Literatures of the Hundred Years War

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Literatures of the Hundred Years War

Edited by
Daniel Davies and R. D. Perry

For Alice, Elizabeth, Isobel and Arlo (DD)
For Dennis Head and Asa Perry (RDP)

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Preface

Ardis Butterfield

The very sobriquet of the Hundred Years War indicates its unreliable but attractive power as a concept. A convenient chronological fiction created by nineteenth-century historians (the two selected defining dates making up 116 years), it has served as a big-picture explanation for a host of emergences in Western societies: the nation state, centralising administrative bureaucracy, systems of taxation, new forms of parliament and of military technology and organisation, English and French as vernacular languages of state, notions of kingship, and even organised piracy. It is yet another explanation for the rise of the individual and of the modern and of the secular.[1] What is worth attention is not just the small matter of sixteen years. The fiction runs both deeper and longer. It is the use of a concept of long war to serve many kinds of explanatory purpose: as a measure of historical time, as a means of defining history itself, of locating the modern, of understanding how collective identities are formed, and of conceiving language as an instrument of the state and as evidence of national identity. In this short set of reflections on the Hundred Years War, I want to suggest that these twin and entangled factors – the tendentiousness of assumed fact and the attractiveness of a grand explanatory concept – are exactly why the Hundred Years War has had such power in shaping ideas of modernity.

It may seem an exaggeration to talk of fiction and unreliability. Historians have worked brilliantly for factual precision, to plot itineraries, track diplomatic exchanges and gather evidence of military tactics.[2] And at first sight, the establishment of dates and the selection of events might seem straightforward enough. Yet the

date in 1337 conventionally ascribed as the opening provocation only makes sense if one assumes the key factor in selecting that date concerns a claim to kingship. Conflict between England and France long pre-dated 1337, and long post-dated 1453. It is not at all clear that Edward III (who made that claim) desired the French crown then or later. On the French side, royal rule was itself a muddled, fluctuating and weakly defined condition of power, under pressure from often more powerful ducal interests, and Edward's assertions were exactly of that character, spoken as they were by him as Duke of Aquitaine as well as king of England. Kingship was neither straightforwardly claimed, nor asserted, by either side. It is not simply that motives and reasons are harder to identify than signatories on a war treaty, but that what seem to be firm pillars of a descriptive narrative have a quite different aspect viewed from the other side.

Fiction is a misleading term if it implies any desire to be vague or wilfully inaccurate about the war. It is rather that forms of history that dwell on kingly motives and count horses and munitions produce very different narratives from those that attend to the texts of war. The former is what historian Jean-Marie Moeglin calls the classic tradition of historians of the *Guerre de cent ans* and the latter his own focus on the discourses of war. Taking account of the shifting articulations of claim and counter-claim in diplomatic materials, and recognising that contemporary chroniclers do not simply report the politics of those claims, but are entangled within them, leads to the overturning of hardened assumptions, for example that it was national enmity and desire for domination that drove the strategies of war and peace.[3] Moeglin reminds us that the moment of so-called original war-generating tension did not involve a declaration of war, but was the result of Edward's attempts to resolve what he saw as a personal quarrel between him and Philippe de Valois. Far from leaping into a national state of war, Edward repeatedly offered initiatives towards peace, and even proposed a duel in 1340 in order to avoid the bloodshed, cost and widespread misery of full-scale war.[4] Moeglin draws attention to this English-oriented construction of events because it has been ignored by post-medieval historiography. The story that he wants to clarify is one based on a re-evaluation of the Treaty of Troyes in 1420. In the

classic accounts, especially on the French side, Troyes is a monstrous and inexplicable agreement, in which France willingly submits to a bizarre renunciation of its right to sovereignty to England.[5] Moeglin argues (more subtly than this brief summary can convey) that the sense of strangeness is a product of modern retrospections which have turned a fifty-year effort to secure peace between two princes first proffered in 1337, and more fully articulated in Brétigny (1360), into a clash between realms.

This attention to the Treaty of Troyes, a public moment towards the end of the span of time conventionally understood as the Hundred Years War, thus undermines the apparently secure footing of a grand narrative about its beginning, and not only through the detail of the event but also its interpretation by contemporary writers. It is often assumed that historians and literary scholars are at odds over this, or at least have different emphases. However, this can be overstated. Moeglin has reshaped modern French historiography through his attention to the discourse employed – and manipulated – by contemporary actors in the scene of war, and to his important recognition that it was 'un discours qui oblige et qui construit la réalité historique autant qu'il est construit par elle' [a discourse that compels and constructs historical reality as much as it is constructed by it].[6] In this regard he comes close to the kind of analysis that literary historians find congenial. It is also not far from the position sketched by the intellectual historian Quentin Skinner, who remarks: 'There is […] a Nietzschean epigram hovering hereabouts: that if a concept has a history then it cannot have a definition. The task of apprehending the concept then becomes inherently historical. No concepts and definitions are above the battle, because the battle is all there is.'[7] The Hundred Years War could be said to be one such concept, possessing a history but not a definition.

Chronology and language offer deep insights into the relationship between the elusive detail and the urge to write large. The chronologies attached to the Hundred Years War, as I have been suggesting, have a fascinating multiplicity. These are not only attached to questions of bellicose assertion or counter-assertion. As Jennifer Brown (in this volume) and others note, ecclesiastical interests obeyed different chronologies. Papal durées of power were set within a temporal framework that engaged with Anglo-French conflict only

as part of other, broader polities concerning Rome, holy empire and the crusades. What could serve however approximately as a hundred years' war for England and France was, varyingly (looking back from the Treaty of Troyes in 1420), a war asserting Western Christian authority in different degrees of scale for 1,000 years (to Constantine), 800 (to Charlemagne), 366 (to 1054, the schism with the Eastern Church) or 40 (the Papal Schism from 1378). But from a literary point of view, as Andrew Galloway discusses below, yet other notions of history's extensiveness pertain. Tragedy, and epic, for example, require an 'immensely long span' in which to assert coherence or indeed authority, but their version of time does not track the same path as that of recorded human events.[8] This might not need saying were it not that the question of how a vast 'world-historical principle' gains explanatory force is exactly the issue under investigation.[9]

For it is not as if tragedy ignores recorded history. Thomas Walsingham, Geoffrey Chaucer and especially John Lydgate saw tragedy *as* history, in Galloway's insightful commentary. What remains puzzling, as he astutely explores, is the chronological wrinkle, not in the concept of tragedy so much as its articulation, that is, why tragedy in that 'middle' period before Chaucer seems so absent. I will not pre-empt his argument but want to point to the extraordinary potential of a literary genre to provoke reflection in its authors and audiences on these very moments where a concept grows in stature. The 'complex downfalls' traced by Chaucer in his *Monk's Tale* or *Troilus and Criseyde* are, in Walsingham and Lydgate, explorations of the vastness of catastrophe and the complicity of those who interpret tragedy in their perhaps foolish attempts to contain it through narrative. In both tragedy and political discourse these authors are wrestling with the 'unwar stroke', the contingent blow of an event that changes the trajectory of the large explanatory arc both in the moment, and afterwards, and even before (since it becomes retrospectively coherent as the narrative is formed). A literary genre, in short, provides insight into the shaping of the *grand récit*, not just into the intersection of detail and interpretation.

Language brings us even more closely to the stuff of war. It is valuable to recall (as I have argued elsewhere) Clifford Geertz's

bold yoking of war and text in his efforts to find through analogy 'the expressive devices that make collective life seem anything at all'.[10] To think with Geertz, in his 1983 essay 'Blurred Genres', is to understand text through a social scientist's eyes as a possible and powerful example of the kind of metaphor that is revelatory of the relationship between life and meaning. It is Geertz who comes closest to explaining why the *grand récit*, in its very dubiousness, has such power, since Geertz never lets go of the element of performance. 'Text' is the third in the sequence 'game' and 'drama'; meaning is 'performed', not simply given or waiting to be unearthed. The text of war cannot be accurate, since it is searching, reaching for an interpretation that has to serve fluctuating interests. The narrative must be grand since it has to encompass the fluid uncertainties of complex downfalls.

Is the Hundred Years War a distinctive narrative? This question brings us, finally, to the doubleness of its complex manifestations. Parity of perspective between England and France can rarely be assumed, ironically because so much of their history was mutual yet across very different landscapes, political scales and vectors, with a narrow strip of water that marked both adjacency and separation.[11] A crucial element is language: the central catastrophe of the Hundred Years War was familial enmity (or hostile amity) and its basis in a linguistically shared, but politically fracturing vernacular. To keep with Geertz for a little longer, there is a productive 'blur' at the heart of the Anglo-French relationship. To me the notion of 'blur' is helpful as a way of thinking about the strangenesses of bilingualism and thence of the kind of literary history that the Hundred Years War has generated. It provides a means of demonstrating the complexity of boundaries, especially those that were being newly created. As I have said elsewhere, 'the experience of living through the aggressions and intimate recursions of this bilingual war was a matter of living through borderline cases, even of being a borderline case. To be "English" or "French" was entirely at issue: to define oneself, one's family, one's language, one's personal and public allegiances was to be caught up in resistant inquiries.'[12]

In short, perceptions of fact, and fiction, depend on perceptions of difference, and these perceptions can overlap, contradict and, most subtly, be mutually oblivious when aggression is activated. This can

be easily shown in the so-called *faux amis*, examples of lexis that are shared yet divergent in meaning such as *avoidance*, or topically enough *taster*, which has re-emerged in modern French as *tester*.[13] Or in the fascinating case of words where it is not clear whether they belong in one category or several, nor which categories these might be (in modern dictionaries French, English or Latin), such as *franc*, *vengeance*, *governance*, *penance*, *discorde*, *forein* and *strange* (the potential list is of course huge).[14] More broadly, as has been widely shown, the period of war threw up a way of experiencing identity that among the higher classes and their retainers, lawyers, officials, diplomats and other related professionals, not to mention the clerical class and the occasional writer of poetry, involved negotiating languages in all their entangled histories and family relationships, and hence reshaping language itself.

If we allow the cloak of the *Guerre de cent ans* to be cast even more widely, then it becomes more than an Anglo-French struggle, as several chapters in this volume point out. As a period of time (however we construe its length), and a period in which key political actors across Europe were having to deal with constant diplomatic rumbling between English and French interests and *their* interests, many cultures and language relationships were engaged. An advantage of focusing on language and literature is that language reveals history in its own structures and lexis. If we want to understand the war in both its granular smallness and conceptual enormity, then language is a crucial medium in which to do 'proper accounting'.[15] The strategies with which writers embrace and repudiate one another, through careful or indeed not-so-careful linguistic choices, offer their readers the spectacle of their performative linguistic gestures. This in turn offers insight into the double-sidedness of locally verifiable, and largely fictional narratives of nation. The notion of the Hundred Years War in its very looseness and easy generality has served, and continues to serve, as a convenient cover for the convoluted tactics of nation-building.

Notes

1 The bibliography on the Hundred Years War is vast. Classic later twentieth- and twenty-first-century studies include Allmand, *Hundred Years War*; Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*; Moeglin, *Bourgeois de Calais*; Curry, *Agincourt*; and Sumption, *Hundred Years War*. For one very influential argument against claims that the war was about nation, Guenée, *L'Occident*: 'L'histoire du sentiment national en France ne peut progresser que si les historiens échappent à l'obsession de la Guerre de Cent Ans.' (301) [The story of national feeling in France cannot progress unless historians escape their obsession with the Hundred Years War].

2 See Delachenal, *Histoire de Charles V*, 5 vols; Cosneau, *Grands traités de la guerre de cent ans*; and Sumption, *Hundred Years War*.

3 Moeglin, 'Récrire'. Curry makes a similar point from the perspective that the English were not keen on the Treaty of Troyes, seeing it as a victory not for the English but rather for the French: 'Le traité de Troyes'. Cited by Moeglin, 'Récrire', 915.

4 Moeglin, 'Récrire', 891.

5 Moeglin, 'Récrire', 914, referring here principally to Jules Michelet and Henri Martin and thence to many French historians who follow in their wake.

6 Moeglin, 'Récrire', 888.

7 Skinner, 'Quentin Skinner', 209.

8 Galloway, in this volume, 31.

9 Galloway, in this volume, 31.

10 Geertz, 'Blurred Genres', 27. Discussed in Butterfield, 'Explosive Fuzziness', 'Collective Fuzziness' and 'Translating Fuzziness'.

11 Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*.

12 Butterfield, 'Explosive Fuzziness', 258.

13 Butterfield, 'Explosive Fuzziness', 28, 31–2.

14 On *franc* and *franchise*, *forein*, *strange*, see Butterfield, 'Chaucerian Vernaculars', 34–42; on *defaut* and *strange*, see Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 283, 336–41.

15 Wallace, in this volume, 105.

Acknowledgements

Introduction: literatures of the Hundred Years War

Daniel Davies and R. D. Perry

The Hundred Years War is conventionally understood as an Anglo-French conflict lasting from the confiscation of the English Duchy of Gascony by the French crown in 1337 to French victory over the English at the Battle of Castillon in 1453. The war brought about fundamental changes in the social and political history of England and France, from the increased centralisation of government bureaucracy in both countries to profound changes to the nature of the English parliament. The impact on literary history is no less revolutionary. Genres as varied as vernacular poetry, historiography and visionary writing adapted to the cultural conditions created by the war while material culture, language use and conceptions of nationhood and politics were similarly impacted by sustained international warfare. At its broadest horizon, historians have argued that the war seems to encompass, or even to cause, the transition from kingdoms to nations.[1] Yet viewing the Hundred Years War through the lens of literary history suspends such teleological narratives because medieval literary culture did not align with modern conceptions of the nation or national literary traditions. It entails inhabiting a more expansive geographic and temporal range than conventional framings of the conflict allow and attending to the contingencies of imaginative writing: the fact that writers work within and against shared cultural traditions to develop new works and borrow, adapt and translate across what may look like enemy lines in unexpected ways.

Literary history is the study of the interrelation between acts of writing and the material, social and political conditions that enabled them. Many of the major writers of the late Middle Ages – Geoffrey

Chaucer, William Langland, Thomas Hoccleve and John Lydgate in England; Eustache Deschamps, Christine de Pizan and Alain Chartier in France; Jean Froissart and Jan van Boendale in the Low Countries; Pedro López de Ayala in Castile; Oswald von Wolkenstein in the Holy Roman Empire; and even Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena, to name but a few – lived the majority if not all their lives under the threat of war, and they inhabited or travelled through areas ravaged by it. Placing the work of Chaucer next to Christine, or Chartier next to Bridget, reveals the discrete ways writers respond to the war, as well as what those responses hold in common: the continent-spanning innovations that allow us to appreciate the late medieval period for the compelling work it produced. The chapters in this volume show how literature did more than reflect the realities of the Hundred Years War; it was also a crucial site for contesting the claims of war as literary writers crafted ways to actively intervene in the conflict.

The Hundred Years War stakes a claim to concerns of a continental scale. What began as a feudal territorial struggle became a multilateral conflict with connections across the Continent through alliances and proxy battles. Building on work that explores the relationship between the Hundred Years War and literary history in England and France, this volume seeks to observe the interconnections between war and literature from overlooked quarters, such as the perspective of places like Wales (as shown by Helen Fulton) and Scotland (Daniel Davies), and unexpected literary registers like lyrics of courtly love (Elizaveta Strakhov) and religious treatises (Jennifer N. Brown).[2] Expanding our notions of the spatial and temporal borders of the Hundred Years War reveals how literary innovation was enabled by multilingual and transnational conversations made possible by, and as a response to, the mechanisms and even the horrors of war.

Reconsidering what the Hundred Years War was and what it did calls for a new conceptualisation of the relationship between war and medieval literary culture. The chapters gathered here reveal a broader array of writing about war than may be expected. As Laura Ashe and Ian Patterson note, the relationship between war and literature is often unpredictable: '[W]riting about war, or in war, or because of war, or against war takes as many forms as war itself'.[3]

Our goal is not to police the boundaries of medieval war literature – to say 'it must be topically about war' or 'it must include a certain set of metaphors' – but to demonstrate the extent to which literary creation can be produced by the cultural forces that surround it, to remind us that when something new and important happens people search for a variety of novel ways to respond to it. Such an insight might be a commonplace were it not for our capacity as a culture to forget these historical connections. Tracing the literary history of the Hundred Years War allows us to rediscover, for instance, the essential link between tragedy as a mode in vernacular writing and warfare (as Andrew Galloway's chapter uncovers) or how the survival of certain books in our libraries is the result of networks of exchange that arose amongst antagonistic forces (as J. R. Mattison reminds us). Focusing on alterations to literary genres, innovation spurred by new sites of connection, changing theorisations of war within intellectual culture and individual responses to the catastrophes of geopolitical conflict, the chapters reveal new ways of understanding how war functions as literary history.

Nature of the war

'The Hundred Years War' names a series of sprawling conflicts primarily fought between the English and French crowns throughout the late Middle Ages. These conflicts have their origin in the unique intimacies connecting the two nations, forged through centuries of marriage and alliance as well as conquest and conflict. There was an intractable tension in the relationship. The king of England was equal to the king of France, as both were sovereign rulers, but also his vassal, because the English king owed the French king homage for the lands of Gascony (Aquitaine to the English) in south-west France. The already tense situation was further enflamed in 1328 when the French king died without leaving a clear heir. Edward III, whose mother, Isabella of France, was the late king's sister, asserted his claim to the French throne. When the newly crowned Philip VI asserted his authority in 1337 by confiscating Edward III's feudal holdings in Gascony, this left the English king with a grievance and an enduring claim to war.

The Hundred Years War is conventionally split into four main phases: 1337–60, 1360–96, 1396–1422 and 1422–53.[4] Each stage describes a distinct set of circumstances in which either England or France was in the ascendancy. The first stage of the war was driven by Edward III's ambitious campaigns of destruction and occupation in France. A devastating series of campaigns led to English victories of Sluys (1340) and Crécy (1346) before English forces established a brutal siege at Calais. After a year, the French town capitulated, giving the English control of a strategic port in north-west France. At the Battle of Poitiers (1356) the French endured the blow of having their king captured, leaving the realm profoundly diminished. The first phase of the war reached its climax with the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360, which granted one-third of French territory to the English king but at the cost of Edward III renouncing his claim to the throne.

The fallout of this treaty defines the second phase of the war, as England reckoned with the economic toll of the conflict and rising domestic discontent. Prince Edward the Black Prince, fêted as the 'flower of chivalry' across Europe and responsible for some of England's famous victories, died in 1376. A year later his father Edward III died too. The Black Prince's son, Richard II, proved to be a very different kind of ruler and sought an enduring peace with France. Peace was achieved, during his life at least, but at huge cost to Richard: he was usurped in 1399 and the Lancastrian regime reignited the war with France. The pendulum swung back to England's favour during the third phase, as France was riven by its own domestic turmoil – in what amounted to a civil war between two branches of the French royal family, the Armagnacs and Burgundians, made possible in part by the infamous mental illness of the French king, Charles VI – and Henry V seized control of much of northern France through sieges at Rouen (1418–19) and the battles of Harfleur and Agincourt (both 1415).[5] In 1420, the French signed the Treaty of Troyes, which declared Henry V's future son king of France. Yet the English victory was short-lived. Henry V died two years later, leaving his one-year-old son to be the only English King to be crowned King of England and France. The final phase of the Hundred Years War thus saw a resurgent France exploit the weakness of England's domestic situation and eventually recapture their

lost lands. The Battle of Castillon in 1453 signalled the definitive loss of England's territories in south-west France.

But summaries give only a bird's-eye view of the conflict. As the separation of the war into phases may suggest, the Hundred Years War challenges our conception of what exactly a 'war' is. The claims pursued by Edward III and Henry V were fundamentally different, and there is a compelling case to be made that these should be seen as separate conflicts. At the same time, this Anglo-French perspective occludes the importance of proxy battles, like the Black Prince and Bertrand du Guesclin's participation in the campaigns of the Trastámara succession in Castile and the fundamental connections between Anglo-French and Anglo-Scottish antagonism, as well as the numerous civil disputes that broke out in England and France. Furthermore, there were long periods of peace throughout this time-span, and even in the war's hottest phases conflict was concentrated in only a small number of places.[6] The famous battles capture the imagination but are exceptional moments and interruptions in a war defined by prolonged sieges, devastating raids and shifting alliances.

War is not solely grand strategy and statecraft. This is especially true of the Hundred Years War because of the nature of the protagonists' military forces. Although we have been using the short-hand names of 'England' and 'France' to describe the antagonists of the conflict, it is important to note that we are only speaking of a small segment of these populations, specifically the gentry and royal families. What is more, these aristocrats did not meet our modern expectations for national identity. For one thing, they shared an elite Francophone culture and spoke French. English and French aristocrats had more in common with each other than they did with the general populations of their respective countries: Edward III and Philip VI were cousins, after all. The only reason the Hundred Years War was instigated is because of the curious circumstances that meant the king of England had a stronger claim to the throne of France than the leading 'French' contenders. Furthermore, we should not presume that military alliances were harmonious. The chronicler Jean le Bel relays a story from the early Hundred Years War in which soldiers from Hainault in the Low Countries in service to the English king were more afraid of their English allies

than they were of their Scottish foes.[7] As Matthew Giancarlo's chapter demonstrates, class solidarity is a distinguishing part of the war's culture and puts pressure on political theorists to carve out new ways to atomise elite Francophone culture.

But the brunt of the war's devastation was still borne by the people inhabiting the spaces of the conflict.[8] Speaking of campaigns in 1380, St Albans chronicler Thomas Walsingham writes, 'puto, nullus aut rarus angulus in tota terra uacauit a luctu; ubi non mater filium, uel uxor maritum, aut quis affinem uel cognatum in ipso naufragio se doluit amisisse' [there was no remote region, or hardly any, I believe, in the whole of the land which was free of grief, where a mother did not lament the loss of a son, a wife of a husband, or anyone the loss of a close friend or relative].[9] In France, where most battles and sieges were fought, the cost paid by non-combatants was even higher. The fourteenth-century chronicler Jean de Venette, for example, describes the impact of brutal English raids on the French peasantry: 'Nam villae cremabantur, populares depraedabantur, et ad civitates, cum bigis et cum bonis suis, uxoribus et liberis, lamentabiliter accurrebant' [villages were burned and their population plundered. Men hastened to the cities with their carts and their goods, their wives and their children, in lamentable fashion].[10] The war displaced populations, destroyed villages and livelihoods and disrupted countless lives. The French poet Eustache Deschamps provides a moving example of the personal devastation wreaked by the war. Born Eustache Morel, the poet tells in a ballade how, after his home was destroyed by English forces, he was forced to change his name to 'burned-out of the fields': 'J'aray desor a nom Brulé des Champs'.[11] In a literal way Deschamps inscribes the wound of the war onto his own writerly identity. Our goal in centring literary history is to attend at a more granular level to the voices of those who lived through war and to contribute to the ongoing project of reckoning with the relationship between war and culture.

The expansive Hundred Years War

As the challenge to create a coherent narrative from the events of late medieval war in the previous section may have suggested,

and as Ardis Butterfield's preface to this volume illuminates, 'The Hundred Years War' is a misnomer and an invention of modern historiography, not medieval sources. First coined by French historians in the nineteenth century, *La guerre de Cent Ans* promises a cohesive framework that the messy reality of late medieval territorial disputes never delivers.[12] Given that the sprawling series of conflicts already exceed even the expansive bounds of its name, the potential to extend the designation over even longer periods of history is easy to see. England and France remained formally at war until the Treaty of Picquigny in 1475, Calais – a central point of contention since its capture by siege in 1347 – remained an English possession until retaken by the French in 1558, and English monarchs retained the title and claim to the French throne until George III's reign in 1800. This is to say nothing of the war's beginnings: it is no stretch to see the seeds of the conflict in the dissolution of the Angevin empire in the twelfth century, or in the terms of debate established by the Second Barons' War in the thirteenth century.[13] If we use a wider lens it is just possible to see the Norman Conquest come into view at the edge of this temporal frame as the event setting this tectonic struggle in motion.[14] In this way, Anglo-French territorial conflict and the stories told about it expand to dominate not just the histories of those two nations but come to define much of the European Middle Ages. 'The Hundred Years War' is a postfacto construction that seeks to cordon off such temporal ranging, yet the contingency of this historiographical fiction invites us to see the war stretch even further than the horizon of 1453. Whereas traditional histories, attending to nations or conflicts, would need to relegate these extended vistas into the periphery of the war's 'background', literary history's capacity to attend to the changing nature of forms and genres means that the historically distant and the contemporary must exist side by side. In the present volume this approach is seen in Lynn Staley's chapter countering the reflexive association of peace and economic wealth, and, in a different register, J. R. Mattison's inquiry into the wartime origins of English manuscript collections.

Geographically, too, the conflicts of the Hundred Years War ranged across the British Isles and the European continent, well beyond the realms of the primary antagonists. A full consideration

of the conflict must account for the war's tendency to expand beyond its Anglo-French core. Many nations were dragged into the conflict at different times. Before the confiscation of Gascony turned attention to France, Edward III tested the expansionist desires of the English in Scotland. According to some contemporary accounts, as the chapter by Daniel Davies explores, Philip VI was persuaded to fight only because of the English aggression against the Scots; this triangulation, France and Scotland allied in what is known as the 'Auld Alliance' against the English, would become an important thread throughout the conflict. In Wales, subjugated by Edward I in 1283, soldiers and elites rebelled against the privations of English vassalage to reignite their own claims to independence, while Welsh soldiers and mercenaries fought alongside both English and French forces. The Kingdom of Castile, the Low Countries and the Holy Roman Empire were all allied with either England or France at different times during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. They too were drawn into combat by the opposing parties. In addition, the major theological crisis of the late Middle Ages was grafted onto the fault lines of the Hundred Years War. The Papal Schism (1378–1418) divided Western Europe into two camps, those who supported the Avignonese papacy and those who desired to see the curacy return to Rome.[15] Often, the Hundred Years War is seen as an important context for the schism; but, as Jennifer N. Brown's chapter shows, the two are more closely bound together: the schism itself must be seen as part of the broader Hundred Years War.

The concerns of the Hundred Years War bled into other forms of conflict in medieval Europe. Simultaneous with the beginnings of the war, the rise of the Ottoman Empire and the emergence of various heretical sects caused the Catholic Church to call for crusades to answer the perceived threat from Muslims and heretics alike. These crusades – to places like Nicopolis, Varna or the Barbary Coast, and against such groups as the Hussites – included belligerents from the Hundred Years War, such as John the Fearless, duke of Burgundy, and some crusades could even be counted as part of the war conducted under ostensibly different justifications.[16] Figures such as the French intellectual and diplomat Philippe de Mézières (discussed in this volume by Stefan Vander Elst) imagined the call to crusade as a salve to heal the wounds of Christian

Europe, a call that was repeated throughout the conflict.[17] Attempts to legitimise conflict through spiritual benediction reached a nadir in the Despenser Crusade of 1383, when the papacy granted dispensation to the Bishop of Norwich to undertake crusade against Flemish Schismatics. The campaign was a humiliating farce and, in any case, led to no discernible gains for the English. Campaigning against 'pagans' in Prussia and Lithuania was seen as a worthy, chivalric endeavour pursued by figures from Chaucer's Knight to the future Henry IV of England, and such deeds were memorialised by heralds through the genre of the *Ehrenrede*. The limits of Europe-wide national conflict, therefore, are found at the frontiers of 'Christendom' and the racialised violence of crusade.[18]

The Hundred Years War is a historiographical fiction, but it is a fiction that scholars have created to make sense of larger historical movements. A discrete unit – like the Wars of Religion and Thirty Years War that follow it – the Hundred Years War tells a periodising story about Western Europe moving from the medieval to early modern epochs. Such periodisation is not necessarily a bad thing, even as we must remember that it is an invention of modernity, not that of the medieval authors we study. As such, while we are challenging the way that the 'Hundred Years War' has been conceptualised, we are not suggesting that we get rid of the name itself. Allowing medieval writers to tell their own story about the conflicts that we call the Hundred Years War reinforces the utility of treating the war as a single event.

Inquiring how war and literature were secret-sharers risks reifying the terms of analysis. But as the chapters in this volume argue, this is a risk worth taking. It is precisely because of the challenges the Hundred Years War presents as a singular war and series of historical coordinates for literary history that the conflict is such a compelling object of study. Our aim is not to be totalising, but instead sympathetic to the various forms of expression that war can produce. Even without direct experience of the war, writers can still recognise its disastrous consequences and be deeply invested in reckoning its impact on society. This is true of any conflict but holds particularly true for a conflict as long-lasting and multifaceted as the Hundred Years War. As Chaucer reminds us in *the Tale of Melibee*, 'ther is ful many a man that … woot [knows] ful litel what

werre amounteth'.[19] Ignorance of war can lead to its own kind of belligerence. As part of our interest in the broad sweep of war's effects, therefore, we are interested in the way individuals moved within and against the currents of war. In so doing, we offer the Hundred Years War as a case study for how culture becomes reconfigured around war. It offers a way to observe the atomisation and reconfiguration of cultural communities, the creation and stoking of enmity, and the legal regimes that emerged to support the war effort.

A new literary history

When, in *The Familiar Enemy*, Ardis Butterfield wrote, 'the Hundred Years War has remained very much on the margins of literary history', she was describing the curious lack of engagement shown by scholars of late medieval literature to the war.[20] This is not to say that earlier scholarship did not recognise the importance of the Hundred Years War, but that its theoretical presuppositions made the war difficult to handle. The formalism of the mid-twentieth century eschewed historical contexts, placing the war out of bounds. The historicism that followed in the last couple of decades of that century was usually invested in national political controversies, not international disputes. Through the work of Butterfield, and those other scholars exploring the connections of English and French literary cultures, the Hundred Years War is now a much more visible concern for criticism, even as there is a great deal to still be done.[21] For instance, a response to the true geographic extent of the war encompassing the experience of the Low Countries, Iberia and Holy Roman Empire has not yet been fully articulated, though such a project would require further collaboration.[22]

Renewed interest in the Hundred Years War forms part of a broader turn in literary studies towards war.[23] Scholarship in this field seeks to understand the relationship between war and culture and coalesces around two distinct critical tendencies. Concentrating on reading national literary traditions against the historical context of discrete conflicts, scholars including Mary A. Favret and Anders Engberg-Pedersen have revealed the deep and sometimes surprising

connections between war and literary culture.[24] In many respects, scholars of modernism have led the way here, pressured by the ethical duty to bear witness to the brutality of the First and Second World Wars. The beginnings and ends of these wars – with a period 'between the acts', as Virginia Woolf has it – allow scholars to pinpoint precise formal changes in literary culture, as when Vincent Sherry argues that 'the rhythm of linear thinking … disintegrat[es]' between T. S. Eliot's poetry of 1910 and of 1919.[25] Moreover, while the experience of war today has fundamentally changed from the wars of the twentieth century, these conflicts still form the paradigm for war in the contemporary imagination.[26] Scholars of medieval literature have made valuable contributions to this field by, for example, indexing the responses of medieval writers to war, closely examining the intimacy between reading and war in fifteenth-century England and revealing the importance of treason to the literature of the Wars of the Roses.[27] The loose conflicts of the Hundred Years War, though, would allow us to think further about the tendency to put a definitive end on the experience of war, perhaps providing a paradigm for the contemporary encounter of war in long disjointed contexts like the War on Terror.

A second strand of war studies treats war writing within the *longue durée*.[28] The history of emotions in war has been a particularly productive area of inquiry, and its medieval representation has been more robust.[29] But generally, works addressing the long history of war writing often eschew medieval material.[30] Writing about the Hundred Years War allows our contributors to participate in all of these concerns, with the length of the war – almost ipso facto – requiring a view over a *longue durée*, even as one can also choose to focus on discrete moments during the war. Both strategies allow for a rich exploration of the affective qualities of the literary works they cover. By tracking how over a century of literary history was impacted by the exigencies of Anglo-French conflict and including material from many of the war's participant nations and theatres of war, we hope to provide a transnational and multilingual methodology relevant for later and earlier periods of literary history.

Given the sheer scope and scale of the complexities involved, a complete picture of the Hundred Years War's influence on

literature, or its conduct *through* literature, is outside the purview of a single volume. Rather, we aim to illuminate new pathways through the battlefields and besieged cities of Europe, and in so doing expand our frames of understanding for the war. As such, this volume is not the last word on the Hundred Years War and European literary history but more an argument for further study. Inspired by recent literary studies and aided by significant advances in medieval history, the contributors to this volume strive to rethink the relationship between war and literature by developing innovative approaches to medieval texts as varied as Chaucer's *House of Fame*, anonymous Francophone lyrics, religious treatises and fourteenth-century mercantile narratives. Taken together, they suggest a fundamental connection between the historical conditions created by the Hundred Years War and modes of literary culture, including, but not limited to, generic creation, classical reception, historical writing, material culture and religious writing. Furthermore, the chapters show how war and literature were bound up together in larger processes of linguistic, legal, institutional and social change. While the level of engagement in the war shown by the writers discussed in this volume varies, from those who fought in it, like Geoffrey Chaucer, to those who experienced the war at a distance such as Bridget of Sweden – who only got as close to the field of battle as the city of Rome – the contributors adopt an expansive conception of war writing that compasses the boundaries of literary production within medieval wartime.

What arises from these chapters is a vision of war as a driver of literary innovation. To some extent, this should not come as a surprise: war places people in new situations and gives them new experiences, so it is only natural that they would want to find new ways of writing about things. War, after all, creates movement; it organises people, and reorganises them, in new configurations. Chaucer, as a young man of what we might assume to be literary sensibilities, no doubt already had a sense of French literature and his relationship to it when he entered Lionel of Clarence's retinue in 1357, but his war service in 1359 would put that sensibility into sharp relief. One of Guillaume de Machaut's *complaintes* describes the French poet, resentful and frustrated, standing guard on the walls of Reims while the city was besieged by the English in 1360;

an event that Eustache Deschamps also claims to have witnessed.[31] Not far from the siege at Réthel, Chaucer – much influenced by the poetry of both Machaut and Deschamps – was captured and later ransomed; years later he would be forced to recall what he witnessed there as evidence in a lawsuit brought to settle a dispute over armorial bearings.[32] Machaut and Deschamps besieged by the English; Chaucer, part of the invading force, captured by the French then given back to the English. It would be too much to say that such an event influenced Chaucer's decision to write in English rather than French. But the irony of the situation must have struck him when, in later life, he would incorporate some of Deschamps's and Machaut's poetry in his own radical experimentation with the French *dit* form in his *Legend of Good Women*.[33] As this instance suggests, much Anglo-French literary development is predicated upon the exchange between peoples at war, and it speaks to the need for a nuanced understanding of the dynamics of conflict that avoids reifying lines of division. The Hundred Years War was, at root, a conflict over a shared culture, all the more vicious for the proximity of its antagonists, antagonists brought together in new destructive ways, searching to make something productive out of their experiences.

Furthermore, literary exchange between the languages of Europe was not restricted to English and French. Perhaps the largest gains for the literary historian of the Hundred Years War lie here, in the literatures beyond the Francosphere (and, to a lesser-degree Anglosphere) of the conflict's central arena. We hope that a reconsideration of the war's cascading effects beyond the Anglo-French centre will inspire work on two contexts lacking here: the Holy Roman Empire and the Iberian peninsula. That the Hundred Years War extended its reach into these spaces is beyond question and much is still to be gained from their consideration. Take Castile, for instance, which was the site of one of the Hundred Years War's most significant proxy battles, as Prince Edward the Black Prince and the French knight Bertrand du Guesclin were conscripted to support opposing sides of the Trastámara succession crisis. These events are memorialised in Francophone literature: the events of the Nájera campaign take up fully half of Chandos Herald's chivalric biography *La Vie du Prince Noir* and are treated with

similar attention in the works memorialising Bertrand du Guesclin. A consideration of the events that places the Chandos Herald in conversation with local Castilian reactions would be salutary. One might also consider a less explicitly martial case. Much later in the course of the war, John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* was translated into Castilian and Portuguese, the first English-language poem to receive such treatment.[34] While a good deal of work has been done on the manuscripts of these translations especially, some consideration of how the war made them possible in the first place would give us much needed insight into the way that cultural connections across the Continent developed in relation to various moments of antagonism or amnesty.[35] These are but two examples, both concerned with the connections forged by the war of medieval Iberian literature with other literary traditions. Not mentioned here is the literature inspired by the war that was inwardly focused, that work concerned with the literary and social conditions internal to the kingdoms that would become Portugal and Spain. As with the other literary traditions dealt with in this volume, we encourage further scholarship on the matter.

Another dramatic case may be that of Oswald von Wolkenstein, mentioned briefly in David Wallace's chapter. Sometimes called the last of Germany's courtly poets [der letzten Minnesänger], Oswald revived and altered the love song [*Minnesang*] tradition by incorporating elements from other cultural traditions he encountered through diplomacy and extensive travels with Emperor Sigismund during the conflict, for example, by setting his complaint 'Wer die ougen vil verschüren' to a French tune. The connections here likewise provide a note of caution. More than Oswald's travel agent, of course, Sigismund's other activities – the Hussite wars and the founding of the Order of the Dragon to engage in crusades against the Ottoman Empire – remind us that wartime innovations can exact a terrible price. While the Hundred Years War allowed for beautiful innovation in the sentiments of courtly literature, it also gave birth to new ways to hate, and new forms of racist, sexist and religiously bigoted expressions, as Alani Hicks-Bartlett's chapter, among others, shows. *Literatures of the Hundred Years War* is not an apologetic for the horrors that wars produce. The chapters face up to the destruction that has produced the literary

innovation that concerns us, from the militarised culture of Calais (in Helen Fulton's account) to those inflicted upon the population of the French countryside, especially those most vulnerable in it (in Elizaveta Strakhov's telling).

It is precisely because the conflict is so difficult to define in a coherent way that studying its literary instantiations can be so productive. Studying the war is not just about adjudicating winners and losers (indeed, the question of who 'won' the Hundred Years War is something of an absurdity) or about tracing the emergence of the nation state. Rather, it attunes us to a world of perpetual conflict, in which shifting alliances, personal feelings and investments, and the contingent matter of taste all inflect the creation of new modes of expression as articulated in discrete literary works. The Hundred Years War thus gives us a new sense of what it means to write medieval war literature.

Redefining wartime interiority

To close out this introduction, we would like to provide a short case study illustrating how the Hundred Years War can inform new accounts of the relationship between war and medieval literature. While our example remains within the conflict's Anglo-French core, due to the focus of our individual specialisations, the method is widely applicable. Indeed, our own limitations here again reinforce the need for volumes like this, which are collaborative efforts making use of a variety of research areas. The moment on which we will focus comes from a man whose life, in some ways, is itself a case study for the impact of the Hundred Years War on literary culture, Charles d'Orléans.[36] Charles was captured at Agincourt and spent the next twenty-five years as a prisoner of war in England, where he wrote poems in English and French. When he returned to France, he left the English poetry behind him and continued to write French poetry with a coterie of other authors, mostly French, but occasionally English. The moment in question involves Charles's engagement with an author who writes prolifically about the war, Christine de Pizan. As mentioned in Wood's chapter and discussed more thoroughly by Hicks-Bartlett

in this volume, Christine's war writings are usually direct engage-ments with the events that constitute it, giving idealised advice to those waging it – as with her *Livre des faits d'armes et de chevalrie* – or lamenting the latest French defeats caused by civil strife – her *Livre de paix*. Charles's engagement with the war in his poetry tends to be more indirect, as befitting someone writing lyrics as opposed to political treatises. Nevertheless, there are some well-known moments that allude to the war and his imprisonment, as when Charles writes a ballad that, in French, mentions a wind blowing 'de France' [from France] where his mistress resides; in English, the wind blows '*into* France', that is, from England, where Charles is imprisoned.[37]

Relying on overt discussion of the war, however, misses how thoroughly Charles's poetry is shaped by it. In Charles's Ballad 59, 'Alone am y and wille to be alone', the French poet adapts a ballad from Christine de Pizan's *Cent ballades*, sometimes known by the shorthand 'Seulete suy', though the whole first line is 'Seulete suy et seulete vueil estre' [Alone I am and alone I wish to be].[38] Charles takes from Christine the idea to use anaphora extensively in the poem; all but one of Christine's lines begins with 'Seulete suy' while all of Charles's lines begin 'Alone'.[39] But a key moment of difference comes in the second stanza. Christine's version is as follows:

> Seulete suy a huis ou a fenestre,
> Seulete suy en un anglet muciée,
> Seulete suy pour moy de plours repaistre,
> Seulete suy, dolente ou apaisiée,
> Seulete suy, riens n'est qui tant me siée,
> Seulete suy en ma chambre enserée,
> Seulete suy sanz ami demourée.
>
> [Alone I am at a door or at a window,
> Alone I am hidden in a corner,
> Alone I am feeding myself with tears,
> Alone I am, saddened or contented,
> Alone I am, nothing more suited to me,
> Alone I am squeezed into my room,
> Alone I am without a friend remaining.][40]

While Charles writes:

> Alone am y, most wofullest bigoon,
> Alone, forlost in paynfull wildirnes,
> Alone withouten whom to make my mone,
> Alone, my wrecchied case forto redresse,
> Alone thus wandir y in heuynes,
> Alone, so wo worth myn aventure!
> Alone to rage, this thynkith me swetnes,
> Alone y lyue, an ofcast creature.

Apart from the refrain, which cleverly and vividly expresses the sentiment of the French, the stanzas are quite distinct. Christine gives us the solitude of confinement, the sorrow of locking oneself away in one's grief. She may look out of a door or window, but she remains in a corner of her room, lamenting. Charles gives us the solitude of exile, the sorrow of being a stranger in a strange land. He may be on an 'aventure' – the keyword familiar from romances describing the quest through which male knights and aristocrats could prove themselves – but he is essentially lost and wandering in a wilderness, moaning. And it is not only the content that is distinct. Christine uses a seven-line stanza rhyming ABABBCC, what we know in English as rhyme royal. Charles uses an eight-line stanza rhyming ABABCDCD, a much more unusual form in English, even if Charles sometimes uses it in his ballads, most notably in a sequence of mourning lyrics.[41]

In terms of content as well as form, we can see how the Hundred Years War inflects these changes. Christine's confinement and Charles's wandering are gendered modes of suffering, certainly, and they produce distinct potentials for ownership: Christine remains in her room, 'ma chambre', whereas Charles, through the conditions of warfare, has lost the capacity to own his own space, leaving him possessing only his experience, 'myn aventure'. Moreover, Christine's use of anaphora intensifies the claustrophobia of this passage, whereas for Charles it introduces syntactic difficulties here and elsewhere in his poem, echoing the confusion of his wandering.[42] But perhaps the most telling difference is in their stanza forms. In French, the seven-line stanza that Christine uses is one of many that the ballad can come in, with little meaning

on its own, apart from the fact that the shorter stanza length is a somewhat conservative choice by the time Christine is writing. In the English context, though, that kind of stanza is emphatically associated with the Chaucerian tradition, the dominant stanza form in the English context. If Charles were simply to adopt it, the structure of the lyric would work against the confusion of its syntax and the exilic lament of its content; the expression of the lyric in rhyme royal could perhaps seem too at home in the English context, precisely contradicting what Charles wants to express here. Facing a similar decision, James I of Scotland – the royal after whom rhyme royal is named and another figure imprisoned in England – uses this verse form in the *Kingis Quair* to draw on its affiliation with the Chaucerian tradition, bringing this tradition to Scottish literature and signalling the end of his eighteen years' imprisonment.

Further, for Charles the use of rhyme royal could be seen as an insult to the work of mourning in which the lyric engages.[43] Christine is lamenting the loss of her husband to the plague in 1389.[44] Charles is lamenting, in some sense, the loss of his wife Bonne, who died some time between 1430 and 1435.[45] While Bonne's death does not seem to be the direct result of the war, the fact that Charles was not with her, the fact that he is now emphatically alone, is due to his being an English prisoner of war. Expressing his new-found isolation in a stanza form that is ubiquitously English could suggest that, while he misses Bonne, at least he is comfortable in his current circumstances. And this is the difference the war has made: even an extremely personal feeling, like grief, is wrapped up in histories and modes of expression whose meaning are undergoing rapid change because of the conflict, and so new ways of expressing oneself, both in content and form, are needed.

Chapter summaries

This volume is divided into four sections. The first, 'Genres of war', contains chapters that concern the formal alterations that the Hundred Years War occasions in a variety of medieval genres, some very much with us (tragedy) and some now much less common

(the *pastourelle*). The second section then considers 'Figures and sites of mobility', those places of exchange, and the people doing the exchanging, that makes literary innovation possible during wartime. The third section, 'Theorising war', addresses modes of writing that reflect on the practice of war, the political theory that undergirds the exercises of conflict and polity. Finally, the fourth section, 'Lives during wartime', offers a series of case studies illustrating the variegated modes of spiritual crisis, exploitation and suffering experienced by individuals because of the geopolitical conditions of the war.

In the first chapter of 'Genres of war', Andrew Galloway posits that tragedy in English literary history comes into its own not during Chaucer's early experiments with it, but in the age of John Lydgate. Along with the chronicler Thomas Walsingham, Lydgate turned to Lucan in order to understand the relationship between war as a historical catastrophe and its literary representation. These authors applied this understanding to the changing circumstances they were facing, especially war with France, but also the concomitant processes of bureaucratisation and contractualisation that were radically transforming the relationship between the ruling classes and their subjects. These changes can be found in the relationship that Lydgate and Walsingham establish with their patrons, figures responsible for carrying out the English war.

While Galloway provides us with an origin for a still popular genre, Elizaveta Strakhov gives us a glimpse into the formal logic of a genre that, although it still persists in some ways, has lost a great deal of its medieval popularity: the *pastourelle*, a genre that tends to show violence against women as related through a conversation between a knight and a lady, two shepherds, or a knight with some shepherds. These depictions of pastoral life – as found in the work of Eustache Deschamps and in a series of *pastourelles* in Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 902 – figure violence against the rural poor, violence against women and violence against animals as related by the same strategy of representation. The goal is to strip vulnerable populations of their humanity, a way of rendering the atrocities of war comprehensible, both as justification in their medieval instantiations and as object of critique for us.

Daniel Davies turns to consider two related but opposed logics in war: enmity and alliance. Focusing on the role of Scotland in the conflict, poised between both long-standing antagonism with England and amity with France, Davies reveals the way that chronicle writers – such as John of Fordun, Geoffrey le Baker, Henry Knighton and Walter Bower – understood that movement against one political body necessarily created a shared interested and therefore potential harmony with another, and vice versa. These relations between political entities, then, transcend ideas of nationalism, as partisan self-understanding is always enmeshed in a broader web of relations. The text known as the 'Metrical Prophecy' serves as an object lesson in the complexity of these international relations, as it travels through different chronicle accounts and linguistic registers, from John of Fordun to Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* and its descendants. Such prophecies could be mobilised differently in different historical contexts, registering the shifting dynamics of aggression and peace-making with different kingdoms.

Moving from generic innovations to the movement that undergirds many of those changes in Part II of this volume, 'Figures and sites of mobility', David Wallace demonstrates how Geoffrey Chaucer's encounter with Italian poetry was enabled by the Hundred Years War. Although we do not think of Italy as one of the war's locales, Wallace argues that it must be included in any broad account of the conflict, as diplomatic – and financial – interests tied together the Italian city states with England and France. As Wallace shows, this involvement had a revolutionary effect on English literary history: it was through his diplomatic work in the Hundred Years War that Chaucer encountered the writings of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Dante. To think of Chaucer and Italy is to think of the networks of trade, diplomacy and mercenary fighters furnished by late medieval war.

Lynn Staley develops the themes of financialisation touched upon in Wallace's chapter to uncover how the rising mercantile classes used the crisis of the war as an opportunity for their own advancement. Staley surveys representations of merchants across a wide swath of late medieval English writing, from the popular romance of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries – such

as *Richard Coer de Lyon*, *Octavian*, *Havelok the Dane* and *Bevis of Hampton*, along with *The Travels of John Mandeville* – to the fifteenth century – with John Lydgate and *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*. The merchant classes assign themselves a role, as providers of prosperity and peace, that stands in opposition to the war that the chivalric classes unleash upon the world. These merchants of peace advertise themselves as the sole champions of the general welfare, or the common good.

As Davies provides a look at the Scottish role in the war, Helen Fulton does the same for Wales, while also providing a contextualisation of the war within the longer history of Welsh and English conflicts, and English colonisation. Fulton collects representations of Calais in Welsh poetry – including, most notably, Dafydd ap Gwilym – provided by authors who travelled to that contested town as a part of the English war effort into which they were conscripted. The Welsh colonised become colonisers of Calaisiens in a town that is in English hands, but is at the same time thoroughly international, as the English, Scottish, Irish, Flemish and French, among others, lived side by side in the colonial holding. Wales itself changes due to this contact with Calais, as Welsh poets attest. Over the course of the war, it becomes a more diverse space with numerous contacts to, and residents from, the rest of continental Europe.

Contending with the shifting relationship between centre and periphery in wartime leads us into the first chapter in 'Theorising war', in which Stefan Vander Elst considers the war's origins as they are characterised in the writings of Philippe de Mézières. Philippe is one of the war's most consistent and vocal critics, though that does not mean he is a pacifist. Far from it: Philippe advocated for the cessation of hostilities within Europe in order to restart the crusades into the Holy Land. The crusades were essential to Philippe's thinking about his own moment because they provided the historical background to what ailed Europe and manifested as war and schism. Philippe differentiates between the successes of the early crusades and the failures of the latter ones by stressing the sins committed by the latter crusaders. These same sins, so says Philippe, lie at the root of the antagonism rending the Western European nations apart, sins that must be addressed to end the war and begin a crusade.

While the Hundred Years War gave rise to new accounts of enmity, as Matthew Giancarlo argues, the conflict was also defined by a dynamic of exchange between its elite protagonists that exacerbated class conflict. For peasants living in England and France, hardship often came from elite soldiers on 'their' side and from bearing the brunt of taxation for the war effort. The social rebellions of the Jacquerie in France (1358), the Great Rising in England (1381) and similar actions in the Low Countries all demonstrate the intolerable burden that aristocratic war placed on the lower classes of Europe. Medieval writers argued that these conflicts arose from a lack of regimen among the ruling class, and Giancarlo reveals how accounts of governance attempted to ameliorate this crisis. In addition to demonstrating the complex social dynamics that are lost when we think of the Hundred Years War in solely national terms, Giancarlo sheds light on the extensive textual efforts of intellectuals desperately trying to ameliorate the fractures of communal identity caused by the war.

Where Giancarlo examines how medieval writers reform ideas of the common good, Lucas Wood explores the affordances and limitations involved in such intellectual artifices. Concentrating on the French diplomat and writer Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif*, a dream vision centred on healing the wounds of the *bien commun* [common good], Wood shows how Chartier stages a dialogue that would be impossible yet necessary for answering the demands of the moment. What emerges through Wood's analysis is a sense of literature's capacity to reimagine the world that simultaneously recognises the artificiality of such creation. By insisting that France's problems are ideological, and not military nor financial, Chartier creates a space for the writer to intervene. Yet Chartier also reflects on the artificiality of his vision, what Wood calls its 'oneiropolitics': the fact that the rapprochement Chartier imagines is only possible within the realm of the dream vision.

The final part of the volume, 'Lives during wartime', concerns how the war shaped, and was shaped by, individual lives. Alani Hicks-Bartlett turns our attention to a writer even more prolific than Chartier on the misfortunes of France during wartime: Christine de Pizan. In Hicks-Bartlett's hands, Christine's entire *oeuvre* can be read in terms of the old maxim that the personal is the political, as Christine blends autobiographical and courtly

productions with reflections on the state of the nation, most often a lamentable portrait of decline. This admixture of personal grief and public exhortation to cure the ills of the kingdom is crystallised in the abundant tears that flow through many of Christine's texts. These tears – sometimes in Christine's eyes, but also imagined to be wept by the queen or other noble women, even by any potential reader of Christine's work – are most often explicitly feminised, an embodied response to the suffers and frustrations felt especially by women during the traumatic losses of war.

One need not be a Christine, though, to become involved in a continent-spanning conflict. Jennifer N. Brown shows how two of the most important religious visionaries of the late Middle Ages, Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Sienna, were conscripted into the war effort. By tracing the reception history of these visionary writers – how their works were read, excerpted and translated – Brown reveals that the politics of the Hundred Years War, particularly Anglo-French antagonism, and the alliances it created, inflect attitudes to the two saints. One of Bridget's revelations judged England's claim to the throne of France to be legitimate. As such, her cause was taken up enthusiastically in England, and this passage was translated into Middle English and circulated separately from the other revelations; on the other side of the conflict, the French theologian Jean Gerson was strongly opposed to any visionary woman and fought to diminish their views.

One of the key insights of Brown's chapter is how manuscript evidence yields a greater understanding of the transnational politics of the Hundred Years War. J. R. Mattison continues this line of inquiry by examining the corpus of manuscripts exchanged – by gift, purchase, bequest and theft – between England and France during the conflict. Concentrating on the collecting practices of Duke Humfrey, brother to Henry V and renowned bibliophile, Mattison shows how the war created new opportunities for the circulation of manuscripts. As trophies of war, manuscripts became important tokens of English supremacy, and their movement was part of a broader *translatio imperii* from France to England. Moreover, as Mattison reveals, exchanging these manuscripts was a key way for aristocratic men to uphold the homosocial bonds of England's ruling class.

Notes

1 The period is the 'Naissance de deux nations', as the subtitle of Georges Minois's *La guerre de Cent Ans* puts it.
2 Major studies of the war include Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*; Bellis, *Hundred Years War* and the essays collected in Baker (ed.), *Inscribing the Hundred Years' War*.
3 Ashe and Patterson, 'Preface', in *War and Literature*, xi–xii.
4 For a historical overview of the conflict, the best introductory study remains Allmand, *Hundred Years War*. See also Curry, *Hundred Years War* and Green, *People's History*; for French histories, see Bove, *La guerre* and Minois, *La guerre de Cent Ans.* Jonathan Sumption, *Hundred Years War* (5 vols) is a rousing narrative account.
5 Charles VI suffered severe attacks throughout his life, at times believing himself made of glass. See Guenée, *La folie*.
6 The Treaty of Paris (1396) was meant to herald twenty-eight years of peace, for example. The Treaty of Troyes (1420) and the Truce of Tours (1444) also provided respite from the conflict's prolonged antagonism.
7 *True Chronicles of Jean le Bel*, trans. Bryant, 36–8.
8 At its peak during the fourteenth century, historians have estimated that ten per cent of England's population would have had a direct connection to the war effort. Postan, 'Costs', 35–6; also quoted in Ormrod, 'England', 281. The estimate is based on the post-plague population.
9 *St Albans Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Taylor, Childs and Watkiss, vol. 1, 386–7.
10 *Chronique dite Jean de Venette*, ed. and trans. Beaune, 174; Jean de Venette, *Chronicle*, ed. Newhall, trans. Birdsall, 75–6. Quoted in Green, *People's History*, 50.
11 Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, 835.7–8. See Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 49–50.
12 For the Hundred Years War as concept, see Bove, *La guerre,* 10–14 and Fowler, *Age of Plantagenet*, 13–14. For an argument against a singular Hundred Years War, see DeVries, 'Hundred Years War', 3–36.
13 See Vale, *Origins of the Hundred Years War*.
14 Such a periodisation would, of course, privilege Anglo-French conflict as *the* grand narrative of English medieval history, obscuring the other conquests, invasions and interactions that shaped literary culture in Britain. See Treharne, *Living Through Conquest*.
15 For the impact of the Papal Schism on French literature, see Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*; for English literature, see Stone, 'Betwen tuo stoles'.

16 As a rule of thumb, this volume will refer to political figures by their English names ('John the Fearless' rather than 'Jean sans Peur'). In this, we are following the example of the historians of the Hundred Years War writing in English. For writers of the period, though, we will keep their names in their original language ('Jean de Meun' rather than 'John of Meung'), which corresponds to the practice of literary scholars and which helps the reader keep in mind that extent to which different languages and cultures were continuously intermixing during the war.

17 For a European-wide perspective that also includes the ideology of the earlier crusades, see Vander Elst, *The Knight, the Cross, and the Song.* For a perspective that focuses on England and includes the afterlife of this crusade rhetoric, see Manion, *Narrating the Crusades*.

18 See Heng, *Invention of Race*, 110–80.

19 Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Benson, VII.1038. All references to Chaucer are to this edition, and line numbers are given parenthetically in the text.

20 Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, xix.

21 See for example, Strakhov, *Continental England.* The Hundred Years War is also a crucial touchstone for many chapters in *Europe,* ed. Wallace. Other important scholars in this endeavour include Crane, *Performance of Self* and Wogan-Browne and those scholars associated with the French of England project, as collected in Wogan-Browne et al. (eds), *Language and Culture*.

22 Baker's edited collection specifies that it deals with French and English culture, usually keeping them separate in the individual chapters. Butterfield likewise specifies that she wants to 'set the two histories of English and Englishness, French and Frenchness within the same overarching narrative', even as she stresses their 'fundamental likeness'; *Familiar Enemy,* 1. More recent work, like Bellis's *Hundred Years War in Literature*, continues this focus by tracing the intimate relationship between war and words as it is expressed in English-language writing. None of these excellent works, in other words, deal with Spanish or German literature, or separate out Welsh and Scottish concerns from English ones.

23 War studies as a subdiscipline emerges from studies of the Second World War and was institutionalised by the Group for War and Culture Studies at the University of Westminster in 1995, though it existed as a more disparate set of critical concerns before this moment. See, especially, Fussell, *Great War and Modern Memory*; Sherry, *Great War*; Cole, *At the Violet Hour*; Saint-Amour, *Tense Future*; and Pong, *British Literature*. For a history of the Group for War and Culture Studies, see Kelly, 'War!'

24	Favret, *War at a Distance*; Engberg-Pedersen, *Empire of Chance*.

25	Sherry, *Great War*, 13.

26	See, for instance, Torgovnick, *War Complex*.

27	Saunders et al. (eds), *Writing War*; Bellis and Slater (eds), *Representing War and Violence*; Nall, *Reading and War*; and Leitch, *Romancing Treason*.

28	See, especially, Aravamudan and Taylor (eds), *Special Topic: War*; and McLoughlin, *Authoring War*.

29	Downes et al. (eds), *Writing War in Britain and France*. See also Downes, Lynch and O'Loughlin (eds), *Emotions and War*.

30	For instance, none of the chapters in Aravamudan and Taylor (eds), *Special Topic: War* address medieval literature. One exception is Ashe and Patterson (eds), *War and Literature*.

31	'Complainte a Henri', in Guillaume de Machaut, *Oeuvres*, ed. Hoepffner, vol. 3, 89–90. See Taylor, 'Reims', in *Europe*, ed. Wallace, vol. 1, 78–9.

32	See Bowers, 'Chaucer After Retters'. For Chaucer's testimony in the Scrope–Grosvenor trial, see Strakhov, 'True Colors'.

33	In the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*, Chaucer borrows from Deschamps's *Lai da franchise* and Machaut's *Jugement dou Roy de Behaigne*. The *dit* form incorporates lyric interludes, usually of *formes fixes* lyrics like the ballad, within a narrative frame – one of the most accomplished versions of the form is again a poem by Machaut, his *Voir dit* – just as the prologue to Chaucer's *Legend* does before he takes the narrative in a very different direction.

34	Santano Moreno, 'Fifteenth-Century Portuguese and Castilian Translation of John Gower'.

35	See many of the chapters collected in Sáez-Hildago and Yeager (eds), *John Gower in England and Iberia*.

36	For a different angle on Charles's relationship to the Hundred Years War, one that focuses on his books, see Reider, 'Toward a Book History', 100–11.

37	The ballad in English and in French is numbered 28. For the English, see Charles d'Orléans, *Fortunes Stabilnes,* 174–5. For the French, see *Poetry of Charles d'Orléans and his Circle,* 70–3. On the different prepositions in English and French, especially as it relates to his war and imprisonment, see Hsy, *Trading Tongues,* 81–4.

38	For these poems, see Charles d'Orléans, *Fortunes Stabilnes,* 209–10; and Christine de Pizan, *Oeuvres Poétiques*, ed. Roy, vol. 1, 12. The correspondence between these poems has long been noted; see Urwin, '59th English Ballade'.

39 Charles's version is sometimes called an adaptation rather than translation, because he occasionally stays quite close to Christine's version – as the opening line attests – and at other times he strays from the original quite considerably.

40 Translation by R. D. Perry.

41 On Charles's use of different ballad forms in England and in French, and a discussion of the Hundred Years War in relation to that difference, see Strakhov, 'Charles d'Orléans' Cross-Channel Poetics'.

42 This syntactic confusion is explored in Knox, 'Form of the Whole'.

43 On this lyric as part of a sequence of mourning lyrics, see Barootes, 'A Grieving Lover', 112–13.

44 On Christine's presentation of herself as a widow throughout her career, starting from the *Cent Ballades*, from which this poem is taken, see Brownlee, 'Widowhood, Sexuality, and Gender'.

45 Urwin, '59th English Ballade', uses the fact that the poem is a translation of sorts to dismiss any personal feelings that it might express. However, as Knox ('Form of the Whole') explains, Charles's play with autobiography is much more complicated than any quick dismissal would allow.

I

Genres of war

1

Infinite tragedy and the Hundred Years War

Andrew Galloway

The genre of tragedy is regularly considered in relation to history. Not only do its shifting elements invite histories of the genre – encouraged by its immensely long span – but its preoccupations and implications are inextricably linked to history; the genre or concept serves as both an epitome of and reflection on history's uncontrollable and, on personal or broader human scale, often horrifically destructive movements. The glimpses of history afforded to but thereby dwarfing human understanding are themselves key to the topic. We may still ponder with profit G. W. F. Hegel's notion of the 'rationality of destiny', by which, for Hegel, the genre embodies collisions between equally cogent world-historical principles, whose scale of instantiation necessarily varies according to changing phases of culture (and Hegel was among the first to argue that the mythic scale of tragedy in Antiquity was relocated during the Renaissance onto individual 'character').[1] Friedrich Nietzsche's view of 'Apollonian' individuality, painfully emerging within the choric, 'Dionysian' foundations of ancient community and communal ritual, is as alive to tragedy's implications for assessing a given culture as any modern reconsideration of Greek tragedy might be, such as, for instance, using Aeschylus to understand the unleashing of state power following the 2001 terrorist attacks.[2] Perhaps most capaciously historical of all, Raymond Williams's focus on the changing 'structures of feeling' conveyed by tragedies across the centuries elucidates different phases of tragedy, as ideological and affective crystallisations of what Williams takes to be Western culture's major social formations. Williams proceeds from Antiquity's aristocratic protagonists, whose identity and traumas are defined

by 'inheritance and relationship', to sixteenth-century humanist individualists, assailing a crumbling feudal order, to eighteenth-century 'bourgeois tragedy', with its shift to more immediate social identification between audience and protagonists, to nineteenth- and twentieth-century victimhood in 'liberal tragedy' (Henrik Ibsen and Arthur Miller), with the genre finally dissolving into the more egalitarian human solidarity in the face of a meaningless universe (August Strindberg, Eugene O'Neill, Tennessee Williams).[3] Western history in a handful of dust. What could be left out?

Diverse as enquiries into 'tragedy' are, however, they typically converge in seeing medieval contributions to the idea or genre as minimal, fragmented or at most preliminary. As it happens, medieval scholars generally agree. Still the most durable view – although hardly uncontested – remains William Farnham's *Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy* (1936), which unfolds a broadly thematic history of how the Christian ascetic 'contempt of the world' slowly intersected with 'espousal of the world', trends reaching balance only with Giovanni Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* (1355–74), elaborated further by Geoffrey Chaucer's *Monk's Tale* (*c*.1382) and *Troilus and Criseyde* (*c*.1384), then thematically narrowing back to the ascetic in the prolific instances of tragedy by John Lydgate, monk of St Edmund's, whose *Fall of Princes* (1431–39) popularised the idea sufficiently for the mid-sixteenth-century *Mirror of Magistrates* to extend the possibilities: into more contemporary figures and fuller biographies, thence for the Elizabethan and Jacobean dramatists to strike a finer balance between 'contempt' and 'espousal' of the world, focusing on individuals' fatal but typically majestic contributions to their own downfalls. These at last are the familiar mountain ranges before which medieval examples are the convoluted foothills.

The Boccaccio–Chaucer–Lydgate lineage is hardly the only 'tradition' of medieval tragedy, and it has been clear for some time that we need more variety in articulating even that cluster in terms of its own understandings and historical circumstances. Henry Ansgar Kelly answers this need in one way by tracing medieval ideas of the word 'tragedy' in Latin and English to reveal a long but disjointed span, a series of ideas of tragedy in a culture thin on secular theatre of any kind. Kelly identifies a durable early tradition that viewed

tragedy largely as punishments for sin and crime, interwoven with views of tragedy as the downfall of anyone of high estate; but in the end, he finds few sustained contemporary uses of the genre before Chaucer. In Chaucer, the term began to define more complex downfalls, no longer driven by the imperative to show sin and crime justly punished, open to wider ranges of personal and circumstantial blame: with Chaucer also, Kelly asserts, finally appeared 'the modern everyday idea of tragedy', featuring 'irreversible disasters and misfortunes that come in all forms and for all sorts of reasons, and against all hope and expectation' – paving the way for what Daniel Cadman, Andrew Duxfield and Lisa Hopkins describe as 'the most versatile of Renaissance literary genres'.[4]

The topic is far from closed. Resisting Kelly's Chaucerian red line, Carol Symes adds many more pre-thirteenth-century Latin mentions of the genre, finding uses of the term that indicate a wider and far more complex range of views of the genre than Kelly sees.[5] Yet the rare efforts before Chaucer to write 'tragedy' present what seem to me often alien alignments between the term and its contents. Thus John of Garland in his early thirteenth-century rhetorical guide, the *Parisiana Poetria*, presented what he claimed was the second *tragedia* ever written (the first he thought a lost poem by Ovid): John's poem is a grandiose tale of two washerwomen, each of whom sexually served groups of soldiers garrisoned in a castle; one fell in love with a soldier in the other woman's group and was murdered by her, whereupon the second woman, to hide the crime, opened up the castle to enemies, who slaughtered them all. John assured readers that his poem demonstrated the early foundations of the genre: it is written in high style, deals with shameful and criminal actions and begins in joy but ends in tears.[6]

Perhaps this was a joke about formulae for narrative in general. But medieval presentations of genres are often elusive or eccentric from modern points of view, even if we do not speak of the Middle Ages as 'a generic wasteland or labyrinth'.[7] Kelly's narrow focus on works calling themselves 'tragedy', and on the elements in those in relation to their author's explicit ideas of 'tragedy', is one way to offer a rigorously inductive response to this, securing Chaucer's claim to innovation. Yet that approach leaves much to be understood concerning post-Chaucerian writers' contributions to their

social and historical vision and settings, and concerning the reasons for their efforts in rather different historical moments. As James Simpson and Maura Nolan have both shown, attention is particularly needed to the period during the genre's real take-off: not the age of Chaucer but that of Lydgate, who by any account should be seen as key in the genre's history, judging by the at least fifty-nine surviving copies, fragments and extracts of his enormous *Fall of Princes*, including one with 156 lurid illustrations of painful deaths of his figures, the graphic novel version of a new world of tragedy.[8] This might be compared to the fourteen copies of Chaucer's 'litel myn tragedie', *Troilus and Criseyde*, only one copy of which is illustrated, that of the poet decorously reading before an elegant court.[9] Nor was Lydgate alone. Although Symes's valuable survey of Latin materials to the early thirteenth century includes two Latin historians, Paul the Deacon and William of Malmesbury, who both use the term 'tragedy' to describe isolated historical catastrophes,[10] her scope does not reach the chronicles by Thomas Walsingham, monk of St Albans (*c*.1340–*c*.1422). His life and writings overlapped both Chaucer's and Lydgate's, and his comments on and uses of tragedy, first noted by Kelly, feature prominently in his later writings, more prominently than scholars, even Kelly, have appreciated.[11] In assessing the relation of history to the popularisation of the idea of 'tragedy', it behoves us to revisit the contributions by a historian.

The conjunction in this pursuit of a historical poet and a chronicler during the first half of the fifteenth century, both of whom were addressing patrons at the centre of the political and military context of England's war with France, is enough to suggest that tragedy's relations to the Hundred Years War were central to the period of Walsingham and Lydgate.[12] But not only to the war. For whatever else we say about these writers' manipulations of 'tragedy', it not only had a history, it was history, or a strong version of how history could be understood or explored. Walsingham's and Lydgate's development of the form, like much of what goes by the name of 'tragedy' later, was connected to deep interests in ancient literature, especially Lucan's *Civil War* [*Bellum civile*], and to their immediate and wider circumstances, including but not only based on the military ventures that brought glory and catastrophe to England in this period. What Williams, viewing tragedies of many other

periods, calls 'structures of feelings' – focal points in literature revealing fundamental social configurations, emotional indications of particular relationships and social structures, affective tones and obsessions that resonate with particular patterns of exploring society with its internal contradictions and ruptures at the brink of the articulable – can also be pursued in the early- to mid-fifteenth-century innovations. Major structural social changes were afoot, no doubt hastened but not restricted to the military adventures that claimed so much attention. The period saw the proliferation of more contractual, and far more widespread but more change-able, mini-feudal 'followings', which splintered social hierarchy in the higher social spheres while further down, professionalisation and commercialisation reached even the most conservative institutions. As it happens, Lydgate, monk at St Edmunds, is the first English poet for whom a specific payment for literary labour is recorded, for producing an English poem on the 'Lives' of St Alban and St Amphibalus for the abbot of Walsingham's monastery, St Albans.[13] Agrarian tenants were redefining their services and social status; serfdom, shrinking during the fourteenth century, disappeared in the fifteenth century.[14] Relentless military conflict, revivals of ancient tragedy and broader disruptions in the role and significance of lordship, service and professionally and transaction-ally specified modes of society all explain these writers' converging expansions, elaborations, explorations and evasions in the idea of 'tragedy' during the closing decades of the Hundred Years War, far beyond what Chaucer launched in his remarkable experiments with the genre amid so many others he tried.

Walsingham's tragic paradigms

Walsingham's preoccupations with classical Antiquity must have begun early in his monastic career, for such learning pervades his writings. Study of such pre-Christian works was encouraged at St Albans, which throughout Walsingham's lifetime and beyond featured an unparalleled concentration of learned and classicising monks, numbers of whom studied at Gloucester College, Oxford, including Walsingham himself.[15] Before becoming abbot of

St Albans, John Whethamstede, who hired Lydgate to write the Life of St Alban, was prior at Gloucester College (*c*.1414–17); he would go on to compile digests of ancient philosophers and poets, and collect dozens of volumes of ancient literature, including new Latin translations of Plato procured from Italy. As James Clark argues, St Albans offered a 'monastic renaissance'.[16]

Walsingham used such knowledge with special edge and wit. In keeping with traditional monastic focuses on history, going back to Bede in the early eighth century, Walsingham's writings included national chronicles; a house history of the deeds of the abbots of St Albans (including one of the longest and most detailed narratives of the Great Rising of 1381); commentaries on the (euhemeristically human) gods in Ovid; and compilation of the abbey's Book of Benefactors (*Liber Benefactorum*) merging hundreds of biographies of abbots and major donors, kept on the abbey's altar for daily celebration of the donors.[17] At some date Walsingham also produced a handbook on literary theory and ancient tragedies, his *Prohemia poetarum* [Prologue to the Poets] (*c*.1380), a biographical and literary guide to a host of ancient poets with longer sections on Terence, Lucan and Seneca and two brief discussions of *tragoedia*. Parts of it evidently circulated separately.[18] One of the discussions of *tragoedia*, after summaries of Seneca's tragedies,[19] defines tragedy as 'quicquit luctuosis cantibus antiqui tragedi describebant de gestis regum vel tirannorum sceleratorum; qui quamvis inchoabatur jocunde, luctuose tamen continue terminabatur' [mournful songs about the deeds of kings or wicked tyrants, which, though beginning happily, always ended mournfully], and declares that tragedy demonstrates 'In quibus fedos actus et scelera quam turpis sequatur exitus luculentissime demonstravit' [how foul an ending follows upon filthy acts and crimes].[20]

Though intended for neophytes, the handbook shows Walsingham's generic resources, with important consequences for his historical writings. His *Chronica Majora* (1376–1422) describes the Great Rising of 1381 as a *tragedia* and *historia tragica*; when reusing those narratives for the *Ypodigma Neustriae* (1422), he called the Revolt a *tragoedia rustica* ('rustic tragedy').[21] The shifting modifiers mark his reconsiderations of the genre; Walsingham's longest and first narrative of the Revolt, his in-house *Deeds of the Abbots of St Albans*, lacks the

generic term.[22] With its account of 'uilissimorum communium et rusticorum' [the lowest class of common people and peasants] carrying rusty swords and ancient, smoke-hardened bows with a single arrow each, demanding ancient charters of their rights – which when none can be produced they insist should be manufactured on the spot – the narrative of 1381 is rich with scornful satire.[23] Walsingham's experimental invocations and modifications of 'tragedy' for them wryly spotlight how far from high status the rebels were.

That narrative has often been examined, but against it should be placed his other narratives featuring 'tragedy'.[24] Walsingham assembled several for his final work, the *Ypodigma Neustriae*, written to celebrate Henry V's victories through the Treaty of Troyes (1420), which secured France for English rule by Henry V and his heirs – a fortunate provision, since Henry died (August 1422) while Walsingham was still completing the history (one late passage, as the nineteenth-century editor, Thomas Riley, pointed out, lifted from Walsingham's own simultaneously produced longer chronicle, states that the French king Charles VI, who died in October 1422, 'nec umquam postea' [never afterwards] recovered from the madness that struck him in 1392, dating Walsingham's final touches to a few months after Henry's death, and probably just a few months before his own [*Ypodigma Neustriae* xxxiii, 364]). This work is generally ignored because it is so derivative; it predominantly features excerpts from William of Jumièges's history of Normandy [Neustria] spliced into Walsingham's earlier and ongoing chronicles of English history. Yet its title alone makes a statement quite different from Walsingham's other writings. It is a paradigm ('ypodigma', a rare use of Greek), implying that this history had a pattern and point. As Sylvia Federico, one of the few scholars to linger over the work, observes, Walsingham's classical allusions in the *Ypodigma Neustriae* allow the work to 'speak in multiple voices to multiple time schemes'.[25] His choices to select a number of classicised moments from his former writings fulfil a larger pattern, emphasising history's repetitions, warning as well as flattering English readers.

Both warnings and flattery are clear in Walsingham's preface to Henry V. There, Walsingham mentioned his 'spirituali jocunditate et interiori gaudio' [spiritual pleasure and inner joy] as he

reflected on the king's victories so far. Yet Walsingham empha-
sised that his purpose was to show how 'foul things' – frauds,
crimes, sins and factions 'dierum antiquorum' [from days of old]
could happen 'tomorrow' as easily as 'yesterday' [sciens quod cras
poterunt fieri turpia, sicut heri] (*Ypodigma Neustriae* 3–4). The
work's Greek title, Walsingham told Henry, was chosen 'eo quod
prædemonstret præcipue casus vel eventus illius patriæ, a tempore
Rollonis, primi Ducis, usque ad annum felicis regni vestri sextum'
[so that it might present before you the falls and outcomes of that
nation [Normandy or 'Neustriae'] from the time of Rollo, first ruler,
up to the sixth year of your blessed reign] (*Ypodigma Neustriae* 5).

The emphases on 'paradigm' made the *Ypodigma Neustriae* a
commentary on the disasters of imperial and feudal history, history
as mode rather than successive events. Federico calls it a 'quasi-
chronicle'.[26] Neither Federico nor other commentators, however,
mention how important disaster and tragedy [casus vel eventus]
are as its organising principle. Apparently no one has noted, for
example, a mention of tragedy near the opening, defining the
ancient Danes' destruction of 'Neustria's' cities:

> Et, ut concludam tragoedias infinitas brevibus, Lutetiam, Parisiorum
> nobile caput, quondam resplendens gloria, abundans opibus, in cineres
> redegerunt. Beluacus quoque, et Novionius, quondam Galliarum
> praestantissimae civitates, eorum gladio concidere. Aquitannia
> quoque, quodam bellorum nutrix, tunc patuit praeda gentibus alienis.
> Nec erat oppidum aut vicus in ea regione, sed neque civitas, quae
> non strage ferali horum conciderit Paganorum. Testatur id Pictavis,
> foecundissima urbs Aquitanniae, hoc Sanctonum, hoc Engolisma,
> hoc Petragoricum, hoc Lemovicus, hoc certe Arvernus, ipsumque
> Avaricum, caput regni Aquitannici. (*Ypodigma Neustriae* 8)

> And, to conclude in brief these infinite tragedies, Paris [*Lutetia*],
> noble capital of the Parisians, formerly gleaming with glory and
> overflowing with wealth, they [the Danes] reduced to ashes. Beauvais
> also, and Noyon, formerly the most outstanding cities of the French,
> fell to their swords. Aquitaine also, former nursemaid of warriors,
> then opened its booty to foreign peoples. Nor was any town or village
> in that region, nor indeed any city, which did not fall to the fierce
> destruction of those pagans. To that, Poitiers, wealthiest town of
> Aquitaine, bears witness, to that too does Saintes, to that Angoulême,

to that Périgueux, to that Limoges, and certainly to that Clermont, and Bourges itself, capital of the kingdom of Aquitaine.

Walsingham's source here, William of Jumièges, did not mention *tragoedia* there or anywhere else.[27]

Given that *YN* presents 'the falls and outcomes of that nation from the time of Rollo, first ruler, up to the sixth year of your blessed reign', the Danes' conquest of cities including 'Lutetia', the Roman name for Paris (which Henry conquered in 1419), suggests a paradigm in which conquering lords like Henry and their supporters like Walsingham himself were complicit. This placed what we call the Hundred Years War within a large horizon: a five-hundred years' war, even a perpetual state of catastrophe so long as such imperialism continued. This view might not have been as eccentric as it seems. The phrase 'tragoedias infinitas' [infinite tragedies] was oddly current, even beyond Chaucer's Monk's 'hundred in my celle' (VII.1972). When Boccaccio in his *De casibus* warned princes against credulity, he declared, 'fere per omne trivium infinite clamitant tragedie' [infinite tragedies cry out at every crossroad] against flatterers.[28] While it is unlikely that Walsingham knew Chaucer's or Boccaccio's texts, he shared their sense of copious examples of catastrophe, especially from imperial or lordly aggression. If this is the origin of late medieval ideas of tragedy, it arrives with a sense of overwhelming plenitude and belated overdetermination: a dam breaking rather than a wispy anticipation.

'Tragedy' is the main genre explicitly structuring the narratives Walsingham selected for his 'paradigm of Neustria' from his earlier English histories, and is applied not only to the Rising of 1381, now called a 'rustic tragedy'. In another section recycled from the *Chronica majora*, describing the fall of the Northumbrian lord, Henry Percy, who rebelled against Henry IV and was beheaded in 1408, Walsingham lingered over the death of this 'Nempe dominus iste stirps … quasi cunctorum de nomine Percy superstitum et aliorum plurimorum uariis cladibus finitorum' [last offspring of all those holding the name Percy, last survivor of many who died in varying disasters].[29] The witnessing public, Walsingham wrote, recalled Percy's magnificence, fame and glory; lamenting, they 'applied' to the situation a 'carmen lugubre' [sad song]. This turns

out to be from the ancient poet Lucan, the lament by Pompey's son over his father whose shame is not simply death but public display of his decapitated head:

> Sed nos nec sanguis, nec tantum vulnera nostri
> Affecere senis, quantum gestata per urbem
> Ora ducis; quae transfixo deformia pilo
> Vidimus …

> [But neither the blood nor the wounds of our aged leader moved us as much as the carrying of his head through the city, whose deface-ment we see with it transfixed on a pike … (*YN* 424; cf. *CM* vol. 2, pp. 532–4)]

In using Lucan, Walsingham imposed a subtle classification on the kind of tragedy this represented. Lucan's *Civil War* described the first stages of Rome's civil war between Caesar and Pompey, a version of catastrophe that led medieval commentators to consider Lucan's poem not only *historia* but also *tragedia*, even 'the best of tragedies'.[30] Percy's rebellion fitted this in several ways. Moreover, the populace's 'sad song' parallels the definition of tragedy in the *Prohemia*, as 'mournful songs about the deeds of kings or wicked tyrants, which, even though beginning happily, would always end mournfully', demonstrating 'how foul an ending follows upon filthy acts and crimes'. Walsingham's narrative features a rebellious lord beloved by the populace, whose lament Walsingham inserted into the event. They become a tragic chorus, a concept Walsingham would have known from Horace's *Ars Poetica* and Isidore of Seville's remarks on ancient tragedy.[31]

The results merit close attention. The sadness of their 'sad song', reflecting local awareness of losing this final Percy, also suggests the populace's complicity, since they supported the rebellion of the lord whose punishment they mourned. The generic ampli-fication is not simply Walsingham's rhetorical emphasis but a structure of feeling with political significance. Beyond regret, the lament opens space for reflection on the power, consequences and disasters of overweening lordship, whose socially fragmenting force was increasingly obvious through the devastating Wars of the Roses of the 1450s and beyond. To be sure, that the populace's emotion is melancholic, suspended temporally via Lucan, distinguishes it

from any pragmatic response. Bertolt Brecht thought tragedy itself should make audiences not passive viewers undergoing Aristotle's *catharsis*, but critical respondents who, seeing disaster, think 'the sufferings of this man appal me'.[32] Walsingham's signs of repetition and of the mourners' complicity in the outcome – the populace's and that of Percy himself – is hardly rousing in that way; it more closely fits Hegel's distinction of tragic from other lament:

> A lament … may well … assail men on occasions of wholly external contingency and related circumstance, to which the individual does not contribute, nor for which he is responsible, such cases as illness, loss of property, death, and the like. The only real and absorbing interest in such cases ought to be an eager desire to afford immediate assistance. … A veritable tragic suffering, on the contrary, is suspended over active characters entirely as a consequence of their own act, which as such not only asserts its claim over us, but becomes subject to blame through the collision it involves, and to which such individual identify themselves heart and soul.[33]

Yet Walsingham did not paralyse thoughts of historical change. For example, he subtly adapted Lucan to the present. To suit the collective lament, Walsingham's quotation reads 'nos' [we] instead of Pompey's son's 'me'; to suit a medieval traitor's defacement, Walsingham presented the mutilation of the decapitated head, 'deformia' [defacement], where Lucan's text reads 'sublimia' [high above us]. These updatings open the possibility of changing the world that Percy's rise and fall embodied; the (cruel) contemporaneity of these adjustments confronts readers with a *now* that might break free of repetition, a prospect Walsingham himself opened by mining ancient rather than Christian literary models, a shift in monastic histories' common fare.

In the passages from his other chronicles that Walsingham selected for the *Ypodigma Neustriae* the spectre of tragedy shapes not only military losses but also victories. The battle of Agincourt (1415), Henry's most celebrated victory, was acknowledged far and wide as a triumph, marked by poetic as well as civic celebration in song and poetry, including the popular 'Agincourt Carol' praising Henry in liturgical style: 'Deo gracias anglia, / redde pro victoria'.[34] Walsingham's account of Agincourt bristles with

ancient texts, including Virgil, Statius and especially Lucan. These confer rhetorical splendours.[35] But any reader familiar with them might hesitate to read unqualified celebration of war and conquest. To be sure, Walsingham's citations of Virgil support the imperial implications of Henry's venture. Most of the passages from the *Aeneid* invoked to describe the English forces are from the Trojans' final assault on the Latins (*Aeneid*, book 12), while the Virgilian quotations describing the French are drawn from the Greeks' destruction of Troy (*Aeneid*, book 2). Less reassuring are quotations from Statius's *Thebaid*, and, especially, Lucan's *Civil War*. Those from Lucan, the most numerous, are from the ill-omened battle of Pharsalus, whence Walsingham quoted Pompey's speech to attack Caesar's forces – 'Medio posuit deus omnia campo' [God has set all the prizes in the open field][36] – and the response of the two armies 'Utrinque pari procurrent agmina motu' [to rush forward with the same passion].[37] Walsingham left it to readers to recall how those opposing forces of Caesar and Pompey 'Thessaliam Romano sanguine tinxit' [stained Pharsalia with Roman blood] (*BC* 7.473) until 'Nec Fortuna diu rerum tot pondera vertens / Abstulit ingentes fato torrente ruinas' [Fortune, taking little time to work such a mighty reversal, swept away the vast wreck with the flood of doom] (504–5), attracting so many birds of prey that 'super voltus victoris et inpia signa / Aut cruor aut alto defluxit ab aethere tabes, / Membraque deiecit iam lassis unguibus ales' [rotting flesh or drops of blood often fell from the sky upon the face and accursed standards of the conqueror], Caesar (838–40). Walsingham added another Lucan passage for the French king's exhortation to his troops: Pompey's general, Cato, urges his men toward their final campaign in North Africa: 'Ad magnum virtutis opus summosque labores / uadimus in campum' [for a great act of courage and to face extreme difficulties we are moving onto the field].[38] That passage is immediately preceded by lines Walsingham did not quote: 'mea signa secutis / Indomita cervice mori' [they will follow my standard to the death with spirits unsubdued] (*BC* 9.379–80). The desert they enter is filled with venomous snakes.

The backgrounds in these allusions cannot all be operative, but cannot be entirely dismissed. This is clearest when the quotations

from Virgil, Lucan, Persius and others are used to express the passions driving the battle. There the quotations are not ornamental but functional. The battle's outcome is made the result of English outrage against the French when they learn that the French have vowed to 'nemini velle parcere præterquam dominis et regi ipsi; reliquos immisericorditer perempturos, vel membris irrestaurabiliter mutilaturos' [spare no one apart from lords and the king himself; the rest they would mercilessly kill or irrecuperably mutilate][39] whereupon (splicing two lines from Virgil)

> Postera vix summo spargebat lumine montes
> Orta dies, tubo cum sonitum aere canoro
> Increpuit.
>
> [Scarcely had the next day's dawn broken on the mountain-tops]
> [With its light, when the trumpet sounded afar its terrifying blare.][40]

The battle's finale is a bloodbath that occurs when the English remember the French soldiers' vow to kill or mutilate them all, thereupon, 'ut ita fatear' [as I might declare], per Persius, 'turgescit in eis vitria bilis' [a visible bitterness swells up within them],[41] and, per Virgil, 'iraque "vires animumque ministrat"' [anger "provides strength and spirit"].[42] Their rage leads to paroxysms of violence, in which the English snatch axes from the French, who are frozen with fear (per Virgil) and slaughtered like cattle (per Lucan, adapted to prose): 'Perdidit inde modum cædes, et velut nulla secuta est pugna, sed jugulis bellum geritur, nec valent Angli tot prosternere quot perire possunt de adversa parte' [then the slaughter knew no bounds, and what followed was not combat. Rather, the battle that was waged was a carnage, and the English didn't have the strength to cut down as many as could be killed on the enemy side].[43]

The carnage that Walsingham used classical *auctores* to express – the ancient wrath producing slaughter – does not ennoble the view of either side. But it evaded a particular feature found in other narratives. According to many accounts, the turning point in the battle came not from English rage at unchivalrous French but from French terror when Henry ordered all prisoners to be executed. As the prose *Brut* notes,

> Thanne anon þe King lette crye þat euery man scholde sle his
> prysoner þat he hadde take ... Whanne þay say þat our men killyd
> doun her prysoners, þanne withdrow þay ham … and þus our King
> (as a worthi conqueror) hadde þat day þe victory un the ffelde of
> Agyncourt yn Pycardye.[44]

The order to kill the prisoners features in many accounts, with
various degrees of discomfort. One *Brut* states that the English
mistook local citizens watching the battle for French reinforce-
ments, leading to Henry's order: '& þat was a myghty losse to
Engelond, & a gret sorw to Fraunce' (the 'losse' is evidently lost
ransom).[45] The soldier-chronicler John Hardyng, who fought at
Agincourt, described the execution more critically (*c*.1460):

> then came woorde of hoste and enemies,
> For whiche thei slewe all prisoners doune right,
> Sauf dukes and erles in fell and cruell wise.[46]

In an increasingly anti-Lancastrian world, the charge stuck.
Shakespeare's *Henry V* added a response by the Welshman Fluellen:
''tis expressly against the law of arms: 'tis as arrant a piece of
knavery, mark you now, as can be offer't' (IV.7.1–3).

Walsingham's deflection of blame from Henry for this allows
the quotations from Virgil, Statius, Persius and Lucan to express
general passions driving events, the aggression not of the king but
the soldiers. Walsingham thus widened the war's traumas, a struc-
ture of feeling not centred on lordship at all. Walsingham's tragic
vision was politically tactful but also politically revisionist. If even
with Agincourt he reminded his readers of doom that always lurks
in glory, he also glimpsed, in a very dark glass, a social world of
another kind.

Lydgate's endless tragedies

Tragedy is often said to be at the edge of the unspeakable, even
when it is captured or evoked by language: gaps open between what
is known or not known, what is not said or said.[47] Yet the early
twentieth-century editor of Lydgate's 300-plus 'tragedies' in the *Fall
of Princes* (1431–39), Henry Bergen, seemingly faced the opposite

problem: 'The stories of Caesarius, Julia and Agrippa are told at much greater length in Laurence [Lydgate's source]. Had Lydgate not abridged, his work would have been endless.'[48]

Commissioned and regularly prodded by Humfrey, duke of Gloucester, Lydgate's last poem shows he or his patron felt that 'tragedy' was ripe for expansion during the 1420s and 1430s. Partly this manifested Lydgate's claims merely to be continuing the great work of 'My maistir Chaucer, with his fresh comedies, / … cheeff poete off Breteyne, / That whilom made ful pitous tragedies' (*FP* 1.246–8). But Lydgate presented Chaucer's entire literary production as if it were neatly divided between 'comedies' and 'tragedies'; the latter, Lydgate implied, continued the most august literary lineage, though this merged many kinds of writings and authors:

> Senek in Rome, thoruh his hih prudence,
> Wrot tragedies of gret moralite;
> And Tullius, *cheeff welle off eloquence, [*chief*
> Maad in his tyme many fressh *dite; [*poems*
> Franceis Petrak, off Florence the cite,
> Made a book, as I can reherce,
> Off two Fortunys, welful and peruerse (*FP* 1.253–9)

Why Lydgate sought this generic narrowing but quantitative explosion is not clear. Certainly the *Fall of Princes* shows that Gloucester was an involved patron, not always a satisfied one. After presenting tragedies with little comment in book 1, Lydgate's prologue to book 2 states that readers have found their contact with tragedies so far 'a thyng to greuous and to inportable' (2.10): this parallels Chaucer's Knight's interruption of the Monk. Such readers should understand, Lydgate added, that this is not simply a guide 'to teche a-nother what he shal eschewe' (2.30), but also a lesson for learning how to avoid adversities by cultivating personal virtue whatever one's situation:

> Who folweth vertu lengest doth perseuere,
> Be it in richesse, be it in pouerte;
> Liht of trouthe his cleernesse kepith euere
> Ageyn *thassautis of al aduersite. (2.36–9) [*the assaults*

But Lydgate added that he was instructed by Gloucester 'That I sholde in eueri tragedie' attach envoys, to 'sette a remedie' (2.148–51). Readers appalled by the downfalls they read, as Brecht might say, were encouraged to stay tuned.

Gloucester's reaction is understandable, given his own ride on Fortune's wheel. He rose in the 1420 and 1430s after serving as a leading military figure at Harfleur (1415), Agincourt (1415) and Rouen (1418–19), became keeper of the realm at Henry's death, and 'protector' during Henry VI's minority, followed by swift disgrace in the decade while Lydgate was producing his enormous poem. Married scandalously to his lower-estate mistress (later convicted on dubious grounds of necromancy), Gloucester was displaced as 'protector' by his brother John of Bedford and parliament, while the Treaty of Troyes collapsed (1435). Gloucester died, probably assassinated, in 1447; he became the subject of his own 'tragedie' in the sixteenth-century *Mirror for Magistrates* and an eighteenth-century play. His 'tragedye' in the *Mirror* uniquely claims he was decapitated, his headless 'corps throwen vp at Douer vpon the sandes' (460): a direct allusion to Pompey's fate in Lucan, 'Fluminea deformis truncus harena' [[a] headless trunk on the river sands].[49] Whatever the direct ties between all these works, the rise of Lucan was one centre to the enigmatic link between 'history' and 'tragedy' across this key period.

Gloucester's request to 'sette a remedie' did not, in fact, prompt simpler narratives or solutions from Lydgate. If anything, Lydgate turned to more complicated downfalls. If tragedy's utility is to show the causes of disaster, 'the *sources* of particular kinds of error and suffering', as Rowan Williams remarks,[50] Lydgate's narratives ask readers to weigh multiple causes, and to consider consequences wider than any one prince's fall. As for the envoys, these offer *ad hoc* reflections and advice (often enough conflicting), with Stoic acceptance of Fortune balanced by comments on the moral justice of outcomes, leavened by balladic meditations on the falls.[51]

A key instance is Lucan's poem of civil war between Caesar and Pompey, whose causes were multiple:

> Fyr, swerd & hunger caused by the werris,
> Desyr of clymbyng, *froward ambicioun,   [*wilful*

> Shewyngh of cometis & of vnkouth sterris,
> With pronostikes off ther desercioun,
> Werst of alle, wilful dyuysioun
> Among hemsilff bi vnwar violence (*FP* 6.2367–72)

This is followed by lurid scenes from Lucan (7.838–40) of Caesar fighting Pompey at Pharsalus, graphic violence that Lydgate would likely not have offered without the mediation of an ancient source. So many birds of prey feasted on the corpses of both sides that

> Gobetis of flessh, which foulis dede *arace   [*arise*
> Fro dede bodies, born up in the hair
> Fill from ther *clees vpon Iulius face,   [*claws*
> Amyd the feeld wher he had his repair,
> Made his visage bloodi & nat fair,
> Al-be that he to his encres of glorie
> Hadde thilke day of Romeyns the victorie. (*FP* 6.2478–85)

Pompey's tragedy reaches its apogee as Caesar gains his 'encres of glorie' under this rain of body parts of friend and foe. The mode of tragedy Lydgate advanced through the Lucan materials avoids issues of guilt and innocence, blending and jettisoning good and evil just as Caesar's victorious face is spattered by the flesh of his own as well as the enemy's soldiers. Pompey's ambition and Caesar's love of glory are suspended in moral value. As for a 'remedy', the tragedy closes with a balladic envoy whose refrain is that 'this tragedie of the duk Pompeie' shows that 'pocessioun take no fors of wrong or riht' (6.2521–48).

What brought Lydgate, monk and prolific religious poet, to this bleak amorality of might over right? His earlier generic experimentation supplies some perspective. Lydgate began producing what can be considered historical tragedies soon after he was noticed by Henry, then crown prince, while Lydgate was at Gloucester College, Oxford (assuming, as is nearly certain, that Lydgate was the 'J. L.' on whose behalf Henry prince wrote in 1409 to Lydgate's abbot at St Edmund's, asking that the student-monk be allowed to continue his studies).[52] Lydgate became Henry's main poetic supporter, stepping into a role Thomas Hoccleve had been forced to abandon after Hoccleve's *Regiment of Princes* (1411) showed favour to the prince rather than his father, Henry IV, at an awkward period of conflict

between them, followed by Hoccleve's own mental breakdown.[53] As soon as Hoccleve was sidelined Lydgate began his 30,000-line *Troy Book* – in five books, like Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* – at 4pm on 31 October 1412 (according to his prologue's astronomical dating),[54] and finished it in 1420, near the end of Henry's life. Though a fall, the work glorified the king's mythic lineage, since Aeneas's grandson Brutus, supposed founder of Britain, derived from exiles of Troy. Even in this work, however, Lydgate pondered 'tragedie', describing what he took to be its ancient form of dumbshow accompanying a poet's sad song.[55]

Lydgate followed the *Troy Book* by beginning *The Siege of Thebes*, whose start of 27 April 1421 (also astrologically inscribed) was during a few months when Henry was in England. It was to be Henry's last period there, and unlike the *Troy Book*, the *Siege* carries no dedication. Derek Pearsall argues that since Henry's death (31 August 1422) is not mentioned in the poem, Henry must have been alive through the poem's completion, then Lydgate learned of the king's death before he could present it to him.[56] This is logical, although Lydgate's avoidance of mentioning Henry's death anywhere leaves the dating slightly uncertain, and opens other questions. If Lydgate learned of Henry's death soon after completing the poem, then reconsidered or excised any dedication, the absence of any envoy of lament is noteworthy, especially given the commemorative comments on Chaucer, who 'was, yif I shal not feyne, / Floure of poetes thorghout al Breteyne'.[57]

By their nature, neither of the historical tragedies Lydgate wrote for Henry display optimistic views of lordship or conquest. *The Siege of Thebes* directly contrasts Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*, which, following Boccaccio's *Teseida*, refounds Thebes in the aftermath of the devastation that Statius's *Thebaid* charts. To be sure, Lydgate's poem has comic or festive touches. The preface pretends that the work continues Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*; arriving in Canterbury, the Pilgrims meet 'Lydgate / Monk of Bery, nygh fyfty yere of age, / Come to this toune to do my pilgrimage' (*ST* 93–4). His becomes the first and only tale told on the return. But adding the *Siege* to Chaucer's story collection unravels the constructive emphasis of *The Knight's Tale*, which presents Theseus's rebuilding of the world that the siege of Thebes had shattered. Lydgate's

chronological prelude, but narrative afterword, to the *Knight's Tale* would provide readers a darker history than any other *Tale*, concluding Chaucer's entire project in tragedy. The gloom would be lightened only if the reader began again with the *Knight's Tale*, although that would eventually bring the reader back around to Lydgate's *Siege*.

This brilliantly recasts the generic and emotional structure of Chaucer's entire *Canterbury Tales*, undermining the sense of possibilities readers might feel reading that unfinished collection. *The Siege of Thebes* is itself a tragedy in all but name, following Chaucer's formula for that genre as established in *Troilus and Criseyde* and *Monk's Tale*. Invoking the section in which Chaucer's describes *Troilus* as 'litel myn tragedye', including Chaucer's witheringly ironic statement, 'Swich fyn hath, lo, this Troilus for love!' (*TC*, V.1786, 1828), Lydgate shows he expanded the genre to encompass war's destruction not of just one person or side but all:

> Lo, her the fyn of contek and debat.
> Lo, her the myght of Mars the *froward sterre.   [*aggressive*
> Lo, what it is for to *gynne a werre.   [*begin*
> How it concludeth ensample ye may se
> First of the Grekys and next of the cyté,
> For *owther parte hath matere to conpleyne.   [*either*
> And in her strif ye may se thyngges *tweyne: [*two*
> The worthy blood of al Grece spilt:
> And Thebes ek, of Amphion first bylt,
> Without *recur brouht unto ruyne … (*ST* 4628–37) [*recovery*

What 'ye may see' – that both sides are destroyed – parallels medieval *accessus* to Lucan's poem, which assert Lucan wrote to 'dissuade the Romans from civil war by showing the misfortunes of both sides'.[58] For all of Lydgate's promises of ultimate peace at the end of the poem, he emphasised Theban and Greek 'ruyne', and his placement of the tale renders Chaucer's entire *Canterbury Tales* a demonstration of Fortune's cruel wheel.

It is fitting for a monk to emphasise penance and 'contempt of the world'. But Lydgate might have been more aware than Walsingham (who died in late 1422) of crises looming over England's military adventures. Although Henry's successes at Agincourt and Rouen

led to the treaty at Troyes, a series of shocks soon followed. The treaty, designating Henry V and his heirs as heirs to the French crown upon Charles VI's death and promising 'concordia, pax, et tranquilitas' [concord, peace, and tranquillity] between France and England, seems echoed in the *Siege*'s closing utopian prophecy that war would end and 'love and pees in hertys shal awake' (4698). But English fortunes soon took a series of downward turns. On 3 April 1421, less than a month before Lydgate began the *Siege*, Henry, having returned to England in February after three years of fighting in France, learned that his brother, Thomas of Clarence, heir to the throne after Henry and key to English success, had been killed at Beaugé, Anjou, in a rash attack on a larger Franco-Scottish army; also killed was Gilbert Umfraville, Henry's close associate, and other knights. Henry received the news in Yorkshire and left for Lincoln 15 April, making a series of stops in East Anglia before reaching Westminster, where he called a parliament to ratify the Treaty of Troyes and secure what was now a much less certain victory amid a more vulnerable English succession, focused on an infant son. During the parliament, Henry was confronted by the treasurer with enormous overdue bills; less than three weeks after parliament was dissolved, on 23 May 1421, Henry returned to France to try to rescue the situation, during which efforts he unexpectedly died the following year.[59]

Lydgate was certainly aware of these events while he prepared his poem for circulation. He began the *Siege* during Henry's brief period in England; Lydgate might even have received a commission when Henry, learning of his brother's death, journeyed from Norwich to Westminster for parliament in late April (Bury is halfway between the two cities). The absence of any lament for Henry in Lydgate suggests a challenge that even tragedy could not meet, paralleling Walsingham's evasion of the prisoners' execution. Lydgate mentioned Henry in the past tense just once, in the 'Mumming at London', where, as Maura Nolan observes, Lydgate with no sign of irony presented Henry as a victor over Fortune: he 'putte Fortune vnder foote'.[60] For Nolan, Henry's awkwardly implied death there, like Lydgate's prose *Serpent of Division* which summarises the disaster of Lucan's *Civil War* (and which might also have been written shortly after Henry's death), indicate that

'tragedy' for Lydgate ultimately entailed a confrontation with the 'the problem of contingency': 'the 'unwar strook' that shatters historical causality and violently creates the space for new forms with which to organise catastrophic experience'.[61]

Lydgate's silences are indeed as notable as his plenitude. To be sure, he generally avoided applying 'tragedie' to contemporary figures, a constraint abandoned by the time of the *Mirror of Magistrates*. Lydgate showed the way, however, in his brief *Of the Sodein Fal of Princes in Oure Dayes*.[62] This features seven recent 'falls' in rhyme-royal stanzas, in the manner of the 'modern instances' of Chaucer's Monk (VI.2375–460); here Lydgate surveys fourteenth-and fifteenth-century English and French kings and royalty who were murdered, went insane, or were otherwise dishonoured, from Edward II to Richard II to John ('the fearless') duke of Burgundy and Charles VI ('the mad') of France, whose death in October 1422 triggered the ascent to the French throne of Henry VI, providing the poem's earliest date. This is in effect a rogues' gallery of the regal figures whose lives, marriages and deaths drove the Hundred Years War. The portraits offer few comforts, starting with Edward II:

> so governed was he, nowe vnderstonde,
> By suche as caused foule his vndoing,
> For trewly to telle yowe with-oute *lesing,   [*lying*
> He was deposed by al þe *rewmes assent,   [*realm's*
> In prisoun murdred with a *broche in his
>   *foundament.   (1–7) [*spear*; *anus*

Dating all this after October 1422 makes the poem's silence about Henry V's 'sodein fal' in August – Fortune's cruellest blow – too striking to be accidental. Perhaps Lydgate's survey of ill-fated kings implied Henry's contrasting glory. As with the absence of a dedication in the *Siege of Thebes*, and as with Thomas Walsingham's apparent completion of the *Ypodigma Neustriae* shortly after the death of the king which that work grandiloquently addresses, such silences suggest a structure of feeling that could not be fully articulated. Public decorum might explain this, and Walsingham might himself have died too soon to make other revisions, but Lydgate's sustained silence on Henry's death suggests

something more. It might be understood not just as shock from the fall of a particularly powerful and glory-seeking king but a regrouping of views on kingship and lordship as such, in a society increasingly operating on quite different terms. When lordly conquests and disasters shook the burgeoning 'common weal' (an increasingly prevalent notion),[63] silence was a telling response.

But if selective silence was one feature of tragedy in this period, copiousness was another. Like Walsingham's 'infinite tragedies', the disasters of lordship fill Lydgate's poetry with endless downfalls, each promising further perspectives on causes and outcomes. Narrating tragedies may, as Rowan Williams argues, provide some control over catastrophe by mere expression.[64] But during the period of tragedy's widespread re-emergence, the silences, deflections and infinite repetitions suggest an equally recurrent principle: tragedy's endless confrontations with history that even brilliant expansions of the genre cannot master.

Notes

1 Hegel, *Lectures on Fine Art*, vol. 2, 1102–1205.
2 Nietzsche, *Birth of Tragedy*; Wallace, *Tragedy Since 9/11*.
3 Williams, *Modern Tragedy*, esp. 87–105.
4 Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 140; Kelly, *Ideas*, 42–3; Cadman et al., *Genres of Renaissance Tragedy*, 1.
5 Symes, 'Tragedy of the Middle Ages', 353.
6 John of Garland, *Parisiana Poetria*, 137–54.
7 Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 146.
8 Pearsall, *Bio-bibliography*, 69–72: see London, BL Harley MS 1766, images at www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp?MSID=8737. Nolan, *John Lydgate*, treats Lydgate's idea of 'tragedy' in relation to his ideas of contingency, as noted below. Simpson, *Reform and Cultural Revolution*, 68–120, presents the most conceptually ambitious revisiting of 'tragedy' across Farnham's span, in a politically acute account that in effect recasts Farnham's dialectic of 'contempt' and 'espousal' into 'chivalric' and 'clerical' approaches to Trojan and other antique focuses for tragedy. Over this distinction Simpson plots 'historical' vs 'literary', 'genealogical' vs 'analogical' and 'imperialist' vs 'anti-imperialist' dichotomies in late medieval presentations of ancient 'falls';

Simpson further argues that medieval anti-imperialist 'literary' presentations were eventually displaced by imperialist views in Renaissance epic. While these focuses are valuably clear for pursuing the shifting ideologies across this span, the present chapter finds fewer tidy dichotomies, not only between 'historical / genealogical / imperialist' vs 'literary / analogical / anti-imperialist', but also between poets and historians, not least when they used similar concepts of 'tragedy'. Yet as will be clear, the results here endorse the general aptness of the ideologies Simpson identifies, while adding focuses he does not consider, especially what might be called a principle of complicity (which I take to be crucial to 'tragedy'), and of ideological multivalence, both of which contribute, I would argue, to the genre's dynamism and its changes in the Renaissance. For a less thematically dichotomised updating of the Farnhamian trajectory from medieval 'falls' to Renaissance 'tragedy', emphasising the growing importance of classical models, see Bushnell, 'Classical and Medieval Roots'.

9 Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*: *Troilus and Criseyde* (*TC*), V.1786; on *TC* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 61, see https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/dh967mz5785.

10 Symes, 'Tragedy of the Middle Ages', 356.

11 Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 45–50.

12 See especially Perry, 'Lydgate's *Danse Macabre*'.

13 See Galloway, "Vertu to purchace".

14 See Bailey, *Decline of Serfdom*.

15 Walsingham, *St Albans Chronicle: The Chronica majora* (*CM*), vol. 1, xx.

16 Clark, *Monastic Renaissance*.

17 Clark, *Monastic Renaissance*, 22, 89–90; see BL MS Cotton Nero D VII, images at www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Nero_D_VII.

18 Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 46–50.

19 BL Harley MS 2693, fols 131–202v (Terence at fos 155v–162, Lucan at fols 163–8, Seneca at fols 178–201v). Excerpts are translated in Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 47–9, and Federico, *Classicist Writings*, 28–48.

20 BL Harley MS 2693, fol. 178; Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 48–9.

21 *CM*, vol. 1, 410–563, at 478 and 504; Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae* (*YN*), 335. I have adjusted the nineteenth-century editor's punctuation; translations are mine.

22 Walsingham, *Gesta abbatum* (*GA),* 285–372; trans. in Walsingham, *Deeds of the Abbots*.

23 *CM*, vol. 1, 412; *GA*, 306–29.

24 See Justice, *Writing and Rebellion*; Galloway, 'Making History Legal', 31–9; Prendergast, 'Writing in the Tragic Mode'.

25 Federico, *Classicist Writings*, 166.

26 Federico, *Classicist Writings*, 166.

27 William of Jumièges et al., *Gesta Normannorum Ducum*, vol. 1, 22–3.

28 Boccaccio, *De casibus*, book 1, fol. VIIv, s.v. 'Adversus nimiam credulitatem'. See Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 23–4.

29 *CM*, vol. 2, 533 (translation modified).

30 Sanford, 'Manuscripts of Lucan', 285; see also Sanford, 'Quotations from Lucan'.

31 Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 195–205; Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae*, 18.44. See Kelly, *Ideas*, 63–4, 40–50.

32 Brecht, *Brecht on Theatre*, 79.

33 Trans. Nevitt and Pollard, *Reader in Tragedy*, 182; for full text but a less literal translation, see Hegel, *Lectures on Fine Art*, vol. 2, 1198.

34 'England, thank God for victory': *Historical Poems*, ed. Robbins, 91–2. See Curry, *Agincourt*.

35 *YN*, 464–7; *CM*, vol. 2, 674–82 (which edition presents more accurate citations of the allusions than Riley's).

36 Lucan, *De bello civile* [hereafter *BC*], 7.348; *YN* 465.

37 *BC* 7.385; *YN* 464.

38 *BC* 9.381–2; *YN* 465.

39 *YN* 463.

40 *Aeneid* 12.113–14; 9.503; *YN* 464.

41 *Satires* 3.8.

42 *Aeneid* 9.764; *YN* 465.

43 *YN* 466; cf. *BC* 7.532–5.

44 *Brut*, 379.

45 *Brut*, 597.

46 Hardyng, *Chronicle*, ed. Ellis, chapter 214, 375 (unlineated).

47 Williams, *Tragic Imagination*, 1–2, 30–55.

48 Lydgate, *Fall of Princes* (hereafter *FP*), vol. 4, 273, note to 7.8.

49 *BC* 1.685. See Harriss, 'Humphrey duke of Gloucester'; *Mirror for Magistrates*, ed. Campbell, 445–60; Philips, *Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester*.

50 Williams, *Tragic Imagination*, 76.

51 See Mortimer, *Fall of Princes*, 58–60; Nolan, 'Lydgate's Literary History', 73–4, 85–7.

52 Pearsall, *Bio-bibliography*, 15–16.

53 Pearsall, 'Hoccleve's *Regement*'.

54 Lydgate, *Troy Book* (hereafter *TB*), Prol. 125–46.

55 *TB* 2.862–916; Kelly, *Chaucerian Tragedy*, 152–3.
56 Pearsall, *Bio-bibliography*, 22.
57 Lydgate, *Siege of Thebes* (hereafter *ST*), 39–40.
58 Sanford, 'Manuscripts of Lucan', 283.
59 Allmand, *Henry V*, 158–62.
60 'Mumming at London', 276, in Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, vol. 2, 682–91.
61 Nolan, *John Lydgate*, 171; on *Serpent* see also Galloway, 'John Lydgate'.
62 Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, vol. 2, 660–1.
63 Watts, 'Ideas, Principles and Politics'.
64 Williams, *Tragic Imagination*, 1–3.

2

Forms against war: the pastourelle and the Hundred Years War

Elizaveta Strakhov[1]

In one of Eustache Deschamps's ballades, *En une grant fourest et lée* (*c.*1380), the speaker, riding on horseback through the forest, comes across a group of frightened barnyard animals huddled in an enclosed space as wolves, foxes and other carnivorous forest animals prowl around them. The predators demand money as they encircle the livestock, and the barnyard animals beg for mercy. The ewe says she has been shorn four times that year (10–12), implying she has no more wool to offer at this time.[2] The sow says that she will be forced to beg in the streets along with her piglets, as she has no merchandise left to sell, to which the wolf responds that she can sell her hide (25–9). Deploying the tropes of animal husbandry, this beast allegory critiques exploitation of the rural poor by wealthy administrative elites.[3] Cornered by menacing predators, the terrified animals lend pathos to Deschamps's critique of class warfare. The gendered quality of this beast allegory, however, and its intimations of sexual violence, raise questions regarding the spectacularity of pain, both female and animal.

Deschamps's lexical choice of *brebis* [ewe] and *truie* [sow] underline that the animals foregrounded in this poem are female. They are also represented in gendered attitudes of subjection: the ewe 's'est agenoillée' [knelt down] (9) and speaks 'comme coye' [peaceably] (10), while the sow is 'desesperée' [in despair] (25), in a characterisation that recalls the Argive widows weeping on their knees in the road before Theseus at the opening of Geoffrey Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* (*c.*1380). Their gendering introduces an extra dimension to Deschamps's critique. The overshearing of this female sheep now intimates sexual assault of her body. That sense is heightened in the

discourse of the sow, where the wolf's suggestion that she sell her hide, in the absence of other merchandise, suggests sex work.

The genre of this poem intensifies its implications of sexual violence. Deschamps's lyric opens with the phrase: 'En une grant fourest et lée / Nagaires que je cheminoie, / Ou j'ay mainte beste trouvée' [As I was walking the other day / In a forest, vast and large, / Where I came across multiple animals] (1–3). This opening formula is the calling card of the medieval pastourelle. This extremely popular genre, the oldest example of which dates from the mid-twelfth century with the work of troubadour poet Marcabru, is primarily about sexual violence against women.[4] Invariably opening with some variation on 'As I was riding the other day', it usually presents a conversation in an idealised *locus amoenus* between a young woman and a knight. The knight is trying to have sex with the young woman, sometimes by means of seduction, sometimes by means of bribery or coercion, sometimes by means of outright physical violence. In response, the woman teases, acquiesces, bargains, consents, resists, fights back or does not, or cannot. The pastourelle, of which approximately 150 are extant in Old and Middle French, features a great number of variations on this basic scenario. A second type of pastourelle consists of a dialogue between two shepherds, often a courtship scene between a shepherd and a shepherdess, also observed by the voyeuristic knight. A third branch depicts pastoral life more generally, whereby the knight observes shepherds over their meal, usually critiquing the excesses of courtly life.[5]

Deschamps's introduction of gendered violence through lexical choice and lyric form thus suggests administrative misrule to be a form of sexual abuse. The rural poor, emblematised by the animals they herd, transform into female victims of sexual violence, whose rape is further implicitly metaphorised into the rape of the land itself. Toggling between the twin poles of metaphor and metonymy, in which sheep and sows metaphorically represent women and metonymically stand in for the rural poor, Deschamps paints an affective scene of structural power imbalance and socioeconomic marginalisation.

But the ballade also complicates its own sympathies. To begin with, we inhabit the scene through the speaker's perspective, himself

on horseback in a demonstration of his noble status. Further, the ballade's opening formula uncomfortably links him to the sexual predator of the pastourelle or, at best, to the voyeuristic onlooker, ultimately just passing through. As Geri Smith has noted, French pastourelles, many of which feature extended representations of violent rape, offer ambiguous portrayals of the knight. On the one hand, as an aggressive attacker, he flagrantly defies the prescriptions of courtly love, revealing the base animality of human desire beneath his polished surface.[6] On the other, the young woman is often depicted as naive and/or sexually provocative, and the rapist knight always rides away with full impunity.[7]

In Deschamps's ballade, the portrayal of the two threatened animals embeds additional troubling cultural scripts. The image of the meekly kneeling ewe bears a sacral register, offering the animal's overshearing-as-rape the outlines of a virgin martyrdom. The sow, on the other hand, is freighted with very different connotations. Her desperation recalls the frantic squealing of a pig, as contrasted with the placid timidity of the sheep, suggesting over-emotionality. Unlike the sacral sheep, the sow is represented as a mother, thus a sexually experienced woman. Concomitantly, she is invited to perform sex work, deeply stigmatised in this period and unrelieved by the damsel-in-distress tropes present in the characterisation of the ewe. Even as Deschamps's ballade indicts the treatment of the rural poor, it also subtly reasserts gendered stereotypes regarding female sexuality.

Deschamps's choice to use abused women and hurt animals as metaphors for the rural poor is not unique to this ballade. The same rhetorical operation takes place in a group of contemporary anonymous pastourelles occurring in sequence in a single manuscript, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 902. These pastourelles intensify many of the elements found in Deschamps's ballade. Rather than describing general administrative corruption, however, their critique revolves around the failure to protect rural populaces against raiding enemy armies in the Hundred Years War. Proportionately, the animals are now dead, and sexual violence against women is no longer intimated, but executed. As a result, the affective register of these portrayals is amplified still more, where all three forms of violence – against the rural poor, against women and against animals – are uniformly condemned

in powerful anti-war messages. Yet, as in Deschamps's ballade above, the critique works by imagining each of these groups – killed animals, raped women and pillaged peasants – as standing in for one another in a series of overlapping figurations.

In *The Sexual Politics of Meat*, Carol J. Adams identifies the cultural function of animals as an 'absent referent', integrally bound up with figurative language.[8] Just as the dead animal is carefully presented in the modern supermarket as a shapeless part, eliding the animality of its original body, so too language elides the animal life of the meat we are consuming: we eat *beef*, we do not eat *cow*. As long as we eat *beef*, we avoid thinking about the still-warm bodies of slaughtered cows, thus sanctioning the death of more cows; language both reasserts and conditions the violence committed upon the animal. In turn, the emphasis on separable body parts to describe women in toxic patriarchal culture – 'a piece of ass', 'I'm a legs man' – co-opts this violence by metaphorically reducing women's subjecthood to objectified flesh that can be consumed and abused, just like animal flesh. This rhetorical violence is amplified still when the idea of female rape is transferred onto other subjects, such as rape of the land, transforming the real lived experiences of sexual violence against women into loose allegorisations of violence against inanimate objects. As Adams puts it, 'through the function of the absent referent, Western culture constantly renders the material reality of violence into controlled and controllable metaphors'.[9] By disassembling the imbrication of animals with women in Western culture, Adams exposes the structural violence perpetuated by figuration present in works like Deschamps's ballade.

The Pennsylvania pastourelles anticipate Adams's critique by several centuries. They similarly investigate the affective limits of imagining the rural populace simultaneously as abused animals and as abused women. In these works, the allegorical representation of rural populations as animals is valorised by depicting them as sympathetically defenceless animals at the bottom of the food chain. Pressure on the alignment of consumed animals with consumed humans, however, creates cracks that betray the instrumentalism of this conceptual move as working not by affording animals humanity, but by denying humans theirs. That the author or compiler of the Pennsylvania pastourelles is aware of this rhetorical effect

is revealed by the introduction of the third category of figurative representation into the works: the raped woman, who is repeatedly metaphorised as a wounded sheep. Once introduced, real female suffering threatens to collapse into pure allegory in the service of portraying wartime cruelty, mirroring Deschamps's ballade above and reifying Adams's critique. The Pennsylvania pastourelles, however, problematise this simple equation. Hurt women, we learn by the end of the pastourelle cycle, may be imagined as hurt sheep, but they are also not at all like hurt sheep: their hurt is their own, and the historical reality of that hurt challenges freewheeling allegorisation. In so doing, these works briefly expose the representational aporia at the heart of their figurative project.

Figuring shepherds as their sheep

Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania MS Codex 902, a large anthology of late medieval French *formes fixes* poetry, dated to the start of the fifteenth century, opens with a set of poems copied into the first quire of the manuscript, from fol. 1r to 8r, extant only here.[10] They are composed in the Picard dialect spoken in north-eastern France and the Francophone Low Countries, a region that felt the full brunt of the Hundred Years War, particularly at the hands of Edward the Black Prince and his devastating chevauchées.[11] The neat quire-length size of the sequence and its positioning at the opening of the manuscript suggests these works' independent circulation as a stand-alone sequence or cycle.[12]

These pastourelles, possibly authored by a single person and/ or, as we will shortly see, intentionally compiled into a coherent, richly interwoven cycle, are unusual for their open discussion of the Hundred Years War.[13] But if Deschamps's ballade above conflated violence against the rural poor with violence against animals and against women through discrete word choice, palimpsestically layered imagery and the use of formal tags signalling the pastourelle genre, the Pennsylvania pastourelles achieve the conflation instead through what Arthur Bahr has called 'codicological form', whereby 'the disposition of texts in a manuscript can in fact be … richly productive of aesthetic and metaphorical meaning'.[14] Instead of

layering representations, the Pennsylvania pastourelle poet or compiler arranges the pastourelles in a sequence that interweaves the genre's main thematic strands: (1) the sexual assault of a shepherdess; (2) a dialogue between two shepherds, usually a courtship scene; and (3) the pastoral scene featuring shepherds in conversation. In so doing, he confects a poetic cycle of poems that repeatedly resonate with one another's themes and, by means of this deliberate interweaving, produce a multi-pronged commentary on war, violence and figural representation.

The Pennsylvania pastourelle sequence begins its critique of the Hundred Years War by focusing on the desperation of ruined peasants, their livelihoods pillaged by passing raiders. The sequence opens with three traditional dialogic pastourelles: a touching father–son deathbed scene and two wooing scenes between shepherds that paint a picture of the simple, virtuous life of the rural poor. At this point, the cycle shifts its focus to group pastoral scenes, and, in so doing, the idyllic mood established with the first three works vanishes. After two more poems picturing pastoral scenes where shepherds lament generalised rural poverty, the cycle's sixth pastourelle, *Trois bergers d'ancien aez*, features shepherds explicitly attributing their losses to the devastations of the Hundred Years War.[15] Here two shepherds share a lengthy list, running several stanzas, of all the numerous battles and sieges that they have witnessed in the theatre of war in north-eastern France and the Low Countries. This lengthy array of names includes places like Mons-en-Pévèle (25), Tournay (50) – besieged by the English in 1340 – and Cadzand (57), raided by the English in 1337.[16]

Stressing the first few years of the Anglo-French conflict in its list of battles and sieges, *Trois bergers* also has one of the shepherds mention witnessing Edward III's original act of homage to Philip VI at his coronation in 1326 (53–5), before the outbreak of the war. The inclusion of this detail pinpoints the very origins of the Hundred Years War, while the ensuing cataclysm of events – ten in total – stresses its interminable nature. That these enumerative litanies take place as the shepherds sit for their daily midday meal suggests that the rural devastation perpetuated by warring factions has become the routine experience of a shepherd's daily life. The evocation of cyclical violence is further punctuated by the pastourelle's refrain that

metonymically aligns the beleaguered shepherds with the animals that constitute their livelihood, as different characters exclaim in variations on the phrase that they have never beheld 'un leu pour garder les oeilles' [a wolf to guard sheep]. The shepherds, attacked by pillagers, are likened unto their own sheep, attacked by wolves.

In the very next lyric in the sequence, *Madoulz li bergiers et ses fieulx*, the role of the sheep similarly toggles between literal and allegorical modes.[17] Here, a father and a son have lost their whole flock of sheep to a band of raiders and are now destitute. As in the preceding pastourelle, the enormity and cyclicality of the Anglo-French conflict and its ensuing devastation is prominently foregrounded. Madoulz spends much of the pastourelle trying to determine the identity of the raiders: was it the Navarrese (11), he asks his son, or perhaps the Flemish, or else the French (26), or perhaps the Boulonais (27)? His son's response that the raiders cried 'Saint George' (refrain) reveals their English identity to the reader, as this was the battle cry of English forces already in the late eleventh century and was particularly associated with Edward III and his war campaigns.[18] Nevertheless, Madoulz's multiple attempts to guess the raiders' identity emphasise, through the enumeration, the catastrophic situation of Picard shepherds, trapped in the middle of a brutal conflict that comes at them from all sides. Madoulz laments: 'n'est ce mie grans destrois / quant no voisin font pis que leu?' [is it not a great tragedy / When our neighbours are worse than wolves?] (43–4), again aligning himself with the animals under his charge. These two pastourelles thus achieve their sharp political critique by showcasing the geographic and temporal scale of the conflict, and this enormity is further accentuated by staging intimate enclosed scenes between friends and nuclear family members observed by an outside figure. The close relationships portrayed implicitly become the physical intimacy of a flock of sheep, huddled together against the repeated onslaught of outside forces.

Pythagoras and the Golden Age in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*

The affective portrayal of the rural populace by means of their own domesticated animals is not new to late medieval literature:

John Gower's *Visio Angliae*, which serves as a prologue to his *Vox Clamantis*, similarly imagines the rural populace as cows, oxen, hogs and other barnyard animals. Gower's rural beasts, however, symbolise the perilous inversion of naturalised social hierarchies when they throw off their yokes (245–50).[19] Furthermore, their animality works to emphasise their brutality, their chaotic disorganisation in an undifferentiated herd and the lack of reason that fundamentally distinguishes humans from animals in medieval natural philosophy.[20] In the Pennsylvania pastourelles, by contrast, as in Deschamps's ballade, the animality of the shepherds seems intended instead to accentuate their suffering by highlighting the inexorability of their destruction and their sacrificial innocence. Nevertheless, this seemingly sympathetic association of shepherds with their sheep has a critical fault line, as it also works to transmute the value of human lives into the labour value of livestock.

The rhetorical slippage between the death of literal sheep and the allegorical alignment of sheep, in their dying, to humans plays a major role in Ovid's retelling of the narrative of the Four Ages at the beginning and end of the *Metamorphoses*, seminal to the Middle Ages. Importantly, as that text reveals, the equation of sheep to humans, far from dignifying the lives of animals, is instead instrumental to the processes of naturalising human social hierarchies. In Ovid's first rendition of the Four Ages myth, the Golden Age has people living off the natural bounty of the land (I.89–112) until the Silver Age sees them yoke oxen to the plough (I.123–4), while the Bronze Age features weapons (I.125–7) and the Iron Age brings war and murder (I.141–50). But in Book 15 of the same text, Pythagoras rewrites the causality of that narrative:

> At vetus illa aetas, cui fecimus aurea nomen,
> fetibus arboreis et, quas humus educat, herbis
> fortunata fuit nec polluit ora cruore.
> tunc et aves tutae movere per aera pennas,
> et lepus inpavidus mediis erravit in arvis,
> nec sua credulitas piscem suspenderat hamo:
> cuncta sine insidiis nullamque timentia fraudem
> plenaque pacis erant. (XV. 96–103)

[But that pristine age, which we have named the golden age, was blessed with the fruit of the trees and the herbs which the ground sends forth, nor did men defile their lips with blood. Then birds plied their wings in safety through the heaven, and the hare loitered all unafraid in the tilled fields, nor did its own guilelessness hang the fish upon the hook. All things were free from treacherous snares, fearing no guile and full of peace.][21]

Animals are not a focal point in Ovid's earlier description of the Golden Age: back in Book 1 humans are depicted as foraging fruit, berries, honey and acorns in a landscape that is simply absent of animals. In Pythagoras's speech, however, animals assume centre stage, whereby their safety from any predators, including humans, becomes the main feature of the bygone Golden Age.

The Golden Age ends, Pythagoras goes on to explain, when 'non utilis auctor / victibus invidit, quisquis fuit ille, leonum / corporeasque dapes avidum demersit in alvum' [someone, an ill exemplar, whoever he was, envied the food of lions, and thrust down flesh as food into his greedy stomach] (XV.103–5). Locating the end of the Golden Age in the end of human vegetarianism, Pythagoras goes on to explain the full magnitude of this crime: 'primoque e caede ferarum / incaluisse potest maculatum *sanguine ferrum*' [it may be that, in the first place, with the killing of wild beasts the *iron* was warmed and stained *with blood*] (XV.106–7; emphasis added). This line, with its evocation of *ferrum* [iron] and *sanguine* [blood], recalls Ovid's initial description of the Iron Age, in which 'nocens *ferrum* ferroque nocentius aurum / prodierat, prodit bellum, quod pugnat utroque, / *sanguineaque* manu crepitantia concutit arma' [baneful *iron* had come, and gold more baneful than iron; war came, which fights with both, and brandished in its *bloody* hands the clashing arms] (I.141–3; emphasis added). Through these lexical resonances, the death of the first animal for human consumption echoes the murder of the first human in warfare.

Pythagoras seems to be calling for the ethical treatment of animals by elevating their deaths to those of humans. In particular, Pythagoras condemns the killing of sheep:

quid meruistis oves, placidum pecus inque tuendos
natum homines, pleno quae fertis in ubere nectar,
mollia quae nobis vestras velamina lanas
praebetis vitaque magis quam morte iuvatis? (XV.116–19)

[But, ye sheep, what did you ever do to merit death, a peaceful flock,
born for man's service, who bring us sweet milk to drink in your full
udders, who give us your wool for soft clothing, and who help more
by your life than by your death?]

Yet the sheep's privileged position in Pythagoras's denunciation of
animal consumption actually works to expose the limits of Ovid's
affective engagement with human-like animals. As Pythagoras elu-
cidates, the sheep's death is especially catastrophic because, taking
nothing, it freely offers two valuable things that sustain the human
body: dairy products and wool. This feature renders the sheep a
perfect subject of the agrarian economy as a body that consumes
fuel inedible to humans and yet creates two useful products. A body
completely composed of nothing but human use-value, the sheep
is not then especially human-like, but simply especially useful to
humans. It is that feature, rather than any similarity to humans, that
renders its death deplorable.

To kill the sheep thus becomes not an ethical transgression
against the animal, but an ethical transgression against humans,
who depend on the numerous products afforded by the sheep's
body. The real end of the Golden Age, in both versions, reveals
itself to be about the sustainability of human, rather than animal,
populations. In Book 1, the Golden Age ends when humans stop
foraging and begin to develop scheduled crop planting and harvest-
ing to yield more food than the land naturally gives forth. Similarly
in Pythagoras's speech, the Golden Age ends when plant-based
foraging becomes supplemented by the hunting of animals. From
this perspective, animals are not being aligned with humans because
animals are like humans but because too much animal death will
eventually result in too much human death. Rather than humanise
animals, Pythagoras's description ultimately underscores their sub-
jection to humans.

But if the sheep is aligned with the human because it is a valu-
able unit of human economies, then its ensuing substitution for

actual humans renders those humans instrumentalised in turn as economic units, rather than as human beings. Put differently, the devastation of the rural poor matters exactly as much as the death of their sheep: not because individual lives are being ruined and lost, but because the sustainability of the broader economy totters without these labouring bodies. In this way, the Pennsylvania pastourelles reveal the cold agrarian logic behind the conflation of the rural populace with the animals in their service. Although it advances the pastourelles' political critique, this conflation underscores the courtliness of these poems where the perspective ultimately rests with the objectifying gaze of the voyeuristic knight.

The silence of the lambs

The reductive nature of imagining shepherds as the mere economic units that sustain them is further compounded by the introduction of a third element of comparison into the pastourelle cycle. After the overtly topical pastourelles revolving around the Hundred Years War, the cycle seems to switch thematic gears again by shifting back into portraying scenes of courtship between two shepherds, as in the second and third lyric in the cycle. Nevertheless, the return of the image of the hurt sheep in these courtship lyrics provocatively links the different strains of the cycle together. The eighth lyric, *Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps*, occurring just after the pastourelle about Madoulz and his son, opens with shepherd Robin conventionally wooing shepherdess Maret by arguing: 'Bien sçay que vous m'amez' [I know well that you love me] (4).[22] Maret conventionally resists, as she also does in the cycle's second lyric and as is common to the pastourelle genre more broadly. The content of her refusal, however, brings in the broader representational concerns of the cycle as a whole:

> Elle respont: 'Robert, vous ne sçavez…
> quant li leups hier emporta mon mouton,
> je le rescous, mais ains fu estranlez.
> Ne feustes pas tant hardiz ny osez
> que m'aidissiez ne qu'en eussiez corage.' (5–10)

[She responds: 'Robert, you don't know …
when the wolf carried off my sheep yesterday,
I rescued it, but it had already been strangled.
You were neither bold nor audacious enough
To have helped me nor to have found the courage to do so.']

Maret's response draws on the pastoral commonplace of good husbandry as the chief feature of the worthy shepherd. In the third lyric of the pastourelle cycle, for example, *En un friche vers un marchais*, a shepherd successfully woos a shepherdess by revealing that he knows how best to store the milk of a ewe that has recently lambed (42–4).[23]

The detail of a wolf mauling a sheep as sign of Robin's ineffective husbandry suddenly brings the spectre of violence into this ostensibly peaceful scene. Significantly, there has been no suggestion of aggression in Robin's suit thus far: the text portrays him as laughing and giving her a basket (3). In the lyric's next stanza Robin presses his suit further and is again rebuffed in increasingly starker terms: 'Robin, s'eusse esté la mourans / du leu com fu men mouton devourez, / m'eussiez esté la vie remettans / dedans le corps?' [Robin, if I had been there dying / because of the wolf, as was my devoured sheep, / would you have been there to put life back / in my body?] (27–30). Suddenly placing herself in the position of her hurt sheep, Maret amplifies the previous suggestion of violence, now presenting Robin as powerless to defend both animals and women from their predators. Towards the end of their dialogue, Maret's words become prophetic, yet her attacker does not come, like the wolf for the sheep, from the world outside. Instead, Robin's demeanour changes dramatically:

[Robin] l'ahert parmi les deux costez;
bas le rua et le baisa assez;
du seurplus tais que je n'en die oultrage.
Au relever lui dist: 'Vous baiseray je.'
Lors li respont: 'Oil, Robert, se voulez.' (60–4)

[[Robin] seizes her by both sides of her waist;
he threw her down and kissed her often;
I won't speak of the rest lest I give offence.
Upon getting back up he said to her: 'I will kiss you.'
Then she replies: 'Yes, Robert, if you wish.']

Robin's actions – grabbing Maret and throwing her down – are the conventional tropes of rape found repeatedly in other pastourelles.[24] This suggestion is further signalled by the speaker's coy demurral that he will remain silent lest he speaks of an 'oultrage', which can mean both *outrage* but also, more plainly, *forcible rape*.[25] Moreover, Maret's consent to the encounter troublingly takes place after the sexual act has clearly been completed. Suzanne Edwards discusses the prevalence of such scenes of retroactive consent to rape in pastourelles. She connects these to a contemporary legal practice that aided in dismissing sexual assault cases in court by having the woman claim retroactive consent in court to exonerate her attacker due to social pressures.[26] Maret's comparison of herself to a mauled sheep thus points not just to Robin's inefficacy as a shepherd, but to his being the wolf in the story all along.

In the opening lines of the very next lyric, *En un marchais de grant antiquité*, the voyeuristic knight, familiar to us from the politicised pastourelles earlier in the cycle, now stumbles across Robin in the following posture:

> trouvay Robin plorant sur son mouton,
> lui decorcant; a veir fu grant pité,
> et puis disoit: 'Bergiere de renon,
> qui t'a ravy ne m'ama pas granment.' (2–5)[27]

> [I found Robin crying over his sheep,
> flaying it, it was a great pity to behold,
> and then he said: 'Reputable shepherdess
> the one who ravished you did not much care for me.']

A friend comes by to comfort Robin over the loss of his beloved, reminding him that even Argus, for all his hundred eyes, lost his wife Io, which becomes the refrain for the lyric. The friend continues his speech of consolation with a conventional enumeration of literary exempla of other men betrayed by women, such as Adam, Samson, Aristotle, Virgil and Merlin.[28] The lyric concludes with Robin's swearing that he will never trust a woman again; the loss of the love object is now firmly reinscribed as her complicit betrayal.

Maret's disappearance from this poem, and Robin's laments over a prone sheep, resonate with Maret's comparison of herself, in the pastourelle just before, to a sheep mauled by a wolf. Similarly, that

previous pastourelle's culmination in a sexual act of fuzzy consent tracks with this text's mention of the woman's reputation and the ambiguous phrase: 'Qui t'a ravy?' [Who ravished you?], *Ravir* derives from the Latin *raptus*, a term that can mean *forcible rape*.[29] The lyric's refrain additionally references the tragic fate of Io, raped by Jupiter and subsequently turned into a domesticated barnyard animal, while the previous lyric also has Maret comparing Robin to Argus, Io's guardian (*Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps*, 36). The text thus suggests that an act of violence against a woman has been committed somewhere off-stage.

The representation of female rape as the death of a sheep, whom no shepherd can rescue from wolves, directly links these pastourelles' explorations of sexual violence against women to the earlier pastourelles that portray the shepherds' loss of sheep to raiders through the failure of good husbandry in the region. In the midday lunch scene, the old shepherds lament the disastrous appointment of wolves to guard sheep, while, in the dialogue between the father and son, Madoulz rebukes his child for failing to defend the sheep against his attackers (*Madoulz li bergiers et ses fieulx*, 12); as noted earlier, he later equates the raiders to being worse than wolves (43–4). When Maret reprimands Robin for failing to husband a hurt sheep, therefore, her words resonate with the earlier failure to protect sheep from violent raiders in the Hundred Years War. On the one hand, this conjunction implicitly reminds readers of the other historical victims, besides sheep, of wartime pillaging. In this way, it makes rhetorical space in this cycle's overt critique of the Hundred Years War for the devastating experiences of women in war, while also drawing attention to the threat of violence that women also experience from their own neighbours, friends and lovers. By highlighting the reality of widespread sexual violence against women, the Pennsylvania pastourelles offer rape victims a voice, however small, in ways that speak to Middle English and Middle Scots pastourelles, in which, as Carissa Harris has shown, the pain and anger of female victims tends to be more prominently foregrounded than in the traditional French pastourelle.[30]

At the same time, however, *raptus* is a famously ambiguous term that means not only *forcible rape*, but also *abduction*.[31] This feature

of the term aligns raped women with hurt sheep in a much more utilitarian manner, already signalled by Robin's and his friend's misogynistic responses. As Corinne Saunders has argued,

> *Raptus* of women in fact involves both kinds of theft: either sexual use of the woman's body is stolen by her attacker or her person is stolen by her abductor. Sex is thus interpreted as a commodity similar to the financial gain represented by marriage, and the definitive issue is robbery rather than trauma or violation.[32]

In this interpretation, the problem is less that women are being raped than that their rape is a theft of bodies that would otherwise labour in marriage and lawful childbirth. If a dead sheep cannot sustain humans over time with its milk and wool, then the sexually assaulted woman similarly falls out of the circulating marital economy. Just as the metonymic replacement of shepherds by their sheep ultimately revealed itself to be a warning concerning economic sustainability, so too does the woman 'ravy' [ravished] like a sheep fail to sustain the socioeconomic future of the region by becoming a body that has lost its marital value. Inasmuch as these vivid representations condemn the violence of the Hundred Years War and sexual violence against women in the terms of dangerously flawed animal husbandry, they again reduce the trauma of an assaulted woman, like the vastly different trauma of a pillaged shepherd, and the still more different trauma of a slaughtered animal, to mere economic loss.

Absent referents

The figurative representation that collapses sheep, shepherds and women together thus seems to reify Carol Adams's admonition against the structural violence levied by metaphorical language. These linguistic operations render different forms of literal trauma into allegorical vehicles that transmute historical pain into affective spectacle. Both animals and women elide into one another to point to the trauma of male shepherds, thus becoming Adams's 'absent referent'. And yet, the manner in which this substitution of animals for women for rural men is rendered rhetorically suggests

the author's or compiler's awareness that the end result of this chain of signification is an elision of subjecthood. This awareness is signalled by a foregrounding of literal absences in these texts, underscored by the speakers' heavy reliance on hypothetical constructions of events that lend the pastourelles an air of spectral irreality. In the aforementioned *Robin seoit et Maret a plains camps*, in which Maret compares herself to a wounded sheep, Maret initially denies Robin's suit by noting the sheep's attack that has happened 'hier' [yesterday] (7). Setting the attack beyond the diegesis of the pastourelle, the author turns it into an absent presence in the text. Maret freights the diegetic gap in this little story with an additional sense of failure when she insists that Robin was not able to help her: 'Ne feustes pas tant hardiz ny osez / que m'aidissiez, ne qu'en eussiez corage' [You were neither bold nor audacious enough / to have helped me nor to have found the courage to do so] (9–10).

Maret further draws attention to the breakdown of metaphoric representation in this text when she returns to the sheep again:

> Robin, s'eusse esté la mourans
> du leu com fu men mouton devourez,
> m'eussiez esté la vie remettans
> dedans le corps? A ce me respondez. (27–30)

> [Robin, if I had been there dying
> Because of the wolf, as was my devoured sheep,
> Would you have been there to put life back
> In my body? Answer me that.]

Using the subjunctive mode to underscore this hypothetical, Maret draws overt attention to the slippage between literal and figurative husbandry on which the cycle of pastourelles hinge as a whole. If the shepherd's occupation requires knowledge of healing wounded animals, she asks, how might that husbandry really work in the situation metaphorised by the wolf's attack, namely, a woman's rape? Is a wounded woman's body really the same as that of a sheep? More generally, how does a man – or any outside person, for that matter – restore a woman's body after rape, particularly in a society that views raped bodies as permanently damaged? Maret's question, stretching husbandry thin, exposes the lie at the heart of representing raped women as hurt sheep by drawing attention to

the disjuncture between physical trauma, psychic trauma and social trauma that renders female rape fundamentally *un*like other forms of bodily assault, especially in a culture that values virginity.

The pastourelle's deconstruction of the lack in its own use of metaphoric language finds its troubling echo in the ambiguity of Robin's and Maret's sexual encounter towards the end of the poem. In fulfilment of Maret's portrayal of Robin's hypothetical bad husbandry, Robin's actions are described using the literary tropes of sexual assault, as we saw above. They culminate, however, in that moment of ostensible consent, itself rendered more ambiguous still by its use of future tense: 'Au relever lui dist: "Vous baiseray je." / Lors li respont: "Oil, Robert, se voulez"' [Upon getting up he said: "I will kiss you." / Then she replies: "Yes, Robert, if you wish"] (64–5). Rather than depict a present, this moment offers but a proleptic granting of consent on Maret's part for an assault that has already – inexorably – taken place. The prolepsis is further underscored by that conditional 'if you wish', amplifying the abstract nature of this scene.

In the cycle's very next pastourelle, as we recall, both tenor and vehicle of the metaphor linking sheep with women are absent from the text. The pastourelle's knight finds Robin crying over a sheep that he is possibly skinning, suggesting that the animal, like Maret's earlier sheep from 'hier' [yesterday], is already dead, while addressing a shepherdess who has been 'ravy' [ravished], again beyond the diegesis of the text. Robin's grief continues to showcase the slippage between literal and figurative husbandry that animates the whole cycle, as he is simultaneously revealed to be a bad husband to his dead sheep and bad husband to his raped love interest. More significantly, this pastourelle has a dead animal, absently present inside the text, standing in for a woman, who is herself absent from the text. At once standing in and literally unable to stand in for one another, the hurt sheep and the raped woman are revealed to be blank ciphers dooming the entire project of metaphorically representing animals as women as rural men to linguistic collapse. Resonating powerfully with Adams's idea of the 'absent referent' through their literal absence, these pastourelles suggest the author's awareness that signification here works only through the erasure of its subjects.

That said, these lyrics' examination of the affective limitations of their figural project is also ultimately banished by the end of the cycle. Linguistic and diegetic order is restored when Maret finds herself faced with a far less ambiguous sexual situation that has a clear resolution. In the very last pastourelle of the cycle, *Decha Brimeu sur un ridel*, Maret is approached by a different shepherd named Brun, and the exchange between the characters contrasts starkly with Robin's and Maret's earlier dialogue.[33] If Robin was at least attempting eloquence by comparing Maret's beauty to that of various literary exempla, Brun simply opens his mouth and says: 'Trop vous aim par especial' [I really like you a lot] (10), and offers her a piece of cake.[34] After he is rebuffed, this new suitor throws himself on top of Maret, who begins to scream before Robin runs in and beats Brun 'si qu'a poy ne le fist crever' [so that he just barely did not kill him] (61). In this final pastourelle of the cycle, Robin's husbandry does prove effective after all, when his violence is redirected onto the correct target, a violent sexual attacker, rather than his love object. The cycle ends with sexual violence against women being explicitly pointed out to the reader, condemned and successfully quashed. Women can get rescued by their lovers from the violence of other men, men's violence can be both curbed and controlled, and the cycle ends on an optimistic note that dismisses the ambiguity of its preceding content. But even as we leave the cycle reassured of Maret's safety through Robin's newfound good husbandry, the wolf of flawed figural representation, having been introduced to the lyric enclosure, cannot be banished quite as easily; he stalks the borders, always perhaps just out of sight.

Conclusion

This striking cycle of lyrics offers an important glimpse into courtly pastoral writing that explicitly concerns itself – or attempts to concern itself – with the lives of the poor, marginalised and underprivileged. The pastoral mode, even when used for political critique, rarely treats actual pastoral subjects: instead, it commonly allegorises aristocratic figures as shepherds and shepherdesses, such as in the anonymous fifteenth-century *Pastoralet* (1422–5),

or else sublimates them into Christian allegory, as in William Langland's *Piers Plowman* (*c*.1370–90). In the Pennsylvania pastourelles, by contrast, the rural peasants actually seem to represent themselves, as these works depict their daily lives, diet, clothing and wartime experiences. Instead of allegorically standing in for other populations, institutions or cultural phenomena, the peasants signify themselves, and the operations of metaphor are displaced onto other groups instead, namely barnyard animals and women, whose experiences of pain and death now point to those of the peasants. But tracing this displacement from animals to women to peasants allows us to see, in turn, that the peasants do not really represent themselves either: instead, all three groups are revealed to matter because they are discrete units of property in overlapping economies. From this perspective then, even as these pastourelles' peasants represent historical peasants, rather than allegorised others, their portrayal nevertheless exposes the rural population's fundamental objectification into economic metaphor in late medieval society.

The challenges of ethical representation, readily discernible in the rhetorical slippage between sheep and women, thus also encompasses the rural peasants themselves, suggesting an aporia at the very heart of the courtly poetic project to represent the suffering of the marginalised, non-courtly subject during war. In a sense, that aporia extends to any project of writing about any war, even when personally lived or experienced, because living through war is a fundamentally untranslatable experience. And yet, these works do remain powerfully affective: we are moved by Madoulz and his son weeping together in the midst of their destroyed property, we are pained by the peasants placidly eating their midday meal as they recount endless cycles of violence, we are shocked by Robin's assault of Maret, and we are chilled by him weeping over his dead sheep. The Pennsylvania pastourelles blur their historical marginalised subjects into pure metaphor, and yet the metaphors do offer a pathos that enhances the critique of war, as we also saw in Deschamps's work at the beginning of this piece.

Deschamps's entire poetic identity, in fact, is forged from the Hundred Years War. Originally known as Eustache Morel, Deschamps changed his name to honour his home estate, which

he had named the 'Maison des champs' or 'House of the Fields', after it was pillaged and burnt down by English soldiers in the chevauchées.[35] In this way, Deschamps embedded his historical experiences of wartime loss into the name, by which we continue to know the poet today, thus turning a destroyed unit of his own property into a metaphor for his entire poetic identity. Deschamps's manoeuvre, oddly congruent with the operations of the Pennsylvania pastourelles, suggests back in the fourteenth century what we recognise to be true after seven more centuries of global warfare: metaphoric displacement is one of the key strategies that helps us narrate our own and our loved ones' experiences of surviving violence to ourselves and to the world and to be moved by them, even when we fail to do them representative justice.

Notes

1 Earlier versions of this chapter were presented at the Medieval Academy of America in 2018 and the Midwest Middle English Reading Group in autumn 2019. I am greatly indebted to my audiences for their rich feedback, as well as to R. D. Perry, Daniel Davies and the volume's reader.

2 Text in Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Queux de St-Hilaire and Raynaud, vol. 3, 56–7, reproduced with slight modifications and cited parenthetically by line number. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

3 On this tradition, see esp. Cooper, *Pastoral*, 75–9; see further, O'Neill, 'Counting Sheep'.

4 See Zink, *Pastourelle*; Cooper, *Pastoral*, 47–71; Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 15–89; Gravdal, *Ravishing Maidens*, 104–21; Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 17–69; Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies*, 103–49, and, most recently, Baechle, Harris and Strakhov (eds), *Rape Culture*, which centres on the pastourelle and related genres.

5 See Cooper, *Pastoral*, 48–58; Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 17–27; and Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 23–5; these are also sometimes termed 'bergeries'.

6 Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 41–5.

7 Zink, *Pastourelle*, 56–7, 117–18; Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 50.

8 Adams, *Sexual Politics*, 20–1.

9 Adams, *Sexual Politics*, 22.

10 On this manuscript, its provenance and organisation, see Strakhov, *Continental England*, 35–46. Almost entirely unknown to scholarship, these pastourelles have been edited in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development'; discussed in Wimsatt, 'Froissart, Chaucer'; and mentioned passim in Kendrick, 'L'Invention', 173 n. 24.

11 On these, see Sumption, *Hundred Years War II*, 405–54.

12 On traces of exemplars suggesting independent circulation of texts in longer anthologies, see in particular Boffey and Thompson, 'Anthologies and Miscellanies'.

13 The only other pastourelles to discuss events of the Hundred Years War are the pastourelles of Jean Froissart and several short works by Deschamps that deploy conventional pastourelle elements, as seen in *En une grant fourest et lée* above. Froissart's pastourelles are edited in McGregor (ed.), *Lyric Poems*; on them, see in particular, Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 74–89; Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 118–82. Deschamps's pastourelle-esque ballades and chants royaux are edited in Deschamps, *Oeuvres*, ed. Queux de St-Hilaire and Raynaud, vol. 3, 1–3, 45–9, 51–3, 62–4 and 93–5, and his *Lai de Franchise* in vol. 2, 203–14 (see Blanchard, *Pastorale*, 68–74); see also vol. 3, 7–9 and 178–80 for ballades using animals in pastourelle-esque ways, as discussed above. Close textual parallels between the pastourelles of Codex 902, those of Froissart, and the aforementioned works of Deschamps suggest their connections to one another: see further Strakhov, *Continental England*, 49–63.

14 Bahr, 'Reading Codicological Form', 220–1.

15 Text in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 50–4. All citations from this poem and all others in the sequence will be parenthetical by line number.

16 See Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 50–3 (notes to relevant lines).

17 Text in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 54–8.

18 See further Curry, *Battle of Agincourt*, 274–5; De Laborderie, 'Richard the Lionheart'.

19 Text in Gower, *Poems*, ed. Carlson; cited parenthetically by line number. On this work, see, in particular, Justice, *Writing and Rebellion*, 208–18; Aers, '*Vox populi*'; Salisbury, 'Violence'; Carlson, 'Gower's Beast Allegories'; Nolan, 'Poetics of Catastrophe'; and Cornelius, 'Gower'.

20 For a good overview on medieval understandings of the distinction between human and animal bodies and their relationship to reason, see Steel, *How to Make a Human*.

21 Text and translation in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Miller, rev. Goold, with minor modifications.

22 Text in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 58–61, with minor modifications.

23 Text in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 43–5.

24 See Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 33–4.

25 See definition B.2b for *oultrage* in the *Dictionnaire du moyen français (1330–1500)*, www.atilf.fr/dmf/ [accessed 3 June 2021].

26 Edwards, 'Rhetoric of Rape'.

27 Text edited in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 61–3, with minor modifications. Kibler and Wimsatt give the word in line 3 as 'decortant', which does not seem attested, though they do connect it tentatively with OF *escorcier* [to flay] in the line notes. Taken as 'decorcant', however, it becomes an attested variant of *descorcher*, with the same meanings in *The Anglo-Norman Dictionary*: https://anglo-norman.net/entry/deschorcher [accessed 3 June 2021].

28 In the anti-feminist tradition, devious women hang Virgil from a basket, bridle Aristotle and trap Merlin; all three figures are commonly invoked as exempla of men outwitted by feminine deceit: for Virgil, Berlioz, 'Virgile'; for Aristotle, Morrison and Heckman (eds), *Imagining the Past*, 295–6 and associated bibliography. For the anti-feminist tradition more broadly, see Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny*.

29 See the useful overview in Saunders, 'Woman Displaced', 118–23; Cannon, '*Raptus*'. Cannon's argument excavates contemporary legal uses of the term *raptus* to show that it can mean 'forcible rape' in the late Middle Ages in an attempt to elucidate Cecily Champaigne's famous charge of *raptus* against Geoffrey Chaucer. New documentary discoveries by Roger and Sobecki ('Geoffrey Chaucer, Cecily Chaumpaigne') have further clarified that this particular use of *raptus* does not suggest sexual violence but rather revolves around a labour dispute. Nevertheless, Cannon's analysis of the term in other documentary contexts remains relevant and important.

30 See Harris, *Obscene Pedagogies*, 103–20.

31 See Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment*, 33–75; Edwards, 'Rhetoric of Rape'.

32 Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment*, 81.

33 Text in Kibler and Wimsatt, 'Development', 73–5.

34 Cf. the topos of bribing women for sex: Smith, *Medieval French Pastourelle*, 28–31.

35 See further Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 136–7.

3

Prophecies of alliance and enmity: England, Scotland and France in the late Middle Ages

Daniel Davies

In April 1400, there was a deadly riot in London. According to St Albans chronicler Thomas Walsingham, bands of apprentices came together in St Paul's churchyard and 'pueriliter eligentes sibi diuerse partes reges' [childishly chose their own kings].[1] Divided into such camps, the events turned violent: 'non pueriliter sed perniciosum iniere conflictum; nempe quidam uulnerati, quidam perempti, sunt ibidem' [yet this was no childish prank, for they engaged in a vicious conflict, so that some indeed were wounded, and some were killed there].[2] Of the two camps, one supported the King of England, the other the King of Scotland; those supporting the King of Scotland came off much worse. There is no suggestion in Walsingham or other chronicles that the groups reflected the apprentices' nationalities, but the episode nevertheless reflects how Anglo-Scottish relations were represented in terms of violent conflict.[3] During the time of the riot, an uneasy state of truce held between the two nations after a century of conflict. Walsingham continues, 'Quam pugnam secuta sunt prodigia in aere, a multis conspecta, armatorum, uidelicet sese collidencium' [Soon after this fight portents appearing in the sky of armed men clashing with each other were seen by many people].[4] War was returning.

Although not an Anglo-French conflict, the apprentices' riot takes place within the broader theatre of the Hundred Years War. Anti-Scottish enmity in England produced by sustained border wars was stoked by Scotland's interventions in Anglo-French conflict. Another episode from Walsingham's chronicle, detailing events that took place soon after the riot, illuminates these intersections.

The chronicler relates how Scottish ships were captured and 'arcana consilia Gallicorum et Scotorum fuere cognita et comperta, malignancium contra Anglos' [secret plans of the French and the Scots were discovered and learned about, which involved hostile operations against the English].[5] Espionage was a recurrent fear for the English, because a Franco-Scottish alliance would open a second front, making English forces fight both on the Continent and within Britain. In the 1380s, for instance, France and Scotland launched such attacks on England: French forces from the south-east, Scottish forces from the north. Richard II responded by undertaking the largest military campaign of his kingship, not against France (seeking instead a policy of appeasement), but against Scotland.

The discovery of Franco-Scottish perfidy in 1400 is, according to Walsingham, the instigating factor in Henry IV's decision to launch a campaign to subdue the Scots. The campaign was Henry's first military act as king and resulted in failure.[6] Another chronicler relates how the Scots ended up 'plus nobis quam nos eis dampni inferendo' [doing us more harm than we did to them], and the campaign was widely criticised.[7] Looking back from this episode to the apprentices' riot, we see how they presage the return of violence to the Anglo-Scottish relationship and form part of the broader landscape of war, connected to insular politics and the continental alliances of the Hundred Years War. The Hundred Years War refracted insular politics as the sustained Anglo-French conflict exacerbated existing tensions between the nations of Britain.[8]

In this chapter, I analyse Scotland's role in the Hundred Years War through the twinned themes that emerge in these episodes: antagonism and alliance. Scotland is not thought of as a major player in the Hundred Years War, but throughout the conflict Anglo-Scottish antagonism shadows the Anglo-French relationship and, moreover, the Franco-Scottish alliance directly brought Scotland into the theatre of war. Historians have mapped the broad narrative of Scotland's involvement in the Hundred Years War. Providing a full account of this political, social and military history lies beyond the scope of this chapter.[9] Instead, I examine how historical chronicles cultivate enmity and alliance through their accounts of the early Hundred Years War. These texts offer a multilateral perspective on the conflict that foreground Franco-Scottish alliance,

rather than Anglo-French enmity, as the instigating factor in Anglo-French conflict. Ardis Butterfield and Joanna Bellis, among other scholars, have analysed the discursive formations of Anglo-French enmity in the Hundred Years War.[10] Similarly, the literary forms of Anglo-Scottish conflict have also been well documented.[11] But the literary forms of late medieval conflict circulate beyond national and linguistic traditions. This chapter shows how English and Scottish writers imagine conflict as innately multilateral, revealing the broader web of transnational alliance that lies behind individual acts of violence. Thus, English aggression in Scotland enmeshes France, while campaigns in Wales anticipate tactics used in France and underscore the necessity of Cambro-Scottish solidarity.

Writing about political satire in English and Scottish sources, Andrew Galloway argues that scholars must approach this genre not with an eye to pinning individual texts to specific historical coordinates, but to produce 'an archaeology of texts' that recovers their discursive, military and literary contexts.[12] As Galloway shows, linking individual texts to particular historical moments can reify the oppositional logic of these insults and obscure the fact that such insults, whether English and Scottish (in Galloway's study) or French and English (as Butterfield has shown), derive from the same culture.[13] Galloway's insights provide an illuminating framework for understanding the oppositional logic of medieval political writing more broadly. Rather than evidence of nascent linguistic nationalism, such moments reveal the logic of enmity that operates across national traditions.

The contribution of the present chapter is to show how the political–literary formations of enmity and alliance intersect. Approaching the Hundred Years War from the perspective of Scotland enables us to see the arena of late medieval political discourse in a more transnational light, so that the styles of enmity reflect broader cultural conventions rather than nascent signs of nationalism. For instance, throughout the Hundred Years War English sources repeatedly worked to represent the French as duplicitous and 'fals', suggesting a specific discourse of anti-French animus.[14] But the same claims are levelled in Latin against the English by Walter Bower in the *Scotichronicon*.[15] Adopting a triangulated view of Anglo-Scottish-French relations reveals the

intersections of insular and continental conflict as they are represented across linguistic and national borders. My focus is on the literary strategies used by writers, mainly chroniclers and anonymous authors of occasional poetry, to further these two aims: the cultivation of enmity and the imagining of alliance. In so doing, the chapter traces a literary history through chronicle accounts and occasional poetry that adduce Scottish relations – both linguistic and political – as they shift throughout the Hundred Years War.

The second half of this chapter follows the itinerary of the 'Metrical Prophecy', a political prophecy foretelling English demise, across English, Welsh and Scottish historical texts, as it moves from an isolated prophecy to becoming integrated within chronicles' historical accounts. Political prophecy flourished in times of conflict and in border zones, particularly in England during the later fifteenth century.[16] For modern readers, prophecies can read as perplexing and frustrating mixtures of obtuse references, obscuring far more than they reveal and resistant to analysis and definition. Yet prophecies were also a political resource for medieval writers that created realms of possibility, either portending victory or warning of defeat. While they often circulated in discrete collections or manuscript miscellanies, prophecies are intimately connected to historical texts. Geoffrey of Monmouth, for instance, included Merlin's prophecy within the *Historia regum Britanniae*. My interest lies in considering the interpretative force sparked by the juxtaposition of prophecy and historical narrative. The hermeneutic indeterminacy of prophecies enabled chroniclers to adapt them to changing historical frameworks. Serving as a warning to English rulers against complacency, and to England's opponents as a sign of hope, prophecies like the 'Metrical Prophecy' tied contemporary conflict to deep history, reframing the contingencies of late medieval warfare as manifestations of cultural agon.

Foregrounding Scotland within narratives of late medieval conflict illustrates the limits of treating medieval identity as coterminous with the modern nation. For instance, the 1328 treaty that brought the first Scottish War of Independence to a close 'disinherited' a group of nobles who, while holding lands in Scotland, followed the allegiance of the English king. These nobles do not fit within modern schemas of national identity; and indeed, the

awkwardness of their international standpoint made them a dif-
ficult issue for Edward III. Furthermore, as scholars have argued,
the culture of the Anglo-Scottish border is more readily a hybrid
than part of either 'England' or 'Scotland'.[17] Even amidst sustained
conflict lines of allegiance could still change. Jean Froissart reports
how during a four-year truce between England and Scotland, a
force of three hundred 'native Scotsmen' joined John of Gaunt
on an ill-fated campaign in northern France in 1373.[18] Economic
gain could, and frequently did, trump national prejudice. Pursuing
the historical accounts that transformed these fluid communities
into supposedly national identities enables us to see how alliance
and antagonism go hand-in-hand: the creation of enmity unfolds
alongside the manufacture of international amity.

Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-French antagonism

From the late thirteenth century onwards, successive English kings
sought to seize control of Scotland and bring the realm under their
authority. The wars with Scotland are now known as the Wars of
Independence (1296–1328, 1332–57), but like 'the Hundred Years
War', this is a post-medieval invention that provides narrative
coherence at the cost of isolating the conflicts from their broader
transnational context; insular dominance went together with the
drive for continental territory. Between the thirteenth and sixteenth
centuries, from the battles of Dunbar (1296) to Flodden (1513),
England and Scotland were formally at peace just twice, from 1328
to 1332 and the so-called 'perpetual peace' of 1502–13.[19]

   Moreover, even during the periods of truce between the realms,
the fundamental enmity that drove late medieval war was never
extinguished. This enmity challenges our tendency to think of war
and peace in stark terms and reflects instead the messy reality of late
medieval international conflict, where a low-level thrum of aggres-
sion persists regardless of wartime or peacetime. For instance, in
1406 English pirates captured James I, the young king of Scotland,
who was then held in England for eighteen years. James's capture
defined Anglo-Scottish relations and would later directly impact
English military campaigns in France when Henry V brought James

with him on campaign. But truce held between England and Scotland in 1406, so it was not technically an act of war.[20] Indeed, the young king was sent away from Scotland because of the increasingly unstable domestic political situation, not because of international tensions. James I's capture was opportunistic, to be sure, but treating it separately from the broader contexts of late medieval war makes little sense; it forms part of the matrix of power struggles that define international relations. Similarly, although Anglo-Scottish conflicts were not instigated by the same *causus belli* as Anglo-French conflict, and although English claims against the Scots were unrelated to the claims against France, these contests originate in the fundamentally bellicose disposition of late medieval society. More often than not, periods of truce derived from economic astringency rather than a commitment to peace.[21] As the Middle English encyclopaedic text *Sidrak and Bokkus* puts it, war 'shal neuere to ende come / Til it be þe day of dome'.[22] Peace is only imaginable at the end of the world.

To understand how Anglo-French and Anglo-Scottish conflict became enmeshed, it is necessary to look beyond the traditional dating of the Hundred Years War to the final decades of the thirteenth century. The Anglo-Scottish border was officially settled in 1237 in a treaty between Henry III and Malcolm III, which brought stability to the region and to Anglo-Scottish relations for a generation. Peace was disturbed, however, by a contested succession in Scotland that gave the English crown an opportunity to extend its sphere of influence beyond the border. Just as would happen with Anglo-French relations in 1328, Anglo-Scottish relations after 1286 were thrown into turmoil by a series of misfortunes that left the Crown in a precarious position.

The Scottish king Alexander III died in 1286 following a swift series of family tragedies that left the realm with no clear heir. In three brutal years from 1281 to 1284 all the king's children died, leaving his three-year-old granddaughter, Margaret of Norway, as his last living heir. But Margaret died on her way to Scotland and never assumed the throne. To resolve the ensuing contested succession, the Scottish nobility invited Edward I to adjudicate the different claims put forward as to who was the rightful heir to the throne. Edward played the situation to his advantage by insisting that he be recognised as Lord Paramount of Scotland.[23] Writing in

the late fourteenth century, the Scottish historian John of Fordun comments that Edward I entered Scottish affairs 'annisu ipsum regnum Scocie suo regno conjungere et combinare' [striving to join and unite that kingdom of Scotland to his kingdom].[24] But Fordun writes with the benefit of hindsight. At the time, Edward's involvement seemed like the only way the regents of Scotland could stop the realm devolving into civil war. What began as a sign of the robust relationship between the realms of Scotland and England soon became the wedge that Edward I used to assert dominance over his northern neighbour. Conflict then defined Anglo-Scottish relations for the next two hundred years.

Subduing Scotland was an imperative for English kings with continental ambitions. But conquering Scotland also held a symbolic significance. Unlike Wales, which had been conquered in 1282, Scotland was a continual reminder of the limits of English sovereignty.[25] In addition to Henry IV and Richard II, Edward II and Edward III also began their reigns with military expeditions to Scotland. For the usurping Lancastrian regime of Henry IV, a military campaign against Scotland was one way to convey a sense of continuity with the past. But although Edward I and Edward III effectively seized control of Scotland, and Scottish kings were twice captured by the English (in 1346 and 1406), there was never a decisive blow that definitively brought Scotland into English control.

In this way, the Anglo-Scottish relationship resembles that between England and France. The feudal dynamic between the King of England and the King of France (in which the English king was both an equal and a subordinate) that contributed to Anglo-French conflict was mirrored by the Scottish interpretation of the relationship between the King of Scotland and the King of England (although, for the King of England, the King of Scotland was solely a vassal and not an equal). Similarly, while England was in commanding positions against France in 1360 after the capture of the French king Jean II, and again in 1420 when the Treaty of Troyes declared the King of England inheritor of the French throne, events interceded, and the final twist of the knife needed to secure this dominance never came. Much of the history of late medieval England, Scotland and France is defined by these waves of conflict that ebb and flow with no resolution.

Alliance is the twin of antagonism. Coalitions were an important part of international conflict in the late Middle Ages, as rarely could a single ruler leverage enough of their own forces to undertake campaigns that matched their ambitions. For instance, much of the early Hundred Years War was defined by attempts by the English crown to win the support of French-supporting rulers in the Low Countries; the Anglo-Burgundian alliance of the fifteenth century was crucial for securing English dominance. The alliance between Scotland and France, romanticised as the 'Auld Alliance', is one of the most durable military alliances throughout the late Middle Ages.[26] From around 1295, France and Scotland were united in an agreement of shared support, built on pre-existing informal cultural and familial ties, to guarantee that England's late medieval wars would be multilateral.[27] Scottish soldiers fought for their French allies against the English, and the French lent occasional support to their allies' campaigns in Britain. Throughout the Hundred Years War, England was simultaneously embroiled in wars with Scotland and France; Scotland resisted English aggression with French support in its Wars of Independence; and France used Scotland to split England's attention. These alliances were often fraught, the ties of mutual convenience often frayed.[28] While the Hundred Years War gave rise to new regimes of international diplomacy, political prophecies were an important arena for imagining the deep history and devastating power of alliance.

For observers living through the early years of the Hundred Years War, Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-French conflicts bled into one another. Chroniclers portray the Hundred Years War emerging not only from English aggression in France, but in Scotland as well. According to the English chronicler Henry Knighton, the first conflict between Edward III and Philip VI was sparked by Edward III's aggression in Scotland. Around 1337, Knighton recounts, Philip swore that he would 'regem Anglie penitus destrueret … pro causa quod rex Edwardus tantum insuduaerat ad humiliacionem Scotorum' [utterly destroy the king of England … because King Edward had been at such pains to humiliate the Scots].[29] Knighton gestures to the bonds of amity between France and Scotland, bonds so strong that the French king is willing to fight on behalf of his Scottish ally. Examining the justification behind Philip's

intervention in Scotland, an intervention that frustrates the imperial designs of Edward III, helps to explain the paranoia over Anglo-Scottish cooperation described by Walsingham during the early years of Henry IV's reign.

The chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker provides further details about why Philip threw his support behind the Scots and, furthermore, why this was met with such outrage by the English. Geoffrey records how John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, was sent to negotiate with Philip in 1334. The bishop is charged with achieving three goals: re-establishing the friendship between England and France; securing the return of castles seized by Charles IV in Aquitaine; and 'Tercio' [Thirdly], Geoffrey relays, 'quod predictus tirannus dimitteret suam manum auxiliatricem a Scotis sibi impertinentibus, et contra illos iuvaret auxilio vel concilio sue favore suum cognatum, regem Anglie' [he asked that the tyrant [Philip VI] should recall his forces from helping the Scots who had no connections with him, and that instead he should help his relative, the King of England, against the Scots, either by troops or advice or just by being on his side].[30] Geoffrey consistently refers to Philip VI as either a tyrant or the 'so-called King of France' to underscore the illegitimacy of his position on the French throne. Even so, what is striking about this third claim is how it gestures towards a central tension of the Hundred Years War. As Geoffrey suggests, France and Scotland have 'no connections', whereas France and England are intimately tied together. It is this intimacy that ironically brings the two realms to war: Edward III's argument is that he has a stronger claim to the French crown than the French king.[31]

The reward offered by the archbishop in return is the ever-elusive prospect of crusade. Edward III promises that he will unite with Philip VI in a crusade 'libenter paratum propriis sumptibus ad Terram Sanctam proficisci contra inimicos crucis Christi cum illo vocato rege Francorum' [to march at his own expense to the Holy Land with the so-called king of France against the enemies of the cross of Christ].[32] Philip responds definitively:

> Ad hec tirannus adiudicavit regem Anglie indignum sua amicicia, quamdiu contra suos amicos Scotos, viros iustos et omni racioni, ut asseruit, obedire paratos, guerram iniustam exerceret, nec animum

ad aliquem posse benevolum se habere, qui illos, scilicet Scotos, tam inhumaniter gerrando vexaret.

[The tyrant's reply was that he judged the king of England to be unworthy of his friendship, so long as he kept up an unjust war against his friends the Scots, who were just men and ready, so he asserted, to comply with all just demands: he could not feel kindly disposed towards anyone who so savagely harassed those Scots by his invasions.][33]

Philip's language rests on the legal basis for England's actions in Scotland. In the French king's judgment, the 'just' Scots are suffering Edward's 'unjust' war, rightfully resisting incursions against their sovereignty. The question of whether Anglo-Scottish conflict was a war at all was a point of considerable contention: the English perspective was that the Scots were not fighting a just war because they were not fighting a war, instead, they were rebellious subjects who needed to be brought to heel.[34] Nevertheless, Philip agrees to the second of Stratford's demands: he will return the castles in Aquitaine if Edward meets the costs and expenses incurred by Charles IV in the wars in Gascony. But he cannot renounce his alliance with the Scots:

respondit se fuisse iuris amicum et iusticie communis, ne unquam per affinitatem aut amiciciam carnalem a iusticia, quam dilexit, declinaturum, set se velle viis et modis quibus sciret aut posset super omnes perturbatores pacis regis Scotorum sue persecucionis iugum aggravare.

[[Philip] replied that he was a friend of the law and the common justice, and that he would never swerve from the justice which he loved because of kinship or a friendship based on the family. Instead his aim was, by all the ways and means in his power that he could devise, to increase the weight of the yoke of his persecution of all disturbers of the kingdom of the Scots.][35]

Decisively, Philip chooses justice over blood. It would be putting too much pressure on a single passage to claim that this signals a paradigm shift in theories of international relations, from alliance as a predominantly interpersonal relationship to one negotiated impersonally according to higher principles. But the recurrent

usage of 'justice' and Philip's explicit dismissal of the influence that kinship or familial ties may have on his judgement do reflect the changing circumstances of late medieval international relations. The fact that this is reported in an English chronicle further demonstrates how Franco-Scottish alliance was received in England: Philip may be a 'tyrant' and he may be betraying his relationships, but Geoffrey still conveys the French king's logical reasoning.

Geoffrey ends his account with a sweeping statement by Philip about the position of France between England and Scotland: 'pax erit perfecta Christianis, antequam rex Francie, in medio Anglie consistens pro tribunal, super regna Francie, Anglie et Scocie sit iudex et imperator' [for peace … will never be established among Christians until the king of France sits on the judgement seat in the middle of England and is judge and emperor over the kingdoms of France, England and Scotland].[36] The passage gives voice to English paranoia by imagining a France that is powerful enough to serve as a proto-European Union, a supranational power that mediates between the peoples of Britain. Not only would such a reality underscore France's superiority over England but it would also make a mockery of English sovereignty.

The broader point, in other words, is that crusade will never succeed until Christendom is united; and for Christendom to unite, England must abandon its claims in Scotland. Geoffrey le Baker's account is undoubtedly inaccurate and full of fancy. Yet it productively illustrates the bind that a united France and Scotland presented for England. Indeed, whether or not it is anchored in fact, the detail and drama of this episode signal how important it was for Geoffrey's audience to understand why Philip's relationship with Scotland led to war with England.

Furthermore, Geoffrey's account reflects the historical circumstances that brought about Philip's declaration of support. In the wake of defeat by English forces at the Battle of Halidon Hill (1333), a number of Scottish nobles left Scotland for the French court and attempted to persuade Philip to intervene in support of their cause. Philip hesitated, but he did grant asylum to David II, the 10-year-old king of Scotland. In May 1334 the Scottish king arrived in Normandy, just before the negotiations with Stratford and the other English ambassadors began.[37] The unexpected presence of

the Scottish king in France thus forced Philip to double down on his investment in the Scottish cause. Before France's involvement in Scotland, England had been pursuing their imperial claims to create an expanded realm, but because of Franco-Scottish alliance they found themselves cornered and their main opponent expressly saying that he wants to gain authority over England.

The vituperative verse attributed to Laurence Minot illustrates how one English perspective resentfully imagines Franco-Scottish alliance interfering with Edward III's military desires. Minot's verse consists of eleven linked poems that narrate England's major military victories, from the Battle of Halidon Hill in 1333 to the taking of Guînes in 1352. Minot's account of Halidon Hill similarly links the conflict to Franco-Scottish alliance, as the poet describes French forces coming to England 'With hert and hand es noght at hide [there is nothing to hide] / forto help Scotland gan thai hye' (I.21–2).[38] But it is in poem 9, on the English victory over the Scottish at Neville's Cross in 1346, that Minot gives voice most ardently to outrage at Franco-Scottish alliance. Seeking to take advantage of Edward's absence on campaign in 1346, Scottish forces led an ambitious series of raids in northern England. The English routed the Scottish and captured many valuable prisoners, most notably the Scottish king David II. Minot frames the Scottish strategy as the direct result of French interference. 'Sir Philip the Valais', Minot writes, 'sent unto sir David and faire gan him pray / at ride thurgh Ingland' (IX.16–18). The poem revisits this formulation in the next stanza, underscoring how the Scottish king is acting as a puppet of the French: 'Fro Philip the Valais, was sir David sent / all Ingland to win' (IX.22–3).

In British Library, Cotton MS Galba E IX, the sole extant copy of Minot's poetry, the Battle of Neville's Cross is sequenced between accounts of the Siege of Calais (1346–47) and a 1350 sea battle between English and Spanish pirates. Framed in this way, the Battle of Neville's Cross becomes another adventure in which an embattled England is forced to defend itself against rampant enemies. The poem ends with King David imprisoned and blaming his French ally: 'Philip the Valais, thou made me be here; / this es noght the forward [agreement]. we made are to yere [beforehand]. / Fals es thi forward, and evyll mot thou fare, / for thou and sir John thi son. haves kast me in care [sorrow]' (IX.58–61). The poem indulges in

imagining David cursing Philip as 'fals' and promising the 'evyll' that he and his son will face, a potential reference to the fact that John II would himself be taken prisoner by the English at the Battle of Poitiers a decade later.

The chronicle accounts of Henry Knighton and Geoffrey le Baker and the poetry of Laurence Minot show how different sources in England register the overlap between Edward III's campaigns against Scotland and France in the fourteenth century. Taken together, they demonstrate the multilateral character of the early Hundred Years War. It is only by expanding our gaze beyond an Anglo-French lens that we can see how France and Scotland were both figured as England's enemies in the fourteenth century and how the alliance they were forced into defined the early parts of the Hundred Years War. Seen from this angle, the Hundred Years War looks less like the result of an inevitable Anglo-French clash born from the unique intimacy the two nations share than an imperial project pursued by the English crown. More than this, each source is haunted by the spectre of alliance, the idea that England is not only engaging its traditional enemies, but something worse: enemies working in consort to bring about English defeat.

Visions of alliance

'The Metrical Prophecy', as it was named by its nineteenth-century editor William F. Skene, foretells a Cambro-Scottish alliance that will return the ancient nations of Britain to their rightful place as rulers of the isle and subjugate the English.[39] Clothed in the robes of medieval British mythography, including references to the mythical founders Brutus and Albania, the poem draws on the deep past of the island's history. The prophecy gives voice to a persistent dream of Scottish historians: a reversal of Anglocentric dominance in Britain achieved through an archipelagic alliance. As Helen Fulton's chapter in this volume shows, Welsh rebellions in the fifteenth century opened a new front in England's conflicts in ways that resemble the Scottish Wars of Independence. For the fifteenth-century Scottish historian Walter Bower, these rebellions represented a hope for defeating England and putting an end to English

imperial ambition. They are also linked to the Hundred Years War: according to Bower, Henry V's attempts to conquer Wales by creating divisions between the people and their leadership presages his use of such tactics in France.[40] Overcoming English imperialism requires exactly the kind of alliance 'the Metrical Prophecy' foretells: as Bower reports, 'Dicunt tamen Wallici se numquam posse jura sua ad plenum recuperare sine adjutorio sue ab antiquo confederate gentis Albanice' [the Welsh say that they can never recover their rights in full without the help of their ally from long ago, the people of Scotland].[41] Tracking how Scottish Latin chronicles integrate 'The Metrical Prophecy' into their histories illustrates how vital prophecy was for reimagining the role of England in Britain.

The prophecy travels through the Scottish Latin historiographical tradition inaugurated by John of Fordun's fourteenth-century *Chronica gentis Scotorum*, the first chronicle to provide a chronological account of the Scottish people. In the fifteenth century Fordun's account was expanded and updated by Walter Bower, a powerful abbot and intellectual, and renamed the *Scotichronicon*. Bower's monumental history exerted a powerful influence on Scottish history writing, akin to Ranulph Higden's foundational *Polychronicon* in England, and later writers built their history on Bower's chronicle in the same way he had done to Fordun.[42] 'The Metrical Prophecy' migrates from being an aspirational piece of propaganda cited in John of Fordun to occupying a more prominent role in Cambro-Scots relations in the *Scotichronicon*, before becoming reported speech in the *Liber Pluscardensis*, a later redaction of the *Scotichronicon*.

John of Fordun includes the prophecy in a chapter paying tribute to Gildas, a fifth- or sixth-century historian of Britain whom Fordun holds in high regard: 'cui sicut variis testatur historiis Britanni debent ascribere si quid inter ceteras gentes haben noticie' [to him, as is testified in various histories, the Britons must ascribe any distinction they may enjoy among other nations].[43] Gildas was the author of *De excidio Brittonum*, one of the earliest histories of Britain, which foretold in apocalyptic terms the world of Britain after the Roman Empire.[44] According to Fordun, Gildas was granted the ability to work miracles and 'spiritu sepius prophecie' [often the spirit of prophecy] because he was a chaplain of Arthur (although Fordun hedges his bets by acknowledging that others deny this).[45]

Many of Gildas's prophecies have come true, Fordun states, although some have not been fulfilled as contemporary interpreters expected. Fordun then includes two that have not been fulfilled. The first is an extract from 'the Metrical Prophecy' that, he explains, concerns 'de continuacione confecti federis inter Scotos et Britones incepti prius a Carausio deinde fideliter a Conano servati sed et ab Aurelio Ambrosio reparati necnon a multis huc usque principibus quamvis non omnibus continuati' [the continuation of the treaty concluded between Scots and Britons that was first begun by Carausius, then faithfully observed by Conan, but renewed by Aurelius Ambrosius, also by many princes right up to the present day, although not by all].[46] Through the inclusion of this prophecy John of Fordun portrays Cambro-Scottish alliance as having an ancient pedigree and represents the history of Britain as a conflict between an aggressive England and an archipelagic alliance. Although the prophecy has not been fulfilled, its power lies in an encoded potentiality. Scotland and Wales have been united since the earliest times, Fordun suggests, and while they have not yet brought the English to destruction, this threat will become actualised in the fullness of time.

Where John of Fordun had included the prophecy as an example of Gildas's writing, Walter Bower integrates it into the Anglo-Scottish negotiations that accompanied Edward I's attempt to seize overlordship of Scotland at the end of the thirteenth century. Bower reports how at a meeting called at Upsetlington, Edward I, 'primo tenue et non quasi seriose' [tentatively at first and not as if he were serious], claimed suzerainty over Scotland, a claim he could prove by the 'solempnes evidencias' he has assembled from across the realm.[47] He is swiftly answered by Robert Wishart the Bishop of Glasgow, who states,

> 'O rex de libris Anglorum excerpsi [vaticinium der Gildas inter cetera sic habetur]:
> Regnum Scotorum fuit inter cetera regna
> terrarum quondam nobile forte potens.
> Post Britones Noricos Pictos Dacosque repulsos,
> nobiliter Scoti jus tenuere suum.'

> [Your majesty, I have made extracts from the books of the English, namely [a prophecy] of Gildas, as follows:

The kingdom of the Scots was once noble, strong and powerful
among the other kingdoms of the earth.
After the Britons, Norwegians, Picts and Danes had been repulsed,
the Scots noble upheld their rights].[48]

By drawing on the deep history of Scottish resistance against
invasion, Wishart lets the King of England know that any conces-
sion to English sovereignty will only be temporary. In the *Liber
Pluscardensis,* a later recension of the chronicle written in 1460, the
prophecy is repurposed *again*, this time as Wishart's direct speech
with no reference to Gildas.[49] Recycling the prophecy in this way
demonstrates how historians viewed its political utility. In the face
of renewed waves of English imperialism, succeeding generations of
historians returned to the prophecy as proof that the Scots defended
their independence in the past and because of this precedent, they
would do so again in the future.

Political prophecies foretelling Cambro-Scottish alliance cir-
culated beyond the codex. During the Wars of Independence in
1307, for instance, it was reported that certain Scottish preachers
had claimed to discover a prophecy of Merlin that foretold an alli-
ance between Scotland and the Britons, the ancient name for the
Welsh.[50] Similarly, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS lat.
4126, a fourteenth-century collection of historical texts owned (or
made for) the Carmelite friar John Poppleton, places 'the Metrical
Prophecy' alongside other historical texts. Poppleton was a friar at
a monastery in York before he became prior of a convent at Hulne
near the town of Alnwick on the east coast of England. In addition
to devotional texts and some of the most popular historical texts
of the Middle Ages, including extracts from Orosius, Gerald of
Wales's *Topographia hibernia* and Ranulf Higden's *Polychronicon*,
the manuscript contains several items that pertain to Scotland
and Scottish history. The presence of 'the Metrical Prophecy' in
Poppleton's manuscript reveals how records of Scottish resistance
formed part of a historical record cultivated in Scotland but south
of the border too.

The Scottish resistance prophesied in texts like 'the Metrical
Prophecy' is answered in Higden's *Polychronicon* by a fear of
destruction. In a passage where the Chester historian provides a

contemporary twist to his account of the Wars of Independence, Higden warns that after spectacular victories won by Edward I, the Scots will simply grow stronger. In John Trevisa's 1387 translation: 'þe Scottes wex strenger and strenger þritty ȝere to gidres anon to kynge Edwardes tyme þe þridde after þe conquest, and bete doun Englische men oost and Englische men [oft and Englysshe] places þat were nygh to her marches'.[51] The worrisome strength of the Scots is given a more sinister interpretation by Higden as it is seen to be the fulfilment of a prophecy: 'Som men seide þat þat myshap fel for mescheves of Englisch men, and some seide þat it was Goddes owne wreche, and þe prophecie seide þat Englische men schulde be destroyed by Danes, by Frensche men, and by Scottes, as it is i-touched [discussed] in þe ende of þe first book.'[52] Higden draws on three levels of historical explanation here, each one foretelling a greater sense of concern: while 'some men' explain the coming English defeats as being caused by mistakes they made, others state that it was divinely ordained. More terrifying still is the prophecy stating that the English will ultimately be destroyed by such defeats.

The cross-reference ultimately leads back to Henry of Huntingdon, who had cast his twelfth-century history of England as a history of five invasions.[53] In Book 6 of the *Historia Anglorum*, Henry frames the Norman Conquest (the fifth invasion) as a providential act, sent by God to punish the English. This is announced in a prophecy made by 'A certain man of God', who also predicts another invasion by the Scots: 'Predixit etiam quod non ea gens solum uerum et Scotorum, quos uilissimos habebant, eis ad emeritam confusionem dominaretur' [He also predicted that not only that people, but also the Scots, whom they considered to be most vile, would lord it over them to their well-merited confusion].[54] Fear of invasion and alliance provided an effective tool for England's enemies.[55] Higden's invocation of this prophecy within the context of fourteenth-century conflict illustrates how the English historiographic imagination remains concerned by the threat of French and Scottish collaboration.

More than a curious history of a promiscuous line of verse, this account of how 'the Metrical Prophecy' is absorbed into Scottish history writing speaks to the importance of visions of prophecy and alliance for Scottish historians. By imagining a Cambro-Scottish

alliance that will return Britain to its rightful rulers and overthrow the English, Scottish historians assert ownership over the legends of Britain, legends more often used against them. Throughout the late Middle Ages, history writing is bent to the demands of war, used to contest the claims of war and leveraged as another weapon to strike the enemy. Medieval historians were attuned to the resonances of the deep past. Henry of Huntingdon's five plagues encode the haunting possibility of future invasion, while mythographic visions of ancient alliance assert a sense of precedent that bridges the gap from deep past to the present day.

Fears of Franco-Scottish alliance could also be exploited for political gain. For example, in 1334, the same year as the negotiations between John Stratford and Philip VI of France recounted by Geoffrey le Baker, an influential Irish nobleman, Maurice fitz Thomas, first earl of Desmond, was charged with claims that he planned to ally with the kings of France and Scotland to overthrow Edward III's rule in Ireland. Michael Brown argues that this claim was fabricated 'as a means of blackening him in the eyes of the crown', and it illustrates how Anglo-French and Anglo-Scottish conflict – to say nothing of English imperialism in Ireland – were fundamentally connected.[56]

Although my focus here is on Scotland, French literature also used the affordances of the prophetic register. Eustache Deschamps, for example, weaves together prophetic traditions and contemporary events in several of his ballades to predict the downfall of England.[57] In one, Balade MCC ('de la mort du Roy Richart d'Angleterre), written about the death of Richard II, Deschamps imagines a coalition of forces uniting against England. The poem ends:

> Plourez, Anglois, les tribulacions
> Qui vous viennent, et voz destrucions;
> Pour voz pechiez dit voz regnes: 'je fin.'
> Franc escot par les bretons [*sic*],[58]
> Pour roy Richart dictes: "destruiz serons,"
> Qui faussement a esté mis à fin.[59]
>
> [Mourn, English, the tribulations
> That come to you, and your destruction.

> For your sins, known as your reigns: 'I [come to an] end.'
> Among the Franks, the Scots, and the Britons,
> For King Richard's sake, who was unjustly killed,
> Say: 'we will be destroyed.']

Deschamps draws on the ancient names of the Franks, Scots and Britons to weave together connections between the recent past and deep history. Similarly, Merlin and Bede are invoked earlier in the poem as prophets who foretold the destruction that will come to the English after the treasonous killing of Richard II. Deschamps concludes, directly addressing the English, that 'pour vo mort et haire / Qui faussement a esté mis à fin' [for you death and hated / because of who was unjustly killed] (ll. 19–20). Such a melding of temporalities is what gives political prophecies their political efficacy and illustrates how they expand beyond the confines of interpretative frameworks. Within the late Middle Ages, when conflict was endemic and new wars were fought for old reasons, prophecy enabled writers to imagine the coalitions that could herald victory, or foretell destruction.

Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* never passes up an opportunity to mention a prophecy declaring the foretold destruction of the English. An important part of Bower's historiographic project is to integrate ancient precedent into Scotland's history. For example, for Bower, the Auld Alliance runs much deeper than the 1295 Treaty of Paris, the treaty historians agree inaugurated the pact of cooperation. In a passage concerning Fergus, the first king of the Scots, Bower adds the following note about the king's arms: 'Deinde propter indissolubilem ligam perpetuis futuris temporibus inter regna Francie et Scocie observandum et ad futuram eius memoriam, in circumferencia scuti armorum regis duplicem tressuram liliferam domus Scocie assumendam elegit' [Then because of the indissoluble ties that were to be observed for all future times between the kingdoms of France and Scotland, and as a foreshadowing of those ties, the [royal] house of Scotland chose to adopt on the outer rim of the shield that formed part of the king's armour a double border of fleur-de-lis].[60] The fleur-de-lis was actually first integrated into the arms of Alexander III in the mid-thirteenth century. But for Bower, the Auld Alliance is an 'indissoluble' tie between Scotland and

France that stretches from the very origins of the Scottish people into 'all future times'.

While Franco-Scottish military alliance often meant the French king lending support to the Scottish cause, in the fifteenth century Scotland also provided crucial support to Charles VII. The most dramatic victory of the Auld Alliance comes in 1421, when a combined Franco-Scottish force defeated the English at the Battle of Baugé. Historians debate the efficacy of an alliance that seemed far more important to the Scots than the French, but the Franco-Scottish alliance was seen to be enough of a problem that English diplomats negotiating peace treaties with France would insert clauses that neutered the threat of the alliance.[61] Writing with rhetorical bravado in an oration for James I, the fifteenth-century diplomat and poet Alain Chartier states that Franco-Scottish alliance 'Neque enim liga hec jam in carta pellis ovine designata, sed hominum carni et cuti' [is not marked on parchment in ink, but on the living flesh and skin of men].[62]

The dramatic victory at Baugé created new opportunities for the Scottish soldiers in France. John Stewart of Darnley provides perhaps the clearest example.[63] Darnley was part of the 1419 force and after Baugé was made Seigneur of Concressault. When the Dauphin assumed the French throne, Stewart was rewarded with the lordship of Aubigny-sur-Nère, situated between Orléans and Bourges. John's grandson Bernard Stewart (Béraut Stuart in French) became a commander of the Gardes Écossaises, the French king's bodyguard. Indeed, today there is a museum in Aubigny-sur-Nère dedicated to the Auld Alliance and the town proudly displays its ties to Scottish culture. Despite the Realpolitik and self-interest behind Franco-Scottish alliance, it also furnished cultural connections between the two realms. Scant evidence remains of 'the French of Scotland' that speaks to this Francophone amity, but scholars are revising this history by locating Scottish literature within its transnational milieu, while new archival research has found evidence of spoken French in Scotland.[64]

The twin poles of alliance and antagonism define Scotland's path through the late Middle Ages, ties created in the court and on the battlefield but embellished by historical chroniclers and

poets passing between and among England, Scotland and France. Conflicts that are today siloed into separate interpretative frameworks, including the Scottish Wars of Independence, the Hundred Years War and rebellions of Owain Glyn Dŵr, were represented by medieval writers as fundamentally connected. Even as the imagination of historians outstripped the actual historical record of military alliance, chronicles provide valuable insights into the way that different communities conceptualised conflict. For Scottish historians, any conflict involving England is another instantiation of the long history of English imperialism and requires an expansive anti-English coalition. Political prophecy furnishes visions of these coalitions as opaque references that were conscripted as evidence for the ancient pedigree of international amity. For the English, such prophecies served as warnings against complacency and instilled a paranoia about the destructive potential of multilateral warfare. Prophecy's temporality becomes the time of perpetual war. As one conflict ends, another begins, bonds of amity and enmity tested anew.

Notes

1 Walsingham, *St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 2, ed. and trans. Taylor et al., 300–1.
2 Walsingham, *St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 2, 300–1.
3 See Usk, *Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Given-Wilson, 95–7.
4 Walsingham, *St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 2, 300–1.
5 Walsingham, *St Albans Chronicle*, vol. 2, 302–3.
6 As Chris Given-Wilson notes, the Scots responded in kind by leading cross-border raids on the Coronation days of Edward III and Henry IV. Given-Wilson, *Henry IV*, 167. See also Ormrod, *Edward III*, 64–5.
7 Usk, *Chronicle*, 100–1.
8 On this topic, see also Fulton's chapter in this volume.
9 For Scotland's role in the Hundred Years War, see Curry, *Hundred Years War*, 117–29; Brown, 'French Alliance or English Peace?'; Campbell, 'England, Scotland and the Hundred Years War'; DeVries, 'Hundred Years War'.
10 Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*; Bellis, *Hundred Years War in Literature*.

11 Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*; Gilbert et al. *Medieval French*, 84–121; Matthews, *Writing to the King*.
12 Galloway, 'Borderlands of Satire', 16.
13 See Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 113, on the discursive grounds of Anglo-French 'exchange'.
14 Bellis, *Hundred Years War in Literature*, 73.
15 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. Watt, vol. 7, 87. Citations of the *Scotichronicon* are given by volume and page number. Translation modified.
16 For histories of medieval political prophecy, see Weiskott, *Meter and Modernity*, 25–99; Coote, *Prophecy and Public Affairs*; Flood, *Prophecy, Place, and Politics*.
17 See Terrell and Bruce (eds), *Anglo-Scottish Border*.
18 Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. Brereton, 186–7.
19 Beyond these episodes of peace, there were also shorter periods of truce, for example from 1319–21 and 1385–88. King and Simpkin, 'Introduction'.
20 See McKelvie, 'Royal Prisoner'.
21 Fowler, 'Truces'.
22 *Sidrak and Bokkus*, ed. Burton, vol. 1, 441.
23 See Terrell, *Scripting the Nation*, 13–36; and Goldstein, *Matter of Scotland*.
24 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 6, 3–5.
25 Ireland, where colonial efforts were ongoing throughout the Middle Ages, is similarly a space that marks the limits of English sovereignty but remained further out of grasp for English kings than Scotland. See Crooks, 'Before Humpty Dumpty' and McGettigan, *Richard II and the Irish Kings*.
26 MacDougall, *Antidote*; Bonner, '"Auld Alliance"'.
27 See Pollock, *Scotland, England and France* and MacDougall, *An Antidote*.
28 See the introduction to this volume and *True Chronicles of Jean le Bel*, trans. Bryant, 36–8.
29 Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle*, ed. and trans. Martin, 2–3.
30 *Chronicon Galfridi*, ed. Thompson, 56; *Chronicle of Geoffrey*, ed. Barber, trans. Preest, 49. Translation modified.
31 Bellis, *Hundred Years War*, 51–99, provides a compelling analysis of this irony.
32 *Chronicon Galfridi*, 56; *Chronicle of Geoffrey*, 49. On the issue of crusades, see the chapters by Vander Elst and Hicks-Bartlett in this volume.
33 *Chronicon Galfridi*, 56; *Chronicle of Geoffrey*, 49.
34 Prestwich, *Plantagenet England*, 258.

35 *Chronicon Galfridi*, 56; *Chronicle of Geoffrey*, 49 (translation modified).

36 *Chronicon Galfridi*, 56; *Chronicle of Geoffrey*, 49 (translation modified).

37 For an account of the negotiations, see Sumption, *Hundred Years War I*, 135–7. According to Sumption, the promise of crusade remained the 'keystone of English policy for three years from 1333–1336' (135).

38 Minot, *Poems of Laurence Minot*, ed. Osberg. Citations are given in-text and all punctuation is reproduced from the edition.

39 For Robert Bruce's invocations of Cambro-Scottish alliance, see Brown, 'Plantagenet Empire', 395.

40 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, 98.

41 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 8, 108–10.

42 For the life and afterlife of the *Scotichronicon*, see Terrell, *Scripting the Nation*, 13–88 and Davies, 'Medieval Scottish historians'.

43 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 2, 59.

44 On the importance of Gildas to the long history of imagining English national identity, see Staley, *Island Garden*.

45 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 2, 59.

46 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 2, 59.

47 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 6, 27.

48 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 6, 27. Bracketed text found only in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 171 and Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 35.1.7. Translation modified.

49 *Liber Pluscardensis*, ed. and trans. Skene, vol. 1, 133 (Latin), vol. 2, 99.

50 *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, vol. 2, 513.

51 Higden et al., *Polychronicon*, vol. 8, 286.

52 Higden et al., *Polychronicon*, vol. 8, 286.

53 See Galloway, 'Latin England'.

54 Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. and trans. Greenway, 6:1.

55 Henry's prophecy was also used by Bower to establish what Terrell describes as the 'moral superiority' of the Scots. *Scripting the Nation*, 75.

56 Brown, 'Plantagenet Empire', 394.

57 See, for example, *balades* CLXXXX, CLXXXII, CXLII and CLXI in Deschamps, *Oeuvres*.

58 Deschamps could be referring to the Bretons here, but 'Britons' makes more sense within the literary tradition of prophecy and considering the context of the rest of the poem.

59 *Oeuvres*, vol. 6, 185. Edition modified in consultation with Paris, BnF MS fr. 840, fol. 324v. I am grateful to Elizaveta Strakhov and Lucas Wood for their help with this translation.

60 Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vol. 1, 196.
61 For example, the treaties of Brétigny (1360) and Luelinghem (1389) both contain such provisions.
62 Chartier, *Les Œuvres latines*, ed. Bourgain-Hemeryck, 213. Translation mine. For more on Chartier, see Wood's chapter in this volume.
63 Macdonald, '[Stuart], Sir John, of Darnley'.
64 Calin, *Lily and the Thistle*; Luisgnan, 'Use of Anglo-Norman'.

II

Figures and sites of mobility

4

Italy, poetry and the Hundred Years War

David Wallace

Bolde bredden þerinne, baret þat lofden
Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, l. 21

A recent *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War* extends to 375 pages without finding room for 'Italy', or for any Italian location.[1] Proper accounting for such a long, sprawling war should not be reduced to the printed equivalent of metal detectorists sweeping battlefields. Modern conflicts, such as those currently punishing the peoples of Syria and Yemen, are recognised as proxy wars, part of the larger sphere of operations within which greater powers struggle. So too in the Middle Ages: locales such as Genoa and Florence, Milan and Rome were all to a greater or lesser extent caught up in the cross-Channel, cross-continental conflict known as the Hundred Years War. The poet Geoffrey Chaucer visited the first three of these places in the 1370s, and became imaginatively cathected to the fourth once England sided with Rome (and against Avignon, and hence France and Scotland) in the Papal Schism of the West, from 1378.[2] Chaucer's encounter with Italian poetry in the 1370s revolutionised his poetics, and his self-understanding *as* a vernacular author; it thus proved foundational to English literary tradition. Without the Hundred Years War, and the specific war-related experiences Chaucer accumulated as servant of the Crown, this could not have happened.

No algorithm can calibrate literary innovation with conditions of war, yet three great periods of English literary history, perhaps the greatest, coincide with pan-European conflict. William Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Jane Austen and William Blake bear

the impress, quite differently, of Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars (1792–1815). Efflorescent Elizabethan poetry and drama might look to, as historical points of departure, the death of Philip Sidney in the Netherlands, the burning of Edmund Spenser's estate at Kilcolman, Ireland, and the *Grande y Felicisma Armada* (all 1586–88). And the phenomenal literary creativity of the English late Trecento, including writers as diverse as William Langland and the *Gawain* poet, John Gower and Julian of Norwich, strangely accompanies the downturn in English fortunes in the Hundred Years War. Eventually we will want to understand how such writing, much of it brilliantly original, forms part of the fabric of war itself, how war authors the poet and mystic. For now, in this chapter, we can trace how affordances of war fed Chaucer the poet as he laboured, always in an ancillary way, to further English Plantagenet interests against the Valois monarchy of France. His first documented visit to Italy, that of 1372–73 to Genoa and Florence, may have proved more amenable to the leisurely hearing, reading and acquisition of texts, especially in the city of Dante (where Giovanni Boccaccio's reputation was at its height). The second, to Milan in 1378, sees him traverse Western Europe at one of the most fraught moments of its Trecento history, with Florence succumbing to popular rebellion, the papacy splitting, the Emperor dying and the parameters of his royal mission beginning to shift. Although Chaucer was to return to England in September 1378, fallout from his second documented Italian mission does not settle until Anne of Bohemia arrives in London three years later. Even then, Chaucer has some work to do in building England's new queen, brought to distant London through exigencies of war and trans-European politics, into the fabric of his poetry.

Medieval Italians saw Britain as a strange place, far away. In *Decameron* 5.2, a desperate young woman floats in a rudderless boat, 'al vento tutta si commise' [at the mercy of the wind].[3] Named Gostanza, a distant relative to the Custance of Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale*, she washes up on the Maghreb, a hundred miles or so from Tunis. This is familiar territory: the Bardi merchant banking company that employed Boccaccio's father, and Boccaccio himself for some apprentice years, had offices and a warehouse in Tunis.[4] Gostanza soon meets an Italian woman,

Carapresa, and then joins a female craft collective, working in silk, palm and leather. Before long she is speaking Arabic, and fits right in. *Decameron* 2.3 sees a group of young Florentines, wastrels back home, make a killing in London by lending money at a high rate of interest, and offering mortgages to barons on their castles and other properties [in prestare a baroni sopra castella e altro loro entrate] (2.3.13). But when civil war breaks out in England, they lose control of the castles. Happily, however, one of them sleeps with an abbot who turns out to be daughter of the King of England; they marry and he becomes Earl of Cornwall and, maybe, later King of Scotland. These two *novelle* view Britain as both more geographically distant, by a long way, and more fantastical, by far, than North Africa. Enterprising young Florentines can employ hard-boiled financial skills to get rich quick in Britain, although British natives might upset plans by doing what they do best, and are most famous for: fighting.

It is for fighting (fighting each other) that Dante memorialises 'the Scot' and 'the English': in *Paradiso*, but only as part of an acrostic anaphora that spells out LVE, 'pestilence', across nine *terzine* (19.115–41). Here one sees, Dante's eagle says,

> la superbia che s'asseta,
> che fa lo Scotto e l'Inghilese folle,
> sì che non può soffrir dentro a sua meta.[5]
>
> [the thirsty-making pride
> that drives the Scot and the Englishman crazy,
> so that neither can keep within his own bounds.]

'The Scot', if read romantically rather than generically, might be William Wallace, who defeated the English at Stirling Bridge in 1297, three years before the *Commedia*'s fictional date of departure; 'the Englishman' would be Edward I, whose military campaigns were financed by the Ricciardi of Lucca and then (when the Ricciardi failed) by Florentine companies, including the Bardi.[6] Two generations later, with English armies under Edward III redirected to continental campaigning, the king's overseas Council is informed, from Westminster, that 'he [the king] has not had anything of the issues of his land due to the great payments and

assignments which have been made to the Bardi and Peruzzi'. Edward III is seriously in hock to these Italian banking companies; and, furthermore, incomes are down because royal wool sacks have shrunk in size, and come stuffed with inferior product, 'because of fraud by the collectors and lack of supervision of them'.[7] Nonetheless, the stock of English soldiery was, following the blip of Bannockburn (1314), ascending, especially following victories at Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356). Petrarch closes out Book XXII of *Familiares*, his first collection of letters, with a long, deeply historical meditation on military discipline (and its decline), beginning with surprising and recent triumphs of English armies:

> They have routed the French, long crowned with martial glory, in such frequent and unexpected victories that those who had been unequal to the faint-hearted Scots not only have treated the greatest of kings wretchedly and unworthily, which I recall with deep sadness, but have destroyed the entire kingdom with fire and sword. As I recently passed through your kingdom on an official mission, I could hardly recognize it as the same one I had previously visited. Everywhere were dismal devastation, grief, and desolation, everywhere wild and uncultivated fields, everywhere ruined and deserted homes except for those spared by being within the walls of a fortress or a city, in short, everywhere remained the sad vestiges of the Angli.[8]

Here Petrarch is writing to the Benedictine (formerly Franciscan) Pierre Bersuire, whom he had known during formative years at Avignon, and then later at Paris, when attached to the university. Petrarch came on embassy to the French court in 1361; Pierre, at the instigation of Jean le Bon (John II), had translated Petrarch's reconstructed and extended text of Livy's *History of Rome* into French. Pierre was also an early reporter of the fama, or rumour, of a fairy flying above the castle at Lusignan in Poitou, later elaborated into legends (in prose and then verse) of Mélusine.[9] Lusignan, 15 miles south-west of Poitiers, controlled access to the sea and to the harbour of La Rochelle; La Rochelle, the wine-exporting port referenced by Chaucer's Pardoner (*CT* VI.571), fell under English control following French defeat at Poitiers and the Treaty of Brétigny (1360). Bersuire and Petrarch thus unite in horror at the devastation wrought by English armies on French landscapes

(especially through the slash-and-burn tactics of *chyvachie*, *CT* 1.85). And they share deep affection for Jean le Bon: Petrarch had just met Pierre again, for the last time, at Paris while on that diplomatic mission to the French court for the Visconti, in 1361. Jean le Bon, captured at Poitiers, had been released from English captivity following payment of an enormous ransom.[10]

Chaucer and Sir John Hawkwood, the mercenary captain or *condottiere* he was briefed to negotiate with at Milan in 1378, enter the documentary record of the Hundred Years War at this crucial period, between the Battle of Poitiers and the Treaty of Brétigny, which brought seven years of truce and massive transfer of French territory to English control. Chaucer, perhaps campaigning with his first master Lionel, Duke of Clarence, got himself captured close to Reims and then ransomed early in 1360.[11] Hawkwood, an experienced soldier by that date, is to be numbered among those fighting men rendered suddenly superfluous by the treaty terms of Brétigny. *Routes* (brigades) and *grand compagnies* dedicated to freelance soldering soon formed, with the attempted capture of Jean le Bon's ransom an early (failed) project.[12] Having tracked down the Rhine to Avignon, the free companies were soon bought off by Innocent IV and moved on to fresh campaigns in the Rhineland, Spain and (above all) Italy. The Compagnia Bianca in which Hawkwood served was commanded by Albert Sterz, a German who spoke English; Hawkwood succeeded him in 1364 and became proficient (as Giovanni Aguto) in Italian. He served Pisa and then, in 1368, moved to Milan, thus frustrating the further descent of the Emperor Charles IV (future father-in-law to Richard II) into Italy. This cleared the way for the marriage of teenage Violante Visconti, daughter of Bernabò, to Lionel, Duke of Clarence.[13]

The famous Visconti wedding, attended by Petrarch and bolstered by a massive English contingent, took place on 28 May 1368.[14] Chaucer, by now *valettus* to Edward III and licensed to cross the Channel on 17 July, clearly missed the main event.[15] He might have made it to Lombardy in 1368,[16] but his first securely documented trip to Italy began as he left London on 1 December 1372, accompanied by the Genovese Sir John de Mari and James de Provan (with his son Saladin), plus Genoese crossbowmen.[17] Genoa, built on a narrow strip of land backed by mountains, specialised in shipping

and protecting shipping (with crossbowmen).[18] It also shipped Tatar slaves across the Mediterranean from the Crimea, refining practices that later would facilitate enslavement of indigenous Canary Islanders, and the further Atlantic voyaging of Columbus, who was Genoese.[19] Young Tatar slaves crowded the quays where Chaucer and his royally appointed compeers were briefed to negotiate with shippers, keen to establish a seaport for the Genoese in Southampton to rival London. This initiative would end badly for Janus Imperial of Genoa, slain in front of his own London house on 26 August 1379 by the bidding of merchant monopolists and financiers, keen to preserve the privileges of the London elite.[20]

Documents prepared for Chaucer's journey in 1372–73 do not foresee an extension of the trip to Florence, but it was certainly made; Chaucer spent 174 days away from London, perhaps a hundred of them in Genoa and Florence.[21] Edward III had yet again (as recently as August 1372) been negotiating with the Bardi for a large loan to finance his wars, so Chaucer likely spent considerable time in their offices. As sometime *discipulus* of the Bardi, and son of a long-time employee, Boccaccio was well placed at Florence to feed his geographical interests (which grew to encyclopaedic proportions); an account of the 1341 discovery of the Canary Islands, shared between merchants, was reworked into Latin for his *Zibaldone Magliabechiano*, a literary compendium.[22] By 1373, Boccaccio was a senior statesman of Italian letters, associated with Petrarch as a humanist Latinist but always (and most especially at Florence) closely identified with Dante as lifelong copyist, biographer and civic champion. Trade talks, like Church councils, have a lot of downtime, but it is not likely that Chaucer travelled the 28 miles (by the best modern road) to visit the ageing *maestro* in his hill-town *patria*, Certaldo. But he inevitably heard much talk of *lecturae Dantis*, to be given by Boccaccio in Florence later that year.[23] Many of the human protagonists in the *Commedia*, if not their family names, were long forgotten by 1373. But some of the poem's most extravagant historical hopes remained alive: that, for example, an emperor might descend on Italy and make all things well. Dante's hopes for Henry VII, adumbrated as early as *Inferno* II, were dead (as was Henry) long before the *Commedia* was completed. Charles IV, his grandson, had descended on Milan in 1354,

taking the iron crown of Lombardy and reminding the Visconti of their status as imperial vicars; he then descended on (or close to) Rome. Hopes for a later return to Rome were frustrated by the English *condottiere* Hawkwood, we have noted, in 1368.

It has been said that Chaucer, as a vernacular poet, is Dante's truest Trecento continuator.[24] Italian had moved on since 1321, with Dante commentary switching from Italian to Latin, *terza rima* adopted as a more popular medium, and Petrarch regretting that Dante's choice of the vernacular (rather than the Latin of his *Africa*) had put serious issues into the mouths of 'ignorant oafs in taverns and marketplaces'.[25] Chaucer, surveying his own poetics after 1373, concluded that he had a long way to go in following Dante following Virgil:

> I wol now synge, yif I kan,
> The armes, and also the man
> That first cam, thurgh his destinee,
> Fugityf of Troy contree,
> In Itayle ...[26]

'If I kan' here does not mean 'if I can', but rather 'if I possess the technical ability'.[27] Which clearly, yet, he does not: the opening of Book III of *The House of Fame*, imitating the opening of the *Commedia*'s third *cantica*, still struggling within the straitjacket of French octosyllabic couplets, expires in embarrassment. But Chaucer *will* become a poet of the *volgare illustre*, chiefly through long meditation upon and elaborating of two Boccaccian texts, the *Filostrato* and *Teseida*. It has also been said, more recently and with greater authority,[28] that Chaucer offers more intensive engagement with these two Boccaccian texts than any other Trecento poet or commentator; properly, Chaucer should take his place in Italian literary history. It was within the expanded theatre of the Hundred Years War, then, that Chaucer came to learn of Petrarch, Boccaccio and Dante, and to access their texts. Each of the poems he made from Boccaccio, perhaps his greatest work *qua poetrie*, bears an internal signature of that war: the Temple of Mars in the *Knight's Tale*, a first-hand anthology of random, violent terrors; and the city of Troy in *Troilus*, evoking the wall-ringed urban experiences that Petrarch, as we have seen, associates with English destructiveness.

Insecurities of war, encompassing physical destruction and psychic insecurity, compounded with yet deeper anxieties just before and right through Chaucer's last Italian journey. Western Christendom would split asunder in 1378: an event in collective faith life with no precedent, surpassing even the schism between Eastern and Latin churches of 1054. Someone staying on the farm or close to home in 1378, in England or in France, might have registered this as distant trouble, far up the chain of ecclesiastical command – not as the disintegration of fundamental, faith-sustaining structure. But Chaucer was bound, by the terms of his royal appointment, to pay close attention to affairs across continental Europe and then, moving across the face of the Continent, to become diplomatically engaged. It is thus worth considering how these crucial months played out, in some detail.

In 1377 Anglo-French peace negotiations, under way since 1374, broke down; Edward III died on 21 June 1377 and war began again three days later; the English parliament agreed that all French-born people living in England should be repatriated.[29] Also in 1377, Gregory XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort from Maumont, Limoges) shifted the site of the papacy from Avignon back to Rome. Towards the end of 1377, Emperor Charles IV made advances to Westminster and began speaking of marrying his daughter Anne to Richard.[30] In March 1377 Sir John Hawkwood was royally pardoned by Richard II touching all past crimes and misdemeanours; in May 1377 he married Donnina Visconti, one of Bernabò's numerous illegitimate daughters.[31] In October 1377 the Franciscan Walter Thorpe was sent by Richard II to Sir John Hawkwood in Lombardy 'pour les affaires de la guerre' [for the affairs of war].[32] Early in January 1378 the elderly Emperor Charles IV, with his son Wenceslas, already elected King of the Romans, was received at Paris by Charles V, his nephew, confirming the Franco-Luxembourg alignment that could be traced back to the death of Charles IV's father, John the Blind, at Crécy (1346).[33] On 28 March 1378 Gregory XI died in Rome, and on 8 April 1378 the Neapolitan Bartolomeo Prignano was elected Urban VI. Walter Thorpe returned to Westminster in May 1378, carrying letters from Hawkwood and likely news (or further news) of the papal election, plus the suggestion that England should open negotiations with Bernabò Visconti. On 28 May Chaucer left

London with (and subordinate to) Sir Edward de Berkeley, travel-ling 'en nostre message' [with our [the king's] message] to Bernabò, 'lord of Milan', and to 'our dear and loyal Sir John Hawkwood', concerning some matters 'touchant lexploit de nostre guerre' [touching matters of our war].[34] On 26 July Urban VI confirmed by bull Wenceslas IV's election as King of the Romans. Early in August 1378 dissatisfied cardinals left Rome and, at Anagni, proclaimed Urban VI schismatic, to be renounced by all Christendom.[35] Robert de Genève, who had employed Hawkwood's troops along with Breton mercenaries to massacre thousands at Cesena in 1377,[36] became pope or anti-pope Clement VII on 20 September 1378. Chaucer, returning to London the very next day, was now to see Anglo-French hostility widening through ecclesial fracture: French, Scots and Castilians would follow one pope; Italians (but not Neapolitans), English and Germans (under the Empire) would follow another. 'What is this world?' asks Arcite in the *Knight's Tale*, 'What asketh man to have?' (I.277): basic existential ques-tions, assigned to a dying pagan, offloaded by an English emissary living through very strange times.

Before leaving London, Chaucer had seen that John Gower and a Richard Forester were appointed general attorneys for his affairs, and that a deputy was named for his position as Controller of Customs.[37] Chaucer had been appointed Controller on 8 June 1374, not long after his first Italian trip, and in overseeing wool custom and subsidy he was now regulating the source of supply judged most vital (by those answerable to Edward III, as seen above) to the continuing war effort. Chaucer spoke excellent Italian, and his first master, Prince Lionel, had briefly been Bernabò's son-in-law. But Chaucer was chosen chiefly because he was now a key figure, between city and court, in a complex, international nexus of capital, warfare and wool.[38]

Chaucer had travelled with Sir John de Burley in 1376 on a secret royal mission, possibly exploring a marital alliance between Prince Richard and Marie, daughter of Charles V of France.[39] In 1377 he was paid for two French journeys – to Paris and Montreuil and 'other places', and to 'parts of France'.[40] He could thus think himself reasonably well briefed in the European state of play as he rode to Lombardy in late May and June 1378, although events

(and entire geopolitical and religious structures) were shifting as never before: so many moving parts. Things went well in Milan, it seems, since Bernabò sent de Burley and Chaucer back to London in the company of two diplomatic messengers. The party arrived back on 21 September, and the two Visconti representatives – 'Sir Jehan de Liche, chivaler, et mestre Ingeram de Brachis, doctour es lois' – were paid for their trouble on 4 December 1378. On 20 December they were paid for further costs and expenses 'pour le temps qu'ils ont demorez en notre citée de Londres puis la Seint Michel' [for the time that they stayed in our city of London near Saint Michael's].[41] Chaucer, one might say, brought his Italian homework back to London, and his fluency made it likely that he spent more time with the Italians as they elaborated Bernabò's diplomatic project: the marriage of his daughter, Catherine, to Richard II. Such a project promised scant birth pedigree but a hefty dowry, a lifeline to the ever-needy English exchequer. At the end of March 1379, a new and upgraded English delegation left London for Milan, headed by Sir Michael de la Pole, banneret, of mercantile stock, with long military and naval experience, destined to become chancellor of England and first earl of Suffolk.[42] Sir John de Burley travelled again, but as second in rank, and what we might regard as Chaucer's spot was now taken by George Felbrigg, squire of the king's chamber. Charles IV, Holy Roman Emperor, died in Prague on 29 November 1378; news of this reached England before the party set out, and could be further digested along the way.

George Felbrigg returned to England in July 1379, job done, but the two senior English diplomats travelled on to Rome. Over the summer of 1379, Urban VI argued that relations between the French Valois monarchy and the house of Luxembourg, now headed by Wenceslaus, were falling apart. A new alliance between Luxembourg and Plantagenet houses promised English victory over France, in war, and Roman victory over Avignon, in religion. Bernabò, meanwhile, continued sending ambassadors to London, pressing his suit, and Chaucer had ample opportunity to reunite with the men with whom he had travelled back from Lombardy the previous year.[43] John Sheppey, dean of Lincoln, dispatched from Rome to tell Westminster what was going on during that summer of 1379, was in no hurry to arrive. He finally shows up in London on

29 October; the writ from king to exchequer instructs that he should not be paid the full *per diem*, since he had clearly been idling away his time in Bruges or Calais, without reasonable cause.[44] Perhaps Sheppey was thinking along *don't shoot the messenger* lines, since the original mission to espouse Richard II to Caterina Visconti was taking a strange swerve in Rome. Happily he did survive, living on to litigate his pigs' right to eat acorns from Rockingham Forest.[45] But Richard in any case did know what was happening: in early August, priors provincial of the Franciscan Order of England and Ireland had brought him letters from the pope and from Wenceslas, new King of the Romans.[46] Bernabò was wooed away from the English match by the papal dispensations facilitating the incestuous union of his daughter, Caterina, to his nephew Gian Galeazzo, whom he deeply distrusted (and who, as Chaucer later tells,[47] would eventually assassinate him). Sir Michael de la Pole and Sir John de Burley, captured and ransomed in Germany, finally returned to London after a mission of 421 days, on 20 May 1380.[48] By then the foreign figure most exciting English imaginations, the point of so many hopes in peace and war, was again the eldest daughter of Charles IV, half-sister to Wenceslas, King of the Romans, and full (elder) sister to Sigismund, future Holy Roman Emperor: Anne of Bohemia.[49]

It would be foolish to step from this morass of detail, exemplifying again the complex breadth of the Hundred Years theatre, into specific, *roman à clef* moments in Chaucerian poetry. We might rather consider more broadly a period of time that bespeaks crisis in Chaucer's life, and his art. For Paul Strohm, this is 1386;[50] the period following Chaucer's return from Lombardy on 21 September 1378 is, I would suggest, another such moment. Western Christendom is splitting, with rival popes. The Florentine Republic, with which he had negotiated in 1373, was being overthrown at the time of his Milanese visit (in a European pattern of popular rebellion that would engulf London three years later). In England, following the death of Edward III on 21 June and the quick accession of boy-king Richard, government was by 'continual councils'.[51] But to set against such uncertainties, Chaucer had *scoop*, or (to adopt his own term), *tydinges*. He had seen the future queen of England, Caterina Visconti, and was now one of two

men in the kingdom who could answer basic questions in court and city, such as *what is she like?* He could also tap his former Italian travel companions, now wintering in London, for further details. This happy state of affairs would have carried into the spring of 1379, as Sir Michael de la Pole and Sir John de Burley set off on their upgraded Lombardy mission. At a certain point after that, however, court *cognoscenti* would have known about the swerve to Rome, and Chaucer's *tydinges* would be suddenly stale. Hopefully somebody tipped him off. If not, he would have seemed like a fool from his own future fiction: 'but alday faileth thing that fooles wenden' (*T&C* I.217).

Richard II's happily companionate marriage into the House of Luxembourg would ultimately work out much better for Chaucer *poeta* than union with a Visconti bride: for although Milan had been gilded by the presence of Petrarch for eight years (1353–61), its book culture was broadly and conservatively Francophone, whereas newly reconstructed Prague, with its new university (named after an Emperor who wrote his own *Life* in Latin), boasted vibrant trans-Europeanism. Anne of Bohemia would ultimately (with the Wife of Bath) become Chaucer's muse, but initially he had much ground to make up. Both of the major works that he elaborated from Italian contrive to compliment Anne. In opening the *Knight's Tale*, Chaucer adds to the *Teseida* (and *Thebaid*) by recalling, under *occultatio*, an awkward passage to a foreign land: 'And of the feste that was at hir weddynge; / And of the tempest at hir hoom-comynge …' (I.883–4). Anne and a few attendants made a risky winter passage from Calais to Dover on 18 December 1381. Ships at Dover harbour collided, moved by heavy groundswell, and the ship from which Anne had stepped was smashed to pieces.[52]

Early on in *Troilus and Criseyde*, Chaucer reminds us that that 'oure firste lettre is now an A' (I.171), and although the remark seems gratuitous, the *now* is striking: *now an A*. It has been suggested that Chaucer's *An ABC* was written for Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster, whose death in 1368 generated *The Book of the Duchess*. It could just as likely have been written for Anne of Bohemia. Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* refers to 'the king, that is lord of this langage' (56–7), and if Chaucer had a sense of 'the king's English', why not an equivalent language for the queen?

An immigrant queen, arriving from across the water, keen to learn the basics or *ABC*s of English, and whose name (happily) begins with *A*.

Chaucer's alphabetical poem to the Virgin Mary, *An ABC*, is still logged as an early work – despite its highly technical, poetic sophistication.[53] Such a view can be traced back to that influential Victorian, the Revd Walter Skeat. For the Anglican Skeat, excessive devotion to mother Mary belongs to an immature phase of spiritual development, so *An ABC* must represent an immature phase of poetic evolution. But consider the evidence of Chaucer's letter S. Much of its expressive urgency and sophistication is achieved through *enjambement*, an effect learned by Chaucer from long study of the *Filostrato*. 'Soth is,' says Chaucer to Mary,

> that God ne graunteth no pitee
> Withoute thee; for God of his goodnesse
> Foryiveth noon, but it like unto thee.
> He hath thee maked vicaire and maistresse
> Of al this world, and eek governouresse
> Of hevene, and he represseth his justise
> After thi wil; and therfor in witnesse
> He hath thee corowned in so rial wise. (*An ABC*, 137–44)

Mary is here is celebrated as *mediatrix*, smoothing passage between a terrifying male ruler – the Christian God – and the terrified poet-petitioner. This Mary is no mere message-carrier, however, since she's God's *vicaire* on earth,[54] and *governor* of heaven – the term *governor* deriving from *gubernator*, the rudder of a ship. 'Crowned in royal fashion', her likeness to hardworking earthly queens is emphasised here, as throughout the poem. Also striking is *An ABC*'s intensified use of legal language, as Chaucer pleads his case to Mary, hoping that Mary will defend him from God.

The most eloquent such defence of the poet Chaucer from a wrathful deity by a queenly *mediatrix* comes in the *Prologue to the Legend of Good Women*. Alceste is there characterised as 'emperice and flour of floures alle' (F 185). Anne of Bohemia, queen to Richard II, was to become *mediatrix*, pleading for those falling foul of her husband's famous temper, and would always be an emperor's daughter. Lowly Griselde, in a tale found and read by Chaucer

within a war-defined nexus of Anglo-Italian relations, is likened once to someone 'norissed in an emperoures halle' (*CT* IV.399), and earlier to 'an emperoures doghter' (IV.168). Strikingly, this latter phrase recurs nowhere else in the *Canterbury Tales* – except in the *Man of Law's Tale*, where it appears three times, at regular intervals, once with the intensifying adjective 'yonge':

> Of the Emperoures doghter, dame Custance (II.151)
> O Emperoures yonge doghter deere (II.447)
> An Emperoures doghter stant allone (II.655)

Chaucer adapts his tale of Custance from the Anglo-Norman chronicling of Nicholas Trevet, a text written for a Mary of Woodstock, sixth daughter of King Edward I. Chaucer's tale is resolutely and recursively Rome-centred. Anne of Bohemia, as we have noted and as Chaucer knew, was translated or traded to England as part of the new politics of the Papal Schism – in which England sided with Rome, home to pope Urban VI from 1378 to 1389, and home to 'good Urban the olde' in the *Second Nun's Tale* (VII.177).[55] Word of Custance's excellences as 'doghter' of 'oure Emperour of Rome' is first acclaimed by the *commons* of Rome (II.155), and the *image* of them is then carried abroad, back home, through the kind of mercantile-diplomatic networks (II.171–89) that Chaucer himself had travelled. The Roman commons acclaims Custance aspirationally: '*wolde that she were* of al Europe the queene' (II.161; emphasis added). The imperial space might, it is hoped, become pan-European, and Custance does traverse the entire Mediterranean, as well as 'our occian' (II.505). By the end of her tale, however, Custance's Europe has expanded little, with the eastern Mediterranean left a smoking ruin (II.964–5). Comparably high hopes might attach to a modern Emperor's daughter, but in Western Christendom, still schismed and defined by the Anglo-French conflict, nobody might magically achieve a sense of 'al Europe'. The west would unite only to be routed out east at Nicopolis, by an Ottoman army on the lower Danube, in 1396, two years after Anne of Bohemia's untimely death.

It was in and through Italy that Chaucer grasped the full, one might say imperial measure of what vernacular poetry might aspire to. Simultaneously he saw that the most grandiose hopes

collapse if particular persons die. Such reflections themselves feed poetry, especially Italian poetry, soaked as it is in the long heritage and impossible precedent of Rome. Inspiration through Italian poetry likely first struck Chaucer in a simple way, at an epiphanic moment: hearing Dantean *terzine*, Boccaccian *ottave*, or a Petrarchan sonnet, or perhaps perusing a manuscript. But much as Dante's tercets unfold a complex filigree of period politics, and Boccaccio and Petrarch were deeply and differently engaged in civic and ambassadorial duties, so Chaucer's experience of Italy in the 1370s was expansively complex, viewed as he moved diplomatically across the Continent.[56] Yet in traversing this greater European theatre, Chaucer, like the *tre corone*, could but painfully see its warring *nationes* violate the spirit of *pax Romana*, the *regnum* of Jesus and Mary so earnestly interpellated by Custance, his emperor's daughter, 'of al Europe the queene'.[57]

This crucial decade of the 1370s further exposed Chaucer to both sides of an acute and very particular ideological conflict, whose historical importance would long outlive the Hundred Years War. In Florence he found one of the most widely inclusive polities of medieval times, based on guild structures and rapid rotation of leadership. In Lombardy he witnessed, helped negotiate with, one-man rule, a regime keen to promote the bloody-minded unpredictability of its *dominus,* his use of torture, his sexual prowess. A key legal principle for such a polity, one later coveted by Henry VIII, was *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*: what is pleasing to the prince has the force of law.[58] Chaucer was not to know that, through the fifteenth century, one-man rule (despotism) would win out and, in the nineteenth century, government through collective structures would be dismissed as *medieval*.[59] And perhaps *quod principi placuit* has even longer legs: democratically elected western leaders seem now increasingly inclined to *follow their own feelings*, play their hunches or associate with despots, than to work with other democratic leaders (or consult epidemiologists). But Chaucer did envision, within his own lifetime, alternative possibilities for England. His *Canterbury Tales* explores the parameters of associational form, guildlike collectivism, *bonum commune*. He also delineates (in part within the *Canterbury Tales* itself) one-man dictatorship, distractedly godlike behaviours, *Lumbardye*. And he

dreams that when the courtly protocols of an irascible king-god are breached by a guileless courtier-poet, an 'emperice and flour of floures alle' will save him.[60] Once the historical surrogate of this *emperice*, Anne of Bohemia, had died, the irascible Richard II could not long save himself. Richard II was deposed and then murdered in February 1400; Chaucer died eight months later.

Richard II long hoped, delusionally, that his loyal subject Sir John Hawkwood, veteran of French campaigns and commanding large forces in Italy, would intervene decisively on the English side.[61] Hawkwood himself had divided loyalties, buying up London property and seeking Richard's pardon for youthful crimes and disobediences in war-torn France while yet marrying Donnina Visconti. Hawkwood died in August 1393, and early in 1395 the Florentine Signoria commissioned Taddeo Gaddhi and Giuliano d'Arrigho to memorialise him in fresco on the north wall of Santa Maria del Fiore. Later that year, however, Richard II requested that Hawkwood's remains be repatriated, and a cenotaph was built at his parish church of St Peter, Sible Hedingham (Essex).[62] So as the Hundred Years War raged on into the new century one might contemplate the same key figure in two locales, set far apart, testimony to strange, cross-European alliances. Especially strange is the fact that both Hawkwood and Lionel Duke of Clarence, Chaucer's first master, were both sons-in-law to Bernabò, greatest despot of the age. Chaucer held open the pages of his *Canterbury Tales* to receive news, in 1385, of Bernabò's assassination.[63] Great men will continue to fall, *The Monk's Tale* can expand, and this war will not end in Chaucer's lifetime.

On 25 October 1415, St. Crispin's Day, Europe was astonished yet again by an English army defeating the French. Bishop Henry Beaufort proclaimed Henry V's triumph from the pulpit at St Paul's four days later. Some of his clerical confrères and fellow bishops picked up the news at the lakeside town of Constance, between the Danube and the Rhine: here a great Church Council was attempting to heal the Papal Schism that had split Western Christendom since 1378, the year of Chaucer's meeting with Hawkwood and Bernabò. Sigismund, King of the Romans, later Holy Roman Emperor, and a driving force of the Council's early years, had left Constance on 18 July 1415, travelling to Perpignan, to Paris early

in the new year (finding Charles VI absent through insanity), and then London. Son of Charles IV and his fourth wife, Elizabeth of Pomerania, Sigismund was full brother to Anne of Bohemia, hence brother-in-law to Richard II (deposed by Henry V's father). On 15 March 1416, Sigismund elected to side with Henry V and signed the Treaty of Canterbury; he tossed Latin verses to the crowd, and John Capgrave made Middle English verses from them.[64] On 27 January 1417 Sigismund made his long-awaited return to Constance, sporting his newly bestowed collar of the Order of the Garter.

Two days after Sigismund's return to the Council the English delegation treated him to a banquet with music and *tableaux vivants*: our Lady holding her son; the Magi led by a star on a fine gold wire; and Herod (an English speciality) killing the innocents.[65] Through recourse to music and drama, the English tacitly conceded that their *language* was no asset: not even Oswald von Wolkenstein, the Tyrolean poet-musician who spoke ten tongues, and who travelled to England and Scotland during the Council, claimed to speak English.[66] Literarily speaking, the Italian delegation was by far the most distinguished at Constance, offering varieties of Italian, Latin (humanist and otherwise) and even Greek.[67] Two English bishops joined a Dante study circle.[68] Jean Gerson, who as Chancellor of the University of Paris had quarrelled with Christine de Pizan over the *Roman de la Rose*, made up for lost time: the Hundred Years War had depressed manuscript production in France, as in England, and so Gerson embarked on a self-publishing frenzy. Yet he had long nursed a sense of French inferiority in the face of Italian literary achievements; his first surviving sermon makes extensive use of Petrarch, *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, and his hexametric *Josephina* invites and resists comparisons to *Africa*.[69] Many highly talented Italian literary men were on hand at Constance to accommodate any kind of literary interest, offering instruction in Italian, humanist Latin or even Greek. Many were desperate, since their pope, John XXIII, had fled on 21 March 1415, leaving them seriously underemployed. Leonardo Bruni returned to Florence to write his *Historia Florentini populi*. Pier Paolo Vergerio joined the service of King Sigismund, the new Garter knight, and died in Hungary, in 1444. Poggio Bracciolini, the most famous and celebrated of all,[70] also accepted the patronage of a Garter member: not Sigismund, but Bishop Henry Beaufort.

Having cheered Agincourt from the pulpit of St Paul's, in 1417 Beaufort found himself representing Henry V's interests at Constance. Considered *papabile* himself, Beaufort helped secure the election of Odo Colonna as Martin V, crowned on 21 November. The new, schism-ending pontiff rewarded Beaufort by creating him cardinal on 18 December: a move that aroused angry suspicions in Henry V.[71] Not until August 1419 did Beaufort dare return to England. Poggio was already in place, struggling to develop his humanist interests on stony ground, missing his Italian friends and considering a turn to patristics. Chaucer was on hand: not Geoffrey, the fluent Italianist and translator of Petrarch, but his son Thomas, the career politician. In his *Clerk's Tale*, set in Lombardy, Chaucer *père* adds a long speech with no counterpart in Boccaccio or Petrarch. This, the first speech of his *Tale* goes on for a remarkable seven stanzas of rhyme royal, beginning with 'O noble markys, your humanitee' (IV.92). *Humanity* was a new word for late medieval England, an Italian import connoting dedication to a new course of study. Poggio considered himself a *humanist*, dedicated to 'studium ... humanitatis' since boyhood, but unable to find like minds (so he tells an Italian correspondent) in England.[72] The *Clerk's Tale* speech appealing to Walter's 'humanitee' (and it takes some nerve to keep a despot quiet for forty-nine lines) is delivered by the speaker of the Commons, a perilous position rather new to English politics. An individual is chosen to be speaker, Chaucer says, because he is the most learned; or because he is the person the ruler can best tolerate listening to; or because he has the most refined presentational skills (IV.87–91). Perhaps combining all these qualities, Thomas Chaucer was to serve five terms as speaker of the Commons (a record not surpassed for over three hundred years). There is no evidence that Thomas Chaucer tried to learn *studium humanitatis* from Poggio Bracciolini, who stayed on in England until early 1423. But there is evidence that Thomas Chaucer was briefed to spy on Poggio's master, Cardinal Henry Beaufort, by Henry V, the hero of Agincourt.[73]

The Hundred Years War, through many strange twists across wide European spaces, created unforeseeable cultural opportunities, some taken and some not. Had Henry V not defeated the French at Agincourt, Poggio Bracciolini would not have come to London. Had Geoffrey Chaucer, fluent in Italian and familiar

with Florence, lived longer he might have talked *humanitas* with Poggio; Thomas Chaucer, a kingpin of the state apparatus, was not so inclined. The greatest Italian humanist of the age was thus left stranded in England for years, lamenting a culture not ready for him: opportunity lost.

The affairs of war that forced Geoffrey Chaucer to develop wide understanding of European politics, and that brought him to Italy, wrought huge, long-lasting effects. Some, unique to Chaucer, pertain to poetics. From Boccaccio he learned, through intensive reading and imitation, how sinewy syntax might achieve plasticity of expression, wrapping around line-endings and hence escaping the leaden beat of couplets. From Dante he learned the potentialities of a verse form much more like English than French: a longer line with marked caesura, generally with two stresses per hemistich. More thematically, and to choose just one example, Boccaccio's *Teseida* provided snapshots of war in a temple of Mars, although Chaucer's images are by turns more claustrophobic and, suggesting actual fields of battle, expansive: 'A thousand slain, and noght of qualm ystorve' (*CT* I.2014). From 'Fraunceys Petrak, the lauriat poete' (*CT* IV.31), and from 'the wise poete of Florence, / That highte Dant' (*CT* III.1125–6), Chaucer learned how *poetrie* could articulate a space of empire, but also how such dreams might swiftly fade, as Emperors (Henry VII, Charles IV) and their children (Queen Anne) died. In bringing him to Italy, the Hundred Years War prompted Chaucer to Europeanise his verse, and to declare himself subject to, and master of, *poesie* (*T&C* V.1789–92). *Poesie* and *poetrie* are rare words in Chaucer, associated with Latin making, often of an imperial cast. Circumstances of war thus usher Chaucer down a path that will lead, generations later, to the weaponisation of English as instrument of war, at the service of 'the king, that is lord of this langage'.

Notes

1 Wagner, *Encyclopedia of the Hundred Years War*.
2 For the relationship between the Schism and the Hundred Years War, see Brown's chapter in this volume. Citations of Chaucer's work will

come from *The Riverside Chaucer*, and will be cited parenthetically by abbreviated work (when needed) and line number.

3 Boccaccio, *Decameron*, ed. McWilliam, 380; *Decameron*, ed. Branca, 5.2.11.
4 Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 206–7.
5 Alighieri, *Paradiso* 19.121–3 (my translation).
6 See Economou, 'England', 342b–343b.
7 PRO C49/File 7/7 and PRO 31 [Transcripts] 7/157, in *Wars of Edward III*, ed. Rogers, 68.
8 Petrarca, *Letters*, trans. Bernardo, 242, 22.14.
9 See Mühlethaler, 'Lusignan'.
10 He became a prisoner again, dying at the Savoy in 1364, once his son Louis, Duke of Anjou, had abandoned his role as hostage and surety to the English.
11 See Turner, *Chaucer*, 72–119.
12 See Fowler, 'Sir John Hawkwood'.
13 See Fowler, 'Sir John Hawkwood'; Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 34–5.
14 See Spěváček, *Karl IV*, 109.
15 See Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 28–9.
16 There is no further record of Chaucer in England until 31 October 1368: See Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 30.
17 See Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 32–40.
18 Thirty Genoese crossbowmen were hired to man a new galley for Edward III in December 1372, the month of Chaucer's voyage. See Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 38 n. 1.
19 See Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 181–202.
20 See Strohm, 'Trade, Treason'.
21 See Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 40.
22 Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 208.
23 See Boccaccio, *Esposizioni sopra la Commedia di Dante*, ed. Padoan.
24 Wallace, 'Chaucer's Italian Inheritance', 53.
25 *Familiares* 21.15, as translated by Foster, *Petrarch*, 29. See now for finer-grained, textualised understanding Gaston, *Reading Chaucer*; K. P. Clarke, *Chaucer and Italian Textuality*.
26 *House of Fame*, 143–7.
27 From *kunne*. The whelp who meets the dreaming Chaucer in *BD* 'koude no good' (389) is lost, perhaps untrained, hence detached from the hounds (who know what they are doing) in the pack.
28 By Kenneth P. Clarke, following his presentation 'Medieval humanism and vernacular poetics'.

29 See Lambert and Ormrod, 'A Matter of Trust', 225–6; Tuck, 'Richard II and the House of Luxembourg', 205.

30 Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 136; Saul, *Richard* II, 83; Tuck, 'Richard II and the House of Luxembourg', 207.

31 See Fowler, 'Sir John Hawkwood'; Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 34.

32 Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 137.

33 See Šmahel, *Parisian Summit*, 239; Tuck, 'Richard II and the House of Luxembourg', 207.

34 Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 54.

35 See Šmahel, *Parisian Summit,* 247.

36 See Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 34.

37 Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 54, 60.

38 For a superb, granular account of Chaucer's controllership of Customs, see Strohm, *Poet's Tale*, 121–36; on capital, warfare and wool see Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, 11–13.

39 Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 43–4.

40 Crow and Olson (eds), *Chaucer Life-Records*, 47–8. A marriage offer from Charles V for his daughter Marie was made early in 1378: see Saul, *Richard II*, 83.

41 Cited in Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 138.

42 See Tuck, 'Pole, Michael de la, first earl of Suffolk'.

43 In September 1379 a safe conduct is issued for 'Ingelram de Brakys' as Bernabò's messenger, and on 10 December 1379 a gift is recorded as presented 'Johanni Lisle militi et Rogero Cane armigero' (Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 139 n. 2).

44 See Perroy, *L'Angleterre,* 141 n. 1.

45 PRO SC 8/215/10733: https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C9334289.

46 Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 140. See further on this complex period Tuck, 'Richard II and the House of Luxembourg', 216–17.

47 See *Monk's Tale*, VII.2399–2406 ('*De Barnabo de Lumbardia*').

48 Tuck, 'Pole, Michael de la, first earl of Suffolk'; Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 142.

49 A council meeting was held two weeks after the return of Pole and Burley, and envoys were dispatched to Bohemia to pursue the marriage, on 18 June (Saul, *Richard II*, 87).

50 See Strohm, *Poet's Tale*.

51 From 1377 to January 1380: see Saul, *Richard II*, 31, 46–7; Fletcher, *Richard II*, 76–84.

52 Recounted by Thomas Walsingham, *Chronica Majora*, ed. and trans. Taylor et al., 1.572.

53 See Brown (ed.), *Companion to Chaucer*.

54 The French term *vicaire* is here added to the English.

55 One Westminster monk straightforwardly asserted that Richard II had bought his new queen: see *Westminster Chronicle*, ed. Hector and Harvey, 24.

56 On the importance of *mediation* (a term new to English in the fourteenth century) in diplomatic contexts of war, see Davies, 'Forms of Writing, Forms of War'.

57 *CT* II.161; and for Custance's ferocious, *ballade*-length Marian prayer, which turns the tide of her tale, see II.841–61.

58 See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Pratt, vol. 6, 45–6.

59 See Burckhardt, *Die Cultur* [sic] *der Renaissance in Italian*.

60 See *Legend of Good Women* F 185, and Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity*, *passim*.

61 For an example from 1388 see Perroy, *L'Angleterre*, 295 n. 2.

62 See Fowler, 'Sir John Hawkwood'.

63 See n. 47 above.

64 See Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church', 3–4.

65 For a fuller account of this and what follows see Wallace, 'Constance', in *Europe*, ed. Wallace, 2.655–82.

66 See Wallace, 'Oswald von Wolkenstein'.

67 Manuel Chrysoloras, the renowned teacher of Greek, travelled to Constance with the Italian *nation* but died on 15 April 1415: see Wallace, 'Constance', 2.659.

68 See Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 143–45; Havely, *Dante's British Public*, 15–17.

69 See Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print*, 1–11, 152–3, 194.

70 See Greenblatt, *The Swerve*.

71 The chief suspicion being that the new pope would seek to revive papal powers of taxation and appointment in England: see Harriss, 'Beaufort, Henry'.

72 See Bigi, 'Bracciolini, Poggio'.

73 See Rawcliffe, 'Chaucer, Thomas'; Harriss, 'Beaufort, Henry'.

5

Merchandising peace

Lynn Staley

Near the end of his *Debate of the Horse, Goose, and Sheep*, John Lydgate foregrounds the relationship between peace and prosperity, 'Wher pees restith ther is al weelfare'.[1] Lydgate wrote the *Debate*, about which of the three animals 'to man was most profitable' (28), after the duke of Burgundy's attack on Calais in 1436. Where both the goose and the horse describe themselves as serving the interests of war by providing feathers for arrows and transport for knights, the ram argues that the sheep serves the interests of peace and prosperity, a claim the horse counters by arguing that prosperity invites conquest. Ben Lowe has argued that the *Debate* contributes to the late medieval debate about the merits of peace in relation to the concept of the just war and that Lydgate, like John Gower in his *Praise of Peace*, sought to reverse the common affirmation of war as benefiting the common good.[2] However, Lydgate – who enjoyed remunerative relations with a variety of patrons from both crown and city – tempers his praise of peace with a final author's *envoi*. There, he urges moderation, reminding his readers that all stations are necessary, that the law of Nature ordains a place for each creature and, implicitly, for each argument. Rather than endorsing any single claim, Lydgate raises those issues pertinent to contemporary recommendations for peace that also appear in the works of Gower and Chaucer, as Lowe has indicated. In offering less an endorsement of peace than a construction of it in the *Debate*, Lydgate encapsulates a prolonged conversation about the relative merits of knight and merchant that is conterminous with the Hundred Years War.[3]

   Though the conversation neither begins with the war nor ceases with its effective end in 1453, late medieval vernacular literary texts

suggest a shift in merchant rhetoric by which the merchant begins to shed the negative attributes found in estates satire and to emerge as the self-described broker of peace.[4] Peace, the necessary condition for 'weelfare', or a general well-being and prosperity, is signified by the goods that are the livelihood of mercantile endeavour. The late medieval merchant brokers more than peace; he or she brokers a rhetorical expansion of valuation by affirming the moral value of goods which enable and are enabled by peace. Despite Edward III's adroit use of the pulpit to propagandise and nationalise his war, as well as the merchants, clothmakers, armourers, carpenters and plunderers who profited from it, there were contemporary writers who saw the negative effects of war upon the social body. Although the chroniclers Robert of Avesbury and Thomas Gray made generous use of the newsletters Edward III and his captains sent to England, the second section of *The Brut* – from 1333 to 1377 – comments upon popular unhappiness with war's fiscal drain, growing dislike of what is perceived as Edward's war and the bad winds and weathers that characterise this period of English life.[5]

Where the *Brut*'s subtle chronicling of the unravelling of community well-being is one thread in its tapestry of English history, the popular romances *Richard Coer de Lyon*, *Octavian*, *Havelok the Dane* and *Bevis of Hampton*, along with *The Travels of John Mandeville*, offer other perspectives upon history by exploring the relative worthiness of knight and merchant in relation to peace and war. These texts look forward to the more explicit fifteenth-century considerations of Lydgate and of the author of *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*. Michael Bennett, expanding upon K. B. McFarlane's remarks that the war created an opportunity for the circulation of wealth, has suggested that the Plantagenet Empire functioned as an 'enterprise zone' and the war itself manifested a continuation of policies of the late thirteenth century which created networks between war and business.[6] M. M. Postan questioned MacFarlane, arguing that the cost of the war was greater than its benefits and that its social consequences were a good deal less opportunistic despite the assumed relationship between making war and making a profit.[7] The popular works which I discuss, all versions of earlier texts and all circulating in the mid- to late fourteenth century, offer perspectives upon social valuation that

adumbrate the terms of a complicated and prolonged conversation regarding the merchant's positive relationship to the social body.[8] This conversation is not linear, but suggests variable, and possibly local, understandings of the complex relationship between the mercantile endeavour and national peace and prosperity, hence of the merchant's importance to the body politic. While the knight may reap glory, the merchant provides the goods, the prosperity and the global perspective for which peace is a concomitant good.

The appraisal of the relationship between the merchant and the social body fluctuated throughout medieval Europe, becoming more positive with the growth of cities at the end of the twelfth century. As John W. Baldwin notes, from Augustine onwards, churchmen saw merchants as benefiting society because they transported goods.[9] In the later Middle Ages, Aristotle's statement in Book I of the *Politics*, that the end of the state was living and living well, was joined to the Ciceronian emphasis upon the individual's duties to the common good.[10] Thus to the good of peace were added the fruits of peace, among them prosperity. As Ptolemy of Lucca noted, possessions are necessary 'on account of their pleasantness for reviving the spirit'.[11] If necessary, where on the social body does the merchant belong? That body's parts were not entirely stable and reflected shifting social estimations of value. In a sermon delivered to clergy in 1373, Thomas Brinton, bishop of Rochester, invoked that body with its various members, describing the knights as its right hand and the merchants as its left, a move up the torso from John of Salisbury's 'flanks' [lateribus] of the body politic.[12]

The ideological model of the social body which hierarchically places king, churchman and knight in relation to one another rests upon an explicit disdain and disapproval of what seems to violate 'authoritative' categories of gender and status or what does not have a firm place upon that body. William Langland employs these categories in his dramatisation of Meed's critique of the Treaty of Brétigny (1360) in the A-text of *Piers Plowman* (*c*.1368–74) by using the terms of estates satire to criticise the king's doubleness in agreeing to the treaty by which he profited, and thus blurred the lines between knight and merchant. Lady Meed, like many of Edward's subjects at the time, accuses the king of selling too low

by choosing a short-term gain, of trading his claim to the French throne for three million *écus*, thus for far less than he would have won in prestige and wealth as king of France. As Denise Baker points out, by placing the critique in Meed's avaricious mouth, Langland aims at the king, who does not disavow her on principle but attempts to control (and thus validate) Meed by incorporating her into the social body and marrying her to Conscience. Behind Langland's king is Edward, who promoted the cult of chivalry to justify a war whose rewards and successes can be measured on a merchant's scale. By having Meed criticise a treaty that does not pay enough, Langland exposes the gulf between the ideology of Edwardian chivalry and the actualities of the violent and profit-oriented armies that despoiled France with his approval.[13] This is a subject Hoccleve likewise raises near the end of his *Regiment of Princes* when he reminds Henry V of the devastation caused by 'his wars'.[14] Chaucer has the Knight assure his listeners that Theseus sends Palamon and Arcite to prison 'perpetuelly' because he does not accept ransom for captured knights.[15] More pointed is the critique of the French knights as merchants in *Richard Coer de Lyon* where Richard disdains the French king for cowardice and greed because of his willingness to take ransom from the Saracens:

> Frenssche men arn arwe and feynte,
> And Sarezynys be war and queynte,
> And of here dedes engynous;
> The Frenssche men ben covaytous …
> Phelyp of hem took raunsoun:
> For mede he sparede hys foon. (3849–52; 3900–01)[16]

Unlike Philip or Saladin, who offers Richard power and wealth in exchange for forswearing his faith and becoming Muslim, Richard fights with a savage energy, slaughtering Saracens, 'men, chyldren, and wyves' (4756). Only after the French armies depart the Holy Land does Richard offer a group of besieged and desperate Saracens a choice between ransom and death (6175–212), a gesture that does not mitigate the poet's relentless emphasis upon the king's chivalric violence. In the end, Saladin agrees to Richard's request for a truce for three years, three months and three days, so pilgrims might visit the Holy Land and Richard attend to matters in England. On his

way home through Europe, an old enemy kills him and his body is laid to rest in Fontevraud, in Angevin France. In this version of *Richard Coer de Lyon*, the poet opposes chivalric and mercantile values and thus links mercy to cowardice and greed.

The Middle English *Bevis of Hampton* contains a curious episode that likewise opposes knight to merchant.[17] Near the end of the poem, when Bevis has returned to England to redress the wrongs that King Edgar has committed, he goes from Southampton to Westminster where, fighting a false accusation of treason, he visits violence on London before achieving a peace with King Edgar (4287–589). The king's steward, who has accused him, raises Cheapside against Bevis. What follows is a city riot, with citizens arming themselves with staves (4342) against Bevis and six knights, who kill five hundred, then against Bevis, now alone, who kills five thousand. His sons come to his rescue, and the fighting continues until 'al Temse was blod red' (4530). Afterwards, Edgar and Bevis celebrate a peace, ratified by marrying their children to one another (4555–62), and Bevis leaves England to return to the land where he is king. In a poem filled with battles against Saracens and a wonderfully clever Saracen princess, Josian, who becomes his wife; a marvellous horse, Arondel; and constant action – the episode in London stands out because it juxtaposes knightly prowess to civic ineptitude in a city supposedly filled with thousands of dead whose blood reddens the Thames. Fantastic as the episode is, it disturbs what is an action poem by locating some of that action in an urban space the poem's English audience would know was populated by merchants and tradespeople whose businesses were part of the fabric of peace that was England. What is swashbuckling on the battlefield is, in the city, a violation of the very order promulgated by city walls, wards, charters, officials, watches and curfews. Like the author of the a-version of *Richard*, the author of *Bevis* draws a line between the values and skills of merchant and knight. Where *Richard* places the merchant on the Crusades, *Bevis* places the knight in the city.

The English-language *Havelok the Dane* provides a more nuanced picture of the body politic by privileging the merchant as a royal appendage. *Havelok* is a tale with roots in Lincolnshire and is certainly relevant to the legendary history of the region, and

especially of Grimsby, whose putative founder is a key figure in the tale. In its several versions it suggests the varying social categories of its audiences. The tale exists in three main texts: Geoffrey Gaimar's twelfth-century *Estoire des Engleis*, the slightly later 'Lai d'Haveloc' and the late thirteenth-century English-language *Havelok the Dane*. *Havelok the Dane*, which is dated to the end of the thirteenth century (*c*.1280–90) but exists complete in a single fourteenth-century manuscript (*c*.1300–25), embeds within a traditional romance of lost-and-found identity a rags-to-riches adventure story that traces the rise of Grim the fisherman's family, whose mercantile canniness saves them and Havelok. In the two Anglo-Norman accounts of Havelok, Grim is a nobleman who saves the young prince and takes him to England, where, after a shipwreck, Grim becomes a fish-salter in a small town near Lincoln in order to support his own family and nurture Havelok. In these two accounts the characters who surround Havelok are noble by birth.

The English-language poet's embedded tale of Grim is different. Grim is a thrall, a Danish fisherman with whom Godard, who has usurped the Danish throne, makes a deal: he will grant Grim his freedom if he drowns the young boy. Grim accepts the terms, binds the boy, wraps him in an old cloth, stuffs rags in his mouth, and bids his wife guard him, saying that they will gain their freedom and much gold for casting the child in the sea. However, the light that plays on the boy's mouth as he sleeps and the king's birthmark on his shoulder identify him as the prince of their dead king. Grim's attempt to deceive Godard and collect his reward fails, and they flee to England, promising to protect Havelok. Before going, Grim converts all his possessions to cash, packs his boat with food, his own five children, his wife and Havelok. They navigate up the Humber to a little harbour, where Grim makes a living fishing; he sells his catch in the more prosperous Lincoln, where he converts his earnings to food, fishing lines and nets. When famine strikes, Havelok seeks work and becomes a porter in Lincoln. Later, married to Goldeboru, like him a disinherited royal heir, Havelok returns to search for Grim, who has since died. The little harbour has a name, Grimsby, and Grim's children are now grown and wealthy. They turn over their goods to Havelok and vow to serve him. He asks the sons to go with him to Denmark when he returns to claim his throne,

promising them wealth, castles and lands. At this point, Havelok has a dream that does not exist in the Anglo-Norman versions. He dreams that his long arms encompass Denmark, and all that live in Denmark cling to him. He then dreams that he and his henchmen fly over the sea to England, where he closes his hand around his conquests and gives all to his royal English wife, Goldeboru (1286–1312).[18] When he arrives in Denmark, Havelok poses as a trader and seeks a licence to sell. When Havelok reclaims his Danish kingdom, he makes the three sons of Grim barons with 'lond and other fe' [property] (2351). After he restores England to Goldeboru, Grim's two daughters are married to earls. The dream comes true: his Danish allies join him in returning the English throne to its rightful heir; fishermen become noblemen; Danes become English, as the sea, which Havelok controls, collapses distance and identity.

Havelok joins commercial venture to royal patronage. David Staines has argued the poem is a handbook for princes from a lower-class perspective and an idealised royal biography meant to praise Edward I – like Havelok, known for his long limbs. The poet certainly pays attention to the king's need to administer justice and to be aware of his people's needs However, the poet has focused Havelok not so much upon the lower classes as upon the merchant class. Edward's reign was marked by issues regarding merchants' ability to collect their debts, foreign merchants in England and English merchants abroad, customs on goods and the maintenance of the sea, all of which related to the Crown's need for money.[19] The English-language poem quietly suggests the realities of political alliance. Grim acts out of a desire for profit, first agreeing to Godard's plan, then deceiving him and trying to collect what he does not earn. He leaves Denmark, casting his fortunes with a boy-king who does pay up. Grim's sons become nobility because they honour their bargain with Havelok. The poem describes their skill and courage in the battles Havelok wages, and their efforts save him. Havelok becomes king of Denmark and England because he honours his bargain with them, even marrying their sisters into the nobility. In so doing, Havelok participates in what its audience knew was a familiar pattern of upward mobility for those with luck and wit. Fishermen become merchants; merchants become knights; knights become barons.

The English-language *Octavian* offers an even more provocative portrait of the merchant's usefulness to the social body. From its composition in French early in the fourteenth century until a fifteenth-century print version by Wynken de Worde, the poem was translated into English, Italian, German, Danish, Dutch, Icelandic and Polish. The earliest French version was copied by an Anglo-Norman at the beginning of the fourteenth century; the poem itself was probably composed near to the date of the manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 100). There are two English-language versions, one from Yorkshire the other from London or Essex.[20] Like *Havelok*, *Octavian* is a tale of family betrayal, of a royal identity lost and reclaimed, a tale that displays an awareness of the growing complexities of a world where the ideogram of the social body must expand to include the ambiguously defined middling classes. Of Octavian's two lost sons and lost wife, the narrative of the second son, who is found and raised by a 'burgesse' of Paris, Clement, the 'Velayne', is the most interesting. Clement, whose low-born status receives a double emphasis – citizen of Paris and commoner – is the comic star of the narrative in both the French and the English versions, which Frances McSparran, editor of the English versions, feels are the products of written, rather than oral or minstrel, transmission.[21]

The English versions of *Octavian* follow the French in presenting Clement as both a buffoon and a hero, a figure who intersects with the nobility but neither aspires to noble status nor understands its characteristics. He is practical, resourceful, good-hearted and capable. He enters the poem when Octavian's second son, stolen by an ape and rescued by a knight, is offered for sale by outlaws who have fought the knight for the baby. They offer to sell him to Clement, who, like a canny tradesman, bargains them down from forty pounds to twenty. He then puts the baby in a pannier, finds a nurse, returns to Paris from his seven-year pilgrimage to the Holy Land, tells his wife the child is his own, and blesses her for accepting the boy into their household (532–624). They name him Florent, like the gold florins Clement uses to purchase him. Clement's practicality meets its match in Florent, whose innate and impulsive appreciation for hawks and horses costs his adopted father an ox and forty pounds. Both the northern and southern authors follow the

French source and underline the importance of money to mark the differences between common citizens and the nobility. Clement's focus upon cost turns him into a buffoon during the banquet in honour of Florent's knighting, where he worries that he will have to pay for the event. However, there is more to Clement than money.

Not only does Clement care about his adopted son, he helps him follow his instincts and become a knight and a champion. When Paris is threatened by a Saracen army and its giant warrior and Florent wishes to fight but has no armour, Clement, whose heart 'nere braste' for sorrow (935), finds the necessary – but old and rusty – accoutrements and arms him. Florent goes forth in the ridiculous gear ('unfaire wede', 959) his butcher father provides, cheered on by the weeping Clement and his wife, and wins the day. Love with a Saracen princess, knighting by the king of France, reunion with his blood father, king of Rome, riches and honour follow as Florent moves into a world very different from that of his first twenty-four years. The southern version gives Clement more attention than the northern, making him a knight near the end of the narrative when all the principles are safe and united.[22] However, all versions include a crucial scene in which Clement is the hero because his lower social status renders him curiously amorphous.

Clement's victory comes not from his physical prowess but from his intelligence. In order to secure the Sultan's daughter Marsabelle as his wife, Florent must defeat the Sultan, who owes his invincibility to a marvellous horse. Florent takes his problem to his father, and Clement's response is subterfuge, or, as the southern English-language version puts it, 'queyntys' (1354). Artifice triumphs where force will not, but Clement's artifice rests on his education in the world:

> Clement gan hymselven dyghte
> Lyke an unfrely fere
> And went into the heythen oste
> Thore the presse was althermoste,
> A Sarazene als he were. (1556–60)

Disguised, unsightly and able to speak 'Sarrazinois',[23] Clement passes as a Saracen, convinces the Sultan that no one can master a steed better than he, and is invited to ride the horse whereupon he

rides it back to Paris and gives it to Florent. Though Clement does not fight, he procures what is necessary for victory, like Havelok's henchmen, serving the king.

Clement the butcher moves through the boundaries of class, race and language because he has travelled, learned a foreign language and mastered the arts of disguise. He can present himself as other than he is. Though his classlessness turns him into the butt of noble joking, his fluidity, combined with his shrewdness, allows him an anomalous freedom to devise and to act. What nobleman would obliterate his status and dress as a Saracen, or, in the southern English version of *Octavian*, as a palmer whose 'lesynges quaynte' (1364) convince the Sultan he learned everything about horseflesh from time in King Arthur's court? Clement may be a joke, but the real joke is on the nobility, as the centuries to come will show. Like *Havelok*, *Octavian* contains an embedded tale that suggests the social mobility of the middling classes and thus the *mouvance* within a supposedly ordained hierarchical social model.

The Book of John Mandeville likewise suggests the ambiguities of a world unfixed by a social model. In the Prologue, Mandeville evokes that model by castigating the pride and greed of lords who use the commons to disinherit others and the need for a reconciliation where lords and 'their' commons would voyage to the Holy Land. He avers his own knightly status ('I, John Mandeville, knight ... born and raised in England in the town of St Albans') and begins with his voyage to Jerusalem, suggesting that he is both knight and pilgrim. He does not call himself a knight in his closing statement, and the pilgrimage becomes a trip throughout the known world and the text a travel narrative.[24] He also notes his military service under both the Sultan and the Great Khan, as well as the variousness of a world filled with people of all shapes and shades, communities organised according to many different principles, and natural wonders such as diamonds growing like flowers. Mandeville describes a world for the most part already discovered and merchandised, with the notable exception of Prester John's realm. He mentions merchants in his accounts of India (chapter 19), Canton (22), and Cathay (23), but the realm of the mythical Prester John is relatively unfrequented because it is too far away (30, 34). He ends his narrative by nodding both to tales of adventure and accounts of

pilgrimage. He, first, re-describes himself as 'I John Mandeville ... who left our countries ... in ... 1322 ... and who has been in much good company and in many a fine undertaking'. Next, Mandeville asks his readers to pray for him, making those who do so 'partners' and granting them 'part of all the good pilgrimages I ever made'.[25] As his editors remind us, Mandeville himself had most of his adventures and pilgrimages in an excellent library; like Clement, able to disguise himself, to slide between worlds, Mandeville still resists firm identification. The fluidity of his identity within the text fits into the well-travelled and merchandised world he describes.

The merchant is not only on the move geographically and socially, but also rhetorically, serving a sovereign's need for arms or horses and a broader need for the good things of life. Chaucer offers snapshots of merchant affluence and dreams of prosperity in the tales of Shipman and Merchant and, throughout his works, depictions of the luxury merchants identify and import in references to fabrics, spices, perfumes and jewellery. In the Merchant's wish that 'the see were kept for any thyng/ Bitwixe Middelburgh and Orewelle' and in the Shipman's familiarity with the havens from Gotland in Sweden to Cape Fenestre in Spain, Chaucer indicates the double claims of stability and mobility that are the conditions of the merchant's livelihood.[26] However, the Wife of Bath's attempt to equate goods with good suggests he is not inclined to find in those goods links to a common good for which peace is a necessary condition. Nor does Gower's 'Praise of Peace' praise prosperity. Instead, Gower speaks to the king, urging him to serve his people by promoting peace rather than war.[27] Gower praises peace as a principle and addresses the sovereign as creator of peace. If the goods are everywhere and tantalising, the merchant who purveys them has not yet moved beyond the suspicion that merchants also promote and frequently practise deception.[28]

Lydgate suggests the terms of the rhetorical shift in merchant rhetoric by which the merchant, who encourages and satisfies the desire for goods, brokers peace. The sheep's argument in the *Debate of the Horse, Goose, and Sheep* makes an explicit claim for the relationship between goods and peace. More powerful, perhaps, is Lydgate's account of Priam's building of Troy. Both Lydgate and the author of the *'Gest Hystoriale' of the Destruction of Troy*

use Guido de Columnis's *Historia Destructionis Troiae* (1287) as their source text. Unlike his own source, Benoît de Sainte-Maure's *Roman de Troie* (1175–85), Guido does not simply describe the fortifications, architectural elegance and noble luxury of Troy but adds a section on the public squares containing stalls for a multitude of crafts, which he names.[29] Guido's city is a place of variety and commerce, such as was depicted by Ambrogio Lorenzetti in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena between 1337 and 1340. As Quentin Skinner has argued, Lorenzetti's fresco reflects the civic ideology of the vigorous literature of political philosophy that emerged from the Italian city states in the preceding century.[30] By the time Guido's depiction of Troy as a hive of commerce and prosperity was Englished by Lydgate and the author of the *'Gest Hystoriale'*, it could serve as a trope for the well-functioning medieval city.

For Guido, who also adds the detail about Troy's elaborate sewage system flushed by the Xanthus, and the author of the *'Gest Hystoriale'*, the orderly and beneficial infrastructure of the city manifests its importance as a polity. Lydgate shifts the emphasis to foreground sovereign power, or Priam. Thus the 'material accomplishment' of Troy – its beauty and cleanliness – as Paul Strohm has argued, reflects the power of the good prince and serves as a reminder to England's rulers of their responsibility to the common good.[31] Troy's destruction, ironically enabled by Priam's bad diplomacy and single-minded belief in chivalric action, is far more than the destruction of the royal heart of the city that Virgil recounts; it represents the obliteration of civic life. Where the *'Gest Hystoriale'* author dispatches Troy in a few lines by fire, Lydgate mourns Troy as Jeremiah mourned Jerusalem. He curses the false gods upon whom the Trojans depended and laments a city 'By ruyne … brouȝt to nouȝt'.[32] James Simpson describes Lydgate's treatment of the histories of two fallen cities in his *Troy Book* and *Siege of Thebes* as messages to England's rulers of the 'catastrophic fiasco that France turned out to be'. Likewise, R. D. Perry has suggested that in his *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, Lydgate allows his description of military 'glory' to suggest the ephemeral and meaningless rewards of wars.[33] The description of Troy's vitality and prosperity, inevitably evoking London, or New Troy, serves also as a description of what is lost to war.

That *what* is the subject of *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye* (*c.*1436–38).[34] The poem proclaims the need for England to 'cherish' merchandise and 'master' (6–7) the sea. In order to justify this cherishing of merchandise, the author of the *Libelle* first details the 'commodytees' of England and of the many countries with whom England trades, arguing that the desire for these commodities prompts peace among nations. The recurrent use of the noun is significant, since it enters English in the fifteenth century from the French *commoditée* and designates both a resource or something of value (as it does today), but also a beneficial or a useful thing. In other words, by his use of the word, the author suggests that a commodity can serve the common good and the desire for a commodity can broker peace. For example, the author says of Portugal, 'They bene oure frendes wyth there commoditez' (130), similarly with Spain and Flanders, whose commercial prosperity England's 'keeping' of the sea (108–25) enables. For the poet, the world is a vast *emporium* for the exchange of goods and moneys that England should control for its own profit and that of the world, a view that resounded later, in early modern England.[35] He says that rich merchants mean a prosperous land (482–5), using the example of London's rags-to-riches mayor Richard Whittington (487–95) as proof of the 'worthinesse' of mercantile wealth.

After enumerating the commodities available on sea and land, the author closes by praising kings Edgar, Edward III and Henry V for their strength in 'keeping' the sea and protecting the value of the English noble. *The Libelle* describes the alignment of regal force and mercantile power as the driving force of nation. Sebastian Sobecki has argued that the poem was composed within the private circle of Henry VI and uses the authority of Henry V to 'forge a set of lasting doctrines for his young successor'.[36] If the poem did emerge from the Privy Seal, its intertwining of the values of merchants and kings suggests the author's awareness of the need to offer England's merchants a view of themselves as maintaining the sea by their 'besinesse' (1106) and banishing war among 'brothers' joined by a highway of profit. It also serves as a reminder to the sovereign that in 'keeping' the sea, he enables the peace signified by merchandise.[37] The poem thus speaks to the king about the social and political realities of merchant power

and provides those merchants with an image of themselves as peacekeepers in need of the king's force.

These texts from the early fourteenth to the mid-fifteenth centuries suggest something of the complexities of shifting understandings of the mercantile endeavour. What they do not suggest is a linear progression from negative to positive perceptions of merchants. Though the romances originate before the Hundred Years War, the manuscripts that contain them and the scribes who alter or rewrite those early romances are mid-fourteenth century or later. The many versions of the insular romances testify to their long-term appeal and suggest their importance as registers of social preoccupations within a changing social environment.[38] Moreover, the authors of these texts do not give the merchant a voice but employ satire or humour to suggest social boundaries. In *Havelok*, it is Grim's children who become noble. Lydgate and the author of the *Libelle* ventriloquise for the merchant. Lydgate speaks through a fable; his timid sheep speaks through a ram. In the *Troy Book* he displays the beauty, wealth and vitality of Troy as an extension of Priam's forethought, implicitly suggesting that London, like Troy, reflects the king. The author of the *Libelle* gives merchants a voice that allies them with the sovereign even as they proclaim their service to all. Nonetheless, all three works depict a world where merchants' interests are not risible, where beauty does not simply belong in the king's palace and where goods are aspects of the good. These works locate the merchant securely in the social body by relating merchant power to royal power. On the other hand, the rhetoric they ascribe to mercantile value relates that value to the common good.

   The rhetorical shift in the moral calculus by which goods and the merchants who move them and profit from them might be evaluated is a key part of the narrative of England's growing commercialisation. Pamela Nightingale has argued that the shift in the actual attitude towards trade, along with the noble or gentry involvement in it, preceded the rhetorical shift.[39] Thus, when fourteenth-century gentry audiences were laughing at Clement, they perhaps recognised in his keen fiscal calculations and monetary intelligence something of their own interest in profitable

undertakings. Where *Octavian* appears to draw a firm line between merchant and knight, the social reality was much more porous. Mandeville's depiction of a world where Christian knights fight for Muslim rulers, where those knights move along pilgrim paths, where the distinctions between knight, pilgrim and merchant are indefinite, and where moral worth does not necessarily belong to the Christian West creates a suggestive social collage.[40] Knights might play merchants and merchants grow rich enough to purchase estates in Essex, but the enterprise of getting wealth demands what we would call a rebranding that proclaims that business essential to common well-being. No longer the figure of avarice drawn from estates satire for whom war is bounty or the wily buffoon who can barter, spin a tall tale and steal a horse, the merchant supports the city and its values. Merchants awaken desire for luxuries, provide those goods which make life beautiful and pleasant, support civic and ecclesiastical institutions, and maintain order. The *Libelle*'s nod to Richard Whittington is a gesture to his capacity, charity, piety and prosperity, thus not to a buccaneer but to a pillar of London.[41] The horse may object and the goose honk, but the timid and respectable sheep reminds us of the value of peace, a value enjoyed by commoner and king. In this endeavour, the business of making a profit during the long war served the appetite for goods, but, more important, provided a language for validating goods and those who moved them.

Notes

1 Lydgate, *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, vol. 2, 539–66, citation at line 495. For discussion of the poem in relation to Lydgate's life and works, see Pearsall, *John Lydgate*, 200–4.
2 Lowe, *Imagining Peace*, 132–8.
3 Simpson describes Lydgate as producing for a wide variety of patrons 'a heterogeneous collage of differently figured histories'; see 'Bulldozing the Middle Ages', 233.
4 For an exploration of merchant status and merchant narratives, see Staley, *Following Chaucer*, 97–140.
5 Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 187; Ormrod, *Edward III*, 298. See especially, Thompson (ed.), *Robert Avesbury*, 304, 312, 340; *Brut*,

ed. Brie, 293, 295, 304. On the royal effort to use the war to engender nationalism, see Bellis, *Hundred Years War in Literature*, 50, 76.

6 Bennett, 'Plantagenet Empire'; McFarlane, 'War, the Economy and Social Change'.

7 Postan, 'Some Social Consequences'; and 'Costs of the Hundred Years' War'.

8 For the romances, see Severs, *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, 23–7, 158–60. See Heng, *Empire of Magic*, for an argument linking romance to the creation of national communities.

9 Baldwin, *Masters, Princes, and Merchants*, 1, 263. For Baldwin's discussion of views of merchants, see 1, 261–307. See Wood, *Medieval Economic Thought*, esp. ch. 5, 'The Mercantile System', where she charts the gradual shift in attitudes towards merchants, citing Thomas of Chobam, Alexander of Hales, Thomas of Aquinas and Giles of Rome.

10 Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. Jowett (1252a), vol. 2, 1986; Cicero, *On Duties*, trans. Miller (book 1 para. 85), 87.

11 Ptolemy of Lucca, *On the Government of Rulers*, trans. Blythe, 249.

12 Brinton, *Sermons of Thomas Brinton*, ed. Devlin, 1.111. Both Owst (*Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*, 587) and Wood (*Medieval Economic Thought*, 120) also cite Brinton. See also John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*, ed. Nederman, V.10.

13 Baker, 'Meed and the Economics of Chivalry in *Piers Plowman*'. See also Ormrod, *Edward III*, 411–13.

14 Hoccleve, *Regiment of Princes*, 5335–41. For discussion of these lines, see Staley, *Island Garden*, 130–2.

15 Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*, *CT*, I.1024.

16 *Richard Coer de Lyon*, ed. Larkin; citations will be parenthetical by line number. See also ll. 4690–94. As Larkin points out (21), the poem exists in seven manuscripts and two printings, but no text is the source for another. From its earliest version in the Auchinleck manuscript to its latest printed version in 1582, the poem was continuously rewritten (10). Larkin's edition is of the a-text, with his base manuscript Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS 175/96, a late fifteenth-century copy (3–4, 21). See Pearsall, 'Middle English Romance and Its Audiences'; Finlayson, '*Richard Coer de Lyon*'. On the Auchinleck *Richard* and the complicated textual problems elided by editions of the poem, see Libbon, 'Invention of King Richard'.

17 *Bevis of Hampton*, in Herzman et al. (eds), *Four Romances of England*; citations will be parenthetical by line number. This is the version from

the Auchinleck manuscript (187). For the variations among texts, see Baugh, 'The Making of *Beves of Hampton*'. The incident I discuss does not appear in the Anglo-Norman version.

18 *Havelok the Dane*, in Herzman et al. (eds), *Four Romances of England*; citations will be parenthetical by line number.

19 Prestwich, *Edward I*, 88–100, 277–8, 530.

20 For information about the manuscripts of the northern and south-ern English language versions, see *Octovian*, ed. McSparran; *Octovian Imperator*, ed. McSparran. Unless otherwise noted, all quotations refer to the northern version, Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Library MS 91, and will be cited by line number. This is also the version edited by Harriet Hudson for *Four Middle English Romances*, to which all citations, unless otherwise noted, refer.

21 *Octovian*, 18.

22 *Octovian Imperator*, 1807.

23 *Octavian*, ed. Vollmöller, 4112.

24 See *Book of John Mandeville*, ed. and trans. Higgins, for information about the text and its wide appeal. Quotation at p. 5.

25 *Book of John Mandeville*, ed. and trans. Higgins, 185.

26 Chaucer, *Riverside Chaucer*, *CT*, IV.276–7, VII.408–9.

27 'In Praise of Peace', ed. Yeager. See especially lines 71–91 and 113–19.

28 See *Wimbledon's Sermon*, ed. Knight l.104, where Wimbledon warns merchants against deception.

29 Guido delle Collonne, *Historia Destructionis Troiae*, ed. Griffin, 48.

30 See Skinner, 'Ambrogio Lorenzetti'.

31 Strohm, 'Sovereignty and Sewage'. Lydgate's royal emphasis perhaps echoes Benoît, whose *Roman de Troie* is linked to the court of Henry II. For the texts, see Lydgate, *Troy Book*, ed. Bergen, II.564–730; '*Gest Hystoriale*', V.1537–1628; Benoît de Sainte-Maure, trans., *Roman de Troie*, trans. Burgess and Kelly, 2963–3040.

32 '*Gest Hystoriale*', XIX.12002–10; *Troy Book*, IV.6931–7084.

33 Simpson, 'Bulldozing the Middle Ages', 233; Perry, 'Lydgate's Virtual Coteries', 675, 696–7.

34 *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, ed. Warner; citations will be parenthetical by line number.

35 See Fowler, *English Sea Power*, 23.

36 Sobecki, 'Bureaucratic Verse'.

37 Richmond argues that the *Libelle* manifests merchant apprehension that the king would not safeguard the sea with patrols, but leave it to the merchants to do so by licence. See his 'Keeping of the Seas'.

38 See Cooper's important study, *English Romance in Time*.

39 Nightingale, 'Knights and Merchants'. See also Britnell, *Commercialisation of English Society*, especially 161–70, for a discussion of the years between 1330 and 1415.
40 As many have noted, Mandeville is not ambiguous about his negative judgment of the Jews.
41 See, for example, Burgess, 'Making Mammon'; Sutton, 'Whittington, Richard'.

6

Mobility and migration: Calais and the Welsh imagination in the late Middle Ages

Helen Fulton

The historiography of the Hundred Years War focuses, not surprisingly, on the warring nations of England and France, the politics of their quarrels, the military triumphs and defeats and the cultural impact of hostilities expressed in contemporary literary and historical accounts.[1] One aspect of the conflict which has received less attention is the effect of the Hundred Years War on the experiential and cultural life of the people of Wales, whose contribution to the war was significant, both for themselves and for the outcome of the conflict. In this chapter, I will offer some new perspectives on the Welsh engagement with the Hundred Years War from the point of view of the increased mobility of many Welshmen in the fourteenth century followed by more purposeful migration in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Using the evidence of medieval Welsh poetry and some Middle English poetry as my primary sources, and focusing on the town of Calais as a particular example of Welsh engagement with English colonialism, I will suggest that the century of the war was responsible for the transformation of Wales from a marginal region to a diverse nation that was highly connected to the rest of Europe.

My reading of medieval Calais as an imagined space is filtered through ideas of migration and mobility, and the kinds of cultural identities that are formed as a result of dislocation and relocation. Calais was an outpost of England for two centuries, from its capture by Edward III in 1347 until its final release back to France in 1558 under the Tudor Queen Mary. It was therefore a forerunner of later colonial acquisitions which began in the late sixteenth century and

which came to characterise the British empire in its heyday of the nineteenth century.[2]

   Medieval Calais is often referred to by historians as an English town or a town in English hands.[3] The use of the word 'English' is somewhat ambiguous in this context – what it technically means is that Calais belonged to the kingdom of England, not to the geographical territory of England or to those who identify themselves culturally as English. The reality was that Calais was a colony of the English crown and therefore inhabited by people from all jurisdictions within the kingdom of England – not only English, but Welsh and Irish as well, and even some French and Flemings left over from the capture of the town.[4] The contemporary evidence suggests that Calais was perceived, on both sides of the Channel, as part of England and yet not England. In that respect, it can be compared to Wales, since Calais and Wales occupied a similar position in relation to the English crown. Both were colonies under the jurisdiction of the Crown, with senior members of the English aristocracy notionally in charge, but with local deputies appointed from the resident population. In both places, the incoming colonists had displaced a local population. In the case of Welsh migrants to Calais, drawn either by the commercial opportunities there or the career-enhancing opportunities for military service, a colonised people (the Welsh) became themselves the colonisers of another people (the Flemings), complicating our understanding of migration and mobility as a process controlled by a dominant class at the expense of a subaltern group.

Diversity and mobility in fourteenth-century Wales

Before the early fourteenth century, Wales was by and large an inward-looking country. It was divided into multiple territories ruled by dynastic princes who competed with each other and with the Norman and English barons who had been colonising the Marches to the east and south since 1066.[5] Literary influences came to Wales via Latin and French texts, the most popular of which were translated or adapted into Welsh.[6] Exposure to such texts connected Welsh men of letters and their patrons to the European

world, but the continuing prestige of vernacular writing, particularly the longstanding tradition of court poetry addressed to the Welsh princes and their families, kept the focus of the Welsh imaginary on their own land and its proud history as the original island nation of Britain before the coming of the Saxons. In the poetry composed before about 1300, place-name references are almost entirely directed to places in Wales or the territories of the British peoples during their conflicts with the English. For the court poets of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, 'Prydein' ('Britain') and its regions, led by British heroes of the pre-Norman age such as Urien, Owain and Cunedda, were the main points of cultural contact for their patrons, rather than the territories and cities of Europe.[7]

By the time the Hundred Years War gripped Europe in the fourteenth century, Wales had become significantly more diverse. Following the conquest of north Wales in 1282 by Edward I, the territories of the Welsh princes, in the north and west of the country, were made forfeit to the Crown, becoming Crown lordships. The Marcher lordships were greatly expanded as Edward rewarded his magnates for their military service and established an even greater bulwark between England and the native Welsh regions. To secure his conquest further, and to develop Wales as a commercial asset, Edward built a series of new fortified towns in north Wales which were populated by English colonists.[8] English and Flemish settlers, already prominent in the south Welsh March, increased their numbers as towns such as Cardiff and Carmarthen grew in size.

The impact of the Edwardian conquest, especially on the March of Wales, was dramatic. With the influx of English speakers, code-switching and multilingualism among Welsh and English settlers became more common.[9] A new type of poet and patron emerged from the wreckage of the Welsh princely courts: in place of the court poets composing sonorous praise poetry, a more mobile group of poets circulated round the manor houses and abbeys of the *uchelwyr*, the class of noble landowners and clerics who were now the elite of Wales and keepers of its cultural heritage. Urbanisation began to increase, with new markets and fairs supplying a wider range of consumer goods imported from England and the Continent. Though the Welsh were excluded from trading in

the English towns, they benefited from the consequences of a more commercialised economy, as is evident from the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym (fl. *c*.1325–70), one of the earliest of the new generation of poets to the gentry. In his poems, Dafydd sometimes refers to the consumer goods available in towns, not only beer and wine, but jewels such as rubies and pearls and fine woollen clothing.[10] By the middle of the fifteenth century, larger towns such as Oswestry, a border town with a large Welsh population, could boast a vigorous long-distance import trade offering exotic items such as *cwmin*[cumin], *pomgarnets*[pomegranates], *sarsned*[sarsnet, a fine woven fabric], and *fflelfed*[velvet].[11]

Although the impact of the conquest of 1282 and the rise of urbanisation was far-reaching in social and economic terms, the consequences of the Hundred Years War were even more formative for the development of Wales into a more diverse and outward-looking country. The expansion of the Marcher lordships after 1282 meant that increasing numbers of Welsh people found themselves subject to English baronial control, lords to whom they owed military service, while men from the Crown lordships served the king directly. Throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Welshmen fought alongside Englishmen as part of the retinues of their English lords, creating bonds of loyalty that cut across the ingrained hostility of the Welsh towards their English neighbours and overlords. Large retinues of Welshmen contributed to the campaigns of Edward III in Scotland in 1334–35 and again at the outbreak of the Hundred Years War, when about 800 Welshmen went with the king to Flanders in 1338–39.[12] Welshmen also fought at the Battle of Crécy in 1346 and at the successful siege of Calais which surrendered in August 1347, some of them serving under Richard Fitzalan, the Earl of Arundel, one of the biggest landowners on the March in the region around Oswestry and Shrewsbury.[13] Many Welsh soldiers served under Welsh leaders loyal to the Crown, men such as Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd (*c*.1283–1356) and Sir Hywel ap Gruffudd (d. *c*.1381), also known as 'Sir Hywel y Fwyall' ('Sir Hywel of the Axe') because of his legendary use of a battleaxe at the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 under Edward, the Black Prince.[14]

These early conflicts of the war are referenced in some of the fourteenth-century Welsh poetry composed by Dafydd ap Gwilym

and his slightly later contemporary Iolo Goch (fl. *c.*1345–97), and these allusions bring with them a flavour of travel and mobility that is new to Welsh poetry. In one of his love poems, Dafydd uses the metaphor of his heart as a fortress, to protect him from the pain of unrequited love, and he compares the fortress of his heart to the fortress of Calais, 'cystal â'r Galais rhag ei elyn' [as good as Calais against its enemy].[15] Throughout the poem, the poet draws on a wide imagery of siege warfare – *durgoly*[steel spike], *magwyr*[rampart], *tra fai ystôr*[while provisions last], *maen blif*[catapult stone] – images which suggest a close familiarity with the technology of war.

Dafydd also alludes to the military activity that he would have perceived around him, even in west Wales where he lived, as men were mustered for the wars in France. One of his more humorous love poems expresses the wish that the husband of his beloved might conveniently drown on his way across the Channel to France. The poem opens with a description of a contingent of men, Welsh and English, setting off to France under the leadership of Sir Rhys ap Gruffudd (*c.*1283–1356) of south-west Wales, an active campaigner on behalf of Edward III who was knighted (an unusual honour for a Welshman) after the Battle of Crécy in 1346. Following a eulogistic opening describing 'brothers in battle' (*brodorion brwydr*) setting off bravely for France, including the poet's own relatives, the tone is suddenly lowered as the poet embarks on a robust denunciation of his love-rival, hoping that someone will throw him overboard as he sails across the Channel in *gwasgwynes*, 'Gascon mare', a metaphor capturing the billowing white sails of the ship:

> Ni cherdda, ni hwylia hi,
> Trychwanddyn, a'r trwch ynddi.
> Gythier efo, gwthr afanc,
> Dros y bwrdd ar draws y banc.[16]

> [She [the ship] will not travel, she will not sail,
> hole-riddled girl, with that scoundrel in her.
> Let him be shoved, that beaver's bum,
> overboard across the side.]

The impact of the Hundred Years War in stoking loyalty to the Crown among Welsh gentry leaders is evident in some of the poems

by Iolo Goch. Forging bonds on the battlefields of France, Welsh soldiers and their commanders were becoming more well-travelled, more outward-looking, and to some extent more tolerant of their English masters as they relied on each other in the hardships of war. Perhaps the most striking poem in that context is the one addressed by Iolo to Edward III, composed at some point between the surrender of Calais in 1347 and the Battle of Poitiers in 1356. This poem, the first in Welsh that we know of to praise an English monarch, marks a turning point in Welsh relations with the English ruling aristocracy, acknowledging that the English king and his magnates are the leaders of armies in which the Welsh will prove their loyalty and their military strength. Following a eulogistic description of Edward's royal lineage and exceptional talents, Iolo refers to Edward's campaigns in Scotland and France:

> Curo â blif, ddylif ddelw,
> Cerrig Caer Ferwig furwelw;
> Rhoist ar gythlwng, rhwystr gwythlawn,
> Ar Fôr Udd aerfa fawr iawn;
> Gelyn fuost i'r Galais
> O gael y dref, golau drais;
> Grasus dy hynt i'r Gresi,
> Gras teg i gan Grist i ti.[17]

> [Battering with a catapult – image of a web –
> the stones of pale-walled Berwick;
> you starved – angry hindrance –
> a very great army on the North Sea;
> you were an enemy to Calais
> by taking the town, splendid force;
> gracious was your progress to Crécy,
> you have fair grace from Christ.]

In the final section of the poem (53–66), Iolo hails Edward as the fulfilment of prophecy, tracing his fictional crusade across Europe to the Holy Land, to Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Constantinople and Babylon. Though the Welsh had not been assiduous crusaders before 1300, their experiences, direct and indirect, of the Hundred Years War opened up the poetic imagination to the real possibilities of travel beyond Wales.

Fourteenth-century military campaigns engendered bonds of loyalty between Welshmen and their English leaders, and among Welshmen themselves, which were instrumental in determining the politics of England in the first half of the fifteenth century. Owain Glyn Dŵr, who led the rebellion against Henry IV in 1400, had served in Scotland in 1384–85 under Sir Gregory Sais, and at the naval battle and subsequent blockade of Sluys in Flanders in 1387–88 under Richard Fitzalan, earl of Arundel, a prominent Marcher lord to whom Owain and his family were closely connected by ties of service.[18] Owain's service to Arundel, who was executed in 1397, his loyalty to Henry Bolingbroke and his subsequent sense of betrayal when the newly crowned Henry IV failed to support him, were key factors in the eruption of the rebellion. Of the men who mobilised in support of Owain, a significant number were veterans of the wars in Scotland, France and Ireland, men such as his cousins, Rhys and Gwilym ap Tudur, who had distinguished military careers, Henry Dwnn of Cydweli, who had fought in Gascony and Ireland, and Gwilym ap Gruffudd of Anglesey, who had seen service in Scotland and France. Owain was also able to use English hostilities with France to gain French military support for his rebellion and he made a formal alliance with the French in 1404, with the result that 'his cause had now been formally woven into the fabric of the Anglo-French conflict'.[19] Though Owain's cause was ultimately lost, it was a uniquely long-lasting rebellion against the English crown and one whose roots lay in the new social and geographical mobility made possible by the Hundred Years War.

Calais in the fifteenth century

As a frontier town characterised by a mobile and peripatetic population, Calais exerted a force which attracted economic migrants. The economic relationship between England and Calais depended, like modern globalised industries, on a large class of migrant workers who had little choice but to go where the work was. For many soldiers, however, and many Welshmen among them, overseas service was an opportunity to experience the wider world in company with their fellow nationals.

As an example of Welsh migration to Calais, in January 1530 a Welshman from Flintshire called Elis Gruffydd enlisted in the garrison in Calais, which was still held by the English as their only remaining possession in France. He married a Frenchwoman, had two children, and settled in Calais for the remaining 25 years of his life. During that time, starting in 1549, he wrote, in Welsh, a universal chronicle of the history of the world from the creation to his own day, a massive two-volume work of 2,500 pages which was completed around 1552, a few years before his death.[20]

Elis Gruffydd was what we would now call a migrant. He migrated first from Wales to London, where he was in service to Sir Robert Wingfield, and then from London to Calais, exemplifying the transnationalism now associated with modern migrants who often move from one place to another while retaining economic and cultural ties with their place of origin.[21] Gruffydd formed part of what had become a substantial Welsh diaspora in Calais, where many Welsh soldiers served in the garrison, and had done so since the capture of Calais in 1347, with many staying on to settle in Calais. The diaspora was cultural as well as geographical – the Welsh (like Gruffydd) continued to use their own language for everyday communication among themselves and for much of their reading and writing as well, forming a local community and sense of identity within a larger cultural context.

From 1363, Calais was a staple port for wool, which meant that all wool coming out of Britain towards the Low Countries and other parts of Europe had to pass through Calais.[22] The wool merchants of England formed themselves into a company and many of them settled permanently in Calais, maintaining strong links with the English ports; during the fifteenth century the dominant group of wool merchants in Calais identified mainly with London.[23] The presence of the wool staple accounted for the rapid commercial expansion of Calais: both the regular population and the garrison needed to be supported and fed, and most provisions had to be imported from England. Alongside these commercial functions, the town needed a significant infrastructure of administrative support, most of it drawn from the immigrant population. Apart from Calais, many people from Britain migrated to other parts of the English territories in France, especially after the gains made by

Henry V in Normandy, settling their families there and acquiring property or commercial interests. In all these territories, as spaces that were colonial and imperial, there was a similar pattern of settlement and assimilation on the one hand and a more temporary kind of economic migration on the other.

Modern theories of migration are inevitably grounded in a substructure of capitalism, so that economic migration is explained in terms of labour supply and demand or decisions made by rational, freely choosing individuals seeking to improve their prospects. Some of these theories can be applied to the pre-capitalist system of medieval Europe, especially in the context of the growth of towns and urban commerce in the late Middle Ages, though medieval migrants (like their modern counterparts) were by no means always 'freely choosing' individuals. Modern economists talk about 'push and pull' factors determining the mobility of people, often basing their analyses on a rather optimistic model in which 'pull' factors (such as the desire for a 'better life') predominate over 'push' (those factors such as poverty and war which 'push' people into emigrating, often reluctantly).[24] In national and international markets, employers benefit from recruiting low-wage migrant workers into a workforce that can be expanded or contracted as demand fluctuates. Often this is presented as a benefit to the migrants themselves, implied by the term 'economic migrants', but just as often the push factors of poverty and dislocation are ignored or dismissed.

The competing interests of pull and push factors in the process of migration are neatly illustrated by two related Middle English poems referring to Calais in the fifteenth century. The first is the well-known political poem, *The Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, written in the aftermath of the successful defence of Calais against attack by the Duke of Burgundy in 1436.[25] Inevitably jingoistic in its sentiments, the poem emphasises the pull factor of Calais as a commercial powerhouse, a strategy which actually works on behalf of the dominant classes rather than the workers. The poet leaves us in no doubt that the possession of Calais by the English Crown was crucial to the control of the Channel and therefore England's domination of international trade. Writing at a time when Parliament was increasingly reluctant to commit yet more money to supporting England's lordships in France, the poet urges the more important

claims of Calais to additional resources compared to Normandy which, unlike the magnates, he saw as less crucial to the national interest. Describing the trade in commodities coming from Spain, Italy, Flanders, Portugal, Brittany and the Low Countries, he asserts that if the English want to go on enjoying the fruits of this international trade, they need to regulate imports, especially through markets and fairs, and keep the Channel properly managed and free of war:

> Thene here I ende of the comoditees
> Ffor whiche nede is well to kepe the sees;
> Este and weste, sowthe and northe they be;
> And chefely kepe the sharpe narowe see,
> Betwene Dover and Caleise, and as thus
> That *fosse passe not wythought gode wyll of us,   *foes*
> And they *abyde oure daunger in the lenghte,   *accept our domination*
> What for oure costis and Caleise in oure strenghte.[26]

The poem therefore identifies what was undoubtedly a strong 'pull' factor from the rewards of international trade, enough to encourage merchants and tradesmen of all kinds to travel over the sea to Calais as economic migrants. They made their homes in Calais and the other northern French towns under English rule and often encouraged their families and neighbours to follow them there.

But the poem ignores the kind of 'push' factors which prospective migrants often have to contend with. A second poem, beginning with the line 'Goo forth, lybell, and mekly schew thy face', dating from around the middle of the fifteenth century, deliberately takes issue with the earlier *Libelle* by echoing some of its lines while giving a rather different message. Instead of writing on behalf of the merchant class, the poet highlights the 'push' factors of poor wages and working conditions which create a mobile labour force for the benefit of the elites. The poet begins by emphasising England's pre-eminence in supplying the Western world with commodities, especially wool, with merchants coming to buy English wool from all over Europe and beyond, as far as Prussia and Turkey. But he then goes on to write in support of the workers who fuel this lucrative wool industry, those labourers, many of them migrants from poorer rural areas, who prepare the raw material but are cheated out of a

living wage. The rich clothmakers and merchants force them to take some of their wages in the form of merchandise valued at the retail rather than wholesale price:

> Lytyll þei take for theyre labur, yet halff ys merchaundyse.
> Alas! for rewth, yt ys gret pyte!

> þat they take for vj*d*, yt ys dere ynow of iij;
> And thus þei be defrawdyd in euery contre;
> The pore haue þe labur, the ryche the wynnyng.
> This acordythe nowȝte, it is a heuy partyng.[27] (ll. 87–92)

This is the downside of a labour-intensive industry which depends on a steady supply of skilled workers. In global markets today, multinational firms pursuing neocolonial agendas attract international migrants from regions of low growth to areas of high commercial activity. This was the situation in Calais relative to England and Wales: many workers at the lower end of the manufacturing trades were attracted to Calais as a commercial hub and emigrated there to seek a more prosperous life for themselves and their families. But in many of these cases, the pull of Calais was balanced by the push factors of poverty and low wages back in their home locality.

This kind of colonial settlement was marked by a considerable degree of transnationalism, with the coming and going of people between France and Britain to visit family or manage estates or business interests in both places. Writing about contemporary globalisation, Saskia Sassen has argued that the growth of international capital has created communities of transnational workers, what she calls the 'global classes', moving from place to place in search of employment.[28] This applies not only to poorer workers but to those at the elite and managerial levels of society as well, the kind of people whose work takes them from London to New York to Tokyo and back again.

On a much smaller scale, we can see a similar transnationalism operating between England and France during the first half of the fifteenth century, and particularly between London and Calais, the two gateways to international trade across the Channel. Maurice Keen has made the point that during the reign of Henry VI

the governing classes, which he defines as noblemen or heads of county families or shire members of parliament, were mobile for economic reasons but were too tied to their own estates in England to become part of the standing garrisons and expatriate communities who now lived more or less permanently in northern France.[29] Alongside the more settled population of Calais, there were layers of peripatetic officers and businessmen whose main base of operations was in England but whose work often took them to Calais, men such as John Paston II who, writing to his brother in 1473, says: 'As for me, I am nott serteyn whether I shall to Caleys, to Leysetre, or come hom in-to Norffolk.'[30] David Grummitt has pointed to the cosmopolitan nature of the Calais garrison, containing men for whom 'military service was just one part of a wide and varied career'.[31]

These close and ongoing links between England and Calais provide evidence of another kind of migration pattern, that of social networks. Besides the 'pull' of economic advantage, people are often motivated to migrate by the 'pull' of their links with relatives and neighbours who have already moved to the country of destination. In this model of network-mediated migration, a more or less constant flow of migrants is produced since 'each act of migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain it. Every new migrant reduces the costs of subsequent migration for a set of friends and relatives, and some of these people are thereby induced to migrate, which further expands the set of people with ties abroad.'[32] Elis Gruffydd, for example, probably made the move to Calais because his lord, Sir Robert Wingfield, became lieutenant of the castle at Calais in 1526 and moved there semi-permanently.[33]

The Calais garrison provides a further example of the social network model of migration, not only because of the pull of family and neighbours, though this was undoubtedly significant, but because of the push factor provided by the obligations of military service. In descriptions of military life in Calais, in both English and Welsh, the significance of social and professional links stretching across the Channel lies very close to the surface of daily life in fortified Calais. Just as Elis Gruffydd refers in his chronicle to relatives and neighbours of his who had served in the garrison at Calais, so did many of the Welsh soldiers in Calais migrate to the city as

part of regional networks of families and neighbours within Wales. Moreover, as Welsh archers and men-at-arms were particularly in demand, and, since an archer's pay was twice that of a labourer, the 'pull' factor towards service in France was strong.[34]

The importance of regional and linguistic networks is made clear in a Welsh poem (appended below) probably composed in the 1460s when Edward IV was on the throne.[35] The poem, known as 'Sawdwyr Calais' ('The Soldiers of Calais'), is by Robert Leiaf, a man about whom we know very little but who was probably active as a poet from about 1440 to about 1490. We know that he went on a pilgrimage to Rome and would almost certainly have passed through Calais on that journey, where he found many of his fellow Welshmen.[36] His poem about the Welsh garrison in Calais emphasises these local connections between the Welsh soldiers who know each other from back home and who fight together as a group, maintaining the networks of home that help to create bonds in the new location: 'pob dyn, pawb adwaenynt' [every person knows everyone else] (50). The Welsh contingent have adopted Calais as their own place: although Calais is 'England's lock' (*clo Lloegr*), that is, the lock that keeps the Channel and the coastal ports of England safe, it is equivalent to a corner of the island of Anglesey; though it is 'Edward's city' (which could be Edward IV or Edward III who first captured it), men of 'our country', that is, Wales, are keeping it safe. The poem is framed as a song of praise to Calais and its Welsh soldiers, as though they were the only ones holding it safe, and it evokes the camaraderie of a troop of fighting men who all come from the same place to form part of a collective identity within the garrison.[37] What lies behind this bond is the impact of migration from Wales to Calais, a migration driven by the pull of economic advantage and the presence of fellow countrymen who have already made the move to the new land.

The politics of migration

My last point is related to the similar status of both Calais and Wales as colonies of the English kingdom – one of the reasons, perhaps, that Welshmen felt at home there, wanted to travel there and even

emigrate there, like Elis Gruffydd and many before him. In Wales, following the Edwardian conquest of 1282, the classic pattern of Norman colonisation by means of town, church and castle was imposed on those areas (mainly in the north and west) that had thus far escaped Norman settlement. New towns were established and populated with English burgesses supported by generous rent remissions and land grants. The native Welsh found themselves reclassified as 'aliens' and excluded from all urban privileges, including the right to trade.[38] The same process of ethnic discrimination was repeated in Calais after 1347. The native Flemish were driven out of the town and English immigrants were recruited on the promise of 'liberties, privileges and immunities'.[39] In both cases, what we are dealing with are classic examples of colonial migration, people moving from one region to another, either permanently or temporarily, usually for economic reasons, with a favoured group incentivised to settle at the expense of a disempowered resident population. The fortified town of Calais, an island in a sea of French lands after 1453, would have been recognisable to its Welsh inhabitants as similar to the fortified cities of the March such as Flint and Denbigh, English bastions in a sea of colonised Welshness.

In the case of Wales, there is a double process at work – Welsh lands were colonised from 1066 onwards to the point where the Welsh themselves became migrants to France in the later Middle Ages. For some postcolonial theorists, Wales can scarcely be regarded as a colony of England at all since, it is argued, Wales itself became so heavily implicated in the British imperial expansion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[40] Welsh migration to Calais in the late Middle Ages can perhaps be interpreted as an earlier part of the same process, placing the Welsh in Calais in what seems to be an ambivalent situation. On the one hand Wales had been colonised by the English Crown, but on the other hand Welsh men and women moved to Calais as part of the English colonial programme. So were they the colonised or the colonisers? The situation of the Welsh in Calais can be reinterpreted through modern theories of migration and transnationalism where the processes of colonisation and mobility are occluded by the rhetoric of economic migration. Presenting migration as a positive and desirable step for people who are euphemistically termed 'economic migrants' forms

a convenient smokescreen for larger macroeconomic agendas of major state powers such as the English crown in the late Middle Ages.

Men born in Wales and men born in Calais were treated similarly by the English Crown with regard to their nationality – both groups were regarded as aliens, having been born 'abroad' (though this did not, of course apply to the children of the English nobility). Many such people, with an eye to the future, were motivated to apply for denizenship (that is, the status of a naturalised Englishman) in order to acquire the rights of English nationality, which they could then pass on to their children. The website, 'England's Immigrants', which provides data on thousands of people who immigrated into England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, provides numerous examples of residents of Calais and residents of Wales petitioning for denizenship, often as a means of circumventing anti-migrant legislation or finding work in London.[41] John Donne, a resident of Calais, but originally from Picardy in the surrounding hinterland, applied for letters of denization in 1468. John Butte, a Welshman from Carmarthen, who had lived in Bridport in Dorset for more than 30 years, applied for letters of denization in 1437.

In other words, though Wales and Calais were both considered to be part of the kingdom of England, their inhabitants were nonetheless treated as aliens from the point of view of English citizenship, a situation not dissimilar to modern attempts to deal with the issue of British citizenship for those born in the former colonies of the United Kingdom. The resulting confusion, including changes in the law and inconsistencies in the treatment of various individuals, are much the same in both cases, and lead to similar levels of legal negotiations and challenges, with all the costs and despair that goes with them.

The experience of Calais shows that the consequences of colonisation by force of arms inevitably turns migrants into refugees. The opposite of colonisation is decolonisation, and this is what happened at the end of the Hundred Years War. When the crash finally came in 1453 and all the English possessions in France, apart from Calais, were restored to the French, the colonisers who had settled in northern France, often for several generations, became displaced, with the kind of disastrous results we see today following territorial

wars. A stream of British refugees had already started heading back to Britain in 1449, visible symbols of the perils of migration and of Britain's humiliation at the hands of French. The French had re-taken Normandy and Gascony was to fall in 1453 after nearly three years of intensive fighting. This is how Robert Bale, a lawyer and notary living in London, described the refugee crisis in his chronicle, writing in about 1450:

> And than wer all þe Englisshmen dryven and sent oute from ffraunce Normandy and Angeoy and cam into þis land in greet mysery and poverte be many companyes and felawships and yede into severall places of þe land to be enherite and to lyve upon the almes of the peple. But many of them drewe to theft and misrule and noyed sore the cominalte of þis land spirituell and temporell and many of þeym afterward hanged.[42]

Conclusion

Calais remained an English possession for another hundred years, safeguarding English trade across the Channel and providing a home for migrants like Elis Gruffydd. As a colonial outpost in a foreign land, Calais might technically have been an English pos-session and may have contained elements of a diasporic cultural Englishness, but it was not imagined as an English town by contem-porary writers who lived or visited there. The writers I have been considering, both Welsh and English, recognised the pull of Calais as somewhere that was self-evidently not England – a colonial outpost and a migrant destination.

In Wales, the effects of the Hundred Years War were transforma-tive for the social, economic and cultural life of the Welsh, whether as serving soldiers, participants in urban trade, rebels against the Crown, or poets observing the heroism of their patrons in battle. The first half of the long war equipped the Welsh with the military experience and warband loyalties that would determine the course of the Glyn Dŵr rebellion and, later, the Wars of the Roses. The second half of the war, from Agincourt to the fall of Normandy, saw Welsh soldiers and civilians, often with their families, moving between France and Wales as part of military contingents or as

transnational migrants, contributing to a new Welsh experience of travel and mobility beyond Wales. From the fifteenth century, Welsh poetry is full of place-names from around the empire, from Calais to Rome and Constantinople, with pilgrimage to Rome and the Holy Land, usually via Calais, becoming a normative experience for many Welsh people. During the century of the Hundred Years War, Wales was transformed from an inward-looking land at odds with England to a diverse nation that faced outwards across the Channel and played a measurable part in the rise and fall of English kings.

Cywydd i Galais a'i Milwyr	Poem to Calais and its soldiers
Robert Leiaf (fl. c.1440–90)	

Cwrs ydyw caru sawdwyr,		It's a way of life to love soldiers,
Cerais y Galais a'i gwŷr.		[and] I have loved Calais and her men.
Cymry'n ffres, cymeren' Ffrainc,		Mettlesome Welshmen, they would take France,
Ceirw Troya, cwrtwyr ieuainc,	4	stags of Troy, young courtiers,
Calais yn herio Cwlen,		Calais defying Cologne,
Cynafon hil Cynfyn Hen.		cubs of the line of Cynfyn the Old.
Pan gollo Cymro, p'le cais		When a Welshman goes missing,
Oni gweler 'n y Galais?	8	where can he be found except in Calais?
Mi a welais y milwyr		I've seen the soldiers
Oedd ar goll – pand oedd dda'r gwŷr?		who were missing – were they not fine men?
Cefais wŷr a gollais gynt –		I found men I'd lost touch with a while ago –
Sawdwyr yng Nghalais ydynt!	12	they are soldiers in Calais!
Da yw'r ban y derbynnir		Fine is the rampart where the brave lads
Y gweision dewrion i dir.		have been received in the land.
I'r un gaer yr ân' i gyd,		To the same fortress they all go,

I'r gwinoedd awr ac ennyd;	16	to the wine supplies time and again;
O'r gaer, pe bai rhew ac ôd,		from the fortress, whether it be frost or snow,
I'r maes lle bai'r ymosod.		to the battlefield wherever the attack might be.
Dail a wnâi'r efail i'r ais,		The forge makes chainmail for the breast,
Dur Cwlen am deirw Calais,	20	steel of Cologne for the bulls of Calais,
Dynion yn cadw un dinas,		men guarding a single city,
Daear a gloed â dŵr glas.		a land enclosed by blue water.
Tref ar lwff lle trof i'r lan,		A town on the windward side where I turn to shore,
Tref iachus, Troya fechan,	24	a wholesome town, a little Troy,
Caer falch a dâl cwr o Fôn,		a proud fortress which is worth a corner of Môn,
Clo Lloegr, nis cêl y llygion.		England's lock, the civilians do not deny it.
Duw a roes ei gadw ar wŷr,		God has given its keeping to men,
Dinas Edwart dan sawdwyr.	28	Edward's city under men-at-arms.
Gwyn ein byd, gwenwyn ni bo,		Blessed are we, may there be no envy,
Gael dynion o'n gwlad yno.		to have men from our country there.
Ni all gŵr ennill ar gais		A man cannot succeed at first try
Bygylu neb o Galais;	32	in bullying anyone from Calais;
Gyrrant hwy, chwedl Geraint oedd,		they will drive – it was the tale of Geraint –
Wŷr ymerodr i'r moroedd;		the emperor's men to the seas;
Mynnwn fod, gorfod i'r gwŷr,		I would wish, victory to the men,
Dâr sawden gyda'r sawdwyr.	36	that the soldiers had an oak-strong leader.

Oes yn fyw, ni cheisiwn fach,		Are there living, I would not take bets,
Ais yn ddur, weision ddewrach?		braver young men with ribs of steel?
Heddiw wynt yw gwahoddwyr,		They are the hosts today,
Haelion a gwychion yw'r gwŷr,	40	the men are generous and splendid,
Gwaed Gamber, galwer i'n gŵydd,		Camber's blood, may it be summoned in our presence,
Gwyal entriad galawntrwydd.		saplings at the gateway of chivalry.
Chwerddais – paham na chwerddent?–		I rejoiced – why would anyone not rejoice? –
Pan welais Galais o Gent.	44	when I saw Calais from Kent.
Gweled ym fuddugoliaeth,		I seemed to see victory,
Gweled tref yn gwylio traeth.		I saw a town guarding the beachfront.
Ys da dref, ystod Rufain,		It is a fine town, on the road to Rome,
Ys da wŷr hwnt, pyst yw'r rhain.	48	there are fine men in it, they are pillars.
Pob gŵr wrth y pibau gynt,		Each man at the wine-taps before,
Pob dyn, pawb adwaenynt.		every person knows everyone else.
Prynwyd i'r pererinion		Osey is bought generously for the pilgrims,
Osai'n hael, Cymry sy'n hon;	52	it's Welshmen who are in that town;
Prynwyd ym – perai nid oedd –		wine and beer – it wasn't perry –
Win a bir yn aberoedd.		are bought for me in floods.
Dydd gwaith cedwaist obaith Sais,		On a working day you guarded England's hope,
Dydd gŵyl, da oedd y Galais,	56	on a feast day, Calais was a fine place,

Caer sad ni ddwg gŵr i sêl,	a solid fortress a man could not bring under seal,
Caer gref, cerrig o ryfel,	a strong fortress, stones of war,
Caer wen lle ni phlyco'r wart,	a white fortress where the ward will not yield,
Caer gadarn, cerrig Edwart. 60	a powerful fortress, the stones of Edward.
Ni bu'r dref heb wŷr o draeth,	The town has not lacked men from the shore,
Ni bo'r wal heb wroliaeth.	may the wall not lack manpower.
Ni bu hawdd gwrth'nebu hon,	It would not be easy to attack that place,
Ni bydd unnos heb ddynion. 64	there is no single night without guards.
Ni bu Fwlen heb filwyr,	Boulogne has never lacked soldiers,
Ni bo ei gwal heb ei gwŷr.	may its wall not be without its men.

Notes

1 The cultural and literary aspects of the Hundred Years War have been less discussed than the political and military history of the conflict. For examples of the former, see the Introduction to this volume.

2 Calais and the other English territories in Normandy and Gascony were by no means the earliest colonies of England. It could be argued that the Anglo-Saxons were the earliest English colonists in Britain, while Wales, Ireland and the lowlands of Scotland were all colonised by Norman and English armies and settlers during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

3 The very useful biography of the town by Rose is called *Calais: An English Town in France*.

4 It is worth remembering that Calais was in the county of Flanders, controlled by the Dukes of Burgundy. See Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*,

317–56. Wallace has written about the trauma experienced by the French when Calais was fell into English hands, though he does not consider the experiences of non-English subjects of the Crown. See *Premodern Places*, 48–54. In his chapter on Calais in volume I of *Europe*, Wallace highlights the rivalry between English and French without specifically mentioning other nationalities represented in Calais.

5 On the history of Wales under the Normans, see Davies, *Age of Conquest*; Lieberman, *March of Wales*.

6 Fulton, 'Translating Europe in Medieval Wales'.

7 There are some references in Welsh court poetry to classical heroes such as Hercules and Alexander, indicating Welsh knowledge of Latin epic. See Haycock, 'Some Talk of Alexander and Some of Hercules'.

8 These new towns followed others already built by Edward as part of his military campaigns against the Welsh during the 1270s, such as Flint, Rhuddlan and Aberystwyth, established in 1277. See Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages*, 35–51.

9 For a survey of the linguistic situation in medieval Wales, see Smith, 'The Welsh Language before 1536'; Davies, *Welsh Language*.

10 For the poetry of Dafydd ap Gwilym, see Dafydd ap Gwilym, *Cerddi Dafydd ap Gwilym*, ed. Johnston. English translations and notes are available on the website *Dafydd ap Gwilym.net*, www.dafyddapgwilym.net (accessed 30 September 2019). See especially poems 120, 138 and 156 for references to commodities traded in towns and fairs.

11 These items are all mentioned in a poem by Tudur Aled (*c.*1465–1525) which eulogises the town of Oswestry, comparing the riches of its markets to London's Cheapside. The poem is edited by Jones: Tudur Aled, *Gwaith Tudur Aled*, no. 65; see also *Oxford Book of Welsh Verse*, ed. Parry, no. 92. There is no published translation of the poem, but see Fulton, 'Trading Places'; Smith, 'Oswestry'; Johnston, 'Towns in Medieval Welsh Poetry'.

12 Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, 61–3.

13 Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, 68–9.

14 For further details about Sir Hywel's nickname, see Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, 73.

15 Johnston (ed.), *Cerddi Dafydd ap Gwilym*, no. 122 (20). For translations of the whole poem, see *Dafydd ap Gwilym.net*, no. 122; Dayfdd ap Gwilym, *Dafydd ap Gwilym: His Poems*, trans. Thomas, no. 140.

16 Dafydd ap Gwilym, *Cerddi Dafydd ap Gwilym*, no. 116, 29–32 (my translation).

17 Iolo Goch, *Poems*, ed. and trans. Johnston, no. 1 (33–40).

18 Chapman, *Welsh Soldiers*, 90, 94. See also Davies, *Revolt of Owain Glyn Dŵr*; Goodman, 'Owain Glyn Dŵr before 1400'.

19 Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 445.

20 The chronicle has not yet been fully edited or translated, though sections appear in Hunter, 'Chronicle of Elis Gruffydd'. See also the editions and translations of selected extracts in Elis Gruffydd, *Elis Gruffydd and the 1544 Enterprises of Paris and Boulogne*, ed. J. Davies, trans. M. Bryn Davies; Elis Gruffydd, '*An Ill Jurney for the Englishemen*', ed. Davies. The first volume of Gruffydd's chronicle contains a history of the world from Creation to Christianity; the second volume contains a history of England and Wales from 1066 to 1552, including many details about life in Calais. See Hunter, 'Taliesin at the Court of Henry VIII'; Jones, 'A Welsh chronicler in Tudor England'; Morgan, 'Elis Gruffudd of Gronant'.

21 The concept of transnationalism was first theorised by Schiller et al. (eds), *Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration*, 1. The experience of Elis Gruffydd, and others like him, corresponds to Dahinden's model of migrant transnationalism, which is based on the combination of mobility – movement across transnational spaces – and locality, specific places where migrants are anchored by a framework of social relations. See Dahinden, 'Dynamics of Migrants' Transnational Formations'.

22 Spufford notes that 'only Italians sending wool directly to Italy, and Hanseatics sending it direct to the Baltic, were permitted to avoid Calais'. *Power and Profit*, 329.

23 Clapham, *Concise Economic History of Britain*, 142.

24 See for example the discussion of theories of international migration by Bean and Brown, 'Analyses of Immigration', 69–74.

25 Holmes dates the poem to 'between the autumn of 1436 and the early part of 1438' and argues that it was written in support of the political position of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester ('"Libel of English Policy"', 193). Sobecki says that the poem was written 'most likely before the end of 1438' and that 'it must have been composed from within the closest circle of Henry VI's senior administrators'. He suggests it can be interpreted as a petition or bill of complaint (*libellus*) against current government policy ('Bureaucratic Verse', 252, 251). Doig discusses the poem in the context of political propaganda around the siege of Calais ('Propaganda, Public Opinion and the Siege of Calais in 1436'). Boffey notes that at least one copy of the poem circulated in Calais as part of a bilingual anthology ('Books and Readers in Calais', 70–1).

26 *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, II.191. For another edition, see *Libelle of Englyshe Polycye*, ed. Warner.

27 *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries*, ed. Robbins, no. 70, with discussion on xlii–xliv.

28 Sassen, *Territory, Authority, Rights*, 298–303. Sassen emphasises that global mobility does not preclude a sense of national identity.

29 Keen, *England in the Later Middle Ages*, 406.

30 *Paston Letters and Papers*, ed. Davis, vol. I, letter 273 (457).

31 Grummitt, *Calais Garrison*, 77. Grummitt also refers to what I would describe as the 'push' factor of 'escape [from] legal or family problems back in England' (77).

32 Massey et al., 'Theories of International Migration', 449.

33 Morgan, 'Chroniqueur gallois', 196.

34 Evans, *Wales and the Wars of the Roses*, 27.

35 This makes the poem contemporaneous with the English Lancastrian poem *Knyghthode and Batayle*, attributed to a 'parson [person] of Calais' and composed between 1457 and 1460. See Wallace, *Premodern Places*, 62–3. My edition and translation of the Welsh poem (from London, BL Additional MS 14967, fol. 154, dating from the first half of the sixteenth century) are printed below, and line numbers refer to this edition. For another edition, with manuscript variants, see Taylor, 'Gwaith Barddonol', 140–4, and notes on 196–8.

36 Taylor suggests that Robert Leiaf's familiarity with the garrison may have indicated he served there himself at one time ('Gwaith Barddonol', 196).

37 Grummitt has described the Calais garrison of the fifteenth century as a 'brotherhood-in-arms', sustained by 'a sense of martial honour' and a collective identity (*Calais Garrison*, 97).

38 For a description of this process, see Davies, *Age of Conquest*, 371–3.

39 Rose, *Calais*, 24.

40 Evidence for the participation of Wales in the imperial project of Britain is amply provided by the chapters in Bowen (ed.), *Wales and the British Overseas Empire*.

41 *England's Immigrants 1330–1550*, www.englandsimmigrants.com (accessed 30 September 2022).

42 *Six Town Chronicles*, ed. Flenley, 128.

III

Theorising war

The shared wound: Crusade and the origins of the Hundred Years War in the writings of Philippe de Mézières

Stefan Vander Elst

In the later years of the fourteenth century, perhaps the most untiring voice to demand a cessation of hostilities between England and France was that of Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405). Writing from the convent of the Celestines in Paris, to which he had withdrawn in 1380, Mézières, a former soldier, Chancellor of the Kingdom of Cyprus and adviser to king Charles V of France,[1] doggedly addressed the magnates of Europe, urging them to devote themselves to 'la paix de la crestiente, l'union de l'eglise, et le saint passage d'oultremer' [the peace of Christendom, the union of the Church, and the holy passage overseas].[2] In allegorical dream visions such as his monumental *Songe du Vieil Pelerin*,[3] as well as in extensive letters and polemics, Mézières advocated for an end to the Hundred Years War between England and France, for a resolution to the Papal Schism, and for a renewed effort to reconquer the Holy Places lost to Islam. At the heart of his appeal lay the creation of a new order of knighthood, the Order of the Passion of Jesus Christ Crucified, which would channel the martial energies of the warring factions of the West to more salvific purposes, and would form the spearhead of a new Crusade campaign.

Much recent critical attention has been devoted to Mézières's single-minded focus on a new Crusade and on the Order of the Passion as its vanguard. Although some have argued that Mézières's plans were rooted in practical considerations, and took not only past Christian mistakes but also present Muslim strengths into account,[4] most have thought them fanciful. Philippe Contamine describes Mézières's calculations of the numerical strength and

financial wherewithal needed for the Order to successfully complete its mission as 'plein délire chiffré' [plain delirium in numbers], a 'comptabilité fantastique' [fantastic accounting] only meant to show the 'composition idéale d'un puissant corps expeditionnaire à la fin du XIVe siècle' [ideal composition of a powerful expeditionary corps at the end of the 14th century].[5] Others have suggested that the Order's regulations with regard to morality and social conduct made it utopian, an ideal that could never truly be attained.[6] Carolyn Collette has suggested that perhaps it was never meant to be reached at all, and that Mézières may have had more spiritual than political goals.[7] Beyond fanciful, Mézières's plans were also notably unsuccessful. French royal interest in a grand campaign to liberate the Holy Places waned after the illness of Charles VI became manifest in 1392;[8] moreover, his plans for peace between England and France did not come to fruition, and may have been futile.[9] These obstacles were too great for even the most burning desire.

In the following pages I would like to discuss not the validity of Philippe de Mézières's plans for war and peace, but what necessitated these plans to begin with. To do so, I will analyse his knowledge and representation of history, especially the history of the Crusades and of the Crusader States of the Levant. This will uncover a more complicated relationship between the Hundred Years War and Crusade: whereas it is usually understood that Mézières saw peace between England and France as a means to an end, as a preliminary to be completed so that a new Crusade could be organised,[10] I will argue that he considered the Crusades to be the cause of the Hundred Years War, and that failure in the East resulted in the outbreak of hostilities between the two European powers. As I will suggest, war at home and abroad are interwoven in a greater struggle that Mézières may have considered cyclical. Finally, I will illustrate how Mézières's representation of history informed both his message to the warring parties of the Hundred Years War, as well as his suggestions for the shape of the Order of the Passion.

Philippe de Mézières, as far as is known, had little in the way of formal education. Set upon a military career at a young age, he spent decades travelling throughout Europe and the Mediterranean basin, fighting both secular and holy wars and serving some of the most important magnates of his time, before withdrawing to the

convent of the Celestines. His writings, however, show a wide-ranging knowledge of biblical and classical history, as well as a sensitive understanding of the events of the recent past. Perhaps not surprising for a man so dedicated to Crusade, he displays a detailed knowledge of the holy war in his works.[11] In his rule for the Order of the Passion, he summarises the history of the Crusades to the Holy Land, and of Christian possession of *Outremer*, as follows:

> Aucuns pourrioent dire autrefoys et pluseurs la Terre Sainte a este conquestee des crestiens, et toutefoys pau de tamps elle a este retenue a la foy crestienne, et samble fort chose a aucuns de pooir longuement retenir ladicte Sainte Terre par lez crestiens, voire la grant poissance dez anemis de la foy et l'instabilite des catholiques d'occident consid-erees. A ce se peut respondre que, quant la Terre Sainte fu darraine-ment conquestee ou tamps du tresvaillant duc Godefroy de Buillon et apres, la terre se tint vaillaument et tant que lez roys, princes et peuples catholiques amerent Dieu, tindrent justice et furent obedient a discipline de vraie chevalerie; et demoura la sainte cite de Jerusalem en la main des crestiens environ cent ans. Mais quant orguel et envie, avarice et luxure entre les crestiens d'orient reprirent leur signourie, et la chose publique de ladicte crestiente fu ja devisee en parties, et que les princes, en multipliant leur signouries s'estudioient plus au bien particuler que au bien commun de la crestiente, et qu'il devindrent delicatis, effemines et en leur bouche non gardans verite, lors les divisions sourdoient entre les princes seculers, gent d'eglise et commun … Lors Jherusalem fut perdue et, environ aprez cent ans, tout le royaume de Jherusalem et la Terre de Promission. Quel mervelle! Car quant lez roys et grans princes d'occident passoient outre mer pour le secours de la Terre Sainte, il demouroient pau de tamps et puis si s'enportoient et laissoient aucunesfoys la pauvre crestiente d'orient en pieur estat que quant il y arriverent.[12]

> [Some people may say that the Holy Land has been conquered by the Christians numerous times before, and each time it has been kept for the Christian faith only briefly, and it appears difficult for the Christians to keep this Holy Land for a long time, given the great power of the enemies of the Faith and the wavering support of the Catholics of the West. To this, one can answer that, when the Holy Land was most recently conquered in the time of the most valiant duke Godfrey of Bouillon, and afterwards, the land was held valiantly as long as the kings, princes and people loved God, upheld

justice and obeyed the discipline of true chivalry; and the city of Jerusalem remained in Christian hands for about a hundred years. But when pride and envy, greed and lechery took command among the eastern Christians, and the commonwealth of this Christianity was divided up into parts, and the princes, by multiplying their lordships dedicated themselves more to their own good than to the common good of Christianity, and they became soft, effeminate, and did not keep truth in their mouth, when the divisions grew between secular princes, clergymen, and commoners … At that time Jerusalem was lost and, after about a hundred years, the whole kingdom of Jerusalem and the Promised Land. What wonder! Because when the kings and great princes of the West went overseas to help the Holy Land, they stayed there only briefly and then left, and left the poor Christianity of the East worse off than when they arrived.]

This brief summary highlights a number of issues central to Mézières's understanding of the history of the holy war: Christianity has tried to conquer the holy places on numerous occasions but has always come up short. However, for some time after the First Crusade, the going was good; this period came to a halt when the Christian settlers of *Outremer* fell victim to sin. Western commitment to the Crusader States never endured for long enough to make a real difference. Consequently, first the city of Jerusalem, and then the rest of the Christian possessions in the Holy Land, were lost. As such, Mézières's representation of the history of the Crusades and of Christian possession of the holy places falls almost cleanly apart into two halves, one of success and one of failure, separated by the fall of the city of Jerusalem to the forces of Saladin in 1187. To understand where Mézières thought the origins of the manifold disasters afflicting Western Europe in the fourteenth century lay, we should first address why he considered Crusade and settlement in the Holy Land to have been successful initially, and what he thought were the reasons for their eventual failure.

Victories

In his rule for the Order of the Passion, Mézières offers some detail with regard to the military careers of the first Latin rulers

of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Christian success in the East, he notes, began with Godfrey of Bouillon who, after the conclusion of the First Crusade, became Advocate of the Holy Sepulchre (1099–1100). Godfrey, who in Mézières's recitation of events appears as the leader of the Crusade, defeated great hosts with few men of his own: 'le tresvaillaint duc Godefroy de Buillon, a tout v.c hommes a cheval tant seulement et xxii.m hommes de pie, assiega la sainte cite de Jherusalem et vaillaument la prist par bataille, et conquist en celle meisme annee qu'il vesqui tant seulement une bonne partie du roiaume de Jherusalem' [the most valiant duke Godfrey of Bouillon, who only had 500 horsemen and 12,000 foot, besieged the holy city of Jerusalem and valiantly conquered her in battle, and conquered a good part of the kingdom of Jerusalem in that year in which he lived].[13] Godfrey led these meagre forces to victory time and again, not only at Jerusalem but also at Antioch and at Ascalon.[14] Such success, against all odds, was earned through exemplary virtue. In *Le Songe du Vieil Pelerin*, Mézières points to Godfrey's extraordinary humility: at the siege of Antioch, when some emissaries of the Sultan of Egypt came to deliver a message form their lord, Godfrey preferred to continue to sit in his tent and mend the saddle of one of his squires, rather than receive them with pomp and circumstance.[15] The fact that Godfrey never married, and died intestate, is also considered one of his signal virtues: 'qui pourroit nombrer les vaillans roys et princes de la crestiente qui ont vescu chastement en ce monde, desquieulz il est plus glorieuse memoire ou ciel et en la terre que de mile autres qui ont este mariez? Sicomme le tres preux Godefroy de Buillon, qui par la vertu de chastete trencha parmi le Sarrasin a la bataille d'Anthioche' [who can reckon the number of kings and princes of Christendom who have lived in chastity, of whom the memory in Heaven and earth is more glorious than of a thousand others who married? As, for example, the most noble Godfrey of Bouillon, who through the strength of his chastity cut through the Saracen host at the Battle of Antioch].[16] Singular bravery and prowess combined with singular humility and chastity in Godfrey of Bouillon; this allowed him to conquer a great part of what would later be the Crusader States of the Levant. Godfrey of Bouillon appears as exemplary in Mézières's works; as such, it is noteworthy that Mézières may have staged an

elaborate representation of Godfrey's deeds at the French court, in order to convince both French and English to take the Cross.[17]

Whereas Godfrey 'n'avoit voulu porter couronne d'or ou lieu la ou le doulz Jhesu, Roy des roys, avoit porte couronne d'espines' [would not wear a crown of gold where sweet Jesus, King of kings, wore a crown of thorns],[18] Baldwin (1100–18), who succeeded Godfrey upon the latter's death, had no such compunctions, and became the first king of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. In other ways, however, he continued in his brother's footsteps. His many victories saw him overcome, David-like, Muslim Goliaths time and again; at one time he, with only 260 knights and 900 sergeants-at-arms alongside him, defeated an Egyptian army comprising 9,000 knights and 30,000 sergeants; at another his 500 knights and 2,000 sergeants defeated 12,000 Egyptians at Ascalon.[19] In a similar vein, Mézières details the victories of Baldwin II (1118–31), Fulk of Anjou (1131–43), Baldwin III (1143–63), Amalric (1163–74) and even Baldwin IV (1174–85), 'par la permission divine feru de meselerie' [by the will of God struck with leprosy], who 'avuec iii.c et lxx chevaliers tant seulement, es parties d'Escalonne desconfi Salhadin, qui avoit avec luy xxvi.m chevaliers' [with just 370 knights defeated Saladin, who had 26,000 knights with him, in the vicinity of Ascalon].[20] Mézières's goal with these early monarchs is to show what very few men can do when they maintain discipline and good morals;[21] carefully excising defeats and setbacks, he presents the first century of Christian settlement almost as a golden era.

Defeats

This era, however, came to a brusque end in 1187, when 'pource que la crestiente d'orient en Dieu fu mal regulee ... ils furent deconfis et fu perdue la sainte cite de Jherusalem' [because Eastern Christianity was badly regulated ... they were defeated and the city of Jerusalem was lost].[22] It is notable that Mézières's description of events leading up to the Battle of Hattin and the fall of Jerusalem, as well as that of the deeds done beyond the sea right up to the fall of Acre in 1291, are as lopsided as his representation of the first century of Latin settlement had been. Whereas he had marked the

first hundred years by nothing but victory, he only ever describes defeats when talking about the remainder of the Latin presence on the Eastern Mediterranean shore. Mézières furthermore does not go into much detail with regard to the succession of kings and princes who ruled in the Crusader States until their destruction, rather choosing a select number of episodes to prove moral points. In the *Epistre lamentable et consolatoire*, which he wrote for Philip of Burgundy to console him for the capture of his son John of Nevers at the Battle of Nicopolis in 1395,[23] he describes the events of 1187 as follows:

> Guy le Lizignen, très-noble et très-vaillant baron, le premier de sa ligniée de Lisignen, par s'espouse, laquele estoit fille du vaillant et preudhomme roy Baudouin qui fut méseau, fur roy de Jhérusalem ... Le roy Guy ot en son ost XII.c chevaliers et XXII.m hommes de pié, bons combatans, et furent plus assés de chevaliers et de combatans qu'il n'avoient esté en la Terre-Sainte depuis que Jhérusalem avoit esté conquestée. Si se fioient fort le roy et les princes et barons de son ost en la puissance des gens qu'ils avoient, aucunement refroidié par orgeuil de l'espérance de l'aide de Dieu. Dont il avint par aucune préparation de hayne et de division en l'ost des crestians, c'est-assavoir que Raymont, conte de Triple, le plus grant et le plus puissant prince de la Terre-Sainte après le roy, par mauvais conseil, tendoit à estre roy au préjudice du roy Guy de Lisignen, et avoit mauvaise cause; et pour ceste division ou royaume avoit une hayne et une bende moult périlleuse, et pour ce que le dit conte Raymont n'estoit pas puissans de venir à son entention, il fist aliance et trièves à Sailhadin encontre son grant honneur, don't il acquist male grâce.[24]

> [Guy of Lusignan, a very noble and very brave baron, the first of his line of Lusignan, was king of Jerusalem through his wife, who was the daughter of the brave man of valour Baldwin, who was struck with leprosy ... In his army King Guy had 1,200 knights and 12,000 foot soldiers, good fighters, and there were more knights and fighters than there had ever been in the Holy Land since Jerusalem had been conquered. So the king and the princes and the barons of his army trusted greatly in the strength of the men they had, and through pride somewhat lost hope in the help of God. Then there occurred an action of hatred and division in the army of the Christians, that is to say that Raymond, count of Tripoli, the greatest and most powerful

prince of the Holy Land after the king, through bad counsel wanted to be king himself at the expense of King Guy of Lusignan, and he had an evil cause; and because of this division in the kingdom there was hatred and a very dangerous conspiracy, and because this Count Raymond did not have the power to reach his goal, he made an alliance and a truce with Saladin, which went against his great honour, and from which he received no favour.]

After a century of conquests, the sins of which Mézières had spoken manifest themselves.[25] Pride makes Guy's forces forget that victory comes from God; hatred grows in the hearts of princes who seek to improve their own station, and expand their own holdings, at the expense of the common good. Saladin's defeat of the Christian army at the Battle of Hattin on 4 July 1187, and his subsequent capture of Jerusalem, which ended a hundred years of Latin dominion of the holy city, could therefore not have been in doubt.

Mézières's post-mortem of events is uncompromising; it happened because of a wholesale abandonment of morality, and especially of four cardinal virtues – subjection to regulation, chivalric discipline, obedience and justice:

> Ceste piteuse desconfiture du roy de Jérusalem et de la crestianté d'Orient fu permise et soufferte de Dieu pour ce que les princes de l'ost avoient souffert la corruption des quatre vertus tant loées, et pour ce aussi que le patron et souverain chevetaine de l'ost (c'est Jhesu-Christ) s'estoit départis et que Orgueil, Envie, Hayne, Oultrecuidance, Division et Pou de fiance en leur patron, en l'ost avoient plein seigneurie.[26]

> [This grievous defeat of the king of Jerusalem and of the Christianity of the East was allowed and tolerated by God because the princes of the of the army had suffered corruption of the four virtues which I have praised so, and also because the lord and sovereign chief of the army (that is, Jesus Christ) had left and Pride, Envy, Hatred, Arrogance, Division, and Lack of faith in their lord had full control of the army.]

To blame the transgressions of the Eastern Latins for the defeat at Hattin and the territorial gains of the Muslims in the following weeks and months is not unique to Mézières; it had rather been a frequent occurrence ever since the events themselves had transpired.[27]

In his works, however, this acquires a new purpose and extent. Whereas in other writings, it had often served to quarantine blame for these catastrophic events to a select few, Philippe de Mézières considers it a sort of Original Sin, the consequences of which reverberate outward in time and space. The Latins of the East, suffused by sin and division, caused a rift with God. Those who, in the following years, came to the aid of the Holy Land were affected too, even if they arrived with the best of intentions. At the very beginning of the Third Crusade (1189–92), for instance, Richard I of England and Philip II of France 'en bonne paix et par accort se trouvèrent ensemble en la Terre-Sainte au service de Dieu et au siége de la cité d'Acre' [were together in the Holy Land in the service of God at the siege of Acre at peace and in agreement].[28] This unity, however, did not last long: 'les IIII. vertus, en l'ost de l'un roy et de l'autre, assés tost furent corrompues, voire par orgueil, par envie et par indignation qui se nourry entre les deux roys et entre la chevalerie de l'un et de l'autre ... Et tant crut la haine entre les roys que bonnement ils ne pourrent plus demourer ensemble' [the four virtues, in the army of the one king as well as in that of the other, were quickly corrupted by pride, by jealousy, and by resentment that grew between the two kings and between their knights ... And the hatred between the kings grew so that they could no longer remain together well].[29] Division, fed by pride, envy and hatred, drove Richard I and Philip II apart; consequently, their Crusade ended in failure. This same sin and division, then, characterises the holy war up until the end of the Crusader States in 1291, of which Mézières speaks only sparsely; the only campaign about which he goes into detail is Louis IX's Crusade to Damietta, which ended in disaster not only because Louis's troops were 'mal regules, voire pour l'orguel et outrecuidance qui regnoit entre eux' [badly regulated, because of the pride and arrogance that reigned among them], but also because they disagreed with the knights of the Holy Land, whom they considered 'moitie Sarrasin' [half Saracen].[30] In addition to disagreement and distrust on campaign, the divisions between the Catholics of the West and their eastern co-religionists may also be demonstrated by the lacklustre Western support for the Crusader States in this period. As Mézières points out, if Guy of Lusignan had had sufficient help from the powers of the West, Jerusalem may not

have been lost; similarly, the assistance of his Christian brothers may have prevented the last crowned king of Jerusalem, Henry II, from losing the last shreds of *Outremer* in 1291.[31]

Consequences

The fall of the last remnants of the Crusader States to the forces of the Mamluk Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil in 1291 brought an end to two hundred years of Crusade and settlement in the Eastern Mediterranean. However, the consequences of this signal failure, in which the Christians' sins and division had caused God to withdraw His favour, would be far-reaching. After all, as Mézières points out, the Crusade was a European affair. If its successes were due to the actions of Europeans, so were its failings, and the effects of those failings would fall on European shoulders. Jerusalem was the first casualty of the transgressions of the West;[32] the West itself would follow. In the *Letter to King Richard II*, Mézières outlines the geopolitical situation between Christianity and Islam through an allegorical fight between King Malavisé, who represents the Christian monarchs of the West, and King Vigilant, who stands for the victorious Muslims. King Malavisé 'se fioit plus en sa puissance humaine qu'il ne faisoit en son bon droit, ne en sa diligence, ne en la vertu de son Dieu' [put his trust more in human strength than in the justice of his cause, in diligence, or in the help of God].[33] As a result,

> Et par deffaulte de bon gouvernement, c'est assavoir principalment par defaulte de justice, en laquele est comprise la foy de Jhesucrist et ses saintes oeuvres, et par defaulte auxi de discipline chevalereuse, la maistre cite du royaume general des crestiens, c'est assavoir la sainte cite de Jherusalem, le premier fondement de la foy catholique, et, apres, tout le royaume, et toute la terre de promission, a este pardue, et acquise a grant victoire par le roy Vigilant, c'est assavoir par le souldain de Babiloine, qui en a eu la possession et c. ou ii.c ans, a grant honte et vitupere des roys crestiens, helas, malavises.[34]

> [Through lack of good government, and, above all, through lack of justice, which includes the faith of Jesus Christ and His holy works,

and lack, also, of knightly discipline, first the capital city of all Christendom, that is the holy city of Jerusalem, the foundation stone of the Catholic faith, and then the whole kingdom, the promised land, have been lost, and conquered by King Vigilant, the Sultan of Babylon, who has held it for one or two hundred years, to the great shame and disgrace of Christian kings, alas, so ill-advised.]

Driven from the heart of his kingdom, King Malavisé is forced to withdraw to 'une estrange et lointaine contree qui li estoit demouree, laquele estoit souvent et froide et angele' [a strange and distant part of his dominions, which he still held, a region which was often cold and frozen].[35] The Western princes, and Latin Christianity with them, are cut off from Jerusalem, and must move ever further north. This geographical withdrawal, away from *Outremer*, does not however mean that the sins and the division, as well as the divine retribution, which led to the fall of the Holy Land to the Muslims, ends. Rather, it follows in the Christians' tracks, and strikes them everywhere:

> manifeste chose est a tous loiaus catholiques comment pour lez pechies des crestiens ... Dieu en nostre tamps, comme vestu de jalousie, a venjance plus qu'il n'avoit a coustume, le people catholique a batu et flagelle et bat continuelment qui a glaive, qui a mort, qui a famine.[36]

> [it is clear to all loyal Catholics how, for the sins of the Christians ... God in our time, as if robed in jealousy, has taken vengeance worse than He had before, and has struck and beaten the Catholic people, and continues to beat them, be it with glaive, death, or hunger.]

As Europe withdraws upon itself, sin, division and divine retribution strike the lands of the Western princes. Soon after the destruction of the Crusader States, Cyprus fell victim to discord and strife.[37] Throughout the fourteenth century, the divine will allowed the Ottoman Turks their conquests in the Balkans.[38] Most importantly, what had started at the Horns of Hattin in 1187 results, almost a hundred and fifty years later, in the Hundred Years War.

Philippe de Mézières is unequivocal with regard to the cause of the Hundred Years War. The war was begun 'par orgueil, avarice et envie, et pour possessions transitoires et temporelles' [through

pride, greed and envy, and for the sake of transitory and worldly possessions],[39] 'par orgueil et ambicion pour ung trespou de terre' [for pride and the desire for a little bit of land].[40] These sins – pride, envy and the desire for ever more and greater things – are the ones that had set Raymond of Tripoli against Guy of Lusignan more than a century before. As the Latins withdrew from *Outremer*, the moral transgressions that had caused so much damage there followed them into Europe. Not even France and England, the homelands of Crusaders such as Richard I and Philip II, were spared their unstoppable spread; by 1337, they pitted French and English against each other once again. Within this war between brothers in the Christian faith,[41] 'pour les pechiez mandee' [sent for the punishment of sin],[42] the English have been overwhelmingly successful. As their victories are indicative of God's will, it is clear to Mézières that they have been the corrective rod of divine justice: 'il se puet dire, et non pas sanz larmes en nostre crestiente, que la vaillant chevalerie d'Engleterre environ lx. ans, pour chastoier les pechiez par la sentence divine, a este transmuee et convertie en une aguille ou aguillon de fer, voire si tres poignant que ames infinies en sont dampnees et boulent en enfer' [it may be said, sadly enough, that the valiant chivalry of England while obeying the divine order to punish sin for about sixty years, has been changed and made into an iron needle, or goad, so sharp that it has forced souls without number to burn in Hell].[43] Though its causes lie with individual moral transgression, leading to division between brothers, the effects of the war strike almost all regions; bemoaning the indiscriminate destruction wrought by the English, Mézières points out that they 'souloient espandre le sanc de leur freres crestiens en Espaigne et en Bretaigne, en Escosse, en Normandie, en France, en Guianne, en Champaigne et en Picardie, par tele maniere que la plus grant partie de nostre crestiente, de la dicte espee des Anglois, a este toute ensanglantee en grant malediction de la crestiente catholique' [have been accustomed to shed the blood of their Christian brethren in Spain, Brittany, Scotland, Normandy, France, Guienne, Champagne and Picardy, in such wise that the greater part of our Christendom has been stained with blood by the sword of the English, to the horror of the Catholic world].[44] The avenging hand of God will reach as far as it must, even to the furthest regions of Latin Christianity.

The slow conflagration that had originated in *Outremer* before the Battle of Hattin had grown and reached almost all of Europe, and what started on the shores of the Mediterranean had now reached those of the North Sea and the Atlantic.

The wound

Throughout the works of Philippe de Mézières, we find the language of wounding. The Hundred Years War is a wound upon Christianity; so is the Papal Schism.[45] An analysis of Mézières's representation of the recent past, however, shows both of these to be a part of, and the result of, a greater wound, the origins of which lay far away in time and space. He argues that, after the First Crusade, the rulers of the Crusader States were victorious because they were guided by their morals and by their faith in God; they therefore expanded their dominion for a hundred years, keeping their Muslim enemies at bay. This period of success ended when in 1187, sins such as pride and jealousy led to divisions within the Latin armies, resulting in the original Wound – God withdrew His approval, and Jerusalem and the Holy Places were lost to Saladin. Sin and division, then, ruined the Crusade efforts of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and eventually led to the annihilation of the Christian settlements in the Levant. As Western Christianity withdrew further north, away from its spiritual heart, sin, division and retribution followed in its wake, eventually reaching even the most remote areas of Europe.

This has certain implications with regard to Philippe de Mézières's priorities. His interest is usually understood to be with the Crusade, to which he was keenly or even zealously devoted; his calls for peace between England and France, or even for an end to Western schism, may therefore appear as merely a means to that end. Mézières's representation of the recent past shows the relation between these to be more complicated: the Crusade in the Holy Land is not merely the solution to the Hundred Years War or the Schism, it is also in a very real sense its cause. Failure in the east struck a great wound in the heart of Christendom, which has spread to affect the kingdoms of the north, who now suffer as Christian brothers oppose

each other. Peace between the warring parties would alleviate the symptoms, but the only way to heal the wound itself is to pursue it to its place of origin through a new Crusade. There is a certain circularity to Mézières's thinking here. The successes of the First Crusaders were overthrown by sin and its consequences, which then followed the retreating Westerners to their home regions; for the West to be made whole again, these must be pushed back. As Mézières refers to the fact that 'autrefoys et pluseurs la Terre Sainte a este conquestee des crestiens, et toutefoys pau de tamps elle a este retenue a la foy crestienne' [the Holy Land has been conquered by the Christians numerous times before, and each time it has been kept for the Christian faith only briefly],[46] he may have considered this historical back and forth to have been of long standing.

This understanding of history, then, informs his plans for the continuation of the holy war. They are shaped by the need to heal the wound once and for all, to escape the circularity of politico-moral success and failure. The conquest of the Holy Land needs to be made permanent, lest Europe fall victim to the imperative of history yet again. Speaking to the French as well as the English, he points out that both are victims of greater forces, and that the destruction of the Hundred Years War is due to older issues left unresolved. They therefore should join to oppose what caused Christians to shed each other's blood at Crécy (1346) and Poitiers (1356), and adherents of Rome to oppose those of Avignon, in the first place; this needs both moral regeneration at home as well as battle on the shores of the Mediterranean.[47] The Order of the Passion, which will spearhead the recovery effort, must be shaped with an eye to the *longue durée*. To avoid the sins which led to the loss of the Holy Land the last time around, the Order must consist of fighters devoted to upholding good morals,[48] living in conjugal chastity,[49] wearing uniform dress;[50] to avoid division, the Order must have independent structures of government,[51] hold all property in common[52] and have its own sources of funding.[53] Though some may consider these strictures utopian, Philippe de Mézières's understanding of history showed them as necessary. The wound must be healed at last; his plan of domestic peace, warfare abroad and moral regeneration throughout Christianity may be the only way to prevent the past from repeating itself.

Notes

1 On Philippe de Mézières's extraordinary life and career, see Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*.
2 Mézières, *Letter*, 115 and 42.
3 Mézières, *Songe*.
4 France, 'Philippe de Mézières'; Williamson, 'Philippe de Mézières and the Idea of Crusade'.
5 Contamine, 'Guerre et paix', 188.
6 Williamson, '*Chevalerie de la Passion*'; Contamine, 'Ordre de la passion'.
7 Collette, 'Waging Spiritual War', 386.
8 Magee, 'Crusading', 379–80.
9 Curry, 'War or Peace?'; Magee, 'Crusading', 383.
10 For example: 'Il est vrai que Philippe de Mézières n'envisageait pratiquement la réalisation de son projet qu'une fois la paix rétablie, essentiellement les rois d'Angleterre et de France' [It is true that Philippe de Mézières did not envision practically the realisation of his project until peace was restored, essentially between the kings of England and France]. See Contamine, 'Guerre et paix', 189.
11 The source of his knowledge is unknown; however, Loomis points out that the 1373 catalogue of the royal library of the Louvre 'listed no fewer than thirteen manuscripts with the name Godfrey de Bouillon appearing in the title of each one', and Joan Williamson notes that in the catalogue for 1380, 'il y avait à la bibliothèque royale 17 livres sur la première croisade'. Mézières arrived in Paris in 1373, and would be attached to the French court as adviser to Charles V until 1380. See Loomis, 'Secular Dramatics', 247; Williamson, 'Philippe de Mézières et l'Influence', 167; Iorga, *Philippe de Mézières*, 420–2.
12 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 57–8 (my translation).
13 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 95 (my translation).
14 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 95.
15 Mézières, *Songe*, vol. 1, 515–16.
16 Mézières, *Letter*, 109, 36.
17 Loomis, 'Secular Dramatics'.
18 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 95 (my translation).
19 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 95.
20 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 96 (my translation). Mézières here refers to the Battle of Montgisard of 1177.

21 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 101–2. This fits within Mézières's conviction that the chivalry of his day compares poorly to that of previous generations; see Mézières, *Songe*, vol. 1, 101 and 525, and vol. 2, 402.

22 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 102 (my translation).

23 On which, see Atiya, *Crusade of Nicopolis*.

24 Mézières, 'Epistre', 449–50 (my translation). Mézières notably minimises the tactical and diplomatic errors of Guy of Lusignan, who had acquired the kingship through his wife Sibylla, daughter of Amalric and sister of Baldwin IV. This is likely due to his dedicated service as Chancellor to Guy's descendant Peter I of Cyprus. On Peter I of Cyprus, see Bliznyuk, 'Crusader'; Edbury, 'Crusading Policy'.

25 See n. 12 above.

26 Mézières, 'Epistre', 451 (my translation). On these four virtues, see Mézières, 'Epistre', 461–6.

27 Vander Elst, 'Holiness', 196–7.

28 Mézières, 'Epistre', 471 (my translation). Mézières discusses Frederick Barbarossa, whose forces took the overland route and who drowned before reaching the Holy Land, in his rule for the Order of the Passion; see Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 98.

29 Mézières, 'Epistre', 471 (my translation).

30 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 97. See also Mézières, 'Epistre', 471–2. On Louis IX's campaign to Tunis, see Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 98.

31 Mézières, *Letter*, 26–7.

32 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 76.

33 Mézières, *Letter*, 97 and 25.

34 Mézières, *Letter*, 99 and 26.

35 Mézières, *Letter*, 97 and 25.

36 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 75 (my translation).

37 Mézières, 'Epistre', 484–6.

38 Mézières, 'Epistre', 498 and 510–12.

39 Mézières, *Letter*, 79 and 7.

40 Mézières, *Songe*, vol. 1, 397 (my translation).

41 See, e.g., Mézières, *Letter*, 6–7, 14, 16 and 18.

42 Mézières, *Letter*, 79, 7.

43 Mézières, *Letter*, 86 and 14.

44 Mézières, *Letter*, 88 and 15.

45 See, for example, Mézières, *Letter*, 10 (War) and 21 (Schism).

46 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 57 (my translation).

47 On the juxtaposition of war and peace in the *Epistre lamentable*, see Philippe Buc, '*Epistre lamentable*'.

48 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 81.
49 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 81.
50 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 85–6.
51 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 78–80.
52 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 82.
53 Hamdy, 'Philippe de Mézières', 82–3.

Mirrors of war: chronicle narratives, class conflict and regiminal ideology between France and England, *c.*1330–1415

Matthew Giancarlo

Jean Froissart was nothing if not a good storyteller, and in large part his talent for choosing compelling anecdotes underlies the power of his wartime narratives. A famous vignette from his account of the Battle of Poitiers in 1356 can serve as a good entry point for investigating the dynamics of class, language and the wartime practices of exchange that underlay ideas of governance and regimen between England and France during the Hundred Years War. On the battlefield at Poitiers as the French are being routed – even driven back to the city walls and slaughtered in the road before the main gate – the standard-bearer Geoffrey de Charny is killed and the French forces dissolve into chaos. The king's division collapses and King John II himself, surrounded by hostile English, looks to surrender. As he is being jostled, he comes into range of 'un chevalier de la nation de Saint-Omer que on clamoit monsigneur Denis de Morbeke' [a knight from the region of Saint-Omer called Sir Denis de Morbecque],

> et avoit depuis V ans ou environ servi les Englès, pour tant que il avoit de sa jonèce fourfait le royaulme de France par guerre d'amis et d'un hommecide que il avoit fait a Saint-Omer, et estoit retenus dou roy d'Engleterre as sauls at as gages. Si chéi adont si bien à point au dit chevalier que il estoit dalés le roy de France et li plus proçains qui y fust, quant on tiroit ensi à lui prendre: si se avança en le presse, à le force des bras et dou corps, car il estoit grans et fors, et dist au roy en bon françois, où li roi s'arresta plus c'as aultres: 'Sire, sire, rendés-vous.' Li rois qui se veoit en dur parti et trop enforciés de ses ennemis et ossi que la deffense ne li valoit mès riens, demanda

en regardant le chevalier: 'A cui me renderai-jou? à cui? Où est mon cousin le prince de Galles? se je le veoie, je parleroie.' – 'Sire,' respondi messires Denis de Morbeke, 'il n'est pas ci; més rendes-vous à moy, et je vous menrai devers lui.' – 'Qui estes vous?' dist li rois – 'Sire, je sui Denis de Morbeke, uns chevaliers d'Artoi; mès je siers le roy d'Engleterre, pour tant que je y ay fourfait tout le mien.' Adont respondi li rois de France, sicom je fui depuis enfourmés, ou deubt respondre: 'Et je me rench à vous', et li bailla son destre gant.

[who had been with the English for five years because he had been banished from France in his youth after killing a man in a family feud. He had become a paid retainer of the King of England. Fortunately for this knight he found himself near to King John during the scuffle to capture him. He forced his way through the press, for he was a big, strong man, and said in good French, by which he attracted the king's attention better than the others: 'Sire, give yourself up!' Seeing himself in this desperate plight and feeling that resistance was useless, the king looked at him and said, 'to whom shall I surrender? To whom? Where is my cousin the Prince of Wales [i.e. Edward the Black Prince]? If I could see him, then I would speak.' 'Sire,' replied Sir Denis, 'he is not here. But surrender to me and I will take you to him.' 'Who are you?' the king asked. 'Sire, I am Sir Denis de Morbecque, a knight from Artois. But I serve the King of England because I have been exiled from France and have forfeited all my possessions. Then, as I was informed, the king answered, or probably answered: 'I surrender to you', and gave him his right-hand glove.][1]

Sir Denis's *bon françois* gives the enterprising knight an advantage on the battlefield, as the king can understand and communicate with him to secure his own safety. Denis is another figure of exchange, serving in the court of the English king because of his banishment from his native lands in Artois. Thus, a French-speaking knight from Artois in the service of the English king secures (at least temporarily) the grandest prize to be won, his own French king.[2] He does so explicitly to deliver him to Prince Edward the Black Prince, as this exchanged knight himself was eager to profit from the aristocratic game of prisoner exchanges that provided the profits of war. King John was nobly received by his 'cousin' the Prince of Wales, and as the Chandos Herald notes, the two kinsmen resided amiably together that night in a tent on the battlefield, among the dead.[3]

And so, as Froissart famously declared, at Poitiers 'Et fu là morte ... toute li fleur de la chevalerie de France' [there died the whole flower of French chivalry].[4] The capture of King John precipitated the continued troubles in France for decades to come. The circumstances attending that surrender provide a good example of how the shared assumptions and class-determined practices of exchange made the whole episode play out as it did between warring nations, and as I will argue here, how that dynamic of exchange blurs the lines of interior versus exterior, of 'national' identity versus cross-class and cross-national allegiances. Sir Denis has made a home in exile in England and even in English royal service; King John scans the battlefield for his English cousin to properly surrender. Both men behave like family, communicating and sharing as kin even amidst the bloodiest conflict yet seen in the war. It is not just shared language and class but the shared language *of* class that makes the terms of exchange possible.

As I would like to argue in this analysis, it is also a shared language of governance and regimen, that is, a specific modality of regiminal understanding of proper behaviours which come to the surface as governing principles with both symbolic and pragmatic force, depending on 'who one is' in the stratified relations of language and social position. As much recent scholarship has made clear, these relationships were mediated by wartime literary practices, and they were further reinforced by exchanges of specifically regiminal and mirror-texts circulating between France and England with notable frequency. At the aristocratic and royally symbolic level, these sorts of exchanges were cultivated particularly in the second phase of the war under Richard II (*r.*1377–99), as the English attempted to imitate the Valois-inspired cult of divine kingship.[5] At the lower levels of the social spectrum where the war was fought closer to the bone, we find remarkable expressions of class awareness that are as cognisant of their antagonistic distinctions as they are of their mutual dependence, expressions of both difference and solidarity that confuse the nationalistic boundaries supposedly driving the conflict. I would like to discuss here several examples of this exchange dynamic, in both poetry and prose, highlighting the sometimes occluded relation of sameness-in-difference specifically in contemporary idealisations and critiques of good governance.

Chronicle accounts from the time around Poitiers provide telling examples of the crossing of conflicts from exterior foreign war to interior civil war, and from one nationality to the other. In the chronicle of Jean de Venette, the Carmelite friar and Provincial Superior of France provides (with the benefit of hindsight) a fore-boding account of the conflicts between the peasantry and aristoc-racy that would cross national borders in the wake of the French defeat at Poitiers:

> Anno igitur eodem MCCCLVI fastus et dissolutio in multis personis nobilibus et militaribus quamplurimum inolevit ... Incoeperunt etiam gestare tunc plumas avium in pileis adaptatas, laxantes ultra modum se ad voluptates carnis, et ad ludos taxillorum de nocte, et pilae cum palma de die nimium intendentes; unde populus communis lugere poterat et lugebat pecunias ab eo pro facto guerrae levatas, in talibus ludis et usibus inutiliter positas et conversas. Tunc temporis nobiles, derisiones de rusticis et simplicibus facientes, vocabant eos *Jaque Bonne homme*. Unde in illo anno qui in bellis rusticaliter missi por-tabant arma sua, trufati et spreti ab aliis, hoc nomen *Jaque Bonne homme* acceperunt, et nomen rustici perdiderunt. Quo quidem nomine omnes rustici ruerunt postea tam a Gallicis quam Anglicis diutius nominati. Sed, proh dolor! multi qui eos hoc tempore tali nomine deriserunt, a quamplurimis de ipsis postmodum letaliter-delusi sunt. Nam multi postea per manus rusticorum, ut dicetur, miserabiliter perierunt, et deinde vice versa plurimi rustici per aliquos nobiles crudeliter occisi sunt, et villae eorum in hujusmodi vindictam concrematae.

> [In the same year, 1356, the luxury and dissoluteness of many of the nobles and the knights became still more deeply rooted … By night they devoted themselves immoderately to the pleasures of the flesh or to games of dice; by day, to ball or tennis. Wherefore the common people had reason to lament, and did lament greatly, that the taxes levied on them for the war were uselessly spent on such sports and converted to such uses. It was at this time that the nobles in derision called the peasants and simple folk *Jacques Bonhomme.* That year men sent to the wars who bore arms in rustic fashion of peasants were given the name *Jacques Bonhomme* by those who mocked and despised them, and thus lost the name of peasant. Both French and English called peasants this for a long time afterwards. But, woe is me! Many who derided peasants with this name were later made

mortal sport of by them. For many nobles, as shall be told, perished miserably at the hands of peasants and many peasants in turn were cruelly slain by the nobles and their villages burned in revenge.][6]

Venette's foreshadowing of the Jacquerie Revolt of 1358 is remarkable for its connection of the peasant uprising not just to the tax burdens imposed by the nobility ostensibly to pay for the war, but to the class antagonisms expressed during the war muster itself.[7] The very name *Jacques Bonhomme* – apparently displacing the 'lost name' of *rustici/paysan* as '(fellow) countryman' – was a pejorative identity-marker for the same peasantry who were serving in the war, indeed the ones who would die at the Battle of Poitiers alongside (or underneath) the 'flower of French chivalry'. In this way the conflict of French versus English was mirrored by the conflict of low versus high class within the French nation and even within the military impressment. That specifically class-based conflict carried across national lines as the derisive name of 'Jack Goodman' became as much English property as French.

As Venette explains and Froissart also relates – and as Christine de Pizan would also later assert repeatedly – at its root this crossing of conflict resulted directly from the loss of proper regimen among the ruling classes of the nation which in turn prompted the breakdown of relations ostensibly justifying estates' distinctions and governance in the first place. Froissart composed two remarkable pastourelles on the subject, one lamenting the violence of the routiers who pillaged the French countryside after the Battle of Poitiers, and another decrying that 'a wolf has been set to guard the sheep' ('un lour pour garder les oeilles'), which probably refers to the peace treaties negotiated between France and England in 1359–60 that left the common people exposed to violence from both the English invaders and their own nobility.[8] Far from defending the country, as Venette also laments, the nobility became the wartime enemy of their own peasants, and the peasantry could not distinguish the marauding forces of the English – both armies and free companies pillaging at will – from their own nobility.[9] Even accounting for the chronicler's biases, other sources attest to essentially the same dynamic of internalised war. This too has an interesting set of symbolic and ideological manifestations in the blurring of French and

English national identities, as it becomes harder to say just who were the 'fellow countrymen' and who the 'enemy'.

Froissart presents the popular uprising of the Jacquerie as an anti-chivalry: headless, animal and inhuman, anticipating and perhaps influencing John Gower's later characterisation of the Great Rising of 1381. As such, military violence was easily turned inward, even as the rebellious constituency of the Jacquerie itself displayed a 'remarkable degree of organizational and hierarchical leadership', possibly drawn from military experience.[10] Froissart recounts how the commander for the English, the Captal de Buch (Jean III de Grailly), together with the count of Foix, effectively turned their military skills against the rebellious peasants of Meux, 'exterminat[ing] more than seven thousand' [il en tuèrent ce jour plus de VII^m] and burning the town to the ground.[11] And another siege episode indicates how the violence of the war operated on two separate planes or levels. In 1359, at the town of Cormicy (just north of Reims), the English commander Bartholomew Burghersh successfully invested and undermined the castle controlled by the archbishop of Reims.[12] Rather than attacking, Burghersh brought the castle's commander, Sir Henry de Vaulx, safely outside to see that his great tower had been completely compromised and would fall as soon as the English attacked. Sir Henry then surrendered his garrison peacefully and commended Burghersh for his honourable behaviour: 'Certainnement, sire, vous avés bonne cause, et ce que fair en avés, vous vient de grant gentillèsce: si nous mettons en vostre volenté et le nostre ossi' [Certainly, sir, you were quite right and it was really a gentlemanly act to do what you did. We put ourselves at your disposal with everything we have with us]. As the castle is destroyed, Froissart recounts Burghersh's telling exchange with Vaulx:

'Or regardés', ce dist messires Biétremieus à monseigneur Henri des Vaus et à chiaus de la fortrèce, 'se je vous disoie vérité'. Il respondirent: 'Sire, oil, nous demorons vostre prisonnier à vostre volenté, et vous remercions de vostre courtoisie, car lie Jake Bonhomme qui jadis resgnèrent en ce pays, se il euissent esté au-deseure de nous ensi que vous estiés orains, il ne nous euissent mies fait la cause parelle que vous avés.'

['Look at that', said Lord Burghersh to Sir Henry de Vaulx and the rest of the garrison. 'Didn't I tell you?' 'Yes, sir', they replied.

'We will remain prisoners at your discretion and we are grateful for your courteous dealing. If the Jack Goodmans (*Jake Bonhomme*) who were once uppermost in this district had got the better of us as you did just now, they would never have treated us in this generous way.']13

This is another story of military surrender where again the wartime distinctions between 'French' and 'English' are almost completely blurred by the coordinate but orthogonal forces of social class. Like King John on the battlefield looking to surrender to his English cousin, the local French and English chivalry have more in common with one another than they do with their own countrymen, and their conduct in war is explicitly framed in this differential way.

At the same time, the Jack Goodmans/Jacques Bonhommes of both nations apparently formed a boundary-crossing estate as well, and this conflict, high versus low, also inflected the perception of the conduct of the war from a bottom-up perspective. Decades later a similar dynamic is evident in Froissart's account of the English Uprising of 1381, which was motivated by English domestic wartime pressures but which Froissart presents as part of a transnational crisis. After telling how the English rebels forced some knights and nobles to join their ranks, he says of the Uprising:

> Or regardés le grant derverie. Se il fuissent venu à leur entente, il eussent destruit tous les nobles en Engletière, at après en autres nations. Tous menus peuples se fust revelés; en prendoient piet et exemple sour cheux de Gand et de Flandres qui se rebelloient contre leur signeur, et en celle propre année li Parisyen le fissent ossi et trouvèrent à faire les mailles de fier, don't il fissent plus de XX mille, sicom je vous recorderay quant je seray venus jusques à là, mais nous poursievrons à parler premièrement de ceulx d'Engletière.

> [Just consider what devilry was abroad. If their plans had succeeded, they would have destroyed all the nobility of England; and afterwards, in other nations. All the common people would have rebelled; they had been inspired and influenced by the people of Ghent and Flanders who rebelled against their lord. And in that very year the Parisians did the same, making themselves long iron hammers to the number of over twenty thousand.]14

Froissart's account of the English Uprising is among the best known and most informative, both for the broad sequence of events and for

some of the domestic details.[15] Here, taking a wider view, Froissart connects the rebellion directly to the Maillotins Uprising of 1382 in Paris and (by implication) to the Harelle rebellion in Rouen just prior to it, as well as to the long Flemish peasant rebellion of 1323–28. Ostensibly both the English and French rebellions were motivated by abuses of taxation, but Froissart sees them as cross-channel expressions of organised anti-aristocratic violence and as revolutionary movements taking inspiration from one another. The disparate events are presented as *de facto* evidence of a kind of European community of *bonhommes*, a mirror-reversed version of the transnational self-awareness of the chivalric class itself. International chivalric war has its not-so-secret sharer in class war.

At other places Froissart also accounts for the class-based anger of the English community, expressed not by the bourgeoisie but explicitly by the agrarian and pastoral working segment:

> Et, se le coustiage et les tailles en estoient grandes parmy France, aussi estoient-elles en Angleterre et tant que toutes gens s'en dou-loient. Mais pour tant que la communaulté veoit que il besoingnoit, ils s'en portoient au plus bellement que ils povoient. Si disoient-ils: 'C'est trop sans raison que on nous taille maintenant pour mettre le nostre aux chevalliers et escuiers de ce pays; car pourqouy? Il fault que ils deffendent leur héritages. Nous sommes leurs varlets, nous labourons leurs terres et les biens de quoy ils vivent. Nous leur nour-rissons les bestes de quoy ils prendent les leynes. A tout considérer, se Angleterre se perdoit, ils perdroient trop plus que nous'.

> [And if the expenses and taxes were great in France, they also were in England, and everybody complained about them. But insofar as the community saw that it was necessary, they bore it as best they could. So they said, 'It's ridiculous that we are taxed to give our goods to the knights and squires of this country; and why? It's their job to defend their own heritages. We are their servants, we work their lands and [provide] the goods by which they live. We feed their beasts from which they take the wool. All things considered, if England were lost, they would lose a lot more than us!']^[16]

Here, in another mirror-moment, the comparison between England and France is made explicitly to show that for the labouring classes – servants and agricultural labourers and workers of the wool trade, England's tax staple – things really were not so

different on either side. Since the nobility were fighting for their own 'good(s)', their relation to the nation is seen as a sectional and fundamentally different interest. *They* are the ones with something to lose, not the workers who labour for them. And yet the English labourers are now the ones being taxed for war and (at this point in the 1380s) with a severity finally beginning to approach the level of exploitation already felt in France for decades.

Froissart's point is probably to condemn the disloyal and unchivalrous grumbling of the lower classes, but viewed overall, these several vignettes point to a larger insight. Taken in the context of the military events of the war and the conduct of war, what emerges from them is a complex set of exchanges across not just the national categories of 'French' and 'English' but also across the ideological divide of feudal versus seigneurial bonds and the manifestations of class identity. The feudal system of vassalage bound the aristocracy together but also exposed the contradictions and conflicts of material interest at stake in the ties of hereditary lordship, as well as in the political fault-lines not mapping neatly onto national divisions. Correlatively, the seigneurial system of material extraction and manorial dominance – the relentlessly local and regional exploitation of peasant and artisanal classes – emerges as a non-localised and rhizomatic vector of conflict that criticises, in a potentially revolutionary way, the transnational ideals of princely governance and regimen supposedly justifying the peasantry's own subjection. Since the nobility were no longer fulfilling their duty of protection – indeed, since they were as bad as 'the enemy' in both violence and taxation – what good was obedience and service? And from the perspective of the narrative and genre-based expressions of these tensions, we might fairly ask how it is that at least some of the recorded events of the Hundred Years War indicate the mixture of stratified languages we see in this context of conflict?

The episodes discussed so far have highlighted the complex exchanges of French–English wartime identities at the practical but also conceptual or ideological level. They provide examples of the ambiguity attending questions of 'national' identity for both sides, perhaps more so for the French and their less precociously developed structures of nation statehood.[17] At the same time, as these

episodes make evident, the cross-class and cross-national tensions of identity were not unperceived, both between nations and within them. Explicit connections were drawn not just from chivalry to chivalry but also from peasantry to peasantry, and against the grain of the national boundaries that both sides tried to enforce. Practical notions of 'good governance' and its failure bespeak the kind of boundary-crossing awareness of reginimal ideals exchanged in the literature of governance across the temporal length of the Hundred Years War, and indeed both before and after it.

At first glance this may seem a strange genre-connection to make, from chronicles and imaginative writings to the supposedly practical writing of *de regimine* texts and mirrors for princes, in the context of war narratives that display this conflict-driven ideological mixture. As recent criticism has shown, reginimal texts were a shared currency specifically between French and English, and not just for the idealised portraits of the princely ruler or the personal ethical virtues of good governance.[18] They were vehicles for the broader constitutional discourses of the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which acted as a common language through which assertions of both identity and difference could be articulated in terms drawn from the war, as the genre was directly concerned with the practices of war. The genres and tropes of the reginimal mode were important enough for the attention of every major English courtly writer of the period: Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, Thomas Hoccleve, John Lydgate and others all wrote or translated their versions of mirrors and *de regimine* texts, which provided a major vector for the recovery of Latin classical and post-classical writing. The French translation of the *Livre de l'informacion des princes* of Jean Golein from around 1379 found its way into English libraries at about the same time that John Trevisa was producing a complete English translation of Giles of Rome's massive *De regimine principum,* which was also translated into French.[19] A minor work such as Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au Roi Richart* (*Letter to King Richard II*) from 1395 exploited the tropes of the 'reginimal letter' as well as the symbolic alchemical, geomantic and medical lore that travelled closely with the *de regimine* genre in the tradition of the *Secretum secretorum*.[20] The French letter directly exhorted the king to reconcile the 'marriage' of French and English

relations.[21] The mirror-texts of Chaucer and Gower (the *Tale of Melibee* and Book 7 of the *Confessio Amantis*), although more artistically oriented, also fit into this larger pattern of genre-mixing and border-crossing. Simply put, the French and English were talking to each other extensively through this mode during the war, as a means of both chivalric exchange and national self-definition.

But if this process of literary exchange was taking place, it is also the case that the regiminal genre, specifically from its inception in English writing, provided a vector for the critique of lordship, in tropes that drew from the ideologemic figuration of the French monarchy for critical contrast and self-definition.[22] French and English national identities were co-mixed here too, and the traces of that mixture are visible through different identificatory strategies. A Latin *Fürstenspiegel* from the early fourteenth century provides a good initial example. At the start of Edward III's reign the cleric and author William of Pagula composed – and then apparently later re-composed – a mirror-text for his new sovereign, editorially titled *Admonition to King Edward III or Mirror of the King*. Both versions (of which there are several manuscripts) date from around 1331–32, just after the death of Charles IV and during the time Edward III was assessing his claim to the French crown.[23] The differences between the two versions are revealing. Both exhort Edward to good kingship and good policy, but 'Version A' invokes canon law, English statutes, legal charters (including Magna Carta) and the negative example of the recently deposed Edward II. The treatise also appeals strongly to class arguments and threats of conflict. It warns the young king that popular rebellion will rise if he does not observe the proper constitutional limitations on his power of purveyance. Because of his 'rapinas et injusticias', 'robberies and injustices',

> quasi totus populus tristatur contra adventum tuum ubicumque veneris in regnum tuum et tecum non sunt mente, licet tecum videantur corpore, et forte, si caput aliud haberent insurgerent contra te, sicut contra patrem tuum fecerunt, et sicut in veritate non haberes tecum aliquam populi multitudinem.

> it is as if the whole people sorrows against your coming, wherever you may travel in your kingdom. The people are not of one mind with you, although they seem to be of one body with you, and indeed,

if they had another head, they would rise against you, just as they did against your father, and then in truth, you will not have a multitude of people with you.][24]

Negative passages like this dot the treatise. As Pagula says elsewhere, quoting scripture, 'et tu, domine rex, nisi aliter facias ordinari, timendum est, de amissione regni tui. Juxta illud Ecc. x: "Regnum a gente in gentem transfertur propter injusticias, et injurias, et contumelias, et diversos dolos"' [and you, lord king, unless you ordain otherwise, the loss of your kingdom must be feared. According to Ecclesiasticus 10:8, 'Kingdoms are transferred from people to people, on account of injustices, injuries, contumacies, and diverse harms'].[25] He asks rhetorically, 'Nonne tu, rex, astrictus es obedire preceptis Dei sicut unus rusticus?' [Are not you, king, required to obey the precepts of God as much as any peasant?], and he warns clearly that if the king's household continues with unjust purveyances he risks resistance and rebellion: 'in hiis enim, que sunt contra preceptum Dei, non est regi obediendum, sed resistendum, et qui sic fecerit grande premium sibi adquirit' [for in these things that are against the precept of God, one must not obey, but rather resist, the king, and he who does this obtains reward for himself].[26] As Cary Nederman has noted, these are some of the most striking expressions of popular resistance to be found in any such work.[27]

These radical criticisms of 'Version A' contrast starkly with the 'Version B' of the same treatise. In this other rendition, all of the legalistic citations of Gratian's *Decretum* and English statue law are removed; almost all hints or direct threats of domestic rebellion are softened; and a clearer sermon-structure is provided for the text's framework with a *thema* taken from Deuteronomy 32:29, 'O Domine mi Rex: Utinam saperes et intelligeres ac novissima provideres' [O Lord my God, that you would be wise and would understand, and would provide for your last end], which is repeated at every chapter head.[28] The criticisms are also largely reframed as moral and eschatological exhortations, not legal and constitutional, urging the king to 'look to his end'. And while still English, this second version looks much more to France and the French. In a large addition, Chapter 11 inserts the entire text of 'Les enseignements de Saint Louis à son fils', a regiminal letter on

good governance supposedly written by Louis IX to Prince Philip
(Philip III 'The Bold') as recorded in Jean de Joinville's *Histoire
de Saint Louis*.[29] In approximately twenty-four sub-sections of
this text within a text, Louis exhorts his son to avoid evil customs,
unjust purveyances and all manner of moral temptations and fail-
ings of kings. For Pagula, St Louis exemplifies how the English king
can avoid the harm of bad policies and thus escape 'odium Dei,
et odium populi tui anglicani' [the hatred of God and the hatred
of your English people].[30] At the end of the treatise he concludes:
'Erroribus premissis correctis, et a te sancti Ludovici regis ammo-
nicionibus inchoatis; te docebo qualiter Deo et populo complacebis
et sic rectam viam ad celi gaudium ambulabis. [When you have
corrected the errors previously mentioned and begun on the warn-
ings of the St King Louis, then I will teach you how to please God
and the people, and thus you will walk along the right path to the
joy of heaven].[31] The French king thus becomes a direct regiminal
model for Edward and even a figure for mediating what was, in the
first draft, one of the most vociferous critiques of an English king to
come down to us from the period.

   In generic content, Pagula's criticisms are closer to what much of
the *de regimine* tradition actually says about resisting tyrants. Every
major work of that genre – books by John of Salisbury, Brunetto
Latini, Vincent of Beauvais, Giles of Rome, Ptolemy of Lucca,
John of Wales, the *Secretum secretorum* and others – condemn
the oppressions of overreaching kings who exploit their subjects
unjustly. Like Pagula, each one warns that discord, popular rebel-
lion and overthrow are the inevitable fate of tyrants. As well there
are other examples in the British *de regimine* tradition of writers
appealing specifically to French models for a contrastive example
of good governance, proper constitutionality and generally virtu-
ous behaviour.[32] So there was some prior experience in this mode
of looking over the Channel and taking something good by which
to judge the badness of a domestic king, and along with this, of
framing that critique in explicit class terms. That is, political rebel-
lion would not be only (or mainly) manifested by the resistance of
the noble classes, but the commonalty and peasantry would rise
up and resist and have justification for doing so. Even the eclectic
Secretum secretorum, widely circulated and frequently adapted

from French to English during the Hundred Years War, highlights the threat of popular uprising as a correlative to its vision of a balanced political order that both imitates and epitomises the harmony of the natural world and divine order.[33] English writers such as Gower, who read and adapted the *Secretum* (along with, in Gower's case, the French-language *Trésor* of Latini), could not have missed these elements of popular resistance and peasant rebellion that are presented not simply as the lamentable collapse of authority, but as a homeostatic mechanism whereby a return to proper order is, in the natural course of things, more or less assured.[34]

Looking at the genre with an emphasis on these elements of class rebellion and in the context of these chronicle accounts, it then becomes, if not necessarily more obvious, then certainly more understandable why contemporary writers betray such a conflicted consciousness not only of national identity but also of class conflicts. In his works Chaucer remained famously mum about the direct impact of both the Hundred Years War and the long-running class frictions attendant to it, although specific elements of his oeuvre give hints of critical awareness.[35] Gower repeatedly appeals to the *vox populi* as both a personal and institutional vehicle for the tenor of his public poetry: he insistently frames himself as the voice of traditional reginal authority *and* the voice of 'popular' protest. At the same time, he strongly condemns the commons and peasantry for the violence of rebellion that he saw (like Froissart) as a direct product of the war and as an unacceptable challenge to the chivalric ideology underwriting it. Gower's own engagement with the transnational *de regimine* mode thus both invokes and effaces this important coordinate aspect of subaltern class-consciousness, even as his linguistic practice moves from French to English (and draws French texts into English) in the most adroit way of any Anglophone writer. When he is most 'French' in language and influence he most vociferously asserts his Englishness, and in turns his expressions of Englishness – his insistent self-presentation as the critical *vox clamantis* – draw from the reginal framework of ethical governance which was largely a French inheritance.[36]

In the long Lancastrian period of the war, the most important exemplars of this dynamic of exchange were Thomas Hoccleve and

Christine de Pizan, both in their persons and works. We might say that they formed, from an English point of view, something of a Christine–Hoccleve dyad, a female–male, French–English pair in which Hoccleve frankly leeched from Christine's prior and trend-setting work as he mediated and legitimated it for English consumption. This exchange was largely filtered through the *de regimine* mode, even when the generic content was ostensibly courtly. As modern scholarship has noted, Christine de Pizan was a liminal figure in almost all ways: in gender, marital status, class, nationality (an Italian-Pisan with a strong adopted French identity) and as one of the vernacular French writers who most successfully fed the aristocratic appetite for both courtly and neoclassical regiminal works.[37] After 1400 almost all of her major works were composed under the broad aegis of regiminal and mirror-texts, including her influential adaptation of Vegetius, *Le Livre de fais d'armes et de chevalrie*, and the paired *Le Livre de la cité des dames* and *Le Livre des trois vertus*. Indeed, her career as a professional writer began with the same fraught dynamic of French–English hostage exchange that characterised the war as a whole. When her son Jean was detained by the usurper Henry IV after the deposition of Richard II, she promised to cross the Channel and take up residence as a writer in the English court if Henry agreed to allow Jean's return to France. But once he was out of harm's way, she declined to complete the exchange.[38] What *was* exchanged were her numerous books, which were extensively translated and imitated by Hoccleve and later in the 1450s by the scholar-soldiers of the Fastolf circle, making her one of the most prominent 'English' literary figures during that phase of the war.[39] For all his praise and ostensible debt to Chaucer, it was really Christine whom Hoccleve most imitated and emulated and who was his most significant contemporary interlocutor.[40] Although his own *Regiment of Princes* does not identify Christine's writing as his immediate source (as it was for his *Letter of Cupid*), he clearly imitates her voice and literary practice in his dependence upon Giles of Rome and in his foray into the *Fürstenspiegel* genre, with a large personal element added to the political.

The text of Hoccleve's *Regiment* addresses the French–English war most directly at the very end, the traditional textual spot in a *de regimine* for deliberations on the conduct of war.[41] His fitful

attempts at mediatory gestures, the explicit turn to the French–English conflict as a tragic example of 'werre inward', and his sorrow over the 'agonye' of France, all enact this conflation of inward versus outward through the recasting of foreign war as civil war, a war of self versus self:

> Now unto my mateere of werre inward
> Resort I; but to seeke stories olde
> Noon neede is, syn this day sharp werre and hard
> Is at the dore heere, as men may beholde.
> France, no wondir thogh thyn herte colde
> And brenne also, swich is thyn agonye;
> Thyself manaceth thyself for to dye.
>
> Thyself destroie, and feeble is thy victorie
> Thow hast in thyself stryven ofte or now
> And has appeised al, have in memorie,
> Thurgh thy prudence.
>
> I am an Englissh man and am thy fo;
> For thow a fo art unto my ligeance;
> And yit myn herte stuffid is with wo
> To see thyn unkyndly disseverance.
> Accordith yow; girdeth yow with souffraunce!
> Yee greven God and yourself harme and shame,
> And your foos therof han desport and game. (5286–96, 5307–13)

Written after the main violence of the Burgundian-Armagnac feud in France (Hoccleve's ostensible referent here), the *Regiment* goes on to declare it would be better if 'France and Engeland' were united 'oon in herte' for the good example of all Christian nations: 'Yee hem ensaumplen, yee been hir miroures / They folwen yow' (5321–9). In this way the major English mirror-text of the period presents the combatants, and the conflict itself, as both a mirror and a redoubling, even as Hoccleve is mirroring Christine by taking her field of vernacular literary practice and translating it across the Channel. The domestic troubles of France are ambiguously both those internecine upheavals and France's refusal to acknowledge its external but 'rightful' sovereign in Henry. But again, the same laments could be made for England too, which had been no less riven by violent internal divisions during the war. This point simply could not have

been lost on Hoccleve, as he spends the first two thousand lines of the *Regiment* cataloguing the endemic, class-crossing and bodily ills of the English nation and of the 'Englissh man' – Hoccleve himself – lamenting them. The crossings and redoublings are thus more complex than they might seem at first glance, as the frame of war is itself refracted in those mirror-texts which provide the ideologemes and figures necessary for understanding it in the first place.

In contrast, although there are no references to England as a double or mirror in Christine's texts – and no idealisations of an English king in the way Pagula idealised St Louis – we do find expressions of class awareness combined with questions of regiminal virtue, governmental legitimacy and class conflict. Christine's most traditionally structured *de regimine* is the *Livre du corps de policie* (*c*.1406), which was translated into English in the later fifteenth century.[42] It is divided into three parts based on three estates: princes, nobles and knights, and 'tout l'universel peuple' [the common people]. Roughly following the pseudo-Plutarchan organicist model drawn from John of Salisbury, Christine includes in this third estate not just the bourgeois and artisanal classes but also, explicitly, the agricultural, labouring and peasant classes necessary for the health and regimen of the entire body politic.[43] She says she will describe the good governance of the *universitas* in France only. But in addition to her considerations of the French political scene, she includes criticisms of the fickle nature of elective and chartered governments elsewhere:

> Car les terres qui sont gouvernees des hommes par l'universel monde sont subgetz a divers establisemens selonc les anciennes coutumes des lieux. Les unes sont gouvernees par elections des empereurs, les aultres par succession des roys, at ainsi diversement. Aussi y a des cités et païs qui possident seigneuries et se gouvernent par princes qu'ilz eslisent entre eux. Et souvent teles y a qui font leur election a voulenté plus que par grande raison, par quoy avient a la foys que ainsi comme a voulenté les eslisent, semblablement les deposent. Et tele gouvernaunce n'est mie a preu du bien ou elle s'acoustume, si comme en Ytalie en maintz lieux.

> [Throughout the whole world, lands which are governed by humans are subject to different institutions according to the ancient customs of places. Some are governed by elected emperors, others by hereditary

kings, and so on. Also there are cities and countries which are self-governed and are ruled by princes which they choose among themselves. Often these make their choice more by will than by reason. And sometimes, having chosen them by caprice, they seem to depose them in the same way. Such government is not beneficial where it is the custom, as in Italy in many places.][44]

As in the *Livre de l'informacion des princes*, these general observations come at the end of the whole book, whereas in many Latin regiminal texts they are at the beginning. Throughout this and her later works she repeats many of the commonplaces characteristic of the regiminal mode. Most notable is the way these comparisons play out with their immediate class context. Why muse on the variability of constitutional forms at this point, in the part of the treatise that is devoted to the third estate and is most insistent that the *universitas* should be patient, obedient and loyal to France's kings? Here as elsewhere in Christine's work, the threat of popular rebellion suffuses her explication without being explicitly evoked.[45] The barely suppressed comparison is not just with the chartered city-states of Italy but also with the English neighbour to the north, that country so prone to upheavals and capricious depositions despite – or even because of – their powerful nobles and chartered liberties. Speaking of the need to tolerate bad princes, Christine goes on:

Ces choses dictes peuent tourner a exemple en aucun pais. Mais Dieu mercy en France n'avons mie princes crueulx ne plains de sang contre leur peuple. Car des toutes les nacions du monde je l'ose dire sans flaterie, car il est vray, n'a tant benignes princes ne tant humains qu'il y a en France; et de tant leur doit estre plus doulcement obey. En quoy que aucunesfoys il semble par aventure au peuple, qu'il soit grevé et chargié, ne cuident point que autre part, c'est assçavoir es aultres royaumes ou pays le peuple soit moins grevé que celui de France. Car pose qu'ilz ne le soient d'aucunes choses par la raison des leurs franchises, si le sont ilz d'aultres servitutes plus prejudiciables comme des grans tortz qu'on leur fait ou que eulz mesmes s'entrefont par occisions. Et n'y a point de justice qui les en garde ou diversement en aultre maniere.

[These things could be given as an example in any country, but merciful God has not put cruel and bloody princes against their people in France. Because of all nations of the world, I dare say without

flattery, it is true that there are no more benign and humane princes than in France, and thus they ought all the more to be obeyed. And even if sometimes by chance it seems to the people that they are grieved and burdened, they should not believe that other places are less so, and even supposing that were true because of their chartered liberties (*leurs franchises*) that other people enjoy, yet they may have other services and usages that are more detrimental, like great wrongs done to them, or murders amongst themselves, because there is no justice which guards them or treats them in another way.][46]

Given France's well-known history of internal upheaval prior to the Burgundian-Armagnac civil war, and given the kinds of complaints that even aristocratic chroniclers like Froissart were able to voice, it seems fair to say that Christine is being disingenuous with this rosy picture of class relations in her adopted homeland.[47]

Nonetheless it is the comparative popular-regiminal perspective that gives her argument its nativist point. However bad things may be here, the political systems of other countries are not any better, *franchises* or no. At the same time that Christine declares the unique regiminal virtues of the French and the honesty of her unbiased testimony, she also acknowledges that when it comes to the tribulations of governance, the French are, in fact, more or less in the same situation as everybody else:

> Et quoy que nul die, sauve la grace des contredisans, quelque mal que il ait en France ne qui que s'en plaingne, je tiens que des tous les pays de Crestienté c'est cellui ou il fait communement meilleur habiter, et tant pour la benignité des princes sans cruaulté comme pour la courtoisie et aimableté des gens d'icelle nacion. Et toutesfoys ce ne dy je mie par faveur, comme je n'en soie pas nee. Mais Dieu me soit tesmoing en sa retribucion comme je cuide dire veoir par ce qui me apert. Et ce que j'ay enquis du gouvernement des aultres pays si n'est mie paradis en terre, car saiche chacun qu'il y a par tout des tribulacions assez.

> [And in spite of those who contradict me, I hold that of all the countries in Christendom, in this one the people commonly live better both because of the benevolence of princes without cruelty, and because of the courtesy and amiability of the people of this nation. And I do not say this out of favouritism, because I was not born here. But, God be my witness at the end, I say what I think! And since I have enquired

about the government of other countries and I know there is no paradise on earth, I know that everywhere has its own troubles.][48]

Like her sincere praise of the labouring classes, this is an endearingly frank moment in Christine's text. It is interesting how she lightly identifies herself as something of an armchair expert in comparative political systems. Still, this moment of supposedly disinterested comparison is surrounded by the nationalist chauvinism and class insensitivity characteristic of any deeply stratified political order. But this incongruity is the point, as with Hoccleve's awkward attempts to use his *de regimine* to reconcile the relation of England to France as both self and other, enemy and family. Once again we see traces, in this specific generic context, of how the internal ideological polarities of nation and class can fit only roughly with the lived realities of sustained conflict and turbulent exchange as they were actually experienced across what Kate Langdon Forhan has so aptly called the 'nightmarish companion' of Christine's entire life, the Hundred Years War.[49]

That nightmarish context can perhaps sometimes recede into the background, obscured by the grace of such writers as Christine and Hoccleve and Froissart and his contemporaries, not unlike the subjected commons and *Jacques Bonhommes* who receded behind, or beneath, King John, the Black Prince or even Denis de Morbecque. But in these fascinating stories and border-crossing parallels – in writers such as Venette and Pagula, and even in Froissart – it, and they, are not completely submerged. Even accounting for their authors' idealisations and opposed nationalist biases, in these episodes and mirrors we can nonetheless trace how the tensions between national and class identities provided the shared framework for formulating French and English self-conceptions of nation, of classes and of artistic practice that would be profoundly important for decades, even centuries to come. More than just the specific persons and books, then, this fraught dynamic of ideological mixture also helps us to understand how those participants tried to understand the web of relations that bound them in both war and peace, *bonne gouvernaunce* and its dissolution, and in its artistic representation.

Notes

1 The longer version of the story comes from the second recension of Froissart's text: Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. Brereton, 140–1; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, eds de Lettenhove and Scheler, vol. 5, 455–6. See Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 172–3.

2 As Froissart goes on to narrate, Denis de Morbecque quickly lost control of King Jean. English and Gascons fought for possession of him as he was delivered to 'his cousin' the Black Prince (*le prince mon cousin*) by Warwick and Cobham: *Chronicles*, 142; *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, 455–6. See generally Ambühl, *Prisoners of War*.

3 Chandos Herald, 'Life of the Black Prince', 102–3.

4 Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 5, 458.

5 See Staley, *Language of Power*; Keen, 'Chivalry and English Kingship'.

6 Translation from Jean de Venette, *Chronicle*, ed. Newhall, trans. Birdsall, 63. Jean de Venette, *Chronique,* ed. and trans. Beaune, 142–4.

7 Venette relates the English depredations following the loss at Poitiers and then the violence of the Jacquerie in 1358, in terms that anticipate accounts of the Great Rising of 1381: *Chronicle*, 71–7 at 76–7. Venette's identity as 'a French peasant become a churchman', as Birdsall puts it (3), may account for the relative evenhandedness of his account in terms of the class conflict. See also Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, 127–8.

8 For analysis of these pastourelles see Wimsatt, *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries*, 196–202. For a discussion of the pastourelle and the Hundred Years War, see Strakhov's chapter in this volume.

9 *Chronique*, 150–2; *Chronicle*, 66. See also Hilton, *Bond Men Made Free*, 116–17; and about similar episodes at London during the 1386 invasion scare, see Bowers, 'Chaucer after Retters', 107.

10 Firnhaber-Baker, 'Social Constituency', 697.

11 Froissart, *Chronicles*, 154–5; on the Jacquerie see Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 6, 44–58 (at 55–8). The men were cousins ostensibly on opposite sides of the conflict. Jean III de Grailly was a Gascon nobleman allied with the English, a founding Knight of the Garter, and the cavalry commander at Poitiers largely responsible for the capture of King John II. Gaston III Phoebus was nominally allied with the French crown, but he had absented himself from the war because the king had favoured the count of Armagnac. The episode at Meux occurred upon his return from Prussia, shortly before he resumed conflict against Armagnac.

12 This was at the time of Chaucer's capture and ransom in 1360 at Retters, during the English campaign at Rheims. See Bowers, 'Chaucer after Retters', 91–8.

13 Froissart, *Chronicles*, 163–4; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 6, 252–53 (2nd recension).

14 Froissart, *Chronicles*, 213; Froissart, *Oeuvres*, vol. 9, 394.

15 See Dobson, *Peasants' Revolt of 1381*.

16 Froissart, *Oeuvres*, 12:6–7 (my translation).

17 Richards, 'Uncertainty in Defining France' and Caldwell, 'Hundred Years' War'.

18 See Fletcher et al. (eds), *Government and Political Life*; Graßnick, *Ratgeber des Königs* and also '"And out of olde bokes"'; the chapters in Lachaud and Scordia (eds), *Le Prince au miroir*, and also Lachaud and Scordia (eds), *Au-delà des miroirs*; Schmidt, 'Spätmittelalterliches Fürstenspiegel'; Krynen, *Empire du Roi*, esp. 167–240; Watts, *Henry VI*, esp. 1–80; Ferster, *Fictions of Advice*; Staley, *Language of Power*, esp. 75–147. An older but still excellent overview is provided by Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 135–67.

19 Scordia, 'Le roi, l'or, et le sang'; Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 154–5.

20 Philippe de Mézières, *Letter*, ed. and trans. Coopland, esp. 1–24, 75–97, *et passim*.

21 For a discussion of Philippe de Mézières's role in the Hundred Years War, see Vander Elst's chapter in this volume.

22 See especially Nederman, 'Mirror Crack'd'.

23 Boyle, 'William of Pagula'. Boyle places the first version, the 'Epistola', to the time 'just at the beginning of 1331', and the second version, the 'Speculum', to the period after the Peace of Amiens signed between Edward and Philip of France in April 1331 (332).

24 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III*, ver. A, ed. and trans. Nederman, 83–4; Moisant (ed.), 96 (§11).

25 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III*, ver. A, trans. Nederman, p. 89; Moisant (ed.), p. 103 (§18).

26 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III*, ver. A, trans. Nederman, 93–4; Moisant (ed.), 109, 110 (§29, §32).

27 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III,* 72; this assessment is especially relevant to Version A.

28 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III*, ver. B, trans. Nederman, 103; Moisant (ed.), 127 (cap. 1, §1). The Vulgate actually reads in the third-person plural: 'utinam saperent et intelligerent ac novissima providerent' (Deut. 32:29).

29 See also Krynen, *Empire du roi*, 225–7.

30 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III*, ver. B, 123–30, 134; Moisant (ed.), 163 (cap. 13, §48): 'et intelligeres quid nocet et nocere tibi poterit, habere odium Dei, et odium populi tui anglicani' [and you will understand what hurts and can hurt you, to have the hatred of God and the hatred of your English people]. Here Pagula may be echoing the vernacular French commonplace *Il n'est pas sire de son païs / qui de ses hommes est haïs* [He is not lord of his country / who is hated by his people]: see Dudash, 'Christine de Pizan and the "menu people"', 804 n. 72, for context and examples.

31 William of Pagula, *Mirror of King Edward III*, ver. B, 139; Moisant (ed.),169 (cap. 15, §53).

32 See especially the earlier treatise of Gerald of Wales, the *De principis instructione liber* from *c*.1177–80 to 1217. Gerald's treatise was published at the time of the First Barons' War in 1217. It excoriates Henry II (and the whole Angevin line) and praises Louis VII and looks toward Louis's son Philip II. The later version of the *De principis instructione* also condemns Henry II's sons, especially John. See Lachaud, '*Liber de principis instructione*'. Hints of French idealisations – or of looking to French models for positive examples of regnal ideology – are also present in Walter Milemete's *Treatise* (in Nederman (ed.), *Political Thought in Fourteenth-Century England*) and companion *Secretum secretorum*: Michael, 'Iconography of Kingship', 35–47 (at 38, 43).

33 Cf. *Secretum secretorum*, ed. Steele, 44 (cap. 1.6).

34 Giancarlo, 'Gower's Governmentality'.

35 See especially Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy,* 172–200, for excellent examples.

36 Yeager, 'Politics and the French Language'.

37 See especially Forhan, *Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, the chapters in Green and Mews (eds), *Healing the Body Politic*, and the introductory context provided by Angus Kennedy (ed. and trans.), *Book of the Body Politic*.

38 For details see Forhan, *Political Theory*, 73–4.

39 Summit, *Lost Property*, 61–107. For a discussion of manuscript exchange in the Hundred Years War, see Mattison's chapter in this volume.

40 For contrasting analyses see Ellis, 'Chaucer, Christine de Pizan, and Hoccleve'; Perkins, *Hoccleve's Regiment of Princes*, esp. chs 2–3; Knapp, *Bureaucratic Muse*, esp. chs 2–4.

41 Citations will be parenthetical within the text, and are from Ptolemy of Lucca, *Regiment of Princes*, ed. Blythe.

42 *Middle English Translation of Christine de Pisan's Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Bornstein. The translation survives in one manuscript, Cambridge, Cambridge University Library MS. Kk.1.5.

43 See Christine de Pizan, *Book of the Body Politic*, ed. and trans. Forhan, 105–10 (§ 3.9–10). In this regard her work is notable: see especially Dudash, 'Christine de Pizan and the "menu people"' for extensive analysis; Nederman, 'Mirror Crack'd', 28–33, and 'Living Body Politic'; Forhan, *Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, 45–75.

44 Christine de Pizan, *Book of the Body Politic*, trans. Forhan, 92; *Livre du corps de policie,* ed. Lucas, 169–70. *Middle English Translation of Christine de Pisan's Livre du corps de policie,* ed. Bornstein, 167.

45 Anxiety about popular rebellion particularly informs her *Livre de l'avision Cristine* and *Livre de la paix*; see Dudash, 'Christine de Pizan and the "menu people"', 807–8, 815–29. For more on Christine and her *Livre de l'avision Cristine*, see Wood's chapter in this volume.

46 *Book of the Body Politic*, 101–2; *Le Livre du corps de policie*, 188. See also *Middle English Translation of Christine de Pisan's Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Bornstein, 181.

47 For political and historiographical context of the turbulent period around the assassination of Louis of Orléans in 1407, see especially Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*.

48 *Book of the Body Politic*, 102; *Le Livre du corps de policie*, 188–9. See also *Middle English Translation of Christine de Pisan's Livre du corps de policie*, ed. Bornstein, 181.

49 Forhan, *Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, 25.

9

Dreaming the (un)divided nation: Alain Chartier's allegorical oneiropolitics

Lucas Wood

The French literary history of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is witness to a striking and novel convergence of poetry and politics. Mobilised by the materially devastating and ideologically traumatic conflicts of the Hundred Years War, the Papal Schism and the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war, a 'génération d'écrivains "embarqués"[generation of 'committed' writers][1] not only bemoans and satirises the troubles of the age, but strives to correct the course of current political, moral and spiritual affairs through textual interventions that bring theoretical and sapiential discourses explicitly to bear on contemporary crises. Along with their patriotic fervour and reformist bent, many of these writers share an interest in exploring the possibilities of a new textual mode: the *songe politique*, which recruits the form of the literary dream vision and the poetics of personification allegory as instruments of historical representation and polemical critique.[2] *Songes politiques* were produced both by the luminaries of late medieval letters – Philippe de Mézières's *Songe du Viel Pelerin* (1389), Christine de Pizan's *Livre de l'advision Cristine* (1405) and Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif* (1422) are among the best-known works of their kind – and by less illustrious contemporaries including Honoré Bovet, author of the *Apparicion maistre Jehan de Meun* (1398); Évrart de Trémaugon, who may have translated the *Songe du vergier* (1378) from his own original Latin *Somnium viridarii* (1376); Henri de Ferrières, putative author of the *Songe de pestilence* (1379); and the anonymous author of the *Songe veritable* (1406).[3]

Oneiric frames and oneiric forms offer powerful and versatile tools to political writers working in the service of diverse agendas,

on different scales, and with varying levels of rhetorical sophistication and dramatic flair. The invocation of the dream, with its potentially revelatory but also epistemologically dubious character, at the origin of the text is a simultaneously defensive and self-authorising gesture useful to authors whose criticism of their contemporaries, particularly those in power, can be as delicate as it is urgent. According to the late-fourteenth-century *Livre des eschez amoureux moralisés* attributed to Évrart de Conty, the fiction of the reported rather than invented vision builds plausible deniability into potentially dangerous discourse,

> car le songe excuse la personne qui parle aucunesfoiz de moult de choses qui seroient tenues pour mal dites, qui les diroit ainsi estre avenues ou vrayes a la lectre, pour ce que on peut excuser le songant et respondre tousdiz que ainsi ly sembloit il en son dormant, et que on s'en prengne au songe.

> [for the dream sometimes exculpates the person who speaks about many things that would be considered wrong if they were said to have happened just so or to be literally true, because one can exonerate the dreamer by replying in each case that this is how things appeared to him in his sleep, and that the dream should be held responsible.][4]

The *Songe du vergier* concludes its lengthy dialogue on the relationship between ecclesiastical and secular authorities by pre-empting any accusations of ideological impropriety in precisely this way, stressing that 'la fragilité et le petit entandement et l'ygnorance du songent' [the fallibility, limited understanding and ignorance of the dreamer] require him simply to transmit unaltered the dream's commentary on 'matieres tres hautes, tres soubtilles et tres parfondes, et tres perilleusez a paller' [very lofty, abstruse and profound matters, which are very dangerous to discuss] to the king for his enlightened evaluation and judgement, despite the dreamer's 'grant doubte et grant paour' [great concern and fear] that some of its propositions might offend either the sovereign or the Church.[5] The technique of prosopopoeia likewise safeguards the author by distancing him from the content of his text, fragmenting his ideas and voice, and distributing them to a cast of allegorical mouthpieces who speak for themselves, often performing their own significations or natures, and none of whose partial perspectives or individual, polemical

arguments can easily be conflated with the viewpoint espoused by the text as a whole. On the other hand, ostensibly truth-telling, monitory dreams resonate with the authority of their classical and biblical antecedents and invest the *songes*' inscribed author-narrators with some of the gravitas and the righteous moral prerogative of kings made supernaturally privy to the fate of nations, saints mandated to illuminate the faithful, or Old Testament prophets castigating their wayward tribes. Christine de Pizan's *Advision Cristine*, for example, opens with a rather immodest modesty topos that places Christine-narrator, if not Christine-author, in an elite company of prophetic dreamers:

> mes sens liez par la pesanteur de somme, me survenist merveilleuse advision en signe d'estrange presage, tout ne soie mie Nabugodonozor, Scipion ne Joseph, ne sont point veez les secrez du Tres Hault aux bien simples.

> [while my senses were bound by the heaviness of sleep, an extraordinary vision came to me as the sign of a strange portent, for although I am no Nebuchadnezzar, Scipio or Joseph, the secrets of the Most High are not forbidden to the truly simple.][6]

The most effective *songes*, however, use dream allegory not only as an authorising or apologetic pretext for free-standing disquisitions on sensitive topics, but as an integral part of their political programmes, articulating their conceptual thinking through the structures of the oneiric system and expressing it in intellectually and emotionally compelling forms specific to the allegorical mode. Rather than concealing or 'veiling' truth or limiting its accessibility to an exegetically skilled elite, as the 'allegory of the poets' (figured as *fabula*, *integumentum* or *involucrum*)[7] was traditionally held to do, the allegory of the *songes*, which neither demands nor promises any process of decoding, serves to produce and publicise a knowledge that solicits readers' immediate, concrete response. The political poetics of the activist *songe* are at once representatively performed and implicitly theorised in the ambitious *Quadrilogue invectif*, written during one of the grimmest moments in France's Hundred Years War by Alain Chartier, a career administrator, diplomat and vocal Valois loyalist as well as a prolific, well-respected author in verse and prose.[8] In a context of profoundly destabilising,

disorienting political and social turmoil, Chartier's allegorical fiction exploits its peculiar blend of abstraction and concreteness to stage and voice a kind of dialogue impossible in the real world and yet necessary to it, allowing for the renegotiation of the relationships between political theories and ideological constructs, on the one hand, and empirical formations of social and political identity and practice, on the other.

Chartier takes up his pen between 12 April and 31 August 1422, as the embattled realm 'entre destruction et ressource chancelle douloureusement' [totters torturously between destruction and deliverance] under the combined pressure of 'la puissance et diligence des ennemis, la desloiauté de pluseurs subgiez' [the power and assiduity of its enemies, the disloyalty of many of its subjects] – that is, those who accepted the Treaty of Troyes concluded in 1420 between the intermittently mad King Charles VI and King Henry V of England, disinheriting the Dauphin Charles VII in favour of the English line – 'et la perte des princes et chevalerie dont Dieu, par maleureuse bataille' [and the loss of the princes and knights of whom God has, through misfortune in battle] – Chartier recalls, among other defeats, the disaster at Agincourt in 1415 – 'a laissié ce royaume desgarny' [left this kingdom deprived].[9] Although he initially frames France's woes as a form of divine punishment intended to drive inveterate sinners back onto the path of moral and spiritual virtue, invoking Isaiah as a model for the heavy-hearted but clear-eyed 'prophetic' exhortation that he will address to his delinquent countrymen,[10] the problems with which the *Quadrilogue* is concerned and the solutions it seeks are both primarily political. In a bid to help avert national ruin, the text accordingly deploys the resources of the *songe politique* to diagnose and represent the origins of France's predicament as fundamentally neither military not material, but rather ideological. The scourge of faction, stemming from a general failure by all of the members of the body politic either to understand or to feel the essential truth of their unity and the community of interest it entails, is at once made visible and vigorously denounced, both verbally and performatively, in a vitriolic debate between personifications of 'France' and the three estates, called 'Le Peuple' [The People], 'Le Chevalier' [The Knight] and 'Le Clergié' [The Clergy].[11] By staging dissension among these

characters, Chartier aims to remedy it in his readers. Even while boldly asserting dream allegory's potential to reshape the political consciousness of the realm, however, the *Quadrilogue* reflects and implicitly reflects on the inevitable artificiality of allegorical oneiropolitics, a necessary artificiality or artful constructedness that Chartier's rhetorical tropes ultimately share with the very figure of the perfectly unified polity that is insistently naturalised throughout his text.

As its title suggests, the *Quadrilogue invectif* takes the form of a prose conversation between four speakers, although the text features five voices including that of 'L'Acteur', the inscribed author-narrator-scriptor-dreamer who speaks only to the reader, or six counting that of the paratextual 'Alain Charretier, humble secretaire du roy nostre sire et de mon tresredoubté seigneur monseigneur le regent, lointaing immitateur des orateurs' [Alain Chartier, humble secretary to our lord the king and to my revered lord, the lord regent, and distant emulator of the orators] (3.4–6), whose prologue introduces the *Quadrilogue* proper.[12] 'Invective' in the sense that it consists of accusatory, polemical discourses, the text has the trappings of a kind of closet drama, but does not really strive for a genuinely dialogic quality, let alone theatrical dynamism. It unfolds in lengthy speeches whose alternation, marked by the rubrics that also identify each character by name, is structured by the logic of exposition, rebuttal and counter-exposition rather than by any kind of non-verbal interaction between the characters and their environment.

The remarkably static allegory is restricted to a single tableau laid out by the Acteur, who recounts his dream in the past tense.[13] In the middle of a field, struggling to prevent the collapse of a fine but severely damaged palace, stands a noble-looking but grief-stricken lady wearing a crooked crown and a marvellous mantle divided horizontally into three sections decorated respectively, from top to bottom, with fleurs-de-lis and other royal heraldry; letters, characters and figures associated with various branches of knowledge; and images of livestock, plants, fruit and grain, all of them now dirtied, disordered and partially destroyed. Nearby, she notices 'trois de ses enfans' [three of her children] (14.2): an armoured man leaning on his axe in a frightened reverie, a man in a long robe seated off to one

side silently listening, and a debilitated peasant lying on the ground, moaning plaintively. Indignant at their inaction, the lady, France, castigates them for their 'oiseuse lacheté' [lazy cowardice] (14.8) and urges them both to help her shore up the leaning palace and, leaving the allegorical setting behind, to succour her in the historical context of the Hundred Years War. The peasant, Peuple, and the armed man, Chevalier, then give two alternating responses apiece in which they proclaim their own innocence and blame their own and France's problems on each other. Soldiers, Peuple complains, are neglecting the war against England while unjustly robbing and oppressing their own suffering civilian countrymen, sometimes driving them to mutiny; civilians, Chevalier retorts, are a greedy and seditious lot who chafe under the yoke of legitimate authority and baulk at fulfilling their responsibilities by obediently generating wealth and resources for use by the armed forces.[14] Next, the robed figure, Clergié, intervenes to point out the futility of his brothers' mutual recriminations and expound his own understanding of what France needs to better its situation, namely a renewal of 'savance, chevance et obeissance' [knowledge, resources and obedience] (58.13–14), reframing some of Peuple's and Chevalier's points in a much less vituperative tone. After Chevalier's brief, defensive rebuttal, France steps in to put an end to the debate and command the Acteur to write down everything he has heard so that others may read and learn from it.

The minimalism of the *Quadrilogue*'s allegorical system, which it shares with many other *songes politiques*, might seem to suggest limited reliance on a rhetorical conceit that provides a convenient pretext for exploring different sides of a political problem more than it contributes materially to the text's conceptual work. Indeed, Chartier himself broaches similar issues and ideas elsewhere without recourse to allegory. His *Debat du herault, du vassault et du villain* (*c.*1421–22), for instance, anticipates some of the *Quadrilogue*'s invective barbs in a brief verse exchange between an aged, honourable herald of arms, a degenerate young nobleman and a peasant who are certainly social types, but not personifications; the Latin treatise *Ad detestacionem belli gallici et suasionem pacis* (*c.*1422–23), written shortly after Henry V's death, condemns civil conflict and the pride, self-seeking and softness that underlie it and

addresses individual admonitions to the different strata of society much as the *Quadrilogue* does; the Latin *Dialogus familiaris amici et sodalis super deploracione gallice calamitatis* (*c*.1426–27) revives many of the *Quadrilogue*'s themes in a lively conversation between a hopeful Friend and his more pessimistic Companion on the pervasive problem of moral decay and the tensions between public and private interests, bellicosity and pacifism; and the *Lay de paix* (*c*.1415–26) addresses to the squabbling princes of France a conciliatory lyric message 'd'amour et d'unité' [of love and unity], or, in other manuscripts, 'd'amité' [friendship].[15] On the other hand, however, the very attenuation of the *Quadrilogue*'s allegoricity, the apparently gratuitous and dispensable quality of the debate's oneiric frame, makes it all the more interesting that Chartier chooses to invoke the dream-vision model at all. It matters that what could easily have been a satirical and polemical work in a single authorial voice – the voice that already converges in many respects with that of Clergié, and that lends its rhetorical polish, Latinate periods and arsenal of learned biblical and classical references to the other characters as well – is instead presented as a dialogical juxtaposition of various voices, perspectives and ideas belonging to characters with sociopolitically differentiated identities.[16]

It certainly matters to the late-medieval illuminators of the *Quadrilogue*. Camille Serchuk's survey of all thirty-two surviving illuminated manuscripts containing texts by Chartier demonstrates that illustrators 'regularly emphasized the structure of the text over its content', representing the multiple speakers (including 'Alain Chartier' himself) whose distinctive voices define his frequently polyphonic texts rather than trying to evoke the substance of their interventions, less for reasons of convention or convenience than because 'focus on the speakers highlighted what was distinct about Chartier's work'.[17] The images that accompany the *Quadrilogue* in twelve out of fifty-one manuscripts (making it Chartier's most frequently illustrated text) exemplify this tendency. Although there is some variation in the selection, combination and composition of represented figures and details, no image pictures any of the colourful evocations of peasant suffering, the travails of war or exemplary governance that abound in the estates' disquisitions. It seems logical for a manuscript like Paris, BnF MS fr. 24441, which devotes only

two miniatures to the *Quadrilogue*, to give preferential treatment to the production and presentation of the work (fol. 2r) and to the allegorical tableau laid out in the Acteur's frame narrative (fol. 5v), or for the text's single frontispiece in Paris, BnF MS fr. 126 to compress both scenes into a single, densely packed visual space (fol. 191r). More extensively illustrated manuscripts, however, opt to accentuate the identities of the speakers and the transitions between speeches at the price of extreme repetitiveness in both composition and content. For example, Paris, BnF MS fr. 19127 follows up an opening image of France in her relatively elaborately rendered palace (fol 9v) with no less than seven nearly interchangeable views (fols 19r, 24v, 35v, 39r, 43r, 60v, 63r) of the four personifications clustered together in a drab architectural interior, listening to the orator of the moment. These manuscripts' pictorial interpretations of Chartier's *quadriloquium* call attention to its status as a genuine, albeit allegorically contrived, colloquy: a gathering for discussion, an oral exchange between a group of distinct speakers situated together in space.

In grappling with the significance of late medieval didactic poetry's predilection for allegorical settings, Sarah Kay describes an 'urge to "place" thought' in allegorical landscapes or loci serving, among other things, physically to 'group together sets of characters' representative of different discursive positions or perspectives 'and thereby to situate the text's argument in an identifiably common ground'. This common ground or *locus communis* tends both to 'assume a degree of homogeneity and … to impose one', and thus 'anticipates the moral or intellectual consensus that the text sets out to forge', serving in this sense as one strategy by which initially or apparently dialogic texts strive toward 'monologism, or the convergence of discourses in unity', albeit in inevitably complicated and problematic manners.[18] Although Kay does not address her model's potential applicability to political texts, her account of dialogical thought's figurative emplacement as a means of fabricating and retrojecting the always already essential 'truth' of a monological consensus corresponds closely to the way allegory operates in the *Quadrilogue invectif*.

Before experiencing the dream vision that he goes on to narrate, Chartier's Acteur starts awake at dawn and begins to fret over

the dire straits in which France finds itself, recounting how 'me vint en ymaginacion la douloureuse fortune et le piteux estat de la haulte seigneurie et glorieuse maison de France' [I began to picture the wretched misfortune and pitiful state of the noble dominion and glorious house of France] (8.25–9.2). He then runs over in his mind – 'je recueillisse en ma souvenance' [I mustered in my memory] (9.4–5) – the negative factors contributing to the kingdom's looming demise, weighing them against the positives that still make its salvation possible. 'Aprés lesquelz partis ainsi debatuz a par moy' [After thus debating these opposing positions by myself] (9.16–17), he concludes that the French people as a whole has invited and prolonged its miseries, handing an unearned victory to the English by neglecting rational judgement, letting patriotic zeal peter out, and squandering opportunities to make bold, disciplined, efficient use of its God-given resources and capacities. It is 'tandiz que en ce debat entre espoir et desesperance mon entendement traveilloit' [while my mind struggled in this debate between hope and despair] that the Acteur finally nods off again into a light morning doze and his dream begins (10.4–5).[19] In some respects, the Acteur's waking reflections are a mirror image of the dream they obviously generate. His reference to *ymaginacion* suggests the specifically imagistic quality of the allegorical scenario; the pros and cons of France's position that he mulls over condense some of the points that the allegorical personifications will make; and his repeated characterisation of his internal thought process as a debate anticipates the 'invective' format of the oneiric exchange.[20] However, the Acteur's dream does not simply replay his worried musings. Rather, it improves upon them, seeking a way past the deadlocked simultaneity of despair and hope through the transformation of his solitary, inconclusive, useless 'debate' about how a shared predicament might and should be escaped into a public, genuinely dialogic, potentially fruitful conversation.

If, as the Acteur (following the lead of 'Alain Charretier' in the prologue) stresses, the problem at hand concerns a collective national *nous*, and its remedy lies in 'our' overcoming of the blinkered selfishness and partisanship that desensitise us to the intellectual and affective underpinnings of our collective identity and interests, then no individual can solve it alone.[21] The technique of

prosopopoeia expresses the division afflicting France by embodying its distinct and very much 'partial' parts while also reducing those parts to a manageable set and endowing them with coherent identities, presences and voices that equip them for cogent self-expression and meaningful interaction; the space of the dream-world gives the antagonistic and more conciliatory allegorical persons who constitute the kingdom a place in which to come together and argue toward a rapprochement. The oneiric scenario thus promises a means of passage from the sterile singularity of the Acteur's consciousness to the fertile unity of a national plurality, from soliloquy through dialogue to political monologism. Chartier's political dream begins as a dream of what the scene of politics might be, or of the political beyond or before politics, what left Heideggerian theorists, notably Jean-Luc Nancy, have called *le politique* as distinct from *la politique*. Where *la politique* is the strategic, partisan exercise of power through administrative or policy-making activity, the domain of 'the play of forces and interests engaged in a conflict over the representation and governance of social existence', *le politique*, which politics often obscures, names the essence of political being-together, 'the site where what it means to *be* in common is open to definition'.[22] This conceptual 'site' is a kind of originary space – Nancy shares with late-medieval philosophical poets a liking for spatial metaphors – for the emergence and the thinking of community, not as a hypostatised 'thing' or subject in its own right, but as a relation between subjects whom it unites but does not subsume. In Chartier's *Quadrilogue*, the space of *le politique* might be mapped onto the derelict 'païs en fresche' [fallow field] (10.9; see also 29.21), in which France and her 'children' stand, a presently uncultivated but potentially fertile ground of elemental fellowship that allows for an interrogation of the conditions and stakes of their communal relation.

Without being divinatory in a traditional sense, then, the *Quadrilogue*'s dream does aspire to a kind of meaning that is less informational than efficacious. This aim is reflected in Chartier's diegetic positioning of his Acteur's dream narrative between several categories of oneiric experience as distinguished by medieval dream theory. Although early-morning dreams could be understood as 'most likely to be true, since they occurred after the completion of

digestive processes thought to distort the clarity of dream images',[23] the vision born of the Acteur's matutinal anxiety initially bears the hallmarks of the Macrobian *insomnium*, the mundane kind of dream stemming from waking activities and preoccupations or from different kinds of physiological and psychological disorder and therefore devoid of higher significance or truth-content. By projecting the Acteur's psychosomatic distress onto the anthropomorphic body politic and visualising it as that of personified Lady France, though, the dream attains the allegoricity typical of the ambiguous but truth-telling *somnium*, and by having this character communicate authoritatively and veridically with the dreamer about historical reality in literal terms, it comes to resemble the highest form of revelatory dream, the *oraculum*. As befits a political rather than spiritual or philosophical revelation, however, this dream summons an authority figure – no god, but a political 'higher power' – who does not foretell coming events so much as clarify the stakes of present (in)action, exposing precisely the indeterminacy of a future still being shaped, which both allows for and demands decisive human intervention to set it on a positive course.[24] The structuring conceit of the *songe politique* thus complements and prepares for the *Quadrilogue*'s explicit thematic development, within and across the characters' speeches, of an urgent call for solidarity issuing in concerted action. Enjoining the French to recognise the fundamental bond that already, necessarily knits together their country's component parts, this appeal deploys three interrelated discursive strategies: the 'naturalization of the political',[25] the promulgation of an expansive and inclusive concept of national community, and the articulation of an affective politics based on twinned appeals to 'natural' and more ethically or socially prescribed forms of emotional attachment to the polity.[26]

The role of nature or Nature as guarantor of human political systems is expounded primarily by France at the beginning of her angry opening address. The failure of her 'sons' to render her aid, she accuses, is a symptom of thoroughgoing deviancy or decadence that marks them as 'desnaturez' [denatured] (16.1), untrue to their essential identities as defined by God-given reason, normative gender performance, moral or ethical values and the ontology of lineage as well as by political duty. Lady France

prescribes a kind of primal nationalism to which she attributes the force of 'natural law':[27]

> aprés le lien de foy catholique, Nature vous a devant toute autre chose obligiez au commun salut du pays de vostre nativité et a la defense de ceste seigneurie soubz laquelle Dieu vous a fait naistre et avoir vie … Et puis que tele est la loy que Nature y a establie, il fault dire que nul labour ne vous doit estre grief … pour celui pays et seigneurie sauver. (15.4–24)

> [after the bond of the Catholic faith, Nature has obligated you before all else to serve the common well-being of your native land and to defend this dominion under which God has caused you to be born and to live … And since such is the law that Nature has established there, it must be said that no labour should seem arduous to you … in order to save that country and dominion.]

As Daisy Delogu has shown, Chartier's conspicuously gendered, 'maternalized figure of France' is positioned to make particularly effective use of the rhetoric of 'natural' obligations associated with the place of one's birth in order 'to describe and prescribe the moral, social, and political relationships among people, lands, and leaders'. In the historical context of a crisis of governance, territorial integrity and sovereign autonomy, the painstakingly visualised, eloquent lady named 'France' also 'supplants the problematic figure of the real king', whether mad or disinherited, by making herself, as both person and spatially 'bounded and autonomous' realm or nation, 'the focal point for the obedience, loyalty, and love of the French people'.[28] Personification reassuringly pre-empts the conceptual question of what exactly 'France' is and with what authority it speaks, even as the character herself subtly reconceives the feudal kingdom as something like a nation in the modern sense of the word, a conflation of territory, population and state.[29] This abstract entity gathers under its aegis a human collectivity of French subjects that the *Quadrilogue* goes on to configure in a strikingly even-handed fashion, emphasising all three estates' complementary and equally essential, if not equally authoritative, roles in the constitution of the political whole, and pointedly treating the often silenced *peuple* as a legitimate participant in political life and discourse.[30]

Although the text allegorically visualises the distinct physi-
cal bodies of the three estates, its dominant discourse insistently
inscribes their unity, working to demonstrate that they are all in
the struggle for France together and must cooperate in the service
of a common good that is congruent with enlightened self-interest,
but ultimately driven by a powerful affective investment in what
Chartier, borrowing the language of republican Roman civic virtue,
calls the *chose publique* and its welfare, the *bien publique* or *bien
commun*.[31] As the Acteur puts it, the French populace as a whole
has behaved as its own worst enemy, hamstringing its war effort by
failing to understand that 'noz parciaulx desirs refroident l'affection
publique' [our partial desires put a chill on care for public affairs]
(9.23–4) and sap the strength of the realm. Clergié, the most per-
suasive spokesman for national unity among the personified estates,
reiterates later that 'sommes persecutez des divisions dedens et
dehors' [we are persecuted by division inside and out] (56.10–11)
almost more grievously than by foreign assailants. All of the char-
acters concur in stigmatising selfish or narrowly partisan thinking
and especially feeling, 'privee affection' [private affection] (66.18)
or 'particulieres affections' [individual affections] (35.8–9), at the
personal and the estate levels.[32] (Chartier's own partisan support
for the house of Valois, announced in the opening sentence of his
prologue, is above criticism on these grounds because his preferred
royal line is that of the realm's 'prince droiturier et seigneur naturel'
[rightful prince and natural lord] [24.20; cf. 39.2, 19.3], but more
importantly because his personal commitment is altruistic and civic-
minded, dedicated to an outcome that the writer sees, and strives to
make palpable to others, as beneficial to every French subject.) By
the end of the *Quadrilogue*, France can present the love of country
as a kind of political *caritas* capable of binding together the diverse
persons, interests and desires that make up the state:

> l'affection du bien publique peut estaindre voz desordonnances
> singulieres se les voulentez se conjoingnent en ung mesme desir de
> commun salut et en souffrant leur fortune et les ungs vers les autres
> gardent pacience. (82.10–14)

> [solicitude for the public good can extinguish your individual dis-
> orders if your wills come together in a single desire for collective

deliverance, and if each one accepts his lot and remains patient with the others.]

And this same emotion, France suggests, is what is required to unify the contentious *Quadrilogue*, orienting its fragments of partisan speech towards a common political goal and marshalling them to serve an overarching rhetorical agenda. Chartier's chosen 'invective' mode properly generates a text that 'procede par maniere d'envaïssement de paroles et par forme de reprendre' [proceeds through verbal onslaughts and takes the form of recriminations] (8.9–10), but in brusquely curtailing the estates' series of 'excusacions et deffences … et descharges l'un vers l'autre' [excuses and self-justifications … and diatribes against one another], France insists that such a medley of discordant outpourings is valueless 'si non en tant que chascun' [except insofar as everyone] – both every character and every reader – 'la doye plus appliquer a son chastiement que a vitupere de son prouchain' [should apply it more to his own correction than to the disparagement of his neighbour] (82.5–10). Such a reading practice would involve taking to heart what is justified in the complaints of the other estates and perhaps, in the case of (members of) the knightly and popular classes, recognising their (representatives') own mistakes in the mirror of the text.

The Acteur's dream, then, contains and strategically stages blameworthy partisan arguments that the *Quadrilogue* aims to synthesise into a textual whole that attains the stature and utility of genuine political discourse, 'pas disputacion haineuse mais fructueuse' [fruitful rather than hostile argument] (83.14), to the extent that it expresses and serves to promote French fellow-feeling as a principle of literary interpretation. This animating sentiment, linked to the underlying goodwill or intellectual generosity toward one's countrymen that tempers critique and facilitates its productive reception, is situated at the origin of the text by the authorial prologue, which describes how 'compassion' for a France invaded, despoiled and smarting under the scourge of divine punishment moved Chartier to 'ramener a memoire l'estat de nostre infelicité et a chascun ramentevoir ce qui lui en touche' [call to mind our unfortunate state and remind each person of his part in it] (8.4–6).[33] Patriotic passion and compassion are still more forcefully

prescribed and modelled by the Acteur, whose parting *captatio benevolentiae* asks his audience to seek out and perceive, between the *Quadrilogue*'s often vitriolic lines,

> la bonne affection plus que la gloire de l'ouvraige. Car je afferme loiaument que l'esmouvement de cest œuvre est plus par compassion de la nécessité publique que par presumption d'entendement et pour profiter par bonne exhortacion que pour autrui reprendre. (84.5–10)

> [the work's benevolent disposition rather than its overweening pride. For I faithfully attest that this work is motivated more by compassion for the public need than by the presumption of understanding, and is intended to offer the benefit of righteous exhortation more than to reprove others.]

Care for the political community and for what its members have in common thus theoretically suffuses the entire text, ensuring continuity between its multiple levels of meaning, manipulating even its most intransigent characters like a benevolent puppeteer, and limning the ties that bind the estates, the nation, the narrator, the author, his readers and the ideal community to which they all belong. In this way, the *Quadrilogue* aspires to produce a patriotic experience that makes palpable the historically contested fact of political community in order to construct it as something unarguable and persuasive that it is incumbent upon 'chascun lecteur' [each reader] (84.4) to acknowledge and protect. This strategy complements prosopopoeia's play to make visible the abstract entities called 'France', 'Peuple', 'Chevalier' and 'Clergié', allow them to speak as and for the human collectivities they embody, posit an anthropomorphic 'filial' relationship between France and the estates and (therefore) a fraternal one among her 'children', and establish the conditions for a four-part conversation out of which, if Chartier's gambit pays off, renewed national unity and unanimity may emerge. The allegory with which the *Quadrilogue*'s dream begins and the emotion in which it issues function as two sides of the same coin, conspiring to perform the conceptual self-evidence and 'natural' legitimacy of Chartier's ideology of Frenchness.

By this very token, however, both the political emotion and the allegorical poetics that Chartier so carefully elaborates fail, inevitably and perhaps necessarily, fully to conceal their constructed, artificial

quality. This is due at least in part to a version of what Sarah Kay calls 'the complexity of one', the way in which didactic allegory's drive toward 'monological' semiotic stability and ideological consensus invariably ends up complicating the notion of 'oneness' by exposing the disunity of subjectivity, the problematic relationships of parts to wholes and of the particular to the general, and the paradoxes inherent in allegorical representation, even within a signifying system as simple-seeming as the *Quadrilogue*'s.[34] Structured as a psychomachia within the hypothetical collective consciousness of the nation (which is also that of the dreaming Acteur, who is in this sense an alternative personification of 'France'),[35] Chartier's text, like all allegories of internal debate, dramatises plurality within unity in a manner that emphasises the former rather than the latter term. In articulating the partite wholeness of the polity, the dream gives an enduring plastic form to the very 'division' against which it rails. The dominant presence of 'France' seems poised to counter psychomachia's centrifugal force by enacting the togetherness of the other characters, the whole to which they add up, but although the symbolic figuration of the three estates' distinct provinces or fields of activity on Lady France's mantle suggests an understanding of them as attributes of the state, she never indicates that the estates might be thought of as subsumed into a totality that she represents. Instead, she positions herself in an ontologically horizontal relationship to them in her capacities as both mother and kingdom, where the 'kingdom' – which sometimes, but not always, converges with the categories of the polity and the community – seems to stand for a particular configuration of personal political identity in terms of a collectivity larger than the estates in scale but similar to them in kind.[36] Although the estates are grammatically gathered together in France's and Clergié's speeches by the recurring pronouns *vous* and *nous*, their unity remains uncertain and negotiable, the consequence of shared interests, collective action and (most importantly) political decision rather than of an ontology guaranteed by the concept of 'France'.

Meanwhile, the names ascribed to the estates themselves cast them as easily identifiable individualised personifications of the human collectivities for whom they are named, but their unfolding conversation undermines their capacity to perform as such.

Some inconsistency stems from, or at least is sanctioned by, the reductiveness of the trifunctional schema itself relative to late medieval sociopolitical reality.[37] Peuple, for instance, speaks essentially as a poor farmer criticising Chevalier for the inefficacy of the knightly class and the misdeeds of soldiers of all sorts, including non-noble men-at-arms. Chevalier, however, alternately casts Peuple as a peasant insurrectionary and as an acquisitive, upwardly mobile bourgeois merchant with an antisocial aversion to reasonable taxation, while positioning himself as a member of the lower nobility or knighthood who nevertheless sometimes speaks on behalf of the French military leadership and of the soldiery in general. He does so mostly for the casuistic reasons that often complicate the transparency of allegorical representation in the characters' verbal performances of their identities, as in Chevalier's first speech, which evokes in affecting detail the physical and financial hardships suffered by knights serving their king and country in the field, but also excuses looting by hungry and unpaid (mercenary and/or non-noble?) 'defenders of the realm' – even while suggesting that the most 'horribles excez' [horrible excesses] (43.20–1) are probably committed by peasants moonlighting as soldiers – and defends the army's apparent sluggishness in combating the English invader by praising the 'chief de bataille' [military commander] (45.6) who strategically bides his time to ensure eventual victory.

Troublingly, moreover, where 'Le Peuple' and 'Le Clergié' are collective nouns, 'Le Chevalier' is a singular one; he is, in other words, not 'Chivalry', but simply 'The Knight'. This could be a ploy to avoid having to incarnate 'La Chevalerie' in a female body to match the noun's grammatical gender or a way to distinguish the knighthood as a social body from chivalry as an ideology,[38] but even so, Chartier's choice heightens a blurring of the distinction between personified collectivities and particularised, synecdochic representatives or 'exemplifications' of social types that is also noticeable in the characters' discourses.[39] Peuple and Chevalier in particular lose track of their own allegorical identities, switching back and forth between speaking as *je* – a singular allegorical voice describing 'his' ideas and experiences, which typify and stand for those of the group – and speaking on behalf of a limited *nous*, as spokesmen and advocates for, rather than personifications of, their estates.

The resulting ambiguity is picked up by the illustrators of Paris, BnF MS fr. 24441 and Paris, BnF MS Rothschild 2796, both of which depict (on fols 2r and 5v respectively) clustered groups of members of the three estates where Chartier's verbal description calls for only a single personification of each.[40]

The textual Clergié strays still farther from the script of a group's or its viewpoint's straightforward representation through personification. The character does not testify to the clerical experience of the Hundred Years War in anything like the vivid, concrete way that his peers do for their estates. Reflecting theoretically on and exhorting others about the nation's ills and their possible remedies is certainly a typically clerkly response to crisis, and Clergié's speech could be interpreted, as it is by Chevalier in his final outburst, as 'invectively', albeit eruditely, loading others with blame and responsibility while interestedly downplaying inadequate clerical counsellors' role in leading France astray. Still, Clergié's primary function as an exemplar of civic-minded, productive political discourse makes it tempting to see him as a thinly veiled placeholder for Alain Chartier himself (who was, after all, a clerk), competing with the Acteur and the prologue's 'Alain Charretier' and further muddling the representational status of the personified estates.[41]

The messiness of the *Quadrilogue*'s personification system intensifies the emotional force of the different characters' complaints and arguments, inviting the reader to think of them both as allegorical figures and as human individuals with comprehensible experiences and feelings. However, it also raises questions about how transparently the personified kingdom and estates represent political collectivities to their individual human members reading the text, and therefore about how easily or productively readers can be assumed to recognise themselves, let alone their own faults, in the criticisms uttered about or by their allegorical avatars. Indeed, even if a reader does identify unproblematically with his estate (and, at the same time, with France?), an edifying confrontation with its and his errors is hardly as inevitable as Lady France and the Acteur apparently assume. Chartier's opening address to the meticulously enumerated sociological groups that make up French society – he dedicates his incipient text 'a la treshaulte et excellente majesté des princes, a la treshonnouree magnificence des nobles, circonspection

des clers et bonne industrie du peuple françois' [to the exalted and excellent majesty of princes, the most honoured magnificence of nobles, the prudence of clerks and the decent industry of the French people] (3.1–4) – suggests the possibility of legitimately diverse, complementary readings corresponding to and performed by different readerships.[42] But while the oneiric narrative's closing paragraphs anticipate a politically fruitful future for the *Quadrilogue* premised on its readers' spontaneous, generous and compelling self-inscription into its system of personified political subjectivities, the author's prologue anxiously imagines and attempts to preclude another kind of reception of his strategically orchestrated debate:

> Si ne vueille aucun lire l'une partie sans l'autre, afin que l'en ne cuide que tout le blasme soit mis sur ung estat. Mais s'aucune chose y a digne de lecture, si vaille pour attrait a donner aucune espace de temps a visiter et lire le sourplus. (8.10–14)

> [Let nobody read one part without the others, lest he should think that all of the blame is placed on a single estate. Rather, if something in it is worth reading, let it serve as an incentive to take the time to peruse and read the rest.]

Chartier's concern reflects his sense of 'the nature and the ethos of the "ideal" debate … in which all voices are heard, and no opinions are suppressed or erased',[43] but also his awareness that the *Quadrilogue*'s representation of partisanship and use of the invective mode risk to reinforce, rather than resisting, the faction they seek to censure if the various characters' words are taken out of context and at face value. He fears a politically 'partial' interpretation of the *Quadrilogue* generated by a literally partial reading of the text. Prior partisan inclinations, however, are precisely what might inform selective reading by individuals keen to hear their own perspectives and grievances reaffirmed by the representatives of their estates or to see, with a jaundiced eye and a defensive disposition, what kind of slander the other estates heap upon theirs. Chartier's solicitation of comprehensive reading is therefore also a plea for receptiveness to the text's ideological message, that is, for the public to approach the *Quadrilogue* already moved by the patriotic feeling it is meant to inspire. In some sense, then, he seems to acknowledge that his preaching can be guaranteed to have its

intended effect only on the converted, those whose *bonne affection* mirrors and responds to his own.

At the very least, Chartier recognises that the *Quadrilogue* is less an organic whole than a delicate mechanism, a meticulously crafted and balanced rhetorical contrivance whose gears mesh properly only when all of its pieces are in place. Little is natural and nothing is inevitable about the allegorical system designed to negotiate a path beyond national 'division' by mediating the individual political subject's self-insertion into multiple conceptual formations of collective identity (the estates, the kingdom, the *chose publique*, the *bien commun*) and organising a productive relationship between them while concealing, behind the colourfully drawn figures of the personifications whom Chartier chooses to stage, other and more profoundly divisive ways of thinking internal difference within the polity – for instance, in terms of Armagnac and Burgundian allegiances cutting across class lines, the elephant in the *Quadrilogue*'s room, to which its tight focus on estate-based politics deliberately denies all but the most minimal representation.[44] The same might be said of the unanimous French community whose image the text works so hard to project into the minds and hearts of its characters and readers, invested with a verbally constructed 'naturalness', an ostensibly palpable self-evidence belied by the need for its rhetorical fabrication.

Yet Chartier never denies the artificiality of the *Quadrilogue* or, for all his occasional recourse to the motifs and cadences of prophetic discourse, uses the conceit of its oneiric frame to buttress truth claims for its content. On the contrary, proud of the act of composition, he repeatedly foregrounds the dream's textuality or literariness, introducing it as an 'œuvre' [work] (8.8, 84.7; cf. 84.6) or 'petit traictié que je appelle quadrilogue [little treatise that I call a 'quadrilogue'] (8.7; cf. 12.19, 83.19–20) and referring to the allegorical interlocutors as 'personnages' [characters] (8.8, 84.1).[45] France's parting command to the Acteur establishes that writing, and specifically activist writing undergirded by patriotism and aimed at the furtherance of the common good, is a worthy form of service to the state analogous to military service:

> Et puisque Dieu ne t'a donné force de corps ne usaige d'armes, sers a
> la chose publique de ce que tu pues, car autant exaulça la gloire des

Rommains et renforça leurs couraiges a vertu la plume et la langue des orateurs comme les glaives des combatans. (83.21–6)

[And since God did not give you physical strength or skill at arms, serve the commonwealth in your own way, for the orators' pens and tongues amplified the glory of the Romans and fortified their hearts in virtue as much as fighters' swords ever did.]

Although France is ostensibly talking about the Acteur's faithful scribal transcription of the debate he has witnessed, her reference to the classical orators, as whose *immitateur* Chartier identified himself in the first sentence of his prologue, underscores that what she and Chartier are really valorising is creative, rhetorically skilful, morally edifying and politically efficacious discourse, the kind that Chartier plainly aspires to produce in the *Quadrilogue*.[46] Persuasive language is the orator's weapon or tool, with which he artfully forms and reforms the political consciousness of his audience, forging unity out of dissension, building consensus where there was none.

Not only texts, then, but also communities can be understood as works of art or artifice, and in closely connected ways. Although Lady France's speech argues forcefully for the naturalness of the kingdom as a conceptual and experiential category, the Acteur's ekphrastic lingering on the symbolic details of her appearance, a kind of verbal sculpture or painting that the *Quadrilogue*'s illustrators diligently translate into visual terms, foregrounds in its own way the artistry of Chartier's allegorical textuality and, by extension, of the ideological structures it does not so much represent as produce. Moreover, Lady France's feminine, individuated anthropomorphic form, which conceals or denies internal partition and supports a unitary understanding of the 'body politic'[47] and of collective identity on a national scale, is tellingly draped in and doubled by her mantle, a crafted object of 'merveilleux artifice' [marvellous workmanship] that 'de trois paires d'ouvraiges sembloit avoir esté tissu et assemblé' [seemed to have been woven and assembled from three pairs of pieces of handiwork] (10.23–5), corresponding to the very tripartite polity that Chartier's oratorical prose attempts to knit or splice together. This figure of confected collectivity, like the one constituted by the *Quadrilogue* as a whole, suggests that while France may have a 'natural' claim on her

subjects' loyalty, fashioning solidarity takes effort and technique. With the 'parfaicte œuvre … assemblé par la souveraine industrie des predecesseurs … qui tel le bastirent' [perfect work … assembled by the supreme craftsmanship of the forefathers … who thus pieced it together] (11.20–12.15) falling into ruin under the assault of contemporary crises, Chartier's turn to poetic oneiropolitics bespeaks a commitment to undertake for his own era the difficult work of community, thinking and feeling the 'common' through – rather than instead of – individuation and difference,[48] hoping to spark – since it is impossible to compel – an upwelling of unanimous love or desire for the *chose publique* and its *commun salut* that, perhaps, is properly the stuff of dreams.

Notes

1 Mühlethaler, 'Une génération'. See also Blanchard and Mühlethaler, *Écriture et pouvoir*, esp. 33–58; Gauvard, 'Christine de Pizan et ses contemporains'; Blanchard, 'Entrée du poète'; McCabe, '"Al université de tout le monde"'; and, for a comparison with earlier modes of clerkly political engagement, Mühlethaler, 'Pour une préhistoire de l'engagement'. All English translations of medieval and modern French texts in this essay are my own.

2 Marchello-Nizia, 'Entre l'histoire et la poétique'; cf. Quillet, 'Songes et songeries', and Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 97–163.

3 On Bovet, see Brown's chapter in this volume. On Christine, see Hick-Bartlett's.

4 Évrart de Conty, *Livre des eschez*, 23.

5 Évrart de Trémaugon, *Songe du vergier*, ed. Schnerb-Lièvre, vol. 2, 262–3; cf. 270–1.

6 Christine de Pizan, *Livre de l'advision Cristine*, 11–12. Cf. Évrart de Trémaugon, *Songe du vergier*, vol. 1, 3.

7 On this conceptual vocabulary, established primarily by the twelfth-century 'Chartrian' Neoplatonists, see Dronke, *Fabula*, 13–67.

8 For overviews of Chartier's life (mid-1380s–1430) and career, both bureaucratic and poetic, see Laidlaw, 'Alain Chartier' and Chartier, *Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, 1–27.

9 Chartier, *Quadrilogue invectif*, 9, 2–8. Subsequent parenthetical citations provide page and line numbers in Bouchet's 2011 edition of the

Quadrilogue, based on the manuscript text of Paris, BnF MS fr. 126, fols. 191–209, dated to around 1450. Non-specialist readers may profit from Bouchet's separately published modern French translation (2002).

10 See 3.7–4.5, 6.18–8.2, 9.20–4. With relative modesty, Chartier under-scores the distance between himself and the biblical prophets: the medieval writer is not Isaiah, but has been rereading him (7.18–19). On Chartier's 'prophetic' posture, see Mühlethaler, 'Poète et le prophète', 44–50, and Bouchet, '*Vox Dei, vox poetæ*'; cf. Mühlethaler, 'Masques du clerc'.

11 On the *Quadrilogue*'s use of the traditional trifunctional schema influ-entially articulated by Duby, *Trois Ordres*, see Allard, 'Idéal commu-nautaire'.

12 On the roles of and relationship between the author and his Acteur, see Tarnowski, 'Alain Chartier's Singularity', 46–52; Minet-Mahy, *Esthétique et pouvoir*, 415–29; Haidu, *Subject Medieval/Modern*, 325–7; and Bouchet, 'Écrivain et son lecteur'.

13 Many personification allegories (such as the *Roman de la Rose*) tend to substitute talk for action and downplay the real significance of char-acters' movement through space even when they present themselves as dynamic, but Chartier's allegorical *tableau vivant* embraces stasis from the outset. Its construction is scrutinised by Rouy, *Esthétique du traité moral*, 39–52, 67–75, 83–7, 102–4, 130–49.

14 On the interplay between class-based and nation-based resentments in the Hundred Years War, see Giancarlo's chapter in this volume.

15 Chartier, *Lay de paix*, 16. Chartier's *Debat du herault* and *Lay de paix* are edited in *Poetical Works*, ed. Laidlaw, 421–35 and 410–20, respectively; the *Ad detestacionem* and *Dialogus familiaris* are edited in *Œuvres latines*, ed. Bourgain-Hemeryck, 225–44 and 246–325, respec-tively. The breadth of Chartier's engagement with political questions is described by Mühlethaler, 'Alain Chartier, Political Writer'.

16 On Chartier's rhetoric and prose style, see Hatzfeld, 'Style du *Quadrilogue*' and Meyenberg, *Alain Chartier prosateur*.

17 Serchuk, 'Illuminated Manuscripts', 73; on the illustrated *Quadrilogue* in particular, see 81–98.

18 Kay, *Place of Thought*, 1–3.

19 The narrator of the *Songe du vergier* likewise traces his dream to reflec-tions he has entertained while 'tout eveillié' [fully awake]; before bed, he recounts, 'je comancé a y penser, et plus fort a ymaginer que onques mais n'avoie fait' [I began to think about it and to imagine it more intensely than I ever had before], inspiring the 'vision' that comes to him in his sleep (Évart de Trémaugon *Songe du vergier*, vol. 1, 3–4).

Chartier's own unfinished *Livre de l'Esperance* (1430) opens with a very similar account of the Acteur's book-fuelled meditation on France's lost glory and troubled future leading to interaction with allegorical personifications, except that the vision that interrupts his melancholic stupor is not identified as a dream; see Chartier, *Livre de l'Espérance*, 1–3. On Chartier's postures of 'topical melancholy', see Singer, *Representing Mental Illness*, 245–90. In the background of all of these scenes is the Boethian model of meditative memory work, performed in the bedchamber and associated with both rhetorical composition and vividly evoked allegorical encounters (especially with authoritative women), described by Carruthers, *Craft of Thought*, 173–5.

20 On '*ymaginacion*', see Kelly, *Medieval Imagination*, and Minnis, 'Langland's Ymaginatif'.

21 The patterns and significance of Chartier's choice of pronouns in the *Quadrilogue* are parsed by Rouy, *Esthétique du traité moral*, 249–86. For Poirion (*Poète et le prince*, 261), Chartier's affectively charged moral and political verse is a 'poésie du *nous*: le *moi* de l'auteur, non pas étalé, mais dilaté, rejoint dans l'expression lyrique la vérité des autres' [poetry of the *we*: the author's *I*, not displayed, but rather dilated, merges with the truth of others in lyric expression].

22 Fynsk, 'Foreword', x. On the philosophical underpinnings and intellectual genealogy of the distinction between *le* and *la politique*, see Marchart, *Post-Foundational Political Thought*.

23 Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, 72; cf. Ovid, *Heroides*, 272 (XIX.195–6).

24 On Macrobius's discourse-founding categorisation of dreams in his Neoplatonist *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, see Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, 21–3; cf. the many variant theorisations of the dream's complex imbrication of human embodiment and higher truth described in the rest of Kruger's book. Lady France's 'oracular' evocation of an uncertain future corresponds to Chartier's assertion, in his authorial prologue, that models of political history based on the fickleness of Fortune or the organic growth and decay of kingdoms are misleading because they figure as natural and inevitable events that are really divine judgements on the moral state of nations (3.10–7.2) – meaning that moral reform can reshape even the grimmest-looking future.

25 Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*, 142; see 142–52, 164–6. On argument from political 'nature', see Krynen, 'Naturel'.

26 I examine the conceptual basis, rhetorical expression and political-philosophical stakes of the *Quadrilogue*'s ideological programme in greater detail in Wood, 'Alain Chartier's *Quadrilogue invectif*'.

27 On the complex and frequently contradictory notions of 'natural law' inherited and reworked by medieval thinkers, see Greene, 'Instinct of Nature', and Crowe, *Changing Profile*.

28 Delogu, *Allegorical Bodies*, 145, 8, 10. On the development of French *amor patriae* in tandem with personifications of the nation, see Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France*, 309–18, 324–35. As a substitute for the monarch, personified France, even in her sorry state, represents a euphemistic way of dealing with royal inadequacy; on metaphorical figurations of Charles VI's malady, see Singer, *Representing Mental Illness*, 173–243.

29 I do not attempt here to pin down the 'act of imagination rather than of political philosophy' (Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 29) that yields national identity as distinct – or not – from other forms of collective political subjectivity. However, on relevant medieval notions of 'nation' or (proto-)national community, see Guenée, 'État et nation'; Guenée, *Occident*, 113–32; and Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 250–331.

30 Any proto-'democratic' implications of the *Quadrilogue*'s vision of political community should not be overstated, but on Chartier's apparent solidarity with the laborious *peuple*, see Solterer, 'Aimer un pays tout autre'.

31 The lexical field of the *publique* and the *commun(e)* in the *Quadrilogue* is reviewed in the editor's introduction to Chartier, *Quadrilogue invectif*, xvii–xviii. On medieval Aristotelian ideas of the 'common good' and their pre-Aristotelian antecedents, see Kempshall, *Common Good*; Sère, 'Aristote et le bien commun'; and Sassier, 'Bien commun'. On Chartier's use of classical history and exempla, see Gosman, 'Alain Chartier'; Rouy, *Esthétique du traité moral*, 287–336; and Gosman, 'Discours référentiel'.

32 In Chartier's usage, *affection* is a capacious term capable of encompassing specific, situated emotions or passions as well as more general affective dispositions, desires, interests or investments, and extending to a range of (often ideologically charged, but felt rather than theorised) sympathies, attachments, and even loves.

33 For Mühlethaler ('Tristesses de l'engagement', 31–4), Chartier's politically engaged posture is less powerfully affective than those of contemporaries like Christine de Pizan or Philippe de Mézières because Chartier delegates his emotional effusions to Lady France and channels them into cognitive processes yielding actionable knowledge and understanding – which is true if only sorrow, and not patriotic ardour or *affection*, is identified as a political emotion.

34 Kay, *Place of Thought*, 4–18.

35 Cf. the 'allegorical mindscape' in which the more personal psychomachia of Chartier's *Livre de l'Esperance* unfolds (Delogu, 'Cognition and Conversion', 246–57).

36 On the ambiguous referential status of Chartier's 'France', see Roux, 'Alain Chartier devant la crise'.

37 See Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Alain Chartier and the Crisis', 218. Subdivisions within the traditional tripartite social order are also discussed at length in Christine de Pizan, *Livre du corps de policie*, 96–110; on Christine's representation of the estates and its stakes, see Nederman, *Lineages of European Political Thought*, 248–58, and Adams, 'Political Significance'. An interesting visualisation of estate-based social structure's fifteenth-century rethinking appears in the frontispiece to the extract from Jean Golein's *Informacion des princes* that accompanies Chartier's *Quadrilogue* in BnF MS fr. 126, fol. 7r, where the king, clergy and nobility share a single large rectangular frame occupying the top half of a tripartite square whose lower half is divided into two parts separately depicting the bourgeois merchant class and the agricultural peasantry.

38 Brown, 'Allegorical Design', 388; Bouchet, 'Introduction', in Chartier, *Quadrilogue invectif*, trans. Bouchet, 28.

39 Ailes, 'Literary Responses to Agincourt', 8–9.

40 Images reproduced in Serchuk, 'Illuminated Manuscripts', 84, 94.

41 Roux, 'Alain Chartier devant la crise', 10; Bouchet, '*Vox Dei, vox poetæ*', 42.

42 Bouchet, 'Un *petit traictié*', 209–10.

43 Cayley, '"Le Contraire Effacies"', 37.

44 'Lurking behind the traditional class tensions revealed by the complaints of People and Knight was a more seismic split within French society' (Taylor, 'Alain Chartier and Chivalry', 155). The fact that the supposedly 'nationalist' (because pro-Valois) Armagnacs were at least as intransigently partisan and factional as their opponents is highlighted by Adams, 'Feuding, Factionalism and Fictions'.

45 On the generic implications of the term *traictié*, from the latin *tractatus*, see Bouchet, 'Un *petit traictié*', and Gauvard, 'Christine de Pizan et ses contemporains', 106–9. The *Quadrilogue*'s contemporary reception as a conspicuously authored text is evident in illustrated manuscripts like Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, MS 78 C 8, where Chartier is depicted directly addressing the three personified estates in France's absence (fol. 1), and BnF MS fr. 24441, which foregrounds a red-robed, busily writing Acteur on the threshold of the miniature's deep space, sitting

in the centre of the visual field and mediating between the reader and the figures of the estates behind him, while apparently taking dictation from Chartier, who stands in the right-hand corner of the image, also in red and on the same plane as the Acteur, dominating the world of his literary creation from its margins (fol. 2). See Serchuk, 'Illuminated Manuscripts', 81–4 (although Serchuk identifies as Chartier the figure whom I suggest represents the Acteur in BnF MS fr. 24441).

46 Chartier's highly self-conscious and programmatic investment in emotive, persuasive discourse as the vehicle of a simultaneously rhetorical, ethical and political agenda whose pursuit privileges the form of literary dialogue or debate is demonstrated by Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*, 87–135. Chartier's prologue positions him 'in the wake of the Christian orator' (Mühlethaler, 'Alain Chartier, Political Writer', 174–5; cf. Bouchet, '*Vox Dei, vox poetæ*', 47–50) as well as the Ciceronian one, on whose medieval fortunes see Nederman, 'Union of Wisdom and Eloquence'. The reinvention, in the *Quadrilogue*, of Chartier's narrative persona as a public moralist and activist is inscribed in a career-spanning trajectory from private to public discourse by Kinch, '"De l'ombre de mort"'.

47 Cf. the more troubling metaphors of the disunited, disordered or sick body politic introduced by Peuple (31.14–23) and Clergié (57.14–58.2). On the 'body politic' as a figure of political speech and thought in the Middle Ages, see Nederman, 'Physiological Significance', and 'Body Politics'.

48 'Chartier's allegory … both affirms and eludes the problematics of political totalization', just as his lexical reifications of community 'index a principle of political identity, not to erase differences but to sublate them', postulating national unity as 'the universal of all separate, concrete identities' (Haidu, *Subject Medieval/Modern*, 315, 323; see 313–27).

IV

Lives during wartime

10

War, tears, and corporeal response in Christine de Pizan

Alani Hicks-Bartlett

Christine de Pizan's works are frequently understood to prioritise questions vital to reader-response theory, such as '[i]s it possible for a woman to initiate a literary genealogy, of "literary mothers", so to speak'.[1] Hence, many scholars regard Pizan primarily in terms of the light that she sheds on the authorial positionality of late medieval women authors, and the privilege she gives to women by foregrounding her commitment to women's education and her own authorial role.[2] These primacies are then frequently extrapolated to the lived experience of late medieval women, writ large.[3] Yet a pointed investment in ethics, state affairs and related political matters also characterises much of Pizan's work, prompting other scholars to direct their attention to her political message or her moral philosophies.[4] As this chapter will argue, since Pizan pointedly centres her body and her affective response to the political situation in all of her works, despite this frequent separation of Pizan's oeuvre into disparate camps, a clear line of continuity between her femicentric and political thought can and should be acknowledged.[5]

Studying the intersection of Pizan's protofeminist commitments and political engagements thus helps bridge the perceived distance between her works offering critical interpretations of women's status and agency and those identified as chiefly political in nature.[6] Not only does this approach evidence the continual imbrication of gender and politics for Pizan, it gives particular insight into her involved commentary on France's political situation and the Hundred Years War. As Josette Wisman synopsises, 'The Hundred Years War was still raging, and the English invaded France in 1415; a civil war broke out between the Houses of Orléans and Burgundy

while Charles VI went mad; there were peasant and bourgeois revolts; the Church was divided by the Great Schism; and finally, there were recurring epidemics and famines.'[7] Given this turbulence, it should come as no surprise that Pizan's political concerns informed her treatment of gender, and vice versa, particularly since many of her politically minded discussions of war concurrently explore questions of corporeal and affective response, gender, political bodies and authorial strategies for offering political critique.

As it explicitly brings together matters corporeal and political, Pizan's *Livre du corps de policie* (*c*.1406–07),[8] an educational manual commissioned by the Duke of Burgundy, likely for the son of Charles VI, the dauphin Louis of Guyenne, is often understood as Pizan's foremost text prioritising the body politic.[9] However, Pizan also makes use of the representational potential of the body as a civic metaphor in numerous other works. For instance, the *Livre des fais et bonnes meurs du sage roy Charles V* (1404) offers a panegyric to the king,[10] identifying him as 'le souverain idéal' [the ideal sovereign],[11] and an 'exemplar of kingship and of chivalric behaviour'.[12] Pizan's 'military treatise', the *Livre des fais d'armes et de la chevalerie* (1404)[13] and the *Livre de paix* (1412–14), a sophisticated 'guidebook for the edification of the young prince'[14] evidencing Pizan's deep knowledge of political and legal traditions and composed shortly after the 1412 Treaty of Auxerre,[15] both directly take up the question of the physical, social, spiritual and political health of France.[16] This was a matter rendered all the more pressing given the political unrest of the period,[17] and an identified weakness in the body politic: the ill health of Charles VI, whose recurrent bouts of sickness frequently left France without an appropriate leader. However, even in works that pose as readerly critiques, such as Pizan's debate epistles on the *Roman de la Rose* (1402), the *Dit de la pastoure* (1403), and in works of hers that are far too summarily understood to be exclusively creative, autobiographical or protofeminist in nature – like the *Cent ballades* (1402), the *Livre de la mutacion de Fortune* (1402–3)[18] and the *Avision Cristine* (1405)[19] – Pizan is likewise deeply politically invested.

As a result of the arbitrary division of Pizan's works into political and apolitical, texts with a more flexible categorisation, such as her ballads, are still infrequently assessed for their political

content, although they directly engage with historical and contemporary political matters.[20] In addition to ballads admitting a staunch anti-English sentiment alongside a desire for either greater French might or peace that give militant expression to Christine's passionate attachment to France[21] – like the ballad for the Duke of Orléans, 'sur le Combat de Sept Français contre Sept Anglais', critiquing the 'sept Anglois' who attempt to harm ['nuire'] the 'good French'(v.13–14)[22] – a prime example of this political aperture can be found in Pizan's lyric treatment of Charles VI's illness, 'Nous devons bien, sur tout aultre dommage' [We must certainly, above any other hardship]:

> Nous devons bien, sur tout aultre dommage,
> Plaindre cellui du royaume de France,
> Qui fut et est le regne et heritage
> Des crestiens de plus haulte poissance;
> Mais Dieux le fiert adès de poignant lance,
> Par quoy de joye et de soulaz mendie;
> Pour noz pechiez si porte la penance
> Nostre bon Roy qui est en maladie. (Bal.XCV, vv.1–8)[23]

> [We must certainly, above any other hardship, lament that which afflicts the Kingdom of France, which was and is the kingdom and heritage of Christians most powerful, but God is striking it ceaselessly, with a piercing lance, for which reason I am begging for joy and solace; for our good King who is ailing is paying penance for our sins.]

With its refrain emphasising Charles VI's continual state 'en maladie', the ballad laments the destabilisation and grief born of his ailment,[24] which correlate to the precarity and 'poor health' reflected in the larger political situation. Beginning with the king's first recorded bout of sickness in 1392,[25] his infamous spells of what was deemed 'insanity' and 'madness' further contributed to the political instability of the French court, and metaphorically aligned with the 'sickness that so tears through the land'.[26] One of the primary concerns resulting from Charles's indisposition was, of course, who should rule in his stead,[27] particularly since governance by women – in this case, by Charles's wife, Isabeau of Bavaria[28] – was increasingly becoming both a possibility and a threat,[29] and all

the more so since agnatic succession and tensions between governance versus regency were likewise very fraught.[30]

Along with the groundbreaking work of scholars like Daisy Delogu, Kate Langdon Forhan, Earl Jeffrey Richards, Josette Wisman, Margaret Brabant, Karen Green and Constant Mews,[31] a key contribution acknowledging Pizan's political conscience is that of Roberta Krueger. Commenting on Pizan's works from 1399 to 1405, Krueger highlights transitional developments between Pizan's 'initial marginalization and the process of her intellectual emergence as she moves from being "poetess to historian" (Margolis, 'Poetess'), and increasingly enters the "champ politique" as a moral advisor (Blanchard, 'L'Entrée')'.[32] Marked by intense political instability, the early years of the fifteenth century also correlate to Pizan's greater usage of prose, and to her greater commitment to the political problems of France.[33] Finally, developing in tandem with her deepening political engagement was the specific attention she gave to the formation of the then Dauphin, Louis of Guyenne, the mirror-for-princes genre, and the larger political education and sociopolitical role of women.

Any perceived division between Pizan's works can therefore not be as great as it seems, for in her so-called political works, Pizan directly borrows the poetic and protofeminist anchors of her supposedly apolitical work, and uses this framework to inform her political messages. These political messages hinge upon a similar corporeally rooted argument as that which she pursues in her 'poetic' and 'autobiographic' works. By way of illustration, Pizan prominently situates a weeping autobiographical protagonist at the start of numerous texts.[34] In her *Cent balades*, for instance, she articulates her famous lament 'seulete suis' [Alone I am] in reference to the death of her husband,[35] and represents herself throughout as a 'veuve affligée' [suffering widow]. Fully afflicted by the phenomenological embrace of her loss and grief, Pizan's desire to be alone since she has been left alone ('sanz ami demourée' [left without my beloved]) reflexively reinforces her solitude: 'Seulete sui et seulete vueil estre / … / Seulete suy a huis ou a fenestre, / Seulete suy en un anglet muciée /… / Seulete suy en ma chambre enserrée' (XI.v.1, 8–9, 13 [Alone I am and alone I wish to be /… / Alone I am at the door or window, / Alone I am, hidden in a corner /… / Alone

I am closed away in my room]). Despite the references she makes to enclosure, ranging from the 'huis' and 'anglet' to her 'chambre', Pizan's experience with grief is also instructive and expansive – she is alone 'partout et en tout estre' (XI.v15 [everywhere and in every state]).

Certainly, the depth and pervasiveness of her grief directly inform the political commentaries she makes as a deft negotiator in her 1405 *Epistre a la Royne de France* (*Epistle to the Queen of France*); as an impassioned arbiter for peace of the 1410 *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile* (*Lament on the Evils of the Civil War*); and as a steadfast, consoling voice in the *Epistre de la prison de la vie humaine* (*Epistle of the Prison of Human Life*), completed around 1418. Even with a shift from grieving to celebratory moralising in her last work of record, the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* (*The Song of Joan of Arc*), written around 1429, Pizan evinces a political engagement that simultaneously probes the body's connection to war, grief and to spaces of mourning. As this chapter will demonstrate, by frequently situating tears as revelatory of corporeal investments in political matters, Pizan calls attention to the necessary transformations that the bereaved body mobilises as it grapples with political solvency and loss – as it cries, suffers and 'hungers' for a different future.

In the *Epistre a la Royne,* the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*, the *Prison de la vie humaine* and the *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, Pizan prioritises grief, the body and political action to examine the thorny contrast between domestic and political spheres; between personal involvement and social duty; between nurturing and nature, particularly as related to the female body; and between natural and unnatural causes and events – an unnatural event being a civil war, for example, that one does not immediately strive to quell. Throughout these texts, Pizan gives sustained attention to the tears that are shed due to emotional upheaval. Yet unlike the crying that characterises the beginning of the *Livre de la cite des dames*, or the *Avision* and *Mutacion*, where private tears are only subsequently mobilised towards a collective, in texts in which Pizan critiques the devastating costs of the Hundred Years War, like the *Epistre a la royne*, the *Lamentacion*, the *Prison* and the *Ditié*, tears take on an explicitly public-facing, civic and even patriotic function.

Along with serving as barometer for political strife and appropri-
ate or inappropriate reactions to it, by triggering what Pizan gen-
erally describes as an uncontrollable bodily or affective response,
tears also encourage a collective response, which can subsequently
be marshalled to inaugurate change. By emphasising the relational
connection between her body and that of others, Pizan wields her
tears strategically: not only are they intended to elicit the emotional
response of those around her – Isabeau's, in the specific case of the
Epistre a la royne – the civic action and movement they spark will
necessarily bring about political transformation. Pizan's attention
to corporeal investment both catalyses and informs her epistle,
while centring the capacities and agency of the female body, which
calls for political action and then must implement it.

Written in 1405, and directed to the 'très excellent, redoubtee et
puissant princesse' (70) [excellent, revered and powerful princess]
(71),[36] Isabeau de Baviere, the *Epistre* begins with Pizan's invo-
cation of her own tears as she puts forth a sustained, sorrowful
appeal to the queen. The opening lines of the letter and the affective
position in which Pizan situates herself reprise the sombre key that
constitutes the mournful sonoric backdrop of most of her other
works.[37] Throughout the *Epistre*, tears and hunger stand as literal
and metaphorical consequences of civil war – in this case, of the
devastating clash between the Armagnacs and the Burgundians.[38]
Not only does the act of crying weaken and destabilise the bodies of
the 'povre peuple' [poor people] who are entirely dependent upon
what should be national solidity, but internecine strife ravages the
country, precipitating all towards famine. Deadly civil war then
worsens the deprivation and hunger of the poor, leaving them to
suffer physically as they desperately search for a 'remède' [remedy].
Describing the poor as gnawed by a 'desir familleux … de paix' (82)
[a hungry desire for peace] (83), Pizan reformulates the reality of
famine affectively in terms of what the poor crave. Thus adding to
their desire for peace an absolute bodily necessity upon which their
health, strength and life depend, Pizan maintains that the famished
condition decimating France's citizens can only be rectified by the
intervention of the queen.

Insisting on the consequences of famine and need throughout
the *Epistre*, Pizan calques the eucharistic implications of body as

bread onto the figuration of the body politic and the sustenance that Isabeau should provide. As such, Pizan underscores the potential for arbitration that the queen should support and actively facilitate, describing Isabeau's body as the 'bread', 'nourishment' and 'remedy' that France so urgently needs.[39] Additionally, particularly since the traditional role of Mary is one of mediation and succour, Pizan's petition to Isabeau through Marian intercessory terminology is intended to appeal to the queen's sympathies and desire for virtue, thus impelling her to action. By citing qualities that are attributed to the Virgin and transferring them to Isabeau, Pizan reminds the queen of her critical positionality and privilege, which give her greater virtue and greater responsibility. Finally, Pizan evokes the sorrow she expects the queen to feel upon seeing her country ravaged, with lachrymal descriptors that frequently accompany the Virgin as mourning *mater dolorosa* and inform Pizan's own abundant tears.[40]

Yet the tears that Pizan cries also present a paradox in that they bolster and undermine the writing project: they are simultaneously productive of and deleterious to her writing, and even to the actual materiality of her written work. As she reiterates to the queen, she – and French citizens – are entirely dependent upon Isabeau's intervention: 'Mais comme ce soit de commun ordre que toute personne souffrant aucun mal naturellement affine au remede, si comme nous veons les maladies porchacier garrison et les familleux courir a la viande, et ainsi toute chose a son remede' (70) [But just as it is a natural thing for anyone who suffers from an illness to find a remedy, so can we see the sick look for recovery and the hungry run for food, and thus all things seek a remedy] (71). Rather than couching this need for a remedy to put an end to gratuitous suffering as a question of political strife alone, Pizan emphasises war's physical and emotional ramifications, and the universality of the suffering that it occasions. She groups all forms of distress and destabilisation under the umbrella of *any* suffering pertinent to the human condition, specifying that just as anyone enduring physical illness seeks recuperation and healing, and anyone hungry seeks food, those who suffer sociopolitically, instinctively seek a remedy as well.

Contrasting the unnaturalness of civil war to the naturalness of Isabeau's projected intermediary assistance, by stressing that it is

'de commun ordre' [a natural thing] for someone to seek help and 'pourchassier garrison' [look for recovery], Pizan justifies the need for assistance and relief.[41] Although the matter of queenly political intercession is often divided into scholars who believe it to be 'an important performative and political role' and those who view it as 'a marginalized role queens clung to after they lost "real" power',[42] Pizan's sustained petition establishes an imperative for political and collective healing by insisting that Isabeau's help is practical, natural and necessary for the ailing patient.

By forging significant parallels between herself and the greater populace that the *Epistre a la royne* continues to replicate as the missive unfolds, and by insisting upon a direct connection between her own words and body and the actions of the queen, Pizan reveals that the patient in question is not just herself, and not just the suffering individual, but 'toute personne souffrant aucun mal' [anyone who suffers from any illness]. This association of the individual to a collective, and to the help and relief that can be obtained through the queen, recalls Pizan's explicit interweaving of 'communal and individual autobiography'[43] showcased in all of her texts – whether autobiographical, poetic or political.

Abundant tears and the risk that her sorrow will truncate and frustrate her message are also at the core of Pizan's *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile*, written in August of 1410, and thus, just five years after the composition of the *Epistre a la Royne*, when the political situation in France had become even more dire. Grounding her opening pleas for political action in the pervasive sense of loss particular to complaint literature and the biblical lamentation tradition,[44] Pizan wonders who can ensure France's safety. She cannot understand how 'grief, guerre, et bataille' (84) [grief, war, and battle] (85) have managed to create bitter enemies of those who should be united by 'doulz sang naturel' (84) [sweet natural blood] (85). Detailing how she is barely able to suppress the 'lermes qui ma veue troublent et comme fontaine affluent sur mon visage' (84) [tears which blur my sight and pour down my face like a fountain] (85), Pizan represents her sorrow strategically. Drawing attention to her Herculean and rather miraculous authorial efforts, she explains how her uncontrollable tears dramatically impede her vision. They also thwart her ability to communicate, which renders

the fact that she is even able to write – to 'escripre ceste lasse com-
plainte, dont la pitié de l'eminent mischief me fait d'ameres goutes
effacier l'escripture …' (84) [to write this weary lament, whose
writing the pity for the coming disaster makes me erase with bitter
tears …] (85) – even more remarkable. Simultaneously foreground-
ing the writerly difficulties that increase alongside intensifying
political troubles and the affective response triggered by political
strife, Pizan describes how she is barely able to suppress these tears
that blur her sight. Indeed, given the continued clash between the
Burgundians and the Armagnacs,[45] there is far less hope, so the
tears being shed are even more copious.

In one of the *Lamentacion*'s more impassioned descriptions of
the perilous political situation, Pizan aligns the physical manifesta-
tion of somatic discomfort and sorrow with necessary civic action.
Although accusations of Pizan's royalism and obsequiousness
towards the elite are justified considering her statements elsewhere
critiquing the 'menu peuple' and the margin of latitude she com-
monly grants nobles,[46] the *Lamentacion*'s Pizan is full of rancour,
and directly accuses the nobles of laziness and profligacy. Recalling
her earlier injunction to Isabeau to take action in the *Epistre a la
Royne*, Pizan insists on the greater responsibilities of those with
royal privilege,[47] explaining that those with greater means have
greater responsibility, and also a greater capacity and likelihood to
bring about change:

> Pour Dieu! Pour Dieu! Princes trés haulx ouvrez les yeulx par tel
> savoir, que ja vous semble veoir comme chose advenue, ce que les
> apprestes de voz armes prises pourront conclurre, sy y appercevrez
> ruynes de citez, destruccions de villes et chasteaulx, forteresses ruees
> par terre. Et en quel part? Ou droit nombril de France! (86)

> [For God's sake! For God's sake! High Princes, let these facts open
> your eyes and may you see as already accomplished what the prepa-
> rations for taking arms will do in the end; thus you will see ruined
> cities, towns and castles destroyed, and fortresses razed to the
> ground. And where? In the very heart of France!] (87)[48]

Emphasising the problematic nature of the princes' torpor, Pizan
insists on the metaphoric association of 'blindness' and ignorance.[49]
In this case, in distinction to the tears that actively blur Pizan's eyes,

rendering the completion of her various writings all the more challenging yet ultimately linked to the miraculous and extraordinary, the suggestion is that the princes *do not see* because they are wilfully opting to keep their eyes shut. Their inaction becomes even more incomprehensible since they are allowing such pervasive violence and devastation, while doing nothing to intervene and protect France.

Pizan makes similar bodily-oriented complaints when critiquing, instead of inertia, the futile actions of knights who engage in what she terms an 'honteuse bataille' [shameful battle] that reduces and debases any of the heroic implications of the corporeal investment of these dishonourable, destructive fighters for France. Rather than promoting unity, these knights, who should have been 'toute d'une nature' [all of one nature], 'comme un droit ame et corps' [like one single soul and body] and the bulwark, or 'deffense de la couronne et la chose publique' [defense of the crown and the public good], precipitate the fracture of the body political, and as such, the fracture of the kingdom. Consequently, their actions only further contribute to the internecine conflicts hastening France's degradation:

> Sera elle [la très dehonnoree victoire] donc de lorier couronnee? Hé! Lasse my, maiz devra estre de très noires espines honteusement bendee, soy voiant non pas vainquerresse, mais homicide de son mesmes sang, dont noirs habiz porter lui appartient comme a mort de parent. (86)

> [Will it [a very dishonourable victory] be crowned with laurels? Ah me, it will have to be shamefully bound with black thorns when it sees itself, not as a victor, but as the very killer of its own blood, for whom it is appropriate to wear black, as in the death of kin.] (87)[50]

More than efforts vainly squandered, instead of any type of success the knights' corporeal labour for France amounts to a directly harmful enterprise. Not only does it constitute familial homicide or fratricide that sunders France's metaphorical political body, since civil war can only result in devastating losses, dishonour, mutiny and more grief, the killing of brethren conveys with it a certain national suicidality that further obviates the inanity of civil war.

Pizan then details how Famine will further ravage France 'pour la cause du dicipement et gast des biens' (86) [because of the wasting and ruining of things], and the lack of cultivation, from which will spring revolts by the people who have been too often robbed, deprived and oppressed (87). After explaining how the starvation and oppression of the people will result in 'oultrageuse charge' [outrageous taxes] and strife that only fosters the English advantage 'et ensurquetout les Angloiz qui parferont l'eschec et mat' (86) [and above all, the English will obtain checkmate on the side] (87), thus fuelling even greater internecine division, via 'discencions et morteles haynes' (86) [dissensions and mortal hatreds] (87), Pizan then turns her attentions directly to the women of France, reprising her association of tears, mourning, and the female body:

> Plourez doncques, plourez, batant les paulmes a grans criz – si que fist en cas pareil jadiz la dolente Argine avec les dames d'Arges – dames, damoiselles et femes du royaume de France! Car ja sont aguisiez les glaives qui vous rendront veufves et desnuees d'enfans et de parens! (86)

> So, cry cry, beat your hands and cry – as once the sad Argia did in such a case, along with the ladies of Argos – you ladies, damsels, and women of the kingdom of France! Because the swords that will make you widows and deprive you of your children and kin have already been sharpened. (87)

While this might seem a standard invocation of mourning that recalls Pizan's continual prioritisation of the sorrowing female figure, especially as regards marital and maternal grief,[51] her deft management of multiple temporalities grants the French women she interpellates even greater agency. Particularly given the citation of the exemplary Argive women who are traditionally commended for their extraordinary sorrow and virtuous deeds during the aftermath of war,[52] the brave political action of women in contrast to the problematic inaction of others is metaphorised through the corpses shamefully left unburied until the Argive women intercede and resist the unjust orders of the state.

Yet, where the classical women were unable to save their spouses from death and could only work towards restoring their honour

post-mortem, the women of France still have the time and ability to catalyse change. Undoubtedly, they have already lost too much and are suffering, and certainly the menace they continue to face is great. Nonetheless, since the 'swords that will make [them] widows' and that obliterate children and relatives are sharpened but have not yet fallen, the women still have the opportunity to intervene. By reprising the epic gesture of a weapon suspended at the height of action, Pizan not only fuels the sense of urgency around the women's necessary intervention, but she further inscribes the actions the women must take as heroic, militaristic efforts that will actively save lives and re-establish France's political health.

As a way to cultivate momentum around the need for intervention while giving more attention to the active role that women play in state affairs, Pizan showcases her deft rhetorical strategising by delaying her reader's understanding that this is indeed an address to the 'ladies, damsels, and women'. By beginning with '[s]o, cry cry', before announcing her appeal to women, the syntactical structure that Pizan chooses emphasises actions over gender. Indeed, the prescribed affective response is foregrounded, and the identity of her addressee(s) consigned to a secondary step, which suggests syntactically that her male readers would also initially feel interpellated by the command to cry. With this rhetorical strategy, Pizan is in no way minimising the necessity of female agency or relegating it to a secondary status; rather, she is situating the exhortation to cry as a means by which to conjure up the affective response of any concerned French citizen. Only once all are ostensibly mobilised by the command does she specify her precise target in her pointed address to women, her greater appeal to female bodily response, and her direct citation of the exemplary legacy surrounding women's agency even in mourning. With her emphasis on the salvific capacities of the female body, Pizan recodifies, through juxtaposition, the lack of action of the 'Princes trés haulx' and the improper actions of the knights vainly murdering their own.

Finally, by addressing the women of France, Pizan also establishes parallels linking the restorative intercessory role of the Argive-cum-French women to the salvific intercessory role that is the queen's even greater responsibility. Not only has Pizan already heightened intensity by delaying the referent of her 'plourez

doncques, plourez', thus drawing attention to women's implication in the 'kingdom of France', but she interpellates the queen without any laudatory preambles. Rather, in a bold rhetorical move that greatly contrasts with the register of her *Epistre a la Royne*, Pizan critiques her acerbically:

> Hé! Royne couronnee de France, dors-tu adés? Et qui te tient que tantost celle part n'affinz tenir la bride et arrester ceste mortel emprise? Ne vois-tu en balance l'eritage de tes nobles enfans? Tu, mere des nobles hoirs de France, redoubtee princesse, qui y puet que toy, ne qui erá-ce, qui a ta seigneurie et auctorité desobeira, se a droit te veulx de la paiz entremettre? (88)

> [Oh, crowned Queen of France, are you still sleeping? Who prevents you from restraining now this side of your kin and putting an end to this deadly enterprise? Do you not see the heritage of your noble children at stake? You, the mother of the noble heirs of France, Reverend Princess, who but you can do anything, and who will disobey your sovereignty and authority, if you rightly want to mediate a peace?] (89)

While the dramatic alteration of tone that Pizan adopts in the *Lamentacion* mirrors the heightened gravity of the political situation increasingly devastating France during the five years that transpired since she penned the *Epistre a la Royne*, another point of continuity between the two works is the sustained centrality of female bodily agency. In the *Lamentacion*, however, Pizan is furious that her *Epistre* did not suffice to incite the queen to what she deems appropriate action.[53] While underscoring Isabeau's centrality to any peacemaking project ('who but you can do anything?'), Pizan upbraids her for her lack of movement and corporeal response.

Pizan uses somnolence as an especially caustic metaphor for the Queen's problematic negligence. In addition to the exclamation 'Hé!', which performatively stages how Pizan must rouse Isabeau from her metaphorical slumber and thus stands as a scathing critique of the queen's unfathomable lassitude, Pizan's use of the adjective 'adés' in 'dors-tu adès?' [are you still sleeping?] is an even pricklier critique of the queen's inaction.[54] Given its various temporal, quantitative and qualitative implications – the queen is 'immediately' and 'recently' sleeping, 'still' sleeping, and even 'incessantly'

sleeping[55] – Pizan decries what she presents as Isabeau's absolute irresponsibility. Isabeau has preferred repose over rescuing those who depend upon her; she has abandoned and starved those who rely on her body for vital 'nourishment'.[56]

The corporeal critique that Pizan proffers also uses blindness to stand for the queen's shameful inertia.[57] Rather than asking Isabeau 'if' she is able to see the dangers attacking France's security, Pizan tenders instead the negative question 'Ne vois-tu …?' [Do you not see …?] which casts Isabeau's inaction as even more astonishing. Intensifying the perspectival concerns that Pizan voiced in the *Epistre* when she worried that perhaps Isabeau's phenomenological positionality prevented her from seeing fully and accurately,[58] the charge in the *Lamentacion* is chiefly one of disregard. That is, Isabeau is either unable to perceive what others, like Pizan can; or, in light of her indolence, she simply does not wish to see. Finally, as 'mere des nobles hoirs' [mother of the noble heirs of France], Isabeau's unwillingness or inability to see the inauspicious situation threatening the 'heritage of [her] noble children' has a doubly corporeal ramification: her 'blindness' will lead to barrenness by occasioning the ruin of her corporeal, maternal labour of bearing children and producing heirs for France.[59]

Even given the multiple instances in which Isabeau needed to stand in for Charles VI,[60] her centrality to the figuration of the body politic and necessity for the success of the French cause are further reiterated when Pizan enjoins the Queen's counsellors to come to her assistance: 'Venez, venez, vous touz saiges de ce royaume avec vostre royne! De quoy servez-vous, neiz conseil du roy? Et tous chacun la main y mette' (88) [Come, all you wise men of this realm, come with your queen! What use are you if not for the royal council? Everyone should offer his hand] (89). Not only should they move alongside Isabeau, accompanying her in both thought and action and reinforcing the sense of unity that could be achieved through 'tant de sages testes' (88) [so many wise men] (89), they should adopt an involved, participatory role, actively offering her assistance.

Dramatically, after her impassioned appeal to the queen and her counsellors, Pizan wonders how and if she can continue to speak out about the damages done to her 'jadiz … Glorieux royaume'

[once … glorious kingdom]. It is both her affective response culminating in the shedding of tears, and her physical labour cited in the arduous task of writing that so fatigues her body, that Pizan situates as obstacles she must overcome:

> Helas, comment diray-je plus? Car trés amers plours et lermes incessables dechieent comme ruisseaux sur mon papier, si qu'il n'y a place seiche ou puisse continuer l'escripture de la complainte trés douloureuse, que l'abondance de mon cuer par grant pitié de toy vault getter hors. Si que assez sont occuppes les lasses mains laissent souvent la penne de quoy je escripz, pour rendre la veue a mes yeulx troublez en torchant les lermes dont l'abondance me moille piz et giron, quant je pense ce que diront de troy desoremaiz les Renommees' (88)

> [Alas, what more can I say? Because bitter and endless tears flow like streams on my paper, there is not a dry spot where I can pursue the writing of the very painful lament that my heavy heart, for the love of you, wishes to express. Although they are very busy, my tired hands often drop the pen with which I write to restore the sight to my eyes, and wipe the many tears which wet my breast and lap, whenever I think of what Fame will henceforth say of you.] (89)

The parallelism between tears, writing and the political situation of France that Pizan has charted throughout her works becomes even more significant because of the urgency and enormity of her message; it is so physically, psychically and emotionally taxing that it fatigues her hands, making her struggle to communicate. In this case, however, Pizan's 'unending tears' fall so plentifully from her eyes that they become streams that dampen and damage the very paper on which she attempts to write. Additionally, her inability to liberate herself from the burden that her heart 'vault getter hors' [wishes to express][61] intensifies her grief while adding an affective valence to the curtailment of her authorial abilities, as her message is hindered by the very gravity of the situation she is attempting to communicate. Likewise, the cumbersome weariness of her body conspires against her. Her 'lasses mains', her 'yeulx troublez' and her burdened heart make it even more difficult to relay her fears about the dangers that will likely imperil France's political health and future reputation, should no one intervene.

Despite the depth of the fissures created by civil war, Pizan still harbours a ray of hope, believing that 'encores y a il remède' (90) [there is still a remedy] (91). The dire situation can be remedied, for the factions battling one another are not intentional enemies, but rather, accidental ones – 'ennemis par accident'. In explaining that her faint hope is predicated upon God's mercy – 'Dieu est miséricors. Tout n'est pas mort, quant que gist en peril' (90) [God is merciful. All is not dead, although it is in danger of dying] (91) – Pizan turns her attentions to a final interlocutor, the duke of Berry. Underscoring a similar corporeal potential as that which she charts earlier with Isabeau, Pizan cites the duke's important role and foundational lineage. He is a 'noble prince, excellent souche et estoc des enfans royaulx, filz de roy de France, frère et oncle, père d'antiquité de la fleur de liz toute!' [noble prince, excellent father and scion of royal children, son of a king of France, brother and uncle, father of all the antiquity of the lily!] (91).[62] However, differing from her scathing 'Dors-tu adès?' that reveals her frustration with Isabeau due to her 'disregarded' plea that the Queen arbitrate for peace in the *Epistre*,[63] Pizan is incredulous in her comments to the duke. Diminishing his corporeal responsibility by making his body parts the sole agents of his actions – again differing from the 'Ne vois-tu en balance …?' with which she criticises the queen – Pizan struggles to understand how his 'très bénigne cuer' [very benign heart] can endure seeing him 'en assemblée de bataille mortèle' (91) [assembled in deadly battle] (91) and 'en asemblee mortele contre sa propre chair' (90) [in a mortal confrontation against his own flesh] (91). Citing the duke's political legacy and familial bonds, once again Pizan melds her own affective response and authorial project with the response that she imagines others to have. She expects that tears must 'flow like a fountain down [his] face':

> Je ne croy pas que la souvenance de la très grant amour naturèle de leurs pères et mères, tes très amez frères et seurs trespassez, souffrist à nature que lermes et pleurs ne décourussent comme fontaine tout au long de ta face, et que ton noble cuer ne feust de pitié si comme touz fonduz qu'à paines te soustendroies. (90)

> I do not believe that the memory of the great natural love of their fathers and mothers, your much beloved deceased brothers and sisters, will not naturally allow tears to flow like a fountain down

your face, and your noble heart not to break with pity so much so that it will barely support you. (91)

However, establishing another point of comparison between her longstanding personal experiences of mourning and the duke's projected reaction, the affective response Pizan expects of him is predicated not upon his progeny, but upon what he has already lost. While his immense grief should produce an abundance of tears, a flagging heart and a corporeal fragility that menaces his physical integrity, the duke's empirical experience with loss and his deep love for his 'très amez frères et seurs trespasses' [much beloved deceased brothers and sisters] (91), should nonetheless heighten his promise and commitment to rescue France, modelling this moral authority for everyone.

Reprising her insistence to Isabeau in the *Epistre a la royne* that successful arbitration will ensure Isabeau's heavenly favour and legendary exemplarity while reinforcing her maternal connection to France, Pizan advises the duke de Berry that he will be recognised as the 'père du règne, conserveur de la couronne et du très noble liz, custode du hault lignage, réserveur de l'occision des nobles, confort du peuple, garde des nobles dames, des veufves et orphelins' (94) [father of this kingdom, keeper of the Crown and of the very noble lily, guardian of the high lineage, protector of noble men against death, comfort of the people, guardian of the noble ladies, widows and orphans] (95) if he is able to bring safety and security to France once again. Situating herself as something of a clarion – as a 'povre voix criant en ce royaume, désireuse de paix et du bien de vous touz' (94) [poor voice crying in this kingdom, wanting peace and welfare for all] (95) – Pizan insists that the duke's intervention is what she most desires, and what France, in its desperation, most needs.

Just as the changed register and heightened sense of urgency differentiating the *Epistre a la Royne* and the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile* paint a clear picture of the increasingly degraded political situation of France during the five-year interval between the texts, the *Epistre de la prison de vie humaine*, dedicated to the duchess of Bourbonnais, Marie de Berry, renders France's political weakness even more bleakly.[64] Completed, per

the envoy, on 20 January 1418, the *Prison* was composed not
long after the brief and very deadly Battle of Agincourt. Given the
enormous losses that France suffered,[65] tears are more profuse than
ever before, yet Pizan, who describes herself and her addressee as
crying women, encourages the duchess to stop crying if she can.
Through her references to Marie's suffering – Marie's father had
recently passed away; her husband and son had been taken prison-
ers by the English; many of her cousins were imprisoned or killed
at Agincourt[66] – Pizan recalls her own widowhood and again high-
lights the authorial stamp of her personal tears.[67] Given her empiri-
cal experience with grief, she is thereby better situated to offer
herself as Marie's sage adviser, and thus, she encourages Marie to
dry her tears and focus her attentions elsewhere:

> Et pour tant en ta personne qui bien en a eue sa part, je parleray a
> toutes semblablement, en faisant mon devoir, par moien d'escripture,
> selon mon petit savoir et cognoissance, de te ramentevoir aucunes
> raisons …, qui te pevent et doivent mouvoir a restraindre et delais-
> sier l'effusion de lermes qui par grant douleur souvent habandonent
> sur ta face, a cause de la perte de la chevalerie françoise et pour la
> grant quantité des trés nobles et dignes princes royaulx de France, si
> prouchains et affins de ton sang, que mors ou pris comme mary, filz,
> père, cousins germains, que ducs, que contes, et tant haute gent, t'en
> trouver seule et desnuee ... (4)

> [And yet through you, who have had to bear your share [of grief],
> I shall speak to all ladies alike, in doing my duty by means of the
> written word, in so far as my meager wisdom and knowledge are
> able, in calling to mind the reasons culled, … these can and should
> restrain and stop the effusion of tears which, in your great grief
> flow often on your face, because of the loss of French chivalry,
> and for the great number of very worthy noble and worthy royal
> princes of France, so close and akin to your blood, dead or captive,
> such as husbands, sons, fathers, first cousins, or dukes, counts,
> and so many high persons of whom you find yourself deprived and
> devoid …](5)

Reiterating the important connection between personal and politi-
cal loss, and acknowledging the disruptive effect that tears have –
particularly given their specific authorial implications – Pizan
suggests that trading tears for affective reorientation will help Marie

focus on the political and spiritual gains that even unsuccessful military enterprises put into motion.[68] Furthermore, by citing this imbrication of grief and memory, and woman's dependence on relational bonds to 'husbands, sons, fathers, first cousins', and so forth, Pizan is not only detailing the reality of Marie's situation, but that of her own, as grief simultaneously threatens and gives cause to her decision to compose the epistle, and to her attempts to bring comfort. Like Pizan, Marie has had her 'fair share' of hardships – she has 'bien en […] eue sa part'.[69] Thus, by forging a relational connection that unites the personal and the political – Marie with political agents and those fighting battles, Marie with Pizan, and Marie and Pizan with all the other suffering women of France – Pizan can use her personal affective situation to reach others as well, to speak to 'toutes semblablement'.

Offering a lighter representation of crying that nonetheless showcases the same type of corporeal entanglement of body and political enterprise, in the 1429 *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, tears are again aligned with affective response. Following Pizan's encouragement for tears to cease in the *Prison*, in this work celebrating Joan of Arc's triumphant actions at the Siege of Orléans (1428–29), which marked a decisive, albeit temporary victory for France, it is the abatement and transformation of tears that is celebrated.[70] As catalysts for authorial reorientation, tears come to represent Joan of Arc's abilities and Pizan's own authorial revolution. Their absence signals the conversion of Pizan's long suffering to happiness, the transformation of her habitual sorrow into a newfound and extremely rare laughter:

> Je, Christine, qui ay plouré
> Unze ans en abbaye close
> Où j'ay tousjours puis demouré
> Que Charles (c'est estrange chose!),
> Le filz du roy, se dire l'ose,
> S'en fouy de Paris, de tire,
> Par la traïson là enclose:
> Ore à prime me prens à rire.
> A rire bonement de joie … (I.1–8 ; II.9, 28).

> [I, Christine, who have wept for eleven years in a closed abbey, where I have lived ever since Charles (how strange this is!), the

king's son – dare I say it? – fled in haste from Paris, I who have lived
enclosed there on account of this treachery, now, for the first time,
begin to laugh.] (41)[71]

Pizan situates the years of retreat and sorrow before she is able
to laugh parenthetically. She frames them, on one side, with the
unprecedented 'sequence of military disasters' and 'succession
of national humiliations' leading up to France's terrific rout at
Agincourt[72] and the shameful betrayal and flight from Paris of
the dauphin Charles (later to be Charles VII) during the Paris
Massacres of 1418.[73] On the other side, Pizan frames the difficult
years with the Siege of Orléans and the 'desperate relief' that Joan
of Arc brought to the city in 1429,[74] which consequently brought
her many years of sadness and enclosure to an end. Of course,
history teaches that Joan of Arc's successes were rather short-
lived,[75] which does imbue Pizan's dramatic laughter – she laughs
'bonement de joie' – with a certain pessimism for contemporary
readers.[76] However, as far as Pizan can tell, the eleven years spent
in effective retirement 'enclosed' at the Convent of Poissy,[77] and the
eleven years of crying, have ceased with Joan's victory.

By presenting the time that she has cried as a determinative inte-
gral temporal unit that replaces time counted more neutrally – for
example, in hours, days, months or years – Pizan dramatises the
imbrication of the personal and the political, the affective entangle-
ment of her body – in this case, her tears – with the political context,
and with the various transformations brought about by Jeanne's
impressive victory. The dramatically altered political situation inau-
gurates change, triggering even a transformation of Pizan's authorial
stamp, as tears turn to joy. By situating laughter such that it illumi-
nates the darkness, strangeness and treachery that precede it, Pizan
reasserts her own corporeal imbrication in the newly auspicious
political terrain to which she has access once her tears cease, while
drawing attention to the transformative reworking of own authorial
identity as a frequently weeping woman, widow and author.

With the new perspectival and affective orientation signalled by
the opening up of an enclosed, restricted space, Pizan rejoices in her
liberation from her cold, 'dreary cage' that exemplifies her forced
withdrawal, and her affective numbness:

L'an mil CCCCXXIX
Reprint à luire li soleil,
Il ramene le bon temps neuf
Qu'on [n']avoit veil de droit oil
Puis long temps, dont plusers en dueil
Orent vesqu; je suis de ceulx.
Mais plus de rien je ne me dueil,
Quant ores voy ce que [je] veulx. (III, 17–24, 28)

[In 1429 the sun began to shine again. It brings back the good, new season which had not really been seen for a long time – and because of that many people had lived out their lives in sorrow; I myself am one of them, But I no longer grieve over anything, now that I can see what I desire.] (41)

As she explains at the end of the *Ditié*, the sight that she desires is peace, which she was not even able to envision without Jean's timely intervention: 'for a person whose head is bowed and whose eyes are heavy cannot look at the light' (50). Adding to her critique, the suggestion of faithlessness – given the visual restriction occasioned by a bowed head – Pizan was caught 'tristement en cage' because her sorrow – and by extension, her tears – prevented her sight, a metaphor for hope.

In addition to her misery coming to an end – Pizan's liberation from a physical and affective prison, and her revivified faith, as she describes it – to Pizan, Jeanne's success makes even the weather seem to lighten, triggering a reprisal of the joyful *reverdie* topos that inspires troubadouric happiness and a felicitous pathetic fallacy *avant la lettre*. As dark winter turns to milder days, turning 'grant dueil en joie nouvelle' [great sorrow into new joy], the 'lovely season called spring' returns and revitalises. This renews Pizan as well, prompting her to realise that the change in atmosphere also requires a linguistic change: 'Mais or changeray mon langage / De pleur en chant'(II.5–6, 28) [But now I shall change my language from one of tears to one of song] (41). Although Pizan references 'dueil' in three alternating lines in rapid succession (III.5,7; IV.2), these are the only mentions of 'dueil' in the entire *Ditié*, and she proffers this brief litany of grief only as a final valediction to her sorrow.[78] An intentional authorial reorientation and a new register are necessary, for these will better reflect Pizan's more favourable

environs, improved emotional state and France's ameliorated political situation.

Ultimately, in the case of the the *Ditié,* Joan of Arc is able to offer to Pizan directly, and to France more broadly, a new perspectival, political and affective orientation. The celebratory transformations charted throughout the work underscore the decisive transformation that Jeanne is able to effectuate on both a small-scale, individual level – as any individual, and as Pizan, retired in a convent might perceive it – and on the much larger scale of national politics. In the victory that Jeanne earns for France, Pizan believes that her own sufferings are over, and the diametrical shift in tone augurs very well while evidencing her new positionality. Newly hopeful for herself and for France, and with Joan of Arc standing as a propitious 'national symbol',[79] Pizan can finally proclaim that 'ore à prime' – for the very first time – she is able to laugh. Although the *Ditié* is often read rather summarily as a 'celebration of Joan's accomplishments' and 'a fitting end to Pizan's career',[80] the political movement that Pizan illuminates with her climactic portrayal of the cessation of tears and the laughter supplanting her sorrow is evidence of an analogous coupling – the constant entanglement of the personal and the political that unites the corporeal investment and engaged civic argument in all of her works.

Notes

1 Chance, 'Christine de Pizan as Literary Mother', 246.
2 See Chance (ed.), *Gender and Text in the Later Middle Ages*, 4–16. For a critique of Chance, see Classen, 'What Do They Mean', 203.
3 Mombello, for example, regards Pizan as merely a passive observer of her surroundings. 'Quelques aspects'. For a formative rebuttal and argument against essentialising the gendered dynamics of Pizan's work, see Richards, 'Rejecting Essentialism'; see also Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex*, 9; and Rigby, 'Wife of Bath', 131–6.
4 Adams, '"Moyenneresse de traictié de paix"', 177–8 and *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*. See also Hicks, 'Une femme dans le monde', 233–43; and Margolis, 'Christine de Pizan'.
5 See Reno, 'Christine de Pizan'; Zimmerman, 'Vox Femina', 114; Gauvard, 'Christine de Pisan'; Green, *Healing the Body Politic*, xi;

Brown-Grant, 'Writing Beyond Gender', 155–69; Reix-Videt, '*Le livre de la paix*', 329–44; Brownlee, 'Structures of Authority', 146; and Delany, '"Mothers to Think Back Through"'.

6 On the pitfall of regarding medieval women writers as uninterested in political arguments, or only capable of operating intertextually (and thus, purely imitatively), see Blanchard, 'Compilation et legitimation'; Brown-Grant, *Christine de Pizan*, 215–17; Chance, 'Christine de Pizan as Literary Mother', 249; Kelly, 'Social Relation', 809–12; and Harwood, *Medieval Women and War*, 137. See also Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*; and 'En quoi la ville est-elle un espace féminin et féministe?'

7 Wisman (ed.), *Epistle of the Prison of Human Life*, xiv. See also Kennedy, *Christine de Pizan*; Forhan, *Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, 1–26; and Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*, 188–9.

8 On the dating of this work see Kennedy's critical edition (xvii–xix); Collett, 'Three Mirrors', 13. See also Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons', 26–7.

9 See especially Delogu, who identifies the *Livre des fais* as 'not simply a mirror or a biography (or a history, a panegyric, or a secular hagiography), but … also an autobiographical text'. *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 182; Margolis, 'Royal Biography as Reliquary', 123–8; and Nederman, 'Living Body Politic', 19.

10 Tuchman, *Distant Mirror*, quips that Pizan's efforts to portray Charles's zealous piety and political excellence amount to 'eulogizing him for everything but his real contribution', 237–8, 268; Delogu offers a far more nuanced assessment of Pizan's didactic aims and intentionally strategic praise in *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 153–9.

11 Solente, 'Traité', 265.

12 Taylor, *Chivalry*, 33.

13 On this, Pizan's first text to be printed in France, albeit unattributed to her, published as the *Art de chevalerie selon Vegece*, and with neither a female nor first-person narrator, see Brown, 'Reconstruction of An Author in Print', 215. See also Bossy, 'Arms and the Bride', 249–51, for a study of the various compilations and extant manuscripts of the *Fais d'armes*; Willard, 'Christine de Pizan on the Art of Warfare'; and Delogu, 'En quoi la ville est-elle un espace féminin et féministe?', 99.

14 Wisman, 'Life of the Author', xvii.

15 Richards's comprehensive study of Pizan's Latin formation and legal expertise in 'Christine de Pizan and Medieval Jurisprudence'; and 'Somewhere between Destructive Glosses' helpfully contextualise Pizan's formation. On the 'notoriously brittle' nature of 'Hundred

Years War peace treaties', see DeVries, 'Hundred Years War', 50–2; see also Solente, 'Traité', 265–7; Collett, 'Three Mirrors', 16; and Adams, '"Moyenneresse de traictié de paix"', 194–6.

16 D'Arcens, 'Petit estat vesval', rightly expands this list to include the *Epistre d'Othea* and *Le Livre des trois vertus* (204), while Zhang, 'Du Miroir des Princes', makes a persuasive case for reading the *Livre des trois vertus* as a 'miroir des princesses' [mirror for princesses]. Walters emphasises Pizan's 'unprecedented position as a writer and royal advisor' in three texts – the *Mutacion*, the *Livre des Fais* and the *Cité des Dames* – in which 'Christine acquires the authority to speak on behalf of her country', 'Christine's Symbolic Self', 1.

17 Adams, '"Moyenneresse de traictié de paix"', 188; Green, 'Introduction'; Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons', 16–18.

18 See Adams on the political import of the *Mutacion*, which she reads as 'represent[ing] another important step in Christine's career as a political commentator', *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*, 88. Brownlee likewise identifies the *Mutacion* as 'a universal history framed by a personal history' work, which underscores Pizan's political transformation 'into a new kind of *clerc*: a learned woman poet of history', 'Image of History', 49, 44. See also Walters, 'Christine's Symbolic Self', 21–5; Akbari, 'Death as Metamorphosis', on Pizan's attempts to reformulate the body politic as resistance to the 'social turmoil of the period', 283–4; and Collett, 'Three Mirrors', which reads Pizan's works through the lens of the *speculum regis* tradition, 1–18.

19 See Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons', 27–9; Brown-Grant, 'Miroir du prince', 34–5; and '*L'Avision Christine*', 92–3. See also Lassabatère's important study, 'La personification de la France'. On the *Avision*, see Wood's chapter in this volume.

20 A notable exception is Willard's 'Christine de Pizan on the Art of Warfare', which analyses a small selection of Pizan's ballades – addressing the lack of appreciation for military might (Ball. 2), knights' most laudable characteristics (Ball. 64), and praise for specific military leaders, to reconstruct 'Christine's association with a number of military men', 3–4.

21 As Kennedy and Varty clarify (in Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*), '[a]lthough this militant anti-Englishness will recur in much of Christine's subsequent writings, … it is interesting to note that it is soon matched, at a very early stage, by an ever-growing awareness for the need for peace', 12–13.

22 Bal. XXIX, 'Prince honnoré, duc d'Orliens, louable' [honoured prince, duke of Orléans, commendable], in Christine de Pizan, *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, vol. 1, 240.

23 Bal. XCV, 'Nous devons bien' [We have to], *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, vol. 1, 95.

24 On Charles's euphemistic 'absences' that 'became longer and more frequent over time, undermining almost completely his effectiveness as a ruler' and increasing the tensions between the Burgundian and Orléanist factions, see Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 153. See also Singer, *Representing Mental Illness*, 87; Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies* on challenges related to the separability (or lack thereof) between a king's natural body (the Body Natural) and the Body Politic; Gibbons, '"Limbs Fail when the Head is Removed"', 50–3; Famiglietti, *Royal Intrigue*; and Autrand, *Charles VI.*

25 Autrand offers a full recapitulation of this episode, which stemmed from an attempt against Olivier de Clisson's life in Vannes, in *Charles VI,* 271–328.

26 These are 'the words of the doleful Libera, figure of France' in the *Advision*, quoted in Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*, 1:179. On the terminology and discourse surrounding questions of mental illness, see Metzler, *Fools and Idiots?*; Pfau, 'Mental Health Issues', 133–47; Gibbons, '"Limbs Fail When the Head is Removed"', 53.

27 Guenée, *La folie*, 260–2.

28 On Isabeau and political intercession, see Verdon, *Isabeau de Bavière*, 107–25; Adams and Rechtschaffen, 'Isabeau of Bavaria', 119–23; Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*, 113–14.

29 Certainly, the thorny matter of succession that Charles VI's illness intensified was also related to the reinvocation of Salic Law – that 'otiose Frankish law code' (Taylor, 'Salic Law', 360) – excluding women from royal succession following the death of Charles IV of France in 1328.

30 On Charles's ordinances permitting Louis to rule and Isabeau to serve as guardian, see Adams and Rechtschaffen, 'Isabeau of Bavaria', 122–3; and Douët-d'Arcq, *Choix de pièces inédites*, 1:241.

31 See Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*; Forhan, *Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*; Richards, *Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan*; Wisman, 'L'éveil du sentiment nationale au Moyen-Âge'; and the collections edited by Brabant, *Politics, Gender and Genre*; and Green and Mews, *Healing the Body Politic* and *Virtue Ethics for Women.*

32 Krueger, 'Christine's Anxious Lessons', 15–18.

33 As Pizan complains in the *Avision*, this period also aligns with her unsuccessful bid to find favour for her son at the court of the duke of Orléans, and later, successfully, at the Burgundian court of Philip the Bold. Willard, 'Christine de Pizan', 19.

34 On tears in Pizan's work, see Margolis, 'Christine de Pizan's Life in Lament'; and Leppig, 'Political Rhetoric', 141–56. On tears as connected to Marian references see D'Arcens, 'Petit estat vesval'; on weeping more generally, particularly in religious contexts, see Patton and Hawley, 'Introduction', 1–23.

35 Bal. XI, 'Seulete suy' [Alone I am], *Oeuvres poétiques*, ed. Roy, vol.1, 12. See also Davies and Perry in the Introduction to this volume. On the figure of the *seulette,* see Walters, 'Mother-Daughter Conflicts', 115, and 'Figure of the *Seulette*'; along with McKinley, 'Subversive "Seulette"'; and Forhan, *Political Theory of Christine de Pizan*, 15–19; D'Arcens, 'Petit estat vesval', 213.

36 All citations from the *Epistre de la prison de la vie humaine*, the *Epistre a la Royne* and the *Lamentacion sur les maux de la guerre civile* are taken from the 2020 edition of Wisman's 1984 critical edition and translation.

37 A notable exception, since it begins rather jubilantly, with enamoured princes, gallant noblemen and the 'renommees', 'amees', 'honnorables, saiges, courtoises, [and] agreables' objects of their affections [the ladies who are 'of good renown'; the 'maidens who are loved' and the 'women who are honourable, gracious, well-bred and courteous'] (10–13), is *Le Dit de la rose* (1402). Yet despite gathering happily 'en beau lieu plain de revel' [in fine rooms filled with revelry] (9–12, 20), the consequences of enamourment end up being quite dire, as they are in the *Livre du duc des vrais amans*, which 'showcase[es] its dissident narratorial tones') and emphasises love's deleterious impact upon the lady ('Tale of the Rose', in Fenster and Erler (eds), *Poems of Cupid*, 22, 24).

38 Schnerb, *Armagnacs et les Bourguignons*; D'Avout, *Querelle des Armagnacs*.

39 In 'Christine de Pizan's "Doulce Nourriture"', 93–114, Singer explores the connection between language, nature and nurture, and 'nourriture' [food, or sustenance], particularly as represented through breast milk, to parse Pizan's 'uniquely female claim to authority' throughout her oeuvre (94); Walters, 'Mother-Daughter Conflicts', 115–16; Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, on language and war, especially 268, and 347–9; and Margolis, 'Royal Biography as Reliquary', 142, n. 31.

40 Recalling biblical descriptions of the Virgin Mary's suffering and weeping, this connection between the body, tears and succour that are attributed to the Virgin also appears at the dramatic beginning of the *Cité des dames*, where Christine also aligns herself with the Virgin. Representing herself as being illuminated and informed by divine light and granted a special ministration, Pizan rewrites the scene of the

biblical annunciation: among other points of connection and recodification, light falls on her lap, and it is her group of allegorical women who communicate and play an intercessory role, rather than the Angel Gabriel. On Pizan's recurrence to 'Annunciation iconography' and her frequent appeals to the 'authority of the *mater dolorosa*' as a means by which to bolster her own authorial voice, see D'Arcens, 'Petit estat vesval', 215–19. Addressing Book III of the *Cité*, Collette, *Performing Polity*, emphasises how the Virgin's intercessory role was 'mediated through language', which helped her 'intercede for her petitioners; it also authorized women's speech in interceding and mediating', 79. This is another point of connection that Pizan maximises in her exaltation – in the *Epistre a la Royne* and elsewhere – of Marian exemplarity and self-representation. See also Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 342–9 on gender and language; and Adams, *Christine de Pizan and the Fight for France*, on the Virgin's exemplarity, 113–15.

41 D'Arcens reads this epistle as 'one of the fullest articulations of the authority of woman as political intermediary', 'Petit estat vesval', 209.

42 Geaman, 'Beyond Good Queen Anne', 76–8; Laynesmith, *Last Medieval Queens*, 26–30; Collette, *Performing Polity*, 21–40.

43 Ho, 'Communal and Individual Autobiography', 31–8.

44 D'Arcens, 'Petit estat vesval', 221; Patton and Hawley, 'Introduction', 1–23.

45 Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 153–5.

46 Lee Dow, 'Christine de Pizan and the Body Politic', 202–3; Harding, *Medieval Law and the Foundations of the State*, 277–80; Dudash, 'Christine de Pizan's Views of the Third Estate', 315–20, and 'Christine de Pizan and the "menu peuple"', 792–4; Rigby, 'Body Politic'; Angeli, 'Figure della povertà'; and Oexle, 'Christine et les pauvres'. See also Giancarlo's chapter in this volume.

47 Delogu's discussion of Pizan's strategy of appealing to the self-interest of her addressees in the *Livre des fais* helpfully illuminates Pizan's tactics here, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 154–9.

48 While the English translation of 'heart' holds, this is the 'center', literally the 'navel' of France; the heraldic significance of 'nombril' (as in the 'nombril' an escutcheon) also reflects the entanglement of the corporeal and the political.

49 Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks*, 19–24, 96.

50 Although 'l'association du noir au deuil' can be considered 'une pratique relativement moderne' [a relatively modern practice] (Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs*, 40–3), black took on fluctuating valences as the medieval turned towards the early modern. During the time Pizan was

active, it continued to suggest shame but was becoming increasingly aligned with 'austerity and mourning' (Crane, *Performance of Self*, 10). On the mourning practices of nobles, particularly as related to the assassination and burial of Louis of Orléans, see Gaude-Ferragu, *D'or et de cendres*, 111; see also Gibbons, '"Limbs Fail When the Head is Removed"', 429–32; Hutchison, 'Politics of Grief', 422–4; and Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 112–13.

51 One might think, for instance of the 'Poemes de veuvage' [Poems of widowhood] that open the *Cent Ballades* (*c*.1394–99).

52 The reference is to Argia, who famously led the bereaved Argive women in rebelling against King Creon to bury her husband and the six other leaders comprising the seven against Thebes, all recently killed in the war against the city. This story has numerous textual precedents. In the *Cité des Dames*, Pizan references Boccaccio's *De mulieribus claris* (chapter 29) and his exaltation of Argia's uxorial fidelity, yet departs from his version by granting to her bereaved widows a violent scene of Amazonian-inflected vengeance Richards (ed. and trans.), *Book of the City of Ladies*.

53 On Isabeau's attempts at mediation and Pizan's opinion of her, see Richards, 'Bartolo da Sassoferato', 182–3; Adams, 'Moyenneresse de traictié de paix'; Green, 'Isabeau de Bavière', 270–1.

54 By identifying an explicit critique of the queen's inaction, I differ from Tracy Adams, who finds that any perceived animosity towards or impatience with the queen is not due to Isabeau's inaction, but to frustrations regarding the power of the queen, especially as understood ideologically. See Adams, 'Moyenneresse de traictié de paix', 183–4; D'Arcens, 'Petit estat vesval', 220.

55 *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français*, s.v. 'adés'.

56 Singer, 'Christine de Pizan's "Doulce Nourriture"', 94.

57 Singer, *Blindness and Therapy*; Wheatley, *Stumbling Blocks,* 18–24.

58 To further justify her address to the queen, Pizan speculates that the distance between Isabeau, who sits on her 'trosne royal couronné de honneurs' [royal throne surrounded with honours], and her subjects prevents her 'sight' and knowledge, thus necessitating external intervention: 'touteffoiz est-il vray que vous, seant en vostre trosne royal couronné de honneurs, ne povez savoir, fors par autruy rappors, les communes besoingnes, tant en paroles comme ne faiz, qui queurent entre les subjiez' (72) [it may nevertheless be true that you, seated on your royal throne surrounded with honours, cannot know, except by someone's report, the common problems, in words as well as in facts, which prevail upon your subjects] (73).

59 Although the argument that heirs must be produced for France is similar to Pizan's address to the duke of Berry in the *Lamentacion* – the 'noble prince, excellent souche et estoc des enfans royaulx, filz de roy de France, frere et oncle, père d'antiquité de la gleur de liz toute!' (90) [noble prince, excellent father and scion of royal children, son of a king of France, brother and uncle, father of all the antiquity of the lily!] (91), the corporeal implications are more explicit in her comments to the queen.

60 Adams and Rechtschaffen, 'Isabeau of Bavaria', 119–22.

61 This is Wisman's rendering, but the phrase also contains the valences of 'purge' or 'expel'.

62 In both the *Livre du corps de policie* and the *Livre du chemin de long estude* (1402–03), Pizan engages with John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* (*c*.1159) and his influential description of the body politic as metaphor in a sustained and nuanced way. In Salisbury's excoriation of tyranny, he presents the metaphor of a rotten tree that must immediately be felled so that it does not infect the organic matter around it. The implications of 'souche' as 'excellent father' but also arboreal foundation evince Pizan's deft renegotiation of Salisbury's persuasive organic metaphor. See Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 71; and 'En quoi la ville est-elle un espace féminin et féministe?', 94–8; Forhan, 'Policracy, Obligation, and Revolt', 33–52 and 'Reading Backward'. On problematic takes on Pizan's use of Salisbury, see Nederman, 'Living Body Politic', 19–22, and 'Body Politics'; and Lee Dow, 'Christine de Pizan and the Body Politic', 232–3.

63 For Adams, Pizan's appeals to the royals comprise her efforts to promulgate an ideological understanding of the role of royal mediators, as they 'combine practical advice for good governance with lessons in ideological definition'. Adams, '"Moyenneresse de traictié de paix"', 181. See Leppig, 'Political Rhetoric', for a critical view of the paternalism innate to the construction of the body politic, 153.

64 In short, Pizan accepts military defeat but reassures Marie de Berry that the many lives lost were not lost in vain, and particularly since the 'especiales condicions mout reprouchables' [very shameful attributes] (7) of human life – namely, its brevity, lack of tranquillity and overall insufficiency – render the 'miserable prison' of earthly life insignificant and even torturous compared to eternal life. Indeed, the body is nothing 'fors terre et pourreture' (6) [but earth and rot] (7) that imprisons and binds the soul.

65 Although the number of casualties varies wildly across differing accounts, in the brief battle lasting fewer than five hours, France

suffered numerous losses. Hibbert, *Agincourt*, estimates that there were between 7,000 and 10,000 casualties. Given-Wilson and Bériac offer that 'evidence suggests that at least 6,000 French nobles died at Agincourt. Thus the ratio of slain to captured was probably 4:1 or 5:1', 'Edward III's Prisoners of War', 805–7. See also Keegan, *Face of Battle*, 100–14.

66 On the original commissioner and intended recipient of this letter, see Solente, 'Traité', 270–2; and Wisman, 'Introduction', xxii–xxiv.

67 As Pizan makes clear, her widowhood was compounded by additional hardships, like the death of King Charles V in 1380, which led to her father falling out of favour and being poorly remunerated at the court of Charles VI before his death in 1385. See Gabriel, 'Educational Ideas', 4; Hindman, 'With Ink', 457–8; Wisman, 'Life of the Author', xiii–xvi; Delogu, *Theorizing the Ideal Sovereign*, 7–8.

68 Pizan's consolation to Marie de Berry broadly reprises the same benefits that in the *Epistre a la Royne* she says will await Isabeau if she is able to bring peace to the fighting Burgundians and Orléanists. Marie should rejoice in knowing that those who died for France sacrificed themselves for France, tried to bring an end to bloodshed, and will receive both earthly and heavenly glory. Wisman, 'Introduction', xxv.

69 This anticipates the description of her own suffering that Pizan will reference in the *Ditie*, when she complains that of hardships, she has 'bien ma part enduré' (28) [well endured [her] share] (41).

70 On Joan of Arc's historical and literary reception, see Barstow, *Joan of Arc*, 31; Fraioli, *Joan of Arc*; Raknem, *Joan of Arc in History*, 34–8; Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 354–78; and Jones, '"Gardez mon corps"', 9–11.

71 The verses and translation cited here are both taken from Angus Kennedy and Kenneth Varty's edition and translation, 9.

72 Given-Wilson and Bériac, 'Edward III's Prisoners of War', 802.

73 Cousinot's *Chronique de la Pucelle* is one of many sources that details the reaction among French nobles to what essentially amounted to Charles's abandonment of them, 269. See also Sizer, 'Calamity of Violence'.

74 Jones, '"Gardez mon corps"', 9.

75 What Blumenfeld-Kosinski calls Joan's 'fall from grace', Christine de Pizan, *Selected Writings*, 252.

76 Spanning more than a century, and starkly contrasting with Jean's success at Orléans and Patay in 1429, disasters such as Coutrai (1302), Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356), Nicopolis (1396) and Agincourt (1415), 'founded a clearly perceptible pattern: that of late medieval French

military failure', Given-Wilson and Bériac, 'Edward III's Prisoners of War', 802.

77 Gabriel, 'Educational Ideas'; Laidlaw, 'Christine de Pizan', 532.

78 By referring to Joan of Arc as the person who 'donne a France la mamelle / De paix et doulce nourriture' [gives to France the breast of peace and sweet nourishment] (v.189), Pizan reprises her earlier discussions of sustenance and breastfeeding. See Walters, 'Mother-Daughter Conflicts', 115; Singer, 'Christine de Pizan's "Doulce Nourriture"', 104–5; Corrington, 'Milk of Salvation', 412–13; and Fraioli, *Joan of Arc and the Hundred Years War*.

79 Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 354.

80 Christine de Pizan, *Selected Writings*, ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinksi, 252.

Visionary women, the Papal Schism and the Hundred Years War: Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena in medieval England

Jennifer N. Brown[1]

'[V]ideo quasi duas bestias ferocissimas, quamlibet de genere suo. Altera enim cupidissima est deglutire que potest habere, et quo plus comedit ... Bestia vero secunda nititur super omnes ascendere ... In istis duabus bestiis intelliguntur duo reges, scilicet Francie et Anglie' [I see, as it were, two most ferocious beasts, each of its own kind. The one beast is excessively greedy and will gobble up whatever it can get ... The other beast strives to rise up above all others ... these two beasts stand for the kingdoms of France and England].[2] With these words, the fourteenth-century visionary Bridget of Sweden defined the conflict between England and France that we know as the Hundred Years War. Translated from Swedish in to Latin and ultimately in to Middle English, her eventual resolution in her *Revelations* that England had the rightful claim in the dispute would help her texts rise to prominence and set the stage for the importance of her order in late medieval England, as this excerpt is translated and disseminated there well ahead of her full *Revelations*. The readership of texts by visionary women, especially Bridget and Catherine of Siena, may seem far removed from the warring kings and popes around them. However, the overlapping and interconnected Avignon Papacy (1309–77), the Hundred Years War (1337–1453), Papal Schism (1378–1417) and the women's visions concerning these events, were all enmeshed in a way that we can see now and in a way that many medieval writers understood in the moment. By looking closely at some of their texts – Bridget's *Revelations*, Stephen Maconi's letter about Catherine's

visit to Avignon and both of their circulating *vitae* – I will examine how English readers and writers used the texts by and about these women to support, justify and clarify the English position during the Hundred Years War and as a way of cementing an English nationalism in opposition to the French, imagining England as a political and religious centre in Europe.

Interconnected conflicts: the Papal Schism within the Hundred Years War

From 1309 to 1376 the papacy had moved from Rome to Avignon, and throughout that time many worked to move it back. Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena were among the most visible and vocal of those encouraging the pope to return the papacy to what they saw as its rightful place in Rome. Bridget, the only woman to be canonised in the fourteenth century, founded a monastic order, influenced the politics of her time and authored 700 revelations that she herself wrote down in Swedish. These were translated into Latin and entitled the *Liber Caelestis* and ultimately compiled and disseminated by her confessor, Alfonso of Jaén, at the end of her life.[3] Although she and Catherine never met, there is evidence that their confessors were in touch, and in death the women will be forever paired in temperament, achievement and text.[4] After Bridget's death, Catherine took up her cause in Avignon. Catherine, too, would influence the politics of her time through an astonishing epistolary output, as well as have her own book of revelations that she dictated in Siennese, *Il Dialogo*, translated and widely disseminated through the help of her hagiographer, Raymond of Capua, along with other followers. Her canonisation followed Bridget's in the fifteenth century. Both women were engaged with the political and Church leaders of their time. Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski notes that their areas of concern were far-reaching:

> They admonished [secular and ecclesiastical leaders], praised them occasionally, predicted great calamities, and eventually turned against some of them. The problems they were concerned with included not only general issues like the reform of the Church, the moral behavior

of the faithful, and the way to salvation but also very specific political problems like the papacy's return to Rome, the Great Schism, peace in Western Christendom during the Hundred Years War, reconciling the Italian city states with the papacy (for Catherine), and the crusade.[5]

Both Bridget and Catherine saw returning the papacy to Rome as part of their Christian mission and worked during their lives to convince the pope to do so. Although Bridget died before she could see it happen, Catherine was instrumental in Gregory XI's decision to return to Rome. She, along with Bridget, was also somewhat blamed for the Papal Schism that followed Gregory XI's death with the election of a pope in Rome in 1378 (Urban VI), an election of a rival pope five months later by dissenting cardinals (Clement VII) who then moved back to Avignon, and – eventually in 1410 – the election of the "antipope" John XXIII in Pisa.[6] Each pope had with him a coterie of loyal cardinals and had essentially divided Europe into various factions of supporters. As Philip Stump writes, 'The roughly equal portions of Europe which supported each of the rival papacies hardened into *de facto* separate churches, which were called "obediences" and whose tenacity was responsible for prolonging and intensifying the schism'.[7] That France mostly sided with the Avignon pope should be no surprise, especially because Clement VII was a relative of king Charles V of France. England's loyalties lay with Rome largely because its opponent France clearly supported Avignon, even though it led to some reconfiguring of monastic houses that had their supervisors in French houses.[8]

So how entwined were the war and the Schism? By taking a side in either the Schism or the war, a side was implicitly taken – even necessitated – in the other crisis. The historian Christopher Allmand notes that 'it is open to debate whether the Hundred Years War helped to prolong the Schism within the Church, but that the Schism hardened the attitudes of the French and English nations to each other is undoubted'.[9] As both conflicts involved neighbouring countries and various political alliances, their interrelated concerns tentacled out far beyond the French and English borders. As Blumenfeld-Kosinski writes concerning the Schism, 'in almost all cases the adherence to one or the other pope was bound up with already existing or developing political conflicts. Thus, the French

and English attitudes toward the divided papacy, as well as their repeated efforts at union, cannot be separated from the vagaries of the Hundred Years War.'[10] The Hundred Years War had already forced some alliances among the neighbours of England and France as both sides sort to create robust coalitions of support, but, as Simon Egan has noted, 'the papal schism of the later fourteenth century further entrenches preexisting alliance blocs that had developed across Europe during the Hundred Years' War'.[11] He explains that the English, Flemish, Danes, Swedes, Northern Italians, Poles and Hungarians were behind Urban VI, the Roman Pope. Clement VII in Avignon, however, had the support of the French, Castilians, Aragonese, Neopolitans, Cypriots and Scots.

Many contemporaries knew very well that the events of the Hundred Years War and the Schism were intertwined. The English king Richard II recognised that there could be no resolution to the Schism without England and France in agreement, and their opposite sides in the war naturally fell to the same in the Schism. The Benedictine monk and prior Honoré Bovet, deeply involved in the politics of the Schism as legate and diplomat, was also concerned with the relations between the French and the English and the trouble that the war wrought. His 1389 *L'Arbre des batailles* answered a series of questions concerning the legal and ethical obligations of a king and its people, with several of these directed at Anglo-French relations, working through various scenarios, for example, where English students or families of such students in Paris were subject to arrest because of their nationality.[12] However, even though much of the treatise took up the fallout of the Hundred Years War, he was clear from the outset that he was most concerned about the Schism: 'la guerre de l'Eglise et de la foy si est assés plus perilleusse et plus griefvaible guerre que n'est celle dez roys ne dez princes ne dez autres seingneurs terriens' [the war of the Church and of the Faith is more perilous and more grievous than wars of kings or princes or other earthly lords].[13] Bovet's expertise in the papacy and his determination to end the Schism made him an important envoy, 'entrusted with defending the Clementist position before an English delegation led by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster', according to historian Michael Hanley.[14] Bovet would take this argument up later in a dream vision entitled *Somnium*

super materia scismatis, where he recounted a conversation with John of Gaunt at Amiens in 1392; the duke says, 'quando inter reges pax esset, statim haberemus etiam unicum papam, ante non' [when peace came among kings, we would have a single pope immediately, not before].[15] John of Gaunt similarly told an Avignon papal legate, according to the Chronicles of Charles VI, that the Schism would have to end when the war did.[16] Richard's marriage to the French princess Isabella in 1396 was intended not only to end the war by uniting the crowns of England and France, but also to bring about an end to the Schism. A resolution to both conflicts may have come earlier had Richard II not been deposed, but according to Blumenfeld-Kosinski, his deposition and death 'ruined any chances at a joint action to try and end [it]'.[17] The war was revitalised under Henry IV (1367–1413) and extended under Henry V (1389–1422), deepening the divide of the Schism. With this renewed wedge driven between France and England, the texts associated with the visionary women and their push for Rome, even though they were originally concerned with the Avignon Papacy, take on new meaning and seeming urgency.

Later, after the Schism had been resolved but the Hundred Years War raged on, the prominent French theologian Jean Gerson would write about the visionary Joan of Arc that 'by certain signs the heavenly King of all chose her as standard-bearer, in order to frighten the enemies of justice and raise up [its] friends, so that the strong arms of iniquity would be confounded by the hand of a young girl and virgin'.[18] Not much earlier (1423), in his *De examinatione doctrinarum*, Gerson wrote about how the Schism would never have happened if Gregory XI had not been swayed by what were likely the false visions of women who had convinced him to move the papacy – here, although he does not name them explicitly, Gerson strongly implied the culpability of the two visionaries Bridget and Catherine. Bridget's support of England in the war certainly did not help endear her to Gerson, and, as Claire L. Sahlin notes, the views 'must have tipped the scales against her even further'.[19] Gerson did not seem aware of his contradictory scepticism about women visionaries and praise for Joan, and modern scholars have condemned and defended Gerson's writings on either side, trying to make sense of these disparate opinions about female visionaries

and their political activities.[20] What Gerson's views show us clearly, however, is the way in which the Hundred Years War, the Schism and women's visions were related in the mind of at least one important medieval scholar and politician. Political affiliations, papal relations and national ties all helped to define medieval readers' understanding and dissemination of women's visionary writings.

While Bridget's *Revelations* included a vision specifically about the Hundred Years War, Catherine's did not, with her political concerns focused on the Avignon Papacy and her fervent belief that the Pope belonged in Rome. After Catherine's death, and with the papacy split during the Schism, both visionaries' earlier texts about the necessity of returning the papacy to Rome when in Avignon have different meanings in light of the turmoil that followed with rival popes. The antipathy towards France that the texts espoused allow the readers to see the visionaries as pro-England just as they were pro-Rome. Because the political entanglements of the Schism were so closely tied to that of the Hundred Years War, the resolution of the former simply permitted some of those same conflicts to be carried out in the latter. In later fifteenth-century redactions of their texts in England, with the crisis of the Schism over, the visionaries' alignment with Rome and against Avignon took on new meaning.

The Council of Constance (1414–18) brought the war, the Schism and the texts of the visionary women together in one place and time. The Council was assembled with the encouragement of King Sigismund of Bohemia, then the emperor-elect of the Holy Roman Empire, in the hopes of resolving the Schism, which it effectively did in 1417 with the resignation of two of the popes (Gregory XII in Rome and John XXIII in Pisa), the excommunication of the third (Benedict XIII in Avignon) and the election of Pope Martin V (who remained pope until 1431).[21] It was clear to many of the participants that the Schism could not end easily with France and England at war. For example, the Welsh chronicler Adam Usk wrote in his *Chronicle* of 1414 that Sigismund travelled through France and England hoping for peace between the two nations while the Council deliberated; however, he is thwarted in this process: 'Sismundus, rex Hongarie et Romanorum, postquam per annum pro unione ecclesie in concilio generali Constancie laborasset, ... per regnum Francie

in Angliam pro regnorum pacis reformacione [transiit]. Sed cum ad magnas regni expensas London stetisset, Francorum uersucia negocio frustrato, ad concilium rediit Constancie' [Sigismund ... having spent a year at the general council of Constance striving for the unity of the church ... came via the kingdom of France to England, in the hope of establishing peace between the realms. After he had spent some time in London at great expense to the kingdom, however, the negotiations came to nothing because of the duplicity of the French, so he returned to the council at Constance].[22] The council was explicit about its aim to end the Schism, but also had an unstated purpose to end the Hundred Years War, and the war certainly loomed over the council with the English victory of Agincourt happening in 1415.[23] As historian Phillip H. Stump speculates, 'the renewal of the Hundred Years' War during the meeting of the Council did certainly cause tensions between the representatives there from the kingdom of England and the kingdom of France, but if anything, these had been more inflamed before Sigismund's return to the Council'.[24] Everyone involved could not see an end to one crisis without somehow working towards the end of the other.

The Council had the additional aim of assessing and evaluating heresies. While it is well known for its condemnation of the English Wycliffism and the execution of Jan Hus and the Hussite leader Jerome of Prague, the Council also approached the question of the validity of women's visions, specifically Bridget's. One of the main conveners and leaders of the Council was Jean Gerson. Gerson was convinced that at least these women visionaries, who had laboured to move Gregory XI from Avignon to Rome, were charlatans and responsible for the Schism. He wrote as much in his *De examinatione doctrinarum*, indicating both Catherine and Bridget, noting that 'Quia levius sedeuctibiles, quia petinacius seductrices, quia non constat eas esse sapientiae divinae cognitrices' [women are too easily seduced; because they are too obstinately seducers; because it is not fitting that they should be knowers of divine wisdom].[25] Although he does not specifically accuse them of heresy, his writings were used against them and other women visionaries throughout the later Middle Ages. Deborah Fraioli describes what factors would be prompting Gerson in his disapproval of Bridget: 'Gerson would instinctively have had political objections to Bridget.

She articulated overtly anti-French revelations, campaigned against the Avignon papacy, and … tried to intervene globally with popes, kings, and emperors, rather than locally.'[26] The disruption of the Church was what allowed the mystical and visionary woman to thrive and be heard, but they were also speaking to that disruption. Indeed, Dyan Elliot suggests you cannot separate the phenomenon of women visionaries in the later Middle Ages from the major political and social upheavals which allowed their actions: 'Gerson was responding to the emergence of a cadre of prominent female mystics of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries who had begun to play an unprecedented role in public life. The triune disasters of the Black Death, the Hundred Years War, and the papal schism created a vacuum in institutional authority into which female mystics and prophets had moved.'[27]

Despite Gerson's animosity towards Bridget, for many at Constance, it was important that she was not condemned as a heretic. Her visions were already being deployed to political ends and she had already been canonised. As Blumenfeld-Kosinski writes, 'the advocates of the pope's return to Rome used revelations as the preferred means of communicating with various popes. Revelations are inspired speech, a privileged discourse that allows ordinary people to gain extraordinary authority when addressing the prelates and secular rulers of their time.'[28] The visions of both Bridget and Catherine of Siena were important weapons for those desiring to return and then keep the Church in Rome, and likewise were concerning for those on the side of Avignon for the power they granted the opposition. Despite Bridget's thorough investigation for heresy and questions surrounding her legitimacy, she was still a focus of Gerson's ire and the Council's inquiry.

England was also under pressure to uphold Bridget's authority. Not only because of the importance of her visions, but because ultimately England chose Bridget as a symbol of its orthodoxy and as a counter to the Wycliffite heresies which were also a focus of the Council. Vincent Gillespie argues, 'Konstanz was an important shop window for the English church, which felt itself under pressure in the European environment because of the pestiferous, pernicious, and annoyingly persistent heresies of John Wyclif, whose teaching occupied much of the Council's time in its early months and was

definitively condemned in its eighth session in May 1415'.[29] England thus made a determined stand against Wyclif at the Council and afterward. As part of this stand, Henry V established the Bridgettine foundation of Syon Abbey and the Carthusian House of Sheen, all to demonstrate the new orthodoxy of the English Church and a break with the past. Despite Gerson's condemnation, Bridget was claimed in many ways as a kind of English saint and her visions were used to serve the national interest. Tekla Bude has shown how the Marian devotion at Syon Abbey, in particular, dovetails with the English investment in a matrilineal claim to the throne, further underscoring the importance of Bridget's *Revelations* to England and to Henry V.[30]

Although many of the texts I look at here circulated in Latin, I am focusing on vernacular English texts for two reasons: one, the audience and provenance of these texts are from the same class and group that are fighting in the Hundred Years War;[31] and two, as historian David Green notes, 'the use of the vernacular for political purposes and the clearer identification of national allegiance with language gathered pace over the course of [it]'.[32] The very vernacularity and subject matter of these texts, then, are subtly a political statement and stance on the war. These texts – like the women in them – are not simply a product of the sentiments inspired by the war but producers of them.

Reading Bridget of Sweden in medieval England

Bridget well understood that her visions had important political implications and made sure that the people who had the authority to act on them knew what they were. She repeatedly petitioned Clement VI in Avignon to make peace between the warring England and France, which failed at each attempt likely because Clement was clearly on the side of the French in the disputes.[33] For example, as Sahlin writes:

> In 1346–47, two close supporters, Prior Peter of Alvastra and Bishop Hemming of Åbo (Turku), conveyed her revelations concerning the Hundred Years War and the Avignon Papacy to an international

audience, including the kings of France and England and Pope Clement VI. Proposing a peaceful solution to the war between England and France and urging the pope to return to Italy, these revelations – although not successful in achieving their intended results – display Birgitta's grave concerns about the battles as well as her profound disillusionment with the popes who resided in Avignon.[34]

Bridget knew that her revelations were going to be unpopular among members of that audience but hoped they would lead to a peaceful resolution for both intertwined conflicts. She was, however, unsuccessful in this resolution in her lifetime, but the far reach of her *Revelations* and its use for political ends demonstrate how, as Pavlína Rychterová argues, Bridget and her visions were important tools for those in power to make their arguments.[35]

Bridget's prominence in England can, to a large extent, be understood as a result of her perceived role in precipitating the Schism by calling for the papacy to return to Rome, as well as her visions concerning the Hundred Years War. The Schism ushered in what Blumenfeld-Kosinski calls 'an unprecedented visionary activity, a phenomenon one could call mystical activism', resulting in a proliferation of mystical texts by women and giving the readers of those texts plenty of material in which to read political implications.[36] More authority was granted to the visionary women than they had in the past, and Bridget and Catherine's earlier revelations took on new meanings. Even some of the visions that were not overtly political were understood to be so. For example, many of Bridget's visions concerning the pope, such as one where she saw him as paralysed, are not understood literally by her audience but read in light of their metaphoric meaning about the papacy and its rightful place. Bridget's politics were likely influenced by Sweden's, and her attitude toward England is no exception. As Bridget Morris explains:

> Birgitta's, and the Swedish monarchy's, qualified support for the English may have been promoted by Queen Blanche's family associations with England: in the previous decade the French king's brother-in-law Robert of Artois, having fallen out with the king, had sought refuge with Blanche's brother Jean II of Namur, and then gone to England and fought on England's side against the Scots, before being imprisoned in 1333. The marriage proposal may suggest that Sweden was courting political alliances with England in the mid-fourteenth

century, even if economic links were few at this time, and dominated largely by the Hanseatic trade.[37]

It is with this new authority that Bridget in many ways became an English saint, also largely due to the prominence of her order through the establishment of Syon Abbey. The nuns and priests at Syon retained a close link to the monarchy and became a defining order of the English Church from its beginnings under Henry V through to the dissolution of the monasteries (where Syon plays an important role in fighting the changes of the Reformation).

One of the primary reasons this Swedish saint became so important in England, however, lay with her early revelation about the English claim over the French crown, the central conflict of the Hundred Years War. These parts of her *Revelations*, all from Chapter IV, were excerpted and circulated separately, translated into Middle English and clearly retained a power, as we see the vision recur in other literature and poetry. Bridget Morris describes their substance:

> In Chapter 103 St Denis, the patron saint of France, implores the Virgin for mercy for his country where bodies are thrown to the ground like quarry, and souls flutter down to hell like snowflakes. In the following chapter, two wild animals are seen in combat symbolizing the warring kings, and in chapter 105 a marriage match is suggested whereby the kingdom can fall to the rightful heir … Birgitta refers to one king – Edward – as having the juster cause (*maiorem iusticiam*), and in law she appears to be on his side, although morally she takes neither side and depicts both men as voracious beasts.[38]

It is the fact that Edward had the most just cause, however, which retained the most purchase in medieval England. While the rest of the revelation (the suggestion of marriage between England and France, for example) was repeated and excerpted, the fact that Bridget names Edward as the rightful victor in the conflict is the part that is most often referenced.

In the most direct vision about the war, the Virgin Mary speaks to Bridget, metaphorically setting up the kingdom of England and France as a battle between two greedy beasts, although one of them has the 'just cause' while one does not. The beasts had no compunction about spilling blood and fighting for causes that they knew were unjust,

blinded as they are by greed and pride. Here neither king is praised, but one king is still identified as having more of a right to victory:

> I se as it were two fell bestis, and most fers of þer kynde … Bot þese two bestes are vndirstandyn by kynges of Frauns and Yngland. One of þame is not filled, for he makes werre for couetise. þe oþir kynge wald be aboue hym, and þerefor þai are both [?] full of fire and wreth and couetise. þis is þe voice of þer bestes: 'Take gold and worldly ryches, and spare no cristen blode'. Ylke of þere bestes desires þe dede of þe oþere, and þarefore ilke wald haue þe oþire place to noye hym. Bot he sekes to noye in þe bakeside, þe whilke wald his wrange were harde as ryght, and þe oþers ryght were hard and saide as wronge. Bot he þat comes on þe breste side knawes þat hymselfe hase ryght, and þerefore he does mykyll wronge, gyfynge no fors of þe los of oþir, ne in his right, and þerfore þe oþir hase les ryght. þerfore he brynnes in couetyse.[39]

This Middle English translation is from London, British Library Cotton MS Claudius B I, one of only two extant manuscripts with the complete texts of Bridget's *Liber Celestis* in Middle English.[40] Bridget's life and revelations are found in Latin and Middle English in many extant fifteenth-century texts and a sixteenth-century printed volume. Syon Abbey's prominence as a spiritual centre, especially one linked to devotional literature, kept Bridget constantly in the public imagination.

Later in the same chapter, Bridget again invoked the Hundred Years War and the problems it was causing in France, England and throughout Europe. In Revelation IV, Chapter 105, Christ speaks to Bridget and argues 'by what mene he will þat pes be made bytwene þe kynges of Frauns and Ingland: to þe whilke ife þe kynges will not assent, þai sall be full greuously ponyshed'.[41] Christ begins the revelation by telling Bridget that he is actually peace, and that until the warring parties decide that they openly and truly embrace Christ, they cannot expect a peaceful resolution. As a large part of the rhetoric of war is that 'God is on our side', this serves as a rebuke to both kings. But, ultimately, Christ (through Bridget) brings up the question of legitimacy and suggests a solution: 'þerefor, for one of þo kynges hase ryght, it pleses me þat pes be made be mariage, and so þat þe realme may come to þe lawfull aire'.[42] Bridget almost reluctantly agrees that Edward III (1312–77) had the legal claim

but indicates that both Edward and Philip are morally culpable and neither was acting in good Christian faith.

Bridget's revelation about the war closes with a prophecy that if Edward does not 'obey', the king would not prosper and would 'ende his life in sorow, and þe realm sall be lefte in tribull and tribulacion'.[43] She outlined that the three things that need to be obeyed are a marriage that ensures a legitimate successor for both countries, an intent to spread Christianity, and the removal of 'intollerabill taxis and takyng of þer sogettes gudes and fraudulent adinuencions, and þat þai lufe bettir þe saules of þame'.[44] Even here, we can see how Bridget's understanding of the war and its repercussions were far beyond the two nations involved and that they were representing larger and wider issues throughout Christendom. She noted that if the king 'þe whilke hase riȝt will obei, I sall help him and feght for him'; but if he did not listen to the prophecy and heed the warnings, 'he sall not come to his purpose, bot a ioyfull bygynnyng sall haue a sorrowfull endyng'.[45] So, although her revelation did indicate legitimacy for England, it did not prophesy a hopeful ending without significant change.

Although the revelation was hardly complimentary, it was firm in stating that England's claim is legitimate – despite the greed, pride and anger that are human complications in the matter. This revelation may very well be the first text about Bridget that made its way to England. It took place in 1348, making them among Bridget's earliest visions. As noted earlier, Bridget's outreach to the pope and both kings on this matter show how politically connected she was and her real interest in making a difference in the political climate of the time. Bridget Morris notes, 'Birgetta's intervention in these events, though it fell on deaf ears, is an example of her close interest in dynastic power politics well beyond the boundaries of Sweden. Birgitta's, and the Swedish monarchy's qualified support for the English may have been promoted by Queen Blanka's family associations with England.'[46] Soon after Bridget made the revelation known, it 'was forwarded in a letter by Sweden's King Magnus to King Edward III of England and King Philip IV of France, directing them to establish peace between their nations'.[47] The letter survives in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 404, a manuscript of collected prophecies compiled by Henry of Kirkstead OSB (*c.*1314–78), the prior of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds.

The revelation's reappearance in that of fifteenth-century poet Thomas Hoccleve's overtly political poem, *Regiment of Princes*, demonstrates how the prophecy is recycled as the war and its conflicts drag on. Dating from around 1410–11, the poem was written at a time when, as its editor Charles Blyth notes, England still felt the repercussions of Richard II's deposition; it partly reinforced the legitimacy of the Lancastrian line and of the future Henry V as heir to the throne.[48] But that the English were surrounded by other anxieties, namely the overlapping concerns of both the Hundred Years War and the Schism, again come to the fore. Hoccleve addressed the war directly in the poem by invoking Bridget's revelation regarding the resolution of the war, endorsing England's claims. Hoccleve writes,

> The book of Revelaciouns of Bryde
> Expressith how Cryst thus seide hir unto:
> 'I am pees verray, there I wole abyde;
> Whereas pees is, noon othir wole I do;
> Of France and Engeland the kynges two,
> If they wole have pees, pees perpetuel
> They shul han'. Thus hir book seith, woot I wel
>
> But verray pees may be had by no way
> But if trouthe and justice loved be;
> And for that o kyng hath right, forthy may
> By matrymoyne pees and unitee
> Been had – Crystes plesaunce is swich. Thus he
> That right heir is may the reme rejoise,
> Cessyng al stryf, debat, or werre, or noyse.
>
> Now syn the weye is open, as yee see,
> How pees to gete in vertuous maneere,
> For love of Him that dyde upon the tree,
> And of Marie, His blisful modir deere,
> Folwith that way and your stryf leye on beere;
> Purchaceth pees by way of mariage,
> And yee therin shul fynden avantage.
>
> Now pees approche and dryve out werre and stryf;
> Frendshipe appeere and banisshe thow hate;
> Tranquillitee, reve thow ire hir lyf
> That fervent is and leef for to debate.[49]

Hoccleve invoked Bridget's revelation that there would not be peace between the kings until matrimony mended the division. But he goes on to say that this would settle the division, for that 'o kyng hath right', meaning the English king, is on the correct side of the conflict. Tekla Bude has argued that this passage spoke directly to Henry V as pressing his political will and making peace through matrimonial alliance with France – even though the original prophecy does not speak to him. She notes, 'Hoccleve's Bridgettine exemplar supplants the retrospective template of the *Fürstenspiegel* with political prophecy: "avantage" – quite literally the profit to be gained in looking ahead – is presented as open and obvious, because the *Regiment* pre-interprets Bridget's *Revelations* for the young prince. Their dictates apply to Henry, who must claim his French territory and his French bride in order to be a good, peaceful, and prosperous ruler.'[50] Bridget's revelation in the poem shows two important things: one, that Bridget herself was taken seriously and that her intervention in the English political realm was welcome and important to its readers; and two, that prior to the more famous woman of the Hundred Years War, Joan of Arc, visionary women and their prophecies were already shaping the trajectory of the war and people's opinions about it.

Joan of Arc's eventual role in the Siege of Orléans in 1429 galvanised the French against the English, and her capture and eventual death did the same for the English. Her visions were of a victorious France, which she reiterated during her trial where she claimed 'Anglici dimmittent majus vadium quam fecerint coram Aurelianis et quod totum perdent in Francia. Didit etiam quod præfati Anglici habebunt majorem peritionem quam unquam habuerunt in Francia, et hoc erit per magnam victoriam quam Deus mittet Gallicis' [the English will lose a greater stake than they did at Orléans, and all they have in France. Further, the English will suffer a greater loss than they ever had in France, through a great victory that God will give the French].[51] Christine de Pizan's 'Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc' crystallised how she captured the French imagination as chosen by God to restore the king and guide the country. Christine portrayed her defence of France not only as signalling the wholesale destruction of the English enemy but as a defence of faith itself:

Si est tout le mains qu'à faire ait
Que destruire l'Englecherie,
Car elle a ailleurs plus son hait:
C'est que la Foy ne soit perie.
Quant des Anglois, qui que s'en rie
Ou pleure, il en est sué.
Le temps avenir moquerie
En sera fait. Jus son rué!

[And destroying the English is the least of her worries, for her desires
lie rather elsewhere: to guard against the destruction of the Faith.
As for the English, whether one laughs or cries about it, they are
done for. One will mock them in times to come. They have been
vanquished!][52]

The ferocity of the English and Anglo-Burgundian opposition to
Joan's revelations and actions (and her effect on her French coun-
trymen) was attested to in the violence of her death, guilty of witch-
craft and heresy, when she was burned at the stake in 1431.

Hoccleve's reference to Bridget's prophecy demonstrates that
England, earlier, had its own visionary woman on its side in Bridget
of Sweden, whose *Revelations* also address the war and its legiti-
macy. As noted earlier, Bridget addresses the war and England's
role in it more than once in the course of her *Revelations*, and man-
uscripts containing these excerpts circulated independently of the
Revelations because of their subject matter and favourable outlook
for the nation.[53] The question of the legitimacy of the English claim
to the French throne (and vice versa) at the centre of the vision
dovetailed with the uncertainty about Bridget's own truthfulness
as a religious authority. If Joan's vision of a victorious France were
legitimate, then the English claim to the throne was not. If Bridget's
revelations were true, then the claim was sanctioned. Some tried to
reconcile the two by selectively excerpting Bridget's prophecies and
using them to support Joan. As Frailoli explains, Bridget's prophecy
that only a moral and sinless kingdom can win the war was used
to give 'concrete and immediate expression to the idea that French
sin and French kingship were causally connected, a judgment of
special significance because it looks inwardly to moral reform as
a way of controlling the outside forces of war ... the emphasis on

correcting personal behavior may also have seemed to forecast Joan's own special insistence on moral reform'.[54] This brings us back to Gerson, who appeared to dismiss all such visions in his *De probatione spirituum* (*On the Proving of Spirits*), in which, point by point, he tried to refute the defence of Bridget's revelations that had been written by her confessor, Alphonse of Pecha. When his attempt to discredit Bridget's revelations had failed at the Council of Constance, and her canonisation was reaffirmed, he worked to make sure that women's visions were in general treated with suspicion. At the Council, England and France were on opposite sides arguing about Bridget's sanctity. For Gerson, the problem was rooted in the notion that there was no clerical control of these unmediated visions, and he argued firmly that it was the role of a theologian to discern whether the visions were doctrinally sound. Gerson later argued for Joan of Arc's visions, immediately after the English defeat, writing in his tract on her, *Super Facto Puellae et Credulitate Sibi Præstanda*, 'concludendum est tandem ex praemissis quod pie et salubriter potest de pietate fidei et devotionis sustineri factum illius puellae, circumstantiis attentis, cum effectu patenti, praesertim ex causa finali quae iustissima est, scilicet restitutio regis ad regnum suum et pertinacissimorum inimicorum iustissima est, scilicet repulsio seu debellatio' [it should be concluded ... that the feat of this maid can piously and wholesomely be supported in terms of piety of faith and devotion, taking into account the circumstances and the evident outcome. This is especially so because of the final cause, which is most just: that is, the restoration of the king to his kingdom and the most just expulsion or vanquishing of most tenacious enemies].[55] Gerson did not see Joan lead the monarchy to victory, as he had hoped. He was exiled from the city and University of Paris once it was under Anglo-Burgundian control.[56]

Bridget's revelation that peace could be achieved through marriage did not work out, although there ensued several attempts at making marriage the solution. Richard II, who had always appeared to be more interested in peace than war with France, married the French princess Isabella – one of Charles VI's daughters. The peace was shattered when Richard was deposed by Henry IV and Isabella was promptly sent back to France without the significant dowry she had brought with her. Henry V would subsequently marry

Catherine, Isabella's sister, as part of the 1420 Treaty of Troyes. These marriages were often the covenant through which peace was forged, or part of other negotiations, but they did symbolically unite the houses and give some more weight to at least suspending the hostilities between the countries. However, in the case of Henry V and the French–English marriage of Henry VI, these attempts fell flat. With Henry V's early death, his infant son Henry VI was the king who actually received the crown in France. However, his reign was plagued by the French attempt to reclaim what they saw as stolen from them. Henry VI's marriage to Margaret of Anjou was also negotiated as part of a truce in 1444 in the Treaty of Tours. As Watson explains, the treaty's dissolution led to the end of the war but also the start of the Wars of the Roses because of Margaret's French ties: 'The treaty did not hold for long, and the French soon brought the Hundred Years War to an end by reclaiming al the English lands in northern France. The disaster precipitated the Wars of the Roses, which pitted Henry, Margaret, and their Lancastrian partisans against Richard, Duke of York, and his allies. Yorkist propaganda accused Margaret of betraying the English to the French.'[57]

While marriage was not the solution that these kings had hoped, each also recognised how the Church and the Hundred Years War were connected, whether during or after the Schism. In some cases, it was hard to keep these two causes distinct. For example, the Despenser's Crusade of 1383 was fought under the guise of aiding the citizens of Ghent against papal supporters in Avignon but was really just another front in the Hundred Years War. Henry V positioned himself as a warrior against heresies, a defender of the faith. In this way, he framed the war against France as a holy war, linking it to the Schism and the false pope installed in Avignon. While fighting his wars overseas, Henry V was also battling the Wycliffites and other heresies at home, tying his military battles to ecclesiastical ones so that the people could not separate the two. He used religion as a weapon and a banner. For example, historian David Green notes that before the Battle of Harfleur, he had a herald read passages from Deuteronomy, encouraging the town to capitulate if it wanted mercy.[58] And Jeremy Catto points out that upon his return to England after the victory at Agincourt, Henry deliberately

showed it as a religious victory: 'The city of London furnished him with a joyous entry after Agincourt in which a heavenly host of angels, prophets, and apostles cheered him in, a consciously sober figure in purple, the colour of the Passion, on his way to offer at the London shrines: a scene which made a deep and long-remembered impression and which was repeated in 1421 on the arrival of Queen Catherine.'[59] The war, the offerings and the shrines are entangled. Bridget's by then well-known revelation about the English claim to the French throne certainly helped prompt Henry V's decision to fund the Bridgettine house of Syon Abbey in 1415, the same year as the victory at Agincourt. Henry's younger sister had married Eric XIII of Sweden in 1406, further cementing an alliance between the two countries and Henry V's affiliation for the Swedish saint (who had died in 1373).

When Henry VI married Margaret of Anjou, a book that she was given as a wedding gift had an elaborate genealogy that reinforced his claim to the English and French throne, highlighting the purpose of the marriage but also serving as a public propaganda about the union. One of the first items in this codex, now known as the Talbot Shrewsbury Book, is a genealogical diagram in the shape of a fleur-de-lis that traces Henry VI's line from St Louis. The book also includes within it other texts relevant to the Hundred Years War, including works by Christine de Pizan and Honoré Bovet.[60] However, this gift showed that even as the French and English lines united in marriage (repeatedly), that relationship is at its core troubled and the question of legitimacy still loomed large. The book was gifted by John Talbot, whom Nancy Bradley Warren notes would 'have had an especially personal knowledge of – and likely a particular animosity toward – Joan of Arc. He was one of the chief commanders at the Battle of Patay, where he was captured when the French army, inspired by Joan, crushed the English forces'.[61] For Talbot, a book that clearly reinforced England's claim over France would be both a personal and political gift.

In the larger scheme of Bridget's *Revelations*, her vision about the war was minor compared to her sustained campaign to move the popes back to Rome. Bridget herself moved permanently to Rome in 1349, making it her life's work to convince the Church hierarchy of the rightful place of the papacy.

English readers and Catherine of Siena

Catherine of Siena picked up where Bridget had left off in trying to convince Gregory XI that now was the time to move back to Rome, although she relied less on her visionary powers and more on the political powers of persuasion through her letters and other advocacy. A number of coincidental events worked in her favour, all used as evidence of God's displeasure with the corruption of the Avignon court – the Black Death had decimated much of Europe, the Crusades had stalled after the 1291 events at Acre (which had moved the last city held by crusaders in the Middle East back into Muslim hands) and in Italy there had been a revolt against the French-held papal states, known as the 'War of the Eight Saints' from 1375 to 1378. The stalling of the Crusades, specifically, was directly linked to the Hundred Years War because many of the likely crusaders (and the money to fund them) were tied up in England's and France's battles with one another.[62] Catherine herself was extremely interested in the Crusades and was frequently trying to drum up support, fighters and money to that effect. One of her letters to Gregory XI demonstrated her dual concern of moving the Avignon Papacy and reinvigorating the Crusades.

She told him that he had power given by God and that he should 'mandate inanzi e compite, con vera e santa sollicitudine, quello che per santo proponimento avetecominciato, de l'avvenimento vostro e del santo e dolce passaggio, e non tardate più, ché per lo tardaresono avenuti molti inconvenienti e 'l dimonio s'è levato e leva per impedire che questo non si faccia,perché s'avede del danno suo' [pursue and finish with true holy zeal what you have begun by holy intent – I mean your return [to Rome] and the sweet holy crusade. Delay no longer, for your delaying has already been the cause of a lot of trouble. The devil has done and is doing his best to keep this from happening, because he sees that he will be the loser].[63] Here, although not explicitly invoking a vision, Catherine was leaning on the power of the visionary reputation, hinting she understood the stakes for the pope's soul and the importance of using his power in service of Rome. Catherine also wrote to John Hawkwood, an English mercenary whose training in the Hundred Years War

made him a valuable sword-for-hire in Italy's internal battles, and someone whom Richard II used for various diplomatic missions at the same time. Records show, for example, that Geoffrey Chaucer in his capacity as court officer went to Italy and met with Hawkwood at least once.[64] Chaucer's mission was to gain Hawkwood's support in the Hundred Years War, according to Marion Turner, as well as to negotiate 'a marriage alliance between Bernabò [Visconti]'s daughter, Caterina and Richard II'.[65] With Hawkwood, Catherine's interest lay in redirecting his military abilities towards the Crusades, showing how astute she was in recognising where military power was being distributed and the ways in which she felt it should be used in to order to support the Church.

The English interest in Catherine may have been enhanced by the fact that she was so linked to, and understood as influential in, moving the Avignon Papacy to Rome. As we have noted, the religious division caused by the Schism mapped onto the military alliances of the Hundred Years War. To be against Avignon was to be against France; to be for Rome was to support England. While there are several different Middle English texts concerning Catherine – her *vita* and her *Dialogo*, for example – one of the texts that had independent circulation explicitly concerns Avignon.[66] It survives in a Middle English translation in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 114, a letter that Stephen Maconi, a follower of Catherine's, wrote for an inquest known as the *Processo Castellano* in support of her canonisation after her death. Stephen's letter mostly consisted of a recollection that Catherine and her followers carried to Avignon in order to meet with the pope.

Stephen's letter was originally written in the face of opposition to veneration of Catherine as a saint before her (contested) canonisation. Like Bridget, Catherine's role in the Schism had made her a polarising figure in the Church. The bishop of Castello held the inquiry, *Il Processo Castellano*, and Stephen's letter (dated 1411, the same year as Hoccleve's *Regiment*) was an entry into the corpus of documents amassed there – all of which were working to make Catherine become St Catherine. George Ferzoco writes that 'a primary concern of Catherine's promoters may have been that someone might attack her teaching, especially regarding two fraught issues: the legitimacy of the pope and his rightful place in

Rome; and the holy woman's ecstasies'.[67] These issues are still relevant in mid-fifteenth-century England, but here the legitimacy of the pope was tied to the Schism (not the Avignon Papacy), and the right side of the Schism (Rome) was also tied to the Hundred Years War. Likewise, the legitimacy of holy women's visions linked both – are Bridget's and Catherine's visions correct? Are Joan of Arc's?

The Middle English translation that survived in MS Douce 114 was nearly contemporary with Catherine's actual canonisation, at least fifty years after Stephen wrote the letter, but its somewhat defensive tone would have worked to authorise Catherine as a visionary on the right side of history. The movement of the letter from Italy to England, from Latin to vernacular, also signalled a movement from clergy to laity. Although the actual manuscript of MS Douce 114 seems to have remained in monastic hands as its provenance is from the Carthusian charterhouse of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire, the translator included 'A shorte Apologetik' where he apologised for the weakness of the translation. Here, it is clear that he imagined the reach of his translation beyond the cloister:

> Wherfore the turner of this Englysshe that is not but simply undirstandynge as here the soth preueth, [preyeth] lowely and mekely alle men and wymmen that in happe redith or herith this Englyshe that they be not ouer capcyous ne curyous in ful many clauses and variauns of stile and alle so vnsuynge of Englyshe as vmwhile Sotheren, otherewhile Northen; but the cause why nedith not to be tolde. And specially he besecheth lettird men and clerkes, if they endeyne to see thes bokes, that they wol be fauorabil and, beinge reders or herers of this Englyshce, forgif hym alle defautes that he hath made in compilynge thereof rather arettynge his lewdnesse to symple ignorauns and obedyens thanne to pryde or presumpcyone.

The letter remains odd in the corpus of Catherine texts in medieval England, and texts about women saints and visionaries generally. Rather than dwelling on her miraculous or prophetic abilities (although Stephen does gesture toward this in some of the stories he tells about Catherine), the main frame of the letter and its narrative is about a trip that Catherine and her group of followers, her *famiglia*, took to Avignon. Part of its appeal to readers would have

been tied to Catherine's championship of Rome, so evident in this text, as well as Stephen's insistence on Gregory XI and his advisers' trust in Catherine – something that will later be placed under doubt by Jean Gerson and other detractors after the Schism.

Stephen's letter was careful to authenticate Catherine's comprehension and understanding of Holy Writ and emphasised the faith that Pope Gregory XI had in Catherine. He also, notably, remarks that Urban VI, too, had great faith in Catherine and her authority. As Urban VI's election to pope in Rome also marks the beginning of the Schism, Stephen was clearly making a statement as to where he stood on the conflict, a stance with which his audience would also agree:

> She delyuerid and expounyd alle holy writte so cleerly and so openly that alle men were they neuer so leryd or maistirs as astonyed hadde wonder. And also that semyd meruelous mannes connynge defayled so in hir sighte as snowe or yce mekenesse whan the sunne shynes most hoot. Many tymes she made ful quykke and spedful sermons with a wondirful stille and enditynge firste in the presens of oure lorde Pope Gregor elleuenthe, after in the presens of oure lorde Pope Urban sexte and of Cardynals, alle with grete meruel, seiynge that neuere man spake so. And withouten doute this is no woman that spekes but the holy goste as hit proueth ful openly.[68]

Stephen explained the appreciation of these successive (Roman) popes and the keen intelligence with which Catherine spoke to them and other men of authority.

Stephen also both explicitly and implicitly addressed the issues that would plague Catherine's sanctity after her death – in its original form these are the issues at the heart of the *Processo Castellano*, and then again in Middle English for the fifteenth-century audience amid the Hundred Years War. First, he was clear in Catherine's mastery of theology; her words were not frivolous, they were thoughtful, learned and measured. She had not somehow fooled Gregory, as Gerson will later claim; the men who heard her (despite their learning) were edified. But he pressed this point further by stating that those who heard her, including the audience of popes before and after the Schism, recognised that 'this is no woman that spekes'. That is, she cannot be accused of the frailties and

charlatanism of the visionary woman because it is evident that 'the holy goste' was the voice that was heard. The emphasis that it was God speaking through Catherine, who was simply a vessel, was at the heart of his defence. To be contrary to Catherine would be to be contrary to God. She recognised that the Church should be in Rome. She recognised that Urban VI was the rightful pope. And the Roman side of the Schism was also the godly side of the war.

Stephen carefully outlined that Gregory believed Catherine to be a holy woman, but also had her vetted by his advisers – demonstrating that taking her advice was done thoughtfully, pushing back against any notion that Catherine had somehow tricked the pope into listening to the frivolous dreams of women, as Gerson would charge:

> At Auynone, while Pope Gregor elleuenthe gaf grete audiens to this holy virgyn and hadde hit in reuerens, thre grete prelates auyse hem with what spirite spake of hir to the Pope, seiynge 'holy fadir, whether this kateryn of Senys be so holy as men seith?' And he answerid, 'Sothly wee leue that she be an holy virgyne'. Then they seyde, 'wee wole visite hir if hit [is] plesyng to youre holynesse'. 'Wee leue', quod the Pope, 'that yee shul be edefyed'.[69]

By placing the voice of concern as contemporary with Gregory, not the anachronistic voices of the *Processo Castellano* or writers like Gerson who retroactively indict Catherine for her influence over the pope, Stephen indicated that Gregory *was* properly advised, that Catherine was indeed vetted and that her revelations and advice are valid. This also validated Bridget. Each insistence in this matter reinforced Rome's claim to the papacy, and, in turn, England's claim in the Hundred Years War.

The papal advisers questioned Catherine extensively, finding her answers theologically sound and more learned even than her confessors. Although they came intending to find her at fault, they left fully convinced of her holiness. Stephen closed the account by adding:

> Amonge thoos thre was an arche byshope of the ordyr of Menors, the whiche procedynge with endeynous coutenauns as hit semed wolde not accepte vmwhile wordes of the holy virgyn. Than the tother two ageyne seyde hym what aske yee more of this mayden, withouten doute she shalle expoune these maters more openly and more pleynly than euere wee haue founden of any doctour, and she expressed

clerely many moo fulle trewe tokens. And so there was scisme and
discorde amonge hem. Atte laste, they wente alle hir weye booth
edifyed and comfortyd, tellynge oure lorde the Pope that they neuere
fonde soule so meke nor so enlumyned. Neuertheles, the Pope whan
he wist that they hadde prouoked so the virgyne was displesed and
excused hym fully anenste hir, affermynge that hit was ageyns his
wille that they hadde done so and seyde to hir.[70]

These affirmations and approvals again worked in multifaceted
ways for the English audience. Gregory XI's clear favouring of
Catherine also served to endorse the movement of the papacy back
to Rome – it is, after all, what Catherine was doing in Avignon in
the first place and it was Gregory who at her urging, along with
Bridget's, determined that it is the correct course of action. The
choosing and seemingly divine favouring of Rome over Avignon
implicitly bolstered the side of the English against the French.

Conclusion

For the most part, scholars have tended to see these three elements –
the Hundred Years War, the Schism and the phenomenon of vision-
ary women – in isolation from one another as evidenced by the many
articles and books on these separate phenomena. But if we expand
our gaze, we can see that these pieces are interconnected. This may
help us understand, too, why some texts were in circulation at all,
such as Stephen Maconi's Middle English letter regarding Catherine,
because they served more than one purpose.

We may begin to conclude then, by turning first to the afterlife
of Bridget's revelations which will far outlive the saint herself. They
surface again in relation to Edward IV; no longer solely concerned
with the claim to France, other revelations she had written con-
cerning the rules of succession are invoked. For example, Oxford,
Bodleian Library MS Ashmole Rolls 26 demonstrated the genealo-
gies of Louis (the son of king Philip of France) and Henry VI, but
prominently between their two genealogical trees are excerpts from
Bridget's *Revelations*. Interestingly, it is not the revelation concern-
ing England's claim to the French throne but rather a revelation
about heredity and dynastic succession that Bridget had concerning

the Swedish crown. As Bridget Morris notes, when it is deployed anew in England, 'this chapter was applied, not to Swedish politics at all, but to the English dynastic succession to attack the usurpation of the throne by Henry IV in 1399 and to urge the rights of Edward IV who assumed the crown in 1464'.[71] Here we can see how military, literary and codicological histories collide and depend on one another.

But all the issues of the time and how they involve the figure of the visionary woman, the Schism and the war come together clearly in the figure of Adam Easton. This East Anglian Benedictine eventually became a cardinal and left England first for Rome (where Pope Urban V had moved his staff), and then to Avignon. Easton was interested in the heresies at home, and it is likely that under Gregory XI he was commissioned to write a condemnation of John Wyclif's *De civili dominio*, a political treatise on the dominion of man and God in which he condemns the Church. Perhaps because he had already demonstrated himself to be astute at parsing and indicting heresy, he was asked in 1382 to analyse the case for Bridget of Sweden's canonisation, and if merited, defend its orthodoxy. Easton is also working for the pope who will eventually end the Avignon Papacy, Gregory XI, but who will ultimately be seen as responsible for the Schism to follow. Easton laboured firmly in support of English interests, using his role there as an emissary to the king as well as to examine the local Wycliffite heresy in a papal context, and he was charged with validating a visionary woman and her legacy. He found Bridget fully orthodox and worthy of canonisation.

When Urban VI was elected pope after the death of Gregory XI, chaos ensued. The French faction was angry at what was a secretive election of an Italian, and one who had not been a cardinal. Several of the cardinals fled and plotted the death of Urban and elected his counterpart in Avignon at the same time – Clement VII – beginning the Schism. Easton, along with six other cardinals, was arrested by Urban VI and charged 'that they were conspiring to force him into an admission of heresy, so that they might burn him at the stake'.[72] All of the cardinals were tortured, and five were killed – Easton escaped that fate likely at the intervention of Richard II. Easton was at the nexus of these overlapping concerns: the validity of women's visions and what they did or did not foretell, the Schism and its

repercussions throughout the political landscape of Europe and the Hundred Years War. Moving outward from Easton, we can see how these events and concerns were deeply intertwined, each affecting the other.

Notes

1 Thanks to the Saturday Medieval Group for their comments on an early draft of this chapter: Valerie Allen, Glenn Burger, Matthew Goldie, Steven Kruger, David Lavinsky and Michael Sargent. Additional thanks are due to Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski for reading and commenting on this chapter, as well as the very helpful comments for revision by the volume's editors and outside reader. Unless otherwise noted, all manuscript transcriptions and translations are my own.
2 Bridget of Sweden, *Sancta Birgitta Revelaciones Book IV*, ed. Aili, 296–7; and Book IV, Chapter 104 in Birgitta of Sweden, *Revelations, Vol. 2*, trans. Searby, ed. Morris, 184–5. Bridget's revelations were originally in Swedish, but they mostly circulated in Latin outside Sweden.
3 See Rouxpetel, 'Crossing Paths'.
4 See Oen and Falkeid (eds), *Sanctity and Female Authorship* for these connections.
5 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 'Saint Birgitta's and Saint Catherine's Visions of Crusading', 117.
6 Dates of papacies: Gregory XI (1370–78); Urban VI (1378–1417); Clement VII (1378–94); John XXII (1410–15).
7 Stump, *Reforms of the Council of Constance*, xi.
8 See Daileader, 'Local Experiences', 94.
9 Allmand, *Hundred Years War*, 24.
10 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 6.
11 Egan, 'Richard II and the Wider Gaelic World', 240.
12 Bovet, *L'Arbre des batailles*, ed. Richter-Berhmeier, 433–42.
13 Bovet, *L'Arbre des batailles*, ed. Richter-Behrmeier, 91–2; and Bovet, *Tree of Battles of Honoré Bonet*, trans. Coopland, 95.
14 Hanley, 'Witness to the Schism', 168.
15 Glatta, 'Sompnium Prioris de Sallono Super Materia Scismatis by Honorat Bovet', 190–3.
16 *Chronique du Religieux de Saint Denys*, ed. and trans. Bellaguet, 80.
17 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 9.
18 Field, 'New English Translation', 53. Cf. *Trial of Joan of Arc*, trans. Hobbins, 154.

19 Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden*, 168.
20 See, for example, the chapters in Astell and Wheeler (eds), *Joan of Arc and Spirituality*; or Elliot, *Proving Woman,* and her essay 'Seeing Double'.
21 Dates of papacies: Gregory XII (1406–15); John XXIII (1410–15); and Benedict (1394, and although excommunicated, claimed the title of Pope until his death in 1423).
22 Usk, *Chronicle of Adam Usk*, ed. Given-Wilson, 262–5.
23 See Schnerb, 'Kingdom of France', 33–4.
24 Stump, 'Council of Constance', 428.
25 Jean Gerson, as quoted and translated in Anderson, 'Gerson's Stance on Women', 309; Anderson reads the text very differently, not specifically targeting Bridget and Catherine.
26 Fraioli, 'Gerson Judging Women of Spirit', 154.
27 Elliot, *Proving Woman,* 267–8.
28 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints, and Visionaries*, 33.
29 Gillespie, 'Chichele's Church', 8.
30 See Bude, 'Myth of Retrospection', 231.
31 For more on this, see King, 'English Gentry and Military Service'.
32 Green, 'National Identities and the Hundred Years War', 119.
33 For more on this, see Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden*, 79–81.
34 Sahlin, *Birgitta of Sweden*, 17.
35 She makes this argument specifically about Bridget's visions of the Hundred Years War in Rychterová, *Die Offenbarungen*, 37. Thanks to Renate Blumenfeld-Kosinski for bringing this work to my attention.
36 Blumenfeld-Kosinski, *Poets, Saints and Visionaries*, 34.
37 Morris, *St Birgitta of Sweden,* 82.
38 Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations,* ed. Morris, 12–13.
39 Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, ed. Ellis, 343 (book IV, ch. CIV). Cf. the Latin and its modern English translation: 'Video quasi duas beastias forcissimas, quamlibet de genere suo ... In istis duabus bestiis intelliguntur duo reges, scilicet Francie et Anglie. Rex alter non saciatur, quia bellum suum est ex cupidatate, rex alius nititur ascendere; ideo ambo sunt pleni igne ire et cupiditatis. Vox bestiarum est talis: "Recipe aurum et diuicias mundi, ut non parcas sanguini Christianorum!" Quelibet istarum bestiarum desiderat alterius mortem et ideo quelibet querit alterius locum ad nocendum. Ille vero querit in dorso nocere, qui iniusticiam suam desiderat audiri esse iusticiam et ut alterius iusticia diceretur esse iniusticia. Alius autem querit in pectore nocere cordi, qui scit se habere iusticiam, et ideo facit multum dampnum non curans de perdicione et miseria aliorum nec in sua iusticia habet diuinam

caritatem. Ideo ergo in pectore querit ingressum, quia ipse maiorem iusticiam habet ad regnum, et cum ipsa iusticia habet superbiam et iram. Alius vero habet minorem iusticiam, ideo ardet cupiditate' (Bridget of Sweden, *Santa Birgitta Revelaciones*, 296–7); English translation (Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations,* 184–5).

40 There are seven copies in total, but not all complete; there are 16 surviving Latin manuscripts.

41 Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 344. Cf. the Latin and its translation: 'Christus loquens sponse dicit ei modum, per quem debeat fieri pax inter reges Francie et Anglie. Quod si ipsi reges non obedierint, grauissime punientur' (Bridget of Sweden, *Santa Birgitta Revelaciones*, 299); [How peace should be established between the kings of France and England. If the kings do not heed it, they shall be punished severely] (Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations,* 186).

42 Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 344. Cf. the Latin and its translation: 'Ideo, quia alter regum habet iusticiam, placet michi, quod per matrimonium fiat pax; et sic regnum ad legittimum heredem poterit peruenire' (Bridget of Sweden, *Santa Birgitta Revelaciones*, 299); English translation, Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations,* 186.

43 Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 344. Cf. the Latin and its translation: 'sciat puro certissimo, quod non prosperabitur in factis suis set in dolore finiet vitam et regnam dimittet in tribulacionibus' (Bridget of Sweden, *Santa Birgitta Revelaciones*, 299); English translation (Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations,* 186).

44 Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 344. Cf. the Latin and its translation: 'intolerabiles exacciones et fraudulentas adinuenciones suas et diligant animas subditorum suorum' (*Santa Birgitta Revelaciones*, 299); [intolerable taxes and fraudulent schemes and love the souls of their subjects] (Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, 186).

45 Bridget of Sweden, *Liber Celestis*, 344. Cf. the Latin and its translation: 'Si autem rex ille qui iusticiam habet obedire voluerit, adiuuabo eum et pugnabo pro eo. Si vero non obedierit, nec ipse perueniet ad desiderium suum set priuabitur obtentis, et principium gaudiosum dolorosus exitus obsculrabit' (Bridget of Sweden, *Santa Birgitta Revelaciones*, 299); English translation (Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations,* 186).

46 Morris, 'Introduction', in Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations*, vol. 2, 13.

47 Gilroy, 'Reception of Bridget of Sweden's Revelations', 18.

48 For a consideration of the *Regement*'s place within wartime discourse, see the chapter by Giancarlo in this volume.

49 Hoccleve, *Regement of Princes,* ed. Blyth, ll. 5384–408.

50 Bude, 'Myth of Retrospection', 235.

51 *Procès de condamnation de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. Champion, 63; *Trial of Joan of Arc*, ed. Hobbins, 72.

52 Christine de Pizan, *Ditié de Jehanne D'Arc*, eds Kennedy and Varty, 37; Pizan, *Selected Writings*, ed. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, 259. See too Hicks-Bartlett's chapter in this volume.

53 Laura Saetveit Miles counts at least five Middle English excerpts of Bridget related to this topic (in correspondence).

54 Fraioli, *Joan of Arc*, 49–50.

55 There is scholarly disagreement about Gerson's authorship of this text. The editors of the two editions cited here are firm that they believe Gerson is the author. Hobbins, 'Jean Gerson's Authentic Tract on Joan of Arc', 149; Field, 'A New English Translation', 49.

56 See Hobbins, 'Jean Gerson's Authentic Tract on Joan of Arc', 121.

57 Watkins, *After Lavinia*, 117–18.

58 Green, *People's History*, 202; Cf. *Gesta Henrici Quinti*, eds Taylor and Roskell, at 34: 'Rex noster, qui non bellum set pacem quesivit, ut causam sui incepti operis maioris armaret innocencie clipeo, iuxta Deutronomium legis xx, proposuit pacem obsessis si sibi aperirent ianuas et villam illam'.

59 Catto, 'Religious Change under Henry V', 107.

60 The manuscript is London, BL Royal MS 15 E VI, and the genealogical diagram is on folio 3r.

61 Warren, *Female Spirituality*, 68.

62 Compare the beliefs of Philippe de Mézières, discussed in Chapter 7 in this volume.

63 Catherine of Siena, 'S. Caterina da Siena, *Le lettere*', in *Santa Caterina da Siena*, ed. Volpato; 'Letter T185/G1/DT54 To Pope Gregory XI, in Avignon January 1376', in Catherine of Siena, *Letters of Catherine of Siena*, vol. I, ed. and trans. Noffke, 248–9.

64 See Pratt, 'Geoffrey Chaucer, Esq.'; see also Turner, *Chaucer*, 317–20; and also Wallace's chapter in this volume.

65 Turner, *Chaucer*, 318–19.

66 For more on Catherine's texts and their circulation in England see Brown, *Fruit of the Orchard*.

67 See Ferzoco, 'Processo Castellano', 194.

68 Cf. the Latin version, which reads: 'Præter hæc autem habebat ista sacratissima Virgo tantam sapientiam, animæ suæ divinitus infusam, quod omnes audientes eam in stuporem vertebantur. Omnem sacram Paginam ita lucidissime declarabat & interpretabatur, ut omnes, quantumcumque docti sive magistri, velut attoniti mirarentur: & quod etiam apparebat valde mirabile, humana scientia in ejus conspectu ita

deficiebat, quemadmodum nix vel glacies in aspectu solis ardentissimi liquefieri solet. Pluries fecit efficacissimos & admirando stylo sermones, in præsentia Domini Gregorii Papæ XI, & postea Domini Urbani Papæ VI, atque Dominorum Cardinalium, dicentium unanimiter admiratione multa suspensi, Numquam sic locutus est homo: &, Absque dubio ista non est mulier quæ loquitur, imo Spiritus sanctus, ut apertissime comprobatur' (Catherine of Siena, 'Epistola Domni Stephani de gestis & virtutibus S. Catharinæ, *Ex Ms. Rubeæ-vallis prope Bruxellas,* Catharina Senensis, tertii Ordinis Dominici' [S.] [BHL Number: 1703], Col. 0966A).

69 Cf. Catherine of Siena, 'Epistola Domni Stephani', Col. 0966A-B: 'Et quia materia se præbet, ad propositum unum volo succincte recitare cui fui præsens in Avenione. Cum Papa Gregorius undecimus isti sanctæ Virgini multam audientiam exhiberet, atque in reverentia haberet eam; tres magni. Prælati (videant ipsi quo spiritu) super ipsa fuerunt ei locuti, dicentes Pater beatissime; Nunquid ista Catherina de Senis est tantæ sanctitatis quantæ dicitur? Qui respondit: Vere credimus eam esse sanctam Virginem.'

70 Cf. Catherine of Siena, 'Epistola Domni Stephani', Col. 0966C-D: 'Inter illos tres erat unus Archiepiscopus Ordinis Minorum, qui Pharisaico supercilio procedens, ut apparebat, verba Virginis aliquando non videbatur acceptare. Alii duo tandem insurrexerunt contra eum dicentes: Quid ultra quæritis ab ista Virgine! sine dubio materias istas explanavit apertius atque plenius, quam unquam invenerimus ab ullo Doctore, & multo plura signa, eaque verissima luculenter nobis expressit: & ita schisma fuit inter eos. Postremo recesserunt omnes, ædificati pariter & consolati, referentes Domino Papæ, quod numquam invenerunt animam tam humilem & ita illuminatam. Qui tamen Papa, quando percepit eos ita Virginem irritasse, displicentiam habuit, & apud eam efficaciter se excusavit; asserens, ultra voluntatem suam eos ita fecisse, subdens, Si ulterius venerint ad te, facias eis ostium in suis pectoribus occludi.'

71 Morris, 'Introduction', in Bridget of Sweden, *Revelations of Bridget of Sweden*, ed. Morris, vol. 2, 15.

72 Hogg, 'Adam Easton's Defensorum sanctae Birgittae', 226.

Between men: French books and male readers in fifteenth-century England

J. R. Mattison

At the close of a manuscript containing French translations of *De regimine principum* and *De re militari*, a note reads: 'Cest liure est A moy homfrey duc de gloucestre du don mess*ieur* Robert Roos ch*eva*li*er* mon cousin' [This book belongs to me, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, a gift from Sir Robert Roos, knight my kinsman].[1] The early fifteenth-century volume from France was one of Humfrey, duke of Gloucester's many books in French. Robert Roos, Duke Humfrey's former ward and older brother to poet Richard, served in various capacities as a soldier and ambassador in France during the Hundred Years War.[2] This closing annotation witnesses an exchange between two men bound by familial and martial ties; it says nothing about the text nor the context of the exchange. Instead, it stresses the French book's status as a gift from one Englishman to his former guardian.

During the Hundred Years War, books like this manuscript circulated between England and the Continent, crossing the Channel through various means: Henry V, for example, took 110 books from libraries in the captured city of Meaux in 1422.[3] His brother John, Duke of Bedford purchased 843 volumes that previously formed Charles V and Charles VI's royal library in 1425.[4] Other individuals commissioned and gifted continental books, like John Talbot, who presented Margaret of Anjou with a miscellany of French texts in 1445, and English patrons who ordered books of hours from Northern France.[5] English men and women visiting and living on the Continent purchased items from local artisans.[6] Similarly, English books crossed the Channel in the other direction. Charles d'Orléans owned an English-made manuscript of John of

Hoveden's poems, Jean d'Angoulême a *Canterbury Tales* and Jean, Duc de Berry Nicholas Trevet's *Cronicles*.[7]

However, the specific people and books that enabled the movement of French-language materials between England and the Continent are not yet fully understood.[8] Was Roos's French *De re militari*, for example, an unusual exchange between two Englishmen? The circulation of French-language works in the late fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England is especially striking as new compositions in Insular French declined.[9] At the same time, English poets translated, adapted and responded to continental French works in Middle English.[10]

This chapter lays the groundwork for understanding the significance of the circulation of French between England and the Continent through one group of book owners centred on Duke Humfrey. Extant manuscripts – gained by English readers as gifts, purchases, bequests and thefts – with inscriptions and references to the movement of books in French provide the basis for such inquiry. Tracing the circulation of these manuscripts reveals a collection of interconnected, cross-Channel, Francophone book owners linked by familial, literary *and*, importantly, martial and gender ties. The movement of people during the Hundred Years War not only gave Englishmen access to books in French from the Continent, but also cultivated individual connections between men that fostered the exchange of books. These connections enmesh owners of French books in an expansive network that stretches across Europe, crossing national boundaries through a shared experience of language. Moreover, this network supersedes the importance of the books themselves and allows men to uphold homosocial relationships.

Duke Humfrey's gifts

Duke Humfrey's large extant collection provides insight into England's participation in Francophone book culture; while many French manuscripts from England survive, many more have been lost. Son of Henry IV, brother of Henry V and uncle of Henry VI, Humfrey is perhaps the best-known English bibliophile: he was a patron of English literature and humanism, and donated some

300 volumes to Oxford that laid the foundation for the university collection that would become the Bodleian Library.[11] In addition to his literary pursuits, Humfrey served in several campaigns in France, including at Agincourt (1415), and later acted as England's Protector during Henry VI's minority, vying with Henry Beaufort for political sway. Dying under mysterious circumstances after his arrest in 1447, Humfrey left no will dictating the dispersal of his goods.[12] At least forty-seven of his books survive, with thirteen in French.[13] The manuscripts, made both in England and on the Continent, range from a twelfth-century romance to contemporary princely advice.

Like much of his extant library, Humfrey's French manuscripts came to him as gifts. Most can be connected to his brother John, Duke of Bedford and Regent of France, himself involved in the battles and politics of the Hundred Years War. Bedford gave Humfrey six French books, perhaps acquired when he bought the Louvre Library, including a *Lancelot-Grail*, *Roman de Renart*, *Legende dorée*, *Le Songe du vergier*, Christine de Pizan's *Livres des faits et bonnes mouers* and Pierre Bersuire's translation of Livy's *Histoire romaine*.[14] Richard Beauchamp, earl of Warwick and Lieutenant of Normandy, who served alongside Humfrey at the Siege of Rouen (1418–19) and in several other campaigns, gave Humfrey copies of Boccaccio's *Decameron* in French and a collection of Jean Froissart's poems.[15] Sir Robert Roos, ambassador and soldier, not only gifted Humfrey the manuscript mentioned above, but also signed his name in a copy of the *Livre de l'informacion des princes* alongside the duke's.[16] Two more soldiers who participated in the Agincourt campaign, Sir John Stanley (d. 1437) and Sir Thomas Carew (d. 1429), gifted Humfrey a *Bible historiale* and a *Livre de seyntz medicines*, respectively.[17] From the estate of the military man Sir John Cornwall, Baron Fanhope (d. 1443), who served at Agincourt and Rouen with the duke, Humfrey either received or purchased a *Grandes chroniques de France*.[18] The movement of these books occurred between 1427 and 1443, towards the end of Humfrey's life while he advocated an aggressive foreign policy.[19] Even as Humfrey spent more time in England as Protector, he demonstrated a persistent interest in French books. Significantly, all Humfrey's surviving manuscripts in French have

links to men involved in the Hundred Years War, many of whom received chivalric honours at home that cemented their military connections. Bedford, Beauchamp and Cornwall were members of the knightly group the Order of the Garter alongside Humfrey. While Stanley, Roos and Carew were not, Stanley's father (d. 1414) was a member and Roos was nominated. The military connections of Humfrey's French books contextualise these gifts within the politics of the Hundred Years War. While the exchange of these manuscripts enacts a *translatio imperii et studii* of continental literature, it also builds on a pre-existing Insular Francophonia. Humfrey's surviving French books reveal how the war strengthened England's multilingual book culture, from both an international and domestic perspective.

The exchange of these books as gifts perhaps reveals more about the men involved than their literary tastes. The social dimensions of gift giving exceed the value of the gift itself: gift giving in medieval Europe, especially at Christmas and New Year, produced and reproduced 'social relations within court society', and even apparent enemies traded gifts with one another.[20] Such exchanges were defined by gender, with men more likely to give to other men, while women gave to both men and women.[21] By presenting Humfrey with books, donors might have sought to ingratiate themselves or acquire closeness.[22] Additionally, Humfrey's gifts like the *Songe du vergier* and *De regimine principum* stress the importance of gift giving in maintaining power and loyalty.[23] Humfrey himself gave Stanley a New Year's gift in 1426.[24] Giving and receiving French books created mutual social connection between men.

A subset of Humfrey's manuscripts articulates the social relationships transmitted by these books. While in many surviving manuscripts, Humfrey attests his ownership with a simple 'Cest livre est a moy Homfrey duc de Gloucestre' [This book belongs to me, Humfrey duke of Gloucester], in others he provides a lengthier description of his manuscript's source.[25] Six of Humfrey's French manuscripts include detailed inscriptions, including the one from Robert Roos. The others read:

> From John, duke of Bedford: 'Cest liure fut enuoye des parties de
> france *et* donne par mons*ieur* le Regent le royaume duc de Bedford a

mons*ieur* le duc de Gloucestre son beau frere lan mil quatrecens vingt sept.' (Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève MS 777, fol. 433v [for fol. 434v; folios misnumbered])

[This book was sent from parts of France and given by my lord the regent of the realm, the duke of Bedford to my lord the duke of Gloucester, his dear brother, in the year 1427.]

From Richard Beauchamp: 'Cest liure est A moy Humfrey duc de gloucestre du don mon t*re*schier cousin le counte de Warrewic.' (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 12421, fol. 452r)

[This book belongs to me, Humfrey duke of Gloucester, a gift from my dear cousin the Count of Warwick.]

From Thomas Carew: 'Cest liure est A moy Homfrey Duc de Gloucestre du don du baron de Carew.' (Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College MS 24, fol. 126v)

[This book belongs to me, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, a gift from the Baron of Carew.]

From John Cornwall: 'Cest livre est a moy Homfrey Duc de Gloucestre du don les exsecuteurs [*sic*] le seigneir de Faunhope.' (London, BL Royal MS 16 G VI, fol. 445r)

[This book belongs to me, Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, a gift from the executors of the lord of Fanhope.]

From John Stanley: 'Le dixiesme jour de septembre lan mil quatre-ce*n*s vingt *et* sept fut cest liure donne a treshault *et* trespuissant prince humfrey duc de Gloucestre conte de haynnau hollande *et cetera* protecteur *et* deffenseur dengleterre par sire Jehan Stanley cheualier ledit prince estant en labbaye n*ot*re dame a chestre'. (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France MS fr. 2, fol. 511r)

[On September 10, 1427, this book was given to the high and powerful prince, Humfrey duke of Gloucester, Count of Hainault, Holland etc., Protector and Defender of England by Sir John Stanley, knight, the said prince being in the Abbey of Our Lady in Chester.]

These inscriptions present important similarities: none mention a text's title or language, de-emphasising the variety of texts at hand. All are written in French and appear at the end of the text; this

placement might have foregrounded the inscription if Humfrey's books were opened from the back.[26] All use 'don' [gift] or 'donner' [to give], even the one from Cornwall's executors. This phrasing frames the exchanges as developing the social bonds implied by gift giving. The two inscriptions not in Humfrey's hand – from Bedford and John Stanley – add further details: Bedford's manuscript was sent from France in 1427 and Stanley presented Humfrey with the manuscript that same year at an abbey in Chester. Both inscriptions praise Humfrey, calling him 'beau' [dear] but also a high, powerful prince. Humfrey himself refers to Beauchamp as 'treschier' [dearest] and marks out Roos as his 'cousin' [kinsman]. Additionally, the inscriptions supplement each name with their social rank: 'duc', 'conte', 'baron' or 'chevalier' [knight]. In so doing, these notes socially situate both sender and receiver and highlight the dynamics behind the exchange. Most inscriptions name Humfrey first, underscoring the book's recipient; only the inscription describing his older and more powerful brother inverts the name of receiver and sender. These similarities emphasise the act of exchange and the importance, rank and closeness of the men involved.

The inscriptions deemphasise not only the text involved, but also the earlier sources of these manuscripts: most often continental sources encountered within the theatre of the Hundred Years War. These six inscriptions focus on the individual connections between Humfrey and another man and promote their particular social positions. However, Humfrey's other seven French books – those without these kind of descriptive inscriptions – were also gifts from Bedford, Beauchamp and Roos. Perhaps the seven manuscripts without long inscriptions were presented alongside those with descriptive notes, so that one inscription acknowledged a man's presentation of multiple items. Such a possibility, in which one inscription refers to several books, would further emphasise the act of exchange rather than the French book that changed hands. Humfrey's French books provide tangible affirmations of homosocial bonds.

A network of soldiers and books

Humfrey and his donors were neither the first nor last owners of these books. Acknowledging these manuscripts' other owners connects Humfrey to a larger community dominated by men who exchanged books in French as gifts, purchases and thefts.[27] Many of these men might be called 'soldiers', for they participated in or led armies, and maintained English conquests in France.[28] The successive ownership of each of Humfrey's French manuscripts – as far as can be reconstructed – is summarised in Table 12.1.

Humfrey's manuscripts had varied origins and moved between families, social classes and geographies. Books moved among male family members as gifts or inheritance, as the manuscript exchanged among the duke of Bedford, Humfrey and Henry VI attests. Other manuscripts followed disjointed paths. The copy of the *Histoire romaine* briefly left the French royal collection, but Charles VI's son returned it in 1409, before it was transported to England.[29] Along with his other manuscripts, Thomas Woodstock's copy of Froissart's poetry, a gift from the poet to the duke, was seized by Richard II, and Henry IV gained Richard's books.[30] Either king might have given Beauchamp the Froissart. Like Beauchamp, Cornwall might have gained the *Grandes chroniques* through his associations with Richard II, John of Gaunt, Henry IV or his wife Elizabeth of Lancaster. Alternatively, he might have acquired it through his military campaigns, as Jean II lost the manuscript after the Battle of Poitiers (1356). Stanley's *Bible historiale* belonged to Jeanne de Navarre, Henry IV's second wife and Humfrey's stepmother, who was still alive in 1427; Jeanne's goods were confiscated in 1420, and while she regained them in 1422, Humfrey and others extorted her remaining wealth.[31] It is possible that Stanley came by the manuscript dishonestly before he gave it to Humfrey, a fact obscured by its inscription.[32] Although Humfrey received them as gifts, the manuscripts also circulated as ransoms and commodities. These books, all 'second-hand', moved between men with existing relationships, whether of family, enmity or patronage.

Similarly, Humfrey's French books dispersed piecemeal. There is only one record that Humfrey himself gave a French book, a

Table 12.1 Circulation of Duke Humfrey's manuscripts

Manuscript no.	Owners before Humfrey	Owners in the century after Humfrey
KBR MS 9627–8, *Lancelot-Grail*	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford	'cest livre est a lestoneit', Philip the Good and successive dukes of Burgundy[i]
Stonyhurst MS 24, *Livre des seyntz medicines*	Arms of England, Henry of Lancaster?; Thomas Carew	'Wylliam Huse', perhaps Sir William Hussey (d. 1495), Lincolnshire knight and judge[ii]
CUL MS Ee.2.17, *De regimine principum* and *De re militari*, in French	Robert Roos bought in Paris?	'Strahgways J', perhaps Sir James Strangways (*c*.1410–80), Sir Giles Strangways of Dorset (1486–1546) or his son Sir Giles[iii]
BL Royal MS 16 G VI, *Grandes chroniques de France*	Jean II, John Cornwall[iv]	Henry VI; unknown person to Henry VIII
BL Royal MS 19 A XX, *Livre de l'informacion des princes*	Made by 'Stephanus fortis clericus' in 1395 in Paris; Robert Roos bought in Paris?	unknown source to 'Poyngz ion', perhaps John Poyntz (*c*.1485–1544), grandson of Anthony Woodville;[v] Henry VIII
BL Royal MS 19 C IV, *Songe du vergier*	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford	Henry VI, unknown person, Henry VIII
Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1729, *Legende dorée*	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford	'Ex dono D. Dorleans civis Parisiensis 1561'[vi]
BnF MS fr. 2, *Bible historiale*	Charles V, Jeanne de Navarre, taken by John Stanley for Humfrey?	Philip de Louans
BnF MS fr. 831, Jean Froissart's poems	Froissart, Thomas Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, Richard II?, Henry IV?, Richard Beauchamp[vii]	Unknown

BnF MS fr. 10153, Christine de Pizan, *Livres des faits et bonnes moeurs*	Philip the Bold, Jean sans Peur?, Charles VI, duke of Bedford	Philip the Good and successive dukes of Burgundy
BnF MS fr. 12421, Boccaccio, *Decameron*, trans. French	Beauchamp purchased in Paris?	Saladin d'Anglure, sire d'Étoges (d. 1499)[viii]
BnF MS fr. 12583, *Roman de Renart*	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford	Philip the Good and successive dukes of Burgundy
BSG MS 777, Livy, *Histoire romaine*, trans. French	Jean II or Charles V, Charles VI, Jean de Montaigu, duc de Guyenne, Charles VI (again), duke of Bedford	Philip the Good and successive dukes of Burgundy; or Alfonso V of Aragon

Notes

i   Brussels, KBR MS 9627–28, f. 1r.; 'lestoneit' is unidentifiable.

ii   Stonyhurst MS 24, f. 127v, signed 'Wylliam Huse. A luy cest liure partient'. See *Boardman Catalogue*, 25; Doe, 'Hussey, Sir William'.

iii   Briggs, *Reading and Writing Politics*, 67, identifies 'Straghways J' as Sir James Strangways, Speaker of the House of Commons 1461–62, sheriff of Yorkshire and ally of Edward IV. His grandson Sir Giles Strangeways, who owned a French Alexander manuscript, has also been offered. Dutschke, 'Truth in the Book', 299 n.73.

iv   McKendrick et al., *Royal Manuscripts*, cat. 136.

v   London, BL Royal MS 19 A XX, fols 1r, 152v, signed 'John Poyngz'. Hawkyard, 'Poyntz, Sir Robert'. Poyntz's brother Francis's name appears as 'Poyngz' in Thomas Berthelet's printing of *The Table of Cebes the Philosopher* in 1531(?), STC: 4890.5.

vi   Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1792, f. 1r. The 'Parisian citizen' implied by this inscription is unclear.

vii   Transmission suggested by Croenen et al., 'Patronage', 1–42.

viii   Branca, ed., *Boccaccio visualizzato*, 3.230–34; Bozzolo, *Manuscrits*, 107–8.

copy of Livy's *Histoire romaine*, to Alfonso V of Aragon in 1445; the manuscript might have been the one from Bedford or another copy.[33] Further manuscripts returned to the Continent. Philip de Louans bought the *Bible historiale* in London on 15 November 1461, adding an inscription below Humfrey's that describes his position as 'escuier d'escuirie de t*res*hault et puissant prince mons*igneur* le bon ducq Philipes par la grasse dieu ducq de Bourgo*n*gne de Brabant *et* c*etera*' [equerry of the equerry of the high and powerful prince, my lord the good duke Philip, by the grace of God the duke of Burgundy, Brabant, etc.].[34] Louans describes his situation through his relationship to Philip the Good and imitates Humfrey's earlier language of 'treshault *et* trespuissant prince'. At least three manuscripts entered the library of the dukes of Burgundy; these might have been bought in England or sent abroad as diplomatic gifts.[35] In 1441, a Burgundian illuminator was paid to replace the English arms and portraits 'du roy et de madame de Hollande' [the king and my lady of Holland] in a copy of Brunetto Latini's *Livre du trésor* with those of Philip and his wife.[36] This lost manuscript might represent another of Humfrey's books that passed into Burgundian hands.

Five manuscripts' later owners have no explicit connection to Humfrey: perhaps these men bought Humfrey's books in London as Louans did, attracted by Humfrey's former ownership. Yet other distant connections are suggestive. A knight named 'Saladin Denglure' served under William de la Pole in 1423, possibly the father of the knight who added his arms to Humfrey's *Decameron*.[37] De la Pole, favoured by Henry VI, could have received the manuscript after Humfrey's death and passed it to his former man-at-arms. 'John Poyngz' might be the same John who was grandson to Anthony Woodville and great-grandson to Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Humfrey's sister-in-law. Two more trickled down to Henry VIII. Although not every connection can be confirmed, each of Humfrey's thirteen French books has its own transmission history, connecting the duke to a network of book-owning men through time. Used for seeking and dispensing favour and other forms of exchange, Humfrey's French books transmit social bonds between men.

Visualising the connections between Humfrey and the other owners of his books as a network diagram (see) reveals an interconnected network of mostly men – and one woman – from

Figure 12.1 Network of givers and recipients of Duke Humfrey's French manuscripts

relatively minor knights to kings across Europe. Notably, the circulation is not unidirectional, with books crisscrossing the Channel and moving up and down the social hierarchy. Humfrey is one, shared locus for these books with diverse routes of circulation. However, many of the men linked to Humfrey's books exchanged French books with other men, expanding the Francophone network outwards and contextualising his thirteen manuscripts. Like those men involved in the circulation of Humfrey's manuscripts, these additional men also fought in the Hundred Years War. English soldiers exchanged books with their fellows and their family. For instance, Beauchamp gave John Shirley a copy of the Chandos Herald's *Life of the Black Prince*; Shirley served in the earl's retinue, and later acted as his secretary in England and France.[38] Bedford gifted Charles VI's book of Christine de Pizan's poems to Jacquetta and Charles's *Lancelot-Grail* to Richard Roos, Robert's younger brother; Richard then gave the book to Robert's daughter Eleanor.[39] In 1434, Bedford gave an eleven-volume French bible to Richard Sellyng, lieutenant of Calais castle, as surety for his indenture to the Crown. That bible, now destroyed, might have been part of a ransom payment for Charles d'Orléans, who shared some of his books with his English captors.[40] The residue of Bedford's 'grete librarie that cam owte of France' passed to Bedford's uncle Henry Beaufort, who sold, gifted or otherwise disseminated a handful of those books to Charles d'Orléans and Jean d'Angoulême, while they were prisoners in England, and to Philip the Good and Louis de Bruges.[41]

Other French manuscripts from the French royal collection were not part of Bedford's purchase but were dispersed earlier. In addition to his *Grandes chroniques* that passed to Humfrey, Jean II lost two of his manuscripts to English owners after the Battle of Poitiers: William Montagu, earl of Salisbury (1328–97) and important military commander, bought the French king's *Bible historiale* that was taken at the battle.[42] The other, a copy of the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, returned to Charles V, who gave it to Jean de Berry.[43] Charles V's inventory only notes that the manuscript was 'rachetés des Anglois' [ransomed from the English], leaving the means of its return obscure.[44] Yet Charles V sent his ostensible enemy Montagu a copy of the *Roman de la Rose* via the bishop of Rouen in 1380.[45] Like his father, Charles VI gave Jean de Berry a French manuscript, a

Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César made in Naples.[46] The French king also sent Richard II Philippe de Mézières's *Epistre au roi Richart* in 1395 to celebrate his marriage to Isabella.[47] Around the same time, Richard presented Philip the Bold with a *Chroniques de Saint Denis*.[48] Richard II, who might have given Beauchamp the manuscript of Froissart's poetry, received his own copy from Froissart and gave French books to John Beauchamp (d. 1388) and his *valet de chambre* John Rose.[49] He perhaps received eighteen French books from his grandfather Edward III, who in turn obtained them from his mother Isabella of France.[50] As noted, Richard gained Thomas Woodstock's many French books, some of which the duke may have gained while leading expeditions in the 1370s and 1380s in France. Among Woodstock's books was Brunetto Latini's *Livre du trésor* from William Montagu and a *Roman de la Rose* from the estate of Sir Richard Stury, Lollard knight and knight of the king's chamber.[51] Richard's remaining books, perhaps including some from Woodstock, passed to Henry IV, who left manuscripts to his son as well as a *Bible historiale* to the soldier, diplomat and Lollard knight Sir John Cheyne (d. 1414).[52] Like Humfrey's books, these French manuscripts cross the Channel and social classes.

These further exchanges, which encompass thefts, purchases and gifts, develop a growing network of book owners centred on Humfrey (see Figure 12.2). In this expanded network, built from the previous and subsequent owners of Humfrey's books, Humfrey is no longer the sole point of connection. Rather he participates in a larger network. The additional exchanges add new figures, like John Shirley and Richard Sellyng, whose major connections to the network are through their military positions. However, the expansion also reinforces connections between men already present in Humfrey's network. Notably, the network remains predominantly male, although diverse in its social and geographic reach.

This network of book owners exchanging French manuscripts can be expanded still further, at yet another level removed from Humfrey. In this third expansion, which builds on those new names and manuscripts added in the second expansion, the forms of exchange continue to occur mainly between men. For instance, Shirley gave Richard Caudray, a notary during peace negotiations and clerk in Normandy, a copy of Vegetius's *De re militari* in French.[53]
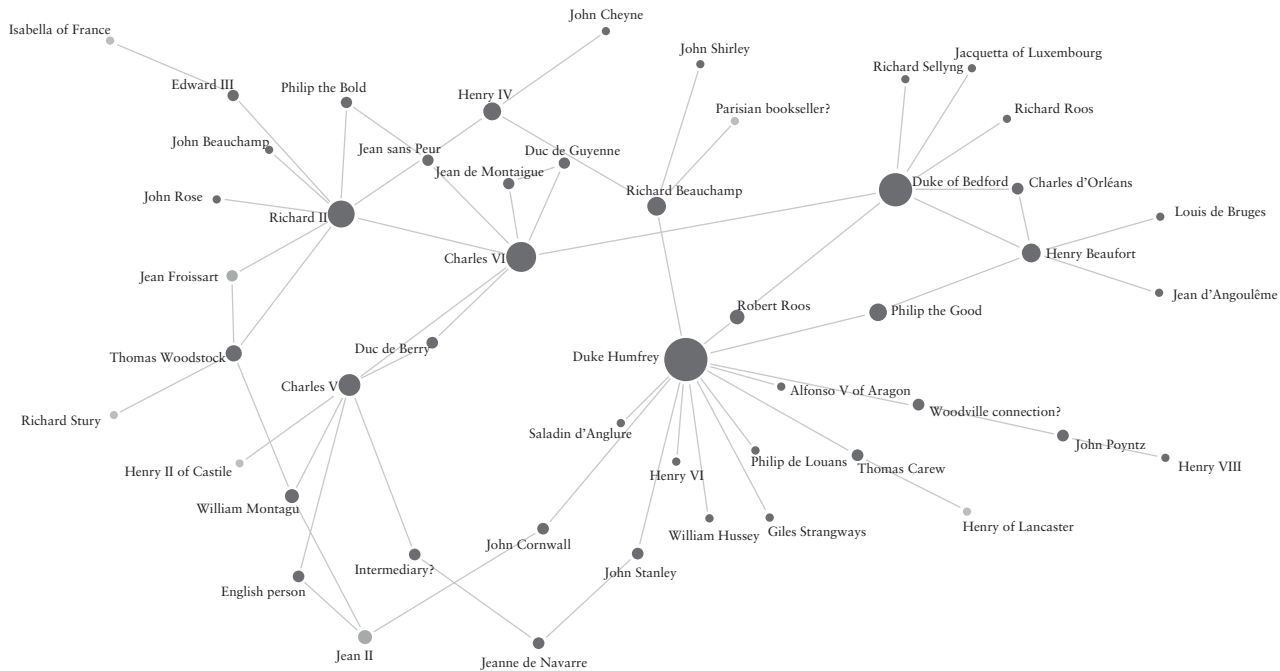
Figure 12.2 Network of givers and recipients of French books associated with the people who owned Duke Humfrey's manuscripts

On the occasion of their wedding in 1326, Philippa of Hainault gave Edward III a French manuscript, which passed to their son John of Gaunt, but was bought in 1396 by Jacques Jehan for Louis d'Orléans, who passed it to his son Charles.[54] Meanwhile, Jean de Berry gave Humfrey's other brother Thomas, duke of Clarence – who died at the Battle of Baugé (1421) – a copy of Guillaume de Machaut's poems as part of a ransom payment.[55] Jean de Berry also bought and commissioned manuscripts from Renault de Montet, a Parisian *libraire* who was arrested on charges of espionage for the English. De Montet sold manuscripts to Edward of Langley, who died at Agincourt, and to English ambassadors to France, including Bishop Richard Courtenay.[56] Charles de Beaumont, constable of Navarre and Jeanne de Navarre's chamberlain in England, wrote to Henry V to offer him a copy of *Guiron le courtois*.[57] Sir John Cheyne willed Henry IV's *Bible historiale* to his son Edward (d. 1415) and grandsons, although it fell out of the family's possession and was bought by Louis de Bruges.[58] How this *Bible historiale* initially arrived in England is unclear.[59] Other French books circulated among soldiers, kings and continental women who married English men. Adding these exchanges – by people no longer connected to Humfrey's books – to the network centred on Humfrey incorporates new figures, but also develops further interconnections among men already included in the network (see Figure 12.3). Some of the new figures, like the Duke of Clarence, Henry V and Louis d'Orléans, came from families already represented. These additional exchanges maintain the movement of French books back and forth across the Channel as well as between men of various ranks of society and military importance. In this way, Humfrey appears as an important node within a wide-reaching network of book owners that stretches across the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Other extant manuscripts and records of gifts and purchases could expand this network in an increasingly convoluted assemblage of names. However, the three versions of the network illustrate several important characteristics. First, men who played some military role in the Hundred Years War dominate. While the French and English kings, their brothers and their sons provide the structural basis for the network – excluding this group from either 'senders' or 'receivers' results in a fragmented series of exchanges – other men,

Figure 12.3 Network of givers and recipients of French books associated with other owners of French books

from John Shirley to William Montagu, would have gained entry to the network through their military service. Serving in France created conditions to obtain wealth, favour and access to French manuscripts. Second, most men within the network both 'received' and 'sent' books, so that many names have multiple points of connection. Third, the French books exchanged vary widely, including French humanism, romances, chronicles, devotional works and contemporary poetry. There appears no concerted effort to circulate any one type of text, although these French books seem suited to private reading and education rather than liturgical or scholarly purposes, as books in Latin would be. Instead, French might underpin the transnational nature of these exchanges, as it was familiar to English, French, Burgundian and other European audiences. The Francophone networks make clear the existence of a widespread, interconnected, international French book exchange among men of different societal positions and some women during and after the war.

Excluding the books in English and Latin that might augment the network – and which were exchanged among some of these same men – highlights a distinct association among the circulation of books in French, men and military roles that might otherwise be obscured.[60] Further, in contrast to Humfrey's and Henry V's Latin books, these French manuscripts did not enter the libraries of universities or religious foundations. Rather, they remained in personal collections, available for continued circulation among men. This network develops a distinct picture not only of Humfrey's book ownership – one which links him to military men at home and abroad rather the Italian humanists with whom he is also closely allied – but also of English ownership of French books in general. Here, interest in French is not isolated, expressed through individual commissions, nor unidirectional from France to England. Rather, the circuits of movement back and forth across the Channel demonstrate a shared, longstanding, transnational desire for French.

These books in French moved not just incidentally alongside these men during their business of war, but as part of the practice of the war itself, which included ransoming and peacemaking. Even the eleven-volume French bible that Bedford gave to Richard Sellyng served as surety for his soldiers' unpaid wages. The different

forms of exchange that created this network – gifts to gain and dispense favour, as well as purchases and ransoms – develop connections beyond family ties. Some exchanges, especially those that were gifts, might have been an attempt to affirm or cultivate a relationship, while others, like plunder, demonstrate military strength. These men, on both sides of the Channel, were employers, subjects, friends, family, allies, enemies and customers. While the network is male-dominated, it is not patrilinear; instead, it represents a kind of homosocial assembly that cuts across family lines. But the network, as far as it can be reconstructed, is riddled with ruptures and dead ends. The names of owners of a book might be untraceable for a generation or two, like the *Histoire ancienne* that originated in Naples and passed between six continental book owners, before reappearing a century later in Henry VIII's library.[61] Gaps emphasise individual moments of exchange between men. Lost to history, unrecorded circulation underscores the names of known owners and how they are linked to one another.

The network only incorporates figures for whom there is some evidence of ownership *and* exchange, such as an annotation, documentary reference or heraldic imagery. French manuscripts with a single established English owner are excluded. Certain figures who owned or gifted French books, like John Talbot and John Fastolf, cannot be directly connected to the individuals within the network.[62] Perhaps the manuscripts furnishing such links were destroyed, unrecognised or nonexistent. The incomplete evidence of circulation that underlies the network diagrams betrays a tendency to record and preserve certain types of provenance.

Such partiality might explain how few women appear within the network. Those included were continental queens, daughters of kings or wives of soldiers. Further women may be elided in recorded circulation. The largest number of women appear in the third expansion of the network, at the greatest distance from Humfrey's inner circle. Women were, of course, important readers and owners of French books, and gifted each other French books.[63] Reliance on written provenance in building a network of circulation emphasises certain owners even though the actual readers of these manuscripts might differ.[64] The *Lancelot-Grail* owned by Richard Roos proves exceptional: Eleanor Haute gave it to Elizabeth Woodville, wife of

Edward IV, who shared it with her daughters Elizabeth and Cecily and sister-in-law Jane.[65] Henry VII later seized a French apocalypse from Cecily, his aunt; the manuscript formerly belonged to her husband John Welles and his father Lionel, both soldiers.[66] The short line of female owners exchanging a French book among themselves ends with books returning to men.

The tendency of only some types of exchange to be recorded clarifies the significance of exchanging French books within this network. Most manuscripts lack inscriptions like those in Duke Humfrey's manuscripts that provide a specific interpretation of the exchange. Yet those manuscripts with inscriptions parrot the central concerns found in Humfrey's books. The *Bible historiale* owned by Jean II, Montagu, and Montagu's wife Elizabeth contains the note:

> Cest liure fust pris oue le Roy de ffraunce a la bataille de peyters et le bon counte de saresbirs William montagu la achata pur cent mars et le dona a sa compaigne Elizabeth la bone countesse qe dieux assoile et est continus dedeins le Bible ent*ier* oue tixt et glose le mestre de histoires et incident tout en memes le volym. la quele lyure la dite countesse assigna aces executours de le uendre pur xl. liuers.[67]

> [This book was taken from the King of France at the Battle of Poitiers and the good duke of Salisbury, William Montagu, bought it for 100 marcs and gave it to his wife Elizabeth, the good countess, God absolve her. And it contains the whole bible with text and gloss, the Master of histories [i.e. Peter Comestor] and event[s?], all in the same volume. The said countess directed her executors to sell the book for 40 pounds.]

Because the inscription mentions Elizabeth's executors, it must postdate her death in 1415 and refer to events of sixty years earlier. It retrospectively establishes a direct line from Jean to Montague to Elizabeth. But, if the book 'fust pris' [was taken] at Poitiers as ransom, then Montagu would not have bought it from Jean. Instead, it seems possible that Montagu bought it from someone else at some point after the battle. By framing the manuscript's transmission in this way, and possibly eliding an intermediary owner, the inscription connects Montagu and Elizabeth to the captured French king

Table 12.2 Summary of manuscripts and owners

Manuscript	Known owners
BL Harley MS 4431	Isabel of Bavaria, duke of Bedford, Jacquetta of Luxembourg, Anthony Woodville
BL Royal MS 14 E III	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Richard Roos, Eleanor Haute, Elizabeth Woodville, Elizabeth of York and Cecily of York
BL Royal MS 15 D II	Lionel Welles, John Welles, Cecily of York, Henry VII
BL Royal MS 19 A XXII	Richard Woodville, Henry VII
BL Royal MS 19 B XIII	Richard Stury, Thomas Woodstock, Richard II
BL Royal MS 19 D II	Jean II, William Montagu, Elizabeth Montagu
BL Royal MS 20 C VII	Renault de Montet, Edward of Langley, Richard of York, Richard III, Henry VII
BL Royal MS 20 D I	Robert d'Anjou, Jeanne d'Anjou, Peter the Cruel, Henry of Castile, Charles V, Charles VI, Jean de Berry, Henry VIII
BL Royal MS 20 B VI	Charles VI, Richard II
Sir John Soane Museum MS 1	Louis de Bruges, Edward IV
University College London MS 1	Richard Beauchamp, John Shirley
BodL MS Douce 319	William Montagu, Thomas Woodstock, Richard II
BnF MS fr. 156	Isabella of France, Joan of Scotland, Richard II, Henry IV, John Cheyne, Edward Cheyne, John Cheyne, Louis de Bruges
BnF MS fr. 403	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Henry Beaufort, Louis de Bruges
BnF MS fr. 437	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Henry Beaufort, Jean d'Angoulême
BnF MS fr. 542	Jean de Montaigu, duc de Guyenne, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Henry Beaufort, Charles d'Orléans, Jean d'Angoulême

Table 12.2 (continued)

Manuscript	Known owners
BnF MS fr. 571	Philippa of Hainault, Edward III, John of Gaunt, Louis d'Orléans, Charles d'Orléans
BnF MS fr. 1589	Jean II, Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Henry Beaufort, Louis de Bruges
BnF MS fr. 1792	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Henry Beaufort, Charles d'Orléans
BnF MS fr. 9221	Jean de Berry, Thomas duke of Clarence
BnF MS NAF 24541	Jean II, English person, Charles V, Jean de Berry
BnF MS NAF 28876	Jean de Berry, Guillaume of Bavaria
Eleven-volume bible	Charles d'Orléans, duke of Bedford, Richard Sellyng
Great library that came out of France	Charles V, Charles VI, duke of Bedford, Henry Beaufort, Charles d'Orléans, Jean d'Angoulême, Philip the Good, Louis de Bruges
Roman de la Rose	Charles V, William Montagu
A Book of Love	Froissart, Richard II
18 French Books	Isabella of France, Edward III, Richard II
11 French Books	Richard II, John Beauchamp
3 French Books	Richard II, John Rose
Chronique de St. Denis	Richard II, Philip the Bold
Histoire ancienne jusqu'a César and *Lancelot*	Renault de Montet, Jean de Berry
Tristan, *Ovid*, *Froissart*	Renault de Montet, Richard Courtenay
Guiron le courtois	Charles de Beaumont, Henry V
Jerusalem	Joan Beaufort, Henry V
Tristram	Thomas Beaufort, Joan Beaufort
'Machaut' and *Lancelot*	Isabella of Castile duchess of York, Edward of Langley
Vices et vertuz (i.e. *La Somme le roi*)	Isabella of Castile duchess of York, Lewis Clifford
Lancelot and 'Sang real' (for *Saint graal*)	Isabella of France, John of Paris, Jean II

and the famous French defeat. Inscriptions like this one emphasise individual exchanges of French books as links between men. As a 'genre of writing about books' *and* 'of life-writing', records of French book circulation in this group develop a specific connection between owners and book.[68] While the exchange of manuscripts in French can build a picture of interconnected book owners through multiple generations, inscriptions imply a greater interest in the localised, individual moments of connection rather than the shape of the larger network.

French books that circulated in England during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are often seen 'as the spoils of war … substantive trophies and memorials of victory and also potential vehicles of cultural appropriation'.[69] Yet, looking at the manuscripts individually and collectively shows that the movement of these books occurs among a range of men of different social positions and loyalties, so that they transmit a variety of relationships between men, during and after the war. The lack of women included in the network of exchange might be a purposeful reorienting of records to emphasise men's relationships to each other. Moreover, as Duke Humfrey's book inscriptions demonstrate, the men involved in this extensive Francophone network of book owners paid little attention to it. Instead, they concentrated on the specific connections between men enacted by the transfer of a book, whether as gift, ransom or purchase, in French. The exchange of French manuscripts not only happens mostly among men, but it also – and more importantly – prioritises one man's connection to another man. French cuts across national boundaries and allyships to cultivate a cross-Channel community formed through a network of books and readers.

Notes

1 Cambridge, CUL MS Ee.2.17, fol. 36v.
2 Seaton, *Sir Richard Roos*, 42–9; *Journal*, ed. Nicolas, lxix–lxxi. Robert (*c*.1409–48), Richard and their brothers William, Thomas and John appear in the will of their father William, Baron Ros of Helmsley. Chichele, *Register of Henry Chichele*, ed. Jacob, vol. 2, 25. 'Roos' could possibly be Robert's uncle Sir Robert Roos of Gedney (d.1441),

who served under Humfrey in France in 1415 and 1417. See National Archives, E101/45/13, m2 and E101/51/2, m1 in Bell et al., *Soldier in Later Medieval England*.

3 Stratford, 'Early Royal Collections', 264; Harriss, 'Henry V's Books'.

4 Stratford, 'Manuscripts', 339–40; Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, 91–6.

5 London, BL Royal MS 15 E VI. Taylor, 'French Self-Presentation'; Reynolds, 'English Patrons'.

6 For example, Oxford, Magdalen College MS 41, bought by Elizabeth de Vere during a trip to France, or Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, MS fr. 166, commissioned by Richard Neville in 1464. Wogan-Browne, 'Parchment and Pure Flesh'; Boffey, 'Books and Readers in Calais', 67–74; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 297–300; Visser-Fuchs, '*Enseignement de vraie noblesse*'.

7 Paris, BnF MS lat. 3757; BnF MS ang. 39; BnF MS fr. 9687. Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 156, 160, 182; Reider, 'Toward a Book History', 103–5, 109–11.

8 Studies of individual authors, owners and manuscripts include: Middleton, 'Manuscripts of the *Lancelot-Grail*', 219–35; Busby, *Codex and Context*, 637–766; Boffey, 'Early Reception of Chartier's Work', 105–16; Watson, 'Women, Reading, and Literary Culture'. Other studies are referenced below.

9 While late medieval people circulated older Insular French and used it in professions like law, certain types of texts, especially literary ones, were less frequently composed in French than in earlier centuries. However, the production of certain French-language materials, like pedagogical texts, increased. See Hanna, *London Literature*, 222–42; Wogan-Browne, '"Invisible Archives?"', 653–73.

10 See especially Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*; Wogan-Browne et al. (eds), *Language and Culture*.

11 Rundle, 'Respect for the Dead', 106–24; Petrina, *Cultural Politics*, 224–58; de la Mare and Hunt, *Duke Humfrey*; Thomson with Clark, *University and College Libraries*, 3–6, 8–58.

12 On Humfrey, see Vickers, *Humphrey*; Harriss, 'Humphrey, duke of Gloucester'.

13 Ullman, 'Manuscripts of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester', 345–56; Sammut, *Unfredo*, 98–132; Rundle, 'Good Duke Humfrey', 46–50. I exclude several manuscripts: Reims, Bibliothèque municipale MS 570, a *La Somme le roi*, belonged to Thomas, duke of Gloucester, not Humfrey. See Stratford, 'Manuscripts of Thomas of Woodstock', 268–82. Oxford, BodL MS Bodley 294, containing Gower's *Traitié selonc les auctours pour essampler les amantz marietz*, is multilingual,

not French. BnF MS NAF 28876, a *Chroniques de France*, owned by Thomas Wriothesley, might have arrived in England as a gift to Humfrey from his father-in-law Guillaume de Bavière or his wife Jacqueline of Hainault. Jean de Berry gave it to Guillaume. Humfrey's name appears nowhere. See Calma and Lebigue, 'NAF 28876'. BL Royal MS 15 D III's allusion to 'lady Powys' could refer to several women, including Humfrey's daughter Antigone.

14 Brussels, KBR MS 9627–8; Paris, BSG MS 777; BnF MS fr. 12583; Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 1729; BL Royal MS 19 C IV; BnF MS fr. 10153 were all part of the Louvre Library, and probably passed to Humfrey through Bedford.

15 BnF MS fr. 831; BnF MS fr. 12421.

16 CUL MS Ee.2.17; BL Royal MS 19 A XX.

17 BnF MS fr. 2; Clitheroe, Stonyhurst College MS 24. On Carew, who bears the courtesy title 'Baron', see Curry, 'Carew, Sir Thomas'; Rawcliffe, 'Stanley, John'.

18 BL Royal MS 16 G VI, fol. 445r. Payling, 'Cornewall, John'. Cornwall has sometimes been misidentified as John Chandos of Faunhope, but Cornwall – who married Elizabeth of Lancaster and served in France – seems the better identification. See Rundle, 'Respect for the Dead', 110, 120 n. 22.

19 BSG MS 777, fol. 433v and BnF MS fr. 2, fol. 511r date their exchange to 1427. BL Royal MS 16 G VI, fol. 445r, refers to Cornwall's executors, so Humfrey must have gained it after Cornwall's death in 1443.

20 Buettner, 'Past Presents', 598, 602; Green, *Poets and Princepleasers*, 59–65; McGrady, *Writer's Gift*, 14–23, 192–6. On gifts, see Mauss, *Gift*, esp. 83–106; Bourdieu, 'Marginalia', 231–40; Davis, 'Beyond the Market', 69–88; Adams, 'Anne de France and Gift-Giving', 65–83.

21 Buettner, 'Past Presents', 614.

22 Petrina, *Cultural Politics*, 180–92; Rundle, 'Respect for the Dead', 109–10.

23 Henri de Gauchi, *Livres du gouvernement*, 62–5; Evrart de Tremaugon, *Songe du vergier*, 2.123.

24 Rawcliffe mentions this gift but does not say what it was or where it is recorded. I have been unable to discover any more about it.

25 E.g. BnF MS fr. 10153, fol. 107r (erased). Rundle, 'Good Duke Humfrey', 46–50, classifies inscriptions as either 'short ex libris' or 'long ex libris'.

26 Sawyer, *Reading English Verse*, 5–6.

27 On plunder, see Saul, *Chivalry*, 121–3, 131.

28 Curry, 'English Armies', 40–8; Saul, *Chivalry*, 115–20, 133.

29 Delisle, *Recherches*, 1.283, 2.161, no. 981; Doutrepont, *Littérature française*, 127 n. 1.

30 Dillon and St. John, 'Inventory of the Goods', 300–3, prints Woodstock's book list. Henry IV re-gifted Richard's manuscripts, implying that Richard's books passed to his usurper. Krochalis, 'Books and Reading of Henry V', 50–77; Doyle, 'Old Royal Library', 68.

31 Jones, 'Entre la France et l'Angleterre', 66–9.

32 McKendrick, 'European Heritage', 47. BnF MS fr. 2, fol. 465v has the blind signature 'La R. Jahanne. Tout dyz bien', which must be Jeanne de Navarre. The identity 'M Aroundell', whose name appears on the same folio, is uncertain and need not signify an owner.

33 Petrina, *Cultural Politics*, 165 n. 34; Sammut, *Unfredo*, 215–16; Saygin, *Humphrey*, 120–9, interprets this gift as politically disastrous for Humfrey.

34 BnF MS fr. 2, fol. 511r.

35 BnF MS fr. 12583; KBR MS 9627–8; BnF MS fr. 10153. Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 230, adds BSG MS 777 to this list.

36 Wijsman, *Luxury Bound*, 231. This book may have belonged to Jacqueline of Hainault, deserted by Humfrey in 1425, rather than the duke.

37 BnF MS Clairambault 100, no. 95–7, Bell et al. (eds), 'Soldier in Later Medieval England'.

38 London, University College London MS 1; Connolly, *John Shirley*, 19–22, 106–7.

39 BL Harley MS 4431, fols 1r, 51v, 52v, 115v; BL Royal MS 14 E III, fols 2v, 162r; Seaton, *Sir Richard Roos*, 547–8, prints Roos's will.

40 Stratford, 'Manuscripts', 334–5; Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, 91–3, 212–14; Askins, 'Brothers Orléans', 27–45.

41 E.g. BnF MS fr. 437 (Jean); BnF MS fr. 542 (Charles); BnF MS fr. 1792 (Charles). Stratford, 'Manuscripts', 340–1; Stratford, *Bedford Inventories*, 96; Ouy, *Librarie*, 35–71; Reider, 'Apparatus', 61–9. Because Beaufort died in 1447, he probably did not give books directly to Louis de Bruges (1427–92), who was too young at the time. Yet de Bruges bought books in England that originated in Charles V's library, including BnF MSS fr. 403 and fr. 1589. Laffitte, 'Les Manuscrits', 246–7. Many of Louis's books (re)entered the French royal library in the reign of François I. He added his motto to BL Harley MS 4431, fol. 1r, but likely did not own it.

42 BL Royal MS 19 D II, fol. i v. Montagu was a commander at Poitiers.

43 BnF MS NAF 24541, fol. 243v. de Becdelièvre, 'NAF 24541'.

44 Delisle, *Recherches*, 2.156, no. 948.

45 Delisle, *Recherches*, 2.192, no. 1183. The manuscript is either unidentified or destroyed.

46 BL Royal MS 20 D I. Gaunt, 'Philology', 28–9; McKendrick et al., *Royal Manuscripts*, cat. 135; Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 293–5.

47 BL Royal MS 20 B VI.

48 Hughes, 'Library of Philip the Bold', 185, no. 6.

49 Croenen, 'Reception', 410–14; Rickert, 'King Richard II's Books', 144–7; Green, 'King Richard II's Books Revisited', 235–9.

50 Cavanaugh, 'Royal Books', 309–14.

51 Oxford, BodL MS Douce 319, fol. 222v, inscription visible under UV light. BL Royal MS 19 B XIII, fol. 2r. The manuscripts both appear in his inventory. Dillon and St. John, 'Inventory of the Goods', 300.

52 BnF MS fr. 156, fols 3v, 282r; McKendrick, 'European Heritage', 48; McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings*, 168–71, 180–1.

53 Nall, *Reading and War*, 15; Connolly, *John Shirley*, 107, 109, 112; Sobecki, *Last Words*, 107–9.

54 BnF MS fr. 571. The manuscript contains the duke of Lancaster's arms, most likely John of Gaunt's rather than Henry de Grosmont's. See Sandler, *Gothic Manuscripts*, 103–5; Michael, 'Manuscript Wedding Gift', 582–99; Avril and Stirnemann, *Manuscrits enluminés*, 152. Jacques Jehan bought a *Roman de la Rose*, Jean de Meun's *Testament* and the *Livre des eschez moralisé* along with MS fr. 571. Louis, writing to Jean le Flament to pay Jehan, does not specify where Jehan made his purchases for the duke, but he possibly did so in England. de Lincy, *Bibliothèque*, 36.

55 BnF MS fr. 9221; Guiffrey, *Inventaires*, 1.226–7, no. 860; Mattison, 'Where is Chaucer's Machaut?'

56 Rouse and Rouse, *Manuscripts and their Makers*, 287–98.

57 Letter from Charles to Henry, April 1419, Rymer, *Foedera*, 9.742; Jones, 'Entre la France et l'Angleterre', 66.

58 BnF MS fr. 156, fols 3v, 282rv, contains Cheyne's name and bequest; Cavanaugh, 'Study of Books', 184, prints Edward's will. On fol. 1v, Louis de Bruges's arms are visible beneath those of France on the recto.

59 McKendrick, 'European Heritage', 48, suggests Isabella of France brought it to England, and that it passed to Richard II and Henry IV. Patterson, 'Stolen Scriptures', 165, suggests Jeanne de Bourgogne owned it before it was taken by the Clare family to England.

60 E.g., Henry V left Henry VI the books from Meaux (Stratford, 'Early Royal Collections', 264), and Henry Beaufort borrowed two Latin

books from the king's treasury in 1426 (Cavanaugh, 'Study of Books', 81). Charles VI gave a breviary, BnF MS lat. 10483, to Richard II, which Henry IV gave to Jean de Berry.

61 BL Royal MS 20 D I; McKendrick et al., *Royal Manuscripts*, cat. 135.
62 He commissioned his two surviving French manuscripts, BodL MSS Bodley 179 and Laud Misc. 570, in England. See Beadle, 'Sir John Fastolf's French Books', 96–112.
63 For example, Meale, '…alle the bokes'; Bell, 'Medieval Women'.
64 See Strakhov and Watson, 'Behind Every Man(uscript)', 151–80.
65 BL Royal MS 14 E III, fols 1r, 162r. Lyons, 'Woodville Women', proposes that Humfrey gave Richard the manuscript, but there is no evidence for this exchange.
66 BL Royal MS 15 D II; McKendrick et al., *Royal Manuscripts*, cat. 87.
67 BL Royal MS 19 D II, f. i v; McKendrick et al., *Royal Manuscripts*, cat. 137.
68 Wakelin, '"Thy ys my boke"', 13, 30.
69 McKendrick, 'European Heritage', 51. Cf. Taylor, 'French Self-Presentation', 452.

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