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# 'FLOWER OF THE LILY': LATE-MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS AND HERALDIC SYMBOLISM IN PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE DE FRANCE, MS FRANÇAIS 146

*Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146 (fr. 146), a manuscript well known for its inclusion of the* Roman de Fauvel, *also provides an important, albeit understudied, contribution to the history surrounding the allegorical 'flower of the lily', or fleur-de-lis – a floral symbol central to fourteenth-century theology and French royal heraldry. In medieval France, the fleur-de-lis emerges through text and music as a symbol capable of invoking, and being invoked by, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary and the Virtues, all in the interest of supporting the religious and monarchical well-being of France. This study argues that the persistent return to the fleur-de-lis throughout the* dits, *the* Chronique metrique *and most especially the music and text of* Fauvel *in fr. 146 offers a necessary link between sacred and heraldic symbology both within the manuscript as well as within the larger historical development of this allegorical flower.*

> Te lilium regem non dubito,
> Nam lilium armis depingitur.
> (I doubt not that thou art the Lily, the King,
> For the lily is painted on thine armour.)

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The epigraph comes from *Hora Rex est*, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 146, fol. 51$^{r}$. Edited and translated by L. Holford-Strevens, 'The Latin *Dits* of Geffroy de Paris: An *Editio Princeps*', in M. Bent and A. Wathey (eds.), *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146* [hereafter *Fauvel Studies*] (Oxford, 1998), pp. 247–76, at 259.

The following abbreviations are used:

| | |
|---|---|
| *BnF* | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France |
| *F* | Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 |
| fr. 146 | Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, f. fr. 146 |
| *LoB* | London, British Library, Egerton 274 |
| *Mo* | Bibliothèque Interuniversitaire Médecine de Montpellier, H196 |

The 'flower of the lily', customarily known by the French name 'fleur-de-lis', represents and symbolises a wide array of ideas in the twenty-first century.[1] The stylised, three-petal flower, most often depicted as a white or gold flower against a blue background, is the heraldic flower of France, the province of Quebec in Canada, New Orleans in the United States and Florence, Italy. The 'lily-white' flower is also one of the saintly attributes of the Virgin Mary and a symbol of chastity and purity, as well as the Christian doctrine of the Holy Trinity.[2] Although the search for the origins of the stylised lily as a multivalent symbol extends as far back as the study of the hieroglyphics and iconography of ancient Egypt and Rome, the lily truly flourished as the now-familiar abstracted fleur-de-lis in medieval France. In poetry, music, literature and art, as well as royal documents, heraldry and theology, the lily in its many forms and manifestations infiltrated all media and echelons of French society.[3]

The overarching concern that affected interpretations of the lily in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France was its allegorical role within contemporary dichotomies of morality – good versus evil, faith versus corruption. In these cases, the lily, whether signifying the Virgin Mary, the virtues, the Holy Trinity, France or even the king himself, reveals itself as the floral foil to evil, sin and corruption. As the motetus of a thirteenth-century motet advises, 'let your study be the lily of the valley, let it be virtue. Cleanse the dung-heap of corruption through the aid of grace'.[4] In this study, the origins and development of the fleur-de-lis as a religious

[1] A common alternative spelling is 'fleur-de-lys'.

[2] The emphasis in scholarship on the symbolic fleur-de-lis is overwhelmingly focused on the flower as a symbol of France. See, for example, N. Civel, *La Fleur de France: Les Seigneurs d'Ile-de-France au XII^e siècle* (Turnhout, 2006); R. Dennys, *The Heraldic Imagination* (New York, 1976); C. Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late-Medieval France*, ed. F. L. Cheyette, trans. S. R. Huston (Berkeley, 1991), pp. 201–25; J.-B. Cahours d'Aspry, *Des fleurs de lis et des armes de France: Légendes, histoire et symbolisme* (Biarritz, 1998); and M. Prinet, 'Les Variations du nombre de fleurs de lis dans les armes de France', *Bulletin Monumental*, 75 (1911), pp. 469–88. The seminal work on the subject remains W. M. Hinkle, *The Fleurs de Lis of the Kings of France, 1285–1488* (Carbondale, Ill., 1991).

[3] For a general introduction to medieval heraldry, in France in particular, see G. J. Brault, *Early Blazon: Heraldic Terminology in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, with Special Reference to Arthurian Literature* (Oxford, 1972), esp. pp. 209–13, which provides descriptions and bibliography of the medieval French fleur-de-lis. For a work that considers the theories of ancient origins, see S. Martin, *Histoire mythique de la fleur-de-lys*, 2nd edn (Paris, 2002). See also J. Woodward, *A Treatise on Heraldry, British and Foreign, with English and French Glossaries* (Edinburgh and London, 1892). Beaune has rightly suggested that there is no need to search for ancient antecedents for the fleur-de-lis, since it acquired its own real and imagined history throughout the Middle Ages; the fleur-de-lis can be understood, she argues, through medieval symbolism alone. See Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 202–4.

[4] The motet is *Si vere/Si vere/IN SECULUM*, *Mo*, fols. 102^v–104^r: 'Sit convallium lilium, sit tuum virtus studium. Sterquilinium munda sordidum gratie per aucilium.' Translated in *The Montpellier Codex*, ed. H. Tischler, 4 vols., Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (Madison, Wis., 1978–85), iv, p. 26.

and monarchical symbol in medieval France will be examined in relation to a manuscript that deals primarily with themes that contrast sharply with everything the lily stood for: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS français 146 (hereafter fr. 146).[5]

Fr. 146 is a tour-de-force manuscript that contains far more than the interpolated version of *Le Roman de Fauvel* for which it is rightly renowned: a *Complainte d'Amour*, a detailed index, Latin and French *dits* by Geoffroy of Paris, a selection of chansons by Jehan de Lescurel and a metrical chronicle attributed to Geoffroy of Paris fill close to one hundred folios in this deluxe manuscript.[6] The wide variety of genres has resulted in a plethora of studies by scholars in diverse areas, including musicology, literary studies, history and art history.[7] As studies on fr. 146 from as early as the nineteenth century have demonstrated, the richness and breadth of content of the manuscript easily support the weight of the abundant scholarship that has continuously emerged across disciplines.[8] One aspect of fr. 146 that remains understudied, however, is the role of religious symbolism, not only in *Fauvel* itself, but also in the *dits* and the metrical chronicle.[9] The sudden interpolation of the 'Trinity Page'[10] at the conclusion of *Fauvel*, the many invocations of the Virgin Mary and the highly

[5] Fr. 146 was produced in or around the royal chancery in Paris between 1314 and 1317. On the context of the manuscript's production see A. Wathey, 'Gervès du Bus, the *Roman de Fauvel*, and the Politics of the Later Capetian Court', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 599–614, and 'Fauvel, Roman de', *Grove Music Online*, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline> (acc. 10 May 2010); L. Holford-Strevens, 'Fauvel Goes to School', in S. Clark and E. E. Leach (eds.), *Citation and Authority in Medieval and Renaissance Musical Culture: Learning from the Learned* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 59–66; and J. Dunbabin, 'The Metrical Chronicle Traditionally Ascribed to Geffroy de Paris', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 233–46.

[6] Inventories of the manuscript are provided in E. H. Roesner, F. Avril, and N. F. Regalado, *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillou de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, fonds français 146* (New York, 1990), and Bent and Wathey, 'Introduction', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 1–24.

[7] The 1994 conference and subsequently the collection of essays published in 1998 (*Fauvel Studies*) exemplify the interdisciplinary approaches to the manuscript.

[8] Important early studies include the publication of the first facsimile and the textual editions of the roman, respectively: *Roman de Fauvel: Reproduction photographique du manuscript français 146 de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris avec un index des interpolations lyriques*, ed. P. Aubry (Paris, 1907), and *Le Roman de Fauvel par Gervais du Bus publié d'après tous les manuscrits connus*, ed. A. Långfors (Paris, 1914–19). Among more recent studies are N. F. Regalado, 'Fortune's Two Crowns: Images of Kingship in the Paris, BnF Ms. Fr. 146 *Roman de Fauvel*', in Kathryn Smith and Carol H. Krinsky (eds.), *Studies in Manuscript Illumination: A Tribute to Lucy Freeman Sandler* (London, 2007), pp. 125–40; E. Roesner, 'Labouring in the Midst of Wolves: Reading a Group of *Fauvel* Motets', *Early Music History*, 22 (2003), pp. 169–245; and E. Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making and the* Roman de Fauvel, New Perspectives in Music History and Criticism, 9 (Cambridge, 2002).

[9] The lover's complaint and the Lescurel *chansons* are beyond of the scope of the present study.

[10] S. Rankin, 'The Divine Truth of Scripture: Chant in the *Roman de Fauvel*', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 47(1994), pp. 203–43, at 235, and A. W. Robertson, 'Which Vitry? The Witness of the Trinity Motet from the *Roman de Fauvel*', in D. Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet: Essays on the Motet of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (New York and Oxford, 1997), pp. 52–81, at 56.

petitionary *dits* argue for a complementary, if not underlying, religious framework for a manuscript that is seen in scholarship as primarily political, satirical and admonitory.[11] Taking its diverse contents into consideration, as well as contemporaneous music and texts, I will examine fr. 146 through the interpretative lens of a symbol central to fourteenth-century religious thought and the rise of medieval French heraldry, both royal and theological, the fleur-de-lis.[12] I argue that the persistent appearance of the fleur-de-lis in fr. 146 in the *dits*, the *Chronique metrique* and *Fauvel* provides a necessary, yet overlooked, link between sacred and secular symbolism. Within fr. 146 and the larger cultural context of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, the 'flower of the lily' connects sacred and secular symbols by simultaneously invoking, and being invoked by, the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary and the Virtues, all in the interest of supporting the religious and political health of France and her monarchy.

The first section of this study provides an overview of the biblical, allegorical and historical context of the fleur-de-lis, presenting the central interpretations of the flower as they relate to the manifestation of the lily in fr. 146. An introduction to the lily itself as one of the special symbols of the Capetian monarchy follows, in addition to a brief survey of fourteenth-century texts that highlight the relationship between the sacred and royal connotations of the fleur-de-lis. Moving to fr. 146, I focus on the construction of associations between the fleur-de-lis and the Capetians in the Latin and French *dits* by Geoffroy of Paris and the anonymous *Chronique metrique*, and the invocation of the fleur-de-lis as a theological symbol and signal of France and the French monarchy in *Fauvel*. The sacred framework of *Fauvel*, the textual petitions and prayers and the musical and visual interpolations are central to this examination of the 'lily of France' within fr. 146 and, by association, late-medieval France. Moreover, by drawing on the extensive musico-poetic repertory and literary corpus that informs fr. 146 and its social, artistic and historical milieu, this study will place fr. 146 within the larger trajectory of religious and political exegeses of the fleur-de-lis.

[11] A number of scholars have considered various theological features of fr. 146. See, for example, Rankin, 'Divine Truth'; M. Bolduc, *The Medieval Poetics of Contraries* (Gainesville, Fla., 2006), pp. 160–6; *Le Premier et le Secont Livre de Fauvel in the Version Preserved in B.N. f. fr. 146*, ed. P. Helmer (Ottawa: Institute of Mediaeval Music, 1997), pp. xii–xx; and Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings and the *Roman de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 495–524.

[12] Roesner, *Roman de Fauvel*, p. 4. According to Roesner et al., 'there is good reason to believe that the *roman* and the other literary texts in this manuscript were intended to be regarded as a coherent unit. … Conclusions drawn from the collection as a whole will shed light on the milieu in which the manuscript originated, the purposes for which it was created, and the outlook of those who inspired its production.'

## THE LILY OF THE VALLEY: THEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL CONTEXTS

The fleur-de-lis did not emerge in full bloom with the Capetian dynasty in France; rather, the development of the lily as a theological and royal sign extended over the entire Middle Ages. Its origin in the West can be traced to the Bible, where the lily functioned first and foremost as a symbol of devotion and purity in the Song of Songs 2: 'I am the flower of the field, and the lily of the valleys. As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters. . . . My beloved to me, and I to him who feedeth among the lilies.'[13] Throughout the Song of Songs, the lily is utilised as a symbol of pure beauty, while in both the Song and Ecclesiasticus, the sweet scent and the flowering of the lily are praised: 'Send forth flowers, as the lily, and yield a smell, and bring forth leaves in grace, and praise with canticles, and bless the Lord in his works.'[14] Parallel references to lilies appear twice in the New Testament, in Luke and Matthew respectively: 'Consider the lilies, how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, not even Solomon in all his glory was clothed like one of these'; and 'for raiment why are you solicitous? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow: they labour not, neither do they spin. But I say to you, that not even Solomon in all his glory was arrayed as one of these.'[15] These biblical passages emphasise the flower's beauty, sweetness and uniqueness, ideas that are developed further in medieval poetic and exegetical texts.

Beginning in the eleventh century, these two Song of Songs passages in particular and their echoes in Luke and Matthew became central to exegeses of the lily in mystical writings. In his sermons on the Song of Songs in the twelfth century Bernard of Clairvaux interpreted the virgin's ability to maintain a life of virtue among the wicked in the earthly life as a parallel to living 'as the lily among thorns'.[16] Bernard also conflated the Gospel of Matthew with the Song of Songs in order to better outline his

[13] Song of Songs 2:1–2, 16. 'Ego flos campi, et lilium convallium. Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias . . . Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi, qui pascitur inter lilia.' For this and all subsequent biblical passages, the Latin is taken from the Vulgate, and the English from the Douay–Reims translation. On the biblical tradition of the lily, see also the summary in Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 204–5.

[14] Song of Sol. 5:13: 'Labia eius lilia, distillantia murram primam' ('His lips are as lilies dropping choice myrrh'); and Ecclus. 39:19: 'Florete flores quasi lilium: et date odorem, et frondete in gratiam: et collaudate canticum, et benedicite Dominum in operibus suis.'

[15] Luke 12:27: 'Considerate lilia quomodo crescunt: non laborant, neque nent: dico autem vobis, nec Salomon in omni gloria sua vestiebatur sicut unum ex istis'; and Matt. 6:28–9: 'Et de vestimento quid solliciti estis? Considerate lilia agri quomodo crescunt: non laborant, neque nent. Dico autem vobis, quoniam nec Salomon in omni gloria sua coopertus est sicut unum ex istis.'

[16] See, for example, Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sermones*, ii, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, S. Bernardi Opera, 5 (Rome, 1958), sermon 48, pp. 67–73.

catalogue of Marian attributes, including beauty, purity and a virtuous life. The lily in Bernard's exegesis is overwhelmingly Marian in its tone, continually stressing the feminine virtues of chastity and virginity represented by the whiteness of the lily.[17] His readings of the biblical lily as a Marian symbol and attribute are reflected in medieval depictions of the Virgin Mary, which frequently included a white lily intended to symbolise chastity.[18] Moreover, poetic and musical texts associate the lily with the Virgin far more often than any other saintly figure, even explicitly troping the Song of Songs, as in the thirteenth-century Parisian conductus 'O lily of the valley, flower of virgins, royal stem; hope of all the faithful, light of lights, O daughter', or in the motet *Salve, mater/TATEM*, 'Lily of the valley, flowering rose, fragrant as the lily, fair virgin producing a son of noble birth'.[19]

While Marian interpretations of the lily proliferate throughout the Middle Ages, the anonymous author of the *Vitis mystica* (*c.* 1200) provides a botanical analysis of the lily by dividing the flower into parts and imbuing each part with a mystical, symbolic meaning.[20] While the petals (six in this author's description) have a specific earthly or heavenly meaning, it is the association he makes concerning the head of the pistil that is notable: the triangular part of the *lilium mysticum* is associated with the members of the Holy Trinity – the Father, Son and Holy Spirit – which establish for the first time the connection between the flower and the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.[21] In the *Vitis mystica*, the symbolism of the lily is thus extended beyond Marian interpretation, with its interpretation based on the physical characteristics of the flower, a tradition that continues into fourteenth-century France.

[17] S. Hindman and G. M. Spiegel, 'The Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces to Guillaume de Nangis's *Chronique abrégée*: Political Iconography in Late Fifteenth-Century France', *Viator*, 12 (1981), pp. 381–407, at 394: 'The most obvious meaning associated with the fleur-de-lis was its Marian symbolism, for the lily had long been an independent symbol for the Virgin. The prominence of the lily in the Song of Songs had led commentators such as Bernard of Clairvaux to assign it as an attribute to the allegorical bride of Solomon, the Virgin.' However, Bernard also associated the lily of the Song of Songs with the Bridegroom (Christ) (albeit without the thorns) as well as the Bride (Mary); see Bernard, *Sermones*, ii, sermon 71, pp. 214–24.

[18] Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, p. 103; Civel, *La Fleur de France*, p. 270; Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 197, 205; and Cahours d'Aspry, *Des fleurs de lis*, pp. 132–5.

[19] *F*, fol. 241$^{r}$: 'O lillium convallium flos virginum, stirps regia, spes omnium fidelium, lux luminum, O filia'; and *F*, fol. 401$^{v}$, 'Lillium convallium / florens rosa, / fragrans sicut lilium, / speciosa / virgo promens filium.' The latter is edited and translated in R. Baltzer, 'Why Marian Motets on Non-Marian Tenors?', in T. Bailey and A. Santosuosso (eds.), *Music in Medieval Europe: Studies in Honour of Bryan Gillingham* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 112–28, at 116–17.

[20] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 13. At one time attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, the anonymous Latin text is edited in the *Patrologia latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, vol. 184 (Paris, 1854), and translated by W. R. Brownlow (with an attribution to Bernard of Clairvaux) in *'Vitis Mystica', or, The True Vine: A Treatise on the Passion of our Lord* (London, 1873).

[21] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 14.

The lily, however, already had symbolic currency in France prior to the twelfth-century writings of Bernard of Clairvaux and the anonymous author of the *Vitis mystica*: as early as the tenth century the lily was considered an attribute of the kings of France and, as such, appeared on seals, coins and other items of material culture (see Figure 1).[22] From the beginning to the end of the Capetian line, the heraldry and iconography of the French kings included, virtually without exception, a fleur-de-lis either held in a hand, placed on top of a sceptre, or as used as a pattern on royal robes, shields and seals:[23]

| Reign | King |
|---|---|
| [466–511 | Clovis] |
| [742–814 | Charlemagne] |
| 987–96 | Hugh Capet |
| 996–1031 | Robert II (the Pious) |
| 1031–60 | Henry I |
| 1060–1108 | Philippe I |
| 1108–37 | Louis VI (the Fat) |
| 1137–80 | Louis VII (the Young) |
| 1180–1223 | Philippe II Augustus |
| 1223–6 | Louis VIII (the Lion) |
| 1226–1270 | Louis IX (St Louis) |
| 1270–1285 | Philippe III (the Bold) |
| 1285–1314 | Philippe IV (the Fair) |
| 1314–16 | Louis X (the Stubborn) |
| 1316 | John I |
| 1316–22 | Philippe V (the Tall) |
| 1322–8 | Charles IV (the Fair) |

The connection of the Capetian line with the lily is significant since, apart from iconographic evidence, it is difficult to find a textual connection between the unusually direct royal line of the Capetians and the fleur-de-lis before the twelfth century. Indeed, some scholars do not necessarily see the early use of the fleur-de-lis as being connected to its later medieval Trinitarian symbolism, such as that found in the *Vitis mystica*, but rather

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 46–8; B. B. Rezak, 'Suger and the Symbolism of Royal Power: The Seal of Louis VII', in P. L. Gerson (ed.), *Abbot Suger and Saint-Denis: A Symposium* (New York, 1986), pp. 95–103; M. Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs: Études sur la symbolique et la sensibilité médiévales* (Paris, 1986), pp. 107–11, and Plate II; F. Oppenheimer, *Frankish Themes and Problems* (London, 1952), pp. 201–10; and Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, p. 110. For an overview of the number of fleurs-de-lis in French 13th-c. heraldry, see Prinet, 'Variations'.

[23] Images of Capetian kings with fleur-de-lis iconography are relatively commonplace; for an overview of the association between Capetians and the flower, see Cahours d'Aspry, *Des Fleurs de lis*, pp. 83–9. Rezak, 'Suger', also offers images of specific seals featuring the fleur-de-lis for Philippe I, Louis VII and Philippe II Augustus, in Figures 1a-b, 4a-b, and 5. Important for the iconographic history of the lily is the shield of Philippe II's son, Louis VIII, which displays what was to become the traditional form of the royal lily, a semée, or field, of fleur-de-lis. See Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, p. 110.

Figure 1 Seal of Philippe IV: 'PHILIPPUS DEI GRACIA FRANCORUM REX'. (Paris, Archives nationales, coll. Douët d'Arcq, SC D47). Reproduced from <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b7700114z.r=fleur+de+lis.langEN> (acc. 4 May 2010). Used by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

with its earlier Marian attributes. Colette Beaune argues that 'it seems likely that the kings of France adopted the emblem of the Virgin [the fleur-de-lis] in the second half of the twelfth century out of chivalric devotion and with a clear awareness of the parallels between their temporal role and the spiritual duties of the beatific mother'.[24] Although Beaune's

[24] Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, p. 208.

Marian justification for the Capetian adoption of the fleur-de-lis fits with the contemporary tradition of Marian interpretations for the lily, there is also good reason to see the use of the fleur-de-lis in a heraldic fashion as a purely monarchical symbol, with the flower being identified as a gift from God in recompense for the faith of the French kings:[25]

> The kings of France were the inheritors of Pepin and Charlemagne, crusaders, defenders of the papacy and of orthodoxy. The exceptional quality of their faith had been rewarded by God with the fleur-de-lis, the holy ampulla, the *oriflamme*, and the power to touch for the King's Evil. The political theology of the Capetian dynasty stressed the virtue of the blood, not the person.[26]

Thus, although the lily signalled the Virgin for theologians, it also recalled for the French populace the quasi-mythological figures of Pepin and Charlemagne, both of whom were commonly depicted in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century iconography with the attribute of the fleur-de-lis.[27]

From the late thirteenth century onwards, the focus of the Capetians became fixed on one king in particular who embodied both political and religious leadership, Louis IX, later St Louis.[28] Considered a pious and just king, St Louis's economically, politically and religiously successful reign, and his subsequent canonisation by Pope Boniface VIII in 1297, made him the newest and most accessible role model for future Capetian kings and, more importantly, their advisers and critics. Louis's identity as a specifically *royal* saint – his sanctity being a 'potent marker of spiritual legitimacy'[29] – lent him a kind of earthly and heavenly authority easily exploited by the Capetian line in the assertion of their divine right to rule. Besides the orthographical myth surrounding the association of the old French 'lys' with 'Loys', a spelling of Louis,[30] the reception and historiography of this thirteenth-century king in the fourteenth century firmly linked the idea of his good and pious rule with the divine symbolism of the fleur-de-lis: 'As a symbol of the king's virtues and holiness, the fleur de lis can indeed be regarded as an image of major significance in the

[25] Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut and Reims: Context and Meaning in his Musical Works* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 235. Attempts to emphasise the continuity of the French royal bloodline were, as Robertson points out, extremely important to the Capetians, as well as to the Valois, especially in maintaining the idea that the French monarchs were the *reges christianissimi*, most Christian kings.

[26] Martin Kauffmann, 'Satire, Pictorial Genre, and the Illustrations in BN fr. 146', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 285–306, at 293.

[27] James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 2nd edn (Boulder, Colo., 2008), p. 67; Pastoureau, *Figures et couleurs*, p. 108; and Oppenheimer, *Frankish Themes*, pp. 208–9.

[28] On the history of Louis IX as king, and later as saint, see M. C. Gaposchkin, *The Making of Saint Louis: Kingship, Sanctity, and Crusade in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2008), *passim*.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 2.

[30] Martin, *Histoire mythique*, p. 6, and Woodward, *Treatise on Heraldry*, p. 344. On other proposed etymologies, see Cahours d'Aspry, *Des fleurs de lis*, pp. 19–25.

legacy that Saint Louis bequeathed to his descendants.'[31] The concept of a royal and divine genealogy beginning with St Louis was so tightly intertwined with the fleur-de-lis that even 'family trees' took on the appearance of a lily, all in an attempt to further strengthen the idea of the Capetian's divine right to rule. The floral frame is readily seen in a genealogical table of the descendants of St Louis IX contained within a fifteenth-century manuscript commissioned for the wedding of Margaret of Anjou and Henry VI (see Figure 2).[32]

Although the fleur-de-lis can be linked to earlier Capetian kings through the anxiety of chroniclers to emphasise a royal blood line, in particular to Pepin and Charlemagne, by the later Middle Ages it is often St Louis to whom the fleur-de-lis most commonly refers. The transfer of interest from the more divinely royal figures of Christ and Solomon, or even the Carolingians, to a recent kin member is logical: St Louis provided a more recent – and directly related – model for subsequent Capetian kings.[33]

For fourteenth-century writers, theologians and historians, the lily was an especially useful symbol precisely because it could simultaneously symbolise and invoke the Virgin and the Holy Trinity, while also paying homage to the royal Capetian line, including St Louis, its most recent saintly ancestor. As a result of the symbolic power and flexibility of the lily, literary works proliferated in the 1300s that were devoted solely to the lily and its religious and political exegesis. It was in the fourteenth century, notably, that the lily even more definitively acquired a Trinitarian and heraldic meaning, one that remained central to its interpretation for the following two centuries.[34] The fourteenth-century flourishing of the flower in France can easily be seen from the list of works in Table 1. Representing a range of genres from the poetic and historical to the rhymed and the prosodic, these texts – only a selection of which will be discussed here – form the basis of any study of the political and religious iconography and symbolism of the French Royal House.[35]

[31] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 20–1.

[32] The manuscript has a French provenance, from the diocese of Rouen. This image is generously made available under the public domain mark by the British Library. On royal imagery and the fleur-de-lis, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 224–5.

[33] Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 233–4. St Louis was also associated with the biblical figures of David and Solomon, Old Testament role models for the French monarchy.

[34] Hindman and Spiegel cite the year 1350 and the writing of the Latin poem at Joyenval as the final moment in the development of the fleur-de-lis as a monarchical and religious symbol. See Hindman and Spiegel, 'Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces', p. 391. On the specific Trinitarian meaning of the fleur-de-lis, see Cahours d'Aspry, *Des fleurs de lis*, pp. 91–100, and Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 13–21.

[35] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*; A. Lombard-Jourdan, *Fleur-de-lis et oriflamme: Signes célestes du royaume de France* (Paris, 1991); Hindman and Spiegel, 'Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces'; Civel, *La Fleur de France*; and Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*.

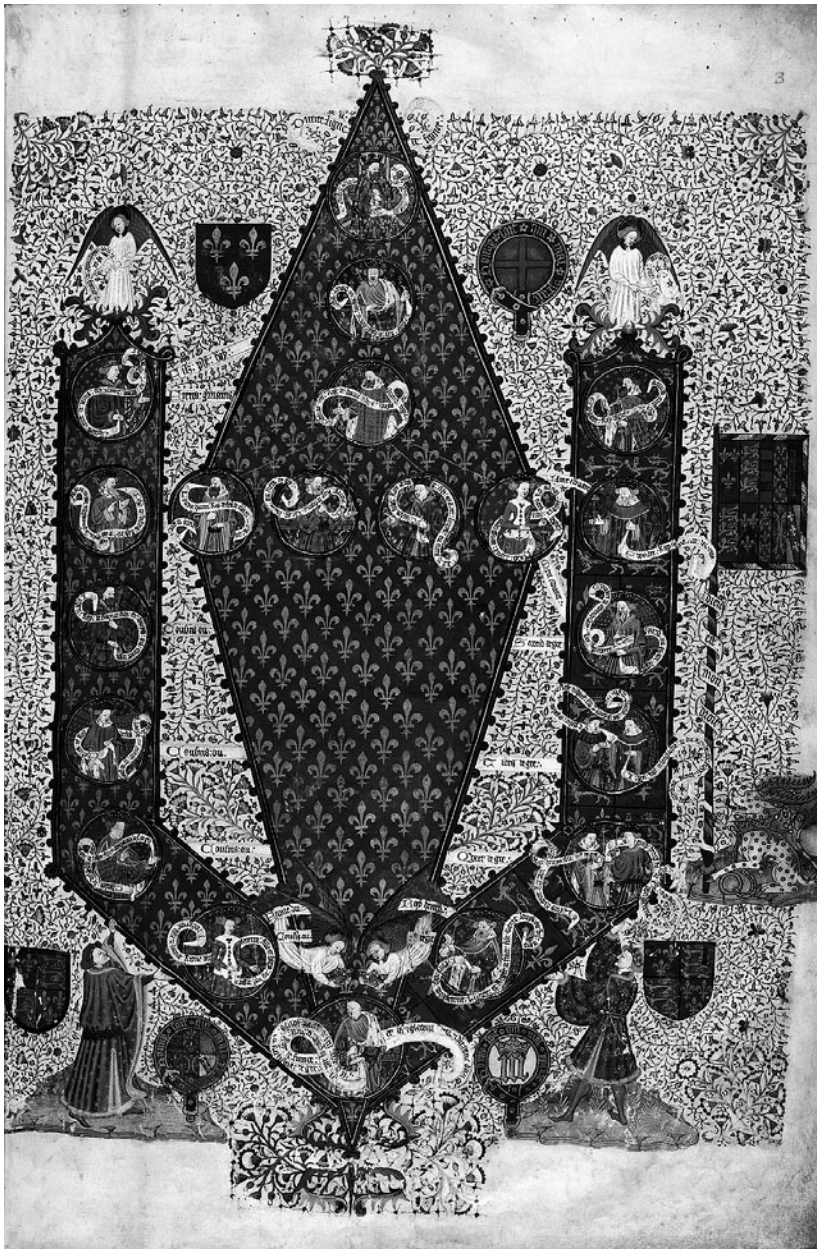

Figure 2 Genealogical table of descendants of St Louis IX. British Library, MS Royal 15 E vi, fol. 3[r] (image in public domain)



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Table 1 *Writings on the fleur-de-lis* c. *1300–1400*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Guillaume de Nangis | 1300 | *Gesta Ludovici IX Chronique abrégée*[a] (Life of Louis IX) |
| Guillaume de Sauqueville | 1300 | Sermon |
| Monk Yves | 1317 | Life of Saint Denis |
| Anonymous | 1317 | Metrical Chronicle |
| Geoffroy de Paris | 1317 | *Dits* |
| Bertrand of Tours | 1328 | Sermon on Saint Louis |
| Philippe de Vitry | 1332 | *Le Chapel des Trois Fleurs de Lys* (The Crown of the Three Fleurs-de-Lys) |
| Guillaume de Deguileville | 1338 | *Roman de la Fleur de Lis* |
| Anonymous | 1350 | Latin poem on the origin of the fleur-de-lis (BnF lat. 14663, fols. 35–36$^{v}$) |
| Raoul de Presles | 1371 | Prologue to Augustine's *Cité de Dieux* |
| Jean Golein | 1372 | *Traité du sacre*, added to *Le Racional des divins offices de Guillaume Durand* |
| Etienne de Conty | 1400 | Treatise on the Monarchy (BnF lat. 11730) |
| Jean Gerson | 1400 | *Ut lilia crescent* |

[a] Hindman and Spiegel point out that the Latin version of Nangis's *Chronique* was written in 1285, while the French translation was written after 1297. See Hindman and Spiegel, 'Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces', p. 383.

In contrast to the earlier exegeses of Bernard and the anonymous author of the *Vitis mystica*, fourteenth-century writers began to consider more closely the religious significance of the lilies' petals in terms of numerical symbolism.[36] For Guillaume de Nangis, the threefold number of petals resulted in the following interpretation, written in reaction to the departure of students from Paris following the 1230 riots:[37]

For should this most precious treasure of salutary learning that, together with faith and chivalry, had formerly followed Dionysius the Areopagite from Greece to parts of Gaul and then to Paris, be banished from the Kingdom of France, the lily, which is depicted with three floral petals and which is the sign of the King of France, would

[36] The Venerable Bede, Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas the Cistercian are all cited by Robertson as theologians who have associated the lily with numerical symbolism. See Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 242.

[37] In Nangis's *Chronique latine* (*c.* 1318), he appears to identify a Parisian college as 'flos lilii': 'Circa ista tempora de Flore lilii Parisius studii.' As the editor Hercule Géraud observes, it is more likely to be a 'poetic epithet' applied to the University of Paris, referencing one of the three elements of the fleur-de-lis from Nangis's *Life of Saint Louis*, science, or learning. See Guillaume de Nangis, *Chronique latine de Guillaume de Nangis de 1113 à 1300, avec les continuations de cette chronique de 1300 à 1368*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1843), pp. 14–15.

in some part or other suffer major disfigurement. But since our Lord Jesus Christ wishes above all other kingdoms to illuminate the kingdom of France with the three aforementioned attributes, that is, faith, learning, and chivalry, it has become customary for the king to bear on his coat of arms and on his banner the flower of the lily with three petals, as if the three petals said to the whole world: faith, learning, and chivalry thrive more abundantly in our kingdom than in any other kingdom, serving us through the care and grace of God. For the double petals of the lily represent learning and chivalry; having, moreover, followed Dionysius the Areopagite from Greece into Gaul, they guard and defend the third petal, which is faith and which through the grace of God he has been able to propagate. For faith is governed and ruled by knowledge and is defended by chivalry. And furthermore, as long as the aforesaid three are together in the kingdom of France and are firmly united to each other, the kingdom will also remain firm. If, however, they should be separated from each other or be torn asunder, everything will be reduced to desolation and will fall into ruin.[38]

A number of important ideas emerge from even this short portion of Nangis's *Life of Saint Louis*: the acknowledgement of the lily as the *signum regis Franciae*, the sign of the king of France; the association of the lily with Dionysius the Areopagite, a figure conflated in the Middle Ages with the bishop and patron saint of Paris and founder of the Abbey of St-Denis, Saint Denis himself;[39] finally, and perhaps most importantly for fr. 146, the attribution to each of the three petals of the lily of a virtue, foremost faith, which is supported by the petals that represent learning and chivalry.

An echo of Nangis's interpretation can be found in a slighter later work of Monk Yves, the *gesta* of Saint Denis. In a chapter tellingly titled 'How faith, learning and chivalry are represented by the sign of the king of France, that is, by the lily', Monk Yves offers a reiteration of the very same virtues attributed to the petals by Nangis:

[38] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 154. In addition to his translation, Hinkle also includes the Latin text as edited in the *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 20, pp. 318–21: 'Si enim tam pretiosissimus thesaurus sapientiae salutaris, quod olim de Graecia sequendo Dionysium Areopagitam Parisius ad partes Gallicanas devenerat, cum fides et militiae titulo, de regno Franciae tolleretur, maneret utique liliatum signum regis Franciae, quod trini floris folio depictum est, in una parte sui mirabiliter deformatum. Nam ex quo Deus et Dominus noster Jesus Christus voluit tribus praedictis gratiis, scilicet fide, sapientia et militia, specialius caetera regna, regnum Franciae sua gratia illustrare, consueverunt regis in suo armis et vexillis florem lilii depictum cum tribus foliis comportare. Quasi dicerent toti mundo: fides, sapientia et militiae titulum abundantius quam regnis ceteris sunt regno nostro, Dei provisione et gratia servientes. Duplex enim par flos lilii sapientiam et militiam significat, quae duo sequentes de Graecia in Galliam Dionysium Areopagitam cum fide, quam ibidem Dei gratia seminavit, tertium florem lilii facientem custodiunt et defendunt. Nam fides gubernatur et regitur sapientia, ac demum militia defensatur. Quamdiu enim praedicta tria fuerint in regno Franciae pariter et ordinate sibi invicem cohaerentia, stabit regnum. Si autem de eodem separata fuerint, vel avulsa, omne illud in seipsum desolabitur atque cadet.'

[39] See Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1991), esp. pp. 38–42, 234–5 and 77–84. The history of Dionysius the Areopagite by the 9th-c. Abbot of St-Denis, Hilduin, propagated the conflation of the two figures; the Latin text is edited in *Patrologia latina*, 106 (Paris, 1851).

These three attributes that are mentioned above, that is, faith, learning, and chivalry, can indeed be seen to have a triple and meaningful connection, forming the cord that, according to Solomon, it is difficult to break as long as the three attributes are in mutual harmony in peace and love. If, however, they become separated or divided, the woes of dissolution can follow and this is indeed something to be feared. But the superior dignity of the above-mentioned three, that is faith, learning, and chivalry, through the merits of the blessed Areopagite has nevertheless been conferred upon the kingdom of France to the exclusion of the kingdoms of the rest of the world, by means of the lily with its triple petals; and because it has become his emblem, the lily not inappropriately also represents the most Christian king of France.[40]

Important to note in this passage is the stress that Monk Yves, like Nangis before him, places on the necessity of forming a balance among the attributes of the three petals: faith, learning and chivalry. When the balance among the virtues is disrupted, 'woes of dissolution can follow and this is indeed something to be feared'. Equally important is Monk Yves's observation that the lily, replete with a Trinitarian meaning, is an appropriate emblem with which to represent the *rex christianissimus*, the most Christian king of France.[41]

Indeed, in addition to the Marian symbolism of the lily and the significance for the Capetian line, the flower also gained a certain Christological significance that further confirmed its suitability for use by the Capetian kings. A sermon by the Dominican Guillaume de Sauqueville composed during the reign of Philippe IV emphasises the interpretation of the fleur-de-lis as a symbol which linked the Capetian line not only to the kings of the Old Testament, but also to the two comings of Christ:[42] 'The sign of the first coming was the lily of virginity … but at his second coming, to

[40] 'Prefatorum autem trium, fidei videlicet et sapientie et militie grata connexio videtur esse triplex, ille funiculus qui iuxta Salomonem difficile rumpitur. Quandiu videlicet tria hec adinvicem fuerint pacis et amoris federe sociata. Quod si quando separata fuerint aut divisa, dissolutionis malum imminere poterit ac timeri. Trina nichilominus prefatorum trium, fidei videlicet sophos et milicie, prerogativa dignitas per beati Aeropagitis meritis, pre ceteris mundi regnis Francorum regno concessa triplicis folii lilio, quod in signo suo defert Rex Francorum christianissimus non incongrue designatur.' The passage is followed by a short interpolated poem that further emphasises the lily as the sign of the king of France, the *signum regis Francie*: 'Flos duplex Achaie, sophis et milicie, / Sequens Dionysius, servit regno Francie. / Fides summa specie florem facit tertium. / Trini floris folium effigiat lillium, / Signum regis Francie' ('The two petals of the flower of Achaia, learning and chivalry, following Dionysius, watch over the kingdom of France. The third petal, which is taller in appearance and which represents faith, completes the flower. The triple petals of the flower form the lily, the sign of the King of France'). Edited and translated by Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 156–7. For a slightly different edition from BnF lat. 15966, fol. 7$^{v}$ see Hindman and Spiegel, 'Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces', p. 388, n. 26.

[41] J. R. Strayer, 'France: The Holy Land, the Chosen People, and the Most Christian King', in T. K. Rabb and J. E. Seigel (eds.), *Action and Conviction in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Memory of E. H. Harbison* (Princeton, 1969), pp. 3–16, at 9; Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 232–7; and Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, p. 237.

[42] Strayer, 'France', pp. 9–10, and Hindman and Spiegel, 'Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces', p. 390.

war on sinners, he will carry the blood-red banner [the oriflamme].'[43] Sauqueville's intention was to present the Capetian line as descended from Christ and, therefore, the Capetian kings as the 'most Christian kings' and rightful rulers of the most Christian country, France.[44] This was not a new conceit; even earlier Abbot Suger at St-Denis (1121–51) had made the connection between the Capetian line and the ultimate royal lineage leading back to the biblical kings via the symbol of the lily:

> The use of the fleur-de-lis, from which the Christological and Marian significance of the motif derives, takes on a new meaning when seen in relation to the depiction of the kings of Israel. The use of the fleur-de-lis seems to be the result of a conscious design to establish a visual bond between the Capetian kings, as represented by their heraldic symbol, and the kings of the Old Testament, and to affirm, by means of the culminating figure of Christ, the divine character of the Capetian monarchy.[45]

In the fourteenth century, belief in the divine right of the French kings was reinvigorated by the rereading of the fleur-de-lis in a royal and divine light, just in time for the difficult dynastic switch from the Capetians to the Valois and the beginning of the Hundred Years War.[46]

Apart from the works contained in fr. 146 – Geoffroy's *dits*, the anonymous chronicle, and *Fauvel*, all discussed below – the next significant work on the fleur-de-lis is found in Bertrand of Tour's sermon on St Louis written between *c.* 1328 and 1333.[47] A glorification of the French royal house and the *rex christianissimus*, St Louis, Bertrand's sermon takes as its point of departure a passage from Matthew 6:28–9: 'consider the lilies of the field, how they grow'. Bertrand plays with the idea of the 'garden' or field of France in which the lilies, the kings of France, are cultivated.[48] He extends his lily allegory even further by directly equating the virtues of the lily with the nine virtues of the French royal house:[49]

[43] Strayer, 'France', p. 10.
[44] *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 16, and Hindman and Spiegel, 'Fleur-de-Lis Frontispieces', p. 390.
[45] Rezak, 'Suger', p. 100.
[46] On Trinitarianism and the fleur-de-lis in the later 14th- and15th-c. French court, see Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 246–8, and Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 32 onwards.
[47] Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, p. 231.
[48] *Ibid.*, p. 232.
[49] Gaposchkin, *Making of Saint Louis*, pp. 233–6. Bertrand is not the first to establish a link between the fleur-de-lis and virtues in general; by the 10th c., as Beaune observes, the lily already symbolised a number of virtues, including faith, justice and purity. See Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, p. 205.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Permanence (roots) | Enduring legacy of the French royal house |
| 2 | Clemency and piety | Defenders of Christendom; most Christian kings |
| 3 | Cleanliness and honesty | Integrity of the French royal house |
| 4 | Divine love and charity | French love of church; crusading of French kings |
| 5 | Probity and courage (top of the lily symbolises royal sceptre) | Conquering activities of France |
| 6 | Sweetness of fragrance | France's grace and the power of miracles |
| 7 | Justice and equality (gold colour) | France as noble and just |
| 8 | Celestial colour of sapphire (azure) | Divine right of the French kings |
| 9 | Red gules of Sicily (oriflamme) | Will and desire to die for Christian faith |

Bertrand's allegory combines the pseudo-botanical allegorisation of the lily familiar from the *Vitis mystica* with the contemporary trend of labelling each petal as a virtue. A particularly notable aspect of Bertrand's nine virtues of the French royal house, however, is that the image that he utilises is not the botanical lily in the field nor the mythical lily of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite or the Song of Songs, but rather the arms of France – azure with a field of gold fleurs-de-lis. It is through the works of Nangis, Monk Yves and Bertrand of Tours and other writers that a picture of the multivalent lily begins to come into focus. Emphasising both the lily's religious and heraldic symbolism – the virtues, the Holy Trinity, France, the French monarchy and the French church – these writings set the stage in this article, if not also chronologically, for more explicit and pointed writings on the fleur-de-lis, including the poetic texts of fr. 146.

## VITRY, DEGUILEVILLE AND THE TEXTS OF FR. 146

The link among France, its virtues and the fleur-de-lis is strengthened in three works from 1332 to 1350 by Philippe de Vitry, Guillaume de Deguileville and the anonymous author of a Latin poem on the origin of the fleur-de-lis. Vitry's 1332 poem, *Le Chapel des Trois Fleurs de Lys*, a promotion of Philippe VI's aborted crusade of 1335, was, according to Hinkle, the first work in French devoted to the *lilium mysticum*.[50] In a similar vein as Nangis, the Monk Yves and Bertrand, Vitry labels the virtues that comprise the fleur-de-lis, although he envisages three separate flowers, as opposed to three petals:

[50] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 17–20.

| | |
|---|---|
| Les fleurs par qui France a puissance | The flowers through which France has power |
| Sont appellees, sanz doubtance, | Are called, without doubt, |
| *Science, Foy, Chevalerie.* | *Knowledge, Faith, and Chivalry.* |
| Ces .iii. fleurs font une aliance | These three flowers form an alliance |
| Entr'eulx semblable a l'ordenance | Among themselves like that of the ordering |
| De la souvraine jerarchie. | Of the sovereign hierarchy. |
| Diex qui est treble en unité | God who is a threefold in a unity |
| A fourmé une trinité | Has formed a Trinity |
| En ces .iii. fleurs dessus nommees. | In these three flowers named above. |
| Par elles dure royaulté, | Through them royalty endures, |
| Par elles regne loyaulté, | Through them loyalty reigns, |
| Quant elles sont bien assemblees. | When they are well assembled.[51] |

The identification of the flowers with knowledge, chivalry and faith parallels earlier writings, as does his emphasis on the need for the virtues to be 'well assembled' in order for royalty and loyalty to reign. Vitry also explicitly references the Holy Trinity as being formed in and through the joining of the three fleurs-de-lis. It is not the shape of the pistil of the lily that suggests an allegorical connection to the Trinity to Vitry, however, but instead the number of the flowers that represents the affection of the three members of the Holy Trinity towards France:

| | |
|---|---|
| . . . ces .iii. fleurs de France | . . . These three flowers of France |
| Nous font une significance | Signify to us |
| Que la souvraine trinité | That the sovereign Trinity |
| A singuliere affection | Has a singular affection |
| A la françoise region. | Toward the French region.[52] |

The *Roman de la Fleur de Lis* by Guillaume de Deguileville and the anonymous Latin poem on the origin of the fleur-de-lis further Vitry's Trinitarian interpretation of the 'Trinity flowers' of France. The *Roman de la Fleur de Lis*, an allegorical poem for Philippe VI that features a dialogue led by 'the grace of God', Grâce Dieu, is an extended treatise on the arms or shield of the king of France, which is, appropriately, covered with heraldic lilies:

| | |
|---|---|
| Si quez, se tu veulx, ton escu | Then ask, if you please, for your shield, |
| Et ta baniere en signeras | And you will mark your banner with it [fleur-de-lis] |
| Et par tout t'en armoieras | And arm yourself all over with it; |
| Ce sera signe que par moy | This will be the sign that through me [Grâce Dieu] |
| Tu regnez et que tu es roy. | You reign and that you are king.[53] |

[51] French text edited in A. Piaget, '*Le Chapel des trois fleurs de lis* par Philippe de Vitry', *Romania*, 27 (1898), pp. 55–92, at 72. Translation from Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 243. Discussed also in Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 18–19.

[52] Original text edited in Piaget, 'Chapel', p. 90. Translated by Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 244.

[53] Translation and French text are found in Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 245 and 92. For further discussion of the poem, see Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 28–31.

The fleur-de-lis is understood by Deguileville as a symbol of the blessing of the royal house of France; the lily therefore represents the health and strength of the kingdom. Similarly, the anonymous Latin poem in BnF lat. 14663 on the origin of the fleur-de-lis focuses on the heraldic properties of the 'triple lily-flower':[54]

> Tunc, reversus de prelio, loquebatur cum uxore
> De trium florum lilio, de asurato colore,
> Quid signaret misterio, quid inde venturum fore.
> 'Per Jovem, inquid, nescio nec animo nec corpora.'
> Uxor respondet: 'Ideo tibi dat sancta Trinitas
> Victoriam, Clodoveo, ut trium florum unitas
> Auri sint tuo clipeo, quod dabit perpetuitas
> Ut dominatu aureo tua regnet auctoritas.'
>
> Then, returning from the battle, he [Clovis] spoke with his wife
> About the triple lily-flower, about the azure colour,
> [Asking] what could be signified by this mystery, what was to come thereafter.
> 'By Jove,' he said, 'I know not, either in spirit or body.'
> His wife responded: 'Hereby the Holy Trinity gives you
> Victory, Clovis, so that, just as the unity of the three flowers
> Is like gold to your shield, so in perpetuity will
> Your authority reign supreme in golden sovereignty.'[55]

In this passage, the Holy Trinity gifts Clovis with three lilies, bestowing on the French royal line a divine origin and their revered floral symbol. Moreover, the white lilies are described as 'gilded', or decorated with gold, a prefiguring of the French arms of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the *Azure, a semis of fleurs-de-lis or*, seen in the fifteenth-century depiction of Clovis's encounter with the Holy Trinity (see Figure 3).[56]

As a signal of divine and royal power, the fleur-de-lis continued to flourish in fourteenth-century France and beyond in the imagination of writers, theologians and artists as a symbol of the strength of France, one supported by the Marian and, even more significantly, Trinitarian associations of the lily.[57] As the *dits* and chronicle discussed below suggest, the increasing

[54] Since the poem was written at the Abbey of Joyenval, which was established by Clovis himself and which reputedly owned Clovis's shield, the king was an appropriate example of kingship for the Abbey. See Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 198, 215–16.

[55] Latin text edited in R. Bossuat, 'Poème latin sur l'origine des fleurs de lis', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 101 (1940), pp. 80–101, at 96. English translation based on Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 245. Cited and discussed in Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 23–8.

[56] Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 214–16, 223. On the Bedford Hours, see Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 68–73.

[57] Certainly by 1377 there is no question that the lily was firmly rooted as both the *signum regni Francie* and a symbol of the Trinity; a charter for the foundation of the Celestines de Limay by Charles V states succinctly: 'Lilia quidem, signum regni Francie in quo florent flores quasi lilium, ymo flores lilii non tantum duo, sed tres, ut in se tipum gererent Trinitas.' Cited in Prinet, 'Variations', pp. 483–4. The charter is discussed in more detail in Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 42.

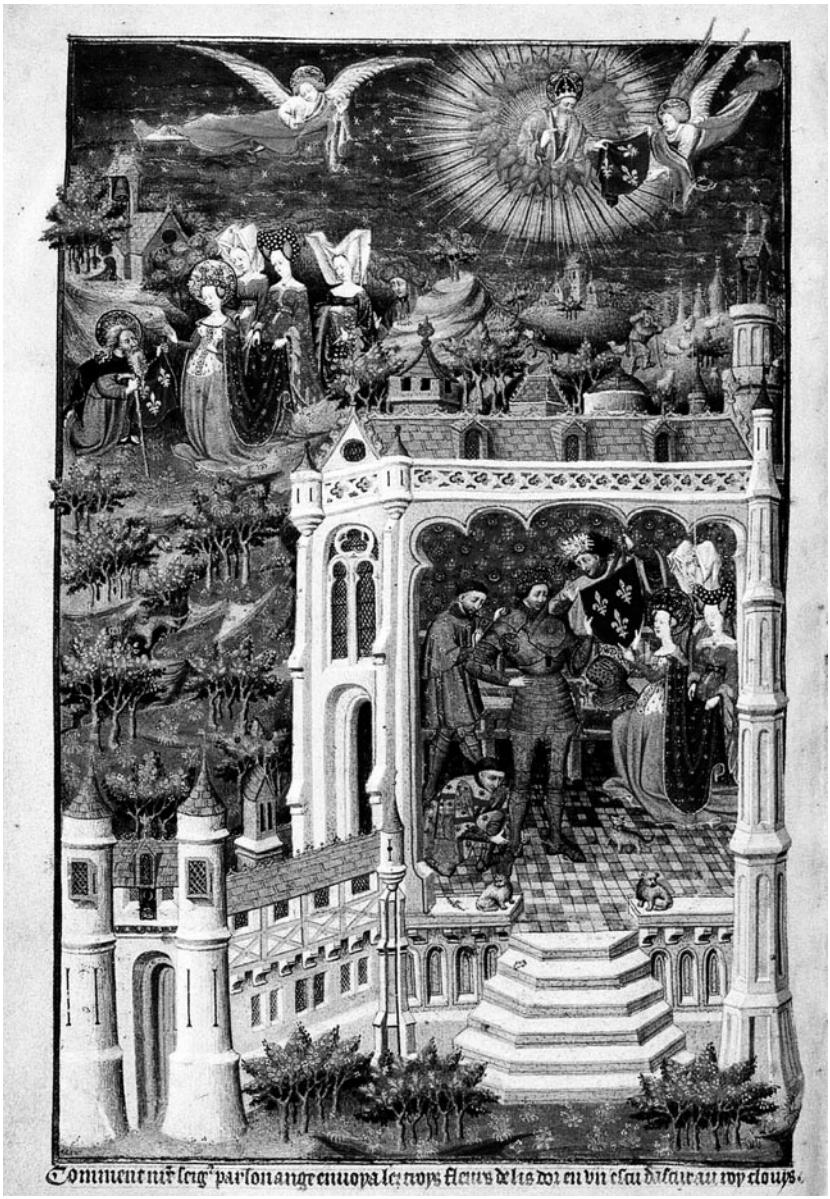

Figure 3 Baptism of Clovis in the Bedford Book of Hours, *c.* 1423. British Library, Add. MS 18850, fol. 288$^{v}$. © The British Library Board. Used by permission



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fourteenth-century interest in affirmations of the divine sovereignty and strength of France, as expressed in the bourgeoning lily literature, was probably a response to the 'woes of dissolution'[58] that were multiplying in the state, woes that the authors of fr. 146 were well aware of during the compilation of their manuscript.[59]

Two items contained in fr. 146 can be seen as particular reactions to the contemporary events in France, in addition to being contributions to the evolution of the fleur-de-lis as royal and religious symbol: the *dits* of Geoffroy of Paris on fols. $46^{r}$–$55^{v}$ and the metrical chronicle attributed to Geoffroy on fols. $63^{v}$–$88^{r}$. The six French and two Latin dits are all concerned with historical and contemporary political events:[60]

| | |
|---|---|
| Fols. $46^{r}$–$50^{r}$ | *Premierement auisemenz pour le Roy Loys* |
| Fol. $50^{r}$ | *Du Roy phellippe qui ore Regne* |
| Fol. $50^{v}$ | **Des alliez en latin* (or *Hora rex est*) |
| Fol. $51^{r}$ | **De la creation du pape Iehan* (or *Natus ego*) |
| Fol. $52^{r}$ | *Vn songe* |
| Fol. $53^{r}$ | *Des alliez en francois* |
| Fol. $54^{r}$ | *De la comete et de leclipse de la lune et du soulail* |
| Fol. $55^{r}$ | *La Desputaison de leglise de Romme et de leglise de France pour le siege du pape* |

The *dits* most relevant to this discussion are the two Latin *dits* that will be referred to here by their incipits, *Hora rex est* and *Natus ego*, and two of the four French *dits*, *Auisemenz pour le Roy Loys* and *Des Alliez en francois*. The first French *dit*, *Auisemenz pour le Roy Loys*, contains two passages of interest, although neither explicitly references the fleur-de-lis. The first acknowledges St Louis as the model of a pious king in an admonition directed towards his descendant, King Louis X. In keeping with St Louis's idealised position in the Capetian line he is described as the guardian of peace in

[58] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 156.

[59] On multiple authors and/or compilers, see Rankin, 'Divine Truth', pp. 205–6; Wathey, 'Fauvel, Roman de'; and E. Sanders, 'The Early Motets of Philippe de Vitry', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 28 (1975), pp. 24–45, at 34–5. On Chaillou de Pesstain's authorship, see Bolduc, *Medieval Poetics*, pp. 131–66.

[60] The Latin *dits* (marked with *) are edited, translated and discussed by Holford-Strevens, 'Latin *Dits*'. The French *dits* are edited and translated in their entirety by W. Storer and C. Rochedieu in *Six Historical Poems of Geffroi de Paris, Written in 1314–1318*, University of North Carolina Studies in the Romance Languages and Literatures, 16 (Chapel Hill, NC, 1950). The *dits* are also discussed and partly edited in Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 14–16 and 159–61. Spellings and order of *dits* are from the index of fr. 146. On the index, see Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 162–72.

France and of her Church, and is invoked as a model for future kings, especially his namesake: 'From him, King, thou art descended; wise art thou, if thou resemblest him; and from him thou bearest thy name.'[61]

A passage from later in the *Auisemenz pour le Roy Loys* focuses on the relationship among the very same virtues governed by the allegorical fleur-de-lis and condemns those rulers who would disturb this relationship. Knowledge and Chivalry are joined together, according to this *dit*, to protect the Church, just as the petals of the lily are balanced between these same two virtues to support the primary virtue, Faith:

| | |
|---|---|
| Qui ont à gouverner provinces, | Who has provinces to govern, |
| Avecques eus doivent avoir | Ought to have with them |
| Armes et lois de savoir. | Arms and the laws of wisdom. |
| Ces deus choses ensemble joint; | These two things he joins together; |
| *Si fait cil mal qui les des joint.* | *So, that one does evil who separates them.* |
| Par l'*Institute* fait connoistre | By that *Institute* he makes known |
| Que l'un sanz l'autre ne peut estre: | That one cannot exist without the other: |
| Les clers et pour cors et pour armes, | The clerics both for studies and for arms, |
| Les chevaliers pour porter armes. | The knights to bear arms. |
| Ce sont braz de Sainte Eglise. | They are the arms of Holy Church, |
| Si com l'Escripture devise. | Just as the Scripture states. |
| Se l'un en estoit desraché, | If one were detached from her, |
| Le cors seroit trop damaché; | The body would be too much injured; |
| Et pour ce, doivent estre ensemble; | And for that reason, they should be together; |
| *Si fait cil mal qui les dessemble.* | *So, he does evil who separates them.*[62] |

Knowledge is represented here by the clerics and chivalry by the knights; both bear arms to defend the Holy Church, which signifies, and is signified by, the virtue of faith. If the defenders of knowledge and chivalry are disassembled, the Holy Church, and thus faith, would be 'much injured'. One of the interesting features of the passage is the nearly identical repetition of a line as a pseudo-refrain: 'So, he does evil who separates them.' Referring to the issue of bad rulers or bad councillors who disrupt the balance of the virtues, this line in the *dit* surely would have resonated for readers of the entire manuscript as a critique both of certain highly criticised

[61] *Six Historical Poems*, ed. Storer and Rochedieu, p. 13: 'Saint Loÿs aussi, qui fu Rois, / Il ne fist contemps, ne desrois / Sainte Eglise, mes li maintint. / Pour ce, empès son réaume tint; / Et si n'ot de nulle part guerre; / Et du sien voust .ii. foiz requerre / Nostre Seigneur outre la mer. / Saint Loÿs en lui n'ot amer. / De lui, Roys, es-tu estraiz; / Sages es, s'à lui te retraiz; / Et de lui portes-tu le non' ('Saint Louis also, who was King, he did not cause quarrel, nor disorder for Holy Church, but maintained her. Wherefore, in peace he held his realm; and so, he had not war from any side; and with his people he wished twice to seek out our Lord, beyond the sea. Saint Louis had not bitterness in him. From him, King, thou art descended; wise art thou, if thou resemblest him; and from him thou bearest thy name').

[62] *Ibid.*, p. 23.

French rulers and the satirical figure of Fauvel.[63] It seems possible that Vitry, in writing his *Chapel des Trois Fleurs de Lys* approximately fifteen years later, was aware, too, of the earlier tradition expressed in this *dit* of joining knowledge, chivalry and faith in defence of France – the very same trio of virtues he attaches to the three fleurs-de-lis that represent France, her rulers and her Church.[64] Even the language of the final 'refrain' line, in which he does evil who separates ('dessemble') the virtues, echoes Vitry's later statement that the lilies of France must be 'bien assemblees'.

Geoffroy's Latin *dit Hora rex est* is also highly admonitory, but directed, however, towards Louis X's successor, Philippe V, and focused on the improvement of his governance. The passage quoted below presents many of the themes familiar from the later writings on the symbolic lily:[65] *Hora rex est* recalls the botanical analogy seen in the *Vitis mystica* and foreshadows Bertrand's sermon;[66] it references the heraldic use of the lily on the shields of the kings of France;[67] and the image of a 'thorn among the lilies' also appears:[68]

| | |
|---|---|
| Rex dictus es, Philippe, lilium; | King Philip, thou hast been called a lily, |
| Vere tu par tunc eris lilio | Thou shalt truly then be like a lily, |
| Si directum tenes dominium, | If thou maintain right rule, |
| Pietatem et in iudicio, | And mercy in judgement, |
| Ad populum vultum propicium, | A kindly countenance towards the people, |
| Mundiciam in corde regio. | Purity in thy royal heart. |
| Ista tuum decent imperium | Those things beseem thy rule |
| Et te docet eadem ratio. | And reason teacheth thee the same. |
| Est lilii radix primaria | The first root of the lily |
| Secretorum fides celestium, | Is faith in the heavenly mysteries, |
| Et hastile rectum iusticia | And the upright stalk is justice |
| Distribuens cui[us]que proprium; | Distributing to each his own; |
| Viror virans quem seruant folia | The flourishing greenness the leaves preserve |
| Est bonorum congaudens gaudium, | Is good men's joy that rejoice together, |
| Sed flos candens vite mundicia, | But the white flower is purity of life, |
| Exterminans carnale vicium. | Destroying carnal vice. |
| Iam ascendunt in montem Libanum, | Now they climb Mount Lebanon |

[63] Wathey, 'Politics', pp. 599–600. Wathey argues that the manuscript as a whole appears to be a kind of admonition to new rulers and a warning against bad council, specifically that provided by the unpopular Enguerran de Marigny.

[64] This is especially likely in the light of Vitry's involvement with fr. 146. On Vitry and fr. 146, see Robertson, 'Which Vitry?'; A. Wathey, 'Auctoritas and the Motets of Philippe de Vitry', in Clark and Leach (eds.), *Citation and Authority*, pp. 67–78; Sanders, 'Early Motets'; and L. Schrade, 'Philippe de Vitry: Some New Discoveries', *Musical Quarterly*, 42 (1956), pp. 330–54.

[65] Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 204–10.

[66] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 14–15.

[67] Hinkle points out that Geoffroy also compares the Trinitarian aspect of the three lilies to the triangular shape of the shield itself, on which the flowers appear. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

[68] Holford-Strevens, 'Latin *Dits*', p. 250. For Holford-Strevens, the fleur-de-lis and the thorns create a contrasting frame for the verses dealing with the hated taxes imposed by Philip IV.

| | |
|---|---|
| Rex, nitentes perdere lilia, | O King, striving to destroy the lily, |
| Vnde regni turbatur organum; | Whereby the organ of the kingdom is spoiled; |
| Psalterium cum timpanistria, | The psaltery with the damsel drummer, |
| Cedit corus simul et cimbalum. | The choir and the cymbal retreat. |
| Verumtamen instet audacia, | But let boldness press ahead, |
| Vt probetur per ignis clibanum | That by the oven of fire may be tested |
| Amicorum regni fiducia. | The loyalty of the kingdom's friends. |
| Inter spinas non aubsque merito | Amongst the thorns, not undeservedly, |
| Conualium lilium legitur: | Is the lily of the valleys, as we read; |
| Te lilium regem non dubito, | I doubt not that thou art the Lily, the King, |
| Nam lilium armis depingitur. | For the lily is painted on thine armour.[69] |

*Hora rex est* is, in many ways, a summation of lily exegeses; while nothing in the passage is definitively new, the language of association is stronger and the allegorical scenario reflects the political situation of France. Moreover, because *Hora rex est* was written prior to many of the later fourteenth-century fleur-de-lis works, the *dit* should properly be considered a precursor to the later writings, anticipating in many ways future developments in the political and religious exegesis of the lily.

The most striking moment in all of the *dits* for interpretations of the fleur-de-lis – and one cited surprisingly infrequently in scholarship – is found in the sixth *dit*, *Des alliez en francois*:[70]

| | |
|---|---|
| XIV | XIV |
| Roys, la flour de lis esmerée | King, the pure fleur-de-lis |
| Blanche est comme la nof negée | Is white as the new snowfall, |
| Mes en la teue a dorement. | But on thine there is gilt. |
| Roys, ta flour de lis est dorée; | King, thy fleur-de-lis is gilded; |
| Dont *charitez* t'est demoutrée, | By which, *charity* is demonstrated to thee, |
| Et que vivre doiz *chastement*, | And that thou shouldst live *chastely*, |
| En tes .v. senz sensiblement. | In thy five senses wisely. |
| En ton escu de parement, | On thy shield for parade, |
| Trible à flour de lis en armée, | Triple with fleurs-de-lis in battle array, |
| C'est de la *foy* le sacrament, | That is the sacrament of *faith*, |
| Une en Déité simplement | One alone in Deity, |
| Et en personnes est triblée. | And in persons it is tripled. |
| XV | XV |
| Roys, telle est la fourme fourmée | King, such is the metamorphosed form |
| De l'escu qu'elle est trianglée, | Of the shield that it is divided into three parts, |
| Et par ceti disposement | And by this arrangement |
| T'est-il la *Trinité* notée, | Is the *Trinity* denoted for thee, |
| Et la toue *foy* baptisée, | And thy baptized *faith*, |
| Dont tu es enoint dignement, | With which thou art worthily anointed, |
| Mes li fuz senz devisement | But the wood of the shield, without division, |

[69] *Ibid.*, pp. 258–9.

[70] Hinkle discusses the similarities of Geoffroy's poem to the anonymous *Vitis mystica*. Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, pp. 14–15.

| | |
|---|---|
| Est un, quar singulierment | Is one, for single |
| Est un Dieu. S'à toy acollée | Is one God. If to thee is joined |
| Est telle *foy* hardiement. | Such *faith* boldly. |
| Va, quar victoire t'est sauvée. | It goes, for victory is saved for thee. |
| XVI | XVI |
| Et la fleur de lis est jurée | And the fleur-de-lis is sworn |
| *Foy*, s'apres n'est à tort fausée. | *Faith*, if afterwards it is not wrongly falsified. |
| Q'es[t]-ce que grant degerement? | What is this great turning aside? |
| La flour de lis est espurée | The fleur-de-lis is purified |
| Par la léauté mesmement, | By tested loyalty, |
| Et s'est de sa gent mesmement | And if likewise the filthiness of its people |
| Du baston le conchiement, | Is [purified] with the cudgel, |
| En aront raisonnablement. | They will have a reasonable treatment. |
| Pour ce, soit chascune avisée | Wherefore, let each person be advised |
| Personne à faire amendement; | To make reparation; |
| Ce ce non assez courtement, | If this [is] not [done] in short enough time, |
| En sera l'amende levée. | The reparation for it will be raised.[71] |

Despite the fact that most scholars place the emergence of the threefold fleur-de-lis on the French arms, the *Azure aux trois fleurs de lys d'or*, in 1376 with the reign of Charles V,[72] Geoffroy's *dit* suggests that as early as 1317 not only were three lilies emblematic of the king of France, but they were tied to the representation of the *scotum fidei*, the arms of the Trinity: 'Triple with fleurs-de-lis in battle array, that is the sacrament of faith, one alone in Deity, and in persons it is tripled.'[73] As Vitry's *Chapel des Trois Fleurs-de-lis*, Deguileville's *Roman de la Fleur de Lis* and the anonymous Latin poem on the flower's origin were all written after 1332, this is probably the earliest association of the fleur-de-lis with both the arms of France and the Holy Trinity. Moreover, in contrast with many of the other texts discussed thus far, two of the virtues cited in the *dit* are theological virtues – faith and charity, while the third, chastity, is a virtue frequently associated with the fleur-de-lis, but is not a theological virtue.[74] As it does throughout fr. 146, faith emerges as the most important of the virtues; as the *dit* states, the shield arrayed with lilies is the ultimate 'sacrament of faith'. It is this virtue

[71] *Six Historical Poems*, ed. Storer and Rochedieu, pp. 77–8. Emphasis mine.

[72] Among others, see Dennys, *Heraldic Imagination*, p. 111; Woodward, *Treatise on Heraldry*, p. 347; and Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, p. 219.

[73] *Six Historical Poems*, ed. Storer and Rochedieu, p. 77.

[74] The cardinal and theological virtues, which generally oppose Christian vices, should not be confused with the seven virtues, which oppose the seven deadly sins. This latter list of seven virtues – charity, chastity, diligence, humility, kindness, patience and temperance – was first developed in Prudentius's 5th-c. *Psychomachia*. In contrast, the seven theological and cardinal virtues are usually enumerated as follows: the former are faith, charity and hope, and the latter are prudence, temperance, courage and justice. On the Virtues and Vices as they appear in *Fauvel*, see N. F. Regalado, 'Allegories of Power: The Tournament of Vices and Virtues in the *Roman de Fauvel* (BN MS Fr. 146)', *Gesta*, 32 (1993), pp. 135–46.

in particular that is ultimately the one defended by knowledge and chivalry and that represents most ideally France and its monarchs. Also notable is the fact that it is in fr. 146 where theological virtues are highlighted – just as the lily was a gift from God to the French kings and the French arms a gift from the Trinity to Clovis, so too are the theological virtues gifts from the Holy Spirit.

Justification for the defence of virtues and therefore of France is not difficult to locate in fr. 146; the metrical chronicle on fols. $63^{v}$–$88^{r}$ covers historical events in Paris between 1300 and 1316 and provides ample information concerning the current state of France.[75] As Regalado has observed, the chronicle continues 'the moral discourse of *Fauvel* and Geoffroy's *dits*' found on earlier folios.[76] The chronicle functions as an admonition to the king(s) of France – Philippe IV, Louis X and Philippe V – and also as a historical 'key' to the satire presented in Fauvel.[77] The Trinity is invoked twice in the chronicle, first at the outset and again near the conclusion. The anonymous account begins with a brief prayer or doxology to the Trinity, perhaps, as Jean Dunbabin has suggested, as 'an indication of [the author's] deep moral seriousness':[78] 'En l'ennor de la Trinité Qui est unë en deïté' ('In honour of the Trinity, which is one in (its) deity').[79] As Elizabeth Brown observes at the second moment of Trinitarian appeals: 'The chronicler calls on the glorious Trinity to grant Louis, "at the day of Final Judgment, reign in heaven," but he also begs the triune God "to hold us in his power and give us after him a king who will not bring confusion … on his people" – implying … that Louis had done just this.'[80] The Holy Trinity is invoked directly as a source of divine power (without the intercession of the fleur-de-lis) in order to stress the importance of the Trinity for the Capetian line and for France. Although the fleur-de-lis is referenced twice in the course of the chronicle, only at the second mention

[75] The chronicle is often attributed to Geoffroy of Paris; see Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', pp. 233–4. Dunbabin argues persuasively against the identification of the author of the chronicle as Geoffroy due to dissimilarities in style and differences in political standpoints between the chronicle and the *dits*. The chronicle is edited in A. Diverrès, *La Chronique métrique attributée a Geffroy de Paris* (Strasbourg, 1956). Studies of the chronicle include Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', and N. F. Regalado, 'The *Chronique metrique* and the Moral Design of BN fr. 146: Feasts of Good and Evil', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 467–94.

[76] Regalado, 'Chronique metrique', p. 475.

[77] Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', pp. 238, 246. Dunbabin, although seeing the chronicle as a historical key to Fauvel, argues that it was not originally intended for inclusion in fr. 146, but rather was an independent work, a kind of 14th-c. 'newssheet'.

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 238.

[79] Diverrès, *Chronique métrique*, p. 109.

[80] E. A. R. Brown, '*Rex ioians, ionnes, iolis*: Louis X, Philip V, and the *Livres de Fauvel*', in *Fauvel Studies*, p. 65. 'Au jor du Jugement Estroit / Le regne du ciel li otroit / La glorïeuse Trinité / Et nous tiengne en sa poësté / Et nous doint après li tel roy / Qui ne face a sa gent desroy!' Diverrès, *Chronique métrique*, p. 236.

is it acknowledged as a sign of the king of France.[81] The significance of the chronicle as a whole, therefore, is not its contribution to the symbolic development of the lily, but rather its confirmation of the Trinity as a source of divine favour and providence to the chronicle's author. The use of the fleur-de-lis as a royal symbol nevertheless suggests that the chronicler was aware of the contemporary trend towards the allegorisation of the lily. Such allegorical treatment, however, was out of place in the context of a historical record of events, despite, as Regalado has observed, the continuation of certain moral themes presented in *Fauvel* and the *dits*.[82]

The invocation of a divine power and the continued use of the lily to emphasise the health of the Capetian line and France in both the *dits* and the chronicle in fr. 146 is a reaction to what Dunbabin sees as the central theme and concern of the chronicle itself: 'political disarray with serious ecclesiastical disorder, the result of bad leadership'.[83] Approximately fifteen years before the compilation of fr. 146, Guillaume de Nangis foresaw the desolation and ruin of the kingdom of France if faith – and its companion virtues – was not adequately defended by Knowledge and Chivalry; the events of the years 1300–16 and their effect on the papacy and the French royal house made the desolation predicted by Nangis a real concern.[84] In the narrative of *Le Roman de Fauvel* and its interpolated images and music in fr. 146, the multiple meanings of the lily already developed in the *dits* and chronicle, not to mention the numerous texts discussed previously, are further woven into a political and religious satire, one that explores the collapse of the fleur-de-lis (France) and its possible salvation through divine invocations and intercession.

[81] Diverrès, *Chronique métrique*, pp. 130–1. 'Ces flors de liz les connoiz tu? / Hé! Clerc, maugré en aies tu, / Ceste cité n'est pas a toy / – Tu n'i as riens – ele est au roy. / Ne ne te muef, ne ne remue.' / Et cil qui d'angoisse tressue / Les ex rooille et puis rechingne / Quant a veü le royal signe; / Esfreez fu et esbahis, / Et bien quida que le païs / Se fust trestout au roy donné. / De grant doulor n'a mot sonné. / Bien vousist estre seveliz / Quant leans vit la flor de liz. / Et estre mise sus la tour / Et ouï crïer tout entour : / "Monjoie! Roys, icest apostre / Est pris, et le païs est vostre. / De cest pape et de cest ostel / Est vostre roy le temporel."'

[82] Interestingly, the fleur-de-lis does make appearances in other seemingly unusual contexts in 14th-c. France; a royal inquest from 1325, for example, references the lily as a sign of royal guardianship. Cited in C. Du Cange, 'Lilium', *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, <http://ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr/LILIUM3> (acc. 4 May 2010).

[83] Dunbabin, 'Metrical Chronicle', p. 240.

[84] Hinkle, *Fleurs de Lis*, p. 154.

## THE TRAMPLING OF THE FRENCH LILIES: *LE ROMAN DE FAUVEL* AND THE FLEUR-DE-LIS

The story of a corrupt church, an ailing monarchy and an evil overlord, *Fauvel* depicts France in a state of religious and political disarray, symbolised primarily through the ravaging of the fleur-de-lis and all it symbolises by Fauvel and his ravenous companions. Although none of the texts surveyed above is more widely known than the highly interpolated *Roman de Fauvel*, this satire is rarely regarded as part of the historiographical trajectory of the allegorical fleur-de-lis, despite the importance of the flower to its larger narrative and underlying message.[85] With an understanding, however, of the history and theology of the lily and its relationship to the French monarchy and Church, the integral role of the lily in the theological and moral message of *Fauvel* is easily revealed. It is through the connection of the lily to the themes discussed earlier – the virtues girding the lily of France, the prominence of faith among these virtues, and the authorial invocations of both the Virgin Mary and the Holy Trinity – that *Fauvel* betrays its strong kinship to the royal and religious lily as it represents France, her kings and her church. Alongside the chronicle and *dits*, *Fauvel* is an early, multimedia contribution to the further refining and fourteenth-century cultivation of the fleur-de-lis as a simultaneously royal and religious symbol.

It is near the end of *Fauvel* when the narrator expresses with dismay the impact of Fauvel on France, lamenting the trampling of the 'flowers' of Christendom, including, among others, the now familiar virtues of faith, wisdom and chivalry:

| | |
|---|---|
| Mes sur toutes choses je plain | But above all things I pity |
| Le beau jardin de grace plain | The beautiful garden full of grace |
| Ou Dieu par especïauté | Where our Lord, granting a special favour, |
| Planta la flour de loiauté | Planted the flower of loyalty |
| Et y sema par excellence | And sowed there with the highest degree of perfection |
| La franche grene et la semence | The noble seed and the sowing |
| De la fleur de crestïenté | Of the flower of Christianity |
| Et d'autres fleurs a grant plenté: | And other flowers in great number: |
| Fleurs de pais et fleurs de justise, | Flowers of peace and flowers of justice, |
| Fleur de *foy* et fleur de franchise, | The flower of *faith* and the flower of nobility, |
| Fleur d'aneur et fleur espanie | The flower of honour and the blooming flower |
| De *sens* et de *chevalerie*. | Of *wisdom* and of *chivalry*. |
| Tiex jardin fu a bon jour né | Such a garden was born under a lucky star |
| Qui de tiex fleur fu aourné: | [The garden] which was adorned with these flowers: |

[85] Similarly, and as the following section will demonstrate, poetic texts, especially those set to music, do not often appear in considerations of the allegorical or heraldic lily. Concomitant with the flourishing writings on the lily in *gestae*, chronicles and elsewhere, lilies surface in motet, conductus and sequence repertories of the 13th and 14th cc.

| | |
|---|---|
| C'est le jardin de douce France. | It is the garden of sweet France. |
| Hé! las! com c'est grant mescheance | Alas! What great misfortune |
| De ce quen si tres beau vergier | That in such a beautiful orchard |
| S'est venu Fauvel herbergier. | Fauvel came to stay. |
| Ja mais n'ait il ne ieux ne dens | If only he had never had the eyes or the teeth |
| Par qui il entra la dedens, | Thanks to which he got in, |
| Car la beste de tout mal plaine | For this beast full of all vices |
| Par le jardin sa fame maine, | Leads his wife through the garden, |
| Et li et touz ses allïez | And himself and all of his relatives |
| Qui malement nous ont lïez. | Who have evilly shackled us.[86] |

The author's exploitation of the 'hortus' or garden allegory of France and its 'flowers', the virtues, is clear. The image of a garden blooming with flowers, each representing a virtue – loyalty, justice, peace, faith, generosity, honour and chivalry – is a reflection of not only the Gospel of Matthew, but is also a prefiguration of themes explored by the Monk Yves and Vitry, namely the labelling of the lily's petals as virtues, as well as a reflection of the virtues outlined in the *dits*.[87] Moreover, the allegory of the 'Garden

[86] Fr. 146, fol. 41$^{v}$ and *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. and trans. Armand Strubel (Paris, 2012), pp. 654–6, lines 5737–60. I am grateful to Emmanuelle Bonnafoux for her translations of all following French texts. Any emphasis is mine.

Accompanying this lament on the despoiling of the Garden of France are four condemnatory Latin chants, which frame the author's description of the despoiled garden with ominous statements concerning Fauvel's fate. On these four chants, see S. Rankin, 'The "Alleluyes, antenes, respons, ygnes et verssez" in BN fr. 146: A Catalogue Raisonné', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 421–66, at 460–2. The motet *Tribum que/Quoniam secta/Merito* is introduced here, directly following the conclusion of the passage cited above: 'Et pour ce que je m'en courrouce, / Ci met ce motet qui qu'en grouce' ('And because it makes me angry, I put here this motet, whoever wishes to grumble about it'). *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. and trans. Strubel, p. 656, lines 5761–2. Through biblical and classical citations, *Tribum que/Quoniam secta/Merito* alludes to the events affecting the royal house in the 1310s and to the unpopular counsellor Enguerran de Marigny. See M. Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts and Music in the Fourteenth-Century Motet: *Tribum que non abhorruit/Quoniam secta latronum/Merito hec patimur* and its "Quotations"', in Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet*, pp. 82–103, at 84–9, and Holford-Strevens, 'Fauvel', pp. 62–3.

[87] Prior to these allegorical associations, it is the Church itself that represented the botanical paradise in which the flowers, or virtues, flourished. In his discussion of church symbolism, Durand writes: 'Ter ergo altare inungitur, bis oleo, tertio crismate, quoniam Ecclesia fide, spe et caritate, que maior est ceteris, insignitur, et dum crisma infunditur cantatur: "Ecce odor filii mei sicut odor agri pleni." Hic ager est Ecclesia que floribus uernat, uirtutibus splendet, operibus fragrat, ubi sunt rose martyrum, lilia uirginum, uiole confessorum et uiror incipientium' ('The altar therefore is anointed three times; twice with oil, and once with chrism; because the Church is marked by Faith, Hope, and Charity, which last is greater than the others. And while the chrism is used they chant, "See the smell of my son is as the smell of a field". The field is the church, which is verdant with flowers, which shineth in virtues, which is fragrant with good works; and wherein be the roses of martyrs, the lilies of virgins, the violets of confessors, and the verdure of beginners in the faith'). English translation in Guillaume Durand, *The Rationale divinorum officiorum: The Foundational Symbolism of the Early Church, its Structure, Decoration, Sacraments and Vestments, Books I, III and IV*, trans. T. H. Passmore (Louisville, Ky., 2007), p. 104. Latin text edited in *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinorum officiorum*, ed. A. Davril and T. J. Thibodeau, Corpus Christianorum, 140 (Turnhout, 1995–2000), vol. 1, bk. 1, ch. 7, para. 34.

of Virtues' has its own history within and connection to French royal symbolism before fr. 146. The widely read thirteenth-century *Somme le roi*, written by the Dominican friar Lorens for King Philippe III, is a religious and didactic manual that illustrates the Garden of Virtues and the nourishment of the seven virtues by the Holy Spirit, as well as the opposing seven vices.[88] Although only one among many images depicting the virtues as growing in a garden produced in the later Middle Ages, the horticultural illustration of the virtues from the *Somme le roi* is particularly relevant thanks to its seminal role within the larger visual tradition and its explicit ties to the French royal line (see Figure 4). While it deals with the standard list of seven virtues (three theological and four cardinal), in *Fauvel* only one of the theological – faith – and one of the cardinal virtues – justice – are included.[89] In fact, although the virtues associated with the fleur-de-lis in fr. 146 are theological in character,[90] their inclusion in the Fauvel narrative corresponds to the vices critiqued in the satire, rather than conforming to the standard list of seven virtues.[91]

The Garden of Virtues is not without its pests in fr. 146; Fauvel is, of course, the 'thorn among the lilies', the beast who 'roves the garden' of France. Although the narrator tends not to restrict the garden of France to the cultivation of specific virtues, faith is, indeed, the first virtue trod upon by Fauvel and his hordes, along with the fleur-de-lis herself:

[88] On the *Somme le roi* and the Garden of Virtues tradition, see E. Kosmer, 'Gardens of Virtue in the Middle Ages', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 41 (1978), pp. 302–7.

[89] For the biblical source of the theological virtues, see 1 Corinthians 13:13: 'Nunc autem manet fides, spes, caritas, tria haec, maior autem his est caritas' ('And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity'). On the two kinds of virtues in the context of a Trinitarian work, see Robert Dodaro, 'Political and Theological Virtues in Augustine, "De Trinitate"', *Medioevo. Rivista di Storia della Filosofia Medievale*, 31 (2006), pp. 31–46.

[90] On the fleur-de-lis and various virtues, see Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 218–20. Poems from the 13th c. deal explicitly with the theological virtues, even utilising botanical metaphors similar to those used with the fleur-de-lis; see, for example, the motet *Mens fidem seminat/IN ODOREM*, for St Andrew, in which the virtues are provided with a horticultural allegory: 'Mens fidem seminat. / Fides spem germinat. / Caritas exterminat / metum, et eliminat, / mentem et illuminat. / Germen fit de semine. / Florem germen propinat. / Fructum flos propaginat. / Virtus fit de ordine' ('The mind sows faith. Faith sprouts hope. Charity expels fear, turns it out of doors, and enlightens the mind. A bud is formed from the seed. This bud produces a flower. The flower generates a fruit. This is how one cultivates virtue'). For a translation and edition of the music, see *Motets and Prosulas: Philip the Chancellor*, ed. T. B. Payne, Recent Researches in the Music of the Middle Ages and Early Renaissance (Middleton, Wis., 2011), pp. 120–4.

[91] On the correspondence between vices, virtues and the Fauvel narrative, see, for example, Regalado, 'Allegories', p. 144, who links the pairings of the vices and virtues in the tournament scene to the broader cultural context of the manuscript and to the specific vices represented by the satirical figure of Fauvel.

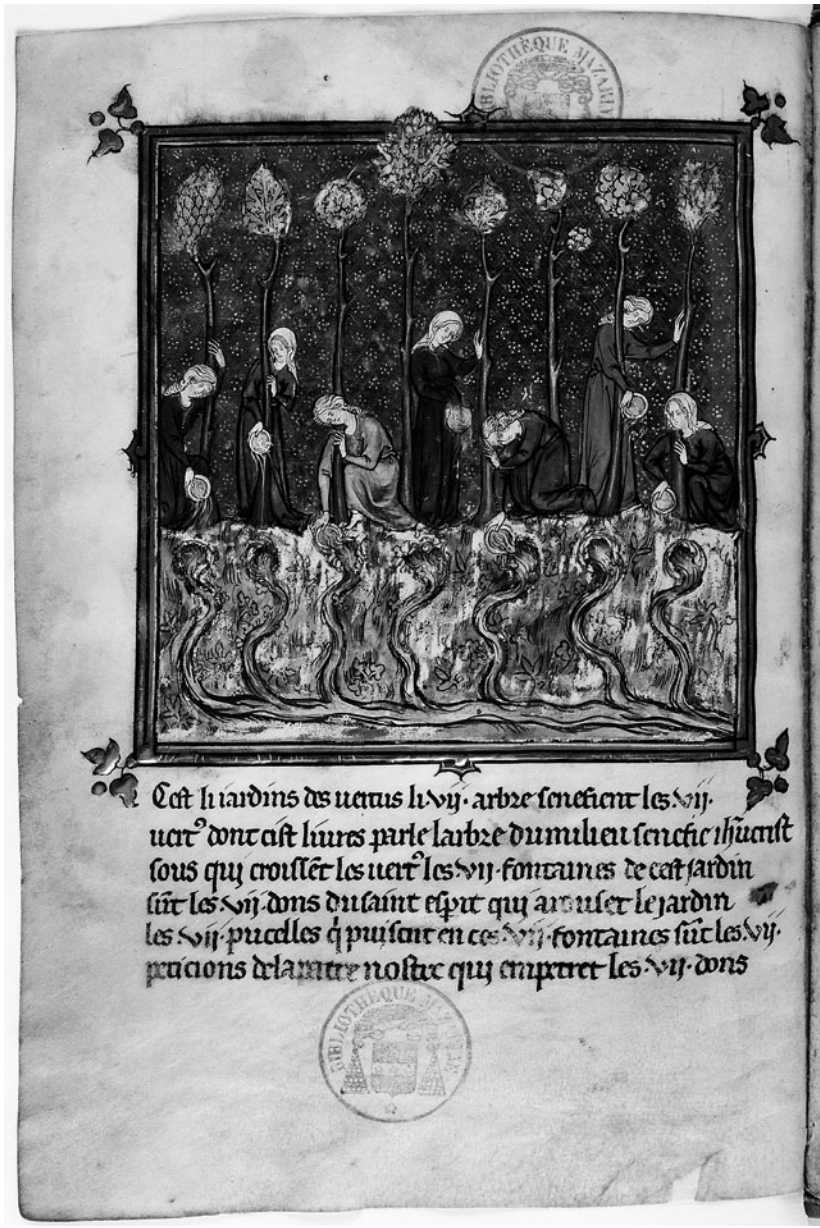


Figure 4 Garden of Virtues from *Somme le roi* (1295), Paris, Bibliothèque Mazarine, MS 870, fol. 61$^{v}$, detail. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France



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| | |
|---|---|
| En ce beau jardin espuré | In this beautiful and pure garden |
| A fleurs de lis d'or aduré | Forever adorned with golden fleur-de-lis |
| A fait venir celle fontainne | Fauvel has this fountain brought in, |
| Fauvel, cui Diex doint maie estrainne! | May God give him a fateful destiny! |
| Voir vous dire, se Diex me saut. | I will tell you the truth, may God protect me. |
| De la fontainne sourt et saut | From this fountain springs and rises up |
| Touz les matins une broee. | A mist every morning. |
| La plante a trop envenimée | The plants are thoroughly poisoned |
| Et aussi trestout le courtil | As well as the entire garden |
| Car de la fontainne sourt il | Because from the fountain rises up |
| De viez pechiez une pueur | A stench of old sins |
| De quoi je sui en grant sueur, | Which really gives me cold sweat, |
| Qui vient et des fiz et des filles | And which comes from the sons and daughters |
| Fauvel, qui font pis que chanilles | Of Fauvel, who do worse things than caterpillars |
| Ne nul autre mauvès vermine; | Or any other vile vermin; |
| N'i a semence ne racine, | There is neither seed, nor root, |
| Fueille ne branche ne cïon | Neither leaf, nor branch nor sucker |
| Ne mettent a destrucion! | That they do not destroy! |
| La font tretout a leur vouloir, | They do whatever they please there, |
| De quoi chascun se doit douloir. | Which everyone must lament. |
| Es plus beaus lieus soûlent et boulent | In the most beautiful places they play *soule* and flatten |
| Les fleurs a la terre et defoulent, | The flowers and trample them, |
| Si que il semble, c'est vraie chose, | To the extent that this is true, |
| Qui n'i ait mès ne fleur ne rose, | There is not a single flower nor a single rose left, |
| Point de foy, point de loiauté. | There is neither faith nor loyalty. |
| Hé! las! France, com ta beauté | Alas! France, how your beauty |
| Vet au jour d'ui en grant ruïne | Is heading today for ruin |
| Par la mesnie fauveline, | Because of Fauvel's retinue |
| Qui en tout mal met ses deliz. | Who delight in every vice. |
| Hurtee ont si la fleur de lis | They struck so harsh a blow to the fleur-de-lis, |
| Fauvel et Vainne Gloire ensemble | Fauvel and Vainglory together, |
| Qu'elle chancele, ce me semble. | That it is wobbling, it seems to me.[92] |

The allegorical garden of France returns again when the author implores both Christ and God – two members of the Trinity – as well as the 'Lily of Virginity', the Virgin Mary, to intercede on behalf of France:

[92] Fr. 146, fol. 42$^{v}$ and Strubel, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 660–2, lines 5787–818. A poem from the 12th c. utilises the symbol of the lily in a way that foreshadows its later treatment as 'tottering' in *Fauvel*, Oderic Vitalis's *Mundi forma veterascit*: 'Lapides sunt in plateis sparsi; sanctuarii auri color est mutatus; marcuit flos lilii, et jam viri curiales facti sunt feminei' ('The stones are scattered in the pathways of the sanctuary, the colour of gold is changed; the flower of the lily has withered, and now male courtiers have become feminine'). See E. Du Méril, *Poésies populaires latines du moyen âge* (Paris, 1847), p. 103. Du Méril cites a manuscript source for the poem: Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1, fol. 30$^{v}$.

| | |
|---|---|
| Douz Jhesucrist, cueur Fauvel seure, | Sweet Jesus Christ, attack Fauvel, |
| Car il gaste tout et deveure! | For he ruins and devours everything! |
| Doux Diex, ne met a nonchaloir | Sweet God, do not take a nonchalant attitude |
| Vertuz qui tant se font valoir | Towards the virtues who are so useful |
| Ci aval pour nous soustenir! | Down here on earth to support us! |
| Fai Fauvel et sa gent fenir, | Make Fauvel and his henchmen die, |
| Tres douz lis de virginité! | Fairest Lily of Virginity! |
| Garde vertuz, car verité | Protect the virtues, for they support truth |
| Soustiennent, et tiengne en puissance | And keep the power |
| Le lis et le jardin de France, | Of the lily and the garden of France, |
| Et Fauvel mette en tel prison | And may Fauvel be cast into such a prison |
| Qu'il ne puist faire traïson, | That he will not be able to commit treason, |
| Si que tu, Dieu roy de justise, | In such a way that you, God, king of justice, |
| Soiez honorez et sainte Eglise. | May be honoured, as well as the Holy Church.[93] |

Divine figures such as the Virgin Mary and Christ are readily called upon by the author to strengthen and support the virtues responsible for the maintenance and protection of the fleur-de-lis. The delicate balance among Chivalry, Learning and Faith that upholds France in the *dits*, as well as in later interpretations of the fleur-de-lis, is adumbrated in *Fauvel* in a similar fashion, since it is the virtues who are awarded the role of sustaining and upholding the lily and therefore the entire garden of France.

It should come as no surprise that fr. 146 shows an understanding of horticultural allegories that draw upon the lily, royal and theological: similar formulations/statements can be found in the motet repertory of the thirteenth century, a textual and musical resource for the compilers of fr. 146 as evidenced by the musical works transmitted in *Fauvel*. An admonitory motet preserved, among other places, in the thirteenth-century Parisian manuscript of polyphony and monophony, Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Pluteus 29.1 (hereafter *F*), *Homo, quo vigeas/ET GAUDEBIT*, stresses both the importance of faith and virtue generally, and utilises the lily in particular as the antidote to vice, represented in the motet by the orthographically similar *alium*, garlic:

[93] Fr. 146, fol. 44$^{v}$ and *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. and trans. Strubel, p. 678, lines 5963–76. Interrupting these lines is the musical expression of the current situation in France, the motet *Garrit Gallus/In nova fert/Neuma*. On this and related motets, see Bent, 'Polyphony of Texts', pp. 95–100. The triplum of the motet allegorically describes and decries the current political situation: the 'sad chattering of roosters [Gaul]' has resulted from the 'blindness of the lion [the king]' and the 'deceit of the treacherous fox [Fauvel]'.

| | |
|---|---|
| Homo, quo vigeas vide: | Man, see how you should prosper: |
| Dei *fidei* adhereas, | Keep close to your *faith* in God, |
| In spe gaudeas, et in *fide* | Rejoice in hope, and burn within and |
| Intus ardeas, foris luceas. . . . | Shine without in *faith*. . . . |
| Lilium insere rose, | Plant the lily along with the rose, |
| Ut alium per hoc corripere | So that thereby you may be |
| Speciose valeas. | Wonderfully strong |
| Virtuti | To uproot the garlic [alium]. |
| Saluti | Apply yourself to virtue, |
| Omnium studeas. | The salvation of all.[94] |

Another thirteenth-century motet built on the same Marian tenor, *Ypocrite, pseudopontifices/Velut stelle firmament/ET GAUDEBIT*, deals with similar issues of morality. The motetus praises the faithful clergy and condemns the 'pseudopontifices' (false prelates), employing in doing so the allegory of the flourishing lily:

| | |
|---|---|
| Bases sacri fundamenti, | They [good prelates] are the pillars of the sacred foundation, |
| Fons virtutum, | The source of virtue, |
| Via morum, | The path of good conduct, |
| Decor ornamenti, | The elegance of adornment. |
| Nubes mel stillantes; | They are clouds raining down honey; |
| Sunt venti fecundates | The winds pollinating the earth, |
| Terram agrum vineam, | Fields, and vineyards |
| Extirpantes tineam, | That root out the worms, |
| Spinas, lolium | Thorns, and weeds |
| Inserentes lilium | And plant the lily |
| Cordibus fidelium. | In the heart of the faithful.[95] |

In contrast to the motetus, the triplum describes a scenario that prefigures the desolate realm of *Fauvel*: 'The hypocrites, false prelates, hardened killers of the Church, clink their goblets in their boozy orgies.'[96] As Thomas Payne points out, the two motets (both almost assuredly with texts written by Philip the Chancellor) have a great deal in common, most significantly due to the lily reference.[97]

Motetus and triplum texts juxtaposing the virtues of the lily and the sins of the world occur also in the motet *In salvatoris nomine/In veritate/VERITA-*

[94] Edited and translated by Payne in *Motets and Prosulas*, pp. 101–4. Transmitted in *F*, fols. 386$^{v}$–387$^{r}$, among other sources (see Payne for complete list).

[95] With this combination of texts, the motet is only found in *F*, fols. 411$^{v}$–413$^{r}$. For full transcription, edition and translation, see *ibid*., pp. 161–7.

[96] Baltzer notes that the motet 'as a whole seems to contrast good prelates – those in the trenches, so to speak – with their superiors, who are full of greed and hypocrisy'. See R. Baltzer, 'The Polyphonic Progeny of an *Et gaudebit*: Assessing Family Relations in the Thirteenth-Century Motet', in Pesce (ed.), *Hearing the Motet*, pp. 17–27, at 21.

[97] See Payne, 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony: Philip the Chancellor's Contribution to the Music of the Notre Dame School' (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1991), p. 357. For a fuller discussion of the motet *Ypocrite/Velut/ET GAUDEBIT*, see pp. 355–7 and 919–31.

*TEM* (*LoB*, fol. 50$^{v}$). Here, the motetus laments the pollution of the world through the desecration of virtues, while the triplum addresses the 'Lily' or Virgin directly for intercession:

| | |
|---|---|
| Triplum | |
| O lilium, presidium reorum, | O lily, defender of sinners, |
| Ora natum proprium, | Pray to your own son, |
| Ut tollens reatum, | That, dismissing the charge, |
| Nos revocet et collocet | He may call us back and place us |
| In parte sanctorum. | In the realm of saints. |
| Motetus | |
| Castitatem polluit, | It desecrates chastity; |
| Caritatem respuit, | And eager for frugality |
| Studens parcitati. | It spits out charity. |
| Sedet in insidiis | It sits in ambush |
| Hominum pre filiis, | For the sons of man, |
| Pauperem ut rapiat | So that it may waylay the poor |
| Et, linguarum gladiis, | And murder the just with |
| Iustum ut interficiat. | The swords of its tongues.[98] |

In a less familiar thirteenth-century Latin rondeau, the gardens of France (allegorised as Jerusalem) are filled with flowers, while those 'seeds' that are unworthy are driven away, in part by the virtues themselves: 'The city's gardens display gracious lilies and roses and violets. … From these seeds may all which is not benevolent be taken up and cast away. … May the school of virtues wash away the consciences of sins of those to whom the gates lie open.'[99] Contained within a larger collection of Latin lyrics for Pentecost, saints and the Church of France, this lyric, *Pange cum letitia*, is an exploration of the central themes framing the story of *Fauvel* – a dissolute garden (whether the Church, France or Jerusalem) that requires for its health and well-being the flourishing of flowers, especially the rose and lily, and the entire 'school of virtues'.

The array of thirteenth-century musico-poetic texts surveyed here results in a dense intertextual backdrop for *Fauvel* and for the utilisation of the symbolic fleur-de-lis within its satirical narrative and theological framework. With the task of defending France falling primarily to the virtues, the realm of the lily – invoking the Virgin, the virtues, the Holy Trinity and France – directly contrasts the realm of corruption and sin; in other

[98] Edited and translated by Payne in *Motets and Prosulas*, pp. 171–7. Concerning this motet, see also id., 'Poetry, Politics, and Polyphony', pp. 335–9, 838–47 and 1016–27.

[99] BnF lat. 15131, fol. 187$^{v}$. Translation slightly adapted from *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera Omnia*, ed. G. A. Anderson (Henryville, 1979), vol. 8, p. lxxi. 'Urbis viridaria … Grata reddant lilia / Et rosas cum viola. … Ex illa seminia … Sequestrentur omnia / Que non sunt benevola. … Quibus patent ostia …Vitiorum conscia / Mundet virtutum schola.' The refrain, indicated by ellipses in the Latin given here, is: 'Pange cum letitia / Iherusalem incola' ('Sing with joy, oh you inhabitants of Jerusalem').

words, Fauvel's realm. Indeed, the juxtaposition of the virtues with corruption and evil is prominent throughout Fauvel, perhaps never more so than during the Tournament of the Vices and the Virtues (fols. $37^{r}$–$41^{r}$), the climactic battle between good and evil.[100] It is telling that among the arms of the virtues described here are those of France: 'Il en y avoit d'azurees et fleurs de lis d'or ens semees' ('[Other shields] were blue with a pattern of golden fleur-de-lis').[101] Throughout *Fauvel*, the virtues frequently appear or are invoked, often in opposition to the evils and various vices of Fauvel and his horde. One virtue in particular, faith, appears numerous times, usually outside the actual narrative of *Fauvel* in moments of reflection and prayer. The pitting of faith, signifying salvation and the Church of France, against Fauvel, a symbol of sacrilege and the Antichrist, throughout *Fauvel* is manifested physically in the Tournament of the Vices and the Virtues and musically in a number of interpolated works that emphasise the loss of faith and thus the toppling of the fleur-de-lis.

The four conductus presented on the initial folios of *Fauvel* (fols. $2^{r}$–$4^{v}$) illustrate from the outset of the satire that the loss of faith is a central concern. *Heu! Quo progreditur* begins the set of conductus as a prayer to the Holy Trinity, while the subsequent three, all 'fauvelised', comment on the decline of faith and rise of evil in France.[102] Even in *Heu! Quo progreditur* before the supplication to the Trinity, the forced departure of virtue – although not specifically faith – is made clear: 'Virtus subtrahitur / a sanctuario' ('virtue is torn from the sanctuary').[103] (See Table 2.)

In addition to the nine motets interpolated in the initial four folios of *Fauvel*, the texts of these monophonic adaptations of Notre-Dame conductus lay the moral groundwork for the entire satire.[104] All four – *Heu! Quo progreditur, O varium Fortune, Virtus moritur* and *Floret fex favellea* – are adapted from the great manuscript of twelfth- and thirteenth-century music for the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris, *F*, perhaps recalling for the compilers an idealised time in Parisian history when the allegorical fleur-de-lis was

[100] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 16 and 258; Wathey, 'Politics', p. 611; M. Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 148; and Regalado, 'Allegories', p. 144. Boulton and Regalado both point to the similarities between the Tournament of the Vices and the Virtues and Henri de Méry's *Torneiment Anticrist*.

[101] Fr. 146, fol. $38^{v}$. The Tournament of the Virtues ties together many of the heraldic strands in fr. 146, including the descriptions of the arms of the virtues. See also Malcolm Vale, 'The World of the Courts: Content and Context of the Fauvel Manuscript', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 591–8, at 595.

[102] For the use of the term 'fauvelised', see Wathey, 'Fauvel, Roman de'.

[103] Edited and translated in full by Anderson in *Notre-Dame*, vol. 5, pp. xviii–xix.

[104] The motets on fol. $1^{r}$ are examined as a group by Roesner, 'Labouring'. Dillon makes a similar argument regarding the amplification of the themes of vices within a slightly different group of conductus, *Floret fex favellea*, *Vanitas vanitatum*, *Clavus pungens* and *In precio precium*, all from the Notre-Dame repertory. See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 241–6.

Table 2 *Excerpts from 'Trinity' and 'Faith' conductus in fr. 146 and concordances in* F

| Incipit | Fr. 146 | *F* | Latin text | English translation |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Heu! Quo progreditur* | fol. 2[r] | fol. 350[v] 2-voice | Supplicat igitur<br>*Patri et Filio*<br>Quod de remedio<br>In hoc medio<br>E vestigio<br>Provideat *Spiritus* almus. | Therefore it begs<br>The *Father* and the *Son*<br>That for a remedy<br>For all this<br>Immediately<br>The fostering may *Spirit* provide.[a] |
| *O varium Fortune* | fol. 3[v] | fol. 351[v] 2-voice | Quo consule<br>*Fides est mortua*,<br>Ecclesia<br>Ductore vidua. | Through [Fauvel's] counsel<br>*Faith is dead*<br>And the church<br>Is widowed of its guide.[b] |
| *Virtus moritur* | fol. 3[v] | fol. 322[r–v] 2-voice | Virtus moritur,<br>Vivit vicium,<br>*Fides truditur*<br>*In exilium* | Virtue is dying,<br>Vice is alive,<br>*Faith is driven*<br>*Into exile*.[c] |
| *Floret fex favellea* | fol. 4[v] | fol. 318[v]<br>(2-voice reworking of *Redit aetas aurea*) | Incensate bestie<br>Plebs congratulatur.<br>Nunc est locus sceleri,<br>*Fides datur funeri*,<br>Veritas fugatur. | The multitude congratulates<br>The adored animal.<br>Now there is a place for crime;<br>*Faith is buried*,<br>[And] truth is put to flight.[d] |

[a] Latin edition and English translation in *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, pp. 15–16.

[b] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

[c] *Ibid.*, p. 19.

[d] *Ibid.*, p. 20. These are not the sole poetic works from the larger repertory of Latin texts contemporaneous with *F* that would have been suitable; see, for example, a refrain song from Tours, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 927, fol. 13[v], *Circa canit Michael*, that explicitly ties together the perishing of the virtues and the return of these virtues with the birth of Christ: 'Devitemus igitur / Vitia, / Per que virtus moritur. … Sua spargat castitas / Lilia, / Peperit virginitas' ('Let us, therefore, avoid the vices, through which virtue perishes. … Chastity strews her own lilies, when virginity gives birth'). Edited and translated by Anderson in *Notre-Dame*, viii, p. l.

both thriving due to the pious leadership of St Louis, yet still troubled through the immorality and corruption of the clergy.[105] Moreover, the comments concerning the death and burial of faith in two of the conductus – *O varium fortune and Floret fex favellea* – are 'fauvelisations', deliberate alterations, perhaps intended to foreground the loss of one of the most important virtues connected not only to the Church, but also to the allegorical lily that sprouts up throughout the satire: faith.[106]

The alteration of these texts for *Fauvel*, however, does not imply that themes of clerical misbehaviour and bad rulership – not to mention the absence of faith and the virtues as a group – are not found throughout the conductus repertory drawn on for the musical interpolations in *Fauvel*. One work that again survives in both *F* and *Fauvel*, *Veritas*, *equitas*, *largitas* (*F*, fols. 440$^{v}$–442$^{v}$ and fr. 146, fols. 22$^{r}$–23$^{r}$) emphasises themes that are developed in the four moralising conductus just discussed.[107] This anti-clerical work, which shares its music with two vernacular *lais*, lists the absence of virtues in direct comparison with the presence of sins.[108] The rise of evil and the consequent descent or falling of the virtues is especially clear in the first two stanzas:

[105] L. Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings of Notre-Dame Conductus in BN fr. 146: *Mundus a mundicia* and *Quare fremuerunt*', in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 615–36, at 616–17. Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo suggest the close relationship of the manuscript with the monarchy, due in part to the placement of a fleur-de-lis in the initial 'V' of 'Viderunt' on fol. 1$^{r}$ of F; see B. Haggh and M. Huglo, 'Magnus liber: Maius munus. Origine et destinée du manuscrit F', *Revue de Musicologie*, 90 (2004), pp. 193–230, at 199–201, 225.

[106] The original passage for that cited above from *Floret fex favellea* is as follows in *Redit etas aurea*: 'Omnis suo principi / Plebs congratulatur, / Nec est locus sceleri, / Scelus datur funeri, / Scandalum fugantur' ('All the people their own prince greet with praises strong, and now there is no room for crime, for crime has been given a burial and all offences are banished'). Edited and translated in full by Anderson in *Notre-Dame*, vol. 4, p. ix. The corresponding passage from *O varium fortune* in *F* is quite a bit shorter; rather than the six poetic lines in *Fauvel*, the original only has two: 'De rhetore / Consulem eligens' ('And from a rhetorician, choosing a consul'). Edited and translated by Anderson in *Notre-Dame*, vol. 5, p. xx. The conductus in *F* continues with a number of strophes not included in *Fauvel*. On conductus reworkings in *Fauvel* more generally, see Welker, 'Polyphonic Reworkings'.

[107] The Latin conductus (music and text) is transmitted also in *LoB*, fol. 38$^{v}$ and BnF fr. 2193, fol. 17$^{r}$ (in the former it is addressed to prelates, 'De prelatis'). The Latin text alone is transmitted in three other sources: Prague, Statni Knihovna, Archiv Pražského hradu N VIII, fol. 38$^{v}$; BnF fr. 1251, fol. 105$^{r}$; and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 1037, fol. 11$^{r}$. These latter three sources are listed in 'Cantum pulcriorem invenire: Conductus Database', ed. Gregorio Bevilacqua and Mark Everist, at <catalogue.conductus.ac.uk> (acc. 7 Oct. 2013).

[108] There are two different vernacular texts circulating with the same music, one French (*Flours ne glais*) and one Provençal (*Gent menais del cais*). See *Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg and Tischler, p. 76.

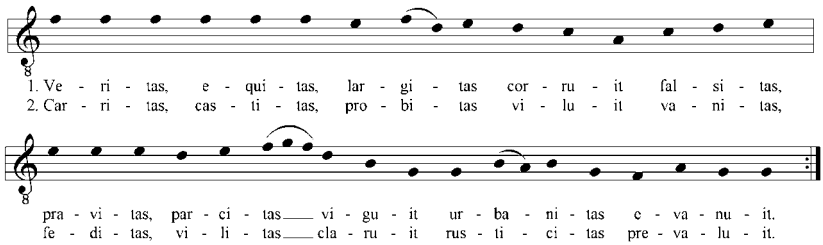
| | |
|---|---|
| 1. Veritas, | 1. Truth, |
| Equitas, | Equity, |
| Largitas | [And] generosity |
| Corruit; | Have toppled; |
| Falsitas, | Deceit, |
| Pravitas, | Depravity, |
| Parcitas | [And] frugality |
| Viguit; | Flourish; |
| Urbanitas | Urbanity |
| Evanuit. | Has vanished. |
| 2. Caritas | 2. Charity, |
| Castitas, | Chastity, |
| Probitas | [And] honesty |
| Viluit; | Have become vile; |
| Vanitas, | Vanity, |
| Feditas, | Foulness, |
| Vilitas | [And] meanness |
| Claruit; | Become evident; |
| Rusticitas | Boorishness |
| Prevaluit. | Prevails.[109] |

This catalogue-like list of virtues and sins in the first two paired strophes is musically highlighted, with the three-syllable words set to declamatory repeated pitches (see Example 1). From the initial folios onwards, the results of Fauvel's ascent to power are reflected in the borrowing and adaptation of Latin conductus: the driving away, death and burial of faith – the principal virtue responsible for protecting France – which is symbolised above all in the fleur-de-lis.

These Latin conductus, adapted to their context in *Fauvel*, are, like the *dits*, yet more foreshadowings of the later writings on the lily, in which the three flowers of France, Knowledge, Faith and Chivalry, '[form] a Trinity', and only through their unity is royalty and loyalty maintained.[110] When one Virtue is 'driven away', the Royal state, France itself, is threatened as it is in *Fauvel*. In the horrific context depicted in the initial four folios of *Fauvel* – a widowed church, absence of faith, the death of the virtues, the rise of Fauvel – aid from a power higher than the state or the church, the Holy Trinity, is necessary. It seems reasonable to suggest that the Holy Trinity – and thus the conductus *Heu, Quo progreditur* which refers back to the reign of St Louis – was deliberately chosen as a source of divine intercession for its resonance not only with the royal line of France, but also

[109] Edited and translated in full in *Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg, pp. 76–86, and *Notre-Dame*, ed. Anderson, vi, pp. lxxxiv–lxxxvii and 88–91, notes and concordances on pp. 147–8. Translation adapted from Rosenberg.

[110] Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, p. 243.




Example 1 Fr. 146, fol. 22$^{r}$, *Veritas, equitas, largitas*, initial verses

with the ultimate symbol of the *rex christianissimus*, the fleur-de-lis. While the initial prayer to the Trinity presented in the first conductus, *Heu! Quo progreditur*, returns only on fol. 43$^{r}$, a page that represents, through its use of multimedia images of the Trinity, the ultimate salvation of France, the conductus that begin appearing in the very first introductory folios set the stage for the allegory of Fauvel's rise to power and the toppling of France, in addition to signalling to the source of divine salvation.[111]

A more straightforward connection to the Holy Trinity in *Fauvel* lies in the threefold doxological statement, akin to the Lesser Doxology: 'Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui Sancto, Sicut erat in principio, et nunc, et semper, et in saecula saeculorum.' These doxologies appear, appropriately enough, at the conclusion of three interpolated chants: *Filie Jherusalem nolite* (fol. 37$^{r}$), *Facta est cum angelo* (fol. 38$^{r}$) and *Esto nobis domine* (fol. 38$^{v}$):[112]

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Filie Jherusalem nolite* | fol. 37$^{r}$ | 'Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto sicut erat in principio et nunc et semper et in saecula saeculorum.' |
| *Facta est cum angelo* | fol. 38$^{r}$ | 'Gloria in excelsis deo, et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.'[113] |
| *Esto nobis domine* | fol. 38$^{v}$ | 'Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.' |

Without trying to read too much into the intentions of the compilers, it is interesting to note that the threefold repetition of the doxological statements – albeit only once fully – in *Fauvel* reflects a kind of Trinitarian doctrine. At the very least, these chants with doxologies are a link between the

[111] As Helmer observes, '[t]he ultimate salvation [is] through a direct appeal to the persons of the Trinity'. *Livre de Fauvel*, ed. Helmer, pp. xvi–xix, xiii.

[112] *Filie Jherusalem nolite* and *Esto nobis domine* are Office Responsories; *Facta est cum angelo* is an Office Antiphon; See Rankin, 'The "Alleluyes, antenes"', pp. 442–3, 449–50 and 446–7.

[113] This is a reference not to the Lesser Doxology, but rather the Great Doxology of the Ordinary of the Mass.

performance of a proper 'liturgy' and the virtues in *Fauvel*.[114] The chants are placed at the beginning of the Tournament of the Virtues and the Vices, raising the question whether these chants were a signal for the increased presence of religiosity and faith in the narrative. As both Rankin and Robertson have observed, liturgical chants in the second book of *Fauvel* often function as characterisations; the three 'liturgical' chants with doxologies are therefore united by their 'performance' within the manuscript by the Virtues themselves.[115] The strong links between the Virtues and Holy Trinity through the symbolic intertext of the fleur-de-lis suggest that the placement of these chants with doxologies sung by and to the Virtues served as confirmations of the power of the Holy Trinity on the side of France, leading to the Trinitarian finale of fol. 43$^{r}$.[116] Just as the virtues are responsible for maintaining and upholding the 'lily of France' in the numerous poetic, prosodic and theological writings on the fleur-de-lis, so too are the Virtues in *Fauvel* called upon to defend the French realm against the Vices in Tournament and signal through their songs the divine power of the Holy Trinity.

The figurehead of the Virtues, as well as the 'lily among the thorns' and the foil to Fauvel and his Vices, is, of course, the Virgin Mary. The invocation of the Virgin through text, image and music adds yet another layer to the complex of sacred associations with the fleur-de-lis in *Fauvel*. In addition to being closely associated with Paris and the French Royal House, the Virgin shares a close relationship to the Trinity as the mother of Christ.[117] Among the many symbols for the Virgin, two are the most striking with respect to *Fauvel*: the Virgin as the *hortus conclusus* from the

[114] Another suggestion of a liturgical rite, this time accompanied by a telling illustration, is the 'perverse' baptism on fol. 42$^{r}$, one folio prior to the 'Trinity Page'. In contrast to the baptism of Clovis that we saw earlier in this study during which the French king is infused with the Holy Spirit, here the bathers, Fauvel's 'Fauvellettes', are infused with an 'ordure' which pours from the mouths of gargoyles. The theology of baptism, so closely related to the Holy Trinity due to the passage in Matt. 28:19 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost', is polluted here by Fauvel's offspring. All is not lost, however, as following the 'fauvellised baptism chant', *Hic fons, hic devius* and the devotional motet *Celi domina* are interpolated. Merely one folio later, the ultimate triumph occurs with the Trinitarian finale of fol. 43$^{r}$. See Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 256–7, and the detail of 'Fountain of Youth' in Figure 6.7.

[115] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', pp. 208, 230–4; Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings', p. 496; and Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 231–40, 250–6.

[116] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', p. 234. 'By putting chant and pseudo-chant pieces … into the mouths of the Virtues, the compiler gave them a special musical voice which is otherwise used at length only by Fortune and in dispersed pieces by the narrator … used to introduce specific themes, the chants are laden with theological and liturgical significance.'

[117] Beaune suggests that the kings of France in particular 'adopted the emblem of the Virgin in the second half of the twelfth century out of chivalric devotion and with a clear awareness of the parallels between their temporal role and the spiritual duties of the beatific mother'. See Beaune, *Birth of an Ideology*, pp. 207–8.

Song of Songs,[118] and the Virgin's attribute of the white lily, discussed above.[119] The 'garden of France' is clearly the Virgin's domain in *Fauvel*, leading to the plea of the author that 'Lily of Virginity' should 'protect the virtues, for they support truth and keep the power of the lily and the garden of France'.[120] The Virgin is both the lily itself in the garden of France, and the protector of the lily.

The Virgin's role in *Fauvel* is amplified during the Tournament of the Virtues and Vices as she descends to bless the Virtues accompanied by the interpolated prose *Virgines egregie*, fol. 37$^{r–v}$.[121] A fittingly Parisian sequence, one which moreover corresponds to the exact location of the tournament, *Virgines* is a sacred work that celebrates the 'excellent virgins':[122]

| | |
|---|---|
| Virgines egregie, | Excellent Virgins, |
| Virgines sacrate, | Consecrated virgins, |
| *Coram vestri facie* | *Before your bridegroom* |
| *Sponsi coronate!* | *You are crowned!* |
| In eterna requie | In eternal peace |
| Sursum sublimate, | Raised on high, |
| Canticum leticie | Sing to the Lord |
| Domino cantate! | A song of joy! |
| *Castitatis lilium* | *You once guarded* |
| *Olim custodistis* | *The lily of chastity* |
| *Propter Dei filium,* | *On account of the Son of God,* |
| *Cui placuistis.* | *To whom you were pleasing.* |
| *Templum sancti Spiritus* | *You wanted to be* |
| *Esse voluistis*; | *A temple of the Holy Spirit*; |
| Tactus et concubitus | For that reason you shunned |
| Ideo fugistis. | Caresses and sexual intimacy. |
| Flore pudicicie | With the flower of your chastity |
| Vestre reservato, | preserved |
| Carnalis lascivie | [And] the passion |
| Motu refrenato, | Of carnal license curbed, |
| Debito mundicie | You have received the reward |
| Premio donato, | Due moral purity |
| *Assidetis socie* | *And you sit as companions* |
| *Virginali nato.* | *To the Son of the Virgin.*[123] |

[118] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[119] For some explicit connections of the Virgin Mary to the Fleur-de-lis, see Robertson, *Guillaume de Machaut*, pp. 250–1.

[120] 'Tres douz lis de virginité! / Garde vertuz, car verité / Soustiennent, et tiengne en puissance / Le lis et le jardin de France.' *Fr. 146*, fol. 44$^{v}$ and Strubel, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, p. 678, lines 5969–72.

[121] Roesner, *Roman de Fauvel*, fol. 37$^{v}$.

[122] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', p. 233.

[123] Edition and translation adapted from *Monophonic Songs*, ed. Rosenberg, pp. 145–6. Emphasis mine.

The sequence draws together the image of the lily of Virginity (Chastity), symbolising both France and the Virgin, the members of the Holy Trinity and the virtues generally as the 'excellent virgins'. In so doing, the Parisian sequence unites the central theological strands of *Fauvel*, the Virgin, the virtues and the Trinity.[124]

Complementing the juxtaposition of vices and virtues and the foregrounding of the Virgin in thirteenth-century musical repertories is the intercessory presence of the Virgin near the conclusion of Book 2 of *Fauvel*. Perhaps never more strikingly than in the motet *Celi domina/Maria, virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre* (fol. 42$^{v}$), the Virgin is musically and textually contrasted with Fauvel and everything he represents. The French tenor of this three-part motet, the rondeau *Porchier mieuz estre*, first appears at the conclusion of Book 1 in contrast to the author's prayer to the Holy Spirit and to the Alleluia *Veni sancte spiritus*. Along with the Alleluia, the rondeau is, interestingly, the only musical work to appear twice in the manuscript. As Regalado observes, the rondeau and Alleluia on fol. 10$^{r}$ '[speak] to the senses as well as to the spirit: the narrator's rondeau responds to the neighing of Fauvel, while his prayerful Alleluia rises up towards Heaven'.[125] While the conflict on fol. 10$^{r}$ is between the Holy Spirit and Fauvel, the motet on fol. 42$^{v}$, which features the French rondeau as the tenor against the Marian texts in the upper parts, depicts the dichotomy between the Virgin and Fauvel:[126]

Triplum

| | |
|---|---|
| Celi domina, quam sanctorum agmina | Lady of heaven, whom the crowd of saints |
| Venerantur omnia in celesti curia. | All venerate in the celestial court, |
| Tuum roga filium, redemptorem omnium | Beseech your son, Redemptor of all, |
| Ut sua clemencia nobis tollat Falvium | That through His clemency he take Fauvel from us |
| Gaudereque faciat | And make us to rejoice, |
| Nos eius sequacium absencia. | By the absence of his followers. |

[124] The imagery of the 'templum sancti Spiritus' is one that appears in Marian poetry – a 13th-c. manuscript from Tortosa contains a parallel sentiment that, moreover, is sung to the melody of *Veni sancte spiritus*: 'Ave virgo regia, / Dei plena gratia, / Virginale lilium. / Templum sancti spiritus, / Obumbratum celitus / Portus post naufragium.' *AH* 34, p. 113. A work from Parisian sources that similarly depicts the Virgin as intimately connected with the Trinity is the conductus-motet *Serena virginum*: 'Tranquil light of virgins, full of splendor, sanctuary of the Trinity.' *F*, fols. 235$^{r}$–237$^{v}$. Edited and translated in *Motets and Prosulas*, ed. Payne, pp. 146–55.

[125] Regalado, 'Swineherds at Court: *Kalila et Dimna*, *Le Roman de Fauvel*, Machaut's *Confort d'ami* and *Complainte*, and Boccaccio's *Decameron*', in K. Fresco and W. Pfeffer (eds.), *'Chançon legiere a chanter': Essays on Old French Literature in Honor of Samuel N. Rosenberg* (Birmingham, Ala., 2007), p. 242.

[126] *Ibid.*, pp. 243–4.

| | |
|---|---|
| Motetus | |
| Maria, virgo virginum, | Mary, virgin of virgins, |
| Mater patris et filia, | Mother of the Father, and Daughter. |
| Pro nobis roga dominum, | Beseech the Lord for us |
| Ut solita precepia | So that by [your] habitual prayer, |
| Nos virtutum presencia | In the presence of Virtues |
| Et seductoris hominum, | And in the absence of the seducer of man, |
| Falvelli, ducis criminum, | Fauvel, the leader of sins, |
| Glorificet absencia. | He may exalt us. |
| Tenor | |
| *Porchier mieuz estre ameroie* | *I would rather be a swineherd* |
| *Que Fauvel torchier*; | *Than rub down Fauvel*; |
| Escorchier ainz me leroie. | I would rather let myself be flayed. |
| *Porchier mieuz estre ameroie* | *I would rather be a swineherd.* |
| N'ai cure de sa monnoie | I have no care for his money |
| Ne n'ai son orchier. | No[r] do I hold his gold dear. |
| *Porchier mieuz estre ameroie* | *I would rather be a swineherd* |
| *Que Fauvel torchier* | *Than rub down Fauvel.*[127] |

The text of the motet is further integrated into the page as a whole, as the motetus is paraphrased in French under the miniature of the Virgin.[128] (See Figure 5.)

As a musico-textual proclamation of 'the lily among thorns', the motet, and the page that contains it, create a multi-textual emblem for the theme of Vices versus Virtues, and the Virgin versus Fauvel, in the *roman* as a whole. Moreover, the rondeau is not the only swinish moment in fr. 146; in *Hora rex est*, one of the Latin *dits*, the 'thorns' among which the King – the lily – must take a stand are none other than swinish beasts:

| | |
|---|---|
| In te tamen plures, inplicito | But many arise against thee, by implication |
| In lilium consurgunt; igitur | Against the lily; therefore |
| Tales spine dicuntur debito, | Such men are duly called thorns, |
| Finis quarum malus vt dicitur. | Whose end is bad, so it is said. |
| *Sunt siluestres spinarum singuli*, | *Savage boars are creatures of thorns*, |
| Sed lilii clara iocunditas. | But bright joyfulness is the lily's. |
| Sunt spinarum pungentes stimuli, | To thorns belong piercing prickles, |
| Sed tibi sit, o rex, beninitas. | But mayst thou, O King, have good will.[129] |

[127] French *rondeau* translated *ibid.*, p. 236.

[128] *Ibid.*, p. 243. Regalado also asks an important question about the placement of the motet and its texts: 'Does the substitution of the vernacular *rondeau* "Porchier" for "Et super", a liturgical chant from Pentecost season, point to the danger of corruption of pollution of Pentecost?' In the interpretation offered here, the motet would suggest that such dangers are present, but that the strength of the Virgin overrides – textually, timbrally and registrally – Fauvel's refrain. For a related interpretation of the motet, see T. Rose-Steel, 'French Ars Nova Motets and their Manuscripts: Citational Play and Material Context' (Ph.D. diss., University of Exeter, 2011), pp. 104–9.

[129] Edited and translated in Holford-Strevens, 'Latin *Dits*', p. 259. Emphasis mine.

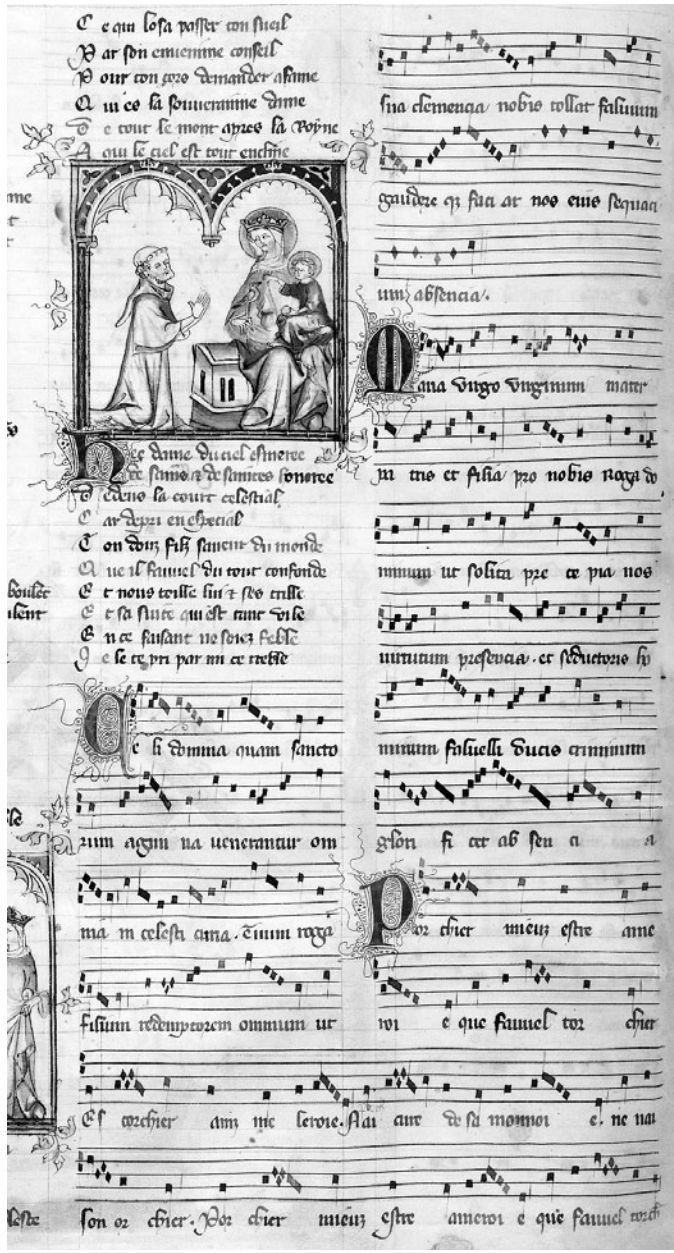


Figure 5 Fr. 146, fol. 42$^{v}$, detail. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France



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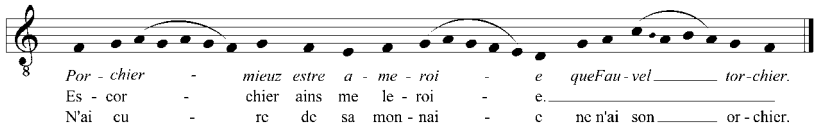


Example 2 Fr. 146, fols. 10[r] and 42[v], *Porchier mieuz estre*

Just as the king must be as the lily and protect against the thorns, so too is the Virgin Mary in *Fauvel*, representing the virtues, called upon as the 'lily among the thorns', with the thorns portrayed by Fauvel's rondeau tenor (see Example 2). In this motet, the death and absence of the virtues that began *Fauvel* is reversed; through the Virgin Mary and her son the virtues are made present and Fauvel, rather than the virtues, is now driven away (into 'absencia'). Moreover, the musical confrontation of the Virgin with the swineherd in *Celi domina/Maria, virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre* is more than merely a representation of the lily among thorns: the battle of the Vices and Virtues that ends only shortly before comes to its true conclusion here. The leader of the Virtues, the Virgin/Lily, takes a final stand against the leader of the Vices, Fauvel.[130]

The confrontation musically depicted in the motet is prepared in the prayer to the Virgin herself that precedes the motet, a prayer that petitions the Flower of the Lily herself to intercede and rid France of Fauvel:

[130] There is yet another dichotomy created through the pairing of these texts: the sweet-smelling lily from the Song of Songs 5:13 is contrasted with the repugnancy of the foul swineherd. Even the choice of a *rondeau* (a dance form) as Fauvel's music is apropos in the context of both its function as a tenor in the motet and as a stand-alone piece. A 14th-c. preaching handbook, the *Fasciculus Morum*, compares the swineherd to the devil himself, who lures his disciples in with a dance: 'As the swineherd who, when he wants to gather his scattered swine, makes one of them squeal and then the others come quickly together, thus the devil, when he wants to round up those who belong to him, makes one of his daughters call out and, tripping behind a bell, that is a "tabour", lead the dance, and, the others quickly come together' (as cited in S. W. Maynard, 'Dance in the Arts of the Middle Ages' (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1992), p. 87). Conversely, the Marian texts lying above the dance tenor can be understood not only as a musical representation of the Virgin among the thorns, but also as an attempt to transform the secularity of Fauvel's *rondeau* into a sacred dance of the Virgin. The Virgin Mary was often associated with dance, in particular the *rondeau*. See Y. Rokseth, 'Danses clericales du XIII[e] siècle', in *Melanges 1945 des Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de Strasbourg* (Paris, 1947), pp. 106–7, and D. J. Rothenberg, 'The Marian Symbolism of Spring, ca. 1200–ca. 1500: Two Case Studies', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 59 (2006), pp. 329–41.

| | |
|---|---|
| Hee, dame du ciel esmeree, | O glorious lady of heaven, |
| De sains et de saintes honoree | Honoured by all the male and female saints |
| Dedens la court celestial, | In the celestial court, |
| Car depri en especial | Send this special prayer |
| Ton douz filz, saveur du monde, | To your sweet son, saviour of the world, |
| Que il Fauvel du tout confonde | So that he completely destroys Fauvel |
| Et nous toille lui et s'estrille | And rids us of him and his currycomb |
| Et sa suite, qui est tant vile. | As well as his retinue, which is so vile. |
| En ce faisant ne soiez feble: | In doing so, show no weakness: |
| Je le te pri par mi ce treble.[131] | I beg of you by means of this three-part piece. |

The numerical reference in the final lines not only reflects the number of voices in the motet, but also the rondeau form of the tenor (the refrain is repeated three times: ABaAabAB) and possible even the connection of this 'three-part' Marian prayer to the Holy Trinity itself. As Martin Kauffmann has observed in a study of the illustrations in fr. 146, the illustrator does in fact pair traditional images across the opening of the manuscript with the author petitioning the Virgin and Christ (Figure 6) and the Trinity (Figure 9 below).[132]

In *Fauvel*, these images appear not only to contribute to the 'impeccably orthodox'[133] nature of the manuscript, but also form a deliberate link between the Trinity and the Virgin through parallel depictions. The question whether *Fauvel*'s authors and compilers were more interested in the divine intercession of the Virgin or the Trinity is resolved by acknowledging the symbolic link between them is, in part, provided by their shared symbol in fr. 146 and in fourteenth-century writing in general, the fleur-de-lis.

The significant presence of the members of the Trinity, the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit, in *Fauvel* is a feature of the narrative's theological framework that has been assigned varying degrees of importance by scholars.[134] Taking into account the culmination of religious themes on the 'Trinity Page' of fol. 43$^{r}$, Susan Rankin has argued that the temporal framework of the satire appears to reflect the Temporale of the Catholic Church between Pentecost and Trinity Sunday.[135] The 'Trinity Page' at

[131] Fr. 146, fol. 42$^{v}$, and *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. and trans. Strubel, p. 662, lines 5829–38 (translation adjusted).

[132] Kauffmann, 'Satire'.

[133] *Ibid.*, p. 287.

[134] *Livre de Fauvel*, ed. Helmer, pp. xiii–xx. Helmer argues quite strongly not only for an interpretation of *Fauvel* as a highly Trinitarian and orthodox work, but also a redating of the manuscript as a result. His dating of 1334, the year he cites as the sanctioning of the Sunday after Pentecost as the Feast of the Trinity by Pope John XXII, is flawed, however. The Trinitarian features which he sees as being indicative of a later dating were present for at least a century or more before the production of fr. 146. Furthermore, the later dating goes contrary to the codicological, art-historical and historical features of the manuscript. See also Roesner, *Roman de Fauvel*, pp. 3–53.

[135] Rankin, 'Divine Truth'.

Figure 6 Fr. 146, fol. 42$^{v}$, detail. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France

the conclusion of Book 2 signals the latter, while Pentecost is suggested by the inclusion of the Pentecost chant *Alleluia Veni sancte spiritus* on fol. 10$^{r}$. The similarities between certain events in *Fauvel*, the metrical chronicle in fr. 146 and the events of the Pentecost feast in Paris in 1313 further confirm a sacred reading of the temporal framework of *Fauvel* beginning at Pentecost.[136]

[136] E. A. R. Brown and N. F. Regalado, '*Universitas et communitas*: The Parade of the Parisians at the Pentecost Feast of 1313', in W. Hüsken and K. Ashley (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Atlanta, Ga., 2001), pp. 118–21; eaed., '*La Grant Feste*: Philip the Fair's Celebration of the Knighting of his Sons in Paris at Pentecost of 1313', in B. A. Hanawalt and K. L. Reyerson (eds.), *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe* (Minneapolis, 1994), pp. 56–86; Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, p. 19; Bolduc, *Medieval Poetics*, pp. 156–60; Rankin, 'Divine Truth', esp. p. 235; and Robertson, 'Which Vitry?', p. 62.

The presence of the Holy Spirit at the conclusion of the first book represents the first 'liturgical' moment in *Fauvel*: fol. 10[r] contains two portraits of the author, one in which he 'sermonises' to the readers[137] and the other in which he is visited by the Holy Spirit; it also has the Pentecost chant *Alleluia Veni sancte spiritus*, all of which is contrasted with Fauvel's rondeau, *Porchier mieuz estre* (see Figure 7).[138] These sacred images of the author offer a counterpart to the paired images at the conclusion of Book 2, and considered together, these musical, textual and visual elements also form a moment of reflection on the Holy Spirit's blessing on the kingdom of France in direct contrast to the rising power of Fauvel.

In addition to iconography, the conclusion of the second book offers another interesting parallel to that of the first book.[139] Although the two endings share the same liturgical signal, an Alleluia, the chant that ends the second book, *Alleluia benedictus es*,[140] appears not as a stand-alone chant, but rather as the tenor of the 'Trinity motet', Philippe de Vitry's *Firmissime/Adesto/Alleluia benedictus es*.[141] Immediately above this well-known Trinity motet, moreover, is another motet that similarly confirms the Trinitarian theme of the page, *Omnipotens Domine/Flagellaverunt Galliam*. Everything on the page, from the texts of the motets to the surrounding Trinitarian prayer, decoration and the formatting, are signals of the triune God (see Figure 8).[142]

The first musical work on the page, the less frequently discussed *Omnipotens Domine/Flagellaverunt Galliam*, is a unicum, with texts composed explicitly for *Fauvel*. Moreover, this is the only other motet besides *Celi domina/Maria,*

[137] On this folio, see Bolduc, *Medieval Poetics*, pp. 149–60, and Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 84–9 and 94–108.

[138] Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, p. 94: '[T]here is a snippet of the Pentecost chant *Alleluia: Veni sancte spiritus*, which associates the dove [in the illustration on the same folio] with the divine, prophetic qualities of that occasion.' See also Brown, '*Rex ioians*', p. 56.

[139] The 'short' *Fauvel* has two books, the first comprising 1,226 lines, the second 2,054 lines, completed according the text itself in 1310 and 1314 respectively. The same division occurs in the interpolated Fauvel in fr. 146, albeit with interpolated music and images both books are extended, the second more so. See Wathey, 'Fauvel, Roman de', and Dillon, *Medieval Music-Making*, pp. 13–14, 87–8, and 110–11.

[140] Notably, the two Alleluias are the only ones in the manuscript, and, furthermore, the only chants from the Mass as opposed to the Office Hours. See Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings', p. 500: 'The fact that they are both alleluias, and the only alleluias in the manuscript, brings this temporal relationship into even sharper relief.' Robertson has also shown that *Veni Sancte Spiritus* was not sung in Paris on Trinity Sunday.

[141] For a discussion of this motet and the implications of the tenor for the identity of Vitry, see Robertson, 'Which Vitry?', pp. 52–81. *Firmissime/Adesto/Alleluia benedictus es* is also found in the Brussels rotulus manuscript, Bibliothèque Royale 19606, no. 4. See also Roesner, 'Labouring', pp. 234–37.

[142] The motet has been thoroughly discussed with respect to its form and its tenor by Robertson, and the Trinitarian appearance of the folio itself has been commented upon by Helmer, Bolduc, and Robertson. See Robertson, 'Which Vitry?', pp. 52–81; *Livre de Fauvel*, ed. Helmer, pp. xvi–xix; Rankin, 'Divine Truth', p. 235; and Bolduc, *Medieval Poetics*, p. 164.

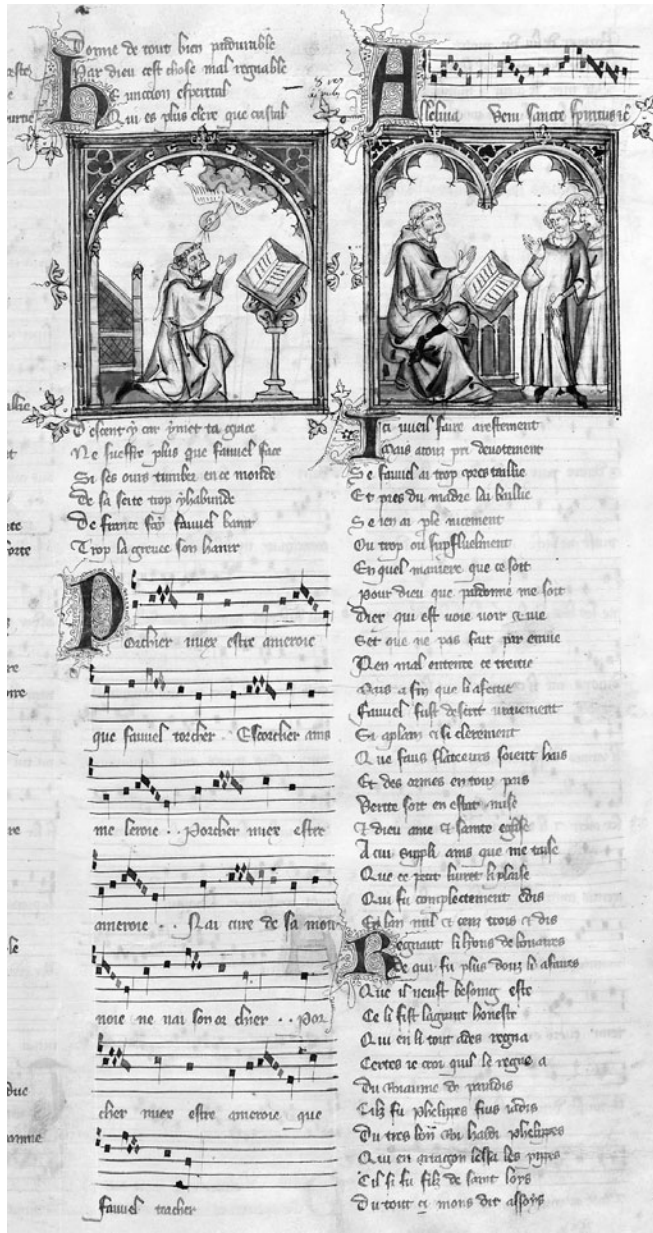

Figure 7 Fr. 146, fol. 10[r], detail. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France



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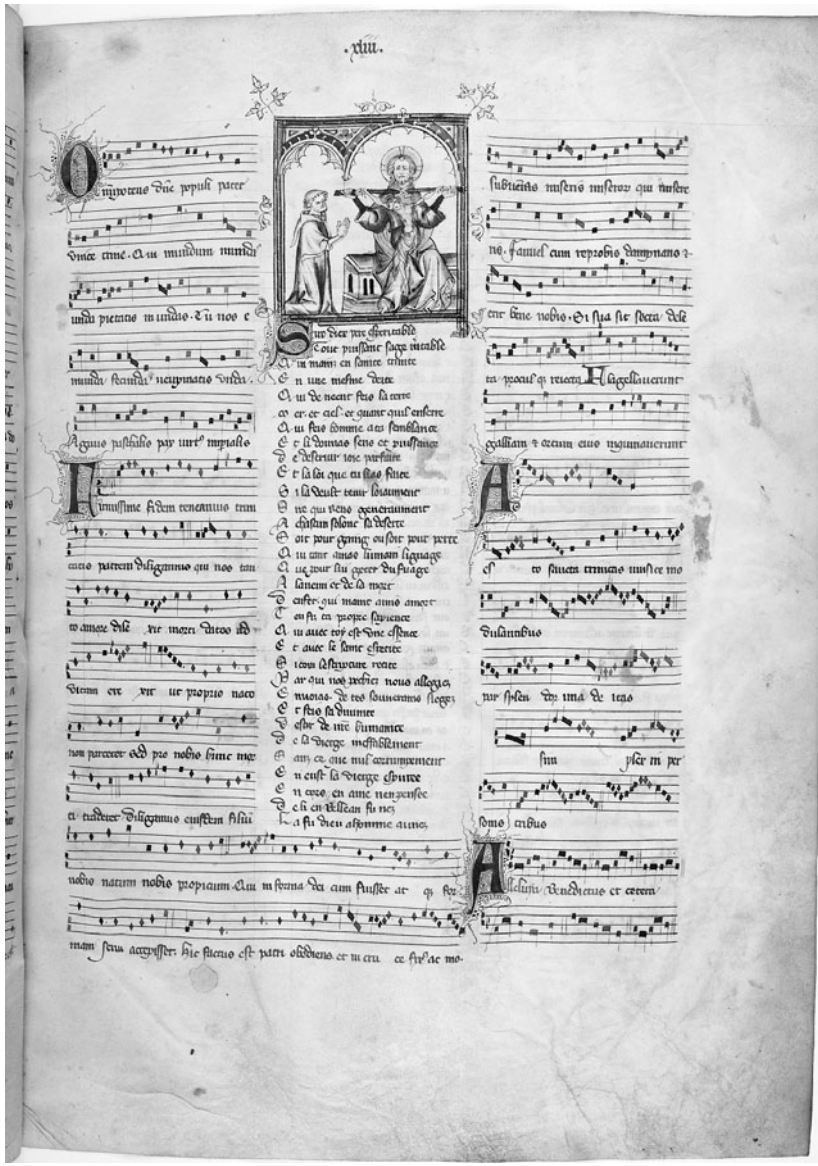

Figure 8 Fr. 146, fol. 43r, 'Trinity Page'. Reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France



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*virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre* to utilise a newly composed, non-liturgical text in its tenor that, like the rondeau, is specific to *Fauvel*:[143]

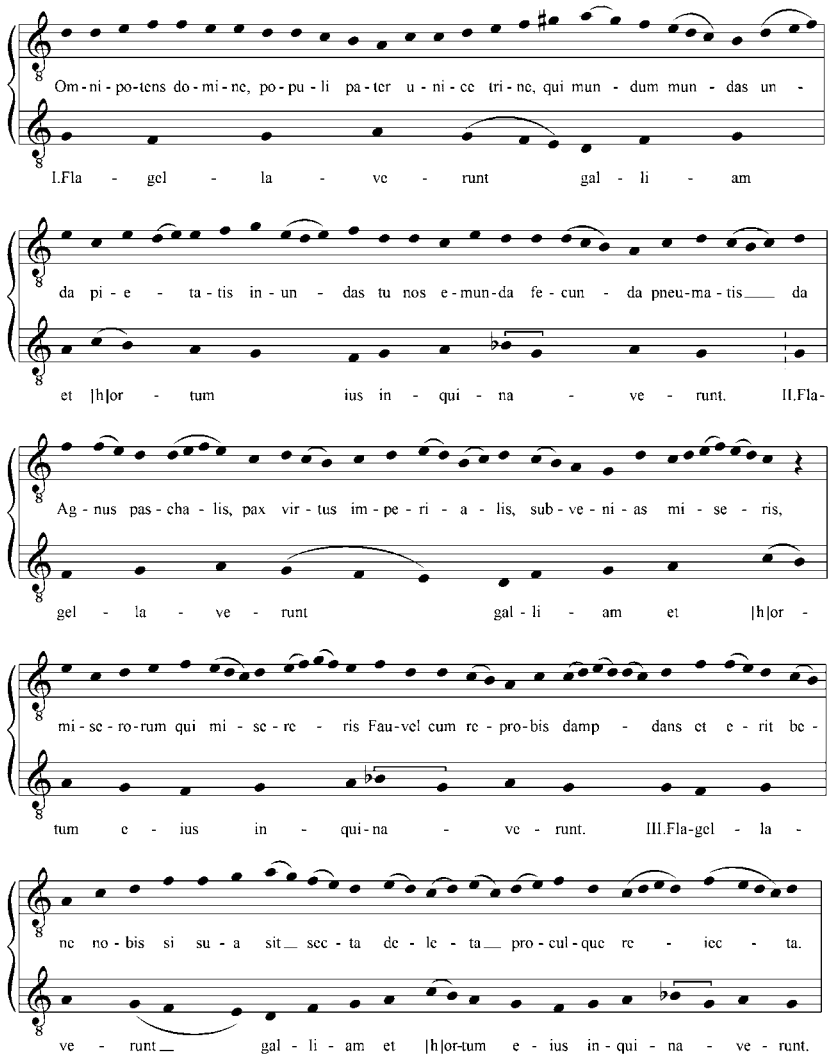
| | |
|---|---|
| Motetus | |
| Omnipotens domine, | Almighty Lord, |
| Populi pater unice trine, | Father of the people, one and three, |
| Qui mundum mundas, unda | Who cleanses the world, and provides |
| Pietatis inundas, | Waves of goodness, |
| Tu nos emunda fecunda | Make us fertile and clean |
| Neupmatis unda. | Through the stream of the Holy Spirit. |
| Agnus paschalis, | Paschal lamb, |
| Pax, virtus imperialis, | Peace, and imperial virtue, |
| Subvenias miseris | Come to the aid of the unfortunate. |
| Miserorum qui misereris | You who have mercy for the wretched |
| Fauvel cum reprobis | By condemning Fauvel with reproach; |
| Dampnans; et erit bene nobis, | And it will be better for us |
| Si sua sit secta | If his sect would be |
| Deleta proculque reiecta. | Destroyed and tossed away. |
| Tenor | |
| Flagellaverunt Galliam et | They have scourged Gaul and |
| [h]ortum eius inquinaverunt. | polluted its garden. |

The tenor is especially interesting for its return to the Garden allegory; yet again, Fauvel and his 'fauvellettes' are guilty of 'scourging' France and despoiling its Garden. However, above the tenor is a prayer for intercession directed to none other than the triune God, echoing perhaps the author's direct address to the Holy Trinity that lies in the middle column of the page and the miniature of the author praying to the Throne of Mercy. The motetus focuses primarily on the Trinity, 'unice trine', with references to the Holy Spirit and Christ, and concludes with a condemnation of Fauvel, whose crimes are intoned below in the tenor. Musically, the motet is unusual for its antiquated texture, appearing more like an organum trope than a fourteenth-century motet, albeit with a text declaimed in the tenor (see Example 3).[144]

The tenor is itself sung three times in the course of the brief work; whether this is intended as a deliberate reference to the Trinitarianism in the motetus is unclear. However, what is completely apparent is that *Omnipotens Domine/Flagellaverunt Galliam* is another newly created work that provides an audible reference to some kind of manufactured 'liturgical' orientation within *Fauvel*. Following the same schema between lower = Fauvel

[143] As Rankin points out, '[t]he tenor text … could hardly have existed outside of the Fauvel context, but it is placed here as if it had'. See Rankin, 'Divine Truth', p. 241.

[144] Transcription follows *The Roman de Fauvel: The Works of Philippe de Vitry: French Cycles of the Ordinarium missae*, ed. L. Schrade, Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century, 1 (Monaco, 1956), p. 59. Schrade does not underlay the text of the tenor; however, the correspondence of the syllable count to the musical line suggests that the text may have been declaimed in the tenor. I have also chosen not to follow Schrade's rhythmic interpretation.




Example 3 Fr. 146, fol. 43$^{r}$, *Omnipotens domine/Flagellaverunt galliam*

and upper = sacred as *Celi domina/Maria, virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre*, this quasi-motet, quasi-organum trope functions as the musical header of the 'Trinity Page' and provides a context-specific introduction to the musical climax of the manuscript, Vitry's completely sacred yet more general Trinitarian motet, *Firmissime/Adesto/Alleluia benedictus es*.

The texts of Vitry's motet are without a doubt entirely Trinitarian in scope; moreover, the tenor is an Alleluia for the feast or votive Mass of the Holy Trinity, as well as the parallel to the Alleluia the ends Book 1, *Alleluia Veni sancte spiritus*.[145] The triplum text is divided into four petitions, three for each individual member of the Holy Trinity and one for the group. The shorter motetus text is a stanza on the Trinity that emphasises the doctrine of 'three persons in one':

| | |
|---|---|
| Triplum | |
| Firmissime fidem teneamus: | Let us hold the faith of the Trinity most firmly. |
| Trinitatis patrem diligamus | Let us love the Father |
| Qui nos tanto amore dilexit, | Who loved us with so much love |
| Morti datos ad vitam erexit, | That he raised to life those given to death, |
| Ut proprio nato non parceret | That he did not spare his only Son, |
| Sed pro nobis nunc morti traderet. | But handed him over to death for us. |
| Diligamus eiusdem filium, | Let us love his Son, |
| Nobis natus, nobis propicium, | Born for us, gracious to us, |
| Qui in forma dei cum fuisset | Who while in the form of God |
| Atque formam servi accepisset | Also took on the form of a servant. |
| Hic factus est patri obediens | This he did, obedient to the Father; |
| Et in cruce fixus ac moriens | He was placed on the cross and died. |
| Diligamus sanctum paraclitum | Let us love the Holy Spirit, |
| Patris summi natique spiritum | Spirit of the highest Father and Son, |
| Cuius sumus gracia renati, | Through whose grace we are reborn, |
| Unctione cuius et signati. | And with whose unction we are marked. |
| Nunc igitur sanctam trinitatem | Now therefore let us worship the Holy Trinity |
| Veneremur atque unitatem | And let us praise its unity, |
| Exoremus, ut eius gracia | So that we might be strong in its grace |
| Valeamus perfrui gloria. | And enjoy its glory. |
| Motetus | |
| Adesto sancta trinitas | Be near, Holy Trinity |
| Musice modulantibus. | While we sing [you] our music. |
| Par splendor una deitas | Equal splendor one deity, |
| Simplex in personis tribus | Three persons in one, |
| Qui extas rerum omnium, | Who stands above all things. |
| Tua omnipotencia | By your omnipotence, |
| Sine fine principium | Beginning without end, |
| Duc nos ad celi gaudia. | Lead us to the joys of heaven.[146] |
| Tenor | |
| Alleluia, benedictus es | Alleluia, blessed are you |

Vitry's authorship of the motet, and later the poem *Le Chapel des trois Fleurs de Lis*, suggests that as early as the 1310s he had begun to develop the Trinitarian symbols that he later associated with French kingship and the

[145] Robertson, 'Which Vitry?', p. 62. As Robertson has shown, the Alleluia is not of Parisian use; rather, the chant version used in the motet was probably known by Vitry from his hometown Vitry-en-Artois, near Arras.

[146] Text and translation *ibid.*, p. 54.

fleur-de-lis.[147] Robertson has speculated, moreover, that the motet was intended expressly for inclusion in *Fauvel*, which provides a justification not only for Vitry's use of the non-Parisian Alleluia to represent a triumph over the evil represented by Fauvel, but also the creation of an explicitly Trinitarian work for fr. 146 and its pairing with the definitely new work, *Omnipotens Domine/Flagellaverunt Galliam*.[148]

The texts of both Trinity works, as with *Celi domina/Maria, virgo virginum/Porchier mieuz estre*, are further complemented by a prayer by the narrator that also references the Virgin and Christ:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sire Diex, pere esperitable | God our Lord, our Holy Father, |
| Tout puissant, sage, veritable, | The Almighty, wise and true, |
| Qui mainz en sainte Trinité | Who reside in the Holy Trinity |
| En une mesme deïté, | Within one and only Divinity, |
| Qui de neent feïs la terre, | Who from chaos made the earth, |
| Mer et ciel et quant qu'il enserre, | The sea, the sky and everything it contains, |
| Qui feïs homme a ta semblance | Who made man after your likeness |
| Et li donnas sens et puissance | And who gave him the wisdom and the power |
| De deservir joie parfaite | To get perfect happiness, |
| Et la loi que tu li as faite, | And the law that you made for him, |
| Si la vault tenir loiaument, | If he wants to follow it faithfully, |
| Sire qui rens generaument | O Lord, who generously reward |
| A chascun solonc sa deserte, | All those who deserve it, |
| Soit pour gaing soit pour perte, | Whatever form it takes, |
| Qui tant amas l'umain lignage | Who have loved humankind so much |
| Que pour lui geter du servage | That, to deliver them from the bondage |
| A l'anemi et de la mort | Of the Devil and from the death |
| D'enfer, qui maint a mis a mort, | Of Hell, which has taken many, |
| Ton fiz, ta propre sapïence, | You sent your son, your own wisdom, |
| Qui avec toy est une essence, | Who is one with you |
| Et avec le saint Esperite | And with the Holy Spirit, |
| Si com l'Escripture recite, | As the Holy Scriptures recount, |
| Par qui nos pechiez nous alliegez, | Thanks to whom our sins are lightened, |
| Envoias de tes souverains siégez | You sent him from your sovereign throne |
| Et feïs sa divinité | And made his divinity |
| Vestir de nostre humanité, | Take on our humanity, |
| De la Vierge ineffablement, | From the Virgin, indescribably, |
| Sanz ce que nul corrumpement | Without the pure Virgin |
| En eüst la Vierge espuree, | Being stained, neither |
| En cors, en ame n'en pensee: | In her body, in her soul, nor in her thoughts: |
| De li en Bellean fu nez; | He was born from her in Bethlehem, |
| La fu Dieu a homme aùnez.[149] | Where God was united to man. |

[147] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

[148] *Ibid.*, p. 74; Robertson, 'Local Chant Readings', p. 500; and Rankin, 'Divine Truth', p. 238. Neither Alleluia has Parisian origins.

[149] Fr. 146, fol. 43$^{r}$ and *Le Roman de Fauvel*, ed. and trans. Strubel, p. 668, lines 5839–70.

Topping the Trinitarian prayer in the centre column is a depiction of the author supplicating the traditional 'Throne of Mercy', which provides a suitable foil – perhaps even a dethroning – to the depiction of the enthroned Fauvel throughout the satire.[150] For comparison, alongside the image from the 'Trinity Page' in fr. 146 is provided another Throne of Mercy illustration from a mid-fourteenth century Parisian manuscript (see Figure 9).[151]

As a canonical manner of depicting the Trinity, the Throne of Mercy, or *Gnadenstuhl*, illustration is, appropriately, the third element on fol. 42$^{v}$ that conforms to its Trinitarian theme, in addition to text and music.[152] The parallel conclusions of the two books of Fauvel indicated through the liturgical signal of the Alleluias and the depictions of the author with the Holy Spirit and the Holy Trinity suggests that a sacred temporal overlay does in fact exist, one that moves the reader musically, textually and visually from symbols of the Pentecost to the Holy Trinity if not the actual feasts.[153] Indeed, officially, the Feast of the Holy Trinity was only authorised in 1331, after the compilation of fr. 146, when Pope John XXII set the feast day on the Sunday following Pentecost. As Craig Wright notes, before the feast was made official, the liturgy of the Holy Trinity, at least at Notre Dame in Paris, was used for sacraments and, notably for *Fauvel*, 'to combat heresy'.[154] However, following the sanctioning of the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the very image depicted in *Fauvel* immediately following the Pentecost symbolism, the Throne of Mercy, became the customary illustration for Trinity Sunday in Parisian manuscripts.[155]

Considering the interpretation of two liturgical occasions at the end of both books, Pentecost and the Feast of the Holy Trinity, the threading of religious symbolism throughout *Fauvel* operates as a signal of the compiler's concern not only for France and its monarchy, but equally for the health of the Holy Church in France. The increased interest throughout

[150] *Livre de Fauvel*, ed. Helmer, p. xvi. On the Throne of Mercy and Trinitarian symbolism in music, see W. Elders, *Symbolic Scores: Studies in the Music of the Renaissance* (Leiden and New York, 1994), pp. 185–204.

[151] This image is generously made available under the public domain mark by the British Library. A detail from Trinity Sunday, this image is from a mid-14th-c. Psalter from the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris. Rankin cites another similar miniature of the Throne of Mercy, probably by the same artist as *Fauvel*, in another Parisian missal for the Feast of the Holy Trinity: London, British Library, Harley 2891, fol. 183$^{v}$. See Rankin, 'Divine Truth', p. 235, n. 64.

[152] On depictions of the Trinity in art, see G. E. Thiessen, 'Images of the Trinity in Visual Art', in D. Marmion and G. E. Thiessen (eds.), *Trinity and Salvation: Theological, Spiritual, and Aesthetic Perspectives* (Oxford, 2009), esp. pp. 128–32 on the Gnadenstuhl. Although difficult to see, the dove in fr. 146 does appear above the crucified Jesus and below the chin of God the Father.

[153] Rankin, 'Divine Truth', esp. pp. 212 and 235.

[154] C. Wright, *Music and Ceremony at Notre Dame of Paris, 500–1550* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 254–5.

[155] J. Pearce, 'Liturgy and Image: The Advent Miniature in the Salisbury Breviary', in M. M. Manion and B. J. Muir (eds.), *Medieval Texts and Images: Studies of Manuscripts from the Middle Ages* (Chur, 1991), p. 28.

Figure 9 (a) British Library, Yates Thompson MS 34, fol. 116$^{v}$ , detail (image in public domain); (b) fr. 146, fol. 42$^{v}$, detail (reproduced by permission of the Bibliothèque nationale de France)

*Fauvel* in depicting textually and musically the Virtues, the Virgin and the Holy Trinity and, of course, their communal symbol, the allegorical fleur-de-lis, reflects both the authorial invocation to resist evil in the form of Fauvel, and a more general concern with the protection of the Holy Church. Indeed, in a conductus preserved only in *F*, *In rerum principio* (fol. 469$^{r–v}$) the health of the Holy Church is equated directly with the health of the lilies of France:



https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127913000119 Published online by Cambridge University Press

Figure 9 *Continued*

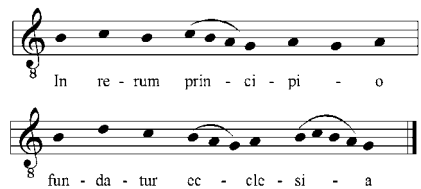
| | |
|---|---|
| 1. In rerum principio | 1. In the beginning of things |
| Fundatur ecclesia. | The Church was founded. |
| A parentis filio. | From the Son of the Father. |
| Mater habet premia | A mother gains reward; |
| Exul agat gaudia | May the exile bring forth joy |
| Restituto predio. | With his estate having been restored. |
| Nam purgato lolio | For with the weeds purged |
| Pullularunt lilia. | The lilies sprung forth. |
| ... | ... |



https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261127913000119 Published online by Cambridge University Press

| | |
|---|---|
| 3. Fructus Adam ederat | 3. Adam had consumed the fruits |
| Arboris exitii; | Of the tree of ruin; |
| A morsu mors venerat | From the bite death had come, |
| Cum causa decidii, | Along with the cause of the fall, |
| Sed Christus, flos lilii, | But Christ, the flower of the lily, |
| Vitam reparaverat, | Had renewed life, |
| Solvens dono gaudii | Setting free the gift of joy, |
| Totum quod perierat. | [And] all that had been destroyed. |
| 4. Pastor ovem perditam | 4. The shepherd carries the lost sheep |
| Reportat ad patriam; | Back to the Father; |
| Christus pesti deditam, | Christ lightens the Church, |
| Serenat ecclesiam, | Having surrendered to ruin, |
| Expurgat versutiam, | He purges cunning, |
| Confortat sollicitam, | Comforts the worried, |
| Dat dona per gratiam | He gives gifts through grace |
| Iustis dari solitam. | Customarily given to the just.[156] |

Surrounded by Latin rondeaux for Christmas and Easter, this conductus, comprised of only two, related musical phrases (see Example 4), has been singled out by Barbara Haggh and Michel Huglo as a work intended for the dedication of a church, possibly the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, pointing to the fleur-de-lis in the text as proof of a relationship with this beflowered chapel.[157] Unlike the majority of chants for the dedication of churches, however, *In rerum principio* reads like the moral texts transmitted in both *F* and *Fauvel*, such as the introductory conductus which bemoan the banishment of the virtues: *Heu! Quo progreditur*, *O varium Fortune*, *Virtus moritur* and *Floret fex favellea*. The final lines of the first strophe of *In rerum principio* in particular ('For with the weeds purged, the lilies sprung forth') foreshadow the garden metaphors in *Fauvel*, stressing through the juxtaposition of the




Example 4 *F*, fol. 469[r], *In rerum principio*

[156] Translation adapted from *Notre-Dame*, ed. Anderson, viii, p. xxxii. Emphasis mine.

[157] Haggh and Huglo, 'Magnus liber', p. 223. 'Le *rondeau* anonyme *In rerum principio* est le seul parmi les *rondeaux* de *F* à faire allusion à une dédicace. L'analyse du texte suggère que cette dédicace ne peut être que celle de la Sainte-Chapelle de Paris, célébrée le 28 avril 1248, octave de Pâques, en présence d'un grand nombre de prélats. Les strophes 1 et 3 font allusion aux fleurs de lys … qui couvraient toute la surface de la Sainte-Chapelle.'

lilies with the weeds the struggle between good and evil depicted throughout fr. 146. Only with the removal and correction of bad rulers, of Fauvel and his *fauvellettes* – the weeds of *In rerum principio*? – can the fleur-de-lis that represents so much in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France, from the Virgin, the Trinity and the virtues to France and her monarchy and Church, truly begin to flourish.

## THE LEGACY OF THE FLEUR-DE-LIS

In his 1372 French translation of Guillaume Durand's *Rationale*, Jean Golein confirms the relevance of an allegorical reading of the fleur-de-lis such as in *Fauvel* as a supremely spiritual and heraldic symbol in his description of one of the two arms of the French royalty:

> The first [banner of the French kings], with the three fleurs-de-lis, symbolically represents the faith of the Trinity planted in the humility of the Virgin Mary, which is compared to the lily flower, according to the gloss on the Song of Songs: '*As a lily among the thorns*, etc.'; that is, as the lily flower is born among the thorns on Jesus Christ's precious crown, which is kept by the kings of France in the Sainte-Chapelle of the Palace, in Paris.[158]

Interpreting one of the two banners of France, Golein ties together the flower of the lily with faith, the Trinity, the Virgin Mary, Jesus, the kings of France and their spiritual home, the Sainte-Chapelle, a building quite literally strewn with the flowers of the lily. In effect, this later fourteenth-century text provides one of the clearest statements on the theological and heraldic meaning of the fleur-de-lis for France. Produced over fifty years earlier, the very same heraldic imagery described by Golein – including, most significantly, the fleur-de-lis – appears in fr. 146, with theological and royal themes and symbols woven artfully into narrative, text and music.[159] Taking *Fauvel* as well as the other works that comprise fr. 146 into consideration, we discover, in fact, a significant intertextual addition to the historical trajectory of the fleur-de-lis. Interpretations of the lily

[158] 'La première aux .iii. fleurs de lys, signifie la foy de la Trinité en l'umilité de la vierge Marie, plantee, la quel est a la fleur de lys acomparee, de quoy dit la glose sur cette auctorité des *Cantiques*: "*Sicut lilium inter spinas*, etc."; aussi, comme la fleur de lys naist entre les espines de la coronne precieuse Jhesucrist, qui est gardee par les roys de France en la Sainte Chapelle du Palais a Paris.' J. Golein, *Le Racional des divins offices de Guillaume Durand: Livre IV, la messe, les Prologues et le Traité du sacre. Liturgie, spiritualité et royauté: une exégèse allégorique*, ed. Charles Brucker and Pierre Demarolle, i (Geneva, 2010), p. 706. The other banner is the *oriflamme*. On both the fleurs-de-lis and the *oriflamme* as symbols of the French monarchy, see Lombard-Jourdan, *Fleur-de-lis*.

[159] As scholars have observed, the colours of *Fauvel* are not those of the royal court (azure and gold), nor is the fleur-de-lis depicted visually per se in the manuscript, leaving heraldic symbols to be expressed primarily through text, music and secondary or related imagery, such as canonical images of the Holy Trinity or the Virgin. Notably, the fleur-de-lis is present on

central to fourteenth-century writings are prefigured in the petitionary folios that conclude the satire and in the musical repertory that forms the font of interpolations in *Fauvel*, while the *dits* and the chronicle represent an early understanding of the importance of the fleur-de-lis and its theological and monarchical associations with France.

The most important development of the lily exegesis both for and in fr. 146, however, is the linking of the flower equally with the Holy Trinity, the Virgin Mary and the virtues. The Virgin and the Trinity are easily located within the multimedia fabric of *Fauvel*, with parallel images, musical interpolations and prayers serving to highlight their divine relationship. The importance of the Trinity is further suggested by the temporal movement in *Fauvel* from Pentecost, the celebration of the Church, to Trinity Sunday, an emphasis confirmed musically, visually and textually. The association of the petals of the lily with the virtues seen throughout fourteenth-century writings also finds ample expression in *Fauvel*. The 'virtuous' petals are largely expressed through the centrality of the virtues as characters, in lyrics and as the flowers in the garden of France, not to mention as the guardians of the fleur-de-lis. Drawing on the one symbol that served both as the principal religious sign of the French Royal House and as a rich theological symbol in the fourteenth century, the compilers of fr. 146 utilised a variety of images, symbols and allegories centred around the fleur-de-lis that are fully understood only when the larger cultural and textual context of the manuscript is taken into account.

The seemingly disparate theological and monarchical themes in *Fauvel*, alongside the themes of good governance and the Church, can thus be united under one multivalent symbol, that of the eminently French and holy 'flower of the lily'. Furthermore, the diversity of symbolic references to the lily in fr. 146, some borrowed from earlier interpretations and others foreshadowing later developments, leads to the firm placement of the manuscript within the historical development of the royal, religious and symbolically infused and enriched flower: from the lily of the valley to the gilded fleur-de-lis.

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the initial folio of the eminently French manuscript that supplies music and text to *Fauvel*, *F*. Haggh and Huglo, 'Magnus liber', pp. 199–201 and 225. The only potentially heraldic visual symbols in Fauvel are the omnipresent crowns; see Regalado, 'Fortune's Two Crowns', pp. 125–40, esp. 133–4. Regalado argues for the importance of the crown not only as a symbol of morality and kingship, but its theological link to the crown of thorns, and therefore with St Louis, who brought the relic of the crown of thorns to Paris. As Brown observes, visually the fleur-de-lis appears only once in *Fauvel*: on Cupid's sceptre. Brown, 'Representations de la Royauté dans les *Livres de Fauvel*', in J. Blanchard (ed.), *Représentation, pouvoir et royauté à la fin du Moyen Age: Actes du Colloque organisé par l'Université du Maine les 25 et 26 Mars 1994* (Paris, 1995), p. 222.