Fashioning Change
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Published by The Ohio State University Press

Denny-Brown, andrea.
The Ohio State University Press, 2012.
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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Lydgate's Fall of Princes, 4 vols., ed. Henry Bergen, EETS e.s. 121–24 (London: Oxford University Press, 1924–27), 1. 621–23. It should be noted that Lydgate's text is an English rendering of Laurent de Premierfait's Des Cas de nobles hommes et femmes (1409), which was itself a prose version of Boccaccio's De casibus virorum illustrium (1355–60).


4. Barthes, 300.


10. PL 2:1050B. Translation is McKechnie’s.
11. PL 2:1050A.
12. The garment he wears invokes the legacy of Socrates, who, as I discuss in chapter 1, famously advocated owning and wearing a single *pallium* for all occasions and times of year, and whose legacy thus laid the groundwork for that garment’s symbolic power in later years. Tertullian’s text on the *pallium* has also been connected with the gown of Justin Martyr and Paul’s cloak in 2 Timothy 4:13; see *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, 4:13.
13. “De occursu meo uitia suffundo . . . Grande pallii beneficium est, sub cuius recogitatu improbi mores uel erubescunt” [My very sight puts vices to the blush . . . Grand is the benefit conferred by the Mantle, at the thought whereof moral improbity absolutely blushes]. PL 2:1050A.
14. PL 2:1050A.
15. *Riverside Chaucer*, gen. ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 657. All subsequent references to Chaucer’s works refer to this edition. Although the authorship of Chaucer’s “Proverbe” has come under question over the years, the opening inquiry seems a particularly relevant one for Chaucer, whose works contain numerous clothing references and allusions. Chaucer also uses a related line in Prudence’s words to Melibee: “For as the proverbe seith, ‘He that to muche embraceth, distreyneth litel’” (*CT* 7.1215). On the issue of authorship, see Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, “Explanatory Notes,” 1089.
16. This opening question remains one of the more historically unique aspects of this short poem, as the two other main metaphors—the dramatic change in temperature and the ‘all covet all lose’ theme of the second stanza—exist as popular proverbial phrases in other English works of this period and especially following this poem. Bartlett J. Whiting and Helen W. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly Before 1500* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1968), C365, H305; A91, M774; 039.
17. This regulation is for all who are allowed by law to wear fur, but especially for knights and clerks; it proclaims that linen must replace fur altogether in the summer season. See Edward III: 8–14 (1363), in *The Statutes of the Realm* [SR] (London: Dawsons, 1963), 1:381. For comparable complaints about the contemporary use of fur worn in the summer, see Francis Elizabeth Baldwin, *Sumptuary Legislation and Personal Regulation in England* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926), 68.
19. Later renditions of this proverb by Lydgate, Idley, and Henryson make clear that they address *coveitise* (Whiting and Whiting, A91).


25. Margaret Scott’s most recent book, *Medieval Dress and Fashion*, also argues that fashion existed as early as the twelfth century; see 11, 34–77.


28. See, for example, her discussion of “nascent fashion,” in *Fashion in Medieval France*, 179.

30. Crane, esp. 1–9; 15–20; 85–89. My study of the phenomenology of medieval clothing has been deeply influenced by Crane’s discussion of the ways in which medieval luxury clothing can be seen to constitute and maintain identity, rather than merely falsifying it, and by her use of performance theory as the method best suited for that subject (see esp. 3–7).

31. Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, esp. 1–17; 23–26; 76–79; also *Sea of Silk*, esp. 2–3; 82–83. While Burns’s first study examines the “sartorial body,” or the body as it wears clothing, her second study treats the literary women said to create this courtly attire. Burn’s notion of “reading through clothes”—that is, using a critical method that attempts to understand clothing as a dynamic, active cultural force rather than merely a symbol—has proved particularly helpful throughout this book (*Courtly Love*, esp. 11–16).

32. *Performance of Self*, 13. Crane is one of the few scholars to discuss the significance of change as a concept in itself in sartorial discourses of the period, observing that diversity in clothing shape demonstrates “the importance of change, and its close relationship to expert tailoring, in the fashion system” (13). The literary-cultural importance of the tailor as the purveyor of change plays a central role in the imagination of thirteenth-century writers as well, as I discuss in chapter 3.

33. On the general discourse blaming foreign cultures for contemporary fashions, see Newton, 9–10.

34. On the specific English vice of *varietas vestium*, see Owst, 404–11, and Andrew Galloway’s more recent article, discussed below.


36. Galloway, 64; 59. The second and third quotations here are Galloway’s translation of Higden.

37. Quotation from Robert Rypon, “Sermon on the Magdalene,” in London, British Library, MS Harley 4894, fol. 176b; translated in Owst, 404. For Tertullian’s expression of the same sentiment, see “On the Apparel of Women,” in *The Anti-Nicene Fathers* 4:14; *PL* 1:1305. This association was carried on into the Middle Ages; see Owst, 391–411. As Diane Owen Hughes describes it, luxury garments became “an inverse token of man’s shrinking stature in creation, recording his descent from the gods to the beasts that live above the earth, to those which crawl beneath it, and finally to the immobile and infertile world of metal and stone.” Hughes, “Regulating Women’s Fashions,” 144.


39. It is important to note that many of these Middle English words carry slightly different meanings from their modern counterparts, and that all of them correspond to notions of change or alteration. As I discuss in chapter 2, while the Middle English word *disgise*, for example, sometimes carried today’s sense of “disguise” as in concealing one’s identity, it meant first and foremost things that are “new,” “strange,” and “newfangled”; and as the *MED* makes clear, this definition includes special emphasis on changes in traditional attire, or “dress or trappings . . . altered from the conventional or simple style,”
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s.v. “disgise,” 1a. Horrox also discusses this word on 339n31. See also Sponsler’s analysis of the way this type of terminology was used to control social difference in late-medieval England in *Drama and Resistance*, esp. 5–21.


41. Lines 133, 167, 123, respectively, in the poem “On the Times,” in *Medieval English Political Writings*, ed. James M. Dean (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), 140–46. The alternate spelling of “fascion” exists in the C-text of the poem, published in Thomas Wright, ed., *Political Poems and Songs Relating to English History*, 2 vols., Rolls Series 14 (London: Longman, Green, 1859, 1861), 1:270–78. Susan Crane makes clear in a footnote that the emergence of this important word has been misdated by scholars: “Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones are two hundred years late in their claim that ‘the connection between fashion and change emerged in the Renaissance’” (*Performance of Self*, 184n22). By following the definition of “fascioun” in the *MED*, however, Crane locates the emergence of this meaning in the fifteenth century, whereas the example that I use in this book makes it clear that the meaning was used as early as 1380.

42. In the fifteenth century both verb and noun forms of the Middle English word “chaunge” specifically come to mean a change in (or of) clothes. See the *MED*, s.v. “chaungeo” (n.), 7b; and “chaungen” (v.), 11c, 11d.

43. A popular and much-copied woodcut from 1542, for example, portrays the Englishman as a naked man with shears in his hand, unsure of what fashion to follow next. Thomas Dekker also describes English “Apishness” in fashion, linking it to treason. See Roze Henschell, “A Question of Nation: Foreign Clothes on the English Subject,” in *Clothing Culture*, 49–62; esp. 53–56. One of Valerius’s songs in Thomas Heywood’s *Rape of Lucrece* (1608) offers a characteristic example of the Englishman consumed with sartorial uncertainty:

The Spaniard loves his ancient slop,
The Lombard his Venetian,
And some like breechless women go,
The Russ, Turk, Jew, and Grecian:
The thrifty Frenchman wears small waist,
The Dutch his belly boasteth,
The Englishman is for them all,
And for each fashion coasteth.


44. Barthes, 42.

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3. The late-medieval figure of the fashionable gallant is often imagined on Fortune’s wheel, a topic I discuss at greater length in chapter 5.


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6. This is a theme that is common to Marenbon’s Boethius (2003) and Relihan’s Prisoner’s Philosophy (2006), as well as to Payne’s earlier Chaucer and Menippean Satire (1981), all cited above. Miller argues to the contrary that the aporias in Boethius’s text reflect the inherently dialectical form of philosophical reflection, which necessarily confounds philosophical agreement or disagreement (Philosophical Chaucer, 111–51; esp. 111–14).

7. II.pr.2.8–9; 24.


11. Plato touches upon the transmigration of souls in several of his writings; those I have relied on for my synopsis are Laws X.903d–904e; Phaedo 80–83; Phaedrus 245c–e, 248–49; Republic X.617–18. Quotation from Laws X.903d, in Plato: Complete Works, ed. John M. Cooper (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1997), 1560. Related to this notion of the changefulness of the incorporated soul is Aristotle’s idea that material things themselves are ceaselessly changing—or exchanging—from one state to another, and that it is only our perception that designates the difference between “coming to be” and “passing away.” See Aristotle, On Generation and Corruption, 318a–b, in The Complete Works of Aristotle, ed. Jonathan Barnes (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995), 519–20.


14. For an enlightening discussion of how this Hegelian theory of “objectification” connects to material culture, see Miller, Materiality, 8–9.


17. I.m.1.17–18; 3.

18. II.m.2.13–20; 25.

19. III.m.2.24–28; 46.

20. IV.m.1. The Platonic cycle of the soul makes various appearances in Boethius’s text, usually through Plato’s doctrine of recollection or anamnesis, in which the soul contains all knowledge before birth but forgets it with the acquisition of the physical body. The protagonist also clearly associates his own physical process of aging with Fortune’s ceaseless change. See III.pr.2; III.m.11; III.pr.12; IV.m.1.


26. “For a brief space [Fortune] lets them use their costumes, but when the time of the pageant is over, each gives back the properties and lays off the costume along with his body, becoming what he was before his birth, no different from his neighbor” (Lucian, *Menippus,* 99).

27. As Menippus says right before this quotation: “So, with so many skeletons lying together, all alike staring horrifiedly and vacuously and baring their teeth, I questioned myself how I could distinguish Thersites from handsome Nireas, or the mendicant Irus from the king of the Phaeacians, or the cook Pyrrhias from Agamemnon; for none of their former means of identification abode with them, but their bones were all alike, undefined, unlabelled, and unable ever again to be distinguished by anyone” (Lucian, *Menippus,* 99).

28. II.pr.2.4–5; 23.


32. For a recent article on the importance of the toga to Roman identity, see Shelley Stone, “The Toga: From National to Ceremonial Costume,” in Sebesta and Bonfante, 13–45.


34. Bourdieu, “Dialectic,” 91. Bourdieu explicitly sees this process as cyclical: “The mind is a metaphor of the world of objects which is itself but an endless circle of mutually reflecting metaphors” (91).


36. “The principles embodied in this way are placed beyond the grasp of consciousness, and hence cannot be touched by voluntary, deliberate transformation, cannot even be made explicit” (Bourdieu, “Dialectic,” 94).


38. McCracken, 132.

39. Bourdieu, “Dialectic,” 87. Bourdieu also seems to conjure the trope of Fortune when he describes a person’s class status as “his rising or falling trajectory” (87).


41. On the importance of “things” as an emerging concept in Aristotle’s text, see Wolfgang-Rainer Mann, The Discovery of Things: Aristotle’s Categories and Their Context (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000). As part of his larger philosophical project, Boethius translated both Aristotle’s Categories and Porphyry’s commentary on that text, the Isagoge, as well as writing one (maybe two) commentaries on the Categories and two commentaries on the Isagoge. On the importance of these texts, see Chadwick, Boethius, 131–50; Marenbon, 19–32, 165–68; and Monika Asztalos, “Boethius as a Transmitter of Greek Logic to the Latin West: The Categories,” Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 95 (1993): 367–407.
42. PL 64:293A. All quotations of Boethius’s Latin translation are from PL 64:293A–94C. For the sake of clarity I will refer to the category as “habitus.”

43. I.pr.4.4; 10. I have altered Green’s translation slightly here to emphasize the dual meaning of the term in question.

44. II.pr.1.2; 21. More literally, affectu desiderioque might be understood as describing the damage or alteration within Boethius’s self and the subsequent longing for what is lost.

45. “In quibus quoniam quaedam nostri habitus uestigia uidebantur, meos esse familiares imprudentia rata nonnullos eorum profanae multitudinis errore peruertit” (I.pr.3.8) [Then, when traces of my garments were seen on some of them, they were rashly thought to be my friends, and they were therefore condemned by the error of the profane mob (8)].

46. V.pr.4.25; 110.

47. I.pr.1.3–5; Watts, 35–36.

48. The tension between Philosophy’s sartorial symbols of wisdom and their material corruption also testifies to her vital role as a purveyor of a more abstract lost knowledge and memory. Rather than embody the whole of Platonic wisdom, Philosophy embodies the Platonic philosophy that Boethius and others have abandoned in the face of more immediate worldly concerns. This point is underscored by the widespread theme of loss and emptiness throughout Philosophy’s teachings in the Consolatio; as Lerer puts it, images of loss, “be they of purpose, direction, or meaning, permeate the book, from Philosophy’s opening arguments on happiness, to the final poem on Orpheus’s loss of Eurydice” (Boethius and Dialogue, 126).

49. Walsh suggests that the trope of philosophy as a seamless robe torn by clashing sects can be found as early as Justin Martyr’s Dialogue with Trypho (second century) (116n3). I have been unable to find this exact reference, although Martyr does discuss the diversification of Philosophy by various sects in chapter 2 of that text, and, as I mention in my introduction, he discusses the philosopher’s pallium in chapter 1. See J. C. M. Van Winden, An Early Christian Philosopher: Justin Martyr’s ‘Dialogue with Trypho’ Chapters One to Nine, Introduction, Text and Commentary (Leiden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1971), esp. commentary on 22–23, 27; and Thomas B. Falls, Saint Justin Martyr (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1948), esp. 147n2. For a more extended discussion of the possible sources of Philosophy’s description, see Joachim Gruber, “Die Erscheinung der Philosophie in der Consolatio Philosophiae des Boethius,” Rheinisches Museum für Philologie 112 (1969): 166–86, his textual commentary on Philosophy in his Kommentar; and Courcelle, 17–28. Related to the allegory of Philosophy’s torn garment is the image of the entire world as text and object of inevitably flawed hermeneutics, for which, see Ernst Robert Curtius, European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages, trans. Willard R. Trask (New York: Harper & Row, 1953), 319–26. Lerer’s valuable discussion of the particular linguistic and textualized aspects of Philosophy’s dress also relates in interesting ways to its material functionality (Boethius and Dialogue, 96–110, esp. 98–99).


51. I.pr.2.6; Watts, 38.

52. James J. Paxson, for example, describes the personification as a “phenomenological foil to the narratorial human consciousness.” Paxson, The Poetics of Personification (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 13. In a related matter, Paxson makes a

53. I.ii.20; Stahl, 87. Opera quae supersunt, ed. Ludwig von Jan (Quedlinburg: Gottfried Bass, 1852), 23.


55. Daniel Tiffany, Toy Medium: Materialism and the Modern Lyric (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 63–94, esp. 73, 81, 92. Tiffany relies on other theorists here: Baudelaire, Benjamin, Bellmer. In Lacanian terms, the automaton is the “screen object” whose materiality simultaneously deflects and reveals the traumatic loss at the heart of the subject (82).


58. In this sense she works as the specular device-as-screen object that Tiffany discusses (82).


60. On the embroidered purple garments of Roman magistrates and emperors, see R. Turner Wilcox, The Mode in Costume (New York: Scribner’s, 1958), 19; and Sebesta and Bonfante, 13, 39, 46, 70–91. The ornamented garment also conflicts with the asceticism that Plato espoused for all guardians of the state in his Republic, in which he states that it would be unlawful for such guardians to own any possessions or to touch, drink from, or ornament themselves in gold or silver (Republic III.417a; Cooper, 1052). On Socrates’ single garment, see Plato’s Symposium, 220b; Cooper, 501.


63. The entire passage uses the metaphor of enslavement to describe Boethius’s process of attachment prior to his fall: “Humanas uero animas liberiores quidem esse necessce est cum se in mentis diuinae speculatione conservant, minus uero cum dilabuntur ad corpora, minusque etiam cum terrenis artibus colligantur. Extrema uero est seruitus cum uitiis detidae rationis propriae possessione ceccidentur. Nam ubi oculos a summae luce ureritis ad inferiorea et tenebrosa diecierint, mox inscitiae nube caligant, pertniciae turbantur affectibus, quibus accedendo consentiendoque quam inuexere sibi adiuvant seruitutem et sunt quodam modo propria libertate captiuae” (V.pr.2.8–10). [Human souls, however, are more free while they are engaged in contemplation of the divine mind, and less free when they are joined to bodies, and still less free when they are bound by earthly fetters. They are in utter slavery when they lose possession of their reason and give themselves wholly to vice. For when they turn away their eyes from the light of supreme truth to mean and dark things, they are blinded by a cloud of ignorance and obsessed by vicious passions. By yielding and consenting to these passions, they worsen the slavery to which they have brought themselves and are, as it were, the captives of their own freedom (104).] The process of enslavement is also described in depth in V.pr.1.

64. II.pr.6.6–7; 35.

65. II.pr.5.24–26; 32.

66. II.pr.5.13–14; 30. I have altered Green’s translation to adhere to the interrogatory format of the original.

67. Colish, 3–14; Bloch, 37–64.

68. Colish, 3–14.

69. II.pr.5.17; Watts, 66. As I discuss in chapter 2, pp. 58–59, Boethius’s phrasing in this passage appears to be one of the sources for the pervasive discourse of *varietas vestium* in late-medieval English culture.


72. On the early Christian appropriation of these ideas, see Schlatter 26, 33–46.
73. Tertullian, De Cultu Foeminarum, PL 1:1332B. “On the Apparel of Women,” in The Anti-Nicene Fathers, 25. On Tertullian’s particular interest in clothing and fashion, see Bloch, 43, and Sebesta and Bonfante, 6. While the majority of Tertullian’s text discusses female attire, he does specifically address men’s attire in this text in chapter VIII.


75. In this text Tertullian links all ornament to the fallen angels who, according to the (apocryphal) Book of Enoch, taught mortals the arts of metallurgy, among other “curious” arts. People who ornament themselves are refuting God’s artifice:

Displicet nimirum illis plastica Dei, in ipsis redarguunt reprehendunt artificem omnium. Reprehendunt enim, cum emendant, cum adjiciunt, utique ab adversario artificem additamenta ista, id est, diabolo. Nam quis corpus mutare monstraret, nisi qui hominis spiritum militia transfiguravit? (PL 1:1321A–B)

[To them, I suppose, the plastic skill of God is displeasing! In their own persons, I suppose, they convict, they censure, the Artificer of all things. For censure they do when they amend, when they add to (His work); taking these their additions, of course, from the adversary artificer. That adversary artificer is the devil. For who would show the way to change the body, but he who by wickedness transfigured man’s spirit? (20–21)]

76. Philosophy most directly explains the relationship between the ever-changing world and divine stasis in V.pr.6.

77. Fletcher, 108–13; esp. 110.

78. Fletcher, 113. Fletcher also points out that the word kosmos (ornament) was sometimes used for the word magistrate, to indicate the lawmaker who lays down the system of universal order (112).

79. II.pr.4; 29. Philosophy makes it clear elsewhere that what is truly “one’s own” encompasses that which cannot be lost or taken from a person by force; that which cannot be changed by material circumstances (III.pr.3–m.3).

80. II.pr.8.4; 40. Philosophy returns to this subject near the end of the Consolatio, arguing that all fortune is beneficial because the wise man’s struggle with both good and bad fortune strengthens and substantiates his wisdom (IV.pr.7). On how this idea gets picked up by Aquinas, see John R. Bowlin, Contingency and Fortune in Aquinas’s Ethics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 167–212.

81. This trope of the restrictive garment may be related to an earlier sartorial practice outlined in traditional rules of self-control for the Greek orator, in which the arms of the speaker were literally bound up in his mantle so that he could not gesticulate. Paul Zanker, The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 44–50.

82. Lerer makes this argument in his final chapter of Boethius and Dialogue, “A New Beginning,” 203–36; esp. 231–36.

83. Lerer describes Boethius’s shift to prose as emphasizing “the non-dialectical and purely philosophical structure of his concluding argument” (Boethius and Dialogue, 231).

84. III.m.12.34–39; 74.

85. Boethius, De Institutione Musica, ed. Godofredus Friedlein (Frankfurt: Minerva,

86. III.m.12.49–58; Watts, 114–15. For this meter I prefer Watt’s verse translation to Green’s prose.

87. See, for example, III.m.2.

88. For example, Marenbon’s and Relihan’s joint understanding of the contradictory, inadequate elements of Philosophy’s final arguments differs significantly from Lerer’s understanding of the conclusion as a methodologically and structurally sound turn toward God. See for example Marenbon, 145; Relihan, 17; Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue*, 236.

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3. The exception seems to be Dante and his contemporaries: as Patch mentions briefly (19), and as Tony Hunt discusses more thoroughly (“The Christianization of Fortune,” 104–13), a significant change occurred in the early fourteenth century in Dante’s *Commedia* and in the French *Roman de Fauvel*, two texts that simultaneously take into account Boethius’s entire representation of Fortune as both controller of worldly goods and part of divine providence—that is, they bring together both Book II and Books IV–V of the *Consolatio*, rather than just the former. Hunt does not follow this argument later into the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. An exception in this period is Chaucer’s short Boethian poem “Fortune,” which I discuss in chapter 2, and which in its final stanza seems to take up the Dantean version of Fortune by stating that blind and lewd people merely “call” Fortune what is in fact God’s majesty (65–68).

4. Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1960), quotation 1. Judson Boyce Allen also makes the crucial point that their roles as teachers of preachers underscores these commentators’ powerful influence over the learning that “shaped the popular mind” of the fourteenth century (6), and that a general “broadening of taste” (46) transformed the narrative content of preaching exempla by which the *auctores* entered the mainstream of religious and popu-
lar discourse. See *The Friar as Critic: Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971), 43–46. Dwyer likewise discusses vernacular culture’s claiming of Boethius for itself through its transforming of the text into a “palliative of fables” (8).

5. As Derek Pearsall puts it, “The paradox of Boethius’s influence upon the Middle Ages . . . is that the illusions of Fortune’s power that Philosophy so authoritatively dispels proved more potent and resilient as images than the rational arguments demonstrating their non-existence.” *The Canterbury Tales* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1985), 281.

6. I discuss most of these meanings in detail in my previous chapter.

7. See especially the studies on Fortune by Patch, Scanlon, Fradenburg, and Nolan cited in my previous chapter. Nolan describes the fashionable of Fortune as a topic, stating (in summary of a sentence from Gower’s *Vox Clamantis*) that “there seems to have been a fashion for Fortune in the later fourteenth century” (“The Fortunes of Piers Plowman and Its Readers,” 2). This sense of narrative novelty accompanying literary discourses about Fortune in this period might in fact have been further highlighted by the trope of novelty that Fortune’s fashionable figure performs.


9. On the popularity of the text, which exists in 136 manuscripts and thirty-two commentaries, see Weijers, 30; and Arpad Steiner, “The Authorship of *De disciplina scholarium,*” *Speculum* 12 (January 1937): 81–84, esp. 81.


11. II.m.5.1–3; translation based on Watts, 68, with a slight adjustment to line 3 for continuity.


references to the seven sins in vernacular literature (Bloomfield, 120). Trever's mention of both sloth and cupidity as well as luxuria in his own commentary on II.m.5 suggests an associative connection between the two in later literature as well.


15. Jean de Meun uses the phrase “Il ne se destruient pas par outrage” to translate the Latin original (*Nec inerti perdita luxu*) in his translation of Boethius's text. Likewise, in his section in the *Roman de la Rose* Jean incorporates a summary of II.m.5 into the larger discussion of Ami (Friend) about greedy wives who desire full purses and the most fashionable garments (*Roman de la Rose*, 8355–545). Chaucer uses the same Middle English word, “outrage,” in his treatment of II.m.5 in the *Boece*, which relied heavily on both Jean's translation and Trever's commentary: “They ne destroyeden ne desseyvede nat hemself with outrage” (II.m.5.3–4; Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, 415). Subsequently, in his short poem “Former Age,” which is based on II.m.5, he translates the phrase as “They ne were nat forpampred [overindulged] with outrage” (5). For a helpful table that compares the Latin, French, and English versions of Boethius's II.m.5, see Kate O. Petersen, “Chaucer and Trivet,” *PMLA* 18.2 (1903): 173–93; table is in the Appendix, 190–93.

16. *De disciplina scholarium*, PL 64:1233D–38D; quotation 1228B. The text also describes a specific form of concupiscence that “gapes in wonder” at personal ornament, “concupiscentia quae ornatibus inhiat” (PL 64:1228B).

17. *De disciplina scholarium*. PL 64:1228C.

18. II.pr.5.17; Watts, 66.


20. This shift toward a more positive cultural understanding of Fortune has recently been discussed in two important studies. Paul Strohm opens his latest monograph by pointing to a new approach in fifteenth-century texts, “a revised, more hopeful view of the individual’s relation to Fortune” that, he suggests, marks a “pre-Machiavellian moment.” In *Politique: Languages of Statecraft between Chaucer and Shakespeare* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005), 1. J. Allan Mitchell maps this shift in perspective more meticulously in his fascinating recent study of Fortune, *Ethics and Eventfulness in Middle English Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).


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previous chapter, Boethius does not use the term toga or any other distinctive lexis for garments in his culture, preferring instead to use a series of generic words.


29. This original meaning of the word still exists in today's usage, but it is not the principal meaning of the word. OED, s.v. “disguise” (v.) 1–4. For the word's usage in medieval French and English, see MED, s.v., “disgisen” (v.): “1. (a) To dress (sb., oneself) in newfangled, elaborate, or showy attire; deck out; (b) to fashion (attire) in a newfangled or elaborate way.” Sponsler’s important discussion of this word in sumptuary discourses primarily focuses on its secondary sense of concealment. Drama and Resistance, 9–10. In a related point, Heller-Roazen’s discussion about Fortune as a figure for “self-differentiation” seems to correspond to this sense of desguiser; as he states, Jean’s Fortune can be identified through the language of thirteenth-century philosophy as “the cipher of what takes place not as itself but as something different” (86, 85).


36. On the feudal theory of dominion, see Schlatter, 64.

37. On the critical interpretations of this title, see Benson, gen. ed., Riverside Chaucer, 1084.

38. 37 Edward III; SR 1:381.
39. On the contemporary sense of this word, see MED, s.v. “manere,” 2e.
40. 37 Edward III; SR 1:381.
42. Baldwin, 60.
43. Sponsler, Drama and Resistance, 23.
44. 37 Edward III; SR 1:380.
46. “Et uocat hanc tincturam uenenum quia sicut corpora nigrescunt ueneno sic illa purpura nigro conchiliorum sanguine tingitur” (Silk, 254) “[Boethius] calls this dye poison,” says Trevet, “because, just as poison turns bodies black, so purple cloth is dyed by the black blood of the shellfish” (Minnis and Scott, 337).
48. MED, s.v. “monstre.” Wimsatt, 123.
49. This mirror that can differentiate friend from foe reappears in Chaucer’s work among the marvelous objects of the Squire’s Tale, a tale that rests implicitly in the inextricable tangle (or “knotte” [CT 5.401], the Squire might say) between the novelty of objects and the rhetorical and sartorial ornament of a human subject (CT 5.132–36).
50. Wimsatt, 123.
52. On the scholarly attribution of this poem to Chaucer, see Benson, gen. ed., Riverside Chaucer, 1089.
54. See Boccaccio, De Casibus, VI.i. For an overview of this tradition, see Patch, 46–47. The tradition seems overtly indebted to Alain de Lille’s description of Nature’s dress as “kaleidoscopic in its various colors” in De Planctu Naturae, 4998–5002. See Alan of Lille, Plaint of Nature, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 85.
56. Piponnier and Mane, 70–76, esp. 71–73.
57. Piponnier and Mane, 70–76. As costume historian Mary G. Housten puts it, “[i]n the fifteenth century we are confronted with change and variation which almost

58. “Former Age,” 17; Purdon, 216–19. For “gawdy grene” see MED, s.v. “grene.”

59. According to the *OED*, the modern meaning emerges in the sixteenth century; *OED*, s.v. “gaudy”; “gaud” (n. 2.2). See also MED, s.v. “gaude” (n); “gaudi” (n); “gaudi” (adj).

60. Lydgate’s poetic attention to matters of fashionable clothing caused him to be named by scribes and contemporaries as the author of some satirical poems now thought by critics to be spurious, such as the fifteenth-century Middle English poems “Treatise of Galaunt,” and “Hood of Green,” the latter of which parodies the extravagance of *au courant* items of attire by imagining green luxury attire adorning a horse. Lydgate’s tireless editor and indexer Henry Noble MacCracken goes so far as to declare that the poet “delighted in fine array.” *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken. 2 vols. EETS e.s. 107, o.s. 192. (London: Oxford University Press, 1911–34; repr. 1961), 1:xxxiii.


65. Crane, 10–11, 62–64. Ironically, the son of his father’s enemy, Philip the Good, also chose to wear only black after the assassination of his own father in 1419 (Piponnier and Mane, 73). Considering the circumstances, it is probable that Philip was imitating Charles.


67. MED, s.v. “nice” (adj.)

68. Arn, 515.


70. On Charles’s use of this trope, see Arn, 65–67.

71. A point also made by Arn, 65. For comparable manuscript depictions of Fortune, see Kurose, esp. plates 67–78.

72. I discuss in depth the related symbolism of dice and fashion in chapter 5.
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73. This change in Fortune’s appearance is discussed by Leslie Thomson, in Fortune: “All Is But Fortune” (Washington, DC: University of Washington Press for Folger Shakespeare Library, 2000), 17.


CHAPTER THREE


3. As Anselm Davril puts it in his preamble to the Latin edition, the Rationale became for the study of medieval liturgy what Peter Lombard’s Sentences became for theology (1:viii).

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Rationale succeeded because it deployed some of the organizational advancements of the scholastics.

5. Thibodeau, “From Durand of Mende to St. Thomas More,” 84.


7. Dyan Elliott, “Dressing and Undressing the Clergy: Rites of Ordination and Degradation,” in Burns, Medieval Fabrications, 55–70, at 56. Elliott’s reading of Durand’s traditionalism in this article rests implicitly on the assumption that it depicts an already-stable set of conditions and beliefs, essentially depicting Church practices as they were, rather than as they should be (see esp. 56–57). By contrast, I argue that neither the clothes nor their symbolism were as “frozen in time” as Elliott implies, and that this lack of stability in fact causes a great deal of tension in Durand’s text.

8. Elliott, 55.


10. As Michael Camille states, the ape in medieval marginalia is “always a sign, a sign dissimulating something else.” Camille, Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 30. Miri Rubin also discusses the manuscript representation of apes dressed as bishops in Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 346.


13. See Tertullian, De Pallium, PL 2:1029C–50B; and my discussion above.


26. The passages discussed in this paragraph can be found in Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 181.
27. Elliott, 56.
30. E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 265, 267. The following discussion on copes relies on Mayo, 38–40, 47–49, 53–55; Housten, 30–31, 70–71; and Norris, *Church Vestments*, 157–60. In addition to the open episcopal cope and the *cappa clausa*, there were various forms of the garment in the Middle Ages, such as the *cappa nigra* or *cappa choralis* (a black cloth cope used by secular and regular clergy or as a choir cope), and *cappa magna* (worn by bishops and cardinals).
31. Housten, 30–32; quotation in Mayo, 55.
32. Mayo, 55.
33. According to Mayo, “in the Vatican inventory of 1295 *Opus Anglicanum* is mentioned 113 times” (50).

36. Macalister, 155–57, 161; Mayo, 51.

37. All citations of the passages on the cope can be found in Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 182; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 13.139–40.


40. Passmore points out that it was the Council of Toledo in 633, not the Council of Mayence, that enacted these canons (*Rationale*, 20n2).

41. Durand, *Rationale*, Prohemium, 6; trans. Thibodeau, Prologue, 3. Chapter 8 more strongly focuses on the relation of law to change: “Siquidem quantum ad moralia lex non recipit mutationem, sed quantum ad sacramentalia et cerimonialia mutata est quoad superficiem littere; misticus tamen eorum intellectus mutatus non est, unde non dicitur lex mutata quamuis translato in nos sacerdotio sit translata.” The biblical reference in the last line is to Hebrews 7:12: “For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.”


43. London, British Library, MS Harley 978, fol. 78v–79r. “Song Upon the Tailors” is published in Wright, *PSE*, 51–56. All citations and translations of this poem will be to this edition, with minor changes in translation for sense; I have also italicized the intermittent Anglo-Norman lines for easier recognition of structural and linguistic discrepancies. My gratitude to Lisa H. Cooper for first acquainting me with this curiously wonderful poem.

44. Andrew Taylor, *Textual Situations: Three Medieval Manuscripts and Their Readers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), esp. 83–99, 110–21. On the scribal hand of this section of the manuscript, see 99; on recent studies of the manuscript’s musical content, see 235n12. For a basic description of the manuscript, see R. Nares and F. Douce, *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 vols. (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1808–12), 1:488–89. More thorough descrip-


47. Maddicott, 229, 306. There were also several important councils at Reading in the thirteenth century, including the Great Council in 1219 and 1279. The *Annales of Dunstable* reports that Henry also called a parliament at Reading in 1263, but I can find no other evidence that such a parliament was held. See Margaret A. Hennings, *England under Henry III Illustrated from Contemporary Sources* (London: Longmans and Green, 1924), 109.


50. On the importance of tailors and tailoring in this period, see Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 82–85, 157–64; Piponnier and Mane, 27–32.


52. See Curtius’s discussion of this tradition generally and of God as a tailor specifically, 544–46. Later reactions to the tailors’ link with divine creation become more provocative, such as the portrayal of the allegorical figure of Heresy as a tailor in Guillaume de Deguileville’s (and later Lydgate’s) *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, as well as William Dunbar’s various poems about tailors, one of which imagines that the tailor and cobbler are knighted by the devil and made to joust one another, and another of which satirically imagines that the same artisans sit next to God in heaven because they can remake what God “mismakes”: “The caus to yow is nocht unkend; / That God mismakkis, ye do amend / Be craft and grit agilitie: / Tailyouris and sowtaris, bлист be ye.” “Of the Tailors and the Shoemakers,” in *William Dunbar: The Complete Works* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), 168–70, lines 9–12. On the figure of Heresy as a tailor in Deguileville and Lydgate, see Lisa H. Cooper, “‘Markys . . . of the workman’: Heresy, Hagiography, and the Heavens in *The Pilgrimage Of The Life Of Man*,” in Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown, eds., *Poetry and Material Culture in the Fifteenth Century: Lydgate Matters* (New York: Palgrave, 2008), 89–111, at 101.
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55. Niermeyer, s.v. “transmutare.”
56. “Deus stetit in coetu Dei in medio Deus iudicat / usquequo iudicatis iniquitatem et facies impiorum suscipitis semper / iudicate pauperi et pupillo egono et inopi iustae facite / salviae inopem et pauperem de manu impiorum liberate / non cognoscunt nec intellegunt in tenebris ambulant movebuntur omnia fundamenta terrae / ego dixi dii estis et filli Excelsi omnes vos / ergo quasi Adam moriemini et quasi unus de principibus cadetis / surge Domine iudica terram quoniam hereditabis omnes gentes.” [God hath stood in the congregation of gods: and being in the midst of them he judgeth gods. / How long will you judge unjustly: and accept the persons of the wicked? / Judge for the needy and fatherless: do justice to the humble and the poor. / Rescue the poor; and deliver the needy out of the hand of the sinner. / They have not known nor understood: they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth shall be moved. / I have said: You are gods and all of you the sons of the most High. / But you like men shall die: and shall fall like one of the princes. / Arise, O God, judge thou the earth: for thou shalt inherit among all the nations (Psalm 81:1–8; italics mine)].
57. The theme of unprincipled, dissolute religious men warranting judgment can be found in other poems in Harley 978, most obviously in the poem immediately following “Song Upon the Tailors,” which asks in its final stanza that fellow brothers “judge” an unnamed impudent priest [*sacerdos inpudicus*] who has inflicted various forms of his sinful appetites on the local people while pretending to minister to the needy; the final line outright commands judgment: “*Iudicate!*” London, British Library, MS Harley 978, fol. 79v. The poem, which begins “*Diues Eram Et Dilectus*” [Once I was rich and well content] has been attributed to the twelfth-century poet Hugo of Orleans, better known as Hugo Primas. See “Primas Lodges a Complaint,” in Whicher, 90–101; quotation 101.
60. This is an idea explored in various ways by Miri Rubin in *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and by Margaret Pappano in her forthcoming book *The Priest’s Body in Performance: Theatre and Religious Identity in Late Medieval England and France*.
63. On the growing importance of the Eucharist and the feast of Corpus Christi in the Middle Ages, see Rubin, esp. 12–82, 164–212.
64. As regulation of the appearance and construction of gloves themselves in Lateran IV suggests, this ceremonial garment was susceptible to the vacillations of fashion.
See the proscription against “curiously sewed together gloves” in canon 16 of Lateran IV, as translated in Schroeder, 236–96.

65. Durand finishes this analogy by reading the Jacob/Christ figure as the second Adam: “Sane pellis edi similitudo est peccati quam Rebecca mater, id est Spiritus sancti gratia, manibus ueri Iacob, id st operibus Christi, circumdedit, ut similitudinem maior- is, id est prioris Ade, secundus exprimeret” (Book III.208). [Fittingly, the goat skin is an image of sin, with which Rebecca, mother of Jacob—that is, with the grace of the Holy Spirit—covered the hands of the true Jacob—that is, with the works of Christ—so that he would resemble his elder, that is, the first Adam, He who became the second Adam (Thibodeau, Book 2.4.186)].

66. Durand, Book III.208; Thibodeau, Book 3.4.186.

67. As discussed by Mayo, 53. A more detailed description of the cope can be found in Housten, 30–31, 70–71; and Norris, 160.


72. “quia frigore strides: / sed michi nulla fides, / nisi pelliculas clamidi des” [[Y]ou with cold are wheezing, / But till some fur is added / It’s little help you’ll get from me, unpadded” (Whicher, 80–83)]. The protective cloak was especially significant in the Madonna of Misericord tradition in which supplicants are depicted as literally sheltered beneath the Virgin’s cloak, which emerges in this period, especially among monastic orders. See James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects & Symbols in Art* (Oxford: Westview Press, 1979), 325–26.

73. Augustine depicts his own relationship to clothing in terms similar to St. Martin. Upon being offered a costly cloak, he states: “It is not fitting: I ought to have such a garment as I can give to my brother if he has not one. Such a one as a priest can wear, such a one as a deacon can decently wear, and a subdeacon, such will I accept, because I accept it in common. If any one gives me a better one, I shall sell it, as indeed I am in the habit of doing: so that, when the garment itself cannot be common to all, at least the price of it can, I sell it and give it to the poor.” This passage is quoted and discussed in Percy Dearmer, *The Ornaments of the Ministers* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1920), 70. The Benedictine Rule also emphasizes this act of sartorial charity: “When the brethren receive new clothes, let them always return the old ones at once, that they may be stored in a clothes-room for the poor.” *The Rule of Saint Benedict. In Latin and English*, ed. and trans. Abbot Justin McCann (London: Burns Oats, 1952, 3rd printing, 1963), Rule 55, p. 125.

74. As a relic Saint Martin’s cloak became a revered symbol of charity in the Middle Ages, a famous national artifact preserved at the court of the Frankish kings, and even an emblem of Christian sanctuary: the building where his *capa* or *chape* was venerated came to be known as the *capella*, or *chapelle*—the etymological origin of the chapel. *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* VII.37.1; discussed in Passmore, 31n1.


76. The number of Jewish conversions to Christianity in England in the 1240s and 1250s increased (possibly as high as 10 percent of the Jewish population) in large part because of the depletion of Jewish wealth and self-sufficiency through unprecedented amounts of royal taxation. According to Robert C. Stacey, “[b]etween 1240 and 1255 Henry III collected more than £70,000 from English Jews, at a time when the king’s total annual cash revenues rarely exceeded £25,000”; these amounts swelled to even more enormous sums in the following years. Robert C. Stacey, “The Conversion of Jews to Christianity in Thirteenth-Century England,” *Speculum* 67, no. 2 (April 1992): 263–83, quotation 269–70.

77. Stacey, 272.


CHAPTER FOUR

1. Carolyn Dinshaw’s influential chapter “Griselda Translated” examines the tale through Jerome’s image of the allegorical text as veiled captive women, focusing primarily on the double valence of the Clerk’s *translatio* to both eliminate and restore the feminine. Dinshaw, *Chaucer’s Sexual Poetics* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 132–55. David Wallace, in his chapter “‘Whan She Translated Was’: Humanism, Tyranny, and the Petrarchan Academy,” explores the tale from a similar perspective of masculine rhetorical control over the female body, but his greater objective concerns the uses of this rhetoric to further the interests of tyrannical “Lumbardye.” Wallace, *Chaucerian Polity: Absolutist Lineages and Associational Forms in England and Italy* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 261–98. Although both of these studies, and especially Dinshaw’s, address the Clerk’s Tale’s emphasis on clothing, their interest lies primarily in the symbolism of the clothing as veiled allegorical woman (esp. Dinshaw, 144–48) and/or as masculine adornment and insight (esp. Wallace, 284–86).

2. Dinshaw’s statement that “the Clerk is made to fashion his narrative around Griselda’s changes of clothes” (144), for example, could very easily apply to all of the poets who translate Griselda’s tale. See J. Burke Severs, *The Literary Relationships of Chaucer’s “Clerkes Tale”* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1972), 215–50; Roberta L. Krueger, “Uncovering Griselda: Christine de Pizan, ‘une seule chemise,’ and the Clerical Tradition: Boccaccio, Petrarch, Philippe de Mézières and the Ménagier de Paris,” in Burns, *Medieval Fabrications*, 71–88; Helen Cooper, *Oxford Guides to Chaucer: The


5. This “obsession” has quantifiable evidence: Griselda is stripped of her clothes three times, she wears five apparently different garments (her garments of “richesse” at her wedding, her smock when cast out of Walter's palace, her “olde coote” when she returns to her father's house, her “rude and somdeel eek torent” clothing when waiting on Walter and his new bride-to-be, and her “clooth of gold” when Walter reconciles with her), and the word “array” is used seventeen times in the tale. The most extensive study regarding this amplification of the theme of array is still that of Kristine Gilmartin Wallace, who suggests that the tale's important expansion of the theme both distinguishes it from its sources and reveals Chaucer's attention to the realistic “psychological coherence” of Walter and Griselda's marriage. Kristine Gilmartin Wallace, “Array as Motif in the Clerk's Tale,” Rice University Studies 62 (1976): 99–110; quotation 99.

6. Pierre Bourdieu, Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste, trans. Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1984), 77. Related to this is Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital, which he describes as “a transformed and thereby disguised form of physical, ‘economic’ capital, [which] produces its proper effect inasmuch, and only inasmuch, as it conceals the fact that it originates in ‘material’ forms of capital which are also, in the last analysis, the source of its effects,” in Outline of a Theory of Practice, 183;

7. This theme is explored most fully in *CT* 4.456–62, 621–23.


9. For a more thorough discussion of sartorial discourses in fourteenth-century England, see my discussion and corresponding citations in my introduction.


11. See, for example, Paul Strohm, *Theory and the Premodern Text* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), xvi.


13. Many of the details in Chaucer’s clothing descriptions are taken from *Le Livre Griseldis*, the French translation of Petrarch’s version known for its realism in comparison to Petrarch’s allegory. These details include the discussion of the unwearability of Griselda’s old robe and the revulsion of the ladies to touching Griselda’s old clothing when they are instructed by Walter to strip her and dress her in finery. Chaucer himself added the details of the cloth of gold and the jeweled crown in which Griselda is clothed at the end of the tale. Chaucer takes the greater plot explanations—such as Walter’s wanting her to bring “no thynge of hir olde geere” into his house—from Petrarch. See Severs 3–37, 135–80, 190–211; and Carleton Brown, Germaine Dempster, and G. H. Gerould, *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer’s Canterbury Tales*, ed. W. F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 288–331. See also Dinshaw, 144; Gilmartin Wallace, 100–101; and Helen Cooper, 189–90.


15. Muscatine, 191.

16. The curious tension between the tale’s high style and its apparent simplicity has generated divergent readings of the Clerk’s overall style. While Muscatine states that “the poem has a fine astringency, an austerity, that will not appeal to the untutored” (191), David Wallace discusses the same quality in terms of the tale’s “policy of removing obstacles that stand between the story and the common reader” (286). My own opinion is that, like his garments, he gives the appearance of rhetorical simplicity while still indulging in a sophisticated rhetoric of his own, above the heads of the secular pilgrims.

17. Mann, 74.

18. On fourteenth-century discourses about the “new” and “old” fashion aesthetic, see Newton, 14–18, 38, and my discussion below. Hodges has recently offered a more thorough argument that the Clerk’s garment as “social mirror” counters, or at least complicates, the “ideal” figure he has been supposed to present. Citing contemporary debates over proper clerkly attire, the problematic symbolism of “thredbare” garments (worn at times by both Avarice and Couetise), and the Clerk’s potential for the vice of curiositas, or excessive desire for knowledge, Hodges comes to the conclusion that his garment displays the precarious balance of his current life situation. See Hodges, *Chaucer and Clothing*, 160–98.
19. See Patricia J. Eberle’s argument that Chaucer expected his audience to have “a lively interest in the world of getting and spending money, the world of commerce,” in “Commercial Language and Commercial Outlook in the General Prologue,” The Chaucer Review 18, no. 2 (1983): 161–74; quotation 163.


21. As Hodges has pointed out, and as I briefly discussed in my introduction, the Canterbury Tales provides readers with “the widest range (quality and value) of contemporary fabric names in a single English literary work in the Middle Ages.” Hodges, Chaucer and Costume, 233.

22. I borrow this point from Benson, who suggests that Chaucer thought this type of descriptio was old-fashioned, which is why he used it in the Miller’s Tale. Larry D. Benson, “Rhetorical Descriptions of Beautiful People: Poetria Nova, Romance of the Rose, and Guy of Warwick,” The Harvard Chaucer Website, http://www.courses.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/.


24. Lynn Staley makes a similar point in a different context: “how can her clothes mean? If Griselda’s new clothes signify her translation from commoner to queen, her marriage to the husband of all souls, why are we not distraught when she puts them off?” In David Aers and Lynn Staley, The Powers of the Holy: Religion, Politics, and Gender in Late Medieval English Culture (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 238.

25. See, for example, Crane, 21–29.


27. Here Griselda seems to echo the gems “set” in gold that Walter had made for her prior to meeting her (254).

28. MED, s.v. “richesse.”

29. MED, s.v. “swich.”

30. Griselda, however, is also named three times in the Envoy, which brings her entire total to thirty-one. Walter, by comparison, is named ten times throughout the tale.


34. Muscatine, 192.

35. According to the MED, the word “lierous” was used to connote both lascivi-
ousness and luxuriousness, with the common theme being excess or self-indulgent desire, pride, or way of living. *MED*, s.v. “likerous.”

36. According to the Parson, the first finger of the hand of lechery is “the fool lookynge of the fool womman and of the fool man; that sleeth, right as the basilicok sleeth folk by the venym of his sighte, for the coveitise of eyen folweth the coveitise of the herte” (*CT* 10.852).


40. McCracken, 117.


42. Hence, while the middling classes actually dress themselves in “newe” garments, Chaucer once again reserves for the educated aristocracy the potential for insight into such material performances. The Knight subtly undercuts the value of novelty, nostalgically claiming that all new fashions simply recycle old ones: “Ther is no newe gyse that it nas old” (*CT* 1.2125). His son the Squire has a more problematic statement on innovation, first proclaiming humankind’s natural love of novelty (*CT* 5.610), but then, as if to counter any existing claims that state otherwise, later declaring that even noble blood cannot prevent this love of novelty (*CT* 5.619–20). Like his father’s own stance on novelty and fashion, the Squire’s defense of “novelries” (*CT* 5.610) simultaneously discloses his own worldview and positions himself in contrast to (and in competition with) the more traditional ways of his father. However, it also reveals the timeliness and complexity of “newfangelnesse” as a subject in Chaucer’s world: by explicitly arguing that novelty seduces all classes, including the aristocracy, the Squire in effect highlights the ubiquity of the unspoken opposite argument: that change and newness are endemic only to the middle and lower classes.

43. See, for example, Owst, 355, 396.

44. The others being the silent Dyer, Weaver, Haberdasher, and Tapestry-Weaver of the *General Prologue*. We know the Merchant deals with the trade of wool and cloth because of his reference to “the passage between Middleburg and Orwell, the Netherlands and East Anglia, through which much of the English trade in wool and cloth passed from the 1380’s onwards.” Cooper, *Canterbury Tales*, 42.

45. Hodges argues, to the contrary, that a few of the Merchant’s garments are “neither as expensive nor as flagrant a sign of wealth as critics have supposed.” *Chaucer and Costume*, 86.

46. On the predicament of the bourgeois husband, see Patterson, 344; and Bisson, 169–70.

47. Considering the long-standing critical discourse on the ironic function of the *Envoy*, I feel I should point out that the larger themes of the *Envoy* as I discuss them here support the case that the *Envoy* was indeed meant as an address by the Clerk himself, though always with the underlying resonance of his own creator, Chaucer. On this critical debate, see George Lyman Kittredge, *Chaucer and His Poetry* (Cambridge, MA:


49. See, for example, Chaucer’s lyric “Against Women Unconstant,” which I discuss in chapter 2.

50. Hughes, “Regulating Women’s Fashions,” 144.


52. Crane, 30; Severs, 255, line 2.


54. Unlike any other item a wife might inherit from her husband, this garment “on her back” could not be claimed by creditors. See Frederick Pollock and Frederic Maitland, *The History of English Law*, vol. 2, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 427–30. According to Janet S. Loengard, this does not mean that this garment was the only thing that married women received when their husbands died; in parts of England they received “dower,” or life interest in land, and in some areas “thirds,” and were even sometimes executors of the will. What the *paraphernalia* law represents is “the personal property [women] got as of right everywhere in England, with no gift from the husband—indeed, sometimes in spite of his wishes” (email message to author, April 27, 2003). Much of Loengard’s work on the subject of paraphernalia rights has been presented in conference paper form: “(Some of) the Clothes on Her Back: Widows, Personal Property, and Paraphernalia in Late Medieval England” (36th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, 2001); “Wills, Wives, and Chattels: Husbands’ Attitudes to Household Property in Late-Medieval England” (Medieval Academy of America, Minneapolis, MN, 2003). A related essay is her “Plate, Good Stuff, & Household Things: Husbands, Wives & Chattels in England at the End of the Middle Ages,” in “Tant d’Empries—So Many Undertakings: Essays in Honour of Anne F. Sutton,” ed. Livia Visser-Fuchs, special issue, *The Ricardian* 13 (2003): 334–38. See also Maryanne Kowaleski’s discussion of the difference between *common law*, under which women were “mere adjuncts” of their husbands, and *commercial law* (or law merchant), under which a woman could be considered “femme sole” if she traded separately from her husband, and under which men were not necessarily responsible for their wives’ trading debts. Kowaleski, “Women’s Work in a Market Town: Exeter in the Late Fourteenth Century,” in *Women and Work in Pre-Industrial

55. See, for example, “A Statute Concerning Diet and Apparel,” 37 Edwardi III (1363), SR 1:380–81. On Italian Renaissance legislations of gold clothing and other luxuries, see Hughes, “Sumptuary Law and Social Relations in Renaissance Italy,” in Disputes and Settlements: Law and Human Relations in the West, edited by John Bossy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69–100; and the aforementioned studies by Stuard and Frick.


57. Goldsmiths were legislated in the 1363 English sumptuary law, in which they were legally required to have surveyors make an “Assay” of their “Allay” (SR 1:380).

58. Crane, 36.

59. Wife of Bath’s Prologue, lines 253–56, 265–70; and Roman de la Rose, lines 8587–92, 8597–600.

60. In a related scene in the Merchant’s Tale, May’s predicament provokes the goddess Proserpine to bestow on all women the gift of cunning doubleness of “visage” (CT 4.2272–75).

61. On the various types of expenditure that this word expressed in this period, see MED, s.v. “dispence.”

62. See de Certeau, xii–xx, 39–42, esp. 40–41. The Clerk’s sarcastic reference to women’s sumptuary “work” also invites correlation with a key aspect of what Thorstein Veblen termed “vicarious consumption,” that is, the process in which women’s association with consumption as a type of “work” coincides with their ultimate exclusion from economically productive, “public” work. See Thorstein Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class (New York: Viking Press, 1967 [1899]), 81. Such a reading has obvious ramifications in this period, in which women’s increased positions in post-plague market production heightened anxiety about socioeconomic gender roles, and moreover, which directly preceded women’s relative exclusion from the workforce in the early modern period. See Martha C. Howell, Women, Production, and Patriarchy in Late Medieval Cities (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1986), esp. 182–83.

63. A corresponding focus on marital dispence exists in the Shipman’s Tale, which critical tradition surmises probably originated as a tale for the Wife. This tale’s exploration of the themes of marital, sexual, and financial spending, exchanging, and debt echoes the Wife’s own; indeed, as in the Wife’s Prologue, in this tale marital dispence, though technically the responsibility of husbands, is ultimately controlled through manipulation by wives. See esp. lines 1–19.

64. “(Je suy) comme une chicheface, Maigre par dessoubs ma peaucelle” [“I am like a Chicheface, thin beneath my skin”]. Jehan le Fèvre, Les Lamentations de Matheolus et Le Livre de Leesce de Jehan le Fèvre, ed. A. G. Van Hamel (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1892), 3,3320–21, mistakenly numbered as line 3220 in the edition of text and subsequent citations.


66. MED, s.v. “chinche.” On the names of these beasts, see Eleanor Prescott Hammond, English Verse between Chaucer and Surrey (Durham, NC: Duke University Press,
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67. MED, s.v. “chinchehede.”


70. “Distreyne thy lust” replaces “Hold the heye wey” in the manuscript British Library, MS Cotton Otho A.XVIII. See Benson, gen. ed., Riverside Chaucer, “Textual Notes,” 1189. On the possibility that the envoy of “Truth” is a later addition, see Benson, gen. ed., Riverside Chaucer, “Explanatory Notes,” 1084.

71. See also Boece IV.m.3, and II.pr.5.


73. On the new status of women in market production challenging “male preserves” and helping to form a new gender identity, see Howell, esp. 182–83.


75. Sponsler, Drama and Resistance, 17.

76. Pollock and Maitland, 430.

77. Boccaccio illuminates this process in his description of women’s postmarriage power grab: “Thinking they have climbed to a high station, though they know they were born to be servants, they at once take hope and whet their appetite for mastery; and while pretending to be meek, humble, and obedient, they beg from their wretched husbands the crowns, girdles, cloths of gold, ermines, the wealth of clothes, and the various other ornaments in which they are seen resplendent every day; the husband does not perceive that all these are weapons to combat his mastery and vanquish it. The women, no longer servants but suddenly equals . . . contrive with all their might to seize control.” Giovanni Boccaccio, Corbaccio, trans. Anthony K. Cassell (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 24. David Wallace describes this gendered consumer development in similar terms (Chaucerian Polity, 19).

78. See, for example, Benson’s gloss on this word, which identifies both meanings, in Benson, gen. ed., Riverside Chaucer, 153.
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79. See the *Merchant’s Tale*, lines 2057–62, especially: “A scorioun; that makith fair semelaunt with the face, and prickith with the tail; so a wicked womman drawith by flateryngis, and prickith til to deth” (*CT*4.2062). See also gloss from Ecclesiasticus 26:10 in the Wycliffe Bible, quoted in Whiting and Whiting, *Proverbs*, S96. See also Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, “Explanatory Notes,” 972.

80. On the sumptuary discourses regarding the devil’s army, see Owst, 393. Men, moreover, were taught to defend themselves from this vestimentary attack: St. Bernadino of Siena, for example, advises that a husband should counter his spouse’s sumptuary excesses by “beating a wife ‘with feet and fists.’” Discussed in Angela M. Lucas, *Women in the Middle Ages: Religion, Marriage and Letters* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1983), 127.


82. Newton, 8.


84. Newton, 10.

85. While the Host wishes aloud that his wife could have heard the tale (*CT*4.1212b–d), the Merchant aligns his own “wepyng and waylyng” (*CT*4.1213) with those husbands of the *Envoy* beaten down by their profligate arch wives; his own wife would “overmacche” the devil, he says, with her “passyng crueltee” and her “cursed-nesse” (*CT*4.1220, 1225, 1239). On Chaucer’s likely canceling of the Host’s stanza, see Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, “Explanatory Notes,” 884.


88. It is possible that Lydgate also meant his use of rhyme royal for this fabliaulike fable to enhance the sacred–secular tension; Chaucer uses the form for works of *sentence* only.

89. In his *Troy Book*, more generally, Lydgate briefly mentions “Bycornys” along with satyrs as one of the “Diuerse goddis of þe wodis grene” (2.7702, 7700). Bicorn’s link with the satyr, a hybrid man-beast, further suggests that the beasts in *Bycorne and Chychevache* should be seen as representative of humans and their “beastly” behavior.


91. Ezekiel 34:25 also mentions “beasts” that feed on the Lord’s flock: “And I will make a covenant of peace with them, and will cause the evil beasts to cease out of the land.”


95. Lydgate often uses the term *gossamer*, a specific type of gauzy gold material popular for decoration in the Middle Ages, to contrast with simpler material. In his satirical poem “The Order of Fools,” for example, Lydgate twice compares gossamer to wool, in *The Minor Poems*, 2:449–55; lines 63–64, 137–38.

96. Owst, 393–96.


### Chapter Five


3. *MED*, s.v. “galaunt” (n.).


5. The medieval galaunt has not garnered a great deal of critical interest in its own context. For example, while Davenport begins his survey article with a survey of medi-
eval examples, his purpose is to read these texts with an eye toward the gallant of early modern drama. Scase’s article has offered a valuable treatment of one medieval galaunt poem, the same anonymous poem from which I take my first epigraph. Richard Firth Green’s important partial reading of the poem “On the Times” that I discuss below concentrates on the historical circumstances of the poem and only briefly touches upon the figure of the galaunt. Neither the fourteenth-century “On the Times” nor the most representative medieval galaunt poem, the fifteenth-century Treatise of a Galaunt, both of which I discuss in depth below, has yet to receive sustained critical analysis.

6. These features are picked up and reworked in the early modern period. See, for example, Bailey’s discussion of the “rioting gallant” and the “brave” gallant (62). Part of Bailey’s argument considers the way in which gallants and other figures of early modern style “transform marginality into insurgency” (136). The medieval galaunt’s origins in rebel figures seem to suggest that the opposite is true in this period.

7. In claiming this as an English phenomenon I do not mean to suggest that the word or concept of the “galaunt” does not exist in other cultures. Most particularly, the word is taken from the French term galant and was used in medieval French culture to describe men of pleasure and fashion. The distinction upon which I rest my discussion is that the English use of the word implies an aesthetic that is always already borrowed; vestimentary imitation becomes a central element in English notions of the galaunt and makes up an important part of the trope of English varies vestium as an aspect of English cultural history and English poetics. Dictionnaire de l’ancien français. Le Moyen Âge, ed. Algirdas Julien Greimas (Paris: Larousse, 1979; repr. Larousse Bordas, 1997), s.v. “galer.”

8. “Dandyism appears above all in periods of transition, when democracy is not yet all-powerful, and aristocracy is only just beginning to totter and fall. In the disorder of these times, certain men who are socially, politically and financially ill at ease, but are all rich in native energy, may conceive the idea of establishing a new kind of aristocracy, all the more difficult to shatter as it will be based on the most precious, the most enduring faculties, and on the divine gifts which work and money are unable to bestow. Dandyism is the last spark of heroism amid decadence.” Charles Baudelaire, The Painter of Modern Life and Other Essays, trans. Jonathan Mayne (London: Phaidon, 1995), 28–29. See also Lynette C. Black, “Baudelaire as Dandy: Artifice and the Search for Beauty,” Nineteenth-Century French Studies 17, no. 1 (Fall 1988): 186–95; and Michel Lemaire, Le Dandysme de Baudelaire à Mallarmé (Montreal, Quebec: University of Montreal Press, 1978).


11. Dictionnaire de l’ancien français, s.v. “galer.”

The instructions appear alongside Shirley's decorated motto and signature declaring ownership of the book and right before his verse prologue enumerating its contents, which begin, significantly, with a copy of Chaucer's Boece glossed with so many personalized annotations that one critic has suggested that Shirley used the Boece as "largely a book of moral precepts for his own life." Tim William Machan, "Glosses in the Manuscripts of Chaucer's Boece," in Minnis, The Medieval Boethius, 125–38, at 133. On Shirley's "predilection for elaborate inscription," see Connolly, especially 16, 102–7; quotation 16.


14. Newton, esp. 1–13, 54–55, 108–9. The doublet is identified as the start of modern fashion and the precursor to the modern suit in Hollander, 14–49, esp. 42–45. The phrasing "doublet of defense" or "jack of defense" was also used to describe a specific kind of jacket made from plates of armor covered in cloth or leather. MED, s.v. "jakke," n.2.1b. OED, s.v. "doublet," 1c.

15. Newton, 55; Crane, 13–14.

16. Newton, 55; Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 7, Decline of Empire and Papacy, ed. J. B. Bury (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932), 354. Froissart suggests an alternate etymology; see Newton, 119n29. The difference among the social states was usually preserved by the value of the materials, including the stuffing. Newton, 35, 55, 62; MED, s.v. "jakke," n.2. 1a–c; OED, s.v. "jack," n.2.1a–b. As both the OED and the MED definitions make clear, the jack was also occasionally worn by women. For the stylistic distinction between English jack and French jacque, see Piponnier and Mane, 166. There is some suggestion that the later expressions "Jack-a-dandy" and "Jack puffe" to describe galaunt figures may have been used in late-medieval England as well. In Chaucer's Miller's Tale Alisoun refers to the fashion-victim Absolon as "Jakke fool" (CT 1.3708), a phrase that might be seen as a precursor to later terms such as "Jack-a-dandy" and "Jack Puff" used for gallant figures in the seventeenth century. These expressions do not distinguish whether they use "jack" exclusively as a generic name or because of the dandy's short jacket; both have the same etymological relationship to the French commoner. OED, s.v. "jack" n.2 etym.; "Jack-a-dandy": also The Birth, Life, Death, Wil, and Epitaph, of Jack Puffe Gentleman (1642), discussed by William Carew Hazlitt, Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England. 4 vols. (London: J. R. Smith, 1866), 4:317. Hazlitt sees this poem as a continuation of the galaunt tradition (4:311).

17. "On the Times" survives in three mid-fifteenth-century manuscripts, Latin miscellanies in which the poem is the only, or one of the only, poems in English: London, British Library, MS Harley 536, fols. 34–35v (A-Text); London, British Library, MS Harley 971, fols. 21v–23v (B-Text); and Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516, fols. 108–10 (C-Text). Citations of the text are from Dean, Medieval English Political Writings, 140–46 (B-Text). Earlier editions are found in Wright, Political Poems and Songs, 1:270–78 (C-Text); and in The World of Piers Plowman, ed. Jeanne Krochalis and Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1975), 87–95 (A-Text). About the poet nothing is known, although it has been suggested that he is also the author of a similar poem about the poll tax of 1380–81 and the subsequent uprising titled "Tax has tenet [harmed] us all" (Dean, 125). On the dating of the poem, see Richard Firth Green, "A Poem of 1380," Speculum 66, no. 2 (April 1991): 330–41. My reading of this poem owes a significant debt to Richard Firth Green's earlier study.

19. A similar expression can be found in the *Prologue* of William Langland’s *Piers Plowman* [B-Text], lines 141–42.


24. *MED*, s.v. “jakke” n.2b. Green sees this line as referring to Philipot more specifically; see “A Poem of 1380,” 334.


26. Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, 1:457. On the possibility that ex-members of Woodstock’s army were involved in these events, see Green, “A Poem of 1380,” 340.

27. This image of the ornamented galaunts wandering destructively through the countryside seems to coincide with the grievances voiced by an unsuccessful Commons initiative in the Salisbury parliament of 1384 discussed by Strohm. In Strohm’s words, this initiative complained that “locally powerfully persons, supported by the signs or ornaments of lords, ‘per dominos regni signis quasi ornamentis diversis,’ sought to oppress poor persons in the countryside.” *Hochon’s Arrow*, 59–60.


30. Olson, 235–75. Texts such as the Old French *Les Echecs amoureux* (1400) describe medieval followers of this philosophy as believing that “all delights are good and praiseworthy and that one should pursue them as much as one can, without qualification . . . [because] nature has given a natural desire, called the concupiscible appetite by philosophers, to desire and pursue the delectable things that we see with delight when we can.” *The Chess of Love*, ed. and trans. Joan Morton Jones, 5 vols. (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1968), 4:814–17, 5:927.


32. In the subsequent lines of the poem Boethius outlines the (Fortune-like) cyclical nature of the Platonic soul, which, as I discuss in chapter 1, must fall to earth and the material realm before it can turn back to God and rise again to his realm (III.m.9:13–28).

33. According to Scarry, beauty “brings copies of itself into being,” prompting a process that sometimes falls into an “imperfect version” of this impulse, such as cheap imitations and material covetousness. Elaine Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999), esp. 3–11; quotations 3, 5, 10.

34. In “On the Times” the complaint that galaunts strut and saunter about (“incedunt ridiculose,” above), which becomes so prevalent in later poems, uses wording
similar to Pseudo-Boethius’s *De disciplina scholiarum* that I discuss in chapter 2, which describes the haughty semicircular gait (”semicirculariter incedere gaudet”) of the fashion victim poised to suffer misfortune. *De disciplina scholiarum*, PL 64:1233D–38D; quotation 1228B.


37. The Brut, or the Chronicles of England, vol. 1, 249; also Robbins, *Historical Poems*, 38. This verse is discussed in Scattergood, 271; Owst, 407n3; and Scase, 276–78.

38. Scase, 276–78. The lines also appear as part of the lyric “The Prophecy of Merlin,” in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 516, fol. 115r, printed in Dean, ed., *Medieval English Political Writings*, 9. Dean’s introduction “Poems of Political Prophecy” offers a helpful discussion of the relationship between complaint lyric and prophetic political poems (1–8).

39. Dean, 146.


41. As I discuss further below (n62), this excerpt of the sermon was copied by an early-sixteenth-century reader into the final page of Caxton’s 1478 edition of Chaucer’s *Boece*, located in the Pierpont Morgan Library. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, Incunabula ChL1766a, fol. 94v. Julia Boffey discusses this excerpt and quotes a slightly different version in “The Treatise of a Galaunt in Manuscript and Print,” *The Library* 15, no. 3 (September 1993): 175–86, at 175. On the inclusion of this excerpt as well as eight lines of Middle English verse on love in the Pierpont Morgan Library manuscript, see C. F. Buhler, “Libri Impresi cum Notis Manuscriptis, I,” *Modern Language Notes* 53 (1938): 245–49.

42. Contemporary rumors about Cade having military experience, possibly as a captain in the war with France, have been upheld by modern historians. See Bohna, 563–82; Harvey, 78–79.

43. Henry Noble MacCracken dismisses Lydgate’s authorship of this poem, in part because of its style and in part because “Lydgate, who delighted in fine array and rich patrons,” would, he claims, not have written a tirade against contemporary fashions. He categorizes the *Treatise* as a spurious poem, a finding not yet challenged by later critics. See MacCracken, *The Minor Poems*, 1:xxxii–xxxiii.

44. The poem exists in three manuscripts: Rome, English College, MS A.347, fols. 78–81; the manuscript formerly known as Astor MS A.2, fols. 210–13, which is now in private hands; and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 247–48v (Boffey, 176–83). See also Frederick J. Furnivall’s introduction to the poem’s manuscript and early print history in “Wynkyn de Worde’s Treatise of this Galaunt,” in *Ballads from Manuscripts*, vol. 1 (London: Taylor and Co., 1868–72), 438–45.

45. Unless otherwise stipulated, quotations of this poem are from Furnivall’s edition of Rome, English College, MS A.347, fols. 78–81, one of the three late-fifteenth-century versions of the *Treatise* and the one that served as ostensible model for Wynkyn de Worde’s later printings. For a description of the manuscript context, see Boffey, esp. 176–83; and Ralph H. Klinefelter, “A Newly Discovered Fifteenth-Century English Manuscript,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 14 (1953): 3–6. The poem is also printed in Hazlitt, 3:149–64; and described, along with other extant galaunt poems, in Rossell
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46. Corresponding biblical passages that were popular with sermonizers in this period include Ecclesiastes 21:5: “The House that is very rich shall be brought to nothing by pride”; and Zephaniah 1:8: “And it shall come to pass in the day of the victim of the Lord, that I will visit upon the princes, and upon the king's sons, and upon all such as are clothed with strange apparel.” See Owst, 409.

47. D’Evelyn, ed., Idley's Instructions, 176. I also discuss this passage in more depth in the pages below.

48. This challenge to England’s national aesthetic speaks to a larger tension in the late-medieval period between personal and national appearance, or what Gilles Lipovetsky calls “national individualism” versus “aesthetic individualism” (32–33).


51. As explained by Boffey, these manuscripts are the former Astor MS A.2, now in private collection, and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.3.21, fols. 247–48v. My quotation of Astor MS lines 64–70 is taken from Robbins, “Poems Dealing with Contemporary Conditions,” 1469.

52. Boffey, 179–80; quotation 180.

53. Davenport also discusses this everyman quality, esp. 114–16.

54. Although as Galloway has shown, thanks to Higden, acrostics became fashionable among some English chroniclers and vernacular poets as well (49). Galloway also describes the similar way in which Higden betrays in his Polychronicon the very varietas he shuns (72).

55. OED, s.v. “gallant,” 1b.

56. This theme gets picked up in the dramas. In the stage directions from Wisdom (1460), for example, the galaunt’s connection to Lucifer is revealed, not by his taking off the galaunt’s costume and revealing Lucifer beneath, but by the very opposite: “entreth Lucyfer in a dewylls aray wythowt and wythin as a prowde galonte.” Wisdom, ed. Mark Eccles, The Macro Plays, EETS 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 125.


58. Mary Magdalene, from the Digby manuscript, line 492; David Bevington, Medieval Drama (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975), 687–753, quotation 708.

59. “The gallants, in short, here become the anticlerical satirists” (277). Scase also notes the importance of song to the galaunt’s representation (277–78).

60. Boffey, 176–83; quotation 180. Scase, 276–78.

61. Sponsler, Drama and Resistance, 9.

62. For clarity of meaning I have capitalized the F in the word “Fortune” in this passage. Remembering that the excerpt from Bishop Alcock’s sermon on this poem was written at the end of a copy of Caxton’s 1478 printing of the Boece (Pierpont Morgan Library’s Incunabula ChL1766a) reveals another level of connection between the galaunts of the Treatise and the trope of Fortune. If we look at the excerpt’s immediate surroundings in the Incunabula ChL1766a, we are reminded that the very end of the Boece addresses an aspect of free will that is particularly evocative in relation to the galaunt: how personal changes can exist in a world dictated by God. For instance, after
an extended conversation in the *Boece* about whether the protagonist has the power “to chaunge [his] purpos” (242), and about how God receives those changes when they occur (“schal nat the devyne science ben chaunged by my disposicioun whan that I wol o thing now and now anothir?”) asks the protagonist (256–59)). Philosophie concludes that an unchanging God sees and comprehends all human changes: God “embraseth at o strook alle thi mutaciouns” (273). Directly after Chaucer’s *Boece* (and before Alcock’s excerpt) in this book appears Caxton’s famous epilogue in which he connects Boethius’s theme of changeability—the “mutabilite of this transitorie lyfe” (94) and the “transitory & mutable worlde” (94v)—to the immortality of the English language and to the very real mortality of the English poet. While Chaucer’s language will live forever—“the sayd langage ornate & fayr . . . shal endure perpe/tuelly” (93v)—Caxton reminds us with vivid detail that Chaucer’s corpse is buried in a sepulcher in Westminster.

63. I borrow the term “verbal swagger” from Martin Stevens and A. C. Cawley, who use it to describe the poetic form of the fashionable torturers in the Towneley *Play of the Dice*, who are explicitly associated with Fortune. *The Towneley Plays*, vol. 1, ed. Martin Stevens and A. C. Cawley, EETS, s.s., 13–14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 309–22; lines 396–416; also vol. 2, quotation 584n, 590n.

64. The galaunt’s characteristic utterance, “hof” or “huff,” epitomized by this chapter’s second epigraph, also corresponds to Fortune’s own pridelful “huffing” in other poems, such as the *The Kingis Quair*: “Fortune the goddesse, hufing on the ground,” in *The Kingis Quair and Other Prison Poems*, ed. Linne R. Mooney and Mary-Jo Arn (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2005), line 1110. On the link of this utterance to medieval falconry, see Davenport, 114.

65. D’evelyn, ed., *Idley’s Instructions*, II.176–89. For ease of reading, I have removed D’evelyn’s editorial italics from this passage. While Idley’s choice of subjects in this text is determined by his sources—Robert Mannynge of Brunne’s early-fourteenth-century *Handlyng Synne*, and John Lydgate’s contemporary *Fall of Princes*—he elaborates freely and often, and none of the passages I have quoted are taken directly from either source or author. Idley’s tale of the knight and clerk, based on Mannynge’s tale, differs greatly in language. Mannynge’s text does not use the words “galaunt,” “fantasie,” “Fortune,” or “shappis,” although his point is to discuss the vices of “nouelry” (3344, 3353) and “he newë gyse” (3212). *Robert of Brunne’s Handling Synne*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, EETS o.s. 119, 123 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1901; repr. 2002). In her introduction, D’evelyn points out that clothing is one of Idley’s favorite subjects upon which to elaborate (44, 52).

66. The rest of the story relates how all the knight’s possessions—including “[e]very garment, bothe gowne and hoode” (D’evelyn, ed., *Idley’s Instructions*, II.213)—are divided up among the poor after his death; all except for the “gay cote” (II.215), which no one will accept. Eventually a pridelful clerk begs to take the cloak, only to be consumed in a “sodeyn wildefeire” (II.227) as soon as he dons the “acursed” garment (II.231).


69. J. Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), 54. Huizinga rephrases the ideas of anthropologist Leo Frobenius here. In Frobenius’s words, the mental process of play takes the following course: “The reality of the natural rhythm of genesis and extinction has seized hold of [human] consciousness, and this, inevitably and by reflex action, leads him to represent his emotion
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in an act” (quoted in Homo Ludens, 16). See also Brian Sutton-Smith, The Ambiguity of Play (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), esp. 52–73; and my discussion of Gerda Reith’s work below.

70. Huizinga, 17.
71. Huizinga, 142.
73. Robbins, Historical Poems, 139, lines 33–36.
74. Although as Rhiannon Purdie argues, the dicer is usually associated with cursing about Christ, here the curse clearly seems to be a reference to Christ’s curse itself. See Purdie, “Dice-Games and the Blasphemy of Prediction,” in Medieval Futures: Attitudes to the Future in the Middle Ages, ed. J. A. Burrow and Ian P. Wei (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2000), 167–84.
75. Purdie, 168.
76. Reith, 47, 77; Kavanagh, 44–45; Purdie, 170–71.
77. Kavanagh, 45–46.
78. These interactive poems, the most well-known of which are the unnamed fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poem edited by W. L. Braekman, and the fifteenth-century Chaunse of the Dyse, edited by Eleanor Hammond, direct the reader to throw three dice and then to locate his or her “fortune” in the corresponding verses. These poems outline and illustrate fifty-six potential throws of three dice, assigning for each throw a directive or prediction (as in Braekman’s edited poem) or a prognostic character analysis, often based in Chaucerian literary characters (as in the Chaunse of the Dyse). See Eleanor Hammond, “The Chance of the Dice,” Englische Studien 59 (1925): 1–16; W. L. Braekman, “Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice: A Middle English Poem and Its Background,” Studia Neophilologica 52 (1980): 3–29. These poems are discussed in Purdie, 167–84; and in Mitchell, Ethics and Eventfulness, 47–68.
79. Kavanagh, 39.
80. Reith, 183.
81. Reith, 12.
82. The narrator of the fifteenth-century Tale of Beryn uses similar phrasing: “Berinus . . . lovid wele the dice, And for to pley at hazard . . . And al othir gamys þat losery was in.” The Tale of Beryn: With a Prologue of the Merry Adventure of the Pardoner with a Tapster at Canterbury, ed. F. J. Furnivall and W. B. Stone. EETS, e.s. 105 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1909), 925; italics mine.
83. Wace’s Roman de Brut: A History of the British, ed. Judith Weiss (Exeter, UK: University of Exeter Press, 1999), lines 10587–88; pages 266–67. The dicing scene that includes these lines is quite extended and references the loss of clothes at other moments as well. For example, the following description of dicing casts: “Sis, cinc, quatre, trei, doux e as / Unþ a plursus toleit lur dras” [Six, five, four, three, two, and ace—these stripped many of their clothes (lines 10577–78; pages 266–67)].
84. Furnivall and Stone, eds., The Tale of Beryn, 928. As Jenny Adams discusses, Beryn’s dicing-related nakedness is a recurring theme in this tale, one which marks through the metaphor of exposure Beryn’s gullibility in matters of commerce and his
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85. *Si Quis Deciorum*, lines 97–98, in Whicher, 268–69. For other examples, see *In taberna quando sumus*, lines 9–16 (Whicher, 226–27); *Cum in Orbem Universum*, lines 89–96, 97–104 (Whicher, 276–77).

86. *Si Quis Deciorum*, lines 47; Whicher, 266–67.

87. Lines 22–24; Whicher, 262–63. Translation modified for sense.

88. Lydgate uses the dicing metaphor again a few lines later: “In this mater lat ws not tarye; / Alle stont on chaunge, who list to see, / Every thynge here dothe chaunge and varye, / Nowe fethy, nowe mutabylyte; / Nowe vpon tweyne, nowe vpon thre” (*The Minor Poems*, 2:809–13, lines 121–25).

89. This is part of Relihan’s argument in *The Prisoner’s Philosophy*.

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