the Petrarchan pronouncement. Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 222-23.

<sup>90</sup> 'For you say, most considered father, if I write correctly what I have heard, that you have read in Petrarch (shall I speak or be silent?) that orators and poets should not be sought outside Italy; he says that one should not seek orators or poets outside Italy', Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 22-25, p. 136.

Montreuil and Clamanges here adopt debating positions;<sup>91</sup> their principal concern is the style and disposition of their arguments.<sup>92</sup> Cecchetti argues that the polemical slant to the epistolary exchange of 1394-95 between Clamanges and Pietramala was added later by Clamanges, who revised his letters in the 1430s. This discovery lends weight to the notion of a debating climate in early humanist France. The fabrication of literary collaboration was already in evidence in the work of such authors as Jean le Seneschal. His *Cent Ballades* of 1389, as I discuss in my first chapter, is a poem in which an alleged collaboration with three others is woven into the fictional framework of the poem, and becomes part of the deep structure of the debate.<sup>93</sup> For these humanist scholars, then, the practice of literary debate becomes more important than the questions or issues at stake; debate becomes an end in itself. For the Paris and Avignon groups, the *forme* was more important than the *fond*, in contrast with the Scholastics who considered style secondary to thought, as Thelma Fenster argues in a recent article.<sup>94</sup>

Colleagues would strive to improve their own epistolary style by emulating their peers, and often debated the finer points. Montreuil engages Laurent de Premierfait of the Avignon chancery in debate on this subject in Epistles 97 and 148 (dated by Ornato to after September/October 1394, and June 1395 respectively). Montreuil criticises Premierfait for his attack on Clamanges's style in Epistle 97 (*Si*

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<sup>91</sup> See earlier on pp. 58-59 for a definition of debating positions.

<sup>92</sup> Montreuil refers to Petrarch in Epistle 208 as 'devotissimus catholicus ac celeberrimus philosophus moralis' (most devout catholic and renowned moral philosopher), Montreuil (1963): I, l. 1, p. 315. Cecchetti (1982) observes that Clamanges's two responses to Pietramala's *Sepe alias* were regarded as antipetrarchist propaganda.

<sup>93</sup> See chapter I, pp. 43-48, and Jean Le Seneschal (1905).

<sup>94</sup> 'But indeed, humanism's preoccupation with Latin style, ever increasing, would later lead to a debate between *forme* and *fond*. For the humanists [...] form was all, while for the earlier scholastics it was the servant of thought.' See Fenster "'Perdre son latin": Christine de Pizan and Vernacular Humanism', in *Christine de Pizan and the Categories of Difference* ed. Desmond (Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 91-107, p. 96.

*thersitem*),<sup>95</sup> and suggests in Epistle 148 (*Quem pleraque*), that Premierfait's silence is a tacit acknowledgement of his error of judgement in condemning Clamanges's style:

*Qui tacet consentire videtur. Tu ratiunculis meis, quibus te in metra nostri de Clamengiis minus mature dixisse [...] probavi, non respondes. Ergo, in 'darii' reductive concludendo, rem consentis, aut sillogismo respondeto.*<sup>96</sup>

Montreuil and Gontier Col seem to have regarded Clamanges as a master in the art of letter writing,<sup>97</sup> and defer to the 'splendissimus stylus clamenginus'.<sup>98</sup> The epistolary form provided a convenient vehicle for such debate, but was used loosely, following a classical precedent. The 'literary letter' can be traced back to such Latin writers as Cicero, Seneca, or Horace,<sup>99</sup> all of whom wrote sequences of epistles which were subsequently collected and published; there can be no doubt but that Montreuil and his colleagues were heavily influenced by classical thought.<sup>100</sup> In humanist circles addressees were largely irrelevant, since the letters would be

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<sup>95</sup> Montreuil (1963): I, pp.137-40.

<sup>96</sup> 'Keeping quiet is as good as agreeing. You do not reply to my reasonings, whereby I judged, in metre [...] that you had spoken rather hastily about Clamanges's writings. Therefore, by a process of deduction, you agree with me about the matter, or if not, answer me with a syllogism', Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 2-5, p. 214.

<sup>97</sup> Ornato (1969) expands on this idea in his account of the Paris and Avignon circles.

<sup>98</sup> See Montreuil's Epistle 161 (*Perplexitate nimis*), addressed to Gontier Col, Montreuil (1963): I, 227-40.

<sup>99</sup> Cicero's letters survive in a number of collections such as the *Epistolae ad familiares*, and *Epistolae ad Atticum*; see Cicero, *Select Letters*, ed. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge: CUP, 1995). Seneca's *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* track the conversion of a philosophical novice (Lucilius) to Stoicism through Seneca's advice on various Stoic beliefs, issued in letter form, see Seneca, *Select Letters*, ed. Summers (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1990). The collection may well have been simply a literary exercise, though, as Robin Campbell suggests, 'The *Epistulae morales* are essays in disguise. It has been said that they were real letters edited for publication. It seems most likely that they were intended from the first for publication, possibly preceded by an interval of private circulation. No replies have come down to us', Seneca, *Letters from a Stoic*, ed. and trans. Campbell (London: Penguin, 1969), p. 21. Horace's epistles are, for the most part, angled towards the philosophical conversion of the addressee(s), but the letters are conceived of less as a whole than Seneca's collection, which has an underlying, unifying structure, provided by the gradual process of conversion; see Horace, *Satires, Epistles and Ars poetica*, ed. Fairclough (Cambridge, MA/ London: Harvard University Press, 1991). The arrangement of these letters in manuscript form for publication, either by their author, or by later hands, and the textual relationship thus engineered between documents are of significance in the light of Christine de Pizan's conception of an extra- and intertextual literary patterning for the *Querelle* letters.

circulated freely within and between the chanceries, sometimes reaching their addressee only after having passed through other hands.<sup>101</sup> Letters might also be written obliquely (as I have suggested in the case of Migli's letter to Gontier Col and Montreuil's 'reply' to Migli through Col: Ep. 106), their addressee not necessarily the intended recipient. There is evidence that letters were written in the presence of other chancery colleagues. These open writing sessions were perhaps intended both as instructive as well as enjoyable occasions, at which colleagues might have had a chance to discuss style and composition. In Epistle 132, addressed by Montreuil to Clamanges on the topic of Migli, Montreuil states that the literary debates with Migli that are the topic of epistles 129, 130 and 132, were copied down in the presence of such scholars as Jean Gerson, Jean Courtecuisse and Jacques de Nouvion.<sup>102</sup> Pons notes that a letter of Gontier Col's implicated in the *Querelle de la Rose* was written in the presence of three colleagues, Jehan de Quatre Mares, Jehan Porchier and Guillaume de Neuville.<sup>103</sup> What appear to be closed dialogues between two individuals are in fact inscribed in the open collaborative culture of debate at this time, partly by virtue of their theatrical and performative aspects. Dialogue is staged as debate through the participation of the audience/reader. Moreover, there are indications that these literary letters were copied out for circulation, either for more public enjoyment of the exchanges (though probably

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<sup>100</sup> In a discussion of Clamanges's epistles, Ornato remarks that 'dans tous les cas, **la lettre ne constitue qu'un prétexte**, et nous n'aurons aucune difficulté à reconnaître, dans le contenu annoncé par la rubrique, un certain nombre de topoi bien connus', Ornato (1969), p. 56, note 30.

<sup>101</sup> I have discussed how Gontier Col retained the letter meant for Ambrogio dei Migli from Clamanges: VII in the *Amplissima collectio*.

<sup>102</sup> Montreuil writes that the debates were delivered 'preter nostrum de Noviano et quam plures multiscios, duos illos sacris in litteris antistes et eloquente sydera Ecclesie Pariensis, videlicet plusquam meritum cancellarium, et alium cui Breviscoxe est nomen', Epistle 132: *Portentuosum Prodigium*, Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 36-40, pp. 194-95: 'in front of our Nouvion (Jacques de) and many other knowledgeable men, two of them masters in Scripture and stars of eloquence at the Paris Church, clearly the highly worthy chancellor (Jean Gerson), and the other is called Courtecuisse (Jean)'.

remaining within chancery circles), or as models of style. In Epistle 121 (*Mee an fuerit*), Jean de Montreuil addresses a church dignitary, requesting that he keep private the accompanying satirical invective:

Rursus igitur subiit mentem meam Paternitati Vestre mittere eam de qua pridie in domo vestra sermonem habuimus, satirice invectionis formam tenentem epistolam: non ut transcribatur – hoc supplicio, posco, obsecro requiroque – sed solum eam Vestra Dominatio pervideat.<sup>104</sup>

Montreuil's explicit instruction to his addressee suggests that the transcription of such documents and letters for subsequent circulation was common practice, and his hyperbolic pleas attest to the enthusiasm with which colleagues would follow literary discussions and disputes. This enthusiasm for debate spills over into their everyday diplomatic business and is in turn sharpened by practical debating.

Alongside these elaborate literary letters more formulaic diplomatic missives would have been written. Formularies were kept at the chanceries containing models of letters and acts which the notaries and secretaries would have had to compose as part of their diplomatic and political duties.<sup>105</sup> These formularies were explicitly designed for the use of chancery notaries and secretaries and often included instructions for use with the models.<sup>106</sup>

The free circulation and copying of letters and tracts was essentially private, in that it operated within the relatively closed circles of colleagues attached to the chanceries and to the University of Paris. In the context of the documents implicated

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<sup>103</sup> Col's 'A prudent, honouree et sçavant damoiselle Cristine', see Pons (1990), pp. 147-8.

<sup>104</sup> 'It therefore occurred to me to send you this letter which we discussed yesterday in your home, a letter in the form of a satirical invective: not for you to copy out – this I ask, beg, plead and demand – but for Your Eminence's eyes only', Hicks (1977), ll. 14-18, p. 36.

<sup>105</sup> See Tessier, 'Le Formulaire d'Odart Morchesne (1427)', in *Mélanges dédiés à la mémoire de Félix Grat*, II (Paris, 1949), 75-102. An autograph copy of this formulary is preserved in BNF, fr. 5024. There is evidence of earlier formularies, including BNF, lat. 4641 and 13868. Odart Morchesne, notary and secretary to Charles VII, achieved great success with his formulary, which was copied a number of times in the fifteenth century and survives in three manuscript copies in addition to the autograph copy (BNF, fr. 5318, 6022, and 14371).

in the *Querelle de la Rose*, though, there are conflicts between private and public circulation. I suggest that Montreuil and Christine de Pizan have entirely divergent views on the conduct of the *Querelle*. Montreuil adopts his customary debating position and attempts to curtail Christine's role in the *Querelle* through his portrayal of her as literary traitor. Christine however refuses to cede her active role as correspondent, and by publishing selected *Querelle* documents she places the debate on unfamiliar territory for Montreuil, leading to his withdrawal from engagement. Christine effectively turns a private, literary game into a public and political one, where the symbolic capital at stake is no longer simply a matter of the style and disposition of arguments. With Rosalind Brown-Grant I suggest that Christine creates a fictional role for herself in the *Querelle*. Brown-Grant identifies this role as that of victim in a debate whose stakes Christine altered to transform what was essentially a literary dispute into a dispute between the sexes.<sup>107</sup> Far from casting herself as victim, though, I shall show how Christine manipulates the material generated by the *Querelle* to promote herself to a prominent and unassailable position.

It is a significant feature of his correspondence that Montreuil never engages directly with Christine, but continues to evoke her obliquely in Epistles 120 (*Scis me*),<sup>108</sup> 122 (*Etsi facundissimus*),<sup>109</sup> and 154. In contrast, in spite of addressing

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<sup>106</sup> Odart Morchesne's formulary contains instructions on fol. 195<sup>v</sup>, as well as commentaries on each of his seventeen chapters.

<sup>107</sup> See Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan and the Moral Defence of Women: Reading beyond Gender* (Cambridge: CUP, 1999).

<sup>108</sup> 'Male visum perscrutatumque et notatum, ignominiose despiciunt nostri correctores, execrantur et impugnant. O arrogantiam, temeritatem, audaciam', Hicks (1977), ll. 41-44, p. 34: 'Yet they despise, execrate, and impugn him ignominiously, and [...] do so without having thoroughly read and studied the book. O the arrogance, temerity, audacity', English translation: Baird and Kane, 1978. This epistle is addressed to Gontier Col.

<sup>109</sup> 'Que duo maxime iudicium perverterunt ac te precipitem dederunt in errorem, – non fidei quidem, vel iniquitas aut malicie, sed in quem nonnulli predictorum (ipsius de Magduno superficietenus viso pede) tecum ruunt', Hicks (1977), ll. 20-23, p. 38: 'It is these two factors which distorted your

Migli through Clamanges (Eps. 129, 130, 132), and Col (Ep. 106), Montreuil nonetheless engages directly with him. Migli is apostrophised directly in epistles 129<sup>110</sup> and 106,<sup>111</sup> and is the likely addressee of Ep. 109 (*O quam vere*).<sup>112</sup> This distinction between the two recipients of Montreuil's invective is linked to the nature of Christine's intervention in the *Querelle de la Rose*. I suggest that whereas Montreuil adopts a debating position in his dealings with Migli, Col, Clamanges, or Pietramala, this position is eroded and redundant with Christine, since she refuses to play the game on his terms. For this reason the section of the *Querelle de la Rose* that deals with Christine de Pizan and Jean de Montreuil is particularly unsatisfactory as an epistolary debate. Christine addresses a substantial letter to Montreuil<sup>113</sup> in response to his vernacular pro-*Rose* treatise (of which two copies were sent, to Pierre d'Ailly<sup>114</sup> and Christine de Pizan respectively), but although she attempts to engage with Montreuil, and to solicit further debate, he never replies directly to her. The oblique reference to Christine in Epistle 154, which I have mentioned, is the only place in Montreuil's correspondence where Christine is mentioned by name. Elsewhere she is assimilated to the amorphous plurality of the detractors of the *Rose*:

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judgement and led you into precipitate error, not certainly an error of faith, nor even of deliberate wickedness, but one into which a good number of the supporters of Meun himself have rushed with you, for they too, in their haste, have only a shallow understanding of him', English translation as above. This epistle is addressed to an unidentified lawyer.

<sup>110</sup> 'Et tu Ambrosi, Nasonem tuum, tametsi velocis, acuti ac rapidi fuerit ingenii, Virgili comparabis?' Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 79-80, p. 191: 'And as for you, Ambrosius, even though your Ovid was a man of swift, acute and quick wit, will you yet compare him to Virgil?'

<sup>111</sup> Ambrogio dei Migli is apostrophised on a number of occasions, his name invoked in the context of animals, classical and biblical traitors or perverts (those who have committed crimes against nature), for example: 'canis rabidissime' (O, most savage dog); 'Neroneque neronior' (O, more Nero-like than Nero); 'scelestissime Juda' (O, most wicked Judas); 'immanissime Cayn' (O, most monstrous Cain). The use of the superlative adjective in each case (and the comparative in the second example) reinforces Montreuil's rhetorical anger. Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 148-59.

<sup>112</sup> Montreuil (1963): I, p. 192.

<sup>113</sup> Hicks (1977), *Épître V*, pp. 11-22.

<sup>114</sup> Epistle 103 (*Cum, ut dant*) is a letter addressed to Pierre d'Ailly, intended to accompany Montreuil's lost vernacular treatise. Hicks (1977), p. 28.

Nichil **agimus** tamen, frater honoratissime, sed tempus terendo incassum aera **verberamus**, ‘nec est quod speremus posse aliquid impetrare, tanta est hominum pertinacia.’ Hi sunt mores, ea dementia! ‘**Timent** enim ne, a nobis **revicti**, manus dare aliquando, clamante ipsa veritate, **cogantur**. **Obstrepunt** igitur’, ut ait Lactantius, ‘et **intercidunt** ne **audiant**’, Ep. 120: *Scis me.*<sup>115</sup>

The elegant epigrammatic clause ‘tempus terendo incassum aera verberamus’ (we beat the air uselessly passing the time), encapsulates the essence of this *Querelle*.

The intertext Montreuil uses is St. Paul’s First Epistle to the Corinthians (9: 26):

Omnia autem facio propter evangelium ut particeps eius efficiar / nescitis quod hii qui in stadio currunt omnes quidem currunt sed unus accipit bravium sic currite ut comprehendatis / omnis autem qui in agone contendit ab omnibus se abstinet et illi quidem ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant nos autem incorruptam / ego igitur sic curro non quasi in incertum sic pugno non **quasi aerem verberans** / sed castigo corpus meum et in servitum redigo ne forte cum aliis praedicaverim ipse reprobus efficiar.<sup>116</sup>

St. Paul here uses the metaphor of a competitive race (or *agôn*) in which all participants must strive to win, not simply punch the air, to describe the struggle for grace and participation in the gospel. Montreuil knowingly appropriates the image to suggest through this religious intertext his dissatisfaction with the conduct of this particular *Querelle*, and with that of certain participants. It is interesting for our discussion of the debate as game that Montreuil himself uses an analogy for the *Querelle* drawn from competitive sport. He conceives of the debating game as it

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<sup>115</sup> I have highlighted in bold any plural verbs which refer to the group of detractors of the *Rose*. ‘Yet we can do nothing, most honored (sic) brother, but beat the air uselessly, passing the time. ‘So great is the obstinacy of man that we cannot hope to obtain anything.’ This is the temper of the time; this is the madness. ‘For they fear lest, conquered by us, they are obliged to yield by lamenting Truth herself. Therefore, they clamour’, as Lactantius said, ‘and interrupt lest they hear’’, Hicks (1977), ll. 29-34, p. 34, English translation: Baird and Kane (1978), p. 166.

<sup>116</sup> Vulgate Bible: 1 Corinthians 9: 23-27. ‘All this I do for the sake of the Gospel, to bear my part in proclaiming it. You know (do you not?) that at the sports all the runners run the race, though only one wins the prize. Like them, run to win! But every athlete goes into strict training. They do it to win a fading wreath; we, a wreath that never fades. For my part, I run with a clear goal before me; I am like the boxer **who does not beat the air**; I bruise my own body and make it know its master, for fear that after preaching to others I should find myself rejected’, *The New English Bible* (Oxford: OUP, 1973). I am grateful to Dr. Julia Barrow of Nottingham University for pointing out this reference to me at a conference held there on the Avignon Papacy (June 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2002).

should be played in terms of a competitive struggle, an *agôn*. In another letter implicated in the *Querelle*, Montreuil uses an intertext whose resonances are not only of competition, but specifically of literary competition. Epistle 118 (*Quo magis*), evokes Virgil's third *Eclogue* which relates a poetic singing contest between the shepherds Menalcas and Damoetas, judged by fellow shepherd Palaemon: 'sed si amodo serio dixisse fatearis, dic quo pignore certes: veniam, ut ait Virgilius, quocum vocaris.'<sup>117</sup> Interestingly Virgil's third *Eclogue* closes without the prize being awarded to either contender.<sup>118</sup> The ambiguous end to this singing contest has implications for the *Querelle de la Rose*, which itself remains unresolved, although Christine believes that in publishing her dossiers of the *Querelle*, she has brought it to a conclusion: 'si feray fin a mon dittié du debat non hayneux commencié, continué et finé par maniere de soulas sans indignacion a personne'.<sup>119</sup> The *Querelle de la Rose* ceases to have the desired element of competition for Montreuil once Christine becomes involved. The sense of futility he evokes in the passage cited above from Epistle 120 (*Scis me*) is reminiscent of a dream-like state (such as is the premise for Guillaume de Lorris's and Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*), in which the dreamers are powerless to change the events unfolding before them. Montreuil

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<sup>117</sup>These are lines 17-18 of the *Quo magis*, Hicks (1977). I have highlighted the phrases Montreuil cites from lines 31 and 49 of the third *Eclogue* respectively, see Virgil, *The Eclogues and Georgics*, ed. R. D. Williams (Bristol: Bristol Classical Press, 1996). 'But if you confess that you spoke seriously, tell me for what prize you contend; I shall come, as Virgil said, whithersoever you have called', English translation: Baird and Kane (1978).

<sup>118</sup> 'Non nostrum inter vos tantas componere lites:/ Et vitula tu dignus et hic – et quisquis amores / Aut metuet dulcis aut experietur amarus', *Eclogue III*, vv. 108-10: 'It is not for me to settle so high a contest between you. You deserve the heifer, and he also – and whoever shall fear the sweets or taste the bitters of love', Virgil, *Eclogues; Georgics; Aeneid 1-6*, ed. and trans. Fairclough, revised edition (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986).

<sup>119</sup> *Pour ce que entendement*, addressed to Pierre Col. Hicks (1977), ll. 1128-30, p. 150. The rubric in all the manuscripts of this letter contains the explicit 'escript et **compleit** par moy, Cristine de Pizan, le .ii<sup>e</sup>. jour d'octobre, l'an mil .IIII<sup>e</sup>. et deux', the use of 'compleit' here suggests Christine's determination to put a full stop to the debate.

may have had in mind his recent reading of the *Rose*,<sup>120</sup> a book which Gontier Col has apparently recommended in a previous exchange:

Scis me, consideratissime magister atque frater, iugi hortatu tuo et impulsu nobile illud opus magistri Johannis de Magduno, *Romantium de Rosa* vulgo dictum, vidisse: qui, quia de ammirabili artificio, ingenio ac doctrina tecum sisto – et irrevocabiliter me fateor permansurum, Ep. 120.<sup>121</sup>

Montreuil's language in this passage is uncompromising: from the start he is not prepared to change his opinion of the *Rose*. He may be eager for debate, but on his terms. Montreuil and Christine have fundamentally divergent conceptions of Jean de Meun's work. In so far as they engage with each other at all, the two argue at cross-purposes, rendering the ground of the *Querelle* sterile, as Hicks and Ornato observe:

La polémique entre Christine et Montreuil s'annonçait sans issue, non seulement parce que les jugements portés sur le Roman étaient diamétralement opposés, mais aussi et surtout parce que les deux interlocuteurs ne se plaçaient pas sur le même terrain: Jean de Montreuil voulait mettre en évidence les mérites philosophiques et littéraires du Roman, d'où la nécessité d'en justifier les écarts de langage; Christine, pour sa part, s'interrogeait sur les effets pernicioeux de l'ouvrage, que ses qualités formelles n'auraient pu effacer [...] Ce qui était primordial pour l'un était secondaire pour l'autre.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> The dream world of the *Rose* mirrors that of a long tradition of 'dream' literature: Guillaume de Lorris mentions Macrobius's famous commentary on Scipio's dream in his prologue, Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun (1992), vv. 6-10. Given Montreuil's debt to Virgil, and great familiarity with his oeuvre, it is likely that Montreuil was also thinking of the crucial contest in Book XII of the *Aeneid*, in which Turnus is paralysed in his clash against Aeneas, and moves as if in a dream: 'tum lapis ipse viri, vacuum per inane volutus, / nec spatium evasit totum neque pertulit ictum. / ac velut in somnis, oculos ubi languida pressit / nocte quies, nequiquam avidos extendere cursus / velle videmur et in mediis conatibus aegri / succidimus; non lingua valet, non corpore notae / sufficiunt vires, nec vox aut verba sequuntur', *Aeneid*, Bk. XII, vv. 906-912: 'the stone rolled away under its own impetus over the open ground between them, but it did not go the whole way and it did not strike its target. Just as when we are asleep, when in the weariness of night, rest lies heavy on our eyes, we dream we are trying desperately to run further and not succeeding, till we fall exhausted in the middle of our efforts; the tongue is useless; the strength we know we have, fails our body; we have no voice, no words to obey our will', *The Aeneid: A New Prose Translation*, ed. and trans. West (London: Penguin, 1990).

<sup>121</sup> Hicks (1977), 'Most learned master and brother, you know that, thanks to your continual urging and encouragement, I have read that noble work of Master Jean de Meun, commonly called the *Roman de la Rose*. And [...] I stand with you in admiration of his art, ability, and learning – and I assert irrevocably that I will persevere in this belief', English translation: Baird and Kane (1978).

<sup>122</sup> See Hicks and Ornato, 'Jean de Montreuil et le débat sur le *Roman de la Rose*', *Romania* 98 (1977), 34-64; 186-219, p. 213.

Not only do Christine and Montreuil argue at cross-purposes, but in different languages. Christine's choice of French puts her at an immediate disadvantage, as Montreuil only communicates in Latin, with all the austerity, formality and prestige *that* language can convey. The lost vernacular treatise written by Montreuil in support of Jean de Meun's *Rose* seemed to have been a cause of some potential embarrassment to the scholar, as he explains to a church dignitary who has requested a copy:

Huiusmodi nugas vobis mitto, tali pacto, pater mi confidentissime, ne cuiquam communicentur: quoniam ab alio de stili ruditate et incomptu, ab alio de materia, [...] aut de levitate scurrilitateve in eo quod vulgari sermone editum est reprehendi possem vel notari, Ep. 119: *Ex quo nugis*.<sup>123</sup>

If Montreuil feared ridicule for the redaction of a treatise in French,<sup>124</sup> it is little wonder that he objected so strongly to Christine's publication of the *Querelle* documents, and that he avoided addressing her directly, in French or in Latin.

Christine, from the first, organised the *Querelle de la Rose* on her own terms by choosing a language that would be more widely read on publication; though there is some dispute among scholars as to how well Christine could actually read Latin,<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>123</sup> See Montreuil (1963): I. 'So I am sending you these trifling works with the understanding that they are not made known to anyone: since I could well be blamed or rebuked by some for the bareness of my unadorned style, and by others for the content, [...] or for frivolity and buffoonery because I wrote in the vernacular.'

<sup>124</sup> Montreuil seems to have been particularly concerned to keep his writings 'private', that is to keep them within the circulation of select chancery colleagues and other acquaintances attached to the Paris and Avignon courts. As I mentioned earlier, Epistle 121 (*Mee an fuerit*), which was accompanied by another epistle in the form of a satirical invective, and possibly sent to the same recipient as Epistle 119 (see Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 201-2), also contains a request that the addressee keep its contents to himself.

<sup>125</sup> Christine translated various Latin works into French, and translated faithfully (see Fenster, 1998), but it is also clear that she used the vernacular translations of classical and patristic works in her own writing rather than the originals. Widespread use was made by Christine of texts in translation such as the Hesdin-Gonesse translation of Valerius Maximus's *Facta et dicta memorabilia*, and the medieval French translation of Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* by Laurent de Premierfait; see *Des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*, ed. Gathercole (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1968). The influence of this translation of Boccaccio is seen particularly in Christine's *Livre de la cité des dames*; see Jeanroy, 'Boccace et Christine de Pisan. Le *De claris mulieribus* principale source du *Livre de la cité des dames*', *Romania* 48 (1922), 93-105, as well as that of the *Ovide moralisé* (see de Boer's Amsterdam edition of 1915-1938). See Solente's introduction to her edition (1959), pp. XXX-XCVIII, for further details of classical, patristic and medieval sources drawn on by Christine.

and it is not certain that she would have had the option of writing in Latin.<sup>126</sup> Thus she refused to implicate herself in the male-dominated Latinate world of the papal and royal chanceries at Avignon and Paris, and set a precedent for her interlocutors which they were more or less obliged to follow. The gendering of Latin and the vernacular may not be as straightforward as the distinction between a feminine French and a masculine Latin. As Fenster explains, a ‘feminization’ of Latin under Charles V<sup>127</sup> allowed the vernacular culturally to acquire a masculine power, perhaps rendering Christine’s choice of French a conscious step into the masculine, a step which she felt that she had taken initially through her decision to write.<sup>128</sup>

Montreuil’s almost total refusal to engage with Christine on any level is evidence of his desire to divorce himself from the *Querelle* as Christine conceived of it. Other early humanists from the Paris and Avignon groups were not as eager to withdraw, however. Gontier Col with his brother Pierre supported Jean de Montreuil in his rigid defence of Jean de Meun’s *Rose*, but were willing to engage with Christine, and to do so in the vernacular. On Christine’s side, Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, intervened, composing a vernacular fictional treatise in the form of a *jugement* against the *Rose*: *Traictié d’une vision faicte*

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<sup>126</sup> Fenster makes certain observations in her article pertinent to the current study (1998). In particular she notes that the *Querelle de la Rose* took place at a critical moment in the development of the vernacular as a literary language, when humanists were returning to the use of Latin after a period under Charles V during which he promoted the use of the French language in political and intellectual life, and commissioned many vernacular translations of classical and medieval texts. The publication at this time, then, of a literary debate in French – the first of its kind – was to force French intellectuals to recognise once more the appropriateness of the vernacular as a literary vehicle.

<sup>127</sup> Fenster cites in support of her argument Nicolas Oresme’s gendering of Latin as the *mother* tongue of the Romans. Oresme (one of Charles V’s translators), according to Fenster, seems to have championed the cause of the vernacular in part by reverse psychology: attacking Latin’s previously unassailable position as the only serious literary language, unpacking the mystique surrounding it, and emasculating it.

<sup>128</sup> Christine’s *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* (written between August 1400 and 18<sup>th</sup> November 1403) relates her transformation into a man by Fortune at the age of twenty-five, and articulates Christine’s belief that in order to write she had to become a man: ‘Vous diray qui je suis, qui parle,/ Qui de femelle devins masle/ Par Fortune, qu’ainsy le vould;/ Si me mua et corps et vould/ En homme

*contre Le Ronmant de la Rose* (May, 1402).<sup>129</sup> Gerson sets the scene for his allegorical treatise at the ‘court sainte de Crestienté’,<sup>130</sup> at which Jean de Meun (*Fol Amoureux*) is tried before *Justice Canonique* by *Chasteté* and *Eloquance Theologienne*. The eight grounds on which the case is predicated are suffused with the legal language of slander. This accusation of the defaming of women, literally the removal of their good reputation, initially levelled at the *Rose*, but later at a range of classical, patristic, and medieval texts, was to fuel the protracted *Querelle des femmes*,<sup>131</sup> and would encompass in its scope the fifteenth-century *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. Gerson also delivered a series of connected sermons, based on the seven deadly sins (the *Poenitemini*)<sup>132</sup> at the church of St. Germain l’Auxerrois between December 1402 and March 1403. *Responsio ad scripta cuiusdam errantis de innocentia puerili*, the one letter of Gerson’s included with the *Querelle* documents by both Hicks<sup>133</sup> and Ward,<sup>134</sup> is addressed to Pierre Col, and is a response to the epistle with which Col answered both Gerson’s vernacular treatise, and a letter of Christine’s. Interestingly, this epistle, like Montreuil’s

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naturel parfait;/ Et jadis fus femme, de fait/ Homme suis, je ne ment pas,/ Assez le demonstrent mes pas’, Christine de Pizan (1959), vv. 141-48, p. 12.

<sup>129</sup> Hicks (1977), pp. 58-87. Ward includes a Latin version of this treatise in his collection of the *Querelle* documents: Ward, *The Epistles on the ‘Romance of the Rose’ and Other Documents in the Debate* (Chicago: microfilm, 1911). The Latin version, *Tractatus contra Romantium Rosa*, is a later redaction, and not from Gerson’s hand. Langlois suggests that the original French was translated into Latin for Martin Flach’s 1494 Strasbourg edition of Gerson’s collected works: see Langlois, ‘Le Traité de Gerson contre Le Roman de la Rose’, *Romania* 45 (1919), 23-48. (Langlois is the first to edit the French version of Gerson’s treatise in his article, using three fifteenth-century MSS: BNF, fr. 1797; BNF, fr. 1563; BNF, fr. 24839.)

<sup>130</sup> This is an intriguing, and perhaps deliberate use of the word ‘Crestienté’, since it contains a partial anagram of ‘Cristine’ which Christine de Pizan herself uses in an anagram signature at the end of one debate poem: ‘S’il le cherche, trouver le peut enté/ En tous les lieux ou est Cristienté’, Christine de Pizan (1998), *Le Livre du debat de Deux Amans*, vv. 2022-23.

<sup>131</sup> See Solterer (1995). Solterer is particularly eloquent on the topic of defamatory language (see my chapter I, pp. 26-28) starting from the phonetic similarities of the couplet: *feme/diffame*.

<sup>132</sup> Hicks (1977), pp. 177-85. Hicks reproduces the French text of the *Poenitemini* from MSS: BNF, fr. 24842, and BNF, fr. 24840.

<sup>133</sup> Hicks (1977), pp. 161-75.

<sup>134</sup> Ward (1911), pp. 77-82.

correspondence, is composed in Latin, effectively reclaiming it for private circulation.

One of the fundamental clashes between the supporters and detractors of Jean de Meun's *Rose* springs from a dispute about authorial responsibility. Rosalind Brown-Grant identifies this as one of four key issues addressed by Christine in her criticism of the *Rose*, the others being language, love and anti-feminism.<sup>135</sup> Baird and Kane refute the view that Christine and Gerson fail to see any distinction between Jean de Meun and his characters since as authors themselves, they argue, both Gerson and Christine would have been familiar with the concept of authorial distance.<sup>136</sup> The thrust of the detractors' argument seems to be that Jean de Meun does not maintain that authorial distance, nor does he set out a moral framework to guide the reader through his/her interpretation of the characters' words. Gerson and Christine argue that he manipulates his position outside the text in order to excuse the various obscenities and misogynous statements which issue from the mouths of characters such as *Le Jaloux*, *La Vieille*, or *Genius*, as Gerson asserts in his treatise against the *Rose*:

Je vouldroie bien que ce Fol Amoureux n'eust usé de ces personnaiges fors ainssy que la sainte Escripiture en use, c'est assavoir en reprovant le mal, et tellement que chascun eust apperceu le reproche du mal et l'aprobacion du bien, et – qui est le principal – que tout se fist sans excés de legiereté. Mais nennin voir. Tout semble estre dit en sa persone; tout semble estre vray come Euvangille.<sup>137</sup>

Christine is subject to similar doubts about Jean de Meun's motives. Her in extenso reply, *Pour ce que entendement* (2<sup>nd</sup> October, 1402), to Pierre Col's letter, *Aprés ce que je oÿ* (end of summer, 1402), answers Col's contention that:

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<sup>135</sup> See Brown-Grant (1999).

<sup>136</sup> See Baird and Kane, 'La Querelle de la Rose: In Defense of the Opponents', *French Review* 48 (1974), 298-307. See also Baird's later article: 'Pierre Col and the Querelle de la Rose', *Philological Quarterly* 60 (1981), 273-86.

Maistre Jehan de Meung en son livre introduisy personnaiges, et fait chascun personnaige parler selonc qui luy appartient: c'est assavoir le Jaloux comme jaloux, la Vielle come la Vielle, et pareillement des autres.<sup>138</sup>

Christine assiduously picks apart Col's argument point by point in her replique. In this case, her response is that although Jean de Meun has created fictional characters, he has chosen these characters specifically to slander women:

Tu respons a dame Eloquance et a moy que maistre Jehan de Meung en son livre introduisy personnages, et fait chascun parler selonc ce que luy appartient. Et vraiment je te confesse bien que **selonc le gieu que on vult jouer il convient instrumens propres, mais la voulanté dou joueur les appreste telz come il luy fault.** [...] Tu dis que ce fait le Jaloux comme son office. Et je te dis que auques en tous personnaiges ne se peut taire de vituperer les fames.<sup>139</sup>

The reference to game-playing in this citation which I have highlighted above may serve not only as an assessment of Jean de Meun's authorial practice, but as Christine's assessment of the *Querelle* as a whole. Christine comes to this debate as an interloper, a woman, and foreigner to the language and habits of literary debate as it was conducted in chancery circles, but she then appropriates the *Querelle* for her own purposes, and excludes material hostile to her cause from her publicly circulated dossiers. Christine wields her 'instrumens propres' in the course of the game of debate for different ends to those of her opponents, and ends up playing a different game. To draw on Stock's model of interpretative textual communities, we could say that Christine participates in a different textual community as she brings different interpretative strategies to bear on her reading of the *Rose*. Disparate readers of the same text who bring the same learned interpretative strategies to bear on their reading are said to be members of the same community, while those who use different interpretative strategies must necessarily belong to different

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<sup>137</sup> *Le Traictié d'une vision faite contre Le Ronmant de la Rose*, Hicks (1977), ll. 379-86, p. 74.

<sup>138</sup> Hicks (1977), ll. 403-06, p. 100.

communities, an idea elaborated by Stanley Fish.<sup>140</sup> Christine's use of the language of play: *jouer*, *gieu* and *joueur*, is vital to an understanding of the climate in which literary debate operated in early humanist France, and the words in Christine's mouth seem to be directed at her opponents. The debate on their terms could be described as a *gieu*, albeit a fiercely intellectual one: a *gieu* in which the 'instrumens propres' are the debating positions that each participant must adopt.

I suggest that Christine acts in propria persona throughout the *Querelle de la Rose*, fighting her corner with the tenacious conviction of the wronged, conducting a 'debat gracieux et non haineux',<sup>141</sup> perhaps, but none the less serious for that. Her opponents and even her defender, Jean Gerson, on the other hand, assume customary debating positions or personae. They become the participants in a literary game, a collaborative fiction, itself implicated in a longer tradition of epistolary dispute and exchange, and from which Christine must then be excluded. Christine's *Querelle*, and the *Querelle* as her opponents conceive of it, are incompatible and divergent debates. Jean de Montreuil refuses to engage with Christine because she demands that he change the stakes of the debate, that he engage with her on her terms: in the vernacular and with masks cast aside. The phrase of Christine's I cite in the title of this chapter, 'tu recites, je replique', bears within it recognition of the different stances taken by Christine and the other participants in the debate. Neither Jean de Montreuil nor Jean Gerson addresses any material to Christine directly. Gerson's only interlocutor in the *Querelle* is Pierre Col to whom he writes in Latin. Gontier and Pierre Col attempt to engage with Christine, but no actual concessions

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<sup>139</sup> See Hicks (1977), ll. 552-57; 565-67, p. 132.

<sup>140</sup> See Fish, *Is There a Text in this Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1980).

<sup>141</sup> This is taken from Christine's dedicatory letter to Guillaume de Tignonville, *A vous mon seigneur*: Hicks (1977), ll. 9-10, p. 7.

are made. Christine addresses epistles to each of her opponents, and hence fulfils the second half of the clause, but her own replies are predicated on a rigid conception of Jean de Meun's *Rose*, and so never engage fully with her opponents' arguments.

Christine is aware of this lack of proper interchange, and in a letter addressed to Pierre Col she talks of the multiple possible readings of the *Rose*. She acknowledges that debate about the text is therefore futile, using a simile drawn from alchemy:

Sés tu comment il va de celle lecture? Ainsy come des livres des arguemistes: les uns les lisent et les entendent d'une maniere, les autres qui les lisent les entendent tout au rebours; et chascun cuide trop bien entendre. Et sur ce ilz oeuvrent et apprestent fourniaux, alembis et croisiaux, et soufflent fort, et pour ung petit de sulimacion ou congyeil qui leur appere merveillable, ilz cuident ataindre a merveille. Et puis quant il ont fait et fait et gasté leur temps, ilz y scevent autant comme devant, – mais que coust et despence a la maniere de distiller et d'aucunes congelacions de nulle utilité.<sup>142</sup>

The reference itself is no doubt derived from Christine's reading of the *Rose*, and Jean de Meun's discussion of alchemy in the context of Nature versus Art.<sup>143</sup> The author himself/herself is an alchemist, generating fiction based on his/her observations of Nature. One could equally apply the alchemy analogy of reading the *Rose* to a reading of the letters and documents of the *Querelle*. Each participant in this literary game makes their move based not only on their initial interpretation of the *Rose*, but also according to his or her reading of the previous texts (moves). In the light of this popular medieval analogy, Jean de Montreuil's definition of debate from Epistle 118 (*Quo magis*), one of those attached to the *Querelle de la Rose*, is

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<sup>142</sup>Hicks (1977), ll. 352-62, p. 126.

<sup>143</sup>Jean de Meun includes a famous passage on alchemy in the *Rose* (vv. 16069-16152), as part of a discussion of Nature and Art, and concludes that the works of alchemy can never surpass those of Nature: 'Mais ce ne feroient cil mie / Qui oeurent de sophisterie: / Travaillent tant com il vivront, / Ja nature n'aconsivront', vv. 16149-52. In his *Temps recouvert* (1451), Pierre Chastellain (whom I shall discuss in chapter V in the context of Chartier and his literary successors) also dicusses the art of alchemy, and refers specifically to the *Rose*: 'Pour quoy maistre Jehan de Meung dit / En son livre assez de son estre / Par ung proverbe et commun dit: / Celuy qui d'arquimye est maistre / De fin argent fin or fait naistre / Et poys et couleur y adjouste / De choses qui guieres ne couste', vv. 1877-83.

particularly interesting: ‘immo, quia altercando scitur veritas, ‘aurumque probatur in fornace’ (indeed, since truth is discovered through debate, ‘as gold is proved in the furnace’).<sup>144</sup> Montreuil here equates truth with a substance allegedly produced through alchemy, and by extension then, through writing. The unfolding debate of the *Querelle de la Rose* produces nothing but ‘aucunes congelacions de nulle utilité’, as Christine asserts. In full knowledge of the sterility of any debate about the *Rose*, Christine prepared dossiers of the *Querelle* which essentially map *her Querelle*; her decision to publish and circulate these dossiers alienated her correspondents and opponents, for whom the activity of literary debating was conceived of rather differently. As a woman and an author, it was a matter of vital importance to Christine that misogynous attitudes expressed by characters in the *Rose* be brought into the public domain. In engaging with the *Rose*, Christine also stakes her claim in the wider *Querelle des femmes*. For Montreuil and his colleagues, this was merely one in a series of literary jousts to be played out within private circles.

It has been shown that Christine not only anthologised her own works for publication, but that she frequently acted as scribe, editor and glossator of those collections.<sup>145</sup> It is significant that in selecting representative documents for her dossiers, Christine chose to exclude Jean de Montreuil’s letters.<sup>146</sup> Montreuil’s letters were circulated ‘privately’<sup>147</sup> among groups of colleagues at Avignon and

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<sup>144</sup> Hicks (1977), Ep. 118 (*Quo magis*), ll. 24-5, pp. 28-29. (English translation: Baird & Kane.)

<sup>145</sup> See Laidlaw, ‘Christine de Pizan – An Author’s Progress’, *Modern Languages Review* 78 (1980), 532-550, and Ouy and Reno, ‘Identification des autographes de Christine de Pizan’, *Scriptorium* 34 (1980), 221-38.

<sup>146</sup> Hicks (1977) edits Epistles 103, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 152 and 154. Ward (1911) includes Epistles 118, 120 and 122 in his appendix.

<sup>147</sup> As I have suggested, ‘privacy’ in the circulation of epistolary exchanges among chancery colleagues is a relative term.

Paris, only compiled later into manuscript form,<sup>148</sup> and so never had any place in Christine's published version of the *Querelle*. Montreuil has no voice in Christine's *Querelle*, just as she was not permitted directly to enter the closed male Latinate world of Montreuil's correspondence, except as a fictional construct. There are three manuscript witnesses to the first version of Christine's collected works that include the initial exchange of letters between herself and Gontier Col, the two dedicatory letters to Queen Isabeau and Guillaume de Tignonville, and Christine's letter to Montreuil. Two of these were copied under the supervision of Christine herself: BNF, fr. 12779 and Chantilly, Musée Condé, 492-93; the third, BNF, fr. 604, was copied at some point after 1407. Laidlaw mentions a table of contents found in the Chantilly manuscript that lists twenty-one items beginning with Christine's *Cent Ballades* and ending with the *Quinze Joyes de Nostre Dame rimés*, and fixes the period of composition between 1399 and 23<sup>rd</sup> June, 1402. Christine prepared two other major collections of her collected works for presentation to the duc de Berry (the manuscript survives in four parts: BNF, fr. 835, 606, 836 and 605) in 1408-9, and to Queen Isabeau of France (London, B.L., Harley 4431) in 1410-11. The Harley manuscript and part 835 of the Paris manuscript contain a second version of the *Querelle* documents that Christine revised and added to (Pierre Col's letter *Après ce que je oy* is also present in these manuscripts). As Laidlaw illustrates by comparing different manuscript witnesses of Christine's selected ballades and rondeaux, extensive revision has gone on from manuscript to manuscript, and recent

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<sup>148</sup>Ornato lists the 4 extant MSS witnesses to Montreuil's letters in his introduction: BNF, lat. 13062; Vatican, Reg. lat. 332; BNF, lat. 18337; Florence, Bib. Riccardiana, 443. The first of these contains 202 letters, the second 43, of which it has 31 in common with the first MS, the third 2 private letters, one of which is common to the first two MSS, and the fourth contains one letter, Montreuil (1963): I.

scholarship has suggested that the revising hand is none other than Christine's.<sup>149</sup>

This evidence that Christine edited her own texts for publication, and revised versions progressively, often altering the material to suit the particular manuscript into which it was compiled, puts a new complexion on the *Querelle de la Rose*, which, as we have seen, Christine directed on her own terms and in public.

Christine's uncompromisingly serious and engaged approach to this debate was quite alien to Montreuil and his colleagues, as she seemingly made no distinction between the significance of public, political debate and 'private', literary debate.

The chancery milieux were already steeped in literary, scholarly and practical disputes. The humanists of Montreuil's circle would, unlike Christine, distinguish between their diplomatic and political business (*negotium* – business), and their literary disputing (*otium* – leisure). They would be accustomed to adopting debating positions in these literary disputes, and would concentrate on achieving an elegant epistolary style rather than on the content of their argument, considered subordinate to stylistic and rhetorical concerns. These scholars colluded in an elaborate literary game whose aim was to perpetuate dialogue and suspend conclusion, generating collaborative fictions that were to characterise late-medieval poetic production. The figure of Christine in Montreuil's correspondence is a fictional construct that he is able to manipulate. Christine's refusal to accept this role or to join the *gieu* using her opponents' *instrumens*, and her automatic exclusion from it as a woman, writing in the vernacular, eventually led to the withdrawal of her opponents. She was to escalate this particular debate beyond their control through her publication of their exchanges. Not only publication, but subsequent collation, tailoring and editing:

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<sup>149</sup> See Cannon Willard, 'An Autograph Manuscript of Christine de Pizan?', *Studi Francesi* 27 (1965), 452-57.

exerting an authorial control over all the *Querelle* documents, regardless of their respective original authors. Christine created her own fictional *Querelle de la Rose* from which she emerged victorious. Her refusal to adopt a debating position constitutes a new position, unfamiliar to Montreuil and his colleagues. By making her final move, Christine shaped the destiny both of those documents that were included in her dossiers and those she chose to exclude, rewriting the debate on her terms.

### CHAPTER III

#### ‘Clerc excellent, orateur magnifique’:<sup>1</sup> Alain Chartier and the Rise of a Vernacular Humanist Rhetoric

‘Ainsi se fait.’ ‘Quoy?’ ‘Dy dialogue.’  
‘Commè ainsi’, ‘faignant deux estre.’  
‘C’est donc autrement que prologue?’  
‘Voire.’ ‘Qui l’enseigne?’ ‘Maint maistre,  
Especialement en maint estre  
Et lieu: maistre Alain Charretier.’  
‘Est il voir?’ ‘Oy, s’en fut l’encestre.’  
‘Fut il premier?’ ‘Non. Mais entier  
Grant maistre fut.’ ‘En quel science?’  
‘En rethorique que l’on prise.’  
‘Pourquoy?’ ‘Pour son experience.’  
‘Je m’en doubtes.’ ‘A tant souffise.’ (L’Infortuné, *Instructif de seconde  
rhétorique*, 1480.)<sup>2</sup>

The lyric manuscript compilation assembled by the anonymous author of this art of poetry, who calls himself *l’Infortuné*, was edited by Anthoine Vérard in his *Jardin de plaisance et fleur de rethorique* (1501), and a further seven times in the sixteenth century. Alain Chartier is here evoked in the capacity of master in the art of rhetoric and dialogue, a position he frequently occupies in works of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Grands Rhétoriqueurs often cited Chartier among the ranks of Italian and French masters.<sup>3</sup> In later arts of poetry, Pierre Fabri (*Le Grand et Vrai Art de*

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<sup>1</sup> See Octavien de Saint-Gelais, *Le Séjour d’honneur*, ed. Alston James (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), v. 6331.

<sup>2</sup> See *Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rethorique*, ed. Droz and Piaget (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1924), vol. I, fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-15<sup>r</sup>, fol. 5<sup>r</sup> (Facsimile of Anthoine Vérard’s 1501 edition). I have modernised the punctuation in accordance with the established rules. See Roques, ‘Etablissement de règles pratiques pour l’édition des anciens textes français et provençaux’, *Romania* 52 (1926), 243-49; and Foulet and Speer, *On Editing Old French Texts* (Lawrence, Kansas: Regents Press of Kansas, 1979).

<sup>3</sup> See Hoffman, *Alain Chartier, His Work and Reputation* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), see also Meyenberg, *Alain Chartier prosateur et l’art de la parole au XVe siècle* (Bern: Francke, 1992), pp. 38-43.

*leine rhétorique*, 1521), and Thomas Sebillet (*Art poétique françois*, 1548),<sup>4</sup> also refer to Chartier as one of the leading rhetoricians of early humanist France. Fabri notably remarks that Chartier's 'beau langage' is more than simply elegant, it is 'substancieux'.<sup>5</sup> Sebillet places Chartier in the illustrious company of Dante, Petrarch, Jean de Meun and Jean Lemaire de Belges. Chartier is accorded a place of honour among the dead in Achille Caulier's *Ospital d'Amours* (pre-1441), one of the long line of imitations and sequels of Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*, where he lies in state in the *cimitiere* reserved for 'les vrais et loyaulx amoureux':<sup>6</sup>

Entour sa tombe en lettre d'or  
Estoit tout l'art de Rhetorique, Duchesne, p. 733.

In a later work also attached to the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, the *Champion des dames* (1441),<sup>7</sup> Martin le Franc calls upon the poetic authority of Chartier. Le Franc's *Estrif de Fortune et Vertu* (1448) is indebted to Chartier's *Livre de l'Esperance* (1428-30).<sup>8</sup> Pierre Michault's *Le Procès d'Honneur féminin* (post-1461)<sup>9</sup> later establishes Chartier as an authority in the trial of *Honneur féminin* versus *l'Inculpé*, where the question of women is to be debated. Chartier forms part of a formidable prosecution side that includes Boccaccio and Martin le Franc.

In spite of such significant medieval and Renaissance acclaim and two excellent recent editions,<sup>10</sup> Chartier's works have not been explored in depth by

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Sebillet, *Art poétique françois*, ed. Goyet (Paris: Nizet, 1988).

<sup>5</sup> For Fabri (1889-90), Chartier is no less than the 'pere de l'eloquence françoise', I, p. 72. He cites Chartier in a long line of great rhetoricians: 'la science (de rhétorique) a esté amplement magnifiée en nostre langage de plusieurs et grans orateurs, et mesmes de nostre temps, de maistre Arnault Grebon, de Hurion, imitateur de Georges Castelain, maistre Guillaume le Munier, Moulinet, Alexis, le moyne de Lyre, lesquelz tous ensemble donnent le lieu de triumphe a maistre Alain Charestier, normant, lequel a passé en beau langage elegant et **substancieux** tous ses predecesseurs', I, p. 11.

<sup>6</sup> See Alain Chartier, *Les Oeuvres*, ed. Duchesne (Paris: Samuel Thiboust, 1617), pp. 732-33.

<sup>7</sup> See Martin le Franc (1999).

<sup>8</sup> Meyenberg (1992) makes this observation in her study, p. 39. See Chartier (1989).

<sup>9</sup> See Pierre Michault (1978).

<sup>10</sup> Chartier (1974) and (1977).

modern scholars – with some important exceptions<sup>11</sup> – and rarely have his Latin and French prose and verse been examined side by side.<sup>12</sup> Chartier's French verse has long been subject to an artificial division between the 'joyeuses escritures' (deemed of little import) and the 'serious poems',<sup>13</sup> which I propose here to break down through a system of intertextual links I trace between the French verse and the Latin and French prose.

In her technical study of Chartier's Latin and French prose, Regula Meyenberg identifies two levels of rhetoric within the text. The first level is an application of rhetorical procedures in the text, and the second a meta-rhetorical discourse operating across the *Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis*, the *Quadrilogue invectif* and the *Livre de l'Esperance*. By her use of the term meta-rhetorical discourse, Meyenberg refers to Chartier's self-conscious evaluation of the rhetorical techniques he employs in his texts:

Il est clair que le discours métrarhétorique, loin d'être innocent, remplit lui-même une fonction rhétorique à l'intérieur du texte, en lui imprimant une structure et en fortifiant ainsi l'intention communicative de conviction, p. 133.

Chartier reflects on and characterises his own rhetorical programme from within his texts, a meta-discourse which Meyenberg suggests is particularly developed in his *Livre de l'Esperance*.<sup>14</sup> I propose an extension of this concept of the meta-rhetorical discourse in Chartier, relating it not only to the internal workings of the prose text, and of the French verse, but also to a conceptual discourse outlining Chartier's

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<sup>11</sup>The main biographical studies are Hoffman (1975) and Walravens (1971). Important full-length critical studies to date are Rouy, *L'Esthétique du traité moral d'après les oeuvres d'Alain Chartier* (Geneva: Droz, 1980) and Meyenberg (1992).

<sup>12</sup> Meyenberg (1992) compares the Latin and French prose works, though not the French verse.

<sup>13</sup> This division is Hoffman's (1975), pp. 43-121.

<sup>14</sup> Meyenberg (1992) remarks that the character of *Defiance* in Chartier's *Livre de l'Esperance* employs specifically logical reasoning, whereas *Foy* bases her superior reasoning on the authority of the Scriptures, thereby opposing 'l'éloquence divine et l'éloquence humaine', p. 142. This distinction is interesting in the light of my discussion of Chartier's rejection of logical systems of language in the *Dialogus*.

poetic and moral mission. I demonstrate how the rhetorical and ethical agenda Chartier proposes in his Latin and French prose works is carried out through the French verse by a close re-reading of the verse through the Latin and French prose. Deep textual structures in Chartier's work are informed by what Thomas L. Reed has termed an 'aesthetics of irresolution',<sup>15</sup> common to much late-medieval debate poetry, and through which Chartier is able to express an anti-courtly critique. I suggest, through a focus on notions of closure and openendedness in Chartier's prose and verse works, that he uses a meta-rhetorical discourse to provide both a theory and a practice of debate that are intimately connected to his political, moral and aesthetic agenda.

I focus initially on rhetorical strategies and discourse in Chartier's French verse debates: the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, the *Livre des Quatre Dames*, the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, the *Debat de reveille matin*, and the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain* (also known as the *Débat patriotique*).<sup>16</sup> These French texts will be read through Chartier's Latin dialogue, the *Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis*,<sup>17</sup> as well as the polemical letter addressed by Chartier to a close friend, *De vita curiali*.<sup>18</sup> (I am particularly concerned with these two Latin texts as they are the only ones to be collected with the verse in manuscript collections, a question I shall discuss.) In the *Dialogus*, Chartier appears to advocate the rejection of a Scholastic logic concerned only with the mastery of language, in favour of the adoption of an engaged humanist rhetoric. It is this informed humanist rhetoric, for

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<sup>15</sup> Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry and The Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia/London: University of Missouri Press, 1990).

<sup>16</sup>Chartier (1974).

<sup>17</sup>Chartier (1977), pp. 245-325.

<sup>18</sup>Chartier (1977), pp. 345-75. Bourgain-Hemeryck believes the letter to be addressed not to Chartier's brother Guillaume, as recorded in certain of the manuscripts which preserve the French version of Chartier's Latin original, but simply to a close friend. Her argument is persuasive (pp. 67-76).

example, that will win the debate for the *Belle Dame* against her suitor, his empty dialectic having been exposed as a sham, a ‘fol parler’, v. 729. This opposition of the language of *mots* and of *choses* – of dialectic and rhetoric – will be situated in the context of Chartier’s political and moral engagement, to reveal Chartier’s conscious emptying of courtly convention and proverbial wisdom. Through an exploration of Chartier’s use of a meta-rhetorical discourse linking his Latin and French prose and verse production, I shall show how Chartier self-consciously participates in two debating cultures: learned and literary, Latin and the vernacular. Chartier’s moral and intellectual engagement in literary debate makes a unique contribution to the genre.

A central opposition in Chartier’s *Dialogus* is that of *verba* and *res* – words and things – the former embodied by the Scholastic logic of the *Amicus* (Friend); the latter by the humanist rhetoric of the *Sodalis* (Fellow). This picks up Aristotle’s opposition of the good and bad dialectician that I addressed in my first chapter in the context of subjectivity in the debate poem.<sup>19</sup> The good dialectician focuses on the logical progress of his argument on a linguistic level whereas the bad dialectician becomes personally involved in the argument and loses his objectivity. However, it is precisely this loss of objectivity that Chartier advocates in order to achieve emotional and not purely intellectual engagement with one’s topic. Chartier’s mastery of rhetoric, remarked upon by Pierre Fabri,<sup>20</sup> marks a conscious move away from the superiority of logic, once thought to include both rhetoric and poetry.<sup>21</sup> The relationship between dialectic and rhetoric (both arts of the trivium with grammar) underwent a sea change in humanist circles in France during the

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<sup>19</sup> Aristotle (1997). See my chapter I, p. 16.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Fabri (1889), I, p. 11.

early fifteenth century with the revival of classical rhetorical manuals such as Cicero's *De inventione*.<sup>22</sup> Boethius had demonstrated in his popular *De differentiis topicis* that dialectic and rhetoric were similar arts, both made up of topics (the units of argumentation), but insisted that rhetorical argumentation was subordinate to dialectic.<sup>23</sup> The fourth book of Boethius's *Topica* which deals with rhetoric was used separately from the other three as an authority on rhetoric in the Universities of Montpellier, Oxford and Paris until the Paris statutes were revised in the mid-thirteenth century to exclude rhetoric from the curriculum.<sup>24</sup> Aristotle, whose treatises on dialectic, *Topica* and *De sophisticis elenchis*,<sup>25</sup> were university set texts, held that rhetoric and dialectic were equal arts. Early humanist scholars like Nicolas de Clamanges or Jean de Montreuil rejected both these positions to maintain that rhetoric, the art of eloquence, was superior to dialectic. Chartier clearly inherits these humanist values.<sup>26</sup> Rhetoric is regarded in medieval and classical manuals as a political science whose aim is to 'suader ou dissuader en sa matiere'.<sup>27</sup> Chartier's unique contribution to this political science was to practise it in verse form in the debate, rejecting purely formalistic approaches to the dialogued genre, and adopting a more engaged, subjective style. Chartier's amatory verse debates depart from and develop those of his predecessors in that his concealed or meta-discourse throughout is ideological, concealed with an integument of the amatory. I suggest

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<sup>21</sup> Minnis and Scott explain that poetry, rhetoric and sophistic were all considered subordinate parts of logic in the Scholastic movement. See Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c. 1100-c. 1375: The Commentary Tradition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), IX, pp. 373-438.

<sup>22</sup> See Cicero, *De inventione; De optimo genere oratorum; Topica*, ed. Goold (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993).

<sup>23</sup> See Leff, 'Boethius' *De differentiis topicis*, Book IV', in *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, ed. Murphy (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 1978), 3-24.

<sup>24</sup> See my discussion of University teaching in chapter I, pp. 14-16.

<sup>25</sup> See Aristotle (1997).

<sup>26</sup> Minnis and Scott (1991) caution, however, against the simplification of the transition from Scholasticism to Humanism, noting that in Italy, Scholasticism and Humanism developed simultaneously, and that all Humanist theory owes a large debt to Scholastic thought, pp. 8-11.

that Chartier is concerned with the notion of language and discourse, and the search for a poetic discourse that may more nearly approach that of revealed truth.

Pierre Fabri refers to Boccaccio's influential *De genealogia deorum* (1350-74)<sup>28</sup> in the prologue to his art of rhetoric (1521). For Fabri, as for Boccaccio, poetry is a science, and is related though not subsumed to rhetoric:

Rethorique presuppose toutes les autres sciences estre sceuez et  
especiallement poesie qui contient toutes les fleurs de elegante composition.  
Et a ceulx qui dient mal des poetes en les appellant menteurs, Bocasse au  
premier de sa *Genealogie des Dieux* leur en donne response.<sup>29</sup>

Boccaccio, like many of his humanist contemporaries, considered poetry a similar art to theology, both of which proceed by allegory, having an integumental structure beneath which lies a foundation of truth. He further emphasised the parallel aims of poetry and philosophy, though rejected Boethius's classification of poetry or rhetoric as a system of syllogisms. Significantly, the final two books (XIV and XV) of Boccaccio's *De genealogia* which propose a defence of poetry are collected with Chartier's *De vita curiali* in a manuscript that also collects two letters sent by Ambrogio dei Migli (the Milanese scholar involved in epistolary debate with Jean de Montreuil)<sup>30</sup> to Gontier Col, and a response on Col's behalf from Nicolas de Clamanges to Migli. Tours, Bibliothèque Municipale, 978, copied in 1435 shortly after Chartier's *De vita curiali* (1427) was completed,<sup>31</sup> presents a material

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<sup>27</sup> Fabri (1889), I, p. 15.

<sup>28</sup> See Minnis and Scott (1991), pp. 420-38.

<sup>29</sup> Fabri (1889), I, p. 12.

<sup>30</sup> See my chapter II.

<sup>31</sup> There is a date written on Fol. 59<sup>v</sup>, 'Actum Ambasie, die secunda februarii, anno domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo quinto' (copied at Amboise, on the 2<sup>nd</sup> February, 1435). Fol. 64<sup>v</sup> has a signature by Jean Majoris, confessor of the future Louis XI, who died at Saint-Martin de Tours, where the manuscript comes from. This same scribe copied BNF, lat. 6091 which contains works by Sallust, and is dated at Amboise, 30<sup>th</sup> November 1434. I am grateful to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France for providing me with a microfilm of this manuscript.

community whose dialogic ethos is based on the art of humanist rhetoric, represented in both theory and practice.<sup>32</sup>

In Chartier's *Dialogus*, the quest for truth takes the form of a dialogue between two companions known for the space of their debate as the *Amicus* (friend) and the *Sodalis* (fellow). The *Amicus* is the first to speak, and asks why the *Sodalis* seems so troubled. The *Sodalis* explains that it is the wretched state of war-torn France that distresses him. The discussion unfolds as the *Amicus* questions the *Sodalis* about the reasons behind the current situation, and possible solutions. The *Sodalis* maintains that it is the morals of the French that are at fault: all men have become greedy for personal gain and power, and reject the notion of common good. God will abandon the French, the *Sodalis* predicts, because they remain unrepentant. If each man pulled towards the common good for the health of the whole corps politique individual good would then result, and ultimately peace. The *Amicus* remains optimistic for the future, but the *Sodalis* is sceptical, leaving the only hope of peace with God at the end of their debate. The *Dialogus* is dated by Bourgain-Hemeryck to 1426. She rejects a date of 1422, proposed by E. Droz in her edition of the *Quadrilogue invectif*,<sup>33</sup> citing historical referents to support her argument.<sup>34</sup> I tend to concur that this is a later work, on the basis of parity of expression with Chartier's other mature works, the *De vita curiali* (1427), the *Invectives* (1427-8)<sup>35</sup> or the *Livre de l'Esperance* (1428-30).<sup>36</sup> The codicological

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<sup>32</sup> This notion of the material community refers to the material manifestation of the collaborative debating community which I shall discuss further in my final chapter (V).

<sup>33</sup> Chartier (1950), pp. VII-IX. Droz gives a chronology of Chartier's works, though many of her conclusions have been challenged by the more recent editions of Chartier's works. See Chartier (1974), pp. 28-42 (summary: p. 42), and Chartier (1977), 3-82, especially pp. 81-82.

<sup>34</sup> Chartier (1977), pp. 38-42.

<sup>35</sup> *Invectiva ad ingratum amicum* (invective against an ungrateful friend), and *Invectiva ad invidum et detractorem* (invective against one envious and disparaging). Chartier (1977), pp. 337-40; 341-44.

<sup>36</sup> Even though I am concerned to show Chartier's engagement with contemporary events in France, I think it unwise to locate historical referents in the fictional text. See Freeman Regalado's illuminating article on Villon: 'Effet de réel, effet du réel: representation and reference in Villon's

evidence also supports this later dating for the *Dialogus*: eight of the twenty-four manuscripts of this work place it in second position between the *Quadrilogue invectif* and the *Livre de l'Esperance*.<sup>37</sup> The *Dialogus*, Chartier's only Latin debate, was the most widely disseminated of his works in Latin, and is the only Latin work to be copied with his French works.<sup>38</sup> The twenty-four extant manuscript copies of the *Dialogus* include seven which also collect Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* and *Livre de l'Esperance*, and two others containing both these two prose works as well as Chartier's *Lay de paix*, and the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, or *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain*.<sup>39</sup> It is significant that the *Dialogus* and *De vita curiali* (in its French translation) are collected with selected French verse works by Chartier in the light of the meta-discourse I trace here through Chartier's production. Interestingly, the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, to which Laidlaw gives an early date of 1412-13 against the previous critical consensus of 1425-26,<sup>40</sup> is collected in Paris, BNF, fr. 1128 with later works whose common theme is the devastation of a France torn apart by internal divisions and moral decline. I shall later suggest how this debate, through an intertextual dialogue with the Latin and French prose works, speaks on a meta-level of this same moral decline which is

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*Testament*', *Yale French Studies* 70 (1986), 63-77. Regalado uses Barthes's term from 'Effet de réel', *Communications* 11 (1968), pp. 84-9. See also Jane H. M. Taylor (2001).

<sup>37</sup> These are Paris, BNF, fr. 126; BNF, fr. 1123; BNF, fr. 1124; BNF, fr. 1128; Moulins, B. M., 26; Cambridge, Mass., Harvard Uni., Houghton Lib., typ. 92; London, B. L., Cotton Julius E V; Vatican, Reg. lat. 1338. See Chartier (1977), pp. 112-14.

<sup>38</sup> The original Latin text of the *Dialogus* appears in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 7 (Hamilton 144), and in Paris, BNF, fr. 1128. The only known French version of Chartier's *Dialogus* is copied in Paris, BNF, fr. 1642, and is edited by Bourgain-Hemeryck alongside the Latin original, Chartier (1977), pp. 120-23; 247-325. Bourgain-Hemeryck surmises from textual variants and paraphrasing of the Latin that the French was a translation, and was not written by Chartier. As I shall discuss, the *De vita curiali* was more widely read in its later French version, and this was often copied with Chartier's French works. See my manuscript tables.

<sup>39</sup> It is copied in Paris, BNF, fr. 1128 from fols. 36-47<sup>v</sup>, in between the *Quadrilogue invectif* and the *Livre de l'Esperance*, and before the *Lay de paix* and the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*. In Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 7 (Hamilton 144), it is copied from fols. 75-84, after the *Quadrilogue invectif* and the *Esperance*, and before the *Lay de paix* and the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain* (the only copy of this debate to survive).

<sup>40</sup> See Chartier (1974), pp. 29-31.

expressed through the use of deceptive language. For this reason too, I am inclined to suggest a later date for the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours* (but probably 1419-20 rather than 1425-26), not least because it is placed after the *Belle Dame sans mercy* in fifteen out of twenty-three manuscripts.<sup>41</sup>

The *Sodalis* sums up the fundamental conflict between his reasoning and that of the *Amicus* when he announces 'verba sequeris, ego rem aspicio'.<sup>42</sup> The *Sodalis* argues that he has often been deceived by words, and now seeks the signified rather than the signifier: 'memini et scio quociens nomen pacis nefefellit'.<sup>43</sup> The Socratic figure of the *Sodalis* disputes and deflects what he sees as the empty arguments of the *Amicus*. Chartier, through the *Sodalis*, empties Scholastic logic of purpose since it does not engage with a particular context, and advocates instead a humanist rhetoric that will take account of a given context. Context in this case refers to the material circumstances of war-torn France. Rhetoric, making use of a technique of hypothesis (questions relating to particular circumstances, e.g. is *this* war a bad thing?), is shown by Chartier to be superior to dialectic which proceeds by thesis (general questions with no reference to particular

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<sup>41</sup> Laidlaw's argument for an earlier date pivots on the style of this debate which he classifies as a *dit*, like the *Livre des Quatre Dames* which he dates to 1415-16, and unlike late debates such as the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, *Debat de reveille matin*, or *Excusacion* in which Chartier employs octosyllabic eight-line stanzas rhyming ababbcdc. (The *Debat du Hérault, du Vassault, et du Villain* is also of this second type, but rhymes ababcdcd.) The two *dit*-style debates were probably written at roughly the same time, but I suggest that Laidlaw's dating of the *Livre des Quatre Dames* may not be accurate. Here Chartier emulates the style of Christine de Pizan's love debate poems, also in *dit* form. Laidlaw's other arguments for an early date are less convincing, derived from an equation of the narrator of the poem and the historical Chartier. He suggests that the narrator of this debate is inexperienced in matters of love: 'qui parle ainsi d'amours par ouïr dire' (v. 1246), and consequently that the author must himself be a young Chartier. I, however, reject this equation of the narrator and poet, and suggest rather that Chartier adopts a persona whose modesty and inexperience is merely a topos. According to the codicological evidence, the *DDFA* is more likely to appear with the late debates *Belle Dame sans mercy* (23 times) and *Debat de reveille matin* (21 times) than with the *Livre des Quatre Dames* (15 times). The *Livre des Quatre Dames* appears in 32 manuscript versions, while the *Belle Dame sans mercy* appears in 44, the *Debat de reveille matin* in 37.

<sup>42</sup> 'You follow words, and I look at the thing itself', *Dialogus*, 134, p. 320. All translations into English from the Latin are mine unless otherwise stated.

<sup>43</sup> 'I remember and know how many times the *name* of peace has deceived me', *Dialogus*, 134, p. 320.

circumstances, e.g. is war a bad thing?).<sup>44</sup> Regula Meyenberg demonstrates how, via a meta-rhetorical discourse operating through the arguments of the *Sodalis* and *Amicus*, Chartier rejects the *Amicus*'s logical reasoning and the traditional Scholastic form of the *disputatio*, in favour of reasoning based on classical rhetoric.<sup>45</sup> Both the *Sodalis* and the *Amicus* refer to their exchange as a 'disputacio', but each is frustrated by the techniques employed by the other. The *Dialogus* becomes a 'dialogue de sourds',<sup>46</sup> both parties arguing at cross-purposes. Rhetoric battles dialectic and the desired *sententia* is never delivered:

*Amicus*: 'Quid igitur expectamus? Quis nos manet exitus? Uno tu verbo argumenta conclude.'

*Sodalis*: 'In Deum reffero sentenciam; quod ab eo decretum est, fiat.'<sup>47</sup>

The undelivered or delayed verdict is a late-medieval topos, as Armstrong argues in a recent article.<sup>48</sup> This delayed closure is a tool in Chartier's rhetorical arsenal. Through a use of what I term his 'vocabulary of closure', Chartier ironises and empties courtly convention, as I shall discuss further.

Chartier again explores the notion of empty verbosity in his polemical Latin letter, *De vita curiali* (probably a late work of around 1427).<sup>49</sup> This text enjoyed widespread popularity in the fifteenth century as evidenced by the many surviving manuscript witnesses of both the Latin original and the Middle French translation,

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<sup>44</sup> For a comprehensive discussion of the evolution of rhetoric from the classical to the medieval period see Murphy (1978), and particularly Leff (1978).

<sup>45</sup> See Meyenberg (1992), pp. 139-41.

<sup>46</sup> See also my chapter II, p. 73.

<sup>47</sup> *Friend*: 'What therefore should we hope for? What way out is left to us? Now finish the argument with a word or two.' *Fellow*: 'I leave the judgement to God; may his will be done', *Dialogus*, 138, p. 322.

<sup>48</sup> Armstrong (1997), pp. 12-14. See also my article on poetic closure in Chartier (forthcoming in 2003).

<sup>49</sup> Bourgain-Hemeryck does not find any evidence for the dating of this piece other than its maturity of vision and expression, Chartier (1977), p. 69. It is likely that the *De vita curiali* was written after the *Dialogus*, and possibly before the two *Invectives* (late 1427). I agree that this is a late work, and illustrate here the parity of expression and common ground it shares with the *Dialogus*.

often erroneously attributed to Chartier.<sup>50</sup> The *De vita curiali* takes the form of a letter written by one experienced in the ways of the court to a close friend who aspires to a life at court. The writer urges his friend to reconsider this ambition, and describes the greed and corruption rife in court society in which he himself is implicated. He combines this invective with the topos of the praise of a quiet life which the friend is currently enjoying. Chartier emphasises throughout the contrast between the subservience of the courtier and the personal freedom experienced by he who rejects this way of life. The enslavement of the courtier is characterised by the constraints of the discourse to which he subscribes. The corrupt courtier can no longer express himself with freedom, but is restricted to an empty language that touches nothing beyond itself; it is an enclosed and self-perpetuating system:

Et ecce nos curiales effrontes officiorum non jura, sed nomina sequimur!  
Verbales sumus et voces, non res recipimus.<sup>51</sup>

Chartier's position here echoes that espoused in the *Dialogus*. From the perspective of a courtier struggling within the confines of a corrupt court community he rejects, Chartier is forced to assimilate himself to the first person plural 'nos curiales'. His self-awareness is what frees him from the hypocrisy around him, though he is ultimately trapped by membership of this group. Chartier was almost certainly influenced both in his use of the classical anti-curial topos and his polemic on the corrupt state of the nation by the writings of humanist contemporaries such as Nicolas de Clamanges, Jean de Montreuil, Jean Muret, and Jean Gerson.<sup>52</sup> These

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<sup>50</sup> There was a Middle French translation of the Latin original, the *Curial*, which circulated widely in the second half of the fifteenth century and survives in twenty-three manuscripts and ten ancient editions. In addition the *Curial* was translated back into Latin by Robert Gaguin in 1473 and into Middle English by William Caxton in 1484. See Chartier (1977), pp. 67-76; 133-52.

<sup>51</sup> 'We courtiers, however, shamelessly pursue not the duties of offices but their titles! We are wordy and deal in words, not things', *De vita curiali*, 37, p. 362.

<sup>52</sup> Meyenberg and Pons have observed conceptual similarities between Clamanges's *De lapsu et reparacione justicie* (1420), Jean de Montreuil's *Traité contre les Anglais* (1406-17), Jean Muret's *De contemptu mortis* (1386-1388), Jean Gerson's *Deploracio super civitatem aut regionem* (1418), and Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* (1422), *Ad detestacionem belli gallici et suasionem pacis* (c.

humanist scholars adopted debating positions, frequently exaggerating the polemical aspect of their work.<sup>53</sup> Chartier's debating position, however, as I shall demonstrate, seems to have been more a reflection of the author's own ethical position.

Some interesting patterns emerge from the manuscript tradition of the French version of the *De vita curiali*, and particularly where it is collated with Chartier's French verse. There are twenty-three recorded copies of the French translation, as opposed to only eleven of the Latin original.<sup>54</sup> Twelve exemplars of the French *Curial* are copied into manuscripts which also contain Chartier's French verse. These include Paris, BNF, fr. 1642, a manuscript in which a French translation of the *Dialogus* makes its sole appearance in collections of Chartier's French verse, and Brussels, Bibl. Roy., 21521-31, in which the *Curial* is collected with Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles*, as well as works by Georges Chastelain and Jean Molinet. This latter manuscript is thought by Bourgain-Hemeryck to have a Burgundian source, and is relatively late (after 1465).<sup>55</sup> Nine of the twelve manuscripts collect the *Curial* with the *Breviaire des nobles* and two place them in juxtaposition.<sup>56</sup> The *Breviaire des nobles*, a series of thirteen ballades devoted to the

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1423), *Dialogus* (1426-7), and *Livre de l'Espérance* (1429-1430). See Meyenberg (1992), pp. 32-36 and Pons, 'Latin et français au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: le témoignage des traités de propagande', in *Actes du V<sup>e</sup> Colloque International sur le Moyen Français, 6-8 mai 1985*, vol. 2 (Milan, 1986), 67-81. See my second chapter for further discussion, pp. 67-69.

<sup>53</sup> These scholars had previously been involved in the *Querelle de la Rose*. See chapter II for a discussion of debating positions in epistolary exchanges within Chancery circles at Paris and Avignon, especially pp. 58-59.

<sup>54</sup> Bourgain-Hemeryck records twenty-one copies, but does not include two included by Laidlaw in his edition: Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ny Kgl. Saml. 1768. 2<sup>o</sup> (formerly Ashburnham Place, Barrois 355), and London, Clumber Sale (Sotheby's, 6 .XII. 1937), 941 (untraceable); see Chartier (1977), pp. 140-52, and Chartier (1974), pp. 126-32. Laidlaw does not record the copy of the *Curial* in Reims, B. M., 918, listed by Bourgain-Hemeryck, p. 141.

<sup>55</sup> See Chartier (1977), pp. 146-48.

<sup>56</sup> These are Paris, BNF, fr. 924 (*Breviaire*: fols. 262<sup>r</sup>-271<sup>v</sup>; *Curial*: fols. 272<sup>r</sup>-282<sup>v</sup>), and London, Clumber Sale, 941 (*Curial*: fol. 41; *Breviaire*). Laidlaw notes that Bure lists the *Breviaire* as item 5 in the London manuscript though it is not mentioned in the sale catalogue. See de Bure, *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de feu M. le duc de la Vallière, première partie*, vol. 2 (Paris: de Bure, 1783).

twelve virtues that define ‘noblesse’, has the largest number of manuscript witnesses of any of Chartier’s texts, appearing in fifty-three copies.<sup>57</sup> Laidlaw finds it impossible to date this text accurately, given the ‘theoretical and general’ nature of the poem, but puts it somewhere between 1416 and 1426. I suggest that the *Breviaire des nobles* provides a perfect foil for the *De vita curiali*, and Chartier’s other polemical Latin works, in its portrayal of the very qualities whose loss is bemoaned in contemporary French court society. In the *Breviaire*, language and action are intimately linked:

Voz faiz aux moz accordez.  
 Se noblement voulez vivre,  
 Vostre mestier recorderz,  
 Nobles hommes, en ce livre, vv. 451-54.

The *Breviaire* provides both the conceptual ‘mirouer’ where one ‘se doit mirer’ (v. 90), and a material mirror image of the vices rife at court in the *De vita curiali* through its anthologisation in manuscripts with this polemical letter. The *De vita curiali* forges similar dialogic links with an anonymous text, *L’Abuzé en court*,<sup>58</sup> completed in 1473 and probably directly inspired by the anti-courtly polemic of Chartier’s text. This prosimetrum text tells of the narrator’s encounter with the sorry *Abuzé*, whose years have been wasted in dissolution at Court, deceived by the allegorical figures of *Abus*, *Fol Cuidier*, *Folle Bobance* and *Madame la Court* herself. *L’Abuzé en court* takes the form of a dialogue between the narrator and the *Abuzé*, into which the *Abuzé* inserts remembered dialogues with his *maistre d’escole* and the various allegorical figures of the court. The *Abuzé’s* story brings the narrator, who himself has spent time at court, to a self-realisation:

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<sup>57</sup> See Chartier (1974), pp. 393-409.

<sup>58</sup> See *L’Abuzé en court*, ed. Dubuis (Geneva: Droz, 1973). Dubuis discusses the possible authorship of this work, often wrongly attributed to René d’Anjou, xxiv-xxxi.

Et quant je vous ay oy de vous mesmes nommer le povre homme abusé en court, ung doubte m'est entré subitement au cueur, comme si [en] ce cas me touchoit en partie cestuy nom, p. 10.

Like the writer of the *De vita curiali*, the *Abuzé* is disabused of the illusions he once entertained of life at court and warns his interlocutor of the dangers inherent in such a course. The narrator's sudden pang of awareness here suggests that he too has deserved the name of *Abuzé*, only now realising the full extent of his deception. Paris, BNF, fr. 25293, one of the nine manuscript witnesses to *L'Abuzé en court*, also collects two texts by Chartier: the *Complainte contre la mort* and the *Lay de paix*. Dialogic links are formed between these texts through their anthologisation in the material space of play afforded by the codex. Chartier's dissatisfaction with the corruption at court comes across strongly in his *Lay de paix* (before 1426),<sup>59</sup> in which he sues for peace amid the confusion of war. Chartier associates language and action here as in the *Breviaire*, urging the people to lay aside the 'faulx debaz et faiz malicieux' that are destroying their well-being.<sup>60</sup>

Chartier attempts to demonstrate the notion of self-awareness and freedom from within the confines of a courtly society through his French verse. From a close reading of these vernacular poems, a layered meta-discourse can be observed, informed by the Latin works. Chartier writes not only about writing, but about writing from within confines: textual confines reflect societal boundaries. Chartier's ranks of narrators and debaters are made up both of those who press for freedom and those who endorse closure. The debate itself is an irresolvable and unresolved

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<sup>59</sup> Laidlaw suggests that the *Lay de paix* may have been written before an embassy that Chartier undertook to the Duke of Burgundy in April 1426, and possibly much earlier than this; Chartier (1974). He bases his assumptions on the fact that four manuscript rubrics link this poem with the Duke of Burgundy, and surmises that it was intended for dispatch to him; pp. 11, 37. A date somewhere in the 1420s is better supported by conceptual and textual similarities between the *Lay de paix* and the *Breviaire des nobles*.

<sup>60</sup> 'Debat' is the technical word for a written debate, as well as encompassing oral dispute. See Godefroy.

expression of dissent and conflict among the members of one community. The model of the collaborative debating community that I postulate as a dynamic social entity, and which pivots on Bourdieu's principle of collusion within competition,<sup>61</sup> is analogous to Chartier's more negative model of the court in his *De vita curiali*:

Vis modernam curiam descriptiva difficione designare: est virorum conventus, qui ad se invicem decipiendum, boni communis simulacione, communicant.<sup>62</sup>

Chartier here compares the court to an assembly of men (*virorum conventus*), whose interdependence is based on a common principle of deceit, their social coherence paradoxically derived from infighting and competition. This deceit may be seen as a linguistic one in the context of debate: a 'fol parler', designed to convince one's opponent, to win an argument, but essentially hollow and insincere. Through correspondences with the *De vita curiali* and the *Dialogus*, the platitudinous arguments of Chartier's French actors are exposed as an empty sham.

In the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, the sorrowful narrator relates a debate that takes place between two knights at a gathering in a *chastel*. After dinner, the men and ladies ask each other questions of love casuistry, calqued on the *demande d'amour* model (see chapter I). One lady, particularly skilled in the art of debate, poses a dilemma. She asks some of the company whether love brings more pain or pleasure. All refuse to speak, except one, 'en bon point, sain, alegre et joyeux', v. 212, who comes forward first to give his opinion. This *gras chevalier* speaks to support the argument that 'en amours a plus joye que douleur', v. 670. He rhapsodises at length on the lover's pursuit of his lady, explaining how he must strive to ingratiate himself with 'ceulx qui sont d'elle prouchains', v. 441. By this

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<sup>61</sup> See chapter II, p. 62 for a discussion of collusion within competition, also Bourdieu, *Leçon sur la leçon* (Paris: Editions de Minuit, 1982), pp. 41-46 and Bourdieu and Wacquant (1996), p. 98.

method, the lover may attain his goal; his targets are unaware of the real reason for his sudden friendship, and introduce him into the lady's circle:

Ceulx le loent devant elle en appert  
Et le blasonnent,  
Et de ses faiz lui parlent et raisonnent,  
Et sans savoir a quoy leurs mos s'adonnent  
Devers elle bonne entrée lui donnent, vv. 452-56.

Chartier insists upon the ignorance and trust of those the lover is duping: 'qui pas n'entendent /A quelle fin toutes ses euvres tendent', vv. 461-62. On the surface, the lover is merely using others benignly to reach his lady: the end justifies the means. However, if one compares similar passages from the *De vita curiali*, the lover's deception takes on a sinister character. Chartier cautions his addressee that if he is sought out and greeted by another at court, it is not necessarily a mark of respect:

Non enim virtutes tuas, sed suas commoditates prospicit, ut quod a te querit blande subripiat.<sup>63</sup>

The suspicion with which kindness at court must be regarded is a topos elaborated by Jean de Montreuil in Epistle 38 (*Iamque fere*), addressed to his colleagues Gontier Col and Pierre Manhac. This letter was sent to accompany a pamphlet against the *aulici* (court officials).<sup>64</sup> Montreuil and Chartier both draw on the Roman comic poet Terence's portrayal of the figure of the court parasite. The premise for Montreuil's letter is a dream in which the poet Terence appears to warn him of the *aulici*, and encourages him to study his (Terence's) comedies. Through the voice of Terence, Montreuil describes how these *aulici* approach and ingratiate themselves with those in power in order to gain influence, attracted as Chartier says

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<sup>62</sup> 'Let me describe the modern court for you with an exact definition: it is an assembly of men who come together under the pretence of common good in order to deceive one another in turn', *De vita curiali*, 46, p. 368.

<sup>63</sup> 'It is not on account of your virtues, but with an eye to his own advantage and what he can stealthily seek and take from you', *De vita curiali*, 33, p. 360.

<sup>64</sup> For the letter see Montreuil (1963): I, pp. 53-63. For details of the contents see Montreuil (1986): IV, pp. 109-113.

not by their ‘virtutes’ but for the ‘commoditates’ they might acquire. The *aulici* drop their friends as soon as they fall out of favour, and are no longer of use:

Cum tuum primum exhaustum officium aut beneficium extiterit, nullatenus te agnoscet. Quod si te adversa invadat fortuna et sibi casu obviabis, scito nil verius esse, tibi protinus tergum vertet et posteriora monstrabit.<sup>65</sup>

This theme is again picked up by Chartier in his *Invectiva ad ingratum amicum* (invective against an ungrateful friend), probably written during the same period as the *De vita curiali*.<sup>66</sup> Here Chartier addresses a friend whom he helped when destitute, and who, now wealthy, has turned his back on his benefactor. Jean de Montreuil’s invective against the Milanese scholar Ambrogio dei Migli is similarly calqued on this classical model.<sup>67</sup>

The *Invectiva ad ingratum* is found in eighteen manuscript copies, and is usually copied before Chartier’s *Invectiva ad invidum et detractorem* (invective against one envious and disparaging). This second of Chartier’s *Invectives* chastises an ‘emulator’ (imitator) for mocking Chartier’s pursuit of philosophy and his poverty. Eight of the eleven appearances of the Latin *De vita curiali* occur in manuscripts with one or both of the *Invectives* and in seven of these eight manuscripts the *Dialogus* also appears, reinforcing intertextual dialogue by placing the texts in adjacent material space. These dialogic links within the manuscripts of Chartier’s Latin works extend to encompass the humanist writings of such scholars as Coluccio Salutati, Petrarch, or Nicolas de Clamanges, as well as classical pieces by Sallust, Seneca and Cicero among others.<sup>68</sup> The anthologisation of these groups

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<sup>65</sup> ‘Once he (the parasite) has used up and exhausted your kindness and favour, he no longer acknowledges you in any way. For if bad fortune assails you and you meet with disaster, know that nothing is truer than that he will immediately turn and show you his back’, Epistle 38, Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 64-66, p. 55.

<sup>66</sup> See Chartier (1977), pp. 65-67; pp. 337-40.

<sup>67</sup> See chapter II, and particularly Montreuil’s Epistle 106 (*De intimatione*), Montreuil (1963): I, ll. 113-17, p. 151.

<sup>68</sup> Paris, BNF, lat. 3127 contains, among other texts, the two *Invectives* as well as a collection of Nicolas de Clamanges’s letters to Jean de Montreuil: Chartier (1977), p. 124; Paris, BNF, lat. 10922

of texts in manuscripts of Chartier's Latin texts suggests Chartier's debt to humanist thought and style. The reception of these combinations of texts encourages us to read Chartier as part of this early collaborative community. It is by setting him against this humanist context that we are able to see how Chartier is innovative, and how he moves away from the detachment of the more intellectualised debating positions adopted by earlier scholars. Chartier engages directly in political and ethical matters through his reworking of courtly poetry and discourse. Courtly language and settings are challenged from the inside by Chartier's protagonists and found wanting.

The court parasites attacked by Montreuil and Chartier via Terence are duplicitous in language as well as action: 'ore suo benedicebant, corde maledicebant', as Montreuil affirms.<sup>69</sup> In the *Invectiva ad invidum*, Chartier urges his addressee to confront him with the accusations he has been storing up, in an echo of Jean de Montreuil's invective against Ambrogio dei Migli: 'si intra te verba continere non potes, efflue, evome quod intus concepisti venenum'.<sup>70</sup> One should not only be wary of duplicity in the speech of others, but should guard one's own words, for fear that they may be misappropriated and used against one, while furthering someone else's agenda:

Nutrit enim curia viros qui de ore hominum aut fraude sermones extorqueant aut simulacione expectent quod in caput loquentis retorqueant, et sibi ex

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includes the *Invectiva ad ingratum*, the *De vita curiali*, the *Dialogus*, as well as poetry by Nicolas de Clamanges and Seneca's *De remediis fortuitorum*: Chartier (1977), pp. 125-26; **Einsiedeln, Monastery Library, 367** includes the two *Invectives*, a short and imperfect extract from the *De vita curiali*, works by Petrarch, the *Invectives* of Sallust and Cicero, and the *Exclamacio ad Lucreciam* and its response by Coluccio Salutati: Chartier (1977), pp. 127-28; **Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 1256** includes the two *Invectives*, Coluccio Salutati's *Exclamacio ad Lucreciam*, and Sallust's and Cicero's *Invectives*: Chartier (1977), p. 128). For other examples see Chartier (1977), Chapter VI: *Oeuvres jointes a celles de Chartier dans les manuscrits*, pp. 155-61.

<sup>69</sup> 'While they were praising with their mouths, they were cursing in their hearts', Epistle 38, Montreuil (1963): I, l. 62, p. 55.

<sup>70</sup> 'If you cannot contain your words inside, spit them out, vomit up the venom you have brewed inside', Chartier (1977), *Invectiva ad invidum*, 4, p. 341. See my chapter II, pp. 74-76 for a discussion of serpent imagery in humanist invective.

alterius detrimento gratiam concilient. Si officio fungaris, ad litem te prepares.<sup>71</sup>

The duality of language is particularly suited to the debating forum in which speakers use the arguments of others against them, reversing the import of their words. Chartier exploits this duality in his French verse debates, exposing the unstable nature of courtly discourse through the contradictory speeches of his protagonists. The ‘gracieuse chace’, v. 636, which the *gras chevalier* advocates in the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d’amours*, is subsequently undermined by the *maigre chevalier*’s account. A *chevalier*, ‘pensif et pale’, v. 679, comes forward after the *gras chevalier* has finished his argument and contradicts him. This sorry figure argues that love brings more pain than pleasure. The *maigre chevalier* warns of the dangers of trusting those who may turn out to be ‘mesdisans’, v. 1003, and betray their companions. In this game, he counters, one must be ‘en doute des amis’, v. 1012. The *maigre chevalier*’s account is of a ‘chace dont le veneur est pris’, v. 1060. His use of language often destabilises and reverses the meaning of the *gras chevalier*’s words. The ‘tonnelles a courtine de fueilles’, v. 656, that the *gras chevalier* identifies among the ‘haulx instrumens’ of *amours*, is a term later used by the *maigre chevalier* in a simile for the snares of *amours*:

Ainsi labeurent  
Comme perdrix qu’en la tonnelle queurent:  
Jouans y vont et tristes y demeurent, vv. 787-89.

Though the debate remains unresolved within the bounds of the text (the conclusion is deferred until the chosen judge, Jean de Grailli, Conte de Foix, returns from battle), correspondences identified above with Chartier’s *De vita curiali* support the arguments of the *maigre chevalier* who asserts that ‘en amours a plus de mal que de

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<sup>71</sup> ‘For the court nurtures those who seek to extract words from men’s mouths either by deceit or dissemblance so that they may then turn them against their speaker, and gain favour for themselves

rien', v. 1110. The *maigre chevalier*, like Chartier's *Belle Dame*, is the last to speak in the debate, adding his 'dupplique' to the *gras chevalier*'s 'replique'.<sup>72</sup> The force with which the *maigre chevalier* delivers his final brief assault on his interlocutor's 'propos' suggests sympathy on the part of the narrator:

Quelque chose que diez au seurplus,  
 Dueil est tousjours la fin, l'issue et l'us  
 Ou tous les faiz amoureux sont conclus;  
 Et plus n'en di, vv. 1152-55.<sup>73</sup>

The narrator, 'un simple clerc que l'en appelle Alain', v. 1245, asks others who may know better to complete his debate, 'le demourant supplie', v. 1242, using a familiar modesty topos.<sup>74</sup> I suggest that the unwritten 'demourant' exists in intertextual form, linking Chartier's French debate with his Latin epistle, the *Invectives* and the *Dialogus*, and so operates a destabilising of the courtly convention and language of the 'deduit amoureux'. Parallels can thus be drawn between the *Amicus*'s hollow Scholastic logic in the *Dialogus*, the deceptive political language of the court in *De vita curiali*, and the snares of a courtly love discourse in Chartier's French debates. Chartier discusses the nature of language through his texts in Latin and in French, advocating a humanist rhetoric free from the false constraints and conventions of a purely intellectual logical language, or those of courtly love discourse. The triumph of this new engaged rhetoric is heralded in Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*. I also

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at another's expense. If you hold an office, you should prepare yourself for a fight', *De vita curiali*, 41, pp. 364-66.

<sup>72</sup> These terms are often encountered in legal contexts, and correspond to two parts of a trial sequence. See my chapter I, p. 26. Pierre Michault and the author of the *Arrêts d'amours* both make use of the terms later in the fifteenth century. See the *Arrêts d'amours* (1951), and Pierre Michault (1978).

<sup>73</sup> This insistence on the opposition and collusion between 'dit' and 'fait' is significant for my examination of *verba* and *res* (words and things/deeds).

<sup>74</sup> I do not agree with Laidlaw that the narrator's professed inexperience in love indicates that this is an early work by Chartier. It is rather a literary topos, and designed to encourage further speculation about the debate, thereby soliciting further responses. See Chartier (1974), p. 30. The term 'demourant' is also used as a means of suspending judgement by Christine de Pizan in her *Livre des trois jugemens*: 'Le demourant commet a parfiner/ A vo bon sens', vv. 1521-22. See Christine de Pizan (1998).

suggest that Chartier takes position in the wider *Querelle des femmes* through his treatment of the *Belle Dame* and her suitor.

For Chartier, the corruption of language is inextricably bound up with the ailing state, which the *Sodalis* portrays as a floundering ship in his *Dialogus*:

Sane equidem naufrage navi predictis destitute nostra res publica par est.  
Prudenciam, que gubernaculis modum ponit et medium ductu consiliat, nec  
intus habemus et extra contempnimus audiendam.<sup>75</sup>

The sea and navigation provide a set of classical metaphors for the government of a state and the corruption of court society that Chartier also employs in his *De vita curiali* and *Quadrilogue invectif*.<sup>76</sup> Pauline Smith suggests that the metaphor of shipwreck may have originated with Lucian's *De mercede conductis potentium familiaribus*, though she acknowledges that Chartier and his contemporaries would not have had access to a Latin translation of the Greek original.<sup>77</sup> However, Cicero's rhetorical treatise, the *De inventione*,<sup>78</sup> was extremely influential in the development of medieval rhetoric, and was widely quoted as an authority by the authors of medieval and Renaissance manuals on style. In the *De inventione*, Cicero adopts the metaphor of the ailing ship of state governed by those armed with eloquence, but lacking in a sense of moral duty:

Hinc nimirum non iniuria, cum ad gubernacula rei publicae temerarii atque  
audaces homines accesserant, maxima ac miserrima naufragia fiebant.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> 'Indeed our state is exactly like the shipwrecked boat I mentioned before. We do not possess prudence, which is the means of steering and commanding it, and we reject advice from outside', *Dialogus*, 37, p. 268.

<sup>76</sup> The image of the floundering ship of State recurs in the *Quadrilogue invectif*: Chartier (1950), ll. 10-11, p.13.

<sup>77</sup> See Smith, *The Anti-Courtier Trend in Sixteenth-Century French Literature* (Geneva: Droz, 1966), p. 39, note 3.

<sup>78</sup> See Cicero, *De inventione; De optime genere oratorum; Topica*, ed. Goold and trans. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 2-346.

<sup>79</sup> 'Therefore it was not undeserved, I am sure, that whenever rash and audacious men had taken the helm of the ship of state great and disastrous wrecks occurred', Cicero (1993), *De inventione*, ch. 4, p. 8.

It is probable that Cicero rather than Lucian served as a model for Chartier in his *Dialogus*, *De vita curiali* and the *Quadrilogue invectif*. The early humanist scholars Nicolas de Clamanges and Jean de Montreuil who elaborate on the classical topos of the *taedium curiae* (weariness of the court) in their epistolary collections would have had a more immediate influence on Chartier. In a letter addressed to Montreuil, Clamanges develops the metaphor of the court as a treacherous sea whose obstacles must be wisely negotiated, anticipating Chartier's image of the shipwrecked courtier in the *De vita curiali*:

Desine me a quieta littoris statione semel appraehensa rursus in Syrtes & scopulos evocare. Nam si mare magnum & spaciosum (Sacris attestantibus eloquiis) est mundus iste, ubi tantis inhorrescit procellis, tantis flatibus agitur, tantis fluctibus intumescit, tam saevis exaestuat turbinibus, sicut in Curiis Principum ubi inter Scillam mordacem invidiae canibus ut aiunt succinctam, & rapacem atque insatiabilem avaritiis Charybdim navigare oportet, ubi velut in solio proprio, imperat superbia, regnat ambitio, furit crudelitas, languescit desidia, defluit luxuria, carpit detractio, tradit proditio, ubi nulla pax animi, nulla quies conscientiae, nulla fides, nulla charitas, nulla securitas, ubi blanda assentatio, amicitiae simulatio, iniuriae dissimulatio, ubi latentia odia, fictis verbis, serena fronte, sed fallacies obsequii mendositate adoperta.<sup>80</sup>

Smith argues that Chartier does not associate the corrupt court with the state of the nation,<sup>81</sup> and that he simply adopts a topos developed by his humanist predecessors.

However, correspondences between the metaphor of the floundering ship of state

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<sup>80</sup> 'Stop calling me away from the calm shelter of the shore (now I've reached it) back onto the Syrtes and the crags. For if the great wide sea is the world (as the eloquent Scriptures attest), where it bristles with such great gusts, with such great winds is it disturbed, with such great waves it swells, with such savage whirlpools does it seethe, so it is in the Courts of Princes where one must navigate between the gnashing Scylla surrounded as they say by envious parasites, and the rapacious and insatiable Charybdis surrounded by greedy men, where even as on our own territory, pride dictates, ambition rules, cruelty raves, idleness makes us languid, luxury thrives, slander blackens, treachery betrays, where there is no peace of mind, no rest for the conscience, no faith, no charity, no safety, where seductive flattery, pretence of friendship and disguising of injury are found, where hatred hides with false words and a smooth brow, but it is covered up by the compliant deception of the liar.' The Latin is transcribed from the early printed edition of Clamanges's collected works. Nicolas de Clamanges, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Lydius (Leyden: Ludovicum Elzevirium & Henr. Laurentium, 1613), p. 58. There is a more recent edition of Lydius's Clamanges (Farnborough: Gregg Press, 1967).

<sup>81</sup> See Smith (1966), p. 40. Court and nation are juxtaposed in Chartier's *Livre de l'Esperance*. The allegorical figure of *Indignation*, appearing to the narrator, delivers a sharp satire on life at court,

Chartier uses both in his *Quadrilogue* and *Dialogus*, and the metaphor of the sea as a corrupt court in the *De vita curiali*, as well as Chartier's debt to Cicero, suggest otherwise:

Fugite, viri fortes, state procul, si vos bene beateque vixisse delectat et, velut in littore tuti, nos sponte naufragantes despiciate.<sup>82</sup>

The flourishing of the state is linked in Chartier's *Dialogus* to the *translatio studii*, whereby eloquence and good governance passed through Greece and Rome to France. Now that Fortune's wheel has turned, both state and language have become corrupt:

Eheu, ex rerum et morum mutacione fortune favorem a nobis evulsum agnoscimus. Parvos etenim corpore homines, sed animo minores, intelligencia terrestres, verbis molles et opera fragiles enutrimus.<sup>83</sup>

It is the *Amicus* who makes the explicit connection between language and morals in the *Dialogus*: 'ut homines vivunt, sic loquuntur', he concludes.<sup>84</sup> So falseness in language is assimilated in Chartier to corruption in political and moral life. Here Chartier draws on the classical and medieval topos of language as a mirror of morals, found in Cicero (particularly the *De inventione*), in Seneca, and in medieval arts of rhetoric such as Fabri's *Le Grand et Vrai Art de pleine rhétorique*.<sup>85</sup> In letter CXIV to Lucilius, Seneca refers to a Greek source for the topos.<sup>86</sup> The flawed logic

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before her colleague *Defiance* sets out the sorry state of the French nation: see Chartier (1989), pp. 7-17.

<sup>82</sup> 'Flee, courageous men, stand far away, if you want to live well and happily and, just like men safe on the shore, watch us as we voluntarily drown', *De vita curiali*, 49, p. 370.

<sup>83</sup> 'Alas, we know now that through the changing of things and morals good fortune has gone away. We are bringing up men with feeble bodies, of inferior spirit, with basic understanding, casual in speech and hopeless in deed', *Dialogus*, 51, p. 276.

<sup>84</sup> 'As men live, so they speak', *Dialogus*, 77, p. 288.

<sup>85</sup> Fabri (1889) quotes Cicero in his reworking of this topos: 'Tulles dit que rethorique est telle que sans elle loix ne citez ne peuvent ester iustement maintenues. Tout homme donc amy de bien publicque doibt estudier a bien et prudemment parler, pour lequel il acquerra louenge, honneur et dignité; il sera certain refuge de sage conseil', I: p. 7.

<sup>86</sup> 'Talis hominibus fuit oratio qualis vita. Quemadmodum autem unusquisque actio dicendi similis est, sic genus dicendi aliquando imitatur publicos mores, si disciplina civitatis laboravit et se in delicias dedit' (1-2). 'People's speech matches their lives. And just as the way in which each individual expresses himself resembles the way he acts, so in the case of a nation of declining morals

of the *Amicus* and the empty courtly discourse of the *Belle Dame*'s suitor reflect insincerity and moral turpitude in society. The *Sodalis* suggests in Chartier's *Dialogus* that the vessel of the State is lost because of the decline in morals among the French, and that it is a greed for power that has corrupted them. The *Amicus*'s arguments proceed from false premises, as the *Sodalis* repeatedly proves.<sup>87</sup> The *Amicus* upholds the cause of the French in a discourse shown by the *Sodalis* to be as flawed as his arguments: a language that concerns itself only with words is a self-contained system, and so cannot have any real purchase on the material events unfolding in a contemporary France. The *Sodalis*'s superior rhetoric dominates the dialogue as his discourse engages with the *res* that lie beyond language, and so breaks away from the self-contained system of language that entraps the *Amicus*.

Peace cannot be obtained, in the *Sodalis*'s opinion, because each man wants it for his own selfish interest and not for the common good. The pursuit of individual interests is what leads men to war in the first place. The quest for peace in Chartier's *Dialogus* has its corollary in the quest for *mercy* in the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The hapless suitor of this vernacular poem sues for a *mercy* that will never be accorded him since his arguments are fundamentally flawed, like the *Amicus* in Chartier's Latin dialogue. The *Belle Dame* takes on the role of the *Sodalis*, reproving the suitor for his 'foul pensemēt', v. 221. Although ostensibly cast in the traditional and weak female role of respondent to the suitor's advances, the *Belle Dame* forces her interlocutor to retract and rephrase his demands from her

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and given over to luxury forms of expression at any given time mirror the general behaviour of that society.' See Seneca (1990), pp. 137-44, and Seneca (1969).

<sup>87</sup> In a discussion that arises from an attempt to define peace, the *Amicus* argues that the common good is created by many particular goods (what is good for each individual). The *Sodalis* suggests rather that the common good is created by a harmony of individual 'humores' (intentions) which in turn creates particular or individual goods. The *Sodalis* asserts that the *Amicus*'s premise is false: 'silogismum falsigraphum componis, cum in intellectu principiorum deficias', 123: 'you put forward a falsely argued syllogism, because you err in your understanding of principles'.

position outside the courtly discourse. The two protagonists of Chartier's poem are speaking at cross-purposes, in two incompatible discourses. A similar pattern is observed in the *Dialogus*, as I suggested earlier, in which the *Sodalis* responds to the questioning and arguments of the *Amicus* from a superior position outside the *Amicus's* logic.

Critical interest in Chartier's work is often limited in scope to his debate poem *La Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424). Chartier's poem is composed of a hundred octosyllabic eight-line stanzas, a poetic form it shares with the *Debat de reveille matin*, the *Excusacion*, and the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain*. A narrative frame is constructed around the debate proper between a despairing suitor and a *Belle Dame*. The debate is presented in the frame by a 'triste et doloieux' narrator who, following the death of his lady, rides aimlessly one day through the countryside, before sheltering in a place 'coy et privé'. His friends get wind of his whereabouts, however, and arrive to drag him off to a party. As dinner is served, he spots a sorry figure dressed in black, and guesses his torment. The narrator observes how this *chevalier's* eyes always rest on the same beautiful lady. Grown weary of the festivities, he moves outside where he sits behind a leafy trellis. From this concealed position he observes the same *chevalier* who has come to sit with the object of his affection on the other side of the trellis. The suitor states his suit in stanzas 24 to 27, the lady responds in 28, and thereafter the stanzas alternate between the suitor and his lady; the last four stanzas are spoken by the narrator. The suitor's case is rebuffed and ridiculed throughout by the *Belle Dame* who ultimately rejects his clichéd arguments and refuses to grant him *mercy*. After the final rejection, the suitor leaves the party with death in his heart. The narrator can only offer us a secondhand report of the conclusion to the story in which the *Belle Dame*

was apparently forgotten her suitor and returned to the party while the suitor has allegedly died of pique (courroux) after tearing out his hair. The narrator then delivers two morals, the first warning lovers to avoid the 'mesdisans' who prejudice their case with ladies, and the second warning ladies not to behave as cruelly as the *Belle Dame* who might well be labelled 'sans mercy'.

The *Belle Dame sans mercy* is the most widely copied of Chartier's French verse debates, collected in forty-four extant manuscript copies as opposed to thirty-seven of the *Debat de reveille matin*, thirty-two of the *Livre des Quatre Dames*, thirty-one of the *Excusacion*, twenty-seven of the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, and only one of the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain*.<sup>88</sup> It provoked considerable contemporary reaction, eliciting a series of sequels, imitations and translations that span over half a century.<sup>89</sup> I record forty manuscripts containing sequels and or imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* which I discuss in my final chapter. Of the forty-four manuscripts that contain the *Belle Dame sans mercy* itself, forty collect the poem with other works by Chartier. Chartier's *Excusacion*, a response to two letters allegedly sent to him by women and men of the court to complain about his *Belle Dame sans mercy*, is written in the form of a dialogue between the narrator and the *dieu d'Amours* and is collected with the *Belle Dame sans mercy* in thirty manuscripts.<sup>90</sup> Laidlaw uses information about Chartier's absence from court in the letters to date both the *Belle Dame sans mercy* which he locates in 1424, and the *Excusacion* which he puts in the spring of 1425. Both

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<sup>88</sup> See Chartier (1974), pp. 43-58.

<sup>89</sup> See Piaget's editions of the poems in *Romania*, 'La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses imitations', *Romania* 30 (1901), 22-48, 317-51; 31 (1902), 315-49; 33 (1904), 179-208; 34 (1905), 375-428, 559-602. A new edition of the poems by David Hult and Joan Elise McRae, edited from Paris, BNF, fr. 1131, is currently in press: see my chapter IV for details.

<sup>90</sup> Laidlaw notes that the only other copy of the *Excusacion* is contained in an incomplete manuscript: Fribourg-Diesbach. The first twenty-two folios are lost and the manuscript begins with the *Lettre des dames a Alain*, suggesting that the *Belle Dame sans mercy* may also originally have been copied here: Chartier (1974), pp. 128; 328.

Walravens and Laidlaw conclude from the evidence of diplomatic letters that Chartier was probably away from court on diplomatic business for most of 1425.<sup>91</sup> Although the literary letters collected with the *Belle Dame sans mercy* may well be an elaborate invention by Chartier himself to excite controversy over his poem, and solicit continuations, there seems to be no reason to dispute Laidlaw's dating. A date of the mid-fourteen-twenties would certainly fit in with Chartier's preoccupation with the decline of morals at court in his later Latin works.

The predominant nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critical consensus on Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* is summed up by Piaget in his edition of the sequels and imitations of the poem:

Il est banal de dire que chez Alain Chartier le prosateur vaut mieux que le poète. On l'a depuis longtemps remarqué, et il n'est pas difficile de voir d'où provient cette différence. Chartier, qui se faisait de la poésie la même pauvre idée que ses contemporains, ne voyait en elle qu'un passe-temps à l'usage des hautes classes de la société: pour plaire à de riches et puissants patrons, les poètes ne traitaient dans leurs vers que de questions amoureuses, sans personnalité ni sincérité, avec les mêmes formules et les mêmes situations.<sup>92</sup>

Piaget, like Champion,<sup>93</sup> Hoffman,<sup>94</sup> and more recently, W. B. Kay,<sup>95</sup> insists on the conventionality of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* and its divorce from 'les événements extérieurs, les souffrances réelles, les luttes' (*Romania* 30, p. 23), seeing a clear distinction between Chartier's prose and verse works. In his 1970 study of fifteenth-century poetry, C. S. Shapley expresses concern with the customary division of Chartier's works into two categories: 'serious' (prose) and 'frivolous' (poetry).

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<sup>91</sup> Walravens (1971), pp. 27-33, and Chartier (1974), pp. 6-8.

<sup>92</sup> See Piaget, 'La Belle Dame sans Merci et ses imitations', *Romania* 30 (1901), p. 22.

<sup>93</sup> See chapter VI in Pierre Champion, *Histoire poétique du quinzième siècle*, vol. I (Paris: Champion, 1923), pp. 60-73. Champion subscribes to the school of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century 'autobiographical' reading, equating Chartier with the narrator of his fictional text.

<sup>94</sup> See Hoffman (1942), p. 52-90. Hoffman includes the *Belle Dame sans mercy* under the heading of 'joyeuses escritures', as opposed to his category of 'serious poems'.

<sup>95</sup> See W. B. Kay, 'La Belle Dame sans mercy and the Success of Failure', *Romance Notes*, 6 (1964), 69-73. Kay writes: 'The fact that he (Chartier) was unable to make the framework of conventional

Shapley is the first to suggest that Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* represents 'a moral indictment as devastating as the *Quatre Dames* or the *Quadrilogue*'.<sup>96</sup> He asserts that the game of love is analogous to the game of life, and that in choosing this conventional theme for his verse, Chartier is able to make social comment from within the 'felt emotion' of his characters.<sup>97</sup> In his edition of the French verse, Laidlaw notes that contemporary debate about the poem may have been a reaction to Chartier's criticism within the poem of courtly attitudes and conventions through the figure of the *Belle Dame*.<sup>98</sup> Dietmar Rieger goes further to suggest that the death of the *Belle Dame*'s suitor represents the death of courtly values, figuratively rejected through the *Belle Dame*'s rejection of the suitor.<sup>99</sup> Both Daniel Poirion<sup>100</sup> and William Kibler<sup>101</sup> make a case for Chartier's identification with the suitor, who they argue represents old feudal values. For Poirion and Kibler the *Belle Dame* represents the corruption of these values and a new bourgeoisie mentality in her refusal to grant *mercy*. Poirion talks of the 'scepticism et l'égoïsme' of the *Belle Dame*, which he says destabilises the exchange of courtly service (based on a principle drawn from feudal service). Kibler adopts Poirion's image of a *Belle Dame* who represents a seductive, commercial world far from the feudal and courtly values mourned by the suitor. The *Belle Dame*, according to Poirion and Kibler, is herself the target of Chartier's polemic. Kibler dismisses critics who claim that

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courtly love poetry fully serve his personal vision is borne out by his later choice of prose as the instrument of his greatest works', p. 73.

<sup>96</sup> See Shapley, *Studies in French Poetry of the Fifteenth Century* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1970), chapter 2, 32-120, p. 116.

<sup>97</sup> Shapley (1970), p. 78.

<sup>98</sup> Chartier (1974), pp. 39-40.

<sup>99</sup> See Rieger, 'Alain Chartier's *Belle Dame sans Mercy* oder der Tod des höfischen Liebhabers: Überlegungen zu einer Dichtung des ausgehenden Mittelalters', in *Sprachen der Lyrik: Festschrift für Hugo Friedrich zum 70. Geburtstag* (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann, 1975), 683-706.

<sup>100</sup> See Poirion, 'Lectures de la *Belle Dame sans mercy*', in *Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Pierre Le Gentil* (Paris: SEDES et CDU réunis, 1973), 691-705.

<sup>101</sup> See Kibler, 'The Narrator as Key to Alain Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*', *French Review* 52 (1979), 714-23.

Chartier is sympathetic to the *Belle Dame* because of the parallels he sees between Chartier and the lovelorn suitor, also citing the double moral at the end of the poem as an indictment of the *Belle Dame*. I, however, read this double moral as an ironic device to perpetuate textual play, and to render closure deliberately ambiguous, as I shall later explain. Kibler builds on the new critical current, begun by Shapley, to suggest in his article that there is an ideological link between Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*, the *Quadrilogue invectif* and the Latin works: *Ad detestacionem belli gallici* and the *Dialogus*. He identifies a level on which the *Belle Dame* and her suitor represent a conflict between a modern and old-fashioned view of the state of society, an issue also addressed in the other works stated above. The *Belle Dame*, he argues, refuses to play because 'the courtly game has become degraded and lost its meaning', whereas the suitor still believes that a return to ideal courtly values is possible. On this basis, Kibler reads the suitor's death<sup>102</sup> as an attempt on Chartier's part to demonstrate his sympathy with the lover against the *Belle Dame*, since he asserts that Chartier also supports a return to the old values, citing the double moral at the end of the poem as evidence of his claim. Although I agree with Kibler that this poem is indeed linked to Chartier's political and ethical agenda as expressed through his Latin and French prose works, I use this argument to proceed to a different conclusion, namely that what Chartier supports here is neither explicitly the suitor nor the *Belle Dame*, but the *Belle Dame's* rejection of an insincere courtly discourse. Kibler's own arguments betray a certain male flippancy with regard to women that itself seems almost derived from the medieval *Querelle des femmes*, preferring a solution which has Chartier siding with the male protagonist.<sup>103</sup> As I

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<sup>102</sup> Kibler does not dispute the fact that the lover dies, whereas it is in fact made deliberately unclear in Chartier's text.

<sup>103</sup> I am thinking of the paragraph in which Kibler (1979) talks of an 'us' who I can only assume to be an entirely male critical audience: 'One must certainly concede that to *us* today there is nothing

suggest later on, the *Belle Dame*, far from Kibler's portrait of a flirtatious young woman, is a symbol of France (also feminised in Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif*), assailed and betrayed by the corruption around her, a corruption which is intimately connected to language systems in Chartier's work. The suitor's alleged death is treated by Chartier in an ironic way and at one remove, dismissing Kibler's sympathy theory. The death is only reported later to the narrator, and so remains speculative.<sup>104</sup> More recently Giuseppe Sansone has addressed a critique of the 'substrat courtois' that he identifies in Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*.<sup>105</sup> Sansone moves away from the idea of a courtly critique centred on the male figure as the representative of traditional courtly values which are degraded by the *Belle Dame*, interpreting Chartier's moral message instead through the female character. Chartier, according to Sansone, proposes a 'revendication de la liberté de la femme, l'indépendance du choix par rapport aux pièges de règles vétustes'.<sup>106</sup> In other words, Chartier defends the woman's right to say 'no', in defiance of courtly convention. In her article, Gretchen Angelo builds on Sansone's theories to demonstrate how Chartier's *Belle Dame* rejects not only her suitor, but a courtly discourse that is synonymous with the silencing of the woman's individual voice.<sup>107</sup> Angelo suggests that Chartier's *Belle Dame* refuses to be a sounding board against which the male interlocutor displays his verbal agility as in the courtly love dialogues of Andreas Capellanus's *De amore*. The *Belle Dame*'s rejection of the suitor is effectively shown to be a 'challenge to male hegemony over courtly

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quite so appealing as a young woman who vivaciously states that her eyes are for looking, that she may flirt openly with whom she wishes, and that she is free and intends to remain so', p. 716.

<sup>104</sup> See Chartier (1974), *La Belle Dame sans mercy*, XCVIII, vv. 777-84, p. 359.

<sup>105</sup> Sansone, 'La Belle Dame Sans merci et le langage courtois', *Le Moyen Français* 39-40-41 (1995-96), 513-26.

<sup>106</sup> Sansone (1995), p. 520.

<sup>107</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Gretchen Angelo of California State University for allowing me to read a copy of her article: 'A Most Uncourtly Lady: The Testimony of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*', forthcoming in *Exemplaria* vol. 15, no. 1 (March, 2003).

discourse'. I suggest, with Angelo, that Chartier's *Belle Dame* rejects a courtly discourse that is shown to be flawed, self-absorbed and self-contained. I see this rejection both as a move on Chartier's part in the wider *Querelle des femmes*, as Angelo argues, but further, as a thorough rejection of falseness and constraint in language which go hand in hand with the moral corruption of the state. Through correspondences with the *Dialogus*, we can further suggest that the *Belle Dame* rejects the tyranny of courtly discourse in favour of the verbal freedom offered by the humanist rhetoric espoused by the *Sodalis*. The universal application of this ideal discourse, however, remains beyond her reach, trapped as she is in the very realm she wishes to escape. Through his debates, Chartier advocates a language system which, like the value system that will achieve peace, can come about only through the sacrifice of personal interest to the common good. One must avoid a slavish and selfish devotion to style, but rather subordinate style to *materia* (subject matter). Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova* of 1210, one of the best known arts of poetry in the Middle Ages, describes style as the ornament of *materia*: organisation is secondary to the invention of the subject matter.<sup>108</sup> Chartier exposes courtly discourse as self-serving, and dialectic as concerned only with its own propositions and proofs. It is in this light that I examine the poetics of closure in Chartier's verse.

Resistance to closure in Chartier's works is part of a meta-rhetorical discourse in which he rejects the closure enforced by the language systems of courtly discourse and dialectic. Instead Chartier champions an ethically and politically engaged rhetoric that reaches beyond the confines of the text. The 'vocabulary of closure' which Chartier employs points to images of closure and

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<sup>108</sup> See Gallo, 'The *Poetria nova* of Geoffrey of Vinsauf', in Murphy (1978), pp. 68-84.

openness within the courtly sphere that represent on a meta-textual level constraint and release in language.

The *Belle Dame*, like the *Sodalis* of Chartier's *Dialogus*, attacks not merely what the suitor says, but the whole discourse from which his words proceed, challenging the conventional metaphors of courtly love. The metaphor of dying for love used by the suitor, for example, is utterly rejected by the *Belle Dame*:

Si gracieuse maladie  
Ne met gaires de gens a mort  
Mais il siet bien que l'on le die  
Pour plus tost actraire confort, vv. 265-68.

Here the *Belle Dame* cuts through the convention; the words themselves do not refer to an actual physical death and are thus divorced from that which they ostensibly signify. The suitor's discourse is hollow and unreliable: 'en telz sermens n'a riens ferme', v. 350. The import of his words lasts only as long as it takes to speak them. In response to the suitor's condemnation of bad lovers, the *Belle Dame* reiterates her conviction that – good or bad – men simply do not expire from love:

Sur tel meffait n'a court ne juge  
A qui on puisse recourir.  
L'un les maudit, l'autre les juge,  
Mais je n'en ay veu nul mourir, vv. 585-88.

In his unpublished article on Sir Richard Roos's Middle English translation of Chartier's original poem, Ashby Kinch explores the rhetorical figure of dying for love, and the impact this has on the terms of erotic exchange. He identifies crucial differences in the language used by the interlocutors that point towards differences in their value systems.<sup>109</sup> We have already seen how language and ethical systems may be intimately connected. Here I suggest that the suitor's desire to be enclosed by *Amours* refers us to the constraints of his self-serving courtly discourse, while

the *Belle Dame*'s desire for autonomy is reflected in her rejection of this 'gouliardye'. The suitor attempts to make the *Belle Dame* solely responsible for his happiness, submitting his will to hers:

Car ma volenté s'est soubzmise  
En voustre gré, non pas au mien,  
Pour plus asservir ma franchise, vv. 206-08.

This *franchise* is a false autonomy: the individual will is enslaved to the whims of another, just as Chartier observes at court in his *De vita curiali*: 'nos servientes sub alieno statuto victitamus'.<sup>110</sup> The *Belle Dame* refuses to be held responsible for the suitor, thus refusing to accept the servitude of the court and the closure imposed by *Amours*. She asserts her autonomy from the courtly discourse:

Choisisse qui voudra choisir.  
Je suis france et france vueil estre,  
Sans moy de mon cuer dessaisir  
Pour en faire un autre le maistre, vv. 285-88.

The chiasmic line at 286 resonates through Chartier's poem. The *Belle Dame* confirms her position of autonomy beyond the courtly discourse, and asserts her will independent of any other. It is perhaps no coincidence that Chartier uses the adjective 'franc(h)e' here, evoking both freedom and country. The *Belle Dame* becomes the figure of the motherland on an allegorical level, besieged by those who would enslave her through violence. The erotic struggle then assumes undertones of rape, recalling the allegorical figure of France who appears to the narrator in a dream in Chartier's vernacular prose debate, the *Quadrilogue invectif*.<sup>111</sup> The sumptuous robes of this figure are torn and dirtied, suggesting some violent tussle, and even the aggressive possession of France by some foreign body:

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<sup>109</sup> I am grateful to Dr. Ashby Kinch of Christopher Newport University for allowing me to read his unpublished article, 'Richard Roos' *La Belle Dame sans merci* and the Politics of Translation'.

<sup>110</sup> 'We who serve at the court live by another's rules', *De vita curiali*, 24, p. 356-58.

<sup>111</sup> Chartier (1950).

Cellui mantel, assemblé par la souveraine industrie des predecesseurs, estoit desja par violentes mains froissez et derompuz et aucunes pieces violement arrachees, si que la partie de dessus se monstroit obscurcie et pou de fleurs de liz y apparissoient qui ne fussent debrisees ou salies, p. 8.

These 'violentes mains' assail France from both outside and inside. The 'vous' she addresses wage war on her through 'couvoitises et mauvaises ambitions', p. 12, much as the courtiers whose thirst for power leads, as we have seen, to their abuse and misappropriation of language.

Here the suitor's case has been prejudiced by the 'cuers travers', v. 573, who the *Belle Dame* asserts have clouded the sincerity of all lovers' suits:

Assez est il de cuers travers  
Qu'avoit bien fait toust empirer  
Et loyauté mectre a l'envers,  
Dont ilz soloient souspirer, vv. 573-76.

These same 'cuers travers' are reprimanded by the narrator in one of two morals at the close of the poem. The 'mesdisans' (in the sense of 'slanderers'), recalling the *maigre chevalier's* term in the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, must be shunned in order to restore sincerity to the love discourse. The fundamental importance of sincerity in speech is debated throughout the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, the *Belle Dame* repeatedly trumping the verbal ingenuity of the lover, and exposing his speech as 'faulx semblant'. The *Belle Dame* speaks 'amesurement', while her interlocutor in desperation resorts to hyperbole and exclamation. It is all to no avail though, as the *Belle Dame* rejects not only the suitor but his love discourse. 'Ostez vous hors de ce propos', she demands, v. 649. He remains 'escondit', along with his words:

De tant redire m'ennoyez,  
Car je vous en ay assez dit, vv. 767-68.

Thus the *Belle Dame* has the last word.<sup>112</sup> While she has thoroughly rejected the lover's speeches, he is forced finally to recognise the truth of her discourse, and marks this recognition by removing himself physically from her presence. The weaker argumentation of the *Amicus* in Chartier's *Dialogus* similarly concedes defeat, and the last word is given to the *Sodalis* who then projects the final *sententia* beyond the textual close of the dialogue. This delaying of closure is a tactic Chartier also employs in his *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The conclusion to this poem is left in ambiguous irresolution. The narrator first admits his ignorance of the lover's fate, and then relates a secondhand report which may be spurious:

Depuis je ne sceu qu'il devint  
 Ne quel part il se transporta ;  
 Mais a sa dame n'en souvint  
 Qui aux dances se deporta.  
 Et depuis on me rapporta  
 Qu'il avoit ses cheveux desroux,  
 Et que tant se desconforta  
 Qu'il en estoit mort de courroux, vv. 777-84.

The actual fates of both lover and *Belle Dame* are thus left uncertain. The *Belle Dame* forgets her suitor, and returns to the dancing, perhaps suggesting a return to the courtly life. The picture of the lover tearing out his hair, on the other hand, seems more ridiculous than tragic. As I mentioned earlier, the *Belle Dame*, like Chartier, may reject an insincere courtly discourse and assert her autonomy from it, but she is ultimately trapped within the courtly system, and figuratively bound by the confines of the text. By delaying closure, by leaving the narrative unfinished and uncertain, Chartier frees his text from the constraints of poetic convention.

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<sup>112</sup> The suitor does speak after the *Belle Dame* at the close of the debate, though he is clearly speaking to himself, rather than replying to the *Belle Dame*: 'Mort, vien a moy courant /Ains que mon sens se descongnoisse,/Et m'abrege le demourant /De ma vie plaine d'engoisse', Chartier (1974), vv. 773-76, p. 359.

Chartier's *Excusacion aux dames* answers the accusations which purport to have been levelled at the *Belle Dame sans mercy*,<sup>113</sup> and acts as a continuation of this poem. In the *Excusacion*, Chartier in the persona of the narrator, a 'humble serviteur' named Alain, is also one of the two interlocutors of the debate. The narrator relates a dream he had at dawn in which the *dieu d'Amours* appeared to him to chastise him for writing 'nouveaulx livres contre [ses] droiz', v. 24. Le 'maleureux livre', v. 27, referred to here is presumably Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The *dieu d'Amours* threatens in no uncertain terms to burn the book and kill the narrator unless he repents of accusing women of showing no *mercy*. The responsive stanzas of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* are replaced here by two long stanzaic sections in which the *dieu d'Amours* and the narrator speak in turn. The narrator defends his position in the book in question, stating that if one were to read it carefully, one would see that he in fact supports women, rather than slandering them.<sup>114</sup> He further excuses himself, somewhat disingenuously, on the grounds that he is the mere 'escripvain' (in this context, perhaps 'scribe, copyist') of the book, and that the book itself ('qui peu vault et monte', v. 193) has no other purpose than to record the suitor's complaints: 'et qui autre chose y entent / Il y voit trop ou n'y voit goute', vv. 199-200.<sup>115</sup> The *dieu d'Amours* decides to leave the final judgment to the *dames*, to whose court the narrator pledges to adjourn, thus deferring closure. Literary continuations and responses tend to emphasise the irresolution of the text they continue, and were a frequent medieval phenomenon, from the *Continuations*

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<sup>113</sup> Two letters follow the *Belle Dame sans mercy* in the majority of manuscripts containing texts of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle, expressing the violent reactions of 'dames' and 'amants' respectively to Chartier's poem. (A *Response des dames*, answering Chartier's *Excusacion aux dames*, is found in four of these manuscripts.) For editions of the two letters see Chartier (1974), pp. 360-62. See Piaget's edition of the *Response des dames* in *Romania* 30 (1901), 31-35.

<sup>114</sup> This admission may support my argument for Chartier's sympathy with the *Belle Dame* against Poirion and Kibler.

<sup>115</sup> I read a certain deliberate irony in this statement. The narrator and Chartier are not one and the same.

*du conte du graal*,<sup>116</sup> or Jean de Meun's section of the *Roman de la Rose*, to the series of sequels and imitations provoked by the *Belle Dame sans mercy*.<sup>117</sup> The debate form provides a platform for this type of ongoing literary revision with its particular brand of polemic, and its potential for inconclusiveness. So Chartier in his *Excusacion aux dames*, proposing to conclude the quarrel that his initial text has caused, actually points to the incompleteness of that text, and perpetuates the quarrel.

Through the *Belle Dame*'s strong rejection of courtly convention in which the lady, as I mentioned, is frequently a mere prop responding to, concurring with, and conceding to male argument, Chartier seems to take a stance in the long-running medieval debate on women.<sup>118</sup> Chartier's *Livre des Quatre Dames* similarly explores the tensions between male and female positions within a courtly discourse. In the *Livre des Quatre Dames*, the narrator, 'pour oublier melencolie', v. 1, walks through the spring countryside, 'tout seulet', v. 7, pondering the treachery of *Amours*. In the distance he sees four noble ladies and finally approaches them at v. 350 after a long digression on his sorrow. The ladies relate their stories to the narrator in turn, each attempting to trump the others. All four have been affected by the wars with the English. The lover of the first lady has been killed, the lover of the second imprisoned, the third lady's lover is missing, and the fourth lady's lover is a deserter. They ask the narrator to judge which of them has the greatest grief. On

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<sup>116</sup> There were two principal verse continuations of Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte du graal* (*Perceval*), each of which survives in a number of versions. See *The Continuations of the Old French Perceval of Chrétien de Troyes*, ed. Roach, Ivy, Foulet, 4 vols. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1949-71).

<sup>117</sup> See Piaget's editions and commentaries in *Romania*. See also Chapter IV in which I discuss the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* at greater length.

<sup>118</sup> For a discussion of the *Querelle des femmes* in the Middle Ages and Renaissance see Blamires (1992) and (1997); Bock and Zimmermann, 'Die *Querelle des femmes* in Europa: Eine begriffs- und forschungsgeschichtliche Einführung', in *Querelles. Jahrbuch für Frauenforschung 1997 Band 2: Die europäische 'Querelle des femmes': Geschlechterdebatten seit dem 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. G. Bock; M. Zimmermann (Stuttgart/Weimar: Verlag, 1997), 9-38, and also Angenot (1977).

hearing the moving speech of the second lady, Chartier's narrator challenges the detractors of women:

...Hommes tiennent leurs fables  
De ce que femmes sont müables,  
Maiz monstrez se sont variables  
Trop plus que dames,  
Et de consciences et d'ames,  
Puis dix ans dont ilz sont infames  
Et trouvez moins fermes que fames  
En leur devoir, vv. 3293-300.

The inconstancy of men is a challenge to the received 'fables'. Here Chartier, through his narrator, suggests that male discourse is subject to fluctuation. The 'fables', like proverbial wisdom, arise from a conventional discourse on women.<sup>119</sup> They represent generalisations that Chartier exposes as divorced from truth. The reference to 'dix ans' may evoke the ten years of civil war between the Burgundians and the Orléanists which began in 1405.<sup>120</sup> Laidlaw uses this reference to date the *Livre des Quatre Dames* to 1415/16, and concludes that the battle with the English in which the second lady's lover has been captured must refer to the battle of Agincourt in 1415. The battle described in the *Livre des Quatre Dames* may well be the battle of Agincourt, but one cannot always rely on historical references to date fictional works, as I argued earlier. I suggest a later date for this text of around 1420-22 which still takes account of the reference to the battle of Agincourt and places it in close proximity with Chartier's prose work, the *Quadrilogue invectif*, with which it shares an ethical agenda. This debate is probably posterior to the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, as Laidlaw also assumes. A similar reference

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<sup>119</sup> In the *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*, Chartier's *gras chevalier* evinces one of the arguments frequently cited in the case for women: 'Se nous tenons /Que de fame nous naissons et venons /Et par elles noz joyes maintenons, /Grans et nourris et bons en devenons, /Et que Nature /Nous en donne naissance et nourreture, /Amendement, joye et bonne aventure, /Dont devons nous les amer par droiture; /Et sommes faulx, /Desnaturez, vilains et desloyaulx /Desvergondez, mauvais et bestiaulx /S'en fait n'en dit nous pourchassons leurs maulx', vv. 613-24.

<sup>120</sup> See Chartier (1974), pp. 35-36.

to time is found in the *Belle Dame sans mercy* (probably completed in 1424)<sup>121</sup> in the penultimate moral issued to all lovers, warning them to avoid the ‘mesdisans’:

Car ilz ont trop mis puis dix ans  
Le país d’Amours a pastiz, vv. 791-92.

Men’s inconstancy in speech and action is first explored in the *Livre des Quatre Dames* through the dilemma of the loyal narrator who has suffered rejection at the hands of his lady.<sup>122</sup> She perhaps mistrusted him because of the falseness of his fellows:

J’ay pour loyauté le rebours  
De ceulx qui usent des faulx tours,  
Et bien leur vient, vv. 312-14.

The first lady, like the narrator’s lady and the *Belle Dame*, is sceptical of courtly convention in speech. She questions the rhetorical figure of dying for love, and rejects it as ‘loberie’:

...Pou s’en dourroient  
Garde que telz gens secourroient,  
Quant ilz diroient qu’ilz mourroient  
Pour amours fines,  
Et feroient si tristes signes,  
Manieres humbles et benignes,  
Pour rober ce dont ne sont dignes.  
[...]  
Helaz, mon cuer a tant fouÿ  
D’eulx les paroles  
Et leurs grans loberies foles,  
Leurs decevans blandices moles!  
Moult ay deprisié telz frivoles, vv. 786-92; vv. 796-800.

The first lady, however, finds a lover whom she judges ‘bon et loyal’, and devotes herself to him until his sudden death. Thus by entering into the ‘gracieuse chace’ (*DDFA*, v. 636) the woman finds herself trapped. Left alone, her only way out is death. Similarly, each of the four ladies is caught in an untenable situation. The

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<sup>121</sup> See Chartier (1974), pp. 6-7.

<sup>122</sup> The narrator mentions two ladies: the first rejected his suit after two years; the second is his current love. See Chartier (1974), vv. 320-33, pp. 207-8.

treachery of convention is suggested by the comparison of the ladies' voices to the birds the narrator overhears singing in the prologue to the debate:

L'un chantoit, les autres doubloient  
De leurs gorgetes qui verboient  
Le chant que Nature a appris;  
Et puis l'un de l'autre s'embroient, vv. 25-28.

The birds' song is a natural one, and contrasts sharply with the 'fol parler' of courtly love discourse that the ladies struggle to escape. The birds are 'hors de cage', v. 103, and may sing freely: 'Dieu scet s'ilz estoient taisant', v. 104. Courtly discourse, as I have suggested, acts as a gag for women, forcing them into the position of respondent to male advance.<sup>123</sup> The third lady asserts that her case is stronger than that of either of the first two speakers. She compares herself to a 'tour minee / dont la prise n'est pas finee', vv. 2140-41. The image of the tower refers us to the popular medieval metaphor of the text as building.<sup>124</sup> Could Chartier be taking as an intertext here Christine de Pizan's *Livre de la cité des dames*? Christine's prose work (1404-1405) is the definitive example of freedom within enclosure; the women form a metaphorical structure which, far from restricting them, is represented as a symbol of female autonomy and liberation.<sup>125</sup> The tower in Chartier's debate is on the verge of collapse, assailed by the misfortunes of courtly love. The woman's suffering is described in terms of an assault on and possession ('prise') of her body, as in the *Quadrilogue invectif*. She is constrained by the terms of *Amours*:

Or est encloz

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<sup>123</sup> For woman's position as the respondent in debate, see Solterer (1995), and my discussion in chapter I, pp. 27-28.

<sup>124</sup> See Cowling, *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in Late-Medieval and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

<sup>125</sup> The conclusion to the work sees the city finished and closed on itself. See Christine de Pizan (1998).

Mon cuer en l'amoureux encloz,  
De hayes d'espines tout cloz,  
Par quoy le partir m'est forcloz, vv. 2451-54.

Here Chartier employs what I term his 'vocabulary of closure', in other words, a semantic reservoir of terms relating to closure and openness which feeds his verse corpus. Combined with the deliberate postponing or abandoning of judgement in his debates, Chartier effects an undermining of the concept of closure. We have seen how Chartier postpones a final judgement in his *Dialogus* and his *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The final judgement of the ladies' debate in the *Livre des Quatre Dames* is also projected to an extratextual and hypothetical future:

Pourtant ce livre,  
Pour estre de charge delivre,  
A ma dame transmet et livre,  
Par qui je puis mourir ou vivre.  
El le lira  
Et pas ne les escondira,  
Et puis son avis en dira;  
Si sarons comme il ira.  
Mais pour enqueste  
Faire du fait de quoy j'enqueste  
Et trouver voie plus honneste,  
Lui envoie ceste requeste  
Qu'escripte avoie, vv. 3452-64.

The use of the future tense here introduces an element of doubt. The lady may well reject the narrator along with his 'livre', and never deliver her judgement. In a direct appeal to his lady, the narrator asks her to read the account of this 'querele', but only 's'il [lui] plaist', v. 3485, and further urges her: 'faictes du vostre a vostre guise', v. 3531. Chartier again introduces elements of uncertainty in his *Debat des Deux Fortunés d'amours*. The chosen judge of the debate, Jean de Grailli, Conte de Foix, is absent on a military campaign. The judgement is therefore postponed until his return, upon which: 's'il lui plaist, son advis en droit', v. 1230. Chartier further destabilises the ending of his debate by introducing a modesty topos: 'qui mieulx

çaira, le demourant supplie', v. 1242, encouraging further debate and speculation on the topic. In the same vein, the exhortation by Chartier's narrator in his *Belle Dame sans mercy* points to the poem's lack of resolution, and to future continuation, as Armstrong observes in his discussion of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*:<sup>126</sup>

Desormais est temps de moy tayre,  
Car de dire suis je lassé.  
Je vueil laissier aux autres faire:  
Leur temps est; le mien est passé, vv. 33-36.

The artificial closure of a text was discussed in classical and medieval manuals on style.<sup>127</sup> The literary device of bilateral symmetry, advocated in these treatises, supposes an intimate connection between the beginning and end of a text and hence imposes an inner structure on the literary work, reinforced in the case of fixed form poetry by an outer structure of metrical and rhythmic constraints. Closure is thus related to the frame or structure of a text, and is seen to mirror the aspirations of the artist, in his quest for a perfected, unified object. The author must impose closure artificially, lending his text a contrived circularity perceived retrospectively through its end: a circularity which David Lee Rubin terms 'the knot of artifice' in his study of seventeenth-century French lyric poetry.<sup>128</sup> The work whose beginning is thus encompassed within its end is likened by Geoffrey of Vinsauf in his *Poetria nova* to an arrow that flies back to the bow, an image later

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<sup>126</sup> Armstrong, 'Leur temps est; le mien est passé': Poetic Ingenuity and Competition in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*' (to appear as a chapter in his forthcoming book on late-medieval poetic competition).

<sup>127</sup> Cicero's treatise *De inventione* (46-44 B.C.) was a widely cited classical source. Important medieval treatises included the *Institutiones divinarum et humanarum lectionum* (Cassiodorus); *Ars versificatoria* (Matthew of Vendôme, 1170); *Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi*, and *Poetria nova* (Geoffrey of Vinsauf, 1210); *Li livres dou tresor* (Brunetto Latini, 1260-66); *De vulgari eloquentia* (Dante, 1304-06); *Forma praedicandi* (Robert of Basevorn, 1322).

<sup>128</sup> See Rubin, *The Knot of Artifice: A Poetic of the French Lyric in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1981).

adopted by Dante in the *Divine Comedy*.<sup>129</sup> The ending of a text, in returning to its initial proposition, presented a recapitulation and amplification of the work's themes or arguments. Certain conventions might be imposed in order to indicate that the work had reached an end. These closural procedures were prescribed to a greater or lesser extent by the genre or genres which characterized the text, so that fixed form poems, for example, such as the rondeau or ballade, would pivot around the repetition of a refrain, literally writing the end as a beginning.<sup>130</sup> Conventions such as the revelation of the author's identity in a final verse or anagram, or calls for emendation and continuation of the work, were equally common.

Whilst a medieval understanding of the interconnection of alpha and omega, the beginning and the end,<sup>131</sup> influenced artists in their quest for earthly perfection which mirrored the divine, medieval methods of education also tended toward a utopian ideal of perfect closure, exemplified in the Scholastic *disputatio*. Debate poetry, as I have suggested, ostensibly embodies the spirit of the *disputatio* in its presentation of conflicting arguments by two or more protagonists, and in the quest for a definitive resolution, to be delivered in the form of a judgement. However, the irresolution of a number of debate poems leads us to question the parameters of the genre, and to search for precedents. In a recent article, Michèle Perret constructs a typology of closural practice in French fiction of the eleventh to fifteenth

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<sup>129</sup> 'E forse in tanto in quanto un quadrel posa /e vola e da la noce si dischiava' ('And in such space perchance as strikes a bolt /And flies, and from the notch unlocks itself'). See Dante, *The Divine Comedy*, ed. Bickersteth (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1965), *Paradiso*: Canto 2, vv. 23-24, p. 524 (the English translation is by Henry W. Longfellow and is available online at <http://fl.hfu.edu.tw/dante/paradiso.htm>).

<sup>130</sup> In her article, 'Medieval Concepts of Literary Closure: Theory and Practice', *Exemplaria* 1 (1989), 149-79, Rosemarie P. McGerr cites a rondeau by Guillaume de Machaut which explicitly illustrates the circularity inherent in the form: 'Ma fin est mon commencement /Et mon commencement ma fin / Et teneüre vraiment. /Ma fin est mon commencement. /Mes tiers chans .iij. fois seulement /Se retrograde et ainsi fin. /Ma fin est mon commencement /Et mon commencement ma fin'. McGerr further notes that the two halves of the tenor part accompanying the lyric are mirror images.

centuries.<sup>132</sup> Within the category of explicitly finished works, Perret identifies a certain type of fiction whose closure is deliberately deferred or falsified, an ‘achèvement inachevé’.<sup>133</sup> She refers particularly to the double ending of Renaut de Beaujeu’s *Le Bel Inconnu*, whose dénouement is projected beyond the physical closure of the romance.<sup>134</sup> The narrator, identified as ‘Renals de Biauju’, v. 6249, leaves the fate of his protagonist Guinglain in the balance, transferring control over the outcome to his lady:

Mais por un biau sanblant mostrer  
vos feroit Guinglain retrover  
s’amie que il a perdue,  
qu’entre ses bras le tenroit nue.  
Se de çou li faites delai,  
si ert Guinglains en tel esmai  
que ja mais n’avera s’amie;  
d’autre vengeance n’a il mie, vv. 6255-62.

Beyond the physical closure of the romance, imposed by the cessation of writing and the completion of metrical requirements, an unknown dramatic dénouement is projected. In his account of Middle English debate poetry, Reed<sup>135</sup> attributes such ‘playfulness about closure’ to a satirical reaction on the part of the poet to the perceived necessity of reaching ‘reductive certainty’ in an argument.

I suggest that Chartier deliberately avoids delivering a *sententia* or final judgement in rejection of the empty Scholastic logic espoused by the *Amicus*, or the hollow courtly discourse of the *Belle Dame’s* suitor. In delaying ending, Chartier reaches beyond the constraints of these self-contained discourses, and strives for the

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<sup>131</sup> It is interesting to note that this Greek terminology is based on the beginning and end of the alphabet, thus associating the theological concept with language.

<sup>132</sup> Perret, ‘Typologie des fins dans les oeuvres de fiction (XI<sup>e</sup>-XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)’, *PRIS-MA* 14/2 (1998), 155-74.

<sup>133</sup> Perret borrowed Dragonetti’s term. See Dragonetti, *Le Gai Savoir dans la rhétorique courtoise* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), p. 82.

<sup>134</sup> See Renaut de Beaujeu, *Le Bel Inconnu*, ed. Fresco (N.Y./London: Garland, 1992), and Colby-Hall, ‘Frustration and Fulfillment: The Double Ending of the *Bel Inconnu*’, *Yale French Studies* 67 (1984), 120-34.

openness of an engaged and sincere discourse. In suspending closure by opening his work to be judged and continued by others, Chartier encourages the perpetuation of the wider debate. He uses the medium of the debate poem, therefore, as a vehicle for ethical and moral instruction. In soliciting further poems, Chartier effectively nurtures and valorises a participatory vernacular poetic culture.

Through correspondences with the *De vita curiali* and the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, the platitudes uttered by the desperate *Amoureux* in Chartier's *Debat de reveille matin* are exposed, and his fate left in the balance. The manuscript tradition of this debate is closely bound up with that of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The *Debat de reveille matin* is collected in thirty-seven manuscripts, all of which contain other verse works by Chartier. It is collected with the *Belle Dame sans mercy* in thirty-four of these, and the two debates are placed in juxtaposition in fourteen manuscripts.<sup>136</sup> Champion and Laidlaw both suggest that the *Debat de reveille matin* is earlier than the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, against E. Droz, who puts it in 1425.<sup>137</sup> The codicological evidence both supports an earlier date, and suggests that the two were written within a short period of time of each other. Intertextual links and similarity of form (responsive octosyllabic huitains) also strengthen this argument.

The premise for the *Debat de reveille matin* is derived from a proverb recorded by Morawski: 'Ami pour aultre veille'.<sup>138</sup> The narrator is lying awake after midnight, when he overhears a lover trying to rouse a sleeper: the two interlocutors of the debate. The *Dormeur* tries to resist striking up conversation, insisting that he

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<sup>135</sup> See Reed, *Middle English Debate Poetry and The Aesthetics of Irresolution* (Columbia/London: University of Missouri Press, 1990).

<sup>136</sup> In each case the *Debat de reveille matin* precedes the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. In Pierre Le Caron's printed edition of 1489 the two are also placed in this order in juxtaposition. See Chartier (1974), pp. 142-44.

<sup>137</sup> See Champion (1923), pp. 63-64, Chartier (1950), pp. VIII, and Chartier (1974), pp. 38-39.

must be allowed to sleep if he so chooses: 'face chascun a son plaisir', v. 32. The

*Amoureux* counters this argument with recourse to proverbial wisdom:

Tel voulsist veiller qui sommeille;  
Tel ploure qui voulsist bien rire;  
Tel cuide dormir qui s'esveille.  
Non pourtant, Bonne Amour conseille –  
Et moult souvent le dit on bien –  
Q'un bon amy pour l'autre veille  
Au gré d'autrui, non pas au sien, vv. 33-39.

Each man, the *Amoureux* argues, must sacrifice his own desires and will to those of others. This echoes Chartier's description of the slavishness of a life at court in his *De vita curiali*, in which each man must live a servile existence and submit to another's rules and wishes:

Adde quod semper hospes est qui curie servit et aliene domus habitator, alterius in fame alienoque appetitui comedit, cum famelicis sine fame vescitur, cum saturatis curis occupatus esuriem sustinet. Alieno voto vigilat cum jam obsompnuisse cepisset. Et quid servilius est quam nature vires et vitalia jura Fortune subegisse, cum nichil in homine liberius sit quam naturaliter vivere? Nos servientes sub alieno statuto victitamus.<sup>139</sup>

The loss of freedom experienced by the *Dormeur*, forced to stay awake by the *Amoureux*, ostensibly out of friendship, becomes far more sinister through this intertext. The *Dormeur*, like the *Belle Dame*, attempts to reject the courtly convention that dictates this loss of freedom, and subjugation to another's will. Chartier uses the *Dormeur* as an ironic device to ridicule and empty the *Amoureux's* conventional love discourse. The *Dormeur* uses humour to devalue the *Amoureux's* desire:

Dormez, et après en somme  
Faites ce dont vous avez soing, vv. 63-64.

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<sup>138</sup> See Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1925), no. 81.

<sup>139</sup> 'Remember that he who serves at court is always a guest, and lives in another's house. He eats according to another's appetite, supping with ravenous people when he is not hungry and, wracked by worries, endures hunger among those who are already satiated. He stays awake at another's request when he had already begun to fall asleep. For what is more servile than to submit natural strength and the laws of life to Fortune, when nothing in man is freer than a natural life? We who serve at the court live by another's rules', *De vita curiali*, 23-24, pp. 356-58.

This crude humour gives way to gentle remonstrating; the *Dormeur* warns the *Amoureux* of the dangers involved in committing oneself to *Amours* in an echo of Chartier's caveat to his young friend:

Dya, compains, qui se veult soubmectre  
Desoubz l'amoureuse maistrise,  
Il se fault de son cuer desmectre  
Et n'estre plus en sa franchise, vv. 137-40.

The *Amoureux*, like the *Belle Dame's* suitor, and in spite of the *Dormeur's* warnings, persists in his quest for his lady's *mercy*. The *Dormeur*, in order to get some peace, finally reassures the *Amoureux* that his suit will be successful in the end:

Qui bien a commencié parface  
Qui bien a choisy ne se meuve;  
Car a la ffin [sic], quoy qu'on pourchace,  
Qui desert le bien, il le treuve, vv. 153-56.

This passage participates in what I have called Chartier's 'vocabulary of closure.' The *Dormeur* utters a string of commonplaces that are revealed as insufficient propositions by recourse to Chartier's meta-rhetorical discourse on closure, as I shall explain. Chartier's ballade XXVIII, 'Il n'est danger que de villain', consists of a similar string of commonplaces or proverbs. Chartier demonstrates the circularity of these empty phrases through his arrangement of them in the ballade form whose refrain is repeated at the end of each eight-line stanza. The circularity inherent in this fixed form verse reflects and compounds the meaningless courtly discourse it encloses. The force of the line 'il n'est parler que gracieux', v. 26, is particularly relevant to our current discussion. Chartier demonstrates through his Latin and French works that there is indeed a 'parler' outside the courtly discourse, and one that he espouses through the figures of the *Sodalis* or the *Belle Dame*. Each of the propositions of the ballade is revealed as only partially true: true within a discourse

that Chartier rejects. Villon takes this satire a step further in his imitation of Chartier's ballade, 'Il n'est soing que quant on a fain', known as the *Ballade des contre-vérités*.<sup>140</sup> Collections of Chartier's ballades appear in twenty-six manuscript copies. Of these, seventeen contain ballade XXVIII. Ten of these seventeen are exclusively lyric collections while seven contain lyrics as well as other verse works by Chartier. Walravens dates ballade XXVIII to 1429, which would make it one of Chartier's last works before his death, documented in 1430.<sup>141</sup> I am inclined to agree that this is a late ballade, since a late date would support my interpretation of this piece as an ironic take on proverbial wisdom.

Beginning does not necessarily entail ending, as we have seen through Chartier's subversion of closure in his verse debates. The *Dormeur* of the *Debat de reveille matin* continues to reassure the *Amoureux* by appealing to the usual behaviour of women at court:

**Dame n'est mie si legiere**  
**Que pour son droit ne se deffende;**  
 Mais combien que Durté soit fiere,  
**A la fin fault il qu'el se rende, vv. 189-92.**

However unmerciful a woman may seem, having put up the obligatory fight, she must give way in the end, the *Dormeur* concludes. This passage bears a striking resemblance to lines from Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*, setting up an intertextual correspondence that destabilises the *Dormeur's* assurances:

**Dames ne sont mye si lourdes,**  
 Si mal entendans ne si foles  
**Que, pour un peu de plaisans bourdes**  
 Confites en belles parolles,  
 Dont vous autres tenés escoles  
 Pour leur faire croire merveilles,  
 Elles changent si tost leurs coles:

<sup>140</sup> See François Villon, *Poésies Complètes*, ed. Rychner and Henry, 3 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1977).

<sup>141</sup> See Walravens's chronology of Chartier's works (1971), pp. 92-93.

**A beau parler closes oreilles, *BDSM*: vv. 297-304.<sup>142</sup>**

Here the same initial proposition leads to a different conclusion. Women remain unmoved by pretty speeches: they will not be won over. Through this intertextual reference, the outcome of the *Amoureux's* quest to win his lady is rendered uncertain, and the ending of the poem left unresolved, since at the close of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, the *Belle Dame* remains unmoved even by her suitor's most strenuous pleas. Even the *Amoureux* despairs of his own cause, finding only insincerity and artifice where he hoped for truth:

Et puis n'y treuve je riens fors  
Courtois parler et beau semblant, vv. 215-16.

He conceives of the pursuit of his lady as a game in which the stakes are high. The notion of game-playing reinforces the artificiality of the lover's suit. His lady is implicated in this game by default, and on two levels: 'fault qu'el soit juge et partie', v. 263. The lady must play the game on the lover's terms, and yet stand outside the confines of the game to judge it dispassionately. The *Belle Dame* refuses either to join the game or to pass judgement on it, a double refusal to enter into the realm of courtly play.

There is no conclusion supplied in the *Debat de reveille matin*. Before falling asleep, the *Amoureux* leaves his suit in the hands of God, praying that he will influence the lady to make the right choice. So the solution is again deferred to a point in the future beyond the textual close of Chartier's poem and, like the *Dialogus*, the protagonist puts his hope in divine judgement alone. The ending of

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<sup>142</sup> I have highlighted the parallel phrases in each passage.

he *Debat de reveille matin* presents an ironic reversal of traditional dream visions, in which dawn heralds awakening from sleep:

Ainsi l'aube du jour creva  
Et les compagnons s'endormirent, vv. 361-62.

Chartier again exercises his penchant for satire in the *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain* in which the representatives of three estates discuss the plight of France, overheard by Chartier's narrator, 'Alain', who only emerges in person at the end of the debate. This debate survives in only one manuscript: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 7, where it is collected with the *Lay de paix*, the *Quadrilogue invectif*, the *Livre de l'Esperance* and the only Latin text to be copied with Chartier's French verse, the *Dialogus*. The *Herault* and the *Vassault* dominate the debate which is joined finally by the *Villain* who has overheard their discussion. The *Herault* and the *Vassault* refuse to address the *Villain* directly, ignoring his presence. The *Villain* in this sense may be seen as yet a further projection of the author in his work, a means by which Chartier is able to pass comment on the debate from within its fictional confines. One of Chartier's most effective satirical tools is the differentiation of dialect within the debate.<sup>143</sup> The *Villain's* colloquial language is indicative of his low social status, and operates as the instrument within the text by means of which Chartier undermines the noble, yet empty courtly language of the *Herault*, just as the *Dormeur* mocks the unhappy *Amoureux* in the *Debat de Reveille Matin*. The *Villain*, like the *Belle Dame*, delivers a stinging attack on the other speakers at the textual close of the poem:

'Perdra? Mais est il ja perdu!  
Que le deable en soit adouré!  
Leur a le villain respondu,  
Qui loing d'eulx estoit demouré.

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<sup>143</sup> This stratification of language might usefully be compared with Bakhtin's concept of *heteroglossia*. See 'Discourse in the Novel', in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four essays by M.M. Bakhtin*, ed. Holquist (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), pp. 259-422.

'A la bataille, a la bataille,  
Entre vous aultres gentillastres;  
Non pas au roy tollir sa taille  
Et vous groppir gardant voz astres', vv. 393-400.<sup>144</sup>

Chartier continues in the same vein of satire in his colophon to the poem, challenging fellow-poet Pierre Nesson to write a poem 'de pire taille', v. 440. So a further poem is solicited, and closure is again deferred.

Within the symmetrical and harmonious form of Chartier's *Lay de paix* lurk warring elements that resist closure. The poem concludes with the demise and ascension of worthy souls to God: mortal demise is the final human closure, but beyond this end, Chartier introduces hope of eternal life in God, thus opening the poem to a possible afterlife. On a metaphorical level, the image of peace, foregrounded in this work, and sought in many of his other works, represents a unifying force, tending towards perfect closure, against which the chaos of war and discord is thrown into stark relief:

Dieux, quelz maulx et quelz dommages,  
Quelz meschiefs et quelz oultrages,  
Quelz ouvrages,  
Quelz pillages  
Et forsaiges,  
Et quans petis avantages  
Sont venuz par voz **debas**, vv. 85-91.

The use of the word 'debas' in this passage, referring to the quarrels that triggered the civil wars, may be extended to apply to Chartier's debate poetry. The open-endedness of his debates is thus related to the fragmentation and discontinuity effected by war. As peace is always desired in his poetry, and never attained, like the unconcluded debates, closure is always deferred. The fragmentation and disharmony of language, represented by dissenting voices raised in debate, is

synonymous in the *Lay de paix*, as in Chartier's other Latin and French debates, with a self-serving courtly discourse which is the antithesis of sincere speech. The *Lay de paix* (before 1426) is one of Chartier's most widely copied poems, appearing in no fewer than forty-eight manuscripts, forty-one of which contain other works by Chartier.<sup>145</sup>

A meta-rhetorical discourse working through Chartier's *Dialogus*, *De vita curiali* and the vernacular debates, operates an emptying of courtly discourse and conventions. Chartier focuses on the conflict between *verba* and *res*. The first of these categories refers to an intellectual language that is an end in itself, and thus closed, like the courtly game of love played out through words. The second refers to the application of a humanist rhetoric towards which Chartier strives through the agency of his debaters and narrators. This new vernacular rhetoric is a language that is engaged in ethical and political life, and one that reaches beyond artifice and closure. Through this new discourse, Chartier is able to engage with the particular contexts of the *Querelle des femmes* and the civil wars devastating France. By reading Chartier's vernacular debates through his *Dialogus* and *De vita curiali* and in the light of his meta-rhetorical discourse, I have hoped to show how the conventions and commonplaces of courtly life rendered in language are exposed and rejected. Chartier, in a departure from the literary practice of his intellectual humanist predecessors, demonstrates that the game of the poetic text may have a 'serious' aim.

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<sup>144</sup> The *Villain* is the last to speak in the body of the debate, though the narrator records a final speech by the *Vassault* to the *Herault* after the *Villain's* words, vv. 420-24.

<sup>145</sup> See my earlier discussion of the anthologisation of the *Lay de paix* in Paris, BNF, fr. 25293, with *L'Abuzé en court* for the dating of this poem, p. 113, note 59.

## CHAPTER IV

### Text and Context: Collaborative Invention and Creative Modes in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*

Et me semble que vous moqués,  
Ou que ce soit esbatement  
Qu'on passe ainsi legiérement;  
Mais, quant a moy, point ne m'en loue,  
Car l'en treuve assez largement  
D'autres esbas, ou mieulx l'en joue (*L'Amant rendu cordelier a  
l'observance d'amours*, vv. 771-76).<sup>1</sup>

The figure of the *Amant* in this anonymous<sup>2</sup> poem (c. 1440) from the cycle known as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* expresses his disillusionment<sup>3</sup> with the game within which he is implicated – namely the game governed by *Amours* – and his desire to leave that particular sphere of play by taking religious vows. In these lines, the *Amant's* severe interlocutor, *Damp Prieur*, is accused of 'esbatement' at the former's expense, and advised by him to find alternative entertainment. There are further voices, and 'd'autres esbas', at play in these lines, though, as I shall suggest through a close reading of the poems which constitute the

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<sup>1</sup> *L'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours*, ed. de Montaiglon (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1881), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> de Montaiglon (1881). This poem was attributed to Martial d'Auvergne by Lenglet-Dufresnoy in the 1731 Amsterdam edition of the *Arrêts d'amours*, and subsequently by de Montaiglon (1881) and Söderhjelm, *Anteckningar om Martial d'Auvergne och hans Kärleksdommar* (Helsingfors, 1889). Piaget, however, points out in his introduction to the poem in *Romania* 34 (1905), 416-23 that none of the seven manuscripts containing the poem, or any of the eight earlier printed editions of the poem names Martial d'Auvergne as the author. The claim for authorship based solely on the similarities of expression of *arrêt XXXVII* and *l'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours* is suspect given the common reservoir of images drawn on by poets collaborating on the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle, and the fact that Martial d'Auvergne is probably not the author of the *Arrêts*.

<sup>3</sup> I use this word as a self-conscious reference to the term 'illutio' used by both Huizinga and Bourdieu. Huizinga explores the semantic field of the Latin 'ludus' or 'play' (*illudere/alludere/colludere*), and suggests that one of the properties of play is the common 'illutio' or 'in-play' it establishes within a community of players. See Huizinga (revised ed.: 1998). Bourdieu's 'illutio' or 'interest' has a similar function: 'illutio is [...] to be invested, taken in and by the game. To be interested is to accord a given social game that what happens in it matters, that its stakes are important [...] and worth pursuing', Bourdieu and Wacquant (1996), p. 116. In this sense then, the 'disillusioned' *Amant* must abandon the game since he is no longer part of the group illusion; he has become disinterested.

*Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle. My discussion will focus in particular on textual images of the *game* which I shall relate to the creative and collaborative game beyond the text, by means of which the text, or body of texts forming the *Querelle* as a whole, is generated.

A brief description of the sequels and imitation poems which form the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* will prove useful here for my subsequent discussion. Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424) presents the debate between a *Belle Dame* and her suitor, overheard by the narrator-poet, in which the suitor woos his lady in vain, while she rejects him throughout in no uncertain terms. This poem, as I have discussed, provoked a long series of literary responses and imitations, starting with letters of outrage, allegedly written by ladies and men of the court, to which Chartier wrote an apology, the *Excusacion aux dames*. This was followed by the bitter *Response des dames* in which the ladies of the court refuse to pardon Chartier for his alleged defamation of women through the heartless *Belle Dame*. A second cycle of works then joined the growing *Querelle*, consisting of fictional, poetic responses to Chartier's original in which the *Belle Dame* is tried before a series of courts of law. She is alternately accused (in Baudet Herenc's *Parlement d'Amours*), pardoned (in *La Dame lealle en amours*), and finally sentenced to death (in Achille Caulier's *Cruelle Femme en amours*). A further poem, *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, presents a posthumous appeal on the part of the *Belle Dame's* relatives, who insist unsuccessfully that her trial has been misconducted. This second cycle presents the sequels proper; the third cycle of works I refer to as imitations (Piaget's term) as they no longer concern Chartier's original characters. A third cycle of works concerns the fate of a *povre amant* figure

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who is rejected by his lady, and loses his case against her in court in *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*; his relatives later win an appeal against this verdict in *Les Erreurs du jugement du povre triste amant banny*. There followed a sequel in which the *povre amant* seeks refuge in the Church, *L'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours*, and a final *Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil*. In addition, there were numerous debate texts written in imitation of Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*, and texts which renewed the theme of love trials, from Martin le Franc's *Champion des dames* to the *Arrêts d'amours*.

Here I propose to analyse the dynamics of the collaborative community formed by the *Querelle* poets in the light of Pierre Bourdieu's notions of field, habitus and symbolic capital.<sup>4</sup> In my discussion of poetic play I shall also draw on the sociological studies of cultural play by Johan Huizinga,<sup>5</sup> and more recently by Roger Caillois.<sup>6</sup> I further suggest a new classification of the poems of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* into minor cycles, plumbing the semantic reservoir of images and literary patterning through which each minor cycle both finds its internal coherence and feeds into the major cycle. Recent interest in the literary debate known as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* has resulted in a series of important contributions from Adrian Armstrong, David Hult, Joan McRae, and Helen Solterer, among others.<sup>7</sup> A new edition by David Hult and Joan E. McRae

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<sup>4</sup> For a definition of these terms, see my chapter II, pp. 61-63. See also Gaunt and Kay (1997), Bourdieu (1990) and his *Homo academicus* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988), particularly chapter 3: 'Types of Capital and Forms of Power'.

<sup>5</sup> Huizinga (revised ed.: 1998).

<sup>6</sup> I draw on Caillois indirectly here through the application of his notion of games of *agôn* or skill to the skill of the *Querelle* poets, but will develop this parallel more explicitly in my final chapter. See Caillois (1967). In an extension of this game metaphor, I explore the manuscript context of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* in my next chapter, identifying common patterns of anthologisation across the physical spaces of play provided by the manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> I refer to Armstrong's forthcoming book on late-medieval poetic competition in France, and Solterer (1995), particularly chapter 7. Jane H. M. Taylor (2001) also discusses poetic competition in the *Querelle* in her study of Villon, particularly chapter 1, pp. 6-32. William Calin is currently

edits the two cycles of sequels to the *Belle Dame sans mercy* that appear in Paris, BNF, fr. 1131.<sup>8</sup> Any study of the *Querelle* owes a vast debt to the scholar Arthur Piaget, whose editions of and commentaries on many of the poems implicated in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* have helped to define its boundaries and scope.<sup>9</sup> For the purposes of this discussion, I shall be largely concerned with those poems which fall within Piaget's selection. The first cycle I identify within the *Querelle* body consists of two prose epistles,<sup>10</sup> *Coppie de la requeste baillee aux dames contre Alain*, and *Coppie des lectres envoyees par les dames a Alain* (31<sup>st</sup> January, 1425); the *Excusacion aux dames* (spring, 1425),<sup>11</sup> written by Chartier in answer to accusations levelled at him in these letters; and a response from the *dames* to Chartier's *apologia* (*La Response des dames faicte a maistre Allain*).<sup>12</sup> I label this initial cycle, *Chartier on trial*, since although the texts of this cycle do not portray fictional trials as those of the second cycle they are pervaded by the legal language

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preparing an article in a book to be published by Routledge which touches on the *Querelle* and game theory. I am most grateful to Professor Calin for sending me a copy of his article, 'Intertextual Play and the Game of Love: The *Belle Dame sans mercy* Cycle'.

<sup>8</sup> A critical edition of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* sequels (*Lettre des dames; Lettre des amants; Excusacion; Parlement d'Amours; La Dame lealle en amours; La Cruelle Femme en amours*) is currently being prepared by Hult and McRae for publication in 2003 in Éditions Champion; they are working from one base manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, fr. 1131, and their edition will include Chartier's *Complainte* and Achille Caulier's *Ospital d'Amours*. I am very grateful to Professor McRae for allowing me to read a copy of her thesis, *The Trials of Alain Chartier's Belle Dame Sans Mercy: The Poems in Cyclical and Manuscript Context* (unpublished thesis, University of Virginia, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> See Piaget, 'La Belle Dame sans merci et ses imitations', *Romania* 30 (1901), 22-48, 317-51; 31 (1902), 315-49; 33 (1904), 179-208; 34 (1905), 375-428, 559-602.

<sup>10</sup> In manuscripts and editions of Chartier's collected *oeuvre*, these letters appear in prose form, but were versified during the fifteenth century. *La Copie de la lettre envoyee aux dames par rithme contre ledict maistre Alain, en maniere de supplication* and *Copie des lettres des dames en rithme envoyees a maistre Allain* appear in two manuscripts alongside their prose counterparts (Besançon, B. M., 554; Arnhem, Bibliothek, 79); one verse letter appears in Fribourg-Diesbach (there is no shelfmark for this manuscript as Mme. de Diesbach, owner of the Diesbach manuscripts, has now died; the collection has been dispersed, and can no longer be traced). For further details see Piaget's account in *Romania* 30 (1901), pp. 27-30, and Chartier (1974), p. 328.

<sup>11</sup> All three works are edited in Chartier (1974), pp. 360-70.

<sup>12</sup> See Piaget's edition of this poem in *Romania* 30 (1901), pp. 31-35. It is found in four manuscripts, three identified by Piaget: Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3521, fols. 74-75<sup>v</sup>; Besançon, B. M., 554, fols. 77-79; Fribourg-Diesbach, fol. 30-30<sup>v</sup>; and one identified by Armstrong: Arnhem, Bibliothek, 79, fols. 45-46<sup>v</sup>.

of the courtroom and can be constructed in the form of a trial.<sup>13</sup> The letter from the *dames* to Alain sets out the case for the prosecution, Chartier's *Excusacion* provides his defence, and the final response of the *dames* gives their judgement, advising Chartier to make an appeal to the court of *Amours*<sup>14</sup> if he is dissatisfied with the verdict.<sup>15</sup> The *dames* accuse Chartier of defamation through the agency of his *Belle Dame*; but it is he, and not his character, or his 'faulx mensongier livre'<sup>16</sup> who is on trial here.<sup>17</sup> The *dames* point out, following Horace, that Chartier's texts, once written, cannot be taken back, but they imply with their call for the correction of Chartier's poem that further writing may reverse or even efface what has gone before:

Or escrips ce que escripre voudras;  
 Car en tout ce que tu sauras escripre  
 Le jugement a raison ne touldras  
 De ton meffait qui nostre loz empire  
 [...]
 Sy t'en desdiz et humblement demandes  
 Graces et pardon, et *ton faulx livre amendes*.<sup>18</sup>  
 En ce faisant tu respites la mort.<sup>19</sup>

The final sentences on Chartier, his original poem, and his characters are never pronounced, though. Chartier himself leaves the fates of his *Belle Dame* and her suitor in doubt, closing his text on a note of ironic ambiguity. We never discover

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<sup>13</sup> For an account of defamatory language in these initial texts, see Solterer (1995), pp. 176-99.

<sup>14</sup> This is a reference to the institution of the *Cour Amoureuse* which may or may not actually have existed. See my first chapter, pp. 44; 55, and also Piaget (1891), and Bozzolo and Loyau (1982-1992).

<sup>15</sup> 'Riens plus n'auras de nous, c'est somme toute. /Mais s'il t'appert qu'on te fasse injustice /Par trop veoir ou par n'y veoir goutte, /Comme dit as glosant ton mallefice, /Requier Amours qu'il t'en face justice, /Par devant lui appellant en cas tel, /Et nous ferons pour monstrier ton mallice /Nos avocatiz Dessarteaulx et Chastel', vv. 97-104, *La Responce des dames faicte a maistre Alain*, ed. Piaget, *Romania* 30 (1901), p. 35.

<sup>16</sup> *Responce des dames*, Piaget, v. 42, p. 33.

<sup>17</sup> This long-running debate about the liability of the author arises in the earlier *Querelle de la Rose*. Christine de Pizan and Jean Gerson argue that the author bears responsibility for his texts and characters, while Pierre Col argues for the autonomy of the characters from authorial control. See my second chapter, pp. 91-92, Baird and Kane (1974) and also Baird (1981).

<sup>18</sup> My italics.

<sup>19</sup> *Responce des dames*, Piaget, vv. 81-84; 92-94, p. 34.

whether Chartier does demand a second opinion from *Amours*, nor whether he corrects his original poem at the ladies' behest. This inconclusiveness is exploited by the poets of the second cycle, who accept the challenge implicit in the lively debate surrounding the existing collection of texts, and choose to try Chartier's *Belle Dame* at a series of fictitious courts.

In the second cycle I collect, under the heading of the *Belle Dame on trial*, four poems: *Le Parlement d'Amours*, attributed to Baudet Herenc (1425-26),<sup>20</sup> *La Dame lealle en amours* (1426-1430),<sup>21</sup> *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, attributed to Achille Caulier (1430),<sup>22</sup> and *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.<sup>23</sup> (Two further poems, *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*,<sup>24</sup> and *Les Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*,<sup>25</sup> which have extensive thematic and conceptual similarities with these four texts I nonetheless collect in a third cycle, for reasons that will become apparent.) The question of authorial liability debated in the first cycle is at issue here too, but becomes part of the fiction of the trial; Chartier's

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<sup>20</sup> Baudet Herenc, *Le Parlement d'Amours*, in *Jardin de Plaisance et fleur de rethorique*, ed. in facsimile Droz and Piaget (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1910): I, fols. 139-42. Armstrong identifies a further two manuscripts containing this poem, in addition to the seventeen cited by Piaget, *Romania* 30 (1901), pp. 317-318; these are Arnhem, Bibliotheek, 79, fols. 17-26 and Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ny kgl. Saml. 1768.2<sup>o</sup>, fol. 24ff. See Armstrong, whose discussion of the *Querelle* encompasses the cycles I have called *Chartier on trial* and the *Belle Dame on trial*. Armstrong does not discuss *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy* on the grounds that although it engages with previous texts in the *Querelle*, it was not considered part of the community and is preserved in only three MSS. I include it in my discussion precisely because of that close engagement with previous texts in the *Querelle*, and because, as I will show, subsequent text cycles derive much of their material from the *Erreurs*.

<sup>21</sup> See Piaget's edition in *Romania* 30 (1901), pp. 321-51. This poem is preserved in twelve manuscripts, of which Piaget cites ten; Armstrong identifies the other two as the Arnhem and Copenhagen MSS, fols. 27-40<sup>v</sup> and fols. 34ff. respectively.

<sup>22</sup> See Piaget's edition in *Romania* 31 (1902), pp. 315-49. This poem is preserved in fifteen manuscripts, of which Piaget cites eleven; Armstrong cites another four: the Arnhem and Copenhagen MSS, fols. 53-57<sup>v</sup> and fol. 56ff respectively; Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686, fol. 71ff.; and London, Clumber Sale (Sotheby's, 6<sup>th</sup> December 1937), fol. 122<sup>v</sup>ff.

<sup>23</sup> See Piaget's edition: *Romania* 33 (1904), pp. 179-99. This poem is preserved in three manuscripts, of which Piaget cites two (BNF, fr. 924; Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363), and Armstrong identifies a further version in the Copenhagen MS.

<sup>24</sup> See Piaget's edition: *Romania* 34 (1905), 375-411. Piaget records four manuscript witnesses: BNF, fr. 1661; Paris, Arsenal, 3523; Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363; Rome, Vat. Reg. 1720, p. 375.

original text is cited as additional evidence, either for the prosecution or for the defence. Chartier is eclipsed during Herenc's trial in the *Parlement d'Amours*, but in *La Dame lealle en amours*, *Vérité* cites Chartier in her defence of the *Belle Dame*, accusing the poet not of slandering women (as did the *dames* of the first cycle texts), but specifically of slandering the *Belle Dame*:

Car tout ala en escript mettre  
Ce que ot veu et escouté,  
Et, tant par bouche que par lettre,  
Publiquement l'a raconté,  
Et oultre, de sa voulenté,  
Pour ce qu'elle l'autre escondy,  
Il l'a par son escript nommé:  
*La belle dame sans mercy.*<sup>26</sup>

The character of *Vérité* resurfaces in Achille Caulier's *Cruelle Femme en amours*, a poem which reverses the judgement passed in *La Dame lealle en amours* and presents a mirror image of this earlier poem. In Caulier's text, *Vérité* exculpates Chartier in order to strengthen his case against the *Belle Dame*:

Je suis de tout bien informee  
Par un tresnotable escripvain,  
Bien cogneü en renommee  
Qui vit et oy tout a plain  
Comment l'amant de douleur plain  
Prioit et estoit refusé.<sup>27</sup>

The relationship of author to authorial creation is rendered complex through Caulier's multi-layered fiction; the *Belle Dame* is referred to as Chartier's fictional character, and yet she appears in physical manifestation within the poem alongside her creator, who is evoked by *Vérité*, and thus himself becomes part of Caulier's fiction. As Armstrong observes, *Vérité's* exposition of the 'poetic lie' of *La Dame lealle* reflects a similar uncertainty back onto Caulier's text.

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<sup>25</sup> I refer to Piaget's edition: *Romania* 34 (1905), pp. 412-16. Piaget records one manuscript witness: Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363.

In *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, the *Belle Dame's* next of kin take issue with her treatment in Caulier's *Cruelle Femme*, identifying twelve 'erreurs' they allege were made in that trial, one of which is Chartier's gross exaggeration of her bad character:

Quarto, la court avoit erré,  
Car, touchant le cas principal,  
Elle adjoustoit foy au narré  
Du tel livre ferial,  
Fait par ung escrivain fiscal  
Qui y avoit du sien bouté,  
Et d'elle dit cent fois de mal  
Plus que jamais n'avoit esté.<sup>28</sup>

However, within the same text, the relatives of the late *povre amant* refute this claim, defending Chartier's portrayal of the *Belle Dame*:

Au quart erreur, touchant le livre  
Qu'ilz disoient estre controuvé,  
Leur entendement estoit yvre  
[...]  
L'escrivain si estoit entier  
Et fut de ce livre facteur  
Le noble maistre Alain Chartier,  
Jadis excellent orateur  
Et si parfait explanateur  
Des comedies et faiz d'amours,  
Qu'il n'a seigneur ne serviteur,  
Qui ne prie pour lui tous les jours.<sup>29</sup>

These perpetual reversals raise wider questions about the stability of the community of *Querelle* texts, questions first addressed by Chartier and the *dames* of the first *Querelle* cycle, and then in subsequent cycles, culminating in the epilogue to the *Arrêts d'amours*:

Et ceulx qu'i cuidoient pour eulx  
Eurent contre eulx, je vous affie:  
Helas! jugemens sont douteux,

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<sup>26</sup> *La Dame lealle en amours*, Piaget, vv. 513-20, p. 339.

<sup>27</sup> *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, Piaget, vv. 465-70, p. 335.

<sup>28</sup> *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, Piaget, vv. 161-68, p. 185-86.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, Piaget, vv. 489-91; vv. 497-504, p. 191.

Nul n'est pas saige qui s'i fie.<sup>30</sup>

In a single stanza, the author effectively undermines the fifty-one *arrêts* which constitute the text, in accordance with the rules of the game in which this same text implicates him. The accusation the *dames* level at Chartier in the *Responce des dames* could equally stand for the reversals and rewriting practised by the *Querelle* poets: 'tu dis le bien, tu l'escrips, tu l'effaces', v. 28. I suggest that this apparent instability or duality within the textual body of the *Querelle* is in fact a source of internal coherence feeding this collaborative debating community<sup>31</sup> whose balance derives precisely from the very dichotomies and contrarities inherent in debate, as I suggested in my second chapter.<sup>32</sup> Bourdieu's concept of the collusion between opponents illuminates well the interdependence of the competing authors of the *Querelle* texts:

Each of the two camps finds the better justification of its limits within the limits of the opponent. [...] We should not [...] allow ourselves to forget the solidarities and complicities which are affirmed even in antagonism. [...] Here too there is no absolute domination of a principle of domination, but the rival coexistence of several relatively independent principles of hierarchization. The different powers are both competitive and complementary.<sup>33</sup>

Each individual trial sequence in each of the four texts of the second cycle is itself incomplete. Successive authors deliberately leave their poems open to future continuation and elaboration, thereby both perpetuating the community of *Querelle* texts and establishing themselves as players in a larger game. It is a game whose boundaries are repeatedly redrawn as each author adds new elements, not merely

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<sup>30</sup>I use this same citation in expanded form in my first chapter, p. 24. See the *Arrêts d'amours* (1951), vv. 17-20, pp. 220-21.

<sup>31</sup>When I talk about the collaborative debating community, I do not necessarily refer to a group of contemporary poets/authors. My community may also be a *virtual* community: a diachronic grouping, as is the case here with the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. See my introduction, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> See chapter II, p. 62.

<sup>33</sup> Bourdieu (1988), p. 113.

imitating or continuing other texts, but striving to outplay his fellow players in terms of literary inventiveness and rhetorical prowess.<sup>34</sup> The ambiguous conclusion to each of these poems of the second cycle inscribes them in a larger trial sequence. As I demonstrated with the texts of the first cycle, the poems of the second cycle together form a trial scenario. The *Parlement* sets out the case for the prosecution of the *Belle Dame*, while in the *Dame lealle* the *Belle Dame* is accorded counsel, defended and duly acquitted. New evidence comes to light in the *Cruelle Femme*, the previous verdict is declared unsound, and the *Belle Dame* retried, condemned and executed. *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy* constitutes a posthumous, though unsuccessful appeal on the part of the relatives.<sup>35</sup>

The works I organise into a third cycle, the cycle of the *povre amant on trial*, share new common threads of invention, and although they take up the theme of the conflict between a *Belle Dame* and a *povre amant* figure, these figures are no longer specifically identified with Chartier's original characters, as in poems of the second cycle. In this group I include *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, *Les Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*, *L'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours* (1440), *Le Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de deuil* attributed to Pierre de Hauteville (pre-1447),<sup>36</sup> and the *Arrêts d'amours* (1460-1466).<sup>37</sup> In this third

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<sup>34</sup>See Gruber's study of competition and intertextuality in the troubadour corpus (1983), and Jane H. M. Taylor (2001). Armstrong is also concerned to emphasise this spirit of rhetorical play and competition in the later medieval period and early Renaissance (see his forthcoming book on late-medieval poetic competition).

<sup>35</sup>McRae also likens the structure of this sequence of poems to a trial (1997), p. 25.

<sup>36</sup>Droz and Piaget (1910): I, fols. 247-258<sup>v</sup>; Bidler has published more recent editions: *La Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de deuil* (Montreal: CERES, 1982); 'La Complainte de l'amant trespasé de deuil; L'Inventaire des biens demourez du decés de l'amant trespasé de deuil', *Le Moyen Français* 18 (1986), 11-104. Vérard bases his edition on Arsenal, 3523, and Rome, Vat. Reg. 1728, which do not contain the *Complainte*, or the *Inventaire*. These two poems precede and follow respectively the version of the *Confession* in Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363, and 1720. A fifth manuscript version of the poem is found in Rome, Vat. Reg. 1723. For a partial edition of the *Complainte*, see Droz and Piaget (1924): II, p. 313; also pp. 306-18 for further discussion of the poem. For a partial edition of the *Inventaire* see Piaget, *Romania* 34 (1905), 427-28, and Von Keller, *Romvart: Beiträge zur Kunde Mittelalterlicher Dichtung aus italienischen Bibliotheken* (Mannheim:

cycle, the *povre amant* takes centre stage, bringing a case before the *auditoire d'Amours* in *Le jugement du povre triste amant banny* against his absent dame,<sup>38</sup> whom his lawyer *Pitié* claims encouraged his attentions with 'ung soubzris au coin de l'ueil', v. 165.<sup>39</sup> The courtroom setting of this poem mimics that of the texts of the second cycle. The poem's opening scene also draws extensively on these texts, in its portrayal of a lovelorn narrator figure who, dazed by 'ung grant escler de tonnerre', v. 5, is suddenly 'transportez et ravis', v. 19,<sup>40</sup> in a vision to 'la plus belle cité qu'on pourroit souhaiter', vv. 21-2, where he encounters a *povre amant*.

The sorrowing narrator of Herenc's *Parlement d'Amours* is likewise transported in a dream to a pleasant *vergier*, at whose centre he finds an *auditoire*. The equally miserable narrator of *La Dame lealle en amours* is out hunting when his *esprevier* takes off after some prey,<sup>41</sup> and leads the narrator to a deserted valley where he encounters Chartier's *Belle Dame*, and the pair are 'ravis', v. 185, in a trance-like state, and led through a series of visions to the throne of *Amours* where fifteen personifications preside over the *Belle Dame's* case (Herenc's *auditoire* is attended by twelve *presidens*). The narrator of Caulier's *Cruelle Femme en amours* in a similar parlous condition hovering 'entre leesse et desconfort', v. 4, 'moitié en vie, moitié mort', v. 2, is out riding when he too comes across a deserted valley and,

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F. Bassermann, 1844), pp. 180-82. See Piaget's discussion of the attribution to Pierre de Hauteville in *Romania* 34 (1905), pp. 424-27.

<sup>37</sup> Rychner (1951). For manuscripts and editions see Rychner's introduction, XLVI-LV.

<sup>38</sup> The use of *auditoire* here recalls Herenc's *Parlement d'Amours*: 'Et au milieu une auditoire/ Je veiz de verde majorlaine', Droz and Piaget (1910), vv. 65-66, fol. 139<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> This phrase forms part of the reservoir of images drawn upon by the *Querelle* poets, and particularly by the poets of the third cycle, as I shall show.

<sup>40</sup> The poems of the third cycle share specific elements in common, but remain linked to the first and second cycles by the semantic reservoir that feeds the entire *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.

<sup>41</sup> This use of *esprevier* is noted subsequently in *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, when the *parlement* is disrupted by the arrival of young men and women with their *espreviers* who wreak havoc and cause the session to be abandoned, leaving the sentence only partially pronounced: 'Le president lors se courça /Aigrement a tous les huissiers /Et en prison les menaça

so affected by his misery that he is 'ravis', v. 79, by a vision, he comes to a great palace whose walls, like the *auditoire* in the *Parlement*, are inscribed with 'istoires', 'dis et vers', v. 93.<sup>42</sup> He is subsequently transported for a second time, and finds himself, like the narrator of the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, in 'la plus belle cité/ Qu'onques regarda creature', vv. 141-42. Caulier draws on previous poems of the second cycle for inspiration, but the allegorical setting of his *Cruelle Femme*, as Armstrong has observed, is far more involved than that of the *Parlement* or the *Dame lealle*, reflecting levels of poetic complexity which increase as the *Querelle* evolves.<sup>43</sup>

The *Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny* derive much of their inspiration from the *Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, though the opening of this former poem is more closely tied to other poems of the second cycle in its exploitation of the *songe* genre, one of the sub-categories of debate (and specifically *jugement*) I mention in my first chapter.<sup>44</sup> Here too a forlorn narrator 'ravis' by the force of his introspection to the *pays d'Amours*, v. 8, finds himself before the *parlement d'Amours*, vv. 43-44. The proceedings are related by the narrator figure in the third person; there is no direct dialogue as in the other poems of the second and

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/Faire tenir trois moys entiers, /Deffendant que nulz espreviers/ N'entrassent plus ou parlement', Piaget, vv. 1033-38, p. 199.

<sup>42</sup> 'Et au milieu une auditoire /Je veiz de verde maiorlaine /Ou de maintes fleurs veiz l'hystoire /Faicte de Paris et de helaine /Et du vergier la chastelaine', Droz and Piaget (1910), vv. 65-69, fol. 139<sup>v</sup>; also *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, 'estoient escripz a grant largesse /Viriais et rondeaux gracieux /Des fais d'amours et de noblesse', Piaget, vv. 86-88, pp. 380-81. *Ekphrasis* of this sort is employed in the description of the walls of *Deduit's* 'verger' in the *Roman de la Rose*, where various personifications are engraved: 'Si vi un vergier grant et lé, /Tout clos de haut mur bataillié, /Portrait et dehors entaillié /A maintes riches escritures', Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun (1992), vv. 130-33, p. 48. Virgil's description of the images engraved on the temple of Juno in Carthage in book I of the *Aeneid* may well provide a classical source of inspiration for this medieval topos. See also Homer's description of Achilles's shield: *Iliad*, Bk.18, and Virgil's description of Aeneas's shield: *Aeneid*, Bk. 8, Virgil (1992).

<sup>43</sup> Armstrong discusses Caulier's practice in the *Cruelle Femme*, identifying allegorical elements in the poem drawn from previous texts of the second cycle, and ascribing Caulier's amplification of these elements to the *Querelle* poets' competitive urge.

<sup>44</sup> See chapter I, p. 31.

third cycles (the *Arrêts d'amours* follow the two *Erreurs* texts with their oblique narration of events). Similarly in the *Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, the entire poem is related by a third party, though here we are not made aware of his existence until the final verses when the personal pronoun is unexpectedly employed:

Si diz a par moy qu'y seroye  
Quoy que coutast le sejourner,  
**Car de tout mon cueur desiroye**  
**Ouyr lesditz arrestz donner,**  
Affin qu'après, au retourner,  
J'en peusse parler seurement;  
Et a tant **m'en allay disner,**  
**Car l'en ferma le parlement.**<sup>45</sup>

On this bathetic note, the author of this text leaves his *Erreurs* unconcluded, with a promise of future resolution. The *Jugement du povre triste amant banny* mimics the *Erreurs'* delayed sentencing in the long adjournment of the *amant's* trial (though in this poem a verdict is finally reached), adopting virtually identical patterns of language:

Ainsy aprèz la plaidorie  
**Chascun pour disner s'en ala,**  
[...]  
Trois jours aprèz veiz le procèz  
Par le greffier en court porter,  
**Que pleust a Dieu qu'eusse eu accèz**  
**De l'ouyr au long rapporter;**  
**Onques chose plus escouter**  
**Ne desiray que ceste la,**  
Se j'eusse eu lieu ou me bouter,  
**Mais tout estoit cloz ça et la.**<sup>46</sup>

In the *Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*, the author undermines his text by suggesting that the narrator's transcription of the *arrêts* may be unreliable. The

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<sup>45</sup> *Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, Piaget, vv. 1049-1056, p. 199. I have highlighted the language that corresponds with the subsequent passage cited from *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*.

<sup>46</sup> *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, Piaget, vv. 1193-94; 1201-08, p. 407.

narrator tells us that he was only able to catch one of the three or four that the judge pronounced (speaking in such a way that ‘sembloit [qu’il] se voulsist *esbatre*’,<sup>47</sup> v. 79).<sup>48</sup> In its reversal of the judgement passed on the *povre amant* in the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, *Les Erreurs du jugement de l’amant banny* mimics the technique that Caulier employs earlier in the cycle in his *Cruelle Femme*.<sup>49</sup> The prosecution’s case in the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny* is discredited in this second *Erreurs* poem of the *Querelle*:

L’en a trouvé  
 Ou premier procès ung rapport  
 Falsifié et reprouvé  
 D’un conseiller nommé Discord  
 Qui par hayne, faveur ou port,  
 Y avoit usé de malice.<sup>50</sup>

The reflexivity of the two pairs of poems, *Dame lealle/Cruelle Femme* and *Cruelle Femme/Les Erreurs du jugement de l’amant banny*, refers us back to Bourdieu’s theory of the collusion of opponents: each poem exists in a space delimited by the boundaries of the other poem.<sup>51</sup> This notion of interdependence may account for the stability and coherence of the *Querelle* texts within their own particular literary

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<sup>47</sup> My emphasis. The lexemes of *esbatre* are used throughout the *Querelle* body, in contexts fundamentally related to the play in which the *Querelle* poets are implicated by the creation of these texts. See my final chapter on manuscript context for further exploration of the semantic field of *esbatre* and its frequent partner *combatre*.

<sup>48</sup> ‘Onques ne veiz plus grant memoire /Ne si parfait entendement; /Si prins lors mon escriptouere /Pour les rediger rondement. /Assez parloit legerement /Par quoy tout ne pouoie escrire /Ne n’en rapportay seulement /Que ce que vous orrez cy dire’, *Les Erreurs du jugement de l’amant banny*, Piaget, vv. 81-88, p. 413.

<sup>49</sup> The author of *Les Erreurs du jugement de l’amant banny* uses the *Dame lealle/Cruelle Femme* pairing as a model for the reflexivity of his poem with the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny* rather than the *Cruelle Femme/Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy* pairing, since as Piaget remarks in *Romania* 33 (1904), p. 179-180, the first *Erreurs* poem does not reject and reverse the sentence passed in the *Cruelle Femme*, but merely attempts to show that it was flawed.

<sup>50</sup> *Erreurs du jugement de l’amant banny*, Piaget, vv. 241-46, p. 416. Compare *Vérité*’s assertion in the *Cruelle Femme* that she and fellow defence lawyer *Loyauté* have been falsely represented by *Fiction* and *Fausseté* in the *Dame lealle*: ‘Moy’, dist elle, ‘ne Leauté /Ne sçavons rien de tout cecy, /Se ce n’est ce qu’en a compté /Cest escuier qui est ycy. /Celle qui se mist en mon nom /Pour ceste cause soustenir /Ne fu aultre que Fiction: /Poeterie la fist venir /Et mon semblable devenir; /Et se transmua Faulseté /Pour sa trahison parfurnir /En sa semblance Leauté’, *Cruelle Femme en amours*, Piaget, vv. 325-36, pp. 331-32.

framework, and for their instability and incompleteness as separate texts. Instability is introduced at the textual close of *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny* in the uncertain fate ascribed to the *povre amant*:

Et comme tout homme desvé  
**Ses cheveux aux ongles tira**  
**Disant: 'Ma vie tost finera!**  
 Ma personne sy est mauldite  
 N'amours jamais ne servira.  
 Adieu! je m'en vois rendre hermite!  
**Sy ne sçay dès lors qu'il devint.**  
**La veue a ceste heure en perdy.**<sup>52</sup>

The continuing influence of Chartier's original poem can be directly observed in this passage that the poet of *l'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours* will later adapt as the premise for his own text. This next sequel to the *povre amant's* tribulations is set in the narratorial frame we have now come to recognise as typical of the *Querelle*. The narrator, lulled to sleep by the sound of a chambermaid singing and playing a *bastouer cliquant*, dreams that he is transported (ravit) by 'un grant boullon d'eaue', vv. 9-10, and carried by 'ung estourbillon de vent', vv. 11-12, to the *forest de Desesperance*, at which point *Amours*, answering his call for help, leads him with the help of a shining arrow to a magnificent *chapelle*,<sup>53</sup> where he

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<sup>51</sup> A similar interdependence can be observed in Guillaume de Machaut's two *Jugement* poems, the latter a reversal of the sentence passed in the former. See Machaut (1988) and (1988 b).

<sup>52</sup> *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, Piaget, vv. 1363-70, p. 411. I have highlighted the language which most closely reproduces Chartier's text: 'Adont le dolent se leva /[...] Et dist: 'Mort, vien a moy courant /Ains que mon sens se desconnoisse, /Et m'abrege le demourant /De ma vie plaine d'engoisse'. /Depuis je ne sceu qu'il devint /Ne quel part il se transporta; /[...] Et depuis on me rapporta /Qu'il avoit ses cheveux desroux, /Et que tant se desconforta /Qu'il en estoit mort de courroux', *La Belle Dame sans mercy*, Chartier (1974), vv. 769; 773-78; 781-84, p. 359.

<sup>53</sup> It is 'une sajecte ardent et plaine de **clarté**', vv. 43-44, recalling the '**clarté**' which 'aonda droit sur nous' in the *Dame Lealle*, vv. 147-8; the fourth sky the characters come to in this poem which is 'de matere [...] resplendissant et **clere**', v. 237; or *Amours* himself who 'tant fu de clere couleur advironné', vv. 245-46. There is also an insistence on clarity in the *Cruelle Femme*: the palace is paved 'de matere **clere** et dure', v. 109, the mouths of the inhabitants are '**cler** et poly', v. 114, and in the  *cité* 'plus **cler** y fist que cy a none', v. 156. In the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, the narrator is deprived of his senses by 'ung grant **escler** de tonnerre', v. 5. The various palaces and courts of the *Querelle* texts are often made of 'cristal', and encrusted with bright jewels. In the *Dame lealle*, the narrator and the *Belle Dame* seem as though made 'de matere de fin cristal', v. 192; the walls of the  *cité* in the *Cruelle Femme* are 'de cristal', v. 145; the inside walls of the church in

encounters the sorrowing lover and observes the gradual process of the lover's conversion by the austere *Damp Prieur*. Although this text does not specifically fall into the category of trial fictions, the *povre amant* remains on trial here too: obliged to make a choice between the passionate, yet unstable world of *Amours* and the relative stability and sobriety of a life devoted to God, he must choose whether to play the game or to renounce it. Both *l'Amant rendu cordelier* and Pierre de Hauteville's *La Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil* are considerably less derivative than the previous *Querelle* poems, constituting new potential narrative directions rather than imitations or reversals of existing texts. The latter poem in particular seems to introduce a new frame of invention, composed virtually entirely in the first-person by a narrator figure, who is fused with the *povre amant* figure of the third cycle.

In the *Inventaire des biens demourez du decez de l'amant trespasé de dueil*, which follows the *Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil* in two manuscripts, the contents of the late *amant*'s library set up explicit intertextual references to a number of other poems in the *Querelle*, reinforcing our sense of the interdependence of texts:

Item sur ung faitiz pulpitre  
 Estoit tendue sa librairie,  
 [...]  
*Le livre des Joies et Douleurs*  
*Du Jeune Amoureux Sans Soucy,*  
*La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*  
 Et aussi *l'Ospital d'Amours*.

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*l'Amant rendu cordelier* are 'de cristal'. References to clarity within the domain of *Amours* present a foil to the images of darkness outside the realm of *Amours*, and of those banned from that realm. The *povre amant* is frequently portrayed wearing black: 'le noir portoît et sans devise', *La Belle Dame sans mercy*, v. 102; 'ce jour de noir se revety, /Aussi verd luy estoit contraire', *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, vv. 53-54; 'un povre amant [...] /Portant le noir et sans devise', *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 82-83. Green, by contrast, is the colour of *Amours* par excellence; references to the wearing of green become a guiding metaphor for the *Querelle*, connected to the network of images of song, music, dance and play.

*Passe temps Michault y estoit,*<sup>54</sup>  
*L'Amoureux rendu cordelier,*  
Et d'autres livres ung millier  
Ou le Defunct si s'esbatoit.<sup>55</sup>

Three of the texts cited here form part of the *Querelle* proper; I have included Achille Caulier's *Ospital d'Amours* in the fourth cycle of texts as I shall explain,<sup>56</sup> although it is closely linked with both the poems of the second and third cycles, and predates the latter cycle.<sup>57</sup> The description of the *esbatement* the 'defunct' derives from his library is significant for our model of the competitive, collaborative game of invention played in the *Querelle*, and its system of internal references to game-playing.<sup>58</sup> A previous internal reference to the *Querelle* body comes in the *Cruelle Femme*, when *Amours* mentions the trial of the *Belle Dame* held in the *Dame lealle*, referring to it as 'le tier livre',<sup>59</sup> thus drawing attention to the fictionality of both trials, and to the external organising principles of that fiction which are the rules of the *Querelle*.

The *Arrêts d'amours* represents, in a sense, the culmination of the *Querelle*.

Dated to between 1460 and 1466, this is one of the last works within the textual body, and as such has access to images and structures from poems of the first,

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<sup>54</sup> It is interesting to find Michault Taillevent's *Passe temps* in the *amant's* library, as this is a text that frequently appears in the manuscripts that collect poems of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle, as I shall discuss in my next chapter. As well as the library and other goods, the *amant* also leaves behind a chessboard, another arena for skilled play that I shall investigate further in chapter V; see Bidler (1986), v. 421.

<sup>55</sup> See Bidler (1986), vv. 425-26; 437-44, pp. 70-71.

<sup>56</sup> This poem, often wrongly attributed to Alain Chartier, enjoyed enormous popularity, appearing in nineteen manuscripts, and all early editions of Chartier's works. See Piaget, *Romania* 34 (1905), pp. 559-60. Piaget notes that Achille Caulier leaves an acrostic signature: ACILES, which can be read in the first six letters at the beginnings of the first six verses of the *Ospital*. Caulier also leaves an acrostic signature in the final verse of his *Cruelle Femme*; see Piaget, *Romania* 31 (1902), p. 349.

<sup>57</sup> Piaget dates *L'Ospital* post-*Cruelle Femme*, since the *Belle Dame*, 'nouvellement noyee en plours', appears in *L'Ospital d'Amours* in a corner of the cemetery reserved for those who are banished by *Amours*; Duchesne (1617), p. 734.

<sup>58</sup> See also the passage from *l'Amant rendu cordelier* quoted at the beginning of this chapter.

<sup>59</sup> In the sequence of *Belle Dame dans mercy*, *Parlement d'Amours*, *Dame lealle* and *Cruelle Femme* – the texts of the second cycle – the *Dame lealle* is the 'tier livre', as Piaget observes in *Romania* 31 (1902), p. 332, n.1.

second and third cycles, as well as from fourth cycle texts. Jean Rychner attributes the *Arrêts d'amours* to Martial d'Auvergne in his 1951 edition of the poem, citing Martial's library in support of his claim since, like the fictional library of the late *povre amant*, it may have contained previous *Querelle* texts. Rychner suggests that Martial may have owned the manuscript which is now Rome, Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. 1363,<sup>60</sup> a manuscript whose contents are limited to those poems whose influence can be most closely traced in the *Arrêts*.<sup>61</sup> It seems unlikely that Martial d'Auvergne is the author of this text, but there is no doubt that the author was greatly influenced by these poems of the third cycle of imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. The legal language of the previous trial cycles reaches a climax in the *Arrêts*, whose clipped prose and oratio obliqua imitate the style of the two *Erreurs* texts. The author adopts the convention of the narrator turned scribe, who records the fifty-one *arrêts* that are to be pronounced. Through our reading of the two *Erreurs* poems, we are aware of the fallibility of this scribal figure and the limitations of his record of events.<sup>62</sup> As we have seen, the author undermines the substance of his *Arrêts* in the epilogue to his work, highlighting not just its own instability, but, by implication, that of each of the discrete *Querelle* texts. It is only in the context of the *Querelle* and its relational networks of metaphor and language that these texts gain coherence. The *Arrêts* vary in length, though their structure

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<sup>60</sup> Rychner (1951), XXXV-XXXVI.

<sup>61</sup> This MS contains *La Confession et le testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil* (preceded by the *Complainte de l'amant trespasé de dueil*, and followed by the *Inventaire*), fols. 1-84<sup>v</sup>; *l'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours*, fols. 105-64<sup>v</sup>; *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, fols. 165-208<sup>v</sup>; *Les Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*, fols. 209-16<sup>v</sup>; and *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, fols. 217-49<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>62</sup> In the *Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, we are subject to the whims of the narrator, who goes off to dinner after the *parlement* closes, hoping to return to hear the pronouncement of the *arrêts*. The text ends at this point, however, and so, within the fictional frame, we must assume either that the narrator did not hear the sentences, or that he neglected to record them, leaving his account unfinished. In the *Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*, as I have

remains constant.<sup>63</sup> *Arrêts* I-XVI are held first before minor tribunals,<sup>64</sup> and then before the *parlement d'Amours*, while *arrêts* XVII-LI take place directly before the *parlement d'Amours*. The fictional courtroom setting, discarded in *L'Amant rendu cordelier* and the *Confession et testament*, is here restored. The *povre amant* of the other third cycle texts is to be seen in a multitude of manifestations, pleading his case against a merciless *Belle Dame* figure.<sup>65</sup> Of the fifty-one *arrêts*,<sup>66</sup> five specifically draw their setting from texts within the *Querelle* body: one is inspired by the *Belle Dame sans mercy* itself (XXV), while the other four are inspired by texts collected within Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363.<sup>67</sup> A central theme tying the *Arrêts* to the *Querelle* body is that of banishment from the *pays d'Amours* for betrayal of its codes of conduct, and one which can be appropriated as a guiding metaphor for the community of poets governing the production of *Querelle* texts, as I shall later suggest.<sup>68</sup>

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mentioned, the narrator-scribe is only able to record the single *arrêt* he overhears, leading us to question even the reliability of this account.

<sup>63</sup> The *appellant* or *demandeur* sets out his/her case which is then refuted by the *deffendeur*; either a verdict is pronounced by the court after this first exchange, or a further set of appeals is made on both sides. Each *arrêt* rehearses the same legalistic formulae: 'en la court de ceans c'est assis ung autre procès entre...', *arrêt* XVII; 'et disoit le dict demandeur que...', *arrêt* XV; 'de la partie de la dicte deffenderesse fut deffendu au contraire', *arrêt* XXI; 'requeroient les dits gens d'Amours a l'encontre d'elle qu'elle fust condempnee a faire amende honorable', *arrêt* XXX; 'Oÿes lesquelles parties en tout ce qu'elles ont volu dire et proposer, elles ont esté appointez en droit et mettre par devers la court et au conseil ce que bon leur sembleroit', *arrêt* XLIII.

<sup>64</sup> The author of this text displays a certain poetic ingenuity with the identities of the minor judges, 'le vigier d'Amours en la province de Beaulté' (III), 'le marquis des Fleurs et Violettes d'Amours' (IX), or 'le maistre des eaues et forestz sur le fait du gibier d'Amours' (XI).

<sup>65</sup> The trial configurations of the *Arrêts* also include *Belle Dame* figures pleading against disloyal lovers, relatives pleading on behalf of late *Belle Dame/povre amant* figures, and frivolous cases such as the accusation brought against the 'gauffriers et patissiers' by the 'galans amoureux' who complain that the former parties obscure with their smoke the exits of common lovers' meeting places: *arrêt* XLVII.

<sup>66</sup> There are two apocryphal *arrêts* in existence: 'Des maris umbrageux qui pretendent la reformation sur les privileges des masques' (1528), attributed to Gilles d'Aurigny, and 'sur le reglement des arreraiges requis par les femmes à l'encontre de leur maris' (1566), attributed to l'Abbé des Cornards de Rouen. See Rychner (1951), XLI-XLII.

<sup>67</sup> See *arrêt* XXXVI (*Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*); *arrêt* XVII (*Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*); *arrêt* XXXVII (*L'Amant rendu cordelier*) and *arrêt* XXXIV (*Confession et testament*).

<sup>68</sup> In *arrêt* XXV, modelled after the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, sentence is passed on the *deffenderesse* that she be 'bannie et privee a tousjours du royaume d'Amours et des biens qui y sont', vv. 109-10,

The fourth cycle I label the *Belle Dame sans mercy on trial* – to be distinguished from the second and third cycles (the *Belle Dame* and *povre amant on trial* respectively), since the poems I categorise here no longer deal with Chartier’s characters *per se*, but present reversals and imitations of his original poem, and are usually constructed in the form of debates between a lover and his lady.<sup>69</sup> In this cycle I include two poems originally attributed to Chartier, *La Belle Dame qui eut merci*, and the *Dialogue d’un Amoureux et de sa Dame*,<sup>70</sup> Caulier’s *Ospital d’Amours*, and a series of minor poems partially edited by Piaget:<sup>71</sup> *Le Traité de réveille qui dort*;<sup>72</sup> *Le Débat sans conclusion*;<sup>73</sup> *Le Desconseillé d’Amours* (c. 1442) attributed to Henri Anctil;<sup>74</sup> *Le Loyal Amant refusé* (and its counterpart *Le Desloyal*

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pp. 121-22, and the court prohibits her participation in any of the joys associated with the service of love. Likewise, in the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, the court bans the *amant* from seeing his dame, hence from the joys of love, and prohibits all lovers from dancing the infamous ‘dance du chappellet’.

<sup>69</sup> I have organised the minor cycles according to a principle of common thematic content rather than chronologically, to produce a complex relational network compatible with Bourdieu’s model of field.

<sup>70</sup> See Duchesne (1617), pp. 684-94 and 782-92 respectively. See also Piaget, *Romania* 33 (1904), pp. 200-6; 206-8, for manuscripts, editions and discussion of attribution. Piaget attributes *La Belle Dame qui eut merci* to the poet Oton de Granson. There are 15, possibly 17 (see Arnhem, Bibliotheek, 79; Copenhagen, Royal Library, Ny Kgl. Saml. 1768.2<sup>o</sup>) manuscript versions of *La Belle Dame qui eut merci*. *Le Dialogue d’un Amoureux et de sa Dame* appears in only four (possibly six with Arnhem and Copenhagen) manuscripts; it was usually copied with *La Belle Dame qui eut merci*, and in Arsenal, 3523 it follows this poem.

<sup>71</sup> In a final chapter Piaget identifies, but does not edit, a series of other minor poems connected to the *Querelle*, which I shall leave out of my consideration in this discussion, since those poems Piaget chooses to edit, or partially edit, are adequate representation for this type of imitation; see *Romania* 34 (1905), pp. 589-97. Piaget’s list comprises the following: *Procès du banny a jamais du jardin d’Amours contre la volonté de sa dame* (attributed to Aimé de Montfaucon, abbé de Hautcrêt); *Serviteur sans guerdon*; *L’Amoureux transy sans espoir* (attributed to Bouchet); *L’Amant refusé*; *L’Amoureux desconforté*; *L’Epistre envoyée a une damoyselle sans pitié amoureuse*; *La Rigueur ou la Cruauté d’Amours* (attributed to René le Peletier); and two obscene parodies of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* edited in Droz and Piaget (1910), fols. 126-29; 132-36.

<sup>72</sup> See Piaget, *Romania* 34 (1905), pp.565-70. Piaget lists two manuscripts: Paris, BNF, fr. 1131, fols. 173-83<sup>v</sup>, and Paris, BNF, fr. 2264, fols. 85-98<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>73</sup> Piaget (1905), pp. 570-74, and Droz and Piaget (1910), fols. 148-53<sup>v</sup>. Piaget lists three manuscripts: Paris, Arsenal, 3523, fols. 793-818; Brussels, Bibl. Roy., 10969, fols. 153-71; Turin, L. IV. 3, fols. 118<sup>v</sup>-24<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>74</sup> *Id.*, pp. 574-77. Piaget lists one manuscript: Turin, L. IV. 3, fols. 140<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>v</sup>.

Amy);<sup>75</sup> *La Desserte du desloyal*;<sup>76</sup> *La Sépulture d'Amours*;<sup>77</sup> *Le Martyr d'Amours* (1464), attributed to Franci;<sup>78</sup> and *Le Débat de la Dame et de l'Écuyer* (c. 1440).<sup>79</sup>

Caulier's *Ospital d'Amours* is an innovative text which, while adopting many of the conventions of previous *Querelle* poems,<sup>80</sup> introduces a number of new metaphors, notably the *ospital d'Amours* of the title and the *cimetière d'Amours*,<sup>81</sup> subsequently incorporated into the metaphorical framework of the *Querelle* by later poets. The deserted place which Caulier's narrator stumbles upon, full of the hanging, drowned or burning corpses of lovers past, forms part of the language of banishment which informs the *Querelle* body, and which serves as a metaphor for the rules of the *Querelle* itself:

Ce desert estoit hors de termes  
De droict, & contraire à nature.  
Là ne pleut que pluye de lermes,  
Là ne peut vivre creature.<sup>82</sup>

The notion of a place beyond the jurisdiction of *Amours* where there is no *verdure*,<sup>83</sup> flowers,<sup>84</sup> music,<sup>85</sup> or dancing<sup>86</sup> (the conventional accompaniments of *Amours*),

<sup>75</sup> Id., pp. 577-79. Piaget locates *Le Loyal Amant refusé* in Besançon, B.M., 554 (fols. 141-60<sup>v</sup>), and *Le Desloyal Amy* in Turin, L. IV. 3 (fols. 50<sup>v</sup>-63<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>76</sup> Id., pp. 579-81. Piaget lists four manuscripts: Paris, BNF, fr. 924, fols. 155-71; Paris, Arsenal, 3523, fols. 219-46; The Hague, T. 328, fol. 106ff.; Turin, L. IV. 3, fol. 147<sup>ff</sup>.

<sup>77</sup> Id., pp. 581-82. Piaget lists two manuscripts: BNF, fr. 924, fols. 139-54<sup>v</sup>; BNF, fr. 2264, fols. 64-78.

<sup>78</sup> Id., pp. 583-85. Piaget lists one manuscript: BNF, fr. 1661, fols. 12<sup>v</sup>-27.

<sup>79</sup> Id., pp. 585-89. I refer to the version in Anatole de Montaiglon's *Recueil de Poésies Françaises des XV et XVI siècles* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856): IV, pp. 151-79. Piaget lists one manuscript: Besançon, B. M., 554, fols. 95<sup>v</sup>-106<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>80</sup> The opening of the *Ospital* runs along familiar lines. The narrator, refused by his lady, enters a trance-like state, and finds himself on a grim path called 'Trop dure response' (see *La Requeste baillee aux dames contre Alain*: 'en un pas qui se nomme Dure Response', Chartier (1974), p. 361), from whence he comes upon a deserted place. However, within the narrative landscape, Caulier's narrator-lover records only events in which he is the main player, rather than passively observing the fates of others, as the narrator-figures of poems of the second and third cycles.

<sup>81</sup> The narrator of Caulier's *Cruelle Femme* also comes upon a 'cemetery /Ou gisoient les trespassez', vv. 211-12, p. 328.

<sup>82</sup> *Ospital d'Amours*, Duchesne, p. 725.

<sup>83</sup> A complex of references to the colour green accompanies descriptions of lovers and the court of *Amours*; its absence from a place or a person suggests their existence outside the realm of *Amours*. For example: 'ce lieu desplaisant /Ou nulle verdure n'avoit', *Dame lealle*, Piaget, vv. 69-70, p. 325; 'En ceste vallee diverse /N'avoit herbe, fleur ne verdure', *Cruelle Femme*, Piaget, vv. 41-42, p. 323;

necessarily reinforces the contrary and complementary notion of a circumscribed area in which *Amours* holds sway, an area of play which I assimilate to the textual play of the *Querelle* as a whole.<sup>87</sup> The *Ospital d'Amours*, like the majority of the *Querelle* texts, ends in uncertainty. The lover is finally accorded a 'franc baiser' by his lady within the dream sequence. The poem ends as the lover awakes, hoping to obtain his lady's embrace in reality.<sup>88</sup>

The minor poems draw their inspiration mainly from the *Belle Dame sans mercy* itself, and from poems of the second or fourth cycles, introducing little new material into the *Querelle*. Against Piaget who dismisses these pieces out of hand, I

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'd'amours plus ne parlerés/ Ne de telles folies mondaines; /Que vert ne vermeil porterés,/ Bouquès, roses ne marjolaines', *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, Montaiglon, vv. 1397-400, p. 61. The *amant* of the *Confession et testament* asks that 'ceulx qui les dueilz meneront /Se jour de vert se vestiront', Bidler, vv. 1153-54, p. 70.

<sup>84</sup> The flowers liberally scattered throughout the *Querelle* texts are bound to the realm of *Amours* by a long literary tradition, but also evoke the medieval metaphor of 'flowers of rhetoric'. Specifically named flowers often set up intertextualities: 'marjolaines' are repeatedly cited both independently, and in locutions such as 'les marjolaines querre', *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, v. 2; 'marjolaines [...] arouser', *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 413-14, p. 20, or 'reveiller les potz de marjolaine', *Arrêts*, XXI, v. 45.

<sup>85</sup> Music and song are of course at the origin of the debate genre, fusing with debate in the *tensos* of the troubadours (see Huizinga's reflections on the semantic roots of the French, 'jouer' and 'jongleur') and as such intimately connected to the poetry of the *Querelle*. The frequent allusions to the making of music provide an internal structure of reference which, by association, comes to represent the creation of the *Querelle* itself. See Gaunt and Kay (1999); Gaunt (1989), and Kay (1990). The self-referentiality set up by the network of allusions to music and song within the *Querelle* is particularly well illustrated by the *Inventaire* of the *povre amant* whose library we are told included 'Ung caier noté de leçons /De basses dances nouveletes, /Et ung autre plein de chançons /De pastoureux et bergeretes', Bidler, vv. 433-436, p. 71, and by the restrictions imposed on the *povre amant* by *Damp Prieur* in *l'Amant rendu cordelier*: 'quant menestriés vous orrez, /Fleutes, doucines ou vielles, /Vous grain ne les escouterés, /Mais metrés voz dois aux oreilles', vv. 1389-92, p. 61.

<sup>86</sup> The allusions to dance are inevitably connected with those to music and festival. The *povre amant* is banned from such amusements by *Damp Prieur*: 'Item, qu'en logis de plaisance, /Sur vostre vie, n'aviserés, /N'en lieu ou ait feste ne dance', *l'Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 1385-87, p. 61; in the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, the 'dance du chappellet' is outlawed for lewdness. In the *Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny* this indictment of the 'chappellet' is reversed. The topos of the 'feste' from which the sorrowing lover feels excluded is initially employed by Chartier in the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, and taken up in many of the imitations in the fourth cycle (*Le Traité de réveille qui dort*; *Le Débat sans conclusion*; *Le Desconseillé d'Amours*; *La Desserte du desloyal*; *La Sépulture d'Amours*; *Le Martyr d'Amours*).

<sup>87</sup> This also holds for individuals: those fictional lovers who choose to stay within the *pays d'Amours* and abide by the rules of play can be likened to the poets of the *Querelle* who choose to abide by the rules of the game, and hence become a part of the collaborative network of players.

argue that they participate in the competitive and skilful game (Caillois's category of *agôn*) of the *Querelle*, adding some ingenious new elements to the mix.<sup>89</sup> In the *Débat sans conclusion* for example, the author, as the title suggests, leaves his poem ostensibly incomplete. In an echo of the original *Belle Dame's* suitor, the lover issues an ultimatum to his lady, asking for her 'final response', 'mort ou mercy'. Just as she is about to answer, the attention of the narrator shifts to a deer hunt. The narrator leaves the reader with the ironic juxtaposition of a deer which has been caught, and an as yet free *dame*, whose lover is still in pursuit of *his* 'gibier d'Amours':

La dame avoit bouche ouverte  
 A respondre quant la survint  
 Le serf tout a la descouverte  
 Lors fut la maniere couverte  
 Car prestement aller convint  
 Au lac ou la chasse parvint  
 Illec fut la beste tenue  
 Et prinse a force devenue.<sup>90</sup>

*La Sépulture d'Amours* introduces a conventional image that, in a wider context, hints at the individual poet's engagement in the space of play governed by the rules of the *Querelle*:

Habandonné et despourveu,  
 Ne servant aucune maistresse,  
 Si me volut en la forteresse  
 D'esbatement et de deduit,  
 Pour avoir joyë ou destresse,

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<sup>88</sup> 'Que le songe vueille advenir, /Et ie ne requiers plus ne moins, /Ne plus hault ne vueil advenir. /C'est mon plus heureux souvenir, /C'est le plus hault de tout mon vueil, /C'est mon plus grant bien à venir, /Et la fin de ce que je vueil', *Ospital*, Chartier (1617), p. 754.

<sup>89</sup> Piaget is damning of these minor poems, as of the *Querelle* poems in general, failing to see that it is precisely the similarities and reflexivities at play between texts which characterise this body of work as a crucial, collaborative late-medieval literary enterprise. 'Toute cette production littéraire est d'une grande pauvreté. *La Belle Dame sans merci* mise à part, avec l'*Amant rendu cordelier* et quelques fragments de deux ou trois autres poèmes, tout le reste est sans originalité et sans esprit', Piaget, *Romania* 34 (1905), p. 593.

<sup>90</sup> There is a further conversation between the lover and his dame at the close of the text, but the narrator cannot hear them: 'Veoye bien qu'ilz devoisoient /Mais je ne scay ce qu'ilz disoient', Droz and Piaget (1910), fol. 153.

Faire entrer soubz son sauconduit.<sup>91</sup>

Images of games and game playing pervade the *Querelle* body.<sup>92</sup> This network of references sets up a field of play within the fiction of the *Querelle* texts which finds its corollary in the field of play constituted by the texts themselves. Similar complexes of references, such as those to the colour green as representative of *Amours*, to music and dance, or to the deceptive power of language,<sup>93</sup> engage both at the level of the text, through intertextuality and self-referentiality, and on the level of the *Querelle* poets, whose web of self-reflexive invention implicates them in a social network of relations with one another:

Aussy souvent vous esbatrés  
A lire dans ce petit livre  
Ou nostre rigle trouverés  
Et comment l'en doit ceans vivre.<sup>94</sup>

The text of *L'Amant rendu cordelier* is particularly rich in the language of play, giving deeper insights into the complex processes of collaborative invention at work

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<sup>91</sup> *Sépulture*, Piaget, vv. 11-16, p. 582.

<sup>92</sup> I collect here references to both actual and metaphorical games: 'car ceste femme a dez /Le faisoit jouer: mal empoint /Pour ce quelle changoit les dez', *Parlement d'Amours*, fol. 142; 'Et l'amant quelle fist musart /Loyaulment de voz dez jouoit', *Parlement*, fol. 142; 'Et sembloit (qu'il) se voulsist esbatre /Tant les desvuidoit gentement', *Les Erreurs du jugement de l'amant banny*, vv. 79-80, p. 413; 'Ne jamais je n'eusse cuidé /Que Fortune eust tourné le dé', *Confession et testament*, Bidler, vv. 139-40, p. 27; 'Item a ses jolys verbois /Je laisse abatre blé et bois, /Courir, saulter, saillir en haines, /Frainguer et dancier «hault le bois», /«Tire t'arriere, je m'en vois», /Et faire cent mille fredaines', *Confession et testament*, Bidler, vv. 871-76, p. 57; 'Item, et sy ne jouerez/ Au siron ne a cligne musettes, /Au jeu de *Mon amour aurés*, /A la queuleuleu, aux billettes, /Au tiers, au perier, aux buchettes, /A gecter au sain et dos l'erbe, /Au propos, pour dire sornettes, /Ne *Que paist on*, ne *Qui paist herbe*', *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 1729-36, p. 75; 'Hier sur le tart, soubz l'ombre d'un tapis /En passant temps, comme souvent m'esbas /Ainsi que les gens sont cachés et tapis/ Pour mieulx ouïr et voir jeus et esbas', *Le Débat de la Dame et de l'Écuyer*, p. 151.

<sup>93</sup> This is a recurrent *Querelle* topos and significant in the light of my chapter III. It originates with the *Belle Dame's* rejection of her suitor's courtly 'beau parler', v. 304 and 'plaisans bourdes', v. 299, which are nothing more than 'fol parler', v. 729. The *Requeste baillee aux dames contre Alain* speaks of a 'langaige afaictié', v. 25; the *Belle Dame* is accused of a 'rude parler rigoureux' in the *Parlement*, fol. 141; the *amant* in the *Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy* is a 'beau bailleur de parabolles', v. 20; in the *Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, *Pitié* accuses *Justice* and *Raison* of using a 'faux langaige pervers', v. 740, and again, 'langaige perdu', v. 765, 'superflu langaige', v. 794, 'mauvaiz langage', v. 999; the *povre amant* of *L'Amant rendu cordelier* uses a paraphrase of the *Belle Dame's* speech in Chartier's poem, v. 38, 'pour ung peu de plaisans langaiges', v. 340. The foolish lover of *Amours's* speech in the *Ospital d'Amours* hides his deception

in the *Querelle* through its position in the more self-consciously imitative third cycle, itself fed by first, second, and in some cases, fourth cycle texts. In the passage cited above, *Damp Prieur*, continuing his conversion of the *povre amant*, encourages him to read the rules of the church in order to attain a profound knowledge of its workings, and so adapt himself to their way of life. This ‘petit livre’ may be interpreted as the textual body of the *Querelle*; in its perusal and adoption of the ‘rigne’ contained therein, the lover-poet may find *esbatement*: he may himself enjoy the game of invention. Huizinga’s definition of the particular conditions necessary for play will further illuminate the organisation of the play community as formed by the *Querelle* poets:<sup>95</sup>

We might call it [play] a free activity standing quite consciously outside ‘ordinary’ life as being ‘not serious’, but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. [...] It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner. It promotes the formation of social groupings which tend to surround themselves with secrecy and to stress their difference from the common world by disguise or other means, p.13.

The notion of the poetic play of the *Querelle* existing in a space beyond the boundaries of ‘ordinary’ life, as a ‘non-serious’ occupation<sup>96</sup> is illustrated by the *povre amant*’s punishment at the hands of the other ‘cordeliers’ who discover him engaged in the illicit enjoyment of ballades:

Le galant fut prins, a l’escart,  
 Au pré de recreation,  
 Ou la, pour consolacion,  
 Sy faisoit bien ses espenades  
 En lisant, par devocion,

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‘en ung beau langaige’, Chartier (1617), p. 749; the lover of *Le Débat sans conclusion* is accused of ‘parler tout en ambage’, fol. 150.

<sup>94</sup> *L’Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 997-1000, p. 44.

<sup>95</sup> Huizinga (revised ed.: 1998).

<sup>96</sup> I assert in my third chapter, however, that Chartier’s particular poetic game has a ‘serious’ aim, in that he attempts to engage with a social, moral and even political context through his debates. The game of the *Querelle* too may be seen to have a ‘serious’ purpose, in that poetry becomes the means by which one acquires socio-economic stability in this field.

Ung livre tout plain de ballades.’<sup>97</sup>

We note the description of the *amant*, ‘a l’escart’, separated both spatially and ideologically from the ‘cordeliers’ by his choice of pursuit. He is found ‘au pré de recreation’, enjoying his illicit reading in a space delimited specifically for play, recalling Huizinga’s concept of the playground.<sup>98</sup> The *povre amant* makes his ‘devocion’ to *Amours*, ‘intensely and utterly’ caught up in the game that unfolds within the service of this god. The ‘livre tout plain de ballades’ might again be interpreted as the ensemble of poetry in the *Querelle* that the lover-poet reads assiduously in order himself to enter into the game as an initiate.<sup>99</sup>

The spatial boundaries imposed on this poetic game are implied by the network of references throughout the *Querelle* to the wilderness beyond the realm of *Amours*, and the banishment from the privileged domain (playground) of those who transgress the rules laid down by *Amours*, as we have seen. Bourdieu’s concept of field as a relational network within which various types of capital<sup>100</sup> operate and gain dominance according to the nature of the field, can usefully be applied to the relational networks operating between the poets of the *Querelle*, defining this community in terms of the space of play they occupy through participation in the creative game, and showing how each poet struggles to attain dominance over the field by extending his symbolic capital, producing ever more sophisticated, allusive work. Within the community of the *Querelle*, then, skill in poetic composition is the desired form of symbolic capital:

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<sup>97</sup> *L’Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 1035-40, p. 46.

<sup>98</sup> ‘All play moves and has its being within a playground marked off beforehand either materially or ideally, deliberately or as a matter of course’, Huizinga (revised ed.: 1998), p. 10.

<sup>99</sup> I intend this analogy in the loose sense of poetic form since the poems of the *Querelle* are not necessarily composed in ballade form.

<sup>100</sup> Bourdieu identifies the dominant types of capital as economic, social, cultural and symbolic, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1996), p. 118-20.

In analytic terms, a field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (situs) in the structure of distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field.<sup>101</sup>

Bourdieu frequently alludes to play when defining his notion of field, explaining that the agents/players within the field/game may acquire capital/trump cards through the application of certain competitive strategies. Unlike Huizinga's game, though, Bourdieu's field has:

Dynamic borders which are the stake of struggles within the field itself. A field is a game devoid of inventor and much more fluid and complex than any game that one might ever design.<sup>102</sup>

Similarly, the boundaries of the creative game of the *Querelle* are not fixed, but, within the rules of the game, are subject to variation from text to text. Bourdieu's concept of shifting borders allows both for individual innovation within the *Querelle* (which can be observed across its four cycles in terms of new networks of metaphor and narrative direction), and for the endless perpetuation of the game. Huizinga's notion of play as formative of exclusive 'social groupings' can be applied to the literary *confréries* of northern France,<sup>103</sup> from within whose circles of influence certain *Querelle* texts were produced. However, our concept of the collaborative debating community is formulated from the starting point of the *Querelle* body, rather than the inverse; the social is here defined through the textual.

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<sup>101</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1996), p. 97.

<sup>102</sup> Bourdieu and Wacquant (1996), p. 104.

<sup>103</sup> See my chapter I, pp. 12-13. I refer to such societies as the *Chapel vert*, or the *Verde Prioré*, grouped around the *prince d'Amour*, Pierre de Hauteville, to whom the *Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil* is attributed. These companies centred on the northern French town of Tournai; the *Chapel vert* may have involved the *Querelle* poet Achille Caulier, a native of Tournai (*Cruelle Femme; Ospital d'Amours*). See Piaget, *Romania* 31 (1902), pp. 317-18. There is little biographical information about the other known *Querelle* poets. Baudet Herenc, author of the *Parlement d'Amours*, a native of Chalon-sur-Saône, also composed a *Doctrinal de la seconde*

*Damp Prieur's* burning of the 'chapel vert' at the end of *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, symbolic both of the lover's past attachment to the domain of *Amours*, and of the literary society of the *Chapel vert*, provides a fusion of the metaphorical layers of game-playing present within the confines of the textual *Querelle* which I have hoped to relate to the community of players, external to the text, through whose play the text is generated:

Et, pour l'oster de vaine gloire  
 Et qu'il n'eust l'oeil au monde ouvert,  
 Damp prieur a son gré fist faire  
 Ung chapeau de roumarin vert,  
 Lequel, de feu ardant couvert,  
 Devant ses yeux le respandist;  
 'Voiés,' dist il, 'la fumée pert;  
 Sic transit gloria mundi.'<sup>104</sup>

The 'chapel vert', itself part of a pattern of allusion across the *Querelle* texts, is representative of the playful networks of related structures, images and language I have identified throughout the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.<sup>105</sup> Through the increasingly sophisticated manipulation of these intertextual networks, each successive poet both inscribes himself in an existing space of play (field), and struggles to dominate that field, his poetic capital enhanced in relation to the measure of his skill. The model of the collaborative debating community exemplified here in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* will prove invaluable for further investigation of the collaborative and creative modes at play in late-medieval literary communities. In my next chapter, I extend this model to apply to

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*rhétorique* (1432); see *De artibus rhetoricae rhythmicae* (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1890), pp. 36-46, and also *Recueil d'arts de seconde rhétorique*, ed. Langlois (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1902).

<sup>104</sup> *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, vv. 1793-800, p. 78.

<sup>105</sup> 'Luy mis un vert chappel ou col', *Cruelle Femme*, v. 206, p. 328; 'En pensant a mes biens passés /Et au romarin vert donné', *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*, vv. 26-27, p. 379; 'Leur laisse mes bonnes matines /Avec deux cordelieres fines /A houpe de rommarin verd', *Confession et testament*, an extra stanza from Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363, Bidler, p. 62.

the community of manuscripts that collect the poems of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle.

## CHAPTER V

'*Le Jeu des eschaz*': Players and Spaces of Play in Paris, BNF, fr. 1169, Arsenal, 3521, 3523, and the *Belle Dame sans mercy* Cycle Manuscripts

In my first two chapters I introduced the concept of a debating climate in early humanist France, in which intellectuals and poets engage one another in dialogue through a pattern of responsive textual moves, which they conceive of as a dynamic and skilful game. We saw in my third chapter how Alain Chartier pioneers a new socially engaged style of debate in his French verse, lending this poetic game a 'serious' aim. In my fourth chapter, I showed how poets collaborate creatively in the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* to build on this ideal of social engagement in the spaces of play created within and between their texts. Through the perpetuation of the poetic game, poet-players acquire a socio-economic stability and prestige in court circles that may be equated with Bourdieu's notion of the acquisition of capital. The evidence of this enthusiasm for collaborative poetic play is preserved in material form in the various manuscripts and early printed editions. Within the community formed by the forty manuscripts which collect the numerous sequels and imitations of Alain Chartier's controversial poem *La Belle Dame sans mercy* of 1424, are contained a number of other texts that have close semantic and conceptual links with the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter I propose a

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<sup>1</sup> Laidlaw lists 32 *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* manuscripts, Chartier (1974), pp. 99-137. McRae (1997): Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363; Paris, BNF, fr. 1169; Turin L. IV. 3, not mentioned by Laidlaw since they do not contain any of Chartier's own works. McRae does not include eleven of the *BDSM* manuscripts discussed by Laidlaw as they do not contain the four sequels which are the focus of her study: *Le Parlement d'Amours*; *La Dame lealle en amours*, *La Cruelle Femme en amours*; *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*. Four further manuscripts, not documented by McRae, were mentioned by Arthur Piaget in his editions of the sequels and imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, namely London, Westminster Abbey, CA 21; Rome, Vat. Reg. 1720; Rome, Vat. Reg. 1728; BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 4237. There is a further manuscript mentioned by Laidlaw [Oo]: Geneva, library of Mlle. Droz, which contains five items, of which two are imitations, *L'Amant rendu cordelier*, and the sole witness to an imitation entitled *Le Renoncement d'Amours* by Huet de Vignes. The IRHT *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*

reading of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* in manuscript context, focusing on the individual manuscript as a space of play in which texts, and poets behind the texts, dialogue and compete with one another. I shall discuss patterns of anthologisation both within and across manuscript collections, following common threads of invention through the *Querelle* manuscripts, and applying theoretical models drawn from game theory and sociology in order to trace more clearly the coherent planning of certain *Querelle* manuscripts. Initially I shall propose a reading of the Paris manuscript BNF, fr. 1169<sup>2</sup> which seeks to trace a larger pattern of collaboration through groups of texts collected in the *Belle Dame sans mercy* manuscripts, turning later to look at two sizeable miscellanies: Paris, Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, 3521 and Arsenal, 3523. Such patterning at the level of the manuscript collection will in turn provide a paradigm of collaborative poetic practice in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in France.

I shall follow common threads through the four texts collected in BNF, fr. 1169, namely *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé* in a mid-fourteenth-century vernacular translation of Jacobus de Cessolis’s Latin treatise by Jehan de Vignay,<sup>3</sup> the two

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dossier, and Laidlaw, record a further 15 manuscripts containing Chartier’s *Belle Dame sans mercy*; Chartier (1974), pp. 43-144. These fifteen manuscripts also collect many other texts in common with the forty *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle manuscripts mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript is signed on fol. 106<sup>r</sup> by the scribe (the hand is constant throughout the manuscript), ‘Et fu escript de raoulet d’orliens l’an de grace mil iij<sup>c</sup> lx et vij’. This is a fifteenth-century copy of a fourteenth century-colophon attached to an exemplar of Vignay’s *Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, copied by Raoulet d’Orléans, which is now lost. Raoulet d’Orléans was one of the four *écrivains du roi* at the court of Charles V, and collaborated on, or single-handedly copied over twenty manuscripts during his career, the majority signed. See Richard H. Rouse, Mary A. Rouse, *Manuscripts and their makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris 1200-1500*, 2 vols. (Turnhout, Belgium: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2000). As the Rouses note (pp. 273-79), several copies of the *Jeu des eschaz moralisé* found their way into Charles V’s library.

<sup>3</sup> There were three vernacular translations of roughly the same date. Jean Ferron’s translation is thought by modern scholars to be the best, and is reproduced in the recent Champion edition by Alain Collet. All references are to Jacobus de Cessolis, *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, ed. Collet, (Paris: Champion, 1999), medieval French translation by Jean Ferron (1347). Medieval readers, however, as Collet remarks in the introduction to his edition, preferred the translation of Jean de Vignay, and in many manuscript editions Jean Ferron’s text has been contaminated with interpolated passages from Jean de Vignay’s translation, and the name of the former translator often removed and replaced with that of the latter. The translation of the poem included in our manuscript is that of Jean

*Belle Dame* sequels *La Dame lealle en amours*<sup>4</sup> and Achille Caulier's *La Cruelle Femme en amours*,<sup>5</sup> and Michault Taillevent's *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil*.<sup>6</sup> I show how the relational patterns thus drawn between the texts of this manuscript may provide a useful model for investigation both of other *Belle Dame sans mercy* manuscripts, and of the collaborative community of poets whose texts occupy the spaces of play and competition instituted within and across manuscript compilations. Pairings of corresponding poems throughout the *Querelle* body will be highlighted as the embodiment of the dialectical and agonistic movement of the debate.

Roger Caillois's theories on the classification of games, from his *Les Jeux et les hommes*, provide useful boundaries for discussion of the poetic game at work in the *Querelle*, in conjunction with Pierre Bourdieu's categories of social organisation. Bourdieu, as I discussed in my second chapter, rejects a structuralist hermeneutics in favour of a dialectical methodology which is expressed through the notions of habitus and symbolic capital.<sup>7</sup> Bourdieu's notion of habitus refers to the intimate relationship of products and the socio-historical practices whereby they are produced. In textual terms, this relationship may be seen as that between the text

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de Vignay. BNF, fr. 1169 appears to be the only of the *Querelle* manuscripts that contains a version of the *Eschaz*.

<sup>4</sup> See both McRae's edition (1997), pp. 153-221, based on BNF, fr. 924, and Piaget's edition in *Romania* 30 (1901), pp. 321-51, based on our manuscript (BNF, fr. 1169).

<sup>5</sup> See both McRae (1997), pp. 222-95, based on BNF, fr. 924, and Piaget's edition in *Romania* 31 (1902), pp. 315-49, based on Fribourg-Diesbach.

<sup>6</sup> All references are to Deschaux's edition, based on Arsenal, 3521, in *Un poète bourguignon du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle: Michault Taillevent: édition et étude* (Geneva: Droz, 1975), pp. 190-229. There are sixteen manuscript witnesses to this poem, eleven of which are listed by Laidlaw, McRae or Piaget as containing imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*. As I shall discuss, three other poems by Michault Taillevent are also, more or less frequently, collected with the imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, *Le Psaultier des villains* (usually found with Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* to which it is a response), *Le Passe temps Michault*, and *Le Regime de Fortune*.

<sup>7</sup> For a definition of symbolic capital see my second chapter, pp. 61-63, and also Gaunt and Kay (1997).

and its mode of transmission, here the physical manuscript.<sup>8</sup> I engage with Bourdieu's theory of practice in my study of the practice of the *Querelle* poets and their texts, situating the individual text/poet in the context of a dialectical struggle with others to gain capital, so revealing a field of collaborative relations operating across manuscript collections. The manuscript as space of play, the poet as player, and the text as move within the game will further provide a set of guiding metaphors for the *Querelle*. The chessboard, an image located in several of the texts collected in the *Querelle* manuscripts, materialises this notion of a space of play, within whose confines the players are guided both by the rules of the game, and by the pattern of previous moves. The metaphor of chess will help to illustrate and clarify both the individual patterning of *Querelle* manuscripts and the dialogic play staged across their boundaries.

Jacobus de Cessolis's chess treatise presents a portrait of an ideal hierarchy of contemporary society projected through the confines and rules of the game of chess. The socio-cultural competition between individuals implied by this medieval metaphor is addressed, as I mentioned earlier, in Pierre Bourdieu's *Logic of Practice*. Bourdieu's notion of field, in the context of Jacobus's treatise, might refer us to the physical space of play defined by the chessboard, on which each piece is restricted in its movements by a set of predetermined and absolute rules (and by extension, to a society in which subjects are restricted by the moves appropriate to their rank). Symbolic capital might then refer us to the advantages won and lost by moves played on the board (or by social manoeuvring). In the vernacular translations of Jacobus's treatise, Jean Ferron and Jean de Vignay describe the

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<sup>8</sup> See Armstrong's discussion of Bourdieu's *connaissance praxéologique* in *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 33 (1997), 'The Practice of Textual Transmission: Jean Molinet's *Ressource du Petit Peuple*', 270-282.

moves ascribed to the *eschaz nobles* (*le roy, la royne, two alphins, two chevaliers, and two roz*), and to the eight *pietons* (*paonnets – Vignay*), representative of the *commun du pueple* (*le laboureur, le fevre, le notaire or le laneur (tabellion – Vignay), le marchant, le phisicien (medecin – Vignay), le tavernier, la garde, and le ribaut*). So the human pawn (and by extension the poet) must move according to the rules of the creative game defined both by the moves (poems) which have preceded his own, and by a set of ground rules to which he must adhere if he is to enter the field.

Si les amoneste et fais assavoir que se il retieingnent bien en leur cuer la forme et la façon des eschaz, de legier il sauront par eulz le jeu et la verité du jeu.<sup>9</sup>

The *freres* and *seculiers*, at whose request Jacobus composes his treatise, hope to learn ‘par le jeu des eschaz comment on se doit en bones meurs gouverner et en bataille maintenir’.<sup>10</sup> In other words, the game is to have a serious didactic and moral aim, potentially revealing truth to its players; but only full participation and adherence to its rules will yield success.

The game of chess as allegory of society in *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé* will serve to demonstrate how the notion of game-playing may be applied to textual debating communities such as that formed by the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, and to the collaborative community of poets beyond the texts. To this end, the opposition that Roger Caillois sets up in his sociological study of games

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<sup>9</sup>*Jeu des eschaz*, Jacobus de Cessolis (1999), ll. 26-28, p. 128. This quotation comes in Ferron’s prologue under the heading: ‘C’est le jeu des eschaz appliqué et torné aus bounes meurs des persounes.’ Jacobus de Cessolis’s prologue (rendered by Ferron in his translation of 1347) is only partially translated by Jean de Vignay. In BNF, fr. 1169, after a short dedication on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> to ‘Jehan de France, duc de Normandie’, and a table of contents on fols. 2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>r</sup>, Jean de Vignay begins his translation on fol. 3<sup>r</sup> with the section entitled: ‘Soubz quel roy le gieu fu trouvé’ (corresponding to Ferron’s first chapter: ‘En quel temps ce jeu fu trové’). I refer to Jean Ferron’s vernacular translation in Jacobus de Cessolis (1999), but also give transcriptions of Jean de Vignay’s translation from BNF, fr. 1169, where the texts coincide.

<sup>10</sup>Jacobus de Cessolis (1999), ll. 20-21, p. 128. This passage also comes from part of Ferron’s prologue not rendered by Vignay.

between those games that belong to the category of *agôn* or competition and those belonging to *alea* or chance provides a useful distinction, as I suggest in my first chapter.<sup>11</sup> Chess is classified in *agôn*, a term that Caillois applies to games of skill in which players compete to assert their dominance.

Le ressort du jeu est pour chaque concurrent le désir de voir reconnue son excellence dans un domaine donné. [...] la pratique de l'*agôn* [...] laisse le champion à ses seules ressources, l'invite à en tirer le meilleur parti possible, l'oblige enfin à s'en servir loyalement et dans des limites fixées, qui, égales pour tous, aboutissent en revanche à rendre indiscutable la supériorité du vainqueur. L'*agôn* se présente comme la forme pure du mérite personnel et sert à le manifester.<sup>12</sup>

By extension the verbal jousting of Michault de Taillevent's *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil*, or the mirrored judgements delivered in *La Dame lealle en amours* and *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, collected with Jacobus's chess treatise, might also be classified in this category of game. The reversal of the judgement reached in *La Dame lealle en amours* by its counterpart, *La Cruelle Femme en amours*, institutes a competitive dialogue between the texts. The poet of *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil* creates a similar competition or debate within his text, which is to be judged by Venus. The four texts collected in BNF, fr. 1169 thus find an intracodical<sup>13</sup> coherence which balances on the tension of the game, as represented within each individual text itself by the game of chess, the debate or judgement, and across the codex as a whole conceived of as a wider space of play. There is also a coherence derived from the relation of the individual game of the text to the wider collaborative game of the *Querelle*. Within the physical confines of the manuscript, each text is in turn confined within a nominal space of play: the chessboard in *Le Jeu des eschaz*; the *cour d'Amours* in *La Dame lealle en amours*; the *palais de*

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<sup>11</sup> See my chapter I, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup> Caillois (1967), *Classification des jeux*, pp. 52-53.

<sup>13</sup> This is Armstrong's term.

*Justice in La Cruelle Femme en amours, and the champ d'Amours in Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil.*

Caillois draws a specific parallel between the space represented by the chessboard and the circumscribed space within which debates and judgements are carried out, spaces which recall Huizinga's notion of the playground:<sup>14</sup>

Les débats sont conduits et le jugement rendu dans une enceinte de justice, selon un cérémonial invariable [...] champ clos, piste ou arène, damier ou échiquier.<sup>15</sup>

It seems more than coincidental that the image of the chessboard which I suggest as a guiding metaphor for BNF, fr. 1169, and which refers us to the individual manuscript as a space of play and *agôn*, recurs in other texts collected in the *Querelle* manuscripts, and notably in two poems:<sup>16</sup> *L'Echiquier d'Amours* or *Le Debat de la Damoiselle et de la Bourgoise*<sup>17</sup> by Blosseville (this appears in five manuscripts of the cycle),<sup>18</sup> and *Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz* (witnessed only by Arsenal, 3521). In the *Debat de la Damoiselle et*

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<sup>14</sup> I cite Huizinga in chapter IV, p. 177, note 98. See Huizinga (revised ed.: 1998).

<sup>15</sup> Caillois (1967), *Introduction*, p. 17.

<sup>16</sup> There is a further occurrence of the word *echiquier* in Pierre Michault's *Le Procès de Honneur féminin*, 'Je suis Honneur Femenin, qui, passant nagueres par la Forest de Plaisance, fus espiez par les brigans et souldoyers de Mallebouche, qui, soubx ombre d'envie, avoient mis embusche contre moy. Et la ay je esté tant batu et deschiré par eulx d'aucuns bastons qu'ils portent nommés Faulses Langues, que sur mon corps j'ay plus de playes que ung eschequier n'a de poins', Pierre Michault (1978), ll. 25-32 (evoked here in its primary sense). The term *echiquier* is also used in the *Arrêts d'amours*, 'Les gens tenans l'eschiquier d'amours au profit d'une damoiselle', Rychner (1951), p. 715 (here with its secondary meaning of *court/parliament*). See also Évrart de Conty, *Le Livre des échecs amoureux moralisés* (c. 1400); edited by Legaré, Tesson, and Roy from BNF, fr. 143 in Paris: Éditions du Chêne, 1991. The metaphor of chess seems particularly appropriate for a study of late-medieval debate given the wealth of references to the game in medieval literature, from *chansons de geste* such as *Huon de Bordeaux*, and troubadour lyric, to Christine de Pizan's *Mutacion de Fortune*, whose third part is inspired by Jean de Vignay's vernacular translation of *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*. See *Les Aventures merveilleuses de Huon de Bordeaux, chanson de geste du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. Audiau (Paris: E. de Boccard, 1926); Christine de Pizan (1959); Blakeslee (1985); Lecoy, 'Guillaume de Saint-André et son jeu des échecs moralisés', *Romania* 67 (1942-3), 491-503; id., 'Le 'Jeu des échecs' d'Engreban d'Arras', *Le Moyen Français* 12 (1983), 37-42; Murray (1913).

<sup>17</sup> This poem was edited by Montaiglon in his *Recueil de poésies françaises des XV<sup>e</sup> et XVI<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Paris: P. Jannet, 1856), V, pp. 5-33. For the attribution of this work to Blosseville, see Montaiglon's introduction to his edition of *Le Debat du Viel et du Jeune* (also attributed to Blosseville by l'Abbé de la Rue in his *Jongleurs et trouvères*), Montaiglon (Paris: A. Franck, 1865), IX, pp. 216-20.

*de la Bourgoise*, whose alternative title in BNF, fr. 1661 is *L'Echiquier d'Amours*,<sup>19</sup> the poet uses *echiquier* to refer to a space of debate, like the *cour* or *parlement d'Amours* of the *Belle Dame on trial* cycle poems<sup>20</sup> (this is the secondary meaning of *echiquier* or *eschequier* given by Godefroy; the primary meaning being the board on which chess is played).<sup>21</sup>

Volay en ung palais de flours,  
Où là, par journées compassées,  
On tenoit l'echiquier d'Amours.<sup>22</sup>

The *gens d'Amours*, who are the players within this *echiquier*, are all well-versed in the rules of the debating game:

Car gens d'Amours, qui là estoient,  
Savoient les drois sans reciter  
Et sur le champ en dispuoient.  
Là ne gaignoient rien advocas,  
Par ce que les parties proposent  
Et plaident de bouche leur cas.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> These are as follows: BNF, fr. 1661 (fols. 1-12); Arsenal, 3523 (fols. 51-70); The Hague, Royal Library, 71. E. 49 (fols. 296<sup>r</sup>-306<sup>v</sup>); Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363 (fols. 85<sup>r</sup>-104<sup>v</sup>); and Rome, Vat. Reg. 1720 (fols. 116<sup>r</sup>-26<sup>f</sup>).

<sup>19</sup>Montaignon (1856) suggests in the introduction to his *Debat du Viel et du Jeune* that *l'Echiquier d'Amours* (BNF, fr. 1661), was the original title of this debate poem, and that subsequent titles: *Le Plaidoié de la Damoiselle a l'encontre de la Bourgoise* (Arsenal, 3523), or *Le Debat de la Damoiselle et de la Bourgoise* (the graphies *bourgoise/bourgeoise* both appear in the manuscript tradition of this poem), were later attempts at popularising the text within the context of manuscript collections of debate poetry.

<sup>20</sup> Refer to my classification of the sequels and imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* into four distinct cycles in chapter IV, pp. 155-72: the *Chartier on trial* cycle (*Lettre des dames*; *Lettre des amants*; *Excusacion aux dames*; and *Response des dames*), and the *Belle Dame on trial* cycle (*Parlement d'Amours*; *La Dame lealle en amours*; *La Cruelle Femme en amours*; *Les Erreurs du jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy*), are distinguished from a third *povre amant on trial* cycle (*Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*; *Les Erreurs du jugement du povre triste amant banny*; *Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil*; *Complainte et Inventaire de l'amant trespasé de dueil*; *L'Amant rendu cordelier a l'observance d'amours*). A fourth cycle is labelled the *Belle Dame sans mercy on trial*.

<sup>21</sup> The two meanings attached to the word *echiquier/ eschequier* in Godefroy point precisely to the two fields of relations that are the focus of the current discussion: the *echiquier* as space of play (for games as for debates), and the *echiquier* as a space of judgement where the outcome of games/debates is decided. Godefroy also notes medieval uses of the word that refer to a certain region, to the duration of parliamentary sessions, and to a musical instrument ('l'echiquier d'Angleterre', from Machaut).

<sup>22</sup>*Debat de la Damoiselle et de la Bourgoise*, Montaignon (1856), V, p. 5. Montaignon adds a note here to the effect that *echiquier* is an equivalent of *cour* or *parlement d'Amours*; observing that the *parlement de Normandie* was referred to as the *Echiquier de Normandie*, and that in London, the *cour de l'Echiquier* still went by the same name at the time of publication of the *recueil*. See

The debate itself, a traditional dream sequence witnessed and subsequently transcribed by the narrator-poet, arises from a quarrel between two women, the *Damoiselle* and the *Bourgoise*, as to whether age and experience or youth and beauty should take precedence in matters of love.<sup>24</sup> Jane Taylor suggests that the premise for the debate provides a courtly cover for a debate that is rather less than courtly. The two women, Taylor argues, actually engage in a quarrel about their sexual integrity which sets up dialogic links with Villon's *Testament* and *Lais*, both collected in the same manuscript as this debate poem: Arsenal, 3523.<sup>25</sup> The affair is aired before the *president* of the *echiquier d'Amours*, who sits in the *parc de l'auditoire*, and who initially delivers a judgement in favour of the *Damoiselle*, though a final decision is projected beyond the textual end of the poem. In the final two stanzas, the poet returns to the original *cadre* of the poem, and to a state of consciousness in which he is able to record his dream:

Ainsi vous voyez le Debat  
De la Bourgoise et Damoiselle,  
Que j'ay recité par esbat.<sup>26</sup>

The fictional frame of the poem figuratively encloses the *debat/esbat* sequence, just as the space of play within the poem, the *echiquier d'Amours*, physically encloses the game of debate, trial and judgement, played through to its conclusion by the *gens d'Amours*, the *Damoiselle*, and the *Bourgoise*. The second of the poems collected in the *Querelle* body that uses the image of the chessboard as a social metaphor is *Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz*. This

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previous note for other meanings of *echiquier*. The sense of *echiquier* as *exchequer* or *treasury* developed from the medieval practice of laying out a chequered cloth for counting money.

<sup>23</sup>Montaignon (1856), V, p. 6.

<sup>24</sup> Another poem attributed to Blosseville, on a similar theme, *Le Debat du Viel et du Jeune*, appears in BNF, fr. 1661, and Besançon, B.M., 554 (both from the manuscripts of the *Querelle de la BDSM*). In the latter manuscript this text is not collected with *Le Debat de la Damoiselle et de la Bourgoise*, though both appear in the former manuscript (*Damoiselle/Bourgoise*, fols. 1-12; *Viel/Jeune*, fol. 106).

<sup>25</sup> See Jane H. M. Taylor (2001), pp. 27-30.

short poem, inspired by early troubadour lyric,<sup>27</sup> uses the game of chess to represent a hierarchical vision of contemporary society, like Vignay's *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*. Here, though, the emphasis is on the end of the game and on Death the leveller of all estates, in keeping with the sombre mood of Arsenal, 3521, to which I shall come later. A passage from this same poem sets up a direct parallel between *esbatre* and *combatre* (play/struggle): two interdependent concepts within the context of *agôn* that together evoke a third, *debatre*:

Et veult prendre en cel aquest heur  
 Les deux personnes qui s'esbatent  
 Au dit jeu mais qu'ilz se combatent,  
 Car pour verité l'un ne tire  
 Qu'a l'autre vaincre et desconfire.<sup>28</sup>

*Esbatre* and *combatre* are guiding principles for the poetic game or *debatre* that unfolds within and between texts of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle. In his *Contre passe temps* (*Le Temps perdu*, 1440), Pierre Chastellain responds to Michault Taillevent's *Passe temps* (pre-1440), which is collected with Chastellain's response in Arsenal, 3523. Chastellain uses this metaphor of *combatre*, ostensibly to describe a fight against the onslaught of time, but indicates in the last verse that his poem has been a verbal assault on Michault Taillevent's earlier work:

Je Pierre Chastellain me nomme  
 Qui contre temps perdu bataille,  
 Nuyt et jour pour sauver mon ame.  
 Le glaive qui me combat taille;  
 Et craint comme son debat aille  
 Qui sa char en bataille vend  
 Prens en gré, Michault Taillevent.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup> *Debat de la Damoiselle et de la Bourgoise*, Montaiglon (1856), V: p. 33.

<sup>27</sup> Particularly by Engreban d'Arras' poem *Le Jus des esquès*. See Lecoy (1983).

<sup>28</sup> See my edition of *Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschez* in Appendix C, vv. 121-25, fol. 266<sup>r</sup>, p. 231.

<sup>29</sup> This is a transcription of Chastellain's poem from Arsenal, 3523 (which also appears in Arsenal, 3521, fols. 238<sup>r</sup>-246<sup>v</sup>), fol. 140. See Deschaux's edition, *Les Oeuvres de Pierre Chastellain et de Vaillant: poètes du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1982), pp. 17-41. In both Arsenal manuscripts, Chastellain's *Contre passe temps* is transcribed directly after Taillevent's *Passe temps* (3523: fols. 99-122, fols. 123-40; 3521: fols. 227<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>, fols. 238<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>v</sup>). In Arsenal, 3521 both poems are clearly transcribed by the same hand, whereas in Arsenal, 3523 the hands are different (a variety of scribal

Later I shall discuss how these texts may be organised within Arsenal, 3523 by the *combatre/esbatre* pairing, and the *sacq commun* image, culminating in the insertion of Pierre de Hauteville's *Confession et testament du povre amant trespasé de dueil*<sup>30</sup> and Villon's *Grand Testament*. This *combatre/esbatre* pairing highlighted above is embodied in the allegorical chessboard of Vignay's *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé* in BNF, fr. 1169, and finds expression in the antagonistic diptych presented by *La Dame lealle en amours* and *La Cruelle Femme en amours* in the same manuscript. The text in last position, *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil*, presents a highly allegorised version of the poetic debate. The *esbatre* element seems more in evidence here, since the outcome of the trial at the court of *Venus* does not prove fatal for either plaintiff, unlike the death sentence pronounced on the *Belle Dame* in *La Cruelle Femme en amours*. In one sequence, though, the *combatre* element in Taillevent's poem becomes overt with the staging of a physical contest in which the personified *cuer* and *oeil* take up arms and duel:

Le cuer vint pour combatre l'ueil  
 Sur ung destrier couvert de lermes  
 Armé de harnais fait de dueil;  
 Six soupirs estoient ses armes.<sup>31</sup>

However, the debate between the *cuer* and the *oeil* is finally resolved through a verbal contest whose conclusion is an agreement between the two parties, neither of whom actually wins the debate as such. As in many other debate poems throughout the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, it is precisely the calculated ambiguity

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hands within the same manuscript may be suggestive of a collaborative scribal practice which reflects the collaborative inventive practice of the *Querelle* poets themselves). Arsenal, 3523 is copied by many different hands but as I later suggest is a single manuscript rather than a composite. The IRHT notice on this manuscript identifies two contemporary signatures, 'Jehan Maciot' and 'Claude Maciot', and one sixteenth-century signature, 'Gilbert Coquille' on fol. 818.

<sup>30</sup> Bidler takes Arsenal, 3523 as the base manuscript for her edition of the *Confession et testament* (1982).

<sup>31</sup> Michault Taillevent (1975), vv. 457-60, p. 211.

of the unconcluded debate that perpetuates poetic dialogue.<sup>32</sup> The narrator-poet adds a postscript to his debate, encouraging further speculation, and perhaps soliciting responses to his text. In his postscript he evokes the image of the winner's *chappel*, the traditional crown worn by the winners of poetic competitions such as the northern French *puy*s, and a leitmotif in the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle.<sup>33</sup> So Taillevent implicitly issues a poetic challenge to his fellow poets, with the promise of a metaphorical *chappel* as their prize:

Sy pry ceulx ou Joye s'esbat  
 Et qui d'amer sont en la voye  
 Que du cuer et l'ueil le debat  
 Chascun endroit soy le cas voye  
 Et que son opinion envoie  
 A Venus et qui le chappel  
 Gaignera, Amours le pourvoye  
 De tous ses desirs sans rappel.<sup>34</sup>

This debate poem by Taillevent is frequently collected in the manuscripts of the sequels and imitations of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, counting eleven of its sixteen appearances in these manuscripts. Of these eleven appearances, all except that in BNF, fr. 1169 occur in compilations that include Chartier's original *Belle Dame sans mercy*, and eight occur with at least one sequel or imitation.

We have seen how *agôn*, the notion of competitive play, acting within the space provided by the *echiquier* of the first text, links the four texts in BNF, fr. 1169, the relational field thus created referring us to the collaborative poetic game beyond the text. A second field of relations can be identified in the theme of trial and judgement which runs throughout the manuscript, acting within the space

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of closural practice in Chartier see chapter III, and Cayley (forthcoming in 2003).

<sup>33</sup> This image occurs, for example, in Pierre Chastellain's *Le Temps recouvert* (1451), counterpart to his *Temps perdu* (1440), in turn a response to Taillevent's *Passe temps* (pre-1440): 'tirer ne doit a ung hault pris/ Qui oncques n'eut le chappellet/ S'il a trop bas ne trop hault pris/ Ou que son trait eschappe let./ A peine ung seul meschant pelet/ De laine ou de coton a taindre/ Pourroit au chappellet attaindre', Pierre Chastellain (1982), vv. 729-35, p. 68. Deschaux notes that these lines refer to a

provided by the *echiquier as cour* or *parlement d'Amours* in the final three texts. The third chapter of *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé* points to this set of relations through its description of the third pawn, the *notaire* (*tabellion* – Vignay), whose task it is to sit in front of the *alphin* or judge, and faithfully record the quarrels played out before him:

Le .IIIe. pieton qui est a la destre devant le alphin est ainsi fait. Mout souvent avient que telz gens dont nous avons parlé tacent et noisent et pour ce convient que leurs riotes soient finees par le alphin qui en est juges et qu'il soit escript en letres autentiques par un notaire et c'est l'office a celui qui est devant lui. [...] Leur office si est estre devant les juges, faire et escrire instrumens autentiques, reciter les condempnacions et les condonacions recevoir, et tout ce represente la penne.<sup>35</sup>

Within the fiction of the *Debat du cuer et de l'oeil*, the narrator-poet figure adopts the role of *notaire*, and records word for word the quarrel he witnesses. He himself is merely the pen of a judge who will actually deliver sentence,<sup>36</sup> and here makes a conventional claim for the veracity of his words:

Lors prestement trovay descloses  
 Les pensees qu'avoye en songe  
 Lesquelz sans y adjouster gloses  
 Escripvy au net sans mensonge.<sup>37</sup>

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game that consisted of aiming a *pelet* (ball) at a *chappellet* (garland); the game of skill and the poetic game coincide here again; Deschaux (1982), p. 111.

<sup>34</sup> *Debat du cuer et de l'oeil*, Taillevent (1975), vv. 817-24, p. 226.

<sup>35</sup> *Le Jeu des eschaz*, Jacobus de Cessolis (1999), p. 171. 'Ce tiers paonnet qui est assis devant le destre alphin doit estre figuré comme clerc car il est de raison pour ce que entre les populaires des quiex nous parlons en cest livre les contens, distensions, plaideries muevent aucune fois lesquelles il convient sentencier par les alphins qui sont juges. Si est raison que celui alphin ait son noctaire par qui les proces soient escrips [...] Et ce sont les instrumens et les offices de ceulx par qui les instrumens sont fais et mis en escrits autentiques et doivent estre passez devant les juges si comme libelles, condempnacions, sentences et ce est senefié par l'escriptoire et par la pane' (this is my transcription of Vignay's rendering of the same passage from BNF, fr. 1169, fols. 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>36</sup> The judges appointed to preside over proceedings in the three later texts collected in BNF, fr. 1169 are prefigured by the *alphins* of *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*: 'Les alphins sont faiz en maniere de juges qui se seent en chaire, .I. livre ouvert devant les yeulx. Et pour ce qu'il sont aucunes causes crimineles, les autres sont civiles, pour ce convient avoir .II. juges ou royaume, l'un en noir quant aus premieres causes, l'autre en blanc quant aus secondes', *Le Jeu des eschaz*, pp. 142-43. 'Il est assavoir que les alphins sont fournies en la maniere de juges et sont accessoires du roy, et sont assis en chaire, un livre tout ouvert devant eulx, et pour ce que les unes causes sont crimineles et les autres civiles doivent il estre deux, l'un au blanc et l'autre au noir' (this is a transcription from Vignay's translation in BNF, fr. 1169, fol. 23 bis<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>37</sup> *Debat du cuer et de l'oeil*, Taillevent (1975), vv. 813-16, p. 226. The narrator-poet figure of Achille Caulier's *La Cruelle Femme en amours* similarly stresses the veracity of his account by

The truth upon which Taillevent's narrator-poet insists here is the *poetic* truth that underpins the game of the text. In *La Dame lealle en amours*, the *Belle Dame's* prosecutor, *Desir*, supports his accusations by referring to *faiz* stated in previous poems of the *Belle Dame sans mercy* cycle:

Nous avons propozé noz fais,  
 Qui se preuvent, sans nul erreur,  
 Par les livres qui en sont fais.<sup>38</sup>

So the quest for truth in the debate poem is revealed to be subject to the rules of the game, based not on external criteria but on previous moves played. Each successive poet seeks to join the game, and so subscribes to a set of intertextual criteria that direct his moves: like the *notaire* who must move only in the directions dictated by the rules of the game.<sup>39</sup>

I now propose a reading of two manuscripts, Arsenal, 3521, and 3523,<sup>40</sup> in which I consider the manuscript as a space of play, with an emphasis on certain dynamic pairings of texts within the collections. The parallel study of this pair of

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assuring the reader that he has recorded: 'tout le fait sans rien oublier', v. 940, p. 349 (Piaget); v. 932, p. 285 (McRae).

<sup>38</sup>*La Dame lealle en amours*, vv. 806-8, p. 349 (Piaget); vv. 806-8, p. 207 (McRae). A later passage in this same poem again refers to the *auctoritas* of previous poems in the cycle: 'Adonc se mirent tous ensemble/ En conseil et lonc temps parlerent/ A Amours, si comme il me samble./ Et plusieurs livres retournerent', vv. 833-36, p. 350 (Piaget); vv. 833-36, p. 209 (McRae).

<sup>39</sup> So the moral message of Jacobus's text, the truth which must be sought at all levels of society, is acquired through a regulated 'esbatement', allegorically through the rigours and pleasures (*esbatre/combatre*) of the moves of chess: 'Et pour tant trouva il cest art de corriger ou jeu dont le roy s'apperceüst et devenist meilleur. Après il trouva comment tout le peuple en temps de pais ne fust point oiseux ains se delitast a jouer. Et outre ce il douna matiere de penser diverses raisons et manieres d'en user et d'en parler et de y gloser', *Le Jeu des eschaz*, p. 210; 'Et que celui roy qui convoitoit a aprendre le gieu meist en son memoire et entendist en soy les meurs et les natures devisées en la personne du roy de l'eschequier si que il amendast sa vie, ses meurs, et encore adjousta il que il avoit trouvé ce gieu pour ce que les nobles habondans en richesses et en delices et joiissoient de la pais temporele eschevassent oysiveté par ce gieu tant comme il se deliteroient en jouant et pour donner matiere de pourpenser fus ce diverses manieres et diverses raisons tant de jouer comme de parler et d'escrire' (transcription from Vignay's translation in BNF, fr. 1169, fols. 105<sup>v</sup>-6<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>40</sup> For descriptions of these two manuscripts see Chartier (1974), pp. 115-18; McRae (1997), pp. 64-70 and Martin, *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l'Arsenal*, (Paris: Plon, 1900), III, pp. 413-15; pp. 415-17. See also Jeanroy and Droz, 'Deux manuscrits de François Villon', in *Documents artistiques du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1932), VI, vii-ix, and more recently, Stefano, *De Villon à Villon: Le*

manuscripts will represent a wider collaborative dialogue between manuscripts of the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, between pairings of poets and poems. Both manuscripts once belonged to the library of the Marquis de Paulmy, founder of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. Arsenal, 3521 dates from the fifteenth century; Laidlaw likens one of the watermarks to Briquet 14239, from 1478-83.<sup>41</sup> Arsenal, 3523 has also been dated to the late fifteenth century: Bijvanck, Jeanroy and Droz<sup>42</sup> suggest a date of ten years after the copying of Stockholm, Royal Library, V. u. 22 (post-1477),<sup>43</sup> but Laidlaw suggests that the watermarks point to an earlier date.<sup>44</sup>

Arsenal, 3521 collects forty-three texts, all of which are copied by the same hand, and is therefore probably a single manuscript. Arsenal, 3523 collects thirty-five texts,<sup>45</sup> in a variety of scribal hands.<sup>46</sup> It is likely, in spite of the multiple copyists working on Arsenal, 3523 that it is a single rather than a composite manuscript, as Jane Taylor asserts in her recent study of Villon.<sup>47</sup> Neither manuscript is illuminated; the hands are cursive and often scrappy,<sup>48</sup> suggesting that these manuscripts were not presentation copies, but were commissioned out of a readerly enjoyment of the poems themselves. An undated note scribbled on one of

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*Lais François Villon, Ms. Arsenal, 3523* (Montreal: CERES, 1988). Laidlaw's descriptions of the manuscripts list only the works by Chartier.

<sup>41</sup> See Briquet, *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques de papier*, 4 vols. (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1923). The mark Laidlaw identifies is 'an ox-head surmounted by a cross, between lightly sewn chain-lines 38mm apart; 60 or 65 mm long over-all', p. 115.

<sup>42</sup> See Laidlaw's discussion of the dating of Arsenal, 3523 in Chartier (1974), p. 117, also Bijvanck, *Spécimen d'un essai critique sur les oeuvres de François Villon* (Leyde: De Brauk & Smits, 1882); Jeanroy and Droz (1932).

<sup>43</sup> In addition to the *Belle Dame sans mercy* and other works by Chartier, this manuscript contains Villon's works. For a description, see Piaget and Droz, 'Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite de Villon. I. Le manuscrit de Stockholm', *Romania* LVIII (1932), 238-54.

<sup>44</sup> Laidlaw identifies eight watermarks in his description of Arsenal, 3523, five of which he likens to marks in Briquet; the earliest ranges from 1445-52, and the latest 1458-80. See Chartier (1974), pp. 116-17.

<sup>45</sup> See Appendix B for a list of the contents of these two manuscripts.

<sup>46</sup> See note 29 for a list of signatures on fol. 818 of this manuscript.

<sup>47</sup> See Jane H. M. Taylor (2001), pp. 25-26, and especially note 67.

<sup>48</sup> See Appendix C for an example of the hand in Arsenal, 3521.

the fly-leaves of Arsenal, 3521<sup>49</sup> attributes the majority of the contents of the manuscript to Alain Chartier (probably a common misconception, since the 1900 Paris catalogue makes similar errors of attribution to Alain Chartier).<sup>50</sup>

The first two texts in Arsenal, 3523, both transcribed by the same hand, form a pair frequently found together: Alain Chartier's *Le Breviaire des nobles*,<sup>51</sup> and Michault Taillevent's *Le Psaultier des villains*.<sup>52</sup> Taillevent's poem is a mirror image of Chartier's earlier portrait of the ideal qualities of the nobility, explicitly engaging with and amplifying its themes. Each of the thirteen ballades of Chartier's poem that represent the virtues desirable in the nobility is answered by one of the thirteen ballades of Taillevent's response.<sup>53</sup> In Paris, BNF, fr. 1642, we find the sole example within the manuscripts of the *Querelle* of a poem inspired by these two texts: Guillaume Alexis' *L'ABC des doubles* (1451). Both Chartier's and Taillevent's poems are also transcribed in this manuscript. Alexis cites both Chartier's *Breviaire* and Taillevent's *Psaultier* in his prologue, and so tightens the intertextual field of reference operating across the *Querelle* manuscripts:

Ce qui m'attraict  
Comme en fait le poisson a l'ain  
Si est le *Breviaire* Alain  
Et le beau *Psaultier* a Michault  
Qui fut de Raison amy chault.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This would appear to be in the Marquis de Paulmy's hand. Arsenal, 3650 has notation in an identical hand on the inside folio, signed 'Paulmy'.

<sup>50</sup> 'Tout ce volume mss me paroît être d'Alain Chartier à l'exception du 1<sup>er</sup> morceau que j'ay d'ailleurs seul dans un beau mss sur velin avec miniature que j'ay placé à la morale. Il est de Georges Chatelain, flamand, mort en 1475, attaché au duc de Bourgogne.' This is a transcription from Arsenal, 3521.

<sup>51</sup> Laidlaw does not date this poem in his edition of Chartier, but notes that Droz gives a date of around 1424 in her edition of the *Quadrilogue invectif*, (1950), viii.

<sup>52</sup> See Rice, 'Deux poèmes sur la chevalerie. *Le Breviaire des nobles* d'Alain Chartier et *Le Psaultier des villains* de Michault Taillevent', *Romania* 75 (1954), 55-65; editions: 66-97.

<sup>53</sup> Taillevent's poem includes an introductory ballade: 'Ceux sont villains qui font les villonies', which corresponds to Chartier's first ballade, spoken by *Dame Noblesce*. Deschaux notes, however (1975, p. 129), that only ballades I, V, and XIII are identical in form in both Chartier and Taillevent's poems.

<sup>54</sup> See Guillaume Alexis, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Piaget and Picot (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1896): I, vv. 20-24, p. 10.

Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* and Taillevent's *Psaultier des villains* both also appear in Arsenal, 3521. They are transcribed separately in the Arsenal manuscript, but by the same hand (fols. 30<sup>r</sup>-37<sup>v</sup>; fols. 48<sup>r</sup>-56<sup>r</sup> respectively). The two poems both occur<sup>55</sup> in a further five of the *Querelle* manuscripts.<sup>56</sup> Chartier figures in numerous other poetic pairings within the manuscript context of the *Querelle*.<sup>57</sup> His *Belle Dame sans mercy* is followed by a *Lettre des dames a Alain* and a *Requete baillee aux dames contre Alain* in twenty-four (and possibly twenty-six) manuscripts.<sup>58</sup> His *Excusacion aux dames*, allegedly written as a response to these letters, is collected with the *Lettre des dames* and *Requete baillee aux dames* and the *Belle Dame sans mercy* in all twenty-four (and possibly twenty-six) manuscripts and is followed by a

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<sup>55</sup> The *Psaultier des villains* occurs in seven manuscripts in the *Querelle* body, always collected with Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* (though not necessarily following it). The *Breviaire des nobles* occurs in twenty-six of the forty manuscripts I have classified as belonging to the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.

<sup>56</sup> Namely BNF, fr. 1642 (fols. 117<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>; fols. 297<sup>r</sup>-302<sup>r</sup> respectively); Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, 11 (fols. 93-108; fols. 109-22 respectively); Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale, 390 (*Le Psaultier des villains*, fols. 11<sup>r</sup>-20<sup>r</sup>, most probably originally preceded by the *Breviaire des nobles*, but the first quire of the manuscript has been lost); St. Petersburg, National Library of Russia, f.f.v. xiv. 7 (fols. 144<sup>v</sup> ff.); and Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 2619 (fols. 86a-88c; fols. 146<sup>r</sup>-48<sup>v</sup> respectively). McRae does not include *Le Psaultier des villains* in her list of the contents of Vienna, Nationalbibliothek, 2619, but Deschaux lists it, Taillevent (1975), p. 13.

<sup>57</sup> As Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* is answered by Taillevent's *Psaultier des villains*, so the *Lay de paix* (Chartier) is answered by Pierre de Nesson's *Lay de guerre*, collected in two of the *Querelle* manuscripts: BNF, fr. 1131 (where it follows the *Lay de paix* [fols. 80<sup>r</sup>-83<sup>v</sup>], fols. 84<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>); and BNF, fr. 1727, fols. 179<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup> (this manuscript does not contain the *Lay de paix*). In the final stanza of his *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain* (1420-24), Chartier challenges fellow poet Pierre de Nesson to write a response: 'On pourroit avoir souspeczon/ Que je voulsisse cecy dire/ Pour mon bon compaignon Neczon./ Pour ce, quant je l'ay fait escrire,/ J'ay a l'escripvain deffendu/ Du moustrer. Au fort, s'on lui baille,/ Bien assailly, bien deffendu;/ Face, s'il scet, de pire taille!', vv. 433-40. See Chartier (1974), pp. 421-35. Laidlaw remarks that in the only extant manuscript of this debate poem, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 7 [Hamilton 144], two of Nesson's poems are copied directly after it. Chartier's *Lay de paix* is copied directly before the *Debat du Herault* in this MS (fols. 84b-86b). In Arsenal, 3523, Pierre de Nesson's *Priere a la vierge* appears directly before Chartier's *Lay de paix*, fols. 399-410. This poem is immediately preceded in the manuscript by another of Chartier's works: *Complainte*, fols. 391-98. In BNF, fr. 1642, a further work attributed to Pierre de Nesson appears: *L'Omage fait par maistre Pierre de Nesson*, fols. 326<sup>r</sup>-28<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>58</sup> Laidlaw (1974) lists thirty-one copies of the *Excusacion*, twenty-four of which occur in manuscripts that also collect both the *Belle Dame sans mercy* and the two letters, pp. 328-31. The two other possible copies are Fribourg, Diesbach [Qj] which contains a verse copy of the *Lettre des dames a Alain* as well as the *Excusacion*. There are twenty-two missing leaves at the beginning of the manuscript which may have contained the *Belle Dame sans mercy* and versions of both letters, see Chartier (1974), p. 128. Likewise, Turin, Bibl. Naz. Univ., L. II. 12 [Qp] which collects the *Belle Dame sans mercy* was badly damaged by fire. Piaget and Laidlaw suggest that item 8 which contains the *Requete baillee aux dames* may contain the two prose letters and the *Excusacion* as well as the

*Response des dames* in four manuscripts. The second group of sequels in which Chartier's *Belle Dame* is put on trial draws on reservoirs of language and image from this first group. New elements are introduced into the *Querelle* by the poets of the second cycle and are then, in turn, picked up by the poets of the third cycle of imitations.

Michault Taillevent, already mentioned as a respondent to Chartier, plays an important role in the two major Arsenal collections and other *Querelle* manuscripts.<sup>59</sup> In addition to his response to Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* (*Le Psaultier des villains*), both Arsenal, 3521 and 3523 contain his *Passe temps* (pre-1440), and *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil* (1444). Arsenal, 3521 also contains Taillevent's *Regime de Fortune* (1445), *Lay fait sur le trespas de Madame Marguerite fille du roy de France contesse de charollois* (1446), *Le Congié d'Amours*, *La Bien Allée* (post-Congié),<sup>60</sup> and the diptych formed by *L'Ediffice de l'ostel dolloureux d'Amours* and *La Resourse et reliefvement du dolloureux hostel* (post-*Bien Allée*).<sup>61</sup> Both these Arsenal manuscripts contain Pierre Chastellain's response to Taillevent's *Passe temps*, known as the *Contre passe temps* or *Le Temps perdu* (1440), which follows Taillevent's poem in both manuscripts. The two poems

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imitation poem *La Belle Dame qui eut mercy*. See Piaget, *Romania* 33 (1904), pp. 200-6, and Chartier (1974), pp. 133-34.

<sup>59</sup> The *Passe temps* is also collected in BNF, fr. 1642 and Besançon, B. M., 554 (thirteen manuscripts in total; four from the *Querelle* body, and a further one: Stockholm, Royal Library, V. u. 22, which also contains Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*). *Le Regime de Fortune* also appears in BNF, fr. 833 (six manuscripts, two from the *Querelle* body, and Stockholm, Royal Library, V. u. 22 as above).

<sup>60</sup> Taillevent's *Le Congié d'Amours* and *La Bien Allée* form a complementary pair, and follow on in Arsenal, 3521. Two poems entitled *Le Congié d'Amours* (fols. 321-38), probably not by Taillevent, are found directly after Achille Caulier's *l'Ospital d'Amours* (fols. 281-320) in Arsenal, 3523, and come after the *Passe temps* and *Le Contre passe temps* (fols. 99-122; fols. 123-40); see J. W. Gossner, 'Two Medieval French *Congés d'Amour*', *Symposium* 9 (1955), 106-14. In his *Bien Allée* Taillevent again takes up the theme of *temps perdu*, addressing both poems to the *Prince d'Amours* (as *l'Ediffice* and *La Resourse*). The poet renounces the pains and pleasures of love, demanding a respite from the game 'pour ce qu'il a la barbe grise', *La Bien Allée*, Taillevent (1975), v. 188, p. 263.

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix B for a list of the contents of these manuscripts.

are also found together in BNF, fr. 1642 (fols. 397<sup>r</sup>-406<sup>r</sup>; fols. 406<sup>v</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>).<sup>62</sup> Pierre Chastellain explicitly sets up his poem as a response to Taillevent's *Passe temps*, thus locating the poetic game in a textual space of play:

En contemplant mon temps passé  
Et le *passe temps* de Michaut,  
J'ay mon *temps perdu* compassé  
Duquel a present bien m'y chault.  
Car point ne me suis demy chault  
Trouvé tousjours froit tant que froit dure.<sup>63</sup>

The manuscript tradition conserves this game by collecting the poems together and, in the majority of instances, actually placing them in adjacent positions within the manuscript.<sup>64</sup> Michaut Taillevent is apostrophised frequently throughout the course of the *Contre passe temps*,<sup>65</sup> further creating the impression of a poetic dialogue between the two poets speaking through the text itself. Deschaux remarks in his edition of Chastellain's *Le Temps recouvert* that the central theme of this poem, taken up from *Le Temps perdu*, and from the *Passe temps*, may actually originate with Chartier in a short passage of the *Breviaire des nobles* with which Taillevent was certainly familiar (given his response to Chartier in the *Psaultier des villains*).<sup>66</sup> All three titles (*Passe temps/Temps perdu/Temps recouvert*) can be located within these few lines of Chartier's *Breviaire*. Thus the threads of collective invention are

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<sup>62</sup> Deschaux lists ten manuscripts of Chastellain's *Contre passe temps*, of which three are *Querelle* manuscripts. All three versions follow on directly in the manuscript from Taillevent's *Passe temps*. Of the other seven manuscript versions of this poem, five appear with Taillevent's *Passe temps*, and the other two are found in manuscripts which only contain Chastellain's *Contre passe temps* [*Le Temps perdu*] and its sequel *Le Temps recouvert* (1454): BNF, fr. 2266; BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 6217.

<sup>63</sup> *Le Temps perdu* [*Contre passe temps*], Chastellain (1982), vv. 1-7, p. 19.

<sup>64</sup> The two poems are adjacent in BNF, fr. 1642; BNF, fr. 24442; Arsenal, 3145; Arsenal, 3521; Arsenal, 3523; Chantilly, Musée Condé, 499 (1404); London, B. L., Harley 4397; and Stockholm, Royal Library, V. u. 23. Refer to Appendix B for the contents of the two Arsenal collections (3521, 3523).

<sup>65</sup> Chastellain addresses Taillevent directly in verses III-XI: 'Mychault; Michaut, quel vent te mayne?/ Considere la vie humaine' (III); and from XL-end, 'Comment je me suis maintenu, / A! Michaut, mon amy, escoute' (XL), Chastellain (1982), pp. 19-22; pp. 29-39.

<sup>66</sup> See Chastellain (1982), p. 109. The passage Deschaux refers to occurs in the ballade of *Diligence*: 'Que vault homme qui muse et se pourmaine,/ Et veult avoir mol lit et pance plaine/ Et demourer en repos a couvert;/ Et passe temps sepmaine après sepmaine/ Et ne lui chault en quel point tout se maine -/ Qui soit perdu ne qui soit recouvert', Chartier (1974), vv. 280-85, p. 404.

shown to start with Chartier, his *Belle Dame sans mercy* beginning one series of sequels and imitations, and his *Breviaire des nobles* initiating another, both of which are juxtaposed within the manuscript collections. It is significant, then, that every time Taillevent's *Passe temps* and Chastellain's *Temps perdu* are collected within a *Querelle* manuscript, Chartier's *Breviaire des nobles* also appears.

Chastellain's *Le Temps recouvert* (1454), a sequel to his *Le Temps perdu*, is witnessed by only three manuscripts, not classified within the *Querelle* body. However, like the dialogue initiated between Taillevent's *Passe temps* and Chastellain's *Contre passe temps* across manuscript collections, *Le Temps recouvert* always appears in tandem with its predecessor, the *Contre passe temps* [*Le Temps perdu*], and is always transcribed after the previous text in manuscripts.<sup>67</sup> As Chastellain refers to Taillevent's *Passe temps* from within the *Contre passe temps*, so he refers to his own *Contre passe temps* [*Le Temps perdu*], from within *Le Temps recouvert*, weaving further intertextual threads:

Dix ans davant ce temps de grace  
 Avoye mis en mes escrips  
 Comment oncques mes souppe grace  
 Ne fis, fors mes plains et mes cris  
 Faire, donc ung livre en escrips  
 A ceulx qui leur temps passent ens  
 Par maniere d'un passe temps.  
 'Mon temps perdu' ot nom ce livre  
 Qui pour ma vie infortunee  
 A ung checun lire se livre.<sup>68</sup>

Taillevent again takes up the theme of lost time in his poem, *l'Ediffice de l'ostel dolloureux d'Amours*, and its response and remedy, *La Resourse et reliefvement du dolloureux hostel*. Just as the theme of *temps perdu* and the substance of Pierre

<sup>67</sup> *Le Temps recouvert* appears in three manuscripts, twice with *Le Temps perdu* alone: BNF, fr. 2266 (fols. 1<sup>r</sup>-11<sup>r</sup>; fols. 11<sup>v</sup>-48<sup>v</sup>), BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 6217 (fols. 1-11; 11-43), and in a larger collection: Stockholm, Royal Library, V. u. 23 (fols. 72-81; 82<sup>r</sup>-113<sup>v</sup>). In this last manuscript, the diptych becomes a triptych with the inclusion of Taillevent's *Passe temps* (fols. 57<sup>r</sup>-69<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>68</sup> *Le Temps recouvert*, Chastellain (1982), vv. 85-94, pp. 46-47.

Chastellain's original poem is taken up, remembered and recovered ten years on in his sequel, *Le Temps recouvert*,<sup>69</sup> so Taillevent recovers, restores, and shores up the crumbling *ostel dolloureux* of his original poem in the *Resourse*:

On doit courir tost au reliefvement  
De sa maison et l'aidier de tous sens  
Par bon advis et bon gouvernement.<sup>70</sup>

In the *Resourse*, Taillevent adopts a didactic tone; the restoration of his *ostel*, or in other words, success in the game, is to be achieved through 'bon advis et bon gouvernement'. As in *Le Jeu des eschaz moralisé*, each *paonnet* must follow certain rules of conduct. The presence of Taillevent's reflexive poems the *Ediffice* and *Resourse* within Arsenal, 3521 is in keeping with the introspective tone of many of the texts transcribed here. One of the central organising metaphors running through the texts collected in this manuscript is decay; the decay of buildings stands for human decay. Time passed in 'esbatement' within the space of play afforded by Amours, often represented as a building or enclosure, like Taillevent's *ostel dolloureux*, gives way to decline, melancholy, and a claustrophobic sense of entrapment. The game of love balances between these two extremes. It is only by perpetuating the game, in other words, by writing further poems or making further moves, that the poet/player may swing the game in his favour, and thus cheat Death who waits at the margins of the game holding open the *sacq commun*. This striking image of the *sacq commun*, the bag into which all the chess pieces are thrown after the game, is likened in *Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz* to the earth in which all humans end, irrespective of rank or wealth:

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<sup>69</sup> This seems to indicate a self-trumping move which can be explained in the overall economy of the collaborative debating community in terms of a field of objective relations between positions. If texts are moves, one must not only trump others in order to stay ahead of the game, but also trump oneself. One could think of it in terms of authors producing sequels to their own work, for example. Another medieval instance of this would be Machaut's mirrored *Jugement* poems, Machaut (1988) and (1988 b).

Lors sont en ung sacq mis arriere  
 Pietons et roy comme en biere.  
 Le grant sacq commun c'est la terre  
 Que tous nous enclot et enserre;  
 S'est bien drois que nous retourniesmes  
 A la terre de qui nous sommes.  
 Quant on a des eschez joué,  
 Ilz sont remis et alloué  
 En ung sacq, ou en une bourse,  
 Tous ensemble et tout d'une course,  
 Sans faire honneur ne reverence  
 Au roy, n'a la roÿne en ce  
 Non plus qu'on fait a pyon,  
 Car on les prend et les gette on  
 Ou sac, cul dessus (et) cul desseure.<sup>71</sup>

The *sacq commun*, then, is a space around the margins of play, where the rules of the game, and by extension of society, can no longer be enforced, and where the distinctions won and moves played during the game have no currency.

The chessboard as space of play, guiding metaphor for BNF, fr. 1169, recurs, as I have discussed, in Arsenal, 3521. The division of the chessboard into white and black squares, the divisions of players into white and black sides, maintain the set of contradictions on which the game balances, the colours suggestive respectively of the joys and sorrows of love, of winning and losing in the game. Taillevent evokes this black versus white metaphor in his *Ediffice de l'ostel dolloureux*, referring to reversals of fortune in his life that prefigure the reversal of this poem in the *Resourse*:

Tout le rebours de ce que je queroye  
 Es biens d'Amours que je cuidoye avoir  
 Et le revers de ce que j'esperoye  
 Ay en l'ostel ou il me fault manoir,  
 Car j'ay trouvé, en lieu de blanc, tout noir.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Resourse et reliefvement du dolloureux hostel*, Taillevent (1975), vv. 80-82, p. 275.

<sup>71</sup> This is my transcription of the poem from Arsenal, 3521, vv. 148-162, fol. 266<sup>v</sup>, p. 232. I have added diacritical marks and modernised the punctuation, distinguished between i and j, u and v, and expanded all abbreviations. This poem has not been edited before, save a small section of it; see Murray (1913), p. 558. See Appendix C for my edition of this poem, pp. 229-33, and a photocopy from the manuscript: pp. 234-39.

<sup>72</sup> *Ediffice*, Taillevent (1975), vv. 141-45, p. 270.

Such reversals dominate Taillevent's *Regime de Fortune*, which also appears in BNF, fr. 833 and anticipates the theme of Fortune's wheel in the poem *Comment l'estat de ce monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz*. The *sacq commun* awaits all players, both winners and losers. Fortune's caprices are compared in the *Regime* to a roll of the dice (*alea*):

Les plus grans fait trebuchier et cheoir,  
 Et ceulx qui sont de petit lieu venu  
 Aucunes fois es haulx sieges seoir  
 Puis tout a coup, dont ilz sont esperdu,  
 Sans dire qui l'a gagné ne perdu,  
 Cheoir les fait aussi bas qu'emmy Loire  
 Et aussitost ung roy qu'ung populaire.<sup>73</sup>

The poem which immediately follows the *Regime de Fortune* in Arsenal, 3521 is Taillevent's *Lay fait sur le trespas de Madame Marguerite fille du roy de France*, a fitting illustration of Fortune's impartiality. A similar poem, under the title of *Complainte pour la mort de mme. Marguarite d'escosse*, and its counterpart, *La Response et consolation de la complainte cy dessus* [sic] *escripte*, appear together in a sequence of texts from items twenty-four to thirty in Arsenal, 3523 which are interlinked by the notion of *trespas*.<sup>74</sup> These include the *Epitaphe ou lamentacion du roy derrain trespasé* (Charles VII, by Simon Gréban),<sup>75</sup> *La Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de dueil*,<sup>76</sup> and Villon's *Grand Testament*.<sup>77</sup>

Other texts within the two Arsenal manuscripts pick up threads left by previous poets. The language of judgement and trial, for example, is renewed in

<sup>73</sup> *Regime de Fortune*, Taillevent (1975), vv. 49-55, p. 233.

<sup>74</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>75</sup> This text also appears in BNF, fr. 1642 (fols. 414<sup>r</sup>-23<sup>v</sup>) where it is followed by a similar eulogy: *Exclamacion en la mort pour marye d'anjou, Royne de France* (fols. 424-42<sup>v</sup>), and shortly thereafter by *La Complainte du feu roys Loys* (fol. 460<sup>r</sup>); and in BNF, fr. 1661 (fols. 112-21).

<sup>76</sup> This poem is extant in four *Querelle* manuscripts (the sole witnesses): Arsenal, 3523; Rome, Vat. Reg. 1363 (fols. 1-84); Rome, Vat. Reg. 1720 (fols. 1-54); Rome, Vat. Reg. 1728 (fols. 135-39).

<sup>77</sup> This poem is also collected in BNF, fr. 1661 (fol. 236).

Pierre Michault's *Le Procès de Honneur féminin* (Arsenal, 3521, fols. 195<sup>r</sup>-218<sup>r</sup>).<sup>78</sup> The metaphor of building as text (hence space of play/struggle)<sup>79</sup> is located in the anonymous *l'Ostelerie de joye* (Arsenal, 3521, fol. 147<sup>v</sup>), and also in Jean Molinet's allegorical *Temple de Mars* (Arsenal, 3521, fol. 289<sup>r</sup>; BNF, fr. 1642, fol. 456<sup>r</sup>), where it is deconstructed, this deconstruction suggestive of war as the death of art: 'guerre nuisible [...] faicte sans art'.<sup>80</sup> Folliant Jonval's *Instruction d'un josne prince pour soy bien gouverner envers Dieu et le monde* with which Arsenal, 3521 begins, and Georges Chastelain's *Pas de la mort* transcribed towards the end (fol. 268<sup>r</sup>), together with other didactic texts collected here (*Breviaire des nobles/Psautier des villains; Le Regime de Fortune; Le Passe temps; Contre passe temps; Comment l'estat du monde*), create within the manuscript a space of moral reflection about the game and the end of the game. Similarly, in Arsenal, 3523, the sequence of texts from items twenty-four to thirty, linked by the notion of *trespas* as I mentioned, incites reflection about the margins of the game, and the precariousness of worldly positions. The poetic strategy within these manuscripts and throughout the body of *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* manuscripts seems, like Taillevent's *Resourse et reliefvement*, to consist in shoring up against the passing of time and the inevitability of Death; in perpetuation of play and suspension of conclusion. The manuscript collections, then, pivot around the antithetical yet complementary pairings of poets<sup>81</sup> and poems,<sup>82</sup> around the

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<sup>78</sup> Pierre Michault (1978).

<sup>79</sup> See Cowling (1998).

<sup>80</sup> See Jean Molinet, *Faictz et dictz*, ed. Dupire, 2 vols. (Paris: SATF, 1937). For a discussion of war as the death of art in Molinet's text, see Cornilliat, 'Or ne mens': *Couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les Grands Rhétoriciens* (Paris: Champion, 1994), pp. 660-75.

<sup>81</sup> The poets Michault Taillevent and Pierre Michault were often confused, and their works attributed to a single poet, but as Piaget asserts in his article, 'Pierre Michault et Michault Taillevent', *Romania* 18 (1889), 439-52, these were two distinct poets both working at the court of the ducs de Bourgogne. Pierre Michault was the *secrétaire* of the Conte de Charolais, writing in the second half of the fifteenth century; Michault Taillevent (dit Le Caron) was the *valet de chambre* of Phillippe le Bon, writing in the first half of the fifteenth century, also referred to in the financial archives of the court

interdependence of *esbatre* and *combatre*, to create spaces of play or *debatre* that confront and collaborate with one another. The individual codex might be compared to a chessboard, a space of play on which poets are players, making their moves within certain prescribed limits, and responding to the previous moves in the game. The individual poet/player operates in an economy of poetic exchange, accumulating symbolic capital through the moves he makes, and so engages in wider collaborative and dialogic play staged both at the level of the text and of the manuscript collection. The material community formed by the texts collected in the body of *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy* manuscripts provides an illustration of how poetic knowledge in the fifteenth century was influenced and shaped by its mode of transmission or habitus, to use Bourdieu's term. Poets compete to trump one another and themselves,<sup>83</sup> building on existing tradition, and in a climate of collaborative debate and literary exchange. They engage in a contest of wills and invention within the groupings I term collaborative debating communities, where the desire to perpetuate play is greater than the desire for victory, since victory or failure would necessarily entail poetic closure, the end of the game and of social coherence. Unlike the earlier *Querelle de la Rose* to which Christine de Pizan put a stop with her publication of the *Rose* dossiers, the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans*

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of Burgundy as a 'joueur de farses'; see Taillevent (1975), pp. 22-38. Pierre Chastellain was also confused with the poet Vaillant, partly because of a signature in the now destroyed Turin L. IV. 3 on fol. 33<sup>v</sup>, 'Pierre Chastellain dit Vaillant'. In Chastellain (1982), Deschaux separates the two. Both Chastellain and Vaillant worked sometime at the court of René d'Anjou in the Touraine area; see Chastellain (1982), pp. 11-13.

<sup>82</sup> The palindromic poem, *Maistresse lealle ay d'amours* by Vaillant found in BNF, fr. 2230 (fol. 240<sup>v</sup>) will provide a useful illustration of my point: 'Maistresse lealle ay d'amours, /Tenu a Dieu je suis trop d'elle, /Venu m'est il bonne nouvelle, /Largesse il fault crier tousjours. //Richesse et Bien pris m'ont au cours, /Congnu suis bien et je l'ay belle, /Maistresse lealle ay d'amours. //Destresse et Dueil sont a moy sours, /Contenu m'a enyve celle, /Retenu je n'ay aussy qu'elle. /Promesse ay brief d'avoir secours: /Maistresse lealle ay d'amours.' *Le Rebours du rondeau*: 'D'amours ay lealle maistresse, /D'elle trop sui ge a Dieu tenu, /Nouvelle bonne il m'est venu, /Tousjours crier fault il largesse. //Au cours m'ont pris Bien et Richesse, /Belle l'ay je et bien sui congnu, /D'amours ay lealle maistresse. //Sours a moy sont Dueil et Destresse /Celle enyve m'a contenu, /Qu'elle aussi n'ay ge retenu; /Secours d'avoir brief ay promesse: /D'amours ay lealle maistresse', Chastellain (1982), pp. 200-1.

*mercy* rumbled on, inspiring generations of poets. ‘*La Belle Dame sans merci*/ Thee hath in thrall’, announces a nineteenth-century version of Chartier’s original poem by the Romantic poet John Keats.<sup>84</sup> The continuing legacy of the *Belle Dame sans merci* attests not only to Chartier’s mastery of the debate genre, but to the lasting importance of his valorisation of a vernacular poetic.

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<sup>83</sup> See this chapter, p. 201, note 69.

<sup>84</sup> See John Keats, *Selected Poems*, ed. Barnard, revised ed. (London: Penguin, 1999), vv. 39-40, pp. 160-62.

## Conclusion

*'Tous ensemble donnent le lieu de triumphe a maistre Alain Charestier, normant, lequel a passé en beau langage elegant et substancieux tous ses predecesseurs. Et depuis, homme ne s'est faict second a luy, ainsy comme ceulx qui verroient ses oeuvres qui sont plusieurs, pourront congnoistre la douceur de son langage. Et conseille a tous facteurs qu'ilz ensuivent sa doctrine tant en prose qu'en rithme pour tous docteurs.'*<sup>1</sup>

Fabri's *Le Grand et Vrai Art de pleine rhétorique* (1521) is one in a series of late-medieval and early Renaissance arts of poetry and rhetoric that emphasise the significance of vernacular poetry both as an art form and as a means of transmitting *senefiance*.<sup>2</sup> 'Beau parler sans sentence n'est que vent sans science', as Fabri asserts.<sup>3</sup> In this thesis I have framed Alain Chartier's unique contribution to vernacular eloquence in the socio-cultural context of his predecessors and contemporaries. I have suggested how he participates in several of the collaborative debating communities I postulate both through his material position in manuscript collections, and through the legacy of such social and poetic engagements as the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*.

In my first and second chapters I investigated what I term the debating climate of early humanist France. My first chapter looked more generally at the social, literary and intellectual conditions that inspire such an enthusiasm for debate among scholars and poets. This enthusiasm leads to a material collaboration between the participants in debate that manifests itself in the *locus* of debate, be it the competitive arena of the *puy*s, or the manuscript collection itself in which texts, and authors beyond the texts, engage with one another. Social competition and collaboration between individuals in late-medieval France can be reconstructed

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<sup>1</sup> Pierre Fabri (1889), I, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> See Langlois (1902).

<sup>3</sup> See Fabri (1889), I, p. 21.

through the metaphor of the text as game. I showed how this metaphor is particularly appropriate for a study of the debate, which itself represents a competitive game within the text. I applied Roger Caillois' category of *agôn* or skilful games to the game of the text, *eclogue*, *tenso*, *jeu-parti*, *demande d'amour*, *jugement* or *débat*, to suggest both the high level of intricacy and poetic skill brought to the debate genre, and the inherent competitive element.<sup>4</sup> The game, I suggested, is played in the perpetual suspension of conclusion. This suspension of conclusion is manifested in the frequent non-closure of the late-medieval debate poem. Pierre Bourdieu's sociological study of field, habitus and the symbolic capital at stake in the field provides a corollary to and an explanation of the non-ending debate poem, and the wider poetic context it engages with. The existence of the field supposes the pre-existence of antagonistic yet complementary relations between positions in the field. These sets of relations are only perpetuated as long as the game/struggle for symbolic capital continues, and social cohesion dictates the continuation of the game. I engage with Bourdieu's dialectical methodology in order to view medieval debate poetry from a position which takes into account the inevitable distortion of the modern gaze. Bourdieu rejects the structuralist criticism of such sociologists as Levi-Strauss, as this method cannot account for the prejudiced gaze of the onlooker. Bourdieu's notion of habitus bridges the gap between the objective structures identified by the structuralist and the necessity of situating these structures in their original context. Habitus, for Bourdieu, represents the socio-cultural and historical processes whereby these objective structures are reproduced.<sup>5</sup> In the same way, through using the model of the collaborative debating community, I have shown how these societies themselves derive value and

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<sup>4</sup> Caillois (1991).

<sup>5</sup> Bourdieu (1990).

coherence through literary imitation and competition and how their compositional and reading patterns can be deduced from material evidence of collaboration.

I gave a working example of what I mean by the collaborative debating community in chapter II, through a close re-examination and theorisation of the literary quarrel known as the *Querelle de la Rose*. I showed how groups of early humanists at Paris and Avignon engaged in literary and mainly epistolary debate in Latin as a complement to their diplomatic and political chancery activities. For these scholars, the need to cultivate an elegant epistolary style outweighed the importance of the subject they were debating. I suggested that in this field, acquiring a polished epistolary style might represent a means of amassing symbolic capital. These scholars would often adopt exaggeratedly polemical debating positions within their texts, following classical models of invective, in order to sharpen the sense of competition. Some, like Nicolas de Clamanges, even added the polemical element to their letters after the event, creating fictional quarrels, such as the enthusiasm for conflict.<sup>6</sup> The metaphor of the game that I suggest for the game of the debate is discussed by both Jean de Montreuil and Christine de Pizan in the letters that constitute their contribution to the *Querelle de la Rose*. Montreuil compares the *Querelle* both to a competitive race and to the specifically literary competition staged in Virgil's third *Eclogue*,<sup>7</sup> while Christine talks of a *gieu*.<sup>8</sup> My discussion of the vernacular intervention of Christine de Pizan in the *Querelle de la Rose* provides a contrast between the literary debating game as conceived of by these early humanists and that played by Christine de Pizan and later by Alain Chartier. Christine's desire for moral engagement and publicity shapes her contribution to the *Querelle*, just as Chartier's social and ethical engagement was to

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<sup>6</sup> See chapter II, p. 79.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter II, pp. 85-86.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter II, pp. 92-93.

form the subtext for his vernacular verse debates. In this sense, I suggest that the clash of approaches to debate could be explained as the conflict between different types of capital at stake in the field. While early humanist scholars seek to enhance their standing with contemporaries by honing their epistolary style, Christine de Pizan and Alain Chartier play the game for other symbolic capital. Christine seeks public recognition of her cause through the publication of judiciously edited versions of the *Querelle*. Chartier, on the other hand, seeks to reject a corrupt set of courtly morals through the medium of debate, and so doing reinvests vernacular poetry with a *senefiance* long denied it.

In my third and central chapter, I set Chartier at the convergent point of two debate cultures, intellectual and literary. I rejected the conventional division of Chartier's verse into the 'joyeuses escritures' and the 'serious poems',<sup>9</sup> by suggesting that a *meta-rhetorical discourse* informs all the French verse. A re-reading of the French verse through Chartier's Latin works, supported by the frequent juxtaposition of these works in manuscript collections, revealed a network of allusions to the interconnection of language, discourse and morals. By means of this dialectical network informing Chartier's *oeuvre*, the vernacular verse debate is invested with *senefiance*. Chartier's protagonists represent the conflict of different subject positions and competing discourses. I demonstrated how Chartier effects an ironic emptying of conventional courtly discourse through the figure of the *Belle Dame* in his poem the *Belle Dame sans mercy*, much as the *Sodalis* of his Latin *Dialogus* rejects the logical discourse represented by the *Amicus*. Chartier makes a distinction between *verba* and *res* (words and things), espousing a discourse which I have called a new humanist rhetoric. This new humanist rhetoric addresses a social

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<sup>9</sup> Hoffman (1975), pp. 43-121. See chapter III, p. 101, and my introduction, pp. 7-8.

context beyond language itself (*res*), and so breaks free from the constraints of a purely logical discourse (*verba*). My focus on the poetics of closure in Chartier's *oeuvre* showed how deliberate non-closure or deferral of ending is part of a moral and ethical agenda through which Chartier asserts his freedom from corruption. The notion of textual closure is connected to self-serving and self-contained systems of language like the courtly discourse the *Belle Dame* renounces. By leaving his poems unresolved and open to future resolution, Chartier not only perpetuates the game of the text, but mirrors an external quest for peace and emancipation from oppression. Anti-closure is used as a rhetorical device in the late-medieval debate poem. I conclude from my study of Chartier's debates that this device has two main effects which are more or less demonstrated in debate poems of this period: to encourage socio-cultural competition (thus cohesion) by perpetuating textual play, and to suggest an ethical engagement on the part of the poet.

My fourth and fifth chapters addressed Chartier's poetic legacy, and focused on his social and material context. I was concerned here to trace the operation of a later collaborative debating community in text and context. In the fourth chapter I looked specifically at the collaboration between the poets who continued and imitated Chartier's *Belle Dame sans mercy*. I showed how complex intertextual threads wove through the four cycles of sequels and imitations, and again used the metaphor of game-playing to describe the competitive game that generates the texts classified within this *Querelle*. I elaborated a theory of the self-reflexivity of the *Querelle*, based particularly on texts from the later cycles, such as the *Amant rendu cordelier*. Bourdieu's categories of social organisation proved useful for a discussion of the field represented by the dialectical network of relations established between poets and their texts by virtue of participation in the game of the *Querelle*.

I emphasised the significance of manuscript context as material evidence of this collaborative debating community in my final chapter. I examined patterns of collation in the forty manuscripts which I classify within the *Querelle de la Belle Dame sans mercy*, and identified a series of texts not specifically linked to Alain Chartier's original poem which nonetheless regularly appeared with its sequels and imitations. Here I suggested that the manuscript could be considered as a space of play that materialised the notion of a conceptual playground in which the *Querelle* poets make their moves. I identified a series of allusions to the game of chess in the *Querelle* body, and used this medieval political metaphor to suggest the social organisation of the community of *Querelle* poets. Roger Caillois, as I mentioned, includes chess in his category of *agôn* or skilful games. The chessboard on which the game is played within the text provided a parallel for the individual arena in which the debate of each text takes place, as well as for the larger space of play of the manuscript collection. If the poetic game ends, social coherence is destroyed, since the players will no longer derive their social identity from competition with others. This phenomenon is suggested by the image of the *sacq commun* into which all the chess pieces are thrown after the game. The short poem I edit in Appendix C from one of the *Querelle* manuscripts compares the hierarchy of medieval French society to the organisation of pieces on a chessboard. After the end of the game, lying in the sack, the pieces are no longer distinguished from one another as they are no longer in play. It is the play that defines their social position rather than any innate characteristics.<sup>10</sup> This analogy works well for the poets of the *Querelle*, and

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<sup>10</sup> The characteristics which distinguish the pieces during play are a positive hindrance once the game ends. The poem *Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschez* found in Arsenal, 3521, describes how the king lies at the bottom of the sack as he is the heaviest piece, a reversal of his fortunes on the chessboard: 'Sicom troueroit chascune heure /Au fons du sac le roy gisant, /Et dessoubx sont ly plus pesant; /C'est raison [que] cilz qui plus poise /Soit au dessoubx qui plus en poise', vv. 163-167, p. 232.

indeed for my model of the collaborative debating community of late-medieval France. Play is perpetuated and closure is deferred not just as a matter of whim, but as a matter of necessity. It is through their collaborative play that these poets and scholars distinguish themselves, in a competitive struggle to gain symbolic capital. This capital translates into prestige and position in a period during which vernacular poetry is undergoing re-evaluation not only as a means of transmitting knowledge but as a method of social and political advancement. I located Alain Chartier firmly at the centre of this socio-cultural movement, and as the principal player in at least one collaborative debating community, showing how he fuses the intellectual and literary strains of debate to produce an original and controversial contribution to the genre.

In this thesis, I have hoped to indicate how Alain Chartier's works may be reassessed both within their socio-cultural context (as hypothesised through indications in the texts themselves) and through the material context provided by their anthologisation in manuscript collections. Much work on the organisation of poetic knowledge in this period remains to be done, however. Through an investigation centred around one poet's practice I have hoped to demonstrate the many possibilities that might be opened up by the application of this dialectical methodology to medieval studies, and specifically in the area of codicological research. The examination of medieval texts, not with each poet isolated in his own anthology as in many modern editions, but in dialogue and collaboration with one another as part of material and conceptual debating communities, can offer us a unique insight into late-medieval composition, transmission and reading practices.

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*MSS Containing More than One French Verse Work by Chartier*

MSS:	L PI	DDFA	LQD	DHVV	BN	L P	DRM	Com	BDSM	Ex	B/R
<i>BNF, fr. 833</i>	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>BNF, fr. 924</i>	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>BNF, fr. 1127<sup>1</sup></i>	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>BNF, fr. 1128</i>		X				X					
<i>BNF, fr. 1130</i>	X		X		X	X		X			X <sup>2</sup>
BNF, fr. 1131		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>BNF, fr. 1642</i>		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
<i>BNF, fr. 1727</i>	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
BNF, fr. 2230		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
BNF, fr. 2249					X	X					
<i>BNF, fr. 2263</i>					X	X					
BNF, fr. 2264							X		X		
BNF, fr. 19139	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BNF, fr. 20026		X	X			X	X	X	X	X	
<i>BNF, fr. 24440</i>		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
BNF, fr. 25293						X		X			
BNF, fr. 25435			X				X		X		
BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 4511-13		X	X								
BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 6220-4					X	X					
<i>BNF, Rothschild, 440</i>			X		X	X	X		X	X	
<i>BNF, Rothschild, 2796</i>					X	X					X
Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3521	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	
Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3523					X	X	X	X	X		
Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, 11			X		X	X	X		X		X
Aix-en-Provence, Bibl. Méjanes, 168	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Besançon, B.M., 554					X		X	X	X	X	X
Carpentras, B.M., 390							X		X	X	
Chantilly, Musée Condé, 685							X		X		
Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686								X	X		
Clermont-Ferrand, B.M., 249					X	X					X
Clermont-Ferrand, Archives du Puy-de-Dôme, 28	X	X					X	X	X	X	
Grenoble, B.M., 874	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Poitiers, B.M., 214</i>					X	X					
Rodez, B. M., 57					X	X					
<i>Toulouse, B.M., 826</i>		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Valenciennes, B.M., 417					X		X				

<sup>1</sup> I have italicised those manuscripts that also contain Chartier's French prose or Latin works.

<sup>2</sup> I have highlighted those manuscripts that contain Chartier's *ballade* XXVIII, 'Il n'est dangier que de villain', Chartier (1974), pp. 391-92.

MSS:	LPI.	DDFA	LQD	DHVV	BN	L P	DRM	Com	BDSM	Ex	B/R
Arnhem, Bibliothek, 79							X		X	X	
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 7				X		X					
Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 473		X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Brussels, B.R., 10961-70			X				X	X	X		X
Brussels, B.R., 21521-31					X						
Copenhagen, R.L., 1768	X	X	X			X		X	X	X	
Escorial, O. I., 14					X						
Fribourg Diesbach			X				X			X	
Geneva, Lib. of E. Droz					X						
The Hague, R.L., 71 E 49	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, 410			X				X				
Lausanne, Bibl. Universitaire, 350						X			X	X	
St. Petersburg, Nat.Lib.			X		X		X	X	X	X	
London, B.L., Harley 4402					X						
London, B.L., Royal 19 A iii					X				X		
London, Clumber Sale, 941	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Madrid, B.N., 10307		X					X		X	X	
Manchester, Chetham's lib., Muniment A.6.91		X			X	X			X	X	
Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana, 971	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Cod. Gall. 10			X								
Oxford, Bod., E.D. Clarke 34						X		X			X
Sion, Supersaxo 97 bis <sup>3</sup>					X	X					X
Stockholm, R.L., V. U. 22					X	X			X		X
Turin, B.N., L II 12	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		

<sup>3</sup> Sion (Switzerland), Bibliothèque cantonale du Valais, Supersaxo 97<sup>bis</sup>, was overlooked by Laidlaw, and hence not listed in his 1974 edition. In addition to the *Breviaire* (fols. 122-31), the *Lay de Paix* (fols. 131<sup>v</sup>-36<sup>v</sup>), and *ballade XXVIII* (fol. 148<sup>v</sup>-49), it also contains the *Roman de Ponthus et de Sidoine* (fols. 1-122), the *Songe de la Pucelle* (fols. 137-45), and five other *ballades*, 'a pleysance et de bon advis' (fols. 145<sup>v</sup>-48). See P. Aebischer, 'Le manuscrit Supersaxo 97<sup>bis</sup> de la Bibliothèque cantonale du Valais; le roman de "Ponthus et la belle Sidoine". Textes en vers', *Vallesia* 14 (1959), 245-69, and id., 'Le Songe de la Pucelle: poème moral du XV<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le texte du manuscrit Supersaxo 97<sup>bis</sup>', *Vallesia* 16 (1961), 225-41.

Vatican, reg. lat., 1323					X	X		X			
Vatican, Vat. lat., 4794	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	
Vienna, N.B., 2619	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Vienna, N.B., 3391					X						X
P. Le Caron (printed 1489)	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	

Key (in chronological order):

LPI – *Lay de plaisance* (1412-1415)

DDFA – *Debat des Deux Fortunés d’amours* (1419-20)

LQD – *Livre des Quatre Dames* (1419-22)

DHVV – *Debat du Herault, du Vassault, et du Villain* (1420-1424)

LP – *Lay de paix* (pre 1426)

DRM – *Debat de reveille matin* (1423-4)

Com – *Complainte pour la mort* (1424)

BN – *Breviaire des nobles* (1424-26)

BDSM – *La Belle Dame sans mercy* (1424)

Ex – *Excusacion* (1425)

R/B – *Rondeaux et ballades* (1410-1425)

*MSS Containing Chartier's French Prose Works*

MSS:	Quadrilogue	Esperance	Curial <sup>4</sup>
<i>BNF, fr. 126<sup>5</sup></i>	x	x	
BNF, fr. 832		x	
<i>BNF, fr. 833</i>	x	x	x
<i>BNF, fr. 924</i>			x
BNF, fr. 1123	x	x	
BNF, fr. 1124	x	x	
BNF, fr. 1125	x	x	
<i>BNF, fr. 1127</i>	x		
<i>BNF, fr. 1128</i>	x	x	
<i>BNF, fr. 1130</i>	x		
BNF, fr. 1132		x	
BNF, fr. 1133	x	x	
BNF, fr. 1549	x	x	
<i>BNF, fr. 1642</i>	x	x	x
<i>BNF, fr. 1727</i>	x		x
<i>BNF, fr. 2263</i>	x		
BNF, fr. 2265		x	x
BNF, fr. 2861			x
BNF, fr. 5339			x
BNF, fr. 12435		x	
BNF, fr. 12436	x	x	
BNF, fr. 12437	x	x	
BNF, fr. 20055			x
<i>BNF, fr. 24440</i>	x	x	
BNF, fr. 24441	x	x	
BNF, nouv. acq. fr. 6535		x	
<i>BNF, lat. 18583</i>		x	
<i>BNF, Rothschild, 440</i>	x		
<i>BNF, Rothschild 2796</i>	x		
Besançon, Bibl. Mun., 1791		x	
Douai, B.M., 767			x
<i>Moulins, B.M., 26</i>	x	x	
<i>Poitiers, B.M., 214</i>			
Reims, B.M., 918 <sup>6</sup>			x
Rouen, B.M., 930			x
<i>Toulouse, B.M., 826</i>	x		
Valenciennes, B.M., 304			x
Valenciennes, B.M., 652	x	x	

<sup>4</sup> I include the French prose translation of Chartier's Latin original *De vita curiali* in this table, as although it is most unlikely that Chartier was the translator, this translation was frequently copied into MSS of Chartier's works.

<sup>5</sup> I have italicised all MSS that also collect Chartier's French verse or Latin works.

<sup>6</sup> This is not included by Laidlaw in his table of MSS containing the *Curial*. Bourgain-Hemeryck includes it in her edition of the Latin works, Chartier (1977), p. 141.

MSS:	Quadrilogue	Esperance	Curial
<i>Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 7 (Hamilton 144)</i>	X	X	
<i>Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 C 8 (Hamilton 146)</i>	X	X	
<i>Brussels, Bibl. Roy., II 1172</i>	X	X	
<i>Brussels, B.R., 21521-31</i>			X
<i>Cambridge, Harvard Uni., Houghton Lib., 92</i>	X	X	
<i>Copenhagen, R.L., Thott. 57 in f<sup>o</sup></i>		X	
<i>Copenhagen, R.L., 1768</i>	X		X
<i>Escorial, O. I., 14</i>	X		
<i>Geneva, Lib. of E. Droz</i>		X	
<i>Göttingen, B.U., Philos. 98</i>			X
<i>Heidelberg, U.B., Pal. Germ. 484</i>		X	
<i>The Hague, R.L., 71 E 49</i>			X
<i>The Hague, R.L., 78 E 68</i>		X	
<i>London, B.L., Cotton Julius E. V.</i>	X	X	
<i>London, B.L., Harley 4402</i>	X		
<i>London, B.L., Royal 19 A xii</i>		X	
<i>London, Clumber Sale, 941</i>	X	X	X
<i>Manchester, Chetham's Lib., Muniment A. 6. 91</i>	X		
<i>Munich, Bibl. nat. gall., 10</i>	X	X	X
<i>New York, Pierpont Morgan Lib., 438</i>		X	
<i>Oxford, Bod., 421</i>	X	X	X
<i>Oxford, Bod., 864</i>			X
<i>Oxford, Bod., E. D. Clarke 34</i>		X	X
<i>Stockholm, R.L., Vu 22</i>	X		
<i>Turin, B. N., L II 12</i>	X		X
<i>Vatican, Vat. lat. 1005</i>		X	
<i>Vatican, Reg. lat. 1338</i>	X	X	
<i>Vatican, Vat. lat., 4794</i>	X		
<i>Vienna, N. B., 2619</i>	X	X	
<i>Vienna, N. B., 3391</i>			X
<i>Pierre Le Caron, printed ed. (1489)</i>	X	X	X

Key:

Quadrilogue – *Quadrilogue invectif* (1422)

Esperance – *Le Livre de l'Esperance* (1428-30)

Curial – *Le Curial* (French translation of before 1447, Latin original dates from 1427)

## *MSS Containing Latin Work(s) by Chartier*

MSS:	Ep 1	Disc 1	Ep 2	AD	Disc 2	Disc 3	Har 1	DF	Curial	Inv 1	Inv 2	Disc 4	Ep 3
<i>BNF, fr. 126<sup>7</sup></i>								X					
<i>BNF, fr. 1123</i>								X					
<i>BNF, fr. 1124</i>								X					
<b><i>BNF, fr. 1128</i></b>								X					
BNF, lat. 3127										X	X		
BNF, lat. 4329										X	X		
BNF, lat. 5961			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
BNF, lat. 6254										X	X		
BNF, lat. 8757	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
BNF, lat. 10922								X	X	X			
BNF, lat. 14117								X					
BNF, lat. 15083										X	X		
BNF, lat. 18532								X					
Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 940										X			
Paris, Bibl. Mazarine, 3893										X	X		
Paris, Ste-Geneviève, 1992								X					
Paris, Bibl. de l'Université, 229									X				
Chantilly, Musée Condée, 438	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
<i>Moulins, Bibl. Mun., 26</i>								X					
Rouen, Bibl. Mun., 480								X					
Tours, Bibl. Mun., 978									X				
<b><i>Berlin, Kupferstichkab inett 78 C 7 (Hamilton 144)</i></b>								X					
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek lat. fol. 366	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X		X
Brussels, Bibl. Royale, 14370-71								X					
<i>Cambridge, H.U., Houghton Lib., 92</i>								X					
Einsiedeln, Monastery Lib., 367 <sup>8</sup>										X	X		
Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana, 443		X	X	X			X			X	X		X
Giessen, Universitätsbibliothek, 1256										X	X		

<sup>7</sup> I have italicised the manuscripts that also contain Chartier's French prose and highlighted and underlined those that contain verse works as well.

<sup>8</sup> Bourgain-Hemeryck notes that this manuscript contains a short paraphrased and imperfect extract from the *Curial*, Chartier (1977), p. 133.

MSS:	Ep 1	Disc 1	Ep 2	AD	Disc 2	Disc 3	Har 1	DF	Curial	Inv 1	Inv 2	Disc 4	Ep 3
Hildesheim, Dombibliothek, 737			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Liège, Bibl. Univ., Fonds Wittert 109								x	x	x	x		
London, B.L., Cotton Julius E V								x					
London, B.L., Harley 1883								x	x				
Oxford, Bod., E. Musaeo 213				x									
Toledo, Cabildo Toletano, VI 21			x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		
Uppsala, U.L., C 917				x	x								
Vatican, Ottoboni lat. 858			x	x									
Vatican, Ottoboni lat. 1651				x									
Vatican, Reg. lat. 1338								x					
Vatican, Reg. lat. 1676								x					
Vatican, cod. lat. 11548										x	x		
Vienna, N. B., 3281				x									
Wolfenbüttel, Bibl. Herzog August, Helmstedt 376			x	x	x	x	x	x					

Key (in chronological order by category):

Ep 1 – *Epistula ad fratrem suum juvenem* (1410-1414)

Ep 2 – *Lettre à l'Université de Paris* (August 1418-beginning of 1419)

Ep 3 – *Lettre sur Jeanne d'Arc* (August-September 1429)

Disc 1 – *Discours à Charles VI sur les libertés de l'Église* (March 1412?)

Disc 2 – *Premier discours à Sigismond* (January-April 1425)

Disc 3 – *Second discours à Sigismond* (“)

Disc 4 – *Discours au roi d'Écosse* (1428)

AD – *Ad detestacionem belli gallici* (January 1423)

Har 1 – *Harangue aux Hussites* (January-April 1425)

DF – *Dialogus familiaris* (1426-February 1427)

Curial – *De vita curiali* (Latin original - 1427?)

Inv 1 – *Invectiva ad ingratum amicum* (1427-1428)

Inv 2 – *Invectiva ad invidum et detractorem* (“)

## Appendix A<sup>1</sup> (to Chapter I)

*Table of Contents of Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686, Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale Universitaria, L. II. 12, London, Westminster Abbey, Chapter House (CA 21) and Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 19139*

### *Chantilly, Musée Condé, 686 [Qc]:<sup>2</sup>*

Fifteenth century; paper and parchment (fly-leaves); 117 fols.; 300x218mm.

1. Fols. 1-16; 102-117, *Les Ordonnances de Philippe le Bel*.
2. Fols. 17<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>, *Le Songe de la barge* [Jean de Werchin].
3. Fol. 32<sup>r</sup>, *La Complainte contre la mort* [Chartier].
- 4-52. Fols. 32<sup>v</sup>-42<sup>r</sup>, *Ballades and longer verses*.
53. Fols. 42<sup>r</sup>-46<sup>r</sup>, *La Vision amoureuse*.
- 54-62. Fols. 46<sup>v</sup>-47<sup>v</sup>, *Ballades and longer verses*.
63. Fols. 50<sup>r</sup>-67<sup>r</sup>, *Les Quinze Joies du mariage* [sometimes attributed to Antoine de la Sale].
64. Fols. 67<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>v</sup>, *La Belle Dame sans mercy* [Chartier].
65. Fols. 71<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>, *Le Jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy* [Baudet Herenc, *Parlement d'Amours*].
66. Fols. 82<sup>r</sup>-101, *Le Livre du gouvernement des rois et des princes appelé le Secret des secretz, lequel fist Aristote au roy Alexandre*.
67. Fol. 101[?], *Fragment of Latin Verse Telling the Story of Lucretia and Tarquin*.

### *Turin, Bibliotheca Nazionale Universitaria, L. II. 12 [Qp]:<sup>3</sup>*

Sixteenth century; parchment; 174 fols.

Laidlaw notes that *Qp* was badly damaged by fire in 1904, and has not been restored. Piaget notes that *Qp*, like *Ok* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. gall. 10), was copied from the collected edition published by Galliot du Pré in 1526. Margaret Felberg-Levitt supplies an additional description of this manuscript in the introduction to her 1995 edition of the *Demandes d'amour*.

1. Fols. 1-56, *Livre de l'Esperance* [Chartier].
2. Fols. 56-60, *Le Curial de maistre Alain Charretier*.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The sigla in square brackets correspond with Laidlaw's descriptions in his edition: Chartier (1974).

<sup>2</sup> Descriptions of this manuscript can be found in Chartier (1974), McRae (1997) and Jean de Werchin (1996). Grenier-Winther wrongly attributes the *Jugement de la Belle Dame sans mercy* (Baudet Herenc's *Parlement d'Amours*) to Chartier. The confusion arises presumably from the attribution of the work to Chartier in the manuscript.

<sup>3</sup> See Table, *Romania* XXXIII, 200, 201, 206; XXXIV, 560.

<sup>4</sup> The *Livre de l'Esperance* and the *Curial* are often combined under this title in the printed editions.

3. Fols. 60<sup>r</sup>-82<sup>v</sup>, *Le Quadrilogue invectif* [Chartier].
4. Unknown.
5. Fols. 86<sup>r</sup>A-88<sup>r</sup>A, *Libelle de la paix* [Chartier, *Lay de paix*].
6. Fols. 88<sup>r</sup>A-91<sup>r</sup>A, *Le Breviaire des nobles* [Chartier].
7. Fols. 91<sup>v</sup>A-94<sup>t</sup>B, *Le Livre de reveil le matin* [Chartier, *DRM*].
8. Fols. 94<sup>t</sup>B-100<sup>t</sup>B, *La Dame sans mercy* [Chartier, *BDSM*].
9. Fols. 100<sup>v</sup>B-103<sup>r</sup>A, *Complainte et supplication envoyee aux dames par les poursuivans et loyaulx serviteurs de la court amoureuse du dieu d'Amours*.<sup>5</sup>
10. Fol. 103, *Comment l'amoureux deprie sa dame et est fort repugnant a la Belle Dame sans mercy selon maistre Alain* [Oton de Granson, *La Belle Dame qui eut mercy*].
11. Fols. 106<sup>r</sup>A-131<sup>v</sup>B, *Le Livre des Quatre Dames compilé et fait par maistre Alain l'an M. CCCC. XXXIII*.<sup>6</sup>
12. Fols. 131<sup>v</sup>B-141<sup>r</sup>B, *L'Ospital d'Amours composé par ledict maistre Alain* [Achille Caulier].  
Fol. 141, *Cy finist l'Ospital d'Amours*.
13. Fols. 141<sup>r</sup>B-144<sup>v</sup>B, *Complainte de Saint Valentin; La Pastourelle Gransson* [Oton de Granson].
14. Unknown
15. Fol. 147, *Complaincte tres pietouse*.
16. Fols. 148<sup>t</sup>B-149<sup>v</sup>B, *Complainte: Mort, or voy je ta cruaulté/ et doloureuse volenté* [Jean le Seneschal].<sup>7</sup>
17. Unknown.
18. Fol. 150<sup>v</sup>, *D'un amoureux parlant a sa dame par amours*.
19. Fol. 154, *Lay de plaisance* [Chartier].
20. Unknown.
21. Unknown.
22. Fols. 163<sup>t</sup>B-164<sup>v</sup>B, *Demandes et responces d'amours. Incipit: Je vous demande, s'amours avoient perdu leur nom, comment les nommeriez vous? Explicit: De rage de cul*.<sup>8</sup>
23. Fol. 165, *Le Debat du gras et du meigre* [Chartier, *DDFA*].

London, Westminster Abbey, Chapter House (MS CA 21):<sup>9</sup>

Late-fifteenth century; paper; 282x209mm; 80 fols.; two hands.

Fol. 1 is missing.

1. Fols. 2<sup>r</sup>-5<sup>r</sup>, *Priere a Notre Dame* [Guillaume Alexis].
2. Fols. 6<sup>r</sup>-9<sup>r</sup>, *Virelay. Incipit: A ce premier jour de may...* [possibly Eustache Deschamps].
3. Fols. 9<sup>v</sup>-11<sup>v</sup>, *33 Demandes d'amours, en vers et prose. Incipit: Qu'esse*

<sup>5</sup> Chartier (1974) notes that it is possible that item 8 includes the two prose letters and the *Excusacion* because of the similarity of the heading of 8 in Qq and of the prose letter in Xa, pp. 133-34.

<sup>6</sup> This dating must be inaccurate, given that Chartier dies in 1430.

<sup>7</sup> See Jean le Seneschal (1905), pp. 232-39.

<sup>8</sup> See Felberg-Levitt (1995), pp. 84-5.

<sup>9</sup> This manuscript was not described by Laidlaw, as it does not contain any of Chartier's works. See Table, *Romania* XXXII, 65; XLIX, 58. See also Meyer, *Bulletin de la Société des Anciens Textes Français*, 1875, p. 36.

- que d'amours...Explicit: quant elle est paree de sens et de grace.*
4. Fols. 11<sup>v</sup>-13<sup>v</sup>, *Lai de plour* [Oton de Granson].
  5. Fol. 14<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>, *Complainte d'amant* [Jean de Garençières].
  6. Fols. 15<sup>r</sup>-34<sup>r</sup>, *42 ballades, majority by Machaut, also 5 ballades amoureuses, one by Machaut, one by Oton de Granson. 2 virelais and 1 rondel* [Fol. 15, *Jardin de plaisance*, t.2, 125, no. 43; Fol. 27<sup>v</sup>, *Jardin de pl.*, t.2, 214, no. 445]. Includes the first of 11 ballades that constitute the *Concours de Blois* between Charles d'Orléans and others, 'Je meurs de soif bien près de la fontaine'.
  7. Fols. 34<sup>v</sup>-35<sup>r</sup>, *Le Dit des douze mois*.<sup>10</sup>
  8. Fols. 35<sup>v</sup>-37<sup>r</sup>, *Le Dit de la condition des femmes. Incipit: Un homs qui se marie/ Véés s'il fait sens ou folie...*<sup>11</sup>
  9. Fols. 37<sup>v</sup>-38<sup>r</sup>, *Balade des abus des femmes* [see J. de Pl., vol. 2, 122, note 35].
  10. Fols. 38<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>, *Un Dit d'amours* from *Chastement des dames* [Robert de Blois].  
Fol. 41<sup>v</sup> is blank.
  11. Fols. 42<sup>r</sup>-44<sup>v</sup>, *Jeux partiz d'amours. 34 demandes en prose. Incipit: Dame, je vous demande, se femmes sont aussi jalouses comme les hommes?...Explicit: et tout ce vient du cuer faulx...*
  12. Fol. 45<sup>r</sup>, *Autre jeu party de demandes. A jeu-parti between a lady and Aubelet.*
  13. Fol. 45<sup>r</sup>-45<sup>v</sup>, *9 Ventes d'amour [venditions]. Incipit: Je vous vens la giroflee...*<sup>12</sup>
  14. Fols. 46<sup>r</sup>-47<sup>v</sup>, *Comment la dame demande au sire quelz sont les .viij. vertuz que vray amant doit avoir.*<sup>13</sup>
  15. Fols. 48<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>, *20 demandes d'amours en prose. Incipit: Sire, je vous demande a quoy il convient plus grant sens: ou a acquerir amours et mercy de sa dame, ou garder amours et mercy...Explicit: amer, honnourer et tres loyaument cherir...*
  16. Fols. 52<sup>r</sup>-64<sup>v</sup>, *L'Épistre au dieu d'Amours* [Christine de Pizan].
  17. Fols. 65<sup>r</sup>-75<sup>v</sup>, *Le Livre de la pastoure* [Christine de Pizan].
  18. Fols. 76<sup>r</sup>-77<sup>v</sup>, *Complainte de Saint Valentin* [Oton de Granson].
  19. Fols. 78<sup>r</sup>-80<sup>v</sup>, *La Belle Dame qui eut mercy* [Oton de Granson].

Paris, BNF, fr. 19139 [Ph]:<sup>14</sup>

Fifteenth century; paper; 2<sup>o</sup>; 270x185mm (195x105); 482=486 fols.; 26-30 lines.

1. Fol. 1, *Le Livre que monseigneur Charles, duc d'Orléans, a faict estant prisonnier en Angleterre.*

<sup>10</sup> For edition see Morawski, 'Les Douze Mois figurez', *Archivum Romanicum* 10 (1926), 351-63.

<sup>11</sup> See Meyer, 'Plaidoyer en faveur des femmes', *Romania* 6 (1877), 499-503.

<sup>12</sup> See Bergeron, *Le Genre médiéval des venditions: édition critique des textes* (unpublished thesis, University of Montreal, 1986).

<sup>13</sup> Only 5 of the 8 virtues are listed. They are identical to those found in a dialogue: *Consaus d'Amours*. See Neilson, 'The Origins and Sources of the Court of Love', *Harvard Studies and Notes in Phil. and Lit.* 6 (Boston: Ginn, 1899), p. 195.

<sup>14</sup> See Piaget, 'Jean de Garençières', *Romania* XXII, 1893, 422-81.

- Fol. 117, *Cy fine le Livre que monseigneur le duc d'Orléans a fait estant prisonnier en Angleterre. Explicit* [This livre comprises 71 items, including as well as the *ballades* the *Dit de France*, fol. 101, and the *Lay piteux*, fol. 105]. Fols. 118, 119, 120 are blank.
2. Fols. 121-34, *Le Debat de reveille matin* [Chartier].
  3. Fols. 135-246, *Le Livre des Quatre Dames* [Chartier].
  4. Fol. 247, *La Belle Dame sans mercy*.  
Fol. 275, *Cy fine la Belle Dame Sans mercy*.
  5. Fol. 276, *La Response a la Belle Dame sans mercy* [Chartier, *Excusacion*].  
Fol. 284, *Cy fine la Response maistre Alain*.
  6. Fols. 285-301, *Le Breviere des nobles* [Chartier].
  7. Fols. 301-310, *Le Lay de paix* [Chartier].
  8. Fols. 311-317, *La Complainte maistre Alain*.
  9. Fols. 318-58, *Le Gras et le maigre* [Chartier, *DDFA*].
  10. Fol. 358, *L'Ospital d'Amours* [Achille Caulier].  
Fol. 403, *Explicit Bonnefoy*.
  11. Fols. 403-4, *Balade d'Alain*. (*Aucunes gens m'ont huy a raisonne / En tournoyant ainsi que je souloye.*)
  12. Fols. 404-5, *Rondel de ce mesmes*. (*Joye me fuit et desespoir me chace / Je n'ay plaisir ne je ne le pourchace.*)
  13. Fol. 405, *Le Lay de plaisance* [Chartier].  
Fol. 412, *Cy fine le Lay de plaisance Bonnefoy*.
  14. Fol. 412, *L'Enseignement du dieu d'Amours*: '*Ung jour m'avint que par Merencolie / Ou moye de may plaisant et gracieux / Je chevauchoie le long d'une praerie / Un bien matin ou j'estoie tout seulx / Et entre oy dont je fuz meriveilleux / Aupres de moy une voix m'appeller / Qui plus me dist que nes tu amoureux / Je te promet que c'est un beau mestier*' [Jean de Garençières].
  15. Fol. 418, *Ballades, rondeaux et complaintes* [Jean de Garençières]<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>15</sup> This is the sole manuscript witness to Jean de Garençières' poetry. Garençières (1371-1415) exchanged polemical *ballades* with Charles d'Orléans, and wrote a *ballade* in 1389 in Avignon in response to Jean de Bucy, author of one of the thirteen responses (*ballade XII*) to the *Cent Ballades*.

## Appendix B (to Chapter V)

### *Table of Contents of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, fr. 1169, Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 3521, and 3523*

#### *Paris, BNF, fr. 1169 (mid-fifteenth century):*

1. Fol. 2, *Le Livre de la moralité des nobles hommes sus le gieu des eschecs* [French translation of Jacobus de Cessolis's Latin original by Jean de Vignay, 1335-50].
2. Fol. 107, *La Dame lealle en amours* [anon, 1425-30].
3. Fol. 127, *Le Jugement contraire a la lealle dame en amours* [Achille Caulier, *Cruelle Femme en amours*, c. 1430].
4. Fol. 143<sup>v</sup>, *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil* [Michault Taillevent, 1444].

#### *Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3521 [Pn] (late-fifteenth century)<sup>16</sup>:*

1. Fol. 1, *L'Instruction d'un josne prince pour soy bien gouverner envers Dieu et le monde*, [Folliant de Jonval, but attributed in catalogue to Georges Chastelain].
2. Fol. 30, *S'ensuit le Breviaire des nobles que fist maistre Allain Charretier*.
3. Fol. 38, *Lay de paix fait par maistre Allain Chartier*.
4. Fol. 43, *Autre lay*.
5. Fol. 46, *Ethimologisation de Paris* [Jean Munier, 1418].
6. Fol. 47, *Lay de Nostre Dame* [Guillaume Alexis ?].
7. Fol. 48, *Le Psaultier des villains* [Taillevent].
8. Fol. 56<sup>v</sup>, *Complainte de maistre Allain Charretier*.
9. Fol. 59<sup>v</sup>, *S'ensuit la Belle Dame sans mercy* [Chartier].
10. Fol. 72, *Lettre des dames a Alain*.
11. Fol. 72<sup>r-v</sup>, *La Requeste baillee aux dames contre Alain*.
12. Fol. 73, *L'Excusacion aux dames* [Chartier].
13. Fol. 77, *La Response des dames, faite a maistre Alain*.
14. Fol. 79, *Traitté fait par Baudart Hereng, correspondant a la Belle Dame sans mercy* [Le Parlement d'Amours].
15. Fol. 89, *S'ensuit la Dame lealle en amours*.
16. Fol. 103, *La Cruelle Femme en amours* [Achille Caulier].
17. Fol. 118, *L'Ospital d'Amours* [Achille Caulier].
18. Fol. 138, *S'ensuit le Debat resveille matin* [Chartier].
19. Fol. 144, *Lay de plaisance* [Chartier].
20. Fol. 147<sup>v</sup>, *L'Ostelerie de joye*.
21. Fol. 149, *Le Debat du cuer et de l'ueil* [Taillevent].
22. Fol. 162, *La Confession d'Amours*.

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<sup>16</sup> There are three foliations for this ms. The most recent, in pencil, numbers two consecutive folios as 57. I therefore follow the original ink foliation which is accurate. The roman numerals are occasionally cut off the top of the folios, but can be found listed on the first three folios (letters A, B, and C) in the original table of contents. There are 300 fols in this ms: 296 + 4 (A, B, C, D).

23. Fol. 169<sup>v</sup>, *Passio cuyusdam monachi*.
24. Fol. 171, *Le Debat de deux chevaliers sur les plaisirs et dolleurs qui poevent estre en amours fait par maistre Allain Chartier* [DDFA].
25. Fol. 187, *La Lamentacion de Gresse, oppressée des Turcs, et la consolation que lui donnent France et Angleterre* [debate between personifications of Greece, France and England, by Jean Molinet].
26. Fol. 195, *La Deduccion du process de honneur femenin* [Pierre Michault].
27. Fol. 219, *Le Regime de Fortune, fait par Michault Taillevent*.
28. Fol. 223, *Lay fait par Michault Taillevent sur le trespas de Madame Marguerite fille du roy de France contesse de charollois*.
29. Fol. 227, *Le Passe temps de Michault Taillevent*.
30. Fol. 238, *Le Temps perdu de Pierre Chastellain*.
31. Fol. 247, *Le Congié d'Amours, fait par Michault Taillevent*.
32. Fol. 250, *La Bien Allée* [Taillevent].
33. Fol. 253<sup>v</sup>, *L'Ediffice de l'ostel dollereux d'Amours, fait par ledit Michault Taillevent*.
34. Fol. 256<sup>v</sup>, *La Resourse et reliefvement du dollereux hostel d'Amours* [Taillevent].
35. Fol. 259<sup>v</sup>, *Lay fait par Achilles Caulier a l'onneur de la vierge Marie*.
36. Fol. 261<sup>v</sup>, *Exhortacion pour le salut de creature humaine*.
37. Fol. 264<sup>v</sup>, *Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz*.
38. Fol. 267<sup>v</sup>, *Meditation a l'ymage du crucefix*.
39. Fol. 268, *Le Pas de la mort fait par George l'aventurier* [Georges Chastelain].
40. Fol. 276, *Vers a la louange des seigneurs illustres en France* [Simon Gréban].
41. Fol. 285, *Plusieurs bonnes ballades*.
42. Fol. 289, *Temple de Mars* [Jean Molinet].
43. Fol. 294, *Piece de vers ajoutée* [added in later hand].

*Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3523 [Po] (late-fifteenth century):*

1. Fol. 1, *Le Breviaire des nobles* [Chartier].
2. Fol. 17, *Le Psaultier des villains* [Taillevent].
3. Fol. 33, *Le Songe de la pucelle*.
4. Fol. 51, *Le Plaidoié de la Damoiselle a l'encontre de la Bourgoise* [Blosseville, *Echiquier d'Amours*].
5. Fol. 71, *Le Debat reveille matin* [Chartier].
6. Fol. 83, *Le Nouvel Marié* [*Debat du marié et du non marié ou Resveillé qui dort*].
7. Fol. 99, *Le Passetemps de Michault*.
8. Fol. 123, *Le Contrepassetemps* [Pierre Chastelain, *Le Temps perdu*].
9. Fol. 141, *La Belle Dame sans mercy* [Chartier].
10. Fol. 165, *La Response de la Belle Dame* [Baudet Herenc, *Le Parlement d'Amours*].
11. Fol. 187, *Les Erreurs contraires a la Belle Dame en amours* [Achille Caulier, *La Cruelle Femme en amours*].
12. Fol. 219, *La Deserte du desloyal*.

13. Fol. 247, *Le Mirouer des dames* [vernacular translation of Durand de Champagne's *Speculum dominarum*].
14. Fol. 281, *L'Ospital d'Amours* [Achille Caulier].
15. Fol. 321, *Le Congié d'Amours*.<sup>17</sup>
16. Fol. 339, *Dialogue entre l'amant et la dame* [Oton de Granson, *La Belle Dame qui eut mercy*].
17. Fol. 351, *D'un amoureux parlant a sa dame par amours*.
18. Fol. 359, *La Confession d'Amours*.
19. Fol. 378, *La Grant Garde derriere*.
20. Fol. 391, *La Complainte maistre Alain Chartier*.
21. Fol. 399, *Priere a la vierge par Pierre Nesson*.
22. Fol. 411, *Le Lay de paix* [Chartier].
23. Fol. 421, *Le Banquet du boys*.
24. Fol. 437, *Epitaphe ou lamentation du roy derrain trespasé* [Charles VII, by Simon Gréban].
25. Fol. 461, *Complainte pour la mort de mme. Marguarite d'escosse daulphin de vennoys* [Taillevent].
26. Fol. 467, *Cy apres s'ensuit la Responce et consolation de la complainte cy dessuss escripte*.
27. Fol. 475, *Le Jugement du povre triste amant banny*.
28. Fol. 519, *La Confession et testament de l'amant trespasé de deuil* [Pierre de Hauteville, 'prince d'Amours'].
29. Fol. 589, *Le Livre de l'amant rendu cordellier a l'observance d'amours*.
30. Fol. 647, *Grand Testament* [François Villon].
31. Fol. 719, *La Ballade de Fortune* [François Villon].
32. Fol. 721, *Le Lais François Villon*.
33. Fol. 735, *Le Debat du cuer et de l'oeil* [Taillevent].
34. Fol. 759, *Le debat des deux seurs ou l'Embusche Vaillant* [Vaillant].
35. Fol. 793, *La Conclusion du debat sans relacion*.

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<sup>17</sup> There are two separate poems contained within this item; see Gossner (1955).

### Appendix C (to chapter V)

*Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz (Paris, Bibl. de l'Arsenal, 3521, fols. 264<sup>v</sup>-267<sup>r</sup>)<sup>18</sup>*

Je croy que pas ne mesferoit fol. 264<sup>v</sup>  
Cil qui comparison feroit,  
Demoustrant par similitude  
Tout l'estat humain, nice et rude,  
5 Au jeu dez eschecz qui la guise  
Dudit estat moustre et devise.  
Lez jeuz dessi dis<sup>19</sup> ensachiés  
Est en ung sacq et hors sachiés  
De celui qui veult qu'on en jue.  
10 Ainsy preuve femme et argue  
Qu'elle est le sac dont nous issons  
Quant a dieu plaist que nous naissons.  
Le tablier sur quoy sont assiz  
Les eschecz, menus et massis,  
15 Est le present<sup>20</sup> monde et la terre  
La (ou) il nous convient vie querre,  
Soit par labour ou autrement,  
Se Job le preudomme ne ment  
Qui dist que ly homs naist pour paine  
20 Avoir en la forest mondaine,  
Ou nous trayons tous a coller.  
Ly oisel naissent pour voller,  
Car nul, tant soit de noble affaire,  
N'y est qui n'ait assés a faire  
Pour temps futur ou pour present,  
Qui va bien son estat pesant.  
Et se les riche y ont mesaise,  
Ly povre y ont pou qui leur plaise.  
Ly point divers de l'eschequier,  
30 Duquel l'estat celer n'enquier,  
Est la gouvernance diverse  
Ou Fortune les hommes verse  
Qui les ungz fait estre et movoir  
En blanc et les aultres en noir.  
Car nous veons bien qui habonde

<sup>18</sup>This is my edition from the Arsenal manuscript. I have distinguished between 'i' and 'j', 'u' and 'v', expanded abbreviations, added diacritical marks, and modernised the punctuation. Round brackets indicate where I would suppress a word to maintain metrical integrity; square brackets indicate where I would add a word for the same reason.

<sup>19</sup> This should perhaps be corrected to 'dessu dit'.

<sup>20</sup> This is transcribed in an abbreviated form in the manuscript that is unclear, but must be a word of two syllables. 'Present' is my suggestion.

fol. 265<sup>r</sup>

Par excés des biens de ce monde,  
 Et l'autre veons povre et nu,  
 Combien que tous soient venu  
 D'un sac, mais non pas tout d'une heure.  
 40   Toutevoyes Fortune honneure  
       L'un d'avoir et de poësté,  
       Et l'autre met en povreté  
       Sans prisier vaillant une mitte  
       Beaulté, bonté, sens ne merite,  
       Et lé (p) poins divers des estas<sup>21</sup>  
       Divers. Voire comme qui en et cas<sup>22</sup>  
       Car ly ung n'est semblant a l'autre  
       Nez que fin drap ressemble faultre.  
 50   Sont ly estat et ly degré  
       Qu'on a par contrainte ou de gré,  
       En ce monde plain de misere,  
       En la guise et en la mannere  
       Que nous veons des hommes estre.  
       L'un marchand, chevalier, ou prebstre,  
       Pappe, empereur, duc ou roy  
       Ou d'autre quilconque convoy,  
       Soit gens oiseuse ou de mestier,  
       Desquelz dire n'est pas mestier.  
       Et le trait fait subtillement  
 60   Au dit jeu s'y sent proprement  
       Les frauduleuses voullentés,  
       Desquelles chascun est temptés  
       De son compaignon decepvoir,  
       Afin qu'il y puist recevoir  
       Aucun pourffit ou avantaige.  
       Sy siet bien a ceulx qui sont saige,  
       Et mal a ceulx qui ne se gardent,  
       Telz se cuident chauffer qui s'ardent.  
       **Et voit on bien ung paonnet**  
 70   **Se juer dessoubx ung bonnet,**  
       **Qu'il prend ung roc ou ung aulphin,**  
       **Qui bien cuide jouer au fin,**  
       **Voire mener jusques en l'angle**  
       **Ung roy, sy qu'il n'est tel qui jangle,**  
       **Et puis que ly roix est mattez<sup>23</sup>**  
       Chevalier ne sera ja telz  
       Qu'il s'ose mouvoir pour deffendre  
       Qui scet riens de logicque entendre  
 80   Pour ce ne puet nulz homs savoir  
       Son estat, ne saura ja voir  
       Jusques lors que sa vie fine.  
       Car plus que le petit m'affine

fol. 265<sup>v</sup>

<sup>21</sup> The initial 'p' seems to be a scribal error.

<sup>22</sup> The line is difficult to decipher here.

<sup>23</sup> This highlighted passage is transcribed by Murray in his *History of Chess*, p. 558.

Le grant, nul n'a seureté aucune,  
 Confaitte il trouvera Fortune,  
 Car telle cuide avoir amie,  
 Souvent que telle ne l'a mie,  
 Ains la treuve dure et sauvaige,  
 De fait, de dit, et de couraige.  
 90 Puis dont que nous sommes tous nez  
 Ly aucun en sont fortunez  
 Pour roix ou princes devenir,  
 Ly aultre pour estat tenir  
 De conté ou de baronnie  
 Ou estat de chevalerie.  
 L'autre est bourgeois ou marchant,  
 Se l'en va bien ou mal cheant.  
 L'autre se vit d'aucun ouvraige  
 En ville, en champs, ou en boscaige.  
 100 Ly autre pourchasse sa vie  
 A mener par mer la navie,  
 Et l'autre povre mendiant  
 Va d'huys en huys son pain querant.  
 Ly autre est ribaux en chemise  
 Qui a la si plaisante mise,  
 L'autre larron ravit de proye  
 Ou du jeu de bontté en croye.  
 L'autre vit de seigneurs flater,  
 Sy c'on ne l'en pourroit mater,  
 110 Et en a bonne vie et grasse;  
 Plus que telz est de bonne grace.  
 Ly clerc se vivent d'autre guise,  
 C'est d'estre rentez en l'eglise  
 Ou d'entrer en religion,  
 Sy ont aucun prelation,  
 Religieuse ou seculiere,  
 Pour la quelle ilz sont nommé pere.  
 L'autre est advocat ou notaire,  
 Ou escripvain pour livres faire.  
 120 L'autre presche et devient questeur,  
 Et veult prendre en cel acquist heur  
 Les deux personnes qui s'esbatent  
 Au dit jeu mais qu'ilz se combatent,  
 Car pour verité l'un ne tire  
 Qu'a l'autre vaincre et desconfire.  
 C'est nostre vie et nostre mort,  
 Dont l'une baise et l'autre mort.  
 Nostre vie qui rit et baise,  
 Et nostre char qui quiert son aise,  
 130 Tant comme elle en puet plus avoir  
 De charnelx delitz et d'avoir.  
 Et tant qu'elle a plus de delices  
 Elle s'abandonne a tous vices,

fol. 266<sup>r</sup>

Et cuide vivre longuement  
 Et maintenir tel errement  
 Comme elle qui ne cuide mie  
 Qu'il soit paradis n'autre vie  
 Que d'estre en ce siecle mortel  
 Tant comme elle y ait deport tel;  
 140 Mais quant elle ne se prend garde,  
 La mort a fait s'arriere garde,  
 Qui lui vient dire eschec et mat,  
 Dont maint roy gisent roit et mat,  
 Sy font contesses et roynes,  
 Enversées les pances souvines.  
 L'anglet ou prend fin la bataille,  
 C'est nostre derrain jour sans faille.  
 Lors sont en ung sacq mis arriere  
 Pietons et roy comme en biere. fol. 266<sup>v</sup>  
 150 Le grant sacq commun c'est la terre  
 Que tous nous enclot et enserre;  
 S'est bien drois que nous retourniesmes  
 A la terre de qui nous sommes.  
 Quant on a des eschecz joué,  
 Ilz sont remis et alloué  
 En ung sacq ou en une bourse,  
 Tous ensemble et tout d'une course,  
 Sans faire honneur ne reverence  
 Au roy, n'a la roÿne en ce,<sup>24</sup>  
 160 Non plus qu'on [ne] fait a pÿon,<sup>25</sup>  
 Car on les prend et les gette on  
 Ou sac, cul dessus (et) cul desseure,  
 Sicom trouveroit chascune heure  
 Au fons du sac le roy gisant,  
 Et dessoubx sont ly plus pesant;  
 C'est raison [que] cilz qui plus poise  
 Soit au dessoubx qui plus en poise.  
 Lors est l'estour du jeu finé  
 Quant ils sont ou sac souviné.  
 170 Cest exemple fait bien entendre  
 Que le grant puet trop plus mesprendre,  
 Et aussy plus pugnis sera  
 Que ly petis qui mesfera,  
 Supposé que chascun mesfaice  
 Des deux, par une meisme tache.  
 Car pour certain la dignité  
 Multiplie l'iniquité  
 Faitte de quelconcque personne,  
 Et au contraire, d'oeuvre bonne  
 180 Accroist elle plus grant merite

<sup>24</sup> This is an instance of *rime suspendue*.

<sup>25</sup> This line is hypometric; I have added 'ne' to restore the syllable count.

A grant personne qu'a petite.  
Se dy que cilz saiges seroit  
Qui son estat ordonneroit fol. 267<sup>r</sup>  
Au plus briefment, sans differer,  
Qu'il pourroit par considerer,  
Et notter la comparaison  
Du monde plain de traÿson,  
Faitte au jeu que j'ay devisé  
Dont ly trait sont (sy) desus visé.  
190 Dieux nous doint telle memo[i]re,  
Qu'en fin ayons sa sainte gloire. Amen

# Comment l'estat du monde puet estre comparé au jeu des eschecz

Le roy qui par in messerou  
Est qm comparison feroit  
De monstres par similitud  
Ces lettres humines muez (tind  
Au jeu des eschecz qm la quasi  
Dudit estat manifeste & deinst  
Pheuz, Dessus vus s'achent  
Est qm vus parq et hors s'achent  
De vus qm vus quoy qm vus  
Dusq par une fere et vus  
Onde est le par d'ou, vus s'ont  
Quant adieu playt (s, vus, vus s'ont  
Le tableur fin quoy s'ont assor)  
Par assor, vus s'ont & vus s'ont  
Est le par monde et la terre  
La ou vus vus vus vus vus  
Est par labors qm vus s'ont  
De vus le par vus vus vus  
D'ou s'ont que le home vus s'ont  
D'ou vus la fere vus s'ont  
Ou vus vus vus vus vus  
De vus vus vus vus vus  
Et vus vus s'ont de vus s'ont  
Vus est qm vus s'ont vus  
Vus vus vus vus vus vus  
Vus vus vus vus vus vus  
Et si le fere vus vus  
Le pour vus vus vus vus  
Vus vus vus vus vus vus  
De quel estat vus vus vus  
Est le vus vus vus vus  
De vus vus vus vus vus  
D'ou vus vus vus vus vus  
Et vus vus vus vus vus  
Et vus vus vus vus vus  
Vus vus vus vus vus vus



Vng Roy se quel nest tel que l'auant  
 Et pnt que le Roy est (matt?)  
 Et le m' s'ra la t'le  
 Quel s'ose mouuoir po' d'ffender  
 En s'ot d'ne de l'orgue-entender  
 Plouit et ne pnt nul hont s'auoir  
 Doy estat, m' s'auoir la noue  
 N'ist' l'ort que p' d'ur f'ur  
 Car plus que le p'at, m' s'at  
 Je s'ent nul na s'ent auoir  
 Et y fait' l'etoume ba fortune  
 Car t'le y l'and auoir aue  
 S'ent q' t'le m' la m'ie  
 Aue la t'oume d'ur s'um'at  
 De fait de d'ur et de d'ur  
 Aue d'ur que no' s'ent t'le m'ie  
 Et auoir en s'ot fortune  
 Plouit Roy ou p'ent d'ur  
 Et aultre poue estat t'le  
 De s'ent ou de l'oume  
 Ou estat de ch'ualier  
 L'autre est bon' ou m'ch'ant  
 Et l'ou ba b'uy ou mal ch'ant  
 L'autre se ba d'ur ou s'ouage  
 Et y l'le ou champ ou ou b'ouage  
 Et aultre poue s'at p' d'ur  
 Aue m' p'at m' la m'ie  
 Et l'autre poue m' d'ur  
 Ou d'ur ou l' h'it' s'oy p'ant  
 Et aultre est d'ur ou d'ur  
 Et y a la p'at p'ant m'ie  
 L'autre l'ou ou d'ur de p'at  
 Ou du Roy de bon' ou d'ur  
 L'autre d'ur de s'at flant  
 Et ou m' l'ou poue m'at  
 Et ou a bon' d'ur et g'at  
 Plus que t'le est de bon' g'at

88 186

Le clove se dument d'autre et mist  
 Est de l'oe d'ouez / en l'ouest  
 Ou d'ouez en Religion  
 Enout auoy p'ouation  
 Religionist ou seculier  
 Non la quelle se font pour  
 L'autre est aduocat ou notaire  
 On estoynant pour l'ouez faire  
 L'autre p'ouest et d'ouez qu'est  
 Et d'ouez p'ouez en tel acquit l'ouez  
 Les deux p'ouez q'ouez se font  
 Audis l'ouez mais q'ouez se combatent  
 Ces pour l'ouez luy ne t'ouez  
 C'ouez l'autre d'ouez et d'ouez  
 Est n'ouez (ou et n'ouez) n'ouez  
 Sont l'ouez b'ouez et l'autre n'ouez  
 N'ouez ou q'ouez (ou et b'ouez)  
 Et n'ouez d'ouez q'ouez q'ouez se font  
 Tant d'ouez elle en p'ouez plus auoy  
 De char n'ouez d'ouez et d'ouez  
 Et tant q'ouez ap'ouez de d'ouez  
 Elle se d'ouez ab'ouez d'ouez  
 Et d'ouez d'ouez l'ouez n'ouez  
 Et n'ouez tel d'ouez n'ouez  
 C'ouez elle q'ouez n'ouez n'ouez  
 Q'ouez se font n'ouez n'ouez  
 C'ouez d'ouez en se d'ouez n'ouez  
 Tant d'ouez elle par d'ouez tel  
 N'ouez q'ouez elle n'ouez p'ouez n'ouez  
 La n'ouez a fait p'ouez n'ouez  
 C'ouez l'ouez d'ouez d'ouez n'ouez  
 Sont n'ouez d'ouez n'ouez d'ouez n'ouez  
 Et font d'ouez et d'ouez  
 Et n'ouez l'ouez p'ouez d'ouez  
 L'ouez ou p'ouez fin la d'ouez  
 Est n'ouez d'ouez pour p'ouez d'ouez

L'ore soit en vus sary ma arure  
Plutost et froy vour en burre  
Le grant sary domuy est la terre  
Qui sont nous enclot e enserre  
Est bary d'ou que nous s'etour mesme  
Et la terre de qui nous s'ont  
Quant on a des effete s'ont  
Ils sont armés et allou  
En vus sary e ou en vus bonse  
Tous ensemble et tou d'ime conse  
Pour faire honneur e m'heur  
Au Roy, au la Royne e  
Noy plus qu'on fut a p'roy  
Car on les prend et les p'ce on  
On se cul d'effete et cul d'effete  
Et on trouue vout ch'ime honne  
Au foye du p'le s'oy g'oy  
Et d'effete s'ont le plus pesant  
Est s'oy e q' plus p'oy  
Foy au d'effete q' plus e p'oy  
L'ore est l'istore d'effete  
Quant ils sont ou se s'oy  
Est exemple fait bary en vider  
Qui le grant p'nt trop plus messende  
Et aussi plus p'nt s'oy  
Qui le p'nt q' messende  
Suppose que ch'ime messende  
De d'ou par vus mesme t'oy  
Cus p'nt vout la dit m'oy  
Multiplic' l'ing'ime  
Fait de quelconque p'oy  
Et au contraire d'effete bonne  
L'ore est plus vout m'oy  
L'ore p'oy que p'oy  
Et de que est s'oy s'oy

Quoy soy estat esdormi bon  
Au plus brief mes sans differer  
Quel pourrois par considerer  
Et noter la comparisoy  
Du monde plain de traysoy  
faite au bon (q' say) de luy  
Sont ly tout pour sy) de luy  
Sont nom sont telle memoire  
Quoy fin ayons sa sainte gloire

Am. & n.

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<sup>1</sup> I have listed first all manuscripts found in the BNF in Paris, followed by those in other Paris libraries, in libraries in the rest of France, and then in libraries elsewhere (respecting alphabetical order).

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