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SIGNS OF SORROW:

THE EXPRESSION OF GRIEF AND THE REPRESENTATION OF MOURNING IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH CULTURE

by

Leslie Abend Callahan

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in French in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1996

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ABSTRACT

SIGNS OF SORROW:
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OF MOURNING IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH CULTURE

by

Leslie Abend Callahan

Advisers: Francesca Canadé Sautman
Pamela Sheingorn

This project is predicated on the assumption that by examining textual, visual and monumental artifacts, and studying the practice of ritual and drama from late medieval France, the contemporary reader can recover traces of an emotion, grief, as it was experienced during the period. Such an assumption - that an "archaeology of emotion" is possible - calls forth a cluster of problematics that remain at the heart of the discipline of Medieval Studies, among them questions of whether we can gain insight into the mentalities of people who are remote from us in time; how to interpret the highly conventionalized cultural artifacts, rituals and performances of such individuals and groups, and finally, what theoretical tools may be used in such an inquiry.

I work within a flexible framework comprised of three categories: "public" or official mourning and commemoration; the "poetic" or subjective expression of grief, and the "performance" of grief. The cultural artifacts examined here include lyric poetry, manuscript illumination, tomb sculpture, chronicle accounts, sculptures of the Pietà and Entombment, and plays of the Passion. Cultural studies, feminist theory, and psycho-biological and anthropological theories of emotion are among the theoretical models used to explore the documents in this study in the semiotics of late medieval grief.

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Preface

A Culture of Grief

> Un jour, le nombre de ceux qui nous ont quittés est tel que leur vacarme couvre le silence. La perte cesse d'être 'ce qui n'arrive qu'aux autres'. On ne peut plus en repousser l'idée, la tenir éloignée dans un avenir aux contours vagues, imprécis. Dans notre conscience, dans notre vie, la mort a frappé. Simultanément nous-mêmes avons changé, la nostalgie nous étreint de façon plus fréquente, ravivant les blessures du passé. Vient alors le besoin de parler, le refus de taire ce qui nous fait mal, la volonté d'aborder de front ce mot commun à tous et qui à tous fait peur: 'deuil'. Cet ouvrage est né de cette nécessité.[1]

Personal experience often motivates the study of grief and

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[1]Claudie Danziger, "Introduction," Deuils. Vivre c'est perdre, Nicole Czechowski and Claudie Danziger, eds. (Paris: Editions Autrement, 1992): 10. Translation (mine): One day the number of those who have left us is such that their din drowns out the silence. Loss ceases to be "that which happens to others only." We can no longer keep the thought of it at arm's length - projected into a future with vague, imprecise outlines. Death, having struck, has entered our consciousness. At the same time, we ourselves have changed; nostalgia visits us more often, reviving the wounds of the past. The need to speak then asserts itself, the refusal to keep what is hurting us hidden, the desire to confront head-on a word known to all of us, a word with which we are all familiar: grief. This work is born of that need.

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"in the face of death" as his wife and collaborator Gabrielle was dying.[2] He went on to publish at least ten books and articles on the history of death and attitudes and reactions to it.[3]

Susan Letzler Cole, in The Absent One: Mourning Ritual, Tragedy, and the Performance of Ambivalence, explains that her book

> ... had its origin several years ago in a moment of pure speculation. It was completed, and dramatically confirmed, in the spring of 1982 as my father lay dying in the house where I'd grown up. What originated as a scholarly attempt to link funerary ritual and tragic drama I now offer as a means of understanding the paradoxes of mourning.[4]

My inquiry into representations of mourning and expressions of grief in fifteenth-century France follows a

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[2]Gabrielle Vovelle and Michel Vovelle, Vision de la mort et de l'au-delà en Provence d'après les autels des âmes du Purgatoire (XVe - XXe siècles) (Paris: A. Colin, 1970).

[3]Among the most important of Vovelle's works are: Mourir autrefois: attitudes collectives devant la mort au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Gallimard, 1974); La Mort et l'Occident de 1300 à nos jours (Paris: Gallimard, 1983); "Les attitudes devant la mort: problèmes de méthode, approches et lectures différentes," Annales, ESC 31.1 (1976): 120-132;"L'histoire des hommes au miroir de la mort," Death in the Middle Ages Herman Braet & Werber Verbeke, eds. (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982): 1- 18; and most recently, L'Heure du grand passage (Paris: Gallimard, 1993). A complete list of Vovelle's work on death appears in the Bibliography.

[4]Susan Letzler Cole, The Absent One: Mourning Ritual, Tragedy, and the Performance of Ambivalence (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1985) 1.

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reverse progression from Cole's: moving not from the abstract to the particular, but from the personal to the general - its motivation is to understand my own experience of grief through the study of that emotion in another time and place.

Loss punctuates our existence. Our ability to come to terms with each subsequent loss determines the remaining course of our lives. At three moments in my life I have experienced devastating loss - once when I was too young to understand that I was experiencing grief; once when the death was sudden and unexpected, when the emotion was immediate, tangible and overwhelming; and most recently, when the death came at the end of a horrific illness, when the loss of the person occurred before his physical death. The last experience caused me to relive the other griefs I have experienced and prompted me to travel back through history to consider how other cultures and epochs have mourned the loss of loved ones. I was led to question whether what we call "grief work" is limited to our post-Freudian society and, if not, what forms this process of "letting go" of one's loved ones might have taken in the past. The late Middle Ages, as many historians and critics have pointed out, was suffused with grief,[5] so I chose to concentrate on fifteenth-century France.

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[5]See Johan Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924) and Emile Mâle, L'Art religieux à la fin du Moyen Age en France, 5th ed. (Paris: A. Colin, 1949). See my Chapter One for a more extensive discussion of Huizinga and his work.

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The fact that my most recent experience of loss, the death of my brother Kevin in July 1992, came as the result of AIDS is also pertinent to my choice of topic. My awareness of AIDS, the recognition of the horrors that it wreaks on the body and spirit of those affected, forced me to confront an archaic complex of beliefs surrounding contagion and illness. To equate AIDS with the Black Plague that devastated Europe in the first half of the fourteenth century is to make too facile a comparison, although in the rhetoric of AIDS the idea of the Plague is, as Susan Sontag points out, "the principal metaphor by which the AIDS epidemic is understood."[6] AIDS has indeed created in our time a change in attitudes toward death and dying similar to the change in mentalities that, according to many historians, the Black Plague hastened along in the late Middle Ages. In Sontag's words, "AIDS marks a turning point in current attitudes toward illness and medicine, as well as

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[6]Susan Sontag, AIDS and its Metaphors (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1988) 44. This is especially true of the popular press. Here are some examples of titles of articles, from 1991-92 alone: "Speaking of the Plague," US News & World Report June 17, 1991: 23-6; "A Plague Awaits," New York Times Magazine July 14, 1991: 24; "Origins of a Plague," US News & World Report March 30, 1992: 50-2; "Fighting the Plague," Technology Review July, 1992: 21-8; "Love, Lies, Fear in the Plague Years...," Psychology Today September/October, 1992: 30 - 5. The rhetoric of AIDS as plague is also seen in the writing of gay authors, see Paul Monette, Borrowed Time (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, 1988) and David Black, The Plague Years: A Chronicle of AIDS, the Epidemic of Our Times (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985). Another useful source is Laurel Brodsley, "Teaching about AIDS and Plagues: A Reading List from the Humanities," Judith Laurence Pastore, ed., Confronting AIDS through Literature (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 197-217.

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toward sexuality and toward catastrophe."[7] Consider Jacques Chiffoleau's statement that the repeated epidemics and famines and the wholesale death that resulted,

> ...bouleverse l'ordre de la vie, l'ordre social et parvient parfois à rendre silencieuses les villes et les campagnes. Les vieilles règles du deuil, qui canalisent et réduisent le traumatisme de la mort, sont mises à rude épreuve dans ce monde qui est lui-même en train de mourir.[8]

Jean-Noël Biraben's major study of the plague, Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditéranéens, evokes striking parallels with the early development of AIDS and its spread, as well as with the ignorance that surrounded it.[9] According to Biraben, the Plague was seen as a disease of mysterious origins and as punishment inflicted by an outraged God -the result of divine wrath. The means of contagion were not known, but were thought to include air, clothing and sexual activity that was

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[7]Sontag, AIDS and its Metaphors, 72.

[8]Jacques Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà: les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320 - vers 1480), (Rome: Ecole française, 1980) 104. Also see Jean Delumeau, La Peur en Occident (XIVe - XVIIIe siècles). Une cité assiégée (Paris: Fayard, 1978) 98-142.

[9]Jean-Noël Biraben, Les hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditéranéens (Paris and The Hague: Mouton, 1975-76). See especially Volume 2, Les Hommes face à la peste 7-42.

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believed to drain the body of its strength and to leave it open to infection. We do know, however, the various means by which AIDS is spread, and this knowledge and its resulting stigmatization of the so-called "risk-groups" - gay men and intravenous drug-users - constitute perhaps the major difference between the plague and AIDS.[10]

One cannot, then, draw absolute parallels between AIDS and the Plague, but one can compare the reaction of fear evoked by each. According to Jacques Le Goff, the Plague brought with it

> le dérèglement des relations humaines...: l'abandon des malades par leurs proches, leurs amis, leurs serviteurs, la carence des pouvoirs publics, l'oubli de la pudeur, la mort en vrac et à la hâte."[11]

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[10]Sam Coale, in "Red Noses, the Black Death, and AIDS: Cycles of Despair and Disease," in Judith Laurence Pastore, Confronting AIDS through Literature (Urbana: University of Chicago Press, 1993) 95-102, argues that scapegoating, or "demonizing outgroups" can, in fact be likened to the scapegoating of Jews, lepers and others that occurred during the medieval plague years. I see a distinction, however: the massacres of Jews were ignited by the attribution to them of a deliberate intention to destroy society. While AIDS "risk-groups" have traditionally been marginalized, they have not, on a large scale, been accused of a "conspiracy" against society, if anything, "society" has been accused of using AIDS as a weapon against those who have been marginalized. Coale cites Ken Plummer's "Organizing AIDS," Social Aspects of AIDS, Peter Aggleton and Hilary Homans, eds. (Philadelphia: Falmer Press, 1988) 20-51.

[11]Jacques Le Goff, preface, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, by Jacques Chiffoleau, viii.

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While, in the words of anthropologist and thanatologist[12] Louis-Vincent Thomas:

> Aucune affection n'a suscité autant de réactions d'angoisse et de fascination que le SIDA; aucune n'a fait ressurgir avec autant d'acuité les craintes et les tabous archaïques concernant l'épidémie, la déviance et la mort..."[13]

A more accurate parallel between medieval attitudes toward illness and current-day reactions to AIDS emerges if one considers other illnesses that weighed on the medieval consciousness, particularly leprosy with its imperatives of isolation and exclusion, separation and seclusion, and the stigmatization attached to the individual who suffers from the disease;[14] and syphilis, which was commonly viewed as

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[12]Thanatology, the discipline devoted to death studies emerged in the mid-sixties and is constituted by work on death in anthro-pology, ethnology and history. Thomas's list of publications on death and dying in an anthropological context rivals Vovelle's. See bibliography for further references.

[13]Louis-Vincent Thomas, La Mort en question. Traces de mort, mort des Traces (Paris: Editions L'Harmattan, 1991) 421.

[14]There is a vast literature on leprosy, including: Françoise Bériac, "La Persécution des lépreux dans la France méridionale en 1321," Le Moyen Age ser. 5.1: 93.2 (1987): 203-21, "'Mourir au monde.' Les ordines de séparation des lépreux en France au XVe et XVIe siècles," Journal of Medieval History 11.3 (1985): 245-69, and Des Lépreux aux cagots: recherches sur les sociétés marginales en Aquitaine médiévale (Bordeaux: Fédération Historique du Sud Ouest, 1990); Saul Brody, The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Jacques Rovinski, "L'isolement du lépreux au Moyen Age (Genèse et réalisation)," Razo 4 (1984):75-94; Francesca Canadé Sautman, "Folklore and Medieval Medicine: Sources and Problems," Medieval Folklore 2 (1992): 97-98.

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punishment for sin.[15]

In the Western industrialized nations, AIDS has not yet brought about the same level of devastation that the Black Plague caused in Medieval Europe. However, if the discussion is limited to the specific communities euphemistically called "risk groups," the pandemic's effects have been cataclysmic and have profoundly affected the grieving process among the survivors of those who have died from AIDS.[16] Within the gay community grief is intensified by multiple losses, the possible infection of the survivor, and the stigma attached to the disease.[17] For others, especially family members, grief is further complicated by the fact that the demography of the

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[15]Sontag, AIDS and its Metaphors, 193. See also Allan M. Brandt "AIDS: From Social History to Social Policy," AIDS: The Burdens of History, Elizabeth Fee and Daniel M. Fox. eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988) 147-171; Sander Gilman, "AIDS and Syphilis: The Iconography of Disease," October 43 (1987): 87-107.

[16]See James P. Bergeron and Paul R. Handley, "Bibliography on AIDS-Related Bereavement and Grief," Death Studies 16.3 (1992): 247-267, and Grief and AIDS, Lorraine Sherr, ed.(New York: Wiley, 1995).

[17]Among the many recent articles dealing with this issue are Ray Biller and Susan Rice, "Experiencing Multiple Loss of Persons with AIDS: Grief and Bereavement Issues," Health and Social Work 15.4 (1990): 283 - 290; Ruth L. Fuller, Sally B. Geis, and Julian Rush, "Lovers of AIDS Victims: A Minority Group Experience," Death Studies 12 (1988): 1-7; John L. Martin, "Psychological Consequences of AIDS-Related Bereavement Among Gay Men," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 56.6 (1988): 856-862; Linda L. Viney, Rachel M. Henry, et al. "The Psychosocial Impact of Multiple Deaths from AIDS," Omega 24.2(1991-92): 151-163 ; J. William Worden, "Grieving a Loss From AIDS," Hospice Journal 7.1-2 (1991): 143-150. See also Frank Browning, The Culture of Desire (New York: Vintage, 1993).

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disease runs contrary to the norm: large numbers of older parents are surviving their middle-aged children, and young children and adolescents are being orphaned at alarming rates.[18] For everyone involved, the "'roller coaster effect' associated with the frequent relapses and remissions" is particularly traumatic.[19]

Among those affected by AIDS, it is the inability to carry out the work of grief, whatever that may be for any particular society, that is as disruptive and traumatic as the wholesale death caused by wars and famine, but primarily by plagues, in the Middle Ages. Bereavement specialist Barbara O. Dane comments: "The depth of the AIDS trauma for survivors can only be understood in the context of the hurt and the remembrance of any group of people who suffer mass bereavement that has stark political and cultural meanings."[20] I would argue that as we approach the turn of the century, we are, in fact, witnessing, in this epidemic which is still spreading unchecked in many parts of the world, an event that will

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[18]Robert C. Amelio, "An AIDS Bereavement Support Group: One Model of Intervention in a Time of Crisis," Social Work with Groups 16.1-2 (1993): 43 - 54; Barbara Oberhofer Dane, "Anticipatory Mourning of Middle-Aged Parents of Adult Children with AIDS," Families in Society (Feb. 1991): 108 - 115; Robert L. Frierson, Steven B. Lippmann, and Janet Johnson, "AIDS: Psychological Stresses on the Family," Psychosomatics 28.2 (1987): 65 - 68.

[19]Frierson, et al.,"AIDS: Psychological Stresses...," 67.

[20]AIDS: Intervening with Hidden Grievers, ed. Barbara O. Dane and Samuel O. Miller (Westport, Connecticut: Auburn House, 1992) vii.

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profoundly affect our consciousness as a culture and ultimately change our way of mourning and of experiencing grief,[21] just as the events of the late Middle Ages might have affected the mentalities of the people who lived then. As Barbara O. Dane asserts:

> AIDS is a harsh teacher, imposing on us a painful tutorial in grief and mourning that has returned death to the vocabulary of everyday life. An abiding legacy of the AIDS epidemic will be its effect on survivors. As the epidemic calls into question the mortality of civilization, we are forced to acknowledge our ideal of health, and the tensions of harmonizing in the midst of society's differences. One thing we now have in common, despite early efforts to confine AIDS to a distinctive group of others, is the strong sense that the infection, death, grief and mourning touch us all.[22]

Late twentieth-century culture, much like the late Middle Ages, is, indeed, suffused with grief. According to Jahan Ramazani:

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[21]One new form of mourning for those who have died from AIDS -the AIDS Memorial Quilt - was begun in 1987. See Jahan Ramazani's discussion of the Quilt in The Poetry of Mourning: The Modern Elegy (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994) 363-365, and Peter S. Hawkins, "Naming Names: The Art of Memory and the NAMES Project AIDS Quilt," Critical Inquiry 19(1933): 752-779.

[22]Dane, Intervening With Hidden Grievers, 6.

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> The art of Jenny Holzer, the memoirs of Paul Monette, the novels of Toni Morrison and Primo Levi - these join countless musical elegies, film tributes, photography exhibits, genocide memorials, and other artifacts that make visible the darkness of contemporary death and grief.[23]

Along with the AIDS epidemic, many other elements contribute to a pervading sense of malaise as we approach the millenium. Chief among them may be the fact that since the mid-century we have once again become a visual culture. From the newsreel footage of the liberation of the Nazi death camps whose fiftieth anniversary we are now commemorating and the images of death and destruction resulting from the use of atomic weapons in Japan; continuing through the war in Viet Nam when we first saw the images of death and carnage in our living rooms; to the images of the survivors of victims of disasters – friends and families of those who have disappeared or have been killed – we have grown accustomed to experiencing tragedy close-up. Many feel that as we voyeuristically witness reactions of bereaved individuals, we become desensitized by such up-to-the-minute coverage.[24] I would argue that the media make us even more aware of the grief in the world, the most recent case being the bombing in Oklahoma, when, riveted

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[23]The Poetry of Mourning: The Modern Elegy (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1994) 361.

[24]This was the topic of a 1995 on-air essay by Roger Rosenblatt on the McNeil-Lehrer News Hour.

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to our television sets, we have been moved, individually and collectively, by the tragic losses that occurred there.[25]

The emergence of the grieving subject represents a change from the early and mid-part of the century[26]. The need to mourn and the loss of appropriate ritual have become the focus of many writers.[27] In the past ten years, feature films dealing with loss and grief have multiplied, indicating that the subject speaks to the popular imagination.[28]

The topics of grief and mourning have also become of major importance to those writing about literature. Numerous scholarly discussions of grief and mourning in various literary genres have appeared during the past ten years. Most

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[25]The question of racism and grief, i.e., whether we are more moved by the death of children in Oklahoma City or those in Bosnia, must be addressed here. I would maintain, and shall demonstrate below, that a major factor in the production of a grief reaction is the calling forth of empathy. It is perhaps easier for some individuals to empathize more with an Oklahoman mother than a Bosnian one, but that might be a function of familiarity rather than racism. On the other hand, the empathy a mother feels, no matter what her racial or ethnic background for another mother who has lost a child might very well transcend race. Reactions are, therefore, triggered by many factors and broad generalizations lack validity.

[26]See Geoffrey Gorer, Death, grief and mourning in Contemporary Britain (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1965).

[27]Ronald M. Grimes, Marrying and Burying: Rites of Passage in a Man's Life (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995).

[28]Films such as Ordinary People, Ghost, Sleepless in Seattle, Fearless, Krzysztof Kieslowski's Bleu, Shadowlands and The Cemetary Club have been tremendouly successful. Even in children's films such as The Secret Garden, Into the West, My Girl, and most recently The Lion King, grief is presented as an important rite of passage, a painful process, yet one that is universal.

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discuss verse forms dating from the Renaissance and after, although a small but growing number treat medieval themes.[29] Some consider the poem as a performance of emotion, a poetic or narrative reenactment of the work of grief.[30] Others address theoretical questions of absence and presence, loss and recuperation.[31] A major focus is on literary mourning in modernism and after.[32]

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[29]David Aers, "The Self Mourning: Reflections on Pearl," Speculum 68 (1993): 54 - 73; Ardis Butterfield, "Lyric and Elegy in The Book of the Duchess," Medium Aevum 60.1 (1991): 33-60; Louise O. Fradenburg, "'Voice Memorial': Loss and Reparation in Chaucer's Poetry," Exemplaria, 2.1 (1990): 169 - 202.

[30]Among full-length studies are: Dennis Kay, Melodious Tears: The English Funeral Elegy from Spenser to Milton (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); G. W. Pigman III, Grief and English Renaissance Elegy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985);Peter M. Sacks, The English Elegy: Studies in the Genre from Spenser to Yeats (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985); Celeste Marguerite Schenck, Mourning and Panegyric: The Poetics of Pastoral Ceremony (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1988);Karen E. Smythe, Figuring Grief: Gallant, Munro, and the Poetics of Elegy (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1992). Recent dissertations include: Carlee Rader Drummer, "The Broken Chrysalis: Virginia Woolf's Grieved Grief," SUNY Stony Brook, 1989; Joan Frances Wines, "Legacies of Mourning: Transformation and Transcendence in the Novels of Aldous Huxley," USC, 1993.

[31]Karen Mills-Courts, Poetry as Epitaph: Representation and Poetic Language (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Joshua Scodel, The English Poetic Epitaph: Commemoration and Conflict from Jonson to Wordsworth (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991). A similar approach is taken in a dissertation by Kenneth Maurice Reinhard, "Allegories of Mourning: Henry James, Psychoanalysis and Representation," (Johns Hopkins University, 1990).

[32]Max Pensky, Melancholy Dialectics: Walter Benjamin and the Play of Mourning (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); Jahan Ramazani, Yeats and the Poetry of Death: Elegy, Self-Elegy, and the Sublime (New Haven: Yale University

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By considering issues of grief and studying mourning ritual in late medieval France and their translation and transformation into visual and textual monuments, and by comparing private and public expressions of grief, I intend to illuminate our own culture of grief as well, addressing questions of subjectivity, ritual and emotion.

This work is dedicated to Stephanie Abend, Mary Helen Dumont and Kevin Abend Olsen.

Press, 1990), "'Daddy, I Have Had to Kill You.': Plath, Rage and the Modern Elegy," PMLA 108.5 (1993): 1142-1156.

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PART I
CONTEXTS*
Introduction**

Much has been written on the subject of Death in the Middle Ages. Historians of mentalités have undertaken studies on the historical and social aspects of the topic. Research in the iconography of death has focused on the dead or dying subject; on the portrayal of the personification of "Death," on the treatises that expound "The Art of Dying Well," and on the "Dance of Death." Critical discussions of death in medieval literature have likewise emphasized the reaction of the individual faced with his or her own mortality. Until recently, however, comparatively little has been said about the living person or persons surrounding the dead or dying subject: the grieving survivors who are left behind. My focus in this study are those who survive and, having survived, grieve for their dead; the expression of that grief in mourning practices; and the representation of grief and mourning in late medieval French literature and iconography.

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*In recent years, many theorists have voiced a critique of "context," rejecting interpretive strategies that explain cultural artifacts as being wholly determined by their context. See Norman Bryson "Art in Context," The Point of Theory: Practices of Cultural Analysis, Mieke Bal and Inge Boer, eds. (New York: Continuum, 1994) 67-78, and Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin 73 (1991): 76-180. I use the term "context" differently here, to establish a frame of reference for my interpretive strategies in the chapters to follow.

**Complete references will be given in the notes to individual chapters rather than in this introduction.

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Yet, one cannot discuss grief without touching upon its most irrevocable cause: death. Other circumstances – temporary separation, unrequited love, physical suffering – all cause "douleur," but it is human responses to the permanent absence created by death that concerns me here.

In Chapter One, "Death and Medieval French Studies," I briefly present the major components of the research on death as it relates to Medieval French Studies and suggest ways in which such a survey might illuminate the discussion of grief that follows. Three aspects will be considered: the historiography of death; the visual imagery of death, and death in medieval French literature.

In Chapter Two, "Shifting the Focus: Grief," I begin with a discussion of the scholarship on death and grief in the Chanson de Roland. I consider the difficulty of distinguishing between a "poetry of death" and a "poetry of grief," and establish parameters for the study of the poetic expression of grief. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of grief in the literature of the high Middle Ages.

In Chapter Three, "Grief in Context," I briefly discuss the verbal and gestural "languages" of grief, introducing topics to be further developed in Parts II & III of this study. I broaden the contextual framework by considering the forms grief took in religious and communal ritual, as well as the socio-cultural limitations placed on the expression of grief and mourning.

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Chapter One

Death and Medieval Studies

A. The Historiography of Death

For the past twenty-five years, French historians have focused on the theme of death.[1] What uses can be made of this vast corpus of work on death in a study of the expression of grief in late medieval French art and literature? In this section, I explore three distinct ways in which the historiographical work on death in the Middle Ages produced by the historians of mentalités[2] can be useful: as foundation,

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[1]In addition to the works of Vovelle mentioned in the Preface (note 3, p.iii), important works in this field are: Philippe Ariès, Essais sur l'histoire de la mort en Occident du moyen âge à nos jours (Paris: Seuil, 1975),L'Homme devant la mort (Paris: Seuil, 1977),Images de l'homme devant la mort (Paris: Seuil, 1983); Pierre Chaunu, La Mort à Paris: XVIe, XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles (Paris: Fayard, 1978); Jacques Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà: Les hommes, la mort et la religion dans la région d'Avignon à la fin du Moyen Age (vers 1320 - vers 1480), (Rome: Ecole française, 1980); François Lebrun, Les Hommes et la mort en Anjou au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles: Essai de démographie et de psychologie historiques (Paris & Le Haye: Mouton, 1971). Margaret Aston provides a useful overview of attitudes towards death drawing on English material in her contribution "Death," in Fifteenth-Century Attitudes: Perceptions of Society in Late Medieval England, Rosemary Horrox, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1994), 202-228.

[2]The most important theoretical and historiographical discussions of the "histoire des mentalités" are: Philippe Ariès, "L'histoire des mentalités," La Nouvelle Histoire (Paris: Retz, 1978) 402 - 423; Roger Chartier, "Histoire intellectuelle et histoire des mentalités: Trajectoires et questions," La sensibilité dans l'histoire (Brionne: Montfort, 1987) 7 - 37; Georges Duby, "L'histoire des mentalités," Charles Samaran, ed. L'Histoire et ses méthodes, vol.11 of the Encyclopédie de la Pléïade (Paris: NRF, 1961) 937-966; Aaron Gurevich, "Medieval Culture and Mentality According to the New French Historiography," Archives européens de sociologie 24 (1983): 167 - 195; Jacques Le Goff, "Les Mentalités: Une

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as frame and as method.

1. *Death Studies as Foundation*

The area of death studies, or thanatology, has, from its beginnings, been a self-reflexive discipline. Almost all of the historians who have written on death have raised the question of why this tremendous interest in the subject emerged when it did (the mid-1960s). Michel Vovelle, who has written perhaps more than any other historian on the topic of death, holds that "le discours que tient une société sur la mort est sans doute l'un des plus signifiants qui soient...."[3] For Vovelle, in order to penetrate a period or culture's mentalités, we should choose its most anxiety-laden experience.[4] In an essay from 1982, Vovelle explains that in modern society we tend to repress the idea of death and hide its physical manifestations from view. In his interpretation, then, the interest in death, sparked by Geoffrey Gorer's 1965

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histoire ambiguë," Faire de l'histoire, vol. 3 (Paris: Gallimard, 1974) 76-94; Robert Mandrou, "L'histoire des mentalités," Encyclopaedia Universalis vol. 8, 1968 ed., 436-438.

[3]Vovelle, "Préface," Mourir autrefois, 9.

[4]The extent to which we can "penetrate" the mentalities of another period will be taken up in the second section of this thesis. Whether or not we agree that it is desirable, or even possible to do so, Vovelle's observation on the centrality of death to human experience remains valid.

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book, Death, grief and mourning in Contemporary Britain,[5] represents a return of the repressed[6]:

> Il y a des moments historiques au cours desquels s'enfle le sentiment ou simplement la peur de la mort. Pulsion panique du temps des grandes épidémies, mais aussi de façon plus diffuse des périodes où la sensibilité collective se crispe sur la mort. Je crois que nous sommes actuellement dans une de ces périodes au moment où nous sommes en train d'admettre la mort tabou, l'idée que nous avons rejeté et expulsé la mort aujourd'hui omniprésente signifie que la mort revient nous investir de manière très présente.[7]

Claude Sutto, in his introduction to Le Sentiment de la mort au Moyen Age, the collected papers of one of the many colloquia and conferences on death in the Middle Ages held in

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[5]Geoffrey Gorer, Death, Grief and Mourning in Contemporary Britain (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965). Gorer's exposure of the taboos of speaking about death in twentieth-century society provided the impetus for historical studies of death, but also for anthropological and ethnological studies which focus on the rituals surrounding death in various cultures.

[6]The use of the psychoanalytic term is mine, not Vovelle's, although the passage cited points to that interpretation. According to much object-loss theory grief in the individual can be complicated by unresolved mourning from earlier losses.

[7]Vovelle, "L'Histoire des hommes au miroir de la mort," Herman Braet and Werner Verbeke, eds. Death in the Middle Ages (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1982) 4.

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the 1970s and 1980s,[8] suggests that an increased awareness of the grieving process has led to the interest in death.[9] In other words, because we have begun to understand more about the psychological processes involved in grief and mourning, we wish to know more about its primary cause - death.

Research on death, then, serves as the foundation for my discussion of grief because it raises issues that run parallel to questions posed in the study of grief, notably, the questions of why the subject is important and whether contemporary theoretical models apply. Questions of whether and how shifts in mentalities affect emotion and behavior, although they are not the major focus of this study, are also important.

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[8]Le Sentiment de la mort au moyen âge. Etudes présentées au Cinquième Colloque de l'Institut d'études médiévales de l'Université de Montréal. Claude Sutto, ed. (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1979) 9-14. Other conferences and collections of essays include: A Réveiller les morts. La mort au quotidien dans l'Occident médiéval, Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Cécile Treffort, eds. (Lyon: Presses universitaires de Lyon, 1993); Dies Illa: Death in the Middle Ages. Proceedings of the 1983 Manchester Colloquium, Jane H. M. Taylor, ed. Vinaver Studies in French, I (Liverpool: Francis Cairns, 1984); Il dolore e la morte nella spiritualità dei secoli XII e XIII (Convegni del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, V), (Todi, 1967); Mirrors of Mortality: Studies in the Social History of Death, Joachim Whaley, ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1981); La mort au moyen âge. Colloque de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur. Recherches et documents, 25 (Strasbourg: Istra, 1977); La mort dans le texte. Colloque de Cerisy, Gilles Ernst, ed. (Lyon: Presses Universitaires de Lyon, 1988); La Mort en toutes lettres (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1983).

[9]Sutto, Le Sentiment de la mort "Avant-propos," 9.

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2. *Death Studies as Frame*

In an early article on death, "La mort inversée: Le changement des attitudes devant la mort dans les sociétés occidentales,"[10] Philippe Ariès sets up a time frame that he develops in L'Homme devant la mort. Along with Vovelle, Ariès is one of the historians of death who explicitly raises questions about grief and mourning, and, although many of his conclusions have been subject to close scrutiny and pointed criticism, his work is particularly valuable here as a point of reference.

In Ariès's construction of the Middle Ages, there is a "premier Moyen Age" which lasts until the thirteenth century, in which, although death is "apprivoisée," or "tamed" – accepted as a part of the life cycle – "la douleur devant la mort d'un proche était l'expression la plus violente des sentiments les plus spontanés."[11] Ariès posits that a change in attitudes towards death occurs in the twelfth century - when the concept of the individual emerges, bringing with it the importance of the "mort de soi" or death of the individual self. He supports his theory by tracing changes in the iconographical depiction of the Last Judgment.[12] From the thirteenth century onwards, Ariès suggests, reactions to death

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[10]Ariès, "La mort inversée: Le changement des attitudes devant la mort dans les sociétés occidentales," Archives européens de sociologie 8.2 (1967): 169 - 195.

[11]Ariès, "La mort inversée," 179.

[12]Ariès, L'Homme devant la mort, 103-112.

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and rituals surrounding burial lose their spontaneity and become more ritualized: "Les conventions sociales ne tendaient plus à exprimer la violence de la peine, elles inclinaient désormais à la dignité, au contrôle de soi."[13] He contends that the reading of the Office of the Dead replaces lamentation and that although the family of the deceased participated in funerals, the clergy gradually assumes such functions and paid mourners replace family members in the procession: "Les grandes gesticulations du premier Moyen Age sont désormais simulées par des pleureurs."[14] The expression of grief becomes a private concern, hidden behind closed doors [15]

In recent years, Ariès's frame has been taken apart bit by bit. Most historians accept the basic premise of a shift in mentalities, among them Vovelle, who asserts: "Entre 1300 et la fin du XVe siècle, un tournant s'est fait dans l'histoire de la mort."[16] Yet, Aries's contention that changing attitudes toward death create an attenuation of grief

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[13]Ariès, L'Homme devant la mort, 164. Compare the following passage referring to the expression of emotion by men, as an example of the many contradictions in Ariès' work: "Cette émotivité virile dura jusqu'à la période baroque. Ce n'est qu'après le XVIIe siècle qu'il convint à l'homme, au mâle, de surmonter ses émotions." 14.

[14]Yet another contradiction - is there absence of an extreme display of grief, or has the cast of characters merely changed. Also, the idea that paid mourners, lamenters, wailers, or whatever one calls them, do not necessarily experience the grief they are expressing will be discussed below in Chapter Seven.

[15]Ariès, L'homme devant la mort, 165.

[16]Vovelle, La Mort et l'Occident, 89.

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in the later Middle Ages is questionable, as the textual and visual evidence will bear out. Critics also claim that Ariès does not adequately explain the shift in the response to death, and does not not make clear "why one prevailing attitude gives way to another."[17] Further, the changes in mentalities he posits "are never related to any demographic or economic background."[18] Other critics claim that in looking for a "deep structure" of reactions to death, Ariès glosses over any differences stemming from racial or class distinctions.[19] The basic framework that emerges, therefore, is ambiguous: a shift is posited between an "earlier" and "later"" Middle Ages with modes of expression particular to each. Yet, in Ariès's formulation, the moment of shift and its causes seem vague, and his conclusions on the degree of emotion felt and/or revealed remain open to debate.

3. *Method and the Question of Sources*

Finally, we come to the question of method: how have historians studied death? What sources have they used? What documents have they consulted? How have they constructed their frames of reference, and most importantly for the present discussion, how can such methods inform a study of

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[17]Joachim Whaley, "Introduction," Mirrors of Mortality, 10.

[18]Whaley, Mirrors of Mortality, 8.

[19]Chaunu, La Mort à Paris, 5.

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grief?

The subject of sources has provoked much discussion. One of the two principal approaches to sources is the "subjective" one taken by Ariès: "L'observateur passe en revue une masse hétéroclite (et non plus homogène) de documents, et il essaie de déchiffrer, au-delà de la volonté des écrivains ou des artistes, l'expression inconsciente d'une sensibilité collective."[20] Ariès's sources include literary and iconographical material, as noted above, as well as tomb sculpture and the liturgy. Like much else in Ariès's work, his choice of sources and the ways in which he uses them have been criticized. One general criticism is that his sources are too diverse. Another, more specific criticism is that in his use of an imaginary hero, Roland, as exemplar of "la mort apprivoisée," Ariès fails to differentiate between fiction and reality.[21] Both of these points are important here, the first for the question of my own choice of sources, and the second in the context of the problematics of representation to be addressed in Part Two below.

The other approach to sources is that taken by advocates of "l'histoire sérielle" or the study of large numbers of

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[20]Ariès, "Préface," Essais sur l'histoire de la mort, 13.

[21]Arno Borst, "Three Studies of Death in the Middle Ages," in Medieval Worlds. Barbarians, Heretics and Artists in the Middle Ages, trans. Eric Hansen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992) 218.

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documents in series.[22] This is the method employed by Jacques Chiffoleau in his extraordinary study La Comptabilité de l'au-dela,[23] in which he examines over 5000 wills from Avignon against a background of concurrent developments in funerary and burial practices. His study yielded striking results, actually leading to an understanding of attitudes and emotions through the close scrutiny of documents. In the introduction Chiffoleau does not reject the use of cultural artifacts such as the artistic productions studied by Ariès, as evidence: "mais pourquoi et comment resister à cette tentation," but cautions, that in spite of the "fascination esthétique qu'exerce la fin du Moyen Age" the methods of economists and social historians remain too far removed from "works of art" to reveal anything about them.[24] Roger Chartier agrees, but on different grounds, fearing that when applied to cultural artifacts, the approach he calls "quantitative history" may lead to reductionism, that the "counting" of words, ideas, and images is to "évacuer le sujet (individuel ou collectif) de l'analyse et dénier toute

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[22]On the use of statistical and demographic research in the history of mentalities, see Roger Chartier, "Histoire intellectuelle et histoire des mentalités," 18-20; Pierre Chaunu, "Un nouveau champ pour l'histoire sérielle: le quantitatif au troisième niveau," Mélanges en l'honneur de Fernand Braudel, vol. 2 (Toulouse: Privat, 1973) 105-125; John McManners, "Death and the French Historians," in Whaley, Mirrors of Mortality, 124-125.

[23]see note 1, page 4.

[24]Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, 4.

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importance ou rapport (personnel ou social) qu'entretiennent les agents sociaux avec les objets culturels ou les contenus de la pensée.[25]

Michel Vovelle's work provides, in some sense, a middle ground. Moving between the study of documents in series[26] and close readings of literary and artistic creations,[27] Vovelle tailors his approach to the particular sources he is studying, taking into account the specificity of his objects. He is not afraid, as Tenenti had earlier recommended, to "mettre en parallèle un tableau et un testament, un incunabule

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[25]Roger Chartier, "Histoire intellectuelle et histoire des mentalités," 24.

[26]As in Piété baroque et déchristianisation en Provence au XVIIIe siècle; les attitudes devant la mort d'après les clauses des testaments (Paris: Plon, 1973), in which Vovelle studied 1800 wills from Provence. Although Chaunu, in his 1973 article cited above (note 22, p. 11), argues for the homogeneity and completeness of series of documents, many writers, myself included, have interpreted such criteria to refer to a more narrowly defined field. For example, in her essay "Quelques remarques sur les cérémonies funéraires," in her Images et Pouvoirs au Moyen Age (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1993) 39-54, Christiane Reynaud limits her study to 46 Books of Hours. Of the more than 300 Books of Hours in the Département des Manuscrits at the Bibliothèque Nationale, my own series was limited to fifteenth-century manuscripts produced in the central and northeastern France. In "Les Clauses religieuses dans les testaments du plat pays lyonnais aux XIVe et XVe siècles," Le Moyen Age 78.2 (1972), Marie-Thérèse Lorcin narrows down the field of wills studied to 950 documents from the 4316 extant wills in Series G of the Archives du Rhône dating from 1301 to 1545 (288).

[27]Vovelle, "Pertinence et ambiguïté du témoignage littéraire pour une histoire des attitudes devant la mort," La Mort en toutes lettres, 291-300.

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et une statue."[28]

The work of each historian discussed here has something to contribute to this study of the expression of grief and the representation of mourning in fifteenth-century French art and literature. But must one "choose sides" and either carry out a "subjective" study of artifacts from the past that is totally detached from any discussion of socio-cultural context, or undertake the systematic statistical "dépouillement" of documents? For example, can one not, as Michel Pastoureau suggests, use a serial approach to artistic productions and "travailler sur des séries d'images et non pas sur des images isolées," carefully taking Chartier's cautions into consideration?[29] By the same token, might one not look at series of wills such as those studied by Chiffoleau to try to "hear" subjective "voices" through the laconic legal formulae?[30] I would suggest that it is not so much a

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[28]Alberto Tenenti, La Vie et la mort à travers l'art du XVe siècle (Paris: Armand Colin, 1952) 85.

[29]Michel Pastoureau, "Pour l'image," In Christiane Reynaud, Images et pouvoirs au Moyen Age (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1993) np.

[30]As Chaunu and Chiffoleau have demonstrated, wills provide valuable information about an individual's attitudes towards his or her own death, burial customs and practices of commemmoration. But do they tell us anything about grief? Particularly interesting, is the expression of a desire to be buried near specific individuals or in a specific location. What does such a wish indicate? Is it a posthumous expression of grief for the deceased, a sign of respect, or the reflection of the desire to be buried "ad sanctos"? See Yvette Duval, Auprès des saints corps et âme. L'inhumation 'ad sanctos' dans la chrétienté d'orient et d'occident du IIIe au VIIe siècles (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1988).

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question of the sources one selects, but the ways in which one examines those artifacts that matters. A serial approach may be appropriate to images, but not to poetry. Legal documents may be considered not only as contracts, but as the expression of attitudes towards death and as linguistic constructions. Images of mourners on tombstones may be seen as triggers to memory, their presence taking on added significance. The lamentations and gestures of the Virgin Mary over her dead son may be interpreted as the working out of the grieving process of a bereaved mother. My approach to sources is, then, to draw on the wide range of artifacts available to me and to forge an analytic approach to each taking into consideration the specificity of the object and its language or code, as well as the socio-cultural context in which it is found.[31]

B. Death and The Macabre

According to the influential Dutch historian Johan Huizinga, one of the hallmarks of late medieval culture is the

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[31]Two recent books take innovative methodological approaches to materials related to death and grief. In Death and Ritual in Renaissance Florence (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), Sharon T. Strocchia draws on studies of both death and funerary ritual using sources such as wills, literary works, folklore, and tombs. Her attempt to adapt her methodology to widely different objects of study may serve as a model here. Likewise, Thomas A. Kselman's Death and the Afterlife in Nineteenth-Century France (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993) studies changing attitudes toward death in nineteenth-century France, drawing first on research in demography and then analyzing "the models of death and the afterlife that were available in the folk, official, and alternative cultures of the nineteenth century" (6).

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emergence of the so-called imagery of the macabre. The term "macabre" was first used by Huizinga to describe the visions of decomposing bodies and skeletons that had appeared in literature and art by the fourteenth century. The word derives from "danse macabré," a term of mysterious origin whose interpretation has been at the root of many philological debates.[32] Huizinga attaches a subtle value judgement to his use of the term when he comments:

> At the close of the Middle Ages the whole vision of death may be summed up in the word macabre, in its modern meaning. Of course, this meaning is the outcome of a long process. But the sentiment it embodies, of something gruesome and dismal, is precisely the conception of death which arose during the last centuries of the Middle Ages.[33]

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[32]Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, trans. F. Hopman (London: Edward Arnold & Co., 1924) 129; Emile Mâle, L'art religieux à la fin du Moyen Age en France Fifth ed. (Paris: Armand Colin, 1949) nb 360, Ariès L'Homme devant la mort, 118; Robert Eisler, "Danse Macabre," Traditio 6 (1948): 187 - 225; Edelgard DuBruck, "Another Look at 'Macabre'," Romania 79.4 (1958): 536 - 544.

[33]Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, 129. Huizinga'a work is widely considered problematic today. For useful commentary on Huizinga and The Waning of the Middle Ages, see Peter Burke, "Huizinga, Prophet of 'Blood and Roses', History Today 36 (1966): 23 - 28; Norman F. Cantor, Inventing the Middle Ages: The Lives, Works and Ideas of the Great Medievalists of the Twentieth Century (New York, William Morrow & Co, 1991), 377-381, and Gail McMurray Gibson, The Theatre of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages," (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989) 2-5. For more recent discussions of "macabre" see William C. McDonald, "On the Charnel House as a Poetic Motif: Villon and German Poetry on Death," Fifteenth-Century Studies 19 (1992):

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Huizinga's perception that the fifteenth century is a period of decline is rooted in his historical situation – especially with respect to the question of periodization. Until fairly recently the fifteenth century was viewed as an endpoint before the chasm separating the "High" Middle Ages from the Renaissance. To an elitist view of culture, the masterful creations of the "High" Middle Ages could not be matched, and the fifteenth century represented a decline. To scholars who were nostalgic for feudal culture, the period in which the bourgeoisie emerged as a powerful force was, without question, a period of disruption and decadence. For contemporary cultural historians, on the other hand, the period is viewed as a time of growth and transition. The negative "hyper-romantic" connotation of "macabre" is, then an outdated concept, and is misleading: in my discussion I will use the term "death imagery" in its place.

The emergence of death imagery is often viewed as an expression of changing attitudes toward death,[34] an assumption of cause and effect that has been widely discounted

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102-103; Achille Olivieri, "Grammaires urbaines et 'images' sociales de la mort," Ricerche di storia sociale e religiosa ns 15-16 (1979): 275-83, and Jean Wirth, La Jeune fille et la mort: Recherches sur les thèmes macabres dans l'art germanique de la Renaissance (Geneva: Droz, 1979).

[34]Although the main focus of my study is the analysis and interpretation of voices and images of grief in the last century of the French Middle Ages and not a diachronic study of changes in attitudes as is that of the mentalités historians discussed above, some attention must be paid to such changes in order to contextualize the materials I shall be discussing.

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in recent years, as I discuss below. Yet there is certainly some connection between the two, and the study of such imagery may thus shed some light on expressions of grief. Much of the iconography of death figures in the illustrations of the Office of the Dead to be studied in Part III below.

Although no one single, simple cause accounts for the changes in attitudes toward death that may have helped to shape the imagery of death, the one catastrophe most often discussed in this context is the Black Plague. As Jacques Chiffoleau comments: "Pour l'historiographie traditionnelle, c'est la peur de la peste, l'angoisse existentielle devant les épidémies qui expliquerait ce que P. Chaunu appelle la 'flambée du macabre.'"[35] Yet, the idea that an increase in such imagery was the direct result of the plagues that ravaged Europe beginning in the mid-fourteenth century has been largely discounted. As John Helgeland asserts, "making the Black Plague the cause of the manifold representations of death represents an anachronism."[36] The charge of anachronism is supported by the fact that literary topoi and

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[35]Chiffoleau, "Sur l'usage obsessionnel de la messe pour les morts à la fin du Moyen Age," in Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle. Proceedings of a Round Table at the Palais Farnese, Rome, 22-23 June, 1979 (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981) 252.

[36]John Helgeland,"The Symbolism of Death in the Later Middle Ages," Omega 15.2 (1984-5): 146. Helgeland's study provides a new interpretation of death imagery in late Medieval Europe – that the death portrayed is not the death of the individual, but the death of the society at large from its very foundations and institutions.

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iconographical programs incorporating death imagery appeared prior to the outbreaks of Plague, most notably in the Vers de la Mort by Hélinand de Froidmont[37] and the "Dit des Trois Morts et Trois Vivants."[38]

Another connection between changes in attitudes toward death and the emergence of the death imagery may be found in the rise of the concept of purgatory, as studied by Jacques Le Goff.[39] According to Le Goff, this change occurred by the mid-thirteenth century (once again predating the Plague) and represents a shift from a view in which final judgment is communal and general to one in which the individual is judged at the moment of death for his or her own actions up until and including that moment, and where the outcome can be influenced by human agency - the prayers and actions of the survivors. Le Goff explains: "le Purgatoire - pris dans une personnalisation de la vie spirituelle - favorise en fait l'individualisme ... Il focalise l'intérêt sur la mort

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[37]Les Vers de la mort par Hélinant, moine de Froidmont, Frederik Wulff and Emanuel Walberg, eds. (Paris: Librairie Firmin Didot, 1905). See also, Anne-Marie Plasson-Macabies, "Hélinand et la Mort: Quelques réflexions à partir des strophes I et II des Vers de la Mort," Et c'est la fin pour quoi nous sommes ensemble: hommage à Jean Dufournet: littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Age Vol. 3 (Paris: Champion, 1993) 1143-1154.

[38]Stefan Glixelli, Les Cinq poèmes des Trois Morts et des Trois Vifs (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1914).

[39]Le Goff, La naissance du Purgatoire (Paris: Gallimard, 1981).

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individuelle et le jugement qui la suit."[40] In his work, then, Le Goff firmly grounds in documentary evidence the shift in mentalités that Ariès had sketched out earlier, and relates it to changing social and economic structures. The rise in the concept of purgatory that impacted on people's attitudes towards death and dying had some effect on acts of commemoration, among them, the prayer for the dead, as Megan McLaughlin demonstrates in her recent study Consorting with Saints,[41] and thus, ultimately had an impact on mourning practices, in which commemoration plays an important role.

As soon as the individual is viewed as having more control over his or her ultimate spiritual destiny, literary and graphic works, such as the Ars moriendi,[42] emerged, reinterpreting death imagery as a didactic tool. In this case the imagery of death is not meant to frighten and lead to a sense of pessimism so much as to warn and to instruct. One such pedagogical tool is the contemptus mundi theme, which

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[40]Le Goff, La naissance du Purgatoire, 315.

[41]Megan McLaughlin, Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). McLaughlin comments on LeGoff's thesis and its critics on pages 17-18.

[42]On the Ars Moriendi see Nancy Lee Beaty, The Craft of Dying. A Study of the Literary Tradition of the Ars Moriendi in England (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970); Roger Chartier, "Les Arts de Mourir, 1450 - 1600," Annales ESC 31.1 (1976): 51-75; Sister Mary Catherine O'Connor, The Art of Dying Well. The Development of the *Ars Moriendi* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1942); R. Rudolf, Ars moriendi. Von der Kunst des heilsamen Lebens und Sterbens (Cologne, 1957).

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required that Christians turn away from the material world of the senses and direct their aspirations toward heaven. According to Kenneth Varty:

> Under the heading of contemptus mundi we may group all those sermons and treatises, that vast body of stories and poems, songs and hymns, sculptures and paintings, which insist on Man's wretchedness and the vanity of all earthly things, the main point of which was to make men think on things spiritual and seek forgiveness for their sins so that, on the Day of Judgement, they might find favour and be admitted to Paradise.[43]

This message served as the basis of much of the preaching of the mendicant friars. In his article "La Réforme religieuse et la méditation de la mort à la fin du Moyen Age," Francis Rapp, drawing on his studies in popular religion, suggests that the images of death and decay in the late medieval period grew out of the growth of the mendicants and the resulting drive toward reform in church practices.[44]

Late medieval death imagery may be grouped into three

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[43]Kenneth Varty, "Villon's Three Ballades du temps jadis and the danse macabre," in Littera et Sensus: Essays on Form and Meaning in Medieval French Literature presented to John Fox, D.A. Trotter, ed. (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1989) 74.

[44]Francis Rapp, "La Réforme religieuse et la méditation de la mort à la fin du Moyen Age," La Mort au Moyen Age, 53-66.

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types.[45] In the earlier images, of the "three living and the three dead," [Fig. 1][46] and the danse macabré, or "Dance of death," [Fig. 2][47] we see "le mort," the dead individual, who had been alive, has subsequently died and has been reanimated in skeletal or semi-decomposed form. In the late-developing ars moriendi tradition, with its wood-block illustrations, we see "la mort" or the moment of dying [Fig. 3],[48] and in the depictions of the "Triumph" of death we see "la Mort," or the personification of death.[49]

The earliest form of death imagery draws on the legend of the Trois Morts et les Trois Vivants, found in French literature from the thirteenth century onward, in which three

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[45]The literature on the iconography of death is vast. For a general overview, see Huizinga, Waning of the Middle Ages, Chapter 11; DuBruck, The Theme of Death in French Poetry of the Middle Ages and Renaissance (The Hague: Mouton, 1964) 63-77; Christine Martineau-Génieys, Le Thème de la mort dans la poésie française (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1978) 81-96; Alberto Tenenti, La Vie et la Mort; Jan Bialostocki, "Mort et commémoration," L'Art du XVe siècle des Parler à Durer (Paris: Pochothèque, 1993) 227 - 259.

[46]Maître François, Livre d'Heures dit Wharncliffe c. 1475. Melbourne National Gallery of Victoria, Fr Ms Felton 1, fol. 78. Reproduced from Charles Sterling, La Peinture médiévale à Paris: 1300-1500 (Paris: Bibliothèque des Arts, 1987, 1990), Vol. 2, p. 206.

[47]La Grande Danse Macabre des Hommes et des Femmes. Woodcut. Paris, 1486. Reproduced from Bilder und Tänze des Todes (Unna, 1982), p. 103.

[48]Ars Moriendi. The Temptation of Avarice. German c. 1470. BNP Réserve xyl. 24. fol. Bii verso. Reproduced from Tenenti, La Vie et la mort, 53.

[49]For representations of the Triumph, see Tenenti, La Vie et la mort, 17-27.

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richly dressed youths are confronted by three cadaverous figures.[50] According to Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le message des morts est le suivant: vous serez ce que nous sommes. Plaisirs et honneurs terrestres sont méprisables. N'attendez pour y renoncer l'heure de la mort, qui est imprévisible, et songez dès à présent à votre salut."[51]

Roughly contemporary with the "Trois morts et les trois vivants" is the danse macabré or "Dance of death," which, is generally believed to have grown out of the Vers de la mort of Hélinand de Froidmont in the mid-thirteenth century.[52] According to Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le personnage de la Mort introduit par Hélinand de Froidmont ne sortira plus de l'imaginaire européen.[53] In iconography, Mâle asserts that "dès le XIVe siècle, l'idée d'un défilé de toutes les conditions humaines en marche vers la mort apparaît

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[50]The encounter takes place at a cross-roads, a location that introduces a magico-ritual dimension to this topos. The cross-roads, where two or more roads come together, is a liminal space, a "lieu de passage d'un monde à un autre, d'une vie à une autre, de la vie à la mort," Dictionnaire des symboles: mythes, rêves, coutumes, gestes, formes, figures, couleurs, Jean Chevalier, ed. (Paris: Laffont 1982), 144; see also "Kreuzweg," Hanns Bächtold-Stäubli, Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens Vol. 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1932/33) 517-529.

[51]Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le Thème de la mort dans la littérature française médiévale," A Réveiller les morts, 52. Also on the iconography of the Trois Morts et Trois vivants, see Mâle, L'Art religieux, 355- 358; Martineau-Génieys, Le Thème de la mort, 81-83.

[52]Mâle, L'Art religieux, 360.

[53]Lorcin, "Le Thème de la mort," 52.

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clairement."[54] Yet, as mentioned above, the skeletal leader of the dance, who beckons living beings of all ages and stations to join in the dance with him, is not "Death," a personification, but "un mort" - a dead person - the mirror image of the individual being pulled into the dance.[55] Here we have an important example of a possible gap between the iconographical form and its poetic inspiration.

Several themes emerge from the danse macabre, perhaps the most significant being the equality of all humans before death that brings with it the inevitable passage of the body from a living form to a skeletal or decomposed form. By 1400, the danse macabre had spread rapidly, penetrating, according to Tenenti, "la psychologie des hommes du XVe siècle."[56] Relatively rare in illustrations of the Office of the Dead in manuscript books of hours, it dominates the illustrations of the same office in incunabula.

Two iconographical programs that developed later are the illustrations of the Ars Moriendi and the "Triumph of Death," both dating from the fifteenth century. In the "Triumph of Death," we see the personification of death, often winged, shown in victory over humankind.[57] The Ars Moriendi

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[54]Mâle, L'Art religieux, 360.

[55]Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages, 131.

[56]Tenenti, La Vie et la mort, 30.

[57]Tenenti, La Vie et la mort, 17-27. This theme is not as common in French art as it is in Italian art, so it will not be discussed here at great length. On the Italian tradition of

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tradition is believed to have grown out of late fourteenth-century preaching, especially that of Jean Gerson at the turn of the fifteenth century.[58] The Ars Moriendi incorporates an older theme of the struggle over the soul of the dying person into a pedagogical treatise on how to prepare for the "good death," which, according to Mâle, is fairly rare in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and very common in the fifteenth century.[59] Tenenti calls it "la cristallisation iconographique de la mort chrétienne."[60]

One could argue that the growing popularity of this image, in which we witness the judgment of the individual at the moment of death, parallels the growth of importance of Purgatory, as outlined by Le Goff, as well as a shift to emphasis on the "mort de soi" of Ariès with its unspoken grief. Although, in many of the illustrations the moment of death takes place in a private chamber, the scene is often a public one - well-attended by an audience that displays signs of grief.[61] Perhaps new attitudes towards death reflected in the shift to the "mort de soi" do not necessarily bring with

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the trionfi, see Petrarch's Triumphs: Allegory and Spectacle, Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare Ianucci, eds. (Toronto: Dovehouse Editions, 1990).

[58]See Chapter Three.

[59]Mâle, L'Art religieux, 388.

[60]Tenenti, La Vie et la mort, 50.

[61]See Fig. 15. Although this image represents the Dormition of the Virgin, it suggests that the death of any important person might have attracted such an audience.

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them an attentuation of grief, raising the question of just how closely connected attitudes towards death and expressions of grief are, and suggesting that there may be a considerable gap between the two.

Thus, images of death in the visual arts did not suddenly spring up as a response to the disasters of the fourteenth century, but were planted in the medieval consciousness well before that time in ways that, according to Le Goff, were equally attributable to simultaneous changes in the structure of society and the reassessment of the individual's place within the physical as well as the spiritual order.

Nevertheless, visible marks of plagues and the haunting scenes of horror caused by ubiquitous death certainly provided a vehicle and a form for these changes of consciousness, and, as we have seen with the emergence of the Ars Moriendi and the Triumphs, distinct changes in the imagery did occur. One such change is the emergence of the transi, in which the "traditional idealized portrayal of the deceased was replaced by a gruesome depiction of the physical ravages of death."[62] Such images carried meaning and were not merely a gratuitous means to shock, horrify, or titillate, as is generally believed: they also had distinct didactic purposes of a social or religious nature. As Eamon Duffy explains in reference to

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[62]Kathleen Cohen, Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol. The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973) 1. The most frequently used example of the transi is the tomb of Cardinal Lagrange in Avignon (d. 1402). See Cohen, 33-38; figure 6.

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the English "cadaver tomb,"

> ...for all its gross physicality, its function was spiritual, to bring home to the spectator the reality of his own mortality, and thereby to bring him to a sense of the urgency of his need for conversion. More immediately, it was designed to evoke fellow-feeling and pity for the occupant of the tomb, and thereby to secure the help of the spectator's prayers.[63]

The question of whether the iconographical changes were indicative of any shifts in patterns of mourning or whether they precipitated such shifts, will be explored further below in my discussion of the image of the mourner on tomb sculpture.

C. Death in Medieval French Literature

The writing on death in medieval French literature is abundant. A review of this literature is helpful in several ways. As in the case of the historiographical work on death, such an overview can provide a model for a discussion of the work on grief. Weaknesses in the field can also provide insight into pitfalls to avoid, whereas strengths provide paths to follow.

Several approaches have been taken in the study of death

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[63]Eamon Duffy, The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400 - c. 1580 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992) 307.

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in medieval French literature. The first approach picks up where the study of the iconography of death leaves off and includes studies of the same images in literature, where they may be considered thematically. Among these are studies of the literary "dance of death,"[64] and other related themes such as the ubi sunt and the memento mori.

Some writers have taken a generic approach – analysis of death within the context of a particular genre, such as poetry,[65] romance,[66] chanson de geste,[67] drama,[68]

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[64]See especially the many works by Jane H.M. Taylor, including "Villon et la Danse Macabre: 'Défamiliarisation' d'un mythe," in Pour une mythologie du Moyen Age, Laurence Harf-Lancner and Dominique Boutet, eds. (Paris: Ecole normale supérieure de jeunes filles, 1988) 179-195; "Poésie et prédication. La fonction du discours proverbial dans la Danse macabre," Medioevo romanzo 14 (1989): 214-226; "The Dialogues of the Dance of Death and the Limits of Late-Medieval Theatre," Fifteenth-Century Studies 16 (1990): 215-232; "Que signifiait danse au quinzième siècle? Danser la Danse macabré," Fifteenth-Century Studies 18 (1991): 259-77. See also Josette Wisman "Un miroir déformant: hommes et femmes des Danses macabres de Guyot Marchant," The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 2 (1993): 275-99, and the recent edition of The Danse Macabre of Women by Ann Tukey Harrison (Kent Ohio: The Kent State University Press, 1994).

[65]Jean-Marie Paquette, "Introduction: Notes pour une poétique de la mort," in Poèmes de la mort de Turold à Villon (Paris: Union Générale d'Edition, 1979) 9-18; Jean Dufournet, "Deux poètes du Moyen-Age face à la mort: Rutebeuf et Villon," Dies Illa, 155-175.

[66]Fanni Bogdanow, "The Changing Vision of Arthur's Death," Dies Illa, 107-123; Faith Lyons, "La fausse mort dans le Cligès de Chrétien de Troyes," Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à Mario Roques, vol. I (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1950) 167-177; A. R. Press, "Death and Lamentation in Chrétien de Troyes' Romances: The Dialectic of Rhetoric and Reason," Forum for Modern Language Studies 23.1 (1987): 11 - 20; M. Alison Stones, "Aspects of Arthur's Death in Medieval Illumination," The Passing of Arthur: New Essays in Arthurian Tradition, Christopher Baswell and William Sharpe, eds. (New

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chronicle,[69] saints' lives,[70] or other genres such as exempla or fable.[71] The earliest major study on death and medieval literature, Edelgard Dubruck's The Theme of Death in French Poetry of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance,[72] combines the first two approaches. Although the study does not go very far - the author stays close to her sources[73] and gives a

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York: Garland Press, 1988) 52-101ff.

[67]Pierre Le Gentil, "Réflexions sur le thème de la mort dans les chansons de geste," Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune. vol. 2. (Gembloux: Duculot, 1969) 801-809. Most recently, Sarah Kay, "The Life of the Dead Body: Death and the Sacred in the chansons de geste," Yale French Studies 86: Corps Mystique, Corps Sacré: Textual Transfigurations of the Body From the Middle Ages to the Seventeenth Century, Françoise Jaouën and Benjamin Semple, eds. (New Haven: Yale University, 1994): 94-108. The numerous studies on death and grief in the chanson de geste, with particular emphasis on the Chanson de Roland, are discussed in Chapter Two.

[68]Edelgard DuBruck, "The Death of Christ in French Passion Plays of the Late Middle Ages: Its Aspects and Sociological Implications," Dies Illa, 81-92; Alain Surdel "Les représentations de la mort dans le théâtre religieux du XVe siècle et des débuts du XVIe siècle," La Mort en toutes lettres, 11-24.

[69]Pierre Demarolle, "La mort dans l'univers mental de Philippe de Vigneulles d'après le livre V de la Chronique (1500-1526)," La Mort en toutes lettres, 25 - 32.

[70]Michel Lauwers, "La mort et le corps des saints. La scène de la mort dans les Vitae du haut Moyen-Age," Le Moyen Age 94.1 (1988): 21-50. Also see Arno Borst, "Three Studies of Death in the Middle Ages," 216-243.

[71]Michelle Augier, "Remarques sur la mort dans le Roman de Renart (Branche I)," Sénéfiance 1 (1976): 9-16.

[72]See note 45 page 21.

[73]Huizinga, The Waning of the Middle Ages and E. Döring-Hirsch, Tod und Jenseits im Spätmittelalter: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte des deutschen Bürgertums (Berlin: K. Curtius, 1927).

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conventional overview of death in medieval French poetry - her work provides a first step towards an introduction to basic themes. A "formal" approach may also be taken, as in the many studies of elegy to appear in recent years.[74] Particularly relevant for the Middle Ages is the study of "death poetry" of all kinds – the complainte, the planctus, and various types of laments including funerary laments and the laments of the Virgin Mary.[75] In this final category one finds the greatest overlap with the study of the expression of grief in literature which will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Two.

DuBruck's study was expanded and completed by Martineau-Génieys's important work, Le Thème de la mort dans la poésie française de 1450 à 1550,[76] which, albeit much more detailed

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[74]See Preface, note 30, as well as Claude Thiry, "'Elegie', 'elegien', 'élégiaque' au XVe siècle," in Marche romane. Hommage au Professeur Maurice Delbouille. No. spécial - Cahiers de l'Association des romanistes (Liège, 1973): 279-292.

[75]Robert Deschaux, "Lai et complainte," Littérature française aux XIVe et XVe siècles, Vol. 8/I Grundriss der romanischen Litteraturen des Mittelalters (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1988) 77; Samuel N. Rosenberg, "The Old French Lyric Death-Laments, "Le gai savoir: Essays in Linguistics, Philology and Criticism Dedicated to the Memory of M. Sandmann, Mechtild Cranston, ed. (Madrid: Jose Porrua Turanzas, 1983) 45-54; Claude Thiry, "De la mort marâtre à la mort vaincue: Attitudes devant la mort dans la déploration funèbre française," Braet & Verbeke, eds. Death in the Middle Ages, 239-257 and La Plainte funèbre (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978); Monika Wodsak, Die Complainte. Zur Geschichte einer französischen Populärgattung (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1985); Gabrielle Oberhänsli-Widmer, La Complainte funèbre du haut moyen âge français et occitan (Berne: Editions Francke, 1989).

[76]See note 45 page 21.

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and in depth, remains somewhat conventional. As Geneviève Hasenohr points out in her review of the book,[77] Martineau-Génieyes adheres to the theory of catastrophe as the cause for the emergence of the macabre. Hasenohr criticizes Martineau-Génieys's attempts to find too close a correlation between "expression littéraire et mentalité collective,"[78] which I have taken as a useful caution for the present study. Hasenohr also points out that Martineau-Génieys's choice of poets (entire chapters devoted to Deschamps, Villon, Chastelain, Michault, Meschinot, while Molinet, Crétin, Octavien de Saint-Gelais, and Lemaire de Belges all share one brief chapter) is severely limited: "Quoi qu'il en soit, on aurait aimé savoir pourquoi, si Eustache Deschamps a droit à un chapitre, Christine de Pisan ou Alain Chartier ont été écartés, pourquoi Charles d'Orléans est à peine mentionné...."[79] Some of the very poets who are excluded by Martineau-Gényies serve as the basis for my discussion on the expression of grief in poetry, a situation that underscores the difference between a poetry of death and a poetry of grief. Finally, death can be studied in the context of the work of one poet, as in the chapter "la mort" in Siciliano's

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[77]Hasenohr, Review of Le Thème de la mort dans la poesie française by Christine Martineau-Génieys, Romania 103.1 (1982): 108 -120.

[78]Hasenohr, "Review," 108.

[79]Hasenohr, "Review," 114.

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copious work on Villon.[80]

With few exceptions, studies of death discussed here remain very close to the literary text.[81] Even in the most recent overview of the subject by Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le Thème de la mort dans la littérature médiévale,"[82] the author charts the transformation in attitudes toward death from within the literary evidence.[83] She asserts that that before 1195 - 1340, death was portrayed as "un simple épisode de la vie,"[84] basing her argument on three criteria: no work

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[80]Italo Siciliano, François Villon et les thèmes poétiques du Moyen Age (Paris: Nizet, 1967).

[81]Some exceptions: In "Les représentations de la mort..." Alain Surdel replicates Martineau-Génieys's mentalities-grounded conceptual framework and applies it to late medieval drama; In "The Death of Christ..." Edelgard DuBruck calls for a "sociological study - to complement the literary aspects -- as to how people died in the late Middle Ages (by milieu)" (81) and discusses sociologial implications of the presentation of Christ's death, such as its emphasis on "the brutality of the Jews in an age when Jews were persecuted as heretics." (86). In "Der Tod als Text und Zeichen in der mittelalterlichen Literatur" in Death in the Middle Ages, 134-149, Gerhild Scholz Williams considers death as a historical, socio-cultural, psychological and semiological sign.

[82]Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le Thème de la Mort," A Réveiller les morts, 43-65.

[83]The fact that Lorcin's work appears in a collection containing many different articles on diverse aspects of the theme of death using widely varying viewpoints and methodologies, including a heavy emphasis on archaeology, compensates for the weakness of her contribution. It should be pointed out, however, that she does discusses texts generally left out of such "literary" discussions, such as the fabliaux and Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Notre Dame and that her historical work on wills and other documents provide invaluable information.

[84]Lorcin, "Le Thème de la mort...," 49-52.

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has death as the main theme, no title contains the word death, and the death of the hero in epic and romance only takes up brief episodes. One has only to consider the death of Roland and other characters to be discussed in the next chapter to see how weak her argument is.

The study of death in medieval French literature has taken a diachronic, descriptive approach, remaining on the surface of the text, uncritically rehearsing the conclusions of earlier scholarship. Formulaic, conventional language is catalogued, enumerated, explicated, but few attempts have been made to look deeper to see if one can recover how people might have felt or experienced grief. In other words, surprisingly few attempts have been made to theorize or even contextualize death or grief working with medieval French models. Although the historians of mentalités have used literature as evidence, students of literature have rarely used "the world" as context. As I stated earlier in the Introduction, that will be the challenge of this study.

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Chapter Two

Changing the Focus: Grief

A. Death and Grief in the Chanson de Roland

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the literature on death is that much of what appears to be about death is actually about grief. Aside from those discussions that focus exclusively on the death scene of the hero or the saint, the image or personification of death, death as allegory or symbol, or didactic works on death, many of the studies are really about lamentation and mourning. It might be helpful to see how the study of death and the study of grief dovetail by concentrating on the scholarly literature on one particular genre, the chanson de geste, and on one particular work within that genre, the Chanson de Roland.

More has been written about death in the chanson de geste than in any other genre, which is not surprising, considering that warfare, revenge, and killing are its dominant themes. Beginning with Mario Roques's article, "L'Attitude du héros mourant dans la Chanson de Roland,"[1] and Pierre Le Gentil's "Réflexions sur le thème de la mort dans les Chansons de geste,"[2] Roland has been at the center of most discussions, and he continues to be the model to

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[1]Mario Roques, "L'Attitude du héros mourant dans la Chanson de Roland," Romania 65.263 (1940): 355-366.

[2]Pierre Le Gentil, "Réflexions sur le thème de la mort dans les Chansons de geste," Mélanges offerts à Rita Lejeune Vol. 2 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1969) 801-809.

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which all other dying heroes are compared.[3] With Gérard J. Brault's 1969 essay "Le thème de la Mort dans la Chanson de Roland,"[4] criticism begins to move away from such a narrow approach. Although acknowledging that the death of Roland is the central episode in the epic, Brault considers not only the actual death scene, but the theme of death throughout the work, at the same time looking outside the text to suggest that Roland's death shows the influence of scenes of Christ's passion and saints' martyrdoms.

The Chanson de Roland is also at the center of the critical discussion of the expression of grief in the chanson de geste, either in works devoted solely to that epic,[5] or in works on the expression of grief in the chanson de geste.[6]

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[3]On Roland's death see also DuBruck, The Theme of Death, 36-38, and André Moisan, "La Mort de Roland selon les différentes versions de l'épopée," Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale 28.2-3 (1985): 101-132.

[4]Gérard J. Brault,"Le thème de la Mort dans la Chanson de Roland," Actes et Mémoires of the Société Rencesvals. IVe Congrès International -- Heidelberg 28 August - 2 September 1967 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1969): 220-237.

[5]See René Louis, "La grande douleur pour la mort de Roland," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 3 (1960): 62-67, and Paul Zumthor, "Etude typologique des planctus contenus dans la Chanson de Roland, La Technique littéraire des Chansons de Geste. Actes du Colloque de Liège, septembre 1957 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959): 219-235.

[6]Jean Frappier, "La douleur et la mort dans la littérature française des XIIe et XIIIe siècles," Il dolore e la morte nella spiritualità dei secoli XII e XIII. Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla spiritualità medievale. 7 - 10 ottobre 1962 (Todi: Presso L'Accademia Tudertina, 1967) 69 - 110); Ehrard Lommatzsch, "Darstellung von Trauer und Schmerz in der altfranzösischen Literatur," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 43 (1923): 20-67; Gabrielle Oberhänsli-Widmer, "La

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The study of death and the study of grief converge in the most recent articles devoted to the Chanson de Roland, which offer exciting avenues of inquiry and interpretation, breaking out of the purely descriptive, taxonomic and literary mold of earlier studies. In "Roland and the Poetics of Memory,"[7] Eugene Vance contextualizes the Chanson de Roland within its "commemorative culture," suggesting, as so much of the work on the elegy does, that the poem itself is an act of commemoration: raising important questions about ritual and literature. Vance refers to Roland's commemoration of the slain heroes on the battlefield:

> Planctus and prayer, poet and priest, answer to the single burden of past and future. The spectacle of the bodies arranged before him, like a dead audience, provokes from Roland a planctus and a series of mimetic gestures that are also those of the poet: indeed the hero at this point is merely

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complainte funèbre dans la Chanson de Geste," La Complainte funèbre (Berne: Franke, 1989) 12 - 36; Ruggiero M. Ruggieri, "Il dolore e la morte in qualche personnaggio femminile dell'antica poesia francese," Il dolore e la morte nella spiritualita dei secoli XII e XIII, 187-201; Italo Siciliano, Les Chansons de Geste et l'Epopée. Mythes - Histoires - Poèmes (1968; Geneva: Slatkine, 1981) 360-1; Otto Zimmermann, Totenklage in den Altfranzösischen Chansons de Geste (Berlin: Verlag E. Ebering, 1899); Paul Zumthor, "Les Planctus épiques," Romania 84 (1963): 61-69.

[7]Eugene Vance, "Roland and the Poetics of Memory," Textual Strategies: Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism, Josué V. Harari, ed. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979) 374-403.

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imitating the poet...[8]

Vance perceives a change in the mode of commemoration used by Charlemagne as compared to that of Roland. Whereas Roland's speech was a living instrument of commemoration, Charlemagne's language has become more monumental.[9] Referring to the passage in which Charlemagne "places the lords in white marble," ["En blanc sarcou de marbre sunt enz mis./Et puis les cors des barons si unt pris,/En quirs de cerf les .III. seigneurs unt mis"] (v. 2966-68)[10] Vance comments:

> If we assume ... that there is a close affinity between stone monuments and texts – each conserves the memory of something important that is absent – and that the epitaph is an instance of textuality in one of its most awesome and enduring forms, then we may see in Charlmagne's instincts a fundamental change in the notion of monumentality. [11]

As we shall see in the discussion of the poetry of grief in the late fifteenth century, there is a distinct movement toward monumentality that eventually culminates in a distinct poetic form, the "tombeau."

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[8]Vance, "Roland and the Poetics of Memory," 388.

[9]This is an important insight for the present study and that also expands the frame of reference to include non-literary forms of expression.

[10]All citations from the Chanson de Roland are from the edition by Cesare Segre, trans. Madeleine Tyssens, 2 vols. (Geneva: Droz, 1989).

[11]Vance, "Roland and the Poetics of Memory," 401.

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In Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography, Stephen G. Nichols further expands the frame of reference for the Chanson de Roland.[12] In a later essay, "From Passion to Pietà: Modes of Death in the Legend of Roland," Nichols studies death scenes in the various versions of Roland's legend, and suggests that paradigms of death are culturally derived but also influenced by art and literature.[13] He argues that in the earliest versions of the story, Roland's death follows a "Passion" model - death as transcendence, and that later versions such as the Provençal Ronsasvals[14] follow a "Pietà" model - death as separation.[15] Although the concept of the influence of art and literature on other works is always to be approached with extreme caution,

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[12]See Romanesque Signs: Early Medieval Narrative and Iconography (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), and "From Passion to Pietà: Modes of Death in the Legend of Roland," Literary Theory and Criticism: Festschrift Presented to René Wellek in Honor of his Eightieth Birthday, Part II: Ed. Joseph P. Strelka (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984) 1041 -1073.

[13]Nichols, "From Passion to Pietà," 1042.

[14]The poem Ronsasvals was edited and published by Mario Roques in Romania 48 (1922): 311-14; 58 (1932): 1-28; 161-189; 66 (1940-41): 434-480. Laments for the dead in the poem are discussed by Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker in "La complainte des morts dans la littérature occitaine," Le Sentiment de la mort, especially pages 232, 237-8, 247.

[15]He might have expanded the frame even further by problematizing the overarching Christian frame he posits to include models of death and reaction to it among the other cultures present in the Chanson de Geste, as does Norman Daniel in Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Univesity Press, 1984) 101-104.

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Nichols's insights and comparisons to the Pietà and Passion are certainly thought-provoking.

Finally, two studies by Peter Haidu continue to widen the scope of the discussion on the Chanson de Roland. In "The Semiotization of Death: Open Text or Closed?"[16] the author challenges the traditional interpretation of the Chanson de Roland as an example of "closed medieval textuality." Pioneering an approach that he calls "sociohistorical semiotics" in the analysis of Roland's dying moment, Haidu demonstrates that Roland's rendering of his glove - a sign of his acceptance of death - had a double function. In addition to its textual function of signaling a rejection of closure, the gesture can also function within the feudal code, and thus reveals "a type of textual functioning whose 'residence,' as it were, is simultaneously within the concrete text and within the text of history."[17] In another essay, "Funerary Rituals in the Chanson de Roland,"[18] Haidu directly addresses questions of grief and death by analyzing three "Moments of transformation"—the lament for the dead, the revenge taken upon the Saracens, and "the discovery, collection,

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[16]Peter Haidu, "The Semiotization of Death: Open Text or Closed?" Style 20.2 (1986) 220-251.

[17]Haidu, "The Semiotization of Death," 247.

[18]Peter Haidu, "Funerary Rituals in the Chanson de Roland," Continuations: Essays on Medieval French Literature and Language in Honor of John L. Grigsby, ed. Norris J. Lacy and Gloria Torrini-Roblin (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, 1989) 187-201.

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evisceration, and burial of the heroes' bodies," – in terms of contemporary funeral ritual. He draws a parallel between narrative and ritual functions, once again pointing to "narrative as ritual," or the recreative process of the poetic act of mourning.[19]

Haidu cautions repeatedly that the modern reader will not be able to comprehend the medieval mentalité unless she casts off her twentieth-century lenses of "academic reader, haunted by the nostalgia for an imagined past of wholeness and integration."[20] In other words, if we regret our own post-modern condition – the lack of a unified subject – we should not try to recuperate one from the past or even assume that one existed.[21] Haidu emphasizes the link between grief and revenge characteristic of the chanson de geste, "reparation is the basic narrative stuff of the chanson de geste as a whole... the survivor experiences his grief as an injury done him, for which the appropriate mode of treatment is the exaction of vengeance .... The experience of grief here transforms what a twentieth-century consciousness would consider pure interiority into a social and semiotic fact that is the basis for narrative action."[22] This brings up the

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[19]Haidu, "Semiotization," 188.

[20]Haidu, "Semiotization," 186 - 187.

[21]The question of the "alterity" of the Middle Ages and the problematics of reading is taken up in Chapter Four.

[22]Haidu, "Semiotization," 189.

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important question of the translation of interior (perhaps "psychological") states into social and semiotic fact (ritual) and its further translation into narrative.

B. Towards a Poetics of Grief: The Expression of Grief in French Literature of the High Middle Ages

Now that we have seen how many studies blur the distinction between a poetics of death and a poetics of grief, it is time to separate the two, a task that is complicated by the fact that many poems considered to be "laments,"[23] or that contain funerary laments, have as their primary focus the death scene of the person being mourned. An examination of the "formal" and generic categories of "planctus," "complainte," and "déploration funèbre" may allow us to distinguish between a poetry of death and a poetry of grief based on poetic structure, or, may lead us to conclude that such a distinction must be based on other criteria.[24] In

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[23]I am following here the distinction established by Gabrielle Oberhänsli-Widmer in La Complainte funèbre between "déplorations épiques" which are found within the narrative context of the chanson de geste and romance, and the "déplorations lyriques," laments on historical persons which are not within a narrative context (9). I shall use the term "epic planctus" to refer to the chanson de geste and "romance lament" to refer to romance.

[24]The history of the complainte and its relation to the Latin planctus and Provençal planh has received much attention. The most important critical discussions are A. Adler, "Das Klagelied," Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters v. 1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968) 288 - 290, v. 2 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1970) 354-362; Stanley C. Aston, "The provençal planh I: the lament for a Prince, Mélanges Boutière Vol. I (Liège: Soledi, 1970) 23 - 30, and "The provençal planh II: the lament for a lady,"

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this section, as a background to the study of the late medieval texts which are my main consideration, I will study several narrative passages and lyrics from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. I am not attempting to undertake an exhaustive discussion of the expression of grief in the literature of the High Middle Ages, but simply to offer a brief overview of some of the scholarship on the subject as well as a few examples to be used as points of reference in the subsequent discussion.

1. *The Epic Planctus*

The articles by Paul Zumthor referred to above are among the earliest attempts to analyze the epic planctus.[25] In the first article Zumthor limits his discussion to the planctus in the Chanson de Roland, defining "planctus" as "un passage d'une chanson de geste, exprimant la douleur ressentie par un personnage en présence du cadavre d'un compagnon d'armes."[26]

Mélanges Rita Lejeune Vol. I (Gembloux, Duculot, 1969) 57 - 65; Caroline Cohen, "Les éléments constitutifs de quelques planctus des Xe et XIe siècles," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 1 (1958) 83-86; Alfred Jeanroy, La Poésie lyrique des troubadours Vol. 2 (Toulouse: Privat, 1934) 333 - 337; Gabrielle Oberhänsli-Widmer, La complainte funèbre, 74 - 86; Hermann Wilhelm Springer, Das altprovenzalische Klagelied mit Berücksichtigung der verwandten Litteraturen (Berlin: C. Vogt, 1984). As my study is limited to texts in Middle French, my interest in earlier forms and in Provençal texts will be only as they directly relate to the later Middle French texts, and to my discussion of the planctus Mariae in Part III below.

[25]See notes 5 and 6, page 34-35 above.

[26]Paul Zumthor, "Etude typologique des planctus," 219.

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In the second article, he expands his field of analysis to include five other chansons de geste, and establishes a list of the following ten motifs that constitute the genre: (1) "Le lien narratif" which shows the deceased before the lamentor and includes the introduction to the lament; (2) an apostrophe, or speech addressed to the deceased by the lamentor; (3) the prayer for the soul of the deceased; (4) praise of the deceased; (5) the display of grief on the part of those present at the death or at the scene of the death; (6) "la douleur intérieure" or what the discourse reveals about the emotional state of the witnesses; (7) allusion to the far off homeland of the deceased; (8) "ubi est" - the search for the missing companion; (9) the description of the current situation, and (10) the "mare fustes," in which the lamentor bemoans the fate of the deceased.[27] In this schema only two of the ten elements—the exterior manifestations and internal experience of emotion—refer to the expression of grief. While the entire framework is important for an understanding of the ritual surrounding death in the chanson de geste, we see how death, not grief, dominates the structure of the typical epic planctus.

Let us now turn to three death scenes—two from Raoul de Cambrai, a chanson de geste, and one from romance - Enide's

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[27]Although Zumthor spells the term this way in his heading ["Les Planctus Epiques, 69], "mare" is generally found without the final "e", i.e. "mar fustes".

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lament over the apparently dead Erec in Chretien de Troyes's Erec et Enide, in order to see whether the former conforms to the pattern set down by Zumthor and how the latter diverges from it.

In Raoul de Cambrai,[28] the scene of the hero's death and the primary scene of lamentation are geographically separate. Raoul falls on the field of battle, struck down by Bernier, his one-time companion turned enemy. Raoul's uncle, Guerri, finds the body[29]:

> E vos G[ueri] sor un grant destrier bai;
> son neveu trueve, s'en fu en grant esmai-
> il le regrete si con je vos dirai:
> 'Biax niés,' dist il, 'por vos grant dolor ai.
> Qi vos a mort, ja mais ne l'amerai,
> pais ne acorde ne trives n'en prendrai
> desq'a cele eure qe toz mors les arai:
> pendus as forches toz les essillerai!
> A[alais], dame, qel duel vos noncerai -

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[28]I shall be referring to the edition of Raoul de Cambrai by Sarah Kay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992). Verse citations appear parenthetically in the text.

[29]On the significance of the figure of the uncle in the chanson de geste see Reto Bezzola, "Les Neveux," Mélanges offerts à Jean Frappier..., Vol. I (Geneva: Droz, 1970) 139-114.; W.O. Farnsworth, Uncle and Nephew in the Old French Chansons de Geste: A Study in the Survival of Matriarchy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913); F.B. Gummere, "The Sister's Son," An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall In Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday ed. W.P. Ker, et. al. (Oxford, 1901): 123-49; G.F. Jones, The Ethos of the Song of Roland (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963) 110-114; Oberhänsli-Widmer, La Complainte funèbre, 14-17.

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ja mais a vos parler n'en oserai.' (2986 -2995)

We witness the uncle's expression of grief over the body of his nephew. A description of Guerri's internal state of emotions follows, "s'en fu en grant esmai," followed by direct discourse expressing emotion, "por vos grant dolor ai," and by a vow of revenge. The expression of grief and the declaration of revenge continue, intermingled, through the next two laisses, in which Guerri addresses Raoul directly. After fainting on Raoul's breast,[30] ("G[ueris] se pasme sor le piz del baron," v. 3002) Guerri condemns Bernier, the knight who killed Raoul, and threatens:

'Biax niés,' dist il, 'ci a male raison.

...

mais par celui qi soufri passïon

se ne li trais le foie et le poumon

je ne me pris vaillant un esperon!'(3002 - 3009)

Guerri again swears revenge. After watching his men being killed and his nephew die, his grief is overwhelming: "lors ot tel duel des cens qida issir..." (3013), a topos which appears often in the expression of grief. Guerri returns to apostrophe and recapitulates the oath of revenge:

'Biax niés,' dist il, 'ne sai qe devenir.

Par cel signor qi se laisa laidir,

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[30]On the gesture of fainting on the body of a dead comrade or loved one, see Raymond Cormier, "Une 'Pietà' précoce: La Plainte pour le jeune prince arcadien Pallas dans le Roman d'Enéas," Australian Journal of French Studies 31.2 (1994): 148 and 156 n.b. 11.

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cil qi de moi vos ont fait departir
n'avront ja pais qe je puisse soufrir,
ces avrai faiz essillier et honnir
ou(t) toz au mains de la terre fuïr!
....' (3015-3019).[31]

In this passage, then, just as description and direct speech flow into one another, there is no separation between the expression of grief and the vow of revenge.

Guerri requests a truce in order to take Raoul's body back to Cambrai for a proper burial.[32] Praise for the fallen hero takes the form of a commentary on the size of Raoul's heart.[33] Finding the body of Jehan - the largest knight in

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[31]It is interesting to note that the reference to Christ (v. 3006) is not in the context of Christian consolation, but in an oath of vengeance.

[32]The concern for a burial that is Christian and appropriate to the social status of the deceased is commonly seen in medieval literature.

[33]On the symbolism of the heart in the Middle Ages see G.S. Brett, A History of Psychology Ancient and Patristic 1 (London: G. Allen, 1912, 69, 290); Eric Jager, "The Book of the Heart: Reading and Writing the Medieval Subject," Speculum 71 (1996): 1-26; Jacques Le Goff, "Head or Heart? The Political Use of Body Metaphors in the Middle Ages," trans. Patricia Ranum, Vol. 2, Fragments for a History of the human Body, Michel Feher, et al., eds. (New York: Zone, 1989) 12-27; Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, "La Légende du Coeur inscrit dans la littérature religieuse et didactique," Sénéfiance 30 (1991): 297-213; Bernard Ribémont, "Le cuer del ventre li as trais" Coeur arraché, coeur mangé, coeur envolé: Un regard médico-théologique sur quelques thèmes littéraires," Sénéfiance 30 (1991): 347-361. On the folklore of the heart, see Claude Lecouteux, "Une singulière conception de l'Ame: Remarques sur l'arrière-plan de quelques traditions populaires," Medieval Folklore 2 (1992): 20-47 and the entry "Coeur," in the Dictionnaire des symboles, Chevalier, ed., 217.

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all of France - Guerri opens up both Jehan's chest and Raoul's and removes their hearts, comparing their relative sizes:

> Sor un escu a fin or reluisant
> les a couchiés por vëoir lor samblant:
> l'uns fu petiz, ausi con d'un effant;
> et li R[aoul], ce sevent li auqant,
> fu asez graindres, par le mien esciant,
> qe d'un torel a charue traiant.
> G[ueris] le vit - de duel va larmoiant;
> ces chevaliers en apele plorant.
> 'Franc compaignon, por Dieu venez avant.
> Ves de R[aoul] le hardi combatant,
> qel cuer il a encontre cel gaiant!...'(3062-3072)

Aside from the importance attached to the size of the heart its "arrachement," or cutting out, is particularly significant because of its function as the locus of the passions. According to Bernard Ribémont:

> "l'arracher, c'est supprimer non seulement la vie, mais bien plus: c'est anéantir dans sa source même ce fluide qu'il soit spiritus, vis vitalis, ou anima, et qui, au moins symboliquement s'apparente à l'âme."[34]

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[34]Ribémont, 361. The comparison of the heart to the Christian conception of the soul is unnecessary and misleading. It is enough that the heart is the seat of the emotions and the vital center of the individual. In the case of Raoul and Jehan, however, this "arrachement" is polyvalent: by removing the heart of the enemy, his "soul" is denied salvation, yet the excision of Raoul's heart and its

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The giant knight has a heart the size of a child's, while Raoul has the heart of a giant.

Guerri, overwhelmed by rage, calls off the truce and the battle begins again. The confrontation proves disastrous for both sides, and Guerri returns to Cambrai with the body of Raoul,

> et G[ueris] pleure, sa main a sa maisele.
> R[aoul] en porte, dont li diex renovele.
>
> (3308-3309)
>
> Tant a ploré, mollié a sa maissele;
> li cuers li faut par desoz la ma[m]ele.
>
> (3315-3316)

In the first part of this scene – the discovery of the dead hero – almost all the elements outlined by Zumthor are present. We see Guerri find Raoul's body, we hear the uncle apostrophize his nephew and vow revenge. The prayer for the dead is lacking, and praise of the dead hero takes the form of a metonymic paean to his heart. We witness Guerri's douleur, primarily in his gestures and actions (his hand is raised to his jaw), but also, briefly, in his words and in what we are told about his emotional state. Allusion to the far off homeland takes the form of the apprehension Guerri feels about

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extraordinary size is more like the taking of a relic, elevating him to the status of a saint. See also Piero Camporesi, The Incorruptible Flesh: Bodily Mutation and Mortification in religion and folklore trans. Tania Croft-Murray (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), especially Chapter One.

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telling Aelis of Raoul's death. The last three of Zumthor's elements do not seem to be present in this episode.

Back in Cambrai, Aelis, Raoul's mother, having dreamed of her son's death, sees the defeated army return and learns that her fears for her son had been justified. She observes the generalized grief, "La gentix dame vit le duel engraignier." (v. 3353) Gautier enters, carrying Raoul's body on a huge shield, and bears it to the church of St. Géri where it is laid out:

> A saint Geri le portent au mostier;
> en (v)une biere fissent le cors couchier:
> quatre crois d'or fisent au chief drecier,
> d'argent i ot ne sai qans encencier;
> li saiges clerc i font le Dieu mestier.
> (3362-6)[35]

Aelis addresses those in attendance. She admits that she and her son had quarrelled, then apostrophizes Raoul in the ultimate words of praise for a warrior: "Mieudres ne fu Rolans ne Oliviers / qe fustes, fix, por vos amis aidier!" (3372). Then she faints:

> Lors chiet pasmee, on la cort redrecier;
> de pitié pleure mainte franche mollier..."
> (3376-77)

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[35]This passage and others like it describing the laying out of the body of the dead hero are important as documents of the care and handling of the "dépouille mortelle" during the Middle Ages.

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The spectacle of Aelis' grief elicits grief in others.[36] By the use of the adjective "franche," the tears of grief and empathy are valorized. Upon regaining consciousness, she is inconsolable:

> Dame A[alais] qant revient de pasmer,
>
> son fil regrete– ne se pot conforter.."(3379-80).

The expression of her grief is interspersed with blame of Bernier and also blame of Guerri to whom she had entrusted Raoul's well-being. She grieves not only for Raoul, her son, but Raoul, her heir: "Qui lairai je ma terre et mon païs? Or n'i ai oir ..." (v. 3420-21). Aelis's overwhelming grief is mentioned one last time: "Dame A[alais] fut d'ire trespensee" (v. 3451). If one compares the number of verses in laisses 175 through 182 in which Aelis expresses her grief over her dead son and the verses in which she expresses other concerns: revenge, territorial questions, assignment of blame, one finds that grief takes up a relatively small amount of space.

One final character grieves for Raoul: Helois, Raoul's intended wife:

> El mostier entre comme feme esmarie;
>
> isnelement a haute voix escrie:
>
> 'Sire R[aous], con dure departie!
>
> Biax dous amis, car baisiés vostre amie!
>
> La vostre mors doit estre trop haïe.

---

[36]We shall see similar arousals of empathy throughout this study.

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Qant vos seiés el destrier d'Orqanie,
rois resambliés qi grant barnaige guie;
qant avïés çaint l'espee forbie,
l'elme lacié sor la coife sarcie,
n'avoit si bel desq' en Esclavonie,
ne tel vasal dusqes en Hongerie.
Las, or depart la nostre druerie!
Mors felonese, trop par fustes hardie
qi a tel prince osas faire envaïe!
Por seul itant qe je sui vostre amie,
n'avrai signor en trestoute ma vie,'
Lor chiet pasmee, tant par est esbahie;
tos la redrese la riche baronie. (3485-3502)

Helois enters the church, "like a woman distracted." She praises Raoul - his strength, his nobility, his beauty - and regrets their lost love. She then apostrophizes death, blaming 'Mors felonese' for daring to take such a prince. Like Aude, Roland's intended wife, Hélois rejects the idea of any future marriage, then she faints.[37] Thus, in the words of

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[37]It is revealing to compare the reaction of Aude, Roland's intended wife to that of Hélois. When Charlemagne tells Aude that he intends to marry her to his son, Louis, she responds, "Cest mot mei est estrange./Ne place Deu ne ses seinz/ne ses angles/Apres Rollant que jo vive remaigne!" (3717-19). She turns pale and falls dead at the Emperor's feet: "Pert la culor, chet as piez Carlemagne/Sempres est morte. Deus ait mercit de l'anme!/Franceis barons en plurent e si la pleignent." (v.3720-22). Helois faints, she does not die. Her lament is much more reminiscent of a romance lament. Since Raoul is a much later epic than la Chanson de Roland, this may be explained by the incorporation of some romance elements into the later chansons de geste. For another version

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a young woman we find the most extended, the most "conventional" of the statements of praise for the dead hero, moving from exclamation to praise to blame of death. Raoul is buried amid great pomp, a Bishop pronouncing the Mass.

Another lamentation is found in Raoul de Cambrai[38] - this time a son's expression of grief for his mother. In revenge for an assault on three of Raoul's men,"troi glouton pautonnier" (v. 1223) who attacked the town of Origny, Raoul has his troops destroy the town, including the monastery headed by Marsent, Bernier's mother, which he had earlier promised to spare. Bernier, among Raoul's contingent, witnesses the events: "Qant B[erneçons] voit si la cose empirier,/tel duel en a le sens qida changier." (1318-19). Bernier runs to the doors of the building, but is not able to go any further:

> B[erniers] esgarde dalez un marbre chier;
> la vit sa mere estendue couchier,
> sa tenre face (estendue couchier)
> sur sa poitrine vit ardoir son sautier (1325-1329)

This passage serves to reinforce the positive image of Marsent

---

of Aude's death, see Robert Guiette, "La Mort de la Belle Aude dans les "Croniques et conquestes de Charlemagne," Mélanges Jean Frappier, in which a rubric reads "Comment Gille, femme du conte Guennelon arriva à Blaisnes et comment elle et Ande [sic] se rencontrerent plourans et menans dueil." [Folio iije.xxv (p. 391)].

[38]This episode actually precedes Raoul's death. I have commented on them in this order because of the greater length and centrality of the death of the epic's hero.

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the holy woman and to place Raoul doubly in the wrong - for murdering the nuns (during Lent, which compounds his transgression), and by alienating Bernier, his companion. Bernier regrets his mother: "Ha, douce mere, vos me bais[as]tes ier!" (1331) and utters a cry of self reproach and helplessness: "En moi avez mout malveis iretier/je ne vos puis secore ne aidier," (1332-3) and vows revenge:

> E R[aous] fel Dex te doist encombrier!
> le tien homaje avant porter ne qier;
> se on ne puis cest honte vengier,
> je ne me puis le montant d'un dernier! (1335-8)

The section closes with a brief description of the expression of his grief: "Tel duel demaine/chiet li brans d'acier - troi foiz se pasme sor le col del destrier." Like Aelis, Bernier's grief is overshadowed by his wish for revenge. Yet, because Marsent, the innocent victim, is not as ambivalent a figure as Raoul, and because Bernier's ties to his mother seem to be more intimate than those between Raoul and Aelis, his grief seems more immediate and less formal.[39]

What are we to make of these epic laments? Certainly death and the practical concerns of territory, lineage and war take up a large portion of the texts. Death and grief remain tightly intermingled within the planctus. If

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[39]On the mother-son relationships in Raoul de Cambrai and their function in the epic, see Thelma S. Fenster, "The Son's Mother: Aalais and Marsent in Raoul de Cambrai," Olifant 12.2 (1987): 77-93.

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we were to try to extract a "poetics of grief" from these passages, we would have to focus on the actions of the characters such as the repeated swooning and the shedding of tears. The verbal expression of grief appears somewhat limited and is generally described by an observer rather than expressed by the one experiencing it. Two important questions also come up at this juncture: What is the role of gender in the expression of grief, and how does the relationship of the mourner to the deceased affect the expression of grief? Both the gender of the deceased and the gender of the mourner must be taken into account. I commented briefly earlier on the importance of the uncle/nephew relationship in the world of the epic, as in the world of the High Middle Ages: how does Aelis's maternal grief differ from that expressed by Guerri? How do they both differ from that expressed by Helois? How does Bernier's grief for his mother differ from all of the above? The question of gender will be taken up again in the course of this chapter, and will be addressed in much greater detail below in Chapter Seven.

2. *The Romance Planctus*[40]

The planctus found in Arthurian romance is markedly

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[40]One category of romance planctus that I do not discuss here is that found in the romans d'antiquité. On that topic, see: Martine Thiry-Stassin, "Achille pleure Patrocole: Spécificité d'une plainte funèbre de Benoît de Sainte-Maure," in Farai chansoneta novele: Hommage à Jean-Charles Payen (Caen: Presses de l'Université de Caen, 1989): 379-389, and Raymond Cormier, "Une 'Pietà' précoce...".

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different from the epic lament. According to Gabrielle Oberhänsli-Widmer, the person being mourned is most often not actually dead, only believed so. The focus switches away from the praise of the deceased and the unjustness of the death (generally caused by abstractions such as la Mort or la Fortune)to the emotional state of the mourner.[41] In Chretien de Troyes Eric et Enide[42], Enide sees Erec returning from a combat and feels happy as he approaches her:

Cele le vit, grant joie en ot,
mes ele n'aparçut ne sot
la dolor dom il se plaignoit,
Car toz ses cors an sanc baignoit
et li cuers faillant li aloit.
A un tertre qu'il avaloit,

---

[41]Oberhänsli-Widmer, La Complainte funèbre, 54. This author also includes a lengthy discussion on the complainte funèbre in the "roman d'antiquité" in her fine study. Because my thesis focuses on the late Middle Ages, I am not going to discuss that genre here, but her discussion and list of laments in the romances of antiquity (39 - 42) is very complete.

[42]I shall be referring to the edition of Erec et Enide by Carleton W. Carroll (New York: Garland, 1987). For further discussion of grief in Chrétien de Troyes, see Heather M. Arden, "Grief, Widowhood, and Women's Sexuality in Medieval French Literature," Upon my Husband's Death. Widows in the Literature and Histories of Medieval Europe, Louise Mirrer, ed. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1992) 305-319; Heather Lloyd, "Chrétien's Use of the Conventions of Grief Depiction in a Passage from Cligès," Forum for Modern Language Studies 20 (1984): 317-322; Faith Lyons, "La fausse mort dans le Cligès de Chrétien de Troyes," Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature romanes offerts à Mario Roques Vol. I (Paris: Marcel Didier, 1950) 167-177; and Oberhänsli-Widmer, La complainte funèbre, 53-66.

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cheï toz a un fes a val
jusque sor le col del cheval;
si com il relever cuida,
la sele et les arçons vuida,
et chiet pasmez con s'il fust morz.
Lors comança li diax si forz,
qant Enyde cheü le vit:
molt li poise quant ele vit,
et cort vers lui si come cele
qui sa dolor mie ne cele. (4549-4564)

When Enide sees Erec fall, she does not hide her grief, just as Helois did not hide her grief over Raoul, but gives free reign to its expression.[43]

An haut s'escrie et tort ses poinz;
de robe ne li remest poinz
devant le piz a dessirier;
ses chevox prist a arachier
et sa tandre face desire. (4565-5469)

Enide performs traditional gestures of grief: she wrings her

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[43]The contrast between Erec's "dolor" or physical pain which Enide does not perceive and her own "dolor" or emotional distress, which she doesn't hide is a valuable insight into her character and can be considered emblematic of the problems in mutual understanding and communication that are at the heart of the romance. On misreading signs in Chretien de Troyes, see Joan Tasker Grimbert, "Misrepresentation and Misconception in Chrétien de Troyes: Nonverbal and Verbal Semiotics in Erec et Enide and Perceval," Sign, Sentence, Discourse: Language in Medieval Thought and Literature (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989) 50-79.

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hands, rips her clothes, tears her hair and begins to rend the flesh of her cheeks. She addresses God, asking why she has been allowed to continue living:

'Ha! Dex,' fet ele, 'biax dolz sire,
por coi me leisses tu tant vivre?
Morz, car m'oci, si t'an delivre!" (4570-4572)

She faints and when she regains consciousness, she begins to blame herself:

'Ha!' fet ele, 'dolante Enyde,
de mon seignor sui omecide!
Par ma folie l'ai ocis ...

The passage continues:

Devant son seignor s'est assise
et met sor ses genouz son chief;[44]
son duel comance de rechief:
'Haï! sire, con mar i fus!
A toi ne s'apareilloit nus,
qu'an toi s'estoit Biautez miree,
Proesce s'i ert esprovee,
Savoirs t'avoit son cuer doné,
Largesce t'avoit coroné,
cele sanz cui nus n'a grant pris. (4586-4595)

The announcement of grief and 'mar i fus' elements of the

[44]This position of woman seated on the ground with her dead lover on her lap is also found in Perceval (v. 3413-3447), and may be related to the development of Pietà images. References are to the edition by Félix Lecoy in two volumes (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1984).

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epic planctus are found here, in romance. The traditional praise of the fallen hero - his beauty, his strength and his bravery, his wisdom and "largesse" - are also found. In a later passage, Enide expresses her wish to die:

> 'Dex! que ferai? Por coi vif tant?
> La Morz qu demore, qu'atant,
> qui ne me prant sanz nul respit?
> Trop m'a la Morz en grant despit,
> quant ele ocirre ne me daigne.. (4607-4611)

The desire to die along with a loved one is a profound element in the experience of grief. Enide's words will echo throughout this study, their most poignant expression found in the Virgin Mary's wish to die found in many texts on the Crucifixion. Taking matters into her own hands, Enide draws Erec's sword from its scabbard but, distracted by a troop of knights, does not kill herself.

As in the epic planctus, Enide's actions tell us a great deal about her emotional state. She repeatedly swoons and turns her grief against herself in violent gestures of self-mutilation. Yet, we have a much fuller account of her emotions and what is motivating those emotions - feelings of guilt and responsibility mixed with the recognition of the loss of her lover and appraisal of his worth and value to her. As did Helois, she expresses her anger at Death and verbalizes the desire to die, familar symptoms of a grief reaction. We begin to hear a type of lament in which the death of the hero

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is no longer the focus, but where the emotional reaction of the survivor and its manifestations dominate.

I end my examination of the expression of grief found in romance with a discussion of four Lais of Marie de France.[45] The lais to be considered: Deuz amans, Yonec, Chaitivel,and Eliduc, offer rich examples of grief and the related questions of memory and monumentalization. In these texts we can study a broad range of issues such as the significance of the identity of the mourner and his or her relation to the deceased and questions of gender, and whether grief is described by the narrator or expressed by the character who is experiencing that emotion.

Les deux amans tells of a "suitor test"[46] The King has declared that in order to marry his daughter, the successful suitor must carry her up a steep hill. Her young lover, having procured a strength-increasing potion, sets off up the hill with the princess in his arms. Intent upon accomplishing his task, he does not pause to drink the potion, but near the top, collapses, dead from exhaustion. The young woman, believing he has merely fainted, realizes he is dead, "Ele le pleint a mut haut cri..." (222). Her grief is related by the narrator, who employs the "no greater grief" topos:

Or vus dirai de la meschine.

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[45]Line references are to the edition by Jean Rychner, Les Lais de Marie de France (Paris: Champion, 1983).

[46]Type H 310, Vol. 3, Stith Thompson, Motif-Index of Folk Literature, Bloomingon: Indiana University Press, 1932. 398.

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Puis que sun ami ot perdu,

Unkes si dolente ne fu. (230-232)

Like Yseut when she arrives only to find Tristan dead,[47] the princess dies from grief:

Lez lui se cuchë e estent,

Entre ses braz l'estreint et prent;

Suvent li baisë oilz et buche.

Li dols de lui al quor la tuche:

Ilec murut la dameisele,

Ki tant ert pruz e sage et bele. (233-238)

The praise of the young princess is incorporated into the narrative. The lover dies and the princess grieves; the princess dies and the king mourns his daughter. Upon finding the young couple lying dead on the grass:

Li reis chiet a tere paumez.

Quant pot parler, grant dol demeine,

E si firet la genz foraine. (239-244)

In the world of the lai, as in the world of the chanson de geste it is perfectly acceptable for a King to faint from grief, giving the expression of that emotion a certain dignity.

The lai concludes with a description of the ritual that followed:

Treis jurs les unt tenuz sur tere.

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[47]See Le Roman de Tristan par Thomas, Félix Lecoy, ed. (Paris: Champion, 1991) vv. 3006-3087c.

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Sarcu de marbre firent quere,[48]
Les deux enfanz unt mis dedenz;
Par le cunseil de celes genz
Desur le mont les enfuïrent,
E puis a tant se departirent (245-250)

The king builds a monument to shelter the two young lovers, using stone to perpetuate their memory – memorializing them in marble just as in the composition of the lai, the author transforms the oral tradition in the Breton lai into a written text. No direct expression of grief is found in this lai – the actors' emotions are described by the narrator.

A tombstone also memorializes grief in Yonec. A young wife is locked in a tower by her jealous husband. She is visited by a large bird – in reality a knight who takes that form in order to fly through the window of her tower. The jealous husband, pretending to go on a voyage, has the "vieille" – the old women who is his wife's guardian – remain behind a curtain and spy on her. She reports back to him about the shape-changing bird, whom the husband plots to kill him by placing pointed iron stakes in the window. Unable to warn the bird-knight, the lady watches him receive his wounds. She runs after him, and finds him dying in an enchanted castle. He tells her she will have his child and he gives her

[48]This is an interesting detail - it was not uncommon for the marble for tombstones to be imported and transported long distances. See Pierre Quarré, "Le Tombeau de Pierre de Bauffrement, Chambellan de Philippe le Bon," Bulletin Monumental 113 (1955): 113-115.

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his sword and ring. As long as she wears the ring, her husband will have no recollection of what had transpired (417-420). As she leaves the castle, she hears the bells toll[49] and knows he has died: "De la dolur que ele en ad/Quatre fiëes se pasmad" (449-450).

The son is born and grows up to be "bel," "pruz," et "vaillant." Many years later, the couple and their son are invited to celebrate the feast of St. Aaron at Karlion. The travellers lose their way and are led to an abbey, where the abbot extends his hospitality to them and where they remain overnight. The next day they attend mass. In the church, they come upon a large tomb which was

> Coverte d'un palie roé,
> D'un chier orfreis par mi bendé.
> Al chief, as piez e as costez
> Aveit vint cirges alumez;
> D'or fin erent li chandelier,
> D'ametiste li encensier
> Dunt il encensouent le jur
> Cele tombe par grant honur.(497-508)

Like the passage in Raoul de Cambrai which describes the laying-out of Raoul's body, this passage gives us an idea of the attention paid to the remains of a hero – in this case the commemorations continue well past the time of death. Covered

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[49]The tolling of bells is a pervasive sign of death and harbinger of grief throughout the Middle Ages.

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with a heavily embroidered silk cloth, surrounded by candles set in golden candlesticks, this was obviously the tomb of a very important personage.

The woman asks who is buried there and hears her own story recounted back to her. Upon realizing that it is her son's father who is entombed there, she turns to her son and tells him the circumstances of his birth. Then she faints dead away:

> La vérité li ad cuntee.
> Sur la tumbe cheï pasmee;
> En la paumeisun devïa,
> Unc puis a humme ne parla. (539-542)

The young man turns to the man he had believed to be his father, who was in fact responsible for his real father's death, and, motivated by grief and revenge, kills him:

> Quant sis fiz veit que morte fu,
> Son parastre ad le chief tolu;
> Del'espeie ki fu sun pere
> Ad dunc vengié lui e sa mere. (543-546)

The woman was held in great honor, and was buried within the tomb of her lover, once again demonstrating that burial near the beloved was highly valued:

> A grant honur la dame unt prise
> E el sarcu posee e mise
> Delez le cors de sun ami (549-551).

The monumentality of the tomb is foregrounded and we have the

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sense the stone of the monument is equivalent to the careful construction of the story, a parallel we saw in Peter Haidu's discussion of the Chanson de Roland above, and one that we shall see again.

Chaitivel, the story of a woman loved by and loving four men, is permeated with grief. In fact, its other name is "Les Quatre Deuls". In order to force the lady to decide in favor of one or another of them, her four suitors undertake to participate in a tournament. Three of them are killed and one is severely wounded. Here we have a rare example of a public, communal expression of grief:

> Mut esteïent pur eus dolent:
> Nel firent pas a escïent.
> La noise levat et li criz,
> Unques tels doels ne fu oïz!
> ...Pur la dolur des chevaliers
> I aveit iteus deul milliers
> Ki lur ventaille deslacierent,
> Chevoiz et barbes detrahierent... (129-138)

The scene of general grief described here is overwhelmingly male. The grief of other men on the field of tournament is especially strong: they undo their helmets, tear at their beards and their hair, and exhibit traditional mourning gestures, similar to those exhibited by Enide. The "no greater grief" topos is also expressed.

After the description of the general grief of the crowd

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of spectators and participants we see the reaction of the lady: "Des qu'ele sot cele aventure,/Paumée chiet a tere dure..." (143-44). She laments all four and states that happy times are past, another common grief motif. Just as she did not know which suitor to love in life, she does not know whom she should mourn in death: "Ne sai le queil jeo dei plus pleindre..." (157). She has the dead ones buried and cares for the surviving one under her own roof.

The lai now shifts in time to "un jur d'esté." As she speaks to the surviving knight, the Lady is overcome with grief for the others:

> De sun grant doel li remembrot,
> Sun chief e sun vis en baissot;
> Forment comencet a penser" (183-185).[50]

The shift in time parallels a shift from the immediate experience of grief right after the events, to an exploration of grief and memory. In her conversation with the knight, we also see a shift from narrative description to first-person discourse. The knight asks her why she is so pensive, and she replies: " —Amis, fet ele, jeo pensoue/E voz cumpainuns remembroue" (193-4). She adds in praise for the dead:

> Jamés dame de mun parage,

---

[50]This gesture can be ambiguous. In Le Langage de l'Image au Moyen Age: Signification et Symbolique," François Garnier explains that the gesture can indicate humility, guilt, or grief, and that its interpretation depends on the context in which it is found (114). Since the word "doel" appears in the line before the gesture appears, it is reasonable to assume that it is a grief gesture.

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Ja tant n'iert bele, pruz ne sage
Teus quatre emsemble n'amera
Ne en un jur si nes perdra,
Fors vus tut sul ki nafrez fusts...(195-199)

She announces her intention to write a lai "E Quatre Dols le numerai." (204). The knight tells her she should name the lay after him - the remaining one, the Chaitivel, or "miserable wretch" who sees her and is in her company every day, but who cannot do anything but speak with her. She refuses to abandon her title, however, keeping both names. The title and the lay thus retain their commemorative function, recalling her griefs to the lady and to her reader.

The last of the four Lais which I shall discuss here is Eliduc in which the hero leaves his wife to go serve in another country where he meets and loves the daughter of the king. He agrees to take her back to his own country. Unaware that he has another wife, the princess finds out the truth during a storm at sea when one of the sailors blames the tempest on Eliduc's bigamy. The young princess, Guilliadun, faints dead away:

Desur sun vis cheï paumée,
Tute pale, desculuree.
En la paumeisun demura
Qu'el ne revint ne suspira:
Cil ki ensemble od lui l'enporte
Quidot pur veir k'ele fust morte.

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Mut fet grant doel...(853-859).

Eliduc, overcome with grief, vows not to leave her body until she is buried

"Od grant honur, od bel servise,
En cimiterie beneeit:
Fille ert a rei, s'en aveit dreit" (880-882)[51]

Leaving Guilliadun, presumed dead, in a hermit's chapel, he exclaims (note the shift to the first-person here):

"Mut ai pur vus mun quor dolent.
Le jur que jeo vus enfuirai,
Ordre de moigne recevrai;
Sur vostre tumbe chescun jur
Ferai refreindre ma dolur." (946-948)

He vows to return to her tomb, which is not a tomb, every day – to make a ritual visit which can be interpreted as commemoration, but also as part of his grieving process.

Second-hand accounts of Eliduc's grief-stricken behavior also appear in the lai. He returns to Guildeluëc, his wife, who, moved by his mournful conduct, has him followed by her servant who witnesses his emotion as he enters the chapel: Bien ad esgardé e veü / Cument en la chapele entra, / Le dol oï qu'il demena" (988-990). Hearing this, the wife decides to find the chapel. When she sees the body of the young woman, she is, herself moved. In an empathetic reaction she

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[51]This is another indication of the importance that one's burial should be in keeping with one's position.

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understands and participates in her husband's grief: "Ele cumencet a plurer/E la meschine regreter" (1029-130). While she is sitting there a weasel comes in and leads her to a magic herb, with which she revives the young woman. Upon waking, Guilliadun maligns Eliduc and Guildeluëc calms her, recounting the mourning and grief he has exhibited ever since his return:

> Ceo vus peot hum dire pur veir.
> Il quide ke vu seiez morte,
> A merveille se descunforte.
> Chescun jur vus ad regardee,
> Bien quid qu'il vus trova pasmee.
> Jo sui sa spuse veirement;
> Mut ai pur li mun quor dolent.
> Pur la dolur que il menot...(1088-1095)

She explains that she followed him to the hermitage, and that she is willing to step aside so that the couple may be together. All three dedicate the rest of their lives to the service of God.

One again the <u>lai</u> closes with a reference to memory:

> De l'aventure de ces treis
> Li auncïen Bretun curteis
> Firent le lai pur remembrer,
> Qu'hum nel deüst pas oblier. (1181-84).

Where does the grief in the <u>lais</u> lie? First of all, grief is equally distributed among males and females. Both sexes weep,

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both faint, both curse the heavens. Men tear at their beards, women rend the flesh of their faces. Tears are considered noble, and like visits to monumentalized sites of grief, help to express, channel and move past grief.

If in the chanson de geste the concern is more with the ritual framework and the needs of the community and dynasty, in romance the individual expression of grief is central: the subjects's lament is the verbalization of his or her own despair.

3. *The lyric complainte*

The planctus épique and the romance lament are meant to commemorate the fallen hero and each follow a fairly set pattern with standard elements. The lyric "complainte," on the other hand, is far less predictable, both with regard to structure and to function. According to Monika Wodsak, from the emergence of the complainte in the thirteenth century through its elaboration in the fourteenth, the genre took many forms and served many purposes.[52] Wodsak enumerates four major categories of complainte found in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries: crusade poems, laments for the dead, songs of praise, and love poems. Just as "douleur" is not exclusively caused by death, complaintes were, according to Robert Deschaux, prompted by such "deuils," "deceptions," and

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[52]Monika Wodsak, Die Complainte: Zur Geschichte einer französischen Populargattung (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1985).

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"malheurs divers,"[53] as political calamities and war, amorous disappointments and the death of a loved one or of an important personage.[54] Although common rhetorical elements such as apostrophe, antithesis, exemplum and allegory are found,[55] the structure of the complainte is variable and mirrors the emotion it expresses, corresponding to the circumstances surrounding the loss.[56]

Despite the variety of complaintes, the type that interests us here is obviously that written on the occasion of a death, what Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker calls the "complainte des morts"- either a personal lament for a beloved individual or a lament on the death of an important personage.[57] In the latter case, the poem usually takes the shape of a more formal official funerary lament.[58]

If the complainte is a more personal and variable vehicle

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[53]Deschaux, "Lai et complainte," in Littérature française

[54]Deschaux, 81.

[55]Deschaux, 83.

[56]Deschaux, 79.

[57]In "La Complainte des morts dans la littérature occitaine," Le Sentiment de la mort, 231-247, Elisabeth Schulze-Busacker studies the complainte des morts in epic, in troubadour lyric and in arthurian verse romance. She comments that "les problèmes stylistiques....se présentent pour chaque forme de l'expression littéraire du deuil d'une manière spécifique." ("Etude typologique de la complainte..., 55).

[58]Deschaux, 82. The distinction between the "personal" and "public" expression of grief will be treated at great length in my discussion of grief in the poetry of the fifteenth century.

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for the expression of grief, and the funerary lament is more "official," perhaps we will find that the voice of the mourner is more accessible, closer to the surface in the first form, and more conventional or "coded" in the second. Because the content and form of the complainte is so variable, the balance between death and grief will also be less predictable than in other forms. Some poems may consist entirely of lamentation with no details of the death scene, some may lack the commonplaces of praise and prayer.

Samuel N. Rosenberg comments on the variability of the early French songs and points out that while the Provençal planctus is homogeneous, consisting of three constant elements (the expression of grief, the praise of the deceased, and a prayer for the departed soul), "the French songs ... are heterogeneous in form and of a relatively personal nature. Of the three basic features just identified, only one, the expression of grief, appears in them as a constant." Rosenberg continues, "What is perhaps most striking about the French amatory death-laments is the apparent privacy of the experience that they communicate."[59]

The corpus of French laments is very limited. Rosenberg, in the essay cited above, lists only five laments on the

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[59]Samuel N. Rosenberg, "The Old French Lyric Death-Laments," Le Gai Savoir: Essays in Linguistics, Philology and Criticism dedicated to the Memory of Manfred Sandmann, Mechtild Cranston, ed. (Madrid: José Porrua Turanzas, 1983) 48. This observation ties in with the idea of subjectivity to be taken up in the discussion of voice in Chapter Seven.

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death of a loved one or protector.[60] One of the songs as an anonymous plainte funèbre.[61]

The piece begins as an amatory lament - an initial separation imposed by the beloved woman's family, has been made permanent by her death. The speaker expresses his endless grief, "Ne jamés jor ne qier en mon vivant/M'ire et mon duel ne ma dolor refraindre" (v. 11-12). Like Enide, he voices his wish to die: "Car venist or la mort por moi destraindre/Si, que morir m'esteüst maintenant," (v. 13-14) asserting the "no greater grief" topos: "C'onques mes hom n'ot un mal si tres grant/Ne ne dolor au cuer si pesant fais." The strophe concludes with the praise of the beloved and a statement of her worth--"Ou tant avoit de sens et de bonté/Qui valoit mez que li roiaumes d'Ais." (v. 23-24). In the fourth and fifth strophes, the lamentor reiterates his miserable

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[60]Rosenberg, "The Old French Lyric Death Laments," 46-47. Four of the poems are cited in the collection Chantier m'estuet. Songs of the Trouvères, Samuel N. Rosenberg and Hans Tischler, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981). The fifth text, a chanson by Jehan de Neuville on the death of his lady, is found in Die Lieder des altfranzösischen Lyrikers Jehan de Neuvile, Max Richter, ed. (Halle: Kaemmerer, 1907) 56-7. This is the one area where Oberhänsli-Widmer's study proves problematic. She lists fourteen trouvère complaintes, but includes those written by Rutebeuf. She also neglects to give sources for the works she lists.

[61]In his edition, Chanter m'estuet, Rosenberg classifies these complaintes as plaintes funèbres. I prefer to restrict that term to the more "official" or "public" expressions of grief to be discussed below, and shall refer to these more personal songs as "amatory death laments," a term Rosenberg employs on page 48 of his essay "The Old French Lyric Death-Laments," cited above.

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state and blames Amors, rejecting that god in the final strophe, because the woman for whom he had valued Love is dead. The lamentor expresses a sense of the uselessness of his existence - youth, beauty, money - death ruins all. He will live only in torment, all joy and happiness must be left behind.

The main elements in this poem are the unending pain of the separation; the topos of the poet, who having lost his love no longer desires to sing or to "serve love"; the "no greater sadness" motif ("C'onques mes hom n'ot un mal si tres grant); the expression of the sense of the meaninglessness of life. These are all conventional elements in amatory laments, both in Provençal and in Old French.

The second poem, a complainte in four strophes, is attributed to a "Duchesse de Lorraine."[62] In the first strophe, on which I shall concentrate here, we recognize elements also found in the planctus. The speaker expresses a wish to die because of the death of a loved one. To those who ask her why she has not been "singing," as was her custom - a topos found in the previous poem and which will appear later in the Ballades of Christine de Pizan - she replies:

Car je suix si aloingnie de joie
Que j'en devroie estre plus antreprise,

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[62]Rosenberg, Chanter m'estuet, 198. According to Rosenberg, "Several identifications [are] possible, including Marguerite, daughter of the trouvère Thibaut de Champagne, who married Ferri III, Duke of Lorraine, in 1255 (550).

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Et a mien voil moroie an iteil guise
Con celle fist cui qui je sanbler voroie:
Didol, qui fut por Eneas ocise. (v. 3-7)

She expresses her wish to die and compares herself to Dido, recalling Enide's thoughts of suicide.[63]

The rest of the poem traces the speaker's conversion from grief to hope. When she realizes that she cannot die, for love has promised her joy - she must make a choice, either to embrace the promise of love and life or, if she chooses grief, to live her life in pain and suffering.[64]

These two "personal" laments display some common elements: the farewell to joy; the wish to die; the loss of voice. They share some themes with Enide's lament, but more closely resemble each other than either the epic or romance lament: in their direct appeal to the audience, they do not pass through the mediating voice of a narrator.

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[63]This also recalls Aude's spontaneous expiration upon hearing of Roland's death. By the time we get to Helois, however, there is no thought of self-destruction, merely a stated refusal to marry another which displays once again the concern with practical, dynastic matters in the chanson de geste, as opposed to the grandiose sentimental gestures of romance.

[64]In this poem, written in a female voice, the speaker's grief is resolved, while in the previous poem, the male voice continues to mourn, bringing up the whole question of the fickleness of women, widely found in folklore and literature. See Heather Arden's essay on the motif of the easily-comforted widow, cited above in note 42, page 54. As I point out Chapter Three on the "pedagogy of grief," widows were in special need of advice and control.

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4. *La déploration funèbre*

The "official" or "ceremonial" expression of grief most commonly referred to as the "déploration funèbre" or funerary lament, flourished in the works of the Grands Rhétoriqueurs.[65] Such laments express the reaction to the death of an important personage. Although they follow no prescribed form, they generally consist of three parts: the expression of collective grief; praise of the dead; and prayer for the soul of the deceased.[66] According to Claude Thiry, the déploration funèbre is distinct from the many forms of the complainte, in that it rejects the courtly lyric model. As an example of "poetry of circumstance," the form of the lament is subordinate to its text.[67] According to Thiry:

> Le critère fondamental d'identification et de différenciation réside donc dans le contenu - c'est par son sujet --la 'mort facheuse et importune' - que le genre se délimite et qu'il acquiert sa thématique propre,

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[65]The déploration funèbre has received a great deal of attention in recent years. In addition to Wodsak's discussion are the excellent studies by Claude Thiry La Plainte funèbre (Turnhout: Brepols, 1978), and Christine Martineau-Génieys, Le Thème de la mort dans la poésie française (Paris: Honore Champion, 1978). See also Paul Zumthor, Le masque et la lumière: La poétique des grands rhétoriqueurs (Paris: Seuil, 1978) 191 -192.

[66]Thiry, La Plainte funèbre, 33-34.

[67]Thiry, "De la mort marâtre à la mort vaincue: Attitudes devant la mort dans la déploration funèbre française," Death in the Middle Ages, 239-257.

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organisée avec cohérence.[68]

Whereas the complainte may lament the passing of a specific or unnamed "être cher," the expression of grief in the déploration funèbre is generalized. Rather than mourning an individual in intimate, personal terms, it is ceremonial poetry, a celebration of the public self, designed to "tirer de l'occasion toujours répétée mais toujours unique du deuil une réflexion généralisante sur la nature de la mort...."[69] which explains why these laments are called "funerary" laments. Although the early déplorations were not actually pronounced at a funeral, Monika Wodsak holds that they were based on funerary models: "Im Verlauf der Totenklage werden nahe Hinterbliebene angeredet (als seien sie anwesend), und in gewisser Hinsicht wird auch die Offentlichkeit selbst als zu den Hinterbliebenen gehörig dargestellt.."[70]

Among the earliest funerary laments are three written by Rutebeuf on knights who lost their lives while participating in a crusade. Rutebeuf begins his lament on one of those figures, Eudes de Nevers, King of Navarre and Count of Poitiers, by acknowledging the power of death: "La mors, qui toz jors ceulz aproie/ Qui plus sunt de bien faire en voie," (1-2). Eudes is claimed as the narrator's own personal model, someone whose example he, himself wishes to follow. He

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[68]Thiry, La Plainte funèbre, 36.

[69]Thiry, "De la mort marâtre," 241.

[70]Monika Wodsak, Die Complainte, 38.

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describes his subject as "preudome et saige." (v. 7) Eudes was "...la fleurs de son lignage." (v. 10) The speaker's grief is so great that he cannot find words to express it, a motif related to the "no greater grief" topos: "De sa mort est plus granz damage/Que je dire ne vos porroie" (8 - 12).

A prayer follows:

Mors est li cuens, Diex en ait l'ame!
Sainz Jorges et la douce Dame
Vuellent prier le sovrain maitre
Qu'en cele joie qui n'entame,
Senz redouteir l'infernal flame,
Mete le boen conte a sa destre! (v. 13-18)

The next strophe is a passage of praise in which the count's shining record as a knight is recounted along with his death at Acre. In strophe 7, the poet pronounces an extended speech of praise:

Encor fist li cuens a sa mort
Qu'avec les plus povres s'amort:
Des plus povres vot estre el conte.
Quant la mors un teil home mort,
Que doit qu'ele ne se remort
De mordre si tost un teil conte?
Car, qui la veritei nos conte,
Je ne cuit pas que jamais monte
Sor nul cheval feble ne fort,
Nuns hom qui tant ait doutei honte

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Ne mieulz seüst que honors monte:

N'a ci doleur et desconfort? (v. 73-84)

This is a stunning statement of the fact that all humans die, the rich along with the poor - that no one can escape the sting of death, not even such a brave and noble individual as the Count. Death herself must regret taking such a young man.

The speaker's voice is certainly more commanding than that of the two poets studied here earlier, but is there any more grief in this poem than in the other two? The first strophe is personal in tone and expresses the regrets of the mourner, but very quickly he moves on to the prayer and then to the discussion of the Count's public role and persona. The déploration, then, seems more a declaration of society's loss than a personal statement of grief, confirming the distinction made above between this "ceremonial" form of funerary lament and the more "personal" lyric: the same distinction I drew above between the epic planctus where, in addition to demonstrating a profound sense of loss, the deceased's public role is emphasized, and the romance lament, in which the emotional bond between individuals is stressed.

The function of Rutebeuf's funerary lament goes beyond the expression of grief and seems, like the chanson de geste, to include an exemplary aspect: the knight is not only praised and mourned, but held up as a positive example to his successors. The focus remains on the actions of the deceased rather than on the reactions of the survivors. Yet, I would

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suggest that such praise serves a function in the grieving process of the narrator. The deceased is once again made present in the passage of praise. In a psychoanalytic model of the grieving process, the deceased must be internalized within the griever, but must first be (re)-called into presence, and this is, perhaps the function of praise which sometimes takes the form of a part-by-part reconstruction of the missing object.

Structurally, the forms are diverse. All four types of lament may or may not include elements of prayer, praise, display of grief, vow of revenge, although, as we have seen, certain forms are more likely to contain certain elements. I conclude, then, that apart from any rhetorical devices such as anaphora, that appear to be structural features,[71] that structure does not play a role in the expression of grief in the period discussed in this chapter. A distinction may be made between narrative and lyric forms between the description of grief and the expression of grief, but even this may be deceptive, and both narrative and expression may coexist in one form, as we have seen in my discussion of four of the lais of Marie de France.

Many common elements are found in all the texts studied in this chapter. The way in which they are framed and combined allows us to perceive individual reactions to the

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[71]Such as we shall see in the later material as in the common use of anaphora in the ballade form.

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death of a loved one or an important personage. Over the course of the Middle Ages, constraints on the expression of grief are gradually imposed. As I demonstrate below, in the fifteenth century, an attempt to "formalize" grief is accompanied by a corresponding "feminization" of grief, when the lamenting voice becomes devalued, associated with a lack of control, with the "weak female," and when an entire "pedagogy of grief" arises to teach people the appropriate reaction to death and irrevocable separation. Many of these issues are taken up in Chapter Three, "Grief in Context."

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Chapter 3

Grief in Context

A. The Languages of Grief

1. *The Verbal Language*

The problem of the language of grief is actually a three-fold one, for although this study is written in English, many of the writers and theorists to be discussed have written in French, and the texts to be studied were written in the "moyen français" of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[1]

In English, "mourning," and "grief" are two distinct terms. Mourning, which comes from "to mourn" ("to feel sorrow, grief or regret..."),[2] has several connotations, among them, "The feeling or the expression of sorrow for the death of a person"; "The conventional or ceremonial manifestation of sorrow for the death of a person, especially the wearing of black garments"; and "the period during which such customs are observed." The definition of "Grief," on the other hand, is limited to psychic pain: "Mental pain, distress or sorrow...Deep or violent sorrow caused by loss or trouble; a keen or bitter feeling of regret for something lost, remorse

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[1]Several important studies trace the development and status of le moyen français, notably Christiane Marchello-Nizia, Histoire de la langue française au XIV et XVe siècles (1979; Paris: Dunod, 1992) and Gaston Zink, Le Moyen Français (XIV et XVe siècles), (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France) 1990.

[2]All English definitions in this paragraph are from the Oxford English Dictionary, 2nd Edition, 1989.

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for something done, or sorrow for mishap to oneself or others."

In Medieval French, the verb "doloir" (from Latin dolere) is used to refer to both physical and emotional suffering.[3] The Old French noun "dolo(u)r" and Middle French "douleur" (from Latin dolor) can also refer physical or emotional pain.[4] Old French "dol" or "duel" (from Latin dolus) and Middle French "dueil", later "deuil," however, refer specifically to emotional pain and its external manifestations.[5]

The emotional pain expressed by "dolor" and "duel" and their derivatives is not necessarily the result of a death, but may be the reaction to an absence or a separation, or a grief caused by unrequited love. I am not concerned, in this study, with the last two categories, but will consider pain brought on by absence or separation when the cause of such, not being known, may be assumed to be death.

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[3]Oscar Bloch and Walter von Wartburg,"dolere," Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française 2nd ed. (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950) vol. III, 117b; Frédéric Godefroy, "doloir," Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française et de tous ses dialectes du IX^{e} au XV^{e}, Vol. II (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1881), 739a; Adolf Tobler and Erhard Lommatzsch, "doloir," Altfranzösisches Worterbuch, Vol. II (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925).

[4]Bloch & Wartburg "dolor" III, 119b, Godefroy " dolor" IX, 405a; Tobler-Lommatzsch, "dolor" 1997.

[5]Bloch & Wartburg III, 121; Godefroy IX, 418; Tobler-Lommatzsch 2, 2094-95. For further discussion of these terms, see George Fenwick Jones, The Ethos of the Song of Roland (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1963) 31, 46, 83-87, 178-179, and Phyllis Johnson, "Dolor, Dolent et Soi Doloir: Le Vocabulaire de la Douleur et la conception de l'amour selon Béroul et Thomas," Romance Philology 26.3 (1973): 546 - 555.

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According to Godefroy, "dueil" signifies "profond chagrin causé par la mort, la perte, le départ, l'absence de quelqu'un qu'on aime; marques extérieures de ce chagrin."[6] Wartburg defines "duel" as "douleur, chagrin," and attests that the term "deuil" is found since the fifteenth century in its specific meaning of "affliction que cause la mort d'une personne aimée."[7] Harold Scholler, in his discussion of the word "duel" in the context of the Roman de Renart le Contrefait (1328 - 1342), contests that the word was used to refer to sorrow upon the death of a loved one as early as the first half of the fourteenth century and gives examples from the texts he is studying.[8] Wartburg does not, however, deny

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[6]Wartburg, IX, 418.

[7]Wartburg, III, 121.

[8]Harold Scholler, Studien im semantischen Bereich des Schmerzes. Darstellung der semantischen Situation altfranzösischer Wörter für "Schmerz" - doeul, meschief, tourment, desconfort - im Roman de Renart le Contrefait (1328-1342) (Geneva: Droz, 1959), 3. Scholler's study is only one in a line of "semantic" studies of words related to "douleur" and "deuil." See also, Pierre Bec, "La douleur et son univers poétique chez Bernard de Ventadour," Cahiers de civilisation médiévale 12.1 and 12.2 (1969): 545-571 & 25-33; Georges Kleiber, Le mot "ire" en Ancien Français (XI - XIIIe siècles) Essai d'analyse sémantique (Paris: Klincksieck, 1978); G. Lavis, L'Expression de l'affectivité dans la poésie lyrique française du Moyen Age (XII - XIIIe siècle). Etude sémantique et stylistique du réseau léxical joie-doleur (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1972); Hans Joachim Simon, Die Wörter für Gemütsbewegungen in den altfranzösischen Wortfeldern des Rolandsliedes und des Yvain-Romanes. Inaugural-Dissertation (Friedrich-Alexander Universität, Erlangen, 1958). These studies which analyze Old French and Provençal texts are very interesting both methodologically and in their attempts to get at the expression of emotion through linguistic signs. Although a more recent study, Jean Rychner's La narration des sentiments, des pensées et des discours dans quelques oeuvres

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that the concept existed in Old French, merely that the form "deuil" in its specific meaning is not found until the fifteenth-century. The question of why at this time a new, specific term arose is a fascinating one. Perhaps it a purely linguistic phenomenon, but perhaps there are other, more deeply rooted reasons.

In late medieval French the semantic boundaries between the terms douleur/dueil-deuil appear to be very fluid, although, as demonstrated above, their roots are etymologically distinct. This is evident in the first of Christine de Pizan's Cent Ballades,[9]

> Mais je n'ay pas sentiment ne espace
> De faire diz de soulas ne de joye;
> Car ma douleur, qui toutes autres pass,
> Mon sentiment joyeux du tout desvoye;
> Mais du grant dueil qui me tient morne et coye
> Puis bien parler assez et a plenté (v. 9-14)

in which dueil (v. 13) refers both the poet's external state of being in mourning, and her internal subjective process of grieving, and where douleur (v. 10) is synonymous with the second of these meanings. In Eustache Deschamps "Jeux de mots

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des XIIe et XIIIe siècles (Geneva: Droz, 1990), offers some additional insight into the expression of emotion, it generally recapitulates much of the work of Kleiber in an overly technical and somewhat obscure manner.

[9]This and all subsequent citations from Christine's Ballades will be from volume I of the Maurice Roy edition of the Oeuvres poétiques (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1886).

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sur sa douleur" the same type of confusion is apparant:

> Dolens douleur, dolereuse et dolente,
> Me fait desir chascun jour endurer.
> Tant que ne puis plus vivre ne durer.
> Joye me fuit, tristesse me presente
> Courroux et dueil jusqu'au desesperer.
> Dolans doleur, dolereuse, dolente,
> Me fait desir chascun jour endurer.[10]

Many other questions concerning Old and Middle French including other terms expressing grief, will be taken up in the context of the literary discussions in the third part of this study.

In modern French the two terms in question are "douleur" and "deuil." Douleur can refer to either physical pain, "sensation ou impression pénible, mal, souffrance, supplice, torture" or "douleur morale," emotional pain, a "sentiment ou émotion pénible résultant de l'insatisfaction des tendances, des besoins, d'un manque, d'une frustration." The douleur which concerns us here results from a "manque," or lack, resulting from a loss – the death of someone close to the subject – expressed in French, since the fifteenth century, as explained above, by the specific term "deuil," which is at once emotion, "douleur, affliction que l'on éprouve de la mort de quelqu'un"; and ritual, "signes extérieurs du deuil,

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[10]Eustache Deschamps, Oeuvres complètes de Eustache Deschamps, Vol. 4, Queux de Saint-Hilaire, ed. (Paris: Didot, 1884) 3.

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consacrés par l'usage," and "temps durant lequel on porte le deuil." Grief is, in some cases, expressed in terms of physical pain or illness,[11] especially in the "Compassio" of the Virgin Mary, in which she physically experiences her son's suffering on the cross, externalized by the "glaive," as will be discussed in later chapters.[12]

If we turn to the psychological and anthropological definitions of grief, the problems of terminology become even more complex. The classic Freudian definition of mourning found in Mourning and Melancholia,[13] the text to which all subsequent discussions of grief refer, is as follows: "Mourning is regularly the reaction to the loss of a loved person, or to the loss of some abstraction which has taken the place of one, such as one's country, liberty, an ideal, and so on."[14]

According to psychologist Ruth Menahem, "Le deuil est le

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[11]All definitions in this paragraph are from Le Grand Robert: Dictionnaire alphabétique et analogique de la langue française 2nd ed. (Paris: Le Robert, 1985).

[12]This material will be discussed at greater length in the discussion of the grieving Virgin Mary. The classic articles on this subject in the psychiatric literature is Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," American Journal of Psychiatry 101 (1944): 141-148 and George H. Pollock, "Mourning and Adapatation," The International Journal of Psycho-Analysis 42 (1961):341-61.

[13]"Mourning and Melancholia," in The Standard Edition of the Complete Psychological Works (London: Hogarth Press (1957 [1917]: 237-58.

[14]Freud, "Mourning and Melancholia," 243.

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vécu de la perte d'un être aimé,"[15] a "lived experience" which includes the "aspects sociaux du deuil" such as funerary ritual[16] and "le travail de deuil" or "griefwork" which is, according to Freud, the lengthy process of detachment of the libido from the lost object and it's ultimate reinvestment in a new object.[17] Psychiatrist Michel Hanus, a specialist on grief, is in agreement with Menahem's analysis: "Le deuil est à la fois l'état dans lequel nous met la perte d'un être cher (être en deuil), les coutumes qui accompagnent cet événement (porter le deuil) et le travail de deuil que cette situation implique (faire son deuil)."[18] In modern French, then, "deuil" alone takes on all connotations covered by both English terms "grief" and "mourning" - that of the emotion experienced and of the ritual response to loss.

G.W. Pigman III, whose excellent study Grief and English Renaissance Elegy raises many of the same questions for that genre that will be encountered here, makes a useful distinction between grief and mourning:

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[15]Ruth Menahem, La Mort apprivoisée (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1973), 131.

[16]Menahem, 133.

[17]This process is discussed by Freud on pages 244-245 of "Mourning and Melancholia." In some cases, the process is not completed successfully, a situation that results in what many psychologists call "pathological" or "acute" mourning. See Lindemann, "Symptomatology," and Pollock, "Mourning and Adaptation."

[18]Michel Hanus, La Pathologie du deuil (Paris: Masson, 1976), 5.

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> In everyday speech 'grief' is a synonym for 'mourning', and some theorists prefer it as the technical term, but there are some advantages to distinguishing between the two. I use 'mourning' to refer to a process and 'grief' to refer to an emotion, intense sorrow.[19]

Because I am also discussing images -- the representation of people experiencing the emotion of grief in ritualized mourning activities -- mourning will also refer to such ritualized scenarios and the codes of behavior which accompany them.

2. *The Gestural Language of Grief*

In addition to a verbal language of grief, there is also a visual language which takes the form of bodily gestures and facial expressions, considered here together under the category of "gesture," as well as compositional elements of space and color, which shall be discussed below in the context of my discussion of representation.[20]

Even within the context of the Middle Ages many gestural languages co-exist: there are liturgical gestures and gestures

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[19]G. W. Pigmann, III. Grief and the English Renaissance Elegy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 6.

[20]There may actually be many gestural languages of grief, depending on the extent to which gesture is perceived as being culturally determined, as opposed to timeless and universal, a subject to be discussed at greater length in section two below.

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of prayer,[21] there are feudal gestures, such as gestures of vasselage,[22] there are gestures seen in donor portraits,[23] there are legal gestures,[24]there are theatrical gestures, either those in iconographical depictions, or those rare directions in the text itself.[25] The study of gesture is central to my study. According to Philippe Ménard:

> Le Moyen Age a été une civilisation du geste. Pour connaître les rites sociaux et les règles du savoir-vivre, pour comprendre l'extériorisation des sentiments et la psychologie des personnages, pour distinguer les manifestations obligées et les expressions spontanées de l'affectivité, il est indispensable d'étudier les gestes et les attitudes

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[21]See Dom Louis Gougaud, Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du Moyen Age (Paris: Desclée De Brouwer, 1925); Gerhart B. Ladner, "The Gestures of Prayer in Papal Iconography of the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda, Sesto Prete, ed. (New York: Bernard M. Rosenthal, 1961): 247-275; A.G. Martimort, L'Eglise en prière: Introduction à la liturgie (Paris: Desclee, 1984) 183-194.

[22]Jacques Le Goff, "Le rituel symbolique de la vassalité," Pour un autre Moyen Age: Temps, travail et culture en Occident (Paris: Gallimard, 1977) 349 - 420.

[23]Corine Schleif, "Hands that Appoint, Anoint and Ally: Late Medieval Donor Strategies for Appropriating Approbation through Painting," Art History 16.1 (1993): 1 -32.

[24]Jody Enders, Rhetoric and the Origins of Medieval Drama (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

[25]Stage directions are uncommon in medieval theatrical text. Exceptions such as the Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le Compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501, edited by Gustave Cohen in 1925 (Paris: Champion) are extremely valuable.

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corporelles du passé.[26]

However, if gestures are fleeting movements how can we study them historically? In his introduction to A Cultural History of Gesture, Keith Thomas comments, "Historians cannot observe the bodies of the past in motion, but the sources from which inferences can be made are surprisingly rich." In addition to the visual representation of gesture in works of art and in artifacts:

> There are the published accounts of sign languages, the formal codes compiled for orators, actors, dancers, and monks. There are the incidental descriptions to be found in legal deposition and contemporary accounts of events. There is the huge volume of prescriptive writing on manners....Finally, there is the whole of European imaginative literature....the evidence lies scattered throughout the literary remains and material artifacts of the past.[27]

Our two major sources for gestures of grief and mourning, are,

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[26]Philippe Ménard, "Les Gestes et les expressions corporelles dans la Chanson de Roland: les attitudes de commandement et de défi," in Guillaume d'Orange and the Chanson de geste. Essays presented to Duncan McMillan in Celebration of his seventieth birthday by his friends and colleagues of the Société Rencesvals, Wolfgang von Emden and Philip E. Bennett, eds. (Reading, Pennsylvania: Reading University Press, 1984) 85.

[27]A Cultural History of Gesture, Jan Bremmer and Herman Roodenburg, eds. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991) 5.

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then, written sources- "literary"[28] and documentary, and iconographical ones.[29]

What are some of the gestures of grief that occur in the literary and iconographical materials that will concern us here? Those most frequently discussed are the inclination of the head; the raising of the hand (usually the right hand) to the right cheek; the holding of one hand in the other; hiding tears from those around one by covering eyes with a hand, or covering head with a cloth; tearing of the hair or beard,

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[28]See Robert G. Benson, Medieval Body Language: A Study in the Use of Gesture in Chaucer's Poetry, Anglistika 21 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1980); Erhard Lommatszch, "Darstellung von Trauer und Schmerz in der altfranzösischen Literatur," Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 43 (1923): 20-67; Dietmar Peil, Die Gebärde bei Chretien, Hartmann und Wolfram: Erec - Iwein - Parzival (Munich: Fink, 1975); Barry Windeatt, "Gesture in Chaucer," Medievalia et Humanistica N.S. 9 (1979): 143-161.

[29]Among the many important studies on Medieval gesture are Moshe Barasch, Gestures of Despair in Medieval and Early Renaissance Art (New York: New York University Press, 1976) and Giotto and the Language of Gesture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); François Garnier, Le langage de l'image au Moyen Age, 2 vols. (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or 1982-89); E.H. Gombrich, "Ritualized gesture and expression in art," Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, Series B, Biological Sciences, 251.772 (1965): 393-401; Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Entre le texte et l'image: les gestes de la prière de Saint Dominique," Persons in Groups: Social Behavior as Identity Formation in Medieval and Renaissance Europe, Richard C. Trexler, ed. (Binghamton: MRTS, 1985) 195-220, and La Raison des gestes dans l'Occident médiéval (Paris: Gallimard, 1990); Richard C. Trexler, "Legitimating Prayer Gestures in the Twelfth Century, The De Penitentia of Peter the Chanter," History and Anthro-pology 1 (1987): 97-126, and The Christian at Prayer. An Illustrated Prayer Manual Attributed to Peter the Chanter (d. 1197) (Binghamton: MRTS, 1987). The most recent treatment of the topic, Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "Gestes et expressions du deuil," A Réveiller les morts, 121-133, is of particular interest in this study.

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rending of the cheeks; arms raised in what Barasch calls the "Hippolytus gesture,"[30] fainting or swooning. We have seen many of these gestures in the texts discussed above, Guerri, Aelis, Helois, and Enide all faint repeatedly. Guerri holds his hand to his cheek and Enide shreds her dress, tears her hair and rends her cheeks. Gestures are not as prominent in non-narrative, lyric works where the voice is more important as a vehicle for the expression of grief.

We see many of these grief gestures in the miniature accompanying the prayer "O Intermerata..." [Fig. 4][31] In this representation of the Pietà, we see the Virgin Mary seated before the cross, holding the dead Christ in her arms. Her head is deeply inclined to the left as is the head of John the Evangelist. The female figure to Mary's right has not fainted, but is on her knees, her left hand held to her heart and her right hand wiping away tears with the cloth from her veil. The gesture made by the figure to the left of the group is rather unusual. She is turned three-quarters away from the picture plane and is clasping her hands together in a kind of inverted "Hippolytus gesture." A fine example of the Hippolytus gesture is found in the Pietà from Jean Fouquet's

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[30]Barasch, Gestures of Despair, 23.

[31]From BN lat. 10548, (fol. 21v), Heures à l'usage de Paris, second half of the fifteenth century.

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Book of Hours of Etienne Chevalier [Fig. 5][32] where Mary, sitting on the ground, leaning forward, her face practically parallel with Christ's body, thrusts her arms upwards over her head. The problem remains of the "representativity" of the images - what can we tell about how people reacted in situations of mourning and grief from these conventionalized gestures?

B. The Pedagogy of Grief

Throughout the Middle Ages many models were circulated for the appropriate expression of grief, as well as negative examples for inappropriate mourning.[33] From the personification of grief in the figure of Job,[34] to the representation of maternal grief in the lamenting voice heard in the Massacre of the Innocents: "then was fulfilled what was spoken through the prophet, 'A voice was heard in Rama, weeping and loud lamentation; Rachel weeping for her children, and she would not be comforted, because they are no more,' biblical texts offer examples of grief and consolation (Matthew 2, 18). Jesus himself, weeping over Lazarus is a model (John, 11,35), and in his own words to the apostles he

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[32]Plate 19 of Jean Fouquet, The Hours of Etienne Chevalier, Charles Sterling and Claude Schaefer, eds. (New York: Braziller, 1971).

[33]Such models took the form of exempla, sermons, books and images.

[34]Lawrence L. Besserman, The Legend of Job in the Middle Ages (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

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prepares them for the grief they are to experience, and he gives them a message of hope and consolation:

> 'A little while and you shall not see me, and again a little while and you shall see me.' Amen, amen, I say to you, that you shall weep and lament, but the world shall rejoice; and you shall be sorrowful, but your sorrow shall be turned into joy. A woman about to give birth has sorrow, because her hour has come. But when she has brought forth the child, she no longer remembers the anguish for her joy that a man is born into the world. And you therefore have sorrow now; but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice and your joy no one shall take from you.

Such biblical references were taken up, expanded and combined with other material in a powerful model for behavior - sermons.[35] Three types of sermons are important here - memorial sermons preached during funerary services; sermons on feast days, especially, for our purposes, All Souls Day, or

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[35]Among the many works on preaching are: David D'Avray, Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994); De Ore Domine: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages, Thomas L. Amos, Eugene A. Green and Beverly Mayne Kienzle, eds. (Kalamazoo: MIP, 1989); A. Lecoy de la Marche, La Chaire française au moyen âge spécialement au XIIIe siècle (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1886); Jean Longère, La Prédication médiévale (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1983); ; Hervé Martin, Le Métier du prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age, 1350-1520 (Paris: Cerf, 1988); Larissa Taylor, Soldiers of Christ: Preaching in Late Medieval and Reformation France (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

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the Day of the Dead, and "ad status" – special topical sermons.[36]

1. *Preaching Moderation*

In his recent study, Death and the Prince: Memorial Preaching before 1350,[37] David d'Avray marks the beginning of the genre of the funerary or memorial sermon in the Christian West with the funeral orations of Ambrose of Milan.[38] While D'Avray concentrates on Ambrose's two orations on the death of rulers, I am interested here in his orations on the death of his brother Satyras. In the first oration, delivered at the funeral mass in the year 378, a conflict which is to remain more or less constant in Christian thought is articulated: is it not selfish, even "unchristian" to mourn for someone who has entered into eternal life? This internal "tug of war" between belief and emotion is central to this study, for as we shall see, no matter how diligently the Church or other authorities tried to discourage "excessive" mourning for the dead, all the evidence points to the fact that people

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[36]Sermons on the Passion, another important category, will be discussed below in the context of the grief of the Virgin at the foot of the cross.

[37]David D'Avray, Death and the Prince. Although the focus of my study is the late Middle Ages, because of the compendium nature of medieval thought I also discuss a few early sermonizers before moving on to Jean Gerson.

[38]I shall refer to the edition in Funeral Orations by Saint Gregory Nazarian and Saint Ambrose, tr. Leo R. McCauley, et al. (Washington D.C.: Catholic University Press, 1953). Page references will be noted parenthetically in the text.

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continued to grieve openly and often with unrestrained emotion.

In his oration, Ambrose begins by questioning his right to grieve. He fears that he appears ungrateful to God: "Furthermore, I cannot be ungrateful to God. For it should be a cause for joy that I had such a brother rather than a source of sorrow for having lost him." (162) He continues by remarking that it was unreasonable for him to expect to be exempt from suffering the loss of a loved one, for even God the Father suffered loss: "Who can grieve because a security especially dear to him has been taken away, when for our comfort the Father delivered His only Son unto death for us." (162) Ambrose asserts that although he has lost his brother, all now "have him in common," and that although his brother is physically absent, the bond between them remains strong. Yet, his attempts to convince and console himself do not succeed and he exclaims: "But now, brother, what progress can I make, in what direction shall I turn!.... How can I ever forget the one with whom I always drew the plow of life?..." (164). He catches himself, "But where is such unrestrained sorrow carrying me in my recollection of kindness and forgetfulness of duty?" (165) and asserts:

> But we have not committed a serious fault by our weeping. Not every display of sorrow is a sign either of a lack of trust in God or of weakness in ourselves. Natural grief is one thing, sorrow

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> which comes from lack of hope is another, and there is a great difference between longing for what you had and grieving because you have lost it. (165).

Ambrose then begins a discussion of tears, an important aspect of the expression of grief:

> Not only does sorrow beget tears, but joy does, also. Piety excites tears, prayer waters the couch, and supplication, as the Prophet has said, washes the bed. Tears are, therefore, indicators of devotedness, not inciters of grief. Hence, I frankly allow that I, too, have wept, but the Lord also wept. (165)

Having resolved that grief and even tears, were permissible, Ambrose continues his oration with praise of his brother and concludes that by chanelling his grief into the public grief he is participating in a general ritual and not a selfish indulgence. "So, let the common sorrow swallow up our sorrow and shut out the bitterness of our own grief." (189). But his resolve is only temporary. He says "But again I hear Scripture saying: ' Do not continue this discourse, but allow yourself to be persuaded...Do thou, then, shake off thy great heaviness, and put from thee the multitude of sorrows, so that the Mighty One may be merciful to you again, and the Most High give you rest and surcease from sorrow." (190). Once again, he finds that the solution of channelling his own tears into those of the community takes away the subjectivity of his

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emotion, "My tears, therefore, shall cease, or, if they cannot cease, I will weep for you, my brother, in our public lamentation, concealing my personal anguish under the cloak of public grief." (191)

Ambrose remains however, concerned for their sister who, although she channels her grief into her prayer, is excessive in her devotions. She "prostrates herself upon the ground, she embraces her brother's tomb, she is worn out from restless walking, she is constantly sad, and day and night she renews her grief...So in her we have an object of pity rather than of censure, for to weep at prayer is a mark of virtue." Ambrose continues: "Young women, because they belong to the gentler sex and have greater tenderness in their affection, break out into tears, as we well know, at the sight of our common weakness, even when their own families are not mourning a loved one. Hence, when there is a greater cause for grieving, no limit can be set for that grief." (194) Ambrose's comments on his sister's grief are noteworthy in this context. Because her tears are within the framework of her religious devotions, she is not to be criticized for excessive grief. Yet, in the generalizing of her reaction to that of all women, we begin to see a slight hint of the perception I noted in Chapter Two that was to develop in the later Middle Ages - that women's lamentation was excessive and needed to be controlled.

Ambrose, then, introduces several issues that will recur in memorial sermons, and indeed all sermons "de mortuis" (on

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the dead) through the fifteenth century: the selfishness of feeling grief for one who has "moved on"; the notion of unrestrained grief as "unchristian" (especially important to early Christians - with their efforts to distinguish themselves and their practices from pagan ones); comparison of the personal loss to that of God the Father who sacrificed his son; the discussion of weeping and the point that weeping does not imply lack of faith, which evolved into a debate on "good" tears - tears of contrition (and later on "mystical" tears which were considered a gift from God and a sign of Grace), and "bad" tears or selfish tears of loss.[39]

In the Confessions, St. Augustine avoids public tears - he keeps himself from weeping at his mother's death:

> For we did not think it appropriate to mark this funeral with sorrowful tears...that was the usual

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[39]On tears, see Pierre Adnès, "Larmes," Dictionnaire de Spiritualité, 288 - 304; Heinz Gerd Weinand, Tränen. Untersuchungen über das Weinen un der deutschen Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters (Bonn: H. Bouvier & Co., 1958); "Monks and Tears," ch. 5 of Brian Patrick McGuire, The Difficult Saint: Bernard of Clairvaux and his Tradition (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1991); Peter von Moos, Consolatio. Studien zur mittelälterlichen Trostliteratur (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1971). On tears in literature see L. Beszard, "Les Larmes dans l'épopée, particulièrement dans l'épopée française jusqu'à la fin du XIIe siècle. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 27 (1903): 383-413; 513-549; 641-47; Raymond J. Cormier, "The Gift of Tears in Chrétien's Philomena," Zeitschrift für romanischen Philologie Sonderband zum 100-jährigen Bestehen (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1977) 193-197; Alice Planche, "Larmes du Coeur, larmes du corps dans quelques textes en français en vers des XIVe et XVe siècles," in Et c'est la fin pour quoi sommes ensemble: hommage à Jean Dufournet: littérature, histoire et langue du Moyen Age Vol. 3 (Paris: Champion, 1993) 1133-1142.

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> custom in mourning the unhappy lot of the dead, or their complete extinction. But she did not die unhappily, nor did she die altogether (259).[40]

Yet he does, ultimately weep, releasing his emotion but in concluding the chapter, he asks the forgiveness of God and of his reader. Thus he grieved, but he felt guilty about it because it seemed a denial of the doctrine of the afterlife and of salvation. Not until St. Bernard's sermon on his brother Gerard's death, where he makes clear that he is not weeping for the deceased who has "plunged into the abyss of light," but is lamenting his own loss, is public mourning and the shedding of tears over the death of a loved one tolerated, and even then, it was reiterated that the ultimate goal was eternal salvation.

Bernard begins by describing how he has kept himself from grieving[41]:

> But up till now I have done violence to myself and kept up a pretence, lest my affection should seem stronger than my faith. While others wept, I, as you could not but see, followed with dry eyes in

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[40]Saint Augustine, Confessions, Book 9. Trans. Vernon J. Bourke (New York: Fathers of the Church: 1952) 256.

[41]The edition used here is The Works of Bernard de Clairvaux vol. III, On The Song of Songs II trans. Kilian Walsh (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1983). For commentary on this sermon see Chapter 5, "Mourning and Marriage in Saint Bernard's Sermons and Pearl," in Anne W. Astell, The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) 119 - 135 and Brian Patrick McGuire, The Difficult Saint.

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> the wake of the cruel bier, stood with dry eyes at the graveside till the last solemn funeral rite was performed. The eyes that beheld me were filled with tears, and the wonder was that I did not weep, since all took pity, not so much on him who had gone as on me who had lost him. (60 - 61)

Bernard describes his deceased brother and their relationship, and asserts that while he, Bernard is to be pitied, Gerard, his brother is not, "And the reason, dear brother, is that though you have lost your loved ones, you have found others more lovable still. As for me, already so miserable, what consolation remains to me, and you, my only comfort gone?" (62) Drawing on examples of grief mentioned above as well as others, Bernard asserts his right to grieve:

> And let no one embarrass me by telling me I am wrong in yielding to this feeling, when the kind-hearted Samuel poured out the love of his heart for a reprobate king, and David for his parricidal son, without injury to their faith, without offending the judgement of God. Holy David cried out: "Absalom, my son, my son, Absalom!' And see, a greater than Absalom is here. Our Savior, too, looking at Jerusalem and foreseeing its destruction, wept over it. And shall I not feel my own desolation that even now presses upon me? Shall I not grieve for the heavy blow so recently

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> received?.... At the tomb of Lazarus, Christ neither rebuked those who wept nor forbade them to weep, rather he wept with those who wept... These tears are witness to his human kindness, not signs that he lacked trust.... In the same way, our weeping is not a sign of lack of faith, it indicates the human condition (72).

Approximately 800 years separate St. Ambrose's oration on the death of his brother from St. Bernard's lament. The two are similar in that they are both on the death of a member of the speaker's immediate family, one who was a companion as well as a relative. Both include the important aspect of praise for the deceased, which along with the expression of grief is a major constituent of all funerary poetry. Both men give fairly large reign to the expression of grief, accepting the emotion on the grounds of its "humanness."

Later sermonizers, while allowing for grief, tend to want to limit its expression to keep it "within bounds." Jacques de Vitry, in his sermon 'to those who are mourning the death of people near to them,"[42] states that the tearful expression of grief is unpious: "quasi dicat: plangendus est impius, qui ita ab hac uita egreditur, quod nec ad regionem

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[42]This sermon is found in Ms Troyes 228, fully reproduced in Johannes Baptist Schneyer, Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350 (Münster, Beitrage zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, no. 411, 1969), and cited at length in D'Avray, Death and the Prince, nb, p. 30-31.

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spritiuum nec ad illum qui fecit ipsum reuertatur." He uses the example of Saint Agnes, who did not want anyone to mourn for her: "In legenda autem beate Agnetis dicitur quod, ipsa mortua, parentes eius nullam penitus tristitiam habentes cum omni gaudio corpus eius sepelierunt,"[43] a pedagogy of grief that would certainly have been disseminated in The Golden Legend, as well as in sermons. Yet, Jacques de Vitry also says, "Uel interius gemere moderate conceditur, huius affectus naturalis compassionis non reprobatur, dummodo mensuram non excedat, nec inconsolabiliter doleat."[44] His somewhat contradictory statements illustrate the deep-seated and continuing ambivalence surrounding the expression of grief.

For my purposes here, the most important testimony to the appropriate expression of grief in late medieval French society is that offered by Jean Gerson, who lived from 1363 to 1429.[45] The tremendously influential theologican and preacher was one of the most important voices of his time. Author of many important works, among them an Ars Moriendi and possibly the text of the Danse macabre located in the Cimitière des Innocents in Paris, Chancellor of Notre-Dame, correspondent of Christine de Pizan in the Querelle de la Roman de la Rose,

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[43]D'Avray, Death and the Prince, n.b.p. 31.

[44]From MS Troyes 228, 145 ra. cited by David D'Avray in Death and the Prince, p. 30-31 n.b. 101.

[45]On Gerson, see Louis Mourin, Jean Gerson prédicateur français (Bruges: De Tempel, 1952);D. Catherine Brown, Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

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Gerson's sermons are extremely important to us here. Many that remain are in French which may indicate a wide diffusion,[46] and sermons exist in all the categories mentioned above: sermons for All Souls, sermons on the Passion to be discussed later, and sermons on specific topics.

Gerson's three French sermons for the All Souls, "Beati qui lugent...[47], "Sancta et salubris est cogitatio pro defunctis exorare,"[48] and "Memento finis..."[49] tend to be more concerned with the fate of the deceased through the intercession of the living than on the grief or lamentation of those who survive, and may thus be included in the pedagogy promoted by the "imagery of death" discussed above in Chapter One. In the first sermon, "Beati qui lugent," subtitled, "Dit ce theume que Ceulz yci sont bieneureux Qui les cuers ont doloreux..."(549), Gerson explains that by "cuer doloreux," he means "de bonne doleur, de doleur de penitence..." once again recalling the positive nature of tears of contrition as

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[46]The question of audience for sermons and the languages in which they survive is a difficult one. See David D'Avray, "The Comparative Study of Memorial Preaching," in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Series 5, 40 (1990): 25-42.

[47]All of Gerson's sermons to be discussed here are cited in the edition by Monseigneur Glorieux, Oeuvres complètes: L'Oeuvre français Vol. VII, parts I & II (Paris: Desclée, 1966-68). Page references will be cited parenthetically in the text. "Beati qui lugent," Vol. VII, part I, 549-560, was delivered on November 2, 1402.

[48]Gerson, "Sancta et salubris est.." Oevures complètes, 1031-1040. The sermon was delivered November 2, 1404.

[49]"Memento finis," Vol VII, part I, 690-698, was delivered on November 2, 1406.

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opposed to selfish tears of grief. (551). Gerson then describes how tears can lessen the pains of those in purgatory. A mother addresses her son who is still living:

> Et se tu demandes comment tu me delivreras, je te dy, mon chier enfant, que ce sera par faire penitence pour moy, par priere a Dieu pour moy, en cuer humble et doloreux. Pleure pour moy, mon tres chier enfant, en devote oroison et je te afferme que l'eaue de tes larmes se elle est pure et nette sans laydure de pechié mortel, estaindra tout ou en grant partie l'ardent feu qui me travaille et brule.... Helas, mon doulx enfant, pourras tu refuser a ceste povre mere une goutte d'eaue, une seule larme qui tant luy puet proffiter et sa doleur alegier. J'ay soustenu tant de doleur et de meschief pour toy porter, enfanter, nourrir et avencier. J'ay pour toy fait mains pleurs et mains gemissemens, tu les sces bien; sy te prie et requier que tu ne me failles mie a ce darrain besoing. (553).

In this passage Gerson employs an exemplum[50] in which the

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[50]Jacques Le Goff defines "exemplum" as "Un récit bref donné comme véridique et destiné à être inséré dans un discours...pour convaincre un auditoire pour une leçon salutaire," L'"Exemplum," Claude Brémond, Jacques LeGoff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, eds. Typologie des Sources du Moyen Age Occidental, Vol. 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), 35-38. In Soldiers of Christ, Larissa Taylor explains that exempla can fall into one of four categories: histories and legends; contemporary events and reminiscences of the preacher; fables,

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tears of the living extinguish the fires in purgatory [Tubach, #4716][51] Ironically, in his sermon "Consolation sur la mort des amis," to be discussed below, Gerson uses a similar exemplum to demonstrate the negative effect of too many tears, again underscoring the ambivalence surrounding the whole issue of grief and its expression. This and the other two sermons for the Day of the Dead, focus then, on how to assist your loved ones in moving from purgatory into paradise. "Memento finis" is a memento mori with the message that life is brief and we tend to get caught up in our lives and ignore the life of the spirit, the eternal life which follows:

> Maiz helas, bruit mundain, occupacion mundaine estoupe les oreilles de nostre ame et bande les yeulz de nostre cuer, telement que nous ne pouons souvent penser a nostre fin vivement et

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and descriptions taken from bestiaries (68). On the importance and significance of the use of exempla see Jacques Berlioz and Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, eds. "Les Exempla médiévaux. Introduction à la recherche suivie de tables critiques de l'Index Exemplorum de Frederic C. Tubach (Carcasonne: Garae/Hésiode, 1992); J.-T. Welter, L'Exemplum dans la littérature religieuse et didactique du Moyen Age (Paris: E.-H. Guitard, 1927); and the collection, Rhétorique et histoire *l'exemplum* et le modèle de comportement dans le discours antique et médiévale. Table ronde organisée par l'Ecole française de Rome (le 18 mai 1979) Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome 92.1 (1980).

[51]Frederic C. Tubach, Index exemplorum: A Handbook of Medieval Religious Tales (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakademie, 1969). In the exempla of Thomas de Cantimpré, prayers alone can reduce the suffering of the soul in purgatory. See also, Paul Hermant, "Le Folklore dans l'oeuvre de Thomas de Cantimpré," Le Folklore Brabançon 16.95 (1937): 361.

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> parfondement comme nous devrions, qui est la plus grande merveille de toutes merveilles." (691)

Gerson returns to the question of "comment on peut ayder et delivrer les ames de purgatoire," (695) to which he gives a three-part answer: "par aumosnes, quant auz biens temporelz; par justice, quant auz biens corporelz; par oroisin quant auz biens de l'ame ou espirituels. Ces manieres de suffrage en especial demandent les trepassez en nous remembrant la fin, et disant: panse a la fin" (696). There is, in essence, no time for grief. Grief is not an expedient means to help those in purgatory.

The third sermon "Sancta et salubris est cogitacio pro defunctis exorare," continues the pedagogy of death, Gerson exhorts: "eslevons a present nostre pensee sus toutes choses terriennes, hors de toutez autres pensees mondaines, charnelles ou vainnez; envoyons nostre pensee considerer l'estat des mors; pensons au lieu ou il sont, c'est en la prison dure et ardent de purgatoire, en douloureurs tourmant et penitance." (1031) The meditation is directed away from the self and the suffering of the survivor to the plight of the dead soul in purgatory. In these three sermons, grief is not even an issue. The only dolour to be experienced are tears of contrition and tears to help the dead enter paradise. So, we see that in the sermons of Gerson for the Jour des Morts, the pedagogy of death is distinct from any commentary on grief.

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The lesson is quite different in the sermon "Consolation sur la mort des amis"[52] which contains a clear pedagogy of grief. In the introduction to the sermon, Gerson states:

> Pour ce que toute humaine creature est de fraille condicion et tent tousdiz a sa fin, c'est assavoir a la mort, et n'est nul qui le darrain trespas puist eschever, comme chascun le voit, et neantmoins pluseurs sont qui de la mort de leurs parens et amis enqueurent a la foys si grant tristesse et angoisse de cuer que raison ne les poeut ou ne veult oster ou amoderer, cy sensuyent en brief aucunes bonnes con- deracions fondees sur les escriptures et diz des sains docteurs, par lesquelles on peut moderer telles tristesses et angoisses de cuer irresonnables de la mort et trespas d'un chascun, tant soit prochain ou bien ame. (316)

In this sermon Gerson enumerates nine "considérations" relative to the experience and expression of grief for a loved one. The first considération is that we must accept death as God's will - that all mortal beings suffer and die. Gerson uses the example of Job and his unquestioning acceptance of God's will in his illustration of the second consideration: "tout ce que nous avons, nous a esté comme presté de Dieu

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[52]Jean Gerson, Oeuvres complètes, Monseigneur Glorieux ed. Vol. 7, Part I, 316 -325. Delivered in 1403.

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souverain seigneur de tout le monde, duquel vient tout bien, grant et petit. Pourtant se il nous a donné et corps et ame il les peut demender toutes les fois qu'il luy plaist sans nous faire point de tort." (317) The third consideration states the inevitability of death for all living creatures, and the fourth is that when we see our friends leave this world we should rejoice: "Pour ce quant nous veons nos amis trespasses de ceste misere nous devons d'une part avoir une soubre leesse comme se ils feussent delivres d'un grant peril et tribulations..." (318) In fact, Gerson explains that although Jesus cried over Lazarus "il plouroit vrayement sur le ladre mais non pas de tellez larmes comme tu fais tes amis..." He cried for Lazarus, not because he was dead, but because he was to return to the living: "Il estoit triste sur le Ladre non pas pour ce qu'il estoit mort mais pour ce que en ceste vie retournoit." (318). The fifth consideration is that since God is omniscient, he knows the reasons for things that we cannot fathom.

In the sixth consideration, Gerson explains that tears are of no use to the deceased, when they are tears motivated by a sense of loss experienced by the living: "C'est tout certain que sans miracle on ne peut resusciter ung mort par plourer et gemir..." (319) Only God's will determines the ultimate fate of the individual. Even if a one's loved one remains in purgatory, time would be better spent in "oroyson et prieres en saincte compunction de larmes pour impetrer sa

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delivrance," (319) than in crying over the loss. Tears of contrition are sanctioned, but even these tears must be moderated: "Neantmoinz telz pleurs et gemissemens doibvent estre moderes, attemprez et meslez avecques soubre leesse, en esperance que tel soit en voie de salvation." (319)

The seventh consideration is interesting on two counts. First we have the warning that excessive sadness may be the work of the devil: "souvent telle tristesse et angoisse est procuree par l'instigation de l'ennemy..." Taking advantage of our weakened state, "il s'efforce par toutez manieres de la nous oster pour nous mettre en tristesse et finablement en desespoir, et nous grever jusques a la mort corporellement et espirituellement....."[53] After this warning follows the exemplum referred to above:

> car il estoit une belle fame qui avoit ung bel enfant, moult ingenieux et habille en toutez choses; mais il trespassa asses tost de ce monde; dont sa mere prist telle tristesse et angoisse au cuer qu'elle ne cessoit de plourer nuyt et jour. Advint ung certain jour que ceste bonne dame vit en vision une compaignie de josnes gens qui moult joyeusement et hastivement aloyent en certain lieu; mais elle ne vit point son enfant avec eulx; dont

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[53]For a discussion on sadness and despair see Susan Snyder, "The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition," Studies in the Renaissance 12 (1965): 18 - 59.

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> fut encore plus troublee. Puis en considerant ou il pouoit estre aparait qu'il venoit apres les aultres tout bellement comme s'il fut fort lasse. Lors lui demanda sa mere doulcement pourquoy n'estoit avec celle belle compaignie. Tantost luy respondit comme triste, en luy montrant sa robe par darriere toute moille, dont estoit si apesanti de ceste eaue et le grevoit tellement qu'il ne pouoit suir ses compagnons; et adjousta ad ce en disant: belle mere, ie vous suppli que doresenavant vous cessiez d'ainsi plourer sur moy comme aves fait iusques cy; mais adreciez doulcement vos larmes envers Dieu avec saincte oroison, et dedans brief temps seray en parfaite salvation. Ainssi le fist elle, et son enfant fut parfaitement delivré. (320-321)[54]

While in the previous exemplum tears directed towards the

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[54]This exemplum is widely attested in folklore. Stith Thompson classifies it as type E360/361, "Friendly return from the dead to stop weeping [Motif-Index of Folk Literature, vol. I (Bloomington, Indiana, 1932) 366]. In Child's classification it is an example of the "Unquiet Grave" motif [Francis James Child, The English and Scottish Popular Ballads Vol. 2 (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin 1882-98) 234-238]. In this case, we find "the tale of the child that is obliged to carry its mother's tears in a pitcher, or whose clothes are wet with its mother's tears (Vol. 2, 512-513). The motif, which Bolte and Polìvka call "Das Totenhemdchen," first appears, according to those authors, in 1260, among the exempla of Thomas de Cantimpré [J. Bolte and G. Polìvka, Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm Vol. 2 (Leipzig 1913-1930), 485].

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salvation of a loved one will be effective, tears for one's loss can actually be harmful.

In the eighth consideration Gerson warns us against our friends, saying that they often keep us from our salvation, so their loss may actually be, in some sense, our gain. He explains that much grief is motivated by self-interest: kings and nobles grieve when they lose their children for reasons of ligneage: "Vray est que ce qui seult aggrever fort la douleur et la tristesse d'aulcuns, espicialement des nobles gens, est quant par la mort de leurs enfants leur lignie fault et deschiet, et que nulz heritiers ne leur succedent en droite ligne..."(322) We have seen an example of this above in Aelis's reaction to Raoul de Cambrai's death. But Gerson responds with an expression of the ubi sunt motif: "ou sont maintenant les grans empereurs, les souverains roys et glorieux princes qui tout leur cueur ont mis a querir toute la gloire transitoire de ce mortel monde..." (322) What are all these worldy treasures and positions worth? We all must die and it is our eternal salvation that is important. Gerson gives the example of princes and nobles who have left the world, giving up the worldly goods and taken up a spiritual life. There is certainly more than a pedagogy of grief in these words.

The ninth and last consideration speaks of resurrection and final jugement as that which sets Christians apart from "paiens et mescreans qui du tout reputent que soyent

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trespassés en corps et en ame comme bestes mues, sans jamais resusciter..." (324) - a theme we also saw back in the funerary laments of the early Christian writers. Faithful Christians, on the other hand, partake of eternal life. For them death is like sleep. Like those authors, Gerson returns to the expression of grief as an expression of humanity as he concludes:

> Je ne veul pas dire par les considerations dessus dictes que on ne puisse bien plourer raisonnablement et plaindre la mort de ses amis et parens; condicion de humaine nature cecy requiert et contraint a faire, et n'est a la fois si constant ne virtueulx qui s'en puisse du tout abstenir pour compassion naturelle que l'on ha; mais cecy s'entent des larmes et tristesses immoderees et excessives qu'aulcuns prennet sans reconfort en tant que en perdent boire et manger et n'ont comme point de contenance en eulx; qui est une chose perileuse comme dit est, et dommagable et desonneste a toute bonne personne, homme ou femme, quant mesmement a l'onnesteté de ce monde." (325)

Gerson closes this sermon with the example of Augustine, the scene from the Confessions mentioned above, noting that the "doulces larmes" he finally was able to shed over his mother's death were "doulces et attrempeez et meslees avec devote oroyson." (326) The tears over which Augustine felt such

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guilt were, perhaps for Gerson, a model to contemplate.

2. *Advice to Widows*

Another group of writings where we find examples of a pedagogy of grief is advice directed at widows. As I mentioned above in my discussion of literary representations of grief, widows were considered ambivalent figures in the Middle Ages. In literature they are portrayed as quick to recover after the death of their husband, having voracious sexual appetites, and prone to sexual misconduct[55]. Sermons are one source for a pedagogy of grief directed at widows. One such sermon, was preached (in Latin) by Simon Cupersi, an Augustinian friar living in Bayeux. In it, Cupersi mostly addresses issues of conduct: Widows must prudently manage their households (preferably with the help of sons and/or nephews); They must provide an example to their family and must regularly attend mass and sermons. They must not be overly talkative. One of Cupersi's five "conditions" deals with the widow's grief: He admonishes widows to put their trust in God and seek consolation in faith. If they wallow in their "tristitia" and tears, and are visibly melancholic, they

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[55]According to Tubach [#5621], a widow, "a matron of Ephesus, mourning at the tomb of her recently dead husband, is consoled by the sentinel at the gallows." See also Stith Thompson, motif type K2213.1, and the fabliau "La Veuve," by Gautier le Leu, included in Robert Harrison, Gallic Salt: Eighteen Fabliaux Translated from Old French (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 343-379.

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become vulnerable, a target for wicked men and for the devil who may wish to take advantage of their state and do them harm.[56]

Such advice to women who find themselves in the unfortunate position of being widowed does not provide much comfort, nor does it offer much practical advice. This is not the case with advice given by one exceptional widow — Christine de Pizan. Returning again and again in her writing to her own experience of widowhood, she devotes three chapters of her treatise, the Livre des Trois Vertus[57] to the conduct of widows. Two chapters are directed to widowed princesses, both young and more mature, and another chapter addresses widows from the "common people". Although Christine had access to the highest circles of court and ecclesiastic society, she counted herself among the second group, and drew on her own experience to offer advice.

The greater part of the three passages for widows addresses practical matters: all widows, princesses or not, should be famiiar with their late husband's financial and property dealings (120); they must know how to claim what is rightly theirs and know how to look out for the welfare of their children, how to govern (for princesses) or manage their territories or properties. The princess must be aware of the

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[56]Bayeux MS 48, fol. 33r-34v.

[57]Le Livre des Trois Vertus, translated by Charity Cannon Willard as A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor. The Treasury of the City of Ladies (Tenafly N.J.: Bard Hall Press, 1989).

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social etiquette required of her, must not marry without her friends' approval, and must follow a strict code of conduct regulating her public and private interactions with men (123).

But what about grief? Christine is sympathetic to the emotional state of the widow and opens the first of the three chapters on widowhood in a tone of gentle sympathy:

> The good princess becoming a widow will grieve and cry for her spouse, as good faith dictates. After the burial service she will follow custom's requirements and withdraw for a time in dim light, in piteous and mournful costume and headdress. Ever mindful of her lord's soul, she will pray and will have prayers said devoutly in masses. She will organize services, alms offerings, and oblations, and will recommend his memory to all devout people, requesting their prayers. Such remembrances and good deeds will not be limited to a brief period but will continue as long as she lives. (119)

The ritual aspect is stressed here as is the need to follow traditional mourning customs. Yet, Christine also knows that the activities of life must continue and that the widow's grief must remain within bounds: "in spite of her great loss, her mourning, her sorrow over her lord's death, and the admirable, loyal love she bore him, still she must be patient in accepting all it pleases Our Lord to do" (119-120). She

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continues, in a religious vein, in what sounds like a reiteration of the pedagogy of grief heard in Gerson's sermons above:[58]

> All of us are born to walk that same way whenever He so decides. So it is sinful and displeasing to God for mourners to grieve overmuch and for too long a time. Therefore, she must adopt that manner of life which will avoid damage to both her soul and to her health. Furthermore, she must turn from deep grief to her noble children, who still have need for her. (120)

In her chapter addressed to "widows young and old," among the "common" people, Christine passes even more quickly over the grief reaction to move on to practical matters: "Dear friends, we pity each one of you in the state of widowhood because death has deprived you of your husbands, whoever they have been....Along with the grief of having lost your mate, which is quite enough, you also must suffer three trials in particular, which assault you whether you are rich or poor." (197) Christine then goes on to describe the three trials and to offer remedies to those trials.

The final selection on grief and widows (but not limited

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[58]On the relationship of Christine's work to sermon literature, see: Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Le Livre des Trois Vertus et le sermo ad status," Autour de Christine de Pizan, Liliane Dulac and Bernard Ribémont, eds. (Paris: Klincksieck, 1995), and Charity Cannon Willard, A Medieval Woman's Mirror of Honor: The Treasury of the City of Ladies (Tenafly, N.J.: Bard Hall Press, 1989) 37.

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to the mourning of a death of a spouse) is from the "Honeurs de la Cour," a memoir written sometime between 1484 and 1491 by Aliénor de Poitiers, a lady at the court of Burgundy, who recorded her observations from her years at that court.[59] Most of the piece is concerned with what Christine called the "dim light" of mourning.

Aliénor de Poitiers describes the mourning customs of the queens and princesses of France, using them as a point of comparison with Burgundian customs. Questions such as how long the women must remain in seclusion, the decor of their chambers, and the mourning dress they must wear are taken up in minute detail. What emerges is a picture of a highly structured and hierarchichal approach to mourning customs. Aliénor explains that when a queen of France, is in mourning for her husband the king, she must remain in her room for one year. The queen's room must be entirely draped in black as well as all adjoining rooms which must also be carpeted with black cloth. When the King of France is in mourning for his father, he wears red, not black, but the queen may wear black.

Aliénor gives us one example of a "mourning" observed: that of Madame de Charolais, Isabel de Bourbon, on the death of her father, Charles, Duke of Bourbon. The Princess

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[59]Found in M de La Curne de Sainte-Palaye, Mémoires sur l'ancienne chevalerie Vol. II (Paris: 1781) 171-267. According to La Curne de Sainte Palaye, this section was "Copié d'après un ms.-in-4 sur papier d'une écriture du 16e siècle à la fin duquel est ce titre: 'Ce livre a esté copié d'un manuscrit qu'avoit Mademoiselle de Beauvais, & qui venoit de M. le Docteur Chifflet," 183 n.b.

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remained in her room for six weeks, seated on a bed covered with a white linen sheet, reclining on pillows. The room was hung with black fabric and a large black cloth was placed on the floor instead of a carpet. When she was alone, however, she did not have to remain on the bed, or even in that room, only when she was receiving guests. She went out in public only once, to attend a funerary service in the Eglise de Cauberghe in Brussels, and when she returned to her apartments, she remained there for six weeks.

After describing the mourning customs of the high nobility, Aliénor instructs women of the court that they should never attend the funeral service of their husbands unless it is held after the six-week period of seclusion. Then she goes through all the family members- describing how long the ladies must remain in their room and what mourning garb they must wear - especially head coverings - in the case of the death of a parent, sibling, husband, oncle or cousin. Curiously, although the trappings of mourning are described in great detail, no attention is paid to comportment or emotion – as Christine did in the Livre des trois vertus – only to the external appearances of mourning.

This highly ritualized and conventionalized mourning behavior and its hierarchical rules can be considered within the context of of death ritual in general, the next topic to be discussed here. As we shall see, what is interesting about funerary ritual is the "trickle down" effect – royalty and

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nobility spent excessive amounts of money and time on the accoutrements of funeral and mourning. Although the growing bourgeois and artisan classes could not afford the splendid display, they adopted the customs and adapted them to their own means, providing for them in wills and often in the statutes of the confraternal organizations they joined in ever increasing numbers. Yet, the question of whether ostentation and the expressionistic displays of mourning convey emotion remains valid for all classes, as does the question of what prompted the growing extravagance of funeral ritual in the late middle ages.

C. The Ritual Context[60]

Late medieval ritual surrounding death, burial and mourning is varied and complex. Although we may turn to many sources: descriptive texts, such as chronicles and some commemorative poetry; visual documents, such as manuscript illumination: and prescriptive writings, such as confraternity

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[60]The distinction between the term "ritual" and the related term "rite" should be made from the beginning of this discussion. I use "ritual" to refer to a body of practices. A rite, according to Louis-Vincent Thomas, is "a ceremony in which behaviors, gestures and postures, words of songs uttered, and objects handled, manufactured, destroyed, or consumed are supposed to possess virtues or powers or to produce specific effects." Funerary ritual, then is a category comprised of distinct rites such as the absolution, the wake, the procession, etc., as to be discussed below.

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statutes[61], wills, and synodal decrees, many gaps remain.

Among the obstacles that confront the student of ritual is the question of social class. Although the most complete surviving sources come from the royal and noble classes, the voices of the growing bourgeoisie and artisan classes are heard, mostly in wills. The widest lacuna is in the area of the peasants and country-dwellers, for whom we must rely on

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[61]One of the primary functions the confraternal societies that flourished from the twelfth century on was the assurance that every member of the group would receive appropriate Christian burial. The members of the confraternity were generally bound to attend the funerals of their brothers or sisters and to participate in the procession to his or her final resting place. For example, the statutes of the Confrérie du Saint-Sacrément of Vitré from the year 1398 stipulate that: "seront tenus lesdits frères et soeurs etants au pays venir et estre a la guette de chaincun deffunct ou deffuncte de ladite frairie dedans l'heure de mesnuit, ou envoyer chaincun son message pour luy, et sera chacun et chacune appelé pour cela, ladite guette dedans l'heure de matines de Notre-Dame sonnants....*Item*, sont tenus lesdits frères et soeurs, s'ils le peuvent faire profitablement, venir aporter le corps du deffunt a l'eglise.... *Item*, le service accompli, sont tenus lesdits frères porter le corps du deffunt au cimetière, et estre a l'enterrement ou envoyer pour eux..." Abbé Paul Paris-Jallobert, Journal Historique de Vitré, ou Documents et notes pour servir l'histoire de cette ville (Vitré, 1888) xxvi. On the role of confraternities in burial of the dead, see: Francis Rapp, L'Eglise et la vie religieuse en occident a la fin du Moyen Age (Paris: Nouvelle Clio, 1991) 128; Catherine Vincent, Les Confreries medievales dans le royaume de France: XIIIe-XVe siecle (Paris: Albin Marcel, 1994) 74-84; Andre Vauchez, Les Laics au Moyen Age: Pratiques et experiences religieuses (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf, 1987) 113-122. On confraternities in general, see Confraternitas: The Newsletter of the Society of Confraternity Studies; L'Encadrement des fidèles au Moyen-Age et jusqu'au Concile de Trente. Actes du 109e Congres National des Sociétés Savantes, Dijon, 1984 (Paris: CTHS), 1985; Gabriel Le Bras, Etudes de sociologie religieuse, Vol. 2 (Paris: PUF, 1956) 419-462, and the essays in Le Mouvement confraternel au Moyen Age: France, Italie, Suisse. Actes de la Table Ronde organisée par l'Université de Lausanne, 9-11 mai 1985 (Rome: Ecole française de Rome, 1987).

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exempla, the few letters of pardon available to us,[62] or on parish records, as Marie-Thérèse Lorcin[63] and Joseph Avril[64] have done. Still, these sources do not yield much, and all too often we impose contemporary folklore practice onto the past, a procedure which, as many have pointed out, is a risky one.[65] I shall attempt, here, to give as full a picture of ritual across social class as the documents available to me allow. By way of introduction, I discuss the many components that make up ritual surrounding death and burial. Several of the rites and practices - the procession, lamentation and burial – will receive much more attention in the chapters that follow.

Early medieval funeral ritual was, in large part, based

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[62]On letters of pardon, see Natalie Zemon Davis. Fiction in the Archives. Pardon Tales and Their Tellers in Sixteenth-Century France (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987); Roger Vaultier, Le Folklore pendant la guerre de Cent Ans d'après les Lettres de Rémission du Trésor des Chartes (Paris: Guénégaud, 1965); Yvonne Bézard, La Vie rurale dans le sud de la region parisienne de 1450 a 1560 (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1929), and the papers in La Faute, La Repression et le Pardon. Actes du 107e Congrès National des Sociétés savantes, Brest 1992, especially Pierre Braun, "La valeur documentaire des lettres de remission," 207-221).

[63]Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, "Trois manières d'enterrement à Lyon de 1300 à 1500," Revue historique 261.1 (1974): 3-15, and Vivre et mourir en Lyonnais à la fin du Moyen Age (Paris: Editions du CNRS, 1981).

[64]Joseph Avril,"La Paroisse médiévale et la prière pour les morts dans la France médiévale," Communications présentés à la Table Ronde du CNRS, le 14 juin 1982, ed. Jean-Loup Lemaître (Paris: Etudes augustiniennes, 1986).

[65]See Francesca Canadé Sautman, "Editorial: Medieval Folklore Today," Medieval Folklore 1 (1991): 1-9.

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on that of Antiquity, although certain elements of ancient rites were rejected as the medieval world became more christianized. Christians wished to distance themselves from pagan customs, so rites such as the funerary repast and the use of paid mourners were abandoned in the early Middle Ages.[66] Through time additional rites developed such as prayer for the dead and the Office of the Dead. The basic pattern that emerged consisted of the following stages: attendance at the deathbed; preparation and care of the body; the veillée or wake; procession to church; service in church; procession to cemetary; burial. With some minor modifications through time and differences in the level of complexity which are attributable to social class and wealth, the various elements, as well as the basic pattern, remained constant throughout the period.[67]

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[66]Ironically, such rites reappeared, in different form, in the later Middle Ages in the annual confraternal meal at which the names of the dead were read, and in the practice described by Colette Beaune in "Mourir noblement à la fin du Moyen Age," La Mort au Moyen Age. Colloque de la Société des historiens médiévistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur (Strasbourg, 1977) of serving a meal to the effigy (to be distributed to the poor later) that began with the death of Anne de Bretagne in 1514 (130).

[67]Many scholars have traced the development of the funeral ritual and the various stages that comprise it. In addition to those already cited, see Irénée H. Dalmais, Initiation à la liturgie (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1963); H.-R. Philippeau, "Origines et Evolution des Rites Funéraires," in Le Mystère de la mort et sa célébration (Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1956) 186-209); Geoffrey Rowell, The Liturgy of Christian Burial: An Introductory Survey of the Historical Development of Christian Burial Rites (London: Alcuin Club, 1977); Damien Sicard, "Le Rituel des funérailles dans la tradition," Maison-Dieu 101 (1970): 33-38;

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Although many descriptions of these funerary rites exist, the question remains as to whether we can glean traces of emotion from them. As Joseph Avril comments, "Notre documentation ne nous permet pas de savoir comment les paroissiens réagissaient devant le trépas d'un des leurs: les attitudes varièrent sans doute selon les époques et les pays."[68] We can, however, find traces of emotion if we look at the veillée, vigil, or wake, and the procession[69]. Each is widely attested across social class, and is also found in cross-cultural studies of ritual.

The veillée, or vigil over the body, generally held during the night preceding burial, is one of the oldest components of the medieval funerary tradition. The Office of the Dead emerged from the vigil, traditionally held in the home of the deceased, but in the later Middle Ages, moved to the church.[70]

The wake was a somewhat problematic affair. It was feared that behavior among the "popular" classes was somewhat

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[68]Joseph Avril, "La Paroisse," 57.

[69]I am including illuminations from Books of Hours here. At this point in my discussion they are just for illustration, and will be discussed in much greater detail in Chapter Seven, below. I shall also discuss the use of such representations as evidence in Chapter Five.

[70]On the history of the Office of the Dead, see Pierre Batiffol, History of the Roman Breviary. Trans. Atwell M.Y. Baylay (New York: Longman's Green & Co., 1978 and Louis Gogaud, Dévotions et pratiques ascétiques du Moyen Age (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1925).

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unpredictable, and that the solemnity of the occasion would lapse into "festins" and "danses."[71] According to Jacques Toussaert:

> Ces vigiles furent interdites un peu partout, parce qu'elles n'avaient rien de religieux, qu'on y dansait et délirait plus qu'on ne priait: c'était l'occasion de danses et de bien d'autres désordres.[72]

Such celebratory diversions, if they did take place, do not indicate a sense of frivolity on the part of those in attendance, nor do they signal an absence of grief. They constitute a ritual means of channeling emotion - a way that was not considered orthodox and that was suppressed by ecclesiasctical authorities.[73]

Powerful taboos against death and the dead body were operative in the Middle Ages.[74] Despite these taboos, however, Chiffoleau points out that at least within the geographical parameters he set up, requests for wakes are made

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[71]Chiffoleau, 124. Most of the iconographical evidence, where the véillée is represented as a solemn affair, contradicts this fear, Yet the image itself most probably belongs to the pedagogy of grief and is intended to demonstrate the proper way to conduct oneself at a vigil.

[72]Jacques Toussaert, Le Sentiment religieux en Flandres à la fin du Moyen Age (Paris: Plon, 1963) 212-213.

[73]Chiffoleau, 121. Chiffoleau also discusses use of graveyards as places of social gathering and the official decrees prohibiting such activity.

[74]Chiffoleau, Le Comptablitié de l'au-delà, 124.

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in large numbers of wills, and provided for financially.[75] Chiffoleau maintains that the Church's desire to control the veillée was the reason the services were generally moved out of the home and into the churches. It becomes evident that the wake exhibits distinct characteristics based on, first, social class and two, institutional control, which direcly affect the extent to which emotion is expressed. Among the nobles and aristocracy, by the end of the period I am studying, the wake became, rather than a gathering of family and friends around the body, a public event with the exposition of the body "in state" held in a large hall in the chateau. The religious and personal aspects were thus minimized in favor of pomp and ostentation. People would file by, sprinkling the body with holy water. Colette Beaune explains that a "dédoublement du rituel" occurs between "le plan du corps mortel, des regrets et des pleurs de ce que nous considérons être proprement le deuil" – the more private act of mourning in chambers to which the did not have access – and the public manifestations of mourning.[76] She continues:

> "Vers 1500, l'exposition du défunt n'a plus du tout les mêmes caractères qu'un siècle et demi plus tôt. C'est surtout un rite du jeu social, auquel participent un certain nombre de partenaires obligatoires, le défunt, le lignage, la noblesse

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[75]Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, 126.

[76]Colette Beaune, "Mourir noblement," 131.

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locale, devant le public populaire.[77]

Such ostentation was carried over into (and even magnified in) the cortege. Although the truly grand funeral processions were the domain of the powerful nobles and royalty, there was a certain amount of emulation on the part of everyone else, and even people of modest means made provisions in their wills for candles, groups of pleurants and distribution of alms in their processions,[78] or, as I mentioned above, if they belonged to a confraternity, that organization would take charge of the arrangements and assure its members a proper burial. According to Chiffoleau:

> Le modèle défini par les classes les plus aisées s'impose facilement parmi les populations moins riches. Le comportement des artisans par exemple est très proche de celui des marchands. Même s'ils ne peuvent rivaliser avec le faste des notables, de nombreux fustiers, tailleurs, pelletiers, fourniers, etc. s'intéressent désormais à la procession qui doit les conduire de la maison mortuaire au cimetière."[79]

Can we say, however, that any of these practices indicates a deeply felt emotion of grief? In the case of the veillée, the

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[77]Beaune, "Mourir noblement," 133.

[78]For a more detailed discussion of the funeral procession, see Chapter Six below.

[79]Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-dela, 128.

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insistance on the performance of ritual in the face of ecclesiastical disapproval certainly demonstrates a deep connection with the dead and concern for their salvation. The rejection of authority continued throughout the late medieval period, in defiance of the pedagogy of grief pervasive at the time.

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PART II

APPROACHES

> *Le vrai c'est que prétendre reconstituer la vie affective d'une époque donnée, c'est une tâche à la fois extrêmement séduisante et affreusement difficile. Mais quoi? L'historien n'a pas le droit de déserter.*
>
> *Lucien Febvre*[*]

Introduction

This project is predicated on the assumption that by examining textual, visual and monumental artifacts and studying the practice and performance of ritual and drama in fifteenth-century France, the contemporary reader can recover traces of an emotion, grief, as it was experienced at the time. Such an assumption - that an "archaeology of emotion" is possible - calls forth a cluster of problematics that have been at the heart of the discipline of medieval studies for past twenty years, among them the questions of whether we can gain insight into the mentalities of individuals or groups who are remote from us in time; how to interpret the highly conventionalized cultural artifacts, rituals and performances of such individuals and groups, and finally, what theoretical tools may be used in such an inquiry.

In the two chapters that follow, I consider each of these

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[*]Lucien Febvre, "La Sensibilité dans l'histoire: comment reconstituer le vie affective d'autrefois? Annales d'Histoire sociale. Rpt. in La Sensibilité dans l'histoire, ed. Roger Chartier et al (Brionne: Gerard Montfort, 1987), 103.

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questions in turn. Chapter Four, "Alterity and the Question of Emotion," addresses the problem of the "strangeness" of the Middle Ages. Drawing on literature in anthropology and psychology, I take up questions regarding emotion, such as whether emotions and their expression are universal or culture-bound.

The discussion in Chapter Four points to the central concern of Chapter Five, "Representation and the Problematics of Reading for Emotion" in which I consider the relationship between the contemporary interpreting subject and the late medieval object. I review current debates in art history, particularly those concerning semiotics, and expand the theoretical discussion to consider psychological methods of analysis, such as clinical psychology with its symptomatics of grief.

In this section, then, I first consider the nature of emotion, or "feeling," then discuss the expression or representation of emotion as seen in cultural artifacts, and finally, address the question of the interpretation or "decoding" of those representations.

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Chapter Four

Alterity and the Question of Emotion

The question of alterity - the fundamental "otherness" of the Middle Ages - must be considered first. At issue is the very viability and value of studying medieval culture or, indeed, any culture other than our own.

In his important essay, "Die Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur," translated in 1977 as "The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature,"[1] Hans Robert Jauss reiterates C.S. Lewis's observation that the medieval person's place in the universe was defined by a pre-Copernican view of the cosmos, wherein,

> ... the medieval observer looked into and upon the starry sky at night, as if looking over the outermost wall of a city, while we look out; that to him the whole universe appeared as a bound ordering of spaces, already layered and populated with angelic essences, filled with light and the music of the spheres.

We, on the other hand, feel Pascal's horror of the "silence

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[1]Hans Robert Jauss, Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur (Munich: W. Fink Verlag, 1977) trans. Timothy Bahti, "The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature," New Literary History (1979): 181-227. All citations will be from the translated version.

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éternel de ces espaces infinis" when faced with the endless, empty, dark, and mute universe."[2]

For Jauss, the position of the individual is, then, what differentiates "us" from "them," and makes their "world view" somewhat inaccessible to the modern mind. This world view is, Jauss maintains, carried into the literary culture of the Middle Ages where six factors contribute to the "strangeness" or "surprising nature" of medieval literature: "the priority of convention over expression, the impersonality of the style, the formalism of the lyric, the traditionalism of the epic, the mixture of the poetic with the didactic,..the difficult hermetic symbolism."[3] Jauss's account appears somewhat limited: on the one hand it reduces literary production to a mirror image of consciousness, and on the other, it distances us even further from the medieval objects he systematizes.

If we were unable to fathom the culture as a whole, we would surely be at a complete loss when it comes to having any insight into individual consciousness or any access to a subjective, individual voice. According to Paul Zumthor:

> l'éloignement des temps et des cultures nous dissimule le sujet individuel: au mieux, quelques bribes d'information anecdotique déguisent notre

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[2]Jauss, Alterity, 192. It is interesting to note that while suggesting that we cannot fully understand the medieval world view, Jauss provides such an eloquent expression of it.

[3]Jauss, Alterity, 184.

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> ignorance. Nous ne pouvons penser l'individu qu'à partir de notre propre historicité, par rapport à l'horizon de conscience dans les limites duquel nous nous mouvons.[4]

In addition, categories such as "originality" or "authorship" used in the analysis of "modern" literature do not apply to medieval texts. According to Peter Haidu: "the most basic assumptions regarding literature, its production and its interpretation turn out to be treacherously misleading in the medieval context."[5] Trapped within notions of originality and limited by our concept of a culture of reading, we cannot adequately comprehend the oral and performative nature of medieval textuality. With regard to the visual arts, Hans Belting cautions, "the beholder of today who wants to reexperience the reaction of the viewer at that time, does not possess the latter's interpretive model and therefore fails to understand the images's code."[6]

What are we to do in the face of all these "cannots"?

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[4]Paul Zumthor, Parler du Moyen Age (Paris: Minuit, 1990) 68. The question of the subjective voice will be explored in greater depth in Chapter Seven below.

[5]Haidu, "Making it (New) in the Middle Ages: Towards a Problematics of Alterity," Diacritics 4.2 (1974): 4. For these critics, the absence of a subject position and clear, attributable authorship also precludes the possibility of a reading based in psychological or psychoanalytical theory, as will be discussed below in Chapter Five.

[6]Hans Belting, The Image and Its Public: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion. Trans. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer. New Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1990, 62.

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Are we to throw up our hands and give up? Unable to comprehend either medieval culture or the position of the individual within that culture, where are we to turn? Don't the cultural artifacts produced in the late Middle Ages reveal anything about those who created them, or are we so distanced by time, language, culture, that we cannot hope to recover traces of the past? How, according to proponents of alterity, are we to study medieval texts? Jauss suggests:

> In order to become conscious of this otherness of a departed past, a reflective consideration of its surprising aspects is called for, an activity which methodologically entails the reconstruction of the horizon of expectation of the addressees for whom the texts was originally composed."[7]

He continues, "in the process of active understanding, the contrast of horizons must be led on to the fusion of the past horizon of aesthetic experience with the present one."[8] But how do we reconstruct such a "horizon of expectation." If, as Lee Patterson points out, Jauss "declines to confront the historicity of the observer," where are we?[9] Perhaps more to the point, the totalizing aspect of Jauss's assertions leads to the assumptions first, that such a thing as a single

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[7]Jauss, "Alterity," 182.

[8]Jauss, "Alterity," 183.

[9]Lee Patterson, Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press) 9.

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"present horizon of expectation" exists, as opposed to a multiplicity of perspectives; and, second, that the interpreting subject itself is a unified, coherent and consistent entity.

Recently, scholars have suggested that the distancing of the Middle Ages is a way to preserve it as an object of study for a small intellectual [i.e. "trained"] elite. According to Louise O. Fradenburg:

> The notion of the alterity of the medieval past has all too often become a means of asserting the unapproachability and inviolacy of that past - of constituting it as ideally pure and unchanging object, besieged by a variety of philosophical, political, and sexual perversions. When this happens, the historicization - we might say, the mortification of the past, has the effect of preserving the past for the few who know how properly to revere it.[10]

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[10]Louise O. Fradenburg, "Voice Memorial: Loss and Reparation in Chaucer's Poetry," Exemplaria 2.1 (1990) 173. An alternative to the "mortification" of the past is the assertion of the "modernity of the Middle Ages," which draws comparisons between the Middle Ages and the present. See "L'enjeu et l'événement. Entretien avec Roger Dragonetti, Alexandre Leupin et Charles Méla," L'Esprit créateur 23.1 (1983), 5-24; Eugene Vance, "The Modernity of the Middle Ages in the Future: Remarks on a recent book," Romanic Review 64.2 (1973): 140-151. In an astonishing overstatement, Stephen J. Nichols calls the idea of the modernity of the Middle Ages, "one of the most enduring myths medievalism has perpetrated on the Middle Ages," in which "Modernism sought to make the Middle Ages in its own image...."..Yet, Nichols' "modernism" is ill defined. This is not to be confused with the idea of

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Just as the attempt to recover an original and originary text has largely been called into question by contemporary editors of medieval texts - the practitioners of the "New Philology - as they move away from a Lachmannian approach toward the editing of multiple versions of a text,[11] the analyst and interpreter of medieval cultural artifacts needs to accept the fundamental alterity of the Middle Ages only to move past it. Accepting the failure of any attempt to faithfully and objectively reconstruct a Middle Ages we cannot fully fathom, and facing the impossibility of bracketing out our own subjective participation in the act of interpretation, ultimately liberates critics and forces us to elaborate new approaches: not ungrounded approaches, but methods of interpretation grounded in text, image and culture. Rather than a fusion or merging of "horizons of expectation" in which both the medieval past and our postmodern selves lose their identities, would it not perhaps be more productive to consider the horizon not as a boundary to be crossed or penetrated, but rather as a line of meeting or coming together? To view the convergence of past and present not as

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the "modernity in the Middle Ages," the subject of a collection of essays edited by Brigitte Cazelles and Charles Méla, Modernité au Moyen Age: le défi du passé (Geneva: Droz, 1990).

[11]See Stephen G. Nichols, "Philology and its Discontents," The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s. Ed. William D. Paden (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994) 113-141 and the special issue of Speculum on "The New Philology," 65.1 (1990).

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an imposition of interpretive strategies to try to "crack open" medieval consciousness, but as a dialogue between the objects of the past and the critical approaches of the present - one that calls not for the "modernization" of the Middle Ages, but for the "historicization" of contemporary theoretical approaches?

The problem is compounded for my study by the fact that the aspect of the medieval "mentality" that I am attempting to recover, the experience of an emotion is, as Lucien Febvre points out in the epigram to this section, one of the most challenging tasks facing any student of history.[12]

It has been suggested that awareness of our own mortality is one of the things that sets human beings as a species apart from other animals. If this is the case, recognition of our mortality and that of those we love, and the emotions that accompany the loss of a loved one, are among the most "human" of emotions. But this generalization certainly demands qualification on at least two counts: what is meant by "human" and what constitutes "emotion." How do we, as humans, come to

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[12]Documentation on how medieval culture itself viewed emotion is lacking. Aside from the treatises and works on the question of tears and the studies on grief in literature reviewed above, another source for medieval attitudes towards emotion is in humoral theory [see Nancy G. Siriasi, Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practice (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) 106], but even those theories were not fully elaborated. One is left with another commentary from the neo-romantic medievalist school - chapter five of "The growth of medieval emotion," in Henry Osborn Taylor's The Medieval Mind: A History of the Development of Thought and Emotion in the Middle Ages Vol. I (London: Macmillan, 1925).

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possess the capacity for emotion? If emotion is "human" does that make it "universal"? Does it make it "timeless"? Are emotions involuntary psycho-physiological reactions to stimuli, or are they constructed within culture? If emotion is ephemeral, how do we study it? Finally, how do we escape the fact that we must pass through language in order to construct a discourse on emotion?

Two of the fundamental questions in the current debate on emotion are: What are emotions and are emotions universal. Innumerable theories and explanations of emotion have been offered by anthropologists, psychologists and historians. I do not intend to elaborate a theory of emotion, but rather to explore how the questions have been framed by others and whether they will be useful in my discussion of the emotional life of individuals who have been dead for five hundred years.

Writers on emotion across the disciplines have fallen into two basic camps: those following Darwin's treatise The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals,[13] who consider emotion and its expression as an involuntary reaction to some kind of stimulus, and those, generally anthropologists, writing against such a universalist and essentialist position, who hold that emotion and its expression are culturally constructed. Among the earliest modern writers on emotion, William James, who belongs to the first camp, claims that

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[13]Charles Darwin, The Expression of Emotion in Man and Animals (New York: Appleton, 1888).

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"emotional brain-processes not only resemble the ordinary sensorial brain-processes, but in very truth are nothing but such brain-processes variously combined,"[14] and that "the bodily changes follow directly the perception of the exciting fact, and that our feeling of the same changes as they occur is the emotion."[15] Jamesean theory dominated the discourse on emotion during the first half of this century, leading to the behaviorist stimulus-response theory of the 1960's.[16] Lucien Febvre, one of the pioneers of the history of mentalités, represents the second approach, when he observes in "La Sensibilité et l'histoire: Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois," (1941), that the expression of emotion is "le résultat d'une telle série d'experiences de vie commune, de réactions semblables et simultanées au choc des situations identiques et de contacts de même nature," firmly placing emotion within the context of social life.[17]

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[14]William James, "What is an Emotion?" Mind 9 (1884), 188.

[15]James, "What is an Emotion," 190-191.

[16]See Robert C. Solomon, "Getting Angry: The Jamesian Theory of Emotion in Anthropology," in Culture Theory 238-254.

[17]Lucien Febvre,"La sensibilité et l'histoire. Comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois," Annales d'histoire sociale 3 (1941) 7. It is worth noting here that when the mentalités historians refer to a "psychologie collective" or an "inconscient collectif," they are referring to the consciousness of a specific culture, limited in time and bounded in space, not to a timeless and universal (Jungian) collective unconscious. See Alphronse Dupront, "Problèmes et méthodes d'une histoire de la psychologie collective," Annales ESC 16.1 (1961): 3-11, and Michel Vovelle, "Y a-t-il un inconscient collectif," La Pensee. Revue du rationalisme moderne 205 (1979): 125-136.

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In recent years, the debate on emotion has grown more nuanced, each side acknowledging that emotion is a mix of physiology, individual response to stimulus and the influence of culture. Still, a series of paired dichotomies dominates the discourse on emotion. In their important review article "The Anthropology of Emotions,"[18] Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White outline five "tensions" in the study of emotion, three of which are pertinent to my discussion here. The first set of tensions is that of materialism vs. idealism: whether emotions are constituted by their outward manifestations, or whether there is an accessible mental process of emotion separate from any apparent outward sign.[19] The second "tension" is the question of universalism vs. relativism. A universalist position would hold that emotion is a "panhuman ability or process" which is "invariant in its essence and distribution," while a relativist position maintains that emotion is a "more socially validated judgement," which focuses on the "translation of emotion concepts and social process surrounding their use."[20] Finally, there is the question of whether the "ultimate seat of the emotion" is the individual or society - is emotion an "inner experience" as James claimed, or is it in some way

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[18]Catherine Lutz and Geoffrey M. White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," Annual Review of Anthropology 15 (1986): 405-36.

[19]Lutz and White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," 406-407.

[20]Lutz and White, "The Anthropology of Emotions," 408.

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constructed in culture?[21] I explore these questions further below, in my attempt at a "reconstitution" of one aspect of the emotional life of the Middle Ages.

Emotion has come to be viewed as a complex process which can be broken down into several components, each more or less important depending on the philosophy of a particular theorist. For example, Richard Ekman, elaborating a "neurocultural account of emotion," gives the following description:

> This characterization will require that I hypothesize internal mechanisms - an affect programme which directs emotional responses, and an appraisal system which determines when the affect programme becomes operative. Elicitors will be described as those events which are appraised quickly as the occasion for one or another emotion. Display rules for managing the appearance of the face in various social contexts, and efforts to cope with the source of emotion will also be described.[22]

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[21]Lutz and White, "The Anthropology of Emotion," 409-409.

[22]Paul Ekman, "Biological and Cultural Contributions to Body and Facial Movement," in The Anthropology of the Body, J. Blacking, ed. (London: Academic Press, 1977) 55. Ekman is perhaps the most influential of the emotion theorists specializing in the field of facial expression. Ekman's works will be cited as they appear in the discussion. A full, chronological list of his many works is found in the bibliography. Much of the terminology in the above citiation will be explained below--here I simply intend to demonstrate the complexity of the discussion on emotion. I do not claim expertise either in the psychological or anthropological study of emotion. I am synthesizing the literature in these areas and presenting a cogent account so that my use of these

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Almost all theorists of emotion agree that there must be an elicitor - some sort of precipitating event or stimulus, also known as a "trigger." In the case of grief many stimuli exist, such as an apparently temporary separation or the loss of love due to rejection, etc. Here, grief refers to the irrevocable loss represented by the (apparent) death of a love object.[23]

The elicitor or stimulus is met with a response, which for James and for the behaviorists is a purely physiological reaction based on cause and effect. According to cognitive theories of emotion, it is the individual's appraisal of the situation that determines the response. For example, in my brief discussion above of Chrétien de Troyes' Erec et Enide, I observed that when Enide saw Erec fall from his horse, she presumed that he was dead. She (subconsiously) appraised the situation and concluded that its issue was the irrevocable loss of her life's companion. Her reaction was motivated by the appraisal of "apparent" loss. The individual's appraisal will be based on past experience, among other factors. In the case of constructivist theories of emotion, appraisal will be greatly influenced, if not determined, by the individual's

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theories later on will be clear and grounded.

[23]Some emotion theorists, such as Richard S. Lazarus in Emotion and Adaptation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) 247-248, do not consider grief an emotion in and of itself, but an intensified form of sadness. On the other hand, among the "ethologists" such as Darwin who seek biological explanations for emotion, grief does constitute a category apart. See Darwin, Ch. VII - 1966 edition, pp 176-195. Darwin even goes so far as to call certain muscles activated by grief "grief-muscles," 183.

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belonging to a given culture, an observation which brings us to the the question of universals. Universals exist both on the level of the process of emotion and on the level of its expression. Although all emotion theorists posit universals in the mechanism of emotion - there is general agreement that variability exists on the level of response to stimulus. Anthropologists and psycho-biologists express a wide range of opinions on this matter. Phoebe Ellsworth holds that while neurological and physiological similarity among humans allows for universal antecedents of emotion, it does not necessarily follow that reactions to those antecedents will be uniform or predictable.[24] According to Robert C. Solomon, variability is dictated by culture. His thesis is that "emotions are to be construed as cultural acquisitions, determined by the circumstances and concepts of a particular culture as well as, or rather much more than, by the functions of biology and, more specifically, neurology."[25] In Ellsworth's formulation, then, there will be a chance that an event, i.e. the death of a loved one, will be found as a universal emotional antecedent across cultures, while for Solomon, reactions are wholly constructed in culture.

Nico H. Frijda maintains that loss is a universal

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[24]Phoebe Ellsworth, "Some Reasons to Expect Universal Antecedents of Emotion," Richard J. Davidson and Paul Ekman, eds. The Nature of Emotion: Fundamental Questions (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994) 150-151.

[25]Robert C. Solomon, "Getting Angry," 239-40.

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elicitor of grief "because personal loss corresponds to the eliciting pattern of the grief response, namely irremediable absence," but he acknowledges that this response will take different forms in different cultures: "sorrow, sadness, fago, or whatever nameless state of mourning and apathy."[26] Richard S. Lazarus, in Emotion and Adaptation, dismisses the search for universals altogether, claiming that it "does a disservice to individual variation." He continues, "one must remember that, above all, emotions are individual phenomena and display great variations among individuals."[27]

It is on the level of expression that the question of universals becomes particularly relevant to my study. As Paul Ekman asserts, "At issue is whether there are universals in facial expression or whether that which is signified by each facial movement varies from culture to culture.[28] Ekman has constructed a convincing theory that reconciles the biological and psychological aspects of the individual with "culture," thus allowing for universals and culture specificity; variation and individual emotional reaction.

According to Ekman, writing in 1972, researchers, using

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[26]Nico H. Frijda, "Universal Antecedents Exist, and Are Interesting," in The Nature of Emotion, 160.

[27]Richard S. Lazarus, Emotion and Adaptation, 7.

[28]Ekman, "Biological and Cultural...." 53.

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the "spontaneous" and "posed" methods,[29] carried out studies in widely ranging population groups with the result that "findings on both the recognition and posing of emotion by members of a preliterate culture strongly support the hypothesis that there is a pancultural element in the facial behavior associated with emotion."[30] In a second study, comparing the emotions of Japanese and American individuals, both a "neutral and a "stress-inducing" motion picture were shown to both groups, and "skin conductance and heart rate measures were taken with the subject's knowledge and a videotape of their facial behavior without their knowledge." The result was that there was a great deal of similarity in the physiological and facial behavior among the two groups.

The findings point to the kind of immediate physiological response found by the behaviorists. Yet, in another study comparing emotion reactions in the U.S. and in Japan, Klaus R. Scherer, along with three colleagues, expanded upon an earlier

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[29]Two methods are generally used to study expression. In the first, the "spontaneous" method, images such as photographs of facial expressions, are used to elicit responses, or alternatively, subjects are asked to imagine situations from their past when they had felt happy, sad or angry [See Craig A. Smith, et al., "The Facial Muscle Patterning of Posed and Imagery-Induced Expression of Emotion by Expressive and Non-Expressive Poses," Motivation and Emotion 10.2 (1986) 137]. The second method is the "posed" method in which the researcher asks subjects "to pose the facial expressions that they associate with the various emotional states."

[30]Paul Ekman, Wallace V. Friesen, Phoebe Ellsworth, "What are the Similarities and differences in facial behavior across cultures?" in Emotion in the Human Face, ed. Paul Ekman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972) 137. [128-143].

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study of eight European countries regarding emotional experiences (anger, fear, joy, and sadness). They distributed the same questionnaire as they had in the earlier study, in which "respondents were asked to report the eliciting situation and give details on various reaction modalities (subjective feeling, physiological symptoms, verbal and nonverbal efforts). This study yielded more culture-specific results than Ekman's earlier study. Scherer comments: "For example, Japanese respondents reported less body-related joy, fewer death- and separation-induced sadness episodes..." Scherer speculates that "the sources of these cultural differences implicate cultural values, norms, and interactional practices, but also demographic and socioeconomic factors..." [31] Writing later, Ekman admits of and accounts for such differences, asserting that "when we begin to specify just what is meant by emotion, [i.e. by breaking the process down into its constituent parts as explained above] what it may be that a facial expression signifies, it is clear that it is neither universal nor totally variable. There are commonalities and variability in different respects and to a different extent depending upon which aspect of emotion is considered."[32] In other words,

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[31]"Evidence for Both Universality and Cultural Specificity of Emotion Elicitation," The Nature of Emotion, 173. [172-177]

[32]Paul Ekman, "About brows: emotional and conversational signals," in Human Ethology, J. Aschoff, et. el., eds (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 178. [169-202]

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there may well be universal elicitors, universal co-occuring responses (the mechanisms by which the individual "copes with the source of emotional arousal"), and universals in physiological expression. At the same time, other aspects of the process, what Ekman calls "subsequent interpersonal responses," may show evidence of cultural differences of the self-imposed modifications of expression by what Ekman calls "display rules". Display rules "interrupt" emotional responses. They constitute "the [cultural or personal] conventions, norms, and habits that develop regarding the managment of emotional responses."[33]

What does this work on universals in emotion have to do with my study of late medieval grief? Do universals in the experience and expression of emotion exist not only synchronically across cultures, but diachronically within cultures? Were our medieval ancestors "like us" in their emotional response to the death of a loved one? How are they "like us"? How are they different?

I tend to agree with Nicola Frijda, quoted above. As I stated in the Preface, that which is experienced as loss will invariably be met with some sort of grief reaction, and on the level of physiology, some level of involuntary response will be manifested. Yet, cultural constraints on the expression of emotion, whether we call them "display codes," rules of etiquette or simply "acceptable behavior," will prove equally

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[33]Ekman, "Biological and Cultural..." 77.

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potent. All we need to do is to return to the works of Gorer and others cited in the Preface, written about our own times, to see that emotional behavior is constructed and behavior controlled by and in culture and that there is some intangible emotional energy that refuses to be contained. What becomes interesting is how the culture responds when the individual or group transgresses cultural boundaries set for the display of emotion, and whether a new code of comportment emerges as a result of the transgression.

An additional problem presents itself when trying to relate this corpus of anthropological work to late medieval culture - the problem of evidence. Field methods used by anthropologists include the interview models explained above. In addition to witnessing actual facial expressions, lingustic evidence - what people say about how they are feeling - is perhaps the most important type of evidence used by those constructing theories of emotion. According to Andrew Ortony, Gerald L. Clore and Allan Collins, although emotions themselves are not linguistic entities, "the most readily available nonphenomenal access we have to them is through language."[34] Vincent Crapanzano also points out that the major access we have to emotion is through words, but cautions: "it is important to distinguish carefully between emotions, the expression of emotions, and the glossing of

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[34]Andrew Ortony, Gerald L. Clore and Allan Collins, The Cognitive Structure of Emotions (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 8.

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emotions." For Crapanzano, "emotion" would refer to the feeling, the "expression" of emotion would include "the nonverbal expression of emotions through gesture, intonation, demeanor, or pallor..," while "glossing" would be any verbalizing of or about an emotion. Crapanzano declines to address the question of the emotions themselves, focusing on "the rhetorical use of words and other communicative forms that are said to denote emotions..." [35]

While in the contemporary study of emotion we can observe actual subjects in the field or in the laboratory, in the study of cultural artifacts from a distant era we can only rely upon verbal expression in texts that survive and visual representation of gestures, actions and scenes, all the while acknowledging the rhetorical, material, representational aspects of our objects. Unlike a clinical psychologist or an anthropologist, we cannot interview our subjects.

The linguistic, or verbal, evidence of emotions is, nevertheless, of prime importance in my study. Included are "self-reports" of how people describe their own emotions found in first-person narrative accounts of reactions to loss, such as in Christine de Pizan's mourning poems. Secondary reporting of emotion, often contingent upon observation of how people act - their physiological response to an event,like those

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[35]Vincent Crapanzano, Hermes' Dilemma and Hamlet's Desire: On the Epistemology of Interpretation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992) 230; See also his study "Réflexions sur une anthropologie des émotions," Terrain 22 (1994): 109-117.

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found in the chronicles - are somewhat less reliable, both to theorists studying emotion and to students of medieval literature, but still prove to be a valuable resource.

Visual evidence is also central to my study, and here the problems inherent in the reading of facial expression are the same as in any representational study - how "reliable" are the informants? Can we assume from a photograph (or illumination) portraying a sad face that the subject is experiencing that emotion? Emotions, as we have seen, can be hidden, denied or feigned.

All this speculation on expression and the possibility of psychobiological and cultural universals brings me to the problem of the reading of the expression of emotion and the question of the conventionality of late medieval cultural artifacts. Perhaps what we perceive as "conventionality" is a "true" reproduction of psychobiologically-triggered or culturally-determined expressions that seem "posed" or "extreme" because they are not what our culture finds normative or acceptable. Such questions will be addressed in the following chapter.

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Chapter Five

Representation and The Problematics of Reading for Emotion

> *..we will never learn why people feel or act the way they do until, suspending everyday assumptions about the human psyche, we fix our analytic gaze upon the symbols actors use in understanding human life -- symbols that make our minds the minds of social beings.*
>
> *Michelle Rosaldo**

> *On peut donc entendre la modernité du moyen age selon deux questions: pourquoi le Moyen Age continue à rester lisible, à nous intérroger? Avec quel outillage conceptuel et critique récent s'exerce notre activité de lecture sur ces textes anciens?*
>
> *Charles Méla***

Even assuming that it is possible to recover, through the study of cultural artifacts, traces of an emotion as it was experienced over five hundred years ago, the problem still remains that the representations of that emotion available to us contain highly conventionalized images and formulaic language. How are we to "read" the faces of pleurants on

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*Michelle Z. Rosaldo, "Toward an Anthropology of Self and Feeling." Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) 141.

**"L'Enjeu et l'evenement. Entretien avec Roger Dragonetti, Alexandre Leupin et Charles Mela," L'Esprit createur 23.1 (1983): 5-24.

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tombstones and "hear" the voices of lamentation in poetry and passion play?

The variety of media encompassed by this study compounds the dilemma. Each genre and form, is constituted by different means of representation, each requiring specific modes of reading. Although most of the objects studied here fall into the two broad categories of the "visual" (funerary monuments, sculptures of the Pietà and Entombment and manuscript illumination) and the "verbal" (poetry and chronicle),[1] such distinctions become blurred when we observe that funerary monuments often contain verbal signs such as epitaphs, and that the "manuscript matrix"[2] is as much visual as it is verbal. When medieval drama and much of medieval poetry are included in the discussion, a third category emerges: the "performative" or theatrical.

We must also acknowledge that terms such as "representation," "realism," "reading," and "reception," if they existed at all, were construed differently in the period under consideration, a situation that hampers the dialogue between past and present that the cultural historian attempts to initiate. In this chapter, I aim to disentangle some of

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[1]For a recent overview of the development of aesthetic theory, see Christopher Braider, Refiguring the Real (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[2]This term is used by Stephen J. Nichols in "Philology and its Discontents," The Future of the Middle Ages: Medieval Literature in the 1990s, William D. Paden, ed. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994) 119.

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these threads and to establish some general principles and a language to be used in my analyses in Part Three.

A. Image/Representation/Sign[3]

In the introduction to Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations, Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey posit a shift away from "art history" and towards a "history of images."[4] But what is an image? According to Hans Belting, "the term means as much and as little as the term art."[5] For most writers on the image, especially those writing in French, it is a self-explanatory term, requiring

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[3]My work is informed by a group of writings on semiotics and art history which, although they may not be directly cited in every instance, are certainly fundamental to my discussion. They include, Mieke Bal,"On Looking and Reading: Word and Image, Visual Poetics, and Comparative Arts," Semiotica 76.3/4 (1989):283-320; "Reading Rembrandt": Beyond the Word-Image Opposition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," Art Bulletin 73(1991):174-208; Norman Bryson, Word and Image: French Painting of the Ancien Régime (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); "Art in Context," in The Point of Theory : Practices of Cultural Analysis, Mieke Bal and Inge Boer, eds. (New York: Continuum, 1994) 67-78; "Introduction," Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Keith Moxey "Critical theory and the cultural life of historical images," The Point of Theory, 138-144; The Practice of Theory: Poststructuralism, Cultural Politics and Art History (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994). I shall refer to these critics as "New Semioticians" and to their work as the "New Semiotics."

[4]Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly and Keith Moxey, Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1994) xvi.

[5]Hans Belting, Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990) xxi.

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little or no definition.[6] Michael Camille, who finds it worthwhile to reflect on terminology, offers a brief definition:

> Imago had a complex rhetorical sense in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, just as it does today. It can have a general meaning of comparison or likeness, as well as a specific meaning of the

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[6]François Garnier, in Le langage de l'image au Moyen Age (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1982) and Christiane Reynaud, in Images et pouvoirs (Paris: Le Léopard d'Or, 1993),do not define what they mean by the "image" but go directly into a discussion of its language and function within medieval French culture. In The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1989), David Freedberg studies response to the "image", a category that for him includes "wax images, funeral effigies, pornographic illustrations and sculptures, and the whole range of billboards and posters," with the implication that "image" refers to all varieties of cultural artifacts without reference to any judgement of aesthetic value. Although he enumerates several types of image, Freedberg does not tell us what an image is. In L'Image médiévale: Naissance et développements (VIe - XVe siècle) (Paris: Méridiens Klincksieck, 1989), Jean Wirth says we should look for the image within "le système logique médiéval, afin de découvrir ses structures et ses fonctions," but he, too avoids definition. One of the unending debates in aesthetics concerns the "timelessness" of "absolute" beauty. Keith Moxey, in "Semiotics and the Social History of Art," New Literary History 22 (1991): 985-999, does not completely dismiss aesthetic value, but redefines it as a social construct. He holds that "aesthetic value is that ascribed to work by the culture in which it was produced," and that the value "would be continually re-negotiated over the course of time." (987). Some of the images and texts to be considered here are certainly objects of "beauty" created with great care and skill, which may account for their survival, but the "poorer" images and less "inspired poetry" have equal status as representative cultural artifacts. An interesting study would be to look at the sometimes scathing value judgements uttered by cataloguers from the late nineteenth century and early twentieth, such as Leroquais, comparing them to those of contemporary scholars, such as François Avril.

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> painting or representation of a god. The thirteenth-century vernaculars use the word with the same broad reference, although miraculous pictures and statues of the Virgin are ymages or ymagetes.[7]

Why do so many of these scholars writing on medieval subjects neglect to define "image"?[8] While for many I suspect that the meaning of "image" is self-evident, others may seek to avoid discussion of the intersections and overlap with the term "representation." Since my study focuses on questions of representation, and on the representations themselves, such

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[7]Michael Camille The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) 43.

[8]Not included in this critique are the many excellent studies on the "devotional image" where the use of "image" is much more restricted, such as Hans Belting's The Image and its Public in the Middle Ages: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Carazas, 1981); Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary: The Image in Late Medieval Monastic Devotions," Viator 20 (1989): 161-182; Sixten Ringbom's "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 6e série 73 (1969): 159-170; or the recent "Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective" by Eugène Honée in The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe, 1300-1500 H.W. van Os, ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) 157-174; nor do I include discussions of the controveries surrounding images and image use such as Belting's Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image Before the Era of Art, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). General theoretical discussions of the sign and representation, such as Nelson Goodman's Languages of Art: An Approach to A Theory of Symbols (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill,1968), W.J.T. Mitchell's Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), or Picture Theory: Essays on Verbal and Visual Representation (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994) are also excluded from my objections.

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issues cannot be glossed over or avoided here.

Simply put, "image" will refer, as it did in medieval French, along with its equivalent "imagene," to a picture, sculpture or other object bearing the imprint of a human figure, in this case, a mourning or grieving figure.[9] This definition is consistent with the use in medieval French of the term "ymagier" which referred to the maker of the image, whether it was a painted object or a sculpture.[10] The image consists, therefore, of the physical support as well as "l'image figurative."[11]

"Representation"[12] is even more difficult to define than "image," perhaps because implied in the term is a sense of referentiality - that a representation must be "realistic," faithfully re-presenting an object in the world, or "mimetic,"

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[9]Oscar Bloch and Walter Von Wartburg, "image," Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950) 564-565; Alfred Tobler and Ehrard Lommatzsch "image," 1340-1342.

[10]Bloch & Wartburg, 555-556; Tobler-Lommatszch 1342.

[11]Pierre Francastel, La Figure et le lieu: l'ordre visuel du Quattrocentro" (Paris:Gallimard, 1980).

[12]As explained in the general Introduction, I have arbitrarily chosen to use "representation" to discuss artifacts that are more visual than verbal, and "expression" for objects that are more verbal than visual, although I am fully aware that pictorial representations can be "expressive" of grief and that poetry can be "representative" of emotional states.

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imitating its referent.[13] When speaking of the late Middle Ages the issue of representation becomes even more confused. As I explained earlier in my discussion of death imagery, most scholarship has constructed the waning Middle Ages as an era of growing realism, a progressive and steady movement toward the ability to "faithfully" reproduce an object.[14] Yet, even the most conventional image is representational in the sense

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[13]The doctrine of mimesis, another of the touchstones of aesthetic theory, given its most eloquent treatment by Erich Auerbach, is also problematic in the study of cultural artifacts. Questions of medieval representation are taken up in a special issue of Poetics Today 5.3 (1984), edited by Stephen G. Nichols and Nancy J. Vickers. The question of the historicity of concepts of representation is taken up in "Anti-Mimesis: The Historicity of Representation," Forum for Modern Language Studies 26.3 (1990):272-281, where Thomas Docherty argues against the a-historical approach of Auerbach, and suggests, as Bryson does above for aesthetics, that mimesis, or representation is culture-specific. See also Craig Owens, "Representation, Appropriation and Power," in Beyond Recognition: Representation, Power and Culture (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), and Brian Stock, "The Middle Ages as Subject and Object: Romantic Attitudes and Academic Medievalism," New Literary History 5.3 (1974) 527-547. Norman Bryson, in Word and Image, and Meyer Schapiro, in Words and Pictures: On the Literal and the Symbolic in the Illustration of a Text (The Hague: Mouton, 1973) 12-13, address the question of the changing nature of representation, and Michael Camille, in "Labouring for the Lord: The Ploughman and the Social Order in the Luttrell Psalter," Art History 10.4 (1987) 423-425 discusses the problematic use of iconographic representations as evidence. On that point also see my, "The Torture of Saint Apollonia: Deconstructing Fouquet's Martyrdom Stage," Studies in Iconography 16 (1994): 119-138.

[14]This positivist march toward perfect resemblance has in recent years been dismissed. Jean Wirth observes: "Le passage de l'art idéographique du XIIIe siècle à l'illusionisme du XVe ne s'est pas fait selon une évolution continue et régulière, mais plutot par à-coups, avec des blocages et même des régressions partielles," L'image médiévale, 281. Although Wirth rejects the myth of unbroken development, he does see illusionism as the ultimate goal.

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that something is being communicated - in the case of this study, an emotion. I am thus adopting both Wartburg's definition: "figurer par la peinture, la gravure ou la sculpture,"[15] and the definition of representation given by The Oxford English Dictionary as "The fact of expressing or denoting by means of a figure or symbol."[16] This dual definition can be linked to the definitions of denotation and connotation advanced by Roland Barthes in Image -Music - Text. In his essay "The Photographic Image,"[17] he explains,

> "In short, all these 'imitative arts' [drawings, paintings, cinema, theatre] comprise two messages: a denoted message, which is the analogon itself, and a connoted message, which is the manner in which the society to a certain extent communicates what it thinks of it."[18]

Wartburg's definition, more closely resembles that of denotation- the "message" is made up of the material signs of the image (and as such can be analyzed iconographically or iconologically), while the OED definition opens out toward the question of expression - how the material signs function to

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[15]Wartburg, vol. 10, 270.

[16]The Oxford English Dictionary

[17]Roland Barthes, "The Photographic Image," Image - Music - Text, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang,1977) 15-31.

[18]Barthes, "The Photographic Image," 17.

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created meaning; the systems by which the signs are received and other systems that may be at work.

An interesting example of a culture-specific use of the term "representation" from within the Middle Ages is found in reference to funerary practices. As Ralph Giesey points out, in addition to meaning "effigy" the term was also used to refer to objects that did not attempt to reproduce the likeness of the deceased, but simply to indicate his or her absent presence when the dépouille, or remains were somewhere else:

> For many centuries, the fifteenth though [sic] the seventeenth anyway, it was customary when celebrating a funeral service (generally for someone who had died elsewhere) to display within the catafalque or chapelle ardente some paraphernalia which "represented" the deceased: a simulated coffin, covered with a pall, his coat of arms, and perhaps a crown if he were a king."[19]

The funerary représentation, then constituted a "sign" in the sense given by the Peircian definition of the sign: "a sign, or representamen, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity,"[20] which served to

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[19]Ralph Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva: Droz, 1960) 86.

[20]R.S. Peirce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in Semiotics: An Anthology, R. Innis, ed. (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985) 5.

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keep the dead person "present" and to "evoke," "bring forth the spirit of" and "recall the memory of" an individual[21] - to mark a place - a function equally important to its mimetic value. What I am turning to, then, can be considered a "semiotic notion of representation." As Bryson, Holly and Moxey observe, "by defining the work of art as a semiotic representation, that is as a system of signs, they [the authors in this collection of essays] break art history's allegiance to an account of artistic creation that is based on the concept of resemblance or mimesis."[22] This semiotic notion of representation is particularly useful tool in for the study of medieval artifacts which appear conventional and formulaic.

B. Reading the Signs

The conventionality of medieval art, especially in the depiction of gestures and facial expression, presents a challenge for any discussion of representation. Wherein does the conventionality lie? On the level of action or on the level of its replication in word and image? Did medieval individuals, when confronted with a situation that elicited an emotional response, react in pre-determined ways and were those reactions the result of psychobiology or of social

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[21]Wartburg, Vol. 10, 270.

[22]Introduction, Visual Culture, xviii.

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conditioning? Of Neither? Of both?[23] These questions lead right back to my discussion of expression in the preceding chapter. Considerable evidence supports the conventionality of medieval gesture systems. According to Jean-Claude Schmitt, "la ritualisation du corps" was a given in medieval culture and gestures depicting emotion followed from it. In Gestures of Despair, Moshe Barasch attributes the conventionalization of gesture to the rise of the rhetorical tradition,[24] and in Giotto and the Language of Gesture, he discusses several types of conventionalized gesture: legalistic gestures, gestures of prayer and other gestures related to the church and its offices.[25]

In verbal expression, the equivalent to conventionality is formulaic language. The long-standing interest in the formulaic language of medieval poetry and other texts considers questions of the oral beginnings of much medieval literature and the related need for formula as a mnemonic

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[23]Much of the conventional nature of medieval art comes from the use of copies; from model books, [see R.W. Scheller, A Survey of Medieval Model Books (Haarlem: De Erven F. Bohn NV 1963) 1-39 and Exemplum: Model-Books Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (ca. 900-ca. 1470) (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995)] and as the result of what Leslie Ross, in Text, Image, Message: Saints in Medieval Manuscript Illustrations (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), calls "image recycling."

[24]Moshe Barasch, Giotto, 22

[25]See note 29, p. 90.

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device.[26] Whether medieval speech was itself formulaic is another question. I would suggest that at least in highly socialized situations, such as events and rituals surrounding death, speech was formulaic, just as in our contemporary society there are certain common formalities for the expression of grief, sympathy and condolence.

Though I acknowledge the probable conventionality of gesture and speech in medieval culture, I have chosen to move away from the terminology of "convention" and "formula" because of the confusion between the immediacy of experienced emotion and the representation of the emotion. Here I find

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[26]Much of the work on verbal formulae has been produced by students and disciples of Milman Parry. Albert Bates Lord is the most prominent of these scholars, and his three books, The Singer of Tales (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960); Epic Singers and oral tradition (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); The Singer Resumes the Tale (Cornell University Press, 1995) are fundamental. See also, John Miles Foley, ed. Oral Traditional Literature: A Festschrift for Albert Bates Lord (Slavica: Columbus, Ohio) 1981; Oral-Formulaic Theory and Research: An Introduction and Annotated Bibliography (New York: Garland, 1985); Oral Tradition in Literature: Interpretation in Context (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1986); The Theory of Oral Composition: History and Methodology (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1988). Studies on oral-forumlaic theory and its applications to Medieval literature include Joseph J. Duggan, The Song of Roland, Formulaic Style and Poetic Craft (Berkekey: University of California Press, 1973); Donald K. Fry, Jr. "Old English Formulas and Systems," English Studies 48 (1969): 193-204; D.H. Green, "Orality and Reading: The State of Research in Medieval Studies," Speculum 65 (1990): 267-280; various studies in Karl H. Göller, ed. The Alliterative Morte Arthure: Reassessment of the Poem Arthurian Studies 3. (Totowa, N.J.: Rowan and Littlefield, 1981), and the collection Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages, A.N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternak, eds. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1991).

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useful Vincent Crapanzano's caution articulated above against conflating felt emotion, expressed emotion and "glossed" emotion. Since, once again, we cannot know with any certainty that what we see has any direct correlation with "the world," I treat such manifestations of emotional behavior as aspects of a "repertoire" of gestural representations and enunciations of emotion. If we accept notions of conventionality, we tend to deny the possibility of a subjective voice or act. If as Barasch suggests, Giotto "infused gestures that appear to be conventional' with the spirit of life, or an immediate, often urgent psychological reality"; and if Christine de Pizan's grieving voice seems to transcend its formulaic language and use of poetic and rhetorical devices, there appears to be a space from which an individual expression of emotion can emerge. I agree with Jeffrey Hamburger when he suggests that "we need to remind ourselves that the use of topoi and stereotypes need not preclude expression."[27]

As I have suggested, we cannot have direct access to the feelings of medieval mourners and we cannot experience their reality. We can only talk about what we see and what we read and form conclusions about the culture based on those readings. We have enough of a problem knowing our own world. As Keith Moxey, commenting on Peirce, observes,

A Peircian theory of semiotics recognizes the

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[27]Jeffrey Hamburger, "The Visual and the Visionary," 181. This question will be taken up below in my discussion of ritual and emotion.

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> anterior existence of the world, while positing that we can never know it except by means of the projection and manipulation of signs. Signs are never wholly autonomous of the world, for they exist only to provide us with a means of understanding it.[28]

So, it is through the language/s of the sign/s that we know and lay claim to our world, positioning ourselves within it. By extension we move backwards in time, carrying with us our perceptual framework. As we encounter the signs produced by the past we attempt to grasp through our "own eyes" their meaning for the individuals for whom they were produced, and for whom they mediated relationships with self, community and the supernatural.

C. Towards a Semiotics of Grief: The New Semiotics[29]

My goal here is to elaborate a semiotic reading of medieval culture by studying what is visible and contextualizing it within what is knowable about medieval culture. My aim is not to "explain" the objects of my inquiry, but to situate them as active producers of meaning

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[28]Keith Moxey, The Practice of Theory, 34.

[29]The literature on semiotics is vast. For a succint summary of its two major currents and its implications for art historical inquiry, see Bryson & Bal, "Semiotics and Art History," 177-195. For a discussion of semiotics and the study of medieval literature see Theresa Coletti, Naming the Rose: Eco, Medieval Signs, and Modern Theory (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988).

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within their culture. After a discussion of the resistance to semiotic theory among medievalists, I review some semiotic approaches taken to medieval literature and art. I consider their limitations and their possibilites and move on to what I have termed "The New Semiotics," offering some suggestion for its use.

The value of semiotics has, until fairly recently, been questioned by scholars studying both medieval literature and art."[30] Although semiotic approaches to literature have been employed for decades in Europe, many American scholars, who are proponents of the New Medievalism/Philology, have, in the past, misread the attention to structure or surface as a continuation of a New Critical position in which the object is severed from all context. Although such scholars stress the need to move out from the text to include "the manuscript matrix" and the intertexts of medieval forms of expression, and despite the many valuable contributions these scholars have made, they have not taken full advantage of semiotic approaches, nor of cultural studies methods that focus on

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[30]Many scholars are receptive to new approaches to medieval literature, but a sense of suspicion remains, as well as a reluctance to explore the possibilities of historicizing a semiotic approach rather than dismissively claiming that such a methodology is "ahistorical." See Eugene Vance "Semiotics and Power: Relics, Icons, and the Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople," in The New Medievalism, Kevin Brownlee, Marina Brownlee and Stephen G. Nichols, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1991).

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categories of gender and class, or of theories of reception.[31] Nor do they take into consideration the implications of liturgical or ritual practices as many anthropologically- and folklore-oriented medievalists have done.[32] Yet some medievalists continue to criticize semiotic analysis as reductive and superficial.

In recent years, an attempt has been made to incorporate semiotics into medieval studies from two directions: by scholars looking for the roots of modern semiotics in medieval culture and theoretical discourse, and by scholars seeking to

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[31]Among the scholars who have explored new approaches are: David Aers, ed. Culture and History: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992); John W. Baldwin, The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France around 1200 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); Michael Camille, Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Clare Lees, ed. Medieval Masculinites: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Linda Lomperis and Sarah Stanbury, eds. Feminist Approaches to the Body in Medieval Literature (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylavnia Press, 1993).

[32]See Kathleen Ashley, "An Anthropological Approach to the Cycle Drama: The Shepherds as Sacred Clowns," Fifteenth-Century Studies 13.213 (1988): 123-135, "Cultural Approaches to Medieval Drama," Approaches to Teaching Medieval English Drama, Richard K. Emmerson and V.A. Kolve, eds. (New York: Modern Language Association, 1990) 57-66; C. Clifford Flanigan, "Liminality, Carnival, and Social Structure: The Case of Late Medieval Biblical Drama," Victor Turner and the Construction of Cultural Criticism, Kathleen Ashley, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990) 42-63; Claude Gaignebet and Jean-Dominique Lajoux, Art profane et religion populaire au Moyen Age (Paris: PUF, 1985),and Francesca Sautman, La Religion du quotidien. Rites et croyances populaires de la fin du Moyen Age (Florence: Olschki, 1995); Philippe Walter, La Memoire du temps: Fetes et calendriers de Chretien de Troyes a La Mort Artu (Paris: Champion, 1989).

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study medieval texts and artifacts by using contemporary theory to illuminate those artifacts.[33]

In art historical investigation the use of semiotic approaches is of relatively recent date, and may be viewed as a reaction to the domination of the iconological approach which, according to Brendan Cassidy, seeks to "reduce art to illustration of particular kinds of texts," and displays an "inclination to account for medieval and Renaissance images as if they were verbal statements made by non-verbal means."[34]

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[33]Much of the work on the medieval sign stems from the search for the "modernity of the Middle Ages" discussed above. See the comprehensive review article by Jonathan D. Evans "Medieval Studies and Semiotics: Perspectives on Research," Semiotica 63.1-2 (1987): 13-32. Important studies in this area are by Theresa Coletti, in Naming the Rose. See Umberto Eco & Constantino Marmo, eds. On the Medieval Theory of Signs (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1989); Tzvetan Todorov, Theories of the Symbol (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982). This thesis is not the arena for an in-depth discussion of the (theoretical) medieval understanding of the sign. First of all, the "senders," ymagiers, or even those who commissioned works--may or may not have been influenced or even aware of the academic or theological debates surrounding the sign. In any case, we cannot make assumptions about intentionality on the part of the creator of an object. Furthermore, to posit a corresponding awareness on the part of the readers, or "receivers" of medieval signs is to take an even larger leap. To suggest that the means by which signs were received and processed was self-conscious is just as absurd as believing that all receivers of signs in our own culture are as aware of the workings of ideology and the potential manipulation of signs as are those familiar with contemporary theoretical discourses. What is important here is the examination of the material images and written words, and their function as signs, their placement in networks of signification and the reactions they provoked. This, then, is the study of the sign in medieval culture, and not a study of the meaning of the concept "sign" to medieval culture.

[34]Brendan Cassidy, "Introduction: Iconography, Texts, and Audiences," Iconography at the Crossroads (Princeton Univeristy: Index of Christian Art/Department of Art and

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While the adoption of a semiotic model by literary medievalists met with suspicion because of the perceived isolation of the work from its context, in the visual arts this sentiment was compounded by the fact that semiotics was, at its origin, concerned with linguistically-based codes. Norman Bryson addresses the concerns of those who would object to the use of a linguistically-based mode of analysis such as a "Saussurean" semiotics to visual materials, pointing out that semiotics is not limited to Saussure:

> While such apprehensions are well based, in principle semiotics is well enough equipped to respect the specificity of visual and verbal discourses: not only does its key term, semiosis, embrace both visual and verbal practices of the sign, but its attention to sign-types forces it carefully to distinguish between those that belong to that linguistic domain and those that do not.[35]

The "alternative" to a Sausurrean semiotics, elaborated by Charles Sanders Peirce, offers, according to Margaret Iverson,

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Archaeology, 1993) 7. For additional critique of traditional, positivistic Art Historical practices and institutional prerogatives, see Donald Preziosi, Rethinking Art History: Meditations on a Coy Science (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989) and for a review of some of the recent approaches that have been elaborated by medievalists, see Pamela Sheingorn's essay, "Medieval Drama Studies and the New Art History," Mediaevalia 18 (1995): 143-162; Jonathan J.G. Alexander "Iconography and Ideology: Uncovering Social Meanings in Western Medieval Christian Art," Studies in Iconography 15 (1993): 1-44.

[35]Bryson and Bal, "Semiotics and Art History," 194.

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"a much richer potential for our purposes of formulating a semiotics of visual art."[36]

Bal and Bryson point out that Peirce's system is vast and complex.[37] The two aspects of his system that are useful to those studying images as well as texts are his definition of the sign, partially quoted above, and his three-part typology of icon-index-symbol. Whereas the Saussurean model is concerned with the "internal relations among the signs of a language"[38] in a purely synchronic field, it rejects any socio-historical context as well as the human actors who are users of the language. One can see, in this perspective, that a Saussurean semiotics might resemble, in its rule-bound restricted field, a New Critical approach to textuality, and that some might well find it reductive in much the same way that Roger Chartier objected to the study of literary texts in series. In contrast, Peirce posits a "somebody" in his definition. "It [the representamen] addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign."[39] In this way, one sign may

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[36]Margaret Iverson, "Saussure versus Peirce: Models for a Semiotics of Visual Art," in The New Art History, eds. A.L. Reed and Frances Borzello (Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press, International,1988) 84-85.

[37]Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 188.

[38]Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 191.

[39]Charles Sanders Pierce, "Logic as Semiotic: The Theory of Signs," in R. Innis, Semiotics: An Anthology (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1985), 5.

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trigger a chain of meanings, an "unlimited semiosis" occurs - the continual reshaping of the "original" sign to create a new interpretant.[40] Peirce's definition of the sign and of semiosis allow for a flexible mode of reception and interpretation, both diachronically, as signs are reinterpreted through time and synchronically, because it allows for the active participation on the part of the receiver - the receiver is a creater as well.[41]

Semiotics, as a "metalanguage," has often been considered a solution to the problem of the transposition of vocabulary specific to one medium to other media in comparisons among the arts.[42] As I have suggested, however, each of the artistic and literary media and the cultural artifacts it produces, has a different mode of functioning and producing meaning. Since I am not comparing artifacts that express grief or represent mourning, but juxtaposing them, the problem remains how to acknowledge and maintain the specificity of verbal and visual signs of all types, and still

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[40]Bal and Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," 189.

[41]One could also use Peirce's theory to argue for the use of contemporary theory to examine medieval artifacts: If it is in the nature of the sign to constantly be reinterpreted, and signs are not fixed in time and space, then we as contemporary medievalists are just one of the links in that chain of infinite semiosis.

[42]For a review and critique of comparative arts approaches, see chapter 3, "Beyond Comparison: Picture, Text and Method" of W.J.T. Mitchell's Picture Theory, 83-107. For extensive references in the field, see the annual "Bibliography of Literture and the Other Arts" in the Yearbook for Comparative and General Literature.

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use a sign-based theory as a tool of analysis.

In their articulation of the shortcomings of semiotic approaches as they have been carried out, the "New Semioticians" mentioned above - Bal, Bryson, and Moxey, among others - offer some alternatives and some guideposts. Bal strives to establish "an integrative discipline where the study of words and images is no longer separate,"[43] where modes of reading appropriate to each object of study are elaborated. Bal and the other New Semioticians interrupt the direct referential relationship between the sign and world - the "explaining away" of a sign in terms of its context, so that the sign is fully accounted for by the conditions that produced it. Instead, they see systems of signification at work: verbal, visual, ritual, social, all co-existing - at times parallel and at points intersecting. As Keith Moxey explains:

> The study of the historical horizon becomes the study of ways in which various signifying systems percolated through works of art, as well as through the societies in which they were produced. Works of art become systems of signification that are contiguous to and continuous with the systems that articulate and structure all other aspects of

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[43]Mieke Bal, Reading Rembrandt, 26.

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social life.[44]

New Semioticians have various names for what they do. Moxey terms the dominant metaphor for this type of interpretation as "tracing" or "delineating," as opposed to "penetrating."[45] I prefer the idea of "reading" offered by Bal - an act that consists of viewing and seeing visual artifacts as well as listening to and hearing verbal texts. In Part Three below I read cultural artifacts for signs of grief,in order to reveal how they function in the culture that produced them – late 15th-century France – incorporating into my act of interpretation sign-based modes of reading specific to the late 20th century: psychoanalytic, anthropological, feminist and philological.

To conclude this chapter I briefly sketch out one mode of reading that I shall bring to bear upon cultural artifacts in order to come face to face with grief: a psychological reading of grief.[46]

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[44]Keith Moxey, "The Politics of Iconology," in Iconography at the Crossroads, 30.

[45]Moxey, "The Politics of Iconology," 30.

[46]I have chosen this particular example because psychology is central to the study of grief; I also make use of psychological insights in each of the three chapters that follow. The other modes of reading will be explained within the specific chapters where they are enacted. I am using the adjective "psychological" rather than "psychoanalytic" not to distance myself from Freud, who is central to any discussion of mourning and the grieving process, but to broaden the field.

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D. Psychological Readings of Grief

In the struggle to move away from a wholly philological and iconological approach to medieval cultural artifacts, no attempts have met with more resistance than those based in psychology.[47] Resistance to the use of psychoanalytic theory in the discussion of cultural productions from any period other than the 20th century is common in both the literary and the art historical critical establishments, but the aversion is even more pronounced among medievalists. Even so, opposition to the use of "psycho-criticism" has gradually given way to a measured degree of interest, especially among those working in Middle English[48] and among medievalists working in France.[49] Even historians such as Jacques Chiffoleau, have begun to admit that psychological approaches may be used. In his essay, "L'Usage obsessionnel de la messe pour les morts," he uses "obsession" in the psychoanalytic

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[47]For a recent discussion of this issue see Louise O. Fradenburg, "'Be not far from me': Psychoanalysis, Medieval Studies, and the Subject of Religion," Exemplaria 7.1 (1995): 41-54.

[48]Louise O. Fradenburg, "'Voice Memorial': Loss and Reparation in Chaucer's Poetry," Exemplaria 2.1 (1990): 169-202; David Aers, "The Self Mourning: Reflections on Pearl, speculum 68 (1993): 54-73; Lou Thompson, "The Narrator as Mourner and Therapist in Chaucer's Book of the Duchess," Soundings 70.3-4(1987): 435-443.

[49]For example, see Charles Méla, La Reine et le Graal: la conjointure dans les romans du Graal de Chrétien de Troyes au Livre de Lancelot (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1984) and Roger Dragonetti, Le gai savoir dans la rhétorique courtois: Flamenca et Joufroi de Poitiers (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1982).

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sense of "compulsion", and comments:

> Il n'est pas question de proposer ici une approche exclusivement "freudienne" de la piété flamboyante, mais seulement de suggérer quelques rapprochements. Ceux-ci sont d'ailleurs relativement faciles à établir; ils montrent qu'on ne saurait rejeter a priori l'apport psychanalytique dans une recherche historique.[50]

Psychological approaches, since they depend on "symptoms" observed or admitted to, can be considered "semiotic." One example, to be explored further, is the clinical description of the symptomology[51] of grief that will be central to my discussion of the Virgin Mary in Chapter Nine below.

Psychohistory and psychobiography, the two most common psychoanalytical approaches do, undeniably, present difficulties in the study of medieval literature and art. According to Dominick La Capra, one of the most common procedures of psychohistory is "to put individuals or groups from the past 'on the couch.'" Such approaches "tend to remain on the level of the application of psychoanalytic concepts to

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[50]Jacques Chiffoleau, Faire croire: Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XIIe au XVe siècle (Rome: Ecole Française de Rome, 1981) n.b. p. 251.

[51]Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief," American Journal of Psychiatry 101 (1944): 141-148.

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historical objects."[52] Since one of the aims of this study is to move away from the notion of "applying" theory, this certainly would not be a desirable mode of reading here.

The second approach advocated by many critics is "psychobiography," Shoshana Felman points out that in psychobiography poetry is viewed as a symptom of the illness of a poet.[53] For Felman, this approach is "reductive" - and indeed we can see that there is an assumed equivalence of text and the author's psyche, a kind of transparency that ignores the relation between psychology and aesthetics. Again we run up against the problem of the perceived lack of subjectivity of the medieval individual raised by Zumthor in Parler du Moyen Age[54], and reiterated by Huchet who, in attemptng to make a case for a Lacanian approach to Medieval Literature, undermines any possibility for a Freudian one. However, one can make a strong case that the texts I will be studying, texts from the late Middle Ages, most by named authors, do manifest an active, subjective, voice.[55] Thus, if one starts with the signs that comprise the object, or even with the

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[52]Dominick LaCapra, "History and Psychoanalysis," Soundings in Critical Theory (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1989), 32.

[53]Shoshana Felman, Jacques Lacan and the Adventure of Insight: Psychoanalysis in Contemporary Culture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987), 32.

[54]Paul Zumthor, Parler du Moyen Age, see note 4, page 133 above.

[55]The subject of voice will be discussed below in Chapter Seven in much greater detail.

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voice of the individual author, psychological approaches can offer some insight into those signs and the culture of which they formed a part. Christine de Pizan, for example, is a historical figure, about whom we know a great deal. Christine provides us with much of the information about herself.[56] Angus Kennedy, for one, admits of psychological considerations the study of Christine's Epistre de la Prison de la Vie humaine when he comments that

> the Epistre is psychologically interesting, in that although it develops consolatory arguments for the benefit of other women, it can legitimately be read, on another level, as part of Christine's attempt finally to come to terms with the various adversities that had beset her own life.[57]

A more neutral approach is to analyze the text itself. The fact that successful psychological studies of medieval texts have been written, notably Charles Méla's La reine et le Graal and H. Rey-Flaud's La névrose courtoise,[58] shows that it can be done. But it must be done carefully.

In the case of the grieving Virgin Mary, taken up in

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[56]Of course, we must be careful about equating the authorial "je with the narrative "je" and the question of subjectivity must be addressed. I do so in Chapter Seven, below.

[57]Angus Kennedy, ed. Christine de Pizan's Epistre de la Prison de la Vie humaine (University of Glasgow, 1984) 13.

[58]Henri Rey-Flaud, La névrose courtoise (Paris: Navarin, 1983).

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chapter Eight below, we need to take another approach, a more "clinical" one that remains more on the surface of things. Here a psychological approach would consist in the examination of the Virgin's gestures and her lamentations from the perspective of what we now know about the grieving process.

Finally, we can take a psychological approach to the ritual we see in civic expressions of grief, as I do in Chapter Six. Much work has been done on the psychology of ritual with the main focus being the relationship between ritual and emotion. Most of the writing in this area is in response to Emile Durkheim's comment in The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life, that in "primitive" people,

> ... mourning is not the spontaneous expression of emotions. If the relations weep, lament, mutilate themselves, it is not because they feel themselves personally affected by the death of their kinsman. Of course, it may be in certain particular cases, the chagrin expressed is really felt. But it is more generally the case that there is no connection between the sentiments felt and gestures made by the actors in the rite."

He continues:

> Mourning is not a natural movement of private feelings wounded by a cruel loss; it is a duty imposed by the group. One weeps, not simply because he is sad, but because he is forced to

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> weep. It is a ritual attitude which he is forced to adopt out of respect for custom, but which is, in a large measure, independent of his affective state."[59]

I reject this position. The way in which any given writer addresses questions of death and grief is bound to the time in which she or he is writing and is reflective of the expression of grief and mourning practices of that period. As I suggested in my preface, it is crucial to situate the writer. Historically and ideologically, Durkheim, writing at the beginning of this century—the time that Gorer signals as perhaps the most repressed ever in terms of grief and mourning—is perhaps denying an emotional component in mourning because such a component is missing in his own culture's experience of grief. We see further demonstration of how cultural constraints or "display codes" can influence the way we speak about or demonstrate grief, but not necessarily affect how we experience it. Perhaps we should view ritual not as masking an absence of emotion, but as channelling grief into socially acceptable patterns which may, at the same time, move the grieving process forward.

I address all of these issues more fully below in the third section of this study. My analysis is not, however, limited to questions of psychology but incorporates some of

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[59]Emile Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (London: Allen and Unwin, 1976) 442.

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the other concerns I have touched upon - anthropological questions, issues of gender and voice, and further consideration of the problems of representation.

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Chapter 6

Praise, Processions and Pleurants: Public Displays of Grief

This chapter treats "public" or "official" mourning and commemoration and its representations. The term "public" has a number of meanings in this context. Spaces where events take place can be considered "public," including outdoor spaces such as streets and graveyards and indoor spaces such as churches. The audience for which and the people by whom the acts of mourning are carried out -the spectators and participants - can be considered "the public." The events themselves, the funerals for average individuals as well as the rituals carried out upon the death of a ruler or "public person" for the "public good," i.e., for the orderly transference of power and the reestablishment of order - are public acts, as are the announcement of a death by the "crieur des morts," the symbolic tolling of the glas or death knell, and the funerary lament.

The "public" and the "official" are frequently linked. Chronicle accounts and funerary poetry were often composed by individuals employed by the deceased and were thus inscribed in an official account of "the way things were." The tombs of the Dukes of Burgundy, commissioned by the Dukes themselves, are "official" monuments. Located in the choir of the Chartreuse de Champmol, originally a private devotional space, they became "public" when, in 1416, the Charterhouse was

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designated a pilgrimage site and the monuments were accessible to a broader audience.[1]

In this chapter I present several cases in which the public and the official converge. In addition to their value as sources for representations of grief and mourning, the forms studied - chronicle, manuscript illumination, tomb sculpture, epitaph and funerary lament - can be viewed as repositories of memory. As I examine how spectators interacted with such concretizations of memory, I consider the relationship between memory and grief. At the same time I explore how the processional form acts, on many levels, as a metaphor for movement through the grieving process.

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[1]One could argue that since the lamentations of the Virgin Mary to be discussed in Chapter Eight below also occur in public spaces the "performative" is also "public." This may be so, but as I shall demonstrate, these lamentations serve a different function. By the same token, although the books of hours in which we find representations of funeral ritual might be considered "private" books, the rituals represented in them take place in public spaces, and I have such representations in this chapter. Of course the categories discussed in this chapter overlap one another, and that is why, in my introduction I called the division public/official, subjective/private and dramatic/performative a "flexible framework" with porous boundaries.

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A. Memoir as Memorial

According to Gabrielle Spiegel, vernacular prose historiography developed during the thirteenth century in response to a double threat. The emergence of the bourgeois classes created a challenge to the "traditional social hierarchy" long dominated by the land-owning aristocracy." At the same time, "a new and powerful challenge to the political autonomy of the French nobility," arose, "posed by the centralizing policies of Philip Augustus."[2] By the fifteenth century, after the important works of Villehardouin, Joinville and Froissart,[3] the novelty of prose history had decreased, but with the advent of the court historiographer the form entered a new phase: that of "official" history. According to Spiegel, the chronicle/memoir "increasingly claims to function as a conveyor of information, to be a written monument to the actions, beliefs, and ideals of the past which, in theory, it transparently reflected."[4] As a result, the chronicle/memoir is, to an even greater extent than before, inscribed within what Eugene Vance calls the "commemorative culture" of the

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[2]Gabrielle Spiegel, "Social Change and Literary Language: The Textualization of the Past in Thirteenth-Century Old French Historiography," Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies 17.2 (1987): 129.

[3]Particularly Villehardouin's Conquête de Constantinople, Joinville's Livre des saintes paroles et bons faits de saint Louis and Froissart's Chroniques.

[4]Spiegel, "Social Change," 145.

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late middle ages.[5] The accounts contained in those chronicles and memoirs are, accordingly, among the most valuable pieces of evidence we possess for that commemorative culture.

Evidence of the commemorative impulse can be found in the documents themselves. Chronicler Jean Chartier explains that a chronicle is a kind of memorial, erected "afin que l'oubli ne les [les faits et gestes de l'histoire] effaçat pas de la mémoire des hommes.[6] Jean-Claude Delclos points out that Chartier's opinion is shared by other writers:

> Mathieu d'Escouchy rappelle qu'il est nécessaire que les 'adventures, nobles entreprinses, conquestes, vaillances et fais d'armes' qui se font chaque jour par le monde soient mis par écrit 'pour en estre memoire en temps advenir"[7]

and Jean Molinet finds that

> "il est decent et louable de recueillir par escript

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[5]See "Roland and the Poetics of Memory," in Textual Strategies. Perspectives in Post-Structuralist Criticism, ed. Josué V. Harari, 1979, Eugene Vance characterizes medieval culture as a "commemorative culture." He explains: "By commemoration, I mean any gesture, ritualized or not, whose end is to recover, in the name of a collectivity, some being or event either anterior in time or outside of time in order to fecundate, animate, or make meaningful a moment in the present." Among examples of commemorative acts, Vance cites the imitatio christi, the cult of ancestors, the ritual of pilgrimage, and Eucharistic devotion (p. 374-75).

[6]Jean Chartier, Chronique de Charles VII, A. Vallet de Viriville, ed. (Paris: P. Jannet, 1858) I, 2.

[7]Jean-Claude Delclos, Le Témoignage de Georges Chastellain Historiographe de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire (Geneva: Droz, 1980) 20.

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> et coucher en vraye congruité de sens et de langaige les merveilleux faitz et admirables histoires qui s[e]...tissent incessamment,...affin que ceulx qui les parpètrent soient registrés ou cler matrologie d'honneur, qu'ilz puissent vivre après leur mort entre les hommes'.[8]

Chronicles and memoirs furnish three valuable kinds of information: They provide accounts of ceremonies and processions that followed upon the death of a public personage; they contain descriptions of grief reactions among the survivors and others who may have witnessed the processions or any part of the ceremony; and, finally, they reveal information about the writers themsevles and their reactions to the events recorded, which, taken in conjunction with a writer's position, can tell us much about how ideologies are formed and disseminated. Such sources must, nevertheless, be used with caution. As Gabrielle Spiegel advises: "It hardly needs saying that such literary figurations of social realities are scarcely straightforward or innocent." She continues, "Historiography, as the medieval genre par excellence devoted to a 'realistic' representation of the social and political world, is at the same time a genre thoroughly saturated with ideological goals."[9] One must always

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[8]Delclos, Le Témoignage, 20.

[9]Gabrielle Spiegel, Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993) 5. See also,

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consider the fact that more often than not those writing the accounts were in some way indebted to those about whom they were writing. In addition, one must remember, especially in the case of memoirs, that the authors were writing years after the events took place. Further, many of the chroniclers did not witness the events that they recount, and even those who did may have used pre-existing documents or oral accounts as well. Illustrations in chronicles provide an additional sort of information which must also be approached with the same care as the sources mentioned above.[10]

Many common elements appear in chronicle accounts of the ceremonies surrounding the death of royalty. One rather complete example of such an account is Enguerrand de Monstrelet's description of the death and funeral of Charles VI in 1422 in the Chroniques.[11] The account begins, as do

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Eugene Vance, "Signs of the City: Medieval Poetry as Detour," New Literary History 4 (1973): 557-574.

[10]See Anne D. Hedeman, The Royal Image. Illustrations of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) and Francois Avril, Marie-Thérèse Gousset and Bernard Guenée, Les Grandes Chroniques de France: Rédaction intégrale en fac-similé des miniatures de Fouquet. Manuscrit français 6564 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Paris: Philippe Lebaud, 1987).

[11]Monstrelet's Chroniques span the years 1400 to 1444, and were written while he was in the service of dukes Jean sans Peur and Philippe le Bon of Burgundy. All quotations of Monstrelet are from La Chronique d'Enguerran de Monstrelet L. Douët-d'Arcq, ed. (Paris:Renouard 1857-1862) and will be cited by volume number and page number. The narrative of events is to be used as a model, so I shall cite Monstrelet at length. The standard reference for information on royal funeral ceremonies is Ralph Giesey, The Royal Funeral Ceremony in Renaissance France (Geneva: Droz, 1960).

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many similar passages, with the king's death: "En ces propres jours le roy Charles de France s'acoucha malade dans son hostel de Saint-Pol dedens Paris. Lequel, le xxii^{e} jour du mois d'octobre, le jour des Onze mille Vierges, rendi à Dieu son esprit" (IV, 120). As do most chroniclers, Monstrelet tells us who was present at the death: "Et furent à son trespas tant seulement, son premier chambellan, son confesseur et son aumosnier, avecques aucuns de ses officiers et serviteurs, en petit nombre" (IV, 120). The chronicler then describes the arrangements made for the viewing of the body. "Et bien après, le alèrent veoir en son lit les seigneurs de son conseil, de la chambre du parlement et des comptes, l'Université de Paris et plusieurs colliéges, les eschevins, bourgois et habitans d'icelle ville, et aucuns autres" (IV, 120). Next we are told about the treatment of the body and its "official" exhibition: Et là, par ses serviteurs fut mis en ung sarcus de plomb et porté moult réveremment par chevaliers et escuiers en la chapelle de sondit hostel, en laquelle fut vingt jours entiers, jusques à ce ce que le duc de Bethford, régent, fut retourné dedens Paris" (IV, 120-21). Numerous masses were celebrated during this period by the priests of the king's chapel and by members of the four orders of mendicant friars. The description of the procession follows:

> Le 10^{e} jour de novembre, le corps dudit Roy fut porté de son hostel de Saint-Pol en l'eglise de Nostre-Dame de Paris, les processions de toutes le

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> églises alans au devant dudit corps par ordre et chascun en son degré, et puis les prélatz au dextre costé, c'est assavoir les évesques de Paris, de Chartres et de Thérouenne, les abbez de Saint Magloire, de Saint Germain et de Sainte Geneviefve. Et au senestre costé aloit l'Université, les Recteur et docteurs, aussi près du corps comme les prélatz. Et portoient ledit corps, ses chevaliers et ceulx de son escuierie., Et après suivoient les maistres d'ostel et escuiers d'escuierie au costé destre, et au senestre estoient les prévostz de Paris, et des Marchans et les sergens d'armes entre deux, et au plus près du corps estoit son premier varlet de chambre. Et ceulx de la court de parlement portèrent le drap par dessus le corps. Et au plus près du chef estoit son premier chambellan, et les autres ensuivant. Après lesquelz suivoient les pages du roy, et ung petit ensuivant, aloit le duc de Bethford, anglois, qui estoit régent de France (IV, 121-122).

At this point Monstrelet interjects: "Et n'estoit icellui corps acompaigné de nul des princes de song sang, sinon du duc de Bethfort. Laquelle chose estoit moult piteable à veoir, actendu la grant puissance et prospérité en quoy ce noble roi Charles avoit esté veu durant son règne" (IV, 122). Here we see an attempt to influence opinion: Monstrelet, writing for

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the Burgundian court, did not depict Charles VI as an ineffectual madman, as those who upheld the cause of the Dauphin may have done, but as a ruler abandoned by his own people and mourned only by those who profited from his death.[12]

The description continues:

> Et estoit le corps sur une lictière moult noblement, par dessus lequel estoit ung paile de drap d'or à ung champ vermeil bordé d'asur semé de fleurs de lis d'or. Et par desus le corps avoit une pourtraicture faicte à la semblance du Roy, portant couronne d'or et de pierres précieuses moult riches, tenant en ses mains deux écus, l'un d'or et l'autre d'argent, et avoit en ses mains blans gans bien garnies d'aigneaulx à pierres. Et estoit

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[12]George Chastellain's account of the death of Charles VI, Chapter XCII in his Chronique, follows Monstrelet, his source, very closely, except that he makes the political situation even more explicit. Following the proclamation,"Vivre le roy Henry", he ends his account: "Laquelle chose faite, tous retournèrent à Paris là où on avoit pourvu pendant ces mistères contre les entreprises du dauphin, seul fils du mort, deshérité par ceste manière" (348). There is also a chronological consideration here. Monstrelet, writing closer to the time when the events occurred, perhaps even as the events unfolded, did not have the longer perspective of Chastellain, who, writing years after the event, appropriated Monstrelet's description and glossed it in light of what had occurred in the interim. All citations to Chastellain's Chronique as well as his other works are taken from the edition by Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels, 1863-1866, Rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1973). Citations will include volume number and page number. Also on Chastellain, see: Jean-Claude Delclos: "'Je doncques, Georges Chastellan...': de l'histoire commandée au jugement personnel," Revue des Langues Romanes 87.1 (1993): 75-92.

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> icelle figure vestue d'un drap d'or à ung champ vermeil, à justes manches, et ung mantel pareil, fourré d'ermines. Et si avoit unes chausses noires, et ung solers de veloux d'asur semé de fleurs de lis d'or. Et en tel estat, comme dit est, fut porté a grant honneur, jusques dedens l'église Nostre-Dame de Paris, dedens laquelle chanta la messe pour ledit roy défunct, le patriarche de Constantinoble (IV, 122).

After the service was finished, the procession moved to St. Denis; the body was carried by several groups in turn, each one having jurisdiction over a part of the route.

> Et le portèrent les gens de son escuierie, jusques à une une croix qui est en my chemin de Paris à Saint-Denis. A laquelle croix le chargèrent les mesureurs et porteurs de sel en Paris, chascun une fleur de lis à sa poitrine, et le portèrent jusques à une croix qui est emprès Saint-Denis, à laquelle vindrent à l'encontre de lui l'abbé dudit lieu de Saint-Denis, ses religieux et tout le clergié de la ville en procession, avec les bourgois et le peuple, qui avoient grant foison torches et luminaires. Et de là, en chantant et recommandant son âme à Dieu, fut porté jusques en l'église de Saint-Denis (IV, 122-123).

Two services and the Offertory celebrated at St. Denis were

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attended by the Duke of Bedford.

In chronicle accounts of royal funerals, the description of the procession is generally followed by a record of expenditures either in terms of wax (in this case "vingt mille livres de cire" - twenty thousant pounds of wax) or of alms distributed ("seize milles personnes, lesquelles eurent chascune trois blancs" - sixteen thousand people, each receiving 3 blancs).[13] The king's body was then placed in the "sepulchre of his forefathers" at St. Denis, at which time,

> Et adonques les huissiers d'armes dudit roy qui estoient là présens, rompirent leurs petites verges et les gectèrent dessus la fosse, et puis mirent leurs maces en bas ce dessoubz dessus. Et lors le roy-d'armes de Berry acompaigné de plusieurs héraulx et poursuivans cria dessus la fosse: "Dieu veuille avoir pitié et mercy de l'âme de très excellent prince, Charles, roy de France VI^{e} de ce nom, naturel et souverain seigneur." Et après ce, cria derechef le dessusdit roy d'armes: "Dieu doint bonne vie à Henry, par la grâce de Dieu roy de France et d'Angleterre, nostre souverain seigneur." Lequel cry acompli, les sergens d'armes dessusdiz redrécèrent leur maces, les fleurs de liz dessus, en criant tous à une voix, Vive le roy! Vive le roy! Vive le roy! (IV, 123-124).

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[13]Vast sums were provided for alms in royal funerals.

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Although this account is highly specific in terms of the ritual surrounding the death of a king - including the use of the effigy, the burial at St. Denis, the breaking of staves and the transfer of power - and chronologically specific, with references to the strife occasioned by the Hundred Years War,[14] it remains, along with similar accounts, an important source for the general outline of royal funerary celebrations.[15] Most descriptions contain the elements found here (although they are not always arranged in the same sequence): description of the death; treatment of the body; identification of mourners and what they wore; description of processions (order, participants, effigy); description of church services, often followed by procession to place of burial; cost or value of materials (often in terms of amounts of wax for torches and tapers, cloth for mourning garments or alms distributed to the poor).

Such descriptions provide important documentation for the ceremonial aspects of the death and burial of rulers and give an idea of the hierarchical structure of society. Yet, we only rarely catch glimpses of the emotional responses of the participants or the observers. When we do find such

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[14]We should also note that because of the ambivalence surrounding the figure of Charles VI the descriptions of his funeral are particularly devoid of emotion.

[15]As mentioned earlier, as the members of the bourgeois classes acquired wealth, status and power, they emulated aristocracy and, although on a more modest scale, copied their rituals, e specially in the inclusion of the poor in processions and the distribution of alms.

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references, they generally take the form of brief interpolations or asides. In his account of the death of Philippe le Hardi in 1404, Monstrelet concentrates on the description of the Duke's death, the preparation of the body and its transportation from Halle, where he died, to Dijon, where he was to be buried. The chronicler then adds:

> Aprés la mort duquel duc y eut grans pleurs et lamentacions, principalement de tous ses enfans, aussi généralement de la plus grant partie des seigneurs et autres gens d'estat du royaume de France et de tous ses pays. Car en son temps il avoit régné et gouverné moult prudemment les besongnes du Royaume avecques son frére ainsné Jehan, duc de Berry, dont il avoit esté et fut encores plus après sa mort, très excellemment recommandé (I, 90).

Speaking of the funeral procession of Henry V, in 1422, Monstrelet says: "During the whole way [from Abbeville to Calais] there were persons on either side the car, dressed in white, carrying lighted torches: behind it were his household clothed in black, and after them his relatives in tears, and dressed in mourning" (484).[16] In his account of the funeral

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[16]Although I discussed mourning briefly in Chapter Three in the context of the pedagogy of grief directed towards women, quite a bit remains to be said. Mourning clothes had many functions: they were a means of display of rank and wealth; they were a meants of setting those in mourning apart from the rest of the world - to empahsize their liminal status - and the requisite wearing of mourning was a means of

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of Philippe le Bon (1467), Georges Chastellain provides an exception to this downplaying of emotion. He recounts:

> Vint doncques le jour de son enterrement qui fut par un dimence, là où les cérémonies estoient grandes, grandes en coust et en missions, grandes en singulière grandesse de les monstrer, et grandes en singulières dévotions et prières qui se faisoient entre toutes gens privés et estranges, à larmes et a pleurs, là où le duc son fils fut celuy du monde qui plus se monstra atteint du deuil à l'heure qu'on le porta par rue et mesmes en l'église, tant que le service duroit. Donc, si par larmes, divine pitié se pouvoit mouvoir du fils au

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providing charitable gifts (the clothes themselves) which helped to assure the salvation of the donor. The colors of mourning were varied. French queens in mourning wore white from the thirteenth century until Anne de Bretagne began wearing black when she was in mourning for Charles VIII. Although dark colors were commonly worn throughout the middle ages, the use of black as the color of mourning became generalized only at the very end of the middle ages. On mourning clothes, see: Michèle Beaulieu and Jeanne Bayle, Le Costume en Bourgogne, De Philippe le Hardi à la mort de Charles le Téméraire (1364-1477) (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1956); Michèle Beaulieu, "Le costume de deuil en Bourgogne au XV^{e} siècle," Actes du XVII^{e} congrès international d'histoire de l'art (The Hague 1955) and "Le costume français, mirroir de la sensibilité," Le Vêtement Cahiers du Léopard d'Or, I) 255-286; Karl Borinski, "Braun als Trauerfarbe," Sitzungsberichte der Bayrischen Adademie der Wissenschaften (Munich, 1918); C.F. David, Philippe le Hardi, le train somptuaire d'un grand Valois (Dijon, 1947); Joan Evans, Dress in Medieval France (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952); Michel Pastoreau, "Les couleurs de la mort," A Reveiller les morts, 97-108; François Piponnier, Costume et vie sociale, la cour d'Anjou, XIV^{e}-XV^{e} siècle (Paris: Mouton, 1970).

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> père, les pleurs du fils devroient donner grand espoir aux bienveillans du père, de divine audience, là ou tous coeurs et tous yeux encore d'hommes et de femmes, et en allant par rue et en l'eglise dehors, fondoient en larmes, tordoient mains et battoient leurs paumes, crians comme si le monde finist... (V, 233).

The passage concludes:

> Telles et si faites estoient les devises et les lamentations parmi Bruges en divers lieux, et mesmes entre les serviteurs de la court, à l'heure que ce noble duc-icy se portoit en terre, et dont toute la joie qui en avoit esté longuement obtenue, se reclina et s'ensevelit avecques luy en la larmoyeuse fosse. [232-233, Tome V]

Another example, somewhat more restrained than that of Chastellain, is Philippe de Commynes' description of the veillée, or wake, for Charles VIII: "J'arryvay à Amboise deux jours après son trespas et allay dire mon oraison là ou estoit le corps, et y fuz cinq ou six heures; et à la vérité, ne veïz jamais semblable deul ne qui tant durast (III, 313)[17]

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[17]Phillipe de Commynes, Mémoires, Joseph Calmette, ed. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1964). On Commynes, see: Jeanne Demers, Commynes mémorialiste (Montreal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1975); Georges Doutrepont, La Littérature française à la cour des Ducs de Bourgogne. Vol 8 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1909); Jean Dufournet, La Destruction des mythes dans les mémoires de Philippe de Commynes (Geneva: Droz, 1966), "Commynes mémorialiste. A propos d'un livre récent," Le Moyen Age 82 (1976): 563-575, and "Commynes et la

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Finally, in a description of the funeral procession of Louis de Luxembourg in 1504, we find a particularly vivid description of the reactions of bystanders:[18]

> Autour du corps estoyent ceulx qui portoyent ses armes et qui faisoyent le dueil. Devant alloyent deux cens pouvres tous en dueil, chascun une torche ardant en main. Somme, il y avoit telle suyte qu'on ne pouvoit passer par les rues. Bien fut la monstré que sa personne avoit esté en commune recommendacion; car hommes et femmes et enfans, en voyant le piteulx spectacle par les maisons et aux fenestres, plouroyent a chauldes larmes, se destorsoyent les mains et faisoyent dueil inconsollable et regretant le bon seigneur qui de tous estoit amé et bien vollu de chascun..."[19]

Certainly the degree of emotion expressed among the mourners varies according to the reputation and opinion held of the deceased and the relation of the mourner to the deceased. The manner in which emotional expression is recounted depends upon the person doing the telling. Each

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mort," Death in the Middle Ages, 222-238.

[18]We must be careful, however, not to uncritically accept this passage as a faithful representation of the events as they occurred, for the personal interests of the author or the interests of others seeking to commemorate Louis may enter into the description.

[19]Les Chroniques de Louis XII par Jean D'Auton, R. de Maulde de Clavière, ed., Vol. 3 (Paris: Renouard, 1893) 312.

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chronicler has his or her own style and objectives, which are not limited to accounts of grief reactions. For example, Paul Archambault notes that Olivier de la Marche and Georges Chastellain are, in general, "more attentive to outer configuration than to essence."[20] Doutrepont and Jodogne point out that Olivier de la Marche, "le fidèle serviteur de Charles le Téméraire est extrêmement concis," and that Molinet "ne la [la vie humaine] raconte pas absolument telle qu'elle est. Il l'embellit ou il l'enlaidit; it n'en dit pas tout, et il cache ou bien amenuise, ce qui n'est pas à la plus grande gloire de la maison qu'il sert."[21]

In the chronicle accounts of the rituals accompanying the death of public persons we see some indication of how these events were met by both the participants and the observers. Below I return to one aspect of the ritual, the procession, to consider how the form of the ritual might have functioned in the very process of mourning.

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Although accounts of ceremonies and processions do not always provide information about reactions to death, we can, in the same chronicles and memoirs, find many scenes

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[20]Paul Archambault, Seven French Chroniclers: Witnesses to History (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1974) 77.

[21]Jean Molinet, Chroniques, Georges Doutrepont et Omer Jodogne, eds. (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1937) Vol. 3, p. 215. All citations from Molinet's chronicles will come from this edition, and will be referenced by volume and page number.

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representing grief reactions by relatives or associates upon learning of the death of a loved one. Again, many accounts are relatively brief and straightforward. One such example, the reaction of Jean Sans Peur to the news of the defeat at Agincourt, found in Monstrelet's Chroniques, also serves to advance a code of conduct appropriate to a grieving military leader:

> .....pareillement comme les autres princes, il en fut moult dolent et courroucié, par espécial de ses deux frères le duc de Brabant et le conte de Nevers. Mais non obstant ce, sans délay se prépara à venir devers Paris, à tout grant puissance de gens d'armes. (III, 127)[22]

Here we see the common topos, also found in the chanson de geste, where a grievous loss is met with a drive toward revenge or an increase in military pressure on the enemy, but the emotionality is much more intense in epic texts such as the Chanson de Roland than it is here.

One of the most dramatic scenes treated by Georges Chastellain is the death of Duke Jean sans Peur, murdered in 1419 at the bridge at Montereau in retaliation for the death

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[22]We also see this kind of stoic acceptance in Jean Chartier's account of Charles VIII's reaction to his father's death. According to Chartier: "ce prince en ressentit au coeur une grande douleur, mais il sut la supporter patiemment" (12).

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of the Duke of Orleans in 1407, 12 years earlier.[23] Chastellain shows Jean de Thoisy, bishop of Tournai and Athis de Brimeau, his chamberlain, informing the young Philippe, then Count of Charolais, of the death of his father the Duke. They enter his chamber and recite a long speech in praise of Jean sans Peur. Chastellain recounts what follows:

> Ces deux seigneurs ayans fait leur relation telle que vous avez oy, et meslé leurs mots derniers avec larmes, le jeusne desconforté prince vaincu et paroultré de douleurs, gectant un haut effrayeux cry avec toutes manières lamentables, se rua sur un lit; et là, gisant subitement devint défiguré de visage, privé de parole et tout amorty d'esprit. Les yeux luy commencèrent à tourner, les levres à noircir, les dents à estreindre, les bras et les jambes à tirer à la mort; seulement en l'estomac vers le coeur se retrahy la vye, lequel tellement s'engrossy et enfla que très-hastivement luy falloit couper la lachure de ses habillemens et deffermer les dents à force continuelle, ou il eust esté estaint infalliblement en son deuil." (I, 49)

Chastellain relates that those surrounding the new duke were so moved by his grief that "les coeurs fondoient en larmes, en

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[23]Georges Chastellain's Chronique spans the years 1400 to 1474. His account up until 1431, is based on other sources, the early part of the Chronique (Books I & II) being based on Monstrelet.

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clameurs et en battures des mains, comme s'ils vissent toute la fabricque du monde finir devant eux..." (I, 49). They were shaken not only by the news of the Duke's murder, but by the dangerously excessive grief exhibited by his young heir. Women came running toward Philippe from every direction, "toutes desmaniérées, cryans, plorans et chancelans à terre par monceaux l'une sur l'autre..."(I, 49).

Philippe's wife, the duchess Michelle,

> chut à terre toute espasmée, toute ignorante de soy-mesmes, plus morte que vive; et ne pouvoit descouvrir son amour par complaindre, ny vuyder sa douleur par plourer, car angoisse luy destraignoit si le coeur que la bouche et les yeux et tous les membres luy estoient hors de vertu et d'ordinaire sentement. Seulement le coeur portoit l'angoisse pour tout le corps qui gisoit là en égale destresse avec son mary, à qui la vye estoit incertaine et en elle bien douteuse" (I, 50).[24]

The household was "emmeublé de 'hélas,' percée de clameurs et abismée de pleurs, sans jamais cuidier venir a rapaisement...." (I, 50). The description continues in Chapter V, "Comment la duchesse Michelle ne put oncques recouvrir joye," a tableau of grief designed, like this entire narrative, to move the reader to sympathy and to elicit an

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[24]Michelle's grief was no doubt complicated by the fact that she was the daughter of Charles VI and the sister of the Dauphin, who had plotted the murder of her father-in-law.

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empathetic response:

> Ces paroles et autres semblables disoit madame Michelle toute défigurée de pleurs, et mise en si extrême pitié que toute sembloit à soy-mesmes dessemblable. Sy vit-on ces dames et ces filles par compassion plorer avec elle à tous lez et donner paroles confortatives plusieurs, l'une à genoux, l'autre à jointes mains, l'autre en larmes et en humbles priéres, afin de la réduire é rapaisement de courage et à aucune modération de son deuil qui par trop estoit excessif (I, 55-56).

Yet, while Chastellain evokes sympathy, in his authorial intervention we also see limits placed on the grief of the Duchess which was excessive "par trop" - limits that should not be transgressed, in yet another example of the paradoxical pedagogy of grief that, on the one hand, requires that one grieve, but, on the other prohibits excessive emotion.

In Chapter VI, Chastellain describes Philippe's "second deuil" - a term which suggests recognition of a process, a "first" grief, or shock reaction, giving way to a "second" more "melancolic" emotion - which "gisoit en longue amère mérancolie et occupoit les vives racines du coeur...." (I, 57). His grief abates so that he may assume his new responsibilities. Similarly, in the description Jean Sans Peur's reaction to the news of the battle at Agincourt, his grief lessened so that he could go on with the business of

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ruling.

What are we to make of the fact that Chastellain was not there, and that Monstrelet, his source, was, according to Jean-Claude Delclos, much more succinct and much less emotional?[25] We are reminded that the grief we see in the chronicles and elsewhere is not a "truthful" representation of emotion, but a construction - reiterating the fact that all we have access to are representations. Yet no cultural construction is neutral. We constantly look through screens of cultural and personal meanings. We need to consider the ways in which late medieval artists, writers and craftspeople chose to represent grief and mourning and we need to try to interpret and evaluate the significance of those choices.

In his Mémoires,[26] Olivier de la Marche employs straightforward retelling of events, much like that found in

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[25]Delclos cites Monstrelet (p. 138): "à l'heure que la mort de son père luy fut annoncée par propre message, il fit le deuil si grand et si excessif, que nulle bouche ne le sauroit compter, qui ne faulsist plutost à le dire assez qu'à trop. Et passoit, en celle manière de faire, a loi de toutes jeusnes gens, grans seigneurs, qui en perdant leurs pères s'esjouissent, par affection qu'ils ont de venir à seignourie; et là ou cestuy monstra tout le contraire, car soy ruant sur un lit à l'envers, qui ne lui eust coupé la lachière de son pourpoint à tout haste, il fust esté estaint et estouffé en peine et en martyre sans dire mot." V, 240 - This may be contrasted with two other instances where Chastellain actually shortens Monstrelet's account. On Chastellain's realtionship to his sources, particularly to Monstrelet, see Delclos, Le Temoignage, 34.

[26]Olivier de la Marche, Mémoires d'Olivier de la Marche, Maitre d'hotel et capitaine des gardes de Charles le Temeraire, Vol. 3, Henri Beaune and J. Arbaument, eds. (Paris: Renouard, 1884).

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Monstrelet. When Antoine "le bastard" de Bourgogne, participating in a fait d'armes in England, learns of the death of his father, duke Philippe le Bon, Olivier de la Marche recounts: "Si changerent leurs plaisances passées à plours, et à larmes: car il estoit mort, comme prince de toute vertu...." (56). A passage of praise follows, in which the memoirist tells of the deceased Duke and of his generosity. Then Antoine "print congé du roy d'Angleterre, de la Royne, et des dames, moult piteusement ..." (57) and returned to Bruges for the funeral. Olivier tells about the funeral, where the duke's body was "porté solempnellement à grand dueil, souspirs et larmes, en l'église de Sainct Donat, audict Bruges..." to be later transported to Dijon and buried in the Charterhouse (57).

In the Memoires,[27] Commynes portrays a wide range of emotion. Upon learning of the death of the duc de Guyenne, the brother of the King, he tells us rather tersely, that Charles le Téméraire, was "desesperé de ceste mort" (I, 227). Yet, in describing the grief of Charles VIII and Anne de Bretagne on the death of their son, Charles-Orland, the Dauphin, he is more prolix. Commynes narrates:

> Après qu'il eut sejourné à Lyon deux moys ou environ, luy vindrent nouvelles comme monseigneur le Dauphin, son seul filz, estoit en peril de mort. Trois jours après luy vindrent nouvelles qu'il

[27]Commynes, Mémoires, Calmette, ed.

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estoit trespassé. Ledit seigneur en eut deul, comme la raison le veult, et poy luy dura; mais la mère, royne de France et duchesse de Bretaigne, appellée Anne, en eut le plus grand dueil qu'il est possible que femme puisse faire et longuement luy dura. Et croy que oultre l'amour naturelle que les mères ont acoustumé d'avoir de la perte de leurs enffans, que encores luy jugeoit le cueur quelque grant dommaige advenir. Au roy son mary dura poy ce duel, comme dit est, et la vouloit reconforter de faire dancer devant elle..." (III, 256-257)

The differentiation of styles of mourning on the basis of gender, found in this passage, is significant. The king's grief was "within reason" and lasted but a brief time. In contrast, Anne de Bretagne, the dead child's mother, experiences "the greatest grief that ever was." Commynes suggests that since mothers must have been "used to" losing their children in infancy, there had to be complicating factors in Anne de Bretagne's grief.[28] Thus, the "reasonable" brief term of the father's grief is contrasted with the "irrational" and transgressive grief of the mother who refuses to moderate her emotional state even when the king

[28]In addition to her premonitions of misfortune, or perhaps contributing to them, was the fact that the dauphin was their only child and that at his death the kindgom was left without an heir. Writing after the events, Commynes would certainly been aware of the difficulties Anne was to experience in bearing live male heirs.

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attempts to cheer her up by having a troupe of dancers perform before her.

On the death of Charles le Téméraire, Jean Molinet exclaimed,

> O dommage irrecuperable, doeul angoisseux, intollerable, Mort oultrageuse, insaciable, piteuse, acerbe et lamentable, tu as effacié le très resplendissant ymage de nobilité, detrenchié la verde branche de chevalerie et dilapidé le ferme, seul et unicque pilier qui soustenoit la glorieuse arce de Bourgogne! (I, 207)[29]

A long passage follows, devoted to the aftermath of the Duke's death, including the invasion of Flanders. Here, Molinet's language is perceptibly different from the authors we have considered thus far. In the first place, his chronicler's voice is closer than the other "historians" to his poetic voice, and secondly, he marks a transition to the era of the "grands rhétoriqueurs" whose style of lamentation reaches its culmination in the laments of Jean Lemaire de Belges.

In another passage by Molinet, this one on the death of Marie de Bourgogne, the emotion of grief is expressed more directly:

> Du trespas de ceste très haulte et trés vertueuse ducesse, estant en la fleur de jonesse, fut le duc, son mary, plus ennoyeux que jamais fut noble espeux

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[29]Jean Molinet, Chroniques, Doutrepont et Jodogne, eds.

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> pour la mort de sa chière espeuse, car un amour irrefragable les avoit ensemple unis en sy aimable et très doulce concorde que ne ambloit possible de les desjoindre sans le dur martel de la mort; tous les suppos de ses pays entièrement en furent désolez. (369)

In this passage we see a husband grieving for his dead wife. The "no greater grief" topos is amplified by the description of their mutual devotion. Molinet, however, does not judge the man's grief, as Commynes had judged that of Anne de Bretagne, and Chastellain had commented on that of the Duchess Michelle, suggesting the extent to which the personality and attitudes of the individual chronicler come into play, as well as the gender of the griever.

In chronicle and memoir, then, although references to the emotions associated with grief are often laconic and conventionalized, they do relate aspects of the prevailing social codes with respect to those emotions and their expression. The grief of rulers is respected and praised when it remains within bounds. Male rulers tend to be able to bring their emotions, however violent, under control and to go on with the business of ruling, whereas the grief of many of the women remains out of bounds and beyond all reason. These chronicles function within the pedagogy of grief, serving to provide models and to mold attitudes.

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B. The Mourner: Grief Embodied

The mourner is the primary actor in late medieval funerary ritual. Whether a member of the family of the deceased, a servant or member of the household, a member of a mendicant order, or a "pauper" paid for his or her participation, the mourner, hooded or not, dominates the visual representations of funerals and is ubiquitous throughout the whole range of funerary images, especially in the illuminations found in late medieval books of hours.[30]

Among the scenes that are illustrated, we find various religious services and burials. In one representation of a service, set against a flat, patterned ground, [Figure 7][31] the coffin, draped in a pall and flanked by tapers, sits parallel to the picture plane. As is customary in this type of two-dimensional composition, clerics (priests and monks) are placed behind the coffin to one side and pleurants occupy the other. The two mourners on the left of the miniature raise their cloaks to their eyes, as if to conceal emotion or to

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[30]The illumination of the Office of the Dead and its various forms which include the representation of Job; the representation of death's attack; the resurrection of Lazarus, and various scenes surrounding funerary ritual, all of which are seen in a page, folio 112, from Bn ms NAL 183, Heures à l'usage de Paris [Fig. 6] a manuscript dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. It is the funerary images that interest me here, and such scenes are not limited to illuminations of the Office of the Dead. The question of the reception of the images by the individual subject is discussed below in Chapter Seven.

[31]Bn ms lat 14827 fol. 109. First half/middle of century. Heures à l'Usage d'Orléans. Office of the Dead.

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wipe away a tear - a common element in the repertory of grief gestures. One can also see that their eyebrows are drawn together, creating one of the facial expressions Paul Eckman discusses in his work on the psychobiology of emotion - a movement that he considers one of the universals of the expression of grief. The faces of the three tonsured clerics on the right side also exhibit expressions of sadness and the cleric in the back appears to be lifting his arm to his face in a gesture of grief.

In another representation of a funeral service, this time in a church or chapel, [Figure 8][32] an attempt is made to create a large interior space through the use of perspective. The coffin, surrounded by clerics and mourners, remains parallel to the picture plane, but the scene extends behind it, the eye being drawn back to the statue of the Virgin and Child on the altar. The viewer's glance is drawn to the two women seated on the floor next to the coffin. It is impossible to determine whether these women are relatives of the deceased or are paid or poor mourners, but their presence is significant for demonstrating that women were present at funerals. The facial expressions in this image are difficult to read, but the body language of the women seated on the floor with inclined heads would seem to indicate grief.

Burials also took place within the actual church

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[32]Bn ms lat 10541, fol. 119. Heures à l'Usage de Rouen. Mid- to late- 15thc. Beginning of the Vêpres des Morts.

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building. In a scene depicting one such service [Figure 9][33] two black-robed male figures suspend a pall over a body as two other men lower it into the grave. A flat slab would subsequently have been placed over the body, replacing the pall that probably belonged either to the church or to a confraternity that had participated in the burial.[34] In the foreground we see a skull and crossbones, symbols of death, and in the upper central part of the image, we see the struggle for the soul of the deceased.[35] This motif, which is found in the Art of Dying Well, introduces symbolic and pedagogical dimensions. A female mourner is present in the gallery alongside the men. Although this is certainly a solemn occasion, the facial expressions are fairly neutral and there are no gestures expressive of grief. Only the bowed heads of

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[33]Bn ms lat 921, fol. 125, "Inhumation," Heures à l'Usage de Paris. 15th c. Office of the Dead.

[34]In most of these illustrations of the burial, the body is seen in a shroud. Coffins were used either to help preserve the body (i.e. a lead coffin in the case of royalty where the body had to be transported over long distances) or they were used to transport the body from the home to the church to the cemetary. On the use of shrouds and coffins in the Middle Ages, see: Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, 121; Daniele Alexandre-Bidon, "Le Corps et son linceul," A Reveiller les morts, 183-206; Cécile Treffort, "Les Meubles de la Mort: lit funéraire, cercueil et natte de paille," A Reveiller les morts, 207-221.

[35]On the battle over the fate of the soul, see Pamela Sheingorn, "'And flights of angels sing thee to thy rest': The Soul's Conveyance to the Afterlife in the Middle Ages," Art Into Life: Collected Papers from the Kresge Art Museum Medieval Symposia, Carol Garrett Fisher and Kathleen K. Scott, eds. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1995) 160.

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the three hooded mourners on the left behind the grave give any indication of a sense of grief. Rather than stressing the individual expression of emotion, these examples instruct the viewer, by modeling, in the appropriate ritual action called for in death and burial.

The location of the burial seen in another illumination [Figure 10][36], is not clearly identifiable. We cannot determine whether the burial is taking place in the church or outside of it. It seems as if tiles from the floor had been taken up in order to dig the grave, but tiles might also be used in a courtyard or exterior gallery. In this miniature, only the gravedigger - with eyebrows raised and the corners of his mouth turned down — has a truly sad expression on his face. Why would the gravediggers be sad? It is, after all their function to bury the dead, with whom, we can assume, they had no particular bond of affection. I would suggest that the gravediggers function as a sign here - that if the priests and holy figures represented in these illuminations remind us of the promise of eternal life, the gravediggers, by their association with the earth, in some way represent life and earthly existence. I would also suggest that the ghostlike hooded mourners who are seen coming through the archway, represent, in this and in other images, the liminal state - the threshold between life and death. With their absence of

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[36]Bn ms lat 1372. fol. 91. Heures à l'usage de Paris, from the time of Charles VII.

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emotion, the mourner who is completely cloaked creates a sense of emptiness and foreboding - even a state of anxiety. Like the shrouded corpse, he is completely hidden.[37] In many burial scenes, the open grave lies between the corpse and the mourners with the gravediggers, one of whom usually stands in the grave, mediating the literal and symbolic space between them.

This sense is intensified in a final example of a burial, this one apparently directly outside a church [Figure 11][38] in which the two sides of the picture behind the grave are balanced, with four clerics and the boy holding the cross on the one side and the large group of mourners extending back in several rows on the other. These mourners are entirely covered so that no facial expression is readable, but many have heads deeply bowed in sorrow and once again hold their cloaks up to their faces - supporting a bowed forehead or wiping away a tear. Since the manuscript is predominantly decorated in grisaille - in shades of white and gray - the darkly-clad pleurants stand out on the page. Again, the two gravediggers sorrowfully lower the body (which in this case does not appear to be shrouded) into the grave - the one on

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[37]In his essay "Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage," rpt.in Reader in Comparative Religion. An Anthropological Approach, William Lessa and Evon Z. Vogt, eds., Victor Turner asserts that the subject of a passage ritual is, in the liminal structually, if not physically 'invisible.' (234).

[38]Bn ms lat 18015, fol. 134. Hours à l'usage de Rome. First illustration of Office of the Dead. After 1458.

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the left appears to avert his gaze, as if he does not wish to look at the deceased. The heads of the three smaller torch-bearers are also inclined. In the upper right hand corner we again see the struggle of the devil and the angel for the soul of the deceased.

Thus far I have discussed only one of the two tendencies found in illuminations of the Office of the Dead: a sequential narrative in which individual stages of the ritual each occupy a separate folio. Next I will consider three examples of the second type: the composite image, in which various stages, beginning as early as the attack of Death and generally ending with the procession and burial, are depicted in sequence on the same page.

In the first of these composite pages to be discussed here a miniature from a mid-fifteenth century book of hours, [Figure 12][39], we see a burial in a churchyard taking place in the main miniature on the upper left of the page. The gravediggers lower the body into the grave, the priests conduct a service, and hooded mourners enter through an arch on the left. Below this scene is depicted the sequence of events that preceded the burial. First we see the personification of Death, holding a spear and threatening the young man, who holds his hands up in front of him, as if to

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[39]Bn ms lat 1159, fol. 98. A Book of Hours for the use of Nantes or the Hours of Pierre II, Duc de Bretagne. Second half of the 15th c. (1455-1457). First illustration of the Office of the Dead.

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offer resistance.[40] Just below Death, we see the gravedigger who is digging a grave for the young man whose body lies on the ground before him. Behind the corpse a small memorial with three crosses, refers to the graveyard. To the left of the corpse a small soul emerges from the body, as an angel and a devil fight over it.

Another composite page from a late fifteenth-century book of hours, [Figure 13][41] narrates a woman's death and burial. The sequence in this miniature is ambiguous, but appears to begin with the top right corner, where Death strikes the woman. This scene takes place in a cemetary surrounded by high walls, where we see a gravemarker to the left of the woman. Like the individual on the previous page, the woman holds up her hands in a gesture of surprise and objection. This image functions as a metaphor for the one below it. The woman is on her deathbed, surrounded by priests, in the presence of another woman who reaches towards her, placing one hand on the dying woman's shoulder and the other on her hands, as if to comfort her. We then move to the scene of the service in church that dominates the composition, reinforcing the teaching that one's duty to pray for the dead

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[40]This gesture, with palms facing outward, is generally interpreted as a sign of resignation or acceptance. However, according to François Garnier, whe the arms are extended away from the body, the gesture can also be interpreted a pushing away of an object or an idea (I, 174).

[41]Bn ms lat 1177, fol. 106. Heures à l'usage de Rome, 2nd half 15th century.

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should outweigh one's inclination to mourn for them. One of the priests turns his head away, as if in sadness, but most of the other priests, as well as the praying hooded mourners, remain somewhat impassive, maintaining a sense of decorum - of appropriate behavior. In the lower right corner we see a procession with priests, hooded mourners and a woman with a white veil-like coif draped around her head.[42] The burial scene is to the left, where a shrouded body that has been removed from the coffin is being lowered into the grave by the gravedigger, with priests on one side and hooded mourners on the other. The mourners here are not completely hooded, which takes away some of their impact. They are, however, separated by the corpse by the body of the gravedigger who is standing up to his waist in the grave, as they are separated from the clergy by the grave. The last scene, in the lower left hand corner, is the resurrection of the dead, with Mary and John on their knees praying to a Christ in majesty, a further reference to judgement and encouragement to pray for the soul of the deceased.

In the third "composite" illumination [Figure 14][43] we see a scene that is not often represented in such

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[42]Whether she is the same woman who was present in the deathbed scene is difficult to determine. She does not appear in any of the scenes following the procession, so it is impossible to conclude what her status might have been - was she supposed to represent a paid mourner or friend or relative of the deceased?

[43]Bn ms lat 1158, fol. 137. Heures à l'usage de Paris, or Heures de Neville. First half of the 15th century.

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illustrations: the central scene of the page, set in a domestic space, shows the preparation of a body for burial. Two women lower the body into a coffin that rests on trestles. A morter and pestle sit on the floor next to the coffin, indicating that some sort of preparation had been applied to the body. In the center of the image, to the rear of the space, a woman exhibits signs of mourning: her hands are clasped before her and her head is inclined to the left, in a gesture indicative of a lasting emotional state.[44] She does not participate in the preparation of the body. The two women to her left distribute alms to two male figures, one of whom appears to be in rags and to have a crutch under his right arm. This central image is surrounded by other scenes: a devil releasing an arrow in the upper right appears to be participating in the struggle for the soul of the deceased depicted in the upper left. A figure, seated on a cross of the type that one would find in a graveyard, reads a book, probably a book of hours containing the Office of the Dead, a kind of mise en abime that one sometimes encounters in these images. On the other side of the main scene is a figure holding out some sort of vessel, perhaps hoping to receive some of the alms being distributed in the main scene. At the lower right of the page we see the funeral service. The coffin divides the space along a vertical axis, with priests

[44]According to Garnier, this gesture expresses all forms of douleur, it is the context of the gesture that makes it specific (I, 181).

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on one side and pleurants on the other. On the lower left we see the burial in the graveyard, with gravediggers, priests and pleurants.

As a final example of pages presenting multiple scenes, we see a representation of the dormition of the Virgin [Fig. 15][45] In the main miniature, the Virgin languishes on her bed while the apostles exhibit signs of grief. Many bow their heads and one clasps his hands. Another has his hands crossed across his chest, a gesture that we will see repeated below in Chapter Eight in images of the Virgin at the foot of the cross. The figure to his left appears to be holding his robe up to his face. A scene from the procession is seen in the bottom left and appears to be continued on the right. The two remaining scenes on the left are the assumption and the coronation of the Virgin.

What do these scenes tell us about medieval mourning practices and about the experience and emotion of grief during the late fifteenth century in France? What is the function of the mourner in these images? The images combine the symbolic, the ritual and the pedagogical. The hooded mourners, or pleurants function as liminal figures. With their hidden faces, they mirror the state of non-being of the dead body, usually shrouded, all the while participating in the ritual to

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[45]Bn ms 1176, fol. 90v. Heures à l'usage de Paris. Second half of 15th century. I am including this "biblical" subject here because the scene is compositionally similar to the death scene in Figure 13, and because it depicts figures in contemporary settings and mourning clothes.

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assure the salvation of the soul. Along with the other figures in these scenes, they act as models for mourning and grief. According to Gloria Fiero, these images "record a special kind of 'cultural performance' that knits the seam between this world and the next, binding the dead to the living by means of cathartic acts of final parting.[46] I suggest that there are multiple cultural performances coexisting in time and space and it is these intersections that I hope to illuminate here. I shall further explore these questions below in my discussion of representations of mourners found on funerary sculpture and grave slabs.

C. The Mourner as Monument

Late medieval tomb sculpture provides another source for the representation of the mourner. Like chronicles and memoirs, funerary monuments may be considered "memoria," as defined by Patrick Geary in Phantoms of Remembrance: memoria is "memory," but also "those objects and actions by which memory was preserved," including tombs and funerary sculpture, as well as "the ritual commemoration of the dead: funerary processions, the anniversary of deaths; the liturgical celebration of the dead." He concludes, "Memoria not only commemorated the departed but made them present through the

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[46]Gloria Fiero, "Death Ritual in Fifteenth-Century Manuscript Illumination," Journal of Medieval History 10 (1984): 291.

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manipulation of words (especially names) and objects."[47] Certainly the tombs serve memory, but what other functions might they perform? And again, what was the relationship between memory and grief?

According to Malcom Norris, the medieval funerary memorial had three main functions: "the first being to commemorate a departed member of the family and thereby contributing significantly to the process of grieving, coming to terms with the bereavement, and maintaining the good reputation of the family."[48] A privileged class of objects, tombs stand at the intersection of the public and the private. Commissioned by individuals or families to commemorate their dead, they often stand in public places. What was the connection between the living and the dead, and how was it mediated by a specific object: the tomb?

Many types of funerary monuments were constructed in the late Middle Ages. Although there was a direct correlation

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[47]Patrick J. Geary, Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Milennium (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 18. On some of the ways in which the dead were commemorated, see N. Huyghebaert, Les Documents Necrologiques (Typologie des sources du moyen age occidental) (Brepols: Turnhout, 1972). On the tomb as "memoria" see also Michel Lauwers, La Mémoire des ancêtres. Le souci des morts. Fonction et usages du culture des morts dans l'Occident médiéval (Diocèse de Liège, XIe - XIIe siècles) Thesis (Paris: EHESS, 1992) 107 and Herbert Thurston, The Memory of Our Dead (London: Burns and Oates, 1915).

[48]Malcolm Norris, "Later Medieval Monumental Brasses: An Urban Funerary Industry and its Representation of Death," Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead 1000-1600, Steve Bassett, ed. (Leicester U.P. 1992) 184.

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between the wealth and power of individual and the magnificence of his or her tomb, towards the end of the period it was not unusual for people of all but the poorest classes to commission some sort of monument to mark the spot where they were buried.[49]

Medieval funerary monuments are multivalent objects and must be "read" accordingly. The tomb, like the poem, is meant not only to commemorate the deceased ruler whose image is seen in the gisant,[50] but also to have an effect on real-life

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[49]Although I am focusing on funerary monuments commissioned and erected by and for the noble classes, and later, the wealthy bourgeoisie, the majority of people continued to be buried in cemetaries without any marker whatsoever. According to Ariès, the poor, "were piled in huge common graves, veritable pits thirty feet deep and fifteen by eighteen feet in area, which contained between twelve hundred and fifteen hundred bodies; the sammer ones between six hundred and seven hundred. There was always one open, and sometimes two. After a few years (or months), when they were full, they were covered over and other pits were dug nearby....These pits were barely covered with earth when they were closed, and it was said that during cold winters, the wolves had no trouble digging up the bodies." Hour of Our Death, 56. On medieval cemetaries, see Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-delà, 159-171; Danièle Alexandre-Bidon and Cécile Treffort, "Un Quartier pour les morts: Images du cimitière médiéval," A Réveiller les morts, 253-273, and Joëlle Tardieu, "La Dernière demeure: Archéologie du cimitière et modes d'inhumation," A Réveiller les morts, 223-253.

[50]The gisant, or "representation," in effigy, of the dead person found on his or her tomb is often the most striking aspect of the royal or aristocratic tomb. The gisants of Jean sans Peur and Marguerite de Bavière [Figure 16] are no exception (photo Carina Yervasi). Displayed with insignias of rank and symbols of power, and often accompanied by angels and legendary beasts, the gisant, a version in stone of the funerary effigy described in the chronicles, could also be considered the visual equivalent to the sections in funerary poetry devoted to the praise of the dead individual and celebration of his or her deeds and accomplishments.

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mourners. Like the mourners in the illuminations discussed above, tombs evoke a response from the viewer. Mourners, hooded or not, engraved in or surrounding late medieval funerary monuments in France, function as a part of the "pedagogy of grief" and also remind the survivors of their sacred duty - to pray for the soul of the dead and thus contribute to his or her salvation.

The mourners I discuss here are found on three different types of tombs: flat, incised slabs, enfeu or niche tombs, and free-standing sarcophagus tombs, all of which co-exist in time and space, from the catacombs of Rome and throughout the Middle Ages, and particularly numerous in the fifteenth century. My discussion is not based on chronological development and does not posit any "progress" from "flat relief to high relief, and from high relief to 'statue'" as Panofsky does in Tomb Sculpture[51], but focuses on emotional content and function, and on the ways their location and dimensionality affect the efficacy of the tomb.

The simplest of these tombs are the incised slabs placed in the floors of many churches. Not limited to the aristocracy, these tombs are common among the upper bourgeoisie and the clergy and became popular in the later Middle Ages as a response to overcrowding of sacred spaces by freestanding tombs. According to F.A. Greenhill, "One of the

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[51]Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture: Four Lectures on its Changing Aspects from Ancient Egypt to Bernini, H.W. Janson, ed. (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1964) 53.

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commonest embellishments of the Gothic canopies of North-west France... are the funeral processions that followed the dead to their last earthly resting place,"[52] as seen in the drawing of the tomb of Pierre le Breton and his wife Laurette Merille, found in Fichot's Statistique monumentale du département de l'Aube [Figure 17][53] and in details from the slab of Antoine de la Haye, from 1505, found in St. Denis [Figs. 18/19][54] F.A. Greenhill elaborates:

> the figures of the cortège are inserted into niches in the side-shafts, paired in the order of the procession, the top niche on each side being normally occupied by the cross-bearer and exorcist, followed in succession downwards by the deacon and subdeacon, one or more clergy, and last of all the mourners."[55]

In addition to such vertical processions of mourners found on many incised slabs discussed above, one particularly interesting feature of these tombs is the representation of additional figures at the feet of the effigies. An example of this is seen on the tomb of Jean de Bournant, known as

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[52]F.A. Greenhill, Incised Effigial Slabs: A Study of Engraved Stone Memorials in Latin Christendom, c. 1100-c.1700 (London: Faber & Faber) 309.

[53]Charles Fichot, Statistique monumentale de l'Aube Vol. 5, plate 6 (Troyes: Lacroix, 1884-1900).

[54]Tomb of Antoine de la Haye, 1510. Saint-Denis. Photo Leslie Abend Callahan.

[55]Greenhill, Incised Effigial Slabs, 309.

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Franquelance (+1452), and his wife Kathlyne de Mellyncy found in Sainte-Madeleine in Troyes, seen here in a reproduction found, again, in Fichot's Statistique monumentale [Fig. 20][56] and in two details [Figs. 21 & 22].[57] Each figure, beneath an engraved architectural canopy, is flanked by children. Hands joined before them, Jean de Bournant wears his sword, the object of his sobriquet Franquelance, while the eyes of his wife, Kathelyne de Mellycny, are cast down in an attitude of piety. A dog, symbol of fidelity, sits at the feet of each.

As on many of these slabs, the children are grouped with the parent of the same sex - the two daughters at the feet of the mother and the six sons on either side of the father - those belonging to the clergy on the right, and the others, bearing arms, on the left. Although static, making the conventional gestures of prayer, these figures convey emotion - the heads of two of the figures are gently inclined to the side creating a feeling of sadness. The black marble heightens the realism of the tomb in two ways: first, it creates the impression that the figures are in mourning dress and second, the incised lines forming the facial features appear white in contrast, highlighting mouths with corners turned down and eyebrows arched in grief. As do most images of

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[56]Tomb of Jean de Bournant and Kathlyne de Mellyncy. Eglise Sainte-Madeleine in Troyes, mid-fourteenth century. Fichot, vol. 4, plate 11.

[57]Photo Leslie Abend Callahan.

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mourners, these figures set an example of the proper way of honoring one's dead, preserving their memories, and praying for their souls.

In the enfeu or niche tomb, the mourner is not engraved, but sculpted in low relief on the wall above the sarcophagus. On one such tomb, that of the Seigneur de Préaux and his wife from the church of Notre Dame in the Château de Loches, dating from the fifteenth century and seen in a drawing from Gaignières,[58] [Fig. 23] we see, below the two gisants, a row of figures that Gaignieres identifies as saints. Numerous figures surround the gisants on three sides. At their heads, a priest presides over the absolution, while behind him a group of men and women stand in various postures expressive of grief. They appear to comfort one another: one has hands clasped, one raises a hand to a cheek, as if to wipe away a tear. Several mourners look away, as if unable to face their

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[58]Drawing No. B2715. Aside from those tombs that survived the French Revolution and other turmoil intact, the most valuable source that we possess for information on medieval French tombs is the series of drawings done under the direction of François-Roger Gaignières, carried out in the late seventeenth century. Articles written on him and on his project include: Jean Adhémar and Gertrude Dordor, "Les Tombeaux de la Collection Gaignières. Dessins d'Archéologie du XVIIe siècle," Gazette des Beaux-Arts (1974) offprint (unpaginated); Jean-Bernard de Vaivre, "Les Dessins de tombeaux levés pour Gaignières dans les provinces de l'oeust à la fin du XVII^{e} siècle," Pays de la Loire 303 (offprint; not paginated); "Dessins inédits de tombes médiévales bourguignonnes de la collection Gaignières," Gazette de Beaux-Arts (1986): 97-122. The drawings are catalogued in the Inventaire des dessins exécutés pour Roger de Gaignières et conservés aux départements des estampes et des manuscrits (Paris: Plon, 1891).

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loss. A host of heavenly musicians appears above the heads of the mourners, and above them towers a crucifixion scene with John and the Virgin on either side of the cross. The monument, then, can be read either horizontally - across each level - or vertically. To read horizontally is to emphasize the presence of the mourners during the ritual surrounding death and to focus on the grief of those in attendance. A vertical reading in which the figures from sacred history are also present and are seen as grieving the death of Christ, elevates the human to the universal. I would argue that tombs representing scenes from the Crucifixion and Deposition, and, to some extent, all medieval tombs, because of their placement in sacred or sacralized spaces, were designed to activate the memory of the viewers – the memory of their own personal losses and the memory of the death and resurrection of Christ. In that way they reinforced the hope of resurrection for the deceased - once again evoking the pedagogy of grief and calling for prayers for the souls of the dead. Memory is triggered by means of empathy, a "feeling with" that links memory and recollection. The memory of loss results in grief which is, in turn, resolved in the act of commemoration. Commemoration, or "calling to mind clearly," becomes "co-remembering." Tomb sculpture, then, by incorporating mourning figures and sacred images, takes on the function of a "devotional image" an image, according to Hans Belting "appealing to the viewer's emotions and suggesting the

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experience of a personal dialogue with the depicted individual."[59] But what is this "empathetic response," and how does it work? How can we overcome what David Freedberg terms "the obstacles in the way of assessing past responses"[60] to understand how these tearful faces worked to elicit a response from those who encountered them at the time of their creation? In her study, Sculpture of Compassion, Joanna Ziegler suggests that there are some types of feeling that transcend time.[61] According to the theories of Paul Ekman, there are certain physiological responses involved in emotions and in the facial expressions they trigger.[62] In a recent, ongoing study seeking to locate centers of emotion in the brain, certain cues were used as elicitors of response:

> The cue for sadness was to ask the subjects to recall personal events in their lives, such as deaths and funerals, or to look at a picture of a

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[59]Hans Belting, The Image and Its Public: Form and Function of Early Paintings of the Passion tr. Mark Bartusis and Raymond Meyer (New Rochelle, NY: A.D. Caratzas, 1990).

[60]David Freedberg, The Power of Images: Studies in the History and Theory of Response (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1989) 22.

[61]Joanna E. Ziegler, Sculpture of Compassion: The Pieta and the Beguines in the Southern Low Countries, c. 1300-c. 1600. (Brussels: Brepols, 1992) 43.

[62]Of course the stimuli that provoke a given emotion or response may be culturally determined as well as the extent to which that response is maked or repressed.

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sad face.[63]

The mourning figures, then, function as a model, in much the same way that as the cue photographs of sad faces in the experiment described above do - to elicit, through empathy, a mirror response of grief in the visitor to the tomb. In this way they function much as the sentimental novels and dramas of the eighteenth century, where both characters and reader/spectators end up in tears, and like our "three-hanky movies". Just as the chroniclers promote an "agenda" in the manner in which they describe funeral celebrations and grief reactions, the mourning figures, in a deliberate manipulation of the feelings of the visitor to the tomb (often by the deceased who planned the tomb), allow and encourage the tears of the visitor. In keeping with the pedagogy of grief, along with those tears comes the imperative to pray for the souls of the dead.

Mourners were represented on free-standing sarcophagus tombs as early as the tenth century.[64] From the thirteenth

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[63]Daniel Goleman, "The Brain Manages Happiness and Sadness in Different Centers," The New York Times March 28, 1995: C9, col. 1. [C1ff]

[64]See Pierre Quarré, "Les Pleurants dans la sculpture du Moyen Age," Bulletin de la Société des amis du Musée de Dijon (1970-72): 39-45; "Les Pleurants dans l'Art du Moyen Age en Europe," Musée des Beaux-Arts de Dijon, 1971 2nd edition. A similar tomb that was assembled is that of Hugues de Chatillon found in the Cathedral of Saint-Bertrand-de-Commingues. See Henri Druout, "Le Tombeau de Saint-Bertrand-de-Commingues et le thème des Pleurants," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 12(1925): 253-271.

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century on, they were found in low relief on the sides of tombs, where on earlier tombs one might have found apostles, saints, monks, nuns or angels. As with the enfeu tombs, the scene of absolution was very common, but beginning in the thirteenth century, the funeral procession was depicted. The best known example of this type of tomb dating from the early period, is that of Louis of France, the son of Saint Louis, who died in 1260, which is found in Saint Denis [Figs. 24 & 25].[65] On either side of the free-standing sarcophagus, mourners are carved in low relief: members of the clergy and laity move forward, each side leading to the front panel where the bearing of the body is depicted. The heads of the figures are bowed, and many have their hands crossed before them. Like the slabs, this type of tomb became increasingly popular and many examples are found from the fifteenth century, one of which, the tomb of Pierre de Bauffrement [Fig. 26], was carved, but never actually assembled into a tomb.[66]

On some fifteenth-century tombs, these bas relief pleurants emerge from the stone and become free-standing figures. Without question the most magnificent and most

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[65]Tomb of Louis of France, d. 1260. Saint-Denis. Photo Leslie Abend Callahan.

[66]The example reproduced here is from the panel that is now housed in the Museum at Dijon. Photo Leslie Abend Callahan. See Pierre Quarré, "Le Tombeau de Pierre de Bauffrement, Chambellan de Philippe de Bon," Bulletin monumental, 113 (1955): 103-115 and "Les Tombeaux démembrés dans la sculpture française," Inventaire illustré d'oeuvres démembrés célèbres dans la peinture européenne (Paris: Unesco, 1974) 210-221.

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innovative of the tombeaux à pleurants is the tomb of Philippe le Hardi of Burgundy, completed in 1414.[67] [Figs 27-30]. According to Pierre Quarré, the tomb of Philippe le Hardi is based on the principle of concentration - to take from a crowd of thousands of onlookers and "to translate in its 41 characters, the feelings of some of those who had participated in the funeral and accompanied the body of Philippe le Hardi all the way to the Charterhouse of Champmol."[68] Among those portrayed were lay and ecclesiastic officials and the members of the Duke's family, as they were dressed the day of the funeral.

Attempts have been made to identify specific individuals,[69] yet many, including Kathleen Morand, feel that the identification of all the figures is not necessary and

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[67]Ernest Andrieux, "Les tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne au Musée de Dijon. Histoire des pleurants," Bulletin Monumentale 92 (1933): 171-193; Louis Courajod, " Quelques monuments de la sculpture bourguignonne au XV^{e} siècle," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 32(1885): 392-394; Robert Didier, "Le monument funéraire de Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1342-1404): Jean de Marville, Claus Sluer, Claus de Werve," Die Parler und der Schöne Stil, Anton Legner, ed. (Cologne: Museen der Stadt Koln, 1980) 20-23; René Jullian, La Sculpture gothique (Paris: Laurens, 1965), 220-224; Domien Roggen, Les chef d'oeuvres de Klaas Sluter I: Les Pleurants de Klaas Sluter à Dijon (Anvers: De Sikkel, 1936); Anne McGee Morgenstern, "Le Tombeau de Philippe le Hardi et ses antécedents," in Actes des Journées Internationales Claus Sluter (Dijon: Association Claus Sluter, 1992) 175-191; Pierre Quarré, Les Pleurants des tombeaux des ducs de Bourgogne 1971.

[68]Pierre Quarre, Les Pleurants dans l'art du moyen age, 15. (translation mine).

[69]See Ernest Andrieu, "La Personnalité des pleurants du Tombeau de Philippe le Hardi," RBHHA 221-230

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that the concealment of identity, used to such powerful emotional effect by the handling of the drapery, was probably intentional.[70] The expressions on the individual figures are, indeed, remarkable, as is the use of drapery to convey a sense of heaviness and emotion. The masking of some of the figures only intensifies the impression of grief, as though their emotion went beyond representability, as David Freedberg observes, "It is as if we were being confronted with the inexpressible, or, rather, with the voicing of emotions that transcend expression."[71] It also frees these figures from the specificity of the event and renders their grief timeless. By "freezing" the funeral procession, the tomb stands as a monument of and to grief. The monument captures in stone the emotion of the funeral and preserves it. As Katherine Morand observes, the tomb "draws in the spectator, who, proceeding in the opposite direction, has the impression of being a witness to the funerary procession of the Duke."[72]

The spaces in which these objects were located greatly influenced the viewer's response. On incised slabs and enfeu tombs, meant to reside in churches and cathedrals and in view of (and in the case of the slabs, under the feet of) the

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[70]Kathleen Morand, Claus Sluter: Artist at the Court of Burgundy (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991) 180.

[71]David Freedberg, "Claus Sluter's Mourners: 'Images of fearful strangeness and power," ARTnews (January 1995): 120. [119-120].

[72]Katheleen Morand, Claus Sluter, 180.

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public who frequented those spaces, the representation of grieving mourners was placed so as to be taken up into the communal grief expressed in the ritual reading of the names of the dead and by the unending series of commemorative masses. In contrast, the tombs of Philippe le Hardi, and later the tomb of his son Jean sans Peur, were originally intended for a more private space, the choir of the church of the Charterhouse of Champmol.

Twenty-four monks inhabited the Charterhouse, a Carthusian monastery founded by Philippe le Hardi in 1385 to house his tomb. They lived a hermit-like existence. Who, besides those monks would have visited such a monument and what function might it have served? Certainly the family would have been present at the anniversary services. One incident included by Cyprien Monget in La Chartreuse de Dijon, exemplifies the relationship between the living, in this case, Philippe's son, John sans Peur, and the deceased, his father, and sheds some light on the function of the tomb. Monget recounts:

> Although he can hardly have foreseen his own death by assassination in the following year, his visits to the Chartreuse at this time had a touch of finality about them, and in June 1418, when he was about to leave Dijon for what turned out to be the last time, he made a pilgrimage to the Charterhouse

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to take leave of his father.[73]

Here we see one example of how the tomb was used as a devotional object connecting - through a son's farewell to his father before leaving on a voyage - the living and the dead. Furthermore, when Jean, looked at the procession surrounding his father's tomb he must have recognized himself as well as his two brothers, who had perished at the battle of Agincourt 1415, and that recollection must have colored his emotional response to the tomb. We again see that grief is not only the reaction to loss, but the memory of that loss, which is reactivated by interaction with the concretization of memory. This tomb, then, fulfills all the functions enumerated by Norris earlier: it commemorates at least one member of the family, it maintains the reputation of the family, and it helps the son come to terms with his bereavement for his father, and perhaps for his brothers as well. In so doing, it serves all three kinds of memory mentioned above: personal and subjective, collective and political, and familial and dynastic. In 1416, when the Charterhouse was declared a pilgrimage site, the space containing the tomb was sanctified, and that monument, along with the other sculptures that were near it, not least of all the famed Calvary that loomed above

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[73]Cyprien Monget, La Chartreuse de Dijon d'après les documents des archives de Bourgogne (Tournai: Notre-Dame des Près, 1898-1905), 107. According to Kathleen Morand, this history is "the only comprehensive history of the Chartreuse de Champmol in all its aspects," 313. It might be interesting, in this context, to recall Chastellain's account of Philippe's reaction to his father's death (see page 197-98 above).

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the Moses Fountain, became integral parts of a shrine, visited by innumerable pilgrims. The monument was then, as with the "vertical" reading of the enfeu tomb discussed earlier, taken into sacred, communal memory as well.

In the case of the tomb of Philippe Pot,[74] from about 1480, [Fig. 31-36] the eight hooded mourners who carry the slab on which rests the gisant rests, become fully realized, independent figures. Inspired by the funeral procession of his godfather, Philip the Good, in which he participated, and undoubtedly familiar with the sculptures in the Charterhouse, Pot commissioned a monument that reinterprets the figure of the mourner – a political as well as personal challenge - the Chamberlain presuming to rival the Duke. His pleurants, virtually life-sized, bend, partly under the weight of their burden, and partly bowed by their grief.

This monument offers a radical variation on the theme of the mourner - in the very monumentality of the figures, under whose hoods are found expressions of deep sadness, we leave the world of the miniature and encounter the hyper-real. These mourners recall the figures in the mise au tombeau sculpture that proliferated in the late fifteenth century -

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[74]See Henri David, "Le Tombeau de Philippe Pot," Revue belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art," (1935) 119-113; "Autour du tombeau de Philippe Pot," Annales du Midi 54.213-214 (1942): 25-41; René Jullian, La Sculpture, 225-239; Marcel Aubert and Michele Beaulieu, Musee National du Louvre. Description raisonnée des sculptures du Moyen Age, de la Renaissance et des Temps modernes. Vol. I, Moyen Age (Paris: Editions des Musées nationaux, 1950).

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discussed below in Chapter Eight[75] – in which the life-sized Virgin Mary, Mary Magdalene, John the Evangelist and others present at the Deposition, surround and lament the dead Christ. The more direct equivalence in size of grieving statue and viewing human reinforces the bond of empathy. It is significant that these sculptures coincide with the apogee of the mystery plays as well as the increasing use of tableaux vivants in civic processions and spectacles. Just as the figures in the scenes from Christ's Passion emerge and become present to the viewer, as the lament of the Virgin at the foot of the Cross becomes a choreographed Calvary scene, and as the tableaux vivants responded to what George Kernodle terms a "desire to make visual arts more active..." – mourning figures take on a life of their own and the empathetic response is intensified.

What might account for the monumentalization of the mourner in the late fifteenth century? It is certainly related to the growing trend of realism in the late Middle Ages, for which scholars usually use the imagery of the "macabre" as an example, and to the progressive "humanization" of Christ and the Virgin Mary in the late Middle Ages, as seen in the emergence of Pietà sculpture during the same period The same tendency toward monumentalization is also found in the poetry of grief written by official court poets and upon the death of a public figure and can be found in an intermediary

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[75]See Figures 59-79.

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form - the epitaph - both of which will be discussed below.

D. Procession as Process

As I mentioned earlier, royal or aristocratic funeral processions figure prominently in chronicles and memoirs. Not only the funerary cortege, but processions in general were an important feature of late medieval civic life. Royal entries,[76] the yearly processions of confraternities on the feast day of their patrons, Corpus Christi processions and other religious or political celebrations[77] were frequent and significant events. All processions share certain characteristics. According to Marguerite Waller, "At the highest level of generality, a procession is a longitudinal form with three essential features: continuity, length and

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[76]Elie Konigson, "La Cité et le Prince: Premières entrées de Charles VIII (1484-1476), Les Fêtes de la Renaissance Vol. 3. Jean Jacquot and Elie Konigson, eds. (Paris: CNRS, 1975) 55-69; Bernard Guenée et Francoise Lehoux Les entrées royales françaises de 1328 à 1515 (Paris: 1968). See also L.M. Bryant, The Medieval Entry Ceremony at Paris in Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990) 88-118; Jacques Heers, Fêtes, Jeux et Joutes dans les sociétés d'occident à la fin du Moyen-Age. Montréal: Institut d'Etudes médiévales, 1971. 18-33.

[77]See Jacques Chiffoleau, "Les processions parisiennes de 1412. Analyse d'un rituel flamboyante." Revue historique 284.1 (1990): 37-76. In Chapter Six of Apects of Genre in Late Medieval French Drama (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), Alan E. Knight gives a fascinating account of the relationship between drama and processional form. It is unfortunate that he devotes only one paragraph (p. 128) to the topic of funeral processions.

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shape."[78] Funeral processions, whether they are official or for private individuals, are, like most processions[79] always public. As Colette Beaune points out, the "convoi" is a kind of "procession solennelle" which marks "le passage du lieu privé et familial au lieu officiel et sacré."[80] The cortège always moves through public spaces - the streets or countryside, and end in public spaces - churches or cemetaries.

Yet, the funeral procession, what Jacques Chiffoleau calls "la séquence rituelle fondamentale des funérailles,"[81] is distinct in many ways. If we consider the funeral procession from the anthropological perspective of ritual studies we uncover many interesting paths to follow. According to Arnold Van Gennep, funeral rites may be considered both from the point of view of the living and from that of the dead. Van Gennep describes three sorts of "rites de passage,": rites of separation; rites of the margin, or liminal rites; and rites of "agrégation," or coming

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[78]Marguerite Waller, "Petrarch's Triumph and the Specatcle of Society," in Petrarch's *Triumphs*: Allegory and Spectacle Konrad Eisenbichler and Amilcare A. Iannucci, eds. (Toronto: Dovehouse Editions, 1990) 363.

[79]With the possible exception of monastic liturgy which took place within the confinfes of the cloistered setting.

[80]Colette Beaune, "Mourir Noblement...," 127.

[81]Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité de l'au-dela, 126.

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together.[82] In his schema, funeral rites act, for the dead, as rites of separation, "un individu qui faisait partie du monde des vivants le quitte pour aller s'agréger à un autre monde, celui des morts."[83] For the survivors, mourning is:

> un état de marge ... dans lequel ils entrent par des rites de séparation et d'ou ils sortent par des rites de réintégration dans la société générale ...[84]

Thanatologist Louis-Vincent Thomas also looks at funerary ritual from the double perspective of the efficacy of the ritual in the dispatching of the soul of the dead person, and as an aid in the healing process of the survivor's healing process:

> ...funeral rites may reveal three finalities. First, it is believed that they preside over the future of the departed, over both the metamorphosis of the corpse and the destiny of the person, whether death is defined as transition, passage or deliverance. Second, they attend to the surviving close kin, mourners who must be consoled and reassured. Finally, they participate in the

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[82]Arnold Van Gennep, Rites de Passage (Paris: A & J Picard. Rpt. of 1909 edition by Nourry) p. 14.

[83]Arnold Van Gennep, Manuel de Folklore francais contemporain Tome I, vol. 2 (Paris: Editions A & J Picard, 1946) 651.

[84]Van Gennep, Rites de Passage, 211. See also Manuel, 652-3.

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revitaliation of the group that has been disturbed by the death of one of its own."[85]

If we consider the funerary procession or cortège, we can see how this "split" operates. In his essay, "Notes to a Semiotic Approach to Parade, Cortege and Procession,"[86] Louis Marin distinguishes three types of "route": the "one-way" route symbolizing irreversibility; the "round-trip," in which the "turning point" is stressed, and the closed circuit - in which the ending and beginning points are obscured. For the dead, the procession serves as the penultimate rite in the voyage to the final resting place and what lies beyond, and, can thus be considered a "one-way" route, while for the mourners, the cortège constitutes part of taking leave of the deceased, part of the grieving process - theirs is more of "round-trip" voyage. In the funeral procession, therefore, we can find a link between ritual and psychology that functions both on the level of the individual -in the consolation of the bereaved, and, on the level of the collectivity - in the reestablishment of the coherence of the social group. Funeral processions, then, are transformative events.

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[85]Louis Vincent Thomas, La Mort en question. Trace de mort, mort des Traces (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1991) 31. See also his La Mort (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1988) 92. Translation mine.

[86]Louis Marin, "Notes to a Semiotic Approach to Parade, Cortege and Procession," Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival ed. Alessandro Falassi (Albaquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987) 220-228. See also W.J.T. Mitchell, "Spatial Form in Literature: Toward a General Theory," Critical Inquiry 6.3 (1980) 539-567.

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As part of what Colette Beaune calls "paraliturgy," processions also function as theatre: "Il y a utilisation de tout décor scénique: l'estrade-scène surélevée, les axes de circulation, le masque, le costume-type social, l'existence d'un public nombreux."[87] In her study, Beaune describes processions of lesser nobles who died away from their place of residence and whose bodies carried, in a cortège, to that location. The sequence of the participants in such large funerals is fairly standard: the "crieurs des morts," are followed by the "official poor," wearing black cloaks given them by the heirs of the deceased. The number of poor varies according to the social status and wishes of the deceased. For example, while great lords might have from 300 to 500 "pauvres,"[88] Isabelle de Clerment, Dame de Montcony, the wife of Henri de Chissey, a member of the local nobility, made the following request:

> Item je vuilz que, le jour de de mon obit et enterrement et mesmement durant le temps que l'on dira et celebrera lesdictes grans messes et que l'on dira aultres suffraiges accoustumés de faire et dire après icelles messes, soyent douze povres enffans vestus de robes et chapperons de noir que leur demourront pour l'onneur de Dieux, chascum d'iceulx tenans en leurs mains une torche

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[87]Colette Beaune, "Mourir noblement," 132.

[88]Colette Beaune, Mourir Noblement, 134, n.b. 134

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alumee..."[89]

In Beaune's schema the mendicants apper next, followed by the other orders, the chaplains and finally, the canons. The officers and servants of the deceased, all dressed in black, come next. Then come the "pièces d'honneur" - objects belonging to the deceased that will figure in the funerary services, and then come the "représentation," followed by the mourners:

> Le grand deuil est très peu nombreux. Une dizaine de parents très proches (père, frères, fils, veufs) font le grand deuil...Vêtus de longues robes noires, recouvertes de manteaux à queue plus ou moins longues suivant le degré de parenté et le rang social, portées ou non, ils ont la tête dissimulée par les capuches rabattues...et

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[89]In Testaments de l'Officialité de Besançon 1265-1500, Ulysse Robert, ed. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1902), 203. Unless indicated all citations from wills come from this collection. Testament d'Isabelle de Clermont, Dame de Montcony, Femme de Henri de Chissey, 13 avril, 1472(1473). On the symbolic role of the pauvre in funeral ritual, see Chiffoleau, La Comptabilité, 136 and Francesca Sautman, La Religion du quotidien: Rites et croyances populaires de la fin du Moyen Age (Florence: Olschki, 1995) 101-103. According to Michel Mollat, for the poor "frequent burials were a great boon," The Poor in The Middle Ages: An Essay in Social History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986) p. 265. Sometimes the presence of huge numbers of poor seeking the distribution of alms created chaotic scenes at what were to be solemn occasions. Jean Molinet recounts one such occasion. At the funeral of Pierre de Luxembourg, Count of St. Pol, "fut distribué aux povres la somme de Ve frans, ou y furent .xi. mile personnes desquelz les .xxxvii. furent estains en la presse, dont la pitié fut direment anoyeuse et fort lamentable" (Vol. I, 408).

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> présentant les signes d'une profonde douleur. Ils sont entourés de la parenté plus lointaine, en deuil simple (deuil de robe et non de manteau).[90]

The most distant relations follow, as well as members of the local nobility, vassals, and "le menu peuple."[91]

What characterizes the official funerals on the death of a ruler or member of the aristocracy with their elaborate, ostentatious processions in rigid hierarchical form, is that they are "public events," as defined by Don Handleman:

> locations of communication that convey participants intoversions of social order in relatively coherent ways...public events are put together to communicate comparatively well-honed messages... In the extreme case, they are operators of and on, social order. Not only may they affect social order, they may also effect it.[92]

Yet, processions are certainly not the prerograti ve of the upper classes. Beaune notes that even the grandest processions are not substantively different from "le convoi mortuaire classique qui mène les assistants la veille de la cérémonie

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[90]Beaune, "Mourir noblement," 135.

[91]Beaune, "Mourir noblement," 135.

[92]Don Handelman, Models and Mirrors: Towards an Anthropology of Public Events (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 15.

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funéraire de l'hôtel du défunt à l'église."[93] We find arrangements for funeral processions and burials in the wills of members of all social classes. Isabelle Falquet, wife of Guillaume Prévost, a notary of Besançon, requests that:

> ledit jour de mondit obit soit dicte et celebree en ladicte eglise de Saint Jeham Baptiste de Besançon une grant messe de Requiem, et vuilz et ordonne que tous prebstres et chappellains qui diront et celebreront messes en ladicte eglise de Saint Jeham Baptiste, ledit jour de mondit obit, durant la representacion de mondit corps...

The document continues:

> Item je vuilz et ordonne que, incontinant après ladicte representacion de mondit corps faicte et ledit office estre acomplir en ycelle eglise de Saint Jeham Baptiste mes sieurs les chanoinnes et chappellains de ladicte eglise de la Magdalenne de Besançon viennent jusques devant l'eglise dudit Saint Jehan Baptiste et, a departir que l'on fera d'icelle eglise, recepvent mon corps comment il appertient et avec leurs processions l'acompaignent jusques en ladicte eglise de la Magdalenne de Besançon per la forme et maniere en telz cas

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[93]Beaune, "Mourir noblement," 133. See also Yvonne Bezard, La Vie rurale dans le sud de la région parisienne de 1450 à 1560 (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1929) 300-302.

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accoutumez..."[94]

Jeannette, wife of Pierre Euvrard, another Besançon notary requests:

> "Item je vuilz et ordonne mon luminaire estre fait a la volunté et bon plaisir de mes executeurs cy après nommez. Item je vuilz et ordonne mon corps estre representé en l'eglise de Sainct Moris de Besançon. Item je vuilz et ordonne que, le jour de mon obit et enterrement, soyent convoquees et appelles les processions des freres Prescheurs, des freres Minneurs et des freres de l'eglise de Nostre Dame du Mont de Carme de Besançon, pour accompaignier mon corps et faire les serimoniez accoustumees faire...[95]

Georges Paitre, a merchant, requests that "la procession de l'esglise collegial de la Magdalenne de Besançon soit convoquee et appellee pour accompaigner mon corps le jour ou mon obit et enterrement..."[96] And Jeanne, wife of Jacot Huguenot, "écrivain de forme" wishes that her body be accompanied "des processions desdiz freres Prescheurs, freres

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[94]Testaments de l'Officialité de Besançon, 115. No. 185, 17 January 1459(60).

[95]Testaments de l'Officialité de Besançon, 198. 1469 (1470) 26 mars Testament de Jeannette, fille de Jean Vienochot et femme de Pierre Euvrard, Notaire a Besançon.

[96]Testaments de l'Officialite de Besancon, 222. 28 mai, 1486. Testament de Georges Paitre, Marchand de Besançon.

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Mineurs et de Nostre Dame du Mont du Carme, dès mon hostel et habitation jusques ausdisctes eglises de Saint Jehan Baptiste et freres Prescheurs[97]

One can conclude, then, that what Domenico Pietropolo calls "the processional mode"[98] is fundamental to funerary ritual and to the mourning process. Whatever the motivation of the testator - charitable impluses, ostentation, assurance of eternal life, or, more likely some combination of the above - the cortege resonated profoundly in the consciousness of medieval mourners. Certainly some of the power of the procession is attributable to the repetitive nature of ritual. I would suggest, however, that it is in the linking of space and time produced by the processional form that we can locate the intersection of ritual and psychology I mentioned earlier. According to Louis Marin, "Corteges, parades and processions produce time and space of a special symbolic quality."[99] As such the procession "structures time according to its own particular temporality and through the structuring, produces a specific time period that both interrupts and establishes

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[97]Testaments de l'Officialite de Besancon, 226, 12 octobre, 1490. Testament de Jeanne, femme de Jacot Huguenot, écrivain de forme, citoyen de Besançon.

[98]Dominic Pietropaolo, "Spectacular Literacy and the Topology of Significance: The Processional Mode," in Eisenbichler and Iannuci, Petrarch's *Triumphs*, 359-368.

[99]Louis Marin, "Notes on a Semiotic Approach," 220.

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chronological time."[100] The grieving process, as outlined by clinical psychologists specializing in grief, is also a progression. Catherine M. Sanders describes the process as "steps through which a bereaved individual must move before resolution of grief is completed."[101] George Pollock says, "I see the mourning process as a universal adaptational series of intrapsychic operations occurring in sequential successive stages involved in the re-establishment of a new level of internal and related external equilibrium.[102] This process, like the funeral procession, is one that occurs "out of time." One experiences a suspension of "real time." According to Lindemann, during the mourning process, patterns of conduct may be interrupted.[103] One of the major elements of the symptomology of grief is a feeling of temporal disorientation. The processional form, therefore, can be said to mimic the grieving process, and in some sense be can be considered a metaphor for that process.

As I demonstrated in my discussion of the mourner in tomb sculpture, the performance of processional form has left its

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[100]Louis Marin, "Notes on a Semiotic Approach," 223.

[101]Catherine M. Sanders, Grief: The Mourning After. Dealing with Adult Bereavement (New York: Wiley, 1989) 11.

[102]George Pollock, "Process and affect: Mourning and Grief," International Journal of Psycho-Analysis 26 (1978): 262.

[103]Erich Lindemann, "Symptomatology and Management of Acute Grief." American Journal of Psychiatry 101.2 (1944): 142.

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traces in cultural artifacts. Images of funerary processions are also found in chronicles, such as that of the funeral of Charles VI in the Chroniques de Charles VII.[104] Such images are, however, not limited to chronicle literature and are found in books of hours, along with the other funerary images. One of the most beautiful and the most interesting of the representations of funeral processions[105] is that of the Hebrew Bible figure Jacob, whose death is recounted as told in Genesis xlix, found in the Heures of Louis de Laval [Fig. 37][106] The miniature bears the caption "Comment Jacob fut porté en sa sepulture au lieu du gemissement lequel fut acompaigne de ses enfans et amys." As we look upon the backs of those in the procession, we are invited to join the cortege and to actively participate in the ritual. Another group of mourners, fully draped in black, follows, entering from the right. In a frame on the right side of the page is a group of men, on their knees, praying. The men are in contemporary dress, and turrets are visible in the background, giving this scene a decidedly medieval appearance. Although anachronism is common in medieval representation, I would argue that in this image as well as in the representation of the dormition

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[104]Bn ms fr 2691 fol. 11. See T.S.R. Boase, Death in the Middle Ages: Mortality, Judgement and Remembrance (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972) 100.

[105]Not, in this case from the Office of the Dead

[106]Bn ms lat. 920 Heures à l'usage de Rome, or Heures de Louis de Laval. Between 1469 and 1489. Fol. 101v.

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of the Virgin discussed above, [Fig. 9] the continuum established between the past and the present in the evocation of timeless emotions evoked by the rituals concerning the dead, functions as the vertical reading of the enfeu tomb did above, to typologize grief and to bring the viewer into that typological schema as a participant.

In another page from the same manuscript we see a striking scene in which we see a burial and a procession away from a gravesite [Fig. 38].[107] The scene takes place in a graveyard where the gravediggers are filling in a grave. Crosses and tombstones, some with figures on them, are spread throughout the graveyard. A large group of hooded mourners approach the grave, the one in front kneeling to pray. The faces of these mourners are fully covered so no expression is visible. However, one mourner with clasped hands, located about halfway back, appears to be swooning and is supported by individuals on either side.

In two smaller representations of processions, we find similar scenes. In the first scene [Figure 39][108] the pall bearers approach the grave supporting the draped coffin on rods. The gravedigger, tools and bones scattered at his feet, holds a spade and points to the open grave. Behind the monks

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[107]Bn ms lat 920, fol 200v. The image is placed at the beginning of the Office of the Dead, immediately before the first Nocturn.

[108]Bn ms lat 1415. Heures à l'usage de Rome. Second half 15th century. fol. 125, Office des Morts.

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who carry the casket are the priests who are officiating at the service, and to the left we see a group of three mourners. Some of the figures wear expressions of sadness, their heads inclined. In another procession scene,[Fig. 40][109] we again see the rear of a procession that is wending its way through narrow streets. In this, as in all of these representations, the viewer is invited to participate, inserting herself into the procession. The deceased's coat of arms is mounted on pikes, giving the impression that this is a person of some importance, as do the number and variety of those accompanying the coffin. One has less a feeling of sadness than a sense of ceremonial solemnity. As each step takes the procession closer to its destination - the final resting place of the deceased – the mourners participate in a ritual meant to bring them together in a shared exercise, and at the same time, to facilitate their own grief – their return journey – which is as much emotional and spiritual as physical. As they reinforce social ideologies and hierarchies, the procession and its representation reinforce certain emotional experiences. The passage from one state of being to another - the liminal experience of moving from life to death - is objectified in the procession accompanying the deceased along his journey. The psychological progression through the grief process, which was similar in the late middle ages to our own time, finds its

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[109]Bn ms lat 1177, fol. 106v. Heures à l'usage de Rouen. Second half 15th century.

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echo in the steps of the procession in which the viewer participates. Turning the pages of the manuscript also constitutes a progression, further implicating the viewer, as she progresses through the rituals illustrated there, at the same time recalling the memory of loss.

E. The Epitaph as Expression of Grief[110]

We can locate the epitaph somewhere between tomb sculpture and the déploration funebre. What interests me here is how the epitaph – the inscription found on the gravestone[111] – functioned as it became "detached" from tomb

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[110]Dating back to Greek and Latin antiquity, epitaphs are by no means a medieval invention. Generally considered to be the inscriptions found on grave markers, they constitute a large part of the science of epigraphy, the study of inscriptions. Among the many works on medieval epigraphy, see Orazio Marucchi, "Christian Epigraphy. An Elementary Treatise with a Collection of Ancient Christian inscriptions mainly of Roman Origin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912). Other sources include the Corpus des inscriptions de la France médiévale, (Paris: CNRS, 1974-1994 vols. 1-18); L'Epitaphier du Vieux Paris: Receuil général des inscriptions funéraires des églises, couvents, collèges, hospices, cimitières et charniers, depuis le moyen age jusqu'à la fin du XIIIe siècle, Emile Raunié, ed. (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1890) and a thesis from 1981 by Madeleine Braekman, "L'épigraphie tumulaire de la France médiévale XI-XIIIe s.," Poitiers, 1981, and Bernadette Mora. "Le portrait du défunt dans les épitaphes 750-1300). Formulaire et stéréotypes," Le Moyen Age 97.3-4 (1991), 339-59.

[111]As in the definition offered by the Oxford English Dictionary, an inscription upon a tomb. Hence occasionally a brief composition characterizing a deceased person, and expressed as if intended to be inscribed on a tombstone."

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sculpture and was appropriated into poetry as a form of deploration: how it served both to evoke and to express grief.

The term "epitaph" is a rather fluid one, used variably to refer to the sculptural epitaph, the epitaph as inscription on a tomb; the poetic tomb, and the poetic epitaph. Many scholars distinguish one form from another. According to Alfred Weckworth the sculptural epitaph functioned as a trigger to memory or as a devotional object, in contrast to the tombstone which for him was primarily meant to mark a gravesite and functions only secondarily as a site of memory:

> Seinem Wesen nach ist vielmehr ein Andachtsbild und hatte als solches die Aufgabe, dem vorüberkommenden Gelegenheit zu einer personlichen Andacht zu geben bzw. ihn zu andächtiger Besinnung aufzufordern; zugelich ist das Bildepitaph ein Totenerinnerungsmal, das den fremden Beter in seiner persönlichen Andacht zur Fürbitte für das Seelenheil eines oder mehrerer Verstorbener veranlassen sollte."[112]

As we have seen however, tombstones not only locate the remains beneath them, but serve the same function as that attributed by Weckworth to the Bildepitaph - to act as Andachtsbilder - as objects of devotional contemplation that

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[112]Alfred Weckworth, "Der Ursprung des Bildepitaphs," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 20(1957): 176.

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bring one into closer contact with the deceased.[113]

The most common type of epitaph, the inscription on the tombstone itself, can either be a straightforward report of the facts of an individual's life and death, what Bernadette Mora calls "épitaphes signalétiques"[114] and the "carte d'identité du défunt,"[115] or a more poetic composition using standardized vocabulary to provide a conventionalized portrait.[116] The epitaph is usually found either on the grave slab, surrounding the effigy of the deceased, or on a separate plaque like those described by Weckworth.

One of the more elaborate epitaphs of the first type is inscribed on the monument of Philippe Pot, discussed above. According to Marcel Aubert, the epitaph was composed during Pot's lifetime and functions as a sort of apology.[117] The epitaph begins with the traditional "Cy demourra," a variation on the more common "Ci gist," and lists all the domains in Pot's possession, the important posts he had occupied, the honors he had received, and the privileges he had been granted. The text is all very matter-of-fact and there is no reference to Pot's character or any expression of regret over

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[113]Andachtsbilder will be discussed at greater length in Chapter Eight.

[114]Bernadette Mora, "Le portrait du défunt," 340.

[115]Mora, "Le portrait du défunt," 341.

[116]Mora, "Le portrait du défunt," 340.

[117]Marcel Aubert and Michele Beaulieu, Description raisonnée, p. 243.

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his passing. According to Monget, the tombstone inscription was reproduced on another support: "Cette inscription en prose française était répétée sur une table de bronze entourée d'un cadre de bois, qui avait été suspendue en haut de l'arcade, derrière l'autel, avec une légère variante..."[118] This reduplication of the epitaph perhaps points, not to a different function, as Weckworth claims, but to an intensification of the original inscription that has its genesis not in the wishes of Philippe Pot, the deceased, but in the survivors' wish to commemorate his acts and accomplishments. Both inscriptions were to function as part of one monument, but the plaque is, in some sense a response to or at least an echo of, the original epitaph.

Another example of such an inscription comes from a flat grave slab that was located by the main altar in the Convent of the Grands-Augustins in Paris. It is a double tomb:

> Misereri Mei, domine, non secundum. -
> Cy gist dame Magdelaine Petitte, femme de maistre Jacques Erland, vivant notaire et secretaire du Roy nostre sire, payeur des gages de messieurs les presidans et conseillers de la court de Parlement de Paris, laquelle trespassa le XVIIIe jour du mois de septembre mcccxii.- priez dieu pour elle.
>
> Cy gist Denize Petitte, fille de maistre Estienne

[118]Aubert and Beaulieu, Description raisonnee, 243.

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> Petitte, conseiller notaire et secretaire du roy et frere d'icelle, et de damoiselle Catherine Fournier, laquelle trespassa agée de vi mois, le xe jour de mars, l'an mcccxii.[119]

The first inscription, typical of those for married women, gives the name of the deceased, her husband's name, his occupation and function, the date of her death and a call to prayer. The second epitaph is particularly interesting. As did the previous one, it tells us about the family of the deceased, but, strikingly - because it is not at all common - it records the age at the time of death - which is especially significant in this case because it is an epitaph for an infant. This provides important evidence regarding attitudes towards the death of young children, discussed in Chapter Eight.

The second type of epitaph, the rhymed, metrical epitaph, is much rarer, especially for the fifteenth century. One example, cited by F.A. Greenhill, was found at the Chartreuse de Lugny in the Côte d'Or. The epitaph, for a Carthusian brother, reads:

> Ci gist frere iehan de gohenans
> Noble ch(eva)l(ie)r en son temps
> Qui vint et quatre ans a / porte
> Cete habit en humilite/
> En decembre derrenier iour

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[119]Raunié, L'Epitaphier du Vieux Paris, Vol. I, p. 168.

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Rendi lame a son creatour

Mil quatre cens et ung aussi.

Dieu lui face vraye mercy.[120]

Here we have a name, some description, the date of death and a closing prayer: the same information that we have in the shorter form, yet arranged in such a way as to better attract the attention of the reader/viewer, to draw one in and thereby elicit more numerous prayers.

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In fifteenth-century French poetry we often find ekphrastic sections in which a graveyard is described and where the inscriptions on the tombstones, or "epitaphs" are reinscribed in the poem.[121] According to Joshua Scodel, "A

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[120]F.A. Greenhill, Incised Effigial Slabs, Vol. I, p. 322.

[121]Villon's "Epitaphe" and poetic tomb at the end of the "Testament" are examples of this poetic practice, as is the "Cimitière d'Amours" in René d'Anjou's Livre du Cuer d'Amours Epris. The walls of the cemetary carry inscriptions praising various famous individuals of antiquity and recent history, and within the walls one finds the tombs of Ovid, Guillaume de Machaut, Boccaccio, Jean de Meun and Alain Chartier. See the edition of the poem by Susan Wharton (Paris: Union Générale d'éditions, 1980). See Joël Blanchard, "L'effet autobiographique dans la tradition: Le livre du Cuer d'amours epris de René d'Anjou," in Courtly Literature: Culture and Context, Keith Busby and Erik Kooper, eds. (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1990) 12-14, and Daniel Poirion, "Les Tombeaux allégoriques de l'inscription dans le Livre du Cuer d'Amours Epris de René d'Anjou," Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres 1 (1990): 321-336. For a discussion of fictional tombs, see Françoise Joukovsky, La Gloire dans la poésie française et néolatine du XVe siècle (Des Rhétoriqueurs à Agrippa d'Aubigné) (Geneva: Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 102, 1969) 404-405. According to Joukovsky, fifteenth-century poetic epitaphs provide only the first step in the development of the genre of the "tombeau" which flourished in the 16th century (415). Also see, by the same

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poetic epitaph evokes a real or imagined tomb containing the physical remains of the deceased."[122] Scodel suggests that such epitaphs "assert the continuing 'social being' of the deceased" and may indicate how the presence of the deceased is incorporated into the experience of the living.[123] A reading of the commemorative poem can serve as a visit to the tomb, and is part of the whole culture of grief-memory-memorialization.

Below I consider "epitaphs" written by two poets. Georges Chastellain, whose chronicles I discussed above, also wrote two epitaphs, both pieces of longer works. The first of these, the "Epitaphe de Jacques Lalaing," comes at the end of Chastellain's Récit des exploits de Jacques de Lalaing dans la guerre contre les Gantois[124]. The narrative concludes,

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author, "Tombeaux et offrandes rustiques chez les poètes français et néo-latins du XVIe siècle," Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance 27 (1966): 266-347, and Philippe Ménard, "Sarcophages, plates tombes et monuments funéraires dans la littérature française des XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Cahier de Fontevraud 1(1988) 13-28.

[122]Joshua Scodel, The English Poetic Epitaph, 15. In his excellent study of the of tombs and inscriptions, Das Denkmal als Garant des Nachrums: Eine Studie zu einem Motiv in lateinischen Inschriften (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1980), Helmut Häusle repeatedly makes the point that without the inscription, the monument "has no voice" and that one of the monument's functions "to appeal to the emotion of the viewer cannot be fulfilled when the two are not present"(47). It does not follow, however, that the ekphrastic tombeau, with its inscription, the "voice" without the "body" so to speak, will fail to move the hearer or reader.

[123]Scodel, The English Poetic Epitaph, 2.

[124]Georges Chastellain, Oeuvres completes, Vol. VIII, Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed. (Geneva: Slatkine, 1971).

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> Le corps du vaillant chevalier fut mis jus de la litière et porté en la grande salle de Lalaing, où il fut posé et mis jusques à ce qu'il fust porté en l'église où sa sépulture estoit eslue pour l'ensevelir. Vigiles et oraisons furent celle nuit chantées et dites moult dévotement; puis le lendemain, le service divin accompli, ainsy comme au corps appartenoit, fut à grandes pleurs et lamentations mis en terre (256).

Then the tomb is described and finally, the inscription: "et au dessus, une épitaphe escrite et entaillée en pierre, dont la teneur s'ensuit...." (257). Like most commemorative poetry, this epitaph is an expression of praise, a celebration of the hero's reputation, characteristics and exploits. What is specific to the epitaph form is the repetition of "Cy gist celuy..." and its variations. When the inscription is taken out of its original sepulchral context and reinscribed in the poem, the body, absent in its physical dimension, becomes present in memory.

Two strophes of this poem draw the reader's attention. The second strophe depicts the grief of nature and all things — a common topos in the poetry of grief that we shall encounter again:

> Ci gist celuy dont des pleurs le ciel s'euvre
> Et est pitié quand la terre le cuevre
> Et qu'engloutie en soy contient telle oeuvre,

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Dont au monde est disette du recuevre. (258)

In strophe 15,after forty-four lines of praise constructing a portrait of the individual, we finally learn the identity of the one being mourned and the manner of his death:

Cy gist celuy d'un immortel renom,
Le chevalier qui de Lalaing eut nom,
Lequel Gantois subit, mais par bel, non,
Firent chéoir sous le coup d'un canon. (259)

The second of Chastellain's epitaphs, "L'Epitaphe de Messire Pierre de Brézé," is one of a series of poems concerning that individual.[125] The dedication of the "Epitaphe" reads,

> "Cy s'ensieult l'épitaphe de messire Pierre de Brezé, comte de Maulevrier et grant séneschal de Normendie, qui fina ses jours à la journée dy Mont-le-Héry, laquelle fu le xvje jour du mois de juillet MIL. IIIIc.LXV."[126]

The poem, in 20 decasyllabic huitains followed by five irregular strophes, begins "Je, mort murtrière, ennemie à nature..." and it is, indeed, the personified Death, who pronounces the epitaph. The poem is Death's self-

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[125]The epitaph is found in the Laurentian Library ms 120, following the "Dépréciation pour messire Pierre de Brezé," Chastellain's L'Oultré d'amour, discussed in Chapter Seven was also ostensibly written on the death of a woman loved by Brezé.

[126]Chastellain, Oeuvres Kervyn de Lettenhove. Vol. 8, p. 68.

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justification for having taken Brezé. Through his death, Brezé's reputation is spread and his fame increases:

Quant au mesfait, vray est que j'ay destruit
Le bras d'honneur et de chevallerie,
Mais autre lez un grant bien en ensuit;
C'est que par moy son haut los est produit
De ce qu'il a valu en pleine vie... (17-21)

Strophe five concludes with a reference to the actual physical inscribing of the epitaph, carried out with a "graffe" or chisel:

Les cieux l'on mis au sommet de leurs èles;
Sy fait droit-là son oeil tourner son graffe
Qui en veut faire à son droit l'épitaphe

In strophe six we receive instructions on the proper way to honor one of such high worth. Ceremonial decorum is mixed with a commentary on the expression of emotion, once again calling attention to highly choreographed ritual action.

Chappeaux de fleurs et de perles luisans,
Honneur commande offrir dessus sa tombe,
Et qu'en souspirs et regrets gémissans
Tous nobles coeurs par cy devant passans
Luy soient prests, que leur genoul s'y comble,
Et garde bien chascun qu'il ne succombe
En délaissant cestuy loable affaire;
Car n'est si bon que bien ne le puist faire.

The tomb and its epitaph have an effect on passersby of "noble

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heart" - eliciting an empathetic response and prompting them to fall to their knees and to pray for the dead and serves, for the noble classes, much the same function as exempla, sermons and much of the iconography of death did for everyone else. Here the monumentality of the tomb is invoked as constituting the point of contact between the dead and living. The poem, built to contain the tomb and its epitaph, becomes a memorial. In strophe six, Death once again calls for grief:

Venez avant, O France toute entière,
Monstrez-vous cy, ô noble Normandie;
Venez parer la digne cimitère
Du vaillant corps qui cy git en littière
Et dont je sçay si excelse héraudie....

In this poem, praise is mixed in equal parts with grief and mourning. Death, mouthpiece for the pedagogy of grief, instructs the mourners on the proper way to honor the hero who has died so that he may live on in memory. Death commands:

Plorez, Henry; plorez ô reyne angloise;
Plorez, Loyz; plorez,duc de Bretagne;
Plorez, Renier; plorez gent Rouennoise.
Plorez, clergie et nobless françoise;
Plorez tout peuple en ville et en campagne....

The repetition in this and other lamentation poetry acts as a sort of verbal procession, drawing us through the poem. After the long series of huitains which culminates by naming the

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poet "George" [Chastellain] as the source of Death's information for the reputation of the deceased,[127] follow five verses that do not conform to the pattern established by the rest of the poem and that functions as a coda:

Le preu, le bon, le vaillant chevalier,
Le plein de sens, le glorieux parlier,
C'est iceluy qui cy gist alosé,
Messire Pierre au surnom de Bresé.
Grant séneschal, comte de Maulevrier.

Here, following two verses of praise, we have the revelation of the identity of the deceased, as in the previous poem, reserved until the very end of the poem. This defferal of identification may perform various functions. Perhaps it might have constituted a kind of insiders' "guessing game," or, more likely, although the deceased individual is distinguished by his or her accomplishments and personal qualities, the withholding of a name may serve to emphasize that individual salvation takes place within a broder communal context and that the deceased deserves the prayers of the living no matter who he or she was.

Priez pour luy, tout peuple séculier;
Noble et non noble et tout clerc régulier,
Priez que Dieu le reçoive appaisé!

The next to last strophe continues:

Il fut des bons l'un exquis d'un milier,

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[127]A reference to the earlier poem by the poet.

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Et dont le tiltre en cristalin pillier
Pend au palais d'honneur inthronisé;
Ne reste fors que Dieu l'ait arrosé
De sa mercy: heureux donc le pris hier.

This is not, however merely a conventionalized passage of praise, but also contains a memorialization: Brezé's "tiltre" or commemorative monument, hangs in the palace of honor. The final strophe is a repetition of the first, "Le preu, le bon, le vaillant chevalier..." One can contrast this poem within a poem with what precedes it and even "detach" it from the Epitaphe. In a sense it is the epitaph in its kernel form, containing the "cy gist," the praise of the deceased, and the call to prayer. Much like the "double" epitaph of Philippe Pot, its two sections echo one another and, in apposition, the effect is intensified.

The epitaph by Simon Gréban for Charles VII is more complex than Chastellain's epitaph, employing what I call the "allegory of grief."[128] The "Epitaphes de Charles VII de

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[128]Although I take up questions of allegory in the context of each of the poets I discuss, some basic concepts should be explained here. Among what is generally considered to be allegory, three definitions apply: the allegorical frame narrative, as is found in Christine de Pizan's Cité des dames; the extended metaphor, such as in Charles d'Orleans's ballade "J'ay fait l'obseque de ma dame.." (see below, pages 333-345 below), and the use of personified abstractions, by far the most common use in the poetry I discuss. Marc-René Jung explains: "...le poème allégorique du Moyen Age est un poème dont les acteurs sont des personifications. Notre sujet n'est ainsi pas la métaphore prolongée, mais la person-nification de notions abstraites." Etudes sur le poeme allégorique en France au Moyen Age (Berne: Franke, 1971), 19. See pages 20-22 for history of personification and also James Paxson, The

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France" is a long narrative piece in which various "characters" speak in their own voices. Upon awakening, the narrator is consumed by the thought of Atropos[129]:

> Ennemye du noble genre humain,
> Qui ja tenoit une darde en sa main
> De bois mortel, ferrée de souffrance
> Pour trespercer le grant pasteur de France.[130]
> (11-14)

This strophe establishes the pastoral setting of this part of the poem. A little later, walking through the woods, the narrator hears:

> Par bois, par prez, par chemins et par plains,
> Les plus dolens et plus angoisseux plains
> Souspirs et pleurs, et les plus piteux criz
> Qu'oncques jamais furent faiz ne escriz
> En cronicques tant anciennes soient... (19-23)

Poetics of Personification (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). On medieval allegory, see: Robert Guiette, D'une poésie formelle en France au Moyen Age (Paris: Nizet, 1972); Stephen J. Russell, ed., Allegoresis: The Craft of Allegory in Medieval Literature (New York: Garland, 1988); Arnold Williams, "Medieval Allegory: An Operational Approach," in Poetic Theory/Poetic Practice, Robert Scholes, ed. (Iowa City: Midwest Modern Language Association, 1969) 77-84; Michel Zink, "The Allegorical Poem as Interior Memoir," tr. M. Miner and Kevin Brownlee, Yale French Studies 70 (1976): 100-126.

[129]The fate who cuts the thread of life.

[130]Stanley C. Aston, "A Manuscript of the Chronicle of Mathieu d'Escouchy and Simon Greban's Epitaph for Charles VII or France, Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor Albert Croll Bough, MacEdward Leach, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961) 299-343.

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The "no greater grief" topos is heard, the grief in this epitaph being compared to grief in "croniques anciennes." Cueur Loyal, the first of many personified abstractions, curses death, "traistresse deffigurée" (57) and continues the description of the king as "pastour" (79). "Cueur Loyal" comments on the grief of nature, another common topos, and addresses the woodland creatures, admonishing them to weep for the king. A Character called the "Acteur" intervenes, and tells how, at that point, "Cueur loyal" faints, overcome by emotion[131] and when he regains his strength, he carves an epitaph "tout nouveau" into the bark of a laurel tree. His language is rustic, "en gros langaige pastoreau," (233) because, as the "Acteur" points out, "chacun parle selon son cas" (236). Each of the three epitaphs that follows is in the first person, the "je" representing the voice of the dead king. In the epitaph inscribed by "Cueur loyal" the speaker (the King) compares himself to the shepherd of the most

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[131]The "Acteur" is, in this case, the narrator. Cynthia J. Brown, in Poets, Patrons and Printers: Crisis of Authority in Late Medieval France (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) offers a helpful explanation on the function and shifting identity of the "Acteur" in late medieval French poetry. She explains that the Latin "auctor" (aucteur) and actor (acteur) "meaning 'authority' and 'author' converge in a confusion of terms and overlapping of functions during the Middle Ages (198). The Middle French term acteur, then, evokes the overlapping meanings of auctor and actor. One gets the sense, however, and Brown points this out, that our modern understanding of "acteur," or actor can be inferred, although the French term was not used in that way until the late 16th century. This especially appears to be the case in the allegorized land- and dream-scapes of the poetry I am discussing here, where the auctor, or author enters into the action of the drama played out in the poem.

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beautiful flock. The second epitaph, carved in "pierre bise" by Ysambart le Roux, begins in similar fashion: "Charles suy, grant pastour de France/Qui de mes pastiz par puissance/Chassay jadiz maint loup sauvage (257-259). The third epitaph written by "le bon homme Therry" in "marbre bis," is more "seignoury": noble or elevated. The king is again called "shepherd of France": "Je suis le pastour qui jadis/Le jardin françois deffendis/Contre l'ivernalle froidure." (277-279) These "épitaphes" are noteworthy for the attention they pay to the level of language used by each of the "writers", as well as the physical material in which each epitaph is inscribed. From laurel bark to marble, what is important is the act of inscription as part of the ritual of mourning and remembrance.

When the "dicitiez" had been recorded, the populace ran toward the chateau:

> La face encline, tous pensiz,
> Les coeurs doloreux et transiz,
> Comme gens qui s'en vont mourant.
> Là veïssiez maint homme plourant (290-293).

The picture evoked by these words recalls the images of mourners discussed above. The passage continues:

> Lors les bergiers du demourant
> De leurs lermes firent devoir;
> Ung piteux fait l'autre esmouvoir (294-296).

Here we see the workings of empathy as the emotion of one

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mourner moves another to grief.

Les ungs veïssiez pourmener
Destordans leurs mains et mener
Aspre deul excessivement,
Les soupirs des nobles sonner,
Clameurs par les airs resonner,
En lamentant pieteusement (297-302).

The "Acteur" closes this section by saying that if he were to describe the grief of the nobles, he would have to change from the "grosse et rustique" style of the peasants:

Car qui de noblesse veult lire
Par raison il y doit eslire
Figure trop plus autentique,
Elegie ou chant eroïque (310-313).

Certain forms are suited to certain circumstances. A rustic song would not be an appropriate vehicle for expressing the grief of the nobles - for them only the "high" elegy or epic forms are acceptable. The "Acteur" thus ends his "bucolique" in order to take up "nouvelle matière" - the grief of the aristocratic classes – in a language that is suitable to that "matière."

In the next section, the "proheme sur la complainte de Noblesse," The "Acteur" comments on the difficulties of speaking in such elevated language: "Mon povre engin tremble dessoubz le fais / Et n'ose à peu ma matiere assaillir" (322-324). Yet, "vraye amour" entreats him to continue, saying:"

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Mieux vault de venir à l'ataincte/Que la memoire en fust de tout extaincte," (229-230) again demonstrating the urgency of recording the verbal expressions of grief so that the memory of the deceased will not be extinguished. Lady Reason supports this opinion, by saying:" Qu'il vaut trop mieulx d'en dire aucune chose/Que la pitié fust reposte et enclose/En la prison d'Oubliance la sourde (343-345).

So, the narrator picks up his pen and writes down the complainte of Noblesse, a long poem of ten ten-line decasyllabic strophes. No more talk of sheep and shepherds here: the king is called "Liepart redoubtable" (373). In the third strophe, a straightforward example of praise, the dead king is addressed directly:

> Trespuissant roy, doulx entre les humains,
> Toutes vertus te tendoient les mains
> Pour accomplir ta cronique et ta geste.
> Tes nobles faiz, trop plus divins qu'humains
> Passoient plus en beaulté des Rommains
> Que le souleil tout autre corps celeste....(381-386)

The "Acteur" again intervenes in the eleventh strophe, and Noblesse concludes her "lamentables vers" which were "tainctz en douleur..." (461-465). Another epitaph "writer," Prouesse takes over:

> Prouesse vint qui tenoit une plume,
> En cueur portant douleureuse amertume,

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Et escripvit comme il est de coustome
Autour du roy, cui Dieu face mercy,
En lectres d'or cest epitaphe cy (466-470).

Prouesse does not dictate, but writes her epitaph with her own hand. Here we have a combination of the two types of epitaph described above: a metric epitaph that is inscribed around the perimeter of the slab. What is interesting here is the mixing of the "real" body of the king and the stone slab on which the epitaph is carved. Both are fictional. It is the poem which remains as the monument.

The first epitaph, written by Prouesse in the voice of Charles VII, tells of his difficult youth and his triumphant accession to the throne. The second epitaph, which begins "Cy gist des Francais le puissant protecteur," and the third, which begins "Cy gist l'amour des fins orientalles" praise the king and announce that his glory and reputation are immortal.

The "Acteur" returns and relates that after those epitaphs were written the king's body was carried out of the chateau:

... Là furent nouveaux cris,
Nouveaux souspirs de cueurs en deul contriz
Pour l'issue douloureuse et amere. (504-506)

"Mère Eglise" receives the king's body in one of her monasteries and she, too, utters a complainte, introduced by the "Acteur", who comments on her unconstrained grief:

Car ses regrez, piteux et desplaisans

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Noyez en pleurs, de tristesse pesans,
Ne furent pas de huyt et de dix vers
Mais infiniz, voire trestous divers,
Enceins de deul et de corroux tant plains
Que s'en nos cueurs estoient bien emprains
Trop durement seroient hors des termes
Se par pitié ne fondoient en lermes (521-528).

The image of a grief too great to bear again brings with it the need to externalize the emotion in order to continue. Just as the grief of nature cannot be contained in the poem, the grief imprinted or engraved on our hearts would become too overwhelming if we could not weep. What follows is a remarkable incitement to grief:

Si vraye amour et pitié vous remort,
Peuple françoys, devez plourer la mort
De mon chier filz, le roy trescrestien,
Et de la Mort, qui tant durement mort,
Que mon plaisir en est extainct et mort,
Cryez vengence au Dieu celestien;
Vostre clameur et deul cotidien,
Vos plains, vos pleurs me sembleront ung bien
Consolatif, de tout autre l'eslite,
Car dolent cueur en larmes se delite (551-560)

This passage is remarkable for many reasons. The grief of Mere Eglise on the death of her son, Philippe parallels that of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross, who, in some

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passion narratives, rails against God the Father for taking her son and who finds comfort in her tears.[132]

The lament of Mére Eglise continues for another eight strophes, praising the king for his devout faith and unwavering support of the Church ("Conservateur de la foy catholique..." 601), concluding, not with an invective against Death, but, almost shockingly, against the cruelty of the "Dieu des Dieux" for having taken the king.

At this point, Justice, Prudence and Mercy appear and "Vindrent asseoir comme il fut raisonnable/En tables d'or fichées contre un mur/Ces vers piteux en grans lettres d'azur" (658-660). In contrast to Mére Eglise's tirade, the epitaphs of these three figures are restrained statements of praise and regret. Justice, in the final epitaph of the poem, gives the factual information about the death of the King:

> Le jour dolent que juillet fut courir
> Pour vingt et deux la Mort le vint querir,
> Et trespassa au chasteau de Mehun
> L'an mil quatre cens et soixante et un (687-690).

The "Acteur" once again speaks, revealing his reasons for writing the poem: "Non pas pour gaing, mais affin que fust plainte/Grant temps la mort du roy tant salutaire" (695-6) once again expressing the wish that the memory of the grief at the king's death be perpetuated in this poem.

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[132]See Chapter Seven, pages 368, 406-508.

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This long poem is important for many reasons. First of all, it not only contains epitaphs, but is about the writing of epitaphs. A contrast is established between the spontaneous expression of grief through the voice heard in the speeches of Noblesse and Mère Eglise and in its more formal expression in the inscriptions. The emphasis on the differentiation of expression depending on social class is also noteworthy.

F. Beyond Praise: The Déploration funèbre as Monument and Process[133]

Just as the epitaph can be located "between" words and stone, the déploration funèbre can function both in language - to move the grief process forward, and as stone - as a monument to and container of memory. One thus finds a double movement, what Claude Thiry calls, on the one hand, the "valeur cathartique" of the déploration[134] – in which grief is externalized and resolved – and on the other, the monumentalization of grief. As Thiry says, "la déploration devient monument commémoratif"[135] in which, grief is, in some sense, "contained." A debate is thus introduced which is

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[133]As I mentioned in Chapter Two, I shall call the "official" or "ceremonial" poetry of grief the déploration funèbre. The epitaph, discussed above is distinct from the déploration funèbre in that it is always a written form, either inscribed in stone, or metaphorically intended to be.

[134]Thiry, 34.

[135]Thiry, 46.

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central to many of the laments and which is of particular interest to me here: what is considered to be the most effective means of perpetuating the memory of the deceased: words, marble, paint? The déploration funèbre bears many diverse titles including "Complainte," "Mystère," or "Regrets". The lament can take the form of a ballade or other relatively brief poem, or it may be a longer narrative piece, such as Molinet's Trosne d'Honneur. Its content, however, is constant: the works to be discussed here either commemorate a public person – a ruler, a member of the aristocracy, a poet – or were written by an official poet attached to a court; in many cases these were the same individuals who wrote memoirs and chronicles. Although we retain only the written texts of the poems, we cannot assume that déplorations were never meant for oral presentation. There is evidence from the end of the century that parts of the funeral services were devoted to eulogies and other praise of the deceased. According to Molinet, on the death of Frederick III in 1493, the Emperor's body was carried to Saint Stephen's in Vienna, where "ses obsèques, messes, et orations furent faitez." Then, during the offertory,

> "maistre Bernard Perger, très venerable poette, fit une exclamation, en presence dy roy des Romains et des princes du sang et aultrez venus pour celebrer les obsèques, et se print a dire comment le très auguste empereur deffunct, de son vivant, estant en

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don adolescence, visita le saint sépulcre, etc."[136] That such praise was delivered in verse by poets is certainly not beyond the realm of possibility. The fact that spoken or declaimed passages occur in the épitaphes and within the framework of many of the déplorations to be discussed here, might also point in that direction.

The earliest déplorations to be discussed here are also the simplest in form. In his Balades de Moralitez Eustache Deschamps includes several pieces on the deaths of public figures.[137] Deschamps' ballades, in three strophes (some with an envoi), open with an introduction, or "call to grief," generally drawing on mythology or capturing something of the deceased individual's personality.[138] A passage of praise follows and then the description of the heroic actions or other accomplishments. When there is an envoi, it is composed of the recommendation of the deceased to the person for whom the poem was written. The "Ballade sur la mort du Roi Charles V," serves as a model:

The ballade opens with the "call to grief," recalling the subject's duty to grieve for his king:

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[136]Molinet, Chroniques, II, 376.

[137]For a list of déplorations, see Martineau-Génieys, pages 346 and 356.

[138]For example in the case of the death of musicians, musical references abound - see Deschamps "Ballade sur la mort de Guillaume de Machaut," Oeuvres complètes (I, 245) and the déploration "sur le trespas de feu Ockergan," of Guillaume Crétin, Oeuvres poétiques, Kathleen Chesney, ed. (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1932. Rpt. 1977) 60-73.

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S'onques servent durent plourer seigneur,
Sa mort hair et regreter sa vie,
Faire souspirs des dolens yeulx, du cuer
Tristesce avoir, faire chiere esbahie,
.....
Pour l'ame des trespassez,
De ce faire ne soient ja lassez
Les serviteurs du prince debonniare,
Charles le Roy, qui leur donnoit assez
Car chascun d'eulx est tenu a ce faire.

Instructions are given to the king's subjects regarding the appropriate behavior or comportment upon a king's death - weeping, sighing from sorrowful eyes, feeling sadness in one's heart, and most important, praying for the soul of the deceased. The emphasis is on both the outward display of grief and on the inward movement toward the activity of prayer.

The poet[139] then offers a description, praising the dead individual and reinforcing the reasons why the reader/listener should mourn for that person:

Comment fut-il? Humble et plain de douçour,
Devot vers Dieu et doulz vers sa maiginie,
Saige en ses faiz, courtois et plains d'onour:
Chascuns devoit amer sa compaignie.

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[139]When I use "poet" in this context I refer to the voice of the poem. I in no way equate "poet" with the author, i.e., in this case Deschamps.

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Les bons amoit, il haioit villenie,
Il aaidoit aux oppressez,
E les sers Dieu furent de lui amez:
A son pouoir ne leur fist nul contraire;
D'iceulx pour lui soit Jhesus reclamez,
Car chascuns d'eulx est tenuz a ce faire.

The refrain futher reinforces the pedagogy of grief: it is each person's responsibility to pray for the soul of the dead king. The praise of the king continues in the final strophe, especially for his generosity to religious institutions

If Deschamps' ballade is a simple and straightforward statement of praise and loss, Christine de Pizan's ballade "Sur la mort du Duc de Bourgogne"[140] (Philippe le Hardi, the brother of Charles V) is much more direct and even political, almost as if she hopes to reunite her country in her call to grief:

Plourez, Françoys, tout d'un commun vouloir,
Grans et petis, plourez ceste grant perte;
Plourez, bon Roy, bien vous devez douloir,
Plourer devez vostre grevance apperte;
Plurez la mort de cil qui par desserte
Amer deviez et par droit de lignaige,
Vostre loyal noble oncle le trés saige
Des Bourgongnons [sic] prince et duc excellent;

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[140]Christine de Pisan, Oeuvres Poétiques, Maurice Roy, ed.

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Car je vous dy, qu'en mainte grant besongne,
Encor dirés trestuit a cuer dollent
Affaire eussions du bon duc de Bourgongne (1-11).

There is a sense of recrimination in these lines, as Christine tells her audience - from "peupple commun," to the Queen — why they should mourn the passing of the duke:

Plourez Royne, et ayez le cuer noir
Pour cil par qui feustes au trone offerte;
Plourez, dames, sans en joye manoir;
France, plourez, d'un pillier est deserte,
Dont tu recoys eschec a descouverte
...
Plourez, puepple commun, sans estre lent,
Car moult perdez et chascun le tesmoingne... (23-31).

Just as the poetic epitaph became more elaborate over the course of the century, more complex forms of déploration also appeared. As in Gréban's Epitaphe, the déploration becomes a dramatized, allegorical scene, often taking place during a state of reverie or a dream in which many personified abstractions appear as characters. Such compositions move past praise, although it remains a central function of the déploration, and consider the emotional aspects of grief and loss as well as providing descriptions of mourning and, once again, reiterating the pedagogy of grief.

Jean Molinet's "Trosne d'Honneur," like Gréban's

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Epitaphe, opens in a landscape setting. In another "allegory of grief," we see a personified abstraction, Noblesse, grieving over the death of the "très noble fleur de lys" that had been growing in her garden. The narrator describes Noblesse's reaction: "rompant sa robe, tirant ses cheveux, tendant ses mains vers le ciel. She gave a pitiful cry, "faisant sa tres doloreuse complaint en ceste maniere...." In Noblesse's complainte, a long poem of 21 decasyllabic strophes she calls on Nature to mourn the death of the Lily, instructing her to change her dress from green to black:

Tremble, terre, de joly verd couverte,
Soies ouverte et monstre tes dolours,
Porte le noir en place descouverte,
Car couleur verte est contra ta desserte;
Fay la deserte et se te noye en pleurs....(2, 41-45)

Noblesse then turns to the realm of humans and addresses the king:

Pleure, pleure, tres noble roy franchois,
Pleure et richois doeul et tristesse amere,
Tu as perdu, se bien tu le conchois,
D'honneur le chois... (73-76)

A sense of recrimination underscores these words. Those who ought to grieve are not doing so, and in the next strophe we see that those who do grieve are doing so excessively. Nature adresses Charles le Téméraire, the son of the dead Duke:

Cesse ton pleur, o prince triomphant,

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Son noble enfant, que tant il avoit chier.
Le grand couroux de ton coeur gemissant
Est trop puissant, trop nuisant, trop cuisant,
Et n'est duisant que pour mort avanchier.
Soeuffre espuisier au coeur plus dur qu'achier,
Pour le perchier, de tes larmes la disme:
Car mort sus mort nous menroit en abisme (81-88).

Just as in Chastellain's description of Philippe le Bon's reaction to the death of Jean sans Peur, (see page), the worst fear is that the heir to the throne should die from grief for the dead ruler who preceded him. Noblesse continues her complaint, addressing different groups in turn, then instructing the audience not to grieve any longer over the great tragedies of history and myth, but to concentrate their tears and their grief on the death of the Lily - Philippe le Bon of Burgundy.

Noblesse's complaint ends with the praise of the duke: "Large, clemens, sapiens, triumphans,/Misericors, benigne, paciens..." (162-63). The "Acteur," or narrator, once again speaks, telling us that noblesse, exhausted, "fondit en larmes, pasmee de doeul, bersaudee de cris, defoullee de plaings..." (3, 4-6), when a richly dressed lady descends from the heavens. She is "Vertu," the mouthpiece of the pedagogy of grief: "Je suis ta mère Vertu; as tu oublié les contenances loables et meurs attemprees que tu as apris a mon escolle? O coeur failly, frelle nature, tendre voloir feminin de tres

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povre resistance, ne scés tu pas amesurer ton pleur par ordonnance raisonnable?" (3, 20-25). As in Commynes'description of Anne de Bretagne's grief, the excessive grief of a "female" character is deemed transgressive. This time, however, the admonition comes not in an authorial intervention, but from the mouth of another character who is gendered female – on the one hand a much more coercive means, through empathy, of influencing the behavior of any women who might have read the poem, and at the same time, reinforcing the stereotypical image of the excessively emotional female for any male readers. The "double standard" in acceptable demonstrations of grief is, ironically, reinforced even more strongly because it was Nature herself, she whose grief is out of bounds, who advises the young duke to moderate his grief.

Vertu tells Noblesse that the Lily will receive his reward, and the rest of the poem is a description of the ascension of the Lily and his enthronement in the Heavens in the court of Honneur.

A large part of the last déploration I shall discuss, the Plainte du Désiré of Jean Lemaire de Belges,[141] is taken up

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[141]On the works of Jean Lemaire de Belges, see: Cynthia J. Brown, "The Rise of Literary Consciousness in Late Medieval France: John Lemaire de Belges and the Rhétoriqueurs," JMRS 13 (1983) 51-74; Georges Doutrepont, Jean Lemaire de Belges et la Renaissance (Brussels: Lamertin, 1934); Pierre Jodogne, Jean Lemaire de Belges, écrivain franco-bourguignon (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1972); Michael F.O. Jenkins, Artful ELoquence: Jean Lemaire de Belges and the Rhetorical Tradition (Chapel Hill, 1980); Paul Spaak, Jean Lemaire de Belges: Sa

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with the problems of the representation of grief that are at the heart of my project here. The efficacy of painting and poetry is compared, and each is found lacking. What is the most fitting memorial - stone or verse? Which form is most effective in evoking emotion? In his "Epitaphe " for Jean Molinet, Jean Lemaire de Belge asks:

> -Ou sont leurs monuments et précieulx tombeaulx?
> -En la bouche des bons et en leurs escrips beaulx.
> -O Dieu! combien vault mieux tel tombe que de cuivre
> -D'autant que plume vole ou metal ne peut
> suivre.[142]

and Jean Robertet, in his "Complainte sur la mort de Chastellain,"[143] suggests that words have the power to convert the dead poet's body into poetry:

> Cy mettray fin à mes douleureux vers,
> Je n'en puis plus, car dueil aspre et divers
> A prévenu mon engin et ma plume;
> Je pleure et plains George gisant envers
> Soubs la lame, chair rédigée en vers..."

Chastellain's body is "soubz la lame" – under the gravestone, but body's conversion into "vers" poetry (at the same time as

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Vie, son oeuvre et ses meilleurs pages (Paris: Champion, 1926, Rpt. 1975).

[142]Cited by Paul Spaak, Jean Lemaire de Belges, 59.

[143]Chastellain, Oeuvres, Vol. 8, 357.

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it becomes the domain of "vers" worms) will perpetuate the memory of the poet. In a transformative act the body is rédigéé, transformed into verse.

The Plainte, a long poem written upon the death of Louis de Luxembourg in 1505, written in prosimètre – the alternation of prose (for the interjections of The "Acteur") and verse (for the discourse of the two nymphs, Peinture and Rhétorique).[144] The "Acteur," upon being awakened "par le miserable tumulte d'une tourbe plourante, et par la vehemence de leurs trenchantz regretz," (69) describes the scene that he witnesses. Dame Nature, seated next to "ung noble corps gisant mort tout de fraiz estendu sur un lit de camp..." was "sans mesure esbahie" (69). She was so aggrieved that she could not express the "profonde tristeure qu'on percevoit en sa dolente face," (69) a description that reiterates the danger of keeping one's grief internalized - of not being able to speak one's emotions. The tears of the two nymphs, also deeply moved, "les cueurs desolez perissans en souspirs," created "une sourse de rousee lachrimalle, et ung sourjon de regretz anormaulx, sans mot sonner" (69).

Peinture describes the generalized grief, especially the grief of Nature:

...

Que toute chose en a dueil evident:

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[144]All references to the text will be to the edition by Dorothy Yabsley (Paris: Droz, 1932).

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Voire tel dueil. qu'il est ja resident
En mille cueurs: et y ha prins son siege
Pour tout jamais, sans qu'on l'en desassiege
(21-24).
Dueil, double dueil, douloureux et dolent,
Dueil renforcé sur toute doleance
En a maint cueur vertueux, excellent:
Mais qui quil'ayt terrible et violent,
Dame Nature en ha plusgrant souffrance
Voyez la la plus belle de France
Sombre, ternie, estonné, esbahie,
De toutes pars de courroux envahie (25-32).

Peinture cries out to "les nobles coeurs feminins," instructing them to observe the grief of Nature and to mix their tears with hers – asking them for their empathetic response in a positive model of female grief. Nature, speechless from grief, is ashamed because she might have prevented the Count's death, but Peinture reassures her, and calls upon her sister, Rhétorique of the "bouche dorée et languge melliflue," (71) to paint, in words, the portrait of grieving Nature: "Secourez nous en ceste affaire oblicque!/Vociferez a cry hault et publicque!/La grant douleur qui en Natture afflue! (91-93).

Peinture, herself grieving the loss of the Count, wishes to attempt to represent Nature's grief. She gives instructions to "her" painters (among them Jean Fouquet and

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Roger Van der Weyden):

Faites broyer sur vols poliz porphires
Couleurs duisans à mon intention:
Toutes de noir et de diverses tires
Pour exprimer les douloureux martires
Que Nature a par griegve infection.
Faictes mesler paste carnation:
Ne destrempez que noir de flambe ou bistre
C'est la couleur qui de dueil est ministre.
(129-136)

Peinture's instructions continue with one note that is significant for my study. She instructs:

Voyez la bien, et remarchez son estre!
Notez son oeul couvert d'un sourcil triste!

This is the eyebrow that we saw depicted earlier in this chapter — the eyebrows drawn together in what psycho-biologists have classified as a symptom of grief are now found in the words of a late medieval poet. The brow furrowed in grief is, thus, not only a sign that we recognize, but a sign that was in current circulation during in the late Middle Ages.

According to Peinture, Nature should not be portrayed as robust, but shadowy, filled with cares. Her appearance should mirror that of her dead hero:

... ayant les yeulx mourans,
En force pleurs, et larmes decourans:

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Le chef baissé, les sens tout arudiz... (195-197)

Painters are to depict the dead Count as if he were sleeping with the grieving Nature, sitting by his bier.

This long discourse on how to depict the grief of Nature, is followed by a sudden about-face by Peinture,who exclaims:

Non, laissez tout, vous n'y sauriez toucher:

Vous n'y pourriez à mon gré satisfaire. (233-234)

Peinture then turns to her sister, Rhétorique, and says: "Or donc, ma soeur, il faut bien qu'on desploye/Vostre tresor, car mes sens y deffaillent." The grief of Nature, then, surpasses pictorial representation. The most we can hope for in the representation of grief is a symbolic reduction of its force - a raised eyebrow, or the use of the color black. This may explain the conventionality of much of the art we have seen, and the fact that the absence of emotion, as on the faces of hooded mourners, sometimes speaks more eloquently than sad faces that are fully exposed. It also is a testament to the power of the pleurants on the tomb of Philippe Pot that remain effective and moving, evoking an empathetic reaction, even to this day.

The "Acteur" interjects, giving a description of the reactions of those present at the wake of the Count. The silence was broken by "un grand efforcement de sanglots impetueux." Rhétorique, herself overcome by grief, begins her déploration, claiming that she, too, is unequal to the task of representing the grief of nature: "Qu'en diray ie moy lasse,

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poure, humblette,/Peu affluente aux biens que vertu preste..." She adds: "Mon sens petit, et ma langue sobrette/Ne suffiroit a si hautaine emplette..." She tells Peinture that she has no more words to describe the grief of Nature, than Peinture did:

Doncq se Nature estant jadis risible,
Belle en regard, flourissant au possible,
Est a present en laideur sans cesser,
Et n'est a toy tirable, ni pingible,
Comment sera son dueil a moy dicible,
Ny a autruy cler, ou intelligible? (64-69)

"How shall I proceed?" asks Rhétorique, raising the question of the best poetic form to choose, and mentioning many of the chroniclers and poets discussed in this chapter:

Que feray doncq en ces dures batailles?
Formeray je lays de diverses taille,
Chanz d'elegie, ou quereleux respons?
Tout me dyiroit, et les grains et les pailles,
Pour deplorer ces tristes funerailles,
Et pour blasmer la Mort, et ses tenailles,
Qui scet livrer de si terribles bontz.
Mais je n'ay plus un Virgille, qui plaigne
Son Mecenas, ne Catulle, qui daigne
Gemir la mort des petis passerons:
Maistre Alain dort, dont de dueil mon cueur saigne,
Qui pour Millet sa plume en tristeur baigne:
Grebant, qui pleure d'ung bon roy, l'accompaigne:

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Si ne scay plus desormais que ferons. (99-112)

She mentions, in the next strophe, Robertet's "Complainte sur la mort de Georges Chastellain," cited above, and calls on the musicians to assist her in her difficult task, saying "Ung grave accent, musique larmoiable,/Est bien seant a ce dueil piteable/Pour parfournir noz lamentations" (155-158).

After a long passage discussing the use of music to express grief,[145] and another long passage of praise, Rhétorique calls on all her orators to rail against La Mort. She speaks about the prevalence of La Mort in society caused by the "enuieux pervers et detestables" who persuade great princes to go to war, and the grief caused by it: "Les nobles gens mortz en mainte assemblee,/Dont mainte dame est de noir affublee,/ Et mauldit trop ces guerroyeux debatz" (327-328). After another long passage of praise, Rhetorique concludes:

Nobles acteurs, mon seul espoir unicque,
Qui compilez ou histoire ou cronicque,
N'oubliez pas de coucher par escript,
Que la Mort brune, au regard Gorgonicque,
Et faulse Envie horrible et plutonique,
En cuydant faire ung grand exploit inique,
Ont mis ou ciel un tressublime esprit.
Le corps pourra bien retourner en cendre,
Mais le renom ne peult en oubly tendre.. (435-448)

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[145]I chose not to include the musical expression of grief in this study, but intend to pursue that avenue of inquiry at a later date.

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The poem thus becomes the monument to the glory of Louis de Luxembourg, but also the objectification of grief. Peinture and Rhétorique, although they abandon the task of depicting the grief of Nature, are, in the process of admitting their inadequacies, doing just that – giving us a vivid picture of Nature's reactions.

The "Acteur" now concludes the Plainte. Nature, seemingly comforted, "senclina doucement vers le corps, et puis tourna sa chere assez tranquille et serene vers les assistants, comme en signe de les saluer." Then she disappears, leaving participants and readers alike to ponder the discourse of Rhétorique and Peinture. L'Acteur adds: "Et pource que ie tenoye encores en ma main la rude plume laquelle en recent memoire tellement quellement avoit descrit le trespas du feu tresbon Prince Bourbonnois, et son exaltation au Temple d'Honneur et Vertue..," revealing himself to be Jean Lemaire de Belges, the writer of the "Temple d'Honneur et de Vertue." The positions of Narrator/Acteur/Author are thus elided, a situation to be treated more fully in Chapter Seven.

Although common gestures, elements and topoi appear across the broad range of artifacts studied here - among them the "no greater grief" topos, the grief of Nature, the cloak raised to the eye, the raised eyebrow, the difficulty of articulating intense emotion - the expression of grief and the representation of mourning are not uniform during this period. Grief is not conventionalized out of existence, but continues

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to resonate. If anything, many of these works directly address the problems of representing of intense emotion.

Found in all representations of grief, but especially the "public ones," is the connection among memory, grief and the memorialization of the deceased. We are reminded that the makers of the objects and the writers of the works made deliberate choices in the way they constructed their images of grief, and that the images, particularly the mourners, were meant to evoke a response of empathy and participation on the part of the reader/viewer/spectator. Although the objects do "speak" to us, their message was stronger and more urgent for those who first encountered them. What is remarkable is that even poorly-rendered or conventionalized images retain their power.

The question of the "gendering" of grief is one that has come up repeatedly in this chapter; it will be more fully explored in Chapter Seven, but I would like to end here with one more word on this issue. Perhaps we need to begin to look at the moments of "transgressive" grief expressed by women as sites of resistance. Jean Lemaire de Belges seems to hint at this in the Plainte du Desire in his linking of grieving women dressed in black with political violence and wars conducted for and by men. As women were historically connected with lamentation and the preparation of bodies for burial, perhaps their raised voices were a way of protesting that role and the necessity for it. Viewed as a threat to, or at least contrary

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to the public order, those particular expressions of grief had to be "softened," if not silenced, by the critique levelled against them in the texts, in most cases, by male writers.

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SIGNS OF SORROW:

THE EXPRESSION OF GRIEF AND THE REPRESENTATION OF MOURNING IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH CULTURE

by

Leslie Abend Callahan

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Chapter 7

Meditation and Mourning: The Grieving Subject/The Subject Grieving

In the preceding chapter on the "civic" or "public" expression of grief and the representation of mourning within that context, I demonstrated that the images of mourners depicted on monuments and the representations of rituals such as processions served to foster an empathetic response on the part of the viewer/spectator as well as providing a channel or release for emotion. In this chapter I explore the "subjective" and "private" experience of grief - how an individual might have processed the experience of losing a loved one. Paralleling my consideration of the public reactions to processions and monuments, I explore here how individuals might have received and responded to more private expressions of emotion, especially those found in lyric poetry on the death of a (fictional or real) loved one and in the images of mourners in books of hours which, because of the rise of devotional piety, were becoming much more accessible to a widening reading public.[1]

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[1]As literacy among the merchant classes increased so did the demand for manuscripts. Advances in book production made manuscripts more easily accessible and models for grief and mourning fell into the hands of an ever-increasing number of individuals. As Etienne Delaruelle points out: "Le Moyen Age avait connu une production quasi industrielle du livre; le livre d'heures, au XV^{e} siècle, se fabrique en série. Il s'agit ici d'une production intéressant le grand public, d'autant plus que l'utilisation sans cesse croissante du papier permit de faire baisser les prix," "La vie religieuse dans les pays de langue française à la fin du XV^{e} siècle," La

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One voice predominates in the chapter - that of Christine de Pizan whose self-conscious construction of her own subjectivity, repeated references to her state of widowhood, and assumption of a male persona, make her a particularly interesting subject for a discussion informed by feminist theories of subjectivity and voice. I consider the expression of grief in her poetry and in that of several male poets, namely Alain Chartier, Charles d'Orléans, Pierre de Hauteville, Georges Chastellain and Jean Lemaire de Belges, to ascertain whether there is a "gendered" voice of grief. I explore the extent to which the traditionally female role of lamentation affects the "female" voice of grief and what role the use of allegory plays in the "masking" of grief in the works of authors of both sexes.

Piété populaire au Moyen Age (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975) 445. The study of literacy in the Middle Ages has expanded greatly in the past few years. See Margaret Aston, "Devotional Literacy," Lollards and Reformers: Images and Literacy in Late Medieval Religion (London: The Hambledon Press, 1984) 101-133; Anne Clark Bartlett, Male Authors Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Milton B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity," The Medieval World, David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby, eds. (London: Aldus, 1973); Paul Saenger, "Books of Hours and the Reading Habits of the Later Middle Ages," in The Culture of Print: Power and Uses of Print in Early Modern Europe, Roger Chartier, ed., Lydia G. Cochrane, trans. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989) 141-173; and the essays in two collections: Woman, The Book and The Godly: Selected Proceedings of the St. Hilda's Conference, 1993, Lesley Smith and Jane H.M. Taylor, eds. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1995), and Women and Literature in Britain 1150-1500, Carol M. Meale, ed.(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

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A. The Grieving Subject

Many questions surround the "subjective" expression of grief, not the least of which is the issue of what constitutes the subject in the late Middle Ages.[2] Where can we locate the late medieval grieving subject? One place we find grieving subjects is, as we have seen, in images. In addition to representations of hooded mourners, we have seen other figures exhibiting signs of grief, such as the two women mourning during a religious service [Figure 8]; the four figures seated in the gallery witnessing a burial in a church [Figure 9], the woman with the white coif in one of the composite pages I discussed [Figure 13], and the women preparing the body for burial and distributing alms seen in the center of another composite page [Figure 14].

In a remarkable series of twenty-nine images illustrating the Office of the Dead in a late fifteenth-century book of hours - perhaps one of the most extensive "cycles de mort" found in manuscript illumination - we see two representations

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[2]For many historians and critics, there was, in fact, no "late medieval subject." For the debate surrounding the emergence of the subject, see David Aers, "A Whisper in the Ear of Early Modernists; or, Reflections on Literary Critics Writing the 'History of the Subject,' Culture and History 1300-1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities and Writing (Detroit: Wayne State University, 1992): 177-202, and Community, Gender and Individual Identity: English Writing 1360-1431 (London: Routledge: 1988); Judith M. Bennett, "Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide," Culture and History 1300-1600, 147-148; Lee Patterson, "On the Margin: Postmodernism, Ironic History, and Medieval Studies," Speculum 65 (1990): 92-101; Negotiating the Past: The Historical Understanding of Medieval Literature (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987) 157-95.

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of a woman in mourning visiting a grave and one picture of a woman preparing a body for burial.[3]

In the first miniature a woman is seen praying at a grave.[4] She is on her knees next to the flat slab on which the likeness of a young man is engraved. She is dressed in black, highlighted with gold, and she is wearing a black headdress. In another miniature a woman is shown kneeling on the floor, stitching a shroud around a body next to her on the floor. She is wearing a black headdress and her head is inclined in sadness. The facial expressions on these figures do not impart a sense of grief, but they are moving nonetheless, in their depiction of calm acceptance and their illustration of the duties owed to the dead. These images underscore the connection between women and all aspects of death and burial – a connection that has, throughout history and across widely divergent societies, taken the form of the physical care and preparation of the corpse,[5] and of the lamentation for the

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[3]Bn ms lat. 1393. Heures à l'usage de Paris. Late fifteenth-century or early sixteenth-century. Each of the illuminations in this cycle takes up a full page. Among the scenes depicted are scenes from the story of Job, scenes of death striking various individuals, including men, women and children and funerary scenes.

[4]Folio 105v.

[5]On the role of women in the preparation of the body for burial, see Michel Lauwers,"La Mémoire des ancêtres, le souci des Morts. Fonction et usages du culte des morts dans l'Occident médiévale (Diocèse de Liège XI-XIIe siècles)" Thesis, EHESS, 1992634-742. See also, Histoire de la vie privée, Georges Duby and Philippe Ariès, eds. Vol. 2 (Paris, 1985) p. 91, and for modern France, see Yvonne Verdier, Façons de dire, façons de faire: la laveuse, la couturière, la

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dead.[6] Danièle Alexandre-Bidon points out that in the Middle Ages, "à l'exception des milieux monastiques masculins, seules ou presque les femmes ont assumé la charge de préparer les cadavres, depuis le lavage du corps jusqu'à sa mise en bière."[7] In her study of Greek womens' laments, Anna Caraveli-Chaves explains that in general, ritual lamentation for the dead is "virtually the exclusive territory of women."[8] Laments can be viewed as "communicative events" that are "manipulated by the lamenter in order to benefit the living" – benefits that include the collective confrontation of death

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cuisinière (Paris: Gallimard, 1979) 101-108.

[6]On ritual lamentation, see Margaret Alexiou, The Ritual lament in Greek Tradition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1974; Angela Bourke, "The Irish Traditional Lament and the Grieving Process," Women's Studies International Forum 11.4 (1988):287-291, and "More in Anger than in Sorrow: Irish Women's Lament Poetry," Feminist Messages: Coding in Women's Folk Culture. Joan Newlon Radner, ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993) 160-181; Theresa C. Brakeley, "Mourning songs," Funk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1984) 755; Anna Caraveli-Chaves, "Bridge Between Worlds: The Greek Women's Lament as Communicative Event," Journal of American Folklore 93 (1980): 129-57.Lauri Honko, "Balto-Finnic Lament Poetry," Studia Fennica 17 (1974): 9-61; Nikolai Kaufman, "Laments from Four Continents (Europe, Asia, Africa and America," International Folklore Review 7 (1990): 22-29; Constantina-Nadia Seremetakis, "Women and Death: Cultural Power and Ritual Process in Inner Mani," Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la femme 8.2 (1987): 108-110 and The Last Word: Women, Death and Divination in Inner Mani (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) 64-81; K.M. Tiwary, "Tuneful Weeping, A Mode of Communication," Frontiers 3.3 (1978): 24-27.

[7]Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "Le Corps et son linceul," A Réveiller les morts, 205.

[8]Caraveli-Chaves, 129.

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and catharsis.[9] Angela Bourke, who studies traditional Irish mourning customs, particularly "keening," also sees the lamenter as "grief therapist" : "an explicit aim of her poetry was to move listeners to tears to facilitate them in expressing their own grief."[10] According to Lauri Honko, who studies Finno-Baltic laments, such laments offered an opportunity for an individual's release of emotion, which eased the pressure of sorrow, but they also strictly regulated the way sorrow was expressed.[11] This "regulation" takes the form of rules structuring the lament and its delivery. The expression of grief through the lament is not generally considered to be a spontaneous outburst of emotion, so even the ritual lament, seemingly the "freest" expression of grief, is a carefully coded ritual act, not unlike the poetry I discuss here. However, as Theresa C. Brakeley points out (and as Jeffrey Hamburger pointed out earlier, in reference to conventional images),[12] the fact that the lament is highly structured does not "exclude the existence of genuine sorrow for the loss of the person...."[13] The issue becomes even more complex when the lamenter is not a friend or family member of the deceased, but a hired mourner, paid for her services. We

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[9]Caraveli-Chavez, 130.

[10]Bourke, "The Irish Traditional Lament," 288-89.

[11]Honko, "Balto-Finnic Lament Poetry," 42-44.

[12]See note 8, p. 155.

[13]Brakeley, "Mourning Songs," 756.

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again confront the question of the function of ritual posed in Chapter Three. In many cultures the lamenter is an woman elder whose experience with death and acquaintance with loss allows her to grieve, not each individual person for whom she laments, but in some sense to become or embody grief, much as the Virgin Mary does, providing a model, setting an example of grief through her wailing and the physical grief-symptoms she displays.

The "piété funéraire des femmes" has, according to Michel Lauwers, been an ambivalent phenomenon since early Christian times: certain forms of lamentation were acceptable, whereas others were not. According to Lauwers:

> Tout au long du moyen âge, les ecclésiastiques ont condamné certaines formes des manifestations féminines du deuil. C'est ainsi qu'à la fin du IVe siècle, l'évêque de Milan, Ambroise, qui s'était efforcé de 'christianiser' les rites funéraires anciens, avait condamné l'expression douloureuse et bruyante du deuil, dénonçant les femmes qui se répandaient en "clameures publicques' et déchiraient leurs vêtements lors des funérailles.[14]

Laws regulating laments actually existed from early Christian times, as Theresa Brakeley notes:

> Charlemagne attempted by edict to prohibit the

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[14]Michel Lauwers, "La Memoire des ancetres, le souci des Morts," 648.

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> singing of 'profane songs' at funerals. Obviously these and similar efforts had little effect on the custom. In Provence and in Gascony, lay dirges and lamentations were carried on hundreds of years after the death of Charlemagne, and they are still heard among the Greek-speaking peoples.[15]

According to Lauri Honko, "death dirges were condemned at the Church Councils of 1298 and 1326 and a similar prohibition can be found as late as the fifteenth century in the city ordinances of Nuremburg."[16] We saw a similar situation unfold in the tradition of the funerary wake, which was supressed in France during the Middle Ages.[17] Along with the prevailing pedagogy of grief outlined in Chapter Three, over the course of the Middle Ages various statutes and regulations were issued, directed at controlling excessive demonstrations of grief. Ritual lamentation gives way to "christianized" expressions of grief.

B. The Subject of Devotion

Controls on the behaviors relating to the expression of grief take two forms: negative examples prohibiting excessive mourning are found in regulations, exempla and sermons, among

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[15]Brakeley, 757.

[16]Honko, "Balto-Finnic Laments, 13.

[17]See pages 123-125 above.

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other materials.[18] One place where the examples for grief and mourning are almost wholly positive is in the images found in books of hours, like the representations of funerals discussed earlier. Such images, as well as the books in which they are found, are the product of the movement towards affective devotion and piety stemming from the emergence of the mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans.[19] F.J.E. Raby says of the Francisan movement: "Religion had once more come to find its expression in a personal experience, in an emotion of the heart, in a direct relation between the human soul and Christ."[20] With an increased emphasis on the meditation on the suffering of Christ came new texts, such as the Meditationes Vitae Christi, and what can only be called an empathetic response extended to the Virgin, culminating in the

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[18]Negative images are directed more toward preparation for one's own death than toward the conducting of funerary celebrations. As we saw earlier, positive images, encouraging prayer for the dead souls in purgatory, are also found in exempla and sermons.

[19]On the rise of devotional piety, see Etienne Delaruelle, La Piété populaire au Moyen Age (Torino: Bottega d'Erasmo, 1975); Richard Kieckhefer, "Major Currents in Late Medieval Devotion," in Christian Spirituality: High Middle Ages and Reformation, Jill Raitt, ed. (New York: Crossroads, 1987) 75-105; Giles Constable, "Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages," Medieval and Renaissance Studies 5 (1971) 27-61; Geneviève Hasenohr, "La Vie quotidienne de la femme vue par l'Eglise: l'enseignement des "journées chrétiennes" à la fin du Moyen-Age," Frau und spatmittelalterliche Alltag (Vienna: Osterreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1986) 19-101.

[20]F.J.E. Raby, A History of Christian-Latin Poetry From the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927).

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doctrine of the Compassio. New prayers appeared, such as the O intemerata and the Obsecro te, both included and illustrated in most books of hours.[21] The images were of particular importance, as Eugene Honée points out: "As the mendicant orders evolved, they came to attach growing importance to images as aids of devotion."[22] Honée continues:

> The spread of the devotional image cannot be understood without appreciating the nature of the spirituality that evolved in the Late Middle Ages. Religious literature placed more and more emphasis on the proximity of the saints and the human nature of the Saviour. Christ and the saints entered more deeply into the conceptual world of the faithful. In that process, exercises involving prayer and meditation evolved in which a constant appeal was made to the imagination. The more widespread those exercises, the greater the demand for images in which their content was depicted in an exemplary form."[23]

Books of hours provided a medium for private devotion in

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[21]Roger S. Wieck, Time Sanctified: The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life (New York: Braziller, 1988); Henri Barré, Prières anciennes de l'occident à la mére du sauveur. des origines à Saint Anselme (Paris: Lenthielleux, 1963).

[22]Eugene Honée, "Image and Imagination in the Medieval Culture of Prayer: A Historical Perspective," The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe. 1300-1500 Henk Van Os, ed. (London: Merrell Holberton, 1994) 160.

[23]Honée, "Image and Imagination," 172.

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which the images were particularly important. In Chapter Six, we saw how books of hours can be used as evidence of what ceremonies of grief "looked like," but to the users of the books they must have had a much more powerful impact.[24] According to Flora Lewis: "The texts provide the words through which devotion speaks, the images through which the objects of devotion are visualized, and thus they play an affective as well as a reflective role."[25]

In images of funeral processions we saw how the viewer could insert herself in the image by following "behind" the processions represented therein, or how she might look over the shoulder of figures whose backs were turned. In other representations, the spectator is more abruptly thrust into the image. In one such image, a miniature, from a fifteenth century book of hours [Figure 41][26] we see the Virgin sitting at the foot of the cross, the body of the dead Christ lying across her lap. Her hands are raised before her in a gesture

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[24]On books of hours as "evidence", see Lawrence R. Poos, "Social History and the Book of Hours," Time Sanctified, Roger S. Wieck, ed., 33.

[25]Flora Lewis, "From Image to Illustration: The Place of Devotional Images in the Book of Hours," Iconographie médiévale: Image, Texte, Contexte (Paris: Editions CNRS, 1993).

[26]Bn ms lat 1185, Heures à l'usage de Paris, fifteenth century.

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that suggests acceptance.[27] To the left of the Virgin a woman in contemporary dress kneels, holding an open book - probably a book of hours - in her hands. Aside from Mary's gesture, the image is completely static. The woman's expression is rather solemn, but she does not display any overt signs of emotion. Perhaps that is the point: the reader sees an ideal reflection of herself as a serene meditator/mourner. In another illumination, illustrating the "Obsecro te," also from a fifteenth-century book of hours, [Figure 42][28] we see a similar composition, only this time the figure "inserted" into the scene is a man. Mary, her head inclined to the left, seems a bit sadder than she does in the first image, as the angel holding the cross (recalling the figures in the burial scenes discussed earlier) looks towards her. The kneeling, praying, figure also wears an expression of sadness - the corners of his mouth are turned down and his brow is furrowed. With his right hand he strokes the hair of the dead Christ, directly participating in the sacred scene. These images may certainly be donor portraits, and the effect of identificiation would have been very strong for the books' original owners, who, like Jean sans Peur visiting the tomb of his father, saw himself in the funeral procession. But the

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[27]François Garnier, Le Langage de d'image au Moyen Age. Signification et symbolique (Paris: Le Leopard d'Or, 1982), 174.

[28]Bn donation Smith-LeSoueff, ms. 30. Heures à l'usage de Rome (Parisian calendar), mid- or late fifteenth century.

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images were no doubt powerful for successive owners as well. Such interaction between the reader of the book and the images contained therein is intensified in the Passion cycles found in many books of hours, studied here in Chapter Eight.

C. The Subject in the Text

Just as we cannot ascertain the sincerity of the lamenter's grief, we cannot escape the question of whether there is a subject "behind" the text (or representation) - what we might perhaps call a "self" - and what role that self/subject plays in the text. As we saw with the Narrator/Actor's self-reference in the Plainte du Désiré above, several layers of concealment may co-exist within the same poem. H. Marshall Leicester wrestles with this question in The Disenchanted Self: Representing the Subject in the Canterbury Tales, where he comments that the Tales must be approached as pure textuality, and as such, "there is nobody there," behind the text. He adds, however, that "there is a voice in the text," as well as "the voice (or subject) of the text."[29] Sarah Kay takes a more measured approach when she asserts that certain texts authorize us to reintroduce a modified form of what she calls the "autobiographical assumption" and to consider how "historical factors such as gender and economic status and relationships with authors and

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[29]H. Marshall Leicester The Disenchanted Self: Representing the Subject in the Canterbury Tales (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 9.

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patrons, leave perceptible traces on the subjective voice."[30]

In perhaps no other genre is the grieving subject so present as in lyrics lamenting the death of a loved one, or in a scene in which a mourner gives vent to his or her grief. Of course, what we find in lyric is a construction, but a comparison of the constructed voice of grief with the models for acceptable expressions of grief can reveal much about a given culture. If we search for the grieving subject in late medieval French texts, the question becomes one of "la subjectivité littéraire,"[31] a topic which engenders much debate among students of French medieval lyric. Those, like Paul Zumthor, who see medieval textuality as a closed, cyclical phenomenon having no referent outside the poetic text and its traditions, tend to deny the existence of a speaking subject, or at the least to cast serious doubt on the possibility of recovering one.[32] By extension, autobiography becomes an impossible form in the Middle Ages – for if there is no subject, there can be no "life."[33] Further, many medieval texts are anonymous, a situation that, as we have

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[30]Sarah Kay, Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry (Cambridge University Press, 1990) 3-4.

[31]Michel Zink, La Subjectivité littéraire: autour du siècle de Saint Louis (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985).

[32]Paul Zumthor, Parler du Moyen Age (Paris: Editions du Minuit, 1980).

[33]Or there can be a "fictional" life as in the vidas and razos. See Michel Zink, Littérature française du Moyen Age (Paris: PUF, 1992) 118-119.

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seen before, may prove an obstacle to any biographical approach to medieval texts, psychoanalytic or otherwise.[34] Although Zumthor agrees that the later the date of the text, the greater the possibility that a "real" voice may be detected, even when one does find a speaking subject, one must mistrust it: "Le je parlant est un acteur, dont le geste, la voix, produisent, avec un dire, un faire. Je est un rôle, déterminé par un choix préalable, au niveau du thème, d'où sa tendance à servir grammaticalement d'objet..."[35] This statement is certainly true, but it is far too restrictive. According to Zumthor, not until after Villon's time does the "je" in the text to point to a real, living subject as referent.[36] I strongly disagree with Zumthor on this point, and suggest that we can find examples of a "living" je long before Villon - in Abelard and Rutebeuf, for example.[37] One

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[34]In his essay "Consciousness of Self and Perceptions of Individuality," in Culture, Power and Personality in Medieval France (London: Hambledon Press, 1991,), John F. Benton does not wholly reject the possibility of "medieval autobiography." Nonetheless he asserts that "Any reader who expects the frankness of a Rétif de la Bretonne from medieval authors will be sorely disappointed, for a great leap in subjectivity separates medieval Europe from the eighteenth century" (p. 330). I would suggest that in failing to problematize the "frankness" of Rétif de la Bretonne, Benton is revealing the limitations of his own critical methodology.

[35]Paul Zumthor, "Autobiographie au Moyen Age?" Langue, Texte, Enigme (Paris: Seuil, 1975) 173.

[36]Paul Zumthor, "Le Je de la chanson et le moi du poète," in Langue, Texte, Enigme, 173.

[37]In La Subjectivité littéraire,Zink directly confronts Zumthor when he asserts that the appearance of the subject in the text is related to the emergence of the individual which,

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certainly has to be careful not to interpret in terms of the biography; not to naively endow the speaker of the je with qualities of "sincerity" or truthfulness; and not to assert that the narrator-je is the porte-parole of the author,[38] for even "real" voices are constructed, produced in and by the network of relations that constitutes any given culture. But isn't that also the case with romantic, modern and post-modern subjects? I would go even further - and I discuss this at

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in agreement with LeGoff, he places in the 13th century. He sees a turning point in the work of Rutebeuf, who, rejecting the conventional, circular grand chant courtois (for which Zumthor's theories do retain their validity), speaks with a subjective authorial voice. Danielle Régnier-Bohler also sees the beginnings of the emergence of the subject at around this time, although she contends that Rutebeuf "pretends" to tell the life of the poet, but that his is a poetry "de la fausse confidence." ["Fictions," vol.2, Histoire de la vie privee, Philippe Ariès and Georges Duby, eds. (Paris: Seuil, 1985). Even this statement presupposes that there is or should be an a priori correlation between the "je"/poet and the speaking "je," one which I am not prepared to make, although I certainly believe that it does occur, as in the case with Christine de Pizan, but even then it is not unitary and consistent. , Régnier-Bohler holds that is in the works of Chroniclers with their imperatives of truth and witnessing that a true authorial "je" emerges. (375-77).

[38]In his discussion of La Belle dame sans mercy, Edward Joseph Hoffman comments: "The death of Alain's Lady has left him sad and disconsolate." Alain Chartier: His Work and Reputation (Geneva: Slatkine, 1974, 1st ed. 1942)53. This is an extreme example, but the necessity of distinguishing between the "je/auteur" and the "je/narrateur" cannot be overstressed. Even when a case can be made for a "personalized" interpretation, as it can, even in the case of Alain Chartier, whose Complainte contre la mort was written after the death of a woman loved by the poet, the constructed nature of the poetic "je" must be made explicit. See William W. Kibler, "The Narrator as Key to Alain Chartier's La Belle Dame sans mercy," The French Review 52.5(1979): 718-19, and Cornelis Johannes Henricus Walravens, Alain Chartier. Etudes biographiques... (Amsterdam: Meuleunhoff-Didier, 1971).

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greater length below - to claim that even if one limits one's interrogation to the textual "je", in isolation from the details of the author's life, one can perceive certain patterns, one might even say certain obsessions that can be the mark of the subject in the text. This is true with Christine de Pizan, where, in the continued reiteration of her widowed state as well as in her "obsessive" use of repetition in the ballades, we can discern the presence of a subject. The same can be said in the case of the Virgin Mary in her obsessive grief at the death of her son. The fact that Christine de Pizan is a living subject who constructs her own voice[39] and that the figure of Virgin Mary is a cultural construction who does not speak "for herself," does not obscure the fact that there is a speaking je in the text. In Christine's case, however, we may cautiously go one step further and bring in the details of her life, but only because she permits us, even invites us, to do so.[40]

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[39]Of course, Christine's voice is not constructed in a vacuum, but is rooted in systems of signification in circulation at the time in which she lived. That she was, perhaps, more aware than most of her contemporaries and more able to manipulate the prevailing ideologies than most is a great part of her appeal for contemporary feminist scholars.

[40]For instance, in Poets as Players: Theme and Variation in Late Medieval French Poetry (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), Leonard W. Johnson suggests that Christine de Pizan "represents the first instance in French letters in which we know enough about the author's life, public, private and even affective, to be sure that some of the poems are 'true.'" He then wisely cautions, however, that even in the mourning poems, "we cannot, of course, be entirely certain of the 'real' intensity of her grief." He adds that the "confirmation" we receive in the narrative works, which I take

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Sarah Kay draws on Zink's insights but limits her discussion of subjectivity to the poetry of the troubadours, chronologically prior to the period Zink discusses, and therefore, according to most critical thinking, less likely to exhibit subjectivity. Kay maintains, however, that the subject is present in troubadour lyric and that autobiographical readings are possible. She defines subjectivity as "the elaboration of a first-person (subject) position in the rhetoric of courtly poetry."[41] Kay does not posit an exact correspondence of authorial voice (or voice of the "self") and subjective voice, but reminds us that subjectivity is "positional" and that "other" subject positions exist, hinting at the possibility that one "je" can occupy different subject positions at different times, or indeed, as we shall discover, co-exist in the same poem.[42]

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up below, "tends to make us believe the emotion of the lyric poems" (62).

[41]Kay, Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry, 4. Paul Smith, in Discerning the Subject (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1988) xxxv, defines "subject positions" as, the positions "provisional and not necessary indefeasible, into which a person is called momentarily by the discourses and the world that he/she inhabits."

[42]The literature on post-structuralist theories of the subject is vast. In addition to Paul Smith, Discerning the Subject (see note 41 above), recent discussions include the essays in Psychology and Postmodernism, Steinar Kvale, ed. (London: Sage, 1992); Phillip Brian Harper, Framing the Margins: The Social Logic of Postmodern Culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), and Frank B. Farrell, Subjectivity, Realism and Postmodernism: The Recovery of the World (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).
Also see my discussion of feminist theories of subjectivity, below.

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How do we gain access to the multiple subject positions implicit in late medieval lyric? We may examine how the subject's voice is distributed among many positions by considering the use of the convention of the "Acteur" discussed earlier. The "Acteur" is often a poet within the text – he or she who writes the poem. Yet, this "Acteur" is not (necessarily) synonymous with the poet's "Self".

Multiple subject positions are also created by the use of allegory. According to Danielle Régnier-Bohler:

> Quant aux personnages allégoriques auxquels le poéte prête vie, ils mènent à une sorte d'émiettement rhétorique qui tend peut-être moins à occulter le moi réel qu'à faire éclater l'appropriation d'un territoire poétique par la multiplication du Moi..."[43]

We find, therefore, what we can call, if not the "split subject" of Lacanian theory, at least a "divided" subject, where the "Je" is unstable – one which suggests that post-modern theories of the subject might make some contribution to the study of the late medieval grieving voice. Sarah Kay also looks for signs of subjectivity in allegory and finds that, at least in the troubadour lyric, the function of rhetorical techniques such as personified abstractions, narrativization of faculties and the use of inner dialogue "appears to be to describe or extend the subject as a psychological entity or

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[43]Danielle Régnier-Bohler, "Fictions," 375.

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'self'". Yet, we still assume that these many "Je/s" come from a unified subject - the "moi" of the author is one and unchanging - a notion that we must begin to question more vociferously.

D. The Subject Grieving

I begin my discussion of the grieving voice in late medieval French poetry with the works of Alain Chartier.[44] Chartier's poetic voice is direct, unhampered by elaborate allegorical figures or conceits. In many ways, he provides a benchmark for the poets to follow. Grief is abundant in Chartier's work - the grief of unrequited love as seen in the amant-martyr of "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," but also grief caused by the death of a loved one.

In at least three of Chartier's poems, including "La Belle Dame Sans Merci," characters, both male and female, mourn the loss of a loved one. In the "Livre des Quatre Dames," four ladies lament the fate of their lovers who have been killed or have disappeared as the result of a battle with

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[44]In addition to the works cited above in note 38, see: Joseph Brami, "Un Lyrisme de veuvage. Etude sur le Je poétique dans La Belle Dame sans Mercy, Fifteenth-Century Studies 15 (1989): 53-66; Grete Hirschel, Le livre des quatre dames von Alain Chartier: Studien zur französischen Minnekasuistik des Mittelalters (Wertheim am Main: E. Bechstein, 1930); C.S. Shipley, "Alain Chartier's La Belle Dame Sans Mercy in Studies in French Poetry of the Fifteenth Century (The Hague: Martinus Nijoff, 1970) 32-120.

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the English - no doubt the battle of Agincourt.[45] The narrator, wandering in an idealized spring landscape, suffers from love-grief - his lady is unaware of the great love he bears her and he is too reticent to tell her. He happens upon "Quatre dames en noble atour"[46](203, vv. 163), whom he describes:

> Ainsi aloit
> Comme celles qui se douloient
> Et riens fors penser ne vouloient,
> Ne point ensemble ne parloient;
> Maiz par l'erbete
> Chascune aloit toute seulete.
> Oncques ne distrent chançonette,
> Ne de cueillir la vïolete
> Ne leur tenoit;
> Mais chascune son dueil menoit,
> De quoy tousjours lui souvenoit,
> Et l'une apres l'autre venoit. (209-209;vv.352-363)

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[45]In his discussion of the poem, James Laidlaw attempts to identify those men being lamented. Although his conclusions are interesting and well worth keeping in mind, they have little to do with my consideration of the construction of the grieving voice, for there is no direct reference to their identities as there is in the work of Christine de Pizan who, although she does not name him, precisely and repeatedly locates her husband, Etienne du Castel, and his death, in time and place.

[46]All citations from Chartier are from The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier, James Laidlaw, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974) and will be followed by the page and line numbers.

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The four ladies make up a kind of procession - connected, yet each isolated in her own, overwhelming grief. The narrator salutes them and one of them returns his salutation, but asks him to please move on.[47] She explains that she and her companions cannot fulfill their obligation to be courteous: "Car en nous a tele habondance/De dueil et de desesperance/Qu'il n'est pas en notre puissance/De savoir faindre,..." (210; vv. 406-408) She continues her lament. At the end of her speech, "Lors fist elle un souspir si hault/Et s'assist, car le cuer lui fault;/Pasmee fut, ou autant vault." (211; vv. 436-439) Her grief is manifested physically, as she sinks to the ground. The narrator tells the lady that if she wishes to confide in him he will do all in his power to serve her. He describes her reaction:

> Tourna vers moy son doulz visage
> Qui tout en grosses lermes nage
> Et bien porte au cuer tesmoignage
> De dueil tresgrief;
> Et en souspirant de rechief
> Mist ses deux mains contre son chief.
> (212; vv 461-466)

The emphasis here is on the exteriorization of emotion. The Lady's tears are a sign for the grief she is experiencing, as is her gesture of placing her head in her hands. Then she

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[47]In the interest of space, I shall only discuss the lament of the first lady.

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speaks: '...Quel douleur, quel meschief!/Et quele perte!" (212; vv. 467-8) She curses Mort and expresses the desire to die. The narrator again speaks, encouraging her to express her feelings, to talk about her grief:

Car bien m'avise
Que pensee de dueil surprise
Son mal maintes fois amenuyse
Et descroist, quoy qu'on en devise,
Car Dueil destraint
Et muce le cuer trop contraint
Quant la bouche fort se repaint. (213, vv. 512-518)

As we saw in the chronicle accounts discussed in Chapter Six, it was considered unwise to keep one's grief to oneself. In the very act of talking about one's emotions, one's grief would be partially assuaged.

The narrator gains the lady's confidence and she begins to tell him her story: "Lors dist en beaulx et piteux termes,/Aiant aux rïans yeulx les lermes,/Qui de plorer furent enfermes...." The juxtaposition of "rïans" with "lermes" perhaps emphasizes the ambivalence of grief - the lady is still fighting to contain her grief, but is ultimately unable to do so. She laments:

'Haa, Destinee
Tresdure, et maudicte journee
Douloureuse, mal fortunee
Qui toute ma joie as tournee

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En desconfort!
Helaz! Cellui y print la mort,
Que j'amoie tant et si fort
Que oncques cuers d'amans si d'accort
Et loyaument
Ne s'amerent si longuement. (214;vv. 537-549)

The Lady continues, cursing death and asking why she, too, did not die. She praises her lover: "Il estoit en fleur de saison/Et nez de si noble maison" (216, v. 597). She speaks of their mutual devotion, and prays for his soul: "Or je pry a Dieu qu'Il efface/Ses meffaiz et mercy lui face" (217-18;vv 657-8). She says that death has killed two people with one blow and speaks of the permanence of her grief: Si doubleray/Tousjours mon dueil, et m'embleray/Des autres. Si ressembleray/La turtre...." The lament itself contains many of the standard motifs found in laments. However, the narrator's descriptions of the Lady's manifestations of grief as she tells her story are more interesting. In this case, at least, it would seem that the "showing" or representation of emotion is more effective than its "telling." After she concludes, the narrator comments:

A tant elle se teut; et puis
Du profont du cuer et du puis
Tant gecta de souspirs depuis
Et tant de plains,
Et les yeulx de lermes si plains

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Avoit en faisant ses complains
Qu'en moy mesme en plourant la plaings,
Ne rimoier
Ne puis le cas sans lermoier,
Sans douloir et sans esmoier..." (vv. 1046-1056)

He is himself moved to tears by her emotion, displaying the empathy that was so important in the public expression of grief. He advises her to join with the other three ladies so that they might speak together of their grief and comfort each other, because, as he explains:

Qui son deuil coeuvre
Trop fort, double mal en recoeuvre,
Car tristour est d'un tel oeuvre
Qu'elle descroist, qui la descoeuvre
Ou il affiert,
Et qui trop la coeuvre, elle fiert
Le cuer et dedens se refiert (230, vv 1073-1082)

Here, the narrator acts as a catalyst for the expression of grief. Yet the ladies do not take his advice, and the poem becomes a debate over which lady grieves the most and whose grief is most justified - in a sense expanding upon and satirizing the "no greater grief" topos. Having encouraged the free expression of the ladies' grief, the narrator is not prepared for the full measure of their emotion. Their overwhelming grief seems trivialized by the competitive nature of their debate, and the ladies' lamentations lose much of

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their impact as it becomes evident that they are merely representing positions in an argument. What seems to be a solicitous invitation to express emotion in the hopes of alleviating grief, ends up being at once an implicit critique of these ladies' behavior as well as a reduction of their individual voices to abstractions.

Like Chartier's 'Livre des Quatre Dames," Christine de Pizan's Epistre de la Prison de la vie humaine, a consolatory treatise, was written in response to the events of the Battle of Agincourt.[48] The differences between the two pieces are worth exploring. Christine dedicated the piece to the duchess Marie de Berry, many of whose relatives were captured or killed as a result of the battle. In the Epistre Christine encourages the duchess to contain her grief:

> Pour aucunement trouver remede et medicine à la griefve maladie et enfermeté d'amertume de cuer et tristece de pensée par quoy flus de lermes, lequel à l'ame à tel cause ne puet prouffiter ne au corps valoir, peust estre restraint et remis, qui tant a couru et encores (dont c'est pitié) ne cesse entre meismement les roynes, princesses, baronnesses, dames, damoiselles du noble sang royal de France et

[48]Angus Kennedy points out, in the notes to his edition, Christine de Pizan's 'Epistre de la Prison de Vie humaine' (Glasgow: University of Glasgow French Department, 1984) that although the battle is not actually mentioned, it is "a pivotal event" (34).

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generalment le plus des femmes d'onneur frappées de ceste pesillence en cestui françois royaume" (17)

Excessive grief cannot improve the situation - it is harmful to the body and to the soul - called "enfermeté," by both Christine and Alain Chartier. Christine also takes a critical stance towards the excessive grief manifested by the ladies and instructs the duchess to moderate her emotion based on three facts: those who have died led exemplary lives and will find their reward in Heaven; they have escaped the "prison of earthly life;" and finally, that it is God's will that all humans must die. Christine's message is, therefore, much like Chartier's, although her own experience, her "petit estat vesval," authorizes her to speak, and although she reinforces the pedagogy of grief and discourages excessive grief, she does so with understanding and compassion. In her text we do not hear the misogynist undertones present in Chartier's poem.

The second of Chartier's "grieving" poems is the "Complainte contre la Mort," a much more conventional mourning poem than the "Livre des Quatre Dames." In this lengthy poem, the narrator intersperses his grief with a tirade against Mort, for taking his beloved, against Amour for having made him love so intensely, and against Fortune for abandoning him. His heart is "Noircy de dueil et aggrevé de peine." (p. 321;v. 6). Death has taken his lady from him, and again, as in the 'Livre des Quatre Dames," not one, but two have been slain: "Par un seul cop, dont ilz sont tous deux mors" (321, v.15) -

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his lady and his heart. He is "..desert, despointé et deffait/De pensée, de parolle et de fait..." because he has lost "De tous les biens ce qu'estoit plus parfait" (322, vv 25-26). In the fourth strophe, the narrator tells of the depth of his despair and the futility of trying to comfort him:

> Qui me pourroit de ce dueil conforter?
> Je n'ay pas cuer a tel doleur porter,
> Car adoulcir ne puis ne supporter
> Les durs accés de mon dolent mesaise.
> C'est temps perdu que de moy enorter
> A m'esjouïr, rire ne deporter:
> On ne me puet nouvelles apporter
> Ne langage si plaisant qui me plaise;
> Plaindre et plourer sont mes jeux et mon aise.
> (322-23, vv 41-48)

The narrator finds comfort in his tears and in his laments. One of the major motifs in the poem is the contrast between grief and joy - first in the difference between how he appears and how he feels, as in, "Mes yeulx pleurent ens et rïent dehors," (322, v. 19) and "Mes semblans sont de joye contrefaiz," (326, v. 137), and second, in the contrast between his grief and the happiness of others:

> J'oy les autres chanter, et je me plains;
> Ilz vont dançant, et je detors mes mains;
> Ilz festoient, et je tout seul remains;

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J'ay fait leurs tours: maintenant les deffais.

(326, vv 145-148)

In the final strophe, the lamenter paints a bleak picture of his state of mind. He awaits the moment of his death so that he might be reunited with his dead beloved. The poem ends with a farewell to love and joy, to life itself, as the narrator expresses the wish to die:

Le cuer m'estraint; angoisse me queurt seure.
Ma vie fait en moy longue demeure;
Je n'ay membre qu'a mourir ne labeure,
Et me tarde que ja mort de dueil soye.
Autre bien n'ay, n'autre bien n'assaveure
Fors seulement l'actente que je meure;
Et desire que briefment vieigne l'eure,
Qu'apres ma mort en paradis la voye. (327, 177-184)

It is curious that the speaking subject in this poem feels that he must dissemble his grief, whereas in the previous poem the narrator is in the position of encouraging the four ladies to give full vent to theirs.

The last of the three statements of grief I discuss here is the narrator's introduction to the "Belle Dame Sans Mercy," in which the narrator/poet, his beloved having just died, wanders through the forest:

Nagaires, chevauchant, pensoye
Come home triste et doloreux,
Au dueil ou il fault que je soye

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Le plus dolent des amoureux,
Puis que, par son dart rigoreux,
La mort me tolly ma maistresse
Et me laissa seul, langoreux
En la conduite de Tristesse. (332, vv 1-8)

A straightforward expression of his sadness gives way to an internal dialogue in which he tells himself that he must stop composing poetry and rhyme, and that he must abandon laughter for tears - a reprise of the joie/douleur constrast seen in the "Complainte." He will leave the writing of love poetry to the lovers, for his lady is dead : "...Dieu en ait l'ame,/Et emporta mon sentement/Qui gist o elle soubs la lame (332, vv30-32) - she took with her all his emotions and left him wandering aimlessly without direction. The narrator's voice verges on melancholia.[49] We can view this divergence between the first and the two subsequent poems as a further indication of an ambivalence regarding the expression of grief in the late Middle Ages. Perhaps these later two poems were influenced by the "moi" of the poet who had lost his lady in the time since he had written the "Livre des Quatre Dames,"

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[49]An extensive literature on melancholy exists. The standard work on the subject is Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl's Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in The History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art (New York: Basic Books, 1964). Also of importance is Julia Kristeva, Black Sun: Depression and Melancholia (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989), and Maxime Préaud's Mélancolies (Paris: Herscher, 1982) is also of interest.

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and had become more sympathetic towards those affected by grief and suffering. But this is mere conjecture. One could just as easily say that in the earlier poem, the poet, Alain Chartier, was constructing uninhibited grieving female voices with a view to social critique, and that in the later ones he was using his lyric not only to channel his grief, but also to satirize himself as a conventional grieving lover.

Alain Chartier, then, has many different grieving voices. He speaks as each of the quatre dames, as the poet of the "Complainte" saying farewell to joy because his beloved has died, and as the wandering poet-narrator of La Belle dame sans mercy. Appropriating both male and female voices to construct the grieving subjects in his verse, Chartier privileges the melancholic voice of the poetic "je" over those of the characters he creates in Livre des Quatre Dames. Giuliana Schiesari suggests, in The Gendering of Melancholia, that melancholy, the "disease of great men," is privileged over mourning, the 'traditional women's ritual.[50]

Christine de Pizan's grieving voice is initially heard in

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[50]Juliana Schiesari, The Gendering of Melancholy: Feminism, Psychoanalysis, and the Symbolics of Loss in Renaissance Literature (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992) x-xi. Schiesari also notes that the absence of women among the 'great melancholics' points to "the lack of significance traditionally given to women's grief in patriarchal culture" (3). As I demonstrate here - women's grief is given a great deal of attention in patriarchal society, albeit much of it is negative attention. This "gendering" has more, perhaps to to with constraints placed on male grief in the later middle ages, causing it to become something "other" than grief, namely "melancholy."

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the first twenty of her Cent Ballades[51] and the first nine of her Rondeaux. Written over the course of ten years, these "mourning poems" lament the death of her husband, Etienne du Castel, during an epidemic in 1390.[52] Although critics who discuss Christine's grief and widowhood have tended to focus on the poems, she also speaks of her widowhood and expresses her grief in subsequent writings, such as the Livre des Trois Vertus and in the Epistre discussed above. So, although the poems in the Cent Ballades are crucial for an understanding of Christine's self-construction as a grieving subject, we cannot consider them in isolation, for she returns to them and comments upon them, entering into a dialogue with herself across the years. Even within the early poems, we hear not one voice, but several. What I am interested in here is the recovery of grief in/through her multiple voices in the poems and texts – how she constructs herself as a grieving subject

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[51]The mourning poems, or "poèmes de veuvage" in the Cent Ballades and the Rondeaux have been discussed in great length and detail by several authors, notably by Barbara Altmann, "Les poemes de veuvage de Christine de Pizan," Scintilla 1 (1984): 24-47; and by Maria Dembinska, "La Souffrance dans les oevures de Christine de Pizan, La Souffrance au Moyen Age 1991) 20-28. I do not intend here to explicate the cycle, but limit my discussion to the grieving voice and the construction of subjectivity.

[52]On Etienne's death as impetus for Christine to begin writing, see: Edith Yenal, Christine de Pizan: A Bibliography, 2nd ed. (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1989) xvi; Diane Bornstein, "Self-Consciousness and Self-Concepts in the Work of Christine de Pizan," Ideals for Women in the Works of Christine de Pizan, Diane Bornstein, ed. Medieval and Renaissance Monograph Series, 1 (1981), 11.

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and how her voices emerge from that subject.[53] Unlike Chartier whose grief is occasional and does not constitute a leitmotif running through his oeuvre, Christine's grieving voices, although fragmented and sometimes in conflict with each other, undergird her work from beginning to end. As Marilynn Desmond points out, "throughout her writing, Christine explicitly connects her biography - specifically her widowhood - to her emerging authorial roles."[54]

In some of the poems in the Cent Ballades, we hear a "controlled voice" in which Christine/Je expresses her emotions calmly, through a screen of allegory.[55] For

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[53]In the interest of maintaining clarity regarding Christine's subject positions, I shall refer to Christine, the historical figure, the voice "behind the text" as "Christine/Moi," and the speaking voice in the poems as "Christine/Je."It might seem as though I am privileging Christine's presence in her text over the selves of Alain Chartier or Charles d'Orleans. I am. I would argue that by nature of the fact that Christine's poems are located by internal, textual evidence - in "real" time and space, we are authorized to do so.

[54]Marilynn Desmond, Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval *Aeneid* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 195.

[55]Of course, as I have mentioned before, in that they are constructions, all of Christine's voices are "controlled." What I mean here by "controlled" is more the sense of "muted." There is some debate as to whether poems II, III and IV should be considered poems of grief. In these poems about disappointment, treachery and loss, emotion is filtered through mythical allusion. Attention is drawn, obliquely, to her situation. The account in Ballade II of the Roman hero whose valour was not rewarded by the state, might be seen as a reference to her feelings that she was not given her own due after the death of her father and husband. In Ballade III, the story of Hero and Leander, the narrator comments:

> ...Mais Fortune qui a fait maint oultrage,
> Et a mains bons assez de meschiefs donne,

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example, in Ballade 13, she compares herself, in an extended metaphor, to a captainless ship adrift on the sea, buffeted by the wind:

> C'est fort chose qu'une nef se conduise,
> Es fortunes de mer, a tout par elle,
> Sanz maronnier ou patron qui la duise,
> et la voile soit au vent qui ventelle;

And in the first of the Rondeaux (1396) she again uses comparisons to express her grief:

> Com turtre suis sanz per toute seulete
> Et com brebis sanz pastour esgarée;
> Car par la mort fus jadis separée
> De mon doulz per, qu'a toute heure regrette
> (1-4)[56]

These conventionalized expressions of grief differ strikingly from the more immediate expression of grief in the subsequent Ballades that introduce the long, central series of mourning poems.

Fist en la mer trop tempestueux orage... (III,13-15) The "mer" in question is, on one level, the sea in which Leander drowns, but on another level it is undoubtedly the "sea of life" made tumultuous for the speaker by fortune, an image to which she will return again and again.

In the fourth Ballade, Christine reviews famous treacheries: the fall of the city of Troy, the betrayal of Arthur by Mordred, the story of Hector and Achilles. One senses, in this mini-series of poems, Christine's bitterness regarding the difficulties she had experienced since her widowhood and about the many injustices to which she had been subjected.

[56]She also compares herself to a turtle dove in Ballade XIV.

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In the first strophe of Ballade V, Christine/Je introduces the conventional "no greater grief topos" with dynamic language that carries a powerful impact:

Hé! Dieux, quel dueil, quel rage, quel meschief,
Quel desconfort, quel dolente aventure,
Pour moy hélas, qui torment ay si grief,
Qu'oncques plus grant ne souffri creature! (V, 1-4)

The repetition of "quel" moves the lyric forward, punctuating the emotion. The strophe contains another conventionalized motif: Christine/je curses her life and expresses the desire to die:

Car d'autre riens nulle je n'ay envie
Fors de morir; de plus vivre n'ay cure
Quant cil est mort qui me tenoit en vie (V, 6-8)

O dure mort, or as tu trait a chief
Tous mes bons jours, ce m'est chose molt dure,
Quant m'as osté cil qui estoit le chief
De tous mes biens et de ma nourriture... (V, 9-12)

This "nourriture" can be taken metaphorically but, it can also be taken very literally. Even in a poem which contains fairly conventional material, it is Christine/Moi's status as widow - without companion and protector - that sets her apart from her male contemporaries.

The sixth Ballade is the apogee of the expression of Christine's grief:

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Dueil engoisseux, rage desmesurée,
Grief desespoir, plein de forsennement,
Langour sanz fin, vie maleürée
Pleine de plour, d'engoisse et de tourment,
Tenebreux corps sus le point de perir,
Ay sans cesser, continuellement;
Et si ne puis ne garir ne morir. (VI, 1-8)

Christine/Je describes her emotional and mental state as an illness from which she can neither recover nor die. One can also consider it a liminal state - one not uncommon to the grief experience, one occupied by the female lamenter mentioned earlier. The grief expressed in the first strophe of the sixth Ballade is beyond bounds, her rage is "desmesurée." In a state of "grief desespoir," Christine/je describes the physical manifestations of her great grief: she sighs profoundly and exhibits a "morne mantien." Christine's language is very strong here. In addition to describing an extreme emotional state, "rage" also means rabies, which is deadly, violent and painful, once again bringing to mind the idea of grief as illness. She is full of "desespoir" and "forsennement" - both terms that describe a states of great agitation and excess of emotion. In the third strophe she exclaims:

Soussi, anuy qui tous jours a durée,
Aspre veillier, tressaillir en dorment,
Labour en vain, a chiere alangourée

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En grief travail infortunéement (VI, 17-20)

Christine/Je exhibits familiar signs of mourning: depression, sleep disturbances, the desire to die, inability to concentrate.[57] Although she refers to her state as "travail," which here has the sense of "suffering" or "pain," we cannot help being reminded of Freud's "grief work," Christine's meaning and our understanding coming together to suggest that mourning is an active, exhausting and all-consuming process. "Seulette Suy," almost exactly at the mid-point of the cycle, is perhaps the most effective of these poems. In this poem, the technique of repetition, exploited in Ballade V is used to remarkable effect, as we can see in the first strophe:

> Seulete suy et seulete vueil estre,
> Seulete m'a mon doulz ami laissiée,
> Seulete suy, sanz compagnon ne maistre,
> Seulete suy, dolente et courrouciée,
> Seulete suy en languour mesaisiée,
> Seulete suy plus que nulle esgarée,
> Seulete suy sanz ami demourée. (XI, 1-7)

According to Kenneth Varty, although repetition is a common enough rhetorical device, "no courtly poem is as daring as this one in its repetition of one word..."[58] The use of

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[57]These signs or symptoms of mourning are familiar in the literature I am discussing, in the images studied above and in contemporary clinical descriptions of mourning.

[58]Kenneth Varty, Ballades: Rondeaux and Virelais: An Anthology (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1965).

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anaphora seems to translate an obsession through which one gets a sense of the intensity of the speaker's loneliness and isolation. If we accept that both Christine's Alain's voices participate in the codes of expression, and that their grief is "scripted," why does the grief in Christine's poems seem so much more vivid, immediate and oppressive than that in Chartier's poems? Is there a "female" script, as opposed to a "male" script? Is Christine/Je's voice "freer," less controlled than Alain's? Is it a matter of poetic or rhetorical technique?[59] Where does Christine/Je's voice of grief come from? Is it a "female" voice, perhaps stemming from the tradition of ritual lamentation discussed above?[60]

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[59]I'm thinking of the use of frames -two of Chartier's three poems discussed above are "framed." Only in the "Complainte" is the "Je" of the poem expressing his own grief over the death of a loved one. Neither the Cent Ballades or the Rondeaux are framed, but make up integral parts of the unframed whole that is the anthology.

[60]In addition to E. Jane Burns's indispensable study, Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), much work has been done on gender and voice in medieval poetry. See the essays collected in Vox Feminae: Studies in Medieval Women's Song John F. Plummer, ed. (Kalamazoo, Medieval Institute Publications, 1992; Meg Bogin, The Women Troubadours (New York: The Paddington Press, 1976); Jean-Charles Huchet, "Les Femmes troubadours ou la Voix critique," Littérature 51 (1983): 59-90; Lee Patterson, "Feminine Rhetoric and the Politics of Subjectivity: La Vieille and the Wife of Bath," Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception, Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot, eds. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992) 316-358; Deborah Sinnreich-Levi, "The Female Voice of the Male Poet: Eustache Deschamps' Voix Féminisé, [sic] Voices in Translation: The Authority of "Olde Bookes" in Medieval Literature: Essays in Honor of Helaine Newstead (New York: AMS, 1992) 207-218. Among the works treating the question of voice in Christine studies, see Liliane Dulac, "The Representation and Functions of Feminine

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If, as Teresa De Lauretis suggests, subjectivity is based on experience, defined as "a complex of habits resulting from the semiotic interaction of 'outer world' and 'inner world,' the continuous engagement of a self or subject in social reality,"[61] Christine's voice is, indeed a female voice of grief that both precedes and emerges from her self-construction as a widow. Certainly, as Barbara K. Altmann has

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Speech in Christine de Pizan's Livre de Trois Vertus, trans. Christine Reno, in Reinterpreting Christine de Pizan, Earl Jeffrey Richards, ed. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1992): 13-22; Lynne Huffer, "Christine de Pisan: Speaking Like a Woman/Speaking Like a Man," New Images of Medieval Women: Essays Toward a Cultural Anthropology, Edelgard Dubruck, ed. (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press) 61-71; Anne Paupert, "Le 'Je' Lyrique féminin dans l'oeuvre Poétique de Christine de Pizan," Et c'est la fin pour quoi nous sommes ensemble, vol 3. 1057-1071; Earl Jeffrey Richards, "Christine de Pizan and the Question of Feminist Rhetoric," Teaching Language Through Literature 22.2 (1983): 15-24.

[61]Teresa De Lauretis, Alice Doesn't (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984) 182. Other feminist discussions of subjectivity include: Linda Alcoff, "Cultural Feminism versus Post-Structuralism: The Identity Crisis in Feminist Theory," Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 13.3 (1988): 405-436; Catherine Belsey, "Constructing the Subject. Deconstructing the Text," in Feminisms: An Anthology of Literary Theory and Criticism, Robyn R Warhol and Diane Price Herndl, eds. (New York: Macmillan, 1992) pp. eresa De Lauretis, "Feminst Studies/Critical Studies: Issues, Terms, and Contexts," in Feminist Studies, Critical Studies, Teresa de Lauretis, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986) 1-19 and "Upping the Ani(sic) in Feminist Theory," in Conflicts in Feminism, Marianne Hirsch & Evelyn Fox Keller, eds. (New York: Routledge, 1990) 255-270; Diana Fuss, Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference (New York: Routledge, 1989); Elizabeth Grosz, "Subject," in Feminism and Psychoanalysis: A Critical Dictionary, Elizabeth Wright, ed. (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1992) 409-416; Amina Mama, Beyond the Masks. Race, Gender and Subjectivity (London: Routledge, 1995); Patricia Waugh, Feminine Fictions: Revisiting the Postmodern (London: Routledge, 1989).

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recently demonstrated,[62] and as Kenneth Varty suggested before her,[63] Christine's anthology is carefully arranged - her grieving "self" is constructed discursively, in language. Since language is not transparent, we cannot explain the poetry on the basis of the "experience" behind it, yet we need not discount certain socio-historical elements that may have entered into that self-construction, such as the status of widows in the society of which Christine was a part, or the traditionally female role of lamenter. By the same token, it is completely possible that male subjects could have access to those codes and appropriate them for whatever purpose they wished, as we saw with the four grieving ladies in Alain Chartier's poem.

In control of the ensemble and its arrangement, Christine self-consciously arranges her Cent Ballades to provide a self-portrait as grieving widow,[64] but her control doesn't end

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[62]In "L'Art de l'autoportrait littéraire dans les Cent Ballades de Christine de Pizan," Une femme de lettres au Moyen Age: études autour de Christine de Pizan, Liliane Dulac & Bernard Ribémont, eds. (Orléans: Paradigme, 1995) 327-336.

[63]In "L'Unité des 'Cent Balades,'" in The City of Scholars: New Approaches to Christine de Pizan, Margarete Zimmermann and Dina De Rentis, eds. (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1994) 97-106.

[64]In a recent article, "Widowhood, Sexuality, and Gender in Christine de Pizan," The Romanic Review 86.2 (1995): 339-353, as in his subsequent paper on the same topic, delivered at the Center for Medieval Studies in Binghamton, New York, Kevin Brownlee asserts that Christine's self-construction as a virtuous widow by which she distances herself from the position of "sexually desiring subject," works in conjunction with an assumed subject-osition of "concerned mother."

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there. In the Livre du Chemin de Long Estude written in 1403, the year following the earliest of the manuscripts containing the Cent Ballades, Christine reiterates the experience of her grief:

> Si fus de grief dueil confuse
> Et devins comme recluse,
> Mate morne, seule et lasse,
> Ne pas un seul pas n'alasse
> Que n'eusse la lerme a l'ueil,
> Demenant mon mortel dueil (119-124)

She claims that during the thirteen years since she became a widow her grief has not abated,[65]

> Mon grief dueil renouvelle

According to Brownlee, Christine "rewrites" the "male" model of literary production in which "penetration serves as the basic corporeal activity," replacing it with a "corrective maternal model" and with the activity of "gestation." (352) It is precisely this kind of biological essentialism that I am trying to avoid here by focusing not on Christine's female body as the source of her voice, but the social position she is forced into by virtue of inhabiting a female body, and on the way she negotiates and manipulates gendered categories to construct her voices.

[65]One of the hallmarks of Christine's grief is its long duration, which is woven into her self-construction as widow. In Ballade IX Christine/Je says, adressing La Mort: Il a cinq ans que je t'ay regraittée/Souventes fois, a trés pleureux visage/Depuis le jour que me fu joye ostée,/Et que je cheus de franchise en servage" (IX, 9-12). Five years have passed, and Christine/Je is still suffering from her great grief. In the twentieth Ballade, we have another indication of the passage of time: Comment feroye mes dis Beaulx,/ne bons, ne gracieux,/Quant des ans a près de dix Que mon cuer ne fu joyeux"(XX 1-4). Ten years have passed, yet she is still not fully in control of her emotions: "Si ay bien droit se je dis/ Mes plains malencolieux..." (XX, 15-16).

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Chascun jour ne plus ne mains

Que s'il n'eust que un an ou mains

Positioned "outside" her poems, Christine reasserts her grief in another context - as a starting point on a chemin that is both cosmic and inward.

In La Mutacion de Fortune, presented to the Duke of Burgundy on January 1, 1404, Christine returns to the image of the shipwreck seen in Ballade 13. In a section of the poem called "Ce dit comment elle perdi le patron de sa nef." Christine tells of the death of her husband. The third person "elle" of the caption, shifts to a first person "je" in the body of the poem. Here the split between Christine, speaking subject and Christine subject of the poem is explicit. Even within the first person narration, her interventions are striking. She announces:

Helas! Or est temps que je compte

Le deuil, qui ma joye surmonte....

She narrates the scene of the tempest and the loss of her captain/husband and describes her state:

La gisoie toute estendue

Mort desirant; en l'attendue

Si cryoie par tel randon

Qu'il vous fust bien avis adon

Que ma voix, qui ne se taisoit,

Nues et ciel e tout tresperçoit,

Ne reconfort rien n'i valoit,

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Car la perte trop me douloit.
En ce point moult longuement fus,
Ou tous plaisirs mis en refus,
Sanz espoir de jamais avoir,
Solas, ne joye, a dire voir.... (1287-1298)

In this passage, the narrator-heroine speaks of her voice - a voice that would not be silenced, but that carried upwards through clouds and sky. This affirmation of the unfettered voice of grief is soon to be qualified.

In L'Avision Christine (1405), Christine returns to her early mourning poems, "des complaintes plourables regrettant mon ami mort et le bon temps passe." She complains to Dame Philosophy of her past woes, "o doulce maistresse quantes larmes souspirs plains lamentacions et griefs pointures cuides tu quant ie estoye seulette a mon retraitt que ie eusse et gitasse en ce tendis..."[66] Dame Philosophy admonishes her for being self-indulgent, wallowing in her grief, and tells her to stop whining like a child whose father has given it a light tap with a rod. Christine thus both refers back to her grief and uses it as an example of inappropriate grief, thereby glossing her earlier poems. With this textual culmination of her mourning and its inherent self-critique, Christine shifts position, aligning herself with the prevailing pedagogy of grief and its prohibitions against the excessive display of

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[66]Christine de Pizan, L'Avision Christine, Mary-Louise Towner, ed. (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1932).

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emotion. As we have seen, to display grief that transgressed certain boundaries was viewed as a denial of the doctrine of salvation and a rejection of God's will. The 'outer world' represented by the demands of society of which she is a part has impinged on the 'inner world' of Christine's emotion. The pragmatic Christine imposes silence on the grieving voice of the feeling Christine.

How do we account for these many grieving Christines? And why is this analysis a feminist one? The decentering of the subject, or in Christine's case, the fragmenting of Je/Christine's voice into many different subjects, each of which speaks in a different voice, is at the heart of feminist theories of subjectivity.[67] Through her interaction with the material forces in her culture that largely determined the circumstances of her life as widow and through her continued analysis of that experience she exemplifies the feminist conception of subjectivity as formulated by Lauretis. In the Mutacion she momentarily attempts to escape those material

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[67]I would suggest that those critics who explain Christine's strategies as "masking" a "real intention" are still trying to find a unitary subject, assuming that "Je" and "Christine" are the same and are stable. Unlike the cases that E.Jane Burns describes in Bodytalk where there is an unnamed author whose work comes to us in fragmentary form, we have, in Christine's case, a name, a biography and a manuscript tradition in which she played an active role. It is, therefore tempting to ask the "real Christine" to stand up. Feminist theory reminds us that there is no unitary subject - there is no 'real' Christine who is attempting to evade us, she merely keeps changing. What is so fascinating about Christine is that she is aware that she is changing, and remains in textual dialogue with her past selves.

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forces by becoming a male subject, perhaps believing that by speaking as a male subject her voice would become more "centered" and carry more authority – be more effective. But she abandons that position, choosing instead to subdue her grieving voices and to take pragmatic action – to act as a buffer - internalizing her grief and advising other widows how to survive by internalizing theirs, as we saw in the Epistre and in Chapter Three in the Book of the Three Virtues In the process she becomes a "Widow" (with a capital W), removed from the original site of her grief, whose function is to console and give advice to other women like her. Her grieving voices continue to resonate, muted but not silenced.

Charles, duc d'Orléans is another fifteenth-century mourner who wrote poems, his were both French and English. He wrote his poetry during his long captivity in England following his capture at the battle of Agincourt.[68] The identity of the woman he was mourning in his French "Cycle de

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[68]Among the large number of studies devoted to Charles d'Orléans, are: David A. Fein, Charles d'Orléans (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1983);John Fox, The Lyric Poetry of Charles d'Orléans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969); Norma Lorre Goodrich, Charles d'Orléans: A Study of Themes in his French and English Poetry (Geneva: Droz, 1967); Anne Tukey Harrison, Charles d'Orléans and the Allegorical Mode (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975); Enid McLeod, Charles d'Orléans: Prince and Poet (New York: Viking, 1970); Alice Plance, Charles d'Orléans ou le recherche d'un langage (Paris: Champion, 1975), Daniel Poirion, Le Lexique de Charles d'Orléans dans les Ballades (Geneva: Droz, 1967). See Deborah Hubbard Nelson, Charles d'Orléans: An Analytical Bibliography (London: Grant and Cutler, 1990). On the English poems, see Mary-Jo Arn, Fortunes Stabilines: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love: A Critical Edition (Binghamton: MRTS, 1994).

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la Mort"[69] has provided grounds for debate among literary historians. Was she Bonne d'Armagnac, Charles's second wife who died sometime before 1465?[70] Or, as Norma L. Goodrich claims, was he still mourning his first wife, Isabelle de Bavière?[71] Jean-Charles Payen, writing in 1984, claims that the poems were written to honor the memory of a young English woman whom Charles calls Beauté, who died in 1437.[72] Critic John Fox concludes that although the question "appeals to our natural curiosity" it is "no more than an incidental matter which contributes little to our appreciation of this poetry."[73] What is important is the grief expressed in the poems and how those emotions are voiced. Unlike the case of Christine where the identity and relationship of the deceased, her husband, had a direct bearing on the circumstances of her life, the identity of Charles' lady is less central.

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[69]Generally considered to be Ballades 57-70. I will be quoting from Pierre Champion's edition of the Poésies 2 vols. (Paris: Champion, 1923).

[70]Enid McLeod believes that it was Bonne, Charles of Orleans, 180; Sara Sturm-Maddox, in "Charles d'Orléans devant la critique - vers une poétique de l'allégorie," Oeuvres et critiques 1 (1980), also suggests that the lady was Bonne, but that she might have been "une ou plusieurs autres femmes de sa connaissance." (10)

[71]Goodrich, Charles d'Orléans, 107.

[72]Jean-Charles Payen, "Charles d'Orléans et la poétique de l'essentiel," Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à Alice Planche (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1984), 364.

[73]John Fox, The Lyric Poetry of Charles d'Orléans (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969) 156.

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Charles's voice is often described as "melancholic," once again reminding us of Schiesari's contention that male melancholy is privileged over female lamentation. By his use of allegory, Charles' voice is certainly coded differently than Christine's and even than Alain Chartier's.[74] Although Christine uses figurative language - metaphor and comparison - her Cent Ballades do not depend, as her later prose works do, on an allegorical frame. Charles d'Orléans use of allegory is entirely different. Although he does not explicitly create a frame, according to Alice Planche, he creates a "paysage allégorique, "made up of "éléments empruntés à l'expérience du poète ou à sa culture." Planche maintains that even "les faits de routine et les événements notoires reflètent le milieux social du prince." She continues, "ils sont courtois, et n'envisageait la condition humaine que sous l'habit, voire sous le masque imposé par la vie du cour et par l'image qu'elle adopte elle même."[75] Could the difference in the voices of the three poets discussed here – Chartier, a clerkly nephew of a court poet and historiographer; Charles d'Orléans, the prince born and raised at court, and Christine,

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[74]On Charles d'Orléans' use of allegory, see: Ann Tukey Harrison, Charles d'Orléans and the Allegorical Mode; Alice Planche, Charles d'Orléans ou la recherche d'un langage; Daniel Poirion, "La Nef d'Esperance: Symbole et Allégorie chez Charles d'Orléans," Mélanges de langue et de littérature offerts à Jean Frappier, 913-928; and Susan Stakel, "Allegory and Artistic Production in the Poetry of Charles d'Orléans," Fifteenth-Century Studies 14 (1988): 161-178.

[75]Alice Planche, Charles d'Orléans ou la recherche..., 311.

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"l'Etrangère," as Jacqueline Cerquiglini calls her,[76] with access to courtly circles and reaping many of the benefits of them, but still an outsider – simply be a (textual) reflection of the extent of the "courtliness" of their exposure? Are their poetic voices the mirror of their surroundings? This is just as unlikely as is the statement that their poems are "sincere" and faithfully reflect the innermost emotions of the "moi" of the poet.[77] It is in the interaction of the subject and her environment that the multiple subject positions emerge. The balance of positions shifts along with the changing conditions of both the emotional and practical life of the poet and the society in which she finds herself. It is always possible that a given subject-position is a complete construction on the part of the poet who self-consciously manipulates the relationship of subjectivity and voice to "the world".

Charles's cycle of mourning is much briefer than Christine's. The fourteen ballades trace the poet's experience from the illness and loss of his lady through the reawakening of hope. Several of the themes we have seen thus far recur in the poems. In Ballade LVII, "Las! Mort qui t'a fait si hardie," the poet curses death and expresses the desire to

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[76]Jacqueline Cerquiglini, "L'Etrangère," Revue des langues romanes 92.2 (1988): 239-251.

[77]On the problem of sincerity, see Leonard Johnson, note 40 above.

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die:

Puis que tu as prins ma maistresse,
Prens moy aussi son serviteur,
Car j'ayme mieulx prouchainement
Mourir que languir en tourment,
En paine, soussi et doleur! (5-9)

The poet is abandoned :"Las! je suy seul, sans compaignie!/ Adieu ma Dame, ma lyesse!/Or est nostre amour departie...." The prayer for the dead is inscribed within the poem, as the poet promises the lady that he will continue to serve her after death by offering prayers for her soul:

Non pour tan, je vous fais promesse
Que de prieres, a largesse,
Morte vous serviray de cueur,
Sans oublier aucunement;
Et vous regretteray souvent
En paine, soussi et doleur. (22-27)

As we can see from its opening strophe, Ballade LXIII, "En la forest d'Ennuyeuse Tristesse," is highly imagistic and, at the same time very touching, demonstrating that "conventional" or coded language does not preclude the expression or (transmission) of emotion.

En la forest d'Ennuyeuse Tristesse.
Un jour m'avint qu'a par moy cheminoye,
Si rencontray l'Amoureuse Deesse
Qui m'appelle, demandant ou j'loye.

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Je respondy que, par Fortune, estoye
Mis en exil en ce bois, long temps a,
Et qu'a bon doit appeller me povoye
L'omme esgaré que ne scet ou il va. (1-8)

The poem is an extended metaphor in which the poet inhabits his grief - it is his prison. Wandering aimlessly in the forest, he encounters "L'Amoureuse Deesse," and the poem takes the form of a dialogue. The goddess tells him that if she knew why he was so unhappy, she would help him. He responds that he has lost his guide:

— Hélas! dis je, souverainne Princesse,
Mon fait savés, pourquoy le vous diroye?
C'est par la Mort qui fait a tous rudesse,
Qui m'a tollu celle que tant amoye,
En qui estoit tout l'espoir que j'avoye,
Qui me guidoit, si bien m'accompagna
En son vivant, que point ne me trouvoye
L'omme esgaré qui ne scet ou il va. (17-24)

Not unlike Christine, the poet has lost a companion, without whom he is blind and cannot find his way. However, the guide - his dead lady - is a spiritual guide and not, as in Christine's case, the provider of her physical comfort and those of her children.

In Ballade LXIX, the poet's grief is expressed through the narration of a figurative funeral ceremony that takes place in the "moustier amoureux," which might be understood as

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the imagination, or even the figurative "heart" of the poet.

J'ay fait l'obseque de ma Dame
Dedens le moustier amoureux,
Et le service pour son ame
A chanté Penser Doloreux;
Mains sierges de Soupirs Piteux
Ont esté en son luminaire;
Aussi j'ay fait la tombe faire
De Regrez, tous de lermes pains:
Et tout entour, moult richement,
Est escript: cy gist vrayement
Le tresor de tous biens mondains. (1-11)

This poem is a fine example of how a speaking subject can fragment his or her voice into personified abstractions. "Penser Doloreux" takes an active role, chanting the funeral mass, while "Soupirs Piteux" provided the "luminaire" - the illumination that surrounded every late medieval "représentation." The "Je" commissioned the tomb in which was inscribed an epitaph that incorporates the Ballade's refrain. The tangible, concrete aspects of the funeral rites discussed in Chapter Six are internalized and translated into an intensely personal experience. Each element of the burial gains added significance. The conventional praise of the dead beloved finds its concretization in the tomb slab, inlaid with blue sapphires, the "gem of loyalty," and "blessed" gold. The poet finds comfort in the belief that his beloved has been

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taken up to heaven to be with God and the saints, and concludes with an echo of the memento mori:

> De riens ne servent plours ne plains:
> Tous mourrons, ou tart ou briefment:
> Nul ne peut garder longuement
> Le tresor de tous biens mondains (34-37).

Does the expression of grief in Charles's poems represent, as so many critics have suggested, culmination of an "elevated," "courtly" style which he inherited from the troubadours? Sara Sturm-Maddox asserts that until the mid-1950s "la critique s'est felicitée de trouver en Charles d'Orléans un représentant si distingué d'une poesié surannée et en voie de disparition."[78]. Most critics have based this judgement on the "allegorical" nature of Charles' poetry, suggesting that Charles's poetic voice is passed through a "neutralizing" or distancing, screen of allegory, whereas Christine's mourning voice is more direct and immediate, more closely linked to the subjective grieving "I". Yet, as we have seen, the language of both poets is figurative – each employs metaphor, extended or limited, comparison, and personification.[79] To what, then, can we attribute the marked difference that we hear in the

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[78]Sara Sturm-Maddox, "Charles d'Orléans devant la critique...," 9.

[79]On Christine's use of allegory, see Maureen Quilligan, The Allegory of Female Authority: Christine de Pizan's *Cité des Dames* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991); A. Strubel, "Le Style allégorique de Christine," Autour de Christine de Pisan, 357-372;

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voices of the two poets? Is it found on the level of vocabulary? Christine's repeated use of the words "grief," "dueil," "douleur," "rage" can be compared to Charles's relatively restrained use of the same terms.[80] What role does gender play in these differences? We are forced again to confront the binary opposition of uncontrollably lamenting female vs. the restrained, melancholic, elegiac grief of the male. It is unfortunate that we have only one "female" subject with which to compare so many "male" voices. Yet, as I have shown, Christine herself rejects her earlier voice, the voice she used when she was truly abandoned and when her abandonment had social and financial ramifications, when, according to Tabarlet-Schock, "En tant que veuve, elle se sentit dès le début abandonée, déclassée."[81] We see, then, a difference in these voices not so much based on biological gender, but based on position. Charles's lady's death saddens him, but it doesn't fundamentally alter his life. Rather than uncovering any "essentialist" female voice, we come back to the social aspects of gender and the construction of selves that results from it. Christine speaks not with a "female" voice, but rather "like a woman," because it is her gender that has

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[80]On the use of vocabulary in the works of each of these poets, see Alice Planche, Charles d'Orléans ou la recherche d'un langage; Marie-Dominique Taberlet-Schock, "La Souffrance et la Joie dans les Cent Ballades et rondeaux de Christine de Pisan: Tradition littéraire et expérience personnelle," diss., Rice University, 1981.

[81]Tabarlet- Shock, La Souffrance et la joie," 129.

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caused her to be a widow.

If Christine and Charles recover from and survive their grief, this is not the case for the lover in the "Complainte de l'Amant Trespassé de dueil," (1441-1449) a poem attributed to Pierre de Hauteville, in which we are made to understand that, as in Chartier's Complainte, "l'amant" ultimately dies from grief. The lover is "trepassé," which may be understood as "overcome," or "losing one's senses," and also means "deceased," death representing the ultimate loss of control.

As the poem (which follows the basic pattern of the poetic complainte on the death of a loved one) opens, the lover insults Death, whom he blames for taking away his beloved. The poem then moves on from the praise of the lady and of her many qualities, to a description of the generalized grief for the lady, and then to the depiction of the relationship between the lady and the lover. In the last five of the 19 stanzas the lover expresses his wish and his intention to die.

In the tenth stanza the lover expresses his great grief. He has, indeed lost his senses,

> Tant doloreux suis, quant il m'en souvient,
> Que je ne sçay pres que mon sens devient
> Ne ce que faiz, goute ne me revient,
> Si non que soit a gemir ou pleurer; (145-148)

He is not aware of his actions, aside from sighing and crying, and like Christine, his grief has physical

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manifestations.

La desormais emploier me convient
Ne me chault qui s'en va ne qui vient.
Tout mon souhait au rebours si advient
Et ay du mal tant qu'en puis soupirer.
Ne n'est desire qui me sceust inspirer
A joie avoir, mais avant rempirer.
Courroux m'assault jusqu'au desesperer, (149-155)

His strength will not last much longer:

Grief sur tourment, mal sur mal me survient
Si m'est force, pour ma vie expirer-
Qui ne puet pas mais longuement durer-
Me departir et de tous poins tiere
En ung desert ou nul desir ne vient. (156-160)

In the next stanza we again find the "no greater grief topos": Ainsi me vois le plus desconforté,/Courcé, marry, dolent et tourmenté/Que feust onques en ce monde a porté...." The intensity of the lover's voice lies somewhere between that heard in Alain Chartier's Complainte and Christine's ballades, suggesting, perhaps, a shift towards a "feminization" of grief, taken in its negative sense. Closely resembling Chartier's Complainte in structure and narrative technique, the language in the later poem is much more evocative of the lover's heightened emotional state and his desperation. How might the contemporary audience have reacted to this poem,

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which was rather popular at the time? How would they have reacted to the fact that the lover's grief was so intense that he died from it, a transgression of the boundaries set by the pedagogy of grief? Or were those boundaries themselves beginning to shift? Unlike Etienne du Castel, the lover is a purely fictitious character; his voice is entirely constructed. Christine's ballades, although they participate in a formal poetic tradition, are infused with her "own" voice, albeit the voice she wants us to hear. The Lover's subjectivity, inscribed within a poetic tradition, is purely literary and he carries forward the voice of the tradition to which he belongs. The lover has to be martyred; he must die.

Like Christine's and Charles's poems, Georges Chastellain's L'Oultré d'amour[82] has some grounding in historical fact. The poem, which dates from 1450, was written to memorialize the grief of the poet's friend Pierre de Brézé over the death of his lady, a French princess. The narrator describes his friend's live ["vie"] as being "Triste la plus dessoubs la lune." The long poem consists of a dream vision in which the dreamer enters a secluded place that shelters a temple to Love. Inside the temple is a bier surrounded by candles where a chevalier grieves uncontrollably for his beloved, he himself in danger of death from his excessive emotion:

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[82]Georges Chastellain, Oeuvres, Vol. 6, Kervyn de Lettenhove, ed. Bracketed references are to page numbers.

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Douleurs et cris à tel effort
Que nul n'y sçeust trouver le bout...
...
Et convenoit par surondance
D'amertume trop entassée,
Que la insouffrable abondance
De douleur et de desplaisance,
Parmy les yeux fust enchassée;
Ou s'elle ne prenoit passée
Parmy les yeux pour estre hors,
Le coeur crevoit dedans le corps. (84-85)

The description of the chevalier's grief recalls that of the quatre dames of Chartier's poem, only the behavior being described is that of a man, and not a woman. The chevalier continues to mourn, and then laments:

Lors rendoit larmes une mer
Et ternissoit en plours sa face,
Et puis par un regret amer
Reprit arrière à reclamer:
"Hémy! hé Dieu! hémy! hélasse![83]
N'aurai-je jamais tant de grâce

[83]The words, "Hémy, Hé Dieu, Hémy! Hélasse!" are found in many poetic and dramatic versions of the grief of the Virgin Mary at the foot of the cross. I would suggest here, and explore further in Chapter Nine, that the "shift" in the mode of expression of grief and the "feminization" of grief I posited earlier, may have been influenced by the ubiquitous Calvary scenes and the doctrine of the Compassio of Mary that was becoming more widespread.

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Que je puisse mourir plourant
Plustost que vivre ainsi mourant!" (85)

His tears fall uncontrollably. Like the other mourners discussed here, he would prefer death to living with his grief. In a long debate between the two characters, the squire repeatedly attempts to counter the excessive emotion of the knight, telling him he understands his grief and doesn't blame him, but that he shouldn't dwell on his misery, because "trop y penser nuit et griève." To the Chevalier's reiterated desire to die, the squire responds, "Désirer mort pour sa descharge, Cest un droit acquest de folie" (104). The Chevalier says:

Je perds vraiement sens et advis,
Pour cause qui assez m'excuse;
Et quoy que chascun meurt envis,
Sy m'est-ce ennuy que tant je vis,
Pour user des regrets dont je use.
La vie certes m'est confuse,
Et seule mort pourra jamais
Me donner espoir de vraie paix. (105-106)

To which the squire responds:

Il ne faut guères grand science
Pour parler mots désespérés;
Car felle et fière conscience
Donnée à toute impatience,
Les trouve tous desmesurés

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Dont vous péchez et vous errez
Moult envers Dieu d'user des termes,
Non propres à vos maux et lermes. (106)

The arguments of the squire have no effect on the chevalier, who continues to grieve excessively. Finally (without going so far as to tell the chevalier that he is acting "like a woman,") the squire finds an argument that will sway him - he appeals to the knight's sense of honor. By continuing to grieve so obsessively, the chevalier is acting against his honor. The chevalier, who understands this argument, moderates his grief and agrees to go on with his life. He says:

J'ay un honneur, un corps, une âme;
Des troys, les deux saulves voudroie.
Le corps s'en aille après ma dame,
J'en suis content; mais tout infâme
De perdre mon honneur seroie. (125)

Just as Dame Philosophy - who can be seen as Christine's projected double - teaches her to moderate her grief, the Chevalier's squire acts as the mouthpiece for the pedagogy of grief and helps him to bring his emotions under control.

The Chevalier does not, however, respond to the traditional religious and theological proscriptions against excessive grief, but answers to another code of behavior: the chivalric code of conduct.

One could speculate as to what this might indicate, perhaps nostalgic yearning for a glorious past in a time when,

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after nearly a century of most un-chivalric warfare, such values were called into question. The fact that the squire was able to articulate both sets of values - religious and chivalric - and to choose from a repertoire of possible arguments, is also not insignificant, and may indicate the ease with which such codes could be manipulated to affect desired results, to reinforce control over the behavior of the individual by using an argument that will strike a chord within that particular person, pointing to a multiplicity of co-existing value systems, perhaps signalling a society in the midst of a crisis of values.

Of these mourners, then, three, Christine, Charles and the chevalier, lose themselves temporarily, moving through the dark passage of grief. Two of them "find" themselves again, with the help of an advisor (Charles's grief lessens with the passage of time) and are able to go on with their lives, changed by the experience, able to "reinvest" their energies. In her subsequent writings, Christine will not emphasize the emotional component of her widowhood, or if she does, it will be to help others overcome their own grief. The story of the Chevalier, who rallied to preserve his honor, will be spread far and wide by our evesdropping poet, whose account will serve as a lesson, itself becoming a part of the pedagogy of grief. Only Chartier's and Pierre de Hauteville's Amants die from their unmoderated grief. They do not learn their lesson - but remain outside the pedagogy of grief. We doubt,

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considering the pedagogy we have reviewed, that God will grant their final wishes and reunite them with their ladies in death.

The final poem I consider here is the "Regretz de la Dame Infortunee sur le trespas de son tres-cher frere unique," by Jean Lemaire de Belges, in which the poet assumes the voice of Marguerite de Bourbon, lamenting the death of her brother, Philippe-le-Beau, dead at Burgos in 1505. According to Paul Spaak, Lemaire placed the words in the mouth of the duchess because "son chagrin personnel l'inspira si peu..." According to Spaak: "Ces quatorze douzains expriment une douleur qui fut réelle, sous les formes et les images les plus conventionnelles, et répètent les lieux communs les plus usés de l'oraison funèbre: qualités hors ligne du défunt, invectives contre la mort, participation de toute la nature au deuil des survivants..."[84] For Spaak, the only noteworthy aspect of this poem is its virtuostic use of rhyme and meter.

For us, however, this piece is particularly interesting - a poem written by a male poet that attempts to appropriate, or at least mimic, the voice of a woman. The poem begins with a figurative evocation of the emotional "setting" of the poem:

> Soit le iour noir, la lumiere obrageuse,
> Le temps obscur de noirceur outrageuse,
> L'air turbulent, le ciel teint de bruïne:

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[84]Paul Spaak, Jean Lemaire de Belges, sa vie, son oeuvre et ses meilleures pages (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1926) 56.

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Soit tousiours nuict pluuieuse et fangeuse,

Pour deplorer la mort tresdommageuse (187)[85]

The internal universe is compared to the natural world - an allegorical strategy that allows the poem to be read both literally and figuratively. In the second strophe, the voice of the "duchesse" is heard:

Seule, dolente, amortie, éplorée.

Comme orpheline et veuve mal parée,

Suis-je à présent en ce déplaisant monde,

Sans lieu, sans ris et sans joie égarée.

Comme à Dieu plaît ainsi que malheurée,

Et tout par Mort détestable et immonde! (188)

We abruptly switch from an evocative, shadowy world, not unlike that created by Charles d'Orléans, to a straightforward, declaration of misery, as we saw in much of Christine's poetry. The duchess describes her own grieving voice, saying that she does not indulge in loud lamentation: "Encore sera mon bruit sombre et humile/Non comparable au dueil, mais dissimile...." She also describes her appearance, "Tant suis le chef des peu heureuses femmes,/Sombre et piteuse en douloureux achesmes: Sans or, sans pourpre et precieuses gemmes..." (188). And the grief in this poem is rather restrained. She laments the sad misfortunes of her family and names herself, "Ains dis et vueil, selon ma destinée,/Que mon

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[85]References are to page numbers in the Oeuvres de Jean Lemaire de Belges. J. Stecher, ed. (Louvain: J. Lefever, 1882-91). Vol. 3.

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nom soit, La dame inforunee,/Dame de dueil tousiours triste et marrie." (189) After several rather conventional set-pieces of grief, including praise for the deceased, the curse of Death, a farewell to joy and the grief of nature, the death of the "pasteur" abandoning his creatures to despair, the poem closes with a striking image:

> Deuant mes yeux se presente un abyme
> Confus, estrange, et sans sort unanime,
> Des cas futurs, dont de peur ie m'effroye:
> Tout est meslé, n'y ha raison ne rime,
> Tout est en branslé et dangereux estime,
> Tout sera mis hors de reigle et de roye" (195)

This poem moves back and forth from the "inside" - emotion – to the "outside" description, creating a voice that is, in essence, genderless, as were Lemaire's personifications of Rhétorique and Peinture in the Plainte du Désiré and the voices of Chartier's four ladies.

I have explored here several ways in which individuals may have received images representing scenes of grief and mourning. The evidence for the use of such images is often found within the images themselves, as we saw in the representation of hooded mourners and other individuals with open books in their laps in Figure 1 and 13, and the portrait of the woman in the Pietà image in Figure 41.

I have also considered the subject's expression of grief in poems lamenting the death of a loved one. How might such

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expressions of grief by textualized subjects have been received by those who encountered them. The problem of audience is complex. Acces to the works of the earlier "courtly" poets discussed here was fairly restricted. The immediate audiences for the commissioned or dedicated works were the individuals for whom they were written. The question becomes: how might Marie de Berry have received Christine's Epistre? How might Marguerite de Bourbon have reacted to Jean Lemaire's Regretz? We cannot know this objectively. We, can, however, consider the influence of Chartier's Complainte, which survives in thirty-seven manuscripts and was included in all early printed editions of his collected works.[86] Pierre de Hauteville's Complainte de l'Amant trépassé de deuil belongs to the tradition begun by Chartier's La Belle Dame sans Mercy and, along with its "sequels" - the Confession and the Testament de l'Amant trépassé de deuil, was included, albeit in somewhat corrupted form, in Vérard's compendium, Le Jardin de Plaisance et de Rhétorique.[87] The popularity of these texts would seem to point to a vogue for the dying lover.

In the more dialogic texts, in which characters interact with each other, we sometimes witness a debate concerning the appropriate expression of grief, or we see one character

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[86]Laidlaw, The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier, 320.

[87]Le Jardin de Plaisance et Fleur de Rhétorique, E. Droz and A. Piaget, eds. (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1925).

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attempting to comfort another. If we can assume that a reader would have projected herself onto one or the other of the characters, we can see how texts might have functioned to reinforce or to subvert the prevailing pedagogy of grief.

As we shall see, when the scene of grief is reenacted, as it is in the great mystery plays, the opportunities for identification, empathy, "Compassio" becomes more available to a broader public, and more intense, because of the performative mode.

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Chapter Eight

The Tears of the Virgin: The Performance of Grief[1]

The gradual humanization of Christ and the Virgin that began with the rise of the mendicant orders, culminated in the focus on the dramatic events of Christ's Passion. As James Marrow explains:

> The new cultivation of religious sentiment naturally attached itself to the human nature and suffering of Christ. Christ's passion, the most perfect expression of his humanity, was an ideal subject

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[1]"Performance" and "performative" are used here to replace what is usually referred to as the "pathetic." Emile Mâle uses the adjective "pathétique" to describe late medieval artifacts depicting the Passion. In Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin's Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours (Paris: Bloud & Gay, 1955) we find the assertion that: "Cette époque est caractérisée par le pathétique qui envahit l'art et la littérature" (615). Even George R. Keiser, in a fairly recent study of the English Planctus Mariae, "The Middle English *Planctus Mariae* and the Rhetoric of Pathos," The Popular Literature of Medieval England, Thomas J. Heffernan, ed. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985) 167-193, says "Pathos is the dominant mode, and necessarily so, for the purpose of the work was to inspire a meditator to share in the sorrows of Mary and therefore to achieve a pathetic union with both Mary and her son" (168). Yet, according to Le Grand Robert, the word "pathétique" was not in common usage in French until 1580, so it was not even a category for those producing the artifacts I am discussing, nor for those receiving or using them. I would suggest that "pathetic" in this sense should be replaced by "empathetic," a term I have used throughout this study. The adjective "pathetic" with its Christian resonances is, not unlike the use of "macabre" discussed in Chapter Two, a remnant from a nineteenth-century worldview best represented by the romantic poets, and a good example of a clash of "horizons of expectation." On the romantic ethos of "pathetic," see James Averill, Wordsworth and the Poetry of Human Suffering (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980) 114-115.

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> for the stimulation, through empathy, of powerful religious emotions, calling into play a broad spectrum of human feelings including pity, compassion, sorrow, guilt, gratitude, and admiration.[2]

In the late Middle Ages, then, the Passion emerged as the central event upon which the Christian was encouraged and expected to meditate, and to become, in the process, a participant.[3]

The Virgin's importance in the Passion is second only to her son's, and scenes of her grief and mourning at the foot of the cross are ubiquitous in text and image.[4] We encounter representations of her grief in many different media: in manuscript illuminations found in books of hours, in

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[2]James Marrow, Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Later Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative (Kortrijk: Van Ghemmert, 1979) 8.

[3]See Geneviève Hasenohr, "La littérature religieuse des XIVe et XVe siècles," GRLMA, 291-296.

[4]This was not always the case. As Donna Spivey Ellington points out in her study, "Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon: The Virgin's Role in Late Medieval and Early Modern Passion Sermons," Renaissance Quarterly 48.2 (1995) 227-260, the Biblical references to the Virgin sharing in her son's passion are "scarce" with references appearing only in Luke 2:34-35 and John 19:25-27 (232). The elaboration of marian texts in the apocryphal gospels were, according to Henk Van Os, prompted by "the growing desire to give the Virgin greater prominence in the story of Christ's life. See The Art of Devotion in the Late Middle Ages in Europe 1300-1500 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994) 14. For a clear and detailed exposition of the "history" of the Virgin, see the first two chapters of Marina Warner, Along of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

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meditative texts, in the sculpture of the pietà and entombment, in lyric laments and in the passion plays performed yearly in many towns and cities.[5]

What do I mean by the "performance of grief"? I do not refer here only to the dramatic performance of the mystery plays, but performance in the sense of "cultural performance."[6] As a cultural performance, Mary's grief is embedded in a network of communicative acts. Each genre has its own language of communication and is received or read differently. In this chapter I discuss these various modes of performance and consider what might have been their affect for and their effect on those who witnessed or beheld them.

A. Grief Recounted

The Virgin's grief is recounted in many textual sources including narrative accounts of Christ's Passion, lyric poems, and the prayers to the Virgin that multiplied during the late Middle Ages. According to John Rennell Secor, all these can

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[5]The history and development of each of these genres has been studied at great length, and it is not my purpose here to review that literature. I shall provide full references to the most important works in each area, but my own discussions will be limited to a semiotic investigation of the verbal and visual signs of grief and mourning in the texts and images being studied.

[6]Among the discussions of performance theory that I have consulted are: Elizabeth C. Fine and Jean Haskell Speer, Introduction, Performance, Culture and Identity (Westport, Ct.: Praeger, 1992) 1-21; Elizabeth C. Fine, "Performative Metaphors as Ritual Communication," Performance, Culture and Identity, 23-45.

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be considered to be types of "planctus." Instead of establishing a system of classification that would segregate the various representations of the manifestations of the Virgin's great grief, Secor suggests that "it is much better to define 'Planctus,' by its contents than by its form."[7] George R. Kaiser agrees with him, as he explains that the planctus is:

> most often a free-standing lyric poem, but it can

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[7]John Rennell Secor. "*Planctus Mariae*: The Laments of Mary as Influenced by Courtly Literature," Diss. University of North Carolina, 1985, 2. The questions of the origins and typology of the planctus have been the site of discussion and debate beginning in the nineteenth century. Among those works that deal with these questions, see: Jack Arthur Walter Bennett, Poetry of the Passion: Studies in Twelve Centuries of the Passion (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982); Peter Dronke, "Laments of the Maries: From the Beginnings to the Mystery Plays," Idee, Gestalt, Geschichte: Festschrift für Klaus von See: Studien zur europaischen Kulturtradition, Gerd Wolfgang Weber, ed. (Odense: Odense University Press, 1988) 89-116; John Rennall Secor, "The Planctus Mariae in Provençal Literature: A Subtle Blend of Courtly and Religious Literature," The Spirit of The Court: Selected Proceedings of the Fourth Congress of the International Courtly Literature Society, Glyn Burgess, et. al., eds. (Dover, New Hampshire: Brewer, 1985) 321-326; Bernadette Terris, "La Vierge de la Passion dans la littérature française jusqu'à la fin du XVe siècle," Thesis, Ecole des Chartes, 1940; Edouard Wechssler, Die romanischen Marienklagen. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Dramas im Mittelalter (Halle: E. Karras, 1893). In several works, Sandro Sticca examines the history and function of the planctus mariae. Although his works need to be consulted in any study of this material, he has received a great deal of criticism from other scholars. See Pamela Sheingorn's review of his The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988) in Envoi 2.1 (1990): 148-152. Sticca's other work on the topic includes: "The Literary Genesis of the Planctus Mariae," Classica et Medievalia 27 (1966): 296-309; "The Planctus Mariae: Lyrical Emotion or Dramatic Action?" Farai chansoneta novele, 347-353; "The Planctus Mariae and the Passion Plays," Symposium (1961): 41-48.

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> also be found embedded in a dramatization or a narrative of the Passion. Alternately, it can be a prose or verse narrative of the Passion told by the Virgin herself. This lament, describing the Virgin's Compassion, may be spoken as a monologue, or it may be part of a dialogue with Jesus, the Cross, or Saint Bernard; it may be spoken as the Virgin stands at the foot of the Cross, as she holds the corpse of her son, or as she looks back upon the events of the Passion from a later time.[8]

In her essay "The Virgin's Gaze: Spectacle and Transgression in Middle English Lyrics of the Passion,"[9] Sarah Stanbury takes this variability of subject positions as her point of departure. Focusing on the gaze of the Virgin Mary on Christ's dying or dead body, Stanbury explains: "The reader looks not only at Christ's suffering and mutilated body, but also at the Virgin gazing on that body, a spectacle that is further mediated by the poet, often in the persona of an actual watcher at the scene."[10] This is certainly often the case, but it should also be kept in mind that the Virgin is often one of many figures in scenes depicting the Crucifixion, and if one considers the multiplicity of gazes and their intersections in such scenes, the lines of communication

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[8]Keiser, The Middle English Planctus Mariae, 168.

[9]Sarah Stanbury, PMLA 106.5 (1991) 1083-1093.

[10]Stanbury, 1085.

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become much more complex. It is also important to recall that in the texts and images I am discussing here, Mary's gaze is not always "fixed" on the cross - she often looks away from the cross, as do other figures in Crucifixion scenes.

The planctus, then, taken in the broad sense suggested by Keiser, came from many sources, a tangled web of influence and diffusion that results in complex manuscript tradition. Among the major devotional texts that were in circulation in the late Middle Ages are fifteenth-century translations of Pseudo-Bonaventure's Meditationes Vita Christi, and Ludolphus of Saxony's Vita Christi.[11] These texts enjoyed wide circulation, and, according to Genevieve Hasenohr, marked the "passage de la narration pure à la méditation."[12] Hasenohr notes:

> Le fidèle n'est plus uniquement le spectateur d'un roman dont un narrateur déroule les péripéties, il est invité à s'associer à un drame qui l'implique personnellement. Des appels à l'attendrissement, au repentir, à la compassion, à l'action de

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[11]For a translation of the Meditationes, see Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green, The Meditations on the Life of Christ. An Illustrated Manuscript of the Fourteenth Century. Paris, Bibliothéque nationale MS Ital. 115 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), and for the Vita Chrisi, see Sister Mary Immaculate Bodenstedt, trans. Praying the Life of Christ (Salzburg: Hogg, 1973). On both texts, see Lawrence F. Hundersmark, "Preaching the Passion: Late Medieval 'Lives of Christ' as Sermon Vehicles," De Ore Domini, 147-167, and Geneviève Hasenohr, "La Litterature religieuse," 295.

[12]Geneviève Hasenohr, "La littérature religieuse," 292.

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> grâces... ponctuent le récit et incitent l'auditeur/lecteur à participer hic et nunc, au mystère qui s'est joué quinze siècles plus tôt et qui, à chaque lecture peut se renouveler avec lui, pour lui.[13]

Another extremely popular passion tract was Tractatus de planctu Beatae Mariae Virginis, variously attributed to Saint Bernard and Saint Augustine, actually written, according to John Secor, in the twelfth century, by Ogier, Abbott of Leocedio.[14] A whole cluster of these texts exists. Edelgard DuBruck names Pseudo-Bernard as the author of the Liber de passione Christi et doloribus et planctibus matris eius, and of the Meditatio in passionem et resurrectionem Domini. Pseudo-Anselm is the alleged author of the Dialogus beatae Mariae et Anselmi de passione Domini, and Pseudo-Bede purportedly composed the De meditatione passionis Christi per septem diei horas libellu.[15] In discussing the laments in the devotional texts that he has indexed, Keith V. Sinclair observes: "The distinctive incipits....suggest that there were several different redactions in existence, or, at the very least, that there is a complex manuscript tradition.[16] A

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[13]Hasenohr, "La Litterature religieuse," 292.

[14]John Rennell Secor, Planctus Mariae, 4.

[15]Edelgard DuBruck, la Passion Isabeau, 16.

[16]Keith V. Sinclair, French Devotional Texts of the Middle Ages. A Bibliographic Manuscript Guide (Westport Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1979), xiii. See also, Artur Langfors,

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complex manuscript tradition indeed, one that has baffled even those who have studied it most closely, and one that is far too complex to take on here. The definitive and comprehensive study of the roots and many shoots of the tradition of marian lament remains to be written, and when it is it will be a major contribution to this area of study. But since that is not my purpose here I will proceed to my discussion of the Virgin's expression of grief and its representation.

I begin my study of the expression of the Virgin's grief and the representation of her mourning by examining several narratives that feature Mary's lament: an excerpt from the Passion Isabeau from 1398;[17] a version of the lament in the tradition of the Meditationes, or "Regrez de Nostre Dame," found in a fifteenth-century manuscript containing devotional texts,[18] and a lyric prayer - a French version of the Stabat Mater. By considering how Mary's grief was performed in each

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"Contributions à la bibliographie des Plaintes de la Vierge," Revue des langues romanes 53 (1910): 58-69.

[17]I am quoting from the recent edition of the Passion Isabeau by Edelgard DuBruck, La Passion Isabeau. Une Edition du manuscrit Fr. 966 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris avec une introduction et des notes (New York: Peter Lang, 1990), an edition which is, according to Geneviève Hasenohr's review in the Revue de Linguistique romane 56 (1992): 312-329, extremely problematic. According to DuBruck, the version found in BnMsFr 966 is the translation that was done for Isabeau de Bavière in 1398. Hasenohr disagrees, and argues that DuBruck's text represents a later version of the Passion. I have included Hasenohr's textual corrections in the text in brackets, and refer the reader to Hasenohr's discussion of the text and its manuscript history.

[18]Bn ms lat. 1801.

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case, we can see how her emotion was constructed, and how the construction of the ultimate grief resembles or differs from the griefs we have seen before.

The Passion Isabeau, one of the many texts inspired by the Meditationes, is not a translation, in the strict sense, but "plutôt une adaptation de la source latine."[19] The text describes the events of the Passion, from Christ's bearing of the Cross through the Entombment. Throughout, the emphasis is in the violence of the Virgin's grief and her intense participation in the suffering of her son. The narrator places the Virgin's grief in high relief:

> mais sur tous autres sa dolante mere menoit dueil quant elle le veoit ainsi cloés crueusement en la croix et coronné de espines et villainement acompaignié comme de deux larrons... (3463-3469).

The point of view in the Passion shifts constantly. The reader is drawn into the text through the figure of Saint Augustine, who acts as the Virgin's interlocutor:

> ... Et sur cecy raconte saint Augustin de soi mesmes que en ung ravissement que il ot une foys en devocion, il feist requeste à la benoite Vierge Marie que elle voulsist reveler tout son estat, comment il [lui] fut aujourdui en toutes les souffrances de son filz. Laquelle doulcement lui

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[19]DuBruck, 17. DuBruck provides information on the manuscript history and discusses the erroneous attribution of the Passion to Jean Gerson.

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revela les choses qui s'ensuivent... (3472-3478).

Through Saint Augustine's account of his mystical experience, the Virgin's suffering at the foot of the cross is revealed to the reader/participant. Augustine's identification with the Virgin is meant to serve as a model to the reader who can, herself, have access, while meditating on the Passion, to the immediate experience of those who "were there."[20] Saint Augustine and the Virgin are, for one moment, contemporaries, making history present and demonstrating that the Passion exists in a continuous present.

The Virgin warns Augustine that the experience of compassion is frought with pain: "Ce que tu/me demandes est compunction de grant douleur,/mais pour ce que je suis glorifiée, ne puis/je plorer ne faire dueil" (3503-3506). So, while her account will move others to tears and compassion, the Virgin is beyond grief, distancing herself from her earlier experience of that emotion, not unlike the strategy taken by Christine de Pizan, as discussed in Chapter Seven.[21]

The Virgin's compassion begins as she watches her son bear his cross through the streets:

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[20]I am reminded of the African-American spiritual "Were you there" [when they crucified my Lord..."]

[21]I must again underscore the fact that Christine de Pizan was a real person who lived in the fifteenth century, and who recorded her own story, or at least the story that she wanted to be told, while the Virgin of fifteenth-century Passion texts and images is a cultural construction.

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> Je vins plorant a mon filz, et quant je le vi buffoier et gaber et jouer comme on fait d'un fol e crachier en son precieux visage et son chief coronner d'espines, toutes mes entrailles furent esmues. Mon esprit defailli en moy (3517-3522).

The Virgin recalls her reaction as he was raised to the cross and attached with nails:

> ...Je le regardoie et il me regardoit comme mere triste et dolante Il lui estoit plus de moy que de lui. Il ne disoit mot ne que ung aigneau, ne ouvri oncques sa bouche. Et, [je] chetive lasse, dolente, regardoie mon enfant pendu en la croix qui mouroit de si villaine mort. Et je avoie si grant dueil en mon cuer que je ne le povoie dire (3538-3545).

The emphasis here, as in the texts Stanbury discusses in her essay, is on the visual exchange between mother and son. Silenced by her great emotion, the Virgin again emphasizes her past aphasia as she witnesses the tortures of Christ on the cross:

> Moult avoie grant dueil quant celui me laissoit que je avoie porté et enfanté sans doleur. Et pour ce ne se povoit ma douleur apaisier, mais gemissoie et souspiroie. Mais la destresse de ma grant doleur me tollait ma parolle. Dehors

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estoie la voix dolante qui demonstroit la
tresgref plaie de cuer... (3557-3563).

These lines highlight the contrast between the interior experience of grief and its exterior expression. The Virgin's grief takes the form of the common psycho-physiological symptoms: uncontrollable crying, moaning, sighing, and physical weakness - reactions that are as common now as they were in the fifteenth century, and which are now, as then, subject to cultural constraints that force the grieving subject to suppress the outward manifestation of emotion in ways that vary from culture to culture. The grief of the Virgin is ambiguous: while the reader/meditator is supposed to empathize with her fully in order to participate in the Passion, we are not necessarily to follow her as a model for grief in our everyday life.

Jesus looks down at Mary from the cross and tries to comfort her, but she can find no comfort, and begs him not to abandon her, to let her die for him, to let her die with him: "Beaulx filz, fai ce que je te requier et me laisser morir avant que toy, si que nos corps soient ensemble!" (3585-3587) The emphasis on corporality is remarkable here and serves to reinforce the Virgin's position as a human mother whose emotions are both belivable and deserving of empathy.[22]

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[22]The question of the grief experienced by parent as a result of the loss of a child has been debated since Philippe Aries published his study, L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime (Paris: Plon, 1960). There is ample evidence to suggest that children were, indeed valued by their parents

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A long passage follows in which Mary curses the Jews.[23] The condemnation and cursing of the Jews is a set piece in Mary's discourse. Certainly the empathy for her grief that she evokes from the readers and from the spectators of the mystery plays serves another purpose - that of inflaming the Christian believer against the non-believer, in this case the Jew - so that while the ideal of community was reinforced, the stigmatization of those outside the community was deepened.[24]

Mary laments that without her son she has no one, nowhere to go. As Jesus presents John the Evangelist to her as her son, and asks her to stop crying, we are reminded of Gerson's teachings in his sermon on the "Consolation sur la mort des amis."[25] The perspective has changed again, as Jesus's words

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and were mourned after their premature deaths. For a brief but thorough discussion of this subject, see Shulamith Shahar, Childhood in the Middle Ages (London: Routledge, 1992).

[23]Here the Virgin is a model not for grief, but for the condemnation and ostracization of the Jews. On the representation of the Jew in the Passion, see:

[24]The question of the Virgin and the Jews falls outside the focus of this paper, but is one that I intend to pursue further. Much has been written about the vilification of the Jew in medieval literature. See Stephen Spector, "Anti-Semitism and the English Mystery Plays," The Drama in the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays, Clifford Davidson, ed. (New York: AMS, 1982): 328-341, and "Empathy and Enmity in the Prioress's Tale," The Olde Daunce: Love, Friendship, Sex and Marriage in the Medieval World, Robert R. Edwards and Stephen Spector, eds. (Albany: SUNY Press, 1991) 211-228. See also the essays in Reflections on Medieval Anti-Judaism, Viator, 2 (1971), Edelgard DuBruck's essay "The Death of Christ in French Passion Plays of the Late Middle Ages: Its Aspects and Sociological Implications," in Dies Illa, 81-92.

[25]See pages 107-113 above.

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are restated by the narrator:

> Chiere mere, laisse ton plorer. Tu ses que pour ce viens je en terre et pris char humaine que par ma mort rachetasse humain lignage. Comment seroient doncques acomplies les escriptures? Tu ses qu'il me convient souffrir mort pour le pueple, et au tiers jour resusciter. Lors apparu je a toy et a mes disciples. Laisse ton plorer, laisse ton dueil, car je vois a mon pere recevoir gloire et majesté (3625-3633).

Again Jesus prevails upon his mother to stop her mourning, assuring her that although his physical body will die, his spirit will live on. Just as Mary is not to grieve excessively for her son whose death was preordained, and whom she will join in paradise, late medieval Christians are to moderate their grief for their dead loved ones who shall find salvation.

The voices keep changing from narration to first person discourse and back. Who is speaking here? Where is Augustine? Where are we? The technique used in this narrative is not unlike the technique of the "Acteur" discussed earlier. In the case of the "Plainte du désiré," however, we could more easily equate the "je" of the "Acteur" with the poet, whereas in this text, it is apparent that Augustine is not the author of the text, but remains the authority to whom the narrative voice in the text refers.

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The Virgin and Christ's disciples continue to grieve, however, and the torture they witnessed "trespersoit leurs ames et les occioit" (3669). The Virgin's suffering, known as the "Compassio" of the Virgin, is emphasized:[26]

> Mais trop plus sufroit la mere de douleur car elle soustenoit la douleur que son filz souffroit, la mort de l'enfant que elle/avoit porté vierge lui estoit mort. Et la doleur et l'angoisse du filz trespersoit le cuer de la mere, Car elle veoit et apercevoit bien que son corps et son ame souffroient douleur sans mesure et sans atrempement d'aucun soulaigement avoir... (3670-3677).

The Virgin faints repeatedly. After Jesus's death, a lengthy description of Mary's suffering begins: "Et chay la Vierge Marie toute pasmee dessous/la croix et fu comme toute morte..." (4219-4220). The narrative continues:

> Si est bon a penser, quel dueil povoit lors faire la desolee mere, qui avoit veu son filz si angoisseusement morir et veoit aussi que les elemens faisoient si grant dueil pour la mort de leur

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[26]On the Compassion of the Virgin, see Hasenohr, "La littérature religieuse, 287-288; Donna Spivey Ellington, "Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon," 236-241, and Sandro Sticca's The Planctus Mariae in the Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988).

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> createur.[27] Certes langue ne pourroit bien dire ne penser, comme elle avoit au cuer grant dueil et angoisse. Elle estoit delès la croix de une [demie] morte, et si elle estoit dolante ce n'est mie merveilles. Car elle avoit conceu du Saint Esprit saintement et purement. Sa doleur lui tolloit la force de parler. Elle gesoit a terre et palissoit et vivoit en morant et ne povoit morir. Elle estoit comme morte, car la doleur lui tourmentoit le corps et l'ame. Et ne desiroit se mourir non aprés la mort de son enffant. Elle estoit la dolante mere et plaine et douleur et veoit le corps de son cher enfant pandu et estandu et attendoit que on le deust oster d'ilec (4270-4287).

The Virgin's grief becomes even more violent. Wanting to touch her son, she goes to the cross and tries to reach him, but he is too high up. Unable to reach him, she kisses the cross. Again she faints: "...Elle estoit palle comme si elle fust/morte, et avoit la bouche vermeille de baisier/la croix ensanglantee...(4303-4305). The Virgin follows John's suggestion that they sit and rest quietly for a while, the Virgin's gaze transfixed by the sight of her dead son on the cross. As Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus removes the body from the cross. As they lower the body from the cross: "Lors

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[27]The account tells of earthquakes, shooting stars and eclipses.

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Nostre/Dame se levoit comme elle se povoit sus le bout de/ses piés pour avenir aux bras de son enfant, de qui les mains pendoient en bas par dessus" (4581-4587). Once the body was removed, "...Nostre Dame s'assit a terre et print la teste en son giron et les espaules....La povre mere desolee tenoit le chief en son giron, et ne/se povet saouler de baiser, et lui arrousoit son visage de l'abondance de ses lermes (4593-4602).

In a subsequent passage the scene of empathy is extended: "Les aultres fames,/ses compaignes, plouroient avec elle tant/pour la pitié qu'elle avoient de elle" (4629). Even the angels mourned along with the Virgin: "Elle/avoit entour soi les angelz qui menoient/dueil avec elle, tant pour l'amour de leur/seigneur comme pour la pitié de leur dame" (4631-4634).

When it comes time to prepare the body for burial, the Virgin is reluctant to relinquish it. She does so, however, after a long farewell to her son, in which she recounts their many joys, but adds:

> ...Mais de mort et de tes douleurs je suis mout fort afflicté[e]. Or fault il que je t'ensevelisse, moy, qui suis ta mere. Mais aprés [ou] iray je? Comment pourrai je vivre sans toy? Je feusse trop voulentiers ensevelie avec toy, mais puisque je ne puis estre ensevelie de corps, je enseveliray avec toy mon ame, laquelle je te laisse et recommande" (4738-4745).

The Virgin again emphasizes her son's corporality - the

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emphasis on his dépouille mortelle - she wishes to be buried beside him. This stubborn emphasis on the physicality, the human mortality of Christ is in direct contradiction to Christian theology, which finds is expression in the pedagogy of grief I have been treating here.

Bathing his face with her tears, the Virgin wraps his head in the shroud, blesses him, and allows Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus to lay him in the tomb. Again she transgresses the not only the boundaries of the pedagogy of grief, but also comes close to blaspheming God the Father:

> ...Hee, disoit elle, pere tout puissant, a quoi me donnastes ung tel filz qui point de ce ne vous requeroie? Car oncques ne me reputay digne de porter ung si noble filz. Puisqu'il vous pleut a le me donner, pourquoi avés vous souffert qu'il m'ait ainsi laissee a si grant douleur et tristesse vivre aprés li sur terre? (4779-7486)

In her questioning of God's will, which hints of a lack of acceptance that would constitute outright rebellion, the Virgin becomes a kind of a Job figure. One has to wonder why these texts were so very popular, despite their somethat questionable theological values. They were, perhaps a validation, an assertion of the human prerogative to grieve.

Passion narratives were sometimes accompanied by images. One such image [Figure 43] is found in the late fifteenth-

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century "Heures de Charles d'Angoulème."[28] The text, which reads: "A la louenge de Dieu, de la Vierge souveraine et de touz sains et sainctes, jay translaté ceste passion de Ihesus nostre saveur de latin en francoys, sens y adiouster moralitz, hystoires, exemples ou figures, l'an de grace MCCCXCXVIII...," is certainly related to the version of the Passion Isabeau studied by DuBruck and Hasenohr.[29]

The miniature simultaneously represents the scene of the deposition (in the upper left), the lamentation over the body of Christ (in the center), and the preparation of the tomb (on the right), a reference to the entombment. The central scene in which the emotions of the participants are carefully portrayed dominates the composition. The Virgin, in the center of the image, kneels on the ground and holds the arm of her dead son. Her head is deeply inclined and tears are visible on her face, as they are on the faces of many other figures in this image. The upper part of Christ's body appears to be supported by the Virgin's other hand and by Joseph of Arimathea's left hand. This image is remarkable for the physical contact among the figures. John the Evangelist stands behind the Virgin, one hand on her back, as if to comfort her, and the other hand wiping away the tears that are visible on his face. Mary Magdalene stands, holding the jar of

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[28]Bn ms lat 1173. Heures à l'usage de Paris, ou Heures de Charles d'Angoulème. End of fifteenth century.

[29]This version also begins, as does the Passion Isabeau, with the story of Lazarus.

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ointment, turning away from the central scene, glancing back at the dead Christ. Behind John stands a group of three mourners, two women and a man. The woman in the white headdress lowers her head toward the woman standing next to her and places her hand on the woman's cloak which is raised to her face as if to stifle a sob. The eyes of the Holy Woman who stands behind the Virgin are almonst closed in sadness, tears run down her cheeks. Her hands are joined in an ambiguous gesture which might indicate resignation, but may also be interpreted as an attempt to block her line of vision, as if to deny the reality of the scene. The white fabric that Joseph of Arimathea touches with his right hand appears to be a part of her garment, further reinforcing the tactile relationships among the figures. This image is highly expressive, yet the gestures are not violent or exaggerated. The viewer is brought into the image by the desire to comfort the Virgin and the others whose grief is visible. Although the late medieval Christian would certainly know that the resurrection - the ultimate outcome of the passion sequence - would soon come to pass, for the moment at least, salvation is deferred and the viewer participates in the emotion of the scene. The emphasis is, like in the Passion Isabeau, on the suffering of the present moment, and not on the divinity of Christ.[30]

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[30]The question of the relationship of this image and others like it to the tradition of the theatrical Passion cycles will be addressed below.

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The "Regrez de notre dame que elle dist de la mort de son chier filz Jhesucrist," the second text I discuss here[31] also demonstrates the desire of the reader to enter into a close, empathetic relationship with the texts and the events they recoun. The "Regrez" opens with a request by an unnamed speaker, for the granting of the gift of tears: "Helas qui donra a mon chief tant d'eaue et a mes yeulx/tant de lermes que je puisse plourer jour et nuit/tant que nostre seigneur me daigne moustrer ung petit de/sa misericorde ou en dormant ou en veillant" (fol. 44v) The experience of empathy with or through a witness to the events of the Passion is, indeed, highly sought after.

The narrative follows the same sequence as that of the Passion Isabeau, but certain details are brought into higher relief, indicating that the manuscript was perhaps destined for a different audience. The voice of the Virgin Mary is much more present in this text, her language much more "courtly."[32] As Jesus suffers on the cross, he and his

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[31]This text is from Bn ms fr 1801, a manuscript written on vellum dating from the fifteenth century. The manuscript contains several devotional texts. The transcription is my own.

[32]The definitive work on the "courtliness" of the poetry of the planctus, especially with regard to the relationship of the Virgin to her son, is John Rennell Secor's thesis on the Planctus Mariae, cited above in note 7. I don't think, however that the "infiltration" of courtly language and the shift in the mother/son relationship to one of courtly love that he suggests is nearly as generalized as he suggests. As we shall see, the Virgin's physical relationship to her son continues to be stressed.

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mother carry on a dialogue in which their mutual devotion and suffering is apparent. When his suffering becomes so great that he can no longer speak, they both weep silently, "C'estoit tout leur confort de plourer et de grant/duel mener. Il plouroient en amant et amoient en/plourant." The attention is drawn more directly to the Virgin's Compassion than it was in the Passion Isabeau: "Mais la doulce vierge ploroit tendrement/Car elle mesmes sentoit les douleurs de son enfent/Et comme tranchans espees passoient parmy fendant/son cuer." The Virgin's wounds are caused by "espees," a much more elegant term than the usual "glaives." There is almost a sweetness in their tears of grief, as compared to the violent motion and emotion in the earlier example. As in the Passion Isabeau the Virgin tries to raise herself to the cross and fails, falling to the ground. In this version she is covered with her son's blood:

> ...lors regardoit la doulce vierge marie son enfant qui pendit en la croix si doulcement comme elle le savoit faire qui estoit maistresse de toute douleur lors efforcoit la doulce vierge de soy lever en hault pour acoler son enfant. (48v)

The density of repetition of the forms of "doulce," representative of the entire piece, reinforces the sense of elegance missing from the Passion Isabeau. When Christ's body is lowered from the cross and laid across her her lap, the Virgin faints on top of it. The actions described are just as

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disturbing as those in the Passion Isabeau, but the language is evocative rather than being minutely descriptive. We do, however, find a rather detailed description of the preparation for the entombment of the body:

> Après vint Joseph d'Arimathie qui avoit despendu nostre seigneur et Nichodemus si comme l'evangille tesmoigne et mistrent nostre seigneur en ung moult bel suaire de soie et l'appareilla moult bien de draps et de precieux oignements et puis le mist en ung moult bel tombel quil avoit appareille pour le dolx Jhesucirst. Et si li mist mout doucement lors commencerent a plorer tout aussi come ils estoient venu pour le sepulcre de leur seigneur. Li anges chantoient haultement et la benoiste vierge marie ploroit et souspiroit parfondement lors se pasmoit elle sur son amy.... (49v)

The emphasis on the high quality and value of the materials used to prepare Jesus's body for entombment might be indicative of the values of the projected audience for the narrative. The use of "amy" to refer to the relationship of Christ and his mother, a word, like doulce, which is repeated throughout the text, can also be considered the mark of a "courtly" narrative.

The final text I consider here is a French version of the

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Stabat Mater[33] - not a translation, but an interpretation. Much of the same information is given as in the passages I discussed earlier, but the language is much more restrained and coded. How does this restraint affect the expression of emotion as compared to the prose descriptions discussed above?

The lyric opens:

Au temps qu'en crois li fil pendoit
De dieu la mere gemissoit
Dolente et esbahie
Et en gemissent regardoit
Son douz vis et le regretoit
Comme loiale amie
Qui en luy veant tant souffroit
Que iusqu'en vuer la trespersoit
Le greif glaive de doleur.

As in the "Regrez," the Virgin is the "loiale amie" of her son. The courtly discourse, embedded in a more formal framework serves, in some sense, to diffuse the grief expressed by the Virgin. In the third strophe, the speaker asks the rhetorical question: "Who, sensing the grief of the Virgin, can keep himself from weeping for the one who redeemed us from sin?" The Virgin is a model here albeit a somewhat idealized one: the reader is meant to project herself onto the Virgin and to receive the gift of tears:

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[33]On the history of the Stabat Mater, see Wieck, Time Sanctified 104, and Marina Warner, 213-214.

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Ad fin qu'avec toy sans demour
Puisse plourer nuit et iour
Jusqu'a mon definement
Fay que mon cuer soit tout ardent
A tou amier et ton enfant
Par ardeur continue
Et en vous priant et servant
Contemplant et assavourant...

The prayer expresses the desire to share in the sufferings of the Virgin and her son, in order to be touched by their holiness, but it does so differently than the passion narratives, in which the images evoked by the words carry an emotional impact.

What can we say about these interpretations of the Virgin's reaction to the crucifixion in light of the "pedagogy of grief"? With the possible exception of the prayer, these representations are openly transgressive, even if we take into consideration the ambiguity of the Virgin's grief - that the readers of the texts are not to follow the grieving Virgin as a model of grief, but as a means to enter into the passion experience. Jean Gerson makes this clear in his influential sermon Ad Deum vadit, preached at the Church of Saint Bernard on Good Friday 1401 or 1403.[34]

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[34]Sermons on the Passion, directed toward a public audience, were extremely popular. Genevieve Hasenohr knows of thrity manuscripts containing Gerson's sermon, and lists many other preachers who delivered Passion sermons, among them, Jean Courtecuisse and Olivier Maillard (292). On Passion

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In Gerson's account, narrative is followed by exposition and commentary - the audience (listener or reader) is guided through the experiences of the Passion. According to Donna Spivey Ellington, "As he had done throughout the story, Gerson sought to recreate the feelings, responses, and very words of Mary as she witnessed her son's suffering."[35] The most important example for this discussion is Gerson's commentary on the Virgin's comportment at the crucifixion:

> Mais notez icy, o devotes gens, notes je vous prie la constance merveilleuse de nostre Dame, de ceste mere tres douloureuse. Elle est travaillee tout le jour en ensuivant son benoit fils en douleur, en tourment, en grant haste et confusion; elle n'avoit pas dormi toute le nuit, c'est bien assavoir; et le jour devant, elle estoit venue de Bethanie en Jherusalem a pie; elle etoit encore a jeun oultre ceste heure de midi et pres de none; elle avoit tant gemi et ploure et son tendre coeur, son coeur de mere tres piteuse et amoureuse estoit tout plaie et percie du glaive de la tres honteuse et douloureuse passion de son cher fils. Neantmois elle estoit en estant toutedroitte; ainsi le dit l'evangile; les paintures qui la monstrent

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sermons, see Donna Spivey Ellington, "Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon..."

[35]Donna Spivey Ellington, "Impassioned Mother or Passive Icon," 227.

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> autrement ne sont a croire. Et Nostre Dame estoit devant la croix non pas de coste, et regardoit la face et toutes les contenances de son fils crucifié" (505).

The Virgin's' humanness is described in terms of her corporality - she is exhausted from following her son; she has not slept; she has not eaten - and yet she managed to remain standing upright at the Crucifixion. She is depicted as a human mother, to be taken as a model of strength, as a model of restraint, not one whose uncontrollable grief causes her to fall to the ground, but one whose faith in the resurrection enables her to remain standing in spite of the great sadness and pain she experiences. Gerson is not alone in this interpretation. Simon Cupersi, in a sermon on the Crucifixion, comments:

> On ne peut exprimer par des mots combien de larmes, combien de plaintes ni combien de lamentations elle a émises alors. Il ne faut cepandant pas entendre par la qu'elle a émis des plaintes irraisonnées, comme certains ignorants le prèchent quelquefois, en disant qu'elle s'est roulée par terre, qu'elle s'est arrachée les cheveux et autres choses du genre.[36]

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[36]Bayeux BM ms 48, fol. 164. Cited by Hervé Martin, Le Métier du prédicateur à la fin du Moyen Age 1350-1520 (Paris: Cerf, 1988), 311.

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We see, then, a constant tension between prescribed behaviors and the "transgressive" comportments that are described or depicted. How can we reconcile these contradictions? Or are they contradictions? Perhaps we are witnessing the failure of systems of control - the display codes are giving way under the burden of irrepressible grief. Or perhaps the fact that very texts that attempt to control the expression of grief acknowledge that expression and delineate its parameters. In other words, the pedagogical texts anticipate their own negation, and allow the mourner to transgress within a sharply defined context.

B. Grief Illuminated

Many of the "paintures" of the Virgin, both "défaillante" and stoic are found in books of hours, where devotion to the suffering Virgin took various forms. The emergence of new prayers, the Obsecro Te and the O Intemerata, attested to the power of the Virgin's grief. These prayers were often illustrated with scenes of the Vierge de Pitié, or Pietà - Mary holding the dead body of her son in her lap - an image which, according to Emile Male, is first found in books of hours in 1380.[37] Images of the grieving Virgin are also found in the cycles of illuminations illustrating the Hours of the Passion[38] and the Hours of the Cross.[39]. The composition of

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[37]Emile Male, 126.

[38]Wieck, Time Sanctified, 66-77.

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crucifixion scenes ranges from simple images, in which one single episode is presented, as in the images of the Pietà discussed in Chapter Seven, to more complex pages, like the scene from the Passion text discussed earlier. In simple scenes like that depicted in a miniature accompanying the Hours of the Cross from an early fifteenth-century book of hours [Fig. 44],[40] the Virgin and John the Evangelist stand on either side of the cross and look up at the dead christ. Set against a flat, patterned background, the image is static, yet emotional. The Virgin and John both turn away from the Cross. Each places a hand over the heart.[41] Their heads are deeply inclined and a double line above John's eye heightens the impression of sadness. In an illumination with a similar composition, Mary and John face the Cross [Fig. 45][42] Mary's head is bowed, her hands crossed on her chest, palms facing

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[39]Wieck, 89-93. Such cycles generally include representations of the Crucifixion, the Depostion, the Pietà and the Entombment. For general background on the iconography of the Passion, see Marrow, cited above note 2 and Gertrud Schiller, Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst (Gutersloh: G.Mohn, 1969), Vol 2.

[40]Bn ms lat 1186, fol. 122. Heures à l'usage de Bourgogne ou de Langres. Early 15th century.

[41]According to Garnier, this gesture is the "forme extérieure de l'intériorisation," or the sign of a profound emotional state.

[42]Bn ms lat 10535, fol. 73v. Heures à l'usage de Liège. End of 15th century. Leroquais comments that the miniatures in this manuscript are "d'execution grossière" (vol. 1, 337).

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down.[43] John looks up at the cross, hands raised in a speaking gesture. In another scene dating from the beginning of the fifteenth century [Figure 46][44] , Christ's white body provides a contrast with the richly-colored garments of the Virgin and John. The scene is set on Calvary, for we see the cross rising from the rocky ground, and yet the entire background of the image is covered with mourning angels, many of whose heads are bowed, and one of which, immediately to Christ's right and tracing the curve of his body, has his mouth open as if he is choking back a sob. The Virgin sits, her hands clasped under her chin, looking into space. Her brows are drawn together in an expression we have come to recognize. John sits on the right of the image, hands clasped around one knee, looking up at the cross, an expression of sadness on his face. These figures are calm and self-contained. Their positions look natural, as if they are meditating on the events that have occurred, once again modeling appropriate action.

These "simple," static representations in which John and Mary are alone with the dead Jesus still on the cross, hint at grief rather than fully portraying that emotion. They may not

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[43]Garnier, 184-186. This gesture is a sign of acceptance seen again and again in Crucifixion scenes. The gesture acts as an echo of Mary's acceptance at the Annunciation.

[44]Bn ms lat 924, fol. 30. Heures à l'usage de Troyes. End of 15th century. This miniature dates from the end of the century, demonstrating that although the Crucifixion scene becomes more crowded and emotive, the early simpler model was still being produced.

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be as stirring as some of the more elaborate depictions that were to emerge, but in their reference to the Passion of Christ, they still may have had an effect on the reader and encouraged meditation on the scenes they represent.

Over the course of the century, additional figures are introduced into the Calvary scene, making them more crowded, and heightening the emotion they represented. At the same time, images were into arranged into extended series. In a book of hours from the early fifteenth century the beginning of the process can be seen. The Office of the Passion is accompanied by nine illuminations. In a representation of the Crucifixion, the first of the three images I shall discuss here [Figure 47][45], the figures fall into three groups: in the left front of the image we see the Virgin lying on the ground, expressionless, having fainted. Her right hand covers her heart. She is being supported by a Holy woman, her head deeply bowed in sadness and concern, her eyes apparently closed. She is frowning. John sits next to her, his hands joined, looking at the cross, transfixed. Another mourning woman sits behind the Virgin, her hands raised to her mouth, her face showing deep sadness. Behind this group is another cluster of figures surrounding Longinus whose spear pierces Christ's side. Longinus rubs his eye with his left hand, not because he is weeping, but to draw our attention to his being

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[45]Bn ms lat. 1161, fol. 174. Heures à l'usage de Paris. Early 15th century.

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able to see because the blood from Christ's wound miraculously cured his blindness. Although reactions of grief are depicted, the emotion in this image remains somewhat reserved. It is possible, however, that an image did not have to be extraordinarily expressive to evoke a reaction of empathy from the viewer who "knows the code," just as the images do not have to be of extraordinarily high "artistic" quality to function as elicitors of emotion.

In the scene of the descent from the cross [Figure 48],[46] as the body of the dead Christ is lowered from the cross, the Virgin holds her dead son's hand, about to kiss the bleeding wound left by the nail. She has a distinct look of sadness on her face, as do the figures behind her. As in the previous miniature, the image is somewhat static, the gestures depicted are restrained. and they communicate a sense of moderation and decorum.

The final image I discuss from this book of hours is the scene of the mise au tombeau, or entombment [Fig. 49][47]. Although similar representations are found in both Byzantine and Western art from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries[48] the scene was, like the crucifixion image, "enlarged from the end of the thirteenth century onwards by

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[46]Bn ms lat. 1161, fol. 181.

[47]Bn ms lat 1161, fol. 186/187.

[48]Schiller, Ikonographie der Christlichen Kunst, 165-66.

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the inclusion of many figures..."[49] As we shall see in the case of the Pietà, the entombment emerged in the fifteenth century to take on an existence of its own.

In the image seen here, the various figures witness or participate in the act of laying Jesus' body in the tomb. John kneels behind the tomb, holding Christ's hand up to his lips. A male figure next to the man holding the slab at Christ's head, holds his hands up to his mouth in an expression of sorrow. The viewer's gaze is then led back, starting with the Virgin, who prays over the body, her head deeply inclined. One's gaze then moves to the right, and meets the images of three holy women, one whose hands are crossed over her chest, another who holds one hand up to her cheek, looking away from the dead Christ, and one, partially obscured, standing behing the other two. A male figure on the right, his hands joined under his chin in prayer, provides a balance to the figure on the left in a similar position. Despite its static composition and posed gestures, the attention paid to the human emotions of the participants in this scene of a final farewell, suggests that sadness can exist along with the promise of the coming resurrection - that the two states of mind are not mutually exclusive. The effect created by the sadness of the participants becomes intensified in the sculptures of the entombment, where the mourning figures become larger than life.

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[49]Schiller, Ikonographie, 167.

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In the croweded Crucifixion image from the mid-fifteenth century Heures à l'usage de Jean de Montauban,[Fig. 50][50] the facial expressions are schematic and denote rather than express emotion. The emotion is carried by frenetic movement. The scene is divided into several areas. In the bottom left we see the Virgin who has fallen to the ground. In an example of the criss-crossing of the gaze in Crucifixion scenes to which I alluded earlier,[51] the holy women gaze at the Virgin as if to offer comfort and John appears to support her, but looks toward the cross. In this image the cross appears to be very tall and the body of Christ very high up and somewhat removed. The colors of this miniature are very vibrant - orange-red and blues predominate.

The picture of the descent becomes even more frenetic [Fig. 51][52] The hoards of figures have disappeared, but the sense of movement dominating the Crucifixion image is concentrated in visible signs of sorrow - the drops of blood covering Christ's body and the tears that fall from the eyes of those in attendance, marking the externalization of an inner experience of emotion.

In another book of hours from the second half of the fifteenth century, we find a series of images illustrating the

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[50]Bn ms lat 18026, fol. 97. Heures à l'usage de Jean de Montauban. Mid-fifteenth century.

[51]On pages 355-366 above.

[52]Bn ms lat 18026, fol. 100.

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Hours of the Cross. In the Crucifixion scene [Fig. 52][53] the Virgin, a somewhat dazed expression on her face, is slumped on the ground, her head gently bowed. John, standing behind her on the left, seems to support her. John looks in the direction of the cross, but his gaze is averted, as if he does not wish to see the dead Christ. One woman on the left looks out from the image, engaging the viewer's gaze. The two women in the rear of this group are seen in profile,[54] the one standing against the edge of the miniature holds a white cloth up to her eyes. Only two of the four figures on the right side of the image look directly at the cross. One figure, holding a staff, faces forward, but he avoids the gaze of the viewer, and the figure behind him faces front, but looks up at the cross obliquely, out of the corner of his eye. These figures are tense - all edges and sharp points - while the gestures of the mourners on the other side of the cross are more fluid and lack rigidity, as if under the influence of a great emotion.

In the scene depicting the descent from the cross, [Fig. 53][55], only Christ's followers remain. As Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus lower the limp, white body, the woman

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[53]Ms lat 10548, fol. 40. Heures à l'usage de Paris. Mid- to late-fifteenth century. The Pietà image from this book is seen in Figure 4.

[54]The position of the woman who is wearing a white coif is very similar to the one in the image of the Pietà.

[55]Bn ms lat 10548, fol. 41v.

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with the white turban reaches up to assist them. The Virgin, seated on the ground, looks up at them, raising her hands as if to receive the body. John stands behind her, his arm supporting her, his hand on her shoulder. He looks up at the cross. On the right side, behind the woman with the turban, stand two women, one seen in profile, raising a white cloth to her face, and the one behind her, with her head bowed in sorrow.

Although the representation of the mise au tombeau from this series [Fig. 54][56] is set in a landscape and appears very conventional, the picture conveys a feeing of grief. As Joseph places Jesus in a stone sarcophagus, his gaze is directed away from the body and the tomb. The Virgin stands in the center of the image, behind the tomb. John stands next to her, comforting her as she looks at her dead son. Another female figure, perhaps Mary Magdalene, stands behind the Virgin, holding one hand to her heart and holding her white scarf up to her face with the other. Another woman stands in the corner, her hands clasped. Whereas in the other series of miniatures I have discussed all the women are nimbed, in this series of illuminations the only figures with halos are John and the Virgin. The other figures in the image thus become ambiguous -they participate in the scene, yet they are not "the" holy women, because they are not seen with the

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[56]Bn ms lat 10548, fol. 43. This sarcophagus resembles an arcaded tomb, on which mourners were often carved.

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attributes of saints. They may be women from Jerusalem who witnessed the events surrounding the Crucifixion, and/or they may be models for participation. Although the landscape in these scenes is fairly generic, the mourners seem much more "humanized" here than those in the other images we have seen. Although far from being "realistic" pictures, these images seem to attempt to differentiate one figure from another, and to place the figures in more complex spatial relationships. These series of illuminations would seem to exemplify what could be considered the "process" of devotion (whose history I touched upon at the beginning of this chapter), as explained by Hans Belting:

> Devotion is a collective style of affective religiosity that brought into existence an analogous style of contemplation of images. The images were expected to reciprocate the believer's mood, and, if possible even generate it. The viewer and the person depicted in the image were related to one another mimetically. The viewer tried to assimilate himself to the depicted person and demanded back from the latter the quality of aliveness which he himself possessed. This mimesis, which was intended to bring about the ecstasy of the individual viewer, nevertheless in the long run drew the sacred into the human sphere, which in any case dictated the level of communi-

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> cation. In a move countering the progressive abandonment of images, which mysticism demanded from the individual, the image became more and more corporeal and communicative, as the individual wished his partner in dialogue to be.[57]

This is nothing new here - we have seen this dialogue between the image and the viewer, as between the living and the dead, throughout this study. What is interesting is the growing wish for what one could call "equivalence" or matching of size, which is fulfilled in the sculpture of the Pietà and Entombment and in the Passion cycles of the fifteenth century.

3. *Grief Humanized*

According to Gail McMurray Gibson, "The ever-growing tendency to transform the abstract and theological to the personal and concrete" was "the general characteristic of mind in the late Middle Ages...."[58] Nowhere is this more evident than when the figures from the Passion "come to life" in the sculpture of the pietà and the entombment, and in the large-scale mystères de la passion, all of which either emerged or flourished in the fifteenth century.[59]

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[57]Hans Belting, The Image and Its Public, 58.

[58]Gail McMurray Gibson, The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989) 7.

[59]I am discussing these three forms together, because they are closely linked. I am not speaking in terms of influence here, for as I have demonstrated elsewhere, questions of

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The Pietà, a distinctly late-medieval form, developed in Germany towards the end of the thirteenth century and is first found in French sculpture in the late fourteenth century. According to William Forsyth:

> The Pietà was introduced into French sculpture as the result of complex interrelated forces from different geographic areas and a variety of media. During the fourteenth century, the image had not yet reached its full popularity and was still comparatively rare, whether in manuscript in sculpture, or painting. Furthermore, deteriorating economic conditions during the Hundred Years' War militated against artistic patronage except by people of high rank. It was only with the economic and cultural revival in the second half of the

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influence, although they may be important in the history of a specific genre, often obscure other relationships within the context of a comparative study. See my, "The Torture of Saint Apollonia: Deconstructing Fouquet's Martyrdom Stage," Studies in Iconography 16 (1994): 119-138. On the relationship between medieval art and drama, see: Clifford Davidson, Drama and Art: An Introduction to the Use of Evidence from the Visual Arts for the Study of Early Drama (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications," 1977); Pamela Sheingorn, "On Using Medieval Art in the Study of Medieval Drama: An Introduction to Methodology," Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 22 (1979): 101-109, and "The Visual Language of Drama: Principles of Composition," in Contexts for Early English Drama, Marianne Briscoe and John Coldeway, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989) 101-109; Martin Stevens, "The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama," New Literary History 22 (1991): 317-37; Sylvia Tomasch, "Breaking the Frame: Medieval Art and Drama," Early Drama to 1600 ACTA 13 (Binghamton, N.Y. CEMRS, 1987); Paola Ventrone, "On the Use of Figurative Art as a Source for the Study of Medieval Spectacles," Comparative Drama 25 (1991): 4-16.

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fifteenth century that the Pietà became common.[60] And it did, indeed, become common, with even the smallest parish churches having one or two pietà sculptures, as demonstrated in Forsyth's inventory of over 1250 Pietàs dating from the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The Pietà, although slightly smaller than life-size (the average height of sculptures I discuss here is forty inches) is a powerful medium by which to both convey and elicit emotion. Gertrude Schiller claims that the Pietà is "imbued with self-surrendering love of God and reverence," and was "an affirmation of Mary's willingness to be an instrument for the salvation of humankind," and as such is not meant to portray a grief reaction.[61] Much of the evidence, however, does not bear this out. The Virgin may not be shown as expressing uncontrollable grief, but that does not mean that the contemplation of the sculpture did not move the viewer to compassion or even to grief. In a sculpture found in the Musée Historique of Dijon, from around 1510[62] we see a deeply sorrowful Virgin, one hand supporting her son, and the other placed over her heart. She frowns deeply, looking at her dead, bleeding son resting in her lap. In another sculpture, dating

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[60]William H. Forsyth, The Pietà in French Late Gothic Sculpture: Regional Variations (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) 19.

[61]Gertrude Schiller, 179.

[62]See William Forsythe, The Pietà in Late Gothic French Sculpture: Regional Variations (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1995) 47-48. Fig. 49.

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from the early sixteenth century, in the church of Saint-Nizier, also in Troyes, [Figs. 55/56][63]the Virgin looks not at her son, but down past his body, at the viewer. She leans forward, again with her hand over her heart, and although the expression on her face appears tranquil and accepting, if one considers the composition as a whole, one can see how the viewer might have been moved by its direct appeal. In another Pietà sculpture from around the same time, [Figs. 57] from the church of Mery-sur-Seine,[64] we see the Virgin holding up her son's hand, again looking at the spectator in an appeal for compassion and empathy. Finally, in a Pietà sculpture, also from around 1520 [Fig. 58][65] from the church dedicated to Saint Martin in Villehardouin, we see another sorrowful Virgin, whose eyes are downcast and who frowns deeply.

How did these images and others like them interact with their audience? One factor, that the Pietà sculptures tended to be dressed in the clothing worn by women in the region in which they were found, increased the sense of intimacy, the sense of familiarity that women, at least, might have experienced when contemplating the statues. According to Joanna Ziegler, the Pietà, or "Sculpture of Compassion" had a

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[63]Pietà, Eglise Saint-Nizier, Troyes. Early 16th century.

[64]Pietà, Mery-sur-Seine, early 16th century.

[65]Pietà. Eglise Saint-Martin de Villehardouin, c. 1520.

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very powerful effect on its viewers.[66] Ziegler views the Pietà as a devotional object, an Andachtsbild,[67] designed to draw the viewer into meditation, much as the marian laments studied earlier did. In contrast to Hans Belting, for whom the collective experience of an object or class of objects is, according to Ziegler, of primary importance, she posits a more intimate relationship between the meditating subject and the devotional object. Whereas Belting asserts that such devotional objects are culturally constructed, and that their meanings will change through time and space according to the culture in which they play a part, Ziegler asserts that there are "elemental forms of human experience, experiences not bound to a given culture or specified historical period" and

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[66]Much has been written about the history of the pietà. Among the most important studies are: Jacqueline Boccador, Statuaire médiévale en France de 1400 à 1530. (Zoug: Clefs du Temps, 1974); Joseph de Borchgrave d'Altona, "Vierges de Pitié de chez nous," Annales de la Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles 46 (1942-43) 263-70; Tadeusz Dobrzeniecki, "Medieval Sources of the Pieta," Bulletin du musée National de Varsovie 8.1-2 (1967): 5-24; Raymond Koechlin and Jean-Jacques Marquet de Vasselot, La Sculpture à Troyes et dans la Champagne méridionale au seizième siècle Rpt. (Paris: F. de Nobele, 1966); Rezé-Huré, Antoinette, "Les Vierges de Pitié dans l'Aube aux XVème et XVIème siècles dans la sculpture et le vitrail," Thesis, Ecole du Louvre, Paris, 1960.

[67]On the Andachtsbild or devotional image, see: Erwin Panofsky, "Imago Pietatis," Festschrift für M.J. Friedländer zum 60. Geburtstag (Leipzig, 1927) 261- H. Paulus, "Andachtsbild," Relgion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, I (1957); Joachim M. Plotzek, Andachtsbucher des Mittelalters aus Privatbesitz. Katalog zur Ausstellung um Schnutgen-Museum, Koln, 1987; Sixten Ringbom, "Devotional Images and Imaginative Devotions," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 73 (1969); Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Closeup in Fifteenth-Century Devotional Painting (Abo, 1965).

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that feelings evoked in the contemplation of the pieta are among those emotions.[68] As I have suggested, such reactions might take the form of psycho-physiological responses like tears and facial expressions. I would add that the positions represented by Belting and Ziegler, apparently at odds, can be reconciled. I certainly am not arguing that most twentieth-century viewers experience Pietà sculpture as intensely as a fifteenth-century viewer would have done - but if we were confronted with an equally powerful trigger on our own terms, we might react with the same sort of reactions - tears, sighs, or a furrowed brow. And just as such elicitors may change within our own experience, new ones emerging with new art forms and genres,[69] this was probably the case in the late middle ages as well. Although the creation of the sculpture of the Pieta and mise au tombeau might have responded to some sort of need, universal and timeless, or culture-bound and changing, such objects may also have created new modes of feeling.

Sculptures of the entombment, or mise au tombeau that

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[68]Ziegler, Sculpture of Compassion, 16.

[69]Even within the past century, one might think of cultural forms such as verismo opera, film, and television, and we should not forget the art that has been created in reaction to AIDS. We can also appreciate the factor of relative size in our emotional reactions to cultural artifacts - we differentiate between the effect of images viewed on "the big screen" as opposed to "the small screen," and we can also recall the appeal of the "lifelike" sculptures of George Segal when they began to appear in bus and train stations over twenty years ago.

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began to appear in the fifteenth century, make a striking impression on the spectator, even today.[70] According to Emile Mâle, the earliest Entombment for which we have a record was created for Langres in 1419/20. The oldest extant sculpture is the one found in the Hôpital de Tonnerre, in Burgundy.[71] Mâle firmly believed that the Entombment was directly influenced by the passion plays that were so popular at the time, but many critics have (rightly, in my view) refuted this opinion.[72] Male says:

> Nos Saints Sépulcres semblent être la reproduction exacte d'un tableau vivant. Les costumes souvent si singuiliers des personnages....ne peuvent être que des costumes de théâtre. Il n'est pas jusqu'à la façon dont les personnages sont groupés ne paraisse relever des traditions de la mise en scène.[73]

Yet, as Gertrud Schiller demonstrates, representations of the Entombments are found in other media: illumination and panel

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[70]Perhaps even more so, due to their bright colors which make them appear somewhat strange to us.

[71]Male, 133. On the sculpture of the Entombment, see also, Jacqueline Boccador, Statuaire médiévale en France de 1400 à 1530 (Zoug: Les Clefs du temps, 1972); Louis Réau, Iconographie de l'art chretien (Paris: PUF, 1955-59); René Jullian, La Sculpture gothique (Paris: H. Laurens, 1965).

[72]See footnote 59 on page 388 above.

[73]Emile Mâle, L'Art religieux à la fin du Moyen Age, 134-135.

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painting, for example.[74] William Forsyth shares her opinion and comments that "the traditional elements of the iconography of the Entombment sculptures existed long before the time of the plays."[75]

The Entombment found in Semur-en-Auxois, from 1490 [Fig. 59][76], is a very effective monument. The body of Christ is being lowered into the sepulchre by Joseph and Nicodemus, whose faces display deep expressions of sadness, their cheeks drawn and hollowed, their eyes sorrowful and their heads inclined. [Figs 60 & 61] The Virgin, supported by John and one of the holy women, stands in the center of the sculpture, behind the tomb [Fig 62][77] The Virgin's hand is placed over her heart, her head is bowed and her eyes appear to be closed [Fig 63]. Two other women, one holding the nails from the

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[74]Schiller, 171.

[75]William Forsyth, The Entombment of Christ: French Sculptures of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970) 19. Another possible influence on the emergence of the Entombment sculptures and link between the sculptures and dramatic performance, were the monumental sculptures of the Holy Graves, used as part of Easter liturgy, which resemble the later Entombment sculptures. See Forsyth, 17-18; Pamela Sheingorn, The Easter Sepulchre in England (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987); In ---- Louis Réau suggests a parallel between the evolution of the Burgundian pleurant and the mise au tombeau sculpture, which I developed above in Chapter Six. I think the idea of "parallel" is the key, and the question should be not one of which form came first but one of why did they all emerge at the same time?

[76]Photo Carina Yervasi.

[77]No halos here either.

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cross and the other holding the crown of thorns, [Figs 64 & 65]. frame the central group, each looking down at the body, frowning, with their eyes downcast. I would suggest that the size of this monument significantly contributes to its power. The gestures and expressions convey a deep sense of sorrow, the attention paid each figure adds to the overall effect of the monument. If, as we saw in Chapter Seven, the reader was able to participate in the experience of the Passion through meditation on illumination and contemplation of Passion texts, this monument must have made that participation much more immediate. Housed in the town's church, the inhabitant of Semur could regard the figures and their expressions from various angles, and could even converse with the Virgin, offering her words of comfort and prayers.

In the Entombment found in the Eglise Saint-Nizier in Troyes, from the first years of the Sixteenth Century [Fig. 66], the gestures of the individual figures are much more expressive than those in the Semur mise au tombeau. The Virgin and John are again in the center of the composition, but the Virgin is bent over at a much more extreme angle than the Virgin at Semur. Her arms are crossed over her chest and John leans away from her, as if attempting to stop her from falling on the body of her dead son. Her grief is apparent in her face [Fig. 67] her brow is furrowed and she frowns deeply. The woman to her left [Fig. 68] faces away from the body, holding her hand up as if to shield her from the sight of the

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dead Christ, as we saw earlier in one of the miniatures. The other women perform familiar grief gestures. One clasps her hand in front of her and gazes down at the body, her eyebrows drawn together, [Fig. 69] and although the arms of the woman next to her [Fig. 70] are crossed, palms down, in a gesture of acceptance, her face, with the corners of her mouth turned down demonstrates again that acceptance does not preclude sadness. At Christ's head, the frowning Joseph is also an image of grief. [Fig. 71]

In the spectacular Entombment found in a subterranean chapel in the Eglise Saint-Jean-Baptiste in Chaource, [Fig. 72 & 73] from 1515, The Virgin stands near Christ's head, next to Joseph of Arimathea who looks at her with concern [Fig. 74 & Fig. 75]. His solicitude draws our attention to the grief in her face. She looks drawn and tired, [Fig. 76] much like the Virgin Gerson describes in his sermon. She frowns deeply and the sadness in her eyes is readily apparent, triggering the empathetic response of the viewer and moving him or her to participate in the Virgin's grief. Her hands seem to touch Christ's body. John supports her from behind and next to him stand the Three Holy women, one (presumably Mary Magdalene), holding a container of balm and one holding the crown of thorns. Two life-size soldiers guard the tomb, each with sad expressions on their faces. [Figs. 77 & 78] According to the inscription on the wall that accompanies two sculptures of praying figures, [Fig. 79] this group was donated by Nicolas

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de Monstier and his wife Jacquline de Laignes. The inscription reads,

> Nicollas de Mon(n)stier, escuyer en son vivant Seignie(ur) de Chesley Fontaine et de Cussangey... et daimoiselle Jacquline de Laignes sa fème, dame de la Jaisse,....firent faire ce p(rese)nt sépulcre l'an mil cinq cens et qui(n)ze et gît le d(it) escyuer sous le crucifix de céans. Priez Dieu pour eulx." [78]

The chapel, in serving two purposes - as the setting for this remarkable sculpture and as a funerary chapel for its donor - brings together two of the functions I am studying here - the commemoration of the dead and the devotional relationship between viewer and object. The visitors to the chapel would have felt the presence of the donors, by virtue of the presence of their images, and would, at the same time, have experienced the mystery of the Passion.

The experience of the Passion found its most vivid expression in the great mystery cycles of late medieval France, where the grief of the Virgin and her companions at the foot of the cross was performed for the crowd. The spectator did not need to actualize the lament of the Virgin for him- or herself - that grief was embodied in the person of the Virgin and contextualized within the other events of the

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[78]Georges Richert, "L'église Saint-Jean-Baptiste," La Vie en Champagne 300 (1980) 10. [6-16]

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Passion in a way that was not necessarily the case with the other forms discussed here. It is likely that the various "performances" of the Passion worked in conjunction - that reading the Passion evoked memories of seeing representations of the Crucifixion, Pieta, Deposition and Entombment in illumination and sculpture (not to mention stained glass and tapestry), and that these activities were reinforced by the performance in the passion drama.

The drama of the Passion is the ultimate step in the humanization of Christ and his mother, even if the illusion created in the medieval theatre was far from complete. In their use of recognizable "local talent," including the use of young men to play women's roles[79] and their frequent use of anachronism, the mystery cycles represent the blending of the present moment and the eternal, the quotidien and the sacred, the ordinary and the miraculous. The world becomes sanctified and the holy becomes familiar. According to Jean-Charles Payen,

> Fête collective, le mystère assure la cohérence de la cité dans la bonne conscience collective et la condamnation commune. Il est animation unanime et

---

[79]Gustave Cohen asserts that in the fifteenth century the centuries-old taboo against women playing on the stage was beginning to give way. See Le Livre de Conduite du Régisseur et le compte des dépenses pour le Mystère de la Passion joué à Mons en 1501 (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1925), cii-ciii, and Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux françcais du Moyen Age (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1926) 205-208

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> durable, parce qu'il mobilise, pendant près d'une année - celle de sa préparation - les efforts de toutes les couches sociales. Par la "montre", ou parade, préliminaire, il enbahit tous les quartiers. Et le jour de son déroulement, il attire vers ses prestiges, toute la population, pour qu'elle communie dans l'émotion et l'émerveillement.[80]

In her essay, "*Etalage complaisant*? The Torments of Christ in French Passion Plays,"[81] Véronique Plesch points to the prologue of the third day of Gréban's Mystère de la Passion as a possible key to reception of the drama:

> Car, quant en memoire luy vient
> la fortune qui luy seurvient,
> aucunbement se desmodere,
> mais aprés, quant il considère
> que le filz de Dieu beneuré
> a tant souffert et enduré
> pour mondifier nostre ordure,
> il trueve que ce qu'il endure
> n'est riens au regard de la somme
> que Jhesus voult porter pour l'omme.

---

[80]Jean-Charles Payen, "Théatre médiéval et culture urbraine," Revue d'histoire du théatre 35.2 (1983).

[81]Véronique Plesch, "*Etalage complaisant*? The Torments of Christ in French Passion Plays," Comparative Drama 28 (1994-95): 458-459.

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Ainsi va ses dueulz moderant,
en ce mirouer considerant
ou tout cueur, pour son dueil mirer,
se doit parfondement mirer. [82]

By contemplating the sorrows of Christ, the spectator is to meditate on his own sorrows and to moderate his grief. The stage is set for the triggering of empathy. As the Virgin reenacts the Compassio, the spectators are meant to feel her grief.[83]

The prologue also emphasizes the physicality of the performance and its reception: "vous ramenons devant les yeulx,/senssiblement, par personnages...."[84] The spectator is presented with his or her double - a living mirror for the individual's actions and behaviors. Plesch suggests that "the goal of the mystères was to implant in the viewer's mind extremely pregnant images and sentiments that would readily return when meditating alone," stating in reverse what I suggested above about the all encompassing nature of the devotional experience. She connects memory with meditation,

---

[82]Cited by Plesch, "*Etalage complaisant*," 472-472.

[83]One has to be careful about making statements about the reception of the mystery plays. The myth of the unruly medieval audience is much like the myth of the macabre and the "pathétique" and can be discarded, as can Gustave Cohen's assertion, that the medieval audience was much more inured to scenes of violence and excess than are modern ones. That may have been the case in 1925, but it is no longer true. It seems likely that, having acquired the skill of empathetic response that the audience would remain involved in the action.

[84]Cited by Plesch, "*Etalage complaisante*," 473.

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an important aspect of the complex of grief-memory-memorialization that I have been exploring here. By extension, we can look at the Passion play as the experience of a communal grief, the grief over the death of the Son of God - a cosmic loss which precipitates shooting stars and earthquakes. As Mary stands under the cross, embodied in the person of an actor, the grief of the spectators is projected onto her.[85]

The Virgin's grieving voice resonates, reiterating many of the topoi we have seen throughout this study. In the Passion de Semur,[86] the Virgin's lamentation occurs on the second day of the Passion play. She asserts her justification for grieving:

> Bien doix crier a haulte voix,
> Plorer, gemir et moy complaindre,
> Nullement ne m'an doix restraindre,
> Car je doix bien estre esbaie
> Quant je voy la grant villenie
> Que font orendoit faulx Juifz

---

[85]With strong collective identification with the Virgin Mary comes exclusion and vilification of the those who do not share in the experience - the Jews.

[86]As Lynette Muir points out in her introduction to the edition of this play (viii), there is a distinct possibility that the Semur in which this Passion was performed was Semur-en-Auxois, a fascinating possibility if one recalls the magnificent sculpture of the mise au tombeau found in the Church of that town.

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Au doux Aignel piteux de pris. (7561-7567)[87]

In a conventional lament, the Virgin cursing death asks to die along with her son:

Hee! Mort desloial, Mort amere,
Ne laisse sans le filz la mere;
Mort, je te pry, prenz la chetive,
Plux ime la mort qu'estre vive.
Vive je ne puis plux durer,
Mieulx aime morir que durer (7582-7587).

In this version of the Passion, it is the Virgin herself who asks John for comfort:

Jehan, a toy je me veul offrir
Pour moy ung petit confforter,
Car plux je ne me plus porter (7593 -7595).

Her asking for assistance is exceptional. In the other forms of planctus it is not present, which suggests that it was done for purposes of effective staging.[88]

After Christ has died, the Virgin says farewell to her son:

Doulx Dieu quil sert toute esperite,

---

[87]At line 7574 the Virgin exclaims, "Et cy doix bien crier et braire," a line similar to one used by Christine de Pizan, and another character repeates a similar berse at v. 7214.

[88]This might also be the case with the violent condemnation of the Jews which, although present in narrative and lyric versions of the Planctus, is not emphasized as it is in dramatic passion texts.

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Vostre corps est mort, bien le voy,
Se je pleure, faire le doy.
Beaulx tresdoux filz, quant je vous aloitoye,
Emprés moy temdrement vous couchoie
De mon povoir
...
Filz tu estoie mon solas et ma joie,
D'avoir tel perte ne puis se il m'annoie.
Helas! quil la pouroit pourter?
Las! mon cueur est cy enhorter
De crier, plorer et gemir

De la douleur que voy souffrir
A mon filz piteux debonnaire..." (7780-7792).

She says that she feels weak and that she can no longer stand, asking John to help her:

Le cueur me fault; Jehan me soutiem,
Et de ton povoir me retiem,
Car m'est advis que terre tranble
De ceste perte quil tant est grosse.

Her own grief is manifested in her trembling weakness, made obvious to the spectators, allowing the grief of nature manifested in the trembling of the earth beneath her feet to become visible as well.

As she holds the dead Christ on her lap, she again recalls the infancy of Christ, as she did above:

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Hé, lasse moy! quant je ma'avise
De la grant joie que j'avoie
Quant jeune enfant vous alaictoie...
Mon fils, mon cueur, m'amour, ma joie,
Mort en mon giron vous enbrasse (7970-7978)

Joseph of Arimathea becomes the mouthpiece of grief here:

Chiere dame, pour Dieu, de grace,
Laisséz ce deul cy ferés bien,
Vous n'y povés gaignier rien.

In saying that there is nothing to be gained by expressing her grief, Joseph is being far too pragmatic, reminding us of the rulers discussed in Chapter Six, who, after a brief moment of grief, return to the business of ruling. The Virgin, however, does not stop her lamentation, repeatedly interjecting expressions of grief. Then John the Evangelist attempts to console her: using the promise of the resurrection:

De ce grant deul vous fault tenir.
Pour Dieu, ma dame, cessés vous.
Alons man, ma dame au cueur doulx,
Vous scavez bien qu'il nous a dist
Briefment arons joie sans respit;
Bien scay qu'il nous conffortera (7038-8043)

One has to wonder if the Virgin's inability to control her grief isn't more of a refusal. Just as the women wearing black, lamenting the death of men in battle, discussed

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earlier,[89] may have used those laments as a means of protest against the senseless slaughter of warfare, perhaps the Virgin's laments point to a rebellion against God the Father, the highest male authority of all - a revolt that would be truly transgressive. The fact that it would have been a male actor uttering such discourse in the guise of a woman might have diffused the seriousness of the offense, but this kind of heterodoxical speech may have had some bearing on the ultimate supression of the mystery plays.

The Virgin ultimately stops her mourning, but whether it is in obedience to the pedagogy of grief, whether she is represented as being physically spent, or whether the exigencies of the performance required the actors to continue the action of the drama, cannot be ascertained.

We cannot begin to appreciate the effect that this scene had upon the late medieval public. We can only rely on the internal evidence - that both John and Joseph felt that there was something excessive in her grief, that she needed to moderate her behavior.

The Crucifixion takes place on day three of Arnoul Gréban's Mystère de la Passion. The planctus finds its most eloquent expression in that play. If one reads it as poetry, however, one would not realize it was a Passion lament. The first lament begins:

Parfonde tristesse enserree,

---

[89]See above, page 284-285.

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comment soustenir te pourray?
Ou iray?
que feray?
que diray?
tant d'ire ay
que le cueur me part;
Je ne scay
se l'essay
commencay
ou s'il fait deppart.

This verses recall the mourning poems discussed earlier. Yet, we cannot forget the context of these words which are part of the passion, and before long the Virgin is asking Jesus to let her die first, articulating the compassio in corporeal terms that make it clear for any mother in the audience to understand and empathize with her:

Ung corps, ung sang et une mesme vie
par un mort requiert estre ravye:
tout ung sommes, vous ne l'ignoriez mie,
je le scay bien.
Ung vors sommes, car le vostre est du mien,
vostre pur sang de moy engendre tien;
or se respand tant qi'il n'y a mes rien;
O quel destresse!

She blames herself for his death, for having provided the means to the incarnation and reiterates the special tie that

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binds them - the tie of mother and child.

The action in the play is highly developed and each of the stages of the crucifixion is more complex than in any of the forms I have discussed thus far. After the death of her son, the Virgin wants to go to witness the removal of his body from the Cross. Mary Jacoby, her sister, one of the holy women who accompany her, tries to dissuade her:

> Cere seur, vous n'y vendrez point,
> car quand despendre le verrez,
> je suis sceure que vous menez
> le duel amer et hors des termes,
> et tel habondance de lermes
> que votre cuer se fondera.

Her concern is that the Virgin's excessive grief will be harmful to her. Christ's body is removed, but, as in the other versions considered here, the Virgin as Pieta, holding him on her lap, does not want to relinquish it for burial. She ultimately gives up the body, and ends with a long passage challenging God the Father, asking him why she was given this child only to lose him - an all too human emotion, and one which many late medieval spectators could certainly understand, yet one that was not entirely orthodox.

Grébán's laments differ from most other laments because of the beauty and power of the language he gives his actors. The lines of the laments are often short, broken, as when one tries to speak between sobs. Greban's characters

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seem to try to comfort one another and their grief seems to find a freer expression. His characters seem to be more at ease with emotion.

Responses to the grief of the Virgin Mary work, then on many levels. First of all, she is a human mother. The words she utters appeal to mothers, as does her holding of her dead son on her as she might an infant. She is not without resentments, however, and in her questioning of God the Father she becomes even more humanized - an "Everyperson," calling the figure of Job to mind. Her reactions are recognizable - she provides a mirror for the spectators.

On a more abstract level, she is the Mother of God, which gives her mourning a cosmic aspect in which all late medieval Christians could participate. She not only grieves for her son, but for the Son of God and the Son of Man. By participating in the collective grief evoked in the communal experience of the reenactment of Christ's passion, the community remembers, and in remembering they grieve, and through grieving, they are healed.

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Conclusion

In this study of the expression of grief in fifteenth century French culture, I have touched upon several issues. Among the problematics I have encountered are the difficulties of reading culturally-coded representations of an emotion that is itself culturally constructed, all the while taking into account my own culture-bound position. I have thus suggested that, on the one hand, we need to reexamine some of the categories we have inherited from the late nineteenth-century study of medieval culture such as "the macabre," the "pathétique" and the general thesis of the decline of culture in the late Middle Ages; and, on the other, we have to be less reluctant to use the whole array of critical tools and methods that are available to us.

Several insights into late medieval grief and mourning have come out of this study. In the juxtpostion of categories of public, subjective and performative expressions and representations of grief and mourning, I have demonstrated that a general culture of grief existed, with elements shared among all three categories: the movement toward externalization of grief; the topoi of inexpressible and ultimate grief, the gestures by which grief is denoted and expressed. Yet, each category had its own characteristics and end results: the public expression of grief generally culminates in some sort of social transformation, memorialization, and monumentalization; the private, subjective expression of grief

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growing from the interaction of the individual and object, can be said to be an interior process, by which the individual comes to terms with personal grief; and in the performative experience of grief experienced by the collectivity, each of the other categories is reactivated, brought out into the open, and, by means of the season rite of renewal and rebirth for which the Passion is a metaphor, released and excised.

In each category, grief is regulated and controlled in various ways, and those boundaries are repeatedly transgressed, usually by females, bringing up questions of gender and grief. As we saw in the earlier texts I discussed in the first chapters, such as the Lais of Marie de France, there was no stigma attached to the expression of grief by males in the earlier part of the Middle Ages. However, by the late Middle Ages, male grief is generally represented as being restrained and easily controllable. When men are portrayed as grieving uncontrollably, as in Chastellain's Oultré d'amour, their grief is either stigmatized as being unnoble or "feminine," or they die, as in Chartier's Complainte and Pierre de Hauteville's Amant. Female characters are, on the other hand, often portrayed as experiencing grief that knows no bounds, and are accordingly given examples and instruction on how to control their emotions. I would suggest that this can be contextualized within an increased movement towards control of women's behavior in general found in the late middle ages, which finds concrete expression in the many

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sumptuary laws and other regulations that were imposed on them.

By studying the expression of grief and the representation of mourning in late medieval French culture, I have attempted to recuperate traces of emotion as it was experienced at that time. It is far too much to ask for a complete empathetic response to late medieval emotional experience, but by examining the socially-constructed cultural artifacts that remain as monuments and repositories of that grief, we can begin to detect glimmers of feeling behind the codes.

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CLOSURE

When I began to formulate this project in the fall of 1990, positioned between past grief and anticipating a grief to come, I believed that the undertaking would be therapeutic. I had no inkling of the places where it would lead me: to cities and towns, like my day in the hamlet of Chaource, waiting for the one bus back to Dijon, and my pilgrimage with my friend Carina Yervasi to Dijon and Semur-en-Auxois, in search of monuments; to places of the mind, as I encountered the difficulties of studying cultural artifacts and their mysteries, and as I wrestled with some of the most fundamental questions in Medieval Studies; and to emotional places, confronting my own, personal grief through the act of writing, moving ahead, processing forward.

I have not been alone on the journey of which I spoke in my Preface, written so many pages and years ago, and in closing I acknowledge those who have accompanied me: my parents, Suzanne and Jules Abend, who have given me, throughout my life, everything in their power to enable me to "follow my bliss"; Gregory Callahan, my life's companion, for his love, his support, his patience, his jokes; my very special friend Carina, with whom I shared my graduate school experience and whose sisterhood I treasure; Francesca Canadé

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Sautman, for making a medievalist of me and for teaching me to question everything; Pamela Sheingorn, for teaching me how to see, in so many different ways, and for helping me to find my voice; Mary Ann Caws, for her humanity, her humor and her brilliance.

I wish to express my gratitude to the Fulbright Commission for making my stay in France during the 1993-94 academic year possible, and to Emmanuel Le Roi Ladurie for his support and encouragment.

To my friends from The University at Albany - especially Mary Beth Winn, Robert Greene and Jack Richtman - I also say thank you, as well as to my colleagues at Vassar College who have made me feel welcome and encouraged me in the last stages of this quest.

FIN

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FIGURE 1

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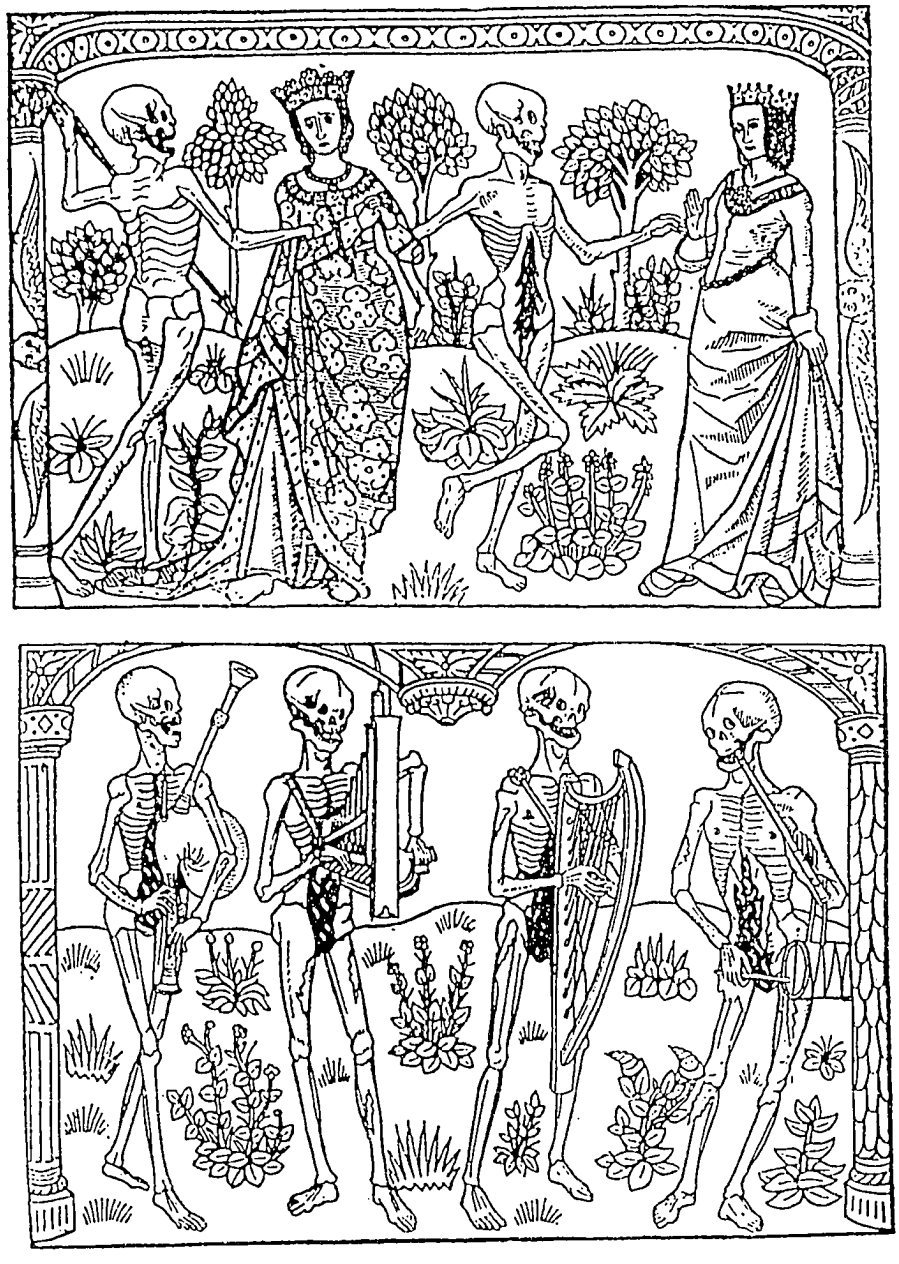


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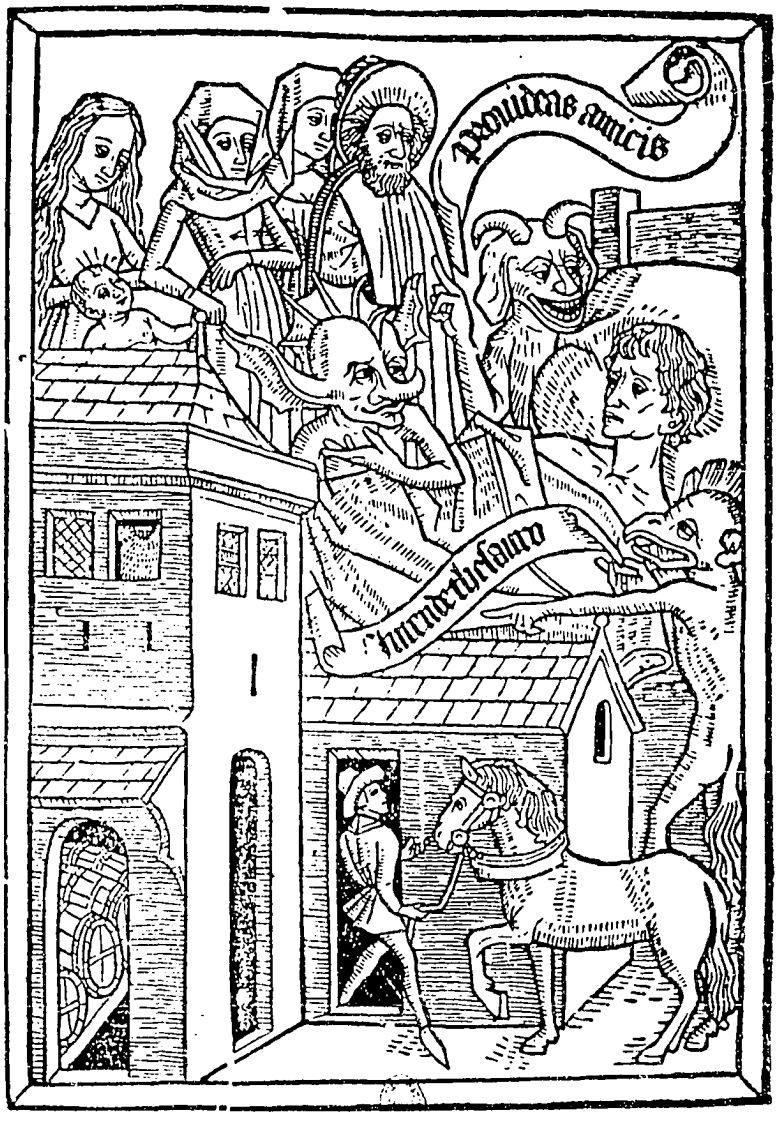


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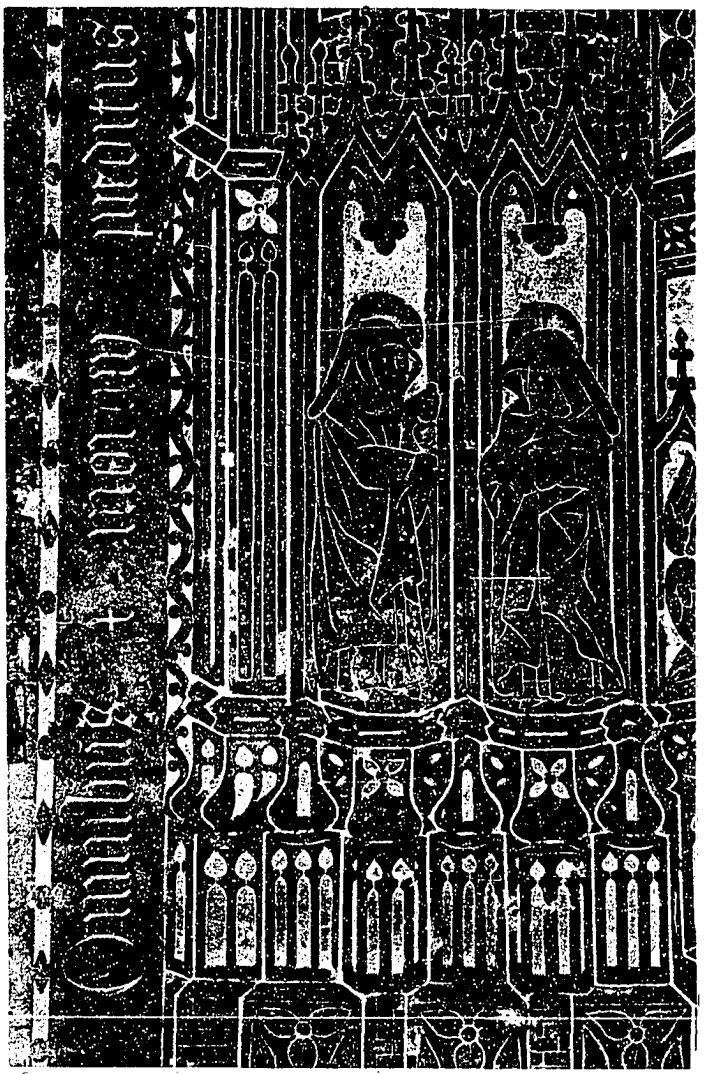


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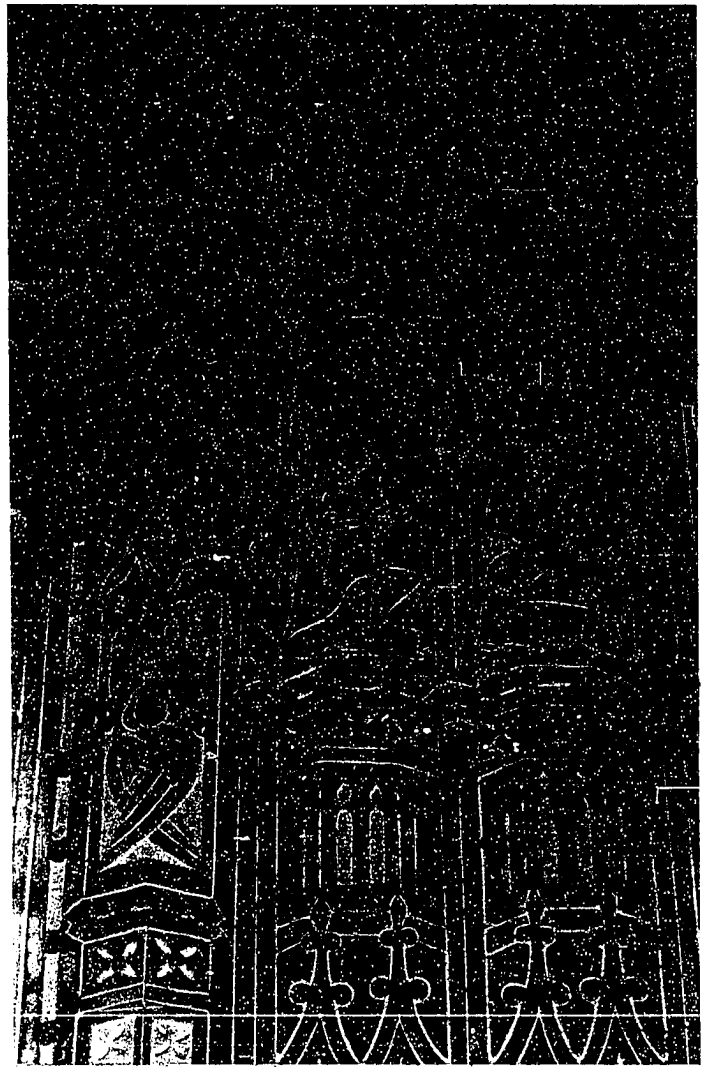


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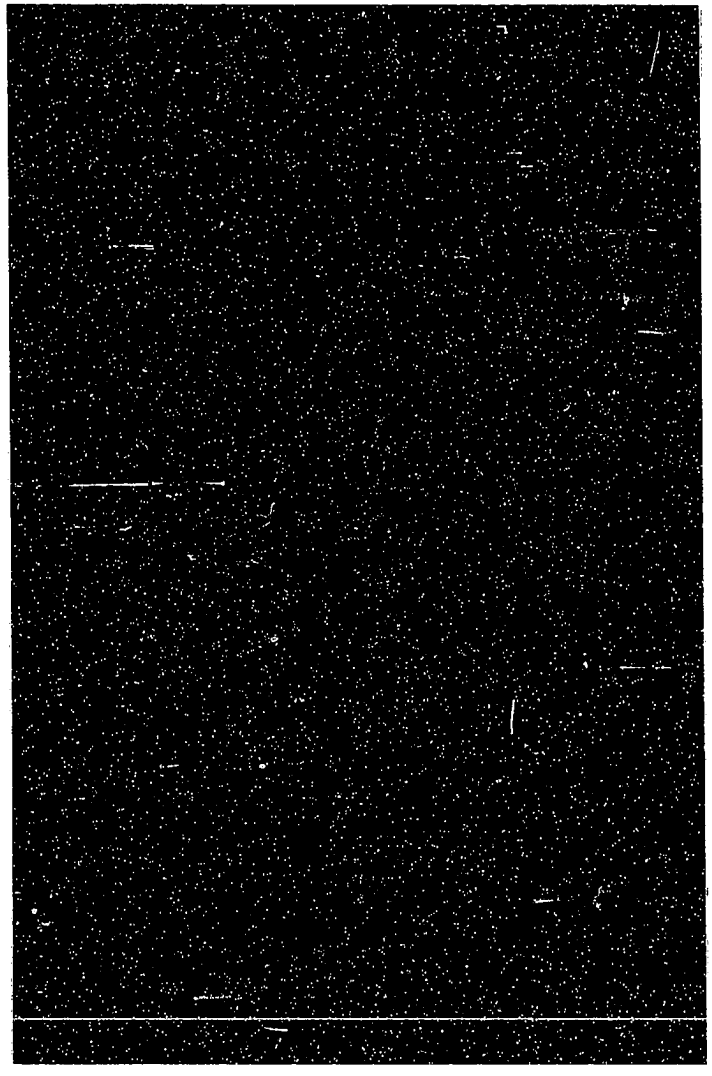


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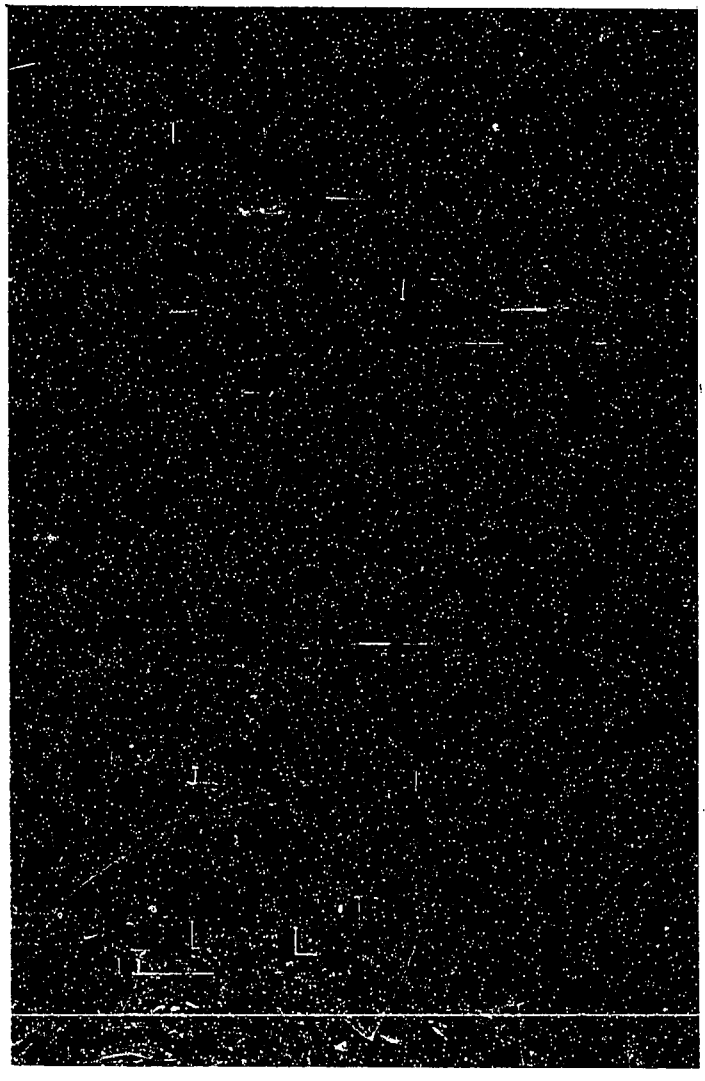


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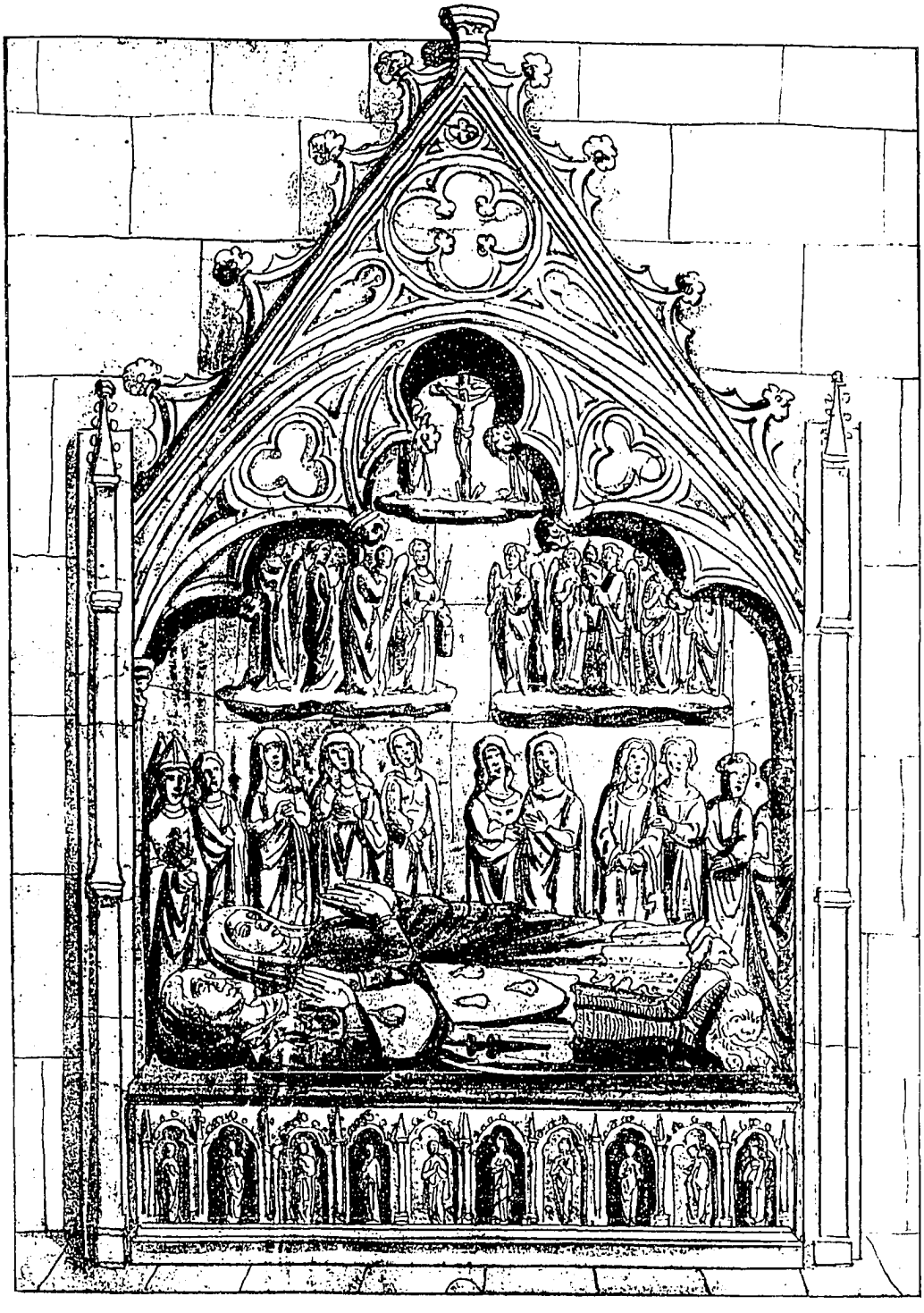


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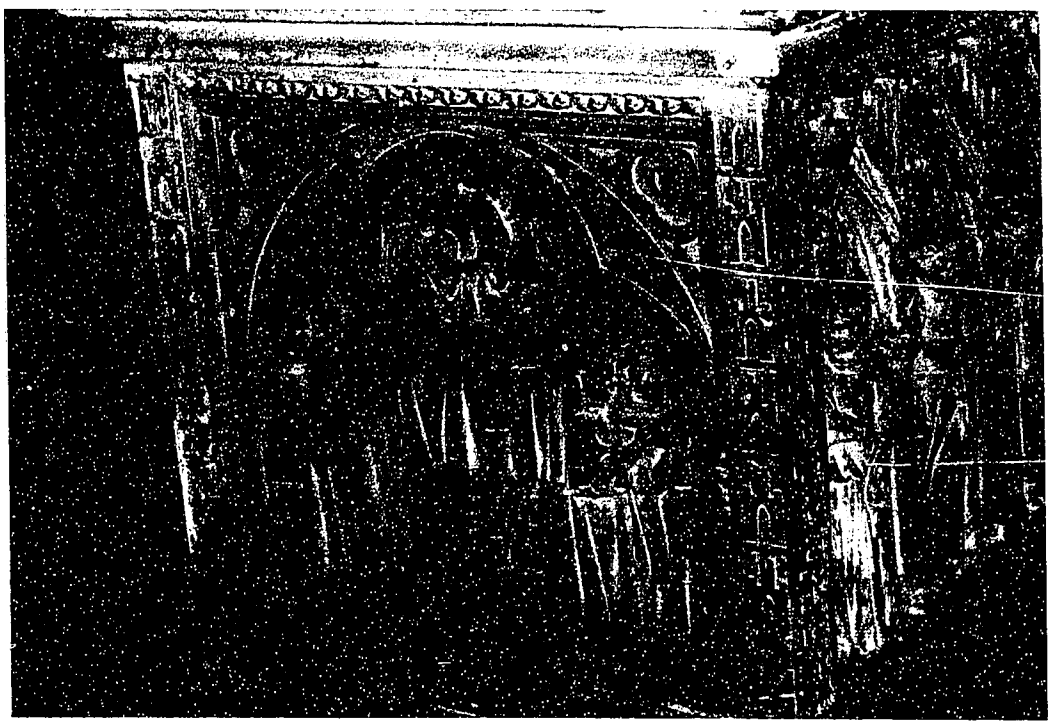


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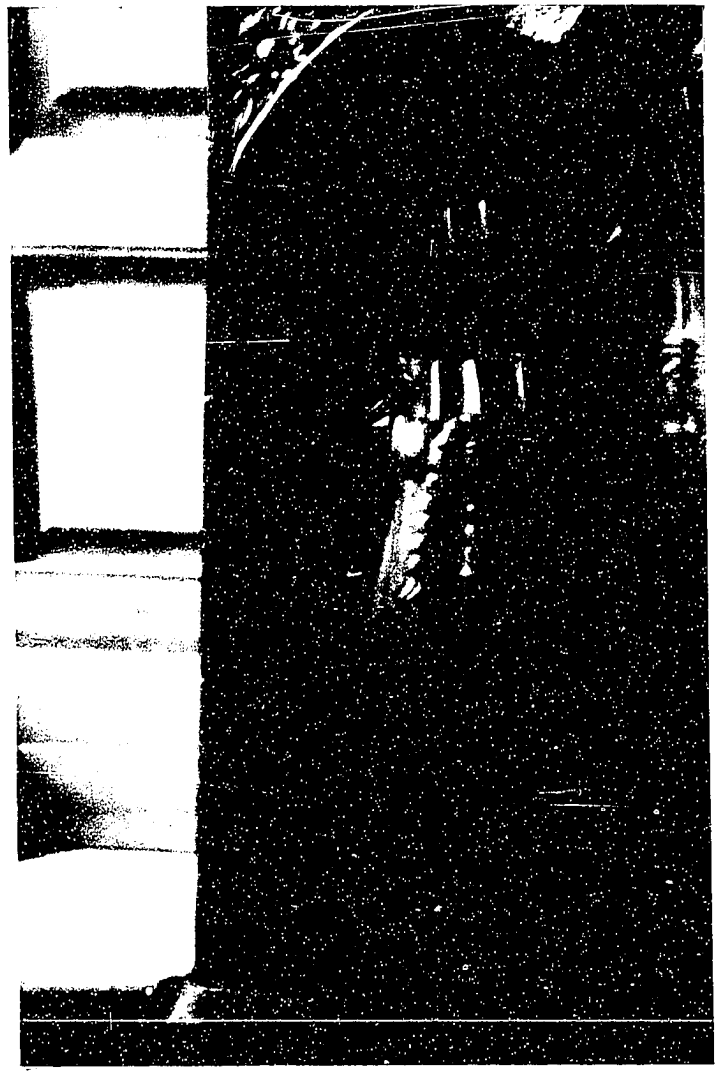


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FIGURE 31

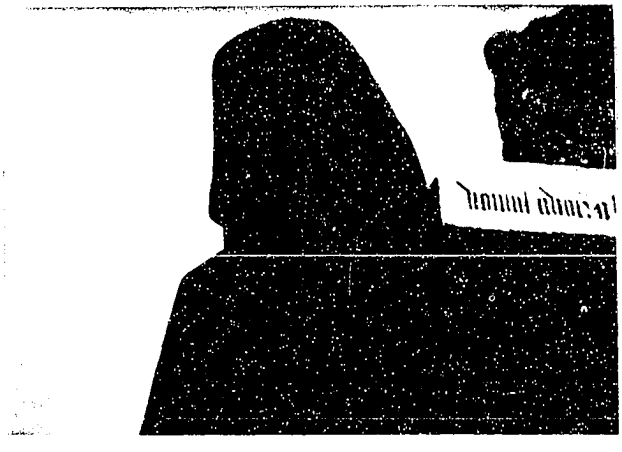


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FIGURE 33

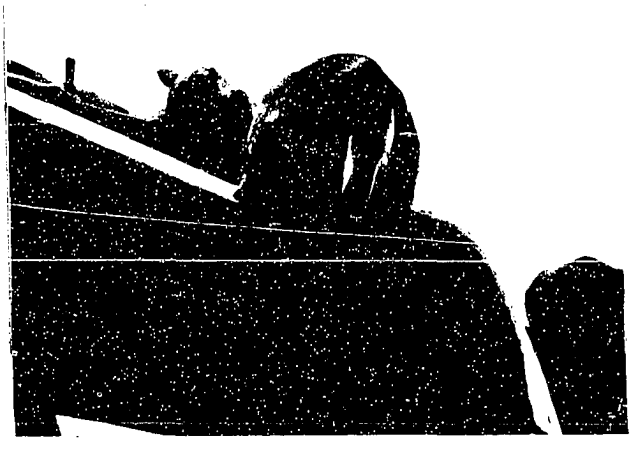


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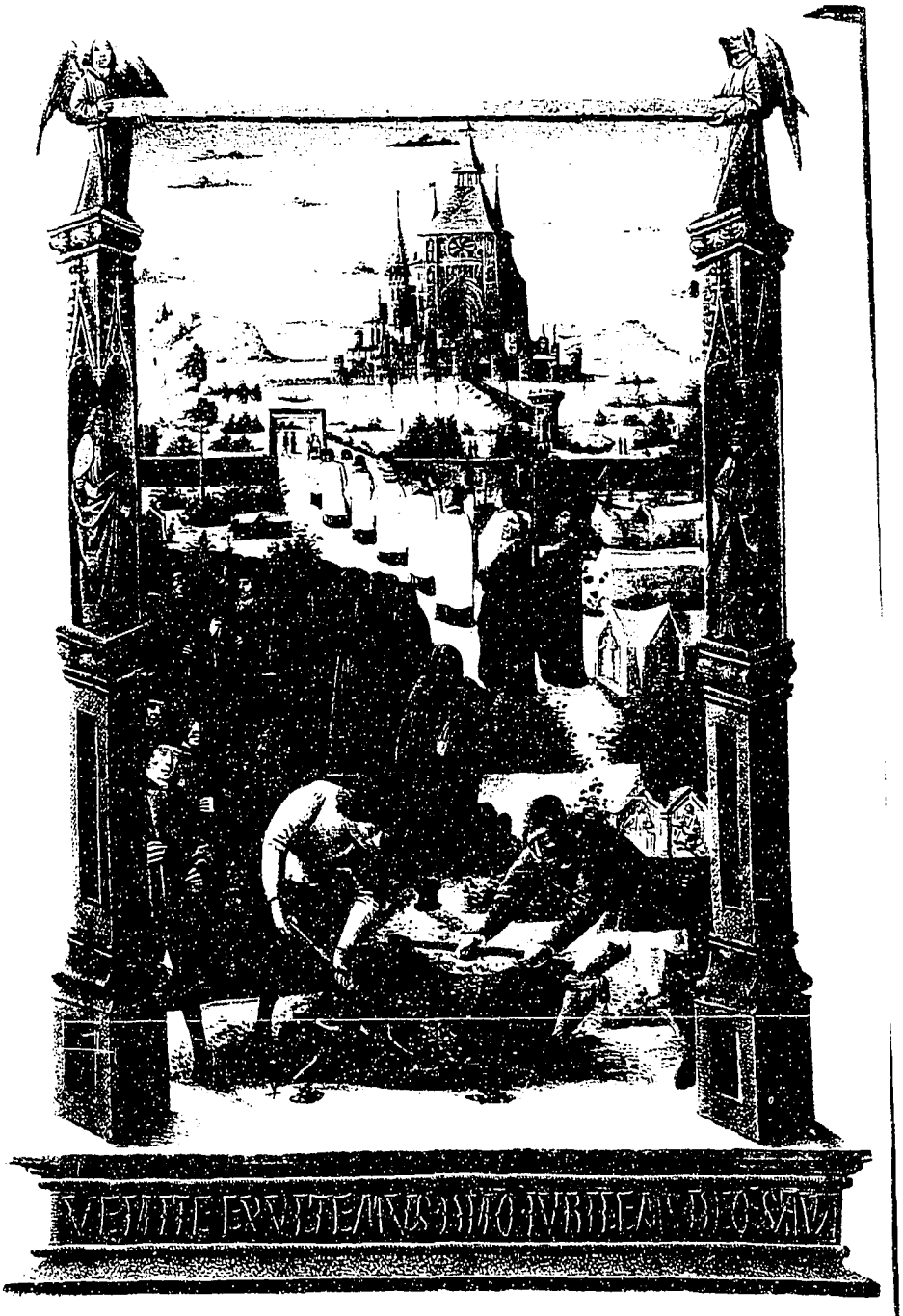


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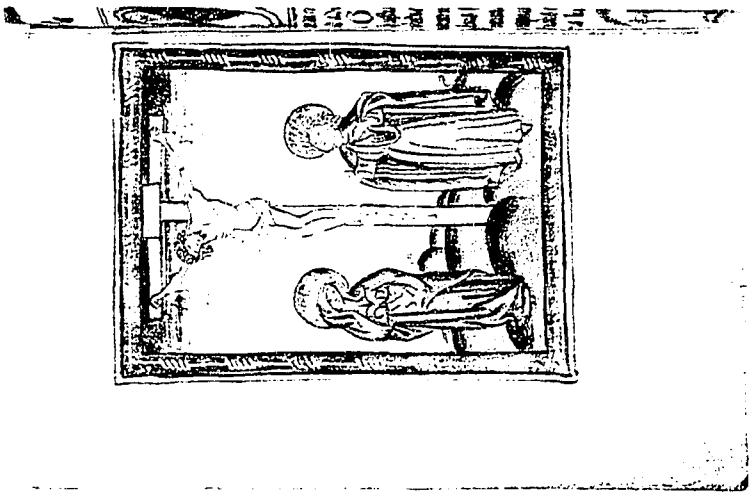


FIGURE 45

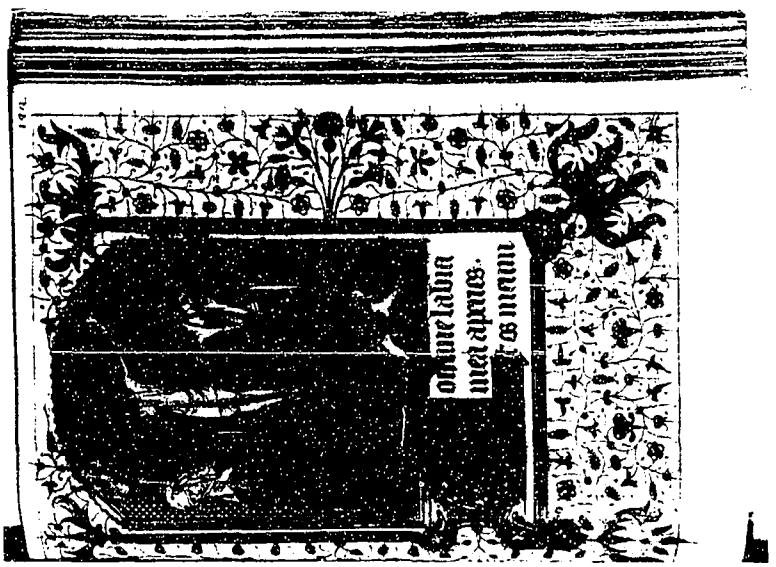


FIGURE 44

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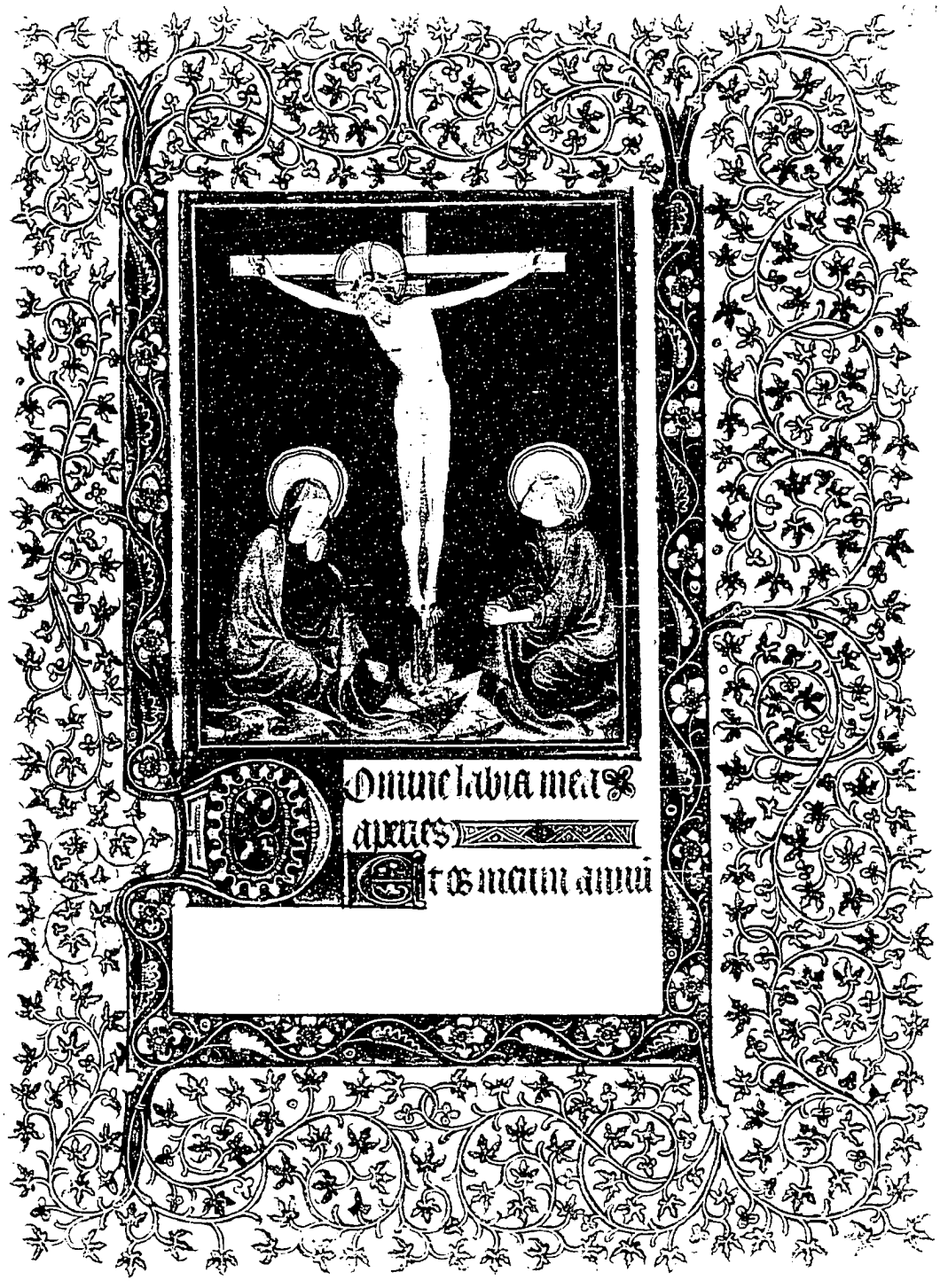


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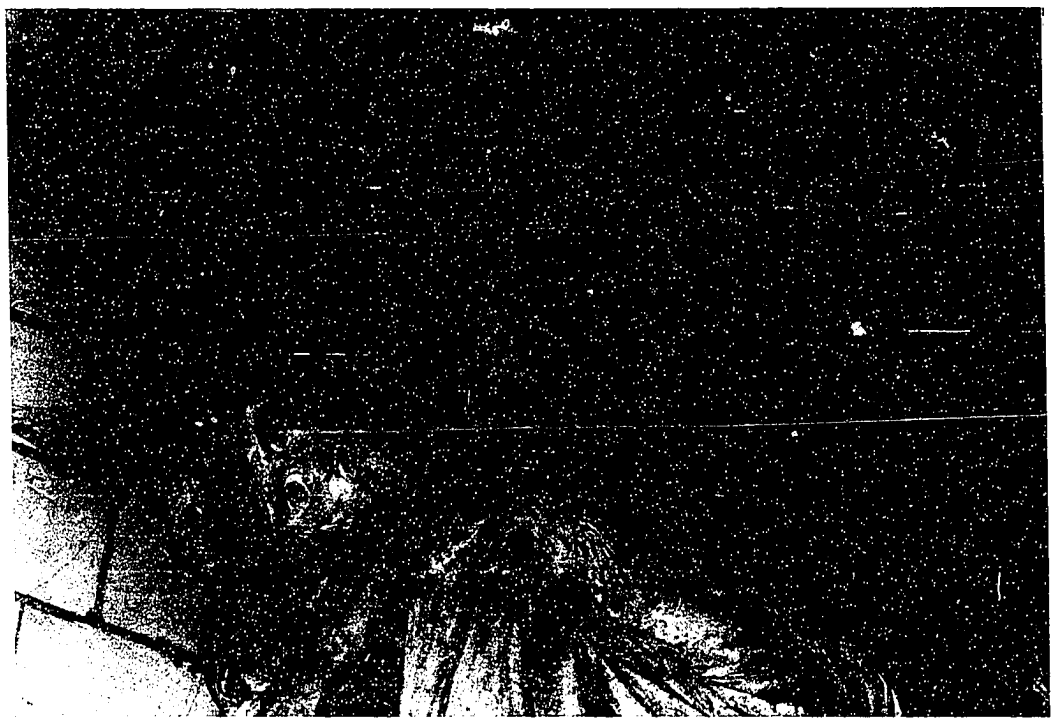


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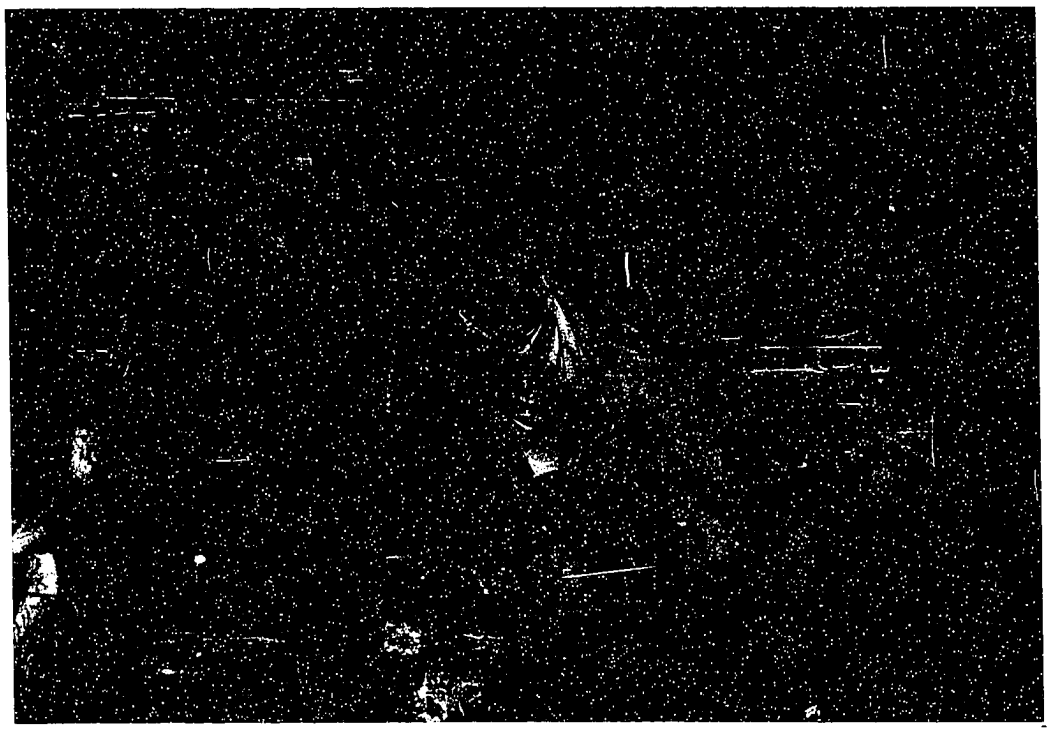


FIGURE 62

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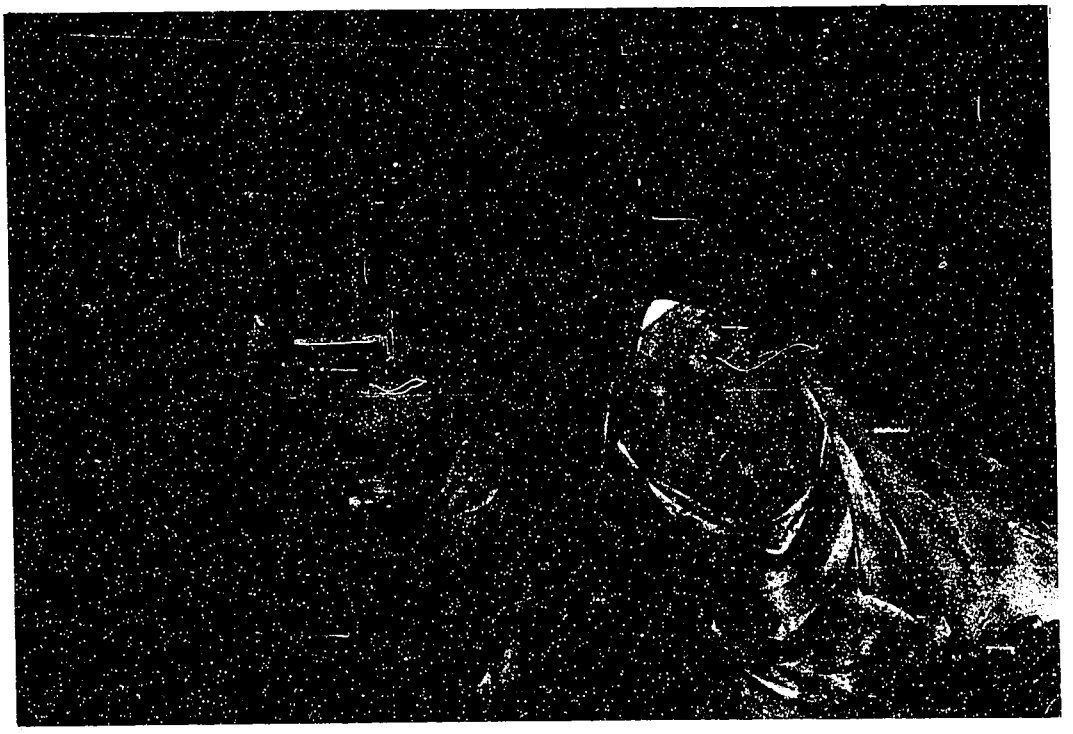


FIGURE 63

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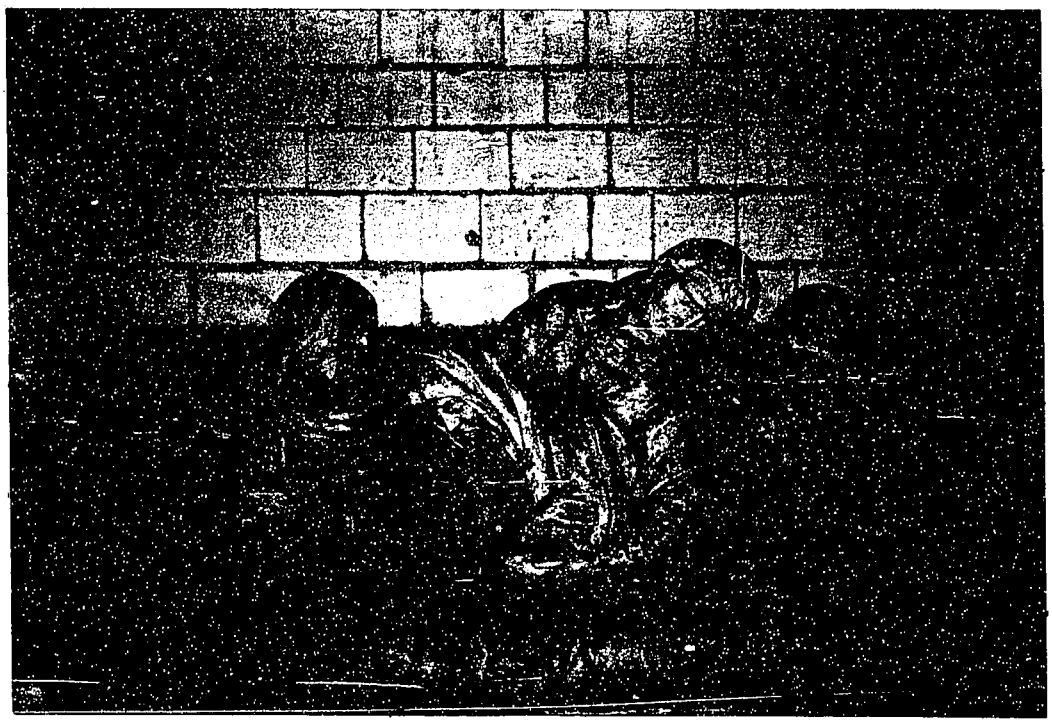


FIGURE 66

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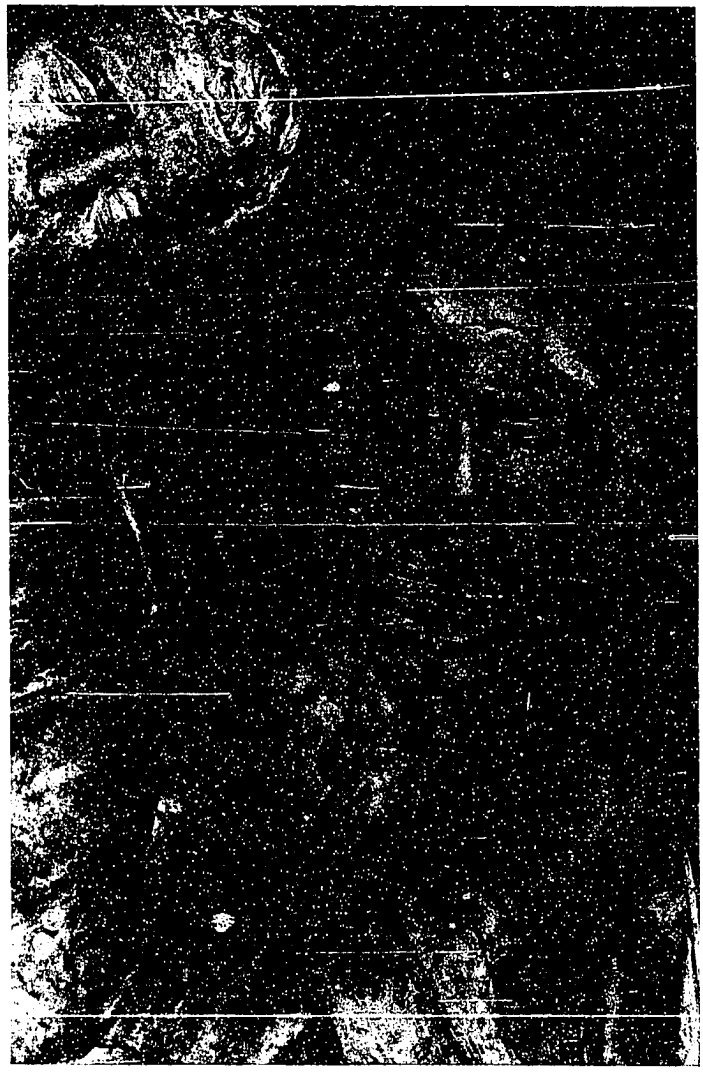


FIGURE 69

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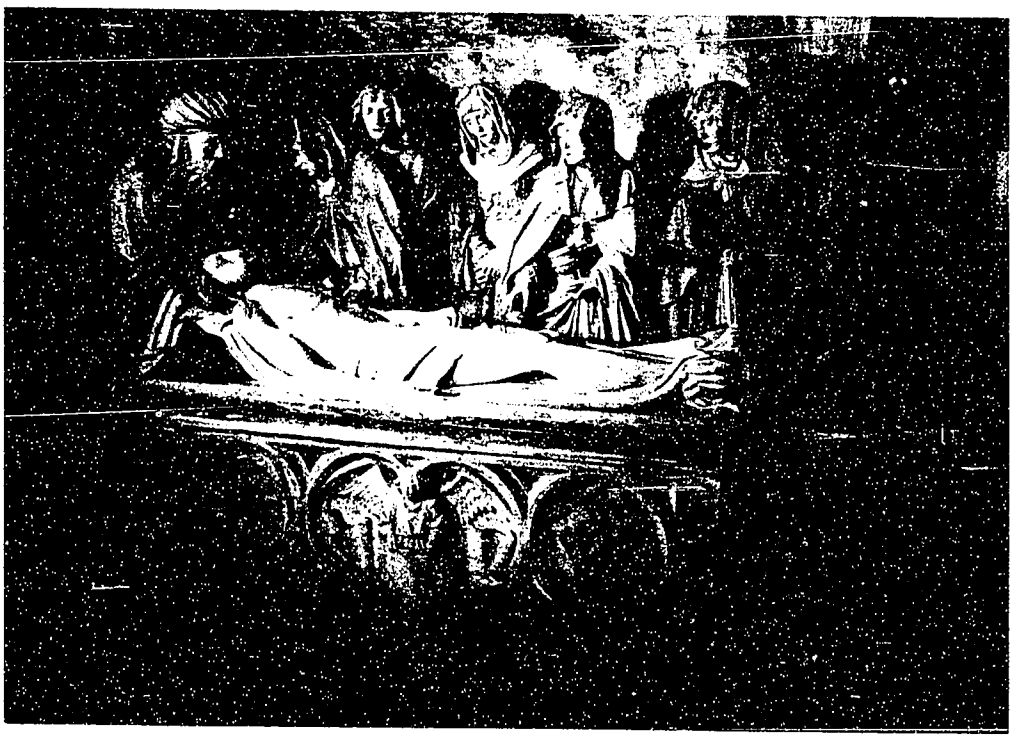


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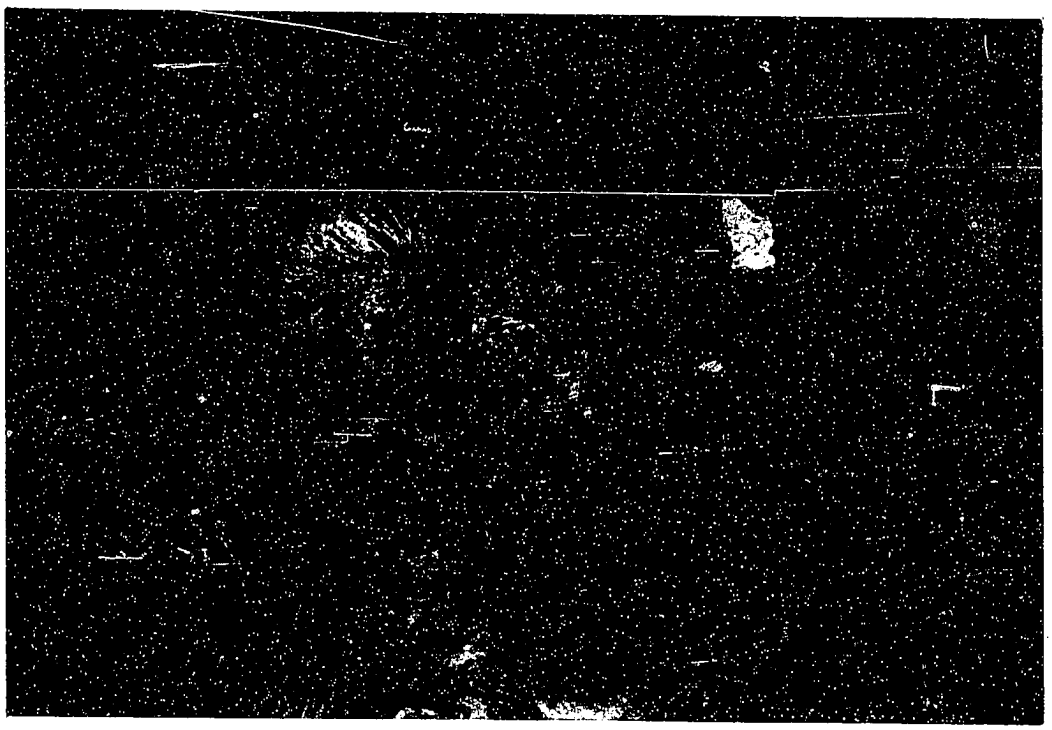


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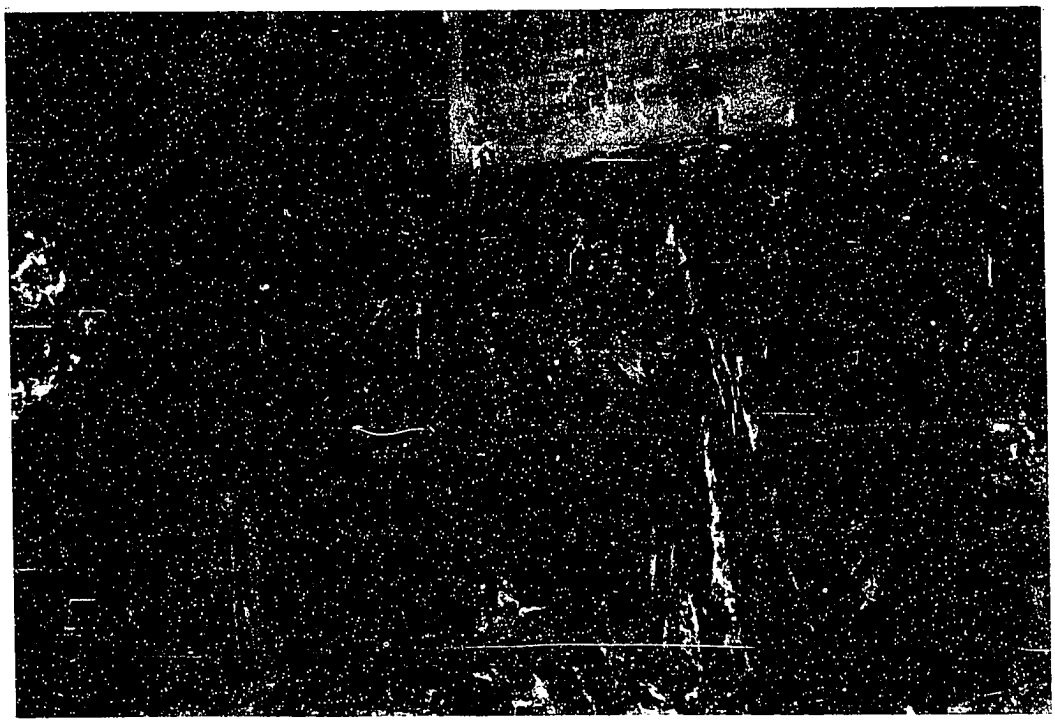


FIGURE 79

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