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THE REPRESENTATION OF THE ENGLISH IN FRENCH LITERATURE BETWEEN 1450 AND 1530

Simon Gerard McKinnon

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Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (2005)

School of Modern Languages and Cultures
Durham University

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ABSTRACT

The Representation of the English in French Literature between 1450 and 1530

Simon Gerard McKinnon
Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (2005)

This thesis will study representations of the English in a *corpus* of diverse French literary texts produced between 1450 and 1530. It will draw on theories of image studies to analyse the aesthetic and discursive function of their representation and on theories of intergroup relations to argue that representing the English was part of a strategy for French collective self-representation. During this period, the English function as a 'significant other' in terms of the literary representation of collective identity; in many of the texts in our corpus, being French meant being '*not* English'.

Two introductory chapters discuss the theories employed in the thesis and establish the literary and historical background. Non-French late-medieval representations of foreign others are briefly considered and compared to the French 'image' of the English. The texts forming our *corpus* are then studied in chronological order in chapters covering the periods 1450–1510, 1511–14, 1514–21 and 1521–25. In certain texts, the English are depicted as hated enemies (particularly in those from directly after the end of the Hundred Years War and from the Anglo-French conflicts of 1511–14 and 1521–25); in others, they are mocked more as contemptible rivals. In works celebrating the political alliances associated with the marriages between Louis XII and Henry VIII's sister Mary (1514) and the Dauphin Francis and Henry's daughter Mary (1518), authors avoid representing the English collectively or, indeed, any English characteristics in the individuals they feature. All of these works represent the English as foreign and 'other' and stress French cultural and political pre-eminence. The conclusion briefly considers the situation after 1525 when other 'nations' begin to take on the role of 'significant other'. An appendix provides a descriptive bibliography of the texts in the *corpus*.

Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to my supervisor, Professor Jennifer Britnell, for the advice, support, inspiration and friendship that she has given me while I have been working on this thesis. I am also grateful to the many scholars who have advised and helped me with my project. The regular Early Modern Seminars held at 2 Parkside were a particular source of stimulation and encouragement. In the School of Modern Languages, I am particularly grateful for the input and encouragement of Professors Ann Moss, Jane Taylor and David Cowling. I would also like to thank Professor Adrian Armstrong of Manchester University for arranging for me to see John Rylands University Library MS French 144, and for his advice on this manuscript and on Jean Molinet. I have also benefited greatly from interesting and challenging discussions with my fellow postgraduate students at Durham.

I am indebted to numerous librarians in France and the United Kingdom for allowing me to consult their collections and for responding so willingly to requests for information. I am particularly grateful to the Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs Français for granting me permission to study their manuscript of Pierre Choque's *Marie-la-Cordelière*.

My research was facilitated on more than one occasion by generous grants from the School's Postgraduate Travel Fund.

I would especially like to thank Dorothy and Helen for their invaluable support, encouragement and help throughout the period I have been working on this project.

Conventions used

References will be given to modern editions unless none exists. Where early texts are cited directly, abbreviations will be resolved, u, v, i, j, a and à will be distinguished, cedillas and final accents (é, ée, és, ées) will be added and modern punctuation will be used.

In the text of the thesis, names of well-known historical figures will be anglicised except where by convention another form is used. All other names are left unchanged.

Declaration

No part of the material contained in this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree in the University of Durham or any other university. The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published in any form, including electronic, without the author's prior written consent.

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INTRODUCTION

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ENGLISH OR REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FRENCH?

This thesis will examine representations of the English in French literature between 1450 and 1530. It will study the late-medieval French literary image of the English, where image is understood as a mental picture formed as a composite of the elements found in a variety of individual depictions. Drawing on the theory of image studies, the thesis will go beyond identification and classification of the 'image of the English' to consider the aesthetic and discursive function of their representation. Theories of intergroup relations will be used to argue that French literary representations of the English during our period were important in the development of a sense of French identity. Depicting the English as a foreign 'other' allowed the French to define themselves in terms of difference. In many of the texts in our *corpus*, French identity is presented in opposition to English identity: being French meant being 'not English'.

In 1450 the English still controlled large parts of France, including Normandy in the north and Aquitaine or 'Guyenne' in the south-west. The English occupation of these politically important and economically wealthy areas resulted from years of dynastic conflict between French Valois and English Plantagenet royal houses. From 1338 English kings repeatedly invaded and occupied parts of France in pursuit of their claim to the French throne. For a short time the English even occupied Paris and had their own king crowned King of France. By 1453, however, the English had been expelled from the continent. In the three years after 1450 the military and political situation had turned decisively against them. With the exception of Calais, the English

had lost all of the territory previously under their control in France. Nineteenth-century historians would later declare this the end of the 'Hundred Years War', but, as far as contemporaries were concerned, hostilities continued: English kings did not give up their claim to the French throne. Indeed, the English continued to invade France at regular intervals throughout the period covered by this thesis.[1]

Continued dynastic and political rivalry provided rich material to writers from our period for their depictions of the English. They were able to draw on anti-English material from the period of the Hundred Years War and develop it in their own writing. Anti-English sentiment before 1453 can be found in a variety of sources. It is clearly present, for example, in Joan of Arc's self-proclaimed mission to 'bouter les Anglais hors de France'.[2] It can also be found in numerous political and literary works. In a political treatise from around 1418, an anonymous author wrote that the English:

> sont ung septe de gens maudite, contredisans a tout bien et a toute raison, loups ravissans, orgueilleux, pompeux, papelars, decevans et sans conscience, tirans et persecutuers de chrestiens, et qui boivent et transgloutissent le sang humain, resemblans a la nauture des oyseaulx de proye qui vivent de rapine et aux despens a leurs simples et debonnaires voisins.[3]

Other contemporary theoretical works by writers centred on the Valois court complain about the destruction brought by the English to France, accusing the enemy of, among

---

[1]English forces invaded France in 1475, 1489, 1492, 1513 and 1522. The British monarchy did not officially relinquish its claim to the French throne until 1801.

[2]In her letter to the Duke of Bedford of 22 March 1429, Joan claimed: "Je suis cy venue par Dieu, le roy du ciel, corps pour corps pour vous bouter hors de toute France": *Procès de condamnation et de réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, ed. by Jules Quicherat, 5 vols, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Renouard, 1841–9), V (1849), pp. 96–8 (p. 97).

[3]*Débats et Appointements*, in *'L'Honneur de la couronne de France': quatre libelles contre les Anglais (vers 1418–vers 1429)*, ed. by Nicole Pons, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Klincksieck, 1990), pp. 17–79 (pp. 66–7).

other things, tyranny, treachery and even heresy.[4] The same sentiments are found in more literary writing. In one of his many anti-English poems, Eustache Deschamps complains to the English that:

> [...] en toy n'a que variacion,
>
> Envie, orgueil, convoitise et mesdis,
>
> Sanz craindre Dieu, sanz bonne affection,
>
> [Vous êtes] Lasches, couars, recreans et faillis.[5]

Writers such as Alain Chartier and Christine de Pisan are at times intensely hostile towards an enemy they blame for the lamentable condition to which France has been reduced. Chartier described the English as "ceux qui voz peres et voz predecesseurs ont souvent guerroiez", cautioning the French against those who had:

> ars et degastez voz champs et voz villes et qui de tele ligne sont issuz que naturelment convoitent anyentir du tout vostre generacion. Ce sont ceux qui se sont adjoins et aliez a voz desloiaulx et rebelles de ce royaulme, dont a la desraison de leur querelle ilz ont adjousté desloiauté, en soustenant les œuvres desloialles de leurs alliez et compaignons.[6]

In a similar vein, Christine de Pisan's *Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc* tells us that the blood of the French dead cries out for vengeance against the English:

> Le sanc des occis sans lever
>
> Crie contre eulz. Dieu ne veult plus
>
> Le souffrir, ains les reprouver

---

[4]For example: Jean de Montreuil, *A toute la chevalerie de France* (c. 1411); Jean Juvenal des Ursins, *Traictie compedieux de la querelle de France contre les Anglois* (c. 1444); Robert Blondel, *Oratio Historialis* (c. 1449). See P. S. Lewis, 'War, Propaganda and Historiography in Fifteenth-Century France and England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Series, 15 (1965), pp. 1–21.

[5]*Vision prophétique de l'Angleterre* (Ballade CLXXX), in *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by A. de Queux de Saint Hilaire and G. Raynaud, 11 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1878–1904), I (1878), pp. 315–6 (p. 316).

[6]*Le Quadrilogue invectif*, ed. by E. Droz, 2nd edn (Paris: Champion, 1950), p 18.

Comme mauvais, il est conclus.[7]

During our period, the focus of French attention does change somewhat. Wars waged by French kings for power and influence in Italy after 1494 introduce the Italians as rivals for the position of France's number one enemy. Nevertheless, the English remain an important political threat and foreign other against whom the French continue to define themselves. Towards 1530, however, the relationship between France and England changes much more significantly. On the one hand, the rise of Hapsburg power altered the European political dynamic so that Spain and the Empire increasingly replaced England as France's main enemy. On the other hand, the spread of Protestantism introduced an ideological element into Anglo-French relations. The Reformation in England meant that the English were now religious as well as dynastic enemies of the French government.[8] These political developments were reflected in literature so that writers after 1530 were no longer so clearly writing about the English in the tradition of the Hundred Years War.

As well as offering us a politically distinct period, the time covered by our thesis (between the expulsion of the English from France and the beginning of the English Reformation) was also significant in terms of cultural development. In France, recovery from years of English occupation produced a more centralised and confident monarchy eager to exploit literature and the arts to express its power and greatness. Relative peace also brought prosperity to bourgeois merchants and traders. Together with the more

---

[7]*Ditié de Jehanne d'Arc*, ed. by Angus J. Kennedy and Kenneth Varty (Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1977), p. 36.

[8]In fact, religious and ideological differences blurred traditional divisions along 'national' lines. Thus, during the Wars of Religion, certain French protestant tracts present the English positively as allies of the French protestant cause. I am grateful to Professor Gilbert Schrenck for alerting me to this pro-English literature.

established professional classes, they were key customers in a changing cultural marketplace. The spread of printing after 1470 meant that books could be produced in greater numbers and more cheaply. By 1500, printing was already well established in Paris, Lyon, Rouen and many other of the larger French cities. Our thesis will show that the merchant and professional classes were often enthusiastic consumers of patriotic anti-English literature. Moreover, manuscript culture did not suddenly come to an end: works continued to be produced in manuscript throughout the period. Indeed, there even seems to have been a vibrant exchange of material between the media. Cultural production was also stimulated by renewed interest in Classical ideas inspired by Humanism and the Italian Renaissance. Although our period does not demonstrate the fascination for Renaissance aesthetics of later decades in the sixteenth century, there is certainly evidence of interest in Renaissance subjects and forms in some of our writing, and we will see that Renaissance ideals influenced a number of our writers in relation to their view of the English as 'foreign'. Our period is thus one of dynamic cultural development at a variety of levels.

Nevertheless, until recently, this period has been largely neglected in criticism. The harsh judgement of much late-medieval literature by certain nineteenth- and early twentieth-century critics has had a lasting influence. In recent years, however, there has been a considerable re-evaluation of both the aesthetics and hermeneutics of writing in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. Nowadays, critics are less likely to see writers from the period as forming a homogeneous group. They might prefer to draw attention to differences between writers, to analyse their writing in terms of its aesthetic richness, or to stress the complex and often shifting relationship between writers, texts, and the context of literary production. The various discursive strategies used by authors

as well as issues of cultural politics and economics will be given full consideration in this thesis.[9]

The most extensive analysis of representations of the English in late-medieval French literature has thus far been limited to the introductory or concluding sections of works mainly concerned with other periods. Some discussion of the topic can also be found in works on patriotic or historicised literature, in a few short paragraphs in broader reviews of relevant literary periods, and in studies of late-medieval authors and their writing. Valuable information may also be gleaned from the footnotes of critical editions of late-medieval works which mention the English. Finally, the topic may be

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[9]Much of this late-medieval literature is often grouped together under the term '*rhétoriqueur* writing'. This term is sometimes used quite loosely and does not refer to a strict 'school'. Some of the works studied in this thesis do not exactly fit into the grouping. Henry Guy's *Histoire de la poésie française au XVI^e^ siècle*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1910–26; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1998), I: *L'Ecole des Rhétoriqueurs* (1910) epitomises critical distaste for the output of the *rhétoriqueurs*. Nevertheless, it represents an attitude broadly found in literary criticism until quite recently. Among the first works to offer a more positive reading was Paul Zumthor's *Le Masque et la lumière: la poétique des Grands Rhétoriqueurs* (Paris: Seuil, 1978). Claude Thiry's critique of Zumthor in 'Lecture du texte *rhétoriqueur*', *Cahiers d'analyse textuelle*, 20 (1978), pp. 85–101, and 'La Poétique des *Grands Rhétoriqueurs*: à propos d'un ouvrage récent', *Le Moyen Age: Revue d'histoire et de philologie*, 86 (1980), pp. 117–33, offers an alternative but equally positive view. More recently, *rhétoriqueur* aesthetics were analysed by François Cornilliat in *'Or ne mens': couleurs de l'éloge et du blâme chez les 'Grands Rhétoriqueurs'* (Paris: Champion, 1994). Other recent works have contributed to a re-evaluation of late-medieval writing read in its historical context, for example: Adrian Armstrong, *Technique and Technology: Script, Print and Poetics in France, 1470–1550* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Cynthia Jane Brown, *The Shaping of History and Poetry in Late Medieval France: Propaganda and Artistic Expression in the Works of the Rhétoriqueurs* (Birmingham, AL: Summa, 1985), and *Poets, Patrons and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 1995); David Cowling, *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in Late Medieval and Early Modern France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998); F. Joukovsky, *La Gloire dans la poésie française et néolatine du XVI^e^ siècle* (Geneva: Droz, 1969). A number of studies of the work of individual authors have also stimulated a reassessment of their writing, for example: Jennifer Britnell, *Jean Bouchet* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986); Jean Devaux, *Jean Molinet, indiciaire bourguignon* (Paris: Champion, 1996); Pierre Jodogne, *Jean Lemaire de Belges: écrivain franco-bourguignon* (Brussels: Académie Royale, 1972); Graeme Small, *George Chastelain and the Shaping of Valois Burgundy: Political and Historical Culture at Court in the Fifteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Royal Historical Society, 1997) and the introductory material in *Les Deux Recueils: Jehan Marot de Caen*(Geneva: Droz, 1999), ed. by Gérard Defaux and Thierry Mantovani.

covered by historians when contemporary literary works offer insight into the political, social or cultural history of the period. A study which focuses centrally on the period between 1450 and 1530 and which offers a comprehensive analysis of the primary material in context and in the light of modern literary theory is yet to be produced. Nevertheless, there have been four landmark studies of the subject by E. B. Rathery (1855), C. V. Langlois (1893), Georges Ascoli (1927) and Peter Rickard (1956).[10]

Each of these studies focuses either on the Middle Ages from the eleventh to the end of the fifteenth century, or on the period after the English Reformation. The first study, by E. B. Rathery, was in the form of relatively long article: *Des relations sociales et intellectuelles entre la France et l'Angleterre depuis la conquête des Normands jusqu'à la révolution française*. This article set the tone for much of the criticism that followed. Rathery's main area of interest is not in the late-medieval period but in the period from the second half of the sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth century. In his 113 page survey of Anglo-French cultural relations, Rathery confines analysis of the period before 1530 to the first twenty pages. As, somewhat in the style of a late-medieval chronicler, Rathery begins his study in the mists of pre-Roman Britain, only four pages are left for his brief sketch of the period from 1338 to 1533. Nevertheless, he raises several key issues about the representation of the English in our period that are more fully developed by others in later criticism, namely: traditions of depicting the physical appearance of the English, myths associated with this 'physical image',

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[10]E. B. Rathery, *Des Relations sociales et intellectuelles entre la France et l'Angleterre depuis la conquête des Normands jusqu'à la révolution française* (Paris: Dubuisson, 1855) (an abridged version was published in the *Revue Contemporaine*, 20 (1855), pp. 397–415); C. V. Langlois, 'Les Anglais du moyen âge d'après les sources françaises', *Revue Historique*, 52 (1893), pp. 298–315; Georges Ascoli, *La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion française*, 3 vols (Paris: Gamber, 1927–30; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), I: *Depuis la guerre de cent ans jusqu'à la fin du XVI^e siècle* (1927); II, III: *Au XVII^e siècle* (1930); Peter Rickard, *Britain in Medieval French Literature: 1100–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).

negative character stereotypes, the use of jargon to represent English speech, and, finally, terms of abuse used by the French against or about the English.

Unfortunately, because of the broad scope of his study, Rathery makes no significant distinction between depictions of the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh and he frequently uses 'Anglais' to refer to all of the inhabitants of modern Britain and Ireland. Nevertheless, the vast majority of the texts he studies are about the English. Although writing optimistically in the hope that an improved understanding of how the French and 'English' have viewed each other in the past will lead to closer ties between France and England/Britain in the future and against a historical background of better Franco-British diplomatic relations, Rathery remains partisan in his assessment of the relative values of French and English culture. Thus, in his analysis of the late-medieval period, Rathery repeatedly praises the superiority of French culture: "cet ascendant de nos élégances, de nos modes, de nos habitudes sociales, de nos vices parfois" which, he argues, English society "dans ses aspirations vers le raffinement et l'élégance" strove to imitate.[11] Rathery's article is too short to offer any significant depth of analysis, though it is an invaluable introduction to the subject.

C. V. Langlois's *Les Anglais du moyen âge d'après les sources françaises* did not follow until 1893. As the title makes clear, Langlois takes the Middle Ages from the twelfth to the middle of the fifteenth century as his period, and he focuses on literary texts of French origin, though over half of his sources are in Latin. As with Rathery, 'English' is at times used for 'British', but again Langlois's study is essentially about representations of the English. Langlois presents the theoretical basis for his study in a

[11]Rathery, pp. 19–20. Franco-British relations improved significantly after 1840. Rathery concludes his article on a positive note, pointing out that in spite of minor differences of opinion, French and English political interests were now the same (pp. 112–3).

brief discussion of what he describes as national "caricatures" or "préjugés"[12]. In this pioneering attempt to gain insight into the process of representing nationalities, Langlois argues that although in the nineteenth century simplistic and exaggerated prejudices about other nations are most commonly found in the attitudes of the popular classes "qui n'ont pas voyagé et qui ne réfléchissent pas", in the medieval period such prejudices were found in literature ranging from the "vulgaire" to the "savante".[13] Nevertheless, Langlois's analysis is problematic because he takes an essentialist approach. He argues that medieval literary representations of the English fundamentally reflect the reality of the medieval English character. Langlois states:

> Si l'instinct populaire est injuste parce qu'il simplifie à l'excès, parce qu'il généralise hâtivement, il excelle cependant à 'attraper', comme on dit, certains traits de ressemblance [...]. L'iconographie caricaturale n'est-elle pas le très précieux complément de l'iconographie véritable ?[14]

Langlois develops significantly upon Rathery. He offers new and more detailed evidence from literature to establish his view of the English medieval 'character'. He sketches this character from traits found in medieval proverbs and *dictons*, and supports it with an important four-page analysis of the *Débat des hérauts d'armes*, a fifteenth-century allegory which compares France and the French with England and the English.[15] The image of the English found in the texts covered in Langlois's article is, he argues, generally positive: they are depicted as independent-minded with a love of

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[12]Langlois, pp. 298–9 (p. 299).

[13]Langlois, pp. 298–9.

[14]Langlois, pp. 298–9.

[15]Langlois, pp. 301–5. The *Débat des hérauts d'armes* will be discussed in detail below, pp. 108–15.

commerce and a respect for the law, and as *bons viveurs*, enjoying opulence, good food and drink, but they are also often described as false, fickle and over-confident.[16]

Acknowledging the sensitivity of his subject matter, Langlois attempts to remain even-handed in his treatment of the English and French, but his study frequently betrays its author's allegiances.[17] For example, Langlois reminds his readers that "la littérature anglaise jusqu'à Shakespeare n'est qu'une branche de la littérature française"![18] And one wonders whether Langlois is thinking of the past or present when he laments the medieval Englishman's "détestable manière de parler français".[19] Langlois accurately reports what the texts say, and his article is an invaluable source for references. He covers a wide variety of genres over a period of more than 350 years. However, the breadth of this coverage in a relatively short article restricted the author's ability to significantly analyse the context of his texts. He does acknowledge the influence of certain historical events, such as the Hundred Years War, on what was said about the English and how it was said, but, in general, the social and political developments of the period are not substantially taken into account. Moreover, since Langlois groups Latin, Old- and Middle-French texts, drama, verse, prose and proverbs all in one short study, he is unable to carry out a systematic analysis of the poetics of his *corpus*. Finally, all

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[16]Langlois, pp. 306–7.

[17]Langlois was writing during a period of volatile political debate in France about the nature of French national identity (the Dreyfus affair began in 1894) and about France's relations with other European powers. Franco-British rivalry, particularly over Africa, was intense: war was only narrowly averted after the 'Fashoda incident' in 1898.

[18]Langlois, p. 301.

[19]Langlois, p. 311.

of Langlois's material is in manuscript so his study does not consider the impact of printing on the development of the literary representation of the English.[20]

George Ascoli's *La Grande Bretagne devant l'opinion française* (1927) goes some way towards addressing the issues not covered by Langlois. Based on his doctoral thesis, Ascoli's three-volume work is much longer than any of the previous studies. In it, he was able to draw on important critical editions of late-medieval texts published after 1893.[21] He also exploited recent broader-ranging critical studies by Charles Lenient, Henri Hauser and Henry Guy. Ascoli makes several cautious references to Charles Lenient's work on patriotic poetry.[22] In two wide-ranging volumes, Lenient had systematically identified the texts he associated with the development of French national sentiment and had found anti-English sentiment to be prominent in late-medieval patriotic texts. Lenient's work should be read with caution as he wrote with a clear nationalist purpose. In his prefaces, Lenient describes his intention to use the example of the past to inspire patriotism and nationalism in his contemporaries. In the preface to his volume on the Middle Ages (1891) he explicitly links lack of patriotic sentiment with French defeat in 1870 and the nation's subsequent 'humiliation'. In the preface to his second volume (1894), which covers early-modern and modern literature,

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[20]The *Débat des hérauts d'armes* was not printed until the beginning of the sixteenth century. Langlois studies it as a manuscript rather than a printed text.

[21]For example: Robert Gaguin, *Epistolae et orationes*, ed. by Louis Thuasne, 2 vols (Paris: Bouillon, 1904; repr. Paris: Champion, 1977); Gilles le Bouvier, *Le Livre de la description des pays*, ed. by E. T. Hamy (Paris: Leroux, 1908); *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris*, ed. by Edith Wickersheimer (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1923); François Villon, *Œuvres*, ed. by Louis Thuasne, 3 vols (Paris: Picard, 1923). Ascoli also used editions of several previously unpublished poems by Octovien de Saint-Gelais from the appendix to H. J. Molinier's *Essai biographique et littéraire sur Octovien de Saint-Gelays* (Rodez: Carrère, 1910; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972).

[22]Charles Lenient, *La Poésie patriotique en France au moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1891); *La Poésie patriotique en France dans les temps modernes* (Paris: Hachette, 1894).

Lenient complains of "*Anglomanes*" and "*Germanisants*" and describes the unpatriotic as "citoyens bâtards" while arguing that:

> A une époque où il existe des gens assez misérables et assez fous pour se proclamer eux-mêmes, tout haut, des *sans-patrie* ; pour prêcher l'abandon et la révolte à nos soldats ; il n'est point inutile peut-être de raviver et d'entretenir, dans le cœur des jeunes gens, l'amour du sol natal et du drapeau, le culte de la tradition et de l'honneur national, qui constituent le domaine commun et la sauvegarde d'un peuple libre, vraiment digne de ce nom.[23]

Ascoli was also indebted to Henri Hauser's vast work documenting the links between specific literary texts and important historical events.[24] Guy's *L'Ecole des rhétoriqueurs* was another important source for Ascoli because, in spite of his unsympathetic approach, Guy was thorough and meticulous in the treatment of the authors and texts in his *corpus*.[25] Ascoli's adoption of the systematic approach and historical framework found in these critics distinguishes his analysis from that of Rathery and Langlois.

Ascoli organises his material chronologically. The first five chapters cover the period to 1526. Three chapters identify the major works dealing with the English in specific periods: the period to 1400, the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth century. One chapter deals globally with representations of the English

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[23]Lenient, *Les Temps modernes*, p. vi. Like Langlois, Lenient was writing during the political turmoil of the 1890s, but, obviously, from a clearly nationalist perspective.

[24]A. Molinier and others, *Les Sources de l'histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'en 1815*, 16 vols (Paris: Picard, 1901–32), Part 2: Henri Hauser, *Le XVI^e^ siècle: 1494–1610*, 4 vols (1906–15).

[25]See above, note 9, p. 6. Guy methodically lists and classifies his material. In three concise paragraphs in his chapter on the subject-matter favoured by the *rhétoriqueurs*, he lists six key early sixteenth-century anti-English texts, dates them and, where possible, identifies their authors; he discusses the main anti-English terms of abuse found in these texts; and raises the issues of patronage and propaganda (pp. 64–5). In later chapters, works about the English are systematically noted with references provided to appropriate editions and criticism.

character, another, with the literary sources of knowledge about England and the English. Ascoli also distinguishes more clearly than his predecessors between English and other British texts. Again, the vast majority of texts are about the English, but Ascoli does systematically identify other British material, and his analysis of works about Scotland and the Scottish is particularly rich.[26] Although a few Latin texts are cited, they are mainly restricted to footnotes. In general, the reader is referred to modern editions of the texts though frequently Ascoli quotes at length from rare or inaccessible sources.

Ascoli includes the formal categories of drama, prose and verse in his survey but prose narratives are considered alongside verse, dramatic forms, chronicles and travel writing. There is little analysis of the differences between representations found in one genre and those found in another. Certain genres are examined at length, others are neglected. For example, although Ascoli identifies various early-medieval French and Latin chronicles as a source of knowledge about the English, the vast output of the *rhétoriqueurs* in this field is not discussed.[27] Key questions for the modern critic about readership and reception, media and circulation, patronage and commissioning and about the status of the discourse in which the representations are found are not treated in this still very early work.

From our perspective, the strong point of Ascoli's study is its description and categorisation of the image of the English in late-medieval writing. Ascoli analyses the

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[26]For example, Ascoli examines the influence of Scottish soldiers and nobles at the French court (pp. 28–30), and he covers French contemporary descriptions of Scotland (p. 26). In the section on the period directly after ours he gives considerable space to analysis of material on Mary Queen of Scots (pp. 87–103, 131–50).

[27]Ascoli, pp. 23–4.

representation of English speech linguistically, describing a specific, identifiable jargon.[28] He traces use of the name 'godon', a pejorative name for the English, across a range of texts to argue that it is linked to the perceived English habit of swearing,[29] and he cites numerous literary examples of English drunkenness,[30] gluttony,[31] treachery[32] and blasphemy.[33] The weak point, however, is that Ascoli's treatment of literature before 1533 is merely an introductory sketch in preparation for his fuller analysis of subsequent periods. This is illustrated by the fact that his study of late-medieval literature amounts to less than 60 of the 1188 pages in his work as a whole.

The first study of this subject in English was Peter Rickard's *Britain in Medieval French Literature: 1100–1500.* Rickard's book is based on his 1951 Oxford doctoral thesis. As the title makes clear, the last thirty years of the period under our consideration are not dealt with by Rickard. In fact, in his introduction, Rickard argues that the Peace of Picquigny (1475) was a decisive moment in Anglo-French relations, effectively formalising an end to the Hundred Years War. Very few of the texts he studies are from after that date.[34] Like Rathery then, Rickard's work does not take the impact of printing into account. A number of important new critical editions were

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[28]Ascoli, pp. 1–2. Ascoli lists the most common deformations of French found in this jargon and distinguishes between Anglo-French and Franco-Scottish forms. Each of the stereotypes and forms of representation listed here will be reviewed in detail below, pp. 56–75.

[29]Ascoli, pp. 34–7.

[30]Ascoli, pp. 33–4.

[31]Ascoli, pp. 36–7.

[32]Ascoli, p. 45.

[33]Ascoli, pp. 35–6.

[34]Rickard, p. 20.

printed between 1927 and 1952 and were included in Rickard's study.[35] Rickard does not refer to any of his sources directly and only uses texts which were available in modern editions. The range of material available to him was therefore limited and he does not discuss a number of important unedited works.

Unlike Ascoli, Rickard organises his material in themes rather than chronologically. He separates his discussion of history from his discussion of the texts by comprehensively setting out the historical background in an extensive first chapter. The second chapter deals with "Early Allusions" and the three subsequent chapters cover themes found exclusively in material prior to 1450, namely: the "Matter of Britain" and "England in Romances of Adventure". There are separate chapters on Scotland and Ireland. It is mainly in chapters six, seven and eight, which deal with "Great Englishmen", "The English Character" and "England as Enemy", that Rickard introduces discussion of texts from after 1450.

As the title of chapter six indicates, the history which serves as a background to Rickard's *corpus* is very much one of high politics and 'great men'. Issues which might stimulate modern historical interest, such as the economics of literary production, the social impact of printing and literacy, the relationship between stereotyping and political propaganda, or the political nature of discourse are not covered in this study. Rickard does not discuss commissioning, the context of production, nor reception. Again the emphasis is on establishing and describing individual features contributing to a coherent literary image of the English or 'British'. Rickard covers the full range of topics: the general physical appearance of the English,[36] Anglo-French jargon,[37] English

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[35]For example: Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. by Pierre Champion, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1923–7); Jean Molinet, *Les Faictz et Dictz*, ed. by N. Dupire, 3 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1936–9).

[36]Rickard, pp. 163–5.

[37]Rickard, pp. 171–8.

drunkenness, greed and gluttony,[38] and complaints about English treachery.[39] In particular, Rickard dedicates considerable space to his discussion of the myth of 'tailed Englishmen' and to the linked idea of 'hatching' and 'hatched Englishmen'.[40]

An important development in Rickard's work is his rejection of essentialism. Rickard presents depictions of the English largely as literary phenomena rather than as mimetic representations of real English men and women. Specific stereotypes and themes are traced across a number of texts and the relationship between these texts is examined. Thus, for example, Rickard argues that the English are depicted as drunks in the *Jeu Saint Loÿs* (c. 1470) not because the French had recent first-hand experience of English drunkenness but rather because there was a long literary tradition of depicting the English in this way.[41] This approach is particularly effective in Rickard's analysis of depictions and myths which would otherwise be difficult to explain, such as 'tailed', 'hatching' and 'hatched' Englishmen. There are, however, significant drawbacks to the way in which Rickard employs this approach. In order to illustrate the development of a particular theme, Rickard juxtaposes analysis of a variety of genres from different periods. For example, in his discussion of English untrustworthiness, Rickard moves swiftly in one short paragraph through references to a *ballade*, a chronicle, a description of the English framed by an allegory, a *mystère*, some memoirs and, finally, a political treatise.[42] This meant that Rickard could not clearly demonstrate the differences between genres or fully contextualise his material historically. The scope for an analysis of the influence of formal, social, political and economic concerns in the

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[38]Rickard, pp. 167–70.

[39]Rickard, pp. 178–85.

[40]Rickard, p. 166.

[41]Rickard, p. 169.

[42]Rickard, pp. 184–5.

depictions he analyses is therefore limited. Rickard's study was, nevertheless, an important contribution to our understanding of how the French represented the English in medieval literature, but, as far as our thesis is concerned, it is unfortunate that Rickard clearly saw the period after 1475 mainly as a postscript to his analysis of earlier material.

Rathery's and Langlois's studies were too short and too wide-ranging to offer sufficient depth of analysis. For Ascoli, the period 1450–1530 was merely the introduction to his study of the English in later French literature, though he identified the key texts to be included in any examination of this subject for the late-medieval period. Rickard's interest was focused on the twelfth to the mid-fifteenth centuries, though he discusses stereotypes and themes which remain fundamental to discussion of the representation of the English in literature in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However, none of the authors focuses centrally on representations of the English in French literature between 1450 and 1530.

Significant advances in various fields of research since the 1950s have opened up new lines of investigation and provided new analytical tools to modern critics. Research in certain areas of the social sciences as well as new developments in literary and cultural studies can be exploited profitably in our thesis. For example, research in intergroup relations offers insight into the way groups (such as the French and English) perceive themselves and each other and into how this affects the way they interact and represent each other. Similarly, research into stereotypes and stereotyping will help us understand why stereotypes are so frequently used in our *corpus* and will help explain their discursive function there. In cultural studies, the new critical approaches proposed

by image studies provide a framework for the analysis of representations of 'national' and 'ethnic' groups that can be usefully employed in consideration of literary representations of the English. Finally, recent research in history, sociology and the political sciences will help us to define key terms such as 'France', 'French' and 'French identity' in relation to the late-medieval period.

Two main areas of research in intergroup relations will inform the reading of our texts, namely: research into the relationship between group identity and intergroup comparisons, and research into the relationship between outgroup hostility and ingroup loyalty, cohesion and identity.[43] Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner's work in the 1970s and 80s on Social Identity Theory helped develop the idea that human beings have social as well as individual identities; i.e., individuals subjectively identify with the groups to which they belong.[44] Social identities as well as individual identities therefore define who we are. Tajfel and Turner claimed that just as it is important for individuals to have a positive self-identity, it is also important for them to have positive social identities. They argued that "individuals strive to achieve or maintain positive social identity", that "positive social identity is based to a large extent on favorable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant out-groups" and that "the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant out-groups". In other words, in order to achieve a positive social identity individuals need to be able to see the groups to which they belong as being different

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[43]Theories of intergroup relations usually make a distinction between ingroups (groups to which an individual belongs) and outgroups (groups to which an individual does not belong). In our study French writers and their audiences form the ingroup whereas the English represented in the texts are the outgroup. Ingroups are sometimes referred to as 'we-groups', outgroups, as 'they-groups'.

[44]Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner, 'The Social Identity Theory of Intergroup Behaviour', in *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, ed. by S. Worchel and W. Austin (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1986), pp. 7–24.

from and better than other groups. Tajfel and Turner went on to argue that when positive differentiation is impossible, individuals either "leave their existing group" or "make their existing group more positively distinct".[45] Thus, group identity exists, in large part, in terms of a comparison with other groups. Intergroup comparisons, such as those found in our *corpus*, therefore play an important role in group identity formation.

Does this mean that ingroups are *necessarily* hostile towards outgroups and that we should *expect* representations in our *corpus* to be hostile towards the English? Whereas Social Identity Theory does not claim that there is necessarily a positive correlation between ingroup identity and ingroup bias, it does readily account for such a relationship. Ingroup bias is one *possible* means of achieving positive social identity.[46] Moreover, outgroup hostility and ingroup bias are not the same thing. Individuals can be biased towards members of their own group without being actively hostile towards an outgroup. As early as 1954, Gordon W. Allport argued that ingroup loyalty and cohesion were primarily independent of outgroup hostility.[47] He drew attention to the fact that at any one time individuals feel a variety of non-conflicting "concentric group loyalties". Thus, they may feel loyalty towards their family, town, profession, associations, country and religion without any necessary conflict of interests.[48] Allport

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[45]Tajfel and Turner, p. 16.

[46]J. C. Turner, 'Some Current Issues in Research on Social Identity and Self-Categorization Theories', in *Social Identity, Context, Commitment, Content*, ed. by Naomi Ellemers, Russell Spears and Bertjan Doosje (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 6–34 (pp. 20–2); Rupert Brown, 'Social Identity Theory: Past Achievements, Current Problems and Future Challenges', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 30 (2000), pp. 745–78 (pp. 747–8, 753–5); Craig McGarty, 'Social Identification Theory Does Not Maintain that Identification Produces Bias, and Self Categorization Theory Does Not Maintain the Salience is Identification: Two Comments on Mummendey, Klink and Brown', *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 40 (2001), pp. 173–6.

[47]Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, MA: Addison Wesley, 1954), pp. 29–47 (p. 42).

[48]Allport, pp. 42–6.

did recognize that hostility towards outgroups could reinforce ingroup identification, but he saw this as happening among individuals who already held prejudiced attitudes and opinions.[49]

Following Allport, a number of theories have attempted to identify the circumstances under which positive feelings towards an ingroup would produce overtly negative feelings towards an outgroup. For example, Realistic Group Conflict Theory (upon which Social Identity Theory draws) presents negative attitudes to outgroups as the result of competition for resources and power between groups with incompatible interests. Here, outgroup hostility is context-dependent: groups are more likely to be hostile when threatened by intense competition.[50] Recently, Marilynn B. Brewer has developed these ideas to argue that although outgroup 'hate' is not a necessary corollary of ingroup 'love', it is, nevertheless, predictable in certain situations. Brewer maintains that ingroup identification is likely to produce outgroup hostility where the need for ingroup self-justification is combined with suspicion and distrust for competing outgroups under a less complex social system in which concentric group loyalties are tightly related or hierarchical and do not deflect antagonism from the outgroup.[51]

Thus, in relation to our *corpus*, we might expect French depictions of the English to be largely hostile because, throughout the period, the French were in the process of forming and developing their own values and identity mainly against a

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[49]Allport, pp. 48–67.

[50]M. Sherif, *Group Conflict and Co-Operation: Their Social Psychology* (London: Routledge, 1967). See also, B. Mullen, R. Brown, and C. Smith, 'Ingroup Bias as a Function of Salience, Relevance and Status: An Integration', *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 22 (1992), pp. 103–22.

[51]Marilynn B. Brewer, 'The Psychology of Prejudice: Ingroup Love or Outgroup Hate?', *Journal of Social Issues*, 55 (1999), pp. 429–44.

background of threat and intense competition from the English. Moreover, French society was sufficiently hierarchical for concentric group loyalties to be ineffective in neutralising anti-English hostility. Local, professional, commercial, class and even religious loyalties were all tied closely together under the monarchy which could effectively focus hostility on its 'enemy'. In situations of potential conflict between concentric loyalties (such as those involving Brittany or other *apanages* with some claim to autonomy) authors stress hierarchical relations between the king and his subjects, reminding the reader of the order and stability this brought the Kingdom. In the majority of texts in our *corpus*, negative representations of the English serve to positively reinforce the reader's French 'group' identity.

One way groups represent themselves and each other is through stereotypes. Again, stereotypes have been the subject of a considerable amount of recent research which is useful here because many of the late-medieval French literary representations of the English are stereotype-based. Stereotypes are repeatedly used, ready-made, short-hand representations; they are thus often commonly perceived as standardised, simplistic and exaggerated generalisations.[52] As a literary critical term describing unoriginal ideas, unthinking repetition, and formulaic, banal writing, the term stereotype was probably first used as early as 1835.[53] In 1922, Walter Lippmann used stereotype

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[52]This common negative perception of stereotypes is conveyed in their definition as "[...] a preconceived, standardized, and oversimplified impression of the characteristics which typify a person, situation etc., often shared by all members of a society, or certain social groups [...]" in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, ed. by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner, 20 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) (hereafter: *OED*); similarly, we find: "opinion toute faite, cliché, réduisant les singularités" in *Le Grand Robert de la langue française*, ed. by Paul Robert and Alain Rey, rev. edn, 6 vols (Paris: Le Robert, 2001) (hereafter, *Le Grand Robert*).

[53]Félix Davin used the term in his introduction to Balzac's *Études des mœurs au XIX^e siècle*. It has its origins in printing where a stereotype is a pre-cast printing mould which can be reused to produce the same thing on a variety of jobs. See Ruth Amossy and Anne Herschberg-Pierrot, *Stéréotypes et clichés: langue, discours, société* (Paris: Nathan, 1997), p. 25.

in the context of the social sciences to describe the "pictures in our heads" which he argued were fundamental to the process of the cognition and categorisation of vast amounts of complex information.[54] Following Lippmann, an understanding of stereotyping as a schematic process associating particular characteristics and behaviour with specific social groups began to develop. Stereotypes allow us to recognise and represent large and complex groups quickly and concisely as categories. However, unlike most simple categories (fruit, colours, furniture, motor vehicles), stereotypes frequently also convey evaluative judgements. Although Lippmann was cautious about the potential dangers inherent in the use of stereotypes, he did not see them as being necessarily negative. Other social scientists, however, were quick to draw attention to the role stereotypes played in the dissemination of prejudice and in the misrepresentation of social, national and ethnic groups.[55]

In language, stereotypes allow us to communicate large amounts of often nuanced information concisely. They are rarely neutral and can convey a whole range

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[54]Lippmann describes stereotypes as "pictures in our heads" in the introduction to his *Public Opinion* (New York: Free Press, 1922), pp. 3–34 (p. 29). Later he more explicitly associates stereotypes with the recognition of social groups:

> But modern life is hurried and multifarious, above all physical distance separates men who are often in vital contact with each other, such as employer and employee, official and voter. There is neither time nor opportunity for intimate acquaintance. Instead we notice a trait which marks a well known type, and fill in the rest of the picture by means of the stereotypes we carry about in our heads. He is an agitator. That much we notice, or are told. Well an agitator is this sort of person, and so *he* is this sort of person. He is an intellectual. He is a plutocrat. He is a foreigner. He is a "South European." He is from Back Bay. He is a Harvard Man. How different from the statement: he is a Yale Man. He is a regular fellow. He is a West Pointer. He is an old army sergeant. He is a Greenwich Villager: what don't we know about him then, and about her? He is an international banker. He is from Main Street. (p. 89)

[55]Research into the inherent dangers of stereotypes developed initially in two strands: the work of Daniel Katz and Kenneth W. Braly helped inspire a socio-cultural approach, surveying and analysing the role of stereotypes in racial and other prejudices: 'Racial Prejudice and Racial Stereotypes', *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 30 (1935), pp. 175–93; T. W. Adorno and his collaborators adopted a psychodynamic approach, influenced by Freud, in which stereotypes were seen as a form of negative projection and were associated with the psychology of fascism and Nazism: *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper, 1950).

of attitudes and judgements. For example, the modern stereotype "The French eat frogs' legs" humorously conveys the idea that the French have strange and foreign eating habits and that they will eat almost anything, but it also contemptuously conveys ideas of cruelty, desperation, poor hygiene and culinary ignorance! Nevertheless, stereotypes can be positive as well as negative; consider the positive stereotypes associated with brain surgeons, firefighters or successful athletes. Cultures hold positive stereotypes of those they admire or aspire to be like as well as negative stereotypes of those they mistrust or disapprove of. Moreover, most groups have a number of often conflicting stereotypes associated with them: brain surgeons are usually stereotyped positively as highly intelligent, dextrous life-savers, but they are also sometimes stereotyped negatively as cold, arrogant and egotistical. The ability of stereotypes to accurately represent the features of any group or individual member of a group is problematic. Certain stereotypes are quite accurate: most brain surgeons are life-savers. Other stereotypes are more likely to be inaccurate: probably relatively few French people regularly eat frogs' legs.

Recently, research in the social sciences has focused less on analysing the composition and relative accuracy of stereotypes and more on an examination of how and why they are used. Emphasis has moved from stereotypes to stereotyping. Two distinct dimensions of the process of stereotyping have been studied, though fields of research are often overlapping and complementary. On the one hand, cognitive research has examined stereotyping as a means of perceiving, retaining and retrieving information. It has studied mental processes to help explain how stereotypes are formed and why they are such powerful, resilient and enduring ways of perceiving groups. For example, prior knowledge of stereotypes about a social group seems to influence the

way we perceive that group when it is encountered face to face, and we seem to be able to recall stereotypes more efficiently than other more complex ideas. On the other hand, in intergroup relations, stereotyping is studied as part of the process of social identity formation. Theorists have argued that groups consciously and unconsciously positively self-stereotype and negatively stereotype other groups in order to enhance their self-image and promote their own interests. Moreover, research has demonstrated that individuals are in any case more likely to stereotype members of a group to which they do not belong because of a human tendency to perceive greater homogeneity within outgroups when they are compared to the individual's own group.[56] In other words, members of groups other than one's own are seen as being 'all of a kind'. Stereotypes offer short, neat, easy-to-remember generalisations. They reduce a whole attitude to the other into a simple image, a short expression or a word and were therefore effective 'tools' for authors intending to produce a negative representation of the English.

Several literary theorists have already demonstrated how recent social scientific research into stereotypes can be profitably exploited in literary criticism.[57] One field of criticism that has successfully integrated new ideas about intergroup relations and stereotyping into its theories is image studies or 'imagology'. Image studies is a branch

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[56]Both strands of research are examined in, for example: Jacques-Philippe Leyens, Vincent Yzerbyt and Georges Schadron, *Stereotypes and Social Cognition* (London: Sage, 1994); Penelope J. Oakes, S. Alexander Haslam and John C. Turner, *Stereotyping and Social Reality* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994); *Stereotypes and Stereotyping*, ed. by C. Neil Macrae, Charles Stangor and Miles Hewstone (New York: Guilford Press, 1996); *Stereotypes as Explanations: The Formation of Meaningful Beliefs about Social Groups*, ed. by Craig McGarty, Vincent Yzerbyt and Russell Spears (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); David Schneider, *The Psychology of Stereotyping* (New York: Guilford Press, 2003).

[57]For an excellent overview of recent work, see Amossy and Herschberg-Pierrot. For more detailed individual studies see Ruth Amossy, *Les Idées reçues: sémiologie du stéréotype* (Paris: Nathan, 1991); Jean-Louis Dufays, *Stéréotype et lecture: essai sur la perception littéraire* (Liège: Mardaga, 1994); *Lieux communs: topoï, stéréotypes, clichés*, ed. by Christian Plantin (Paris: Kimé, 1994); *Sont-ils bons? Sont-ils méchants?: usages des stéréotypes*, ed. by Christian Garaud (Paris: Champion, 2001).

of comparative literary studies concerned with cultural representations of national and ethnic identity and character.[58] As we shall see, in image studies there is a close relationship between the ideas of image and stereotype, but image generally refers to a broader representation encompassing a number of different and sometimes competing stereotypes. Our study of representations of the English will adopt this understanding of image. Indeed, the theory of image studies offers us a number of useful conceptual tools. Its practitioners take an interdisciplinary approach, rejecting essentialist interpretations of images of the foreign other to propose an explanation of the production of these images based on the structural relationship between 'national' cultures. They also stress the importance of a reading of literary texts that takes fully into account the reception and circulation of such images in a broad cultural context.

Theories of image studies first reject the idea that national character is an inherent attribute that can be observed and represented; depictions of foreigners in literature are not studied as objective mimetic representations. Indeed theorists argue that representations of any large group are necessarily limited to incomplete sketches selectively highlighting features that are considered important in the culture producing the representation. Joep Leerssen writes:

> What is 'typical' of a given nation is no longer considered to emanate from a characteristic, hereditary essence inherent within that nation, but rather from a specific way of perceiving that nation. Nationality now counts, at least in the human sciences,

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[58]Criticism in image studies covers a number of fields including cinema and the visual arts, though the focus here will be on literature. Throughout this section 'culture' will be used in the very broad sense of the beliefs, traditions, behaviour, institutions and artistic self-expression of a society or social group.

> as a modality of perception and reputation rather than as a matter of essence or substance.[59]

Theories of image studies present the literary representation of national character as a discursive construct determined by the relationship between the representing culture (sometimes referred to as the *spectant*) and the culture being represented (sometimes referred to as the *spected*). Critics argue that the idea of national character is manipulated in literature to suit the social, cultural and political aims of the *spectant*.[60] The image that one culture creates of another indicates relative positions of power and impotence, superiority and inferiority, development and backwardness, friendship and enmity. It is therefore fundamentally determined by the image the representing culture has of itself. Consequently, image studies are not so much interested in what representations tell us about the *spected*, but rather in what they tell us about the *spectant*. According to Daniel-Henri Pageaux:

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[59]Joep Leerssen, 'The Allochronic Periphery: Towards a Grammar of Cross-Cultural Representation', in *Beyond Pug's Tour: National and Ethnic Stereotyping in Theory and Literary Practice*, ed. by C. C. Barfoot (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 285–94 (p. 285). For the theory underpinning image studies see Marius-François Guyard, 'L'Étranger tel qu'on le voit', in *La littérature comparée*, Que sais-je? (Paris: P.U.F., 1951), pp. 110–9; Hugo Dyserinck, 'Zum Problem der *Images* und *Mirages* und ihrer Untersuchung im Rahmen der Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft', *Arcadia*, 1 (1966), pp. 107–20; Daniel-Henri Pageaux, 'De l'imagerie culturelle à l'imaginaire', in *Précis de littérature comparée*, ed. by Pierre Brunel and Yves Chevrel (Paris: P.U.F., 1989), pp. 133–62. Jean-Marc Moura, 'L'Imagologie littéraire: essai de mise au point historique et critique', *Revue de littérature comparée*, 66 (1992), pp. 271–87; Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, 'La Perception de l'Autre, jalons pour une critique littéraire interculturelle', *Tangence*, 51 (1996), pp. 51–66. For recent developments see Leerssen, 'The Rhetoric of National Character: A Programmatic Survey', *Poetics Today*, 21 (2000), pp. 267–92; William L. Chew, 'Literature, History and the Social Sciences? An Historical-Imagological Approach to Franco-American Stereotypes', in *National Stereotypes in Perspective: Americans in France, Frenchmen in America*, ed. by William L. Chew (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), pp. 1–54. A very similar but independent approach to the study of 'national characteristics' is proposed by Donald Mainland in 'National Labels: How Can We Assess Them?', *Lore and Language*, 3 (1982), pp. 18–23.

[60]Leerssen, 'Rhetoric', pp. 269–70.

L'image est donc la représentation d'une réalité culturelle au travers de laquelle l'individu ou le groupe qui l'ont élaborée (ou qui la partagent ou la propagent) révèlent et traduisent l'espace social, culturel, idéologique, imaginaire dans lequel ils veulent se situer. Cet espace, posé comme horizon d'étude est le théâtre, le lieu où s'exprime d'une manière imagée (assumons le jeu de mots qui n'est qu'apparent), c'est-à-dire à l'aide d'images, de représentations, les modalités selon lesquelles une société se voit, se pense en rêvant l'Autre.[61]

However, theories of image studies involve more than just a historical or sociological reading of texts. Critics stress that the images they study are cultural and above all literary phenomena. Authors create an image of the foreign other that almost invariably reflects a pre-existing culturally held image of that other. Since culturally held images of foreigners frequently have their origins in literature, the process is cyclical. Even when an image does not seem to have strictly literary origins, the influence of literature on all forms of 'high' and 'low' culture must be considered.[62] Images thus circulate directly and indirectly from one literary text to the next. As Leerssen argues, national images "refer primarily not to the nation in question but to the currency of other, previous images about that nation".[63] Literary images of the foreign other are in this way instances of intertextuality; they are self-perpetuating cultural constructs. As such, they encourage the critic to study the various means by which images can circulate. Pageaux argues:

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[61]Daniel-Henri Pageaux, *La Littérature générale et comparée* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1994), p. 60.

[62]See, for example, F. K. Stanzel, 'National Character as Literary Stereotype: An Analysis of the image of the German in English Literature before 1800', *German Studies*, 1 (1980), pp. 101–15. Many non-literary cultural forms draw heavily on literature for their material and reproduce its structures of communication.

[63]Leerssen, 'Rhetoric', p. 280.

> Cette perspective oblige le comparatiste à tenir compte des textes littéraires, de leur condition de production, de diffusion, de réception, et aussi de tout matériau culturel avec lequel on a écrit, mais aussi vécu, pensé et peut-être rêvé.[64]

Image studies frequently take into account a broader range of cultural media than might feature in certain other literary analyses. Critics might consider issues concerning the material communication of images (media, paratextual material, visual imagery) or the context of their production (commissioning, intended audience, later retransmission) as well as studying the literary text itself.

By emphasising the importance of studying reception as well as production, theories of image studies direct us towards consideration of the extent to which images of foreigners produced in a text are determined by the reader's expectations of it. Leerssen writes:

> National stereotyping takes shape not just in the binary polarity between texts-that-represent and nations-that-are-represented but also in the triangular situation of texts, represented nations, and an audience's *Erwartungshorizont*.[65]

Readers of polemical literature may choose to read a particular text not because they want to be challenged or threatened by their reading but rather because of a desire to have their own views confirmed.[66] By fulfilling rather than frustrating expectations, authors can reinforce a fixed and literally *satisfying* image of the foreign other in their

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[64]Pageaux, *Littérature générale*, p. 60.

[65]Leerssen, 'Rhetoric', p. 281.

[66]Compare the way many readers nowadays choose a newspaper that broadly reflects their own social and political opinions, or the recent commercial success of effectively one-sided political or campaigning literature and cinema which 'preaches to the converted' on globalisation, the Iraq War or arms control in America.

readers' imagination.[67] Such a technique would be particularly effective in patriotic literature seeking to present a foreign enemy negatively.

Indeed, the political relationship between two cultures is crucial in determining the image each has of the other. Leerssen has identified a number of structural relationships that have an important influence over the kind of representations found in a text. He argues that "the attribution of characteristics to a national or ethnic group appears in many cases to obey structural rather than case-specific patterns" and that individual representations are "structural" or "invariant factors" in a "grammar of national characterisation".[68] Leerssen provides a number of possible oppositional relationships (strong-weak, north-south, centre-periphery) that determine how one culture will represent another. He maintains, for example, that a particular stereotype exists for northern cultures with a differing one for southern cultures. However, whether a culture is represented as typically northern or typically southern depends entirely upon the perspective of the observer since most cultures have neighbours to the north and to the south.[69] The stereotypes used to represent any one culture are therefore frequently conflicting. Whereas Leerssen's geographical paradigms must certainly be taken into account in this thesis, consideration of our *corpus* in the light of a political strength *versus* political weakness relationship will prove more profitable because our texts were written against a background of intense political competition.

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[67]Compare Ruth Amossy's work on stereotypes where, following Iser and Jauss, she argues that readers gain 'satisfaction' by filling in the blanks that stereotypical depictions leave. Amossy points out that stereotypes usually only give us fragmentary hints such as a single physical feature or a one-dimensional character trait that nevertheless convey a much more extensive and often ideologically loaded representation of character. Readers experience complicity with the author by drawing on shared cultural resources to complete the representation as a whole: *Les Idées reçues*, p. 21.

[68]Leerssen, 'Rhetoric', pp. 275–8.

[69]Leerssen, 'Rhetoric', p. 276.

Leerssen demonstrates how a nation's image can change with its political fortunes: political strength is often accompanied by hostility and suspicion; weakness, by sympathy and romanticism (he provides the example of Spain with its conflicting images of the inquisition and *leyenda negra* on the one hand, and castanets and bullfighting on the other).[70] This paradigm can be complemented with another structural pattern of inter-cultural representation developed in the field of modern international relations. Specialists working in 'Image Theory' have established a scheme of representation according to which the image one nation has of another depends upon perceptions of relative cultural status and military strength and upon levels of perceived threat or competition. In international relations, the 'image' of the foreign other functions to reinforce a positive national self-image but it is also used to justify attitudes and behaviour towards the other.[71]

A number of possible generic images have been devised, but three are of particular interest here since they closely resemble the image of the English found at various different times in our *corpus*. The 'enemy image', 'barbarian image' and 'ally image' are each used to represent different relational positions between two cultures. The 'enemy image' is activated during periods of intense political competition between nations perceived to be of similar status in terms of cultural development and military

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[70]Leerssen, 'Rhetoric', p. 277.

[71]See, for example: Richard. W. Cottam, *Foreign Policy Motivation: A General Theory and Case Study* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977); R. K. Hermann, *Perceptions and Behaviour in Soviet Foreign Policy* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985); R. K. Hermann and M. Fischerkeller, 'Beyond the Enemy Image and Spiral Model: Cognitive-Strategic Research After the Cold War, *International Organisation*, 49 (1995), pp. 415–50; Michele G. Alexander, Marilynn B. Brewer and Richard K. Hermann, 'Images and Affect: A Functional Analysis of Out-Group Stereotypes', *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 77 (1999), pp. 78–93.

strength. It represents the other as aggressive, manipulative and untrustworthy and as a challenging adversary. The 'barbarian image' is activated in similar circumstances but when the enemy is perceived as being culturally inferior and militarily superior to the representing nation. It portrays the other as emotional and irrational, morally corrupt and mercilessly aggressive. The 'ally image' is found during periods of co-operation between nations of similar cultural and military status. It depicts the other as unthreatening and supportive, and it encourages collaboration with the other's aims and goals.[72] The 'enemy image' and 'barbarian image' are used against the English throughout the period covered by this thesis; elements of the 'ally image' are found in a number of texts though it is never fully deployed.

Theories of image studies therefore suggest certain avenues of investigation for us to pursue. Our study will consider the cultural and political context of literary production and reception; it will examine how images circulated between texts; it will include a broad range of material such as short anonymous pamphlets, sometimes unfairly criticised elsewhere as being of little aesthetic value; it will also study the material transmission of the literary image of the English by taking title pages, woodcuts, illuminations and even the physical composition of books and manuscripts into account; finally, it will examine representations of the English in terms not of what they tell us about the English but of what they tell us about the French.

Since this thesis will examine literary depictions of the English as part of a process of representing French identity, it is important for us to establish exactly what we understand by the terms 'France' and 'French' in relation to the late-medieval period

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[72]Alexander, Brewer and Hermann, pp. 79–80.

and whether or not we can, in fact, talk about 'French identity' then. Although the period 1450 to 1530 was one of consolidation, many of the features we associate nowadays with France, such as its modern territorial boundaries, common language, single administrative and judicial systems, and a broadly shared culture were not yet in evidence. France still very much meant the Kingdom of France and to be French was to be a subject of the French King.

Theoretically, at least, the Kingdom's northern and eastern borders had been fixed in the ninth century, after the disintegration of the Carolingian Empire, very roughly along the lines of the rivers Schelde, Meuse, Saône and Rhône. The south-western border generally followed the line of the Pyrenees but took into account disputed territory around Perpignan and Prades, as well as the northern part of the small Kingdom of Navarre. In practice, however, rather than on geographical boundaries, royal authority depended on the extent of the king's political influence locally and therefore on the exercise of his power through local magnates. Even during our period, the remnants of a feudal system persisted, and ultimate allegiance to the sovereign was maintained through a hierarchical system of loyalty to local lords. Thus, semi-autonomous *apanages* continued to exist in French Burgundy until 1477 and in Brittany until 1491, and sovereignty over Flanders remained merely theoretical until it was finally relinquished in 1529. France's borders were not stable but shifted following the fortunes of the king's political power: in our short period, areas such as Artois, Franche-Comté and Roussillon were gained then lost, while Dauphiné and Provence were definitively joined to the Kingdom.[73]

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[73]Bernard Quilliet, *La France du beau XVI^e siècle (1490–1560)* (Paris: Fayard, 1998), pp. 47–64. Lorraine, Alsace, Savoy and parts of the modern French region of the Nord-Pas-de-Calais

French was not the only language spoken within the Kingdom. Forms of Flemish, German, Italian, Catalan and Basque were spoken on France's borders. Occitan was commonly used in the southern half of the country, and significant numbers of the king's subjects in Brittany spoke Breton. Even where French was spoken, the variety of local dialects could render communication between two strangers difficult or impossible. Nevertheless, by our period, the French of the *pays d'oïl* had established itself as the language of government and the law and of the educated social and professional elites across most of the Kingdom, and would also have been known, through business with the rest of the country, by merchants and traders even in outlying areas.[74]

Such linguistic diversity was matched by diversity in the Kingdom's administrative and judicial systems. Law, the administration of justice and the collection of taxes all differed to a lesser or greater extent from one region to another. Whereas the king's edicts were law throughout the country, by custom they had to be registered in each of the regional *parlements* which were also the highest courts of appeal in their jurisdiction. In the south, civil law was governed mainly by a *droit écrit* based on Roman law; in the north, several regions had their own common law or *droit coutumier*. Taxes were raised in a similarly uneven manner with methods for the collection of both direct and indirect taxation differing from region to region. What and how an individual paid depended on where they lived as much as on their socio-

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remained under imperial sovereignty throughout our period. Calais itself was 'English' until 1558.

[74]Quilliet, pp. 133–4, 195–200.

economic status.[75] In addition, the clergy and nobility were exempt from certain taxes, and the clergy had their own legal system by which, theoretically, they could escape the jurisdiction of the civil courts.[76]

Significant cultural differences also existed between the powerful élites and the mass of the population. There was very little social mobility, and meaningful contact between the rich and poor was limited. Whereas an illiterate peasant and a powerful noble might both share certain aspects of the same cultural identity (religious belief, rituals associated with the seasons, historical 'memories', economic interdependence, loyalty to the king), the means available to each for the expression of that identity were vastly different. Few would have had access to the royal and ducal courts at which several of our texts circulated, and widespread illiteracy would have limited the audience even for inexpensively printed patriotic pamphlets. Similarly, the oral culture of peasant songs and stories is by its very nature easily lost, and there is little first-hand evidence in our *corpus* to indicate how the masses represented the English. What a peasant felt it meant to be French would have differed significantly from the feelings of an important noble or relative of the king. Indeed, it is difficult for us to see late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century France as a homogeneous society easily comparable with a modern 'nation'. In analysing each of the texts in our *corpus*, it is therefore important for us to consider what kind of 'French identity' they represent and whether that identity would have been shared by the mass of the population or only a small, élite group.[77]

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[75]Quilliet, pp. 121–37.

[76]Quilliet, pp. 253–61.

[77]Rather that considering French identity in this period as unique and unchanging, this thesis will examine different kinds and aspects of French identity. Compare the approach to studies of ethnic and national identity proposed by Richard Johnson: 'Towards a Cultural Theory of the

As we have seen, the idea of French 'national' identity in relation to our period is problematic. While a number of recent studies have readily identified early or nascent forms of French national sentiment in the medieval period, the existence of nations themselves before modernity has been hotly debated by social and political scientists.[78] So-called 'modernists' see the nation as an 'invention' of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They argue that nations were a product of nationalism as a political ideology which drew on ideas from the Enlightenment and Romanticism to rationalise the social displacement caused by the industrial revolution and the rise of capitalism and to legitimise new forms of economic and political organisation. They see the idea of the nation as being almost synonymous with the 'nation state'. Nations are thus presented as a phenomenon of the modern industrial era and their histories as a selective, political manipulation of the past.[79] Benedict Anderson has argued that because nations are "communities on a large scale", national self-consciousness only became possible after the development of mass communications. Prior to this, he argues, the communication of ideas about a nation to the whole of the nation was simply

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Nation: A British-Dutch Dialogue', in *Images of the Nation: Different Meanings of Dutchness 1870–1940*, ed. by A. Galema, B. Henkes and H. te Velde (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1993), pp. 159–217.

[78]For French national sentiment in the Middle Ages, see Colette Beaune, *Naissance de la nation France* (Paris: Gallimard, 1985). For recent works on the development of French national sentiment over the *longue durée*, see *Les lieux de mémoire*, ed. by Pierre Nora, 3 vols (Paris: Gallimard, 1986–92); Fernand Braudel, *L'Identité de la France*, 3 vols (Paris: Flammarion, 1986–92); Pierre Chaunu, *La France: histoire de la sensibilité des Français à la France* (Paris: Hachette, 1983); Maurice Agulhon, Georges Duby, François Furet and Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, *Histoire de France*, 5 vols (Paris: Hachette, 1987–91); *Histoire de France*, ed. by André Burguière and Jacques Revel, new edn, 5 vols (Paris: Seuil, 2000). For the relationship between literature and the nation in the period directly after 1530, see Timothy Hampton, *Literature and Nation in the Sixteenth Century: Inventing Renaissance France* (Ithaca, NY and London: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[79]See, for example: Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (London: Hutchinson, 1960); Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

impossible. Anderson maintains that nations are "imagined communities" created through cultural media such as books, newspapers and television to fill the gap left by the decline of universal religions and monarchical government.[80]

However, faced with clear evidence of community sentiment and self-consciousness similar to national sentiment but from before the 'modern' period, a number of specialists have challenged the 'modernist' position and have argued for the existence of "nations before nationalism".[81] Whereas opinion among such specialists remains divided about when exactly nations came into being, Anthony D. Smith's work on the genesis of nations is useful in relation to our thesis because he distinguishes between nations and the "ethnic communities" that are often at their origins.[82] Smith sees ethnic communities as being based around: "a collective proper name", "a myth of common ancestry", "shared historical memories", "one or more differentiating elements of common culture", "an association with a specific 'homeland'" and "a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population".[83] We should stress at this point that Smith sees ethnic identity as being centred on a *sense* of shared historical culture and on *myths* of common ancestry, and that he firmly distances himself from racial or ethno-biological theories which set out to demonstrate the importance of *actual* biological ties

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[80]Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd edn (London: Verso, 1991).

[81]See, for example: John A. Armstrong, *Nations Before Nationalism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982); Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986); Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Liah Greenfeld traces the origins of nationalism itself to Tudor England but her analysis presents it as a modernising process of development towards ideal-type modern nations, and she sees the French nation as a product of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1992).

[82]Smith calls these ethnic communities "ethnies".

[83]Anthony D. Smith, *National Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), p. 21; *Ethnic Origins*, pp. 21–46.

within ethnic groups. It is irrelevant whether or not, in reality, a group is biologically related since only *belief* in a shared history and shared origins is necessary for group cohesion at this level.[84] As Smith demonstrates, many ethnic communities strive politically to extend their influence within a given territory, to absorb new communities and finally to achieve nationhood. In Smith's 'ethno-symbolist' approach, the distinction between ethnic communities and nations lies largely in the fact that in addition to most of the characteristics of an ethnic group, nations also usually occupy their 'homeland' and have some level of sovereignty in it, have a unified economy, share a common 'public' culture and offer common rights and duties to their nationals.[85] Thus, Smith presents the development of nations such as France and England as a slow but progressive process, beginning in the Middle Ages and driven by expanding yet discrete ethnic communities.[86] Although, in Smith's terms, it may not yet be appropriate to describe France in the period 1450–1530 as a 'nation', we can certainly identify at this time a specific, French "ethnic community" with its own distinct identity.

Clearly, in the late-medieval period, the French did not have such a scientific understanding of nationhood and ethnicity. The question therefore arises as to what extent they were able to conceive of such ideas and be self-consciously aware of their own collective identity. Again, a distinction must be made between the views of the educated and social élites on the one hand and the mass of the population on the other. Nevertheless, between the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the sixteenth

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[84]*National Identity*, p. 21–2.

[85]*National Identity*, pp. 13–4; *Ethnic Origins*, pp. 153–73.

[86]*National Identity*, pp. 55–8; *Ethnic Origins*, pp. 153–73.

centuries, an awareness of distinct French identity seems to have arisen to varying degrees at different levels in French society.[87]

Early in this period, the meaning of *Francia* or *France* had developed to encompass an area coterminous with the king's realm (originally *Francia/France* designated only the 'land of the Franks' around Paris and to the north of the Loire), and by the beginning of the sixteenth century this understanding is more or less widely found, certainly in literary texts. In their efforts to define the king's authority and power, jurists and political writers also gave shape to the kingdom itself. The king, they declared, was "emperor in his own kingdom" and France was independent of the Empire.[88] Similarly, the laws and customs surrounding succession to the throne were redefined in such a way as to effectively exclude foreign (particularly English) claimants.[89] Later, political 'theorists' exploited ideas of a *res publica* or *chose publicque* to explain the relationship between the monarch and his subjects and to justify the social order.[90] Legal and scholarly élites therefore already had recourse to a broad theoretical terminology when they wanted to talk or write about France as a legal entity.[91]

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[87]For an overview of recent research in this area, see David Potter, *A History of France, 1460–1560: The Emergence of the Nation State* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1995), pp. 17–28.

[88]Beaune, pp. 56–7.

[89]Craig Taylor, 'The Salic Law and the Valois Succession to the French Crown', *French History*, 15 (2001), pp. 358–77.

[90]Martin Gosman, 'Representing the *Chose Publicque*: Royal Propaganda in Early Sixteenth-Century France', in *Vernacular Literature and Current Affairs in the Early Sixteenth Century: France, England and Scotland*' ed. by Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 99–119.

[91]On the idea of France as a 'state' in the Middle Ages, see Bernard Guenée, 'Etat et nation en France au Moyen Âge', *Revue historique*, 238 (1967), pp. 17–30.

Theoretical works and literature more generally were also instrumental in disseminating to a wider public a particular understanding of terms such as *patria* and its French equivalents *païs* and, later, *patrie*. Although these terms were sometimes used to describe an area or region of birth, in our period they also conveyed the idea of the whole of a realm.[92] Similarly, *race* had a narrow meaning of 'family' or 'lineage' but also a broader meaning of 'an entire people'. The Latin *natio* with its French *nacion* or *nation* can also be found in our period. Whereas *natio/nation* were sometimes used at this time with the very specific sense of the linguistic or regional group divisions of a university, there is ample literary evidence (not least from the works in our *corpus*) to show that, like the Latin *gens* and French *gent*, they were also used to convey the idea of a group attached to a particular territory and with common origins, language and institutions.[93] Thus, a variety of terms could be used to envisage France 'theoretically' as a social or cultural community and throughout our period writers begin to consciously explore such ideas.

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[92]G. Dupont-Ferrier, 'Les sens des mot *patria* et *patrie* en France au Moyen-Âge et jusqu'au début du XVII[e] siècle', *Revue Historique*, 188 (1940), pp. 89–104; Philippe Contamine, 'Mourir pour la patrie', in Nora, II: *La Nation* (3), pp. 11–43. William Kemp argues that *patrie* was not widely used in France before 1540: 'L'Introduction et la diffusion de *patrie* en français au seizième siècle', in *Interpreting the History of French: A Festschrift for Peter Rickard on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. by Rodney Sampson and Wendy Ayres-Bennett (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2002), pp. 213–42. Nevertheless, *païs* and, sometimes, *nation* do still adequately translate the Latin *patria* in earlier texts.

[93]Guenée, 'Etat et nation', pp. 17–25. Compare use of the Latin *natio* and *gens* in the Vulgate to translate the Greek *ethnos*. In our period, the term *peuple* is usually used to describe the inhabitants of a region other than the clergy and nobility. For definitions and dates of first use of all of the terms discussed in this section, see the relevant entries in: Randall Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (London: A. Flip, 1611; repr. microfilm, Paris: France-expansion, 1976); *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*, ed. by Frédérique Godefroy, 10 vols (Paris: Vieweg, 1881–1902); *Dictionnaire de la langue française du seizième siècle*, ed. by Edmond Huguet, 6 vols (Paris: Didier, 1925–67); *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by Walther von Wartburg and others (Bonn and Basle: Zbinden, 1937–); *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by Adolf Tobler, and Erhard Lommatzsch (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1952–); *Dictionnaire étymologique de l'ancien français*, ed. by Kurt Baldinger and others (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1974–); *Dictionnaire des Locutions en Moyen Français*, ed. by Giuseppe Di Stefano (Montreal: C.E.R.E.S., 1991); *Le Grand Robert*; *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* ed. by Alain Rey and others, new edn, 2 vols (Paris: Le Robert, 1995).

Evidence of 'French identity' 'in practice' is not difficult to find. Colette Beaune has already highlighted its presence in a wealth of historical, religious and symbolic sources from the late-medieval period. Beaune has found examples of French self-representation in cultural forms as diverse as myths of origin and divine election, saintly patronage, pilgrimages and festivals, and in ideas surrounding symbols such as the *fleurs de lys*, the *oriflamme* and the *couronne*. Beaune's research demonstrates that although French identity clearly existed in its own right, it was also frequently closely tied to the monarchy. Indeed, Beaune maintains that it was the very success of the Valois monarchy in interweaving its own identity with the history, myths, beliefs, rituals, traditions and symbols of the territories under its control that gave French identity its cohesive and dynamic character.[94] Our thesis will therefore draw on Beaune's work to show how this identity was reinforced and supplemented by contrast with its negative, mirror image in late-medieval literary representations of the English. As our study will show, the French frequently find in the English the very opposite of the positive qualities they claim for themselves. Moreover, it is not insignificant that the period of most marked development in French identity corresponds closely to the period of war with the English.

'National' identity is rarely formed in exclusively peaceful circumstances; instead, it is often most prominently expressed in war, struggles for independence and resistance to 'foreign' oppression.[95] Sometimes, powerful interest groups exploit the

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[94]Beaune, pp. 455–75.

[95]Compare Michael Billig's idea of "banal" and "hot" nationalisms: *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995). Billig argues that nowadays everyday objects such as flags, state symbols, or the nation-centred discourse of print and television news and sports reporting

rhetoric and symbolism of ethnic and national cohesion to promote a cause which may not originally have had much to do with 'the nation'. Thus by the end of the Hundred Years War, the Valois-Plantagenet dynastic conflict had very much also become a conflict between England and France.[96] As we have noted, the texts in our *corpus* were written against a background of continuing conflict and many of them are politically motivated in that they present the English as an enemy and at the same time promote the policies and interests of the French government. For this reason, numerous critics in various fields have described this writing as propaganda. However, since there is rarely any evidence of direct government involvement in its commissioning, promotion or transmission, it is difficult to see any of it strictly as propaganda.[97] Authors may have

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repeatedly create a "banal nationalism" that can be activated to produce the "hot" national fervour evident during national crises.

[96]Craig Calhoun, *Nationalism* (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1997), pp. 84–5.

[97]Certain theorists share Leonard W. Doob's preference for a very broad definition of propaganda in which the term covers almost all persuasive communication including advertising, safety and health promotion and even education. In this broad definition, a politically or socially persuasive message could be defined as propaganda even when disseminated to a very small audience of only one or two people, and, Doob argues, such messages can be disseminated unconsciously as well as consciously. Oliver Thompson, for example, maintains that this unconscious propaganda is frequently found in literary texts and that writers are often unaware of the extent to which their work serves the political aims of propagandists. Many of the texts in our *corpus* would certainly fit into this model. However, the problem with such a broad definition of propaganda is that it becomes difficult to distinguish meaningfully between it and plain communication and, consequently, to work with the idea constructively. Other theorists argue that a distinction must be made between propaganda and other modes of communication such as diplomacy, education or advertising and that propaganda implies intentional, manipulative communication to the largest possible audience. They stress the idea that propaganda is deliberate and systematic and that there is always a clear structure through which it is transmitted with the propagandist commissioning and organising the communication of material favourable to his or her interests. Our texts do not fit so comfortably into this model. Relatively broad views of propaganda are found in Leonard W. Doob, *Public Opinion and Propaganda*, 2nd edn (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1966); Jacques Ellul, *Propagandes* (Paris: Colin, 1962; repr. Paris: Economica, 1990); Oliver Thomson, *Mass Persuasion in History: An Historical Analysis of the Development of Propaganda Techniques* (Edinburgh: Paul Harris, 1977). For narrower definitions, see Harold D. Lasswell, 'The Structure and Function of Communication in Society', in *The Communication of Ideas*, ed. by Lyman Bryson (New York: Cooper Square, 1964), pp. 37–51; Robert Brentano, 'Western Civilization: The Middle Ages', in *Propaganda and Communication in World History*, ed. by Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner and Hans Speier, 3 vols (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1979–80), I (1979), pp. 552–95; Garth S. Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion*, 3rd edn (London: Sage, 1999); Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton,

drawn on images and arguments produced by the government or court, but this does not mean that they were paid or instructed to spread anti-English propaganda. Indeed, it is our argument that the image of the English found in these texts has more to do with the production and recycling of a cohesive French self-image than with the systematic dissemination of an 'official government line'.

Just as the image of the foreign other is not an objective or mimetic representation but a discursive construct, so too is the ethnic or national *self*-image. Rather than lying inherently within an ethnic or national group, collective self-identity exists in cultural discourse. The discourse of ethnic and national identity is thus a performative speech-act, bringing that identity into being. As such, it is frequently politically motivated. French identity during our period is an identity mediated through a number of often competing discourses. One important source of French self-identification was in literary texts offering a construction of French identity in opposition to mainly negative representations of the English. These texts use comparisons with the English outgroup to produce a positively distinct self-image in the French ingroup. In such texts, both authors and readers activate a long-established 'cultural memory' to affirm French identity as 'other than' English.

In order to provide a coherent *corpus* of works, our thesis will only cover texts written in French. Similarly, the scope of this present study excludes the direct analysis of chronicles and related historical narratives, though, where relevant, the representation of the English in them will be taken into account.

'Propaganda: A Misnomer of Rhetoric and Persuasion?', in *Propaganda: Political Rhetoric and Identity, 1300—2000*, ed. by Bertrand Taithe and Tim Thornton (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 2–24.

The first chapter in this thesis will compare the image found in French texts with that found in certain other important contemporary European sources. It will also provide a short review of the characteristics of the image of the English in French literature at the end of the Middle Ages as established by Rathery, Langlois, Ascoli and Rickard, updating that image where this has been made possible by new research.

The second chapter will examine the image of the English as found in a number of specific texts from the period 1450 to 1510. During most of this period, printing had not yet been widely established so many of the texts considered are in manuscript. As well as examining a number of works composed at times of military conflict, we will also study works produced during periods of political tension rather than war. The texts analysed include courtly as well as more popular literature.

The third chapter will cover the period 1511 to 1514 and will therefore consider the literature produced during Louis XII's war with Henry VIII. This period saw the production of a great quantity of short, printed anti-English pamphlets. At the same time, a number of important patriotic works in which the English feature were produced in manuscript, some for the royal court. Differences between the image of the English in printed works and that found in court-centred manuscripts will be considered. The chapter will also study the recurrence of images between different texts from this period and from earlier periods and will analyse an important collection of songs.

The fourth chapter will look at the period 1514–1522. Exceptionally, this is a period of peace and alliance between France and England. Louis XII married Henry

VIII's sister, and later Francis I's son married Henry's daughter. Both marriages inspired a significant amount of literature in manuscript and print. The strategies used by authors to positively represent the English at this time will be considered. The important celebrations surrounding the peace treaty signed at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520 also led to the production of an important body of printed literature in Latin and French. French translations of the Latin texts as well as a number of original texts in French will be analysed.

By 1522 England and France were again at war and the fifth chapter will cover texts written during the war of 1522 to 1525. All of the texts examined in this chapter were printed. The recurrence of images from earlier periods will be an important subject covered here. Not only did images recur, but this chapter will demonstrate that whole texts were reused to meet what seems to have been a flourishing market for cheaply produced, patriotic, anti-English pamphlets.

The conclusion will briefly examine the period 1525 to 1530, when few French texts offer representations of the English and when French attentions were turning firmly towards the threat from Spain and the Empire. An analysis of the development of the image of the English across the whole of the period will be offered and several theoretical conclusions drawn.

CHAPTER ONE

REPRESENTING THE FOREIGN OTHER

1. *The Manners, Laws and Customs of All People*

Since it is our argument that representations of the English in French texts are closely linked to the self-representation of French identity, we would expect French depictions of the English to differ significantly from those found in non-French texts. This chapter will therefore examine the way in which medieval texts more generally represent ethnic and 'national' character. It will consider a number of non-French texts in which the English feature so that differences between representations of the English in French and non-French texts can be identified. Finally, the chapter will provide an overview of the various aspects of the image of the English typically found in late-medieval French literature so that a comparison between French and non-French depictions can be easily made, and, also, to provide a reference to facilitate discussion of this image in subsequent chapters.

Medieval ideas about the character of the peoples inhabiting the various regions of the world were based largely on complex and sophisticated theories of medicine, geography, climate and astrology derived mainly from Classical authority.[1] In Antiquity, writers as diverse as Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, Strabo, Galen, and

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[1]For the ensuing discussion, see C. V. Langlois, *La Connaissance de la nature et du monde au moyen âge* (Paris: Hachette, 1911); Marion J. Tooley, 'Bodin and the Medieval Theory of Climate', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), pp. 64–83; Margaret T. Hodgen, *Early Anthropology in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1964), pp.17–77; Isabelle Vedrenne, 'Erudits médiévaux et la théorie des climats', *Energeia*, 1 (1995), pp. 62–80; Marie Sanderson, 'The Classification of Climates from Pythagoras to Koeppen', *Bulletin of the American Meteorological Society*, 80 (1999), pp. 669–72; Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 31 (2001), pp. 39–56.

Ptolemy all contributed to the development of an understanding of the relationship between human character, the physical environment and the cosmos. Medieval scholars later attempted to synthesise and consolidate this understanding in the light of Christianity, sometimes also directly and indirectly incorporating the learning of later non-Christian, authors such as Avicenna, Averoës and Maimonides into their work. Medieval scholarship thus maintained that character was largely determined by the balance of the four humours (blood, yellow bile, phlegm and black bile) within the body, and that this balance was itself determined by factors such as diet, environment and the direct influence of the heavens on the human organs. Character and place were thought to be closely linked since individuals living in the same geographical location share a similar diet, essentially the same physical environment and the same position under the stars.

In the Middle Ages, both scholarly and literary works use the idea of 'climate', inherited from Classical authority, to describe such geographical locations. Climate was determined mathematically as the latitude of a location in relation to the sun and the stars, though there was considerable debate about how many climates should be counted and where the dividing lines between them fell. Discussion of the relationship between climate and character can be found in works as early as Isidore of Seville's seventh-century *Etymologiae*. It is found more prominently in the thirteenth-century writing of scholars such as John of Hollywood, Vincent of Beauvais and Albert the Great. Here, the theory of climate and character is developed systematically to support descriptions of the various human groups inhabiting the known world. At the same time, another scholar, Bartholomew the Englishman, helped transmit this theory to a broader public in his encylopedic *De Proprietatibus rerum*. Interest in this subject was further stimulated

in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries with the 'rediscovery' of a number of important geographical works from Antiquity, such as Ptolemy's crucially important *Geographia*. By the end of the fifteenth century, much of this scholarship had been printed and had even been translated into several vernaculars. During our period, then, a systematic theory linking climate and character was already well established and relatively widely known.

In medieval discussion of climate, the most basic division of the world was into three zones: hot, temperate and cold. More complex systems counted five, seven or more climates. In our period, most authorities divided the known world into seven climates with the hottest in the south and the coldest in the north. Each of these climates was then associated with one of the seven visible or astrological planets (the sun, the moon, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus and Mercury). Since these 'planets' were themselves associated with a particular character type, the inhabitants of an area were thought to share the characteristics associated with the planet ruling their climate. However, this was significantly complicated by the important influence of the sun, a source of energy and vitality, and, thus, a key factor in determining both character and the physical development of the body. Consequently, the inhabitants of cold northern climates were said to be vigorous and strong, hot tempered, warlike and fearless, but also slow-witted and credulous; the inhabitants of hot southern climates were said to be lethargic, timorous, cruel, vengeful, devious and scheming, but also imaginative and creative; finally, those living in the more temperate climates in between were thought to be of a balanced disposition, free from the more extreme characteristics found in their neighbours to the north and to the south. Scholars frequently disagreed over the climate in which to locate a specific country or region, and they often 'moved' the favoured

temperate zone to suit the interests of their own personal loyalties and prejudices.[2] Nevertheless, in medieval sources England is invariably associated with the cold climates, and the English, with the character of the 'cold', northern peoples.

Medieval writers also relied heavily on Classical authority as a source of practical information about the world's inhabitants. In particular, the ethnological information found in Herodotus, Pliny, Mela and Solinus reappears in various guises in most of the important medieval works treating descriptions of both real and imaginary 'nations', tribes and ethnic groups. Writers copy each other as well as their Classical sources in often uncontextualised and seemingly timeless descriptions not only of the more familiar European peoples, but also of the more exotic and sometimes fantastic inhabitants of distant and inaccessible lands. Most of these ethnographic depictions are short and simplistic, providing little detail beyond sketches of basic character types: 'brave', 'strong', 'fearless', 'warlike', 'industrious' and so on.[3] This is true, for example, of the 175 alphabetically sorted entries in the fifteenth book of Bartholomew the Englishman's *De Proprietatibus rerum*.[4] It is in this book that the author describes continents, countries and regions, drawing not just on the standard Classical sources but also on various medieval historical narratives. Thus, in his entry on 'Anglia', Bartholomew refers us to the authority of Pliny, Isidore, Bede and the *Brut*, provides an etymology of the names Albion, Britannia and Anglia, traces the Trojan origins of the Britons and the Germanic origins of later Saxon invaders, and complements his earlier

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[2]The attribution of character types to the inhabitants of specific countries or even cities was further complicated by the fact that the proximity of water in seas or lakes, the elevation of land in mountain ranges, or disturbances caused by the winds were all believed to affect the way the external world acted upon the humours. See Tooley, pp. 71–5.

[3]Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, pp. 49–77.

[4]Bartholomew the Englishman, *De Rerum proprietatibus* (Frankfurt: Wolfgang Richter, 1601; repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1964), pp. 624–714.

discussion of the theory of climate by clearly establishing the geographical location of the country and telling us briefly about the animals, flora, rocks and minerals found there. However, Bartholomew tells us little about the English themselves, only indirectly alluding to their bravery and nobility through his account of their origins and conquests.[5]

From the thirteenth century, the accounts of a number of important medieval travellers became an increasingly important source of ethnological information to complement Classical authority. Such accounts were particularly valuable for their descriptions of distant or newly 'discovered' peoples. Examples include: thirteenth-century descriptions of Mongol civilisation and the peoples of the Far East provided by European envoys to the Mongol court and by travellers such as Marco Polo; accounts of the Spanish and Portuguese exploration of the African coast in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; early sixteenth-century writing about discoveries in the New World. However, such a focus on the new and unusual meant that few accounts dealt with Western European cultures, such as the English, and that there was a tendency among some writers to stress the strange and unexpected in the places and peoples they described.[6] Moreover, this travel writing did not supplant traditional Classical sources; indeed, if anything, the Renaissance revival of interest in Antiquity inspired a greater reliance on Classical authority and provided a wider range of Classical sources upon which both authors and readers could draw.[7]

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[5]Bartholomew the Englishman, pp. 631–2.

[6]Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, pp. 49–77.

[7]John Howland Rowe, 'The Renaissance Foundations of Anthropology', *American Anthropologist*, new series, 67 (1965), pp. 1–20.

Johannes Boemus's *Omnium gentium mores, leges et ritus, ex multis clarissimis rerum scriptoribus* demonstrates just such a continuing reliance on the authority of Classical sources. Boemus, a Franconian priest, had his text printed by the respected Humanist printers Sigismund Grimm and Marcus Wirsung in Augsburg in 1520.[8] It is a methodically organised description of the countries and peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa, drawing both on theories of the relationship between climate and character and on the ethnic descriptions found in a number of mainly Classical sources.[9] In his introduction, Boemus names his main authorities, starting with a list of some fourteen Classical authors. Although he does go on to acknowledge "more recent" writers such as Vincent of Beauvais, Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Marcus Antonius Sabellicus and Nicolaus Perottus, Boemus rarely mentions these names again, consistently referring his reader in later passages to one of a number of Classical texts.[10] Moreover, Boemus deliberately avoids discussion of the 'discoveries' in Africa and the New World, and he treats recent travel writing with suspicion, describing certain recent authors as "fraudulent vagrants" and "roving liars".[11] Thus, Boemus demonstrates a clear preference for Classical over medieval writing, and a distrust, though not a rejection of contemporary eye-witness accounts.

Boemus's text is of interest in this thesis because it was written at the beginning of the sixteenth century and thus provides us with a clear example of a non-French

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[8]Subsequent references to the text are to this edition.

[9]See Hodgen, *Early Anthropology*, pp. 131–43; Klaus A. Vogel, 'Cultural Variety in a Renaissance Perspective: Johannes Boemus on The Manners, Laws and Customs of All People', in *Shifting Cultures: Interaction and Discourse in the Expansion of Europe*, ed. by Henriette Bugge and Joan Pau Rubiés (Munster: Lit, 1995), pp. 17–34.

[10]Vogel, pp. 24–7.

[11]See Vogel (p. 21), who cites and translates in full the passage in which these expressions are found.

depiction of the English from precisely our period. Boemus begins his chapter on the English much in the manner of earlier medieval encyclopedists: he locates England geographically, traces the etymology of the country's names and describes the origins of its population. He then goes on to provide a more detailed description of the English themselves, telling us that they are strong and well-proportioned and that:

> In bello sunt intrepidi, optimique sagittarii, faeminae candore et forma insigni. Vulgus ignobile, ferum et inhospitate, mitior nobilitas, ac magis obvia ad omne humanitatis officium, aperto capite alteroque genu flexi hospites salutant: osculantur etiam si mulier sit, atque in cauponam ducunt potantque una: quod facere minime probro est, modo omnis lascivia absit. In bello non agri violantur, non urbes, ad internicionem alterius partis dimicatur. Omnia victorem sequuntur.[12]

In this passage, at least, Boemus must have drawn on contemporary or near contemporary first-hand accounts. His descriptions of English hospitality and of the beauty of English women are certainly supported by other contemporary writers.[13]

After describing the English, Boemus tells us about England:

> Pecoris et lanificii abundans. Lupos non gignit, nec illatos nutrit. Idcirco vagum pecus, et sine custode securum. Est Anglia etiam metallis dives: Aurum habet, argentum, plumbum, et cuprum. Insunt et Margaritae, et Gagates lapis, qui ardet in aqua, et oleo restringitur. Vinum non gignit tellus, sed pro eo cervisia in usu est. Sunt et exotica vina. Vici et villae in Anglia plurimi sunt, et urbes numero multae. Lundonia gentis caput, regiaque sedes quae nunc corrupta voce Londres, copia negotiatorum celebris.[14]

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[12]fol. lxxvii[r].

[13]In a letter to Fausto Andrelini dated 1499, Erasmus comments on the English custom of exchanging kisses as a greeting, and he describes English women as "nymphae diuinis vultibus": *Opus epistolarum*, ed. by P. S. Allen and others, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1906–58), I (1906), pp. 238–9; see also the account of the Venetian Ambassador's secretary, below, pp. 52–4.

[14]fols lxxvii[r]–lxxvii[v].

Finally, there is a long section in which the author draws directly from his Classical sources (mainly Caesar's *De Bello Gallico*) in order to describe some of the more unusual aspects of pre-Roman British culture, such as the reported practice among certain Britons of wearing woad in battle, or of groups of ten or more men sharing wives.[15] Nevertheless, Boemus presents a relatively balanced view of the English. He is, for example, ready to acknowledge English claims to be the first people in the West to have been converted to Christianity.[16] The author avoids politicising his text by removing his depiction of England and the English from any obvious immediate historical context. The main part of his description is timeless, and Boemus is careful to stress his use of sources from well beyond the political world of late-medieval Europe.

The author of another, near contemporary non-French description of England adopts a different approach. Around 1500, the secretary of the Venetian Ambassador to Henry VII produced a relatively detailed account of what he had seen while in England.[17] Like Boemus, the author of this account exploits the theory of climate and character as well as a number of Classical sources, but he supplements this with detailed, first-hand information about England, its inhabitants and institutions. Although this work was probably never intended for publication, it is, nevertheless, invaluable today because it gives us insight into how other Europeans perceived and represented the English at the time.

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[15]Julius Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, ed. and trans. by H. J. Edwards (Harvard MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), pp. 249–53 (Book III, Chapter 14).

[16]"Provinciarum omnium prima, Christianam pietatem complexa est", fol. lxxvii^{r}. Compare the attitude of French writers who claim precedence for the French Church as part of a strategy of presenting their king as a "roi très chrétien" at the head of a "peuple élu". See Beaune, pp. 283–313.

[17]*A Relation or Rather a True Account of the Island of England: With Sundry Particulars of the Customs of these People, and of the Royal Revenues under King Henry VII, about the Year 1500*, ed. and trans. by Charlotte Augusta Sneyd, Camden Society, old series, 37 (London: Camden Society, 1847). All subsequent references are to this edition and are given in the text.

Much of the work follows the standard pattern found in medieval descriptions of the countries of world: England is situated geographically; details of the climate are given; the animals, plants, minerals and metals found there are listed. At times, however, the author challenges the standard view with his own opinion. Thus, for example, he tells us that:

> The English are, for the most part [...] handsome and well-proportioned; *though not quite so much so, in my opinion, as it had been asserted to me, before your Magnificence went to that kingdom*. (My italics) (p. 20)

This account also goes beyond the standard descriptions found in medieval encyclopedias by providing much greater detail. On the whole, it is well balanced, presenting both the positive and negative features of life in England and, sometimes, drawing conclusions that the modern reader might find surprising: for example, the author praises the weather in England saying that it is healthier and more temperate than in Italy (p. 8). We are told that the English have sharp minds, that they are excellent at commerce and that they are devout Christians (pp. 22–3). The English, we read, dislike foreigners (p. 23), thinking anything English better than everything foreign (p. 21). The author commends English hospitality and the quality of English food, but he notes that the English are "very sparing of wine when they drink it at their own expense" (p. 21–2), and he points out that the English prefer beer and ales which, he claims, are an acquired taste but still "most agreeable to the palate" (p. 10). The author seems intrigued by relations between English men and women, telling us that men and women drink together in the tavern quite respectably (p. 21), and, amusingly, he notes that:

> Although their dispositions are somewhat licentious, I have never noticed any one, either at court or amongst the lower orders, to be in love; whence one must necessarily conclude either that the English are the most discreet lovers in the world, or that they

> are incapable of love. I say this of men, for I understand it is quite the contrary with the women, who are very violent in their passions. Howbeit, the English keep a very jealous guard over their wives, though anything here may be compensated, in the end, by the power of money. (p. 24)

After discussing English customs, the author goes on to briefly describe Scotland, Wales, York and London, ending his text with a short study of the English Church, monarchy and legal system. His account thus presents us with an interesting and quite detailed sketch of the country around 1500. It was clearly intended to provide amusing but useful information to a restricted, probably diplomatic or political readership. Although the author brings his own cultural prejudices to the text, this work differs from the French texts in our *corpus* in that it was not written within a long tradition of hostility towards the English, and at no point do we have the impression that the author is trying to 'score' against a long-standing and hated enemy.

As we have seen above, depictions of the English which form part of wider depictions of the various peoples of the world, or depictions of the English produced by authors from countries without any history of significant anti-English political hostility, tend to be relatively balanced and influenced more by a concern to reflect the received wisdom of Classical and medieval 'authority' than by any considered intention to depict the English negatively. Unlike the depictions in our *corpus*, most other, non-French contemporary depictions of the English do not seek to establish group self-identity through rejection of a specifically English 'foreign other'. Indeed, in the context of the study of the formation of collective identities, Anna Triandafyllidou has argued that national ingroups tend to select a specific, individual national or ethnic outgroup to act as a 'significant other'; that is, an outgroup posing a unique political or cultural threat to the ingroup at a given point in history and whose identity the ingroup consequently

selects for rejection as alien and other.[18] To the authors of our French texts, the English function as that 'significant other', but for most non-French authors, this functional relationship did not exist.

This is not to say, however, that in the period covered by our thesis only French texts demonstrate hostility towards the English. Intense political rivalry throughout the Middle Ages between Scotland and England meant that in certain late-medieval Scottish texts the English function as a 'significant other' much in the same way as they do in some of our French texts. For example, a number of important fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Scottish historical narratives such as John Barbour's *Brus* (c. 1375), John Fordun's *Chronicle* (c. 1380), Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* (c. 1440) and 'Blind Hary's' *Wallace* (c. 1470) exploit negative depictions of the English as one means of developing a distinct Scottish identity.[19] Much as in our French texts, these Scottish works reject and condemn the English invader and occupier in order to reinforce a Scottish sense of cultural and political distinctiveness.

This idea of a 'significant other' also helps us understand the problematic issue of depictions of the English in Burgundian literature. Since much of this literature was written in French, it is of particular interest to us in this thesis. Although there are examples of anti-English sentiment in certain Burgundian texts from our period, there does not appear to be a specifically Burgundian literary tradition of depicting the English negatively. This must partly be explained by the fact that at the end of the Middle Ages even though England and Burgundy were at times fierce enemies, at other

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[18]Anna Triandafyllidou, 'National Identity and the Other', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 21 (1998), pp. 593–612 (pp. 599–600)

[19]See Alexander Grant, *Independence and Nationhood: Scotland 1306–1469* (London: Arnold, 1984), pp. 56–7.

times they were close allies. The English were not, generally, the significant other against whom Burgundian culture developed its own distinct identity. Indeed, throughout our period, Burgundian identity seems less stable or fixed than its French counterpart, certainly in terms of opposition to cultural and political competition. As we shall see later from the study of two anti-English works in French by writers associated with the Burgundian court, Burgundian literary hostility towards the English may tell us more about the political and cultural relationship between France and Burgundy than it does about relations between Burgundy and England.[20]

2. *Perfidious Albion*

Subsequent chapters will focus on *how* the English are represented in French literature between 1450 and 1530, but first we will analyse the various aspects of the French literary image of the English in the late-medieval period more generally. This will allow an initial comparison to be made between French and non-French literary images of the English; it will also allow us to see representations from our period in the context of the literary traditions to which they belong. Analysis of the individual elements in the broader image of the English should also be useful as a reference for discussion in subsequent chapters of their occurrence in specific texts. Since the late-medieval image of the English has already been comprehensively described in the work of Rathery, Langlois, Ascoli and Rickard, the following will principally provide a brief review of that image, highlighting, where necessary, relevant research not included in earlier studies.

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[20]See below, pp. 87–97.

One of the labels most frequently attached to the English in late-medieval French texts is that of "ancien ennemi". For French writers, the English were above all their kingdom's historical or 'natural' enemy. From shortly after the start of the Hundred Years War, authors of political and theoretical as well as more literary works consistently describe the English as 'the enemy'.[21] Closely allied to this idea of enmity are complaints about English untrustworthiness and treachery. Augustin de Ximénès may have coined the phrase "la perfide Albion" at the end of the eighteenth century, but French perceptions of the English as treacherous clearly date from much earlier.[22] It would seem that the political machinations and repeatedly broken truces and treaties of the Hundred Years War convinced the French that the English were not to be trusted. Such an attitude features in a number of late-medieval French proverbs presenting "Loyaulté d'Anglois" as a rarity upon which the French should not rely.[23] Similarly, the frequency with which writers throughout the period used the epithet "faux Anglois" suggests that it had become a 'fixed' or 'ready-made' derogatory expression, automatically linking the English with dishonesty and untrustworthiness. The terms "felons" (disobedient and disloyal subjects) and "traistres", also frequently found with "Anglois", further reinforce this association so that by the beginning of the sixteenth

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[21]See, for example: Ascoli, pp. 1–22; Rickard, pp. 190–205.

[22]Augustin de Ximénès, *L'Ère des Français* (1793), in *Poésies révolutionnaires et contre-révolutionnaires*, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Historique, 1821), I, p. 160. The label "la perfide Angleterre" had already been used by Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet in his 1654 'First Sermon on the Feast of the Circumcision': *Œuvres complètes*, ed. by F. Lachat, 31 vols (Paris: Louis Vivès, 1862–66), VIII (1862), p. 318.

[23]See Ascoli, p. 44; Rickard, p. 183; A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français: Précédé de recherches historiques sur les proverbes français et leur emploi dans la littérature du moyen âge et de la renaissance*, 2 vols (Paris: Adolphe Delahays, 1859; repr. Champion, 1968), I, pp. 281, 382. On the importance of proverbial wisdom in medieval culture see Grace Frank, 'Proverbs in Medieval Literature', *Modern Language Notes*, 58 (1943) pp. 408–15; Jaqueline Cerquiglini and Bernard Cerquiglini, 'L'Ecriture proverbiale', *Revue des sciences humaines*, 163 (1976), pp. 359–75; Elisabeth Schulze-Busaker, *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Âge français: Recueil et analyse* (Paris: Champion, 1985).

century the idea of English treachery was such a commonplace in literature that it required little, if any, authorial elucidation.[24]

As well as such general complaints about English treachery, certain late-medieval French writers also accuse the English of a more specific kind of disloyalty: they claim that the English frequently depose or even kill their own kings.[25] In a number of texts we find either indirect allusions to the English 'habit' of deposing and killing their kings, or more direct historical references to specific examples of this practice. This was probably inspired by the fact that the English really did depose and kill some of their kings.[26] The fate of Richard II, in particular, seems to have exercised French writers and may have given impetus to the development of the stereotype of the

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[24]See the numerous examples from our *corpus*, discussed below. References to English treachery are also found in several unexpected places. For example, in his *Art de Rhétorique* (1521), Pierre Fabri uses the example of English treachery to illustrate the functioning of a syllogism:

> Argumentation faicte par sillogisme se fait en ceste maniere. *Proposition* : A ceulx qui par plusieurs foys nous ont trahys et deceuz, nous ne deuons point adiouter de foy. *Probation* : Mais se par leur mauuaistié, nous auons souffert aucun dommaige de droict, nous n'en debuons accuser que nous mesmes, car estre vne foys deceu, c'est cas, deux foys, c'est folie, tierce foys, honte et vitupere. *Assumption* : Les Angloys par plusieurs foys nous ont trompez. *Supprobation* : Considerez que nous a faict le roy Henry, etc., le roy Edouart en l'an, etc. *Complexion* : Par quoy, se nous auons esté souuent trompez des Angloys iamays en leurs ditz ne debuons adiouster foy. Ou par contraire : Et tout ainsi que c'est grant saigesse de ne se fier point à eulx, tout ainsi esse grant folie. Ou par illation de conclusion : *Ergo*, l'en ne s'i doibt fier pour rien.

Elsewhere, Fabri relies mainly on more expected references to Classical history and literature. See *Le Grand et vrai art de pleine rhétorique*, ed. by Alexandre Héron, 3 vols (Rouen: Cagniard, 1889–90; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1969), I (1889), p. 104.

[25]See P. S. Lewis, 'Two Pieces of Fifteenth-Century Political Iconography', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 27 (1964), pp. 317–20.

[26]For example, shortly before our period Edward II (d. 1327) and Richard II (d. 1400) had been deposed and murdered. During our period, rivalry between 'Yorkist' and 'Lancastrian' factions repeatedly broke out in war and led to the deposition of Henry VI in 1461 and again in 1471 (when he was also murdered), and to the death on the battlefield of Richard III (1485). Richard had himself seized the throne from his nephew Edward (1483) and possibly had the young prince and his brother murdered.

English as regicides.[27] Late-medieval French writers seem eager to contrast the loyalty and obedience of their fellow subjects towards the Valois monarchy with the treachery and rebellious disobedience of the English. The English provide an example of how not to behave towards one's king; the French, on the other hand, are a model of Christian obedience in a harmonious and ordered society.[28] Depictions of the English as regicides do reflect historical reality, but, as we shall see below, they act principally as a function of the 'enemy image' paradigm, enhancing the French self-image while denigrating the enemy.[29]

French writers of the period also frequently depict the English as greedy, drunken, foul-mouthed yobs rampaging their way across France.[30] The English reputation for excess and lack of self-control certainly features in a number of late medieval French proverbs. The proverb, "soûl comme un Anglais" is found in both Rabelais and Erasmus. Although Lazare Sainéan interpreted this as a reference to English drunkenness, discussion of the proverb in Erasmus clearly indicates that here 'soûl' should be understood as 'stuffed' or 'bloated' with food as well as drink.[31] In

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[27]See Craig Taylor, '*Weep thou for me in France*: French Views of the Deposition of Richard II', in *Fourteenth Century England*, III, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 207–22.

[28]Beaune, pp. 306, 421.

[29]For 'Image Theory', see above, pp. 30–1.

[30]Ascoli, pp. 33–7; Rickard, pp. 167–70.

[31]Erasmus writes: "Et haud scio unde natum sit hoc vulgatissimum apud Gallus proverbium, ut cum hominem vehementer cibo distentum velint intelligi, dicant *tam satur est, quam Anglus*": 'Syracusana mensa', in *Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami Opera omnia*, ed. by Jean Le Clerc, 10 vols (Leiden: Vander, 1703–6), II: *Adagia* (1703), p. 471. Rabelais uses the proverb in *Gargantua*, ed. by Ruth Calder and M. A. Screech (Geneva: Droz, 1970), p. 102 (Chapter 14 (15)). For another example clearly supporting the view that this proverb refers mainly to food, see the *Farce de la Tripière*, in *Recueil des farces françaises inédites du XV^e siècle*, ed. by Gustave Cohen (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1949), pp. 421–32 (ll. 739–40). For Sainéan's interpretation, see *La Langue de Rabelais*, 2 vols (Paris: Boccard, 1922–3; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1976), I: *Civilisation de la Renaissance* (1922), p. 429. Compare discussion of this proverb under 'Anglais' in the *Dictionnaire de proverbes et expressions*, ed.

another proverb, eating is provided as the principal activity to be associated with the English while the Spanish are to be noted for their boasting and the Germans for their drinking.[32]

Such gluttony is also evoked in a number of other ways. In several texts we find the term 'glouton' used to describe the English. Although in Middle French 'glouton' could simply mean 'mischievous' or 'scoundrel', it also meant 'gluttonous' or 'glutton'.[33] Labelling the English as 'gloutons', particularly in later texts, frequently seems to combine both meanings. Gluttony is also evoked implicitly in mocking condemnation of English food and drink as strange and somehow substandard (the English, we are told, eat salt meat and drink beer instead of wine). Such food must be devoured since it cannot be savoured![34] Finally, the English are accused of gluttony in reasoned complaints that invading soldiers have devastated the land, eating everything up and leaving nothing for the French. Individual gluttony and collective political greed thus go hand in hand.

One effective way for authors to subtly yet concisely evoke English moral corruption was through use of natural metaphors, similes and symbolism. Works such as the *Physiologus* (2nd c.), Isidore's *Etymologiae* (7th c.) and numerous medieval bestiaries and lapidaries associated animals, plants, stones and even colours directly

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by Alain Rey and others (Paris, Le Robert, 1990), and the definition under the same heading in *Toutes les herbes de la Saint-Jean: les locutions en moyen français*, ed. by Giuseppe Di Stefano, and Rose M. Bidler (Montreal: C.E.R.E.S., 1992).

[32]Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes*, I, p. 290.

[33]See, for example: 'Glouton' in Rey, *Dictionnaire historique*, or 'Gloton' in Tobler and Lommatzsch.

[34]The stereotyped denigration of another culture's cooking or eating habits is clearly a structural constant in representations of the other. It produces a representation of the other as fundamentally *different* and *alien*.

with Christian virtues and vices.[35] Thus, in politicised works, labelling the English as pigs, wolves or toads invites a reading in which pigs symbolise sloth and gluttony, wolves symbolise gluttony and greed, and toads symbolise greed and the diabolical more generally.[36] Heraldry gave our authors still further scope to exploit such natural symbolism. For many, the three leopards on a red field in the English royal arms were a visible symbol of English treachery.[37] Michel Pastoureau has demonstrated the importance of the symbolism of bestiaries to the interpretation of medieval heraldry.[38] He argues that in heraldry the leopard was considered to be the "figure péjorative par excellence": as a negative counterpart to the lion, which was King of the beasts and a symbol of Christ, the leopard symbolises deception, dishonesty and Satan himself.[39] Even the colour red was associated with sin, hell, the pagan world and death.[40] Not only was red found in the English royal arms but, with white, it was also one of the colours in the Tudor rose, which, from 1485, was the emblem of English royalty and, by extension, a symbol of England and the English. Writers depict the Tudor rose as a thorny white rose, tainted with red, and they contrast it with the pure white, delicate and fragrant *fleur de lys*. Natural and heraldic symbolism allowed authors to evoke negative

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[35]The *Physiologus* uses nature, particularly real and imaginary creatures, to illustrate or explain aspects of Christian teaching. Medieval bestiaries and lapidaries often included information derived from the *Physiologus* combined with ideas found in the *Etymologiae* and in the lives of saints. See Emile Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Age en France* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1953); Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, 3 vols (Paris: P.U.F., 1955–59), I (1955) pp. 76–132. Florence McCulloch, *Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960); Ron Baxter, *Bestiaries and Their Uses in the Middle Ages* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998).

[36]Réau, pp. 109, 130.

[37]In medieval heraldry, 'leopard' was the conventional name for what is now known more commonly as a *lion passant guardant*.

[38]Michel Pastoureau: 'Le Bestiaire héraldique au moyen âge', in *L'Hermine et le sinople: études d'héraldique médiévale* (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1982), pp. 105–16 (p. 109)

[39]Pastoureau, 'Quel est le roi des animaux?', in *Figures et couleurs: études sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales* (Paris: Le Léopard d'or, 1986), pp. 159–73 (pp. 162–3).

[40]Pastoureau, 'Figures et couleurs péjoratives en héraldique médiévale', in *Figures et couleurs*, pp. 193–207 (pp. 198–9).

stereotypes of the outgroup, presenting negative characteristics as fixed, permanent and somehow inherent.

Complaints about English blasphemy are used as another means of highlighting English moral laxity, though in certain works authors exploit English swearing and blasphemy for humour rather than to provide a moral lesson. In these works, authors directly reproduce an approximation of English oaths such as 'by God', 'by Saint George' and 'by my Faith'. Comedy lies in an imitation of the perceived 'strange' sounds of the English language. Exaggeration and distortion, particularly in works read aloud or performed, would presumably have heightened comic effect. Other works, however, take a more serious approach, sternly reminding the reader that blasphemy is an offence against God. This was not a trivial issue; following the example of Louis IX's 'Grande ordonnance', a series of decrees against blasphemy were issued by French kings throughout the late Middle Ages.[41] Contrasting English blasphemy against French efforts to suppress and reject it gave the French a position of moral superiority. By associating the English with loutish behaviour, it also clearly undercut English efforts to represent their cause as noble and chivalrous.

The direct representation of English speech was not reserved for oath-taking and blasphemy. Exclamations and imprecations were just one part of a broader mocking imitation of the English language found in French literature from as early as the thirteenth century. By the beginning of our period, a distinct Anglo-French jargon with its own grammar and lexis can be found in a number of mainly dramatic or semi-dramatic works. As well as oaths, writers insert something approximating simple

[41]See Beaune, pp. 178–9; Corrine Leveleux, *La Parole interdite: le blasphème dans la France médiévale (XIII^e–XVI^e siècles), du péché au crime* (Paris: Boccard, 2001).

English nouns and proper names into their text to create the impression of English speech. French words are systematically mispronounced ([y] pronounced as [u], [ɲ] and [ŋ] as [n], a final [e] as [i]) or deformed (initial or final syllables are omitted; an incongruous final [ə] is added). Vocabulary is humorously confused (for example, [fut] or [futu] used in stead of [fyt]) and grammatical structures are simplified, giving the impression of a literary 'interlanguage' (for example, verbal inflection is limited or non-existent; disjunctive pronouns are used as subject pronouns).[42] Whereas Anglo-French jargon clearly has a comic function, particularly in the dramatic works in which it is found, it also operates as a marker of English otherness.[43] The English are foreign and other because they do not share the same language as the French. Moreover their language is unintelligible and ridiculous; rather than producing serious discourse, it is made up of meaningless sounds. It is, in effect, the 'bar bar' in barbarian. Anglo-French jargon succinctly marks the English as uncivilised and inferior. It reinforces French self-identification by providing the reader with a ridiculous and nonsensical image of the other.

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[42]Anglo-French jargon is more comprehensively described in: John E. Matzke, 'Some Examples of French as Spoken by Englishmen in Old French Literature', *Modern Philology*, 3 (1905/6), pp. 47–61; Hermann Albert, *Mittelalterlicher Englisch-Französischer Jargon*, Studien zur Englischen Philologie 63 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1922); Ascoli, pp. 1–3; Rickard, pp. 171–8; Elizabeth Lalou, 'Les Textes en jargon franco-anglais du XIII^{e} au XIV^{e} [XVI^{e}] siècle', in *'La France Anglaise' au Moyen Âge: Actes du 111^{e} congrès national des sociétés savantes (Poitiers, 1986)* (Paris: C.T.H.S., 1988), pp. 544–61; Darwin Smith, *Edition critique du jeu saint Loÿs: manuscrit B.N. fr. 24331* (Unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Paris III, 1987), pp. 73–5, 198–210; 'Le *Jeu Saint Loys*, Paris et Saint Denis', *Rapports Het Franse Boek*, 47 (1997), pp. 67–74; 'Le jargon franco-anglais de Maître Pathelin', *Journal des savants* (1989), pp. 259–76; D. Hüe, 'Carrefour des langues: l'anglais en France et l'écossais en Italie', in *Pour acquerir honneur et pris: mélanges de Moyen Français offerts à Giuseppe Di Stefano*, ed. by Maria Colombo Timelli and Claudio Galderisi (Montreal: C.E.R.E.S., 2004), pp. 391–401. I am most grateful to Darwin Smith for additional information on Anglo-French jargon on which I have drawn extensively in the following discussion.

[43]Smith, *Jeu saint Loÿs*, pp.74–5.

A strange but persistent idea found throughout the later Middle Ages is that the English have tails. The epithet 'Anglois coué' is found in numerous French texts from this period featuring the English. This unusual and, at first, inexplicable idea has already been extensively studied and its literary origins identified.[44] A narrative in Wace's *Brut* (c. 1155) explains that the inhabitants of Dorchester and their descendants were cursed with tails after they rejected St Augustine's mission to convert them to Christianity, humiliating the saint by attaching fish tails to his clothing:

> Lez Dorecestre ot une gent,
>
> Devers suth est prueceinement,
>
> Saint Augustin lur sermuna
>
> E la lei Deu lur anuncia.
>
> Cil furent de male nature,
>
> De sun sermun ne orent cure ;
>
> La u li Sainz lur sermunot
>
> E de lur pru a els parlot,
>
> A ses dras detriés li pendeient
>
> Cues de raies qu'il aveient ;
>
> Od les cues l'en enveierent
>
> E assez lunges le chacierent.
>
> E il pria nostre Seignur
>
> Que de cele grant desenur
>
> E de cele orrible avilance
>
> Ait en els signe e remembrance ;

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[44]Rathery, p. 18; Langlois, pp. 309–11; Ascoli, p. 34; Rickard, p. 166, and in a separate article: '*Anglois coué* and *l'Anglois qui couve*', *French Studies*, 7 (1953), pp. 48–55. See also George Neilson, *Caudatus Anglicus: A Medieval Slander* (Edinburgh: Johnson, 1896); B. D. H. Miller, '*Anglois coue*: Further Evidence', *French Studies*, 18 (1964), pp. 24–8; Derek Brewer, 'Englishmen with Tails: Layamon, *Muggles* and a Transhistorical Ethnic Joke in English', in *Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of Tadahiro Ikegami*, ed. by Masahiko Kanno and others (Tokyo: Yushodo, 1997), pp. 3–15.

E il si orent veirement

E avrunt perpetuelment,

Kar trestuit cil ki l'escharnirent

E ki les cues li pendirent

Furent cués e cues orent

E unkes puis perdre nes porent ;

Tuit cil unt puis esté cué

Ki vindrent de cel parenté,

Cué furent e cué sunt,

Cues orent e cues unt,

Cues unt detriés en la char

En remembrance de l'eschar

Que il firent al Deu ami

Ki des cues l'orent laidi.[45]

Critics have argued that through corruption of this narrative the idea developed that some or all of the English had tails. The 'tailed English' are certainly found in a variety of literary texts throughout the period. It is impossible to know if writers after Wace were consciously aware of his narrative when using this idea.[46] It is much more likely

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[45]Wace, *Le Roman de Brut*, ed. by I. D. O. Arnold, 2 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1938–40), II (1940), pp. 718–9 (ll. 13715–44). A similar narrative is also found in the account of the life of St Augustine of Canterbury in Caxton's English version of Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda Aurea* (1483): *The Golden Legend or Lives of the Saints as Englished by William Caxton*, ed. by F. S. Ellis, 7 vols (London: Dent, 1900), III, p. 201. However, neither the narrative, nor an account of this saint's life can be found in Voragine's Latin original (c. 1267), nor in any of the surviving recensions of Jean de Vignay's French version (c. 1333–40). See Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, ed. by Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, 2 vols (Florence: S.I.S.M.E.L., 1998); *La Légende Dorée: édition critique, dans la révision de 1476 par Jean Batallier, d'après la traduction de Jean de Vignay (1333-1348) de la 'Legenda Aurea' (c. 1261-1266)*, ed. by Brenda Dunn-Lardeau (Paris: Champion, 1997).

[46]It was certainly known by Nicole Gilles (d. 1503) who relates it, without naming his source, in his *Chronique*. Gilles's *Chronique*, however, does not seem to have been printed before 1525. In the seventeenth century, the narrative, then attributed to Gilles himself, and the idea of 'tailed Englishmen' are again found in the definition of 'coué' in Nicot's dictionary and its successors. See Nicole Gilles, *Les tres elegantes tres veridiques et copieuses annalles des tres preux tres*

that the original source of the idea was gradually forgotten and that writers simply kept it alive in their works borrowing intertextually from each other. The frequency of the occurrence of this idea in texts from our period would suggest that by the second half of the fifteenth century the insult of calling the English 'tailed' had spread beyond literature into French culture more broadly and that it was no longer purely a literary idea. Labelling the English 'coué' was powerful because it was strange and unbelievable and therefore both fascinating and amusing. Mocking depictions of Englishmen with tails were 'fun' and, thus, a key feature in what patriotic readers expected to find in anti-English texts.

Recent research has focused less on the origins of this insult and more on the way it represents a structural constant in certain cultural representations of the other. From satyrs to monsters and devils, tailed part-human part-animal hybrids can be found in numerous chronologically and geographically diverse texts where they function as an embodiment of cultural difference, moral transgression or evil. Satyrs, in Classical literature, with their long tails and goat's legs, and certain similarly depicted monsters, *grotesques* and devils in medieval literature and art are frequently found in imaginative representations of immoral and, particularly, debauched behaviour. Moreover, they can also be found in more serious instructive or 'scientific' works; indeed, certain Classical and medieval authorities maintained that tailed human-like creatures resulted either as a natural *deformity* (a *deviation* from the *norm*), or, more ominously, from transgressive sexual acts such as human intercourse with animals or with diabolical spirits such as

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nobles tres chrestiens et tres excellens moderateurs des belliqueuses Gaules (Paris: Galliot du Pré, [1525]), fol. xvii^{v}; 'Coué' in Jean Nicot, *Thresor de la langue francoyse tant ancienne que moderne* (Paris: Douceur, 1606; repr. microfilm Paris: France-expansion, 1973).

incubi and *succubae*.[47] Classical and medieval travel writers also claimed to have found tailed humans among the most distant and isolated peoples they encountered. Here, tails act as a marker of cultural otherness and ethnic inferiority. The other is represented as primitive, uncivilised and animal-like. The myth of *homo caudatus* did not die in the Middle Ages, but is found again in the writings of certain nineteenth-century missionaries and explorers who ridicule and dehumanise non-European cultures in their reports of discoveries of tailed men in remote and isolated parts of the world. Literary use of the myth of tailed humans is, therefore, not just an amusing rhetorical device, but, also, a powerful and persistent expression of the cultural and ethnic superiority of the ingroup.[48]

Closely linked to the image of the 'Anglois coué' is that of the 'Anglois couvé' or 'Anglois qui couve'. The idea that the English hatch or are hatched from eggs, which functions as a kind of gibe, is found in at least four texts from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries as well as in two from our period. Three of the earlier texts were identified by Arthur Långfors in 1949, and the fourth, by Peter Rickard shortly afterwards.[49] The two from our period were unknown to Långfors and Rickard, but

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[47]See D. B. Wilson, *Signs and Portents: Monstrous Births from the Middle Ages to the Enlightenment* (London: Routledge, 1993), pp. 3–29; Lorraine Daston and Katharine Park, *Wonders and the Order of Nature, 1150-1750* (New York: Zone, 1998), pp. 173–214; Dominique Pénel, *Homo Caudatus: les hommes à queue d'Afrique Centrale: un avatar de l'imaginaire occidental* (Paris: S.E.L.A.F., 1982), pp. 41–83.

[48]Pénel, pp. 29–40; Brewer, pp. 7–8 ; W. J. J. Schipper, '*Homo Caudatus*: Imagination and Power in the Field of Literature', in *White and Black: Imagination and Cultural Confrontation*, ed. by W. J. J. Schipper, W. L. Idema and H. M. Leyten (Amsterdam: Royal Tropical Institute, 1990), pp. 11–30.

[49]Arthur Långfors, '*L'Anglais qui couve* dans l'imagination populaire du moyen âge', in *Mélanges de philologie romane et de littérature médiévale offerts à E. Hoeffner* (Paris: Istra, 1949), pp. 89–94; Rickard: '*Anglois coué* and *l'Anglois qui couve'*, p. 52. Långfors identified use of the gibe in Richier of Rheims, *La Vie de Saint-Remi: poème du XIII^e siècle*, ed. by W. N. Bolderston (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), p. 238; *Fatrasies* (13c), in *Nouveau recueil de contes, dits, fabliaux et autres pièces inédits des XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles*, ed. by Michel Louis Achille Jubinal, 2 vols (Paris: Pannier then Challamel, 1839–42; repr. Geneva:

they are important because they help clarify our understanding of how the gibe was used and the ideas that it conveyed.

In his study of the relationship between 'Anglois coué' on the one hand, and 'Anglois couvé/qui couve' on the other, Rickard demonstrates that 'Anglois couvé' and 'Anglois qui couve' probably came about as a mispronunciation or misreading of the earlier 'Anglois coué'. He argues that through a tendency in the pronunciation of Old French for [v] to be absorbed by a preceding [u], 'coué' and 'couvé' would, for certain speakers, sound identical. Moreover, Rickard maintains that difficulties in distinguishing between a scribal 'u' and 'v' may sometimes have produced a misreading of 'coué' as 'couvé'. 'Couvé', he argues, might be preferred by those unfamiliar with the idea of the 'Anglois coué' since, in a more general setting, 'couvé' was a more commonly used word, and, in any case, the literal interpretation of both terms was equally absurd.[50]

Långfors thought that depictions of the English hatching eggs could possibly be read figuratively as an accusation of cowardice. He had found a reference in a thirteenth-century romance, the *Sone de Nansai*, in which French knights were accused of refusing combat against a formidable opponent in a tourney because they preferred to

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Slatkine, 1975), II (1842), pp. 208–28 (p. 212); Jehan Baillehaus, *Plourez amant, car vraie amours est morte* (14c), in *Deux recueils de sottes chansons: Bodléienne Douce 308 et Bibliothèque nationale, fr. 24432*, ed. by A. Långfors (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemia, 1945; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1977), pp. 145–7 (p. 146). Rickard studied an example in a *Pièce farcie* (14c), ed. by Adolf Mussafia in *Über eine altfranzösische Handschrift der K. Universitätsbibliothek zu Pavia* (Vienna: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1870), pp. 545–618. This text is important because it *combines* the image of tailed and hatching Englishmen.

[50]Rickard, '*Anglois coué* and *l'Anglois qui couve*', p. 53.

'sit on their nests hatching eggs'.[51] Unfortunately, Långfors could find no contextual evidence in the texts featuring the English to demonstrate any link between this 'effeminate posture' and cowardice. Indeed, in these texts, the authors simply refer us to a belief that the English hatch and hatch from eggs, without offering any further elucidation.[52] By contrast, Rickard thought that a link between the use of 'Anglois couvé/qui couve' and accusations of English cowardice was unlikely. Indeed, he argued that "whatever allegations it was fashionable for the French to make against the English in the Middle Ages that of cowardice was not one of them".[53] Rickard drew on his interpretation of a particular *pièce farcie*, also from the thirteenth century, to argue that rather than denoting cowardice, English hatching should be understood as an allusion to scheming and plotting and, thus, more generally, to dishonesty and treachery.[54]

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[51]See Långfors, '*L'Anglais qui couve*', p. 91; *Sone von Nausay*, ed. by Moritz Goldschmidt (Tübingen: Litterarischer Verein in Stuttgart, 1899), p. 407.

[52]Långfors, '*L'Anglais qui couve*', pp. 89–91.

[53]Rickard, '*Anglois coué* and *l'Anglais qui couve*', p. 48.

[54]Rickard quotes the following from Adolf Mussafia's edition of the *pièce farcie*:

> Veritez ne quiert pas anglés,
> Odit sordes viciorum ;
> L'ordure *couve* es anglés
> Non in medio domorum ;
> Ab Anglia sont dit anglés :
> Loca quaerunt angulorum ;
> Pour *couver* mucent es anglés,
> Quod demonstrat rex Anglorum [...]
> [...] Anglorum rex (nunc) edidit
> Ce qu'il a longuement *couvé* [...]
> Sa traïson est bien prouvée,
> Scitur per omnem patriam,
> *Il a esclose sa couvée*
> Usque in Alemaniam [...]

The emphasis is Rickard's. See '*Anglois coué* and *l'Anglois qui couve*', p. 52; for Mussafia's edition, see above, pp. 67–8, note 49). The use of 'couver' to convey ideas of 'secretly nurturing' or 'developing under cover' is, in any case, attested in French from as early as the thirteenth century. See, for example, 'Cŭbare' in Wartburg, or 'Couver' in Rey, *Dictionnaire historique*.

Further light was cast on this gibe by Lilian Randall in her 1960 study of the image of men sitting on eggs found in the margins of several medieval manuscripts as well as in other media such as contemporary and slightly later woodcarvings on church choir stalls.[55] Whereas none of these men can be identified with any certainty as being English, Randall argues that the image may represent an illustration of Franco-Flemish proverbs such as "Hier is een narr op eijer geset" or "Le sot sassoijt sur les œufs" (only a fool would try to hatch eggs himself) and that early manifestations of it can be linked contextually to the idea of hatching Englishmen.[56] Randall notes that "by the sixteenth century the association of Folly with the egg-hatching motif had become firmly entrenched", even if, in most of these later representations, the corresponding association with the English had, by then, been lost.[57]

Our own analysis of this gibe in the light of its use in two works from the second and third decades of the sixteenth century would suggest that all of these meanings are possible. In the *Courroux de la Mort contre les Angloys* and the *Couvée des Anglois et des Espaignolz* (both studied in depth in chapters three and five), the idea that the English hatch or are hatched from eggs is used in the context of accusations of scheming and dishonesty, frequently presented as folly.[58] Yet, in both works, the English are also portrayed as cowards, and, in the *Couvée des Anglois*, the author

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[55]Lilian M. C. Randall, 'A Medieval Slander', *Art Bulletin*, 42 (1960), pp. 25–40.

[56]Examples of this image in marginal illumination are found predominantly in Flemish and northern French manuscripts, especially at the end of the thirteenth century, a period of Anglo-French rivalry for influence in the area: Randall, pp. 31–2.

[57]Randall, p. 29.

[58]Randall notes that the association of scheming and folly is an important aspect of the visual representation of this image. In several marginal illuminations the egg-sitter is shown holding an egg up to the sun, presumably to see if it is fertile and will hatch. Randall argues that "the Englishman in candling the egg to ascertain whether it is fertile is seeking reassurance on the favorable outcome of his schemes" (p. 37).

develops an image of the English alternately in the posture of being hatched or of hatching, both in order to avoid combat.[59] Moreover, it seems very likely that there is a semantic as well as a linguistic relationship between the ideas of 'Anglois coué' and 'Anglois couvé/qui couve'. Hatching from eggs, just like having a tail, indicates abnormality and monstrosity. Since lizards, snakes and other tailed reptiles hatch from eggs, perhaps it was thought that the 'tailed English' should too. This association of the English with reptiles further reinforces the perceived relationship between the English and the diabolical, given the symbolic meaning attached to such creatures in the medieval period and beyond. Hatching eggs itself may also have suggested a similar relationship. Långfors, for example, draws our attention to a twelfth-century narrative in which the wicked sit on eggs from which the Antichrist hatches.[60] Similarly, in Isaiah 59, when the scheming and deceitful do likewise, they hatch forth a deadly snake.[61]

Rickard had argued that in the Middle Ages the French tended not to accuse the English of cowardice because "at a time when war was largely a matter of chivalric practices it was in one's own interest to emphasise the prowess of one's opponent".[62] It is certainly true that most courtly literature tends to extol valour on the battlefield and to avoid complaints about enemy cowardice. Cowardly enemies do not make very worthy or honourable opponents. Much of the earlier, mainly courtly French writing studied by

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[59]See below, pp. 174–7, 249–55.

[60]Långfors, p. 94. The reference is to Gautier de Coinci, *De Saint Ildefonse, Evesque de Tolede*, in *Fabliaux et contes de poètes françois des XI^e, XII^e, XIII^e, XIV^e et XV^e siècles, tirés des meilleurs auteurs*, ed. by D. M. Méon, 4 vols (Paris: Warée, 1808), I, p. 321.

[61] Manus enim vestrae pollutae sunt sanguine, et digiti vestri iniquitate; labia vestra locuta sunt mendacium, et lingua vestra iniquitatem fatur. Non est qui invocet iustitiam, neque est qui iudicet vere; confidunt in nihilo et loquuntur vanitates: conceperunt laborem et pepererunt iniquitatem. *Ova aspidum rumpunt et telas araneae texunt; qui comederit de ovis eorum, morietur, et, quod fractum est, erumpet in regulum.* (My italics) (Isaiah 59. 3–5)

[62]Rickard, *Britain*, p. 179.

Rickard does, therefore, avoid representing the English as a cowardly or dishonourable enemy. However, the courtly, chivalric ideal plays a less important role in our *corpus* where it is more common to find the English depicted in just such a negative manner. By the end of the fifteenth century, particularly in more popular and patriotic literature, gibes, insults and abuse are all used to undercut any idea of the English as a worthy and valiant enemy.[63]

One of the most frequently used pejorative terms for the English in the late medieval period is the name 'godon'. 'Godon' is found as a substitute word for 'Englishman' in a variety of literary and non-literary sources. For example, Joan of Arc is recorded as having used it during her trial.[64] A number of dictionaries, literary critics and historians have associated 'godon' with the stereotype of the English as blasphemers, seeing in it an attempt to represent the English curse 'god-damn'. However, such a link is unlikely since 'god-damn' is not recorded in English before 1640. 'Godon' more probably belongs to a group of pejorative names in Old and Middle French formed from the stem 'god' (a name given in Old French to certain animals fattened ready for slaughter), and it is thus associated with gluttony, indolence

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[63]The term 'couard' itself (attested in French from c. 1100) does not seem to have been commonly used to describe the English. Nevertheless, there is an obvious lexical relationship between 'couard' and 'coué', noted as early as 1549 by Robert Estienne. As well as being phonologically very similar, both words share a common Old French stem: 'cou' or 'cüe' (an animal's tail). 'Couard' was thought to have originally evoked the idea of an animal in a submissive posture with its tail between its legs. It is not impossible that at least some of our authors had this image in mind when using the term 'Anglois coué'. See 'Couard' in Robert Estienne, *Dictionnaire francois-latin* (Paris: Estienne, 1549; repr. microfilm Paris: France-expansion, 1973); 'Caudatus' in Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae latinatis*, ed. by P. Carpentier and others, 10 vols (Niort: Favre, 1883–7); 'Couard' and 'Coué' in Huguet, and 'Cauda' in Wartburg.

[64]Quicherat, III: *Procès de Réhabilitation* (1865), pp. 122, 125.

and stupidity.[65] Nevertheless, regardless of whether ideas of gluttony, sloth or even blasphemy are connotatively present in 'godon', the precise semantic range of the term remains less important than its function because 'godon', like many other abusive names, tends to be used performatively rather than constatively. The use of 'godon' by an author is a statement of identity. It swiftly and concisely establishes common ground between author and reader, confirming shared membership of the same identity community through hostility towards and rejection of the outgroup.[66]

Such was the late-medieval French image of the English that even the name 'Anglois' itself acquired certain pejorative meanings. During the Hundred Years War, the French used 'Anglois' as a general name for marauding mercenary soldiers, regardless of their country of origin.[67] In the sixteenth century, 'Anglois' was used for creditors seeking repayment of a debt.[68] In the second half of the century Etienne Pasquier in his *Recherches de la France* suggested that the use of 'Anglois' meaning

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[65]Ascoli (p. 36) and Rickard (p. 176) both associate 'godon' with 'god-damn'. Writing much closer to the period concerned, Randle Cotgrave offers a more colourful definition of the term as: "A filthie glutton, or swiller; one that hath a vile wide swallow" ('Goddon' in *Dictionarie*). There has been considerable debate about the precise meaning and etymology of 'godon'; for a comprehensive summary of this debate see 'Godon' in Baldinger. For the use of 'god-damn' in English see 'God-damn (me)' in *OED*. If 'godon' really were a representation of 'god-damn' then we would expect to find examples of it used as a curse or imprecation in Anglo-French jargon, though none can be found. Confusingly, 'godon' resurfaces in nineteenth-century French usage when it clearly does evoke extensive English and American use of 'god-damn'.

[66]For a discussion of current performative use of abusive names, see Judith P. Butler, *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative* (London: Routledge, 1997).

[67]Philippe Contamine, *La Guerre de cent ans*, 7th edn (Paris: P.U.F., 1994), p. 53; Michel Mollat du Jourdin, *La Guerre de cent ans vue par ceux qui l'ont vécue* (Paris: Seuil, 1992), pp. 111–23.

[68]See, for example: 'Anglais' in Godefroy (*Complément*); 'Anglois' in Huguet. The term is discussed in Ascoli, p. 6. 'Anglois' is used with the sense of 'creditor' during our period by both Guillaume Cretin and Clément Marot. For Cretin, see *Dudit Cretin audit seigneur* (c. 1522), a verse *épître* to Francis I: *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. by Kathleen Chesney (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1932), pp. 230–2 (p. 231). For Marot, see *A ung creancier*, a *rondeau* from the *Adolescence Clementine* (printed 1532): *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. by Gérard Defaux, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1990), I, p. 131

creditor had developed because of the long history of conflict surrounding English claims over France.[69] At some point in time, 'Anglois' was probably confused with the verb 'angler' ('to hook' or 'to corner'), which, used figuratively, meant 'to hold someone in debt'.[70] Both words could quite easily have been brought together in a simple xenophobic pun. The use of 'Anglois' in this way allowed anti-English sentiment to extend beyond purely political discourse and enter into the everyday speech of the population.

As we have seen, then, the image of the English in late medieval French writing was almost wholly negative. The French, it seems, had little positive or complimentary to say about their English neighbours. They do sometimes praise England as a rich and fertile country, but even this is frequently done in the context of criticism of the English either for being parsimonious, or for squandering their wealth in profligacy and on treacherous wars against the French.[71] French texts also sometimes praise the beauty of English women, though, with the exception of the literature surrounding the marriage treaties of 1514 and 1518, women are rarely mentioned in our *corpus*.[72]

In general, French texts offer a more detailed and developed image of the English than that found in most other late-medieval literatures. The image of the English found in French texts is, however, less balanced and objective. It is more clearly politicised; the English are principally France's old enemy. French authors do

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[69]Cited in Godefroy and in Huguet, among others. See Etienne Pasquier, *Les Recherches de la France*, ed. by Marie-Luce Demonet, 3 vols (Paris: Champion, 1996), III, p. 1546 (Book VIII, Chapter 7).

[70]See 'Anglais' in Rey, *Dictionnaire de proverbes et expressions*.

[71]Ascoli, p. 41; Rickard, p. 202.

[72]Ascoli, p. 30; Rickard, p. 188. Literature surrounding the treaties of 1514 and 1518 is discussed in chapter 4.

not significantly employ theories of climate and character in their depictions of the English because such theories did not offer enough scope for detailed, political and topical attacks. Instead, they tend to condemn English treachery and moral corruption by drawing on a long and well-established tradition of depicting the English negatively developed over years of intense political rivalry and war. There is a clear, definable late-medieval French stereotype of the English. In other literatures, it is much more difficult for us to identify a similar specific, consistent image. For the French, the English had long been a significant other against whom they chose to define themselves. Such a relationship did not exist at that time between the English and most other cultures. In French texts, unlike in other texts, representing the English played an important role in the process of collective self-representation. In subsequent chapters we will examine how the English were represented in individual works, and how such representations function in the development of a coherent sense of French collective identity.

CHAPTER TWO

FROM ENEMIES TO RIVALS: REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ENGLISH: 1450–1510

In the period between 1450 and 1510, the image of the English in French literary texts changes. At the beginning of this period, the English are depicted very much as a dangerous enemy; by its end, with the Hundred Years War a distant memory, they are represented more as rivals. This is not to say that the French develop a positive image of their 'old enemy'. A negative image, reinforced by the persistence of certain stereotypes, continues to be predominant. Nevertheless, whereas works in our *corpus* written shortly after the war focus mainly on condemnation and abuse, later works tend to adopt a position of self-confident superiority. In these later works, we are more likely to find measured argument or mocking humour than bitter, vituperative attacks. Throughout the period, however, the English remain a foreign other against whom the French can develop their own sense of positive distinctiveness, but, as the French self-image changes, so does the image they project upon the English.

1. The End of the Hundred Years War

The Hundred Years War ended abruptly. Within 18 months of the collapse of the Truce of Tours in March 1449, the English had been expelled from Normandy, and by July 1453 they had lost control over Guyenne, leaving only Calais as a final outpost of English rule in France.[1] Three texts from our *corpus* deal with the end of the war, each approaching their subject from a slightly different perspective. The first work we

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[1]For the historical context, see Malcolm Vale, 'The End and Aftermath of the Hundred Years War', in *England and Europe*, ed. by Nigel Saul (London: Collins and Brown, 1994), pp. 151-62.

will examine, the anonymously written *Ballade de Fougières*, focuses on the resumption of hostilities in 1449; the second, a *ballade* composed by the poet-prince Charles d'Orléans, dates from after the end of the war and is a celebration of French victory; the third, George Chastelain's *Trosne Azuré*, offers a Burgundian yet 'Francocentric' perspective on this victory and on the role the English played in the war. Two further texts from our *corpus* will also be considered in this section: one is an imprecatory anti-English *ballade* attributed to another Burgundian, Jean Molinet, and the other is an anonymously written dramatic representation of the siege of Orléans, probably performed around 1456.

Like most of the anti-English works in our *corpus*, the *Ballade de Fougières* identifies the French and English as two distinct and opposing groups.[2] Composed in the context of the capture of the Breton town of Fougères in March 1449 by forces allied to the English, this work is a denunciation of English treachery, violence and greed. The poet condemns the attack on Fougères as a specific example of the natural and inherent tendency of the English to be deceitful and bellicose.[3] At the same time, he associates the French cause with justice and righteousness, God and victory.

The *Ballade de Fougières* is found in a single, neatly produced fifteenth-century manuscript collection of verse.[4] As most of the works in this collection are by Alain

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[2]References will be given in the text and are to *Balade de Fougières*, in *Les Œuvres de Maistre Alain Chartier*, ed. by André Du Chesne (Paris: Le Mur, 1617; repr. in facsimile, Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 717–21.

[3]Fougères was captured by François de Surienne (an Aragonese mercenary in English pay) only three months before the Anglo-French truce agreed at Tours in 1444 was due to expire. The refusal of the English to restore the town to Breton control led to the resumption of hostilities, and, ultimately, to English defeat in the war.

[4]BnF MS f. fr. 833: *Œuvres de 'maistre Alain Charretier'*, fols 191–2.

Chartier, this *ballade* has also frequently been attributed to him, though his death predates the events described in it by nearly twenty years. No indication of the real author's identity is given. The *ballade* may have been written specifically for this manuscript by a poet eager to associate his own work with Chartier, a well-respected, 'patriotic' writer who was frequently praised and imitated by late-medieval poets, or it may simply have been copied from another source to provide a topical and patriotic 'footnote' to the collection.

Since we know little about the production context or the history of the collection, it is impossible to say how widely it circulated or who the intended readership was. The *Ballade de Fougières* appears to be an accessible work. The subject may indicate that it was written with a Breton readership in mind though the events at Fougères would have been of interest to more than just a local audience, and nothing else in the manuscript indicates such a connection. The poet exploits a relatively simple poetic form: twenty-one octosyllabic *septains* with a different proverb ending each stanza.[5] There are few complex rhetorical figures; instead, the poet explores his subject in plain terms with a number of direct references to the events at Fougères. Selective use of stock Classical *exempla* does lend authority to the text, but the poet limits himself to transparent allusions to the Trojan and Punic wars, used here to threaten the English with complete destruction.[6]

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[5]Lines rhyme *ababbcc* throughout. This standard metrical pattern is found in a number of the works studied in this section.

[6]The *exempla* require little or no prior cultural knowledge as the poet explains their significance within the text: Troy and Carthage were destroyed because their inhabitants were arrogant and warlike; English power in France (and perhaps the English too) will be destroyed for the same reasons.

Treachery and duplicity are the main focus of the poet's attack, though he does also repeatedly complain that the English are too eager to make war. The tone is set in the opening lines:

Anglois, Anglois, chastiez vous,

De l'vng promettre et l'autre faire,

Qui la treue avez comme foulz

Rompue pour Fougieres forfaire. (p. 717)

The English are accused of having planned their treachery well in advance, organising the Truce of Tours as a ploy to get the French to lower their guard, leaving them vulnerable to a surprise attack as, indeed, happened at Fougères (p. 718). The English are condemned for having been driven by greed to break their word and to reject peace:

Mieulx vous fust auoir attendu

Que la treue eust esté passee,

Que Fougieres cueilly, tendu,

Et auoir vostre foy cassee

Pour richesse auoir amassee. (p. 717)

The English are thus depicted as being dissolute as well as duplicitous, and they are warned that they will be punished by God for their wrongdoing:

Pensez vous que Dieu tousiours seuffre,

Voz iniquités & iniures,

Sans vous punir quant le cas seuffre. (p. 720)

English treachery, however, is not presented as a mere accident of historical circumstances, but rather as an innate 'national' characteristic. We are told that treachery is something the French expect in the English:

S'autres gens que vous fait l'auoient,

Chascun s'en deuroit esbahir :

Mais ceulx qui coustumiers vous voyent

D'essayer à chascun trahir,

Sont prouoquez à vous hair. (p. 718)

Later, the poet even alludes to the myth of the 'tailed Englishman' when he compares the treachery of the English to a scorpion's vicious sting and cautions against dealings with such an untrustworthy people:

Iamais homme sage ne simple

Point ne passer vng contract,

S'il ne veult estre d'vng guimple

Affublé par vostre barat.

Qui s'en cuide issir sans debat,

Pour certain il est bien ienin.

En la queue gist le venin. (pp. 719–20)

By contrast, we are told that the French do not break their word (p. 718), that they are fighting to defend what is rightfully theirs and that they are loyal to their King just as he is to his subjects (p. 719). This comparison clearly serves to stress French moral rectitude but it also divides the French and English into two distinct groups based on character and behaviour. The English are naturally 'bad', the French, naturally 'good'. This division is reinforced in the poem's structure. Fictionally, the *Ballade* is a direct address to the English but the intended reader is obviously French and must therefore read from the perspective of the textual voice, joining with the poet in lambasting the English. The reader enunciates rather than receives the text's condemnation and is thereby included in a 'we-group' of French against the English. If this work was intended for a Breton readership, then this would have been particularly effective as a means of reminding the Bretons whose side they were on and in which

group they belonged. The *Ballade de Fougières* offers the French a positive image of themselves as a group, but one in which they are characterised in opposition to a negative depiction of the English: the English are untrustworthy, treacherous and warlike; the French are honourable, loyal and peace-loving.

Shortly after the English defeat at Castillon in July 1453, Charles VII's cousin, Charles, Duke of Orléans composed a thirty-nine-line *ballade* celebrating the expulsion of the English from France.[7] The opening lines of this *ballade* leave the reader in no doubt about the poet's joy at seeing the enemy defeated:

> Comment voy je ses Anglois esbays !
>
> Resjoys toy, franc royaume de France. (p. 157)

Orléans's poem is a personal celebration of French victory over the English. It is a clear attack on the enemy, but, at the same time, it can also be read as a subtle warning to the French that they must love and respect their own king and avoid incurring God's displeasure.

The Duke of Orléans was himself an important political actor in the events of the Hundred Years War. Captured at the battle of Agincourt in 1415, he spent twenty-five years as a prisoner in England. Although his 'imprisonment' in the custody of various important English gentlemen and nobles was relatively comfortable, Orléans was still deprived of his liberty and removed from the life he had known in France as a rich and powerful relative of the King. In England, the Duke was initially excluded from politics, but, towards the end of his captivity, he played an important role in

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[7]References will be given in the text and are to *Ballade CI*, in Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, ed. by Pierre Champion, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1923–7), I: *La Retenue d'amours, ballades, chansons, complaintes et caroles* (1923), pp. 157–8.

negotiations to bring the war to and end. He was finally allowed to return to France in 1440.[8]

Orléans wrote prolifically during his exile. He produced a large body of poetry mainly treating themes of courtly love in short, fixed forms such as *ballades* and *chansons*, and he may even have translated some of this poetry into English.[9] A number of the works written in exile are patriotic poems lamenting a defeated and occupied France. In these works, the poet is careful not to overtly criticise his captors. He avoids direct references to the English but instead presents us with nostalgic memories of his homeland. For example, in the *ballade* beginning "En regardant vers le païs de France", Orléans longs for peace, remembering a France of "doulce plaisance" that "mon cueur amer doit"; similarly in his *Complainte* beginning "France, jadis on te souloit nommer" (sometimes called the *Complainte de France*), Charlemagne, St Louis, the *fleurs de lys*, the *oriflamme*, the battle cry 'Montjoie', and the sacred oils used to anoint French kings all evoke an image of France closely tied to the Valois monarchy.[10] By 1453, Orléans's situation was very different. He had safely returned to France, the English had been

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[8]For biographical details, see Pierre Champion, *Vie de Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Champion, 1910); Enid McLeod, *Charles of Orléans: Prince and Poet* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1969). For a recent study of Orléans's political situation whilst in England, see Michael K. Jones, '*Gardez mon corps, sauvez ma terre*. Immunity from War and the Lands of a Captive Knight: The Siege of Orléans (1428-29) Revisited', in *Charles d'Orléans in England, 1415-1440*, ed. by Mary-Jo Arn (Woodbridge: Brewer, 2000), pp. 9–26.

[9]Debate about whether or not Orléans translated the poetry in B.L. Harleian MS 682 has generated a vast literature. For an overview, see Mary-Jo Arn, 'Charles d'Orléans and the Poems of B.L. MS Harley 682', *English Studies*, 74 (1993), pp. 222–35; William Calin, 'Will the Real Charles of Orléans Please Stand! or Who Wrote the English Poems in Harley 682?', in *Conjunctures: Medieval Studies in Honor of Douglas Kelly*, ed. by Keith Busby and Norris J. Lacy (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 69–96.

[10]Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, I, pp. 122–3; pp. 258–61. For the representation of France in Orléans's poetry, see Alice Planche, *Charles d'Orléans ou la recherche d'un langage* (Paris: Champion, 1975), pp. 410–13.

expelled and the last of his close English contacts was dead.[11] In his *ballade* on the expulsion of the English, Orléans thus expresses himself unreservedly. Unlike the poetry written in England, this *ballade* is jubilant in its celebration of victory and bitter in its attack on the enemy. Daniel Poirion has even argued that it represents an unmasking of the poet's true feelings about the English.[12]

The *ballade* has a conventional structure: it is divided into three decasyllabic *onzains* (including the refrain) plus a six-line *envoi*.[13] The first stanza sets the scene by inviting the reader to rejoice at the reversal in the fortunes of France and England: the English are now defeated and the French have recovered Normandy and Guyenne (this is, in fact, repeated in the refrain). The second stanza focuses on the French. It presents the war and the English occupation as a penance given to the French as punishment for their sinfulness:

> Quant les Anglois as pieça envays,
>
> Rien n'y valoit ton sens ne ta vaillance.
>
> Lors estoies ainsi que fut Tays
>
> Pecheresse qui, pour faire penance,
>
> Enclouse fut par divine ordonnance.
>
> Ainsi as tu esté en reclusaige
>
> De Desconfort et Douleur de couraige. (vv. 12–18)

In the third stanza, Orléans turns his attention to the English. He condemns their treachery and disloyalty towards their leaders through references to the Yorkist

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[11]The Francophile, William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (1396–1450), who was murdered in 1450 by supporters of the pro-war faction in England. See Daniel Poirion, 'Charles d'Orléans et l'Angleterre: un secret désir', in *Mélanges de Philologie offerts à Jeanne Wathelet Willem*, ed. by J. de Caluwé (Liège: A.R.U.L.G., 1978), pp. 505–27 (p. 518).

[12]Poirion, pp. 517–9.

[13]The rhyme scheme in the first *onzain* (*ababbccdedE*)) is repeated identically in the second and third. The *envoi* follows the second half of this scheme (*ccdedE*).

conspiracy against Henry VI, which by 1453 had become open rebellion. The poet begins by 'priming' his reader with an allusion to the stereotype of the English as regicides:

> N'ont pas Anglois souvent leurs rois trays ?
>
> Certes ouy, tous en ont congnoissance. (vv. 23–4)[14]

Then he condemns English treatment of their King:

> Et encore le roy de leur pays
>
> Est maintenant en doubteuse balance ;
>
> D'en parler mal chascun Anglois s'avance ;
>
> Assez monstrent, par leur mauvais langaige,
>
> Que voulentiers lui feroient oultraige.
>
> Qui sera Roy entr'eux est grant desbat. (vv. 25–30)

Finally, the *envoi*, addressed not to a 'Prince' but to the "Roy des Françoys", thanks God for French victory and looks positively to the future.

> Roy des Françoys, gagné as l'avantaige !
>
> Parfaiz ton jeu, comme vaillant et saige,
>
> Maintenant l'as plus belle qu'au rabat.
>
> De ton bon eur, France, Dieu remercie ;
>
> Fortune en bien avecques toy s'embat
>
> Et t'a rendu Guyenne et Normandie. (vv. 34–9)

As we have seen, the *ballade* does not focus its attention solely on the English, but also on the French. References to the English are invariably negative. As well as condemning the English 'habit' of killing their own kings, the poet complains of English "oultrecuidance" (v. 5) and "grant orgueil" (v. 10) and of the "tiranie" of

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[14]Orléans would have been only too aware that sometimes the English really did kill their kings: his first wife was Isabelle of France, widow of Richard II.

English rule in France (v. 20). He even tells us that the English "de Dieu sont hays" (v. 3). However, rather than using this as a contrast against which to portray the French as pure and righteous (much as we saw in the *Ballade de Fougières*), Orléans depicts France as a repentant sinner upon whom God has shown mercy. Indeed, many of the criticisms levelled against the English in this *ballade* are the same as those made of the French in Orléans's earlier *Complainte de France* in which the French are blamed for bringing God's punishment upon themselves:

> Scez tu dont vient ton mal, a vray parler ?
>
> Congnois tu point pourquoy es en tristesse ?
>
> Conter le veuil, pour vers toy m'acquiter.
>
> Escoutes moy et tu feras sagesse.
>
> Ton grant ourgueil, glotonnie, peresse,
>
> Couvoitise, sans justice tenir,
>
> Et luxure, dont as eu abondance,
>
> Ont pourchacié vers Dieu de te punir,
>
> Trescrestien, franc royaume de France ![15]

Condemnation of the English can therefore also be read as an indirect warning to the French: they must not be like the English if they are to avoid God's displeasure again.

Although, in this sense, the poem appears to be didactic and moralising, it is very unlikely that Orléans ever intended it for a large audience. His poetry circulated mainly within a close circle of friends and fellow poets centred on his court at Blois. It can also be found in several fifteenth-century manuscripts. Most seem to have been owned either by the Duke himself or by members of his family and entourage, but the ownership of others indicates that his poetry circulated beyond such a narrow group: as

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[15]Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, I, p. 258

we have seen, certain of his poems were known in England in translation, and we also know that a lavish manuscript of his poetry in French was produced for Edward IV. Nevertheless, this does still suggest a somewhat exclusive readership. Only a limited number of Orléans's poems were printed during our period and they were printed nearly fifty years after his death. The *ballade* itself is only found in four of the manuscripts: in the Duke's personal manuscript and in three partial copies of it.[16] It was not among the printed poems, and, unsurprisingly, it is not found in the manuscript destined for Edward IV.[17] It is, therefore, more appropriate to see this *ballade* as an example of personal self-expression rather than public instruction. Its warnings to the French are to be read more as a private statement of how things should be than as a set of political demands. It is a statement of the collective identity of an *individual* (note the "je" of the first line). In this *ballade*, as in the earlier patriotic works written in captivity, Orléans expresses his own sense of what it meant for him to be French. This time, however, he expresses his French self-identity through a powerful, decisive and open rejection of the English.

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[16]BnF MS f. fr. 25458, fol. 124^{r}; BnF MS f. fr. 1104, fol. 23^{r}; Carpentras, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 375, fol. 20^{v}; Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 873, fol. 110^{r}; B.L. Harleian MS 6916, fols 59^{v}–60^{r}.

[17]Orléans's court at Blois became a centre of poetic and artistic activity inspiring exchanges of poetry between the Duke and his friends as well as attracting poets such as François Villon. For the transmission of Orléans's poetry both orally at Blois and in manuscript and print more broadly, see Rouben C. Cholakian, 'Charles d'Orléans: The Challenge of the Printed Text', *Fifteenth-Century French Studies*, 24 (1998), pp. 119–26. For a bibliography of the manuscripts and early printed editions, see Charles d'Orléans, *Poésies*, I, pp. VIII–XXII; Edith Yenal, *Charles d'Orléans: a bibliography of primary and secondary sources* (New York: AMS Press, 1984); Deborah Hubbard Nelson, *Charles d'Orléans: An Analytical Bibliography* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1990). Until recently, the collection of Orléans's poetry in B.L. Royal MS 16 F II was thought to have been produced for Henry VII's son Arthur. Janet Backhouse has demonstrated that, in fact, it was probably prepared for Edward IV: 'Founders of the Royal Library: Edward IV and Henry VII as Collectors of Illuminated Manuscripts', in *England in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 23–41.

George Chastelain's *Throsne Azuré* was written after the expulsion of the English from Normandy but before Castillon, so it slightly predates Orléans's *ballade*.[18] Chastelain is, perhaps, best known as *indiciaire* or official chronicler to Philip the Good and Charles the Bold of Burgundy. As a native of Aalst (in Imperial Flanders) with family connections in Ghent and a position at the ducal court, Chastelain can certainly be described as a Burgundian writer.[19] He may, therefore, seem an unexpected choice as a source of information about French identity. Nevertheless, in our period, the distinction between France and Burgundy as separate cultural and political entities is less straightforward than it would first appear. Between 1363 and 1477 the Burgundian 'state' was ruled by a junior branch of the French royal house and, although most of its territory was in the Empire, some of it was within the Kingdom of France. Consequently, the Burgundian nobility often held land and titles both in the Kingdom and in the Empire and owed allegiance to the King of France as well as to the Duke. Cultural exchange was facilitated by the fact that, for many, French was a common language. Moreover, trade with France, especially in the highly urbanised Low Countries, was an important part of the economy, encouraging commercial and social interaction. Thus, in spite of the problematic political relationship during our period between France and Burgundy, it remains difficult to completely untangle 'cross-border' interests and allegiances. A separate Burgundian identity does develop, but, for the political élites, at least under the Valois dukes, this identity is frequently in

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[18]References will given in the text and will be to *Le Thrône Azuré*, in *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. by Joseph Marie Bruno Constantin Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1863–66; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), VI: *Œuvres diverses* (1864), pp. 133–8. The poem can be dated from references to the ongoing battle for ultimate victory over the English after the French recapture of Normandy (see below).

[19]For biographical details, see Small, *George Chastelain*, pp. 9–127; Kenneth Urwin, *Georges Chastelain: la vie, les œuvres* (Paris: André, 1937; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1975).

competition with a broader self-identification with the Kingdom of France.[20] Chastelain could thus articulate both French and Burgundian identities in his writing. As Jean-Claude Delclos has pointed out, he could call himself "François de deux François, l'un roy, l'autre duc".[21]

One way in which Chastelain foregrounds French identity is through his treatment of the English. Under Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, the English were first allies, then enemies, then allies again.[22] The Dukes played the French and English off against each other in alliances and counter-alliances designed to further Burgundian dynastic and territorial aims. Chastelain, however, is consistent in his pro-French and anti-English stance. Throughout his *Chronique*, he is intensely hostile towards the English, portraying them as treacherous, proud and bloodthirsty. The English, he argues, are dishonourable in war, seditious and disloyal.[23] Even in his *Temple de*

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[20]The extent to which a distinct Burgundian identity developed during the fifteenth century is, of course, a matter of historical debate. The principal actors and arguments in this debate are summarised in Small, *George Chastelain*, pp. 1–8. For the historical background more generally, see Walter Prevenier and Wim Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

[21]Jean-Claude Delclos, *Le Témoignage de Georges Chastellain: historiographe de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire* (Geneva: Droz, 1980), p. 212. The quotation is from Chastelain's *Chronique*, in Kervyn de Lettenhove, I–V (1863), IV, p. 21. It now seems unlikely that Chastelain spent as much time in France as had previously been thought, and time spent there can no longer be offered alone as an explanation for his pro-French sentiment: see Small, *George Chastelain*, pp. 32–52

[22]The sometimes uneasy alliance between Burgundy and England that had produced the Treaty of Troyes in 1420 was finally broken when Philip the Good was reconciled with Charles VII under the Treaty of Arras in 1435. Charles the Bold, though initially pro-Lancastrian and, thus, hostile to the Yorkist régime in England, was eventually won over by Edward IV, marrying his sister, Margaret of York, in 1468 and pursuing a generally pro-English policy thereafter.

[23]For the representation of the English in Chastelain's *Chronique*, see Delclos, pp. 244–61; Graeme Small, 'Some Aspects of Burgundian Attitudes Towards the English During the Reign of Philip the Good: George Chastelain and his Circle', in *L'Angleterre et les pays bourguignons: relations et comparaisons (XV^e–XVI^e siècles), Rencontres d'Oxford (22 au 25 septembre) 1994*, ed. by Jean-Marie Cauchies (Neuchâtel: Centre européen d'études bourguignonnes, 1995), pp. 15–26; Estelle Doudet, 'De l'allié à l'ennemi: la représentation des Anglais dans les œuvres politiques de George Chastelain, indiciaire de la Cour de Bourgogne',

Bocace (c. 1464), dedicated to Margaret of Anjou, wife of the deposed English King Henry VI, the English are depicted as murderous rebels who have devastated both England and France with their violence and disorder.[24] Chastelain's hostility towards the English stems largely from a desire to present the French in a good light and to promote them as a preferable and *natural* ally.[25] In *Les Paroles de trois puissants princes* (c. 1458), a short imaginary verse dialogue between "Philippe, duc de Bourgongne", "Charles, roy de France" and "Henry, roy d'Angleterre", Chastelain effectively sets out this position: while Burgundy and France are divided by rivalry and jealousy, they are also united through ties of kinship and mutual affection; yet, in the background, ever pursuing their own agenda, the English plot to set one against the other.[26]

However, it is in the *Throsne Azuré* that Chastelain most vigorously attacks the English. This poem, a celebration of French victory in 1450, was one of the first works Chastelain produced. It was probably composed before he became attached to the ducal court around 1454 and while he was still under the protection of Philippe de Ternant, a Burgundian noble with significant interests in France.[27] It is found in a manuscript

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in *Images de la guerre de cent ans*, ed. by Daniel Couty, Jean Maurice and Michèle Guéret-Laferté (Paris: P.U.F., 2002), pp. 81–94.

[24]*Le Temple de Bocace*, ed. by Susanna Bliggenstorfer (Berne: Francke, 1988). Henry VI (of Lancaster) was deposed by Edward of York in March 1461; after failing to have her husband restored to power, Margaret fled to Burgundy in 1463. In the *Temple*, Chastelain laments the earlier deposition and murder of Richard II (pp. 25–7) and makes a number of allusions to the ongoing York-Lancaster conflict in England (pp. 39–41, 43–5, 63–5, 91–9, 147–57). The fate of Henry VI is presented as divine punishment both for the Lancastrian usurpation of Richard II's throne, and for the recent English occupation of France (pp. 151–7).

[25]Delclos, p. 205.

[26]Kervyn de Lettenhove, VI, pp. 217–8. Composed in the context of the flight of the future Louis XI to Burgundy (1456), and of Philip the Good being summoned by Charles VII to appear in person at the trial for treason of Jean II, Duke of Alençon (1458), this poem reflects a period of political tension between France and Burgundy.

[27]Small, *Chastelain*, pp. 58–9; 'Some Aspects', pp. 22–4.

collection of Chastelain's poetic works which was carefully produced in the 1470s, possibly for one of the poet's friends or colleagues at the Burgundian court.[28] In the *Throsne Azuré*, Chastelain adopts a very similar approach to that used by Orléans in his *ballade* against the English. He praises France, presents recent misfortune as divine punishment, celebrates victory in Normandy and, finally, lambasts the English. With 168 lines, this poem is longer than Orléans's *ballade*, and is also more detailed.[29] It opens with unreserved praise in which France and its monarchy are presented as one, sacred throne:

> Thrône azuré, merveilleuse lumière,
> Refflamboyant de mainte fleur dorée,
> Noble maison françoise, coustomière
> De toute honneur, sourse de foy première,
> Dont, soubs le ciel, la terre est plus parée,
> Jointe emprès Dieu, des autres séparée
> Par cas d'honneur, de titre et de louenge,
> Comme est sur terre un homme emprès un ange. (p. 133)

The poet continues, stressing the unique position the French kingdom holds in Christendom:

> O glorieuse excellence royale,
> Renommée batillière anchienne,
> Du peuple Dieu championne loyale,
> Bras renforchié de grâce espéciale

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[28]Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Mediceo-Palatino 120: *Castellani Georgii Opera poetica gallice*, fols 18^{v}–23^{v}. This manuscript is very comprehensively described in Susanna Bliggenstorfer, '*Castellani Georgii Opera Poetica Gallice*: Le recueil Chastelain de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne à Florence, description du manuscrit mediceo-palatino 120', *Vox Romanica*, 43 (1984), pp. 123–53. Bliggenstorfer proposes the Burgundian poet-courtier, Philippe Bouton, as the manuscript's first owner (p. 144).

[29]There are 21 decasyllabic *huitains*, rhyming: *abaabbcc*.

Pour envaïr mescréance paienne,

O reluisant majesté terrienne,

Dont mal au vray peut s'exprimer la gloire :

Icy tu livres un peu ton auditoire. (p. 133)

However, Chastelain tells us that "après honneurs et glories infinies", sinfulness has brought God's punishment down upon the French (pp. 133–6). He describes the suffering of the "noble maison de France":

De qui les maulx et povretés extrêmes,

Pertes, douleurs, confusions terribles,

Occisions, ravallemens, blasphèmes,

Pleurs et clameurs d'enfans, hommes et femmes,

Par feu, par sang, par famines horribles,

Sont à tout cœur à tout prendre impossibles ;

Car ne pourroit exprimer bouche d'homme

De ces meschiefs l'innumérable somme. (pp. 134–5)

Then, exactly half-way through the poem, the tone changes again. We learn that God has taken mercy on France and is restoring her to her former glory; Normandy has been recovered and the English driven away (pp. 135–6). The poet exults in the King's/Kingdom's renewed greatness:

Ton glaive point, ton espée retrence

Ton bras roidist, ton harnois refflamboye,

Ton eur revit, ta gloire recommence,

Ton fruit sourt grant hors d'un foulé semence,

Ton vergier secq reflorist et verdoye,

Tu viens arrière en l'ancienne voye

De ton triomphe à grant félicité :

Dieu, et quel joye en tant d'adversité ! (p. 137)

He calls on the French to pursue their advantage and demonstrate their virtue by expelling the English once and for all. Finally, in the last two stanzas (copied out as one in the manuscript), Chastelain directly addresses the enemy, viciously attacking them and urging them to leave:

> Et vous Anglois, tirans du bien publique,
>
> Murdriers de peuple, engloutisseurs de vies,
>
> Loups affamés de faim dyabolique
>
> Pour perturber toute foy catholique
>
> Par une ardeur d'insolables envies,
>
> Laissez, laissez vos rapines ravies,
>
> A vous n'affiert nul si royal partage :
>
> Riens n'y avez que mort pour héritage.
>
> Pensez, pensez, persécuteurs des hommes ;
>
> Persécuteurs, pensez aux vieux outrages
>
> Qu'ont fait vos mains murdrières de preud'hommes,
>
> D'enfans petits et de femmes par sommes,
>
> Cuidans domter les haulx françois courages ;
>
> Trop a donné fortune ses ombrages
>
> A vous, le plus maudit peuple qui vive :
>
> Fuyez-vous-en, que le dyable vous suive ! (p. 138)

In this striking climax, Chastelain thus brings together and reiterates an image of the English already found scattered throughout the poem. Earlier we have read that the English are like a "loup engloutie" (p. 134) and that they are "faulx tirans" (p. 135) "d'humain sang enyvrés" (p. 136), and we have been told that the English have lost courage since they are no match for the French (indeed, ten Frenchmen could defeat sixty Englishmen!) (p. 138). Such stereotypes firmly situate this poem in the French tradition of anti-English writing. As Graeme Small has argued, here, Chastelain is

deliberately exploiting the "idiom" of writers associated with the French court; he is allying himself with the cultural identity of the Valois dynasty (both royal and ducal) and of the nobles and courtiers among whom this poem almost certainly circulated.[30] The *Throsne Azuré* presents the English as an outgroup largely in order to assert the author's and his readers' self-identification with the French ingroup. Such an identification is consistent with the attitudes articulated by Chastelain throughout his work, but it is also particularly salient in the historical and political context of the period before the accession of Charles the Bold, when the French and Burgundian political élites who read Chastelain's poetry were united in their common mistrust of and hostility towards the English. Chastelain's representation of the English sought to situate Burgundian identity within the framework of French culture more generally. The English in the *Throsne Azuré* offer a negative background against which the representation of France appears ever more brilliant.

At this point, the chronological sequence of our study will be interrupted to consider a short anti-English work attributed to Jean Molinet. Molinet succeeded Chastelain as *indiciaire* to Charles the Bold in 1475 but had been associated with the Burgundian court since the 1460s. As well as chronicling events at and beyond the court, Molinet, like his predecessor, produced a wide range of poetry including devotional, occasional and, sometimes, politicised works.[31] His political poetry consistently takes a clear pro-Burgundian position, but Molinet differs from Chastelain in that he seems much more willing to demonstrate hostility towards France where

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[30]Small, 'Some Aspects', pp. 18–20.

[31]See Noël Dupire, *Jean Molinet: La Vie – Les Œuvres* (Paris: Droz, 1932); Devaux, *Jean Molinet*.

French and Burgundian interests were in conflict.[32] The text that concerns us here is known from an early sixteenth-century manuscript collection of Molinet's works, though its date of composition is uncertain.[33] It is a 38-line imprecatory *ballade* attacking the English.[34] Given the generally pro-English and frequently anti-French policy of the Burgundian government throughout the period during which Molinet was active (he died in 1507), it is difficult to find a context into which this work comfortably fits. Indeed, critics have even questioned whether Molinet was its author.[35] However, there is nothing in the text itself to indicate that he could not have written it, and, as Adrian Armstrong has pointed out, it is clearly attributed to him in the manuscript and was received, at least at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as one of his works.[36] S. V. Spilsbury thought that allusions in the *envoi* were probably to Henry V and that this indicated a date of composition in the mid-1450s:

> Prince, le feu qui vint Henry querir,
>
> Quand le païs il cuidoit conquerir
>
> Leur puist bruller le corage et le pance ;
>
> Ainsy puissent ensamble estre punis
>
> Anglés coués, sy reviennent en France (p. 860)[37]

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[32]For Molinet's attitude to France see Devaux, pp. 309–40.

[33]Tournai, Bibliothèque communale MS 105, fols. 440^{v}–1^{r}. This manuscript was destroyed during the Second World War. For the transmission and reception of Molinet's work in manuscript more generally, see Armstrong, *Technique and Technology*, pp. 17–54.

[34]References will be given in the text and are to Jean Molinet, *Les Faictz et Dictz*, ed. by Noël Dupire, 3 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1936–9), II (1937), pp. 859–60.

[35]See S.V. Spilsbury, 'The Imprecatory Ballade: A Fifteenth-Century Poetic Genre', *French Studies*, 33 (1979), p. 392.

[36]Adrian Armstrong, 'François Villon: Rhétoriqueur?', in *Villon at Oxford: The Drama of the Text*, ed. by Michael Freeman and Jane H. M. Taylor (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), pp. 51–84 (p. 63).

[37]Spilsbury, p. 392.

In 1453, Henry V had been dead for over thirty years, which would hardly make this a topical allusion. Indeed, there are no obviously topical references in this poem, and it seems much more likely that here, "Henry" is being used as a name for English kings in general and does not refer to anyone in particular.[38] Regardless of when the *ballade* was composed, this is, anyway, presumably how the allusion would have been understood by later readers. Dating of this poem's composition is not, therefore, crucial to our consideration of its reception.

Our *ballade* is one of a number in the second half of the fifteenth century that exploit the same rhetorical strategy to target a particular enemy with a long list of unpleasant imprecations. There is a high degree of intertextuality in these works, with references and general themes recurring in many of them. In each stanza, line by line, the poet names one curse after another, only revealing the identity of the person or group to be cursed in the refrain. Perhaps the best known of these works is François Villon's *Ballade contre les ennemies de France*. It too has a political (probably anti-Burgundian) theme, but others target 'enemies' as diverse as 'vicious tongues', innkeepers and warmongers. Poets select a variety of imaginative and frequently violent fates for those unfortunate enough to feature as the object of their anger. Erudite allusions abound as they explore a theme or group of themes on which to base their imprecations.[39]

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[38]5 out of 7 English kings between 1400 and 1550 were called Henry.

[39]François Villon, *Le lais Villon et les poèmes variés*, ed. by Jean Rychner and Albert Henry, 2 vols (Geneva: Droz, 1977) I, pp. 58–9. For the imprecatory *ballade* in general, see Spilsbury. For Villon's *Ballade contre les ennemis de France*, see Claude Thiry, 'La ballade *contre les ennemies de France*: une relecture', in *Études de philologie romane et d'histoire littéraire offertes à Jules Horrent à l'occasion de son soixantième anniversaire*, ed. by Jean-Marie d'Heur and Nicoletta Cherubini (Liège: Comité d'hommage à Jules Horrent, 1980), pp. 469–80; Armstrong, 'François Villon', pp. 61–4.

Our poem fits very neatly into this *genre*. Indeed, here, Molinet foregrounds his own poetic skill and his mastery of this particular form over anti-English sentiment. Throughout the *ballade*, we find an impressive range of Classical, Biblical and Patristic allusions as well as a number of references to *chansons de geste*. Thus, in the first stanza we read:

> Des chaulx fourniaux que garde Cerberus
> Et des carbons qui brullent le faulx riche,
> Des dars tranchans dont mourut Alferus,
> Et des dragons que Justin le novice
> Vit sur la mer d'Asie renommee,
> Des fins espris, de la grosse plommee
> Dont Golias faisoit les gens morir,
> Et des faulz artz, lesquels faisoit courir
> Hermogenes, dont en fin eust souffrance,
> Soient encontrés, sans jamais secourir,
> Anglés coués, sy reviennent en France. (p. 859)

The second and third stanzas follow up with references to Vulcan, Pyrrhus, Roland, Ogier the Dane, Dioscorus and Nestor, among others. The poet imagines various fates for the English, from the very general, in which they are the object of the wrath of Jupiter, to the much more specific, in which they are threatened with Durendal and Courtain, swords belonging to Roland and Ogier respectively. However, none of these allusions is obviously anti-English. Only in the refrain and, to a lesser extent, in the *envoi*, do we find anything that draws on the kind of anti-English rhetoric that we might have expected to find in the rest of the poem.

Yet, this is not to say that Molinet was unaware of the anti-English stereotypes and abuse more typical of the other works in our *corpus*. As Armstrong has pointed out, he presents a less than sympathetic depiction of England when personified alongside France, Burgundy and Greece as one of the allegorical figures in the *Complainte de Grece*.[40] Amid calls for unity and a crusade to free Greece from the "Turk", Molinet still depicts England as 'two-headed', obstructive and unpredictable.[41]

However, in spite of the absence of more conventional anti-English rhetoric in the main part of our *ballade*, the tailed Englishmen in its refrain demonstrate that both Molinet and his intended reader were part of a culture that could not only recognise such an emotive image but could also identify with the political perspective that its use implied.[42] Our poem opposes "Anglés coués" and "France" and suggests that its author and readers continued to culturally self-identify with the latter, particularly through depictions of the English as an 'old' joint-enemy. We have already noted the importance of the political and economic ties between those of royal and ducal allegiance in the Low Countries; it is, perhaps, also worth noting that areas such as southern Flanders, Picardy, Hainault and Artois were frequently the most seriously affected by war between France and England.

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[40]Adrian Armstrong, 'Dead Man Walking: *Remaniements* and Recontextualizations of Jean Molinet's Occasional Writing', in Jennifer Britnell and Richard Britnell, pp. 80–98 (pp. 82–5).

[41]*Faictz et Dictz*, I (1936), pp. 9–26.

[42]Molinet also uses this image in a more humorous context in *Le Present d'ung cat nonne*:

> Ce cat nonne vient de Callés
> Sa mere fut Cathau le bleue,
> S'est du lignaige des Englés,
> Car il porte tres longue queue.

Faictz et Dictz, II, pp. 739–41.

The English also feature in an important dramatic work from the early part of our period: the *Mistere du siege d'Orleans*.[43] Medieval dramatic productions were a powerful medium for the expression of collective identity because, performed before large audiences, they involved the joint affirmation of shared beliefs and loyalties and the evocation of common historical memories. Civic and religious authorities as well as lay guilds and confraternities all contributed to the staging of some of the more important productions. Even the audience would have played a role in the 'performance' of such works through participation in songs, hymns, processions and prayers, and, of course, through applause, cheering and laughter. Many of these plays were performed over a number of days as part of festivities organised to mark important historical events or to honour the patron saints of a community or association. Medieval dramas were clearly entertainment, but they were also rituals of community solidarity and identity.[44] Frequently staged in the same location as the events they commemorated, they often served to 're-enact' a key moment in a community's history.

The *Mistere du siege d'Orleans* is a dramatic representation of the siege of Orléans by the English between October 1428 and May 1429. It is a detailed historical account, but it is also a *mystère religieux* in that it highlights the role of Joan of Arc in the events leading to the collapse of the siege.[45] The text is known from a single,

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[43]References will be given in the text and are to *Le Mistere du siege d'Orleans*, ed. by V. L. Hamblin (Geneva: Droz, 2002).

[44]See Grace Frank, *The Medieval French Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp. 161–75. Elie Konigson, *L'Espace théâtral médiéval* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1975).

[45]See Jean-Pierre Bordier, '*Le Mystère du siège d'Orléans*: de la politique à la religion', *Perspectives Médiévales*, 18 (1992), pp. 54–66; *Le Mystère du siège d'Orléans*, ed. by Gérard Gros (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2002), pp. 19–26.

anonymous, early sixteenth-century manuscript.[46] We know that *mystères* commemorating the siege were performed in Orléans in 1435 and 1446, though, from surviving records, they seem to have been on a smaller scale than the one preserved in our manuscript. Our text contains over twenty thousand lines in verse and would have taken at least three days to perform. It portrays a France triumphant over the English and it confidently foregrounds the Maid as a messenger of God and saviour of Orléans. This, together with the use of sources which were almost certainly only available from the 1450s, suggests that our version was produced, as a reworking of the earlier *mystères*, after the expulsion of the English from France in 1453, and that it was most probably staged at some point following the 1456 reversal of Joan of Arc's heresy conviction.[47]

The English feature prominently throughout the play. The narrative traces their attempts to capture the city and ends with their defeat by a French army led by Joan of Arc. At the outset, we see the English deciding to take Orléans in order to extend their power in France. They arrive before the city and lay siege to it, but the people resist and send for help from the King. Charles VII dispatches his army but it is heavily defeated, and it is only when God then sends "une pucelle" to lead the French into battle that they are able to overcome their enemy and lift the siege of Orléans. The play ends with a *Te*

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[46]Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Reg. Lat. 1022: *Mistere du siege d'Orleans*. This manuscript can be dated codicologically: see Gros, *Le Mystère*, p. 11; Hamblin, *Le Mistere*, pp. 7–11.

[47]There is, of course, no concrete evidence that this *mystère* was ever performed. Even so, the fact that a manuscript containing the text was produced at the beginning of the sixteenth century demonstrates continued interest in the issues raised in it. For discussion of the dating, reworking and staging of the play, see Barbara Craig, 'The Staging and Dating of the *Mystère du siège d'Orléans*', *Respublica Litterarum*, 5 (1982), pp. 75–83; V. L. Hamblin, '*Le Siège d'Orléans*: procession, simulacre, mystère', in *Le Jeu théâtral: ses marges, ses frontiers*, ed. by Stéphanie Le Briz-Orgeur, Jean-Pierre Bordier, Gabriella Parussa (Paris: Champion, 1999), pp. 165–78; Gros, *Le Mystère*, pp. 5–19; Hamblin, *Le Mistere*, pp. 22–31.

Deum sung in celebration of victory by the actors and the audience together. It is only at this point that the English are fully absent from the scene.

The play has an adversarial structure: action set in the English camp is repeatedly juxtaposed with action set in Orléans or at the royal court at Chinon. This makes a clear distinction between 'them' and 'us', ingroup and outgroup. The audience would have had no difficulty in identifying with the play's French characters as many of those portrayed would either still be alive or have only recently died. The play is a ritualised expression of solidarity and remembrance; members of the cast and audience would have lost family, friends and property in the siege.[48] Nevertheless, this play does not just focus on issues of importance to the city and its inhabitants. It also expresses self-identification with the broader French community. Orléans is presented as strategically important to the survival of the Kingdom as a whole, yet, at the same time, the city cannot survive without help from the rest of France.[49] The *Mistere d'Orleans* depicts the people of Orléans as loyal subjects of the King, united in their hatred of the English.

For the play's French characters, the English are: "faulx Angloys", "desloyaux Angloys", "ancïens anemies", "godons" (pp. 138, 180, 194, 225, 247, 272, 451, 515, 572, 680, 711).[50] We are told that the English are "maudites gens" (p. 596), "plains d'orgueil et de villanie" (p. 498). They have a "faulx et desloyal cueur" (p. 122); "en eulx nul ne se doit fÿer" (p. 281); indeed, "Y n'est point de nacïon pire" (p. 281). They

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[48]Hamblin, *Le Mistere*, p. 18.

[49]Bordier (p. 55) maintains that: "Orléans n'est jamais perçue qu'à l'intérieur d'un corps plus vaste, le royaume de France dont elle se présente comme le cœur".

[50]Such names are found throughout the play; here, references are to selected examples.

are described as "felons" (p. 319), "loups [...] ravissans" (p. 504), "larrons, decepveurs" (p. 711), who, with "nul droit" (p. 489) have "usurpé le païs a tort" (p. 661). Such complaints do not just come from the people of Orléans; we hear similar condemnation of the English from the King, his nobles and even from Joan of Arc.

Moreover, French opposition to the English is presented as being not only morally justified, but also divinely sanctioned. God and his saints side with the French.[51] The French position is set out not only by the patron saints of Orléans (as we might have expected) but also by the Virgin Mary. In pleading France's case before God, she provides what Pierre Bordier has described as "l'essentiel des arguments avancés par les partisans des Valois pendant la guerre de Cent Ans":[52]

> C'est que le roy des fleurs de liz,
> que en dignité avez mis
> conduire le royaulme de France,
> qu'i soit par estrangers soubmis,
> et que celuy roy soit desmis,
> chier filz, ce seroit viollence.
> Les Anglois, venuz d'Engleterre,
> n'ont nul droit en icelle terre
> de France, n'a eulx n'appartient [...]
> [...] O mons filz, doucement vous prie
> que ce fait vous ne souffrez mie,
> de vostre bon roy crestïen,
> qu'i perde ainsi la seigneurie
> de France et noble monarchie

[51]Bordier, pp. 58–60.

[52]Bordier, p. 59.

qui est si noble terrïen.

C'est le royaume qui tout soustien

crestienneté et la maintien,

par la vostre divine essence,

ne autre n'y doit avoir rien :

au roy Charles luy appartien,

qu'il est droit heretier de France. (pp. 303–4)

Charles VII demonstrates acceptance of and resignation to God's will. The English, by contrast, are deceitful, irreligious, obstinate and proud. They treacherously lie to the Duke of Orléans when they promise no harm will come to his lands (pp. 66–71); they pillage the church of Notre Dame de Cléry and mock its priest (pp. 132–4); they refuse to listen to their ally, the Duke of Burgundy when he appeals for an end to the siege (pp. 397–407); they mercilessly pursue the destruction of Orléans (pp. 167, 203, 215, 255, 405). The English refuse to listen to the Maid, failing to recognise her message as God's (pp. 464–71, 488–91). They see Joan as a fraud, a whore, a sorceress sent by Antichrist (pp. 468–71, 493–5, 665, 702–4). By rejecting her mission they seal their fate and bring punishment down upon themselves.[53] The political and religious aspects of the play thus come together in Joan. She embodies both French and divine will that the English should be chased from France (pp. 306–10).

Just under a quarter of the 120 or so speaking parts are Englishmen and include such important historical figures as "Betefort/Betesfort" (Bedford), "Sallebry" (Salisbury), "Sombreset" (Somerset), "Tallebot" (Talbot) and "Suffort/La Polle"

[53]Bordier, p. 62–4.

(Suffolk).[54] Some of these names would have been well known to a French audience, even if details of the lives of the historical figures behind them were not.[55] Salisbury is presented as treacherous, arrogant, greedy and cruel. He personally betrays the Duke of Orléans, does nothing to protect the church at Cléry and seeks power for his own personal gain. Appropriately, he is punished with a painful death (p. 167).[56] Similarly, Talbot is presented as merciless and vindictive. His arrogant dismissal of Joan of Arc would have incensed a devout and patriotic Orléans audience. When the siege fails, Talbot remains defiant; indeed, he is thrown into an uncontrollable rage:

> Arou ! Arou ! arou, j'enrage !
>
> Je sens en mon cueur telle rage
>
> que je ne say que devenir,
>
> quant y me souvient du dommaige
>
> que je voy devant mon visaige,
>
> ainsi povrement advenir,
>
> et mes bons amis definir
>
> les plus vaillants qu'on peust choisir
>
> tuez, noyez, piteusement !
>
> Plus ne demande que mourir
>
> ou m'en venger du desplaisir
>
> contre François cruellement ! (pp. 554–5)[57]

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[54]John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France (1389–1435); Tomas Montagu, Earl of Salisbury (1388–1428); Edmund Beaufort, Duke of Somerset (1406–1455); John Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury (1387–1453); William de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk (1396–1450).

[55]Talbots, Salsiburys and Suffolks, for example, were involved in English wars in France throughout the fifteenth century. Many of those watching the play would have been present at the siege itself and would have known the names of the main English protagonists.

[56]Salisbury took a cannon shot to the head. In the play, this is presented as divine intervention. See Gérard Gros, 'Mort d'un personage, ou: *Sallebry* (Salisbury) dans le *Mistere du siege d'Orleans*', in Couty, Maurice and Guéret-Laferté, pp. 137–53.

[57]Gros notes that in other dramatic works "Arou !" is a cry normally reserved for devils or the damned: *Le Mystère*, p. 22.

In spite of the play's relative historical accuracy, such figures are characterised very much as a 'type' (the bloodthirsty and arrogant English soldier) and they quite easily blend one into the other. The author grafts stereotyped Englishmen onto real historical figures; the English are all morally reprehensible and blind to the will of God. In the *Mistere d'Orleans*, memories of the recent past are used to unite the audience and to evoke hostility against a common enemy.

2. *Nous avons tout ce que vous avez, et si avons en toutes choses plus que vous n'avez.*

In the next two works, the English are not so much represented as enemies but rather as inferiors. Gilles Le Bouvier's *Livre de la description des pays*, and the anonymously written *Débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre* are both relatively long prose works purporting to offer, among other things, an informative and relatively objective description of England and the English. In the *Livre de la description des pays*, a description of England and the English features alongside descriptions of numerous other countries; in the *Débat des hérauts*, the author directly compares England with France. Although both works claim some degree of objectivity, they each use their depiction of the foreign other as a means of demonstrating French pre-eminence and superiority.

Le Bouvier's *Livre de la description des pays* is a description of over seventy regions and countries and their inhabitants, completed at some time between the expulsion of the English in 1453 (mentioned in the text) and the author's death in

1455.[58] It is an early example of French travel writing in which the author claims to provide a first-hand account of places he has personally visited. As Charles VII's Herald King of Arms 'Berry', Le Bouvier was frequently engaged in diplomatic missions, and it is likely that he did, indeed, travel to many of the countries mentioned in his text. The Hundred Years War would certainly have brought him into contact with the English both at home and abroad.[59] Nevertheless, it is unlikely that he had been to all of the places described, and much of his text draws heavily, either directly or indirectly, on standard Classical and medieval sources like Caesar, Pliny, Isidore of Seville and Bartholomew the Englishman.

Le Bouvier's text is known from a single surviving richly produced manuscript which, given the author's position at court, may have been presented to Charles VII, though it contains no dedication to him, nor any indication that he ever owned it.[60] It probably had a very limited circulation as there is no evidence of later copies or printed editions. The *Livre de la description des pays* is not a politicised work; political events do not feature significantly in it. Indeed, in his introduction, the author tells us that his purpose in writing is to satisfy the curiosity of those who seek to learn about the world:

> Pour ce que plusieurs gens de diverses nacions et contrées se délectent et prennent plaisir comme j'ay fait le temps passé à vëoir le monde, et les diverses choses qui y sont, et aussi pour ce que plusieurs en veullent savoir sans y aller, et les aultres veullent

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[58]References will be given in the text and are to *Le Livre de la description des pays*, ed. by E. T. Hamy (Paris: Leroux, 1908).

[59]Le Bouvier was certainly present at negotiations with the English and he claims to have been a witness to a number of Joan of Arc's campaigns against them. For biographical details, see the introductory material in: Gilles Le Bouvier, *Armorial de France* ed. by Auguste Vallet de Viriville (Paris: Bachelin-Deflorenne, 1866); *Les Chroniques du roi Charles VII*, ed. by Henri Courteault, Léonce Célier and Marie Henriette Jullien de Pommerol, Société de l'histoire de France (Paris: Klincksieck, 1979).

[60]BnF MS f. fr. 5873: *Le Livre de la description des pays*.

vëoir, aler, et voyager, j'ay commencé ce petit livre, selon mon petit entendement, afin que ceulx qui le verront puissent savoir au vray la manière, la forme et les propriétés des choses qu'ilz sont en tous les royaulmes crestiens et des aultres royaulmes où je me suis trouvé ; de la longueur d'iceulx, des montaignes qui y sont, et des fleuves qui y passent, de la propriété des païs, des hommes, et des aultres choses estranges, comme cy après sera déclairé. (p. 29)

Le Bouvier is at his most original and enthusiastic in the first part of his work where he provides detailed descriptions of the various regions of France. France is shown to be the most temperate of kingdoms, abundant in minerals, metals and agricultural produce, with loyal subjects, magnificent cities, a favoured Church and most Christian kings. In the second part, in which we find descriptions of the rest of Christendom and beyond, the author relies more heavily on his Classical and medieval sources. Nevertheless, Le Bouvier exploits such depictions to demonstrate the pre-eminence of his own country in a manner not found in these sources. He does not necessarily depict other countries negatively, but he does focus on subjects that tend to present France favourably in comparison with her neighbours.

The English feature twice. First, the author includes England with the Scandinavian and Baltic countries in his description of the cold, northerly climates (pp. 102–3). Here, we are told, the irascible yet sanguine inhabitants wear thick heavy clothes and furs to fight off the cold, and eat copious amounts of highly seasoned food washed down with ales and meads (as there is no wine). The author also offers an environmental explanation for the tendency of such people to be warlike and rebellious:

> Ces gens [...] frapent plus tost que ceulx qui sont nourris de vin, et sont tost près à batailler, et autresfois contre leur seigneur mesmes. (p. 103)

Thus, Le Bouvier differs from what we have seen so far because he presents rebelliousness not as a uniquely English characteristic, but rather as one inherent to all the inhabitants of the cold, northerly regions. Later, we find a section on the English alone (pp. 118–21). This section begins with a standard physical description of the geography of the country:

> Ce royaulme a huyt journées de long [...] En ce païs a peu de villes farmées et peu chasteaux et est fort peuplé de gens [...]. (p. 118)

Le Bouvier names the two principal cities as London and York and the three main rivers as the Thames, Trent and Tweed, and he tells us about the Kingdom's natural wealth and its great trade in cloth (pp. 118–20). Next, he describes the English. We are told that they are: "tous gens de guerre", "bons archiers", "cruelz et gens de sang", and that they "font guerre à tous les gens du monde par mer et par terre" (pp. 118–9). Le Bouvier tells us of the animosity between the English and Scots and of the wars that have left "trois journées de pays desert" (p. 120) between the two kingdoms. He then underlines his earlier comments about the warlike rebelliousness of the northern peoples by telling us of the English that:

> eulx mesmes *de leur condition* se combatent en leur pays les ungs contre les aultres et se donnent grans batailles, et *est telle la condition* de ce dict royaulme. (My italics) (p. 119)

In this way, Le Bouvier explains political events in England (implicitly, the York-Lancaster conflict) as the natural result of the English character.

Le Bouvier's text is not politically motivated. He does tell us that the English frequently make war on the French and their allies, but he does not make any direct reference to the events of the Hundred Years War, or to the political arguments behind it. His discussion of England is, in fact, relatively short, and, as we have seen, many of

the things he says about the English can also be found in sections dealing with other northern peoples. For example, he tells us that the Flemings are also quick-tempered and that they too "souvent rebellent contre leur conte, ou leur souverain" (p. 47). In spite of the fact that it claims to be an eyewitness account, the *Livre de la description des pays* largely follows earlier writing about the various countries and regions of the known world, drawing on theories of climate and the humours to explain differences in 'national' character. Rather than as a topical or political work, Le Bouvier and his readers presumably saw this text as a serious and useful record of distant and not so distant travels, supported by established learned opinion and authority. The image of the English found in it therefore lacks the negative politicised rhetoric of many of the earlier works from this period. In this text, the English are just one of a number of foreign others against whom the French could define themselves.

In the *Débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre*, France is directly compared with England.[61] This anonymously written prose work of about 13 000 words is a fictional debate between the Heralds of Arms of France and England. The debate itself is set within an allegorical framework in which Prudence, meeting the Heralds in a garden, asks them to demonstrate which of their countries is the most worthy of a place next to the throne of Honour. Each Herald then methodically presents the merits of his own country while criticising the shortcomings of the other, and the debate concludes as Prudence makes her judgement.

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[61]References will be given in the text and are to *Le Débat des Hérauts d'Armes de France et d'Angleterre: suivi de The Debate Between the Heralds of England and France by John Coke*, ed. by Léopold Pannier and Paul Meyer (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1877).

The *Débat* seems to have circulated relatively widely. It has survived in four manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century, and it was printed in at least three editions at the beginning of the sixteenth century. There was even an English version (significantly adapted for the tastes of a patriotic English readership) printed in 1549.[62] Two of the manuscripts seem to be linked and were quite richly produced: one has an illumination on the first leaf showing the heralds debating before Prudence; the other is very similar in terms of its presentation, though it is unfinished with spaces for illumination and decorated capitals.[63] A third manuscript is much simpler, with no illumination and a much less ornate hand.[64] A fourth, is also simply but neatly produced and, unlike the others, is in paper rather than parchment.[65] Finally, a large *in folio* manuscript of this work is recorded as having been in the collection of Diane de Poitiers, but, unfortunately, this manuscript disappeared after its sale in 1724.[66] The status of these manuscripts indicates that the *Débat* was initially destined, at least in part, for a wealthy audience who could appreciate and afford an expensively produced work.

Printing of the text made it available later to a broader audience. Of the three editions from the beginning of the sixteenth century, two were printed in Paris, one in Rouen. These editions are not lavishly produced: they are small, gothic *in quartos* with

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[62]John Coke, *The debate betwene the heraldes of Englande and Fraunce, compyled by Ihon Coke, clarke of the kynges recognysaunce, or vulgerly, called clarke of the statutes of the staple of Westmynster.* ([London]: [Robert Wyer for] Richard Wyer, [1549]). The text of this English version is found in Pannier and Meyer, pp. 55–125.

[63]BnF MS f. fr. 5837: *Dispute de France et Angleterre* (contains illumination); BnF MS f. fr. 5838: *Prérogatives de la France* (unfinished).

[64]BnF MS f. fr. 5839: *Le Livre de passetemps*.

[65]Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MS C 539: *Contention récréative des heraulx de France et d'Angleterre.*

[66]Pannier and Meyer, p. XXXVIII; Pierre Gandouin, *Catalogue des manuscrits trouvez* [sic] *après le décès de Mme la Princesse, dans son château royal d'Anet* (Paris: [n.p.], 1724), p. 18.

one or two standard woodcuts. In the Paris editions, the text is squeezed into 18 leaves with two columns of very small print on each page. Both were printed anonymously and without any date, though possibly by Symon Troude or Jacques Nyverd in the first or second decade of the century. As they are very similar, one probably represents a copy or a reprinting of the other, suggesting that this was a commercially successful text.[67] The Rouen edition is less cramped; it was printed over 22 leaves by Richard Auzoult for the bookseller, Thomas Laisne. Again, no date is given, but it must have been printed between 1495 and 1506 when Auzoult's press was active.[68] The physical presentation and publication context of all three editions is, in many respects, similar to that of numerous short, patriotic or 'newsy' pamphlets circulating at about the same time.[69] It is possible that printers used our text to 'cash in' on a vogue for patriotic literature. The printed work certainly seems to have appealed to a geographically diverse readership: as well as being produced in Paris and Rouen, we know that copies were on sale in Lyon in 1535 and in Brussels before 1549.[70]

Composition of the *Débat* in the form we know it today can be dated between 1453 and 1461 as it mentions the expulsion of the English from Bordeaux at the end of

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[67]*Sensuit le debat des heraulx darmes de france et dengleterre* (Paris: [n.pr. n.d.]). Typographical material used in this edition is similar to that used by Troude and Nyverd at the beginning of the sixteenth century. An incomplete copy (lacking its title page) of a slightly different Paris edition has been attributed to the Widow of Jean Trepperel and given a possible publication date of 1520 (Pierpont Morgan Library, temporary record). This attribution is also based on typographical material but is quite tentative.

[68]*LE debat des heraulx darmes de frāce et dēngleterre* (Rouen: Richard Auzoult for Thomas Laisne, [n.d.]). For Auzoult's press, see Pierre Aquilon, *Bibliographie normande: bibliographie des ouvrages imprimés à Caen et à Rouen au seizième siècle* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1971–), III (1975), pp. 13–20.

[69]See below, pp. 165–6.

[70]Ferdinand Columbus records having bought his copy of the *Débat* in Lyon in October 1535: Henry Harrisse, *Excerpta Colombiniana* (Paris: Welter, 1887; repr. Geneva, Slatkine, 1971), p. 88. In the introduction to his English version, John Coke tells us that he purchased his copy in Brussels: Pannier and Meyer, p. 56.

the Hundred Years War and gives Charles VII as the reigning king.[71] However, there is some evidence that the surviving text represents a significant reworking of a much earlier version composed at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Stylistic analysis and an examination of the overall structure of the work indicate that certain sections may date from the period before the Treaty of Troyes (1420).[72] Without concrete evidence, this is difficult to prove, but such a hypothesis does support the idea that the *Débat* had lasting appeal. Indeed, there are minor additions, gaps and differences in each of the manuscripts and printed editions. Scribes and printers seem to have been quite prepared to make small changes to the text, emphasising or adding sections that were, perhaps, particularly relevant to their intended reader. For example: passages found in the main body of some of the manuscripts are in the margins of the others (pp. 5, 15, 16, 43, 47, 48); certain sections, such as those on the effectiveness of the Normandy fleet against the English (pp. 30–1), or on the English paying Peter's Pence to Rome (p. 19) seem to be unique to a particular scribal version of the text; Auzoult's is the only version to end with Villon's *Ballade contre les ennemis de France*, here used as an anti-English piece and perhaps included to give his edition 'added value' (pp. 183–5).

This work is surprisingly moderate in what it has to say about the English, certainly in relation to the earlier texts considered here and some of the early sixteenth-century texts we will study later. The author does not exploit angry, vituperative rhetoric nor any of the more abusive anti-English stereotypes. He does not, for

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[71]Pannier and Meyer, pp. XI–XII.

[72]Evan J. Jones, 'The Date of the Composition of the *Débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre*', *Comparative Literature Studies*, 5 ([1942]), pp. 13–21; 6/7 ([1942/3]), pp. 14–20. Evans proposes an initial composition date of 1410–20, arguing that removing references to events after 1420 offers a more balanced and satisfactory reading. He also notes that the text concentrates disproportionately on events from the beginning of the fifteenth century, and that there are stylistic differences between the treatment of earlier and later periods.

example, exploit the stereotype of English treachery or discuss the idea of Englishmen with tails or hatching Englishmen, nor does he depict the English as rapacious wolves or as blasphemous, beer-swilling drunkards.[73] The text is not overtly moralising; we are not told that English failure in war is a punishment from God. Instead, the author presents an ordered debate in which the Heralds seek, one after the other, to demonstrate their own country's supremacy. Each proposition is debated systematically with the English herald always speaking first. This does not mean that the debate is fair and evenly balanced. Each of the arguments made by the English Herald is immediately and decisively opposed by his French counterpart. After having defeated the English Herald's argument, the French Herald goes on to present the case for French superiority at great length, but, of course, the English Herald is never given the opportunity to reply. Consequently, what the English Herald has to say is relatively short and the French Herald's arguments take up about four-fifths of the debate.

Nevertheless, the image of the English in the *Débat* is not wholly negative. The English Herald tells us of the beauty of English women, who have "les faces les plus angeliques et les plus feminines que on pourroit jamais dire" (p. 3), and he tells us of the English countryside, abundant in game and excellent for hunting (p. 3); we learn that English history is filled with great battles, valiant feats and noble heroes (pp. 7–9); and that England is immensely wealthy, with great and varied agricultural and mineral resources, and that it is surrounded by seas teeming with fish (pp. 34–7). In answer to this, the French Herald follows a consistent strategy of one-upmanship, arguing 'yes, but…'. On the beauty of English women we read:

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[73]For the selective use of stereotypes, see Karl-Friedrich Krieger, 'England aus der Sicht des Kriegsgegners: Das Englandbild im Traktat *Le Débat des hérauts d'armes de France et d'Angleterre* (1453/1461)', in *Das Kontinentale Europa und die britische Inseln*, ed. by Gottfried Niedhart (Manheim: Palatiumverlag, 1993), pp. 71–86.

> [...] en une dame a plusieurs beautés : bien est vray qu'il y a de belles dames en Angleterre, aussi a il en France, et de bien gentes. (p. 5)

Similarly, on hunting we are told:

> Item, sire herault, vous vous vantez de *beau deduit*, et je vous monstre que nous avons tout le beau deduit que vous avez, soit de gibier, ou d'oyseaulx, de lievre ; et si avons plus, car nous avons grosses perdris, autrement dit goeches ; et avons aussi des faisans bien largement, et vous n'en avez point ; et croyez que ce sont oyseaulx delicieux et plaisans pour bouches de roys et princes. (p. 7)

On war, the French Herald acknowledges that the English have fought many battles, but he points out that they have been in "guerres communes" (wars waged against neighbours at home and abroad) whereas the French are celebrated for their "guerres de magnificence" (wars waged to defend the Church and the Papacy) (pp. 12–4, 19–23). Then, in response to the English Herald's claims about his country's great wealth, the French Herald provides a long and detailed description of France's still greater riches before declaring:

> Item, et pour ce, sire herault, gectez vous hors de tout espoir, que vous pensez faire comparoison de l'isle d'Angleterre au royaume de France, soit d'assiete, de fruitz, de noblesse, de ediffices ne d'aultres choses qulezconques, car nous avons tout ce que vous avez, et si avons en toutes choses plus que vous n'avez. (p. 48)

In this way, the *Débat* does not limit itself to a negative refutation of the English Herald's claims or to criticism of the English. It also sets out to demonstrate French pre-eminence positively. In praising France and the French the author provides his reader with a positive self-image articulated in the language of superiority. However, this self-image is also one of positive distinctiveness: the French are not just better than the English, they are different from them. The author repeatedly stresses the unique

status of the Kingdom of France and most frequently does this through explicit or implicit comparison with England. For example, the French Herald uses references to Clovis, Pépin, Charles Martel and Charlemagne to highlight the illustrious ancestry of the French monarchy (the English, we learn, are not descended from Trojans as they claim, but merely from Saxons) (pp. 10–14). Narratives of the miraculous gift of the *fleurs de lys* to Clovis and of the Holy Oil and *Oriflamme* to St Remy present the French as God's favoured people (p. 12). The French nobility, we are told, are the pillars of the monarchy (by contrast, the English nobility is very new and has neither power nor status) (pp. 40–2), and French Kings are the pillars of the Church (p. 14). The French Church is blessed with countless cathedrals, abbeys and holy relics (there are many more bishoprics and archbishoprics in France compared to England, and France has several universities whereas in England there are only two) (pp. 38–40). At a more practical level we are told that France has a better climate than England, and, as a result, her agricultural produce is more plentiful and diverse: the French drink wine, whereas the English are obliged to drink beer and import their wine from France. Finally, the Herald describes the geography of France, praising her size, proportion and natural defences and telling us that France is rich in wood, minerals and metals (pp. 43–8).

Most of the information about both France and England is drawn from a variety of sources including French and English chronicles, literary works, and proverbial wisdom.[74] There is even an indication that the author spent some time in England himself (p. 14). This is not a learned legal, historical or political treatise. The author does not present a sophisticated or scholarly argument. The debate is informative, but

[74]Pannier and Meyer, pp. XVIII–XIX.

above all entertaining.[75] The author appeals to his reader's patriotism and sense of ingroup superiority. The English are not so much presented as enemies but rather as arrogant rivals who are too eager to make war on other countries (pp. 5, 19–23, 51). Here, we find something approximating the 'barbarian image' much more frequently than anything else.[76] The author does condemn the English for their treatment of Richard II (p. 49), but, on the whole, this is not an abusive work, and the author does not go on to exploit the stereotype of the English as regicides. At the end, Prudence praises the skill of both heralds and declares that before she can make her judgement she must hear from the heralds of other Christian countries:

> Item, je dis que la question est generale et commune a tous roys crestiens. Si orray les heraulx des autres roys, car il en y a qui ont fait de grans faix et de guerres magnifiques, et par especial sur les Sarrasins, et a l'aumentacion de Crestianté. Et en tant qu'il vous touche, heraulx, je diray mon appoinctement. (p. 52)

Judgement is, thus, left open. In this work, the English function as a foil, a negative contrast against which the brilliance of the French Kingdom can be shown.

3. *Le Jeu Saint Loÿs*

Already, then, we can see a marked softening in the attitude towards the English found in our texts. The next work is from the reign of Louis XI. Although Anglo-French relations continued to be tense throughout Louis's reign, effective civil war in

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[75]In her opening speech, Prudence tells the Heralds that the purpose of their debate is "pour passer temps joyeusement" (p. 1). At the end, she declares that the Heralds' deliberations will be collected in a book:

> qui se nommera *Passe-temps*, qui sera moult prouffitable a jeune noblesse et a poursuivans en vostre office ; et y pourront joieusement passer temps, veoir et aprendre du bien grandement et largement (p. 52).

[76]For the 'barbarian image', see above, pp. 30–1.

England meant that, in practical terms, the English were now much less of a threat to the French.[77] Nevertheless, that they remained a significant other in the French collective cultural consciousness is clear from their presence in an important dramatic production from the mid 1460s: the *Jeu Saint Loÿs*.[78] In just under twenty-thousand lines in verse, this play traces key events in the life of Saint Louis (Louis IX), opening with his birth and ending with the miracles attributed to him shortly after his death. It is known from a single surviving manuscript which seems to have been compiled for a performance of the play in Paris.[79] Its production was probably linked to the revival of the cult of Saint Louis by Louis XI in the 1460s.[80] Darwin Smith demonstrates codicologically that the manuscript must date from between 1450 and 1472, and argues that the conspicuous absence of any mention in the text of the nobles' revolt at the beginning of Saint Louis's reign indicates a date of composition in the years shortly after the rebellion of the 'Ligue du bien public' against Louis XI (1465).[81] Lasting three days, with over two hundred speaking parts, and with scenes set in England, France and the Holy Land, the *Jeu Saint Loÿs* would have been a major undertaking. It would only have been performed with the approval of the authorities and, probably, by one of the Parisian confraternities, though there is no surviving independent evidence of a performance.[82]

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[77]See J. Calmette and G. Périnelle, *Louis XI et l'Angleterre (1461–1483)* (Paris: Picard, 1930).

[78]References will given in the text and are to Darwin Smith, *Edition critique du jeu saint Loÿs*.

[79]BnF MS f. fr. 24331: *Mystère de S. Louis, roi de France*. For a codicological study of the manuscript and a discussion of staging of the play, see Smith, *Edition critique*, pp. 5–227. Smith analyses corrections, marginal annotations and the *mise en page* more generally, concluding that the manuscript was intended for use in a performance (p. 22).

[80]Smith, *Edition critique*, pp. 90–3. For the cult of Saint Louis, see Beaune, pp. 173–225.

[81]The paper used in the manuscript was produced after 1450 and the first *ex-libris* is dated 1472: Smith, *Edition critique*, pp. 9, 20, 99–100.

[82]An *ex-libris* on fol. 247^{v} reads: "Ce lyvre apartient à la [Confrérie de la] Passion de Nostre Sauveur Jhesu-Crist". See Smith, *Edition critique*, pp. 20, 100. The manuscript is anonymous, but Smith proposes Denis de Sous-le-Four, one of Louis XI's doctors, as a possible author

Unlike in the *Mistere d'Orléans*, here, the English do not feature throughout the play; they are only found in part of the first act on the first day, after scenes depicting Louis's birth, coronation and marriage. The rest of the play deals with Louis's crusades to the Holy Land, his government of France and his piety. In much of it, therefore, the Saracens or 'infidel', as enemies of the Christian faith, serve as the most prominent outgroup. Nevertheless, at the beginning, the English do represent a threat to French ingroup unity and cohesion. Louis is unable to embark upon his crusade until he has dealt with the English and established order at home. The section in which the English are involved is relatively short and covers only about 800 lines (pp. 128–69, ll. 2643–3475). It depicts Louis's intervention in a dispute between the "Conte de Poitou" (his brother, Alphonse de Poitiers) and the "Conte de La Marche" (Hugues de Lusignan). La Marche allies with Henry III of England against Louis when he is ordered to pay homage to Poitou. The English sail for France, do battle with Louis, are defeated and forced to return home. Louis and La Marche are reconciled and Henry vows never to set foot in France again.

The narrative depicts the English as a perennial enemy, always ready to exploit division in France for their own benefit. This would have struck a chord with an audience in the 1460s when English interference in French affairs frequently involved alliances with Louis's more troublesome vassals. The English were still the most significant external threat to the French, and it is not surprising that the author should include at least one short section drawing on latent anti-English sentiment.

(p. 102). For the Confrérie de la Passion, see Graham A. Runnalls, 'La Confrérie de la Passion et les mystères: recueil de documents relatifs à l'histoire de la confrérie de la Passion depuis la fin du XIV^{e} siècle jusqu'au milieu du XVI^{e} siècle', *Romania*, 122 (2004), pp 135–201.

Nevertheless, in the *Jeu Saint Loÿs*, the English are, to a great extent, comic relief between more serious episodes. The audience is invited to laugh at the English; they are portrayed as incompetent and ridiculous and to be mocked rather than feared.

This is most strikingly achieved through the use of Anglo-French jargon.[83] All of the English characters use it. Their language is confused and barely intelligible. The sounds they make would have immediately caught the audience's attention. We can assume the English King's first words were met with roars of laughter:

> Arquet, bin futy vous venu !
>
> Je croy bin vous futy harau ;
>
> Vous porté de l'arm qui fut beau :
>
> Ce fut, je croy l'arm de mon mer. (p. 128)[84]

As Smith points out, this jargon is employed to produce the maximum comic effect, creating "le plus grand nombre possible d'équivoques dans tous les registres scabreux/obscènes, voire, peut-être, la suggestion d'une ambivalence sexuelle par la permanence de la confusion des genres".[85] The English use part-English or invented words, mispronounce French words and systematically replace "être" with "fut" and "futy".[86] As well as sounding bizarre, such linguistic distortions provide ample

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[83]See above, pp. 62–3.

[84]Here, the English King is welcoming a Herald ("harau") sent by the 'Contesse de la Marche'. The 'Contesse' was, in reality, Henry III's mother ("mon mer") since Lusignan had married King John's widow, Isabella of Angoulême. The actors would presumably have exploited this potentially confusing situation for humour. Although Anglo-French jargon seems, at times, impenetrable to the modern reader, the fifteenth-century audience would have been able to guess meanings from what they could see 'on stage'. For a comprehensive glossary of terms in Anglo-French jargon, see Smith, *Edition critique*, pp. 198–210.

[85]Smith, *Edition critique*, p. 75.

[86]Examples of part-English and invented words include: "det" (dead), "drinc" (drink), "faroual" (fare-thee-well), "forque" (fork), "Franchequin" (Frenchman), "fré meny" (very many), "quenave" (knave). Examples of the distorted pronunciation of French include: "bin" (bien), "chevaly" (chevalier), "contably" (connétable), "Diou" (Dieu), "frommag" (fromage),

opportunity for bawdy punning (for example, with "cont" (comte), "cu" (écu), "culé" (reculé), "bodin" (boudin)).[87] The use of jargon denigrates the English: it exploits linguistic structures associated at best with children, at worst with the insane. The English are unable to convey a serious, coherent message. Their language is base and unsophisticated; it is liberally punctuated with swearing and blasphemy ("bigot", "bi saint Gorg", "bi saint Joan", "bi sainte Mare", "bi mi fey", "burlare" (by Our Lord)).[88] On a number of occasions speech degenerates into little more than a collection of interjections or unintelligible sounds.[89] Moreover, whereas Louis speaks an elevated language, which differs from that spoken by lesser French characters, there is nothing to distinguish the English King's speech from his subjects'.[90]

The *Jeu Saint Loÿs* does not just ridicule how the English speak, but also what they have to say. In fact, throughout the play, they have little to say of any great consequence. The decision to go to war is not accompanied by a memorable speech. This is not Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Instead, the English King provides a somewhat comic anticipation of battle:

> Bi saint Gorg ! futy male guis,
>
> Se nous aly a la batail :

"jousempry" (je vous en prie), "Normady" (Normandy) "vac" (vache): Smith, *Edition critique*, pp. 198–210.

[87]'Boudin' is, of course, connotatively rich, with a wide semantic range. From its use in context, it seems clear that "bodin" is a representation of the Middle English 'boden' (to deliver a message) or 'bod' (a message): Smith, *Edition critique*, p. 200.

[88]On nearly half of the occasions when English characters speak, they use an oath.

[89]For example, while 'translating' the herald's message, the "Connestable d'Engleterre" declares: "Milort, bigod ! s'bodin tast ly | Gost ! art ! tol ! moust ! alst ! mat ! goul ! det !": *Edition critique*, p. 129. Again, meaning may have been conveyed to the audience through accompanying (probably exaggerated) miming and gestures.

[90]Smith notes that "l'utilisation du procédé linguistique de jargon dans le cas des personnages anglais joue le rôle d'une dégradation de la langue qui est le pendant, dans l'ordre de l'abaissement, de ce qu'est le latin comme élévation": *Edition critique*, p. 72.

La Franchquin frap toc a de tail ;

Ly tué et mort fré meny :

Tout qui ne dity piqueny !

Il faity prendre par sa col

Trestout mon gent de grant licol ;

Je sçavery bin, par Saint Gorg !

Qu'i copy a mon gent son gorg

Et asomy de son grant dac. (p. 130)[91]

At first, the English characters tell us little more than how they plan to strike down their enemy. Once they set off for France, their minds turn quickly to beer! Thomelin, one of the English soldiers, tells us:

Nous ne veut que de bon goudal

Et de bon bier de grant bouteil,

De frommag et de gros pourcel,

Et couchy a palaid a pors. (p. 153)

Thomelin, like his compatriots, William and Jouan, is not a valiant knight but rather a lowly farmhand. Nevertheless, some of the more noble English characters also share his taste for beer and a good "drinc" (p. 144). Later, when Thomelin and William are killed in battle, the author mocks their dying wishes.[92] Finally, the English readily

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[91]The speech is ambiguous, since, in the first part, it is impossible to be *sure* who is killing whom. This may have been intentional, in order to present the English King as muddled and confused. Smith interprets "piqueny" as a representation of the Middle English 'piggesnye' ('my darling') and, consequently, as a shibboleth identifying the French (*Edition critique*, p. 207). However, only a few years later, in his *Passe-temps de oisiveté*, Robert Gaguin uses the mispronunciation of "piqueny" as a means of identifying the English. Here, it has been interpreted as referring to the town of Picquigny on the Somme (see below, p. 130, note 117). It is not clear that either interpretation is correct, though the pronunciation of "piqueny" was certainly a marker of identity.

[92]Thomelin's dying wish is that "le prest d'Engleterre [...] ne fouty point mon fam | moingnet que petit tantinet". William wills his armour to Saint George and wishes to be remembered to "la joly Perret" with whom he has frequently engaged in "la gullery" ('aiguillonage'): Smith, *Edition critique*, p. 160. Such bizarre last wishes can be compared to those found in other, similar *testaments parodiques* from the same period: Smith, 'Le Jargon Franco-Anglais', p. 269.

accept that they are no match for the French (p. 161). After being roundly defeated, the English King declares:

> Bigot, moy non rentry jamais
>
> En France de contee d'Armenac.
>
> Ly bail a mon gent tant de clac
>
> Qu'i fondry tout sa bacinet.
>
> Je fais pais a ly, par ma het !
>
> Afin qu'il tuy plus mon plus mon gent. (p. 169)

Here, we have only the bare bones of Henry III's 1242 Poitou campaign. In this respect, this play is very different from the *Mistere d'Orleans* which had focused more on a close attention to historical detail. In the *Jeu Saint Loÿs*, the author gives us just enough information to evoke the *idea* of an English invasion. The events described could be from *any* invasion in the two hundred or so years before the play was written. The English characters, with their stock names, are little more than stereotypes; even the names of the King's nobles ("Talebot" (Talbot), "Rondel" (Arundel), "Clocestre" (Gloucester), "Ïort" (York)) resonate much better with the fifteenth century than they do with the thirteenth. They are evocative of the 'typical' English noble soldier. In the *Jeu Saint Loÿs*, the English are only one part of a much more extensive narrative. This is unsurprising as Saint Louis was better known for his piety and crusading than for dynastic quarrels with the Plantagenets. Nevertheless, the English are still clearly identified as a foreign other, and, as such, are essential to the patriotic function of the play; they are an adversary to be ritually mocked and defeated before the action can move forward. The *Jeu Saint Loÿs* demonstrates a broader, growing self-confidence in

relation to the 'old enemy'. The main focus of this work's treatment of the English is not bitter condemnation and abuse, but rather mocking derision.[93]

4. English intervention in Brittany, 1488–92

Anglo-French relations, though relatively good after the accession of Henry VII in 1485, quickly deteriorated when, in September 1488, Duke Francis II of Brittany died without a male heir. By this time, Brittany was the last remaining semi-autonomous *apanage* within the Kingdom of France. French efforts to regain control of the Duchy after the Duke's death were quickly seized upon by Henry VII as a pretext for his revival of a more aggressive foreign policy. Henry renewed his dynastic claim to the French throne, isolated the French diplomatically and embarked upon a series of military adventures across the Channel, culminating in a short war in October 1492.[94] It

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[93]A similar though more concise approach was used some fifty years later, when Pierre Gringore produced his own *Vie de Monseigneur Sainct Loys*. In Gringore's work, the role the English play is reduced to 90 out of a total of 6572 lines, and the English characters are limited to an even more general "Roy d'Engleterre" accompanied by nameless "Seigneurs". Here, the narrative too has been simplified: the English take advantage of Louis's absence on crusade to invade France; Louis returns; the English abandon their invasion. Yet, the English are still ridiculed and mocked as a persistent, though rather ineffectual, adversary, and Gringore still felt that it was worth including them in his play. Gringore's *Vie* is known from a single manuscript: BnF MS f. fr. 17511. The text was edited by Anatole de Montaiglon and James de Rothschild in Pierre Gringore, *Œuvres completes*, 2 vols (Paris: Plon, 1858–77; repr. Nendeln: Kraus, 1972), II (1877), pp. 1–349. For the sections on to the English, see pp. 155–7, 174–9. The staging of this work cannot easily be dated though it was probably performed over a number of years from around 1511–12: see Jean-Claude Aubailly, 'L'Image du prince dans le théâtre de Gringore', in *Le Pouvoir monarchique et ses supports idéologiques aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, ed. by Jean Dufournet, Adelin Fiorato and Augustin Redondo (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne nouvelle, 1990), pp. 175–89 (pp. 178–9). For other works by Gringore featuring the English, see below, pp. 206–10.

[94]For the historical background, see John M. Currin, 'England's International Relations 1485–1509: Continuities Amidst Change', in *Tudor England and its Neighbours*, ed. by Susan Doran and Glen Richardson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 14–43; '*The King's Army into the Partes of Bretaigne*: Henry VII and the Breton Wars, 1489–91', *War in History*, 7 (2000), pp. 379–412; '*To Traffic with War*? Henry VII and the French Campaign of 1492', in *The English Experience in France c.1450–1558: War, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange*, ed. by David Grummitt (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2002), pp. 106–31.

is against this background of political tension and active conflict that three of the texts from our *corpus* were written.

The English only feature in part of the first text, a poem of 104 octosyllabic *septains* praising the virtues of Charles VIII's sister Anne of Beaujeu.[95] This anonymously written work is known from a carefully produced but unfinished fifteenth-century manuscript in which it has the title, *L'Aisnée fille de fortune*.[96] Given the subject, it seems likely that this manuscript was intended for the princess, though there is no evidence to indicate that she ever owned it. Historical events mentioned in the text allow us to date composition after late 1488.[97] Anne was regent during Charles' minority (1483–91), and the poem reflects her involvement in contemporary politics.[98] There are, for example, numerous topical references to political events towards the end of the regency. Several political figures from the period are also briefly mentioned, with those who had opposed the princess being humorously mocked. Moreover, the poet stresses Anne's wise exercise of authority and power, comparing her to various great and heroic women, queens and goddesses.[99]

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[95]References will be given in the text and are to *Poëme fait à la louange de la dame de Beaujeu*, ed. by Antoine Lancelot, *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 8 (1733), pp. 579–601 (pp. 588–601). Lines follow a standard *ababbcc* rhyme throughout.

[96]BnF MS f. fr. 25409: *L'Aisnée fille de fortune: Anne de Beaujeu*. Spaces have been left blank for an illumination and for a decorated capital on the first page.

[97]Among numerous topical references allowing us to date the text, the poet refers to the death of Duke Francis of Brittany (p. 584).

[98]Anne was co-regent with her husband, Pierre of Beaujeu.

[99]Anne is compared favourably to such diverse figures as Judith, Esther, Dido, Semiramis, Penthesilea, Thamaris, Cinope, Minerva, Medea, Carmenta, Fredegunde, Artemisia, Cleopatra and Julia. Most are also found in Christine de Pisan's *Cité des dames* (1405). See *La Città delle dame/La Cité des dames*, ed. by Patrizia Caraffi, and Earl Jeffrey Richards (Milan: Luni, 1997).

Most of the work is therefore concerned either with praising Anne or mocking her adversaries. Four stanzas at the end of the first third of the text deal with the English.[100] They follow a very similar pattern to the rest of the work. First, the poet compares Anne to Joan of Arc:

Entre vous Anglois d'Angleterre,

Voulés-vous prendre à elle querelle,

Retournés-vous en à grant erre,

Pis trouverés que la Pucelle. (p. 586)

Next, he alludes to the situation in Brittany, reminding the reader of Lord Scales's recent death at the battle of Saint Aubin du Cormier:

[…] Il ne faut ja qu'on la vous celle

La mort du bon Prince Descalles,

Portez les os dedans vos malles. (p. 586) [101]

Then, he reminds the Earl of Arundel of his ancestor's fate at the battle of Gerberoy (1435):

Et vous le Comte d'Arondel

Souviegne-vous de Gerberoy,

L'autre Conte y laissa la pel,

Si ferés-vous comme je croi […]. (p. 586) [102]

In the third stanza, the poet turns to Henry VII, mocking him and urging him to put an end to his ambitions in France:

Vous Grand Escuyer d'Angleterre

Tournés-vous-en à l'escuirie,

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[100]Stanzas 34–7 (p. 586).

[101]Sir Edward Woodville, Lord Scales (c. 1455–1488).

[102]John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (1408–35) was killed at the battle of Gerberoy. Here, the poet is addressing Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel (c. 1450–1524).

Car vous perdrez votre desserre,

Oncques ne fistes telle follie ;

Vous sçavés bien, quoi qu'on vous die,

Que l'on a veu assez de fois

France Simetière d'Anglois. (p. 586)

In the fourth stanza, he addresses the English more generally, depicting them as a rabble who, he suggests, should go back home to their beer:

Entre vous autres gros Jacquiers,

On vous descoudra bien vos toiles ;

Allez-vous-en, je vous requiers,

Les François vous sont trop rebelles,

Vous y larrez brides et selles :

Mieux vous voulsist estre en Galles

Pour aller boire vos Godalles. (p. 586)

This poem is not an extensive study of the English, or of the finer points of the political situation after 1488. We see none of the moralising or finger-pointing characteristic of some of the earlier works. The poet draws on current affairs principally to flatter and entertain. He moves swiftly from one idea to the next, relying on his readers' ability to recognise the briefest of allusions. Here, anti-English sentiment is activated through a few simple stereotypes and evocative names. The poet plays a kind of 'game', inviting readers to share in a pre-existing, culturally held view of the English. By successfully recognising the stereotypes and names, making the appropriate connections and 'filling in the gaps', the readers engage with the text and, at the same time, self-identify with their own social, political and *cultural* ingroup.

Robert Gaguin's *Passe-temps d'oisiveté* was composed at around the same time, and although discussion of the English themselves only features in part of this work, the ongoing Anglo-French diplomatic negotiations in which Gaguin was involved form its backdrop.[103] Gaguin is best known for his *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum*, a hugely successful Latin history of France which was published in several editions from 1495, and in Pierre Desrey's French translation from 1514.[104] As well as being an eminent Humanist scholar and General of the Order of the Holy Trinity, Gaguin also served on several diplomatic missions on behalf of the King.[105] In particular, he was involved in three missions to London between February 1489 and February 1490.[106] On the last of these, he wrote the *Passe-temps*, and it is very much in this context that it should be read.

In the *Compendium*, Gaguin is consistently hostile towards the English. Mireille Schmidt-Chazan has pointed out that: "On retrouve [...] dans le *Compendium* les traits communément prêtés aux Anglais par les Français du XIV^{e} et du XV^{e} siècles, sans plus de nuances ; Gaguin reprend à son compte l'héritage des conflits passés et demeure tout

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[103]References will be given in the text and are to *S'ensuit le passe temps d'oysiveté* in *Roberti Gagini, Epistolae et orationes: texte publié sur les éditions originales de 1498, précédé d'une notice biographique et suivi de pièces en partie inédites*, ed. by Louis Thuasne, 2 vols (Paris: Bouillon, 1904; repr. Paris: Slatkine, 1977), II, pp. 366–423.

[104]Robert Gaguin, *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* (Paris: Pierre Le Dru [1495]). Numerous editions with continuations were published in the first half of the sixteenth century, including five before the author's death in 1501. Desrey's translation was published, with continuations, as *Les Grandes croniques: excellens faitz et vertueux gestes des tresillustres et treschrestien, magnanimes et victorieux roys de France* (Paris: Galliot Du Pré, 1514). Du Pré published another edition with same title in 1515. An edition with Desrey's continuations was published in 1518 as *La Mer des croniques et mirouer historial de France* (Paris: Nicole de La Barre); later continuations were published with this title throughout the sixteenth century. For the *Compendium* and for its relationship to other vernacular chronicles, see Franck Collard, *Un historien au travail à la fin du XV^{e} siècle: Robert Gaguin* (Geneva: Droz, 1996).

[105]For biographical details, see Thuasne, I, pp. 4–168.

[106]Thuasne, I, pp. 76–87; John M. Currin, 'Persuasions to Peace: The Luxembourg–Marigny–Gaguin Embassy and the State of Anglo-French relations, 1489–90', *The English Historical Review*, 113 (1998), pp. 882–904.

pétri de l'hostilité qu'ils ont engendrée et qu'entretiennent, encore à son époque, les ambitions anglaises".[107] In this work, Gaguin depicts the English as greedy, untrustworthy, rebellious and, above all, as implacable enemies of the French.[108] This attitude can partly be explained by Gaguin's objectives for the *Compendium*. As Schmidt-Chazan argues, it is very much a patriotic work. In it, the author frequently demonstrates French pre-eminence by comparing France favourably with other countries and cultures, principally Italy, but also England.[109] We might, therefore, expect to find a similar approach in the *Passe-temps* but, in fact, it is surprisingly uncritical of the English. The context of diplomacy in which this poem was written would certainly have been a significant factor in determining its tone. As John M. Currin argues, the *Passe-temps* may even have been intended for Henry VII himself.[110] However, since it is singularly lacking in praise for Henry, it seems more likely that Gaguin intended his work for the entertainment of fellow diplomats, perhaps as part of a poetic exchange with others gathered for the negotiations.[111] No manuscript of the

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[107]Mireille Schmidt-Chazan, 'Histoire et sentiment national chez Robert Gaguin', in *Le Métier d'historien au Moyen-Âge: études sur l'historiographie médiévale*, ed. by Bernard Guenée (Paris: Université de Paris I – Panthéon-Sorbonne, 1977), pp. 233–300 (p. 256).

[108]Schmidt-Chazan, pp. 253–6. On this subject, she refers us to an anecdote related by Gaguin in the *Compendium*, in which he claims that the English hate the French:

> Itaque (sicut ego accepi cum apud Henricum Anglie regem hujus nominis septimum Caroli octavi regis Francorum tunc regnantis legationis munere fungerer) liberos suos dum per etate licet plerique in Anglia parentes arcu sagittas mittere instituunt propositaque illis Franci hominis effigie "age, inquiunt, fili disce ferire et mactare Francum" [*Compendium* (1495), fol. xlvi^{v} (Book VI)]. (p. 255)

[109]Schmidt-Chazan, pp. 233–64.

[110]Currin argues that the *Passe-temps* "was not the idle literary exercise suggested by its title, but had a political and diplomatic purpose", and that "it probably was intended for the King and his courtiers as an eleventh-hour appeal for them to drop their demand for tribute for long lost claims and make peace": 'Persuasions to Peace', p. 898.

[111]We know that while in England, Gaguin engaged in an exchange of Latin verse with poets associated with Henry VII's court, including Giovanni Gigli, Pietro Carmeliano, Cornelio Vitelli and Bernard André. See David Carlson, 'Politicizing Tudor Court Literature: Gaguin's Embassy and Henry VII's Humanists' Response', *Studies in Philology*, 85 (1988), pp 279–304. Gaguin's French poem is presented as a work produced literally to help pass the time while awaiting further instructions to arrive from Paris.

poem has survived, but it was transmitted to a broader French audience in at least two printed editions, probably at the end of the fifteenth century.[112]

The *Passe-temps* is a fictional conversation between Gaguin and one of the English diplomats, "herault Sestre" (Herald Chester).[113] In 171 octosyllabic *septains*, both men discuss the merits of war and peace, though their conversation is very general and they do not refer to any details of the dispute between France and England.[114] Chester's contribution to the debate is minimal; his role is mainly to elicit further information through questions and more general expressions of surprise or agreement. All of the main ideas are conveyed in Gaguin's own voice. First, unexpectedly, Gaguin makes an argument against peace, claiming that it leads to "oysiveté" which, in turn encourages vice (pp. 371–7); he argues that war is natural to man's condition, since all of nature is in conflict (pp. 378–85); moreover, war is the scourge of God, by which order is restored and the wicked are punished (pp. 386–90). Next, Gaguin makes the case for 'true peace'. For our author, there is no true peace without justice; justice and peace are as one (pp. 394–5). The benefits of true peace are immeasurable (pp. 396–401); its absence is God's punishment (pp. 403–5). We are told of the dangers of war:

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[112]*Sensuit le passe // temps doysiuete* ([Paris (?): Michel Le Noir (?), 1498 (?)]); *Sensuit le passe // temps doisiuete de maistre Robert // gaguin docteur en decret ministre // et general de lordre saincte trinite // et redemption des captifz pour le // temps quil estoit a lōdres en ambas // sade auec tresnoble et puissant sei // gneur francois mōsiegn̄r de luxē // bourg pour le roy de France atten // dant le retour de noble hōme wa // leren de saint bally de Senlis. Leq̄l // estoit retoure* (sic) *en france deuers ledit // seigneur pour certains articles tou // chans la charge de lambassade Mil // cccc. iiii^{xx}. ix au moys de decēbre* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d.]). The first is a more carefully produced edition than the second. They were both probably printed in the context of Louis XII's renewal of the Treaty of Etaples with England shortly after his accession in 1498.

[113]Herald Chester was Thomas Whyting, one of the diplomats involved in the negotiations and the author of a number of poetic works. See Thuasne, I, pp. 82–3.

[114]The poem has a standard metrical structure with lines rhyming *ababbcc* throughout and with each stanza ending in a proverb.

kings are deposed and their kingdoms devastated (pp. 405–12). He who makes war bears a great responsibility:

> Prince qui change paix pour guerre
>
> Est cause des maulx qui en viennent :
>
> Il fait orphelins leur pain querre,
>
> Par luy grans pechés s'entretiennent,
>
> Par luy garsons grans se soustiennent ;
>
> Et faucile devient baniere.
>
> Prince doit mettre en tout maniere. (p. 412)

Gaguin reminds Chester that war gains man nothing (pp. 413–5) and, after very generally alluding to the dispute between France and England (pp. 415–6), he ends with a parable warning that alliances with a third party often produce unexpected results (pp. 416–23).[115]

Gaguin's treatment of the English is a departure from what we have seen in other texts. He avoids ridicule, abuse and moral condemnation. Instead, he uses a more general argument about war and peace to caution against war with France. To underline this argument, he subtly alludes to the recent civil unrest in England and, ominously, to the English 'habit' of deposing their kings:

> Par vous mesmes le povés veoir ;
>
> Le temps passé vous en fait sage ;
>
> Vous aves eu moult beau miroir
>
> Depuis ving ans sur ce passage ;
>
> Vous avez tins piteux maisnaige
>
> De changer et rechanger roys.

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[115]The *Passe-temps* thus echoes the structure and some of the arguments in Platina's *Disputatio de pace et bello*. See Thuasne, pp. 322–4.

Prince n'est seur en telz destrois. (p. 411)

However, attacking or criticising the English is not Gaguin's main aim here. Within a few lines, we read a plea not just for peace but also for mutual acceptance and co-operation:

Qui est Anglois pour tel se tienne ;

Qui est François le soit de fait ;

L'ung bon voisin l'autre soustienne.

Paix soit faicte et ne nous souvienne,

De bruict, de noise, ne de guerre.

Vive France, vive Engleterre ! (p. 415)[116]

For our author, the English and French must accept each other as *different*. Indeed, they do not speak the same language, or share the same customs:

Jamais Françoys bien ne saura

Jurer *bi God*, ni *brelaré*,

By my trost, my pourfitera

Ne *maistre*, *milord*, ne *seré* ;

Anglois aussi, tant soit curé,

Ne formera bien *Pinqueny* ;

Nature a bien tout departi. (p. 416)[117]

Gaguin represents French identity as *difference*. Even if the English are not the enemy, they are still very much the other. In every respect, Gaguin's poem is remarkable for what it does not say about the English: it fails to criticise them, but it also fails to praise

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[116]The striking effect of the line "Vive France, vive Engleterre !" is reinforced by the fact that it also breaks the pattern of epiphonemic proverbs otherwise found throughout the poem.

[117]Here, Gaguin is, of course, also drawing on the stereotype of English swearing and oath-taking. Thuasne understood "pinqueny" to be a reference to the town of Picquigny on the Somme. Since a treaty had been signed between France and England near this town in 1475, Gaguin may very well have come across English attempts to pronounce the name. However, "piqueny" is also found in the jargon used in the *Jeu Saint Loÿs* (c. 1465), indicating that the term may, in fact, predate the famous treaty (see above, p. 120, note 91).

them. Gaguin has nothing good to say about his hosts. He avoids anything that might distinguish them *positively* from the French.[118] They are not an other to be copied or admired. Indeed, underlying all of this is the political argument that it is their very otherness that makes the English unsuitable for government in France. Gaguin's "Vive France ! Vive Engleterre !" is, perhaps, better read as "Vive la différence !".

Our third text is much more overtly hostile towards the English. In a technically sophisticated verse composition of 160 lines produced in the context of Henry VII's 1492 invasion, Octovien de Saint-Gelais depicts the English as an enemy to be chased from France.[119] H. J. Molinier believed this poem to have been intended for Charles VIII, but there is no evidence that it was ever presented to him.[120] We know that Saint-Gelais had been associated with the court prior to 1491, and that he produced a number of politically inspired *pièces de circonstance* between 1491 and 1493 perhaps in an effort to regain his position there.[121] However, these poems have only survived in later manuscript and printed compilations of Saint-Gelais's work or in compilations of verse

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[118]Gaguin is more forthright in his criticism of the English in the Latin verse composed after the Embassy had failed. In it he complains of English ingratitude, trickery and deceitfulness. See Carlson, pp. 297–304.

[119]References will be given in the text and are to *Exhortation à chasser vaillamment les Anglais débarqués à Calais, le 6 octobre 1492*, ed. by H. J. Molinier as an appendix in his *Essai biographique et littéraire sur Octovien de Saint-Gelays, évêque d'Angoulême* (Rodez: Carrère, 1910; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972), pp. 277–81. The poem is divided into 20 decasyllabic *huitains* in *rimes batelées* (*(-)a(a)b(-)a(a)a(a)b(b)b(b)c(-)c*). Saint-Gelais also exploits extensive and, in places, elaborate use of assonance, consonance and alliteration, self-consciously foregrounding the text's poetics.

[120]Molinier writes:

> Quoique cette pièce ne soit précédée d'aucune mention indiquant qu'elle fut composée pour Charles VIII, le contexte ne laisse aucun doute à ce sujet. Au moins à deux reprises, le poète s'adresse directement au roi, et les derniers vers de cette pièce commençant par le mot *Prince*, comme dans les ballades, montrent clairement que tous ces huitains furent adressés à Charles VIII lui-même (p. 40).

[121]See Molinier, pp. 15–29, 38–57.

more generally, so we cannot be sure about how they initially circulated.[122] Our poem is found in only one manuscript, an early sixteenth-century collection of the work of a number of poets from Chastelain to Clément Marot. Even if it was never presented at court, the poem's presence in this manuscript indicates that it continued to be of interest some twenty or thirty years after it had been composed.

In this poem, Saint-Gelais targets his indignation at the French as well as at the English, and, given the direct tone he adopts with the King, it is, indeed, questionable whether such a work would have been well-received at court. In the first stanza, he tells us that his role as poet is to speak honestly:

> Où est plume qui deust ores plesser,
> Bouche cesser de vérité semondre ?
> Ne deuveroient escripvains s'avancer
> Pour recenser sans plus oultre passer,
> Ne eux lasser de dire ou de respondre :
> "Nous voyons tondre nos brebis et confondre,
> De larmes fondre nos prochaines citez,
> Commencement de grans nécessitez. (p. 277)

Saint-Gelais then scathingly attacks French moral corruption but always in the context of outrage at the alien presence of the English in France. He moves from an inclusive "nous" in the first five stanzas to a more accusing "vous" thereafter, as he addresses his

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[122]Among these poems is a ballade commemorating the marriage of Charles VIII and Anne of Brittany, a poem on the loss of Arras to the Emperor Maximilian in 1492, and another praising peace in the context of the treaties agreed with England, Spain and the Empire in 1492 and 1493. They are found in two important compilations of Saint-Gelais's work: BnF MS n. a. fr. 1158 and BnF MS Rothschild 2582, as well as in Antoine Vérard's 1509 edition of the *Chasse et depart d'amours*. See Molinier, pp. 43–57, 294–5; Jacques Lemaire, 'Le MS Paris, B.N., N. A. FR. 1158: observations sur quelques œuvres de Mellin et d'Octovien de Saint-Gelais', *Scriptorium*, 31 (1977), pp. 30–69; Emile Picot, *Catalogue des livres composant la bibliothèque de feu M. le baron James de Rothschild*, 5 vols (Paris: Morgand, 1884–1920; repr. Franklin, 1967), III (1893), no. 2582.

complaints to various members of French society, including "princes" (p. 280), "nobles, laiz, séculiers" (p. 279), and also to a more general "françoise nation" (p. 278).[123] In places, Saint-Gelais directly addresses the King (pp. 279, 281), obviously less critically, but still urging him on to take action against the enemy.

There are few direct references to the English (and only two to them by name). Saint-Gelais does not criticise or condemn them at length. In fact, he has little to say about them. He makes only very limited use of one or two standard anti-English stereotypes, though, when used, they concisely and very efficiently convey an attitude of hostility to the other. From the outset, the English are established as the enemy. In the second stanza, we read:

> Nous voyons près et souffrons en nos parcs
>
> Loups et liépards, reproche inestimable [...]. (p. 278)

Three stanzas further on, we are reminded that "estrangiers" are busy plundering the Kingdom (p. 278). Then, in the eighth stanza, we find the English, briefly, as the 'old enemy':

> Quand Fortune, de foudroyant tonnerre,
>
> Voulut par guerre vos pères sagiter
>
> Mettant partout les mutins d'Angleterre,
>
> En vostre terre, pour les persécuter [...]. (p. 279)

Finally, two stanzas before the end, our attention is again directed towards the English; Charlemagne, we are told, would have ensured their defeat:

> [...] Si Charlemeine eust encore vye humaine,
>
> Jour de sepmaine n'eust cessé par ses faictz

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[123]The "nous" in the first part of this text stresses Saint-Gelais's shared membership of the audience's cultural group so that criticism is seen as galvanising and from within rather than divisive and from outside.

Que ces Anglais n'eussent esté deffaictz. (p. 281).

The English are presented as a natural enemy who throughout history the French have resisted and defeated. They are ultimately this text's *raison d'être*; it is only in the light of their invasion that we can make sense of the poet's complaints about the French.

Saint-Gelais rebukes the French for their self-indulgence and condemns their dancing, feasting, idle conversation and vanity:

Nous gaudissons, nous saultons, nous dansons,

Le temps passons oyseux en nonchallance ;

Nous tracassons et bien petit pensons

Aux grans ransons et diverses façons,

Que nous laissons desja courir en France [...]

Nous employons le temps à voluptez,

Devant flatter et moquer en derrière ;

Abitz portons couppez, eschiqetez,

Pimpelotez, larges et fagotez,

Souliers pattez d'une estrange manière.

Prix ne prière ne nous servira guière,

Si, sans bannières, nous souffrons tels dangiers,

Pour enrichir de nos biens estrangiers. (p. 278)

Above all, the poet complains of French inaction in the face of enemy attack. The French behave like cowards; they have forgotten the example set by their ancestors and they refuse to fight. Charles VII and Louis XI are provided as models for the King (p. 279), and Saint-Gelais warns him that his crown is "digne de mespris" without honour and fame earned on the battlefield (p. 281). Here, we are not faced with the positive-negative, ingroup-outgroup opposition that we might have expected. The poet

focuses his most vocal criticism on the French. For Saint-Gelais, the French have lost their true identity and only by taking up arms against the English can they find it again.

Although each of the three texts from this short period treats the English in a different manner, they all present them as an other to be distinguished from the French. Nevertheless, none of these texts develops anti-English stereotypes at any great length, and we do not find the angry condemnation and abuse more typical of works written shortly after the end of the Hundred Years War. This may, of course, have been because of the relatively small scale of the 1488–92 conflict. Little of that time was spent fighting, and the English did not advance deep into the country or seriously threaten Paris. Indeed, Saint-Gelais's poem illustrates the difficulties involved in getting those entrusted with defence of the Kingdom to take the English threat seriously. However, by the 1490s, the English were, in any case, much less of an active threat to French identity; they had become more of a persistent irritation to be mocked in literature and, in reality, to be literally 'paid off'.[124]

5. *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris* (c. 1495)

The *Roman de Jehan de Paris* is a prose narrative of just over 20 000 words, composed at the end of the fifteenth century.[125] In it, fictional Kings of France and England compete to marry the King of Spain's daughter. The narrative itself is relatively uncomplicated. A marriage between this princess and the King of France's

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[124]By the Treaty of Etaples (1492), the English agreed to peace with the French on condition of being paid the sum of £10 000 a year. This renewed the terms of the very similar Treaty of Picquigny agreed after a different short-lived invasion in 1475.

[125]References will be given in the text and are to *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris*, ed. by Edith Wickersheimer (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1923).

son is arranged when the French King restores his Spanish counterpart to power after a rebellion. Years pass, the French King dies and the Spanish forget their promise, marrying off their princess by proxy to the King of England. The latter must travel through France to complete the marriage in the Spanish city of Burgos, and is joined on the journey by Jehan de Paris, the new French King disguised as the son of a rich *bourgeois*. The English King is puzzled and amazed by Jehan's apparently incongruous wealth and liberality and, on arriving in Spain, entertains his hosts with tales about this strange young man. Jehan eventually makes a magnificent entry into Burgos (described at great length by the author), reveals his identity and claims his bride. The Spanish immediately recognise Jehan's prior claim to their princess's hand and arrange a wedding, while, in the meantime, the English King returns home with nothing. Our narrative is, thus, one of Anglo-French rivalry, presented in a generally light-hearted and entertaining manner.

This anonymously produced text is known from two early sixteenth-century manuscripts and from numerous printed editions of which at least six were published between 1533 and 1580.[126] Unfortunately, the manuscripts themselves provide no information about the initial readership.[127] It has been variously suggested that this work was intended for the entourage of Charles VIII or of his wife, Anne of Brittany, or

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[126]There is little evidence to support Anatole de Montaiglon's tentative attribution of this work to Pierre Sala: *Le Romant de Jehan de Paris, roy de France: revu pour la première fois sur deux manuscrits de la fin du XV^e siècle* (Paris: Picard, 1867), pp. XXXIV–XXXVIII. See Lynette Muir, 'Pierre Sala and the Romance of *Jean de Paris*', *French Studies*, 14 (1960), pp. 232–4. Of the two known manuscripts, only one has survived: BnF MS f. fr. 1465: *Ung noble et tres excellent Romant nommé Jehan de Paris*. Louvain, Bibliothèque Universitaire, MS G 54 was destroyed during the Second World War. Editions were printed in Lyon in 1533, 1534(?), 1554 and 1560, and in Paris, twice, in 1580. See Wickersheimer, *Le Roman*, pp. VII–XVI.

[127]Both manuscripts were described by Wickersheimer (*Le Roman*, pp. VII, X–XIV), and Montaiglon (*Le Romant*, pp. XXXIX–XLI). Though neatly copied, they are not luxurious presentation pieces and contain no dedication, nor any other paratextual information allowing us to tie the work to a particular readership.

that it was propaganda in support of their marriage. There are certainly echoes in the narrative of important events from Charles' reign. In particular, there are similarities between the circumstances surrounding the marriage in *Jehan de Paris* and those surrounding Charles' marriage to Anne. There are also parallels between Jehan's entry into Burgos and Charles' triumphant entry into Florence in November 1494. This would clearly have been appreciated by those who could easily identify the real events and people disguised in the narrative, but the later success of this work in print indicates that it could also have a much broader appeal.[128]

Part of the lasting appeal of this work to a broad French readership lies in its confident and entertaining representation of the King of France as superior to all other kings and the Kingdom of France as superior to all other kingdoms. This is achieved both by means of a flattering depiction of France, the French, Jehan and his entourage, and through a generally condescending representation of the English and their King and of the Spanish and other Iberian Kings at the court in Burgos.[129] The English, then, are not the only other against whom the French define themselves in this work. Nevertheless, there is a marked difference between the way in which they and the

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[128]The narrative clearly echoes the circumstances surrounding Charles VIII's marriage to Anne of Brittany. For example, Anne's father gave a commitment not to have her marry without Charles' agreement; Charles later married Anne while ostensibly on a pilgrimage to Rennes even though she had already been married by proxy to the Emperor Maximilian. Furthermore, the Spanish princess in the text is named Anne (p. 18) and the physical description of Jehan resembles that of Charles (p. 65). Jehan's entry into Burgos could, in fact, evoke any one of the numerous triumphant entries made by Charles on his campaign through Italy in pursuit of his claim to the Kingdom of Naples. It is, however, most like his entry into Florence on 17 November 1494. Nevertheless, Charles had already been received in a number of northern Italian cities and would later make triumphant entries into Rome (December) and Naples (February 1495). See Montaiglon, *Le Romant*, pp. XX–XXIV; Edith Wickersheimer, *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris: sources historiques et littéraires, étude de langue* (Paris: Champion, 1925), pp. 27–55; Omer Jodogne, '*Le Roman de Jean de Paris* et le roi Charles VIII', *Bulletin de l'Académie royale de Belgique: Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques*, 65 (1979), pp. 105–20.

[129]The Kings of Navarre and Portugal are also present at the court.

Iberian characters are depicted. Whereas the Iberian characters are portrayed as humble and self-deprecating, the English are mocked as foolish, rather arrogant and consequently ridiculous. Indeed, they are ridiculous precisely because, unlike the Iberian characters, they believe themselves to be the equals of the French. The author, however, makes it very clear that they are in every way inferior. He does this principally by comparing the English and French Kings in three specific areas: physical appearance, magnificence and wisdom.

Physically, the English King has little in his favour. He is described in the authoritative voice of the narrator as "desja fort vieulx et cassé", and we learn that the Spanish princess only agrees to marry him "pour amour de son pere et de sa mere" (p. 19). Ineed, on seeing him "elle n'en fut pas trop joyeuse, car saige fille estoit, si se pensa en elle que ce n'estoit pas ce que luy falloit" (p. 44). By contrast, Jehan and his nobles are "merveilleusement beaux et blondes, et bien en point", and "sur tous estoit le roy le plus beau et le plus parfaict, car bel et grant homme estoit" (p. 27). When the princess first sees Jehan, she becomes "si roge qu'il sembloit que le feu luy sortist du visage" (p. 66), and there is no question of her rejecting his offer of marriage (p. 86).

Jehan's magnificence is conveyed in depictions of his food, clothing, surroundings and entourage, and also in the level of respect shown to him by the other characters. G. Hyvernat-Pou notes:

> Tout le livre baigne dans une atmosphère de luxe, de richesse, de profusion. [...] Le luxe devient un moyen de séduction, de conquête, une façon pour Jean de Paris de mettre en état d'infériorité son concurrent : le roi d'Angleterre.[130]

We are repeatedly told, again mainly by the narrator, of the rich and exotic meals Jehan shares with the other characters, always to their great wonder and amazement. For the French, eating is a pleasure to be enjoyed rather than a necessity. In contrast to Jehan's diet of rich game and finely seasoned dishes, the English King and his companions are forced to eat the sheep, cows and "vieille poulaille" that they happen upon along their route (p. 34). Indeed, Jehan's supply of food is so plentiful that he is only too willing to share it with his English rivals (pp. 33–5, 36, 37). Food, however, is not the only area in which the French excel; they also clearly outdo the English in terms of wealth. We are not only presented here with a simple comparison between Jehan's riches and the English King's lack thereof; the narrator also shapes our perceptions in a series of derisive and scornful interjections. For example, at the beginning of the English King's journey we read:

> pource que le roy d'Angleterre ne trouvoit pas bien en son pays draps d'or a sa volenté, deslibera de venir a Paris pour soy fornir de bagues, couliers et joyaulx comme mestier luy estoit. (p. 20)

Similarly, when the English have their clothes ruined in the rain, the narrator sneers:

> [Les Anglois] n'avoient nulz manteaulx, pource que au temps d'alors, n'en usoient point en Engleterre, et aussi ne sçavoient pas la maniere de les faire. Et si portoient les Anglois leurs bonnes robbes qu'ilz avoient fait faire pour les nopces, car en leur pays n'estoit point nouvelles de porter malles ne mener bautz, par quoy vous povez pencer en quel point povoient estre leurs robbes. (p. 39)

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[130]G. Hyvernat-Pou, 'Un Repas princier à la fin du XV[e] siècle d'après *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris*', in *Manger et boire au moyen âge*, ed. by Denis Menjot, 2 vols (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1984), I: *Aliments et société*, pp. 261–4 (p. 261).

Yet, riches and luxury surround everything Jehan does. On almost every page we find descriptions of his fine clothing, elegant company, sumptuous lodgings and apparently inexhaustible wealth. Such descriptions are accompanied by repeated expressions of surprise and admiration from the English (pp. 29, 30, 34–7), then, later, from the court at Burgos (pp. 52–66, 67–77).[131] As Jehan makes his entry into the city, parading his riches through the streets, the court looks on in steadily growing wonder until he himself appears "en grant triumphe" at the end of an implausibly long procession (pp. 65–6). By comparison, the English King's entry is significantly less impressive and is quickly passed over by the narrator (p. 44).[132] Jehan elicits a level of respect and admiration from the Spanish court far greater than that shown to his English rival. This is prefigured in the Spanish King's humility before Jehan's father at the beginning of the narrative (pp. 4–16).[133] It is also evident in the deferential attitude of the Iberian Kings towards Jehan both before and after they discover his true identity.[134] Initially, the English share this attitude.[135] However, they quickly begin to question

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[131]The narrator repeatedly uses variations of the expressions: "ilz furent moult esbays" and "ilz furent tous esmerveillez".

[132]The narrator first tells us that "il fut receu a grant triumphe et honneur" and then that "il fut moult bien receu, car il y avoit une moult belle assemblee". No further details are provided.

[133]The Spanish King throws himself on the mercy of Jehan's father, literally begging him to help subdue the barons' rebellion (pp. 4–13).

[134]When Jehan arrives in Burgos, the Kings of Spain, Portugal and Navarre (as well as the King of England) have to visit him to beg him to come to the court (pp. 71–6); once there, he quickly becomes the centre of attention (pp. 77–81). On discovering Jehan's true identity, the Iberian Kings fall to their knees (pp. 84–6); the Spanish King and Queen are so honoured that he will marry their daughter they offer him their Kingdom too (pp. 86–92).

[135]The English characters are puzzled by Jehan, but their actions frequently betray an instinctive deference towards him: they fear to displease him (p. 29), kneel before his magnificence (p. 36), wish to be in his company (p. 40) and, as we have seen above, are repeatedly "esbays" and "esmerveillez" in his presence.

Jehan's judgment (pp. 32, 38, 39, 41, 43, 47, 71) and tire of the great respect others show him (pp. 66, 71, 76).[136]

The failure of the English to recognise Jehan's wisdom is an important source of humour throughout the narrative. They repeatedly mistake it for foolishness, and in so doing show their own stupidity. From the outset, the reader is aware of Jehan's real identity and of his intentions in Spain, and looks on with amusement as the English misread one situation after another. In particular, the English take the three 'enigmas' set by Jehan to be examples of his madness. In fact, their solution later in the narrative confirms his superior thinking (pp. 39–42, 83–4).[137] The King of Portugal voices the reader's own conclusion at this point, when he tells the King of Spain that Jehan "n'est pas si fol comme vostre beau filz disoit, ains a ung moult beau et vif entendement de son eage" (p. 82). As Roger Dubuis has argued, in the course of this narrative we come to see the English King as naïve, foolish and inept, whereas Jehan, by contrast, offers us a model of wise kingship.[138] Indeed, before leaving Spain, the young Jehan even offers his much older father-in-law advice on how to govern his kingdom in peace and with justice (p. 92).[139]

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[136]The narrator tells us explicitly that "les gens du roy anglois estoient tous marris de la grant humilité et amour que le roy d'Espaigne monstroit a Jehan de Paris" (p. 76).

[137]The English do not understand Jehan's suggestion that they should carry "maisons pour eulx couvrir en temps de pluye" (p. 39) (he is, in fact, talking about rainproof clothing (p. 82)). Similarly, they are puzzled when he asks why they have not brought a bridge with them so that they can safely cross rivers (p. 41) (here, he is mocking their small horses; his can easily cross even the most dangerous of rivers (p. 83)). Finally, Jehan tells the English that he is on his way to Spain to recover the "canne" that his father had been hunting there years before (p. 42) (the "canne", is of course, the Spanish princess (p. 83–4)).

[138]Roger Dubuis, 'Le Personnage du roi dans la littérature narrative du XV^{e} siècle', in *Culture et pouvoir au temps de l'Humanisme et de la Renaissance*, ed. by Louis Terreaux (Paris: Champion, 1978), pp. 17–36.

[139]Compare Jehan's father's advice to the same King (pp. 15–6).

Le Roman de Jehan de Paris cannot simply be read as a representation of historical reality in the years around 1495. This work is not a straight comparison between Charles VIII and Henry VII. Nevertheless, as Dubuis argues, nor is it just a work of entertainment. The narrative develops a number of 'universal' themes: it praises good and just government and promotes peace and prosperity; it values love and free consent in marriage; it cautions against wars of conquest. Most clearly of all, it presents France as pre-eminent in all things, and, particularly, in relation to the English.[140] It is precisely this kind of engagement with political reality that distinguishes this work from other fifteenth-century narratives; *Jehan de Paris* is a celebration of French cultural superiority.[141] As Dubuis puts it:

> la mésentente cordiale qui anime le voyage que font, de concert, Jehan et le roi d'Angleterre, masque mal une méprisante anglophobie amplement justifiée aux yeux des Français par le fossé qui sépare la culture française de l'inculture anglaise.[142]

The English were represented in a wide variety of different kinds of text, targeting a range of social groups, throughout the second half of the fifteenth century. Some of these texts did not circulate widely; others reached a much larger and broader audience. Some remained in manuscript; others were later printed. A number of the texts studied in this chapter were topical works and would have been of limited interest

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[140]Roger Dubuis, 'Un 'petit roman philosophique' au XV[e] siècle: *Jehan de Paris*', in '*Plaist vos oïr bone cançon vaillant?': Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à François Suard*, ed by Dominique Boutet and others, 2 vols (Villeneuve d'Ascq: Université de Lille III, 1999), I, pp. 209–19.

[141]Roger Dubuis, 'L'Indifférence du genre narratif aux problèmes politiques du XV[e] siècle', in *Culture et politique en France à l'époque de l'humanisme et de la Renaissance*, ed. by Franco Simone (Turin: Accademia delle Scienze, 1974), pp. 213–27.

[142]Roger Dubuis, *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris: 'roman' anonyme du XV[e] siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2002), pp. 10–1.

once the events they commemorated ceased to be of immediate importance. Most, however, seem to have had retained their readers' interest much longer. From court poetry to drama and longer narratives, similar stereotypes, arguments and ideas in relation to the English consistently recur throughout the period. Whereas the hostility and anger found in writing shortly after the end of the Hundred Years War diminishes significantly by the end of the century, the English retain a crucially important role in French cultural perceptions of the foreign other. As the French begin to see themselves much more self-confidently, they depict the English less as a hated enemy and more as a contemptible rival. However, as we shall see in the next chapter, the more hostile approach to representing the English found in the earlier works in this chapter had not been forgotten and was easily revived when relations between France and England deteriorated significantly shortly after the accession of Henry VIII.

CHAPTER THREE

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ENGLISH: 1511–1514

The war between France and England from 1511 to 1514 inspired the production of a surprisingly large number of works in which the English are, once again, depicted as an enemy. This can be explained partly by the intensity of the conflict; Henry VIII seems to have been perceived as a much greater threat than his father. It can also be explained by the development and spread of printing. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, writers were able to capitalise for the first time on the new medium of print to produce short, patriotic works attacking the enemy. However, this is not to say that works in manuscript ceased to be produced. Indeed, in this chapter we will examine representations of the English in a variety of different types of work, all from the same short period. Whereas all of these works present the English as an other, distinct from the French, they use a wide range of different approaches and techniques in order to do so.

In November 1511, Henry VIII joined the papacy, Spain and Venice in a 'Holy League' to defend the Church against French ambitions in Italy. The conflict between France and England should, therefore, be understood in the broader context of the wars waged between 1494 and 1514 by Charles VIII and Louis XII to increase their influence and power beyond the Alps. More particularly, the Anglo-French conflict was an extension of the dispute between Louis XII and Pope Julius II which had begun in 1510.[1] By the time the English entered the war, a body of patriotic literature centred on

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[1]For the historical background, see J. S. C. Bridge, *A History of France from the Death of Louis XI to 1515*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921–36), IV: *The Reign of Louis XII 1508–1514* (1929), pp. 120–266; Steven Gunn, 'The French Wars of Henry VIII', in *The Origins of War in*

the French campaigns in Italy was already in existence. Authors had developed a number of rhetorical strategies in print and manuscript, including the use of reasoned argument, humour and invective, all to praise the King and attack his enemies. Anti-English writing after 1511 fitted very easily into this paradigm of praise and blame.

1. Works produced for a limited readership

The first four works covered in this chapter are all associated with circulation, at least initially, within a limited readership. The first three are linked to the court, though each in a very different way, and we cannot be certain that any of them were presented there. The first work, Jean Bouchet's *Epître d'Henry*, presents a clearly argued political and historical case against English dynastic claims in France. The second, Pierre Choque's *Marie-la-Cordelière*, is an adaptation of a Latin poem presented to Anne of Brittany. In it, Choque commemorates an important sea battle in 1512 between the English and Franco-Breton fleets, mainly to praise the Queen and the French and Breton sailors killed in the battle. The third text, Guillaume Cretin's *Invective contre les gens d'armes de France* was written in the immediate context of the battle of Guinegate in August 1513. Whereas Cretin's poem presents the English as an enemy, it is also highly critical of the French. The fourth work, the *Complainte de Thérouanne* was written in the same context as Cretin's poem, but seems to have been intended for a local readership in the city or its surrounding area.

Early Modern Europe, ed. by Jeremy Black (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), pp. 28–51; Georges Bischoff, '*Plus tost peres et filz que freres*. Maximilien et Henry VIII en guerre contre Louis XII (été 1513): une alliance anglo-bourguignonne?' in Cauchies, pp. 163–86; Glenn Richardson, 'Eternal Peace, Occasional War: Anglo-French Relations under Henry VIII', in Doran and Richardson, pp. 44–73.

Jean Bouchet's *Epistre envoyée par feu Henry Roy d'Angleterre à Henry son filz huytiesme de ce nom à present regnant oudict royaulme* is a poem of approximately 1 200 decasyllabic lines composed in September 1512.[2] In this work, the author uses a generally negative depiction of the English to support a complex historical and legal argument against their claim to the French crown and to several hereditary lands and titles in France. In particular, Bouchet exploits the stereotype of the treachery of the English and of their 'habit' of killing their own kings to present them as poor subjects in contrast to the French, who, he assures us, love and respect their kings. Although known from a number of early printed editions, both the form and content of the work suggest that it had initially been presented at court, probably as part of an attempt by the author to gain royal patronage.

Two slightly different editions seem to have been produced at the time of the war.[3] They make no mention of the author's name and contain numerous errors suggestive of a hurried, unsupervised printing.[4] We know that Bouchet was the author because the poem reappears later in a modified form in his *Epistres morales et*

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[2]This is the title given in one of the early printed editions (see below). References will be given in the text and are to *Epistre envoyée par feu Henry, roy d'Angleterre, à Henry son fils, huytiesme de ce nom, à present regnant oudict royaulme*, in *Recueil de poésies françoises des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles, morales, facétieuses, historiques*, ed. by A. de Montaiglon and J. de Rothschild, 13 vols (Paris: Jannet, 1855–78), III (1856), pp. 26–71. The date of composition is given at the end of the poem as St Matthew's Day (21 September) (p. 71); though no year is given, references to Pope Julius II indicate that the poem dates from before his death in February 1513.

[3]*Epistre ēvoyee par // feu Henry roy dan // gleterre a Henry son filz huytiesme // de ce nom a present regnant oudict // royaulme* ([n.p. n.pr. 1512 (?)]); *Epistre envoyee // des champs Elisees au // Roy Henry dengleterre // a present regnant Audit // royaulme* ([n.p. n.pr. 1512 (?)]).

[4]Two lines appear to be missing from both editions (p. 57). The text of the edition beginning *Epistre envoyee* is compressed into 37 lines per page, some of which are printed as prose (fols 12^v^, 13^r^). *Epistre ēvoyee* is printed over 45 pages with only 27 lines per page. Nevertheless, whereas the first 30 pages are cramped, there are numerous spaces and gaps in the remaining 15, and in places the print is barely legible. The woodcut on the title page (Solomon adoring the idols (?)) bears no relation to the text itself.

familières (1545).[5] It seems very likely that the anonymous editions were pirated by printers eager to cash in on the interest in patriotic literature that had been stimulated by the Italian wars. Bouchet certainly complained a few years later that his "epistre d'Angleterre" had been printed "soubdain et faulcement".[6] He probably produced a manuscript of the *Epître* for presentation to the King that later fell into the possession of unscrupulous or enterprising printers. Although he was never part of an 'inner circle' of court poets, he tells us in a later work that one of his patrons, Charles de La Trémoïlle, presented poetry on his behalf at court, and that around 1513 he had begun to gain access to the King.[7] It is, therefore, not at all implausible that the *Epître d'Henry* was one of the works that helped obtain Bouchet some degree of royal patronage.

As the full title indicates, this work is a fictional letter written from the Elysian Fields by the deceased Henry VII to his son Henry VIII. This further associates the poem with the court since, here, Bouchet is consciously emulating an exchange of poems by 'court poets' Jean D'Auton and Jean Lemaire de Belges. Nevertheless, whereas D'Auton and Lemaire focus on the conflict with the Pope, Bouchet introduces a new, anti-English element into this cycle of works.[8] In Bouchet's poem, Henry VII

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[5]*EPISTRE ENVOYÉE DV CHAMP ELI // SÉE PAR FEV HENRY, AVTRESFOIS ROY // d'Angleterre, a Henry son filz viii. de ce nom, a present regnant audict Royaul // me: Sur l'entreprise par luy faicte contre le treschrestien Roy de // France, Loys xii. de ce nom, contentant la dissen // tion du debat d'entre les Francoys // & les Angloys*, in *Epistres Morales & fami // lieres du Trauerseur* (Poitiers: Jacques Bouchet with Jehan and Enguilbert de Marnef, 1545; repr. in facsimile with an introduction by Jennifer Beard, Wakefield: S. R. Publishers, 1969): *Epistres familieres*, fols 1^{r}–8^{v}.

[6]This complaint is found in the "prolude" to the *Chappellet des princes en cinquante rondeaulx et cinq ballades, faict et composé par le Traverseur de voyes perilleuses*, fols $xxxiiii^{r}$–$xxxiiii^{v}$ (fol. $xxxiiii^{r}$), printed with George Chastelain's *Temple de Bocace* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1517).

[7]See Britnell, *Jean Bouchet*, pp. 1–11, 272–3.

[8]Lemaire's *Epistre du roy trescrestien Loys douziesme à Hector de Troye chef des neuf preux* (November, 1511) was a response to D'Auton's *Epistre faicte et composée aux Champs Elisées par le preux Hector de Troye la grand, transmise au trescrestien Roy Loys douziesme de ce nom* (c. August, 1511). See *Jean Lemaire de Belges: 'Epistre du roy à Hector' et autres pièces de*

warns his son against war with the French since this can only lead to disaster for the English, given French superiority in all things. The late King presents a systematically organised argument against his son's war aims. The first two thirds of the work deal with English dynastic claims while the final third cautions against an alliance with Julius II.[9]

Treatment of English dynastic claims is itself divided into two sections: first, Bouchet (in the voice of Henry VII) provides a narrative of the history of the English monarchy, stressing the poor relationship between English kings and their subjects (English kings are tyrants and their subjects are treacherous and disloyal); next, he refutes the legal and historical basis for English claims to land in France and to the French crown (pp. 38–56). In both sections, Bouchet presents the English as being so *different* from the French that they are *naturally* unsuitable to be their lords and rulers. He maintains that every other English King has either been killed or deposed (pp. 31, 36), providing a list of five early 'English' kings killed by their subjects (p. 29) and a

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circonstances (1511–1513); Jean d'Auton: 'Epistre d'Hector au roy', ed. by Adrian Armstrong and Jennifer Britnell (Paris: Société des textes français modernes, 2000). Bouchet directly refers to this exchange at the end of his poem:

> Ici conclus, faisant fin à ma lettre,
> Qui n'est tissue en aussi eloquent mettre
> Comme les deulx d'Hector au roy de France
> Et dudit roy à Hector [...]
> [...] Qui ont esté en epistres esleues
> Depuis ung an par nous veues et leues. (p. 70)

Guillaume Cretin, who was also associated with the court, added to this exchange with a poem written against the background of the Emperor Maximilian's adhesion to the 'Holy League' in November 1512: *Au nom du Duc Charles de Bourgogne aux Bourguignons, Holandois, Zelandois, Flamengz et Brabançons*. See Chesney, pp. 240–4. As well as being written from or to the Elysian fields, these poems all use history to praise the French and condemn their enemies. None of them were printed at the time of the war, so they can only have been known to a relatively small group centred on the court. See Jennifer J. Beard, 'Letters from the Elysian Fields: A Group of Poems for Louis XII', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 31 (1969), pp. 27–38.

[9]The clarity of the argument is supported by the work's relatively simple poetic structure: there are no stanza divisions and lines rhyme simply in couplets.

more detailed account of the varied fates of later kings from William I to Henry VII (pp. 30–7).[10] Working chronologically (and still in the voice of Henry VII), Bouchet then examines the history of English feudal possessions in France, arguing that their confiscation by the French crown has always been both legally and morally justified. He summarises his argument, telling us:

> Que les Anglois ont perdu nettement,
> Par leur malice et desobeissance,
> Rebellions, forfaict et malle meschance
> Et par crime de lèse majesté,
> Ce qu'ilz avoient en France conquesté. (p. 51)

He goes on to provide a wealth of evidence demonstrating exactly how the English have repeatedly acted treacherously towards French kings, their feudal lords in respect of these possessions.[11] A similar, forensic approach is used with regard to English claims to the French crown. First, Bouchet examines and rejects Edward III's claim through his mother, Isabelle of France.[12] Then he dismisses the claim through Henry V, heir to Charles VI by the Treaty of Troyes (1420).[13] Throughout this section, Bouchet uses a

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[10]We are told that Edward II was locked away to die "à grant souffrance", that Richard II was also imprisoned and killed "par ennuyz desplaisans" (p. 33) and that Henry VI "mourut sans royaulme, en ung lieu fort estroit" (p. 35). Bouchet also pays particular attention to the murder of King John's nephews (pp. 32, 40) and to Richard III's murder of the princes in the Tower (p. 36), but, in total, he names eleven murdered kings or princes and accuses at least seven of being usurpers.

[11]The English, we learn, are guilty of several feudal crimes punishable by disinheritance: they have repeatedly made war on their sovereign lord, have refused to do homage to him and have imprisoned and killed their own fathers, brothers and cousins in order to gain titles and power (pp. 55–6).

[12]Bouchet uses three arguments against Edward III's claim to the French crown: that Salic Law prohibits inheritance via the female line; that if Salic Law were to be set aside there would be others with a better claim than Edward; finally, that Edward had acknowledged Philip VI's better claim by paying homage to him for his lands in Guyenne (pp. 44–6).

[13]According to this treaty Henry V and his descendants were to be kings of France after Charles's death. Bouchet declares the treaty invalid because at the time of its signing Charles was ill and a prisoner of the Duke of Burgundy and because, he claims, a king of France cannot disinherit his successors (pp. 51–4).

combination of history and law to present his ideas in a clear and reasoned manner. Indeed, he draws on the arguments contained in a number of fifteenth-century diplomatic and political tracts which set out the French case against the English.[14] The *Epître d'Henry* was written at a time shortly after Henry VIII had reasserted his claim to the French crown and when rumours were circulating of an impending English invasion. It is, therefore, unsurprising that Bouchet should focus on refuting Henry's dynastic claims, particularly in a work that aimed to please the King. Nevertheless, he maintains a concise and entertaining style throughout, and this, together with the clarity and topicality of his argument, presumably helped make his work as attractive to a readership of printed, patriotic texts as it would have been to the court.[15]

Bouchet certainly provides the French with a very positive image of themselves. In contrast to the dynastic instability in England, we are told that the French monarchy can be traced back in an unbroken line to before Clovis; moreover, French kings are defenders of the Papacy and the Church and can count saints among their number (pp. 56–62). France itself is much bigger and more populous than England, and the French people are presented as the very opposite of the English: they live in peace and

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[14]In particular, Noël de Fribois's *Abrégé des chroniques* (c. 1459) and an anonymous treatise beginning *Pour ce que plusieurs* (c 1469). The first text remains unedited, but is described by Kathleen Daly, 'Histoire et politique à la fin de la guerre de cent ans: *L'Abrégé des chroniques* de Noël de Fribois', in *'La France Anglaise' au Moyen Âge*, pp. 91–101; for the second, see Craig Taylor, *'La querelle Anglaise': Diplomatic and Legal Debate during the Hundred Years War, with an Edition of the Polemical Treatise 'Pour ce que plusieurs' (1464)* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1998). Bouchet's use of these sources is discussed in Simon McKinnon, 'Jean Bouchet: *L'Epistre d'Henry VII à Henry VIII*, son *epistre dangleterre*', in *Jean Bouchet, traverseur des voies périlleuses (1476–1557): actes du colloque de Poitiers (30–31 août 2001)*, ed. by Jennifer Britnell and Nathalie Dauvois (Paris: Champion, 2003), pp. 53–62.

[15]This is shown not only by the two editions printed in 1512 but also by a third anonymous edition printed when the English invaded again in 1544: *L'esprit d'Henry // septiesme iadis roy d'An // gleterre, à Henry huicties // me à present regnant* (Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1544).

harmony under their kings, respecting God and obeying the law (pp. 60–3). Bouchet offers Louis XII as a model king:

> Le parangon des preux et des heureux,
>
> Le bras destre de la crestienté,
>
> L'observateur de toute saincteté,
>
> L'examinateur des erreurs heretiques,
>
> Le correcteur de toutes loix iniques,
>
> Le filz aisné de l'Eglise très saincte. (pp. 56–7)

Later, he makes a direct comparison between the French and English forms of government, again alluding to the idea that the English are a disorderly rabble over whom their king has little control. Henry VII reminds his son:

> Tu as le nom, et non le faict d'ung roy :
>
> Car obéy tu n'es ne ton arroy
>
> Ainsi comme est le noble roy de France […]
>
> […] Quant est de toy, tu est si très petit,
>
> Que tes subjectz font à leur appetit,
>
> En manière que tu es leur servant,
>
> Et non leur roy, sinon comme observant
>
> Leurs voulentez sans y contrevenir.
>
> Mais les Françoys, pour au propos venir,
>
> Sont tant begnins, courtoys et amiables,
>
> Si vertueux, humbles et maniables,
>
> Que leurs maisons, leurs biens, corps et richesses
>
> Abandonnent, par très grandes largesses,
>
> Pour à leur prince en tout temps obeyr ;
>
> Sans luy voulloir en rien desobeyr. (pp. 61–2)

On the whole, Bouchet avoids vituperative abuse, but, given his rhetorical strategy and intended audience, this enhances rather than diminishes the strength of his argument.[16] By conveying this argument entirely in the voice of an English king, the poet subtly produces a tone of ironic and moralising contempt for the enemy.[17] The *Epître d'Henry* is essentially a work in which the poet attempts to flatter Louis XII by demonstrating his and his people's superiority over their enemy, the English. Bouchet uses English history to make a powerful case against Henry VIII's war aims, but he also uses it as a negative backdrop against which to portray the greatness of Louis and his ancestors.

Pierre Choque's *Marie-la-Cordelière* is a translation, or a reasonably close adaptation of Germain de Brie's Latin *Chordigerae navis conflagratio*.[18] It is known from two surviving manuscripts, one of which offers a reworking of the text found in the other.[19] Both *Marie-la Cordelière* and the *Chordigerae* give an account of the battle

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[16]Only once, for example, does Bouchet refer to the English as "godons" (p. 50).

[17]In her study of 'Courriers Elyséens' as a literary mode in early sixteenth-century France, Pascale Chiron notes the moralising tone of many such works, and argues that advice from 'the Elysian fields' commands special respect because it reflects the wisdom and authority of one speaking from paradise. See her 'Courriers Elyséens', in *L'Imaginaire de la communication*, ed. by Claude-Gilbert Dubois, 3 vols (Bordeaux: Talence, 1995–6), I (1995), pp. 25–34 (pp. 28–9).

[18]References to Choque's poem will be given in the text and are to M. A. Jal: *'Marie-la-Cordelière' (XVI^e siècle): étude pour une histoire de la marine française* (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845); 'L'*Hervéus* de Germain Brice: Errata pour *Marie-la-Cordelière*', *Annales maritimes et coloniales* (1845), pp 717–30. Brie's text was printed twice at the beginning of the sixteenth-century: *Chordigerae navis conflagratio* (Paris: Bade, 1513); *Chordigerae navis conflagratio. Ex secunda recognitione* (Strasbourg: Schurerii, 1514). See Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie, 'Un érasmien français: Germain de Brie' in *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia*, ed. by Jean-Claude Margolin, 2 vols (Paris: Vrin, 1972) I, pp. 359–79.

[19]BnF MS f. fr. 1672: *Poème sur la 'combustion de' la 'nef nommé la Cordelière'* ; Paris, Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs Français, MS 85.1: *Pierre Choque: le combat de la Cordelière*. The second is a reworking of the first, and is a considerably more lavish production. For the relationship between the two manuscripts, see 'Pierre Choque: le combat de la Cordelière. Rouen, 1514–15', in Jean-Baptiste Lebigue, Michel Garel and Dominique Courvoisier, *Manuscrits du Moyen Âge et manuscrits littéraires modernes: la collection de la Société des manuscrits des assureurs français* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 2001), pp. 113–8.

between the Franco-Breton ship, the Cordelière, and the Regent, the largest ship in the English fleet, off the coast near Brest on 10 August 1512.[20] They praise the bravery of the crew of the Cordelière and commemorate the heroic death of its captain, Hervé de Portzmoguer. In both works, the English are portrayed as a treacherous enemy who have broken their word in going to war against the French.

Marie-la-Cordelière and the *Chordigerae* are essentially *pièces de circonstance*. Brie's poem is dedicated to the Queen, Anne of Brittany, as is Choque's, though Choque's second manuscript is also dedicated to Anne's daughter, Claude of France.[21] Both men were in Anne's service: Brie as one of her secretaries, Choque as her herald 'Bretagne'. Since the *Chordigerae* is dated 23 October 1512, Choque's translation must have been written shortly afterwards, or at least while the poem's subject was still topical.[22] Choque describes his poem as a gift for the Queen (pp. 26–7). As Anne of Brittany's herald of arms, he was well placed to present a work at court recording the events of an important military engagement involving the Breton fleet.[23] By offering the Queen this work, Choque, presumably, hoped to maintain or improve his position in

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[20]See Bridge, IV, pp. 183–5; Charles Bourel de La Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, 6 vols (Paris: Plon, 1899–1932), III (1906), pp. 93–104.

[21]Choque's dedication begins: "O très illustre, très crestienne, très haulte, très puissante et très excellente pacificque souueraine, et sacrée dame et princesse, madame Anne Brute Troiene, royne de France deux foiz, duchesse et seulle héritière de la noble terre bretonicque" (pp. 25–6). This dedication is also found in Choque's second redaction, though it is preceded by the dedication to Claude de France inserted at a later date.

[22]The *Chordigerae* is dated in the dedicatory letter at the beginning of both printed editions.

[23]See A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy, 'Discours des cérémonies du mariage d'Anne de Foix, de la maison de France, avec Ladislas VI, roi de Bohême, de Pologne et de Hongrie, précédé du discours du voyage de cette reine dans la seigneurie de Venise, le tout mis en écrit, du commandement d'Anne, reine de France, duchesse de Bretagne, par Pierre Choque, dit Bretagne', *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Chartes*, 5th series, 2 (1861), pp. 156–85, 422–39 (pp. 156–8). For Choque's later account of the Queen's funeral, see Hélène Bloem, 'The Processions and Decoration at the Royal Funeral of Anne de Bretagne', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 54 (1992), 131–60; L. Merlet and Max de Gombert, *Récit des funérailles d'Anne de Bretagne, précédé d'une complainte sur la mort de cette Princesse et de sa généalogie* (Paris: Aubry, 1858).

her entourage. Although many Latin poems were dedicated to Anne of Brittany, these and other works were often translated for her into French by writers associated with the court.[24] It seems likely that Choque made an initial presentation, possibly by reading his poem aloud to the Queen, then reworked it for a more lavish manuscript; when Anne died in January 1514, he rededicated this new manuscript to her daughter.

In general, Choque faithfully translates Brie's *Chordigerae*, though he changes the order in which certain sections appear and the translation in the second manuscript is a more polished version than that in the first. Choque also translates the separate epitaph for Portzmoguer that accompanied the *Chordigerae*, but he distinguishes his work from Brie's by adding a significant amount of liminary material.[25] The English only feature in the main poem, so their image in this work was largely determined by the way in which they are represented in the source text. Neither the *Chordigerae* nor *Marie-la-Cordelière* makes significant use of anti-English invective. Nevertheless, these poems are certainly patriotic. They appeal to the reader's identity both as Breton and as French. Indeed, it is principally through opposition to the English that Breton and French identities are intertwined.

The English are only directly referred to in a small part of the text, most of which is dedicated to a celebration of the duty, bravery and self-sacrifice of the crew and captain of the Cordelière. Choque draws on courtly ideas of nobility and chivalry

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[24]See Michael Jones, 'Les Manuscrits d'Anne de Bretagne' *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 55 (1978), pp. 43–81 (p. 67); A.-P. Ségalen, 'Esquisse d'un état présent des recherches sur Anne de Bretagne et la littérature de son temps', *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 55 (1978), pp. 97–110 (p. 101).

[25]BnF MS f. fr. 1672 contains a dedication to Anne of Brittany, a *chant royal* in her honour and a *rondeau* "exhortant de l'honneur dudit Portmoguer". Paris, Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs Français, MS 85.1 contains all of the above plus a lament on Anne's death, a new *chant royal*, *rondeau* and dedication to Claude de France.

and even exaggerates the ferocity of the battle in order to underline the courage of the Franco-Breton sailors involved in it. Their combat is portrayed as a duel to the death, and Choque's account of it is embellished with numerous Classical and Biblical similes and metaphors, further enhancing the heroic tone of the work. Nevertheless, the part played by the English in this poem is crucial since, as the enemy, they are the reason the battle was being fought, and, consequently, they are ever present in the background, even if they are rarely mentioned.

When Choque does mention the English, they are described stereotypically as "angloys orgueilleux" (p. 28) or "faulx ennemys" (p. 34, 36). From the outset, he is very clear about where blame for the war lies:

> O roy Louys qui peulz chacun destruyre
> Quant les anglois de voulloir inique,
> Veullent auoir les dominacions
> Et s'efforcent auoir possessions,
> Par grandz armes et pour toute relique,
> Oultre leur foy et promesse jurée,
> En ton pays viennent la main armée. (p. 29)

This draws on longstanding ideas of English wickedness, greed and treachery, but it is also more cutting as an allusion to contemporary complaints that, in declaring war on the French, the English had broken a promise of peace sworn between Henry VIII and Louis XII in March 1510. It seems that this accusation alone, also found in the Latin text, was enough to provoke a protracted dispute between Brie and Thomas More.[26] Nevertheless, once this image is established in the reader's mind, the poem moves on to

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[26]See Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie, 'Un érasmien français', pp. 366–8; Guy Lavoie, 'La fin de la querelle entre Germain de Brie et Thomas More', *Moreana*, 50 (1976), pp. 39–44.

focus on the French and Bretons rather than the English. Brie and Choque were writing for a court-centred readership whom they flatter with a collective self-image in which the bravery and heroism of the ingroup is contrasted against the greed and treachery of the other.[27]

Guillaume Cretin's *Invective sur l'erreur, pusillanimité et lascheté des gens d'armes de France à la journée des Esperons* is also associated with the court, though it is very unlikely that it was ever presented there.[28] It is one of a number of poems inspired by the battle of Guinegate and destruction of Thérouanne, a city in the north west of France, some thirty miles from Calais.[29] On 16 August 1513, the French, attempting to provision Thérouanne, were ambushed at nearby Guinegate by a numerically superior Anglo-Imperial army.[30] In a state of general confusion, the French *gens d'armes* fled the battle and a number of their captains were captured in what later became known as the "journée des éperons". Shortly afterwards (23 August), Thérouanne fell to the English. Cretin's poem is an attack on the enemy, but it is also a powerful attack on those who fled the battlefield.

In 1513, Cretin was already a respected poet in contact with important members of the King's household as well as members of the households of the Dukes of Valois and Alençon. Several of his friends and correspondents, such as François Charbonnier,

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[27]The battle between the Cordelière and the Regent aroused considerable interest. Brie's poem was printed again in 1514 and, at around the same time, Humbert de Montmoret produced his own Latin account of the events: *Fratris Humberti Montismoretani Herveis: Cum praefatione Clementis Bovilli* (Paris: H. Le Fevre, [n.d.]). Brie's epitaph for Portzmoguer is mentioned by Rabelais: *Le Quart Livre*, ed. by Robert Marichal (Geneva: Droz, 1947), p. 115 (Chapter 21).

[28]References will be given in the text and are to Chesney, pp. 203–10.

[29]For the others, see below, p. 160.

[30]The English had launched a significant invasion from Calais, led by Henry VIII himself, in June 1513.

Jacques de Bigue, Honorat de La Jaille, and François and Florimond Robertet, combined royal or ducal service with the composition of poetry, some of which they exchanged with each other.[31] We know from a letter written by Cretin to Charbonnier in autumn 1513 that the *Invective* was composed shortly after Guinegate and that Cretin intended to send Charbonnier a copy but was advised against doing so by Bigue.[32] It is possible that Cretin initially hoped to have this poem brought to the attention of the King or one of the Dukes, but, given the subject, it seems much more likely that it had always been destined for the limited circle of government officials and financiers with whom Cretin was in contact. This poem was certainly intended for a poetically literate audience. Throughout, Cretin shows off his own expertise: in what would have been a textually and visually stunning work, he employs an intricate rhyme scheme in stanzas of alternating line length, with *rimes batelées* in the longer stanzas and extensive use of alliterative enumeration, consonance and assonance, particularly in the shorter stanzas but also throughout.[33]

Unfortunately, no contemporary manuscript of the *Invective* has survived. It is known from the first, posthumous edition of Cretin's works, edited by Charbonnier in

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[31]Cretin himself was 'trésorier' of the Sainte-Chapelle at Vincennes. Charbonnier was 'secrétaire' to the Duke of Angoulême; Bigue was a 'valet de chambre' to the Duke of Alençon; La Jaille and Robertet were both 'valets de chambre' to Louis XII. For biographical details, see Chesney, pp. xix–xxv, 383–4, 386–7, 394, 401. For Robertet and this *milieu* more generally, see C. A. Mayer and D. Bentley-Cranch, 'François Robertet: French Sixteenth-Century Civil Servant, Poet and Artist', *Renaissance Studies*, 11 (1993), pp. 208–22.

[32]Cretin writes:

> Il y a ung quidam en ses marches qui, par legiereté de plume et pour se desennuyer, a mynuté invective contre la lascheté des gensd'armes : j'en avoye ung double prins, pour le te transmettre, mais le filz nostre de Bigue l'a mise en sa possession, disant qu'elle ne se doibt envoyer ; et voila qui t'en oste la vision.

Epître dudit Cretin audit Charbonnier, in Chesney, pp. 274–5 (p. 275).

[33]There are 28 *huitains*, alternately of ten and five syllables. The decasyllabic lines are in *rimes batelées*; the shorter lines rhyme more simply as *aaabaaab*. This work is thus reminiscent of Saint-Gelais's poem on the English invasion of 1492 in both content and form.

1527.[34] It is unlikely that the poem was printed prior to this. During Cretin's lifetime, nearly all of his work seems to have circulated in manuscript within his circle of friends and fellow poets. To some extent, then, the collective identity represented in this poem is that of a specific social group. This is evident from Cretin's treatment of the role the French themselves played in the battle. He laments Guinegate, blaming defeat on the French army, which he explicitly accuses of cowardice (pp. 204, 205, 206, 209). He does not just criticise the *gens d'armes* of the title, but, much more strikingly, he also attacks the lords, barons and knights who had allowed the English to invade:

> Seigneurs du sang, barons et chevaliers,
>
> Tous seculiers d'illustre parentage,
>
> Permettez vous a ses godons, galliers,
>
> Gros godalliers, hauspalliers, poullalliers,
>
> Prendre paliers au françoys heritage ?
>
> O ! quel oultrage endurer de vostre eage,
>
> Veoir telle rage escheoir, que Dieu ne vueille ;
>
> Quant chef endure, il fault que membre dueille. (p. 205)

The poet's treatment of his own social and professional class is very different. He praises "tresoriers", "financiers" and "notables", and commends their important contribution to the war (p. 207).[35] Nevertheless, Cretin does also look beyond this group, appealing to a broader French identity, first, by reminding his readers of the "nation's" past glories:

> O nation françoise, ou est la pompe
>
> Que a son de trompe obtins par toute Italle

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[34]Guillaume Cretin, *Chantz royaulx, oraisons et aultres petitz traictez* (Paris: Gaillot du Pré, 1527), fols CXX^{v}–CXXV^{v}.

[35]Cretin and his friends held various posts essential to the King's income: most notably, François Robertet was 'trésorier du Bourbonnais' and his brother Florimond was 'trésorier de France'.

Le temps passé ? faut il qu'il se corrompe

Ton loz, et rompe ? ambition te trompe ;

On bragues et pompe, on perd force totalle ;

Esse fatalle adventure ou brutalle

Qu'on ne s'estalle au combat regarder ?

Le bon renom sur tout se doibt garder. (p. 205)

Then, crucially, he calls for unity in opposition to the foreign other. Both the English and the Empire are identified as the enemy, but, apart from an initial reference to an alliance of the "aigle" (the Empire), "leonceaulx" (Flanders/Burgundy) and "lyeppars" (England) (p. 206), only the English are given any developed treatment.

Cretin exploits the full range of anti-English invective; the English are "godons d'Angleterre" (p. 204), "Angloys couez" (p. 208) or simply "les godons" (p. 209). As we have already seen, they are depicted as little more than loutish, beer-drinking good-for-nothings and thieves (p. 205). Such an intensely hostile depiction of the English is essential here in order to take some of the sting out of Cretin's equally intense attack against the French. The English have to be presented as a real threat in order to justify the poet's repeated complaints about the pusillanimity of members of his own "nation". By name-calling and reviving stereotypes of the English as the 'old enemy', Cretin concisely and powerfully identifies the other against whom the French must unite. Once this is done, there is no further need for him to go into detail about why the English are so hated or about their war aims and dispute with the French. By attacking the English, Cretin firmly situates himself among the group of 'us' against 'them', making himself less vulnerable to accusations of treachery. Thus, when we read of the turmoil and division brought about by the war, we know exactly whom ultimately to

blame, even if our anger is initially also directed at those who had failed to defend the Kingdom:

> Malheuretez durent,
>
> Tous estatz murmurent,
>
> Peuples maulz endurent,
>
> Deniers se despendent,
>
> Gens de guerre jurent,
>
> Blasphement, parjurent
>
> Mauldissent, conjurent
>
> Et se contrebandent. (pp. 203–4).

Cretin's was not the only work written against the background of the battle of Guinegate and the siege of Thérouanne. Indeed, the fall of Thérouanne to the English served as the inspiration for a number of works, not just in French, but, also, in Dutch, German, Italian and Latin.[36] Here, we will consider another French poem, but one which seems to have been written for a limited, local readership. The *Complaincte que les Franchois firent de la ville de Therowene que les Angloys ardirent en l'an 1513* is found in a single sixteenth-century manuscript collection of verse.[37] Most of the works

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[36]*Van den Fransoysen die gefangen und doit sint umbtrent Terewain* ([Antwerp (?): Henri Eckert van Homberch (?), 1513 (?)]); *Newe Gezeitigung auss romischer kaiserlicher Maiestat und des künigs von Englellandt Here vor Terebona In Bickhardia* ([Erhard Öglin (?): Augsburg (?) 1513 (?)]); Perusino da la Rotunda (?), *La Rotta de Francciosi a Terrvana novamente facta* (Rome: Stephanum and Herculem, 1513); Valerand de La Varanne, *Urbis morini post eversionem querimonia*, in *De Gestis Joanne Virginis France egregie bellabricis* ([Paris: Jean de Gourmont, 1516]). See Otto Heinemann, 'Ein unbekanntes Flugblatt über die Schlacht bei Terouenne (1513)', *Sammlung bibliothekswissenschaftlicher Arbeiten*, 6 (1894), pp. 74–85; Bischoff, pp. 163–4; *La Rotta di Francciosi a Terroana novamente facta; La Rotta de Scocesi*, ed. by George John Spencer (London: Roxburghe Club, 1825); Ernest Prarond, *Trois poèmes de Valerand de La Varanne, poète latin du XVI^e^ siècle* (Paris: Pacard, 1889).

[37]Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS French 144: *Collection of French Historical Material*, pp. 81–5. This manuscript contains verse by Jean Molinet, Olivier de la Marche and Nicaise Ladam, among others. Some of this material, including our poem, is also found in an eighteenth-century manuscript: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 879: *Manuscrit de*

in this collection relate to the towns of Artois, Picardy and Flanders, or to the broader political context of the Burgundian Netherlands. The manuscript itself seems to have been compiled for a family of merchants living in Saint-Omer, only seven miles from Thérouanne.[38] The *Complainte* probably circulated separately, prior to being copied for the collection, but the copyist does not identify his source. Nothing in the text gives us any indication as to the poet's identity, though, given his level of knowledge about Thérouanne, the surrounding area and the siege, it seems very likely that he had some connection with the city. He certainly writes from a French rather than from a Burgundian perspective, and this marks his work out from most of the others in the collection. The siege of Thérouanne features in only one other work in the manuscript: a short verse history of the city from the earliest times until the end of 1513. However, the English do not feature significantly in this work; in fact, its author seems to be very vague about where responsibility for the city's fate lay.[39]

Our poem is a lament in the voice of the city of Thérouanne, who, we are told, has been abandoned to the English:

Moi Thérouenne, cité tres renommée,

Robert d'Affreingues, procureur de la ville. References will be given in the text and are to *Complainte que les Franchois firent de la ville de Thérouanne*, ed. by [François] Quenson, in *Bulletin historique trimestriel de la Société académique des antiquaires de la Morinie*, 1 (1854), pp. 204–9.

[38] An *ex-libris* at the end of the manuscript reads: "appartient à Jehan de Haffreingues, marchant demourant sur le grant marchiet de Saint Omer". For the manuscript and the collection as a whole, see Adrian Armstrong, 'A Manuscript of French Historical Writing', *John Rylands Research Institute Newsletter*, 14 (1997), pp. 16–17; Charlotte Helen Crew, *A Study of Rylands French Ms. 144* (unpublished masters thesis, University of Manchester, 2000).

[39] John Rylands MS French 144, pp. 130–8: *Complaincte de Theroenne*. The text was edited by Quenson as the *Complainte de Thérouanne* in *Bulletin historique trimestriel de la Société académique des antiquaires de la Morinie*, 1 (1854), pp. 260–6. This poem self-consciously develops on references to Thérouanne in the middle stanzas in Molinet's *Journée de Therouenne* (c. 1479): Dupire, *Les Faictz et Dictz*, I, pp. 127–36. It presents the history of the city from a clerical perspective and is critical of the French, Burgundians and, implicitly, the English.

La plus gastée qui soit soubz le climat ;

Las de tout mal je suis environnée,

Habandonnée aux Anglois desloiaux.

Il n'est cheval, ne montagne, ne val,

Qui le total portast de ma misère,

Qui mon coeur serre plus fort que riagal ;

Rien n'est égal à mon mal sur la terre. (p. 205)

In sixteen decasyllabic *huitains*, the city affirms her loyalty to France and calls for help from the King. She complains that her fortifications have been razed, her wealth pillaged and her churches defiled (pp. 205–6). Thérouanne condemns those neighbouring cities who sided with the enemy (Saint-Omer, Arras, Tournai), and she calls on the local nobility to come to her defence (pp. 206–8).[40] Finally, she prays to God for deliverance (p. 209).[41] Throughout the poem, Tournai clearly associates herself with France rather than with Burgundy and invites the French to lament her fate:

La vous Franchois ayez de moi pitié !

Et lamentez ma perte douloureuse. (p. 205)

From the beginning, it is the English who, as "Anglois desloiaux", are identified as the enemy. References to them are invariably accompanied by stereotyped abuse: they are "faux godons" (p. 206), "faulz Anglois" (p. 208) and even "ces infâmes paillards villains Anglois" (p. 209). In this poem, the reader is very clear about where

[40]Several names are cited in the text; most are difficult to identify with any certainty, but include: the "seigneur de Heylly" (Guillaume de Pisseleu, Lord of Heilly (?), d. after 1532), "Le Tillay gay" (Jean de Mazzis, Lord of Tillay (?), d. 1518), "Pont de Remy" (Antoine de Créquy, Lord of Pont-Rémy (?), d. 1525), "Monsieur du Fresnoy" (Artus de Moreuil, Lord of Fresnoy (?) d. 1537).

[41]The first five stanzas differ in content and form from the rest of the work. Here, the poet employs a more complex scheme of *rimes batelées* (*(-)a(a)b(-)a(a)a(a)b(b)b(b)c(-)c*) and his complaints are of a more general nature. The internal rhyme is abandoned in the rest of the poem and the complaints tend to be much more specific. It is possible that first five stanzas represent an initial state of the poem, with the remaining stanzas having been added later.

blame lies for the city's woes. Indeed, the poet stresses the moral and spiritual depravity of his enemy:

> Ils ont pilliet églises et moustiers,
> Les faux londiers remplis de tirnanie,
> Filles ravies, ornements, candeliers,
> Rompu céliers et chambre bien garnie,
> Fait vilainie à l'église Marie ;
> Car despouilliet du tout le sanctuaire,
> Porte-arière aussi le trésorier,
> Toute souillyé on n'en porroit plus faire. (p. 206)

The siege of Thérouanne and the subsequent destruction of its fortifications are thus presented, not as so much as a military operation, but rather as the act of violent, uncontrollable and irreligious mob. The English are reduced to the level of a barbarian horde. Such an image serves as an effective backdrop against which the poet makes numerous calls for revenge. The local French nobility are urged to join the Dauphin (Francis of Angoulême) and the King in restoring Thérouanne to the Kingdom.[42] In this way, the *Complainte* acts as a powerful assertion of group identity and belonging at a local level, but, as with our other texts, it does this through a decisive rejection of the foreign other.

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[42]For example:

> [...] Pour moi vengier prie humblement à tous,
> Frappés mailliés, affolés de tranchiés,
> Ces faux godons faudriez de vos coups [...]. (p. 206)
>
> [...] Venés combattre les anglois main à main,
> Contre vos coups ils ne porront durer [...].
>
> [...] Ne craindez poinct ces anglois ne leurs flesches [...]. (p. 207)
>
> [...] Montez vous bien et prendez vo harnoy
> Pour ces Angloys festoyer à votre aise. (p. 208)

At around this time, Jean Marot probably composed an early version of his *Deffence contre les emulateurs, ennemys et mesdisans de France*. Jean, the father of Clément Marot, was closely associated with the royal court and, particularly, with Anne of Brittany to whom many of his works were dedicated.[43] In the form in which it has survived, the *Deffence* is a *délibération* of just over two hundred lines in which each of the three estates of France proclaim their loyalty to the King and condemn his enemies both at home and abroad. Although there is no concrete evidence of a version composed around 1513, the text of this poem, published by Clément in 1533 in the first edition of his father's collected works, seems to combine a version referring to events in Louis XII's war against the Holy League with another version relating to the 1522–5 war between Francis I and Henry VIII, which has survived in two anonymous editions.[44] Most of Jean Marot's work remained in manuscript during his lifetime and seems to have circulated within a limited readership at court so his writing would fit neatly into the current group of texts.[45] However, since, from the limited material

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[43]For biographical details, see Jean Marot, *Les Deux Recueils*, ed. by Gérard Defaux and Thierry Mantovani (Geneva: Droz, 1999), pp. ciii–cxc.

[44]*La responce de Frãce & des estatz // aux escriuains sedicieux*, in *LE RECVEIL IEHAN // MAROT DE CAEN, POETE // & escripuain de la magnanime Royne An // ne de Bretaigne, & depuys Valet de chãbre // du Treschrestien Roy Françoys premier // de ce nom* ([Paris: Roffet, 1533 (?)]), pp. 43–51. The title in the anonymous editions is *Deffence contre les emulateurs, ennemys et mesdisans de France*: see below, pp. 263–4. Comparing the surviving versions, Defaux and Mantovani have argued that the work was probably produced for the 1511–14 conflict then reworked in 1523. The 1533 version, they maintain, retains elements of the earliest text, though it also includes features of the 1523 text as well. For example, the 1533 version contains references to Venice and the Papacy which are clearly out of place in a work written for the war between Francis and Henry, but which fit comfortably into the context of Louis XII's war against the Holy League. Moreover, stanzas referring specifically to the situation in 1523 are otherwise inexplicably omitted in 1533. See their edition in *Les Deux Recueils*, pp. 304–8.

[45]See Defaux and Mantovani, pp. xlviii–lxviii. Marot did include anti-English rhetoric in some of his other poetry. For example, in a passage in a poem composed in the spring of 1512 and presented to the Queen, "Labeur", speaking to the Queen, declares:

> [...] Mais si tu veulx que celle ne perdons
> Qui pour guerdons
> Donne grans dons
> A tous vaillans gensdarmes et archiers,

provided by the 1533 version, it is impossible to distinguish the exact form of any early text, or even to be sure that one existed, this poem will not be studied here, but in our discussion of the 1522–5 conflict below (chapter five), and as it appears in the anonymous editions.[46]

2. Printed pamphlets

The war between 1511 and 1514 saw the first significant use of printing for the circulation of short, anti-English pamphlets or *plaquettes*. Six such texts have survived from this period but, because of their ephemeral nature, many others may have been lost. These pamphlets tend to be more singularly focused on the English than some of the works we have looked at so far in this chapter; though, like the other works, printed pamphlets employ a range of different techniques to represent the English as an enemy. Produced relatively inexpensively, they were able to circulate quickly and within a larger and socially more diverse readership. Authors and printers alike realised that there was a growing demand both for patriotic literature and for news and information about important events such as battles and sieges. Indeed, it seems that readers

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Nous gaignerons enseignes et guydons,
Lances, bourdons,
Des ces godons
Anglois, couez plus que regnars terriers.
Ce sont noz vielz ennemys faulx et fiers,
Qui nos deniers
Ont en greniers,
Larrons, meurtriers, gens sans grace ou pardons.
Mais si jamais entrent en noz quartiers,
De noz routiers
Adventuriers
Batus seront mieux qu'en nopces bedons [...]

BnF MS f. fr. 1539: *Prieres sur la restauration de la sancté de Madame Anne de Bretaigne, Royne de France*, in Defaux and Mantovani, pp. 120–54 (pp. 136–7).

[46]See below, pp. 261–8.

increasingly expected to find emotive, chauvinistic discourse in such works. Those writing against the English in print could easily satisfy such expectations by drawing on the pool of anti-English images and arguments which, as we have seen, was already well established in literature.[47]

The six works studied in this section were all printed as *in-octavos*, thereby using the minimum amount of paper (the most expensive commodity in the print process). Three of the texts were printed on eight leaves, requiring one sheet of paper; three were printed using half-sheet imposition over four leaves, with one sheet producing two whole copies.[48] The small format of these works made them attractive to booksellers and buyers alike because they could be stored or carried around easily. All but one of the works have a woodcut on the title page, though, in common with most similar pamphlets produced around this time, the cuts bear little relationship to the text itself and are taken from a widely used stock. Unfortunately we know very little about how many of these pamphlets were printed. We can assume that print runs would normally be relatively small because printers would be unwilling to invest too much financially in a work that could easily become outdated and difficult to sell as political events moved on and alliances changed.[49]

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[47]Graham Pollard has demonstrated in relation to the early printed books in England that readers' demands and expectations frequently determined the nature of the books printers chose to produce: 'The English market for printed books', *Publishing History*, 4 (1978), pp. 7–46 (p. 9).

[48]The process of half-sheet imposition is described in Jeanne Veyrin-Forrer, 'Fabriquer un livre au XVI^{e} siècle', in *Histoire de l'édition française*, ed. by Roger Chartier, Henri-Jean Martin, and Jean-Pierre Vivet, 2nd edn, 4 vols (Paris: Fayard, 1989–91), I (1989): *Le Livre conquérant: du moyen âge au milieu du XVII^{e} siècle*, pp. 336–69 (p. 349).

[49]For the format, production and reception of early sixteenth-century *plaquettes* containing news and information, see Jean-Pierre Séguin, *L'Information en France de Louis XII à Henry II* (Geneva: Droz, 1961), pp. 1–53.

The first text from this group, the *Pater Noster des Angloys*, is a mock prayer in which the English lament their condition and beg God's protection in the face of inevitable defeat by the French.[50] It was printed in a small volume of just four leaves and with no indication of the place or date of printing, nor of the identity of the author or printer.[51] Allusions to the Anglo-Spanish campaign in Navarre and to Scottish threats to invade England suggest a date of composition towards the end of 1512 or the beginning of 1513.[52] This short poem appeals to the reader's patriotic sentiment by presenting the English as a contemptible enemy and by rallying French support for the King. It offers a stereotyped image of the English as greedy, ridiculous and somewhat cowardly.

The text is divided into seventeen octosyllabic *huitains*, each beginning with one or two words in Latin from the Lord's Prayer.[53] The whole work is presented in the voice of a despairing Englishman who repeatedly interrupts his own prayers with incongruous complaints about his condition and fate. According to Jean-Claude Aubailly, burlesque mock prayers like the *Pater Noster des Angloys* formed part of the repertoire of late-medieval street performers and minstrels. Most are *monologues dramatiques* and would have been 'performed' before a group of people.[54] A number of

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[50]References will be given in the text and are to Montaiglon and Rothschild, I (1855), pp. 125–30.

[51]*Le pater noster // des Angloys* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]).

[52]There is also a reference to "le glan" as one of France's enemies (p. 129). Since this is clearly Julius II, who died in February 1513, it is likely that the poem was composed no later than the spring of that year.

[53]Lines rhyme *ababbcbc*.

[54]Jean-Claude Aubailly, *Le Monologue, le dialogue et la sottie: essai sur quelques genres littéraires à la fin du moyen âge et du début du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 1976), pp. 33–5. See also Emile Picot, 'Le Monologue dramatique dans l'ancien théâtre français', *Romania*, 15 (1886), pp. 358–422. Apparent irregularities in the line lengths in our poem are indicative of a work initially intended to be read aloud or even sung as in the liturgy, since they can be resolved

similar mock prayers were also printed during or shortly after our period, though not all of them are humorous, and, some, such as André de La Vigne's *Patenostre des Genevois* (1507), employ a more sophisticated tone and style than that found in our poem.[55]

Many of these mock prayers and *monologues dramatiques* ridicule a particular group in society by illustrating their follies and obsessions. Humour is derived not just from what is said but also from the rambling and incoherent way in which it is presented. The textual voice thus becomes a self-mocking 'character'.[56] Already used to great effect in mocking the social other, this form was ideal as a vehicle for mocking the English. In the *Pater Noster des Angloys*, the poet presents us with an image of the English anxiously awaiting their destruction while lamenting the loss of their possessions and repeatedly declaring that they must surrender.

Pater Noster, Dieu eternel,

Tout-puissant en ciel, en terre,

[Deffens de l'ennemy mortel]

Vois les Angloys qui ont la guerre ;

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by manipulation of the pronunciation of certain words (for example, "puissance" has 3 syllables in the line "De povoir et de puissance" but only two in "Car, se par toy n'avons puissance"; the pronunciation of Latin words in the text seems to be particularly flexible).

[55]*La Patenostre des Genevois adressant leur complaincte a Dieu*, in *La Louenge des roys de France* (Paris: E de Brie, 1507). La Vigne's text is edited in Brown, *The Shaping*, pp. 168–71. Other examples of various kinds of mock prayers can be found in Montaiglon and Rothschild: *La Patenostre des Verollez*, I, pp. 68–71; *Le De Profundis des amoureux*, IV (1856), pp. 206–10; *L'Ave Maria des Espaignolz*, IX (1865), pp. 191–6; *Le Da pacem du Laboureur*, IX, pp. 276–80; *Le Credo du commun peuple celon le temps qui court*, XIII (1878), pp. 186–92.

[56]Aubailly notes:

> On peut considérer qu'il y a monologue dramatique à partir du moment où l'identification de l'acteur à un personnage qu'il met en scène n'est plus un simple artifice de présentation, mais devient l'objet même du comique. Dès lors cette identification ne se traduit plus par une simple imitation de ton et d'attitude mais par une véritable re-création psychologique d'un type donné. (p. 108)

Les François, par mer, par terre,

Nous feront des maulx infinis ;

Rendre nous fauldra grant erre

Au puissant roy des fleurs de lys.

Qui es, fus, et aussi seras

Sans fin et sans commencement,

Fais-nous du mieulx que tu pourras,

Ou destruictz serons briefvement,

Car nous voyons bien seurement

Que les François auront le pris

Se ne nous secours erraument

Contre le roy des fleurs de lys.

In celis tu est hault monté ;

Regarde çà bas que faisons ;

Plus rien n'avons, tout est gasté,

Au royaume, n'aux environs,

Noz beufz, vaches et moutons

Sallez se sont empuantis ;

Force sera que nous rendons

Au très chrestien des fleurs de lys. (pp. 125–6)[57]

As we have seen, the poet makes the most of the English taste for 'strange' food. Later, promises not to blaspheme, in fact, remind us of the English reputation for swearing (p. 126). Then, drunkenness is evoked when the English ask God to clear their debts otherwise they will no longer be able to visit the tavern (p. 128). These stereotypes are

[57]The line "Deffens de l'ennemy mortel" is missing from Montaiglon's edition.

smoothly integrated into the poem through play on the words of the Lord's Prayer: 'in heaven' the Lord sees English food rotting; his name is 'hallowed' and not to be taken in vain; and, of course, he forgives the English their 'debts'. In this poem, the English are certainly not a valiant and courageous enemy. Indeed, their cowardliness is one of its main sources of humour:

Sicut in coelo, nous vouldrions
Avoir paix en nostre terre.
Si te plaist, nous te requerons
Que n'ayons jamais la guerre.
Ung pertuis ferons en terre
Pour nous musser, grans et petis,
Ou nous en aller grant erre
Rendre au roy des fleurs de lys.

Et in terra, nous regarde
Par ton amour et amitié ;
L'yre des François retarde,
Et des Anglois aye pitié.
Delivre-nous par ta bonté
Du torment où nous sommes mis
Contre le hault et redoubté,
Le noble roy des fleurs de lys. (p. 127)

The poem is not just an attack on the English; it also rallies the French. The refrain at the end of each stanza acts as a jingoistic slogan, proclaiming the superiority of the "roy des fleurs de lys" and praising him as "puissant", "très chrestien", "noble" and "hault et redoubté". Moreover, in the final stanza, the text's English voice is 'unmasked' as the poet asserts his true patriotic sentiment:

Amen, pour finable conclusion,

Priant Jesus, sa doulce mère,

Tenir les François en union

Et les garder de vitupère,

Et donner puissance, victoire

Au roy contre tous ses ennemys.

Anglois, notez ce pour memoire,

Et vive le roy des fleurs de lys ! (pp. 129–30)

The next text is a twenty-eight-line *ballade* found at the end of a collection of four very short works celebrating peace between France and her Italian enemies, printed over four leaves in June 1513.[58] The election of Leo X on 11 March had opened the way for a rapprochement between France and the Papacy, followed by the announcement of peace between France and Venice on 3 June. The pamphlet clearly sets out the new political paradigm: it praises the Venetians and the Papacy, but singles out the English for attack. As a whole, the collection is structured by a movement of focus from Venice to the Pope then, finally, to the English: from new allies to old enemies. The first piece is a prose declaration of "paix, amytié, confederation, ligue et alliance" between France and Venice (pp. 90–1). The second, also in prose, records the details of the proclamation and celebration of this peace in Paris (pp. 91–2). The third is a *ballade* and marks the new relationship between France and the Papacy, but also briefly attacks the English as "traistres desvoyez", "pervers et maudiz" (pp. 93–4). At

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[58] *Sensuyt le traicte de // La paix faicte et pmise A tout iamais // entre le treschrestien Roy de france Loys // douziesme de ce nom Et la illustrissime // seigneurie de Venise Cryee et publiee, // a Paris le vendredy troisiesme Jour // de Juing Mil cinq cens et treze, Auec // une belle ballade, Et le regrect que faict // ung angloys de Millort hauart* ([n.p. [Widow of Jean Trepperel (?)], 1513]), fols 3^{v}–4^{r}. The entire collection is edited in Montaiglon and Rothschild, VI (1857), pp. 90–101. References are to Montaiglon and Rothschild's edition and will be given in the text.

the end of this *ballade*, there is a direct reference to the sea battle which features in the last and most strikingly original piece in the group: the *Ballade de milort Hauart* (pp. 95–6).

The *Ballade milort Hauart* is a mock *déploration* in the voice of an Englishman, lamenting the death of Sir Edward Howard who was killed on 25 April 1513 in a daring attack on a galley commanded by the French admiral Prégent de Bidoux.[59] The *Ballade*, which is entirely in Anglo-French jargon, ridicules the English with mocking humour much in the same way as had the *Pater Noster des Angloys*. The anonymous author parodies the *déploration* genre to undercut Howard's heroism. English mourning is presented as undignified and overemotional, exploiting an image of the English as irrational, fiery and excitable:

> Plory, plory, plory, d'par tout dyabl,
>
> Plory bin fort ; veny goutte à vos yeulx ;
>
> Tout Angleter plory, point n'a ti fable,
>
> Car, by saint Georg, tout l'a ty malheureux,
>
> Ha, King Henry, fa ty bin le piteux,
>
> Car ton morel où ton fians avy,
>
> Milort Havart, capitain courageux,
>
> Il fout mouru : velà faict de son vy. (p. 95)

We find all of the expected markers of difference that Anglo-French jargon so economically conveys: swearing, grammatical errors, nonsense and the repetition of

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[59]Sir Edward Howard (Admiral) (c. 1476–1513). Bidoux went on to win a significant victory over the English. See Bridge, IV, pp. 217–22; La Roncière, III, pp. 105–9. The events seem to have stimulated considerable interest. An account, apparently by Bidoux himself, was printed in Rouen as *Le Double des lettres envoyées en court, par Prégent, capitaine des gallées du Roy nostre sire en son armée de la mer* (Rouen, [n.pr. 1513]).

bizarre sounds.[60] Moreover, they each add to the humorous effect of the poem. There is also a suggestion of effeminacy, since the mourning here seems excessive and inappropriate in the voice of a male character.[61] The Englishman narrates the events surrounding Howard's death in an account that is all the more ridiculous because it would have been barely intelligible to the reader:

Com ly chaval capé de son establ,

En dyablery, tant il esty foureux,

Il saily hors de son grant barcq notabl,

Bouty dedans un galet tout erreux ;

Il cuydery fary de l'outrageux

Et gaigny tout, mais sa mestre trouvy ;

Car, by my fé, pour la trestous ses jeux,

Il fout mouru : velà faict de son vy.

Il cuydy bien qui fout insuperabl,

Quant il preny la plus cheval rongneulx

Dens son gallet, affin que tout acabl

Et que hapy Pistrigon vertueux,

Au galiack tou sailly comme preux

Et batailly, bi God, bin fort hardy ;

Mais tout frelor, et Havart, semidieux,

Il fout mouru : c'est y faict de son vy

Prince Henry, tu n'a ty point joyeux,

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[60]See above, pp. 62–3.

[61]For gendered attitudes to mourning in literature from the same period, see Cynthia J. Brown, 'Les Louanges d'Anne de Bretagne dans la poésie de Jean Bouchet et de ses contemporains: voix de deuil masculines et féminines', in Britnell and Dauvois, pp. 32–51.

Je savré bin que tu arragery ;

Pry pour son am, car tu ne sçaurez mieux ;

Il fout mouru : velà fait de son vy. (pp. 95-6)

Like the *Pater Noster des Angloys*, the *Ballade de milort Hauart* was probably initially intended for performance. It too certainly shares many of the characteristics of the *monologue dramatique*. It could have accompanied the official proclamation, or formed part of the public festivities described in the second work. Performance by an actor, perhaps using grotesquely exaggerated gestures, would not only have made the jargon more intelligible, it would also more effectively have conveyed a humorous imitation of English speech.[62] Our poet uses mocking humour to present differences between the English and French not as a question of politics or history, but rather of character and temperament, language and culture.

A different strategy was adopted by the author of our next work, the *Courroux de la mort contre les Angloys donnant proesse et couraige aux Françoys*.[63] Here, the English are attacked with angry, vituperative abuse. This short verse dialogue (253 lines) between "La Mort" and "Les Anglois" was printed in a small *plaquette* of four leaves probably in the summer of 1513.[64] The author's name, Ivon Galois, is given in an acrostic at the end, though, in fact, this may be a pseudonym designed to add to the patriotic tone of the work. Once more, accusations of cowardice are central to the

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[62]Lalou, p. 558.

[63]References will be given in the text and are to Montaiglon and Rothschild, II (1855), pp. 77–86.

[64]*Le courroux de la mort cōtre // les angloys Donnant proesse & cour // aige aux Francoys* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]). "La Mort" indicates that the French and English have been at war for two years (p. 82), but makes no mention of the English invasion, suggesting publication around, or not too long after, June 1513.

poet's attack on the enemy. Implicit throughout his poem is the idea that the English are too afraid to face the French in battle.

The dialogue itself is set within a very standard dream-vision framework.[65] The "Acteur" falls asleep and on waking sees "La Mort" reading from a book:

> Ung jour passé, estant dedans mon lict,
> Et j'eu passé du dormir le delict,
> Je m'esveillay quasi tout fatastique,
> Et je voys voir une vieille qui lit ;
> Dedens ung livre aux Anglois parle et dit,
> Parlementoit comme saige autenticque ;
> En leur lisant ce libelle, replicque
> Plusieurs promesses qui sont entre elle et eulx.
> De l'ouyr lire je ne fus ennuyeulx. (p. 77)

"La Mort" tells us that the English had made her a promise to bring death and destruction to France, but that they have broken this promise since they are too cowardly to make war on the French (pp. 78–9). Suitably enraged, she launches into a harangue of over 130 lines, subjecting the English to a torrent of abuse in which they are described variously as "une nation venimeuse" who "vallent pis que les crapaulx",

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[65]The dream-vision framework is a standard motif in late medieval poetry. Typically, a narrative at the start of a work establishes that what follows is the account either of a dream or a waking-vision which then usually requires an allegorical interpretation. See Giovanna Angeli, 'Le type-cadre du songe dans la production des Grands Rhétoriqueurs', in *Actes du V^e colloque international sur le moyen français, Milan 6–8 mai 1985*, 3 vols (Milan: Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1985–6) I (1985): *Les Grands rhétoriqueurs*, pp. 7–20; François Cornilliat, 'Aspects du songe chez les derniers rhétoriqueurs: analyse du *Labyrinthe de Fortune* et du *Séjour d'Honneur*', *Réforme, Humanisme, Renaissance*, 25 (1987), pp. 17–37; Adrian Armstrong, 'Signing the Frame: The First Edition of Jean Bouchet's *Déploration de l'église militante*', *Neophilologus*, 79 (1995), pp. 397–402. The poem is divided into distinct sections identified by numerous changes in rhyme or metre. Whereas the main part of the dialogue is in decasyllabic *huitains*, the poet uses a range of other forms and line lengths perhaps in an attempt to demonstrate his ability.

as "loups ravissans", "infectz", "pervers", "houliers", "despiteux", "puans", "felons", "villains", and "larrons" (pp. 78–85). "La Mort" repeatedly labels the English as "godons" (pp. 79, 81, 83, 84) and "couez" (pp. 80, 82, 83, 84, 85), and makes an interesting allusion to them hatching devils:

> J'aymeroys mieulx que couez en leur pense
>
> Eussent cent dyables, s'ilz povoient tenir. (p. 83)

Here, "couez" combines the ideas of the diabolical nature of the English with their plotting and scheming with "La Mort".[66] Where it is used elsewhere in the poem, it reinforces the central theme of cowardice by association with the etymologically very similar "*cou*ardise".[67] Death's tirade against the English serves to denigrate and vilify them. However, abuse also marks the abused as other and at the same time generates a sense of complicity within the group whose ideology it articulates. The *Courroux de la mort* is, in places, an outpouring of unrestrained anger and loathing:

> Godons couez, crapaulx favorisables,
>
> Allez-vous-en musser, que ne vous voye :
>
> Car vous estez si hydeulx, detestables,
>
> Quant je vous voy, mon cœur n'a point de joye;
>
> Infaictz, puans voullez-vous sus Montjoye
>
> Venir ruer sans y avoir droicture ?
>
> Se saige este, prendrés une autre voye,
>
> Sans y venir ainsi à l'aventure. (p. 84)

Though presented as a dialogue, no dialogue takes place. The English are only given sixteen lines in which to make their response to "La Mort". In these, they limit themselves to agreeing with what has just been said about them and to complaining that

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[66]See above, pp. 70–1.

[67]See above, pp. 69–72.

they are helpless against the vastly superior French (pp. 82–3). They thus confirm in their own voice the view that the French already have of them.

The French, however, are presented with a much more positive image of themselves. "La Mort" addresses them as "Nobles Françoys", "Gentilz Françoys" and "Loyaulx Françoys" (pp. 79–81). Similarly, she describes France as "la noble France" (p. 78) and "noble royaulme François" (p. 81). Crucially, the French are urged not to be like the English, but to be courageous in defence of the Kingdom (p. 81), to refrain from blasphemy (p. 80) and to pray to God (p. 86). They are assured that the "porc-espic" (Louis XII) will crush their enemies (pp. 84–5) and that "La Mort" has now firmly taken their side.[68] At the end, the "Acteur", as if on behalf of the French themselves, authoritatively confirms the poem's general sentiment of intense hostility towards the English:

Voylà la Mort fort courroussée

Contre les millours d'Angleterre,

Dit que de leur sang fera rousée

Pour colourer mainte herbe et terre ;

Mais je dis, moy que la Mort herre,

Et que leur sang n'est pas vallable,

Sinon pour peindre le grand lherre,

Qui est Lucifer et grant dyable. (p. 85)

Pierre Vachot's *Deliberation des trois estatz de France sur l'entreprise des Anglois et Suisses* is, in certain respects, similar to the *Courroux de la mort* as it is a

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[68]For use of the porcupine device as "a medium for [Louis XII's] military aspirations", see Nicole Hochner, 'Louis XII and the Porcupine. Transformations of a Royal Emblem', *Renaissance Studies*, 15 (2001), pp. 17–36 (p. 36).

relatively short, topical and patriotic verse text which appears to have been written for print circulation.[69] Composed after the June 1513 invasion, Vachot's poem urges the French to resist the enemy and to pray for victory.[70] The title mentions the Swiss, but the poem focuses centrally on the English. Although the author is clearly hostile towards the enemy, he does not exploit the same kind of invective found in the *Courroux de la mort*. Instead, he makes a veiled attack in a complex and richly symbolic allegory, followed by a considered, though patriotic *délibération*. Vachot's text must have been reasonably successful; it is known from two separate editions, one of which exists in two different issues.[71] With both editions printed over eight leaves, this is a slightly longer and more carefully produced work than the other *plaquettes* considered so far in this section. Altogether, there are 296 lines of verse in a number of different poetic forms, plus a short prose passage.[72] The text is neatly spaced and the

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[69]References will be given in the text and are to Montaiglon and Rothschild, III, pp. 247–61. Vachot identifies himself in two separate acrostics (pp. 253, 259–60). As Montaiglon points out, although no other works attributed to Vachot have survived, he is named among the *bons facteurs* in Pierre Grognet's *Louange*:

> Nul n'est homme tant soit mynchot,
> Que doyve contempler Vachot,
> Car de rithmer scet la pratique,
> Regaillardant tout phantastique.

De la louange des bons facteurs (c. 1530), in Montaiglon and Rothschild, VII, pp. 5–17 (p. 15).

[70]The political context is established in the opening lines:

> L'an que Suisses, nation très austère,
> C'est efforcé mettre Françoys au taire,
> Taschant destruire leur noble riche aitre ;
> L'an qu'Angleterre, qui se vante riche estre
> A desployé halebards, picques, arcs,
> Cuidant destruire le pays des Picars. (p. 247).

[71]*La deliberatiō des trois // estatz de france sur lentreprise // des Anglois et Suisses* (Paris: Symon Troude, [1513 (?)]) (in two issues); *La Deliberation // des trois estatz de France sur // lentreprinse des Angloys et // Suysses* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]).

[72]Although decasyllabic lines are used throughout (apart from in a short prose passage at the end of the allegory), different rhyme patterns are used to distinguish the poem's voices and parts. The voice of the 'narrator' or "Acteur" is conveyed in *rimes équivoquées*, whereas, in the *délibération*, *ballades* are used for "Eglise" (35 lines), "Noblesse" (28) and "Labour" (28). At the end, the poet's acrostic signature is highlighted in two simple *sizains*.

arms of France are reproduced in a woodcut on the title page, perhaps to advertise the work's patriotic credentials, or to lend it authority.[73]

Like the *Courroux de la mort*, the *Délibération des trois estatz* exploits a dream-vision framework, but, in this work, the vision is developed into a more complex allegory in which the poet, as narrator, finds himself in a garden, surrounded by flowers, birds, animals and stones each representing one of the players in the war.[74] This image, in which the garden itself represents France, would have been immediately familiar to the late-medieval reader.[75] After a while, the poet meets "Dame Prudence" who commands him to take down and deliver a message to the three estates so that they can deliberate on the "rixes, noises, discors, divisions et inveterées discentions" recently troubling the French (p. 253). The three estates then set out their position, with "Noblesse" and "Labeur" attacking the English.

The English thus feature in various different places in the poem. In the allegory, England is depicted as a "rosier my-party de blanc et rouge" (p. 249). Here, the white rose of the house of York (favoured by Louis XII) has been tainted by the red rose of Lancaster and Henry VIII. Moreover, as we have seen, in medieval colour symbolism, red was frequently viewed as a problematic colour, particularly when opposed to the

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[73]For the similar use of heraldic arms as a marketing technique by early English printers, see A. S. G. Edwards and Carol M. Meale, 'The Marketing of Printed Books in Late Medieval England', *The Library*, 15 (1993), pp. 95–124.

[74]We are told that Julius II (represented by an oak and an acorn) has been replaced by Leo X (a lion and bezants); and we learn that France is threatened by the Swiss (a bear) on one side, and by the English (a red and white rose bush) on another; finally, Maximilian (an old eagle) makes several attempts to devastate France with the aid of Burgundy (represented by the flint-stone of the Order of the Golden Fleece) (pp. 247–52).

[75]For the 'jardin de France' as a motif in medieval literature and art, see Beaune, pp. 429–35.

purity of white.[76] In the image the poet paints for us, the thorny rose of England is an intruder in the garden of France at the centre of which grows the pure white and fragrant *fleur de lys*. Representation of the English in the *délibération* is determined largely by the roles traditionally assigned to each of the three estates. Thus, "Eglise" does not mention them at all, appropriately restricting herself to an appeal to the clergy to invoke God's help through processions, prayers and by living an exemplary life (pp. 255–6). "Noblesse" is much more forthright:

> Le mandement par Prudence transmis
>
> Aux trois Estatz responce doit avoir ;
>
> Elle nous mande qu'avons des ennemis.
>
> C'est très bien fait nous le faire assavoir,
>
> Puisqu'à tout mal on voit Anglois mouvoir
>
> Contre Françoys. Par la foy qu'à Dieu doibz,
>
> De resister contre eulx feray debvoir :
>
> Car France est cimitière aux Anglois. (pp. 256–7)

She then complains of English treachery and of the pillage, plunder and destruction that the English have brought to France, now and in the past, defiantly repeating that "France est cimitière aux Anglois" in the refrain at the end of each stanza. "Labeur" takes a similar approach, clearly identifying the English as the enemy and drawing on a number of well-worn stereotypes:

> Leur traïson est du tout malefique,
>
> Diabolique, plaine de malveillance ;
>
> Leur faulceté pire que Cerberique
>
> Et Sathanique, de nous faire grevance,
>
> Mon bien, mes terres, mes chevaulx, ma chevance

---

[76]See above, pp. 60–2.

Le temps passé, ont prins sans mesurer,

Si seulle estois, si leur feray-je grevance,

Et en murmure qui vouldra murmurer. (p. 258)

She calls upon her estate to take up arms and resist the enemy at all cost, recalling past crimes committed by the English in France, and declaring that being French is reason enough to come to the defence of the Kingdom: "De France suys ; pour ce fays-je defence" (p. 259). The short length of the *ballade* form does not allow for the development of complex political or historical arguments. Nevertheless, this is not strictly necessary here, since by giving voice to each of the three estates, Vachot underlines the fact that French society as a whole is united in opposition to the English, and, in this way, he establishes, both within his text and in his readership, a very clear distinction between 'them' and 'us'.[77]

Laurent Desmoulins's *Folye des Angloys* was also printed during the 1511–14 conflict.[78] It is a small collection of works including a moralising but patriotic poem of just under four hundred lines, an imprecatory *ballade* and an anti-English *rondeau*, all rather cramped into a *plaquette* of only eight leaves.[79] References in the main poem to the English invasion of Picardy (pp. 253–4) and to the Scottish invasion of England (pp. 258–9, 263) date composition towards the end of 1513. Desmoulins, a priest in the diocese of Chartres, seems to have been a reasonably successful writer. In 1513, he had already produced his *Catholicon des mal advisez* (1511), a work in which he

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[77]Here Vachot is echoing works such as Chartier's *Quadrilogue Invectif*, but, also, a number of more recent patriotic works in which the three estates of France deliberate, including, for example, Jean D'Auton's *Espitres envoyées au roy treschrestien dela les montz par les Estatz de France* (Lyon: Claude de Troys for Noel Abrahan, [1509]) on Louis XII's war against Venice.

[78]References will be given in the text and are to Montaiglon and Rothschild, II, pp. 253–69.

[79]*La folye des angloys // composee par maistre L.D.* ([Paris (?): Symon Troude (?), 1513 (?)]).

enthusiastically condemns society's vices, and he would go on to compose a *déploration* on the death of Anne of Brittany (1514), as well as translating Germain de Brie's Latin epitaph for her.[80] Moreover, the *Folye des Angloys* is only one of two anti-English works produced by Desmoulins during this conflict; his *Dépucelage de Tournay* will be studied below.[81]

The main poem in the *Folye des Angloys* is presented somewhat in the manner of a sermon. Desmoulins does not create an elaborate fiction to convey his message; instead, as "L'Acteur", he addresses the English directly.[82] Relatively simple poetic forms are used to favour clear communication over elaborate style and ornament.[83] Desmoulins's main complaint about the English throughout the poem is of their greed. He uses numerous Classical, Biblical and historical *exempla* to demonstrate that the greedy and avaricious are always punished for their wrongdoing. However, allusions to figures such as Romulus, Alexander, Septimuleius, Tiberius, Aurelian, Pyrrhus, Pharez, Saul, Zedekiah, Asahel and others seem to function principally as a demonstration of

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[80]For biographical details, see Eugène de Buchère de Lépinois, *Notice sur Laurent Desmoulins, poète chartrain* (Chartres: Garnier, 1858); Lucien Merlet, *Bibliothèque chartraine antérieur au XIX^e^ siècle* (Orléans: Herluison, 1882; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), pp. 124–7. The *Catholicon* was first printed in Paris by Jean Petit and Michel Lenoir in 1511 with the title: *Le Catholicon des mal advisez, autrement dit le Cymetière des malheureux*. Further editions were printed in 1513 and 1514, then again later in the century. Desmoulins's lament for Anne of Brittany was published as *La Deploration de la royne de France* (Paris: [Guillaume Soquand (?)], 1514), and his translation of Brie, as *Les Epitaphes de Anne de Bretaigne royne de France et duchesse de Bretaigne* (Paris: [Guillaume Soquand?], 1514). See Marie-Madeleine de La Garanderie, 'Les Epitaphes latines d'Anne de Bretagne par Germain de Brie', *Annales de Bretagne*, 74 (1967), pp. 377–96.

[81]pp. 185–7.

[82]On three separate occasions our attention is drawn to the fact that it is the "Acteur" who is speaking: a heading to the introductory section reads "Prologue de l'Acteur"; the body of the poem is headed "L'Acteur"; the concluding stanza, which also gives Desmoulins name in an acrostic, is again headed "L'Acteur".

[83]Decasyllabic lines are used throughout: two *dizains* (*aabaabbcbc*) in the introductory section are followed by 44 *huitains* (*abaabbcc*) in the poem's main body, plus another *dizain* in the conclusion.

the poet's erudition rather than as scholarly confirmation of his argument. Indeed, most of these allusions are obscure and have had to be significantly reworked and manipulated to fit comfortably with the points they are intended to illustrate. Nevertheless, through his particular use of such *exempla*, Desmoulins warns the English that their greed is pure folly and that they will inevitably be punished for their behaviour.[84]

Desmoulins also makes a very clear condemnation of the destruction the English have brought to France. Use of the 'disorderly mob' stereotype would have been particularly resonant in the summer of 1513. We are told that the English have murdered, raped and pillaged:

> Combien de meurtres par toy ont esté faitz ?
>
> Combien de filles par force ont esté prises ?
>
> Combien de gens sont tuez et deffaictz ?
>
> Combien de vefves portent fardeaux et faitz
>
> De povreté par tes folles emprises ?
>
> Songes-tu point que tu es par reprises
>
> Moult à reprendre ainsi qu'ung homme infâme ?
>
> Il n'est si riche que par temps on n'affame. (p. 263)

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[84]At the beginning of the main body of the poem we read:

> O gens felons, remplys de tout oultraige,
> Qui tenemens d'autruy voullez avoir
> Vostre cueur est forcené, plain de raige
> D'avoir laissé vostre propre heritaige,
> Pour conquester d'autruy bien et avoir ;
> Certainement il vous convient sçavoir
> Qu'en ce faisant estes de grant reprise :
> Fol est celuy qui faict folle entreprise. (p. 254)

As if this were not enough, Desmoulins also complains that the English have sacrilegiously burnt churches and destroyed holy relics:

> Sacrilèges as faitz et larcins maintes,
>
> Depopulant du hault Dieu les maisons ;
>
> Les reliquaires de corps sainctz et de sainctes
>
> As fait ravir, dont par l'air maintes plaintes
>
> Sont desus toy faictes par desraisons ;
>
> En plusieurs lieux sont laissées oraisons
>
> De gens de biens pour tort que leur as faict :
>
> Les larrons sont pugniz pour leur malfaict. (p. 257)

This, it seems, is hardly surprising since the English have melted down bells from their own churches in order to make cannons (p. 264). Henry VIII, though not mentioned by name, is himself roundly criticised. Addressing him as a "felon roy" (p. 255) and a "pauvre fol" (p. 260), Desmoulins rebukes Henry for having lost the honour and esteem in which he was held by fellow princes (p. 260), and warns him that he is soon to lose his throne (p. 259). He goes on to make it clear that the English themselves can expect an equally unfortunate end (p. 263). Against condemnation of the enemy, the poet follows the now well-established scheme of portraying Louis XII as a mighty king; more specifically, he reassures his French readers that should Louis wish to conquer England, he could do so within three short weeks (p. 261).

We cannot be certain that Desmoulins was the author of the imprecatory *ballade* and the *rondeau* found after the main poem. However, since he also interweaves a similar *ballade* and several *rondeaux* into the *Catholicon des mal advisez*, it is not

unreasonable to assume that he was.[85] Both the *ballade* and the *rondeau* allow the author to exploit the kind of unrestrained abuse avoided in the main poem. After having contemplated at some length the various moral iniquities of the English, the reader is thus rewarded with two pages of colourful invective. In the imprecatory *ballade* (pp. 267–8), which is very similar in form to Molinet's earlier contribution to the *genre*, Desmoulins invokes the worst of fates upon his enemy.[86] He produces a litany of imprecations in each stanza only identifying his target in the refrain. In the first stanza, he lists several unpleasant places from Classical mythology into which the English should be thrown:

> Au profond centre de l'estang Geolus,
>
> Au labyrinthe construict par Dedalus,
>
> Etaux fleuves de Stix, eaux tenebreuses,
>
> Dedans le gouffre où est mis Tentalus,
>
> Au froides undes des grans lacz Cerberus,
>
> Ou en Scilla, abismes perilleuses,
>
> Dedans les mers de Gée dangereuses,
>
> Par Plutonicques et par leurs fiers desroys,
>
> Soyent plongez, par forces merveillueses,
>
> Ses gros souillars et infames Angloys. (p. 267)

In the second stanza, he imagines the English being devoured by various real and imaginary beasts associated with Hell and the Devil. Then, in the third, he condemns them to suffer in sulphur, smoke and flame and to die by contagious and painful disease. The very simple *rondeau* with which the collection ends functions in a similar manner to the *ballade*, in that it allows the reader to leave the text on a patriotic 'high':

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[85]The imprecatory *ballade* in the *Catholicon* comes at the end of the section on drunkards and is headed: *La malediction que font les yvrognes a ceulx qui mettent de l'eau en leur vin.*

[86]For Molinet, see above, pp. 93–7.

Vuydez, Angloys, hors de noz terres,

Vuydez, plus viste que le pas ;

Puis que n'osez demener guerres,

Vuydez, Angloys, hors de noz terres ;

Vous ne povez plus tenir serres,

Car faim vous conduyt au trespas ;

Vuydez, Angloys, hors de noz terres,

Vuydez, plus viste que le pas. (pp. 268–9)

The message communicated by these lines (that the English army in France is starving?) is secondary to the repetitive, jingoistic slogan which powerfully distinguishes between 'them' ("Vuyd*ez Angloys*") and 'us' ("*noz* terres"), offering a very effective conclusion to the group. This collection fits neatly together as a whole, with the longer, moralising first part complemented by the more obviously patriotic and exciting *ballade* and *rondeau*. In one small volume, Desmoulins employs a variety of different techniques and styles, but all very effectively representing the English as enemy and other.

He adopts yet another approach in the *Dépucelage de Tournay*.[87] This poem is a 409-line lament in the voice of the city of Tournai, raped by the English, in which she deplores her condition, regrets failure to defend herself adequately and rails against the enemy.[88] Desmoulins appeals broadly to a sense of patriotic indignation at the capture and occupation of the city and to anti-English sentiment more generally through stereotyped invective. Tournai, a French enclave in Burgundian lands, was seized by

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[87]References will be given in the text and are to *Le Dépucellage de Tournay*, ed. by Aimé Leroy and Arthur Dinaux in *Archives historiques et littéraires du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, new series, 1 (1837), pp. 365–83.

[88]There are 48 decasyllabic *huitains* (*abaabbcc*), a *septain* (*ababbcc*), a *dizain* (*aabaabbcbc*) and an octosyllabic *rondeau* of 8 lines.

Henry VIII on 21 September 1513 after a siege lasting only about six days. The tone and content of the *Dépucelage* suggest that it was written shortly afterwards, though, unlike many of the other works in this section, this text would have remained topical for much longer, as Henry occupied the city until 1519.[89] Desmoulins's poem is known from two slightly different eight-leaf editions: one printed *in octavo*, the other, *in duodecimo*. Unfortunately, they contain no details indicating when and where they were printed but seem, nevertheless, to be contemporary with the events they describe.[90]

The central image in the poem is that of Tournai as a woman raped by the invader. The city makes her situation clear:

> Maintenant suis rompue et viollée
>
> Et ay perdu fleur de virginité
>
> Dont triste suis et comme fille affollée
>
> Je vois, je viens, sans estre consollée
>
> De nul tant soit de mon affinité [...]. (pp. 370–1)

This image serves the poet's anti-English rhetoric as it immediately evokes the violence and brutality of war. However, in an obvious, if rather misogynistic, allusion to the short length of the siege, Desmoulins has Tournai complain that she was sold to the English by unnamed treacherous pimps and that she herself did not do enough to resist the enemy:

> [...] De resister je ne fis nul effort,
>
> Mais de mon gré me laissay defflorer [...]. (p. 373)

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[89]For historical details, see C. G. Cruickshank, *The English Occupation of Tournai, 1513–1519* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).

[90]*Le depucellage de // la Ville de Tournay. Avec les // pleurs & lamẽtatiõs Ob // stant sa defloration* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]); *Le depucellage de // tournay compose // par L.D.* ([Lyon (?): François Fradin (?), 1513 (?)]). Differences between these editions are minor (stanzas 41 to 47 in the *octavo* become stanzas 5 to 11 in the *duodecimo*; certain spellings differ).

[…] Par macquereaulx deshonestes, infâmes

comme la chair sur l'estal suis vendue […]. (p. 376–7)

[…] Prinse ay esté couchée et estendue

Sans resister, qui m'est grande reproche […]. (p. 380)

This idea is, in fact, crucial to the poet's rhetorical strategy as his poem is clearly aimed not at the citizens of Tournai but rather at the wider French community. Tournai is reproached for disloyalty to the Kingdom, but the French are portrayed as blameless since they did everything in their power to come to her aid:

> Le noble Roy me voulut bailler garde,
>
> Pour me garder que point ne fusse prise,
>
> Que refusay, disant que n'avoye guarde,
>
> Et que j'avoye guect et arrière-garde
>
> Pour desrompre des couez l'entreprise […]. (p. 376)

Elsewhere, Desmoulins attacks the English more directly in a hail of well-targeted abuse. He evokes the stereotype of gluttony and drunkenness, describing his adversaries as "gros bredalliers" (p. 371) and "pourceaulx remplis de biere" (p. 389). Their lack of respect for religion is conveyed in complaints that they are "sacrilèges [...] robeurs d'églises" (p. 372) and "gens rempliz de pechez et vices" (p. 380). The English, we are told, are a mercilessly cruel and disorderly mob who love to "Piller, rober, faire gens indigens" (p. 372), and, more unusually, they are described as "pirates" (p. 371) and "escumeurs de mer" (p. 376). The English are a people "où ni a fiance, amour, ne loyaulté"; they are "gens traistres plus que onc Judas ne fut"; indeed, Tournai tells us that "[…] nul vivant ung Angloys ne cognut | Qui ne fust traistre […] (p. 372).

Predictably, the English are labelled as both "godons" (p. 371) and "couez" (p. 376), but they are also "paillars ennemys" (p. 372); a "peuple detestable" (p. 375) of "meschantes gens" (p. 377), "cruelz gendarmes" (p. 370) and "hommes plutonicques" (p. 371).

Like the *Folye des Angloys*, the *Dépucelage* would have been broadly accessible. In this work, Desmoulins once again makes a number of allusions to names and stories from Classical history and mythology (Aristocrates, Sextilia, Stymphalis, Virginea, Nisus, Scylla and several others), but the reader is not expected to have any great knowledge of the source texts; Desmoulins provides everything we need within the poem itself. As before, he uses Classical allusions mainly to lend sophistication and authority to his arguments. The English capture of Tournai serves as the inspiration for a patriotic work that would have been of interest to an audience well beyond the city. In both the *Folye* and the *Dépucelage*, Desmoulins uses a negative depiction of the English as part of an appeal to the patriotism of a broad readership.

Indeed, this technique can be found to varying degrees and used in different ways in each of the six printed works we have considered in this section. From the mocking humour of the *Ballade de milort Hauart* and the *Pater Noster des Angloys* to the bitter invective of the *Courroux* and the *Dépucelage*, the variety of approaches to representing the English negatively in these texts demonstrates that anti-English literature was attractive to different kinds of readership and that it was ultimately very flexible as a means of affirming the positive distinctiveness of the ingroup. As we have seen already, writers in this new medium had a wealth of literary sources to draw from, and, in so doing, they helped perpetuate a way of seeing themselves in a particular view of the foreign other. In these short printed pamphlets, just as in manuscript, the English

continue to be 'not French', in the same way as the French are very definitely 'not English'.

3. *Chansons patriotiques*

The works in the last small group to be studied in this chapter can all be found in the Bayeux Manuscript, a luxuriously produced and richly decorated collection of *chansons* compiled at the beginning of the sixteenth century for Charles, Duke of Bourbon.[91] Whereas a range of different types of *chanson* are found in this manuscript (love songs, patriotic songs, drinking songs), only four feature the English (nos 37, 40, 62, 87).[92] The collection was probably copied in the decade after 1510 and, possibly, around 1513, though the exact date of its production is not crucially important since the quality of the manuscript indicates that it was intended to be valued and kept.[93] Moreover, many of the *chansons* in the collection are not new works but date from the fifteenth century, so a significant part of its focus is on the past. The anti-English *chansons*, for example, are all written as if events in the Hundred Years War were current. This does not, however, mean that they were necessarily composed during the war. Only one of them is found in another manuscript, but this manuscript also dates

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[91]BnF MS f. fr. 9346: *Chansons normandes du XV^e siècle.* There are 102 *chansons* in the collection. The initial letters of the first sixteen in sequence spell out "Charles de Bourbon". The Duke's personal device (a winged stag) is also found in marginal decoration throughout.

[92]Unless otherwise indicated, references will be given in the text and are to Théodore Gérold, *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux: texte et musique d'un recueil de chansons du XV^e siècle* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1921), pp. 41–2, 45, 72–3, 103.

[93]For dating of the manuscript, see Françoise Ferrand, *Chansons des XV^e et XVI^e siècles* (Paris: U.G.E., 1986), pp. 15–6. Mention of a "Cappitaine Pregent" in one of the anti-English *chansons* (no 87, p. 103) is usually understood as referring to Admiral Prégent de Coëtivy who was killed during a sea battle with the English in 1450 since most of the events in this *chanson* refer to the Hundred Years War. However, in a manuscript compiled after 1513, this could just as easily be understood also as a reference to Prégent de Bidoux and his heroic defeat of the English fleet that year (see above, pp. 170–2).

from the beginning of the sixteenth century.[94] Michel Zink has argued that many fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century *chansons* deliberately give an impression of being older than they are as a means of nostalgically evoking the past.[95] Our *chansons* could be slightly reworked early compositions, or they could simply be later compositions using the war and occupation as anti-English rhetoric. Regardless of when they were composed, they clearly offer our sixteenth-century reader/singer/audience an early- to mid-fifteenth-century perspective on Anglo-French relations. In these *chansons*, time is frozen in a period of war, occupation and resistance; they bring this period back to life some sixty or so years after it had ended.

In the nineteenth century, critics such as Armand Gasté and Gaston Paris believed the *chansons* in the Bayeux Manuscript and other similar manuscripts to be an expression of 'popular' sentiment.[96] Gasté went further, arguing that popular resistance to the English, described in three of the Bayeux *chansons* (37, 40, 62), was evidence that these songs originated among the "compagnons du vau-de-vire", a group of minstrels who, he claimed, were involved in fighting against the English occupation. He even identified Olivier Vasselin/Basselin, the subject of the second anti-English song in the collection (40), as being the leader of this resistance.[97] However, there is very little evidence within the texts to support this thesis. Basselin, for example, is almost certainly a literary invention. Indeed, given the status of the manuscript, it

[94]BnF MS f. fr. 12744. The text was edited by Gaston Paris with musical notation provided by Auguste Gevaert: *Chansons du XV^e siècle* (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1875).

[95]Michel Zink, *Le Moyen Âge et ses chansons: ou un passé en trompe-l'œil* (Paris: Fallois, 1996), pp. 175–96.

[96]See the introductory material in Paris, *Chansons normandes*; Armand Gasté, *Chansons normandes du XV^e siècle publiées pour la première fois sur les MSS. de Bayeux et de Vire* (Caen: Le Gost-Clérisse, 1866).

[97]Armand Gasté, *Étude sur Olivier Basselin et les compagnons du Vau de Vire, leur rôle pendant les guerres anglaises et leurs chansons* (Caen: Le Gost-Clérisse, 1866).

seems much more likely that, rather than being *chansons populaires*, the Bayeux *chansons* represent the courtly *adaptation* of 'popular' songs.[98]

All of the works in this manuscript have a relatively simple structure. Most are based, sometimes loosely, on the *virelai* or *rondeau*. Three of the anti-English works are similar in terms of their rhetoric (37, 40, 62). In the voice of the inhabitants of ordinary towns and villages, they urge resistance to the enemy and, at the same time, invite an affirmation of loyalty to the King of France. The English feature to a different extent in each of these songs. In one (37), they only feature in the last stanza; the rest of the song is not particularly politicised, as it is about a pilgrimage from Vire to Saint Gire (both in Normandy). The anti-English section seems almost incongruous, as if it had been added to an otherwise unrelated and structurally quite different *chanson*. Here, the poet may simply have decided to make a patriotic addition to an existing work. Nevertheless, through this final stanza, the *chanson* makes clear its support for the King and rejection of the enemy.[99] The next *chanson* (40) introduces us to "Olivier Vasselin".[100] In just twenty lines, Vasselin is portrayed as a kind of wandering minstrel

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[98]See François Lesure, 'Eléments populaires dans la chanson française au début du XVI[e] siècle', in *Musique et poésie au XVI[e] siècle* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1954), pp. 169–84.

[99]
A la compaignie d'ung bauchier
Venus sommes du vau de Vire
En pelerinage à Saint Gire
Jesus nous garde d'encombrier !
Jesus nous garde d'encombrement
Venus sommes certainement
Pour accomplir le pelerinage

Accompagnés de maincte gent
Venus sommes certainement
Et ne querons point d'avantage.
(Jesus nous gard d'encombrement,
Venus sommes devotement
Accomplir le pelerinage.)
Nous sommes gens tout d'ung mestier
Que ne voullons qu'ouir bien dire
Et ne voullons nully mesdire
S'i ne commenche le premier.

Nous voullons tenir l'ordonnance
Que nostre sire roy de France
Nous a donné, la soue mercy,
Et estre de son alliance
Pour le servir à sa plaisance
Et nous tiendrons avecques luy.
Se les Englois venoient piller,
Nous les mectrons à tel martire
Que nous les garderons de rire,
Et d'aller à notre poullier. (pp. 41–2)

[100]BnF MS f. fr. 12744, where this *chanson* is also found, gives the name as "Bachelin".

whose joyful singing has, for some unknown reason, been 'silenced' by the English. It is, of course, possible that a real Olivier Vasselin/Basselin, known for his patriotic singing, was killed fighting against the English during the occupation of Normandy. Whether he would have been remembered by a courtly audience more than half a century later is, however, open to question. We have not found his name in any of the other patriotic works in our *corpus*. In this work, Vasselin surely stands for resistance to the English more generally. He represents a *type* of Norman; one who remained loyal to the French crown throughout the occupation and perhaps engaged in resistance to the English. Thus, the vengeance sought in the last stanza should be read as a warning to future enemies (especially the English) rather than simply as a memory of the past:

> Les Engloys ont faict desraison
>
> Aux compaignons du Vau de Vire,
>
> A ceulx qui les soulloient bien dire,
>
> Nous prion Dieu de bon ceuer fin
>
> Et la doulce Vierge Marie,
>
> Qu'il doint aux Engloys male fin ! (p. 45)

The third anti-English *chanson* (62) was described by Gasté as the "Marseillaise normande".[101] It is a vivid and violent rejection of the English. In this short song, the author bombards the English with stereotyped abuse: they are accused of greed (they are "panches à pos"), pillaging (they leave neither "porc ne oue" behind them) and weakness (one of 'us' is worth four of 'them'), and they are labelled as both "godons" and "coués". The poet aggressively urges his audience to take a hoe, 'uproot' the

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[101]Gasté, *Étude*, p. 29.

enemy and lead them to the gallows. Finally he calls God's curse down upon them.[102] Here the ingroup is united in nothing less than blind hatred of the enemy.

The fourth *chanson* in which the English feature (87) is slightly different from the others. It is a direct attack on the "King of England". However, although the "roi Englois" of the first line can clearly be identified with Henry V, as in Molinet's *ballade*, it should be understood here as referring, not just to Henry, but to English Kings in general.[103] This *chanson* celebrates the death of Henry V, mocks English attempts to have Henry VI crowned King of France, and rejoices at their defeat by a certain "Cappitaine Pregent".[104] As in the previous song, the English are abused as "godons" and "couez", and the poet is quite clear that not only should the King of England be cursed, but so also should all of his descendants. Initially, this text appears to be a historical narrative, but on closer scrutiny it becomes clear that the events it describes are a jumbled mixture, with little connection one to the other. Names, places and events are used to evoke war with the English rather than to provide a coherent narrative. The poet is clear in his views about 'nation', rejecting English attempts to deny the French

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[102]
Et cuidez vous que je me joue
Et que je voulsisse aller
En Engleterre demourer
Ils ont une longue coue.

Entre vous gens de village,
Qui aymez le roy françoys,
Prenez chascun bon courage
Pour combattre les Englois.
Prenez chascun une houe
Pour mieux les desraciner ;
Sils ne s'en veullent aller,
Au moins faictes leur la moue.

Ne craygnez point à les batre
Ces godons, panches à pois ;
Car ung de nous en vault quatre
Au moins en vault il bien troys.
Affin qu'on les esbaffoue,
Autant qu'en pourrés trouver
Faictes au gibet mener
Et qu'en nous les y encroue

Par Dieu ! se je les empoigne
Puisque j'en jure une foys,
Je leur monstreray sans hoingne
De quel pesant sont mes doigts.
Ils n'ont laissé porc ne oue
Tout entour nostre cartier,
Ne guerne ne guernelier.
Dieu mete en mal leur joue. (p. 72–3)

[103]See above, pp. 94–5.

[104]For Prégent, see above, p. 172, note 59.

their identity, and taking great pleasure in telling us that the English have all been expelled from the Kingdom of France. Here mockery, derision and contempt are used to present the English as a vanquished enemy.[105]

The *chansons* in the Bayeux Manuscript are not, as is sometimes claimed, an arbitrary collection of disparate works. The layout and distribution of the songs is carefully organised to achieve balance of content and tone. The patriotic songs in this collection are essential to the 'identity' that it seeks to convey: one of courtly sophistication, but also one of belonging to a wider French culture. In the four *chansons* that we have considered here, the compiler reminds us that this cultural identity is frequently articulated in terms of a rejection of and hostility towards the English. Since the English are France's 'old enemy', her 'significant other', the *chansons* do not need to be topical; the assumption is that the English have been and always will be the enemy/other.

The period 1511–14 offers us a much denser selection of texts featuring the English. As we have seen all of these texts reflect their context of production by presenting the English in one way or another as the enemy. Authors of courtly, local, poetically self-conscious and more ephemeral printed pamphlets were all able to tap into a rich vein of pre-existing stereotypes and arguments to depict the other negatively and

105 Le roy Englois se faisoit appeler
Le roy de France par s'appelation.
Il a voulu hors du pays mener
Les bons François hors de leur nation.

Or est-il mort à Saint Fiacre en Brie,
Du pays de France ils sont tous deboutez,
Il n'est plus mot de ces Englois couez.
Mauldicte soit trestoute la lignye !
Ils ont chargé l'artellerie sur mer,
Force biscuit et chascun ung bidon,
Et par la mer jusqu'en Bisquaye aller
Pour couronner leur petit roy Godon.

Maiz leur effort n'est rien que moquerie ;
Cappitaine Pregent les a si bien frottez
Qu'ils ont esté es ters et en mers enfondrez.
Mauldicte soit trestoute la lignye ! (p. 103)

at the same time stress the positive characteristics of their own ingroup. Whereas the authors of different types of text employ different strategies in their depiction of the enemy, a number of features in these depictions are common across the texts as whole. Yet, the anti-English literature produced during Louis XII's war with Henry VIII did not just exploit the literary image of the English, it also helped perpetuate it in the French cultural consciousness ready for use again at a later date.

CHAPTER FOUR

PAIX, AMITIÉ, CONFÉDÉRATION ET ALLIANCE: 1514–21

The period 1514–21 was one of rapprochement between France and England, when negative literary representations of the English, so typical of the patriotic literature we have considered in the previous chapters, largely disappear. Much of this later writing focuses more on individuals than on the English or French as a group and for this reason collective identity is a less prominent theme. Nevertheless, these individuals were still representative of their broader group and writers were faced with the problem of how to positively depict individuals as English when readers generally expected such depictions to be negative. This chapter will focus on the writing surrounding three specific historical events: first, the peace of 1514 and the marriage of Louis XII to Henry VIII's sister, Mary; then, the 'Universal Peace' from 1518, with the ceremonies that year for the betrothal of Henry's daughter, Mary, to the Dauphin, Francis; finally, the meeting in 1520 of Henry VIII and Francis I at the Field of Cloth of Gold.

1. The marriage of Louis XII to Mary, sister of Henry VIII

For Henry the war with Louis had been a great success. By the end of 1513 he had secured control of Tournai and was eager to suspend his campaign in France until the spring. An agreement was reached between Henry, the Emperor, and the King of Spain to pursue the war again the following year, but Henry was soon abandoned by his allies who sought to make peace with France on their own terms. By August 1514, Henry himself had decided to negotiate a peace treaty with Louis. As part of this treaty

Louis, aged 52, was to marry Henry's sister Mary, aged only 18. Mary arrived in France at the beginning of October and a variety of festivities were held to welcome her and to celebrate her marriage, coronation and royal entry into Paris.[1]

These festivities were recorded in a number of literary works. As in our last chapter, some of these works are found in exclusive manuscripts intended for a limited readership; others, in inexpensively produced, short, printed pamphlets with a wider circulation. All of the works present an account inspired by the celebrations so the images and ideas found in them are often derived directly from the festivities themselves rather than being an invention of the work's author. There is a close relationship between the iconography employed in these festivities, which were organised or funded by the government, local authorities or confraternities, and the government's policy of peace and alliance with England. The image of the English projected by these works is thus, to some extent, an official image. Images of the royal marriage or of the union of the lily and rose are used repeatedly in the festivities and in ceremonies to symbolise peace and co-operation between France and England. Consequently, the same images find a prominent position in the literary works recording the celebrations.

The first group of texts concern Mary's arrival in northern France and her marriage to Louis in Abbeville on 9 October. Two of the texts exist only in manuscript and seem to be a 'souvenir' of the celebrations made by or for participants who were eager to have a record of the occasion. Jacques Leest, Abbot of Saint-Vulmer, produced

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[1]For the historical background, see Bridge, IV, pp. 239–66; Walter C. Richardson, *Mary Tudor: The White Queen* (London: Peter Owen, 1970), pp. 76–143; Charles Giry-Deloison, '*Une haquenée...pour le porter bientost et plus doucement en enfer ou en paradis*: The French and Mary Tudor's Marriage to Louis XII in 1514', in Grummitt, pp. 132–59.

a short account of his abbey's contribution to the celebrations for Mary's entry into Boulogne on 2 October which he wrote on the blank pages in one of the abbey's record books.[2] This work is mainly a dry, factual prose record of events and is therefore of limited literary interest; nevertheless, it does highlight the key theme of peace, and it employs images found in many of the other works in which Mary features. In a section reproducing verse read to Mary during the festivities she is compared to the Virgin:

C'est de biaulté la rozette flourie,

La souveraine et illustre princesse,

Vostre fillœulle apellée Marie,

Par quy la guerre et discord a prins cesse.

Comme de paix vous fustes la déesse,

Fille et espeuse au roy célestien ;

Pareillement, ceste fleur de noblesse

Est fondement de paix et de léesse,

Et chierre espeuse au roy très chrestien. (p. 88)

Mary is thus idealised as a symbol of peace rather than described as a real English princess. Consequently, when we are told later that Mary is a "fleur de biaulté, princesse noble et gente" (p. 89), the author could be accurately representing Mary's real beauty, or he could be drawing on the stereotype of the beauty of English women, but the absence of any detail suggests that he is simply presenting an idealised princess. The author is exploiting the idea that the future wife of a French king would, naturally, be beautiful, and it seems that this is more important to the reader than a mimetic description of Mary and her entourage.

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[2]Dainville, Archives Départementales du Pas de Calais, MS 16 H 1: *Les Terriers de Saint Vulmer*, 2 vols, I, fols 152^{v}–3^{r}. See Giry-Deloison, p. 138. References will be given in the text and are to 'Une Réception solennelle à Boulogne', ed. by D. Haigneré, in *Almanach de Boulogne*, 1863, pp. 82–90 (pp. 85–90).

An anonymous writer produced an account of Mary's entry into Montreuil three days later. This account, of which only one copy survives, is neatly but simply recorded in manuscript over nine folios on paper.[3] Again, the main part of this text is a factual prose narrative of events during the entry with a list of those present. A short *ballade*, accompanying the account, beginning, "Au beau vergier des fleurs de lis", and exploiting the lily and rose imagery resembles the verse in the Boulogne text in some of its imagery and in the way it idealises Mary as a symbol of peace, unity and beauty:

Sur toutes fleurs La Rose est belle,

Sur toutes fleurs elle est d'eslite.

Au monde n'y a fleur pareille

Soucye, pensee ne marguerite

La Rouse toutes fleurs despite

De beauté loz et excellence.

Parquoy de rechief Je recite

Honny soit Il Qui mal y pence.

Advis m'est que voy Charlemaigne

Avec Arthus le noble Roy

Faire entre eulx deux Joye souveraine

de veoir leurs hoirs en tel arroy.

Ung chacun d'eulx dit a par soy :

Je suis joieulx de l'alliance.

Quant a ma part tousiours diray

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[3]B.L. Additional MS 45132: *Wriothesley Heraldic Collections*, fols 1–9. References will be given in the text and are to Francis Wormald, 'The Solemn Entry of Mary Tudor to Montreuil-Sur-Mer', in J. Conway Davies, *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 471–9.

Honny soit Il qui mal y pense. (p. 474)

Although the author's perspective is French (Louis is referred to as "le Roy notre sire"), the work is not otherwise obviously pro-French and could easily have been written with an English reader in mind. Indeed, by praising the marriage and repeatedly exploiting the English royal device to warn that "Honny soit Il Qui mal y pense", the work presents a somewhat pro-English tone. Nevertheless, like the Boulogne text, this work is not strictly concerned with issues of collective identity; in fact, it avoids them. Our poem does not offer any depiction of the English character nor deal with Mary's 'Englishness'. Consequently, French identity in this text is also pushed firmly into the background.

The accounts of Mary's entry in Abbeville and her marriage there on 9 October focus more centrally on Mary as an Englishwoman and seem to have circulated more widely. There are two distinct but closely related printed accounts of the entry: one is found in three editions, the other exists in only one.[4] All of the editions are small *in-octavos* of only four folios with two or three stock woodcuts. At this time, news of the peace between France and England was clearly in demand and there may have been some competition between printers for the Abbeville account. A summary of the peace treaty itself had been printed in two editions in August, and the printer of another

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[4]*Lentree de la Royne // a Ableuille* ([Paris]: Guillaume Mart, 1514); *Lentree de la Royne // a Ableville* ([Paris: Guillaume Varin (?), 1514]); *Lentree de la Royne de // France faicte a Abeuille le // neufiesme iour Doctobre.* A longer account of the entry is found in *Sēsuit lordre qui a // este tenue a lentree De la royne // A abeville* ([n.p. n.pr. 1514]). References will be given in the text and are to *Entrées de Marie d'Angleterre, femme de Louis XII, à Abbeville et à Paris*, ed. by Hippolyte Cocheris (Paris: Aubry, 1859).

contemporary work had inserted a *chanson* in praise of the peace at the end of an otherwise unconnected text.[5]

Both of the Abbeville accounts are similar and describe Mary's arrival, her meeting with the King and entry into the town, the wedding the following day and the festivities that evening. One of the accounts provides greater detail, particularly about the Queen and the wedding ceremony, but, in both, the English are presented in a generally positive light.[6] The accounts stress the opulence and wealth of the English party. We are told that Mary was accompanied by a great train of English gentlemen and lords, all richly dressed, some in cloth of gold. In one account the English lords are "tous tres richement acoustrez tant dabitz, chesnes, bagues, pierreries, que aultres joyaulx" (p. 16). In the other, the author claims that "pour parler du parement des anglois et de la suite de la dicte dame, il a este tel que du viuant des hommes il nen fut veu le pareil en richesse ne en si grans personnages". Indeed, this text goes on to suggest that such an ostentatious show of wealth was not entirely in keeping with protocol (pp. 6–7).

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[5]*S'ensuyt le traicté de la paix faicte et promise entre le tres crestien Roy de France Loys XII et le tres puissant Roy d'angleterre* (Paris: Guillaume Sanxon, 1514); *S'ensuyt le traicté de la paix faicte et promise entre le tres crestien Roy de France Loys XII et le tres puissant Roy d'angleterre. Avec une balade faicte sur les quatre estatz* (Paris: Guillaume Sanxon, 1514). Both editions offer an identical summary of the peace treaty, highlighting the commercial benefits of peace between France and England and thereby indicating that this work was aimed at a market of bourgeois traders. The *ballade* found in one of the editions also stresses the idea of prosperity through peace. In the *Prénostication frère Tybault* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d.]), a *chanson* in praise of the peace fills in space at the end of the text. It patriotically praises Louis and Francis of Angoulême, and also rejoices that:

> Angloys avec leur seigneurie
> Sont maintenant en paix
> et la guerre bannye.

See Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, XIII, pp. 15–17 (p. 16).

[6]The longer text: *Sēsuit lordre.*

The accounts at first stress the foreign, English character of many of the things they describe: the livery is "a la mode du pays" (p. 13), Mary's clothes are "a la mode dangleterre" (p. 17), and her hair is "a la facon de son pays" (p. 5). Mary, we are told, is very beautiful, and, in the more detailed account, we are given some insight into her character: "La dicte dame est tres belle, honneste & joyeuse & est pour prendre plaisir en tous esbatemens, elle ayme la chasse, & tyre de larc a la facon dangleterre si bien que merueille" (p. 7). However, we are given no detailed information about the Queen's physical appearance. Readers are left to imagine her beauty themselves. In this way, the texts produce an effect of the rich and exotic rather than impose a particular idea of beauty. The accounts 'activate' the existing stereotype of the beauty of English women, and they present the display of English wealth as a compliment to the French court. The image of the English wedding party in the Abbeville texts is, thus, exactly the reverse of that found in the *Roman de Jehan de Paris*, where the English had been depicted as shabby and lacklustre.[7] In the Abbeville texts, they are no longer in competition with the French King, but their splendour and wealth are used as a further reflection of his glory. Here, the Queen is young, beautiful and exotic, and she flaunts her country's riches. Again this image is not threatening to the French reader because it is used to present Mary as a bride worthy of a great French king, and, moreover, no 'rival' French women feature in the text. Once married, Mary's qualities reflect French rather than English glory: the English princess becomes a French queen. Mary implicitly abandons her Englishness to adopt a new and even more appealing French identity, an image which the shorter account spells out at its conclusion: "Ung peu deuant le soupper la Royne a este acoustree a la mode de france, laquelle il faisoit meilleur veoir que a la mode dangleterre" (p. 17).

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[7]See above, pp. 139–41.

In the next group of texts the focus of interest shifts towards France's political centre. The *Couronnement de très excellent dame et princesse madame Marie d'Angleterre, royne de France* is an account of Mary's coronation at St Denis on 5 November.[8] Like the accounts of the Abbeville entry, it is a short pamphlet providing a prose narrative of events and naming those present, printed *in-octavo* with stock woodcuts on the front and back of the title page. Here, the emphasis is again on describing the richness and splendour of the ceremony and its participants (the expression "moult riche" is used eleven times). Mary, richly bejewelled and dressed in cloth of silver and gold, is very much centre stage. However, unlike the Abbeville accounts, here nothing is said of Mary's Englishness: from the outset, she is presented as a French queen. Mary is accompanied by English gentlemen and nobles, but during the coronation ceremony the French nobles move to the forefront and Mary becomes indistinguishable from them in terms of her position in the French royal estate. Nevertheless, this work is not in any way hostile towards the English. The author makes no attempt to undermine the English or to engage in one-upmanship. As before, the opulence of Mary's English entourage is presented as a reflection of their respect and admiration for the French crown:

> […] et y estoit generalement toute la noblesse tant de France que d'Angleterre et brief on ne veit jamais plus noble et beau couronement de Royne ou les seigneurs fussent si richement acoustrez et vestuz de drap d'or et de soye et de plusieurs sortes, ayant coliers d'or les plus riches que on vit jamais, mostrant avoir bon zele a la couronne de France.
>
> (fols 7^{r}–7^{v})

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[8] *Le courōnemēt de tres excel // lēte dame & prīcesse ma dāe // marie dangleterre Royne // de France, en leglise & abba // ye Monseigneur Sainct de // nis en France* ([Paris: Widow of Jean Trepperel, 1514 (?)]). References will be given in the text and are to this edition.

As this work focuses very much on a French royal ceremony, the role played in it by the English is inevitably reduced.

Mary's entry into Paris the next day was also the subject of an account which, like the Abbeville entry, was printed in a number of editions, all *in-octavos* of no more than eight folios, again illustrated with stock woodcuts. In 1514, the Parisian royal entry was already an established part of the ritual surrounding the coronation of French kings and queens. During such entries, pageants, organised by the city and its guilds, were held at various key points, usually between the Porte Saint-Denis and the Palais Royal.[9] Mary's entry was no exception; it was held with great ceremony, and, like the entries at Boulogne, Montreuil and Abbeville, peace between France and England with prosperity as its result featured as an important theme. Five editions of the account of this entry have survived and two contain printed privileges, again indicating that this was a commercially competitive work. Each edition presents a different layout and uses different woodcuts but, apart from a few typographical and spelling differences, the text is the same.[10]

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[9]See Lawrence Bryant, *The King and the City in the Parisian Royal Entry Ceremony: Politics, Ritual and Art in the Renaissance* (Geneva: Droz, 1986); Bernard Guenée and Françoise Lehoux, *Les Entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515* (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1968).

[10]*Lentree de tresxcellen // te Princesse ma dame marie dangleterre // Royne de France en la noble ville cite et // universite de paris, faicte le lundi. vi. jour de novembre lan de grace mil v.c. & xiiii* ([Paris]: Guillaume Varin, [1514]); *Lentree de tresex // cellente Princesse dame marie dangleterre // Royne de France en la noble ville cite & uni // nersite* (sic) *de paris faicte le lundy. vi. iour de // novembre lan de grace mil ccccc. xiiii* ([Paris]: Guillaume Varin, [1514]). *Lētree de tres excel // lente princesse ma dame Marie Dan // gleterre & Royne de France. En la no // ble ville cite & vniuersite de paris faicte le // lundy vi iour de Nouembre. Lan de grace Mil cinq cens & quatorze* ([n.p. n.pr.] 1514); *Lentree de tresexcellēte // Princesse ma dame Marie dangleterre royne de fran // ce en la Noble ville cite et // uniuersite de Paris faicte // Le lundi. vi. iour de Nouē // bre Lan de grace Mil cinq cens et quatorze* ([n.p. n.pr.] 1514). The first two texts contain a privilege for 8 days. References will be given in the text and are to Cocheris.

The printed account of Mary's entry into Paris narrates the Queen's procession through the city, describing the pageants, her reception at Notre Dame and the banquet at the Palais Royal. Again, this account highlights splendour, opulence and wealth, but, this time, not through the Queen or her English entourage. Here, Mary is very much in the background as the author foregrounds the spectacle of the pageant as well as the French nobles, clerics and officials present. Indeed, when the author describes Mary she is only briefly sketched and has to share attention with the King:

> Ladite dame laquelle estoit assise en une lictiere si sumptueusement & richement acoustree et vestue dune robe dor couuerte & brodee de pierrerie & de fines pierres precieuses en ses dois, ung carcan au col que homme vivant ne scauroit nombrer ne priser & *monsieur aupres delle lui tenant compaignie sumptueusement et richement acoustre*. (My italics) (p. 25)

Mary's English entourage is barely mentioned and, this time, the author makes no attempt to convey anything English about Mary or her clothing and jewellery. In this account prominence is given to the royal entry itself and to its themes of peace and prosperity. As with the other accounts, this work was probably intended as a 'souvenir' for those who had attended or taken part in the festivities. The author celebrates Paris and its institutions but avoids the issue of Mary's Englishness again presenting the Queen as a political symbol of peace and co-operation rather than as a representative of a collective identity.

A similar strategy was pursued by Pierre Gringore for his account of Mary's entry into Paris. Gringore was an established poet who had produced moralising works complaining about abuses in the Church as well as politicised writing in support of the King's Italian wars. He was also involved in dramatic productions with the *Enfants sans souci* and had already helped organise royal entries for Philip of Austria, Cardinal

Georges d'Amboise and Anne of Brittany.[11] Gringore's account is important because we know that he was personally involved in organising some of the pageants. The text is known from one surviving manuscript which was lavishly produced and richly decorated with seven finely executed full-page miniatures showing the pageants at the Porte Saint-Denis, Fontaine du Ponceau, Trinité, Porte aux Peintres, Saints Innocents, Châtelet, and Palais Royal.[12] The manuscript is of very high quality and since the text is dedicated to the Queen, it was probably intended for presentation to her. Gringore declares at the outset that he has been obliged to produce his own account of the entry because of the inadequacies of the printed versions we have just examined (p. 1).

Although the text is dedicated quite conventionally to "Treshaulte magnanime vertueuse illustrissime dame et princesse Marie dangleterre royne de france" (p. 1), Mary's role within it is problematic. Gringore does not use his dedication to praise the Queen at length; indeed, he writes that his work will reflect the honour of the King and the Kingdom as much as the Queen. Moreover, he tells us that his intention is to write only about the pageants and festivities and not about Mary nor the princes, dukes and other great figures who took part in these events:

> Ay bien voulu descripre et rediger en hystoire ce qui a esté fait en icelle ville tant a lhonneur du roy du royaume que de vous. Obmettant et delaissant les triumphes des princes ducz contes barons cheualiers et escuyers tant de france que dangleterre et me taire de la vostre excellente grauité honnesteté gratiueseté qui attroyoit le populaire a

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[11]See Pierre Gringore, *Œuvres Polémiques rédigées sous le règne de Louis XII*, ed. by Cynthia J. Brown (Geneva: Droz, 2003); Charles Oulmont, *La Poésie morale, politique et dramatique à la veille de la Renaissance: Pierre Gringore* (Paris: Champion, 1911); Aubailly, 'L'Image du prince'.

[12]B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian B II: *De la réception et entrée de la illustrissime dame et princesse Marie d'Angleterre (fille de Henry VII) dans la ville de Paris.* The miniaturist is unknown. References will be given in the text and are to Charles Read Baskervill, *Pierre Gringore's Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris: An Unpublished Manuscript* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 1–15.

> vostre amour en desirant la prosperité du roy trescrestien dont vous auez acquis le tiltre de trescretienne que de vous/ ne aussi du triumphe de nobles dames princesses et damoiselles tant de france que dangleterre. Mais seullement des triumphes faictes en icelle ville le iour de vostre reception et entree. (p. 1)

As Cynthia Brown has pointed out, in this respect, Gringore's work differs from previous accounts of royal entries which typically give a prominent position to their royal subject and his or her entourage.[13] Gringore follows the printed accounts in shifting attention away from the Queen to focus on the entry itself, but he narrows the focus still further to concentrate specifically on descriptions of the seven pageants.

Nevertheless, the Queen still features within this text in three distinct ways: as a witness of the festivities; as a 'figure' within some of the pageants; as the subject of short verse pieces between the main prose sections. As a witness of the festivities, the Queen features merely as a functional device moving the text along. Gringore narrates the Queen's journey through Paris from one pageant to the next, but he does not describe Mary and he makes no mention of her English entourage.[14] The Queen also features as a 'figure' in certain of the pageants. For example, in the pageant at the Trinité, a figure representing Mary takes a central role, presenting peace as her gift to Louis (p. 6); and the text tells us that the figure 'Stella Maris' in the pageant at the Châtelet represents Mary and symbolises peace (p. 12). Thus, here, Mary is again limited to an idealised, symbolic role. In other words, she has become a representation of 'peace' rather than of the English. Mary also features in verse read or displayed at some of the pageants

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[13]Cynthia Brown, 'Pierre Gringore: Acteur, Auteur, Editeur', in *Grands rhétoriqueurs*, Cahiers V. L. Saulnier, 14 (Paris: Presses de l'Ecole Normale Supérieur, 1997), pp. 145–63 (p. 152).

[14]The narrative between descriptions of the pageants is kept to a bare minimum. For example: "Incontinent ladicte princesse se transporta dudit lieu iusques deuant lesglise des sainctz innoncens" (p. 7); or "Apres ce que ladicte princesse eut vue les choses dessusdictes se transporta devant le chastellet de paris" (p. 10).

which is reproduced in the manuscript in short sections headed "L'expositeur". Like the pageants themselves, this verse conveys the themes of peace, prosperity and co-operation. Mary is welcomed as a sign of peace:

> Noble dame bien soyes venue en france
>
> Par toy viuons en plaisir et en ioye.
>
> Ffrancoys angloys vivent a leur plaisance
>
> Louange a dieu du bien quil nous envoye. (p. 2)

Beauty and wealth are again evoked as Mary is compared to the Queen of Sheba:

> Sabba royne princesse de renom
>
> Apporta dons precieulx et richesse
>
> Au vertueux noble roy salomon
>
> Que la recuet en ioye et en leesse.
>
> Mais marie nostre royne et maistresse
>
> A apporté au roy doulx et courtoys
>
> Present de paix pour francoys et angloys. (p. 6)

We are told that she has banished war in favour of friendship and harmony between the Kings of France and England (p. 7); and, again, she is compared to the Virgin:

> Comme la paix entre dieu et les hommes
>
> Par le moyen de la vierge marie
>
> Ffut [*sic*] iadis faicte ainsy a present sommes
>
> Bourgoys francoys deschargez de noz sommes
>
> Car marie avec nous se marie. (p. 15)

As before, Mary is not portrayed as a 'real' Englishwoman, but as a symbolic figure representing peace and alliance. Throughout the work, Gringore displaces Mary to self-consciously foreground himself and his own production. To some extent, this is consistent with the poet's strategy for self-promotion as seen elsewhere, but, as Cynthia Brown argues, Mary's modest role in these pageants and in this account of them can

also be partly explained by her status as a foreigner.[15] It would seem that Mary's status as an Englishwoman made it even more difficult for the poet to afford her a prominent position.

In Guillebert Chauveau, Herald Montjoie's account of the jousts held between 13 and 23 November in celebration of the royal entry, the Queen is now completely absent, even though the jousts were held in her honour. Montjoie's text, which has survived in a number of manuscripts and editions, does not tell us anything about the English because they feature in it only as the characterless names of those taking part.[16] As with the accounts of the entries at Abbeville and Paris, this work is something between a newsletter and a souvenir programme. Montjoie identifies some of the more important French participants; he sets out the moral purpose behind feats of arms; he describes publication of the tournament in England (noting Henry VIII's request for a postponement in order to give his knights enough time to prepare); and he provides a minutely detailed 'score card' of all of the jousts and combats held; but he does not describe the Queen or tell us anything about her role in these events and the English receive minimum attention. Montjoie's account does not overtly exploit patriotic sentiment, but it is subtly partisan because it focuses all of its attention on the French. Mary is thus effaced from literature which, nevertheless, supposedly claimed her as its subject.

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[15]Brown, 'Pierre Gringore', p. 159.

[16]*Lordre des ioustes faictes a // Paris a lentree de la royne // Le pas des armes de larc trium // phal ou tout honneur est enclos // tenu a lētree de la royne // a Paris, en la // rue Sainct Anthoine, pres les tournelles // Par puissant seigñr, monseigneur le duc // de vallois et de bretaigne* ([Paris: n.pr. 1514 (?)]). This text exists in numerous editions, a full list of which is provided in the appendix.

The last two works from our *corpus* to feature Mary were both written after Louis's death on 1 January 1515. They are both fictional verse letters written as a lament for the dead King in the Queen's voice by poets associated with the court. Both were presumably composed shortly after the King's death since by mid-February Mary had married again to Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, and this marriage was publicly known, at least in Paris, within a month.[17] Neither of the works has survived in manuscript, nor do they seem to have been immediately printed.[18]

Guillaume Cretin's *Epître au nom de la Royne Marie, à Madame la Duchesse* is a 256-line *épître artificielle* in decasyllabic couplets from Mary to Marguerite, then Duchess of Alençon.[19] We have already seen Cretin's anti-English contribution to the literature on the war of 1511–14.[20] As we have seen, Cretin had connections in the households of the new King and his sister Marguerite, and as *trésorier* of the Saint Chapelle at Vincennes and one of the King's *aumôniers ordinaires*, he also held royal offices. It is likely that this *épître*, which records Louis's greatness but at the same time praises the new King and his sister, was part of the author's strategy to advertise his talent and maintain his position. As with the *Invective contre les gens d'armes de France*, this poem was probably never intended for print publication, and, like nearly all

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[17]Richardson, pp. 166–86.

[18]By contrast, a Latin 'consolation' for Mary, composed by the Italian cleric Giovanni Benedetto Monzetti, was successfully printed in Paris in April 1515: *Epistola consolatoria de morte Lodovici XII, regis Francorum* (Paris: Henri Estienne, 1515). This work is a fictional dialogue between the author and the Queen. See Elizabeth Armstrong, 'J. B. Monzetti's Consolation for Mary Tudor, Queen of France: A Little Known Edition of Henri (I) Estienne', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 64 (2002), pp. 251–70. Armstrong argues that the *Epistola* was probably printed not commercially, but as a "private order" for Monzetti (p. 266).

[19]References will be given in the text and are to Chesney, pp. 233–239.

[20]See above, pp. 156–60.

of Cretin's works, it was not printed until 1527 when it appeared in Charbonnier's edition of the collected works.[21]

In her 'letter' Mary mourns the loss of her husband and, distraught, laments her own fate. She tells us that it would have been better had she drowned in the Channel before marrying Louis, such is the pain of separation from her husband:

> Cruelle mort, felonne et interdicte,
>
> Tu m'as tolu mon seigneur et amy [...]
>
> Gros tourbillons et vagues fluctueuses,
>
> Pour quoy ne feuz par vous gettee au fondz
>
> Des antres creux et abysmes profondz ? [...]
>
> J'aymasse mieulx, tant ay le cueur plain de ire,
>
> Avoir esleu sepulture en la mer
>
> Que apres doulceur si fort gouster l'amer. (pp. 236–7)

The focus then very quickly moves from Mary to her correspondent, as Mary seeks solace in Marguerite. Cretin, through Mary, praises Marguerite at length, comparing her to Minerva, Esther, Judith and Rachel. He even begs that she accept "ceste myen epistre" (p. 235) in a manner that can quite easily be read as the poet soliciting the Duchess's favour. The focus of this work is, thus, very clearly on Marguerite rather than on Mary.

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[21] *Dudict Cretin, au nom de la royne // Marie a ma dame la duchesse a // present royne de Navarre*, in Cretin, *Chantz royaulx*, fols CXXXVI^{v}–CXLI^{v}.

Mary has very little independent existence in this text. She is simply a voice mourning for the King and speaking as much for the poet and reader alike as for herself. Mary's fortune is presented as wholly dependent upon Louis and inextricably linked with her status as a French queen. Louis was the source of her happiness and now his death is the cause of her despair. Mary doubts that Henry could help her (p. 233). Even the members of Mary's English entourage in France are in despair because they too have had their fortunes reversed and will now be made to return to England (pp. 233–4). Mary tells us nothing about her own country, but, by contrast she describes France as a "franche humaine et doulce terre" and tells us that no other Englishwoman will ever be feted with such great pomp and ceremony as she was by the French (p. 238). We are given the impression that Mary is mourning as much because she will have to leave France as because her husband has died.

Though Mary is structurally at the centre of this text, the focus of interest is always elsewhere. For example, at the end, Cretin moves the focus to the new King when he has Mary tell Marguerite of her joy at Francis's accession:

> O! quel plaisir veoir en fleur de son eage
>
> Ton frere Roy, et ung tel personnaige,
>
> Droit, elegant, tresmagnanime, affable,
>
> Prudent, et preux, qui foy n'adjouste a fable. (p. 238)

Then, the theme of peace, which we found so frequently in the literature surrounding Mary's marriage, is brought back to the foreground as Mary prays for continued friendship between France and England (p. 239). Cretin generally *avoids* the question of Mary's cultural identity in this work. Where distinctions are made between English and French collective identity, French identity is always portrayed as the preferable

choice. Indeed, rather than being a work about Mary, Cretin's *épître* focuses most of its attention on Louis XII, Marguerite of Angoulême and Francis I.

Jean Bouchet also produced an *Epistre de la Royne Marie*; this time, from Mary to Henry VIII. In the *Annales d'Aquitaine*, he tells us that his poem was commissioned by Charles de La Trémoïlle, so it was possibly one of the works presented at court by La Trémoïlle on Bouchet's behalf.[22] It does not seem to have been printed before 1517 when it appeared with the *Chappellet des Princes* in an edition of George Chastelain's *Temple de Jehan Bocace*.[23] Bouchet must have been relatively satisfied with his poem as it was reprinted a number of times: from 1524, in editions of the *Annales d'Aquitaine*, then in 1545 in the *Epîtres morales et familières*.[24]

Bouchet's poem is a 436-line lament for Louis XII in decasyllabic couplets "contenant en brief les gestes dudict roy loys, et *aucunes louanges de France et des francois*" (my italics).[25] Like Cretin's poem, it is basically an epitaph for Louis XII

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[22]*Les annalles dacqui // taine faictz et gestes en sommaire des //Roys de France et Dangleterre // Et des pays de Naples et de Milan* (Paris and Poitiers: Jacques Bouchet and Enguilbert de Marnef, 1524), fol. lxv^{r}. For La Trémoïlle, see above, p. 147; Britnell, *Jean Bouchet*, pp. 272-3.

[23]*Le temple Jehan Bocace de la ruyne daulcuns // nobles malheureux, faict par George son imitat // eur. // Linstruction du jeune Prince. // Le Chappellet des princes, en cinquante rōdeaulx et cinq // Ballades, faict et compose par le Traverseur de Voyes pe // rilleuses. // Lepistre de la royne Marie, a son frère Henry roy Dan // gleterre faicte et composée par le Traverseur de Voyes pe // rilleuses* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1517), fols lxv^{r}–lxx^{r}. References will be given in the text and are to this edition.

[24]*Epistre de ma dame marie royne douariere de frāce au roy hēry dāgleterre son fre // touchant le trespas du trescrestien roy de frāce loys .xii. de ce nō*, in *Les annalles dacquitaine* (1524), 4th part, fols lxviii^{r}–lxxii^{v} (directly after the account of Louis XII's death); *Epistre de l'acteur au nom d'Illustre dame // madame Marie Royne douairiere de France // quelle rescript au Roy d'Angleterre son frere Hēry viii. de ce nom touchāt le trespas du tres // chrestien Roy de Frāce. L. xii. de ce nom son // espoux, cōtenant en brief les gestes dudict roy // loys, & aucūes louāges de Frāce & des Frācois*, in *Epistres Morales & fami // lieres du Trauerseur, Epistres familieres* (XIV), fols xvii^{r}–xviii^{v}.

[25]This information is given in the title of the version printed with the *Epîtres morales et familières* in 1545.

which at the same time welcomes the accession of the new King, Francis I. It is a carefully structured work in which Mary praises France and the French, provides a summary of the reign of Louis XII, mourns his passing and exhorts others to do likewise. Finally, Mary praises the new King and, as we have seen elsewhere, expresses her hope for continued peace between France and England. Again, Mary is structurally at the centre of the text, but, again, it is not really about her. Nevertheless, in comparison with Cretin's poem, here Mary is a more prominent narrator, opening and closing the work and joining its various strands together. Indeed, in the text's meta-narrative Mary is not just a voice, but an individual in her own right, though not one who appears to be particularly English.

As with Cretin's poem, here, Mary tells us little about England or the English and reserves her praise for France. She systematically sets out for her brother the qualities and advantages of her adopted country:

> Premierement d'argent est opulent
>
> Et abundant en vins, blez, bois, et fruictz,
>
> Fort decoré de chasteaulx bien construictz
>
> Et soustenu de plusieurs ducz et princes,
>
> Semblablement de dixhuit provinces.
>
> Fourestz ya, lacz estans et rivieres
>
> Portans poissons de diverses manieres,
>
> Et la plus part est rancloux de la mer
>
> Qui donne cause à plusieurs de l'amer (fol. lxv^{v})

She goes on to praise French commerce, scholarship and justice before turning to the French people:

> Les gens y sont courtoys et amoureux,

Doulx aux begnins, aux mauvais rigoreux,

Tresliberaux et fort amans les dames

Non par semblant, mais de cueur, corps et d'ames.

Aux armes sont propres par leurs vaillances

Droictz à cheval et bons coureurs de lances,

Tards à fuyr, promps à donner assault,

Impatiens quant quelcun les assault (fol. lxv^{v})

Explicitly, this poem tells us more about the French than the English, but, implicitly, praise of one nationality can often be understood as subtle criticism of the other, particularly when read in the context of Bouchet's earlier writing such as in his *Epître d'Henry* which, of course, was also addressed to Henry VIII.[26] Such subtle criticism is evident in a number of passages: Mary tells us that the French love and obey their king, unlike others who are "plaines d'orgueil et conjuracions" and ready to depose their ruler (fol. lxvi^{r}); she is also critical of those who, jealous of Louis's conquests in Italy, allied against him and invaded France in 1513, though Henry VIII is not, of course, directly named here (fol. lxvi^{v}).

The lament proper follows a conventional approach, as Mary first exhorts various Classical and Biblical figures to mourn Louis's death then urges the French people to share her grief, specifically calling upon "justice", "eglise" and "noblesse" to honour and mourn the King (fols lxvii^{v}–lxix^{r}). Within this section (that is, once we move beyond the meta-narrative) Mary loses her individuality and becomes no more than a voice expressing the poet's and reader's grief. Moreover, as might be expected, Bouchet does not dedicate space to praising Henry VIII in the way Cretin had praised his letter's addressee Marguerite of Alençon. Instead, he has Mary praise Francis I,

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[26]See above, pp. 145–52.

rather than Henry who is largely ignored. Mary exalts the new King's virtues and she declares that her hope is now in Francis and his wife, Claude (fol. lxx^{r}). Whereas Marguerite was both Cretin's fictional reader and very possibly the real addressee of the poem, Henry could only ever be the fictional addressee of Bouchet's letter and, in any case, Bouchet had little incentive to sing the praises of a foreign king who was potentially one of Francis's main political rivals. As with so many of these works, the English remain in the background because the author had little interest in presenting them positively at any length. At the end, Mary again serves to represent the hope of continued peace between France and England. She writes to her brother, notably warning *him* against breaking the peace:

> Que l'alyance aux Françoys par toy prise
> Dure tousjours *et par toy ne se brise*,
> Car se sont gens de si tresbonne sorte
> Que de meilleurs il ne faut qu'on se assorte ;
> En ce faisant a toy me obligeras
> Et le proffit de ton pays feras. (My italics) (fol. lxx^{r})

Each of the texts from this section features events in which Mary appears to be at the centre but in which she is in fact confined to the background. Where she does have a more prominent position, her 'Englishness' is ignored and she features instead as a symbol of alliance or peace. In these texts Mary is not an individual, nor even a representative of the English but rather a function of the text's rhetorical strategy. Given the context in which they were working, writers had no pool of positive stereotypes on which to draw for their depictions of the Queen. They found it difficult to shift into a mode in which they could depict the English positively and still convey the distinctiveness of their own group. Lost for words, writers found it much easier to

represent their subject not as 'one of them' but as 'one of us'. They tend to avoid confronting the 'problem' of Mary's English origins, and, where possible, they ignore the English and focus instead on the benefits of peace, the spectacle of the pageants and on French individuals such as the King or members of his court. They would face a similar situation in 1518 when Francis and Henry again signed a treaty committing their countries to peace and co-operation, but, as we shall see, by then the cultural landscape had already significantly changed.

2. The 'Universal Peace' of 1518 and the Field of Cloth of Gold

In spite of a period of suspicion and hostility after Francis I's resounding victory over the Swiss at Marignano in September 1515, England and France renewed their alliance in a treaty of 'universal peace' agreed in London in October 1518. The treaty was to formalise friendship between France and England and establish peace among all Christian powers so that they could defend Europe and the Holy Land against the 'Turk'. It also provided for the betrothal of Henry VIII's two-and-a-half year old daughter Mary to Francis I's eight month old son the Dauphin, Francis and for a future personal meeting between Henry and Francis.[27]

Elaborate festivities were organised in 1518 in both London and Paris to celebrate the treaty and the betrothal of Mary to the Dauphin, and this was followed by the magnificent spectacle of the meeting of Henry and Francis at the Field of Cloth of Gold in 1520. The ceremonial and decoration of these celebrations self-consciously

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[27]For the historical background, see Jean Jacquart, *François I* (Paris: Fayard, 1994); R. J. Knecht, *Renaissance Warrior and Patron: The Reign of Francis I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

reflected the contemporary fashion for Italian ideas and culture as well as Humanist interest in antiquity. The festivities and events of 1518 and 1520 were themselves commemorated in a number of neo-Latin works printed in Paris and targeted very much to appeal to a Humanist readership. Some of these Latin works were translated into French at the same time, and printed probably for a very similar readership.[28]

All of these works, both French and Latin, are very different from those produced for the 1514 marriage. The Latin texts are typically Humanist works in that they imitate Classical forms and attempt to use a Latin purged of medieval 'barbarisms' (some were even reissued with corrections to the Latin forms and vocabulary used). They exalt their subjects (mainly Henry and Francis) as heroic figures, and reflect Humanist ideals by praising peace and universal co-operation as values in themselves. As we shall see, the attitudes to 'patriotism' and collective identity and, thus, towards representing the English found in these texts, though varied, were clearly shaped by the expectation that readers would identify themselves with a borderless *respublica litterarum*. Henry and Francis are praised as the embodiment of Humanist values and qualities and as examples of the *uomo universale* rather than merely as representatives of a particular people.

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[28]For the cultural background to the reign more generally, see Anne-Marie Lecoq, *François I^er^ imaginaire: symbolique et politique à l'aube de la Renaissance française* (Paris: Macula, 1987). For the festivities in 1518 and 1520, see Stephen Bamforth, 'Architecture and Sculpture at the Field of Cloth of Gold (1520) and the Bastille Festival (1518)', in *Secular Sculpture 1300–1550*, ed. by Philip Lindley and Thomas Fragenberg (Stamford, CT: Shaun Tyas, 2000), pp. 219–36. The context in which the Latin works were produced is studied in: Stephen Bamforth and Jean Dupèbe: 'Jacobus Sylvius, *Francisci Francorum Regis et Henrici Anglorum Colloquium*', *Renaissance Studies*, 5 (1991), pp. 1–237; 'The *Silva* of Bernardino Rincio (1518)', *Renaissance Studies*, 8 (1994), pp. 256–315.

The French versions are translations or, more precisely, adaptations of the Latin originals. Most were translated anonymously, perhaps in order to maintain a clear association between the text and its author. Where there are differences between the French and Latin versions, this is not necessarily the result of a poor translation. The translators seem eager to convey the tone and ideas of their source texts in clear, readable French. Many of those who attended or heard of the festivities commemorated in these works would have wanted a literary souvenir in keeping with the tone and character of the events, but would have been less interested in the finer linguistic nuances of the neo-Latin text.

In order of the events commemorated, Richard Pace's Latin *Oratio in pace* comes first. Pace was not a patriotic French writer but an English diplomat who had spent much of the time between Marignano and 1518 plotting with the Empire and the Swiss against French interests in Italy. He did, however, have good Humanist credentials: a friend of Erasmus, he had been educated at Oxford and Padua and had spent time in Rome and Constance. By 1518, he was Henry VIII's secretary; the *Oratio* is the text of his address before Henry and the French ambassadors at a ceremony celebrating the new treaty in St Paul's on 3 October.[29] Pace's representation of the English cannot therefore be seen as a self-representation of French identity. Yet, in spite of the fact that its author was English, both the Latin and French versions of the work seem to have been in demand in France. An edition of the Latin text was printed in London by Pynson on 9 December 1518 with a Paris edition, printed by Jean de

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[29]See Jervis Wegg, *Richard Pace: A Tudor Diplomatist* (London: Methuen, 1932); Catherine Mary Curtis, *Richard Pace on Pedagogy, Counsel and Satire* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1996), pp. 163–83.

Gourmont, following shortly afterwards.[30] The French version, the *Oraison en la louenge de la Paix*, was probably printed at the same time. It is known from two editions: an *in-quarto* of eight leaves by Gourmont (in two different issues) and another with only four leaves and printed in Rouen by Jean Richart.[31]

Pace's work is an encomium to peace (in the Latin text, his name is, of course, an amusing pun). The Latin and French versions, which are very similar, both largely ignore the French, focusing their attention first on the praise of peace, then, unusually, on praising Henry VIII. In the prologue, we are told that peace is of such great benefit to mankind that no poet can adequately sing its praises. Pace contrasts the evil and destruction of war with the virtues nurtured by peace, and he blames war between Christians for the advance of the "infidel". Peace in Christendom is thus presented primarily as an opportunity to make war on Islam. In this way, Pace offers his readers, both French and English, an alternative significant other upon which to focus, and he unites them in opposition to a common enemy. Using this strategy, Pace is able to praise Henry as a peacemaker and, at the same time, as a warrior king. He lists the physical qualities that make Henry a "grant roy et empereur de guerre". He is "de belle nature et grande, fort agille, puissant et robuste", his body is well proportioned and his features handsome. Henry, Pace tells us, will defeat any challenger in tournament or in

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[30]*Oratio Richardi Pacei in pace nuperime composita et foedere percusso* (London: Pynson, 1518); *Oratio Richardi Pacei in pace nuperrime composita et foedere percusso* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1518).

[31]*Oraisō en la louenge // de la Paix. faicte entre le tresvictorieux Roy Dangleterre. & // Treschrestien roy de Frāce. p̄le traicte du mariage du Daul // phin de France. & Marie fille aisnee Dangleterre. composee // & p̄nuncée par Messire Richard Pacee A Londres. dendens Leglise sainct Pol. trāslatee nouuellemēt de latin en frācoys* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, [1518]); *Oraison en la louenge de la paix // faicte entre le Tres chrestien Roy de France // Et le tres puissant Roy Dangleterre. Par [le] // traicte du mariage du Daulphin de France Et Ma[rie] // fille aisnee Dangleterre. Composee et pronuncee p[ar] // Messire Richard Pacee a londres dedens leglise sa[int] // Pol, translatee nouuellement de latin en francoys* ([Rouen]: Jean Richart, [1518]). References will be given in the text and are to Gourmont's edition.

battle, and should he choose to make war he would not be defeated. Moreover, Henry is blessed with great riches and the advantage of subjects whose warlike nature is "trop plus congneuz par tout le monde". However, Pace points out that Henry has turned away from war and that he will not use his advantage for "gloire humaine" but rather to "combatre les enemis et adversaires de la foy" (fols 5^{v}–6^{r}). Throughout this text, Henry is presented as an individual rather than as an Englishman. There is nothing specifically 'English' about him here. He could just as easily be a member of the group "monarchs" as he is of the group "the English". Nevertheless, our author does not praise Francis I in the same way. Indeed, Francis and the French barely feature in this work. The betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin is given some consideration, but purely as a sign of the new peace between France and England which, as we have seen, is presented in the wider context of calls for the defence of Christendom. Even here, Pace remains partisan as Henry is portrayed as the instigator of peace: we are told that Henry has magnanimously put past insults and enmities behind him in order to secure 'universal peace' and a new crusade (fols 6^{r}–7^{r}).

In contrast to the works celebrating the 1514 marriage, Pace focuses his attention on the English, or at least on one Englishman, Henry VIII. His work thus seems a strange choice for a vernacular publication in France. It is unlikely that at this time there was a great market for French works praising foreign monarchs. Nevertheless, the *Oraison en la louenge de la Paix* would have appealed to a French audience as an accessible version of a sophisticated Latin text, a work calling for peace in Christendom and a crusade against the 'Turk', and, finally, as the balancing pair to another more clearly patriotic work which also sets out the qualities of kingship, but, this time, in relation to Francis I, namely: Bernardino Rincio's *Louenge du mariage de*

monsieur le Daulphin des Gaulles Francoys et Marie fille du roy Dangleterre and its original Latin version, *Epitalamion*.

Both Latin and French versions of Rincio's work were also printed by Gourmont. Gourmont's edition of the Latin text is dated 16 December 1518 (the text itself is dated 12 December) and his edition of the French version was probably printed at around the same time, since the Paris festivities for the treaty were held between 14 and 22 December and this is when the texts would have been most topical. Both are printed as *in-quartos* of twelve leaves; the success of the French version is indicated by its survival in two slightly different issues, as well as in a separate anonymous *in-quarto* edition of only six leaves, again, very probably, by Gourmont.[32]

The Latin and French versions both begin with a dedication to the French chancellor, Antoine Duprat. This is then followed by Rincio's discourse in praise of the betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin. Finally there is the copy of a letter from Gio-Angelo Bollani recommending Rincio for his great poetic skill to Galeazzo Visconti, who had organised the lavish reception for the English ambassadors held at the Bastille on 22 December which is described in another of Rincio's works, the *Silva* (discussed below). In his title, the author introduces himself as: "Bernardin Rince Millannois, Docteur es ars et en Medecine" (fol. 1^{v}), but it is in Bollani's letter to Visconti that we learn that Rincio has studied in Padua and Pavia, and that in Paris he has often "disputé

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[32]*Clarissimi Bernardini Rincii, Epitalamion in nuptiis Francisci Delphini et Mariae* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1518); *Le livre & oraisō messire // Bernardin Rince Millannoys Docteur es ars & en Me // decine: contenāt les Louenges du mariage de monsieur le // Daulphin des Gaulles Francoys, Et Marie fille du duc // Dangleterre. Translate de latin en francoys* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, [1518]); *Le Livre et oraison a la // louenge du mariage de monsieur le Daulphin des Gaulles, Francoys, // et Marie fille du roy Dangleterre* ([Paris: Jehan Gourmont (?), 1518]). References will be given in the text and are to the French edition signed by Gourmont.

et parlé avec les docteurs et grans clers de graves et ardues matieres de Philosophie, et Theologie" (fol 12[r]). Rincio, like Pace, was thus a Humanist writer, claiming to be well connected with the powerful in government and at court.[33] Rincio gives us an idea of the kind of audience for whom he was writing when he declares in his dedication that "j'ay voulu orer et parler en ce petit livre [...] devant la presence et multitude des gens clercs et saiges, et principalement de ceste noble université de Paris" (fol. 1[v]). He was writing principally for an educated audience rather than for an audience of bourgeois merchants and traders, though the French version of his text would clearly have opened up a market beyond university scholars and fellow Humanists. The oration itself is addressed to Francis I, and Rincio clearly sets out his subject as: "la grande et salutaire felicité de la paix, concorde et union faicte par le lien de mariage entre le tresnoble Daulphin des Gaulles [...] et tresexcellente dame Marie fille du noble Roy d'Angleterre" (fol. 2[v]). In fact, this 'speech' is divided into three parts: praise of Francis I, a call for a crusade against Islam, and praise of marriage. Rincio thus echoes the themes and structure of Pace's work and his oration must be read, at least in part, as a response to it.[34]

As Pace had praised Henry, Rincio praises Francis I, concentrating on his good government and military victories. Rincio compares Francis to Caesar and Scipio and calls him "ung aultre Hannibal". Francis, we are told, is invincible, and his victory over the Swiss is an example to all kings: "Que pourroit on plus donc demander en ung roy,

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[33]For Rincio and his connections with Visconti, and for Visconti's role in the Bastille celebrations, see Bamforth and Dupèbe, 'The *Silva* of Bernardino Rincio', pp. 277–82.

[34]For example, Rincio's text is much closer to Pace's than to Cuthbert Tunstall's *In laudem matrimonii oratio* which was read before Henry and the French ambassadors during the celebrations at Greenwich on 5 October and was printed in London (Pynson, 1518), Paris (Bade, c.1518) and Basel (Froben, 1519), but which is much more of a religious than a political text and which does not appear to have been translated into French.

qui a soustenu telle bataille et vaincu ceulx qui se disoient dominateurs des aultres princes ? Certes, rien quelsconques" (fols 4^{v}–5^{v}). There are sections in praise of Francis's ministers and the French people, who fear, love and obey their king. Again, division in Christendom is blamed for the advance of the "Turk" across the Mediterranean, and Rincio calls on the French and English to unite in a crusade (fols 7^{v}–8^{r}). Rincio's final section praises marriage, not only as an important religious institution established by God, but also because "par mariage paix est establiée et faicte entre princes qui par avant estoient ennemis" (fol. 11^{r}). In a short section after praising Francis I, Rincio briefly praises the "tresnoble roy d'Angleterre". He lists Henry's qualities generally as: "beaulté, force, conseil, auctorité, sagesse, clemence, richesse", and then quickly declares that Henry is "si vertueulx et saige que est bien difficile de povoir trouver à qui on le puisse comparer" (fol. 7^{v}) and he leaves it at that, referring us to Pace's earlier eloquent praise of the King. Pace's and Rincio's works thus complement each other and present a surprisingly positive image of the English King. However, it is perhaps noteworthy that although both works were published in French as well as Latin, as we have seen, Pace was English and Rincio was not strictly French but an Italian.

Within days of publication of the *Epitalamion* Rincio composed another text commemorating more specifically the Anglo-French peace of 1518. His *Silva*, which was translated into French as the *Livre et Forest*, is an account of the festivities held at the Bastille by Francis for the English ambassadors on 22 December in celebration of the peace treaty. The Latin text was again printed by Gourmont with a colophon dated

one day after the festivities.[35] Gourmont printed the French version as an *in-quarto* of twelve leaves and it was also printed as an *in-quarto* of only four leaves in Rouen by Richart.[36] Although the *Silva* and its French counterpart do not contain extensive depictions of the English, they do still present a generally positive attitude towards them, and they are interesting because they are part of a group of group of texts, all printed by Gourmont, all commemorating the peace celebrations of 1518 and all more or less positive about the 'old enemy'.

The *Livre et Forest* provides a detailed description of the festivities held at the Bastille. It describes the rich decoration with its classical and Italian inspired motifs, and it lists and describes those present, calling attention to the opulence of their jewellery and clothing. Again the themes of peace and co-operation are prominent throughout, but, above all, the text stresses the grandeur of Francis's court which can be favourably compared to anything the Classical world could offer. Bamforth and Dupèbe see the Latin original as a propagandistic text, "the aims of which are to promote the claims of Francis I to the Imperial throne".[37] The French text would certainly have made this image of the King's fame and glory accessible to a readership without Latin. Throughout, the tone is generally positive towards the English. Henry is

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[35]*Silva Bernardini Rincio* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1518); there is a second edition with linguistic corrections: *Sylva Bernardini Rincio* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1518). For an edition with a modern English translation, see Bamforth and Dupèbe, 'The *Silva* of Bernardino Rincio', pp. 293–315.

[36]*Le livre & forest de messire // Bernardin Rince Millanoys: Docteur en medecine // Contenant & explicant briefuement Lap // pareil: les Ieux & le festin // de la Bastille* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1518); *Le liure et forest de // Messire bernardin rince millā // noys : Docteur en medecine Cō // tenant et explicant brefuement // Lappareil du bancquet faict a // Paris a la bastille : pour la venue // des Orateurs et ambassadeurs // Dangleterre : Avec les jeux et le // festin de ladicte bastille* ([Rouen]: Jean Richart, [1518]). References are given in the text and are to Gourmont's edition.

[37]Bamforth and Dupèbe, 'The *Silva* of Bernardino Rincio', p. 287. Campaigning for the imperial election began well before Maximilian's death in January 1519. For Francis's candidature, see Knecht, pp. 165–70.

described as "Henry Roy de Angleterre invincible" (fol. 2^{v}), his ambassadors are presented as being as richly dressed and bejewelled as the other guests, and the English are welcomed with great ceremony (fol. 7^{v}). However, as we saw with the texts commemorating the royal marriage in 1514, the English are not given any developed treatment. It is as if authors do not quite know what to say in their praise and so displace them from any position of prominence.

The betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin also provided the subject for a structurally very different work, composed by a poet identifying himself as "Le Serviteur" and printed anonymously, almost certainly in Rouen. The *Epître de madame la Daulphine de France, fille du Roy d'Angleterre à la Royne nostre souveraine dame* is a 658-line *épître artificielle*, in decasyllabic couplets in which the infant Mary writes to Francis I's wife Claude of France to express her love for the Dauphin and the pain she feels at being separated from him.[38] This 'letter', however, only provides the frame for a complex dream-vision allegory in which we find a narrative of recent political events. The *Epître de madame la Daulphine* is, again, generally positive about the English but only in the context of praising the French monarchy still more. Nothing is known of the author. The edition is curiously printed with a large, carefully executed woodcut on the title page but with the text, mainly in two columns of minute print, squeezed into the remaining seven pages of a small four-leaf *in-quarto*.[39] The author certainly seems to have a competent knowledge of the political situation in 1518, and it seems very likely

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[38]*Lepistre de ma dame La // Daulphine de France Fille du roy dan // gleterre. A la Royne nostre souveraine dame // Composee par le Serviteur* ([Rouen (?): Jean Macé (?). n.d.]). References will be given in the text and are to this edition.

[39]The woodcut shows the arms of Claude de France held by two angels. The text is in two columns from fol. 2^{r}. A very small typeface is used for the first three leaves and an even smaller font is used after the eighth line of fol. 4^{r}.

that this work was another response to the demand for topical information presented in an amusing and entertaining form.

The text opens as a letter in which Mary tells Claude, the Queen, about a dream she has had. In this dream a bear lies dormant beneath a lily from which comes a fire-breathing salamander and a dolphin carrying a boy on its back. The salamander is attacked by an eagle but destroys it, seizing its laurel crown. Mary is then visited by a nymph who opens a further level of narrative by giving an account of Claude's illustrious parentage and Breton origins and at the same time praising peace between France and England. The allegory provides a very clear allusion to Francis's ambition in 1518 to be elected Emperor. Francis is presented as a victorious king, a "salemandre hectorien" who has defeated and pacified the "ours cruel" (the Swiss), conquered Milan, made peace with the English and set his sights on the recovery of Constantinople (fols 2^{r}–3^{v}). In this work, Maximilian, not the English, is clearly identified as the main enemy of France. The author thus reserves his most severe invective for the Emperor, who is depicted as "une aigle [...] Quasi sans plume et par antiquité | Toute aveuglée, imbecile, squalide" (fol. 2^{r}). He complains about Maximilian's attempts to manipulate the imperial election but reassures the reader that, in Francis, the lily and laurel will forever be joined (fol. 2^{v}). By contrast, the English are presented as allies, and the betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin is used to symbolise new peace between former enemies (fols 3^{v}–4^{v}). Their betrothal, we are told, is the guarantee of "parfaicte amour et paix" between France and England (fol. 4^{r}).

"Le Serviteur"'s is not a Humanist-inspired work as were Pace's and Rincio's. Nevertheless, our author does also provide his French reader with an alternative

significant other, but, this time, the threat is not presented as facing Christendom as a whole. Instead of the "Turk", here we have Maximilian as the enemy, and he is depicted principally as an enemy of the French. The English may be helpful allies but they are certainly not equals. In this text, Mary is very much presented as secondary, and even subservient to her correspondent and to the other French figures in the narrative. Thus, Mary praises Claude as "royal sceptre excelente tressublime" and "Royne sacree excellente deesse" (fol. 1^{v}), and tells us:

> Qu'il na déesse en la court syderée
>
> Qui fut jamais si tresfort venerée
>
> Et n'est cantique ou resonante laude,
>
> Qui decorer la fleurissante Claude
>
> Ou ses vertus peult celebrer assez. (fol. 3v)

Yet, nowhere is this praise reciprocated. Instead, our author stresses well established aspects of French collective identity, frequently alluding to the Trojan origins both of the French and the Bretons. In this work, the English are an important element in Francis's policy towards the Empire, but they have no independent existence of their own.

The meeting between Francis and Henry at the 'Field of Cloth of Gold', which was postponed for a year because of the imperial election and finally held from 7 to 24 June 1520, was a spectacular affair. As Bamforth and Dupèbe have pointed out, it was, in many ways, a continuation of the celebrations held for the signing of the Anglo-French peace in 1518.[40] The various ceremonies and festivities which took place in a vast encampment between French Ardres and English-controlled Guînes, near Calais,

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[40]Bamforth and Dupèbe, 'Jacobus Sylvius', pp. 36–8.

stimulated considerable and lasting interest.[41] Contemporary accounts of the celebrations have survived in Latin, French, English and Italian.[42] In France, two accounts were produced in Latin: an anonymously written *Campi convivii atque ludorum agonisticorum ordo, modus atque descriptio*, printed by Gourmont, and a work entitled, *Francisci Francorum Regis et Henrici Anglorum Colloquium*, written by the Humanist doctor Jacques Dubois (under the name of Jacobus Sylvius), and printed in Paris by Josse Bade.[43] There are also two closely-related accounts in French, both of which draw heavily on the *Campi convivii*. One, the *Description et ordre du camp*, is anonymous and exists in three slightly different editions; the other, the *Ordonnance et ordre du tournoy, joustes, et combat*, is only known in one edition, and, like the *Epître de madame la Daulphine*, is signed "Le Serviteur".[44]

One of these accounts, the *Campi convivii*, is clearly the base text. It was used as a source for Dubois's Latin account and for both of the French vernacular accounts.

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[41]See Knecht, pp. 170–5; Sydney Anglo, 'Le Camp du drap d'or et les entrevues d'Henry VIII et de Charles Quint', in *Fêtes et cérémonies au temps de Charles Quint*, ed. by J. C. M. Jacquot (Paris: C.N.R.S., 1960), pp. 113–34.

[42]The Latin and French accounts are discussed below. Manuscript accounts of the meeting in English are discussed in Bamforth and Dupèbe 'Jacobus Sylvius', p. 2. The authors also provide an edition of an account in Italian (*Littere del sumptuosissimo triumpho del christianissimo re de Francia et del re de Anglia*), printed anonymously in Italy in 1520, pp. 220–5.

[43]*Campi convivii atque ludorum agonisticorum ordo, modus atque descriptio* ([Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1520?]); Jacobus Sylvius, *Francisci Francorum Regis et Henrici Anglorum Colloquium* (Paris: Bade, 1520). Both texts are edited by Bamforth and Dupèbe in 'Jacobus Sylvius', pp. 196–212 and 48–195 respectively. Dubois is better known for his opposition to Vesalius. For biographical details, see 'Jacobus Sylvius', pp. 4–9.

[44]*La description et ordre du camp // et festins et ioustes* ([Paris: Jehan Gourmont (?), 1520]); *La description et ordre du camp // festins et ioustes* ([n.p. n.pr. 1520]); *La description et // ordre du camp. // & festiem̄t & joustes des trescrestiens et trespuissās roys de // France & Dangleterre. Lā Mil. CCCCC. et vingt. // Au moys de juing* ([n.p. n.pr. 1520]); "Le Serviteur", *Lordonnance et ordre // du tournoy, ioustes, & combat, a pied, & a cheval. // Le tresdesire & plusque triumphant rencōtre, entre // veue, assemblee, & visitation, des treshaultz, & tresexcel // lens princes, les Roys de France, & de Angleterre. Et // des Roynes leurs compaignes. Et aultres princes et // princesses* (Paris: Jehan Lescaille for Pierre Vidou, 1520). References will be given in the text and are to *Lordonnance et ordre*.

The anonymous French account is a straightforward French translation/adaptation of the *Campi convivii*, but the account produced by "Le Serviteur" offers a much freer version and seems to draw much of its material from the other French account. Moreover, "Le Serviteur" adds an assortment of original material, including a "prologue", three *ballades* and a separate account of the tourney, perhaps to make his text more interesting commercially. Bamforth and Dupèbe have demonstrated that the central account of the festivities, found in the *Campi convivii*, presents the meeting of the two kings as a Virgilian epic. However, this feature becomes progressively less evident as the text is transmitted from the Latin to the French adaptation and finally to the "Le Serviteur" version. The Latin author draws on themes and episodes in Virgil to associate Francis and Henry with Classical heroes and to portray their meeting as equal in grandeur and magnificence to the most lavish of precedents from antiquity.[45] As in Rincio and Pace, peace and co-operation between France and England is a key theme, and the English are, for the most part, presented as friends and allies in what is essentially a Humanist text.

Whereas the anonymous French account mainly reproduces the Latin text and offers little beyond this Virgilian description of the royal meeting, the addition of new material in the *Ordonnance et ordre* suggests that "Le Serviteur" was perhaps aiming for a slightly different audience. His *ballades*, for example, would presumably have appealed to more traditional tastes. As a small, gothic *in-quarto* of twenty-eight leaves, the *Ordonnance et ordre* is a much longer work than the anonymous French account which covers only six leaves *in-quarto* in one edition, and four in the remaining two. About three-quarters of the *Ordonnance et ordre* is taken up with a description of the

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[45]Bamforth and Dupèbe, 'Jacobus Sylvius', pp. 23–35.

meeting, with the rest being divided between the *ballades* and lists of those present as well as an explanation of the rules of the tourney. Such a focus on the tourney means that this work would have appealed to noble participants in the event in a way that the others would not have done. Indeed, the first *ballade* initially appears to be incongruously martial in tone as it calls on "Enffans de mars" who seek fame and honour to cast aside idleness, hurry to the encampment between Ardres and Guînes and demonstrate their courage and valour (fols 2^{r}–2^{v}). Yet, it quickly becomes clear that the poet is praising chivalric feats of arms rather than war. This chivalric ideal is reinforced in the way the *envoi* makes a call on the nobles and lords of various kingdoms to participate:

> Princes seigneurs tant Françoys comme Angloys,
>
> Italiens Allemens et Escossoys
>
> Et Espaigneux qui bon bruit voullez acquerre,
>
> Vennez jouster aux deux princes courtoys,
>
> Françoys de France et Henry d'Angleterre. (fol. 2^{v})

Throughout, this account of the meeting presents a generally positive attitude towards the English, indicated visually as well as textually: the arms of France on the title page are balanced by a large woodcut of the English arms next to a Tudor rose on the verso of the last page. In this work, at least, the printer seems to have selected his woodcuts carefully. As with the other texts considered in this chapter, here, the author can be positive about the English because peace and alliance are key themes in his work. Nevertheless, there is an underlying sense of caution and even mistrust in certain sections. In the "prologue", we find a reference to the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, which the author had first used in his *Epître de madame la Daulphine* (fol. 3^{v}). He

reminds us that peace between France and England was sealed by the betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin, but he seems to be subtly suggesting that this, in itself, is not enough:

> Entre aultres choses fort extollées par ancienne poesie je treuve les nopces Pelleus et Thetis singulierement celebrés tant par les grecs que latins poethes et mesmement par le prince d'iceulx Homere. Mais quant je consydere la malheureuse yssue qui en vint par la pomme du pris de beaulté gectée entre les déesses par discorde ennemye de paix et le fol jugement de Paris je suys contraint d'inferer que toutes assemblées qui sans controversie ne pevent prendre fin plustost doivent estre reprouvées que louées ou mises par escript sinon en detestation du malheur qui en peult sortir. Aussi au contraire quant le fruit de fraternelle union y est pour dernier metz, et le tresdoulx beuvrage d'amitié non simulée je ne sçay quel esperit au melliflue eloquence pourroit souffire pour assez les magnifier certes si icelluy Homere eust veu la cordialle assemblée du treschrestien et tresauguste Francoys permier de ce nom, Roy de France avec le tresexcellent et trespuissant Henry regnateur d'Angleterre. (fols 7[r]-8[r])[46]

Nevertheless, peace is a key theme throughout the work. In the second *ballade*, 'Reason' decrees peace between France and England:

> Au parlement de volunté divine
>
> Où presidoit Raison, qui tout domine,
>
> Prins au conseil deliberacion
>
> Fut arresté, sans contradiction,
>
> Qu'entre deux Roys, paix prendroit origine,
>
> Humilité demanda la saisine
>
> Et supplia que Raison sa voisine
>
> Mist cest arrest à execution

---

[46]Excluded from the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, Eris presented a golden apple inscribed "For the fairest" to the assembly. Paris's subsequent choice of Aphrodite as 'the fairest' led eventually to the Trojan War. As we shall see, this somewhat problematic image will recur in Clément Marot's poems on the Field of Cloth of Gold.

Au parlement etc. (fol. 21^{v})

Subsequent stanzas emphasise the benefits of peace to society, but there is nothing of a particularly English 'flavour' to this peace and no mention of the long history of conflict between France and England. By contrast, the third "*ballade*", which is, in fact, a *rondeau*, links peace and the marriage, but also stresses reconciliation between the two kingdoms:

Par fille et filz de illustre geniture

Deux non pareilz, chefz d'œuvres de nature,

On voit regner au monde bons amys

Ce que lung veult par lautre est admis,

Soit en parler ou en pleine escripture

Par fille et filz etc

Le createur de toute creature

Pour demonstrer que c'est de la facture,

Divin vouloir a sur terre transmis

Par fille et filz etc.

Amour en cueur en a fait l'ouverture,

Bien eureux sont de veoir telle adventure,

Françoys Angloys jadiz grans ennemys

Car à dangier ne seront plus submis

Ains auront paix ferme, à leur clousture,

Par fille et filz etc. (fol. 22^{v})

"Le Serviteur" embellishes the French version of a sophisticated neo-Latin text with material that would have made his work more attractive to an audience less familiar with some of the Classical allusions in the main account. He maintains a positive

attitude towards the English, though he focuses on the celebration of peace. The English, as a group, are not described, nor are they presented as actors in the process of peacemaking. Indeed, this process is abstracted into Classical allusions or conceptualisations of 'Reason' or 'Love' thereby avoiding any need to discuss the English themselves.

A very similar approach is adopted by Clément Marot in his poems on the Field of Cloth of Gold. Marot may well have attended these celebrations as part of the household of Francis's sister Marguerite, whose service he entered in 1519. The son of the poet Jean Marot, Clément is probably more commonly known for his religious poetry and translation of the Psalms. In 1520, as a young and largely inexperienced poet, Marot composed two poems about the meeting between Francis and Henry: the *Ballade du triumphe d'Ardres et Guignes faict par les Roys de France, et d'Angleterre* and the *Rondeau de la veue des Roys de France, et d'Angleterre entre Ardres et Guynes*.[47] However, both works are known today only in the form in which they were first printed in 1532, in the first edition of the *Adolescence clementine*.[48] Although it seems likely that they were produced for the King's sister and her entourage, following Marot's practice, they were almost certainly modified and edited before printing.[49] Stephen Bamforth has argued that the 1520 poems form a group with Marot's 1518 *Ballade de la naissance de Monseigneur le Daulphin*, also first printed in the

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[47]References will be given in the text and are to Clément Marot, *Œuvres Poétiques*, ed. by Gérard Defaux (Paris: Garnier, 1990), I: *L'Adolescence clementine; La Suite de l'Adolescence clementine*, pp. 118–9, 152.

[48]*Ballade, du triumphe de Ardres & Gingnes // faict par les Roys de Frāce & Dangleterre*; [*Rondeau*] *De la veue des Roys de France & dāgle // terre entre Ardres & Guynes*, in *LADOLE // SCENCE // CLEMENTINE // Autrement, Les Oeuvres de Clement Marot // de Cahors en Quercy, Vallet de Chambre du // Roy, composees en son Asolescence* [...] (Paris: Pierre Roffet, 1532), fols lii^{r}–lii^{v}, lxvi^{v}.

[49]For Marot, see Gérard Defaux, *Le poète en son jardin: étude sur Clément Marot et 'l'Adolescence clémentine'* (Paris: Champion, 1996).

Adolescence clementine.[50] This work was written in the context of Anglo-French negotiations for the betrothal of Mary and the Dauphin, and, like the 1520 poems praises peace. However, it is a highly figurative text centred on the image of a dolphin calming stormy weather as it enters the waters and it is difficult to draw any specific political message from the text:

> Quand Neptunus puissant Dieu de la Mer
>
> Cessa d'armer Carraques, et Gallées,
>
> Les Gallicans bien le deurent aymer,
>
> Et reclamer ses grands undes sallées,
>
> Car il voulut en ces basses vallées,
>
> Rendre la Mer de la Gaule haultaine
>
> Calme, et paisible, ainsi qu'une fontaine:
>
> Et pour oster Mathelotz de souffrance,
>
> Faire nager en ceste eaue claire et saine
>
> Le beau Daulphin tant desiré en France.

Marot does not directly allude to the English, nor does he explicitly associate peace with the betrothal. Indeed, Marot's hopes for peace lay as much in the Dauphin himself as they did in the Anglo-French treaty. Thus, for Marot, the poem remained as topical in 1532 as it had been in 1518, even though Francis's betrothal to Mary had long since been set aside.[51]

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[50]*Ballade de la naissance de monseigneur le // Daulphin* in *LADOLESCENCE CLEMENTINE*, fols li^{r}–lii^{r}. References will be given in the text and are to Defaux, *Œuvres Poétiques*, p. 118. See Stephen Bamforth, 'Clément Marot et le projet de paix universelle de 1518: poésie et propagande', in *La Génération Marot: poètes français et néo-latins (1515–1550). Actes du Colloque de Baltimore (5–7 décembre 1996)*, ed. by Gérard Defaux (Paris: Champion, 1997), pp. 113–29.

[51]See Michèle Clément, 'Marot politique dans *L'Adolescence clementine* et dans *La Suite*', in *La Génération Marot*, pp. 155–67 (pp. 162–7).

A similar emphasis on peace as an important and enduring value is found in the *ballade* and the *rondeau* on the Field of Cloth of Gold. The *ballade* describes a magnificent encampment at which "Amour", "Triumphe" and "Beaulté" attend upon the "Roys les plus beaulx de ce Monde". "Amour" quells the fury of "Mars" and presides over the assembly. Yet, as we saw with "Le Serviteur", allusions to the marriage of Peleus and Thetis indicate some degree of hesitancy and suspicion about the likelihood of peace between France and England being successful. The danger of war is constantly in the background:

> [...] Pour empescher, que Discorde n'apporte
>
> La Pomme d'or, dont vint guerre inhumaine
>
> Aussi affin que seulement en sorte
>
> Amour, Triumphe, et Beaulté souveraine.

"Triumphe", as peace, surpasses the achievement of the "belliqueurs Cesars" and is an example to all. Marot explains:

> [...] Brief, il n'est cueur qui ne se reconforte
>
> En ce pays, plus qu'en Mer la Seraine,
>
> De veoir regner (apres rancune morte)
>
> Amour, Triumphe, et Beaulté souveraine.

Finally, the poet praises the beauty (and implicitly, the 'goodness') of those present:

> De la beaulté des hommes me deporte:
>
> Et quant à celle aux Dames, je rapporte
>
> Qu'en ce monceau laide seroit Helaine.
>
> Parquoy concludz, que ceste Terre porte
>
> Amour, Triumphe, et Beaulté souveraine.

Unlike the 1518 *ballade*, this poem can be linked, through its numerous carefully selected allusions, to a clear political context in the Field of Cloth of Gold. However, as

we saw earlier, political events are considered abstractly, thereby avoiding the need to employ direct references to the English with the negative connotations they could very easily have conveyed. In the language of Classical mythology, the poet neatly avoids the politically *over*charged symbolism of certain more traditional allegories and can subtly hint at suspicion and mistrust without overtly condemning the English as "false" or "treacherous".

Marot's *rondeau* is very similar in that the title specifically refers to the meeting of the 'Kings of France and England' at the Field of Cloth of Gold. Marot praises the "deux grands Roys" and stresses their friendship and rejection of war (vv. 1–5). The meeting itself is explicitly described as greater than anything known in antiquity (vv. 6–9). However, again we find the problematic image of the marriage of Peleus and Thetis:

> Et le Festin, la Pompe, et l'Assistance
> Surpasse en bien le Triumphe, et prestance
> Qui fut jadis sur le mont Pelyon.
> Car de là vint la guerre d'Ylion:
> Mais de cecy vient Paix, et alliance
> De deux grands Roys. (vv. 10–15)

Both the *ballade* and the *rondeau* are generally positive about the English and could be read as political poems praising Francis I's policy of peace with England. However, as with the other works considered in this section, the poems tell us virtually nothing about England or the English character. Marot wonders at the magnificence of the festivities and, unusually, presents the participants in them as equals. Indeed, questions of collective identity are largely irrelevant in these works. Marot's contribution here is essentially a praise of peace. Nevertheless, rather than praising a policy of peace with

England, these poems promote peace as a policy in itself. This is probably why they remained as relevant in 1532 as they were in 1520.

None of the works considered in this section is wholly negative about the English. This seems mainly to be due to the political context in which they were written. However, most of these works were translations or adaptations of Latin Humanist writing which articulated a collective identity with a very different focus from that found more typically in the other works in our *corpus*. In many of these Humanist works, French identity is secondary to self-identification with a pan-European scholarly élite on the one hand, and Classical antiquity on the other. Here, Islam, as significant other to Christendom, replaces the English, as significant other to the French. Nevertheless, self-identification with one's country and people did still play a role even in these works, since, for example, Pace's *Oratio/Oraison* focuses its praise on the King of England while Rincio's counterpart focuses on the King of France. "Le Serviteur" offers us an interesting detour from Humanist writing. In both of his works, the English are largely featureless and, where possible, ignored. In the first, the English are replaced by the Empire as the focus of anger and abuse, and they feature in an otherwise passive, subservient role. In the additional material in the second, collective identity is hidden behind metaphors and symbols which, while not attacking the English, still demonstrate an underlying suspicion and mistrust. Finally, as we have seen, Clément Marot shares this cautious attitude towards the English, but ultimately focuses his attention on peace as a universal ideal rather than as a passing political 'event'.

In common with the works for the marriage of Louis XII and Mary Tudor, works written to celebrate the peace of 1518–20 do not deal with issues of collective

identity to the extent that we had seen with earlier works. Written at a time when French identity was not threatened by war with the English, they are less concerned with its representation in terms of its opposition to a foreign other. Nevertheless, many of our authors find it difficult to represent the English positively and use a number of strategies in order to avoid doing so. In the vast majority of these works, the English simply disappear from the text, even when they are supposed to be its subject. Others focus on particular English men and women as 'individuals' rather than as members of a broader group. The other is not identified as a member of the outgroup but rather integrated into the ingroup. Here, if the subject does not disappear, their English identity does.

CHAPTER FIVE

L'ENNEMY MORTEL À FEU ET À SANG: THE WAR OF 1522–25

Peace between France and England did not last long. In May 1522, Henry VIII sided with the new Emperor, Charles V, in his quarrel with Francis I and declared war on France.[1] By the time the English entered the war French forces were already fighting on several fronts at home as well as in Italy and Navarre. Once again, the war provided rich material for a number of literary works many of which patriotically celebrated France and proclaimed their support for the King. Literary depictions of the English as friends and allies were quickly replaced by the more familiar image of the English as the 'old enemy'. The English were once more the foreign other against whom the French could represent themselves as a cultural identity group. The rhetoric and images of earlier anti-English works provided a ready pool of material to be recycled in texts written during this period. This recycling of anti-English images, stereotypes and arguments helped to establish a continuum of anti-English material and reinforced the broader culturally-held belief that the English were perennially enemies of France. In most of the texts from this period, the English are again depicted as a group rather than as individuals. As we shall see, just as in many earlier works, the driving force behind the production of anti-English sentiment in most of this writing was the desire among authors and printers to satisfy their readers' expectations.

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[1]Charles, who was already King of Spain and ruler of the Burgundian Netherlands (both from 1516), was elected Emperor in 1519. His quarrel with Francis had its origins in disputes over the Netherlands, Navarre and Italy. When war broke out in April 1521, Henry VIII initially remained neutral but quickly saw the conflict as a means of pursuing his own dynastic and territorial claims in France. See Jacquart, pp. 120–82; Knecht, pp. 175–84.

All of the texts in this section circulated as inexpensively produced printed pamphlets. By the 1520s printing was well established in Paris and in a number of the larger French cities, and printed texts were becoming more accessible to a prosperous *bourgeoisie* whose interests were often tied to the outcome of conflicts and wars and who were particularly affected by the increases in taxation that war brought. Readers would have been eager to learn of French victories and progress in the war and printers seem to have been anxious to supply this information in an interesting and sometimes entertaining fashion. During this period, there seems to be much greater competition between printers, with many texts being produced in two or three different and perhaps competing editions.

At the very beginning of the conflict Henry VIII's declaration of war circulated in a 600-word pamphlet, the *Messaige du herault d'Angleterre*, which was printed in at least two editions, simply and relatively inexpensively over four leaves *in-octavo*.[2] Although this work is mainly a list of the grievances between Henry and Francis, the anonymous author presents his material imaginatively as a reported prose dialogue between Henry's Herald and the French King. This offers an alternative to the dry, factual style more commonly found in descriptions of peace treaties and alliances printed at the time. In the first third of the work, the English Herald sets out Henry's case for war against France. He systematically lists the ways the French have broken the Treaty of Ardres: they have made war on the Emperor; they have used Swiss mercenaries; they have sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland to attack the English; they have sent soldiers into Navarre; finally, they have failed to pay Henry his pension

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[2]*Le messaige du // herault dengleterre faict au tres // chrestien Roy de France* (Rouen: [n.pr. 1522]); *Le messaige du // herault dāgleterre fait au tres // crhestien Roy de France* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522]). The text is dated 29 May (fol. 1ʳ). References will be given in the text and are to the Rouen edition.

(fol. 1[r]). The remaining two thirds offers Francis's response, refuting each of the points made by the English Herald and ending in a defiant tone:

> Et finablement, le Roy a pronuncé telles parolles : s'il y avoit homme qui voulist maintenir qu'il n'eust entretenu la promesse qu'il fist audict Ardres, il estoit pour le démentir. Et, si le Roy son maistre n'avoit aultre querelle, elle restoit bonne avec ce quant il pleiroit à sondict maistre soy mectre aux champs, il y sceroit plus tost que lui. (fol. 2[v])

By presenting his material as a dialogue, the author creates interest and tension that would otherwise not be present. The patriotic French reader would surely have shared his King's indignation on hearing the English Herald declare that Francis was Henry's "ennemy mortel à feu et à sang" before 'falsely' accusing Francis of dishonourably breaking his word (fol. 1[r]). The points set out by the English Herald are refuted with a simple and concise statement of the French position which avoids complex legal or moral argument. For example, concerning the Duke of Albany, Francis replies that "il s'en est allé sans son sceu en Escosse, que depuis la bien cuidé et voulu retirer ce qu'il n'a peu faire", and, in relation to Henry's pension, we are told that Francis "ne luy baillera jamais argent pour luy faire la guerre" (fols 2[r]–2[v]). The *Messaige du herault d'Angleterre* is primarily a news pamphlet announcing war with England, but it is imaginatively presented to convey the French position and to portray the English as enemy, simply and in an engaging manner.

In spite of his declaration of war Henry VIII was initially reluctant to commit himself to a full-scale military campaign in France. English participation in the conflict was at first limited to raids off the coast of Brittany and Normandy around July 1522, then to a short but destructive campaign in Picardy in September and October which

included the unsuccessful siege of the French town of Hesdin.[3] This first stage in the war inspired a number of works, each of which treats the English in a different manner.

The *Regretz de Picardie et de Tournay* was probably one of the first, since Tournai had been taken by Imperial forces as early as December 1521 and the text itself is dated 1522.[4] The work is an anonymously written dialogue between "Picardie" and "Tournesis" in twenty-nine decasyllabic *huitains*.[5] It is not, however, strictly a patriotic work. "Picardie" and "Tournesis" both declare their loyalty to the "lyz", but they are much more concerned about lamenting their condition and the destruction brought by war than attacking a specific external enemy. Indeed, much of the poem is pacifist in tone and does not significantly exploit ideas of French unity or identity. Tournai, for example, is not presented here as a loss to the French crown. If anything, this work exploits the collective identity of the areas of Picardy and Tournai together, and articulates it through an evocation of their common suffering over a long period of time.[6] In fact, no direct references are made to any of France's enemies and the English are not mentioned by name. Only in the final stanza does the "Acteur" *allude* to England, Spain and the Empire as the cause of devastation in the area:

> [...] Que, l'an mil V cens vingt et deux,
>
> En Haulte et Basse Picardie,
>
> Régnèrent trois monstres hideux ;

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[3]Knecht, p. 200.

[4]*Les Regretz de Picardie & de // Tournay a XXIX coupletz* ([Paris (?). Trepperel (?), 1522]); *Les regretz de // Picardie : et de // Tournay a. XXIX. cou // pletz* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d]); *Les Regretz de // Picardie : et de // Tournay a. XXIX Coupletz* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d]). References are given in the text and are to Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, IX (1865), pp. 294–308.

[5]The poetic structure is relatively complex: *rimes batelées* are used throughout and the rhyme in the seventh and eighth line of each stanza is taken up in the first, third and fourth line of the following stanza, reinforcing the sense of the text being a dialogue.

[6]The area was, of course, the focus of years of territorial competition between Burgundy and the French crown.

Le hault Dieu du ciel les mauldie. (p. 308)

Nevertheless, this allusion remains vague; changing the date preceding it, or the political allegiances of the reader could easily produce a different interpretation. Tournai had only recently been occupied by the English and we might have expected a patriotic writer to make greater use of anti-English rhetoric or invective in the way the author of the *Dépucelage de Tournay* had done less than ten years previously.[7] Nevertheless, the role of this work is not so much to blame a particular enemy for the destruction brought upon the area, nor is it to highlight particular allegiances or the area's French identity; the *Regretz de Picardie et de Tournay* is much more a condemnation of war itself. The text focuses on Picardy and Tournai as helpless victims rather than on the English, Spanish or Imperial forces as enemies.

The *Chanson nouvelle des Anglois* is also from the early part of the war since it is found in two printed collections of songs, also containing two other patriotic songs on the French capture of the much contested Somme town of Hesdin in 1521.[8] The songs about Hesdin do not feature the English, but they enthusiastically celebrate the French victory at Hesdin, and, in one of the collections, there is a fourth song praising the bravery of the irregular 'militia' or *francs archiers*.[9] Both collections are small, neatly printed *in-octavos* of only four leaves and are similar in form and presentation to other

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[7]See above, pp. 186–9.

[8]*Sensuiuent // plusieurs belles chāsōs // nouuelles. // Et premieremēt : // Chanson nouuelle des Anglois // sur le chant de Ma bien aquise. Vive le Roy. Gētille ville de hedin* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522]); *Sensuyuent // plusieurs belles chāsons nou // uelles dōt les noms sēsuiuēt // Et premierement // Chanson nouuelle des angloys. Sur ma bien // aquise. // Vive le Roy // Gentille ville de Hedin // La chanson des francz archiers et des auentu // riers* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522]). References will be given in the text and are to Emile Picot, 'Chants historiques français du XVI[e] siècle', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1894), pp. 290–307 (pp. 298–9).

[9]*Autre jour my cheminoye devant Hesdin la bonne ville*; *Chanson nouvelle de Hesdin*, in *Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le 12[e] jusqu'au 18[e] siècles*, ed. by A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy, 2 vols (Paris: Gosselin, 1841–2), II (1842), pp. 81–5. *Chanson des francs archiers et des aventuriers*, in Picot, 'Chants historiques' (1894), pp. 296–7.

short collections of patriotic songs printed at this time.[10] Again, nothing is known about the author of the *Chanson nouvelle des Anglois*. This *chanson* is the first text in both of the collections in which it features, and, in both, it is clearly 'advertised' on the title page: *Et premierement: Chanson nouvelle des Angloys sur le chant de Ma bien aquise.* It has seven stanzas of eight lines and appears to have been carefully written with regular metrics and a number of topical references to contemporary political events. English treachery and dishonour are the main themes it covers, and in this respect it offers little new. The author effectively combines stereotyped abuse with concrete evidence from recent history to support the view that the English are not to be trusted. However, in spite of the fact that he does, in places, focus on specific events, the conclusions he draws from these events are used to label the English as whole. Such conclusions are then reinforced by labelling the English as "faulx Anglois", "tresfaulx Anglois", "felons" and "despiteulx". From the very first stanza the English are accused of perfidy and deceitfulness:

> Les faulx Anglois se sont bien mutinés,
>
> Car contre France les trefves ont brisés.
>
> Ils sont parjurés
>
> Et n'ont pas monstré
>
> Qu'ilz feusent gens de foy,
>
> Car vous entendez
>
> Qu'ils ont regnié
>
> Ja deux foys nostre loy.

The second and third stanzas support this general view with specific evidence:

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[10]For example: *S'ensuivent viii belles chansons nouvelles* ([n.p. n.pr. 1521]); *S'ensuivent seize belles chansons nouvelles* ([n.p. n.pr. 1521]); *S'ensuivent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles. Et premierement la chanson du comte de Nansolt* ([n.p. n.pr. 1521]). See Picot, 'Chants historiques' (1894), pp. 290–9.

Voycy la tierce, pour parler de la fin.

Le roy de France leur fist acord begnin,

C'est que le daulphin,

Sans aulcun desclin,

Leur fille espouseroit ;

Mais vouloir malin

A mis a declin

Leur cueur que aultrement soit.

Le mariage fut faict près de Calais,

Ou assistèrent maintz François et Anglois ;

Mais, par les destrois

Des tresfaulx Anglois,

Le traicté ont faulcé :

C'est par ung testu

A present esleu

Pour estre couronné. (p. 298)

Such a clear reference to the betrothal of Mary Tudor and the Dauphin and to the Field of Cloth of Gold would have provided convincing evidence to the contemporary French reader that everything they had heard about English treachery was, in fact, true. Moreover, the English are presented as not only having broken their word but as not having given it honourably in the first place, and reference to the Emperor ("ung testu a present esleu") implicates them still further in dishonest plotting and scheming against the French.

Throughout the rest of the song the English are warned of the consequences of their "malice" and "trayson". We are told that those who have plotted against France

will be cursed by their countrymen and that the "cedicieux" and "malicieux" English will be subjugated, as in the past, to the "fleurs de Lis". Just as the second and third stanza had offered concrete evidence of English treachery, references to the Scottish and to Richard de la Pole ("Blanche Rose") in the final stanza support the idea that the English will soon be punished:

> Et d'aultre part, avec les Ecosoys
>
> Et Blanche Rose, nostre amy trescourtois,
>
> Pour le roy François
>
> Feront maintz effroys
>
> Pour Anglois subjuguer,
>
> Car selon les loys
>
> De tout le païs
>
> La Rose est heritier. (p. 299)

The threat of a Scottish invasion of England led by the Duke of Albany continued throughout the summer of 1522, and, shortly after Henry's declaration of war, Francis brought Pole back from exile in Metz and set him up in Paris as a pretender to the English crown. Rumours of plans for an invasion of England led by Pole to coincide with Albany's invasion of Scotland are known to have circulated in both England and France. Such allusions in our *chanson* would not only have helped spread these rumours but would also clearly offer a positive counter-balance to the threat of an English invasion of France. In this way, the French avoid representing themselves as perennial victims and instead convey in an upbeat tone matching the rest of the collection the idea that their role is to restore justice, legitimacy, and order.

Whereas the second, third and final stanzas all refer to a specific historical context, the other stanzas are much more general. Indeed, in places it is difficult to see

the relevance of certain allusions. For example, the broken truces of the first stanza do not fit easily into the political situation in 1522. It is very possible that this *chanson* "nouvelle" is in fact a hybrid of new material inserted into an older anti-English song that the reader would have recognised from the opening lines. The recycling of anti-English songs, like the recycling of specific images and stereotypes, helped to reinforce the idea that the English were and had always been the enemies of France.

The next work is also from the early part of the war. The anonymously written *Couvée des Anglois et des Espaignolz qui ont cuydé descendre en Bretaigne mais leur convint de desloger soudain quant ilz virent la puissance des francz archiers normans et de Bretaigne avec la chanson de la repentance des Angloys et des Espaignolz* is known from the single surviving copy of an edition printed by Jehan Janot, probably in early 1522.[11] It is a very roughly produced volume of only eight leaves *in-octavo*, containing a short, *farce*-like verse dialogue in 170 octosyllabic lines, followed by a patriotic, anti-English *chanson*. Like the *Ballade de milort Hauart* and the *Pater Noster des Angloys* from the 1511–14 war, this volume seems to represent the printed version of a work intended for performance before an audience. The long title, written boldly across the first page, advertises its patriotic subject matter to the reader. Immediately, the English and Spanish are presented as a defeated enemy. This idea is then carried through into the dialogue itself where mocking humour is used to depict France's adversaries as foolish, cowardly and deceitful. The volume predicts a great French victory and portrays the English and Spanish as unworthy opponents.

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[11] *La Couuee des // āglois & des es // paignolz qui // ont cuyde des // cendre en Bretaigne mais // leur cōvīt de desloger sou // daī quāt ilz virēt la puissā // ce des frācz archiers nor // mās & d' bretaigne avec // la chāson de la repētāce des // āgloys & des espaignolz* (Paris: Jehan Janot, [1522]). Unless otherwise indicated, references are given in the text and are to this edition.

There are three voices in the dialogue: "Angleterre", "Espaigne" and "La Femme". La Femme is clearly a French voice but represents France and the French people rather than the King or his government. Angleterre and Espaigne, on the other hand, represent Henry VIII and Charles V as well as England and Spain (at the beginning, Angleterre refers to Espaigne as "beau nepveu" and Espaigne calls Angleterre "Bel oncle" (fols 2^{r}–2^{v})).[12] Whereas Espaigne is much less clearly drawn than Angleterre and stands for the political and military power of Charles V rather than anything specifically Spanish, Angleterre demonstrates numerous characteristics stereotypically attributed to the English.

The dialogue opens with Espaigne complaining that Angleterre will not commit to fighting. Espaigne then offers to protect Angleterre by covering him with his coat. La Femme interjects, goading Angleterre into action, but both Espaigne and Angleterre finally decide that they have been foolish and have no further interest in remaining where they are (presumably France). This would suggest a satire on the political events of late 1522 and early 1523 when, in spite of repeated appeals, Henry VIII refused to commit himself to a full-scale invasion of France in support of the Emperor, and, at times, appeared to be seeking reconciliation with Francis.[13] The recent, unsuccessful English raids on the Breton coast are evoked in the title to provide a clear context for the dialogue and to highlight the folly of Henry's and Charles's venture.

Humour is used throughout to ridicule both England and Spain. Much of this humour is visual (whether read and imagined, or seen as part of a dramatic production).

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[12]Charles was Henry's nephew through his mother's sister Catherine of Aragon.

[13]J. J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1968), pp. 125–8.

The image of Angleterre cowering under Espaigne's coat would certainly have inspired laughter in a patriotic early sixteenth-century readership/audience. However, comedy is achieved most powerfully through the misunderstandings and double meanings created by extensive wordplay. In particular, the author develops a pun on the words "couvée" and "couver", which can be interpreted variously as 'a people', 'a brood', 'to cover', 'to hatch' or 'to scheme and plot'. As we have seen, our readers would probably have already been aware of the idea of the 'Anglois couvé' or 'Anglois qui couve'. They would certainly have been familiar with the proverbial association between men sitting on eggs and folly.[14] Thus, multiple interpretations of "couvée" and "couver" are possible in different parts of this text. "Couvée" in the title, for example, can be read first, literally, as 'people' (the English people), then, figuratively, as 'foolishly plotting and scheming' and, finally, comically as 'hatching'.

The pun is then developed into a more visual joke through the image of Espaigne offering to cover (read 'hatch') Angleterre. Espaigne declares:

> Bel oncle, il vous fault couver.
>
> Boutez vous dessous mon manteau,
>
> Je vous couveray frisque et beau
>
> Et du tout vous rechaufferay. (fol. 2v)

Here "couver" provides both farcical humour, through the absurd idea of hatching an Englishman, and political satire by evoking Henry VIII's deceitful plotting and scheming. The joke is developed still further when La Femme enquires three times what Espaigne is doing and each time is told: "M'amye, je couve ung oyson". Again, farcical and satirical readings are possible here as "oyson" could be either a 'gosling' or

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[14]See above, p. 70.

a 'credulous fool'. The *jeu de mots* reaches a hilarious climax when a dubious La Femme asks: "Esse ung oyson?", only to have Angleterre reply with a birdlike "ouy, ouy, ouy" (fols 2^{v}–3^{r}).

As well as being amusing, the image of Espaigne covering and protecting Angleterre also evokes the idea of English cowardice. From the outset, Angleterre is depicted as spineless, declaring in his opening lines:

> A beau nepveu, les grans escroys
>
> Et menasses du Roy de France
>
> Me persecutent à oultrance.
>
> J'en tremble de frayeur et d'yre
>
> Plus beaucoup qu'on ne sçauroit dire.

The accusation of cowardice is then extended specifically to Henry's army:

> Le bruit en est jusques à l'empire
>
> De mon armée qui est sur mer
>
> Sans faire nullement son devoir
>
> Ny oser descendre sur terre. (fols 2r–2v)

Similarly, Angleterre repeatedly refuses to come out from under Espaigne, insisting that he is not yet 'ready' and begging: "Laissez moy encore couver !". When La Femme tries to hurry Angleterre along, Espaigne is forced to come to his defence: "Dame, donnez temps et espace | A mon oyson qu'il soit esclos" (fol. 3^{v}). In terms of political satire, Henry is thus presented as dependent upon Spain but afraid of France, and this would have been particularly amusing since, here, Angleterre is not facing the King of France or a valiant French warrior, but the rather comical figure of La Femme. At the same time, the image evokes Spain's folly in plotting and scheming with England as it is Espaigne who foolishly tries to 'hatch forth' Angleterre from underneath his coat.

Ultimately, Angleterre and Espaigne are both ridiculed in this work: at the end they admit their folly, describing themselves among other things as "deux parfaiz folz", "gobelins" and "magotz". Nevertheless, Angleterre, rather than Espaigne, is presented as cowardly, and "beau nepveu" has very much the upper hand over "bel oncle". Whereas both are accused of treachery, with Angleterre the accusation is made very specific: the author has Angleterre remind us that the French helped Henry VII gain his crown (fol. 5^{v}). Moreover, the use of well-established themes such as treachery and cowardice, or the 'hatched Englishmen' gibe allow the reader to reactivate the broader stereotype of the English as a traditional and 'natural' enemy. Such stereotyping is much less evident for Espaigne, and must be due, partly to the nature of Charles V's diverse personal and political origins, but also to the fact that there was, at this point, no longstanding tradition in French literature of bitter hostility towards the Spanish.

The *Couvée des Anglois et des Espaignolz* is above all, a patriotic text foregrounding French unity in opposition to the King's enemies, England and Spain (note the emphasis on the outlying areas of Normandy and Brittany in the title). At the end, La Femme comes to the King's defence, scornfully condemning his enemies:

> Be! n'estes vous entierement
>
> Parjures, ainsi que je voy ;
>
> Et n'avez faulsé vostre foy
>
> De venir pour lui mener guerre.
>
> Je m'esbahys comme la terre
>
> Par m'arme, ainsi vous soustien. (fol. 5^{v})

This is not a sophisticated work but rather a quick, humorous and patriotic sketch apparently printed hurriedly and without great care. Its purpose was presumably as

much to entertain as to inform, and in doing so it freely exploits a rich pool of anti-English rhetoric.

A similar technique is found in the *chanson* with which the volume concludes (fols 6^{v}–7^{v}). The *Chanson de la repentance des Angloys et des Espaignolz* follows on directly after the main dialogue. In fact, it is introduced in the last line, further reinforcing the impression of a performed *ensemble.* Many dramatic works ended with a short song, sometimes allowing the audience to participate in the performance and, in political works, engage more directly with the ideology communicated in them. Although both the English and the Spanish are mentioned in the title, the Spanish do not feature at all in the song itself. This *chanson* is, in fact, a 'stock' anti-English work full of stereotypes and abuse. Since it makes no reference to any specific historical context, it could easily have been composed at some earlier time but recycled for use as an appropriate, rousing *finale* to our anti-English dialogue.

The *chanson* is methodically organised in four stanzas of nine six-syllable lines (the seventh of eight lines in each stanza is repeated). Unlike the *Chanson nouvelle des Anglois*, which is essentially a descriptive text, this *chanson* is a direct and rousing address: the first stanza addresses the French King, the second and final stanzas address the English and the third stanza is directed at the "Picards", "Normans" and "Bretons" responsible for defending France against the 'old enemy'. There is a marked contrast between the deferential tone of the first stanza and the abuse of the second; then, the rousing spirit of the third stanza is complemented by the defiant tone in the fourth. The *chanson* thanks the King for his protection, demands that the English leave France, rallies the Kingdom's defences and warns the English of the strength of opposition they

face.[15] As might be expected in such a short work, the English feature as a group rather than as individuals and as such are an easy target for the poet's anger. Predictably, they are "Angloys desordonnez", "faulz godons" and "Anglois plains d'ignorance". The poet mocks the English for their foreign ways: their beer drinking and strange food. He demands that they 'go back home', warns them that they will be chased from France and reassures us, not only that the French will bravely defend the Kingdom, but also that they have justice on their side.

The next work was described by A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy as also being a patriotic *chanson*. The *Nunc Dimittis des Angloys* has eighty lines of verse in twenty short stanzas of four decasyllabic lines, but it is unlikely that it was ever intended specifically to be sung and nothing in its content or metrics is suggestive of a *chanson*.[16] Although Le Roux de Lincy dated this text from 1542, it is clearly from the 1522–5 conflict as there are several references to the political situation both during and shortly prior to the war. Moreover, the physical form and layout of the two *plaquettes* from

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Gracieulx Roy de France,
Bien te devons aymer
Quant si grande puissance
As voulu assembler
Pour tes subgetz garder
Contre si grande armée.
On les fera trembler (*bis*)
En battaille fermée.

Retirez vous arriere
Angloys desordonnez
Et buvez vostre biere ;
Mengez vos beufz sallez.
Vous estes devallez
Pour mener guerre en France;
Mais vous serez chassez (*bis*)
Maulgré vostre puissance.

Desployez voz banieres,
Picards, Normans, Bretons
Que tenez ses frontieres
Contre ces faulz godons.
Affustez vos batons
Et vostre artillerie,
Bombardes et canons; (*bis*)
C'est la fin de leur vie.

Anglois plains d'ignorance,
Trop estes estrourdis
D'estre venus en France
Pour conquester le pays.
Les François sont hardis
Pour bien garder leur terre
Contre leurs ennemis (*bis*)
En bonne et juste guerre. (fols 6^{v}–7^{v})

[16]References will be given in the text and are to *Le Nunc Dimittis des Anglois* in Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques*, II, pp. 132–5. For the classification of this work as a *chanson*, see Picot, 'Chants historiques' (1899), p. 243.

which the text is known is very similar to that of many other 'newsy' or politicised works from the 1520s: cheaply and roughly produced, short *in-octavos* of four leaves in gothic print without any indication either of the author's or the printer's identity.[17]

The poem is structured around the words of an important liturgical prayer known from its opening lines as the *Nunc Dimittis*. This prayer was said daily during Compline, the final evening office of the Church. It is based on the text of Luke 2. 29–32: after seeing the infant Jesus in the Temple, Simeon declared that he was now ready to die. The *Nunc Dimittis* is a prayer of resignation, ending and death, but it is also a prayer of salvation since Simeon was acknowledging Jesus as the Messiah and therefore the salvation of the people of Israel.[18] Our prayer is thus instructing the English to 'depart' and at the same time proclaiming salvation for the French. A word or a short phrase from the Latin prayer follows the last line of each stanza in the poem, just as we had seen in the group of humorous mock prayers examined in our study of the *Pater Noster des Angloys*.[19] Nevertheless, the *Nunc Dimittis des Angloys* does not fit comfortably into this group. It is not a particularly humorous work: it presents a succession of mainly moralistic arguments justifying enmity against the English. Moreover, the humorous works tend to be based on very well-known prayers, and, whereas the *Nunc Dimittis* was not an obscure prayer, it would not have been as well known among the laity as, for example, the *Pater Noster* or *Ave Maria*. In the *Nunc*

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[17]*Le nūc dimit // tis des angloys* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522 (?)]); *Le different, en // tre le Roy de France, & le Roy // Dangleterre. Contenant le Nunc // dimittis* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522 (?)]).

[18]Our poet uses the complete prayer:

> Nunc dimittis servum tuum, domine secundum verbum tuum in pace: quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum: lumen ad revelationem gentium, et gloriam plebis tuae Israel.

See 'Nunc Dimittis' in F. L. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oxford, University Press, 1997).

[19]See above, pp. 167–71.

Dimittis des Angloys, the poet employs the words of a prayer not for humorous effect, but rather to join together in one seamless whole the various different ideas expressed throughout the poem. The prayer punctuates the text, adding to, or completing the sense of each stanza.

Whereas the poem could be successfully read without the Latin prayer, the relationship between it and the rest of the text reinforces the serious, measured tone of the work as a whole. The text of the poem is entirely in a French voice, so we must assume that the prayer too is to be read from the same perspective. The full title, *Nunc Dimittis des Angloys*, is only used in one of the two early editions and it is possible that here, the printer added "des Angloys" simply in order to help advertise his text by exploiting the success of works such as the *Pater Noster* '*des Angloys*'. The *Nunc Dimittis* is an attack against the English as enemies of the King as well as of the Kingdom. Once more, the main focus of the poet's attack is English treachery. Numerous allusions to the peace of 1518–20 set this treachery in the specific context of a betrayal of friendship and peace. For example, the opening stanza complains:

> O faulx Plouton, lequel m'avois promis
>
> Paix et amour et toute loyaulté,
>
> Maintenant voy ta grande desloyaulté
>
> Puis que te vis l'ung de mes ennemys.
>
> NUNC (p. 132)

Later, the poet evokes the betrothal of Mary Tudor and the Dauphin:

> Or, peine j'ay la voulenté si franche,
>
> Celle que doit estre celle d'ung roy ;
>
> C'estoit qu'on dit en triumphant desroy
>
> Fleurir le lis avec la roze blanche.

SECUNDUM VERBUM TUUM (p. 133)

There is also a clear allusion to the Field of Cloth of Gold at Guînes:

> Tu viens en France cuider cueillir les guines,
>
> Pour la cause que fus entretenu,
>
> Et par Françoys en grant honneur tenu
>
> J'en croy tous ceulx lesquelz furent à Guisnes.

VIDERUNT (p. 133)

Finally, Henry's conspiring with the Charles V is identified as the explanation for such treachery:

> Pour cuider soubvenir à l'empire,
>
> Trop traictement tu m'as joué ce tour,
>
> Mais garde toy du bout et retour ;
>
> Si que à la fin ne soys contrainct de dire.

QUIA (p. 133)

As well as explaining English treachery as the result of political opportunism, this text, like so many before it, also depicts treachery as 'natural' to the English character and therefore to be expected:

> Et nonobstant ce n'est pas nouveau faict,
>
> Si les Anglois se meslent de trahyson,
>
> Car c'est le train et chef de leur maison [...]. (p. 134)

This argument is then demonstrated as a 'fact' with a reference to the stereotype of the English as regicides:

> Vous ne fustes nulls gens fidelles,
>
> Mais avez faict mourir en grant desroys
>
> Par plusieurs fois vostre seigneur et roys [...]. (p. 135)

Against such a negative image of the English, the poet claims that the French are well-known for their virtue and loyalty and he stresses the unity of "Bretons, Manceaulx, Normans et Angevins" and their willingness to support the King in his conflict with the English (p. 134). The French are portrayed as valiant and resolute: they are ready to take up arms to defend against the invader, whose undoing the poem confidently predicts.

Criticism of the English is not restricted to condemnation of their treachery. The poet also exploits the related idea that the English have been deceitfully plotting and scheming against the French:

> Je apperçoy bien maintenant et entens
> Que de long-temps tu as faict cest appreste,
> Tu dis que à moy guerre appreste
> Et l'avons ouy depuis ung peu de temps.
>
> SERVUM TUUM (p. 132)

The stereotype of the English treacherously plotting behind the scenes would easily have been reactivated given the political circumstances in which the 1522–5 war began. Its prominence in a number of the works from this period would suggest that the French were particularly sensitive about the political and diplomatic isolation they faced as the war progressed. After having experienced a series of defeats, it seems that it was much easier to blame external conspiracies than acknowledge the weakness of their own questionable diplomatic and military strategies. The breaking of the peace of 1518 by the English is presented as an act of unjustified aggression. By contrast, the poet is eager to depict the French as a peaceloving people who only ever go to war to defend against invasion (p. 133).

Our poem also contains an interesting and unusual allusion to the stereotype of English gluttony. It describes how in the middle of a banquet held by the French for the English, the excesses of an unnamed Englishman led him to be physically sick in front of the French King:

A tes gens fis feste general
Dont l'ung des tiens, comme un glouton,
En plein bancquet escorcha le regnard,
Françoys y estoit en son habit royal

ANTE FACIEM (p. 134)

Historical sources indicate that the English were, in fact, known for this kind of 'excessive' behaviour at diplomatic occasions.[20] Here, an apparently real event is used to reinforce and 'add colour' to an existing stereotype. The poet offers his readers proof that everything they have heard about the English is true! Moreover, this anecdote evokes more than just the stereotype of gluttony; it suggests the 'barbarian image': the idea that, in spite of their military strength, the English are still uncultured and barely civilised.

Though short, the *Nunc Dimittis des Angloys* is a rich work in which English behaviour and character are inextricably linked. Stereotypes are used to explain behaviour, but, at the same time, examples of behaviour are used to define the stereotypes. In keeping with the tone of his work as a whole, the poet does not focus on vituperative abuse or mocking humour nor does he exploit scholarly argument. Instead, he presents a moral case against the English in which their treachery, deceitfulness and greed are blamed for the collapse of the preceding period of peace and are used to justify the French 'defensive' position in the war.

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[20]Quilliet, *La France du beau XVI^e siècle*, p. 210.

By the end of 1522 the cost of the war had almost bankrupted Francis and its financial effects were beginning to hit the French people hard. Not only were the people subject to taxes and loans to pay for the war, but large areas of land, especially in the north, had been devastated by the fighting, and, more generally, trade had been significantly disrupted. The crisis touched all levels of society, but the clergy and the bourgeoisie were particularly affected by the King's financial exactions, and they were the very classes targeted by the authors of many of the new, printed books.[21] A number of satirical works highly critical of the distressed state into which France had fallen were printed around this time. Several are subtly critical of aspects of the government's policy and its conduct of the war. Works such as: *Le Monde sans croix*, *Le Monde qui n'a plus que les os*, and *Le Monde qui est crucifié* portray France as a place of devastation, starvation and disorder.[22] Although the English only feature directly in one of these works, they are, nevertheless, important because they give us insight into the relationship at this time between printers, readers and the government, and they also form the background to the 1523 version of Jean Marot's *Deffence contre les emulateurs, ennemys et mesdisans de France*.[23]

In the introduction to their edition of seven of these works, Montaiglon and Rothschild cite the *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous François I^er^*, writing in 1525:

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[21]Jacquart, pp. 128–30; Knecht, pp. 193–6;

[22]Others include: *Le Monde qu'on achève de paindre*, *Le Monde qui n'a plus que frire*, *Le Monde qui n'a riens perdu* and *Les Rongneux qui grattent Chascun*. None has survived as an early printed edition, but they were all copied in a near-contemporary manuscript (BnF MS f. fr. 17527), and, more recently, they were edited by Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, XII, pp. 193–237. References will be to this edition and are given in the text.

[23]For earlier possible versions of this work and for its inclusion in the *Recueil Jehan Marot*, see above, pp. 164–5.

Item, aussi ce dict jour, vingtiesme mars, au dict an, furent mis hors la Conciergerie, les imprimeurs et fatistes qui avoient faict et imprimé d'aucunes choses contre l'honneur du Roy, absent de France, comme disans que "le Monde estoit mengé de ratz", et autres qui disoient que "le Monde est achevé de paindre", autres qui disoient que "le Monde n'a croix" autres qui disoient "qu'un rongneux gratte l'autre" [...] et plusieurs autres choses. (p. 193)

The editors use this entry as evidence of government interference in the market for short, popular, printed books and, effectively, of political censorship of the press. Since Montaiglon and Rothschild calculate that the prison term served by these printers was about three years, such action would certainly have discouraged other printers from producing similar material (p. 194). Given the threat that potentially seditious writing would have posed at a time when the King's army was already occupied with English, Spanish and Imperial attacks on France's borders and rebellion in Italy, it seems plausible that the government would have made some effort to control the circulation of politically dangerous works.

The seven satirical works edited by Montaiglon and Rothschild make various complaints about the state of France: they condemn widespread immorality, corruption and abuse in the church, oppression of the poor by the rich and greedy, excessive taxation, the blasphemy and cowardice of soldiers and the desperate shortage of food, but they do not complain about the English.[24] Only in *Le Monde qui est Crucifié* are

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[24]The tone of these works is effectively conveyed in this passage from *Le Monde qui est Crucifié*:

> Jamais ne viz le temps si importune
> Si longuement regner sur la Commune
> Comment il faict, sans relaxacion ;
> Tous les assaulx de diverse fortune
> Me sont venus ; pas il ne s'en fault une :
> Famine, peste, guerre et afflixion.

they mentioned, and here it is only to identify them as one of the enemies currently attacking France:

> J'ay d'ung cousté les Angloys qui me assaillent ;
>
> Souventes foys dessus ma terre saillent,
>
> Car de la mer ilz ont la joyssance [...]. (p. 223)

However, the absence of the English from these texts is not surprising since none of them could be described as patriotic. They do not rally the French together against a common enemy, nor do they attempt to promote an image of French identity through opposition to a foreign other. The image they portray is one of internal division. By focusing on the domestic causes of France's problems, the authors exclude the possibility of blaming these problems on foreigners. For example, it would have been difficult for an author to describe both French and English soldiers as cowardly, or to successfully condemn the use of blasphemy as a specifically English trait in a text complaining about blasphemous French soldiers.

At around the time these works were being published, two editions of Jean Marot's *Deffence* were printed anonymously in Paris.[25] These editions are unusual in that, as we have noted above, most of Marot's work remained in manuscript during his

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> Je ne sçay moy qui est occasion
> De tant de maulx ; je le vous certiffye,
> Ceulx qui ce font sans intermission,
> Je leur donne ma malediction :
> Au temps present chascun me crucyfie (p. 226).

[25] *La deffence contre les // Emulateurs ennemys et mesdi // sans de Frãce. Cõsolation & bõ zele // des troys estatz. Imprime a Paris* (Paris [n.pr. 1523 (?)]); *La Deffence contre les Emulateurs ennemys et mesdisans de France // Consolation et bon zele des trois estatz* ([n.p. n.pr. 1523 (?)]). Although the text of these editions is almost identical, their format is quite different: the first is an *in-octavo* of four leaves; the second is an *in-quarto* of six leaves. They were both probably inexpensive, but neatly produced volumes. The *in-quarto* edition bears Marot's device (*Trop ne peut*) at the end. References will be given in the text and are to *La Responce de France et des estatz aux escrivains sedicieux*, in Defaux and Mantovani, pp. 44–52, 301–4.

lifetime.[26] Although a limited number of his more politicised works in relation to Louis XII's war with Pope Julius II may possibly have circulated in print while he was still living, the relationship between the publication of these works and Marot himself is not very clear.[27] The anonymous editions of the *Deffence*, like Bouchet's *Epître d'Henry*, could be examples of literary piracy. Our poem could well have been intended for a court audience annoyed about the circulation of seditious pamphlets, and it may simply have been copied and published by an unscrupulous printer.

The *Deffence* is a direct response to these seditious pamphlets. Marot hints at this in his title and he makes it clear in the text.[28] Alluding to a number of these works, "Noblesse" tells "France":

> […] aulcuns folz, mutins et estourdiz
> Ont faict de vous libelles interdictz,

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[26]See above, pp. 164–5.

[27]See Defaux and Mantovani, pp. 155–78, 401–51. Among a number of printed politicised works they attribute to Marot is an anti-English *rondeau* found in an edition of a humorous almanac, the *Prenostication prebstre Jehan* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]). The editors point out that this small volume also contains Marot's *Epitaphe Tribolet*. The *rondeau* employs the same anti-English rhetoric found in so many of the texts in our *corpus*:

> Ce sont les filz ou parens des Angloyz
> Qui ne veullent du lys ouïr bien dire,
> Et si desirent que tous les jours empire
> Au noble roy de France et aux Françoys.
>
> Mais qui sont ceux qui tiennent aux aboys
> Le porc apic, et qui luy veullent nuyre?
> Ce sont les filz.
>
> Le temps passé on a veu plusieurs foys
> Sans faire mal vent et oraige bruire
> Quels gens devoient ester mis en martire.
> Je vous supplie qu'on le die ceste fois:
> Ce sont les filz.

Defaux and Mantovani, p. 210.

[28]Compare the title given to this poem in the *Recueil Jehan Marot* (pp. 43–51): *Responce de France et des estatz aux escrivains sedicieux*.

Disans que plus n'avez laine sur doz

Et que rongée estes jusques aux os

Crucifiée achevéë de paindre

Mais j'entends bien, que ces maulheureux sotz

Au cabaret buvans vin à plain[s] potz,

Font telz escriptz qui sont beaucoup à craindre. (p. 46)

Montaiglon and Rothschild saw Marot's poem as "une réponse d'un caractère presque officiel" to writing critical of the government, and, more recently, Defaux and Mantovani have come to a similar conclusion, describing the *Deffence* as an example of Marot working as a "*publiciste royal*, un écrivain qui met sa plume au service du pouvoir qui le paye".[29] However, there is nothing to indicate that the government commissioned the *Deffence* or even encouraged its composition. Marot may have alluded to the earlier critical works simply to provide a clear literary context for his own poem. A number of these works refer to each other and cite each other's titles just as Marot had cited theirs.[30] They had presumably been successful since the authorities felt it necessary to imprison their printers. Marot is thus advertising his text as a patriotic response to works his readers may already have read, owned or heard about.

One way in which he distinguishes his poem from the other works is by stressing the importance of French unity in the face of an external threat. Predictably, this threat is presented as coming from the English, but, early in the text, Marot also identifies the Spanish, Germans, Flemings and Hainaulters all as enemies of the King:

N'esse pas trop, veoir Angleterre, Espaigne,

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[29]Montaiglon and Rothschild were unaware that Marot was the author: *Recueil*, XII, pp. 196–7. See also Defaux and Mantovani, pp. 304–13.

[30]See, especially: *Le Monde qui n'a plus que frire* (pp. 215–8 (p. 217)), *Le Monde qui est crucifié* (pp. 219–26 (p. 224)) and *Le Monde qui n'a riens perdu* (pp. 227–31 (p. 227)). A significant amount of intertextual borrowing can be found in all of the works in this group.

Flandres, Allemaigne, Henault, toute Italie,

Venir sur moy à desployée enseigne

Sans aulcun droit, en mortelle campaigne ?

A perte ou gaigne, ilz m'ont tous assaillie [...]. (p. 44)

French unity of purpose against such opposition is partly conveyed by the structure of the work. In over 250 lines in this version, each of the estates of France is given a voice, and they each proclaim their loyalty to the King, resolving to do their part in defeating the enemy. The poem is divided into four clear sections: the first is in the voice of "France", the second, "Noblesse", the third, "Eglise" and finally, "Labour". Each section is clearly identified through headings in the text and also by changes in its metrics and in the tone of what is said.[31] "Noblesse" and "Labour", for example, are more aggressive in their approach than "France" and "Eglise". As well as attacking external enemies, the *Deffence* condemns those who criticise the government or complain about the war. It denies that France has been devastated, that the nobility lack valour and courage, that the Church has been despoiled or that the people have been left starving and destitute. It celebrates the French conquests of Hesdin (September 1521) and Fuenterrabia (October), and it praises Francis himself as a peace loving king who has been forced into war by the treachery of his enemies (especially the English). Francis is portrayed as a just warrior who battles ceaselessly to protect his country and his subjects, and as a defender and benefactor of the Church. "Noblesse" reminds us of her victories: Ravenna (1512), Marignano (1515) and 'thrice conquered' Milan. She recalls the success of more recent campaigns in Hainault and the lifting of the siege of Mézières (autumn 1521) (pp. 46–7). "Noblesse" has such great renown that all seek to fight under her banner. "Eglise" rebukes those who grumble, warning them that they

[31]The first section is in eight decasyllabic *huitains* (*abaabbcc*), the second in seven *onzains* (*aabaabbcbbc*), the third in five stanzas of thirteen decasyllabic lines (*aabaaabbbcbbc*), the fourth returns to the structure found in the first.

are wicked and ungrateful, and she praises the generosity of French kings who have endowed her with great wealth (which it is only right she should return to them). Finally she reassures France that her war is just (pp. 48–50). "Labour" thanks the King, the Church and nobility for their sustenance and protection, declares that things are not as bad as those who grumble complain, and then prays for peace (pp. 50–2).

The external threat is ever-present in the background. In this way, condemnation of 'grumblers' and the dissatisfied is more powerful because their complaints are presented as disloyalty, not just towards the King and the government, but also towards an abstraction of "France", as personified in the first section. In spite of this, Marot still manages to depict the English and their Imperial allies as a defeated enemy. We learn that they have already been defeated in Picardy, Hainault and in Spain (p. 45) and this can only presage ultimate defeat because God and justice are on the side of the French (p. 50). Against Francis's love of peace, the English and the Emperor are shown to be treacherous and dishonest:

> Chascun scet bien que mon filz et mon Roy
>
> Suyvant la loy, a tousjours paix cherchée,
>
> Mais l'Empereur luy a failly sa foy ;
>
> L'Angloys de soy est parjure, et non vray […]. (p. 44)

Here, Marot stresses that treachery is part of the English character: whereas the Emperor has simply broken his word, the English are perfidious by nature. Later, Henry VIII's deceitfulness is singled out for specific treatment in an allusion to his abandonment of the peace agreed at the Field of Cloth of Gold:

> L'on s'esbahyt de la grosse despence
>
> Que l'on a fait. Mais je vous pry qu'on pense
>
> Aux fraiz tant gros qu'on a fais cy devant

Pour traicter paix, en juste conscience,

Avec Henry, hault prince d'excellence,

Si la foy n'eust ainsi gectée au vent [...]. (pp. 302–3)

By contrast, ideas of loyalty and trustworthiness are consistently associated with France. For example, "Eglise" praises "France" as her "chere fille et amyë loyalle" (p. 48). Where the poet does condemn those who have been complaining about the King's government, their behaviour is presented as being *un*French; they are not representative of the French but are instead errant individuals. Marot carefully turns his readers' attention to other more patriotic complaints. "Labour", for example, complains about the pillaging and plundering of invading English and German soldiers. Here, the literary tradition of representing the English negatively allowed Marot to depict them in richer, more resonant terms than their German counterparts: the Imperial soldiers are simply designated as "Allemans", while the English are labelled as "godons" and "anciens ennemys" (pp. 51, 303). Marot offers his reader a patriotic text in which condemnation of the enemy is used to unite the French and undercut criticism of the government and the war.

In August 1523, the political situation in France changed again when the Duke of Bourbon defected to the Emperor following the breakdown of a protracted legal dispute with the King. As a respected military leader and one of the most important French nobles, owning vast stretches of land, Bourbon had enormous local influence and power. His treachery was both a psychological blow to Francis and a potential threat to the security of the Kingdom.[32] At least two short *plaquettes* attacking the Duke were produced around this time. One is a collection of *ballades* and *rondeaux*

[32]Jacquart, pp. 133–57; Knecht, pp. 200–15.

condemning both Bourbon and certain unspecified "enemys d'estrange territoire".[33] The other is of greater interest: it is a small, apparently hurriedly produced *in-octavo* volume of only eight leaves containing a humorous *Sermon Joyeulx de Sainct Faulcet* together with several political poems, some of which feature the English.

The *Sermon Joyeulx* comes at the end of the volume and is a short comic monologue (126 octosyllabic lines) with no apparent relationship to the political context of the other poems.[34] As we have seen, it is not uncommon for these short *plaquettes* to contain a combination of topical and humorous works. Appealing to a variety of tastes in this way probably helped printers to sell their material. The first poem in the collection is of a similar length to the *Sermon Joyeulx* (fifteen decasyllabic *septains*), though this poem is clearly politicised, making a number of allusions to Bourbon's treachery. Without naming Bourbon himself, the poet condemns certain "subjectz desloyaulx" as well as the "lèse-majesté" of the "seigneurs, barons et vassaulx" who are now "de France ennemys" (pp. 292–6). France's external enemies do not feature in this poem, but they are the focus of attention in five of the six *rondeaux* which follow directly afterwards (pp. 296–9).[35]

Although the *rondeaux* mention a number of France's enemies by name (Germans, Spanish, Flemings), the English are singled out for particular attention. The

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[33]*S'ensuyvent plusieurs ballades faictes contre Bourbon* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d.]). See Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, IX, pp. 206–15 (p. 212).

[34]Typical of its *genre*, this poem is a mock sermon which makes fun of the virtuous, explaining how 'Saint Faulcet', an established figure in late-medieval French *farce*, tricked his way into heaven. See Picot, 'Le Monologue', pp. 366–9.

[35]Each of these works is only loosely based on the *rondeau* form and metrical irregularities are made worse by the fact that a number of words and several whole lines have been omitted by the printer.

first and fourth *rondeaux* specifically target the English and are both clearly headed "Rondeau aux Anglois". The second *rondeau* attacks the "Flamans, Espaignolz et Angloys" together, though most of the text of this poem has, in fact, been omitted by the printer. The third *rondeau* is again a direct attack on the English. The fifth is headed "Rondeau ausdictz ennemys", but it would have been clear to the reader from the text itself that the enemy to which the poet was referring was, once more, the English. The sixth *rondeau* returns to the theme of the first poem, obliquely condemning the Duke of Bourbon. The form of these short works, with their frequently repeated phrases, expressed as a direct address to the enemy, makes them ideal as a vehicle for patriotic, jingoistic rhetoric. Each *rondeau* briefly elaborates upon one simple and memorable idea.

The first *rondeau* demands the English leave France (or, more specifically Brittany). It mocks them for their reliance upon the Germans, Spanish and Flemings, and makes an unusual allusion to their indolent gluttony in a slightly incongruous reference to the land of Cockaigne:

> Vuidés, Angloys, ployez vous estandars,
>
> Veu que la chasse avez de toutes pars ;
>
> Il fault vuider le pays de Bretaigne
>
> Sans plus attendre au secours d'Allemaigne,
>
> Car pour ce faire ilz ont tous les piedz ars.
>
> Ne faictes plus icy des papelars,
>
> Ne les Flamans qui sont voz compaignons,
>
> Sans oublier les galopins d'Espaigne ;
>
> Vuidés, Angloys !

Aller vous fault comme recreuz souldars

Diligemment au pays de Cocquaigne,

Où par bribes chascun sa vie gaigne,

Sans y porter ne patars ne lyar[s] ;

Vuidés, Angloys ! (p. 296)

The second *rondeau* is incomplete, though it takes up the theme established in the first: "Vuidez Flamans, Espaignolz et Angloys | Faictes place au noble roy Françoys" (p.296–7). The third continues with:

> Se ne vuidez, Angloys, se ne vuidez,
>
> L'on vous donra si très estroictement
>
> Qu'à peine aurez de desloger l'espace,
>
> Et ce ne sera plus tost que ne cuidez [...]. (p. 297)

Then, the fourth neatly brings this group to a close with an "Adieu Angloys, adieu", optimistically predicting removal of the English from France and threatening them with war against the Scots once they have returned "ronflans en Angleterre". In this *rondeau*, the English are urged to give up their arms and instead become pilgrims, begging forgiveness for their sins (p. 298). The fifth "rondeau" is different both in form and in tone and acts as an end-stop for the group. Here, the English are reminded that they have never profited from wars in France, nor can they ever be 'masters' over the French:

Ne vous souvient-il pas de voz ancestres,

A quelle fin les a failluz venir,

Qui du franc Liz cuydoyent estre maistres ?

Jamais à ce ne peurent advenir.

Ne vous souvient-il pas de voz ancestres,

A quelle fin les a faillu venir ? (p. 298)

The Duke's treachery posed an obvious rhetorical problem for writers since it seemed to contradict the well-established image of the French as loyal subjects of their king. It was a particular problem in this work because it prevented the poet from exploiting the conventional strategy of contrasting English treachery with French loyalty. Our poet overcomes this problem by identifying the English as other without going into any significant detail about them; the *rondeaux* contain little that can be described as specifically anti-*English*. On nearly every occasion, the name "Anglois" simply identifies the enemy.

All of the texts covered here, from the period 1522 to 1525, were in print and most were cheap, apparently hurriedly produced editions. We do not find any sophisticated, Humanist-inspired writing among these works. When war broke out, writers found it very easy to return to the negative images and arguments that they had used before the peace of 1514. Moreover, writing hostile towards the English seems to have been in demand from a readership eager to affirm its own group loyalties and values. As conditions in France became increasingly difficult, and with the treacherous defection of the Duke of Bourbon to the Emperor, writers were forced to modify their rhetoric. While certain rhetorical strategies could no longer easily be employed, the English remained the enemy and, as such, a target for abuse. In many respects, the literary representation of the English made the transition from manuscript to print seamlessly; many of the texts studied in this chapter continue to use the exact same arguments and images found in works from the 1450s and earlier. In 1525, writers were still able to fully exploit an image of the English developed over hundreds of years of Anglo-French cultural and political rivalry. The names "godon" and "Anglois coué" and complaints of treachery, greed, gluttony, blasphemy, and of wild, unruly behaviour

were as commonly used between 1522 and 1525 as they were at the end of the Hundred Years War. Indeed, this is exactly what readers *expected* to find in patriotic, anti-English literature. It formed part of their *Erwartungshorizont*, and in the growing but competitive early market for printed books, writers were only too keen to satisfy such expectations.

After a daring English attack which came very close to Paris in the autumn of 1523, Henry VIII was forced to withdraw his forces for the winter. When his allies demonstrated little support for English dynastic ambitions in France, Henry became reluctant to commit himself to fighting again the following year. He played no part in Charles V's celebrated victory over Francis at Pavia in February 1525, and, in August that year, he sued for peace.[36] By 1527, France and England had allied against Charles and they would increasingly work together in opposition to the steady growth of Hapsburg power.[37] As we shall see in our conclusion, after 1525 the image of the English in French literature gradually changes.

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[36]Jacquart, pp. 160–78; Knecht, pp. 216–44. In September 1525 a pamphlet containing details of the Anglo-French peace treaty entitled: *La Traicté de la Paix perpetuelle du roy treschrestien nostre souverain seigneur et madame sa mere regente en France en son absence. Avec treshault et trespuissant prince Henry huitiesme de ce nom par la grace de Dieu roy d'Angleterre*, was published in Lyon. This pamphlet praises the Regent, Louise de Savoie and Henry VIII, but, otherwise, it simply announces peace between France and England and sets out the terms of the treaty.

[37]Jacquart, pp. 205–22; Knecht, pp. 259, 278, 297–8.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen, in the period 1450 to 1530, the English feature in a wide variety of different kinds of text: courtly verse, less formal poetry, drama, translations, local writing, patriotic pamphlets, prose narratives and *chansons*. Writers used a range of different strategies to depict the English and these strategies were determined by the expectations of the intended readership or audience. Highly sophisticated poetics, diplomatic and legal arguments, historical narratives, Humanist oratory and simple, jingoistic rhetoric can all be found in the works in our *corpus*. Certain of these works began life circulating within a limited audience, only to be recopied or printed later and in this way to reach a public which was probably very different from that initially envisaged by the author. After 1500, authors were much more easily able to exploit the new medium of printing, and, as we have seen, relatively large numbers of printed anti-English patriotic pamphlets were produced to accompany Anglo-French wars in 1511–14 and 1522–25. The apparent fascination for news also seems to have inspired an explosion of works surrounding the marriage of Louis XII to Henry VIII's sister, Mary, in 1514 and the celebrations for the treaties of peace between France and England in 1518 and 1520. The abundance of works from after 1511 featuring references to the English would suggest that a significant amount of similar material (particularly the more ephemeral literature) from the fifteenth century has probably been lost. Most of the surviving texts from before 1500 are either associated with a lavish manuscript intended for an important patron or are found in collections of the work of respected authors and poets.

Throughout our *corpus*, there is no one, uniform way of representing the English. Intense and bitter hostility in the period shortly after the Hundred Years War became mocking contempt towards the end of the fifteenth century; around this time, authors began to stress difference rather than enmity. However, the angry invective of the 1450s quickly and easily resurfaced during the 1511–14 war. Then, in texts produced for the wedding and peace celebrations of 1514, 1518 and 1520, writers had to find a new strategy for depicting the English in a more positive light. For most, this strategy involved simply avoiding the representation of collective identity altogether; texts feature individuals rather than groups, and 'Englishness' is pushed firmly into the background. In translations inspired by Humanist writing during this period, collective identity based on 'national' lines again plays a less prominent role, and it is notable that a number of important works about the English in this group were not written by Frenchmen but by foreigners. Finally, when war broke out again in 1522, hostility and abuse were used to identify the English once more as France's 'old enemy' and former hostilities were easily revived. Representations of the English were thus clearly determined in large part by the political context in which they were produced. However, as indicated in our introduction, the government and court do not seem to have been significantly involved in the commissioning or production of the works in our *corpus*, which, therefore, cannot usefully be defined as propaganda. The image of the English in these texts was also partly determined by the image French writers and readers had of themselves as a group. Varying degrees of hostility towards the English in our *corpus* reflect the extent to which the French perceived the English as more or less of a cultural and political threat. It is clear from our study that the image of the English in this literature is not mimetic but rather functional and discursive.

One important function of this image is in the development of the French collective self-image. By representing the foreign other, the French are, in fact, representing themselves. In the works that we have studied, this operates in two important and complementary ways. At the most basic level, the French call their own collective identity into being by acknowledging the existence of a collective other. The French can only be distinctively French (and not just 'human') when they recognise the existence of a group that can be defined as *not* French. Even our most unsophisticated texts effectively achieve this end by depicting the English not only as other, but also as an enemy; that is, a hostile, threatening and hated other. Then, at another level, the French *define* their own identity by representing its opposite in the English. As we have noted above, throughout the period, the French do not represent the English in one, uniform manner; however, there are a number of characteristics that recur in these representations consistently enough to constitute a late-medieval French literary image of the English. If we piece together the components of this image, we find that the English are false, deceitful and treacherous, disloyal to their kings, rebellious and disorderly, greedy and lacking in self-control, blasphemous and sacrilegious, murderous and inhuman. That this image is the French self-image in reverse is demonstrated by the frequency with which works depicting the English in this way also depict the French as honest and trustworthy, loyal to their feudal lords, obedient and respectful of order and authority, and as the just, fair and devout subjects of the 'most Christian' king. Since identity itself is discursive, and individuals foreground aspects of their collective identities to suit specific circumstances and contexts, authors in our period select specific aspects of the image of the English depending upon their current strategy for representing themselves. When an author sets out to stress the loyalty of the French to their king, then we find numerous references to English treachery and disloyalty.

Nevertheless, writers and readers alike would have been aware not just of parts of the image of the English, but also of its whole. Just as a stereotype is used to evoke a complex and culturally charged idea with one simple word or image, then, in the same way, writers could evoke a whole range of anti-English ideas and arguments simply by referring to one or two stereotypes or terms of abuse. Thus, when we read 'godon', 'coué' or 'traistres' in these texts, the writer is inviting us to share in a whole attitude to the English and to the self that is psychologically satisfying. Our readers gained satisfaction from a perception of the English as other that by necessity produced a self-perception as positively distinct. This, in part, helps explain the success of patriotic literature at the end of the Middle Ages. As the French begin to develop a clearer and more definite sense of their own collective identity, they seek its cultural expression in patriotic, anti-English texts. Our thesis must therefore call into question the view that the French had no collective identity at the end of the Middle Ages and that they saw themselves merely as members of a wider Christian community or as individuals and subjects either of the king or of an important local lord. Our texts demonstrate that loyalty to the king, devout Christian faith and membership of a broader French community are closely intertwined at this time. In these works, the French are clearly able to conceive of the English as a distinct cultural community and, by so doing, inscribe their own identity as French.

Between 1450 and 1530, the English are certainly an important outgroup against whom the French can self-identify. However, after 1530, French writers gradually came to see the Empire and Spain as a more immediate political threat to the French and consequently to their identity. At the same time, Italy continued to challenge French

linguistic and cultural self-confidence and became an ever more prominent other against whom the French could measure their own cultural sophistication. The English were faced with increasingly greater competition in their role as significant other to the French. Moreover, the political dynamic in Europe changed dramatically with the spread of the Reformation. Religious and ideological concerns that did not feature during our period became major factors in the creation of collective identity. French Protestants might look to their English neighbours for the affirmation of their identity in a way that would have been impossible before 1530. The image of the English that we have studied here did not suddenly disappear. Aspects of it continue to be found in some patriotic literature late into the sixteenth century. However, by then, its role had completely changed.

Unfortunately, certain of the 'structural constants' in depictions of the foreign other do not change in this way. Many of the modern British stereotypes of the French and French stereotypes of the British continue to exploit the same paradigms found at the end of the Middle Ages, expressed, for example, through dehumanisation, belittling of the other's food and questions of trustworthiness. On 4 July 2005, in the middle of a rather unpleasant Franco-British disagreement over the European Union budget, Jacques Chirac was quoted in the French press as having made several disparaging remarks about the British and British food in particular before going on to say that "on ne peut pas faire confiance à des gens qui ont une cuisine aussi mauvaise".[1] This somewhat puzzling association between bad cooking and lack of trustworthiness would have fitted very neatly into our *corpus* of late medieval texts.

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[1]Lorraine Millot, 'Chirac amuse ses amis Poutine et Schröder à Kaliningrad', *Libération*, 4 July 2005.

Appendix: Bibliography of primary texts analysed in the thesis

References to all of the primary texts featuring the English and forming the *corpus* of works studied in this thesis are provided here. Other primary material is referenced separately. All known pre-1550 manuscripts and editions are listed unless an extensive bibliography has already been established elsewhere, in which case references to the appropriate work are given instead. Works are cited in the order in which they appear in the thesis (an alphabetical list is provided at the end). A capital letter precedes each early manuscript listed; early printed editions are preceded by a number. Modern editions are given directly afterwards in indented text in small print and are indicated by Roman numerals (they are also listed alphabetically in the main primary bibliography). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France is shortened to BnF and London, British Library is shortened to B.L. Works in the Rothschild Library are referenced by their number in Emile Picot, *Catalogue* (see reference works below). References listed as Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil* are to Anatole de Montaiglon and James de Rothschild, *Recueil de poésies françoises des XV^e^ et XVI^e^ siècles, morales, facétieuses, historiques*, 13 vols (Paris: Jannet, 1855–78)

Woodcut images found in different works but which are the same or copies of each other are indicated as follows:

- α: Man kneeling presenting a book to a seated figure in a soft cap
- β: Procession with a king on horseback trampling soldiers underfoot
- γ: Woman in armour leading men on horseback towards a city gate
- δ: Knights jousting before a king and queen at window
- ε: Man on horseback apparently talking to a soldier in armour before walled castle or city
- ζ: Arms of France supported by two angels (specific design used consistently by Jean de Gourmont)
- η: King with a crown and sceptre

1450–1511

1. *Balade de Fougières*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 833: *Œuvres de 'maistre Alain Charretier'*, fols 191–2 (*Balade de Fougières*). 195 fols, 330 x 240 mm on parchment
A fifteenth-century collection of works mainly by Alain Chartier, including his *Livre de l'espérance*, *Quadrilogue invectif* and *Curial*, as well as Achille Caulier's *Hôpital d'amour*. The *Balade de Fougières* is the second last item

i. *Balade de Fougières*, in *Les Œuvres de Maistre Alain Chartier, clerc, notaire et secretaire des Roys Charles VI et VII. Contenans l'histoire de son temps, l'esperance, le curial, le quadrilogue, et autres pieces, toutes nouvellement reveuës, corrigées, et de beaucoup augmentées sur les exemplaires escrits à la main, par André du Chesne Tourangeau* (Paris: Le Mur, 1617; repr. in facsimile, Geneva: Slatkine, 1975), pp. 717–721. *Balade* falsely attributed to Chartier from presence in MS above

ii. *Commence la balade de Fougières*, in *Recueil de chants historiques français depuis le 12^e^ jusqu'au 18^e^ siècles*, ed. by A. J. V. Le Roux de Lincy, 2 vols (Paris: Gosselin, 1841–2), I (1841), pp. 331–7. Attribution to Chartier following Du Chesne

2. Charles d'Orléans, *Ballade CI: Comment vois je ses Anglois ébahis!*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 25458: *Recueil de pièces de Charles d'Orléans*, fol. 124^{r}. 271 fols, 165 x 110 mm on parchment
Richly decorated. D'Orléans's personal manuscript. MS *O* in Champion

B. MS Carpentras 375: *Poésies de Charles d'Orléans*, fol. 20^{v}. 79 fols, 290 x 240 mm on parchment
Richly decorated first folio. Produced for Marie de Clèves (Orléans's third wife). Based on A above. MS *M* in Champion

C. Grenoble, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 873: *Poésies de Charles d'Orléans accompagnées en regard d'une traduction en vers latins de son secrétaire Antoine Astesan*, fol. 110^{r}. 159 fols, 318 x 232 mm on parchment
Richly decorated borders at beginning; arms of Charles d'Orléans recur throughout. Transcription of A above with Latin translations by Antonio Astesano, Orléans's 'secrétaire'. Not completed before the Duke's death in 1461. MS *G* in Champion

D. BnF MS f. fr. 1104: *Recueil de poésies, ballades, complaintes, chansons et rondeaux par Charles duc d'Orléans, et ses amis*, fol. 23^{r}. 116 fols, 190 x 275 mm on parchment
Richly decorated border first page; coloured and decorated initials throughout. Based on A above. MS O^{2} in Champion

E. B.L. Harleian MS 6916: *An old collection of French poems*, fols 59^{v}–60^{r}. 205 fols, 190 x 140 mm on paper
MS *G* in Champion

For a full bibliography of editions of d'Orléans's poetry, see Edith Yenal, *Charles d'Orléans: a bibliography of primary and secondary sources* (New York: AMS Press, 1984); Deborah Hubbard Nelson, *Charles d'Orléans: An Analytical Bibliography* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1990)

Of the numerous modern editions, one of the most accessible is *Charles d'Orléans: Poésies*, ed. by Pierre Champion, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1923–4), I: *La Retenue d'amours, ballades, chansons, complaintes et caroles* (1923), II: *Rondeaux* (1924), I: pp. 157–8.

3. George Chastelain, *Throsne Azuré*

A. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana MS Mediceo-Palatino 120: *Castellani Georgii Opera poetica gallice*, fols 18^{v}–23^{v}. 620 fols, 382 x 275 mm on paper
Comprehensively described in Susanna Bliggenstorfer, '*Castellani Georgii Opera Poetica Gallice*: le recueil Chastelain de la Bibliothèque Laurentienne à Florence, description du manuscrit mediceo-palatino 120', Vox Romanica, 43 (1984), pp. 123–53

i. *Le Thrône Azuré*, in *Œuvres de Georges Chastellain*, ed. by Joseph Marie Bruno Constantin Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8 vols (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1863–66; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971), VI: *Œuvres diverses* (1864), pp. 133–8.

4. Jean Molinet, *Autre ballade*

A. Tournai, Bibliothèque communale MS 105, fols. 440^{v}–1^{r} (*Une aultre ballade de Molinet*). 456 fols, 280 x 390 mm on paper
This manuscript was destroyed during the Second World War but is described in Noël Dupire, *Etude critique des manuscrits et éditions des poésies de Jean Molinet* (Paris: Droz, 1932), pp. 9–28

i. *Les Faictz et Dictz de Jean Molinet*, ed. by Noël Dupire, 3 vols (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1936–9), II (1937), pp. 859–60

5. *Mistere du siege d'Orleans*

A. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS Reg. Lat. 1022: *Mistere du siege d'Orleans*. 509 fols, bound 298 x 213 mm on paper

i. *Le Mistère du siège d'Orléans*, ed. by F. Guessard and E. de Certain (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1862)

ii. *Le Mystère du siège d'Orléans*, ed. by Gérard Gros (Paris: Le Livre de Poche, 2002)

iii. *Le Mistere du siege d'Orleans*, ed. by V. L. Hamblin (Geneva: Droz, 2002)

6. Gilles Le Bouvier, *Livre de la description des pays*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 5873: *Le Livre de la description des pays*. 4 fols: A–D, + 58 fols, 230 x 160 mm on parchment. One large miniature (fol. D^{v})
Presented by the author to Charles VII (?)

i. Le Bouvier, Gilles, *Le Livre de la description des pays*, ed. by E. T. Hamy (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1908)

7. *Débat des hérauts d'armes*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 5837: *Dispute de France et Angleterre*. 28 fols, 240 x 170 mm on parchment. One miniature (fol. 1^{r})
A richly decorated manuscript possibly intended for presentation; more visually impressive than the following

B. BnF MS f. fr. 5838: *Prérogatives de la France*. 32 fols, 230 x 170 mm on parchment
Set out in an almost identical manner to the previous but unfinished and with a space left for the illustration and ornate first capital. Contains numerous scribal corrections

C. BnF MS f. fr. 5839: *Le Livre de passetemps*. 39 fols, 220 x 140 mm on parchment
The source text for Pannier and Meyer (i below). Less ornate than the previous

D. Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlinson MS C 539: *Contention récréative des heraulx de France et d'Angleterre*. 70 fols, 190 x 120 mm on paper
Neatly produced with some ornamentation but no miniatures

1. *LE debat des heraulx darmes de frāce et dēngleterre* (Rouen: Richard Auzoult for Thomas Laisne, [n.d.]), 4^{o}, 22 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (men on horseback near a wood), 22^{r} (battle scene), 22^{v} (Laisne's mark)

B.L. C 32 g 4; Paris, Sainte-Geneviève Rés. Œ XV s754 (missing fol. 22)

2. *Sensuit le debat // des heraulx dar // mes de france et // dengleterre* (Paris: [n.pr. n.d.]), 4°, 18 fols, gothic, 2 cols per page. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (soldiers before a city), 1^{v} (β)

   BnF Rés. LB30 251

3. [*Debat des heraulx darmes de france et dangleterre*] (Paris: [Widow of Jean Trepperel (?), 1520 (?)]), 4°, 18 fols, gothic, 2 cols per page (without fols 1, 9–12) Title as on facsimile title page

   New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, PML 564 (E2 47 B)

   i. *'Le Débat des Hérauts d'Armes de France et d'Angleterre': suivi de 'The Debate Between the Heralds of England and France' by John Coke*, ed. by Léopold Pannier and Paul Meyer (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1877). Based on C above with variants from A, B and 1

8. *Jeu saint Loÿs*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 24331: *Mystère de S. Louis, roi de France*. 247 fols, 295 x 200 mm on paper. *Ex libris*: "Confrérie de la Passion de Nostre Sauveur Jhesu-Crist"

   i. *Le Mystère de Saint Louis, roi de France*, ed. by Francisque Michel (London: Roxburghe Club, 1871)

   ii. Smith, Darwin, *Edition critique du jeu saint Loÿs: manuscrit B.N. fr. 24331* (Unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Paris III, 1987)

9. *Aisnée fille de fortune*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 25409: *L'Aisnée fille de fortune: Anne de Beaujeu*. 20 fols, 185 x 140 mm on parchment

   i. *Poëme fait à la louange de la dame de Beaujeu*, ed. by [Antoine] Lancelot, in *Histoire de l'Académie royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 8 (1733), pp. 579–601. In later reprints of this series Lancelot's edition is found in volume 12 (1786), pp. 321–68

10. Robert Gaguin, *Passe-temps d'oisiveté*

1. *Sensuit le passe // temps doysiuete* ([Paris (?): Michel Le Noir (?), 1498 (?)]), 4°, 23 fols, gothic

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2817

2. *Sensuit le passe // temps doisiuete de maistre Robert // gaguin docteur en decret ministre // et general de lordre saincte trinite // et redemption des captifz pour le // temps quil estoit a lōdres en ambas // sade auec tresnoble et puissant sei // gneur francois mōsiegn̄r de luxē // bourg pour le roy de France atten // dant le retour de noble hōme wa // leren de saint bally de Senlis. Leq̄l // estoit retoure* (sic) *en france deuers ledit // seigneur pour certains articles tou // chans la charge de lambassade Mil // cccc. iiii^{xx}. ix au moys de decēbre* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d.]), 8°, 28 fols, gothic.

Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (David and Bathsheba (?)), 28^{r} (old man with young couple), 28^{v} (α)

Paris, Arsenal, Belles Lettres 8684

i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, VII (1857), pp. 225–87

ii. *S'ensuit le passe temps d'oysiveté*, in *Roberti Gagini, Epistolae et orationes: texte publié sur les éditions originales de 1498, précédé d'une notice biographique et suivi de pièces en partie inédites*, ed. by Louis Thuasne, 2 vols (Paris: Bouillon, 1904; repr. Paris, Slatkine, 1977), II, pp. 366–423

11. Octovien de Saint Gelais, *Exhortation à chasser les Anglais*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 1717: *Recueil de pièces en vers et en prose*, fols 78^{v}–81^{v} (*Œuvre de messre Octovien de Saint Gelais*). 97 fols, 190 x 290 mm on paper
A sixteenth-century collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth century works by Chastelain, Molinet, Cretin, Jean Marot, Clément Marot and others

i. *Exhortation à chasser vaillamment les Anglais débarqués à Calais, le 6 octobre 1492*, in H. J. Molinier *Essai biographique et littéraire sur Octovien de Saint-Gelays, évêque d'Angoulême* (Rodez: Carrère, 1910; repr. Geneva: Slatkine, 1972), pp. 277–81

12. *Roman de Jehan de Paris*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 1465: *Ung noble et tres excellent Romant nommé Jehan de Paris*. 63 fols, 185 x 260 mm on paper.

B. Louvain, Bibliothèque Universitaire [pre-1940], MS G 54(?). 70 fols on paper, size unknown ["in folio"].
This manuscript was used as a source for Montaiglon (ii below), who saw it in a private collection, and Wickersheimer (iii below), who saw it at Louvain, recording the shelfmark. It was almost certainly destroyed with most of the library at Louvain during the Second World War. However, the shelfmark given by Wickersheimer seems to be incorrect as the Louvain inventory lists MS G 54 as a Latin *Isaac Judaeus* and not *Jehan de Paris*.

For a bibliography of the six editions printed between 1533 and 1580, see iii below, pp. VIII–X. For editions printed between 1613 and 1855 see i below, pp. 11–12.

i. *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris, publié d'après les premières éditions*, ed. by Emile Mabille, Bibliothèque Elzévirienne (Paris: Jannet, 1855)

ii. *Le Romant de Jehan de Paris, roy de France: revu pour la première fois sur deux manuscrits de la fin du XV^e siècle*, ed. by Anatole de Montaiglon (Paris: Picard, 1867; repr. Lemerre, 1874)

iii. *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris*, ed. by Edith Wickersheimer (Paris: Société des anciens textes français, 1923)

There is a translation into modern French with useful notes by Roger Dubuis, *Le Roman de Jehan de Paris 'roman' anonyme du XV^e siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2002)

1511–14

13. Jean Bouchet, *Epître d'Henry*

1. *Epistre ēvoyee par // feu Henry roy dan // gleterre a Henry son filz huytiesme // de ce nom a present regnant oudict // royaulme* ([n.p. n.pr. 1512 (?)]), 8°, 24 fols, gothic

   BnF Rés. Ye 3973

2. *Epistre envoyee // des champs Elisees au // Roy Henry dengleterre // a present regnant Audit // royaulme* ([n.p. n.pr. 1512 (?)]), 8°, 16 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1^{r} (Solomon adoring the idols (?)). Fols 2 and 7 are printed in reverse order

   BnF Rés. Ye 1370

3. *L'esprit d'Henry // septiesme iadis roy d'An // gleterre, à Henry huicties // me à present regnant* (Lyon: Macé Bonhomme, 1544), 4°, 44 pages, roman. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (Perseus with Medusa's head), 44^{r} (smaller version of the same). Privilege: 1 year from 6 May 1544. Revised text

   B.L. C 34 g 13; Paris, Arsenal, Hist. 10543

4. *EPISTRE ENVOYEE DV CHAMP ELI // SEE PAR FEV HENRY, AVTRESFOIS ROY // d'Angleterre, a Henry son filz viii. de ce nom, a present regnant audict Royaul // me: Sur l'entreprise par luy faicte contre le treschrestien Roy de // France, Loys xii. de ce nom, contentant la dissen // tion du debat d'entre les Francoys // & les Angloys*, in *Epistres Morales & fami // lieres du Trauerseur* (Poitiers: Jacques Bouchet with Jehan and Enguilbert de Marnef, 1545), *Epistres familieres*, fols 1^{r}–8^{v}. Fol., roman. Another revised text.

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, III (1856), pp. 26–71. Based on 1 and 2 above

   ii. Facsimile reprint of 4 with an introduction by Jennifer Beard [Britnell] (Wakefield: S.R. Publishers, 1969)

14. Pierre Choque, *Marie-la-Cordelière*

A. BnF MS f. fr. 1672: *Poème sur la 'combustion de' la 'nef nommé la Cordelière'*, 13 fols, 290 x 190 mm on parchment. 2 large miniatures (fols 1^{v}, 9^{v}).
Dedicated to Anne of Brittany (fols 2^{r}–2^{v})

B. Paris, Société des Manuscrits des Assureurs Français, MS 85.1: *Pierre Choque: le combat de la Cordelière* (formerly Phillipps MS 4467), 22 fols, 230 x 197 mm on parchment. 4 miniatures (fols 2^{r}, 5^{r}, 5^{v}, 8^{r})
A second, more lavishly decorated redaction of the above, produced for Anne of Brittany (incomplete dedication, fol. 8^{v}), but probably presented to her daughter, Queen Claude (dedication, fol. 4^{r}) after Anne's death (1514). Revised text

i. M. A. Jal, '*Marie-la-Cordelière* (XVI[e] siècle): étude pour une histoire de la marine française', *Annales maritimes et coloniales* (1844), pp. 993–1073. Reprinted separately with the same title but different page numbering (Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1845); 'L'*Hervéus* de Germain Brice: Errata pour *Marie-la-Cordelière*', *Annales maritimes et coloniales* (1845), pp 717–30. Jal's edition is based on A above, and does not take into account variations in B.

The French text is a translation or adaptation of Germain de Brie's *Chordigerae navis conflagratio*, printed in Paris by Bade in 1513 and in Strasburg by Schürer in 1514.

15. Guillaume Cretin, *Invective contre les gens d'armes de France*

1. *Inuective sur lerreur, pusillanimite // et laschete des gensdarmes de // France, a la iournee des // esperons: faicte par // ledict Cretin*, in *Chantz royaulx // oraisons et aultres petitz traictez faitz // et composez par feu de bonne // memoire masitre // Guillaume Cretin en // son viuant chantre de la saincte // chapelle royale a Paris // et tresorier du bois de // Vincennes* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1527), fols CXX[v]–CXXV[v]. 8°, 196 fols, gothic. Privilege: 3 years from 16 March 1527.

Copy consulted: BnF Rés. Ye 1393

For a full bibliography of editions of the *Chants royaux* see i below, pp. LXXXII–LXXXIII

i. *Œuvres Poétiques de Guillaume Cretin*, ed. by Kathleen Chesney (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1932), pp. 203–10

16. *Complainte de Thérouanne*

A. Manchester, John Rylands University Library MS French 144: *Collection of French Historical Material*, pp. 81–5 (*Complaincte que les Franchois firent de la ville de Therowene que les Angloys ardirent en l'an 1513*). 410 numbered pages, 295 x 205 mm on paper
No. 14 in a sixteenth-century collection of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century topical and historical verse owned by a "Jehan de Haffrengues merchant demourant sur le grant marchiet de Saint Omer"

B. Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale MS 879: *Manuscrit de Robert d'Affreingues, procureur de la ville*, 2 vols, I, fols 177[r]–9[r] (*Complainte que les Franchois firent de la ville de Thérouanne, que les Anglois ardirent en l'an 1513*). I: 619 fols, II: 452 fols, ["folio"] on paper.
An eighteenth-century copy of an earlier (now lost) manuscript collection belonging to the Affreingues family and containing some material also found in Rylands 144

i. *Complainte que les Franchois firent de la ville de Thérouanne*, ed. by [François] Quenson, in *Bulletin historique trimestriel de la Société académique des antiquaires de la Morinie*, 1 (1854), pp. 204–9. Based on Saint-Omer MS 879

ii. *Prise de Thérouanne par les Anglais*, in *Chants historiques de la Flandre: 400–1650*, ed. by L. de Baecker (Lille: Vanackere, 1855), pp. 349–53. Based on Saint-Omer MS 879

17. *Pater Noster des Angloys*

1. *Le pater noster // des Angloys* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1r (man presenting scroll to another man)

   BnF Rés. Ye 4549

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*: I (1855), pp. 125–30

18. *Ballade milort Hauart*

1. *Sensuyt le traicte de // La paix faicte et pmise A tout iamais // entre le treschrestien Roy de france Loys // douziesme de ce nom Et la illustrissime // seigneurie de Venise Cryee et publiee, // a Paris le vendredy troisiesme Jour // de Juing Mil cinq cens et treze, Auec // une belle ballade, Et le regrect que faict // ung angloys de Millort hauart* ([n.p. [Widow of Jean Trepperel (?)], 1513]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1r (two men and large coffer), 4v (man with soldiers in armour). The *Ballade de milort Hauart* is found on fols 3v–4r

   BnF Rés. Ye 1207

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, VI (1857), pp. 90–101

19. Ivon Galois (?), *Courroux de la mort contre les Angloys*

1. *Le courroux de la mort cõtre // les angloys Donnant proesse & cour // aige aux Francoys* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic

   BnF Rés. Ye 3009; BnF Rés. Ye 3774; B.L. C 59 g 2

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, II (1855), pp. 77–86

20. Pierre Vachot, *Délibération des trois estatz*

1. *La deliberatiõ des trois // estatz de france sur lentreprise // des Anglois et Suisses* (Paris: Symon Troude, [1513 (?)]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1r (arms of France), 1v (β).

   BnF Rés. 8 LB29 41; Paris, Mazarine, Rés. 35481 (different issue lacking identification of the printer)

2. *La Deliberation // des trois estatz de France sur // lentreprinse des Angloys et // Suysses* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1r (arms of France), 1v (king conversing with richly dressed men), 8r.

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2837

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, III, pp. 247–61

21. Laurent Desmoulins, *Folye des Angloys*

1. *La folye des angloys // composee par maistre L.D.* ([Paris (?): Symon Troude (?), 1513 (?)]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (β)

   BnF Rés. Ye 4013

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, II, pp. 253–69

22. Laurent Desmoulins, *Dépucelage de Tournay*

1. *Le depucellage de // la Ville de Tournay. Avec les // pleurs & lamẽtatiõs Ob // stant sa defloration* ([n.p. n.pr. 1513 (?)]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (woman and city).

   BnF Rés. Ye 3823.
   BnF Catalogue entry mistakenly attributes this work to Laurent Des Masures (born c.1515)

2. *Le depucellage de // tournay compose // par L.D.* ([Lyon (?): François Fradin (?), 1513 (?)]), 12°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (woman receiving gift from man on one knee).

   B.L. C 107 aa 10

   i. *Le Depucellage de la ville de Tournay. Avec les pleurs et lamentations Obstant sa defloration* (Paris: Techener, [1830]). A reprinting of 1 above limited to 40 copies

   ii. *Dépucellage de Tournay*, ed. by Aimé Leroy and Arthur Dinaux in *Archives historiques et littéraires du nord de la France et du midi de la Belgique*, new series, 1 (1837), pp. 365–383. Based on 1 above. 25 copies reprinted separately with the same title but different page numbering (Valenciennes: Prignet, 1838)

23. Bayeux Manuscript

A. BnF MS f. fr. 9346: *Chansons normandes du XV[e] siècle*, 109 fols, 310 x 220 mm on parchment.
   The musical notation of each *chanson* is provided on the verso of each leaf together with very rich marginal decoration. The text of the *chansons* is found on the recto of the following leaf. The initial letters of the first sixteen *chansons* in sequence spell out "Charles de Bourbon".

   The *chansons* in the Bayeux Manuscript are found in several diverse collections of French *chansons* beginning with Louis Dubois, *Vaux-de-Vire, suivis d'un choix d'anciens vaux-de-vire, de bacchanales et de chansons, poésies normandes, soit inédites, soit devenues excessivement rares* (Caen: Poisson, 1821). See also, especially:

   i. P. L. Jacob, *Vaux-de-Vire d'Olivier Basselin et de Jean Le Houx, suivis d'un choix d'anciens Vaux-de-Vire et d'anciennes chansons normandes* (Paris: Delahays, 1858)

   ii. Armand Gasté, *Chansons normandes du XV[e] siècle, publiées pour la première fois sur les MSS. de Bayeux et de Vire* (Caen: Le Gost-Clérisse, 1866)

   iii. Théodore Gérold, *Le Manuscrit de Bayeux: texte et musique d'un recueil de chansons du XV[e] siècle* (Strasbourg: Istra, 1921)

   iv. Françoise Ferrand, *Chansons des XV[e] et XVI[e] siècles* (Paris: U.G.E., 1986)

24. Boulogne

A. Dainville, Archives Départementales du Pas de Calais, MS 16 H 1: *Les Terriers de Saint Vulmer*, 2 vols, I: *1505*, fols 152^{v}–3^{r}. I: 175 fols 400 x 320 mm on paper, II: 103 fols on parchment.
Copied on spare pages in a record book belonging to the Abbey of Saint Vulmer

i. 'Une Réception solennelle à Boulogne', ed. by D. Haigneré, in *Almanach de Boulogne*, 1863, pp. 82–90 (pp. 85–90)

25. Montreuil-Sur-Mer

A. B.L. Additional MS 45132: *Wriothesley Heraldic Collections*, fols 1–9. viii + 166 fols, 340 x 225 mm on paper
The account is found in a collection of heraldic material owned by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, Garter King of Arms (1505–34)

i. Francis Wormald, 'The Solemn Entry of Mary Tudor to Montreuil-Sur-Mer', in *Studies presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. by J. Conway Davies (London: Oxford University Press, 1957), pp. 471–9

26. Abbeville

The shorter text:

1. *Lentree de la Royne // a Ableuille* ([Paris]: Guillaume Mart, 1514), 8^{o}, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (γ), 4^{v} (δ). Privilege: 8 days from 25 October 1514

   Paris, Mazarine, Rés. 35476

2. *Lentree de la Royne // a Ableville* ([Paris: Guillaume Varin (?), 1514]), 8^{o}, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (γ), 4^{r} (mounted soldiers passing through city gate), 4^{v} (δ)

   BnF Rés. 8 LB29 50

3. *Lentree de la Royne de // France faicte a Abeuille le // neufiesme iour Doctobre* ([n.p. n.pr. 1514]), 8^{o}, 4 fols, gothic

   BnF Rés. 8 LB29 49

The longer text:

4. *Sēsuit lordre qui a // este tenue a lentree De la royne // A abeville* ([n.p. n.pr. 1514]), 8^{o}, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (finely detailed cut of richly dressed figure on horseback in forest, couple in miniature looking on), 4^{v} (arms of France with collar of the order of St Michael)

   Paris, Mazarine, Rés. 35478

   i. *Entrées de Marie d'Angleterre, femme de Louis XII, à Abbeville et à Paris*, ed. by Hippolyte Cocheris (Paris: Aubry, 1859): longer text based on 4 above, pp. 1–8; shorter text based on 1 above, pp. 9-18

27. Coronation of Mary Tudor at St Denis

1. *Le courōnemēt de tres excel // lēte dame & prīcesse ma dāe // marie dangleterre Royne // de France, en leglise & abba // ye Monseigneur Sainct de // nis en France* ([Paris: Widow of Jean Trepperel I, 1514 (?)]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (man reading at table), 1^{v} (arms of France)

   BnF Rés. LB29 107; Rés LB29 107 (A) (missing fols 1, 8)

28. Entry of Mary Tudor at Paris (Printed)

1. *Lentree de tresxcellen // te Princesse ma dame marie dangleterre // Royne de France en la noble ville cite et // universite de paris, faicte le lundi. vi. jour de novembre lan de grace mil v.c. & xiiii* ([Paris]: Guillaume Varin, [1514]), 8°, 6 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1^{r} (γ). Privilege: 8 days dated from 10 November 1514

   BnF Rés. LB29 51

2. *Lentree de tresex // cellente Princesse dame marie dangleterre // Royne de France en la noble ville cite & uni // nersite* (sic) *de paris faicte le lundy. vi. iour de // novembre lan de grace mil ccccc. xiiii* ([Paris]: Guillaume Varin, [1514]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (two men on horseback and walled city), 8^{r} (woman talking with man in armour), 8^{v} (two knights jousting). Privilege: as preceding

   BnF Rés. LB29 51 (A)

3. *Lētree de tres excel // lente princesse ma dame Marie Dan // gleterre & Royne de France. En la no // ble ville cite & vniuersite de paris faicte le // lundy vi iour de Nouembre. Lan de grace Mil cinq cens & quatorze* ([n.p. n.pr.] 1514), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (ε), 8^{v} (δ)

   BnF Rés. LB29 51 (B) Paris, Mazarine, Rés. 35484

4. *Lentree de tresexcellēte // Princesse ma dame Marie dangleterre royne de fran // ce en la Noble ville cite et // uniuersite de Paris faicte // Le lundi. vi. iour de Nouē // bre Lan de grace Mil cinq cens et quatorze* ([n.p. n.pr.] 1514), 8°, 4 fols, very small gothic. Woodcuts: 3, small, fol. 1^{r} (animals)

   BnF Rés. LB29 51 (C)

   i. Cocheris (24.i above), pp. 21–34. Based on 3 above

   ii. Charles Read Baskervill, *Pierre Gringore's Pageants for the Entry of Mary Tudor into Paris: An Unpublished Manuscript* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 19–31. Based on 2 above

29. Pierre Gringore, *Réception et entrée*

A. B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian B II: *De la réception et entrée de la illustrissime dame et princesse Marie d'Angleterre (fille de Henry VII) dans la ville de Paris*, 15 fols, 270 x 167 mm on parchment. 7 full-page miniatures by an unknown artist
   Probably presented to Mary Tudor

   i. Charles Read Baskervill, *Pierre Gringore's Pageants* (26.ii above), pp. 1–15

30. Guillebert Chauveau, Herald Montjoie, Paris Tourney in Mary's honour

1. *Lordre des ioustes faictes a // Paris a lentree de la royne // Le pas des armes de larc trium // phal ou tout honneur est enclos // tenu a lētree de la royne // a Paris, en la // rue Sainct Anthoine, pres les tournelles // Par puissant seigñr, monseigneur le duc // de vallois et de bretaigne* ([Paris: n.pr. 1514 (?)]), 8°, 44 fols, gothic

   BnF Rés. LB29 52

2. *Lordre des ioustes // Faictes a Paris a lentree de la royne. // Le pas des armes de larc trium // phal ou tout hoñeur est enclos // tenu a lentree de la Royne a pa // ris en la rue sainct Anthoine pres les // tournelles. Par puissant seigneur Mon // seigneur le duc de Vallois et de Bretai // gne ou tous nobles hommes doyuent // prendre leur adresse pour acquerir loz // honneur et gloire militaire. Redige et // mis par escript par Montioye roy dar // mes selon les compaignies* ([Paris: n.pr. 1514 (?)]), 8°, 38 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 38^{r} (knights jousting)

   Seville, Columbine Library 15-2-18

3. *Le Pas des armes de larc triūphal // ou tout hōneur est enclos tenu a len // tree de la royne a Paris en la rue // sainct anthoine pres les tournelles // par puissant seigneur monsieur le duc de valloys et de bretaigne, ou // tous nobles hommes doiuēt prendre leur adres // se pour acquerir loz, honneur et gloire militaire // redige et mis par escript par montioye roy dar // mes selon les compaignies et iournees ainsi cō // me le tout a este fait* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1514), 4°, 50 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 2^{r} (soldiers in armour before castle). Privilege: 1 year from 22 December 1514

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2113

4. *Le pas des armes de larc triu[m] // phal Ou tout honneur est en // clos tenu a lentree de la Royne a Pa // ris en la rue Saint anthoine pres le[s] // tournelles par puissant seigneur mō // seigneur le Duc de valloys et de b[re] // taigne [...]* (Paris (for sale in Rouen): [n.pr. 1514 (?)], 4°, 12 fols, gothic, 2 cols per page. Woodcuts: 4, small, fol. 1^{r} (animals)

   BnF Rés. LB29 188

5. *Lordre des iou // stes faictes a Paris // Le pas des armes de larc triumpal ou tout hon // neur est enclos, tenu a lētree de la Royne a Pa // ris, en la rue sainct Anthoine, pres les tournelles Par // puissāt seigñr, mōseigñr le duc de vallois & de bretai // gne ou to nobles hōmes doiuent prēdre leur adresse, // pour acquerir loz hōneur & gloire militaire. Redige & // mis par escript Par montioye roy darmes, selon les // cōpaignies & iournees ains cōme le tout a este fait* ([Paris (?): Guillaume Varin (?), 1514 (?)]), 8°, 40 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1^{r} (δ)

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2114

There are also a number of manuscripts containing a similar account of the jousts. For a full list see Charles Giry-Deloison, '*Une haquenée... pour le porter bientost et plus doucement en enfer ou en paradis*: The French and Mary Tudor's Marriage to Louis XII in 1514', in *The English Experience in France c.1450–1558: War, Diplomacy and Cultural Exchange*, ed. by David Grummitt (Ashgate: Aldershot, 2002), pp. 132–159 (p. 142–3)

31. Guillaume Cretin, *Epître au nom de la Royne Marie*

1. *Dudict Cretin, au nom de la royne // Marie a ma dame la duchesse a // present royne de Navarre*, in *Chantz royaulx // oraisons et aultres petitz traictez* (15.1 above), fols CXXXVI^{v}–CXLI^{v}

    i. Chesney (15.i above), pp. 233–239

32. Jean Bouchet, *Epître de la Royne Marie*

1. *Le temple Jehan Bocace de la ruyne daulcuns // nobles malheureux, faict par George son imitat // eur. // Linstruction du jeune Prince. // Le Chappellet des princes, en cinquante rōdeaulx et cinq // Ballades, faict et compose par le Traverseur de Voyes pe // rilleuses. // Lepistre de la royne Marie, a son frère Henry roy Dan // gleterre faicte et composée par le Traverseur de Voyes pe // rilleuses* (Paris: Galliot du Pré, 1517), fols lxv^{r}–lxx^{r}. Fol., gothic. Privilege: 2 years

    BnF Rés. Z 349; BnF Rothschild, Picot 506; B.L. G 10232

2. *Epistre de ma dame marie royne douariere de frāce au roy hēry dāgleterre son fre // touchant le trespas du trescrestien roy de frāce loys .xii. de ce nō*, in *Les annalles dacqui // taine faictz et gestes en sommaire des //Roys de France et Dangleterre // Et des pays de Naples et de Milan* (Paris and Poitiers: Jacques Bouchet and Enguilbert de Marnef, 1524), 4th part, fols lxviii^{r}–lxxii^{v}. Fol., gothic

    The *Epître de la Royne Marie* is found in all subsequent editions of the *Annales*. For full bibliography, see Jennifer Britnell, *Jean Bouchet* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), pp. 313–6

3. *Epistre de l'acteur au nom d'Illustre dame // madame Marie Royne douairiere de France // quelle rescript au Roy d'Angleterre son frere Hēry viii. de ce nom touchāt le trespas du tres // chrestien Roy de Frāce. L. xii. de ce nom son // espoux, cōtenant en brief les gestes dudict roy // loys, & aucūes louāges de Frāce & des Frācois*, in *Epistres Morales & fami // lieres du Trauerseur*, *Epistres familieres* (XIV), fols xvii^{r}–xviii^{v} (see 13.4 above)

    i. Facsimile reprint of 3 (see 13.i above)

Betrothal of Mary Tudor, daughter of Henry VIII to the Dauphin, Francis

33. Richard Pace, *Oraison en la louenge de la paix*

1. *Oraisō en la louenge // de la Paix. faicte entre le tresvictorieux Roy Dangleterre. & // Treschrestien roy de Frāce. p̄le traicte du mariage du Daul // phin de France. & Marie fille aisnee Dangleterre. composee // & p̄nuncée par Messire Richard Pacee A Londres. dendens Leglise sainct Pol. trāslatee nouuellemēt de latin en frācoys* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, [1518]), 4°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1^{r} (ζ), 8^{v} (heraldic woodcuts: arms of the King (or France), Queen Claude, Mary and Dauphin). Privilege: unstated time

    B.L. G 6119 (2); Cambridge, MA: Houghton Library, EC P1144 Eh518o (a different issue bearing the title page initials "C.P.")

2. *Oraison en la louenge de la paix // faicte entre le Tres chrestien Roy de France // Et le tres puissant Roy Dangleterre. Par [le] // traicte du mariage du Daulphin de France Et Ma[rie] // fille aisnee Dangleterre. Composee et pronuncee p[ar] // Messire Richard Pacee a londres dedens leglise sa[int] // Pol, translatee nouuellement de latin en francoys* ([Rouen]: Jean Richart, [1518]), 4°, 4 fols, gothic (very small). Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (figure reading before king in council), 1[v] (Richart's mark)

BnF Rés. NC 3344

The French text is a translation or adaptation of *Oratio Richardi Pacei in pace nuperime composita et foedere percusso*, printed in London by Pynson and in Paris by Gourmont in 1518

34. Bernardino Rincio, *Livre et oraison*

1. *Le livre & oraisō messire // Bernardin Rince Millannoys Docteur es ars & en Me // decine: contenāt les Louenges du mariage de monsieur le // Daulphin des Gaulles Francoys, Et Marie fille du duc // Dangleterre. Translate de latin en francoys* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, [1518]). 4°, 12 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (ζ), 12[v] (ζ). Privilege: unstated time

BnF Rés. LB30 234; B.L. G 6119 (1) (a different issue in which "duc" in the title is replaced by "roy")

2. *Le Livre et oraison a la // louenge du mariage de monsieur le Daulphin des Gaulles, Francoys, // et Marie fille du roy Dangleterre* ([Paris: Jehan Gourmont (?), 1518]). 4°, 6 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (ζ)

BnF Rothschild, Picot 3105

The French text is a translation or adaptation of *Clarissimi Bernardini Rincii, Epitalamion in nuptiis Francisci Delphini et Mariae* printed in Paris by Gourmont in 1518

35. Bernardino Rincio, *Livre et forest*

1. *Le livre & forest de messire // Bernardin Rince Millanoys: Docteur en medecine // Contenant & explicant briefuement Lap // pareil: les Ieux & le festin // de la Bastille* (Paris: Jehan Gourmont, 1518), 4°, 10 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (heraldic woodcuts: arms of Dauphin, France and Mary), 1[v] (ζ), 10[v] (ζ). Privilege: unstated time

BnF Rothschild, Picot 2659; B.L. 811 d 31 (1); Chantilly, Bibliothèque, du Musée Condé III F 112

2. *Le liure et forest de // Messire bernardin rince millā // noys : Docteur en medecine Cō // tenant et explicant brefuement // Lappareil du bancquet faict a // Paris a la bastille : pour la venue // des Orateurs et ambassadeurs // Dangleterre : Avec les jeux et le // festin de ladicte bastille* ([Rouen]: Jean Richart, [1518]), 4°, 4 fols, gothic (small). Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (arms of Claude de France (as in 34.1)), 4[v] (Richart's mark).

BnF Rés. LB30 293

i. Alfred Bonnardot, *Les Rues et églises de Paris vers 1500* (Paris: Willem, 1876), pp. 53–108

36. 'Le Serviteur', *Epître de madame la Daulphine*

1. *Lepistre de ma dame La // Daulphine de France Fille du roy dan // gleterre. A la Royne nostre souveraine dame // Composee par le Serviteur* ([Rouen (?): Jean Macé (?). n.d.]), 4°, 4 fols, gothic (small), 2 cols per page from fol. 2[r]. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (arms of Claude de France (as in 33.2))

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2841

Field of Cloth of Gold

37. *Description et ordre du camp*

1. *La description et ordre du camp // et festins et ioustes* ([Paris: Jehan Gourmont (?), 1520]), 4°, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (ζ followed by "C.P.")

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2662

2. *La description et ordre du camp // festins et ioustes* ([n.p. n.pr. 1520]), 4°, 6 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (king with seven people and two dogs). Privilege: 8 days

   B.L. C 33 d 22 (2); Seville, Columbine Library 4-1-4(9); Troyes, Bibliothèque, Municipale fonds ancien Z 81377 (no 3)

3. *La description et // ordre du camp. // & festiemt & joustes des trescrestiens et trespuissās roys de // France & Dangleterre. Lā Mil. CCCCC. et vingt. // Au moys de juing* ([n.p. n.pr. 1520]), 4°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (knights jousting in front of a fountain)

   B.L. G 1209 (3)

   i. *La Description et ordre du camp festiement et joustes des trescrestiens et trespuissans roys de France et d'Angleterre, l'an mil CCCCC et vingt, au moys de juing* (Paris: Aubry, 1864). A reprinting of the preceding limited to 75 copies. Based on 3 above

      The French text is based on *Campi convivii atque ludorum agonisticorum ordo, modus atque descriptio*, printed in Paris probably by Jean de Gourmont in 1520

38. 'Le Serviteur', *Ordonnance et ordre*

1. *Lordonnance et ordre // du tournoy, ioustes, & combat, a pied, & a cheval. // Le tresdesire & plusque triumphant rencōtre, entre // veue, assemblee, & visitation, des treshaultz, & tresexcel // lens princes, les Roys de France, & de Angleterre. Et // des Roynes leurs compaignes. Et aultres princes et // princesses* (Paris: Jehan Lescaille for Pierre Vidou, 1520), 4°, 28 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (arms of France), 28[v] (arms of England and Tudor rose). Privilege: 1 year from 31 July 1520

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 3340; B.L. C 33 d 22 (1)

Clément Marot

39. *Ballade de la naissance de monseigneur le dauphin*

1. *Ballade de la naissance de monseigneur le // Daulphin*, in *LADOLE // SCENCE // CLEMENTINE // Autrement, Les Oeuvres de Clement Marot // de Cahors en Quercy, Vallet de Chambre du // Roy, composees en son Asolescence* [...] (Paris: Pierre Roffet, 1532), fols li[r]–lii[r]. 8°, 119 fols, roman

   Copy consulted: BnF Rés. Ye 1533

   For a full bibliography of early editions of the *Adolescence*, see C. A. Mayer, *Bibliographie des éditions de Clément Marot publiées au XVI[e] siècle* (Paris: Nizet, 1975)

   i. This text exists in numerous modern editions; for an accessible scholarly edition, see Gérard Defaux, *Clément Marot: Œuvres Poétiques*, 2 vols (Paris: Garnier, 1990), I: *L'Adolescence clementine; La Suite de l'Adolescence clementine*, p. 118

40. *Ballade du triomphe d'Ardres et de Guînes*

1. *Ballade, du triumphe de Ardres & Gingnes // faict par les Roys de Frāce & Dangleterre*, in *LADOLESCENCE CLEMENTINE* (as in 36.1 above), fols lii[r]–lii[v]

   i. *Œuvres Poétiques*, I (37.i above), p. 119

41. *Rondeau de la vue des roys de France et d'Angleterre*

1. [*Rondeau*] *De la veue des Roys de France & dāgle // terre entre Ardres & Guynes*, in in *LADOLESCENCE CLEMENTINE* (as in 36.1 above), fol. lxvi[v]

   i. *Œuvres Poétiques*, I (37.i above), p. 152

1522–25

42. *Messaige du herault*

1. *Le messaige du // herault dengleterre faict au tres // chrestien Roy de France* (Rouen: [n.pr. 1522]), 8°, 4 fols (?), gothic (missing fols 1, 4 (?))

   BnF Rés. F 171 (*Recueil de Cangé*)

2. *Le messaige du // herault dāgleterre fait au tres // crhestien Roy de France* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (man presenting document), 1[v] (beggar (?) and king), 4[v] (η)

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2663

43. *Regretz de Picardie et de Tournay*

1. *Les Regretz de Picardie & de // Tournay a XXIX coupletz* ([Paris (?). Trepperel (?), 1522]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (arms of France), 8[r] (king presenting lance to kneeling soldier, two others look on), 8[v] (large decorated 'L')

   BnF Rés. Ye 1373

2. *Les regretz de // Picardie : et de // Tournay a. XXIX. cou // pletz* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic. Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (soldiers laying siege to a castle)

   BnF Rés. Ye 4685

3. *Les Regretz de // Picardie : et de // Tournay a. XXIX Coupletz* ([n.p. n.pr. n.d]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (three men, one on a horse, in front of a castle), 8[r], 8[v] (2 soldiers on left, man in a cape holding a stick in the middle, soldier on right)

   Lille, Médiathèque Jean Lévy, Rés. 13101

   i. Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français*, II (1842), pp. 140–9

   ii. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, IX (1865), pp. 294–308

   iii. *Les Regretz de Picardie et de Tournay à XXIX coupletz*, Bibliothèque gothique, 8 (Paris: Baillieu: 1874). Limited to 200 copies

44. *Chanson nouvelle des Anglois*

1. *Sensuiuent // plusieurs belles chāsōs // nouuelles. // Et premieremēt : // Chanson nouuelle des Anglois // sur le chant de Ma bien aquise. Vive le Roy. Gētille ville de hedin* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic (fols 1[v]–2[v])

   BnF Rés. Ye 1377

2. *Sensuyuent // plusieurs belles chāsons nou // uelles dōt les noms sēsuiuēt // Et premierement // Chanson nouuelle des angloys. Sur ma bien // aquise. // Vive le Roy // Gentille ville de Hedin // La chanson des francz archiers et des auentu // riers* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic (fols 1[v]–2[v])

   Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, IV D 111

   i. *S'ensuivent plusieurs belles chansons nouvelles*, Bibliothèque gothique, 16 (Paris: Baillieu, 1874)

   ii. Emile Picot, 'Chants historiques français du XVI[e] siècle', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* (1894), pp. 290–307 (pp. 298–9)

45. *Couvée des Anglois et des Espaignolz*

1. *La Couuee des // āglois & des es // paignolz qui // ont cuyde des // cendre en Bretaigne mais // leur cōvīt de desloger sou // daī quāt ilz virēt la puissā // ce des frācz archiers nor // mās & d' bretaigne avec // la chāson de la repētāce des // āgloys & des espaignolz* (Paris: Jehan Janot, [1522]), 8°, 8 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[v] (α), 8[r] (η), 8[v] (Janot's mark)

   Chantilly, Bibliothèque du Musée Condé, IV D 97

   The *chanson* at the end of this text is edited in Picot, 'Chants historiques français' (42.ii above), pp. 300–1

46. *Nunc dimittis des Angloys*

1. *Le nūc dimit // tis des angloys* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522 (?)]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic.

   BnF Rés. Ye 1375

2. *Le different, en // tre le Roy de France, & le Roy // Dangleterre. Contenant le Nunc // dimittis* ([n.p. n.pr. 1522 (?)]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic

   BnF Rés. Ye 3855

   i. Le Roux de Lincy, *Recueil de chants historiques français*, II (1842), pp. 132–5

47. Jean Marot, *Deffence contre les emulateurs, ennemys et mesdisans de France*

1. *La deffence contre les // Emulateurs ennemys et mesdi // sans de Frāce. Cōsolation & bō zele // des troys estatz. Imprime a Paris* (Paris [n.pr. 1523 (?)]), 8°, 4 fols, gothic, Woodcut: fol. 1[r] (arms of France)

   BnF Rés Ye 3803

2. *La Deffence contre les Emulateurs ennemys et mesdisans de France // Consolation et bon zele des trois estatz* ([n.p. n.pr. 1523 (?)]), 4°, 6 fols, gothic. Woodcuts: fols 1[r] (enthroned queen receiving sword from male figure). 1[v] (king on horseback with "LOYS ROY" on harness, porcupine flag background left). Privilege: unstated time

   BnF Rothschild, Picot 2589

3. *La responce de Frāce & des estatz // aux escriuains sedicieux*, in *LE RECVEIL IEHAN // MAROT DE CAEN, POETE // & escripuain de la magnanime Royne An // ne de Bretaigne, & depuys Valet de chābre // du Treschrestien Roy Françoys premier // de ce nom* ([Paris: Roffet, 1533 (?)]) 8°, 86 fols, roman, pp. 43–51. Revised version

   Copy consulted: BnF Rés. p Ye 432

   For a full bibliography of editions of the *Recueil* see Giovanna Trisolini, 'Pour une bibliographie des œuvres de Jehan Marot', in *Bulletin d'humanisme et Renaissance*, 23 (1971), pp. 107–50

   i. Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, XII, pp. 238–51. Based on 2 above.

   ii. Gérard Defaux and Thierry Mantovani, *Jean Marot, Les Deux Recueils* (Geneva: Droz, 1999), pp. 44–52, 301–4. Provides the full text of 3 with variants from 1 and 2.

48. *Poésies sur les évènements du temps*

1. [*Poésies sur les évènements du temps*] ([n.p. n.pr. 1523 (?)]), 8°, 7 fols, gothic (missing fol. 1)

   Bibliothèque Municipale Versailles, Goujet 8° no 19
   (A collection of poems against the enemies of France including the English and Charles, Duke of Bourbon as well as a "Sermon joyeux" "de Saint Faulcet". For details see card catalogue at Versailles; this volume is not listed in the library's printed catalogue)

   i. *Invective contre les Anglais*, in Montaiglon and Rothschild, *Recueil*, XIII (1878), pp. 288–304

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