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Ph.D. Thesis Submission
University of Glasgow
Department of History
May 2004

*The Cent nouvelles nouvelles, Text and Context:
Literature and history at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century.*



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ABSTRACT:

***The Cent nouvelles nouvelles, Text and Context:
Literature and history at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century.***

The following study of history through literature uses a French text composed by and for the court of Burgundy in the mid fifteenth century: the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. It demonstrates that philological interpretation of the text has floundered when it has ignored the historical context in which the work was composed. Alongside this critique, the thesis comes to the positive conclusion that it is valuable to restore an appreciation of the benefits of historical scholarship to the discipline of philology.

In the first chapter, the case is made for reclaiming the text as a historical document on the basis of its context. Recent studies, which have insisted that the historical context of the work is unimportant, are examined critically, to establish the need for a historical reappraisal of the text, beginning where the pioneer *archiviste-palaeographe* Pierre Champion left off.

In the second chapter, we see that both the traditional and more recent assumptions about the text, its authorship, date, and place in the canon of western European literature have to be reassessed. Through close study of manuscript and printed text, the textual tradition is asserted, and the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is restored to its historical milieu. Antecedents and analogue texts are examined in the context of the moral vision of the work as one which is similar to the *Decameron's*, though it involves an unrecorded deliberative process, which allows it to be considered as more of an aesthetic unity than philologists have recognised. The question of the *Nouvelles'* relationship to the contemporary literary context is examined in detail, particularly through an analysis of the issues of fashions in literary style, and the interplay of courtly with popular culture. This section is partly based on archival work.

The third chapter, which is heavily based on chronicles and unpublished archival material, moves from the world to the text, to consider the men who made the text, and for whom the text was made. The immediate political context in which the work was conceived is shown to have a bearing on its form, and the raconteurs are replaced in their courtly milieu. We see that they were the closest to the duke, serving him in his household, his political network, his armies, his ideological aspirations, and his diplomacy. The network of sociability which underpinned the text made the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* what it is: a Burgundian work from a particular time and place. Lastly, this chapter considers the raconteurs' contributions to the collection as extensions of their personalities, and as extensions of their careers of service, giving two particular examples in detail.



The fourth chapter moves from the text to the world using the literature to throw light on the circumstances under which it was created. A sequence of individual stories (*Nouvelles* 2, 19, 53, 60, 63, 78, 83) are examined in their historical context, and explained in terms of the meaning they had when they were first recounted. The raconteurs' historical backgrounds, established in the previous chapter, prove invaluable in unlocking the particular significance of motifs, plots and jokes in the stories. We also see that philological appraisals which lack historical awareness are unable to appreciate the texts on their own terms. *Nouvelles* which have a basis in historical fact are considered alongside those which form part of a longstanding textual tradition. Both sorts of texts are shown to have a Burgundian specificity – a historical accent.

The fifth chapter argues, on the basis of what has preceded it, that the method of restoring literary texts to a historical milieu is universal, even though not all texts may be as susceptible to such detailed analysis which was brought to bear on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. It is contended that the evidential value of literature as historical document is more specific than it is general. Moreover, it is vital to ascertain what the literary text is most informative about, as well as what its limitations are as historical evidence. We see how postmodern ideas have taken root in philological theory. Cutting against postmodern theories about textuality and evidence, which have insisted that the historical context of the work is not merely *unimportant* but that it is *irrelevant* and *unascertainable*, the conclusion argues for a return to the practice of setting texts in context.

Appendix 1 deals with the codicology of MS *Hunter* 252, and compares the Vérard text.

Appendix 2 presents transcriptions of *Nouvelle* 63 from the manuscript, and two early printed versions.

Appendix 3 demonstrates Vérard's reuse of the woodcuts with which he decorated the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* and emphasises that the commercial nature of his business impacted on aesthetic concerns.

Appendix 4 deals with the question of the raconteurs that are difficult to identify, particularly the lords of Beauvoir and Villiers, and Caron.

ABBREVIATIONS, NOTES, ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

<u>Abbreviation</u>	<u>Long Form</u>
ACO	<i>Archives de la Côte d'Or, Dijon</i>
ADB	<i>Archives de Doubs, Besançon</i>
ADN	<i>Archives Départementales du Nord, Lille</i>
AET	<i>Archives de l'Etat, Tournai</i>
AGR	<i>Archives Générales du Royaume, Brussels (also known as: Algemeen Rijksarchief, Brussels)</i>
AM Dijon	<i>Archives Municipaux, Dijon</i>
AM Douai	<i>Archives Municipaux, Douai</i>
AM Lille	<i>Archives Municipaux, Lille</i>
AM Lyon	<i>Archives Municipaux, Lyon</i>
Arch. Nat.	<i>French National Archives, Paris (Archives nationales françaises)</i>
ASL	<i>Archives de Saône et Loire, Mâcon</i>
BL	<i>British Library, London</i>
BM Courtrai	<i>Bibliothèque Municipale, Courtrai</i>
BM Dijon	<i>Bibliothèque Municipale, Dijon</i>
BM Lille	<i>Bibliothèque Municipale, Lille</i>
BM Lyon	<i>Bibliothèque Municipale, Lyon</i>
BM Rheims	<i>Bibliothèque Municipale, Rheims</i>
BM Valenciennes	<i>Bibliothèque Municipale, Valenciennes</i>
BN	<i>Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris</i>
BR Brussels	<i>Bibliothèque Royale, Brussels</i>
Copenhagen KB	<i>Det Kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen</i>
KB The Hague	<i>Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague</i>
MBN	<i>Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional</i>
PRO	<i>Public Record Office, London</i>
RB	<i>Rijksarchief, Bruges</i>
RG	<i>Rijksarchief, Ghent</i>

- All dates are given new style, except when quoted in documents. Note that fifteenth-century years were reckoned to begin at Easter.
- All sums of money are given as notional money of account, of 40 *gros* money of Flanders except when the sum is quoted in documents.
- All journal titles are underlined, and the volume numbers of journals are only given where libraries store journal issues separately. Journal dates are given.
- The titles of edited books from which articles come are not underlined, to distinguish them from journals.
- In each chapter, the first time a work is cited its title is given in full, and thereafter it is abbreviated. The bibliography contains references to the most commonly cited works, and abbreviated titles.
- The names of raconteurs have been underlined. The names of people mentioned in the text who were not raconteurs have been *underlined and italicised*. (Note that some raconteurs' names are underlined and italicised when they appear in quotes from documents.)

Of making many books there is no end, and much study wearies the body. My thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr Graeme Small, who always goes above and beyond the call of duty. And, of course, I am thankful to God for a wife, a family, and a church who thole and help me more cheerfully than I deserve.

—oO^oOo—

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Chapter One, WHY STUDY THE CENT NOUVELLES NOUVELLES ?

Introduction: overview of thesis contents.

Why The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is Primarily a Historical Document.

It would generate a huge amount of interest if a sitting prime minister were to have his cabinet produce a collection of racy short stories. If such tales were contributed verbally and given to a civil servant to write-up, few political commentators would resist reading such a book, or assume it had little relevance to their vocation. Hoping to learn something normally inaccessible about political people, they would study it carefully. The highest profile contributors would excite most general interest and comment, though junior ministers' tales would also fall under the spotlight. Analysts would try to deduce the social dynamics of the group from the book. Sections of it would seem indirectly relevant to the politics and policies of the government. Historians and political pundits as well as philologists would gauge the significance of the work, taking it for granted that a non-political text would shed new light on politics, and politicians. In other words, such a book would be extraordinary, and worthy of consideration, primarily as a historical document. To appreciate it, some fundamental things would be established: When was it written? Where was it composed? What else do we know about the people who took part? The answers to these questions would lead to the most important issue, that of why it was written, and what it represents in the broader scheme of history.

The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is a book containing one hundred racy and exciting short stories produced by and for the court of Burgundy in the mid

fifteenth century. To avoid confusion, we need not go into specifics about the text's production at this introductory stage of the thesis because, as will become clear, many of the fundamental issues are highly contentious. Even after a hundred years and more of philological discussion, the issues require in-depth analysis in themselves. For instance, there is no general agreement about the essential critical questions of authorship, date, the place the text was generated, manuscript transmission and the value of incunable editions so all these issues are dealt with in detail in the second chapter. At this stage, it is enough to give some flavour of what the tale collection consists of. It is fair to observe that their subject matter is extremely varied. Besides the tales of lascivious nuns and priests – the familiar characters of medieval literature – there are stories about adultery, attempted rape, blasphemy, castration, devils, gluttony, murder, revenge, suicide, theft, and trickery. The narrated events – some of which were real, and some imaginary – took place throughout Europe and into Africa. The man who redacted the work (a servant of Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy) was clearly pleased by its cosmopolitan feel, to which he drew particular attention in a letter of dedication to the duke¹. As we shall see in the second and third chapters of this thesis, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was produced by the court of Burgundy during a tense period of its history. Consideration of its specific time and place in history should impact on the philological discussion of its setting within the canon of literature, its aesthetic qualities, and its importance as historical evidence of the spirit of Burgundian court life and literature in the mid fifteenth century. In other words, to understand the book is to anchor it in its historical context.

¹ The issue of redaction and the letter of dedication are covered in detail in chapter two.

To discern the processes involved in generating a literary work, and to understand the collection itself, is achieved (from a historical point of view) by studying the lives of the men who contributed to it, around the time when they were engaged in that activity. The opposite also holds true – to understand the men who produced the text, is to read it for clues.

Very few documents survive which are directly and primarily concerned with the compilation of the text. These precious extant references are considered in detail in chapter two, along with the stories on which the raconteurs drew when they composed their versions of the tales.

The third chapter of the thesis moves away from the internal evidence, to analyse the lives of the men who created the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The aim is to understand the men who generated the book *as* men who produced a text. Chapter three investigates the extent to which external information about the raconteurs' lives reveal the historical significance of the work. The documents under consideration have been selected because they expose the activities of the more important raconteurs in the period immediately before and after they narrated their stories. (Broader contextual issues are also discussed with reference to documents dealing with more removed periods, when relevant.)

Because these documents concern the political men who told the *contes*, they are indirectly about the generation of the text. Contextual study tackles the problem of the tangential nature of the source material by layering evidence of the literary and social foreground, to locate the immediate

historical sense of the story-collection within the political court of Burgundy in the late 1450s². This part of the thesis is therefore also an examination of the political climate in which the raconteurs lived. In particular, it relates to the court culture and the literary traditions in which they participated. The specific goal is to understand the social significance of group-generated literature at the court of Burgundy in the 1450s, from the points of view of the men who produced literature.

The central argument of the thesis, therefore, concerns the historical meanings of the composition of a book which can be approached both from within the text itself and from outwith the text. Unusually for a study connected with literature, the analyses of the context which the documents create are left to speak for themselves, because such an approach best reflects the reality of the organic courtly world in which the text was created. This, I argue, is the best way to appreciate what may be summed-up as the *social logic of the text*³. On the other hand, in the penultimate section of the thesis, studies of the nouvelles themselves are used as “worked examples”, similar to the model adopted by Lauro Martines in his *Italian Renaissance Sextet*⁴. The idea is not to exhaust every *Nouvelle* as a historical document, but to examine a few nouvelles of particular interest in detail, to give an overview of how their meaning (and humour) becomes more transparent

² The source material is tangential because it concerns the raconteurs, and is indirectly about the way they formed the text.

³ G. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', in *Speculum* (1990) pp. 59-86.

⁴ L. Martines, and M. Baca, (trans.) *An Italian Renaissance Sextet, Six tales in Historical Context* (New York, 1994/1995)

when they are read in historical context. In particular it is important to show that although there is a distinction to be made between the tales which were based on older literary works, and those which recount new stories, sometimes based on real events, to a greater or lesser extent *all* the nouvelles drew on the life experience of the men who recounted them. Chapter four demonstrates the subtle ways in which the text opens windows on the Burgundian world the raconteurs inhabited⁵. Thus, building on the picture established in chapter three, we allow the light of history to inform textual analysis. In this section, to borrow Martines' phrase, we move from text to world, just as in chapter three we move from world to text.

In terms of modern historiography, an attitude to literary texts which affirms their value as source materials is in itself quite a controversial position to take, and I defend it in chapter five. Historical accounts of Burgundian political and literary history have been dominated by the rejection or adoption of various theses which colour historical investigation: the Huizinga thesis⁶, for example, about the decadence and decline which

⁵ **P. Champion**, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928) p. LVIII *Les Cent nouvelles ouvrent une fenêtre sur la campagne de Flandres et de Bourgogne, une porte secrète de la maison des hommes de ce temps en ces pays.* – *The Cent nouvelles open a window to the Flanders and Burgundian countryside: a secret door to the homes of the people in these lands in the period.*

⁶ **J. Huizinga**, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1955); *Aus der Vorgeschichte des niederländischen Nationalbewusstseins*, (Basel, 1943); *L'état bourguignon, ses rapports avec la France, et les origines d'une nationalité néerlandaise*, in *Moyen Age* (1930) pp. 171-93; (1931), pp. 11-35, 83-96; cf **E. Peters** and **W. Simons**, 'The new Huizinga and the old Middle Ages', in *Speculum* (1999) pp. 587-620. This gives an overview of the current state of research.

marked the later middle ages⁷; or the Pirenne thesis about the nascent Belgian state⁸. The essence of widely accepted and contradictory metanarratives of history and culture are also by-passed in this approach: the Marxist interpretation, which imagines dukes set against courtiers, and nobles against subjects; the feminist approach, which considers the raconteurs in terms of sexual politics; the ubiquitous postmodern critique, which says that all interpretations are equally invalid. In other words, my intention is to rebrand a very old position, first enunciated by Saint Paul, who argued that *we know in part*, and see *a pale reflection as in a mirror*. There are two sides to his contention – “*in part*”, sums up the fragmentary and incomplete nature of historical knowledge; there is also the “*we know*” section: a positive assertion. The final chapter of the thesis argues the validity and value of that affirmation, and maintains that it offers a solid basis to engage with or to ignore the other theoretical creeds (what philologists think of as *metanarratives*) and historical theories when it is appropriate to do so.

If history throws light on literature, and literature throws light on history, then it is not always in a straightforward way. This thesis is an attempt to explore in detail some of the various ingredients which comprise a text, the

⁷ N. Labère, 'Etude de la Temporalité dans les Cent nouvelles nouvelles', DEA in Medieval Literature (Sorbonne, 2000). Labère's work begins with a break from Huizinga's ideas, writing that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* semble marquer une rupture dans cet historicisme de décadence, pp. 11-12.

⁸ H. Pirenne, 'The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State (Fifteenth Century)' in *American Historical Review* (1908-1909) pp. 477-502; *Les Pays-Bas de 1280 à 1477* in E. Lavissee and A. Rambaud, *Formation des Grands Etats (1270-1492)* (Paris, 1931), pp. 416-460; cf R. Rigoulot, 'Imaginary History and Burgundian State-building: The Translation of the Annals of Hainault' in *Essays in Medieval Studies* (1992) pp. 33-39 <http://www.luc.edu/publications/medieval/ems9.html>

composition of a text, and its world. If such a study is complex, it is because the text is a *finite semantic*, but not a *historically finite* unity. That is, the text itself may be a complete object for historical study, but examination of the individual elements which comprise the object is not always possible *in toto*. Again, this is not to say that *nothing* meaningful can be written about the text and its historical circumstances. On the contrary, although the whole history of the text may never be written, meaningful *parts* of it can be: it was made by people – complicated individuals – and involved borrowings from earlier literatures. The text suggests ways of understanding these people, and evidence relating to their lives suggests ways of understanding the text.

It would be nice to know about the raconteurs' domestic lives, their personal thoughts, their sense of humour – but time has not always archived these things for us, and the literary record does not package these things up neatly. To understand the men is to understand their circumstances, which is to contextualise their lives in a variety of ways. Since they were political men, and the information which survives about them is largely political, this element of their experience is to the fore in the documents which inform us about them, and is of necessity to the fore in the thesis. The thesis, in other words, is unashamedly about the political circumstances in which this largely apolitical text came about. Baruch's observation runs: *If the only tool you have is a hammer, every problem looks like a nail*⁹. Historians, though, can make no apology for studying what has survived: in this case it is mainly chronicle and archival material, and the short stories themselves. It has not always been obvious how to apply the political picture of the men which the

⁹ Bernard Baruch is attributed with this dictum, though it is sometimes also credited to Abraham Maslow.

documents give us to understand the production of a text. As in all historical study, sometimes the evidence is limited, and indirect inferences are the best that can be made. On the whole, however, archival research has confirmed that the jigsaw puzzle that is the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is not missing many pieces.

The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* through Philologists' Eyes.

Having made these preliminary remarks and disclaimers, and revealed the organisational scheme, it seems necessary to lay out a justification for a new thesis on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* with reference to recent modern historiographical and scholarly work on the text. Since my contention is that a historical reappraisal of the text would be helpful, the obvious place to begin is Pierre Champion's 1928 edition of the text¹⁰. Champion was the last philologist and historian with archival and palaeographic skills who translated an interest in documentary and chronicle source material into serious research on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*¹¹

Pierre Champion: Pioneer of *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* Studies¹².

Working from a smattering of chronicle and archival references, Champion offered short potted biographies of the raconteurs, mostly a paragraph in length. His aims were to come to a conclusion about the identity of the anonymous compiler/redactor of the work, who styled himself *l'acteur*, and wrote a dedicatory letter to *Monseigneur* – the duke of Burgundy. He sought

¹⁰ P. Champion, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928).

¹¹ <http://perso.wanadoo.fr/vergezy/champindex.htm> This website has a biography of Champion by Vincent Villette, current archivist of Nogent-sur-Marne.

¹² See plate 1.

to explain the names which appear both at the heads of the tales, and in the tables of the editions¹³. Briefly, he introduced miscellaneous aspects of the raconteurs' lives, responsibilities, and places at the court, and described the tales they told, though usually without inferring from them anything of their personalities. Up to a point, these introductory paragraphs have been useful for the philologists who have sought to locate the collection in time and space. Unfortunately, however, Champion's preliminary research has apparently been accepted as the "last word" on the raconteurs and their world – by historians and philologists alike, even though Champion (an extremely competent historian and philologist¹⁴) clearly never intended them to be thought of in that way.

In particular, Champion's comments about the raconteurs' world and interaction were exceedingly limited, and impressionistic. For example, describing Jean Martin's¹⁵ tale (*Nouvelle 78*) of the knight who heard his wife's confession – a reworking of the fabliau, *Du Chevalier qui fist sa*

¹³ Champion usefully provides lists of the raconteurs' names, the spellings and the *Nouvelle* numbers in the introductory material to his volume. He used one Vérard edition from Paris, and compared it to the Glasgow manuscript, which he studied with considerable care. On these editions and the Glasgow manuscript see chapter two below.

¹⁴ P. Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans (1394-1465)* (Paris, 1911). His magisterial, 730 page study of Charles of Orleans is unsurpassed as the standard textbook on his subject's life. This biography was written after he had published an edition of Orleans' poetry, *Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris, 1907). Champion never produced a prosopography of the raconteurs of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, nor – apparently – was it his intention to do so.

¹⁵ For clarity, the name or title of each raconteur, except the *acteur* and Philip the Good, is underlined. Those people who are mentioned in the text of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Jean count of Étampes, for example) are underlined and italicised. Names which appear in titles of books and articles, and in the codicological appendix to the thesis are not underlined to avoid confusion.

femme confesser – he mentioned that the details of the knight's travels were similar to Waleran de Wavrin's adventure of 1444¹⁶. The character in the *Nouvelle* was a great traveller, who went to Cyprus and Rhodes, ending up at Jerusalem, where he received the order of chivalry. In fact, however, although Wavrin was also a great traveller¹⁷, he did not go to Jerusalem, or Cyprus, though he did get to Rhodes, where he fought against the Egyptians with the knights of Saint John¹⁸.

Sensibly, given that he consulted only a few sources to validate his judgements, Champion made only limited inferences about the raconteurs' personalities from the tales they told. At the same time, however, he inferred that their stories *could* be used alongside other sources as historical evidence for understanding the conteurs as people. For instance, recognising that Philippe de Saint Yon was the very magistrate mentioned in the *Nouvelle*

¹⁶ **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* p. xl. *Nouvelle* 78. **G. Le Brusque**, 'Des Chevaliers bourguignons dans les pays du Levant: l'Expedition de Walleran de Wavrin contre les Turcs ottomans (1444-1446) dans les Anciennes Cronicques d'Engleterre de Jean de Wavrin' in *Le Moyen Age* (2000) pp. 255-275.

ADN B 853. These crusading travels are alluded to in chapter four below, and this *Nouvelle* is discussed in detail there also.

¹⁷ The lord of Beaumont, Ghillebert de Lannoy, was the only raconteur who eclipsed him in the extent of his voyages, though others went overseas, such as Mériadec, who famously visited and jousted in Scotland with Jaques de Lalaing. Philippe de Loan, Jean de Lannoy, and the lord of La Barde were frequently called to ambassadorial service in England. The raconteurs' travels are discussed in chapter three.

¹⁸ **R. Degryse**, 'Les expéditions bourguignonnes à Rhodes, Constantinople et Ceuta' in *Revue de la Société d'antiquaire d'histoire et d'archéologie* (1987) pp. 39-49; **E. Hardy**, *Recueil des Cronicques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Waurin* (London, 1891) vol. 2, pp. 735-737; **H. Taparel**, 'Un épisode de la politique orientale de Philippe le Bon: les bourguignons en Mer Noire (1444-1446)' in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1983) pp. 5-29; **J. Paviot**, 'La piraterie bourguignonne en Mer noire à la moitié du XVe siècle', in **H. Dubois, J.-C. Hocquet and A. Vauchez** (eds.), *Horizons marins et itinéraires spirituels: Mélanges M. Mollat du Jardin*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1987) pp. 203-214.

attributed to him, he commented that *the lord of Saint Yon appears in his nouvelle as a joyful judge, who employed the vocabulary of hunting as a metaphor for the pursuit of love*¹⁹. To transmit the notion of the tales as plausible and realistic, he relied not on a psychological appraisal of the raconteurs in their historical context, but appended a selection of *pièces justificatives*. The accounts in the appendix, lifted from registers of criminality, suggested that the nouvelles were believable and authentic, and that it was therefore legitimate to profile the conteurs' personalities based on their tales²⁰. In some ways, the most challenging and least investigated angle of this approach was the implication that the tales themselves contained clues about the authors' personalities. His work, however impressionistic, treated the collection more as a document of its time and location than many other commentators on the nouvelles had done, or, following his edition, would do²¹.

Revisiting the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a historical source, it is important to catalogue some of the problems which Champion's intentionally limited approach to the text threw up, because these have had some serious repercussions for scholarship. In the first place, we must observe the key features which limited Champion's approach. Initially, his method was to harvest random snippets of information by locating the conteurs' names in

¹⁹ **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* p. xlv: *Monseigneur de Saint-Yon apparaît dans la nouvelle comme un juge joyeux qui use d'un vocabulaire de chasseur amoureux*. For more on this *Nouvelle* (#25), see below.

²⁰ **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* pp. L|XXIII-CXI. Champion selected his source material from the ducal *Audience* justice registers ADN B 1684-1691, and the Tournai fines registers: Cumulus 735-736.

²¹ See below for a discussion of philological attitudes to the historical text following Champion.

the index of Kervyn de Lettenhove's edition of George Chastelain's chronicle²². He presented Chastelain's information and opinions uncritically and without context²³. For instance, Chastelain described Philippe Pot, the lord of La Roche, as a young knight in whom the duke *placed great faith*²⁴ and on the strength of this and other references, Champion stated that *the duke had great confidence in this young knight, because he was a good speaker and of good sense, and he had given him great access to his person*²⁵. Whilst this *may* have been true (it was certainly in tune with Champion's sense of a *sympathique* and learned Philippe Pot²⁶) the chronicler expressed admiration for La Roche at so many reprises, that we may suspect he presented him more or less as a stock character: one who

²² Champion did not have access to an important fragment of Chastelain's Book IV which was discovered in the British Library Additional Manuscript 54156, and have since been published: J.-C. Delclos, *Georges Chastelain, Chronique, Les fragments du Livre IV* (Geneva, 1991). This manuscript is important for the years of the late 1450s and early 1460s – the very period Champion identified as the composition date of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

²³ Sometimes, though not often, he also consulted other chronicles such as the *Chronique Scandaleuse*, and the works of chroniclers and memoirists such as Wavrin, Commines, Olivier de la Marche and Mathieu d'Escouchy: Champion, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* pp. XXX, XXXIII, XXXV.

²⁴ K. de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastelain*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1863) p. 19.

²⁵ Champion, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* p. XIII.

²⁶ Champion's remarks were also based on his personal conviction – we can hardly call it more than that – that Philippe Pot was the redactor of the text. He seems in part to have based this contention on evidence which even he acknowledged was unreliable. In a footnote on p. LVII, he writes: *L'abbé Bissey (Notice sur les Pot, p. 276) a écrit, je ne sais sur quel témoignage, à propos des Cent nouvelles: L'épître dédicatoire nous apprend que le sire de la Roche a recueilli les Cent nouvelles à la requête du duc de Bourgogne. – Je dois dire aussi que la nouvelle 92, donnée à l'acteur par G[lasgow MS Hunter 252], est donnée à Monseigneur de Lannoy par V[érard]. Mais l'attribution de V. me paraît être une faute de lecteur ou une inadvertance.* It is unclear to me why Champion juxtaposed this confusion in the Vérard and Glasgow texts with Bissey's strange and unreliable attribution of the text to la Roche. cf M. l'Abbé Bissey, 'Notice sur les Pot, seigneurs de la Roche-Nolay' in *Société d'histoire, d'archéologie et de littérature de Beaune, Mémoires* (1883).

represented loyalty and good sense²⁷. Chastelain's transparent purpose was to contrast these virtuous characteristics with the perfidious and overweening Croy family's destructive pride²⁸. In other words, although Champion cited the chronicler as a straightforward witness to historical events, Chastelain wrote a deeply biased interpretation, and in spite of the generally high standard of factual accuracy throughout his work, he was scarcely an independent witness.

For some of the raconteurs – notably Rodolphe de Hochberg²⁹, Jean de Lannoy³⁰, Antoine de la Salle³¹ and Philippe Pot³² – a variety of lengthier studies were available to Champion, and these did draw on a good deal of alternative evidence. However, he did not seek to use these secondary sources in a critical way: he relied on them simply as texts to which he could refer his own readers. He intended to introduce the text in a scholarly manner, not to write a book about the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. He gave his reader information about the men, presented chronologically, but otherwise

²⁷ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, pp. 313-4; **G. Small**, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 1997) pp. 67, 71, and 76-77. On Chastelain's relations with Pot see chapter three below.

²⁸ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, pp. 154-174.

²⁹ **E. Bauer** *Negociations et Campagnes de Rodolphe de Hochberg comte de Neuchatel et Marquis de Rothelin Gouverneur de Luxembourg 1427 (?) - 1487* (Neûchatel, 1928).

³⁰ **B. de Lannoy and G. Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy le Bâtitteur 1410-1493* (Brussels, 1937).

³¹ **J. Nève**, *Antoine de la Salle; sa vie et ses ouvrages* (Paris and Brussels, 1903). Nève's biography was available to Champion. Cf also **J. Misrahi and C.A. Knudson eds.**, *Jehan de Saintré* (Geneva, 1978) pp. ix-xix, and the bibliography relating to La Salle's life on p. XXIV; **F. Desonay**, *Antoine de La Sale, Aventureux et Pédagogue* (Liège, 1940); **C. Samaran**, 'Du nouveau sur Antoine de La Salle' in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1940) pp. 239-240.

³² Compare **H. Bouchard**, *Philippe Pot (1428-1493), grand sénéchal de Bourgogne* (Châteauneuf, 1998) with **Bissey**, 'Notice sur les Pot' in *Position des thèses de l'École des chartes* (1949) pp. 23-27.

at random, and left him to infer from it what he could. Champion was not interested in criticising his material historically, merely presenting it in an orderly fashion.

For example, in his paragraph on the lord of Créquy, we learn that the raconteur received an injury to his face at the siege of Compiègne which left him a scar. It *is* a choice piece of information, yet it is also a somewhat arbitrary piece of information³³. In the context of Créquy's subsequent career his injury may have been significant: whenever the duke looked at Créquy, he saw a man who had been injured fighting for his cause. Yet it is only one interesting detail amongst many, and its significance is neither explained nor contextualised beyond the (undelineated) military role played by the knight. Other raconteurs were seriously injured in ducal service. For example, Ghillebert de Lannoy described being wounded in the thigh by a vireton (it stayed in his thigh more than nine months) in the service of John the Fearless³⁴. Guy lord of Roye, was also injured fighting for the duke at Espierres in 1452, where he served alongside the lords of Wavrin, Beauvoir, Lannoy, and the counts of Saint Pol and Étampes³⁵. Chastelain and the chronicler of the Ghent war (whose work Champion believed to have been Chastelain's because Kervyn de Lettenhove published it as such) certainly

³³ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 2, p. 50; **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

³⁴ **C. Potvin**, *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, Voyages et Ambassades* (Louvain, 1878) p. 19.

³⁵ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 2, pp. 235-237. **Champion**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, pp. XLV-XVLI.

Champion mistakenly believed Guy de Roye received his injury in 1455. The correct date, recorded by the duke in a letter shortly after the event, is Friday 21 April, 1452: **R. Vaughan**, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970 / Woodbridge, 2002) p. 320.

recorded a variety of other details about Créquy³⁶. The point, though, is not to exhaust Chastelain's store of information on Créquy's character and career, but to acknowledge that the tenor of Champion's remarks, describing Créquy as *a veteran of the wars of France of whom Chastelain often spoke*³⁷, is clear. The interested reader is to do his own research, and may begin with Chastelain³⁸.

To supplement chronicle material, however, Champion consulted the indexes of the Archives de la Côte d'Or in Dijon, especially the *recueil Peincedé*, and the inventories of the Archives Départementales du Nord, in Lille³⁹.

³⁶ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 2, p. 39, 47, 50, 78, 87, 95, 100, 104, 234, 260, 261, 298, 305, 313, 314, 364, 376, 377; vol. 3 pp. 19, 94, 148, 327n, 412, 425; vol. 4 pp. 46, 141, 142, 157, 252, 361; vol. 5, pp. 235, 451; vol. 7, p. 52; vol. 8, pp. 7, 37, 90, 162, 166, 182, 198, 199, 217, 255. Champion's use of material relating to Créquy is discussed in more detail in chapter three below. On stylistic grounds, Jean le Fèvre is now suggested as the chronicler. **J.-C. Delclos**, 'Jean Lefèvre: l'une des sources du Livre II de Georges Chastelain' in *Rencontres médiévales en Bourgogne (XIVe-XVe siècles)* (1991) vol. 1, pp. 7-18. For the parts written by Chastelain, and the years covered in his chronicle see **G. Small**, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 1997) p. 197.

³⁷ **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* p. XXXIV

³⁸ Champion juxtaposed a brief impression of Créquy's military career with the detail that the knight was also a member of the order of the Golden Fleece from 1431 and the earliest days of the order. Looking to other chronicle sources, Champion's assessment was of a soldier who consistently proved himself loyal to the house of Burgundy: a jousting, and companion of famous jousting, such as Jaques de Lalaing. Champion noted Créquy's part in the banquet of the Pheasant at Lille. He then jumped forward in time to 1465, and the words of Créquy to the count of Charolais following the battle of Monthéry. After this, Champion noted that he carried the body of Philip the Good, and that he died in 1474. Clearly, this is no biography – it is barely an outline of the events in Créquy's life. Champion's remarks on Créquy are discussed in chapter three below.

³⁹ See plates 2 and 3. This massive (though incomplete) multi-volume hand-written index was compiled in the archives as a working inventory/index and remains the best method of navigating the extensive

His main sources, perhaps not surprisingly, were the large financial registers kept in these institutions. They dealt with ducal and courtly expenditure, and record a bewildering number of payments, small and large, often with detailed information about the ways in which money was spent and received, and more often than not about the motivation for expenditure. Although Champion supplemented his reading with occasional letters, and smaller documents from these archives, his references came predominantly from the *recette generale*: the primary accounting books of the ducal administration. This is not hard to understand. Champion was a skilled palaeographer⁴⁰, and he chose the registers which record tax receipts and disbursements, not because they are in a regular uniform hand, but because they are a cut above other Burgundian documents. Not only are they lengthy – sometimes over 800 pages long – they are also easy to flick through. They were compiled for utilitarian book-keeping purposes, such as keeping tabs on who had been paid for services rendered, embassies undergone, and goods provided. Some of the registers still have the string ties which medieval clerks used as content guides enabling speedy access to material needed for reference⁴¹.

unwieldy collections – far superior to the printed guides, and can be consulted (mainly in photocopy) on the open plan shelves of the main archive reading room.

⁴⁰ The palaeographical mistakes he made were usually not too serious, and they resulted, no doubt, from haste in reading, rather than inability to recognise words or contractions. His most serious error (which has been taken up by numerous other historians) is on p. XLVII (reading B 2026, fo 324v) where he misreads *d'Estrier* as *d'Estuer*. See plates 4 and 5, and cf **T. Wright**, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles publiées d'après le seul manuscrit connu avec introduction et notes* (Paris, 1858) p. 260. Before Champion's research, Thomas Wright had misread the name as *Jean d'Estecer*.

⁴¹ See plate 6.

The accounting registers allowed the men of the *chambre des comptes* in Lille, and also in the other minor counting houses to know how much money was coming in, from where, and whom, and where it was going, and for what reasons. They are not exhaustive or complete financial records, and sometimes they record matters not primarily relating to money, but their main value is that they reveal the court through its expenditure. In other words, Champion dug where the seam was richest, but did not dig very deep.

In an article on the late medieval cult of Corpus Christi in England, Mervyn James complained that although much had been written about the Corpus plays, it was mainly the work of literary scholars rather than historians, so the *background against which the cult was practised and the plays were performed* was neglected⁴². Thanks to Champion's work on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, an analogous situation obtains: the main difficulty is that Champion's footnotes and archival research give a false impression of comprehensiveness which has perhaps given other historically-minded philologists the false impression that the subject had been exhausted. Yet his work was neither detailed nor critical: Champion's false start has had repercussions for the ways in which subsequent philological scholarship on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* treated the historical aspect of the text. Nowadays, it has been abandoned: nobody took up the challenge of Champion's pioneering yet stillborn archival research and attempted to set the collection more completely in its historical context, or to understand the collection in terms of the raconteurs themselves. In fact, one of the main

⁴² M. James, 'Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town' in *Past and Present* (1983) pp. 3-29 at pp. 3-4.

reasons to pursue a historical approach to the *Nouvelle* collection is to attempt to change the direction of philological scholarship.

The main tendency of philologists who have looked at the historical side of the collection has been to consider its place in the great currents of European literature, or the context of the development of genre. The main question asked of the text has been about its originality: in particular, the issue of the domination of Italian models and French writers' reliance on Italian antecedents has been pre-eminent in the debate since 1895⁴³. This debate began in earnest when Pietro Toldo wrote what has legitimately been called his *chauvinistic attempt to establish the predominant role of Italian literature in the rise of the French novella*, a thesis which was countered effectively (though with equal chauvinism) by Gaston Paris⁴⁴.

⁴³ **F. Duval and S. Hériché-Pradeau** eds, *Guillaume Tardif, les Faceties de Poge, Traduction du "Liber Facietiarum" de Poggio Bracciolini* (Geneva, 2003); **P. Koj**, *Die frühe Rezeption der Fazetien Poggios in Frankreich* (Hamburg, 1969) pp. 61-110. The most obvious and unarguable antecedent was the collection of *Facetiae* written by Poggio Bracciolini, the chancellor of Florence. Koj's dissertation is more useful on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* than the most recent work on the early reception of Poggio's *Facetiae* in France, which looks at Guillaume Tardif's translation of Poggio published by Olivier Arnoullet (Lyon) and Trepperel (Paris). (For Koj's work on Tardif etc. see pp. 121-190.)

⁴⁴ **P. Cholakian and R. Cholakian**, *The Early French Novella: an anthology of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century tales* (New York, 1972) p. 18; **P. Toldo**, *Contributo allo Studio della Novella Francese del XV e XVI Secolo* (Rome, 1895); 'Études sur le Théâtre Comique Français du Moyen Âge et sur le Rôle de la Nouvelle dans les Farces et dans les Comédies', in *Studi di Filologia Romanza* (1902) pp. 181-369; **G. Paris**, 'La Nouvelle Française aux XV^e et XVI^e Siècles', in **M. Roques** (ed.) *Mélanges de Littérature Française du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1912) pp. 627-677. Academic interest in Bruno Paulin Gaston Paris' life and work is burgeoning. (cf <http://www.ccic-cerisy.asso.fr/gparisPRG94.html> for details of the 1994 conference.) The most complete study is that of **U. Bähler**, *Gaston Paris et la Philologie Romane* (Geneva,

Recent Philological Dehistoricisation of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*:

Hermann H. Wetzel.

The debate continued throughout the twentieth century, and although the numerous significant contributions to it are dealt with in chapter two below, it is important here to focus on the more recent trends in the philological consideration of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The tendency in philological circles to subject literary texts to what Gabrielle Spiegel has called *massive dehistoricization* has occurred in study of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* too⁴⁵. For example, one significant article from the early 1980s on the socio-historical components of the *Nouvelle* literary genre, subtitled: *The History of the Nouvelle to Cervantes*, attempted a brief summary of the genre across Italian and French literature⁴⁶. Its author, Hermann H. Wetzel, began his study from a philological point of view. He condemned as inadequate the thesis that collections of nouvelles written through the centuries following Boccaccio's publication of his *Decameron* were simply derivative in style, subject matter, and genre. Such a view he discounted as excessively formalist by claiming that the development of the genre was neither planned, nor evolutionary, but spontaneous and unprecedented. This case hinged on the idea that the concept of *development* as philologists usually present it is unable to cope with the dynamic and creative nature of the genre as it arose initially with Boccaccio, and subsequently in a variety of historical and

2003) which includes Joseph Bédier and Mario Roques' 1904 bibliography in an appendix. (For which, see also <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/immortels/base/publications/oeuvres.asp?param=484>)

⁴⁵ Spiegel, *History, Historicism*, p. 76.

⁴⁶ For what follows: H. Wetzell, 'Éléments Socio-Historiques d'un Genre Littéraire, L'Histoire de la Nouvelle Jusque'à Cervantes' in L. Sozzi (ed.) *La Nouvelle Française à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1982) pp. 41-78.

social situations. In particular, Wetzel based his thesis on a belief that because circumstances change, the aspirations of specific *Nouvelle* writers (Wetzel drew examples from Bandello and others) also adjusted. The form of the works they produced related more to their individual temperament and narrative creativity than to the strictures of form. His case was that, insofar as works of literature are expressions of individualism against a historical background, they are susceptible of change which occurs not merely in form, but also in content. Following the success of the *Decameron*, other *Nouvelle* collections emulated its structure and material in their form and content at a very basic level. Significant variations in narrative style and subject matter characterised these different works, however, which arose in different historical and social milieux. To support this case, the particular examples Wetzel cited were the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* and the *novelle* of Sacchetti. He mentioned these works in particular because both their authors (whose work he judged to be second rate) referred explicitly to the *Decameron*. Neither work, however, considered the *cadre* or “frame narrative” to be integral to the genre of the *Nouvelle*⁴⁷. In the “historical” section of his article, Wetzel contended that the form which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* took – especially its lack of a framing narrative – was linked to what he saw as the broad historical themes in Philip the Good’s government:

The Burgundy of Philip the Good (it was during his reign that the Cent nouvelles nouvelles were written) was characterised by marked territorial expansion, centralised and inflexible administration and jurisdiction, and

⁴⁷ The *Decameron*'s famous frame narrative (*cornice*) involves the flight of the small group of storytellers from the plague-infested town to the countryside.

*the repression of town authorities. In a state which was so well organised and under the control of the prince, the author, who, according to the dedication probably occupied a lowly position at the court, did not see the need to project a new order [i.e. to the tale collections – Wetzel is talking about the cadre or frame narrative] or even to restore an old order which was disappearing or lost*⁴⁸.

It is unfortunate that Wetzel was not more precise. How, for example, did Burgundian expansionism impact on the writing-up of the text? To answer this question requires a much more defined attitude to the dating. After all, the reign of Philip the Good lasted from 1419 to 1467, and not every period of it was marked by expansionism. Most corrosive to Wetzel's thesis is the fact that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were penned during an interval when ducal domains were not expanding. Indeed, following the repurchase of the Somme towns by Louis XI, they actually began to diminish in size. If anything, they were composed as the might of Charles VII's state was marshalled against the Burgundian dominions. Moreover if this were the literature of a centralised and inflexible administration⁴⁹, it should not have been written whilst the Burgundian state's most wide-ranging fiscal reforms and spending cut-backs were taking place⁵⁰. Further, it is by no means clear

⁴⁸ My translation, p. 53.

⁴⁹ It is in itself a contentious claim that the Burgundian dominions of Philip the Good constituted a centralised or centralising agglomeration of territories. Most historians place this development in Charles the Bold's reign as duke. For different takes on this debate cf Y. Lacaze, 'Le role des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au XVe siècle. La Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon', in: *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1971) pp. 303-385, and G. Small, *The Crown and the Provinces in the Fifteenth Century* (forthcoming, 2004).

⁵⁰ On these reforms, see chapter two below.

that the duke *was* antagonistic to local authority, except in specific localised instances when it proved hostile to his own power. Recent historical work (particularly relating to ducal entry ceremonies) has generated a much more nuanced vision of the Burgundian “theatre state” which functioned through the interdependence of town administration and central government⁵¹. The sheer number and frequency of ceremonial entries reminds us that the ritual relationship between ducal and urban authority was important to both parties, underlining the reciprocity of obligation⁵². In any case, it is by no means reasonable to assume a direct and obvious link between the structure of a literary work and the drift of policy over the course of a long political reign. Wetzel argued that historical circumstances impacted on the form and content of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Unfortunately, he did so in too general a manner.

What is more, his consideration of the narrative frame for the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* failed to take into account the various authorial asides contained in the incipits and explicits of the nouvelles⁵³. Nor did he tackle the issue of the names of the raconteurs associated with each of the stories. To observe that the *acteur* was “someone at court” was to say very little. To contend that he

⁵¹ On the idea of a “theatre state” (Clifford Geertz’s phrase) see **W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier**, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1986), p. 223. **P. Arnade**, *Realms of ritual: Burgundian ceremony and civic life in late medieval Ghent* (London, 1996) for an up to date bibliography. The term and literature is addressed more fully in chapter two below.

⁵² **A. Brown**, *The Valois Dukes of Burgundy* (Oxford, 2002) p. 17: *Between 1419 and 1477 they [i.e. the dukes] or their wives and children made ceremonial entrees into their towns at an average rate of more than three a year.*

⁵³ **A. Lorian**, ‘Les “Incipit” des “Cent nouvelles nouvelles”’ in **P. Wunderli** (ed.) *Actes du IIIe Colloque Internationale sur Le Moyen Français* (Tübingen, 1982) pp. 171-185. Discussed in chapter two below.

occupied a *situation d'inférieur* was to say even less, as everyone at court was subordinate to the duke. If Wetzel meant to deduce that the *acteur* was a lowly servant of the duke's, it should be made clear that there is not a scrap of evidence in support of such a theory: Burgundian literature and routine business letters addressed to the duke, or even about the duke, adopted a tone of humility and were characterised by obeisance. The endless repetition of phrases such as *Monseigneur* and *mon dit seigneur* marked Burgundian chancery documents. All social levels in Burgundian society recognised the primacy of the duke. Moreover, the *acteur's* participation in the literary project at the duke's behest suggests that he was a trusted servant, accustomed to being around the duke and other powerful men. Furthermore, involvement in such a learned scheme enhanced the *acteur's* standing, *ipso facto*. Naturally, the men engaged in the endeavour were aware of its social and literary function: for example, the lord of Villiers began one of his tales by commenting that he would add to the number of stories *in this glorious and edifying work of a hundred nouvelles*⁵⁴; the lord of Fiennes referred in a self deprecating tone to his own *petite ratelée's* place in the collection⁵⁵. The *acteur* included a statement about the *recueil's* worth in his dedication, which is considered in more detail in the next chapter; for the moment it

⁵⁴ *Nouvelle 57* begins: *Tantdiz que l'on me preste audience et que ame ne s'avance quand a present de parfournir ceste glorieuse et edifiant euvre de Cent Nouvelles, je vous compteray ung cas qui puis n'a gueres est advenu ou Daulphiné, pour estre mis ou reng et nombre des dictes nouvelles...* Discussed in chapter two below.

⁵⁵ *Nouvelle 24*. Discussed in chapter two below.

suffices to observe that he conceived of the work alongside the duke's other exalted noble projects⁵⁶.

Wetzel was perhaps a little too ambitious in declaring a departure from research which places an emphasis on “the man and his work”⁵⁷. Instead he favoured an approach which sought to determine the extent of historical and social factors in the specific changes which took place in the genre. Such a methodology centres less on the particular circumstances of the individual raconteurs' lives than on the more general and less defined historical realities of the period in which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was penned. It seems more convincing to generalise from a detailed examination of individual circumstances than it is to look at the general circumstances and make more particular conclusions: doing the latter risks the logical fallacy of affirming the consequent⁵⁸. For example, Wetzel discounted excessive recourse to such “facile” things as “national character” as factors in the evolution of the genre. It is true that not every variation in the form of the

⁵⁶ *I your most obedient servant, desiring, as I ought to, to comply with all your most exalted and most noble projects (inasmuch as I am able) dare and presume to present and offer this present little work - finished and undertaken at your request - asking that you be well disposed to receive it.*

Je vostre tresobeissant serviteur desirant comme je doy complaire a toutes voz treshaultes et tresnobles intencions en facon a moy possible ose et presume ce present petit oeuvre a vostre requeste et advertissement mis en terme et sur piez vous presenter et offrir suppliant que agreablement soit receu...

⁵⁷ **Wetzell**, *Elements Socio Historiques* p. 43: *Up until now, research has placed an accent on “the man and the work” or on the “autonomous” development of the genre, and it is time to take up the third aspect, historical and social determinants resulting in specific changes in the genre.*

La recherche ayant mis jusqu'alors l'accent sur “l'homme et l'oeuvre” ou sur le développement “autonome” du genre, il est temps de se consacrer au troisième aspect: la détermination historique et sociale des modifications spécifiques du genre.

⁵⁸ **A. Weston**, *A Rulebook for Arguments* (Indianapolis, 2000) p. 72.

Nouvelle was directly attributable to “national character”. Nevertheless, related considerations such as location, patronage, language, place of production, and sociocultural influences remained important. To discount these factors as unimportant in the final shape of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* seems highly questionable.

The introduction to the Burgundian work claimed innovation for itself, saying that its *matter, manner and telling is quite fresh in the memory and is in appearance very nouvelle*⁵⁹. Wetzels dismissed this claim, not by examining the work itself, but by asserting that the actual degree of innovation in all *Nouvelle* collections depended on the social position of the author. In his view, the economic situation, social structures, and the course of political events determined the contents of nearly all of the *Nouvelle* collections between the end of the thirteenth century to Cervantes’ time. This seems an odd contention, as individual historical particulars demonstrably had a direct impact on the contents of nouvelles. One thing which the early debate relating to the question of which nouvelles have sources has shown without any doubt is that access to older books, for example, was clearly important to the development of both the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* and other French *Nouvelle* collections⁶⁰. Not all collections of French nouvelles were available to Italian writers, and even the French writers seemed to rely on French language translations of the

⁵⁹ *estoffe taille et fasson ... est d’assez fresche memoire et de myne beaucoup nouvelle.*

⁶⁰ For an overview of the transmission of motifs especially from Boccaccio’s *Decameron* into other European literature, see F. Jones, *Boccaccio and his imitators in German English, French, Spanish and Italian Literature* (Chicago, 1910); L. Sozzi and V. Saulnier (eds), *La nouvelle française à la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1981).

Decameron rather than reading the original Italian⁶¹. In short, to avoid becoming a victim of methodology, a historical approach to the development of the *Nouvelle* collection ought to take into account specific factors which relate to the individuals who were involved in recounting the tales. It ought not to rule them out of consideration on the basis that they have been discussed before.

Dehistoricisation: Judith Bruskin Diner.

Wetzel is by no means the only philologist whose approach to the text has suffered for not taking the historical background into account. Judith Bruskin Diner has adopted a somewhat relaxed approach to the historical aspect of the collection in her translation and her thesis⁶². For example, although she was familiar with Champion's work, she failed to recognise Philippe de Saint Yon as the very provost of le Quesnoy telling the story about himself in *Nouvelle* 25. Without backing the case up, her comments on *Nouvelle* 63 suggested that the events in the tale of Montbléru's deception should only be considered as fictitious, as though they could have no basis in fact. This in spite of the existence, at the time of her writing, of at least two articles on Montbléru, one of which discussed the tale as a historical event⁶³,

⁶¹ For a comparison of Boccaccio, Premierfait and Philippe de Commines, see *La nouvelle à l'époque de François I^{er}* in Sozzi and Saulnier, *Nouvelle française*, pp. 165-170.

⁶² J. Diner, *The One Hundred New Tales* (New York, 1990); 'Comedy and Courtliness: the form and style of Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles' PhD thesis, (New York University, 1984).

⁶³ C. Carton, 'Un Tableau et son Donateur: Guillaume de Montbléru, 'Premier escuyer d'escuyrie du Comte de Charolais', in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1966) pp. 172-187.

and the other of which outlined his pious bequests in Bruges⁶⁴. In her thesis⁶⁵ she wrote of tale 63 as another tale ostensibly based on a personal experience as though the genteel Montbléru could not possibly have behaved in the way he did⁶⁶. Similarly, because it resembles a courtly cliché, Diner disparaged the idea that Clais Utenhove's wife could have died of shock and grief on hearing that her first husband was returning from his long captivity, and would find that she had remarried, believing him to have died on the crusade. The hero of *Nouvelle* 69, Clais Utenhove (as Diner was aware, having mentioned him in her thesis) was a real person, whose political life and family connections are revealed in copious archival documentation⁶⁷.

⁶⁴ E. Feys and A. De Schrevel, 'Fondation de Guillaume de Monbléru, en la Chapelle de Saint. Luc et Saint. Éloi, dite Chapelle des Peintres, à Bruges' in *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de la Flandre Occidentale* (1896) pp. 117-141.

⁶⁵ Diner, *Comedy and Courtliness*, p. 33, and pp. 155-160.

⁶⁶ On this *Nouvelle*, see my *In search of the comic hero - an example from Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles in Publication du Centre Européen d'Etudes Bourguignonnes (XIVe-XVIIe s.)* (2001) pp. 247-258; the *Nouvelle* is also discussed in chapter four below.

⁶⁷ Diner, *Comedy and Courtliness*, p. 33; ADN B 1963 fo 122r suggests that Clais was known to and trusted by the duke. He was called Messire Clais Utenhove chevalier, conseiller de mondit seigneur le duc et son bailliu de Bruges. cf RB Familiefonds 2549 (9 May 1424: bailliu van brugge). Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, p. 328; Nève, *Antoine de la Salle*, p. 90: Clais died on 18 February, 1458 at Bruges, where he is now buried. Nève reasoned that the duke and the dauphin were reminded of the story of Utenhove's adventures during their visit to Ghent and Bruges in that year. The duke was actually in Bruges when Utenhove died. He spent the start of 1458 (until the last week of April) in Bruges, and then visited Ghent. Utenhove had served Philip the Good for decades as his Bailiff of Bruges (cf ADN B 5905-5906/ADN B 17784); L. Gachard, *Rapport ... concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique* (Brussels, 1841), p. 273: Messire Claeis Utenhove, bailli de Bruges went on 27 May 1429 to Brussels and Louvain to the duke of Brabant, and the three estates of Brabant, to appease the discord between Englebert of Enghien (Jean d'Enghien's brother), Jean de Jumont and others who wanted to make war in Brabant over great sums of money owed by the people of Brabant to pay for their service in support of Duke John against the duke of Gloucester; RB Familiefonds 2549 mentions Clais Utenhove, ruddere, bailliu van Brugghe in relation to a land dispute from 1424 (cf Sommé, *Isabelle de Portugal*, p. 425; ADN B 1972 fo 132v; B 17662,

Given the situation as it is presented in the *Nouvelle*, his wife's despair may well have brought about her death⁶⁸. In the hundredth tale, Diner referred to Philippe de Loan, as *de Laon*, as though this would denote the same person.

B 20001). **R. Vaughan**, *John The Fearless*, (London, 1966 / Woodbridge, 2002) pp. 22, 132: Prior to this, Clais had served John the Fearless and Philip the Bold as bailiff of Biervliet. **H. Douxchamps**, 'La vente du comté de Namur à Philippe le Bon (16 Janvier 1421)' in *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur* (1987) pp. 119-169 at p. 148; **P. de Lichtervelde**, *Un Grand Commis des Ducs de Bourgogne, Jacques de Lichtervelde, Seigneur de Coolscamp* (Brussels, 1943) p. 266: He was also the bailiff of the four *métiers* of Ghent (i.e. Assende, Bouchout, Axel, and Hulst), in 1421. The Utenhove family fulfilled a variety of functions in the ducal state: Simon Utenhove (also known as Symoen Uten Hove) was the bailiff of Eeklo, and founder of the Cistercian priory of Jagerpad at Waarschoot: <http://www.tenduinen.be/files/e-news2002-03.pdf>; In the 1450s, Simon was a ducal kitchen squire, and he had been George Chastelain's creditor in 1439: ADN B 2020 fo 308v-309r: *escuier de cuisine de mondit seigneur*, cf B 2026, fo. 136v, **Small**, *Shaping*, p. 38; RG series 301, #35, 1439-1440 fo 39v, given as appendix VII to **G. Small and D. Liévois**, 'Les origines gantoises du chroniqueur George Chastelain' in *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* (1994) pp. 121-177; Ghisbrecht (Guilbert) Utenhove was a *receveur* of Tenremonde: ADN B 2034 preregister fo 39r, and B 2034 fo 40v, 104r, and 106r; Josse Utenhove, a servant of Antoine de Croy (uncle of Philippe de Croy), was granted rights in 1460 relating to an obit mass and an *amortissement* of lands in Ghent: B 1690 fo 10v (Brussels, July 10) and cf **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 90; **F. De Potter**, *Petit Cartulaire de Gand* (Ghent, 1885) p. 99 mentions a letter by Jan (II) Uten Hove to the aldermen of Ghent relating to military affairs in November 1488. Jan (I) Utenhove was identified as master of the ducal mint in Ghent in documents from 1429 and 1431: B 639, B 1340. He was the receiver general of Flanders and Artois from 1413-1416: **Lichtervelde** pp. 149, 276; **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 438; **P. Cockshaw**, *Le Personnel de la Chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre* (Courtrai, 1982) p. 220; B 4088-4089. In 1421, Louis Utenhove was appointed one of the 22 commissioners who would take control of Namur in the event of the count's death in the duke's absence: **Lichtervelde** pp. 272-273; **Douxchamps**, p. 166. On Henry Utenhove, the ducal ambassador to England: **M. Thielemans**, *Bourgogne et Angleterre, Relations Politiques et Économiques entre les Pays-Bas Bourguignons et l'Angleterre* (Brussels, 1966) pp. 115-157; **Varenbergh**, *Relations Diplomatiques*, pp. 518, 580; **G. Harriss**, *Cardinal Beaufort, A Study of Lancastrian Ascendancy and Decline* (Oxford, 1988) p. 304 (his negotiations alongside Lannoy with Beaufort at Oye castle.)

⁶⁸ The duke tells the story, and is very careful in addressing his audience to ground his tale in historical reality, locating it at the time of the crusade, which the people of Ghent knew all about, as did the men of Flanders and the audience assembled to hear him talk. This appeal to verisimilitude has to be dealt with, and may not legitimately be brushed aside.

Similarly, her translation offers the term *écuyer* for *chamberlain*⁶⁹, and, spectacularly, *The Lover of Brussels* for *Monseigneur l'Amant de Bruxelles*⁷⁰. Dropping the term *seigneur* implies that the title – *Lord* or *My Lord* was meaningless. In the appendix to her translation, she listed the *nouvelles* which refer to historical characters and events, but omitted to include *Nouvelle 53*, though this had been mentioned by Richard Vaughan, whose work she cited elsewhere⁷¹. In her thesis, she attributed that tale not to the Amman at all, but to the duke, and confused it with number 54, as though who told the tales was an insignificant detail.

In her comments on *Nouvelle 62* (the story by the lord of Quiévrain about the negotiations at Gravelines in 1439⁷²) she mistook Thomas Brampton and John Stotton for members of Philip the Good's own court, writing: *The*

⁶⁹ *Nouvelle 26* – the grades were significantly different, not least because there was a pay differential

⁷⁰ *Nouvelle 53* – this is Amman of Brussels, Jean d'Enghien, whose career is sketched in chapter three below. (The term is from the middle Dutch *Amtman* meaning *office holder*. cf **M. Clark and O. Thyen** (eds) 'Amtmann' in *Concise Oxford-Duden German Dictionary* (Oxford, 1998). He was the ducal representative in the town.) The manuscript's first editor explained that the title signified a municipal office: **Wright**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. 256.

⁷¹ The historicity of the *Nouvelle* is examined in detail in chapter four below. Diner cites Vaughn (sic) on pp. XII and XL. Her first reference (to pp. 127-163) cites the very pages on which Vaughan comments on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (pp. 158-160). On Vaughan's judgement of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* see chapter five below.

⁷² **R. Robbins**, *The One Hundred New Tales* (New York, 1960) [NB this edition is also catalogued as: *The Hundred Tales*. (New York, 1960; London, 1962.)] p.253; **R. McGillivray**, 'The Cent nouvelles nouvelles: A Monograph', PhD thesis (Yale, 1959) p. 52. Diner was not the only one casual with the historical details in this tale. Robbins mistook these events (specifically relating to the Gravelines talks of 1439) for the conference in 1440. **McGillivray** too, mistook the year. It is likely that they all followed **Wright**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. xvi. See also **D. Lewis**, *King Spider, some aspects of Louis XI king of France and his Companions* (London, 1930) pp. 346-352. Lewis renders Richard Fery's name with an *é*, though he may well have been English. He gives Stotton as *Stockton*.

characters are *intimates of the duke of Burgundy*, Thomas Brampton (sic) and John Stotton. Yet this historical event of some diplomatic importance is downplayed in favor of recounting how *these two eminents of the Court of Burgundy seduced their innkeeper's wife, how this came to light, the argument which ensued between them, and how the mistress's husband made peace between them. The central incident in which two men share the favors of a woman places the tale in the line of comic narrative.* The negotiations in 1439 were not carried out by the duke, but by Isabelle of Portugal, the duchess of Burgundy, and it is therefore likely that Philip the Good never met the men. The text of the *Nouvelle* itself even refers to *Thomas Brampton*⁷³ as *eschanson dudit cardinal*, and defines them both as noble men⁷⁴. *Stotton*, the more prominent of the two in extant records, owing to his position in Henry VI's household, was an *escuier trenchant* by the Burgundian reckoning of his rank⁷⁵. Brampton, which is the name of several

⁷³ *Thomas Brampton* ought not to be confused with the merchant and gentleman Robert Brampton, who was also on the convention. C. Williams, 'A Norfolk Parliamentary Election, 1461' in *English Historical Review* (1925) pp. 79-86, at p. 86. Similarly, *John Stourton*, knight should not be confused with John Sutton, knight. T. Rymer, *Foedera* (London, 1704-1735) vol. 10, pp. 728, 733.

⁷⁴ H. Gray, 'Incomes from land in England in 1436', in *English Historical Review* (1934) pp. 607-639 at p. 621. Based on a tax return, *Sir John Stourton's* income of £600 in 1436 was comparable to that of the great English commander sir John Fastolf between 1433 and 1436: K. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolf's Profits of War' in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (1957). On *Beaufort* and the English side in the negotiations, see Harriss, *Beaufort*, pp. 277-305; R. Griffiths, *The Reign of King Henry VI* (Los Angeles, 1981) pp. 443-481; B. Wolfe, *Henry VI*, (London, 1980 / Yale, 2001) chapter 9; C. Allmand, *Lancastrian Normandy, 1415-1450, the history of an occupation* (Oxford, 1983) pp. 268-283.

⁷⁵ Relations between Orléans and Burgundy around the period of the tale were positive – cf ADN B 2030 fo 180r: madame d'Orléans received a gift of two *flacons d'argent dorez* on the 28th December 1457. On Orleans' captivity and his keepers, including *John, Lord Stourton* see M.-J. Arn (ed.), *Charles d'Orléans in England 1415- 1440* (Woodbridge, 2000). F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer: being a collection of payments made out of His Majesty's revenue, from King Henry III to King Henry VI inclusive with an*

manors in Northamptonshire, and (at least) one in East Anglia, is on that account a popular name in English records, and more problematic to trace with certainty⁷⁶. Thomas Brampton was the son of William Brampton: as a London merchant and mayor of the staple of Westminster (1395-1401), William was a prominent Lancastrian, and it seems most probable that Thomas owed his rise in Beaufort's service to his father's connections with the regime⁷⁷. Whatever his career path, as a measure of Thomas Brampton's affiliation with Lancastrian government, he was attainted at the Yorkist parliament held at Westminster in November 1461, one of 153 leading supporters of Henry VI⁷⁸.

appendix / extracted and translated from the original rolls of the ancient Pell office (London, 1837) p. 438.
In the issue roll for Michaelmas 18 Henry VI, is the following payment: 24 Nov. To Garter, king at arms, sent, by the advice & assent of the King's council to the county of Somerset, to confer with the duke of Orleans there in the custody of Sir John Stourton, knight, upon certain especial matters concerning the lord the king and his council. In money paid to him as an especial reward for his costs and expenses in going and returning upon the business aforesaid. By writ etc. - £2.

⁷⁶ On a variety of Thomas Bramptons see PRO E40/2786, E115/72/21, E122/97/18, C1/1174/54, C143/19/15, C143/314/6, C270/38, C1/776/40-41, C1/1155/24-25, C1/358/18, C1/364/54, C1/161/10, C1/184/7, C1/185/85, C1/185/86, C1/64/164. etc.

⁷⁷ **E. Rich**, 'List of Officials of the Staple of Westminster' in *Cambridge Historical Journal* (1933) pp. 192-193. **A. Brown**, 'Commons and the Council in the Reign of Henry IV' in *English Historical Review* (1964) pp. 1-30 at p. 8. In 1430 William and his brother Robert had mercantile interests in Calais: **J. Fisher**, 'Chancery and the Emergence of Standard Written English in the Fifteenth Century' in *Speculum* (1977) pp. 870-899, at pp. 881-882.

⁷⁸ William Worcester's *Annales* in **J. Stevenson**, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth King of England* (London, 1864), vol. 2. He was identified as Thomas Brampton, armiger. Surprisingly, John lord Stourton was not then also attainted. He had been one of the men who, along with the Bishop of Winchester and Lord Bouchier had been sent in 1452 to order the rebels to stop their march on London. Cf **G. Harriss**, 'John Benet's Chronicle for the Years 1400-1462' in *Camden Miscellany* (London, 1972) pp. 151-233, at p. 206.

After the diplomatic business concluded in 1439, *Sir John Stotton* (usually rendered: *Stourton*, after the river Stour) who was a literary figure in his own right, became increasingly important in Lancastrian service⁷⁹. He was one of the men who were to be asked on the king's behalf to attend and assist in the royal council in France and Normandy *for the goode publique of the same*⁸⁰. He received these instructions in a memorandum concerning the management of the war in France, under the duke of York and proposed on 29 September 1440. On 15 November 1446, he was appointed as Henry VI's keeper of the wardrobe, and made first lord Stourton in 1448⁸¹. He held the office, which placed him at the head of the head of the king's household, treasury and secretariat, until 27 March 1453, when he was replaced by John Sutton, first lord Dudley, who had also been at Gravelines in 1439⁸². He acted as the king's commissioner of justice in London⁸³. Around the start of February 1452, Lord Rivers had succeeded him as the king's lieutenant in Calais⁸⁴. *Stourton* was one of the most frequent members of the royal councillors in attendance at council meetings, and may also have taken part

⁷⁹ Through research into BL MS Harley 682, Mary-Jo Arn has researched his psalter and his family, based in Wiltshire and Somerset. <http://www174.pair.com/mja/public.html> She has not published this material yet, to my knowledge. cf *Charles d'Orléans in England*, chapter 2.

⁸⁰ **Stevenson**, *Letters and Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 586, 778.

⁸¹ After Stourton house, in Wiltshire. **T. Pugh**, *The Magnates, Knights and Gentry in Fifteenth-century England, 1399-1509* (Manchester, 1972) pp. 99, 123. NB Pugh mistakenly says *Stourton* was made a baron in 1449, but his source, **H. Gray** – cited above, gives the correct year and title.

⁸² **M. Powicke, and E. Fryde** (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology* (London, 1961) p. 79.

⁸³ **C. Kingsford**, 'An Historical Collection of the Fifteenth Century' in *English Historical Review* (1914) pp. 505-515, at p. 515.

⁸⁴ **G. Harris**, 'The struggle for Calais: an aspect of the rivalry between Lancaster and York' in *English Historical Review* (1960) pp. 30-53 at p. 32.

in the parliamentary debate relating to the French war⁸⁵. He was a sufficiently significant member of the king's government and household (as treasurer of the household) to be shielded from the worst effects of the act of resumption which Henry VI was forced to concede as a *quid pro quo* for money by parliament, in 1450⁸⁶. From early April 1454, *Stourton* served under the earl of Salisbury, replacing the duke of Exeter as commissioner of the admiralty⁸⁷. Besides these domestic duties, he served as an English negotiator and ambassador in Bruges, meeting with Henry Utenhove over February-March 1451, to settle the issue of letters of marque and, in the summer of that year, discussing reparations for piracy for the period before 1449⁸⁸. *Stourton* died in 1462, having served the Lancastrian regime all his days, and having become rich enough (especially through the support of William de la Pole, earl of Suffolk) to build Stourton castle in Wiltshire⁸⁹.

In her consideration of the tale as one which used historical material in an unrealistic and clumsy way, Diner was also wide of the mark. She argued

⁸⁵ E. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1961) pp. 433-434, 490; R. Griffiths, 'The King's Council and the First Protectorate of the Duke of York, 1453-1454' in *English Historical Review* (1984) pp. 67-82 at pp. 78-79; W. Dunham, 'Notes from the Parliament at Winchester, 1449' in *Speculum* (1942) pp. 402-415, at p. 403; 'The Books of the Parliament and The Old Record 1396-1504' in *Speculum* (1976) pp.694-712, at pp. 701, 710-711; H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the privy Council of England*, vols 5 and 6 (London, 1837) particularly vol. 5, pp. XV, XXXV, XLIV, XLVIII.

⁸⁶ B. Wolffe, 'Acts of Resumption in the Lancastrian Parliaments 1399-1456' in *English Historical Review* (1958) pp. 583-613, at pp. 600, 607.

⁸⁷ R. Griffiths, 'Local Rivalries and National Politics: the Percies, the Nevilles, and the duke of Exeter 1452-55', in *Speculum* (1968) pp. 589-632, at pp. 610-611. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 493-494.

⁸⁸ Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp.157-158. On the Utenhove family, see above.

⁸⁹ K. McFarlane, *The Nobility of Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1973) pp. 181-182.

that *the referential elements also place the narrative on a humble stylistic level*. This case, however, ignores the possibility that the courtly audience's interest would have been aroused by precisely the sorts of details that Quiévrain gave. For instance, one of the raconteurs, Philippe Vignier, had a family interest in the organisation of the convention. His father, Jean Vignier, a trusted ducal servant⁹⁰, left Saint Omer on 16 February 1439 to meet the king at Limoges and secure his approval for the diplomatic meeting⁹¹. Philippe de Croy knew how long the negotiations took, and what the business was⁹². His familiarity with the domestic arrangements of great English lords in the town of Calais was not an irrelevant detail to his audience – some of whom were actually present at the talks. That the

⁹⁰ ACO B 1751, fo 119v – 120r mentions Guillemete, widow of the late Jehan Vignier († 11 March 1463) who in his life was *varlet de Chambre de monditseigneur*. Philippe and Phillipot Vignier are identified as sons of the said late Jehan Vignier. One of their sisters, Louise Vignier, was married to Thiebault de Nogent. (ACO B 1751 fo. 120v: Guillemete received 44 francs on the pension of the 100 francs made out to the late Jehan Vignier, and lived at Châtillon sur Seine. ACO B 1760 fo. 86v: Subsequently she drew a pension of 50 francs.) Jean Vignier was the receiver of the county of Tonnerre in 1423 (**Peincedé**, *Recueil Peincedé*, ACO, vol. 5 p. 56) and remained one of the duke's four paid forresters in Villers le Duc, when the number was cut from six (ACO B 6645). cf **C. Allmand**, 'Documents relating to the Anglo-French Negotiations of 1439' in *Camden Miscellany XXIV, Fourth Series*, 9 (London, 1972) pp. 79-149 at pp. 91 and 119.

⁹¹ ADN B 1969 fo 156v (and cf B 1666 fo 113): He was to *avoir son scellé de entretenir certaine journée prinse avec les angloiz pour le fait de la paix des deux royaumes de France et d'Angleterre*. On 7 April, from Auvergne, the king's letters (given at Rheims) granted permission to the duke of Burgundy the count of Vendôme, the chancellor Regnault de Chartres, the bastard of Orleans, and numerous other royal councillors to treat for *paix finale entre les royaumes de France et d'Angleterre*. **D. Plancher**, *Histoire de Bourgogne*, vol. 4, *preuves* p. CLXIII. On 6 April, the king made the order for the bastard of Orleans' expenses (£2000) to be paid for the trip to Calais. He signed for the money on 14 April and 4 May. cf **G. Du Fresne de Beaucourt**, *Histoire de Charles VII* (Paris, 1881-1891) vol. 3, p. 103. Interestingly, PRO E30/448 records a two month truce agreed on February 8 1439, prior to receipt of the king's approval.

⁹² See above for details.

innkeeper's wife was from Holland, and therefore owed allegiance to the duke of Burgundy was also of interest. In fifteenth-century Calais, the law was restrictive for innkeepers and publicans, owing to the sensitivity of lodging aliens in the town. Innkeepers, for example, swore to report daily on who lodged with them, and since 1413, only resident burgesses could be innkeepers⁹³. To set the scene by mentioning such things as guard duty, and the custom of drinking in a tavern after mass was *not* to employ what Diner thought of as irrelevant *incidental details* but to set the scene in a manner to which his audience could relate⁹⁴. Diner's conclusion that *CNN 62 does not relate the social status of the protagonists to what is said about them in the tale* misses the point: at Gravelines was negotiated the most important and high profile diplomatic realignment of Anglo-Burgundian (and tangentially, therefore, Franco-Burgundian) relations since the treaty of Arras⁹⁵. The conference was overshadowed only by the marriage of the count of Charolais to Catherine of France in nearby Saint Omer in June 1439 – an event also intended to secure Burgundian interests⁹⁶. The negotiations bore fruit in terms of trade relations and truces with England and the possibility of release for the duke of Orleans, whom the duke of Burgundy subsequently

⁹³ G. Sandeman, *Calais Under English Rule* (Oxford, 1908) p. 98.

⁹⁴ Sandeman, *Calais*, p. 92: The mayor of the town was responsible for the *serche-watch* and had eight paid men at arms under him.

⁹⁵ C. Allmand, 'The Anglo-French Negotiations, 1439' in *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (1967) pp. 1-33, especially pp. 8 and 11. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp. 111 and ff. Allmand's article is the best overview. Rymer, *Foedera*, vol. 10, p. 721. Henry VI's safe-conduct allowed for up to 500 people to attend the conventions. cf pp. 713-750 for detailed memoranda on the trade negotiations. There are two copies of Thomas Beckington's record of events in BL Harley MS 4763 and MS 861. References to the published editions in Allmand's article.

⁹⁶ P. Robins, 'Le mariage de Marguerite d'York et de Charles le Téméraire en 1468' in *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen* (1992) pp. 74-96 at pp. 77-78.

maintained as an important ally in France and northern Italy⁹⁷. Diner stated that the tale *is not related to the historical world it purports to represent*. *The author of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles has instead reduced his historical referential elements to a casual historical narrative*. To make such a judgement is to ignore the fact that the original courtly audience for that story would not have had any problem relating to the historical world represented in the tale, and would certainly have appreciated the scandal. Diner went on to discuss what she thought of as *the Cent nouvelles nouvelles*' use of referential details to dress literature up as life in a familiar style. This technique was used, according to Diner, in order that *the authenticating details of proper names [might] conceal the fictional aspect of the tale*. Perhaps the tale was a fiction: it certainly seems a bit far-fetched. But, of course, that is beside the point: real or not, the tale had interest because the context was absolutely relevant and clear to the group which generated the text⁹⁸.

Dehistoricisation: Dominique Lagorgette.

Diner is not the only philologist to treat the historical realities of the text too casually. Dominique Lagorgette, for example⁹⁹, noted the “overrepresentation” of the clergy in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*¹⁰⁰. In

⁹⁷ On the negotiations and their aftermath for Orleans see PRO E30/441, E30/452, E30/454, E30/456, E30/462, E30/475, E30/503, E30/519, E30/1596. C47/30/9/17 contains the protocol of the commercial treaty the duchess agreed, dated 29 September, 1439.

⁹⁸ For the events at Calais in 1459-60, see **M. Jones**, 'Edward IV, the Earl of Warwick and the Yorkist Claim to the Throne' in *Historical Research* (1997) pp. 342-353.

⁹⁹ **D. Lagorgette**, 'Images du Clerc Obscur Dans Quelques Textes en Moyen Français' in *Senefiance (CUERMA)* (Aix-en-Provence, 1995) pp. 347-362.

¹⁰⁰ **Lagorgette**, *Images du Clerc*, p. 350.

other words, more protagonists in the tales are people of religious professions than one might expect to find if they reflected the true composition of society. Having made this discovery, she argued that if Philippe Pot was the *acteur* (and she followed Sweetser and Champion in saying that he was) then, by adding his fifteen nouvelles to the five said to be by the *acteur*, and the two anonymous tales, *nous voici avec presque un quart du recueil rédigé par un membre de la classe ecclésiastique*¹⁰¹. Her reasoning, in other words, was that there are more stories about clerics than there ought to be, therefore the redactor was a cleric. Not only is there no proof that the *acteur* was a cleric, or that the two anonymous tales were by clerics, Philippe Pot, lord of la Roche (not *la Roque*, as Lagorgette wrote) was a knight of great renown, a jousting, and scarcely a man of the cloth¹⁰².

Dehistoricisation: Nelly Labère.

In her dissertation on temporality in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Nelly Labère incorporated a subsection entitled *histoire et histoire* in which she assessed the historical aspect of the nouvelles which were recounted in a style which *borrowed the language of the chronicle, and the notion of truth*¹⁰³. Labère infers that the text of the 87th *Nouvelle* locates the tale in

¹⁰¹ Lagorgette, *Images du Clerc*, p. 348.

¹⁰² J. Bartier, *Légistes et Gens de Finances au XV^e Siècle – les conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire* (Brussels, 1952) p. 233. K. de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 3 (Brussels, 1863) p. 455; ADN B 2034 preregister fo 3r. In May 1459, the duke paid Philippe Pot part of the £460 he promised him on account of a chivalric undertaking and feat of arms which he intended to do (*l'emprinsse et fait d'armes qu'il a entencion de faire*).

¹⁰³ Labère, *Temporalité*, p. 64: *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles matérialisent cette temporalité définie et clairement identifiable et désignent en creux, en empruntant le langage de la chronique. la notion de vérité.*

1455 at the time of the Utrecht war¹⁰⁴. The tale, however, does no such thing, locating the events thus: *Au gent et plantureux pais¹⁰⁵ de Hollande avoit, n'a pas cent ans, ung gentil chevalier logé en ung bel et bon hostel*. Since there is no indication in the *Nouvelle* that the high jinks of a knight (in the service of a ducal quartermaster¹⁰⁶) and a ducal surgeon took place during one of the exceptional war years, why impose such a detail¹⁰⁷? The story mentioned at least two ducal servants – the doctor and the quartermaster – who were certainly known to other courtiers.

Deux techniques majeures d'attestation historique vont être à son fondement : la référence soit à un personnage historique connu pour son caractère hors du commun, soit à des batailles.

¹⁰⁴ Labère, *Temporalité*, p. 66.

¹⁰⁵ Vérard's text gives a more specific location: *En une bonne ville du pays*.

¹⁰⁶ One of the raconteurs occupied such a position. ADN B 2034 describes Mahieu d' Auquasnes as *fourrier de l'ostel de mondit seigneur*. According to la Marche, the *fourrier* was counted amongst the forty other *varlets de chambre* because one of his duties was to fix the prince's feather bed **H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont**, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maitre d'Hotel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 1883-88) vol. 1, pp. 18-19. There were normally six doctors in attendance on the duke, whose job was to watch him eat and tell him which cuts of meat were most profitable for his constitution (pp. 16-17).

¹⁰⁷ L. Rossi, 'Pour une édition des Cent nouvelles nouvelles de la copie de Philippe le Bon a l'édition d'Antoine Vérard' in *Le Moyen Français* (1988) pp. 69-77 at p. 70: Rossi made the same baseless contention, saying that the 8th nouvelle speaks of the stay Philip the Good made at Deventer in Holland in 1456. Neither the name of Deventer nor the year 1456 appear in the tale. The text does not even necessarily specify that the duke was in the town at the time. It says the knight called for the ducal surgeon who at that time was in the town... *manda le chirurgien de Monseigneur le duc, qui pour ce temps en la ville estoit...* Philip the Good's doctors did a lot of travelling, and were not always all with him. The following archival references detail Philip the Good's doctors' and surgeons' presence at and absences from the court in the late 1450s and early 1460s, the period during which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were recounted and written up: ADN B 2020 fo 156r, 163v, 265v, 277r-v, 321v-322r, 324v, 373v; B 2021 #61613 fo 15r, B 2026 fo 23r, 151r; B 2030 fo 138v-140r; B 2034 preregister fo 2r, 35v, 65v; B 2034 fo 1v, 14r, 63v, 65v-66r, 114r,

In her comments on the 75th *Nouvelle* Labère was equally negligent of the historical details. She wrote that it recounted *the surrender of the town of Troyes to Charles VII on 9 July 1429*¹⁰⁸. In fact, however, the tale is not set during the period of Charles' reconquests, but (explicitly) before then, *au temps de la guerre des deux partiz, les ungs nommez Bourgoignons, les aultres Ermignacs*¹⁰⁹. The ambush and skirmish at Troyes mentioned in the tale was between the Burgundian garrison, and the small force of Armagnac loyalists led by the bailiff of the town. The story concerned the Burgundian garrison which was stationed at Saint Menehould (south east of Reims and north east of Châlons sur Marne), and not the delphinal army.

This fact is not without significance, because the raconteur, the lord of Thalemas, was himself in armed service in John the Fearless' army in the September campaigns of 1417 – a young knight bachelor, as a contemporary muster roll confirms¹¹⁰. It is unsurprising that for the *Nouvelle* collection he should have recalled an incident to memory from an exciting period in his youth, involving a half-crazed bagpiper. As he stood on the gallows, the piper played a tune with a suggestive title (*Tu demoures trop, Robinet, tu demoures trop*), and was almost hanged by the Armagnac bailiff of the town¹¹¹.

115r-116r, 117v, 118r-v, 124r, 135r, 137r, 143v, 165v, 167r, 175r, 176r, 178r, 180r-v, 189v-190r; B 2045 preregister fo 16r-v, 23v, 24r-v, 33v, 39r-v, 40r, 41v-42r, 46v, 53r-v; B 2048 fo 10v, 18v, 78v, 231v-232r.

¹⁰⁸ *la reddition de la ville de Troyes à Charles VII le 9 juillet 1429*.

¹⁰⁹ **B. Schnerb**, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons, la maudite guerre* (Paris, 1988) p. 178.

¹¹⁰ ACO B 11788: muster roll: August 1417. See plate 7.

¹¹¹ The pastoral 82nd *Nouvelle* by Lannoy about the two Lillois sheep tenders, contains material developed into suggestive songs by Clément Jannequin. **Ensemble Clément Jannequin**: *Fricassée Parisienne, chansons de la renaissance française* (**Radio France**: *Harmonia Mundi /Musique d'Abord* series) CD track

A variety of the tale's details square with archival evidence about the events leading up to the recapture of Troyes by the Burgundian force. In particular, the duke's servants Antoine de Toulangeon and Jehan Fraignot sent a letter to the duchess of Burgundy on 1 August 1417 describing the fall of the town on 29 July 1417, which is therefore a *terminus ante quem* for the events recounted in the tale. The letter is worth considering, as it confirms the central importance of the *bailiff of Troyes* to the events of the *Nouvelle* and the recapture. It also notes that there was a split in the townspeople's allegiance, which makes the plan recounted in the *Nouvelle* seem much less improbable – after all, it was not unlikely that the soldiers should hatch a scheme to ambush the *bailiff* and his supporters if they felt that the townspeople would be unwilling to commit a significant force to defend them¹¹².

Most redoubted lady, we recommend ourselves to you as humbly as we can... May it please you to know ... that last Wednesday my lords of Argueil, of Neufchastel and other knights and captains of our contingent, wrote ... to the clergy, burgesses and inhabitants of the town of Troyes asking them what they intended to do about our lord [the duke]'s letters patent expounding ... his solicitude for the welfare of the king, but there was no reply to these letters. For this reason, last Thursday morning [29 July 1417]

#2: *Une bergère un jour*; track #23: *Ung jour Robin*. cf F. Lesure, *Autour de Clement Marot et de ses Musiciens* in *Revue de Musicologie* (1951) pp. 109-119. Lewis, *King Spider*, pp. 344-345.

¹¹² Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, pp. 218-219. The lord of *Thalemas*' narrative emphasises the *bailiff's* enmity to the Burgundian cause: *Mesme le bailly. ... dist et jura ... qu'il seroit pendu par la gorge.* – *Even the bailiff. ... said and swore ... that he would be hanged by the neck.*

we went to the gates of Troyes with Sir Gautier de Ruppes and Sir Henri de Champdivers ... to ask for a reply. We arrived at about the hour of prime and there, that is to say at the gate of the suburb of Croncel, the bailiff came to parley with us. He could not have had more than thirty persons with him, all of them [Armagnacs], ...Although we talked with the said bailiff a long time about these [ducal] letters ...which had earlier been sent to Troyes, and which he had not permitted to be published or read aloud before the people, [and although] we asked him for leave to enter the town in order to read and publish these letters ...nevertheless the bailiff would not do anything. We were saddened and angered by this but, after his reply and departure, we found means to enter quite easily into the said suburb of Croncel, and we found our way through it with some other knights and squires to the city gate, which the bailiff had closed... Because the crowd of people who had gathered within the city, near this gate, having heard about the ducal letters... and wanting to ascertain their contents, became hostile to the bailiff and his partisans, and because of the intervention of certain influential individuals who had the duke's interests at heart, some of the citizens came to parley with us, and to such good effect that within an hour we entered the city of Troyes. Before the people gathered there, who numbered some six or seven thousand persons ... the duke's letters were read out aloud by me Fraignot ... in the principal square of Troyes, called the Cornmarket ... After this the crowd, in very happy and joyous mood, cried out Noel! Long live the king and the duke of Burgundy...

The *Nouvelle* had a particular resonance for its original audience because the old soldier who told the tale was personally involved in the civil war. The story also entertained a Burgundian courtly audience because it celebrated

the recapture of a town of strategic importance from the Armagnacs who murdered John the Fearless. Not only had Troyes been a large Armagnac town, it also contained a royal mint. Troyes was followed by the capture of Mâcon, another important town with a mint, and the march on Paris could begin on a secure financial footing soon afterwards¹¹³. It is important, when considering the nouvelles as documents of their time, not to lose sight of their historical aspect.

Conclusion.

The essential point of this introduction is not simply to point out the problems which have arisen because recent philological studies have traduced the historical record. Although corrections are necessary, neither is the issue merely to halt the dehistoricisation of the text. It is important to go one stage further, and demonstrate that an understanding of the historical context is critical to a fuller understanding of the text, its jokes, and nuances. In the remainder of the thesis, we take the next step, and consider the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*' place in history in the round through a historical study of the men who made the text. Champion's approach involved listing a few of the relevant documents, but no attempt has ever been made to join up the pieces to try and understand what the lives of the raconteurs have to do with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. This is unfortunate, as there are so many documents available about the men that no historian could hope to explore all of them. It seems desirable to discover how the raconteurs functioned as literary and political men in relation to their text.

¹¹³ Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 109. Schnerb, *Armagnacs*, p. 184.

A more complete historical picture would allow philologists to nuance their evaluation of the text as an artistic document. If Champion's work had been a sufficiently detailed and historically accurate basis on which philological study could reasonably hope to proceed then there would be little justification for another historical examination of the text. Champion's remarks however, were not sufficient to ensure that the text would be adequately evaluated both within the literary canon and its broader sociocultural framework. I contend, therefore, that further historical study of the circumstances in which it was written and conceived are likely to alter broader general conclusions about its aesthetic and cultural value.

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Chapter Two: THE TEXT

What is the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*?

Before considering the immediate historical circumstances in which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* arose, it is worth considering the evidence relating to the work in its context. One important caveat applies at the outset: the duke's manuscript has been lost, and no contemporary evidence of its composition details how, when, where, why and by whom the collection was made.

Modern published versions of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* are based on the fifteenth-century manuscript in Glasgow University Library, *Hunter 252*¹. This parchment codex is the unique extant, fifteenth-century manuscript of the work. The palaeography suggests it was made between c. 1460-80. It could have a later date than this, however, as styles in handwriting, especially amongst professional copyists, retained similar features for much more than twenty-year stretches². The dialectal traits reflected in the orthography of the manuscript suggest that the scribe who penned it was a Burgundian, working in the fifteenth century, or at least reproducing the text of a Burgundian written then³. It is a *Burgundian*

¹ <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detaild.cfm?DID=33140> This contains an abridgement of the description of MS *Hunter 252* by J. Young and P. Aitken, *A catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908) pp. 202-203. For an update to this codicological description, see the appendix.

² N. Labère, 'Etude de la temporalité dans les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', DEA dissertation, (Sorbonne, 2000) p. 85: Labère speaks of *le manuscrit, daté au plus tard de 1467*, but there is no need to assume that the Glasgow manuscript was made for the duke: indeed the fact that it was not inventoried in his library (the duke's copy was in two columns, and each tale was preceded by a synopsis) suggests that *Hunter 252* was not his copy.

³ M. Pope, *From Latin to Modern French, with especial consideration of anglo Norman: Phonology and Morphology* (Manchester, 1966) pp. 486-505; W. Ayres-Bennett, *A History of the French*

manuscript, in other words, even if it was not the first copy of the text made for the court.

Language through texts (New York and London, 1996); **R. Posner**, *Language Change in French* (Oxford, 1997); **C. Marchello-Nizia**, *Histoire de la langue française aux XIVe et XVe* (Paris, 1979); **P. Rickard**, *Chrestomathie de la langue française au quinzième siècle* (Cambridge, 1976); **J. Reuning**, *La Vie et miracles de Notre Dame de Jean Miélot: A Partial Critical Edition*, MA Thesis, (Chapel Hill, 2003). The orthography of *Hunter 252* makes it difficult to ascertain the scribe's provenance, though a variety of features suggest that he was a Burgundian, who perhaps had some experience working in the northern ducal lands. The characteristic Burgundian velarised a-sound is found throughout, as are the equally characteristic insertions of the letters *oi* to the present indicative. The word *fu* (was) which is often found as the Picard spelling, is used only four times in the manuscript in comparison with the more common Burgundian spelling *fut* (847 times). (Compare Miélot's *Vie et miracles* (BN MS FR 9198 fo 1-49) where the word *fu* appears 129 times, and *fut* only once.) *Hunter 252* has many instances of *cque*, rather than *c*, which is characteristic of both northern and Burgundian spelling. The use of the letter *w* is occasional, rather than habitual, and some uses, such as in names (*Waleran / Warengewille / Wastennes*), may be discounted: *wart* (Nouvelle 26); *widel / widé / widée / wider / widera* (nouvelles 83, 85, 86, 92, 99). Similarly, the letters *gh* appear only once (Nouvelle 93: *goghettes*) apart from in place names (*Gravelinghes / Stevelinghes*), though their retention in *Gravelinghes* is significant: a French equivalent, *Gravelines*, was available, and the orthography probably reflects the raconteur's original pronunciation. The letters *ck* (also found in northern spellings, e.g. *Ockeghem*) do not appear together, and neither do the hard *ch* (e.g. *Obrecht*). The use of *-euz* is characteristic of Burgundian spelling in first person singular and third person plural verb endings. (It is found in third person singular verbs in Northern region spelling, but the manuscript consistently uses *-eut* for these.) Note also the following traits, most usual in Burgundian orthography:

The addition of an *s* for an intervocal *r*: e.g. manuscript *ceruse* for *Vérard serrure* (Nouvelle 1).

The use of *-ant* for *-oit* as an ending to third person singular verbs: e.g. *attendant* for *attendoit* (Nouvelle 1).

The absence of a *u* between the letters *l* and *t* in the past participle *voult* (nouvelles 2, 60, 92)

The use of *vaille* for *vault* (Nouvelle 33)

The use of *beaucop* (90 times) rather than *beaucoup* (12 times).

The avoidance of *-ance* as an ending. e.g. *oysiveté* for *oysance* (Nouvelle 99) *soustenant* for *soustenance* (Nouvelle 21) *entretienement* for *entretienance* (Nouvelle 33). (Nouvelle 57, by the lord of Villiers, which is set in the Dauphiné, contains an exception to this rule: *d'excusances* for *d'excusacions*. Perhaps this is merely an orthographic reflection of the raconteur's accent, if Villiers was indeed the dauphin's servant.)

The use of the preposition and noun *lez* (next to / places) for *pres de* (nouvelles 15, 40) or *lotz* (Nouvelle 91).

Dedication, Rubrics and Colophon.

The manuscript contains a complete text of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, including a letter of dedication to the duke of Burgundy, and one hundred miniatures to accompany the tales. The main area in which it is deficient is the table of résumés which begins the text: as will be discussed below, a few leaves of the manuscript's table have fallen out at some stage in its history, though these have been replaced from Vérard's printed edition in modern releases of the text. In terms of the value of the manuscript's evidence it is worth noting that although the tales were apparently all written together, other important elements in the codex are slightly later additions. In this regard, the most puzzling section of the manuscript is located after the table of contents. This is a one-page dedication by the redactor of the work to the duke of Burgundy, which we will discuss below. After the dedication, a later hand has added the following date and place: *de dijon l'an M iij^C xxxij^A*. If the manuscript was written at Dijon, it would certainly account for its Burgundian orthography. The date, however, is clearly wrong. It is possible that either a fifth *i* has been missed, to give a date of 1532, or that the letter *L* is missing for 1482. The latter date is more in keeping with the palaeography of the manuscript. Because the red ink which added the colophon was also used to tamper with the names originally associated with the nouvelles in the manuscript,

⁴ **T. Wright**, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles publiées d'après le seul manuscrit connu avec introduction et notes* (Paris, 1858) p. 251, note to vol. 1 p. XXII. **L. Rossi**, *Pour une édition des Cent nouvelles nouvelles de la copie de Philippe le Bon à l'édition d'Antoine Vérard* in *Le Moyen Français* (1988) pp. 69-77 at p. 74: Rossi mistakenly believes that the manuscript colophon reads: *De Dijon l'an Miiii^Cxxxvi* and that there is an L missing after the C, to give a date of *M iiii^Clxxxii* or 1482. NB – if it were missing an L, this erroneous reading should, in fact, give a date of 1486: Rossi made a mistake in the first date, perhaps confusing it because the Vérard edition – see below – was dated to 1486. The colophon as it appears on fo 2v after the dedicatory letter, reads as I have transcribed it in the text above.

and because the details it added were generally unreliable (see below), it is difficult to know how much weight to lend the colophon⁵. It is certain that the colophon was added *after* the text was completed and rubricated, but it is not certain how long afterwards.

Most, though not all, stories have a rubricated name associated with them at the heads of the nouvelles. These rubrics identify the raconteurs and are similar in layout to the following example from *Nouvelle 26*⁶:

*La xxvj^e. nouvelle par
mons[eigneu]r de foquessoles escuier de
la chambre de monseigneur*

In the late 19th and early 20th Centuries, the names and titles in question were enthusiastically identified by Thomas Wright and Pierre Champion as those of courtiers at the duke of Burgundy's court in the 1450s⁷. As has been mentioned, at various stages in the manuscript, there are incidences of the colophon rubricator both altering existing rubrics (deleting the original rubricator's end mark [¶] where one existed) and associating new names or titles to the heads of stories. Although the fact that the colophon writer's hand was identified as being different from that of the other rubrics as early as Thomas Wright's edition, no-one has noticed that the second red ink was used elsewhere in the manuscript to change the names. These significant additions most often come towards the end of the manuscript. The names in the *original* rubricator's ink are more

⁵ A full list of tamperings made with the colophon's red ink may be found in a codicological appendix to the thesis.

⁶ **P. Champion**, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928) pp. X-XII. See Plate 1. I have observed the rubric's line breaks as they appear in the manuscript.

⁷ Perhaps a little too enthusiastically on occasion. There are several raconteurs whose identities are more mysterious than Champion or Wright allowed. This is discussed in an appendix relating to Alardin, Beauvoir, Caron, Jehan Lauvin, Le Voyer, Santilly, Timoléon Vignier, and Villiers.

trustworthy: on occasion, the tamperings add important mistakes. For instance on folio 120 the original rubric reads, quite correctly:

*La cinquante troysiesme nouvelle
par mons[eigneu]r lamant de bruxelles⁸*

On folio 27r, by contrast, although the rubric *begins* in the first red ink, reading:

La xiii^e. nouvelle par mons[eigneu]r de castregat

the lighter red colophon ink ends the attribution:

escuier de m[onseig]n[eu].r

as though the *Nouvelle* was originally said to be by *my lord of Castregat, esquire to my lord*. An obvious point which has never been made by philologists is that Castregat was not an *escuier de monseigneur* at all. He had enjoyed the rank of *maistre d'hostel* (household steward) for a long time when the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were composed, which was greater than that of a mere *escuier*, and incurred significantly more remuneration and responsibility⁹.

⁸ The ink has smudged, run and partly rubbed-off onto the lettering on fo 119v. Note that the word *amman* was evidently unknown to the rubricator, which suggests he was a francophone unfamiliar with dutch official's titles. On the duties of the Amman see chapter three below. The meaning of the word is discussed in chapter one above.

⁹ The dating is discussed in detail below. On Castregat's responsibilities, see chapter three below. A similar caveat applies to the example given above, which is also given in two inks:

la xxvj^e nouvelle par
monseigneur de foquessoles escuier de
la chambre de monseigneur

In account register ADN B 2034 fo 163r Jacques de Fouquesolles is described as a knight, councillor and chamberlain of the duke's – a cut above a mere *escuier*.

The evidence of the manuscript has to be considered alongside early printed editions of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*¹⁰. The most celebrated (and earliest) were Parisian publisher Antoine Vérard's. Philippe le Noir of Paris, and Olivier Arnoullet, a Lyon printer, released other best-selling editions in and around 1532¹¹. Modern editors, including Thomas Wright¹², consulted them alongside the Vérard text, and at least one modern owner of an Arnoullet edition believed, wrongly, that it was based on the Glasgow manuscript¹³.

¹⁰ Issued from French, English and Dutch presses, both in complete editions and as selections from the text. For a list of Vérard and other early editions, see **R. Robbins**, *The One Hundred New Tales* (New York, 1960) [NB this edition is also catalogued as: *The Hundred Tales*. (New York, 1960; London, 1962.)] pp. 387-388. cf **B. Woledge**, *Bibliographie des Romans et nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500* (Geneva, 1954) pp. 28-29; *Bibliographie des Romans et nouvelles en prose Française antérieurs à 1500: Supplément 1954-1973* (Geneva, 1975) pp. 31-32.

¹¹ **P. Le Noir**, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles: contenant cent hystoires ou nouveaulx comptes plaisans a deviser en toutes bonnes compaignies par maniere de ioyeusete*, (Paris, 1520-39) (Rome, Bibliotheca d'Italia, C 4441, Silvestre 61) (London, British Library, C.7.a.13) Le Noir's edition ends: ¶*Cy finissent les cent nouveaulx comptes des nouvelles nouvelles / composees et recites par nouvelles gens depuis naguieres. Nouvellement imprimees a Paris par Philippe Le noir. Demourant en grant Rue Sainct Jacques a lenseigne de la Rose blanche couronne*; **Woledge** lists Arnoullet's editions from c. 1530 as: BL, C.97.b.7; Musée Condé (Chantilly), IV.E.26; Fairfax Murray 81. **J. Brunet**, *Manuel du Libraire et de l'Amateur de Livres*, (Paris, 1860-1865) vol. 1, #1735; **L. Hain**, *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (Stuttgart, 1826-1838) #11911. The Arnoullet 1532 issues are listed as BN, Res. Y2 730, BL G.10501; Brunet vol I, #1735; Fairfax Murray #81. **Woledge** also cites **H. Davies**, *Catalogue of a Collection of Early French Books in the Library of C. Fairfax Murray* (London, 1910) # 81 which records an Arnoullet edition of 1532. **Woledge** did not mention that the BN MS FR 20023 (317 folios, extracts, 17th Century) was based on the Arnoullet text.

¹² **T. Wright**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Paris, 1857-1858), this appeared before, and apparently independently of Bibliophile Jacob's edition, based solely on the printed texts, to which Wright refers in his introduction, also Paris, 1858. (Not to be confounded with the Lacroix, Paris, 1884 reissue.) *Bibliophile Jacob* was the nom de plume of **Paul Lacroix**.

¹³ **O. Arnoullet**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, BL C.97.B.7. (Lyon, c.1530). On A vii verso, after the dedication and the note that *M[onsei]g[neu]r* signified the dauphin, who became Louis XI, there is a note in a modern hand that says: *De Dijon l'an Mil iijC xxxij Extrait de l'original manuscrit sur velin avec mignatures*. This clearly refers to the manuscript which is now in Glasgow. The Arnoullet volume

When the texts disagree in important matters, such as the names associated with the tales, it is difficult to know which to trust. Occasionally this may be a matter of spelling¹⁴. For example, *Hunter 252* consistently ascribes some tales to Philippe de Loan, a well documented Burgundian courtier, ambassador and bibliophile¹⁵. Vérard rendered this name: Philippe de Laon. It is impossible to say definitively whether this is an accidental, or unimportant semantic difference - or a deliberate metathesis. It comes down to a balance of probabilities as to which text is trustworthy. Vérard's text apparently has a "correction" which was itself mistaken. It also calls the lord of Quiévrain, *Monseigneur de Commesuram*¹⁶. Loan and Quiévrain are attested in Burgundian documents, but I have been unable to find *Laon* or *Commesuram*. The same is true for the less corrupted *Phelippes Vignieu*, which is how Vérard's table renders the name of Philippe Vignier, raconteur of the 19th tale. Whereas Vérard gives *Jehan Lambin*, it is more likely that the manuscript's name, *Jehan Lanvin*, is correct, as this was current amongst the bourgeoisie of Lille in the 15th and 16th centuries¹⁷.

The manuscript has no particular right to be preferred over Vérard's edition as "the earliest copy" in terms of the date at which it was

came to the BL by bequest of *Tho[mas] Tyrwhitt Esq^r* in 1786, and another note says, *ce livre appartient a Mr Muisson donne par le testament de Mr Lablancour*.

¹⁴ **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928) pp. X-XII.

¹⁵ See chapter three below.

¹⁶ This is how the name appears in *Nouvelle 62*, and in the table.

¹⁷ Jehan Lanvin of Lille, son of another Jehan, is mentioned in the unpublished AM Lille catalogue description for 7.10.1535, fo 78 v. (http://perso.wanadoo.fr/genealo/bourgeoisie_lille/1514_48L.HTM) (**P. Povoas**, *Analysis of the registers of the Bourgeoisie of Lille 1291-1791*, catalogued as AM Lille,

physically written onto parchment. Tamperings with the names in some of its attributory colophons also complicate matters. In spite of its deficiencies, for historical purposes, the manuscript's reading should not usually be set aside in favour of V  rard's. As we shall see, *Hunter 252* preserves a version of the text nearest to the state in which the redactor presented it to the duke of Burgundy. The thousands of minor differences between manuscript and printed text reflect V  rard's editorial hand¹⁸.

Although the tales are recognisably similar in both manuscript and printed versions, the claims of the V  rard texts are radically at odds with those of the manuscript. In the earlier woodcuts accompanying the V  rard texts are scenes which emphasise the dauphin Louis' involvement in the enterprise, whilst his later woodcut makes the text seem more of a royal venture.

Pictured in the 1486 (Biblioth  que Nationale) prints are the dauphin, the duke of Burgundy and the dauphin's court engaged in story telling¹⁹. The dauphin is pictured sitting in majesty on a throne, with his heraldic motif of a dolphin emblazoned on it. Two courtiers²⁰ sport the Golden Fleece, the duke's chivalric collar. An editorial note appended to the letter of dedication specifically states that, throughout the text, where a tale is described as being by *monseigneur*, the *monseigneur* in question is Louis the dauphin. He *has subsequently succeeded to the crown and is the king*

#953-965) Lambin is a Parisian onomastic variation of Lambelin, which is how that name appears in Burgundian documents.

¹⁸ F. Sweetser, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, edition critique* (Geneva and Paris, 1966). Sweetser footnoted the differences between manuscript and printed text. On these, see the codicology appendix.

¹⁹ See Plates 2-4.

²⁰ The seated figure to the dauphin's left presumably represents the duke himself, as he wears the Fleece, and has a chair, deliberately in a slightly lower position than the dauphin's throne.

*Louis XI, because he was then in the lands of the duke of Burgundy*²¹.

This note, written in the present tense, implies that Vérard prepared his text in the king's lifetime²². Luciano Rossi, the most recent philologist to comment at length on the early printed editions, believed that Vérard copied the note from a now lost manuscript which contained it. A more convincing scenario is that an earlier Vérard edition of which no copies now survive appeared before 1483, when Louis XI died. In 1486 he simply released an earlier version of his own text, and put a new release date at the end. Champion's solution to the problem, that Vérard was inclined to tailor his goods to his market (*bien parer sa merchandise*), remains convincing.

Rossi was also somewhat confused in his consideration of the woodcuts Vérard used to illustrate his edition²³. He comments that in the 1486 text, after the plate of the dauphin sitting on the throne emblazoned with his dolphin motif, there was another representing the *acteur on his knees, offering the book of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles to the king of France, sat on his throne and surrounded by six people, amongst whom Philip the Good may once more be discerned*. Rossi's reason for believing Philip the Good was one of the courtiers was that the figure sported the collar of the Golden Fleece. The source Rossi cites in support of this idea, John

²¹ See Plates 5-6.

Et notez q[ue] par toutes les nouvelles ou il est dit par monseig[ne]ur il est entendu par monseigneur le daulphin lequel depuis a succede a la couronne / et est le roy loys un= ziesme / car il estoit lors es pays du duc de bourgongne.

²² Rossi, *Pour une édition*, p. 76.

MacFarlane's catalogue of Antoine Vérard's issues, entry #4, describes the copy of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* catalogued as BN Res Y2 174²⁴. The woodcut which illustrates it does *not* show six people surrounding the king, some of them wearing the Golden Fleece, as Rossi believed, but nine people around the king and the *acteur*. This frontispiece, as Macfarlane said, was used in the *Sydrach Philozophe* which is now BN Res Y2 183²⁵. A closer inspection of the figure standing on the enthroned king's left hand side in that picture shows that although he is indeed wearing a collar, it is not necessarily the Golden Fleece²⁶. If Rossi meant the woodcut which illustrates the London copy (*BL IB 41194*), which does indeed have six courtiers in the background, then he was confused about the Golden Fleece²⁷. None of the men in that picture wears a collar which was like that of the Golden Fleece represented in the frontispieces of either Y2 174 and Y2 175²⁸.

Vérard associated Louis XI with the stories, and his extra note also figures in the Lyon edition of 1532, so Arnoullet evidently used a Vérard text as the basis for his edition²⁹. The note seems unusual after the

²³ Rossi, *Pour une édition*, p. 75.

²⁴ J. MacFarlane, *Antoine Vérard* (Bibliographical Society, 1898) pp. 2-3. The gatherings in this Vérard edition are given correctly in MacFarlane's catalogue: There are 186 unnumbered leaves (fo 10 is missing, and was probably blank). Since Macfarlane's day, the pages have been extensively repaired towards the end of the book. Macfarlane says that the woodcut on gathering N₂ b is illustration #I at the end of his catalogue. It is actually #II.

²⁵ Macfarlane #5, woodcut V. The delphinal arms appear in the top right hand side of Sydrach page a.i. which strongly suggests that the woodcut was originally made for a Vérard copy of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* and reused as a straightforward dedication scene. See Plate 8.

²⁶ See Plate 9.

²⁷ See Plates 4 and 7.

²⁸ See Plates 7, 10-11.

²⁹ Like Vérard, Arnoullet (BN Res Y2 730) attributed Quiévrain's nouvelles 62 and 72 to *monseigneur de commessuram*. There are numerous small differences between Arnoullet and Vérard texts. To

original dedication to the duke³⁰, and, to judge by its position on the page of the Vérard editions, it was clearly added as an afterthought. Its omission from the manuscript suggests (but does not definitively prove) that the dauphin's involvement in the project was an invention or an elaboration of the enterprising Vérard, perhaps attracted by the commercial opportunities of a royal association evidently claimed it for the purposes of promoting the work. The only objection to such a theory is that some of the dauphin's retainers were associated with *both* the manuscript and the printed text. However, this counterargument is scarcely conclusive, and the case may be stated more positively by observing that apart from Vérard's frontispiece and editorial aside, there is no evidence of a link to the dauphin in the text. Moreover, the evidence used to support the theory that three of the dauphin's retainers presented stories in the collection is deeply suspect. Only one of the three, the lord of La Barde, was *certainly* the dauphin's servant, and the lords of Villers and Beauvoir may well have been *Burgundian* courtiers³¹. Working on the assumption that the dauphin was not personally involved as a raconteur in the collection resolves a variety of discrepancies between the manuscript and the printed versions. For example, in the 87th *Nouvelle*,

compare the versions, see the appendix for the differences in the text of *Nouvelle* 63. For the Arnoullet frontispiece, see Plate 33. For his title page, see Plate 42.

³⁰ Vérard included a copy of the original dedication to the duke above and after the frontispiece of his 1486 editions. The punctuation alone introduces an ambiguity: *A mon tresredoubte seigneur, Monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne et de Brebant*. Rossi, *Pour une édition* p. 76: Rossi's question: *why would the author, to designate the same person, have used two different expressions?* is a red herring. There are not two expressions, but one. If there had been two people intended, the word *and* should appear. It does not.

³¹ The evidence for this and other dubious associations, such as those relating to Caron are dealt with in an appendix to the thesis. Rossi, *Pour une édition* p. 76: Rossi bases his argument that the dauphin took part in the project in part on the unconvincing basis that some of the raconteurs were associated with the dauphin.

the Vérard text mentions that a knight, whose eye had become diseased, sent for the ducal surgeon who was at that time in the town. Whereas the printed editions add the detail that the duke in question was the duke of Burgundy, the manuscript omits to mention the fact. That it was superfluous in *Hunter 252* to clarify who *monseigneur* was is itself suggestive: the author of the manuscript (or of the manuscript from which *Hunter 252* was copied) took it for granted that *monseigneur* was the duke. Of course, it *had* to be specified in the printed edition, because of the claim that *monseigneur* in the text referred to the dauphin. If Vérard had been consistent in his policy of ascribing those tales said to be by *monseigneur* to the dauphin it might be less simple to dismiss the idea that the dauphin was associated with the tales. Vérard was inconsistent, however – the table synopsis for *Nouvelle 71* is ascribed to *monseigneur*³², but the text itself attributes the story to *monseigneur le duc*: Vérard, having arbitrarily decided to doctor the attributions, was not so careful that he remembered to change every mention of the original authorship³³. He intended to attribute the tale solely to *monseigneur*, and indeed, this is how it appeared in the header to the story³⁴.

The discrepancy between the header and the attributory colophon shows that Vérard failed to notice that he had an alteration to make: the colophon text was the last thing on the page before the start of the *Nouvelle*³⁵. It seems more likely that the duke was the source of *Nouvelle*

³² This being one of the folios missing from the manuscript, we have only the Vérard table on which to rely. Possibly the manuscript originally attributed the tale to *monseigneur le duc* in the table.

³³ See Plates 12–14.

³⁴ See Plate 14.

³⁵ At any rate, Vérard was careless with the text in his headers. For example, on the page beginning the 72nd story, his header conflated the number of the previous tale with the raconteur of the 72nd, a mistake presumably caused by the fact that the 71st tale also ended on the same page. See Plate 14a.

71: the story relates to one of Philip of Burgundy's knights, after all³⁶.

Vérard, reading the original dedication to the duke of Burgundy, realised it made commercial sense to update it, and associated the text with the king. Luciano Rossi's argument that Vérard's colophon was correct, and that *monseigneur* did refer to the dauphin may be dispensed with briefly.

His reasoning is that the fourth *Nouvelle*, which is said to be by *monseigneur* begins by speaking about the king as *le roi*. There is no reason to assume that this means it was the dauphin's tale. Anyone could refer in such a manner to the king. The second "proof" offered is even less convincing: the 16th *Nouvelle* by *monseigneur* refers in the third person to *le trespuissant duc de Bourgoigne, conte d'Artois*. Since there is no date associated with the tale, it could simply refer to the duke's father, John the Fearless, who also held this title, or his grandfather, who inherited it from Louis of Male in 1384³⁷. The male line of the house of Burgundy died with Charles the Bold at Nancy in 1477: why include a dedication to a long-dead prince in a book designed to sell on novelty? A dedication to Louis XI, on the other hand, gave a contemporary slant and market appeal: Vérard's shop in the Parisian booksellers' quarter was next to the chapel where the *gens de parlement* heard mass³⁸ – what better

³⁶ The manuscript says that this Picard gentleman *came to stay in a hostelry which had been prepared for him by the quartermaster sergeant of my lord the duke [BLANK] of Burgundy his master... (se vint loger en une hostellerie qui par le fourrier de monseigneur le duc [BLANK] de Bourgoigne son maistre luy avoit esté delivrée.)* Although the manuscript contains a blank, under UV light, the name Phe[lippe] is clearly legible, and has, for unknown reasons, been erased. The tale thus refers to one of Philip the Bold's knights, though perhaps the name *Phelippe* was erased to correct it to the name *Jehan*, and the correction (for whatever reason) was never added. Since the tale has no known antecedents, and is entirely plausible, it seems likely to have been a story told of real people, which explains why getting the duke's name correct was important.

³⁷ R. Vaughan, *Philip the Bold* (London, 1962 / Woodbridge, 2002) p. 16.

³⁸ His printer's colophon always mentioned his shop's location.

outlet for a book not only dedicated to the king, but also containing stories he told?

Some nouvelles are ascribed to *Monseigneur* and some to *monseigneur le duc* in both Vérard and *Hunter 252*. This does not necessarily indicate that there are two separate individuals designated here. Burgundian administrative documents routinely interchanged *monseigneur* and *monseigneur le duc*. Within the text, other conteurs are referred to by different titles: Jehan d'Enghien, for example, told one tale in his capacity as the *amman* of Brussels and another as Monseigneur de Castregat³⁹. It is possible that Vérard genuinely assumed that only *monseigneur le duc* signified the duke and *monseigneur* signified the dauphin. He recognised the names of important members of the French aristocracy in the ascriptions⁴⁰. Knowing that Louis was then in Burgundian dominions, why should he not imagine his participation in the project? The main objection to this theory is that, as we have seen, there are discrepancies between the names in the text, the table and the headers, though if these were genuine errors, it remains possible.

³⁹ Enghien had more variant spellings of his name than the other raconteurs. He was routinely known as Edinghen, and Anghien. Once, in RG Conseil de Flandre, F 38 #43 fo 226v he appears as Heynningen seigneur de Castregaete. Also once he appears as Janne van Eenghen here van Kestergate: Archives de la Ville, Brussels, 't Roodt Privilegie Boeck fo 67r. See codicology appendix for details of his titles.

⁴⁰ The thirtieth Nouvelle is said to be by *Monseigneur de Beauvoir, François*, in the table. Vérard's table attributes the 38th Nouvelle to *Monseigne [sic] le seneschal de Guyenne*. His text, like the manuscript, attributes it to *Messire Michault de Chaugy*. (In fact, the manuscript gives Messire Michault de Chaugy gentilhomme de la chambre de monseigneur, but the second red pen is responsible for the additional moniker.) Olivier de Coëtivy, lord of Taillebourg, Rais, Coëtivy, Mornac, Rochefort sur Charente (from 1462), and Didonne was the sénéchal of Guyenne for Charles VII after he recaptured it at the end of the Hundred Years' war. His wife, Marie de Valois (1443-1473), was the second illegitimate daughter of Agnes Sorel, so he was Louis XI's brother in law.

Those readings which both manuscript and printed texts duplicate seem most trustworthy. On balance, however, the manuscript is the preferred text, owing to V  rard's editorial interventions⁴¹. Because its variant readings are usually more complex than V  rard's, the manuscript is probably closer to the edition given to the duke. Moreover, the manuscript contains vocabulary particular to a courtly (and legal) setting, for which V  rard gives a generic term: the natural conclusion to draw is that V  rard changed his text. In spite of the late date of both manuscript and printed text and the fact that *Hunter 252* was not the ducal library copy, it is more likely to contain a reading faithful to the ur-text. It might be argued that in the absence of the ur-text it is impossible to tell how many editorial interventions were made in the manuscript either. Whilst this is true, the balance of probabilities is that the manuscript contains a more faithful reading, because, as we have seen, commercial motivations made V  rard change his text. Typesetting and layout may also have been factors in some of the changes he made. These details are all covered in the codicology appendix to the thesis.

The manuscript contains the text of a work which claimed to have been written by an *acteur* who compiled the stories told by a group of courtiers, because the duke of Burgundy asked him to: the raconteurs told each other short stories with the very specific objective of collaborating on a hundred tales in what was known as the *Nouvelle* style. Although sources for stories are not mentioned, many adapted the *Facetiae* of Poggio Bracciolini, French fabliaux and others⁴². In spite of this, they

⁴¹ For a comparison of the texts, see the appendices, and Sweetser's edition of the tales, which gives V  rard's variations in footnotes.

⁴² Antecedents are discussed below. For an overview of the fabliaux used as sources in the nouvelles: N. Balachov, 'Evolutsiia povestvovatel'nykh struktur ot fablio k nouvelle' in *Izvestiia Akademii Nauk*,

were presented within a narrative frame which claimed novelty and truth: presumably, a *Nouvelle* had to be plausible, and claiming the story was true and had happened only recently made it more so⁴³.

Authorship and the problem of Collective Participation.

To ascertain the circumstances under which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* came into existence it is important not to bandy around potential “authors” names⁴⁴. Numerous academics have speculated on the matter of “authorship” in particular. The oldest suggestion is that the work was written by one of the raconteurs, the great fifteenth-century writer,

Seriia Literaturny i Iazyka (1982) pp. 338-347 also published as 'Le Développement des structures narratives du fabliau à la Nouvelle' in **G. Bianciotto**, and **M. Salvat** (eds), *Epopée animale, fable, fabliau* (Rouen, 1984) pp. 29-37 (*Balachov* is sometimes catalogued *Balashov*); **M. Schenk**, 'Narrative structure in the Exemplum, Fabliau and the Nouvelle', in *Romanic Review* (1981) pp. 367-382.

R. Dubuis, *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age* – also known as: *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles et la tradition de la Nouvelle en France au Moyen Age* (Grenoble, 1973) passim. On Poggio's work, besides the study of Koj (cited below), see **L. Sozzi**, 'Le "Facezie" Di Poggio Nel Quattrocento Francese' in **F. Simone** (ed) *Miscellanea di studi e ricerche sul Quattrocento francese*, pp. 409-516; 'Le Facezie e la loro fortuna europea' in *Poggio Bracciolini 1380-1980 nel VI centenario della nascita* (Florence, 1982) pp. 235-259.

⁴³ In this regard, there are no supernatural beasts or powers in the collection, except for the devils of nouvelles 11 and 70. Allowing for the physical presence of devils as an exceptional though realistic premise, none of the situations presented in nouvelles would have been considered impossible.

⁴⁴ Such speculation results in an accretion of error, and has been unhelpful for research. For example, **Antoine de la Salle** and **Philippe Pot**, lord of **la Roche** have been credited with writing the collection (see below). Anyone searching for the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* by author has to search under *Anonymous, Philippe Pot, la Roche, la Salle, la Sale* etc. In the ARTFL database, for instance, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (erroneously called *Les Cents nouvelles nouvelles*) is said to be a work by “Roche”, written in 1482. cf **F. Baider**, 'Sexism And Language: What Can The Web Teach Us?' Online article: http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/epc/chwp/baider/baider_annex.htm (In this article Baider studies the number of times the words *sage* and *femme* occur in proximity, using the ARTFL database to contrast the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* with the *Heptameron*.)

Antoine de la Salle⁴⁵. Others supposed it to be the result of Philippe Pot's labour⁴⁶. As McGillivray has argued, these attribution theories are implausible, since the *acteur* mentioned both men as raconteurs, and there is no positive evidence at all in their favour⁴⁷. The most recent published speculation is that it emanated from the workshop of manuscript maker David Aubert⁴⁸. Although there is absolutely no evidence of his participation, the speculation is not demonstrably implausible, as Aubert, a native of Valenciennes, worked in Brussels for the duke between 1458 and 1465⁴⁹. Hisara Kondo has since suggested Chastelain as the *acteur*, though his speculation has not yet been published⁵⁰. As we shall see in

⁴⁵ Le Roux de Lincy advanced this theory in his 1841 edition of the text, on pp. XXXVIII and ff. When de Lincy was writing there was something of a vogue for ascribing works to la Salle, including others which he did not write, such as the *Quinze Joies de Mariage*.

⁴⁶ This suggestion, being Champion's, was adopted by credible academics such as Brian Woledge, for example, who wrote (*Bibliographie des Romans*, p. 29): *Auteur: Assez probablement Phelippe Pot seigneur de la Roche*, citing Champion, and Rocques, *Romania* (1928) p. 562.

⁴⁷ For an overview see McGillivray, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles: A Monograph*, pp. 55-68 and pp. 269-273. McGillivray lists the contributions of the following scholars who believed in la Salle's authorship: Lincy, Lacroix, Wright, Gossart, Stecher, Paris, Toldo, Vossler, Stern, Petit de Julleville, Lanson, Suchier, Raynaud, Cohen. He also listed the following sceptics: Söderhjelm, Doutrepont, Grojean, Nève, Gröber, von Wurzbach, Haag, Foerster, Shepard, Peers, Kastner, Bossuat, Champion, Knudson, and Desonay. He refers in particular to the review articles of W. Shepard, E. Peers, and L. Kastner. The most important review is L. Kastner, 'Antoine de la Sale and the Doubtful Works' in *Modern Language Review* (1918) pp. 35-57 and pp. 183-207, which all but killed off the la Salle thesis.

⁴⁸ L. Rossi, 'David Aubert autore delle "Cent nouvelles nouvelles" (La genesi della novella francese e l'attività letteraria alla corte borgognona nel Quattrocento)' in *Cultura Neolatina* (1976) pp. 95-118; cf R. Straub, *David Aubert, "Escripvain" et "Clerc"* (Amsterdam, 1995), p. 335. Straub speculates that the duke at least ordered a *de luxe* copy from Aubert, and that it is plausible to consider Aubert the director of the redaction of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, because a literary secretary's daily work involved just this sort of thing.

⁴⁹ W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier, *The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* {Translation of *In de ban van Bourgondië* (Houten, 1988)} (Philadelphia, 1999) p. 136.

⁵⁰ Professor Kondo mentioned his theory to me at a conference in Malines, September 2001, and had given a talk incorporating the idea (*Du nouveau sur les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles: chaque Nouvelle est*

chapter three, Chastelain – in many ways *the* literary figure of the 1450s – knew and was on good terms with many of the raconteurs. His relationship to the project is somewhat difficult to discern, but it is certain that the material from two *Nouvelles* appears in his chronicle, and these are dealt with in chapter four. At any rate, he fulfilled his contract obligations to write things which were "nouvelles et moralles"⁵¹. The most far-fetched hypothesis is that the tales were entirely the work of the *imagination* of an unknown writer, who made up the association with the court, and only pretended that courtiers told stories to each other⁵². The argument has polarised around particular dates and authors, and the theory that there was only one anonymous author. The existence of two anonymous stories in the collection is also puzzling⁵³. Does the lack of a name indicate that only some of those who spoke were known to the *acteur*? (Perhaps he edited his collection away from the court, and, distant from the storytellers, failed to ascertain their names.) Or when he completed the hundred stories with additional tales of his own, did he

réellement racontée) to the 36th International Congress on Medieval Studies at the Western Michigan University in May 2001.

⁵¹ G. Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 1997) p. 116.

⁵² J. Diner, 'Filling in and Fleshing out the Feminine Figure: Innovative Representation of Women in les Cent nouvelles nouvelles' in E. DuBruck (ed.) *New Images of Medieval Women, Essays Towards a Cultural Anthropology* (Lewiston, 1989) pp. 19-45 at p. 20, and fn 1, p. 39: Diner argued that *the reader is invited to believe that the inspiration for these fictional tales is drawn from the fifteenth century reader's historical world of events and that the domestic incidents which they represent could have actually occurred in the fifteenth century reader's daily world ... The most striking example of this is the collection's onomastic realism. The author ascribes the narratives to courtiers of Philip the Good, whose names are found in contemporary archives and chronicles, as well as to the duke himself.* McGillivray, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles: A Monograph*, p. 49: McGillivray's counterargument is convincing: *If ... the courtiers did not tell the stories, it will have to be admitted that the author is singularly skilful in giving the impression that they did. The illusion is excellently brought about – and gratuitously, too, for one cannot help wondering why the author would go to such lengths to convey an impression useless and meaningless in itself.*

decide not to append his moniker because they had not been recounted to the court⁵⁴? To come to a conclusion about authorship, it is best to return to the text itself, which, as we shall see, claims to be the redaction of a single man, who copied out a hundred short stories in the *Nouvelle* genre. He did so because the duke, whose idea it was in the first place to have courtiers tell the tales, asked him to make up such a book.

The Redactor's Dedication Letter.

Fortunately, none of this involves complex detective work: the redactor wrote a letter to the duke and copied it into the start of the text. The letter has been copied out as a preface to *Hunter 252*, and explains why he offered his book to Philip the Good⁵⁵:

To my most revered and esteemed lord, his grace the duke of Burgundy, of Brabant etc.

⁵³ *Nouvelles* 94 and 96.

⁵⁴ The text was finished off (*mis en terme*) by the redactor. He says as much in the dedicatory letter, discussed below. Nevertheless, number 96 begins with the imperative: *Or escoutez, s'il vous plaist*, which makes it seem like it is the recorded text of a spoken address.

⁵⁵ *A mon treschier et tresredoubté seigneur monseigneur le duc de Bourgoigne de Brabant etc Comme ainsi soit qu'entre les bons et prouffitables passe temps le tresgracieux exercice de lecture et d'estude soit de grande et sumptueuse recommendacion (duquel sans flaterie mon tresredoubte seigneur vous estes tres haultement doe) je, vostre tresobeissant serviteur, desirant comme je doy complaire a toutes voz treshaultes et tresnobles intencions en façon a moy possible ose et presume ce present petit oeuvre (a vostre requeste et advertissement mis en terme et sur piez) vous presenter et offrir, suppliant que agréablement soit reçu que en soy contient et tracte cent histoires assez semblables en matere sans ataindre le subtil et tresorné langage du livre de Cent Nouvelles, et se peut intituler le livre de Cent nouvelles nouvelles. Et pour ce que les cas descriptz et racomptez ou dit livres de Cent nouvelles advinrent la pluspart es marches et metes d'Ytalie jà long temps a, neantmoins toutesfoiz portant et retenant nom de nouvelles se peut tresbien et par raison fondee en assez apparente verité ce present livre intituler de Cent nouvelles nouvelles, jasoit que advenues soient es parties de France, d'Alemagne, d'Angleterre, de Haynau, de Brabant et aultres lieux aussi pource que l'estoffe taille et fasson d'icelles est d'assez fresche mémoire et de myne beaucoup Nouvelle.*

Amongst other good and profitable diversions, the most gracious exercise of reading and study is greatly and especially commendable - an exercise to which, without flattery, you, my most esteemed lord, are greatly devoted. I – as I ought to – your most obedient servant, desiring to comply with all your most exalted and most noble projects⁵⁶ (inasmuch as I am able) dare and presume to present and offer this present little work - finished off and begun⁵⁷ at your request - asking that you be well disposed to receive it.

It contains and narrates one hundred stories, quite similar in their matter, though without attaining the subtle and highly ornate language of the book of the hundred nouvelles - and it could be entitled the book of the hundred new nouvelles. And [this is appropriate because] the tales described and recounted in the said book of the hundred nouvelles for the most part occurred in the confines of Italy a long time ago.

Notwithstanding this, they still have and retain the name "nouvelles". It is most appropriate, and for true and self evident reasons, that this present book may entitle itself: the hundred new nouvelles, even although they happened in parts of France, Germany, England, Hainault, Brabant and other places as well, because their matter, manner and telling⁵⁸ is quite fresh in the memory and is in appearance very nouvelle.

⁵⁶ *Intentions* seems an incongruous translation for *intencions* in this sentence.

⁵⁷ Note that the expressions *mettre en terme* and *mettre sur pied* are joined by syllepsis (i.e. zeugma): the verb *mis* gives a sense of the duke's total involvement in the project, as does the fact that chronological order has been reversed – he was at its end as he was at its beginning: *mis en terme et sur piez*.

⁵⁸ The terms *estoffe*, *taille et fasson* are the most difficult to translate, as they seem to imply a sewing metaphor, as though the book were a made-to-measure garment: literally - *material, measurements and fabrication?*

Although the dedicatory letter mentioned *les cas descriptz et racomptez*, it did so only with reference to the *Decameron*; the impression that the Burgundian nouvelles were described and recounted in a similar way comes across only in the course of the text. The *Decameron* alluded to was in reality the *livre des cent nouvelles* – Laurent de Premierfait's translation of Boccaccio's work⁵⁹. The use of Premierfait's translation was quite normal, as it was the main version of the *Decameron* in Francophone areas of Europe. It would not be unusual if the redactor was unfamiliar with the *Decameron* in Italian or Latin⁶⁰. The duke's library only contained French copies of Premierfait's translation, which had a much less elaborate framing narrative than the Tuscan original. Boccaccio took pains to locate the *lieta brigata's* activity at a time of plague, and away from the everyday activity of life. His storytellers exist in a stylised environment in which the *king* or *queen* for the day dictated the conduct of affairs, and each storyteller took their turn to narrate a tale on a specific theme. On the other hand, the *acteur* of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* implied in his preface to the duke that he understood oral delivery to be one of the defining characteristics of the *Nouvelle* as a genre. The term *Nouvelle*, although it comes from *novelle*, was not first coined by the redactor, but by Premierfait. There is a discernible interest in the development of new and old forms of literary activity, which is consonant not merely with the development of an interest in rhetoric for

⁵⁹ For this sentence and what follows: **G. Purkis**, 'Laurent de Premierfait's Translation of the Decameron', in *Medium Aevum* (1954) pp. 1-15. Laurent de Premierfait translated the *Decameron* from a Latin text prepared for the purpose; **G. Di Stefano**, *Boccaccio: Decameron, traduction de Laurent de Premierfait (1411-1414)* (Montreal, 1999) pp. I-XXXVII. For a bibliography see **Wolledge**, *Supplément*, p. 61.

⁶⁰ The word *galiofle* in Nouvelle 45 is the only direct loan from Italian, and since it comes in a Nouvelle about the men of Rome, and in quoted direct speech, it need not imply that the redactor was familiar with Italian.

the sake of courtly advancement, but with the literary idea of the story collection for its own sake. The Premierfait *Decameron* contained stories which were *not* new, but yet retained the name “*Nouvelle*”. The Burgundian copies of the *Cent nouvelles* thought of Boccaccio’s tales as *nouvelles* – at the head of each tale, the number of the *Nouvelle* appeared, as it subsequently also did in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*⁶¹. Not unreasonably, therefore, he decided that a collection of short stories modelled on the *Cent nouvelles* should be given the name the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

The letter nowhere implies that the collection was conceived other than as a book. The dedication reflects the discussion of the enterprise which took place whilst the stories were recounted: similar deliberations also appear in the preambles to certain *nouvelles*. For instance, in the edifying example tale or *exemplum* (it is specifically called an *exemple*) of *Nouvelle 26*, Foquessoles indicated that he told his story to the assembly precisely because it would be written down for the record (*enregistré*)⁶². The *acteur*’s dedication recalled the term *fresche* used in this *Nouvelle* when he observed that: *l’estoffe taille et fasson [of the nouvelles] est d’assez fresche memoire*. Tale 26 ended with the same pedagogical tone in which it began: *Thus you have heard how the disloyal one lost his wife. If there are any still like him, they should take heed of this example*,

⁶¹ See Plate 15.

⁶² *In the duchy of Brabant not so long ago that the memory of it should not still be fresh and present now, there occurred a story worthy of telling; and it should not be rejected as matter for a Nouvelle. And so that it should be written down, be known about and proclaimed, here is what happened... En la duché de Brabant, n’a pas long temps que la memoire n’en soit fresche et presente a ceste heure, advint ung cas digne de reciter; et pour fournir une Nouvelle ne doit pas estre rebouté. Et, affin qu’il soit enregistré et en apert congneu et déclaré il fut tel...* The notarial and legal jargon (*cas / enregistré / déclaré*) is striking: this is the language of a courtier addressing a court of his peers.

which is notorious and true, and happened only recently⁶³. It is to be doubted that this really was a *notorious and true* story, as the *nouvelliste* claimed: the parallels with the *Roman du Comte d'Artois* are so striking that it is surely an invention in the same vein. (The central conceit of both works is that the knight errant leaves his lady love and is pursued by her in disguise.) Because the *Roman* is of uncertain date, being roughly contemporary with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, however, it remains possible that the *Nouvelle* was its source, or that they are both variations on the theme of another text⁶⁴. At any rate, besides the contemporary analogues, the motif figures in the much earlier text of *Le Roi flore et la Belle Jehanne*, and Beaumanoir's *Jehan et la Blonde*⁶⁵.

The opening line of *Nouvelle* 32 (by the lord of Villiers) shows awareness of the scope of the communal enterprise at hand when it mentions *ce present livre*. Villiers said that he would quickly tell a *Nouvelle* in order that he should be *held as discharged of [his] obligation to have furnished*

⁶³ *Ainsi qu'avez oy perdit le desloyal sa femme. S'il en est encores de telz, ils se doyvent mirer a cest exemple, qui est notoire et vray et advenu depuis nagueres* (*Wife* is the reading from the manuscript. The Vêrard text has *dame*, or *lady*, instead of *femme*, and it is probably a better reading from the point of view of narrative consistency. Vêrard probably corrected the text. At any rate, it is unlikely that the manuscript's copyist should have introduced such a reading in error.)

⁶⁴ The latter scenario is more likely given the extent of the divergence between the tales' motifs and plots: **J. Diner**, *The One Hundred New Tales (Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles)*, (Garland, New York, 1990) p. 112. The *terminus post quem* and the *terminus ante quem* for the *roman du Conte d'Artois* offered in the **J.-C. Seigneuret** (Geneva, 1966) edition, p. XXIX (alluded to by Diner), are not credible. Seigneuret suggests 1453 as a start date, because this was when the duke of Burgundy conceived the idea of a crusade against the Turks. He assumed the count's adventure against the Moors to be an allusion to this crusade. There are no textual grounds supporting such an inference. He also suggests 1467 as a final date, because the work appears in the ducal library catalogue, but, as we have seen in relation to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, the catalogue was not written-up until 1469.

⁶⁵ **W. Söderhjelm**, *La Nouvelle Française au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1910 / Geneva, 1973) chapter 1 and p. 136; **Robbins**, *Hundred New Tales*, p. 382.

*the Nouvelle for which [he] was recently summoned*⁶⁶. In other words, he participated in the exercise not simply, as he says, because he did not wish to be excluded from the merit associated with *labouring and working to increase the number of tales in the book*⁶⁷, but because he had been *called on* to give a tale. The idea of being *tenu pour acquitté* is a legal one, found ubiquitously in the accounts of the Burgundian court, where procedure required a receipt (a *quittance*) for counting house disbursements. The association of the legal idea⁶⁸ of giving *quittance* with the projected telling of tales implies that the lord of Villiers came forward to give his *Nouvelle* at the behest of an authority – in other words, whether he was invited to speak by the duke alone, or with those around him, this was a courtly exercise, involving ducal initiative. Similar references indicate that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was conceived as a single enterprise *before* it was written down, and whilst the tales were told and prepared. Villiers' *Nouvelle 57*, for instance, referred to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* by name. *While I have ready audience and as long as no one just now is offering to enrich this glorious and edifying work of the hundred nouvelles, I will tell you of a thing which happened only*

⁶⁶ *je vous racompteray en bref une adventure nouvelle ... on me tiendra pour acquitté d'avoir fourny la nouvelle dont j'ay nagueres esté sommé.* See H. Baxter 'Author's Point of View in the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', PhD Thesis (University of Michigan, 1970) p. 15.

⁶⁷ He recounts the tale: *Affin que ne soye seclus du tresseureux et hault merite deu a ceulx qui travaillent et labourent a l'augmentacion et accroissement des histoires de ce present livre...*

⁶⁸ NB however, that the Vérard text has replaced the courtly legal term: *tiendra pour acquitté*, with the more everyday expression: *tiendra excuse*. The standard rule of textual criticism, *difficilior lectio* seems to apply here. Where one of the available readings is more complex, it is more likely to be the correct reading, because scribes removed rare or archaic linguistic forms from texts: *tenir pour acquitté* is a jargon term current at court, where receipts were given, whereas *tenir excusé* is everyday language. L. Reynolds and N. Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars, a guide to the transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford, 1968) p. 150.

recently in the Dauphiné, to be ranked and numbered along with the other nouvelles⁶⁹.

It is not the only tale which required the others to give it a meaningful context, or which referred to the situation at court. Examples of conversational asides are not hard to find. *Nouvelle* one ends: *and that's the end of the first story*⁷⁰. The third *Nouvelle*, told by the lord of la Roche, ends with a similarly personal, first-person observation: *Nor did his lordship, so far as I know*⁷¹. The fifth *Nouvelle* conveys a sense that it was spoken to an audience, ending: *So you have heard the two judgements of my lord Talbot*⁷². Another example is in the last *Nouvelle* in the manuscript⁷³, which begins: *If you please, you will hear, all at once, before it becomes too late, my little yarn and abridged tale of a valiant Spanish bishop*⁷⁴ ... The impression of real-time narration is often conveyed in the text by the inclusion of words like *nagaires*⁷⁵. The lord of la Roche began *Nouvelle 37*: *whilst the others think and draw to their memory some stories which happened, that are worthy and adequate to be added to the present story*⁷⁶ ... This opening phrase, and a few others

⁶⁹ *Tantdiz que l'on me preste audience et que ame ne s'avance quand a present de parfournir ceste glorieuse et edifiant euvre de Cent Nouvelles, je vous compteray ung cas qui puis n'a gueres est advenu ou Daulphiné, pour estre mis ou reng et nombre des dictes nouvelles...*

⁷⁰ *Et ce souffise quant a la premiere histoire.*

⁷¹ *Non fist le seigneur, que je sache.*

⁷² *Ainsi avez oy les deux jugemens de monseigneur Talebot.*

⁷³ This is Vérard's 99th. Vérard gives the 99th *Nouvelle* as the hundredth. On this discrepancy, see below, and the codicology appendix.

⁷⁴ *S'il vous plaist vous orrez, avant qu'il soit plus tard, tout a ceste heure ma petite ratelée et compte abregé d'ung vaillant evesque d'Espagne...* The term *abreger* appears fifty times in the text: brevity was on the raconteurs' minds.

⁷⁵ The term *nagueres* also appears fifty times throughout the text.

⁷⁶ *tantdiz que les aultres penseront et a leur memoire remainront aucuns cas advenuz et perpetrez, habilles et suffisans d'estre adjoustez a l'ystoire presente...*

in the same vein⁷⁷ make it clear that the tales were asked for, and thought up in advance, though not necessarily long in advance.

It is particularly interesting to observe overlaps in vocabulary with the dedication in this last *Nouvelle*. The *acteur* mentioned the *tresgracieux exercice de lecture et d'estude*, claiming that Philip the Good was particularly praiseworthy for his exertions in that regard – *without flattery*. An intriguing comment, in view of the fact that a similar division of reading and studying is found in la Roche's tale. To establish the character of an old man (*the most jealous of the kingdom*⁷⁸), La Roche detailed the character's reading habits: he pored over *ancient stories like those of Matheolus, Juvenal, les Quinzes joyes de Mariage, and several others*⁷⁹ ... Philippe Pot was scathing of this *tres grand historien* who had *often seen, read and reread divers stories hoping from this exercise and all his study to know and understand the ways and manners, the hows and whys of women who could deceive their husbands*⁸⁰ ... The agglutination of verbs constructs a sense of intense study: not only did he read, he reread. Not only did he reread, he studied. He was involved in an *exercice*. This *bon jaloux*, however, was a *tres grand historien* only in an ironic sense, as the tale signifies that no man, by means of restrictive and suspicious jealousy, could safeguard his wife's libido from external influence. That the authorities he had so carefully studied were replete with example after example to bear out this fact ought to have prepared

⁷⁷ cf Nouvelles 45, 57, 84, 93.

⁷⁸ *le plus jaloux de cest royaume...*

⁷⁹ *les histoires anciennes comme Matheolet, Juvenal, les Quinze Joyes de mariage, et aultres pluseurs...*

⁸⁰ *tres grand historien et avoit beaucoup veu, leu et releu de diverses histoires; mais la fin principale a quoy tendoit son exercice et tout son estude estoit de savoir et cognoistre les façons et manieres et quoy et comment femmes pevent decepvoir leurs mariz.*

him for the inevitable. At the end of the tale, la Roche deliberately refrained from designating his protagonist a cuckold, although such was his *own* conclusion⁸¹.

Although the text repeatedly claims that the tales were recounted to the court, it has been asserted that this did not actually happen⁸². There is no solid basis for thinking that the text is anything other than what it claims to be, however. The theory that the tales were not recounted to the court rests on the fact that the *Decameron*'s framework was imaginary and some of the other tale collections which apparently influenced the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* also contrived scenarios in which groups told stories⁸³. Of course, this scarcely proves that the Burgundian collection was anything other than what it claimed to be, and each *recueil* has to be judged independently. Nothing in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* text disposes the reader to assume that the *acteur* contrived an elaborate fiction. If it were a fiction, why would he dedicate his book to the duke

⁸¹ *Il eust volontiers dit qu'il estoit coux... <<je voy bien que c'est>>*.

⁸² **Diner**, *Hundred New Tales*, pp. XV-XVI: *In contrast to the author, who presents himself as a writer and compiler, the narrators establish the fiction of their tales' oral delivery, with expressions such as *parler, dire, raconter*. This fiction is reinforced by the haphazard attribution of stories to the narrators, which does not follow a predictable pattern. An additional element of haphazardness and surprise is provided by the process by which the tales are linked. The author of *les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* groups two or three tales which are consecutive or close to each other and which share a narrative element... (Underlining mine.) A more convincing explanation of the phenomenon of links between the tales is that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* contains stories in the order they were told. This is, after all, how conversations work: one individual takes up the thread from what the previous speaker says.*

⁸³ **Robbins**, *Hundred New Tales*, pp. 381-386. Philologists have suggested that some of the motifs and plot devices in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* have been borrowed from those of the the *Gesta Romanorum*, some medieval preaching manuals, fabliaux, the *Decameron*, the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, and the other stories of Sercambi, Sermini, Ser Giovanni, Sacchetti, Alfonso, and Poggio. The relationship between some of these sources and the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is discussed later in this chapter and in chapter four.

and then claim that some of the stories were by him, if they were not? Why would he pick both obscure and powerful courtiers, give some of them many tales, and others only one? The *Decameron's* framework is much more rigid: ten tales, by ten narrators, over ten days. The simplest solution is that the stories were what they professed to be: narratives offered to the court for a book containing a hundred stories. A compelling reason to believe that the tales were intended for a restricted audience is that the names of Montbléru, Roland Pipe, Humbert de Plaine and Jehan le Tourneur were all introduced into *Nouvelle 63* without explanation: they were known to the people who heard the tale in the first instance, and they were familiar to the original recipient of the written collection of tales – the court, and the duke⁸⁴.

Narratives for the Court.

To assume that stories were what they declared themselves to be also accounts for the fact that in the tales the audience was often *addressed*, and yet it was only vaguely *delineated*: if the courtly audience were a figment of the *acteur's* imagination, he would surely have taken pains to ensure the reader was aware of who was supposedly being addressed. To learn that the audience consisted of *bons seigneurs*⁸⁵ is merely tantalising. It is simpler to conclude that the audience was not delineated, although it was frequently referred to, because the duke *knew* who heard the tales.

No indication was given of how many people were present at the delivery of the tales, except what can be inferred from the asides made, on the whole, at the beginning and the ends of tales. The audience was neither a

⁸⁴ *Nouvelle 63* is discussed in chapter four below.

closed nor a tight-knit circle of intimates, though some nouvelles imply a *measure* of intimacy in the gathering. For example the duke intimated that he was going to tell a true story, but told those members of the audience who knew of the events not to disclose the name of the person involved⁸⁶. Other nouvelles give the impression that the raconteurs believed the details had a limited public audience, though they could be discreet too, when it suited them. In the 27th tale, the lord of Beauvoir apparently told the assembled company about a person whom he named, but the *acteur* seems to have withheld the name: *It is not something unaccustomed in this kingdom especially, that beautiful ladies and damsels often like to find themselves in the company of gentlemen ... A propos of this, not long ago a gentleman whom we may think of as a prince, whose name I leave in my pen, found himself in a very beautiful married girl's graces. Her renown was not so little famed that the greatest lord of this kingdom should not regard himself as most fortunate to be retained as her servant*⁸⁷ ... A story about a particular love affair became one about love affairs in general, involving *belles dames et damoiselles* and *gentilz compaignons*: scandal was only hinted at.

⁸⁵ Nouvelle 81 by the lord of Wavrin implies that these good lords were the sort who knew the knight who was the hero of the tale. Nouvelle 89 by Poncelet also addressed *bons seigneurs*.

⁸⁶ Nouvelle 33, about *ung gentil chevalier des marches de Bourgoigne, sage vaillant et tres bien adrelié, digne d'avoir bruit et los, comme il eut tout son temps, entre les mieulx et plus renommez*. The duke would not describe the man's virtues, *lesquelles, si en moy estoit de les raconter, n'y a celuy de vous qui tantost ne cogneust de quoy ce compte se feroit ce que pas ne vouldroye...*

⁸⁷ *Ce n'est pas chose pou accoustumée, especiallement en ce royaume, que les belles dames et damoiselles se treuvent voluntiers et souvent en la compaignie des gentilz compaignons... A ce propos, n'a pas long temps que ung tresgentil homme qu'on peut mectre ou renc et du compte des princes, dont je laisse le nom en ma plume, se trouva tant en la grace d'une tresbelle damoiselle qui mariée estoit, dont le bruit n'est pas si pou cogneu que le plus grand maistre de ce royaume ne se tenist tresseureux d'en estre retenu serviteur...* The other possibility is that Beauvoir wrote the tale down and censored it himself.

Michault de Changy even turned the convention of discretion on its head in *Nouvelle* 64, which involves the castration of a priest: *It is quite true that not long ago in a place in this land (which I can't name, and for good reason and those who do know it should keep quiet as I do) there was a Maistre Curé, who was extremely busy "confessing" his parishioners*⁸⁸... Chaugy made it clear that the story was well known – the word which stands out in the remainder of the *Nouvelle* is *renommée*: *The renown was bruted abroad to the whole land and neighbouring territories*⁸⁹. No veil of secrecy was necessary, and Chaugy's reticence was an ironic parody of the convention⁹⁰.

Aside from the discretion which marks some of the tales, there are semi-reticent self-references in the collection too⁹¹. For example, Philippe de Saint Yon told a tale which he said was *so fresh and recent ... that I can't add anything to it or take anything away from it*⁹². The implication is that his audience would have realised if he had added or omitted any details. The case concerned a girl in le Quesnoy who claimed she had been raped. She came to the *prévôt* to complain of the *force and violence* perpetrated against her⁹³. Her "attacker" was brought to the provost *who was discreet*

⁸⁸ *Il est b[ie]n vray q[ue] nagueres en ung lieu de ce pays (que je ne puis no[m]mer et pour cause mais au fort qui le scet si s'en taise co[m]me je fais) auoit ung maistre cure qui faisoit rage de confesser ses parrochie[n]nes.*

⁸⁹ *la renommee en fut expandue par toute la marche et es terres voisines.*

⁹⁰ **G. Angeli**, 'La Novella e la censura del nome' in *Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Comparate* (1982) pp. 5-12 at p. 12.

⁹¹ That is, although the conteur does not mention his own name, everyone would know who was meant.

⁹² *Nouvelle* 25. It was *si fresche et si nouvellement advenue ... que je n'y puis ne tailler, ne roigner, ne mettre, ne oster...*

⁹³ *se complaindre de force et violance en elle perpétrée* Note that *force et violance* is a legal expression, rather than a literary pleonasm. (Compare its use in Arch. Nat., (Paris) X^{1A} 8628, fo 347v-

*and wise and most expert in justice*⁹⁴. The accused claimed that not only had she consented to sex, she had *taken his ferret and placed it as it played at the entrance to [her] rabbit burrow, with one hand, or both, and put it all the way into the rabbit hole...* When asked about this, the girl agreed that, in order to stop him from making holes in her stomach⁹⁵, she had indeed done as was said. At this, the provost, *in his high seat of justice, and flanked round about by his men* had a great laugh, along with *the men of the court and all those present*⁹⁶. Numerous archival documents from the 1450s and early 1460s attest that the Provost of le Quesnoy was Philippe de Saint Yon himself⁹⁷. (The dignity of *prévôt* was held by one person at a time, and Philippe de Saint Yon was certainly the incumbent when the tales were told, as his span in office was from 1451 until 1463⁹⁸.)

356r <http://elec.enc.sorbonne.fr/editsdepacification/edit5.php>, or in the *Cabochien* acts against the French Royal Family, 18 September 1413:

<http://hypo.ge-dip.etat-ge.ch/www/cliotexte/sites/Arisitum/cdf/caboch.html>)

⁹⁴ *discret et sage et en justice tresexpert.*

⁹⁵ ... *Il avoit la teste tant roidde, et le museau tant dur, que je sçay tout de vray qu'il m'eust fait ung grant pertus, ou deux ou trois, ou ventre, si je ne l'eusse bien a haste bouté en celuy qui y estoit davantage!*

⁹⁶ *en siege pontifical et adextré et environné de ses hommes ... ceulx de la justice, and tous les assistens.*

⁹⁷ On this sort of self-referential boasting, see **B. Guenée**, *Between Church and State: the lives of four French prelates in the late middle ages* (Chicago, 1987) p. 295.

⁹⁸ ADN B 11244 to ADN B 11440: *exploits de la prévôté du Quesnoy*. ADN B 11369 to ADN B 11381 deal with 1451-1463. Philippe de Saint Yon did not write these himself, though he was responsible for them. In ADN B 11381 fo 1r, a marginal note confirms that the letters of the account were kept with those of the other justice officers of Hainault. cf ADN B 11370: *Compte touchant l'office du prévôté du Quesnoy rendu par Phelippe de Saint Yon, commis prouvoist soubz monditseigneur de Haubourdin* (ie the bastard of St. Pol); **J.-M. Cauchies**, 'Un officier comtal hainuyer mal connu: le prévôt forain du Quesnoy (deuxième quart du XVe siècle)', in **J.-M. Duvosquel** and **A. Dierkens** eds., *Villes et campagnes au Moyen Âge. Mélanges Georges Despy* (Liège, 1991) pp. 143-157.

Judith Diner argued that *Nouvelle 25* built on the narrative tradition of the motif of the court of love, (*cour amoureuse*) as an arbiter of sentimental disputes. *In les Arrêts d'amour, which portrays plaintiffs and defendants' versions of fictitious disputes about the conduct of love affairs, the intricacies of judicial procedures and the techniques of legal argumentation are applied to questions of love casuistry. In contrast the Nouvelle uses the narrative convention as the occasion for a display of witty naughtiness*⁹⁹. It may indeed be the case that Philippe de Saint Yon was aware of this motif, and spun his narrative around it. The themes of courtly romance are repeatedly treated in a comic style in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*¹⁰⁰. There are certainly no known antecedents for this particular tale, however, and its details are not implausible. There is no reason to believe Saint Yon drew more on the conventions of the *Cour Amoureuse* tradition above his own experience as a judicial officer when formulating the tale.

As Diner observed, a provost was *an official appointed by the king or a lord, invested with administrative and judicial powers*. Saint Yon's post had a variety of nuances. His direct superior in the office was the *gouverneur* of le Quesnoy, the lord of Haubourdin – a wealthier and more influential councillor, chamberlain, and knight of the Golden Fleece, in whose hands he took the oath of office¹⁰¹. The routine work of justice was

⁹⁹ Diner, *One Hundred New Tales*, p. 101, n. 2. She also noted that Martial d'Auvergne's *les Arrêts d'amour*, of c. 1466, contains a survey of this theme in medieval French literature. cf J. Rychner, *Contribution à l'étude des Fabliaux* (Geneva 1960) pp. XXIV-XL. (Diner's citation.)

¹⁰⁰ J. Diner, *The courtly comic style of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, in *Romance Philology* (1993) pp. 48-60.

¹⁰¹ P. de Win, *Jean de Luxembourg, bâtard de Saint Pol, seigneur de Haubourdin* in *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XVe siècle, Notices bio-bibliographiques publiées sous la direction de Raphaël de Smedt* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), pp. 80-82. He was the bastard of Walleran count of Saint

the provost's. He was also responsible for an account submitted on the lord of Haubourdin's behalf to the counting house at Lille¹⁰². His account ledger mainly related to financial matters¹⁰³, but included some details of legal issues, from which financial aspects had arisen. These registers reveal nothing about the rape case of the *Nouvelle*. However, absence of evidence need not be taken as evidence of absence, for a case resulting in so spectacular an acquittal required no written record: who would forget the details¹⁰⁴? At any rate, this tale clearly drew on the real-life experience of the conteur.

Pol and Agnès de Bris. Haubourdin appears alongside many other raconteurs in contemporary documents, and was with the duke and in his service for 666 days between 3 May 1457 - 23 December 1458, and was at Mons in early 1459, because he left that town for Brussels to visit the lord of Gazebeque on business concerning Anthoine Bastard of Burgundy: ADN B 2034 fo 68v. He was probably therefore one of the original audience members for the nouvelles. (Dating is discussed in detail below.) Haubourdin was remunerated at a higher rate than *Chaugy*, *Enghien*, or the lord of *Beauvoir*: B 2026 fo 150r. *Mériadec* and he were involved in accounting for equine matters together: B 2020 fo 369r. He and *Roland Pipe* were involved in diplomatic initiatives together: B 2026 fo 288r-v; *E. Varenbergh*, *Histoire des Relations Diplomatiques entre le comté de Flandre et l'Angleterre* (Brussels, 1874) p. 519. Like the *count of Saint Pol*, he was called a castellan of Lille: B 2036 #62580 (1459, 8 July). Chastelain called him one of the great chamberlains, and related that he kept guard of the duke at Utrecht in August 1456, along with *la Roche*, and *Lannoy*: *Lettenhove*, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, p. 152. Louis XI replaced him as captain of Mortaigne with *Lannoy* in 1463: *Hardy*, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, pp. 446-447.

¹⁰² ADN B 11381 fo 1r.

¹⁰³ Not every financial matter was written up in the register, however. For example, cf ADN B 10424 fo 43r-v: letters sent by the lord of *Quiévrain* to *Philippe de Saint Yon* do not figure in his accounts, though they deal with ducal mints and matters of financial importance.

¹⁰⁴ Minor violent crimes resulting in fines were noted. The fine of Jacquemart Rocquart, for example, is not untypical of the sort of case that came before *Saint Yon*. Register ADN B 11370 fo 5r informs us that he was taken *pour avoir prins a ung sien compaignon vierquier sans moyen de justice aucun argent que pris lui avoit et par ce ledit larchin avoit este tenu* [etc]. The details are administrative, not descriptive: we learn where he lived, and how much he was fined. Payments involved in the process of justice also figure (for example, they note the use of string in the questioning of suspects, confirming the mention of torture in the *Nouvelle*). The details of le Quesnoy's annual officials' party have been punctiliously recorded...

The belief that the men whose names are appended to the stories genuinely recounted the nouvelles, is reinforced by the fact that many others, not just that of Saint Yon, reflect particular elements of their backgrounds and careers¹⁰⁵. The tenor of the duke's remarks in the opening paragraph of the sixteenth *Nouvelle* was similarly self referential: *the very powerful duke of Burgundy, the count of Artois (and their lord) was at peace with all the good Christian princes*¹⁰⁶... Here the duke either spoke about himself or (more likely) his father or grandfather. Other examples include the *Nouvelle* attributed to Montbléru, which recorded Guillaume de Montbléru's own exploits whilst he was a servant of the count of Étampes¹⁰⁷. The amman of Brussels drew on his experience to tell a story about events in Brussels¹⁰⁸. The marquis of Rothelin's contribution to the collection was prefaced with a brief statement to the effect that, although his tale was brief, it was true, would not take long to tell, and had happened recently¹⁰⁹. He introduced the main protagonist as: *a marshal, who had served me well in that capacity for a long time*¹¹⁰. Very few members of the nobility employed a marshal, but it was natural

¹⁰⁵ C. Lenient, *La Satire en France au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1893) pp. 297-299 at p. 298. Lenient, drawing on Thomas Wright's archival notes, observed that the action of the nouvelles takes place most often in Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, and in the towns of Burgundy, the homeland of the main raconteurs.

¹⁰⁶ *Et car alors, la Dieu mercy, le trespuissant duc de Bourgoigne, conte d'Artois, et leur seigneur, estoit en paix avec tous les bons princes chrestians.*

¹⁰⁷ Nouvelle 63, discussed in detail in chapter four below.

¹⁰⁸ Nouvelle 53, also discussed in chapter four below.

¹⁰⁹ *Tantdiz que quelque ung s'avancera de dire quelque bon compte, j'en feray ung petit qui ne vous tiendra gueres; mais il est veritable et de nouvel advenu...* Nouvelle 84 is the tale of the marshall who was overjoyed on hearing of his wife's death, she having been a termagant.

¹¹⁰ *ung mareschal qui bien et longuement m'avoit servy de son mestier.*

that a marquis (the rank is just below that of a duke¹¹¹) should have maintained one. Philippe de Loan recollected a time when the *seneschal of the Boulennois* rode into a village where mass was being said by a stupid priest¹¹². Loan was himself the *seneschal's* lieutenant. Another of his stories confirmed the collection's chauvinistic Burgundian accent by stressing the stupidity of people of Champagne, compared with their more intelligent neighbours (to the south and east)¹¹³. The lord of Thalemas' *Nouvelle* was in the same vein: he related a trick played on the men of Troyes (in Champagne) by a brave Burgundian soldier¹¹⁴. The lord of Wavrin, also the lord of Lillers, told a story about a gluttonous Carmelite who came to beg his supper in *Lilers, a good little town in the county of Artois*¹¹⁵. The lord of Lannoy, *gouverneur* of Lille¹¹⁶, began one

¹¹¹ Rodolphe de Hochberg was also count of Neuchâtel. On the rank of a marquis see **A. Myers**, *The Household of Edward IV* (Manchester, 1958) p. 89.

¹¹² The stupidity or "simplicity" of country priests and village folk is something of a topos in the collection (cf *Nouvelles* 14, 32, 44, 65, 73, 89, 96). The *Nouvelle* begins: *Ainsi que nagueres monseigneur le seneschal de Boulennois chevauchoit parmy le pais d'une ville en l'aultre, en passant par ung hamelet l'on y sonnoit au sacrement.*

¹¹³ *Nouvelle* 20. *Il n'est pas chose Nouvelle que en la conté de Champaigne a tousjours eu bon [a] recouvrer de foison de gens lourds en la taille, combien qu'il sembleroit assez estrange a pluseurs, pourtant qu'ilz sont si près voisins a ceulx du mal engin. Assez et largement d'ystoires a ce proposa pourroit on mettre avant conformant la bestise des Champenois.*

There is nothing new in the fact that the county of Champagne has always had more than its fair share of thick people, even though this seems strange to many, since they are such close neighbours to people of quick wits. Plenty of stories proving this could be related, confirming the idiocy of the Champenois. This story is one of a number in the collection which relies on the motif of a husband's ability to cure a wife's illnesses with sex. On this motif in other contemporary literature, see **M. Jeay**, *Les Evangiles des Quenouilles* (Montreal, 1985) p. 122.

¹¹⁴ Tale 75, discussed in chapter one above. The Champenois, including what the lord of Thalemas calls *des loudiers de Troyes*, were evidently considered by the Burgundians as Poles are by some Americans, and Irish are by some British.

¹¹⁵ **P. Champion**, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928) p. XXXIII. *Lilers, bonne petite ville en la conté d'Artoys*: Vérard, whose version of the *Nouvelle* is anonymous (though the table attributes it to

Nouvelle: Now listen please to what happened in our castellany of Lille¹¹⁷. It is also worth noting that tale number six, also by Lannoy, took place in the Hague, one of his main residences¹¹⁸. He set the tale with local colour in mind: it involved the prior of the Augustinians, who was taking a walk in a wood near the Saint Antony chapel. The action involved a great Dutch oaf from Stevelinghes, which, as Lannoy

Monseigneur de Vaulvrain) has dropped the name of the town, which implies that he was unaware of the association with Wavrin.

¹¹⁶ **B. de Lannoy and G. Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy le Bâtitseur 1410-1493* (Brussels, 1937) p. 37.

The earliest reference to Lannoy as *gouverneur de Lille* is ADN B 2034 fo 132r for 29 June 1459.

Lannoy had replaced Baudouin d'Oignies in this office by that date. It remains possible, however, that he received the office when he replaced Baudouin d'Oignies as governor of Walloon Flanders on 11 May 1459. D'Oignies was ill, and had died by 12 June 1459. **Rymer**, *Foedera*, vol. 10, passim: Baudouin d'Oignies had been active as the *gouverneur* of Lille in an official capacity during the summer of 1458. He was a member of the diplomatic party serving under the *count of Étampes*, negotiating with the English on the coast near Gravelines. Henry VI's safe-conduct from mid May 1458 specifically mentions d'Oignies as governor of Lille. cf ADN B 2034 preregister, fo 14r which notes that Jacques Barre, the former receiver of Douai, paid d'Oignies £168 on 12 February 1459, for trips he made to the duke. D'Oignies is referred to in the register as lord of Estrées and governor of Lille, which suggests that Jean de Lannoy was not the holder of the office then. In turn, this probably indicates that Lannoy told his story about *our castellany of Lille* after he returned to Brussels from his embassy to the king with Jean de Croy, and Toison d'Or. cf fo 24v, 26r, 72r. **M. Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal, une femme au pouvoir au XVe siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998) pp. 298-299; **W. Paravicini**, 'Soziale Schichtung und soziale Mobilität am Hof der Herzöge von Burgund' in *Francia* (1977) pp. 127-182 at p. 165; BN MS FR 8238 fo 545r.

¹¹⁷ *Nouvelle 82*: *Or escoutez, s'il vous plaist, qu'il advint en nostre chastellenie de Lisle*. The castellany had several châtelains, including the count of Saint Pol and his bastard relation the lord of Haubourdin: cf ADN B 2036 #62580: 1459, 8 July – Haubourdin; AM Lille: carton AA 52, #1063: 26 January 1434: oath taken by Louis of Luxembourg, count of Saint Pol, as *châtelain* of Lille. Besides the *châtelain*, a governor might use the term *nostre chastellenie*. ADN B 2045 preregister fo 15v relates to Lannoy's movements in early 1461. It specifically states that the castellanies of Lille, Douai and Orchies and the lands of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia were where he would normally be, because he was paid expenses for going outwith their boundaries.

¹¹⁸ ADN B 2048 fo 145v: Lannoy's place of residence was the Hague, though he also spent a lot of time at Lannoy in the late 1450s and early 1460s. The entry records his trip to Holland with the count of Charolais on a tax raising mission in early 1462. cf B 2030 fo 171v-172v.

mentioned, was about two leagues away. Tale 23 by the lord of Quiévrain, an adaptation of a thirteenth-century fabliau, called *Celui qui Bota la Piere*, involved an elderly *procureur* of the court at Mons¹¹⁹: as high bailiff of Hainault, this was Quiévrain's own court¹²⁰. Tale 24, by the lord of Fiennes, mentions *Walleran count of Saint Pol*: indeed, Fiennes goes out of his way to record not only *Walleran's* name, but also that he was lord of a local area near Lille called Vrelenchem. This count of Saint Pol was *Walleran II of Luxembourg* (b. 1355 - d. 1402), and not his great-nephew, another raconteur, Louis of Luxembourg, with whom Judith Diner confused him. *Walleran* was one of Fiennes' own ancestors (his great grandfather's brother) and had also been a lord of Fiennes¹²¹. The lordship had come to *Walleran* through succession of his uncle, and incorporated numerous lands in Flanders, which, taking a complicated route, passed to the raconteur through Jeanne, *Walleran's* daughter (whose own sons died *sine prole*) via her cousin Pierre de Luxembourg, count of Saint Pol, Fiennes' grandfather¹²². Fiennes' other tale in the collection, number 43, also takes place in a "good village in the castellany of Lille": presumably one of his own lordships.

Dating:

The Ducal Catalogue Entry: The Terminus Ante Quem.

¹¹⁹ A. de Montaiglon and G. Raynaud, *Recueil Général et Complet des Fabliaux*, (Paris, 1872 / Geneva, 1973) vol. 4, p. 147.

¹²⁰ See chapter three below.

¹²¹ Champion, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. XXX; Diner, *One Hundred New Tales*, p. 99: Diner cites Champion's reference to Louis of Luxembourg on p. XLIV.

¹²² The complicated genealogical detail may be traced in T. Leuridan, 'Les Châtelains de Lille' in *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de l'Agriculture et des Arts de Lille*, in two parts, part 1: vol. 10 (1872) pp. 481-572, and part 2: vol. 12 (1873) pp. 109-358. See Plate 43.

External documentation also validates the claim that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was a book from the very heart of the Burgundian court.

The ducal library inventory allows us to say with certainty that the duke of Burgundy owned an edition of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* by 1469 at the latest, and it was then considered to be a new edition¹²³. It was also a different edition to any which survives, and, not counting drafts or working copies, may be considered the urtext. This inventory was written up by a *Garde des Joyaulx* for Charles the Bold by 1469¹²⁴, and is known as the 1467 inventory because it contains a list of the belongings of the late duke, and was ordered on his death. It reads as follows¹²⁵:

A brand new book written on parchment in two columns with a white chamois leather covering / illustrated in several places with rich illustrations / containing one hundred nouvelles / as much of my lord whom God pardon as of several others of his household / beginning the ~~fi~~ second folio after the table [of contents] / in red letters / celui qui se baignoit / and the last folio / lit demanda/

¹²³ ADN B 3501 #123745 bis. See Plate 16.

¹²⁴ L. Rossi, 'Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles, édition critique par Franklin P. Sweetser, Genève-Paris, Droz-Minard, 1966, pp. XV-651 (Textes Littéraires Français 127)' in *Cultura Neolatina* (1968) pp. 301-306 at p. 302; H. Martin, 'Bibliothèque de Bourgogne: date de l'inventaire dit de 1467' in *Bulletin du Bibliophile* (1917) pp. 385-391.

¹²⁵ See Plate 17: *Ung livre tout neuf escript en parchemin a deux coulombes couvert de cuir blanc de chamois / historie en plusieurs lieux de riches histoires / contenant cent nouvelles / tant de monseigneur qui dieu pardoint [com]me de plusieurs autres de son hostel / commencent le ~~pre~~ second feullet aprez la table / en rouge lettres / celui qui se baignoit / Et le derrenier feullet / lit demanda/*
The words *celuy qui se baignoit* appear in *Hunter* 252 in the table, under the entry for Nouvelle 1, whilst the term *lict demanda* is at end of the manuscript's 99th Nouvelle, which is out of sequence, and was originally the 100th tale. (Sweetser, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, pp. 1, 578-579.) In the 1487 library inventory, the last words on the last folio of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* manuscript were said to be: *cy fit le clerc pareillement*, which matches the 99th Nouvelle in *Hunter* 252: *si fist le clerc pareillement*.

It is unarguable that the catalogue entry *does* refer to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, even if the manuscript described is different to *Hunter 252*¹²⁶. Did the cataloguer know the circumstances under which the text was written, or did he simply infer them from his reading of the manuscript? There is no way of telling, as the entry merely describes a book *contenant cent nouvelles / tant de monseigneur qui dieu pardoint comme de plusieurs autres de son hostel*. The most that can be asserted is that at least one contemporary observer, present at court, had no problem identifying the duke and his household with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Not only did he omit to mention the dauphin: effectively, Louis was ruled out: the nouvelles were by *my lord and others of his household*. The phrase *ung livre tout neuf* is problematic. The manuscript was in the ducal library by 1469 at the latest, and if it was the text presented by the *acteur*, the dedication implies that it was made in the duke's own lifetime.

The Difficulty of Precise Dating: Composition, Recounting the tales, and Writing-up the Stories into a Collection.

In many ways, "date" is as misleading a concept as "authorship" in the context of this collection. Just as it is important not to circulate authorial names with ill-deserved certainty, so it is crucial to avoid ascribing misleading dates to the collection. Luciano Rossi, for example, declared somewhat arbitrarily that the book was finished *very probably at Brussels, between 1456 and 1467* and that it is best to *place the composition of the collection at about 1462 or a little after*, because, *very probably, the book of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles was written up in the*

¹²⁶ See codicology appendix.

*Brussels workshop just prior to the coronation of Louis XI*¹²⁷.

R.G. McGillivray's approach to these issues has been the most nuanced so far, but even it lacked subtlety. He stated that *two dates must be established: the date (or dates) at which the stories were recounted, and the date at which they were written up*. McGillivray dismissed the possibility that the collection was recounted and written over a relatively long period of time: *Neither need we suppose that the collection dragged on for a good many years...* Even if it did not take years, a long gestation is *not* impossible, so long as it was completed by the time the library catalogue was written, in 1469: there is no evidence *against* it¹²⁸. If the tales were delivered orally, they could have been written-up as, or even before, they were recounted. If told sporadically over a period of months or years a *series* of dates and possibilities must be considered. Why imagine that such a lengthy work was quickly completed? – After all, as we shall see, it involved reading, writing, collaboration and audience participation.

Based on the internal evidence, dating is problematic, even working with a series of dates. Some of the events mentioned in tales may have taken place a long time before they were recounted. For example in the fifth *Nouvelle* the raconteur Philippe de Loan mentioned the Hundred Years' war. He set his events: ... *during the period when accursed and pestilential war raged between France and England, and which has still*

¹²⁷ Rossi, *Pour une édition*, p. 70: *Le livre des Cent nouvelles nouvelles a été mis en terme très probablement à Bruxelles, entre 1456 et 1467... On pourrait préciser d'avantage l'époque de la composition du recueil en la plaçant aux environs de 1462 ou quelque peu après. Très probablement le Livre des Cent nouvelles nouvelles fut rédigé dans l'atelier de Bruxelles, juste avant le couronnement de Louis XI*. NB: Louis was crowned in 1461.

¹²⁸ R. McGillivray, 'The Cent nouvelles nouvelles: A Monograph', PhD thesis (Yale, 1959) p. 53.

*not finished*¹²⁹ ... The story recorded two judgements reputedly given by *My lord Talbot, God rest his soul, the English captain, so proud, valiant, and fortunate in arms, as everyone knows*¹³⁰.

The phrase: *God rest his soul* dates the telling of the tale to 1453 at the earliest, because Sir John Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, died in combat at Châtillon in the frontal assault against artillery in the summer of that year¹³¹. Bordeaux did not fall until October 1453. Does the fifth tale in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* therefore allude to continuing hostility between France and England in 1453? Or does it refer to the "cold war years", after what *modern* historians think of as the end of the hundred years' war, but which contemporaries viewed differently? The latter certainly seems the most likely solution. The former may not definitively be ruled out, however unlikely. Joseph Nève's old theory that this *Nouvelle* dates to 1453 may not be accepted without reservations¹³². No indisputable evidence renders his view impossible, even if subsequent tales were demonstrably told at a later date¹³³. The problem is repeated in a variety of tales: the raconteurs referred to locatable historical events, such as the year of the plague in the Dauphiné or the jubilee year, 1450, but the conteurs could have recollected them years later.

¹²⁹ *Pendant le temps que la maudicte et pestilencieuse guerre de France et d'Angleterre regnoit, et qui encores n'a prins fin...*

¹³⁰ *Monseigneur Talebot, a qui Dieu pardoint, capitaine anglois si preux, si vaillant et aux armes si eureux, comme chacun scet...*

¹³¹ McGillivray, *Monograph*, p. 52; Labère, *Etude de la Temporalité*, pp. 64-65.

¹³² J. Nève, *Antoine de la Salle, sa vie et ses ouvrages d'après des documents inédits* (Paris, 1903) pp. 69 and ff. Nève's theory, which he did not substantiate, was that the tales were told in bursts over a long period. The references to the jubilee year (1450) do not prove that the tales were told soon after the Jubilee, merely that there had not been a subsequent jubilee since 1450.

It has been argued that the presence of the dauphin's esquire the lord of La Barde suggests a date between 1456 and 1461 for the collection. Of course, however unlikely it may be, it is not impossible that the other raconteurs could have told their tales before 1456 and after 1461.

Dating the Recounting of the Nouvelles: The Most Likely Scenario.

A date between the autumn of 1458, after the duke's visits to Ghent and Lille¹³⁴, and the spring of 1459 fits with a variety of details in the tales. The opening to the duke's tale 69, about Clais Utenhove, suggests that the tales were probably not told in Ghent or elsewhere in Flanders: *It is not only known to the people of the town of Ghent, where the tale I have to describe to you took place not that long ago, but to the most part of the people of Flanders, and to you who are present here*¹³⁵ ... It is noteworthy that the marquis of Rothelin's tale which he describes as *de nouvel advenu* (it happened recently) contains an incidental mention of Lille in relation to one of his own servants, whose wife followed him around the town, to his chagrin¹³⁶. The obvious issue is why the marquis' marshal

¹³³ Some were – see below.

¹³⁴ **H. Vander Linden**, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467) et de Charles, Comte de Charolais (1433-1467)*, (Brussels, 1940) pp. 387-390. The text was probably composed in Hainault and Brabant, over late 1458 - early 1459, for reasons discussed below. The duke left Flanders on 28 September 1458 when he entered Hainault, staying at Le Quesnoy. Between 27 August - 13 September he had been at Arras in Artois, however, and he returned to Flanders, visiting Lille between 14 and 28 September.

¹³⁵ *Il n'est pas seulement cogneu de ceulx de la ville de Gand, ou le cas que j'ay a vous describe n'a pas long temps advint, mais de la plus part de ceulx de Flandres, et de vous qui estes cy presens.* The duke evidently drew a distinction between here (cy) and there (Gand/Flandres) though he may have meant to draw a geographical distinction based on where his audience had come from. It is also possible that whilst this tale was told outside Flanders, others were told there.

¹³⁶ *Nouvelle 84: Et ainsi la mena tout du long de la ville de Lille.*

was in Lille, a place where his master held no lands: one explanation is that the marquis was there in late 1458 with the court. *Nouvelle* 89 by Poncelet tells the story of a village priest who claimed that Lent was delayed because of the long duration of the Winter. Jacques du Clercq observed that the winter lasted such a long time in 1458-1459 that the wines were terrible that year¹³⁷. Jean de Wavrin, on the other hand, wrote that in 1458 the summer was the driest in living memory, and besides a very low price of wheat, wines were of the highest quality¹³⁸. Timoléon Vignier's *Nouvelle* (number 92) alluded to Beaune wines with pride as the very finest, something he might have been more likely to do after a good harvest: *now let's go back to our husband, who found two good fellows ... and brought them back to do justice to this chicken along with a good wine from Beaune or some other better (if it is possible to find one!)*¹³⁹. The year 1459 was the earliest date at which the lord of Lannoy might reasonably have referred to *nostre chatellenie de Lisle*, as he did in *Nouvelle* 82¹⁴⁰. The events of the 53rd *Nouvelle* were also recounted by Chastelain, who placed them in February 1459¹⁴¹. The fact that the count of Saint Pol told a story in the collection suggests the stories were told after or around the new year in 1459, which was when he was on the road

¹³⁷ **J. Buchon**, *Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France avec notes et notices: Jacques du Clercq – Mémoires, de 1448 à 1467* (Paris, 1838) p. 131.

¹³⁸ **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, p. 390: the summer lasted from April until mid October without rain.

¹³⁹ *Or retournons maintenant a nostre mary, qui a trouvé deux bons compaignons ... lesquelz il amaine pour deffaire ce poussin en la compaignie de beau vin de Beaulne, ou aultre meilleur, s'il est possible d'en finer.*

¹⁴⁰ Cf nouvelles 24 and 43, in which the lord of Fiennes refers to *la chastellenie* avoiding the possessive.

¹⁴¹ See chapter four below for a detailed discussion of this *Nouvelle*. It was probably told very soon after the events it described because Jean d'Enghien specifically said he could not recount the outcome of the ensuing legal process, because it had not been decided. Chastelain's record makes it clear that the process was over very quickly.

back into the duke's good graces, following his dispute with the lord of Croy, and the confiscation of his lordship of Enghien on charges relating to his involvement in a murder¹⁴². The duke met the count at Mons between 30 December 1458 and 16 January 1459 and reconciled him, on the lord of La Roche's advice, because of the possibility of war with France.

Besides this internal evidence, there is one period when the presence of almost all the raconteurs at court is attested by a variety of independent records: over the winter and spring of 1458-59¹⁴³. As far as I can tell, this is the only window when nearly every one of the raconteurs were demonstrably at court (not necessarily all at once, but certainly through overlapping timespans) in the late 1450s and early 1460s. The evidence that they were there over the winter and spring 1458-59 is not *in itself* conclusive that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were told then. It is suggestive, however, that so many of the raconteurs received money from the duke at this period, either in the form of gifts, or as the result of employment, usually in his household. Monetary exchanges may be understood in themselves as evidence of favour, and the following

¹⁴² The confiscation and the reconciliation is dealt with in chapter three below. On the murder (committed by the count's brother in law the lord of Roncq), and for the dates, see **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 114, 126-127; **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 434ff. Jacques du Clercq placed the reconciliation in 1458 around the time of the death of the duke of Brittany, which was on Christmas day. **J.-C. Delclos**, *Georges Chastellain, Chronique, Les fragments du Livre IV* (Geneva, 1991) p. 212: Chastelain confirms du Clercq, and adds that the duke left Valenciennes (where he celebrated Christmas) on the Saturday. (Chastelain mistook the 30th December for the last day of the year). **Vander Linden**, *Itinéraires*, pp. 394-395. (Note that **Vaughan**, *Charles the Bold*, p. 250, was mistaken in saying that the Count had his lands returned to him in 1461.)

¹⁴³ Besides the references which follow, other sources outlining the whereabouts of the court at this period are noted in **W. Paravicini**, *Guy de Brimeu – Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen* (Bonn, 1975) pp. 595-596.

documentary evidence therefore strongly suggests that, unless a more likely period can be established, the balance of probability is that *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were recounted over these months. It is also worth emphasising that this was by far the most numerically significant confluence of the raconteurs at court. I have looked extensively through archival and chronicle documents for a similar period when the raconteurs were together with the duke, but have been unable to find one, even though there are many occasions when three or four of them were gathered. The archival record is so rich for the court, especially during this period, that it is not unreasonable to conclude that absence of evidence is in this case evidence of the raconteurs' absence from court.

Jean Martin was paid his £278 daily retainer fee for his service as jewel keeper and *varlet de chambre* for 1458 on 7 January 1459¹⁴⁴ and Jean d'Enghien also appears on the ducal books around this time – paid for service in Brussels, where the court was during most of early 1459¹⁴⁵.

Mahieu d'Auquasnes received a wedding gift of £160 from the duke on account of letters patent from April 1458 paid out on 20 March 1459¹⁴⁶.

The disbursement to Michault de Chaugy for a horse which the duke purchased from him for the stables was recorded in the March 1459

¹⁴⁴ ADN B 2034 fo 31v. The money came from Huguenin de Faletans' receipt, but Guiot du Champ disbursed this sum. Huguenin was then working out of Dijon, but Guiot du Champ was based at the court.

¹⁴⁵ ADN B 2034 fo 40r, and 250r-v discussed in chapter four below. On fo 79v is a record that he signed for a payment in March 1459. ADN B 2034 preregister fo 33r, discussed in chapter three below, records a payment from Enghien made to the duke's financial commissioners on 28 January, and accounted for by a ducal receiver on 29 January, 1459.

¹⁴⁶ ADN B 2034 fo 166v, discussed in chapter three below.

section of the receipt general, because Hervé de Meriadec certified the payment (made in August)¹⁴⁷. Owing to an administrative problem relating to the terms of his payment, Meriadec's movements for 1459 and 1460 have been completely catalogued, and there is a record of the periods he spent away from the court, not being accounted for on the daily *escroes*¹⁴⁸. Chaugy received his usual 30 sols daily fee by an *escroe* which recorded the duke's presence at Brussels on Friday 26 January 1459¹⁴⁹.

The lord of Créquy was one of the knights with the duke in the autumn of 1458, and who took an interest in the Henry Sasse affair, which

¹⁴⁷ ADN B 2034 fo 202r

¹⁴⁸ ADN B 2040 fo 129r-v. In 1459 he was away from court during the following periods:

<u>1459</u>	<u>1460</u>
26 January – 21 February,	1 January – 9 January, }
13 March – 9 April,	{ 10 February – 28 February,
2 May – 6 June,	1 March – 13 March, }
29 June – 30 June,	7 April – 30 April,
28 July – 31 July,	8 May – 17 May,
17 August – 17 September,	3 June – 13 June,
{ 22 October – 31 October,	{ 21 June – 30 June,
1 November – 13 November }	1 July – 2 July, }
{ 12 December – 31 December.	{ 27 July – 31 July,
	1 August – 31 August,
	1 September – 6 September }
	9 September – 19 September*

[*NB last entry reads 9 September – 19 September 1459, but it is clear that this is an error for 1460] He evidently spent most of his time in Ghent, Sampoux, Hêdin, Mormal forest, and at the fairs of Antwerp. Further details of his whereabouts are not listed in the receipt general, and it is possible that he did not need to keep a record. Unfortunately, there is no such list for 1461, though scattered references in the receipt general help. (e.g. ADN B 2040 fo 183v: Mériadec was believed to be at Ghent 2 June 1461.)

¹⁴⁹ ADN B 3423 #117149. Chaugy was in favour in 1459: in that year Philip the Good made him *capitaine de Chateauneuf*, in the place of the late Bertrandon de la Broquiere, his first *ecuyer tranchant*. ADN B 32 fo 36; ADN B 17698.

culminated in a jousting tournament with Jehan de Rebremette¹⁵⁰. This joust at Valenciennes took place on 14 December 1458, and involved Philippe Pot and the lord of Fiennes¹⁵¹. The duke sent Pot south on financial affairs relating to the county of Burgundy in early 1459¹⁵². Nevertheless, he evidently returned north once this business was dealt with, as the duke gave him 300 gold crowns to defray the cost of a chivalric undertaking he had planned¹⁵³.

Chrétien de Digoine was also paid for his service in the close of that year: £32 8s for wages over November and December 1458¹⁵⁴.

In the Summer of 1459, the lord of Fouquesolles was paid compensation for English depredations against his lands in the area around the pale of Calais, and he had also signed for a payment of £400 on 19 April 1459¹⁵⁵. Although it is not clear that the provost of Watten was with the court during this period, it is certain that the duke was in contact with him in

¹⁵⁰ **Delclos**, *Chastelain*, p. 137. Discussed more fully in chapter three below.

¹⁵¹ **Delclos**, *Chastelain*, pp. 164 and 170.

¹⁵² ADN B 2034 fo 108r-v: Mahienet de Bournon, a ducal despatch rider, was paid for 34 days from 4 January 1459 to 6 February for going with the lord of la Roche to the commissioners dealing with the financial reformation in Burgundy at Dijon to question them on secret matters and bring back their answers to the duke at Brussels. He received his £4 on the last day of February 1459.

¹⁵³ ADN B 2034 fo 162v *a cause de l'emprise et fait d'armes qu'il a entention de faire*. 300 crowns of 48 gros, by letters patent of 10 May 1459. Philippe Pot signed for the money on 17 June 1459.

Champion, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. XIII: Champion was mistaken in claiming that Philippe Pot went to Paris and Rouen in 1459. His inadequate reference to ADN B 2034 (a very large volume of the receipt general) did not have the folio, which suggests that between finding the entry and writing about it, he lost track of the page, and included the information without checking through the volume. In fact, the folio was 257v, and, although the entry was scored through, the payment related to George Chastelain's trip in 1457. cf ADN B 2034 fo 10v, and Plates 48-51.

¹⁵⁴ ADN B 2030 fo 134r.

¹⁵⁵ ADN B 2034 preregister fo 47r; ADN B 2034 fo 163v: he received 500 fr (£400).

the closing weeks of 1458. Tomas de Marets, a ducal messenger, rode from Valenciennes to take him letters closed at Saint Omer which related to secret (hence unspecified) matters¹⁵⁶. He brought the provost's answer to the duke at Mons on 26 December – a round trip of just over 200 kilometres, which in wintry conditions, he evidently took at a steady rate¹⁵⁷. The next payments recorded in the register were possibly linked to this one. Lievin van Bure went to the Hague on a matter relating to the ducal subjects who had fallen victim to the English garrison of Calais, and returned with an answer. Willequin Colx, the ducal despatch rider, took letters to the mayor and aldermen of Saint Omer and the Seneschal of Ponthieu, who was the seneschal, treasurer, and procurator of the court of Boulogne. Given the duke's interest in matters relating to the area around Calais at this time, it is likely that the provost should have been called to the ducal court. Colx was sent from Mons to Philippe de Loan at Boulogne on 5 January 1459, to order the duke's *escuier d'escuierie*, who was also the lieutenant of the *seneschal of the Boulonnais*, to come to him in haste¹⁵⁸. Loan was sent to the earl of Warwick at Calais on 8 April, 1459, on secret business, and was recompensed by the duke for horses lost in service on 7 April, 1459¹⁵⁹.

¹⁵⁶ The religious house of Our Lady of Watten is just north west of Saint Omer by the forest of Eperlecques, and is in the see of Thérouanne.

¹⁵⁷ ADN B 2034 fo 100r.

¹⁵⁸ ADN B 2034 fo 99r. cf ADN B 2033 #62433: *Jean de Villiers, lord of Lilladam, the seneschal of the Boulonnais*, councillor of the duke of Burgundy, received a payment 2 March 1459. ADN B 2034 fo 193r, indicates that he also came to the duke at Brussels to discuss secret affairs in the summer of 1459.

¹⁵⁹ ADN B 2034 fo 180v: £48 to *Phelippe de Louain escuier d'escuierie*. See Plates 44-45 to confirm the orthography. The payment was intended to assist him to buy a horse, but also in consideration of services he had rendered.

Antoine de la Sale was at Genappe at some stage during 1459, as his *Saintré* was dated from there in that year. It is entirely possible that he spent time in the capital of Brabant with the duke in early 1459: Genappe is only 24 km from Brussels. On Friday 5 January, 1459 the count of Charolais and his court spent the whole day at Mons in Hainault, when the ducal court was there¹⁶⁰. On the account of people receiving a daily retainer fee in the count's household are listed Montbléru (9 sols), Jehan le Tourneur (18 sols), Maistre Rolland Pippe (18 sols), Phe[lippe] Martin (12 Sols) and Jehan Caron (6 sols)¹⁶¹.

Jehan du Ponceau de Poncelet was retained by the duke in Michault Taillevent's place as a *varlet de chambre* and *rhetoricien* on 16 September 1458¹⁶². There is a reference to an Alardin de Lodenghien, along with Jean Duponchin, known as *Ponchelet* in a ducal document dated 23 September 1458¹⁶³. The manuscript only gives the name Alardin, so it is impossible to be *sure* that de Lodenghien was the raconteur, but there are other candidates who were around the court in 1459. Alardin le Fèvre, for instance, was an archer, who had served by terms since 30 May 1453, and who appears on the daily retainer fee listings for 1459 at a rate of 12s per day. Another possibility is Alardin

¹⁶⁰ ADN B 3423 # 117, 164. The date is written as *Vendredi veille de l'epiphane nostreseigneur, mil CCCC LVIIJ*. The feast of the epiphany is celebrated on 6 January.

¹⁶¹ Philippe Martin was Jehan Martin's brother.

¹⁶² J. Watkins, 'A note on the Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in *Modern Language Review* (1941), pp. 396-397.

¹⁶³ H. Nélis, *Chambre des Comptes de Lille: Catalogue des Chartes du sceau de l'audience* (Brussels, 1915) vol.1, p. 59, #699.

Nonnart, whose rate of 3s per day was earned as a *porte chappe*: he is listed on the escroes for 1459 and 1460¹⁶⁴.

On the last day of February 1459, the duke sent the lord of Quiévrain on a financial mission in his capacity as great bailiff of Hainault with Simon de Lalaing and Jehan Aubert, the receiver of Valenciennes, who may have been the man the duke had in mind when he told the first *Nouvelle*¹⁶⁵. Quiévrain's pay for the times when he was with the duke in the year 1458 included 176 days between 17 May and 22 November, and he gave his acquittance for the sum due on 31 December 1458¹⁶⁶. Jehan du Terne, receiver of the *aides* of Hainault, paid Quiévrain £316 16s on 23 February 1459, due to him for the remainder of his daily retainer fee to the end of December¹⁶⁷.

Rodolphe de Hochberg, marquis of Rothelin was named as the duke's councillor and chamberlain on 26 December 1458 and Philip the Good paid him wages of 120 francs per month, whenever he was with him¹⁶⁸.

¹⁶⁴ I am grateful to Dr Hanno Brandt, then working with the Deutsche Historische Institut, Paris, for drawing my attention to the information on Le Fèvre and Nonnart. (Based on DHI records #6337, 6260, and Court Ordinance 1449, p. 71; ADN B 3424 #117205, #117208-117210, #117212, #117216, #117220, #11721, #117223, #117226.)

¹⁶⁵ ADN B 10424 fo 39v. In respect of his office, it is interesting to note that one of Quiévrain's nouvelles (#23) was set *not long ago in Mons, en Haynau* and involved *ung procureur de la court dudit Mons, assez sur eage et ja ancien...* On the duke's *Nouvelle*, see below.

¹⁶⁶ ADN B 2030 fo 128v-129r.

¹⁶⁷ ADN B 2034 fo 26v; ADN B 10424 fo 37r records Quiévrain's wages as bailiff of Hainault between 1 January and 30 September 1459 (£160 14s 3d of 40 gros).

¹⁶⁸ **E. Bauer**, *Négociations et campagnes de Rodolphe de Hochberg, Comte de Neufchastel et Marquis de Rothelin, Gouverneur de Luxembourg* (Neuchâtel, 1928) chapter 1. NB He was governor of Luxembourg between 8 March 1468 and 20 March 1477. **Paravicini**, *Guy de Brimeu*, p. 277 (based on Bauer.) cf p. 23 for reference to article re the Marquis's son Philippe.

Philippe Vignier, the duke's esquire and varlet de chambre, was given the cost of his travel back to Burgundy, where he lived, on 11 March 1459¹⁶⁹. It was round about this time that the lord of Lannoy returned from his embassy. According to Chastelain, he and Jehan de Croy left the duke at Mons to go on embassy to the king in January 1459¹⁷⁰.

Waleran lord of Wavrin, the Burgundian explorer and naval captain received letters of marque against the Genoese from the duke in 1458, and further correspondence relating to his goods lost at Constantinople throughout 1459¹⁷¹.

The dauphin's servant Houaste, or Waste, possibly the lord of Beauvoir, arrived at Mons in November 1458 whilst the count of Charolais was recovering from a bout of fever. He came on the dauphin's behalf (as *the closest of his servants*) to ask Philip to come to Hal to hunt¹⁷². The duke went and disported for five or six days, as he had not seen the dauphin for about four months, having been away from Brussels on business, and because he was angry with the people there.

Order of Telling and Redaction.

We may surmise that whilst the tales were being told, the *acteur* recorded them. There is no need to concoct an elaborate story which discounts the many references to the tales' orality. The simplest and most realistic

¹⁶⁹ ADN B 2034 fo 177r.

¹⁷⁰ Delclos, *Chastelain*, p. 221. Chastelain is specific: *ilz se partissent de Mons...*

¹⁷¹ Vaughan, *Philip the Good* pp. 271-274; ADN B 2036 # 62536: quittances by Wavrin for £171, 10s, 2 January 1459 against the receipt of Saint Venant; B 32 (re 16 April 1459); B 2035 #62453 (8 May 1459); B 2036, #62524 (22 May 1459); B 2036, #62536 (1459, 30 June n.s.); B 2036, #62537 (22 September 1459).

¹⁷² Delclos, *Chastelain*, p. 146: *le plus prochain de son corps*.

solution is to accept that the mixture of references to spoken and written language occur naturally in a text which takes place on the frontier between the written and the spoken¹⁷³. The *acteur* then compiled them into their present form probably not altering their content much in his redaction, although it seems indisputable that elements of his own prose style came through in the edited version. Assembling the tales, he probably maintained the sequence in which the courtiers told them. This is certainly the implication of the aside by Philippe de Loan in the preamble to his first *Nouvelle*: *Lord Talbot ... pronounced two verdicts which are worthy to be told and brought under consideration, and perpetually remembered: and so that this should happen to these judgements, I'll make of them my first Nouvelle, the fifth of the others, in a few words, and tell it thus*¹⁷⁴ ... Not only did Loan intimate that he was to tell other stories in the collection, he also recognised the compiled and recorded nature of the enterprise. Reading these introductory remarks Madeleine Jeay speculated that the *acteur* interjects the words *ou renc des aultres la cinquiesme*. Irrespective of whether or not it was Loan or the *acteur*, what is important is that there was a tally of nouvelles kept as the project continued¹⁷⁵. The *acteur* certainly made no attempt to impose a thematic order on them. Some stories refer to previously narrated events. One particular discrepancy in a raconteur's asides throws light on how the collection was constructed. Philippe Pot claimed in the introduction to story 45 that no previous tale had been set in the frontiers

¹⁷³ M. Jeay, 'L'enchâssement narratif: un jeu de masques. L'exemple des Cent nouvelles nouvelles' in M.-L. Ollier (ed.) *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale* (Montreal, 1988) pp. 193-201 at p. 195.

¹⁷⁴ *Monseigneur Talebot... fist ... deux jugemens dignes d'estre recitez et en audience et memoire perpetuelle amenez. Et, affin que aussi en soit fait d'iceulx jugemens, en brefs motz ma premiere Nouvelle, ou renc des aultres la cinquiesme, j'en fourniray et diray ainsi.*

¹⁷⁵ Jeay, *L'enchâssement narratif*, p. 198.

of Italy¹⁷⁶. The first story concerning Italy was number 42 by Mériadec¹⁷⁷, narrated between two of Pot's own – numbers 41 and 44. La Roche's tale of how a transvestite Scottish washerwoman seduced the wives and daughters of prominent Romans was specifically set in Rome to poke fun at the supposed Italian character trait of jealousy¹⁷⁸. (In the shock of discovery, the husbands and fathers showed their anger, and thereby forfeited their reputations¹⁷⁹.) An Italian environment was equally important to the structure and theme of Meriadec's tale, which took place in the jubilee year, 1450¹⁸⁰. *Nouvelle* 42 is the story of a cleric from the

¹⁷⁶ The lord of la Roche contributed fifteen nouvelles (3, 8, 10, 12, 15, 18, 34, 36, 37, 41, 44, 45, 47, 48, and 52) mainly in the first half of the collection. His claim in *Nouvelle* 45 is that: *nulle des histoires precedentes n'ayent touché ou racompté aucun cas advenu es marches d'Ytalie*

¹⁷⁷ i.e. Hervé de Mériadec, the duke's *escuier d'escuierie*.

¹⁷⁸ This reputation for jealousy amongst Italian men features specifically in the 37th *Nouvelle*, which the lord of la Roche also narrated. He mentioned a jealous old man, who kept his wife *aussi pres comme ung jaloux Ytalien*.

¹⁷⁹ *Mais vous devez savoir que comme le chariot venist en ung quarrefour, et qu'on faisoit ostension des denrées de donne Margarite, ung Rommain qui le vit dist tout hault: < Regardez quel galiofle: il a couché plus de vingt nuiz avecques ma femme. > Et le dirent aussi pluseurs aultres comme luy... But you should know that when the chariot came to a crossroads, and the equipment of lady Margarite was laid bare, a Roman who saw it said in a loud voice: "look at that insatiable debauchee: he slept more than twenty nights with my wife!" And several others said the same thing... (F. Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'Ancienne Langue Française*, (Paris, 1885) vol. 4, p. 210 cites this as the only example of the word *Galioffe* [sic], which probably comes from an Italian expression.) S. Cohn, *Women in the streets: Essays on Sex and Power in Renaissance Italy* (Baltimore, 1996) p. 114. Donna Margarita's punishment was similar to actual sentences apportioned to women for other sexual offences in Italian towns. It may be an ironic comment that a man (described as *la pouvre donne Margarite*, we learn that s/he was *honteuse et soupprinse*) should suffer a woman's indignity. For example, an adulteress of Uzzano who had an affair with the parish priest was given a "crown of shame" to wear, and was placed semi-nude on a donkey. Riding to the place of justice, she was whipped strenuously all along the way and sentenced to exile.*

¹⁸⁰ The jubilee year was alluded to on more than one occasion through the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, and appears to have been high in the consciousness of the raconteurs. For example, the story told by the lord of Villiers about the girl who slept with (and thus killed-off) a series of lovers as a cure for the plague, was also set against the backdrop of the "year of the pardon at Rome". *L'année du pardon de*

diocese of Noyon who went to take advantage of the pardons then dispensed in Rome: the Italian element was to the fore throughout his *conte*¹⁸¹. Why therefore should la Roche claim that no tales had been set in the peninsula? Pot also said that the preceding tales took place in France¹⁸², Germany, England¹⁸³, Flanders¹⁸⁴ and Brabant¹⁸⁵, but no tale was set in Germany before number 80¹⁸⁶. On the other hand, not every story has a *specified* location associated with it. Perhaps a spoken narrative mentioned a German town, which the *acteur* (unusually) did not

Romme nagueres passé estoit ou Daulphiné la pestilence si grande et si horrible que la pluspart des gens de bien habandonnerent le país. This last detail is, in fact, verifiable. The plague spread throughout the south east of France in 1451. (cf Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 303-304.) It is interesting to note that Vérard, who was almost certainly editing his text at a significant remove of years, opted to change the word *nagueres* to *derrain* – he altered a word signifying the recent past for a less determinate expression. Mériadec's tale begins: *L'an cinquante dernier passé, le clerc d'u[n] village du diocese de Noyon, pour impetrer et gagner les pardons que furent a Romme, qui sont tels que chascun scait.* At least one raconteur, Jean lord of Créquy, took advantage of a pilgrimage to Rome to secure his indulgence. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 185.

¹⁸¹ The cleric met a school friend in Rome; he served a cardinal there; when he was adopted in the cardinal's retinue, he sent letters to his wife from Rome; when the curate of his home village died, the village sacristan came to Rome; in Rome the cleric received his preferment; from Rome the sacristan returned home; he went back to Rome on the orders of the bishop of Noyon; his fate was decided there, in front of the pope and the cardinals. Lodovico Domenichi's tale is similar in tenor to this one, which has many of the characteristics of an urban myth. E. Storer, *The Facetiae of Poggio and Other Medieval Story Tellers*, (London, Routledge, no date.) p. 172.

¹⁸² *Paris*, Nouvelles 17, 18; *France*, Nouvelles 29, 35; *Mont Saint-Michel*, Nouvelle 11; *Rouen*, Nouvelle 31; *Tours*, Nouvelles 4, 37; *Lendit (Saint-Denis)*, Nouvelle 7; *Champagne*, Nouvelle 20; *Normandie*, Nouvelle 21; *Savoie*, Nouvelle 30; *Saint-Anthoine du Viennois*, Nouvelle 30; *Compiègne*, Nouvelle 42.

¹⁸³ La Roche himself tells a tale which is located in England (Nouvelle 10) and other tales which are set in London and England are Nouvelles 2 (*En la maistresse ville d'Angleterre, nommé Londres*), 13 (*a Londres en Angleterre*), and (in part) 19 (which is about *ung bon et riche marchand de Londres en Angleterre*).

¹⁸⁴ Nouvelles 22, 24, 40, and 43 take place in Flanders: Bruges, Verlinghem, Lille, and Lille respectively.

¹⁸⁵ Nouvelles 15, and 26.

¹⁸⁶ After that, only the 92nd is located in an area which might be identified as Alemagne (see below).

record¹⁸⁷. (*Nouvelle 12 was set in the borders of Holland*¹⁸⁸, so there is an outside chance that Pot intended it when he mentioned tales set in *Alemaigne*.) Two possibilities account for the discrepancy: either la Roche made a mistake, or the sequence of the nouvelles has been changed.

Firstly, if la Roche was in error it is possible he was absent whilst Mériadec told his tale. His observation on where the preceding tales took place might suggest that he was present for all or most of the other stories in the collection, but that he missed Mériadec's. (He may simply have *asked* where the nouvelles had been set before he got up to tell his tale, but it seems unlikely that he was only present for his own stories: the raconteurs' asides imply a communal effort, and audience participation.) If la Roche was not present to hear Mériadec speak, perhaps the audience for the tales was liable to fluctuate, though of course, any number of prosaic reasons could account for a brief absence. The nouvelles are close to each other in the collection, and if they are in the original order, for la Roche to have made this mistake, he had to have been absent for Mériadec's tale, and perhaps also for the 43rd *Nouvelle*, by the lord of Fiennes. The strong grouping of la Roche's tales in the first half of the collection suggests, however, that he was in attendance for most of the tale telling, at least for the first stories – assuming that the order in which

¹⁸⁷ For a list of the nouvelles which have specific locations see **Champion**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. LXIX. The predominance of locations in the Burgundian dominions is striking. The topography of the collection stretches to Genoa, Alexandria (which Champion forgot to mention, though it is the location of the thematically similar nouvelles 19 and 99/100), London, Rome, Provence, Germany, Metz, and Hostalrich (i.e. Ostalric, Catalonia) but the majority of tales take place in the northern ducal territories and in France.

¹⁸⁸ *es metes du pais de Hollande*.

the nouvelles have been written up is at least roughly the order in which they were told¹⁸⁹.

Secondly, the *acteur* may have changed the tales' order. If Mériadec took his cue from la Roche, then the latter made no error. The German *Nouvelle* (80) may be out of sequence – after all, it is not particularly convincing to think of *Nouvelle* 12 as the one which la Roche meant when he said that some of the preceding tales took place in Germany. However, this view presents its own problems too. *Nouvelle* 80 by Michault de Chaugy was the second in a series of three tales which were told one after the other. Chaugy narrated two nouvelles in this sequence, both of which involved donkeys. *Nouvelle* 79 is the story of a simple countryman who, losing his donkey, went to a quack doctor for a remedy, received an enema, and made so much noise that his donkey (coincidentally in the vicinity) heard him, began to bray and was found. The 80th *Nouvelle*, set in the borders of Germany¹⁹⁰, is the equally crude story of a young bride dissatisfied with her husband because his member was not long enough. Although he dropped his trousers and impressed the assembled family with his manhood, the girl remained disgruntled because he was less well endowed than even a young donkey¹⁹¹. The next

¹⁸⁹ He tells no tale after the 52nd.

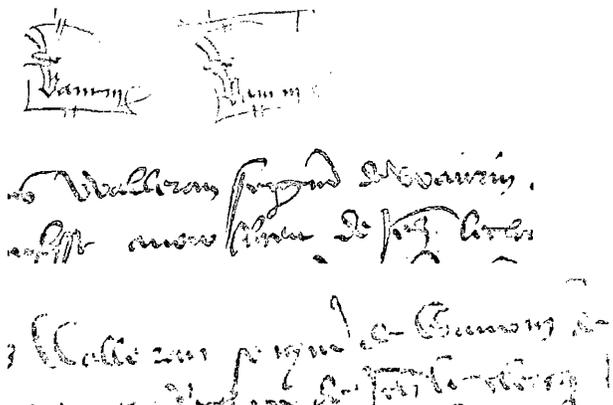
¹⁹⁰ *es marches d'Alemaigne*.

¹⁹¹ MS *Hunter* 252, fo 168v: the 80th *Nouvelle* has a miniature of this cosy domestic scene. A table is set for tea, and on the right hand side of the frame, the husband reveals his penis (and testicles) using both hands to heave it onto the table, whilst his wife, wearing a discontented frown, stands at the opposite end of the table. One (woman) guest looks at her, whilst the other two women and two men inspect his penis. (See Plate 36.) In spite of this rather *grivoise* subject matter, the tale is not devoid of literary aspiration: - *Car elle luy dist q[u'e]lle estoit trop desplaisante q[u'i]l estoit si petitem[en]t fourny de cela q[ue] vous savez: c'est asavoir du baston de quoy on plante les ho[m]mes comme dit Bocace. - For she said that she was most aggrieved that he was so ill equipped with you know what, which is to say "the stick for planting men with", as Boccaccio says. The tale refers to the work of*

Nouvelle, by the lord of Wavrin¹⁹², confirms that it is part of a sequence in its censorious opening line: “*Since we’ve now heard the stories about donkeys, I’ll now tell you a short, true and most gracious story of a knight who is known to most of you my good lords*”¹⁹³. If the order of the 80th *Nouvelle* has been altered, then all three of these nouvelles have been transposed to a much later part in the collection. Further, the contrast between *les comptes et histoires des asnes* and the *bien gracieux compte* indicates a sensitivity to tone. The chatty and informal style of address which marks the opening of the 81st *Nouvelle* strongly suggests a verbatim record of what the lord of Wavrin said.

Boccaccio. In the Laurent de Premierfait edition, this is exactly how the conceit is rendered. “<<Veez cy le petit asnon de ceans qui n’a gueres d’aage avec demy an, et si a l’instrument grand et gros de la longueur d’un braz>> Et en ce disant tenoit son braz destre par le coute, et si le branloit trop bien. <<Et mon mary, qui a bien xxiiij ans, n’en a que ce tant peu qu’il a monstré. Vous semble il que j’en doyve estre contente?>>>

¹⁹² The lord of Wavrin’s name is spelled a variety of ways in the documents: Wavrin is most common, though Waurin, Vavrin, Waulvrin, and even Waulverin also appear. His name is rendered Vavrin in *Hunter 252*, though he consistently wrote and signed his own name: de Wavrin, as in these examples from ADN B 2036 #62536 and #62537:



¹⁹³ “*Puis que les comptes et histoires des asnes sont acevez, je vous feray en bref et a la verité ung bien gracieux compte d’un chevalier qui la plus part de vous, mes bons seigneurs, congnoissez de pieça*”.

It is remotely possible that the 92nd *Nouvelle*, by the *acteur*¹⁹⁴ which takes place *en la bonne cité de Mix*¹⁹⁵ *en Lorraine* has been transposed from its original place in the collection. French chroniclers, however, did not think of Metz as being in Germany, usually calling it a town in Lorraine. For example, Mathieu d'Escouchy described the dauphin's campaigns in 1444 as taking place in *Allemaigne*, whereas when he returned to the king, then campaigning against Metz, he was described as going to the marches of Lorraine, Burgundy and Barrois¹⁹⁶ from *Allemaigne*.

Besides the problems posed by what was probably an oversight or a mistake by Philippe Pot, others of the stories give a sense that the collection has retained its sequence. *Nouvelle* 32 detailed a special *tithe* Catalonian women paid to some Franciscans and it was alluded to twenty

¹⁹⁴ There is confusion between Vérard and the manuscript text in the matter of who wrote this *Nouvelle*. Vérard attributes it thus: *La xcii Nouvelle racomptee par Monseigneur de Launoy*. However, the Vérard table entry does not give a name to the *Nouvelle*. The confusion perhaps arose through a quick reading by Vérard's typesetter (possibly Vérard himself) of the table entry, which reads:

*La .lxxxii. nouvelle d'une bour
goise mariee qui estoit amoureuse
d'ung chanoyne laquelle pour plus
couuertement aller vers ledit cha
noyne saccointa d'une sienne voi=
sine/ et de la noyse et debat qui en-
tre elles sourdit pour lamour du
mestier dont elle^s estoient comme
vous orrez cy apres.*

Is it possible that the words *La noyse* – which are spaced only slightly – were misread in haste by the typesetter, who was looking for a name for the head of the *Nouvelle*? Alternatively, the typesetter may have looked mistakenly at the 82nd *Nouvelle*, which is by the lord of Lannoy. See Plate 37.

¹⁹⁵ I.e. Metz – Vérard has *Mez*. In 1552, Henri II of France occupied the towns of Metz, Toul and Verdun and ended the independance of the three episcopal towns.

¹⁹⁶ **G. du Fresne de Beaucourt**, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy* (Paris, 1863), vol. 1, pp. 33-36.

tales later¹⁹⁷. *Nouvelle 72* begins: *A propos the previous Nouvelle*¹⁹⁸. It is not impossible that an editor interjected these comments, but neither is there any reason to suppose that he did. Some conteurs' tales are clustered together in groups, which may indicate that they told them on separate occasions when they were at court and involved in the enterprise. At any rate, there is no reason to doubt that the familiar and engaging tone adopted by the storytellers, as it appears in the nouvelles, is unrealistic, or that the remarks in the tales are unlike anything the conteurs either said or would have said. They were involved in the courtly exercise of storytelling and the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* represents – it is argued here – a redaction of their enterprise, transferred to parchment. The 57th *Nouvelle* by the lord of Villiers makes it patent that the conteurs knew what was expected of them. Having recounted both the previous tales, and without having been interrupted by anyone coming forward¹⁹⁹, he continued to recount a tale to his audience, so that it would be *counted amongst the rank and number of the said nouvelles*²⁰⁰. The similar

¹⁹⁷ This is one of Michault de Chaugy's nouvelles, and the reference is explicit: the woman in that tale is described as having *time to come and win the pardons in his bedroom, and pay the tithe as did the ladies of Hostalrich, as was mentioned before.*

“... de venir gagner les pardons en sa chambre et paier le disme, comme les femmes d'Osteleric, dont cy dessus est touché.”

le chapellain de leens qui se vint bouter auprès d'elle pour luy faire compagnie affin [de] prendre le disme advenir, comme firent les cordeliers dont dessus est touché...

The priest of that place who came to lie next to her to keep her company, [to] collect the forthcoming tithe, as the monks mentioned above did...

¹⁹⁸ *A propos de la Nouvelle precedente*: the lord of Quiévrain also tells a story involving the marches of Picardy.

¹⁹⁹ *tantdiz que ... ame ne s'avance ... de parfournir ceste glorieuse et edifiant euvre de Cent nouvelles.*

²⁰⁰ *mis ou reng et nombre des dictes nouvelles.* – cf nouvelle85 by the lord of Santilly, which he called *a joyful adventure, which I will put here, to increase my number and because it is worthy of being placed along with the others...*

remarks of messire Timoléon Vignier which precede the narration of the 93rd *Nouvelle* have been incorporated by the *acteur* in Timoléon's voice: *Whilst I have a good audience, I want to recount a gracious story which took place in the good and gracious land of Hainault*²⁰¹. The anonymous raconteur of the 96th *Nouvelle* embarked on his story by enjoining his audience to listen: *Now listen please to what once happened to a simple, rich village priest who through guilelessness owed his bishop a fine of fifty good gold crowns*²⁰²... The *acteur* recorded that Philippe de Loan began his last *Nouvelle*²⁰³: *If you'll please listen, you'll hear, right now, before it gets late, my little short story of a valiant Spanish bishop who went to the court of Rome at the time of this story, on his master, the king of Castille's, business*. This was evidently an evening tale – a bedtime story – but, having said this, there is no reason to assume that the tales were all told in continuous succession, one after the other, and to the same audience. In an important, but apparently unnoticed, PhD thesis contributing to the authorship debate²⁰⁴, Harry Baxter noted *a kind of link system in the subject matter*. He drew attention to the thematic and material similarities across a series of small strings of nouvelles. The twists and turns of the collection reflect the raconteurs' personalities, and

une joyeuse aventure que je mettray icy pour croistre mon nombre, et pource qu'elle est digne d'estre ou reng des aultres...

²⁰¹ *Tantdz que j'ay bonne audience, je veil compter ung gracieux compte advenu au bon et gracieux païs de Haynau...*

²⁰² *Or escoutez, s'il vous plaist, qu'il advint l'aultre-hier a ung simple riche curé de village, qui par simplese fut a l'emende devers son evesque en la somme de cinquante bons escuz d'or*

²⁰³ cf **H. Baxter**, 'Author's Point of View in the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', PhD Thesis (University of Michigan, 1970) p. 9. The tale begins: *S'il vous plaist, vous orrez, avant qu'il soit plus tard, tout a ceste heure ma petite ratelée et compte abregé d'un vaillant evesque d'Espaigne, qui pour aucuns afferes du roy de Castille, son maistre, ou temps de ceste histoire, s'en alloit en court de Romme.*

²⁰⁴ I have never seen it being cited anywhere, which is unfortunate, as it is a clear, lucid and thoughtful piece on the issue of the philological meaning and implications of collective "authorship".

the dynamic of their group. It is highly likely that the nouvelles have come down to us more or less in the order that they were originally recounted: the anomaly of the lord of La Roche's comment about Italian stories remains mysterious, but can probably be explained by a brief absence from the story telling circle whilst the tale was told. The tales in their current form form a loose and organic sequence of interconnected narratives, which have every evidence of being recorded faithfully by the redactor.

The Moral Vision of the Nouvelles.

There is no pretence that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* represent the *acteur's* verbatim record of what was said in the tales – rather, at the beginning of the text, the *acteur* makes it clear that it is a *petit oeuvre* which he had written up for the duke, and at his command. The text was, nevertheless, meant to capture the spirit of what the raconteurs said or read out to the court. The most obvious parallels are with the *Decameron*²⁰⁵. The conceit of the hundred novellas was a deliberate strategy of artistic variety which enabled Boccaccio to analyse and criticise a variety of aesthetically interesting moral and intellectual standpoints and themes in a literary manner, but without having to interject or reveal his own opinions directly. In the *Decameron*, each tale can contradict the moral implications of the one it precedes or follows. There is no immediately discernible progress of thought – no moral *argument* – at least, not in the conventional, point after point, linear sense. In an abstract way, the work itself was intended to be its own argument. Its success or failure Boccaccio meant to depend solely on its

engagement with the experience and wisdom of the reader. His *brigata's* participants told stories whose themes were treated in different ways, which emphasise their varying ethical, social, and intellectual stances and judgements. After the tale of Griselda, for example²⁰⁶, the ladies discussed it at length: *some taking one side, and some another, some finding fault with one of its details and some commending another.* Boccaccio understood the hermeneutic difficulties which a neutral stance presents to readers: issues of authorial intention and the relation of narrative paradigm to ethical precept bedevil the reception of stand-alone tales. What did Boccaccio intend his reader to make of each tale? Was his moral vision chaotic, or were his tales simply amoral: interesting, but not instructive? These issues confront the reader of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* too, especially since the reaction of the original audience for the tales of the Burgundian collection has not been recorded, as Boccaccio composed the *brigata's* deliberations. In the *Decameron* these textual and metatextual questions seem to be answered (at least – they seem partly answered) in the king's address to the ladies, which follows the passage cited above. (In this context, metatextuality is a philological idea developed to address aspects of the inclusion of commentary within a text. In other words, when a text becomes more than its original author intended it to be through the accretion of secondary or tertiary commentary, this is metatextuality. The idea is one popular amongst followers of the new philology, because, as commentary on a text alters the perception of the text, loss of “authorial identity” and the increasing subjectivity of reference fulfils many of the criteria of postmodern

²⁰⁵ E. Langlois, *Nouvelles Françaises inédites du quinzième siècle* (Paris, 1908) p. V. Another comparison may be drawn with the anonymous nouvelles probably written in Sens in the mid 15th Century: they also lacked an explicit or delineated moral vision.

²⁰⁶ McWilliam, *Decameron*, p. 824.

expression, and embodies postmodern ideas of what a text is: viz., to postmodern literary critics, a text is whatever the reader brings to it.) The king says: *Graceful ladies, the wisdom of mortals consists, as I think you know, not only in remembering the past and apprehending the present, but in being able, through a knowledge of each, to anticipate the future, which grave men regard as the acme of human intelligence ...*

This address to the ladies might be taken as a plea to the reader (whom, incidentally, Boccaccio also intended to be a lady²⁰⁷): now that the present work is at an end, the reader ought to reconsider it. She should do so (like the ladies who listened to Dioneo's story), contemplate its details, and apply the lessons of such reflection to future conduct. Boccaccio, anxious to guarantee the essential morality of his work, left to his readers the responsibility of creating that morality. However, in order to preserve his austere moral integrity, he cautioned his reader on several scores: *No word, however pure, was ever wholesomely construed by a mind that was corrupt. And just as seemly language leaves no mark upon a mind that is corrupt, language that is less than seemly cannot sully a mind that is well ordered, any more than mud will contaminate the rays of the sun, or earthly filth the beauties of the heavens.*

The point of the comparison with the *Decameron* is clear: Boccaccio intended his work to contain a hundred seemingly unrelated tales which would provide succour, diversion, and useful advice²⁰⁸. Was the aim of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* similar? It was expressly presented to the duke at his *requeste et advertisement*, by his *tresobeissant serviteur*, who

²⁰⁷ McWilliam, *Decameron*, p. 829.

²⁰⁸ Introduction, p. 47.

wanted to comply with his *treshaultes et tresnobles intencions*. It is given the status of a *petit oeuvre*, and the text of the *acteur*'s introduction is about reading and study – and how commendable it is to study nouvelles as stories which are about a variety of places. Clearly the collection was intended to be studied: they contain moral situations²⁰⁹.

The *acteur*'s personality as the man responsible for the collection is scarcely divorced from the text: examining his work as a source for the circumstances at court during the period of its construction, it has to be remembered that the nouvelles are not simply a verbatim redaction of the conteurs' words. From time to time, the *acteur* added comments in his own voice to the tales. One example is his explanation of the unusual dénouement in the 12th *Nouvelle*. In this tale, a cowherd who climbed up a tree to look for his lost calf, peeked down upon the lovemaking of a Dutch couple below him to ask them if they had seen what he had lost²¹⁰ – *Can you not see my calf, good sir? It seems to me that I can see its tail!* In astonishment, the Dutchman nevertheless came up with a fitting reply, unexpectedly conflating an idiomatic saying's literal meaning with its proverbial meaning: *Ceste queue n'est pas de ce veau – This tail is not the calf's*²¹¹! The *acteur* at this point, by way of explanation for the tale,

²⁰⁹ **Jeay**, *L'enchâssement narratif*, pp. 200-201. Jeay draws attention to the ambiguities which the omnipresent ironies and stereotypical descriptions introduce to the moral situations the nouvelles present to be evaluated, and notes that only a quarter of the tales conclude with a brief moral verdict. These summings-up are nevertheless not the last word on the characters' conduct.

²¹⁰ *Ne veez vous pas mon veau, beau sire? Il me semble que j'en voy la queue!*

²¹¹ **E. Rassart-Eeckhout and T. Van Hemelryck**, 'Les Proverbes Illustrés: Edition Critique' in *Le Moyen Français* (2001) pp. 62, 83, 92. See Plate 46. The proverb was used to indicate that logically, one thing was not contingent on another. However, the Dutchman's meaning was that it was "none of his business". The proverb imagines a leather worker discarding the tail which was useless to his *métier*: to the man up the tree, the activities of the people down below were none of his business.

A. Adams, 'The Cent nouvelles nouvelles in Ms Hunter 252: The Impact of the Miniatures' in *French*

broke in to identify himself and to "explain" in a third outrageous punchline that Dutch women have excessively long pubic hair: *And if I am asked why the labourer was moved to ask his question, the scribe of this story replies that the front beard of the said lady was quite, and very long, as is the custom in Holland, so he believed it to be the calf's tail*²¹².

The narrator's voice intimated to the reader that it contains a written-down version of what the conteurs said, with occasional editorial comments²¹³. The *acteur*, when he was inclined to, felt he could take the liberty of adding his own voice to the stories of the other raconteurs not because the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was intended for a wide audience, but because the reverse was true. Because his specified task was to make a book for Philip the Good, the *acteur* added his comments and numerous nouvelles²¹⁴. The personal nature of the commission suggests that the book was not intended for a wide circulation. There is no postmodern

Studies (1992) pp. 385-394. In her pioneering article on the miniatures, Dr Adams reproduces an enlargement of the miniature on p. 388. At p. 387, she observes that *the significance of the remark needs no glossing – though the writer rather clumsily insists on doing so, referring to the particular attributes of Dutch women but the acteur's intention is clearly to compound the humour of this witty exchange. The lover's retort is as good a bon mot as the laboureur in the tree, contrary to what Adams says (p. 388).*

²¹² *Et qui me demanderoit qui le laboureur mouvoit a faire ceste sa question, le secretaire de ceste histoire respond que la barbe du devant de ladite femme estoit assez et beaucoup longue, comme il est coustume a celles de Hollande; si cuidoit bien que ce fust la queue de son veau...* The term *queue* is a colloquial expression for *penis*, so adding the comment about the pubic hair, the *acteur* added a further twist, and prolonged the joke.

²¹³ It is possible that the *acteur* has merely copied out the text of a Nouvelle which the lord of la Roche has handed to him, and that this is la Roche's narrative voice. However, this seems unlikely because of the use of the term *secretaire*: the introduction, which specifically claims that the nouvelles were redacted by the *acteur* adjusts the balance of probability in the *acteur's* direction.

²¹⁴ i.e. Nouvelles 51, 91, 92, 98 and 99.

theory of authorship here any more than there is in a private letter²¹⁵. The evident failure of the work to circulate in manuscript copy, and the existence of only two known manuscripts suggests that it was originally intended for consumption by the court. Only *Hunter 252* survives, though there was certainly a copy in the duke's library, and presumably both the *acteur* and Vérard had working copies. It would not be very surprising to discover other manuscripts of the work, given that the raconteurs were literary patrons in their own right, but it seems unlikely that there should be many.

The *acteur* revealed very little about himself, other than that he was an obedient ducal servant. In *Nouvelle 91* he claimed that he was recently in the land of Flanders, where he heard the story of the wanton wife from someone whom he deemed worthy of credence. It is difficult to know what to make of such an accreditation, as it recurred frequently in the literature and chronicles of the period, so it may simply have been a topos. He also seems to have had a high estimation of the council of Metz in Lorraine. One of his stories (*Nouvelle 92*) took place there, also “not long ago”, and perhaps significantly, it has no known antecedent, which may mean that at least some aspects of it were true. *The council men, who were good and wise, seeing that the jurisdiction of this matter belonged to the king of the brothels*²¹⁶, *as much on its merits, as because the women*

²¹⁵ In other words, when the *acteur* drew his reader's attention to the fictional nature of his work, his agenda was not to dwell on that aspect of his art, but rather to clarify something in the tale, to increase the meaning, not to deny it. For a bibliography on the idea of self-reference in art: S. Levy, *Philosophical Notations and Dramatic Practices of Self-Reference in Beckett's Plays* (Tel Aviv, 1985); B. Skyrms, *Intensional aspects of semantical self-reference* (New York, 1984).

²¹⁶ The *Roy de Bourdelois*, or King of the Ribalds. According to D. Nicolas, *The Later Medieval City, 1300-1500* (London, 1997) p. 276, several cities had such officers *who performed various unpleasant duties with marginal persons, including supervising brothels and gambling houses.*

were his subjects, sent it to him. And during the process, the good husbands remained in jail, waiting for the definitive sentence which was to be given by the advice of the king's subjects, who because of the infinite number of them, is destined to stay on the shelf²¹⁷.

Antihistorical Approaches to the text in Philology.

Roger Dubuis' study of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* has been prominent in discussion of the work since 1973. His focus was on the *Nouvelle* collection as the development of a genre, based on the adaptation of French antecedents²¹⁸. Dubuis' book extended the scholarship of the hundred years prior to its publication, and continues to win acceptance²¹⁹. It forms the basis of a number of philological studies. In one extended review article hailing Dubuis' *oeuvre*, Alexandre Lorian, an academic whose work is predominantly concerned with the sixteenth century *Nouvelle*, approved of what he considered his *unoriginal scholarship*: scholarship in the traditional mould, building on the *grands spécialistes* and *maîtres d'autrefois*, such as Bédier, Frappier, Guiette, Jodogne, Jourda, Nykrog, Rychner, and Söderhjelm²²⁰. He noted in particular that

²¹⁷ *Les gens du conseil, qui estoient bons et sages, voyans que la cognoissance de ceste cause appartenoit au roy de bourdelois, tant pour les merites de la cause que pour ce que les femmes estoient de ses subjectes, la renvoyerent pardevant luy. Et pendant le procès, les bons mariz demourerent en prison, attendans la sentence diffinitive qui devoit estre rendue par l'advis des subjectz du roy, qui, pour le nombre infiny d'eulx, est taillée de demourer pendue au clou. (hanging on the peg is a more literal translation of *pendue au clou*.)* It is probably better not to read too much into the favourable description of the council, as the *acteur* may have been referring to them as "worthies" or "dignitaries" much as councillors today might be referred to.

²¹⁸ Dubuis, *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, p. 559. Dubuis concluded that the history of the genre was still to be completed.

²¹⁹ Dubuis' bibliography has been commented on by Woledge, *Bibliographie des Romans: Supplément* p. 10.

²²⁰ A. Lorian, 'Deux Cent nouvelles nouvelles' in *The Hebrew University Studies in Literature*, (1974) pp. 151-170. Lorian's article also reviewed the Livingston edition of Philippe de Vigneulles' *Cent*

Dubuis intended to constitute a “theory of the *Nouvelle*”, and it is perhaps unsurprising that he established it using the first collection of French nouvelles. Dubuis’ technique was to look no further than the dedicatory epistle of the redactor, and the brief wordings of the incipits and explicits of tales to ascertain what the text itself had to say on the subject of what a *Nouvelle* was²²¹. Thereafter his deductions were of an equally intratextual nature, and culminated in the composition of an exact, if narrow, definition of the genre at its earliest stage. By extension, his book itself stands as the definition; Dubuis’ philological analysis explains by example the *usual*, if not necessarily *essential*, features of the fifteenth century *Nouvelle*. His key argument was that the *Nouvelle* can not be defined as a genre through the study of psychological dynamics, subject matter, or comic elements: on the contrary, for Dubuis *a Nouvelle is a tale, most often a short one, of an adventure, generally a recent one, presented as though it had happened, which maintains the interest by means of its unexpected elements*²²². Although he was concerned with the *antecedents* for the tales²²³, the *storytellers* did not interest him. Dubuis’ understanding of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was restricted to the text itself. Nor did he *evaluate* the *raconteurs*’ attitudes towards the enterprise in which they were involved. He imagined that the collection was something of an escape from the political world – an author’s way of

nouvelles nouvelles: C. Livingston, *Philippe de Vigneulle: Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Geneva, 1972). Lorian’s comments are at p. 156: *The Subject of this work – the Nouvelle in its early stages, and its French ancestors – not being new [i.e. to scholarship], it was to be expected that M. Dubuis should not come to unexpected, surprising or original conclusions...* Lorian is best known for his study *Tendances stylistiques dans la prose narrative française au XVIe siècle* (Paris, 1973)

²²¹ Dubuis, *Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, pp. 1-127.

²²² Dubuis, *Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, p. 126, my translation. Dubuis added a critique of Söderhjelm’s view of the *Nouvelle* in *Réalité et réalisme dans les “Cent nouvelles nouvelles”* in *Centre d’études Franco-Italian (Université de Turin)* (1981) pp. 91-119 at pp. 91-94. See chapter five below.

entertaining his master²²⁴: *the author of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles only seeks to divert, in the Pascalian sense of the term. The nouvelles recounted at the court of the duke of Burgundy were a means for the courtiers and for the duke himself to entertain themselves, certainly, but above all (for not everything in the collection is amusing) it had to take their minds off of the problems of their era. Political problems in particular occupied some of them during the day so that we should not deny them their right, evening come, to forget their troubles for the amount of time it took to tell a Nouvelle*²²⁵ ...

The lesson of Roger Dubuis' comparison of the fabliaux with the nouvelles which they inspired was that the prosification process was not merely about adaptation, but, on the whole, improvement²²⁶. In this

²²³ Dubuis, *Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, pp. 129-554.

²²⁴ R. Dubuis, 'L'indifférence du Genre narratif aux problèmes politiques du XVe siècle' in F. Simone (ed.) *Culture et Politique en France à l'époque de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance* (Turin, 1974) pp. 213-227, at pp. 226-227. Dubuis believed that the *acteur* (a term he rendered: *auteur*) modernised old tales, and fabricated the *répertoire narratif* because this was a simple and effective way of giving the collection *l'apparence de l'authenticité*. He dealt with the historical elements in which the tales are located by alleging that they were only used *pour rendre l'histoire plus facilement crédible*. (p. 225, of the events in Nouvelle 5.) This approach, which puts the cart before the horse, follows Rasmussen, and has been adopted by Jeay (see below).

²²⁵ Dubuis, *ibid.* p. 227: *L'auteur des Cent nouvelles nouvelles ne cherche que le divertissement, au sens pascalien du terme. Les nouvelles racontées à la cour du Duc de Bourgogne étaient un moyen pour les courtisans et pour le Duc lui-même de s'amuser, certes, mais surtout, car tout n'est pas amusant dans le recueil, il s'en faut, de se détourner des problèmes de leur époque. Les problèmes politiques, en particulier, occupaient assez bon nombre d'entre eux pendant la journée pour qu'on ne leur conteste pas le droit, la veillée venue, de les oublier l'espace d'une Nouvelle...*

²²⁶ Dubuis, *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, pp. 274-279: discussing the 19th Nouvelle, and the fabliau version of the tale, Dubuis noted that *le sujet est, dans son fond, rigoureusement identique dans les deux textes. Ils présentent, cependant, de nombreux points sur lesquels ils divergent ou même s'opposent. La psychologie des personnages semble un peu plus nuancée dans la Nouvelle que dans le fabliau...* Whereas, for Dubuis, the fabliau characters, *ne sont faits que pour vivre cet épisode* and *l'auteur du fabliau se borne à utiliser une matière brute*, the Nouvelle's author *ne se contente pas de la*

opinion, he built especially on Werner Söderhjelm's passing remarks. Söderhjelm favourably considered the refinement of versions of the fabliaux appearing in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, contextualising them with reference to Italian forerunners²²⁷. He was not alone in observing such an improvement in terms of the thematic and psychological construction of the tales. In the 1960s, Janet Ferrier expressed her appreciation of this progress in terms of the structures of the *récits*: “*The author of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles leaves his mark upon the story, by paring it down to the essential elements, by moulding the characters ... and by always laying his chief emphasis upon the surprise ending. Moreover, despite the fact that he is using second hand material, the author always insists that the story he is telling is true, and that it happened recently*”²²⁸.

Recognition of the narrative quality and orality of the tales was the most significant philological development in *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* studies last century. Now, however, it seems important to replace the nouvelles in their aural culture, because the improvements which philologists have painstakingly identified did not happen in a vacuum²²⁹ – they represent a newly-developed interest in shaping the spoken word artfully. A historical appreciation of this new trend takes care of another objection

matière brute; il la modèle, l'ordonne, la transforme; il lui donne surtout de nouvelles

<<résonances>>... ses personnages sont assez vivants pour que le lecteur puisse leur prêter d'autres aventures et leur faire vivre d'autres épisodes.

²²⁷ Söderhjelm, *Nouvelle Française*, pp. 111-158. At pp. 117-118, Söderhjelm compares the elements of the fabliau *du Chevalier qui fit sa femme confesse* (Montaignon and Raynaud, *Récueil Général*, vol 1, p. 178) and concludes that in some particulars there is a *véritable progrès sur le récit rudimentaire du fableau*.

²²⁸ J. Ferrier, *French Prose Writers of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1966) p. 64.

relating to the literary quality of the work. The fact that the conteur circle is alluded to without much ceremony has led some philological observers to conclude that it is an irrelevance: the author of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* simply had not the wit to emulate the *Decameron's* sophisticated frame narrative²³⁰. Others have voiced the remark that the conteur circle is at best only vaguely outlined – alluded to by means of the narrators' names, and by the mentions of audience made at the start and close of the tales: if anything, a poor imitation of the *Decameron*, a clumsy way of suggesting the context of the tales, or a narrative trick designed to fool the reader into accepting them as realistic²³¹.

²²⁹ **R. Morse**, 'Historical Fiction in Fifteenth Century Burgundy' in *Modern Language Review* (1980) pp. 48-64 at p. 48.

²³⁰ **T. Conley**, 'Narrative Mapped and Gridded, Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles (1464): Nouvelle L', in *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1993) pp. 1-21, at p. 5: *The collection differs vastly from Italian models, such as Il Decamerone, that uses an organizing cornice to set forth a finite number of tales (100) and to place the ensemble in a cohering frame ... whereas Boccaccio's organizing scheme would be comparable to a system of artificial perspective that surrounds the narrative, the identical number of tales in the anonymous Burgundian collection, piled together with little rhyme or reason, would approximate the sensation of 'empirical space and time as they were known in northern esthetics. In this system, if a system it is, the narrators are many (thirty-six) and without distinguishing characteristics. They share a setting that our romantic reveries inspire us to imagine as a fireside or veillée. While they have historical identities, their discourse betrays no variety of styles or signatures.*

²³¹ **Azuela**, *Activité Orale* p. 520. Azuela quite rightly puts the case more positively: *Si l'art de conter est le thème principal de la Cornice ou encadrement des Contes de Canterbury, et du Décameron, dans les Cent nouvelles nouvelles dont le cercle conteur est vaguement ébauché, l'activité orale reste fondamentale.* On the development of the idea of the *cornice* or *cadre* in French nouvelles see **C. Camero-Perez**, 'La Survivance du Cadre dans la Nouvelle moderne' in *Litteratures* (1990) pp. 105-112; The best bibliography is in Madeleine Jeay's lengthy (256 page) overview of the subject: **M. Jeay**, *Donner la Parole, l'Histoire-Cadre dans les recueils de nouvelles des XVe-XVIe siècles* (Montreal, 1992) pp. 229-256. **G. Angeli**, 'La Novella e la censura del nome' in *Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Comparete* (1982) pp. 5-12 at pp. 8-9 argues that the tales add the names for the sake of realism, and that it is merely a redundant narrative device: *la prima raccolta redatta a imitazione del*

From the historical point of view, another way of characterising Dubuis' approach to the text is to observe that it *excluded* any consideration of the raconteurs' input. The nouvelles were written-up at the duke's behest; to an extent the original narrators shaped their narrative character. They told short stories, but did they all stop to consider the strictures of genre? Were they careful to stick to a particular form? It is clear that although many similar aspects of what might be termed *form* and *genre* appear in the finished text, the original raconteurs were apt to disagree about the nature of the narratives they had been summoned to impart. Why else would some tales be tragic, and others comic? How else can the variety of old and new tales be accounted for? Why should some raconteurs tell more tales than others? Such a disregard of narrative symmetry is hard to explain if the things of *genre* – narrative form and content – were uppermost in the minds of the men asked to tell stories to the court. As we have seen, the *Decameron's* model provided a framework which was rigid. The Burgundian collection is so amorphous that it clearly follows no such pattern, though it matched the total number of stories. The raconteurs did not even bother to finish the collection – the duke gave it to the redactor to round off (*mettre en terme*). The “human element” – a *historical* factor – played a greater part in the formation of the collection than Dubuis' tidy philological description of the genre allows. The raconteurs reused older narrative material; their short stories matched Dubuis' “rules”, but the question of *genre* is historical, ad hoc, and imprecise. The nouvelles make it clear that the raconteurs knew they had been summoned²³² (or had volunteered²³³) to tell an audience²³⁴ a story.

Decameron... accentua l'elemento di presunta veridicit  sia con l'aggiunta la titolo di un epiteto ridondante...

²³² Cf Nouvelle 32, by the lord of Villiers, discussed above.

²³³ Cf Nouvelle 90, by the lord of Beaumont, discussed above.

Although philologists have followed Dubuis' example and ignored the courtly setting, the question of audience had always been essential to novella collections.

Boccaccio understood this, and took pains to detail how the plague ravaged his city: his storytellers – carefully distanced from the mores of everyday life, and elaborately introduced during a time of great crisis, submitted tales for the *lieta brigata* to discuss. Setting and audience – especially the delicate gender (im)balance – impacted on the nature and style of his narrative. Boccaccio was careful to justify the material by drawing attention to the fact that it was neither presented in church nor in the presence of churchmen or philosophers, but in a garden: *a place designed for pleasure, among people who ... were fully mature and not to be led astray by stories*²³⁵ ... Writing about Gentile Sermini's *Novelle* (which Sermini intended to entertain people at the baths), Christopher Nissen²³⁶ drew attention to the fact that *it is important to remember that the medieval Novella traced much of its origin to didactic literature, to the Latin exempla and to Asian moral tales. Novella collections of this period continually call on the reader to judge the moral propriety of characters' deeds, often in a variety of ways. In his introduction, Sermini adheres to a standard practice for authors of tale collections: he establishes his ethical ground in a voice meant to be seen as his own, creating a moral context that will help the reader judge the actions of the novella characters and arrive at a sense of the text's meaning.* The deliberations of the courtiers who heard the Burgundian nouvelles are not recorded in the surviving texts, but it seems far-fetched to imagine that

²³⁴ Cf Nouvelle 93 by Timoléon Vignier, discussed above.

²³⁵ **McWilliam**, *Giovanni Boccaccio – The Decameron*, p. 830.

such narrative material met with silence! In an organic and developing collection, the historical element of audience reaction was surely important to the raconteurs, and thus should be taken into consideration in philological discussion of the work.

An interesting passage in the celebrated analogue text, the *Evangelies des Quenouilles* (a collection of superstitions and old wives tales narrated to an assembly of women) gives an impression of what could have happened at the Burgundian court. The recorder of the women's deliberations specifically said that he stopped writing, and packed up his paper because *a great tumult of noise arose amongst the women assembled there, through their laughter and speaking together, and it seemed ... just like a market place, without order, and nobody wishing to listen to one another, nor wait for the end of the deliberations*²³⁷.

Although it is possible that not *every* tale was heard by an exclusive congregation of men, in the few recorded asides which mention the audience by formal address, only men were mentioned²³⁸. They were addressed as *bons seigneurs*. The text was apparently not intended for

²³⁶ Nissen, *Games of Sex and Power*, pp. 1-8.

²³⁷ M. Jeay, *Les Evangelies des Quenouilles* (Montreal, 1985) p. 111. ... *grande tumulte entre les femmes illec assembleez, tant de rire comme de parler toutes ensemble, et ne sembloit autre chose fors que ce fust un marchié de hire hare sans ordre et sans voloir entendre l'une l'autre ne atendre la fin de leurs raisons*. Jeay (p. 176) notes that there was an old proverb which said that four women could make the noise of a marketplace. The writer mentions the women's chatter frequently: pp. 79, 81-82, 95, 99, 104-105, 107, 112, 116, 134.

²³⁸ cf D. Poirion, *Préface* in D. Régnier-Bohler (ed.) *Splendeurs de la Cour de Bourgogne, Récits et Chroniques* (Paris, 1995) p. IV: *A lire les Cent nouvelles nouvelles on découvre un intérêt singulier pour l'érotisme mis à la mode par Boccace. Mais si l'auteur italien offrait ses histoires aux dames, les nouvelles dédiées au duc de Bourgogne suggèrent un public masculin étroitement compromis dans les aventures de ce Don Juan peu recommandable.*

female consumption²³⁹: surely an important consideration from the point of view of gender-based philological analysis, because men behave and speak differently when women are absent. Diner's study of the "feminine figure" in the collection concluded that: *the author of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles transcends the limits of literary convention in his representation of women ... The feminine voice emanating from this text is still very much a voice from the margins, that of the author probing and questioning the prefabricated thinking implicit in stylized, masculine literary conventions*²⁴⁰. Following an examination of a variety of the eighty-eight tales which have female characters, Diner argued that *the author's multi-faceted representations of individual women's unpredictable impulses, motivations and emotions invite us to consider each a complex, self-conscious adult personality. In addition, the breadth of characters and narrative material ... invites us to consider that each female figure is integrated into a complex and variegated social fabric. Furthermore, the varying perspectives on women's experiences opened by the broad stylistic range ... creates a cumulative impression that the author of Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles has encompassed every species of female character, every variety of feminine circumstance, within the boundaries of his collection*²⁴¹. Literary study of gender representation in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* lacks nuance if it does not take into

²³⁹ It is not necessarily instructive to compare the numbers of times the terms *homme* and *femme* appear in the text (*homme*: 243; *gentilhomme*: 43; *preudhomme*: 1; *bonhomme*: 2; *gentilzhommes*: 2; *hommes*: 34; *femme*: 426; *femmes*: 95) because although the female title appears more often, more specific titles or descriptors were frequently used to designate both men and women, such as *seigneur*: 67; *marchant*: 66; *chambriere*: 61, *mere*: 150; *meres*: 2; *père*: 126; *pères*: 5 etc. Perhaps detailed analysis will throw up a gender imbalance in the text. The issue, however, is probably not *quantitative* but *qualitative*, and numbers *per se* are insufficiently informative to be considered statistically.

²⁴⁰ Diner, *Filling in and Fleshing out*, pp. 36-37.

²⁴¹ Diner, *Filling in and Fleshing out*, p. 35.

consideration the fact that the raconteurs were men whose depiction of women was conditioned to some extent by the masculine environment of the ducal household²⁴². The representations may have been *multi faceted*, and integrated into a view of the *social fabric*, but the evidence of the nouvelles is scarcely unbiased, however much *the reader's sympathies are pulled in different directions*²⁴³.

It is impossible to say which elements of the tales were discussed at court after they were told. Dubuis highlighted the scarcity of narrative interjection in the body of the tales themselves²⁴⁴: the absence of moral judgement (except in extreme cases) and the rather cold and impartial way the characters are left to speak for themselves²⁴⁵ suggests that their individual conduct was *intended* to be opened to scrutiny. Each tale narrated a situation in which characters did or said things with a moral dimension: the nouvelles concern lust, adultery, theft, lies, manners,

²⁴² cf S. Verderber, 'Subjective Vision and Fragmentation in Late Medieval France, Burgundy and Flanders', PhD thesis (Pennsylvania State, 2002) esp. ch. 4: *Fragmented and individuated subjectivity in the Cent nouvelles nouvelles* at pp. 181-182. Verderber does not address the issue of the masculine environment with reference to historical documentation. Rather, she considers her argument as *situated within and part made possible by a prominent theme in feminist theory: the shattering of the "universal," humanist subject position, one which feminist theorists have insisted is in actuality Western, white, male, capitalist, and heterosexual, and the shift in emphasis, as Adrienne Rich and Donna Haraway have expressed it, to partial perspectives, to a "politics of location," and to the body as a site of experience and knowledge...* (pp. 2-3)

²⁴³ Diner, *Filling in and Fleshing out*, p. 35.

²⁴⁴ Dubuis, *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, p. 277. Dubuis compares *Nouvelle 19* with the fabliau, *De l'enfant qui fu remis au soleil*, and argues that there is significantly less authorial presence in the *Nouvelle*.

²⁴⁵ R. Dubuis, 'La Campagne dans les Cent nouvelles nouvelles' in G.-A. Perouse and H. Neveux (eds.) *Essais sur la Campagne à la Renaissance* (Paris, 1991) pp. 93-102. Dubuis (p. 102) thought of the characters as a *galerie des personnages, plus ou moins typés pour les besoins de l'histoire...* In *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age* p. 278 he argues that the narrator, turning his back on the "moral" of the tale, *renonce à "édifier" le lecteur pour mieux le divertir.*

revenge, rape, violence, devil worship, transvestism and other ethical and social issues. Stylistically no stories contain abundantly delineated psychological narrative²⁴⁶, extensive descriptive passages, or lengthy moral critique by the narrator. Nor do they develop characters descriptively beyond a few stock details. The *dramatis personae* tend to be *types* rather than *individuals*: the first *Nouvelle*, for example, mentions a *bon bourgeois*, a *bon compaignon*, a *bon mary*, a *bon voisin*, a *bon homme*, a *tresbelle*²⁴⁷ *femme*. Once the essential moral events were resolved, the tale ended. In her consideration of authorial point of view, Marianne Mustacchi noted that *the author does not seem to show any sympathy for the characters, nor does he appear to reproach them in any way... [he] is ostensibly following the tradition of his day: that of making his presence felt as the objective story-teller, standing outside his narrative, and passing it on to his audience*²⁴⁸. Although it is not clear that such was the tradition of the day²⁴⁹, if the raconteurs intended that

²⁴⁶ In the sense that the listener is rarely told specifically what motivated the characters through omniscient narration. Although the narrator did not make his audience privy to the characters' thoughts and deliberations, the psychology of the tales is built up situationally. See below.

²⁴⁷ *Bonne* appears 324 times in the collection as a whole; *bon*: 492; *tresbon*: 17, *tresbonne*: 23; *bonnes*: 42; *bons* 59; *tresbelle*: 34, *belles*: 34; *belle*: 138 times. (The term *bien* is one of the most overused in the collection with 1254 appearances, whilst *tresbien* is used 117 times.) Although these words are not always to describe a character in the nouvelles, it is worth noting their nearly ubiquitous presence in the text.

²⁴⁸ **Mustacchi**, *Levels of Realism*, pp. 113-115. Mustacchi identified three sorts of irony, however, which counter this objectivity: the authorial bias in presentation of character (for example, *jaloux comme un Ytalian* in *Nouvelle* 37) stylistic irony, where high-flown language accentuates the grubbiness of the character's conduct (for example, *Nouvelle* 21 where the abbess' lust is disguised as virtue) and situational irony, where there is a dissonance between expectation and reality (for example *Nouvelle* 29, where the young man experienced the "*aise qu'on a en mariage...*")

²⁴⁹ Numerous works in prose from the mid fifteenth century abandoned any pretence of narrative objectivity. Jean Wauquelin began his adaptation of the tale of the *Bon Roi Alexandre* (c. 1450) with a prologue addressed to *Jean de Bourgogne*, the *count of Étampes* in which he claimed his work was to preserve the *memory of noble undertakings and deeds of arms, conquests and valiant acts*

their *contes* should have their moral dimension discussed, and did not wish to pre-empt this moral evaluation, this is precisely how they would have presented them. It is not true to suggest that the stories lack psychological realism²⁵⁰: the characters gain situational and moral specificity in the course of the *Nouvelle*: although they were presented as caricatures or archetypes²⁵¹, the agglutination and juxtaposition of circumstances with reactions allowed the audience to gain an insight into the psychology of the situation. The characters' individuality was defined not adjectivally, but by their idiosyncratic action, reaction, and interaction.

Judith Diner's attitude to the absence of moral critique within the tales, articulated in a paragraph on the *reduction and abolition of moralising* in the collection, was that *concrete details and a pretence of historical accuracy in les Cent nouvelles nouvelles are uncoupled from any transcendent theological or philosophical framework. Rather they conceal the fictional nature of the narratives*²⁵². There is, however, no need to assume that this was the case. Indeed, the balance of probability is against it, given the moralising and didactic currents which had informed most European secular and anecdotal literature from the late twelfth century. Authors in the fifteenth century were aware of the ethical

accomplished and achieved by the valorous, noble and powerful men of long ago... O. Collet (trans.)
in **Régnier-Bohler** *Splendeurs de la Cour* pp. 483-627.

²⁵⁰ **Mustacchi**, *Levels of Realism*, pp. 5-6: *Contrary to the author of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles Boccaccio presents his characters as being not just rudimentary types; they are real individuals, depicted with skill and keen psychological insight.*

²⁵¹ The characters are often given stock names such as Jehanne, Betrix, Ysabeau, Aubry, Katherine, Gérard, Margarite, Jehanneton, and Jehannette. (Nouvelles 3, 21, 26, 39, 46, 59, 91) The *acteur's* Nouvelle 91 confirms this sense of the names being generic: *Or ça, Jehanne ou Betrix, ainsi qu'il l'appelloit: Now then, Jeanne or Beatrice, or whatever he called her...*

aspects of their works. It is much more realistic to assume that an interpretative discussion accompanied the telling of the nouvelles at the court of Burgundy which “completed” the *recueil*, to a greater extent than what Diner thinks of as a missing *extra-narrative framing device*²⁵³.

Diner contended that *the unifying context for the Cent nouvelles nouvelles is the intellectual construct of a completed book: the plot summaries and dedication provide a vague, implied framing device which invites us to consider the work a completed whole. The author thus transforms the genre of the medieval tale collection by abolishing the occasion for the inscription of meaning in the work as a whole.* Nelly Labère has adopted a similar attitude to the plot summaries, and expressed concern that what she believed to be a literary hapax should have received so little attention²⁵⁴. *The Cent nouvelles nouvelles do not simply consist of the tale collection; they also depend on the presence of a table of contents, the portico of the work, pre-text, and abridgement which forces a reappraisal of the traditional definition of the collection*²⁵⁵. This is to mistake a functional addition to the text for a formal aesthetic and stylistic structural choice. The table of contents was written after the text was completed by someone (not the *acteur*) at a remove from the text.

²⁵² Diner, *Hundred New Tales*, p. XIX.

²⁵³ Diner, *Hundred New Tales*, p. XIX.

²⁵⁴ Labère, *Etude de la temporalité*, p. 85. In fact, the ducal library inventory (ADN B 3501) proves Labère wrong about this. At least two of the ducal copies of the *Cent nouvelles* of Boccaccio contained tables of contents, as did the ducal library manuscript of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Labère mistakes Hunter 252 for this manuscript) and three ducal copies of *Perceforest*.

²⁵⁵ Labère, *Etude de la temporalité*, p. 78: *Cependant, les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles ne sont pas seulement constituées d'un recueil. Elles se fondent aussi sur la présence d'une table des matières, portique de l'œuvre, pré-texte et abrégé qui remet en question la définition traditionnelle du recueil.*

Whoever composed the table made mistakes in the names²⁵⁶. He did not know who Montbléru was²⁵⁷, and was also unaware of who Clays Utenhove was, beyond what the *Nouvelle* relates²⁵⁸. The most that can be said for the table is that it represents an independent reading of the text²⁵⁹. The cataloguer of the ducal library inventory also considered the stories distinctly from the table, describing the work as *commencant le pre second feuillet, apres la table*²⁶⁰. Philologists looking for *completeness* or *unifying context* should not attempt to make the table into something it is not: aesthetically, it is an extremely tedious document. For example, it endlessly repeats the phrase *comme vous orrez*, and removes the vital ingredient of suspense from a variety of nouvelles²⁶¹.

²⁵⁶ In number 19, for example, the table gives *Phelippe Vignieu* for Philippe Vignier, and in 54: *Mahiot*, for Mahiot D'Auquasnes. The most unusual change is *Monseigneur le Seneschal de Guienne* for Monseigneur de Loan (38).

²⁵⁷ It is instructive to compare the opening sentence of *Nouvelle 63* with the more reticent entry in the table: *Montbleru se trouva, environ deux ans a, a la foyre d'Envers... [tale] La Lxiiije Nouvelle, d'ung nommé Montbleru, lequel a une foire d'Envers [table]*.

²⁵⁸ Clays Utenhove, whom the duke named in *Nouvelle 69*, is referred to as *ung gentil chevalier de la conté de Flandres* in the table. See chapter one above for Utenhove and his family connections to the court of Burgundy.

²⁵⁹ The personality of the table writer, and his evident enjoyment of the text comes across in some remarks. For example, he wrote in the first person about the 91st *Nouvelle*: *The ninety first Nouvelle speaks of a man who was married to a woman who was so luxurious and vivacious that I believe she was born in the baths (estuves – brothels) or half a league from the mid day sun for he was unable, no matter how accomplished a workman he was, to cool her down; and of how he thought to punish her, and of the answer which she gave him*. He also interjects a heavy irony to his synopsis of the 84th *Nouvelle*.

²⁶⁰ He also catalogued the second and third ducal copies of the *Decameron* as beginning on the second folio *apres la table*.

²⁶¹ **Labère**, *Etude de la temporalité*, pp. 89-90. Although Labère contended that the table entries gave a *resumé tout en maintenant la technique de suspens* the synopsis for the 49th *Nouvelle* which she quoted as one of the *fidèles duplications* is a good example of an abridgement which destroys suspense by detailing the denouement: *et ainsi la laissa devant tous ses amys*.

Luciano Rossi inferred that the ducal library catalogues of 1469 and 1487 gave the impression that the rubrics containing the brief résumé of the stories appeared before each *Nouvelle* in the duke's library copy of the text, because the phrase *celle qui se baignoit* appears in the table entry to the first *Nouvelle*, but not in the text of the *Nouvelle*²⁶². In fact, the 1469 inventory entry makes it clear that the first thing in the duke's manuscript was a *table*. It is possible that this table contained folio references to the tales rather than résumés to the stories. If this were the case, the ambiguous catalogue entry: *beginning on the second folio after the table* could mean that the résumés began on the second folio, rather than that the table came first, and the stories began two folios after the table. On the other hand, it seems more likely that the table in question *was* the list of résumés: the ducal copy evidently had both a résumé prior to each tale *and* a table of these résumés at the start of the manuscript. Neither *Hunter 252* nor the Vérard texts have page guides or résumés at the start of each *Nouvelle*. Although it had rubrics containing synopses of the tales, there is no reason to suggest that the format of the ducal copy was otherwise significantly different to the Glasgow manuscript, or the early printed editions: indeed, the inventory entries for both 1469 and 1487 suggest that they were textually close to them. Moreover, the presence in the ducal copy of résumés prior to the tale in no way negates the comments made above about the authorship of the rubrics. Indeed, it strengthens the case that they were made by someone at a remove from the text, as rubrication of manuscripts (the 1469 inventory says the words *celle qui se baignoit* appear *en rouges lettres*) was routinely done after the completion

²⁶² Rossi, *Pour une édition*, p. 71. Rossi cites the 1469 and 1487 inventory entries from J. Barrois, *Bibliothèque protypographique ou Libraries des fils du roi Jean Charles V Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens* (Paris, 1830) #1261 and #1689. He infers that the title catalogued in 1487 was the same book as 1469, but there is no *proof* that it was.

of a text, and often by someone else. Rossi's comment that the rubrics suggest the *acteur* knew the work of Boccaccio is wide of the mark, not because the *acteur* did not know Boccaccio – he did, and said as much in the dedication – but because there is no indication that the *acteur* had anything to do with the composition of the rubrics²⁶³. The composition of the Glasgow manuscript's table was done in a different hand to the one which composed the text. Some (about three or four) of its folios are missing, and it contains only the résumés of nouvelles 1-11 and 97-100. This lacuna, and the fact that *Hunter 252* does not have rubrics prior to the tales, suggests that the table pages were an insert to the finished text. The cropping which the manuscript has undergone may have taken place then too, as it too was a careless job, which cut through part of the text of the letter of dedication. It is possible that the table was added to the Glasgow manuscript a considerable time after it was written: the table may have been copied from the duke's manuscript, or from the notes used to furnish that manuscript with its rubrics.

The Unity of the Text.

If the table was not an integrated part of the tale collection, the problem of the "completeness" or "unity" of the text which Diner and other philologists have identified needs to be addressed. Was the *acteur* vague about the constitution of his book? It seems more reasonable to assume that the audience was undelineated because he felt no need to describe how the stories had been received by the court to the man who commissioned it. The duke took part in the project, and presided himself over the inevitable discussion of the tales. The nouvelles themselves indicate that there was a deliberative process following their telling. For

²⁶³ Rossi, *Pour une édition*, p. 71.

example, following Chaugy's *Nouvelle* (28) he remarked (with his tongue in his cheek) that the listeners should decide whether or not Boccaccio should have placed his “flaccid gallant” alongside the noblemen who met with ill fortune. Poncelet's address in the 89th *Nouvelle* began: *In a little hamlet or village of this world, quite far from the town, a little tale happened which is worthy of bringing to your attention, my good lords*²⁶⁴. A more literal translation of *venir en l'audience de vous* would be *to come under your consideration*. The judicial language he used implied a weighing-up of evidence. The term *audience* appeared in a similar way in *nouvelles* 28, 34, 57, and 93 to suggest a legal hearing. When the raconteurs applied the expression figuratively to denote the granting of sexual favours, it carried the same judicial overtones²⁶⁵.

Deliberative discourse was of course a common feature of life around the duke, and not only at his court. The practice of discussing the virtues and

²⁶⁴ *En ung petit hamelet ou village de ce monde, assez loing de la bonne ville, est advenue une petite histoire qui est digne de venir en l'audience de vous, mes bons seigneurs...*

²⁶⁵ *Nouvelle* 33: the tale's complicated plot involves a lady who is shorn of her hair, because her two lovers trick her into seeing them independently of each other. Note the use of legal language: *Mais pourtant ne laissa pas de leur bailler tousjours audience, chacun a sa foiz, puis qu'ilz la requieroiert, sans en donner a nul congié. Trop bien les advertissoit qu'ilz venissent bien secretement vers elle, affin qu'ilz ne fussent de quelque ung apperceuz. Mais vous devez savoir, quand le premier venu avoit son tour, qu'il n'obloit pas a faire sa plaincte comme dessus; et n'estoit rien de la vie de son compaignon, s'il le pavoit rencontrer. Pareillement le derrenier, le jour de son audience, s'efforçoit de monstrier semblant plus desplaisant que le cuer ne luy donnoit; et ne valoit son compaignon, qui oyoit son dire, gueres mieulx que mort, s'il le treuve en belles.*

Nouvelle 48, similar use of legal language: *Elle fut bien si gracieuse qu'elle luy bailla bonne audience, et pour la premiere foiz il se partit trescontent de la response qu'il eut;*

Nouvelle 78, in which the abandoned wife's three lovers served her as by terms at court: *lesquelx, comme a court pluseurs servent par temps et termes, eurent leur audience;*

Nouvelle 87 in which another lover is described as though a plaintiff: *Et tant s'i ahurta qu'il luy declara son cas, et eut tresbonne audience, car de prinsaut on luy accorda et passa ses douces requestes*

deeds of each member of the Golden Fleece, for example, was an integral part of the meetings of the order²⁶⁶. One instance occurred at Saint Omer in 1461, at the meeting of the order at which two raconteurs, the lord of La Roche, and Guy de Roye, lord of Thalemas, were elected to the body²⁶⁷: protocol forced a debate relating to the disgraced duke of Alençon. He was unable to appear in person, because the king condemned him at his trial, and he was imprisoned for his treasons²⁶⁸. His failure to appear or to send a proxy became important during the procedures as the first item of business involved his being called forward to make his offering alongside the other knights²⁶⁹. The order's herald, Golden Fleece, was instructed to deal with the issue by announcing Alençon's absence, and saying that it was caused by his being a prisoner. His offering was deferred: put off until *the hour of his deliverance or otherwise, as it pleased God*. Chastelain described the deliberations which led up to this neutral announcement, and how the knights of the order felt they had to deal with it in an honourable way. *The matter was of grave importance because Alençon was a prince of the royal blood, fallen on ill-fortune. Whether this was deserved or not, nobody wished to discuss, for the time being: neither to excuse nor to accuse him, out of respect for the king and his justice. Although the knights were anxious*

²⁶⁶ **J.-C. Delclos**, *Georges Chastelain, Chronique, Les fragments du Livre IV* (Geneva, 1991) pp. 280-283. The raconteurs' associations with the order will be examined in the next chapter. **Vaughan**, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 172ff.

²⁶⁷ In may 1461, the Chapter elected the following knights along with the raconteurs: Jean II of Aragon, Navarre and Sicilly, Adolf of Egmond, duke of Guelders and count of Zutphen, Thiébaud IX, lord of Neufchâtel, Blanmont, Épinal, and Châtel sur Moselle, Louis of Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse.

²⁶⁸ The most interesting absence from the order was not Alençon, who could scarcely come, but the duke of Orleans, who according to Chastelain, did not dare to appear on account of the king, who was then deeply displeased by the house of Burgundy. Orleans, however, sent his *procureur*.

²⁶⁹ I.e. following the vigils and masses said in the usual fashion in memory of the knights who had died since the last meeting of the order.

not to condemn him, neither did they wish to honour him by calling his name alongside their own, as they made their offerings: this would seem like open contempt for royal justice. At a sensitive time, they did not wish to give the overt impression that they disagreed with the king's condemnation of their brother in the order. To maintain he had done nothing wrong would have disgraced the king. On the other hand, if his *tableau*²⁷⁰ had been lifted up, and they had not accorded him his place it would have seemed he had been made dead to the order or judged unworthy of the company – a serious verdict against one who had never been summoned to answer to the chapter for misconduct.

Besides the show and pageantry which accompanied the order's rites, chapter meetings involved complex hearings, in which the knights' deeds, virtuous and reprehensible, were recited: the knights' deliberations were remarkably free, and wide ranging, within the protocol of the court. The lord of Lannoy, for example, had his rebellious actions subjected to scrutiny in the first meeting of the order after Philip the Good's death²⁷¹. Eight days before the official opening of the meeting at Bruges, the knights heard Charles the Bold's accusations against Lannoy, and his uncles Antoine and Jehan de Croy. In a deliberative process similar to the one relating to the duke of Alençon²⁷², they were summoned by ducal letters to be tried in justice before the order, and although they were heard, and accused of several things by the duke, they were neither

²⁷⁰ That is, his heraldic insignia.

²⁷¹ Bruges, May 1468.

²⁷² **M. Baelde** in *Chevaliers de de la Toison d'Or*, introduction, pp. 4-5. Article six of the charter of the Golden Fleece (statuted in 1431) provided that the sovereign of the order was obliged to involve the knights of the order in all important deliberations concerning defence, declarations of war, financial and political management and issues of state.

justified nor condemned. A compromise solution was found, whereby they were not expelled from the order, but neither were they allowed to appear in person or by proxy to go forward to the offering²⁷³. Nevertheless, the judgement could have been a much more severe²⁷⁴: the *count of Nevers'* heraldic tableau was taken down at that meeting, and replaced by a public accusation sheet.

It is possible to be more specific about the sorts of deliberations which accompanied nouvelles, however, as one particular courtly source intimates precisely what went on following the relation of a *Nouvelle*. The plot of raconteur Antoine de la Sale's *Petit Jehan de Saintré* culminates in the discussion of the merits and demerits of the characters in Jehan de Saintré's narrative address. Saintré presented the immoral deeds of his lady to the court as a thinly disguised hypothetical case for discussion: his story is specifically and repeatedly called a *Nouvelle* in the text: *a true Nouvelle – a marvellous story, which was written to me from far away ... a true story which recently happened*²⁷⁵. She brought shame on herself by refusing to condemn the misbehaviour of the *Nouvelle's* Belle Cousine. It is interesting to notice that one manuscript of la Sale's *Saintré* was dated to 1459 and at Genappe, whilst another dates from

²⁷³ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 2, pp. 376-384. The ducal herald, Thoison d'Or was allowed to go in their stead. This was one of the last official duties he performed before Fusil, (also known as Gilles Gobert) replaced him in the office.

²⁷⁴ **Baelde**, *Chevaliers de de la Toison d'Or*, p. 5. The statutes of 1431 provided that the knights of the Fleece were not to be tried by ordinary tribunal, and therefore the court acted as a supreme court for the trial of the knights.

²⁷⁵ *Une vraye Nouvelle et merveilleuse ystoire que l'en m'a de bien loing escripte ... une ystoire vraye et nouvellement advenue*. **J. Misrahi and C. Knudson** (eds), *Antoine de la Sale, Jehan de Saintré* (Geneva, 1978) pp. 302-308. The queen told Saintré to begin his speech, addressing him as the *Maistre des nouvelles*. After the story was finished, the *belle Nouvelle* caused such great joy that the assembly could scarcely stop laughing at it.

1461, and Brussels²⁷⁶: just as the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were being recounted, and la Sale was himself composing a tale for that collection, his longer work with a story within a story, which he called a *Nouvelle*, was being copied out²⁷⁷.

La Sale's *Saintré* reads like two separate treatises: the first a dry courtier's manual, the second a racy narrative of forbidden desire, the dramatic tale of lust punished and constancy rewarded²⁷⁸. Although he sketched-out his characters in the first section of his work, Jehan de Saintré and his lady's progress as courtiers is not marked by dramatic events, or conflicts to overcome²⁷⁹. Yet, in the latter section, the developed characters come to life. Presented in the style of an extended *Nouvelle*, the end of the book is completed by the addition of an elaborate sequence of deliberative courtly self-regulation. This element of group moral appraisal is characteristic of the *Nouvelle* genre as Boccaccio developed it through the *cornice* framework. Of *Saintré*, it has been argued that "*La Sale has imposed unity and focus on his didacticism by appropriating the trappings of*

²⁷⁶ **Misrahi and Knudson**, *Jehan de Saintré*, pp. XVII-XVIII: 25 September 1459. NB the dedicatory letter in Vatican MS Reg. Lat. #896 dated the work to Chastellier sur Oise, 6 March 1455, which, updated to the new style of dating is 1456.

²⁷⁷ **E. van Even**, 'Notice sur la Bibliothèque de Charles de Croy duc d'Aerschot', in *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge* (1852) pp. 380-451: The duke of Aerschot's library list, composed in 1614, shows that a descendant of Jean de Croy, (and of his son the lord of Quiévrain) owned the *Premiers amours de Messire Jean de Saintré* (catalogue #124, p. 442). It is not clear whether this was a mid-fifteenth century version of the work, but if it were, it suggests another link between Antoine de la Salle and the lord of Quiévrain.

²⁷⁸ **P. Cholakian**, 'The Two Narrative Styles of A. De La Sale', in *Romance Notes*, (1968-1969) pp. 362-372.

²⁷⁹ On changes in la Sale's descriptive vocabulary during Saintré's progress to manhood, see **M. Malfait-Dohet**, 'Dans le Petit Jehan de Saintré quel est le Vainqueur: le Chevalier ou le Courtisan?' in *Europäische Literaturen im Mittelalter: Mélanges en l'honneur de Wolfgang Spiewok à l'occasion de son 65ème anniversaire* (Greifswald, 1994) pp. 269-277.

narrative fiction, but he has really only disguised his treatise as a story”.

Although it is true to an extent that *Saintré* is a didactic treatise and a moral narrative jumbled together, the fact remains that the whole work *was* ultimately deliberately conceived as an exercise in exploring what happens when ideal met real life. La Sale's work became a protracted exemplum, under the *acteur's* guidance, but the moral code which evolved around the narrative did more than provide “*a vehicle to carry forward the didactic intent of the author*” – it contextualised the episodes lacking in conflict, and interjected genuine courtly realism to a fictional treatise. Ruth Morse has called this an *innovative combination of Nouvelle-technique and historical romance matter*²⁸⁰. La Sale's literary skill in capturing the reader's attention and developing the narrative has impressed a number of critics, both today and since the beginning of last century²⁸¹.

It is a skill also present in his contribution to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The 50th *Nouvelle* is a laconic joke concerning a labourer's son in the Lannoy region, who, returning after years of wandering, was excessively welcomed by his grandmother. In the first narrative block, we learn that she kissed him more than fifty times, and never stopped praising God for bringing him back home safe and sound. Because there were only two beds, one for the parents, and one for the grandmother, he had to sleep beside the old lady. The narrator tells how, in the night *as he*

²⁸⁰ Morse, *Historical Fiction*, p. 62.

²⁸¹ Cholakian, *Two Narrative Styles*, p. 369, makes this point, referring to comments by F. Desonay and W. Söderhjelm. This view concurs with recent criticism: G. Pinkernell, *Namen, Titel und Daten der französischen Literatur (842 – ca. 1960). Literaturgeschichtliches Compendium für Studierende der Frankoromanistik* (Wuppertal, 1998, updated Sept. 2003) online at:

<http://www.pinkernell.de/romanistikstudium/Internet.doc> *La Sales Saintré gilt heute als einer der besten und interessantesten literarischen Texte seiner Zeit, ja als erster moderner Roman...*

was in bed with his granny – and I don't know what gave him the idea – he clambered on to her... When she cried out for the labourer to rescue her, he ran through to investigate, and, outraged, chased his son from the house. Eventually catching up with him as he was playing tennis, the labourer tried to kill his son. However, at the son's friends' intervention, the matter was resolved. They asked about the cause of the quarrel, and were told: "*He wishes me all the ills of the world for the one little time that I wanted to have*²⁸² *his mother; he's had mine more than five hundred times!*"

In spite of the economy of the tale, it is not without narrative style²⁸³, and even culminates in the depiction of a deliberative process similar to the one which ends *Saintré*. The turning point of the *Nouvelle*, when the boy mounts his grandmother, is recounted in a way which accents the outrageousness of the conduct, and makes the surprise ending all the more unexpected. It is only at the climax of the *Nouvelle* – when the father and son are again reconciled, and "*all was pardoned on both sides*" that the truth of the off-colour practical joke is evident, and the suspense set up by the narrator's comment, "*and I don't know what gave him the idea*" is resolved: he was not bent on taboo sex; he was paying his parents

²⁸² *Ronciner* is the verb in the original – a colourful expression derived from the word *ronsin* – a stud horse or a work horse.

²⁸³ C. Merlin, 'Le Comique des "Cent nouvelles nouvelles"' in *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des études Françaises* (1985) pp. 69-83 at p. 78. The humour of the tale turns on the idea of logical reciprocity, the son's comical argument pretending a symmetry of arrangement negated by the inescapable fact of family ties. In other words, the son's proposal is inappropriate because it would involve incest, and comical because he chooses not to mention this obvious impediment. He presents a case which on the surface seems reasonable, but is in fact obviously unreasonable, and in this dissonance is humour.

back for making him sleep beside his nuisance of a grandmother²⁸⁴.

Surely the group's laughter (the collective expression of their deliberation), and the subsequent reconciliation of father and son make it clear that incest was not part of the son's intention.

Source Material:

Allusions to the Literary World in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

Not all the material in the Burgundian tales was new, by any means. The sources from which the tales were drawn are many and varied. Besides the fabliaux, the *Decameron*, and the tales of Poggio Bracciolini, motifs from the works of several other Italians have been identified, such as Franco Sacchetti, Sercambi, Gentile Sermini, Ser Giovanni, as well as the *Gesta Romanorum*, tales by Rasse de Brunhamel, or Nicolas de Clamanges' *Floridan et Elvide*²⁸⁵. Philologists have traced elements from

²⁸⁴ For an altogether different analysis of this Nouvelle, see Conley, *Narrative Mapped*, in which he tries to show that changes in the art of painting, and particularly in the perfection of draftsman's perspective brought about changes in the ways narratives were "mapped and gridded". Conley thinks there is numerological significance to the tale. He gives no evidence in support of this contention, asserting that a *premodern fluidity of figure and word holds in this story. Though heterogenous, the two elements are part of each other*. He also says that its layout on the page is important though without specific instances offered in support of the assertion that *the shape and disposition of the gothic letter in the Glasgow manuscript or in incunabular editions engender meanings that are muted or displaced when the story is set in Roman characters*. This seems an odd affirmation, since the ducal copy has been lost, and the copy in Glasgow is *not* written in columns, as the other was (see above). Conley contends that the whole tale is a linguistic goose chase (*A loosely "gridded" appearance of the writing results from the implicit lines that tie [words which sound like the word "oye"] together*) and points out the number of times that words containing the sound element "oye" appear in the tale. He does not consider the matter quantitatively, however, and it looks to me like a coincidence. For instance, in the 98th Nouvelle (chosen at random) the graphemes *oie*, *oiz*, *oys* and *oye* appear more than 40 times in c.2100 words, more or less as frequently as they do in the 50th Nouvelle, which has 11 instances in about 600 words.

²⁸⁵ Robbins, *Hundred New Tales*, pp. 381-386; A. Lee: *The Decameron, its Sources and Analogues* (New York, 1909 / New York, 1972); Söderhjelm, *Nouvelle Française*, pp. 136-138. A systematic and

Josephus, Alfonso, Pseudo-Callisthenes, *Le Roi Flore et la belle Jeanne*, Beaumanoir, *le Chevalier de La Tour Landry*, Matheolus, Albrech von Eyb, as well as some of Etienne de Bourbon's *Anecdotes Historiques*, and *Le Ménagier de Paris*. Some of these attributions are more concrete and obvious than others. It is safe to conclude that a wide literary canon was used to supply if not entire stories, then certainly narrative motifs, and some of them may simply have come from folk tales which were popular throughout Europe in various guises, narrated to the assembly in similar forms by the raconteurs. The nouvelles also contain a series of literary allusions, both explicit and implicit. For example, numerous philologists have remarked on the apparent reference to the story of Maistre Pierre Pathelin, and his famous offer to "cook a goose"²⁸⁶. Ovid's *Remedia Amoris* was a text known to some of the contributors, and in *Nouvelle 58*, the duke mentioned it by name²⁸⁷. Specific reference was also made to another Burgundian text, the *Fifteen Joys Of Marriage* – an ironic work

coherent approach has been taken by Donald McGrady and presented in article format on the topic of tracing analogues and sources: **D. McGrady**, 'Were Sercambi's *Novelle* Known from the Middle Ages on? (Notes on Chaucer, Sacchetti, Cent Nouvelles nouvelles, Pauli, Timoneda, Zayas)' in *Italica* (1980) pp. 3-18.

²⁸⁶ **Sweetser**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, pp. 588-589. In *Nouvelle 33* by the duke, one character exclaims: *Nostre Dame! on m'a bien baillé de l'oye*. cf references to Champion, Watkins, and Roques in Sweetser's summary; **J. Dufournet**, 'La Génération de Louis XI: quelques aspects' in *Le Moyen Age* (1992) pp. 227-250 at pp. 232-233 readdresses the issue.

²⁸⁷ It is unclear which version of the *Remedia Amoris* the raconteurs consulted, though one of the characters in the duke's tale mentions its French title: *J'ay tousdiz oy dire, et Ovide le mect en son livre de Remede d'amours, que beaucoup et souvent faire la chose que savez fait oublyer et pou tenir compte de celle qu'on ayme, et dont on est fort feru...* Neither the extended rhymed French version published by Vérard nor Ovid's original were in the ducal library, and it is unclear whether he owned a copy of the thirteenth century Picard text of Jacques d'Amiens. cf BN Res. Y.1184 A: *Ovide du Remede d'Amours translate nouvellement de Latin en Fancoys avec l'exposition des fables consonantes au texte*; **G. Körting**, *l'Art d'Amors und Li Remedes d'Amors, zwei altfranzösische Lehrgedichte von Jacques d'Amiens* (Leipzig, 1896 / Geneva, 1976) pp. 69-93. On the debt to Ovid, see below.

about wedding woes rather than joys²⁸⁸. In the 76th story, Philippe de Loan alluded to the central character of *La Chevalerie d'Ogier*, a work composed in the 12th century²⁸⁹. Although the context is non-literary and does not imply that the raconteur had ever read the epic poem of Ogier²⁹⁰ it is evident that he had encountered the work: an *Ogier le Danois* in prose figured in the ducal library. Characters from the *Roman de la Rose*, such as *Dangier* and *Malebouche* are also mentioned quite frequently, along with *Fortune* and *Amours*²⁹¹. In the 28th *Nouvelle*, there is a reference to Boccaccio's *De casibus virorum illustrium* which was another work of Boccaccio's translated into French by Laurent de

²⁸⁸ *Nouvelle* 37.

²⁸⁹ Philippe de Loan narrated the 76th *Nouvelle*, which contains the line: *Car, ou qu'il rencontrast la gouge, de tant près la tenoit que contraincte estoit, vouldist ou non, donner l'oreille a sa douce requeste; et elle, duicte et faicte a l'esperon et a la lance, endormoit nostre prestre et l'assommoit, et en son amour tant fort le boutoit qu'il eust pour elle ung Ogier combatu...* Loan was a major raconteur, with eleven *Nouvelles* attributed to him (more than any other named raconteur except for the duke and la Roche) and his interest in matters literary is well attested. See chapter three below.

²⁹⁰ Chaucer studies have produced similar philological debates relating to his sources and analogues. For example, Chaucer's Monk refers to Suetonius as the authority for his remarks on Nero, but Chaucer may, in fact, have been inspired by the similar account in the *Roman de la Rose*: cf **N. Coghill**, *The Canterbury Tales* (Cressett, 1986) p. 128; **J. McPeck**, 'Did Chaucer Know Catullus?' in *Modern Language Notes* (1931) pp. 293-301; **J. Lowes**, 'The Second Nun's Prologue, Alanus, and Macrobius' in *Modern Philology* (1917), pp. 193-202; **G. Kittredge**, 'Chaucer's Medea and the Date of the Legend of Good Women' in *Proceedings of the Modern Languages Association* (1909), pp. 343-363; **G. Dempster**, 'On the Source of the Deception Story in the "Merchant's Tale"' in *Modern Philology* (1936) pp. 133-154; **J. Cunningham**, 'The Literary Form of the Prologue to the "Canterbury Tales"' in *Modern Philology*, (1952), pp. 172-181.

²⁹¹ The raconteurs nearly all made these literary allusions: cf *Nouvelles* 1 and 2 (by the duke), 13 (lord of Castregat), 22 (Caron), 26 (lord of Foquessolles), 27 (lord of Beauvoir), 37 and 47 (Lord of la Roche), 58 (the duke), 60 (Poncellet), 68 (Chrestian de Digoine), 85 (lord of Santilly), and 99 (the *acteur*).

Premierfait in 1400 and 1409²⁹². The second version remained popular throughout the 15th century.

The Facetiae of Poggio Bracciolini

The Burgundian collection adapted older stories because the courtly attitude to texts was characterised by a tendency to rework literature. The fabliaux and the other older works could have come from any one of a number of sources, but the *Facetiae*, which was still a new text in the late 1450s, is a different proposition. Considering that it was then circulating only in a limited number of complete manuscripts (it was first printed c. 1470 at Rome, Venice and Ferrara), and had to cross the Alps to reach the court of Burgundy, it is remarkable that the chancellor of Florence's work should have been used to the extent it has been to furnish plots for the Burgundian collection²⁹³. Poggio died on 30 October 1459, and, although his work resulted from gathering together anecdotes related at the papal

²⁹² For a list of Boccaccio's works in French cf **C. Bozzolo** *Manuscripts des traductions françaises d'œuvres de Boccace, XV siècle* (Padua, 1973).

²⁹³ Most of the manuscripts of the work are still in Italy, and the others are of Italian origin: Cod. Vat. Lat. 939 (incomplete); *ibid.*, 1785; Vat. Palat. 1361 (undated, but containing tale 249); Ottobon Lat. 2216 (10 April, 1450 – incomplete, and ending at tale 178). I have not been able to consult Cod. Cortona 243, discussed in **E. Walser**, *Poggius Florentinus Leben und Werke* (Berlin, 1914) p. 264. Walser was evidently unaware of the very incomplete British Library copy, BL MS Harley 3333. It is in a fifteenth-century humanist's hand, and dated 10 June 1456. BN MS Nouv. Acq. Lat. 290 is dated 29 November 1454. It is incomplete, has no foreword or conclusion, and contains only 199 stories. BN Lat. 8770 and 8768 are fifteenth-century Italian texts, as is Yale MS Marston 79, an extensively repaired paper manuscript (Briquet Lettre S 9050; Fleur 6596-97, 99 and 6602) which belonged to the Benedictine house of St. Laumer. <http://webtext.library.yale.edu/beinfla/pre1600/MARS079.HTM>, and 263-75 **B. Bowen**, 'Renaissance Collections of Facetiae, 1344-1490, A New Listing' in *Renaissance Quarterly* (1986) pp. 1-15 at pp. 4-6 with bibliography. There are early printed copies of the *Facetiae* in the Oxford Bodleian, Pierpont Morgan, Yale University, University of Glasgow, Brescia chapter, Rome Casanatense, and British libraries. **T. Guarnaschelli, and E. Valenziani**, *Indice Generale degli incunaboli delle biblioteche d'Italia* (Rome, Istituto Poligrafico Dello Stato Libreria dello Stato, 1965) vol. 4, pp. 300-301.

court over a period of years, it is certain that he worked on it during the 1450s, as tale 240 relates events from April 1451, and tale 249 offers a terminus post quem of either 1452 or 1453, the sixth year of Nicolas V's pontificate²⁹⁴. It seems likely that the work ended in 1453, when the Medici called him to Florence to fill the office of Chancellor to the Republic²⁹⁵. This seems the best way to explain his ending to the work, in which he laments the passing of the storytelling group: *the Bugiale has come to an end: whether men or the times are to be held responsible, it is a fact that genial talk and merry confabulation have gone out of fashion*²⁹⁶. The author of the *Facetiae* invited the reader to rework his stories, which were in some instances themselves pared down versions of fabliaux, medieval exempla and tales by Sacchetti²⁹⁷: *Let those people ... take up these tales and narrate them in words as ornate and polished as they like: I invite them to do so, in order that Latin ... may be improved even through incidental works[...] I have wanted to take up the experiment myself [...] Strict critics, however, should not read the Confabulationum (which is what I want to call it) ... I wish to be read by men of wit, and happy friends*²⁹⁸.

²⁹⁴ P. Koj, *Die frühe Rezeption der Facetien Poggios in Frankreich* (Hamburg, 1969) pp. 38-39. (including discussion of *Facetiae* manuscripts.) Walser, p. 263 suggests that Poggio had been working on the collection since 1438.

²⁹⁵ Walser, *ibid.*, p. 282. W. Shepherd, *The life of Poggio Bracciolini* (Liverpool, 1802) pp. 459-461.

²⁹⁶ G. Poggio Bracciolini, *The Facetiae or Jocose Tales* (Paris, 1879) vol. 2, pp. 230-232: Poggio describes the *Bugiale* – *a sort of laboratory for fibs*. This was a secluded room selected for the purpose of sharing news, conversation and relaxation. *Hodie, cum illi diem suum obierint, desiit 'Bugiale', tum temporum, tum hominum culpa, omnisque iocandi confabulandique consuetudo sublata.*

²⁹⁷ On Poggio's use of fabliaux see Shepherd, *Life of Poggio*, pp. 443-446. On the other sources, see Bowen's bibliography.

²⁹⁸ Poggio, *Jocose Tales*, vol. 1, pp. 4-6. *Existimabunt aliqui forsan hanc meam excusationem ab ingenii culpa esse profectam, quibus ego quoque assentior. Modo ipsi eadem ornatus politiusque describant, quod ut faciant exhortor, quo lingua Latina etiam levioribus in rebus hac nostra aetate fiat opulentior. Proderit enim ad eloquentiae doctrinam ea scribendi exercitatio. Ego quidem experiri*

Although his anecdotes were extended in French, not Latin, versions by the court of Burgundy, Poggio got his wish²⁹⁹. Although there is no extant document which proves Poggio sent a copy of his work to the court, there were a variety of contacts between Florence and French speaking courts. One possibility, for instance, is that his work came to French speaking lands through a Breton amanuensis of his called Jehan. Bernard Guenée has shown that Poggio was a friend of the Norman Bishop, classicist and bibliophile Thomas Basin, with whom the dauphin Louis was in contact in the late 1450s³⁰⁰. Poggio was in contact with the representatives of the Medici filiale at Bruges and on 19 February 1459, Simone Nori wrote back to him via Giovanni de Medici (Cosimo's son) to tell him that the bishop of Bergen's brother (a Genoese man of the house of Giustiniana) had not been heard from for a long time³⁰¹. Poggio evidently also inquired about books, and Nori assured him that, in spite of extensive searching, the volumes for which he had asked were not to be found. In his younger days, Poggio had spent time in Burgundy and France. The monastery of Cluny furnished him with a copy of Cicero's speeches when he paid a

volui, an multa quae Latine dici difficulter existimantur, non absurde scribi posse viderentur, in quibus cum nullus ornatus, nulla amplitudo sermonis adhiberi queat, satis erit ingenio nostro, si non inconcinne omnino videbuntur a me referrī. Verum facessant ab istarum Confabulationum lectione (sic enim eas appellari volo) qui nimis rigidi censores, aut acres existimatores rerum existunt. A facietis enim et humanis (sicut Lucilius a Consentinis et Tarentinis) legi cupio. Quod si rusticiores erunt, non recuso quin sentiant quod volunt, modo scriptorem ne culpent, qui ad levationem animi haec et ad ingenii exercitium scripsit.

²⁹⁹ For what follows, see **Poggio**, *Jocose Tales*, p. 152. **P. Gordan**, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters, The letters of Poggius Bracciolini to Nicolaus de Niccolis* (London, 1974) p. 119. **A. Grunzweig**, *Correspondance de la filiale de Bruges des Medici - premiere partie* (Brussels, 1931) pp. 79-80.

³⁰⁰ **Guenée**, *Between Church and State*, pp. 287-288, 299-300, 325-326, 408.

³⁰¹ Some of Poggio's correspondence (surprisingly, in Italian) with Joannes (Giovanni di Chosma de' Medici) survives: **Walser**, *Poggius*, p. 318, published the original autograph letter in a footnote.

visit in 1415. It is also noteworthy that the scholar who copied the text of the *Vetus Cluniacensis* (the manuscript of Cicero which Poggio removed to Florence) was Nicolas de Clamanges, whose work, *Floridan et Elvide* was parodied in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*³⁰².

Yet it is something of a puzzle to note that the great humanist's work was not in the ducal library inventory. It has not yet been demonstrated that the text was owned by any of the raconteurs, or by anyone primarily associated with the court. Any number of people *could* have owned a copy, of course, but, at the present state of research the only noted bibliophile from the Burgundian Netherlands whose library list included the *Facetiae* was a canon of Saint Gudule church in Brussels, Walter Loonijns (also known as Gautier Leonii / Walter Luenis)³⁰³. It is tempting to argue that his copy furnished the stories which the nouvelles expanded and improved: after all – one of the tales in the *Nouvelle* collection is set in his church, and concerns one of his colleagues, and the *bishop of Cambrai*, with whom Walter had dealings³⁰⁴. Unfortunately, his catalogue did not specify whether the copy of Poggio's *Facetiae* he owned was printed or hand-written. By the time this book list was compiled, 19 November 1489, several editions of the *Facetiae* had been printed across

³⁰² Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes & Scholars*, pp. 113-114. BN MS Lat. 14749 is Nicolas de Clamanges' copy which he took before Poggio removed the now missing original. On *Floridan et Elvide*, see below. M. Zink, *Nicolas de Clamange conteur* in L. Rossi (ed.) *Ensi firent li ancessor. Mélanges de philologie médiévale offerts à Marc-René Jung*, (Alessandria, 1996)

³⁰³ Bartier, *Légistes*, p. 278, citing L. Paris, 'Bibliographie bruxelloise du XVe siècle: La Bibliothèque de Walter Leonii' in *Annuaire de la Société des Bibliophiles et Iconophiles de Belgique* (1915) pp. 63-110. Walter was a keen classical scholar, and besides his books of devotion owned a variety of Classical texts. He evidently studied grammar from the primer he owned, and could read French, Latin, and Dutch.

³⁰⁴ See ch. 4 below for details of his representations to *Jean de Bourgogne* in 1448.

Europe³⁰⁵. Nevertheless, as L. Paris, the catalogue's modern editor has speculated, there is room to suppose that the greater part of the works Walter owned *were* manuscripts: another of his books, which contained Poggio's work on Scipio Africanus, also contained Boccaccio's *De Viriis Illustribus*. As we have seen, this latter was a text cited in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*³⁰⁶. That both of these works were in a composite volume with Boccaccio's *de Mulieribus Claris* strongly suggests that the codex was not a printed work, but a manuscript. If Walter possessed one manuscript of Poggio's, is it unlikely that he should have possessed two? Moreover, although he owned works of conventional piety, such as the writings of Saint Augustine, Walter was clearly interested in the *studia humanitatis* which held Florence in its grip. Besides a book of Flavius Blondus' he owned some of the works of Petrarch, Pope Pius II (to whom Poggio also wrote letters) and had a copy of Leonardo Aretino's correspondence (*Epistolarum Leonardi Aretini*)³⁰⁷. Aretino was a close friend, political ally, and correspondent of Poggio's and the latter composed a funerary oration for him³⁰⁸. Walter owned some works of

³⁰⁵ Paris, *Bibliographie bruxelloise*, pp. 67, 102. The catalogue was written after Leonii's death on 13 November.

³⁰⁶ Paris, *Bibliographie bruxelloise*, pp. 73 80-81; D. Rundle, 'Carneades' legacy: the morality of eloquence in the humanist and papalist writings of Pietro del Monte' in *English Historical Review* (2002) pp. 284-305.

³⁰⁷ Paris, *Bibliographie bruxelloise*, pp. 79, 80, 91, 92, 96, 101; Poggio, *Facetiae*, vol. 1, pp. XXIV-XXV, XXXIX, XLII.

³⁰⁸ H. Baron, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1966) pp. 404-411; J. Hankins, 'The "Baron Thesis" after Forty Years and Some Recent Studies of Leonardo Bruni' in *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1995) pp. 309-338; M. Jurdjevic, 'Civic Humanism and the Rise of the Medici' in *Renaissance Quarterly* (1999) pp. 994-1020; R. Witt, 'The Crisis after Forty Years' in *The American Historical Review* (1996) pp. 110-118. Leonardo Aretini, also known as Leonardo Bruni, had a political and intellectual career very similar to Poggio's: both men served successive popes as secretaries, and worked for the Medici. Bruni held the office of chancellor from 1427 until his death. Both men were interested in promoting the republican history of Florence through letters, and to that

Ovid, Cicero and Caesar, and a copy of Valerius Maximus, which were all in Poggio's collection³⁰⁹. Like Walter, Poggio also owned Eusebius' history of the church³¹⁰, and had copied out Eusebius' *De Temporibus*. Similarly, Walter owned a copy of Quintilian, and the Florentine had himself been instrumental in bringing it to light: indeed, one commentator has gone so far as to suggest that Poggio's fame *derived largely from his discovery of the complete text of Quintilian, for which he was both highly praised by Leonardus Brunus Aretinus [...] and Franciscus Barbarus*³¹¹. It is equally tempting to observe that other works in Walter's collection might have been used in the composition of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The canon's copy of the *Horlogium Divine Sapientie* may have been the one from which the lord of Wavrin drew the inspiration for his story about a gluttonous Carmelite, for instance³¹².

Originality and Historicity

Whether or not Walter Leonii *was* involved in the project, it is important to demonstrate that the text of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, as one which reused so much narrative material from *fabliaux*, Italian forerunners, and other sources is nevertheless susceptible of historical analysis, and contains much that is original. The seventh *Nouvelle*, recounted by the

end wrote propaganda histories of Florence and its people, to justify the Medici regime's oligarchic expansionist republicanism.

³⁰⁹ **Gordan**, *Two Renaissance Book Hunters*, pp. 118-119, 303-304.

³¹⁰ **Eusebius of Caesarea**, *Chronici Canones* - this text was known in the translation of Jerome. (cf KB The Hague MS MMW 10 A 20) It is not clear whether Walter's copy contained the section from the Armenian. **Reynolds and Wilson**, *Scribes & Scholars*, pp. 49-50.

³¹¹ Likewise, by his own account, Poggio read Augustine: *Ibid.*, pp. 36, 265, 349 (quote from p. 265); **Paris**, *Bibliographie bruxelloise*, p. 85, 102.

³¹² **Paris**, *Bibliographie bruxelloise*, p. 94; see ch. 4, below. Walter owned a copy of Ovid's *de Tristibus* – was that the only poem in the volume, or was his *Remedia Amoris*, a text cited in the *nouvelles*, there too?

duke, is a good example. This story concerns a goldsmith who accepted a wagon driver into his bed for the night. The goldsmith awoke whilst the driver was having sex with his wife. His wife's head was reposing on his chest, and it *passed on to him the violent rhythms of this stallion's thrusting*³¹³. In Poggio's narrative, a wife fooled her husband into allowing a priest to sleep with her, in the same bed as him, telling him that she *duos cunnos habet*. She gave him to understand that they could give the second one as alms, and the man assented, equally anxious to please the priest as to rid himself of a superfluity. Although the *Nouvelle* is more detailed and psychologically more realistically written, the basic elements of its plot overlap with Poggio's brief tale³¹⁴. Nevertheless, at the end of the *Nouvelle*, the narrator, facetiously drawing a lesson from the events, used the conceit that his story was true, and directly addressed his audience: *The driver afterward related the incident the way you've heard it, but that the wife wasn't asleep at all! Not that I would want to believe that, or credit that report*³¹⁵. As far as the audience was concerned, the “moral” (which is more of a punchline) was that women were especially predisposed to adultery, if their stupid husbands invited it; within the scheme of the collection, this whimsical didactic application was more important than verisimilitude. The narrator scarcely cared that the audience should believe the events to be true: indeed, he offloaded responsibility for the exaggeration or untruth in the tale by saying: *that's how the driver told me the story*. In this way, the truthfulness necessary to

³¹³ *Non eust pas fait le mary, si n'eust esté la teste de sa femme sur sa poictrine reposant, qui par l'assault et hurt de ce poulain luy donnoit si grand branle que assez tost il s'en reveilla.*

³¹⁴ E. Storer, *The Facetiae of Poggio and Other Medieval Story Tellers*, (London, no date) #5: *De Homine Insulso Qui Existimavit Duos Cunnos In Uxore*.

³¹⁵ *Combien que depuis le chareton le racompta en la facon que avez oye, sinon quelle ne dormoit point: non pas que le veil croire, ne ce rapport faire bon.*

the courtly situation remained intact: the scheme of telling “true” stories was unbroken. The other nouvelles which rework Poggio's tales also demonstrate a concern to maintain the narrative within this conceptual framework.

With regard to the issue of antecedents, Dubuis concluded that it was not vital to account on a blow by blow basis for every direct textual source or analogue used in the construction of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, but rather to demonstrate by the use of examples that the *lai*, the *exemplum* and the *fabliau* were amongst the sources of the collection. Whilst such an approach avoids many of the confusing complexities of arguments about lines of textual transmission, and the ancestry of tales, it also limits the study of the collection as a historical document. To ascertain the historical circumstances under which many of the tales came to be told, it is vital to take into account the sources of information which the raconteurs had at their disposal, or with which they were familiar when they stepped forward with their tales.

Lionello Sozzi considered the problem of the antecedents in terms of three distinct groups: analogues with thematic or structural similarities, definite or likely sources (i.e. “copies” with minor variations), and unlikely sources³¹⁶. His second group is the most important from the point of view of historical association with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The difficulty of proving a link between the analogues and likely sources is insurmountable in the absence of external evidence, but the repeated use and similarity of the nouvelles to particular sources makes it certain

³¹⁶ L. Sozzi, *Les Contes de Bonaventure des Periers* (Turin, 1965) (On the question of des Périers' authorship, see pp. 423 and ff.)

that they were drawn from specific works. The *Facetiae*, the *Decameron*, and collections of *Fabliaux* are the most significant antecedents in this regard. The reworking of these sources suggests that they were to hand: their presence in adulterated form in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* attests the reading habits of the raconteurs. There are also extensive and unarguable similarities between individual tales, such as the story by Albrecht von Eyb which is found as *Nouvelle* 98 in the collection.

To consider one example in depth seems the most accessible way of demonstrating the material importance of older narratives to the construction of the collection. For a historian, the primary aim is neither to assess its literary value, nor to catalogue every change between *fabliau* and *Nouvelle*, but to observe the ways in which the Burgundian version has adopted the motifs, structures and plot elements for specific reasons relating to the text's social logic as a document from a particular historical milieu.

The first *Nouvelle*, drawn from the old French rhymed *fabliau*, called *les Deux Changeurs*³¹⁷, established that the use of literary antecedents in the construction of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was as much about innovation and development of style and form as it was about borrowing from and participating in a literary tradition. In the same way, the new versions of older tales found in the *nouvelles* were themselves

³¹⁷ P. LeGrand d'Aussy, *Fabliaux et contes du xii^e et du xiii^e siècle* (Paris, 1781) vol. IV, p. 204; Dubuis, *Nouvelle au Moyen Age*, pp. 213, 253-254. Dubuis remarks on the poverty of the original *récit*, saying that *Le sujet est un bien pauvre sujet*, and that *ce fabliau est dépourvu de toute consistance psychologique*. The same can not be said of the subject and the psychological development of the *Nouvelle*. Whereas the *fabliau* involves a trick played more or less arbitrarily on the wife by her lover, and the wife's revenge for it, the *Nouvelle* is much more realistic in the details of the plot.

subsequently borrowed as the basis of a variety of newer tales. The *Nouvelle* was recycled by later adaptations in its turn: French³¹⁸, English³¹⁹, and Dutch³²⁰. To locate this text in the literary canon, and in historical context is to read it as a product of the duke's own efforts, in

³¹⁸ Most significantly in the version by Honore de Balzac, who told the tale of the duke of Orleans:

<http://www.classicreader.com/read.php/sid.6/bookid.558/>.

³¹⁹ In *The Deceyte of Women*, discussed below.

³²⁰ In *dat Bedroch van Vrouwen*, the text on which the Deceyte of Women was based. **W. Braekman**, *Dat bedroch der vrouwen: tot een onderwijs ende exempel van allen mannen ionck ende out, om dat si sullen weten, hoe bruesch, hoe valsch, hoe bedriechlijk dat die vrouwen zijn* (Bruges, 1983) (Facsimile of the Utrecht, 1560 edition) pp. 6-17; *Dat Bedroch der Vrouwen: Naar het unieke, volledige exemplaar van de Utrechtse druk van Jan Bernts. van circa 1532* (Bruges, 1983). It is evident that the Dutch text was the older, owing to the copying of Dutch names in the English text (e.g., the English text's title gives Henegow for the Dutch title's Henegouwe. The Dutch text of the *Nouvelle* is on B2^v-4^v of the Utrecht edition. Of the 23 short stories, eleven are from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*:

<u>Bedroch</u>	<u>Nouvelles</u>
2	1
4	13
6	16
8	27
10	34
12	28
14	35
16	38
20	37
22	61
23	62

The Cambridge University Library edition also follows this pattern. **H. Pleij**, 'Een fragment van de oudste Nederl. novellenbundel te Cambridge', in **H. Heestermans** (ed.), *Opstellen door vrienden en vakgenoten aangeboden aan Dr. C.H.A. Kruyskamp* (The Hague, 1977). **E. Streitman**, 'The Turn of the Shrew: An Enquiry into the Late Medieval Dutch Novella' in **Bianciotto and Salvat**, *Epopée animale*, pp. 597-609. Streitman compares the Dutch work with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* and the *Decameron*.

conjunction with those of the *acteur*. The table of the *Nouvelle* justifies this approach, saying it was *recounted by my lord the duke*³²¹.

Philip the Good told the first tale in the collection to establish the tone and style of the nouvelles to be related at his behest, and in his presence. It is a skilfully constructed story: he drew the listeners' attention to the treatment of theme through the action. The duke presented attitudes and feelings drawn from social forces at work in the historical milieu in which he recounted it, and it was written down. The fabliau provided the essential plot: that of a cuckold duped. Although the duke's scenario remained simple, however, his version improved the storyline³²². The plot (summarised in the table of contents) involved a well-to-do townsman – a member of the ducal financial administration called a receiver – who, whilst his neighbour was away on business, “entertained” his neighbour's wife, laying on an orgy for her. Returning unexpectedly, the husband intruded whilst she was in bed, and not, as the table implied, whilst in her

³²¹ *La premiere Nouvelle traicte d'un qui trouva façon d'avoir la femme de son voisin, lequel il avoit envoyé dehors pour plus aisément l'avoir; et luy, retourné de son voyage, trouva celuy qui se baignoit avec sa femme. Et, non sachant que ce fust elle, la volut voir; et permis luy fut de seulement veoir le derriere: et alors jugea que ce luy sembla sa femme, mais croire ne l'osa. Et, sur ce, se partit et vint trouver sa femme a l'ostel, qu'on avoit boutée hors par une posterne; et luy compta son ymaginacion. The first Nouvelle treats of a man who found a way to have his neighbour's wife, for whom he had sent, in order to have her more easily, and he [i.e. the husband – the original is as difficult to follow: *et luy, retourné de son voyage*... It is not immediately obvious that *luy* refers to the husband, but, reading the *Nouvelle*, it is clear what is meant], returning from his trip, came upon the one who was bathing with his wife. And not knowing that it was her, wanted to see her. But he was only allowed to see her backside. And then he judged that this was like his wife's, but he did not dare to believe it. And on this, he left, and came to find his wife at home, who had been taken out by a postern gate, and he told her of what he had believed.*

³²² The improvements are mainly in the clever uses of narrative antithesis and the fine balance of motifs. The *Nouvelle* uses detailed parallelism more sophisticatedly, inviting the reader to contrast the lot of the husband with that of the lover.

bath³²³. This detail is important from the point of view of the coherence of the plot because, nothing abashed, the lover pulled back the covers of his bed to reveal the wife's naked backside. He forbade the husband to see her face, hidden under the bedclothes. Although the husband suspected his wife was before him, he could not be certain. He rushed out in a fit of jealousy, but she managed to beat him home using a postern gate and kept him waiting outside his house: an important detail not mentioned in the *précis*. This plot device is crucial to the action: the nouvelliste improved on the narrative realism of the fabliau version of the tale by answering the obvious question – how could the wife return before her husband? When she finally let him in, he had to suffer a tongue lashing – she called him a

³²³ **K. de Jonge**, 'Estuves et baingneries dans les résidences flamandes des ducs de Bourgogne' in *Bulletin Monumental* (2001) pp. 63-76; **J. Rossiard** *Medieval Prostitution* (Oxford, 1988) *passim*. On the motif of the baths, and their connection with tale collections: **Nissen**, *Games of Sex and Power in Gentile Sermini's Novelle*, p. 2: Nissen cites Arienti's 1483 work, the *Porretane*, a novella collection set in the baths. Numerous tales mention baths, and usually in a bawdy context. They also feature in many drawings and illustrations of the period. Compare Villon's rondeau and Eustache Deschamp's ballad about the famous Brussels *estuves*:

<p>Rondeau <i>Jenin l'Avenu, Va-t-en aux estuves; Et toy la venu, Jenin l'Avenu,</i></p> <p><i>Si te lave nu Et tu baigne es cuves. Jenin l'Avenu, Va-t-en aux estuves.</i></p>	<p>Brusselle Adieu <i>Adieu beauté, leesse et tous deliz, Chanter, dancier et tous esbatemens; Cent mille foys a vous me recommans.</i></p> <p><i>Brusselle adieu, ou les bains sont jolys, Les estuves, les filletes plaisans; Adieu beauté, leesse et tous deliz, Chanter, dancier et tous esbatemens.</i></p> <p><i>Belles chambres, vin de Rhin et molz liz, Connins, plouviers et capons et fesans, Compaignie douce et courtoises gens; Adieu beauté, leesse et tous deliz.</i></p>
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AM Lyon BB 350-I (1477-78): The town council of Lyon was appealed to in 1477 to remove the *estuves* in the rue de la Pêcherie, *lesquelles tient la Casote en la dite charrière, pour plusieurs causes et raisons, premièrement: pour l'onnesteté de la charrière et habitans en icelle, aussi la proximité du couvent des Augustins.* <http://www.archives-lyon.fr/fonds/bb/37.htm> (cf CC 0006 –2 <http://www.archives-lyon.fr/fonds/cc/002-a.htm>) Refer to Plate 38 to compare an image from a Burgundian manuscript which gives the same impression of goings on at the *estuves*. *Hunter 252* depicts the scene in the lovers' bedroom, as the sheets were peeled back, but the tub is in the background, suggesting what had been going on.

lecherous, jealous *vilain*, and made a variety of other hypocritical accusations. He was thereafter many times cuckolded.

Although the story's *action* was outlined in the table, the essential features of the tale are *psychological*. There is also a sophisticated degree of parallelism in the construction of the plot, both in psychology and in the juxtaposition of character-based scenarios. Mustacchi noted that the collection often involved *tales in which one episode or action is mirrored in another*³²⁴. This mirroring extended to the vocabulary of the first *Nouvelle*. For example, the husband was *tresdoulcement receue* by the *receveur*³²⁵. The term *le bourgeois* designated both the *receveur* and his neighbour to emphasise what they had in common. The description of the receiver *en tresbeau lit avec sa secunde personne* reminds the reader that the wife was this to both men. The *bourgeois* was kept waiting outside his own and his neighbour's house. He was not allowed to have his way in the receiver's house because *il ne fut pas le maistre lors*, but of course, neither was he master in his own house. In telling a story about a member of his financial administration, the duke of Burgundy was talking scurrilously about his servant in the company of his servants: within the context of this close courtly circle, the immediate circle became complicit in the joke.

³²⁴ Mustacchi, *Levels of Realism*, pp. 27-28. In fact Mustacchi considered the sort of parallelism in which either the same thing happens to several people simultaneously, or else it happens first to one character and then to another. This *Nouvelle* has similar events happen to the same character: the jealous, lecherous husband.

³²⁵ Mustacchi, *Levels of Realism*, p. 35: Mustacchi notes that it is an exaggerated courtesy to permit a guest to uncover his bed companion.

R.G. McGillivray has been particularly negative about the *Nouvelle*'s literary value. He was least impressed by the duke's tales which he affirmed *proceed with heavy and awkward gait in ... rambling and verbose language*³²⁶. McGillivray used the first *Nouvelle* as an example of what he called the tales' *laborious exposition, larded with facts and details that have little bearing on the substance of the narrative that follows*. Citing the first few lines of the tale – important lines as they open not only the tale, but the collection – he declared that in his view, *this entire passage*³²⁷ *is both redundant and unclear*³²⁸. *It does not create character, it does not set the stage for later action, it does not adumbrate a moral lesson to be drawn from the ensuing tale. The prudence of this notable bourgeois, his social success with princes, lords and other folk of all rank, the sumptuous appointments of his house – all this is without*

³²⁶ His main argument is that stylistic analysis of the tales provides enough individuation between the storytellers that we can identify particular aspects of their style. This interesting approach has never been argued with by philologists – probably because few of them have read his thesis. However, the appearance of Roger Dubuis' dictionary of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* allows much greater scope for quantitative analysis of the tales' specificity of syntax, grammar, vocabulary, style and so on. Perhaps a full and exhaustive parsing of the text will be attempted by someone with a view to testing the validity of McGillivray's claims, as they rely in the main on selective and – to an extent – subjective readings of aspects of style in the tales.

³²⁷ The passage he refers to reads as follows:

En la ville de Valenciennes eut nageres ung notable bourgeois, en son temps receveur de Haynau, lequel entre les autres fut renommé de large et discrete prudence. Et entre ses loables vertuz celle de liberalité ne fut pas la maindre, et par icelle vint en la grace des princes, seigneurs, et aultres fens de tous estaz. En ceste eureuse félicité, Fortune le maintint et soustint jusques en la fin de ses jours. Devant et après que la mort l'eust destaché de la chayne qui a mariage l'accouploit, le bon bourgeois, cause de ceste histoire, n'estoit point si mal logé en la dicte ville que ung bien grand maistre ne se tenist pour content et honoré d'avoir ung tel logis...

³²⁸ It is unclear, in some particulars. For example, it is not immediately obvious whether or not the man's wife was dead at the time when the tale was told. Presumably she is dead, because the tale takes place *naguères* – not long ago – but this is not spelled out. The writer is ambiguous about this detail, but it does introduce the idea of the *ménage à trois*, in the context of a tale of adultery.

relevance to the plot or significance of the tale itself. That Fortune should maintain him to his dying day in "happy felicity"³²⁹ (the pleonasm is perhaps symptomatic) is doubtless a gratifying thought, but a gratuitous one. The connection in the last sentence between marriage, death, and the splendid house is not clear: presumably the wife of the receveur is dead, but he owned his fine house before his marriage and retained it after his wife's death – and that, too, is unnecessary information. One cannot help wondering why these superfluous details are included. For my part I should gladly believe that the Duke bases his story on an actual incident known to him and refers to them, because he happens to know about them, and not because they are especially relevant to the action. However that may be, certain it is that the exposition is clumsy, and serves only to retard the beginning of the action itself.

From the point of view of historical interest, there is room for disagreement with this strenuously argued case. This tale is actually an excellent example of much that is stylish about the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. What is more, its vigour comes from precisely the details to which McGillivray objects. For example, compared with a later adaptation written in English (*The Deceyte of Women*³³⁰) the Burgundian tale was significantly subtler in character presentation and plot. This

³²⁹ *Eureuse felicité*. It is not surprising that such language should be used in a tale emanating from the ducal court, where tautological expressions were used for clarity in French and English legal texts.

Some English examples remain in common use: *will and testament* and *cease and desist*. **D. Crystal** *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Language* (Cambridge, 1997) p. 2.

³³⁰ *The deceyte of women, to the instruction and ensample of all men* (London, 1557) printed by W. Copland for Abraham Vele, 1557. See Plates 54-56. On the early modern translation of Burgundian works of literature into English and Spanish: **S. Sutch and A. Prescott**, 'Translation as Transformation: Olivier de la Marche's *Le Chevalier délibéré* and Its Hapsburg and Elizabethan Permutations' in *Comparative Literature Studies* (1998) pp. 281-317.

English tale derived from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (via the Dutch version) which also situated the tale in Valenciennes in Hainault (Henegowe)³³¹. The English compiler cut details from the start of the tale to expedite the crucial plot elements. Concerned to foreground the mechanics of how the wife beat her husband home³³², his novella lacks the structural and thematic parallels of the original tale.

McGillivray treated the *Nouvelle* in a vacuum, ignoring the social logic of the text. He considered the fact that it was told by the duke of Burgundy unimportant. The preface to the tale, however, requires this context: the story concerned a man *in the good grace of princes*³³³ ... The duke intended someone well thought-of by people like himself, and the men who heard the tale. A reading of the *Nouvelle* which judges its quality without reference to the narrator seems unrealistic, given that the audience for the tale surely affected its telling. The speculations in which McGillivray indulged, regarding the possibility of this being a true story seem unjustified. It is very similar in its plot and construction to the fabliau "*Les Deux Changeurs*" – a fact remarked on by several critics³³⁴. It is not enough to suggest that the narrative details have been added by

³³¹ The fabliau did not mention Valenciennes. Further evidence for this derivation is that the English collection included several tales cribbed from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. For example, the tale of the clerk who pretended he was a Eunuch to convince his jealous master that he was no threat to his wife's fidelity has been copied from the thirteenth of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The *Deceyte* tale was set in London and involved a *proctour of the arches*. The original tale describes him as *ung procureur en parlement*, and it is not unreasonable to see a slight transition in the translation.

³³² He mentions the *many places and wayes to passe*...

³³³ He came by his liberality into the grace of princes lords and other men of all estates: *en la grace des princes, seigneurs et aultres gens de tous estaz*...

³³⁴ **W. Küchler**, 'Die Cent nouvelles nouvelles, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der französischen Novelle' in *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Litteratur* (1906) pp. 264-331 at pp. 267-268; **Diner**, *Comedy and Courtliness*, pp. 65-68.

the duke simply *because he knew them*. The details of the bourgeois' status and his personality all locate the *Nouvelle* in its historical setting: they were significant to the listening audience. The details McGillivray judged to be superfluous, in other words, may well have been true of a specific individual who was known to the ducal court, and the tale was made relevant to the audience to add spice to the audience's reception of the tale and their discussion of its characters' actions. To insist on their superfluity, without considering their part in the social situation (which clearly interested the duke) is to insist on an artificial, and anachronistic reading of the tale: to judge a fifteenth century text by mid-twentieth century attitudes to brevity³³⁵ – seems harsh. The original narrator's intention was not to *ramble*, but to establish an atmosphere, and an elevated, literary atmosphere at that – one which might stimulate discussion³³⁶.

To approach the *Nouvelle* historically is to ask why it was important to mention that the lover was *a notable bourgeois, who had been a receiver of Hainault in his time*³³⁷. A receiver was a part of the financial administration, who had to deal with the revenue of the domain (called

³³⁵ <http://garbl.home.attbi.com/stylemanual/betwrit.htm>

³³⁶ **Misrahi and Knudson**, *Jehan de Saintré*, pp. 244ff. For example, the introductory sentence in which the duke mentions that the wife made eyes at the receiver adopts a motif of courtly literature. **Antoine de la Sale's** *Petit Jehan de Saintré* used it too. Compare: *Et, comme il est de coustume, les yeulx d'elle, archiers du cueur, descocherent tant de fleches en la personne dudit bourgeois que sans prochain remede son cas n'estoit pas maindre que mortel... And as is customary, her eyes, the heart's archers shot off so many arrows to the body of the said bourgeois that without immediate attention, his attack should not have failed to have been mortal (Nouvelle reading) and les yeulz, archiers des cuers, peu a peu commencerent l'un des cuers a l'autre traire... Their eyes, the heart's archers began to pierce the other's heart... Both **La Sale's** work and the *Nouvelle* involve infidelity brought on by fine dining – but whereas in *Saintré* gluttony is the precursor to lechery, the *Nouvelle* inverts the order.*

³³⁷ *ung notable bourgeois, en son temps receveur de Haynau.*

the *trésor*, the part of the administration dealing with ordinary finances, as opposed to unusual taxes)³³⁸. He handled receipts and made disbursements³³⁹. Undoubtedly, this was why he lived in a large house, worthy of a noble – a fact clearly mentioned to establish his character and status. He owned a town house and was reportedly popular amongst all men on account of his liberality. The duke deliberately distinguished his being *in the grace of princes and lords* as well as *other people of all estates*. Presumably, his popularity was intended to be taken as a reflection of his probity. The fact that he was a tax inspector of Hainaut is important: he was a ducal subject in a ducal town. It was also important that *he was not so badly housed in the said town that rather a good lord should not be happy and honoured to have such a dwelling*³⁴⁰. The duke was concerned about the status of the man even to the extent of detailing that his home was *amongst the coveted and praiseworthy edifices* in Valenciennes³⁴¹. It seems the duke's intention was to invite his audience

³³⁸ There were several *receveurs*, but they had specific jobs, and their titles related to the place of their work. More exalted personalities in the administrative regime were identified by job titles covering a greater area, as Guiot Du Champ was called simply *receveur general du duc de Bourgoingne* and (in 1459) Laurens de Maeck was identified as *conseiller and receveur general de Flandres et d'Artois*. We also discover lesser personalities in the archival records, identified by smaller regions. Thus: Guillaume d'Audemfort, *receveur de Saint Omer* (ADN B 2038 #62745); Guilbert Utenhove, *receveur de Termonde* (ADN B 2039 #62902); Enguerran le Josne, *receveur de l'Espyer d'Yppre* (ADN B 2034 fo 40v). Some receivers were extremely specific - in his edition of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (introduction, p. lxiii), Pierre Champion examined papers relating to the *receveur des droits de sceau de l'officialité de Tournai*. ADN Cumulus 734 (1446-1447).

³³⁹ **K. Papin**, 'Guilbert de Ruple: Biografie van een Topman uit de Bourgondische Financiele Administratie' in *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* (1999) pp. 99-123. This is an illustrative study of a particular receiver's career, focussed on Guilbert de Ruple, charting his rise through the administrative ranks under the sponsorship of Guillaume Fillastre, until he became Margaret of York's *maitre de la chambre aux deniers*.

³⁴⁰ *n'estoit point si mal logé en la dicte ville que ung bien grand maistre ne se tenist pour content et honoré d'avoir un telle logis.*

³⁴¹ *entre les desirez et loez edifices*

to speculate as to which receiver was being spoken about. How many former receivers of Hainault had a big house in Valenciennes? The duke really was setting the tone: the detail was thick, layered and precise – clearly the vehicle for a tale of urban manners for a particular courtly audience to give a focus for discussion. Moreover, at the time of the telling of the tales, there had just been a crackdown on corruption throughout the duke's lands. Tales of the inconstancy, and trickery of receivers must be understood in the context of the court to be tales about rogues and thieves³⁴².

The Literary Context:

Prosification.

It is commonplace to note that in the mid to late fourteenth century the tendency in western literature was towards prose, and away from verse³⁴³.

³⁴² **J. Bartier**, 'Une crise de l'état bourguignon: la réformation financière de 1457' in *Hommage au professeur Paul Bonenfant (1899-1965)* (Brussels, 1965) pp. 501-511; **Kruse**, *Malversations*, pp. 283-312. The raconteur **Philippe Pot's** brother Guiot, was one of the ducal commissioners sent around ducal lands, including Hainault, Artois and Picardy to investigate financial irregularities in accounts from ducal receivers, and the quality of justice. **Jean, lord of Lannoy** was also involved in these reforms. He rose in importance through service, just as his brother's did. **Small**, *Shaping*, p. 81 (citing ADN B 2017 fo 294v; B 2026 fo 300); cf ADN B 2030 fo 178v and following, included as an appendix. On Guiot Pot's career as an ambassador, king's chamberlain, and councillor of the duchess of Orleans, see BN MS FR 5040 fo 31r-36v: Royal letters given at Amboise 17 May 1470 in reply to Charles the Bold's embassy (which comprised **Créquy**, Jehan le Carondelet, and Jean Meurin). Guiot (fo. 31r) is called *noble homme Guiot Pot escuier, bailli de Vermandois*. **H. Stein**, *Charles de France, Frère de Louis XI* (Paris, 1919) pp. 248-249, 269-270; **P.-R. Gaussin**, *Les Conseillers de Louis XI (1461-1483)* in **B. Chevalier and P. Contamine** (eds), *La France de la Fin du XVe siècle, renouveau et Apogée* (Paris, 1985) pp. 105-134 at p. 113.

³⁴³ For the earlier period, see **B. Stock**, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, 1983); **M. Clanchy**, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Cambridge, Mass., 1979). The later period is covered in **W. Ong**, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word* (London and New York, 1982). **G. Doutrepoint**, 'L'extension de la prose au XVe siècle' in *Mélanges Paul Laumonier* (Paris, 1935) pp. 97-107.

Verse romances, courtly epics and lyrics, and especially *fabliaux* changed their forms over a fairly brief period, and, as the laity began to read internally and on their own, fewer professional reciters were employed. The style of the fifteenth century, which could not rely on aural tricks to sustain the interest, became increasingly rhetorical, and on occasion, even garrulous. To observe that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is one of the Burgundian court's literary achievements, is also to locate it within the canon of French literature as a work of its time: prose, not verse. Although its current state is that of a written and not an oral text, it retains certain aural devices: puns which the ear needs to hear³⁴⁴, and references to real people which only a storyteller addressing a real audience who knew them could use effectively. It is therefore tempting to think of the written collection as a book intended to be read aloud, *in all goodly*

³⁴⁴ The most celebrated of these is the pun on *Saints* and *seins* – that is, *saints* and *breasts*, so that two raconteurs pun on the idea of devotion to saints/breasts. *Montbléru*'s story relies on a word play on *céens* (in here) with *séans* (seated). Another good example is the 97th Nouvelle by *Jean de Lannoy* of the drunk who beat his wife for scolding him, obdurate at his drunken state: it involves a great deal of aural wordplay revolving around the language of an auction. Told to “raise the pot” (i.e. from the fire) she pretended she was at a sale, and raised her bid (her pot of money) from 12d to 7s. The husband's reply, that the deal would be completed with three strikes of the baton recalls both the auctioneer's hammer and the stick he was about to use on her: *Comme ilz se devoient ainsi doucement comme vous oez, le pot a la porée, qui sur le feu estoit, commence a s'en fuyr par dessus, pource que trop aspre feu avoit; et le bon homme, voyant que sa femme n'y mettoit point la main, luy dist: < Et ne veez vous, dame, ce pot qui s'en fuyt? > Et elle, qui encores rappaisée n'estoit, luy respondit: < Si faiz, sire. Je le voy bien. – Or le haulsez donc, Dieu vous mecte en mal an! – Si feray je, dist elle; je le haulseray; je le metz a xij deniers. – Voire, dist il, dame, est ce la response? Et haulsez ce pot, de par Dieu! – Et bien, dit elle, je le metz a vij sols. [Est ce assez hault?] – Assez! hault! Hen! hen! dit il, et par saint Jehan! ce marché ne se passera pas sans trois coups de baston. > Et il choisit ung gros baston et en descharge de toute sa force sur le doz de madamoiselle, en disant: < Ce marché vous demeure. >* Other word plays did not depend on oral delivery, such as the pun on *queue* in Nouvelle 12.

*company by way of joyance and jollity*³⁴⁵, as one publisher claimed in 1899, following the Olivier Arnoullet (Lyon) edition of 1532³⁴⁶. A term which recurs much more frequently than most others in the collection is *plaisir* – it was clearly a preoccupation of the raconteurs³⁴⁷! At any rate, as Walter Ong has argued: *Literary History is no longer entirely literary. If we are sensitive now to intertextuality, to the dependency of texts for their existence and meaning on other texts, we are sensitive also to the historical origins of literature out of oral verbalisation. Skilled oral art forms preceded and in part predetermined the style of the written works which constitute literature in the strict sense. Although writing was ultimately to transmute oral performance into quite new genres, nevertheless, even after the introduction of writing, oral mindsets and ways of expression have persisted in literary works everywhere, from antiquity to the present day*³⁴⁸.

Pierre Cockshaw's extensive study of the Burgundian chancery suggests those features of court life which explain how the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* surfaced in this literary courtly milieu³⁴⁹. In his chapter on the

³⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that this invocation was apparently intended for mixed company.

BN Rés B487, 657. Arnoullet also published *le Rebours de Matheolus*, including an "excuse" appended to the end of the text, intended to pacify the ladies. See Plate 39.

³⁴⁶ **R. Douglas**, *One Hundred Merry and Delightful Stories Translated from the Celebrated French Collection of Jovial Mediaeval (sic) Tales "The Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles" Right Pleasant to Relate in all Goodly Company by way of Joyance and Jollity* (Paris, 1899).

³⁴⁷ The word occurs in the following forms, and with the following frequency:

plaira: 9; *plaire*: 2; *plairoit*: 3; *plaisamment*: 6; *plaisance*: 1; *plaisances*: 1; *plaisans*: 4; *plaisant*: 15; *plaisante*: 3; *plaisamment*: 1; *plaisantes*: 2; *plaise*: 4; *plaisent*: 1; *plaisir*: 61; *plaisirs*: 2; *plaisoit*: 12; *plais*: 83. (cf *Joyeux*: 46 times.)

³⁴⁸ **W. Ong**, 'Orality, Literacy, and Medieval Textualization' in *New Literary History* (1984) pp. 1-12.

³⁴⁹ **Cockshaw**, *Personnel de la Chancellerie*, pp. 189-92. The quotes which follow are translations of citations on p. 189.

exécutants de la chancellerie, he described the business of the *greffiers* – minute-takers, and secretaries – of the great council. An ordinance of 1433 specified that: *wherever [the duke's] court held an ordinary council meeting, which should take place twice a day; in this council, two secretaries should be present by standing mandate, to hear the deliberation of matters arising, to record the outcomes and decisions made, and make letters and papers relating to these.* The duke also specified that one of the *greffiers* was obliged to keep a register (*un bel registre*) of the *matters and deliberations ... in the duke's presence, and in the presence of his ordinary council, to know and undertake what has been ordained.* As Cockshaw has remarked, it is unfortunate indeed that neither the names of the *greffiers* or their registers have survived. The principle is entirely discernible: the duke and his court were to have their deliberations taken down for posterity. The things said at court were a matter, not merely of record, but of scrutiny, and although, in 1438, the routine matter of discussion was laid out as being justice, war, and finance – also included in the list was the broad category for “other matters”. Would it be particularly surprising to discover that courtiers could routinely indulge in speaking before the council with the assistance of pieces of paper? What better way was there to ensure an accurate minute than to submit a written statement³⁵⁰? Certainly, many contemporary images of Burgundian courtiers depict them clutching rolls of parchment in their hands, and the cliché was even adopted by the duke

³⁵⁰ **J. Blanchard**, *Commynes l'euro péen. L'invention du politique* (Geneva, 1996) *passim*. The same argument has been advanced by David Morgan in respect of the birth of *Mémoires* written at the Burgundian court. See **Small**, *Shaping*, p. 220 n. 120 for details. Joel Blanchard offers a similar view of the development of the genre through his study of Commynes' *Mémoires*, which he views as a teaching tool, written in the style of the Italian diplomatic despatches Commynes was used to dealing with.

himself³⁵¹. Depictions of the conteurs engaged in the business of recounting their tales from early printed editions of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* also portray them clutching papers. For instance, the representation of the raconteurs from Olivier Arnoullet's edition was intended to attract his book-purchasing readership, but also to present the situation he imagined: his vision was similar to Antoine Vérard's 1486 issues³⁵². The raconteurs' court was a debating forum, where discussion and memoranda went side by side.

The Interface of Court and Urban Culture: Chambers of Rhetoric and the *Cour Amoureuse* tradition.

It has been established for a long time that the raconteurs were an eclectic group of nobles and members of the ducal household. They were a variety of ages and their political and social positions ranged from relatively unimportant, to very eminent and influential. Outwith the literary enterprise, and the routine parts which many of them played in the functioning of the Burgundian state, in the ducal household, or in the service of the Dauphin Louis, there is very little that they have in common as a group that would obviously link them together at first glance³⁵³. One way to explain the unusual confluence that produced the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, is to consider the raconteurs alongside other

³⁵¹ This is not simply a Burgundian phenomenon, however. For example, cf Plate 40 (Arch. Nat. KK 3). The cliché of a King enthroned and surrounded by courtiers was common throughout the fifteenth century. However, towards the end of the fifteenth century, within many of these scenes, courtiers were increasingly often depicted holding a rolled up piece of paper. There are many other instances of this motif too – into classical antiquity, too, but as yet, nobody has published a convincing explanation of the motif, or produced evidence of where the tradition comes from. See Plates 18-35.

³⁵² See Plates 2-4, and 33 for Arnoullet and Vérard's woodcuts. Vérard's 1486 edition's frontispiece depicts the courtiers brandishing their papers.

³⁵³ These areas of their shared experience are explored in the next chapter.

groups and societies in the Burgundian Netherlands and in France³⁵⁴.

Similarities between the raconteur circle and others which existed in the past locate the venture within a tradition. This is not to deny the enterprise a specificity of its own, but to approach the history of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in its wider cultural context.

In the densely urbanised regions of the Burgundian Netherlands, there was a long-standing community interest in creative activities, often expressive of civic pride, especially in the use of language, poetry, and drama³⁵⁵. Societies met in *chambers of rhetoric*, in which townsmen, organised into groups with specific literary identities, participated in lettered competitions³⁵⁶. Their compositions of prose and poetry often formed a part of the ritual life of the town: what Huizinga judged to be *monstrous pageants*³⁵⁷. Within what has been called the Burgundian “theatre state”, recent research has explored the extent and scope of urban societies' importance, particularly that of institutions meeting in these

³⁵⁴ For references to eight key publications on this subject see **G. Small's** introduction to **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good* (2002 edition) p. XXXIII note 50, especially articles by Prevenier and Small (*Chroniqueurs et culture historique*).

³⁵⁵ **G. Doutrepoint**, *La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Hardi, Jean sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 1909) *passim*.

³⁵⁶ **J. Oosterman and B. Ramakers** (eds.) *Kamers, kunst en competitie. Teksten en documenten uit de rederijkerstijd* (Amsterdam, 2001) pp. 140-143 for a bibliography.

³⁵⁷ **P. Arnade**, *Realms of Ritual. Burgundian Ceremony and Civic Life in Late Medieval Ghent* (Ithaca, 1996) (Including a bibliography.) Extant records relating to chambers of rhetoric are much more substantial for the early sixteenth century, but the chambers were an important feature of urban life in the fifteenth; *City, State, and Public Ritual in the Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands* in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1997) pp. 300-318; **J. Broeckart**, *Rederijkers gedichten der XVIe Eeuw*; **E. van Autenboer**, *Het Brabants landjuweel der rederijkers (1515-1561)* (Middelburg 1981); **A. Carnoy**, 'L'Imagination Flamande Dans l'Ecole Symbolique Française' in *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association* (1918) pp. 204-234, at pp. 212-213; **J. Huizinga**, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1955) p. 253.

chambers of rhetoric and the archery guilds³⁵⁸. Historians of Valois Burgundy have borrowed and adapted Clifford Geertz's anthropological terminology, so useful in describing the ritualised interaction of urban and ducal government within the Burgundian political context³⁵⁹. The interests and predilections of the duke, who was usually to be found within his towns' walls, merged with those of his courtiers and subjects – also urban men – and thus the activities of one sphere of life impinged on those of others in remarkable ways. Whereas it was once believed that such things as ducal entry ceremonies were imposed by the dukes on their towns³⁶⁰, it is now recognised that townsmen, including urban authorities, were more often *willing* participants in such events, and, indeed, integral to their success³⁶¹. As we shall see in the next chapter, the raconteurs were often urban dignitaries and even participants in urban spectacles themselves, but they were also writers, jousters, bibliophiles, thinkers, and speakers. The ducal court, which had the money and the time to commit to such cultural enterprises, was *the* place where

³⁵⁸ B. Schnerb, *L'état Bourguignon* (Paris, 1999) pp. 328-330.

³⁵⁹ C. Geertz, *Negara, The Theatre State in Nineteenth Century Bali* (Princeton, 1981); W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1983) pp. 223-225.

³⁶⁰ E.g. D. Nicholas, 'In the Pit of the Burgundian Theater State – Urban Traditions and Princely Ambitions in Ghent 1360-1420' in B. Hanawalt and K. Reyerson (eds) *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994) pp. 271-295.

³⁶¹ For recent critiques of the wholesale application of Geertz's top-down (confrontational) model, cf J. Hurlbut, *'Vive Bourgogne est nostre cry': Ceremonial Entries of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold* (Turnhout, forthcoming, based on his PhD thesis, Indiana University, 1990); G. Small, *When indiciaires meet rederijkers: a contribution to the history of the Burgundian "Theatre State"* in J. Oosterman (ed.) *Stad van koopmanschap en vrede. Literaire cultuur in Brugge op de grens van Middeleeuwen en rederijkerstijd* (Bruges, forthcoming 2004): Small sets ducal entries in the context of mutual benefit and participation; A. Brown, 'Bruges and the Burgundian "Theatre-State": Charles the Bold and Our Lady of the Snow' in *History* (1999) pp. 573-589. Brown has shown how *these ceremonies were related to ceremonies conducted and paid for by the citizens themselves* (p. 573). For

omnicompetence was encouraged, and where embracing multiple cultural activities was most likely to be rewarded.

Participation in literary and oratorical gatherings was not limited to townsmen or deemed only to be for specialised occasions such as ducal entries. The customs of courtly literary societies were many and varied, and well-established in France, and the Low Countries. For example, going back to the start of the fifteenth century, the *Cour Amoureuse* tradition, so-called of Charles VI, was a vibrant organisation for the promotion of courtly and chivalric literary enterprises, and produced such masterpieces as the *Songe de la Barge* of Werchin, and the *Epistre au Dieu d'Amours* of Christine de Pisan³⁶². The society was Parisien in origin, though it was by no means an *exclusively* Parisien venture. Recent scholarship relating to traditions of illumination and carving in Tournai, for example, has pointed up strong connections within that town³⁶³. These

the earlier period (from c.1280) see **Brown**, 'Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders in the Later Middle Ages', in *English Historical Review* (1997) pp. 277-299.

³⁶² **J. Grenier-Winther** (ed.), *Le songe de la barge de Jean de Werchin, sénéchal de Hainaut: les ballades échangées entre Guillebert de Lannoy et Jean de Werchin: la correspondance de Jean de Werchin* (Montreal, 1996). See below for **Ghillebert de Lannoy**. Jean de Werchin, senechal of Hainault, was a servant of the Duke of Orleans, and a knight of some renown. In 1401, he announced his departure for Santiago da Compostella, and his intention to fight any and all comers on the way. In 1402, he stopped to meet with all comers who were on the road for St James from Coucy.

<http://www.saint-jacques.info/suero.htm>; **W. Paravicini**, *Jean de Werchin, Sénéchal de Hainaut, chevalier errant in Saint-Denis et la royauté – Études offertes à Bernard Guenée* (Paris, 1999) pp. 125-144; **M. Roy** (ed.) *Christine de Pizan's Oeuvres Poétiques* (Paris, 1886) vol. 2, pp. 1-27.

³⁶³ **L. Nys**, *Les Tableaux Votifs tournaisiens en Pierre, 1350-1475* (Louvain, 2001) p. 27: "... ces liens entre Tournai et l'art français ne sont pas contestables. L'idée, rappelons le, est admise sur la foi des liens politiques que l'on sait avoir été constants entre Tournai et la couronne, mais aussi des liens culturels, très étroits semble-t-il, avec les milieux de la cour à Paris. Le cas de la cour amoureuse dite « de Charles VI » apparaît à cet égard tout à fait révélateur. Que l'on y pense ! Plus d'une soixantaine de membres sur les quelque trois cents que comptait au début du XV^e siècle ce cercle littéraire rassemblant en France certaines des élites sociales et intellectuelles étaient issus du patriciat

connections are not altogether unexpected, because Philip the Good's grandfather, Philip the Bold, was an integral figure in the society, alongside Louis of Bourbon: in 1401, both men acted as the driving forces (or *promoteurs*) behind it, and Philip was one of its three *grand conservateurs*³⁶⁴. The *Cour Amoureuse* was devoted to poetry composed for two reasons: to honour all ladies and *demoiselles*, and also to pass the time *plus gracieusement* during a bout of plague which was laying the land waste³⁶⁵. In other words, the tradition of the *Decameron* hovers behind much of the storytelling venture of the *Cour Amoureuse*, much as it did in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Just as the stories of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were probably discussed after they were told, so the poetry of the *Cour Amoureuse* was subject to judgement³⁶⁶. The *nouvelles* were after-dinner entertainment, and the *Cour Amoureuse* involved an

ournaisien!"; **D. Vanwijnsberghe**, 'Contribution à l'étude de l'Enluminure à Tournai à la fin du Moyen Age. Seconde Partie: Le problème de la miniature dite "pré-eyckienne" à Tournai (vers 1380-1430)' PhD thesis (Louvain, 1996). [NB in his footnote, Ludovic Nys cites the following relevant study which I have not been able to consult: **Vanwijnsberghe**, "'La Cour Amoureuse De Charles VI à Tournai et son Prince d'Amour, Pierre de Hauteville: commanditaires de livres enluminés'" in *Hainaut et Tournais: Regards sur dix siècles d'histoire - Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de Jacques Nazet (1944-1996)* (Brussels, 2000), pp. 135-177]; **C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau**, 'L'histoire de la Ville de Tournai Vue à Travers les Armoriaux de la Cour Amoureuse Dite de Charles VI' in *Actes de l'Association des Cercles Francophones d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Belgique, Congrès de Nivelles Août 1984*, (1987), IV, pp. 253-264. On the duke's relations with Tournai, see **Vaughan**, *Philip the Bold*, pp. 106-107.

³⁶⁴ **C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau**, 'Princes Prélats Barons et autres Gens notables A propos de la cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI' in *Prosopographie et Genèse de l'État Moderne* (Paris, 1986) pp. 159-170; **Vaughan**, *Philip the Bold*, p. 201. **Huizinga**, *Waning*, p. 117 notes that John the Fearless, Anthony duke of Brabant, and his six year old son Philippe were also *conservateurs*. The duke's family were heavily involved, in other words.

³⁶⁵ **C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau** *La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI* (Paris, 1982/1992) vol 1, *Introduction*, p. 1.

³⁶⁶ **G. Angelo**, 'A Most Uncourtly Lady: The Testimony of the Belle dame sans mercy' in *Exemplaria* (2003) pp. 1-18. Angelo shows how detailed and polished poetic contributions to the debate and deliberations could be.

annual dinner, meeting on 14 February – the feast of Saint Valentine³⁶⁷. There were over 600 adherents in the society at its peak, and although many of its affiliates died fighting the English, the idea lived on³⁶⁸. Many of the members of the *cour amoureuse* had other courtly and military associates – noblemen, and soldiers, who shared an interest in literature, and romance. For example, the Lord of Beaumont, Ghillebert de Lannoy³⁶⁹, was an follower of, and a fellow pilgrim with, the *sénéchal* of Hainault, Jean de Werchin. In 1403 they went together to a tournament at Valence in Spain. Between 1405-1406, they also visited the Holy Land and Egypt in each other's company. At this period, the young lord of

³⁶⁷ Vaughan, *Philip the Bold*, p. 202.

³⁶⁸ J. Fox, *A Literary history of France, the Middle Ages* (London, 1974) p. 339.

³⁶⁹ The raconteur of the 90th Nouvelle is identified as *Monseigneur de Beaumont* only in the manuscript, as Vérard's editions are anonymous, in both table and body text. It seems, however, that the storyteller ought to be named, as his story begins: *Pour accroistre et amplier mon nombre des nouvelles que j'ay promis compter et descriptre, j'en monstrey cy une dont la venue est fresche...* Such a start implies that it is not the first story recounted by the raconteur. It is possible, therefore, that others of the nouvelles which have no name associated with them are also the work of the lord of Beaumont. If the nouvelles as they appear have been laid out in more or less the order in which they were told (this is by no means certain!), this presents a problem, for there are no anonymous tales before the 90th Nouvelle. The 85th Nouvelle, however, was told by the otherwise unknown lord of Santilly, and it is possible (though not very likely, since there *is* a village of Santilly in Burgundy, and it therefore probably was a genuine title) that this is a corruption of one of Beaumont's other titles – the lord of Santes. At any rate, the 90th tale seems like the work of an old man. It is about a man whose wife is sick, who has sex with her twice to revive her. The moral of the tale, as it is spelled out in the last line, is that the merchant who cured his wife in this way lived to regret it, as she often thereafter troubled him for sex – an old man's moral: *Ainsi le bon marchand aprint a garir sa femme, qui luy tourna a grand prejudice, car souvent se faindoit malade pour recevoir la medicine.* It is, however, not conclusive evidence that the tale was the work of an older man, as the topos of the sexually voracious, predatory woman was a cliché of fifteenth century literature, and appears elsewhere even within the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. For example, Nouvelle 41, by the relatively young Philippe Pot (born in 1428) contains the line: *And amongst other things, whenever he wanted to play the game of love, which was less often than she did, he made her put on a very pretty coat of mail... Et entre aultres choses, toutesfoiz qu'il vouloit faire l'amoureux jeu, qui n'estoit pas si souvent qu'elle eust bien voulu, il luy faisoit vestir ung tres beau jaserant.*

Beaumont received his introduction to fine letters, and the language of love, writing his own ballads in the early 1400s³⁷⁰. The accounts of his numerous travels are famous³⁷¹. He also wrote didactic works, such as *L'Instruction d'un jeune prince*, and *Enseignements paternels*³⁷². Also attributed to his hand is the *Enseignement de la vraie noblesse*³⁷³. Recent scholarship has identified many of the society's adherents, and has emphasised the variegated networks of sociability to be found within the

³⁷⁰ See bibliography by **J. Paviot**, *Ghillebert de Lannoy, seigneur de Santes, Willerval, Tornchiennes, Beaumont et Wahégnies*, in **R. de Smedt** (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XV^e siècle, Notices bio-bibliographiques* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994) pp. 42-45. Paviot has cited Arthur Piaget's article on the ballads in *Romania* (1910) pp. 324-368, though no mention is made of Beaumont's involvement in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*; see also **C. Bozzolo and H. Loyau** *La Cour Amoureuse* vol. 2, pp. 54-55.

³⁷¹ At the end of *Voyages et Ambassades*, (**Potvin**, *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy*, p. 178) Guillebert de Lannoy is identified as "en son temps" the lord of Santes, Willerval, Tronchiennes, Beaumont, and Wahegnies. This seems a reliable witness that this is the lord of Beaumont mentioned in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, as the previous paragraph indicates that it was written-up in or after the jubilee year, 1450. (*Item, l'an cinquante, qui fut an de la jubilee, je fus aux grans pardons à Romme, etc.*) I am unaware of anyone else who associates this lord with the title mentioned in the manuscript. Certainly, Pierre Champion did not know who the lord of Beaumont was, writing, on the authority of the *Biographie Nationale Belge: The title of Beaumont was held by the Croy family – it alludes to one of them, without doubt, rather than to a member of the Beaumont family*. Having stated that, however, he also noted that at the time when the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were composed, one Philippe de Beaumont was dubbed knight before the walls of Ghent (**Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 233-235; vol. 5, p. 201). He also observed that one Louis de Beaumont had a hand in the agreement with the Ghenters (vol. 3, p. 337). The second rubricator of *Hunter 252* attributes the tale to the lord of Beaumont, however, and as far as I am aware, Ghillebert de Lannoy was the only man answering that description in court documents from the late 1450s and early 1460s.

³⁷² **C. van Leeuwen**, *Denkbeelden van een vliesridder. De "Instruction d'un jeune prince" van Gillebert van Lannoy* (Amsterdam, 1975). **C. Potvin**, *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy* (Louvain, 1878); **L. Quarré-Reybourbon**, *La vie, les voyages et aventures de Gilbert de Lannoy, chevalier lillois au XV^e siècle* (Lille, 1890). *L' instruction* is discussed in chapter three below.

³⁷³ The *Enseignements* was to be found in the library of Charles of Croy, who inherited the books of the raconteur Philippe de Croy – see **F. Hachez**, *Un manuscrit de l'Enseignement de la vraie noblesse, provenant de la Bibliothèque de Charles de Croy comte de Chimay* in *Annales du Cercle Archéologique de Mons* (1892) pp. 91-104.

membership, especially through examination of its charter: *The charter of the Cour Amoureuse with its well-regimented ceremonial, its language so similar to that of bourgeois fraternities, in which rhetoric and juridical style were so closely linked, simply announces the composition of its membership. Beside the ancient nobility, there were to be found more recently elevated nobles, [and] bourgeois, representatives of a new social class, consisting of the functionaries of the house of France and Burgundy*³⁷⁴.

Besides Ghillebert de Lannoy, at least two men associated with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were members of the *cour amoureuse*. One of them was a raconteur – the very able Antoine de La Salle, and the other (mentioned in *Nouvelle 74* by Philippe de Loan), the *lord of Lisle-Adam*, Jacques de Villers, son of Jean de Villers³⁷⁵. Jean lord of Lannoy and Jean de Créquy's fathers, and Chrétien de Digoine's uncle, Jean de Digoine, were also members of the circle, as were several members of the Croy family, from which Quiévrain came³⁷⁶.

Another work done in the style of the *Cour Amoureuse*, the *Livre des Cent Ballades* (not to be confused with Christine de Pisan's own *Livre des Cent Balades*) was in some ways similar to the *Cent nouvelles*

³⁷⁴ **Bozzolo and Loyau**, *Cour Amoureuse*, vol. 1, Introduction, p. 3: *La charte de la Cour amoureuse avec son cérémonial bien réglementé, son langage très proche de celui des confréries bourgeois, où rhétorique et style juridique sont si étroitement liés, ne fait en réalité qu'annoncer la composition de ses membres où, à côté de la vieille noblesse, se retrouveront des nobles de fraîche date, des bourgeois, des représentants d'une Nouvelle couche sociale, constituée par les fonctionnaires de la maison de France et de Bourgogne.*

³⁷⁵ **Bozzolo and Loyau**, *Cour Amoureuse*, vol. 2-3, pp. 15, 55, 159. **Père Anselme**, *Histoire Généalogique et chronologique de la Maison Royal de France* (Paris, 1733) vol. 7, pp. 12-13.

³⁷⁶ **Bozzolo and Loyau**, *Cour Amoureuse*, vol. 1, pp. 125, 143, 155.

nouvelles in that it involved a hundred individual units (containing advice for a knight about how to love loyally), and a series of responses to the ballads by noble courtiers³⁷⁷. In the *Cent ballades* too, there is a series of noble personages associated with the tales – some of them notable men of their day, such as Jean de France, duke of Berry, the second son of the king of France. There are others whose prominence is more related to their deeds than their birth, such as the *maréchal* Boucicaut, who played a great role during the reign of Charles VI. Yet there are other balladeers for whom we have little or no information at all, such as Lyonnet de Coismes and Jaquet d'Orleans³⁷⁸. As will be discussed in more detail in chapter 3 below, a similar thing applies to the men who recounted the tales of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* – some were very important men, such as the duke, the Marquis of Rothelin, and the count of Saint Pol³⁷⁹, whilst others were of a middling rank amongst courtiers, prominent owing to a combination of birth and service, such as the lord of la Barde, one of the dauphin's trusted ambassadors, and the lord of la Roche, a Burgundian lord from a distinguished service family, the Pots. Some

³⁷⁷ **Marquis de Queux de Saint Hilaire**, *Le livre des Cent Ballades contenant des conseils à un Chevalier pour aimer loialement & ses responses aux ballades* (Paris, 1868). For the Chivalric responses to the ballads, see pp. 203-228. **M. Roy**, *Oeuvres Poétiques de Christine de Pisan* (Paris 1886) vol. 1, pp. 1-100. On the *Cour Amoureuse*, the *Cent Ballades* and Christine de Pisan see **Huizinga**, *Waning*, pp. 115-117. The duke owned multiple copies of the anonymous *Cent Ballades*: ADN B 3501 # 123745 bis fo 80r-v. See Plates 52-53. They were catalogued near the duke's copies of *Ogier le Danois* and the *Romant de la Rose*: fo 79v-80r.

³⁷⁸ **Bozzolo and Loyau**, *Cour Amoureuse*, vol. 2-3, p. 99 give the following information on Jaquet d'Orleans: *Probablement issu d'une famille normande, depuis longtemps au service du roi. Panetier du roi (depuis 1387 jusqu'en 1406); échanton en 1406; Verdier de la foret de Conches (Eure) en 1404; bailli de Meaux (1406-1411); Élu de Rouen sur le fait des aides de la guerre en 1414; Fait parti du Conseil de Normandie en 1426...*

³⁷⁹ **T. Leuridan**, 'Les Châtelains de Lille' in *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de l'Agriculture et des Arts de Lille* (1873) pp. 109-358 at pp. 319-323. Saint Pol had his own court, and advisers. (See chapter three below.)

raconteurs of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* are still obscure – presumably only servants in the ducal or delphinal households – men such as Timoléon Vignier. The enigmatic lord of Santilly mentioned in the book may have been a visiting lord who was asked to contribute a story, did so, and left no other trace. This was certainly how literature was contributed to the court of the duke of Orleans³⁸⁰. What has been said of the *Cour Amoureuse*: that it was not merely *un beau salon littéraire*, as Huizinga put it, but an *épiphénomène reflétant une réalité socio-historique*, applies equally to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*³⁸¹.

In the chapter of her thesis dealing with the phenomenon of *mise-en-prose* Elizabeth Moodey discussed the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in the context of what she categorised as a “burgeoning interest in historical fiction”³⁸². Many modern day commentators have observed that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, like many collections of novellas, represent a continuation and development of the Burgundian trend to rewrite and rework older literature³⁸³. In particular, this movement aimed to refashion rhymed or poetic works in prose form, to improve what was thought of as the “truthfulness” of the narrative. Ruth Morse has argued that *the ducal*

³⁸⁰ **Huizinga**, *Waning*, p. 310.

³⁸¹ **Bozzolo and Loyau**, *Cour Amoureuse*, vol. 1, p. 4; **A. Piaget**, 'La Cour Amoureuse dite de Charles VI' in *Romania* (1891) p. 417; **Huizinga**, *Waning*, pp. 116-117.

³⁸² **E. Moodey**, 'Illuminated Crusader Histories for Philip the Good of Burgundy (1419-1467)' PhD thesis (Princeton, 2002), pp. 75, 79. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* are discussed on pp. 87-89.

³⁸³ **R. Clements and J. Gibaldi**, *Anatomy of the Novella: The European Tale Collection from Boccaccio and Chaucer to Cervantes* (New York, 1977) p. 13: *the age also inherited and fostered the rhetorical view that inventio (from invenire, to come upon) entails the 'discovery' and subsequent ingenious reworking of already existent materials*. See this chapter of Clements and Gibaldi for a complete discussion of the ideas, linking them with the divisions of classical rhetoric (*inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria, and pronuntia*). They characterise the development which became the novella in terms of decorum in language and style, variety, verisimilitude, unity, harmony, and brevity.

court stimulated literary productions of numerous kinds, among which “history” held an important, perhaps a pre-eminent place as the secular genre. But ‘history’ was an umbrella term which sheltered narratives of widely varying truth content ... If individual works had their own integrity, so that a chronicle had a recognisably higher truth content than a historical romance, there was nevertheless no hard and fast line between authors’ fields nor any easy way to discriminate on stylistic grounds alone³⁸⁴. In this sense, of course, artistic “truth” is what is conventionally now couched in the terms made popular by Erich Auerbach: of realism and *mimesis*³⁸⁵, rather than historical accuracy.

Style:

Realism (*Mimesis*) and Classical Antiquity.

Auerbach characterised Burgundian realism as being *narrow and medieval* based on a cursory examination of *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* tale 14, and a few other Burgundian works, such as *Madame du Chastel*. His judgements, however, were subjective and unsystematic: he preferred to allow long quotations to speak for themselves. Indeed, the sections of text he quoted were certainly longer than his analytical remarks. Clearly

³⁸⁴ Morse, *Historical Fiction*, p. 48. Morse excludes the Nouvelle genre from her considerations along with poetry, *on grounds of form*, though there is a good case for inclusion based on the fact that some nouvelles find parallels in the very chronicles which she thinks of as being most admissible, in terms of *historical truth*. For example, one court chronicle, that of George Chastelain, contained within its pages two accounts of incidents which also furnished nouvelles. (Discussed in chapter four below.)

³⁸⁵ E. Auerbach (R. Manheim trans.), *Mimesis: the Representation of Reality in Western Literature* (Princeton, 1953) pp. 232-261; Verderber (2002) *Subjective Vision and Fragmentation*, pp. 12-13. Auerbach was not sympathetic to the Nouvelle collection, and although his terminology has stuck, his analysis of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* has been superseded by more circumspect and thorough critiques.

drawing on Huizinga³⁸⁶, he concluded that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* had no new attitudes which might reshape the world of earthly realities and it is hardly aware that the medieval categories are losing their power. It hardly notices what decisive changes are taking place in the structure of life; and in breadth of vision, refinement of language, and formative power, it is far inferior to what the Italian late medieval and early humanist flowering had produced a full century earlier in Dante and Boccaccio. Underpinning his appraisal, Auerbach argued that the tales though flavourful and expressive showed no sign of having been penetrated by humanism and were anything but literary³⁸⁷. Followers of Auerbach have argued that the elegant or 'intermediate' style of the Italian model seems light years away from the design of this rough-hewn collection. Drawing on the *fabliau* and *lai* ... the tales seem to defy their Italian counterparts. Because it is not objectively clear what is meant by "elegance" and "intermediacy" in such an evaluation, it is difficult, using these terms, to argue at anything more meaningful than a subjective level about the tale collection's merits.

It is worth noting, however, that Auerbach's criticisms ignored the extent to which the plots and details of the nouvelles drew on (primarily) French and Italian models. Neither did his followers consider the development of

³⁸⁶ When Huizinga wrote of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* it was of their obscenity (pp. 111, 310-313) and their failure to recreate or engage with the reality which underpinned them. *Reality at all times has been worse and more brutal than the refined aestheticism of courtesy would have it be, but also more chaste than it is represented to be by the vulgar genre which is wrongly regarded as realism.* (p. 313)

³⁸⁷ Conley, *Narrative Mapped*, 5: The tales are, in the words of Erich Auerbach, 'anything but literary' ... scenarios include tricksters tricked, priests practicing everything but what they preach, husbands cuckolded, women seduced and abused; coprophilia and castration reigning supreme, the tales paint uncommon pictures of excess. By this reckoning Shakespeare's works are also anything but literary. The next quote is also from Conley's article.

the narrative form in the context of the court's predilection for recasting old material in novel ways³⁸⁸. The Burgundians were scarcely ignorant of classical antiquity, and in the late middle ages, Francophone interest resulted in translations into the vernacular of Latin texts³⁸⁹. Arjo Vanderjagt rejected the thesis that there was a necessary link between humanist court cultural activity and the politics of building power at the Burgundian court³⁹⁰. He made the case that the literary and classical culture of the court was not so strong that to be divorced from it was to be divorced from the cultural currency in which decisions were taken: *By and large however, the studia humanitatis is rare in the Burgundian lands. This is not surprising because such discipline is not particularly useful in a direct way for courtly political matters and the building of political power.* Having made this contention, with due attention paid to

³⁸⁸ **Auerbach**, *Mimesis*, pp. 260-1. For this and what follows on the question of Humanism, see **P. Jodogne**, 'l'Umanesimo Italiano nei paesi bassi sotto i duchi di Borgogna' in *Rinascimento* (1998) pp. 317-335; **J. Monfrin**, 'La connaissance de l'antiquité et le problème de l'Humanisme en langue vulgaire dans la France du XVe siècle' in *Medievalia Lovanensia* (1972) pp. 131-170; **J. Paquier**, 'L'Université de Paris et l'Humanisme au Début du XVIe siècle' in *Revue des questions historiques* (1899) pp. 144-186.

³⁸⁹ **P. Kibre**, 'The Intellectual Interests Reflected in Libraries of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' in *Journal of the History of Ideas* (1946) pp. 257-297 at p. 269. For a bibliography on this subject see **S. McKendrick** 'Classical Mythology and Ancient History in Works of Art at the Courts of France, Burgundy and England (1364-1500)' PhD Thesis (Courtauld Institute, 1988); **A. Levi**, *Pagan virtue and the humanism of the northern Renaissance* (London, 1974); **F. Akkerman, G. Huisman, and A. Vanderjagt** (eds), *Wessel Gansfort (1419-1489) and Northern Humanism* (Leiden, 1993); **F. Akkerman, A. Vanderjagt and A. van der Laan** (eds), *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469-1625 - from the 'Adwert Academy' to Ubbo Emmius* (Leiden, 1999); **R. Lucas**, 'Mediaeval French Translations of the Latin Classics to 1500' in *Speculum* (1970) pp. 225-253.

³⁹⁰ **A. Vanderjagt**, 'Classical Learning and Building of Power at the Fifteenth Century Burgundian Court' in **J. Drijvers and A. MacDonald** (eds) *Centres of Learning, Learning and Location in Premier-Modern Europe and the Near East* (New York, 1995) pp. 267-277. What follows comes from this article.

the exceptions³⁹¹, Vanderjagt argued that politicians who were successful at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century were nevertheless intellectuals: courtiers who *reflected discursively on the special functions and duties of politicians within the “bien publique” of Burgundy and put their thoughts about this into practice*. The learning of the dukes and their courts was more than simply theoretical; it aimed at the moral and social improvement of the court, and by extension the public life of the lands ruled by the courtiers. Vanderjagt imagined *a court quite intellectually aware of ethical, social, and political matters, and of courtiers and dukes interested in much more than only self-aggrandisement*. To say that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was not literary because it was not influenced by the classical past is therefore to offer a carping criticism. (It is worth bearing in mind that the library of the dukes of Burgundy was the largest library in northern Europe, bigger than anything in Rome.) What is more, such a criticism is unjustified, as knowledge of Ovid’s *Remedia Amoris* (a work rarely cited throughout Europe during the medieval period³⁹²) is evident at various stages in the text³⁹³. In particular it is worth noting how influenced *Nouvelle 26* was by Ovid’s work. The tragic tale relates the story of false Gérard and virtuous Katherine, in which two lovers, forced to part, swore to be true to each other, but Katherine, by disguising

³⁹¹ **J. Fox**, *A Literary History of France* (London, 1974) pp. 344-351 at p. 349: It is clear from his *Paradis de la Reine Sibylle* that Antoine de La Salle for instance, was familiar with Greek and Latin literature. cf **M. Lecourt**, 'Antoine de la Sale et Simon de Hesdin' in *Mélanges offerts à M. Emile Châtelain* (Paris, 1910) pp. 341-353.

³⁹² **Monfrin**, *Connaissance de l'Antiquité* p. 146. **M.-B. Winn**, *Anthoine Vérard, Parisian publisher, 1485-1512: Prologues, Poems and Presentations* (Geneva, 1997). It was eventually printed by Vérard.

³⁹³ **S.-H. Gertz**, 'Transforming Lovers And Memorials In Ovid And Marie De France' in *Florilegium* (1995–1996) <http://www.uwo.ca/english/florilegium/vol-xiv/gertz.pdf> pp. 99-122. ... *transformations of classical material often occur in narratives that only subtly invoke literary ancestors and that ... do not owe an obvious debt of plot and characters to their predecessors*. In the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* the *Remedia Amoris* is used in a way similar to Marie de France’s use of Ovid.

herself as a man, *Conrard*, discovered that Gérard had taken another woman to forget about her³⁹⁴. As a genuine courtly example tale, *Nouvelle 26* is slightly atypical within the first half of the collection, and exhibits an unusually intricate literary flair, particularly in its criticism of a widely-read work by Ovid, the *Remedia Amoris*³⁹⁵. The *Nouvelle* writer demonstrates a great familiarity with Ovid's text. For example, Katherine was advised that her lover Gérard should say he had to go on a voyage far away, or for a war going on somewhere, which is the advice in the *Remedia Amoris* to a lover wishing to forget about his lady. (Ovid also counselled forlorn lovers to become farmers, and adopt other activities too, but the recommendation to go to war was the only noble course of action suitable for Gérard, which is presumably why the *nouvelliste* had him take it.) There are numerous other thematic tie-ins with the *Remedia Amoris*. The notion that separation from Katherine could cause Gérard's

³⁹⁴ The name *Conrard* appears 26 times in the story, and may have been chosen as a refrain to emphasise the femininity of the disguised Katherine. R. Harrison, *Gallic Salt* (Los Angeles, 1974) pp. 219-255. This is not without literary precedent as the term *con* echoes throughout in the fabliau *Du chevalier qui fist parler les cons*, both in its raw form and in a variety of homonyms. (For example in the first 400 lines the following homonyms appear 65 times: *aconseü, aconté, com, combatanz, combien, con, c'on, confortement, congié, conjoie, conjoir, connoist, conquest, cons, conseil, conseiller, conta, conte, content, contesse, contret, convieigne, convoie, desconforte, encombrement, escondire, quant, qu'en, quent, sicom*.)

³⁹⁵ For a reading of this *Nouvelle* different to what follows, cf M. Baker, *The Image of the Woman in Tales 26 and 99 of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles in Le Moyen Français* (1989) pp. 243-250. Baker inappropriately projected a Jungian reading onto the tale, which she thought of as *a much needed rehabilitation*, though she did not specify how the *Nouvelle* had been attacked. Baker's anachronistic approach led her to state that: *Katherine first makes contact with her animus, her secret masculine self, when she assumes the disguise of a man in order to travel to rejoin Gérard. She [says] that this disguise will permit them to travel << plus seurement >>. At this time, a woman who traveled took obvious risks, but the words << plus seurement >> also carry symbolic weight, as Katherine must take on male attributes in order to reach a << safe >> whole state as an integrated human being.* Of course, the words carry no symbolic weight in a Jungian sense. Such an interpretation could only be permissible if the *lord of Fouquesolles* had read Jung.

death is Ovidian. The idea that she had the power to have him cut to pieces and do what she pleased with him is also from Ovid, as is Gérard's claim that he was powerless to resist her cruel treatment because he had to do what she commanded³⁹⁶. In being sent away, Gérard fulfilled the first of Ovid's pieces of advice. He suffered anew when he met her again, or rather, when he realised he had met her: Ovid remarked that meeting or dallying again with an "old flame" was enough to "rekindle the fire".

Accompanying this familiarity with Ovid's work, the construction of the *Nouvelle* evinces literary craftsmanship in the techniques employed to heighten suspense and to anticipate the outcome of the *Nouvelle*.

Katherine made a provisional pledge of love: *if you remain loyal to me, as I hope you will be*³⁹⁷ ... Here, *esperer* – *to hope* – is a deliberately chosen verb: rather than, *I know you'll be faithful*, she says, *I hope you'll be faithful*. Similarly, Gerard replied to Katherine in terms which suggest the outcome of the tale: *I have to abandon you for a while*³⁹⁸. The idea of *abandonment* in the context of love has permanent overtones: more than separation, it implies neglect, and anticipates Katherine's eventual abandonment of him. We learn that Katherine felt love for Gerard and she would have love for him *as long as he would wish to be loyal*: this remark was clearly employed to anticipate his disloyalty³⁹⁹.

³⁹⁶ He says to her: *Veez cy le corps de celuy qui est tout vostre: taillez, roignez, prenez, ostez, faictes tout ce qu'il vous plaist.* (Here is the body of one who is all yours: cut it, chop it, take it, end it: do all that you wish...)

³⁹⁷ *voire tant que me serez loyal et entier, que j'espere que vous serez.*

³⁹⁸ *il fault que je vous abandonne pour ung espace.*

³⁹⁹ *tant qu'il veille estre loyal.*

Ultimately, the issues of classical influence and style in the text are questions relating to the form of the collection and the intention behind its composition: medieval works, like the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, need not necessarily have had a big audience, however much work went into refurbishing source materials and antecedents, whether classical or more recent⁴⁰⁰. It is therefore unfair to suggest that all the court's interests should be reflected in a text which was never intended to *project* an image of easy familiarity with classical antiquity. At the same time, to equate "literary" with "classical" is to adopt the terminology of the Tuscan Renaissance: there was a Burgundian specificity to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* which was every bit as literary in its own way as anything emanating from Florence.

In terms of *mimesis*, and the exploration of genuine and possible events through an oral medium, the interplay of courtly ideal and reality is a concern of numerous tales in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* too⁴⁰¹.

Nouvelle 28, the tale of the inadequate gallant unable to satisfy his lover, is the quintessential example of the inversion of courtly conventions for

⁴⁰⁰ The failure of the text to circulate in manuscripts which have survived to the present day is marked, though publishing made the text widely available and ensured its popularity. cf **R. Stuij**, 'Le Public de l'Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre' in **K. Busby, and E. Kooper** (eds) *Courtly Literature, Culture and Context* (Amsterdam, 1990) pp. 531-537 at p. 531, where he says: [la littérature] *a dû plaire et instruire, et être moyen de propagande, surtout pour Philippe le Bon. Je pense à des textes comme les Cent nouvelles nouvelles, le Roman du Comte d'Artois et le Livre du Roy Rambaux de Frise*. It is by no means clear, however, that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* enjoyed either an instructive or a propaganda function. This was also the case for George Chastelain's chronicle, which seems not to have circulated widely in his lifetime. cf **Small**, *Shaping*, chapter 6.

⁴⁰¹ **Cholakian**, *Two Narrative Styles*, p. 363.

the sake of a comic style⁴⁰². However, although this *Nouvelle* recast elements of an older French ballad, and courtly love topoi in an unrhymed prose, it also retained elements of orality. Moreover, it appealed to the same instinct for educated deliberation which characterised the scholarly credibility which has seemed so lacking to unsympathetic commentators such as Auerbach. The opening lines of this *Nouvelle*⁴⁰³ are a parody of the French translation of Nicolas de Clamanges' *Floridan and Elvide* (by Rasse de Brunhamel) and the *Nouvelle* is attributed to a cultured patron of the arts, *Messire Michault de Chaugy*, described in the manuscript as a *gentilhomme de la chambre de monseigneur*⁴⁰⁴. Chaugy's *Nouvelle* uses a courtly and literary motif for comic effect: the claim beginning the *Nouvelle* is that, had such a tale been known by Boccaccio⁴⁰⁵, he would certainly have added it to his accounts of great men who encountered bad fortune⁴⁰⁶. The book alluded

⁴⁰² Cf the second *chanson* in C. Abbott, *Early Mediæval French Lyrics* (London, 1932), p.7. In that rhyme, *belle Aiglentine*, the queen's servant, is caught out by the queen, and ordered to go to Henry, and ask him to make an honest woman of her. The gallant is compared with the more potent Henry.

⁴⁰³ It has been scribbled over in the manuscript. I have been able to check it using UV light, however. See codicology appendix.

⁴⁰⁴ Also known as Messire Michault de Chaugy, Micquiel de Chaugy, Michiel de Clugny, Michiel de Chauchy etc. He was the lord of Chissey (probably Chissey by Mâcon), and of Viefchastel, a knight and councillor, and master of the ducal household. On his sponsorship of art see chapter three below.

⁴⁰⁵ A reference to Giovanni Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*, made available in French by Premierfait in 1400 and 1409. cf Diner, *Hundred New Tales*, p. 121. P. Gathercole, *Laurent de Premierfait's 'Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes' Book I* (Chapel Hill, 1968); Boccaccio in French in *Studi Sul Boccaccio* (1970) pp. 275-297; *The manuscripts of Laurent de Premierfait's works* in *Modern Languages Quarterly* (1958) pp. 275-297.

⁴⁰⁶ *If in the time of the most renowned and eloquent Boccaccio, the adventure with which I am going to furnish my Nouvelle had come to his ears, or been brought to his notice, I have no doubt that he would have added it and ranked it alongside the accounts of the noble men who met with bad luck. For never was there a noble man faced with a harder run of bad luck than the good lord, God rest him, whose story I shall tell you. And if his bad luck is worthy of being in the said book of Boccaccio: I'll let you all be the judges of that, you who hear of it.*

to was in the duke's library⁴⁰⁷. It seems that this particular work was well known, as this assertion is commonly found in the pages of other, more sober, works of fifteenth century Burgundian literature. For instance, when George Chastelain wrote about the fate of the duke of Savoy, he too said that if Boccaccio (whom he thought a *noble et ingénieux homme*⁴⁰⁸) had known his suffering he would certainly have written about it⁴⁰⁹. According to Chastelain's testimony, Isabelle, duchess of Burgundy once claimed that the deposed English queen Marguerite of Anjou ought to occupy first place in the book of *Noble femmes malheureuses*⁴¹⁰. In Rasse de Brunhamel's translation of Nicolas de Clamanges' *Floridan and Elvide*, he interrupted the ending of the work to address Antoine de la Salle, for whom he was translating the work: *Tell me, Antoine: if this pitiful misfortune had happened in the Florentine poet Boccaccio's day would he have left it alone, and in silence not mentioned it at all in his books? For sure, it is good to think that, by no means. He would have recited the deeds of Messire Floridan well and notably in his book, which*

Se au temps du tresrenommé et eloquent Boccace l'adventure dont je veil fournir ma Nouvelle fust advenue et a son audience ou cognnaissance parvenue, je ne doute point qu'il ne l'eust adjoustée et mise ou reng du compte des nobles hommes mal fortunez. Car je ne pense pas que noble homme eust jamais pour ung coup gueres fortune plus dure a porter que le bon seigneur, que Dieu pardoint, dont je vous compteray l'adventure. Et si male fortune n'est digne d'estre ou dit livre de Boccacce j'en fais juges tous ceux qui l'orront raconpter.

⁴⁰⁷ See Plate 41. ADN B 3501 #123745 bis fo 46r *Ung autre livre ... intitule au dehors / bocace des fortunes des nobles hommes et femmes...*

⁴⁰⁸ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 6, pp. 267-268.

⁴⁰⁹ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, p. 40: *And I don't doubt that if Giovanni Boccaccio was yet living, he would have given him his place, I know not where, but appropriately, amongst the others... Et me doute si Jehan Boccacce eust vescu encore, il luy eust ordonné place, je ne sçay où, en un anlet, là où il eust été bien propre avecques les autres; cf S. Bliggenstorfer, *Le Temple de Bocace*, (Berne, 1988) which contains a series of tales of woe and misfortune by Chastelain along the same lines as Boccaccio.*

⁴¹⁰ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, p. 307.

is called 'The Adventures of Noble Men', known in Latin as 'De Casibus Virorum Illustrium' and he would have equally recited the deeds of the virgin Elvide in his book which is called 'Famous Women' - 'De Muliebribus (sic) Claris' in Latin⁴¹¹. Chaugy was working within an established literary frame of reference. He expected his audience to be familiar with its more flowery allusions and clichés, to the extent that he could lampoon them. In itself, this is not surprising, as the text was clearly in vogue at the court whilst the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were recounted. Evincing this popularity, for instance, are numerous references to the years 1461-1462 in a manuscript prepared for Jehan de Croy of the Premierfait edition of *Des Cas des Nobles Hommes et Femmes*⁴¹². It is significant that the manuscript copyist used the expanded 1409

⁴¹¹ ... *Dictes moy, Anthoine, se ceste piteuse infortune eust esté advenue où temps de Bocasse poecte flourentin, le eust-il teu et passé soubz sillance sans en faire quelque mencion en ses livres? Certes ce est bon à croire que nennil, mail eust bien et notablement recité le fait de Messire Flouridain en son livre qui se appelle Des adventures des hommes nobles, en Latin: De casibus virorum illustrium, eust aussi pareullement recité le fait de la pucelle Ellevide en son livre qui se appelle De femmes cleres, du Latin: De muliebribus claris.* Quote from BN Nouv. Acq. FR. 10057 (and cf MS FR 1506 where instead of *Dictes moy, Anthoine* it reads *Dictes, mon Anthoine*) Also reproduced in **Coville**, *Recherches sur Quelques Écrivains*, p. 220.

⁴¹² Huntingdon Library, Berkeley MS HM 937. cf

<http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/hehweb/HM937.html#n50> There are dates on fo 33r, 120v 139r, 255v, 263v, 279r, 288r. The UoC Berkeley library catalogue indicates that the manuscript was: *written in 1461-1462, according to the marginal notes and the colophon, f. 359v, by Haquinet le Pesquier. His monogram appears below his name on f. 359v and in the pen flourishes on ff. 247v and 248. The first owner of the manuscript was Jean de Croy, sieur de Chimay (d. 1473), whose coat of arms is in the initials at the beginning of each book; his motto, Souveingne vous, and device, an armoured merman, usually alternate in the chapter initials. On ff. 110v, and 196v, in the pen flourishes at the bottom of the text, the same coat of arms with the quarters reversed, encircled by the collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece.* It is unlikely that the duke's copies were made at this period. cf **Gachard**, *Histoire de la Belgique*, pp. 275-276: Jehan de La Rue was paid for rebinding eight of the duke's books in silk, including *Josephus* and *le livre de Bocasse des fortunes des cas des nobles hommes*. He also decorated the work with gold leaf, indicating that the duke prized the work. (Josephus XVIII, 13 has been identified as an analogue for Nouvelle 14 by Jean lord of Créquy.)

Premierfait edition (as opposed to the earlier one from c. 1400), because this almost certainly came from the ducal library: it was one of the books Philip the Good's father had made from John duke of Berry's collection⁴¹³.

In Madeleine Jeay's view, the courtly dialogue recorded in the nouvelles is simply an editorial device. The *acteur* used it to create and inject mimesis to the *Nouvelle* collection. Jeay argues that the raconteurs' temporal and spatial remarks and their appeals to veracity function within the text as devices of realism. The *acteur* used such means to generate and sustain what she calls *authentication*⁴¹⁴. Using phrases like *the fiction of orality* and *the guise of the oral tale*, Jeay follows Jens Rasmussen's line of argument: the book should be studied solely as an aesthetic document. It now contains only the surface form of orality: the spoken word remains in the collection mainly in artificial and unnatural formulae⁴¹⁵. Rasmussen's case, however, ignores the fact that stylised speeches *usually* involve stock phrases, appeals to clichés, and repetition⁴¹⁶. To discount phrases on the basis that they are repetitious is to risk de-historicising the text, as Rasmussen did, when he came to his astonishing conclusion (which Jeay describes as: *trop, peut-être*) that *everything leads one to believe that the Cent nouvelles nouvelles have*

⁴¹³ <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/scriptorium/DSImages/heh/150/002525.jpg> and cf Bibliothèque de l' Arsenal MS FR 3193. cf Vaughan, *John the Fearless*, p. 234. cf Glasgow MS Hunter 371-372 (Paris, but with Flemish miniatures, 1462-67) and MS Hunter 208 (1472).

⁴¹⁴ Jeay, *L'enchâssement narratif*, p. 196: she gives the following examples: *nagaires; en ung lieu de ce pays que je ne puis nommer; il est notoire verité que... not long ago; in a part of this land I can't name; and it is the notorious truth that...*

⁴¹⁵ Jeay, *L'enchâssement narratif*, p. 197: *la fiction d'oralité; maquillage de conte oral.*

⁴¹⁶ There are countless examples of such clichés in common use in story telling and speaking before an audience. Perhaps the two best examples are *Ladies and Gentlemen* and *Once upon a time*.

been composed by only one writer. Their attribution to the named narrators is without doubt pure fantasy. It is even probable that the nouvelles have never been recounted before the audience indicated [in the text]⁴¹⁷. Any approach which denies the orality and historicity of the nouvelles puts the cart before the horse. The tales do not contain realistic oral references and appeals to veracity because the redactor put them in, but because he did not take them out.

Updating Fabliaux, and the Culture of Literary Orality.

The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*' adaptation of literary clichés was not the only way in which it reflected the literary climate. In terms of its use of poetic story forms, particularly the *fabliau*, the transition to prose involved a new attention to, and presentation of, psychological realism⁴¹⁸. Most recently, Elizabeth Moodey has drawn attention to the fact that the reworking and improvement of older literature was not restricted to imaginative fiction⁴¹⁹. Indeed, to replace the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in the *mise-en-prose* category is not to deal dismissively with it, as though it was derivative and had little new to offer, but to replace it in the context of prestigious works of both fiction and history-writing⁴²⁰. Even though

⁴¹⁷ Jeay, *L'enchâssement narratif*, p. 199, citing J. Rasmussen, *La Prose narrative française du XVe siècle* (Copenhagen, 1958) pp. 113-146.

⁴¹⁸ Baxter, *Author's Point of View*, pp. 18-20. Baxter has argued that the difference was frequently as much a case of a technical change as of a change in material: a different emphasis on the ending, for example, or a sacrificing of narrative immediacy to added detail of character or local colour.

However, Baxter conceives of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a written document without any oral aspect: in Baxter's view the transition from *fabliau* to *Nouvelle* was a change from an oral to a written tradition, which involved a consequent emphasis on content at the expense of form.

⁴¹⁹ Moodey, *Crusader Histories*, pp. 75-115.

⁴²⁰ H.-E. Keller, 'The Mises-en-Prose and the court of Burgundy' in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (1984) pp. 91-105; N. Lacy, 'Adaptation as Reception: the Burgundian Cligès' in *Fifteenth Century Studies*

there were not rhymed versions of *all* the nouvelles before they came to be written in prose, a significant minority of them were based on poetic or rhymed antecedents, as we have seen. In fifteenth-century Burgundy, nobody believed that to take an old work and to adapt it to the new demands of literature was to admit that *imagination* was lacking. On the contrary, it intimated an interest in the burgeoning oral and educated culture of the court⁴²¹. The imagination and literary skill which it took to improve the tales was to the fore in the collection, and this imagination drew on a bookish culture⁴²². In other words, to understand the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* historically is to replace it in that literary environment, and to restore the courtier-raconteurs to their cultural setting, in which orality was particularly emphasised and valued⁴²³. Such was true of the nouvelles themselves too: it has recently been recognised that there is not one *Nouvelle* in the whole collection which does not revolve around a dialogue - an exchange of replies, essentially in direct, or indirect speech⁴²⁴. Even at the highest level of courtly society, the duke of Burgundy participated in literary dialogues which had a political as well as a social aspect⁴²⁵. His correspondence with the duke of Orleans,

(1998) pp. 198-207; **J. Taylor**, 'The Significance of the Insignificant: Reading Reception in the Burgundian Erec and Cligès' in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (1998) pp. 183-197.

⁴²¹ **L. Deam**, 'Mapping the Past: The 'Fleur des Histoires' (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, Ms. 9231-9232) in the Context of Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Historiography', PhD Thesis (University of Chicago, 2001).

⁴²² On the raconteurs' literary links, see chapter three below.

⁴²³ **C. Azuela**, 'L'Activité Orale dans la Nouvelle Médiévale: Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles, Le Décaméron, et les Contes de Canterbury', in *Romania* (1997) pp. 519-535:

⁴²⁴ **Azuela**, *Activité Orale* pp. 520-521, citing **Jeay**, *l'Enchâssement narratif*.

⁴²⁵ **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, ch. 4. Vaughan argues that the ransom of the duke of Orleans was an event of enduring political significance, which secured Philip the Good a voice in France through Charles himself and his allies. This case is largely based on an extended analysis of foreign policy in the light of Hue de Lannoy's memorandum on the subject. Exchanges of a lettered sort could become competitive as well as artistic, and were sometimes carried out between courts' men of letters. cf

the prisoner whom he ransomed, took the form of an exchange of poetic addresses, apparently composed by the dukes themselves⁴²⁶. Examination of the few surviving personal letters which Philip wrote has shown that he was a man as much at ease with vernacular and familiar modes of expression as he was with the elevated and the courtly⁴²⁷. Although structurally very formal, and encompassed within a literary framework, it is perhaps easiest to locate the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* somewhere in between the extremes of literary style which the duke's personal correspondence and poetic exchanges represent.

D. Cowling, *Les douze dames de rhétorique / George Chastelain, Jean Robertet, Jean de Montferrant* (Geneva, 2002); **M. Zsuppán**, *Oeuvres de Jean Robertet* (Paris and Geneva, 1970).

⁴²⁶ Orleans was not the only literary figure imprisoned in England, of course. James I, King of Scots' eagerness for writing was remarked on by Bower. cf **M. Brown**, *James I* (Edinburgh 1994) pp. 2-3; **M.-J. Arn** (ed.), *Charles d'Orléans in England 1415- 1440* (Woodbridge, 2000); **A. Harrison**, 'Orleans and Burgundy: the Literary Relationship' in *Stanford French Review* (1980), pp. 475-84. Analysing the content of Burgundy's poems, Harrison argues that: *each is a response, relying heavily on its predecessor ... Burgundy pledges his desire to free Charles, then suggests divine solace, and finally wishes for peace*. Her commentary on the poems eminently justifies the assertion she makes to the effect that *Philip is indeed a competent poet... Philip's compositions are easily as good as others in the manuscript [of interesting poetry which Charles of Orleans kept]. In quality his ballades are as good... The duke of Burgundy appears to be a very keen, verbal, artistically sensitive man whose primary interest is political action. Under highly motivating circumstances, he writes ... praiseworthy poems... Philip the Good is not a poet-prince but rather a prince using the poetic medium for goals of state*.

⁴²⁷ **A. Grunzweig**, 'Quatre Lettres Autographes de Philippe le Bon' in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* (1925) pp. 431-437. As their original editor observed, in these letters we see not a *duke* but a *man*. He wrote in a bantering style, even ending one letter: *Hola!*, and beginning another: *My Loerd*. He sprinkled spoken Dutch (The Dutch is *verstaye-que: I understand*) and Latin in his texts. The Latin expressions are biblical: *Fiat voluntas tua – Thy Will be done* (Luke 22:42) and *ego sum qui sum / ad placitum*. Perhaps the duke alluded to the words of Exodus 3:14, *I am who I am* which were set to music in a popular version by Jacobus Leodiensis, who also set the *ad placitum*. **F. Hentschel**, 'Sinnlichkeit und Vernunft: Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von sensus und intellectus in der Musiktheorie des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts', PhD Thesis (Cologne, 2004).

From the point of view of the historical text, the idea that the incipits and explicits are merely artificial is difficult to square with what is known about the culture of listening and reading at court. Elizabeth Moodey's recent historical work, largely based on manuscript studies, rather than archival material, has drawn attention to the fact that the court of Burgundy was a listening court, accustomed to having works read aloud to it⁴²⁸. Contemporary descriptions of the duke say that he was inclined to read, and such is the testimony of the *acteur* of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* too in his introductory epistle⁴²⁹. Moodey's conception of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a book which showcased the courtier as raconteur is particularly apt, and what she has observed of the modernised version of the *Histoire de Charles Martel*⁴³⁰ holds good for a significant minority of the tales in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as well: the text of old tales was "rajeuni" *in part to allow for the freedom of expression and ease of understanding that prose afforded, and that contemporary patrons preferred, and partly to facilitate reading out loud to a group, and perhaps even to make them easier to remember*⁴³¹. The reading court depicted in its artwork was also a listening court, however, which found enjoyment in refashioning older narratives. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*' courtiers were readers, listeners, raconteurs, and originators of new literary creations.

⁴²⁸ Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories*, pp. 82-84, and see also Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 156.

⁴²⁹ G. Fillastre, *Histoire de La Toison d'Or* (Paris, 1517) fo. 131v. Fillastre, for example, noted that the duke was a keen reader. (cf Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 128-129.)

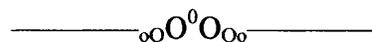
⁴³⁰ David Aubert produced a modernized edition of this text at the duke's behest. P. Meyer, *Histoire de Charles Martel* also known as Brussels BR MS 6 (*Girart de Roussillon, chanson de geste*) (Paris, 1884).

⁴³¹ Moodey, *Illuminated Crusader Histories*, pp. 82-84.

Conclusion.

Apparently, the impetus for this movement came from the duke's own interest in matters literary and historical. In the years following the mid 1440s, expenditure on his library increased markedly, and it is in this period that the most prolific writing and redacting of all sorts was commissioned⁴³². As Richard Vaughan observed, Philip the Good's book commissions in the earlier part of his reign were limited to scattered purchases and some intermittent rebinding, but he more than made up for his slow start in the years following 1445⁴³³. Specifically, the commissioning of historical narratives marks the second half of the reign, and there was a flourishing interest in resuscitating older literature of the sort which contained linear stories, and histories.

As we have seen, the raconteurs engaged with each other in a courtly literary setting, in which oral dexterity and ability in argument were qualities of intrinsic value. To gain a deeper understanding of the cultural milieu from which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* sprang is to contextualise the literary milieu outlined above in its political setting. The next chapter examines how such eloquence came to be nurtured at the court, outwith the sphere of literature, and how specific a text the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was to the Burgundian environment and political identity at the time of its composition.



⁴³² H. Nelis, 'La chronique d'Edmond de Dwynter et la continuation des Brabantsche Yeeften' in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (1907) pp. 568-596, at pp. 572-573.

⁴³³ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, p. 155.

Chapter Three: THE RACONTEURS

Introduction.

This chapter considers the raconteurs in several areas of their lives, especially in relation to the duke and to each other, to place the text which they produced in its historical setting. Understanding the “social logic of the text”¹ of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is mainly about understanding the raconteurs, and about understanding the text. For the raconteurs, it was neither a new nor an unaccustomed process to participate in intellectual and recreational activities which also enjoyed a vogue with the duke. To set their literary participation in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* venture in context, however, is to examine this aspect of their lives in the round. It is impossible, based on study of the text and other archival documents and chronicle sources, not to conceive of the raconteurs as a disparate group of men involved in the social and political world of Burgundy, quite apart from their association with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. The most important of them were big players on the political scene, and had a variety of things in common. Just as the story tellers are associated with Philip the Good, they are also involved in many different ways (sometimes conflicting, sometimes harmoniously) with each other. Examination of the evidence for this demonstrates that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is not a literary aberration, but a natural outgrowth of the polity of courtly life. At a period of political tension, this extraordinary text is precisely the sort of document that displays aspects of the mindset of the Burgundian courtiers. To the historian of the Burgundian phenomenon and within the context of a variety of archival

¹ G. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', in *Speculum* (1990) pp. 59-86. Discussed below in chapter five.

documents, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is as valuable a historical source as any other from the mid-fifteenth century. The ultimate aim of the thesis is to reinforce the case made so forcefully by Lauro Martines that art need not be considered as an *independent semantic unity*, and that *to banish poetry from history is no innocent act* – poetry, and by extension, literature². As such it is intended to cut against the trends in historiographical thinking which became most fully developed over the 1980s and 1990s, and which, for convenience, we may label “postmodern”.

Pursuing the raconteurs through documents and manuscripts conserved in the archives and libraries in Lille, Brussels, Dijon, Paris and elsewhere, it soon becomes obvious that some of the men were more politically influential than others and left substantially more documentation as a result. Since this chapter focuses on the historical circumstances of an obliquely political text, it reflects the *nature*, but not the *extent* of the evidence available. *Who were the raconteurs?* is emphatically not the central question for this chapter. Of primary concern is the extent to which the extant documentation demonstrates that the storytellers' roles and responsibilities converged and overlapped. A historical reading of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* replaces it in a meaningful context, so what follows is an attempt to establish that context³. This chapter is neither a prosopographical study of the great men of Burgundy, nor an attempt to sketch all the raconteurs' lives in detail. On the contrary, if it contains information about some of the more important

² L. Martines: *Society and History in English Renaissance Verse* (Blackwell, Oxford, 1985), introduction, p. viii. and p. 140. Discussed below in chapter five.

³ Of course, a historical reading also uses the text's own evidence to understand that context, but that is the subject of the fourth chapter.

storytellers, this is intended to throw light on the overlaps of experience which gave rise to the specific network of sociability that produced the tale collection⁴. The goal, in other words, is to begin to locate the social logic of the text.

The raconteurs' experience was divergent in many ways: politically, within the Burgundian administration, socially, militarily, and in terms of their interaction. Nevertheless, an examination of their relationship to the duke and to each other is the key which unlocks the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a document of its time. Their experiences also converged in the areas outlined above. Chronicle and archival evidence evince social interconnection and fellowship: familiarity and overlapping activities intermeshed with either friendship, or fraternal respect. These common bonds found their most informative and genuine expression in one hundred short stories. Historical documents expose the men, both in their individual functions and experiences, and in their interaction. It is crucial to examine both the particular and the communal experiences to understand how the text came about, and what the text is.

The second underlying contention of this chapter is that the generation of the text depended on the duke as the lynchpin. Combining these arguments stresses that the men's particular functions within their networks of sociability made them ideal candidates to tell short stories in the way that

⁴ On the term *network of sociability* see **G. Small**, 'Centre and Periphery in Late Medieval France: Tournai, 1384-1477' in **C. Allmand** (ed.) *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool, 2000) pp. 145-174 at p. 154; **M. Boone**, 'Dons et pots-de-vin, aspects de la sociabilité urbaine au bas Moyen Âge. Le cas gantois pendant la période bourguignonne', in *Revue du Nord* (1988), pp. 471-487.

they did, either because they were at the heart of the Burgundian court, and around a duke whose passion for matters deliberative, literary and entertaining drove the enterprise forward, or because they were political men important to the ongoing work of the Burgundian government.

Largely because the duke was at the heart of courtly society, the raconteurs traded a common cultural currency: the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is both the result of their exchange, and its idiomatic expression. Although the moving force behind the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was the duke, the stories themselves represent more than one man's literary caprice. The collection is specifically *Burgundian* in that the men who told the tales were involved in so many activities in and around the court (and beyond) that the tenor of the remarks which frame the narratives may be taken to represent the usual tenor of life at the court, at leisure, even during a period of crisis, and political instability.

Four Courtly Households at a Time of Crisis.

The storytellers, a disparate a group of men within the unifying context of the ducal court, were all engaged to a greater or lesser degree with Burgundian power structures. It is therefore vital to establish how the more important *conteurs* combined their literary pursuits with positions in a ruling political elite. After the duke, the greatest lord who contributed a tale to the collection was the powerful Louis of Luxembourg, count of Saint Pol, who is worthy of special consideration on that basis. The obvious question is how unusual it was that such a group, including the count, should have come together to produce the text they did. In particular, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* offers a surprising testimony of the degree to which underlying

political realities shaped cooperation at the ducal court. The chronicles of the period narrate that some of the raconteurs felt a strong personal animosity towards the other storytellers' families and cliques and it is therefore surprising that some of them were involved on the same literary project.

Louis of Luxembourg's enmity for the lord of Croy's family, for example, is well-documented in both French and Burgundian chronicles, yet, as ducal favourites, some members of the Croy family and their associates were storytellers⁵. Representatives and allies of the Croy family among the raconteurs include: Jean lord of Lannoy⁶, Philippe lord of Quiévrain⁷, Jean d'Enghien, lord of Castregat and amman of Brussels⁸, and the provost of Watten⁹. The latter is particularly worthy of attention: Michel Baers, provost

⁵ **R. Vaughan**, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970 / Woodbridge, 2002) p. 338 for references; **T. Johnes**, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet, a gentleman formerly resident at Cambrai in Cambresis* (Cwmystwyth, 1809) vol. 4, pp. 33, 124. **W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans**, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1986) p. 139.

⁶ The lord of Croy's nephew.

⁷ Also nephew to the lord of Croy.

⁸ **M. Thielemans**, 'Les Croÿ conseillers des ducs de Bourgogne documents extraits de leurs archives familiales, 1357-1487', in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (1959) pp. 1-141 at p. 12. On 9 February, 1453 Jean d'Enghien, was witness to the wedding charter of Jehan de Croy's son Philippe to Walpurga of Mörs, daughter of count Vincent and Anne of Bavaria (Thierry de Mörs, the archbishop of Cologne's niece), which suggests an affiliation with the family. However, he was also complicit in the downfall of the Croys. See **R. Wellens**, *Les États Generaux des Pays-Bas des Origines à la Fin du Règne de Philippe le Beau (1464-1506)* (Heule, 1974) p. 122; **W. Paravicini**, 'Moers, Croy, Burgund. Eine Studie über d'en Niedergang des Hauses Moers in der zweiten Hälfte des 15 Jahrhunderts' in *Annalen des Historischen Vereins für d'en Niederrhein* (1978) pp. 7-113.

⁹ For what follows on the provost of Watten: ADN B 1488; **A. Leroy**, 'Catalogue des Prévosts du monastère de Watten, sur la rivière d'Aa, diocèse de Saint-Omer, 1072-1577' in *Archives historiques et littéraires du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique* (1847), pp. 279-280; BM Valenciennes MS X. 5-5; **E. Hardy**, *Recueil des Croniques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Waurin* (London, 1891) vol. 5, pp. 424-425; **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 448-449. (Kervyn de Lettenhove was mistaken in his identification of

of Watten (a dominican from the duke's court) was posthumously accused of casting Charolais' horoscope and performing other excessive sorcerous rites, with a view to keeping Philip the Good apart from his son. Charolais, who was allied to the count of Saint Pol, alleged that Antoine de Croy put Baers up to this, and although it is by no means certain that there was any basis to the accusation, it would not have stuck if Croy and Baers had not been on good terms. According to an anonymous memoir conserved in the public library in Valenciennes, it was alleged after his death that Baers was an astronomer and necromancer, and Chastelain also gives this impression, when he relates that the provost cast Charles VII's horoscope at the dauphin's request¹⁰. The Valenciennes manuscript contains a lengthy section on Baers' successor, Robert (also known as Robinet) de la Magdelaine alias le Pèle, and in particular it notes that although he was born of impoverished parents, both the duke and the count of Charolais approved of his choice as the successor to Michel Baers. This comment marks the arrival on the scene of the count as a political force. It may also suggest that the previous incumbent was less to his taste. It is remarkable that these partisans of the lord of Croy should appear in the same book as Saint Pol, his servant Antoine de la Sale, his nephew the lord of Fiennes and his supporter the lord of Thalemas, Guy de Roye. The latter had adhered to the count's party since Louis inherited Jean de Luxembourg's lands¹¹. (Indeed, he had also served

Claude de Messey as provost of Watten, as the Valenciennes manuscript shows.) cf Johnes, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, pp.105-106, 109-110.

¹⁰ Baers died in the autumn of 1462, and was buried 4 October.

¹¹ B. Schnerb, *Guy de Roye*, in R. de Smedt (ed.), *Les Chevaliers de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or au XV^e siècle, Notices bio-bibliographiques* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994) (subsequently cited as: *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*), pp. 133-134. Jean de Luxembourg was the count of Saint Pol's uncle.

Jean.) Guy de Roye was the captain of Soissons for the count of Saint Pol, under whose command he fought in France in 1449, during the crucial last stages of the Hundred Years' War. In his account of the first stages of Saint Pol's reconciliation with the duke, Chastelain makes it clear that Philippe Pot was responsible for the initial arrangements, and had lobbied the duke *for a long time (longuement)* on the matter, against the wishes of the lord of Croy¹². Jacques du Clercq recorded that the duke received the count at Mons, *most kindly (très bénignement)*¹³. It is clear from account book expenditure records that the duke and the count spent time together socially during their reconciliation meeting at Mons in 1459: the duke paid the count's minstrels and their accompanist specifically for having entertained him there¹⁴. Hervé de Mériadec also certified payment for the cost of a horse's harness the duke gave to Louis of Luxembourg's jester, Hotin¹⁵. The

¹² J.-C. Delclos, *Georges Chastelain, Chronique, Les fragments du Livre IV* (Geneva, 1991) p. 212.

¹³ J. Buchon, *Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France avec notes et notices: Jacques du Clercq – Mémoires, de 1448 à 1467* (Paris, 1838) pp. 126-127. cf Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, pp. 132-133. Perhaps to emphasise the unexpectedness of the 1461 reconciliation of Croy and Saint Pol, Chastelain gives a more muted version of the readeption in 1459 than du Clercq. Chastelain interpreted the duke's 1459 decision to return Enghien to Saint Pol as a limited proprietary gesture, and thought that the duke's genuine rapprochement with Louis of Luxembourg took place in 1461, at the instigation of the lord of Croy.

¹⁴ ADN B 2034 fo 173r: payment to *Nicayse and Pierre Willemart ... Jaquemart Tavornier minstrels et Jehan Jehanin their brass player*. They received £12 for their playing in the ducal household at Mons *nagaires*: the term *recently* indicates that they were either there between January 1 and 16 or on March 4, the only dates when the duke was at Mons in 1459. The balance of probability is that they were there with their master. On the next folio is a gift of £20 to the count's poursuivant at arms *Quievrensin* for coming to Mons *with his master* (fo 173v).

¹⁵ ADN B 2034 fo 201v. The count's jester was the recipient of gifts from the duke prior to his master's fall from grace: B 2020 fo 393r (the duke paid Giovanni Arnolfini for figured satin, 28 September, 1452); fo 421r (satin from Arnolfini: 21 December 1453). (His herald, Saint Pol, also received cloth: fo 392r.) B 2045 preregister fo 53r: Lucquet, the bastard of Burgundy's fool, and the dauphin's jester Lancelot

duke's own jester, Clison, was also present in the town in January¹⁶. In part, the meeting at Mons was political, intended to realign Saint Pol within the Burgundian polity, but the social activities: feasting, music, comedy and storytelling, were as much the means by which this was achieved as the man-to-man negotiations which took place. Du Clercq's testimony is reliable: *They [i.e. the duke and the count of Saint Pol] spoke most privately together, alone. Everyone was greatly pleased by their agreement, especially the count of Charolais, the duke's son, who treated the count very honourably with food and otherwise, as did the lords and princes*¹⁷.

The best way to understand the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a document of its time is to consider it the product and a reflection of the interaction of representatives from four courts: the literary result of their social confluence at a time of crisis¹⁸. The courts in question were distinct units headed by the duke, the dauphin, the count of Charolais and the count of Saint Pol. The

received ducal money in 1459, though in the Autumn of the year. The start of the entry is missing, but the end, which says the payment was made *en et sur le mois d'octobre l'an mil quatrecent cinquante neuf* suggests that the disbursement was for services after the period during which the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were recounted.

¹⁶ ADN B 2034 fo 98v-99r: He wounded a child in the church of Saint Germain in Mons and the duke sent Martin Baillet, a despatch rider, on 5 January 1459 to the *bishop of Cambrai* whom they believed to be at Malines, to ask him to send a representative to reconsecrate the church.

¹⁷ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 127. *Et parlèrent moult privément ensemble, seul à seul. Duquel accord chascun feut moult joyeux, et mesme le comte de Charollois, fils dudict duc, lequel festoya le comte moult haultement en mangiers et aultrement; sy firent les seigneurs et princes.* On these honours, see **J. Paviot**, *Éléonore de Poitiers: Les états de France (Les Honneurs de la Cour)* in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1996) pp. 75-136 at p. 97.

¹⁸ **W. Blockmans and E. Donckers**, 'Self-Representation of Court and City in Flanders and Brabant in the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries' in **W. Blockmans and A. Janse** (eds.) *Showing Status: Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 1999) pp. 81-111.

crisis had been building since 1456, when the dauphin fled to Genappe from his Dauphiné, much to the irritation of his father. Having ordered Louis' return, Charles VII became increasingly aggrieved that his contumacious son remained at Genappe, and that the duke of Burgundy sponsored and encouraged him¹⁹. In early 1458, the king warned the lord of Châtillon, his governor in the Dauphiné, that Louis had recalled several of his nobles and subjects to join him and serve under arms, and that they had gone to him in spite of Charles' prohibition²⁰. It was also feared that a number of others were preparing to go. In spite of the many diplomatic initiatives undertaken on the dauphin's behalf, and subsidised by the duke, relations seemed to be on a collision course. Although the dauphin was not himself a raconteur, and there is no contemporary evidence that he was personally present²¹, at least one visitor to the ducal court from the delphinal base at Genappe is represented in the collection: the lord of La Barde²². Louis' first squire participated in the storytelling scheme as a noble temporarily without lands, fugitive from French royal authority, familiar to Chastelain as the lord of

¹⁹ **F. de Reiffenberg**, 'Mémoire sur le séjour que Louis, dauphin de Viennois, depuis roi sous le nom de Louis XI, fit au Pays-Bas, de l'an 1456 à l'an 1461' in *Mémoires de l'Académie royale de Belgique* (1829). For a bibliography, see **P. Kendall**, *Louis XI* (London, 1971) pp. 481-490. Since Kendall, the main contributions have been **J. Heers**, *Louis XI, le métier du roi* (Saint-Amand, 1999) pp. 48-54; **Delclos**, *Témoignage*, pp. 153-168; **R. Ambuehl**, 'Les familiers du dauphin, futur Louis XI, dans la "traversée du désert" (Genappe 1456-1461)' in *Publications du Cercle d'Histoire, et d'Archéologie du Pays de Genappe* (2002) and **J.-M. Cauchies**, 'Genappe entre France et Empire' in *ibid.*

²⁰ **E. Pilot de Thorey**, *Catalogue des actes du dauphin Louis II, devenu le roi de France Louis XI, relatifs à l'administration du Dauphiné* (Grenoble, 1899) vol. 2, p. 402. The dauphin's story that he was preparing to join the duke on crusade was the cover for this military activity.

²¹ It is almost certain he was in Genappe over the new year. ADN B 2034 fo 98v: Willequin Grobe, a rider of the ducal stables left Mons with sealed letters for the dauphin at Genappe on 5 January 1459. He was there on 2 and 13 November: **Pilot de Thorey**, *Catalogue*, vol. 2, p. 459.

²² Also known as Jean d'Estrier, or d'Estuer, lord of Isleau, la Barde, Nieul, Saint-Maigrin and Roussillon.

Pons' nephew²³. Entering into the spirit of the collection, and lampooning the conventions of courtly love, he told the tale of a woman at Rouen who was mistress to two knights. At a period of Franco-Burgundian cold war, it was particularly important for the allied households to strengthen their informal associations by such means as literature²⁴. The duke also paid for Louis's courtiers, and in February 1458 for example, La Barde received 100 crowns, as a gift *to help him in his undertakings in service of the dauphin*²⁵. As we have seen, the input of the count of Saint Pol's court was also significant. Although Charolais's household's input is only represented in one tale, Montbleru's story, which alludes to three other prominent figures from Charolais's household and administration (who were then present at Mons with their master) the tale cements the duke's son into the proceedings. Just as La Barde was the dauphin's main agent, Montbleru was the count's own first squire of the stables²⁶.

At Mons in 1459, even though the count of Saint Pol went out of his way to appease the duke, and vice versa, and although the dauphin's presence in imperial lands ensured a measure of unity in the face of external threat, the internal divisions in the duke's political world were not merely surface cracks. After Louis XI became king, the ongoing support of the count of Charolais for Saint Pol led to the eventual exile and temporary disgrace of

²³ It is doubtful whether the lords of Beauvoir and Villiers should be admitted as servants of the dauphin for reasons discussed in an appendix. La Barde was definitely the dauphin's man, however. On La Barde's connection to Chastelain see Small, *Shaping*, pp. 154-155.

²⁴ The term *Cold War* was first used to describe this period by M. Vale, *Charles VII* (London, 1974) pp. 170-171.

²⁵ ADN B 2026 fo 324r.

²⁶ His service is discussed in more detail below.

the lord of Croy and his family, including his nephews Quiévrain, and Lannoy. It is interesting to note that when Charolais eventually ousted the Croys in 1464, his allies included Saint Pol and his children, with the lord of Fiennes and his brother, Jehan de Luxembourg, lord of Zottegem²⁷, the prince of Orange's son (the lord of Château-Guyon)²⁸, and numerous other partisans of the count of Saint Pol's²⁹. In spite of Louis XI's apparently successful attempt to reconcile the two lords in 1461 following his coronation, Saint Pol persisted in his animosity towards Croy³⁰. Although Chastelain notes that they had fallen-out *little by little* (*petit a petit*), at the root of this lingering hatred was Antoine lord of Croy's decision, in 1455, to marry his eldest son to the count's daughter against the latter's wishes. Saint Pol's outraged reaction led the duke to confiscate his important and lucrative

²⁷ **J.-M. Cauchies**, *Jacques Ier de Luxembourg, seigneur de Fiennes, in Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 164-165. Jehan of Luxembourg died in Portugal, 17 April, 1485, and was succeeded as lord of Zottegem by his brother, the lord of Fiennes.

²⁸ **E. Bauer**, *Négociations et campagnes de Rodolphe de Hochberg, Comte de Neufchâtel et Marquis de Rothelin, Gouverneur de Luxembourg* (Neuchâtel, 1928) pp. 12-17. **F. de Gingins**, 'Recherches Historiques sur les acquisitions des sires de Montfaucon et de la maison de Chalon dans le pats de Vaud', in *Mémoires et documents publiés par la société d'histoire de la Suisse Romande* 1st Series (1857); **F. Barbey**, *Louis de Chalon, Prince d'Orange* *ibid.* 2nd series (1926). The Marquis of Rothelin was suspicious of the prince of Orange, owing to his succession struggle with the previous prince, Louis de Chalon, over the county of Neuchâtel. The marquis inherited in right of the last will of Jean de Fribourg (published 24 March 1458 at the *officialité* of Besançon) but although Louis de Chalon died on 13 December 1463, his successor (also Louis) inherited the dispute, though apparently without acting upon it. It is interesting that, following the downfall of the Croy family, Charles of Charolais did not take sides against the marquis in support of the prince of Orange, but rewarded Rodolphe de Hochberg's loyal service at Montlhery and before Dinant with the governorship and captaincy general of the duchy of Luxembourg: AGR CC 2631 fo 18r. By letters given on 12 April 1465, the marquis received the sum of £523 1s 4d for his wages as a councillor and chamberlain due to him on 30 November 1462: ADN B 2054, fo 209v.

²⁹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, pp. 194-195.

³⁰ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, pp. 130-132; **Delclos**, *Témoignage*, p. 173.

lordship of Enghien, which meant his total alienation from the Burgundian court³¹. Discussed by the French royal court, and the *Parlement*, it was an extremely bitter business over the three years it lasted³². Chastelain, who was well placed to observe the lord of Croy's feelings claimed that Croy disliked Saint Pol more than anyone else³³. The count of Saint Pol caused greatest consternation when he procured bulls of annulment from the duke's enemy, the cardinal of Avignon, and published them in the duke's imperial lands³⁴.

Saint Pol and Franco-Burgundian political realignment:

The immediate context.

It is clear, then, that one major reason the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* should be considered an important historical document is that the count of Saint Pol told a story in it at the time when he did. Saint Pol's power has already been alluded to, but to understand why his involvement in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* project is so remarkable, it is important to examine in detail the politics at the root of his estrangement from the duke of Burgundy. If the duke's support of the dauphin had resulted in war, Saint Pol's many frontier lands were an ideal position from which to attack either Burgundian or

³¹ The duke took possession of Enghien as the ruler of Hainault; **Delclos**, *Témoignage*, pp. 81-82. Delclos includes most of the relevant Chronicle references, but cf also **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 32-33; **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 434-438. This confiscation of Saint Pol's land of Enghien is not to be confused with Duke Charles' recourse to the same expedient (1470-1471), detailed in **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, pp. 615-616.

³² **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 103.

³³ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, p.132.

³⁴ **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 351: In 1456 the duke also disallowed appointments to benefices in Hainault which were conferred on the cardinal's say-so.

French territories, and his non-cooperation could hinder the duke both militarily and fiscally. For example, when the duke was granted taxes in Artois, some of them had to come from Saint Pol's lands, and were raised through the count's agents, so with his cooperation³⁵. Similarly, the duke called on the count's baillif in Lille to raise an aide in his master's castellany³⁶. Because of the potential for harm which could arise out of the count's enmity, Philippe Pot persuaded the duke that it was better to have Saint Pol as an ally than to estrange him on account of his feud with the lord of Croy – a dispute which even the duke's severe punishment did nothing to abate. To this end, even though personality issues lingered³⁷, the duke restored the count in his imperial lands at Mons in early 1459, and enlisted him with responsibilities in the Boulonnais and his other frontier lands³⁸. That their political reconciliation was genuine is attested by grants which the duke made to the count. Moneys from the *aides* voted by the county of Artois' estates paid for the guard and maintenance work in castles and fortresses in the Boulonnais which Saint Pol defended on the duke's behalf³⁹.

³⁵ ADN B 2020 fo 216r-v: in 1455, the count of Charolais sent to ask the count of Saint Pol for consent to levy the portion of the aide of Artois which was to be paid by his subjects in the county of Saint Pol. cf fo 275v, the count was summoned to Arras on 4 September as one of the lords to whom the duke had recourse for the grant of an aide.

³⁶ ADN B 1110; B 2034 fo 150r-v. The count's baillif (the lord of Cuvillers) was summoned to Brussels on 15 October 1459 along with the lord of Wavrin, and the lord of Commines.

³⁷ Delclos, *Témoignage*, pp. 58-59.

³⁸ For what follows: ADN B 2021 #61613 fo 7r, 29v; B 2048 fo 49v-50r, 208v, 209v; B 2045 preregister fo 11v.

³⁹ This money was accorded before and after but not during the duke's confiscation of Enghien. For the grants made before (up to 1455) cf ADN B 2020 fo 472r. It is interesting to note that the clerk keeping the account register scored out the wording *qu'il prent – which he takes –* and replaced it with *que mondit seigneur lui a ordonne pour une fois – which my said lord has ordered that he be given once*. The original

One entry in the duke's receipt general notes that Louis of Luxembourg was paid his expenses of £367 for the year to 24 June 1461, for example. The important thing to notice about such payments, however, is that the duke issued letters covering the cost on 15 January 1461: in Charles VII's lifetime, in other words, at a period when warfare seemed imminent⁴⁰. There is no evidence that the duke socialised with the count on a regular basis between 1459 and Louis XI's coronation, but the evidence of his participation in the nouvelles project at the time of his readeption, and his subsequent grants suggest that, even if not all was forgiven, it had (more or less) been forgotten in the interests of military security. The men had a working relationship, based on securing the duke's, Charolais' and the dauphin's interests against Charles VII⁴¹. The fact that Philip the Good did not confiscate those of Saint Pol's French territories for which he did homage to Philip the Good (which would have introduced Charles VII to the equation), and that the count continued to receive the moneys owed to him in these lands, made it more likely that he would come to terms with the duke than the king⁴². There was every possibility that the duke would confiscate everything he owned if

sense was *qu'il prent par an* (the words *par an* – *per year* have not been scored through, as they are on the other side of the folio, and the clerk forgot to), suggesting an ongoing arrangement.

⁴⁰ See below.

⁴¹ ADN B 2048 fo 80r: 17 May 1463, the duke and the count dined together at a banquet hosted by the duchess of Bourbon along with several other nobles.

⁴² ADN B 2033 #62400: Bauduin de Hannin, lord of Cuvilliers, the count of Saint Pol's baillif in the castellany of Lille signed for his 25 gold crowns from Jacques Pourcelot. Pourcelot was a receiver in favour with the duke at this time. (In 1459 he received a wedding gift worth £72; B 2034 preregister fo 13r.) He loaned the duke £800 for his building work at the Rihour palace, Lille. Similarly, B 2032 #62383 notes that on 20 August 1458, the count's receiver Jehan de la Haye received £29 9s from the ducal receiver Nicolas de Harmaville.

Saint Pol declared himself his enemy, but on the other hand, it was in his interests to work for the restitution he was accorded in 1459.

The Wider Context: Caught between France and Burgundy.

Although the chroniclers interpreted their feud and the duke's confiscation of Enghien as a wholly personal and chivalric affair, the count of St Pol's fall from the duke's grace resulted less from his direct disobedience than from the expediencies which his position as a cross-border magnate with multiple duties, responsibilities and ambitions forced him to adopt. An examination of such factors helps to contextualise his participation in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Louis of Luxembourg's entire political career was a tightrope walk between France and Burgundy, and his contribution to the literary enterprise took place in a diplomatic situation in which the duke needed to protect his lands against the French monarchy⁴³. It is therefore important to acknowledge that the count's self-confidence as an agent of French royal power was an issue of considerable political significance in 1458-59. From the beginning of his political career, Saint Pol had worked for Charles VII as a general. He had made treaties with him since royal troops attacked his lands in 1440-41, in retaliation for an attack by his men in Ribemont, who looted and imprisoned some of the king's artillerymen. Monstrelet's interpretation of those events stressed that in then first instance, Saint Pol sought agreement with the king because he could obtain no help from the

⁴³ He fell when Louis XI and Charles the Bold both lost patience with him. In 1475 the king ordered his execution: Besides **M. Jones**, *Philippe de Commines, Memoirs: the reign of Louis XI (1461-83)* (Harmondsworth, 1972) pp. 268-275, cf **J. Dollar**, *Les Intrigues de Louis de Luxembourg, comte de Saint-Pol, connétable de France* (Luxembourg, 1985); **S. Cuttler**, 'A Patriot for Whom? The treason of Saint-Pol' in *History Today* (#37 for January, 1987) pp. 43-48.

duke of Burgundy⁴⁴. The count and his uncle, Jean count of Ligny, who was also his guardian, had refused to sign the treaty of Arras in 1435, which explains the duke's reluctance to assist⁴⁵. When Jean died in 1440, leaving the twenty-two year old Louis his lands, which were immediately attacked by the king's forces, he was not strong enough to withstand the king's armies. The English, who had signed truces with the Burgundians, were likewise in no position to assist. After he signed a treaty of restitution with the king in April 1441, Saint Pol became much more inclined to benefit from royal service, and in particular became a partisan of the Dauphin's, who knighted him⁴⁶. Nevertheless, he remained in the duke's favour⁴⁷.

Underpinning the personal issues of honour, lordship, and obedience in the late 1450s were political expediencies, brought into sharp focus by the recent French victories against the English, and the count's part in them.

⁴⁴ **T. Leuridan**, 'Les Châtelains de Lille' in *Mémoires de la Société des Sciences de l'Agriculture et des Arts de Lille*, in two parts, part 1: vol. 10 (1872) pp. 481-572, and part 2: vol. 12 (1873) pp. 109-358, at pp. 182-184.

⁴⁵ **Leuridan**, *Châtelains*, p. 181. Jean was his guardian following Pierre de Luxembourg (Louis' father's) death of plague at Rambures on 31 August, 1433. Louis was born in 1418, and succeeded at the age of 15. On the treaty of Arras, cf **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 1, p. 205. Note that a variety of the raconteurs were present whilst the duke negotiated at Arras. (Jean de Castregat, the lord of Créquy, Ghillebert de Lannoy, and the lord of Roye.) For a more complete list of ducal servants accompanying the entry on 23 July cf **F. Morand**, *Jean le Fèvre de Saint Rémy, Chronique* (Paris, 1876-1881) vol. 2 ch. 183 (also in **J. Buchon**, *Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France avec notes et notices: Jean le Febvre dit Toison d'Or, Seigneur de Saint Rémy* (Paris, 1838) pp. 541-542).

⁴⁶ **J. Buchon**, *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, vol. 7 (Paris, 1826) pp. 136-143, including his treaty on pp. 141-143; **Leuridan**, *Châtelains*, p. 182; **A. Huguet**, 'Aspects de la Guerre de Cent Ans, en Picardie Maritime, 1400-1450' in *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie* (1944) p. 343. **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 4, pp. 383-387.

⁴⁷ **L. Gachard**, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi, Jean Sans Peur, Philippe le Bon, Maximilien et Philippe le Beau* (Brussels, 1876) pp. 80, 84-85. For what follows, note that Wavrin gives the impression that whilst the dauphin's troops were attacking Artois in 1443, Saint Pol was not with them, but at Chasteler.

In the later stages of the Hundred Years War, Philip the Good chose not to prevent the nobles who owed him allegiance for their Burgundian lands from siding with the French when Charles VII petitioned him indirectly to allow them to fight on his side, but neither did he personally participate in (or directly gain from) the expulsion of the English from France. He kept to the letter of the law regarding the truces and other diplomatic arrangements he had with both parties. One famous example of this was recounted at length in the chronicle of Mathieu d'Escouchy, and involved the count of Saint Pol⁴⁸. In 1449, in his capacity as one of the French king's ambassadors to the duke at Bruges, Louis of Luxembourg had to justify the king's request for military assistance and lobby the duke to allow his subjects to fight against the English⁴⁹. Appeals for help and soldiers were not the only matters on which the count was called to petition the duke⁵⁰: as a high profile Burgundian lord, Saint Pol was used as an agent of French royal policy, drawing attention to the ways in which the English side had broken truces. As a French general, and as an ambassador, he played a major part in the last stages of the Hundred Years War, especially in the Normandy campaigns.

The king's victory in France naturally changed and weakened the duke's position, if only in relative terms. For the first time in Philip the Good's long period in power, Charles VII had the upper hand, as a military leader with significant military momentum, which he owed in part to the count of Saint

⁴⁸ For what follows, and unless otherwise stated, the narrative details are from: **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 184-199 (for 1449).

⁴⁹ **Huguet**, *Picardie Maritime* pp. 358-359.

⁵⁰ **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 186-187; BN MS Baluze, FR 5040 fo 35r.

Pol. Moreover, others of the more powerful ducal subjects had also done well in royal service. This new element – not merely in Franco-Burgundian relations, but in the socio-political dynamic of the Burgundian court – persisted into the late 1450s, when cold war with France made it a significant issue. Escouchy's chronicle makes it clear that in the closing stages of the Hundred Years War, the count of Saint Pol led the same Franco-Burgundian troops on whom the duke would later rely in his fight against Ghent, and they included at least one other raconteur, Guy de Roye, lord of Thalemas, who was later one of the greater lords of Picardy prominent in the *count of Étampes'* retinue⁵¹. Nor was Saint Pol the only high profile lord of Burgundian affinity in charge of elements in the French force. Working in conjunction with him, for example, was Charles of Artois, count of Eu, who also held lands straddling areas of Burgundian and French influence as lord of Saint Valéry and Houdain, near Béthune⁵².

Ingrained in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is a sense of political affiliation with French ventures. The fifth story in the collection, told by the *escuier d'escuierie* Philippe de Loan, referred explicitly to the Hundred Years War's greatest English captain, Lord Talbot, and contained an account of two of his

⁵¹ Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, p. 147.

⁵² Eu was in a similar predicament in the tense situation of 1457-61 because of his position between Burgundian and French territories. The duke also confiscated his lands, and conciliated him. Interestingly, the formal reconciliation and reademption was at a joust, in which two raconteurs took part: Philippe Pot and Philippe de Croy (Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 339-342, 450-456) At the same time, the king made him a peer of France (Buchon, *du Clercq*, p. 117). Huguet, *Picardie Maritime* pp. 360ff. P.-R. Gaussin, Les Conseillers de Louis XI (1461-1483) in B. Chevalier and P. Contamine (eds), *La France de la Fin du XV^e siècle, renouveau et Apogée* (Paris, 1995) pp. 105-134 at pp. 113-114.

judgements⁵³. Loan began his chivalric tale with laudatory comments about *le bon seigneur Talbot*, speaking of *My lord Talbot, whom God absolve, the most bold, valiant, and fortunate of English captains at arms as everyone knows*⁵⁴. The events described in the story took place *during the period when the accursed and pestilential war of France and England raged, and which even yet has not ended*⁵⁵. The memory of the war was fresh in the minds of the raconteurs, and deeds of arms done against such celebrities as Talbot brought prestige to those who performed them⁵⁶. Amongst their ranks was the count of Saint Pol, who had burned Talbot's fortress of Logiempré near Pont de l'Arche. He acted on his own authority under the king's command, but later, his troops also became part of a combined French force, led by the king's marshal, and answerable directly to the king.

To put Saint Pol's position in 1459 into perspective it is important to underline how significant and effective the participation of troops of Franco-Burgundian allegiance had been in the Normandy campaigns. In particular one example of their success is worth drawing attention to. The counts of Eu and Saint Pol split-off from the main French host, and took Pont-l'Evesque, where the English garrison had fled. They reassembled and marched to the

⁵³ ADN B 3424: He appears as an *escuier d'escuierie* on the daily retainer fee lists for 1459.

⁵⁴ **E. Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol 2, p. 140.

⁵⁵ *Pendant le temps que la maudicte et pestilencieuse guerre de France et d'Angleterre regnoit, et qui encores n'a prins fin.*

⁵⁶ The lord of Thalemas' 75th *Nouvelle* makes it clear that in the courtiers' minds, by way of contrast, the French civil war of the early part of the century was part of a distant history: it is specifically set out as a historical tale: *In the time of the war of the two sides, one side called Burgundians and the others Armagnacs... Au temps de la guerre des deux partiz, les ungs nommez Bourgoignons, les aultres Ermignacs...*

outskirts of Lisieux to demand obedience to the king of France. After this, all the lords came together, and raised the king's banner as they made their entry. Even more spectacular than this was the king's entry into Caen, in 1450, where he was accompanied by the king of Sicily, the duke of Calabria, the duke of Alençon, the counts of Maine, Clermont, Dunois, Nevers, Saint Pol, Tancarville, and several other great lords, barons, knights, and squires, and their retinues⁵⁷. The precise status of the counts of Saint Pol and Eu during the reconquest of Normandy was to become a bone of contention in the diplomacy of early 1459, when Jean lord of Lannoy, Jean lord of Chimay and the duke's herald, Toison d'Or, were to hear the king's reply to their articles at Montbason⁵⁸. The role of Saint Pol and Eu in the reconquest remained a hot topic at the time the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were composed.

From the point of view of the count's return to Burgundian circles, it is worth emphasising that amongst the upper echelons of the Burgundian nobility an element of realpolitik dictated the allegiances of the fighting men. The duke complained that Charles VII refused to acknowledge a large number of Burgundian partisans' participation in the later stages of the fight against England, particularly in the recapture of Paris. Escouchy recorded the king's response. Charles' reply demonstrated, almost against his will, how significant Burgundian chivalry had been in the recapture. Major

⁵⁷ **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol 2, pp. 158-159.

⁵⁸ The king's responses are most clearly laid out in a little known manuscript of Escouchy's chronicle in BM Courtrai MS 111, p. 242 and ff. cf **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 395-416, esp. 401; **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 352.

figures in the duke's panoply such as the *lord of L'Isle-Adam*⁵⁹, the lord of Ternant⁶⁰, and Simon de Lalaing were mentioned in the context of the recapture, and it is clear that the Burgundian force was larger than the royal army, even though the constable's men did the main work⁶¹. In spite of this, the issue of sovereignty took precedence over loyalty and allegiance. The soldiers may have been Burgundian, but the campaign was royal. Against this background, it was vital that the count of Saint Pol consider himself a Burgundian partisan, because the campaigns everyone feared might occur in 1459 would not be between royal and English forces, but between royal and Burgundian.

Although Saint Pol distinguished himself, especially during the reconquest of Normandy, his own adoption of the French side had not been an obvious transition to the royalist camp⁶². Like the duke, he had initially been a partisan of the English. The count's uncle (also called Louis of Luxembourg) was the Bishop of Ely, and the count's personal alignment was not markedly and actively anti-English until the early 1440s. At any rate, Saint Pol used his position in the French army to maintain links with the duke, his lord, and did not follow a policy generally antagonistic to his interests. He kept the duke informed of the progress of the war. In August 1451, for example, it

⁵⁹ *Jacques de Villers*, mentioned in *Nouvelle* 74. See **B. Schnerb**, *Jean de Villers, seigneur de L'Isle-Adam* in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 47-49.

⁶⁰ A close relative of the lord of Créquy: see below.

⁶¹ **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, p. 400. cf BM Courtrai MS 111 p. 243.

⁶² **E. Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol 2, p. 164.

was Briant, the count's poursuivant at arms who brought Philip the Good news of the miraculous capture of Bayonne⁶³.

It is not unexpected that this should have been the case in the late 1440s and early 1450s. The count's lands in the Burgundian dominions were extensive, especially his lordship of Enghien, and his need of the duke's protection extended his willingness to act on his behalf, and to work with Philip the Good's other subjects on ducal affairs⁶⁴. For example, in July 1447, Jean de Lannoy, a member of the Croy family with which Saint Pol would later have so much trouble, served Saint Pol at the head of a force of 60 men. Lannoy went to the aid of Jean de Cleves, the duke's nephew, to help him against the archbishop of Cologne⁶⁵.

According to Chastelain, the count of Saint Pol's oath on the Pheasant at Lille in 1454 displeased the duke, because he did not take it as a ducal subject, but as a royal⁶⁶. Similarly, when the king attempted to interfere in

⁶³ Vale, *Charles VII*, p. 126.

⁶⁴ AM Lille: AA 52 (carton), pièce 1063: the same was true of his relations with the duke from an earlier period too, as this record from 26 January, 1434, containing Louis of Luxembourg's oath as the châtelain of Lille demonstrates.

⁶⁵ ADN B 1994, fo 204v, and cf **Vaughan** *Philip the Good* p. 295.

⁶⁶ He took his vow with the caveat: *se c'est le bon plaisir du Roy*. **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, p. 165. **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 394-395. La Marche says that: *the duke was not at all pleased with the vow made in his presence, because he did not show himself in it to be the subject of the duke, which he was... The count threw a great banquet in Cambrai – a great assembly, where there were tournaments and jousts and entertainments. And because of this [vow] the duke did not want anyone from his household to go there. And the count fell under suspicion because of these things, so the count withdrew from the house of Burgundy, and kept to the king of France*. Wavrin's chronicle confirms that at the time when the duke was taking the castle of Harlebeke in early 1454, Saint Pol was serving Charles VII in arms

the Ghent war, his chosen agent and ambassador was the count of Saint Pol, who had already been fighting in the ducal army, leading the vanguard⁶⁷. Because of this military leadership, he had killed too many Ghenters to risk taking part in diplomacy personally, even though he was the king's representative, and the agent by which the king hoped to wrest the Somme towns from the duke. Besides his direct and personal service, he also garrisoned his town of Enghien with 46 men at arms over nearly six months in 1453⁶⁸. Although the ducal account books recorded a payment to Saint Pol for his trouble in negotiating a settlement between the duke and Ghent, the large sum he received, 2000 crowns, seems more like a bribe or reward than a reimbursement⁶⁹. In their dispute, the lord of Croy was able to point to the fact that Saint Pol had given his castle and town of Guise as a dowry for his sister, which could have been to the prejudice of the duke, as her husband Charles of Anjou, count of Maine, was one of the duke's enemies⁷⁰. While in exile, Saint Pol was said to be taking the king's side. Against this background, the significance of the count of Saint Pol's association with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* project is manifest: at a period when the dauphin's estrangement from his father was increasingly likely to result in war, the duke needed to have the count on his side. He was a proven military leader,

against the English in the Bordelois. **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 2, p. 226. **A. de Barante**, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne de la maison de Valois*, (Paris, 1826) vol. 6, pp. 28-29.

⁶⁷ **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 1-14. For what follows: **M. Boone**, *Diplomatie et Violence d'État. La sentence rendue par les ambassadeurs et conseillers du roi de France, Charles VII, concernant le conflit entre Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne, et Gand en 1452* in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (1990) pp. 1-54, esp. pp. 10-16.

⁶⁸ ADN B 2020 fo 472v-473r. The duke reimbursed Saint Pol £1587 for this service.

⁶⁹ ADN B 2020 fo 317v: *pour les frais & despens soustenus par le dit conte de Saint Pol a ceste cause.*

A. de Saint Léger, *Lille sous la Domination des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Lille, 1909) p. 32.

whose lands lay on the frontiers, and whose service of the king was still of recent memory. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is a significant historical document as evidence of Saint Pol's reconciliation with the duke. What more credible evidence is there of the extent to which the duke and the count attempted to restore their old familiarity, and working relationship? When Chastelain and Wavrin commented that after 1459 Saint Pol was every bit as familiar with the duke as he had ever been, this was what they had in mind⁷¹.

The Raconteurs in their Political Background: Anglo- and Franco-Burgundian Relations as the backdrop to courtly activity.

The raconteurs were courtiers, soldiers and diplomats, caught between, and working for, two great French-speaking polities which were sometimes in conflict: this was their lot before and after the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, but it was especially marked in the late 1450s⁷². Chroniclers of the early part of that decade imagined a largely harmonious relationship between the francophone powers. In some ways they were right: there was a freedom of movement between the states which suggests harmony⁷³. As we have seen, French-speaking forces from both royal and Burgundian camps had united to

⁷⁰ **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 306-307.

⁷¹ **Delclos**, *Chastelain*, pp. 82, 212; **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, p. 391.

⁷² For example, on **Rodolphe de Hochberg's** peace negotiations in 1475, see **L.-E. Roulet**, *Neuchâtel et la paix de Bourgogne* in *Publications du Centre Européen d'études Burgundo-médianes* (1976) pp. 163-164.

⁷³ For Anglo Burgundian relations, see **M. Thielemans**, *Bourgogne et Angleterre, Relations Politiques et Économiques entre les Pays-Bas Bourguignons et l'Angleterre* (Brussels, 1966) pp. 365-424. On Franco-Burgundian relations, no full length study exists which compares the chronicle witness with archival documents. The following sources are of use: ACO B 11908/8 #127; B 11908 inventory; B 11909; B 3963; **U. Robert**, *État des Monastères Franc-Comtois de l'ordre de Cluny aux XIIIe-XVe Siècles d'Après les Actes de Visites et des Chapitres Généraux* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1882) pp. 51-52 (re: Arch. Nat., LL 1339); **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 349-350.

drive out the English from France. This vision, however, reflected the reality of the new diplomatic and military situation on the ground only to an extent. For example, in the register of the account of Charollais for 1455-1456, there are indications that although relations were normal, they were marked by suspicion. There were, for instance, relatively large extraordinary payments for repairs made to castles⁷⁴. Messages were sent to Dijon in respect of Charles VII's alliance with the duke of Savoy. Philip the Good sent letters prohibiting certain payments to the king's men at arms, and there was evident concern in Burgundy about military provision and readiness to withstand an onslaught. For instance, the artillery provision in Semur-en-Brionnais was a cause of concern. In the account register for 1456-1457, there is further information relating to the routine frictions that beset the county. For example, Jehan de Cluny went to the king to complain about the pillaging that his soldiers carried out along the Loire prior to the dauphin's flight into Burgundy⁷⁵.

When they interpreted the deterioration in the relationship of the powerful count of Saint Pol with the duke – so crucial to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* – the chroniclers did not take into account the bigger picture. French victory against England altered the character of relations between France and Burgundy, yet the chroniclers explained all the disputes of the mid to late 1450s as *personal and chivalric* quarrels, relating to issues of honour and family loyalty⁷⁶. This was also how they interpreted the key event shaping Franco-Burgundian policy in the late 1450s: the dauphin's flight into

⁷⁴ ACO B 3692.

⁷⁵ ACO B 3693.

Burgundy in 1456 and the lord of Croy's estrangement from the count of Charolais⁷⁷. Even when contemporaries read the situations analytically, their underlying assumption was that personality clashes lay at the root of the problems. For example, following the flight of the dauphin into Burgundy, James II sent a letter to Charles VII from Edinburgh, 9 October, 1456. He told the king that it was with regret that he had heard of his dispute with the dauphin, particularly, because the event would encourage the English. He urged Charles to reconcile with Louis, and to this end, he sent his provost of Saint Andrews, John Kennedy, to act as a mediator. It is important to establish that such personality-driven understandings of the political situation tend to draw focus away from the systemic nature of the problems which inevitably and repeatedly occurred on the frontier areas between Burgundian and French influence, and which were aggravated by the personal issues driving international relations in the 1450s⁷⁸.

The Raconteurs: Participants in the Diplomatic Framework before and after Louis XI became king.

⁷⁶ **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, p. 108, re Charolais' dislike of the Croy family. **Vale**, *Charles VII*, pp. 134ff.

⁷⁷ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 95 ff; **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 214 ff.; **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 329-343; **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, pp. 21-24; **Viriville**, *Chartier*, vol. 3, pp. 55ff; **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 1, pp. 103ff and vol. 2, pp. 409ff.; **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, pp. 376ff.; **S. Luce**, *Chronique de Mont-Saint-Michel (1383-1468)*, vol. 1 (Paris, 1879) p.61; **C. Samaran**, *Thomas Basin, Histoire de Charles VII* vol. 2 (Paris, 1944) pp. 231ff.; cf **Beaucourt**, *Histoire de Charles VII*, vol. 6, pp. 95-96; **Vale**, *Charles VII*, pp. 134, 162, 169; **H. Dubois**, *Louis XI, Lettres Choisies* (Paris, 1996) pp. 67-82.

⁷⁸ **J. Stevenson**, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth King of England* (London, 1864) vol. 2, pp. 592-593 from MS Baluze 9987-3, fo 45. On James II's letter of 1459, which Stevenson mistakenly set at 1456, cf **M. Jones**, *Edward IV, the Earl of Warwick and the Yorkist Claim to the Throne* in *Historical Research* (1997) pp. 342-353 at pp. 349-350.

Examining the diplomatic activity of Louis XI's servant the lord of la Barde both before and after Louis' advent to power reinforces the need to consider the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a document of a particular time, shaped by the particular political circumstances affecting the four courts. The changing nature of ambassadorial activity may be observed through the diplomatic missions of Jean lord of Lannoy and La Barde. Systemic conflict characterised Franco-Burgundian political exchanges, though it was subtly different in nature before and after Louis XI became king. Such was the case, for example, between the kingdoms of France and Denmark. In their embassy of early 1459, Jean de Lannoy and his fellow diplomats complained that Charles VII maintained alliances against Burgundy with a variety of European powers, including Denmark⁷⁹. The example is useful because Franco-Danish alliance against Burgundian interests was to feature almost immediately in the early part of Louis' reign: as soon as he felt that the duke of Burgundy was engineering a separate diplomatic solution to the English problem, Louis XI worked with the Danes against Burgundy. He even used the count of Charolais' known predilection for the Lancastrian side (inherited from his mother) in a failed attempt to embarrass the duke of Burgundy onto his side⁸⁰. Louis hoped to consolidate his father's gains in France by serving as a peace-broker. He was keen to negotiate a settlement in England between Henry VI and Edward IV so they would recognise his royal status. The

⁷⁹ For this and what follows, **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, p. 221, Lannoy and Jehan de Croy left Mons in January 1459 and were expected to return in March. **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, p. 403; BM Courtrai MS 111 p. 244. **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, p. 458. **Thielemans**, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, p. 209.

⁸⁰ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 201-202. Du Clercq relates that the Duke of Somerset came to terms with Edward IV, in spite of the favour which Louis XI and the count of Charolais had shown to him. **Small**, *Shaping*, pp. 194-195.

crucial point is that, in conjunction with a Burgundian envoy, he sent the lord of La Barde as his envoy – a trustworthy servant who had proven his loyalty in exile⁸¹. The lord of La Barde, who had been a participant in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, was no longer an integrated part of the duke of Burgundy's polity. Following Charles VII's death, as a royal agent he gave advice to Louis XI without reference to Burgundian interests. La Barde became Louis XI's main diplomat to the earl of Warwick, and he had even fought on Warwick and Edward IV's side at Towton⁸². Michael K. Jones has recently drawn attention to a will which shows that the dauphin had been on friendly terms with the earl of Warwick's servants since 1458, and it is not unlikely that La Barde's own relationship with the earl's men dates from that period too⁸³. (This amicable association lasted into the 1460s, and William Worcester credited La Barde with bringing about an Anglo-French truce by sea and land between France and England, concluded with the Earl of Warwick at Calais, in July 1464⁸⁴.)

The Milanese state papers record that in early August, 1460, the bishop of Terni wrote to the duke of Milan identifying the duke of Burgundy's preference for the Yorkist side, and guessing that a marriage to cement good

⁸¹ **Champion**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. L.

⁸² **C. Scofield**, *The Life and Reign of Edward IV* (London 1923) vol. 1, pp.114-115, citing **A. Hinds**, *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts existing in the archives and collections of Milan* (London, 1912) vol. 1, p. 30; French Roll 39 Hen. VI, m. 13 and 14; *Lettres de Louis XI*, vol. 1, p. 129. **A. Boardman**, *The Battle of Towton* (Stroud, 1994).

⁸³ **Jones**, *Edward IV*, p. 349.

⁸⁴ **Stevenson**, *Letters and Papers*, vol. 2, pp. 784-785.

relations was forthcoming⁸⁵. The following September, La Barde came to the Yorkists and was granted leave to travel between England and Burgundy for three months, a mission which may have concerned some sort of marriage alliance⁸⁶. On hearing La Barde's initial messages, Warwick sent Thomas Vaughan across to Louis to prepare for a tripartite conference⁸⁷. Although La Barde was entertained lavishly by the Yorkists⁸⁸, events were not propitious for unity on Louis XI's terms. There was little willingness to reach tripartite agreement, and it was largely the negative response which the king's *escuier d'escuierie* received to his overtures that convinced Louis, when he became king, to support Henry VI – or rather, to support Henry's queen, Margaret of Anjou, even though he knew this was against the duke of Burgundy's preferences⁸⁹.

Lannoy and La Barde's political and diplomatic missions from the period involved the relation of information on which international policy was decided. The sorts of men who could tell short stories and participate in analytical dialogue with princes and courts were also the men whom princes trusted with sensitive missions, and on whose advice and observations they acted. The lord of La Barde who participated in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* worked continuously on Louis' behalf, though because his master's interests

⁸⁵ **Hinds**, *Calendar of State Papers of Milan*, vol. 1, pp. 28-31. Francesco Coppini, papal legate to Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, August 6, 1460.

⁸⁶ **Thielemans**, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, p. 377.

⁸⁷ **P. Kendall**, *Warwick the Kingmaker* (London, 1957) p. 125.

⁸⁸ **R. Davies**, *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York During the Reigns of Edward IV Edward V and Richard III.*, also known as: *York Records of the Fifteenth Century* (London, 1843 / London, 1976) pp. 2-7.

⁸⁹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, pp. 220-1 (for 1461).

changed with his advent to power, after 1461 he served him in a manner opposed to the duke of Burgundy's policy. In 1465, the lord of Créquy and the lord of Haubourdin, bastard of Saint Pol, counted him as one of the scattered troops on Louis' side at Montlhery⁹⁰. He had followed Louis into exile because he was the dauphin's *escuier d'escuierie* and councillor. Louis rewarded his loyalty once he became king: La Barde served as the *sénéchal* of the Limousin (1461-1468) and then baillif of Mâcon, and remained a royal councillor⁹¹. Even after Louis' death, his path continued in royal service, and by 1485, he was appointed the baillif of Lyon⁹². La Barde had been in ducal lands, and whilst there had participated in ducal projects, but as an agent of delphinal power.

Divergence: Class, Income and Geography

Against this background of interstate diplomacy, and the rise and fall of great princely houses, the class and income differentials in the raconteurs' circle are also intriguing: noblemen to whom other nobles owed allegiance, such as the count of Saint Pol, the marquis of Rothelin⁹³, and the duke of Burgundy, undertook to exchange tales with relatively obscure quartermaster sergeants, *valets de chambre* and (possibly) chapel clerks, such as Mahieu d'Auquasnes⁹⁴, Pierre David and Caron⁹⁵. The count of Saint Pol, for

⁹⁰ **K. de Lettenhove**, *Lettres et négociations de Philippe de Commines* (Brussels, 1867-1874) vol. 1, p. 50.

⁹¹ **A. Leroux**, *Choix de documents historiques sur le Limousin* (Paris, 1891) p. 131. His tenure as *sénéchal* began on 3 August 1461.

⁹² **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 4, p. 257. **Gaussin**, *Conseillers de Louis XI*, p. 112 says that he was *Sénéchal* of Lyon between 1473 and 1490.

⁹³ **M.-T. Caron**, *La Noblesse dans le duché de Bourgogne 1315 – 1477* (Lille, 1988) p. 501.

⁹⁴ I am unsure whether this Auquasnes was a relative of Léonard d'Anquasne, lord of Sapigny (Sapegni), lieutenant general of the vidamme of Amiens mentioned in **Huguet**, *Picardie Maritime* pp. 348-349, 494.

example, was hugely wealthy, even in spite of the loss of his lordship of Enghien. Chastelain, even if he was not entirely impartial, indicates that when Louis XI tempted him to serve as the constable of France in 1465, the major factor in his decision was money, and he was only attracted to the post by extreme wealth⁹⁶. In this regard, it is worth noting that the death of his wife in 1462 cost Saint Pol about 50,000 francs per year, as his sons inherited their mother's share, though not without acrimony⁹⁷. Under Louis XI, Saint Pol received *gages* of £24, 000 as constable⁹⁸.

⁹⁵ It is impossible to be sure who Caron was as it was a common name. If it is the one Chastelain spoke of, as Champion guessed, he was the clerk of the duke's chapel. On Chastelain and this Caron, see **Delclos**, *Témoignage*, p. 39. On the question of who Caron was, see Appendix 4.

⁹⁶ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, pp. 213-227. According to Chastelain, Saint Pol received a defection package involving the constableness of France (worth 26,000 francs per year), the hand of the Queen's sister, Marie de Bourbon (which he coveted, since the bastard of Burgundy would not allow him to marry Jehanne de Bourbon) with a gift of 40,000 in gold crowns and 6,000 crowns in rents. He was also to become the governor of Normandy, a highly salaried post. Chastelain was not the only chronicler to remark his gorgeous clothing: Chartier relates that the count of Saint Pol was so wealthy that even the decorations on his horse's forehead were worth 30,000 crowns. **V. de Viriville**, *Chronique de Charles VII Roi de France par Jean Chartier* (Paris, 1858) vol. 3, pp. 176-177 (description of the king's entourage which accompanied him from Rouen to Caudebec in 1449) (NB this was Louis of Luxembourg, not Walleran count of Saint Pol as in **E. de Beaumont**, *Notice sur les Gens de Guerre du Comte de Saint-Paul qui sont enfouis à Coucy depuis 1411* (Paris, 1865) p. 6: <http://chateau.coucy.free.fr/Beaumont.pdf>) **J. Buchon**, *Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France avec notes et notices: Jacques du Clercq – Mémoires, de 1448 à 1467* (Paris, 1838) pp. 14-17. Du Clercq claimed it was worth 20,000 crowns. At any rate, it was clearly worth a fortune. cf Wavrin's description of Philip the Good's attire at Louis XI's coronation in: **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, p. 403. The duke's horse's forehead was equally bedecked with jewels. On Chastelain's attitude to Louis of Luxembourg, see **J.-C. Delclos**, *Le Témoignage de Georges Chastelain Historiographe de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire* (Geneva, 1980) pp. 286-289.

⁹⁷ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 196; **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, pp. 219-221, vol. 5, pp. 212-227 (August, 1466); **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 94. cf ADN B 2048 fo 152v: Simon de Lalaing's trip to Cambrai on 15 May in relation to *la journée de monseigneur le conte de Saint Pol et de ses enfans*; ADN B 2048 fo 164r: Lalaing went to Cambrai for the second hearing in July 1462.

⁹⁸ **Gaussin**, *Conseillers de Louis XI*, p. 128.

There is a geographical question too: some of the raconteurs held lordships and exercised influence over territories in Burgundy and beyond, whilst others were powerful in Flanders and Holland and the other northern lands⁹⁹. The count of Saint Pol's areas of influence amounted to a buffer state in Picardy between the duke's lands and French royal territory, and he extended his reach by the careful marriages he arranged for his sisters¹⁰⁰. Noble birth, political power and geography were not indispensable factors governing who

⁹⁹ **M.-T. Caron**, *Renier Pot sire de La Roche*, in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 24-26: Philippe Pot's castle of La Roche Nolay (purchased by Renier Pot in September 1403) is in Burgundy, and the lordship of Thorey (Renier Pot purchased it in 1399 on his return from Nicopolis) was in the Tonnerrois; ADN B 2036, #62524: Walleran lord of Wavrin's lordships, for example, were located around Lille and Bethune: Wavrin, Lillers and Malannoy; **B. de Lannoy and G. Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy le Bâtitteur 1410-1493* (Brussels, 1937) passim: Jean de Lannoy was the ducal *stadhouder* or lieutenant general of Holland between 1448 and 1462. Gossuin de Wilde, his predecessor, was not given the elevated title *Stadhouder* but ruled as *Président du conseil*, which meant that he was effectively the duke's representative throughout Holland. Lannoy was also the duke's lieutenant responsible for Frisia and Zeeland. Besides his lordship of Lannoy, he was also lord of Rume, and Boussu-sur-Escaut.

¹⁰⁰ **Buchon**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 7, pp. 141-142. Louis of Luxembourg count of Saint Pol inherited the counties of Saint Pol, Ligny, Brienne, and Conversano (in Italy). Apart from his lordships of Enghien and Beaufort, he purchased the county of Guise and was the châtelain of Lille. He owned lands around Lille and Bethune in right of his wife, Jeanne de Bar. (His father in law was Robert of Bar, count of Soissons and Marle.) **B. Galland**, *Archives Nationales Série K Monuments Historiques Titre IV: Princes Du Sang (K 531 à K 578) inventaire des articles K 531 à K 546 et repertoire des articles K547 à K 578* (Paris, 2000) document K 535 A: 2 is a record from 1435 of the marriage treaty between Louis of Luxembourg and Jeanne de Bar. He was allied to some of France and England's most powerful families. In 1433 his oldest sister married John duke of Bedford (following the death of Philip the Good's sister in 1430); his second sister Isabelle married Charles of Anjou count of Maine, in 1443. His third sister, Catherine of Luxembourg, married Arthur count of Richmond, constable of France, who became duke of Brittany. Edward IV's apparently surprise decision to marry the count's niece, Elizabeth Woodville, brought him into Saint Pol's affinity. The marriage was celebrated by Louis' brother, Jacques de Luxembourg, who led a contingent of knights across to England to mark the occasion, and spent profligately, sponsored by the count of Charolais. **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 246-247.

contributed to the collection. It is not even evident that the raconteurs were all at court often, or that each one was known for his literary ability. In spite of this, archival records allow us to consider the raconteurs' place in the political and diplomatic history of Burgundy in the late 1450s. To understand the text is to reconstruct the raconteurs' bonds in social, literary and political complexity, and to use the book the raconteurs produced as a way in to the private world of the court.

Common Ground:

Political Maturity.

It can be demonstrated that although the raconteurs had a wide range of experience at all political levels, they had enough in common to make their literary venture possible. The duke of Burgundy told one risqué story recalling an incident from his *green and more virtuous youth*, in the manner of an old man's reminiscence¹⁰¹. Yet even the younger raconteurs, such as Chrétien de Digoine, Philippe Pot, lord of la Roche, the Marquis of Rothelin¹⁰² the lord of Fiennes¹⁰³, and the lord of Quiévrain, may be considered to have been men of the world when they contributed to the collection. Pot was born c. 1428 (about ten years before Digoine) and although he gave years of service to the dukes of Burgundy and the kings of France after the late 1450s (he died in his mid 60s) his nouvelles,

¹⁰¹ *Nouvelle 58: au temps de ma verte et plus vertueuse jeunesse.*

¹⁰² **Bauer**, *Rodolphe de Hochberg*, p. iii. Bauer places his birth at c. 1427.

¹⁰³ **Cauchies**, *Jacques Ier de Luxembourg*, p. 164, places his birth after 1441. He died 20 August 1487.

Johnes, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 25; **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 96: notwithstanding his youth, Fiennes came into his father's lordships when Thibaut of Luxembourg, who had been widowed, became a Cistercian monk in 1456, at the age of 36. Fiennes was therefore about 18 when he contributed to the collection, in 1459.

contributed at about thirty years of age, were scarcely the compositions of callow youth: indeed, Chastelain often remarked on his ability as a speaker at this time¹⁰⁴.

When he told his story at the court, the marquis, Rodolphe de Hochberg, had been responsible for his family and their affairs for nearly twenty years: his alcoholic and profligate father, Guillaume de Hochberg, absconded to escape his creditors in June 1441, having first fallen out with his wife by trying to alienate her belongings¹⁰⁵. In the late 1450s, the marquis was past the first flush of youth, and he died in 1487¹⁰⁶. His diplomatic handling of the ducal offer to arbitrate in his dispute with the prince of Orange over the succession to his county of Neufchâtel is evidence of genuine political ability at the same period the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were told. It is not hard to see why he had been chosen to accompany his lord the duke of Austria to the imperial coronation in Rome, 1452¹⁰⁷: he was unlikely to be an embarrassment, even though he was then only about 25 years old. Youthful service ran in the family: Rodolphe's own son, Philippe, was entrusted with

¹⁰⁴ **P. Champion**, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Paris 1928) introduction. pp. xiii-xvi. See also **A. Weiss**, *Philippe Pot, grand sénéchal de Bourgogne devant la cour d'appel de Dijon* (Paris, 1887). **J. Blanchard**, *Comyns on Kingship* in **C. Allmand** (ed.) *War, Government and Power in Late Medieval France* (Liverpool, 2000) pp. 106-123 at p. 118.

¹⁰⁵ On Guillaume's participation as a ducal agent at the council of Basel **J. Toussaint**, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de Philippe le Bon Avec le Concile de Bâle* (Louvain, 1942) see references on p. 321. **Bauer**, *Rodolphe de Hochberg*, ch. 1. On his work on behalf of duke Albert of Austria (in 1447), see **Berthier and Sweeney**, *Chancelier Rolin*, pp. 250-251.

¹⁰⁶ **Bauer**, *Rodolphe de Hochberg*, p.114. On the Marquis' own family, especially his wife, Marguerite de Vienne, and Philippe de Hochberg their son, see **Caron**, *Noblesse*, pp. 390, 434-436, 507.

¹⁰⁷ **Bauer**, *Négociations et campagnes de Rodolphe de Hochberg*, pp. 11-18.

political and military responsibility from the young age of 22, when he became Marshal of Burgundy¹⁰⁸.

Philippe de Croy, lord of Quiévrain was born at Mons towards the end of 1434, and had seen precociously active service as a commander in the duke's armies since he was knighted at the battle of Gavre (in 1453 following the siege)¹⁰⁹. At the siege of Deventer, Quiévrain, then called the lord of Sempy was one of the four leaders of the ducal army¹¹⁰. His elevation to political maturity sparked off a serious conflict between the duke and his son, entrenched the embitterment of the count of Charolais against the senior members of the Croy family, and resulted in Saint Pol and Charolais' alliance¹¹¹. This issue seems not to have permanently damaged Charolais and Quiévrain's relationship, at least in terms of the conventional niceties: the count came to Mons on 5 April 1458 to assist at the baptism of Quiévrain's child¹¹². (Charles had also acted as godfather in the past to one

¹⁰⁸ **B. Schnerb**, *L'honneur de la maréchaussée, Maréchalat et Maréchaux en Bourgogne des origines à la fin du XVe siècle* (Turnhout, 2000) p. 201.

¹⁰⁹ **G.-H. Gondry**, 'Mémoire Historique sur les Grands Baillis de Hainaut' in *Mémoires et Publications de la Société des Sciences, des Arts et des Lettres de Hainaut* (1888) p. 104. I am unable to account for Gondry's assertion that Philippe de Croy was born *au commencement du XVe siècle*. cf **W. Ossoba**, *Philippe de Croÿ, comte de Chimay, seigneur de Sempy et de Quiévrain*, in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 149-150.

¹¹⁰ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 120, 145, 156, etc.

¹¹¹ **L. Régibeau**, 'Le Rôle Politique des Croÿ à la fin du règne de Philippe le Bon 1456-1465', *Mémoire de Licence* (Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1956) passim. For a variety of references to Quiévrain's career after the late 1450s, cf **Paravicini**, *Guy de Brimeu* p. 744.

¹¹² **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, p. 565. **Gondry**, p. 104. cf ADN B 10425, fo. 52v-54v: Quiévrain wrote to inform the duke and his council at Brussels, and the count of Charolais at Valenciennes about the royal troop movements at Guise in September 1459. B 2059 #643 10: a letter mandating repayment to Charolais' esquire of the stables, Guillaume de Montbléru, of money Quiévrain owed him is evidence that the men had

of Antoine of Croy's children¹¹³.) In early 1457, when the row began, Quiévrain was clearly in ducal favour, as he had been entrusted to replace his father as great baillif of Hainaut¹¹⁴. It is interesting to note Quiévrain's acquaintance with political issues from his childhood. In his *Nouvelle* about the negotiations at Calais in 1439¹¹⁵, Philippe de Croy accurately detailed a variety of the diplomats' names and referred with precision to important political events. He was aware that the negotiations related to the release and ransom of the duke of Orleans. He placed the embassies, quite correctly, in the vicinity of Gravelines and Calais, at the castle of Oye. He knew the names and status of Thomas Brampton and John Stourton, who were otherwise relatively obscure members of the diplomatic team, linked to the Cardinal of Winchester and responsible for Orleans' imprisonment. Quiévrain was familiar with the custom of staying in Richard Fery's inn – the largest of the town – and with the arrangements governing the guard and patrolling of Calais' walls. Given his very young age at the time of the events, it seems reasonable to conclude that he was not the sole originator of the tale, though it may have been one he heard as he grew up: he spent time

a working relationship. The letter is from 1466, after the exile of the lord of Croy's family, but the money was evidently owed to Montbléru from a loan or some other finance, as he had letters personally signed by Quiévrain. On the lingering distrust of Charolais for the Croy family (Quiévrain in particular) see Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, pp. 482-484.

¹¹³ ADN B 2020 fo 430r: For the occasion, Arnolfini provided cloth for four of the count's pages in January 1454.

¹¹⁴ Gondry, *Grands Baillis de Hainaut*, p. 104. Letters patent dated 11 February 1457, said that, whilst Jean de Croy was on embassy to the king, the duke named his son Philippe the officiator in his place, not wanting to interrupt *le cours de la justice*. cf ADN B 2048 fo 112r: Philippe de Quiévrain was also baillif of Huy in 1463.

¹¹⁵ *Nouvelle* 72.

in the count of Charolais' household as a chamberlain alongside many of the people who had served the duchess during the negotiations¹¹⁶.

Setting these cases to one side, most of the storytellers were older men. For example, letters of remission dating from 1403 suggest that Guillaume de Montbléru, hero of *Nouvelle* 63, was probably in his late sixties or early seventies when he played the tricks on the courtiers Humbert de Plaine, Roland Pipe and Jehan le Tourneur recounted in the *Nouvelle*¹¹⁷. Indeed, as we shall see in chapter 4 below, the advanced age of Montbléru may well have been part of the comedy of the tale. He had an adult son, Pierre de Montbléru, who was also a servant in the count of Charolais' household¹¹⁸. The raconteur died on 27 July 1468, and, of the other protagonists in the tale, he was outlived only by Jehan le Tourneur, who became an increasingly important figure in Charles the Bold's administration, and whose grandson

¹¹⁶ **M. Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal, une femme au pouvoir au XV^e siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998) pp. 323, 345, 500: For example, Paul Deschamps (Pauwel van Overtvelt), the Brugeois secretary of the Duchess and the count of Charolais (a relative of Humbert de Plaine, of *Nouvelle* 63), assisted the duchess in 1439, and 1440. **H. Krüse**, *Hof, Amt und Gagen, Die täglichen Gagenlisten des burgundischen Hofes (1430-1467) und der erste Hofstaat Karls des Kühnen* (Bonn, 1996) pp.181-182, 184-185.

¹¹⁷ **C. Carton**, 'Un tableau et son Donateur: Guillaume de Montbléru, 'Premier escuyer d'escuyrie du Comte de Charolais'', in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1966), pp. 172-187. Arch. Nat., JJ 314, 316, 323, 325, and 332. – these documents are discussed by Carton.

¹¹⁸ Montbléru's son (by Marguerite de Roos of Brussels) Pierre de Montbléru was illegitimate, and received ducal letters of legitimation at Candlemas 1462: ADN B 1608 fo. 161v. The date, 2 February, was during the duke's illness, so he probably received the favour from the duchess or the count, even though the letters were issued in Philip's name. Montbléru was described as *nostre ame et feal escuier Guillaume de Monbleru premier escuier d'escuierie de nostre treschier et tresame filz le conte*. It is not clear when he became the first esquire of the stables.

would become amman of Brussels¹¹⁹. On 12 February 1462, however, Roland Pippe cut his own life short, by jumping down a well, evidently anxious about the financial irregularities on which the duchess was then questioning him¹²⁰. According to Jacques du Clercq, Pippe was between 36 and 40 years old at his death, and a wealthy man¹²¹. Michel Baers, the provost of Watten, died in October 1462¹²². Philippe de Loan had died by 1 January 1466, when he was replaced in his office of *escuier d'escuierie*¹²³.

¹¹⁹ **V. Tourneur**, *Jehan de Candida, diplomate et médailleur au service de la Maison de Bourgogne (1472-1480)* (Brussels, 1919) pp. 27-28. Le Tourneur was given the Croy family's Brussels *Hôtel* during their exile. On Le Tourneur's eponymous son and his grandson Guillaume, see **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 53. On "the late" Humbert de Plaine see ACO B 335, B 355, B 449, B 1749 fo 211r, B 3996 fo 91r, B 11398, and ADN B 2034 fo 255r. **U. Schwarzkopf**, *Die Rechnungslegen des Humbert de Plaine über die Jahre 1448 bis 1452. Eine Studie zur Amstführung des burgundischen Maître de la Chambre aux Deniers* (Göttingen, 1970); 'Zum höfischen Dienstrecht im 15. Jahrhundert: das Burgundische Beispiel', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971*, vol. 2 (Göttingen, 1972), pp. 422-442.

¹²⁰ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, pp. 203-204. **Krüse**, *Hof, Amt und Gagen*, p. 160 and pp. 167-168; **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, p. 327: Pippe became secretary and receiver, but was first retained in his household as *clerc d'office* on 1 September 1439. **M. Sommé**, 'Une Mère et son Fils: Isabelle de Portugal après son départ de la cour (1457-1471) et Charles le Téméraire', in **G. and P. Contamine** (eds) *Autour de Marguerite d'Écosse, Reines, Princesses et Dames du XVe siècle* (Paris, 1999) pp. 99-122 at p. 109; **Delclos**, *Témoignage*, p. 293.

¹²¹ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 194. Du Clercq adds that he was very rich, and that it was rumoured that he killed himself because he was going to be inspected, even though his accounts were in order. Humbert de Plaine earned a good rate for his pay as a receiver, as did Roland Pippe. Although many civic records mentioning Jehan le Tourneur were doubtless destroyed in the world wars, the archives at Mons still have a few documents indicating that he too was far from poor. In his time, he was a *contregarde de la monnaie*, a *sommelier du corps*, a *valet*, and a *fourrier* among other things. Most of the published information on these men's careers and monetary status is to be found by consulting the indexes in: **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*; **J. Bartier**, *Légistes et Gens de Finance* (Brussels, 1952).

¹²² **Leroy**, *Catalogue des Prévosts du monastère de Watten*, pp. 279-280.

¹²³ Dr Hanno Brandt has charted his career using the ducal household regulations: Court Ordinance 1449 fo 63r; CO 1458 fo 16r. On these ordinances and the issue of charting social mobility at court, see **E. Lameere**, *La Cour de Philippe le Bon* in *Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* (1900)

Walleran lord of Wavrin was born c. 1418, and died after 1481¹²⁴.

Quiévrain's cousin, the Hainaulter Jean de Lannoy, was born on 27 April 1410, by his own account¹²⁵. In the mid 1460s, he wrote a famous letter of instruction to his son at a time when he thought of himself as being “on the way out”, saying: *I knew quite clearly that my said son and I could never be of the same age: he was coming, and I was going*¹²⁶. Another of Jean de Lannoy's cousins, Ghillebert de Lannoy, the lord of Beaumont¹²⁷, was an even older man when he contributed his *Nouvelle* to the collection. He was born in 1386, and died in 1462. Michault de Chaugy was also well into his middle age when he contributed his nouvelles to the collection, dying in about 1479 or 1480¹²⁸. Hervé de Mériadec died in 1481¹²⁹. Louis of

pp. 159-172; **W. Paravicini**, 'Soziale Schichtung und Soziale Mobilität am Hof der Herzoge von Burgund' in *Francia* (1977) pp. 127-182.

¹²⁴ **L. Visser-Fuchs**, 'Edward IV's Only Romance? Cambridge. Corpus Christi College MS 91, L'Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre', in *Ricardian* (1998) pp. 278-287, at p. 281; **M. Yans**, 'Walleran de Wavrin', in *Biographie Nationale*, vol. 27 (1938) columns 132-136.

¹²⁵ BM Valenciennes MS 304 (294). Lannoy had a long pedigree of involvement in the affairs of Anglo-Burgundian diplomacy: **Thielemans**, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, passim. If he participated in the embassy mentioned in Quiévrain's *Nouvelle*, no trace of his involvement remains in the extant documents. **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 261.

¹²⁶ **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 110-112, 122. In spite of his fears, the raconteur died in his 80s, in 1493. His son, Louis, born 19 September 1464, died young. Jean de Lannoy was succeeded by his daughter, Bonne, who married her cousin, Philippe de Lannoy, lord of Santes and Rollencourt, knight of the Golden Fleece.

¹²⁷ Raconteur of *Nouvelle* 90. Ghillebert de Lannoy was Jean de Lannoy's cousin, as his great uncle's son.

¹²⁸ **R. d'Amat**, *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris, 1959) vol. 8. p. 843; **l'Abbé Reure**, 'Michel de Chaugy et les autres personnages peints sur les volets du triptyque d'Ambierle' (Montbrison, 1897), in *Bulletin de la Diana* (1896-1897) pp. 223-260; 'Michel de Chaugy, deux Observations nouvelles' in *Diana* (1898) pp. 265-271.

¹²⁹ **L. de Poorter**, *Chastellain Chronique, livre 4, chap. XXXIII – XLVI* (Louvain, 1965) p. 143.

Luxembourg was also middle aged in 1459, having been born in 1418¹³⁰. Guy de Roye, the lord of Thalemas, raconteur of the 75th *Nouvelle* and the lord of Créquy's cousin¹³¹ was first mentioned as a squire in the service of the duke's household in 1430. His father, Mahieu lord of Muret¹³² died in 1443, which implies that Thalemas was probably not in the first flush of youth in the late 1450s. It is likely that he had been a courtier from a relatively young age, as his family had a long history of service, and, as we saw in the first chapter, he was involved in the campaigns of John the Fearless in 1417. His grandfather, Jean de Roye, was amongst the fallen at Nicopolis. Guy de Roye died on 30 July 1463, a fact which probably also indicates that he was at least well into his middle age in the late 1450s: du Clercq, who thought him a most valiant and bold knight, and wise, reckoned him to have been between 50 and 60, which would certainly square with his serving as a young knight banneret in 1417¹³³. Jehan lord of Créquy, Tressin, and Canaples was himself an old man when he died in 1474, having been born c. 1400¹³⁴. Antoine de la Sale was born in Provence either at the end of 1385 or in 1386, and was in his seventies when he contributed his story to

¹³⁰ **Leuridan**, *Châtelains*, pp. 182-184.

¹³¹ The raconteur Jean (V) de Créquy was the son of Jean (IV) de Créquy and Jeanne de Roye who was Guy de Roye's aunt (Créquy was also a mature man when he contributed to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, being born in 1400. He died in 1472.) MS *Hunter* 252 fo 29v: Créquy's *Nouvelle* has the following rubric: *la xiiiije nouvelle par monseigneur de Crequy chevalier de l'ordre de monseigneur*. It is unclear why the second rubricator added the epithet *chevalier de l'ordre de monseigneur* to Créquy's tale, and not to the other raconteurs' to whom it appertained.

¹³² The date of his birth is still to be ascertained, but it is likely to have been c. 1380. **Schnerb**, *Guy seigneur de Roye*, p. 133.

¹³³ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 207. It is possible that the knight referred to as *Monseigneur de Thalemas* was Guy de Roye's father, but he was more usually referred to as the lord of Muret.

¹³⁴ **B. Schnerb**, *Jean V, seigneur de Créquy*, in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 63-64.

the collection¹³⁵. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was a cross-generational project, but one whose participants reflected the everyday realities of social and political experience and identity at a game old man's court: the older men with whom the duke was on friendly terms predominate amongst the raconteurs, though younger blood is not unrepresented, and the bulk of the storytelling was done by the middle aged and the vigorous.

Chivalry.

It is perhaps not entirely surprising that the raconteurs should have joined together to produce the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Without becoming too embroiled in the vast literature relating to the subject of Burgundian crusade-pageantry, chivalry and tournaments, and their relationship to the literature which inspired them, it is useful to observe that many of the raconteurs who were knights participated in two of the more important chivalric set-pieces of the 1450s and 1460s¹³⁶. The first was the feast of the pheasant at Lille in 1454 (and the mummerly which ended the pageant)¹³⁷. According to Olivier de la Marche, who played a key role in the event, Jean de Lannoy was the main organiser of the feast (*le principal conducteur*), and he put his

¹³⁵ J. Misrahi and C. Knudson, *Antoine de la Sale: Jehan de Saintré* (Geneva, 1978) p. IX.

¹³⁶ G. Small's introduction to the 2002 edition of Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, includes references to those works containing fuller bibliographies relating to these subjects. R. Cline, *The Influence of Romances on Tournaments of the Middle Ages* in *Speculum* (1945) pp. 204-211.

¹³⁷ Beaucourt, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 124 and ff. At p. 236 Escouchy includes the details that Jean de Lannoy's nephew Philippe de Lannoy, Chrétien de Digoine, Philippe Pot, and the *count of Étampes* all participated in the mummerly.

signature to the chronicler's account of it as a seal of authenticity¹³⁸. Jean de Créquy was also involved in the pageantry: prior to the mummerly, he read out lines of poetry in the character of *Grace Dieu*, before and after the recitation by twelve ladies embodying the virtues of faith, charity, justice and so on¹³⁹.

At the time of the feast, one raconteur, Hervé de Mériadec, was implicated in a minor incident which involved both his functional role as *escuier d'escuierie*, and its chivalric aspect too¹⁴⁰. A knowledge of etiquette was Mériadec's business: his was an important role, as chivalric protocol could be a serious issue with much riding on it. For instance, Mathieu d'Escouchy recorded that the duke was displeased with Mériadec in 1454 when he failed to alert him of the arrival of the duke of Alençon until it was too late, and he had to be received immediately. Mériadec was held responsible for the embarrassment of the situation because his job was to anticipate and to prevent exactly this sort of contingency.

Prior to the vow-taking in February and March of 1454, the duke was in Lille, holding banquets, and assemblies of noble lords, knights, and esquires. Escouchy was not clear about the dates, but knew that Alençon arrived at Tournai at around the time of the first tournament which took place, which he said was on 20 January 1454. Alençon's appearance was not a secret

¹³⁸ Discussed in **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 237-238. cf **C. Emerson**, 'Who Witnessed and Narrated the Banquet of the Pheasant (1454)? A codicological examination of the Account's five versions', in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (2003) pp. 124-137. (Emerson compares La Marche and Escouchy.)

¹³⁹ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 374-378.

¹⁴⁰ These are discussed in much more detail below.

affair – he came from France with an accompaniment of about two hundred horse, but nevertheless, his approach to the duke was covert. According to the chronicler, Philip the Good was displeased with the lord d'Arcy, and Mériadec whom he had sent to Tournai in order that he should have early warning of Alençon's departure from the town¹⁴¹. They were thwarted in this by Alençon himself. He arrived incognito with only some of his men, and went alone to the duke's quarters to do him reverence. Philip the Good's wish was to be sure that he could ride out to greet the duke of Alençon in the fields before he entered his town, and this was the reason he sent d'Arcy and Mériadec out to watch for his coming. The protocol of welcoming a dignitary and the entry into a town was often an occasion of ritual significance and pageantry, and the shows had political meaning¹⁴².

¹⁴¹ Escouchy wrote of him as Hervé de Meliadès, which suggests a missing Latin source for this part of the chronicle. Jehan de Poitiers, lord of Vadan and d'Arcy, knight, councillor and chamberlain of Philip the Good was a courtier who benefitted from ducal munificence alongside several raconteurs: ADN B 2026 fo 389r - fo 401v: payment to Jehan Arnoulphin for cloth. The following gifts are notable: fo 394r - cloth for the amman of Brussels, Jehan d'Anghien; fo 396r / fo 399r / fo 400r – Philippe Pot; fo 396v – lady d'Arcy; fo 397r – Messire Michault de Chaugy; fo 398r-v: lord d'Arcy. On his involvement in diplomacy and international affairs, see also fo 114r, fo 328, fo 396v. For his wages: B 2048 fo 122v. On his falconer, B 3661 fo 74r. For references to his suit before *Parlement* and his involvement with Montbleru's sister, see below, and B 2034 fo 143r.

¹⁴² **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 110-111: In April 1458, Mériadec (du Clercq calls him Meliador, but the designation as *escuier d'escuierie* is clear, and probably indicates a Latin source) carried the duke's sword before him in his ceremonial entry to Ghent. For an example of another raconteur's part in an entry cf **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 229, re Philippe Pot at Utrecht, 1456; **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 152-153: Chastelain mentions Pot, Lannoy, and Sempy (i.e. Philippe de Croy). Pot was also with the duke at Ghent in 1458: **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 46. **J. Hurlbut**, *The City Renewed, Decorations for the "joyeuses entrées" of Philip the Good and Charles the Bold in Fifteenth Century Studies* (1992) pp. 73-84; **P. Arnade**, 'City, State, and Public Ritual in Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands', in *Comparative Studies in Society and History* (1997) pp. 300-318. **M. Clouzot**, 'Le son et le Pouvoir en Bourgogne au

Furthermore, tournaments were sometimes attended by so many people that some were crushed to death, and they may be considered the spectator sport of the fifteenth century¹⁴³. The first appearance of a duke was a great crowd-pleaser. The esquire's failure in 1454 was overlooked by the duke, and he was quickly restored to favour and entrusted with sensitive diplomatic missions¹⁴⁴. The significance of this episode, is that it demonstrates that the role of the *escuier d'escuierie* was to maintain and uphold the duke's dignity in respect of other knights and lords, and especially in matters of etiquette. It is not surprising that his partner in this affair was the equally etiquette-aware lord of Poitiers, whose daughter Éléonore wrote a treatise on *Courtly Honours*, and was a careful observer of protocol¹⁴⁵. An archival document relating to his failure in 1454 confirms the impression of the importance of etiquette: Mériadec signed off on a payment of £26 8s for goods purchased for the pages for whom he was responsible, and this was partly an extraordinary disbursement made to cover the costs of having a party with the duke of Alençon's pages, when Alençon came to Lille¹⁴⁶.

XVe siècle', in *Revue Historique* (2000) pp. 615-628; E. Dhanens, 'De Blijde Inkomst van Filip de Goede in 1458 en de plastische kunsten' in *Academiae Analecta* (1987) pp. 53-89.

¹⁴³ **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 114.

¹⁴⁴ ADN B 2048 fo 12r, 212v, and 217r, suggests that the lord d'Arcy's career was also unaffected by this development. On Mériadec's diplomatic work in 1454 see below.

¹⁴⁵ **J. Paviot**, 'Les Honneurs de la Cour d'Éléonore de Poitiers', in **G. and P. Contamine** (eds) *Autour de Marguerite d'Écosse*, pp. 163-180 at p. 163; **Paviot**, *Éléonore de Poitiers*, pp. 75-136. Éléonore's name is sometimes incorrectly given as *Aliénor*. Her *Honneurs de la Cour* was composed between 1484 and 1487 and contained recollections of her mother Isabelle de Sousa's. cf **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 119-120; **La Curne de Sainte-Palaye**, *Mémoire sur l'ancienne chevalrie* vol. 2 (Paris, 1759) pp. 171-267.

¹⁴⁶ ADN B 2020 fo 370r.

It has been remarked that in the later middle ages contemporaries felt that *war had its place in God's purpose for mankind*, but crusades in particular belonged to *a more intimate association with that purpose*¹⁴⁷. The Burgundian court was a crusading court in this spirit. Philip the Good grew up hearing stories of crusader's exploits. His tale of *Clais Utenhove*, who was captured at Nicopolis, just as his own father had been, enshrined the view of crusading as a worthy work, even if more light-hearted stories relating to the cuckolding of absentee crusaders also feature in the collection¹⁴⁸. At the banquet of the pheasant, some of the knights associated with the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* took oaths to go on crusade, confirming the drift of Burgundian policy since before the moslem conquest of Constantinople¹⁴⁹. These included the counts of *Saint Pol*, and *Étampes*¹⁵⁰, the lord of *Créquy*, the lord of *Lannoy*, *Philippe Pot*, Jean, lord of *Beauvoir*¹⁵¹, *Chrétien de Digoine*, *Jacques de Villers*, *lord of Lisle-Adam*¹⁵², and *Hervé de Mériadec*. Thiebaut de Luxembourg, the *lord of Fiennes'* father also vowed to take the cross, as did *Érard de Digoine*, *Chrétien's* brother, lord of Saint-Sonay. Indeed, the Digoine brothers hoped to serve under the

¹⁴⁷ N. Housley, *Religious Warfare in Europe 1400-1536* (Oxford, 2002) p. 2. <http://www.oup.co.uk/pdf/0-19-820811-1.pdf>

¹⁴⁸ *Nouvelle* 69. Tale 16, also by the duke, begins by describing a knight who was *spiritually devoted, and Godfearing, and who decided to sacrifice the good strong body God had loaned him*, by going on crusade. (*le chevalier, qui tresdevot et craignant Dieu estoit, delibera a Dieu faire sacrifice du corps qu'il luy avoit presté, bel et puissant...*)

¹⁴⁹ **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 234: *Ghillebert de Lannoy* was too old even then to pledge to go, but was nevertheless a keen exponent of crusading. On Burgundian crusade policy before 1453, see N. Housley, *Documents on the Later Crusades, 1274-1580* (London, 1996) pp. 139-144.

¹⁵⁰ Mentioned in *Nouvelle* 63.

¹⁵¹ This may or may not be the lord of *Beauvoir* who was the raconteur: see Appendix 4.

¹⁵² Mentioned in *Nouvelle* 74.

count of Étampes' command, as two of the knights of the special contingent envisaged in his oath¹⁵³. Quiévrain's father Jean de Croy and his uncle Antoine, lord of Croy, also pledged. Philippe Pot's recklessly brave announcement that he would fight with his right arm out of armour was mitigated by the duke.

The area of crusade preparation has been examined in detail in the historiography but it is important to stress that the raconteurs were at the heart of measures to pay for the venture, especially taxation¹⁵⁴. The level of the raconteurs' participation suggests that they too were ideologically committed to Philip the Good's crusading ambitions and there are numerous illustrations of this involvement in chronicle and archival records. For example, the duke was in contact with the Marquis of Rothelin, Rodolphe de Hochberg, about the crusade by correspondence in January 1455¹⁵⁵. Later exchanges of letters suggest that, even though the original grandiose crusade plans had been postponed and had begun to seem unfeasible, some of the raconteurs remained involved in the continuing piecemeal attempts to retake the Holy Land. In March 1464, for example, the duke sent letters to Philippe de Loan about the galleys which he had at l'Ecluse, which were *shortly to*

¹⁵³ On Énard's service of Étampes see **C. Beaune**, *l'Imaginaire Chevaleresque* in **D. Régnier-Bohler** (ed.) *Splendeurs de la Cour de Bourgogne, Récits et Chroniques* (Paris, 1995) p. 1163.

¹⁵⁴ **Y. Lacaze**, 'Perse et Bourgogne dans la seconde moitié du XVe siècle', in *Revue d'histoire diplomatique* (1975) pp. 77-82; **N. Housley**, *The later crusades: from Lyons to Alcazar, 1274-1580* (Oxford, 1992); **H. Müller**, *Kreuzzugspläne und Kreuzzugspolitik des Herzogs Philipp des Guten von Burgund* (Göttingen 1993). cf ADN B 2030 fo 161v-162r.

¹⁵⁵ ADN B 2020 fo 208r.

take the army to the land of the Turks¹⁵⁶. It is a mark of how serious the duke was about his crusade that even in 1461, at the height of the cold war with France, he sent Simon de Lalaing to the Medici bank at Bruges to arrange the 10,000 crowns finance of two such galleys which he intended to send to Rhodes from Genoa¹⁵⁷. Jean lord of Créquy was also involved in naval preparations for the fight against the infidel in December 1463¹⁵⁸. According to Chastelain, it was Philippe Pot, whose grandfather Regnier Pot had been captured at Nicopolis, who shaped the drift of Burgundian Crusade policy in a period of uncertainty during the bastard of Burgundy's naval mission¹⁵⁹.

The raconteurs' involvement in the pageantry of the court was not a passing fad. Besides the banquet at Rihour, a later example of court ceremony in which they participated was the famous *Pas de l'arbre d'or* of Bruges, 1468, a joust to celebrate Duke Charles' wedding to Margaret of York¹⁶⁰. The count of Saint Pol was himself renowned as an active jousting in his own

¹⁵⁶ The letters left Lille 28 March 1464. Loan was the *Seneschal of the Boulonnais'* lieutenant. ADN B 2021 # 61613 fo 11v. **Housley**, *Later Crusades*, pp. 154-155.

¹⁵⁷ ADN B 2048 fo 152v.

¹⁵⁸ **J. Paviot**, *La Politique Navale des Ducs de Bourgogne* (Lille, 1995) p. 128.

¹⁵⁹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, pp. 56-57; **Caron**, *Renier Pot*, p. 25. cf **J. Devaux**, *Le saint voyage de Turquie – Croisade et propagande à la cour de Philippe le Bon (1463-1464)* in *Lettres Romanes* (1997) pp. 53-70.

¹⁶⁰ Numerous of the storytellers took part in it, including Philippe Pot, Hervé de Mériadec, in his capacity as *escuier d'escuierie*, Alardin (on whom, see below) (also as an *escuier d'escuierie*) the Lord of Fiennes, and Philippe de Croy. Jean de Créquy and Jean de Lannoy were involved because they were in the cortège of the knights of the Golden Fleece. Jehan le Tourneur, protagonist of *Nouvelle 63*, and Jacques de Luxembourg (the count of Saint Pol's brother) were also participants. **R. Aquilina**, 'Le pas d'armes de l'arbre d'or', in *Le Briquet, Circulaire de l'Amicale des Collections de Figurines Historiques du Centre Loire*, 2 (1979) pp. 1-10.

right, and participated with success in numerous tournaments¹⁶¹. The raconteurs were sometimes involved in chivalric matters which remained politically important for years and which were sensitive even at the time when they were telling their stories at court. At another ducal entry in which Mériadec was involved in 1456, for example, Philip the Good rode to meet the dauphin in Brussels. Mériadec asked him if he wished to have his sword carried before him on entry into the city¹⁶². He had specific chivalric reasons for his question, and knew the protocol, having assisted at the entry to Luxembourg, and been part of the duke's personal bodyguard in the disastrous entry to Bruges in 1437¹⁶³. Since Philip was sovereign in imperial Brabant, this symbol of sovereignty was a legitimate way of reinforcing his right to be considered supreme¹⁶⁴. In other words, to carry the sword before

¹⁶¹ **J. Goodman**, 'Display, Self-Definition, and the Frontiers of Romance in the 1463 Bruges Pas du Perron Fée', in *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies* (1985) pp. 47-54 at p. 52. **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 56, 69-70, 347, 395. **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 4, pp. 300-303. The lord of Wavrin also distinguished himself at the joust in 1440 to celebrate the duke of Orleans' return, though Saint Pol won outright.

¹⁶² This practice was believed to have taken place in Roman triumphal entries. cf Louis of Bruges' manuscript of the so-called Chronicle of Baudouin d'Avesnes BN MS FR 279 fo 17r, containing a miniature of the triumphal entry of Pompei, whose squire carried a sword before him. **G. Sandeman**, *Calais Under English Rule* (Oxford, 1908) p. 94. The custom of having a sword borne in front of one also symbolised authority in English towns, such as Calais.

¹⁶³ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 41. For Bruges, besides the sources cited in **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 86-92, see **A. Brown**, 'Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders in the Later Middle Ages', in *English Historical Review* (1997) pp. 277-299; **Douët-d'Arcq**, *Monstrelet* vol. 5, pp. 282-289, at p. 285, where he is identified as *Meliadès, Breton*. (On Monstrelet's likely use of Latin sources see p. 304.)

¹⁶⁴ Mériadec also carried the duke's sword at his master's funeral, though significantly, he held the tip downwards: **E. Tabri**, 'The Funeral of Duke Philip the Good', in *Essays in History* (1990-1991) <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/journals/EH/EH33/tabri33.html> For other references to this event, see **Vaughan**, *Charles the Bold*, p. 2.

the duke would have proclaimed in a public manner that the duke's constitutional privileges ran through the town of Brussels, over and above anyone else's – even the future king of France's. Moreover, it would have exalted his sovereign honour and status above the dauphin's. According to Chastelain, who related the occasion from Philip's point of view, it was a duke, *very bitterly troubled at heart* who approached his town of Brussels in 1456¹⁶⁵. His concern, according to Chastelain, whose language here was extremely strong, was not for his own rights so much as it was *to break this foolishness, which crucified him with grief*¹⁶⁶. Mériadec questioned the duke specifically *because my lord the dauphin is there*¹⁶⁷. If Chastelain is a reliable witness, Philip explained that he did not wish to have a sword carried before him in any place where the dauphin should be, both because he neither wanted, nor ought to have it done¹⁶⁸. Mériadec, whose mandate was to advise in such matters, let the question drop, though some others persisted in surprise, and told the duke that it was astonishing that he did not have the sword before him, as a sovereign prince, because he was in the Empire, where there was no king to recognize, nor any authority bar his own¹⁶⁹. The tenor of the duke's response made it clear that, because he too was of the royal house of France, he was concerned not to be gainsaid in his wishes. Explicitly, he considered that if he was honoured within the Empire, this recognition was due to him chiefly because of and through his French

¹⁶⁵ Following quotes from **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 207-208. *très-amèrement courcié en coeur.*

¹⁶⁶ *rompre ceste follie, de laquelle il se fust crucifié de dueil.*

¹⁶⁷ *pour cause que monseigneur le dauphin y est.*

¹⁶⁸ *Voirement nenni! Je ne veul pas que l'on porte espée devant moy en lieu où il soit, car je ne le veul faire, ne ne doy.*

¹⁶⁹ For similar examples (involving the count of Saint Pol) see **C. Allmand**, *The Hundred Years War* (Cambridge, 1989) p. 143.

inheritance, and that his treatment of the dauphin had therefore to accord with this principle of respecting the trunk from which the branch sprang¹⁷⁰. Out of this principle resulted five years of friction with Charles VII: Mériadec was master of a subtler form of etiquette than is at first obvious.

The duke's policy of deference towards the dauphin, for the sake of his own honour, the dauphin's and by extension, the king's, was applied consistently throughout Louis' exile. Chastelain made much of the various public and private acts of deference with which Philip consistently esteemed the dauphin. To modern eyes, some of the lengths to which the duke went seem ridiculous, as when the duke first met the dauphin at Brussels¹⁷¹. On other occasions, the significance of the events is best understood by examining the slant the chronicler put on his details. The chronicler's account of the duke's illness in November 1458, for example, traced his fever to a session of hatlessness one cold, winter's day when, out of deference to the dauphin, he kept his head uncovered¹⁷². Chastelain, who was an eyewitness of the duke's ill-health, documented the grim medical details, apparently to drive home the message: Philip was serious about accommodating Louis, and respectful

¹⁷⁰ **Quicherat**, *Basin*, vol. 2, pp. 232-234; **Paviot**, *Éléonore de Poitiers*, pp. 94-96.

¹⁷¹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 208-210.

¹⁷² **Delclos**, *Chastelain* p. 146. ADN B 2030 fo 138v, fo 139r-v; B 2034 fo 165v; B 2034 preregister fo 70v. A ducal doctor, Maistre Simon de(s) Roiches, was present with the duke during his illness in 1458. Early in 1459, he received 100 francs (royal money) *que mondit seigneur lui a de sa grace donne pour une fois en recompensacion des paines et labeurs qu'il a euz en la derreniere maladie d'icellui seigneur*. This was partly to make up for the fact that he had not received his regular retainer fee, but we may speculate that it was a gratitude payment made by the duke. **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 353-354.

submission was something for which he was prepared to suffer¹⁷³. The chronicler laboured the point that the duke showed the dauphin reverence so excessive that it cost him his health. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* may have been the court's way of amusing the duke whilst he recovered the health he had lost through devotion to the chivalric matters on which the raconteurs advised him: it is certainly interesting to notice how many stories of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* related to doctors, illnesses or cures¹⁷⁴.

The raconteurs and the Golden Fleece.

Any consideration of the networks at the court of Burgundy is bound to take into account the influence of the duke's great order of Chivalry, the Golden Fleece¹⁷⁵. This society and court of arms was the codified means by which Burgundian power officially projected the ideals of chivalry as a way of

¹⁷³ The chronicler saw the duke's vomit, which consisted of blood and other matter: *une chose esmerveillable et hideuse a veoir*.

¹⁷⁴ Nouvelles 2, 3, 20, 21, 24, 34, 38, 51, 55, 59, 77, 79, 87, 90, 95. Nouvelles 4, 36 and 48 speak of lovers sick through love, and 96 mentions a dog which was sick, died, and went to dog heaven. **D. Fein**, 'The Plague as a Sexually Transmitted Disease, a commentary on the fifty fifth tale of les Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in *New Zealand Journal of French Studies* (2002) pp. 5-13; 'The Dangerous Sex: Representations of the Female Body in the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', in *Romance Notes* (1999) pp. 195-202; **M. Harper**, 'Renaissance Cures: Short Narrative prose and medicine from les Cent nouvelles nouvelles to Montaigne', PhD Thesis (University of Wisconsin, 1998) ch. 2; **P. Wunderli**, 'Das komische Leiden. Aspekte der Krankheit in den Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', in *Der Kranke Mensch in Mittelalter und Renaissance* (Düsseldorf, 1986) pp. 99-131. **M. Zimmermann**, 'Tod, Eros und bürgerliche "Courage". Die 55. Novelle der Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', in *Romanica Historica et Romanica Modierna. Festschrift für Olaf Deutschmann zum 70. Geburtstag* (Bern, 1982) pp. 385-407.

¹⁷⁵ **F. de Reiffenberg**, *Histoire de l'Ordre de la Toison d'Or* (Brussels, 1830); **D'A. Boulton**, *The knights of the crown: The monarchical orders of knighthood in later medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 2000).

life¹⁷⁶. Numerous raconteurs, who were not members of other chivalric orders were members of the Golden Fleece, or were later given the collar¹⁷⁷. Quiévrain for instance, was not made a knight of the order until the Valenciennes meeting of 1473, though he could reasonably hope he would be invited to join, as so many of his family were members. Besides his father and his uncle, the lord of Croy, Quiévrain's younger brother Michel also became a knight of the Golden Fleece, as did his son and heir Charles de Croy¹⁷⁸. Philippe Pot joined at Saint Omer in 1461. The lord of Fiennes was initiated in 1478, at the same time as Pierre de Luxembourg, count of Saint Pol, son of Louis of Luxembourg¹⁷⁹. Fiennes' son and successor, Jacques (II)

¹⁷⁶ **M.-N. Magallañez**, 'Mirrors of Glory: Spectacles of Chivalry and Aristocratic Identity in Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Romance, Chronicle and Chivalric Biography', PhD Thesis (New York University, 2001); **M. Baelde**, 'De orde van het Gulden Vlies', in *Spiegel Historiae* (1984) pp. 169-173.

¹⁷⁷ The case of Jean de Lannoy is discussed above in ch. 2. For what follows on the raconteurs who were knights of the Fleece: **C. Thiry**, 'Les Croy face aux indiciaries Bourguignons: George Chastelain, Jean Molinet', in '*Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble*', *Hommage à Jean Dufournet, professeur à la Sorbonne Nouvelle: Littérature, Histoire et Langue du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1993) vol. 3 pp. 1363-1380, at p. 1370; **W. Ossoba**, *Philippe Pot, seigneur de la Roche de Nolay et de Châteauneuf* and *Philippe de Croy* in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 130-131, and 149-150; **J. Paviot**, *Ghillebert de Lannoy, seigneur de Santes, de Willerval, de Tronchiennes, de Beaumont et de Wahégnies*, in *ibid.*, pp. 42-45; **Schnerb**, *Créquy*, pp. 63-64 and 133-134; **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 121-122; <http://a.decarné.free.fr/gencar/dat10.htm#22>; **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, p. 535; Hervé de Mériadec was a knight of the Breton order of the ermine, and the amman of Brussels was a knight of Rhodes.

¹⁷⁸ Philippe de Croy had ten younger brothers and sisters: Jacques, Michel, Olivier, Antoine, Charles, Jean, Jeanne, Jacqueline, Isabelle, and Jeanne. Antoine, Charles and Jean all died in infancy. Jacques pursued a career in the church, ending up as bishop of Cambrai, following a spell as an apostolic protonotary, and a provost of the church of Liège. Michel and Olivier were both knights in military orders: Michel in the Golden Fleece, and Olivier a member of the knights of Rhodes, as was the raconteur Jean d'Enghien. Philippe's sisters Jeanne, Jacqueline and Isabelle married Picard noblemen, and his youngest sister, also called Jeanne, became an abbess in Paris. Philippe's six children (by Walburga de Moers) were Charles, Jean, Antoine, François, Catherine and Marguerite. Charles became a knight in the order in 1491.

¹⁷⁹ On Fiennes' career under Maximilian, see **Schnerb**, *L'honneur de la maréchaussée*, pp. 5, 84.

lord of Fiennes, joined the order at the Malines meeting, 1491¹⁸⁰. The Lannoy family were nearly all prominent members of the society, and used their influence within the order to assist each other in political difficulties. Jean de Lannoy, for example, was made a knight of the Fleece at Mons in 1451, and remained in the order until his death. As a mark of the respect in which the knights held him, he assisted at the Malines meeting in 1491, going forward in the order prescribed by the protocol statutes to the offering with the archduke: as Molinet observed, *the youngest and the oldest, and then the others by degrees*¹⁸¹. Ghillebert de Lannoy, lord of Beaumont was a knight of the fleece, as were his brothers Hugues and Baudouin¹⁸². The three brothers, and Ghillebert's brother in law, Jean lord of Roubaix and Herzele, were admitted in 1430 alongside the raconteur Jean de Créquy¹⁸³. The lord of Wavrin, had married into this family as his wife, Livine de Roubaix was daughter of Jean lord of Roubaix and Agnès of Lannoy, the sister of Hugues,

¹⁸⁰ **J.-M. Cauchies**, *Jacques II de Luxembourg, seigneur de Fiennes, de Zottegem, d'Armentières et d'Erquinghem* in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 208-209. His son, Jacques (III), was initiated in Barcelona, 1518.

¹⁸¹ Molinet vol. 4, p. 157. **R. de Smedt**, *Jan heer van Lannoy stadhouder en diplomaat*, in *Koninklijke kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* (1991) pp. 55-84.

¹⁸² Ghillebert's younger brother Baudouin de Lannoy (lord of Molembaix and Solre-le-Château) and his older brother Hugues de Lannoy (lord of Santes, Ijsselmonde and Beaumont) were both knights of the Golden Fleece. Ghillebert inherited the title lord of Beaumont from Hugues, who died 1 May 1456. Ghillebert was also the lord of Santes, Willerval, Tronchiennes, and Wahégnies (which he purchased from Jean de Lannoy in 1438 for £2400. On this, and Jean de Lannoy's relationship with Baudouin see **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 56, 102.

¹⁸³ **Gachard**, *Histoire de la Belgique*, p. 274: ducal gifts to Jean seigneur de Créquy were listed next to Guilbert de Lannoy in Jean Abonnel's 1431 account, fo 149. Créquy was also tenuously related to Philippe lord of Ternant, who married Isabeau de Roye, Guy de Roye's sister. See reference on next page.

Ghillebert, and Baudouin¹⁸⁴. Regnier Pot, the lord of La Roche's grandfather, and Jean de Croy also joined in that year. Guy de Roye became a knight of the fleece in 1461 at Saint Omer. Guy de Roye's brother in law, Philippe lord of Ternant, had also been a member of the order since the initial meeting at Bruges in January 1430¹⁸⁵. Along with the lord of Ternant, and the lord of Humières (another knight of the fleece), Créquy was one of the count of Charolais' main military advisers during the Ghent campaigns¹⁸⁶. Michault de Chaugy is a good example of a raconteur who, although not himself a knight of the Golden Fleece, nevertheless had significant associations with members of the order, including family ties¹⁸⁷. In 1467, Chaugy agreed to transfer his office of baillif of Mâcon to his nephew Jean Damas, lord of

¹⁸⁴ **M.-T. Caron**, 'Enquete sur la Noblesse du Bailliage d'Arras', in *Revue du Nord* (1995) pp. 407-426, at p. 415. On Jean de Roubaix (1369-1449) cf **M. Sommé**, *Jean, seigneur de Roubaix et de Herzele*, in: *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 26-28. **J. Hexter**, 'The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance', in *Journal of Modern History* (1950) pp. 1-20 at p. 13: *In three generations the Lannoys gave eight members to the Order of the Golden Fleece*. Although Jean (d. 7 June 1449) predeceased his wife by more than a decade, he and Agnès are buried together in the tomb of Saint Martin in Roubaix, where their epitaph remains legible. She died 8 July 1464.

<http://roubaix.free.fr/NEWWEB/EGLISE/SAINTMARTIN/AN/TOMBEAU/page2.html>

¹⁸⁵ **M.-T. Caron**, *Philippe, sire de Ternant*, in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 59-60: Ternant married Isabeau de Roye, Guy de Roye's full sister. cf **Gachard**, *Histoire de la Belgique*, p. 275: Ternant received 3000 francs from the duke for his marriage.

¹⁸⁶ **Schnerb**, *Créquy*, pp. 63-64 and 133-134; **Vaughan**, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 198-199: Créquy's son also served Charles in this capacity, for example at Neuss in May 1475, he and Fiennes provided infantrymen who were commanded by Philippe de Croy. Dr Brandt's search of the Court Ordinances confirms that Créquy was a member of the household of Isabelle of Portugal and Charles of Charolais until 1450, when he rejoined Philip the Good's *hôtel* as a councillor and chamberlain serving by terms with Philibert Andrenet: CO 1426 #34, #41; CO 1431/32 #18; CO 1433 #25, 54; CO 1337 fo 212r; CO 1445 fo 2r; CO 1449 fo 8r.

¹⁸⁷ For what follows, see **Reure**, *Chaugy*, pp. 237, and 248, citing ACO B 10578, #4 (formerly B 395).

Digoine, Clessy, and Saint-Amour¹⁸⁸. This suggests an inclination to advance the career of an influential and active member of his family¹⁸⁹. The charter, which was witnessed by two other raconteurs, and a future knight of the Golden Fleece, did not necessarily represent *disinterested* familial altruism, however; as the papers noted, he ceded the office *on possession and freehold of the government of the land and castellany of Rossillon*, which was worth £300 per year to him during the course of his life¹⁹⁰.

Damas too became a knight of the order at the Bruges meeting, 1468, along with the count of Saint Pol's brother, Jacques de Luxembourg, viscount of Lannoy¹⁹¹. Although the count of Saint Pol was offered the collar in 1445, he declined to accept it¹⁹². In the previous chapter we saw that the order of

¹⁸⁸ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 1, pp. 214-234. **Krüse**, *Hof, Amt und Gagen*, p. 223. In 1456, he served Charles count of Charolais as a *varlet de chambre*. Damas is referred to as lord of Clessy in the treaty of Soleuvre (September 1475: this nine year truce was negotiated by Philippe de Quiévrain, in which he was charged with upholding the peace in the Mâconnois. (The marquis of Rothelin was named in the treaty as *le gouverneur du dit Luxembourg*.) Jean Damas was the son of Chaugy's sister Catherine, wife of the lord of la Bazolle, captain and castellan of Semur-en-Brionnais. **Schnerb**, *L'honneur de la maréchaussée*, p. 119.

¹⁸⁹ Damas was born after 1423, and died in 1481, having made a will on 5 October in that year. **J. Richard**, *Jean Damas, seigneur de Digoine, Clessy et Saint-Amour*, in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, p. 137.

¹⁹⁰ The charter speaks of his *possession et saisine du gouvernement de ladite terre et chastellenie de Rossillon*. The letters patent were witnessed at Bruges by major lords, including the duke, Philippe Pot and Josse de Lalaing, witnessing as the lord of Montigny, formerly the title of Simon de Lalaing. Josse de Lalaing would later become a member of the order of the Golden Fleece, at the thirteenth chapter in Bruges, meeting in 1478. Another raconteur, Jaques de Luxembourg lord of Fiennes, was also made a knight of the Fleece at that meeting. (Also witnessing the letters were some major members of the ducal bureaucratic administration: Pieter Bladelin, Guillaume de Poupet, and Pierre Milet.)

¹⁹¹ **J. Paviot**, *Jacques de Luxembourg, vicomte de Lannoy, seigneur de Richebourg, de Ruminghem et de Sainghin*, in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 138-140.

¹⁹² **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 95 n. 2, citing **Reiffenberg**, *Histoire de la Toison d'Or*, p. 28. Louis was eventually made a knight of the king's order, though his father, his uncle and his

the Golden Fleece was one area in Burgundian court life in which deliberation and the process of moral scrutiny was to the fore, just as they were in the leisurely pursuit of telling short stories. It is worth stressing how bound up in the society many of the raconteurs and their families were.

Generations of Service and Reward: The Ducal Household and Armies.

Although it is significant that many of the raconteurs were involved either personally or through their families with the Golden Fleece, by no means all of them were, and it is important to conceive of the text as a courtly document. Because the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is a text from a courtly milieu, to understand its context is to study the raconteurs as holders of offices, and titles. Almost without exception¹⁹³, the records show that they were in the employ of, or rewarded by, the duke or his son, particularly in their personal households. Bertrand Schnerb summed the organisation up succinctly: *The ducal household played an essential role at the heart of the court. In essence, this organism was the sum of the service which saw to all the material requirements of the duke*¹⁹⁴... The evidence reflects the raconteurs' varying importance within the duke's household in terms of their rates of pay and responsibilities. In many cases, the fact that the storytellers were mature men means that it is possible to identify overlaps and similarities over the term of their lives in patterns and histories of service

brother were all members of the Golden Fleece. **B. Guenée**, *Between Church and State: the lives of four French prelates in the late middle ages* (Chicago, 1987) pp. 365-367.

¹⁹³ There are no known records relating to the lord of Santilly of *Nouvelle* 85.

¹⁹⁴ **B. Schnerb**, *L'État Bourguignon* (Paris, 1999) p. 290. Schnerb goes on to detail the six branches of the household and how they functioned.

and reward. Clearly the most important overlaps are those which can be identified during the late 1450s and the early 1460s – the period during which the nouvelles were assembled and written down. Longer term concerns were also significant, however. Some raconteurs came from families which had served the dukes across generations, and many had themselves served Philip the Good since his youth.

Since his grandfather's day, the family tradition of Philippe Pot was one of trans-generational service to the dukes¹⁹⁵. Regnier Pot worked for Philip the Bold and John the Fearless on state business and as a diplomat before also serving the third duke as a councillor and chamberlain. As a councillor to John the Fearless he served alongside the young Philip count of Charolais¹⁹⁶. The raconteur's other grandfather Jacques de Courtiambles, lord of Commarin, was a frontier lord in possession of the important fortress of Nesle, between Amiens and Saint Quentin. As a councillor and chamberlain, he also served on diplomatic and military missions for John the Fearless¹⁹⁷.

¹⁹⁵ **J. Pot**, *Histoire de Regnier Pot, Conseiller des Ducs de Bourgogne 1362?-1432* (Paris, 1929) pp. 1-4: Regnier's father Guillaume (III) Pot, lord of La Prugne, was evidently an independent *routier* in Burgundy, though Regnier was an orphan, brought up by Guy VI de la Trémouille, a ducal servant. The family's association with the dukes began through Guillaume's service under Guy de Pontailler, Marshal of Burgundy: **G. Dumay**, 'Guy de Pontailler', in *Mémoires de la Société Bourguignonne de Géographie et d'Histoire* (1907) pp. 3-222 at p. 138. **E. Petit**, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Hardi et de Jean sans Peur* (Paris, 1888) pp. 552-553, 560, 576, 586, 595; **Vaughan**, *John the Fearless*, pp. 81, 84, 93-94, 136-137; **Schnerb**, *L'honneur de la maréchaussée*, p. 206.

¹⁹⁶ **P. de Lichtervelde**, *Un Grand Commis des Ducs de Bourgogne, Jacques de Lichtervelde, Seigneur de Coolscamp* (Brussels, 1943) p. 280.

¹⁹⁷ Jacques Pot married Marguerite (also known as Bonne) de Courtiamble, daughter of Jacques de Courtiambles and the lady of Blaisy. **Caron**, *La Noblesse*, pp. 298, 450, 512. **Schnerb**, *L'honneur de la maréchaussée*, pp. 135, 189.

A diplomatic document from 1 November 1406 shows that he and Regnier Pot worked together in this capacity¹⁹⁸. Jacques' son in law (Philippe's uncle) Jacques de Dinteville, was also a local Burgundian lord, who held the land of Échannay, west of Dijon, in usufruct¹⁹⁹. Philippe's father Jacques, Regnier's successor as lord of La Roche, served Philip the Good in his army in 1436, when a franco-Burgundian force marched on Paris from Pontoise²⁰⁰. His son, the raconteur, would serve Philip the Good, Charles the Bold and their royal successors. Perhaps the greatest proof of the trust placed in the family was in 1407, after the murder of Orleans, when Regnier Pot escorted John the Fearless out of Paris. Philip the Good's decision to stand godfather for Philippe suggests more than affection for the family: it was traditional to endow the godson with a substantial gift, and Philippe Pot grew up at the duke's court²⁰¹.

Humbelot Martin (d. 1401), great grandfather of the raconteur Jean Martin, was a ducal receiver general for the duchy of Burgundy, a *bourgeois* of Dijon, and the keeper of the mint at Auxonne, whom the duke ennobled in 1365²⁰². Like his descendants, he maintained his status in ducal service, and

¹⁹⁸ **Vaughan**, *John the Fearless*, p. 41.

¹⁹⁹ **Caron**, *La Noblesse*, p. 298.

²⁰⁰ **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 4, pp. 137-139.

²⁰¹ **Champion**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, introduction. pp. xiii-xvi. **Schnerb**, *L'honneur de la maréchaussée*, p. 83. Similarly, in 1454, the duke of Burgundy stood as godfather to Philippe de Hochberg, the marquis of Rothelin's son, who rose to become the Marshal of Burgundy.

²⁰² **T. Dutour**, *Une société de l'honneur: les notables et leur monde à Dijon à la fin du Moyen âge*. (Paris, 1998) passim; **Dumay**, *Guy de Pontailler*, pp. 161, 200; B 94 fo 192r. B 1384 #26; B 1384 #213: Humbelot was receiver general of the duchy of Burgundy in 1363 and a financial officer for Dijon in 1373. In 1381, he also served Guy de Pontailler. His son, Jean (I) Martin, was a cloth and wine merchant operating out of Dijon and Auxonne, with trade connections to the duke's court at Paris. **H. Dubois**, *Les foires de Chalon et*

used the patronage and power of his position to enhance his social standing within his home town. His son Jean (I) Martin, for instance, was an *échevin* (alderman) of Dijon, at the same time Philippe Pot's maternal grandfather was the baillif of the town²⁰³. Jean (II) Martin received similar favours from the duke as Pot did. For instance, in the receipt general for 1457, we learn that the armourer Othelin du Court (a *varlet de Chambre*, like Jean Martin) made expensive war harnesses for the trusted people who surrounded the duke including Jean Martin, and Philippe Pot²⁰⁴. They apparently received their harnesses together. The payments were signed for by the duke's *escuier d'escuierie* Hervé de Mériadec²⁰⁵. Martin's cousin's husband, Jehan Coustain, the ducal *sommelier de corps* and *varlet de chambre*, Adolf of Cleves²⁰⁶, and Guillaume de Sans, the duke's barber (a man who held a razor to Philip's throat on a daily basis) and another *varlet de chambre* also benefitted from ducal largesse²⁰⁷. In this document all three raconteurs are linked to the duke through different forms of service. Like many of the raconteurs, both Philippe Pot and Jean Martin came from families which served in the ducal

le commerce dans la vallée de la Saône à la fin du moyen âge (vers 1280-vers 1430) (Paris, 1976), pp. 184, 449.

²⁰³ **Vaughan**, *John the Fearless*, p. 174; **Petit**, *Itinéraires*, p. 594: As one of the *échevins*, he had dinner with Philip the Good at Auxonne on 5 October 1408.

²⁰⁴ ADN B 2026 fo 373r described Martin as *aussi son varlet de chambre*.

²⁰⁵ ADN B 2026 fo 372v-373r. The duke's letters patent were issued on 9 February 1458, but the armour came in two lots, both signed for by Mériadec, on 23 and 25 November 1457. Jean Martin's *corest dacier garny de garderis* is specifically *donné semblablement* – his name comes after Pot's so Pot probably received his at the same time.

²⁰⁶ ADN B 2034 preregister fo 26v-27r for Adolf's pension in 1457 and 1459.

²⁰⁷ On the potential for a barber (in this case Olivier le Daim) to acquire wealth based on their trusted position see **Small**, *Centre and Periphery* p. 158. The duke's other barber was Gaultier Vasque, also a *varlet de chambre*: ADN B 2048 fo 131v.

armies. Their fathers', uncles' and forefathers' service kick-started their own work for the duke²⁰⁸. Comparison of Martin's functions with Philippe Pot's highlights overlaps and patterns: it explains how he came to be influential and trusted keeper of the duke's jewels²⁰⁹. By 1466, towards the end of Philip the Good's life, Martin had become lord of Partay and Thoisy, councillor of the duke and his *gruyer de Bourgogne* in the bailliwicks of Dijon, Auxois and la Montaigne²¹⁰. Jean Martin's father Jacquot (or Jacot) Martin was also a ducal *varlet de chambre*, though his son replaced him on 3 June 1450. Jean Martin subsequently acted as a *varlet de chambre* and *garde des joyaulx* in the absence of his maternal uncle, Philippe Machefoing, from 17 December 1452. When this uncle died, Jean Martin replaced him on 4 June 1453, rising quickly through the ranks²¹¹. Martin's grandfather's career incorporated a spell as an *escuier* in ducal military service, under the Marshal of Burgundy. A series of military letters and briefs from 1405 record payments made to Ame de Vury, an *escuier banneret*, whose company included four other esquires: Ame de la Rochette, Pierre de la

²⁰⁸ ACO B 10421 (letter with intact seal: bundle 18 #93).

²⁰⁹ J. Paviot, 'Jacques De Bregilles, Garde-Joyaux des Ducs de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et Charles le Téméraire', in *Revue du Nord* (1995) pp. 313-320. Paviot's brief summary of the life of this Burgundian colleague of Martin's (reconstructed from the archival documentation, and a personal prayer book) highlights interesting parallels with Martin's responsibilities, and draws attention to the bibliophilia which characterised ducal service. As officer responsible for the ducal books, he even had to deal with the completion of manuscripts. His personal history was similar to Martin's – involving long stints at court, away from his wife, who remained with their Burgundian property.

²¹⁰ ACO B 1757 fo 100v: this paid £150 in wages for a year. ADN B 3424: his position as first *sommelier de corps* was remunerated at the rate of 18s per day. The position of *Gruyer de Bourgogne* had been held by Philippe Pot's grandfather, Regnier Pot. Caron, *Renier Pot*, p. 25.

²¹¹ On Jacquot's status as *commensal* of Dijon, see ACO *Recueil Peincédé* vol. 18, p. 524. Dr Brandt has signalled Jean Martin's presence in Court Ordinance 1449 fo 78v, 80r-81r; CO 1458 fo 176v.

Forasse, Pierre de Tournay, and Jean Martin. The raconteur's eponymous grandfather was also named amongst the soldiers mustered by the Marshal of Burgundy in late August and early September, 1417, alongside one Pierrin le Voyer, who may or may not have been the raconteur of the 87th *Nouvelle*, designated *Monsieur le Voyer* in the Glasgow manuscript²¹².

Both Philippe Pot and Jean Martin may have come from a *tradition* of household and military service, but in several respects, their acceptance and trust by the duke was the culmination of deliberate years of familial effort and loyalty. The same is strikingly true of Jean de Lannoy, who repeatedly served the duke in his armies, and whose own father, like Jean de Créquy's, had died at Agincourt²¹³. Lannoy served as a soldier in the duke's wars in the 1430s. Whilst Joan of Arc was being tried at Compiègne, the duke sent Antoine de Croy to campaign against the Liégeois, who had invaded the county of Namur, and burned Andenne, Gosselies, and Poilvache. Antoine de Croy sent his brother Jean and his nephew Lannoy, who distinguished himself during the three month campaign in Hesbaye, pursuing the enemy in flight. His exploits allowed him to be made a knight at the hands of Jean de Croy²¹⁴. In 1432, the duke gave him £177 in return for his services in the

²¹² ACO B 11788: a large muster sheet, transcribed in Peincedé 26, p. 169. On the designation Monsieur, see Paviot, *Éléonore de Poitiers* p. 116. There is a record of a Philippe Martin in military service for the duke of Burgundy: ACO B 11785 fo 4v (muster roll, 30 May 1414). Another document relating to the same service (dating from 28 May) also mentions Philippe Martin.

²¹³ B. de Lannoy and G. Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy le Bâtitseur 1410-1493* (Brussels, 1937) p. 15. After his father's death, Jean became lord of Lannoy and Lys, Maingoval (which later went to his younger brother Antoine), Wattignies, Yser, and Bersées (which he sold in 1446). See ADN B 16360 for the reliefs.

²¹⁴ F. Morand. *Jean le Fevre de Saint Remy, Chronique*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1876) pp. 187-191. Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 2, pp. 62-63.

army²¹⁵. In 1434, the duke helped him to renew his equipment for the campaign in Burgundy²¹⁶. Monstrelet indicates that Lannoy and Jean de Croy were leaders of the ducal force of 10,000 men who assisted the count of Vaudemont at the battle of Bulgnéville against King René over the lord of Rodemac's lands, where René was captured.

Marie-Thérèse Caron was the first person to draw attention in print to a problematic document in the Archives de Saône et Loire, a register from 1456²¹⁷, in which Jean Martin styled himself: *noble homme, Jehan Martin, escuier, bourgeois de Dijon, chatelain de Rouvre, garde des joyaux de monseigneur le duc de Bourgoingne*. When Caron made her laconic observation that it was difficult to know how to categorise Martin from such an autobiographical description, she indulged in droll understatement²¹⁸. It is not enough to say that the nouvelles were the work of the men around the duke. As even this short list of some of his titles suggests, Martin's relationship with the duke – and his relations with the other raconteurs – was complex and of long standing. To see him as a total courtier within the usage of his period, something close to what Castiglione called *the very flower of courtiership*, or as someone employing what Bonaccursius of Montemagno, in his *Débat de Noblesse* characterised as a nobility of action is to contextualise his life in its basic aspects: he ate, slept, embraced, talked and

²¹⁵ ADN B 1945 fo 158v

²¹⁶ ADN B 1951, fo 143v; *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire* 4th series, #6, p. 122.

²¹⁷ ASL E 1141, fo 174v, from 1456.

²¹⁸ Caron, *La Noblesse*, p. 244 and note 195.

lived the life of a courtier²¹⁹. He was initiated into this world through his family and through his own service. In the registers which record his pay, there are occasional glimpses of the extent of his connection with the duke. One entry specifically talks about the help which Jean Martin gave the duke over a long period, both day and night²²⁰. His family was replete with ducal servants, who worked alongside him in the same rooms in the duke's household²²¹. His brother, who replaced him as captain and châtelain of Rouvre, was described by Charles the Bold as *our well beloved espicier and varlet de chambre, Philippe Martin*²²². Philippe was every bit as difficult to categorise as Jean: he too was a noble man, and a bourgeois (eventually the mayor) of Dijon, who served two dukes of Burgundy and two kings of

²¹⁹ **G. Bull**, *Castiglione, the Book of the Courtier* (Harmondsworth, 1967) p. 39. The duke's French language manuscript copy of *Le Débat* (or *La Controverse*) *de Noblesse*, made by Jean Miélot, is in Brussels MS 9278-80. (cf Copenhagen, KL MS Thott 1090, which also contains a presentation miniature on fo 67r.) On this latter work, which dates to 1449, and contains the "nature vs nurture" debate in respect of nobility, see **C. Willard**, 'The Concept of True Nobility at the Burgundian Court', in *Studies in the Renaissance* (1967) pp. 33-48; **H. Baron**, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance* (Princeton, 1966) pp. 419-424. **A. Vanderjagt**, *Qui sa vertu anoblist. The concepts of noblesse and chose publique in Burgundian political thought* (Groningen, 1981); **P. De Win**, 'Queeste Naar de Rechtspositie van de Edelman in de Bourgondische Nederlanden', in *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* (1985) pp. 223-274.

²²⁰ ADN B 2030 fo 148r.

²²¹ His wife's family also served the duke: **E. Anne**, 'Service du Prince, anoblissement et fiscalité dans le duché de Bourgogne: le procès de Joceran Frépier contre les échevins de Chalon-sur-Saône devant le Parlement de Paris (1422-1425)', in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1999).

²²² ACO B 11832 letter (bundle 36, #116) (1473). Philippe Martin received £99 of 40 gros as *gages* in respect of his office as varlet de Chambre, by B 1751 fo 74r. B 11832 Bundle 2 #3179 lists the duties and privileges of the châtelain. It was a judicial post, with powers over ducal subjects in the castelany, and he had to guard the castle, keep a watch, and give an account to the Dijon *chambre des comptes* every year. Jean Martin was allowed to have a lieutenant because of the *continual occupation which he had in the duke's service and especially around his person*. **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 90: Philippe Martin was allowed to manage the castellany personally by letters patent of 1465.

France²²³. Jean Martin himself received the post of châtelain of Rouvre after his maternal grandfather and uncle, the noble esquire Monnot Machefoin²²⁴ and Philippe, Monnot's son²²⁵.

John Bartier has drawn attention to the fact that châtelains and local receivers such as Jean Martin were drawn from the staff of the ducal *hôtel*, and from the ranks of *secrétaires* and masters of accounts²²⁶. It is also important to stress the generational continuity in such service.

²²³ Philippe Martin, was mayor 1485-1489, contrary to the often cited work by **P. Gras**, *Histoire de Dijon* (Toulouse, 1981). His death occasioned the succession of Henri Chambellan on 14 September 1489, following an election at an earlier date, and not in 1490, as Gras has it. *Noble homme* Philippe Martin died on Thursday September 10 1489, according to AM Dijon, B 166 (old number: B 23, #38). Besides being mayor, this register lists *Philippe Martin, esquier seigneur de Bretenieres* at the head of the list of the four first *échevins* of the town of Dijon.

²²⁴ Monnot's wife Jeanne (also known as Jehannotte) de Courcelles (the raconteur's grandmother) was Philip the Good's wetnurse: IACO B tome 2 p. 312 (cited in Bartier, p. 49, and note 3). In the summer of 1408, the young Philip the Good used Rouvre as his base whilst he was hunting. **Petit**, *Itinéraires*, pp. 590-591.

²²⁵ See Plate 1 for a genealogical table. ACO B 11324 fo 55v, which mentions *noble homme Monnot Machefoin esquier chastellain de ceste ville* (i.e. Rouvre: the document was written in the parish church there.) cf ADN B 2034 preregister fo 3v, 29v, and 66v. ACO B 11334 fo 83v-85r: On 15 March 1422, Jean and Annotte Martin's son Jacot Martin married Marguerite Machefoin, the daughter of Monot and Jehannotte Machefoin. B 11832, Bundle 2 #3179: Jean Martin was confirmed as châtelain of Rouvre from 10 January 1455 in place of Monot Machefoin's son, the late Philippe Machefoin.

²²⁶ ACO B 339 (a copy of the original grant witnessed by the duke and given on the 2nd November 1457) mentions Jehan Martin as Chastelain of Rouvre. B 1757 (receipt for 1465-66) fo 96v records a payment of £810, 18s 3d to Jehan Martin premier sommelier de corps de mondit seigneur et nagueres son cappitaine et chastellain de Rouvre. B 1301 is a letter concerning Jehan Martin as chastellain of Rouvre from 26 November 1456. **Bartier**, *Légistes*, pp. 56-61.

The case of raconteur Philippe Vignier, châtelain of Aignay-le-Duc, is another good example²²⁷. He was an *escuier*, though his grandfather, Guillaume Vignier, had been a ducal secretary of John the Fearless, whose service had included military work²²⁸. Guillaume's wife was evidently also in ducal favour, as she received a diamond worth 30 gold crowns from the duke²²⁹. Philippe's father, Jean Vignier, was one of Philip the Good's *huissiers d'armes*, and *varlets de chambre*, and the raconteur also served in both capacities himself²³⁰. Jean Vignier was the receiver of the county of Tonnerre in 1423²³¹. He also served as captain of Châtillon (a position which he abused by collecting extra taxes²³²) and kept the duke's forest at Villers-le-Duc, a salaried position in which he was preferred as *maistre fourestier* against other candidates²³³. Jean's wife was also a recipient of ducal favours.

²²⁷ ACO B 2066, *compte de Humbert Tâtepoire commis de Philippe Vignier, capitaine et châtelain d'Aignay pour le duc de Bourgoingne*.

²²⁸ **B. Schnerb**, *Les Armagnacs et les Bourguignons, la maudite guerre* (Paris, 1988) p. 184. ADN B 2034 fo 177r records a gift of £24, which Philippe Vignier signed for on 11 March 1459. He was described as an *escuier varlet de chambre*. He received it both for services rendered and to defray his expenses from Brussels to Burgundy where he lived. For Guillaume Vignier, see **R. Vaughan**, *John the Fearless*, pp. 130-131 (with archival references); **P. Cockshaw**, *Le Personnel de la Chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre* (Courtrai, 1982) pp. 120, 131 n. 798, 137 n. 858, 138 n. 863, 141 n. 88. B 1878 fo 126r-v mentions that the duke paid for the basinet which Guillaume bought in order to serve him in his armies around Calais.

²²⁹ ACO B 1560 fo 132r.

²³⁰ **Bartier**, *Légistes*, pp. 57, 61, 410. IACO B vol. 1, p. 214; vol. 2, p. 93. ACO B 1747 fo 38v; B 1751 fo 119v. **T. Wright**, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles publiées d'après le seul manuscrit connu avec introduction et notes* (Paris, 1858) pp. 257-258.

²³¹ ACO Recueil Peincedé vol. V. p. 56.

²³² **Bartier**, *Légistes*, pp. 153-154 (with Archival references). ACO B 11406; B 1386. This was Châtillon-sur-Seine, north west of Dijon.

²³³ ACO B 6645. There had been seven foresters, but the number was cut back to five by ducal letters: Jehan Vignier, Joachim de Montleon, Guillaume Champeaux, Jehan Chapponnel, and Jaquot Foulebeau.

Even before she was widowed, the duke gave her a pension for life of 50 francs per year²³⁴. This sort of familial continuity underlined the raconteurs' relations with the duke, and with each other.

On the other hand, some raconteurs seem to have established their right to patronage and office by dint of service alone. Whereas for Martin it was a matter of *continued* service, Chaugy's career in service began humbly, as a younger son's often had to, and was based on a complete change of scene, in the first instance²³⁵. Chaugy's origins were in the Bourbonnais, where his father came from, and where his lands were²³⁶. Michault's father, Jean de Chaugy, was a councillor of the duke of Bourbon, and the occasion of Michault's transfer to the Burgundian court seems to have been the marriage of Charles of Bourbon to Agnès of Burgundy. In 1444, Chaugy was only an *écuyer tranchant*: a middle grade in the pecking order²³⁷. By the time the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were being composed, he had attained the exalted status of a steward of the household, and was a knight²³⁸. He served both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold. Around the time the nouvelles were written up, he became captain of Châteauneuf (by letters patent of 9 October 1461), and Marcigny (a strategic site on the Loire between Vichy and

Jehan Petit and Oudart Gauthier were made redundant on 14 November 1459 (their entries were crossed out in the register, and copies of the letters are included).

²³⁴ ACO B 1751 fo 119v-121r: The raconteur's mother was widowed on 11 March 1463. She lived at Châtillon-sur-Seine, north of Dijon, and had received an annual pension for life since October 1460.

²³⁵ His brother Georges de Chaugy, who died in 1461, was lord of Chaugy, Urbise and Le Verger. His sons inherited their uncle Michault's goods. cf Reure, *Chaugy*, passim.

²³⁶ For what follows, see P. Champion, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, pp. XXI-XXV.

²³⁷ ADN B 1983, #59080; B 1985, #59361.

²³⁸ ADN B 2045 fo 288r (1461).

Mâcon²³⁹) and Vieuxchâtel from 25 May 1459²⁴⁰. Although his family held lands in the duchy of Burgundy to which he fell heir, he had no obvious family history of service²⁴¹.

The *escuier d'escuierie* Hervé de Mériadec is another example of a raconteur whose family connections were of less significance in terms of his relationship with the duke and his court than his years of service. He was a Breton esquire who had come to the duke along with his nephew Hector, a ducal page, after they had been in military service with the count of Richemont²⁴². By contrast with him, Guillaume de Montbléru the count of Charolais' *escuier d'escuierie*, was the son of le Bègue (sometimes called Le Borgne) de Montbléru who had served Michelle of France as an *écuyer tranchant*, and an *échanson*, before becoming Isabelle of Portugal's

²³⁹ The main defensive structure of the town is known as the monks' mill tower, whose thick walls date from the early 15th Century.

²⁴⁰ Caron, *La Noblesse*, p. 161.

²⁴¹ ACO B 5104 fo 15r; Caron, *La Noblesse*, pp. 78-79, 106, 387. Chaugy's share of the inheritance was split with his older brother, who received the Bourbonnais lands. Jean de Chaugy owned the castle of Chenay and its appurtenances.

²⁴² Hervé, not Hector de Mériadec was the raconteur of *Nouvelle* 42, as he was known simply as Mériadec, whereas his nephew was consistently identified either as *Hector/Ictor/Ector* or *Hector de Meriadec*. Hervé was in the count of Richemont's army in 1424 when he went to the king at Angers in November 1424. Hector served in his army at Formigny in 1450, as Richemont's bodyguard with seven other knights. **C. de Kerdellec'h**, *Recherches sur la Chevalerie du duché de Bretagne* (1877) vol. 1, p. 532. **J.-T.-M. Trévédy**, *Les Bretons Compagnons du Connétable De Richemont* in *Revue Morbihannaise* (1909) pp. 1-78 at pp. 43, 52, 53, 78. **J.-F. Michaud**, and **J.-J.-F. Poujoulat** (eds.), *Mémoires concernant la pucelle d'Orléans* (Paris, 1837) vol. 3, p. 224 (Hector in bodyguard at Saint Lo 15 April 1450); **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, p. 11: Mériadec, like others of the raconteurs, was sent by the duke on a diplomatic mission to the king. Chastelain calls him *un escuier breton nommé Mériadec*. Hector remained in ducal service under Charles the Bold: **Paviot**, *Politique Navale*, p. 170.

échanson, and *maître d'hôtel*²⁴³. Guillaume began his ducal service in 1441, also in the duchess' household, and switched at some stage in or before 1444 to the countess of Charolais' retinue. He was Catherine of France's *panetier*, before he was appointed Charles of Charolais' *escuier d'escuierie*²⁴⁴.

Loyalty and Reward: Service to Retirement

The vocational and household titles of the *raconteurs* implied adherence to a particular remit, though the *raconteurs* who acted as diplomats did not balk at the prospect of lavish “diplomatic entertainment” or accepting large payments, which to modern sensibilities share many of the characteristics of bribes²⁴⁵. Notwithstanding these distinctive remits, and separate divisions of affinity based on the oaths sworn on taking up household office, there was an elastic quality to the terms of expectations of loyalty which the storytellers felt as titled servants within the ducal household. Although some periods of their service were marked “ended” by the receipt of gifts or gratuities, indicating a more formal severance of a standing relationship, by no means all their client-patron relationships terminated in such a way. The dukes did not always oppose the severance of a period of service, or even disapprove of courtiers wishing to take up employment elsewhere in the kingdom of France. The main reason for this was that the *raconteurs* saw service itself as their natural calling: it was the defining characteristic of the

²⁴³ **Sommé**, *Isabelle*, pp. 227, 231, 305 (etc.: see index, p. 551)

²⁴⁴ Philippe de Saint Yon may have been the son of Garnot de Saint Yon, who was one of John the Fearless' household officers. **Wright**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. 259.

²⁴⁵ **A. Derville**, 'Pots de vin, cadeaux, racket, patronage: essai sur les mecanismes de decision dans l'état bourguignon', in *Revue du Nord* (1974) pp. 341-362; **Davies**, *City of York*, pp. 2-7; **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 293-296; *Charles the Bold*, pp. 89-93.

courtier. As Peter Lewis put it, the *moths could not resist that candle*²⁴⁶. For example, in April 1457 Guillaume de Montbléru, was given the cost of a good horse. The payment is recorded in a register of the count of Charolais' household book, and is very specific: *To Guillaume de Monbleru esquire of the stables of my said lord, who after his term of service expired left this lord's company to go to France: at his parting, my said lord has given him £60 to have a horse, in fifty golden crowns*²⁴⁷. Montbléru was also a servant of the count of Étampes according to his own testimony in *Nouvelle* 63. In the context of an episode relating to the raconteur's sister, the lady of Haguemine, who lived in Paris, Chastelain described Montbléru as *a most gentle esquire, named Mombleru, the most 'nouvel' man on the earth...* and mentioned that in the summer of 1459, he was staying in the duke's *hôtel*. From what Chastelain wrote it unclear whether this was in a serving capacity²⁴⁸. When Montbléru finally retired, he did so at his own request, and was rewarded by the new duke with a substantial pension. Another good example was the gift given to Antoine de la Salle in June 1448, by René, the

²⁴⁶ Lewis, *Later Medieval France*, pp. 119-126, at p. 120.

²⁴⁷ ADN B 3661 fo 28v-29r: *A Guillaume de Montbléru escuier d'escuieris de monditseigneur lequel / apres son terme de servir expire sest party de devers iceluseigneur pour aler en France que mondessusditseigneur lui a fait donner a son parment pour avoir ung cheval. En cinquante escus d'or de XLVIIJ gross piece LX livres. Montbléru's career included service for a variety of lords, though in the 1450s he was mainly in the service of the counts of Charolais and Étampes. E. de Blicck, 'In search of the comic hero - an example from Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', in *Publications du Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes* (2001) pp. 243-254.*

²⁴⁸ See also chapter four below. Delclos, *Chastelain*, pp. 236-241. Chastelain mentioned that his brother in law was also like Montbléru, and described him as the most fashionable and *novelle* of all. *Et estoit ceste damoiselle femme d'un advocat nommé {BLANK} toute de tele condition et langaige comme estoit son frere, la plus mondaine et nouvelle des aultres.* ADN B 2034 fo 192v: £120 from the duke, certified by the lord of Croy given on 12 August 1459, to defray the travelling expenses of the damoiselle from Paris to Brussels and back, in the company of the lord d'Arcy.

titular king of Jerusalem and Sicily, on his departure from service. La Salle, described as *nostro scutifero et familiari*, received 100 florins as a parting recognition of service²⁴⁹. This point reminds us that the Burgundian court was an open milieu, and that Burgundian identity was therefore complex and hybrid: the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* reflects these complex cultural realities. In the course of Franco-Burgundian relations over the period from Arras to the end of the Hundred Years War, courtiers like the raconteurs could normally expect to move around a variety of courtly, noble, and military circles in their lifetimes as a matter of right, and with every expectation of recognition for services rendered²⁵⁰. We have already explored Saint Pol's own adherence to the French and Burgundian causes, for example. Antoine de la Sale's employment included service at the royal court of René of Anjou, and also with the count of Saint Pol. He was a personal tutor to the higher echelons of French and Burgundian nobility. His tale in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* evinces his affiliation with the duke of Burgundy's court, and his participation in that *power complex of influence and favour*²⁵¹. Against this background, his contribution to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is an expression of the Burgundian courtly network²⁵².

²⁴⁹ J. Nève, *Anthoine de La Salle, sa vie et ses Ouvrages* (Paris, 1903) pp. 267-268.

²⁵⁰ P. Lewis, 'Decayed and Non-Feudalism in Later Medieval France', in *Essays in Later Medieval French History* (London, 1985) (reprint of the article which appeared in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* (1968), pp. 157-184).

²⁵¹ F. Desonay, *Anthoine de La Sale, aventureux et pédagogue* (Liège, 1940); C. Knudson, 'Anthoine de la Sale, le duc de Bourgogne et les Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in *Romania* (1927) pp. 365-373; L. Labande, 'Anthoine de la Salle; nouveaux documents sur sa vie et ses relations avec la maison d'Anjou' in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1904), pp. 55-100, 321-354. Quote from Lewis, *Later Medieval France*, p. 122.

²⁵² Hoefler, *Nouvelle Biographie Générale* (Paris, 1862) vol. 4, pp. 885-886. Antoine de la Sale was not the only raconteur to be given the responsibility of governing the children of important lords. Philippe Pot was

The Raconteurs as Literary Men within a Courtly Setting.

Although books were status symbols, and sometimes had a ceremonial purpose, it is a commonplace, nevertheless, to say that the court of Burgundy was a reading court²⁵³. As was argued in the previous chapter, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, considered as a development of genre, exhibits the characteristics of a text from a self-consciously literary milieu²⁵⁴. It is worth stressing that the court of Burgundy was a reading and listening court, but it can also be demonstrated that the individual raconteurs' associations with books, and their literary pursuits played an active and significant part in their lives both as courtiers and individuals²⁵⁵. As Georges Doutrepoint put it almost a hundred years ago, *la littérature marche de front avec la politique*, which is to say that the tendencies of Burgundian politics are reflected in its literature²⁵⁶. Walter Prevenier made the case in its most extreme form: *It is logical, at the heart of Burgundian high society, a society possessing all the characteristics of a clan, that cultural currency should circulate from the top to the bottom. The tastes and preferences of the charismatic figure Philip the*

named tutor to Charles-Orland, Charles VIII's son, who died in infancy, just as his brother Guiot Pot was the young Louis XII's tutor. **F. Baumgartner**, *Louis XII* (London, 1996) p. 4.

²⁵³ ACO B 5104 fo 37v: The Bible was put to ceremonial use when officers were sworn in. In Mâcon, for example, Nicolas Jaul, the Baillif's lieutenant (i.e. Michault de Chaugy's lieutenant) purchased a specially decorated gospel of Saint John specifically for the swearing of oaths.

²⁵⁴ **W. Blockmans**, *Manuscript acquisition by the Burgundian court and the market for books in the fifteenth century Netherlands* in **M. North and D. Ormrod** (eds), *Art Markets in Europe, 1400-1800* (Aldershot, 1998) pp. 7-18.

²⁵⁵ **J. Monfrin**, 'Le Goût des Lettres à la Cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle' in *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France* (1967) pp. 285-289.

²⁵⁶ **G. Doutrepoint**, *La Littérature Française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909) pp. 509, 512.

*Good were adopted ... who was a flamboyant epicurean and art lover*²⁵⁷. Of course, although this argument, and more recent studies in the same vein, turn the courtiers into mere imitators rather than innovators – and they were both – it is fair to say that the duke was the centre of gravity for a variety of cultural trends²⁵⁸. Some of the raconteurs' associations with books and literature are tangential, and not necessarily evidence of their own literacy or inclination to read. For instance, Mériadec's wife, Jehanne de (le) Croix, a bourgeoisie of Valenciennes, owned at least two books in 1458, a large parchment psalter and a book of prayers, also on parchment²⁵⁹. Louis XI paid Jehan Martin, the raconteur's eponymous nephew, who was his *garde des joyaulx*, for having brought books to him on horseback over twelve days. He did this whilst the king was at Poitiers in December and January 1481, and then rode from Tours to Mirebeau with three more volumes in February²⁶⁰. Jean Martin's brother Philippe was associated with a ducal sponsored researcher and writer called Hugues de Tollins, and it has been speculated that Philippe was a co-author with Tollins of an abridgement of a

²⁵⁷ **W. Prevenier et al**, *Le Prince et le Peuple, Images de la société du temps des ducs de Bourgogne, 1384-1530* (Antwerp, 1998) p. 157. cf **Blockmans and Donckers**, *Self-Representation*, pp. 81-111.

²⁵⁸ **W. Blockmans**, 'Les investissements en projets artistiques des ducs de Bourgogne', in **S. Cavaciocchi** (ed.) *Gli aspetti economici del mecenatismo in Europa secc. XIII-XVIII* (Prato 1999); **R. Prochno**, 'Mythos Burgund: Entstehung, Bedeutungen und Fortleben bis zur Gegenwart', in *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* (2001) pp. 93-120.

²⁵⁹ **H. Servant**, *Artistes et Gens de Lettres à Valenciennes à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1998) p. 246. The books are mentioned in her will. It is possible that Mériadec first met his future wife in Valenciennes in 1458, when the ducal court was there. **L. Nys**, *Les Tableaux Votifs Tournaisiens en Pierre 1350-1475* (Louvain, 2001) pp. 222-224, catalogue #XXIX. An older Jehanne de le Croix was a bourgeoisie of Tournai, and may have been related to Mériadec's eponymous wife, which perhaps explains Louis XI's decision to reward Mériadec with the bailliwick of Tournai in 1461. **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, p. 33.

²⁶⁰ **L. Delisle**, *Cabinet des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale* (Paris, 1888) vol. 1, p. 79, citing Archives de l'Empire Registre KK 64.

martyrology²⁶¹. Jean Martin himself lent his support to Tollins, a man whom he said he knew well, when the men of the counting house at Dijon were refusing to give him the money to pay for his return to the north²⁶². Jean Martin's associations with writing at the court of Burgundy are not altogether nebulous, therefore, and it is worth stressing that he was one of George Chastelain's familiars. Like his cousin Jean Machefoing, he probably possessed a copy of Chastelain's work, and also kept the duke's books, as his *garde des joyaulx*²⁶³.

The relationship of Chastelain – the major salaried literary figure of the court – to the project is interesting and difficult to ascertain. As will be discussed more fully in the next chapter, it is certain that two of the nouvelles contain material which he used in his chronicle, and he seems to have been on good terms with a variety of the raconteurs, most of whom he knew, and he wrote in favourable terms about many of them. His references to Philippe Pot, for instance, were always positive²⁶⁴. Pot was the one who

²⁶¹ See G. Small, 'Of Burgundian dukes, counts, saints and kings (14 A.D.- c. 1500)', forthcoming, 2004. On Tollins's ducal sponsorship on his research trip, see ADN B 2040 preregister fo 16v - B 2045 postregister fo 1r. The original scribe, Milet, intended both B 2040 preregister and B 2045 postregister to be a part of the preregister sewn into the binding of B 2030. B 2040 preregister fo 17r does not follow fo 16v, and is from a later section of the register.

²⁶² ACO B1744, fo 328v-329r.

²⁶³ Small, *Shaping*, pp. 73, 121, 132, citing S. Bliggenstorfer, *George Chastelain, Le Temple de Bocace* (Bern, 1988) pp.67-8. Bliggenstorfer is unsure whether the *ex libris* on fo 51v of Lille BM MS 336 (*c'est a moy Jehan Martin*) is the hand of the raconteur. Correcting Rigaux's catalogue, which says it is a 16th century manuscript, she dates the manuscript by this *ex libris*, to November 1474 at the latest, as this was when the raconteur died. However, Philippe Martin's son was also called Jean Martin and he served Louis XI as a keeper of his books, so the original dating may be correct. I have not been able to consult the manuscript to compare handwriting, with e.g. ADN B 2056 #64070.

²⁶⁴ Delclos, *Témoignage*, pp. 37-38, 46.

was so persuasive he could have married the reluctant Charles to his cousin *on the first Sunday in Lent* (i.e. on a day when weddings were not allowed)²⁶⁵. Another example is Poncellet, the *varlet de chambre* and *rhetoricien* who was his neighbour in Valenciennes²⁶⁶. Like Jean Martin, Poncellet was a ducal *varlet de chambre*, with probable links to other *raconteurs*²⁶⁷. Chastelain, who described Poncellet as *un povre vallet clergeant*²⁶⁸ added the detail that he was a *rhetoricien*: it should not surprise us that this *raconteur* was a figure of sufficient literary standing that the talented Chastelain should draw attention to what was effectively a *prestigious* designation – that of a man of letters. The *raconteurs* were not simply literary figures within their own court, however. Philip the Good's own poetic correspondence with the duke of Orleans has been alluded to in the previous chapter, and we have also seen that a significant minority of the *raconteurs* were associated with the *Cour Amoureuse* tradition. Along with

²⁶⁵ Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 24ff. Escouchy dated the wedding to 31 October 1454, whilst du Clercq had 30 October. Chastelain's account is confirmed by Monstrelet's continuator who agreed with Escouchy. Chastelain placed the duke in Dijon, whilst the king's representative the bailiff of Berry was with him. In the section of his chronicle that duplicates *Nouvelle 53*, Chastelain mentioned the season when weddings were no longer permissible, which proves he knew no marriage could take place in Lent. This suggests that he did not make a mistake in the dating, as Sommé has argued: Sommé, *Une Mère et son Fils*, p. 101. See chapter four below.

²⁶⁶ Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, p. 259, and see chapter four below.

²⁶⁷ For example, H. Nélis, *Chambre des Comptes de Lille: Catalogue des Chartes du sceau de l'audience* (Brussels, 1915) vol.1, p. 59, #699, 23 Sept 1458 mentions Jean Duponchin du Ponchelet with Alardin de Lodenghien, who may or may not have been the Alardin of the 77th and 88th nouvelles.

²⁶⁸ Small, *Shaping*, pp. 111-112; P. Champion, *Histoire Poétique du XVe siècle* (Paris 1923), vol. 1, p. 289; J. Watkins, 'A note on the Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in *Modern Language Review* (1941) pp. 396-397: on 16 September 1458 the duke retained Jehan de Ponceau du Ponchelet with a retainer fee of 6s per day as a *varlet de chambre* and *rhetoricien* in the place of the late Michault Taillevent. Dr Brandt has

this, however, it is worth drawing attention to the fact that Philippe Pot, and his brother Guiot Pot engaged in literary exchanges with the duke of Orleans, as table companions, along with Olivier de la Marche, and François Villon²⁶⁹. David Cowling has recently shown how Chastelain was called on to participate in a “literary joust” in poetry, sparring in verses dedicated to the twelve ladies of rhetoric²⁷⁰. Being a salaried man of letters at the court could involve defending the court's honour and exchanges of a lettered sort could become competitive as well as artistic. As a paid writer, Poncellet may well have had links to other courts. He seems to have been familiar with Villon's *Testament*, as he ended the 59th *Nouvelle* with lines also found in that poem. It is hard to be certain, however, as they have a proverbial quality, and may have been in current usage outwith either text²⁷¹:

De chiens, d'oiseaulx, d'armes, d'amours:

Pour ung plaisir mille douleurs [...]

indicated to me that Jean du Poncel (also found as Jean du Ponceau) alias Poncellet is mentioned as a *varlet de chambre* in Court Ordinance 1449 fo 80r and CO 1458 fo 178r.

²⁶⁹ **Petit**, *Le Poète Jean Regnier*, p. 17. René king of Sicily, and Antoine de la Sale's former master also figured at these literary gatherings. **G. Frank**, 'Villon at the court of Charles d'Orleans', in *Modern Language Notes* (1932) pp. 498-505; **G. Faessler-Caccia**, 'La poésie de circonstance chez Charles d'Orléans', in *Studi Francesi e Provenzali*, **M.-R. Jung and G. Tavani** (eds), *Romanica Vulgaria Quaderni* (L'Aquila, 1986) pp. 93-115. **A. Grunzweig**, 'Quatre Lettres Autographes de Philippe le Bon', in *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* (1925) pp. 431-437, at p. 437: in 1447, Philippe Pot was the adviser whom the duke of Orleans trusted to be party to the secret meeting of his third wife Marie with Jean and Adolf of Cleves. On Guiot Pot's relations with the house of Orleans, see **Baumgartner**, *Louis XII*, p. 4.

²⁷⁰ **C. Brown**, 'Du Nouveau sur le "mistere" des Douze Dames de Rhétoriques: le rôle de Georges Chastelain', in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (1987) pp. 181-225; **D. Cowling**, *Les douze dames de rhétorique / George Chastelain, Jean Robertet, Jean de Montferrant* (Geneva, 2002); **M. Zsuppán**, *Oeuvres de Jean Robertet* (Paris and Geneva, 1970).

Nul ne s'i doit bouter

S'il n'en veult a la foiz gouster.

If this is a borrowing, there would have been nothing unnatural in Poncellet's appropriating literary material, as he succeeded the poet and *joueur de farces* Taillevent (Michaut le Caron, called both Taillevent, and Michaut Taillevent) – another *valet de chambre* – as an institutional occasional poet²⁷². One of the tales which Poncellet told was also related in a slightly different form by Chastelain, though it is not clear who took the lead from whom²⁷³.

Chastelain was more ambiguous about other raconteurs, however. For instance, writing of Jean de Lannoy, he concentrated on his immense wealth, which had come through ducal service in Holland. That the wealth specifically came from service was Chastelain's point: we learn that he had *become rich beyond measure in Holland*²⁷⁴. His castle of Lannoy was extremely fine – *un chateau d'infini avoir*. On the other hand, his formal

²⁷¹ G. Frank, 'Proverbs in Medieval Literature', in *Modern Language Notes* (1943) pp. 508-515. For a comparison of Villon's and Chastelain's work see T. Van Hemelryck, 'Villon: lecteur de Chastelain', in *Les Lettres Romanes* (1994) pp. 3-15.

²⁷² **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, p. 243. Michault le Caron was mentioned from 1426 as a *valet de Chambre* and a *joueur de farces*, who *organisait les réjouissances de la cour*. cf **R. Deschaux**, *Un Poète Bourguignon au XVe siècle: Michault Taillevent (Edition et étude)* (Geneva, 1975) pp. 22-37. **Gachard**, *Histoire de la Belgique*, p. 271: Michaut Taillevent is mentioned in the 1431 recette of Jean Abonnel, the first time (fo 96v) as a *joueur de farces à Bruxelles* (for 38s, 57s *pour ses nécessités*, and 40s) and the second time (fo 98) more elaborately as *valet de chambre et joueur de farces de monseigneur*, when he received £19, 19s to buy a horse. This reference makes it certain that he received his payments not merely on an ad hoc basis, but as a ducal employee, with a title relating him to the duke.

²⁷³ **E. de Blicck**, 'Malines et les <Cent nouvelles nouvelles>', in *Koninklijke kring voor Oudheidkunde. Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* (2001) pp. 113-125, discussed below in chapter four.

²⁷⁴ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, p. 179: *devenu riche outre mesure en Hollande*.

descriptions of Lannoy were extremely laudatory: he was a *very wise knight and of fine appearance*²⁷⁵. The main cause of ambiguity for Chastelain was his perception of the Croy family as overweening, and proud, and it is notable that the more negative comments on their behaviour only begin to appear following their acceptance of Louis XI's offices and rewards, and in particular, their facilitation of the resale of the Somme towns. He was positive about them when they came to terms with the duke in 1468²⁷⁶. His account of Jean de Lannoy and Jean de Croy's embassy to the king in early 1459, exemplifies Chastelain's intimate acquaintance with the men. He recorded Lannoy's personal feeling about the embassy: *he would be happy never to have to go back*²⁷⁷. Chastelain knew Lannoy of old, however. They had been at the University of Louvain together in the early 1430s, and it is unlikely that their paths did not cross during their student days²⁷⁸. In other words, he was not merely in the orbit of, but in personal and professional conversation with, such great statesmen of Burgundy, and seems to have judged them according to their standing with the duke.

As for his literary links with the raconteurs, Philippe lord of Quiévrain was his correspondent in even the gravest of times. In reply to an elegant and flattering letter, in which he and the ducal force were called *men of iron*, Philippe, then count of Chimay, sent him a friendly, and practical newsletter

²⁷⁵ Delclos, *Chastelain*, pp. 172-174, at p. 172. *ung tressage chevalier et de bonne mise*.

²⁷⁶ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, pp. 376ff. The same is true of Wavrin's chronicle, Hardy, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, pp. 446, 564-565.

²⁷⁷ Delclos, *Chastelain*, p. 211. (The embassy's business is narrated on pp. 172-211.)

²⁷⁸ In 1430 Lannoy was at the University of Louvain and he was still there two years later: E. Reusens, *Matricule de l'Université de Louvain (1428-1453)* (Brussels, 1903) vol. 1, pp. 102, and 111; Lannoy and Dansaert, *Jean de Lannoy*, p. 17; Small, *Shaping*, pp. 33-36.

which he could incorporate into his chronicle account of the siege of Neuss²⁷⁹. In it, he took up Chastelain's mention of Hannibal, comparing his troops' efforts to Hannibal's, crossing the alps: in particular, the noise and smoke of canon fire irritated him. He reminisced with Chastelain about the Bruges he missed, and the women who were absent²⁸⁰, whilst describing the duke, who busied himself with all the troops, and observed that he was not one to allow his own household or his guard to get much rest on duty²⁸¹. He gave Chastelain selected information relating to the affairs of Naples, Hungary, Poland and Bohemia, but specifically mentioned that he thought he would be informed on German affairs, so did not rehearse them. This suggests a familiarity with the ways in which news travelled from the front line to Chastelain²⁸². He ended his letter commending Chastelain to God's grace. Claude Thiry described the letter as one written in a tone of respectful familiarity and evincing a mutual esteem, and it is certainly true that Chastelain followed the young Philippe de Croy's career with attentive

²⁷⁹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 8, pp. 261-268. The letter begins in a friendly style, and is the first recorded instance of the use of the term *Indiciare*: *Grand temps et longs jours sont, monsieur l'indiciare, que je ne fus refreschy de vostre amour*. **H. Naïs**, 'Grand temps et longs jours sont', in *Mélanges de Linguistique Française et de Philologie et Littérature Médiévales, Travaux de Linguistique et de Littérature* (Strasbourg, 1973) pp. 207-218. He uses the term *indiciare* once later in the letter too. It seems to have been the last bit of correspondence Chastelain had before his death.

²⁸⁰ Though there were, if he tells the truth, *gouges*, or ladies of negotiable virtue, in the abbey where some of the force had lodgings.

²⁸¹ His description compares with Molinet's – see below.

²⁸² Does it suggest, by extension, that the rest of the court would also have been kept informed? For a study of the transmission of news in the 14th Century, see **K. Fowler**, 'News from the Front: letters and despatches of the fourteenth century', in **P. Contamine, C. Diry-Deloison and M. Keen** (eds) *Guerre et société en France, en Angleterre, et en Bourgogne XIVe – XVe siècles* (Lille, 1991) pp. 63-92.

interest²⁸³. It was evidently at Quiévrain's bidding that Chastelain wrote his *Pas de la Mort*²⁸⁴. Besides the numerous Croy family manuscripts he inherited from his father, Quiévrain personally owned a de luxe manuscript he commissioned in about 1462 of the *Miroir de l'Humilité*, which is now in Madrid's Biblioteca nacional²⁸⁵. Molinet, Chastelain's successor, also held Quiévrain in high regard, particularly in respect of his conduct at Nancy. For Molinet, he was *most eloquent, wise and discreet*, and in talking to his irascible master, used *gentle and friendly words*, and even when the duke more or less accused him of cowardice, he replied *prudently and temperately, with the utmost sagacity*²⁸⁶.

Chastelain's work commemorated the deeds of Créquy and mentioned him with the utmost respect and admiration²⁸⁷. He mentioned Créquy's good

²⁸³ **C. Thiry**, 'les Croy face aux Indiciaires Bourguignons: George Chastelain, Jean Molinet', in *Et c'est la fin pour quoy sommes ensemble* (Paris, 1993) vol. 3, pp. 1363-1380 at p. 1372. **Delclos**, *Témoignage*, pp. 285-286; **Small**, *Shaping*, pp. 89, 136.

²⁸⁴ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 8, p. 261-265.

²⁸⁵ **Jacques de Gruytode and Saint Bonaventure** *Mirror of Humility*, MBN MS Vit. 25-2. cf **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 49 for an illumination from fo 52. There is an even more splendid copy in BM Valenciennes MS 2401, which also came from the Croy library, possibly through Baudouin de Lannoy. The Croy library is known through **E. Van Even**, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croy, duc d'Aerschot', in *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge* (1852) pp. 380-393, 436-451. **A. Bayot**, *Martin Le Franc: L'Estrif De Fortune et De Vertu* (Paris, 1928) pp. 52-56, for a (very partial) list of the manuscripts which belonged to the Croy family.

²⁸⁶ **Doutrepoint and Jodogne**, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, vol. 1, p. 164: *fort eloquent sage et discret... douce et amiable langaige... fort prudent et attempré, respondy moult sagement*.

²⁸⁷ Besides the references below, see **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4. pp. 141-142, 157, 252, 361, vol. 5, pp. 235, 451. **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 185: La Marche referred to Créquy as a *most noble and virtuous knight*. In particular he was impressed that, in spite of the great cost involved in leading a pilgrimage party to Jerusalem and Rome, Créquy still came home via his nephew Jacques de Lalaing's *pas d'armes* at Chalon.

reputation at the court of France²⁸⁸. When he described the trial of the lord of Brederode before the order of the Golden Fleece, Chastelain noted that although many people spoke against him on account of the fact that he had upheld his brother's quarrel in Utrecht, he was nevertheless not totally alienated because his uncles were Créquy and Simon de Lalaing. In choosing to report his defence rather than his calumniators' points of view, Chastelain gave Brederode fair coverage. Probably, this was on account of his respect for his family associations, rather than out of conviction of his just title in the quarrel, which, after all, was against the duke's son²⁸⁹. Chastelain also covered Créquy's own part in the entry into Utrecht by remarking that he was there, and *most richly presented*²⁹⁰. Similarly, the chronicler drew attention to his presence at the solemn entry to Ghent, in 1458, as one of the *great lords around the duke*²⁹¹. Alongside many other great lords, Chastelain noted Créquy's participation in the war-council the duke held following the king of France's insulting summons to the trial of the duke of Alençon at Montargis²⁹². His praise of Créquy was particularly lavish in the *Dépréciation pour Pierre de Brézé* (a poem lamenting Brézé's passing) he lauded Créquy as an *honourable knight, a knight studded with virtues, the very image of a noble man*. He also praised the raconteur's relatives Simon and Jacques de Lalaing, to whom he referred as the *best of his generation*²⁹³. Recording the pageantry surrounding Louis XI's

²⁸⁸ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, p. 19.

²⁸⁹ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, p. 94.

²⁹⁰ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, p. 148: *le seigneur de Créqui y estoit moult richement aussi*.

²⁹¹ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. vol. 3, p. 412.

²⁹² Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 424–426 at p. 425.

²⁹³ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 7, pp. 52-53: *Chevalier honnorable, chevalier perlifié de vertus, où toute netteté de noble homme est comprise[...]Chevalier sans tache, le meilleur de son temps...*

coronation, Chastelain mentioned that after the highest nobility had gone into Rheims, Créquy and the Philippe de Croy brought up the procession's tail, along with other *great barons, rich and powerful, whose pomp was no less than any of the others*²⁹⁴.

It is mainly from Chastelain's chronicle that we can piece together Mériadec's career as a ducal advisor with special interests in chivalric matters, and the chronicler evidently thought highly of the Breton esquire. In particular, he noticed that Mériadec was one of the men whom the new king rewarded on his accession to power in 1461, by making him the baillif of the royal town of Tournai, an town enclaved (from 1430) in Burgundian territories, but technically independent as a bishopric under royal protection²⁹⁵. Chastelain seems to have been impressed that Mériadec did not allow this grant to sway him in his support for the duke, noting that the king sponsored him *à dur et à regret*²⁹⁶. Presumably it was a cause of regret to the king because of Mériadec's future loyalty to the duke²⁹⁷. At any rate,

²⁹⁴ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, pp. 45-46: *grands barons riches et puissans, et dont la pompe n'estoit rien moindre que des autres*.

²⁹⁵ **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 18-20; 165-166; 232; 254. The most comprehensive survey and bibliography of the relations between Tournai and the dukes of Burgundy is **Small**, *Centre and Periphery*. See especially pp. 153-155 on Mériadec and Simon de Saint-Genois, the baillif's lieutenant. The town had tried (and temporarily succeeded) to abolish the office of *bailli*. On episcopal rights in Tournai under Ferry de Cluny, see **M. Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek**, 'Het Archief van de Bisschoppen van Doornik: Een Inventaris uit 1477', in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (1983) pp. 121-375.

²⁹⁶ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, p. 33.

²⁹⁷ Mériadec replaced Jehan de Proisy, who was worn out by age and infirmity. La Marche notes that, during the period of the campaign against Dinant, the duke was advised to go to Namur for safety. Mériadec was responsible for overseeing his transport there (cf ADN B 2061). **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 3, pp. 43-44; **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 296-297.

Louis tried to rid himself of Tournai early on in his reign, offering Philip the Good a swap of the town and Mortagne in Flanders for the duke's castle of Hesdin²⁹⁸.

Setting aside the conteurs' connections to the official chronicler, some of their links to books and reading are tangential. However, many of them were known as bibliophiles. The count of Saint Pol's tastes, for instance, were similar to the duke's, when it came to works relating to deeds of arms, tournaments and chivalry. This probably accounts for his decision to hire Antoine de la Sale as his children's tutor: la Sale's main works, such as his *Salade*, and *Petit Jean de Saintré*, contained extensive coverage of tournaments, chivalric comportment, and deeds of arms²⁹⁹. The duke owned a copy of La Sale's *Le Reconfort de Madame de Fresne*, and it is clear that La Sale was an integrated feature of the literary landscape of both the count of Saint Pol and the court of Burgundy³⁰⁰. He wrote the *Reconfort* for Catherine de Neufville, lady of Fresne, on the occasion of the death of her

²⁹⁸ **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 112.

²⁹⁹ **Keen**, *Chivalry*, pp. 207-212. **Misrahi and Knudson**, *Saintré*, pp. IX-XVI. For a bibliography, see p. XXIII-XXVIII, especially at pp. XXVI-XXVIII; **M. Szkilnik**, 'Nourriture et blasons dans Jehan de Saintré d'Antoine de la Salle (1451)', in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (2001) pp. 183-199; *Jehan de Saintré. Une carrière chevaleresque au XV^e siècle* (Geneva, 2003); **K. Casebier**, 'History or Fiction? The Role of Doubt in Antoine de La Sale's *Le Paradis de la royne Sibille*', in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (2003) pp. 37-50; **M. Eusebi**, *Antoine de la Sale, Saintré* (2 vols, Paris, 1993-1994).

³⁰⁰ BR MS 10748. Another example is La Sale's handling of the literature of moral instruction, which has been compared with that found in the chronicle of Jacques de Lalaing: **A. Black**, 'Jehan de Saintré and *Le Livre des Faits de Jacques de Lalaing*', in *Notes and Queries* (1987) pp. 353-354.

first child perhaps because she was a distant relative of Saint Pol's³⁰¹. The duke's de luxe manuscript maker, translator and copyist Jean Miélot passed into the count's service following Philip the Good's death in 1467. He served Louis of Luxembourg as a chaplain and secretary³⁰². Miélot's work, the *Voyage d'Outremer*, was also purchased by a member of the Croy family – possibly Philippe de Croy³⁰³. Saint Pol's brother, Jacques de Luxembourg, was a bibliophile who had links to the raconteurs. Besides the two books of hours (now in Roubaix public library) and a devotional work he owned, he also had a copy of Saint Augustine's *Oraisons*, and Antoine de la Sale's *Traité des Tournois*, which la Sale dedicated to him on 4 January 1459, from Châtelet sur Oise³⁰⁴. A copy of a work entitled *Premiers Amours de Messire Jean de Saintré* appears in a seventeenth century list of the Croy library, and it seems likely that La Sale's work was once owned by Philippe de Quiévrain too³⁰⁵. Saint Pol's books evince the same *esprit chevaleresque* as the duke's. One good example is the book of the *Pas d'Armes de la Bergière*, which began by exhorting Louis of Luxembourg to consider his noble lineage, from which German emperors, Kings of Cyprus, and Bohemia had sprung. It celebrated the actual *pas d'armes* of Tarascon, 1449³⁰⁶. What is most interesting, however, is the fact that Saint Pol's wife, Marie de Luxembourg,

³⁰¹ I. Hill, *Le Reconfort de Madame de Fresne, édité d'après les mss. 10748 et II 7827 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Bruxelles* (Exeter, 1979) p.V; T. Vesce, 'Notes on Antoine de la Sale's Reconfort de Mme du Fresne', in *Mediaeval Studies* (1975) pp. 478-493.

³⁰² Hill, *Reconfort*, pp. XVI-XVII.

³⁰³ Van Even, *Bibliothèque de Charles de Croy*, p. 442.

³⁰⁴ Presumably Châtillon-sur-Oise by Saint Quentin: as far as I know, there is no such place as Châtelet sur Oise). BN MS FR 1997 and 5867. cf Hill, *Reconfort*, p. VI: La Sale finished his *Saintré* there in 1456. His *Reconfort* is dated to Vendeuil-sur-Oise, 14 December 1457.

³⁰⁵ Van Even, *Bibliothèque de Charles de Croy*, p. 442.

owned a copy of the *Evangelies des Quenouilles*, a text which, like the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, was composed during the long winter evenings by a single sex group, and written-up by a redactor invited to do so³⁰⁷. Perhaps stories were *normally* told and discussed during the period between Christmas and Candlemas³⁰⁸. Jean de Créquy's books are perhaps an even better example. Like the duke, he too ordered books from the finest craftsmen, such as Simon Marmion³⁰⁹. He had some of these finely illuminated, and placed his arms in them to mark them as his own property³¹⁰. One particular example illustrates the overlap of tastes between Créquy and the duke at the time the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were composed: the *Chronicles and Conquests of Charlemagne* which David Aubert completed in 1458, were begun, according to the prologue of part one, for Créquy. By the third volume, however, the colophon associated the

³⁰⁶ Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 203-204. BN MS 1974 fo 1r. (Reproduced as a plate after p. 180.)

³⁰⁷ M. Jeay, *Les Evangelies des Quenouilles* (Montreal, 1985) pp. 32-36, 151-152. Jeay, reading the second sentence of the work, has assumed that the author referred to an earlier text called the *Euvangiles des Queneules*. In the context of the remainder of the sentence, however, he may simply have used the phrase to mean *old wives tales*: *Maintes gens sont au jour d'huy qui alleguent et auctorisent leurs paroles et raisons par les euvangiles des queneules... Many people today base the things they say and their arguments on old wives tales...* I have been unable to find such an expression in any historical dictionary, but a hapax is not impossible.

³⁰⁸ Jeay, *Les Evangelies des Quenouilles*, pp. 79-80. *apres souper, pour cause d'esbat et de passetemps es longues nuis entre le Noel et la Chandeleur*. On the element of discussion, the *acteur* makes it clear that the six women in charge of the affair, Ysengrine du Glay, Transeline du Croq, Abonde du Four, Sebile des Mares, Gomberde la Fae, and Berthe de Corne, wanted to *determiner de haultes besoingnes*. The term *determiner* in this context denotes a desire to *come to a conclusion about their weighty matters*.

³⁰⁹ Servant, *Artistes et Gens*, p. 135; R. Lesage, 'Un grand seigneur bourguignon: Jean de Créquy, chevalier de la Toison d'Or (1400-1471)', in *Bulletin historique du haut pays* (1995), pp. 35-51; M. Gil, 'Le mécénat littéraire de Jean V de Créquy, conseiller et chambellan de Philippe le Bon: exemple singulier de création et de diffusion d'oeuvres nouvelles à la cour de Bourgogne', in *Eulalie* (1998), pp. 69-95.

³¹⁰ See plate 2. Cf Schnerb, *L'État Bourguignon*, p. 356.

duke with the work³¹¹. Créquy had been made Philip the Good's first councillor and chamberlain in 1429³¹². That year, he fought against Charles VII at Mitry, and served as a diplomat³¹³. In the following year he besieged Compiègne, where he was badly injured in ducal service³¹⁴. In the ducal force which descended on Burgundy in 1433, he was entrusted with the rear guard³¹⁵. He assisted in the abortive siege of Calais in 1436, which he, the count of Étampes, the lord of Lannoy, and the lord of Wavrin had advocated³¹⁶. He participated on embassies, notably to the King of the Romans, in 1442³¹⁷. As a jousting knight, he had been involved in tournaments with the renowned knights the bastard of Saint Pol, and Jacques de Lalaing, his nephew³¹⁸. At Overmere, he distinguished himself along with Jean de Lannoy, and the count of Saint Pol³¹⁹. Without making a long story of his life, it is perhaps not surprising that Créquy, whose entire career (like his wives') had been spent in service, should have reflected the duke's tastes in

³¹¹ BR ms 9066-9068. cf **G. Dogaer**, *Flemish miniature Painting in the 15th and 16th Centuries* (Amsterdam, 1987); *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon* pp. 70-76.

³¹² **M. Prévost**, 'Jean V de Créquy', in *Dictionnaire de Biographie Française* (Paris, 1961) vol. 9, pp. 1213-1214.

³¹³ **M. Pastoureau and C. de Mérindol**, *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or, Portraits équestres du XV^{ème} siècle, d'après le manuscrit n° 4790 de la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* (Paris, 1986) p. 37.

³¹⁴ **Champion**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, pp. XXXIV-XXXV.

³¹⁵ **M.-T. Berthier and J.-T. Sweeney**, *Le Chancelier Rolin, 1376-1462* (1998, Précis-sous-Thil) pp. 147-148.

³¹⁶ **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 4, p. 168; **M. Sommé**, 'L'Armée bourguignonne au siège de Calais, 1436', in **Contamine, Diry-Deloison and Keen**, *Guerre et société* pp. 197-220 at pp. 200-201. Wavrin, Lannoy and the count of Étampes also led contingents of troops.

³¹⁷ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 1, pp. 270-282 at p. 272. cf also **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 119-120, 140.

³¹⁸ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 118-135, 185.

literature³²⁰. Créquy even served the duke in death, being one of the twelve lords carrying his body in the procession³²¹. It is not surprising that he should have had books dedicated to himself, just as the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was dedicated to the duke of Burgundy³²².

In the context of the court of Burgundy's literary output, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is itself evidence of a group of noblemen involved in a specific and complex³²³ oral/literary venture. Marianne Mustacchi's assertion that Antoine de la Sale was *the only one of the collaborators with a definite literary background* was wide of the mark, as the preceding pages demonstrate. The culture of reading and studying at court is well attested, and interest in books for oral presentation was pervasive, especially amongst the raconteurs. Jean de Lannoy is an excellent example. Manuscript 614 in the Bibliothèque Municipale of Lille is a richly illuminated copy of Guillaume de Tygnonville's translation of *Lez Dis Moraulx dez Philosophes*

³¹⁹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 2, pp. 260-262. cf **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 250-251 which mentions Chaugy at Overmere, with Philippe de Croy, Jaques de Lalaing and others.

³²⁰ **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 156; **C. Willard**, 'Patrons at the Burgundian Court: Jean V. de Crequy and His Wife, Louise de la Tour', in *Medieval And Renaissance Studies* (1996) pp. 55-62. Louise de La Tour d'Auvergne was Créquy's second wife, whom he married in 1430, after the death of Marguerite, lady of Bours. **Paviot**, *Éléonore de Poitiers* pp. 89-90, 133. Créquy was not only the duke's servant, but the duchess', whom he served as knight of honour. On this dignity, and for more on his early career, see **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, pp. 292-294.

³²¹ **Wright**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. 256. On Mériadec's part in the funeral proceedings see above.

³²² See plates 2-3. **R. Stuij**, 'L'Histoire des seigneurs de Gavre', in **K. Busby and E. Kooper**, eds. *Courtly Literature, Culture and Context, Selected Papers from the 5th Triennial Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society* (Amsterdam, 1990) pp. 531-537 at p. 533. BN MS fr. 24371 fo 5r: prologue to the *Livre de Blanchandin et l'Orgueilleuse d'Amours*.

³²³ In terms of its complexity, the collection is comprised of c.139,000 words. (There are over 10,000 unique words – about 7¼ %)

which has the raconteur's name, *Johannes*, as part of the first illumination. It is a highly expensive, beautifully illuminated text with liberal use of gold leaf throughout, and exquisite border decorations, and decorated capitals³²⁴. Similarly, a manuscript prayer book now in Liège University library, (ms. Wittert 14) bears the arms of Jean de Lannoy and those of his second wife, Jeanne de Ligne, after the hours of the Holy Spirit³²⁵. It is written in Latin, but has a French calendar, and commemorates local saints, such as Waudru. Like the other raconteurs, his was a conventional piety, and this is also reflected in the richly illuminated prayer missal which was used in the castle chapel of Lannoy, and which is also now in Lille³²⁶.

C.A.J. Armstrong wrote about the dukes as book collectors, noting a *liberal prodigality inherited from the house of France* in this regard, and observing that *it was a general passion of the time*³²⁷. The example given by Armstrong is that of Philippe de Loan: *men of much lesser means and rank than the dukes acquired some highly important manuscripts. Philippe de Loan, famous for his contribution to the Cent nouvelles Nouvelles, was Duke Philip's semi-permanent envoy in England during the first phase of the Wars*

³²⁴ http://www.ritmanlibrary.nl/c/p/exh/tre/tre_06.html Biblioteca Philosophica Hermetica, Joost R. Ritman Library, BPH 203.

³²⁵ See plate 4. Fo. 33v. After the prayer to the virgin on fo 100v, Jean is depicted at her feet, wearing his collar. This is every bit as well illustrated, though in grisaille. Lannoy married Jeanne de Ligne in 1460 after the death of his first wife, Jeanne de Brimeu, on 25 June 1459. **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 109-110. On the Ligne family, see **A. Scufflaire**, 'Jean de Ligne (vers 1435-15 mai 1491)', in *Koninklijke kring voor Oudheidkunde, Letteren en Kunst van Mechelen* (1991) pp. 147-173.

³²⁶ Lille, BM MS 32. The manuscript has his arms on fo 174v. His device (*Bon gré maugré*) also appears in the border decorations.

³²⁷ **C. Armstrong**, 'The Golden Age of Burgundy: Dukes that outdid kings', in **A. Dickens** (ed.) *The Courts of Europe: Politics, Patronage and Royalty, 1400-1800* (London, 1975) pp. 55-75 at p. 71.

of the Roses; yet he found time to buy a Bible *historiale* now in the *Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. français 2)* previously owned by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. According to his own note, *De Loan* bought the volume on 15 November 1461 in London, being careful to add to the details of the purchase the fact that he was a squire of the stable, therefore a household officer of the Duke of Burgundy. The manuscript was originally from Paris, made in the middle to the third quarter of the 14th Century. It is one of Guiard des Moulins' works, which also figured in the Croy library, and is richly illuminated³²⁸. The images depicted included a book presentation scene and the writer at work: pictures which emphasise the value of books³²⁹.

The duke sponsored a variety of writers, and researchers, especially historical researchers and chroniclers to write for him³³⁰. He also purchased schoolbooks and sponsored deserving students, paying their way through university³³¹. He employed his own philosophers³³², and

³²⁸ cf Van Even, *Bibliothèque de Charles de Croy*, p. 436.

³²⁹ fo 2v-3r.

³³⁰ The obvious example is Chastelain, but there were others too. ADN B 2040 preregister, folio 16v records a payment to *maistre Hugues de Tolins prestre maistre en ars* – an educated man sent south on a specific historical research mission, and vouched for by one of the raconteurs, *Jean Martin*. See above.

G. Doutrepoint, *Les Mises en prose des épopées et romans chevaleresques du XIVe au XVIe siècle* (Brussels, 1939 / Geneva, 1969); *Litterature Française*, passim.

³³¹ **J. Hexter**, 'The Education of the Aristocracy in the Renaissance', in *Journal of Modern History* (1950) pp. 1-20; ADN B 2045 (second register for 1460-1) fo 52v (100 crowns to Jehan de Luxembourg to acquire the licentiate and doctorate of laws which *he intended to take at God's pleasure*.)

³³² ADN B 2048 fo 223v, 227r, 236r, 239r: the duke paid Dominique his philosopher and gave him equipment for his horse, which *Hervé de Mériadec* certified. The poet Martin le Franc was a ducal philosopher who was officially recognised as a moralist. (cf <http://www.recmusic.org/lieder/merge.cgi?445>)

astrologers/astronomers³³³. The catalogue of the duke of Burgundy's library is impressive not just for its size but also for the range of subjects covered. Moreover, the duke paid a premium for the presentation of the works he commissioned³³⁴. A good writer could tread the path of power and wealth. In a book of advice for his son, one raconteur, the Lord of Lannoy, advised him to read and study, paying especial attention to book learning. He told him that he had often been embarrassed in the duke's council by his inability to better the advice of the eloquent and learned *ystoryens* who had spoken before him. Some specific reasons were adduced for fairly conventional wisdom: the son was especially advised to read³³⁵: *books of ethics*,

³³³ ADN B 2034 fo 191v; B 2048 fo 221r, 223v, fo 227r, fo 235v-236r, 239r. The difference between astronomy and astrology at this stage was not clear cut. **Leroy**, *Catalogue des Prévosts*, pp. 279-280, and p. 286: Michel Baërs, a dominican from the duke's court, succeeded to the provostship by the duke's favour. According to BM Valenciennes MS X. 5-5, *Aucuns ont dit qu'il estoit très expert en la science d'astronomie et de nigromancie*. cf **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 346 (NB Vaughan mistakes Watten for Warneton, which is between Ypres and Lille); *Charles the Bold*, p. 248, and see above. As we have seen, this provost of Watten was probably also a raconteur of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Little survives on his affairs at Watten, owing to the fire which burned down the monastery church in 1468: *En l'an 1468, le Ve jour de septembre ... fut l'eglise du monastere de Wâtene, avec la pluspart du cloistre par feu de meschef que les couvreurs de plomb avoient mal gardé totalement arse et consommée, avec tous les biens d'icelle, comme reliquaires, santuaires, calices, croix, aornemens, livres, tables d'autel ... et de tout ce n'y eut riens sauvé... In the year 1468, on the 5th day of September ... the church of the monastery of Watten was totally burned down and razed along with the main part of the cloister, through the fault of the lead roofers, who had not taken care. With it went all the goods in the place: reliquaries, saints' boxes, chalices, crosses, ornaments, books, altars, icons ... and nothing was saved...*

³³⁴ Various payments from the ducal registers evince the esteem with which the duke held illuminators and manuscript workers, as he protected their pay and service even in periods of cutbacks: ADN B 2020 fo 169r; B 2021 #61613 fo 5r, fo 28r; ACO B 341 fo 10v; B 5104 fo 37v etc.

³³⁵ **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 119-210, at p. 147: *...les livres de éticque, yconomicque, et politicque. Chellui de éticque te enseignera à toy gouverner et à sieyr vie honneste et à faire les vertueuses oevres et à toy garder de visces*. Although they gave variant readings, the modern editors of the text did not signal orthographic differences between BR MS 21523-21524, BM Rheims MS 918 and BM Valenciennes

economics and politics. The ethical books will teach you to govern yourself, and to live an honest life, and to do virtuous things, and to keep yourself from vice. This culture prized book learning to the extent that it was prepared to associate it with moral uprightness. The lord of Beaumont, Ghillebert de Lannoy, also wrote a letter of fatherly advice, advising the reading of historical works for advice on honourable conduct in warfare³³⁶. It is significant, however, that this work was not uniquely intended for a son's instruction, as a presentation miniature, derivative in style of the Chronicles of Hainaut, depicts the author presenting the work to the duke, whilst the court looked on³³⁷. In the *Exposition Sur Vérité Mal Prise* Chastelain mentions an unidentified book entitled: *le livre du père à son fils*³³⁸. Perhaps he had the work of Ghillebert or Jean de Lannoy in mind, or they based their work on it. At any rate, their writings formed part of the literary culture of the court.

Marginal annotations to the ducal library catalogue suggest that other raconteurs borrowed Philip the Good's books. For example, one comment beside an entry shows that the duke's jewel keeper, Jaques de Bregilles,

MS 304(294), though the Brussels text is significantly marked by Picard characteristics, such as the *ch* for *c*, *vir* for *ver* etc. (Cf Valenciennes fo 25r: *les livres de ethique yconomicque et poitique ¶ celui de ethic[ue] t'enseig//nera/ a soy gouverner/ et a sievir vie ho//nneste/ et a faire les vertueulses et a soy garder de vices.¶*) See Plates 12 and 13 for images of the Valenciennes and Rheims manuscripts, the latter of which belonged to Charles de Croy, and therefore was probably owned by Philippe de Quiévrain.

³³⁶ **C. Potvin**, *Oeuvres de Ghillebert de Lannoy, Voyageur Diplomate et Moraliste* (Louvain, 1878) pp. 456-459. He was told to read *Vallerianus Maximus, Tulle, Lucain, Orose, Saluste, Justin, et autres hystoriographes*. These contained *exemples honnourables et sans nombre*. Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale, MS 10976; **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, pp. 134, 236.

³³⁷ See Plate 5.

³³⁸ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 6, pp. 267-268.

noted that the Count of Saint Pol had borrowed a copy of the first volume of *Perceforest*³³⁹.

This sharing of books was probably not limited to the duke, however. The 26th *Nouvelle* by the lord of Foquessolles involved a woman who followed her lover in disguise: a plot motif analogous to the *Roman du Comte d'Artois*, a text which Rodolphe de Hochberg³⁴⁰, the duke, and the lord of

³³⁹ See Plate 6. **Vanderjagt**, *Classical Learning and Building of Power. Small, Shaping*, p. 132 mentions that Jean d'Enghien was allowed to borrow books, as was the lord of Wavrin's relative, Jean de Wavrin. Since the library list was written after the duke's death and there is no indication of whether the book was borrowed before or after the duke's death, it is not absolutely certain that Philip the Good lent his books out. Nevertheless, Bregilles (a *garde des joyaux*) clearly kept tabs on books which were on loan. The inventory was evidently not written by Bregilles, as a marginal comment and an inscription on its back cover indicate (see Plate 7). It is therefore likely to have been the work of another of the ducal valets de chambre, such as Jean Martin, or Jean Machefoing. Vanderjagt stated that the courtiers and administrators had access to ducal book collections, but he did not provide any evidence in support of this contention (p. 272). The examples which he gave of the transmission of knowledge through the books in the ducal library are not sufficient to allow the conclusion that his contention was correct: he drew attention to the fact that the myths of the Golden Fleece and the argonauts underwent a transformation based on knowledge in the duke's books, but this may be considered a special or an isolated case, commissioned or at least agreed by the duke, and more general access to his library may not be presumed. On the other hand, his books were kept by his *gardes des joyaux* and were taken around with him, by courtiers. The presence in his library of books with similar sorts of book presentation miniatures and similar artistic themes suggests that to the people who made books a certain degree of access was permitted to the books, but the generally healthy state of his manuscripts and the fact that they were only inventoried after his death suggests that the practice of loaning books out, or allowing them to be consulted on a long-term basis, was not encouraged under Philip the Good.

³⁴⁰ **B. Woledge**, *Bibliographie des Romans et nouvelles en Prose Française Antérieurs à 1500* (Geneva, 1954) p. 35. **J.-C. Seigneuret**, *Le Roman du Comte d'Artois (XVe Siècle)* (Geneva, 1966); **J. Barrois**, *Le Livre du Tres Chevalereux Comte d'Artois et de sa Femme, Fille au Comte de Boulogne* (Paris, 1837). The manuscript of the *Roman* was in the ducal library according to ADN B 3501 #123745 bis fo 77v (see Plate 8). It was catalogued alongside the stories of *Ysave le Triste* and *Guy of Warwick*, and not far from the *Cent*

Wavrin all owned³⁴¹. It is possible that they shared their books for the purposes of having copies made³⁴². Jean de Wavrin, the lord of Wavrin's uncle, possessed other books which the duke later had in his own library, and which possibly came via the raconteur, most notably the *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre*, the historical fiction of a wandering knight, who inherited the duchy of Athens³⁴³. Wavrin's bibliophilia is well documented, and his tastes were just as wide as the duke's³⁴⁴. In particular, he apparently discussed literary matters with Jean de Wavrin, and they decided on the subject of his chronicles – English history – in the course of a conversation.

nouvelles nouvelles (fo 76r), or *Jehan de Saintré* (fo 76v). It is not unlikely that their proximity in the catalogue reflected a proximity on shelves, and at any rate signals their proximity in "mental space".

³⁴¹ **A. Naber**, 'Les Manuscrits d'un Bibliophile Bourguignon du XVe Siècle, Jean Wavrin', in *Revue du Nord* (1990), pp. 23-48, at pp. 24-25: The duke's copy (now BN MS fr 11610) was at one stage Jean Wavrin's, though since he died without heirs, his nephew (the raconteur Warleran) inherited his books, which also included a now lost *Ogier le Danois*, the work alluded to in *Nouvelle 76*. (The duke owned manuscripts of *Ogier*: ADN B 3501 # 123745 bis fo 79v.) Naber's reasoning is based on the arms in the manuscripts: *Dès son vivant, quatre manuscrits portant ses armes ont passé dans la bibliothèque de Bourgogne: les romans des Seigneurs de Gavre, du Comte d'Artois, du Châtelain de Couci et de Gilles de Chin réunis en un seul volume, et celui d'Olivier de Castille, figurant dans l'inventaire de 1467, dressé après la mort de Philippe Le Bon*.

³⁴² **M. Bärmann and M. Prosser**, 'Antonius von Pforr und Markgraf Rudolf IV. von Hachberg: Ein neu aufgefundenes Lebenszeugnis zum Verfasser des Buches der Beispiele', in *Daphnis - Zeitschrift für Mittlere Deutsche Literatur* (2003) pp. 33-54. This article demonstrates the extent of the Marquis' involvement in such literary activity within and outwith the Burgundian network.

³⁴³ **Stuip**, *Seigneurs de Gavre*, pp. 531-537. It seems Wavrin's interest in the tale was on account of his ancestry amongst the counts of Flanders. Walleran was the son of Gilles de Berlette and Beatrice of Wavrin, Lillers and Malannoy, daughter of the Robert de Wavrin who died at Agincourt. Her grandmother was a bastard daughter of Louis count of Flanders. **Caron**, *Enquête sur la Noblesse*, p. 418. **Van Even**, *Bibliothèque de Charles de Croy*, p. 442: a copy of the *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre* was in the Croy library, and was probably owned by Philippe de Quiévrain.

³⁴⁴ **A. Naber**, 'Les Goûts littéraires d'un bibliophile de la cour de Bourgogne', in **Busby and Kooper**, eds. *Courtly Literature*, pp. 459-464.

How many conversations lay behind texts? There were so many books being written at and for the court that such highbrow conversations must have been commonplace. (Nevertheless, his own exploits featured strongly in Jean's chronicles too³⁴⁵.)

Literary episodes concerning Montbléru – hero of the 63rd *Nouvelle* – reinforce not just the view of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as text from a courtly milieu, but also the link between literature and political life. In an extended ballad on the subject of his adversities, Jean Regnier, the Auxerrois poet, and Montbléru's uncle, wrote to ask his nephew to present his affairs to the duke³⁴⁶. He alluded to his struggle with *Jaucourt de Bruges* (identified in an acrostic which begins the poem, and in no other way) in general terms only. The poem became the vehicle presenting the aggrieved party's attitude to the adversities besetting him. The point of the ballad, however, was specifically not to *inform* Montbléru of the ins and outs of a legal action, but to spur him to use his influence to sway the duke. Indeed, internal evidence from the poem makes it clear that Montbléru knew all about the case.

³⁴⁵ **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, pp. 32-119 and passim.

³⁴⁶ **E. Droz**, *Les Fortunes et Adversitez de Jean Regnier* (Paris, 1923) pp. 186-209; **E. Petit**, 'Le Poète Jean Regnier, Bailli d'Auxerre (1393-1469)', in *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne* (1903) pp. 1-21. Le Bègue de Montbléru's sister married Jean Regnier, the traveller, prisoner-poet and pro-Burgundian ducal *eschanson* (then *panetier*) and esquire. Regnier's service began as the baillif's lieutenant, and he became baillif by oath on 17 May 1426. **Lebeuf**, *l'Histoire Civile et Ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse*, vol. 3 (Auxerre, 1855), pp. 294, 305, 551.

It is strongly to be suspected that, as Ernest Petit speculated, the poem dates from the period of Jaucourt's process with Regnier in 1465³⁴⁷. This Philibert de Jaucourt was a well-connected figure, every bit as familiar at court as Montbléru³⁴⁸. Amongst the raconteurs, Jaucourt had a variety of friends and family ties. Michel de Chaugy, for example, married his widowed sister Laurette de Jaucourt³⁴⁹. Olivier de la Marche recorded that Jaucourt was made a knight at Termonde by the lord of Croy, and in the company of another raconteur, Philippe de Croy, lord of Quiévrain³⁵⁰. He also noted his presence at the battle of Gavre with Jacques de Foucquesolles, another raconteur, who on that occasion bore the standard (i.e. the guidon pennant)

³⁴⁷ Regnier, who was answerable to *Jean, count of Nevers* as bailiff in Auxerre, relied on the *count's* support, and received it. A letter from the *count* to the inhabitants of the town in May 1465 (based on royal letters of 28 April) announced the revocation of Jaucourt's status in the town as Governor, owing to his support for Charles of Charolais. **Lebeuf**, *Histoire d'Auxerre*, vol. 4, p. 275 #382. By this stage, Montbléru had been appointed baillif, though it is not clear if he spent significant amounts of time in Auxerre, and, given that he was rewarded by Charles of Charolais for his service around this time, it seems unlikely that he remained a partisan of *Nevers'* following his decision to act as a royal agent against the interests of the house of Burgundy.

³⁴⁸ **Petit**, *Le Poète Jean Regnier*, pp. 1-2. Regnier exchanged poetry with the count of Nevers, and Charles of Orleans, and his rise to wealth and power in Auxerre following his ransom in the 1430s suggests a career protected by the duke of Burgundy. Petit's speculation that Regnier knew Villon is interesting, but as yet there has been no conclusive evidence, as far as I am aware. On the links between Charles of Nevers and Orleans cf **M.-J. Arn**, 'A "Lost" Poem by Charles de Nevers recorded by Charles d'Orléans', in *Notes & Queries* (1999), pp. 185-186.

³⁴⁹ Laurette (also known as Lorette) married Geoffroy de Clugny then Michault de Chaugy. Philibert de Jaucourt had two younger brothers and two younger sisters: Philippe, Guillaume, Anthoinette, and Laurette. Guillaume married Jeanne de Digoine. For his genealogy etc, cf http://memoiresvivantes.free.fr/genealogie_jaucourt.htm citing **P.-C. Dugenne**, *Dictionnaire Biographique Généalogique et historique de l'Yonne* (1996-2003); **Bartholmess** *Famille de Jaucourt* (Paris, 1841); **M. le Comte de Chastellux**, 'Famille de Jaucourt - Notice généalogique' (extracted from *Bulletin de la Société des sciences historiques et naturelles de l'Yonne*, 1878), (Auxerre, 1878). **Caron**, *Noblesse*, p. 396.

³⁵⁰ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 251, 324.

of Thiebaut of Luxembourg, the father the lord of Fiennes³⁵¹. Jaucourt appeared in the accounts of the receipt general in a variety of places, and was apparently regularly in favour. For example, he received a horse from Erard (Evrard) de Digoine, another relative, and the brother of Chrestien de Digoine, the raconteur³⁵². One contemporary chronicle counted him as one of the *grands seigneurs* in the army which the count of Étampes raised in Picardy, at the duke's orders – along with the lords of Lannoy, Roye, Wavrin, and Beauvoir, and also the lords of Rochefort, Moreuid, Fosseux (son of the baron of Montmorency), Harne, Saveuses, Noyelle, the bastard of Burgundy, the bastard of Saint Pol, the lord of Dampierre, Philippe de Hornes, the lords of Crèvecoeur, Bos, Neufville, Haplaincour, Humières, Basentin, Cohen, Dreuil and several other knights and squires to the number of 2000-3000 combatants³⁵³.

Regnier's poem remains abstruse and perplexing, but although it is not possible to get to the bottom of precisely what he had against Jaucourt, it is worth considering as an expression of the overlap between poetry and courtly influence. It begins with an acrostic on Montbléru's name, and invites the raconteur to "comfort" his uncle. The journey embarked on in the poem was both literal and poetic – for whatever pressing reason, Regnier left Montbléru at court, and asked him to use his influence³⁵⁴. Montbléru was

³⁵¹ ADN B 2020 fo 151v. At Gavre, Hervé de Mériadec bore the duke's standard, just as he did at Rupelmonde. **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 265, 318, 323.

³⁵² ADN B 2020 fo 377r. **Caron**, *Noblesse*, p. 25; **H. de Chastellux**, *Famille de Jaucourt, Notice Généalogique* in *Bulletin de la Société des Sciences de l'Yonne* (1878) p. 76.

³⁵³ **J. Buchon**, *Lalaing* (Paris, 1825) p. 297.

³⁵⁴ **C. Thiry**, "Que mes maîtres soient contents": Jean Regnier, prisonnier, au carrefour de Bourgogne et de France', in *Lettres Romanes* (1997): pp. 183-205. (On the *livre de la Prison*.)

asked to recommend his suit to everyone, but especially to “*noz bons amys*”, and told that Regnier would pay anyone what they asked of him³⁵⁵. The outcome of this example of literary lobbying was positive for Regnier, who incorporated a coda to his verses explaining the result of the duke's deliberations: Philip the Good found in his favour³⁵⁶. The poem was written to be read out at court³⁵⁷. The body of the poem contained a long series of rather tedious flatteries – specifically about the duke, and the lords of the Golden Fleece³⁵⁸. The ballad ended in a way calculated to bring its hearers on to his side, mirthfully, with reflections on happy times and beautiful women. Clearly, in the raconteurs' circle at the court of Burgundy, literature could be a political matter³⁵⁹.

³⁵⁵ **Champion**, *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* p. XLII: These probably included the *count of Étampes*, whom Regnier wrote of as his *bon maistre d'Estampes*. Montbléru, as he relates in the *Nouvelle*, was in *Étampes* service.

³⁵⁶ **Droz**, *Regnier*, introduction pp. VII-IX and pp. 208-209. There is no manuscript of Regnier's collected works, but an edition was released in Paris, in 1526 by Jean de La Garde.

³⁵⁷ **J. Oosterman**, "'Tussen twee wateren zwem ik" – Anthonis de Roovere tussen rederijkers en rhétoriciens', in *Jaarboek van de Fonteyne* (1999-2000) pp. 11-29: Flemish *rhétoriciens* were familiar with Jean Regnier's work too, and a limited appeal need not be assumed.

³⁵⁸ **Droz**, *Regnier* pp. 201-202.

³⁵⁹ The other ballad addressed to Montbléru also related to a quarrel with Jaucourt, and contained similar sentiments. Montbléru was to recommend his uncle to the important men of the court, whom he listed by name: the duke (in his capacity as “*bon marquis du Saint Empire*”), the count of Charolais (called the “*prince de Charrolois*” and also to the duke's family – anyone of the Valois bloodline, such as the *count of Étampes* – called “*Mon bon maistre d'Estampes*” – and the duke of Bourbon, alluded to by his title of the lord of Beaujeu. Nor did he forget to mention the “*bon Croy*” or “*Anthume*” – the first chamberlain and the chancellor respectively. **Droz**, *Regnier*, p. 221 and pp. 242-243. The mention of Anthume, Nicolas Rolin, suggests a date before the chancellor left the duke's court in 1458, and certainly before 1462, when he died. **Berthier and Sweeney**, *Chancelier Rolin*, p. 315.

Another literary work from courtly circles, a poem on the subject of *coquards* (fools or oafs – the term could be used affectionately or aggressively) was part of a poetic game which alluded to the raconteur, Montbléru³⁶⁰. The poem forms part of a series, and it came after the discussion of princes, ladies, and young women of easy virtue³⁶¹. George Chastelain, Olivier de la Marche³⁶², Philippe Bouton³⁶³, and Antony bastard of Burgundy³⁶⁴, all participated in the earlier works in the series, and the manuscript was owned by the duke's nephew, Duke Jean (I) of Cleves, who signed his work *vostre fol J D Cleves* or *Your Fool, J. D. Cleves*. This light-hearted signature fits the mood of the poems, and is similar to the duke's

³⁶⁰ The *Michault* mentioned in the poem was perhaps the poet whom Poncellet replaced Michault Taillevent rather than Michault de Chaugy, as it refers to him in the past tense, as though he had died, but the mention of Montbléru seems to refer to a living person. Michault de Chaugy outlived Montbléru, who died in the 1460s.

³⁶¹ On this series, see **R. Holbrook**, 'A Fifteenth-Century Satirical Dialogue, Seemingly Akin to the Species Known as *Fatras* or *Fatrasie*, and Dealing with Fools Called *Coquars*', in *Modern Language Notes* (1905) pp. 70-77. NB Holbrook skips the verses relating to Montbléru. For a fuller and more erudite edition, cf **A. Piaget**, *Les Princes de Georges Chastelain* in *Romania* (1921) pp. 161-206 at pp. 180-188.

J.-C. Delclos has revised Piaget's findings: see 'Le Prince ou les Princes de Georges Chastelain: un poème dirigé contre Louis XI', in *Romania* (1981) pp. 46-74, and cf **L. Johnson**, 'Prince or Princes? Fifteenth-century politics and poetry', in *The French Review* (1995) pp. 421-430. (Johnson compares Chastelain's *Prince* to the *Lunettes des Princes* of Jean Meschinot.)

³⁶² BR MS 11020-33 (belonging to Jean de Cleves) fo. 152-153.

³⁶³ Bouton is mentioned alongside Montbléru's companions as a recipient, with Michault de Chaugy, of cloth to make a shirt, which suggests that he was part of their circle. See below, chapter four, reference to ADN B 3661, fo 69v.

³⁶⁴ This is Piaget's interpretation of the phrase *Bourgogne au bastard* which appears at the start of the poem about the various sorts of *gouges* and their fates (pp. 170-173). It may equally be the duke himself signing as *Bourgogne*, and writing to the Bastard. This would certainly square better with the ninth strophe, in which Bourgogne speaks about the whore (the *gouge de guerre*) who follows *nostre ost et nostre armee*. Bouton wrote a poem to the duke on the subject of the Golden Fleece, so it is not impossible that they should have corresponded in poetry. (See chapter four below.)

own bantering writing style in his personal correspondence with his nephew³⁶⁵. The poem takes the form of an accusation followed by a defence of various sorts of *coquards*, written by an anonymous poet, and his equally anonymous respondent³⁶⁶. Each is allowed six lines of eight or ten syllables, to present or dispose of the case, and the poem works on the principle that there is no vice without a virtue. The verse in which Montbleru features is about the *coquards* of the court, who hope to acquire things without effort, and that they should be given them for their pretty eyes, without working for them. It is tempting to read this as an allusion to the events in the story he tells in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*: he stole three shirts, and sold them at a profit.

The daily work of the raconteurs as courtiers:

Mériadec, Martin and Chaugy: Transport and Household Management.

In the course of their vocations, Michault de Chaugy, Jean Martin and Hervé de Mériadec had to know everyone who was at court, what their business was, and where they were going when they left. As might be expected, most of the raconteurs' contact with each other was of a prosaic nature. Mériadec was involved in routine business relating to the stables in connection with Chaugy, for example. Chaugy received £48 for a horse for which Mériadec signed. It was destined to pull one of the duke's carts. The esquire also accredited the disbursement of £60 to him for a workhorse to carry the

³⁶⁵ Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 130-131.

³⁶⁶ For the use of the term *coquard* in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* see *Nouvelles* 7, 26, 75, and 78 (twice).

laundry in cases³⁶⁷. The duke also used Mériadec's services to buy a horse for Chaugy. In 1455, he purchased two horses from Peronne de l'Acre, widow of Jehan de Chammergy, an *escuier d'escuierie*³⁶⁸. It was commonplace for Philip the Good to purchase his horses from his courtiers, and of course, others of the *raconteurs* sold theirs to the duke too. Jean de Lannoy, for instance, exchanged one for 120 gold crowns, as a gift from the duke to the lord of Dreuil, in May 1457. Hervé de Mériadec oversaw (and signed for) this transaction, and Lannoy collected his money on the day he received another £192 for his time in ducal service between October and December 1456³⁶⁹. Mériadec also certified the payment of 60 gold crowns to Jean Martin, *sommelier de corps*, for a new horse³⁷⁰. The duke purchased it from him for his stables in July 1463. These routine transactions evince the level of familiarity which daily contact between some of the *raconteurs* involved.

When Mériadec was separated from his master in 1459³⁷¹, the duke sent from Brussels one Miquiel de Viesbourg, a messenger of his stables, to maintain contact with him about matters *touchant ses affaires*, but he also sent him warhorse harnesses to restore to full working order. The

³⁶⁷ ADN B 2034 fo 202r: He signed his acquittance on 25 July 1458, and Mériadec approved the payment; B 2026 fo 379v: letters patent from 14 February, 1458. Chaugy signed a *quittance* on 29 January 1457.

³⁶⁸ ADN B 2020 fo 371v: 9 July 1455. Mériadec oversaw the payment of £240.

³⁶⁹ ADN B 2026 fo 365r: Lannoy collected his £144 for the horse on 31 July 1457, although Mériadec signed for it on 26 May 1457. B 2026 fo 181v-182r: Lannoy received £192 by ducal letters patent also issued at Bruges on 26 May 1457. cf B 2026 fo 68r-v: £456 to Lannoy from Claix de Vriese *rentmaistre general* of Holland for a trip he made from Dordrecht to Brabant, and also for two horses which the duke bought from him, paid 31 December 1457.

³⁷⁰ ADN B 2048 fo 241r.

messenger's remit was both to return with Mériadec's written reply, and the harnesses. The esquire's responsibility was to look after the *escuierie*, and although the tasks of this role were varied, most of them were routine. As a case in point, the regularity of the payments for which he signed off for the duke's pages suggests that he was responsible for both their day to day, and extraordinary financial undertakings³⁷². Moreover, Mériadec's interest in matters of administration was not impersonal – his job entailed real responsibility and accountability.

One clear instance of this can be followed in detail using the marginalia of a receipt general for 1455. In the year following the feast of the pheasant, the Burgundian crusade planning measures were in full swing, and Mériadec was an integral part in the preparations. He was responsible for a variety of payments and had to sign them off for the record as legitimate expenditure. This process, called giving *certificacion* in the registers of the receipt general, was the main method by which irregularities in accounting could be minimised. An entry running over four pages details payments to Jehan de Bouloingne, a painter, and ducal *varlet de chambre*, who was commissioned to paint a series of damask standards, banners, pennons, heraldic designs and the like³⁷³. Mériadec certified this payment, along with one made to Garnier Pourcelot, another *varlet de chambre*, and the count of Charolais' tapestry keeper, for similar accoutrements of warfare. However, following the death

³⁷¹ ADN B 2034 fo 127r.

³⁷² The archives have numerous documents attesting his association over a number of years with the pages (one of whom was his own nephew, Hector de Mériadec). ADN B 2020 fo 370r-v , B 2026 fo 366r-367r, 384r; B 2040 preregister, fo 16v; B 2045 fo 120v; B 2048 fo 132v-133r, 220v, 230r, 232v-234v etc.

³⁷³ ADN B 2020 fo 378r-379v.

of the man presumed to have guard of the goods, one Thierry le Brodeur³⁷⁴, an auditor of the account book wrote a marginal note beside the entry for which Mériadec signed, noting that the duke's *garde des joyaulx* (or someone else responsible for the duke's goods, such as Jean Martin) should inventorise the goods in Thierry's household. Below this note, another says that this inventory (made following his death) had no record of any of these things, and that Hervé de Mériadec, having certified the payment, should be asked where the missing goods were and who had charge of them. He was answerable for them, in other words.

The horse sold by Jean Martin was specifically set aside for the work of the *sommelier*. It was intended to carry the two cases (*coffres*) or wooden strongboxes which held several small items, money and jewellery, which Philip the Good took about with him everywhere he went. Because Jean Martin was in charge of these boxes, and the horse that carried them was looked after by Mériadec or his subordinates, it is likely that the two came into contact with each other on a recurrent basis, and that both men were aware of what sorts of personal effects the duke preferred to travel with, and have to hand³⁷⁵. The archive here confirms Chastelain's comments on Martin's probity: when Philip the Good died, Martin resigned the work of his

³⁷⁴ In ADN B 2020 there is a record of a payment to Jehan Arnoulphin for cloth for Thierry le Brodeur. Brodeur's cloth is listed alongside other important courtiers, such as Jean de Lannoy, Jaques de Bregilles, Jehan Coustain and Jehan Martin. cf B 2048 fo 197v.

³⁷⁵ ADN B 2048 fo 241r, which records that Jean Martin received 60 gold crowns of 48 gros for a horse *pour estre sommelier et porter deux coffres ou sont plusieurs menues baghes et joyaulx que mondit seigneur fait tousjours porter apres lui*... Mériadec signed for this payment on 1 July 1463.

office, but gave over the duke's possessions to Charles the Bold³⁷⁶. In particular Chastelain noted that he had all the duke's things in his hands: the implication is that he could have stolen whatever he wanted. With the record of purchase for this horse is a note that Mériadec certified receipt of another from him, bought for a Picard esquire, Huchon de Domirin³⁷⁷: this time the horse was less valuable, worth 30 gold crowns. On another occasion, Mériadec signed for payment for a harness worth 24 crowns for the count of Saint Pol's fool³⁷⁸. He also paid £96 for a horse from Chrétien de Digoine's brother, Erard, to give Philibert de Jaucourt, the famous joustier and knight³⁷⁹. Hervé de Mériadec was, effectively, a transport manager to the court, just as Michault de Chaugy was household coordinator. Everyone from the top to the bottom ranks of Burgundian society came into contact with them frequently, and the duke relied on them.

Similarly, in emergencies when money was needed in a hurry, or when the duke preferred not to use his normal system of disbursement, Martin released money from the duke's personal coffers, which his horse carried to

³⁷⁶ ACO B 367 is a note of the terms on which Charles the Bold retained Jean Martin's service after Philip the Good's death: it notes particularly that he had been a councillor and *sommelier de corps* serving Philip, and that he was known for his sense, discretion, prudence, loyalty, *preudommé*, and trusty diligence. He was to be paid by the receiver of the bailliwick of Dijon, and to have a pension for life in consideration of his services, and also to compensate him for offices he had to resign (probably owing to his age).

Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 5, pp. 230-232. Chastelain noted that when he was not kept on in personal service, he asked if he could return to Dijon and his castle of Rouvres.

³⁷⁷ This is a difficult surname to decipher owing to the succession of crotchets. It may well be Dounrin or Domirin etc.

³⁷⁸ ADN B 2034 fo 201v.

³⁷⁹ ADN B 2020 fo 377r: the ducal letter was given on 5 August 1455. This Jaucourt of Bruges is discussed above, with reference to Montbléru, and Jean Regnier.

the accounting officers. From the point of view of practicalities, this meant that Jean Martin had to be involved in the business of the court at the very highest level: it made him an accessory to discreet affairs. When the dauphin's wife first travelled to be with her husband at Nevers in June 1457, for example, the duke had his *sommelier* pay out two lots of £1200 from the coffers³⁸⁰. This may not have been as public or politically sensitive a task as entertaining her in a courtly manner, a task which fell to the raconteurs Philippe Pot, the lord of Quiévrain, and Chrétien de Digoine, but it was nevertheless *important* and responsible low-profile work³⁸¹.

Even if Mériadec delegated the day-to-day care of the particular horses which Martin used for his office to his subordinate equerries, he had vicarious familiarity with what was happening to the beast, as the professional relationship between the *escuier d'escuierie* and each of the fifty other squires of the stables involved regular personal contact: they were all answerable to him, and he signed for any expenditures they incurred³⁸². Moreover, a part of the *escuier d'escuierie's* duties was to instruct these *bons chevaucheurs* of the stables to take the prince's horses out to the fields for exercise two or three times a month, depending on the weather, and he

³⁸⁰ 2 and 22 June 1457: two payments are recorded in similar wording in two separate places:

ADN B 2026/7 fo 26v and ADN B 2026 fo 101v.

³⁸¹ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 5, pp. 31-36. Chastelain described the ducal reception of the queen at Hêdin after Louis XI's coronation.

³⁸² **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *la Marche*, vol. 4, pp. 58-63: Olivier de la Marche lays out a rudimentary overview of the functions of the *escuier d'escuierie*, and includes the detail that the dukes of Burgundy had one head *escuier d'escuierie* who was known as the *escuier* (it was bad form to call him anything else), and fifty sub-esquires, who were required to be good riders. In practice, of course, the number fluctuated.

therefore knew whether or not the prince's personal pack-horse had been for a run, and where it was.

A letter of remission granted to Alardin Bournel, the lord of Vézigneul and Malmy, who may have been the raconteur of the 77th and 88th nouvelles³⁸³, serves as a *pièce justificative*. The letter confirms that the *escuier d'escuierie* was intimately involved in the detail of running the stables, and knew their personnel. The gruesome account of how Bournel came to murder an obstreporous carter of the stables sets the scene by explaining that Alardin was the *escuier d'escuierie* of Antoine, bastard of Burgundy³⁸⁴, and that in respect of his office, the carters were expected to obey him³⁸⁵. A disciplinary

³⁸³ C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Droit de Vengeance aux Pays-Bas au XV^e Siecle* (Paris, 1908) pp. 202-203. When the only clue to the conteur's identity is the name *Alardin*, and when there are a number of candidates called both Alard and Alardin, who were around the ducal household in the late 1450s and early 1460s, it is impossible to be sure that this is *the* Alardin. Nevertheless, he is described in the letter of remission in terms sufficiently affectionate (*nostre bien amé Alardin Bournel*) to indicate that he was known to and on good terms with the duke. Wright, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* p. 267, identifies Alardin Bournel as one of the officers of the duke's household who became a servant of Louis XI. (He also noted Alardin la Griselle, *écuyer-échanson* in 1436.) Beaune and d'Arbaumont, *La Marche*, vol. 4, pp. 118-119: Alardin asked for the letter from Dinant in 1466, and Olivier de la Marche testifies to his presence at the *pas d'armes de l'arbre d'or*, which took place at Bruges between 3-11 July 1468, so the rehabilitation was clearly complete by this stage. On other dubious identifications of raconteurs, see Appendix 4.

³⁸⁴ <http://jarnou.free.fr/bournel.htm> (29/08/03) and R. de Belleval, *Nobiliaire de Ponthieu et de Vimeu* (Amiens, 1861-1864) vol. 1, pp. 71-75: Alardin Bournel was the second son of Guichard Bournel and Jeanne de Wissocq (from a wealthy Saint Omer family). Guichard was the lieutenant of the *count of Étampes* in Artois and Picardy, sovereign baillif of the county of Guines, and captain of Ardres and le Crotoy. Naturally, it was Guillaume Bournel, Alardin's elder brother who followed his father as *bailli* of Guines and captain of Ardres, but Alardin also rose in Burgundian service: apart from being the *escuier d'escuierie* of Antoine of Burgundy, he was the captain of the garrison town of Sainte Ménehould, in the Marne region. (See nouvelle 75.)

³⁸⁵ Petit-Dutaillis, *Vengeance*, p. 202: *a cause de son office iceulx charretons estoient tenuz de obeïr.*

interview with one of them, Hanin Rademakere of Londerzeel³⁸⁶, who had been fighting with others on the previous night, escalated into a quarrel. During the course of their row, Alardin wounded him, and he later died because there was nobody to attend to his bleeding. The remission mentions that Alardin *often* had to deal with complaints about Hanin and was very annoyed about it³⁸⁷. In other words, the *escuier d'escuierie* was well aware of what went on amongst his men, and spoke to them in their stables. It is to be imagined that Mériadec's role as the duke's first squire of the stables was similarly hands-on in character. It is worth examining the work in detail, at any rate, because apart from Mériadec, two other raconteurs, Philippe de Loan and the lord of La Barde, were also *escuiers d'escuierie*.

The *escuier d'escuierie* was an officer of war, as well as peacetime, and during those occasions when the duke was in arms with his standard deployed (during the 1456 Utrecht campaign, for instance), Jean Martin and Hervé de Mériadec were served meals together, and received the same food to eat, because Martin was a *sommelier*, and therefore received the same fare as the *escuiers* during periods of military activity³⁸⁸. Every *sommelier* had the key to the duke's room and could go in and out at will, not least because

³⁸⁶ Brabant, a mile and a half from Brussels.

³⁸⁷ *pour ce que souvent avoit semblables doleances desdits charretons fut de ce très desplaisant et fort meu...* These comments rather explain how the affair came to get out of hand. Later, when Hanin threatened him and became impertinent, we learn that Alardin *se malcontenta et courroussa plus que devant* and that he, *estant oudit courroux*, tried to hit Hannin with his weapon. According to the letter, Alardin had the decency to feel bad about the outcome of the affair, and to make amends with the family and ask their forgiveness. (*De l'advenue duquel cas, icelui suppliant fut moult desplaisant et encores est...*)

they oversaw the *fourrier* (i.e. the quartermaster sergeant), who, in this context alone, was a special sort of *varlet de chambre*, responsible for making, fixing and covering the duke's bed: one *sommelier* held a torch in his hands whilst the *fourrier* smoothed the lumps from the feather mattress, and then drew the curtains around the bed once it was made. Mahieu d'Auquasnes's daily retainer fee as a quartermaster sergeant reflected the responsibilities of his office: in 1456, for example, he received 12s per day, and was also given his livery³⁸⁹. Mahieu was paid at the same rate as Pierre David, *valet de Chambre*, and Philippe Vignier and several other middle ranking *officiers*³⁹⁰. Pierre David's two horses (a wage rate of 12s) were accounted for on ducal registers alongside those relating to the quartermaster sergeant's vocation. He had served full-time in the office of *valet de chambre* since 1438, and had worked for the duke by terms before then (from 27 August 1429) replacing Caisin du Puis³⁹¹. The *escuier d'escuierie*

³⁸⁸ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 4, p. 61; pp. 15-16 *La Marche* also notes that of the four ducal *sommeliers*, the first *sommelier* had bed and board in the court, as did the maistres d'ostel, and the other *sommeliers* ate with him.

³⁸⁹ ADN B 2034 fo 64v. I am grateful to Dr Hanno Brandt for the following references: He also appears in the daily retainer fee lists in 1459 – see B 3424, B 3425. cf Court Ordinance, 1449 fo 75r; Court Ordinance 1458, fo 174v.

³⁹⁰ ADN B 2026 fo 144v. Payment for livery and gaiges to Machienot d'Auquasnes. Listed along with Pierre David in the record of *Autres officiers comptes a deux chevaulx*. (In this account, 45 people were paid £529 12 sols, an average of about £12 each.) cf ADN B 2026 fo 151v Philippe Vignier received *gaiges* and *livre* by the escroes at the rate for maintaining two horses during the two months between 4 March and 2 May 1457. Also on the list with him are: Pierre Davit, and Mahienot d'Auquasnes.

³⁹¹ Dr Brandt gave me the following references: Court Ordinance 1426 #260, CO 1433 #293, CO 1438 fo 217r, CO 1445 fo 11r, CO 1449 fo 78r, CO 1458, fo 178r. ADN B 3424.

(i.e. Mériadec, or Philippe de Loan, or Chrestian de Digoine) was responsible for David's horses³⁹².

Regular and One-Off Payments

One of the main reasons for this was that in accounting for the wages and livery costs for the household, the numbers of horses required by each servant was taken into account. Philippe Vignier, for instance, was paid *gaiges* and *livre* by the *escroes* at the rate for maintaining two horses during the two months between 4 December 1456 and 1 February 1457³⁹³. Because he was also a *varlet de chambre*, Pierre David received the same rate, though his payment only covered the cost of maintaining two horses during the 32 days between and including 1 January and 1 February 1457³⁹⁴. Other sections of the receipt general recorded payments to the noble men and officers who were accounted for at the rate of four horses. Messire Jehan d'Enghien³⁹⁵ and Messire Michault de Chaugy – both stewards of the ducal household – received the same amount in the two months 4 December 1456 – 4 February 1457³⁹⁶. The lord of Beauvoir is also noted alongside them. Not all the members of the household received their money at the same time, or

³⁹² ADN B 2026 fo 136v: There is a payment to Machenot d'Auquasnes next to the payment to Pierre David. B 2030 fo 133v records that Digoine was in ducal service for 121 days between 1 June 1457 – 24 May 1458 as a knight, councillor and chamberlain. (1-11 June 1457; 4 February – 24 May 1458.) He was still in service in this capacity between January and March 1464: B 2021 # 61613 fo 17r, 18r, receiving wages of £236 15s, and £19 4s. Dr Brandt gave me the following references relating to Digoine, who was an esquire of the stables from 19 January 1452 until he was promoted to the rank of chamberlain: Court Ordinance 1449 fo 66r, CO 1458 fo 4r. His daily retainer fee in the ducal household in 1459 was 24s.

³⁹³ ADN B 2026 fo 135v.

³⁹⁴ ADN B 2026 fo 136v, cf fo 144v for Mahieu d'Auquasnes' payment.

³⁹⁵ Spelled: Anghien.

³⁹⁶ ADN B 2026 fo 134r.

for the same terms of service. When the raconteurs who worked in the ducal hôtel required money on a regular basis, they could be paid monthly. This was how Mahieu d'Auquasnes received his wages in the early months of 1464, for example³⁹⁷.

Under the Burgundian system of payments the raconteurs worked at court by fixed terms, and letters patent were issued to the officers who served in the household, so that when they returned to their home towns, they could present them to the duke's financial officers and receive their pay on the local receipt. These letters also indicated how long the service was. On 15 January 1463, for example, Philippe Vignier was paid his wages of £50 by Robert de le Bouvrie, who handed over the sum by letter of discharge. This money came from the monies owed by Huguenin de Faletans, a local receiver in Burgundy³⁹⁸. Similarly, Mahieu d'Auquasnes was paid £64 10s on the receipt of the year 1 October 1463 – 30 September 1464, receiving his wages as *fourrier* until 23rd October 1463 on 17 March 1464³⁹⁹. The same

³⁹⁷ ADN B 2021 # 61613 fo 20v: In the section marked: *Autre paiement de gages ordinaires pour les mois de janvier et fevrier lxiij* (i.e. 1464), he received £16 16s and £17 8s. Cf fo 26r (£64 10s) in the section marked: *Despense des descharges dont recette est fecte cy devant*.

³⁹⁸ ACO B 1751 fo 85r-v. By ADN B 2048 fo 111r Richard Juif noted payment of this £50, appointed on the receipt general of Burgundy in January 1463. cf B 2040 preregister folio 4r, where Huguenin de Faletans paid Philippe Vignier his wages on 15 January 1461: £39 10s until the end of December 1460. Sometimes mistakes were made: cf B 2048 fo 111v: *Audit Richard Juif la somme de unze livres huit solz de xl gros monnoie de flandres la livre en deniers paiey audit Philippe Vignier qui lui a este delivrée plusavant qu'il ne lui estoit deu / et qui depuis lui a este de duicte sur la reste que lui estoit deue ici ladit somme de xj£ viij s de xl gros*. This entry has been scored through and a marginal note explains: *Ceste partie est cy royée pour ce que par le derrenier compte Richard Juif ne autre precedens aucune reste nen est faitte*.

³⁹⁹ ACO B 1754 fo 66v; cf ADN B 2021 #61613 fo 2v which notes Huguenin de Faletans' involvement.

ducal accountant disbursed the moneys. Less routine payments, on the other hand, could be paid by the receiver general of all finances, or by a local receiver by dint of letter of exchange. When Vignier got married, for instance, in recognition of his service, the duke gave him the £100 customary for *varlets de chambre* by letters patent on 12 October 1466, and he redeemed them in January 1467, against the moneys of the receipt general⁴⁰⁰. Mahieu d'Auquasnes's more substantial wedding gift of £160 reflected his elevated position as a *fourrier* and *varlet de chambre*⁴⁰¹. This was insignificant compared to the marriage gift of £1000 which the duke gave Jean de Lannoy⁴⁰². It is a mark of the esteem in which Lannoy was held that the duke agreed to repeat letters being given when the first ones were lost: Lannoy was trusted to hand the original over as void, should it be found⁴⁰³. Michault de Chaugy also benefitted from the duke's largesse: in 1455, on his own wedding, the duke gave him £1000⁴⁰⁴. Interestingly, however, Chaugy also received another gift of 1000 francs for *the good and agreeable services* which he had done the duke, which made no mention of his wedding⁴⁰⁵. According to Chastelain, these services included the honour

⁴⁰⁰ ADN B 2061, preregister to receipt general for 1467, unnumbered folio 32v.

⁴⁰¹ ADN B 2034 fo 166v: he received 200 francs of 32 gros (£160 of 40 gros) by letters patent of 7 April 1458 (after Easter) which he redeemed on 20 March 1459.

⁴⁰² ADN B 2040 preregister fo 23r: the money was disbursed on 29 December, 1460, *tant en faveur et contemplacion de son mariage comme autrement*. cf B 2045 preregister fo 8r; B 2040 preregister: the payment was given in respect of letters patent given on 22 November and checked on 15 December 1460, with an acquittance receipt signed by Lannoy on 20 December.

⁴⁰³ ADN B 2040 fo 216v: He was paid his £1000 by virtue of the second letters. It seems someone stole £1000 using the original letters patent.

⁴⁰⁴ ADN B 2040 fo 346r, according to Champion, but in fact B 2020 fo 346r. The money was also said to have been given in consideration of his good service.

⁴⁰⁵ ADN B 2040 fo 215v: 12 October 1460.

of carving the duke's food⁴⁰⁶. Between these extremes of generosity was the ducal gift to Hervé de Mériadec, who on the occasion of his marriage, and for his good service, received at least 500 gold crowns⁴⁰⁷. In 1460, his wife, Jeanne de le Croix gained the promise that she, in the event of her outliving him, would be allowed to live in the hôtel du duc at Vervicq⁴⁰⁸. Jean de Créquy's wedding gift of £2400 in 1446 was exceptionally large, and reflected his status as the duchess' knight of honour, as a member of the order of the Golden Fleece (of the first elevation), and as a personal friend of the duke's⁴⁰⁹. Sommé has observed that the duke's payments to Créquy and other favourites represent an *incroyable générosité*.

Ritual Functions in the Ducal Household

Some of the functions which the raconteurs served in the household have the look of ritualised duties. These are worth noting because they involved close proximity both to the person of the duke and regular interaction with other

⁴⁰⁶ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 156-157: 10 August 1455, Utrecht: Chastelain himself also waited on the duke. On the honour of carving see **E. Kuhl and H. Webb**, 'Chaucer's Squire', in *ELH* (also known as *English Literary History*) (1939) pp. 282-284.

⁴⁰⁷ ADN B 2026 fo 332r: the 500 gold crowns of 48 gros recorded in the receipt general was worth £600 of 40 gros. A note of a wedding gift of £600, issued on 31 December 1457 may have referred to the same payment: AGR AL, #1150c.

⁴⁰⁸ ADN B 1611 #1929; B 1607 fo 89v, at 4 October. There is no indication that Hervé was ill in 1460 when the privilege was granted, as he spent most of that year in the saddle looking after the duke's horses and on business relating to the stables. B 2040 fo 129r-v. Wervicq was evidently Hervé de Mériadec's normal residence: B 2048 fo 176v contains a payment to a messenger who took letters closed to him in *son hostel a Werwy*.

⁴⁰⁹ **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, p. 293 also notes the substantial dowry payments. The £2400 was given as 3000 francs of 32 gros. On top of it he received a further £7200 out of moneys owed to the duke. Sommé's quote on p. 294. Créquy was knight of honour between 1445-1449, replacing Jacques de Villiers, father of Jean de Villiers, p. 301.

raconteurs. For example, as a *sommelier* Jean Martin's duty was to guard the duke's bed (prepared by the quartermaster sergeant, Mahieu D'Auquasnes) until the moment when he was actually reclining in it⁴¹⁰. Such measures were not merely honorific: the *someliers* performed the function of bodyguards. In the minutiae of office, therefore, the job of a *sommelier* was similar to that of the *escuier d'escuierie*, who had to secure the duke's foot in the stirrups when he mounted his horse, and protect his standard when in battle. Moreover, in periods of war, the *escuier d'escuierie* slept in the room closest to the duke's⁴¹¹. During crises, therefore, the *someliers* were routinely around the *escuiers d'escuierie*. As Olivier de la Marche explained in his memoir on the arrangement of the ducal household, the *escuier d'escuierie* was an important, trusted and vital member of the court team. Likewise, quartermaster sergeants, *valets de chambre*, and *someliers* of the household could be called on to fight alongside the duke, or to serve in his armies, and were accounted for together. Before Dinant (8 oct 1466) Mahieu d'Auquasnes was listed as one of the men to whom the duke's esquires distributed weaponry⁴¹². Philippe Martin⁴¹³, Jean Martin's brother, also figured in the repertory, along with Jehan le Tourneur, the lord of Fiennes, Fiennes' uncle Jacques de Luxembourg (the count of Saint Pol's brother), the

⁴¹⁰ The above from **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 4, pp. 18-19, what follows from p. 63.

⁴¹¹ By contrast, in peace time, his was furthest away. La Marche explains the rationale in his guide to the household.

⁴¹² ADN B 3517.

⁴¹³ ACO B 11785 suggests Pierre David served in the duke's army alongside the Philippe Martin who was Jean Martin's uncle, rather than the Philippe Martin who was his brother, and a private confidant of the duke's. **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 5, pp. 102-103: Chastelain implies that Philippe Martin was more trusted than the lord of Lannoy, or the lord of Croy.

lord of Beauvoir, the lord of Créquy, and Pierre Pippe, the count of Charolais's quartermaster sergeant, and a son of Roland Pippe.

The Raconteurs and their Families as Local Patrons: Cultural Overlaps.

As members of the ducal courtly elite, the raconteurs pursued artistic and religious interests at a local level. Such pursuits often mirrored their family's tastes, but there is remarkable similarity across the board in the raconteurs' local patronage. The tastes which they indulged were *fashionable* tastes, and are even more remarkable when we consider that the raconteurs were a group of men of widely differing ages, political seniorities and geographic locations. The issues of *taste* and *fashion* have a bearing on the question of why the raconteurs banded together to tell the stories they did. Cultural bonds were transgenerational, and reinforced by familial self-consciousness, expressed through the medium of local patronage. If there are differences between the raconteurs' patronage habits, they are differences of scale – quantitative differences, not qualitative. Jean Martin's uncle Philippe Machefoing, for example, an *échevin* (alderman) and eventual mayor of Dijon, sponsored artwork, including three statues on round embossments, for the altar of the church of Rouvres, the town in which Philip the Good and his father had been born, and which they both visited often⁴¹⁴. These included a Virgin with child, a Saint John the Baptist, and a Saint John the evangelist. The family's predilection for particular saints is reflected in the art- and building works they sponsored. By the terms of Jean Martin's will, he endowed the local church of Saint Jean with money for obit masses and

⁴¹⁴ http://perso.club-internet.fr/demarrag/louvre/histoire_art/moyen_age/moyen_age11.html

candles⁴¹⁵. This was a church which the duke also gave money to help to build in 1459⁴¹⁶. It is not unusual that Martin and the duke should have participated in similar sorts of cultural activity at court and in Martin's home town, because Martin spent time in both places. (When away from the court, he lived in the Rue de la Poulallerie, next to a public notary, and owned other houses in the Rue de la Drapperie⁴¹⁷.) Martin and the duke's pious expenditure was normal, and others of the raconteurs conformed to type.

Guillaume de Montbléru, for instance, was interred in the Saint Luc Chapel in the church of Saint-Sauveur at Bruges, a town in which his master, Charles the Bold, held his most significant state occasions, such as the meetings of the order of the Golden Fleece, and his wedding festivities⁴¹⁸. In 1458, Jean de Lannoy had a spire built in honour of God and Saint

⁴¹⁵ ACO B 456. He endowed Saint Jean's church in Dijon and Notre Dame de l'Estang with a total of £180 of rents and 8 francs of annual rent for anniversary masses to be said.

⁴¹⁶ ACO B 456 fo 1r: Jean Martin's will; ADN B 2034 preregister fo 4r: the duke paid £360 to the governors of the fabric of the church for the glasswork in the building.

⁴¹⁷ ACO B 1025. This letter mentions Pierre Thierry, his neighbour, and Jean's widow and heirs as resident in Dijon. B 456 fo 3v-4r relate to his house on the Rue de La Drapperie, next to the home of Pierrenote, widow of Martinet Esperonnot. This document also mentions a rent owed to Martin in respect of a house in the suburb of Saint Nicolas in Dijon, in the Rue de la Gaulote, which was rented by the widow and inheritors of Huguenin Rolin.

⁴¹⁸ ADN B 2071, #65174; B 2070, #65174; B 1693, fo 37v, fo 41r-v. Montbléru specified the amortissement of £120 *rente* with which to endow pious foundations in the county of Auxerre. E. Feys and A. De Schrevel, 'Fondation de Guillaume de Monbléru, en la Chapelle de Saint Luc et Saint Éloi, dite Chapelle des Peintres, à Bruges', in *Annales de la Société d'Emulation de la Flandre Occidentale* (1896) pp. 117-141. Vaughan, *Charles the Bold*, pp. 48-53. On the significance of the painter's chapel in the ritual life of Bruges, see Brown, *Civic Ritual*, p. 288.

Christopher at his castle of Lannoy⁴¹⁹. Michault de Chaugy, who died without heir, founded a chapel in honour of Saint Michel, and had his tomb in the chapel, and made provision for the chapter to receive £1000 from which £50 in rent was to be purchased⁴²⁰. Jean Martin has been identified as the sponsor of a devotional portrait now in the Dijon Museum of fine art, which depicts him and his wife, with angels bearing the Martin and the Freppière heraldry. It has been suggested that the same painter also produced the Ambierle altarpiece, on which Michault de Chaugy's family arms appear⁴²¹. On stylistic grounds, both works have been attributed to Rogier van der Weyden, whose *Last Judgement* for the chancellor Nicolas Rolin in Beaune was also destined to be put to a religious purpose (in the chancellor's foundation, the *hôpital de Beaune*) which emphasised the donator as much as it glorified God. Chaugy's painting was also intended to glorify his family: the subject of the retable is the passion, but the wings are dedicated to the donator's family, and their patron saints⁴²². On the exterior are painted statues of the saints, standing on plinths, on which the heraldic devices of

⁴¹⁹ For a representation of the castle, see **de Smedt**, *Jan heer van Lannoy*, p. 64. **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 58-59.

⁴²⁰ **Caron**, *La Noblesse*, pp. 275-276. Chaugy, however, did appeal to the duke for letters of legitimation for his two bastards – a son, Blaise, and a daughter, Peronne: ACO B 11196. He received these letters from both Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, who observed that he had been negligent in not handing Philip the Good's letters to the *chambre des comptes* for verification, and safe keeping.

⁴²¹ See plate 9. **Caron**, *la Noblesse*, p. 521: Caron suggests that the portraits represent Jean Martin and Jeanne Freppier, but the raconteur's wife's name was Marguerite. **J. Dupont**, *Le Rétable d'Ambierle* in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*. For what follows, see **Reure**, *Chaugy* pp. 223-259; <http://www.kfki.hu/~arthp/html/w/weyden/rogier/13variou/8ambierl.html>

⁴²² On the raconteurs as artistic patrons, cf **W. Paravicini**, *Guy de Brimeu Der burgundische Staat und seine adlige Führungsschicht unter Karl dem Kühnen* (Bonn, 1975) p. 25, citing the articles mentioned above.

Chaugy's family are painted. It was originally a work which Chaugy placed in his own household in Beaune, but the terms of his will stated that it was to be gifted to the church of Ambierle when he died. At over 5½ metres wide when fully opened, it dominates the altar, and emphasises the devotion of the raconteur and his wife⁴²³. Michault's father and mother Jean de Chaugy and Guillemette de Montagu kneel on the right hand side, whilst the raconteur and his wife are on the left. The portrait is every bit as gaudy in its own exquisite way as the five towered castle which Chaugy had constructed at Monceau les Blains by 1473⁴²⁴. Jean d'Enghien also shared the duke's family enthusiasm for sponsoring Carthusian monasteries⁴²⁵. In 1455, when the amman was lobbying for the foundation of the Carthusian house of Our Lady of Scheut (a house still in existence), his wife's relatives Jean de Mol, and Thierry de Mol (a burgomaster of the town) and two receivers, Jean and Siger de Mol were also involved, as was the prior of Enghien⁴²⁶. Interestingly, Rogier van der Weyden painted a large (325x192cm) altarpiece for the Carthusians of Scheut whose first prior was from Hérines, the chartreuse into which his own son Cornille had entered. Hérines and Scheut both benefitted from his generosity in 1448. As we have seen, he also painted one for the church at Ambierle, at the behest of Michaut de Chaugy.

⁴²³ Montbléru's annunciation was less ostentatious, though still large, at 1.4 x 1.1m.

⁴²⁴ Reure, *Chaugy*, passim.

⁴²⁵ Philip instructed that his heart should be buried at the Carthusian monastery at Champmol, the Burgundian Saint Denis. E.-L. Lory, 'Les obsèques de Philippe le Bon duc de Bourgogne mort à Bruges en 1467', in *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du Département de la Côte-d'Or* (1865-1866), p. 238: the duke left money for a monument there. M. Sommé, 'Le cérémonial de la naissance et de la mort de l'enfant princier à la cour de Bourgogne au XVe siècle', in J.-M. Cauchies (ed.) *A La Cour de Bourgogne: le duc, son entourage, son train* (Turnhout, 1991) pp. 33-48 at p. 33.

Perhaps Enghien, Chaugy's fellow steward, influenced his decision to paint the Scheut crucifixion scene⁴²⁷. In 1456, when the carthusian house opened officially, Weyden, a man surely known to Enghien in his official capacity as amman, also donated money and paintings to Scheut, where masses were said for his soul⁴²⁸. At any rate, besides the fact that he painted the duke, van der Weyden was not an apolitical artist, and was an important figure in Brussels, where he was commissioned by the civic authorities. For example, after 1436, when he became *city painter* to Brussels, Rogier also painted scenes for the town hall, where Enghien often worked⁴²⁹.

Although indulged on a bigger scale, Chaugy's sponsorship of art is comparable with that of the lord of Fouquesolles, to whom is attributed sponsorship of a carved alabaster annunciation sculpture from Audrehem, from the local church of Saint Medard⁴³⁰. The famous portrait of Philippe de

⁴²⁶ On Thierry De Mol see **G. Des Marez**, *L'Organisation du Travail à Bruxelles au XVe siècle* (Brussels, 1904) p. 345.

⁴²⁷ Now in the Escorial, Spain. cf the Crucifixion diptych in Philadelphia museum of Art. **C. Harbison**, *The Art of the Northern Renaissance* (London, 1995) p.158.

⁴²⁸ **Frère**, *Early Flemish Painting*, p. 63. Rogier had to appear before a magistrate of Brussels as trustee and guardian of his orphaned niece in April 1441.

⁴²⁹ The ducal portrait is in the Dijon Museum of Fine Art. **J. Levy**, 'The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: Ecclesiastical Authority and Hierarchy in the Beaune Altarpiece', in *Art History* (1991) pp. 18-50.

⁴³⁰ **P. Champion**, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928) p. XXXVI; **Anselme de Sainte Marie**, vol. 7, p. 828; **M. Gil and L. Nys**, *Saint-Omer Gothique* (Valenciennes, 2004) p. 292. Audrehem, canton of Ardres. Gil and Nys date the work to 1460-80. Patrick Wintrebert suggested that it was the commission of Jacques de Fouquesolles, who was lord of Audrehem, and governor of Genoa. However, if the dating is accurate, it is more likely to have been the gift of Jacques de Fouquesolles the raconteur, father of Jacques governor of Genoa, because the raconteur was married (to Anthoinette d'Aveluis) only in 1455, and the sculpture was more probably an adult's donation than a child's. The carving is very similar in style to one done in wood, now in the Gruuthuse museum, Bruges. Compare Plates 14 and 15.

Croy praying to Mary now in the Antwerp Museum of Fine Art is evidence of similar devotion. Antoine de la Sale gifted a tableau to the church of Ligny-en-Barrois⁴³¹. Guillaume de Montbléru's *annunciation* given by him in 1463 to the church of Coulanges-la-Vineuse, which he benefitted too in monetary gifts, contains his heraldic shield and confirms him as the picture's donor⁴³². He also gave a painting to the cathedral of Auxerre, where he was baillif, but it did not survive the Huguenot depredations of 1567⁴³³.

Convergent experiences:

Financial Management, and Mints.

If the raconteurs spent and acquired their money in similar ways, they also rose through the ranks in similar ways. In particular, most of the raconteurs were involved with ducal money, and their families had been over generations. The case of Jean Martin's family is exemplary. When the new duke needed a coiner to mint silver coins in his name in July 1420, the raconteur's grandfather, Jean (I) Martin, was in a position to accept this opportunity to benefit himself in service⁴³⁴. As a merchant, Jean (I) had enough money to cut ducal losses in the event of default or disaster⁴³⁵. In combination with his father Humbelot Martin's financial associations with

⁴³¹ Hill, *Reconfort*, p. VI.

⁴³² Carton, *Un Tableau et son Donateur*, pp. 172-187.

⁴³³ Carton, *Tableau*, p. 182.

⁴³⁴ On minting and mints, see A. de Barthélemy, *Essai sur les monnaies des ducs de Bourgogne* (second edition, no date, reprint of article in *Mémoires de la Commission des Antiquités du département de la Côte-d'Or*, 1849); on the earlier period in the northern territories, see L. de Pas, 'Essai sur l'Histoire Monétaire des Comtes de Flandre de la Maison de Bourgogne et Description de leurs Monnaies d'Or et d'Argent', in *Revue Numismatique* 2nd Series/6 (1861) pp. 458-478, and pl. XX-XXI.

⁴³⁵ ACO B 11332 fo 9v-10v, 53v-54r: he owned property in Saint John's street, Dijon.

dukes of Burgundy and his own and his brother's records of military service, this secured his advancement. He was put in charge of the mint at Saint Laurens-lez-Chalon, on the duke's behalf. His undertaking was to be responsible for the minting of a special sort of silver penny, called the “gros” – 7000 of which he was to make to the value of 20d Tournois each, for the duke and for Guillame de Vienne, the lord of Saint George and Saint Croix. The commission steeped him in Burgundian service. He was to deliver the duke's proportion to the men of the *chambre des comptes* at Dijon. They were to accept his oath, which he was to swear on the bible. His associate in the enterprise, Amiot Clerembault, another well-to-do bourgeois of Dijon, acted as guarantor with him: both stood to lose their goods, homes and lives if they defaulted. Martin was obliged to make a profit for the duke. His family's continued path in service strongly suggests that he succeeded in this. Amongst other financial responsibilities, Jean (II) Martin was placed in charge of the collection of *aides* levied in the duchy of Burgundy and he became one of the masters of the counting house in Dijon⁴³⁶. Being rich and bourgeois could evidently be as important to long term success in service as family connections.

Jean Martin's family associations with ducal money were important in his career in service because the duke took a strong personal interest in the minting of money. This interest partly explains why so many of the raconteurs were in charge of its management. From the start of his rule, he

⁴³⁶ AM Dijon, A2 (1460). J. Billioud, *Les Etats de Bourgogne aux XIV & XV siècles* (Dijon, 1922) p. 171, citing ACO B 15, fo 226r, where Martin is called *our dear sommelier de corps and varlet de chambre Jehan Martin and one of our beloved and loyal councillors, and master of our counting house at Dijon*.

issued personal directives about all aspects of finance⁴³⁷. For instance, in a charter of 1426, he deplored the carelessness of his officials, and ordered them not to put percentages of the taxes they raised to their own use⁴³⁸. At the period when the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were recounted, he instituted a serious financial reform throughout his lands, and took measures to suppress usury⁴³⁹. Money matters were amongst the most discussed topics by the duke's estates, and in particular the estates general of the Low Countries: it was important for the duke to exercise personal jurisdiction over the financial situation across his lands⁴⁴⁰. Although he sometimes left the appointment of the mint master to the men of his accounting house in Dijon or elsewhere, he also stipulated that they should make provision for audit, with correct papers, registers and locked strongboxes being part of the commission. He cast his eye over such registers now and again, because he knew about their form and content in general terms⁴⁴¹. Although it was relatively uncommon to see the duke's personal involvement on documents emanating from his chancery, there are several examples of his signatures on

⁴³⁷ The duke's main interest was to secure stability in his currency, and to this end he employed a system of static equivalency in currency values, to counteract the problems of monetary devaluation, and ensure that bad money was not allowed to drive out good. **D. Clauzel**, 'Comptabilites Urbaines et Histoire Monetaire (1384-1482)', in *Revue du Nord* (1981) pp. 357-376.

⁴³⁸ **W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier**, *The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* {Translation of *In de ban van Bourgondië* (Houten, 1988)} (Philadelphia, 1999) p. 143.

⁴³⁹ **Blockmans and Prevenier**, *Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule*, p. 129; **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 314-316, 329ff.; ADN B 2034 fo 143r.

⁴⁴⁰ **Wellens**, *États Generaux des Pays-Bas*, p. 99, notes that important monetary questions came up in 1437, 1438, 1441, 1443, 1459, and 1461.

⁴⁴¹ cf ACO B 11210, a letter dictated by the duke to his *secrétaire* Tousseau. Philip the Good referred to the *propres papiers registres & boittes pour en faire & rendre compte en la maniere qu'il est acoustume de faire...*

documents relating to his mints and personal correspondence to the counting houses of Dijon or Lille, and sometimes, though he did not sign the papers, his presence in the room as they were dictated is specifically noted⁴⁴². The duke's instructions followed trends in French minting, when the king of France was producing certain sorts of new coinage⁴⁴³. For example, in August 1424, when he was at Dijon, the duke heard of the king's new *saluz d'or*, and had letters written by his clerk (Tousseau) ordering the minting of royal money with the king's arms and character on them⁴⁴⁴.

It is worth demonstrating the extent of Philip the Good's awareness of the minutiae of financial business carried on in his mints. At the mint at Saint Laurens-lez-Chalon, where Jean Martin minted coins, one example comes through a sequence of documents from August 1445⁴⁴⁵. Humbert de Plaine, general master of the mints, and a protagonist of the 63rd *Nouvelle*, had approached the chancellor (Nicolas Rolin) towards the end of May 1445, for permission to mint smaller-denomination coinage⁴⁴⁶. His request was

⁴⁴² *ibid.* cf ACO B 983, a document confirming Philippe Pot as lord of the confiscated lordship of Chastelneuf, which the duke signed and addressed to the *chambre des comptes*, Dijon.

⁴⁴³ This was true not only of English-French minting, but also French-French minting: **J. Bailhache**, 'Le monnayage de Philippe le Bon au nom de Charles VII', in *Revue Numismatique*, 5/1 (1937) pp. 235-244

⁴⁴⁴ ACO B 11210, letter to *nostre bien amé* Jehan de Plaine, general master of the ducal mints. Humbert de Plaine was to succeed to this office. In this letter it is clear that the duke left the actual appointment of the coiner to the discretion of his officer.

⁴⁴⁵ Also in the bundle ACO B 11210.

⁴⁴⁶ **Bartier**, *Légistes*, pp. 395-400 and *passim* (see index p. 49); **E. Schwarzkopf**, *Die Rechnungslegung des Humbert de Plaine über die Jahre 1448 bis 1452: eine Studie zur Amtsführung des burgundischen maître de la chambre aux deniers* (Göttingen, 1970) NB This relates to his later career, and deals with the accounts of Humbert de Plaine now in Lille, especially his first account - ADN B 3340, a register which Humbert brought to the court at the end of February, 1450, in his capacity as master of the counting house for Isabelle of Portugal. He was also in charge of the accounts of the count of Charolais.

explained as an urgent public and administrative service⁴⁴⁷. The matter was evidently laid before the duke, as Philip personally gave his assent by letters which he signed at Mons, on 12 August, asking that the money be minted as he laid out in full, in a way which was to be most profitable for him and for the public good⁴⁴⁸. The delay is noteworthy, and indicative of the importance of the matter. For all that the people were in urgent need of small coinage, and the shortage was adversely affecting ducal business, the matter was referred to higher authority from the duchy to the duke's northern lands. However, taking into account travelling time between the duchy and the northern lands, the duke dealt with it relatively quickly (if not immediately), especially considering the important military and diplomatic affairs then occupying his administration, particularly in relation to Luxembourg, the attacks of Robert de Floques in the Arlon region, and the Franco Burgundian conference at Chalon (May 1445)⁴⁴⁹.

The duke was not alone among the raconteurs in understanding and being concerned about the workings of his mints. The lord of Quiévrain, Philippe de Croy, produced an annual account as baillif of Hainault, and amongst other money matters, in the sixth of his accounts (1 October 1461 – 30 September 1462) there is an extensive record of an affair relating to a mint

⁴⁴⁷ There was a shortage, which was being noticed at the Saulnerie of Salins.

... pour le deffault de la dit mennue monnoie tout le peuple y avoit grant interest et dommaige en achat de menues choses et especialement en nostre dit saulnier de Salins pour cause des payemens des bois et fagnoiz que journelement l'on y amenie...

⁴⁴⁸ See plate 10.

⁴⁴⁹ See **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 282 and **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, pp. 404-408 for references.

On the duke's personal involvement, with his chancellor, see **Berthier and Sweeney**, *Chancelier Rolin*, pp. 240-241. The conference involved Jean Regnier (Montbléru's uncle) and Jean de Créquy.

which demonstrates his familiarity with the way the money supply worked⁴⁵⁰. It is recorded in the register because one Colard Poisson was paid for carrying letters to the abbess of Maubeuge from Quiévrain⁴⁵¹. In particular, the letters said that: *Great upset was caused in the land of Hainault on account of the great many lead pennies which they were having forged and put into circulation. In consequence of these, the bailli forbade them, in the duke's name, to make more of them, until he had inspected their privilege to do so. For he had learned that, if they were authorised to mint them, it was only a very small number of coins, and only in little denominations in order that they could make their distributions in their church*⁴⁵².

Others of the raconteurs were associated with ducal mints. Poncellet, for example, lived in the recently refurbished ducal mint at Valenciennes until his death, and was called guard of the mint⁴⁵³. His life was not without friction in the Salle-le-comte, as he had to document his right to the fruit of the garden, in August 1458, when his neighbours, Rémi Hazard, the master of the mint, and his son Gilles Hazard objected to his taking it, and, in what seems to have been a bitter row, even had new keys cast to their door. Although this is a trivial incident, it is worth noting that Poncellet's reply to their suit was to appeal to old ducal letters patent which he had. He was a

⁴⁵⁰ For the other matters alluded to, cf **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 350-351.

⁴⁵¹ 4 May 1462.

⁴⁵² **L. Gachard**, *Rapport à Monsieur le Ministre de l'Intérieur sur Différentes Séries de Documents Concernant l'Histoire de la Belgique qui sont conservées dans les archives de l'ancienne chambre des comptes de Flandre à Lille* (Brussels, 1841) pp. 416-417.

⁴⁵³ For what follows: ADN B 32, fo 24v-25r. Poncellet died on 7 May 1468 according to B 9892. On the mint's fabric see B 640, 641, 643.

near neighbour of George Chastelain's, the duke's chronicler. As we have seen, Chastelain knew him: besides their contact at court and around Valenciennes, the two men also drew their pension on the same receipt. In his capacity as *garde* of the Valenciennes mint, Poncellet was presented with an inventory of the *maison de la monnaie* by the heirs and successors of Remi Hazard, the late master of the mint, drawn up in the presence of a ducal councillor⁴⁵⁴. It is clear that Poncellet's duties and activities cast him in the role of a trusted ducal servant and courtier, because like Jean Martin's grandfather, he was installed in a ducal mint, which seems to have doubled as a retirement home for him⁴⁵⁵. Nor was Poncellet the only raconteur to live in ducal property: Michault de Chaugy was granted leave to live in the newly refurbished Rihour palace at Lille, at the invitation of the town magistrature⁴⁵⁶.

⁴⁵⁴ ADN B 19975, #19403, 1460, 8 March. Thomas Delacourt (also known as *de la Court*), who was not only *receveur de la salle* but also a ducal *conseiller*, oversaw the inventorising, which catalogued such things as weights, measures, and balances. This was the official who signed off Chastelain's pension, which he received annually.

⁴⁵⁵ In a run of registers, numbered ADN B 9879 to B 9900, Thomas Delacourt kept accounts as receiver of the Salle de Valenciennes (also known as Salle le Comte) 1455-76. By B 9891, the account for the year to 30 December 1467, fo 31: *Jean de Ponchel de Poncelet, varlet de chambre*, received a pension of 3 patards per day, assigned on the receipt of la salle for the duration of his life. He received letters patent from Philip the Good to this effect on 20 December 1466, with his payment to begin 1 January 1467. However he did not receive payment before 9 March. Because Philip the Good had died in the interim, his pension had to be confirmed: a marginal notation wonders if he should be paid again. Charles the Bold maintained his pension. On the other men who enjoyed similar favours, cf **P. Spufford**, 'The general officers of the Burgundian mints in the Netherlands in the fifteenth century', in *Jaarboek voor Munt- en Penningkunde* (1978-1979), pp. 5-14.

Intimates Supplanting Intimates: The Raconteurs' Ascendancy at Court through the Spoils of Influence.

The raconteurs' involvement with matters relating to money did not stop at the minting of coins, however. Jean Martin, for example, purchased lands and lordships from the duke, most notably the lordships of Chevail, in the bailliwick of Auxois, Bretenieres near Dijon, and Partay and Thoisy in the county of Burgundy which his relative and fellow *sommelier* Jean Coustain forfeited *for his iniquities* to the duke on his execution⁴⁵⁷. These cost him 4000 francs, by deeds signed on 3 October 1462. Michault de Chaugy also benefitted from the death of Coustain. By letters patent, given at Brussels, July 1462⁴⁵⁸, Michel de Chaugy, *chevalier, conseiller, chambellan, maitre d'hotel*⁴⁵⁹, was retained as *gruier* of Burgundy in the bailliwicks of Dijon, Auxois, and la Montagne, in Coustain's stead. He received £150 as wages

⁴⁵⁶ AM Lille, AA 105 #1957 (13 June 1464). According to #1958, he actually lived there, as Jean Gros the younger, the first secretary to Charles the Bold had the right to live there only in Chaugy's absence (16 February, 1469).

⁴⁵⁷ ACO B 417: *pour ses demerites executex et mis en derrenier supplice*. Chastelain told his story in lurid detail in Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, pp. 234ff. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, *La Marche*, vol. 4, pp. 289-290. Coustain was Jean Martin's cousin's husband. This cousin, Ysabeau Machefoing, subsequently married (2) Jehan de Montferrant, and (3) the chronicler Olivier de la Marche, who mentioned her dance at the feast of the Pheasant in his *Mémoires*, vol. 2, p. 379. She outlived him: ADN B 1210 (1495), B 1211 (1503). Ysabeau was the daughter of Jean Machefoing, who was the controller of the *grenier a sel* in Dijon (1419). Caron, *La Noblesse*, p. 159. Jean Coustain also loaned money to Chrétien de Digoine. It is not clear whether this was paid back following Coustain's execution.

⁴⁵⁸ ACO B 1751 fo 106v.

⁴⁵⁹ Caron, *La Noblesse* pp.136-137; Vaughan, *Philip the Good* p. 139: A *maitre d'hotel* is a steward. There were four serving quarter-annually.

for this position⁴⁶⁰. Chaugy's involvement with ducal money culminated under Philip the Good in his appointment as an assistant to the financial officers at Dijon (one of the *commis des finances*), a lucrative office in which Charles the Bold confirmed him, following his accession to power⁴⁶¹. In this position, he was one of the commissioners whose responsibility it was to chase up the officers of the receipt who had not rendered account quickly enough⁴⁶². Chaugy's position as a *maître d'hôtel* in Philip the Good's household also entailed financial responsibilities, and the duke saw at first hand how he handled monetary affairs. The payments which the *maître d'hôtel* certified could be substantial: so too were the rewards and gifts⁴⁶³.

⁴⁶⁰ ACO B 1751, fo. 107r, and B 1754 fo 83v, for the year 1464: he was by this stage styled *first steward of the ducal household*.

⁴⁶¹ ACO B 1773 fo 7r and ff; B 1778 fo 52v-53r relates that the late duke ordered Chaugy to remain in Burgundy to help with financial affairs at wages of 36s of 2 gros per day. (He received 184 francs for 92 days between 1 October and 30 December 1476). He was also involved in the ducal council with Jean Joard, the judge of Besançon, head of the council and president of the *Parlements* of Burgundy.

⁴⁶² ACO B 1773 fo 8v. The receiver general had to give an annual account in the chambre des comptes and all other times when Chaugy asked him to. The receiver's responsibility was to chase up and be in control of all the matters relating to the ducal domain, as required by Chaugy. The *commis*' task was to enjoin responsibility on him: a broad remit. The receiver general also gave the *commis* the money collected, unless Chaugy deemed it necessary to maintain it in the receiver's hand for the security of Burgundy. The receiver kept and guarded the money in the *trésor* at Dijon. Chaugy had the right and responsibility to order all things necessary in respect of payments for soldiers, letters, messengers etc. These payments were to be noted in a parchment jotter, signed for, and certified by the *commis*, with an indication that they ordered and assented to the payments. Chaugy could also acquit all payments lacking acquittance, if *ordonnances* were produced. Chaugy received 100 francs per year for this responsibility.

⁴⁶³ For instance, Chaugy signed for the disbursement of £840 due to the lord of Montfalcon, Jehan de Chalon, in June 1463: ADN B 2048 fo 124r-v. (cf fo 132r-v where Chaugy signed for the emperor of Trebizond's ambassador's £181 4s); **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 260: Chaugy received a gift of 300 gold crowns in 1458, and 1000 francs two years later.

The raconteurs were often the first to benefit directly and indirectly from the spoils of executions, forfeitures and natural wastage in the form of offices, lands, and lordships which came to them following the death of previous incumbents. As *gruier*, Chaugy had to work alongside the baillif of La Montagne. The previous incumbent of the baillif's office, François l'Arragonais (also known as François de Surienne) was another councillor and chamberlain who had been master of the ducal artillery⁴⁶⁴. He died aged about 64, on 8 April 1462 and was replaced in the office of the governor of the ducal artillery by Walleran de Soissons lord of Moreul, with his brother in law, the raconteur Guy de Roye⁴⁶⁵. On the death of the lord of Chantemerle, Chaugy succeeded him in office as baillif of Mâcon, in 1465, the same year he was appointed castellan of Vilvorde, near Brussels⁴⁶⁶. Although there had been cutbacks to the remuneration of the bailliwick in 1453 Chaugy received the restored wage rate of £400 per year⁴⁶⁷. Jean Martin, who had recently been promoted to the office of first *sommelier de corps* became the *gruyer* of Burgundy in Chaugy's place (i.e. because

⁴⁶⁴ A. Bossuat, *Perrinet Gressart et François de Surienne* (Paris, 1936); J. Richard, 'Les idées de François de Surienne sur la défense des villes à propos de la fortification de Dijon, 1461', in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1944); D. Kirkland, 'Jean Juvenal des Ursins and François de Surienne', in *English Historical Review* (1938) pp. 263-267.

⁴⁶⁵ Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, p. 233.

⁴⁶⁶ The ducal letters patent came from Brussels 8 May 1465, the date when he took the oath of office in the duke's hands. ACO B 5106 fo 12r. (His oath is written on the back of the letters.) cf B 5104 fo 37v, where 30s was paid to Maistre Guillaume l'Espiere, a calligrapher of Mâcon, for a bible on which the oath of office was sworn by the baillif's lieutenant. Nicolas Jaul, the lieutenant, a lawyer, seems to have done the actual work of the office, and received £100 as wages. He replaced Jean Jaquelin by two sets of ducal letters patent from 27 August 1457 and 31 August 1459 (B 5101 fo 14v). On Vilvorde, see **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 103. On Chaugy's involvement with the bailliwick of Mâcon: p. 261.

⁴⁶⁷ ACO B 5191 fo 14r indicates that the wages in 1453 were limited to £300, but from 2 August 1457, they returned to £400. Chaugy inherited the higher rate.

Chaugy became baillif of Mâcon) taking the oath in the duke's hands on 9 May 1465⁴⁶⁸.

Many of the raconteurs were waged servants whose wages increased over time, and they in their turn had servants of their own. The knight, councillor and chamberlain Philippe Pot's rise culminated in the rank of first chamberlain, which represented *the pinnacle of a career at court*, for someone unrelated to the duke⁴⁶⁹. Pot's *escuier serviteur* Guillemot le Long was also paid by the duke for his work at court⁴⁷⁰. Philippe lord of Quiévrain also held the office of first chamberlain temporarily in the duke's household. There is some debate as to the precise circumstances under which he received the dignity in early 1457, but it became his permanently under Maximilian⁴⁷¹. Jean Martin received promotions within and outwith the

⁴⁶⁸ ACO B 1754 fo 84r-v.

⁴⁶⁹ ADN B 2020 fo 190r. Quote from **Small**, *Shaping*, p. 77. cf B 2061, first register in volume receipt general 1467, unfoliated folio 34r: here he is described as: *Messire Philippe Pot chevalier conseiller et tenant le lieu du premier chambellan de mondit seigneur le duc...* **Gachard**, *Itinéraires*, p. 97. There is an outline of Pot's achievements on his tomb in the Louvre, and it mentions that he achieved his state of first chamberlain under the duke, but that he was only one of the *principaux chambellans* under Charles the Bold. For a transcription see, **J.-B. de Vaivre**, *Les Armoires de Regnier Pot et de Palamede* (Paris, 1975) pp. 197-198.

⁴⁷⁰ E.g. ADN B 2034 preregister fo 70v-71r.

⁴⁷¹ ADN B 2048 fo 123r refers to him on 28 June 1463 as *chevallier conseiller et tenant le lieu de premier chambellan de mondit seigneur*. **Gondry**, *Grands Baillis de Hainaut*, p. 105: Maximilien called him *lieutenant-general* and *premier chambellan*. **Thielemans**, *Les Croy*, pp. 98-99. Quiévrain's initial promotion to the rank of Chamberlain in the duke's household came on 31 January 1457, confirming the temporary satus he had enjoyed in his father's absence since 16 February 1452. This tends to suggest Chastelain's date of 17 January (Saint Antony's day), which the anonymous continuator of Monstrelet's chronicle also gives, is to be preferred to du Clercq's (17 February 1459) for the rupture between the duke and his son over Quiévrain's status within the count of Charolais' household: **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 231-232; **Johnes**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, p. 24; **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 98-99. **Beaune** and

duke's household, which may be taken as an indication not merely of long-service, but of continuing augmentation in favour: after all, the duke did not have to give anyone a pay rise. In the end, Martin's officially recognised *gages* rate in Philip the Good's household was 18s per day⁴⁷². He received his raise around the same time he contributed to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. In a record of a payment of £100 dated on 18 November 1462 to noble homme Guillaume de Montbléru, Montbleru was designated an *escuier d'escuierie de monseigneur le conte de Charrolois*⁴⁷³. This was his title in April and August 1457, and it seems that he held the rank whilst he was involved in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*⁴⁷⁴. Guillaume de Montbléru ended up as Charles the Bold's steward of the household and the baillif of Auxerre. He was described by his executors as an esquire, and steward of the ducal household. Guillaume accompanied the count of Charolais on the French campaign and was present at Conflans near Paris on 24 September 1465. In recognition of such exertions, the count of Charolais gave him a pension of 18 *patars* per day on the receipt of Bethune. He was called his *maître d'hôtel*, as he had resigned the functions of an *escuier d'escuierie* to the profit of Jean de Rochefay, *écuyer*⁴⁷⁵. In 1468 when he finally retired completely, the duke gave him a pension of 26 *patars* per day also on the

d'Arbaumont, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 417. La Marche, who is generally unreliable as to dates, says it was Saint George's day, or 23 April. **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 338-339. **Krüse**, *Hof, Amt und Gagen* p. 210 gives details of their retainer fees over 1456-1457.

⁴⁷² ADN B 2030 fo 147r: Martin received £328 10s of 40 gros monnaie de Flandres for *gages* of 18s per day, which the duke gave him by letters patent of 8 February 1458.

⁴⁷³ ACO B 3997 fo 110v.

⁴⁷⁴ ADN B 3661 fo 28v; B 3661 fo 60r. cf B 2026 fo 316r, where he was simply designated *escuier*, in May 1457.

receipt of Béthune⁴⁷⁶. On 2 July 1468 Montbléru gave his last *quittance* for his pension and took the title of *ecuyer maître d'ôtel*⁴⁷⁷. When Charolais noted that he had served him since the count was a child, and that his pension was a reward for good service, he did not say the half of it. At some stages he had risked everything in the Burgundian cause. In the early 1450s, he loaned the duke money to help pay for his war against Ghent, and deferred payment of his own salary⁴⁷⁸. In 1457, when the count of Charolais was out of favour with the duke, Montbléru loaned the count the large sum of £680⁴⁷⁹.

Diplomacy and Military Affairs during the Crisis 1456-61.

Although it is convenient to talk about the raconteurs' "careers" or "career paths", it is important to remember that such terms, used in the modern sense, are inadequate to denote the extent to which service defined and shaped their lives in every area. Michault de Chaugy, Philippe de Loan and

⁴⁷⁵ ADN B 2055, #63972. He was called *ancien ecuyer decuyerie faisant la depense et remplacé en son office par Jean de Roichefay dit Rasquin*.

⁴⁷⁶ ADN B 2069, #64990, 28 February 1468. Charles referred to him as *nostre ame et feal conseillier et maistre d'ostel Guillaume de Monbleru escuier nagaires nostre escuier d'escuierie faisant la despence*. He specifically retired and was replaced of his own volition, in 1465. He was ill when the duke gave him his pension. B 2059, #64310.

⁴⁷⁷ ADN B 2071, #65174.

⁴⁷⁸ AGR CC 1921, fo 18r.

⁴⁷⁹ ADN B 2026 fo 316r. Charolais fell foul of his father for disagreeing about Quiévrain's appointment to his household as chamberlain ahead of the lord of Aymeries. The fight was dramatised by Chastelain, du Clercq, and la Marche. **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 230ff, **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 98-99, **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 414ff. **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 340 notes that Charolais' lands brought him some £15,000 in 1457.

Jean Martin for example, were men whose dedication was to the courtly life, and who gauged their own advancement in terms of service. The raconteurs below the princes in rank represent exactly that *hierarchy of lesser magnates, each of whom might be of considerable local importance* which Lewis identified⁴⁸⁰. Bourgeois status was no bar to participation in the noble world of chivalry, and in the same way as the *caste-exclusiveness* of tournaments and chivalric encounters has often been exaggerated, it is important not to overemphasise the extent to which participation in literary and other cultural activity was exclusive to *noblesse*⁴⁸¹.

In 1461, the duke entrusted Chaugy with an important embassy to the king in April, at a period of mounting tension, when Charles VII's army was almost on the point of invading the ducal lands around Calais⁴⁸². He was paid for this work the following summer, but in some ways it was its own reward as testimony of the duke's continuing trust in his steward⁴⁸³.

Although this was not the first visit Chaugy had paid the king, it came at a

⁴⁸⁰ **P. Lewis**, *Later Medieval France, The Polity* (London, 1968) pp. 192-193. Lewis' examples included the Fiennes branch of the Saint Pol family, of whom one member was the raconteur. **Caron**, *La Noblesse*, pp. 280-281.

⁴⁸¹ **Keen**, *Chivalry*, p. 209. The examples Keen cites are the jousting societies of the Low Countries in which jousters such as Jean de Wavrin, Louis of Bruges, lord of Gruuthuse and even the duke jostled against bourgeois champions. Wavrin and Gruuthuse were, after the duke, two of the greatest bibliophiles of the Burgundian Netherlands.

⁴⁸² **Hinds**, *Calendar of State Papers of Milan*, vol. 1, pp. 75-77; ADN B 2040 fo 178r: 19th April 1461 from Bruges.

⁴⁸³ ACO B 1751 fo 73r-v: Chaugy received £1074 11s for his wages and also for his travels on ducal business in June 1462.

highly sensitive stage in Franco-Burgundian relations⁴⁸⁴. In mid 1461, Chaugy placed his castle of Châteauneuf on military alert, and was careful to avoid surprise attack by the soldiers then entering the bailliwick of Mâcon⁴⁸⁵. The duke sent him to relieve two knights of his order, Simon de Lalaing and Jehan de Croy, who were being kept waiting by the king, and risked missing the start of the celebration of the Saint Omer chapter meeting of the Golden Fleece⁴⁸⁶. Chastelain underlined the importance of this embassy: it was expected to be the last one before the declaration of war, and probably would have been, had the king not died in July⁴⁸⁷. Chaugy even put the question directly: *We ask you, sire, that it will please you to declare outright your noble intentions regarding this issue of war, as that is entirely and principally the cause of our being here, and if we don't get an answer we don't dare to go back to our master and prince*. Chastelain, who thought Chaugy a very vigorous knight (*chevalier bien actif*) noted that the Bourbonnois *maistre d'ostel* took charge of the embassy, which included Antoine de Rochebaron, Pierre de Goux and the herald Golden Fleece, all seasoned diplomats⁴⁸⁸.

⁴⁸⁴ ADB B 2020 fo 402v, when Chaugy visited the king with Gauvain Commeret he had been given 22½ ells of cloth from Giovanni Arnolphini, worth £135.

⁴⁸⁵ ACO B 5101 fo 29r-v. Nicolas Jaul, the lieutenant of the baillif of Mâcon sent a message in May 1461 to the castle of Châteauneuf, Marcigny, and other fortresses thereabouts to warn them to guard their walls. B 5106 fo 15v: Chaugy received £60 wages as captain of Châteauneuf. Chaugy was also in readiness for trouble in 1464 following the arrest of the bastard of Rubempré. (B 5106 fo 21r.) He was unofficially instated as Baillif of Mâcon to prepare the land for attack in the run up to the Montlhery campaign of 1465, as the lord of Chantemerle was then too ill to organise affairs. B 5106 fo 29r-v.

⁴⁸⁶ **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, pp. 273-275.

⁴⁸⁷ 22 July 1461.

⁴⁸⁸ **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, pp. 297-314.

Also in 1461, Philippe de Loan had been sent to the area around Boulogne to scout for information relating to troop movements⁴⁸⁹. Loan was one of the major figures in the circle of storytellers. Like Mériadec, he was a squire of the ducal stables (an *escuier d'escuierie*). Even though one of his nouvelles related to goings-on at the Paris *Parlement*⁴⁹⁰, his main area of expertise was not in the field of French diplomacy, but that of English and Scottish affairs: he made a point of reporting to other great lords, such as the count of Porcien, Antoine de Croy, on affairs on the English peninsula, and sought-out reliable information from the ships at Saint Omer. His letters are methodical and read as though composed in the form of point by point replies to specific requests for data⁴⁹¹. Loan worked closely in 1458 with the *count of Étampes* in the negotiations at Calais, and he was also sent to London on ducal affairs⁴⁹². For example, he received £180 in payment for his trip from the town of Saint Omer to the king of England, the earl of

⁴⁸⁹ ADN B 2040 fo 179r: On 26 April 1461 the ducal rider known as Mouton went in haste from Cassel on ducal orders, day and night, with Philippe de Louans (i.e. de Loan) *escuier d'escuierie* to Boulogne and the marches thereabouts, for intelligence of the descent of certain soldiers, and to bring back information to the duke at Saint Omer.

⁴⁹⁰ *Nouvelle* 67.

⁴⁹¹ BN MS FR. 4054, #182 (Contemporary copy of letters from July 1461, made in 1463). Loan wrote to the count of Porcien and Guines (i.e. the lord of Croy, of whom Loan styled himself the *treshumble serviteur*) of the arrival of an English clerk, Colin Herenc, cleric de Wetell, lieutenant de Guisnes, in the town of Boulogne. The letter is dated 15 July 1461. He thought highly of his source's credentials, writing: *and the said Herenc is a most gracious man, and true.*

⁴⁹² ADN B 2034 fo 17r; B 2030 fo 179v; **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 101; **T. Hardy**, *Syllabus (in English) of the Documents Relating to England and Other Kingdoms contained in the collection known as "Rymer's Fœdera."* (vol II 1377-1654) (London 1873) p. 688; **L. Mirot and E. Deprez**, 'Les Ambassades Anglaises pendant la guerre de Cent ans', in *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1898) pp. 550-577; *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1899) pp. 177-214; *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes* (1900) pp. 20-58. (This catalogue covers the earlier diplomacy up to 1450.)

Warwick and others on secret business, signing for the payment June 2, 1461⁴⁹³. One of his trips lasted between August 1460 and January 1461⁴⁹⁴. The lord of Lannoy also became involved in the English negotiations in 1459, after he had settled the dispute between the men of Utrecht and the duke's son, their bishop⁴⁹⁵. The account books of ducal expenditure contain several payments for the expenses Loan incurred and horses he lost in dealings with the English throughout the 1450s⁴⁹⁶.

Raconteurs Reflecting Burgundian Courtly Attitudes

Loan was not simply an ambassador, however: he was present at the duke's court for much of the rest of the period. Like the other raconteurs, he received a daily retainer fee: his *gages* were paid at the rate deemed sufficient for the upkeep of three horses per day, and records of these payments allow his movements to be tracked. It is therefore useful to consider the ways in which Loan's attitudes, as they appear in his nouvelles, reflect those current in Burgundian court circles. This can be done by considering the ways in which Burgundian courtiers wrote about a particular French institution: the *Parlement* of Paris. One of Loan's tales (*Nouvelle* 67)

⁴⁹³ ADN B 2040 fo 156r.

⁴⁹⁴ Loan's diplomatic activities are recorded in **Thielemans**, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp. 377-405, mainly drawing on ADN B 2040, and B 2045.

⁴⁹⁵ **Champion**, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, p. XXXII, with archival references. The duke trusted Lannoy to arbitrate in a variety of disputes: he was what Peter Lewis referred to as an *expert fixer*. ADN B 2040 fo 184r: on 11 June 1461 the duke sent Jehanin Rumault from Saint Omer to tell Jean de Lannoy, then at Lannoy, to put all excuses aside, and be at Hédin on Saint John's day in 1461 (24 June), to arbitrate (with the bishop of Tournai) in the dispute between the people of Dordrecht and those of Gorghem. On his relations with Tournai, see **Small**, *Centre and Periphery*, pp. 153-154, and for the term *expert fixer*, see *idem*. p. 157.

⁴⁹⁶ ADN B 2034 fo 102v; fo 117r-v; 180v.

is the story of how a dishonest and philandering lord of the *Parlement* was punished for his misdeeds, but from the surviving documentary record of his work as a ducal servant, it is not clear that he had any personal connection with the *Parlement* of Paris in the late 1450s⁴⁹⁷. His tale evidently represents a new negative attitude towards the *Parlement* current at the duke's court during the period of composition, rather than first-hand experience⁴⁹⁸. As a man shaped by service, the values of this story are those of a Burgundian courtier. The duke was indisposed to *Parlement* at the time when the nouvelles were told, so it should come as no shock that the *fur hats* there (i.e. the lords of the *Parlement*) should be the butt of humour at court⁴⁹⁹. The duke's attitude to the institution was presented to the king by Lannoy at Vendôme in 1458⁵⁰⁰.

⁴⁹⁷ ADN B 2026, fo 143v ; fo 151v; Loan was paid for *gaiges and livrés* by the *escroes* for a month between Candlemas and March 3, 1457. This is recorded in the section for payments to men with three horses to keep: *Autres nobles hommes et officiers comptes a trois chevaux*. Loan's name does not appear in the *gaiges and livré* payment section on folios 134v-135r. *Autres nobles hommes et officiers comptes a iij chevaux*, for the period 4 December 1456 - 1 February 1457, and this probably indicates that he was not at court drawing wages during those months. (He is not listed on the *escroes* for the period, ADN B 3421.) cf B 2026 fo 296v in the section recording payments to ambassadors during the period spanning October and November in 1457.

⁴⁹⁸ On the attitude to the *Parlement* current in Burgundian circles at the time, see **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 3, pp. 84, 419. On the more positive fourteenth century experience, see **C. Small**, 'Appeals from the Duchy of Burgundy to the Parlement of Paris in the Early Fourteenth Century', in *Mediaeval Studies* (1977) pp. 350-368. On the period under Lancastrian rule, see **C. Armstrong and C. Allmand**, *English Suits Before the Parlement of Paris, 1420-1436* (London, 1982) Camden 4th Ser. #26, pp. 6-12.

⁴⁹⁹ **Bartier**, *Légistes*, p. 140.

⁵⁰⁰ **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 395-416. BM Courtrai MS 111, fo 248.

Lannoy was himself a man who knew what it meant to come up against the *Parlement*⁵⁰¹. In the late 1450s, Jean de Lannoy fortified his castle at Lannoy, so that it became the greatest fortress and most defensible stronghold in the Lille area⁵⁰². Its great towers and thick walls were accompanied by fortified ditches and a great court within its walls⁵⁰³. On completion to a state of defensible readiness, Lannoy appealed to the duke, who gave him letters patent which enjoined all the men of the surrounding area who were likely to seek refuge in the castle to take a share in guard duty⁵⁰⁴. This was an obligation frequently imposed in fortified places⁵⁰⁵. The nobles and other landholders of the surrounding area, especially in Lille, were alarmed, and protested immediately: first to the governor of Lille, and then to the *Parlement*. In short, Lannoy was by-passed by a substantial number of important men living in and around a strategically vital ducal town. The stronghold was potentially very important for Lille, as the duke's counting house, or *chambre des comptes*, was there, yet over the three years

⁵⁰¹ The earliest dealings between Lannoy and the *Parlement* relate to his minor role in John Fastolf's suit with his thieving servant Thomas Overton: **Armstrong and Allmand**, *English Suits*, p. 260: 17 September 1434.

⁵⁰² ADN B 1127; **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 2, pp. 235-237: The chronicle record of the attack on the bridge of Espierres says that it was led by the count of Étampes, and used the artillery from the lord of Lannoy's castle, which indicates the castle's military usefulness.

⁵⁰³ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, p. 253; **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, passim. In 1458, Lannoy received permission to found the town around the castle closed in with walls, and given town liberties. He reconstructed the castle from about 1452.

⁵⁰⁴ For the information that follows, see AM Lille, 26/611. Letters patent, 27 October 1456.

⁵⁰⁵ **A. Luchaire**, *Alain Le Grand, Sire d'Albret. L'administration royale et le feodalite du Midi (1440-1522)* (Paris, 1877), pp. 126-127. cf *Nouvelle* 62: the lord of Quiévrain includes the detail that Richard Fery, a wealthy bourgeois of Calais, and the inkeeper of the biggest hostelry in the town was obliged to patrol a night-watch once each week on the city walls. In other words, the watch was a serious business, from which not even well-to-do members of the middling class were exempt.

during which this legal wrangling took place, Lannoy castle had no civilian guard. The duke and Lannoy had to manoeuvre carefully to wrest the affair from *Parlement's* jurisdiction, and reach a workable compromise⁵⁰⁶.

The Raconteurs as Extraordinary Servants:

The example of Hervé de Mériadec.

We have seen that the raconteurs were influential noblemen and servants in the ducal orbit, that they similar to each other in their intellectual and social activities, that they shared common tendencies in their cultural patronage, and mirrored each other in their political attitudes, and in their careers.

However, although scholars have not expressed it in these terms, it is worth considering that some of the raconteurs were also truly extraordinary individuals and celebrities in their day – the sorts of men who might be called on to contribute to a ducal enterprise on account of their personal reputations. In part, as we saw in the first chapter, nobody has accentuated this fact using contemporary documents because Pierre Champion's potted biographies did not draw out the extent to which their personalities and courtly activities explain their participation in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Although we could consider the individual examples of the great joustier Philippe Pot, or the adventurer Waleran de Wavrin, or the traveller Ghillebert de Lannoy, these charismatic figures have received attention in

⁵⁰⁶ **Lannoy and Dansaert**, *Jean de Lannoy*, pp. 304-313. The final agreement was drawn up on 1 November 1459, though the letters were only sealed on 17 February 1460. The agreement of 1459 with the ratification of *Parlement*, and a long list of the aggrieved parties, begins with the procureur of another raconteur – Ghillebert de Lannoy – and includes a very large number of more minor lords and bourgeois of Lille. Jean de Lannoy was to receive a one-off payment of 1200 gold crowns. He did not have to allow the people from the surrounding area into his castle if it did not seem expedient to him to do so in time of war.

their own right and it is perhaps more useful here to consider a raconteur whose exploits have not yet come under the spotlight. In many ways, Hervé de Mériadec lived as glamorously as any of the raconteurs. The story of his life as an *escuier d'escuierie* in the 1450s contextualises his part in the literary venture. Champion's historical work on the raconteurs mentioned two secret missions which raconteurs undertook for the duke: one by Mériadec, and one by Créquy. Perhaps because the term *matières secrètes* was often used in courtly documents, Champion evidently considered it no more than a financial officer's formula, as he made no further comment on what the matters might have been. Before we use Mériadec's secret mission to contextualise that "celebrity raconteur's" place in the court of the later 1450s, it is worth considering Champion's similar treatment of Créquy's mission.

Although he related that there was a payment recorded in the *recette generale* for 1461 to the lord of Créquy for £200 in respect of a trip and *matières secrètes*, Champion did not comment on this information⁵⁰⁷.

Besides this, Champion's subsequent information related that on the 16 November 1461, Créquy gave his quittance for £50: money due to him as a pension during his lifetime, for services rendered⁵⁰⁸. Although from this raw information it is clear that the lord of Créquy was in the good graces of the

⁵⁰⁷ Champion's footnote refers to the register for 1460-1: ADN B 2040 fo 156r. Jehan lord of Créqui and Canaples was paid for *certain voyages* to unspecified places on 21 May 1461. Champion did not mention the separate payment of £120 recorded on fo 156v to the duke's herald, *Thoison d'Or*. This payment was made for travel undertaken from St Omer to various places, on secret missions with the lord of Créqui.

Signed for on 6 June 1461.

⁵⁰⁸ BN MS FR 26088, #88.

duke, this was not the whole story. To ascertain the raconteur's position at court when he contributed his nouvelles it is important to establish not only why Créquy was in favour (which Champion did in relation to Créquy's military service and membership of the duke's order) but also how many forms the good will took, and how he maintained his preferred status. Archival sources furnish many more clues. From another note in the receipt general⁵⁰⁹: Hue de Dompierre paid out £400 for the rest and remainder of a sum of £800 which the duke gave Créquy as a yearly pension. This payment was for the year to 23 March 1462, by discharge made on 24 May 1463, and must therefore be seen in the context of a variety of others if its political dimension is to be understood. In another register, Jehan de Créquy received a thousand francs⁵¹⁰. This much greater sum of money was *also* described as a yearly pension during the course of his life which he was to receive irrespective of whether he was with the duke. In other words, Créquy was not just given one off payments for secret missions, or a small annual pension as Champion's notes might lead one to believe: he was the regular recipient of a very large pension indeed. Moreover, it would be a mistake to assume that he only received a pension. In the period just before, during and after the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were being recounted and written the duke also gave him occasional gifts, especially for embassy work, and travel undertaken on his behalf, and he was party to the duke's most intimate affairs⁵¹¹. In fact, chronicle evidence shows that the mysterious payment

⁵⁰⁹ ADN B 2048 fo 53r.

⁵¹⁰ ADN B 2048 fo 123v - 124r.

⁵¹¹ For references to his embassy to England in 1458, see **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, p. 449;

Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, pp. 369-371. The embassy was headed by the *count of Étampes*.

identified by Champion in 1461 was for taking the collar of the order of the Golden Fleece to the king of Aragon: Créquy was the order's representative, and the duke's trusted servant – a knight on a chivalric undertaking⁵¹².

Another important entry is to be found in the register of the first receipt general for 1457⁵¹³. Créquy was paid the large sum of one thousand gold crowns which the duke gave him in consideration of services performed, and anticipated in the future. He also received the money because he had made some *honorables et houtains voiaiges* as per letters patent of 11 December 1455 and 14 August 1457. He was reimbursed and remunerated for both trips at the same time (17 August, 1457), a normal occurrence, as it was typical amongst the richer elements of the court that they be paid for services months or years after they were performed. Créquy, after a lifetime of service, was a valued and trusted member of the duke's inner circle, on whom Philip the Good depended for extraordinary services. He could be relied on to know how to act when initiating the king of Aragon into the order of the Golden Fleece, just as he had been relied on throughout the 1440s and 1450s on ducal missions⁵¹⁴.

In the bland presentation of his notes on Hervé de Mériadec – one of the most colourful of the storytellers, Pierre Champion apparently killed-off, rather than sparked, interest in him. The nine archival references which formed the basis of his uniquely researched remarks about Mériadec ought

Sommé also prints the duke's undated letter to his wife at Nieppe relating to his health, which she knew about because Créquy had informed her: pp. 46-47.

⁵¹² **Prévost**, *Créquy*, p. 1213; cf **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 4, p. 141.

⁵¹³ ADN B 2026, fo. 328v.

⁵¹⁴ ADN B 1978 fo 82r: trip to Abbeville on ducal business, August 1443; B 3413 #116170, Chalons, 1445.

not to be the last word from the archives⁵¹⁵. Champion mentioned, for example, that in 1454, Hervé de Mériadec's work as an *escuier d'escuierie* involved caring for the duke's horses at Dijon⁵¹⁶, and undertaking a secret mission to the king⁵¹⁷. As with Créquy's mission, Champion did not think this latter piece of information worthy of comment, nor indeed, the fact that both men had taken a vow to participate in the projected crusade⁵¹⁸. In fact,

⁵¹⁵ Besides Champion's references, cf ADN B 1606; B 1607 fo 89v; B 1608 #101180 and #101182; B 1611; B 2020 fo 169r-184v, 363r-371v, 374r-388r, 432v-433v; B 2026 preregister fo 57r; B 2026 fo 60r, 65r, 332r, 365r-367v, 370r-373r; B 2031 #62232; B 2034 fo 127r, 199r-202r, 203r-204r, and 205r; B 2035 #62520; B2040 preregister fo 15v, 16v; B 2040 fo 129r-v; B 2040 fo 263 r-v; B 2045 preregister fo 38r-v, 41r-v; B 2045 fo 120v; B 2048 fo 109v, 132v-138r, 176v, 220v⁵¹⁵, 230v-242v; B 3512 #123941; B 3512 #123942; B 3744 #138287. Dr Brandt has also noted his presence in Court Ordinance 1438 fo 15r-18r; CO 1445 fo 10r; CO 1449 62v-65r, 72v; CO 1458 fo 15v. Hervé de Mériadec served in the ducal household as a squire of the stables until 8 January 1455, at which point he replaced the late Chamenergy outright in the office of squire. He also became the squire responsible for the account in January 1455 replacing Huguenin du Blé.

⁵¹⁶ In ADN B 2020 fo 182v, 184r-v: Mériadec did not accompany the duke on his visit to Germany to discuss the preparations for a crusade in conjunction with imperial princes. For bibliographic details on this trip, see below. The auditor checked the payment in the daily lists of the household payments, and Mériadec was not present on them. From this, we can be fairly sure of the accuracy of the record, because the auditor's remark is not only in a different hand, the last remark is also in a different ink. (The original note says that Mériadec was paid as per the text; the second that, notwithstanding this payment, the daily escroes should be consulted to see if he had been paid a daily retainer fee as well; the last entry indicates that following a consultation of them, Hervé de Mériadec was not paid by the escroes.) It seems clear that, when the duke disbanded his household on going to Germany, Mériadec was also surplus to requirements, or (more likely) busy elsewhere.

⁵¹⁷ Hervé de Mériadec, écuyer d'écurie du duc de Bourgogne, séjourne à Dijon en 1454, s'occupant des chevaux, remplissant une mission secrète vers le roi. ADN B 2020 fo 193r: The ducal councillor, and master of the accounts at Lille, Thomas Malet's secret diplomatic mission to the king overlapped significantly with Mériadec's (Mériadec's was 29 August - 2 October and Malet's was 25 August - 26 December). Mériadec was the public face of this diplomatic posturing, whilst Malet worked behind the scenes.

⁵¹⁸ See the section on Chivalry, above.

however, read alongside the chronicle record, this is one of the most revealing episodes of Mériadec's career, showing both the extent to which the duke trusted him, and to which he belonged to a pan-European chivalric elite.

Chastelain's chronicle also details his secret business: Mériadec became involved in the duke's quarrel over the disputed Duchy of Luxembourg, whilst Philip the Good was preparing for his crusade⁵¹⁹. As the duke's champion, the Breton esquire visited the king publicly to issue a chivalric challenge: anyone who questioned the duke's honour could take it up martially with him. The episode culminating in Mériadec's mission seems to have begun, if Chastelain is a reliable witness, when a knight came to the king's court at Tours, who had been sent by the king of Hungary. He seemed to wish to level an allegation against the duke of Burgundy in matters relating to honour. Chastelain, whose account is somewhat muddled, was not specific about the particulars, but said they related to the duke's departure from Regensburg. Champion's reference from the account book says that at the duke's request, Mériadec went from Dijon to the king between 29 August 1454 - 2 October 1454⁵²⁰. Besides the obvious point that these payments

⁵¹⁹ On the background to the Luxembourg affair, see Y. Lacaze, 'Philippe le Bon et l'Empire: bilan d'un règne', in *Francia* (1981-1982) pp. 167-227, and Vaughan, *Philip the Good*, pp. 274-302. In essence, Philip the Good argued that he had rights in the duchy as his aunt's protector. As Vaughan says (pp. 274-275), Philip was not *in the least interested in going to the rescue of his aunt; he wanted Luxembourg for himself*, and a military conquest brought him the duchy.

⁵²⁰ H. Vander Linden, pp. 331-332, places the duke at Nevers between 21 and 28 September, 1454. Chastelain's account seems to be mistaken in suggesting that the duke was in the midst of wedding negotiations when he had to deal with the Hungarian issue. It is likely that the duke was at Autun, therefore, when the news came to him of the matter, and not at Nevers. On the duke's trip to Germany, see

show Mériadec to have been an integrated participant in the system of service and reward, they demonstrate the particular calling of the esquire in ducal service. After all, Mériadec was *not* routinely sent with messages⁵²¹, and as we have seen, his functions as an *escuier* were generally connected more with the day-to-day management of the ducal household than they were with the complex business of diplomacy. Mériadec's challenge may seem like the romantic posturing of a court obsessed with chivalry, but in fact, it was a serious facet of mid 1450s ducal diplomacy. For one thing, Chastelain relates that the decision to send Mériadec to the king was taken during the period when a convoked assembly of dukes and duchesses was in session at Nevers: as well as being a public matter, it became a high profile political affair⁵²².

It is difficult to know what to make of Chastelain's reticence in the matter of the specific allegations which touched the duke's honour⁵²³. Presumably the duke or his representatives had insisted on precedence in some point of protocol, on the basis of his disputed claims to Luxembourg. In the

W. Paravicini, 'Philippe le Bon en Allemagne (1454)', in *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire: / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis* (1997) pp. 967-1018. Paravicini discusses the itinerary of the trip in detail, and analyses its significance in terms of the crusade. Cf also ADN B 3419, and BN MS 1278 fo 178r-185v.

⁵²¹ He did make a trip to England in 1450, on *secret matters* but this evidently left no paper trail, apart from the mention in the receipt general: ADN B 2004 fo 113r. Roland Pippe was also involved in diplomatic activity with England alongside Henry Utenhove in the same year relating to the ban on English imports to Flanders. Thielemans, *Bourgogne et Angleterre*, p. 156; E. Lipson, *The Economic History of England, The middle ages* (London, 1956) pp. 487-488.

⁵²² Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, p. 11.

⁵²³ Other chronicles are also silent. Chastelain's chronicle is the only source which explains that the immediate reason for sending Mériadec was to do with ducal honour.

diplomatic context, however, it is significant that the complaint of the king of Hungary was intended to be relayed to the duke by way of the king of France, as the duke's sovereign. The transparent implication was that the king of Hungary expected – or at the very least, hoped – that justice could be done by the king of France on the duke of Burgundy. Of course, to translate Chastelain's word *raison* as *justice* is to replace if not a vague expression, then certainly an ambiguous one with a more precise legal term, but the subtext of a complaint made to the king of France was patently that it was his place to deal with it. This, naturally, was not the Burgundian stance in the matter, and Mériadec's involvement is best viewed as a speedy reaction against the possibility of French royal pretensions.

Here is the Burgundian diplomatic machine in action, and Mériadec was a vital player in the chivalric game – robbing the king of the initiative, raising the stakes, and participating in the theatrical side of international relations. The duke used Mériadec to make a stand in defence of his honour, and Chastelain describes the purpose of this embassy to the king⁵²⁴. Hervé de Mériadec was dispatched before the king had a chance to send an official summons to the duke or to offer some other form of chivalric affront. Part of his job was to carry ducal letters which explained how these chivalric matters had come to his knowledge. To an extent, his mission was to neutralise the king's initiative: Charles was to be subtly instructed in how the duke expected the matter to be dealt with. The letters asked if it would please the king to tell the duke of the truth and the substance of the affair, informing him as his humble servant, and kinsman. In other words, there

⁵²⁴ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 14-15.

was to be no sense of “royal justice” about the king's explanation. Moreover, Mériadec's mission was not to discover what the charges were, and argue about them, but rather to defend the duke's honour. A trial by chivalric contest was to be the only avenue open. This made good sense from the duke's point of view. If the issue at stake was one of honour, it could be defended honourably by proxy, or in person. However, if it was an issue of justice, and arbitration, it was out of the duke's hands, and in the gift of the king of France, a man whose arbitration Philip was not prepared to accept, and whose attitude to Burgundian affairs was neither consistently positive nor predictable.

It is hard to believe that Chastelain's was a straightforward account of the affair when he noted that the charge angered the duke greatly, and claimed that the duke considered it to have been made without cause by the king of Hungary. In view of the long-standing hostilities which had shaped the two princes' relations with each other, it is doubtful whether or not the duke should have been genuinely surprised by the complaint. Mériadec's mission set the stage for more formal diplomacy by the seasoned diplomat Simon de Lalaing⁵²⁵. Both men's purpose was to neutralise Charles VII's opposition to

⁵²⁵ In the autumn of 1454 Lalaing had already met at Frankfort with the ambassadors of the king of Hungary, the pope, the emperor, and several other German princes relating to the crusade, and to the matter of the duchy of Luxembourg (ADN B 2020 fo 232v: it began on St Michael's day - September 29); cf fo 260r; **P. Bonenfant** *Philippe le Bon* (Brussels, 1955 / Brussels, 1996) p. 95; **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 118-119; **Du Fresne de Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 272-273. In common with Ghillebert de Lannoy, and the amman of Brussels, in the 1440s, the duke had called on Simon de Lalaing to act as his ambassador on business relating to the council of Basel. **J. Toussaint**, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de Philippe le Bon Avec le Concile de Bâle* (Louvain, 1942) pp. 169-171, 182 re Lalaing's embassy to Ferrara, and into Germany. For references to Ghillebert de Lannoy see p. 325. For Enghien, p. 196.

the duke, and to embarrass him over the issue of the duchy of Luxembourg, the underlying difficulty which lay at the heart of Burgundian-Hungarian friction⁵²⁶.

In 1454, when Mériadec issued the public challenge on his master's behalf, the duke of Burgundy could claim that since nobody had either opposed him or met the challenge of his strongman, his position regarding the king of Hungary was impeccable⁵²⁷. The Burgundians forced the king into a corner, in respect of his duty to protect ducal lands. How could Charles reasonably refuse to take responsibility for the lands of a crusading prince? Honour and canon law bound him to defend them against all comers, and he could certainly not cite the Luxembourg issue as an outstanding bone of contention, the duke having used Mériadec to satisfy honour in that matter too.

Mériadec's brief was to proclaim in public that if the king of Hungary wanted to charge the duke with something against his honour, or to have done wrong in deed or in word, that the duke would make provision to deal with it. The provision made was quite specific, and related to the precise

⁵²⁶ Even into 1455, the duke communicated repeatedly with Ladislas relating to a general peace over the issue of Luxembourg: ADN B 2020 fo 252r (mission of Jehan Drumont, from Louvain 15 June 1455). cf **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, p. 273.

⁵²⁷ It was not particularly unusual for diplomacy to be carried out according to chivalric rules in this way. Another example involving Mériadec came in 1443, when the duke sent le Quesnoy, herald at arms from Yvis to offer a chivalric contest to the comte de Click. He nominated as his potential champions *Jehan de Bourgogne*, *comte d'Estampes*, and if the comte de Click wanted to, he could pick Cornille, bastard of Burgundy, Jaques de Lalaing, Guillaume de Vaudrey, or Hervé de Mériadec. **Beaune and D'Aubremont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 34.

status of the people making the accusations. If the king wanted to uphold any charge by means of a noble man who was not a knight, Mériadec would maintain the contrary in his person, and would disprove it. The plain implication is that Mériadec was not just an ordinary *escuier* – the duke undoubtedly respected his ability as a fighting champion. Mériadec's ability and strength had been amply demonstrated⁵²⁸. On 25th February 1449, before a crowd thousands strong, he fought at Stirling castle alongside Simon de Lalaing, and Jacques de Lalaing⁵²⁹ (nephew of Simon) against James Douglas (the earl of Douglas' brother), another James Douglas, and John Ross of Halket. Hervé's fight was with the Lochlevin Sir James Douglas, and although he had his coat pierced by a spear, the Breton managed to knock his opponent down more than once with his poleaxe, and was so soon victorious that he looked to offer his companions assistance – at least – this is what happened if Chastelain's account is to be believed. Writing of the episode, Michael Brown has observed that, *the combat at Stirling before*

⁵²⁸ For what follows, see **M. Brown**, *The Black Douglases* (East Linton, 1998) p. 276. **Beaucourt**, *Escouchy*, vol. 2, pp. 148-153, and *Charles VII*, vol 3, p. 320; **W. Craigie**, 'The Asloan Manuscript (containing the Auchinleck Chronicle for 1420-60)', in *Scottish Text Society, New Series*, 32/14 (Edinburgh, 1923) p. 227; **P. Brown**, *Early Travellers in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1891) p. 32; **W. Turnbull**, *Extracta E Variis Cronicis Scocie from the ancient manuscript in the advocates library at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1842) (This version gets the date wrong, and does not seem to know that Mériadec is a Breton knight from Flanders, but the names are correct, as are the names and relations of the Scottish contingent); cf *The Scotichronicon*, cited in **P. Brown**, p. 38 n. 1.

⁵²⁹ Mériadec assisted Jacques de Lalaing in his jousts at Ghent, **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 97. Some of Lalaing's jousts in this period have been interpreted as a diplomatic snub to the duke of Guelders, which emphasises the political importance of Mériadec's position as a chivalric figure.

D. Ditchburn, 'The Place of Guelders in Scottish Foreign Policy, c. 1449-c.1452', in **G. Simpson** (ed.) *Scotland and the Low Countries, 1124-1994* (East Linton, 1996) pp. 66-67; **F. Downie**, "'La Voie Quelle Menace Tenir": Annabella Stewart, Scotland and the European Marriage Market, 1444-56', in *Scottish Historical Review* (1999) pp. 171-191.

King James gave the Black Douglases the chance to pose as the armed defenders of Scotland's honour. This is an interesting parallel with the idea that Mériadec should be in a position to uphold Burgundy's honour.

In the event of the king of Hungary sending a knight to maintain his cause, the duke would answer in kind, with his own knight, and to this end, in fact, he sent the redoubtable lord of Charny with Mériadec⁵³⁰: the *escuier's* status in terms of the peerage is therefore quite clear, and this episode exemplifies a time when such considerations as his official rank within the chivalric panoply mattered. Similarly, Mériadec had been offered as a champion by the duke in 1433, when the duke sent his herald Quesnoy to the count of Gleichen (whom La Marche calls the count of *Click*) to offer single combat between Cornille, bastard of Burgundy, Jacques de Lalaing, Guillaume de Vaudrey, or Mériadec with one of his champions. In the event of Gleichen wishing to take the field himself, the duke offered a count to fight: *Jehan count of Étampes*⁵³¹. Like the affair of 1454, this matter related to Philip the Good's decision to adopt his aunt's cause in Luxembourg⁵³². Mériadec's ability in matters armigerous was noted several times by Chastelain, who thought of him as *one of the renowned men of the world, and to be respected*

⁵³⁰ Pierre de Bauffremont, lord of Charny, a son in law of Philip the Good from 1448. *Johnes, Monstrelet*, vol. 2, chapter 181. In 1442, with twelve other knights he organised a forty-day tournament to honour the duke – the *pas d'armes de Marsannay-la-Côte*:

http://home.stny.rr.com/rosensoldat/St_Michael/John_Chargnyl.htm. The duke bought him fine cloth, purchased from Giovanni Arnolphini: ADN B 2020 fo 205v-206r; fo 393v; fo 397v; fo 424r. *Lettenhove, Chastelain*, vol. 3, p. 19. In the context of praising the lord of Haubourdin Charles VII compared Haubourdin with well known knights of good reputation, such as Créquy and Charny.

⁵³¹ Mentioned as Montbleru's lord in *Nouvelle* 63.

*for his sense and subtlety*⁵³³. The issue of honour was of sufficient gravity that Philip the Good also offered to fight any prince or even the king – and the offer was quite sincerely made: in his younger days, Philip the Good had issued a similar ultimatum to Humphrey duke of Gloucester, and had spent a long time in the ring preparing for the match.

At any rate, Chastelain notes that the duke took advice on the matter, and made a speedy decision. In this respect, it is tempting to notice that of the people who could have advised him in the matter, Mériadec's record (according to Chastelain) is most impressive in respect of advice on chivalric slights, points of honour, and legal rights. If it was Mériadec himself who guided the duke in his response, it would not have been out of character. Other examples of Mériadec's capacity as a protocol adviser occur later on in Chastelain's work, and the most striking case took place whilst the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were being conceived. In the autumn of 1458 he played a crucial part arranging the chivalric contest between Jehan de Rebremettes and Henry Sasse. In this affair he was careful to protect ducal dignity, whilst accommodating Philip the Good's wishes. Chastelain was clearly impressed not only with Mériadec's prowess, but by the *escuier*'s capacity to manipulate the difficult chivalric situations which arose, and in particular by his ability to offset the duke's dignity, which he upheld punctiliously, against

⁵³² **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 1-9, 34; **Bertholet**, *Histoire du Duché de Luxembourg*, vol. 7, p. 412.

⁵³³ **Delclos**, *Chastelain*, p. 167. *ung des renomméz hommes du monde et des plus a craindre en ce cas par sens et subtil oeil qui estoient en ly.*

the expediencies which circumstances called for⁵³⁴. He acted as a model of propriety, and maintained and defended ducal rights in chivalric matters.

The fragments of the fourth book of Chastelain's chronicle flesh out the details of the conteur's responsibilities. The chivalric encounter recorded by Chastelain relates to Mériadec's métier as *escuier*, and again reinforces the impression that he was heavily involved in matters of protocol in a specific capacity as a specialist adviser to the duke⁵³⁵. When the German knight Henry Sasse (described charitably by Chastelain as a *man of good intent*⁵³⁶) wore a token from his lady openly in the great hall, it was taken by everyone present as a sign of *some high design*⁵³⁷. However, as the knight made an issue of the token he wore, saying in a loud voice that it signified a joyful heart, and that he would confront anyone who asked questions of it, Mériadec took a professional interest in him. Reading between the lines of Chastelain's account it is clear that the *escuier's* concern was to engineer the situation to minimise the possibility of affront to the duke, and to maximise the glory that would accrue to him from the tournament which would take

⁵³⁴ See below.

⁵³⁵ **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, pp. 132-139. On pp. 159-171 Chastelain describes the joust, which took place in his home town of Valenciennes on 14th December 1458.

⁵³⁶ **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, p. 133: *homme de bon vouloir*.

⁵³⁷ *enseigne de quelque haut voloir*. Cf BN MS FR 1278 fo 80v-81v, in which the bastard of Saint Pol, lord of Haubourdin declared his intention to wear a gold chain with a ruby and a pearl embedded in a sun-pendant, with a diamond on his shoulder *for the love of my very dear lady and mistress, whom I wish to obey with all my heart and win her grace, by doing things by which I shall advance and acquire good renown...* The difference was that Haubourdin cleared his *emprinse* with the duke: *the more honourably and reasonably to achieve my said enterprise, I have asked in all humility my most high and powerful prince and my most redoubtable lord and master my lord the duke of Burgundy that in his grace it will please him to be the judge of this my undertaking...*

place as a result of the knight's statement. We learn that he took Sasse to one side, and asked him whether or not he had permission from the duke⁵³⁸. The expression *emprinse* is a key term here, and is understood in a strictly chivalric context⁵³⁹. Roger Dubuis has translated it as an *entreprise guerrière*, in the sense that *porter emprinse d'armes* could mean to take up arms and leave for war. He cited a specific example from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*: ...*ce bon chevalier, pour mieulx valoir et honneur acquerre et embrasser, se partit de sa marche, tresbien en point et accompaignié, portant emprinse d'armes du congé de son maistre*⁵⁴⁰. From the standpoint of contextualising Mériadec's role at the court, and in the ducal household, it is important to notice that it was actively a skill of Mériadec's *métier* to work out the best ways not only to deal with issues of honour and chivalry, but also to recognise them when (or rather before) they developed. One arose in the banquet hall, because it was highly unusual for a knight to declare himself to have a martial undertaking by wearing a sign of it, without the say-so of the prince in whose castle the feast was taking place. As a courtier, an old soldier, and a chronicler interested in chivalric matters, it is not surprising that Chastelain records that Henry Sasse's embroidered sign

⁵³⁸ *Monsieur vous a il donné congé de porter emprinse?*

⁵³⁹ **M. Keen**, *Chivalry* (London, 1984) p. 211. Cf the vow to joust on his return from the holy land made by Chrétien de Digoine on the pheasant at Lille, 1454. (See above for references.)

⁵⁴⁰ **R. Dubuis** *B.T.M.F. / Lexiques de Moyen Français* (electronic edition). Other meanings with a less militant character are also found in the *cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Dubuis gives the example of a narrative comment *Or appartient que je vous compte la fin de mon emprinse*. In this context, it clearly means *undertaking*, rather than *mission* – the undertaking in question, of course, being the telling of the story; Sweetser, CNN, pp. 246, 459. The word appears in nouvelles 9, 22, 23, 27, 35, 37, 38, 58, and 77. *J'ai emprinse* appears in *Nouvelle* 26, by the valiant Katherine, who asked her uncle if he wanted to serve her in a quest of hers: *en une mienne queste que j'ay emprinse*. On Vérard's treatment of the word, see codicology appendix.

caused quite a stir amongst the guests, who took it for a sign of an *emprinse*, or chivalric quest. This makes sense of Henry Sasse's reply to Mériadec, and sets the *escuier's* conversation with him in its chivalric and courtly context, making it clear that even if the subtext of the conversation was not disciplinary, then it was certainly clarificatory: *My lord has not given me permission ... because I bear no token of chivalric quest... but my lady has commanded me to wear this volet; thus I wear it by her command, without anyone's leave*⁵⁴¹. Up to this point, Sasse made concessions to the chivalric standards expected of him: he maintained that his was not an *emprinse* in the formal sense - that is, in a sense calculated to offer an affront to the duke. However, when he continued by laying down a challenge, saying that if anyone wanted to come and make an issue of it, he would answer them in kind, the matter became one requiring a more specific sort of chivalric attention: his courtly language was also clearly militant. Mériadec's answer was at once to say to him that he could not have it both ways, but to wish him well, nevertheless: *This isn't a chivalric undertaking? Holy Mary, but it is! It's the nonpareil of all the others I've ever heard of! Good my lord, since you are minded this way, God give you your good adventure*⁵⁴² ...

We can identify Mériadec's twin responsibilities of providing the duke with information and advice relating to matters within the household in his

⁵⁴¹ He had attracted the attention of the hall by ostentatiously wearing an embroidered flap, with golden lettering, which his lady had sent to him or given him. As he had worn it in the day at the joust, he wore it again in the evening to the banquet, wrapped around his arm. *Monsieur ne m'a pas donné congié... car ce n'est pas emprinse que je porte. Mes ma dame m'a commandé a porter ce volet... si le porte par son commandement sans congié de nulluy...*

⁵⁴² *N'est ce pas emprinse? Par sainte Marie, sire, si est! C'est la non pareille de toutes les aultres dont onques je oÿsse parler! Beau sire, puis que vous estes en ce vouloir, Dieu vous y doint bonne aventure.*

ensuing actions: he took the matter immediately to the duke, to update him on what was happening under his roof, and to offer counsel. When Philip asked him what was going on, Mériadec explained that the German had made bold his challenge, and that if nothing was done about it, he could boast that in all the duke's company, none could be found to challenge him. The fact that he was a German – a foreigner – was singled out as important: indeed this is almost the first thing we learn of Henry Sasse's status from Chastelain's account, apart from the fact that he was a *chevalier de l'hostel*, and of the duke's retenue⁵⁴³. Clearly, there was potentially an issue of international prestige at stake here, and through Mériadec's advice the duke became aware that his hand was being forced in it. The *escuier* came directly to the point: *My lord, he's a German. It's not good to have him go away empty handed. Tomorrow or whenever he happens to be in his homeland, he may boast that he had been unable to find a man who dared to say anything to him in all your household. And God knows there are dogs as mad as he is, and we have a good number of men who could make a good reply to a better man than him*⁵⁴⁴!

⁵⁴³ On ADN B 2034 preregister fo 70v-71r, there is a record of a series of non specific payments, signed for by the lord of Croy, one of which was made to *Henry Zaes chambellan* by Guiot du Champ (the receiver general). These miscellaneous payments amounted to £1883 11s for a number of people, and were for *pluseurs parties d'ambassades, de dons et recompensacions d'escuierie, de joyaulx, et de vaisselle*. He appears on a list of men paid a daily retainer fee in B 3423 #117149, from Friday 26 January 1459, where he is called *Messire Henry Zaits*, and received 24 sols as his *gaiges*, the same as the famous knights Claude and Tristan de Thoulonjon.

⁵⁴⁴ *Monsieur, c'est ung Alleman. Il ne convient pas qu'il s'en voist sans beste vendre. Demain ou après quand d'aventure se trouveroit en son pays, il se porroit vanter qu'il n'avoit trouvé homme qui luy eust osé riens dire en toute vostre maison. Et par Dieu, il y a dés chiens aussy fol que luy, et en y a une grant quantité pour respondre a homme de plus grant sorte qu'il n'est.*

It is also interesting to note that, on being told of the state of affairs, the duke solicited Mériadec's suggestions about the appropriate response to make. In what seems like a verbatim account of the duke's conversation, Philip recalled that the knight had made similar requests of him three or four times previously, without satisfaction, and he then made a facetious remark to the effect that since he was so hot, he should be cooled down⁵⁴⁵; that is, he charged Mériadec to suggest a suitable opponent for Henry Sasse – that is, one who could defeat him. Mériadec's answer underlined the sorts of practical and legal considerations to be confronted in arranging tournaments: as might be expected, he was an expert in the field, and was able to offer rational and helpful advice. In his view, and for a series of specific reasons, there was none better than Jehan de Rebremette to fight Henry Sasse: *Both of them are of similar stature and equally matched for skill, and both are knights of an equal status*⁵⁴⁶. In this assessment, the status of the knights – their *egal estat* – was important from the perspective of satisfying honour: just as the duke sent an *escuier* and a lord on his behalf to defend his honour against all comers, here too it was important to match the combatants according to social status or rank: in the ducal account books, *Jehan de Rebremettes* was a *chevalier*, *Messire Henry Zaes* was a *chambellan*⁵⁴⁷. Rank was not only a matter of protocol, however. It also related to legal rights, and could protect a man from charges levied by anyone of a lower

⁵⁴⁵ **Delclos**, *Chastellain*, p. 135: *Dea, puisqu'il est si fort eschauffé, il fault trouver maniere de le refroidier.*

⁵⁴⁶ *Ilz sont tous deux d'un grant et est assez bille pareille de eulx deux et tous deux chevaliers d'un egal estat.*

⁵⁴⁷ In the ducal account books they are sometimes listed for payments alongside each other. For example, cf ADN B 2034 preregister fo 70v, which lists a number of people, including Philippe Pot, who were paid money in December 1458 for ambassadorial work, gifts, recompense for horses, and purchases of jewels, and plate.

status. Famously, for example, a son of chancellor Rolin, Guillaume Rolin, fell foul of the Marshal of Burgundy, and managed to escape a scheme to bring him to justice for murders because he was of a higher rank than his accuser⁵⁴⁸.

Arranging the contest was not simply a matter of sorting out who was appropriate to fight, however. Observing the way Mériadec acted on his master's command to approach the duke's son Antoine, bastard of Burgundy about the event gives an even more refined appreciation of the *escuier's* functions – setting the wheels in motion necessitated careful preparation. Chastelain's chronicle highlights the fact that resolving the matter involved even more subtle chivalric nuances: for reasons which were to be made clear in the conversation which Mériadec and Antoine de Bourgogne had with Rebremette, it would not have been appropriate for the duke to handle the affair personally. Moreover, as the two Burgundian servants discussed the best method of approaching their champion, they carefully considered possible objections to their proposal: the bastard's reply to Mériadec, that Messire Jehan de Rebremette was not a rich knight and that he had made a vow to head out once more against the Turks on crusade also draw attention the practicalities with which the *escuier* had to deal as a part of his vocation. When Mériadec and the duke's son put their case to Jehan de Rebremette, they also showed him how to go about his business of arranging the fight in a manner calculated to bring honour to the duke, and to reduce the likelihood of a similar chain of events occurring in the future. The very objections

⁵⁴⁸ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 3, pp. 456-459. ADN B 2034 fo 115v, B 2045 preregister fo 32r-33r, ACO B 1739, B 1742.

which the Bastard anticipated were the ones which Rebremette raised when asked to participate in the plan: he was impoverished, and he was on his oath to be sent to the Turk. Although nothing in Chastelain's account suggests anything but complete trust for Mériadec and the bastard⁵⁴⁹, Rebremette might legitimately have been incredulous about the motivations of the two lords, or reluctant to perform in the charade they proposed. After all, they came inviting him to break one of the rules of chivalric behaviour, and to wear an *emprinse* without permission under the duke's roof⁵⁵⁰. The way they put it to him, he was only to *seem* as though he was behaving outrageously. Looking at the proposal from Rebremette's point of view, it is plain that if they had not been telling him the truth, and the duke took against him on account of the affront, he would have found himself in a prickly situation. On the other hand, if they were telling him the truth, and the duke did want to have matters brought to a conclusion in this way, his refusal to participate would surely count against him. He therefore raised legitimate chivalric objections: his impoverishment, and his crusade oath⁵⁵¹. The bastard reassured him that everything would be paid for, and also said that although the duke would pretend not to know anything about the affair, was really informed of it, and approved of it.

⁵⁴⁹ The bastard is described as Rebremette's *maistre*, which implies that he was in his retinue.

⁵⁵⁰ Delclos, *Chastelain*, p. 135.

⁵⁵¹ Delclos, *Chastelain*, pp. 135-136: *Monsieur, vous savez mon estat. Je suis povre et suis en parolle d'estre envoyé de par luy vers le Turcq et de prendre la croisee. J'ay grant ceur audit voyage, et ne m'est riens si désiré/ Toutesvoyes, il n'est riens que je ne feysse par commandement de Monseur et de vous. Mes vous savez, il me tient au meilleur. Mes au regard du vouloir et du couraige, grace a Dieu, il y sont bons.*

Yet the business was not settled at that point, either. Before a satisfactory outcome could be arranged, Henry Sasse came to explain himself before the duke, and to beg pardon for any offence caused, but to insist that he only wore his token to honour his lady. The duke, waiting for the resolution of the affair which he knew was about to come, made only a short reply, and told Henry that he would take advice. The counsel he took, significantly, was from the knights of his order: he informed the *count of Étampes*, the lord of *Créquy*, Simon de Lalaing, the bastard of Burgundy, and the lord of Haubourdin. Clearly, this was a chivalric matter, and the duke called these lords to him for chivalric guidance. As Chastelain reported the outcome of their deliberations, the primary concern was to avoid a repetition of the events – the feeling was that, one outrage might encourage another⁵⁵².

Even as these deliberations were coming to their conclusion, however, Rebremette approached Sasse, *by the encouragement of his master the bastard, and Mériadec, who had a hand in the affair*⁵⁵³. The pair squared up to each other in a chivalric fashion, and Chastelain recorded the highly ritualised exchange which they performed in full view of the hall:

- Messire Henry, you are a worthy knight, and I see that you are wearing a token on your arm, which can only mean that you have some great undertaking on your mind. I have come here to you to discover what you are about; and if you have anything in your heart relating to that token, I will accomplish it with you with God's help, and to the honour of your lady.

⁵⁵² *l'oultraige de l'un pooit bien donner couverture a ung aultre de faire samblable.*

⁵⁵³ *par l'ennortement de son maistre le bastard et de Mériadec, qui fort y tint la main.*

- *Messire Jehan ... I thank you humbly for the honour which you offer me, and my lady too. But as for the token which I have worn today, and still am wearing on my arm, as I have said to others, I do not wear it as a token of an emprinse against anyone. But if, on account of it, you or others wish to make an issue of it, or charge me with something, I shall certainly answer it by my lady's command, and willingly. So, if on this condition you want to make an issue of it, go ahead, and I'll answer you [...]*

- *On this condition and on any you want, I do make an issue of it...*

- *Many thanks. In God's name be it done. And as for you, consider yourself most welcome*⁵⁵⁴.

The resolution of the affair came when the duke sent the Marshal of Burgundy to speak to the knights about their conduct, and to give them orders⁵⁵⁵. For his own part, from his conversation with Mériadec, Philip understood that he had to simulate ignorance of the affair in order that his

⁵⁵⁴ **Delclos**, Chastellain, pp. 137-138: «*Messire Henry, vous estes ung chevalier de bien, et me samble que vous portez enseigne a vostre bras, dont il ne peut que vous n'ayez quelque chose en couraige qui soit grant. Je suis ycy venus devers vous pour y touchier a tel entendement {sic} que, se vous avez riens en ceur touchant ceste enseigne, je le vous accompliray a l'ayde de Dieu et pour l'onneur de vostre dame. — Messire Jehan, ce dist lors le chevalier alleman, je vous remercy humblement de l'onneur que vous m'offrez et a ma dame aussi. Mes au regard de l'enseigne que j'ay huy porté et porte encoire presentement a mon bras, comme je l'ay dit a aultres, je ne la porte pas comme par emprinse alencontre de nul; mes se vous ou aultres, a celle cause, me veullier demander riens ou faire approce d'aucune chose, je suis celuy qui par commandement de ma dame et de bon vouloir le parfurniray a son propre devis. Par quoy, se sur ycelle condition il vous y plest a touchier, touchiez y et je vous y respondray.*» Et lors messire Jehan respondy: «*Et sur ycelle condition et toute telle que vous desirez, je y touche doncq. — Et grans mercys, dist lors messire Henry. Ou nom de Dieu soit. Et vous, soyez le tresbien venu.*»

⁵⁵⁵ Thiebault de Neufchastel, lord of Blamont. It was particularly appropriate that the Marshal should be sent to deal with the matter, as he presided over a variety of matters chivalric on the duke's behalf, and was the foremost soldier in the duke's retinue.

judgement should seem genuine, and to prevent future recurrences of similar behaviour. The Marshal's speech made it clear that the joust was also to be considered as a punishment: *It is insufferable*, he told them. *And for this reason my lord ought not to be mixed up in your doings, except to see that you perpetrate your outrages on each other*⁵⁵⁶! They were informed that the place of their fight would be assigned by the duke, at Malines, Brussels, Mons or Valenciennes, wherever it should suit him to see them fight. What is more, the time of the joust was also laid down to them. However, the duke saw to it that Mériadec's association with the business was not concluded even at this point. Henry Sasse came boldly to Philip the Good to ask for a knight or two to assist him in the preparation for the joust, and specified the lord of Haubourdin⁵⁵⁷, and Pierre de Hacquenbac⁵⁵⁸. Since the duke granted him this, and ordered them to support him *to honour nobility*, he also ensured that Rebremette was similarly benefitted. Pietre Wast⁵⁵⁹, a Spaniard, and Mériadec, a Breton, were assigned to him, apparently not on the basis of their nationality, though Chastelain did draw attention to it, but because they were *both well accomplished in the art* – that is, in the *mestier des armes*⁵⁶⁰. The next day, Henry Sasse received “chappitres” from Rebremette, explaining what the course of the duel should be – another indication that

⁵⁵⁶ *Et pour ceste cause Monsieur ne se doit mesler de vostre fait, excepté de vous veoir executer voz oultraiges l'un contre l'autre.*

⁵⁵⁷ This was a bastard son of the *count of Saint Pol* who was mentioned in nouvelle 24.

⁵⁵⁸ ADN B 2045 second register for 1460-1461 fo 52r. Pierre de Hacquembach was another esquire of the duke's stables.

⁵⁵⁹ Also known as Pierre Wast, *chevallier*, or Pierre Vasque de Saavedra. This Wast should not be confused with the dauphin's man Houaste (also spelled Vast, Wast, Vaast etc.) who was perhaps a *raconteur* of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

⁵⁶⁰ *tous deux gens de grant pris en cely art.*

Mériadec was at work. It was this Mériadec, special adviser on chivalric matters, intimate of the duke, personality of the court, and jousting of international renown who was called on by the court at this time to contribute a short story to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

Service and Intellectual Activity at the Court: Jean d'Enghien, lord of Castregat, and Amman of Brussels.

At the start of this chapter it was argued that the current task is not to write a series of biographies, but to examine the overlaps of experience which culminated in the production of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. It is important, however, not to lose sight of the fact that before they contributed their stories to the collection, most of the raconteurs had put in decades of faithful service to the duke. These years were formative, shaping their prospect on the world. Before considering the ways in which the stories they told reflect the raconteurs' experience in service and in the world, therefore, it is worthwhile considering at least one storyteller's life and experience in more detail. Perhaps the best example is that of the amman of Brussels, Jean d'Enghien, the lord of Castregat (Keistergat) and, from 1448 when he purchased the hereditary title to the castellany, viscount of Grimberghen⁵⁶¹. In many ways, the amman of Brussels' case is similar to that of the other raconteurs: he was a diplomat and negotiator, a knight and soldier, a representative of ducal authority and justice in an important urban centre⁵⁶²,

⁵⁶¹ On the rights and customs of the viscount of Grimberghen see:

<http://www.kulak.ac.be/facult/rechten/Monballyu/RechtIagelanden/Brabantsrecht/Varia/grimberghen.html>

⁵⁶² **M. Martens**, *Les Chartes relatives à Bruxelles et à l'Ammanie conservées aux Archives de la Ville de Bruxelles, 1242 – 1338* (Grandmetz, no date); **Martens**, *Le censier ducal pour l'ammanie de Bruxelles de*

a local lord, a protector of his family interests, someone whose career the duke advanced over time, an associate of the other raconteurs, a courtier, a household manager, a man trusted with money matters, a writer, and a bibliophile.

Besides the numerous erudite and archivally based publications of the archivist of Brussels, Alphonse Wauters (†1898)⁵⁶³, much of the scholarship on the *amman* relates to the copies of the *Livre des Croniques de Brabant* which Jean d'Enghien produced for Charles the Bold. In the introduction to this work, he wrote a dedicatory letter, condensing the history of his own service, and explaining that the work was originally intended for duke Philip, *because my late lord your father, with favour and affection, as a prince whose pleasure and delectation was to hear of such matters, questioned me a lot on this subject*⁵⁶⁴. Whether or not the old duke actually quizzed Enghien at length on the history of Brabant, the claim that he did demonstrates the important place which reading and speaking had at the court.

1321 (Bruxelles, 1958); **F. Vanhemelryck**, *De criminaliteit in de ammanie van Brussel van de late middeleeuwen, tot het einde van het Ancien Regime (1404-1789)* (Brussels, 1981).

⁵⁶³ **A. Wauters**, *Jean d'Enghien in Biographie Nationale* (Brussels, 1878) vol. 6, pp. 601-604. On the office of the amman, see **A. Henne and A. Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* (new edition, Brussels, 1968-1969); **Wauters**, *Inventaires des cartulaires de la Ville de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1894); **Wauters**, *Histoire des environs de Bruxelles: ou description historique des localités qui formaient autrefois l'ammanie de cette ville* (Brussels, 1855-1857 / Brussels, 1968). On the background to the creation of the ammanie, see also: **Wauters**, *De l'origine et des premiers développements des Libertés communales en Belgique, dans le Nord de la France, etc. Preuves* (Brussels, 1869, / Brussels, 1968).

⁵⁶⁴ See Plate 11.

Enghien claimed veracity for his chronicle sources and their accounts of *great and chivalrous deeds* linking them with his own investigation, and familiarity with the narratives. In historical prose, as in the construction of *nouvelles*, truth and brevity were specified as important virtues⁵⁶⁵. It is most instructive that Enghien sketched out his own service in the introduction to his book: clearly, it was appropriate to combine literary offerings with what amounted to a personal commendation. Enghien's pedigree as a servant of the dukes of Brabant stretched back across generations in his family⁵⁶⁶. Like the fathers of Jean de Créquy's and Jean de Lannoy, the amman's father, Engelbert I d'Enghien was one of the casualties at Agincourt, fighting on the side of Antoine of Burgundy⁵⁶⁷, and he had also seen service with the duke of Burgundy⁵⁶⁸ which probably explains Jean d'Enghien's service of Philip the Good in Brabant following 1430:

⁵⁶⁵ **J. Diner**, 'Comedy and Courtliness: the form and style of Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles', PhD thesis (New York University, 1984) pp. 35-36. **H. Nelis**, 'La chronique d'Edmond de Dynter et la continuation des Brabantsche Yeesten', in *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (1907) pp. 568-596 at p. 575.

⁵⁶⁶ **L. Douët-d'Arcq**, *La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet en deux livres avec Pièces Justificatives 1400-1444*, vol. 4, pp. 211-212: In December 1424, Engelbert II d'Enghien was one of a handful of nobles who remained loyal to the duke of Brabant (and the duke of Burgundy, by extension) when the duke of Gloucester and Jacqueline of Bavaria went to Calais to receive the allegiance of the towns.

⁵⁶⁷ <http://home.nordnet.fr/~amenec/page3Azincourt.html> Reproduction of a casualty list from **G. Bacquet**, *Agincourt* (Auxi-le-Château, 1977) ADN B 16360 has a list of the fiefs which came to Lannoy on his father's death.

⁵⁶⁸ **Douët-d'Arcq**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 1, pp. 259-260. In July 1408, he was one of the knights responsible for the attacks on the rebellious city of Liège, in favour of John the Fearless' brother in law, John of Bavaria, the bishop. This is an interesting parallel with Jean d'Enghien's own experience in ducal service against the rebels of Liège. It is also noteworthy that, just as Jean d'Enghien's son Louis served under Louis count of Saint Pol, the raconteur (see below), so his grandfather Engelbert served in the army of the count of Saint Pol's father, Pierre I, count of Conversano and Brienne.

I began serving him and was first in his company at the first siege of Meaulx, in the year [14]20, at which the valiant king Henry [V] of England was present. And I served him [i.e. Philip the Good] and continued in his service until he came to the duchy of Brabant, which was in the year [14]30⁵⁶⁹. And soon afterwards, he made me (unworthy though I was of this honour and good) his chamberlain and the amman of Brussels. And the year [14]44 following after this, out of his most benign grace [he made me] his maistre d'ostel d'ordonnance, and in these offices he kept me until the hour of his death.

Jean d'Enghien's lordship passed to him via his father Engelbert I, his grandfather Colard, and his great grandfather Walter d'Enghien, and although his elder brother Engelbert II inherited the greater portion of lands (in the form of the village of Tubize, south of Brussels), the raconteur came into the lordship of Kestergat, near Pepinghen, and also had a castle at Haeren, Brussels, in right of his mother, Isabeau de Hertoghe. Just as Jean Martin's urban connections were strong in Dijon, so were Jean d'Enghien's in Brussels, especially through his wife⁵⁷⁰. He also had family in other parts of

⁵⁶⁹ Following the death of Philippe of Saint Pol, who had been the *ruward*, and succeeded in 1427 following the death of Jean IV of Brabant. On the transitional period of government, see **A. Uyttebrouck** *Le gouvernement du duché de Brabant au bas moyen âge (1355 - 1430)* see especially the second volume, of *pièces justificatives*. (Brussels, 1975); **A. Chevalier-de-Gottal**, 'La Cour de Brabant à l'aube du XV^e siècle. Funérailles des ducs Anthoine de Bourgogne, Jean IV et Philippe de Saint-Pol', in *Cahiers Bruxellois* (1997-1998). **J. Buchon**, *Chroniques d'Enguerrand de Monstrelet*, vol. 5 (Paris, 1826) pp. 306ff.

⁵⁷⁰ **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* p. 217. Marie de Mol (d. 1464), was the daughter of Iwain (Yvain) de Mol, a burgomaster of the town. Iwain was duke John of Brabant's cook (*magister coquinae*) during the period when Edmond de Dynter was his secretary. **F. Favresse**, 'Documents Relatifs à l'Histoire Politique Intérieure de Bruxelles de 1477 à 1480', in *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie*

the ducal dominions⁵⁷¹. It was little wonder, as he noted in the introduction of his chronicle, that the duke favoured him with the *ammanie*. Engelbert II, lord of Rumera, and Tubize had been one of the councillors of Jean IV, duke of Brabant, until he was arrested during the crisis in Brussels of 1421 on the orders of Jean IV's rebellious brother, Philippe de Saint-Pol, the new *ruward* of Brabant⁵⁷². Following the revolt of 1421, Brussels was governed by seven aldermen, six representatives of the crafts, four receivers and two burgomasters. Given Engelbert's treatment at the hands of the Saint-Pol Brabantine dynasty⁵⁷³, it was perhaps natural that Jean d'Enghien should

van Geschiedenis (1934) pp. 80-115, esp. p. 83: Several other Mols were active in town government and affairs throughout the 15th century, including Jérôme de Mol, also known as *in den Sloetele*, a burgomaster 1475-76, and Roolande de Mol, an *échevin* between 1476-77. The documents printed in this article relate to the aftermath of the conspiracy in the town in the 1470s following the death of Charles the Bold. On Engelbert II d'Enghien, see **Cheyns-Condé**, cited below. On Henri de Mol, alias Cooman, see chapter four below.

⁵⁷¹ The Enghiens were less active in Brussels than Jehan and his son. For example, Antoine d'Enghien was a knight, a ducal councillor and chamberlain who fulfilled the office of *écoutète* of Malines. **P.-J. van Doren**, *Inventaire des archives de la ville de Malines* (Malines, 1865) vol. 3, p. 180. (cf **W. Paravicini**, 'Invitations au mariage, pratique sociale, abus de pouvoir, intérêt de l'État à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne au XVe siècle', in *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* (1995) pp. 687-711 at pp. 689-690.) Jean d'Enghien had a son (a bastard?) in Mons called Gilquin Leurart. **L. Delisle**, *Inventaire Analytique des Archives de la Ville de Mons*, vol. 1 (Mons, 1882) pp. 186-187, 191. Gilquin's uncle Henri Allemant, alias le Clerc, was a bourgeois of the town. Gérard d'Enghien, lord of Havré and Biévène was châtelain of Mons. **H. Douxchamps**, 'La vente du comté de Namur à Philippe le Bon (16 Janvier 1421)', in *Annales de la Société Archéologique de Namur* (1987) pp. 119-169 at p. 159.

⁵⁷² **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* p. 202. He was created Ruward on 1 October 1420, and the following day entered Brussels, with the duchess and the three estates, to declare with one voice that their intention was to attack Jean of Bavaria, and reclaim what he had taken from the duke without his wife's consent.

⁵⁷³ **M. Cheyns-Condé**, 'Un seigneur hennuyer face à Jacqueline de Bavière et Philippe le Bon: Engelbert II d'Enghien seigneur de Rameru et de la Follie', in *Publications du Centre européen d'études burgondo-médiannes* (1978) pp. 25-33; ADN B 1546.

have sought advancement in the service of Philip the Good, with whom he had already served in a military capacity, which furnished him with contacts with other important lords in Brabant⁵⁷⁴. For example, during the period of Enghien's service at Meaux, Henry V was petitioned by the uncle of the raconteur Louis of Luxembourg, Jehan de Luxembourg, who sought to ransom his brother the count of Conversano, Pierre de Luxembourg, Louis' father. Thereafter Jehan de Luxembourg remained at the siege to assist Henry V, and it is therefore not unlikely that Enghien came into contact with him⁵⁷⁵. Like Jehan d'Enghien, Louis of Luxembourg's father enjoyed influence in Brabant following the Burgundian accession to the duchy. As an ambitious man whose family had served a cultured court⁵⁷⁶, it was natural that Enghien should seek service under the new regime, with which his family had been in sympathy since before it came to power. The raconteur's father in law, Iwain de Mol was also a partisan of duke John's who ran into trouble following the count of Saint Pol's coup, but who was rewarded following the Burgundian takeover of Brabant⁵⁷⁷. In fact, it was probably

⁵⁷⁴ **P. de Win**, *Pierre Ier de Luxembourg, comte de Saint-Pol, de Conversano et de Brienne, seigneur d'Enghien* in *Chevaliers de la Toison d'Or*, pp. 38-40; **B. Schnerb**, *Jean III de Luxembourg, comte de Guise et de Ligny, seigneur de Beaufort*, in *ibid.*, pp. 45-47.

⁵⁷⁵ **Douët-d'Arcq**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 4, pp. 79-81.

⁵⁷⁶ **A. Chevalier**, 'Les Fêtes à la Cour de Brabant sous les ducs de la branche cadette de Bourgogne-Valois (1406-1430). Mémoire (inédit) de licence en Histoire (Moyen Age), Université Libre de Bruxelles', (Brussels Free University, 1991) *passim*; 'La Cour de Brabant à l'aube du XV e siècle. Sa vie culturelle. Sa production artistique. Mémoire de licence en Histoire de l'Art et Archéologie, Université Libre de Bruxelles' (Brussels Free University, 1994); **A. Chevalier-de Gottal**, *Les Fêtes et les Arts à la Cour de Brabant à l'aube du XV e siècle* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996); **E. D'Hondt**, *Extraits des Comptes du Domaine de Bruxelles des XV e et XVI e siècles concernant les artistes de la Cour* (Brussels, 1989).

⁵⁷⁷ Jehan d'Enghien is mentioned alongside his father in law, the *écoutète* of s'Hertogenbosch in ducal business letters. For example, ADN B 2020 fo 244v. Iwain de Mol was favourably dealt with by the ducal regime: B 2034 fo 42r (22 March 1459).

Enghien's connections with John IV's side of the Brabantine dynasty which won him favour with duke Philip⁵⁷⁸.

The actions of Saint Pol on his accession to the title had been antagonistic to Philip the Good, and the decision to replace the old régime with one more in sympathy with ducal aims was a natural one. Most significantly, for example, it had been the plan of the previous dynasty to secure a match with the dangerous French house of Anjou. Philip the Good was extremely agitated by the projected⁵⁷⁹ marriage alliance between Philip of Saint Pol with Yolande of Anjou⁵⁸⁰. Since this was the last thing to happen when Saint Pol died, it was uppermost on the mind of the duke and Burgundian policy makers in the decision taking process to settle new power structures in Brabant⁵⁸¹. The duchy of Brabant was prone to unrest, as the events of 1421 had proved, and it would have been dangerous to hand over to foreigners from other ducal territories to administer. Philip the Good was careful at all times to have men around his court who represented each of his territories⁵⁸².

⁵⁷⁸ **D. Verhelst**, *La Congrégation du Coeur Immaculé de Marie (Scheut): édition critique des sources* (Brussels, 1986) passim; **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, pp. 254-255. **J.-C. Frère**, *Early Flemish Painting* (Paris, 1997) pp. 63-64. Online at <http://www.kfki.hu/~arthp/tours/flemish/weyden/artist.html>;

<http://gallery.euroweb.hu/html/w/weyden/rogier/14pieta/5crucifi.html>

⁵⁷⁹ Philip of Saint Pol's timely death from a stomach abscess put paid to the scheme on 4 August 1430.

⁵⁸⁰ **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, p. 232. Yolande was daughter of Louis, King of Sicily and duke of Anjou. Philip of Saint Pol sent a large embassy in July 1430, but en route, they heard of the duke's illness. cf **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good* pp. 51-52.

⁵⁸¹ On the particularist characteristics of the urban patriciate in the duchy see **P. de Win**, 'Adel en statspatriciaat in het hertogdom Brabant in de 15e eeuw', in *Spiegel Historiae!* (1981) pp. 407-411.

⁵⁸² **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 203, 205. In the case of Brabant, the *Blijde Inkomsten*, a constitutional text dear to Brabanters, forbade the holding of office by non Brabantine officials.

He considered it more advantageous to pay extra courtiers retainer fees than to lump additional responsibilities on existing personnel, and in 1433 both Brabantine and Limbourger chamberlains were noted on the account books in addition to those from other ducal domains⁵⁸³. The policy of employing local men in the offices of newly acquired territories was not broken until the period of Habsburg rule in the 1520s⁵⁸⁴. The new duke of Brabant needed a man on the spot in whom he could place his trust – a man with family connections antipathetic to the previous administration, though not necessarily personally involved in the arrests or civil upheaval in the Brussels reprisals against supporters of Jean IV⁵⁸⁵. The personal address in the introduction to the amman's chronicle develops the themes of loyalty and service:

Nevertheless my most redoubted lord, since you inherited the duchy of Brabant⁵⁸⁶, it has, of your most benign grace, pleased you to keep me in the said state as your ordinary counsellor in Brabant and with Loys d'Enghien,

⁵⁸³ **W. Paravicini**, 'Expansion et intégration: la noblesse des Pays-Bas à la cour de Philippe le Bon', in *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (1980), pp. 298-314.

U. Schwarzkopf, 'Studien zur Hoforganisation der Herzöge von Burgund aus dem Hause Valois', PhD thesis (University of Gottingen, 1955); cf summary in *Publications du Centre européen d'études burgondo-médiévales* (1963) pp. 91-104. **Lameere**, *La Cour de Philippe le Bon*, p. 161.

⁵⁸⁴ **C. Thomas**, 'Von Burgund zu Habsburg: Personalpolitische und Administrative Verflechtungen in den Herrschaftskomplexen des Hauses Österreich', in *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit* (1993) pp. 35-48.

⁵⁸⁵ **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* p. 235, Philip the Good proclaimed grace to the nobles banished in 1421 on 27 January 1430.

⁵⁸⁶ This inheritance was not without incident, though Philip the Good was named by Philip of Saint Pol as his legitimate successor. See **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, chapter 2, *passim*.

*knight*⁵⁸⁷, my son, in the ammanie of your said town of Brussels⁵⁸⁸. And, considering these great favours and honours which my late lord your father and you have shown to us, and although it is well beyond the scope of our ability ever to repay with services the great honours and goods most beneficently conferred on us by you, we nevertheless regard ourselves as deeply indebted [bien tenus] and obliged to your noblesce, and there is nothing we desire more continually than to serve you well and loyally, and to do things with which you are well pleased.

From the point of view of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, this introductory epistle is instructive for a number of reasons. Firstly, Enghien explicitly linked the performance of duty, and advancement, with the ability to deliberate and discourse. Secondly, he knew that the duke had a penchant for hearing stories recounted by him in the French language. Thirdly, he understood that stylistic competence – especially the capacity to avoid prolixity – was what the duke and his court preferred. All three things have a bearing on Enghien's participation in the nouvelles project, but perhaps the most significant factor of all is the notion of the history of service which underscores all his remarks. The chronicles, and the stories they contain were to be considered as a flower offering not simply because the amman

⁵⁸⁷ On Louis' military service (with Louis of Luxembourg): **Hardy**, *Wavrin*, vol. 5, pp. 318-319, 341-342; **Douët-d'Arcq**, *Monstrelet*, vol. 6, pp. 8-9, 20.

⁵⁸⁸ **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* p. 410. Jean d'Enghien nominated his nephew, Antoine Thonys as amman between May 1461 and May 1465. Louis and his father shared the office between them in the 1460s and 1470s. Louis' brother in law, Jean de Bernaige, lord of Perck became amman on 13 January 1472: **J.-T. De Raadt**, *Note sur Pierre d'Enghien seigneur de Kestergat: son jeton d'or et sa famille* (Braine-le-Comte, 1894) p. 10. On Jean de Bernaige's eponymous grandfather: *Placards de Brabant*, vol. 4 pp. 379 ff.

took it on himself to set about the task of condensing the “true histories” and translating them, but because of his sense of obligation to his master: a man whose kindness he could never repay. His contribution, a work not dissimilar to other translations offered to Charles the Bold in the same transitional period, was made in a spirit of well-intended service⁵⁸⁹. It is not too far-fetched to suppose that he pitched in to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in the same spirit.

The work composed by Castregat was a composite text, divided into four individual books, containing a distillation of a sequence of non French-language histories, and very similar to (derivative of?) Edmund de Dynter's *Chronica nobilissimorum ducum Lotharingiae et brabantiae*⁵⁹⁰ (a French translation of which was prepared by Jean Wauquelin⁵⁹¹), and the

⁵⁸⁹ P. Chavy, 'Domaines et Fonctions des Traductions Françaises a l'Aube de la Renaissance', in *Revue de Littérature Comparée* (1989) pp. 147-153. Morse, *Historical Fiction*, p. 61.

⁵⁹⁰ P. de Ram (ed.), *Edmund de Dynter, Chronica nobilissimorum ducum Lotharingiae et Brabantiae ac regum Francorum/Chronique des Ducs de Brabant* (Brussels, 1854-60) Edmond de Dynter's autograph manuscript of his *Librunculus* or *Brevis Chronica Brabantiae*, dated to Brussels, 1445, is now BR MS 5756. In it, Dynter described his vocation as the redaction of original chronicles in the interests of the duke; he attempted to trace the succession of the dukes of Brabant and claimed *nichil de meo proprio addens, sed prout in chronicis antiquis et registris et scripturis authenticis reperire potui breviter copulari curavi*. To this end he wrote about the succession from classical myth to 1430. Jean d'Enghien is said by de Ram to have used Wauquelin's translation - a translation which Dynter is also to said to have collaborated on with Wauquelin. (See below for references to Wauquelin.) Given his association with Dynter's son, however, and also with the town authorities in Brussels, it is not impossible that Enghien had access to a copy of Dynter's chronicle and to Jan van Heelu's as well. (See below for these associations.) Rigorous textual criticism has not yet demonstrated the relationships or textual traditions satisfactorily.

⁵⁹¹ Lacaze, *Le rôle des traditions*, pp. 342-347.

Brabantsche Yeesten of the Antwerp writer Jan van Boendale⁵⁹². Although the fourth book distils these chronicles, the first three books are a mixture of fables and legends whose historical significance is more related to the author's intentions in reviving them, than it is to their intrinsic value as source material for the periods they describe. Although the chronicle does not contain stories with a political agenda, nevertheless they are scarcely antagonistic to the territorial claims and ambitions of the dukes of Brabant. The events of the battle of Worringen, 1288, are a good example. The debt to de Dynter and Jan Boendale (and to Jan van Heelu, their source⁵⁹³) is manifest, and to borrow one recent commentator's terminology, it is a good example of literature written *to celebrate the history of Brabant and its dukes*⁵⁹⁴. (In this respect it is similar to a manuscript of the *Histoire des Seigneurs de Gavre*, evidently executed for a member of the Wavrin family to celebrate their family history⁵⁹⁵.)

⁵⁹² **J. Willems and J. Bormans**, *The Brabantsche Yeesten: Jan van Boendale* (2001) Complete etext of books 1-7 available online at <http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/boen001brab01/index.htm>. Originally the text was published by Willems as *De Brabantsche Yeesten of Rymcroniyk van Braband, door Jan de Klerk, van Antwerpen* (Brussels, 1839). A French version was also made: *Brabantsche yeesten; Les gestes des ducs-de-Brabant par Jean de Klerk d'Anvers*, 2 vols. (1839-1843). The 'anonymous' continuation of the *Brabantse Yeesten* is now attributed to the singer and chaplain Weinken van Cotthem, who was a chaplain at Driënborren until 1457. See *Het mysterie van de «Brabantsche yeesten»* - presentation online at <http://www.kubrussel.ac.be/onderwijs/letterenwijs/germaanse/onderzoek/brabyeesten/yeestendag.htm> and <http://www.kubrussel.ac.be/onderwijs/letterenwijs/germaanse/onderzoek/brabyeesten/yeesten.htm>.

⁵⁹³ **J. Mahler**, 'The Battle of Worringen, 1288. The history and mythology of a notable event', MA Thesis (University of Alberta, 1993) pp. 131-132. The town authorities of Brussels commissioned a new copy of Jan van Heelu's chronicle in 1453.

⁵⁹⁴ **Mahler**, *Worringen*, p. 131; cf **Nelis**, *De Dynter*, passim, and especially pp. 576-577.

⁵⁹⁵ **Visser-Fuchs**, *Edward IV's Only Romance*, pp. 280-281.

Although it is not clear whether the work ever existed in the completely finished form in which it was conceived⁵⁹⁶, what is most remarkable is the range and extent of the primary source matter which Jean d'Enghien may have had at his disposal to write the first three sections of his chronicle. Admittedly much of the material is directly or indirectly derivative of the work of Vincent of Beauvais. The major part of an extant paper manuscript text, which looks like a working copy, runs from 615-1288, though the manuscript which bears Enghien's arms also begins with an introduction from the flood to Carloman⁵⁹⁷. The most original thing about the raconteur's text is that it contains information cribbed from the poem of the war of Grimberghe, where he was viscount⁵⁹⁸. He apparently also consulted Turpin⁵⁹⁹, Hugues de Fleuri⁶⁰⁰, Vincent of Beauvais⁶⁰¹, *le Chevalier au Cygne*⁶⁰², the *Spiegel Historiae*⁶⁰³ and the benedictine historian Sigebert de

⁵⁹⁶ Neither BL MS Additional 18290, nor the text from the library of the counts of Lynden, now in the Bibliothèque royale, Brussels, contain the final book, dealing with events nearer Enghien's lifetime, and the four sections only reach 1288. In the introduction, however, Enghien makes it clear that his own life is not to form a part of the chronicle: *During this time, I saw many assemblies of kings, dukes, counts, and of other great lords, in which many noble and chivalric deeds [were] done in wars and otherwise, which are not to be recounted here, but which may be found in the histories which concern these matters.*

⁵⁹⁷ See BL MS add. 18290, (615-1288) *Les Croniques de Brabant*.

<http://molcat.bl.uk/msscat/DESC0010.ASP?CollectionID=27&NStart=18290&CollectionName=Add>.

⁵⁹⁸ 1142-1159.

⁵⁹⁹ **P. Schmidt**, *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi, Karolellus and Pseudo Turpinus* (Michigan, 1998).

⁶⁰⁰ **F. Guizot**, *Historia modernorum Francorum regum* (Paris, 1825); **M. Paulmier-Foucart**, 'La compilation dans le "Speculum Historiale" de Vincent de Beauvais: le cas Hugues de Fleury', in **J.-P. Genet** (ed.), *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe* (Paris 1991), pp. 51-66.

⁶⁰¹ **J. Voorbij**, 'Het "Speculum Historiale" van Vincent van Beauvais. Een studie van zijn ontstaansgeschiedenis', PhD thesis (University of Groningen, 1991) For a more up to date bibliography see <http://www.cs.uu.nl/groups/IK/archives/vincent/bibhome.htm>.

⁶⁰² **A. Krüger**, 'Les manuscrits de la Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroi de Bouillon', in *Romania* (1899), pp. 421-426; **J. Lods**, 'L'utilisation des thèmes mythiques dans trois versions écrites de la légende

Gembloux⁶⁰⁴. It may be that Boendale was the source of all these books, or that there was a measure of collaboration between Enghien and other writers, but in the introductory epistle to his work, Enghien claimed to have consulted many different works, and chosen from the best of them. He *could* have been the researcher, and until systematic textual criticism establishes a watertight case against it, the fact of his own testimony may not be lightly set aside. At the very least, he was in possession of works derivative of all or some of these sources⁶⁰⁵.

des Enfants-Cygnés', in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet, Société d'Etudes Médiévales* (Poitiers 1966), pp. 809-820; *L'Art de la composition dans les différentes versions du Chevalier au Cygne*, in *Société Rencesvals, IVe Congrès International : Actes et mémoires, Studia Romanica* (1969), pp. 245-253; <http://www.chanson-de-geste.com/bibliographie.htm#Cygne>. This early French epic was popular in the later middle ages and especially the 15th century. The best manuscripts of it are BN MS FR 12558; BR MS 10391, and Lyon BM MS 744.

⁶⁰³ Jacob van Maerlant's translation of Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale*, divided into four sections, from the Garden of Eden to 1250. <http://www.kb.nl/kb/100hoogte/hh-en/hh005-en.html>

⁶⁰⁴ *Chronicon sive Chronographia*; **M. Chazan**, *L'Empire et l'histoire universelle: de Sigebert de Gembloux à Jean de Saint-Victor, XIIIe-XIVe siècle* (Paris, 1999) (this has a comprehensive seventeen-page bibliography); **A. Molinier**, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France* (1902-1904); **W. Wattenbach**, *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen* (Berlin, 1894). For all the above references to antecedents, see **A. Cauchie**, 'Rapport sur les Chroniques du Brabant', in *Compte Rendu des Séances de la Commission Royale d'Histoire, ou Recueil de ses Bulletins* (1900) pp. 37-92, at pp. 81-82.

⁶⁰⁵ **J. van Gerven**, 'Sociale werkelijkheid en mentale konstruktie in het werk van Jan van Boendale', in *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* (1979); **R. Stein**, 'Wanneer schreef Jan van Boendale zijn Brabantsche Yeesten?', in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* (1990) pp. 262-280; 'Jan van Boendales Brabantsche Yeesten: antithese of synthese?', in *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (1991), pp. 185-197. (This is also an online article at: http://www.dbnl.nl/tekst/stei014janv01/stei014janv01_0001.htm#T060.) Jan van Boendale's *Brabantsche Yeesten* was composed (in its first version) by 1316. Its five books were derivative of van Maerlant's *Spiegel Historiae* and the *Chronica de Origine Ducum Brabantiae*. Just fewer than two thirds of the lines in the first three books of the Antwerp clerk's work are direct lifts from van Maerlant (6470 of 9730 lines), according to **J. te Winkel**, *Maerlant's Werken als Spiegel van de 13de Eeuw* (Ghent, 1892) p. 302. It is not entirely clear, nevertheless, how derivative Enghien's work was of Boendale or Boendale's sources. cf

It is not unusual that Jean d'Enghien should have enjoyed access to the sources for Brabantine history. In his official capacity as the amman of Brussels⁶⁰⁶, he was responsible for a variety of tasks⁶⁰⁷ which brought him into contact with the lettered men of the town, and their families⁶⁰⁸. For instance, in the event of the staging of a play, or other civic show, it was his prerogative to inspect the script, and to act on the duke's behalf as a censor. The amman also had power to police public spectacles. No act could go ahead without his say so, and without first paying a one-off fee of between 300 and 400 florins. This right carried with it the best seats in the house, opposite the view enjoyed by the town's governors general⁶⁰⁹.

<http://www.kubrusseel.ac.be/onderwijs/letterenwijs/germaanse/onderzoek/brabyceesten/yeesten.htm>. On Dynter's use of other sources besides the *Brabantsche Yeesten* to augment and improve his narrative see **Nelis**, *De Dynter*, p. 577.

⁶⁰⁶ **Jean d'Enghien** kept 62 accounts registers for the *Ammanie* between October 1430 and July 1461. These registers survive in Brussels, and are catalogued in **L. Gachard**, *Inventaire des Archives des Chambres des Comptes: précédé d'une notice historique sur ces anciennes institutions*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1854) #1270 /1270². *AGR Inventory I 002*, p. 276.

⁶⁰⁷ **Gachard**, *Inventaire des Archives des Chambres des Comptes* (1837) vol. 1, no. 394. This volume contains a list of the historical rights and responsibilities of the Amman from the mid 18th Century.

⁶⁰⁸ On the role of the ducal authorities in the promotion of literature in the duchy of Brabant, see **R. Sleiderink**, *De stem van de meester. De hertogen van Brabant en hun rol in het literaire leven (1106-1430)*. (Amsterdam, 2003); **J. Janssens, and Sleiderink**, *Minnelijk akkoord: literatuur in Brussel van de 14de tot de 17de eeuw* (Brussels, 2003) (NB This also came out in French as *Entente Cordiale, la vie littéraire à Bruxelles du 14e au 17e siècle*); **Janssens and Sleiderink**, *De macht van het schone woord : literatuur in Brussel van de 14de tot de 18de eeuw* (Louvain, 2003).

⁶⁰⁹ **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles*, pp. 406-409.

Besides this cultural activity, Enghien was also a long-term associate of Edmond de Dynter's son, Ambrosius de Dynter⁶¹⁰. In August 1454, we see him witnessing a ducal charter relating to the rent of a Brussels property, let to Jan van Erpe⁶¹¹. On 18 July 1463, Enghien sent a ducal messenger to Ambrosius from Lille with letters relating to the meeting of the three estates of Brabant to be staged in Brussels on 16 August 1463. The duke was then calling for an *aide* to be paid in Brabant, and had Ambrosius⁶¹² written to along with Maistre Jehan Ostoves, and Simon de Herbais - all ducal councillors in Brabant who lived in Brussels⁶¹³.

The amman of Brussels has been presented as a man more interested in the preservation of ducal rights than in Brabantine privileges. His role, as Henne and Wauters first traced it, was one of open opposition to the other authorities in Brussels, and defined by a sequence of conflicts between the town officers and the duke's amman⁶¹⁴. In 1459 the duke came down most

⁶¹⁰ **P. de Ram**, *E. de Dynter, Chronique des ducs de Brabant (Brussels, 1854-1867)*. Edmond de Dynter's family came from Bois le Duc, but Ambrosius (d. 1490) son of Edmond de Dynter and Hildegonde van Olmen was firmly entrenched in the Brussels elite. Ambrosius also married into that elite, and with his wife Katherine Cole he had a daughter, Hillegonde van Dynter, who married Melis van Bouchem, to continue the line. cf **Cockshaw**, *Personnel de la Chancellerie*, pp. 115, 166.

⁶¹¹ **J. Canaert**, *Bydragen tot de Kennis van het Oude Strafrecht in Vlaenderen* (Ghent, 1835) cited in <http://users.pandora.be/heruitgeverij/titels.htmw>.

⁶¹² ADN B 2048 fo 207r-207v.

⁶¹³ The raconteur was with the duke in Lille. **H. Vander Linden**, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne (1419-1467) et de Charles, Comte de Charolais (1433-1467)* (Brussels, 1940) p. 457.

⁶¹⁴ **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* pp. 260-261. Most tellingly, the amman came before the ducal council to accuse the magistracy of the town with a sheet of 22 separate counts of encroaching on the duke's domain rights. At the same time, the duke granted him rights to hold the office of ammanie during his lifetime and to have his son inherit it. He was also given the right to appoint a revocable successor, retaining 400 Rhenish florins from the office, even when not exercising it. His

strongly against the municipal privileges of the town. He revoked Duke John IV's so-called *Regent's privilege* of 1421 and solidified Castregat's grip on the town: the townsmen now had no right to resist in the event that their right to nominate candidates as successors in office should be infringed⁶¹⁵. Yet a definition of the amman's role which focuses on the conflicts ignores the extent to which normal and peaceful relations existed between the duke, his representative, and the town: negotiation, occasionally combined with posturing was normal. For instance, in 1458, Enghien was one of the governmental agents associated with the annulment of the monopolistic ducal privilege of 1446, which a clique of butchers, who wanted to restrict the sale of meat in the town, were bent on exploiting⁶¹⁶. On another occasion, the amman was cited to appear before a ducal council alongside seventeen others accused of abuses in the administration of justice, and it was only the intervention of the duke personally that stopped the imposition of a fine of 44,000 gold lions. The duke's letters came from Bruges, 23 May 1457, a time when Enghien enjoyed the duke's trust and favour⁶¹⁷. There were other occasions when the amman came down on the duke's side very firmly in conflicts of interest, but the fact of ducal residence in the city

nephew, Antoine Thonys became the first one to receive the ammanie from Enghien (Appointment 10 May 1461; he swore the oath on 16 July. On 17 July, he also swore to do what he had promised Jean d'Enghien.) For the first time also, Enghien managed to secure the right to appoint a lieutenant amman, having first eroded the privileges associated with this office, by claiming that, since its former rights accrued to it during the troubled period of the 1420s they were no longer in force.

⁶¹⁵ **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, pp. 377, 380; **Des Marez**, *L'Organisation du Travail*, pp. 158-178, especially pp. 166-167. The privilege was restored in April 1481.

⁶¹⁶ **Des Marez**, *L'Organisation du Travail*, pp. 86-94.

⁶¹⁷ For this and what follows: ADN B 2034 fo 78v-79r, **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* p. 259, citing the *Boeck metten Haire*; cf **O. Reyntens**, *Oorkondenboek der stad Aelst. Boek met den Haire*. (Alost, no date).

suggests that even if the relations between the town and the amman were marked by conflict, the same was not generally true of the town's relations with the duke and his court: in the period of the late 1450s and early 1460s, Brussels was the duke's primary residence⁶¹⁸. After all, stability leaves fewer records than upset⁶¹⁹. What is more, the duke's residence in Brussels was of financial benefit to the many ordinary suppliers of the court, the majority of whom lived in Brussels⁶²⁰. The exchange of money in particular was lucrative to the bankers of the town, as the duke was in constant need of ready cash, and people who could sell goods on credit to him and to his court had a vested interest in the stability of ducal government⁶²¹. From May 1436 Brussels had recognised its need for both skilled craftsmen, and an increased population: there had been a sustained relaxation of trade regulations since that date⁶²². Prevenier and Blockmans have counted as

⁶¹⁸ **K. De Jonge**, 'Het Paleis op de Coudenberg te Brussel in de vijftiende eeuw', in *Revue belge d'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art* (1991) pp. 5-38; **Vander Linden**, *Itinéraires* passim. On the question of Brussels' status as a "Capital City" see **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 210, and on the sponsorship of a religious house of Carthusians there, p. 248.

⁶¹⁹ This is the thrust of the book *Bruxelles au XV^{me} siècle* (Brussels, Éditions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1953) passim. [I include publisher details as there is no editorial name associated with this book. The BN have catalogued it as FRBNF33274028.]

⁶²⁰ For example, saddlers, such as Jean Jouard (also known as Jean de Paris, and not to be confused with Jehan Joard/Jouard, the Burgundian official from Besançon mentioned below and above) living in Brussels, produced numerous commodities for the ducal stables. ADN B 2034 (receipt general for 1459) fo 5v.

⁶²¹ ADN B 2040 fo 23r Clais de Vriese the receiver general (*rentmaistre generale*) of Holland paid out £2400 on 4 October 1460 to Jehan Elseclaire *changeur de la ville de Bruxelles et ses compagnons*, against the sum owed them for goods they sold.

⁶²² **Henne and Wauters**, *Histoire de la ville de Bruxelles* p. 237, citing the unpublished *Wit Correctie Boeck* of the Brussels town archive. These regulations were promulgated in the interest of maintaining and even attracting skilled workers to Brussels, and increasing the volume of trade in the town: the ordinances even provided for the purchase of housing by prelates to increase commerce.

many as 36 gold and silver smiths working in Brussels in 1459⁶²³. The amman's own office involved large cash payments of taxes to the duke. For example, he paid in thousands of crowns in the week before the events he recounted in *Nouvelle 53*⁶²⁴.

Around the time when the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were being developed, Enghien's vocation as a courtier called him to the performance of services on a less local platform on the duke's behalf, particularly in Liège. In this he was similar not only to his fellow chronicler Edmond de Dynter, the ducal secretary, councillor, confidant and ambassador⁶²⁵, but also, as we have seen, to a variety of the other raconteurs, and indeed, on occasion, worked alongside them. In the summer and autumn of 1458 the duke ordered him from Lille to Brussels, where he collected Maistre Jehan Stoop, a trusted ducal secretary and negotiator, and they headed off to Evringhen to meet with Louis of Bourbon, the duke's nephew, and accompany him to his see of Liège⁶²⁶. Subsequently the bishop sent Enghien on episcopal business to Saint Yon, where Philippe de Saint Yon was the provost. The duke picked up the bill, paying his amman for twenty days of diplomatic service between 25 August and early October 1458. On 19 December 1458 letters patent were drafted describing in detail those of his activities for which he was to

⁶²³ **Prevenier and Blockmans**, *Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 338.

⁶²⁴ ADN B 2034 preregister fo 33r-33v (28 January 1459); B 2034 fo 40r (29 January 1459). On *Nouvelle 53* See chapter four below.

⁶²⁵ **Nelis**, *de Dynter*, p. 568. cf **P. Cockshaw**, *Le Personnel de la Chancellerie de Bourgogne-Flandre* (Courtrai, 1982) pp. 100, 139, 166, 180, 181, 205, 228.

⁶²⁶ For this and what follows see ADN B 2034 fo 78v-79v; B 2064 fo 234v; AGR CC2422 fo 103v. Jehan Stoop or Stoop was involved in the affairs of Liège for a number of years, and continued to be a trusted negotiator under Charles the Bold.

be paid, and he signed for the £48 on the last day of March before Easter in 1459⁶²⁷.

The activities of the amman before Easter in 1459 are of particular relevance to one of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* tales which he narrated. The action of the fiftythird *Nouvelle* took place on 4 February 1459, which was the last day on which weddings could take place in the run up to Easter. The receipt book in which the most detailed account of Enghien's activities in the early part of that year are recorded contains a note explaining that he received £70, 12s in virtue of letters patent given on 14 August 1450⁶²⁸ for his work in early 1459. He was paid for the expenses incurred in looking after sixteen vagabonds taken prisoner on ducal orders and sent to Antwerp to be put in the duke's galleys. According to the entry, they arrived at Antwerp on 5 February 1459 on which day they were handed over to Joffroy de Thoisy, the knight who was captain of the ducal galleys. The amman received

⁶²⁷ This probably means Saturday 24 March, 1459. The year, of course, was reckoned to begin at Easter, which in 1459 was on Sunday 25 March. However, the wording of the original receipt says that payment was made in respect of the letters and by acquit of Jehan d'Anghien *contenant assercion fete le derrenier jour de mars ou dit an lvijj avant pasques – made on the last day of March in the said year '58 before Easter*. The wording is a little ambiguous, however, and it is possible that the very last day in March is intended – i.e. 31 March 1459, if the clerk made the mistake of thinking that Easter was in April in 1459. A further two marginal annotations make it clear that, whatever the date was, the letters patent and certifications were in order, and that the *écroes* were checked, to ensure that Enghien had not received wages during this period. He was paid his due, £48 gros, in the form of 60 francs of 32 gros. According to ADN B 2021 # 61613 fo 18r, his wages in January-February 1464 amounted to £46, 10s and £43, 10s respectively.

⁶²⁸ These letters patent were probably in the form of standing orders. It seems that the duke sometimes called on the Amman to send vagabonds to serve in his galleys, and each time he did so, there was to be a fee, which would have been stipulated in the letters. Subsequently given letters dating to 23 February 1459 probably related to the particular case of carriage of the prisoner Clais Waghebaert (see below).

payment for transporting another twelve prisoners to the galleys, who arrived on Tuesday, 27 February, accompanied once more by six sergeants, and five prisoners delivered on 19 April 1459, with three sergeants. In addition to the transportation of galley prisoners, Enghien was paid for arranging Clais Waghebaert's transport from Brussels to Bruges, a prisoner requiring a three man escort⁶²⁹.

Castregat accompanied Philippe de Croy, lord of Quiévrain to Maastricht in December 1460⁶³⁰. This sensitive mission was one connected with the episcopal see of Liège, and over the next years, he returned not only to the authorities of Maastricht, but on related business to the duke of Guelders as well⁶³¹. Between 4 and 27 January 1463, the duke sent Jean Joard, the judge of Besançon, (a skilled diplomat and statesman in his own right⁶³²) with

⁶²⁹ The amman's job involved not just the transportation, but also the interrogation of prisoners. In May 1457 Jehan Meurin, a ducal secretary, accompanied Enghien and Gheldolf vander Nort to examine the knight Colart Villain. Villain, who was a prisoner in the castle of Vilvorde (in the north east of Brussels, just south east of Grimbergen) was interrogated *sur le contenu de certaine informacion fecte alencontre de lui*. It is not clear how long he was kept in the castle, or if Chaugy had custody of him following 1465, when he was given the castellany (see above). ADN B 2034 fo 144v: Robert d'Arpe was the castle's lieutenant. **D. Schwennicke**, *Europäische Stammtafeln* (Marburg, 1978) vol. 7, p. 84. Villain was the viscount of Lombeek, and lord of Liedekerke (west of Brussels, south of Aalst), who died 25 August 1462, and was succeeded by Adriaan Vilain.

⁶³⁰ ADN B 2040 fo 218v-219r. Philippe de Croy was paid £50 for going to Maastricht between 3-10 November 1460. He accompanied Jehan d'Enghien. The ducal *mandement* of 10 February 1461 ordered payment for these 8 days. Richard Juif certified the payment. The amman received only £19 4s for his part in the diplomacy.

⁶³¹ ADN B 2034 fo 147r, 148r-149r. He had been on embassy to Guelders on the duke's behalf before, in late 1447. **Toussaint**, *Relations Diplomatiques*, pp. 195-196 explains the context, though the amman's name is there rendered *Jean de Dinghen*. (a corruption of D'Edinghen)

⁶³² ACO B 1778 fo 53r and 277r; B 1773 fo 1r - 10v; **Hinds**, *Calendar of State Papers of Milan*, vol. 1, p. 169; ADN B 2020 fo 204r; preregister B 2040 fo 5v; B 2048 fo 164v. **E. Lameere**, *Le Grand Conseil*

Enghien to Maastricht to settle the disagreement between the bishop elect of Liège and the people of the city. By the early summer of 1463⁶³³, the duke had to send legal representation to Maastricht because the townspeople were in league with the people of Liège over the payment of the aides demanded by the duke⁶³⁴, particularly the *schot* payment, which Zeeland had agreed⁶³⁵.

The Liègeois proving intractable, Enghien's next mission took place in the middle of February, 1463, and was probably linked to the unrest later on in the year. At that point he went on embassy alongside Jean l'Orfevre, the duke's president of Luxembourg, a councillor and steward of the ducal household's requests in his own right⁶³⁶. Burgundian records are tight lipped, describing the matter in the same formula which was used for Créquy and Mériadec's missions: *matieres et afferes secretz* – secret matters of which the

des Ducs de Bourgogne de la Maison de Valois (Brussels, 1900) pp. 101, 115, 174-177; **L. Gachard**, *Rapport sur les Archives de Dijon* (Brussels, 1843) pp. 157-9, translated in **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 371-372. **G. Blondeau**, *Jean Jouard, seigneur d'Echevannes et de Gatey, président des Parlements des duché et comté de Bourgogne* (Besançon, 1909); *Le livre d'heures de Jean Jouard premier président des parlements de Franche-Comte et de Bourgogne, manuscrit à miniature de la bibliothèque de Vesoul* (Besançon, no date).

⁶³³ ADN B 2048 fo 166r.

⁶³⁴ Enghien was also involved in other more routine tax work, of course. cf ADN B 2021 #61613 (March 1463). On relations between Brussels as a tax raising centre and the ducal court, see **C. Dickstein-Bernard**, *La gestion financière d'une capitale à ses débuts, Bruxelles 1334-1467* (Brussels, 1977).

⁶³⁵ ADN B 2034 fo 145r, 146v; B 2048 fo 164v; B 10422 fo 62r; AGR CC 21825 fo 96; cf the anonymous work, whose author was originally identified as **M. le comte de ***** *Histoire ecclésiastique et politique de l'état de Liège ou Tableau des révolutions qui y sont survenues depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1801) pp. 141-142.

⁶³⁶ ADN B 2048 fo 168v-169r.

duke did not want a record kept. Nevertheless, it is strongly to be suspected that the affairs of Liège and Brabant were uppermost on the agenda⁶³⁷.

Apart from the routine matters of diplomacy, justice and administration, Jean d'Enghien was similar to the other raconteurs and Burgundian literary figures in having had a history of military service, often in the duke's armies⁶³⁸. His experience at Meaux at the beginning of Philip the Good's reign has already been mentioned, but this was by no means the last occasion when he served in arms. Indeed, his name appears alongside the other raconteurs' in chronicle accounts of the Ghent wars. For example, he was present at the battle before Ruppelmonde⁶³⁹, and that he was there in the company of the count of Saint Pol, the lords of Créquy, Fiennes⁶⁴⁰, Fouquesolles⁶⁴¹, Wavrin, Thalemas, Michaut de Chaugy⁶⁴², Hervé de Mériadec and Chrétien de Digoine. Jehan lord of Lannoy, although not

⁶³⁷ ADN B 2020 fo 461v-462r.

⁶³⁸ Antoine de la Sale recollected his own military service alongside Flemings and Picards in 1415 in service to Isabelle of Portugal's father as a young *escuier de la conté de Provence* in his *Reconfort* (line 942): Hill, *Le Reconfort*, p. 27.

⁶³⁹ Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 2, pp. 301-307. This section of the chronicle was probably not written by Chastelain, and it has been identified as Jean Lefèvre's work. Small, *Shaping*, p. 154.

⁶⁴⁰ The father of the raconteur.

⁶⁴¹ La Marche confirms Chastelain's detail that Fouquesolles carried Fiennes' standard. The raconteur's military activity in the 1450s suggests that Fouquesolles' son, also Jaques (see above), was the captain responsible for the daring capture of Termonde in November 1484: if he was still alive then, the raconteur was probably too old to have participated. Similarly, it was probably the raconteur's son who was given charge of Cambrai on the archduke's behalf, whilst the lord of Fiennes acted there as the Louis XI's lieutenant. Beaune and d'Arbaumont, *La Marche*, vol. 2, p. 324; vol. 3, pp. 266-268; E. Bouly de Lesdain, *Histoire de Cambrai et du Cambrésis* (Cambrai, 1841) pp. 242-245.

⁶⁴² Lettenhove, *Chastelain*, vol. 2, p. 306 gives the name *Messire Michault de Thoisy*, but this seems a scribal error, as the name of Geffroy de Thoisy appears further down the list of soldiers.

present at the battle, was nevertheless on the campaign, and participated in the attack on Overmeire, where he was mentioned alongside Créquy in the chronicle account, which indicates that Saint Pol and Fiennes were also involved in that assault in the summer of 1452, alongside Chrétien de Digoine, Philippe de Croy, and Michaut de Chaugy⁶⁴³.

The amman's career of service was similar to other raconteurs' in that he was called to work in an honorary domestic capacity for the duke, as one of his chamberlains, and a steward of his household. At one of Philip the Good's most extravagant feasts which took place in Paris at the newly refurbished Hôtel d'Artois, numerous dukes, counts⁶⁴⁴, bishops and other great lords⁶⁴⁵ attended, and Jehan d'Enghien, Michaut de Chaugy, and Jehan Bastard of Renty officiated as *maistres d'hostel*⁶⁴⁶. Chastelain, who was not present, but

⁶⁴³ **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 2, pp. 260-266. The amman's father in law, Iwain de Mol was also present at the assault, and, like Digoine, Croy and Chaugy, was dubbed knight by Cornille bastard of Burgundy before the battle. NB The messire Philippe de Wavrin (c. 1435-1500), who was then also knighted was the lord of Saint Venant, and should not be confused with his father, the lord of Wavrin, the raconteur, who was a commander in the *count of Étampes'* host at the time, as he had been along with the lords of Beauvoir, Roye and Lannoy in the battle for the bridge at Espierres. (pp. 269-276; 235-243 respectively).

⁶⁴⁴ Including the count of Saint Pol, and the *count of Étampes*, mentioned in *Nouvelle* 63.

⁶⁴⁵ Including the lord of Fiennes, and Jacques de Luxembourg, the count of Saint Pol's nephews.

⁶⁴⁶ Apart from the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Enghien and Chaugy were associated at court, and in accounting documents. Both were noble men and ducal officers accounted for in terms of their daily retainer fee and livery at the rate accorded nobles with the upkeep of four horses – about £24 per month in the mid 1450s. (ADN B 2026 fo 134r-151v.) Messire Jehan d'Anghien and Messire Michaut de Chaugy received the same amount for their horses in the two months 4 December, 1456 – 4 February, 1457.

Fo 143r: in the section from 2 February - 3 March 1457 the following names are listed *Messire Glaude de Thoulongon*, *Messire Tastran de Thoulongon*, *Le Marquis de Ferrare*, *Messire Jehan bastard de Renty*, *Messire Michaut de Chaugy*, *Messire Jehan de la Viesville*, *Messire Jehan d'Anghien*, *Jehan de Quielent*, *Messire Oultre de le Rose*, *Messire Jehan de Bermaige*, *Monseigneur de Beauvoir*, *Messire François l'Aragonnois*, *Messire Augustin Bourchone*, *Messire Philippe de Lannoy*, and *Bertrandon* [i.e. de la

nevertheless insisted on the reliability of his information⁶⁴⁷, designated them “notable knights” who were honoured as “*souverain conduiseurs*” – stewards of the banquet⁶⁴⁸. This sort of task was politically sensitive in the extreme, being an occasion on which the duke's magnificence was opened up to public spectacle⁶⁴⁹. The intention of the banquet was to demonstrate, as Chastelain put it, that he was the “*duc sans pareil et sans compagnon*”, who ought to be feared in his might, and honoured and praised over all in his glorious and magnificent deeds. As Dominique Lagorgette has observed, the banquet was *le cadre privilégié du coup de théâtre*, and this held true in real life as well as in fiction⁶⁵⁰. Indeed, significant preparation had gone into the staging of this event, and Chaugy was responsible for the renovation works which were carried out in the Hôtel d'Artois before it⁶⁵¹.

Broquière, whom Chaugy replaced in office as household steward following his death]. Both Chaugy and Enghien received gifts of cloth from the duke, from the hands of Giovanni Arnolfini (e.g. B 2026 fo 394r and 397r in May and November 1456 respectively) and Philippe Pot also received rich cloth.

⁶⁴⁷ Chastelain's specific information relating to the forty left-over meat dishes distributed to the poor suggests a source in charge of the food, and therefore probably one of the raconteurs or the bastard of Renty, which would explain the laudatory nature of the remarks. “*They told me*”, he wrote, “*as true witnesses, for I was not there myself, that never before had man seen or imagined such an extremity of riches in an event... And certainly, as I had it, if the wealth there was great and the provision not stinting, neither was there an event ever so well undertaken or so well organised by those whose job it was.*”

⁶⁴⁸ **Lettenhove**, *Chastelain*, vol. 4, pp. 138-140. *Notables chevaliers trèstous* is Chastelain's description of the three.

⁶⁴⁹ Chastelain indicates that a multitude of Frenchmen who until that point had never seen the duke of Burgundy were present to be impressed.

⁶⁵⁰ **D. Lagorgette**, 'Le Discours du Banquet dans les Cent nouvelles nouvelles, les Evangiles des Quenouilles et le Livre de la Deablerie', in *CUERMA* (1996) (edition subtitled: *Banquets et Manières de Table au Moyen Âge* pp. 199-214; quote from p. 199.

⁶⁵¹ ADN B 2048 fo 254r - 256r.

Outwith great set-piece events, it was not unusual for the stewards of the ducal household to facilitate payments for diplomatic activity taking place there. For example, Chaugy certified a payment of £10, 8s to two of the count of Württemberg's councillors, who came to Brussels for a week in August 1459⁶⁵². The careers as *maistres d'hostel* of Chaugy and Enghien were cognate⁶⁵³. The functions of their office were laid down in the ducal *ordonnances* to which Enghien referred in the introductory epistle beginning his chronicle: the two had similar responsibilities, to the extent that they worked together⁶⁵⁴, were given proportionate rewards⁶⁵⁵, moved in the same circles, and even ate together at the same table⁶⁵⁶. The duke thought highly

⁶⁵² ADN B 2034 fo 206r: they remained with the duke between 12-19 August along with four men and horses, and Chaugy's approval for the payment was given on 24 August 1459. Besides some secret business, they came to assist the count of Württemberg's son, who was retained by the duke at this time. See also **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 142, on the extravagant entertainment the duke's stewards organised for the count in November 1460, and p. 162 on Count Eberhard the younger. The diplomatic importance of maintaining the count as an ally may be inferred from **Berthier and Sweeney**, *Chancelier Rolin*, pp. 240-243.

⁶⁵³ **Lameere**, *La Cour de Philippe le Bon*, pp. 163-164. **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *la Marche*, vol. 4, pp. 4-6, 8, and 13-15. (La Marche's description of Charles the Bold's household pp. 1-94.)

⁶⁵⁴ Besides the banquet mentioned above, cf ADN B 2048 fo 132r is a record of £181, 4s paid by letters patent of 1 October 1462 for the daily retainer fee of Michiel Aligery, knight, who was an ambassador of the Emperor of Trebizond. For his 151 days of service Aligery had to account for his claim, and Chaugy, as a master of the household, checked the details, along with one other master – probably Enghien, or the bastard of Renty. (cf ADN B 2048 fo 232v, where Chaugy and Renty signed off a payment on 26 October 1462 made in respect of the expense incurred in the duchess of Cleves' month-long visit to the duke of Burgundy with her forty person retinue.)

⁶⁵⁵ In the form of offices, remuneration, and also of gifts from the duke. Chaugy seems to have overtaken Enghien latterly, becoming styled the *premier maistre d'hostel*: ACO B 1757 fo 82r, for 1464, where he is paid a daily retainer fee as such from October.

⁶⁵⁶ ACO B 1778 fo 53r: in 1476-77, Chaugy was involved in the ducal council in Burgundy with Jehan Joard, Enghien's fellow ambassador, who by that stage had become head of the council and president of the *Parlement* of Burgundy; cf B 1773 fo 7r-10r.

enough of their rank that he paid for them to have their own chaplain⁶⁵⁷. Perhaps the most noteworthy of the *maistre d'hostel's* duties was that of having the names written down on a daily basis of those members of the household who were present at court and drew wages. In consequence of this trusted duty they knew the personal and financial standing of all the courtiers (and therefore many or all of the other raconteurs) with the duke. They also had to be familiar with who everyone was, because so many paid positions were filled on a bi- or quarter-annual rotational basis⁶⁵⁸.

As a Burgundian courtier, the amman's many roles involved him in domestic, civic and public developments, both important and trivial. The tale he told in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in the capacity as amman takes on significance as a historical document with a legal and political aspect.

Conclusion.

The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were generated in a particular world, at a particular time, and through networks of individuals. The raconteurs were courtiers, and their text is evidence of their relationship to the duke and to each other. It was the product of a specific social, cultural and political setting, for and by the men who inhabited that milieu. As we shall see in the next chapter, it is a much more complicated business to move, as Martines put it, from text to world, reading the text with its historical context in mind

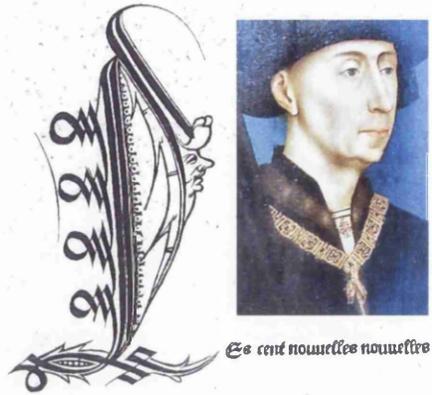
⁶⁵⁷ ADN B 2034 preregister fo 15v: for his wages to the end of December 1458, *Messire Michiel Watteble* priest and chaplain of the masters of my said lord's household received £48 17s.

⁶⁵⁸ **Lameere**, *La Cour de Philippe le Bon* passim.

to gain a fuller appreciation of those details which resonated when the stories were told, but in the 21st century have lost their significance.

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Ph.D. Thesis Submission
University of Glasgow
Department of History
May 2004

*The Cent nouvelles nouvelles, Text and Context:
Literature and history at the court of Burgundy in the fifteenth century.*



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Chapter Four: FROM TEXT TO WORLD

What *Nouvelles* Say About the Raconteurs' Social Horizons.

The best way to demonstrate that a historical reading of the text is not only possible, but desirable, is to engage with some of the short stories in the collection on their own terms, both those which have an immediately obvious historicity, inasmuch as they relate genuine historical events, and those with an entirely fictitious content. This chapter does that, coming from a historical point of view to the opposite conclusion which Harry Baxter reached from a philological standpoint: that *the narrative prose form itself is not mature enough to express successfully the spirit of the 15th century*¹. The nouvelles are mature works expressive of a cultured court's take on its own world.

¹ **H. Baxter**, 'Author's Point of View in the Cent nouvelles nouvelles', PhD thesis, (University of Michigan, 1970) abstract. cf **W. Blockmans and T. Neijzen**, 'Functions of Fiction: Fighting Spouses around 1500', in **Blockmans and A. Janse** (eds) *Showing Status. Representation of Social Positions in the Late Middle Ages*, (Turnhout 1999).

NOUVELLE 53 – Married By Mistake / Ung Cas de nouvellité².

Beginning a historical study of *Nouvelle 53* by the amman of Brussels from the literary perspective, it has been observed that the narrative structure emphasises the centrality of a marriage sacrament as a legal event. Roger Dubuis has noticed that, structurally, the story has a very linear development. Its balancing point is a confusion in the great cathedral in Brussels, on Treurenberg hill³.

In the second fragment of book IV of his chronicle (1458-61), George Chastelain broke off a detailed discussion of high politics to record the same bizarre events, and his account's structure mirrors that of the *Nouvelle*, indicating that for him too, the focus was on the legalities of the proceedings⁴. The anecdote makes such a strange tale that many modern

² BL Manuscript Additional 54156, fo 12v contains the table entry for the entry in Chastelain's chronicle discussed below. It reads: *Com[men]t adui[n]t en Bruselles vers ce tempz cy ung cas de nouvellite ainsi q[ue] vous s[er]a declaire au chap ccc liij.* It is interesting to notice Chastelain's use of the term *nouvellite* here, as it recurs in the prelude to the episode, recounted in the chronicle proper: *Envers ce temps cy advint ung cas moult estrange en Bruselles et de Nouvelle condition entre tous aultres.* (fo. 370v, originally numbered as 353.) Besides calling Montbléru a *bien gentil escuier* Chastelain also refers to him as *le plus nouvel homme de la terre.* (fo. 375r.) It is difficult to be sure if Chastelain meant to allude to the *nouvelles* here, as he used the term many times when there is clearly no connection. Nevertheless, it is possible that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were on his mind. For Delclos' published version of this material, see references below.

³ See Plates 1-3. **R. Dubuis**, *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age – also known as Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles et la tradition de la Nouvelle en France au Moyen Age* (Grenoble, 1973) p. 117: *dans l'église ... plusieurs attendent que le prêtre les unisse ... c'est l'hiver, la chapelle est mal éclairée, [le] curé est borgne et l'événement survient qui oriente le récit dans un sens tout à fait inattendu: «Si faillit a choisir» ... Dès lors, la Nouvelle sera centrée sur les problèmes posés aux deux couples «legaux» par cette confusion, problèmes qui seront encore pendants à la fin du récit.*

⁴ cf **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, p. 158. **J.-C. Delclos** (ed.), *Georges Chastelain, Chronique, Les fragments du Livre IV* (Geneva, 1991) pp. 230-232.

critics have dismissed the *Nouvelle* as pithy and inconsequential. It is largely because philologists have considered the tale without bearing the amman's role as a courtier and functionary of the Burgundian state in mind, that they have concluded that it is little more than a second rate yarn. As we might suspect of an episode in Chastelain's chronicle, however, the sequence of occurrences have their own historical significance. This significance comes across most strongly if the teller is considered as a man of his time and if his station in life is also taken into account.

Such an approach mitigates the worst excesses of philological casualness to the historical reality of the text. Judith Diner for instance, referred to the tale as *somber narrative material* without justifying her opinion⁵. Another example of how the *Nouvelle* has fared at the hands of an eminent philologist comes from Rossel Hope Robbins' introduction to his translation of the collection: *Some of the tales have such insignificant plots (e.g. ... 53), it is highly improbable even a court gossip would have bothered to remember or record them*⁶. Yet George Chastelain – the ultimate court gossip – both remembered and recorded the events. One explanation as to why they have been recorded in two separate places is that the circumstances concerned episcopal jurisdiction relating to sacramental marriage. The issues in the tale touch on the construction and disruption of the social fabric, which is sufficient to explain their inclusion in the literary collection. Yet, because the incidents also related obliquely to judicial decisions of the Burgundian court, and the bishop's court, and involved the ways people

⁵ J. Diner, *The One Hundred New Tales* (New York, 1990) p. xiv.

⁶ R. Robbins, *The Hundred Tales* (New York, 1960) Introduction, p. xiv.

conceived of an institution which the church claimed was absolutely fundamental to that fabric – sacramental marriage – it was of wider historical interest to the chronicler. Chastelain included an incident which encapsulated in microcosm the historical frictions and paradoxes inherent in the relationship between sacred and secular authority.

The Burgundian court chronicler located the unusual events *on a Sunday, the last day when people could get married before Lent, in the morning before dawn which was the last day for marriages and on which it was still legal to hold weddings*⁷. Because Easter was quite early in 1459 (on 25 March), the date of this incident was Sunday, 4 February, early enough in the year for it to be very dark indeed in the small hours⁸. It was also forbidden to get engaged in Lent: in 1457, for instance, a vicar had been punished for receiving the secret promises of Thierry Scotte and Jeanne Sdorpers, and

⁷ Delclos, *Chastelain*, p. 230: *ung dimence, darrenier jour que gens se pooient espouser devant quaresme, par ung mattin devant jour... le darrenier jour des epousailles et propre a faire nopces*. G. Des Marez, *L'Organisation du Travail a Bruxelles au XVe Siècle* (Brussels, 1904) p. 317: I translate *devant jour* as *before dawn*, but in Brussels, the day proper was announced by the “*cloche du jour*” (the *dacheclocke* in Dutch). Effectively in February, this was before dawn.

⁸ <http://www.ccel.org/fathers/NPNF2-14/2ancyra/Laocns.htm> Easter is always on a Sunday between March 22 and April 25 and is celebrated on the first Sunday that occurs after the first full moon on or after the vernal equinox. The fortysix days of Lent began on Ash Wednesday, 7 February 1459, and marriages were not permitted during the holy season (Canon 52 of the Council of Laodicea, 363 AD, which states: *Marriages and birthday feasts are not to be celebrated in Lent*). It is unclear why the couples could not marry on the Monday or the Tuesday, though perhaps these were not days when the priests of the cathedral were inclined to conduct marriage services. The fact that about twenty couples from different walks of life were all married in one session, suggests that weddings were normally held in batches, and not according to the whim of the participants.

afterwards allowing them to be declared affianced⁹. Chastelain's details here tie-in with Jean d'Enghien's account which locates the affair thus¹⁰: *One morning not long ago in Saint Gudula church, Brussels, there were several men and women who had to get married at the first mass, which is said between four and five o'clock.*

Whoever's fault it was¹¹, a rich elderly gentleman affianced to an old rich lady was mistakenly married to a poor young woman, whilst the rich old lady espoused the girl's poor young fiancé. Jean d'Enghien's version blames the priest as much as the darkness. It says: *Now you should know that this good priest, who was ready before the altar to achieve and accomplish the mystery of marriages, was one-eyed, and had, by what mischief I know not, lost an eye a little time before; and neither was there much light in the chapel or on the altar; it was also winter, and it was very murky and black¹².*

The element of the priest's lost eye is not laboured through stylistic incompetence. Priests usually needed special dispensation (from the papal penitentiary in Rome) to conduct the sacraments if they had lost body parts, and the *recentness* of this priest's loss is probably the point of the seemingly

⁹ M. Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek, 'Aspects du lien matrimonial dans le Liber Sentenciarum de Bruxelles (1448-1459)', in *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis* (1985) pp. 43-97 at p. 72.

¹⁰ F. Sweetser, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles, edition critique* (Geneva and Paris, 1966) pp. 338-342: *N'a gueres que en l'eglise de sainte Goule, a Bruxelles, estoient a ung matin pluseurs hommes et femmes qui devoient espouser a la premier messe, qui se dit entre quatre et cinq heures.*

¹¹ The different accounts give different opinions on this matter – see below.

¹² *Or devez vous savoir que ce bon curé, qui tout prest estoit devant l'aultier pour faire et accomplir le mistere d'espousailles, estoit borgne, et avoit, par ne sçay quel meschef puis pou de temps perdu ung oeil,*

redundant repetition¹³. There was a possibility that he had not sought conditional dispensation to continue officiating the sacraments, and the weddings he conducted might be invalid as a result of this legal technicality¹⁴. Enghien's version of events added that *he took the old rich man and the poor young girl*¹⁵, which is a different slant to Chastelain's¹⁶ whose testimony was that the protagonists pushed and shoved, impatient to be wed first: *Everyone wanted to go forward, and to be the first expedited, for it was before dawn*¹⁷. The chronicler says it was mainly the fault of the old gentleman, who was anxious to be wed before first light. It was he who *thrust his hand out (boutta la main avant) ... And by chance, thinking that it was the right thing to do, he was brought the beautiful young girl; both of them thought they had been paired up well and correctly; the old gentleman [with] his old lady and the young girl her young fellow*¹⁸...

et n'y avoit aussi gueres grand luminaire en la chapelle ne sur l'aultier; il estoit aussi yver, et faisoit fort brun et noir.

¹³ On the penitentiary see **K. Salonen**, 'The Penitentiary as a Well of Grace in the Later Middle Ages: the Example of the Province of Uppsala', (Helsinki University, 2001). Jennifer MacDonald is producing a doctoral thesis on the penitentiary at Aberdeen University, which will deal with the issue of dispensation for lost body parts.

¹⁴ On the canonical definition of mutilation, see the section on *Irregularity ex Delicto or ex Defectu* in <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08170a.htm> taken from the *Corpus Juris Canonicus* and its specific decretals dealing with the legal ordination of priests with one eye, and other impediments.

¹⁵ *il print le vieil homme riche et la jeune fille pouvre.*

¹⁶ **Delclos**, *Chastelain*, p. 230.

¹⁷ *Tous se voudrent avancier et estre les premiers despeciéz, car estoit devant jour*

¹⁸ *Et d'aventure, cuidant avoir bien fait, on luy amena la belle jeusne fille, cuidans tous deux d'avoir bonne adresse et veritable, le veil la vielle et la jeusne son jeusne mary...*

The priest, on the other hand, emerged from Chastelain's account as less responsible for the mistake¹⁹: *he, seeing nothing of this, except those who presented themselves before him, after having asked them their names, tied them and married them by the virtue of the sacrament, and then, to give way to the others, sent them into the church to hear their mass. On their tails along came the two others, the fine young fellow, who thought he was marrying a fine young girl, and the old lady, who never suspected that she was not going to end up with her old rich gentleman, who had a lot of money²⁰.*

Furthermore, Chastelain informs us, there were about eighteen to twenty couples all pushing (not counting their relatives), and the priest's lantern gave out hardly any light. It is difficult to know which is the more reliable account, though enough of the details overlap that the general reliability of the events seems secure. From the historian's point of view, the "plot" begins to thicken here, for rather than simply allow the marriage to be annulled, the priest, as Chastelain records, told the newlyweds:

"My friends, you have no business taking yourself to me. I did what you asked me to, and those who were brought before me, I wed by the virtue of

¹⁹ Delclos, *Chastelain*, p. 231. NB the original manuscript foliation for BL MS Additional 54156 fo 372r says 356, though the flow of the sentence between fo 371v and 372r indicates that the sequence is correct as it is now. From the end of fo 371v, the text reads: *Et la jeune fille estoit courcée a l'ault[re] lez [fo 372r] d'avoir ce viellart use a barbe grise.*

²⁰ *non visant a ce riens, fors a ce qui se presentoit devant ly, après leur avoir demandé les noms, les lya et accoupla par la vertu du sacrement, et puis, pour donner lieux aux aultres, les envoya en l'eglise pour oïr leur messe. Si vindrent prestement les deux aultres, le beau gentil galant qui cuidoit espouser la belle jeusne fille, et la vielle qui ne cuida mie faillir a son viellart rice et plein d'argent.*

the holy sacrament of marriage. I have done my duty towards you, as far as I am obliged to. If there are problems besides, don't come to me. Make the best of what's happened to you, and be forbearing in any event, because, whether you like it or not, you are so well married together that in the whole world neither pope nor any other shall sunder you. So go home and celebrate your weddings as you like, for whether or not you like it, there won't be any other outcome."²¹

The *Nouvelle's* condensed version of the same argument is in the mouth of the rich old man, who comforted his young bride in courteous manner, saying: *I married you in the holy church: you can't deny that! You are, and will remain my wife, and be happy about it: you're quite fortunate. I have, thanks be to God, plenty of worldly goods, and you shall be the lady and mistress of them, and I shall make you quite beautiful*²².

If the priest and the rich old man accepted as irrevocable the fact of a marriage which took place against the wills of the individuals involved, such was not true of the older woman, who envisioned her wealth disappearing into her husband's pockets: *I don't want him at all. I'll have nothing to do*

²¹ *Mes amis et amies, vous n'avez cause de vous prendre a moy, j'ay fait ce que vous m'avez requis, et ceulx que l'on m'a mené devant moy, je les ay accoupléz soubz la vertu du saint sacrement de mariage. J'ay fait mes devoirs envers vous d'autant que g'y suis tenu. Se faulte y a de remanant, ne vient pas de moy. Prenez en gré vostre aventure et soiez paciens a tous léz, car, veulliez ou non, vous estes si bien lyés ensamble que tout le monde, ne pape ne aultre, ne vous deslieroit point. Et pourtant allez vous en voz maisons et faictes vos nopces telles qu'il vous plaira, car, bien pris ou mal pris, vous n'en poez avoir aultre chose.*

²² *Je vous ay espousée en sainte eglise, vous n'y povez contredire. Vous estes et demourrez ma femme, et soiez content, vous estes bien eueuse. J'ay, la Dieu mercy! des biens assez, dont vous serez dame et maistresse, et vous feray bien jolye.* In this context, *jolye* might be translated: *pretty*.

*with such a wretch. Wouldn't I be lucky to have a young fellow, who'd not care for me, and spend all my money, and cuff my head if I said a word about it?*²³

Indeed, after the mistake, only Chastelain's priest, and the *Nouvelle's* old rich man (and, by extension, his household) mirrored the official position of the church. They did not simply take marriage seriously (the priest even denied the *pope's* right to divorce the couples), they viewed it as something intrinsically holy, an *act of God*, not of man. It is perhaps because there was more at stake here than a humorous theological nicety that the events have been recorded in two distinct ways by people at the heart of the Burgundian elite. It is possible that Jean d'Enghien came to hear of the events so quickly because one of his relatives, Henri de Mol (also known as Cooman), was in charge of the extensive building works then in progress in Saint Gudula church²⁴. The other possibility is that he heard them in his official capacity as amman of Brussels, or unofficially, as current events. However he came to know about the mix up, it was a tale with general appeal for the court because the events took place in a local church which the Burgundian dukes

²³ “*Je ne le veil point! Je n'ay cure d'un tel chetif! Je seroye bien eueuse d'avoir ung tel jeune galant qui n'aroit cure de moy, et me despendroit tout le mien, et, si j'en sonnoye mot, encores aroie je la teste torchée!*”

²⁴ **P. Saintenoy**, *Les Arts et les Artistes à la cour de Bruxelles* (Brussels, 1932) p. 135: Henri, who was related through Enghien's wife's family, died in 1470. The western façade was completely rebuilt between 1450 and 1490, and the nave and transept were completed in the course of the fifteenth century.

P. de Ridder, *Inventaire des anciennes archives de l'église Saint-Michel et Saint-Gudule à Bruxelles*. (Brussels, 1987-1988), *passim*. Enghien heard the story before the denouement had taken place, and anticipated a drawn-out legal process.

used for significant occasions²⁵. In 1459, for example, the dauphin's first son, Joachim, was interred there. Philip the Good's son Cornille, who had been killed in the Gent war, was also buried there. His tomb had holy water sprinkled on it daily²⁶. The nearby Coudenberg palace in Brussels was renovated towards the end of his reign²⁷, as the duke spent more time there, and it became his base, so this mix up was an extremely local affair²⁸.

²⁵ **R. Wegman**, *Born of the Muses, The life and Masses of Jacob Obrecht* (Oxford, 1994) p. 35; **J. Paviot**, 'Éléonore de Poitiers: Les états de France (Les Honneurs de la Cour)', in *Annuaire-Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de France* (1996) pp. 75-136 at pp. 101-105. The one time it was not used – for the baptism of Mary of Burgundy – Eleanor of Poitiers explained that the count wanted to celebrate the occasion within the palace, because Saint Gudule was too far to go with the baby at night. The point to notice however, is that she felt it worthwhile explaining why it did not take place in Saint Gudule, the natural place for such an occasion. At any rate, the *bishop of Cambrai* performed the ceremony. Likewise, foreseeing the possibility that war might prevent his burial in his chosen church, in Cambrai, the *bishop* assumed that he might be buried in Saint Gudule instead, for convenience. **C. Thelliez**, 'Le Testament de Jean de Bourgogne', in *Anciens Pays et Assemblées d'États* (1973) pp. 31-91, at p. 66. (On Louis XI's moves against Cambrai, see **E. Bouly de Lesdain**, *Histoire de Cambrai et du Cambrésis* (Cambrai, 1841) pp. 234-247.

²⁶ **P. de Ridder**, *Sint-Goedele, geschiedenis van een monument* (Brussels, 1992); **Buchon**, *Choix de Chroniques et Mémoires sur l'Histoire de France avec notes et notices: Jacques du Clercq – Mémoires, de 1448 à 1467* (Paris, 1838) p. 136. Joachim died aged four months, on 29 November 1459; **R. Vaughan**, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970 / Woodbridge, 2002) p. 135; On the uses of Brussels church monuments for propaganda purposes cf **L. Campbell**, 'The Tomb of Joanna Duchess of Brabant', in *Renaissance Studies* (1988) pp. 163-172. Philip the Good paid for the tomb in 1459, and had it constructed in the carmelites church in Brussels in the late 1450s.

²⁷ In particular, the great hall was built in the 1450s: <http://www.srab.be/>

²⁸ **W. Blockmans and W. Prevenier**, *The Low Countries Under Burgundian Rule, 1369-1530* {Translation of *In de ban van Bourgondië* (Houten, 1988)} (Philadelphia, 1999) pp. 135, 228. See Plate 4. **J. Chipps Smith**, 'Margaret of York and the Burgundian Portrait Tradition', in **T. Kren** (ed.), *Margaret of York, Simon Marmion, and The Visions of Tondal* (Malibu, 1992), pp. 47-56 at pp. 49-50: It is a measure of how local it was that a portrait of Margaret of York could depict her kneeling before Saint Gudule church, the Coudenberg palace, and the town hall (*magically relocated northward to the upper corners of the miniature*).

***Nouvelle 53* in the Context of Jurisdictional Disputes and Confused Matrimonial Law.**

In part, the *Nouvelle* resonated with its original audience because the duke of Burgundy and some of the raconteurs had been involved in a series of legal disagreements with the bishop of Cambrai's diocesan officers²⁹. It is often noted that the bishop was the duke's brother, a bastard of John the Fearless'. That he was a Croy bastard too was also relevant to the raconteurs' circle: his mother was Agnès de Croy, Philippe de Croy and Jean de Lannoy's great aunt³⁰. The bishop also actively promoted the ecclesiastical interests of junior members of the Croy family. For example, Philippe de Croy's younger brother, Jacques de Croy (the apostolic protonotary who also became bishop of Cambrai) was first advanced by the agency of Jean de Bourgogne in 1461, when he was preferred in the prebend fallen vacant by the death of Jaques Louchet³¹. In spite of these family relationships, on Candlemas 1448³², Philip the Good promulgated a law which allegedly defended ducal rights against the *novelties, and undertakings which the*

²⁹ **Vaughan** *Philip the Good* p. 213: As John the Fearless's son, Jehan de Bourgogne was made bishop of Cambrai through the offices of Eugenius IV in August 1439, whilst a student at Louvain university.

³⁰ **Thelliez**, *Testament*, p. 39. Agnès was Jean (I) de Croy's sister. Jean (I) was father of Jean (II) and Jehanne de Croy. Jean (II) was Quiévrain's father, and Jehanne was Lannoy's mother. cf **Vaughan** *Philip the Good* pp. 336-337 for genealogy table.

³¹ **Thelliez**, *Testament*, p. 44. Jacques was evidently as lubricious as Jehan de Bourgogne: in a testament written during a serious illness, he provided for all his bastards, and, apparently without any sense of irony, added a codicil that he had kept some wealth in reserve to provide for future bastards he might sire, should God spare him in his illness. **P. Fredericq**, *Essai Sur le Rôle Politique des ducs de bourgogne dans les Pays Bas* (Ghent, 1875) p. 98.

³² i.e. 2 February.

*officers acting on behalf of those with spiritual jurisdiction*³³ were supposedly indulging in. Actually, the *ordonnance* seriously curtailed episcopal and canonical jurisdiction in the diocese of Cambrai, which included Brussels, leaving the spiritual powers competent only to deal with issues *touching the law and the sacrament of marriage, in respect of the perfection and the confirmation or the divorce and separation of marriages*. They were specifically forbidden to arbitrate on several other issues: oblations, tithes, wills and, most significantly, *promises of marriage*, because, as the charter alleged, *our court of Mons has always had competence [over such issues] as a court of no appeal*³⁴. In 1448, as high bailiff of Hainaut, Jehan de Croy, father of the raconteur Philippe de Croy, had this jurisdiction. It is hard to believe that it was a coincidence that the designation *great* (or *high*) was first added to the bailiff's title (i.e. he became known as the *grand bailli*) on the same day the law was passed: 2 February 1448. The duke's legal pronouncement was clearly intended as an opening move in the assault on the liberties of the spiritual authorities in the bishopric, not least because the cathedral chapter of Cambrai were forbidden a copy of the letters containing the new regulations. It is to be imagined that this was not a move intended to antagonise the bishop, who had a record of political helpfulness in the duke's plans³⁵. The duke hoped to

³³ C. Thelliez, 'Un Compromis pour la Jurisdiction Spirituelle en Hainaut entre le Duc de Bourgogne Philippe le Bon et l'Évêque de Cambrai (1448-1449)', in *Revue du Nord* (1958) pp. 375-380. The charter is cited almost entirely on pp. 375-376. It is the source for what follows in the rest of this paragraph. Cf Vaughan, *Philip the Good* p. 233 and ADN B 10413 fo 45r, AGR CC 17 fo 77v-79r.

³⁴ G.-H. Gondry, 'Mémoire Historique sur les Grands Baillis de Hainaut', in *Mémoires et Publications de la Société des Sciences, des Arts et des Lettres de Hainaut* (1888) pp. 99-111, at p. 100.

³⁵ J. Toussaint, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de Philippe le Bon Avec le Concile de Bâle* (Louvain, 1942) pp. 175-176.

remove the chapter from the legal processes in the diocese, and reasoned that they would not require copies of the legislation. Unsurprisingly, in 1449, the duke backed down in the face of organised and persistent opposition fronted by the bishop, but really from the outraged (and impecuniated) clerics he represented³⁶. The opposition began in an orchestrated way on 13 May 1448, when the chapter decided to send Gautier Leonii, canon of Saint Gudula cathedral³⁷, with Adrien Enlart, a canon lawyer, to make representations to *Jehan de Bourgogne, bishop of Cambrai*.

By 19 November 1449, a compromise was reached relating to the matter of spiritual jurisdiction in Hainault³⁸, between the duke and the *bishop*. Philip

³⁶ For an alternative view of the relationship between the duke and his half brother see Vaughan, Philip the Good p. 253. In 1451 the *gens des comptes* of Brabant advised the duke to stop the *Bishop of Cambrai* from perpetrating *abuses, outrages and violations ... by ... summonses, citations, prohibitions, excommunications, nullifications, and otherwise against the good people and subjects* (AGR CC17 fo 77v-79r). Thelliez's different conclusion accords with the status enjoyed by the *bishop* at court in the period, however. The legal issue was resolved in a more permanent compromise, along the lines of the agreement discussed in Thelliez's article – cf ADN B 19451 #2: letters patent concerning the spiritual jurisdiction of the *Bishop of Cambrai* and temporal justice in the county of Hainault, between 1448-1484. In 1459, around the time of the *Nouvelle*, the *bishop* was instrumental in implementing ducal policies. See ADN B 12618, #152 725: Episcopal letters of 16 June 1459 – the *bishop* assisted in collecting the aid given to the duke for the embassy sent to Mantua, to the papal conference. The ADN have numerous unedited documents on *Jehan de Bourgogne* as yet untouched by research: Cumulus #3.G.2260, 2262, 553, 3143, 3139, 2880, 2891, 1605, 22; Cumulus #4.G.1088; Cumulus #1619; Cumulus #352 H 3; Cumulus #5810; Cumulus #5825; Cumulus #352 H 3.

³⁷ The noted bibliophile, who owned a copy of the *Facetiae* of Poggio. See chapter two above. J.-T. De Raadt, 'Inventaire de la maison mortuarie de walter leonii', in *Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* (1890).

³⁸ Thelliez, *Compromis*, pp. 376-377: This included sections of Brabant too, of course, as the diocese of Cambrai had spiritual responsibilities there too, including in Brussels, where the *Bishop of Cambrai* chose to reside most of the time. Besides Brussels, his primary residences were Malines (where he died, 1480), and Ghent.

arranged a commission of inquiry, to ascertain whose rights lay where, because neither he nor the episcopal see wished any diminution of their privileges. In the interim, the act of February 1448 was superseded by an agreement by the bishop to limit the canonical interdicts (called “*cez*”) by parish and time period, as necessary. It was also agreed to deal with the issues of adultery, debts and tithes on a technical, case by case basis. Last wills, on the other hand, were to remain the province of the church, except where there was a personal exemption from the jurisdiction of the *bishop of Cambrai*. It is interesting to note in this regard that *Jean de Bourgogne* himself sought ducal permission in 1459 to arrange to have his own goods disposed after his death to his own preferred successors³⁹. The complicated business of promises of marriage was not addressed in the act, though other issues linked to the sacraments were: for example, on the question of sorcery (all charms or spells invoking evil spirits, or abusing the holy sacraments) jurisdiction remained with the temporal authorities. Fortunately, the byzantine workings of Brussels matrimonial law in the mid 15th century have recently been laid bare by Monique Vleeschouwers-van Melkebeek, using the sentences of two judges, as recorded in the *Book of Sentences (Liber Sentenciarum)* of 1448-1459⁴⁰. Her research goes a long way to providing the background to this short story⁴¹.

³⁹ **Thelliez**, *Testament*, pp. 34-35. He also secured it in 1454, when Charles of Charolais was the protector of the Duke’s lands whilst he was in the empire, and in 1467 following the new duke's accession to power.

⁴⁰ **C. Vleeschouwers and M. Van Melkebeek** (eds.), *Liber sentenciarum van de officialiteit van Brussel (1448-1459)*, (Brussels, 1982-1983) and *Registres de sentences de l'officialité de Cambrai (1438-1453)*, (Brussels, 1998); For what follows see **Vleeschouwers-Van Melkebeek**, *Aspects du lien matrimonial*.

⁴¹ See also the documents in the G series of the ADN, especially those documents catalogued under 3 G 122. (*Compétence des juridictions ecclésiastiques 1449- 1510*) Documents #1122-1123 are the ducal act of 1449, known as the “*Concordat de Hainaut*” containing the precise terms of the provisional ruling on the

The raconteurs discussed matrimonial affairs in Brussels because they were legally confusing, but also because they were likely to become involved in them: Philippe de Croy, lord of Quiévrain, held his father's office between 1457-1463, and was therefore *high bailiff* whilst the events in the *Nouvelle* took place. Both lay and ecclesiastical authorities were frequently at odds about where the limits of their jurisdiction lay, especially when there were practical issues at stake. The examples Van Melkebeek has concentrated on involved secret marriages, followed by sexual relations. The consummation of a marriage was not always enough to secure its validity, although the town authorities *could* allow a separation and divorce if the couple were sexually incompatible (the church never allowed this). In the *Nouvelle*, the issue of whether or not the young girl and the older man had slept together was highlighted in part because of the legal implications. Sometimes, however, a secret vow "cemented" in bed was reneged on publicly, by a subsequent wedding to another partner. When this sort of circumstance resulted in a dispute, the decisions of the two judges mentioned in the *liber sentenciarum* were final. However, although the church recognised what might now be thought of as "common law" weddings – that is, weddings consummated by sexual union, though not necessarily arranged through the church – the Brussels town authorities, ultimately answerable to Jean d'Enghien for the duke, required the posting of an intention to marry in the form of three bans⁴².

state of litigation between the *bishop* and the duke. See also 3 G 691, where it is interesting to notice the bishop acting almost as a separate agent between the chapter and the town.

⁴² See A. Finch, 'Parental Authority and the Problem of Clandestine Marriage in the Later Middle Ages', in *Law and History Review* (1990), pp. 189-204; for a discussion of secret weddings in general through the

It is interesting to notice that both the chronicle record and the narrative report picked up on the ways in which the sacramental nature of the weddings constituted in the church was cited as justification for the protagonists' conduct. The *official* fifteenth century church attitude to marriage seems, if anything, more vigorous even than the view of it held by the mid twelfth century church reformers, who agreed with Peter Lombard's *Sententiæ Patrum*, the treatise which claimed marriage as a sacrament. When confronted with the sacrament, like it or not, married couples had little option but to accept the obligations it imposed on them. When the young man's father approached the members of the old gentleman's household on his son's behalf, in the *Nouvelle* version of the story, they replied: *Our lord is happy with the wife whom God has given him. He has married her and wants no other wife at all...*⁴³ Their retort was something of an echo of their master's own (tongue in cheek?) sentiment: *Praise be to God for this change! I don't want to maintain much more than that God has sent you to me, and I promise you, by my faith, that I will keep you good company*⁴⁴. The old gentleman decided to sleep with his young wife less out of lasciviousness (he was evidently no Casanova) than his conviction –

later middle ages and into the Reformation period, see **Z. Thundy**, 'Clandestine Marriages in the Late Middle Ages', in **E. DuBruck** (ed.) *New Images of Medieval Women, Essays towards a Cultural Anthropology* (Lewiston, 1989) pp. 303-320 (also in *Fifteenth Century Studies* (1985) pp. 121-136). Thundy argues (p. 303) that the use and abuse of clandestine marriages was *primarily due to disagreements among canon lawyers on the nature of marital consent, the teaching of Pope Alexander III, and the different church practices in force in different parts of Europe*.

⁴³ *Le seigneur est content de la femme que Dieu luy a donné. Il l'a espousée et n'en veult point d'autre...*

⁴⁴ *Loé soit Dieu ... de ce change! Je n'en voulisse pas tenir grand chose que Dieu vous a envoyée a moy, et je vous promet par ma foy de vous tenir bonne compaignie.* (Underlinings mine.)

however flippant – that God brought her to him. There are hints in the *Nouvelle* that the characters felt that it was sex rather than the sacrament which put something of an irreversible seal on the proceedings. This seems to be the implication of the part at the end of the story in which, arriving at the house of the old gentleman, the father of the young man was informed: *You're here too late. Each one must keep who he has*⁴⁵. He came too late as much because the old man had already taken his young bride to bed, where he valiantly *did the best he knew how to*⁴⁶, as because of the sacrament. The narrator immediately emphasised that the sexual activity of the old man and his bride was vitally important. It affected the prospects of the disgruntled young man and old woman ever getting the spouse they initially intended for themselves. Shifting the focus of the narrative to *our old lady and her young husband*⁴⁷ to remind the reader of what was taking place across town, the narrator nevertheless immediately returned to the sexual activity: *she was taken to the house of the father of the girl who at that moment was sleeping with the old man*⁴⁸. The narrative detail of the sex had been mentioned before, and it therefore seems likely that the narrator repeated it to draw attention to the juxtaposition, and for its intrinsic comedy value. Significantly, it was only after she realised that her intended husband had both made his bed and lain in it, that the old woman decided that *Things won't stay like this, or I'll have justice*⁴⁹.

⁴⁵ *Vous venez trop tard: chacun se tienne a ce qu'il a...*

⁴⁶ *fist ... du mieux qu'il sceut.*

⁴⁷ *nostre vieille et au jeune compaignon.*

⁴⁸ *elle fut menée a l'ostel du pere a la fille qui a ceste heure est couchée avecques le vieil homme.*

⁴⁹ *la chose n'en demourra pas ainsi, ou la justice me fauldra.*

From the evidence of this *Nouvelle*, it seems that although most people knew that the business of marriage was the domain of the church, they did not realise what the full implications of the church's claims were when they accepted the sacrament. For the majority of people, the important things about a marriage were that it would be profitable, that the bride was pure, and that it took place in a church. For the people actually getting married, sexual attraction, and purity were important, but in lieu of this, a sound economic match would make the marriage less diabolical⁵⁰. The social and economic subtext of the action shows how uneasily the idea of sacramental matrimony actually sat with the economic and social agendas of the parties, because nuptials were perceived as an arrangement which did not involve any special religious knowledge. That the old woman in this case went immediately to the clerical and not the lay courts with her proceedings is an interesting comment on the legal machinery of fifteenth century Brabant. Any resolution of this case would profoundly affect the secular world of the protagonists and their families, yet its moral dimension was arbitrated by the celibate (and theoretically, if not actually, chaste) clerical world⁵¹. In 1480, the *bishop of Cambrai's* funeral mass was attended by several of his bastards. Ironically, Eugenius IV's letter of 11 May 1439 acknowledged his

⁵⁰ J. Stevenson, *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Wars of the English in France During the Reign of Henry the Sixth King of England* (London, 1864) vol. 2, p. 783: This is the fifteenth-century English chronicler known as William Worcester's facetious terminology: *Katherine, duchess of Norfolk, a young girl of some eighty years of age, married John Woodville, the queen's brother, aged twenty; a diabolical marriage. Katerina ducissa Norffolchiae, juvencula aetatis fere iiijXX annorum, maritata est Johanni Widevile, fratri reginae, aetatis xx annorum; maritajum diabolicum*. Worcester was being unkind to her by about twenty years.

suitability as a candidate for the episcopal dignity on account of his multiple virtues, and the testimony he had heard from men *worthy of credence, of the purity of his life, the honesty of his manners, and his knowledge of spiritual and temporal matters*. They were not wrong about the last of these “virtues” at any rate.

In both the *Nouvelle* and chronicle, the young couple were portrayed as people who understood marriage as a romantic, emotional, and sexual bond. The *Nouvelle* mentions the young bridegroom *tricked out of his love*⁵². In contrast, the older couple (*who had lots of money, means and wealth, and out of greed and a great desire to have more things, had promised faith and loyalty one to the other...*⁵³) obviously approached marriage viewing it as a predominantly social and economic bond.

Other than the old man and his household, none of the characters in the *Nouvelle* accepted the immutability of the sacrament. The priest's mistake was an act of God which could not be rectified. This is an interesting comment on the extent to which the claims of the church about marriage were universally understood, or, if they were understood, agreed with. When

⁵¹ For what follows, see **C. Weightman**, *Margaret of York, Duchess of Burgundy 1446-1503* (Stroud, 1989) p. 79: Weightman counts 36 bastards. On his “morals” see **Thelliez**, *Testament*, pp. 35-36. Thelliez's count is more restrained, but there were at least fourteen: pp. 70-71.

⁵² *frustré de ses amours*: If Chastelain's account is to be believed, the young woman was scarcely more thrilled at being robbed of her lover than he was at losing her: she did not want to have: *this old codger with grey beard, who would but inadequately meet her needs... ce veillard usé a barbe grise qui povrement luy feroit ses besongnes* (*Chronique* p. 231.)

⁵³ *qui grand chevance et foison de richesses avoient, et par convoitise et grand desir de plus avoir avoient promis foy et loyauté l'un a l'autre.*

the young man's father said, *I have grave doubts that you shan't have any other wife*⁵⁴, this was more of a pragmatic statement of resigned fact than an acknowledgement of the Divine mystery.

His son seemed to embrace most heartily both romantic and economic aspects of marriage, when he told his old wife: *I love her much more than you, however poor she may be, but you shan't get away if I can't get her!*⁵⁵. The narrator explained that he would not have minded being separated from his love ... *if only he could have the old woman with all her money*⁵⁶. Significantly, it was only *on advice* that he brought his wife to court⁵⁷. He evidently did not realise that he could present the legal argument that she was his wife by virtue of the sacrament. When he did go to court, however, it was not because he had suddenly developed a great conviction about the validity of the sacrament, but to prove that he had a legal right to her money.

When the rich gentleman's friends told the poor man's father that he ought not to complain, they adopted a similarly non-religious, economic understanding of marriage: they pointed out that the old lady was wealthy, and that ordinarily, the young man and his family could never have married into the sort of money the woman had. Their argument was not simply that the young groom's family would inherit after his wife died, (although this could happen, as she was old) but that they could expect a share immediately. This certainly helps to explain the old woman's complaint to

⁵⁴ *je faiz grand doute que vous ne puissiez avoir aultre femme.*

⁵⁵ *quelque pouvre qu'elle soit; mais vous n'en yrez pas, si je ne la puis finer.*

⁵⁶ *s'il eust peu finer de la vieille a tout son argent.*

⁵⁷ He was *conseillé de la faire citer*.

the bishop: for her, the prospect of having to subjugate herself to a young, amorous, and grasping man, whose social status was much inferior to her own could hardly have been appealing, especially given that the legal technicalities associated with the sacrament cheated her out of what she wanted: an older, richer man, of similar social status.

As much as it shows the reasons for their conflict, this *Nouvelle* well illustrates the interdependency and interaction of the sacred and secular jurisdictional spheres of mid fifteenth century Burgundy. Perhaps the most telling comment on the interest and the complexity of the case is the last word of the *Nouvelle's* narrator: this was *a great process, whose judgement has not been given yet*⁵⁸. Although when the amman came to tell his tale, the outcome of the case had not been decided, he already recognised that it was of sufficient consequence to make an interesting and diverting yarn. (It is to be presumed that the *bishop* was still in Brussels when the old woman came to him, though there is an outside possibility that the amman did not hear of the outcome if she presented her case at the very end of February, when he made one of his rare visits to Cambrai⁵⁹.) Fortunately, Chastelain recorded the conclusion of the events: before *Jean de Bourgogne*, she was *fiercely ribbed and mocked* and told to *water down her wine, and accept agreeably what the church had done*⁶⁰. God did not make mistakes.

Nouvelle 63 – Montbléru, the Heroic Thief.

⁵⁸ *ung gros procès dont le jugement n'est encores rendu.*

⁵⁹ **Thelliez**, *Testament*, p. 46: the visit occasioned a gift of Beaune wine, and the receipt book recorded that he came to the town on the last day of February 1459.

⁶⁰ *rabbouree durement et moquee ... mist de l'eaue en son vin et accepta agreable ce que l'eglise avoit fait.*

The story known as *Montbléru*⁶¹, sixty-third in the collection, and told by the eponymous hero, celebrates Guillaume de Montbléru's comic revenge. It is an example of a tale whose literary and social conventions can better be understood in the broader perspective of a number of other documents. Indeed, without a knowledge of who the protagonists were, the tale is one of the strangest in the collection: La Motte Roullant, who produced an updated version of the tale collection within a century of the original, adapted 86 of the tales but decided to leave this one out of his work. Because he had no historical perspective on the tale, it was one of the stories he judged *indignes, sans saulces ne raisons*⁶². Using this story to connect the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* with the Burgundian court, however, and using the court's documents to understand the story, we can examine what Gabrielle Spiegel has called the social logic of the text⁶³, and search for those traits which constituted comic heroism for that courtly milieu. The narrative

⁶¹ F. Sweetser, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, (Geneva, 1966). Guillaume de Monbléru signed his name without a *t*, although it is most often written in contemporary documents as *Montbléru*. Variations include: *Montbléruu*, and *Montleru*. ADN, B 2071, *pièce* 65229, 2 July 1468: shortly before his death Montbléru certifies receipt from *Girard de la haye di Morlet, receveur de Bethune* for 110*l.*, 14*s.* of Flanders, part of his annual pension. At the end of his career he made it to the rank of *escuier, conseiller et maistre d'ostel* of the duke of Burgundy. Under Charles, count of Charolais, he had been both *escuier d'escuierie*, and then *premier escuier d'escuierie*.

⁶² L. Loviot, 'Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles adaptées par La Motte Roullant', in *Revue des livres anciens: documents d'histoire littéraire, de bibliographie et de bibliophilie* (1914) pp. 254-263, at pp. 260-261. La Motte-Roullant, *Le Facétieux deviz des cent et six Nouvelles, Nouvelles tres-récréatives et fort exemplaires pour réveiller les bons et ioyeux Esprits François* (Paris, 1549/1550).

⁶³ G. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', in *Speculum* (1990) pp. 59-86, at p. 83 argues that *particular instances of language use or textuality incorporate social as well as linguistic structures, and ... the aesthetic character of a work is intimately related ... to the social character of the environment from which it emerges, requiring the critic to be responsive to the content as well as the form of a piece of work...*

involves the literary conventions of silence (the withholding of information) and the importance attached to the giving of an explicit verbal undertaking. Its central character is an example of a ubiquitous fifteenth-century socio-literary type: the comic hero⁶⁴.

The tale is straightforward. Montbléru chances upon three friends at the fair at Antwerp. He promises to join them, and leave the retinue⁶⁵ of the count of Étampes, who has been paying his way, as long as they defray his expenses. His friends are quick to agree to this. But, staying at Antwerp longer than they intend, their clothes become dirty, to their great discomfiture. Since the three companions have no change of shirt, they give their clothes to a maid at their inn to wash and dry overnight. The maid's mistress instructs her to go to the butcher's. In her absence, the clothes lie on a stool in the kitchen. Next morning, at first light, Montbléru goes downstairs wearing a long robe over his shirt: noticing the clothes, which cry out to be filched, he promptly sees where his responsibilities lie⁶⁶.

Casting about for a suitable hiding place, he alights upon the horses' stable, where he wraps the clothes up well in straw and hides them in a great pile of

⁶⁴ J. Diner, 'Comedy and Courtliness: the form and style of Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles', PhD thesis (New York University, 1984): Fifteenth-century literature identified areas in which courtly style and comic styles were appropriate. Subject matter fitting to each style, and actions suitable for each type of character, had been defined by the period of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

⁶⁵ *Retinue* seems a close translation for *compagnie*. The context is: Montbléru se trouva, environ deux ans a, a la foyre d'Envers, en la compagnie de monseigneur d'Étampes, qui le deffrayoit, qui est une chose qu'il prend assez bien en gré. – Montbléru found himself at the Antwerp fair in the retinue of my lord of Étampes, who paid for him, which was something he was quite pleased about.

horse manure. He returns quietly to his bed, in the same room as one of his companions.

The loss of the shirts is discovered, but when the time comes to awaken the *bons seigneurs*, their servants do not relish the prospect of breaking the bad news, and it takes a while before they muster the courage. Montbléru, pretending to have slept through the event, feigns the drowsiness of one surfacing from sleep, and commiserates with his friends on their loss.

The friends borrow the innkeeper's coarse shirts and want to hear mass, so Montbléru tells them that there is a church in Antwerp where they might see God⁶⁷. In fact, the God he refers to is not the body and blood of the Eucharist, but an image of Christ on the donkey⁶⁸. The companions laugh at the ingenuity of the ruse, and, even though their annoyance in the matter of their shirts has not abated, they go to dine somewhat cheered. Subsequently, Montbléru sells the shirts for five gold *écus*.

A year later, in the week of Lent following Ash Wednesday, Montbléru is once more dining with his erstwhile patrons. He reminds them of the adventure of the lost shirts, and, in keeping with the thoughts of the religious

⁶⁶ Montbléru *cogneut tantost que c'estoit sa charge...* Used in this way, the term *charge* usually denoted a servant or a subordinate's duty. (cf *Nouvelle* 9, 10, 14, 18, 32, 38, 40, 41, 99 etc)

⁶⁷ *Tant que d'oyr messe, il est meshuy trop tard, mais je sçay une eglise en ceste ville ou nous ne fauldrons point de veoir Dieu.* The device used is a simple misdirection: it relies on the fact that the second section of the sentence *seems* to contradict the sentiment expressed in the first.

⁶⁸ **J. Murray**, *Antwerp in the Age of Plantin and Brueghel* (London, 1972) pp. 150-152. The church of Our Lady in Antwerp was known for its associations with painting and painters, and the chapter established the area around the church as an art dealership from 1460.

season, asks them if they will forgive a poor thief his sin. Each one of the three agrees, either reluctantly or willingly, not wishing to damn a man on account of a shirt. Montbléru, receiving this pardon, immediately admits all, and amazes his companions by telling them that he sold their shirts at a profit to himself of five *écus*⁶⁹. He declares it his custom to snap up the unconsidered trifles of rich men like them: he accepts their forgiveness to his own profit, and thanks them. In the end the companions all laugh about the joke⁷⁰.

Literature and Archival Evidence.

In the Archives du Nord at Lille, register number B 3661 (which is an account book kept by the receiver general of the count of Charolais' finances for the year 1457)⁷¹, there is a paragraph recording the following payment⁷²:

⁶⁹ There is perhaps an inversion of the fabliau *Du chevalier qui fist parler les cons*, here: in that story, a knight's ignoble squire stole three naked fairies' shirts because they were worth *bien C livres* – a good £100. See **R. Harrison**, *Gallic Salt* (Los Angeles, 1974) pp. 219-255 at p. 226.

⁷⁰ The closest analogous narrative material is in *La Farce du Voleur qui se confesse* which is part of a tradition of farce plays relating to confessions. It has been published on **J. Hurlbut and G. Runnals's** website: <http://www.byu.edu/~hurlbut/fmddp/roles/fribourg.html>. The farce involves the nocturnal activity of a thief, who confesses to his crime. The farce is incomplete and survives only in two fragments, neither of which contains complete sentences. Only glimpses of the tale remain, but these are tantalising enough: the tale concerns: hearing masses, hiding things, sleeping victims, and a *bon prodon ancien* – someone like Montbléru, perhaps. The tale may be similar to *Nouvelle 63*, though with an elaboration on the theme of absolution, in which the thief visits a priest, who tells him to seek the forgiveness of his victims.

⁷¹ This was *Roland Pippe's* fourteenth account.

⁷² *A Karle d'Escrosse marchant de Florence la somme de iiij^{xx} xv livres xj sols de XL gross a lui deue pour XXIIIIJ aulnes et demie de satin figure noir a double poil que monditseigneur a donne a la feste d'Amv[er]ps en ce present mois aux personnes cy apres declarees. Assavoir: a monseigneur de Fromelles, monseigneur de Contay, messire Michault de Chaugy, Jehan le Tourneur, Philippe Bouton, Humbert de Plaine, et maistre Rolland Pippe, a chacun d'eulx trois aulnes et demie pour faire ung pourpoint / Aupres de iiij escus et ung quart l'aulne valent ladictte somme de iiij^{xx} xv livres, xj sols. (fo 69v)*

To Karle d'Escrosse, Florentine merchant, the sum of £95, 11 shillings of 40 gross due to him for 24 and a half ells of double-spun, black, hemmed satin, which my said lord gave at the time of the feste at Antwerp in this present month to the people mentioned hereafter, viz: to my lord of Fromelles⁷³, to my lord of Contay⁷⁴, Messire Michault de Chaugy, Jehan le Tourneur, Philippe Bouton⁷⁵, Humbert de Plaine, and master Roland Pippe, to each of them, three and a half ells to make a doublet / At the price of 3 and a quarter escus per ell, totalling the said sum: £95, 11 shillings.

⁷³ **Delclos**, *Chastelain*, p. 108: Jean de Rosimbos, lord of Fourmelles, Charles of Charolais' second chamberlain, served Charles as a knight and advisor throughout his reign and was rewarded with the governorship of Lille in 1476. According to Chastelain, by Philip the Good's household ordinance (which the duke threw in the fire when his son tried to argue with him) the lord of Hémeries followed Rosimbos in the pecking order, with nobody in front of him, including the lord of Quiévrain. cf ACO B 11788; **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 2, pp. 215, 268, 278, 416; **W. Paravicini**, 'Charles le Téméraire à Tours', in **M. Bourin** (ed.) *Villes, Bonnes Villes, Cités et Capitales, études d'histoire urbaine (XIIe-XVIIIe siècle): Mélanges offertes à Bernard Chevalier* (Tours, 1989 / Caen, 1993) pp. 47-69.

⁷⁴ **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 4, p. 277. Guillaume le Jeune, lord of Contay. The duke's knight, councillor and chamberlain, who became first master of the household, and governor of Arras, following his father, Robert le Jeune's death in 1463.

⁷⁵ Lord of Corberon, Burgundian knight, poet and joustier. **P. Palliot**, *Le Parlement de Bovrgongne Son Origine, Son Etablissement et son Progres* (Dijon, 1649) pp. 125-127; **J. de La Croix Bouton**, 'Un Poème à Philippe le Bon sur la Toison d'Or', in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1979) pp. 5-29; **Small**, *Shaping*, p. 121. Bouton was given the name Philippe by his godfather the duke, as was Philippe Pot. In the receipt general for 1424, the duke gave him a *guignot* or baptismal gift of plate worth £2000, on the first day of the year after the baptism. He is recorded in the 1461 *état de la maison* as first *escuier trenchant*. He became a baillif of Dijon and Auxonne. cf AM Dijon, *Inventory*, p. 42 for B 163, *Papier de Secret*, and B 166 fo 121r. He famously accompanied Antoine bastard of Burgundy to England to joust with lord Scales, in 1467. Philippe Bouton was in his 97th year when he died, having served Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Louis XI, Charles VIII, Louis XII and François I. The proud boast of his epitaph is that he had all his own teeth, and had never been ill in his life.

This is an interesting document from the point of view of the *Nouvelle*, although in the past its significance has been misunderstood. In the first place, it dates a trip to Antwerp to 1457. It records the names of the three men who met Montbléru there: *Jehan le Tourneur*, *Humbert de Plaine*, and *Roland Pippe*. Because of this, some historians have wondered whether this was the very trip on which the events in the story took place⁷⁶. However, it is by no means certain that the shirts of these lords *were* the same ones for which Karl d'Escrosse provided the material. That noted, though, the account of the payment in B 3661 does indicate that these men were not the sort to dress shabbily: we may suppose their apparel at Antwerp to have been equally stylish⁷⁷.

On the first reading of the tale, especially the beginning of it, we seem to find the *nouvelliste* at pains to make Montbléru out to be a caricature of greed. The apparent avarice in the main protagonist's character, might lead modern commentators – acquainted only with the text of the *Nouvelle*, and without the benefit of other information about the historical person – to point out the similarities between Montbléru and the stereotypical comic character: the figure made comical by greed. Montbléru's primary motivation in any action, at least as far as the descriptions in the text let us judge, seems to be the accumulation of wealth. Yet the manuscript indicates that Montbléru told this story of himself! The reader learns that Montbléru

⁷⁶ The document also has the name of the man who, in BN MS FR. 15115 (a copy of an Arnoullet *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*), is credited with the telling of this tale, *Messire Michault de Chaugy*. See the appendix for a transcription of the nouvelle in the Arnoullet edition.

⁷⁷ cf **R. Vaughan**, *Charles the Bold* (London, 1972 / Woodbridge, 2002) p. 141 (re *Le Tourneur's* dress in 1473).

found himself at the fair of Antwerp in the company of *Monseigneur d'Estampes*, who was paying for him: a situation with which he was rather happy⁷⁸. When his friends propose that he join their company, *Montbléru's* reply is apparently mercenary. This suggests that it was a situation to which he seemed to attach importance⁷⁹:

Montbléru at first excused himself on My lord of *Étampes* account, who had brought him there, and said that he did not dare to abandon him: “and with

⁷⁸ The French does not actually emphasise *Montbléru's* enjoyment of the money. The text is structured in such a way as to place the words *qui le deffrayoit* in parentheses, almost as though it was a side issue to the main one, viz, that he was at the fair *en la compaignie de monseigneur d'Estampes ... qui est une chose qu'il prend assez bien en gré ...* It is not implausible that *Montbléru* should have been in *Étampes* service. His name appears in a number of lists of the retainers' wages for the *Count d'Estampes* in ADN B 3419, #116836-116853. The dates of the documents and their locations are as follows:

Escroe #	Date/Place	Gages (i.e. Daily retainer fee) / Livery (upkeep)
#116836	Monday, 9 December 1453 (and not 1454 as it says on the document) (Bruges)	<i>Montbléru</i> does not appear in the list of gages
#116837	Saturday, 11 January 1454 (Bruges)	not on list of gages, but 4s gages for his two horses
#116838	Sunday, 19 January 1454 (Bruges)	4s as escuier / 3s gages
#116839	Wednesday, 29 January 1454 (Bruges)	ibid
#116840	Thursday, 30 January 1454, (Bruges)	ibid
#116841	Sunday, 2 March 1454 (Arras)	3s gages
#116842	Tuesday, 4 March 1454 (Arras)	ibid
#116843	Sunday, 9 March 1454 (Arras)	ibid
#116844	Tuesday, 11 March 1454 (Arras)	4s as escuier / 3s gages
#116845 and #116846	Sunday, 23 March 1454 (Bruges)	3s gages
#116847,	Monday, 24 March 1454 (Bruges)	ibid
#116848	Thursday, 27 March 1454, (Bruges)	4s as escuier / 3s gages
#116849	Friday, 28 March 1454 (Bruges)	3s gages
#116850	Saturday, 29 March 1454 (Bruges)	4s as escuier / 3s gages
#116851	Monday, 1 March 1454 (No location given)	3s gages
#116852	Friday, 4 April 1454, (Bruges)	3s gages
#116853	Saturday, 5 April 1454, (Bruges)	3s gages

cf *M. Sommé, Isabelle de Portugal, une femme au pouvoir au XVe siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998)

appendix: Sommé shows that he was one of Isabelle of Portugal's servants at 6s gages on the daily retainer lists.

⁷⁹ *Montbléru* de prinsault s'excusa sur Monseigneur *d'Estampes*, qui l'avoit la amené, et dist qu'il ne l'oseroit habandonner: “Et la raison y est bonne, car il me deffraye de tout point”, dit il. Neantmoins toutesfoiz il fut content d'abandonner monseigneur *d'Estampes*, ou cas que entre eulx le vouldissent deffrayer; et eulx, qui ne desiroient que sa compaignie, accorderent legierement et de bon cueur ce marché.

good reason, for he is defraying my every expense!” he said. Nevertheless, he would be pleased to abandon my lord of Estampes if they would all pay for him. And they, who only wanted his company, agreed to this deal easily and heartily!

However, some acquaintance with other documents and information about Montbléru leads us to wonder whether Montbléru's reply should be interpreted as mercenary, or if no cupidity lies behind it. Could it simply be the flippant response of a man forced by the constraints of his responsibilities to make excuses? The gist of Montbléru's answer could be: *Of course I can't come with you, I am obliged to stay with my lord of Étampes, as he is paying for me!* However, when he leads his companions on, saying, with his tongue firmly in his cheek, *I'll come with you if you'll pay for me!*, they turn the tables on him. They seize upon his words, and force him to be true to his offer. In effect, they do to him what he later does to them: they force him to accept the *exact terms* of what he supposed to be an inconsequential agreement. Against the mercantile backdrop of the fair, an environment where words are bonds, there can be no retracting! Such an interpretation of the encounter seems all the more likely given the phrase which immediately follows the passage quoted above: *Or escoutez comment il les paya... – now listen to how he paid them out.*

A Revenge Comedy: Dates, Sources, Social Interplay.

The remainder of the tale is a comedy of *revenge* for the social slight which the three friends forced upon their companion. Specifically, and as the word *paya* indicates, it is an ironic form of revenge involving a paying back in kind. In this *Nouvelle*, therefore, we are in the realms of social interplay. In

order to understand the comic hero more fully, an analysis of the immediate social context of the characters, the narrator, and the socio-literary conventions present in the telling of the tale, is necessary. We must identify the social logic of the text, in other words.

The tale itself does not provide an explanation of the rank, status, or priorities of the central protagonist. It seems that, either someone who knew Montbléru redacted the tale in the third person, or Montbléru's own presentation of the tale was in the third person. At any rate, the *acteur* expected the intended audience for his written down version of the story (i.e. the duke in the first instance, and probably the court, by extension), to know who Montbléru was. The first line: *Montbléru se trouva...* (*Montbléru found himself...*) assumes a familiarity with Montbléru. Even a slightly more detailed description of him is considered unnecessary for the audience. Yet, *modern* critics, by not knowing who Montbléru was, have made erroneous assumptions about him. They have supposed him to be of lowly status, or to have come out badly in the tale. To them, he is a simple practical joker, a nuisance and a thief whose humour is of the lowest order⁸⁰.

⁸⁰ C. Carton, "Un tableau et son Donateur: Guillaume de Montbléru, 'Premier escuyer d'escuyrie du Comte de Charolais", in *Annales de Bourgogne* (1966) pp. 172-187, at p. 179. Carton is better informed on Montbléru's career, yet she follows received opinion, saying that *Nouvelle 63 nous rapporte une aventure "d'ung nommé Montbléru"; protagoniste, mais non l'auteur, car il se fait un peu éreinter...* (NB The nouvelle is explicitly *par Montbléru* in MS *Hunter* 252.) She goes on to say: *Montbléru se révèle à nous sous un jour inattendu, se livrant en cette aventure à une "practical joke", dont quelque morale critique moderne a trouvé le goût douteux... Disons qu'elle est de son temps, son narrateur d'une ironie à deux tranchants, et Montbléru d'un tempérament moins édulcoré que les nôtres.*

But, if Montbléru's felony is committed for an entirely justifiable and corrective purpose, is the seriousness of his crime not diminished, and is the humour of his response not of a nobler sort? After all, the long-term impact of his 'crime' on the *victims* is negligible. The 'hurt' he does them can scarcely earn him reproach, for it is neither physically nor mentally *grievous*; it is merely *embarrassing* to them, and humorous to those who witness it. Furthermore, the profit of the '*criminal*' is hardly substantial, measured against his own and his companions' wealth⁸¹. From this perspective, although he is hardly a hero in the knight-in-shining-armor mould, he meets the criteria of the comic hero admirably⁸².

As we saw in the previous chapter, Guillaume de Montbléru spent much of his career in the households of the duchess of Burgundy, the count of Charolais, and Jean, *count of Étampes* (the main authority in Auxerre) serving in a variety of capacities: no mere practical joker he. It is interesting to notice that, like his poet uncle, Jean Régnier, Montbléru was also named as bailiff of Auxerre (from 26 January 1465)⁸³. Roland Pippe and Jehan le Tourneur were not noble, and although Humbert de Plaine's father had received letters of ennoblement, he was certainly of lesser extraction than

⁸¹ See chapter three above.

⁸² J. Diner, 'The courtly comic style of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*', in *Romance Philology* (1993) pp. 48-60, explains the difference between courtly and comic modes. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* combine courtly and comic styles, often to comic effect.

⁸³ l'Abbé Lebeuf, *l'Histoire Civile et Ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de son ancien diocèse*, vol. 2 (Auxerre, 1855) p. 551. Although it is unclear how active he was in this post, the town had been partisan to the king, so it was an important bailliwick. Its lord was the *count of Étampes*, who, since his exile from the court of Burgundy in 1463 had become increasingly antagonistic to Burgundy, though following Montlhéry, he was

Montbléru. All three had used their influence at court to accumulate a variety of preferments and rewards, so were as comfortably well-off as Montbléru⁸⁴. They may have been better-off. However, at stake here was Montbléru's pride. There was no question of his *voluntarily* entering their service - this was not a serious proposition. The comic aspect of Montbléru's predicament must be emphasised to make sense of the remainder of the tale.

From internal evidence in the tale, Montbléru and the others were probably at the Antwerp fair in the year 1457⁸⁵, the date of register B 3661. A few other references to the business these men had at Antwerp in that year help to contextualise the events in terms of their social nuances⁸⁶.

Roland Pippe, as the receiver of Charolais' accounts, recorded his receipt of expenses from the count at the normal daily rate to go to the *feste* at Antwerp on his lord's behalf. He represented both the count's authority, and – as a Burgundian official – the interests of the duke. He surely had to look like the count's representative on his trip to the fair, at which was to result in the meeting with Montbléru. The loss of his shirt meant that he suffered indignity as an official as well as a well-to-do private individual.

forced to tone down his anti-Burgundian sentiments. **Lettenhove**, *Chastellain*, vol. 5, pp. 69-74, 96, 287-289; **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 378-379.

⁸⁴ Jehan le Tourneur's son, also called Jehan le Tourneur, served Charles duke of Burgundy as a valet de Chambre, just as his father had served duke Philip. **G. Doutrepoint and O. Jodogne**, *Chroniques de Jean Molinet*, vol. 1 (Brussels, 1935) p. 164.

⁸⁵ The sixty-third tale says that its events took place about two years ago, i.e. in 1457 if we suppose that the sixty-third tale was told not long after the fifty-third, which was probably told between mid and late February 1459.

⁸⁶ Another note of a payment to Roland Pippe placing him at Antwerp is found at ADN B 3661 fo 72.

In the note of her discovery of the reference to all of the characters mentioned in this story, Colette Carton apparently did not notice the discrepancy in the dates of the two sources⁸⁷. The tale specifically says that the events at Antwerp took place at the time of Pentecost. In other words, if they did indeed take place in 1457, the events of the *Nouvelle* happened around 5 June. The receipt in the account book suggests that the same men made *another* trip to Antwerp in September 1457. Other documentary evidence, it is worth stressing, shows that these men often spent time in each other's company⁸⁸. There are, however, no grounds for supposing that the *Nouvelle* is in any sense 'verified', or that its details are duplicated or corroborated in, the account book. The discrepancy in date strongly suggests that they are not. In fact, unless the tale's redactor has the date wrong, and the events he describes actually took place in September 1457⁸⁹, what the account book probably does is to give a bit of background detail on the characters a few months *after* the events. This probability is almost a certainty because of the date given in the text of the *Nouvelle*: Pentecost was

⁸⁷ Carton, *Tableau*, p. 180, notes that this extract of the thirteenth account of *Roland Pippe* is dated to the month of September 1457. Her explanation of the significance of this information begins: *1457!*, as though the year alone gives a close enough date to clinch the matter.

⁸⁸ ADN B 3423, #117164 (*escroe*, 5 January 1459). *Montbléru* receives 9 sols *gaiges*, *Jean le Tourneur* 18 *sous*, and Maistre *Rolland Pippe* 18 *sous*. The payment is for their presence with the count at Mons in Hainault. I have been unable to find daily *escroes* for the week of February 22-8, 1458, which was when *Montbléru* 'came clean' to his one-time 'employers': H. Krüse, *Hof, Amt und Gagen, Die täglichen Gagenlisten des burgundischen Hofes (1430-1467) und der erste Hofstaat Karls des Kühnen* (Bonn, 1996), p. 296.

⁸⁹ The names and other details overlap: this can hardly be definitively ruled out.

the starting date of one of the two annual fairs at Antwerp⁹⁰, which is why it is given as a point of reference in the tale. Furthermore, the register specifically speaks of the *feste* of Antwerp, and not the *foire*, a different term altogether⁹¹.

Plainly, however, the register is informative, as we may infer from it that the three who had had their shirts filched did not suspect the true culprit: they shared his company not long after the event. In this sense, it bears out the verisimilitude of the tale's final episode: the revelation of the theft of the shirts.

Heroism? – Lordship, Obligation, and the Text's Original Audience.

Having straightened out the immediate sources and their dates, what conclusion can be reached about the *Nouvelle's* central protagonist? Is Montbléru heroic?

⁹⁰ See J. Van Houtte, 'La Genèse du Grand Marché international d'Anvers à la fin du Moyen Âge', in *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* (1940) pp. 87-126, at p. 103. There were two free fairs at Antwerp: one held at Pentecost, and the other around the feast of St Bavon. The first of these was held immediately after the Easter fair at Bergen-op-Zoom, and the second came before the Martinmas fair in the same town: cf. **Sommé**, *Isabelle de Portugal*, p. 213.

⁹¹ That is, the *feste* which the account book mentions is a *specific* affair. On ADN B 3661 fo 67, *Roland Pippe* writes of the *feste* as '*sadicte feste d'Amverps*'; the document therefore seems to refer to a specific fair organised for the count of Charolais (designated by the possessive pronoun), and not a more general trade fair of the sort the tale mentions. As **Sommé** has noted (*Isabelle de Portugal*, pp. 114-116, 213) these men, especially *Humbert de Plaine*, often did business at Antwerp. They were well aware of the starting dates of fairs and *festes*, especially the two big fairs.

Heroism, of course, is not a characteristic that can appear in a social vacuum. The extent of Montbléru's heroism must be assessed through a reconstruction of the relations between the central protagonists in the *Nouvelle*. Looking closely at the text, it is noticeable that a theme preoccupying Montbléru was lordship, and the duty that a retainer owed to a *seigneur*. In the first place, Montbléru excuses himself by referring to his duty to his lord, Étampes. Subsequently, he tricks his new *seigneurs*, so the tale gives expression to differing senses of responsibility to what we may call 'employers'. We do learn that Montbléru, as we might expect of a social equal, slept beside Jehan le Tourneur⁹², and away from the other servants. These other servants fear their masters: the lack of fear sets Montbléru apart. If the label 'comic hero' is to stick to Montbléru, then it must be understood that his thefts are not those of a small-time rogue, or a lowly servant. Such a character would be contemptible rather than humorous – certainly not heroic; his thefts take place against a complex social situation which in fact justifies them.

To put flesh on the bones we must look to other documents which inform us not simply of Montbléru's circumstances, but also those of the other protagonists at this time. Furthermore, we must check that the text itself *can* reliably supply us with clues about their relationships. The *acteur*, for

⁹² The text specifically says: *Et cela fait, il s'en revint coucher dont il estoit party d'empres de Jehan le Tourneur*. MS Hunter 252's miniature depicts Montbléru stealing the shirts in one half of the frame, and in the other, two men sleep in the same bed. This may be a representation of Humbert de Plaine and Roland Pippe, upstairs whilst Montbléru was busily hiding their clothes, or it could be Montbléru and Le Tourneur, after Montbléru had returned to his bed. There is an empty bed behind that of the two who are asleep. Possibly this is Montbléru's own. See Plate 23.

example, assumes on the part of the reader certain knowledge of the characters he presents. This almost definitively proves that the *acteur* had a reader in mind, and that he expected the reader to know who Montbléru, Roland Pippe, Jehan le Tourneur and Humbert de Plaine were. It also implies that the reader was expected to know what sort of relations existed amongst the characters.

The tale *is* firmly associated with the court milieu. In one line, we learn that the three friends had spent more time in Antwerp than they had first anticipated: *When they left the court, and in the hope of getting back there soon*⁹³... We also learn that they had hoped to return to the court sooner than they managed, which implies frequent residence there. The atmosphere is so familiar that only by comparing the evidence of this tale with contemporary records can we be sure that our impressions are accurate.

Fortunately numerous biographical details relating to the four main characters in this *Nouvelle* survive in the register B 3661 and elsewhere. Indeed, the register itself is clearly of particular interest, being a document actually written by one of Montbléru's would-be sponsors. As far as the tale goes, it is by far the most reliable piece of evidence we can use. The fact that it is probably contemporaneous with the events described is not the least of its merits.

Amongst other things, for example, this register has a record of a payment to one Jehan du Bois, a cloth merchant of Lille, for £45 7s to pay, *inter alia*, for

⁹³ *Quand ilz partirent de la court et soubz esperance de bref retourner...*

seven ells of thick Rouen cloth⁹⁴. Charolais gave this to Guillaume de Montbléru so that he might have a long robe. The cost of Montbléru's fabric, at two *écus* per ell, was £16 16s, and 10s 6d was added for the sleeves! This, at least, indicates that in 1457 Montbléru could dress every bit as well as his three 'employers'.

There are more details about Montbléru's acquaintance with Charolais' household, and indeed of his terms of employment, earlier in the register⁹⁵. We learn that the count paid out fifty golden *écus*, worth £60⁹⁶ to Montbléru, to buy him a horse. This sum was occasioned by the departure of Montbléru for France after the expiry of his term of service as *escuier d'escuierie* of the count of Charolais⁹⁷. From the receipt we see what it meant to Montbléru to be in the service of a lord: his departure from service this time was marked by quite a substantial gift.

A payment is recorded to Jehan le Tourneur for 72s which were given to Montbléru for his work over a period of time whilst Charolais was in Holland and elsewhere⁹⁸. In this instance, we see Montbléru responsible for overseeing the day-to-day management of the count's *escuyerie* – a responsibility which included ensuring that the count's swords were clean. Montbléru also received £72 from the count for a horse which he delivered

⁹⁴ ADN B 3661 fo 76.

⁹⁵ B 3661 fo 28v.

⁹⁶ That is, each gold *écu* was worth 48 *gros*.

⁹⁷ Under the rubric for April.

⁹⁸ ADN B 3661 fo 50. The register says 'en ceste annee', which indicates that this was probably 1456, when the count spent most of his time in Holland, according to **H. Vander Linden**, *Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne* (Brussels, 1940) pp. 351-365.

on the count's say-so⁹⁹, and also for a trip made to Bruges from le Quesnoy to Roland l'Escrivain for a remedy for a certain illness that he had¹⁰⁰. The impression that these documents give of Montbléru is of a highly trusted *escuier*, worthy of a master as noble as the heir to the duchy of Burgundy.

Another register¹⁰¹, that of the receipt general for the year 1457, contains numerous pieces of information about Montbléru's station and status. Of these, the most interesting is an entry in the *Frait et Perte de Monnoye* section of the volume. This records a partial repayment to Montbléru of £680 for 3000 golden *écus* which he loaned Charolais in July 1457: clearly, Montbléru had means.

Giving One's Word – More Than a Literary Convention.

Keeping these background details in mind, we may return to the text itself. In the sixty-third tale, much rests on the value of giving one's word. It seems that any verbal agreement could be considered, *ipso facto*, to be a binding commitment. Montbléru's flippant undertaking is the pillar on which the action of this *Nouvelle* rests. With a clear understanding of the oath-like connotation of verbal agreements, we can begin to understand the flavour that the tale would have had for its listeners¹⁰². We can imagine what they

⁹⁹ ADN B 3661 fo 60.

¹⁰⁰ Who had the illness is not totally clear. Roland Lescrivain is described as a *physicien ducal* in numerous documents (e.g. ADN B 17698, a collection of *Lettres reçues et dépêchées* for the year 1465).

¹⁰¹ ADN B 2026 fo 316.

¹⁰² Although in the first instance the tales were told for the duke and his court, their general appeal may be presumed, as the collection was a best-seller and a repeatedly republished work both in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: see **R. Robbins**, *The Hundred Tales* (New York, 1960) pp. 387-388.

enjoyed in the comic hero's actions because we can discern their appreciation of the appropriateness of his revenge.

In *Nouvelle 68*, for example, a wife, caught in adultery, is punished by her husband. They argue until he asks her to say no more about her adultery, but rather to fetch all her belongings together for him, right down to the clothes she is wearing. The exchange between husband and wife is worded carefully. The husband says¹⁰³: *Now then, I see quite clearly that you have not behaved the way you ought to towards me by rights. However, hoping that you won't do it again, let's not speak again of what is done, but let's speak of another matter.* The husband has not said one word of forgiveness: his tactic is to change the focus of attention, to obfuscate. He continues¹⁰⁴: *I have business which is very important for me, and you too. You'll have to pawn all our jewellery, and if you have a little money put by, you'll have to bring it out, for it's needed.* Believing that he has forgiven her, the wife agrees to do her husband's bidding. She replies¹⁰⁵: *I'll do it gladly and with good heart, if you'll only pardon me your anger.* Persisting in his tactic, he misdirects her¹⁰⁶: *Say no more about it ... and neither will I.* The next line makes it clear that the wife has, indeed, been fooled by the husband¹⁰⁷: *She, believing herself absolved and with remission of all her sins...*

¹⁰³ *Or ça, je voy bien que vous ne m'estes pas telle que vous deussiez estre par raison. Toutesvoies, esperant que jamais ne vous adviendra, de ce qui est fait ne soit il plus parlé; mais devisons d'un aultre.*

¹⁰⁴ *J'ay ung affaire qui me touche beaucoup, et a vous aussi. Si vous fault engager tous noz joyaulx, et si vous avez quelque mignot d'argent a part, il le vous fault mettre avant; car le cas le requiert.*

¹⁰⁵ *Je le feray voluntiers et de bon cueur; mais que vous me pardonnez vostre mal talent.*

¹⁰⁶ *N'en parlez plus ... non plus que moy.*

¹⁰⁷ *Elle, cuidant estre absolue, et avoir remission de tous ses pechez...*

It is this mistaken belief which allows the husband to throw her out half-naked into the street, and abandon her as an unfaithful and disgraced wife. This is another example of the way in which any commitment was understood to be valid only if it were actually made expressly: if it were said out-loud and unequivocally. The key to the tale is in the understanding of the value of an explicit statement¹⁰⁸.

In perceiving Montbléru's actions as those of a comic hero, therefore, we must set his quibbling and cunning against what was a commonly understood literary and social convention. In the famous crusading oaths taken at the Feast of the Pheasant, for example, we perceive that the specific details of a commitment were all-important¹⁰⁹.

It is no accident that the pledges taken so theatrically by the would-be crusaders were so specific, or, indeed, that they became so well known, both in Burgundian lands and throughout Europe. Courtly heroism in action, as far as the duke and his court were concerned, involved commitment and publicity. There could have been no more dynamic, stylised, or visible display of heroism than that of the Feast in the newly constructed Rihour palace in Lille in 1454. Yet this heroism consisted entirely of words, or promises. Even though these words did not lead to an actual crusade, and

¹⁰⁸ The fifteenth century Boulonnois farce of *Cuvier* also turns on the premise that explicit agreements were what counted. cf J. Graf, <http://www.indiana.edu/~librcsd/resource/france/annexe/cuvier.html> based on E. Picot and C. Nyrop (eds.) *Nouveau recueil de farces françaises des XVe et XVIe siècles, publié, d'après un volume unique appartenant à la Bibliothèque Royale de Copenhague* (Paris, 1880). The husband Jacquinot's refrain to his wife is: *Cela n'est point a mon roulet*.

¹⁰⁹ See chapter three above on these oaths, and the raconteurs.

even though no feats of arms were accomplished by the vow-takers, there was still great prestige in the bravery of the commitment. Montbléru's case, although comic, did involve a certain degree of commitment. It was a long-term project and he carried through his plan: firstly by hiding, and then by selling, the shirts. Montbléru's deeds became widely known. His immediate circle knew of them, of course, but his name also came to be more publicly attached to these deeds: not only was his adventure recorded in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles*, it also seems to have become famous in its own right. As we saw in the previous chapter, there is even a moral poem which mentions Montbléru by name, and probably alludes to this adventure.

The circumstances of our *Nouvelle* are much less grand, of course, but the legalistic preoccupations that haunt the taking of great oaths apparently also haunt mundane commitments. The redactor might have brought Montbléru's story to its conclusion much quicker had he simply indicated that each of the three lords assented to forgive the thief. As it is, however, he has written out a full account of the specific pledges each one gives to let the thief off the hook. Clearly, Montbléru chose the lengthier *dénouement*, because the resolution of the story is inextricably connected with all three pardons. The precise terms of the forgiveness, and the spirit in which the pardons were granted, are what most interest him. In part, perhaps his acquaintance with the protagonists causes this: he focuses on their reactions because he knows them personally, and there is an element of 'human interest'. Jehan le Tourneur, for example, seems to be much more easy-going than Plaine and

Pippe¹¹⁰. On the other hand, it also seems likely that this focus is mostly to do with the preoccupation with the theme of the unwitting and irrevocable pronouncement of a pardon.

Montbléru, The Comic Hero.

Viewed against the background of social context and the framework of oath-making, the character of Montbléru fits the role of comic hero perfectly: a heroic opportunist in action. The element of danger is present when he risks being discovered taking the shirts. His revenge is dished out in such a way as to leave him with no trace of stigma. The situation in which he initially finds himself is beneath his dignity. He is a comic hero because, instead of accepting the social slight handed out to him, he takes revenge. Cleverly, he secures a pardon for his own misdemeanour. The oath, so often an instrument of heroic greatness, becomes an instrument of comic revenge. Once the absolution is pronounced, there is no room for manoeuvre, and in the end he forces his three companions to concede defeat and ask no more about it¹¹¹.

Nouvelle 63 is little more than a curious and comic tale. Its tone is low and its themes are base, but, for all that, it does have an historical aspect. Documentary evidence from outside the tale sheds light on the motivations and characters within it; by the same token, the tale itself sheds light on this

¹¹⁰ It was not long after this that Pippe jumped down a well to his death, as Chastelain records. cf Chapter three above.

¹¹¹ The lords were *bien esbahiz* and the poor thief found himself *bien reprouché*, but he, *qui scet son entregens, se desarmoit gracieusement de tout ce dont charger le vouloient ...dont ilz n'eurent ne demanderent aultre chose*.

same evidence... In this respect, the present analysis of the tale concurs with the literary theory proposed by Lauro Martines, who argues that:

*The ultimate aim of social literary analysis is a double one: to throw light on poetry and to throw light on history – that is to use the light of social and historical analysis to find the traces of society in poetry and to use social literary analysis to bring the light of poetry to the mysteries of the historical world*¹¹².

As an example of a comic hero – Montbléru is better than many of the typical sort, being also a real person. A sense of the comic heroism in this old¹¹³ man's chicanery comes through, even at more than five centuries' remove. If such is the comedy behind Montbléru's antics, might they not also have made Philip the Good laugh?

Nouvelle 60 – The New Grey Friars.

Tale 60 was told by Poncellet, and takes place in Malines. As the synopsis in the table of contents says, it is the story of three ladies of the town, who were intimate with three friars who had them each shave a tonsure into their hair, and wear habits, so they would not be noticed when in their company in the religious house.

Manuscript or Printed Edition?

¹¹² L. Martines, *Society and History in English Renaissance Verse* (Oxford, 1985) p. 4.

¹¹³ See chapter three for a discussion of his age.

Before analysing the *Nouvelle*, it is necessary to establish that in this particular section of text, the reading of the manuscript is to be preferred to the printed editions, which contain misreadings¹¹⁴. In the Vérard edition and in some others which are based on his work, the *Nouvelle* begins:

<p><i>Na pa lo[n]g temps que en la ville de <u>troye</u> auoit <u>troys</u> damoiselles lesquelles estoient fe[m]mes à <u>troys</u> bougoys de la ville riches puissans et bien aisiez lesq[ue]lles furent amoureuses de <u>troys</u> freres mineurs / et pour plus secretement et couuertement leur fait couvrir soubz ombre de devocio[n] chascun jour se levoient une heure ou deux deva[n]t le jour.</i></p>	<p>BL Vérard text <i>Nouvelle</i> 60.</p> <p>DA pas lo[n]g temps que en la ville de troye auoit troys damoiselles lesquelles estoient femmes a troys bougoys de la ville riches puissans et bien aisiez lesq[ue]lles furent amoureuses de troys freres mineurs / et pour plus secretement et couuertement leur fait couvrir soubz ombre de devocio[n] chascun jour se levoient une heure ou deux deva[n]t le jour. Et q[ue]t.</p>
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In spite of the fact that the body of the Vérard text places the action in the town of Troyes in Champagne, the table locates it in Malines. This substitution of *Troye* for *Malines* is duplicated in other Vérard editions, and those of Le Noir and Arnoullet: that is, all the first editions printed in Paris and Lyon. The simplest explanation is also the most convincing: this was a printer's error, which has been copied from edition to edition. Generations of editors of the text found it reasonable to accept that the story took place in

¹¹⁴ As we saw in chapter two, Prof. Rossi has argued that the printed texts are to be preferred. L. Rossi, *Pour une édition des Cent nouvelles nouvelles: de la copie de Philippe le Bon à l'édition d'Antoine Vérard*, in G. di Stefano and R. Bidler (eds) *Du Manuscrit à l'imprimé* (Montréal, 1989) pp. 69-78. See also the codicology appendix.

Troyes rather than at Malines¹¹⁵. However, given that the other stories which took place in Champagne were set there as the premise for a joke at the Champenois locals' expense, it is better to accept the manuscript reading. In this instance, the manuscript concurs with the printed tables' readings: they all set the action in Malines¹¹⁶. The fact, however, that the earliest editors of the printed text had no problems with the idea that it was not set in Malines perhaps cautions against an interpretation of the tale which *insists* on the specificity and authenticity of its links with the town. Nevertheless, it is important to discount it from consideration as a tale set in Troyes, because the raconteurs thought in a particular way about people from the Champagne region.

The story is more complex than the synopsis in the table suggests. The three women, *under cover of devotion, got up each day an hour or two before daybreak, and when it seemed like their time to go and visit their lovers, they said to their husbands that they were going to matins and the first mass*¹¹⁷. Unfortunately, daybreak often took them by surprise, and to facilitate their clandestine departure from the religious house, they cut great tonsures in their hair. One of the friars was the monastery's barber, so he cut each woman's hair. Religious vestments were prepared for them, and they

¹¹⁵ On the significance of place and personal names in novella collections see G. Angeli, 'La Novella e la censura del nome', in *Rivista di Letterature Moderne e Comparate* (1982) pp. 5-12.

¹¹⁶ On the attitude expressed to Champenois, who were described as being *gens lourds en la taille*, (*a bit thick*) see chapter one above, and nouvelles 20 and 75.

¹¹⁷ *soubz umbre de devocion se levoient chacun jour une heure ou deux devant le jour; et quand il leur sembloit heure d'aller veoir leurs amoureux, elles disoient à leurs mariz qu'elles alloient à matines et à la première messe.*

returned to their husbands after they had left their apparel with trusty women (*matrones affaictées*).

From the point of view of realism, the story is plausible, and the narration emphasises that the events took place in the dim pre-dawn, just as they did in the mix up in the Saint Gudule church. Before electric lights gave perpetual illumination, it was easy to be tricked in the darkness before sunrise.

However, one of the *bourgeoises* dressed in her habit was discovered by her husband in the town, who, feigning a friendly tone, said: *Good friar, I am glad I have found you! Won't you come to the house, as I have matters on which to question you*¹¹⁸...

Back at their house, the adulterous wife revealed to her husband the secret of the women disguised as friars, but on the condition that he should not punish her. A while later, on the husband's invitation, the other cuckolds, their wives, and the three churchmen all came to eat at his house. Sat at table, *they had fun together, without thinking about their misfortune*¹¹⁹. Having discussed the question of who should pay for the meal, their host announced that it should be paid for *by those of the company who had the greatest bald spot on their head, excepting the good friars, who would not pay anything for the moment... and the barber would judge the matter*¹²⁰.

¹¹⁸ *Beau frere, vous soiez le tresbien trouvé! Je vous pry que retournez à l'ostel, car j'ay bien à parler à vous de conseil.*

¹¹⁹ *ils firent bonne chere sans penser en leur male adventure*

¹²⁰ *ceux de la compaignie qui la plus grande coronne portent sur la teste, reservez [les] bons religieux, car ilz ne paieront rien, à present... et le barbier en fut le juge.*

Then the men took off their hats, and revealed their heads, which were either completely or a little bald. The matter did not rest there, however, as the host also insisted on seeing the ladies' heads. *Without waiting any longer, the host took his wife by the head and revealed her hair, and when he saw this crown, he made much of it ... and said, "We must see if the others are as bald"*¹²¹ ... When they had all shown their tonsures, the host, who asked the cuckolds to forgive their wives, come what may, divulged the details of the case, and denounced the friars. *The host then called four or five likely lads out of a bedroom, all instructed in what they had to do. They took our good monks and gave them more gifts from this house than they could carry on their backs. After which, they threw them in the street*¹²².

Development of the Text.

Although this résumé contains the essential elements of the plot, to ascertain the social logic of the text it is important to consider its development. Was it based on real events or did it evolve from a literary tradition? Certainly, some of the details in the tale can be found within the framework of French and European literature in the Middle ages and it is possible to trace similarities to the events narrated here in other texts¹²³. Beginning with the fabliaux, for example, there are striking parallels between the *Nouvelle's* plot

¹²¹ *Sans plus attendre, l'oste print sa femme par la teste et la descouvrit. Et quand il vit ceste coronne, il fist une grand admiracion ... et dist: <Il fault veoir les aultres s'elles sont couronnées aussi>...*

¹²² *...fist saillir quatre ou cinq roiddes galans hors d'une chambre, tous advertiz de leur fait, et prindrent beaulx moynes, et leur donnerent tant de biens de leens qu'ils en peurent entasser sus leurs dos, et puis les bouterent hors de l'ostel...*

¹²³ An interesting similar case from English literature, also involving a monk, is Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*, discussed in **D. Knowles**, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge, 1955) vol. 2, pp. 365-366. Chaucer evidently made use of literary antecedents and chronicle material.

and Rutebeuf's *le diz de Frère Denize le Cordelier*¹²⁴. The underlying tone of the thirteenth-century rhymed work is discernible in the *Nouvelle*:

*The habit does not make the hermit,
If a man lives in a hermitage,
And wears poor clothes,
I don't think any more of him
For all his clothes,
If he does not live as pure a life
As his clothes announce he does*¹²⁵.

The heavy irony of the *Nouvelle* recollects this fabliau's atmosphere: *And because it would have been a shame if such devotion and labour had not been known of, Fortune allowed, and willed that ... the affair should be discovered*¹²⁶. When the husband addresses his wife, the same tone is present. *The husband began to say, as though in jest: my dear wife, tell me in faith, whether the true devotion which has preoccupied you through this Winter season has had you take on the habit of Saint Francis, and wear a tonsure like the other friars*¹²⁷?

¹²⁴ Robbins, *Hundred New Tales*, p. 384.

¹²⁵ A. Jubinal, *Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf Trouvère du XIII^e Siècle*, (Paris, 1839) pp. 260-272: *Li abiz ne fait pas l'ermite/ S'uns hom en hermitage habite/ C'il est de povres draz vestus/ Je ne pris mie .II. festuz/ Son habit ne sa vesteüre/ C'il ne mainne vie ausi pure/ coume ces habiz nos demoustre...*

¹²⁶ *Et pource que dommage eust esté que telle devocion et travail n'eust esté cogneu, Fortune permist et voutt que ... l'embusche fut descouverte...*

¹²⁷ *Le mari commença a dire en manière de farse: tres douce compaigne, dictes vous, par vostre foy, que la vraye devocion dont tout ce temps d'yver avez esté esprise vous fait endosser l'abit de Saint François, et porter coronne semblable auz bons freres?*

The repeated use of the term *devocion* in the *Nouvelle* and the association of the idea of disguise with that of devotion is significant. Rutebeuf's tale of *Frère Denize* relates how a young noble girl was seduced by a friar, in spite of her vow never to marry, and to remain a virgin in God and Mary's honour. She cut her beautiful blond hair into a tonsure, and *Denise* became *Denis*. In the tale of *frère Denise*, the writer described the friar responsible for the trick as: *One who was more false than Herod*. Similarly, in the *Nouvelle*, the wife blamed *bad company* for her misbehaviour, claiming, *I was not the only one deceived this way*¹²⁸. She explains that the friar *had fallen in love with her, and made so many humble and gentle requests of her, that she did not know how to say no*¹²⁹. It is therefore possible to localise some of the themes and motifs in the *Nouvelle* within a fairly specific genre, and it is not hard to situate the characters within a literary tradition, that of farce and fabliau. When the storyteller uses the word *farse*, and when he writes of an *embusche*, it is clear that he intends to present a comical situation, and it is in the agglutination of narrative strands that links can be identified with the traditional structure and plot elements of French comic literature.

This point made, however, it is vital, following the logic of our analyses elsewhere, to notice other associations between the text and its immediate social milieu. For instance, what is to be made of the social situation at table in the cuckolded host's house? The first thing to notice is that, linked with

¹²⁸ *je ne suis pas seule deceue en celle maniere.*

the invitation was a responsibility to pay for the meal which would be eaten. This obligation is worth remarking on, as it explains how the situation could turn out in the way it did – the debate over payment was evidently a normal end to a meal in a bourgeois household where guests had been invited. In his modern French edition of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Roger Dubuis called another curious detail to the reader's attention in a footnote: *One should remember (and this detail is important for the realism in the tale) that in the Middle Ages a woman did not normally have her head uncovered. The hat was placed on a coiffe, and it was usual to sleep with a night cap on*¹³⁰.

Saint Paul's instruction in the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Corinthian church influenced this medieval custom: *Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head. But every woman that prayeth or prophesieth with her head uncovered dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven. For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered*¹³¹.

An understanding of the historical customs which lie behind the action at the table makes sense of the *Nouvelle*. The original audience for the tale understood that in tearing off his wife's hat, the husband behaved in an utterly shocking way. Such comportment was scandalous in the extreme: it was not simply that the husband revealed her baldness, but that this act itself

¹²⁹ *fut d'elle esprins d'amours, en luy faisant tant d'humbles et douces requestes qu'elle ne s'en estoit sceu excuser...*

¹³⁰ R. Dubuis, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Lyon, 1991) pp. 236-238 at p. 238.

¹³¹ *Holy Bible*, Authorised Version.

was one of the recognised ways of accusing a woman of prostitution, and he did it following a ritualised and pleasant social occasion, in front of witnesses.

In his book on prostitution in the middle ages, Rossiaud reminds us that in Dijon in the middle of the fifteenth century, taking a woman's hat off was tantamount to an accusation of debauchery or prostitution¹³². As Rossiaud has shown, criminal records of the period often mention that a woman's hat was taken off prior to her rape. Hats were removed to demonstrate that a victim was violable, because in taking it off, her character was attacked. Prostitutes themselves also removed the head-dresses of secret rivals, to blow their cover. The same custom is also to be found in Florence and Avignon, where the aldermen tried to regulate the brothels, and the behaviour of whores¹³³. In the miniature which accompanies the 92nd *Nouvelle*, the two women fighting in the street grab each other by the hair, and their hats lie on the ground: the narrator's comment on the affair is that *it belonged to the king of the brothels, as much on account of the merits of the case, as because the ladies were his subjects*¹³⁴. Understanding the significance of this historical custom, therefore, unlocks the social context of the tale.

¹³² J. Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution* (Oxford, 1988) p. 57.

¹³³ Rossiaud, *Prostitution*, p. 58.

¹³⁴ See Plate 11. MS Hunter 252 fo 186r. ...*la cognoissance de ceste cause appartenoit au roy de bourdelois tant pour les merites de la cause que pour ce que les femmes estoient de ses subjectes*. On the office of the King of the brothels, see chapter two, above.

Chastelain's Chronicle Account.

Another analogue text is worth considering, however. In George Chastelain's chronicle, there is a short excerpt which is very similar in matter, and relates to the monks of Pragues¹³⁵. Chastelain says: *there was a most magnificent monastery, which was more excellent than all the others of the kingdom... It happened that under the shadow of this great and praiseworthy reputation, a great number [of noble women and bourgeois of the city] began to frequent their services, and amongst others, in pretence of devotion they went regularly to the matins of these monks, where, to make a short tale of it, the devil ... began to fan the flames of passion between these wives and the monks, and to forge and work on them secretly, so that their religious custom coincided with their desire: which was to say that each gentleman of this band should have his lady and each lady her gentleman ... To achieve this goal more discreetly, and in order to deceive and abuse the abbots ... these young, and determinedly perverse monks ... all decided together that they would shave the heads and give a tonsure to each of their girlfriends who came under cover of devotion to their matins. By this means, if it happened that the prior or abbot (or whoever) should come to visit them and ask one of them: "Who is lying there with you?" (and he would only see her from behind with her head uncovered) the other could reply "It's such and such a novice who is lying beside me." ... To put it briefly, so it was done. All the women (and there were many of them, including the most respectable ladies of the city) were shaved a tonsure, and wore hair like monks under women's headscarves.*

¹³⁵ Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1863) pp. 210-218.

For Chastelain, it was at the devil's instigation that all this happened. In this chapter of his chronicle, his aim was to explain the advent of heresy to Pragues, and to justify the crusades. The process by which a holy edifice should be undermined was his primary interest, but it is significant that he used the style and the structure of the *Nouvelle*. The same preoccupations haunt both texts, and are worth drawing attention to. The seduced ladies were worthy of respect, noble or gentlewomen. The abbots and the priors were men whose morality was unquestionable. The action took place before dawn, covertly and in darkness which symbolises the inversion of normal mores in the same way as the women's disguises betoken their irregular, illicit and abnormal behaviour. Chastelain uses a word play which also features in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* to end his account: *And in this false, derisory pretence, they continued in their ribaldry with their monks for a very long time. They taught them to sing hymns and matins in nine lessons and three, sometimes more, sometimes less, for the ecclesiastical calendar called for great dedication and devotion to the saints*¹³⁶.

In two consecutive tales in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*¹³⁷, the phrase *dévotion au saint* is used because there is a double meaning for the listener: the words *saint* (i.e. a holy person) and *seins* (i.e. breasts) are applied in a wordplay. Chastelain used the same formula to heap reproaches on the

¹³⁶ *Et en ceste fausse dérisoire simulation, par très-longue espace de temps, continuèrent leurs ribaudises avecques leurs moynes qui les apprenoient à chanter versets et matines à neuf leçons et à trois, tels fois à plus; tels fois à moins, selon que le kalendrier demandoit beaucoup de suffrages et qu'on prenoit dévotion au saint.*

¹³⁷ *Nouvelle 17, by the duke, and Nouvelle 18, by the lord of la Roche, (Philippe Pot).*

monks, and to underline the depth of their sin. At the same time, of course, as in the sixtieth *Nouvelle*, Chastelain's tale is not without humour!

In fact, the *Nouvelle*, which is attributed to Poncellet, is very similar in matter, vocabulary and syntax to the chronicler's version, to the extent that it is certain that there has been a literary assimilation, if not collaboration. As we have seen, Chastelain was a near neighbour of Poncelet, whom he knew and referred to as a poor *valet clergeaut*. Both drew money on the same account, from the same receiver (Jehan Aubert – whom we have already encountered as the likely hero of the first *Nouvelle*) and both men were literary figures at court¹³⁸. Chastelain, the ducal chronicler, was more important in the aulic hierarchy and received six times Poncellet's remuneration¹³⁹. But in his capacity as official chronicler, it was Chastelain's job to have professional contact with *rhétoriciens*. In his chronicle Chastelain records a time when Poncelet was invited to eat along with Jehan Coustain, the duke's *varlet de chambre*, who would later be done to death for allegedly wanting to murder the count of Charolais¹⁴⁰. He was therefore not only someone quite well known to Chastelain, but also a member of the intimate circle of friends and servants of the duke, which explains his

¹³⁸ See chapter three above.

¹³⁹ **G. Small**, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy* (Woodbridge, 1997) p 112: *Despite some similarities in what was expected of them, [Chastelain] stood head and shoulders above his contemporaries in Burgundian service. Once again, the level of his remuneration may be taken as an illustration of this. The latter was considerably superior to the norms which applied in this sphere of ducal patronage. Taillevent and Poncelet, for example were retained at a daily rate of 6s., or one-sixth of the chronicler's income...*

¹⁴⁰ **Vaughan**, *Philip the Good*, pp. 343-344. On Coustain, Jean Martin's cousin's husband, see chapter three above.

participation in the nouvelles project¹⁴¹. These connections firmly locate Poncelet in the social context of the court. The tale may present and comment on bourgeois manners, alluding to town customs, but it is primarily useful as a presentation of bourgeois mores through the court's eyes. To replace it in its literary setting, bearing in mind its literary ancestry and the analogous versions of the story, is also to consider it as a document of its time.

In conclusion, although it is not possible to find in the sixtieth tale much which was specific to the character of medieval Malines, the writer used the name of the town to ground his tale in what his listeners recognised as an identifiable milieu. Town names are used in a similar way throughout the collection. As a quick way to introduce verisimilitude and contemporary resonance, the storytellers decorated their tales with familiar or exotic places, depending on the required atmosphere. Story 60 takes place in Malines, but if it had been set elsewhere in the Burgundian dominions, it could have been the same tale, informed by the same culture: the culture of the court of the duke of Burgundy. The other side of the coin, however, is that it was possible to locate this tale in the sort of bourgeois milieu, which

¹⁴¹ The archives attest Coustain's trusted status in the years prior to his death. See ADN B 2020 fo 367r, 371v-372r, 385r, 424r (cloth given to Jehan Martin and Coustain together), 432r-433v, 442v-443r (more cloth to Martin and Coustain); B 2026 135v (Jehan Coustain was paid at the rate for two horses between 4 December 1456 and 1 February 1457. He was paid the same amount as Philippe Vignier and several other middle-ranking officers), fo 369r-v, 372v; B 2030 fo 146v-147v; B 2034 preregister fo 29v, 31v-32r; B 2034 fo 31v, 33r, 71v - 72r, 106v, 201v, 258r; B 3423 #117149 (gages list: Coustain is accounted between Jehan Martin and Mahiot d'Auquasnes); B 3419; ACO B 16 fo 94v; B 11908/8 #127; Chastelain mentions that whilst Hervé de Mériadec carried Philip the Good's standard at the combat of Ruppelmonde,

for Poncelet was exemplified by the town of Malines. From this point of view, the architecture and the streets of Malines were a microcosm for the idea of a bourgeois setting. For the historian of manners, the value of the tale is impressionistic; we can reconstruct a vision of the courtly audience's view of what was possible in the town of Malines.

Nouvelle 83 – The Gluttonous Carmelite.

The lord of Wavrin's *Nouvelle*, set remarkably in his own lordship of Lilers in Artois, is another which is best understood in historical perspective. Like *Nouvelle 60*, this tale turns on the social situation of inviting a churchman to eat a meal as a guest. Here, the main character is a mendicant who could scarcely be expected to pay for his meal, and who abused his hostess' hospitality. In Wavrin's account, the wandering Carmelite, whose God is his belly, not only succumbs to the terrible temptation of gluttony, but actively seeks it out. With an engaged spirit, this friar from Arras – a town soon to become synonymous with heresy due to the outbreak of *Vauderie* in 1460 – who had presumably worked up an appetite on his walk to Lilers, set to work on course after course, to the chagrin of the servants who watched their food disappearing into his gullet¹⁴². Wavrin's preamble to the story identifies its matter as morality:

after the fighting, he and *one of his first valets de chambre, Jehan Coustain, took off his armour.*

Lettenhove, *Chastellain*, vol. 2, pp. 306, 372.

¹⁴² The walk is about 23 km from Arras to Lilers. On the outbreak of heresy in Arras, see **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 137ff; **E. Hardy**, *Recueil des Croniques d'Engleterre par Jehan de Waurin* (London, 1891) vol. 5, pp. 393-394; **T. Johnes**, *The Chronicles of Enguerrand de Monstrelet A gentleman formerly resident at Cambrai in Cambresis* (Hafod, 1809) vol. 4, pp. 69-71. **J. Veenstra**, 'Les fons d'aulcuns secrets de la theologie. Jean Tinctor's Contre la Vauderie: Historical Facts and Literary Reflections of the Vauderie d'Arras', in **N. Miedema and R. Suntrup** (eds.) *Literatur – Geschichte – Literaturgeschichte*.

*As is the custom in all lands, religious mendicants of the orders of the Jacobins, Cordeliers, Carmelites and Austins often come to towns and villages to preach the Catholic faith to people, condemning and reproaching vice, and lauding and extolling virtues*¹⁴³ ...

The friar's preaching that Sunday morning was *good, devoted and worthy*¹⁴⁴ and he was accounted a *good churchman, and fine speaker*. Because nobody else was taking pity on him, a well-to-do widow of the village sent her varlet to ask him to eat with her. From this point in the narrative, the tale was funny for its original audience on a variety of levels. The most obvious humour came through the dissonance between expectation and reality: just when the friar should have declined the food offered, he guzzled his share, and called for more: the hypocrisy of his fine speaking is obvious. He was *well and honestly received* by the old widow, and hypocritically observed the conventional mores, washing his hands before eating, and saying his

Beiträge zur mediävistischen Literaturwissenschaft. Festschrift für Volker Honemann zum 60. Geburtstag, (Frankfurt, 2003) pp. 429-454; **E. Van Balberghe and F. Duval**, *Tinctor: Invectives contre la secte de vauderie* (Tournai, 1999) – critical edition of *Tractatus de Secta Vaudensium*; **F. Mercier**, 'L'Enfer du décor – La Vauderie d'Arras (1459-1491) ou l'émergence contrariée d'une Nouvelle souveraineté autour des ducs Valois de Bourgogne', PhD Thesis (University of Lyon, 2001); **G. Singer**, 'La Vauderie d'Arras, 1459-1491, an episode of Witchcraft in Later Medieval France', PhD Thesis (University of Maryland, 1974).

¹⁴³ *Comme il est de coutumes par tous pais que par les villes et villages souvent s'espartent les religieux mendians tant de l'ordre des Jacobins, Cordeliers, Carmes, et Augustins, pour prescher au peuple la foy catholique: blasmer et reproucher les vices; les biens et les vertuz exaulser et loer...* The manuscript copyist skipped the underlined section of the first sentence which has been reproduced from the Vérard text.

Without the underlined section, the *Nouvelle* is somewhat confusing.

¹⁴⁴ *bien et devotement et haultement.*

Benedicite. It seemed not to matter to him that widows should be the particular care of the church¹⁴⁵. His *good, long and large knife* which was *excellent for carving*, is an outward symbol of his predilection for food: that he should draw it from his belt even whilst saying his grace demonstrates that his mind was not on heavenly things, and is every bit as suggestive as the description of him as *a wolf amongst the sheep*¹⁴⁶.

The Humour of the Tale.

Although at this surface level, the essential humour of the narration is obvious to the modern reader, there is a more opaque side to the tale's comedy. As an ironic parody of a literary usage current in the moral literature popular at the court, the story inverts the normal course of an ethical narrative for the purpose of humour. Specifically, the *Nouvelle* subverts a tradition in which a repentant monk thinks the better of his gluttony. The narrator included his detailed description of the various mouth-watering courses the friar ate to build expectation, not simply to dwell on his greed. The theme of gluttony was regularly examined in manuscript illustrations for treatises on the seven deadly sins throughout the middle ages. One famous example occurs in the manuscript of Henri de Suso's *l'Orloge de Sapience*¹⁴⁷. In a miniature from about 1450, the master of Antoine Rolin has depicted the scene in which a female demon attempts

¹⁴⁵ James 1:27. The woman in the *Nouvelle* is described as *une ancienne damoiselle vesve*.

¹⁴⁶ Matthew 10:16; cf J. Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art, Revised edition* (London, 2000) p. 139: Gluttony is often symbolised in western medieval art by the wolf.

¹⁴⁷ There was a copy of an *Orloge de Sapience* in the Croy library, said to be by Jean de Sonhande: E. Van Even, 'Notice sur la bibliothèque de Charles de Croy, duc d'Aerschot', in *Bulletin du Bibliophile Belge* (1852) pp. 380-393, 436-451 at p. 440.

to lure a monk into the deadly sin of gluttony¹⁴⁸. However, under the influence of *dame Sapience*, the monk repents, and kneels to pray for strength against temptation¹⁴⁹.

The *Nouvelle* was humorous to its original audience because it ends not with the anticipated repentance but with a glib *thankyou* from the mendicant, who had at one sitting, eaten the great leg of pork cooked the previous day for the servants of the household¹⁵⁰. The final scene sees him heading off to some other village in search of his supper. Wavrin's final laconic comment, *I don't know if it was as good as this lunch*, is as good as a punchline – the implication is that he was eating one meal after another¹⁵¹. The fifteenth century audience expected repentance, expiation, and reform, but it was told a *shaggy-dog story*: amusing in its lack of consequence.

The Historical Background.

In general terms, the years 1459-61 were marked by independent but analogous measures against secular begging, in Brabant, Flanders and Holland, and it is against this legal background that the tale takes place¹⁵². Considering the *specific* historical circumstances of the tale, however,

¹⁴⁸ This is a French version of the *Horologium sapientiae* by the Dominican mystic Heinrich Seuse, alias Suso (c. 1300–66) The image from BR MS. IV 111, fo 18r. For a detailed discussion of the manuscript and the tradition cf **P. Monks** *The Brussels Horloge de Sapience: Iconography and Text of Brussels*, *Bibliothèque Royale, MS. IV 111* (Leiden, 1990).

¹⁴⁹ See Plate 5.

¹⁵⁰ *ung gros jambon cuit du jour devant pour la garnison de l'ostel*.

¹⁵¹ *Je ne scay s'il fut tel que le disner*.

¹⁵² **W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans**, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1986) p. 185. On the reform in Brussels, see **Des Marez**, *L'Organisation du Travail*, chapter 7.

contextualises the lord of Wavrin's negative attitude to the Carmelites from Arras even more. It is not unusual that one of their number should be singled out as the butt of satirical comment, because around the start of 1459 the duke had been involved in a dispute with the town's church of Nôtre-Dame-des-Carmes. The canons were operating a brewery in their church, and according to Jacques du Clercq, although the duke had written to them two or more times to tell them to destroy it, they remained obdurate¹⁵³. On 23 May 1459, Philip the Good sent his *huissier* at arms Jehan Piccavé with an escort of several men to enter forcibly into the church, and demolish and dismantle their brewery¹⁵⁴. The town authorities of Arras had petitioned the duke to do this.

Du Clercq also implied that the church was generally in moral decay when he related the sudden death of Nicaise le Vasseur, the governing canon of Arras. The chronicler interpreted his demise as a divine judgement on his iniquities. Nicaise was in his eighties when he collapsed on 19 May 1459, passing the grave of an old enemy of his¹⁵⁵. It is interesting to notice that the chronicler mentioned that he died after a good dinner, at which he had *made good cheer*, and had felt no pangs of illness. Is there an implication of

¹⁵³ **Buchon**, *du Clercq*, pp. 129-130. Du Clercq's title for Chapter 44 of book three of his chronicle does not correspond to the events narrated: *D'ung carmois quy feut prins en son église des Carmes lez Arras, et comment il rappela les erreurs qu'il avoit preschiées*. Evidently he blamed the outbreak of heresy in the town on the Carmelites' misbehaviour.

¹⁵⁴ I have been unable to trace this *huissier*, though La Marche mentions Georges Piccavet, a captain of soldiers from Lille, who was made *écoutète* of Bruges. **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *La Marche*, vol. 3, pp. 276-277. (On the duties of the *écoutète* see **A. Brown**, 'Civic Ritual: Bruges and the Counts of Flanders in the Later Middle Ages', in *English Historical Review* (1997) pp. 277-299, at p. 292.)

¹⁵⁵ His enemy was a canon called Vaigier, whom he had caused trouble in his lifetime over the chantries.

gluttony in this cryptic observation? If du Clercq is to be believed, Nicaise was as lax in his morals as the protagonist of the *Nouvelle*, and was infamous for having sired a daughter incestuously by one of his own daughters. Like the *beau langagier* of the *Nouvelle*, however, Nicaise celebrated all the important festivals and saints' days with the divine service, chanting high masses, and vespers. Du Clercq's final comment: *and he was well suited to it*, is just as laconic and dry as the *Nouvelle*'s punchline¹⁵⁶. Rather than read the *Nouvelle* as a standard anticlerical tale, it seems more realistic to consider it against the canons' reputation for moral turpitude: Wavrin, as an important local lord and a courtier, was certainly aware of their infamy, as would have been Mahieu d' Auquasnes, the lords of Lannoy, Quiévrain, Fiennes, and Villiers, for they also held fiefs around Arras¹⁵⁷.

***Nouvelle* 19 – The Snow Child**

Of the hundred tales, number nineteen has elicited most comment from academics. In spite of this, little has been written of its treatment of the historically significant themes it contains. Marriage, commitment, mercy, forgiveness, paternity, inheritance, duty - the *conteur*, Philippe Vignier, engaged with these issues. *Nouvelle* nineteen is more than an exhausted literary cliché - it has a distinct fifteenth century "accent". At first glance,

¹⁵⁶ *et bien luy séoit à le faire.*

¹⁵⁷ **M.-T. Caron**, 'Enquete sur la Noblesse du Bailliage d' Arras', in *Revue du Nord* (1995) pp. 407-426, at pp. 412, 413, 414, 415, 421, 423. Caron notes that Wavrin was the most senior local lord in the area around Arras, as he was lord of Lillers, Malannoy, Quelmes, Garbecque, and received significant sums from the bailliwick of Aire. His son, the lord of Saint Venant, also owned lands in the area. The survey is from 1474, but it is likely that these lords held their lands before then too. The count of Saint Pol's son Jean, and his bastard son Simon were also fief holders there as was the lord of Fiennes's brother in law (his sister Guillemette de Luxembourg's husband, Amé de Sarrebrück). cf ADN B 195 #10; B 196 fo 28v.

however, *Nouvelle* 19 is simply the tale of a cuckold's revenge: all the necessary ingredients seem to be there – a foolish husband and a disloyal wife. He, consumed by an *ardent desire to see other lands*¹⁵⁸, left her, and on his return ten years later was *really amazed and shocked* to discover she had a seven year-old child¹⁵⁹.

The manuscript miniature which accompanies the text contains a pictorial representation of the individual elements of the tale: to the right of the scene (it is deliberately divided in three by the gang plank) the wife and her husband are depicted in the garden outside his house¹⁶⁰. Moving from right to left, from foreground to background, in the middle of the scene, we see the son ascending the gangplank of his father's ship, departing from his mother¹⁶¹. The husband and the son stand in the boat in the background, a

¹⁵⁸ *ardent desir de veoir pays.*

¹⁵⁹ *tresfort esbahy et moult emerveillé.*

¹⁶⁰ See Plate 6. It is possible that this is the wife's lover. His hand gesture is similar to the one which signifies rape or sexual contact in the stance of the accused man in the miniature to *Nouvelle* 25, MS *Hunter* 252 fo 53v. The change in colour of the clothing is not necessarily an indication that separate people are intended, however. For example, compare the illustration to *Nouvelle* 10 (fo 23r) in which the same servant is depicted wearing blue on the left and red on the right. The change in clothes' colours perhaps symbolises the change in circumstances. The servant of *Nouvelle* 10 succumbs to his master's punishment, and relents, bringing him the whores he sought, and thus forsaking the lady's service. The illustration of *Nouvelle* 38 (fo 93r), shows the same bed – perhaps for thematic reasons – red and then blue, in the middle and the right hand side of the frame respectively. The husband of *Nouvelle* 38 is tricked by his wife into scourging his neighbour's wife. At the end of the tale he believes his own to be innocent. It is possible that the bed's colour reflects this ironic belief.

¹⁶¹ It is most likely to be the son because, dressed as a child, he wears no hat, and also appears on the boat wearing no hat. Throughout the manuscript it is usually children (Plates 9, 12-16), maid-servants (Plate 19) and tonsured clergy (Plates 3, 8, 9, 15, 20) who wear no hats. Adults are even depicted in bed wearing night-caps (Plates 18, 20, 21, 23, 24) and in the bath wearing the *coiffe* (Plate 14). The exception to this rule is *Nouvelle* one, in which the female protagonist is depicted naked in bed, in line with the *Nouvelle*, which

visual indication of the distance between the mother and her son, but also the husband and his wife. The miniature also shows the boat with its sails up, ready to set sail away from the hills and woods that form the scenery of the background.

Beyond the Orthodox Interpretation: Psychology.

The traditional reading assumes that when the husband asked the wife why she had an extra son, she attempted to *dupe* him by *pretending* that the child was conceived of the snow. To revenge himself, years later he sold the boy to Egyptian slavers, and told his wife an equally tall tale: her son had melted in the heat. Close examination of the text suggests a different dynamic in the exchange between husband and wife, because a number of things do not fit with this rather knockabout comic interpretation of the story. The psychology of the characters does not sit easily with a comical interpretation¹⁶². The psychological crux of the tale is in the line: *When the*

says the neighbour called the receiver a *putier* – or *one who slept with whores* (see Plate 38 of Chapter two). As we have seen, prostitutes were forbidden to wear head-dresses. In church, and when kissing, men are sometimes shown with their hats temporarily in their hands (Plates 3 and 18).

¹⁶² Dubuis' lengthy study of this tale takes as its starting point one of the many forerunners of the *Nouvelle*, a fabliau called: *L'enfant qui fu remis au soleil*. At the beginning of his chapter *L'Enfant de la Neige*, he sets out his stall thus: *Le sujet est, dans son fond, rigoureusement identique dans les deux textes*. But one main difference between the fabliau and the *Nouvelle* for Dubuis is that the author of the *Nouvelle* has sacrificed the psychology of the characters for the good of the tale: *Ce qui pouvait être considéré comme une faute psychologique: la confiance absolue de la femme dans la Nouvelle* [that is, her confidence in the success of what Dubuis and others think of as her *ruse*]. For Dubuis, *Cette attitude n'est ... pas la plus juste psychologiquement*. To compare the psychology of the tales, Dubuis notes the wife of the fabliau's continual fear of her husband's revenge, and he compares this with the attitude of the wife in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, in the following passage, which he quotes: *Quand la bonne femme voit que son mary veult condescendre a croire ce qu'el luy dit elle n'est moyennement joyeuse*. However, rather than suggesting that the *Nouvelle* is not comic in this vein, Dubuis argues that an unrealistic psychology is

good wife saw that her husband wanted to condescend to believe what she had told him, she was overjoyed¹⁶³.

Here, the *Nouvelle* differs from its antecedents in a key respect: this wife does not attempt an absurd *mensonge* at all¹⁶⁴. The words: *son mary veult condescendre* imply her husband knew exactly what was going on. Although the husband acquiesced in *the fine tall tale* his wife spun him, neither he nor she literally believed the story¹⁶⁵. Moreover, the wife was aware that her husband knew. She felt *relieved*, thinking he had entirely *forgiven* her: not simply that he was literally prepared to believe her. However, he had not explicitly forgiven her. Crucially, he retained the option of pursuing legitimate redress, even whilst showing leniency to his wife.

Giving One's Word – More Than a Literary Convention.

Nouvelle nineteen, in fact, is like the stories of *Montbléru* (number 63), and the jade who was exposed (number 68), discussed above, which also involve the theme of forgiveness and concern the importance of an outright and unambiguous statement of forgiveness. The dramatic and psychological tension in both stories, as in tale nineteen, depends on whether or not an

necessary for the drama. He says *l'auteur de la Nouvelle s'intéresse à la psychologie de ses personnages, mais ce n'est pas pour elle-même, c'est pour mieux conduire ce qui est pour lui l'essentiel: le récit*. His reasoning is somewhat teleological: he explains the phenomenon by the purpose it serves, rather than by postulated causes.

¹⁶³ See the previous note for the French.

¹⁶⁴ D. McGrady, 'Were Sercambi's *Novelle* Known from the Middle Ages on?', in *Quarterly Bulletin of the American Association of teachers of Italian* (1980) pp. 3-18. McGrady has compiled a motif and plot comparison for the analogue versions of this tale.

¹⁶⁵ *la belle bourde*.

actual verbal commitment to forgive is given. Thus, when the wife of *Nouvelle* nineteen says: *and by my faith... you'd do well to do so and I ask you to do so* to her husband's proposition to take the boy with him, her lack of fearfulness for the boy's future is the result of a misguided notion that he has decided to adopt the boy as his own¹⁶⁶. He never does decide to do this, nor says he will do this; and although he keeps him as his son, and in good health for ten years, he never explicitly committed himself to do so. Just as she betrays his trust whilst he is away, he betrays hers.

In the first exchange between husband and wife, the tale almost becomes a tragedy about the pain of the conflict between a wronged husband's mercy and a father's sense of duty: only the heavy irony in the language, and the narrator's sardonic commentary keep it from being an out and out tragic scene. The husband chooses a middle course, between the requirements of legality and the prompting of compassion: he postpones revenge. In the dialogue, we can infer much of what motivates the characters in their specific situation and identify more general historical forces at work: the wife takes part in a dialogue of apology in which, to make amends for her lapse, she presents him with a new son. She begins: *I dare to tell you in truth that the child is yours, and that only you have touched me*¹⁶⁷. The verb *oser* – 'to dare', suggests that she is preparing to embark on more than a simple narration: what follows is a shameful apology, not a contradiction of the incontrovertible charge of infidelity. She recognises that she is bold to bring herself to talk to her husband after what she has done.

¹⁶⁶ *Et par ma foy ... vous ferez bien et je vous en prie.*

¹⁶⁷ *Je vous ose bien dire a la verité que l'enfant est vostre, et que aultre que vous a moy n'a touché...*

It is of more than philological interest to note the author's choice of the word *touché*. *Touché* has at least two meanings: it dichotomises the carnality of the sexual relationship the wife had with her adulterous substitute from the love which she had with her husband. This view of marriage incorporates emotional love, not duplicated outside wedlock: the wife declares: *only you have touched me*. That the *Nouvelle* has the wife present her argument in the way she does suggests that the idea of marriage implies that the tender, loving, emotional side outweighs the sexual side¹⁶⁸. The miniature, which depicts the wife with her son and with her husband, side by side, offers the same interpretation of the relationships: the husband-wife exchange carries symbolic significance in its imagery, and its levels are deeper than the language of, for example, *Nouvelle 28*, about a sexually inadequate fop, which ends with a series of comic double entendres, comparing the flaccid gallant to a mischievous hound¹⁶⁹. Before exploring the miniature's iconography, however, we can observe that in the text, the wife's apology begins with a veiled allusion to the circumstances of her crime; she locates the events in her husband's garden, thereby identifying herself with Eve. The author intends his reader to see her become the woman who, on a sudden

¹⁶⁸ I point this out not to be trite, but because often for historians and students of literature the possibility that in the middle ages people loved and cared for each other has been overlooked. To give one example, **M. Mustacchi**, 'Levels of Realism in the Cent nouvelles nouvelles', PhD thesis (Pennsylvania State, 1969) p. 70: *Nor do [cuckolded husbands] seem to care about their wives' feelings; they never wonder if she has any reason or cause to want to be unfaithful. This is often found in the literature of this period; concern for another's feelings seldom seems to be a motivation of behaviour ... Seldom, if ever do they show sympathy, concern, or understanding for their wives' needs or behavior.*

¹⁶⁹ The lady chastises her "lover" by comparing him to a dog – he is a *paillard chien*.

whim, swallowed the inviting, yet forbidden fruit, and found that it tasted of disappointment¹⁷⁰: *As for me, I don't know where he could have come from, unless it be that, quite soon after you had left, I was in our big garden where, all at once, I had a sudden craving for a sorrel leaf which, it being early, was covered and under a snow carpet...*

This is unpremeditated and spontaneous adultery, which took place suddenly in the psychological winter she felt without him. The garden in the miniature contains not flowers, but rocks. There is more to the text than the intensity of the association of love and marriage, although this is a significant association. Why it should be important for the plot that this one act of adultery was unplanned is another good question. Are relative degrees of adultery imagined? The wife says¹⁷¹: *I picked one of them out, beautiful and large, which I thought I would bolt down, but it was nothing but a bit of white, hard snow.*

Effects of Adultery: The Miniature's Reading / Reading the Miniature.

Her disappointment and regret are transparent. The snow was *dure* - the term evokes more than snow's physical qualities - we perceive overtones of hardness, harshness, cruelty and callousness. The "lover" never appears –

– *Who are you talking to? asked the queen. To that rotten dog, madame, who has caused me such bother in chasing after him...*

¹⁷⁰ *Je ne sçay moy penser dont il peut estre venu, sinon que, assez tost après vostre partement, ung jour j'estoie par ung matin en nostre grand jardin ou, tout a coup, me vint ung soudain appetit de menger une feuille d'oseille qui pour l'heure d'adonc estoit couverte et soubz la neige tappie.*

¹⁷¹ *J'en choisy une entre les aultres, belle et large, que je cuiday avaler; mais ce n'estoit que ung peu de nege blanche et dure.*

and this is true of the miniature, as well as of the text. He is as ephemeral as snow, and apparently has melted out of sight. As the undelineated absent focus of the wife's attention (and the reader's too), he seems cruel and cowardly, quite the opposite of the *belle et large* (the sexual connotations are clear) *sorrel leaf*, which he seemed at first. In this word choice, the *conteur* seems to suggest that an adulterer's position was most precarious; he was both harmful and undesirable: even the herb was bitter¹⁷². The emotional effects of adultery, as they appear in the tale, partly explain this antipathy. The right hand side of the miniature depicts the wife explaining her misconduct to her husband or perhaps with him, as he tells her that he wants to take her son away with him. Whichever scene is represented, it is clear that there is not the same closeness between them as there is between the wife and her son. She holds her hand up in a gesture which almost suggests that she is pushing her husband away. In other words, the picture emphasises the wife's distance from him, by contrasting it to her closeness to her son. It also calls attention to the voyages the husband makes which separate him from his wife, especially the last one. We can see the husband with his wife's son, standing side by side, but there is no affection.

Furthermore, in the right hand side of the frame, the wife of *Nouvelle 19*'s stance and hand gesture, very deliberately drawn in the same manner as that of the proud mother of *Nouvelle 14*, also seem to recall, somewhat ironically, given the circumstances, the image of the Virgin at the

¹⁷² I have been unable to ascertain the iconographic significance of sorrel, if it had any. (Exodus 12:8?).

Annunciation¹⁷³. It is as if the miniaturist aimed to contrast the wife's unchaste conduct with Mary's purity, and to contrast the child begotten of "snow" with the child truly begotten of God. Certainly this stance puts the remarks made in the dialogue between the wife and husband into perspective¹⁷⁴: *God be praised for what He has sent us! If he has given us a child by a miracle ... he did not forget to send us the wherewithal to raise him...* The husband and wife become an ironic parody of Mary and Joseph. The flight to Egypt (Alexandria is the second largest city and the main port of Egypt) is not one which this couple undertake together, however¹⁷⁵! As the tale progresses, other economic and social considerations underscore the inherent threat of an adulterer, and the concluding part of the wife's apology suggests these¹⁷⁶: *And no sooner had I eaten it than I felt exactly the same way as I did when I carried my other children. In fact, when the time came, I gave you this beautiful boy.*

She observes, not without pathos, that *physically* she felt no different carrying another man's child than she did carrying her husband's. She ends her explanation by suggesting that her *tresbeau* son could be acceptable to her husband, as it was borne, as all her other children were, for him. This

¹⁷³ See Plate 7. On the iconography of the illustration, see A. Adams, 'The Cent Nouvelles in Ms Hunter 252: the Impact of the Miniatures', in *French Studies* (1992) pp. 385-394 at pp. 391-393. In *Nouvelle 14*, a mother has her pride taken advantage of, and is duped into believing her daughter will give birth to the next pope.

¹⁷⁴ *Loé soit Dieu de ce qu'il nous envoie! S'il nous a donné ung enfant par miracle ... il ne nous a pas oblié d'envoier chevance pour l'entretenir.*

¹⁷⁵ There may be another level of biblical reference in this tale: it may also allude to the sale of Joseph into slavery in Egypt by his brothers. However, there is no firm link made.

issue preoccupies the storyteller: could another man's child - an *adulterer's* child, the child of a wife's sexual indulgence - be accepted as the normal child of a husband and wife? The wife uses vague language and imagery to explain her conduct: the miniature counterbalances this with its depiction of her pious stance in her explanation to her husband of her adultery. She gives him to understand that, penitent, she wanted to remain his wife. The image of the virgin at the annunciation – an image of purity – is perhaps not entirely used in irony: her husband could accept the pretext of the snow child. He condescends, although he knew immediately that he was a cuckold¹⁷⁷ to swallow the excuse. His reply seems to make it plain that although he does not accredit the snow-conception story with any literal truth, he is willing to license her remorse and forgive her. In spite of this, and although he consented to raise her son, he would not go so far as to allow another man's son to inherit his own sons' patrimony. He says: *My beloved, what you say is impossible, and would not happen to others...*¹⁷⁸ This not only causes the reader to reflect on the one time when precisely this did happen, but also creates a moment of high tension - has he rebuked her for her misconduct, or merely acknowledged it? What will his next words be? Will he reject her? In fact, of course, he does just the opposite, and he is developing the conceit when he continues: *God be praised for what he has sent us*¹⁷⁹! He finds himself cast not in Joseph's role, but in Mary's, offering

¹⁷⁶ *Et ne l'eu pas si tost avalée que ne me sentisse en trestout tel estat que je me suis trouvée quand mes aultres enfans ay porté. De fait, a chef de terme, je vous ay fait ce tresbeau filz.*

¹⁷⁷ *cogneut tantost qu'il en estoit noz amis.* The term *nozamys* (or *noz amis*) recurs in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, and is used as an ironic synonym for *cuckold*, as in: *He is one of our company.*

¹⁷⁸ *M'amyé, vous ne dictes chose qui ne soit possible, et que a aultres ne soit advenue.*

¹⁷⁹ *Loé soit Dieu de ce qu'il nous envoye!*

an ironic *Magnificat*¹⁸⁰. Curiously, he accepts the child as his God-given responsibility, and goes on almost to joke (but not quite) about the circumstances of its conception: *If he has given us a child miraculously, or by some other secret way which we don't know about, he hasn't forgotten to send the money to look after him*¹⁸¹. It is worth considering the language of the husband's response in more detail: *if (si)* is the active term. And *dont nous ignorons la maniere* can either mean: *of which we will ignore the manner*, or: *of which we do not know the manner*¹⁸². Her husband's willingness to accept what she told him (i.e. his readiness to accept her apology, and believe her contrition), *to condescend to believe what she said to him*¹⁸³ naturally made her *quite happy*¹⁸⁴ - instead of punishment, limited mercy; her son as his charge, he raised him to the age of about seventeen. He became healthy enough to fetch nearly a hundred ducats¹⁸⁵. But the merchant did not simply invest in the child, and receive monetary remuneration for his troubles. On his return home (*in health and safety, thanks be to God*¹⁸⁶) he tells her that he feels and felt *most displeased* about the whole affair¹⁸⁷, and it does leave a nasty taste in the mouth – something

¹⁸⁰ Luke 1:46-55.

¹⁸¹ *S'il nous a donné ung enfant par miracle, ou par aucune secrete fasson dont nous ignorons la maniere, il ne nous a pas oblié d'envoier chevance pour l'entretenir.*

¹⁸² The husband is, of course, simultaneously accusing her of earning by prostitution, and wasting the money he had earned on his trip on the upkeep of another boy. To the husband, the blessing was more of a curse.

¹⁸³ *condescendre a croire ce qu'el luy dit.*

¹⁸⁴ *moyennement joyeuse* – the term *moyen* may imply that the wife wondered if she had received an ambiguous pardon.

¹⁸⁵ *il estoit jeune et puissant* – he was young and strong.

¹⁸⁶ *sain et sauf, Dieu mercy.*

¹⁸⁷ *bien desplaisant.*

which the miniaturist perhaps sought to convey in his iconography: the son, an innocent in this affair, and the one who had to pay for his mother's iniquity, is depicted on the boat, beside his father, in a stylised pose characteristic of Christ, holding his right hand up as in blessing. On the gangplank, with his mother, the son is dressed in a rich blue robe. This is noteworthy because blue is the colour traditionally associated with female fidelity¹⁸⁸. (At the end of Antoine de la Salle's *Petit Jehan de Saintré*, for example, much play is made of the incident in which Saintré removes Madame's blue sash, to rebuke her for her disloyalty¹⁸⁹.) On the other hand, although the husband also wears red, his hat is blue. For men, the colour blue signified a cuckold – the *bleuz vestuz were noz amys* – but perhaps the miniaturist intended to draw attention to his revenge by depicting him in red, the colour of broken faith¹⁹⁰.

The husband's conduct in the years in which the child was raised was such that the wife could think *qu'il entendist rien de son fait* - in other words, that he was willing to abide with her as though nothing had happened - *he knew nothing of her deed*. To understand how the husband's conduct might have struck the raconteurs, we must reflect on the complexities of mid-fifteenth

¹⁸⁸ **J. Huizinga**, *The Waning of the Middle Ages* (London, 1955) p. 121; **D. Pavey**, *Colour and Humanism, Colour expression and patterns of thought about colour* (U.S.A., 2001) p. 8. For a study of colour symbolism in the period see **E. Nelson**, 'Le Blason Des Couleurs: a Treatise on Color Theory and Symbolism in Northern Europe During the Early Renaissance', PhD Thesis (Providence, Rhode Island, 1998); **H. Cocheris**, *Le blason des couleurs en armes, livrées et devises par Sicille, herault d'Alphonse V, roi d'Aragon* (Paris, 1860); **R. Osborne**, 'Telesio's dictionary of Latin color terms', in *Color Research & Application* (2002) pp. 140-146.

¹⁸⁹ **Misrahi and Knudson** (eds) *Antoine de la Salle, Le Petit Jehan de Saintré*, (Geneva, 1978) chapter 82, lines 14-22.

century bourgeois marital politics. The narrator, at least, was unequivocal: *her husband gave as good as he got, for all that he was forever a cuckold*¹⁹¹. This reinforces the gist of the previous statement the narrator makes to the effect that the husband *was not so stupid that he didn't settle for good money to make him a slave, in order that he was no longer responsible for his wife and another's child, that after his death would inherit his goods like any of his other children*¹⁹². However, even if the narrator's mind is made-up, doubts about the ethics of the merchant's conduct remain. His wife cuckolded him, but the narrator's term *lieutenant* implies that she would never have needed a substitute, had he not been away from home so long: *she ... was constrained by his excessive stay to take a substitute*¹⁹³. This noted, the merchant, who believed that his wife had been loyal during his first five-year voyage, had every reason to expect that she would stay faithful during his second. Evidently, this assumption was quite reasonable. In fifteenth-century bourgeois society, a wife's only duty was to remain faithful to her husband, no matter how often he chose to leave her, and thus she would protect his honour, and his children's patrimony: men married to produce heirs¹⁹⁴. Indeed, during his first voyage the merchant's wife is

¹⁹⁰ See *Nouvelle* 73, for example.

¹⁹¹ *son mary lui rendit telle qu'elle luy bailla, combien qu'il en demoura tousjours le cousin.*

¹⁹² *ne fut pas si beste, affin qu'il n'eust plus de charge de l'enfant de sa femme et d'un aultre, et que après sa mort ne succedast a ses biens, comme ung de ses aultres enfans, qu'il ne le vendist a bons deniers contens pour en faire ung esclave.*

¹⁹³ Elle ... fut contraincte par son trop demourer de prendre ung lieutenant.

¹⁹⁴ This is the assumption which underpins the last *Nouvelle* too, though it is set in Genoa. For an English comparison, see Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*. His Merchant complained of one old wife that: *Ne children sholde I none upon hire geten; Yet were me levere houndes hand me eten, Than that myn heritage sholde falle In straunge hand, and this I telle yow alle. I could beget no child on her to greet me/ Yet I had rather that the dogs should eat me/ Than that my fine inheritance should fall/ Into strange hands, that let me tell*

commended because she kept her body well, made a profit on several sales; she did so well that her husband, returning at the end of five years, praised her a great deal, and loved her more than before. The miniature serves to emphasise these themes, portraying as it does only the mother's love for her son, and juxtaposing it with the husband's interview with the wife.

Transparently, the narrator's disdain for the wife's conduct implies that by cuckolding her husband and presenting him with a son, she privately humiliated him. Had the news of her infidelity reached the ears of his social circle, he would have been considered a fool for not protecting his honour properly. This attitude is enshrined in the scornful epithet the narrator appends in the last sentence: the merchant was *tousjours le cousin*. To preserve his good name and dignity, he had to keep his wife's son as his own. This child would not be a bastard in terms of inheritance rights, and he would diminish the amount passed on to the merchant's legitimate male offspring¹⁹⁵. The other detail in the miniature is the merchant's house. It serves as a backdrop to the right hand side of the image. The feelings of the wife are barely hinted at in her almost stoical statement: *As God was pleased to take him as He gave him - praise be to God*¹⁹⁶. The image nevertheless does present a humble woman who sees what she has lost. It focuses on her actions, more than the husband's, which redresses the imbalance in the

you all. (From <http://www.librarius.com/cantales.htm>.); L. Benson, ed. *The Riverside Chaucer* (3rd Edition, Oxford, 1988) pp. 66-76.

¹⁹⁵ On the subject of passing goods and property from generation to generation, see D. Nicholas, *The Later Medieval City* (London, 1997) pp. 181-182. On bastardy in general, and its connection to this *Nouvelle* in particular, cf M. Carlier, 'Onwettige kinderen in de Bourgondische Nederlanden, Determinanten van hun plaats binnen de familieën binnen de maatschappij', PhD Thesis (Ghent, 1998-1999) pp. 31-34. (NB Carlier cites relevant work by Marc Boone and Walter Prevenier in her footnotes.)

¹⁹⁶ *puis qu'il a pleu a Dieu le nous oster, comme il le nous avoit donné, loé en soit il!*

text¹⁹⁷, and makes the emphasis lie on the things which affect the psychology of the relationships' dynamic rather than the ultimate resolution of the problem. Thus the ending of the tale, *he remained a cuckold*, is explained: it is a simplification – a deliberate one which forces the reader to re-examine the traditional judgmental severity of cuckold stories. It is an appeal to the courtly audience to consider the moral shades of grey, as much as it is a plea for female fidelity in marriage.

Nouvelle 78 – The Husband Confessor.

Attitudes to Women.

The underlying preoccupation of Jean Martin's story about a quick-witted wife who fools her jealous cuckolded husband is the same as that of *Nouvelle 19*. Its matter is similar to Boccaccio's tale for day seven, story five, but the source is recognisably the fabliau, *Du chevalier qui fist sa femme confesser*. The theme of story 78 is jealousy: the jealous cuckolded husband is tricked when he disguises himself as a priest to discover his wife's adultery through her confession. The tale is thus about the ways in which women dupe and humiliate men. This may at first glance seem to make the story anti-female, but it is worth bearing in mind that, as a collection, the *Cent Nouvelles* is self-consciously a male work, with male narrators, and presumably a male audience in mind. *Nouvelle 78* is best understood as a diversion for a group of men, some of whom could face the problem it addressed. Boccaccio wrote in the voices of female narrators and incorporated a more female point of view in some of his stories, such as VII,

¹⁹⁷ See M. Baker, 'Authorial Bias in Tale No. 19 of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*', in *Romance Notes* (1987) p. 259.

5. Whereas Boccaccio was free to have his female characters lambaste jealous husbands, and condemn their excessively cruel treatment of their wives, the views expressed by Fiammetta would seem incongruous, and aesthetically out of place had they been related by any of the men whose names are associated with the Cent Nouvelles' stories¹⁹⁸. Although Jean Martin was not interested in presenting aspects of femininity in a balanced, or even a sympathetic light, the courtly setting for the tales necessitates a subtler approach to the problem of his portrayal of women. The narrator was a man addressing a masculine court: his text even drew a comparison between the lovers' service of their lady with service at court: each does a stint in service – *as at court many people serve by term and by time, [our three companions] had their audience*¹⁹⁹... His story reflects masculine fears.

This is not to say that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* treats the same themes in the same way from story to story. In fact, the opposite is true, which reflects the multiple "authorial" inputs. On the other hand, it would be misleading to suggest that the raconteurs were entirely above misogyny. A careful reading of the text of *Nouvelle 78*, however, reveals a view of women which it would be inaccurate to characterise as *unsympathetic*: the crux of the matter is that the story is less about women's duplicity, than it is about men's gullibility. Although the tale deals with the same preoccupations as

¹⁹⁸ G. McWilliam, *Giovanni Boccaccio – The Decameron* (Harmondsworth, 1972) p. 542. *In my estimation [jealous husbands] deserve all the suffering their wives may inflict on them, especially when they are jealous without reason. And if the lawgivers had taken all things into account, I consider that in this respect the punishment they prescribed for wives should have been no different from that which they prescribe for the person who attacks another in self-defence. For no young wife is safe against the machinations of a jealous husband, who will stop at nothing to bring about her destruction.*

¹⁹⁹ *Comme a court plusieurs servent par temps et termes [...] eurent leur audience*

nouvelles 19 and 100 – the issues of adultery, jealousy, and property – it does so in a much more knockabout way.

The manuscript illustration for this story depicts two scenes from the tale²⁰⁰. On the left hand side of the illustration, the wife kneels before her husband, with her hands clasped, and confesses to him of her squire, her knight, and her priest. The right hand side of the drawing (separated from the left by a large decorated pillar) presents the husband out of his disguise, with his hands clasped, as though penitent, whilst the wife berates him for not trusting her. The illustration deliberately gives a mirror image, in other words, to emphasise the irony of the role reversal: he disguised himself to trick her to confess, and then she disguised her confession to trick him into penitence. The changes from scene to scene all emphasise this role-reversal: the hands clasped, the removal of the knight's cowl; each contributes to the symmetry of the scene, and allows it to turn around the church pillar, whose spiral motif invites the viewer to look from the left hand side to the right hand side of the picture, following the course of the spiral through 180 degrees. The point of the miniature is the point of the story: not so much that she cuckolds her husband and gets away with it, but rather that he deserves to be cuckolded.

On the other hand, he is somewhat more sympathetic in his narrative voice when addressing the wife's conduct: *she was not so lazy that she did not let out her quoniam to three fellows*²⁰¹. The wife of *Nouvelle 78* is described as

²⁰⁰ See Plate 8.

²⁰¹ *ne fut pas si oiseuse qu'elle ne presta son quoniam a trois compaignons.*

lending her *quoniam* [a Latin pun on *connin* - rabbit] to the three men in turn²⁰². Martin introduces the commercial ethic to the situation, and she becomes an expensive whore. The squire, *frisque frez et friant en bon point* - the alliteration emphasises the turnaround in his fortunes - is the first to discover *to his dear cost*²⁰³ how expensive she was, *both to his body, and to his purse*²⁰⁴. He becomes like a plucked peacock – *she plucked him so well, that he couldn't come back*²⁰⁵. The language moves from a vibrant alliteration to a tired assonance, and the word *point* (or its homonym *poins*) which is used three times in quick succession, ties the reader's attention to this transformation. He was *frisque frez et friant en bon point* but he *n'y failloit point renvoyer, qu'il s'ennuya, et tira, et de tous poins l'abandonna*²⁰⁶.

The knight also has to pay for his "pleasure". The use of the word *quibus* (money) - another obtrusively Latin term - forces the reader to associate *quoniam* with *quibus*. The knight fares similarly to the esquire, though his *quest* is described in more chivalric language. He is the *damp chevalier* of

²⁰² *Quoniam* here means *wherewithal* or *capital*, as though she were lending at interest. Dubuis calls this a *savant et libertin* word play: R. Dubuis, *Lexique des Cent nouvelles nouvelles – Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF)* (Paris, 1996) entry for *Quoniam*.

²⁰³ *a son cher coust.*

²⁰⁴ *tant en substance de son corps que en despense de pecune.*

²⁰⁵ *elle tant bien le pluma, qu'il n'y failloit point renvoyer.*

²⁰⁶ R. Robbins, *The One Hundred New Tales* (New York, 1960) pp. 302-305. Robbins conveys the sense of the original in his translation: *fresh frisky and full of fun, in fine form...He became fed up and withdrew, in effect deserting her.*

Burgundian courtly literature, who, vanquished, *mounts up, takes his leave and abandons his quest to others*²⁰⁷.

By the time the priest comes on the scene, the wife has become predatory. She seeks him out, whereas previously the knight and the esquire had come to serve at her court. (The knight *came after ... who was most joyful to have won the place*²⁰⁸ ...) The wife makes the play with the priest - she is the subject of the verb in the sentence: *the lady acquainted herself with a priest*²⁰⁹. It mattered little that he was *subtle and ingenious, and very well acquainted with money*²¹⁰. He was stripped of *robes and plate and many other goods*²¹¹. This fleecing underlines the fully predatory nature of her conquest. The term *booty* emphasises the idea, and it is reinforced in the remainder of the sentence: he was held to ransom²¹². *For with the plunder and booty which she had ridden out to conquer, she had bought plate and tapestry, linen and great quantities of other furniture*²¹³. The adjectival reversal is deliberate in the description of the husband's homecoming. She is described as *sa vaillant femme*, whilst he is *le doux mary*. Thematically, role reversal is to the fore in this *Nouvelle*. The wife - or *la dame*, becomes *la damoiselle*, or a whore. An *escuier* and a knight become victims, whilst a

²⁰⁷ *tourne bride, et print garin, et aux aultres, la queste abandonna.*

²⁰⁸ *après vint ... qui bien joyeux fut d'avoir gaigné la place...*

²⁰⁹ *la damoiselle d'un maistre prestre s'acointa.*

²¹⁰ *subtil et ingenieux, et sur argent bien fort luxurieux.*

²¹¹ *rensonne de robes de vaisselles, et d'aultres bagues largement.*

²¹² *butin.*

²¹³ *Car du pluc et butin qu'elle avoit a la force de ses reins conqueste avoit acquis vaisselle et tapisserie, linge et aultres meubles en bonne quantite.* Notice the pun on *force de ses reins*. The term *tenir par la resne* is used in a similar way in *Nouvelle* 36.

priest becomes a lover. Three men of means become poor, and a poor wife becomes rich. (The change in her circumstance is spelled out, when the husband says: *I didn't leave you with so much money when I went away*²¹⁴. A husband becomes a priest, and his wife - an adulteress - becomes a saint, who speaks *as though inspired by the Holy ghost*²¹⁵.

Brabantine / Burgundian Rivalry.

The scene is set in the *bonne marche et plaisante* of Brabant, where the pretty girls are cleverer than the men. The text is quite explicit: in the voice of a true Burgundian – that is to say, a man from the south – Martin says of the men of Brabant: *the older they get, the stupider they become*²¹⁶. Apropos of this setting, and probably also because the court was in Brussels when he told his story, we are told that the cuckold was a *gentil homme* from Brabant who had decided to take himself *overseas to many places*²¹⁷. The *gentil homme* of this *Nouvelle* commits a parallel folly to the London merchant of *Nouvelle* 19, as both of them decide to go travelling, and both are cuckolded

²¹⁴ *je ne vous laissay pas tant d'argent a mon partir.*

²¹⁵ *Si respondit a chef de piece comme le Saint Esperit l'inspira.*

²¹⁶ *tant plus vivent et plus sont sotz.* p. 279: **Diner**, *Hundred New Tales*, p. 279: Diner translates *en ce point né et destiné* as though it refers to his decision to travel, whereas it actually signifies that he was born to demonstrate the truth of the proverb that Brabant's men become more stupid with age. **W. Paravicini**, 'Expansion et intégration: la noblesse des Pays-Bas à la cour de Philippe le Bon', in *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (1980), pp. 298-314; **J. Bartier**, 'Bourguignons en Flandre et flamands en Bourgogne au temps des ducs Valois', in *Publications du Centre européen d'études burgondo-médianes* (1960) pp. 68-75. Bartier has contended that courtiers and administrators from Burgundy were disproportionately influential, but that the main geographic group to rival them were Brabantine.

²¹⁷ *oultre mer en divers lieux.*

in their absence. The Englishman was taken by *wanderlust*²¹⁸, whilst the gentleman of *Nouvelle 78* merely *wanted to go on trips*²¹⁹. He visited Cypress and Rhodes, and was knighted in Jerusalem. This sort of adventurer and pilgrim was well known to the court, of course. Examples from the raconteurs' circle included the lord of Wavrin²²⁰. The Brabantine amman of Brussels was himself a knight hospitaller, and may have visited Rhodes at some stage in his life²²¹. Philippe Pot, another Burgundian, also told a joke at the expense of the monks of Brabant, whom he accused of sleeping with nuns²²².

Improving the Fabliau.

It is important to notice that although the story is comparable to the fabliau *Du Chevalier*, the older version lacks the most interesting part of the Cent Nouvelles' story, the deceptive “explanation” the wife gives her husband as to the meaning of her confession. She tells him that *he* was the squire, the knight and the cleric with whom she had slept. When he left her, he was only a squire, when he returned he had been knighted, and because he was taking confession, she took him for a cleric. Her explanation is subtle and plausible: and the knight was taken in. He believed that his wife had recognised him from the start, spinning her story of adultery to ridicule him for what he took

²¹⁸ *ardent desir de veoir pays.*

²¹⁹ *s'avolenta d'aller voyager.*

²²⁰ See chapter one above.

²²¹ On Wavrin and the amman, see chapter three above.

²²² *Nouvelle 15*. In MS *Hunter 252* fo 33r, the illumination for this *Nouvelle* depicts the monks at the door of the nunnery. The monks wear white cloaks and hoods, but the nun wears black. This makes the monks carthusians. (Dominicans wear white robes and black hoods.) The joke was perhaps told at the expense of the new carthusian monastery of Scheut, which Jean d'Enghien had sponsored.

to be his baseless jealousy. It can not justly be said of the *Nouvelle* that it pillages unashamedly from the fabliau: it alters it significantly. The structure of the *Nouvelle*, which incorporates this clever explanation as a “sting in the tale” is an improvement on the somewhat lengthy dénouement of the fabliau, and it enlarges upon the theme of a cuckold's stupidity in a different way²²³. This story is a good example of what Judith Diner has called the *ambiguous effect* of the *courtly-comic style of the Cent Nouvelles*, a blurring of the distinctions between "good" and "evil" actions, and "high" and "low" registers to produce a not entirely serious moral tale²²⁴.

As in *Nouvelle* 19, the tale turns on the notion of a wife who turns to prostitution whilst her husband is absent, but this story is transparently humorous as it realistically details the stupidity of the husband, and shows how his wife was able to dissuade him of her guilt. This topos is also to be found in the first Joy of the *Quinze Joies de Mariage*, where the author introduces a husband who notices that his wife is *fair, neatly presented and sweetly dressed, with gowns that [he] has possibly not paid for; for he was given to understand that her father or mother gave them to her out of generosity*²²⁵. The subtle element of doubt creeps in along with the implication that she has a lover, whose purse caters to her wardrobe. In the 78th *Nouvelle*, the husband is alerted to the wife's unfaithfulness by the

²²³ Similar narrative material, somewhat akin to *Nouvelle* 19 is to be found in Poggio's *Facetiae* as story #1, and Lodovico Domenichi #45.

²²⁴ J. Diner, 'The courtly comic style of the Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', in *Romance Philology* (1993) pp. 48-60.

²²⁵ J. Crow, *Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage* (Oxford, 1969) p. 5: *bien parree et bien habillie, de telz habillemens et a l'aventure que son mary n'a pas payé, car l'en luy fait acroire que son père ou sa mere les luy a donnet de leurs livres; cf B. Pitts, The Fifteen Joys of Marriage* (New York, 1985) p. 7.

superabundance of possessions (tapestries and furniture especially) which he discovers on his return from his travels.

The *Nouvelle* describes the solicitations of the squire, the knight and the priest, in order that the extent to which she also fleeced them for their wealth should explain the husband's suspicion on his return. This is an aspect of the tale that has greater psychological development than the other versions of the story. In *Nouvelle* nineteen, the wife is praised and loved all the more for her assiduous management whilst her merchant husband is away on his first voyage – perhaps the implication is that she gained more goods by prostituting herself. The ultimate acquisition – that of a child – was one that her husband could not ignore in good conscience. Nor could she explain it away...

Role Reversals and The Moral of the Tale.

The final sentence of the story encapsulates the odd ambivalence which the numerous role reversals creates, and leaves the listener with something of a balance of sympathies: *So, as you have heard, the good knight was deceived by the subtle and perceptive guile of his disloyal wife*²²⁶. This can be usefully compared with the *Decameron* version of the story, in which the reader is more or less told what to think: *Fiammetta's story was marvellously pleasing to the whole company, and everyone declared that the wife had taught the stupid man a most admirable lesson*²²⁷. The *Nouvelle's* approach to the problem of the "moral" of the tale is subtler: Jean Martin did not explicitly

²²⁶ *Ainsi qu'avez oy fut le bon chevalier deceu par le subtil et percevant engin de sa desloyalle femme.*

²²⁷ **McWilliam**, *Boccaccio*, p. 550.

preach to his audience, but left them to decipher a sequence of nuances in the locution. It does not seem appropriate to suggest as Diner does, that *the reader cannot know whether any one tale is comic or serious*: Story 78 is obviously comic. Jean Martin was playing to the gallery by relating a tale about how foolish the men of Brabant were to an audience in Brabant²²⁸. There may be serious undercurrents in it, but it contains too many far-fetched and unexpected juxtapositions to be called anything other than comic. The point about the stylistic register of this story is that the reader does not need to assign relative weight to elements from courtly or comic styles: the writer has pre-balanced these styles so that the reader can simply accept them, and enjoy the story for what it is: a funny tale, told at the expense of the Brabantine section of his audience.

Nouvelle 2: The Friar Physician.

The story is about a girl with piles who blinds a one-eyed friar by farting a caustic purgative into his eye²²⁹. From this, there is no getting away. Even the illumination in the manuscript emphasises this quite spectacularly: the friar positions the tube through which he planned to apply his medicine onto the girl's haemorrhoids. Through these gross events, the story examines the phenomenon of loss of reputation. *Nouvelle 2* presents an image which certainly lingers in the mind - whether it is pleasant or not is, of course, a different matter, but since one man's stark obscenity is another's licentious gaiety, let us persevere.

²²⁸ Diner, *Courtly Comic Style*, p. 59.

²²⁹ See Plate 9. On the question of clysters and purgatives, see J.-P. Bénézet, 'De la Comptabilité d'un apothicaire à la vie sanitaire d'une communauté. Un exemple: Arles à la fin du moyen âge', in *Provence Historique* (1998) pp. 125-152.

The Inadequacy of Philological Approaches.

Before we delve into the narrative details, it is worth noting that *Nouvelle 2* is an excellent example of a tale traditionally felt to contain little or no historical or literary merit. However, in spite of its *grivoise* subject matter it is actually quite sophisticated. Philological interpretation has floundered in its reading of the tale, because the psychology of the events is essentially historically understood. Roger Dubuis, for instance, sees the *Nouvelle* as another example of an *arroiseur arrosé* – that is, a trickster tricked²³⁰. For him the story turns around the fact that the doctor gets a taste of his own medicine: in other words, the point is that the doctor is in some sense the victim of his own malice. It is extremely difficult to see how the *Nouvelle* substantiates such a reading, though more recently David Fein has also proposed a similar point of view. Fein uses this tale to argue that a psycho-analytic reading of the nouvelles highlights *male apprehensions about female sexuality*, and that *the Franciscan friar ... cannot be considered an innocent victim, and his punishment, although inflicted through the agent of a female body, is at least partially self-imposed*²³¹. Pierre-André Beauchamps' article on the humour of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* also argues for a Freudian analysis of the text, as one whose social function is not to challenge the moral status quo, but to present breaches of social etiquette

²³⁰ R. Dubuis, *La Nouvelle au Moyen Age* (Grenoble, 1973) p. 71..

²³¹ D. Fein, 'The Dangerous Sex: Representations of the Female Body in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*', in *Romance Notes* (1999) pp. 195-202, at p. 196.

in order to maintain and uphold it²³². To look at the text as a historical document, however, is to bear in mind the original circumstances of the telling of the tales. As was argued in the previous chapters, they were intended as springboards for discussion by a restricted group of *real* people (just as the *Decameron* tales were for *imaginary* people). As such, an analysis of their subject matter which assumes that it “speaks for itself” misses the point that it may never have been intended to *put across* a particular moral, social, or psychological message. In other words, even if the nouvelles’ topics are lewd and obscene (or, for that matter, noble and virtuous), in the absence of a record of the discussion which they sparked, it is difficult to establish a consistent Freudian reading of them, because such a reading depends inherently on an understanding of the audience, and the tales’ reception. As we consider the second *Nouvelle*, it is important to remember that the Burgundian collection is thus qualitatively different to Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, which proposes a defined ideological and social world by means of the relationship between the tales and the *cornice* framework, and the author’s own apology for his work²³³. What is more, the whole Burgundian work was clearly intended for private amusement and discussion, whereas the Italian was aimed at a wider audience. Surely this consideration had an impact on the content and matter of the nouvelles?

²³² P.-A. Beauchamp, 'Procédés et thèmes carnavalesques dans les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles', in *Le Moyen Français* (1977) pp. 90-118; C. Merlin, 'Le Comique des “Cent nouvelles nouvelles”', in *Cahiers de l'Association Internationale des études Françaises* (1985) pp. 69-83 discusses this approach at p. 70.

²³³ J. Molle, 'La “Langue” et la “Parole” Contribution a une Analyse des Modeles Ideologiques dans les Nouvelles de Boccace', in F. Marotin (ed.), *Frontieres du Conte*, pp. 121-128 at p. 125: *La Brigade peut être le témoin des attitudes des personnages des nouvelles, mais souvent ces attitudes ne ont pas acceptées dans l'interprétation normative de la réalité... la brigade insère dans un système global idéologique ce que les nouvelles expriment de fragmentaire et contradictoire.*

Although the tale has to be read on its own terms, the historical concerns and social assumptions which underpin its "point" are also present in some of the other nouvelles examined above. The success of these nouvelles as stories depends upon the reader's recognition and appreciation of similar attitudes towards the importance of chastity, dignity, and the preservation of honour. In bourgeois society, such things were paramount. The vital thing to notice about the story is not that it is evidence of men's anxieties about female sexuality, but precisely *why* fifteenth century bourgeois men ought to have been concerned to preserve their daughters' sexual reputation, as the girl's father and her family so singularly failed to do in this *Nouvelle*.

Elevated Style, Gross Subject Matter.

As we turn to the narrative details, it is some consolation for the sensitive reader to note that the duke, raconteur of the tale, fully appreciated that his subject was somewhat indelicate. He begins the real matter of the narration with an unrestrainedly gushing description of the "tragic heroine", who *in goodness, beauty, and gentleness surpassed all the girls older than she was*²³⁴. She was sought by suitors galore: gentlemen were wont to seek her favour, *by all the means and ways that are customary in love*²³⁵. As narrator, in other words, the duke sets the stage for a romantic tale of courtship and love. It becomes clear, however, that only a *parody* of the courtly genre will follow when a series of ridiculous propositions, strung together with the

²³⁴ *de bonté, beaulté, genteté passoit toutes les filles d'elles plus eagées.*

²³⁵ *gens de bien ... sa grace par pluseurs et toutes fassons en amours acoustumées.*

repeated rhetorical term *ou*, and rounded off with a peripeteia, introduce the comic element to the story²³⁶:

*It happened, nevertheless, whether because God allowed it, or Fortune wished and ordained it, envious of and displeased with the prosperity of this beautiful girl, or of her parents or of both of them together, or perhaps for a secret cause and natural reason, into which I leave philosophers and doctors the burden of inquiry, that she fell into an unpleasant and dangerous illness, which is commonly called "piles"*²³⁷.

The metaphysical causes of the common disease of piles are, of course, hardly a subject for philosophers and doctors: indeed its very commonness is emphasised by the narrator. Yet, for all that this passage is a rhetorical send-up of tragic language, it is still the language of ruin, and this story treats of the conditions causing an important historical phenomenon: the loss of

²³⁶ On rhetorical language in Burgundian literature cf P. Jodogne, 'La Rhétorique dans l'historiographie bourguignonne', in L. Terreaux (ed.) *Culture et pouvoir au temps de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance* (Geneva, 1978) pp. 51-69. Diner, *Hundred New Tales*, p. 22: Diner's translation misses the point of the sentence structure: she mentions *hemorrhoids* without any build-up. The word *broches* is a punchline, and ought not to come in the middle of the joke. Peripeteia is used to great effect in another story of a woman's disgrace. In *Nouvelle* 40, Chaugy tells of how, using a roofer's ladder, a butcher's wife climbed onto the roof of a religious house to spy on her lover, a Dominican *grand cleric et prescheur*, who had "*converted*" her by his holy and gentle instruction. Becoming stuck in the chimney, she had to wait out overnight in the rain. When the roofer found her, he made her tell him all about it, as a condition of freeing her, and she promised to give him food for a year if he kept quiet about it. Chaugy's comment, that *he kept her case so secret that everyone got to hear about it*, provides a surprise ending.

²³⁷ *Advint toutesfoiz, ou car Dieu le permist, ou car Fortune le voutt et commenda, envieuse et mal content de la prosperité de celle belle fille, ou de ses parens, ou de tous deux ensemble, ou espoir par une secrete cause et raison naturelle, (dont je laisse inquisition aux philosophes et medecins), qu'elle cheut en une desplaisante et dangereuse maladie que communement l'on appelle "broches"*.

status. Its pseudo-tragic description of the girl's discomfiture foreshadows the more consequential and irrevocable loss suffered by the rich and powerful man of London and his family²³⁸. The historian is interested to discover the underlying causes and reasons for his loss, as well as their consequences. After the girl had blinded the friar physician, he asked to be helped by her family, but they refused to assist him, so he brought a case against them, and, via a variety of lower courts, it went as far as the parliament. Owing to its novelty, a great many people heard of it.

Good Name in Man and Woman: The Jewel of Our Souls.

Because this *Nouvelle* is about the loss of good name, the last sentence is of particular significance: *And in this way, she who had been known to several people for her beauty, goodness and gentility, became notorious to everyone by this accursed evil of piles, which she was cured of in the end, as I have been given to understand²³⁹.*

The ending reminds the reader that the disease was only partly to blame for the girl's misfortune: the point is not that there was a happy ending, but that the damage had been done by the time she was cured of her physical ailment: her good name was destroyed, and she would never be free of the association with haemorrhoids and farting. For the historian, the issues of who is to blame for the girl's and the family's misfortune, and what form the misfortune takes are the principal topics of interest. It seems quite clear that

²³⁸ *riche et puissant homme.*

²³⁹ *Et par ce point celle qui auparavant par sa beauté, bonté et genteté congneue estoit de plusieurs gens, devint notoire a tout le monde par ce maudit mal de broches, dont en la fin fut garie, ainsi que puis me fut compté.*

the duke was also preoccupied with these questions: why else, if not to emphasise the culpability of the characters themselves for causing their own misery should he incorporate the extended grandiloquent address on God, Fate and Nature?

Looking more closely at the structure of the *Nouvelle*, the main character, that is, the one most vital to the interest of the plot, is the merchant. He is introduced first, as the chief protagonist, and throughout, as though to emphasise his centrality, the language is often specifically mercantile. In the first few lines, for example, the word *riche* appears in a variety of contexts: *ung riche ... homme, ses riches bagues, and s'ejoissoit plus enrichy*. The duke mentions suitors, *gens de bien* who *desiroient et pourchassoient sa grace*. Then there is a section of narrative about *la prosperité de celle belle fille*. In the later stages of the *Nouvelle*, the author's choice of the verb *valloir* in the sentence: *Mais rien n'y vault*, speaking of the girl's recourse to doctors, neatly summarises the whole *Nouvelle*, framing it within a mercantile context. There is little room to argue that the employment of mercantile language is coincidental: this phrase is very similar to the phrase *mais pou ou rien y prouffite*, where the link is again clear. But the mercantile tone of the language is important only inasmuch as the merchant is a part of his context, the urban milieu: the social logic of the story is as much that it happened in London, a town *often visited and known to lots of people*²⁴⁰, as it is that it involved a *rich and powerful man, who was a merchant, and bourgeois*²⁴¹. If a poor country girl had developed piles and done what the

²⁴⁰ *assez hantée et cogneue de pluseurs gens.*

²⁴¹ *ung riche et puissant homme qui marchant et bourgeois estoit...*

rich city girl did, who would have found out, and what would it have mattered? But the merchant was *riche et puissant* – surely, as one used to protecting his investments²⁴², he should have recognised that his *beautiful girl that God had sent him*²⁴³ made him *richer still*²⁴⁴ and gone out of his way to protect her, especially in the city, where anyone with a grudge might smear her reputation and use it as a bargaining counter for a form of legalised blackmail.

It is worth noting that the ways in which the girl's status is jeopardised are all related to her chastity. What emerges from this tale, in other words, is an almost obsessive view of the value of chastity and the need to protect the chaste reputation of a girl of the upper middle classes: this is a social phenomenon noted by historians of Italy in this period, but it has been less systematically explored or acknowledged north of the Alps²⁴⁵. For example,

²⁴² *riches bagues et tresors innombrables... his rich rings and innumerable treasures...*

²⁴³ *belle fille que Dieu luy avoit envoyée.*

²⁴⁴ *plus enrichy.*

²⁴⁵ For the Italian scene, see S. Cohn, *Women in the Streets: essays on sex and power in Renaissance Italy*, (Baltimore, 1997) especially chapters 1, 5 and 6, and the extensive bibliography, pp. 219-240. Cohn makes the point that comparative studies between towns are still lacking, even in Italy. There are significantly fewer Burgundian studies, though high-quality scholarship into feminist issues has been pioneered by Eric Bousmar in particular: E. Bousmar, 'Een historisch-antropologische kijk op gender in de Bourgondische Nederlanden (15de eeuw)', in *Verlagen van het RUG-Centrum voor Genderstudies*(1999) pp. 35-53; 'La place des hommes et des femmes dans les fêtes de cour bourguignonnes (Philippe-le-Bon et Charles-le-Hardi)', in *Publications du Centre européen d'études Bourguignonnes* (1994) pp. 123-143; 'Le "gender" dans les anciens Pays-Bas méridionaux. Entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance: un modèle de subordination tempérée par la subsidiarité. Vers une nouvelle lecture des faits', in *Women's studies. Bilan et perspectives de la recherche et de l'enseignement en Belgique* (Brussels, 1998), pp. 54-57; Bousmar and M. Sommé, 'Femmes et espaces féminins à la cour de Bourgogne au temps d'Isabelle de Portugal (1430-1471)', in

the case of Genoese artisans' daughters has been studied in detail, and it has been discovered that there was a distinct difference between aristocratic and artisan marriages. Artisans' daughters had more choice in their husbands, and could marry later. The importance of virginity and fidelity to the marriage bed, however, was universal, and the value of a dowry was contingent on it²⁴⁶. The girl's value was at stake in the north of Europe too, but the duke addressed the meaning of "value", in terms of the link between *monetary* and *moral* worth²⁴⁷. Because the tale involves a merchant, the language of the tale is primarily about her monetary value: to a merchant, money matters. What makes the tale interesting is the conflict between tangible value, that is, *wealth*, and intangible, that is, the girl's *reputation*. The girl's primary worth is her reputation, but if this is to bring economic reward (in the form of a successful marriage to a rich suitor), it had to be guarded with vigilance. With this in mind, it is extremely interesting to notice that her reputation is not generated - if anything the text seems to imply it existed *of itself* from about her fifteenth year, on account of her

J. Hirschbiegel and W. Paravicini (eds.), *Das Frauenzimmer* (Stuttgart, 2000) pp. 47-78. I am grateful to Dr Bousmar for kindly giving me copies of his articles.

²⁴⁶ D. Hughes, 'Urban Growth and Family Structure in Medieval Genoa', in *Past and Present* (1975) pp. 3-28. For the aristocratic / urban patriciate not of Genoa, but of Venice, see Stanley Chojnacki's work, in particular 'Dowries and Kinsmen in Early Renaissance Venice', in *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1975) pp. 571-600. The issue of the extent to which patrician women were typical is discussed (in relation to Florence) by A. Crabb, 'How Typical Was Alessandra Macinghi Strozzi of Fifteenth-Century Florentine Widows', in L. Mirrer (ed.) *Upon my husband's death: Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe* (Michigan, 1992).

²⁴⁷ Marriage documents from the raconteurs' circles make it clear that this was how they perceived marriage as well. Many particularly detailed examples survive in the records relating to Jehan Martin's family marriages: e.g. ACO B 11332; ACO B 11334.

*bonté, beauté, genteté*²⁴⁸. But of course people heard about a good looking young *catch*: *repute* was of unsurpassed importance for such girls. The girl's parents were quite happy to enjoy the advent of many suitors – *it was not a small pleasure to her father and mother* – but they did very little indeed to save her reputation, and much to damage it²⁴⁹. The language suggests a comparison between the girl and a hunted pig: she was treated like an animal, not a girl²⁵⁰. In essence, this tale is as much about a father who cuts off his nose to spite his face as it is about his failure to recognise the responsibility concomitant with the benefits he enjoyed. He had a chance to pay off the friar, but refused to take it, so his daughter's case came up in parliament, a national assembly. It even reached the ears of the duke of Burgundy, who has transmitted it to the twenty-first century. She is still the daughter who farted, had piles, and allowed who knows how many undesirable men to gaze on her bottom, and whose reputation was spoiled by stupid parents²⁵¹.

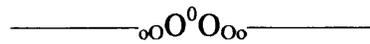
²⁴⁸ The narrative says: *et ou temps que ce tresseureux bruit et vertueuse renommée d'elle sourdoit, en son quinzieme an ou environ...*

²⁴⁹ *pas un plaisir petit au pere et a la mere d'elle.*

²⁵⁰ *The gentle household was greatly distressed when, in the hunting reserve which her family held most dear, this unpleasant evil had dared to set its hounds a-hunting, and what is more, catching its prey in a dangerous and damaging place. The poor girl, entirely crippled by this great evil, set her face to tears and sighs... La douce maison fut treslargement troublée, quand en la garenne que plus chere tenoient lesdictz parens, avoient osé lascher les levriers et limiers ce desplaisant mal, et que plus est, touché sa proye en dangereux et dommageable lieu. La pouvre fille, de ce grand mal toute affolée, ne scet sa contenance que de plourer et souspirer... Affolée is the term used regularly in the account books to describe horses which were run lame in ducal service; the gluttonous carmelite of *Nouvelle* 83 stabbed a cooked leg of pork and the narrator adds ironically that he *made it lame (le navra et affola)*. See Plate 45 for chapter two.*

²⁵¹ **J. Ross and M. McLaughlin** (eds) *The Portable Medieval Reader* (New York, 1959). p. 639: this mentions the medieval attitude to women being examined by men. cf **H. Lemay**, 'Women and the Literature of Obstetrics and Gynecology', in **J. Rosenthal** (ed) *Medieval Women and the Sources of*

The famous carving of the girl receiving an enema, now in the Gruuthuse museum in Bruges has the same theme as the *Nouvelle*: not by accident has the woodcarver positioned her inside a ramparted house with her backside poking out²⁵². The girl in the *Nouvelle* was just as well chaperoned, but her parents' elaborate precautions were worthless in the light of their future stupidity.



Medieval History (Athens, 1990) cited in **Fein**, *The Dangerous Sex*, p. 202. In the *Nouvelle*, we learn that, even prior to the friar's visit, the girl's predicament was known not merely to family, but to friends, and even neighbours, who came to visit, and commiserate: *Or viennent les parens, amis, voisins de ce dolent hostel visiter et conforter la compaignie*. Thereafter, doctors were summoned from miles around: *Master Peter, Master John, master this and master that... (maistre Pierre, maistre Jehan, maistre cy, maistre la.)*

²⁵² See Plate 10.

Chapter Five: CONCLUSION

Literature as Historical Evidence: Evidence of What?

As historians, we deal in evidence, and the essence of literary history is knowing what the evidence of literature is primarily useful for. As we considered a selection of the tales in the previous chapter, we observed that a variety of thematic strands run through them. These strands relate to bourgeois life, for instance: female chastity, fidelity, reputation, and so on. As source material for studies of such themes, the stories are necessarily limited by the important historical issues of who narrated them, when they were written, for whom they were composed, and why they take the form they do. It would not be legitimate to come to the conclusion that bourgeois men in the fifteenth century were all obsessed with their wives' fidelity *solely* on the basis of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*. Anyone arguing along these lines would have great difficulty defending such a case against the charge that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is the wrong sort of evidence on which to base such a conclusion. As Samuel Cohn Jr has observed, there is sometimes no *neat concordance between literary evidence and social statistics* and it is folly to take a correspondence for granted in an effort to *corroborate social facts with contemporary opinion*¹. This is not to contend, however, that stories are not useful historical documents – merely that, like any other historical document, they are *limited*, not *universal* in their application. One recent work by Lauro Martines, which examined the relationship between Italian Renaissance literary texts and their historical context was dismissed by an unsympathetic reviewer, on the following grounds: *The lusty adolescent*

¹ S. Cohn, *Women in the Streets: essays on sex and power in Renaissance Italy*, (Baltimore, 1997) pp. 120-121.

girl married to an impotent greybeard and the irresistible young widow no doubt occurred now and again in Italian society, but literature is imaginative, and they were perhaps no more typical than Joseph Andrews and Fanny in eighteenth-century England². Of course, it is the very fact that literature is imaginative that makes historical study of it valuable – the essential intellectual problem is to establish which history is being addressed. Roger Dubuis went too far in his assessment of the realism of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* when he wrote that: *there is nothing more artificial, in essence, more cut off from everyday real life than the nouvelle in general, and the Cent nouvelles nouvelles in particular*³. As we have seen, the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was definitely the fruit of a particular milieu at a particular time, and as such, it reflects its milieu. The historian who looks solely to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in search of quantifiable facts and figures and an absolutely reliable insight into the essence of fifteenth-century Burgundian life, looks there almost fruitlessly. Of course, there are certain details of some obvious historical value: facts and information, such as those on which Philip the Good's modern biographer Richard Vaughan alighted, but these are few and far between. The collection is not a chronicle, or a tax record or a law code: as a historical source, it is, to say the least, unconventional. Vaughan, treating it in much the same way as a historian might treat a more formal documentary source, got precious little from it: he dismissed it from the start (quite unjustifiably) as a *museum of fifteenth-century obscenities*⁴.

² G. Holmes, review of *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance*, in *English Historical Review* (2003) pp. 771-772.

³ R. Dubuis, 'Réalité et réalisme dans les «Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles»', in *Centre d'études Franco-Italian (Université de Turin)* (1981) pp. 91-119 at p. 95. *Il n'y a guère, au fond, de monde plus artificiel, plus coupé de la vie réelle de tous les jours, que la nouvelle en général et les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles en particulier.*

⁴ R. Vaughan, *Philip the Good* (London, 1970 / Woodbridge 2002) pp. 158-159.

His brief appraisal of the tales included a historical note on *Nouvelle 62*, which he says *is of particular interest for the historical details it gives about fifteenth-century Calais*⁵.

To state that the tales have limited applications for historical studies of the culture about which they comment is to make a *positive* as well as a *negative* comment on their value as source material. What literary history is particularly useful for, is throwing light on the mental outlook of the people who produced the literature, and the people for whom the literature was produced. In the foregoing thesis, therefore, we have concentrated on establishing the *context* within which the text originated.

Werner Söderhjelm argued that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* lacked the psychological detail which would allow us to consider it *a witness of its time*, and that *the rich gallery of characters are silhouettes*⁶. His case was fundamentally undermined by Dubuis, who showed that there is such close attention paid by the raconteurs to the creation of realistic psychological depth that the *Nouvelles* are an especially useful witness to their era. As we have seen, historical analyses of the stories (presented in chapter four above) emphasise and enhance our appreciation of the work's psychological depth. It would not be excessive to consider the literary history of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* as a branch of the history of Burgundian courtly imagination in the late 1450s.

We should put the case more positively: studying the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in context opens a window to the social world of Burgundy as it

⁵ See chapter one above.

appeared to the courtly elite. In the third section of the thesis, we built on the fundamentals of textual evidence which were established in chapter two. By examining archival and chronicle material related to the raconteurs, we saw that contemporary documents do bring this elite to light. Having said this, the theory of literary-history, and history using literature as source material – indeed, the very idea of using texts to understand anything – has recently come under serious attack⁷. Therefore, it seems helpful to propose a theoretical confirmation for the foregoing approach which not only opposes postmodern attacks on such historical and literary scholarship, but proposes that the method of approach used above may be generally put to use in historical-literary studies. It is also useful to explore the method's limitations and pitfalls.

Postmodernism: Projection vs Analysis, The Example Of David Laguardia.

Postmodern theories against using historical enquiry to supplement understanding of literary texts were perhaps at their most fully-developed point in the early 1990s. They boil down to the idea that such investigations begin and end with the *projection* of exogenous and subjective semiotic interpretation onto a text. They do not expose the intrinsic meaning inherent to a text. To put it simply, the postmodern view leads to the conclusion that literary texts are not susceptible of objective historical analysis, and that meaning is relative.

⁶ Dubuis, *Réalité et Réalisme*, p. 94; W. Söderhjelm, *La Nouvelle Française au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1910 / Geneva, 1973) p. 127.

⁷ F. Ankersmit, 'Historiography and Postmodernism', in *History and Theory* (1989) pp. 137-153; 'Reply to Professor Zagorin', in *History and Theory* (1990) pp. 275-296; 'An Appeal from the New to the Old Historicists', in *History and Theory* (2003) pp.253-270; P. Zagorin, 'Historiography and Postmodernism: Reconsiderations', in *History and Theory* (1990).

One recent example will suffice. In chapter two, we saw that several raconteurs draw attention to the act of their own narration. Postmodernist critic David LaGuardia picks out what he calls one *particularly interesting example* of the phenomenon to contend that the narrators reveal that their authorship is subservient to the maintenance of his [i.e. Philip the Good's] authority⁸. This concerns the opening of the 32nd *Nouvelle*, by the lord of Villiers:

*So that I am not deprived of the most fortunate and lofty merit due to those who work and labor to increase and augment the number of tales in this present work, I will briefly recount a recent adventure which will acquit me of the duty of furnishing a nouvelle, for which I was summoned here*⁹.

Only a historical analysis of the language of the court can draw attention to the fact that it is simply the tone vocabulary and imagery of a man acquainted with court administration, but LaGuardia is no historian¹⁰. The

⁸ D. LaGuardia, 'Narrative Grammar and the French Renaissance Nouvelle', PhD thesis (University of Pennsylvania, 1993), which became a book as *The Iconography of Power – the French Nouvelle at the end of the Middle Ages* (Newark, 1997). LaGuardia lays out his approach to the text on pp. 51-57. The quoted sections of text are at p. 56.

⁹ *Affin que ne soye seclus du tresseureux et hault merite deu a ceulx qui traveillent et labourent a l'augmentacion et accroissement des histoires de ce present livre, je vous racompteray en bref une adventure nouvelle par laquelle l'on me tiendra pour acquitté d'avoir fourny la nouvelle dont j'ay nagueres esté sommé.* – LaGuardia's translation, p. 56.

¹⁰ Tellingly, on the two occasions when LaGuardia grapples with historical accounts of the court of Burgundy (pp. 158-159) he cites chapter seven of Emmanuel Bourassin's non academic *Philippe le Bon* (Paris, 1983) as the source of his historical detail. This book, published by Tallandier in their popular *Figures de Proue* series, has no footnotes, and is very much for the general reader. From the start of his comments on the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* LaGuardia discounts the possibility of historical enquiry, writing of the Duke as though he were no more real than a character in a play: *Most of the*

raconteur's register linked him to his historical reality: there was nothing *particular* about the opening words of the *Nouvelle*. If anything, they draw attention to the fact that the man telling the story was steeped in the vocabulary and attitudes of the court to the extent that it did not seem incongruous to him to transfer the words which he saw on receipts and other court documents on a day-to-day basis to the activity at hand: he had been summoned to tell a tale, and would acquit himself of his obligation.

LaGuardia argues that the narrator expresses his wish to be included in the select group of storytellers in economic terms, and that there is therefore a *legal metaphor* employed in the terms *summoned* and *acquitted* – *sommé* and *acquitté*. On the contrary, there is no need to speak here of a *metaphor*: if the duke or his council summoned someone to do something, there was a *genuine* obligation, which could legitimately and in a very real sense be thought of as being *acquitté* on discharge.

LaGuardia writes: *The legal metaphor complements the economic one that precedes it and constructs an implicit social hierarchy: the narrators of the Cent nouvelles are subject to the feudal authority of the Duke and are summoned to the "court" of the text to give their narrative testimony. Philippe's royal personage [sic] is constituted by a procedure of accumulation: there have to be ever more servants, weapons, food, paintings, tapestries, and women accruing around him. Similarly, each of the narrators has to contribute to the accumulation of narratives that*

anonymous Cent nouvelles nouvelles reflect or reconstruct the implicit rules that structure the relations of men to other men, within an imaginary patriarchy dominated by a male figure of authority. Referred to throughout the collection as "Monseigneur", the character of Duke Philippe le Bon of Burgundy as narrator imposes his taste for a particular type of story and its variants on his fellow narrators, who are named at the head of each nouvelle. p. 51. (Underlinings mine.)

*signify a male homosocial structure, which include the female body among the material goods compiled around the figure of the sovereign*¹¹. However, this is to put the cart before the horse: the social hierarchy is not *implicit* – it was *actual*. There is no metaphor here: the hierarchy preceded the language, just as Philip's goods did not *constitute* him, but were made *for* him.

LaGuardia's conclusion is based on similarly backwards logic: *The world represented in the Cent nouvelles nouvelles is thus one in which a configuration of subjects (narrators) and objects (their stories) is saturated by the authority of a central figure. The dissemination of power across this grid or network – or as this grid or network – determines the ultimate meaning of each tale.*

The obvious retort to this line of argument is that the tale collection has a meaning of its own because the stories were told at the court of a real duke, whose authority was genuine, and by real courtiers. As we saw in chapters two and three above, there is no justification for writing of *the imaginary court of Philippe le Bon*¹². Moreover, there is no need to interpret the tales simply in terms of power or domination. Such a reading – as we saw in chapter four – is far too narrow: the tales are about more than that, because the men telling them were *men* and they had more on their minds.

¹¹ For this quote and what follows, see **LaGuardia**, *Iconography of Power*, p. 56. LaGuardia imposes a homosexual reading on the text, contending that: *the Cent nouvelles nouvelles prove to be the homoerotic fantasies that a group of men told one another, among whom the exchange of women's bodies was the basis of power and position in a male-dominated, homosocial society.* (pp. 12-13.)

¹² **LaGuardia**, *Iconography of Power*, p. 57.

LaGuardia continues: *From a close analysis of textual signs, one can profile the “society” that the operation of the text brings into being in the mind of the reader. In iconographic terms, one’s contemplation of these tales as icons allows for the interpretative projection of a social prototype as an essential part of the reading process. Its narration develops within and upon the workings of power and its effects, while its structural dynamics mirror the power relations that organize a fictional society.* By any sensible measure, an approach which begins by denying the reality of the society which produced the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* should justify itself, but LaGuardia’s quote marks appear around “society” based purely on the postmodern assumption that the meaning of a text is inaccessible from outside itself. This is a classic example of the postmodern argument which starts from the point of view that there is nothing meaningful to say, and degenerates from the premise by saying it. LaGuardia contends that historical documents should be “interpreted” primarily by *projection*. Projection, in LaGuardia’s terms is not merely a virtue, it is *the* virtue! (*We will and inevitably must read these texts from our own point of view, which presupposes that certain theoretical concerns are relevant to the analysis of any literary artifact*¹³.) What matters in this relativist theory is not the text, but the interpretation of the text: to take such a line is to deny the possibility of uncovering any historical truth. Yet, as we saw in the second and third chapters, *many* independent documents exist as testimony to the historical circumstances under which the text came to be generated. The society of men which produced the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* did not exist only on paper: they were real people, not figments. The text itself – which is, of course, a real document grounded in its time – confounds LaGuardia's postmodern

¹³ LaGuardia, *Iconography of Power*, p. 12.

approach. LaGuardia has treated the text as a unity in and of itself. The result of such a reading has been the distortion – even the disfigurement – of what remains of the work's original meanings: the *Nouvelles* have been forced to square with twentieth-century psychological and feminist readings of the text, and have not been allowed to speak for themselves within a historical context.

To be clear, what is under attack in this chapter is not simply the specific textual findings of LaGuardia, but the approach which generated his findings. It is no more possible to be comprehensive in covering the lives of the raconteurs than it is to write a complete biography of any fifteenth-century group, and as we saw at the start of chapter three, the question addressed was not the impossible one: *who were the raconteurs?* The approach adopted was rather to stress what the sources *do* make available, and to present this vast body of evidence in a palatable and thematic order. Such an approach seems less asinine than to suggest that the narrative created the court. Quite independently of the text, the raconteurs consorted in overlapping coterie of fellowship, across the spectrum of Burgundian life, which explain and locate the generation of the text within a specific milieu. Moreover, through this thematic approach, we saw that some of the major aspects of that fraternisation can be codified, studied and presented as concrete evidence of the unwritten organisation which marked their experience not merely as belonging to the world-wide fellowship of artists, but to the specifically Burgundian experience of raconteur-courtiers in the late 1450s. Thus, the method of chapter three is not intended merely as a *critique*: it also demonstrates the validity of the claim that the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is itself evidence of a network of sociability.

Against Postmodern Theory: Brooks And Martines.

More theoretical material is written about theology, literature, art, and the study of culture (popular and otherwise) than is written about history. For this reason, the trends which deal with theory in historical journals and in historiographical monographs often reflect dispositions and proclivities in philological, theological, philosophical and journalistic writing. In particular, there have been tendencies in theological writing since the 1960s to promote what is called a *liberal* interpretation of history, mostly growing out of trends in biblical interpretation from the late 1800s¹⁴. Throughout the 1960s in particular, theologians working as historians of the gospel texts wrestled with the dissonance between *the event taking place, and the historian knowing about it*¹⁵. They split decisively into two camps which are still distinct today. The traditionalists felt that Saint Paul's teaching: *we see through a glass darkly*, meant that, as human beings in a fallen world, God allows us to glimpse bits of His picture but not the whole. The liberals claimed that because historical evidence is fragmentary, and understood in different ways by different people, having "bits of the picture" was not only unimportant – it was tantamount to having *nothing* firm on which to base an appraisal of the past. Thus, a defence of the contention that literature *may* and indeed *should* be read as history must take into account the various theoretical avenues down which theorists travel to arrive at the so-called "new historicist" debate.

¹⁴ A. Ward, A. Waller, W. Trent, J. Erskine, S. Sherman, and C. Van Doren, *The Cambridge History of English and American Literature in 18 Volumes* (Cambridge, 1907–21). Vol. 12. chapter 13 *The Romantic Revival*, Bibliography.

¹⁵ J. Peter, *Finding the Historical Jesus* (London, 1965) pp. 18-21. See his book for a bibliography of works current in the 1950s and 1960s. In the 1960s, and 1970s the boom in publications promoting the liberal attitudes from which postmodernism grew is especially marked.

We can begin with a work in which history and literature are considered side by side. Cleanth Brooks¹⁶ has argued that *there are no real grounds for jealous conflict between the proponents of history and those who are primarily concerned with what used to be called belles lettres. The activities they practice are in fact thoroughly compatible and often mutually supportive. Sometimes the biographer, the literary historian and the lexicographer hold the keys necessary for unlocking a poem's full meaning, especially if the poem dates from an earlier time. We must remember that such information as the biographer or the historian can provide cannot in itself determine literary value. Often it cannot even fully determine meaning. A mediocre or even worthless poem (or novel or play) may profit from, and even require, as much help from the biographer or the literary historian as a work of great literary value. Dates are dates, facts are facts, whether they have to do with the popular American ballad "Casey Jones," Longfellow's Hiawatha, or Keats's magnificent "Ode to a Nightingale."*¹⁷.

Brooks' literary analysis of works by the English poets of the Renaissance, shows the extent of their involvement in the major historical events and literary and social trends of their time. Although he relegates the job of the historian to the provision of "dates" and "facts" – something which historians do, but would not claim as a virtue – this is perhaps excusable, given the focus of his work: Brooks is interested in "literary value". However, he is not narrowly concerned with matters of merely aesthetic interest, as were the early twentieth-century modernists: he claims to be concerned to avoid and even to put an end to the charge of

¹⁶ C. Brooks, *Historical Evidence and the Reading of Seventeenth Century Poetry* (Columbia, 1991).

¹⁷ Brooks: *Historical Evidence*, p. 1.

*robbing the poet of his own poem, taking it over to interpret as we like*¹⁸. Brooks' *Historical Evidence and the Reading of Seventeenth-Century Poetry* is a work which cuts against the postmodernist new hermeneutic's insistence that *the poem is all*. He has no room for the idea that external referent obfuscates rather than elucidates the writer's meaning. He argues that a literary scholar's main concern is to have a *careful concern for the details of the text as written*, and it is clearly important for Brooks that we consider the twin ideas in conjunction with each other. That is, we study *the text*, and we study it *as it was written* - which includes the immediate - that is to say, the relevant - historical context. The issue of meaning is one which most concerns Brooks, but, as we have seen, he approaches it from a literary point of view. The value of a piece of poetry as *art* - what he calls its *worth* - is his primary interest in the backgrounding of texts and, as such, this sets Brooks apart in emphasis from the historians who study literature with a view to discovering more about the historical period.

The argument with postmodernism has not yet blown its course, and some academics discount the value of such an approach on the grounds that subjectivity in linguistics precludes the possibility of objectivity. To acknowledge the concerns of the new hermeneutic, it seems honest to admit an element of faith to the equation here: it is *in bona fide* that the historian and the philologist seek to address texts and contexts, *assuming* the untestable possibility to be correct that we have an innate affinity with words, and the evidence of communication indicates a realistic basis for that faith. Obviously, each reader comes in his own way to each text, and to a greater or lesser extent, each reader will impose his own personality

¹⁸ Brooks: *Historical Evidence*, p. 159.

on the text. However, there is no justification for abandoning the pursuit of a "golden understanding" on this basis alone, given the evidence of shared reaction to particular passages of text¹⁹. Brooks indicates his own stance in the conclusion of his own work, saying:

To state it very briefly and in my own terms, poets do have intentions, and of course it is common sense to take them into account when they are available to us. What finally counts, however, are the achieved intentions, not prospective intentions or intentions as later recollected, perhaps recorded in a letter or diary or remembered by a friend as having been told him by the poet. The shaping impulses are indeed important, but as manifest in the work. For if poets sometimes write better than they know, they also sometimes write worse than they think they do. Moreover, poets express not merely the impulse of which they are fully conscious, but those from the unconscious also²⁰.

Brooks' horizon is dominated by the idea of literary quality. For him, there are good literary reasons for adopting the historical approach to literature. Essentially, it is easier to recognise literary and aesthetic talent in its historical and cultural context than outwith that context. Again, understanding art is the primary concern: what *finally counts*... In some ways, this theoretical contention also underpins the fourth chapter of the present thesis: close textual analysis of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* – and

¹⁹ Perhaps the audience reaction to a humorous aside in a theatrical context gives us the best scope for believing in the intrinsic and self-evident capacity for common understanding of language, or at least of linguistic facility. It is possible, of course, that a few thousand individuals could be laughing at the same joke for highly refined individual reasons, but this scarcely seems credible.

²⁰ Brooks, *Historical Evidence*, p. 158.

indeed of other texts too – is easier to carry out with an appreciation of historical elements which have a bearing on meaning.

Brooks' principal interest involves him in a literary search for such basic elements in textual comprehension as *establishing authorship, datings, biographical and historical references, and the specific and sometimes archaic uses of words that make up the poet's text*²¹. In fact, his insights and his capacity to ground his texts historically are most subtle, and commendable. The best chapter in his book deals with Andrew Marvell's *To his Coy Mistress* and *The Garden* in a most surprising way. He builds on what he calls *a rich and detailed account of the classical background of the poems, the various literary sources upon which Marvell drew or might have drawn, and the analogues to be found in other poets of the Renaissance, both Marvell's predecessors, and his contemporaries*²². He also notes that he has *little here to add to this sort of important information [but that he will] concern [him]self with two rather different matters: the dramatic and tonal structure of these poems and the parallels and contrasts that exist between them*. He goes on to deal thematically with the poem, and confronts both the problem of Marvell's personality, and the society which begat it. In an interesting and rigorous appendix, Brooks uses a semiotic problem of a historical-linguistic nature to emphasise the original meaning of the poet, and the poem in its immediate context. The establishment of the fundamentals, however, is not a virtue, but a necessity, when we examine texts as historians.

²¹ Brooks, *Historical Evidence*, p. 157.

²² Brooks, *Historical Evidence*, p. 97.

What are to be considered the further refinements of the historian's approach to literary texts? As we saw in chapters two and three, for the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* there exists an equally impressive account of the analogues, sources and even later versions of the tales, which is also true for Marvell's works. The antecedents of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* especially have been studied in various states of completeness, and without general academic consensus being brought to our understanding of them, as yet. Some *Nouvelles*, undoubtedly original works, have been examined in the context of the future versions which they inspired - an altogether fraught process. Others have been placed within a tradition extending back to the twelfth century - *Nouvelle* 19, for example, the tale of the snow child discussed in chapter four, exists in an early Latin version entitled *de Mercatore*, but it also survived in Sercambi's *Novelle*²³. It was reworked in the nineteenth century as a ballad, and it has doubtless been borrowed in a twentieth-century form, and may even be adapted by writers not yet born²⁴. Is it reasonable to study these stories, which appeal to many generations, from the point of view of one narrow historical context? Is there a sense in which they transcend their immediate circumstance to the extent that it is of little value to consider them even in the broader sweep of history, and because they have a life dependent on their readership? This logic certainly follows postmodernist

²³ D. McGrady, 'Were Sercambi's *Novelle* Known from the Middle Ages on?', in *Quarterly Bulletin of the American Association of teachers of Italian* (1980) pp. 3-18. See chapter four above.

²⁴ The ballad, for which I have been unable to find a written source, is described as *a burlesque in liturgical dress*, and is one of the so called Cambridge songs.

Now listen all you folks a funny tale you 'll learn.

How a Swabian's wife at tricks was bold

Till she was tricked in turn.

From Constance out he sailed to cross the ocean foam

trends in thought. Perhaps, however, the question can be addressed by historians in their own way. A historian's main job is not principally to appreciate the text's artistic merits, or even its place in the development of aesthetic trends. Rather he seeks to use literature to open-up the world in which it was created. In other words, his primary focus is not on the quality of the work as aesthetic content *per se*, or even the values inherent in it. Rather, the historian looks at its own immediate interest in its historical context. Exponents of literary historical enquiry, however, have claimed that their scholarship does have a bearing on philological appreciation of texts, and with issues of artistic interest. Although this historical approach is intensely focused, it is not without wider application.

In Lauro Martines' first book on the subject he dealt more strenuously with the postmodernist polemic than Brooks, probably because in the mid 1980s, the postmodernist argument was gaining greater intellectual credibility, inasmuch as its novelty ensured it a wider audience, and consequently, a wider group of unconscious adherents than, perhaps, it enjoys today²⁵. Yet, in the teeth of mounting ideological opposition²⁶,

And he had treasures in his hold

And a wanton wife at home... [etc]

²⁵ L. Martines, *Society and History in English Renaissance verse* (Oxford, 1985).

²⁶ See reviews of his work by P. Stallybrass in *Renaissance Quarterly* (1988) pp. 337-339; B. Shapiro in *The American Historical Review* (1986), pp. 1190-1191; M. Hannay in *Sixteenth Century Journal*, (1988), p. 656. D. Norbrook in *English Historical Review* (1988) pp. 193-194; D. Sacks in *Journal of British Studies* (1987), pp. 107-123. None of the reviews of Martines' work were wholeheartedly positive. Some were merely condescending, whilst others were laconically dismissive. Peter Stallybrass' comments exemplified the former tendency, describing it as a *courageous book* and saying, *I greatly admire the way in which he has immersed himself in this work*. David Norbrook's review from 1988 exemplifies the latter tendency, writing that: *the new theory has not so far made much impact on*

Martines was amongst the first to cut against the postmodernist trend, and to make the claim that *the ultimate aim of social literary analysis is a double one: to throw light on poetry and to throw light on history - that is, to use the light of social and historical analysis to find the traces of society on poetry and to use social literary analysis to bring the light of poetry to the mysteries of the historical world*²⁷.

Martines contended that *the strongest argument against reading any literary text in its historical and social context rests on the claim that art is an 'independent semantic unity', not at all in line with 'reality' and not even in sensible touch with it*²⁸ ... *Poets, like all people, belong to a time and place, and therefore any act of creative writing on their part is likely to bear the marks of a milieu*²⁹.

This starting point is the article of faith on which Martines defends his whole approach. It was on just this proposition that he based another book that dealt with the problem of narrative source material - *An Italian Renaissance Sextet*³⁰. In that work, he established six Renaissance texts' historicity, and their historical value, by a careful process of dissection³¹. He based his observations less on events external to the text, than on social and, to an extent, economic trends which have been studied by

Renaissance criticism, but under the influence of writers like Foucault, it implies a rethinking of the boundaries between "history" and "literature" far more radical than Martines's approach.

²⁷ Martines, *Society and History*, p. 4.

²⁸ Martines, *Society and History*, p.viii.

²⁹ Martines, *Society and History*, p. 1.

³⁰ L. Martines and M. Baca, (trans.) *An Italian Renaissance Sextet, Six tales in Historical Context* (New York, 1994/1995).

himself and by the other great twentieth-century historians of the Italian Renaissance period. This is that book's great strength, and also its great limitation: because there is little insistence on the relevance of the immediate and personal life of the individual writers, the points Martines makes are less localised and less specific than they should have been if the authors had been more strongly integrated into his analysis. This criticism is a little unfair, in that it concentrates on what he has not chosen to do, rather than bringing his achievement into focus. Martines, undoubtedly, could have told us more about the authors if this had been his intention. Clearly, however, his intention was to present the texts as historical documents *per se*, and to this end, he did not wish to distract the reader from the main point, which was that this was achievable. As we saw in chapter four above, however, it is often the case that textual analysis which does not deal with the immediate historical circumstances in which the texts were generated, is fraught with difficulty.

However, Martines successfully relocates the great themes and situations within their social, religious, and economic milieux. If the charge were to be laid against Martines that this method of writing about the history in short stories offers a highly subjective and selective view of the social worlds that he unfolds to his readers, it might reasonably be said that there is an element of selection in all textual criticism, and that it is a nonsense to discount the six texts that he has chosen simply on the grounds that they are literary. His plea seems to be that, in their own way, each of the six tales he discusses can be made as historically informative as any other document of the period. In our study of the *Cent nouvelles*

³¹ *Historicity* in this context is used by Martines as a technical term meaning “the historical genuineness of an event” but with other levels of meaning. Even a fictitious event, which *could have*

nouvelles, we have uncovered rather more about the social world of the men involved in the telling of the tales from chronicles and unpublished archival material.

Theory: Hermeneutics from Theology to Philology.

Postmodernism is a phenomenon, however, which has reached a variety of spheres in the humanities, and, as might be expected, some of the most robust rebuttals of poststructuralism and postmodern ideas have been offered by students of divinity, and Christian apologists. For example, the theologian D.A. Carson dealt with three branches of hermeneutics which, usefully, he defines in simple terms as *the interpretation of texts*³². He divides the rationales into the original – even *medieval* – understanding, viz that hermeneutics was both the science and the art of biblical interpretation. It was a science, inasmuch as there were important and reasonable principles which, if followed, could lead independent and mature scholars to duplicate findings. *The task of the interpreter was to understand what the text said [...] in this version of hermeneutics, a great deal of attention is paid to grammar, parables, and other literary genres, principles for studying words, how to relate biblical themes, and the like*³³.

Although this approach is old fashioned, its limited merits are manifest. The avoidance of error is key to this approach, and this is enough to recommend it to the historian and the philologist alike. Yet, this takes us only as far as Brooks' recommendations, and it is only in the next aspect

happened, can be described as having a limited historicity as Martines uses the term.

³² D. Carson (ed.), *New Bible Commentary* (Leicester, 1994): 'Introduction – Approaching the Bible'.

³³ Carson, *Commentary*, p. 10.

of the art of hermeneutics that we begin to address the deeper issues which face historians seeking to justify the historical use of literary texts.

This second branch of hermeneutics is concerned with the use of literary-critical tools: *source criticism, form criticism, redaction criticism, and, more recently, various forms of narrative criticism*. Carson identifies the problems inherent to the adoption of this branch of hermeneutics: *much of the purpose of these academic techniques was to reconstruct the history and belief structure of particular believing communities behind the text, rather than to listen to the message of the text*³⁴. Inasmuch as these concerns seem paramount to the historian, however, they are far more straightforwardly utilitarian than they are problematic.

Yet, the difficulty of the third branch of text interpretation - the new hermeneutic - has to be addressed. It arose out of an observation of the warring trends in historical approaches to texts. Marxist / homosexual / feminist / right wing / negro / anthropological (etc.) approaches to the same material give different interpretations of those same texts, and this has seemed to be a problem to be wrestled with. The proposition that meaning, in textual terms, resides not in the text, but relies on the reader, blows all realistic interpretative work out of the water.

As we saw in chapter two, Alexandre Lorian has contended that Roger Dubuis was wise to follow in the footsteps of the philological masters who blazed the trail before he did, reasoning that theses all too often produce bizarre ideas for the sake of controversy. *Scholars adopt ... different literary, linguistic or stylistic ideologies: they have recourse to*

³⁴ Carson, *Commentary*, pp. 10-11.

*psychoanalysis, marxism, behaviourism, different kinds of structuralism and the new hermeneutic etc*³⁵. However, according to Lorian, even though they embrace these different literary, linguistic or stylistic ideologies, their success depends not on which *ideology* is appropriated, but on the talent, the culture and the intellectual probity of the researcher. Whilst this seems a tolerant and inclusive claim – a claim in which there is room for a variety of approaches – it is at base agnostic and fundamentally open to criticism on that basis. The problem is that all ideologies involve exclusive intellectual commitment, based on a conviction about what is true, and the truth is exclusive. The notion that ideology does not matter, and that there are many paths to truth is problematic, because the claims of each methodology lead in separate and distinct directions. Either the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* is susceptible of a Marxist reading or it is not. Either the psychoanalytical approach is the best one to adopt or it is not. If all ideologies were equally valid, and equally acceptable by the subjective standards which individuals use to gauge such ephemeral ideas as “intellectual probity”, and “talent”, then all studies using such approaches to the text would need to be considered independently. They would be valid only insofar as they satisfied the individual appraising the scholarship. Yet this makes any reading personal, and discounts the possibility that there is an absolute truth about a text’s meaning. It makes a nonsense of objective historical scholarship.

Lorian notes that in modern scholarship the employment of a meta-thesis is often accompanied by the use of a *meta-language*: a set of specialised

³⁵ A. Lorian, 'Deux Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in *The Hebrew University Studies in Literature*, (1974) pp. 151-170 at p. 157. *On adopte ... une idéologie littéraire, linguistique ou stylistique différente: on fait recours à la psychanalyse, au marxisme, au behaviorisme, aux structuralismes de tous genres, à la nouvelle critique, de plus en plus nouvelle, etc*

terminologies developed out of the theoretical approach: Marxists use the term “class struggle” for example, whereas other linguistic theories borrow from the lexicon of philosophy or science. These *meta-languages*, (which Lorian calls a *procédé*), either advance understanding of the point made about the text, or obscure it. Again, Lorian draws a distinction between the procedure and the “knowledge” – the *savoir* – which is the outcome of the application of the *meta-language*. Such a distinction is false, however, because anyone deliberately using a limited theoretical approach’s language straightjackets the enquiry. To impose a theoretical approach’s *meta-language* on a problem is not an innocent act: it is deterministically to lay down the track along which a train of thought runs: *This text is a bourgeois text: find examples of the ways in which it promotes the suppression of the working classes. This text is a male text: how does it oppress women*³⁶?

The deconstructionist argument - that there is an *equal* validity in different interpretative stances - ultimately renders all interpretations equally meaningless, or it relies on a qualification. The issue, as Carson put it, is one of relativism: *If no single interpretation is right, then either all interpretations are equally meaningless ... or all are equally 'right' - i.e. all are good or bad insofar as they are satisfying, or meet the needs of a particular person or community or culture, or meet certain arbitrary criteria... Aligned with the powerful respect contemporary western culture assigns to pluralism, this new hermeneutic rules no interpretation invalid, except that one which claims it is right and that others are*

³⁶ For an example of theoretical approaches to textual analysis more unusual than the Marxist or the feminist cf P. de Lajarte, 'Du Conte Facétieux Considéré Comme Genre: esquisse d'une analyse structurale', in *Ethnologie Française* (1974) pp. 319-332. Lajarte considers the *Nouvelles* of Nicolas de Troyes using mathematical notation.

*invalid*³⁷. Since human beings have a propensity to recognise that *truth* is exclusive, this approach makes little sense. The issue, to return to the theological point of view, was perhaps best summed-up by Saint Paul, who indicated that we are capable of seeing through a glass darkly – and not, as the new historicists would have it, that we are incapable of seeing anything, darkly, or otherwise.

The Current Historiographical Climate.

In a roundabout way, Gabrielle Spiegel's article on the *Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages* which appeared in a special number of the journal *Speculum* on *The New Philology*, argues in effect, for a relegitimation of, and a return to, the first and second branches of hermeneutics identified by Carson³⁸. Spiegel began her article with a challenging assertion: *the study of literary texts appears at the moment to stand at a decisive juncture*. She then observed that: *trends in critical thinking over the last decades have questioned the possibility of recovering a text's historical meaning. At the same time there is a newly insistent plea for a return to "history" in the interpretation of literature.*

In her search for a *rapprochement*, she sees a need to reconcile and understand how historians and critics – by which she means literary critics – understand "history", and of the ways in which *postmodernist thought positions history and the role of the historian with respect to issues of literary interpretation at the forefront of contemporary critical debate*. The real achievement of her article is her attempt to square the circle of pluralist or deconstructionist postmodern thought with the hard

³⁷ Carson, *Commentary*, p. 11.

reality of words on pages written by real medieval people. She acknowledges the strength of the attack waged on the *confident humanist belief that a rational 'objective' investigation of the past permits us to recover 'authentic' meanings in historical texts*, but deals with these attacks at the level not simply of theory, but of practical historico-philological exemplification. Since the *linguistic turn* towards *generative*³⁹ rather than *mimetic*⁴⁰ understanding of texts is the clearest area where historical textual analysis is under attack, she deals with this area first. To her credit, Spiegel clearly and concisely takes pains to present the broad arguments in some detail, and across a variety of authors, and she only comes around to her own argument against postmodernist trends on the fifth page of her article. She argues that *while cultural anthropology and cultural history, together with the New Historicism with which it entertains such rich relations, have successfully reintroduced a (new) historicist consideration of discourse as the product of identifiable cultural and historical formations, they have not been equally successful in restoring history as an active agent in the social construction of meaning*.

The method Spiegel employs is to talk of *a literary history that begins with a focus on the social logic of the text* – where 'logic' is almost synonymous with 'meaning'. She speaks of *the fabric of the text* and states

³⁸ G. Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text in the Middle Ages', in *Speculum* (1990) pp. 59-86.

³⁹ I.e.: *productive*. Thus, *generative* grammar is a set of rules whereby permissible sentences may be generated from the elements of a language. The issue is the extent to which linguistic change precludes sense in language. That is, if language is constantly changing, is meaning relative?

⁴⁰ I.e., *realistic*. Erich Auerbach's work on realism remains the most complete single volume study of the idea. E. Auerbach, *Mimesis: the representation of reality in Western literature* (translated from the German by W. Trask) (Princeton, 1953.) See chapter two above.

that it is something subject to *analysis as a determinate historical artifact*. However, as with all studies of this sort, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and the matter relies, ultimately, on a sort of faith, or conviction. When Spiegel says that her literary history begins with the text, but uses *existing features of current historical and critical thought* she comes out against the postmodern trend, but not in a way which disproves its validity, or, to put it another way - she does not attempt to prove its invalidity. *Text in context* – she does not chant the mantra, but it is the underlying rhythm of her article – is her way of understanding the past's writings. We have adopted this theory in the fourth chapter, to demonstrate that we can experience the validity of such an approach in its application. The essential point, however, is to take the general application and transfer it with equal benefit to other literary texts.

The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*: A New Approach to Literary History.

In a thought-provoking article Jan van Dorsten encouraged literary historians to abandon the world of *patronage and think instead in terms of hospitality and accessibility*⁴¹. Talking of Cecil's hospitality to men of letters, he identifies the trends in humanist dinner-table conviviality: *informal symposia where the bonae litterae were a standard subject*. He indicates a literary-historical approach, saying: "*By tracing the persons and topics involved, one can sometimes catch a glimpse of the tastes and interests of these gatherings; and in some cases one may be able to explain how certain books came to be written or why certain people, years later, could talk or correspond like old friends when nonliterary reasons - politics, more often than not - made it useful to revive the*

⁴¹ J. Van Dorsten, 'Literary patronage in Elizabethan England', in G. Lytle and S. Orgel (eds) *Patronage in the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1981) pp. 191–206 at p. 196.

acquaintance. Throughout the sixteenth century many an influential man, like Cecil, was particularly accessible if one could display philological or literary skill. As we saw in chapters two and three above, a similar situation existed in fifteenth-century Burgundy, centred on the court of Philip the Good. The application of the method outlined in the foregoing thesis would pay dividends if it were to be applied to a variety of other similar courtly literary practices – not merely for the various *Nouvelle* collections of European Literature, but for other gatherings dedicated to deliberation, and the advancement of letters across networks of sociability.

In the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (and especially in those *Nouvelles* which use a thirteenth-century fabliau as their model) can be seen a new preoccupation with detail, and the creation of an illusion of reality within the structure of the tale. The layers of details present in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* are more than simply a writer's fetish; they are self-conscious attempts at modernity and represent the deliberate cultivation of a new style in the one medium, literature, which had not wholly succumbed to the general shift in art to the preoccupation with realism achieved by detail. The *Nouvelle* form *was* new to French, and the form it took has an exceedingly distinctive fifteenth-century Burgundian specificity, especially as regards attention to detail. The *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* were aptly named: they broke new ground in the sphere of literature, and created a new form of artistic literary expression. Further, they did this by extending and modifying new trends in other artistic media, and even, in the case of both the unique Glasgow manuscript and Antoine Vérard's editions, incorporated pictorial media into the whole artistic package.

However, the historian of literature must notice that the *Nouvelles*' details are not justified artistically purely for the sake of abundance: they are carefully selected for what they bring to the art of the story. Details in the *Nouvelles* are rarely included purely for detail's sake. In the same way that every detail of the Arnolfini wedding portrait has artistic significance, the details included in the *Nouvelles* are there for what they add to the enjoyment of the story⁴². The fact that we do not understand all the details now does not have to mean that we can not understand some of them.



⁴² C. Harbison, *Jan Van Eyck: The Play of Realism* (London, 1991).

Appendix 1

SUPPLEMENTARY CODICOLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS ON MS HUNTER 252. U.4.10. (OBSOLETE HUNTER #247 / NO 751)

This description is intended to supplement **J. Young and P. Aitken**, *A Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1908), pp. 202-203, and **P. Champion**, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928) pp. CXVI-CXVII. When these codicological summaries were done, the manuscript had no folio numbers, but I refer throughout to this helpful modern addition.

PROVENANCE

The manuscript of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* came to the University of Glasgow by the terms of the abortionist William Hunter's will¹. Hunter had purchased it via an agent at the public auction in the Rue Richelieu, Paris, of Louis-Jean Gaignat's books on Monday 10 April 1769². Guillaume François de Bure's catalogue of the sale is also in the University Library³, and the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* manuscript is marked as lot #2214, and described thus: *petit in fol ms sur velin mar citr.* (i.e. *maroquin-citron*). The catalogue records the price Hunter paid: £100, 1s. Its provenance before this date is a mystery. Champion's speculation that it belonged to the d'Estrées family library is based on the monogram letter G on the book spine (see below) but this is flimsy evidence at best. Hunter's library remained in London until Matthew Baillie (Hunter's nephew, 1761-1823) had his use of it. It came to Glasgow in 1807⁴.

BINDING

Late 17th Century Binding (using red and blue string): millboards covered with morocco/citron leather. Gilt edges. Plain back and front covers. Book spine has monogrammed initials of interlocked Gs (GG), and groups of four (dexter, langued, rampant) or two lions⁵. *LES CENT NOUVELLES* on spine in raised gilt lettering. The S in *NOUVELLES* has almost entirely rubbed away.

¹ Hunter died in 1783, at the age of 65. **N. Ker**, *William Hunter as a Collector of Medieval Manuscripts* (Glasgow, 1982?) p. 14.

² Gaignat c. 1697 – 1768 is described in the catalogue as an *écuyer, conseiller-sécretaire du roi honoraire & receveur général des consignations des requêtes du palais*.

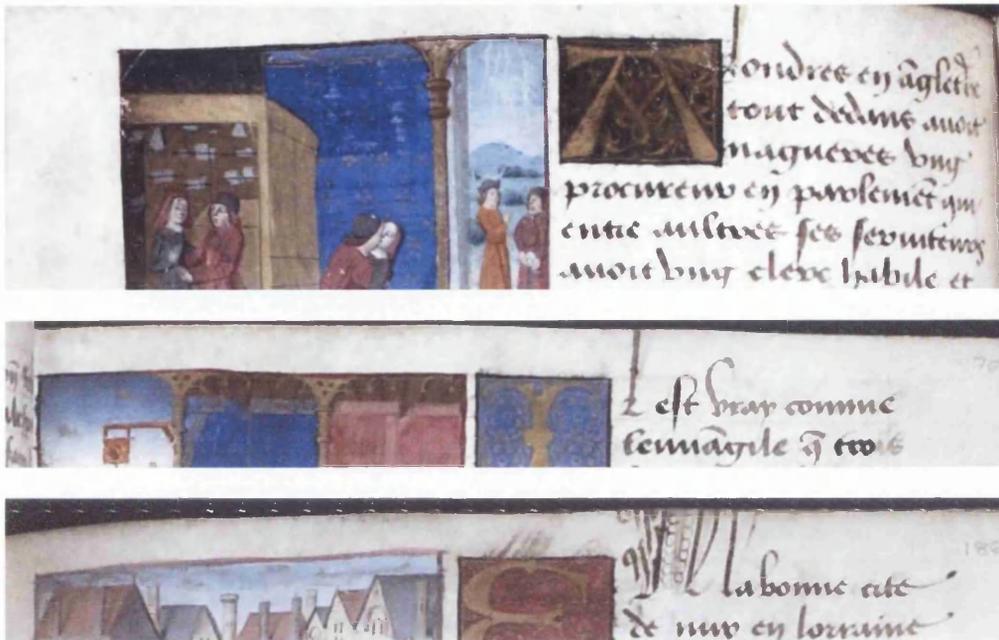
³ Call number: SP. COLL. Bn.3.21

⁴ See <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/guide/coll26.html> for a bibliographic guide and overview of the Hunterian collections.

⁵ The personalisation of the manuscript was possibly what motivated the rebinding in the first place, as the rest of it seems in good repair, and the pages missing from the start of the book are from the middle, not the beginning of the table, as one might expect if damage to the front of the book had motivated the rebinding. (On these missing folios see below.) There is, however, a repair to the last folio, which perhaps suggests damage to the back cover.

CROPPING

At an indeterminate date, the manuscript has been cropped at the top and the sides, although the bottom edge remains intact. This cropping has resulted in some loss of text, but apparently only to initials, as in the following examples from fo 27v, 70r and 186r.



This resizing probably took place during one rebinding process: because of the cropping, which may have resulted in a loss of marginalia, it is unclear if the work has been rebound more than once. It is also possible that the repairer inserted the patches and replacement pages and page sections at this time, whenever it was⁶. Including its repairs, the foliation is complete, except for missing pages in the table of contents. It is impossible to account for the original folios which have since been replaced, and it is also impossible to know how the book was originally bound.

COLLATION

207 folios, though at least one folio missing from the table of contents between 1v and 2r, because 2r has an imprint of a paint smudge from a decorated L initial opposite: 1v lacks such an initial. Only one piece of parchment edge is visible between 1v and 2r, though it would damage the book to investigate as thoroughly as is necessary to ascertain the precise number of missing folios⁷. Inadequacy in the binding of these extra folios may account for the loss of some of the pages of the table, as there is no visible sign of a ripping-out of leaves, such as ragged scraps of parchment remaining in the binding. (The parchment edge visible between 1v and 2r has been cut cleanly with a sharp knife.) Judging by those pages of the table which remain, the missing folios had no room for illuminations. There is no evidence that the manuscript ever contained a presentation miniature, though on a blank unnumbered folio (209v, based on the current foliation) at the end of the volume is a red 44mm x 57mm box, situated 10mm from the top and 5mm from the left hand side, which was perhaps intended for a special miniature. The table of contents is in a different ink and writing style to the hand (only one scribe wrote the tales) of the remainder of the manuscript and it may have been added at a later date.

⁶ Possibly, the repairer was the rebinder: the matching is functional rather than beautiful, which suggests an enthusiastic rather than a particularly able hand.

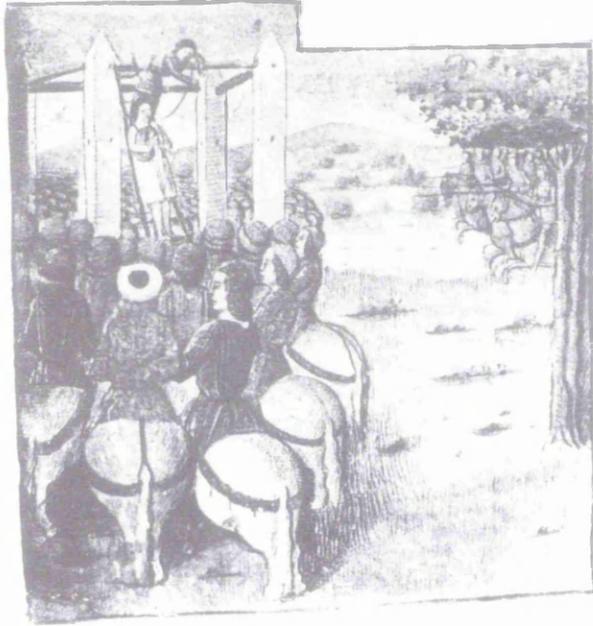
⁷ F. Sweetser, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, édition critique* (Geneva and Paris, 1966), pp. 2-20 contains the complete table as cribbed from the Bibliothèque Nationale Antoine Vêrard text in Réserve Y 174.)

The Young and Aitken catalogue's note of the collation is correct, and I reproduce it here:

Two modern paper leaves (i²), i, 1. attached, i, 2. made. Two red and gold acanthus patterned glazed paper leaves (ii².) ii, 1. attached with gum arabic paste (over i, 1.), ii, 2. made (with i, 2.). Three vellum leaves (iii³⁽⁴⁾), originally four (or possibly more), iii, 4. cut off. The foliated gatherings are of the following numbers || 1²⁽¹⁰⁾, 2¹⁰, 3⁶, 4¹⁰, 5⁶, 6¹⁰, 7⁶, 8¹⁰, 9⁴, 10¹⁰, 1¹⁶, 12¹⁰, 13⁶, 14¹⁰, 15⁶, 16¹⁰, 17⁶, 18¹⁰, 19⁶, 20¹⁰, 2¹⁶, 22¹⁰, 23⁶, 24¹⁰, 25⁶, 26¹⁰, 27⁵⁽⁶⁾. || Two vellum leaves (vi².) Two paper leaves (v²), v, 1. made, v, 2. attached. Two glazed paper leaves decorated with the acanthus pattern as at the start of the volume (vi²), vi, 1. made (with v, 1.), vi, 2. attached with paste (over v, 2). The first quire has only two remaining half sheets. Folios lost: 1, 1. 3.-9. 18. 9. Fo. 137 is lost, but has been replaced. 27, 5. is also replaced, and the lower margin of 27, 4.

DESCRIPTION

Vellum manuscript, 254mm x 185mm. Each page in single columns (220mm x 140mm) of 35 lines. Ruled in violet (see figure 1 below), no signatures, catchwords or foliation, though manuscript is cropped at top and side. Each tale has a rectangular miniature of roughly 70mm x 75mm, though nouvelle 75's illustration has a slightly different shape.



For its matter, the manuscript has a hundred short stories and ninety-nine fifteenth century miniatures illustrating them. No letters stray on to the images, except on folio 165v, which probably indicates that they were added after the text, as normal. Somewhat less usually, the red box which appears to demarcate their place on the page was actually drawn in after the miniature was finished, though possibly over a fainter line which is no longer visible, or which was only pressed on the page lightly⁸. At any rate, their position on the folio was generally determined by the ruled guidelines which the person preparing the manuscript inked



In the above border from miniature 63, for example, the red box overlaps the gold, suggesting that the miniature was completed before the box was inked in. The overlap may be more clearly seen in the following close up:



in⁹. There is also a later copy of the one missing miniature (illustrating nouvelle 62, fo 137r). Whoever drew this has taken pains to reproduce the original folio as nearly as he could. No art historians have committed themselves to a firm opinion on where the original miniatures were done¹⁰.

Each tale begins with a larger illuminated initial (see table below) and the second letter, also slightly larger than the rest of the text, has an ink flourish. Some letters are highlighted with flecks of colour at random throughout the manuscript, such as the *A* in "*A l'ostel d'un grand baron du pais*" in the first line below:

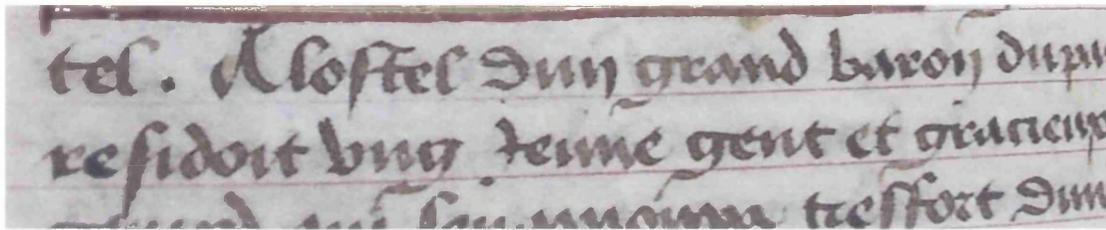


Figure 1 Example of violet ruled lines and textual highlights.

In its current appearance and condition, the Glasgow manuscript is in good repair, except for numerous smudges where the book was closed before the paint was allowed to dry¹¹. In spite of the fact that it was evidently finished in a hurry, it shows signs of having been a prized item in a few collections before it came to Glasgow – not least because of the rebinding, a competent job.



This example is from the 27th nouvelle. In this close-up enhancement, the red lines are more clearly visible:



¹⁰ I have shown them to several eminent Burgundian art historians, each of whom has said something different. Only two were prepared to go "on the record", and even they were extremely cautious: Dominic Vanwijnsberghe's instinct, based on the compositional style, the colours used, and his wide experience of manuscripts was Tours, c. 1480, whilst Ludovic Nys had seen similar work dating from Holland, c.1470. Very little has been published on the miniatures. **A. Adams**, 'The Cent nouvelles nouvelles in MS Hunter 252: The Impact of the Miniatures', in *French Studies* (1992) pp. 385-394; **E. de Blicck**, 'Sacred images in a secular text: the case of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in *Images et Histoire: Clioh Notebooks, Clioh's Workshop* (2002) pp. 117-136 (online as: *Images sacrées dans un texte profane: l'exemple des Cent nouvelles nouvelles*: <http://www.stm.unipi.it/programmasocrates/cliohnet/clioh/doc/centnouvelles.doc>); **J. Wardrop**, 'Western Illuminated Manuscripts in the Hunterian Library, Glasgow', in *Apollo* (1931) pp. 255-260.



¹¹ The initial *E*'s decorative birds have been smudged against the word *matiere* on the adjacent folio. This example, taken from nouvelle 26, is one of many.

MARGINALIA

There are very few marginalia in the manuscript.

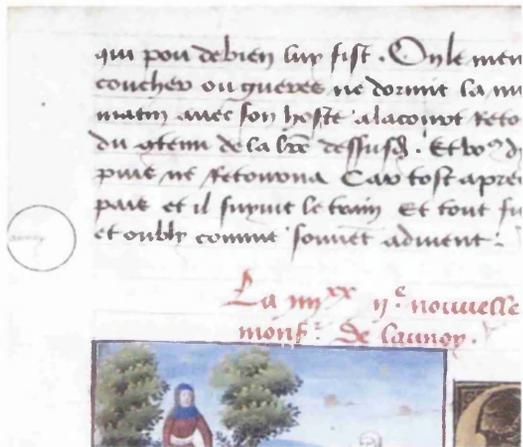
Fo 6r: An unusual mark on the top right which looks like a scroll, though it is difficult to be sure, as the page has been cropped.

Fo 8v: Similarly to fo 6r, though lower down the margin, there is a doodle, also cropped, on the left hand edge.

Fo 69v: Below the text are scribbles, though not letters or recognisable characters. On fo 70r there is much blotting on the folio, so it is possible the writer was testing his pen on fo 69v.

Fo 100r: This folio has what looks like the letters "in" in the same hand as the text disappearing into the binding, 60mm from the top of the folio. It would damage the binding to investigate further.

Fo 172v: The word *Launoy* appears in the margin above and to the left of nouvelle 82:



GROTESQUES

There are three grotesque faces in the inked second letter initials.

Fo 51v: the letter *A* of *JA soit* which begins nouvelle 24

Fo 120v: the letter *A* of *N'A gueres*, which begins nouvelle 53

Fo 148r: the letter *R* of *ORes* which begins nouvelle 67, though this has been seriously cropped.

FOLIOS OF INTEREST

[NB Occurrences of gilt initials and variant hands are listed separately in full below.]

Fo 1r: Start of Table, lines 1-5: S[large gilt illuminated initial] *Ensuit la table de ce present liure intitule des Cent | nouvelles. Lequel en soy contient cent chaptires ou hi | stoires ou pour mieulx dire nouvelles. | Compte par monseigneur le duc | L[small gilt illuminated initial] a premier nouvelle traicte d'ung qui trouua facon dauoir la [etc]*

Fo 2r: Finishes with the end of the table:

et de la response quil luy | donna comme cy apres pourrez oyr. Note that this is the synopsis for the acteur's hundredth nouvelle, and not the 99th nouvelle which in fact ends the manuscript¹².

Fo 2v: The dedication: *A Mon tres chier et tres redoubte seigneur | monseigneur le duc de burgoigne de Brabant etc. | The letter to the duke begins: C[gilt illuminated initial] Ommе anisi soit que entre les bons et prouffitables...* The page ends with the colophon after the dedication letter in the second rubricator's hand: *de dijon l'an m iiii^c xxxij.* Note that the table and the dedication were composite in the Hunterian manuscript. The first line on the folio (especially the letters *A Mon*) has been badly cropped, though remains legible. The gilt initial *C* has been decorated with a snarling dog's head by the same artist who did the rest of the manuscript's initials, which suggests the table and the manuscript belong together, and that

¹² **M. Jeay.** 'L'enchâssement narratif: un jeu de masques. L'exemple des Cent nouvelles nouvelles', in **M.-L. Ollier** (ed.) *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale* (Montreal, 1988) pp. 193-201 at p. 198.

the illuminated initials, which often have dogs or herons decorating them, were done after the manuscript text, including the table, was completed.

Fo 3: The start of nouvelle 1 begins on a new gathering, confirmed by the small parchment square guide at the bottom left of fo 3r. There is no rubric for the first nouvelle, and it is possible that there was once a folio prior to the start of the nouvelle and after the dedication which contained the rubric: *La premiere nouvelle par monseigneur*.

Fo 12r: The miniature to nouvelle 4 depicts the Scots archer in a red coat (*paletot*) with a white cross, though their usual uniform was red white and green¹³. (The wife's dress is blue, the colour of loyalty. Perhaps this is a comment on where culpability lay in the scene: i.e. with the husband cowering behind the curtains, too afraid to prevent the Scot cuckolding him¹⁴.) Compare the miniature for nouvelle 8, where the harlot about to marry wears red, perhaps to signify her numerous secret and shameful liaisons with her household's *charreton*. On the right hand side of that miniature, the girl for whom the *jeune compaignon picard* forsakes his fiancée wears blue, presumably to signal her loyalty to him.

Fo 14r: The miniature for the fifth nouvelle depicts *Talbot* seated wearing a red cross. Behind him the two knights also wear red crosses. The French knight who attacks the Englishman as a punishment for breaking *Talbot's* safe-conduct wears a red coat with a white cross. This is the same uniform as the Scots archer in nouvelle 4's miniature.

Fo 15v: The story of the decisions of *Lord Talbot* contains two distinct narrative units, as it relates two separate anecdotes. The text reflects this by enlarging the letter *R* in *Reste a compter laultre* and decorating it with gold on a brown background.

Fo 23r: In the image to the tenth nouvelle, the same servant is depicted on the left hand side wearing blue, but on the right in red. The plot of the nouvelle turns on the servant's change of heart. When his master first married, the servant refused to procure other women for him, to honour his new mistress. When his master punished him with an unchanging diet (of his favourite dish: eel pies), he relented so he could have more varied fare. The change in colour of the servant's clothes mirrors his ideological change in the story. See chapter four above.

Fo 23v-24r: Strands of previous binding string visible between folios.

Fo 25r: The miniature depicts the devil with a face in his groin, as in the other devil story in the collection (nouvelle 70, fo 152r). The face is visible, though much damaged.

Fo 33r: Illustration to nouvelle 15. The miniature depicts monks in white hoods and robes, visiting the nuns' convent. The background of the miniature shows one monk reading a prayer book.

Fo 42v: Illustration to nouvelle 20. The background of this miniature (which is difficult to discern in Champion's plate) shows the silhouettes of the foolish man of Champagne and his doctor, identifiable by the phial of urine he holds.

Fo 45v: The illuminator of the 21st nouvelle has clearly taken pains to establish that the abbess' bed is a double by placing her to the edge.

Fo 47: This folio has been put in backwards. The collation corner is at the opening bottom edge rather than the inside (book spine) edge.

Fo 51r: The illustration of the nouvelle about the count of Saint Pol's attempted rape of a country girl near Lille depicts the count in rich red boots, with gold flecks.

Fo 53v: The depiction of Saint Yon in a red robe with an orange trim shows him sitting in his judgement seat under a blue canopy. There is no sense that this is an idiosyncratic portrait.

Fo 66r: This contains the start to the 28th nouvelle, by *Michault de Chaugy*, whose first few lines have been obliterated. The decorated *S* initial has not been scrubbed out, but the remainder has been. It originally read:

*SI au temps du
tresrenomme
et eloquent
bocace ladventure dont je*

¹³ The Scots guard uniforms are described and illustrated in **D. Delgrange** (also known as **Otte, poursuivant d'armes**), *Paletots d'Ordonnance des armées au service du Duc de Bourgogne (Vers 1440-1480)* (Lille, 1998). (cf the uniforms of the armed servants of the count of **Saint Pol**, and the lord of **Fiennes**.) I am grateful to Mr Delgrange for his correspondence and assistance on this matter.

¹⁴ On the use of red and blue elsewhere in the manuscript see **Adams**, *Impact of the Miniatures*, p. 393.

veil fournir ma nouvelle
 fust advenue et a son
 audience ou cognoissance
 p[ar]venue ie ne doute point
 qu'il ne leust adioustee
 et mise ou reng du compte[s]
des nobles hommes mal
fortunez car je ne pense pas q[ue] noble ho[mm]e eust jamais po[u]r
 ung coup gueres fortune plus dure a porter q[ue] le bon
 s[eigneu]r a qui dieu pardoint dont je vo[us] compteray adue[n]ture
 et si sa male fortune n'est digne destre ou dit **livre de**
bocace jen faiz juges tous ceulx qui lorr[er]ont racomptee

The obliteration is heaviest in the areas identified above in bold underlining. The title of Boccaccio's book (underlined above) has also been more strongly obliterated than the scoring and scribbling over the remainder of the text. It is clear that whoever effaced the manuscript intended to remove any connection with Boccaccio's work. The obvious speculation is that it was expurgated because Boccaccio's work was believed to be a banned text. (The earliest English version of the text edited by William Baldwin, *A Mirror for Magistrates*, was banned in 1554¹⁵.) Perhaps it was confused with the *Decameron*, which is itself not mentioned in the text, except as the *livre des cent nouvelles*. *Chaugy's* 80th nouvelle mentions the *baston de quoy on plante les hommes, comme dit Bocace (the stick for planting men with as Boccaccio says: the conceit is lifted from the Premierfait Decameron)* but this passage has not been scored through, so it is possibly Boccaccio's *De Casibus* which was a banned text.

Fo 90v: The illustration for nouvelle 37 is noteworthy because it depicts the old jealous man in his library, reading a book at a table. Behind him are leaves of books hanging on a rack. His wife wears a red overcoat, with a blue skirt below.

Fo 101r: The top right corner of the folio has been replaced with a patch. All underlined text is added on the patch in a later hand:

L'an cinqu
ante dernier
passee le clerc du
village du diocese de noyon
pour impetrer et gagner
les pardons qui furent a rom[m]e
qui sont tels que chascun scait
se mist a chemin en la co[m]paignie
de plusieurs gens de bien de
noyon de compiegne et de

Fo 101v:
jouer deux ou trois ans par pays. Et pendant ce temps, si
Dieu vouloit prendre ma femme, jamais ne fu si eureux.
et pourtant je vous requier que vous soyez mon moyen vers ce
cardinal que ie le serve; et, par ma foy, je feray tant que
vous ne auez ja reprouche pour moy. Et s'ainsi le faictes, vous me ferez le plus grand service que jamais
compaignon
fist a autre Puis que vous avez ceste volonte, dist son compaignon,
ie vous servirez et a ceste heure, et vous logeray pour avoir
bon temps se a vous ne tient.

Fo 109r: Illustration for nouvelle 46. Both the monk and the nun in the garden are dressed in black robes.

Fo 112r: The rubric: par mons[eigneu]r de la Roche is squeezed in after the 47th nouvelle, just before the next one begins, which strongly suggests that the rubrics were done after the manuscript's body text. This does not imply that the original rubrics were an afterthought. It was normal to add rubrics to a finished text, and underestimating the amount of space needed for a name merely suggests carelessness.

¹⁵ English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), 2nd Edition, #1252. <http://idp.bl.uk.idp/idpintro.html>.

Fo 120r: The rubric has a notable initial:

*La cinquante troysiesme nouvelle
par monseigneur lamant de bruxelles*

The *L* of *La* is significantly larger than others in the manuscript, and has more of a flourish than any others.

Fo 132v: Illustration for nouvelle 60, which is discussed in chapter 4 above. The backdrop on the left hand side of the frame (which is difficult to discern from Champion's plate) depicts the husband conversing with his wife in the street. She is dressed in her disguise of a monk's habit. In the right hand side, three men beat the monks as the wives look on bare headed. There is no sign of their meal, and only one discarded headdress sits on the floor. The women's *husbands* are not depicted in the right hand side of the frame. (The nouvelle establishes that servants gave the monks their beating.)

Fo 137r: The start of nouvelle 62. The folio is a substitute leaf written in a 17th Century hand, which has copied the miniature, but without any attempt to reproduce the original's artistic style. The details of the miniature seem close to the original. (NB: the attribution to the tale is on fo 136v (*la Ixije nouvelle par monseigneur de Quievrain*) on the original vellum, and is therefore trustworthy. The nouvelle begins at the top of the folio:

Environ le mois de juillet, alors que certaines convencions,

Fo 137v: The end of the section of text in the seventeenth century hand reads:

par nuyt sur la muraille de la dite ville.

Fo 138r: The text returns to the fifteenth century hand: *et pource q[ue] les seigneurs et nobles ho[m]mes de mons[eigneu]r*

Fo 193r: The bottom of this folio has been repaired and reads:

nesse pas signe que ie boive assez a son gre quand ses

The underlined letters have remnants of the upper sections of their stems on the top part of the folio, which shows that the copyist followed the letters as nearly as possible and probably used the original bottom part of the folio as a guide when he replaced the text, matching up the replacement text with the existing letter sections. The patched section at ends at *a lhostel ou il trouua* on fo 193r.

Fo 193v: In the middle of the folio is a section where the copyist made an error, but corrected it using a superscript addition: *Et par saint Jehan^{ice marche} ne se passera pas sans [etc]*

The tale ends:

Le marche demoura ¶

but the patch contains a modern addition in purple ink:

la iij^{xx} xvij^e nouvelle par lacteur

Fo 206r: The bottom section of the text and the margin are cut off, and have been replaced by a patch in the same style as fo 137. The vellum has been replaced just below the end of the manuscript's 99th nouvelle (Vérard's 100th) after the phrase: *si fist le clerc pareillement*, and reads: *La Ce et derniere nouvelle par phelipe de loan* in the same purple ink used on fo 193.

Fo 206v: The section in the modern repair patch reads:

de poisson qui estoit en la ville dont il nestoit pas ioyeux.

Et luy dist et que pouuons nous soupper monseigneur, respon

dit il ie vous feray faire des œufs en plus de cent mille ma

nieres: vous aures aussi des pommes et des poires nostre hoste [end of folio]

Fo 207r: This is a completely replaced folio which begins:

a aussi de bon gourmaige ci bien gras nous vous tiendrons bien

and ends:

et ne se peut faire ne tenir de luy dire ha monseigneur que

Fo 207v: Folio begins:

faictes vous estes vous juif ou sarrazin que ne regardez vous

oultrement le vendredy par ma foy ie me donne grant merveille

and ends¹⁶:

maistre trop subtilement fardee et coullouree et en tindrent

depuis maniere du bien de luy et aussi mainteffois en divers

lieux ioyusement racompterent

¹⁶ I have given a few lines to give an idea of the average line length, as the last line of the nouvelle does not cross the folio.

Fo 210r: Unnumbered and blank paper folio. A watermark on the bottom right hand side.

THE SECOND RUBRICATOR

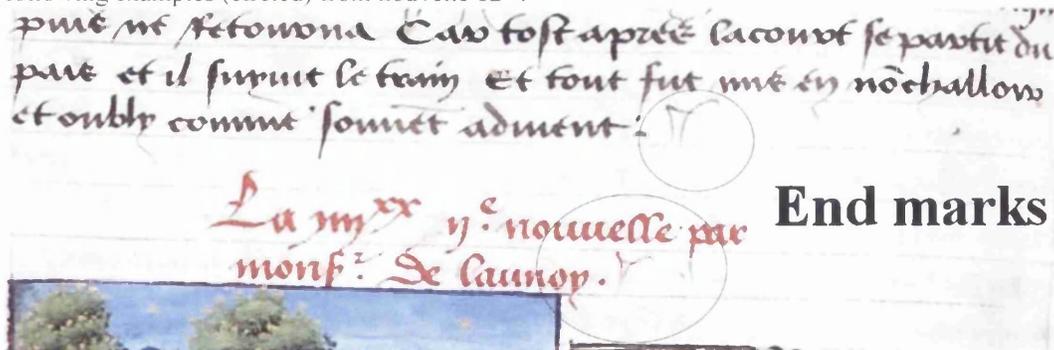
The following seventeen or eighteen nouvelles have had their rubric altered in the second red ink which was used to add the colophon to fo 2v (there is doubt about nouvelle 98 – see below) 13, 14, 19, 26, 28, 50, 80, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99. In the table below, the original rubrics are indicated in red, the colophon writer's slightly lighter red rubric is indicated in pink and the manuscript repairer's additions are indicated in purple.

Note that the colophon rubricator has not merely changed titles, but has added names. There is no manuscript record of other tales by a *Seigneur de Santilly*, a *Philippe Vignier*, a *monsieur le Voyer*, a *Seigneur de Beaumont*, or a *Timoleon Vignier* outwith these attributions, and none of their names are in the Vérard edition either. In fact, Vérard gives only two names between the 85th and the 100th nouvelles: *monseigneur de Launoy* for 92 and *monseigneur de Villiers* for 95. A propos the differences between the names in the manuscript and the Vérard texts:

- The manuscript gives the *acteur* for nouvelle 92, but in the colophon ink; nouvelle 95 is said to be by *Philippe de Loan*, in the original rubric.
- Although nouvelle 96 has been left without an attribution, there is no room to insert one. On folio 192r the rubric reads: *La quatrevingts xvje nouvelle*, and the *lle* of *nouvelle* actually overlaps the the flourish of the R in the start of the first word of the nouvelle, *OR*.
- The manuscript scribe often made the following mark (or similar) to indicate the end of a phrase, a sentence or a nouvelle:



Both the rubrics and the text contain end marks, as can be seen clearly from the following examples (circled) from nouvelle 82¹⁷:



Where he made additions or corrections to the original rubric, the second rubricator often had to erase this end mark. The end marks are represented below by the character: ¶ and the footnotes indicate when an end mark has been erased to make way for the colophon rubricator.

Nouvelle	Folio	Text (Common contractions are expanded)
----------	-------	---

¹⁷ Note that the rubricator has corrected himself. The text originally read: *La iij^{xx} xije nouvelle par monseigneur de launoy ¶*

13	27r	la xiiij ^e nouvelle par monseigneur de castregat escuier de monseigneur ¹⁸
14	29v	la xiiij ^e nouvelle par monseigneur de Crequy cheuallier de l'ordre de monseigneur
19	40r	la xix ^e nouvelle par philipe vignier escuier ¹⁹ de monseigneur
26	54v	la xxvj ^e nouvelle par monseigneur de foquessoles escuier de la chambre de monseigneur
28	65v	la xxviiij ^e nouvelle par Messire Michault de changy gentilhomme ²⁰ de la chambre de monseigneur
50	115r	la cinquantesme nouvelle par monseigneur de la salle premier maistre dhostel de monseigneur le duc
80	168r	la iiiij ^{xx} nouvelle par messire michault de changy gentilhomme ²¹ de la chambre de monseigneur
85	175v	la quatrevingts cinquiesme nouvelle par monseigneur de santilly
86	177r	la iiiij ^{xx} vj ^e nouvelle par monseigneur philipe vignier escuier de la chambre de monseigneur ²²
87	179v	la quatrevingts septiesme nouvelle par monsieur le voyer
88	181r	la quatrevingts viij ^e nouvelle par ²³ alardin
89	182v	la quatrevingts ix ^e nouvelle par ²⁴ poncelet
90	184r	la iiiij ^{xx} x ^e nouvelle par monseigneur de Beaumont
91	185r	la quatrevingts xj ^e nouvelle par ²⁵ lacteur
92	185v	la iiiij ^{xx} xij ^e nouvelle par ²⁶ lacteur
93	187v	la quatrevingts xiiij ^e nouvelle par messire Timoleon vignier gentilhomme de la chambre de monseigneur
98	193v	la iiiij ^{xx} xviiij ^e nouvelle par lacteur ²⁷
99	196v	la quatrevingts xixe nouvelle par ²⁸ lacteur

FOLIOS ON WHICH RACONTEURS' NAMES APPEAR, AND RUBRICATED END MARKS:

Fo 5v: *la secunde nouvelle par monseigneur ¶*

Fo 8r: *la troysiesme nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche*

¹⁸ This is an unusual variation. Whereas the manuscript gives the lord's title: *monseigneur de Castregat*, the Vérard text calls him by the title of his office, *monseigneur lamant de brucel*.

¹⁹ ¶ erased for *u* of *escuier*.

²⁰ ¶ erased for *g* of *gentilhomme*.

²¹ ¶ erased for *g* of *gentilhomme*.

²² NB the second *i* in *Vignier* and the *i* in *escuier* have a distinct horizontal stroke above them.

²³ ¶ erased for *p* of *par*.

²⁴ ¶ erased for *a* of *par*.

²⁵ ¶ erased for *p* of *par*.

²⁶ ¶ erased for *p* of *par*.

²⁷ Because this is on a patch and is not the original parchment, it is impossible to tell whether or not this tale was originally ascribed to the acteur in the original rubric, or if it was a change made in the second red ink.

²⁸ ¶ erased for *pa* of *par*.

Fo 11v: *la quarte nouvelle par monseigneur ¶*
 Fo 13v: *la cincquiesme nouvelle par philipe de loan*
 Fo 15v: *la vj^e nouvelle par monseigneur de launoy* [NB *Lannoy* is the more used version of this name.]
 Fo 17v: *la septiesme nouvelle par monseigneur*
 Fo 19r: *la viij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche*
 Fo 21v: *la neufiesme nouvelle par monseigneur ¶*
 Fo 22v: *la x^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 25r: *la xj^e nouvelle par monseigneur*
 Fo 25v: *la xij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 27r: see table above
 Fo 29v: see table above
 Fo 32v: *la xv^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 34r: *la xvj^e nouvelle par monseigneur*
 Fo 36v: *la xvij^e nouvelle par monseigneur ¶*
 Fo 38v: *la xvij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 40r: see table above
 Fo 42r: *la xx^e nouvelle par philipe de loan*
 Fo 45r: *la xxj^e nouvelle par philipe de loan ¶*
 Fo 47v: *la xxij^e nouvelle par caron*
 Fo 49v: *la xxij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de quievrain*
 Fo 51r: *la xxiiij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de Fiennes*
 Fo 53r: *la xxv^e nouvelle par philipe de Saint Yon ¶*
 Fo 54v: see the table above
 Fo 62r: *la xxvij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de beauvoir ¶*
 Fo 65v: see the table above
 Fo 68r: *la xxix^e nouvelle par monseigneur²⁹*
 Fo 69v: *la xxx^e nouvelle par monseigneur de beauvoir ¶*
 Fo 72r: *la xxxj^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la barde*
 Fo 75r: *la xxxij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de villiers ¶*
 Fo 79v: *la xxxiiij^e nouvelle par monseigneur*
 Fo 85r: *la xxxiiij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 87r: *la xxxv^e nouvelle par monseigneur de villiers*
 Fo 89r: *la xxxvj^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 90r: *la xxxvij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 92v: *la xxxviij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de loan ¶*
 Fo 95r: *la xxxix^e nouvelle par monseigneur de saint pol ¶*
 Fo 97r: *la xl^e nouvelle par messire michault de changy ¶* [NB *Chaugy* is more usual, though manuscript uses a distinct *u*]
 Fo 99r: *la xlj^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 100v: *la xlij^e nouvelle par meriadech ¶* [NB *Meriadech* is more usual]
 Fo 102v: *la xliij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de fiennes*
 Fo 104r: *la xliij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche*
 Fo 107v: *la xlv^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 108v: *la xlvj^e nouvelle par monseigneur de thieuges* [NB *Thienges* is more usual, though manuscript uses a distinct *u*]
 Fo 110r: *la xlvij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 { Fo 111v: *la xlvij^e nouvelle*
 { Fo 112r: *par monseigneur de la roche ¶*
 Fo 113r: *la xlix^e nouvelle par pierre david ¶*
 Fo 115r: see the table above
 Fo 116r: *la cinquante et une nouvelle par lacteur*
 Fo 117v: *la cinquante deux^{me} nouvelle par monseigneur de la roche*
 Fo 120r: *la cinquante troysiesme nouvelle par monseigneur lamant de bruxelles*

²⁹ The original *e* in *xxixe* was not superscript, but has been erased and corrected to reading given above.

- Fo 122r: *la cinquante quatriesme nouvelle par mahiot danquasms* [NB Auquasne, Auquasnes, and Auquesnes are the usual variants.]
- Fo 123v: *la lv^e nouvelle par monseigneur de villiers ¶*
- Fo 125v: *la cinquantesix^{me} nouvelle par monseigneur de villiers*
- Fo 127r: *la cinquantesep^{me} nouvelle par monseigneur de villiers*
- Fo 129r: *la cinquante huitiesme nouvelle par monseigneur le duc ¶*
- Fo 129v: *la cinquante neuf^{me} nouvelle par poncellet ¶* [NB this is spelled with double *ls* whereas the next uses are single *ls*. (cf fo 182v: *poncelet*)]
- Fo 132v: *la soixantiesme nouvelle par poncelet*
- Fo 134r: *la soixante et une nouvelle par poncelet ¶*
- Fo 136v: *la lxije nouvelle par monseigneur de quievrain*
- Fo 140v: *la soixante trois^{me} nouvelle par montbleru* [NB often rendered *Monbleru*]
- Fo 143r: *la soixante iiij^e nouvelle par messire michault de changy*
- Fo 144v: *la soixante cinq^{me} nouvelle par monseigneur le prevost de watenes* [this name is usually given *Watten*]
- Fo 146v: *la lxxv^e nouvelle par philipe de loan ¶*
- Fo 147v: *la lxxvj^e nouvelle par philipe de loan ¶*
- Fo 149r: *la lxxvij^e nouvelle par mess[ir]e [chres]pian de dygoyne chevalier ¶* [*chrespian* is given in contraction as *xpian*, with a contraction line above the letters *pia*. The normal forms of this name are either *Chrestien* or *Chretien*]
- Fo 150v: *la lxxix^e nouvelle par monseigneur ¶*
- Fo 152r: *la lxx^e nouvelle par monseigneur ¶*
- Fo 154r: *la lxxj^e nouvelle par monseigneur le duc*
- Fo 155r: *la lxxij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de quievrain ¶*
- Fo 157r: *la lxxiiij^e nouvelle par maistre jehan lauvain ¶*
- Fo 160r: *la lxxiiij^e nouvelle par philipe de loan ¶*
- Fo 161r: *la lxxv^e nouvelle par monseigneur de thalemas ¶*
- Fo 162v: *la lxxvj^e nouvelle par philipe de loan ¶*
- Fo 164r: *la lxxvij^e nouvelle par alardin*
- Fo 165v: *la lxxvij^e nouvelle par jehan martin ¶*
- Fo 167r: *la lxxix^e nouvelle par messire michault de changy ¶*
- Fo 168r: see table above
- Fo 169r: *la iiij^{xxv}^e nouvelle par monseigneur de vaurin ¶*
- Fo 172v: *la iiij^{xx}^e nouvelle par monseigneur de Launoy³⁰ ¶*
- Fo 173r: *la iiij^{xx}^e nouvelle par monseigneur de vaurin ¶*
- Fo 174v: *la iiij^{xx}^e nouvelle par monseigneur le marquis de rothelin ¶*
- Fo 175v: see table above
- Fo 177r: see table above
- Fo 179v: see table above
- Fo 181r: see table above
- Fo 182v: see table above
- Fo 184r: see table above
- Fo 185r: see table above
- Fo 185v: see table above
- Fo 187v: see table above
- Fo 188v: *la quatrevingts xiiij^e nouvelle* [NB rubric at the bottom of the folio, and has not been tampered with in the way that the previous set of nouvelles have probably because there is not enough space to add any further text to the rubric on the line below, as the tails of seven letters from the last line on the page hang below the line and would interfere with any additional text. Fo 189r has no space for added rubric text above the nouvelle text.]
- Fo 190r: *la quatrevingts xv^e nouvelle par philipe de loan*

³⁰ The *x* which made the number incorrect (92) has been partially erased, but is still legible: see above.

Fo 192r: *la quatrevingts xvj^e nouvelle* [NB the text has not been interfered with here either due to a lack of space. The letters *lle* in the word *nouvelle* overlap the flourish of the *R* in the first word of the story: *OR escoutez*

Fo 192v: *la iiij^{xx} xvij^e nouvelle par monseigneur de launoy*

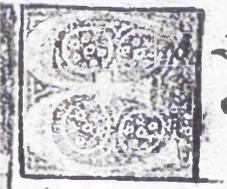
Fo 193v: *la iiij^{xx} xvij^e nouvelle par lacteur* [NB in a modern hand in purple ink on the repair patch at the bottom of the folio.]

Fo 196v: see table above

Fo 206r: *La C^e et derniere nouvelle par phelipe de loan* [NB also in a modern hand in purple ink]

LIST OF INITIALS

Hunter 252 has illuminated initials at the beginnings of stories and in the table of contents. Each occurrence of animals within the initial is noted. The animals most commonly depicted: snarling dogs and birds (herons?) suggest another masculine pursuit favoured by the court of Burgundy: hunting. The descriptions in the *Other features* column are not intended to be exhaustive, merely to give an indication of the variations and similarities in the initials' style. For instance, note the varied use of a circle motif in fo 3r, 40v, 54v, 62r, 141r, 152v.

Folio	Large initial	Small Initial	Other features
1r	S	L L L L L	S on brown square in gold. Ls as initials for the individual nouvelles outlined in the table: <i>La {XYZ} nouvelle par ...</i>
1v		L L L L L L	
2r		L L L L	
2v	C		Dog. Gold initial on blue.
3r	E		Gold initial on blue with circle pattern. (No colour image available.) 
6r	E		Gold on brown with ivy pattern
8v	E		
12r	L		
14r	M		
15v		R	Begins second part of nouvelle 4 about lord Talbot (see note above).
16r	E		
18r	V		Lion rampant in between the V legs. Flower pattern around initial. The V is as a U (<i>Vn gorseur de Paris nagueres</i>) Gold on blue initial.
19r	E		
20v	P		Dog.
23r	P		Two birds facing each other. Gold on red initial.
25r	U		Two dogs, one over the other. Gold on brown initial.
26r	E		
27v	A		Vine design as crossbar of A. Cf fo 40v:

			
30r	L		Dog. A long beaked bird arches forward looking to the right sitting on the beam of the L
33r	O		Dog.
34v	E		
36v	N		
38v	U		Dog.
40v	A		 <p>Compare the following initial from an early sixteenth century French manuscript in the British Library³¹:</p> 
42v	I		Two Dogs.
45v	S		
48r	N		Dog.
50r	N		Dog.
51v	I		
53v	L		Smudged: animal obliterated.
54v	E		Two birds. Note smudging: 

³¹ D. Loades (ed.) *Chronicles of The Tudor Kings* (Godalming, 1996) p. 126.

62r	S		
66r	S		
68v	N		
70r	I		
72v	U		Two birds.
75v	A		
80r	U		Dog.
85v	I		Two dogs.
87v	U		Dog.
89v	U		Bird, facing left.
90v	T		Dog.
93r	N		
95v	U		Dog.
97v	I		Two dogs.
99r	U		Dog.
101r	L		Bird (very faint): L is drawn as a branch. 
103r	N	Sixteen smaller letters flecked with gold.	
104v	C		Dog.
105v	C		
108r	C		
109r	C		Dog.
110v	E		
112r	U		Dog.
113v	I		Two dogs.
115v	C		
116v	A		
117v	N		
120r	N		See fo 152v below.

122v	U		Dog.
124r	I		Bird.
125v	N		Dog.
127v	T		
129r	I		
130r	E		
132v	N		Bird.
134v	U		
137r	E		NB this is a replacement folio
141r	M		
143r	I		Two dogs.
145r	C		Dog.
147r	N		Bird.
148r	O		Dog.
149v	I		
151r	I		
152v	U		 Cf the leaves on the right hand side of this initial with those on the left hand side of the initial to nouvelle 53, fo 120r: 
154v	A		
155v	A		
157v	E		
160v	A		
161r	U (sic)		Dog. Nouvelle 75 begins <i>Au temps de la guerre</i>
163r	L		Acanthus leaf design for L:



			
164v	U		Dog.
165v	A		
167v	A		
168v	E		
169v	P		
172v	O		Two dogs. 
173v	C		
175r	T		Dog.
175v	D		Dog.
177v	E		
180r	A		
181v	E		
183r	E		
184r	P		Dog.
185r	A		
186r	E		 Note smudging on initial.
187v	T		
189r	E		
190v	C		Dog.
192r	O		Dog.
193r	I		
194r	E		
197r	E		
206v	S		

VÉRARD'S PRINTS AND THE MANUSCRIPT

In the absence of the first completed version of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, it would be misleading to write of the *transition* from manuscript to printed text: nevertheless Vérard's earliest edition was scarcely a verbatim copy of that missing text. Where Vérard's editions of other texts *can* be compared with manuscripts³², it is clear that he substantially and habitually altered wording, introducing hundreds of minor variations, chiefly for linguistic and layout reasons. It was with ill-deserved confidence that Luciano Rossi claimed that the ducal library manuscript was edited by Vérard: there is no proof of this³³. It is necessary to return to the view first put forward by Thomas Wright, reiterated by Pierre Champion, and endorsed by Mario Rocques, that the Vérard text has been revised to remove archaisms, provincialisms, and difficult or obscure readings³⁴. Vérard habitually clarified his text, adding words as he felt they were needed to improve the sense.

Pierre Champion used an expression found in the first nouvelle, *tenans le hoc en l'eaue*, to argue that the Vérard and the manuscript text were from a single source. He assumed that because both editions reproduced the text with the word *hoc* instead of *bec*, they had been copied from an original which made the same error. However, the term *hoc* is not a mistake for *bec* and makes perfect sense in context. In his lexicon of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Roger Dubuis translated the word as *crochet* so that *Tenir le hoc dans l'eau* means *to keep the hook* (that is, the hook of a pail) *in the water* (of a well) or, more literally, *to delay an action deliberately* – to keep someone or something dangling, or, to use an equivalent but anachronistic expression, *on tenterhooks*³⁵.

Although a comparison of the manuscript and the printed text is a "false" exercise therefore, it nevertheless draws into sharp relief the fact that Vérard editions are very Parisian in spelling, grammar, and syntax. Vérard's revisions resulted in a less complex, but more verbose, text. Although there are very few occasions where he *added* plot details to the tales (judging by the manuscript), he seems very frequently to have *cut* what may have appeared to him "extraneous" repetitions. For example, from the first nouvelle, the manuscript contains a section of dialogue, which Vérard shortened:

< *Ma treschere compaigne et tresloyale espouse, je vous requier et prie, ostez de vostre cueur tout courroux que avez vers moy conceu, et me pardonnez au surplus que je vous puis avoir meffait. Je cognois mon tort, je cognois mon cas, et viens nagueres d'une place ou l'on faisoit bonne chere...* >

The underlined section does not appear in the printed editions which suggests a cut by Vérard, designed to improve the narrative flow. There are very few places where the Vérard text elaborates on anything missing from the manuscript. The major exception is the table of contents, though there is good reason to assume that the manuscript originally contained a complete table. Another exception occurs in the third nouvelle, where the manuscript renders the exchange of the miller's wife and the knight:

< *M'amy, pource que vous estes belle fille et bonne, et que j'ayme bien vostre mary, il me prend pitié et compassion de vostre fait. Si vous enseignerez comment vous garderez vostre devant. – Et que doy je dont faire, monseigneur?>*

The Vérard text adds a significant section of dialogue, confirming a *saut du même au même* in the manuscript after the word *devant*:

< *...de cheoir. Helas monseigneur je vous en mercye et certes vous ferez une œuvre bien meritoire car autant me vaudroit non estre que de vivre sans mon devant...>*

³² Vérard's edition of Premierfait's *Decameron* is a good example.

³³ L. Rossi, 'Pour une édition des Cent nouvelles nouvelles de la copie de Philippe le Bon a l'édition d'Antoine Vérard', in *Le Moyen Français* (1988) pp. 69-77 at p. 69.

³⁴ See M. Rocques, review of *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles publiées par Pierre Champion* in *Romania* (1928) pp. 562-566.

³⁵ R. Dubuis, *Lexique des Cent nouvelles nouvelles – Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (DMF)* (Paris, 1996) entry for *Hoc*.

This addition confirms a scribal error in either Hunter 252, or in the edition used by the scribe who copied Hunter 252. At the least it shows that Hunter 252 and Vérard's text were not immediately related. The word *devant* is repeated, so the manuscript copyist evidently skipped a few lines, amounting to about 150 characters³⁶. To make such a leap over many *half* lines seems unlikely, which suggests the possibility that the scribal copy from which Hunter 252 was made was not written in two columns but one. As will be discussed below, the ducal library copy was in two columns, and this is reason to suppose that the Hunterian manuscript was not a copy of it, but of another manuscript – possibly an earlier one, such as the first one completed, or a later copy. At any rate it suggests a further remove from the ducal text.

Not every passage which is to be found in Vérard's text but which is not in the manuscript may be explained by scribal *error* in the copying of Hunter 252. One significant segment of text "missing" from the manuscript occurs at the ending of the 62nd tale. Vérard seems to have rounded it off with a more elaborate *happily ever after* for reasons of completeness, as there is ample room on fo 140v, where the nouvelle ends in the manuscript, for additional text. The Vérard text reads³⁷:

...povoit avoir / & le porta plus pacieusement et plus legierement que s'il n'eust point sceu la verite de la matiere. Et de ceste aventure tous ceulx qui estoient presens commencerent a rire & a mener grant joye. Adoncques se mirent a table & disnerent / mais vous povez penser que ce ne fut pas sans boire d'autant. Et apres qu'ilz eurent disne ilz se departirent et chascun s'en alla ou bon lui sembla. Et ainsi fut tout le mal tallant pardonne et la paix faicte entre les parties c'estassavoir entre ledit lehan Stotton / & ledit Thomas Brampton / et furent bons amys ensemble.

The manuscript's ending is shorter, though its sentence can stand on its own and make sense, both grammatically, and of the preceding tale, and there is no proof that anything is missing from it:

...povoit avoir. Et de ceste aventure tous ceulx qui presens estoient commencerent a rire et menerent grand joye. Et apres ce qu'ilz eurent disné, chacun retourna ou bon lui sembla.

Judging by little differences in the rest of the nouvelle, it seems that on the whole, the manuscript is probably closer to the original sentiments, and this is one instance where Vérard has added a few well-chosen words of his own for the sake of narrative completeness. It is unlikely that the manuscript editor would have deliberately removed the section which is in the Vérard text because the story begins with an elaborate description of the men as comrades: it is much more neat to end it with a resolution which emphasises their return to this friendship. The fact that the Vérard ending is thematically consistent admits the possibility that his version may indeed reproduce the original ending to the story. It is significant, however, that the Vérard text cuts out the term *et de son escuyrie* in the sentence *le dit Thomas avoit esté son page et de son escuyrie et allant après luy*, which reads like the sort of ironic comment which would be addressed to a courtly audience familiar with the workings and protocol of the *escuierie* and the ceremonial function of the page.

Similarly, Vérard's habitual replacement of the chivalric term *emprinse* with the more general word *entreprinse* or *entreprise* suggests a remove from what was doubtless the sentiment of the original³⁸. This can be demonstrated. In nouvelle 37 the manuscript text reads: *Toutesfoiz lysoit, tousjours estudioit, et d'iceulx livres fist ung petit extraict pour luy, ou quel estoient emprinses, descriptes et notées plusieurs manieres de tromperies, au pourchaz et emprinses de femmes, et es personnes de leurs mariz executées.* From the surrounding text, it is clear that the scribe of Hunter 252 made an error of reading when he wrote *ou quel estoient emprinses*. The Vérard reading – *ou quel estoient descriptes, comprises et notées* – makes much more sense. The scribe of *Hunter 252* probably made his mistake by jumping forward a line or two in his copy, and, reading *emprinses* instead of *comprinses*, simply copied the wrong word. The point is not to

³⁶ Hunter 252 has an average of 50 characters in a full line of text. If the manuscript copied were similar to the Glasgow manuscript, it would have involved the skipping of about three lines: entirely possible and plausible.

³⁷ British Library text, fo 128r. Full stops added.

³⁸ e.g. Nouvelles 37, 38, 58.

establish that Vêrard has the correct reading of the first word, *comprinses*, but that he had doctored the second word: *emprinses*, for which he gave the generic term: *entreprinses*. This suggests that the manuscript reading, *au pourchaz et emprinses de femmes* – the reading which contains the more chivalric word, *emprinses* – was also in the manuscript from which *Hunter 252* was copied, and that Vêrard was responsible for the dilution of specifically chivalric and courtly vocabulary. Mario Rocques identified several other instances where the Vêrard edition gives a reading which is not preferable to the manuscript and where occasional small additions occur which obviously cut against the sense of the original³⁹.

The ducal library catalogue entry confirms that *Hunter 252*, which is not in two columns, but one block of text, was not the ducal library's copy. It also makes it clear that the last two tales in the Hunterian manuscript have been reversed in order. The correct order is found in the Vêrard and Arnoullet editions. The phrase *lit demanda* is in the last nouvelle in both Vêrard and Arnoullet texts. The manuscript, however, has had repairs carried out on what should be considered the ninety-ninth nouvelle (i.e. the one that appears last in *Hunter 252*). It was clearly easier to change the number of the last nouvelle and confirm the wrong order, than to attempt to put an alteration in, and to replace the original order. The person who did the repairs also replaced a folio earlier in the manuscript (fo 137). It was probably at this point that he realised how difficult it would be to repeat the process in the middle of a quire. Folio 206r has the last part of manuscript nouvelle ninety-nine. Folio 206v has the beginning of manuscript nouvelle number one hundred. In other words, to alter the original order of the tales, he would have had to take out a folio, and redo it. Because the last two nouvelles begin and end on the same folio, he had only to adjust the numeration of the tales when he replaced the last folio in the manuscript. He saw the ninety-ninth tale was the one at the end, in other words, and probably decided to change the number. This would have seemed a harmless option, as the tales are individual narrative units anyway, and he maybe felt that the collection hardly depends for its impact on having the last tale as the last tale⁴⁰. However, although the reversal of the last two nouvelles is not a factor that rules out the Glasgow manuscript as the one described in the catalogue, it is clear that it is not the one that is referred to. The Glasgow's manuscript's ninety-ninth story does not have the words *lict demanda* at the start of the folio, where they would be were it the one described⁴¹.

³⁹ Rocques, Review, pp. 563-564.

⁴⁰ The fact that the two last tales are in the wrong order in the manuscript should not be taken as a sign of its inferiority to the printed editions, as Luciano Rossi has done.

⁴¹ The manuscript has the words *lict demanda* in the middle of folio 206r, which begins: *morte et ne luy estoit plus le desir sigrand quil avoit este...*

Addendum: Selection of variant readings in which Vérard clarifies or simplifies a complex reading in the manuscript especially by the omission or addition of words unnecessary to the sense of the tale:

Nouvelle	MANUSCRIPT Hunter 252 Reading	Vérard Variation
6	En la ville de La Haye, en Hollande...	En une ville de Hollande ...
13	le cleric mort et descoloré comme ung homme jugié a pendre, si va dire: < Mon tresbon maistre...>	le cleric mort et descouloré comme ung homme jugié a pendre, si va dire son cas : <Mon tresbon maistre...>
15	Pour venir au fait de ceste histoire, ou cloistre des blancs moynes avoit ung jeune et bel religieux qui devint amoureux, si fort que c'estoit rage, d'une nonnain sa voisine, et de fait eut bien le courage...	Pour venir ou fait de ceste hystoire, ou cloistre des blans moynes avoit ung jeune et beau religieux qui fut amoureux d'une des nonnains et de fait eust bien le courage...
29	Quand il fut maistre de la place, il rompit seulement une lance, et lors cessa l'assault et ploya l'œuvre.	Quant il fut maistre de la place, il rompit sa lance , et lors cessa l'assault et ploya l'œuvre ⁴² .
38	il les mena trestous en la cuisine pour leur monstrier la grosse lemproye dont il les veult festoier	il les mena trestous en la cuisin pour veoir ceste grosse lamproye dont il les vouloit festoier
40	Mais maistre moyne en la parfin s'ennuya d'elle, et estoit sur son corps defendant, ce qu'il luy feist grand piece après, et eust tres bien voulu qu'elle se fust deportée de si souvent le visiter	Mais maistre moyne en la parfin s'ennuya d'elle, et tant que plus nullement n'en vouloit , et eust tres bien voulu qu'elle se fust deportée de si souvent le visiter.
81	Puis que les comptes et histoires des asnes sont achevez, je vous feray en bref et a la verité ung bien gracieux compte d'un chevalier qui la plus part de vous, mes bons seigneurs, congnoissez de pieça. Il fut bien vray que le dit chevalier s'adventura tresfort comme il est assez de coustume aux jeunes gens, d'une tresbelle gente et jeune dame	Puis que les comptes et histoires des asnes sont achevez, je vous feray en bref & a la verité ung gracieux compte d'ung chevalier que la plus part de vous, mes bons seigneurs, congnoissez de pieça. Il fut bien vray que le dit chevalier s'en amoura tresfort ⁴³ comme il est assez de coustume aux jeunes gens, d'une tresbelle gente et jeune dame
89	Mes bonnes gens, je vous signifie et faiz assavoir que aujourd'uy a esté la veille de la feste et solennité de Pasques flories; et de ce jour en huit prochain vous avez la veille de la grand Pasque que l'on dit Pasques communiiaux. > Quand ces...	Mes bonnes gens, je vous signifie et faiz assavoir que aujourd'uy a esté la veille de la feste et solennité de Pasques flories; et de ce jour en huit prochain vous avez la veille de la grand Pasque que len dit la resurrection nostre seigneur . Quand ces...



⁴² NB This is a clarification by Vérard. *Breaking a lance* in this context was a sexual metaphor. Vérard's text lacks the ambiguity of the manuscript reading.

⁴³ Note that the Vérard reading is the only one which makes sense of the remainder of the sentence.

APPENDIX 2: Early Printed Versions and MS *Hunter* 252. Nouvelle 63.

Scholars wishing to compare Manuscript *Hunter* 252 with both Arnoullet and Vérard editions of the text have to visit the repositories containing these works, because they have not been published together. It is therefore useful to present a sequence of exact transcriptions of one of the Nouvelles (#63) which is examined in detail in chapter four.

Vérard BN Rés Y2 175

The pages of this nouvelle have the header: *messire michault de changy*.

Only the text of the nouvelle is transcribed. The table format is used to denote the columns. Compare the layout in the Vérard BL IB41194 version of the text, given below in photographs. Folio numbers are used throughout, as these are more convenient in the Vérard text than gatherings.

[...]	<p>Rés Y2 175: fo 200r¹. rh column: <i>La .lxiii. nouvelle.</i> <i>M Ontbleru se trouua ung iour q[ui] passa a la foire d'en uers en la compaignie de monseigneur destampes leq[ue]l le deffraioit et paioit ses despens q[ui] est une chose quil print assez bien en gre. Ung iour entre les autres dauantage il rencontra maistre himbert de plaine / maistre roulant pipe & iehan le tourneur qui lui firent grant chiere. Et po[ur] ce quil est plaisant & gracieux co[m]me chascun scet ilz desirere[n]t sa compaignie et lui prierent de venir loger avec eulx et quilz feroie[n]t la meilleure chere de iamais. Mo[n]t bleru de prime face sexcusa sue mo[n]seigneur destampes qui lauoit la amene & dist quil ne loseroit haba[n]donner / & la raison y est bonne dist il / car il me deffroye de tous poins neantmoins touteffoys il fut content dabandonner monseigneur desampes en cas que entre eulx</i></p>
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¹ The nouvelle begins one third of the way down the rh column.

lh column:

le voulsissent deffroier / et eulx qui
ne desiroie[n]t que sa compaignie ac=
corderent legierement ce marchie
Or escoutes co[m]ment il les paya²
Ces trois bo[n]s seigneurs demou
rerent a envers plus quilz ne pen=
soient qua[n]t ilz partirent de la co[ur]t
et soubz esperance de brief retour
ner nauoient apporte que chascun
une chemise / si devindre[n]t les leurs
salles ense[m]ble leurs couurechiefz
& petis draps / et a gra[n]t regret leur
venoit de eulx trouuer en ceste ma
laise / car il faisoit bien chault com
me en la saison de penthecouste / si
les baillere[n]t a blanchir a la cham
beriere de leur logis ung samedy
au soir quant ilz se coucherent / et
les deuoient auoir blanches a len
demain a leur leuer / mais mont=
bleru les garda bien / et pour venir
au point / la chamberiere quant vi[n]t
au matin q[ue]lle eut blanchy ces che
mises & couurechiefz & les eut seichez
et bien & gentement ployes el
le fut de sa maistresse appellee po[ur]
aller a ka boucherie querir la pro=
uision pour le disner / elle fist ce q[ue]
sa maistresse commanda et laissa
en la cuisine sur une escabelle tout
ce bagaige esperant a son retour
tout retrouver / a quoy elle faillyt
bien / car montbleru quant il peut
veoir du iour il se leua de son lit et

rh column:

print une longue robbe sur sa che=
mise & descendit en bas pour faire
cesser les cheuaulx qui se co[m]batoie[n]t
ou pour aller au retrait / et luy la
venu il vint veoir en la cuy sine q[ue]
on y disoyt ou il trouua ame
sors seulement ces chemises & ces
coeuurechiefz qui ne demandoient
que marcha[n]t / montbleru co[n]gneut
ta[n]tost q[ue] cestoit sa charge / si y mist
la main et fut en grant esmoy ou il
les pourroit sauluer / une fois pen
soit de les bouter deda[n]s les chaul
dieres et grans potz de cuyure qui estoient
en la cuy sine / autrefois de
les bouter dedans sa ma[n]che / brief
ueme[n]t il les bouta en lestable des
cheuaulx bien enfardelees dedans
du foing en ung gros monceau de
fiens / & cela fait il sen vi[n]t couchier
empres Jehan le tourneur dont il
estoit party. Or vecy la chambe
riere retournee de la boucherie la=
quelle ne treuue pas ces chemises
qui ne fut pas bien contente de ce
& commença a demader par tout
qui en scait nouvelle. Chascun a q[ui]
elle en demandoit disoit quil nen
scauoit rien / et dieu scait la vie q[u]elle
menoit / et vecy les serviteurs de
ces bons seigneurs qui attendoie[n]t
apres leurs chemises quilz nosoie[n]t
monter vers leurs maistres & crai
gnoient moult / aussi saisoit loste &

² NB Tab is in the text

Rés Y2 175 fo 201r.

lh column:

lostesse et la chamberiere. Quant vint enuiron neuf heures ces bo[n]s seigneurs appellent leurs gens / mais nul ne vient tant craignent a dire les nouvelles de ceste perte a leurs maistres / touteffoys en la fin quil estoit entre . xi. & .xii. loste vint et les seruiteurs et fut dit a ces seigneurs comment leurs chemises estoient desrobees / dont les aucuns perdirent pacie[n]ce / comme maistre himbert & maistre rolant mais iehan le tourneur tint asses bonne maniere et nen faisoit que rire & appella montbleru q[ui] faisoit la dormeulle qui scauoit et oyoit tout / et lui deist / montbleru vecy gens bien en point / on nous a des robees nos chemises, Sainte marie que dictes vous dist montbleru c[on]trefaisant le[n]dormy / vecy bien mal venu. Qua[n]t on eut grant piece tenu parlement de ces chemises qui estoie[n]t perdues dont montbleru cognoissoit bien le larron / ces bons seigneurs commencerent a dire. Il est bien tart et nous nauons encores point ouy de messe & fiest dimenche / et touteffoys nous ne pouons bonneme[n]t aller dehors de ceans sans chemises / quest il de faire. Par ma foy diste loste ie ny scauroye point trouuer dautre remede / si non q[ue] ie vous preste a chas

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rh column:

cun une chemise des myennes tel= les que elles sont / combien q[ue] elles ne font pas pareilles aux vostres mais elles sont blanches et si ne pouez mieulx faire se me semble. Ilz furent conte[n]ts de ces chemises de loste q[ui] estoient courtes & estroictes et de bien dure et aspre toille / & dieu scait qui les faisoit bon veoir Ilz furent prestz dieu mercy / mais il estoit si tart que ilz ne scauoient ou ilz pourroient ouyr la messe. Alors deist montbleru qui tenoit trop bien maniere. Quant est de la messe il est des meshuy trop tart pour louyr / mais ie scay bien une eglise en ceste ville ou no[us] ne faudrons point a tout le moins de veoir dieu. Encores il vault mieulx de le veoir que rien dirent ces bons seigneurs. Allons allons et nous avancons visteme[n]t cest trop tarde / car p[er]dre noz chemises & ne ouyr point au iourduy de messe ce seroit mal sur mal / et po[ur]tant il est te[m]ps dallera leglise si meshuy no[us] uou= lons ouyr la messe. Montbleru incontinente[n]t les mena en la gra[n]te eglise de[n]vers ou il y a ung dieu sur ung asne / et quant ilz eurent chascun dit leurs patenostres et leurs deuocions ilz dirent a montbleru. Ou esse que nous verrons dieu. Je le vous mo[n]streray dist il tout main

lh column:

tenant. Alors il leur monstra ce dieu sur lasne / et puis il leur deist Vela dieu / vo[us] ne fauldrez iamais de veoir dieu ceans a quelque heu re q[ue] se soit. Adoncques ilz com[m]en cerent a rire / ia soit ce que la dou= leur de leurs chemises ne fust poi[n]t encores appaisee / & sur ce poi[n]t sen vindrent disner & fure[n]t depuis ne scay qua[us] iours a enuers / & ap[re]s sen partire[n]t sans rauoir leurs che mises / car montbleru les meist en lieu sur et les vendit depuis cinq escus dor. Or aduint comme dieu le voulut que en la bonne sepmai= ne du karesme ensuiuant le mer= credy montbleru se trouua au dis= ner avec ces trois bons seigneurs dessus nommez / & entre autres pa rolles il leur ramenteut les che = mises quilz auoient perdues a en= uers & dist . Helas le poure larron qui vo[us] desroba il sera bien damne de son meffait ne lui est pardon[n]e de par vous / et par dieu vous ne le voudriez pas. Ha dist maistre hymbert / par dieu beau sire il ne men souuenoit plus ie lay pieca ou blie. Et au moins dist montbleru vous lui pardonnez ne faictes pas Saint iehan ouy dist il ie ne voul droie pas quil feust damne pour moy. Et par ma foy cest bien dit dist montbleru. Et vous maistre

rh column:

rolant ne lui pardonnez vo[us] point aussi. A gra[n]t paine disoit il le mot Touteffois en la fin il dist quil lui pardonnoit / mais pour ce quil per doit a regret le mot plus luy cous= toit a prono[n]cer. Et vraie[n]t dist montbleru vous lui p[ar]donnez aus si maistre rolant / que auez vo[us] gai gne de damner ung poure larron pour une mescha[n]te chemise & ung coeuurechief. Et ie luy pardonne vraiment dist il lors et len clame quicte puis que ainsi est que autre chose nen puis auoir. Et par ma foy dist montbleru vous estes bon hom[m]e. Or vint le tourneur / si luy dist montbleru. Or ca iehanvous³ ne ferez pas pis q[ue] les autres / tout est pardonne a ce poure larron des chemises se a vous ne tie[n]t. A moy ne tie[n]dra pas dist il / ie lui ay pieca pardonne & luy en baille de rechief tout maintenant deuant vous lab= solucion. On ne pourroit myeulx dire dist montbleru. Et par ma foy ie vous scay bon gre de la quit tance que vous avez faicte au lar ron de vos chemises et en tant q[ui]l me touche ie vous en remercye to[us] Car ie suis le larron mesmes qui vous desrobba a enuers / ie prens ceste quictance a mon prouffit & de rechief vo[us] en remercye touteffois Car ie doy faire. Quant mont

³ NB there is no space in text between *n* and *v*.

lh column:

*bleru eut confesse ce larrecin / & que
il eut. trouue sa quitance par le par
ty que auez ouy il ne fault pas de=
mander se maistre rola[n]t & iehan le
tourneur fure[n]t bien esbays / car ilz
ne se fussent iamais doubtes qui
leur eust fait ceste courtoisie / & luy
fut bien reprouche ce poure larre=
cin voire en esbatant / mais luy qui
scait son entrege[n]s se desarmoit gra
cieusement de tout ce dont chargier
le voloient / & leur disoit bien que
cestoit sa coustume que de gagner
et de prendre ce quil trouuoit sans
garde especialement a telz gens co[m]
me ilz estoient. Ces trois bons sei
gneurs nen firent que rire / mais
trop bien ilz luy demanderent com
ment il les auoit prises & aussi en
quelle facon & maniere il les desro
ba / et il leur declaira tout au long
et dist aussi quil auoit eu de tout ce
butin cinq escus dor dont ilz neu=
rent ne demanderent oncques au=
tre chose.*

Olivier Arnoullet BL C.97.b.7.

{The whole tale, in one continuous body of text is on gatherings M vii verso - M viii verso} It begins at the top of the page.

¶ La .lxiii. nouvelle par messire michault de changy.

M⁴Ontbleru se trouua un iour q[ui] passa a la foire den= uers en la co[m]paignie de mo[n]seign[eu]r desta[m]pes / lequel le deffrayoit et payoit ses despe[n]s q[ui] est une chose q[ui]l pri[n]t assez bien en gre. Ung iour entre les autres daue[n]tu= re il rencontra maistre himbert de la plaine / maistre roulant pipe / & jehan le tourneur qui luy fire[n]t moult gra[n]t chere Et pource q[ui]l estoit plaisant et gracieux co[m]me chascu[n] scet ilz desirent sa co[m]paignie & luy prirent de venir loger avecq[ue]s eulx / & q[ue] ilz feroye[n]t bonne chiere. Mo[n]tbleru de prime face se excusa sur mo[n]seigneur desta[m]pes q[ui] l'auoit la admene / & puis dist quil ne loseroit haba[n]do[n]ner / & la raison y est tres bo[n]ne dist il car il me deffraye de tous pointz. Neaulmoins touteffoys il fut co[n]tent dhaba[n]don[er] mo[n]seign[eu]r desta[m]pes en cas q[ue] entre eulx le vouldissent deffroyer & eulx q[ui] ne desiroyent q[ue] sa co[m]paignie accordere[n]t legiereme[n]t ce marche. Or escoutez comment il les paya. Ces troys bo[n]s seign[eu]rs demourere[n]t a envers plus q[ui]lz ne pensoyent qua[n]t ilz partire[n]t de la court et soubz espera[n]ce de brief retourner nauoyent aporte q[ue] chascu[n] une chemise si deuindre[n]t salles ense[m]ble leurs couurechiefz et petis draps & a grant regret leur venoit de eulx trouuer en ceste malaise car il faisoit bien chault co[m]me en la saison de pe[n]thecouste / si les baillere[n]t a blanchir a la cha[m]beriere de leur logis un samedy au soir qua[n]t il⁵ se couche re[n]t & les deuoyent auoir bla[n]ches le[n]demain a leur leuer / mais mo[n]tbleru les garda bien / & pour venir au point la cha[m]beriere qua[n]t vint au matin quelle eut blanchy ces chemises & couurechief⁶ & les eut seichez & bien gentement ployez elle fut de sa maistresse appelee pour aller a la boucherie querir la prouision pout le disner elle fist ce q[ue] sa maistresse com[m]anda / et laissa en la cuisine sur une escabelle tout ce bagaige espera[n]t a son retour tout retrouuer a quoy elle faillit bien car mo[n]tbleru qua[n]t il peut veoir du iour il se leua de son lict et print une longue robbe sur sa chemise & desce[n]dit en bas pour faire ceser les cheuaulx q[ui] se co[m]batoye[n]t ou pour aller au retraict & luy la ve nu il vint veoir en la cuisine que on y disoit ou il ne trouua ame sors seulle me[n]t ces chemises & ces couurechief⁷ q[ui] ne demandoye[n]t que marcha[n]t / montbleru co[n]gneut tantost q[ue] cestoit sa charge si y mist la main et fut en gra[n]t esmoy ou il les pourroit sauluer vne foys pensoit de les bouter dedans les chaul= dieres & gra[n]s potz de cuire qui estoye[n]t en la cuisine aultreffoys de les bouter deda[n]s sa manche / briuevement il les bota en lestable des cheuaulx bie[n] en= fardelees deda[n]s du foing en un gros monceau⁸ de fiens & cela faict il sen vint coucher empres iehan le tourneur dont il estoit party. Or voicy la cha[m]beriere retourner de la boucherie laq[ue]lle ne trouue oas kes chemises q[ui] ne fut

⁴ This capital M is a large decorated initial. It is the reason that the first few lines (before *de venir loger avecq[ue]s eulx / & q[ue] ilz feroye[n]t bonne chiere. Mo[n]tbleru de prime*) are shorter than the rest.

⁵ sic

⁶ sic

⁷ sic

⁸ sic

pas bie[n] conte[n]te de ce & com[m]e[n]ca a dema[n]der par tout q[ui] en scet nouvelle / chas=

{M viii r}

cun a qui elle en dema[n]doit disot q[ui] nen scavoit rie[n] / et dieu scet la vie quelle menoit & vecy les serviteurs de ces bo[n]s seign[eu]rs q[ui] attendoye[n]t apres leurs chemises quilz nosoie[n]t ce mo[n]strer a leurs maistres & craignoye[n]t moult aus si faisoit lostre & lostesse & la cha[m]beriere. Qua[n]t vint enviro[n] neuf heures ces bons seign[eu]rs appelle[n]t leurs ge[n]s mais nul ne vie[n]t tant craigne[n]t a dire les nouvelles de ceste p[er]te a leurs maistres touteffoys en a fin quil estoit entre xi. & .xii. loste vint & les serviteurs & fut dit a ces seigne[ur]s com[m]e[n]t leurs chemi= ses estoie[n]t desrobees do[n]t les aulcu[n]s p[er]dire[n]t pacie[n]ce co[m]me maistre himbert et maistre rola[n]t / maistre ieha[n] le tourneur tint assez bon[n]e maniere & ne[n] faisoit q[ue] rire & appela mo[n]tbleru q[ui] faisoit la dormeueille qui scauoit & oyoit tout / & luy dist. Mo[n]tbleru vecy ge[n]s bie[n] en point on no[us] a desrobees noz chemises. Sainte marie q[ue] dict vo[us] dist mo[n]tbleru co[n]trefaisant lendormy / vecy bie[n] mal venu. Qua[n]t on eut gra[n]t piece tenu parleme[n]t de ces chemises q[ui] estoye[n]t perdues do[n]t mo[n]tbleru co[n]gnoissoit bie[n] le larro[n] ces bo[n]s seign[eu]rs com[m]encere[n]t a dire. Il est ja bien tard & no[us] nauons encores point ouy de messe & si est di me[n]che touteffoys no[us] ne pouuo[n]s bo[n]nement aller dehors de cea[n]s sans chemi= ses quest il de faire. Par ma foy dist loste ie ny scauroye point trouuer daul tre remede sino[n] q[ue] i.e. vous preste a chacu[n] une chemise des mien[n]es telles q[ue]l= les sont co[m]bien q[ue]lles ne sont pas pareilles aux vostres / mais elles sont bla[n] ches / & si ne pouez mieulx faire se me semble. Ilz fure[n]t conte[n]ts de ces chemi= ses de loste qui estoye[n]t courtes et estroictes & de bie[n] dure & aspre toille / et dieu scet q[ui] les faisoit bo[n] veoir. Ilz fure[n]t prestz dieu mercy / mais il estoit si tard q[ue] ilz ne scauoient ou ilz pourroyent ouyr messe. Alors dist mo[n]tbleru q[ui] te= noit trop bien maniere / qua[n]t est pour ouyr messe ie scay bie[n] une eglise en ce ste ville ou nous ne faudro[n]s point a tout le moins de veoir dieu encores il vault mieulx de le veoir q[ue] rie[n] dire[n]t ces bo[n]s seign[eu]rs. Allons allons & no[us] ad ua[n]co[n]s visteme[n]t cest trop tarde / car p[er]dre noz chemises & ne ouyr poi[n]t aujour dhuy de messe ce seroit mal sur mal / & pourta[n]t il est temps daller a leglise si meshuy no[us] voulo[n]s ouyr la messe. Mo[n]tbleru inco[n]tine[n]t les mena en la gra[n]t eglise denvers ou il y a ung dieu sur ung asne / & qua[n]t ilz eure[n]t chascun dict leurs patenostres & leurs deuotio[n]s / ilz dire[n]t a mo[n]tbleru. Ou esse q[ue] nous ver rons dieu. Je le vous monstrey dist il tout maintenant. Alors il leur mo[n] stra ce dieu sur lasne. Et puis il leur dist. Vela dieu vo[us] ne faldrez iamais de voir dieu ceans a quelque heure que ce soit. Adonc ilz commencerent a rire / iasoit ce q[ue] la douleur de leurs chemises ne fust point encores appai see / & sur ce point sen vindre[n]t disner / & fure[n]t depuis ne scay qua[n]t iours a en uers / & apres sen partirent sans rauoir leurs chemises / car montbleru les mist en lieu seur et les vendit depuis cinq escus dor. Or aduint co[m]me dieu le voulut q[ue] en la bon[n]e sepmaine du karesme e[n]suiua[n]t le mecredy⁹ mo[n]tbleru se trouua au disner avec ces troys bo[n]s seign[eu]rs dess[us] nom[m]ez / & entre aultres

{M viii verso}

parolles il leur ramenteut les chemises q[ui]lz auoient p[er]dues a enuers & dist. Helas le pouure larro[n] qui vo[us] desroba il sera bie[n] damne se son meffait ne luy est pardon[n]e de p[ar] vo[us] & par dieu vo[us] ne le voudriez pas. Ha dist maistre himbert / p[ar] dieu beau sire il ne men souuenoit pl[us] ie lay pieca oublie et aul moins dist mo[n]tbleru vous luy pardon[n]ez ne faites pas. Sainct iehan ouy dist il ie ne voudroye pas quil fust da[m]pne pour moy & par ma foy cest bien

⁹ sic

dit dist mo[n]tbleru. Et vous maistre rola[n]t ne luy pardon[n]ez vous point aus si. A gra[n]t peine disoit il le mot touteffois en la fin il dist q[ui]l luy pardon[n]oit mais pource q[ui]l p[er]doit a regret le mot plus luy coustoit a prononcer & vraye=me[n]t dist montbleru vo[us] luy pardonnez aussi maistre rolant que auez vo[us] vo[us] gaigne de da[m]pner ung larro[n] pour une mescha[n]te chemise et ung coeu=urecheif et ie luy pardonne vrayement dist il lors / et len clame quite puis q[ue] aultre chose nen puis auoir & par ma foy vous estes bo[n] homme. Or vint le tourneur si luy dist ledit mo[n]tbleru or ca iehan vo[us] ne ferez pas pis q[ue] les aul tres tout est pardonne a ce pouure larron des chemises se a vo[us] ne tie[n]t. A moy ne tie[n]dra pas dist il i.e. luy ay pieca p[ar]don[n]e & luy en baille de rechief tout maintena[n]t deua[n]t vous labsolution on ne pourroit mieulx dire dit mo[n]tble ru. Et par ma foy ie vous scay bon gre de la quitta[n]ce q[ue] vo[us] auez faicte au larro[n] de voz chemises & en ta[n]t q[ui]l me touche ie vo[us] en mercye to[us] car i.e. suis le larron mesmes q[ui] vo[us] desroba a enuers i.e. pre[n]s ceste quitta[n]ce a mo[n]t prouf fit & de rechief vous en remercie toutesfois car ie le doy faire. Qua[n]t mont=bleru eut confesse le larrecin & q[ui]l eut trouue sa quitta[n]ce par le partir¹⁰ que a uez ouy il ne fault pas demander se maistre rolant et Jehan le tourneur furent bie[n] esbahys car ilz ne se fussent iamais doubttez q[ui]l eust fait ceste cout toisie & luy fut bie[n] reproche ce pouure larrecin voire en esbata[n]t mais luy q[ui] scet tout entrege[n]t se desarmoit gracieuseme[n]t de tout ce do[n]t chargier le vouloyent et leur disoit bien q[ue] cestoit sa coustume que de gaigner / et de prendre ce quil trouuoit sans garde especialleme[n]t a telz ge[n]s com[m]e ilz estoient. Ces trois bo[n]s seigneurs nen firent que rire mais trop bien ilz luy dema[n]derent com[m]ent il les auoit prinses & aussi en q[ue]lle faco[n] & maniere il les desroba et il leur declaira tout au lo[n]g & dist aussi en q[ui]l auoit eu de tout ce butin cinq escus dor do[n]t ilz neure[n]t demanderent oncques aultre chose.

¹⁰ sic

La soixante troisieme nouvelle, par Montbleru.

¹²Montbleru se trouva, environ deux ans a, a la foire d'Envers, en la compagnie de monseigneur d'Estampes, qui le deffrayoit, qui est une chose qu'il prend assez bien en gré. Ung jour entre les aultres, d'aventure il rencontra maistre Ymbert de Playne, maistre Roland Pipe, et Jehan Le Tourneur, qui luy firent grand chere; et pour ce qu'il est plaisant et gracieux, comme chacun scet, ilz desirerent sa compagnie et luy prierent de venir loger avec eulx, et qu'ilz feroient la meilleur chere de jamais. Montbleru de prinsault s'excusa sur monseigneur d'Estampes, qui l'avoit la amené, et dist qu'il ne l'oseroit habandonner: < Et la raison y est bonne, car il me deffraye de tout point >, dit il. Neantmoins toutesfois il fut content d'abandonner monseigneur d'Estampes, ou cas que entre eulx le voulsissent deffrayer; et eulx, qui ne desiroient que sa compagnie, accorderent legierement et de bon cuer ce marché. Or escoutez comment il les paya. Ces trois bons seigneurs, maistre Ymbert, maistre Roland, et Jehan Le Tourneur, demourerent a Envers plus qu'ilz ne pensoient quand ilz partirent de la court, et soubz esperance de bref retourner, n'avoient apporté chacun qu'une chemise; si devindrent les leurs, leurs couvrechefs et petiz draps, bien sales, et a grand regret leur venoit d'eulx trouver en ce party, car il faisoit bien chault, comme en la saison de Penthecoste. Si les baillerent a blanchir a la chambriere de leur logis ung samedy au soir, quand ilz se coucherent, et les devoient avoir blanches au lendemain, a leur lever. Et si eussent ilz; mais Montbleru les en garda bien. Et pour venir au fait, la chambriere, quand vint au matin, qu'elle eut blanchy ces chemises, couvrechefs et petiz draps, les sechez au feu, et ploiez bien et gentement, elle fut appellé[e] de sa maistresse pour aller a la boucherie faire la provision pour le disner. Elle fist ce que sa maistresse luy commenda, et laissa en la cuisine sur une scabelle tout ce bagage, chemises, couvrechefs et petiz draps, esperant a son retour les trouver; a quoy elle faillit. Car Montbleru, quand il peut veoir du jour, se leve de son lit et print une robe longue sur sa chemise et descendit en bas. Il vint veoir qu'on disoit en la cuisine, ou il ne trouva ame, fors seulement ces chemises, couvrechefs, et petiz draps, qui ne demandoient que marchant. Montbleru cogneut tantost que c'estoit sa charge; si y mist la main, et fut en grand effroy ou il les pourroit sauver. Une foiz il pensoit de les bouter dedans les chaudières et grands potz de curvre qui estoient en la cuisine; aultrefois de les bouter en sa manche. Bref il les bouta en l'estable de ses chevaux, bien enfardelées dedans le fain et ung gros monceau de fiens. Et cela fait, il s'en revint coucher dont il estoit party d'emprès de Jehan Le Tourneur. Or veez cy la chambriere retournée de la boucherie, qui ne trouve pas ces chemises, qui ne fut pas bien contente, et commence a demander par tout qui en scet nouvelles. Chacun a qui elle en demandoit disoit qu'il n'en savoit rien, et Dieu scet la vie qu'elle menoit. Et veez cy les serviteurs de ces bons seigneurs qui attendent après leurs chemises, qui n'osent monter vers leurs maistres, et enragent tout vifz; si font l'oste et l'ostesse et la chambriere. Quand vint environ neuf heures, ces bons seigneurs appellent leurs gens; mais nul ne vient, tant craignent a dire les nouvelles de ceste perte a leurs maistres. Toutesfois en la fin, qu'il estoit entre xj et xij, l'oste vint et les serviteurs; et fut dit a ces bons seigneurs comment leurs chemises estoient desrobées, dont les aucuns perdirent pacience, comme maistre Ymbert et maistre Roland. Mais Jehan Le Tourneur tint assez bonne maniere, et n'en faisoit que rire, et appella Montbleru, qui faisoit la dormeveille, qui savoit et oyoit tout, et luy dist: < Montbleru, veez cy compaignons bien en point: on nous a desrobé noz chemises. – Sainte Marie! que dictes vous? dit Montbleru, contrefaisant l'endormy, veez cy mal venu. > Quand on eut grand piece tenu parlement de ces chemises perdues, dont Montbleru cognoissoit bien le larron, ces bons seigneurs dirent: < Il est ja tard, nous n'avons encores point oy messe, et si est dimenche; et si ne povons bonnement aller sans chemises. Qu'est il de faire? - Par ma foy, dist l'oste, je n'y sçay aultre remede, que je vous preste chacun une chemise des miennes, telles qu'elles sont. Elles ne sont pas pareilles aux vostres, mais elles sont blanches, et si ne povez mieulx faire. > Ilz furent contens de prendre ces chemises de l'oste, qui estoient courtes et estroictes, et de dure et aspre toille; et Dieu scet qu'il les faisoit bon veoir. Ilz furent prestz, Dieu mercy; mais il estoit si tard qu'ilz ne savoient ou ilz pourroient oyr messe. Alors dist Montbleru, qui tenoit trop bien maniere: < Tant que d'oyr messe, il est meshuy trop tard; mais je sçay une eglise en ceste ville ou nous ne fauldrions point de veoir Dieu. –Encores vault il mieux que rien, dirent ces

¹¹ Based on F. Sweetser, *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Geneva, 1966) pp. 396-401.

¹² Decorated initial

bons seigneurs. Allons, allons, et nous avançons. > Montbleru les mena en la grand eglise d'Envers, ou il y a ung Dieu sur ung asne. Quand ilz eurent chacun dit une paternostre, ilz dirent a Montbleru: < Ou est ce que nous verrons Dieu? - Je le vous monstrey >, dit il. Alors il leur monstra ce Dieu sur l'asne, et leur dist: < Veez la Dieu: vous ne fauldrez jamais a quelque heure de voir Dieu ceens. > Ilz se commencerent a rire, jasoit ce que la douleur de leurs chemises ne fust pas encore appaisée. Et sur ce point ilz s'en vindrent disner et furent depuis ne sçay quants jours a Envers; et après se despartirent sans avoir leurs chemises, car Montbleru les mist en lieu sauf, et les vendit depuis cinq escuz d'or. Or advint, comme Dieu le vout, que en la bonne sepmaine de quaresme ensuyvant le mercredi, Montbleru se trouva au disner avecques ces trois bons seigneurs dessus nommez; et entre aultres parolles il leur ramentut leurs chemises qu'ilz avoient perdues a Envers, et dist: < Helas! le povre larron qui vous desroba, il sera bien damné si son meffait ne luy est pardonné par Dieu, et de par vous; vous ne le voudriez pas? - Ha! dit maistre Ymbert, par dieu, beau sire, il ne m'en souvenoit plus, je l'ay pieça oublié. - Au mains, dit Montbleru, vous luy pardonnez, faictes pas? - Saint Jehan, dist il, je ne voudroye pas qu'il fut damné pour moy. - Et par ma foy, c'est bien dit, dist Montbleru. Et vous, maistre Roland, ne luy pardonnez vous pas aussi? > A grand peine disoit il le mot; toutesfoiz il dist qu'il luy pardonnoit, mais pour ce qu'il per a regret, le mot luy coustoit plus a prononcer. < Et vrayement, vous luy pardonneriez aussi, maistre Roland, dist Montbleru; qu'avez vous gaigné d'avoir damné ung povre larron pour une meschante chemise et ung couvrechef? - Et je luy pardonne vrayement, dist il lors, et l'en clame quicte, puisqu'ainsi est que aultre chose n'en puis avoir. - Et par ma foy, vous estes bon homme. >, dist Montbleru. Or vint le tour de Jahan Le Tourneur. Si luy dist Montbleru: < Or ça Jehan, vous ne ferez pas pis que les aultres, tout est pardonné a ce povre larron de chemises, si a vous ne tient. - A moy ne tiendra pas, dit il. Je luy ay pieça pardonné, et luy en baille de rechef absolucion. - On ne pourroit mieulx dire, dit Montbleru, et par ma foy, je vous sçay tresbon gré de la quittance que vous avez faicte au larron de voz chemises, et en tant qu'il me touche, car je suis le larron mesmes qui vous desrobay voz chemises a Envers. Je prens ceste quittance a mon prouffit, et vous en mercye toutesfoiz, car je le doy faire. > Quand Montbleru eut confessé ce larrecin, et qu'il eut trouvé sa quittance par le party qu'avez oy, il ne fault pas demander si maistre Ymbert, maistre Roland et Jehan Le Tourneur furent bien esbahiz, car ilz ne se fussent jamais doubtez qui leur eust fait ceste courtoisie. Et luy fut bien reprouché, voire en esbattant, ce povre larrecin. Mais luy, qui scet son entregens, se desarmoit gracieusement de tout ce dont charger le vouloient; et leur disoit bien que c'estoit sa coustume que de gaigner et de prendre ce qu'il trouvoit sans garde, specialement a telles gens qu'ilz estoient. Ilz n'en firent que rire; mais trop bien demanderent comment il les desroba. Et il leur declara tout au long, et dist aussi qu'il avoit eu de tout ce butin cinq escuz, dont ilz n'eurent ne demanderent aultre chose.



La. lxii. nouvelle

merueilleuses/et en soy seignant dist que tout le semblable lui estoit aduenu en celle propre nuyt ainsi que cy deuant est declaire/et quil tenoit et creoyt fermement auoir layssé cheoir son Dyamant ou ledit thomas lauoit trouue/z quil lui deuroit faire plus de mal de lauoir perdu quil ne faisoit audit thomas lequel ny perdoit aucune chose/car il lui auoit chier couste. Ledit thomas respondit en ceste maniere et dist que Vraiment il ne le deuoit point plaindre se leur dit hoste la lauoit iugie estre sien attendu que leur dicte hostesse en auoit eu beaucoup a souffrir /z aussi pour ce quil auoit eu le pucell aigede la nuyt et ledit thomas auoit este son paige en allant apres lui. Et ces choses pnterēt assez bien ledit iehan stotton de la perte de son dit dyamant pour ce que autre chose nen pouoit auoir/z le porta plus pacieusement et plus legierement que sil neust point secul la verite de la matiere. Et de ceste aduanture tous ceulx qui estoient presens commencerent a rire /z a mener grant ioye Adoncques se mirent a table /z dinerent/mais vous pouez penser que ce ne fut pas sans boite d'antant Et apres quilz eurent disne ilz se departirent et chascun sen alla ou

Bon lui sembla. Et ainsi fut tout le mal tallant pardonne et la paix faicte entre les parties cest assauoir entre ledit iehan stotton/z ledit thomas brapton/et furent bons amys ensemble.

La. lxiii. nouvelle.

Montbleru se trouua un jour que passa a la foire de uers en la compagnie de monseigneur de stampes lequel le deffraioit et paioit ses despens que est vne chose que quil print assez bien en gre. Un jour entre les autres dauanture il rencontra maistre himbert de plaine/maistre roulant pipe/z iehan le tourneur qui lui firent grant chiere. Et par ce quil est plaisant /z gracieux cōe chascun scet ilz desirerēt sa compagnie et lui prierent de venir loger avec eulx et quilz feroiēt la meilleure chere de iamais. Montbleru de prime face se excusa sur monseigneur de stampes qui lauoit la amene /z dist quil ne lo seroit habā donner/z la raison y est bonne dist il/car il me deffroye de tous poins neantmoins touteffoys il fut content d'abandonner monseigneur de stampes en cas que entre eulx

le Soulsissent deffroier/et eulx qui ne desiroiēt que sa compaignie accorderent legierement ce marche
 Or escoutes cōment il les paya Les troyz bōs seigneurs demourerent a enuers plus quilz ne pensoient quāt ilz partirent de la co'te et soubz esperance De brief retourner nauoiēt apporte que chascun Sne chemise/si deuindrēt les leurs salles en sēble leurs coeuurechiefsz & petis draps/et a grāt regret leur venoit de eulx trouuer en ceste malaise/car il faisoit bien chault comme en la saison De penthecouste/si les baillerēt a blanchir a la chamberiere De leur logis Sng samedy au soir quant ilz se coucherent /et les deuoient auoir blanches a lendemain a leur leuer/ mais montbleru les garda bien/et pour venir au point/la chamberiere quant vit au matin q'elle eut blanchy ces chemises & coeuurechiefsz & les eut seiches et bien & gentement plopees elle fut de sa maistresse appelée pour aller a la boucherie querir la provision pour le Disner/elle fist ce q' sa maistresse commanda et laissa en la cuisine sur Sne escabelle tout ce bagaige esperant a son retour tout retrouver/a quoy elle faillyt bien/ car montbleru quant il peut veoir du iour il se leua de son lit et

print Sne longue robbe sur sa chemise & descendit en bas pour faire cesser les cheuaulx qui se cōbatoient ou pour aller au retrait / et luy la venu il vint veoir en la cypsine q'on y Disoyt ou il ne trouua ailleurs seulement ces chemises & ces coeuurechiefsz qui ne demandoient que marchāt/montbleru cōgneut tātost q' c'estoit sa charge/ si y mist la main & fut en grant esmoy ou il les pourroit sauuer/Sne fois pensoit de les bouter dedās les chaudières et grans potz de cuyure qui estoient en la cypsine/autreffoiz de les bouter dedans sa mäche/ brief uernēt il les bota en lestable des cheuaulx bien en fardelées dedans du foing en Sng gros monceau de fiens/ & cela fait il sen vit couchier empres Jehan le tourneur dont il estoit party. Or decy la chamberiere retournee de la boucherie laquelle ne treuve pas ces chemises qui ne fut pas bien contente De ce & commença a demander par tout qui en scait nouvelle. Chascun a q' elle en demandoit Disoit quil n'en scauoit rien/et dieu scait la die q'elle menoit/et decy les seruiteurs De ces bons seigneurs qui attendoient apres leurs chemises quilz n'osoient monter vers leurs maistres & craignoient moult/aussi faisoit l'oste &

loste et la chamberiere. Quant
sint environ neuf heures ces bds
seigneurs appellent leurs gens /
mais nul ne vient tant craignent
a dire les nouvelles De ceste perte
a leurs maistres / touteffois en la
fin quil estoit entre .xi. z .xii. loste
sint et les seruiteurs et fut dit a
ces seigneurs comment leurs che-
mises estoient desrobées / dont les
uns perdirent paciēce / comme
maistre Gimbart z maistre rolant
mais iehan le tourneur tint asses
bonne maniere et nen faisoit que
rire z appella montbleru q faisoit
ladormeueille qui scauoit et oyoit
tout et lui dist / montbleru decy
gens bien en point / on nous a des-
robées nos chemises. Sainte ma-
rie que distes vous dist montble-
ru n'estre faisant ledormy / decy bien
mal venu. Quāt on eut grant pie-
te tenu parlement de ces chemises
qui estoient perdues dont montble-
ru congnoissoit bien le laron / ces
bons seigneurs commencerent a
dire. Il est ia bien tart et nous na-
vons encores point ouy de messe z
si est dimanche / et touteffois nous
ne pouons bonnemēt aller de hors
de ceans sans chemises / quest il de
faire. Par ma foy dist loste ie ny
scauroye point trouuer dautre re-
mede / si non q ie vous preste a chascun

un dne chemise des myennes tē-
les que elles sont / combien q elles
ne sont pas pareilles aux vestes
mais elles sont blanches et si ne
pouez mieulx faire se me semble.
Ilz furent contēs de ces chemises
de loste q estoient courtes z estroic-
tes et de bien dure et aspre touille / z
dieu scait qui les faisoit bon veoir
Ilz furent prestz dieu mercy / mais
il estoit si tart que ilz ne scauoient
ou ilz pourroient ouyr la messe.
Alors dist montbleru qui tenoit
trop bien maniere. Quant est de
la messe il est de messuy trop tart
pour louyr / mais ie scay bien dne
eglise en ceste ville ou no? ne faul-
drons point a tout le moins de ve-
oir dieu. Encores il vault mieulx
de le veoir que rien dirent ces bons
seigneurs. Allons allons et nous
aduancons distemēt cest trop tar-
de / car pdre nos chemises z ne ouyr
point au iourduy de messe ce seroit
mal sur mal / et po? tant il est tēps
daller a leglise si messuy no? vous
lons ouyr la messe. Montbleru in-
continēt les mena en la grāt egli-
se deuers ou il y adng dieu sur dng
asne / et quant ilz eurent chascun dit
leurs patenostres et leurs deu-
cions ilz dirent a montbleru. Ou-
esse que nous verrons dieu. Je le
vous mōstreray dist il tout main

tenant . Alors il leur monstra ce dieu sur lasne/et pais il leur Dist De la dieu/vo' ne faudrez iamais de veoir dieu ceans a quelque heure q' se soit . Adoncques ilz cōmencerent a rire/ia soit ce que la Douleur de leurs chemises ne fust poit encores appaisee/ & sur ce point ilz sen vindrent disner & furent depuis ne scay quās iours a enuers/ & apōsenpartiret sans ranoir leurs chemises/ car montbleru les meist en lieu sur et les vendit Depuis cinq escus dor. Or aduint comme dieu. le voulut. que en la bonne sepmaine Du traresme ensuiuant le mercredi montbleru se trouua au disner avec ces trois bons seigneurs dessus nommez/ & entre autres parolles il leur ramenteut les chemises quilz auoient perdues a enuers & dist . Helas le poure larron qui vo' de stroba il sera bien damne. se son meffait ne lui est pardōne de par vous/ et par dieu vous ne le voudriez pas . Ha dist maistre hymbert/ par dieu beau sire il ne men souuenoit plus ie lay pieca oublie. Et au moins dist montbleru vous lui pardonnez ne faictes pas . Saint iehan ouy dist il ie ne voudroie pas quil feust damne pour moy. Et par ma foy cest bien dit dist montbleru. Et vous maistre

rolant ne lui pardonnez vo' point aussi. A grāt paine disoit il le mot . Touteffois en la fin il dist quil lui pardonnoit/ mais pour ce quil perdoit a regret le mot plus luy coustoit a pronōcer. Et dzaiemēt dist montbleru vous lui pdonnez aussi maistre rolant/ que auez vo' gaigne de damner vng poure larron pour vne meschāte chemise & vng coeuurechief. Et ie luy pardonne dzaiement dist il lors et lenclame quicte puis que ainsi est que autre chose nen puis auoir. Et par ma foy dist montbleru vous estes bon hōme. Or vint le tourneur/ si luy dist montbleru. Or ca ie han dous ne ferez pas pis q' les autres/ tout est pardonne a ce poure larron des chemises se a vous ne tiēt. Amoy ne tiēdra pas dist il/ ie lui ay pieca pardonne & luy en baille de rechief tout maintenant deuant vous lab solution. On ne pourroit mpeulx dire Dist montbleru. Et par ma foy ie vous scay bon gre de la quittance que vous auez faicte au larron de vos chemises et en tant q' me touche ie vous en remercye to' Car ie suis le larron mesmes qui vous desfroba a enuers/ ie prens ceste quittance a mon prouffit & de rechief vo' en remercye touteffois Car ie le doy faire . Quant mont

bletti eut confesse ce larcin: & que il eut trouue sa quitance par le party que aues ouy il ne fault pas desmander se maistre rolât & iehan le tourneur furent bien esbays/car ilz ne se fussent iamais Doubtes qui leur eust fait ceste courtoisie/& luy fut bien reprouche ce poure larre & cinboire en esbatant/mais luy qui scait son entregés se desarmoit gracieusement de tout ce dont charger le vouloient/& leur disoit bien que c'estoit sa coustume que de gagner et de prendre ce quil trouuoit sans garde especialement a telz gens cōme ilz estoient. Les trois bons seigneurs nen firent que rire / mais trop bien ilz luy demanderent comment il les auoit prinse & aussi en quelle facon & maniere il les desroba/et il leur declaira tout au long et dist aussi quil auoit eu de tout ce butin cinq escus dor sont ilz neurent ne demanderent oncques autre chose.

La. lxxiii. nouvelle par messire nichault de changy .

Icest Bray que nagueres en vng lieu de ce pays que ie ne puis nōmer & pour cause/ mais au fort qui le scait si sen taise cōme ie fais. En ce lieu la auoit vng maistre cure qui faisoit raige de bien cōfesser ses paroissiennes/et de fait il nen eschappoit nulles quilz ne passassent par la Boire Des ieunes/au regard Des Vieilles il nen tenoit compte. Quant il eut longuement maintenu ceste sainte vie & ce vertueux exercice & que la rendmee en fut espendue par toute la marche & es terres voisines il fut puny ainsi que vo' orres par l'industrie d'vng sien prochain a qui touteffois il n'auoit point encores riēs meffait touchant sa femme. Il estoit vng iour au disner & faisoit bonne chiere en l'ostel d'vng sien parroissien que ie vous ay dit/et comme ilz estoient ou meilleur endroit de leur disner & quilz faisoient la plus grant chiere Decy Venir leans vng homme q' s'appelle trêche coille lequel se mesle de tailler gens/darracher Dens et d'vng grant tas de brouilleries et auoit ne scay quoy a besongner a l'oste de leans. L'oste le recueillit tresbiē & le fist seoir/& sās se faire trop prier il se fourre avec nostre cure et les autres/& sil estoit venu tard il mettoit paine d'acōsuir les

Appendix 4: *Identifying the Raconteurs*

Archival evidence confirms that some of the raconteurs might not be the men whom early philological researchers identified. One such mistaken identity is particularly problematic. There are a variety of difficulties related to the association of the *conteur* named as the lord of Beauvoir with the *Houaste* or *Vast* of the dauphin's retinue. This has been the traditional identification since the investigations of Le Roux de Lincy, who argued that Jehan de Montespedon (known as *Houaste*) was Beauvoir. It is certainly possible that *Houaste* was the raconteur in question, because this lord of Beauvoir was one of the band of adventurers with the Dauphin in exile at Genappe (*most noteworthy young men* is how La Marche describes them¹). He became the Lord of Beauvoir in 1452 for the price of 4,500 golden crowns which he had loaned to Louis². However, it is not at all clear that this *ecuyer et premier valet de chambre du dauphin*, the *garde de ses joyaux*, and the *châtelain* of Baix sur Baix, lord of Marc-en-Dauphiné was the raconteur of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*.

The problem with accepting his candidacy is that there are too many other Beauvoirs to be sure of any one of them. To be clear: the only identification in the manuscript is *Monseigneur de Beauvoir*. For this reason, the logic which established *Houaste* so firmly as *the Beauvoir* of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* might just as easily unseat him. In his introductory *Notice sur les Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Paul Lacroix wrote that Jean de Montespedon was no longer the lord of Beauvoir from the point when he left France to follow the dauphin into exile³.

“This proves,” Lacroix claimed, “that the redaction of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, or at least the redaction of the titles found in the table, where the narrators are named, was carried out after 1461”⁴. However, the evidence does not necessarily back up this *post hoc* case, as it rests on the assumption

¹ H. Beaune and J. d'Arbaumont, *Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, maitre d'Hotel et Capitaine des Gardes de Charles le Téméraire* (Paris, 1883-88) vol. 2, p. 413: *Et avoit mondit seigneur le daulphin de moult notables et jeusnes gens, comme le seigneur de Cressol, le seigneur de Villiers de l'Estanc, monseigneur de Lau, monseigneur de la Barde, Gaston de Lyon, et moult d'autres nobles gens et gens esleuz.*

² E. Pilot de Thorey, *Catalogue des actes du dauphin Louis II, devenu le roi de France Louis XI, relatifs à l'administration du Dauphiné* (Grenoble, 1899) pp. 254, 348. (Champion's reference, at p. XLIX.)

³ Paul Lacroix also published under the pseudonym “Bibliophile Jacob”, and “P.L. Jacob, Bibliophile”. The quote is from the introduction to his *Les Cent nouvelles nouvelles dites les cent nouvelles du Roi Louis XI: Édition publiée d'après le texte des manuscrits avec des notes et une notice* (Paris, 1884), p. XIII. This pocket-sized edition is not to be confused with his release of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* in a volume (printed in octavo) called *Vieux Conteurs français* some years previously: *Les Vieux Conteurs Français revus et corrigés ... accompagnés de notes, et précédés de notices historiques, critiques, et bibliographiques*. (Romans, 1835). cf P. Lacroix, *Les dix dizaines des Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles, réimprimées par les soins de D. Jouaust. Avec notice, notes et glossaire par P. Lacroix. Dessins gravés de J. Garnier* (Paris, 1874).

⁴ *Cette circonstance prouve que la rédaction des Cent nouvelles nouvelles, ou du moins celle des titres de la Table, où sont nommés les narrateurs, est postérieure à l'année 1461. Lacroix, Notice, p. XIII.*

that the Beauvoir of the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* was in fact the same one who accompanied Louis to Genappe: the supposition is not authoritative. Moreover, it is not clear where Lacroix acquired the information that Jean de Montespedon was not considered to be the lord of Beauvoir during his sojourn in Burgundian lands, though it is possible that he inferred this to have been the case because he was referred to not by his title, but by his nickname, in court documents⁵. The obvious question is, who, *at the court of Burgundy*, would have considered him to have been stripped of his lordship?

It is possible that another lord of Beauvoir was the one who contributed to the collection of nouvelles. One candidate amongst many, for example, is the chronicler Jacques du Clercq, because he used the title of the lord of *Beauvoir en Ternois*, and was also a *conseiller* of the duke. As his chronicle shows, he was certainly well-informed about the ins and outs of court life in the 1450s and 1460s.

The possibility that it was Houaste may not – indeed should not – be lightly dismissed, however, and some information does lend support to the idea that he was a storyteller. For one thing, the table entry for the thirtieth nouvelle in the Vérard edition has the word *françois* written beside the name of Beauvoir, which, according to Champion, distinguishes him from the Burgundians⁶. It is difficult to be sure that this is a wholly reliable entry, however. For one thing, Vérard compiled his edition at a significant remove of years, and could therefore have been wrong, misled, or inclined to exaggerate any perceived (or even fictitious) French involvement in the tale generation schema to make his book more marketable to a French reading audience. As we have already seen, Vérard's editions have a variety of readings at variance with the manuscript. The publisher was concerned to produce a more marketably Parisian version of a text originally written by an editor whose provincial accent, and courtly jargon was not commercial. It is therefore legitimate to surmise that the distinction Vérard's edition made between the dauphin's men and the men of the court of Burgundy may not be reliable.

In his early scholarly edition of the text, Thomas Wright observed that Vérard's ascription to Louis XI of the tales attributed to *monseigneur* is distinctly dubious. We only have the Vérard editions' tables for the two nouvelles which the lord of Beauvoir told⁷, and we are therefore free to doubt that the manuscript (which has had most of the folios of the table cut out) also contained any remark to the effect that Beauvoir was French (as opposed to Burgundian).

⁵ Needless to say, this would be a shaky line of argument: many titled and untitled people were identified through nicknames. ADN B 2034 fo 52r: *Jehanin de Tenremonde, dit le Bègue or le Besque cleric de Richart Juif* (also of Guiot du Champ: ADN B 2034 preregister fo 30r); **K. de Lettenhove**, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, (Brussels, 1863) vol. 5, p. 382. *Fusil*, the duke's poursuivant at arms, was also known as *Gilles Gobert*. Similarly, *Thoison D'Or* was *Jehan Lefèvre de Saint Remy*. *Fusil* became known as *Thoison d'Or* after the May 1468 order meeting at Bruges.

⁶ **P. Champion**, *Les Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (Paris, 1928), p. XLVII.

⁷ Not counting the other printed versions, of course, which seem to have been based on Vérard, duplicating as they do Vérard's addendum to the dedicatory letter.

Wright's conclusion, based on sound archival reasoning (he knew the contents of the ducal library catalogue entry for the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*) led him to suggest that anyone wishing to conclude that the stories attributed to "My Lord" were those told by the dauphin, should not have begun by saying that they were the work of duke Philip⁸. Similarly, therefore, it seems sensible to treat with scepticism remarks found only in the Vérard text, or in versions of the text based on Vérard, which emphasise the involvement of the dauphin or of his retinue. If Vérard's editions are to inform our study of the generation of the manuscripts, they can only reasonably be used with caution in this particular. The frontispiece of the Vérard editions, as we have seen, is also a statement of the dauphin's involvement which appears unrealistic, and exaggerated. It has no basis in any other documentation, and is apparently contradicted by the text of the ducal library inventory.

To be strictly accurate, however, although we are free to speculate that the term *françois* may have been an interpolation of Vérard's own devising, it need not have been. The argument about his inclusion of an addendum to the dedicatory letter is, ultimately, a separate question. The manuscript's missing table perhaps also had this distinguishing word, *françois*, next to the thirtieth of the nouvelles. If this was the case (and how can it be tested now?) another possibility needs to be considered: there may have been two lords of Beauvoir involved in recounting the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, one a Burgundian, who told the first of the tales, and was known as the lord of Beauvoir by the Burgundian readership, and another, the raconteur of the thirtieth tale, who was distinguished in the table as *françois*, lest he be confused with the other Beauvoir. The texts of the *Nouvelles* themselves give no reason to discount this possibility. The rubrics which introduce the tales do so in the same ways: *La XXVII^e Nouvelle, par monseigneur de Beauvoir* and *La XXX^e Nouvelle, par monseigneur de Beauvoir*. Neither is it clear, however, that the raconteur responsible for the 27th *Nouvelle* was not the dauphin's servant. Indeed, if it was Houaste, it may explain the presence of the two curious references to "this kingdom" – that is, presumably, France – which appear in the beginning of the earlier tale:

It's no strange thing, especially in this kingdom, that beautiful ladies and girls like to find themselves in good companions' company. [...] whose reputation was such that the greatest lord of this kingdom should consider himself very blessed to be retained as her servant⁹ ...

These references to the kingdom are also a puzzle. One thing is certain about the dauphin's retainers: the kingdom of France was not safe for them. If the redactor of the text has been faithful to the original wording in this instance, it is likely that a man accustomed to thinking of himself as being in the kingdom was the raconteur responsible for this *Nouvelle*. However, such turns of phrase are perhaps only indicative of the *acteur*'s or indeed a more general and widespread francophile mindset which

⁸ Wright, *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, Introduction, p. X-XI.

⁹ *Ce n'est pas chose pou accoustumée, especialement en ce royaume, que les belles dames et damoiselles se trouvent voluntiers et souvent en la compaignie des gentilz compaignons. [...] dont le bruit n'est pas si pou cogneu que le plus grand maistre de ce royaume ne se tenist trespereux d'en estre retenu serviteur...*

perhaps applied to Burgundian partisans in the same measure as it applied to Frenchmen living in France. The lord of la Roche, for example, also contributed nouvelles in which he spoke of *ce royaume*, but this is not necessarily unusual for a native of the duchy of Burgundy. A casual reference to *ce royaume* in nouvelle 29, told by the duke, may also indicate a French outlook.

In his *Itinéraires*, Herman Vander Linden has shown that the duke spent most of the late 1450s in imperial territories which were not answerable to the French crown, yet perhaps here the duke too referred to *ce royaume* and meant France¹⁰. For example, in 1459-1460, the duke spent his time in Mons, Brussels, Nivelles, Hal (also known as Halle), Le Quesnoy, Bavay, Soignies, Vilvorde, and St-Josse-ten-Noode. In fact, however, the vast majority of his time was spent at Brussels. In 1458, he had moved around a little more, visiting Bruges, Ecclou, Ghent, Termonde, Brussels, Grammont, Ath, Saint Ghislain, Le Quesnoy, Courtrai, Lille, Valenciennes, Arras and Mons. Again, his time was divided between imperial and French territories, with his longest stay being at Bruges. If the 28th and 29th *Nouvelles* have been written down in the sequence in which they were told, however, it is possible (at a stretch) to argue that the duke was actually referring to the same non-specific kingdom mentioned by Michault de Chaugy in the 28th tale¹¹.

It is interesting to note that the lord of Villiers, a raconteur who was probably another Frenchman who followed the dauphin into exile¹², began the 35th nouvelle in the same way as the duke: *A gentleman, a knight of this kingdom*¹³... Similarly, Villiers set the scene of the 56th nouvelle: *Not long ago ... in a town of this kingdom, in the Duchy of Auvergne*¹⁴. A comment at the end of the lord of Villiers' third of five contributions to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* refers to several parts of the Dauphiné and seems to

¹⁰ It is not necessarily permissible to assume, on the basis of "a balance of probabilities" that he was not within the kingdom when he told this tale. The fact that the tale refers to "this kingdom" is in itself a possible indication of the location at which it was told.

¹¹ Chaugy does not specify which kingdom he is talking about: *Le bon seigneur dont je vous parle fut en son temps ung des beaulx princes de son royaulme... The good lord about whom I'm telling you was, in his day, one of the finest princes of his kingdom...* Later in Chaugy's tale, when the queen's servant speaks to this knight, she also mentions the kingdom, but without specificity: *...la plus femme de bien de ce royaume se tiendroit pour bien eureuse et honorée... The finest lady of this kingdom would consider herself lucky and honoured...*

¹² There is almost no room to doubt the identity of this raconteur, not least because he told two of his five tales about events in the Dauphiné. See below for discussion of this point.

¹³ *Ung gentilhomme, chevalier de ce royaume.*

¹⁴ *N'a gueres ... en un bourg de ce royaume, en la duché d'Auvergne*

confirm the lord of Villiers' knowledge of that part of the world, mentioning the whores of Avignon, Vienne, Valence, and other parts of the Dauphiné¹⁵.

Along with Villiers and Houaste, the lord of la Barde, the other of the Dauphin's followers who contributed to the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, also refers to a *gentilhomme de ce royaume* in the 35th nouvelle. The next Burgundian lord to do so is the lord of Thienges, Chrétien de Digoine, in the 46th tale. The only other instance of a reference to *ce royaume* comes in a character's direct speech in the anonymous 96th nouvelle: a priest laments that *my lord the bishop... is the most avaricious prelate of this kingdom*¹⁶.

R.G. McGillivray, apparently following Paul Lacroix, has contended that because *Jean de Montespèdon ... became lord of Beauvoir after 1461*¹⁷, but he held the title in 1462 ... whenever the tales were told, they cannot have been written until 1461 at the earliest¹⁸. McGillivray assumed that there was nobody else known as the lord of Beauvoir before the title was given to Jean de Montespèdon. However, this assumption is manifestly erroneous. For example, in an account relating to the horses, cows and other animals put out to pasture in the forest of Hardelot, we find a receipt for payment given by one Cassart¹⁹ de Musson²⁰ who appears as an *esquire, lord of Beauvoir, Lieutenant of the Châtelain of Hardelot*²¹.

¹⁵ He makes five contributions, if we discount the story of how the monk's finger was cured, which Vêrad attributes to him in the body text of his work, though not in the table:

¶ La. lxxv. nouvelle racôptee par
monseigneur de Villiers.



¶ Comme il est assez de couste
tume dieu mercy que n plus
leurs communaultez de religiois

¶ La. lxxv. nouvelle Dug moy
ne q faignit estre tressort malade
et endangier de mort pour parue
nir a lamour dune sienne boyfine
par la maniere qui cy apert sen fait

¹⁶ *monseigneur l'evêque... est le plus convoiteux prelat de ce royaume.*

¹⁷ That is, as a reward for loyalty during Louis XI's exile, and after Louis' coronation in 1461.

¹⁸ R. McGillivray, 'The Cent nouvelles nouvelles: A Monograph', PhD thesis (Yale, 1959), p. 53.

¹⁹ Also known as *Tassinot*.

²⁰ It is not known where this lord Beauvoir came from. Musson is a small village on the border with France in southeast Belgium near the Luxembourg frontier.

²¹ ADN B 2027, #61,980. In the few letters relating to the receipt general of 1458 which have survived, there is *lettre d'attestation* of Tassinot de Musson, lord of Beauvoir, described as the *lieutenant du chatelain de Hardelo*.

At any rate, the archival documentation from the period of Houaste's stay with the dauphin in ducal lands refers to him not as the lord of Beauvoir, but as Vast, or Houaste. For example, one entry in which he received £240 as a gift from the dauphin during a period of illness calls *him Wast, esquire and chamberlain of my said lord the dauphin*. The lord of Croy certified the payment on 24 June 1459²².

There are other courtly records of wages payments which include the name of a lord of Beauvoir. It is interesting to note that someone bearing the title figures alongside other raconteurs who received *gages* at the same rate he did²³: *Messire Glaude de Thoulongon, Messire Tastran de Thoulongon, Le Marquis de Ferrare, Messire Jehan bastard de Renty*²⁴, *Messire Michault de Chaugy, Messire Jehan de la Viesville, Messire Jehan d'Anghien, Jehan de Quielent, Messire Oultre de le Rose, Messire Jehan de Bermaige, Monseigneur de Beauvoir, Messire Francois l'Aragonnois, Messire Augustin Bourchone, Messire Phelippe de Lannoy, Bertrandon [etc.]*²⁵.

The chronicle of the Ghent war mentions that a lord of Beauvoir was in the duke's army in April 1452, when Philip the Good was preparing to attack the Ghenters who had laid siege to Audenarde²⁶. This Beauvoir was one of the *grands seigneurs* in charge of the Picard force, alongside the lord of Moreuil, the lords of Roye, Wavrin, Rochefort, Lannoy, Fosseux (son of the Baron of Montmorency), Harnes, Saveuses, Noyelle, the bastard of Burgundy, messire Jehan, bastard of Saint Pol, the lord of Dompierre, messire Philippe de Hornes, the lords of Crèvecoeur, Bois, Neufville, Haplaincourt, Humières, **Beauvoir**, Jeaucourt, Basentin, Cohem and Dreuil. It is therefore not impossible that the lord of Beauvoir was a Burgundian and not a follower of the dauphin.

²² ADN B 2034 fo 187r.

²³ ADN B 2026 fo 143r, which comes in a section of payments for wages and livery for noble men counted to have the upkeep of four horses between 2 February and 3 March 1457 new style.

²⁴ This Jean, bastard de Renty was also the lord of Clary/Clercy. He was a knight, and squire of the ducal stables who became a councillor, chamberlain and master of the ducal household. He was made the captian of his archers, and took part in the fight at Lokeren. Cf **Beaune and d'Arbaumont**, *la Marche*, vol. 2, p. 247, and **G. du Fresne de Beaucourt**, *Chronique de Mathieu d'Escouchy* (Paris, 1863), vol. 2, p. 552. ADN B 2027, #61,980: letter of 14 January 1458 (new style) in a box of individual letters and papers relating to the receipt general of Guiot du Champ. (Du Champ was receiver general for the years 1457-9, and the materials relating to his tenure in the office are in B 2026-2036.) The document contains the following information: ... *Nous Tassinot de Musson, escuier, Seigneur de Beauvoir, lieutenant de Monseigneur Jehan batart de Renty, chevalier, Seigneur de Hardelot et de Clery conseiller, chambellan, premier maistre d'ostel et maistre d'ostel de monseigneur le duc de Bourgogne, et son chastellain de Hardrelo...*

²⁵ Presumably Bertrandon de la Broquière, who was the first esquire *tranchant* of the duke's household. Shortly before he died, he carried out official duties as a commissioner of the ducal finances in Flanders, and his widow received his pay for that work: ADN B 2045 preregister fo 39v.

²⁶ **K. de Lettenhove**, *Oeuvres de Georges Chastellain*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1863), p. 235.

Beauvoir is not an isolated case, however. It would be difficult not to admit the raconteur identified as Monseigneur de Villiers as the dauphin's servant, but it ought to be acknowledged that there were other candidates at the court in the 1450s and 1460s, who bore the title. The lord of Villiers' familiarity with the *Dauphiné* which, as we saw, comes across in the conclusion to his *Nouvelle*, may only be circumstantial evidence that the Villiers in question was the dauphin's servant. After all, whilst the Dauphin and his men were in ducal lands, they toured around, went hunting, and were visited by numerous lords, and it is not unlikely that the Burgundian lords of Villiers knew someone who had been to the Dauphiné.

One possible alternative candidate was a Messire Philibert de Villiers knight, and lord of Villiers la Faye. This Lord of Villiers made regular annual payments to a canon named Jehan d'Aisery, the receiver of the collegial church of Saint Denis at Vergy between 1458 and 1460²⁷. Another possibility is Jacques, also lord of Villiers la Faye, who was a knight, councillor and chamberlain of the duke's: a trusted intimate²⁸. The records of Le Quesnoy record a fine relating to an assault on *the Lord of Villier's harp-player*, but without specifying which lord of Villiers was intended²⁹. In the count of Charolais' account register for 1457, there is a note that the count *held the lord of Villiers' son at the baptismal font*, and it is not clear which lord of Villiers this was either³⁰. There are also notes in the account books of one *Jehan de Villiers, from Montdidier*, who was defrayed for the costs incurred in coming to speak with the duke about secret matters in Brussels in mid 1459, so this may also have been the *françois* lord of Villiers³¹. There is a record of *quittance* given by Jean de Villiers, the ducal councillor in the county of Artois, 2 March 1459³². This Jean de Villiers was actually the lord of Lisle-Adam, who does appear in the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles*, as the *seneschal of the Boullonais* mentioned in a story by Phelippe de Loan. As another ducal favourite, he could certainly have been the Villiers who told the short stories. Although these reservations are worth bearing in mind, the references to the Dauphiné in the stories by Villiers are suggestive, and it seems reasonable to conclude that Villiers was one of the dauphin's servants: Alain Goyon, who became *grand écuyer de France* in 1470, the baillif and captain of Caen, as is attested by Commynes³³. Nevertheless, in the absence of firm proof, it is probably best not to dwell on any particular Villiers' career.

As we saw in chapter three above, the difficulty of pinning down the raconteur Alardin is not easily overcome, given that numerous courtiers and adherents of the court shared the name. Similarly, Caron was a common name around the court, and appears in many court documents. Because Chastelain

²⁷ ACO G 3101 fo 181r.

²⁸ ACO B 355/17 #45; B 355/14 #75.

²⁹ ADN B 11381 fo 2v, 5v.

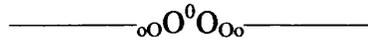
³⁰ ADN B 3661, fo 80v. The baptism took place at Quesnoy le Conte.

³¹ ADN B 2034 fo 193r.

³² ADN B 2033 #62,433.

³³ **M. Jones**, *Philippe de Commynes, Memoirs, the reign of Louis XI 1461-83* (Harmondsworth, 1972) pp. 245, 252. See also BN, Pièce Orig. 1384.

mentioned a chapel attendant named Caron, it was assumed by Champion and others that this Caron, the musician, and *sommelier de la chapelle*, who had a prebend in the Hague, was also the *raconteur*³⁴. Indeed, the Jehan le Caron who worked in the chapel is widely attested in court documents, and he is of particular interest to modern scholarship because he was a composer of music³⁵. However, there was also a Jehan le Caron serving the count of Charolais, who was present at Mons in early 1459³⁶. He was a rider of the count's stables, and occupied an administrative post in the household³⁷. It is also possible that Caron was not a *Jehan* at all: there was Taillevent, also known as Michault le Caron – a literary figure – and Gilles le Caron, the ducal lieutenant at Bucquoy³⁸.



³⁴ Lettenhove, *Chastellain* vol. 3, pp. 232-234.

³⁵ J. Marix, *Histoire de la Musique et des Musiciens de la Cour de Bourgogne Sous le Règne de Philippe le Bon (1420-1467)* (Paris, 1939 / Geneva, 1972); ADN B 2026 fo 109r encore; fo 109 encore 2v–109 encore 3r, B 2040 fo. 107r; G3/227; G3/291; G3/300; G 3/303; BN MS FR 8255, #45; BN MS FR 15123; BM Dijon, MS 517;

H. Nélis, *Chambre des Comptes de Lille: Catalogue des Chartes du sceau de l'audience* (Brussels, 1915) p. 6.

³⁶ ADN B 3423 # 117, 164 (this lists Caron on a gages list alongside *Jean le Tourneur*, *Montbléru*, and *Roland Pippe* on 5 January 1459).

³⁷ ADN B 3661, fo 52v.

³⁸ M. Sommé, *Isabelle de Portugal, une femme au pouvoir au XV^e siècle* (Villeneuve d'Ascq, 1998) p. 146.

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¹ Caution is advised in its use, as it contains innumerable spelling errors.

² This poor edition of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles is practically identical to a 1924 Carbonek edition (in 2 vols) called *One Hundred Merrie and delightsome stories*, introduced by Arthur Machen. This later edition was illustrated in an art deco style by Clara Tice, and exists in a limited print run of 1250 signed and numbered copies. The publisher of the 1899 edition probably feared censorship. Robert B. Douglas, its translator, was preoccupied with the nature of the material, writing: *Three or four of the stories are extremely coarse, and I hesitated whether to omit them, insert them in the original French, or translate them, but decided that as the book would only be read by persons of education, respectability and mature age, it was better to translate them fully, as has been done in the far coarser passages of Rabelais and other writers. This course appeared to me less hypocritical than that adopted in a recent expensive edition of Boccaccio in which the story of Rusticus and Alibech was given in French with a highly suggestive full page illustration facing the text for the benefit of those who could not read the French language. (p.XXX)* The various books keeping the Cent nouvelles nouvelles company in the same series were every bit as bawdy as the Burgundian text: *The Kama Sutra*, *Casanova*, *Perfumed Garden*, *Ananga Ranga (the Hindu art of love)*, and *The Diary of a Masseuse*.

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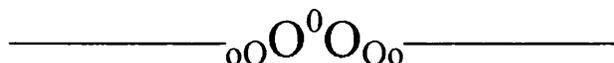
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PLATES TO CHAPTER ONE



Plate 1 Pierre Champion (image from <http://perso.wanadoo.fr/vergezy/champindex.htm>)

26.
B. 449 *Mortification de la 7^e b^e de rente approuvée des Chapelains de l'église de Jean expédié en 1677. Colte 2.*
B. 449 *Autre de la 6^e de rente donnée par M^{re} Jean Martin pour les fondations par lui faites en l'église de Jean, expédié en l'an 1678. Colte 21.*
B. 449 *Autre de la 7^e de rente donnée par les veuve & héritiers de Jean pour les fondations par eux faites en l'église, expédié en 1689. 21.*
B. 449 *Autre de la 8^e de rente donnée par les v^{rs} & héritiers de ... 21.*

Plate 2 Section from Recueil Peincede mentioning a document concerning raconteur Jean Martin

Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne et de Brabant, Monseigneur le conte de Charrollois et mes damoiselles d'Estampes, de Bourbon et de Guelres, tout le jour à Heslin, somme du jour compris gaiges sans garnison : viii^l xviii livres, xi sols, i denier; item, sur le dit xxxi^e et derrain jour d'octobre appert par une autre escroe estre complé pour chausses, venues et allée : xxxiiii livres, viii sols; item, ancores par autre escroe d'icellui xxxi^e et derrain jour appert aussi estre complé pour viages (voyages), hostellages, apoticairies, et autres choses extraordinaires : viii^l ix livres, x sols, viii deniers (folio 31, recto). — Vendredi, jour de tous les Saints, prime jour de novembre l'an mil iii^l xlviii. Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne et de Brabant, etc., tout le jour à Heslin. Et firent ce jour le service devant madicte dame l'évesque de Salumbrye et les chapelains de Monseigneur ausqueis furent delivrez de leurs bouches à l'ostel. Somme du jour, compris gaiges sans garnison : iiiii^l xii livres, ii sols, x deniers (folio 31, verso).....

Somme totale de la dépense de ce présent compté : 33.272 livres, 8 sols, 11 deniers.....

« Compte second de Humbert de Playne, etc. du

Dimanche jour de Pasques charnelz, xiii d'arri l'an mil iii^l xlix. Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne et de Brabant la Roine d'Escoce (1), aux despens de madicte dame, monseigneur le Conte de Charollois et mes damoiselles d'Estampes et de Bourbon tout le jour à Brouxelles. Somme etc. : xlix livres, xix sols (folio 13, recto).....

Compte troisieme de Humbert de Playne, etc. du premier jour de janvier mccc quarante-neuf et finissant le derrain jour de decembre mccc cinquante tout inciez - folio 2, recto). — Dépenses et mises de ce présent compte.....

« Dimanche, xi^e jour de janvier l'an mil iii^l xlix, madame la duchesse de Bourgogne et de Brabant, monseigneur le conte de Charollois, Jaques (2), monseigneur de Portugal (3) et mes damoiselles d'Estampes et de Bourbon et Ysabel d'Estampes tout le jour à Bruges. Somme dudit jour, etc. : iiiii^l ix livres, xiiii sols, viii deniers (folio 4, recto).

Compte iii^e de Humbert de Plaine, etc., du premier jour de janvier mil iii^l cinquante au dernier jour de decembre mil iii^l cinquante et ung, etc. Recepto faicte par ledit Humbert durant le temps de ce compte. Somme toute de la dite receipte : xxxv^l vi^l xvi livres.

(1) Elisabeth, fille de Jean II de Bourgogne, comte de Nevers, mariée plus tard à Jean I^{er}, duc de Clèves.

(2) Isabelle, fille de Charles I^{er} duc de Bourbon, qui épousa le 30 octobre 1434, le comte de Charolais, Charles de Bourgogne, plus tard le duc Charles le Téméraire.

(3) Catherine, fille d'Arnould d'Égmont, duc de Gueldre et de Catherine de Clèves. Cette princesse mourut sans alliance. Cette appellation pourrait aussi convenir à sa sœur aînée Marie qui épousa, en 1449, le roi d'Écosse Jacques II.

(1) Marie, fille d'Arnould d'Égmont, duc de Gueldre, mariée en 1419 à Jacques II, roi d'Écosse, dont elle eut trois fils, Jacques, Alexandre et Jean. Elle mourut en 1463.

(2) Probablement Jacques, fils de don Pedro, duc de Coimbra, archevêque de Lisbonne.

(3) Don Pedro, duc de Coimbra, fils de don Pêdre, tué en 1460, proclamé roi d'Aragon en 1464.

Plate 3 Section from Bruchet inventory of ADN Lille, mentioning Humbert de Plaine, character of

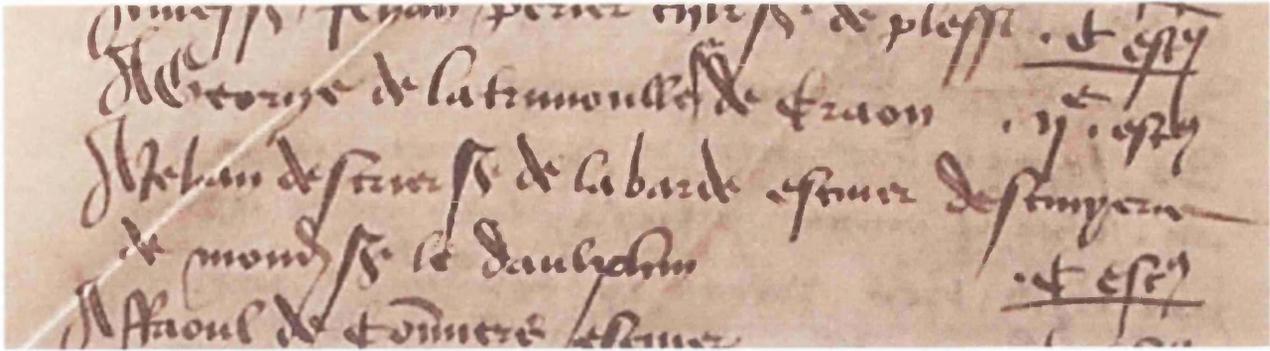


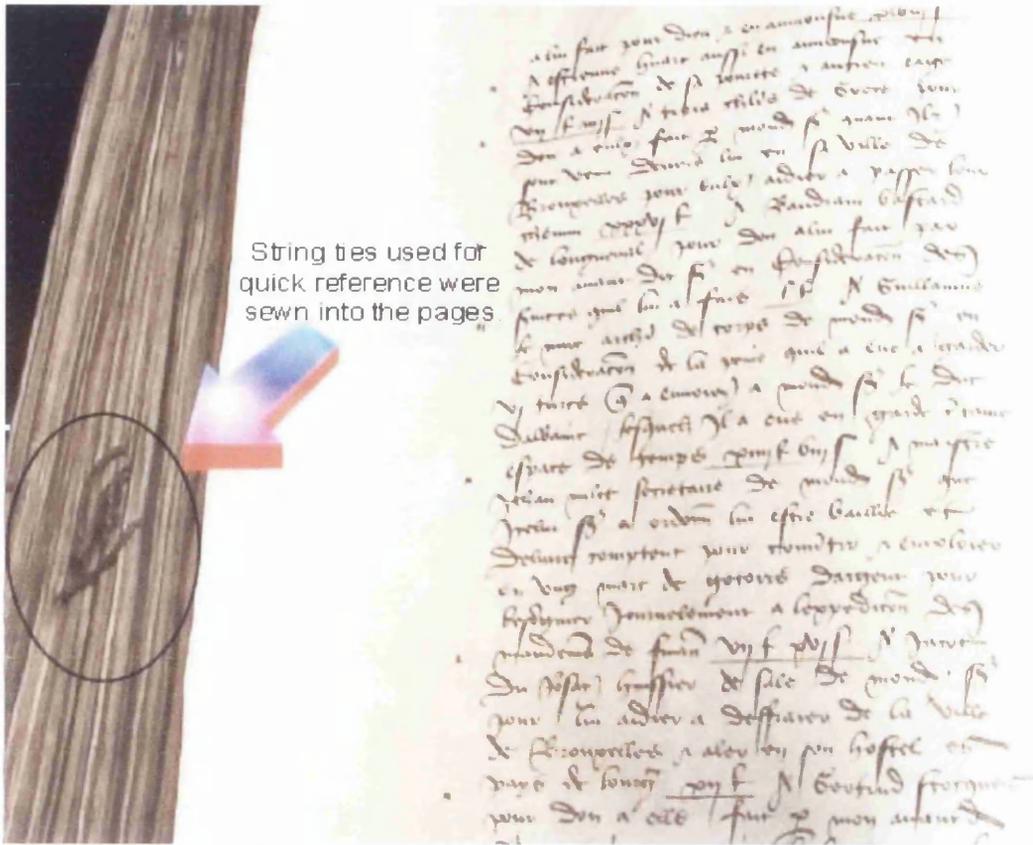
Plate 4 *Jean d'Estrier*



Plate 5 Close up.

There is a marked difference between the letters *tri* and *ue*, as can be seen in *d'Estrier* from fo 324v and *Niuelle* from fo 284r. The sentence thus reads:

*A Jehan d'Estrier s[eigneu]r de la Barde escuier d'escuiyerie (sic)
de mond[it] s[eigneu]r le daulphin .C escus*



String ties used for quick reference were sewn into the pages

Plate 6 Page from the *Recette Generale* showing reference cords

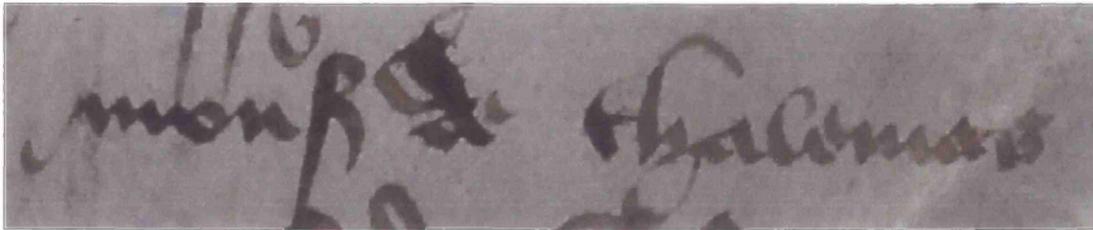


Plate 7 The lord of Thalemas' name in the muster roll ACO B 11788.

PLATES TO CHAPTER TWO

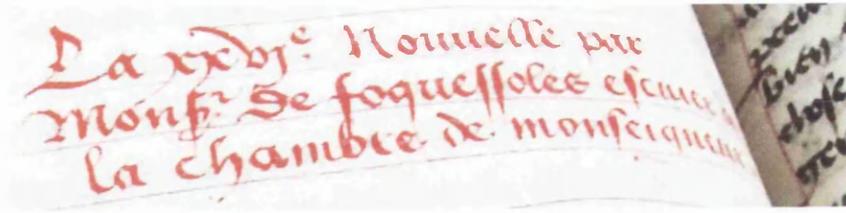


Plate 1 Glasgow University Library MS Hunter 252 (U.4.10) fo 54v

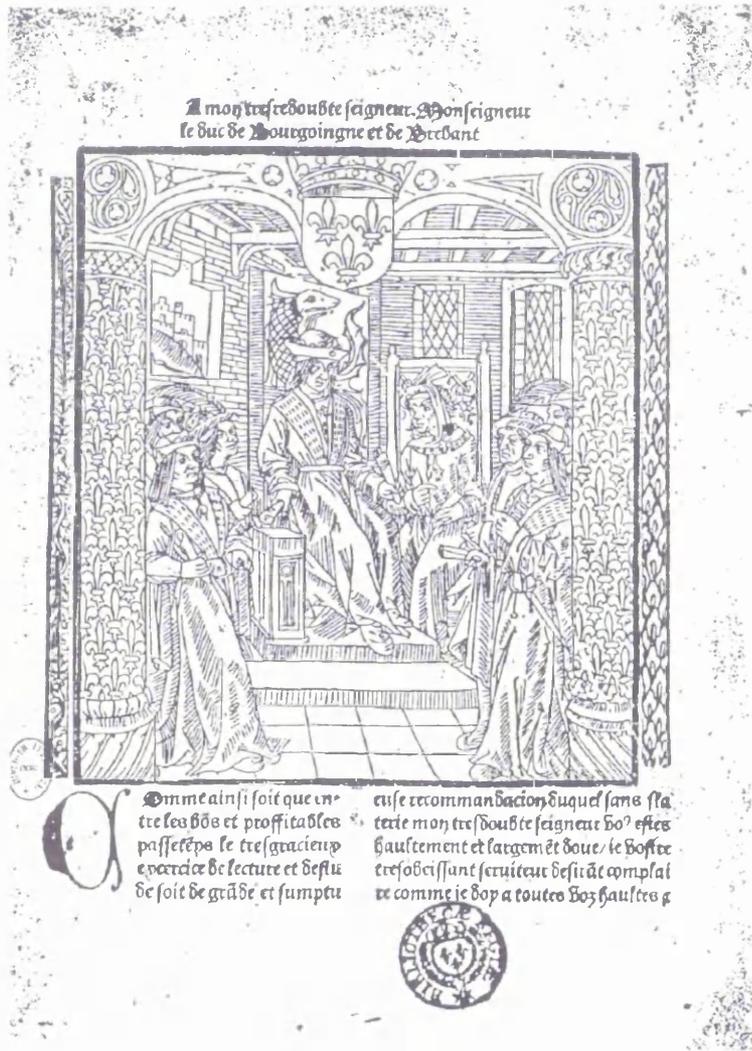
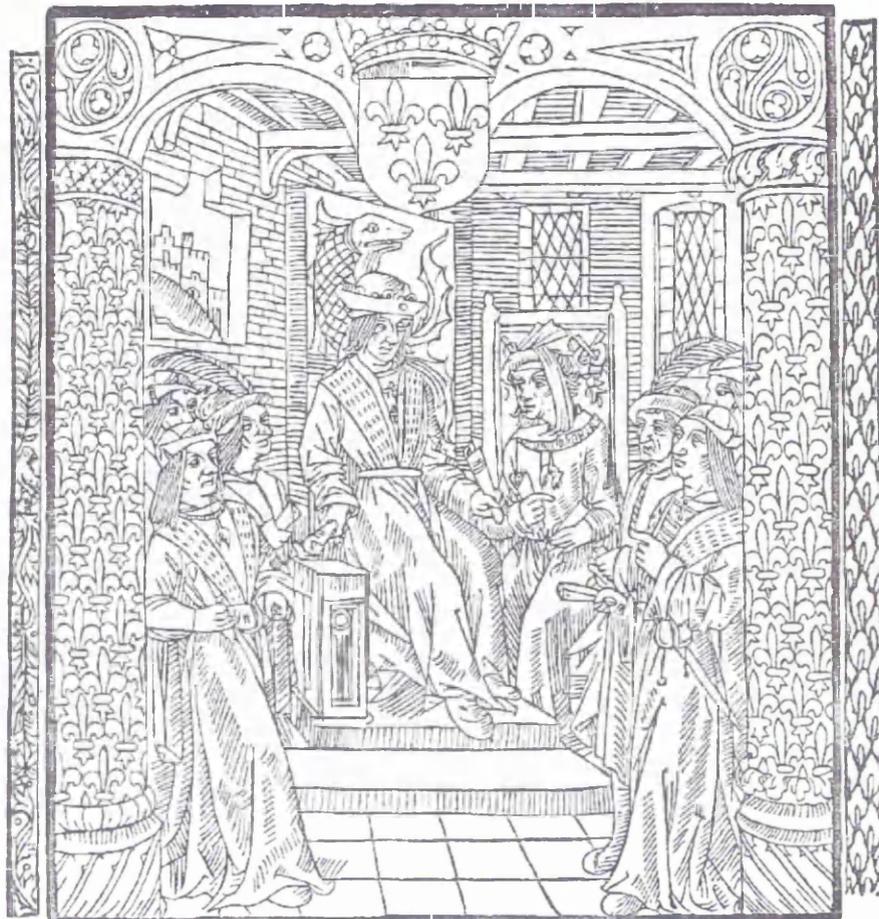


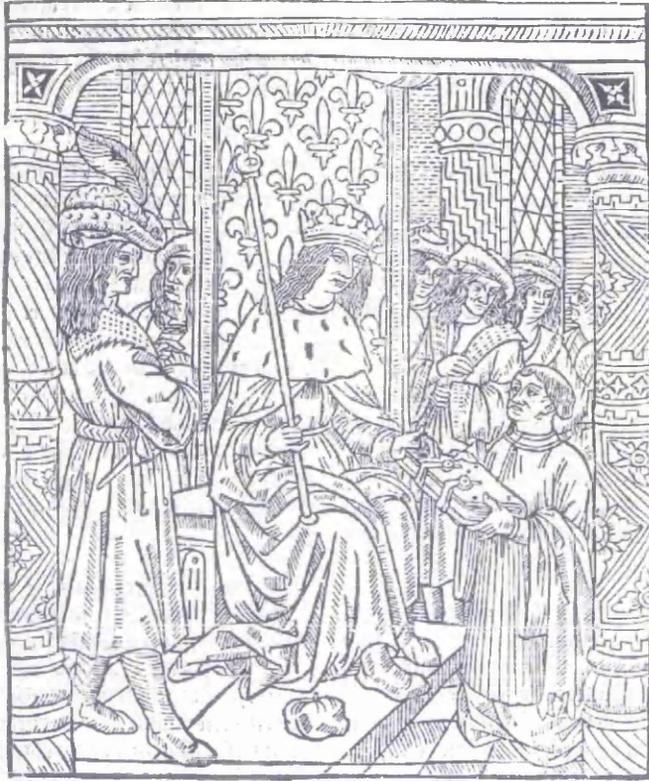
Plate 2 Vérard Frontispiece to Cent nouvelles nouvelles BN Rés Y 174

A mon tresredoubte seigneur. Monseigneur
le duc de Bourgoingne et de Brebant



c Comme ainsi soit que entre les bōs et profitables passetēps le tresgracieux exercice de lecture et destude soit de grāde et sumptueuse recomandacion duquel sans flaterie mon tresdoubte seigneur vo⁹ estes haultement et largemēt doue/ ie vostre tresobeissant seruiteur destrāt complaire comme ie doy a toutes voz hautes &

Censuit la table de ce present liure intitule Des Cent nouvelles
nouvelles / lequel en soy contient cent chapitres ou hystoires / ou pour
mieulx dire nouveaulx comptes a plaisir.



Di Vincenzo Riualta

aa ii

tresnobles intencions en facon a moy
possible/ose ce present petit euure a Vo-
stre commandement et aduertissement
mis en terme et sur piez vous presenter
et offrir. Suppliant treshumblement
que agreablement soit receu qui en soy
contient et traicte Cent hystoires assez
semblables en matiere sans atteindre
le subtil et tresorne langage du liure de
Cent nouvelles. Et se peut intituler le
liure de Cent nouvelles nouvelles. Et
pource que les cas descriptz et racomptez
ou dit liure de Cent nouvelles aduiderent
la pluspart es marches et mettes des
ptalies ia long temps a/neantmoins
toutesfois portés et retenés tousiours
nom de nouvelles/ se peut tresbien et
par raison fondee conuenablement en
assez apparente verite ce present liure
intituler de Cent nouvelles nouvelles
Ba soit ce quelles soyent aduenues es
parties de france/dalemaigne/dangle-
terre/de haynault/de flandres/de bre-
bant .cc. Aussi pource que lestoffe taille
et facon dicelles est d'assez fresche me-
moire et de myne beaucoup nouvelle.

Et notez que par toutes les nouuel-
les ou il est dit par Monseigneur il est
entendu par Monseigneur le daulphin
lequel depuis a succede a la couronne/et
est le roy loys Vn sieme /car il estoit loys
es pays du duc de bourgoingne.

Qomme ainsi soit q̄entre
les bons et prouffitables
passe temps le tresgracieux exerci-
cice de lecture et destude soit de
grande et sumptueuse recomman-
dacion Duquel sans flaterie mon-
tresredoubte seigneur vous estes
haultement et largement doue/ ie
vostre tresobeissant seruiteur desi-
rant complaire come ie doy a tou-
tes vos haultes et tresnobles in-
tencions en facon a moy possible /
ose ce present petit oeuvre a vostre
commandement et aduertissement
mis en terme et sur pied; vous pre-
senter et offrir. Suppliat treshum-
blement que agreablement soit re-
ceu q̄ en soy contient et traicte cent
hystoires assez semblables en ma-
tiere sans atteindre le subtil et tres-
orne langage du liure de cent nou-
uelles. Et se peut intituler le liure
de cent nouvelles nouvelles. Et
pour ce que les cas descriptz et ra-
compte; on dit liure de cēt nouuel-
les aduindrent la pluspart es mar-
ches et mettes des ytalies ia long
temps a/neantmoins toutesfoys
portans et retenans tousiours nom
de nouvelles/se peut tresbien et p-
raison fondee conuenablement en
assez apparente herite ce present li-
ure intituler de cēt nouvelles nou-
uelles/ia soit ce quelles soient ad-

uenues es parties de france/ dalle
maigne/dangleterre/de haynault
de flandres/De braibant.ac. Aussi
pour ce que lestoffe taille et facon
d'icelles est d'assez fresche memoire
et de myne beaucoup nouvelle
Et notez q̄ par toutes les nou-
uelles ou il est dit par monseigneur
il est entendu par monseigneur le
daulphin lequel depuis a succede a
la couronne/et est le roy loys du-
ziesme/car il estoit lors es pays du
duc de bourgogne.



Plate 7 Close up of BL 41194 frontispiece.



a
D temps du roy Boetus
en orient roy d'une grande
prouince qui est entre In
de et Perse qui est appel
lee Bectorienne/ il aduint
que ce roy Boetus apres la mort Noe
Desquit Sept Cens et quarente et sept

ans/ il voulut fermer vne cite es entrees
des Indes pour guetter vng roy qui
estoit son tres grant ennemy/ et tenoit
vne grant partie des Indes/ et estoit ap
pellee Gataab. Ainsi que ce roy Boe
tus fist commencer vne tour pour edi
fier vne cite a l'entree de la terre gataab
a.i

Plate 8 Sydrach Philozophe, frontispiece to BN Res Y2 183.



Plate 9 BN Res Y2 183 Frontispiece: Close up of courtier wearing collar .

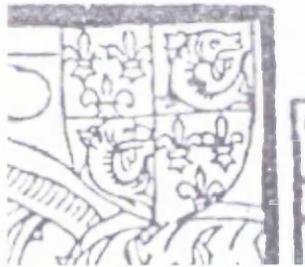


Plate 10 BN Res Y2 183 Frontispiece: Close up of Dauphin's Shield



Plate 11 Both collars from BN Res Y2 175 frontispiece are clearly supposed to be the Golden Fleece

La .lxxi. nouvelle racōpree par
 monseigneur D'ung cheualier de
 picardie q'en la ville de saint omer
 se logea vne hōstesse ou il fut
 amoureux de lofesse de leant avec
 laquelle fut tresamoureusement
 mari'en faisant ce que scauez le ma
 ry de ladicte hōstesse les trouua se
 quel tit maniere telle que cy apres
 pourrez ouyr

Plate 12 Table Entry for CNN 71 BL IB 41194 fo 9v

ses cheua
 it adoubet
 neur oyā
 mpter fu
 coir en bon
 la corne q
 it estrachee
 ne scauoiet
 per sonne q
 le effoit se
 me autres
 oit. A lors
 alier Dist

que auez ouye se combatit ce bon
 cheualier au diable & le surmonta
 par la vertu du saint sacrement de
 baptesme.

If Verard had been consistent this should read

La LXXI nouvelle par Monseigneur

La .lxxi. nouvelle racompree p
 monseigneur le duc.



Plate 13 The nouvelle is attributed to *monseigneur le duc* BL IB 41194 fo 138v

La .lxxi. nouvelle par monseigneur.



hono:ablement et le
 courtois le plus hon
 pl^z gracieux sacola & l
 erment car elle estou
 re et en bon point & m
 bout / appellāt sans n
 bien son marchant a c
 collement et de p:infa
 lui des deux q ne pter
 compaignon / si pensa
 par quel train & mote
 d:oit a la iouissance
 se et sen descouurit a
 uiteur le qst en peu deu

¶ Saint omer na pas long

Plate 14 BL IB 41194 fo 139r

La .lxxi. nouvelle par monseigneur de cōmesuram

toient. Or aduint ne scay p rien & neusi este comme ieste
 Sicut in uita de la de la leur cas in uita de la de la

Plate 14a BL IB 41194 fo 139v

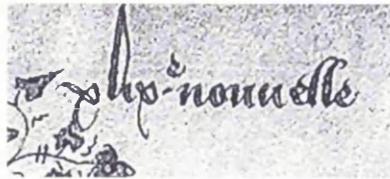


Plate 15 Caption above the miniature of 49th story of the Duke's *Livre des Cent nouvelles* (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris)¹

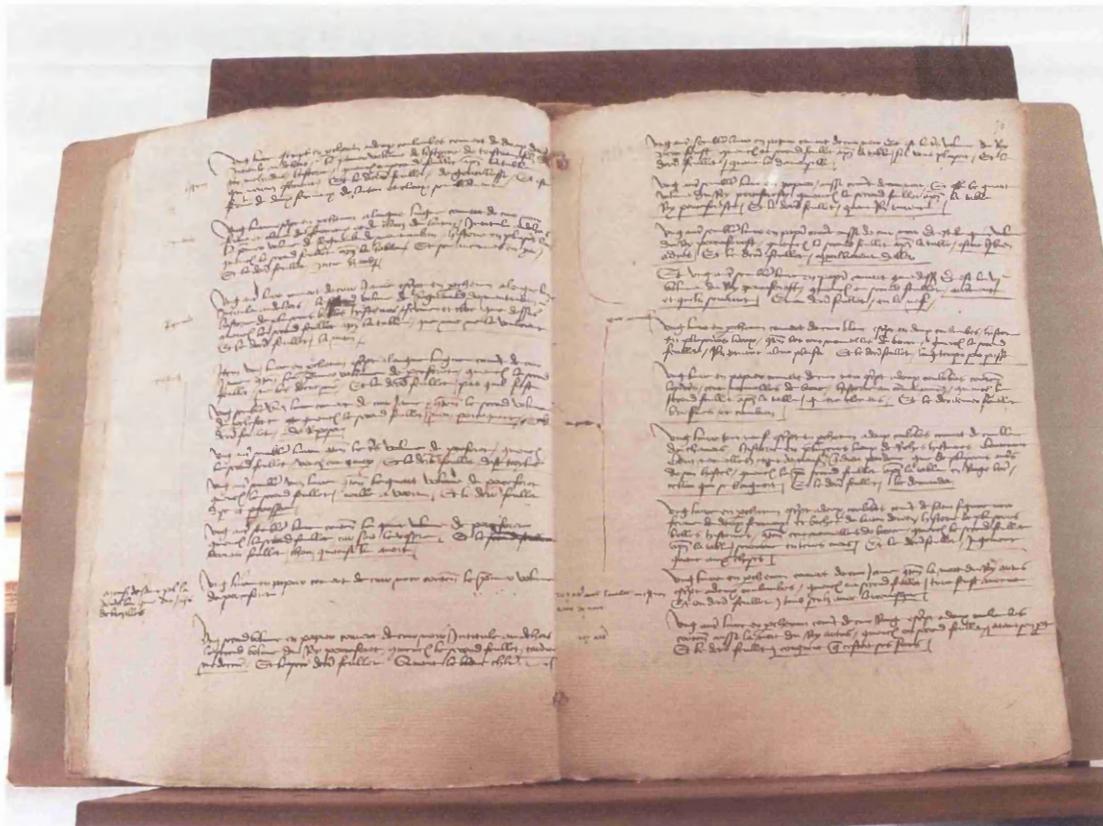


Plate 16 Ducal Library inventory ADN B 3501 #123745 bis fo 76r

¹ P. Durrieu, *La Miniature Flamande* (Paris and Brussels, 1927) Planche V.

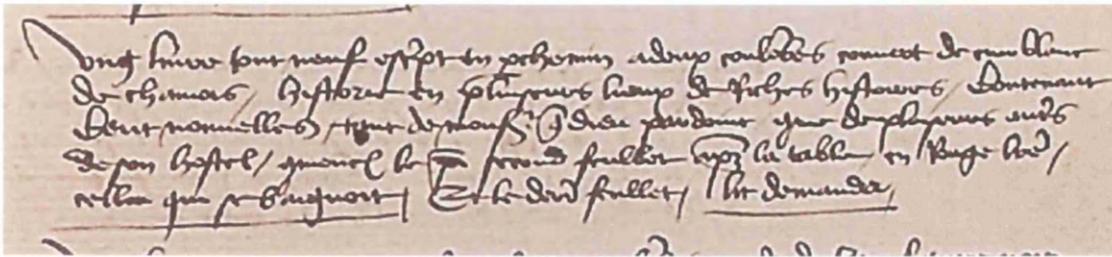


Plate 17 close up of entry for Cent nouvelles nouvelles



Plate 18 Duke Philip by Rogier van der Weyden, (Dijon, Musée des Beaux Arts)

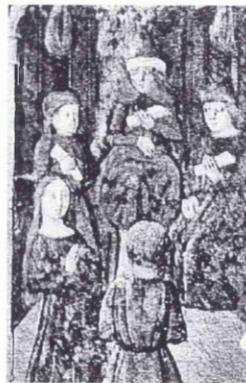


Plate 19 MS Hunter 252 Illustration to Nouvelle 25 depicting the Provost of Saint Yon and his fellow officials (Glasgow, *Hunter 252*)



Plate 20 Olivier de la Marche, from the *Recueil d'Arras* (B.M. Arras MS 266)



Plate 21 Philip of Austria, from the *Recueil d'Arras*

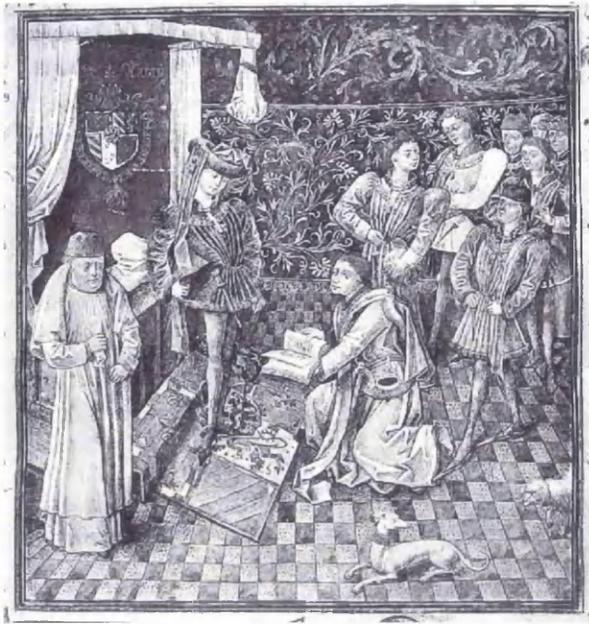


Plate 22 Jean Mielot presenting a book to Philip the Good (Bibl. Royale Belgium, Brussels)²



Plate 23 Jean le Tavernier, book presentation scene from *Chroniques de Charlemagne* (B.R.)³

² Durrieu, *Miniature Flamande*, Planche XV.

³ Durrieu, *Miniature Flamande*, Planche XX.



Plate 24 Jean Miélot, presentation scene - Genealogy of Christ (B.R.)⁴



Plate 25 Frontispiece, *Chronicles of Hainault*, vol. 1: Jean Wauquelin offering his book to Philip the Good (B.R.)⁵

⁴ Durrieu, *Miniature Flamande*, Planche XVIII.

⁵ Durrieu, *Miniature Flamande*, Planche XXXVI.



Plate 26 Jean Hennecart from the *Instruction du Jeune Prince* (Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris)⁶



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Plate 27 Jan van Eyck, *Leal Souvenir* (National Gallery, London.)⁷

⁶ Durrieu, *Miniature Flamande* Planche XXIX.

⁷ <http://www.nationalgallery.org.uk/WebMedia/Images/29/NG290/eNG290.jpg>



Plate 28 Valerius Maximus (British Library, MS Harley 4374 fo 88^r)



Plate 29 Harley 4374 fo 88: Enlargement 1



Plate 30 Harley 4374 fo 88: Enlargement 2



Plate 31 Jan van Egmond by the Alkmaar Master (New York Metropolitan)

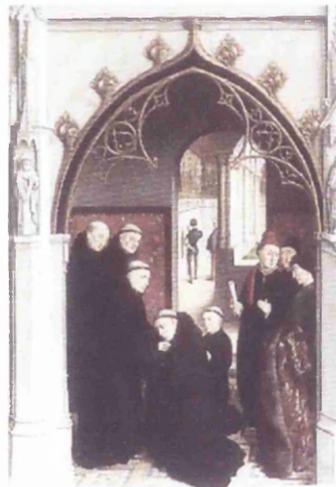


Plate 32 Scene from the life of the founder of the Abbey of Saint Bertin, 1455-1459, Berlin Staatliche Museen⁹.

⁸ J. Blackhouse, *The Illuminated Manuscript* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 68-9. This image from Valerius Maximus' *Memorabilia* (part I: Octavian's court) was executed for the chronicler Philippe de Commines, and was from the Parisian workshop of Maître François.

⁹ M. Gil and L. Nys, *Saint Omer Gothique* (Valenciennes, 2004) p. 148.



Plate 33 Olivier Arnoullet's presentation woodcut for the *Cent nouvelles nouvelles* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Rés Y² 730)

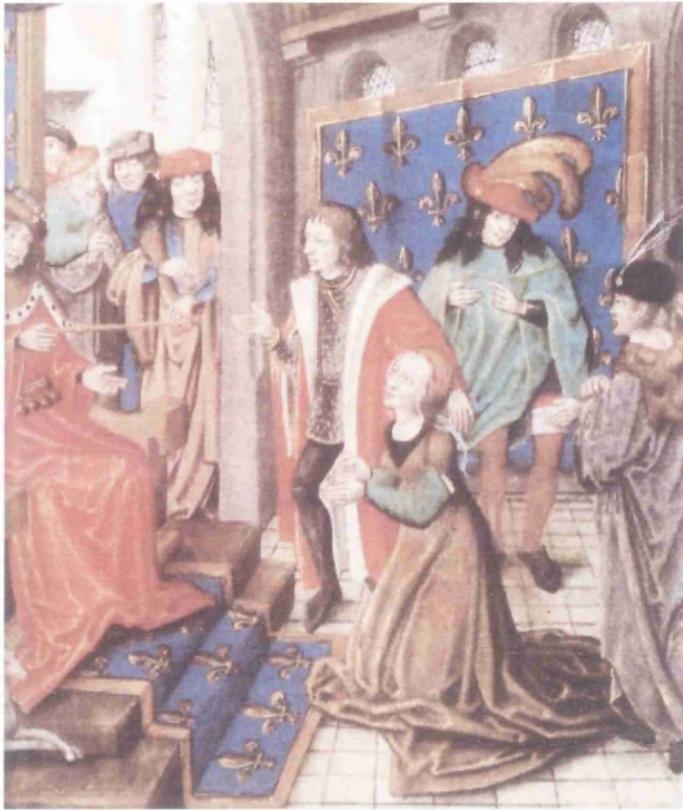


Plate 34 The interview of Joan of Arc with Charles VII from *Chronicles of Monstrelet* (Austrian National Library, Vienna)¹⁰

¹⁰ P. Contamine, *Bruits Rumeurs et propagande*, in *L'Histoire* #210 (1997) pp. 46-48 at p. 47.

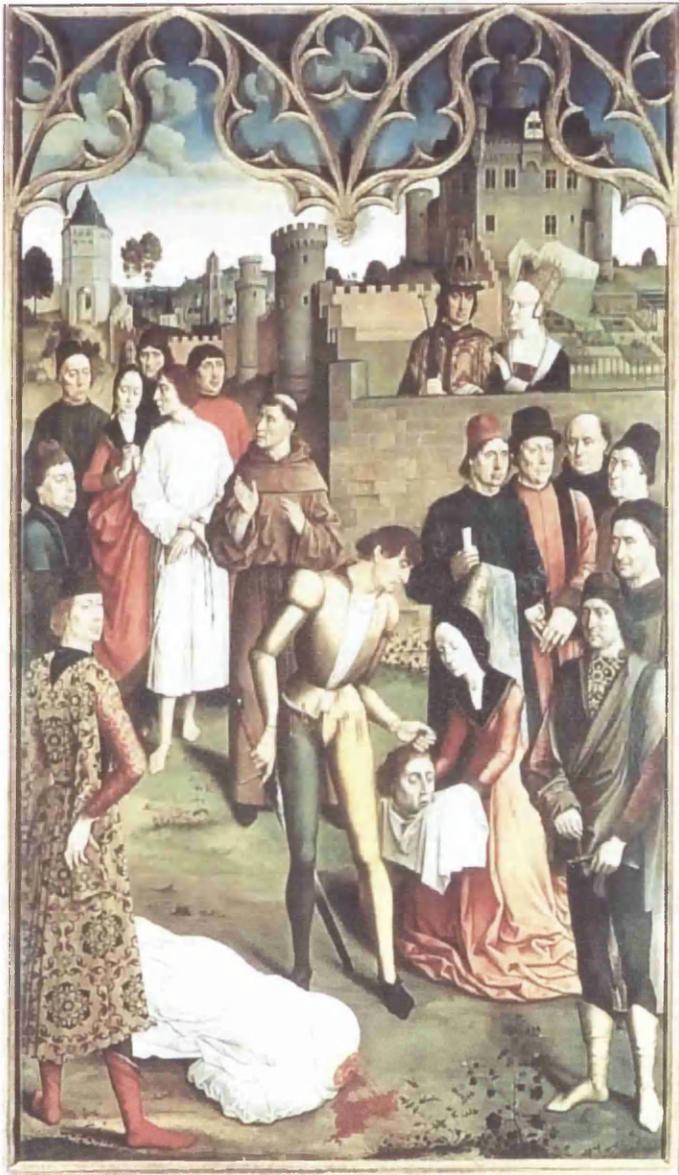
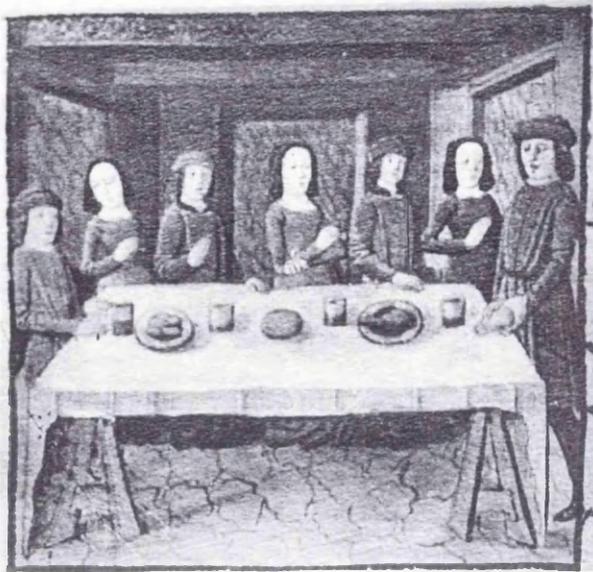


Plate 35 Dieric Bouts - Execution of an innocent count, left wing of the *Justice of Emperor Otto III*
(Musée Royale des Beaux-Arts, Brussels c. 1460¹¹.)

¹¹ J.-C. Frère, *Early Flemish Painting* (Paris, 1997) p. 107.



80

Plate 36 MS Hunter 252 Illustration to Nouvelle 80

CLa .lxxxii. nouvelle d'une Bourgoise mariee qui estoit amoureuse d'un chanoyne laquelle pour plus couuertement aller vers ledit chanoyne saccointa d'une sienne d'ost sine/et de la noyse et debat qui entre elles sourdit pour l'amour du mestier dont elles estoient comme vous orrez cy apres.

Plate 37 BL Verard text, Table Entry for Nouvelle 82.

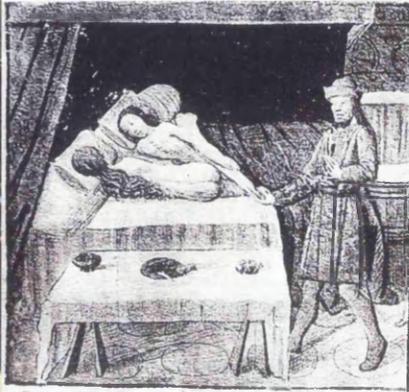
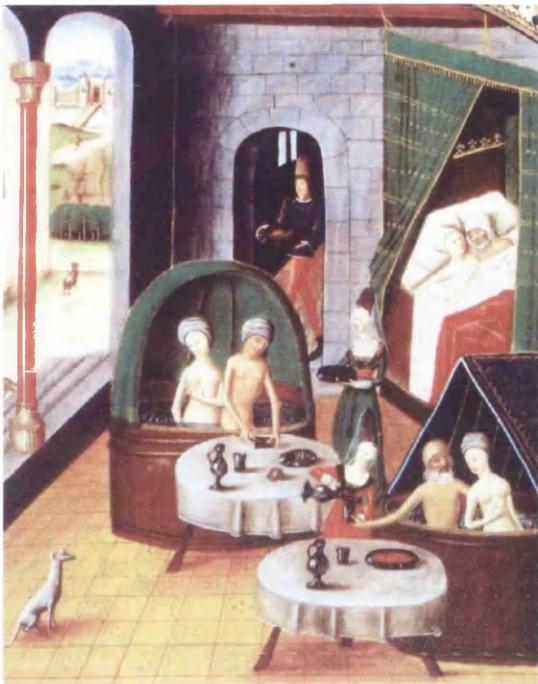


Plate 38 Compare the goings on at the Estuves with this image from Hunter 252, illustrating nouvelle

1.

Dames priez en gre ce liure
 Que le resolu vous deliure
 et ne mettez en noichalloit
 Son affectio : son douloit
 En grant trauail et soing et cure
 pour vous a fait ceste escripture
 Car il scait bien q a tous les malles
 Qui portent et bourcles et malles
 Estes soulas iope et repos
TA tant finetay mon propos
 Jusques a tant que plus faige viene
 Qui ceste matiere soubstienne
 Si trop ie que iamais finee
 Ne sera ne determinee
 Car deus est lamour du monde
 Et auarice est trop parfonde
 Jcy feray fin a mon deuure
 Quoul gaigne q honneur recoeuure

BARTOLI

Ensuyt le rebours de
 Matheolus imprime
 nouvellement a Paris par Olivier Arnoullet demourant
 au pres de nostre Dame de grace.

Plate 39 Arnoullet's *Matheolus* also envisaged a female readership.



Plate 40 The King in Council.

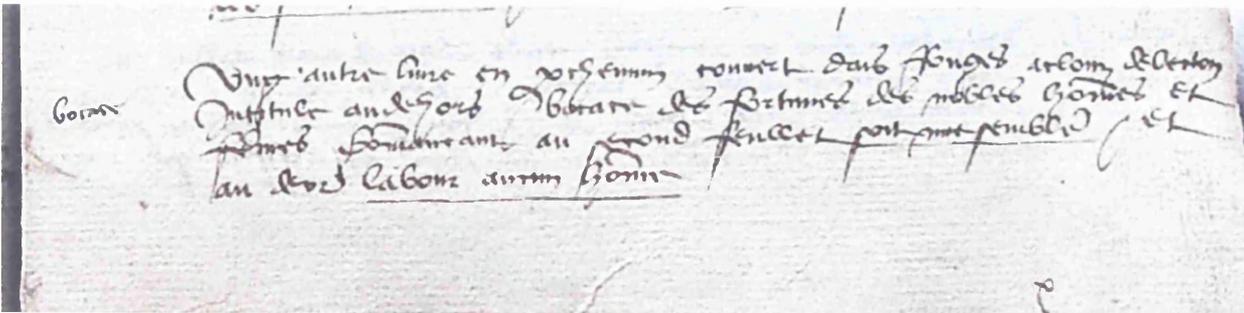


Plate 41 ADN B 3501 #123745 bis fo 46r¹² *Bocace: des fortunes des nobles hommes et femmes*. Ducal library inventory.

¹² Fo 46v and 47r also catalogue copies of the *des cas des nobles hommes et femmes*.

Les cent nouvelles.



Ensuuēt les cēt nou
uelles cōtenant cent

hystoires/ou nouueaulx cōptes plaisaus
a deuiser en toutes bonnes compaignies
par maniere de ioyeuseté. Imprime nou

uellement a Lyon par Olivier Arnoullet.



Plate 42 Arnoullet frontispiece to his 1532 edition of the Cent nouvelles nouvelles.

**Succession of Counts of Saint Pol
and Lords of Fienes
showing family relationship of Walleran II, count of St Pol
to Louis of Luxembourg and Jacques de Fienes (circled)**

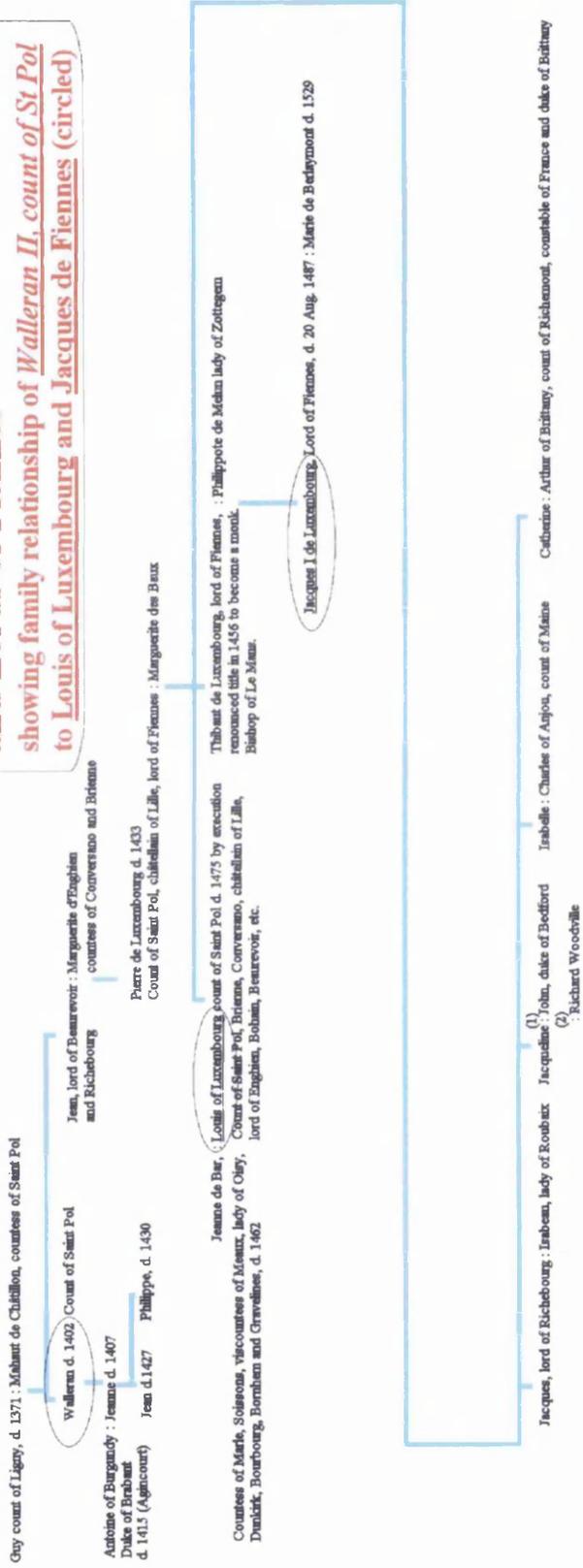


Plate 43

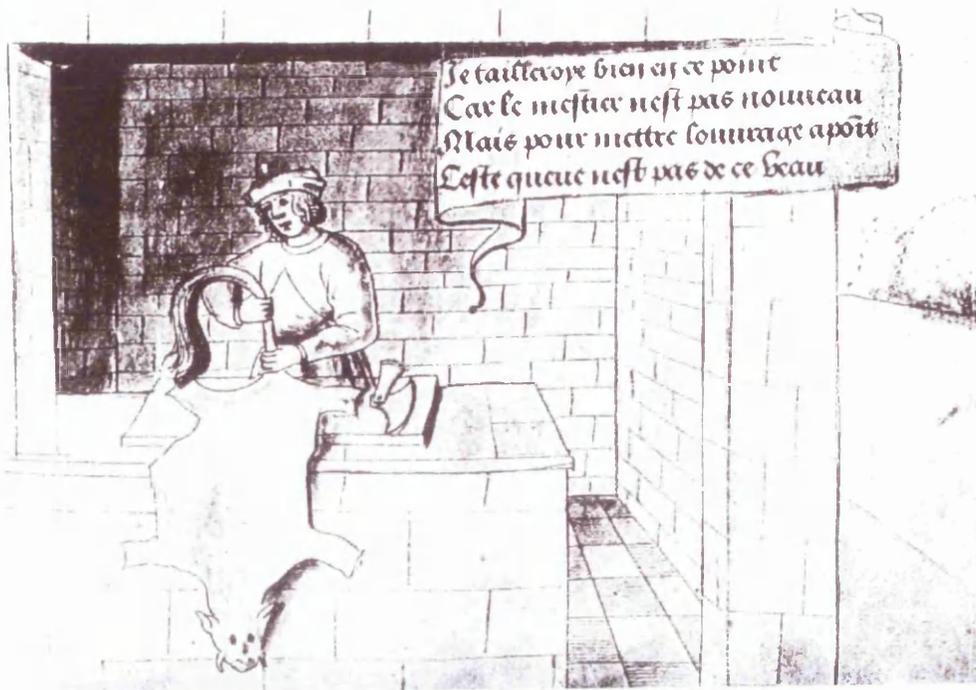


Plate 46 Je tailleroye bien en ce point / Car le mestier n'est pas nouveau / Mais pour mettre l'ouvrage a point / Ceste queue n'est pas de ce veau¹³



Plate 47 MS Hunter 252 Illustration to Nouvelle 12.

¹³ From: E. Rassart-Eeckhout and T. Van Hemelryck *Les Proverbes Illustrés edition critique in Le Moyen Français* (2001) pp. 62, 83, 92.

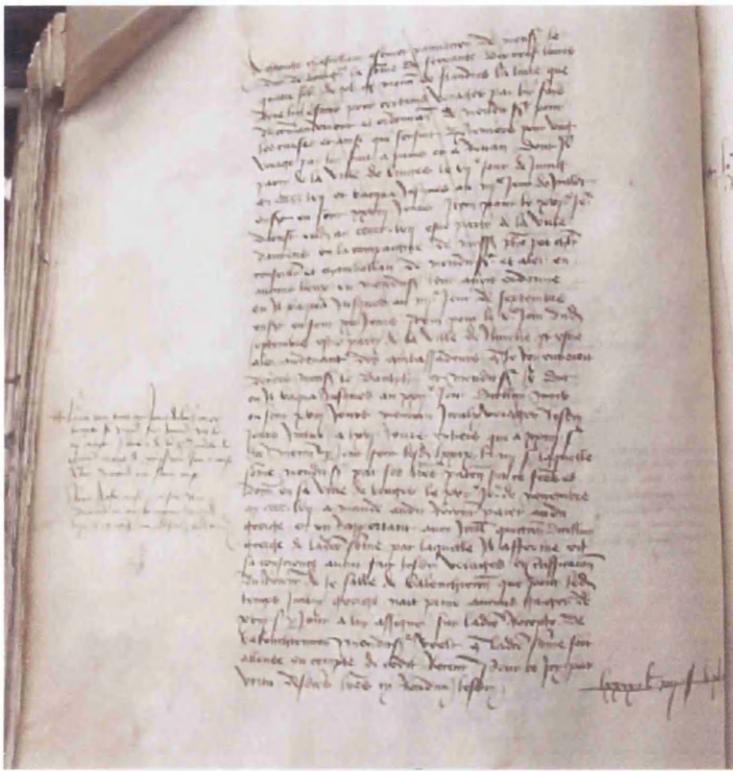


Plate 48 ADN B 2034 fo 257v: whole folio.

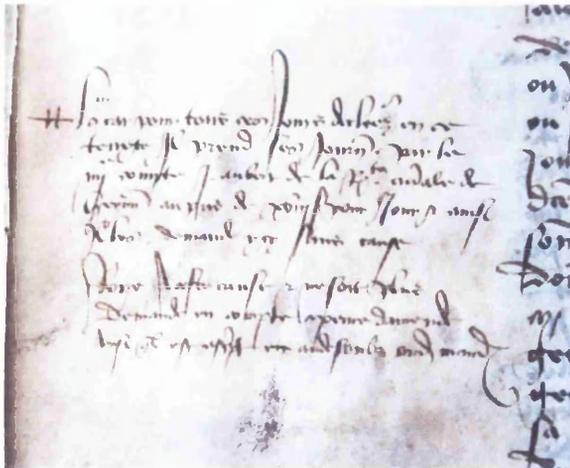


Plate 49 ADN B 2034 fo 257v close up of marginal annotation¹⁴.

¹⁴ The marginal annotation explains that the text has been scored through as Chastelain was to take his 18s per day from the receipt of Jehan Aubert, receiver of Valenciennes. See chapter three on Aubert, who was the receiver throughout the late 1450s and into the 1460s.

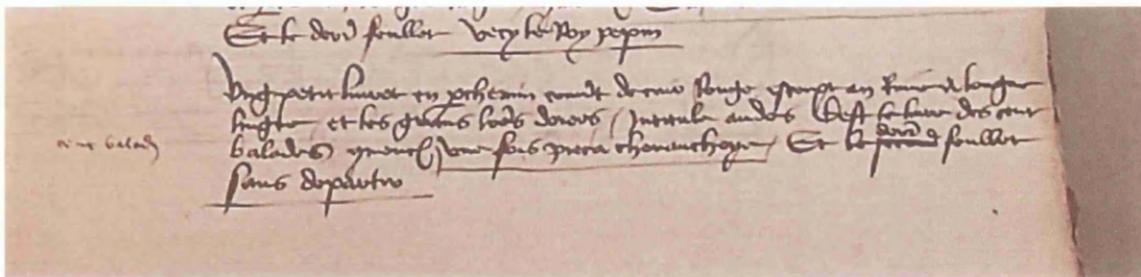


Plate 52 ADN B 3501 # 123745 bis fo 80r: Ducal library inventory entry for Cent Balad[es]¹⁵

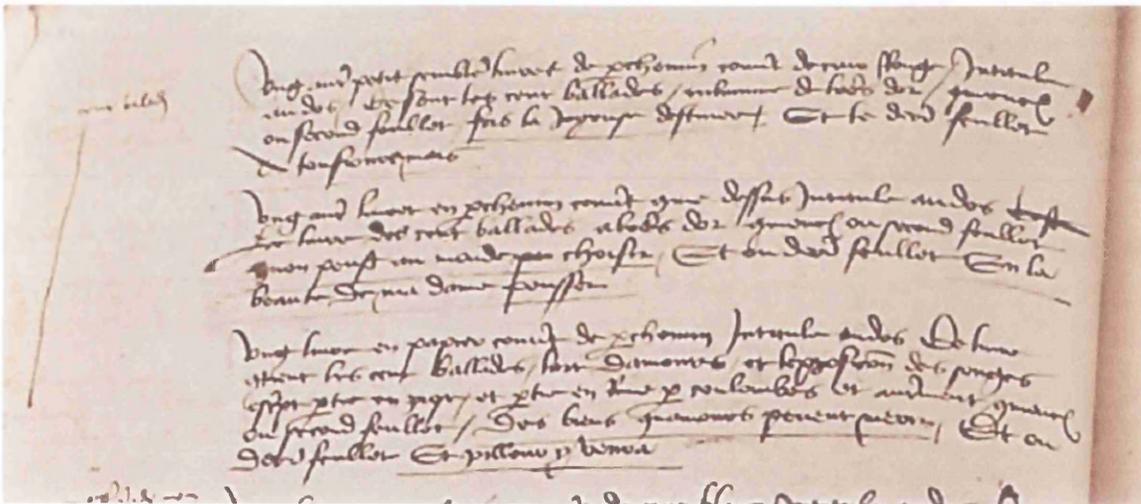


Plate 53 ADN B 3501 # 123745 bis fo 80v: Ducal library inventory entry for Cent Balad[es]¹⁶ ctd.

¹⁵ The entry specifies that the work began with the text: *Une fois pieca chevauchoye*, which begins the first ballad of the anonymous *Cent Ballades*

¹⁶ The first copy specifies that the work included the text: *fors la joyeuse destinée*, which is the fourth line of the second ballad of the anonymous *Cent Ballades*. The next specifies: *qu'on peust ou monde choisir*, which is the fifth line of the second ballad. The last copy specifies: *des biens qu'amours pevent merir*, which is the seventh line of the fourth ballad.

hau: Lo; dlypp ouer you. And ths the man maist se th at
 the woman haue that ar wybbe needful and necessarye
 for her. for god hat he commaunded man to be the whan
 that he shyd, in the care of the labour thou shalt eat
 thy byede, but alas there is now a dayes muche people þ
 whiche obeyeth not the commaundement. Also the man
 shal knowe the ordinaunce of god, and how that he hath
 made the Woman out of the ribbes of the man, and not
 of the head, beokening that she shal not be the maister
 of the man, and also he hath not made her of a swete set
 tyble regart by her but he hath made her oute of þ mpd
 bes to the helpping of man and that man and wyfe shal
 lpyue with one accord and one wyll in the feare of wed
 locke and shall be one soules and one body. the wybbe
 god hath so ordyned to the saluacion of our soules.



Plate 54 Abraham Vele: The Deceyte of Women, based on a Dutch version of *Nouvelle 1*

of this there cam þ good man from his iorney and cam
 by the receyuer doore. A saw that there was much light
 in the chamber, and because that þ good man of the house
 and he were good frendes, he knocked boldy at þ doore
 and so the receyuer demaunded who was there, and the
 good man answered, you: friend, and hys wyfe is an
 repentent harte and knewe the doyce of her goodman. thys
 was she to fore agast and strayed that she could thanke
 speake, and she wyll not whar she should doo.

**¶ How that the receyuer doo
 comfort his loue.**

¶ When the receyuer saw þ the woman was so afraide
 he sayd my loue come by me by to bed for I shall couer
 you that no man shal see you. And thus they laye arme
 in arme, and her backe toward the doore and the good
 man was let in, and cam in the chamber where he founde
 the table well arayed and well beset with good meate, &
 wynde and saw the receyuer lye wythe his loue in the
 bed the goodman scinge thys was in doute and sayde
 to the receyuer, what doze haue ye there with you in the
 bedde and with that the good man was see at the table,
 wher he ate and dranke, and made good chere. But the
 goodman hauing some suspencion tofere the table and
 came afors: the bed of the receyuer, and sayd I muste see
 thys woman ones ere that I departe and he wyte by the
 clothes where his honest wyfe laye vnder, but she recey
 uer bad let him and the good prose man semge thys, he
 wolde saye haue wyte by the couerlet & the wyte wyth
 force, wherwith the receyuer hys friend, whys halfe an
 ny: for they made a compacte together, that he should
 lye vnder hynde parre and her backe to hym the wybbe
 was so fayne and so wyffe. And whan thys was done

**¶ A new deceyte of a woman in
 Hengow, of late dayes.**

In the Cite of Valence: Was a myghty ryche
 man the wybbe was receyuer of the countrey
 of Hengow, and dwelle in an ende of the Ci
 tie before in a fayne house þ which house had
 many places and wayes to passe throughtout to diuers
 stretes. And so there was one gate that was the waye in
 to an our strete, in the which strete dwelle a good simple
 man the which had a very fayne woman to his wyfe, &
 the receyuer went often times out at the gate for the a
 mouise sighte of that lovely woman so that he was ta
 ken with her loue, and made such acquaintance with
 her loue that at last she consented to him, in so much þ
 he lacked nothing but gyfte and place. And so pass for thy
 and the receyuer deceyved often times this simple man
 and his wyfe to dunnys and stypers, in so muche that
 the receyuer and he were great frendes, and so he had
 this poore simple man at wyte at his wyll and plea
 sure. And so it chanced upon a tyme that this simple
 man should go to a castel, the which was in nyght fro
 Valence, and so he took his iorney thetherwardes
 and commaunded to his wyfe the keypping of the house
 the wybbe she was very glad, and showed the receyuer
 thereof, & he also was very glad thereof, and toward nyght
 the backe gate was vndered, and there the receyuer came
 through to the receyuer, and he lovingly receyued her
 and she went with him into his house, so to make bet
 ter acquaintance with him, wher as all changes to be
 reb of all dayes, and pleasure of wyte, and so they pass
 for thy the receyuer and wyffe goe there, and gaue
 and receyued many a frendly byll. And in the nyght
 of

that he had seene her so behynde, he sayde that he neuer
 see a fayne woman as veraynyng the hynde parte
 and sooze that he neuer sawe the hynde castell so lke hys
 wyfes as. For þ I knowe not that my wyfe were ho
 nest and that she were now at home: I wolde saye that
 it were she, and wyth that she was couered & ga: ne, and
 the receyuer rebuked hym, & sayd, why doze ye saye thys
 thinges by your wyfe, and suche dpholp by her, and so
 he left he departed from thence, taking his leue of the
 receyuer, and had hym good nyght, with his concubine,
 And he desired hartely that they wolde let him go home
 throught the backe gate, but they made an excuse & sayd
 that the keye was lost, and so he muste go a great waye
 aboute, & the receyuer seruante went with him home
 ward, and kept hym with talking so longe as he could.
 And the good woman rose and plucked on her hose and
 cast her gowne upon her arme, and so she was let out
 at the backe gate, and she came incontinant home to her
 house, and so abode the coming of her goodman the
 wybbe cam to his iorney. And whan þ he came also to
 his house he sawe that there was yet light in it & know
 ed at the dooze, and hys wyfe went with a broome and
 sweep the house, and she asked who was there, and he
 sayd I am he thy husband, and she sayd thou art not my
 husband for my husband is not in the towne, neuer the
 lesse he knoched agayne. & sayd I am thy husbande, bys
 wyfe answered and sayd go from my dooze, for I knowe
 well the wyce of my husbande. And also it is not my
 husbandes custome to come and knoch this late at
 the dooze. And so at the thyrde spere he sayd so muche þ
 she knewe hym, for he was soz amoued, and late upon
 the dooze as though he wolde haue spokt it in percep, &
 2. l.

Plate 55 Deceyte of Women.

so at last she let him in, & she set her handes on her side &
 sayde thou noughy knowe this haste thou doone for to
 proue me, and I tell thee þ̄ thou arte not worchy for to
 hane so honest a wyfe. The good mā saw þ̄ he had wrog
 he spake frendly to his wyfe and sayd I beseeche þ̄ getyſt
 wyfe be cōtent, for of great necessitie I must nedes re-
 turne agayne, for I haue forgotten the princypall letter
 þ̄ I went for, But his wyfe wolde not be content & sayd
 þ̄ he cā from the tauerne & from the strewes & she cursed
 the houre that euer she was maryed to hym, The poore
 simple mā when he saw þ̄ his wyfe was so angry thin-
 kyng him selfe to be the occasion thereof, cam to his wyfe
 bare head wyth his cap in his hād & sayd, my most trea-
 well wyfe I beseeche thee if I haue mysſayd or mysdone,
 any thyng against thee: I beseeche thee for the loue of god
 forgue it me, for I com from a place where that I had
 goodcheere, & there as I thoughte that I had sent thee
 and through thee I was sore moued & wythout cause,
 & I am very sorry for it, therefore I beseeche thee forgue it
 me & so at last she was som what content, but she said þ̄
 humanely captyſe thou comest frō thyne ho:es & there
 þ̄ halt ſene they: lewdnes, & now wilt call thy good wyfe
 in the cech there wyth. The good man answered alas:
 good wyfe say not so, & I beseeche þ̄ speke no more thereof
 but forgue it me, and I wyll neuer doo so agayne as
 longe as I lyue. Nowe after thys tyme hath the good
 wyfe gone oftentimes throughe the backe gate wyth lesse
 forrow and byede wythout the knowelodge of the simple
 mā her hūbād, the whiche neuer knew no more thereof
 after that day, as it is shewed me. Thus ye may heare,
 how that men be oftentimes deceyued by their wyfes,
 & how the patriarche Loth was decey-
 ued by hys two daughters.

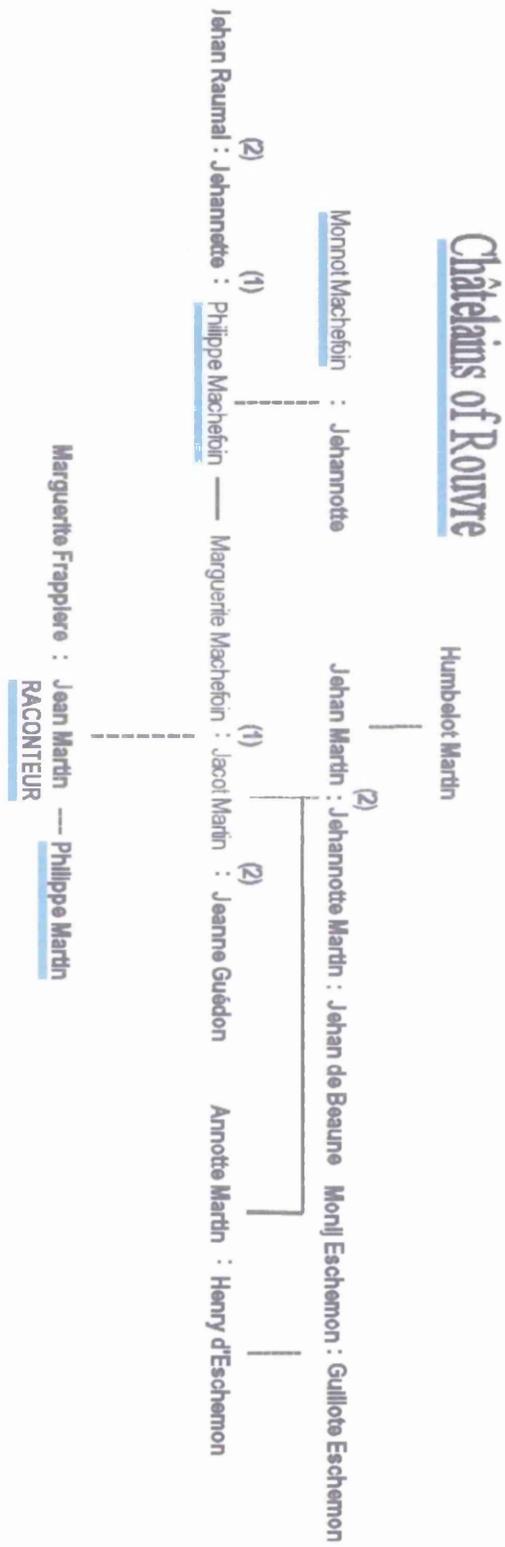


Plate 1 Jehan Martin's family tree showing Chatelains of Rouvre

Jean V de Créquy's arms
in BN MS FR 17971, fo 23r

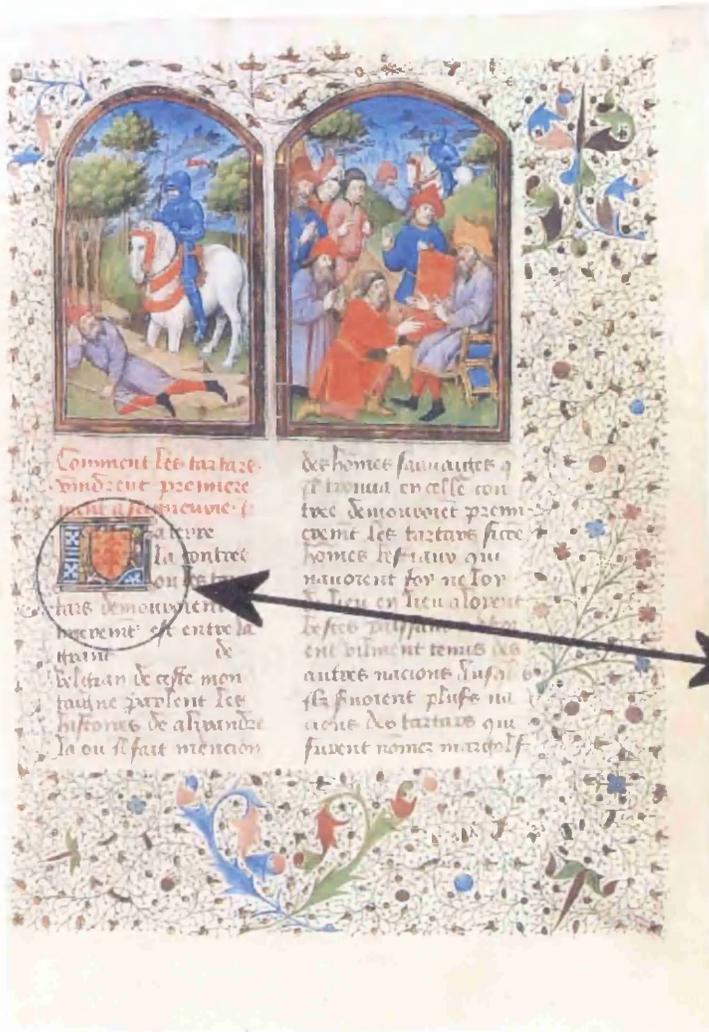


Plate 2 Créquy's heraldic arms



Plate 3 BL MS Cotton, Augustus, A IV, fo 116r: owned by Jean V de Créquy.



Plate 4 MS Wittert 14 Liège University Library: Waudru and her daughters¹

¹ <http://www.ulg.ac.be/libnet/enlumin/enlug009.jpg>



Plate 5 BR Ms 10976 presentation miniature²

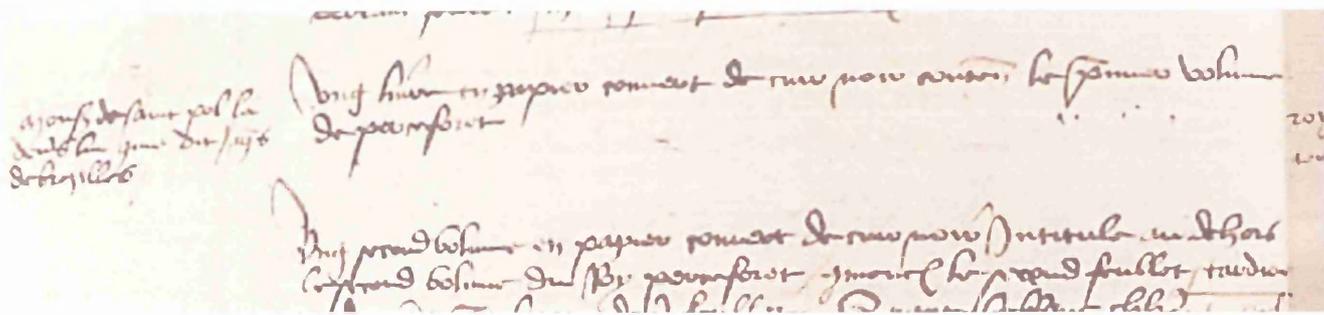


Plate 6 ADN B 3501 Marginal Annotation fo 75v³

2

http://employees.ouonta.edu/farberas/arth/Images/ARTH_214images/Manuscripts/Burgundian_Presentation/delannoy_instruct_prin_det.jpg

³ ADN B 3501 #123745 bis fo 75v:

*Monseigneur de Saint Pol l'a
devers lui comme dit Jacques
de Bregilles.*

The main text reads: *Ung livre en papier couvert de cuir noir contenant le premier volume de Perceforest.*

Inventore des Joies
par le maine de Jacot
de Bregilles

Plate 7 ADN B 3501 description: Inventoire des joiaux estans en les mains de Jacot de Bregilles

1000
Dont l'un est en papier roset de sonne Joies et de sonne Joies
Et un autre de sonne Joies et de sonne Joies
le l'un de sonne Joies et de sonne Joies
faut de sonne Joies et de sonne Joies

Plate 8 ADN B 3501 #123745 bis fo 77v: Roman du conte d'Artois.



Plate 9 Back of Ambierle Altarpiece, showing Chaugy family arms.

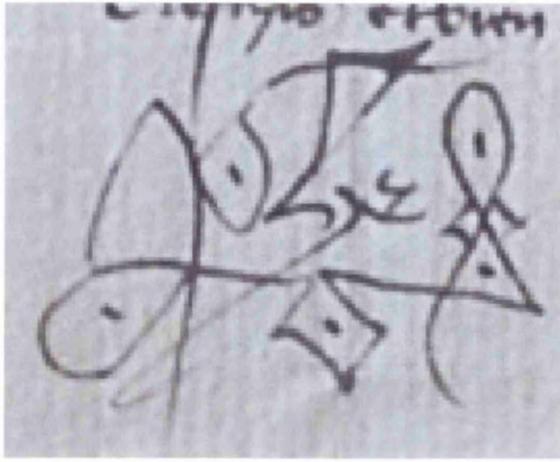


Plate 10 ACO B 11210 Philip the Good's Signature on a financial document relating to Humbert de Plaine

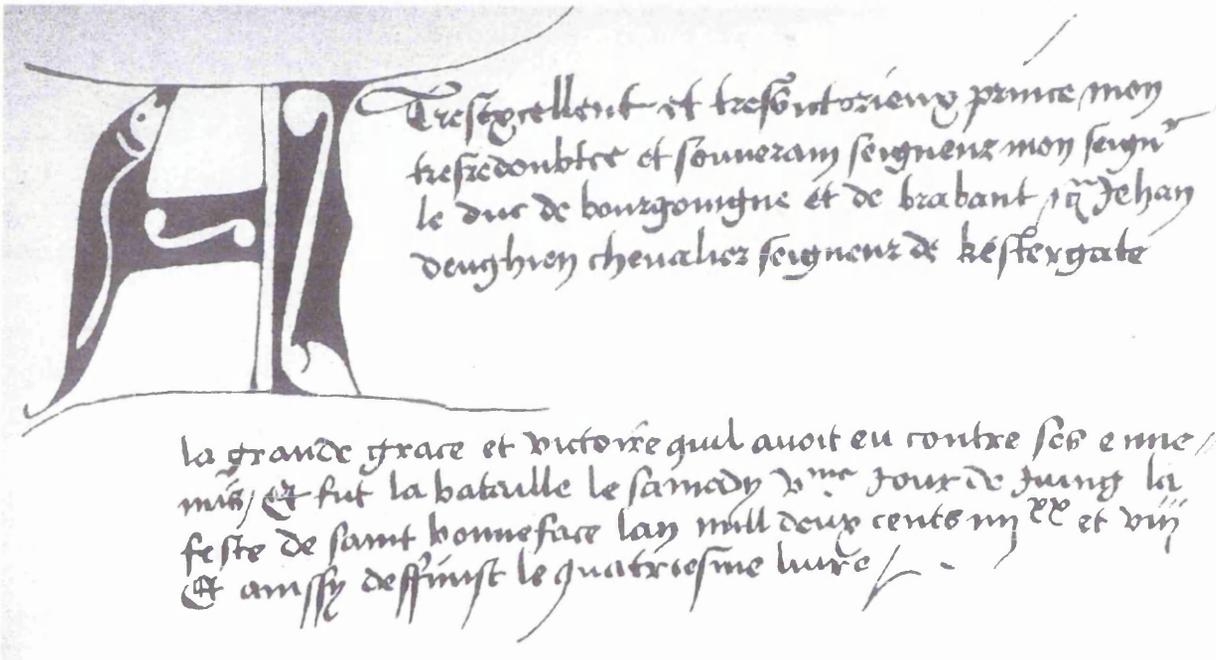


Plate 11 Dedicatory Epistle of Jean d'Enghien to his Chronicles of Brabant.

Supplément des livres Chroiques & Jehan 135 d
L'annoy de l'roy son filz / H. de Croy

Considerant que l'humanité est
fragilité / et q sans estre approuvée
vigne et esprit nostre fache de vi
une selon que desir seulement me se
peuvent assez repaire a vie d'innocent
et a maniere de folastrie. Et que
soit vray / cest chose fuyrable et vidente
Comme l'on peut voir / par les gens d'armes
prestres. marchans. charbons. et autres
Les quelz sont de tres grande enuie et
chandellement / et comme peu en meant
parly avec d'eu autres choses q en ce qui
leurs et esto moult / et de quoy ilz
se moquent seulement. Et au contraire
on voit que d'eu qui ont esto moult
et ont auq d'elles q apres qz ont eu
apris raisonnablement les vngs et qz
autres. moult sont nobles. on autres
ont apres q sont retournes des escoles / pro
fite et d'eu ont a pratiquer les autres
et vngs spirituelles et auq de vngs l'annoy



Plate 12 Valenciennes Paper MS 304(294) fo 1r. Note the signature Croy (top right).

Copie des lettres enuoyes par Jan Lannoy
de Lannoy A L'ors son filz. **Prologue.**

Quisiderant nostre humanite
et fragilite et que sans estre ap
pris corrigie et reveue nostre
fashion de viure selon nostre desir
se pouroit assez com
parer a vie de Innocent et a ma
niere de scolastre. ¶ Et qui soit
vray cest chose tresclere et euidente. Comme lon peut
voir par les gens champestres maronniers charbons
et autres lesquels sont de tres rude enyeu et entende
ment et come peu ou neant sachieus en aultre choses
que en ce qui leur a este monstre et de quoy ilz se meslent
seulement. ¶ Et au contraire nous voyons que
ceulx qui ont este nourris et mis aux escolles que
apres que ilz ont eu appris raisonnablement les
vngs plus les aultres mains soient nobles ou
aultres ilz ont apres que sont retournees des es
colles frequente et eulx mis a practiquer les
aulcuns es courtes espirituelles et aussy es courtes
saxes et temporeles et les aultres et par especial
les nobles homes se sont mis les plusieurs es
courtes de priues et leur a souffy de entendre leur
latyn courru pour eulx en aidier tant en voyages

Plate 13 Rheims MS 918 fo 1r: Lannoy's letter of instruction to his son.



Plate 14 Sculpture attributed to the patronage of the lord of Fouquesolles⁴



Plate 15 Angel kneeling, from Gruuthuse Museum, Bruges.

⁴ M. Gil and L. Nys, *Saint Omer Gothique* (Valenciennes, 2004) p. 292.

PLATES TO CHAPTER FOUR



Plate 1 St Michel and St Gudule Church, Brussels



Plate 2 Interior of St Gudule church.

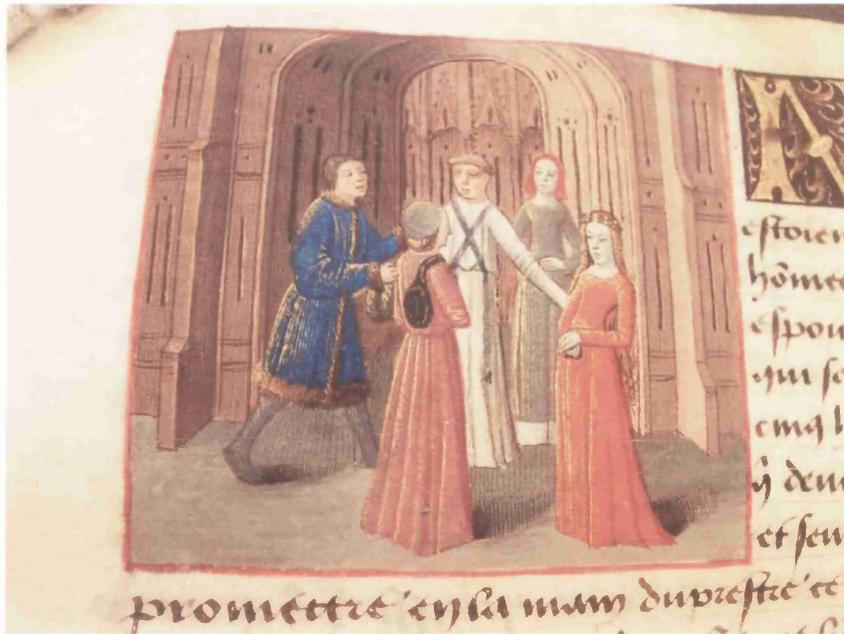


Plate 3 MS Hunter 252 Illustration for nouvelle 53.

Proximity of St Gudule to Coudenberg Palace in the south of Brussels,

Based on Henne and Wanters, *Histoire de la Ville de Bruxelles*
(Brussels, 1968)



Plate 4 Coudenberg - St Gudule



Plate 5 Orloge de Sapience, Brussels, Bibliotheque Royale MS. IV. 111, fo 18.



Plate 6 *Hunter 252* Illustration to *Nouvelle 19*, fo 40r.



Plate 7 Miniature to *nouvelle 14* from *MS Hunter 252*.



Plate 8 Ms *Hunter* 252 fo 165v illustration for Nouvelle 78¹

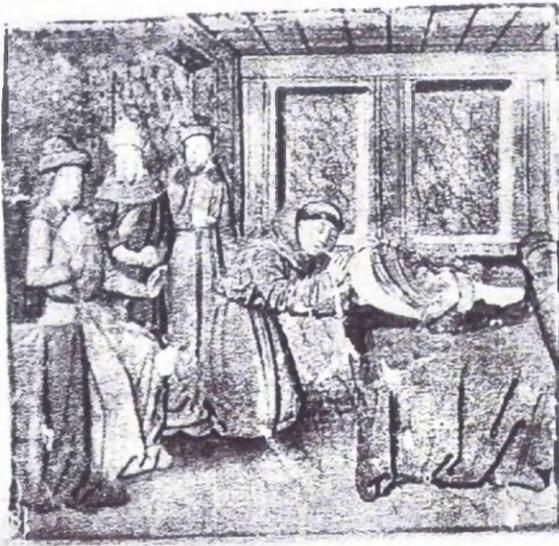


Plate 9 MS *Hunter* 252 illustration for nouvelle 2.

¹ The rubric for this nouvelle reads: *La Lxxviije nouvelle par Jehan Martin*. The downstroke of the j in the numeral comes on to the top of the miniature, suggesting that the rubrics were added after the miniatures were completed.



Plate 10 Carving in Gruuthuyse museum, Bruges: W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands*, p. 189.



Plate 11 MS *Hunter* 252 illustration for nouvelle 92



Plate 12 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 66

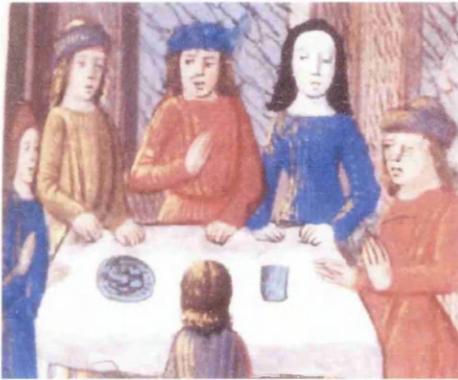


Plate 13 Nouvelle 66: inset showing child's lack of headgear



Plate 14 Nouvelle 66: inset showing child's lack of headgear



Plate 15 MS *Hunter* 252 illustration for nouvelle 42



Plate 16 Nouvelle 42 inset showing children's lack of headgear



Plate 17 MS *Hunter* 252 illustration for nouvelle 13



Plate 18 MS *Hunter* 252 illustration for nouvelle 26



Plate 19 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 27



Plate 20 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 30



Plate 21 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 34

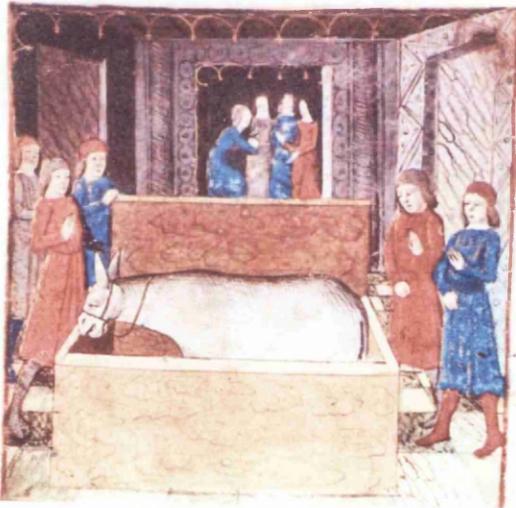


Plate 22 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 61



Plate 23 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 63



Plate 24 MS *Hunter 252* illustration for nouvelle 70