

A Fair Lady Takes on “Maistre Allain”

Anne de Graville's *Belle Dame sans mercy*

DAISY DELOGU

Anne Malet de Graville, a well-educated noblewoman from a family of bibliophiles with close connections to the crown, served as a lady in waiting at the intimate and austere court of Queen Claude I of France.¹ Claude cultivated the virtuous accomplishments of her ladies, and de Graville appears to have been a favored companion of the queen, for whom she composed two literary works, each based upon the work of a prestigious medieval master. One was a translation and adaptation of Boccaccio's epic romance, *Teseida*,² and the other, the focal point of the present article, a rewriting of *La Belle Dame sans mercy* (*LBDSM*), perhaps the best-known work of the so-called “père de l'éloquence française,” the royal secretary, diplomat, and author, Alain Chartier.³

Chartier composed *LBDSM* around 1424, at the court in exile of the beleaguered King Charles VII.⁴ The poem is a verse dialogue consisting of one hundred stanzas, of which the debate of a lady and her persistent would-be lover occupy seventy-two, framed and transmitted by an eaves-dropping poet-narrator. The debate is characterized by the Lover's focus on his own suffering, and the Lady's refusal to engage him on the terms that he proposes. The poem concludes with the Lady's return to the dancing, a report of the Lover's death, and the narrator's words of caution to both lords and ladies. The former are to steer clear of the false lovers who give love a bad name, and the latter are enjoined not to be so cruel as the Lady, here identified as the *belle dame sans mercy*.

Almost immediately, the poem became the center of a literary quarrel, as readers took sides with one or the other of Chartier's protagonists, taking his open-ended conclusion as an invitation for further exploration of the positions on love and language articulated within the alternating *huitains* of *LBDSM*. Thus, the dialogue staged by *LBDSM* gave rise to numer-

ous subsequent conversations.⁵ The poets inscribed in what Emma Cayley has called “collaborative debating communities” provided explanatory prequels to, and fictive courtroom dramas continuing, the saga of Chartier’s Lady and Lover.⁶ In addition to the poems that restage the characters from Chartier’s poem, other works written long after *LBDSM*, and not traditionally considered to form part of the so-called quarrel of *LBDSM* per se, continued to employ its structural features—that of an eavesdropping narrator for instance, or a dialogue between a lady and lover—or referred obliquely to some of its most famous verses (e.g., eyes are for looking), keeping Chartier’s poem alive in literary memory long after its original composition and the attendant quarrel.⁷ In this way the quarrel of *LBDSM* can be seen to lead quite seamlessly into the so-called *querelle des femmes*, a prolonged interrogation of the qualities and value of women—and men—and their place in society.⁸

In the present article I will argue that Anne de Graville’s *LBDSM* may be read as a *prise de position* in this second, more long-lasting and also amorphous societal debate. First, I shall examine the dedicatory poem to Claude of France, next the formal and codicological features of de Graville’s poem, and finally, some specific examples of her adaptation of Chartier’s famous work. I demonstrate how Anne de Graville transformed a poem that had most often been used in the century following its composition to criticize the failure of its eponymous heroine to conform to the gender expectations for courtly women, into an affirmation of women’s dignity, and the value of their contributions to court and literary culture.

Anne de Graville’s dedicatory poem inscribes her work within a female literary and cultural realm. In formal terms, the dedicatory poem distinguishes itself both from Chartier’s poem (written in octosyllabic *huitains*) and from de Graville’s re-interpretation of this text (composed in decasyllabic *rondeaux*), and therefore stands apart from the rest of the manuscript, inviting a reading that takes into account these lyric models, while not permitting an assimilation of the dedicatory poem to either of them. The opening poem consists of 18 verses in rhyming decasyllabic couplets. It bears a dedication, “à ma dame,” though the dedicatee is not named.

The author too is unnamed, but adjectival forms such as “excusee” (v. 6) permit us to identify the poet as a woman, while the presence of Anne de Graville’s devise “J’en garde un leal,” an anagram of her name, which appears at the bottom of the opening folio, serves as a signature and asserts de Graville’s control over poem, text, and manuscript.⁹ Although the single manuscript that preserves de Graville’s *LBDSM*, BnF, fr. 2253, is not illumi-

nated, the second work that she dedicated to Claude of France, her adaptation of Boccaccio’s *Teseida*, contains a finely-executed frontispiece depicting author and patron,¹⁰ and including other women to the right and slightly in back of the queen, presumably other *dames d’honneur* and potential readers. One may imagine that de Graville envisioned an analogous public for her *LBDSM*.

Among the constellation of gender pairings that might characterize the poet-patron relationship, the most usual is one in which both parties are men. Of course, many women commissioned literary works—indeed, cultural patronage, such as that sponsored by Claude of France’s mother Anne of Brittany, provided a means for women to exercise power—though most often from male writers.¹¹ By offering her work to a woman, Anne de Graville may be seen to follow in the footsteps of Christine de Pizan, who dedicated a manuscript of the documents that formed part of the quarrel of the *Roman de la Rose* to Isabeau of Bavaria, queen of France, and later offered Isabeau the sumptuous manuscript London, British Library, Harley MS 4431, today known as the Queen’s Manuscript.¹² However, Anne de Graville had other models as well, and closer to hand.¹³

De Graville’s patron and dedicatee, Claude of France, belonged to a tradition of prestigious and culturally-vibrant female-centered courts. Her mother-in-law, Louise de Savoie, at whose court Claude spent many years, was remarkable for the education she afforded women. Indeed, Louise’s daughter Marguerite (later queen of Navarre) would become a noted author in her own right.¹⁴ Following the death of her mother when she was seven, Louise de Savoie was herself raised at the court of Anne of France,¹⁵ whose *Enseignements à sa fille* (c. 1497–98, or 1503–05?) provides intellectual, practical, and moral advice for her daughter, Suzanne of Bourbon. The courts of these powerful women were not just places of sociability, but also of cultural production and learning for the women raised and residing there.

Claude was no exception to this tradition. Noted for her piety, generosity, and concern for justice, Claude’s court was a center where learning, good morals, and female virtue were actively cultivated. Claude’s famous primer (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam MS 159) features an image of St. Anne teaching the young Virgin Mary to read, and another of Anne of Brittany kneeling before the reader bishop, St. Claudius of Besançon. Similarly, her Prayer Book features among its illuminations “avid readers and dozens of books” (Wilson-Chevalier 134). Kathleen Wilson-Chevalier recounts an anecdote from the early years of Claude’s rule in which Francis I, wishing to show the royal library to a guest, but “chez sa femme” and clearly out of his element, could

not find the keeper of the key to the library. This evidence of Claude's bibliophilia suggests that an original manuscript, a text composed in her honor, and one moreover that performs and promotes women's virtue, would have constituted a pleasing gift for the queen.

Like the Lover of *LBDSM*, the lyric "I" of the dedicatory poem begs her lady to receive her affection and service.¹⁶ However, the poet of de Gravelle's dedication provides a corrective to her model inasmuch as the service in question takes the form of writing rather than loving. Moreover, her poem will prove useful for her patron and the other ladies of her court because it will furnish an incitement to their virtue, rather than provoking grief and the loss of honor and reputation, like the love service that Chartier's Lover enjoins the Lady to accept.

The dedicatory poem establishes not only de Gravelle's relationship to her patron, but also to her predecessor. In her opening verses the author declares that "En maistre Allain de ses œuvres j'ay quis / A mon juger le plus fin et exquis." These verses at once recognize the literary authority and prestige of "maistre Allain," and also establish Anne de Gravelle as an authority in her own right, one familiar with the works of Chartier, and capable of determining which would make the most worthy gift to her patron. This relationship between past and present authors, in which Chartier's prominence will be at once acknowledged and subordinated to de Gravelle's, characterizes the poem as a whole and the single manuscript witness in which it is preserved, BnF, fr. 2253.

De Gravelle's decision to respond to an earlier and well-known work is characteristic of the poetic production of the time which, as Adrian Armstrong has argued, is a "collaborative social activity, involving co-operation and/or competition" (xiv).¹⁷ Poets engaged with one another's works by continuing, adapting, or contesting them in texts that demonstrate homage and respect, as well as rivalry and one-upmanship. Within this dynamic poetic community, Chartier was a figure of exceptional importance, because the dialogism that particularly characterizes his works—and not exclusively *LBDSM*—inspired a vast amount of response and debate among his readers and successors (Armstrong xx-xxi). By engaging with an esteemed model in a manner consistent with the poetic mores of her era and milieu, de Gravelle is asserting her participation in and belonging to an exclusive group whose members possess and control a prestigious body of knowledge, and who are capable of imparting both poetic and ethical knowledge to their readers.¹⁸ Moreover, the dialogism so fundamental to Chartier's works and to the poetic production that spanned his

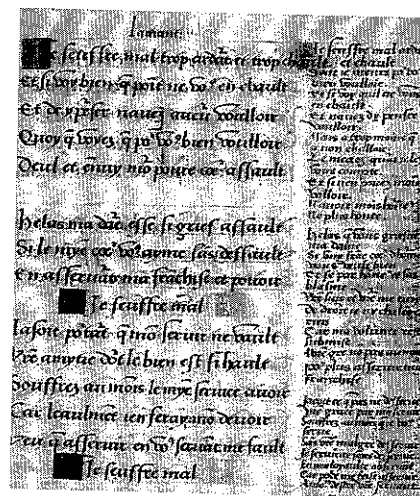


Fig. 1. BnF, fr. 2253, fol. 3r

era and de Gravelle's own is in ample evidence in her rewriting of *LBDSM*, which stages multiple and interconnecting dialogues, not least within the pages of the manuscript itself.¹⁹

The single remarkable manuscript that preserves de Gravelle's text likewise preserves Chartier's poem—or at least, those portions of it which serve her literary objectives—in a visual staging of the interaction between poet and predecessor.²⁰ On folio 3r (figure 1) we see a rubric, "L'amant," written as a heading above the rondeau "Je seuffre mal." In the margin in a much smaller script we see three *huitains*, corresponding to stanzas 25, 26, and 27 of Chartier's poem.²¹ This *mise en page* makes visible, indeed quite literal, the simultaneous citation and marginalization of Chartier that characterizes de Gravelle's work.²² Chartier's poem alternates, stanza by stanza, between the voices of Lady and Lover, with the exception of the stanzas that appear here. In his opening salvo to the Lady, the Lover is accorded three *huitains*, introducing a slight disequilibrium into their debate. De Gravelle condenses the Lover's opening gambit into a single *rondeau*, thereby leveling the rhetorical playing field, as it were. In a kind of *reductio ad absurdum*, the Lover's central claim of the poem is reduced to the four syllables of the refrain, "je seuffre mal."

For a reader familiar with Chartier's *LBDSM*, De Gravelle's poem would appear to begin *in medias res*, because it suppresses the first 24 *huitains* of

Chartier's poem, and with them, the character of the poet-narrator. De Gravelle's reader is thus granted direct access to the claims and arguments of the Lover and the Lady, without the intervening presence and judgment of Chartier's narrator. Moreover, since the poet-narrator of *LBDSM* was often understood as a textual analog of Chartier himself, de Gravelle's suppression of this narrative presence is another way to sideline her predecessor. The excision of the narrator is completed in the following *rondeau*. While Chartier's *huitain* 28 was written from the perspective of the narrator, who reported the Lady's speech, de Gravelle's second *rondeau* is pronounced by the Lady herself, and indeed her presence and her control over her speech are conveyed by the refrain, "Je vous supply." The repetition of the first-person singular pronoun effected by the refrain highlights the Lady's presence and her ownership of her words, thoughts, and actions. From this point on, both Chartier and de Gravelle's speakers alternate in uniform lyric units until the end of the poem, from which, as we shall see presently, Chartier's *auteur* is likewise evacuated.

De Gravelle's choice of the *rondeau* as the form into which she transposes Chartier's text is not an innocent one. For Daniel Poirion the *rondeau* is inherently dialogic: "conçu pour l'échange, la rencontre, la communion," the *rondeau* performs the interchange between refrain and verses, sentence and gloss, *Moi* and *les autres* (Poirion 322, 333). Although de Gravelle's opening *rondeau* effects an *abbreviatio* of her predecessor, in general terms her poetic form also permits an *amplificatio* of each of Chartier's *huitains*. De Gravelle exhibits her poetic mastery by writing an especially complex form of the *rondeau*, called the *rondeau double* (Armstrong 176). Each consists of three decasyllabic stanzas of 5, 3, and 5 lines respectively. The second and third stanzas conclude with a refrain of four syllables which repeats the opening words of the first line of the *rondeau*. In addition to being longer than a *huitain*, the *rondeau*'s principle of organization is different. As its name indicates, the *rondeau* possesses a circularity that contrasts with the more linear tendency of the *huitain*. Chartier's *huitains* often develop a single idea, or use the two halves of the *huitain* to introduce a shift in perspective, or a new idea. De Gravelle's *rondeaux* provide three poetic units, while the refrain, which Theodore de Banville in a piquant metaphor calls "ces trois pointes d'acier," lends a focus to the *rondeau* that the *huitain* does not possess.²³ The refrain can unify and reiterate, but it can also fragment or undermine meaning, sometimes functioning ironically as it is recontextualized over the course of the poem.

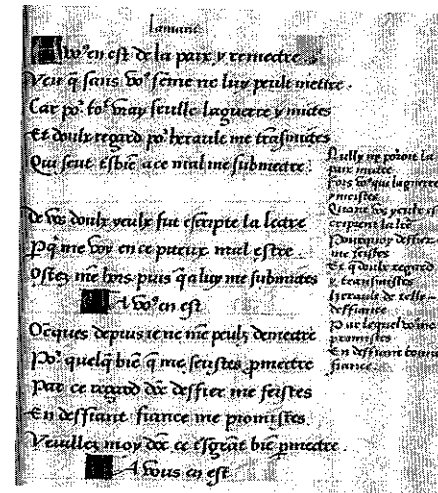


Fig. 2. BnF, fr. 2253, fol. 4r

The *rondeau* possesses a capacity for irony or subversion that make it a particularly apt form in which to adapt the work of another.

The manuscript reproduces a *huitain* of Chartier's work alongside the corresponding *rondeau* by de Gravelle, as we see in figure 2.²⁴ This layout makes possible (at least) two very different ways of engaging with de Gravelle's work. On the one hand, a reader can proceed linearly through de Gravelle's *rondeaux*, following her version of the debate between the Lover and Lady. On the other hand, the presence of Chartier's work in the margins also permits—indeed it practically demands—a direct comparison of Chartier's work to de Gravelle's.²⁵ The reader is invited to observe what de Gravelle has added, suppressed, changed, or moved with respect to her predecessor, and to interpret the significance of these transformations. In this manner, the dialogue between Lover and Lady is doubled by another—that between Chartier and de Gravelle. In Chartier's *LBDSM*, and in conformity with the conventions of courtly language and conduct, the Lover introduces and establishes the terms of the conversation, and consequently the conditions of possibility that define and delimit the parameters of the Lady's possible response. So, too, Chartier's poem provides the point of departure for de Gravelle's own. However, just as Chartier's Lady contests the signification and implications of her interlocutor's claims, likewise de Gravelle reinfects Chartier's poem, introducing or emphasizing alterna-

tive perspectives and ideas. Furthermore, the juxtaposition of de Graville's and Chartier's works in the manuscript problematizes the very nature and possibility of dialogue. Who, in this manuscript, is speaking to whom? When voices speak side by side, in parallel, can we truly speak of exchange? Chartier's *LBDSM* had itself constituted a kind of *dialogue des sourds*, in which the interlocutors frequently responded *à travers*, each bent upon the expression of his or her own perspective.²⁶ De Graville's text, and especially the manuscript she designed for its transmission, offers new opportunities for communication.

In addition to the multiple possibilities for dialogue staged by the manuscript, de Graville's poem also invites dialogue between the text and its public, both the privileged and inscribed reader Claude, and the implied readers, the ladies of Claude's court who constitute yet another possible audience for the text. One can imagine a reader engaging in an exchange of perspectives with the text, and using the text as a starting point for conversation and debate among the women of Claude's court, a discussion about the possible meanings and implications of Chartier's and de Graville's works, not unlike the conversations that form an integral part of Marguerite de Navarre's *Hep-taméron*. We see then that dialogue and exchange operate on a formal, semantic, and codicological level, that the text both performs and invites debate, reflection, interpretation, and continuation. As Bock and Zimmerman have remarked with respect to the *querelle des femmes*, "[t]he determining criterion [i.e., in deciding whether a text belongs or not to the *querelle*] is unquestionably the feature of quarrelling, polemic, controversy, debate, verbal action and reaction" (140). From this standpoint, one may imagine de Graville's text not only as an intervention into the dynamic poetic circles of her day, but also in the *querelle des femmes*. It is to this aspect of the text, its *prise de position* with respect to the qualities and conduct of men and women in society, that I would like now to turn.

One of the fundamental debates that animates Chartier's poem is that concerning language. The misuse of language and the failure of lovers to accord their words with their actions is one of the Lady's principal concerns, and the primary reason for her firm refusal of the Lover's advances. In addition, Lover and Lady contest the meaning and application of key terms, such as *courtoisie*, *honneur*, and *pitié*. Such questions remain central to de Graville's poem, which preserves the general content and progression of Chartier's. On the level of individual *huitains* and *rondeaux*, however, we are able to observe how de Graville shifts the emphasis that Chartier places on certain terms or concepts (35), expands upon his points (36), transforms aspects of his poem (51, 53), and innovates with respect to her

original (50, 52). In order to elucidate these moments of textual transformation, I would like to examine and compare a series of stanzas (51–54) in which both poets explore the concept of *courtoisie*.

Having refused to accord him the reception that, according to the Lover, love and *courtoisie* demand, Chartier's Lover declares at the midpoint of the poem that *courtoisie* is dead in the Lady: "sembleroit en vous perie / Courtoisie, qui vous semont / Qu'amours soit par amours merie."²⁷ In this accusation we see prefigured the Lady's eventual condemnation in the quarrel of *LBDSM*, for the charges against her are of the gravest possible nature; she lacks the foremost quality that defines ladies—indeed all those of noble blood—and governs their conduct. This *huitain* introduces a protracted discussion of *courtoisie*, and subsequently of honor, but the Lover's denunciation of his beloved as a most uncourtly lady will stick.

De Graville effects important changes to the initial accusation, and to the whole sequence. Most significantly, her Lover does *not* declare that *courtoisie* is dead in his interlocutor. Instead, he affirms that "courtoisie a m'aimer vous semond / Quant je n'ai fait vers vous desloyauté" (emphasis added). Thus, *Courtoisie's* injunction to love stands, but not in the absolute sense in which it operated in Chartier's poem, where love was the appropriate and only recompense for love. De Graville's Lover does not leverage the idea of *courtoisie* to support a general principle, but to advance his own objective: *courtoisie* enjoins you to love *me*, he says, *when*—and here we see another essential modification—I have not been disloyal. We here observe the greater specificity of the love experience and the circumstances of the protagonists that characterizes de Graville's poem, as well as the emphasis on personal ethics and responsibility that makes her *LBDSM* a more didactic text than Chartier's.²⁸

Huitain 52, spoken by the Lady, opens with the line "Courtoisie est si aliee / D'Onneur" and the corresponding *rondeau* with "Courtoisie est si amye et si chere / d'honesteté." Thus "courtoisie" becomes the refrain, thereby highlighting this key concept, and the elaboration of its meaning as developed by the Lady, presented in de Graville's poem not as a figure in whom *courtoisie* is dead, but rather one who possesses the authority to define this crucial term. Chartier's "Onneur" becomes "honesteté," with its greater emphasis on good morals, and also appropriate behavior.²⁹ De Graville conveys the sense of Chartier's *huitain* in her first two stanzas, and in her third she innovates, explaining that "De liberté emporte la baniere / Et tousjours vist en franchise planiere / A servitude en riens elle ne ressemble / D'avec honneur jamais ne desassemble / Dont elle tient sa coustume premiere/Courtoisie." De Graville emphasizes the freedom that

is inseparable from honor, thereby affirming that women are not bound by men's desires, but that they have the liberty to choose a lover, or to eschew erotic love altogether.³⁰

In the following *huitain* Chartier's Lover claims that "Donner le bien ou il deffault / Est courtoisie raisonnable," thus continuing to debate the significance and applications of this key term. De Gravelle, however, suppresses the word *courtoisie* entirely. Her Lover states that "Faire du bien a tous est de raison." In this manner, she allows her Lady's definition of *courtoisie*, as elaborated in the previous *rondeau* of that refrain, to stand untested. In *huitain* 54 Chartier's Lady picks up on the Lover's further definition of *courtoisie*, presented as "donner le bien ou il deffault," and opens with the assertion, "I don't know what you call 'good.'" De Gravelle's Lady, in contrast, knows perfectly well what the Lover is talking about, says as much, and denounces him and like lovers for their disingenuousness:

Ne sçay que vous apelés 'bien'

(Mal enprunte bien aultry non!)

Maiz il est trop large du sien

Qui pert par donner son renon.

On ne doit faire otroy, si non

Quant la requeste est advenant,

Car se l'**onneur** ne retenon,

Trop petit est le remenant.

Je le congnois que vous appelez
bien

Et mal aussy, puis j'aperçoy fort bien

Que souvent vice a de vertu le nom

Vers celles gens qui hayent qu'on
leur dient 'non'

Dont il est tant qu'on ne sçait pas
combien.

Vous desirez quelque chose du myen

Mais ceste la est trop large du syen

Qui par donner pert honneur et
renom

Je le congnois.

Si en donnant l'**honneur** je ne retien
Tout le surplus de mon bien ne vault
rien

Nous ne devons vouloir donner sy
non

Honneste don et que **honneur**
retenon

Car luy sans plus est tout nostre
entretien

Je le congnois. (emphasis
added)

the refrain no less, thus insisting on the Lady's knowledge and her positively affirmed first-person singular perspective, which in turn becomes the basis for a far more elaborate discourse on honor that expands upon what she had said in the *rondeau* "Courtoisie." Chartier's Lady uses the terms "renon" and "onneur" once each in this *huitain*, while de Gravelle's Lady places a much greater emphasis on honor, especially in the third stanza in which she develops the importance of retaining one's honor, and links "honneur" to "honneste don"—that which a virtuous and respectable person might give or receive—as in the *rondeau* "courtoisie."

This short series of stanzas illuminates in representative fashion the ways in which de Gravelle's poem, while giving the impression of fidelity to, and perhaps even rather pedestrian imitation of, her original, in fact assertively reorients Chartier's poem, contributing to a new definition of *courtoisie* that suggests courtliness, as well as courtesy, an understanding that is informed by Italian cultural influences such as that exercised by Castiglione's *Cortegiano*.³¹ It also highlights another aspect of de Gravelle's rewriting to which we shall now turn, that is to say, the creation and inscription in her text of a community of female readers in which she participates.

As we have seen in the short series of stanzas just examined, the first-person singular voice of de Gravelle's Lady occupies a prominent position in her poem. Chartier's Lady of course employs the first-person singular as well, but as Mawy Bouchard and Catherine Müller have also noted, de Gravelle's poem tends to transform the impersonal universals of Chartier's poem, the "qui" and "il," into specific individuals, the Lady and her would-be Lover. De Gravelle's use of first-person refrains—"je vous supply" (28), "je ne vous veulx" (32), "je l'entends bien" (42), and of course "je le congnois" (54), to name just a few—heightens our awareness of the perspective of her protagonist.

The forceful inscription of the female *je* in de Gravelle's poem makes possible the concomitant creation of a *nous*-women to whom and on behalf of whom the Lady speaks. Chartier's Lady had also spoken in broad terms about women. "Dames ne sont mie si lourdes, / si mal entendans, ne si folles" (vv. 297–98) for instance, or "les chetives qui s'i fient [in men's declarations of love] / En pleurent après mainte lerne" (vv. 351–52).³² However such statements speak of women in the third person plural, making an authoritative statement about their nature and experiences from which the speaker is distanced in grammatical and also affective terms. One might detect pity—perhaps even scorn?—in Chartier's Lady's reference to those "chetives," a group to which she, more savvy (or cynical) and

We observe here a remarkable rewriting of Chartier, as his Lady's "I don't know" becomes de Gravelle's "I know," the phrase that constitutes

less gullible, does not intend to belong. Thus there is little sense of female solidarity in Chartier's poem. The only time that his Lady uses the first person plural is in her next to last *huitain*, in which she makes her own conduct the basis for a general principle that all women would do well to respect: "Faulx Semblant fait l'umble et le doulx / Pour baillier dames en aguet, / Et pour ce *chacune de nous* / Y doibt bien l'escoute et le guet" (vv. 749–52, emphasis added). Women are thus to emulate the Lady, but one does not have the impression that she is one of them.

De Gravelle's Lady, in contrast, has frequent recourse to a *nous* that seems to embrace author, female protagonist, patron, and female readers. In the *rondeau* "En tout honneur" (50), for example, the Lady says that women adapt their language to their interlocutors: "Selon les gens nous tenons le langaige / Les extimans selon leur personnaige³³ / Ung foul parler sçavons bailler aux folz / Aux importuns les fascher de courroux/ Et aux aymez nous faisons avantaige/ En tout honneur." Similarly in the *rondeau* "Je le congnois" (54), as we have seen, "nous ne devons vouloir donner sy non / honneste don." In these examples the *nous* may refer to a community exclusively comprised of women, or to a community of all those who are honorable, reasonable, and who employ language appropriately.

In other *rondeaux*, the identity of the *nous* is more explicitly feminized. The *rondeau* "Sur tez mesfaiz" (74) addresses the misuse of language and in particular those who brag about the favors they (claim to) have received from women. The Lover calls such a boaster a "fol ingrat" (r. "De tout honneur"); all well and good, except that, as the Lady points out, there is no court or judge in which such people or such acts are condemned. On the contrary, "seuffrent on blasme vers nous courir." The Lady goes on to lament that "Si nous prions replicquer on est sourd / Se on nous fait tort aucun ne nous ressourd / Nulz, ou bien peu nous veulent secourir / Donc il convient gref reprouche encourir / Pour le mal faict qui d'eulx s'engendre et sourt." We see a clear opposition here between the female community, *nous*, and the "on," "aucun," "nulz," "peu," and "eulx" by whom this *nous* is oppressed, slandered, and left victim of injustice that not only remains undressed, but in fact is laid at their doorstep. Similarly, in the *rondeau* "De faire mal" (94), which corresponds to the *huitain* in which Chartier's Lady had spoken of "chacune de nous," de Gravelle presents her readers with the image of a vulnerable female community: "faulx semblant . . . est en aguet puis nostre aage d'enfance . . . pour nous tromper, mais chacune de nous / y doibt le guet pour fouyr la mischance." *Faulx Semblant*, a figure made famous by the *Roman de la Rose* and here representa-

tive of the deceptive speech of men who seek to dishonor women, stalks women from their most tender youth. An oppositional, even adversarial, relationship pits men and women against one another, and since societal norms and institutions fail to protect women, it is incumbent upon them to watch out for themselves and one another.

The vivid presence of this community of women—of which the Lady is one—can be connected both to the dedicatory poem with its economy of female poet and patron, and to the courtly setting in which it would have been read and discussed. In evoking the very real dangers and pitfalls that beset women, the poem suggests that it might help its readers to navigate the perilous waters of the court, and most especially, to resist the insistent and alluring, but dangerous, siren call of love. In this way de Gravelle's *LBDSM* serves as a didactic text by a woman, and for the benefit of other women. The idea that poem and poet might help others is enacted in the final *rondeau*, which stages another radical departure from its model.

Chartier's *LBDSM* had ended with four *huitains* pronounced by the eavesdropping narrator of the opening frame (absent, as we have seen, from de Gravelle's poem) which depicted the Lover taking leave of the Lady with a despairing apostrophe to Death (*huitain* 97), the reported death of the Lover and the Lady's return to the dance (98), and two *huitains* of warning addressed to lovers and to ladies, respectively (99–100), concluding with the *auteur's* baptism of the Lady as "sans mercy." In contrast, de Gravelle omits entirely Chartier's words of warning, and compresses his *huitains* 97 and 98 into a single *rondeau* by a figure identified as the *acteur*, who may or may not correspond to the "je" of the dedicatory poem. De Gravelle does preserve the Lover's mental unhinging (he is "hors du sens", as well as the Lady's unconcern ("aucun deuil n'en a pris sa maistrese"), but she interjects between these, in the central stanza of the *rondeau*, an attempt at intervention into this dialogue on the part of the *acteur*: "Je luy voulluz lors estre secourant / Et tout souldain je vins vers luy courant / Mais je ne sceuz qu'il devint a la presse / Ainsi partit." De Gravelle's poem, as we recall, is without a narrative frame, beginning with the lament of the Lover, and thus the *acteur's* sudden appearance and interjection of her presence into the narrative setting represents a transgression of discursive and mimetic boundaries, as the author figure becomes a protagonist, albeit an unsuccessful one. Chartier's words of warning, directed outward to his male and female readers, here become an attempt at rescue, directed inward towards the participants in the dialogue. This intervention suggests that the benevolent authority figure, the *acteur* and, implicitly, de Gravelle's

royal patron, have a moral responsibility towards those in her care. In addition, while Chartier holds his characters up as a cautionary tale, transforming them into literary exempla,³⁴ de Gravelle turns her characters into people by suddenly inserting her *acteur* into a courtly setting and allowing this figure to interact with others, thereby suggesting how de Gravelle's readers might apply the lessons and ideas of her poem to real-life circumstances.

The ethical and practical utility of de Gravelle's poem brings us to the final point that I would like to make, namely the ways in which de Gravelle's poem functions as a didactic text. Like the question of language, the issue and vocabulary of wisdom and folly run throughout Chartier's text. However, de Gravelle's insistence on this theme is far more pronounced than Chartier's. First, and as others have noted, de Gravelle's Lady quite consistently specifies that what she rejects is not love as such, but *fol amour* (Bouchard). Indeed, this phrase forms the refrain of *rondeau* 40. Accordingly, the word *fol* and its cognates appear with great frequency in de Gravelle, often added where the corresponding *huitain* had no such reference (e.g., 40, 50, 60, 67, 75, 94), and almost always in the *rondeaux* pronounced by the Lady.³⁵

Alongside the vocabulary of folly or madness, from which de Gravelle's Lady seeks to protect herself and, by implication, her female readers, there is also a discourse of learning, whether for good or for ill. The deceptive language of men, for instance, is not natural or inherent, but is a skill acquired in society, among and by means of other men. Women, not as gullible as men might wish, "scaivent bien que c'est que de frivolles / Et qu'en tenez les publicques escolles"³⁶ ("Quoy qu'en pensez"). These verses correspond to Chartier's *huitain*, but de Gravelle adds, "Chaicun congnoist que avez bons portocolles³⁷ / De faictz parlers que estudiez par rolles³⁸ / Comme menteurs qui n'ont les langues gourdes" (38). The "portocolles" and "rolles" that men study have legal and notarial connotations, suggesting that just as men go to school and study written texts in order to acquire knowledge of their eventual professions, and continue to employ reference documents to speak and write according to the norms of these professions, so too do they learn and impart to other men equally formulaic scripts of seduction.

However, prudent and virtuous conduct can also be learned. In the *rondeau* "En tous telz maulx" (66), the Lady insists to her interlocutor that his suffering, like his cure, are within his own control. Her vocabulary,

"aprenez," "retenez," "apprendre," highlights the idea that understanding, and consequently peace of mind, are the result of a process rather than an ontological or existential state, and one that he, moreover, can shape by adopting reasonable and ethical conduct. Perhaps the most illuminating *rondeau* from this perspective is "Ostez vous en" (82), in which the Lady tells the Lover that the more he hopes, the more he will be unhappy. However, she affirms that "si vous lisez aiseement apprendrez / Que espoir repaist les chetifs et tendrez." This is a near citation of Chartier's parallel verse: "esperance paist les chetifz." Reading can provide psychological and moral guidance, but not just any reading, rather that of Alain Chartier, that of poetry. The kind of reading the Lady recommends stands in pointed contrast to the "portocolles" and "rolles" used to teach men the immoral language of seduction and deception. Poetic texts—like that of Chartier, like that of de Gravelle—can and should be read by men and women alike in order to develop reason, the intellect, and moral understanding. De Gravelle's poetic adaptation of Chartier is thus exemplary. It performs an engaged reading and productive interpretation of his text for the benefit of her public, which can thereby observe how thoughtful reading of poetic texts can teach both men and women to conduct themselves according to reason, avoiding *fol amour*, and preserving *honneur* and *honesteté*.

Anne de Gravelle's *LBDSM* constitutes an insightful and powerful adaptation of Chartier's original that asserts de Gravelle's place among the poets of her era, with their emphasis on and appreciation for collaborative, sometimes combative or contestatory, adaptation and transformation of prestigious models. The manuscript that she created for her patron constitutes, as Emma Cayley has written with respect to the manuscripts of the Quarrel of *LBDSM*, a "space of play," one in which poetic identities and content alike are claimed, challenged, and negotiated (161).³⁹ BnF, fr. 2253 is a dynamic and richly dialogic space in which author, patron, predecessor, protagonists and public interact, (re)creating, adapting, and debating the significance of issues that resonated for Chartier's public as much as for de Gravelle's—the relationship between men and women, proper use of language, ethical conduct in society. The female community created in and by de Gravelle's text has the capacity to transcend the space of the manuscript, and to shape the social community in which she lived, as well as those of her successors.

Notes

1. On de Gravelle's biography, see de Montmorand, as well as Catherine Müller, "Anne de Gravelle," *Encyclopedia of Women in the Renaissance: Italy, France, and England*. eds. Diana Robin, Anne R. Larsen, Carole Levin. Santa Barbara CA: ABC-CLIO, 2007, 173–75. De Montmorand surmises that de Gravelle entered Claude's service before the latter became queen in 1515. Müller discusses de Gravelle's potential access to libraries in "Anne de Gravelle lectrice de 'Maistre Allain.'"
2. See Mawy Bouchard, "Anne de Gravelle (1492–1544) et la tradition épique au XVI^e siècle," *Littératures* 18 (1998): 31–63, and Catherine Müller, "Jeanne de la Font et Anne de Gravelle, translatrices de la *Théséide* de Boccacce au XVI^e siècle" in *Les Femmes et la traduction du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, ed. Jean-Philippe Beaulieu (Montreal: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 2004).
3. The most recent critical edition of *LBDSM* is included in *Le Cycle de La Belle Dame Sans Mercy*, ed. and trans. David Hult and Joan E. McRae. See also James Laidlaw, *The Poetical Works of Alain Chartier* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974), 332–60.
4. For an overview of Chartier's historical context, see Christopher Allmand, *The Hundred Years War: England and France at War c. 1300–c. 1450* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1974), as well as Malcolm Vale, *Charles VII* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974).
5. On the continuations and debates provoked by Chartier's poem, see the series of articles published by Arthur Piaget in *Romania* from 1901–5; Hult and McRae, as well as Armstrong, *The Virtuoso Circle* and "The Deferred Verdict: A Topos in Late Medieval Poetic Debate?," *French Studies Bulletin* 64 (1997), 12–14; Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*, especially chapters 1 and 2; Joan E. McRae, "A Community of Readers: The Quarrel of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*" in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, 200–22, and "Cyclification and Circulation of the Quarrel of the *Belle dame sans mercy*" in *Chartier in Europe*, ed. Emma Cayley and Ashby Kinch (Cambridge: Brewer, 2008), 91–104, and *The Trials of Alain Chartier's 'Belle dame sans mercy': the poems in their cyclical and manuscript context*, doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 1997.
6. Cayley defines "collaborative debating communities" in the introduction to *Debate and Dialogue*.
7. On the more diffuse influence of Chartier's *LBDSM*, see Pierre-Yves Badel, "Les yeux sont faits pour regarder: Sur la fortune d'un vers d'Alain Chartier" in *Ce est li fruis selonc la letre. Mélanges offerts à Charles Méla*, ed. Olivier Collet, Yasmina Foehr-Janssens, and Sylviane Messerli (Paris, 2002), 99–109, Florence Bouchet, "A Good Carter as Guide: Imitating Alain Chartier (15th century–early 17th century)" in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, 324–54, as well as Adrian Armstrong, "Alain Chartier and the *Rhétoriqueurs*," in the same volume, 303–23.
8. On the period between Chartier and de Gravelle, see Swift. An excellent *mise au point* of the *querelle des femmes* is provided by Bock and Zimmermann. As any attempt to define this expression and its referent makes clear, the *querelle des femmes* is difficult, if not impossible, to delimit in time or space, or in terms of the corpus of texts that constitute it. Are women the subjects or the objects of the quarrel? At the very least, I

would argue for the continuity of this *querelle* with the modern feminist movement and studies of gender.

9. Wahlund's transcription is from BnF, fr. 2253. I have added punctuation and diacritical marks, and have turned v to u, and i to j, in accordance with modern editing conventions.

10. The image may be found in Boccaccio, Arsenal MS 5116, fol. 1v.

11. On female patronage, see Cynthia Brown, *The Queen's Library: Image-Making at the Court of Anne of Brittany, 1477–1514* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011).

12. On the Queen's Manuscript, see <http://www.pizan.lib.ed.ac.uk/>. The gift of a manuscript conferred prestige upon donor and recipient alike, and the production and donation of a manuscript in the age of print awarded special status to the gift. As Cynthia Brown has shown, the advent of print transformed relationships between poets, patrons, and readers by liberating the poet of his or her dependence upon patronage and forging mercantile relationships, mediated by printers, directly between writers and a wider reading public. A luxury manuscript thus assumed more fully its role as privileged object destined for an individual, and forging a bond between poet and patron. See *Poets, Patrons, and Printers: Crises of Authority in Late Medieval France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1995).

13. On female-female patronage relationships, see Myra Orth, "Dedicating Women: Manuscript Culture in the French Renaissance, and the Cases of Catherine d'Amboise and Anne de Gravelle," *Journal of the Early Book Society for the Study of Manuscript and Printing History* 1.1 (1997): 17–47.

14. Though perhaps best known today for her production of the *Heptaméron*, Marguerite de Navarre was also the author of religious and secular plays, devotional works, poetry, and numerous letters. See her *Œuvres complètes*, under the direction of Nicole Cazauran (Paris: Champion, 2001–), 10 vols.

15. Anne of France, sometimes called Anne of Beaujeu (1461–1522), was the sister of Charles VIII (r. 1483–98) and sister-in-law of Anne of Brittany. After the death of Charles VIII in 1498, Anne of Brittany wed her husband's successor, Louis XII (r. 1498–1515), and from this union was born Claude of France.

16. Müller suggests that in the dedicatory poem, Claude occupies the position of Chartier's Lady ("Anne de Gravelle lectrice de 'Maistre Allain'").

17. See also Armstrong, "Alain Chartier and the *Rhétoriqueurs*."

18. On the types of knowledge conveyed by poetry, see Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, with the participation of Rebecca Dixon, Miranda Griffin, Sylvia Huot, Francesca Nicholson, and Finn Sinclair, *Knowing Poetry: Verse in Medieval France from the Rose to the Rhétoriqueurs* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 2011).

19. See Helen Swift's excellent treatment of the *querelle des femmes* precisely in the period that interests us here. Swift emphasizes the importance of dialectic, performance, and the gender dynamics at work in the texts and social context of the quarrel. Authors writing in this period demonstrate awareness "of their own materials as inherently intertextual with, we might say haunted by, prior texts, and their presentation of rhetorical action upon these texts as performative remakings of received material" (6).

20. The manuscript is not unusual in this respect. Swift notes that "[c]ontemporary poetic anthologies, in both manuscript and print, juxtapose pro- and anti-feminine texts, indicating that a popular medieval habit of reading was dialectical, reading for and against, bouncing one off another" (147).

21. When referring to *rondeaux* or *huitains* by number instead of refrain, I use those that correspond to Chartier's poem. Consequently, de Graille's poem opens with *rondeaux* 25–27.

22. Much more could be said about the hierarchies established through visual means, both in terms of size of script and placement. On medieval margins as a contestatory and contested space, see Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1992).

23. The *rondeau* is "plus et moins qu'un vers, car il joue dans l'ensemble du rondeau un rôle capital. Il en est à la fois le sujet, la raison d'être et le moyen d'expression. Car ce n'est que pour répéter trois fois ce mot persuasif ou cruel, ce n'est que pour lancer au même but l'une après l'autre ces trois pointes d'acier qu'on les ajuste au bout des strophes, qui sont à la fois le bois léger et les plumes aériennes du trio de flèches que représente le rondeau"; Théodore de Banville, *Petit traité de poésie française*, qtd. in de Montmorand, 125.

24. With the exception of Chartier's opening *huitains*, which, as we have seen, are compressed into one *rondeau*, and correspondingly in the margin, as seen in figure 1.

25. On folio 12v at the *rondeau* "Üng villain cœur," Chartier's *huitains* 46 and 47 are both reproduced in the margin, such that from this point forward the corresponding *huitain* and *rondeau* no longer appear on the same page, but rather Chartier's *huitain* precedes de Graille's *rondeau*.

26. Concerning the unsuccessful communication staged in Chartier's *LBDSM*, in addition to the works already cited, see Gretchen Angelo, "A Most Uncourtly Lady: The Testimony of the *Belle Dame sans mercy*," *Exemplaria* 15.1 (spring 2003): 133–57; Anne Berthelot, "Si moi ou autre vous regarde, les yeux sont faits pour regarder": *La Belle Dame sans mercy* ou la Dame qui ne voulait pas jouer" in *La 'Fin' amor' dans la culture féodale*, ed. Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Amiens, 1991), 13–21; Daisy Delogu, "Performance and Polemic: Gender in the Works of Alain Chartier" in *A Companion to Alain Chartier*, 121–40; James Laidlaw, "Les Belles Dames Sans Mercy d'Alain Chartier" in *Autour de Marguerite d'Écosse: Reines, princesses et dames du XVe siècle*, ed. Geneviève and Philippe Contamine (Paris: Champion, 1999), 33–44; Giuseppe Sansone, "La belle dame sans merci et le langage courtois," *Le Moyen Français* 39–41 (1997): 513–26; Helen Solterer, "The Freedoms of fiction for gender in premodern France" in *Gender in Debate from the Early Middle Ages to the Renaissance*, ed. Thelma Fenster and Clare Lees (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 135–63; and Helen Swift, "Alain Chartier and the Death of Lyric Language," *Acta Neophilologica* 35.1–2 (2002): 57–65.

27. When citing Chartier's text, I have used the edition of Hult and McRae.

28. On the ethical dimension of de Graille's text, see also Bouchard, "Les belles [in]fidèles."

29. For *honnesteté*, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> gives "dignité, bienséance, convenance" also "conformité à la morale." For *honneur*, "principe d'action qui porte à une conduite

digne d'estime (moralement et socialement), dignité," which, for women, is linked to chastity. Jean Nicot's *Le Thresor de la langue francoyse* (1606) gives for *honneur* "vient de ce Latin, honor, et en retient la signification: Mais il a esté usité aussi par les anciens pour la dignité qu'a le vassal d'estre fieffé par un Roy ou grand Seigneur, et consequemment pour le fief mesme duquel le vassal a esté par luy honoré." For *honnestete*, the same source gives "honestas," while the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st edition (1694) gives "bienseance," "civilité" as well as "chasteté, pudeur, modestie." Cotgrave's *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611) gives for *honneur* "honour, renowne, reputation, credit, praise, glorie, fame, great account, high reckoning, much estimation" also "an honourable estate, inheritance, or title, bestowed by a Prince, or a great lord." For *honnesteté*: "honestie, vertue, goodness, integritie, truth, sinceritie, justesse, uprightness, humanitie, courtesie, civilitie, genleness, worth, or worthinesse." Thus we observe a greater sense of social convention and proper behavior in connection to *honnêteté*, and for *honneur* a sense of connection to an office or official status.

30. Franchise can suggest fiscal freedom, and recalls also Chartier's Lady's famous line "Je suis france et france veul estre" (286), rendered in de Graille as "Franche naquis et par bonne ordonnance / France seray sans crainte ne doubtance."

31. Müller has argued that de Graille's Lady does not denounce *courtoisie* as such, but instead endeavors to recuperate this notion by educating the Lover in proper courtly behavior ("Anne de Graille lectrice de 'Maistre Allain'"). Bouchard, in contrast, seeks to distinguish between a "courtoisie livresque," which does not correspond to lived reality, and a "courtoisie aulique," which defines a viable position for women at court ("Les Belles [in]fidèles"). I tend to agree with Müller with respect to the Lady's didactic efforts, but as stated above, I see these oriented around a purposeful and original understanding of *courtoisie* that connects this concept to *honneur* and *honnesteté*, thereby linking notions of Christian morality to ideas about appropriate behavior in order to propose a new sense of courtesy/courtliness.

32. "On les [false lovers] laisse leurs cours courir / Et commenchier pis de rechief, / Et tristes dames encourir / D'aultruy couppe, painne et meschief" (589–92).

33. With the connotation of a theatrical or fictional role.

34. Though of what, is not entirely clear; indeed, this ambiguity will drive the subsequent quarrel.

35. And here, I am not even including other *rondeaux* which employ synonyms of *folie*, such as *sotte* (32) or *estourdie* (34).

36. This relatively uncommon expression does not appear in Chartier's *LBDSM*, where the corresponding verse reads: "Dont vous aultres tenés escolles" (301). However, it does figure in *huitain* CLI of Villon's *Testament*, in which the poet accords to two prostitutes, Marion l'Idolle and Jehanne de Bretagne, the right to "tenir publicque escolle," or establish a brothel. See François Villon, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet (Paris: Gallimard, 2014).

37. The <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> gives "exemplaire d'un document, d'un ouvrage . . . registre . . . recueil de formules prescrites . . . modèle"; Nicot gives "le registre des minutes ou primitifs originaux des contracts que les notaires reçoivent en brief et par et cetera . . . Protocolle aussi est appelé le formulaire des lettres patentes ou closes que

les Secretaires du Roy, tant ceux des commandemens et d'estat, qu'autres dressent et depeschent . . . Ainsi appelle on Protocolle de la chancellerie de France le livre qui contient tels formulaires de lettres. Protocolle aussi est usurpé pour celuy qui porte le roollet par derriere et à l'espaule d'un qui harangue, ou joué en farces et moralitez, pour les raddresser et remettre au fil de leur harengue ou roollet, quand ils varient ou demeurent courts . . . Ainsi dit on d'un qui a bonne memoire, il ne luy faut point de protocole"; Cotgrave gives "the first draught, or copie of a deed, contract, instrument, evidence; or a short register kept thereof; also, a Precedent for the drawing of a patent, or deed; also, a booke of such precedents; also, a prompter of one that makes an oration, or acts a part, in publike"; the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st edition (1694) also gives "formulaire pour dresser les actes publics." We observe thus both the meaning of a formulary, as well as the theatrical connotations of someone who supplies lines to an actor.

38. The <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf> gives "rouleau de parchemin ou de papier sur lequel on dresse un inventaire, une liste, en constituant ainsi un registre . . . un registre de comptes . . . , d'une imposition . . . , d'une revue d'hommes d'armes" as well as "écrit contenant ce que l'on a à réciter dans une pièce de théâtre." Cotgrave gives "a list, inventorie, catalogue, bill, scrowle, register, of names, or of causes." The *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 1st edition (1694) gives "une ou plusieurs feuilles de papier, de parchemin, collées bout à bout, surquoy on escrivoit des actes, des titres," "ce que doit reciter un Acteur dans une piece de theatre," "le Personnage representé par l'Acteur," and "De tous ceux qui disent et qui font tout ce qu'il leur convient de dire et de faire pour leurs veuës particulieres."

39. Here, Cayley argues that rewritings are part of a poetic game in which "each successive poet both inscribes himself in an existing space of play (field), and struggles to dominate that field" (161).

Works Cited

- Armstrong, Adrian. *The Virtuoso Circle: Competition, Collaboration, and Complexity in Late Medieval French Poetry*. Tempe: ACMRS, 2012.
- Bock, Gisela, and Margarete Zimmermann. "The European *Querelle des femmes*," *Disputatio: an international transdisciplinary journal of the late Middle Ages* 5 (2002): 127–56.
- Bouchard, Mawy. "Les belles [in]fidèles: Traduire l'ambiguïté masculine. Les *Rondeaux* d'Anne de Gravelle," *Neophilologus* 88.2 (2004): 189–202.
- Cayley, Emma. *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in His Cultural Context*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.
- Chartier, Alain, Baudet Herenc, and Achille Caulier. *Le Cycle de La Belle Dame Sans Mercy: Une anthologie poétique du XVe siècle (BNF MS FR. 1131)*. Ed. and trans. David Hult and Joan E. McRae. Paris: Champion, 2003.
- A Companion to Alain Chartier (c. 1385–1430), *Father of French Eloquence*. Ed. Daisy Delogu, Joan E. McRae and Emma Cayley. Leiden: Brill, 2015.
- Graville, Anne de. *La Belle Dame sans mercy*. Ed. Carl Wahlund. Upsala: Almqvist and Wiksells Boktryckeri, 1897.
- Montmorand, Maxime de. *Une femme poète au XVIe siècle: Anne de Gravelle, sa famille, sa vie, son œuvre, sa postérité*. Paris: Picard, 1917.
- Müller, Catherine. "Anne de Gravelle lectrice de 'Maistre Allain': Pour une réécriture stratégique de la *Belle Dame sans Mercy*," *Lectrices d'Ancien Régime*. Ed. Isabelle Brouard-Arends. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003. 231–41.
- Poirion, Daniel. *Le Poète et le prince: L'évolution du lyrisme courtois de Guillaume de Machaut à Charles d'Orléans*. Paris: PUF, 1965.
- Swift, Helen. *Gender, Writing and Performance: Men Defending Women in Late Medieval France, 1440–1538*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2008.
- Wilson-Chevalier, Kathleen. "Claude de France: In her Mother's Likeness, a Queen with Symbolic Clout?" *The Cultural and Political Legacy of Anne de Bretagne: Negotiating Convention in Books and Documents*. Ed. Cynthia Brown. Cambridge: Brewer, 2010. 123–44.