Introduction

Together with his own *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz*, Gower's *Cinkante Balades* contain the only surviving ballades in French by a medieval English poet. In adopting so distinctively French a form and in forming so coherent a collection, they constituted a bold assertion of Gower's own status as a poet as he prepared them for presentation to his new king. We have no evidence that he ever made that presentation, however, and even more unfortunately for Gower, he wrote them at just the time that the use of French in England was rapidly declining, and for all we can tell, they lay unread for nearly 400 years. Their fortunes among modern readers have been only slightly better. Out of the mainstream both geographically and linguistically, they have been largely overlooked by readers of French literature,[1] and among readers of English, they have gotten what little attention they have received only from those whose main interest is Gower.[2] They deserve to be better known, not just as a manifestation, if also something of a last gasp, of the international literary culture at the turn of the fifteenth century, but also because of Gower's contribution to the history of the ballade. While they are consciously steeped in the forms and diction of his continental predecessors, there are also very important ways in which the *Balades* are unlike Gower's French models, and while distinctively Gowerian in some respects, they are also innovative in ways that could not be guessed from his longer works.

Dating, Order, and Arrangement

The only certain date for the *Cinkante Balades* is provided by the single manuscript in which it survives, which gives us a *terminus ad quem* of somewhere between 1399 and 1401 for the

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[1] The exceptions are short discussions in M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 357-61, and William Calin, *The French Tradition and the Literature of Medieval England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 380-85, plus the important studies by Ardis Butterfield, cited below. All three authors, it must be noted, write in English.

[2] The leader here has been R.F. Yeager, who in addition to several important essays has also published an edition and translation of both collections: John Gower, *The French Balades*, TEAMS Middle English Texts Series (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 2011). The most important studies of the *Cinkante Balades*, including Yeager's, are cited below.

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completion of the work as we now have it.[3] When Gower began to write it, how long he spent on it, and when it assumed its present form are all now impossible to determine. In what appears to be an autobiographical passage in the *Mirour de l'Omme*, Gower writes (with evident remorse) about having composed short poems in his youth:

> Jadis trestout m'abandonoie
>
> Au foldelit et veine joye,
>
> Dont ma vesture desguisay
>
> Et les fols ditz d'amours fesoie,
>
> Dont en chantant je carolloie. [4]

> [Formerly I would fully abandon myself to foolish delight and vain joy.
> I would dress extravagantly, and I would compose foolish poems about
> love which I would sing while dancing.]

Amans too claims to have composed many a "Rondeal, balade and virelai" in his confession of Vainglory in Book 1 of the *Confessio Amantis* (1.2726-34). But even if we can take Gower literally here and accept Amans' words as somehow autobiographical, there is simply no way of telling whether any of Gower's early compositions survive among the present *Balades*.[5] Whenever he began writing the poems that we now have, the round number "cinkante" suggests that at some

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[3] The manuscript is treated in more detail below. Portions of the following discussion are drawn from my essay on "Writing the *Cinkante Balades*," in *John Gower: Others and the Self*, ed. Russell A. Peck and R.F. Yeager, Publications of the John Gower Society, XI (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, 2017), 306-27.

[4] *MO* 27338-41; John Gower, *Complete Works*, ed, G.C. Macaulay, 4 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899), 1:303. All quotations from Gower except from the *Cinkante Balades* are from this edition.

[5] One might have to wonder why, if Gower considered his youthful poems to be merely "fols ditz," he kept them lying around until so late in his life. If we accept that the reference to Florent in **43**.19 is an allusion to Gower's own tale in the *Confessio Amantis*, then that poem at least would have to be dated fairly late. That the existing *Balades* are in French is of no relevance to their dating. Though following the completion of the *Mirour de l'Omme*, Gower's two other major works are in Latin and English, we have the evidence of the two ballades for Henry IV that precede the *Cinkante Balades* in the Trentham manuscript and perhaps of the *Traitié* as well that Gower continued to compose poems in French until close to the end of his life. The date of the *Traitié* is itself a bit of a puzzle. Macaulay's suggestion that it was somehow associated with Gower's own marriage in 1398 (*Complete Works*, 1:lxxxiii-iv) does not stand up to scrutiny, as pointed out by R.F. Yeager, "John Gower's Audience: The Ballades," *Chaucer Review* 40 (2005): 87-88, 92-93; also R.F. Yeager, ed. *John Gower: The French Balades* (Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute, 2011), 9. However, Yeager's suggestion that the *Traitié* should be dated earlier because its ballades contain no envoys is not more helpful. Ballades with envoys appear only in the last quarter of the century, and while the inclusion of an envoy might thus provide a rough guide to dating, the absence does not: Deschamps, Granson, Christine and many other less well-known poets continued to write ballades without envoys during all of Gower's lifetime and beyond as well as ballades with envoy attached. The function of an envoy is normally to bring the poem to a close by addressing it to a particular audience, as in most of the *Cinkante Balades*. The ballades in the *Traitié*, however, are not addressed separately; they are part of a single continuous exposition, in this respect rather like the *Livre des cent balades*, which also lacks envoys. The *Traitié* might indeed have come first, but it lacks envoys not because of its earlier date but because it is a *traitié*, a "treatise."

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point Gower may have had in mind as a model either the *Livre des cent balades*, which was completed around 1390,[6] or Christine de Pizan's first collection of *Cent balades*, from 1399,[7] or perhaps both, though he does not seem to have imitated either collection in any other way. Yeager argues from the evident popularity of the *Livre des cent balades* at the beginning of the decade, together with the difficulty of finding any reason why Gower might have offered Henry a collection of love poems at decade's end, that Gower most likely completed the work and first presented it to Henry in 1391-93,[8] but there is no concrete evidence that the *Cinkante Balades* was finished or existed in any form at so early a date. Henry, moreover, continued to show a real interest in French poetry after he became king, and we have the evidence of the career of Christine de Pizan that ballades had lost none of their appeal as the new century began. There are also small hints in the manuscript that the underlying exemplar was not yet in a finished state before being copied into the form in which we now have it. (See the discussion of the manuscript below.) Fisher takes a different approach: he detects a chronological sequence in the collection, seeing the first forty poems as "the expression of an idealistic, young poet" as opposed to the "tendency toward moralization" in some of the later ballades and in the *Traitié*, "although who is to say," he asks, "that a young man may not have his moments of disillusion and an old man his moments of sentimentality?"[9] Few nowadays would assume so direct a link between the poems and the poet's own experience. Even if one did, then the question of dating is probably more relevant to Gower's biography than to our understanding of the poems themselves, and the argument could go either way: might not the inclusion of the work in a manuscript that dates from the first years of Henry's reign indicate that Gower still had a little bit of that spark left even in old age?

If we can't date the collection as a whole, much less can we tell the date of any particular poem, and thus we can't, except by supposition, determine the order of their composition. The evidence that Gower gave some thought to their present arrangement, moreover, indicates that they do not necessarily appear in the order in which they were written, but it perhaps provides some small clues on how the collection evolved. The effort to impose some shape and order is particularly evident at the end. The last four poems (**48**-**51**) switch from personal address to more general reflections on the nature of love, the last three in the voice of the poet, and the last of these turns to a different sort of love entirely as the poet speaks of his affection for the Blessed

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[6] As suggested by Yeager, *French Balades*, 53.

[7] As suggested by Linda Barney Burke, "`The Voice of One Crying': John Gower, Christine de Pizan, and the Tradition of Elijah the Prophet," *ES: Revista de Filología Inglesa* 33.1 (2012): 118. The chronology is a little tight. While copies of some of Christine's other works were known to be in England by the time of Henry's accession, including perhaps some of her ballades, J.C. Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV," *French Studies* 36 (1982): 137 expresses doubt that the *Cent balades* as a whole could have been among them.

[8] R.F. Yeager, "John Gower's Audience: The Ballades," 88-91; *French Balades*, 50-53.

[9] John H. Fisher, *John Gower, Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 74.

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Virgin in what was clearly intended as the conclusion. The links among these four poems—in particular the way in which **49-51** each respond in some way to **48**—suggest that they were conceived as a group. They are preceded by three other sequences, each defined in a different way. **32-37** consist of three pairs of ballades for three successive times of the year, arranged in order of the calendar: New Year's Day, Valentine's Day, and the month of May. Within each pair, however, each poem takes a very different tack, and there is nothing to suggest that they were composed as a unit. **40-43** are united by theme, as the only poems on a partner's infidelity. They are succeeded in **44-47** by four declarations of faithful love in the alternating voices of a woman and a man that could have been written in any order but that now prepare the way for the celebration of virtuous love with which the *Cinkante Balades* concludes. (Included in these two groups are the five ballades in the voice of a woman, **41-44** and **46**.)

The connections are somewhat looser in the first two-thirds of the *Balades*. In **1-3** and **6-9** we have a group of poems in which the lover alludes directly or indirectly to his separation from his beloved. In **6**, he evidently knows of her only by reputation, but otherwise this poem recapitulates much of the diction and imagery of **3** (as detailed in the notes below), including the image of sending forth his heart which recurs with variation in **7**, **8**, and **9**. In between, there are three poems (two of which bear the number "4" in the manuscript, and which are here numbered **4¹** and **4²**) that interrupt this sequence, all three celebrating what is clearly a mutual love, and all three, in distinction not just to the adjacent ballades but to the entire tradition on which Gower drew, employing language typically associated with betrothal and marriage.

Ballade **9** introduces the lover's appeal for his beloved's "merci" that provides the transition to numbers **10-20**, all of which are concerned less with physical separation than with the emotional distance between the persona and the lady. There is a less dense web of inter-reference in this group than among the preceding ballades, but they are united by the persona's appeals for "merci" and "pitié" and by his protests against "durté" and "Danger," none of which is cited in **1-9** except for the reference to "merci" in **9**.35. There are also some formal links— between **13** and **17**, for instance, occur four ballades without refrain—and at least one thematic group, four poems on the difficulty of addressing the lady in **14** and **17-19**.[10] Ballades **21-31** are even more diverse: all are concerned with the vicissitudes of love and each is addressed in some way by the lover to his lady, but they contain a wide variety of situations and moods, and like **10-20**, they might have been composed in any order at any time before being assembled here.[11] Interspersed among these, however, is a group of five poems on the lady's virtue and its beneficent effect (**21**, **31**, **38**, **39**, and **45**) that not only stand apart from the other ballades thematically but also share a common diction (detailed in the notes to **21** below) that is either exclusive or all but exclusive to these poems, and that therefore gives all

[10] More details on the thematic links can be found in the commentary on the individual poems below.
[11] There also appears to be some deliberate grouping according to the form of the persona's address. In **1-12** (excepting only **5**), he speaks directly to the lady in both the stanzas and the envoy, but in **13-24** (excepting only **15**), the stanzas (and sometimes the envoy as well) refer to the lady only in the third person. **25** begins the final sequence of poems all addressed directly to the lady or by the lady to the man.

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appearance of having originally been composed as a sequence, though not necessarily in the order in which they now appear. If this is so, then Gower chose finally to separate them. Only **38** and **39** remain together (where they stand just before the first of the poems on a partner's infidelity), and **45** is incorporated into the alternating professions of sincere love which are the last poems spoken by the lover or the lady before the voice of the poet takes over in the conclusion.

When the patterns are particularly dense, as in this group or in the four poems that make up the conclusion, one is tempted to believe that Gower composed them as a unit. Elsewhere, where the linkages are less dense—where the themes are similar but the language is not, or where the diction is similar but in different contexts—it is perhaps more likely that we have evidence of Gower's effort to place similar poems together, even long after they were composed. Connections from one poem to another of this sort are not unprecedented, for similar patterns can be found in other collections of lyrics such as Machaut's *Louange des dames*.[12] Itô suggests that we use "concatenation" rather than "consistency" in accounting for the way in which Gower has structured the *Cinkante Balades*.[13] The distinction is important, because while there are certainly patterns and connections to be found, there is a danger of seeing more continuity than really exists, and in particular, of reading the ballades as if they were all spoken by and about the same man and woman and of slipping into the assumption of a single continuous narrative. The unusual dramatic quality of Gower's ballades may encourage such a reading, as does their formal consistency (on which more below): in other collections, such as Machaut's or Deschamps', the constant change of stanza form helps sustain the perception that each poem is a new beginning in a different voice. Somewhat paradoxically, the narrative explanation is most commonly invoked at the point in the *Balades* at which the greatest apparent disruption occurs in the "plot," in **40**-**47**. As already noted, in the first four of these poems, first a man and then a woman accuses his or her partner of infidelity, and in the second four, a woman and a man alternate in celebration of a faithful love. Those who see this section as a dialogue between the same two individuals do not agree on whether it ends in reconciliation or in the woman's turning to another, more worthy man.[14] There is no way of knowing, and this

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[12] See Daniel Poirion, *Le Poète et le prince: L'Évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaime de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1965), 204; and Nigel Wilkins, ed., Guillaume de Machaut, *La Louange des dames* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1972), 15-16. Clotilde Dauphant, "Frontières d'un genre aux frontières d'une langue: ballades typiques et atypiques d'Eustache Deschamps, John Gower et Geoffrey Chaucer." In *Le Rayonnement de la cour des premiers Valois à époque d'Eustache Deschamps*, ed. Miren Lacassagne (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017), p. 85, notes the presence of "petites unités cohérentes" in the manuscript of the collected works of Eustache Deschamps, and observes more generally that "la ballade est caractérisée à la fois par son autonomie esthéthique et la recherche d'échos formels et thématiques dans des cycles construits."

[13] Masayoshi Itô, *John Gower, The Medieval Poet* (Tokyo: Shinozaki Shorin, 1976), 163.

[14] Macaulay (1:lxxviii) implies that "the lady," whom he evidently regards as a single figure in all five poems, turns to a different man in **44**, but he doesn't express a position on who speaks in **45** and **47**. Itô, *John Gower*, 175-76 sees the lady turning to another man in **44** and **46**, who then replies in both **45** and **47**.

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must therefore be the wrong question to ask. Gower is not at all the first poet to use a woman's voice to dramatize the risks of betrayal that women face in love, and in a fashion that is typical of the collection as a whole, the three poems in which he does so here approach the theme in different ways and they offer very different resolutions in the refrain. In the poems that follow, the woman who surrenders unreservedly to her noble friend in **44** hardly sounds like the one who declares that a woman can't be too careful in **41**, and the young woman of **46**, who blushes when she hears her lover praised and is too shy to speak about him, is not the same woman who denounces her unfaithful partner in some of the most graphic language in the entire courtly tradition in **43**.9-14.

In the rest of the collection too, there are as many inconsistencies and sudden shifts in both subject and tone as there are links, and these too are typical of other contemporary collections of lyrics. The first six poems (**1**-**5**, remembering that there are two **4**s) offer pledges of faith in what is clearly a mutually affectionate relationship, but in **6** the persona addresses a lady whom he has never seen and whom he knows only by reputation. Similarly, after nearly a dozen poems on the persona's continuing frustration, **22** and **23** are suddenly about the first effects of love, and the tongue-tied lover of **22**.9-12 is not the same man as the one who pours out his feelings to his lady, repeatedly and unsuccessfully, in **17**, **18**, and **19**. The poems that follow alternate among pleas, complaints, and promises, and sometimes the juxtapositions seem deliberately intended to highlight differences. The first of the two New Year's Day poems (**32**) is a joyless lament in the face of the lady's obduracy (which also offers a very different take on "grace" from the poem that immediately precedes), and the second (**33**) is a much more playful and hopeful claim upon the lady's good will. The first of the two Saint Valentine's Day poems (**34**) invites the lady (whom the persona calls his "belle oisel [beautiful bird]" [25]) to partake of the pleasures that the other birds share, while in the second (**35**), he bewails his and his lady's isolation from the joys of nature, comparing her to the Phoenix of Araby, which lives alone. Despite the similarity in imagery, these are not different stages in a single relationship but different casts and very different stories. What we lose when we subordinate these poems to a single narrative is not just the uniqueness of each—in tone, in mood, in choice of language—but

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Holly Barbaccia, "The Woman's Response in John Gower's *Cinkante Balades*," in *John Gower, Trilingual Poet: Language, Translation, and Tradition*, ed. Elisabeth Dutton, with John Hines and R. F. Yeager (Cambridge, UK: D. S. Brewer, 2010), 236-37 and 230 n. 2, assumes that it is the same partner throughout (including the persona of the last four ballades, **48**-**51**), whom the lady first rejects and then accepts. Yeager comes down on both sides. In "John Gower's French and his Readers," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French in England c.1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 147-48, the lady turns back to her original partner in **44** and **46** after denouncing some other false lover or lovers in **41**-**43**; in *French Balades*, 49, she turns to another lover in **44** and **46** (who replies in **45**) after denouncing her original partner in **41**-**43**; and in "Gower's Triple Tongue (2): Teaching the *Balades*," in *Approaches to Teaching the Poetry of John Gower*, ed. R.F. Yeager and Brian W. Gastle (New York: Modern Language Association, 2011), 102, she either takes her original lover back in **44** or "more likely" turns to someone else. The most difficult poem to fit into any coherent idea of the "plot" is **40**, in which a man denounces a woman's infidelity.

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also the contrasts that emerge from these juxtapositions and the diversity of voices and the variety of situations that characterize the collection as a whole.

Forms and Themes

To create these voices, Gower had a long tradition of earlier courtly lyrics to draw upon. As the title of the work reveals, the *Cinkante Balades* are firmly situated in the dominant strand of the French courtly lyric of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, as it was defined and practiced by the major poets of the era—Machaut, Deschamps, Froissart—and as it was sustained by their many followers, including, among Gower's contemporaries, Oton de Granson, who spent much of his career in England; Christine de Pizan, who may have begun writing ballades at about the same time as Gower;[15] the aristocratic poets who contributed to the *Livre des cent balades*; and many other anonymous writers, such as those whose works appear alongside those of their better known peers in the Pennsylvania *chansonnier*, which was copied at just about the same time as the manuscript in which the *Cinkante Balades* appear.[16] There are few images, few situations, few motifs in the *Cinkante Balades* that do not have a reflex somewhere in this earlier poetry. Fisher sought to diminish the echoes of Gower's fourteenth-century predecessors, but the few passages that he cites actually provide instructive examples of the nature of Gower's borrowing.[17] Gower's "Si jeo de Rome fuisse l'emperesse [If I were the

[15] Though her *Cent balades* do not appear in their final form until 1399, Christine may have begun writing the first of them soon after her husband's death in 1390. The ninth appears to be dated 1394: see Maurice Roy, ed., *Oeuvres poétiques de Christine de Pisan* (Société des anciens textes français; Paris: Firmin Didot, 1886), 1:xxvi; also Charity Cannon Willard, *Christine de Pizan: Her Life and Works* (New York: Perseus, 1984), 43-44, who suggests that Christine began writing in 1393-94.

[16] Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library, MS Codex 902 (*olim* French 15). Excellent color photos are available at the library website: http://dla.library.upenn.edu/dla/medren/detail.html?id=MEDREN_9935591633503681. See the detailed study by James I. Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of "Ch"*, Revised Edition (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2009), including a numbered catalog of its contents, pp. 91-146. The ballades of unknown authorship are edited by Charles R. Mudge, "The Pennsylvania *Chansonnier*: A Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary" (Diss., Indiana University, 1972). Wimsatt provides attributions for five of the 95 poems that Mudge counted as anonymous: Mudge numbers 5, 25, 26, 50, and 51, corresponding to Wimsatt nos. 38, 62, 63, 190, and 191. A sixth, escaping both their notice (Mudge no. 79, Wimsatt no. 279) is elsewhere attributed to Granson; see Oton de Granson, *Poems*, ed. and trans. Peter Nicholson and Joan Grenier-Winther (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2015), no. 53. Portions of a sixth (Wimsatt no. 126, lines 1-9 and 19-22; a *virelai*, and therefore not included in Mudge) are identical to lines 4048-60 of Froissart's *Joli Buisson de Jonece*. There are no other poems of Froissart in the manuscript, however, and "Jonece" attributes the poem to an unidentified woman who wrote some twenty years earlier (lines 4035-39).

[17] Fisher, *John Gower*, 76. Fisher sought to demonstrate Gower's greater debt to the Provençal poets of an earlier century than to the French poets of his own (75-77), citing (without fully endorsing in each case) the parallels listed by Jean Audiau, *Les Troubadours et l'Angleterre: contribution à l'étude des poètes Anglais de l'amour au moyen âge (XIIIe et XIVe siècles)* ("Nouvelle édition," Paris: Vrin, 1927), 87-128. Fisher's

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empress of Rome]" (**44**.5) surely has only accidental similarity to Deschamps' "Telle dame estre empereis de Romme [Such a lady to be empress of Rome],"[18] and it partakes instead of a common hyperbolic formula for expressing devotion, for instance in Gower's own "si Rois fuisse d'un Empire [if I were king of an empire]" (**26**.14) and '"De tout le monde si jeo fuisse Roi [if I were king of the whole world]" (**38**.11; cf. also **5**.21, **15**.15). His "C'est ma dolour, qe fuist ainçois ma joie [It is my sorrow that formerly was my joy]" (**43**.8) seems to bear a closer relation to Machaut's "C'est ma dolour et la fin de ma joie [It is my sorrow and the end of my joy],"[19] but it too may be only coincidental: the collocation of "dolour" and "joie" (or their synonyms) is another commonplace in the lyrics, as is the construction of the refrain around oppositions, as in Gower's "Quant dolour vait, les joies vienont pres [When sorrow leaves, joys come soon thereafter]" (**2**.8) and "Ma dolour monte et ma joie descresce [My sorrow rises and my joy decreases]" (**20**.8). The similarity in both these cases points to a broader fund of common formulae and diction that extends well beyond direct quotation. The others on Fisher's list likewise cannot be traced to a single poem. The refrain to **25**, "Car qui bien aime ses amours tard oblie [For he who loves well forgets his love slowly]," is, as Fisher notes, proverbial; not only does it appear in Machaut, Deschamps, and Chaucer, but Gower himself used it twice before, in slightly different form, in the *Mirour de l'Omme*.[20] Butterfield notes that Gower's reference to Jason and Medea in **43**.1 echoes not just the lines in Granson that Fisher cites but also a passage in Froissart.[21] She adds another parallel that counts as a commonplace: **45**.1, "Ma dame, jeo vous doi bien comparer [My lady, I ought well to compare you]" is nearly identical to the opening of two poems by Machaut and of two others by Froissart.[22] And she also notes the

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comments had the unfortunate effect not just of diverting attention from what are now recognized as Gower's most immediate models but also of giving undue prominence to the few passages in the *Cinkante Balades* that he cited. For a response to Fisher, see Ardis Butterfield, "French Culture and the Ricardian Court," in *Essays on Ricardian Literature in Honour of J.A. Burrow*, ed. A.J. Minnis, Charlotte C. Morse, and Thorlac Turville-Petre (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 109-15.

[18] Deschamps, **417**.8. The standard editions of medieval French shorter poems assign a sequence number to each poem. In some cases (Deschamps, Granson), the numbering is continuous throughout; in some (Machaut, Froissart, Christine de Pizan), the numbering begins anew in each section, whether defined by genre or by separate work. Here and in the commentary on individual ballades below, citations from other poets will be by this sequence number (arabic numerals replacing the editors' roman, in boldface), preceded, when necessary, by the section heading, and followed, when appropriate, by line numbers. For the complete references for these and also for the longer poems cited here, see the list of abbreviations that follows this Introduction.

[19] Machaut, *Lou*. **34**.8. Cf. Ardis Butterfield, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 256-57.

[20] *MO* 7357 and 27867. See the note to line **25**.8.

[21] *Familiar Enemy*, 256-61. Fisher cites Granson **18**.17-18 (*Poems*, 62). There is actually a closer parallel in the opening to Granson **20**.1-2 ("A Medee me puis bien comparer, / Qui a grant tort fu de Jason traie [I can compare myself to Medea, who was very wrongfully betrayed by Jason]"), which, like Gower's poem, is spoken by a woman. For other parallels see the note to **43**.1-6 below.

[22] *Familiar Enemy*, 255-56. Butterfield also draws attention to parallels in Chaucer's "To Rosemounde."

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links to both Granson and Chaucer in Gower's two St Valentine's Day poems (**34** and **35**).[23] There are no doubt many more such passages still to be found (some of which are cited in the notes to the individual ballades below), and one must also add the many shorter phrases that Gower shared with these poets, such as "coer et corps [heart and body]" and "simple et coie [simple and reserved]," cited by Fisher. Butterfield observes, with reference to the longer examples that she cites, that the use and re-use of such quotations is itself one of the markers of the tradition in which Gower wrote, and that behind many if not most instances of "borrowing," one is likely to find a web of echoes and inter-reference rather than a direct link to a single particular text, in some cases extending outside of the lyric tradition itself.

Given the extensiveness of his debt, it would be impossible to catalog every instance of Gower's "borrowing" from this tradition. Some effort has been made to identify some of the more palpable recollections of earlier poets in the notes to the individual ballades below, but the references that are collected there are by no means exhaustive, nor with one possible exception (see the note to **21**) should they be taken as evidence of Gower's debt to any particular poem. It may in fact be easier to pick out the poems in which Gower departs from the inherited idiom than adequately to account for his debt. There aren't many: they include, among the first 48 poems (numbers **1**-**47**, remembering again the two number **4**s), the three poems in which he invokes the vocabulary of betrothal and marriage (**4¹**, **4²**, and **5**), and the three in which a woman denounces her partner's infidelity (**41**-**43**), in which Gower turns to his own *Mirour de l'Omme* for the needed language. Together with the three ballades which bring the collection to a close, these are the most "Gowerian" in the sense that they seem the most familiar to those who have read Gower's longer works. We shouldn't, however, infer, either from these individual poems or in the way from which the entire last third of the collection seems to move towards an affirmation of virtuous love, an attempt by Gower the moralist to "reform" the tradition from which he drew. Such a reform was hardly necessary, first of all: though they did not ordinarily celebrate marriage, Gower's predecessors were no less in favor of mutually faithful monogamy than he, could it be achieved, and ballades such as the five that Gower wrote on the beneficent effects of the lady's virtue, cited above, derive from a long line of earlier lyrics in praise of the lady in which both "beauté et bonté [beauty and goodness]" and "belle et bonne [beautiful and good]" were common motifs. In the remainder of his ballades as well, Gower adopted the diction of his predecessors, together with many of their assumptions about the nature of love, just as deliberately as he did the ballade form. His originality and the principal uniqueness of his collection thus lie neither in his moral stance nor in his language, but elsewhere: in his introduction of the French ballade form into English literature, first of all; in the consistency of form that he chose for his ballades; and most importantly, in a very different understanding of the expressive function of the lyric, which finally allowed him to break free of some of the self-imposed emotional bonds of his predecessors and to create a

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[23] *Familiar Enemy*, 250-52.

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stance that was not precisely moralistic in nature but that was critical in other ways of the language from which he drew.

The ballade was by far the most popular type of French lyric during the fourteenth century, but not in England. Chaucer wrote several ballades in English, and he is given credit for being the first English poet to do so.[24] When someone named Quixley chose to translate the *Cinkante Balades* into English, he too did so ballade form.[25] But Dean and Boulton's catalog of the surviving literature in Anglo-Norman lists not a single ballade apart from Gower's.[26] French lyrics certainly circulated in England, and other poets in England may have written ballades in French that do not survive, but certainly none with the consistency or the seriousness of purpose of Gower in his two collections. In its basic form, the ballade consists of three stanzas, each in the same rhyme scheme and each normally ending in the same line or lines, which serve as a refrain; but within that general definition, there was room for enormous variety. The stanza could range from six to fourteen lines in length. Lines normally ranged from seven to ten syllables, though lines of four and five syllables are not unknown, and the form also allowed for one or more shorter lines, or *vers coupés*, somewhere in the stanza. There was also a great variety of rhyme schemes for each type of stanza.[27] Given the wide range of possibilities, Gower's ballades are most remarkable for their uniformity: he exhibits far less variety than any other known poet, and though he introduces one variation, he chose the forms that had become most common (though by no means universal) as the fourteenth century came to a close. His stanzas are all isometric (that is, he does not employ a *vers coupé*), and his lines are all decasyllabic. His 52 poems are evenly divided between 7-line and 8-line stanzas, and in all but a few of these he used the rhyme schemes that had proved most popular among his contemporaries: for the 7-line stanza, *ababbcc*, the model for the English "rime royal," and for the 8-line stanza, *ababbcbc*, the model for the Monk's Tale stanza. His one variation, appearing in five of the 7-line stanzas and seven of the 8-line stanzas, was to re-use the *a*-rhyme in place of

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[24] See Laila Z. Gross, "The Short Poems," in *The Riverside Chaucer*, 3rd ed., ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 632. (Gross' account of Chaucer's variations on "the classic ballade" is rather oversimplified.) Alceste refers to Chaucer's composition of many "balades, roundels, virelayes" in the *Legend of Good Women*, F422-23, but all of Chaucer's surviving lyrics are in English. James I. Wimsatt, in *Chaucer and the Poems of 'Ch'* (note 16 above), makes an energetic effort to link Chaucer with fifteen poems marked "Ch" in a later hand in the in Pennsylvania manuscript. His attempts to associate the manuscript with English sources (though none of its contents betrays any indication of English origin, either linguistic or metrical) and with Oton de Granson, who was dead when the manuscript was written, are speculative at best. It is difficult to understand, moreover, how anyone in France would have known which poems were Chaucer's, or why anyone would have cared.

[25] Henry Noble MacCracken, "Quixley's Ballades Royal (? 1402)," *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* 20 (1909): 125-50; rpt. by Yeager, *French Balades*, 163-73. For the identity of the author see Yeager, ibid., 157-63.

[26] Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B.M. Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts* (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999). See also the chapter on "The Lyric and its Background" in Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, 332-61.

[27] On the distribution of stanza forms and rhyme schemes see Poirion, *Poète et prince*, 385-87, though it does not appear to me that his figures are always exact.

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the *c*-rhyme, producing the schemes *ababbaa* and *ababbaba*.[28] There is some precedent for Gower's 8-line stanza, in one poem by Machaut and in four of the anonymous ballades in the Pennsylvania manuscript.[29] For the 7-line stanza, I know of only two earlier examples, both by Machaut.[30]

Metrically, as Macaulay pointed out, Gower's line shows a blend of the English and the French, more specifically of combining the accentual meter typical of English poetry with the syllabic meter of the French.[31] French meter was governed by the number of syllables: the decasyllable consisted of ten, with the possibility of an eleventh unstressed syllable at the end of the line (creating a "feminine rhyme") or (much more rarely) after the fourth syllable. Word stress most often fell on even-numbered syllables, but not at all necessarily; and the line required a caesura—a break or a pause at the end of a word that also marked the end of a grammatical unit—normally after the fourth syllable. In the *Cinkante Balades*, Gower adopts the ten-syllable line, just as he did in his English decasyllables in Amans' complaint in *Confessio Amantis* 8.2217-2300 and in "In Praise of Peace."[32] But also as in the English poems, the accent falls regularly only on even numbered syllables, creating the rising unstressed-stressed pattern characteristic of iambic pentameter, and the requirement of a regular caesura is set aside. Billy and Duffell suggest that spoken Anglo-Norman, like Middle English, probably placed greater stress upon the accented syllables than continental French.[33] If that is so, then Gower and his audience would simply have been more conscious of the position of the stressed syllables than a French audience was, even if their expectations were not formed by the sound of English poetry. Gower's combination of the syllabic with the accentual was as exceptional, however, as his choice to use the ballade form. Anglo-Norman versification had become increasingly irregular, especially in syllable count. Gower's adoption of the strict decasyllable of continental French verse imposed a discipline and order lacking among his Anglo-Norman predecessors,

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[28] **13**, **14**, **18**, **36**, and **45** (7-line); and **9**, **17**, **19**, **22**, **24**, **39**, and **42** (8-line).

[29] Machaut, *Lou*. **17**; Mudge **1**, **20**, **21**, and **27**. Note that Wimsatt, *Poems of "Ch"*, 105-6, lists the rhyme schemes of the latter three incorrectly (his nos. 57, 58, and 65). Machaut uses different two-rhyme schemes in *Lou*. **121**, **213**, and **250**. Poirion, *Poète et prince*, 385 also counts two poems by Christine de Pizan and two by Charles d'Orléans with the same scheme as Gower (all later), and two poems by Froissart and three by Charles d'Orléans with different two-rhyme schemes.

[30] *Lou*. **38** and **193** . Machaut uses a different two-rhyme scheme (*ababbab*) in *Lou* **16**. Gower's scheme is not listed by Poirion, but he counts 4 examples of the latter.

[31] *Works*, 1:lxxiv-lxxv. Macaulay's judgment is confirmed by the more detailed analysis by Dominique Billy and Martin J. Duffell, "Le Décasyllabe de John Gower et le dernier mètre Anglo-Normand," *Revue de linguistique romane* 69 (2005): 75-95. Also valuable for definitions of terms is the same authors' "From Decasyllable to Pentameter: Gower's Contribution to English Metrics," *Chaucer Review* 38 (2004): 383-400.

[32] With, of course, the possible eleventh unstressed syllable at the end. There are only five examples of an extra unstressed syllable after the fourth syllable in the *Balades*. Billy and Duffell, "Décasyllabe," 76 suggest that it was probably not pronounced in these instances.

[33] "From Decasyllable to Pentameter," 395.

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while his adoption of a regular accentual meter served to make French verse sound more natural to English ears.

Gower's ballades are uniform in one other respect, and that is that all but two conclude with an envoy, an additional shorter stanza (in the hands of other poets, of no prescribed length) using the same rhymes and ending with the refrain, in which the poet or speaker typically turns to address his or her listeners directly with a closing peroration.[34] Deschamps is given credit for popularizing the inclusion of the envoy,[35] but even he employs it on only about two-thirds of his ballades,[36] and in smaller proportion, by my count closer to half, on those concerned with love. The significance of Gower's use of the envoy was first noted by Fisher, who also suggested that Gower may also deserve credit for "the technique of integrating the envoy into the poem, of making it a capstone for the whole like the concluding quatrain or couplet of a sonnet, rather than a formal salutation."[37] He may actually have exaggerated Gower's uniqueness in that regard. In all of the ballades of Gower's predecessors in which the addressee of the envoy is the same as the addressee of the main stanzas, the envoy might well be considered a "capstone" to the poem, and especially in the ballades of Deschamps that consist of a dialogue, the envoy is inseparable from the rest of the ballade. There are also two ballades in the Pennsylvania manuscript in which the envoy does not contain an address at all but instead constitutes a genuine fourth stanza.[38] Gower's envoys vary greatly in their degree of integration with the rest of the poem. Some contain significant content; others function as little more than a "sincerely yours," bringing the message contained in the poem to an end. In the first 48 poems their primary ostensible function, however, is to reinforce that this is a communication, a direct address, either real or imagined, from one person to another.

To put it another way, all of the first 48 poems are dramatic in conception: they are addressed by someone to someone. In 34 of the 48, the direct address begins in the first stanza, usually within the first two lines, and it continues into the envoy. In another 10, after speaking of her in the third person, the persona turns to address his lady only in the envoy,[39] and in four

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[34] The final ballade has no envoy of its own, but it is followed (after two blank lines) by a 7-line stanza in different rhymes addressed to "gentile Engleterre," which serves, as Macaulay notes (1:lxxiii), as an envoy to the collection as a whole. The other ballade without an envoy is **32.** All of Gower's envoys are in four lines, rhyming *bcbc*, or in the twelve ballades listed in note 28, *baba*.

[35] Wimsatt, *Chaucer and the Poems of "Ch"*, 79 n. 49, 80, 86. Cf. Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 191-95.

[36] See James Laidlaw, "L'Innovation métrique chez Deschamps," in *Autour d'Eustache Deschamps: Actes du Colloque du Centre d'Études Médiévales de l'Université de Picardie-Jules Verne, Amiens, 5-8 Novembre 1998*, ed. Danielle Buschinger (Amiens: Centre d'Études Médiévales, 1999), 130, 134. Granson uses envoys on 12 of his 56 ballades. There are only eleven ballades in the entire Pennsylvania manuscript with envoys; Wimsatt, *Poems of "Ch"*, 86 (the reference to twelve in the note to poem no. 20 on p. 98 is incorrect). One of these (Wimsatt's no. 20) is by Granson (no. **56**); the rest are anonymous.

[37] *John Gower*, 82.

[38] Mudge **73**, **94**.

[39] **13, 14, 16, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 35,** and **41**. **14** is counted here though the speaker actually turns to address the lady in the last line of the third stanza.

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more (**5**, **17**, **18**, and **36**), he speaks in the envoy of sending the ballade to his lady, though without any reference to her either in the vocative or in the second person (a form of the envoy without any precedent that I can find). This very consistency makes Gower's collection unique, for like the stanza forms that he chose, the address to a particular person, while by no means unusual, was certainly not the rule. Only about 40% of Machaut's ballades are addressed by a lover to his lady or *vice versa*. In the rest, the audience is unspecified, and the poems are about the lady (or her lover), or about the speaker's experience in love, or about love more generally (in addition to a very small number that are not about love at all). Closer to Gower's time, the range of topics broadens. Deschamps in particular composed ballades on a huge variety of subjects, but among those concerned with love, fewer than half are in the form of direct address. The same is true of Froissart, of Granson, and of the anonymous poets in the Pennsylvania manuscript. In more than 80% of the poems in which Deschamps employs an envoy, moreover, the addressee is a "prince" or "princes," a convention that he inherited from the earlier *chanson courtoise* and that appears to derive from the address to the judge in the song competitions of the *Puy*.[40] The rest of his envoys are highly varied: some addressing particular individuals,[41] some a plural audience, some a divinity, Christian or other. Some contain no direct address at all but instead continue a dialogue begun in the main stanzas. But fewer than two dozen of Deschamps' ballades in his entire vast corpus are addressed in the envoy to the lady.[42] Precisely none of Gower's ballades, by contrast, is addressed to a prince. All are addressed to either lady or lover, either in the second person or in the third, and except in the very few cases in which the message cannot be delivered directly, all are presented as part of an on-going exchange.

What is perhaps most unique about that communication is that in 35 of these 48 poems, it takes place explicitly in writing. The reference to writing takes various forms: the poem may be described as "escrit [written]" (**1**.25, **2**.27, *et al*.), as a "lettre" (**2**.25, **3**.23, *et al*.), as being sent (**8**.22, **9**.42 *et al*.), or as travelling to its addressee (**33**.23, **47**.23). There is only a single reference, however, to the ballade as a song (**35**.24).[43] Dragonetti cites similar references to writing in the envoys to thirteenth-century poems, but they are very rare among the *formes fixes*.[44] In being

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[40] See Roger Dragonetti, *La technique poétique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1979), 371-78.

[41] E.g. Chaucer in **285** and Christine de Pizan in **1242**.

[42] In Granson the proportions are higher: eight of the twelve ballades with envoys are addressed to the lady, who is usually referred to as "princesse." One is addressed to "princesse d'Amours," one to "Prince," one to "Prince amoureux," and one to "gens et gentes [ladies and gentlemen]." See Granson, *Poems*, 23.

[43] The Latin colophon to the collection also refers to "carmina [songs]." In **40**.22, and **43**.7, the persona refers to singing, but not with reference to the poem itself.

[44] Dragonetti, *Technique Poétique*, 307-8; see also Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 191-95. I know of no explicit references to writing in Machaut's lyrics, though there are countless references to song. In the envoy to his ballade to Chaucer (**285**), Deschamps asks Chaucer to write back ("rescripre," line 36). Other references to writing occur in very different contexts in Deschamps, e.g. **468**.23, **497**.20, **536**.8, **947**.18, **1433**.1, **1441**.1-2. In one of Froissart's *virelais*, the persona asks his lady to write back (Vir. **8**.27); in

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presented as written texts, Gower's ballades represent the culmination of the movement from song to writing that Huot traces in her study of the late thirteenth- and fourteenth-century lyric, with everything that that implies about the nature of his poems and about the relation among poet, text, "audience," and reader.[45] In a poem meant to be sung, Huot notes, "the experiences of loving, of making a song, and of singing it are indistinguishable, just as the figures of protagonist, author, and performer are united in the lyric 'I'." "The song has only the eternal present of the repeated performances," she writes elsewhere, and "The lyric voice can never reach beyond itself to make contact with the object of its desire. Within the strict confines of the lyric monologue, dialogue is by definition impossible."[46] Huot traces the many different ways in which the poets and scribes negotiated the constantly shifting relationship between performance and writing, between sound and sight, between timelessness and temporality, and between monologue and drama. One path toward a more "writerly" poetic lay in the compilation of anthologies in which the authorial presence becomes increasingly marked. Another lay in the incorporation of lyric poems into narratives, which themselves become more and more concerned with how the poems came to be composed. A model with which Gower was almost certainly familiar lay in the *dits amoureux*, which often describe lovers communicating by exchanging poems. Some are enclosed in letters, some delivered with an oral message, and some are sent alone, but the poems that are exchanged normally preserve the form, at least, of songs, even when written down. To reduce a complex history to its simplest terms, works such as Machaut's *Livre dou voir dit* incorporate such lyrics into a narrative that describes the acts of writing and sending them. In the *Cinkante Balades*, Gower incorporates the acts of writing and sending into the lyric itself.[47]

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another, he refers to sending his poem in writing (*Buisson* 2763). In his "Livre Messire Ode," Granson refers twice to "sending" his ballades, but in the stanzas, not in the envoy (**78**.892, 2128). In the first case the persona in the first-person narrative doesn't actually send it, and in the second we do not know if he does or not because the narrative is incomplete. Chaucer refers to sending his poem in the envoys to "The Complaint of Chaucer to his Purse" and "Lenvoy de Chaucer a Bukton," the latter referring also to his "writ" (*Riverside Chaucer*, 656).

[45] Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987). See also Ardis Butterfield, *Poetry and Music in Medieval France from Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), who focuses on the earlier part of this period and on the incorporation of song within narrative rather than on lyric itself; and Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "Le nouveau lyrisme (XIVe-XVe siècle)," in *Précis de littérature française du moyen âge*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1983), 283-92.

[46] Huot, *From Song to Book*, 48, 122, 90.

[47] Ardis Butterfield suggests that Gower's exploitation of the "metaformal potential of the envoy" might have been suggested to him by his reading of the *Voir dit*; "Afterwords: Forms of Death," *Exemplaria* 27 (2015), 178. More broadly, the emphasis on writing is consistent with what Huot would describe as the "writerly" production of the Trentham manuscript as a whole, as a collection of generically diverse works that are united by the fact that they are by a single author (see her chapter on "The Vernacular Poet as Compiler," 211-41). Gower underlines his own role by repeatedly offering his works in writing. In addressing Henry in the first of the two ballades that precede the *Cinkante Balades*, he refers to "ce que je

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The written letter, much more strongly than a song, emphasizes the unique dramatic moment of each poem: it creates the expectation of a response and thus an implicit dialogue. Gower points to the difference between a song and a letter in the envoy to ballade **3**:

> A vous, ma dame, ensi come faire doie,
>
> En lieu de moi, ceo lettre vous apporte
>
> Q'en vous amer moun coer dist toute voie.
>
> [To you, my lady, just as it ought to do, in place of myself this letter
>
> brings to you what my heart says constantly in loving you.]

In so many of the ballades that precede Gower's, even when the lady is invoked, we seem to be overhearing only the persona's private thoughts, "what my heart says," rather than an actual address: what he wishes he could say rather than what he does. Even in the *dits amoureux*, the inclusion of a song addressed to the lady does not necessarily mean that it is delivered to her. One of the ballades in Machaut's *Remede de Fortune* (3013-36) is a song in which the narrator joyously tells his lady of how his love for her has affected him, which he composes and sings out loud to himself when no one else is around. The narrator in Granson's *Livre Messire Ode* writes a number of songs addressed to his lady, but he copies them into his book without sending them. When he writes to her, he does so in the form of a verse letter instead.[48] On the other hand, there is a telling moment in Froissart's *Espinette Amoureuse* in which the narrator, wanting to address his lady but without others knowing, decides to convey his message in the form of a ballade which he places inside a book that he knows that she will see. If anyone else found it, he reasons, no one would suspect anything, because it is just a song.[49] None of Gower's ballades is just a song, and except in the very few cases in which the inability to communicate is itself part of the dramatic context, none is just a private musing; the addressee is known, the message is sent, and it is both direct and personal.

The persona's direct address to that other person helps explain some of the most distinctive qualities of Gower's ballades. In reading Machaut, we can be seduced by the play of sound, by the purity and single-mindedness of feeling, by the poet's verbal dexterity and by his skill in extracting sense from the refrain, but we also often feel trapped in a solipsistic world of male emotion in which the woman is present only as an object of admiration or as the cause of the persona's suffering. All of the most common tropes—the persona's subjection to Love; his claim upon Love's aid or upon a reward for his service; the appeals to the woman for "merci," "pitié," relief, or healing; the attribution of the woman's rejection to her "durte," "cruauté," or "orgueil" (firmness, cruelty, or pride)—all of these deny the woman any real agency or choice and presume that she should love the man who makes his appeal merely because he persists in

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vous escris [what I write for you]" (line 22). The heading to the *Cinkante Balades* begins, "Si apres sont escrites [Here following are written]," and the concluding stanza to the collection begins, "O gentile Engleterre, a toi j'escris [O noble England, to you I write]."

[48] Granson **78**.452-519 . Compare the ballades and other poems in lines 101-44, 216-326, 570-79, 583-603, 701-833, and 873-906, all of which are addressed to the lady but are not actually sent to her.

[49] Froissart, *Esp.Am.* 900-02.

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loving her. Few of Machaut's successors rise to his level as poets, but they generally remain bound within the same conventions. In Gower too, there are many poems that utilize the same *topoi* and in which the persona remains just as self-absorbed as in the most conventional earlier lyrics, but even in these, the knowledge that the poem will actually be sent can subtly shape its message. We find fewer invocations, for instance, of the allegorical pantheon from the *Roman de la rose* than we do among earlier lyricists. We hear of the "mesdisantz [slanderers]" (**25**.25), but not of *Malebouche*, and "danger" and "merci," when they occur, are usually not personified.[50] With few exceptions, we find fewer of the excesses of sentiment—particularly of the imminence of the persona's death for love (only in **14**.14, 19; **16**.23; and **30**.6)—that characterize earlier ballades. The implied presence of a real addressee and the hope—however small—of moving her keeps the persona's claims about the effects of his affection as well as his claim on hers on a more modest and realistic level. On the other hand, alongside the ballades in which the lover's pleas are apparently rejected, there are others in which there is no hint that his service is in any way begrudging or that the promises that he makes are unwelcome, and when he makes an oath (**1**, **4**, **8**) or offers a reassurance (**2**) or announces his expectation of a union (**3**) in a poem that we know will be delivered directly to the lady, there is an implication of reciprocity—that it will not be rejected, that it is not his wish alone—in the very explicitness of the message.

In being part of such an exchange, many of Gower's ballades thus do not merely describe a relationship, they enact it. In some, that relationship can be defined by the smallest touch of language: in the implied intimacy of the address to "Mon tresdouls coer [my sweetheart]" with which **10** begins, for instance, or more playfully, in the address to the lady as "Ma belle oisel [my beautiful bird]" in the envoy to **34**, the very liberty of which suggests that the dream of pleasure embodied in the description of the birds in the preceding stanza is again fully shared. At the other extreme, all of the extravagant diction of **30**—in which the persona suffers greater danger than Ulysses when the lady is accompanied by Danger—is something quite different when the lady is actually going to see it. It suggests a relationship in which such hyperbole can be recognized exactly for what it is. In poems like these, the consciousness of an on-going relationship can thus have the added effect of drawing attention to, and thus undercutting, both the formality and the conventionality of the inherited poetic language. In **16** and **33**, a subtle shift to a more familiar register in the envoy contributes to the same effect: the persona declares that he sends his poem to his lady in order to entertain her, and that desire to please both reduces the rest of the poem to a mere trope and suggests a shared consciousness of both its literariness and its artificiality. It's an artful compliment, but we need not take it literally.

In another group of poems, Gower stays within the terms of the inherited language but achieves other effects not possible with mere song. These are the poems in which the persona's wish to address his lady is also part of the subject. In **22**, a man describes his conventional

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[50] Where to draw the line isn't always clear, but many of Gower's personifications occur in poems in which the figurative nature of the language is deliberately heightened for particular effect. See the notes on the individual poems. Amour is frequently personified (e.g. in **3**.6, **10**.15, **13**.13). In **27**.8 Amour appears to be another name for Cupid (**27**.2). Cupid also appears in **40**.27, Venus only in **36**.6.

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speechlessness in his lady's presence, but in contrast to many earlier poems on the same theme, the ballade itself, since he transmits it to her in the envoy, becomes the vehicle for the words that he cannot express directly. "Ceo lettre envoie: agardetz l'escripture [I send this letter; behold the writing]," he urges her (**22**.27), and his speechlessness, paradoxically, thus becomes part of the message. **14**, **17**, **18**, and **19** also take up a conventional motif—not the lover's speechlessness, but the ineffectiveness of his speech—and through the use of the envoy, they don't just describe it, they re-enact it. In **14** and **19** the persona turns to address the lady directly, and in **17** and **18** he speaks only of sending his ballade to her, still in the third person, but in all four, the gesture merely exposes the futility of yet another attempt to reach her. He expresses his dilemma particularly succinctly in the refrain to **18**: "Com plus la prie et meinz m'ad entendu [as the more I entreat her and the less she has heeded me]." Yet he persists in sending her another message in this poem. Surely it will have only the same result. In the central stanza of **18,** he aptly compares his pleas (whic must include this poem) to the loud and clamorous cries of a sparrowhawk. The lady, however, remains unmoved, as firm as a rock, he tells us, but he claims not to know how he has offended her. It is certainly not unclear to us, and our understanding of the woman's perspective on his pleading introduces a powerful corrective to the male-centered rhetoric upon which his expectations are based. [51] Her real presence as the recipient of the poem forces a confrontation between rhetoric and reality, and all four of these ballades, each in a somewhat different way, demonstrate the ineffectiveness not just of the persona's plea but of its own language.

That distinction between poetic artifice and the reality of actual human relations becomes the subject in ballade **37**, one of the few poems in the collection that is not explicitly delivered to the addressee. In it, the persona complains of his own subjection to love while the woman that he addresses remains free, but as he bases his claims on the rules of *fin amour* rather than on his own merit and as he invokes every well-known cliché to account for his state, it becomes clear by the final lines that his refrain—"Vous estes franche et jeo sui fort lié [you are free and I am tightly bound]"—refers not just to their different emotional states but to his captivity to the language that he has inherited and her freedom to seek pleasure on her own terms, and it suggests a critique of the entire poetic idiom around which the persona's complaints are shaped, particularly of its hollowness for anyone who takes its claims too literally. This is an effect not achieved by Machaut, and along with the ballades that re-enact their own rejection and the more light-hearted examples in which the woman shares in the joke, it reveals a self-critical awareness of language that is matched among Machaut's successors only by Deschamps.[52]

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[51] Cf. Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, 254, writing with reference, however, to Gower's introduction of the woman's voice in **41**-**44** and **46**: "Love language—a figure for poetic language—has a central need to undercut itself, and . . . to introduce the radically other perspective of the usually silent woman is a key means of achieving this."

[52] Gower's expresses his awareness of the limits of amatory rhetoric more mockingly in his portrait of "Foldelit [Foolish Delight]" in *MO* 9421-32.

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In the only other two poems in which delivery is not specified, the non-delivery of the message is again very much part of the subject. In **40**, a man reproaches his lady for her infidelity, but if she is listening, she of course makes no reply, and more in the manner of a more typical lyric, it really seems that he is talking to himself, trying to make sense of his betrayal. The envoy begins "A dieu, ma joie, a dieu, ma triste peine [goodbye, my joy; goodbye, my sad pain]" (25). Atypically for Gower, there is no other reference to his sending the ballade or even to his lady, and his final words are thus less a farewell to the woman than a farewell to love itself. And in **46**, a woman must conceal her pleasure, unable to speak about the man she loves when she hears others praise him. Again, as in so many earlier poems, though addressed to her lover, we seem to be overhearing her private thoughts, but in this case the poem is also about her very need to conceal them, and at the end there is again no reference to her sending her ballade. Where a poem like **22**, on the lover's speechlessness, gives expression to that which cannot be spoken, **46** is a poem about its own silence.

In all these ways, the dramatic context—or its lack—adds another perspective to the persona's words; it forces us to look beyond their immediate literal sense to the circumstances in which these words are framed and to consider how they will be received. Not every poem supports such an extended reading: it is to Gower's credit that one never knows what is coming next, and there are certainly many poems in the *Cinkante Balades* that are only barely distinguishable from the most conventional of their predecessors and, especially at the beginning and the end, many in which the expression of love is both sincere and unproblematic. There are also some that remain enigmatic to modern readers because we cannot recapture the precise implications of Gower's language. But when either the presence or the absence of the intended hearer is invoked, Gower is often able to suggest a relationship that is either deeper, or more complicated, or more paradoxical than can be described in a song. The effect is not merely to add drama to what was formerly monologue. Gower's most interesting achievement in the *Cinkante Balades* is not his moral stance; it is the adoption of a lyric vocabulary that was essentially self-absorbed to the purpose of the lover's communication with the lady. Out of that paradox, by introducing, even in her silence, the woman's point of view, he is able to explore not only the persona's but also his own rather complex relationship to the language that they inherited, and finally to offer a distanced, surprisingly critical perspective on the entire poetics of *fin amour*.

Language

The language of Gower's *Mirour de l'Omme*, his *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz*, and the *Cinkanke Balades* has its roots in the distinctive dialect of French that arose in England after the Norman conquest that we refer to as Anglo-Norman. [53] By the end of the fourteenth

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[53] For a summary of the linguistic history of this period, see Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 2013), 17-42.

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century, the number of French speakers in England was in decline, and most if not all—
including Henry IV—could also speak English. Many of those who did speak French in
England were aware that their dialect differed from that of France—one thinks of Chaucer's
comment on the Prioress, for whom "Frenssh of Parys was to hire unknowe"[54]—and thought of
the French of the continent as the purer form. Gower was among those who make apology for
his French, at the conclusion of the *Traitié* (**18**.24-27):

> Et si jeo n'ai de François la faconde,
>
> Pardonetz moi qe jeo de ceo forsvoie.
>
> Jeo sui Englois; si quier par tiele voie
>
> Estre excusé.

> [And if I lack eloquence in French, forgive me that I fall short in this regard.
>
> I'm English, and I ask therefore to be excused.][55]

But Gower was also, of course, deeply versed in the poetry of his continental peers, and recent
studies of his language have emphasized both the adjustments he made to bring his language
closer to that of the "Frenssh of Parys"[56] and his perhaps unconscious retention of phonetic
features and grammatical forms distinctive of Anglo-Norman.[57]

The details are of greater interest to philologists than they are to readers, but they help
explain some anomalies that will be evident even to those with only basic modern French.[58]
Like Chaucer's English, Gower's French allowed some variation in spelling. *I* can be replaced
by *y*, for instance, just as in Middle English; and final *-s* can appear as *-z* or *-tz*, as in the rhyme
words to **1**, **11**, **16**, and **39**. In the latter case, the different spellings originally represented
differences in pronunciation that by Gower's time had fallen together to be pronounced like *-s*.[59]
There are other instances too in which an older or a continental spelling was retained though
the pronunciation in Anglo-Norman had changed, with the result that there are many pairs of
rhyme words in the *Balades* that simply don't look the same. In words like "pleigne," for

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[54] General Prologue, *CT* I.125-26.

[55] Gower may be echoing here passages in which both Froissart and Machaut modestly describe the
quality that their own verse lacks, Froissart in comparison to Vergil and Plato, Machaut in comparison to
Ulysses. See *DMF* s.v. "faconde" for these and other similar citations.

[56] Brian Merrilees and Heather Pagan, "John Barton, John Gower and Others; Variation in Late Anglo-
French," in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England c. 1100-c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn
Wogan-Browne (York: York Medieval Press, 2009), 123-34, esp. 126; R.F. Yeager, "John Gower's French"
(note 14 above), 143.

[57] Richard Ingham, "John Gower, poète Anglo-Normand: Perspectives linguistiques sur *Le Myrour de
l'Omme*," in *Anglo-Français: Philologie et linguistique*, ed. Oreste Floquet and Gabriele Giannini (Paris:
Garnier, 2015), 91-100; Richard Ingham and Michael Ingham, "'Pardonetz moi qe jeo de ceo forsvoie':
Gower's Anglo-Norman Identity," *Neophilologus* 99 (2015): 667-84.

[58] Systematic treatments of the most salient features of Gower's language (though be no means a complete
grammar) are provided by Macaulay, 1:xvi-xxxiv, and Brian Merilees, "Appendix 2: A note on Gower's
French," in John Gower, *The French Balades*, ed. R.F. Yeager, 175-78.

[59] Macaulay, 1:xxxi; Short, *Manual*, § 25.1.

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instance, the *-gn-* was pronounced as a simple *n* in England, and thus in **14** and **40**, "pleigne" rhymes with words such as "pleine" and "Heleine." Since the *g* was effectively "silent," it also shows up where it never appeared historically, as in "peigne" (**3**.1) and "loigns" (**19**.17).[60] Similarly, the diphthong represented by *ie* was reduced to simple *e* in many contexts in Anglo-Norman, but the spelling remains in words such as "matiere," rhyming with "derere" in **37**.9 and 12. There are similar rhyming pairs in **49**; and the *ie* spelling was extended to words that have always had simple *e* in pronunciation, such as "miere" (**49**.25) and "nief" (**30**.1).[61] And as one last example, unstressed final *-e* was often absorbed into the preceding vowel in pronunciation, but it still sometimes appears in spelling, and thus in **29** and **43**, we find words ending in *-ée* rhyming with those ending in *-é*.[62]

In ballades **6** and **7**, one of the rhymes is spelled *-ée* throughout, raising an issue of a different sort, for *-ée* is normally a marker of a feminine noun or adjective, and at least half of the 17 rhyme words in question should be masculine in form, ending in *-é*, instead. The scribe, at least, evidently put greater emphasis on consistency of appearance than on grammatical regularity, but in this instance, no difference in pronunciation was involved. Other irregularities of gender abound, however, among articles, adjectives, and past participle forms where the pronunciation is very much in question, and in many, Gower himself seems to have taken advantage of the flexibility offered by a changing language in order to meet the needs of his meter and his rhyme.[63] Most involve the use of a shorter masculine form with a feminine noun: for instance "chose humein" (**24**.22; compare "joiouse chose," correctly feminine, in **37**.1), or "ce lettre" (**2**.25; cf. "ceste lettre," **15**.26). We also find examples such as "celle appetit" (a feminine form with what is normally a masculine noun), and also "ma belle oisel" (**34**.25), where, however, the feminine forms "ma" and "belle" may be due to the substitution of natural gender (of the woman addressed) for the masculine grammatical gender of "oisel." The decline of the two-case system offered the same kind of alternatives. In older continental French, an *-s* ending on a noun or an adjective marked either nominative singular or objective plural, and the unmarked form was used for objective singular and nominative plural. The objective forms eventually prevailed in both singular and plural when the case distinction was lost, but Gower and other Anglo-Norman writers often added *-s* or not according to the needs of meter and rhyme rather than the requirements of grammar.[64] Thus, among many possible examples, we find "ami" in **23**.7 (and "anemi" in **23**.10) in order to suit the rhyme in contexts in which elsewhere Gower uses "amis" instead; and perhaps a bit more surprisingly, we find the survival of old nominative singular forms of the possessive pronouns such as "mes" (**1**.27) and "tes" (**4**².17).

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[60] Macaulay, 1:xxxii; Short, *Manual*, § 20.4.

[61] Macaulay, 1:xx-xxii; Short, *Manual*, §§ 2.2-9, 9.1-4.

[62] Macaulay, 1:xix-xx.

[63] Macaulay, 1:xvi-xvii; Merrilees, "Appendix," 176; Short, *Manual*, § 31.2.

[64] Macaulay, 1:xvii-xviii; Merrilees, "Appendix," 175; Short, *Manual*, § 31.1.

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Other orthographic features of the *Balades* that are typical of Anglo-Norman include the common use of "jeo" for "je" (more than 200 examples) and the use of *aun* and *oun* as alternatives to *an* and *on* (see the rhyme words in **4¹**, **24**, and **35**).[65] Grammatically, all three of the features that Ingham and Ingham identify as characteristic of Anglo-Norman are also strongly present in the *Balades*: the use of "que," "qe," or "q'" as a subject pronoun, instead of "qui,"[66] the use of "quel(l)" as a relative pronoun where continental French would have "lequel,"[67] and the use of "null" as a negative without the accompanying "ne";[68] but in all three cases, as indicated in the notes below, we find examples of the continental forms as well.

Lexically too, Gower's language appears to be something of a hybrid. Merrillees and Pagan's study of Gower's French vocabulary, using the first five letters of the alphabet in the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary* as their starting point, identify more than three times as many words that are recorded elsewhere only in continental sources as words that appear only in insular sources. The latter are also outnumbered by words that appear nowhere else and that may thus be Gower's own invention.[69] These figures are interesting, but they may be misleading, simply because the lexicon of continental French, with a greater number of speakers and a greater number of surviving texts, was likely to be much larger and insular French to have fewer unique words. Even the best of dictionaries, moreover (and we now have some very good resources for this period), can give only an incomplete picture of the actual language, especially as it was spoken or understood. While translating the *Balades*, I found myself making as much use of the *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français* as I did of the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, but more than once I also turned to the *Middle English Dictionary* for examples closer to Gower's use. Anglo-Norman did contain a small number of borrowings from English (see, for example, the "nai" in **30**.19 and **36**.R), and it would not be surprising if Gower (or any of his countrymen) might sometimes have been influenced in his use of French in other more subtle ways by what we still suppose to be his first language. The overall impression that one has of Gower's French is of a language in flux, insular in ways that would have made it appear somewhat strange and indeed provincial to readers on the continent (orthographically, phonetically, grammatically, and lexically), but in drawing upon the greater resources of continental French for both flexibility and enrichment, set apart from the spoken language of his French-speaking English peers in ways that would have appeared consciously literary, like the ballade form itself.

[65] Macaulay, 1:xxvii-xxix; Merrilees, "Appendix," 177; Short, *Manual*, §§ 1.6-7,

[66] As in **5**.17, "La destinée qe nous ad fait unir [The destiny that made us unite]"; but cf. **5**.20, **7**.7 *et al.* for use of "qui." Ingham and Ingham "'Pardonetz moi'" (note 57 above), 674-77; Short, *Manual*, § 32.2.

[67] Ingham and Ingham "'Pardonetz moi'," 672-74; curiously, they state that there are no examples in the *Balades* (673), but there are, in the Heading, in **16**.18, and in **51**.20, alongside a larger number of examples of "lequel," in **2**.11, **12**.2, **39**.18, **45**.10, and **46**.6.

[68] As in **20**.4 *et al.*; but cf. **15**.4-5: "par nulle voie / Ne puiss aler." Ingham and Ingham, "'Pardonetz moi'," 677-79.

[69] Their study embraced the much longer *Mirour de l'Omme*, and only a few of the words that they identify appear in the *Cinkante Balades*: "bountevous" (**31**.11), England only; "causal" (**50**.10), "creance," a leash (**15**.1), "esbaubis" (**9**.23); and "eschangement" (**1**.20), continental; and "conspir" (**25**.3), neologism.

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One final note, relevant to the translation, concerns Gower's use of verb forms. With the verb "to be," at least, Gower had different forms for the future and the conditional; e.g. "serrai" (**4²**.11), "serra" (**12**.4) alongside "serroie" (**9**.32), "serroit" (**11**.9). We also find conditional forms such as "changeroie" (**5**.R) and "songeroie" (**9**.24). One of the most common uses of the conditional (as in both Modern French and Modern English) is following a "si [if]" clause, as in **4¹**.18-19: "si le mond fuist tout en ma puissance, / Jeo ne querroie avoir autre alliance [if the world were entirely in my power, I wouldn't seek to have any other alliance]." Very commonly, however, the form that Gower uses for the conditional, in this and other contexts, is identical to the future tense form, as in **6**.8-11 and **44**.5-6. He is not consistent in his choices of tenses and moods, moreover. As Macaulay points out (in his notes to **1**.17, **9**.24, and *MO* 25), Gower often uses a conditional in the "si" clause, as in **1**.17, "Si dieus voldroit fin mettre a ma pleasance [if God wished to put an end to my happiness]." Such conditionals also show up in other contexts in which we would expect a subjunctive, and when they do, as in the "si" clauses as well, the form may be indistinguishable from a future, as in **10**.5, "Maisqu'il vous pleust qe jeo vous amerai [were it to please you that I should love you]." There are some other inconsistencies in choice of form as well, some of which are pointed out in the notes. I have not tried to imitate Gower's verb forms but instead to provide the appropriate English equivalent. One should be prepared, therefore, at every least, to find what looks like a future tense translated as either a conditional or as a subjunctive.

The Manuscript

The *Cinkante Balades* comes down to us in a single copy, British Library Add. MS 59495, commonly known as the Trentham manuscript after the Staffordshire home of the Duke of Sutherland, who owned it when Macaulay examined it for his edition.[70] It is a small book, about 23 cm. by 15.5 cm., containing 41 leaves numbered in a modern hand.[71] The very first line of the manuscript addresses Henry IV, who became king in September of 1399. In the final poem (which may have been added later), Gower describes his loss of sight, and he refers in the past tense to the first year of Henry's reign, placing the composition of that poem at least sometime in late 1400 or after. Attempts to provide a more precise date for the main body of the manuscript have depended upon inferences about the historical circumstances lying behind "In

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[70] For Macaulay's description of the manuscript see *Works* 1:lxxix-lxxxiii. Clear, if somewhat dusty, black-and-white photos of the entire manuscript provided by the British Library are available at the website of the John Gower Society, https://www.wcu.edu/johngower/Trentham/Index.html.

[71] The pages have been trimmed. Folio 39 is approximately 1.5 cm. longer than the other leaves: the bottom was folded up before trimming in order to preserve some former owners' notes on f. 39ᵛ, and it shows how much has been cut from the other leaves. The last few letters of some seventeenth-century owners' notes on f. 5 and of the marginal glosses to the *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz* on the rectos of ff. 34-38 have also been trimmed away. (On f. 35, a later hand makes three additions to the left of the column of gloss text to supply what was lost on the right.) The photographs of the manuscript at the John Gower Society website correctly display what survives of each page.

Praise of Peace," and they suggest a date perhaps as late as early 1401 (see below). In its present form, four leaves at the beginning and two at the end were all originally blank and some now contain notes by former owners. The text portion of the manuscript occupies ff. 5-39, and it consists of a single leaf (f. 5), a quire of 6 (ff. 4-11), two quires of 8 (ff. 12-19 and 20-27), a quire of 8 lacking its seventh leaf (ff. 28-34), another single leaf (f. 35), and a quire of 4 (ff. 36-39), ruled throughout for 35 lines in a single column. It contains several poems that appear in other manuscripts of Gower's works and others that appear uniquely here, and they are in a mixture of English, Latin, and French, with the consequence that they are now dispersed among three of the four volumes of Macaulay's edition. In the order in which they appear in the manuscript, they are:

1. "Electus Cristi," 7 lines of Latin verse; f. 5. *Works* 3:481, printed as a prologue to "In Praise of Peace," which follows. Unique medieval copy. Another copy appears *following* "In Praise of Peace" in Thynne's 1532 edition of Chaucer.

2. "In Praise of Peace," 385 lines of English verse; ff. 5-10^v. *Works* 3:481-92. Unique medieval copy. Another version appears in Thynne's 1532 edition of Chaucer.[72]

3. "Explicit carmen de pacis commendacione . . . Et nunc sequitur epistola . . ."; f. 10^v. *Works* 3:492. Five lines of Latin prose linking the preceding work to the next, unique to this manuscript.

4. "Rex celi deus," 56 lines of Latin verse; ff. 10^v-11 (ending on the last line of the page). *Works* 3:492-94, 4.343-44. There are five other copies, four in manuscripts containing Gower's *Vox Clamantis* and other Latin poems in which it immediately follows the *Cronica Tripertita* (Macaulay's S, C, G, and H; see *Works* 4:lx-lxv) and one in a Latin miscellany containing Gower's *Cronica Tripertita* and two other Latin poems (Macaulay's H³; *Works* 4:lxx-lxxi). Neither the date of this manuscript nor the date of the composition of the *Cronica Tripertita* can be fixed precisely, but it is not impossible that this is the earliest surviving copy.

5. "Pite prouesse humblesse honour roial," 25 lines of French verse (a three-stanza ballade with refrain and envoy); f. 11^v. *Works* 1:335-36, printed with the next four items as the "Dedication" to the *Cinkante Balades*. Unique copy.

6. "O Recolende," 8 lines of Latin verse; f. 11^v (ending on the last line of the page). *Works* 1:336, 4:345. Five other copies, in the same manuscripts as item 4 above, but in each case containing 20 additional lines, as printed in *Works* 4:345. In *Works* 1:336, Macaulay prints

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[72] According to Macaulay, "Thynne followed a manuscript which gave a fair text, but one much inferior to that of the Trentham copy, both in material correctness and in spelling" (3:551). Fisher, *John Gower*, 132, and Kathleen Forni, ed., *The Chaucerian Apocrypha: A Selection* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), 122, also believe Thynne had access to a different manuscript. He certainly may have, but though it differs in many particulars, there is nothing about Thynne's version that excludes the possibility that he based his text on Trentham, and the inclusion of the verses "Henrici Quarti" as they appear in Trentham (item 16 below) suggests that if he did not use Trentham itself, that his copy was directly derived from it.

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these lines from Trentham together with the next two items as a single continuous work, part of the "Dedication" to the *Cinkante Balades*.

7. "H. aquile pullus," 4 lines of Latin verse; f. 12. *Works* 1:336 (from this manuscript except where it is defective, printed as part of the same work as item 6); 4:344 (from MS S, with variants). Five other copies, as in items 4 and 6. The beginnings of each line are lost because of a tear on the page, but we can reconstruct the text from the other copies.

8. Two quotations from the Psalter, Psalms 89.23 and 41.2 (Psalms 88 and 40 in the Vulgate); 4 lines of Latin prose. *Works* 1:336, printed as part of the "Dedication" to the *Cinkante Balades*.

9. "A vous mon liege Seignour natural," 36 lines of French verse (four 8-line ballade stanzas without a refrain but with an envoy, and thus halfway between a conventional ballade and a *chanson royale*); ff. 12-12ᵛ. *Works* 1:336-37, printed as part of the "Dedication" to the *Cinkante Balades*. Unique copy. Only the beginnings (and in many cases only a single letter) of lines 4-19 are preserved because of a second large tear on the page.

10. "Si apres sont escrites en francois Cinkante balades . . .", 3 lines in French, but only the last few words of lines 2 and 3 are preserved because of the tear on the page; f. 12ᵛ. *Works* 1:338. Unique copy.

11. *Cinkante Balades*, 52 ballades in French, all but two with envoys, followed by one 7-line ballade stanza with different rhymes from the final ballade; ff. 12ᵛ-33. *Works* 1:338-78. Unique copy.

12. "Expliciunt carmina Johannis Gower que Gallice composita Balades dicuntur," 2 lines of Latin prose followed by a blank space equal to 6 lines; f. 33. *Works* 1:378. Unique copy.

13. "Ecce patet tensus," 36 lines of Latin verse in a different hand from all of the rest of the manuscript except item 16 below; f. 33ᵛ. *Works* 4:358-59. Unique copy.

14. *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz*, 18 ballades without envoys with an additional stanza in the same rhymes as the final ballade (385 lines), in French, missing the heading, the first ballade, and the first eight lines of the second (30 lines altogether), ff. 34-39. *Works* 1:379-91. Eleven other copies, nine in manuscripts of the *Confessio Amantis*, two in manuscripts of the *Vox Clamantis*, plus another fragment,[73] which allow us to reconstruct the missing lines.

15. "Quia sit vel qualis sacer ordo connubialis" followed immediately (with no blank line to separate them) by "Lex docet auctorum," 17 lines of Latin verse, ff. 39-39ᵛ. *Works* 1:391-92. Both poems are included in other complete copies of the *Traitié* but they are separated by 19 lines beginning "Est amor in glosa pax bellica" (*Works* 1:392).

16. "Henrici quarti primus Regni fuit annus," 12 lines of Latin verse in the same hand as item 13; f. 39ᵛ. *Works* 4:365-66. Unique medieval copy. Another copy appears in Thynne's 1532 edition of Chaucer following item 1, above. Similar leave-takings, employing some

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[73] See the list in Derek Pearsall, "The Manuscripts and Illustrations of Gower's Works," in *A Companion to Gower*, ed. Siân Echard (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2004), 78-79.

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identical lines, appear in four manuscripts of the *Vox Clamantis* (*Works* 4:365-66), three of
which, however, refer to Henry's second year. The fourth has no reference to a date.

Gower's hand in the choice and the arrangement of the contents of this manuscript has long
been acknowledged, and the book is clearly intended for a specific audience. Six of the seven
poems with which it begins, including "In Praise of Peace," are directly addressed to Henry IV;
only the four lines beginning "H. aquile pullus" on f. 12 refer to him in the third person instead.
Henry is named no less than eleven times in the manuscript,[74] and his name may well also have
appeared in the now fragmentary heading to the *Cinkante Balades* (item 10). In addition,
Gower's name is included six separate times[75] and almost certainly appeared in the heading to
the *Cinkante Balades* as well. The only question seems to have been whether Trentham was
intended to be the actual presentation copy for the king or merely the exemplar from which the
presentation copy would be made.[76] It is certainly not as ornate as we would expect a
manuscript intended for the king to be, but it is clearly very carefully prepared. The scribe who
wrote all but two brief passages (items 13 and 16, on which more below) was a trained
professional, identified as "Scribe 5" by Malcolm Parkes, who finds his hand in the revised
passages in three other of the earliest Gower manuscripts, one of the *Confessio Amantis* and two
of the *Vox Clamantis*.[77] The decoration of the manuscript, moreover, with its carefully planned
hierarchy of initials, alternating blue and gold instead of the more common and much less
costly blue and red, indicates that it was not simply intended for a copyist's use or to sit on
Gower's shelf. But if it was intended to be presented to the king, Sebastian Sobecki has
demonstrated persuasively that it remained at St Mary Overey, Gower's last known residence
and the site (now Southwark Cathedral) of his tomb, until the dissolution of the monasteries in
1539.[78] Whatever Gower's original plan, Henry evidently never saw it.

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[74] "Electus Cristi," 1; "In Praise of Peace," 1, 272, 358; ""Explicit" (item 3); "O Recolende," 1; "H. aquile
pullus," 1, 3; "A vous mon liege Seignour natural," 2, 25; *Cinkante Balades* **51**.27.

[75] "In Praise of Peace," 374; "Explicit" (item 3), twice; "Pité prousesse humblesse honour roial," 16;
"Expliciunt" (item 12); *Traitié* 18.23.

[76] Macaulay states that "it is more likely that this was not the actual presentation copy" (1:lxxxi), citing
both the lack of ornamentation and evidence that Gower continued to work on it after it was first
composed, a judgment echoed by R.F. Yeager, "John Gower's French," in Echard, *Companion to Gower*
(note 73 above), 145; while Fisher, *John Gower*, 72, declines to dismiss the possibility that it was intended
for presentation, noting that "both the script and the initials appeal to be up to the standard of the best
Gower manuscripts."

[77] Malcolm Parkes, "Patterns of scribal activity and revisions of the text in early copies of works by John
Gower," in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A.I.
Doyle,* ed. Richard Beadle and A.J. Piper (London: Aldershot, 1995), 91. Ralph Hanna, *London Literature,
1300-1380* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 227, notes how the scribe varies his hand
according to the language that he is copying.

[78] Sebastian Sobecki, "*Ecce patet tensus*: The Trentham Manuscript, *In Praise of Peace,* and John Gower's
Autograph Hand," *Speculum* 90 (2015): 925-59, esp. 925-32.

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Two leaves are now missing from the manuscript. The first, unnoticed by Macaulay, is lost between the present ff. 11 and 12. It was very likely the conjugate of the extant single leaf f. 5, and the first gathering probably thus originally consisted of eight leaves, precisely like the three gatherings that follow.[79] The evidence for the missing leaf consists of the unusual foliation, with a single leaf at the beginning of the book, and the abrupt transition from the present f. 11ᵛ to f. 12. As noted above, f. 11ᵛ ends with the first eight lines of "O Recolende," a poem that in its five other appearances contains 28 lines. The beginnings of the first six lines of f. 12ʳ are lost because of a portion of the page has been torn away (one of two tears on that page), but we can recognize the first four lines as another poem that appears in the same five manuscripts, "H. aquile pullus," followed in the next two lines by verse 23 of Psalm 89.   Macaulay noted that the last line on f. 11ᵛ is grammatically incomplete, but he speculated that only the following line had been lost (*Works* 1:461), and he printed the eight lines of "O Recolende" and the four lines of "H. aquile pullus" as a single continuous poem (*Works* 1:336). "O Recolende" addresses Henry in the second person, however, and "H. aquile pullus" speaks of him in the third, and the two parts simply do not go together, even if we insert the ninth line of "O Recolende" as it appears in the other copies.   The decoration is also inconsistent with viewing these as two parts of the same poem. The last line on f. 11ᵛ begins with a decorated initial that extends below the last ruled line of the page. If we insert the missing text into the space left by the tear on f. 12ʳ, it is evident that both the first and third lines of "H. aquile pullus" and the first line of the verse from Psalm 89 (like the verse from Psalm 41 that immediately follows) also began with decorated initials. The initial on the first line of "H. aquile pullus" appears to have been unusually ornate, moreover (which might explain why it is now missing): still visible just below the tear in the left margin is a small three-lobed leaf decorated with gold of a sort that appears nowhere else in the manuscript and that must have formed part of the initial at the top of the page. The initial in the last line of f. 11ᵛ indicates that more of that poem was to follow, but the (now lost) initial at the top of f. 12 indicates a new beginning, not just at the top of a page but at the start of a new gathering, and not the continuation of what immediately precedes. In between, something more than a single line has been lost.

We can well suppose that the missing leaf contained the remaining 20 lines of "O Recolende," but we can only speculate on what else there might have been. On the two sides of the leaf there was room for 70 lines altogether. It is not necessary to believe that every line was filled: on f. 33, at the conclusion of the *Cinkante Balades*, the scribe leaves six blank lines so that

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[79] The loss of this leaf was first suggested by Candace Barrington, "The Trentham Manuscript as Broken Prosthesis: Wholeness and Disability in Lancastrian England," *Accessus: A Journal of Premodern Literature and New Media*, 1 (2013): Article 4 {http://scholarworks.wmich.edu/ accessus/}, 2, note 2. See also my essay on "Writing the *Cinkante Balades*" (note 3 above), 326-27. (Parkes, "Patterns," 104, n. 77, suggests instead that f. 5 is the second leaf of a bifolium from which the first leaf has been removed.) There is another singleton at the end of the manuscript (f. 35), followed by a quire of four. It was probably the first leaf of a quire of six, and since its conjugate was not needed for the text and therefore blank, it was at some point removed. See Parkes, *loc. cit.*

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the work that follows (on which more below) can begin at the top of the next page. Of Gower's surviving Latin compositions that are not already included in Trentham, some are too long to fit in the available space, and the shorter ones (*Works* 4:365-68) are both inappropriate in theme and in all likelihood composed after the manuscript was written (see Macaulay's notes in *Works* 4:419-20). One candidate is the 19-line poem "Est amor in glosa pax bellica" that appears in all other manuscripts of the *Traitié* (*Works*, 1:392). Trentham is the only surviving copy of the *Traitié* that omits these verses between the nine lines beginning "Quis sit vel qualis sacer ordo connubialis" and the seven lines beginning "Lex docet auctorum" (both of which it does include, ff. 39-39ᵛ; item 15 above). "Est amor" might in fact be appropriate preceding the *Cinkante Balades*, though it would interrupt the sequence of poems addressed to Henry IV. It would also fill up only a portion of the available space. Without "Est amor," there are 50 lines to fill; with it, assuming one or two blank lines between poems and allowing that "Est amor" might or might not have had the two-line heading that appears in other copies, there were 25-29 lines to fill. Whatever has been lost was evidently composed for this manuscript, like the two French ballades on ff. 11ᵛ and 12 that survive in no other copies. With a seven-line stanza and envoy, another ballade would have taken up 25 lines; with an eight-line stanza and envoy, 28. But these are just numbers, and they bring us no closer to knowing precisely what is gone.

Recognizing that something has been lost, however, is important to our understanding the relation between the *Cinkante Balades* and what precedes. Macaulay printed the two independent French poems (items 5 and 9), together with "O Recolende," "H. aquile pullus," and the two verses from the psalms, at the head of the *Cinkante Balades*, and he labeled them the "Dedication to King Henry the Fourth" (*Works* 1:335-37). Only the second of the two poems, however, in its unusual fourth stanza, appears to allude to the work that follows; in line 19 of the first, "ore en balade" may well refer only to the ballade in which the line appears, especially since whatever was contained on the missing leaf placed this poem at much further remove from the beginning of the *Cinkante Balades* than it appears in Macaulay's edition. The main burden of both French poems, as of the surviving Latin verses with which they alternate and indeed of the whole first portion of the manuscript as it now survives, is praise and flattery of the new king, and both are best viewed as part of that sequence rather than being specifically attached to the *Cinkante Balades*.

The leaf that is missing between ff. 33 and 34, containing the beginning of the *Traitié*, poses some puzzles of a similar sort, and it also leads us deeper into the complicated history of this manuscript. Folio 33ʳ contains the conclusion to the *Cinkante Balades*, followed by six blank lines, evidently left so that the next work could begin at the top of a page. Folio 33ᵛ contains "Ecce patet tensus" (*Works* 4:358-59), a poem that survives in no other copy, written in a different hand from the main body of the manuscript. This second scribe also added the verses "Henrici quarti" on f. 39ᵛ, the last item in the manuscript, which also do not survive in the same form in any other copy (*Works* 4:365-66). Folio 34 begins with the thirtieth line of the *Traitié* (the ninth of the second ballade). All other copies of the *Traitié* begin with a heading; most of these link the work to the *Confessio Amantis*, which precedes, but that in the Glasgow manuscript (the

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only copy of the *Vox Clamantis* containing the *Traitié* in which the opening of the *Traitié* is still preserved) gives a better idea of what might have been included in Trentham (*Works* 1:379). It would have taken up about three and a half lines in the Trentham scribe's hand, and counting a blank line before each of the first two ballades, the beginning of the *Traitié* would have filled up exactly the 35 lines (29 plus 4 plus 2) on the verso of the missing leaf, and the heading would thus have appeared at the very top of the page.

But what was lost on the recto of the missing leaf? It might have contained another poem, now lost to us, and if so, we cannot exclude that it might have been in the first scribe's hand. The fact that "Ecce patet tensus" on f. 33ᵛ consists of 36 lines instead of the 35 for which every other page in the manuscript is ruled might suggest an effort to fit that poem into the available space. But "Ecce patet tensus" may also have continued onto the missing leaf,[80] presumably in the second scribe's hand. Perhaps it contained 72 lines instead of 70, or it might have been followed by another poem which made the crowding necessary. Or the thirty-sixth line might simply be the second scribe's mistake. His hand is much less polished and professional than the first scribe's, and the bigger question is why his hand appears at this point in the manuscript at all. It is difficult to see why the manuscript would be passed from one scribe to another during the course of copying in the middle of a gathering, and only for one or two pages, before being returned to the original scribe. We have to suppose instead that the second scribe made his insertion after the first scribe had finished his work. Was the first scribe instructed to leave space for a work or works that were not yet available, to be inserted later? That might seem a bit unusual in a manuscript that was otherwise so carefully planned,

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[80] So Macaulay believed (4:418), as did Fisher (*John Gower*, 130) and A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 290. As it stands, the last four lines of the poem (33-36) read "Qui vult ergo sue carnis compescere flamman, / Arcum prouideat vnde sagitta volat. / Nullus ab innato valet hoc euadere morbo, / Sit nisi quod sola gracia curet eum" (*Works*, 4:358-59); trans. R.F. Yeager, ed. *John Gower: The Minor Latin Works* (Kalamazoo MI: Medieval Institute, 2005), 41: "Therefore, whoever wishes to hold in check the fire of his flesh / Let him look out for the bow from which the arrow flies. / No one is strong enough to evade this inborn malady / Unless grace provides a cure." Rigg (loc.cit.) suggests that the "account of the powers of Cupid was probably followed by a prayer for grace to avoid sin"; on the other hand, the passage from the *Vox Clamantis* (5.195-96) from which the last two lines were taken leads instead to an exhortation to flee love altogether (*VC* 5.215-16). At the end of the *Confessio Amantis*, Venus makes a claim similar to that in the final couplet, but with regard to Nature, that she is "Maistresse of every lives kinde, / Bot if so be that sche mai finde / Som holy man that wol withdrawe / His kindly lust ayein hir lawe" (8.2331-34). But "fewe men ther ben of tho," she goes on to say (8.2336), as she turns to those who actually engage her attention, who fall into vice. Our judgment of whether "Ecce patet tensus" is complete as it stands may depend upon whether we view its present final line merely as a concession to orthodoxy, as in Venus' speech in the *Confessio Amantis*, or as the introduction of a new subject, as Rigg implies. If we can understand it merely as the former, then lines 33-34, with the reintroduction of the image of the bow, recapitulate the first half of the poem; the "innatus morbus" (Yeager: "innate malady") of line 35 refers to the weaknesses of human nature of the second half; and the last four lines tie together the two parts of the poem into a kind of conclusion, offering a warning but not any specific advice on conduct.

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especially since the 36 lines on f. 33ᵛ suggest a possible miscalculation. Is it possible, then, that as the first scribe finished the *Cinkante Balades* on f. 33 and went to begin the *Traitié* at the top of a new page, he turned over two leaves instead of one, accidentally leaving the two blank pages? If that is what happened, then the second scribe actually had two alternatives. He could have removed the now missing leaf himself and rewritten the opening of the *Traitié* that appeared on its verso on f. 33ᵛ. Instead, he chose to fill the gap, beginning with the 36 lines of "Ecce patet tensus" on f. 33ᵛ, and whatever else appeared on the recto of the leaf that is now missing.[81]

The surviving portion of "Ecce patet tensus" is actually not completely new: approximately half its lines are lifted directly from Book 5 of the *Vox Clamantis*,[82] which suggests that it might well have been composed *ad hoc*, for the very purpose of filling up an inadvertent blank space in the manuscript. ("Rex Celi Deus," item 4 in this manuscript, which may also have been prepared originally for this manuscript, also borrows nearly half its lines from the *Vox Clamantis*, Book 6.[83]) There is evidence in early manuscripts of the *Confessio Amantis* that Gower thought about the arrangement of the text on the page and that he supplied short passages not just to replace cancelled text but also to fill in blank spaces and to assure that new sections of the text begin at the top of a column.[84] The hand of the scribe who made the insertion (Parkes' "Scribe 10"[85]) has been found in only two places, in each case making additions at the end of the manuscript, after the principal scribes had finished: here in Trentham, f. 39ᵛ, and in British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.IV (*Vox Clamantis*), f. 177. Sobecki suggests that this second scribe in Trentham is in fact Gower himself, who thus not only chose and arranged the contents of the manuscript but also participated directly in its preparation.[86] Sobecki argues that the unevenness of the scribe's hand and the atypical way in which he

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[81] Parkes suggests that the recto of the missing leaf might have contained an illumination ("Patterns," 104 n. 77). The first line of the poem, "Ecce patet tensus ceci Cupidinis arcus" could be read as a kind of caption: "Behold, here appears the taut bow of blind Cupid"; and the illustration, if there was one, might have been based upon the same pattern as the image of Gower the archer shooting at the world that appears in three manuscripts of the *Vox Clamantis* (reproduced by Macaulay from British Library Cotton Tiberius A.IV, f. 9ᵛ as a frontispiece to *Works*, vol. 4). It would be quite unusual to place a large illumination in so inconspicuous a place in the manuscript, however, and one has to wonder even more strongly if such an illustration would have been part of Gower's original plan or a way of filling up an accidental gap. For a different consideration of the relation between "Ecce patet tensus" and the *Vox* (and another reproduction of the image from the Cotton MS) see Sobecki, "*Ecce patet tensus*," 949-50.
[82] For a list of the correspondences see David R. Carlson, "A Rhyme Distribution Chronology of John Gower's Latin Poetry," *Studies in Philology* 104 (2007), 39 n. 30. Carlson suggests (38-39) that the poem is an early work, based on its form (unrhymed elegiac distichs), but as Yeager points out (*Minor Latin Works*, 72), there was nothing to prevent Gower from reviving an earlier composition for a specific later occasion.
[83] Macaulay, 3:554.
[84] See my essay, "Gower's Manuscript of the *Confessio Amantis*," in *The Medieval Python: The Purposive and Provocative Work of Terry Jones*, ed. R.F. Yeager and Toshiyuki Takamiya (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 75-86.
[85] "Patterns," 95.
[86] "*Ecce patet tensus*," 951-59.

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adheres to the base line can be attributed to Gower's failing sight. (The thirty-sixth line on f. 33ᵛ might also be due to the same cause.) His suggestion is consistent with the contents of the two poems, both evidently written specifically for this manuscript, one possibly to fill in a space, the other a meditation on the poet's incipient blindness. It is also consistent with the order in which the different components of the manuscript were added, for it appears that the second scribe's two additions to Trentham were not necessarily done at the same time. The decorated E with which "Ecce patet tensus" begins on ff. 33ᵛ is not different in style from the other decorated initials in the book (compare the E with which the forty-sixth ballade begins on f. 30ᵛ), though it is the only three-line initial in the book. (The only other initial of more than two lines is the four-line initial at the beginning of "In Praise of Peace" on the first written page of the manuscript, f. 5.) The H at the beginning of "Henrici Quarti" on f. 39ᵛ is in a very different style, however, bearing a crown on top and outlined in black either before or after the application of the gold leaf, and it gives every appearance of having been added later, presumably when these final verses referring to Gower's impending blindness were added. The second scribe's first insertion, on f. 33ᵛ, might well have occurred between the time that the first scribe finished and the decoration of the initials on all but the last page of the book. His second insertion seems to have occurred after the initial stage of decoration was done, suggesting that the manuscript remained in Gower's possession during the several stages of its composition.

If Gower was involved so directly in the production of the manuscript, he may well have participated in its correction as well, which brings us back to the *Cinkante Balades*. The erasures and corrections in the manuscript are concentrated in two places, in the first third of "In Praise of Peace" and in the *Balades*. They are not always easy to detect because of normal variations in the color of the ink and because of the presence of other abrasions and stains; and since an erasure alters the texture of the parchment, it is not always easy to identify a particular scribe's hand in the correction. Macaulay judged that the "corrector" was neither of the two main scribes (*Works* 1:lxxxiii). Parkes, on the other hand, makes no mention of a third scribe; instead, he identifies the hand of the first scribe (his "Scribe 5") in at least one correction, on f. 11 ("Patterns," p. 91), and that of the second scribe (his "Scribe 10") in "some minor corrections over erasure" that he does not list (p. 95).[87] Many of the corrections could have been done by the first scribe, on the fly, as it were, including some in the *Cinkante Balades*. But it appears that the *Balades* were also given a more thorough review after the scribe was done, for at twelve places, the need for a correction has been marked by a cross drawn in the margin, and there are two additional crosses on f. 12ᵛ where the text has been lost because of the tear.[88] Several of the

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[87] A third, modern, hand, imitating that of the manuscript, appears in the additions to the glosses on f. 35, which must have been added after the modern trimming (see note 71 above). The same hand may may be responsible for the "laudis" written in the margin of f. 33ᵛ, clarifying the messy correction of the second word in "Ecce patet tensus," 22.

[88] Ff. 12ᵛ (*50B* **1**.3, **1**.10), 13ʳ (**2**.5, **2**.8), 13ᵛ (**3**.13), 17ᵛ (**12**.10), 19ᵛ (**17**.1), 20ʳ (**19**.6), 23ᵛ (**27**.5),24ʳ (**28**.2), 25ʳ (**31**.12), 28ʳ (**38**.16) , 29ᵛ (**43**.5), 32ᵛ (**50**.3) Many of the crosses are only faintly visible in the photographs, some not at all. There are also two crosses without any obvious correction on ff. 15 (**7**.1) and 16 (**8**.22). There is another cross on f. 38ᵛ (at *Traitié* **18**.9), where "qau" is also written in the margin.

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corrections in these instances appear to be, as Parkes seems to suggest, in the hand of the second scribe (with some, it is admittedly difficult to be certain), and if Sobecki is correct in his identification of the scribe, then it was Gower himself who may have made the needed erasures and corrections. It makes sense to think that Gower might have been the proofreader; if he was the one who also made the corrections, then his role as proofreader too would be virtually certain.

Whatever the case, the *Cinkante Balades* clearly received greater attention than the other works in the manuscript, whether from Gower himself or from a proofreader and the scribes that he employed. The greater need for correction in this one work, together with the misnumbering of the poems (the inclusion of two number **4**s) may indicate that the underlying exemplar was in a rougher form than the exemplars of the manuscript's other contents and perhaps even on loose sheets. And despite the evident wish to get it right, the text of the *Cinkante Balades* is not perfect. Most of the emendations, both in Macaulay's edition and in this one, correct some of the first scribe's inconsistencies in spacing or involve only a single letter, whether a dittography, a transposition, or a defect in the meter, which evidently didn't attract the proofreader's attention. There are also at least four places in the text that beg for a larger correction and that the proofreader evidently missed,[89] plus a number of other places in which one is entitled to speculate, at least, on a different reading, [90]and one is compelled to think again of Gower's failing sight.

The *Cinkante Balades* is the longest work in the manuscript, occupying some 60% of the book, and it is placed at the center, originally preceded by 17 pages and followed by 13 or 15 more (depending on whether the page occupied by "Ecce patet tensus" and the now missing page that followed were part of the original plan). The *Cinkante Balades* certainly deserves to be viewed in the company of the other works that accompany it, especially when our interest is the history of this particular book, but the manuscript does not reveal anything at all about the origin of the work, and when we ask why the *Cinkante Balades* was preserved here, and only here, the manuscript tells us little more than that they were intended for presentation to Henry. Three recent studies set the construction of the manuscript in the context of the events surrounding Henry's accession. Arthur Bahr views the multilingualism of the manuscript not just as a compliment to the new king but as a suggestion of Gower's hope that Henry would reunite his divided kingdom.[91] Bahr also explores how the resonances among the different works that it contains suggest meanings that are not evident if each is viewed in isolation, and in doing so, he is able to include not just the *Cinkante Balades* but also "Ecce patet tensus" and the *Traitié* in what he describes as the manuscript's "artfully constructed meditation on the

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[89] See the notes to **21**.15, **27**.1, **30**.5, and **43**.19. There is also an interesting instance in which the rubricator (who may have worked after the proofreading and correction of the text) has evidently ignored instructions and inserted the wrong initial, at **12**.1.

[90] See the notes to **4¹**.24, **9**.5, **12**.8, **14**.17, **15**.11, **20**.1, **26**.5, **28**.25, **30**.19, **37**.9, **45**.13, and **46**.24.

[91] Arthur W. Bahr, "Reading Codicological Form in John Gower's Trentham Manuscript," *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 33 (2011), 220.

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multiple natures and implications of kingship";[92] but he carefully steps away from asserting that any part of this design was conscious on Gower's part (see especially 221-24). Sobecki, on the other hand, argues for a very deliberate intent. He suggests that the book was prepared immediately after Henry's accession in December of 1399 in order to encourage the king to renew the truce with France that had been initiated (with his betrothal to Isabella, the daughter of Charles VI of France) by his predecessor, a purpose that Gower carries out both explicitly, in "In Praise of Peace," and more subtly, by the demonstration in the manuscript's multi-lingual contents of the many cultural ties that link England and France.[93] The *Cinkante Balades* in particular, in its imitation of the most fashionable French verse, "showcases the very latest cultural exchanges afforded by cross-channel contact" (947). Such a purpose became moot, however, in May of 1400, when Henry fulfilled Gower's wish and confirmed the peace. David Watt also focuses on "In Praise of Peace," but he finds allusions to the efforts of the Greek emperor to secure Henry's aid against the Ottoman Turks, which might place the completion of the poem as late as early 1401.[94] In the *Cinkante Balades*, he argues, Gower subtly supports his appeal to the king's "pité." Both Sobecki and Watt illuminate the circumstances that may have inspired "In Praise of Peace." As an account of the history of the manuscript Sobecki's is especially appealing since it accounts not just for the contents of the book but also for why it remained in Gower's possession instead of being presented to the king. There are, however, many other reasons why Gower may not have had the chance to present his book to Henry, and it is also a little hard to read Gower's mind as he assembled the various contents at this distance in time. What Gower himself says, in his address to the king, as he turns to begin the *Cinkante Balades* on f. 12ᵛ, is that "Por desporter vo noble Court roial / Jeo frai balade, et s'il a vous plerroit, / Entre toutz autres joie m'en serroit [In order to entertain your noble royal court, I will write a ballade, and if it pleases you, it will be a joy to me amongst all others]" (*Works*, 1.337), a claim that he appears to repeat in the now fragmentary heading to the *Cinkante Balades* (in which the object of "desporter [to entertain]" has been lost). Henry should not have needed any reminders of the attractions of French culture: he seems already to have had an appreciation for French verse, as Gower must have known when he chose to present these poems to him, for shortly after his coronation, Henry attempted unsuccessfully to lure Christine de Pizan, the best-known living French poet at the time, to join his court in England.[95] However much Gower

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[92] Ibid., 261.

[93] "*Ecce patet tensus*," 947-51.

[94] David Watt, "'Mescreantz,' Schism, and the Plight of Constantinople: Evidence for Dating and Reading London, British Library, Additional MS 59495," in *John Gower in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books*, ed. Martha Driver, Derek Pearsall, and R.F. Yeager, Publications of the John Gower Society, XIV (Cambridge: Brewer, 2020), pp. 131-51.

[95] See Willard, *Christine de Pizan*, 165; J.C. Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan, the Earl of Salisbury and Henry IV," *French Studies* (36 (1982): 129-43; and Joel Fredell, "The Gower Manuscripts: Some Inconvenient Truths," *Viator* 41 (2010), 246-47. Burke, "'The Voice of One Crying'" (note 7 above) suggests that "It is just possible that Gower presented his *Cinkante Balades* to the new king in competition with [Christine], or as a consolation prize once she had declined to serve as an ornament to Henry's court" (118). Fredell,

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may have wished to guide Henry with "In Praise of Peace" and whatever other purposes Gower may have had in mind, either consciously or unconsciously, as he prepared the book for the king, it is also true that the Trentham manuscript is primarily a collection of poems, if not about love precisely, then about the relations between men and women. The *Cinkante Balades*, "Ecce patet tensus," and the *Traitié* make up a full 80% of its contents, and in these three works, it offers for consideration at least three very different perspectives on love, the morally sternest of which, in "Ecce patet tensus," is written, as one might expect, in Latin. The *Cinkante Balades* adopts the pose of the French verse that, as Sobecki suggests, Henry probably already admired, and like the collections of ballades by other contemporary poets, both named and anonymous, by itself it presents a kaleidoscopic view of the many different aspects of the experience with which it is concerned. To appreciate these poems as Gower must have hoped that Henry would see them requires first of all setting them in their literary context, and thus looking at them primarily in relation to the tradition of French poetry from which they derive.

The Edition and Translation

The following edition is based on a new transcription of ff. 12^v-33^r of the Trentham manuscript, British Library MS Add. 59495. In most respects it is identical to Macaulay's, but there are some differences:

- Like Macaulay, I have distinguished *i* and *j, u* and *v* according to modern conventions.
- All punctuation is modern. So too are the accent used to distinguish stressed final *é* from unstressed *e*, the apostrophe that marks elision, the cedilla (*ç*), the occasional diaerisis (e.g. "oï," **2**.27), and the hyphen in the short passages of prose. One will find, however, that Macaulay and I have very different ideas about the use of periods, colons, semi-colons, and commas. Where punctuation can affect the sense, I have made a comment in the notes that follow the commentary to each poem.
- I have retained capitalization as it appears in the manuscript except for the single upper-case letter that sometimes follows the large initial with which each poem begins, with the caveats that with certain letters (particularly *H, L,* and *V*) the distinction between upper-case and lower-case is not always easy to make, and that there are occasional intermediate forms, such as the *m* in "mue" in **8**.1. Macaulay retained the capitalization in the manuscript only "for the most part" (1:lxxxiii). I have attempted to regularize the capitalization (with personal names, for instance, and in identifying personifications) only in the translation.
- I have retained the word-division in the manuscript (with another caveat, that the spacing is irregular and the word-division is not always unambiguous), except where it

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loc.cit., proposes that the first twenty ballades in Christine's collection may have circulated separately and that they may have served as one model for Gower's *Traitié*.

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might be misleading or cause confusion. Like Macaulay, I have treated "en" as a separate word when it is prefixed to a verb, but I have not separated "tres-" or "plus-" from the adjectives or adverbs to which they are regularly attached. (Macaulay left "tres-" in its place but separated "plus-.") All departures from the manuscript, including those that I share with Macaulay, are listed in the textual notes.

- I have expanded all abbreviations, and I have marked the expansion with italics (as Macaulay does in the *Mirour de l'Omme* but not in the *Traitié* or in the *Cinkante Balades*). Here too some choices must be made.

  - I have followed Macaulay's practice (see 1:lxxi) of expanding $\bar{o}n$ to *oun*, following the example of *bounté*, fully spelled out in **4**[1].11, and of *noun* in **21**.25 and 27, and of expanding $\bar{a}n$ to *aun* (cf. "auns," spelled out in **23**.15), though the words on which the abbreviation stroke appears can also appear without it (e.g. "reso*un*," **21**.4, and "reson," **11**.20).

  - In instances in which an abbreviation might be expanded in more than a single way, I have been guided, like Macaulay, by the scribe's most common spelling when the same word occurs without abbreviation either in *Cinkante Balades* or in other of Gower's French works.

  - But of course nothing is ever quite that simple. For example, the scribe uses two different abbreviation strokes with *q*. The first, consisting only of a arched horizontal line above the *q*, appears only in the first of the two French poems that precede the *Cinkante Balades*, in the first three ballades, and in **13**.2. In **1**.14, the same stroke appears above the *q* in "qom," which, under the assumption that an abbreviation stroke must stand for something, must therefore be transcribed, as "q*u*'om." In all other instances, however, the *q* with the abbreviation stroke stands for the word that everywhere else in the manuscript is spelled "qe," and I have thus transcribed it, contrary to the usual practice, without the *u*, as "q*e*" rather than "q*ue*." Not using italics, Macaulay transcribes it as "que," but he notes in his introduction that this spelling always stands for the abbreviated form (1:lxxxiii).

  - The other abbreviation is the 3-shaped stroke following the *q* that appears only at the end of words such as "tanqȝ" or "maisqȝ." There are no instances in which this final syllable is spelled out as "-que" in any of the French texts in the manuscript, and in the only two in which it appears as "qe" ("u qe," **5**.26, and "mais qe," **23**.10), the "qe" is preceded by a space and in effect treated as a separate word. Among elided forms, "qu" and "q" appear almost equally frequently (e.g. "tanqu'il," **7**.4, and "tanq'il," **13**.25). The scribe may well have thought of the abbreviation stroke not as a substitute for either "-que" or "-qe" but simply as a third way in which the words in question were customarily written. Forced again to choose, I have, like Macaulay, gone with the more familiar "-q*ue*," which will also serve to inform the reader which abbreviation the scribe has used.

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- A slightly different problem is posed by the Middle French ancestor of Modern French "quand [when]," which, abbreviated, can appear either as "qnt" or (3 times, in ballades **2** and **3**) as "qunt," in both cases with a superscript open-topped *a* above the center of the word. Spelled out (12 times, e.g. at **10**.23), it appears only as "qant." Macaulay rendered all the abbreviated forms as "quant." I have kept the *u* only where it does appear, and I have thus distinguished between "q*a*nt" and "qu*a*nt."
- Macaulay and I have both made a number of small emendations for meter, rhyme, or agreement where it appears that a scribe may have been inattentive or careless. We have also corrected what appear to be misspellings. All are listed in the textual notes, and additions to the manuscript text are enclosed in brackets. I have made three additional emendations (at **12**.1, **21**.15, and **30**.5, the first and last of which Macaulay also noted as possibilities) which I explain more fully in the notes that accompany the commentary, and I have also made some suggestions on other possible corrections elsewhere in the notes.
- I also found some three dozen errors of transcription in Macaulay's edition, which I have noted. Most are quite insignificant, but there are three that affect the sense, at **12**.14, **16**.19, and **43**.6.

In the textual notes, readings from the manuscript are identified by *MS*, readings from Macaulay by *Mac*. I have noted all significant departures from each, though I have made no attempt to record differences in Macaulay's handling of capitalization, word division, abbreviations, or punctuation. (I have noted where he evidently overlooked an abbreviation stroke.) If Macaulay is not also cited next to a manuscript reading in the notes, one may infer that his text is identical to mine. If no manuscript reading is provided where Macaulay is cited, one may assume that I am following the manuscript. The textual notes also record other features of the manuscript, including erasures and corrections. Additional explanation is sometimes provided in the notes following the commentary.

In the translation I have tried to render in clear Modern English the meaning of Gower's French, adhering to the line divisions of the original in all but a couple of cases in which the word order of the French doesn't work in English. Prose is not a substitute for poetry, of course, and no translation can give transparent access to the underlying original, as I was constantly aware. The range of connotations and of possible double meanings is rarely if ever identical in words from different languages that "mean" the same. At the same time, in translating, we are free of the difficulty that the poet faced in finding the best word to suit both meter and rhyme as well as sense, and our wider range of choices can tempt us to supply what we think that the poem ought to say rather than what it does. But while a translation is by its very nature imperfect, it is also true that the act of translating forces a close confrontation with aspects of the language of which we might otherwise remain unaware. These include possible ambiguities and double meanings; they also include, in Gower's case, differences between poetic language and ordinary usage, differences between insular and continental French, and

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some evidently idiosyncratic usages for which the precise translation remains uncertain. In the notes, I have described some of the choices that must be faced, some of the problems in finding equivalents, and some of the effects present in the original that cannot be captured in an English paraphrase. In all cases, my intention has been to lead the reader back to the original, in all its complexity, rather than to replace it.

For the translation, I depended very heavily on two key resources, the on-line *Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500)* hosted by Le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and the Université de Lorraine, and the *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, hosted by the Universities of Aberystwyth and Swansea, supplemented on occasion by Godefroy, and also on the University of Michigan *Middle English Dictionary* for the occasional word or idiom that appears to be closer to English than to anything recorded in any of the French sources.[96] I also made constant use of the *Concordance to the French Poetry and Prose of John Gower*.[97] I consulted, of course, R.F. Yeager's edition and translation, and I have borrowed (and noted) some of his best choices. Where our translations differ, it is sometimes merely a matter of style and sometimes because I had access to more tools than he.

In the commentary and notes, in addition to discussing issues that arise in translation, I discuss some editorial issues, such as choices in punctuation and the justification for certain emendations. I also note internal links among the ballades, which are relevant to the way in with the poems are now ordered, and passages from the works of other poets that illustrate the sources of Gower's diction. These are drawn mainly from the lyrics of Machaut, Deschamps, Froissart, and Granson, the poets whose shorter poems are most likely to have been available to Gower. Other citations are drawn from Machaut's and Froissart's longer *dits*, from the works of Chaucer, from Christine de Pizan, and from some others. As I have already mentioned, these citations are by no means exhaustive, and their purpose is most often not to identify Gower's specific source but instead to demonstrate the pervasiveness in Gower's work of a vocabulary and a set of motifs shared by his contemporaries, including those, like Chaucer, who wrote in English but who were equally steeped in the lyric poetry of France. In the commentary, finally, I have tried to draw attention to what I consider the most important effects of each ballade, particularly in its self-defined dramatic setting. These vary considerably from ballade to ballade, but the uniqueness of each poem is as much a part of the experience of reading the *Cinkante Balades* as is the familiarity and conventionality of so much of its diction.

Most importantly, in addressing a certain number of questions, I certainly do not presume to have addressed all, nor on any to have had the final word, and I hope to have opened up the *Cinkante Balades* to further study rather than to have closed it off. There is much more to say about these poems, both individually and collectively, and I will feel that I have accomplished my purpose if others take up the discussion where I have necessarily left it off.

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[96] For the full citations see the list of Abbreviations that follows this Introduction.

[97] Ed. R.F. Yeager, Mark West, and Robin L Hinson (East Lansing, MI; Michigan State University Press, 1997).

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Honolulu
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Abbreviations

50B	John Gower, *Cinkante Balades*, as edited here
100B	Jean le Seneschal. *Les cent ballades: Poème du XIVᵉ siècle*. Ed. Gaston Raynaud. Société des anciens textes français, no. 53. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1905. Rpt. New York: Johnson, 1968.
AND	*Anglo-Norman Dictionary.* {http://www.anglo-norman.net/gate/}.
BD	Chaucer, *Book of the Duchess*. *Riverside Chaucer*, 329-46.
Benoit, *Roman de Troie*	Benoit de Sainte Maure. *Le Roman de Troie*. 6 vols. Société des anciens textes français. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904-12. Rpt. New York, Johnson, 1968.
Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*	Ardis Butterfield. *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language, and Nation in the Hundred Years War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.
Butterfield, "Forms of Death"	Ardis Butterfield. "Afterwords: Forms of Death." *Exemplaria* 27 (2015),
Butterfield, "French Culture"	Ardis Butterfield. "French Culture and the Ricardian Court." In *Essays on Ricardian Literature in Honour of J.A. Burrow.* Ed. A.J. Minnis, Charlotte C. Morse, and Thorlac Turville-Petre. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997. Pp. 82-120.
CA	John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*. Macaulay, vols. 2-3.
Christine de Pisan, *Oeuvres*	Christine de Pisan. *Oeuvres Poétiques.* Ed. Maurice Roy. 3 vols. Société des anciens textes français. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1886-96. Rpt. New York: Johnson, 1965.
Christine de Pizan, *100B*	*Cent balades*. Christine de Pisan, *Oeuvres*, 1:1-100.
Christine de Pizan, *100BD*	*Cent balades d'amant et de dame*. Christine de Pisan, *Oeuvres*, 3:209-317.
Christine de Pizan, "Autres"	"Autres Balades." Christine de Pisan, *Oeuvres*, 1:207-69.
"Complaint of Venus"	Chaucer,"The Complaint of Venus." *Riverside Chaucer*, 648-49.
CT	Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales. Riverside Chaucer*, 23-328. (Abbreviations for the tales are as listed on p. 779.)
Dauphant	Clotilde Dauphant. "Frontières d'un genre aux frontières d'une langue: ballades typiques et atypiques d'Eustache Deschamps, John Gower et Geoffrey Chaucer." In *Le Rayonnement de la cour des premiers Valois à époque d'Eustache Deschamps*. Ed. Miren Lacassagne. Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris-Sorbonne, 2017. Pp. 81-94.
Dean and Boulton	Ruth J. Dean and Maureen B.M. Boulton. *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts.* London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1999.
Deschamps	Eustache Deschamps. *Oeuvres complètes.* Ed. Queux de Saint-Hilaire and Gaston Raynaud. 11 vols. Société des anciens textes français. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1878-1903.

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DMF	*Dictionnaire du Moyen Français (1330-1500).* Version 2015. {www.atilf.fr/dmf/}.
DPN	Alanus de Insulis. *De Planctu Naturae.* Ed. Nikolaus M. Häring. *Studi Medievali.* 3rd ser. 19 (1978): 797-879.
"Ecce patet tensus"	Gower, "Ecce patet tensus." Macaulay, 4:358-59.
"Est Amor"	Gower, "Est amor." Macaulay, 4:359.
Fisher	John H. Fisher. *John Gower: Moral Philosopher and Friend of Chaucer.* New York: New York University Press, 1964.
Froissart, Bal.	"Balades amoureuses." Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 205-36.
Froissart, *Buisson*	Jean Froissart. *Le joli buisson de jonece.* Ed. Anthime Fourrier. Textes Littéraires Français. Geneva: Droz: 1975.
Froissart, Can.Roy.	"Canchons royauls amoureuses." Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, pp. 194-204.
Froissart, *Esp.Am.*	Jean Froissart. *L'espinette anoureuse.* Ed. Anthime Fourrier. Paris: Klincksieck, 1963.
Froissart, Lay	"Lays amoureus." Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 65-150.
Froissart, "Joli Mois de Mai"	"Le Joli Mois de Mai."Jean Froissart*"Dits" et "Débats".*"Ed. Anthime Fourrier. Geneva: Droz, 1979. Pp. 129-46.
Froissart, *Lyric Poems*	*The Lyric Poems of Jehan Frossart: A Critical Edition.* Ed. Rob Roy McGregor, Jr. North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, no. 143. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Department of Romance Languages, 1975.
Froissart, Past.	"Pastourielles." Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 151-93.
Froissart, Rond.	"Rondelés amoureus." Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 250-90.
Froissart, Vir.	"Vierlais amoureus." Froissart, *Lyric Poems*, 237-49.
Garencières, Bal.	"Les Ballades amoureuses." Jean de Garencières. *Les poésies complètes*. Ed. Young Abernathy Neal. Diss. Paris, 1952-53. Pp. 1-24.
Godefroy	Frédéric Godefroy. *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IXe au XVe siècle*. 10 vols. Paris: Vieweg (1-5) and Paris: Bouillon (6-10), 1881- 1902.
Godefroy, *Lexique*	Frédéric Godefroy. *Lexique de l'ancien francais.* Ed. J. Bonnard and A. Salmon. Paris: Champion, 1971.
Granson	Oton de Granson. *Poems.* Ed. and trans. Peter Nicholson and Joan Grenier-Winther. TEAMS Middle English Series. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute. 2015.
Guido	Guido delle Colonne. *Historia Destructionis Troiae*. Trans. Mary Elizabeth Meek. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974.
Hassell	James Woodrow Hassell, Jr. *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1982.
HF	Chaucer, *House of Fame*. *Riverside Chaucer*, 347-74.
Kelly, *Saint Valentine*	Henry Ansgar Kelly, *Chaucer and the Cult of Saint Valentine*. Davis Medieval Texts and Studies, no. 5. Leiden: Brill, 1986.
LGW	Chaucer, *Legend of Good Women*. *Riverside Chaucer*, 587-630.
Macaulay	G.C. Macaulay, ed. *The Complete Works of John Gower*. 4 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899-1902.

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Machaut, Bal.Not.	"Les balades notées." Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*,.537-65.
Machaut, *Behaingne*	*Le Jugement du Roy de Behaigne.* Guillaume de Machaut. *Le jugement du Roy de Bahaigne and Remede de Fortune*. Ed. James I Wimsatt and William W. Kibler. Chaucer Library. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988. Pp. 60-165.
Machaut, Chans.Bal.	"Les chansons baladées" Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, 581-633.
Machaut, Comp.	"Les complaintes." Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, 241-69.
Machaut, *Font.Am.*	*La fonteinne amoureuse*, Machaut, *Oeuvres*,3:143-244.
Machaut, Lay	"Les lays" Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, 279-480.
Machaut, *Lou.*	*La louange des dames*. Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, 17-237.
Machaut, *Lyon*	*Le dit dou lyon.* Machaut, *Oeuvres*, 2:159-237.
Machaut, Motet	"Les motès." Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, 483-533.
Machaut, *Navarre*	"Le jugement dou Roy de Navarre." Machaut, *Oeuvres*, 1:137-282.
Machaut, *Oeuvres*	Guillaume de Machaut. *Oeuvres*. Ed. Ernest Hœpffner. 3 vols. Société des anciens textes français. Paris: Firmin Didot, 1907-21. Rpt. New York: Johnson, 1965.
Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*	Guilllaume de Machaut. *Poésies Lyriques*. Ed. Vladimir Chichmaref. 2 vols. (numbered continuously). Paris, 1909. Rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 2013.
Machaut, *Remede*	*Remede de Fortune*. Guillaume de Machaut. *Le Jugement du roy de Bahaigne and Remede de Fortune*. Ed. James I Wimsatt and William W. Kibler. Chaucer Library. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1988. Pp. 168-409.
Machaut, Rond.	"Li Rondeaulz." Machaut, *Poésies Lyriques*, 569-77.
Machaut, *Vergier*	*Le dit dou vergier*. Machaut, *Oeuvres*, 1:13-56.
Machaut, *Voir Dit*	Guillaume de Machaut. *Le Livre dou voir dit (The Book of the True Poem*. Ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson. Trans. R. Barton Palmer. New York: Garland, 1998.
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*. {https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/middle-english-dictionary/dictionary}.
Merrilees	Brian Merrilees. "Appendix 2: A Note on Gower's French." In Yeager, pp. 175-78.
Merrilees and Pagan	Brian Merrilees and Heather Pagan. "John Barton, John Gower and Others: Variation in Late Anglo-French." In *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100-c.1500.* Ed. Ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne *et al.* York: York Medieval Press, 2009. Pp. 118-34.
MO	Gower, *Mirour de l'Omme.* Macaulay, 1:1-334.
Morawski	Joseph Morawski. *Proverbes Français antérieurs au XVe siècle*. Classiques Français du Moyen Âge, no. 47. Paris: Champion, 1925.
Mudge	Charles R. Mudge. "The Pennsylvania *Chansonnier*: A Critical Edition of Ninety-Five Anonymous Ballades from the Fourteenth Century with Introduction, Notes and Glossary." Diss., Indiana University, 1972.
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary.*
Oruch, "St. Valentine"	Jack B. Oruch. "St. Valentine, Chaucer, and Spring in February." *Speculum* 56 (1981): 534-65.

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Patch, *Fortuna*   Howard R. Patch. *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature*.
                           Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927.
Penn   The "Pennsylvania *Chansonnier*." Philadelphia, University of
                           Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library, MS Codex 902 (*olim* French 15).
                           Unpublished poems are numbered as listed in Wimsatt, *Chaucer
                           and the Poems of "Ch*," 91-146.
PF   Chaucer, *The Parliament of Fowls. Riverside Chaucer*, 383-94.
Poirion, *Poète et Prince* Daniel Poirion. *Le Poète et le prince: L'évolution du lyrisme courtois du
                           Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans.* Paris: Presses
                           Universitaires de France, 1965.
Rey, *Dict.Hist.*   Alain Rey, ed. *Dictionanire historique de la langue française*.
                           "Nouvelle édition." 2 vols. Paris: Robert, 1992.
Riverside Chaucer   *The Riverside Chaucer*. 3rd ed. Ed. Larry D. Benson. Boston:
                           Houghton Mifflin, 1987.
Romaunt   Chaucer, *The Romaunt of the Rose. Riverside Chaucer*, 685-767.
RR   Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun. *Le Roman de la Rose*. Ed.
                           Félix Lecoy. 3 vols. Paris: Champion, 1965-70.
Short   Ian Short. *Manual of Anglo-Norman.* 2nd ed. Oxford: Anglo-Norman
                           Text Society, 2013.
Stockton   Eric W. Stockton, trans. *The Major Latin Works of John Gower*:
                           Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962.
T&C   Chaucer, *Troilus and Criseyde. Riverside Chaucer*, 471-586.
Tr   Gower, *Traitié pour essampler les amantz marietz*. Macaulay, 1:379-
                           92.
VC   Gower, *Vox Clamantis*. Macaulay, 4:3-313.
Whiting   Bartlett Jere Whiting. *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from
                           English Writings Mainly before 1500*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard
                           University Press, 1968.
Wimsatt, *Poems of 'Ch'*   James I. Wimsatt. *Chaucer and the Poems of "Ch"*. Revised Edition.
                           Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2009.
Wimsatt, *French Contemporaries* James I. Wimsatt. *Chaucer and His French Contemporaries: Natural
                           Music in the Fourteenth Century*. Toronto: University of Toronto
                           Press, 1991.
Yeager   R.F. Yeager, ed. and trans. *John Gower: The French Balades*. TEAMS
                           Middle English Series. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 2011.

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