

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: SETTINGS OF CHANSON TEXTS FOUND IN
JACQUES GOHORY'S *L'ONZIEME LIVRE*
D'AMADIS DE GAULE OF 1554

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When Jacques Gohory translated the Eleventh Book of the Spanish *romance* *Amadis de Gaula* – one of Feliciano de Silva's sixteenth-century additions to the original medieval text – into French, he used a method of free translation, by which he altered the text to suit the tastes of the French court and to flatter the book's dedicatee, Diane de Poitiers. Gohory adapted the Spanish book's two existing chanson texts to suit French tastes and also added six song texts to the work. His text is the earliest source of the chanson, "O combien est heureux," which was set by Guillaume Costeley. His adaptation of one of the Spanish chansons, "Comme l'argentine face," was set by Jacques Arcadelt. In this study, Gohory is identified as the author of these song texts, which had been considered anonymous until now.

SETTINGS OF CHANSON TEXTS FOUND IN JACQUES GOHORY'S
L'ONZIEME LIVRE D'AMADIS DE GAULE OF 1554

by

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Amadis de Gaula, a medieval Spanish *romance*, is thought to have been first brought to France by François I, and it quickly became widely read in the French court.¹ Interest in the *romance* reached its peak during the reign of François's son, Henri II (r. 1547-1559). For Henri and his lover, Diane de Poitiers, the story held a special significance. They believed the chivalrous relationships between *Amadis's* heroes and heroines reflected their own affair and legitimized their extramarital union.

The main translator of *Amadis* for Henri and Diane was Jacques Gohory.² Gohory used a free method of translation that allowed him to alter the text to suit the tastes of the French court and to insert song texts into the work. In 1554, he published *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*,³ which contained eight song texts: one was a poem attributed to Claude Chappuys, two were adaptations of chansons included in Feliciano de Silva's original Spanish text, and the rest are presumed by Willis Herbert Bowen to be original works by Gohory.⁴ It is not clear where Bowen got the information to substantiate his assumption, but I am inclined to agree with him. While there is a possibility that some or all of these texts were the work of Gohory's

¹ Chapter 2 discusses these events in more detail.

² Gohory was following in the footsteps of François I's translator, Nicolas d'Herberay des Essarts. This is discussed in detail in the following chapter and Chapter 4.

³ Gohory, Jacques. *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*. Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1554. Accessed April 8, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8600065w.r=L%27onzième+livre+d%27Amadis+de+Gaule.langEN>.

⁴ Willis Herbert Bowen, "Jazques Gohory (1520-1576)," (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1935), 233, 528.

contemporaries, I believe that the assumption Gohory was their author is a safe one because he clearly stated that the one text we know he borrowed was not his own and because Gohory's translations are the only known source of these poems. To avoid confusion throughout this paper, I will refer to Gohory as the poems' author, but the reader should keep in mind that this statement is an assumption and not a fact. Two of the songs were set by composers: "O combien est heureux" (one of Gohory's original poems) by Guillaume Costeley, and "Comme l'argentine face" (an adaptation, presumably by Gohory, of a poem by de Silva) by Jacques Arcadelt.

Literature Review

Jacques Gohory was honored by his peers as one of the best translators of his day, but he has not been given much attention by literary scholars. To my knowledge the only biography of Gohory written after the turn of the twentieth century occurs in Willis Herbert Bowen's doctoral dissertation, "Jazques Gohory (1520-1576)."⁵ Bowen cites works by nineteenth-century writers La Croix du Maine, Du Verdier, Moréri, Benjamin Fillon, Larousse, J. -B. l'Hermite de Souliers, and E. M. Oettinger that mention Gohory as part of a broader subject, together with one work that focuses on Gohory, Ernest-T. Hamy's "Un Précurseur de Guy de la Brosse: Jacques Gohory et le Lycium [*sic*] philosophal de Saint-Marceau-lès-Paris (1571-1576)."⁶ Bowen consults these works, but his dissertation often corrects mistakes that he has found in

⁵ Bowen. Richard S. Westfall has written a one-page biography of Gohory for Project Galileo that can be accessed at galileo.rice.edu/Catalog/NewFiles/gohory.html. His entry is largely a summary of Bowen's work, which he calls "far and away the leading source on Gohory."

⁶ Bowen, 2. Bowen refers to the group as the Lycium Philosophal de Sanmarcellin. Since Westfall also refers to the group as Lycium Philosophal de Sanmarcellin (although he spells it San Marcellin), I believe this title and not Lycium philosophal de Saint-Marceau-lès-Paris to be the correct one.

them in the course of consulting primary sources, rather than merely citing previous scholars' work as a reliable source of information. It should be noted that since Bowen's dissertation was written in 1934, it is not up to modern standards of scholarship and often does not give exact sources for assertions made by the author. Nevertheless, the fact that modern works mentioning Gohory, such as Robert Knecht's *The French Renaissance Court 1483-1589*,⁷ cite Bowen's biography, rather than scholarship written by his predecessors, "Jazques Gohory (1520-1576)" should be considered the definitive work on Gohory and will be the primary source of information on Gohory consulted for this thesis.⁸

The only literature that focuses solely on Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* is Jeanice Brooks's article "Music as Erotic Magic in a Renaissance Romance,"⁹ which studies Gohory's use of music as a way to insert his occult philosophy into the work. Brooks discusses the way Gohory used song texts to convey his philosophy, but she makes no attempt to discover any settings of the poems. Most literature on *Amadis* focuses on either the Spanish version of the *romance* or Nicolas Herberay des Essarts's translations of the first nine books. Anthony Mottola's "The Amadis de Gaula in Spain and in France"¹⁰ examines des

⁷ Robert J. Knecht, *The French Renaissance Court 1483-1589*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008.

⁸ It should be taken into account that Bowen followed early twentieth-century standards of scholarship.

⁹ Jeanice Brooks, "Music as Erotic Magic in a Renaissance Romance," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60/4 (Winter 2007), 1207-1256.

¹⁰ Anthony C. Mottola, "The Amadis de Gaula in Spain and in France," (Ph.D. diss., Fordham University, NY), 1962.

Essarts's translation and how the story was adapted from the original Spanish version to suit French tastes. In her *The Theory of Translation in the Sixteenth Century: Analyzing Nicholas Herberay des Essarts' Amadis de Gaule*,¹¹ Paula Luteran likewise discusses des Essarts's translation, but she does so through the lens of literary theory.

Objectives of this Thesis and its Value

The objective of this thesis is to fill in the gaps of knowledge that are not addressed by the literature discussed above. These topics include Gohory's use of free translation in his renditions of *Amadis*, the motivations behind his song insertions and alterations to the text, detailed analysis and contextualization of his song texts, and settings of his song texts by sixteenth-century composers. The investigation of Gohory's song insertions has led to my identification of him as the author of the text for Guillaume Costeley's "O combien est heureux" and Jacques Arcadelt's "Comme l'argentine face." I was able to make these identifications by looking at the Bibliothèque Nationale's online copy of *L'Onzième Livre* and copying the first lines of all the poems included in the text. The fact that Gohory's translation was published by Le Roy and Balled led me to examine François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault's *Bibliographie des Éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598*¹² for

¹¹ Paula Luteran, *The Theory of Translation in the Sixteenth Century: Analyzing Nicholas Herberay des Essarts' Amadis de Gaule*. Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005.

¹² François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault. *Bibliographie des Éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598*. Paris: Heugel, 1955. I am grateful to Richard Wexler for looking up chanson incipits in his personal copy of Lawrence Bernstein's "An Index to the Secular French

chanson incipits that were identical to the first lines of Gohory's poems.¹³ The success of this method of using a source text instead of chansons as a starting point in attributing texts suggests that further investigation into poetic insertions in sixteenth-century literature by using the method I followed and by searching through physical copies of chanson books that I was unable to access could be a way to identify authorship for many more anonymous chanson texts.

Chansons Published by A. Antico [et al.],” (unpublished). Unfortunately, Bernstein's index did not yield any results which were not included in Lesure and Thibault's catalog.

¹³ I was unable to access many primary sources to search for chanson incipits at this point in my research and allow for the possibility that some may contain setting of Gohory's poems of which I am unaware.

Chapter 2: *Amadis de Gaule* comes to France

Amadis de Gaula, or *Amadis de Gaule* in French,¹⁴ is a late medieval Spanish *romance* in the style of legends, such as King Arthur and Tristan and Isolde. The original books of the story, the first three, recount the adventures of Amadis de Gaule and his love for Oriana. In the manner of a true knight, Amadis faces trials to win the affection of the woman he loves, conducts himself according to the code of chivalry, and fights to preserve his honor. John O'Connor states, "Amadis is the model of the perfect knight, the mirror of courage and courtesy, the pattern of loyal vassals and of pure and constant lovers, the shield of refuge of the weak and needy, the strong arm set to the service of moral order and justice."¹⁵

The earliest mention of the Amadis legend comes from the monk Johan Garcia de Castroxeriz's 1350 translation of Egidio Colonna's *De Regimine Principum* in which he mentions a poet he calls 'Enico' and the poet's knowledge of the story.¹⁶ The earliest extant record of the story is the 1508 edition of Garcia Ordonez de Montalvo's version of the first three books,¹⁷ but the first edition of Montalvo's reworking may have been printed as early as 1496.¹⁸ Scholars assume that his books

¹⁴ To avoid confusion, I will refer to the cycle as simply *Amadis*.

¹⁵ John O'Conner, *Amadis de Gaule and Its Influence on Elizabethan Literature*, New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1970, 9.

¹⁶ Grace Sara Williams, "The Amadis Question," (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1907), 1.

¹⁷ Williams, 7.

¹⁸ Mottola, 1. According to Mottola, Maximilian Pfeiffer claimed in his bibliography of *Amadisstudien* (Mainz, 1995) that M. Ungut and Stanislaw Polonio referred to an edition printed in Seville in 1496. Verification of this information is impossible since the Dresden library in which the manuscript, "Sammlungen über den Amadis," was found was destroyed in World War II.

were based on an earlier version of the tale, which has since been lost.¹⁹ Grace Sara Williams has suggested that the original tale of Amadis could have been an adaptation of Gallic and Celtic tales, such as the legends of King Arthur and Tristan.²⁰ This theory is upheld by Amadis's title "de Gaula" or "de Gaule," which led members of the sixteenth-century French court to believe that the hero was of French origin. This assumption led to easy acceptance of the *romance* into the French literary canon.²¹

Montalvo augmented the story by adding a fourth book, which told of further deeds by Amadis, and a fifth book, which recounted the adventures of Amadis's son Espaldian, *Las Sergas de Espaldian*. Interest in the stories grew to such an extent that other authors contributed their own extensions to the tale. In 1510 the sixth book, written by Paez de Ribera, telling the story of Florisando, Amadis's nephew, was published. Feliciano de Silva extended the series by five books: the seventh book (1514) relating the story of Lisaurte de Gercia, the eighth book (1530) about Amadis de Grecia, the ninth book (1532) recounting the story of Florisel de Niquea, and the tenth and eleventh books both giving accounts of the adventures of Rogel de Grecia. The twelfth book, written by Pedro de Lujan and published in 1546, is about Silves de la Selva and is the last book in the Spanish *Amadis*. When interest in *Amadis* became widespread in France, French authors extended the cycle until the series consisted of a total of twenty-four books.²²

¹⁹ Bowen, 208-209.

²⁰ Mottola, 78. Williams, 35.

²¹ O'Connor, 10.

²² The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 209-211, 215.

The *Amadis* cycle is believed to have been first brought to France by François I. François may have first been exposed to and become interested in the *Amadis* stories during his captivity in Spain. (He was held hostage in Spain by Holy Roman Emperor Charles V for approximately one year following his failed attempt to capture the Northern Italian city of Pavia in 1525).²³ During his captivity, François fell ill and his sister, Marguerite d'Angoulême, visited him to tend his sickbed and to aid in negotiations for his release.²⁴ Marguerite read to her brother to alleviate his boredom, and *Amadis* was likely one of the tales he heard.²⁵ He was released after signing the Treaty of Madrid in 1526, but had to give over his two oldest sons, François and Henri, as hostages to guarantee his upholding of the terms of the agreement.²⁶ Upon returning to France, François I commissioned Herberay des Essarts to translate the series.²⁷ Des Essarts translated the first eight books of the *Amadis* cycle. Books one through seven were published at the pace of one book a year between 1540 and 1546, and book eight appeared in print in 1548. The sources of his translations were the first five, seventh, and ninth books of the Spanish *Amadis*. Gilles Boileau de Buillon²⁸

²³ Knecht, 12.

²⁴ Kathleen Wellman, *Queens and Mistresses of Renaissance France*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013, 154.

²⁵ Mottola, 112. Mottola's assertion that Marguerite read *Amadis* to François assumes that Marguerite could read Spanish and François could understand the language.

²⁶ Knecht, 13.

²⁷ Mottola, 112.

²⁸ I have written the translator's name as it is listed by Gallica Bibliothèque Numérique, the online database of Bibliothèque Nationale. Bowen gives his name as Gilles Boileay. Bowen, 213.

picked up where des Essarts left off in 1551. Thus, the sixth and eighth books of the Spanish cycle were never translated into French.²⁹

Amadis quickly became widely read at the French court, as is evidenced by the fifteen known editions of the first two books and thirteen known editions of the third and fourth books published before 1577.³⁰ Although the story of Amadis and his companions was around two centuries old by the time it traveled to France, its content was still relevant to François's court. Especially appealing were the tales of military campaigns and chivalrous romances, as well as the books' usefulness as a guide to correct conduct for courtiers.

The stories include many episodes in which Amadis and his descendants engage in knightly battles with human adversaries and fantastical creatures. In the sixteenth century, nobility was still closely associated with military prowess,³¹ but courtiers were less often able to prove their worth on the battlefield owing to more stable centralized monarchies in France and in surrounding nations that decreased the number of feuds between neighboring nobles. Chivalry was no longer the code of conduct for knights of the realm it once was, but had transitioned to being a leisure activity for kings and their courtiers.³² Courtiers spent less time campaigning and

²⁹ In Bowen's dissertation, he states that Herberay des Essarts translated the seventh and ninth books of the *Amadis* cycle and that the sixth and seventh books of the cycle were not put into French. I believe the latter statement is a typo and that Bowen intended to write that the sixth and eighth books were not put into French, meaning that the seventh book is translated into French. I have been able to find no other text that states which Spanish books were used for each book of the French adaptation. Bowen, 213.

³⁰ Mottola, 142.

³¹ Knecht, 49.

³² Mottola, 151.

filled the void with hunts, sports, and tournaments.³³ The war-centric episodes in the *Amadis* cycle were another way for men at court to indulge in their fantasies of battlefield glory without actually going to war, and it is likely that chivalrous *romances*, and not actual history, were the inspiration for courtly parades and tournaments.³⁴

The romance found in the Spanish and French versions of *Amadis* was a key factor in its appeal to women, but was also an element in the chivalry of the tale's knights. A knight's ability to fight well in battle was directly tied to his love for his lady and her virtues. O'Connor makes this link clear when he writes, "The best knights are the best fighters, and the best fighters are the most loyal lovers, the most devoted friends, and the best rulers."³⁵ Oriana and the other heroines in *Amadis* are the ideal of womanly perfection and morality; because they are such paragons, the men who love them strive to make themselves worthy of their devotion. It is their love that motivates them to be the most chivalrous knights they can be and that sustains them throughout life and its toils. As Mottola eloquently states,

Amadis strives to make himself worthy of the woman whom he considers the most perfect of all earthy creatures. It is his love for her and nothing else that sustains him throughout his life and in all his trials and adventures.³⁶

³³ Knecht, 81, 86-88.

³⁴ Mottola, 151.

³⁵ O'Connor, 25.

³⁶ Mottola, 88.

Mottola goes on to say that the love between the knight and his lady is not just a side note in *Amadis*, but that their fight to preserve that love against outside interference is the central theme of the cycle.³⁷

Translators altered the romantic episodes of the Spanish cycle to suit French tastes. The Spanish version of *Amadis* strove to adhere to the highly moralistic style of the Spanish court by glossing over encounters between pairs of lovers and justifying premarital interludes by having the couple pledge their eternal love to each other. Des Essarts, Gohory, and the other French translators expanded the romantic passages in the story and changed the characters of Amadis and Oriana (as well as later couples throughout the books) from the naive and timid lovers of the Spanish *romance* to experienced courtiers who revel in all aspects of their relationship, including the physical ones.³⁸ Such relationships were openly accepted at the French court, where kings often took mistresses and gave them public positions of honor, a tradition started by Charles VII in 1444 with Agnes Sorel.³⁹

The conduct of knights on the battlefield and in love, as well as that of their ladies, allowed *Amadis* to be used as a social primer on how courtiers should conduct themselves. Unlike the most influential courtesy book of the sixteenth century, Baldassare Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano*,⁴⁰ which was written as a dialogue, the *Amadis* books teach through example. Models for men were set forth in tales of good and bad rulers and chivalrous and dishonorable knights. Women of the court

³⁷ The proceeding information was taken from Mottola, 86, 88.

³⁸ The proceeding information was taken from Mottola, 71, 96, 130.

³⁹ Wellman, 10.

⁴⁰ Baldassare Castiglione, *Il libro del cortegiano*, Venice: Aldine Press, 1528.

were expected to follow the lead of Oriana and her fellow heroines. A lady's duty was to love her knight and be worthy of his devotion. She could prove her worthiness through physical beauty and morality. A woman was expected to protect her virtue at all cost and to be aloof, but never cold. As the *Amadis* cycle fell out of vogue in the last decades of the sixteenth century, its use as a book on manners kept it from completely disappearing. Some readers of the stories believed that their primary virtues were their didactic passages – beyond their use as entertainment – and Gohory himself stated that the erotic passages in the story were honey to help one swallow moral medicine.⁴¹

The popularity of *Amadis* in France reached its peak during the reign of Henri II. Like his father, Henri first heard the story of *Amadis* while he was being held captive in Spain. The stories struck a personal note with Henri since the story of the two princes, Amadis and Galaor, reflected his own situation. Amadis and Galaor were abandoned in a foreign land by their father, Périon, and taken prisoner by an evil sorcerer. Amadis, precocious even as a young boy, was able to escape from captivity. He later fell in love with the princess of Great Britian, Oriana,⁴² and became triumphant in love and on the battlefield.⁴³ The young Henri strived to be like his hero throughout his life, and this emulation may have begun during his years in Spain. A French spy checking on the living conditions of the two princes reported that Henri stood up to his captors by verbally abusing them and that men had to hold onto the

⁴¹ The proceeding information was taken from O'Connor, 62, 63, 76, 79-80.

⁴² Oriana became a pseudonym for Queen Elizabeth I of England. O'Connor, 18-19.

⁴³ Ivan Cloulas, *Diane de Poitiers*, Paris: Fayard, 1997, 77-78.

reins of his donkey whenever he was let out to exercise, because he was constantly trying to escape.⁴⁴ It seems that Henri was as precocious as the young Amadis was said to be. It cannot be asserted with certainty that Henri's rebellious actions were directly inspired by the Amadis stories, but it is reasonable to suppose that stories of a young knight in a situation similar to his gave him courage to stand up to his captors.

Henri continued to emulate his hero in adulthood. He enjoyed and excelled at outdoor activities, such as running, wrestling, jousting, fencing, and hunting. The court referred to him by the nickname "Le Beau Ténébreux" (the dark handsome one), a pseudonym for Amadis, in recognition of his physical prowess.⁴⁵ Henri continued to prove his physical abilities as a knight on the battlefield when he trained under Anne de Montmorency and served in Provence during a campaign against the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁶ He grew to become the most martially experienced French monarch since Charles V (1338-1380).⁴⁷ Being accomplished in the military pursuits of knighthood, Henri only lacked a lady worthy of his devotion to be a chivalrous knight after the fashion of Amadis. Henri found his Oriana in Diane de Poitiers.

Henri and Diane's relationship began as a platonic one. The kingdom rejoiced when Henri and his brother returned to France in 1530 on account of the signing of the Treaty of Cambrai, or Paix des Dames, the previous year, but the boys had been affected by their time in captivity. François wanted his sons to readjust to court life

⁴⁴ Frederic J. Baumgartner, *Henri II: King of France 1547-1559*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988, 19.

⁴⁵ Princess Michael of Kent, *The Serpent and the Moon: Two Rivals for the Love of a Renaissance King*, New York: Simon and Schuster, 2004, 138.

⁴⁶ Baumgartner, 33.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 134.

quickly and appeared largely unsympathetic to their ordeal. Brantôme quotes him as saying, “The mark of a Frenchman was to always be gay and lively and he did not care for dreamy, sullen, sleepy children.”⁴⁸ Henri was more affected than his older brother, perhaps because he was in the midst of the developmental stage in which children learn social skills. He withdrew from contact with others, was quiet and melancholy, and, it was reported, no one ever saw him smile. The physical exercises he excelled in became a refuge from the pressures of his father’s court.⁴⁹ When Henri’s older brother, François, died, Henri became the dauphin, and François realized that he would need someone to educate him about courtly conduct before he would be fit to rule. He asked Diane to socialize him.⁵⁰ She was an ideal woman to fill the role. She had been educated at the court of Anne de Beaujeu,⁵¹ served as one of Louise de Savoy’s and Queen Eleanor’s ladies in waiting (1531, 1531-c.1548)⁵² and, although by that time a widow, had experience welcoming nobles into her home as the wife of Louis de Brézé, the Grand Sénéchal of Normandy. Additionally, Diane had filled a motherly role in Henri’s life by giving him much needed attention since his return from Spain.⁵³

⁴⁸ Baumgartner, 27.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 24.

⁵⁰ Wellman, 195.

⁵¹ Kent discusses Diane’s education in the court of Anne de Beaujeu in her book *The Serpent and the Moon*, but she does not give any exact dates. We do know that this education would have started after the death of Diane’s mother, Jeanne de Batarnay, (the exact date of Jeanne’s death is unknown, but Kent states it occurred early in Diane’s childhood) and ended with the Diane’s marriage to Louis de Brézé in 1515. Diane became one of Anne’s maids of honor around the age of twelve (c. 1511/12). Kent, 26-30.

⁵² Wellman, 197, 169.

⁵³ Baumgartner, 24.

It is unclear when Diane and Henri's relationship became sexual in nature, but it was likely sometime between 1536, when he became dauphin, and 1547.⁵⁴

Although Diane's feelings toward Henri began as matronly, Henri had held a torch for her since wearing her colors at the tournament celebrating his father's marriage to Eleanor of Austria. Even after the relationship turned sexual, Henri and Diane kept up the appearance of a platonic relationship in public. Diane never took the title of official royal mistress. She strove to exercise public discretion, in keeping with her strict upbringing in the household of Anne de Beaujeu and with the idealized description of a courtly lady who was aloof in public and warm in private found in *Amadis*. She viewed herself as Henri's equal and confidant and became his most trusted advisor. Henri made the nature of their relationship clear in public by always referring to her as "*Ma Dame*." Henri saw her as more than his sexual partner, but as his lady who motivated him to fight his battles and to become a chivalrous knight like his hero, Amadis.⁵⁵

Amadis was an important part of the couple's relationship; they often spent afternoons reading the stories aloud to one another.⁵⁶ Diane and Henri viewed their own love as being a real world mirror of the chivalrous love of the *romance*'s knights and ladies. They found justification for their extramarital affair (Henri married Catherine de Medici in 1533) in the story, since it repeatedly pardons premarital relationships between its characters on account of the purity of the couples' love for

⁵⁴ Baumgartner, 31.

⁵⁵ The proceeding information was taken from Kent, 139, 188, 240, 261.

⁵⁶ Baumgartner, 103.

one another.⁵⁷ Diane may have encouraged the spread of the *Amadis* cycle so the public would come to view their relationship in the same light, and she would be elevated to the ideal of a chivalrous knight's lady-love instead of being viewed as a common royal mistress.⁵⁸ Whether the dissemination of *Amadis* in France contributed to it or not, Diane became highly regarded by the public and was honored as Henri's lady, above Catherine de Medici,⁵⁹ at court festivities, tournaments, and royal entries, many of which were stylized in the spirit of a medieval *romance*.⁶⁰

The public associations of Diane and Henri with *Amadis*, as well as the fact that Diane shared her name with Diane de Guindaye, one of the main heroines of the book, made Diane the ideal patroness for the *Amadis* cycle. It was she to whom Gohory dedicated his *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*. The eleventh book of the French series was based on the first half of the *Onzeno de Amadis* of the Spanish series, also called *Rogel de Grecia*. The second half of the Spanish book was later translated in 1556 by Guillaume Aubert of Poitiers, becoming the French *Douzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, which was also dedicated to Diane. *L'Onzieme Livre* chronicles the adventures of Rogel de Grecia and Agesilan as they fight human and fantastical foes, come across magical towers, and survive disasters, such as shipwrecks. In the story the Greek Emperor, Amadis of Greece, and other Greek princes set out to search for his wife, Niquea, after she disappears. The main interest of the story is the romantic hero Agesilan's pursuit of the beautiful Diane de

⁵⁷ Wellman, 216.

⁵⁸ Baumgartner, 103.

⁵⁹ Wellman, 220.

⁶⁰ Baumgartner, 104.

Guindaye, which leads him and his cousin Arlanges to disguise themselves as women to enter her household. Agesilan is a descendant of Amadis de Gaule and exhibits the same knightly traits as his ancestor, just as Diana is as virtuous as the original heroine of the cycle, Oriana.⁶¹ The similarity between the love of Agesilan and Diana to that of Amadis and Oriana allows the eleventh book of *Amadis* to be an allegory for the love between Henri and Diane, as much as the first books portrayed the relationship between Amadis and Oriana.

In the letter Gohory wrote to Diane titled “A Tresillustre [*sic*] Dame Diane de Poitiers Duchesse de Valentinois”⁶² preceding his *L’Onzieme Livre*, he explains his choice to dedicate the work to Diane and extravagantly compliments her. Gohory writes that Diane’s sharing of name with the heroine of the book, Diane de Guindaye, and the two women’s similar excellence and harmonious beauty, which incites all men to admiration, meant that the story was destined to be dedicated to Diane. He goes on to assert that Diane is more beautiful than Pygmalion’s statue brought to life and that knights are naturally drawn to shedding their blood for her. Gohory also says that he based the palace in which the fictional Diane de Guindaye resides on the famous home, Anet, of the real-life Diane. He likewise compares her to the goddess Diana, a comparison Diane had been encouraging for many years,⁶³ and even declares that Diane de Poitiers surpassed all the other Dianes of history in courtesy and

⁶¹ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 237, 245-246.

⁶² Gohory, iii-iv.

⁶³ In order to improve her public image, Diane compared herself to Diana the goddess and took her symbols of the crescent moon and arrows as her own. For an extensive study of this campaign, see Françoise Bardon’s *Diane de Poitiers et Le Mythe de Diane*, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.

grace.⁶⁴ By flattering Diane in his dedication, Gohory was indirectly appealing to Henri II. He likely hoped that his words of praise would gain him royal favor and future patronage.

⁶⁴ Jacques Gohory, *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1554, ii, accessed April 8, 2014, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b8600065w.r=L%27onzieme+livre+d%27Amadis+de+Gaule.langEN>.

Chapter 3: Jacques Gohory

The main translator of *Amadis* for Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, Jacques Gohory, was one of the most pre-eminent translators of the sixteenth century. Despite the prominent position he occupies in literary history, he is often passed over by present-day scholars, and since most readers have likely not heard of Gohory, a brief biography of his professional life is included here. The only work of his that has been given much attention is his treatise on tobacco, *Instruction sur L'Herbe Petum*⁶⁵ (1572), which is studied more by botanists than by literary scholars.

Gohory was born in 1520, during the reign of François I. His family was Italian in origin but became prominent in France; his father and brothers held government positions. Gohory was politically active from 1543 to 1556, and served abroad in Flanders, England, and Rome. He never fully adjusted to the life of a courtier and felt that his career was in conflict with his literary pursuits, but it was in courtly circles that he was able to meet the great literary figures of his day. He became friends with the first French translator of the *Amadis* cycle, Herberay des Essarts, as well as with La Planche,⁶⁶ Marc-Antoine de Muret, Claude Colet, Estienne Jodelle, Rémy Belleau, and Jean Dorat, all of whom wrote liminary poems for Gohory's translations of the *Amadis* cycle.⁶⁷ Gohory's political career also spurred his literary one when he undertook his first effort as a translator during his time serving

⁶⁵ Gohory, Jacques. *Instruction sur l'herbe Petum*. Paris: Galiot du Pré, 1572.

⁶⁶ Bowen does not give a full name for this poet. He may be the sixteenth-century author Louis sieur de la Planche.

⁶⁷ "Liminary" is a term used by Bowen for poems written in a composer or author's honor and published in the first pages of a book. The word appears to be an Anglicization of the French word "liminaire," meaning prefatory.

Anne de Montmorency, one of the most powerful men in France and a favorite of Henri II, by translating Livy's *Decades* at Montmorency's request. From that point on, translations became the majority of Gohory's output. He was able to translate works into French from Latin, Italian, and Spanish – a feat achieved by few of his countrymen – and came to be regarded by his contemporaries as one of the best translators of his day. Despite the advantages his career afforded him, Gohory often wrote that he felt unappreciated by his superiors. His concerns were validated when he returned to France from his service in Rome and received neither honorary nor monetary compensation.⁶⁸

After a brief respite from translating and writing, Gohory took advantage of his retirement to focus on his literary pursuits. He was motivated in part to begin writing again in 1571 after some of his works started being plagiarized. It was easy for others to take credit for his writing because many of his early works were published under the pseudonyms Orlande de Suave, Leo Suavius, and Leo Suavis Solitarius (abbreviated L.S.S.). Gohory began to publish writings using his own name and became a royal historiographer of France. In the last years of his life, he was wealthy enough that he no longer needed to seek out royal patronage and founded an academy for his friends, the Lycium Philosophal Sanmarcellin.⁶⁹

Gohory translated the tenth, eleventh, and thirteenth books of the *Amadis* cycle. (The twelfth book was translated by Guillaume Aubert of Poitiers.) He first took on the translation of the tenth book, *Le Dixiesme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*

⁶⁸ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 2, 4, 13, 24, 25, 27, 29, 39, 47, 49, 51, 65, 122.

⁶⁹ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 39, 40, 74-75, 80, 100, 103.

(published in 1552), as a project to learn Spanish and continued with *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* (published in 1554) as a leisure activity. Both of these works were completed while Gohory was serving abroad in Rome, but were published in Paris by Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard. Gohory did not translate the *Le Trezieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* until 1571, after his brief hiatus from writing.⁷⁰

Jacques Gohory, like many French translators of *Amadis*, took a great deal of artistic license when putting the text into French⁷¹ in order to update the cycle to the tastes of the French court – to such a degree that he may more aptly be called an adaptor rather than a translator. In making these alterations, he followed in the footsteps of his predecessor, des Essarts. In order to fully understand the liberties that Gohory and his predecessor took as translators and why readers accepted their changes, it is necessary to put their work in the historical context of translation and translation methods in the sixteenth century.

⁷⁰ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 79, 123, 215, 223, 254.

⁷¹ O'Connor, 22.

Chapter 4: Sixteenth-Century Translation Methodology

Jacques Gohory's translation of *Amadis* adhered to the objectives of sixteenth-century literary scholars. Paula Luteran describes the aims of Renaissance translators as "1) a desire to give glory to the national tongue and literature, 2) to promote *la clarté* [clarity], 3) to amuse and enlighten the nobility as well as the general public."⁷² With the rise of literacy in the Renaissance, monarchs and literary societies sought to develop their national languages. At the forefront of this movement in France was La Pléiade, a group that advocated the translation of classical literary works into French as a way to enrich and stabilize the (then) fluid French language.⁷³ Translation was seen as a way to find new phrases, expressions, and ideas that could be added to French.⁷⁴ It became a literary practice for translators to stretch the French language so that ideas for which there were no phrases in French could be clearly expressed, without losing their meaning.⁷⁵ By translating *Amadis* from Spanish into French, Gohory was creatively manipulating the French language so its ideas could be expressed in a fashion in keeping with *la clarté* that was easily digested by the nobility who would read it. Gohory believed that the most important consideration of his translation method was that it could be understood and, therefore, enjoyed by its

⁷² Luteran, 40.

⁷³ Ibid., 41.

⁷⁴ Bowen, 114.

⁷⁵ Luteran, 42.

readers.⁷⁶ He was able to meet his goals by using developments in translation method established in the sixteenth century.

Translation first appeared as a literary discipline in the medieval period when sacred, Latin texts were put into vernacular languages. Because these works were considered to be divinely inspired, the only acceptable method of translation that could be used was a literal translation⁷⁷ – meaning a word-by-word translation. With the spread of humanist ideas, translators turned their attention to works by Latin poets and philosophers.⁷⁸ As more secular texts began to be translated, a freer approach to translation – what Luteran termed a “sense for sense” approach – came into use. Free translation grew to become the standard method for translation as translators discovered that it was impossible to transfer a text from its original language to the target language using a literal approach without losing some of its original meaning. Literal translations also created an awkward and unclear version of the text that was untrue to the author’s intentions and undermined French translators’ goal of *clarté*. Because free translation was thought to better convey an author’s intentions than literal translation, it was thought to have greater fidelity to the source text. Conveying the sense of the words became more important than translating the words themselves. By the sixteenth century, literal translation was relegated to being used as a pedagogical tool for teaching the art of translation to students at universities, and the

⁷⁶ Bowen, 131-132.

⁷⁷ Luteran, 24.

⁷⁸ Bowen, 110.

free approach to translation became the method preferred by professional translators.⁷⁹

Manipulating a source text so that its content conveyed the author's intent and so that a clear translation was rendered became a creative exercise. As translators took more liberties with making additions and deletions to the original work, they began to be viewed as co-creators. The idea of co-creation led to the development of varying degrees of free translation. Luteran translates Du Bellay's explanation of the degrees:

The *translateur* adopts a free approach while the *traducteur* follows the source text closely, in the attempt to reproduce a mirrored image. The extreme pole which the *translateur* must take care to avoid is that of *imitation*, in which the source text has been too greatly altered.⁸⁰

La Pléiade was prompted by the many translators who strayed into the area of *imitation* to speak out against a free approach to translation,⁸¹ but the method continued to be widely used throughout the sixteenth century. The numerous creative alterations put into texts by French translators allows their work to be thought of as works separate from their source texts, and this is how des Essarts and Gohory's translations of *Amadis* should be approached.

Gohory explained his translation method in the prefaces to some of his works and made it clear that he abided by the idea that conveying an author's thoughts in a translation was more important than translating every word exactly. He continued to use a free translation method even after La Pléiade spoke out against it, although after

⁷⁹ The proceeding information was taken from Luteran, 25-26, 32, 35, 43.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 39.

⁸¹ The proceeding information was taken from Luteran, 28, 35, 39.

they published their manifesto against renderings that took many liberties, he stated he believed translators should be careful to keep the French language pure. Bowen describes Gohory's overall views on translation theory as follows:

In summarizing Gohory's ideas on translations, one finds that he believed translations important because they brought new ideas into France or provided agreeable reading for those who bought books; that he did not wish to give a false idea of the author he translated; that he preferred to follow closely the work translated, yet at the same time allowed himself to express the thought rather than the literal meaning; that he wished above all to be true to the French language and not to fill it up with foreign terms.⁸²

Gohory took care never to err in the direction of *imitation* in his works and received the praise of his contemporaries, such as des Essarts, and Charles Fontaine, as well as members of La Pléiade, such as Remy Belleau, who wrote poems praising his translations of Livy's *Decades*. As mentioned above, his friends also supported his works by writing liminary poems that were published in the prefaces of publications of his works, including publications of his translations of *Amadis*.⁸³

Gohory took more liberties with translations of books ten, eleven, and thirteen of *Amadis* than in his previous translations, such as Livy's *Decades*, partly because he considered translating *Amadis* to be a work of leisure,⁸⁴ but also because of the precedent set by des Essarts. Des Essarts and Gohory both used a free translation method to tailor *Amadis* to the tastes of the French court. Anthony Mottola believes that "if the work had adhered slavishly to the Spanish, it is doubtful that its French readers would have found sufficient novelty in it to attract [the French courtiers']

⁸² Bowen, 131.

⁸³ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 125, 127-130, 143, 285.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 223.

imagination and hold their interests.”⁸⁵ As the first French translator of *Amadis*, des Essarts set a precedent for how the cycle could be altered to appeal to royal courtiers. He took out or condensed the over moralistic passages that pervaded the Spanish text. The characters’ behaviors are modeled on courtiers at François I and Henri II’s courts. His telling of the story analyzes the feelings and emotions of the heroes and heroines, making the action more vivid and the personalities of the characters more defined than in the Spanish version.⁸⁶ Gohory, who as mentioned above, was considered to be des Essarts’s successor as translator of *Amadis*, followed this example.

In his *Dixiesme Livre d’Amadis de Gaule*, Gohory altered and rephrased passages of the Spanish text to suit the tastes of the French court in the same manner as des Essarts had, but he did not insert any new chapters or incidents into the tale. He followed the original order of events as they appeared in the Spanish version closely.⁸⁷ He may have exerted caution because *Amadis* was the first work he attempted to translate from Spanish, and he may not have been completely comfortable with the language, since he was just beginning to learn it.

Gohory is more original in *L’Onzieme Livre d’Amadis de Gaule*. He altered the text to flatter the book’s patroness, Diane de Poitiers. An example of this homage is his description of Diane de Guindaye’s palace, which he changed to reflect the real world chateau of Anet, Diane de Poitiers’s cherished abode. He expanded several

⁸⁵ Mottola, 147-148.

⁸⁶ The proceeding information in this paragraph was taken from Mottola, 123-124, 128, 130, 137, 140.

⁸⁷ Bowen, 233.

chapters and inserted new ones that were completely of his own fashioning (chapters two, thirty-seven, and fifty-five).⁸⁸

Gohory's most liberal interpretation of the *Amadis* story was the *Trezieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*. This book was less refined than the previous two books, perhaps because he wrote it later in life when he no longer felt the need to prove himself and translated it as a kind of literary "vacation" from more serious pursuits. He added passages describing hunting trips to appeal to the current monarch, Charles IX, and rules of knight-errantry, which Bowen believes might have been included at the request of Catherine de Clermont. The boldest alteration he made to the text was the insertion of two new characters, Perot and Leon de Suave – the latter may have been a literary representation of Gohory himself –, using them to insert his theories concerning education into the story.⁸⁹

A common thread through Gohory's translation of all three books was his translation of song texts from the original Spanish into French – texts that were sometimes omitted by des Essarts – and his insertion of what Bowen assumes to be newly composed song texts of his own invention. It is these song texts that represent Gohory's most original additions to his translations of *Amadis*.⁹⁰ Since *L'Onzieme Livre* is more original than the *Dixiesme Livre* and more refined than the *Trezieme Livre*, as well as being the most personal to *Amadis*'s main patrons, Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, and since the heroine shares Diane's name, it is the eleventh book

⁸⁸ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 246, 253.

⁸⁹ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 254, 265-266, 270.

⁹⁰ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 233, 253, 529.

that I have selected to study in detail. In the following chapter, I shall provide general information about Gohory's song texts and suggest his possible motivations for inserting them into his translation.

Chapter 5: Poetry and Motivations for Poetic Insertion

In Jacques Gohory's translations of *Amadis*, the tenth book contains five poems, the eleventh book contains eight poems, and the thirteenth book contains seven poems. Most of these poems are original writings, but two were adaptations of poems original to the Spanish text and one was a work by Gohory's contemporary, Claude Chappuys.⁹¹ The only poetry Gohory has been known to author was published in his translations of *Amadis* and Levinus Lemnius's *De Occultis Naturae Miraculis*.⁹² His poetic style is not as serious as that of La Pléiade, but he was influenced by its members, especially Du Bellay and Olivier de Magny, whom he met while serving abroad in Italy. All the poems in *Amadis* match the tone of the *romance* by glorifying love and evoking readers' emotions.⁹³

The poems are incorporated into the text as part of the plot. They fit naturally into the narration by being sung by characters as a way for them to express their emotions, usually those concerning love or longing, or to reflect on their circumstances.⁹⁴ Gohory altered scenes from the original Spanish that depicted musical performances so that they reflected performance practices of the French court. The updating of musical incidents heightened their appeal to the nobility.⁹⁵ Gohory accomplished this by having characters accompany themselves on lutes

⁹¹ Further discussion of Chappuys's authorship of the poem is given in the next chapter.

⁹² Levinus Lemnius, *De Occultis Naturae Miraculis*, trans. Jacques Gohory, Paris: Galil e, 1572.

⁹³ The proceeding information was taken from Bowen, 528, 530, 532.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 533.

⁹⁵ Brooks, 1220-1221.

instead of harps and sing in polyphony. The songs had a dramatic purpose in that they enlivened narration or relieved tension during serious moments.⁹⁶ Character development was aided by song insertions, allowing the story's heroes and heroines to convey their innermost thoughts and emotions and making musicality itself a personality trait. Examples of this use are found especially in the characters Agesilan and Diane de Guindaye. Agesilan's musical ability is what helps him pass as a woman when he disguises himself as Daraïde to sneak into Diane's palace. His musicianship also allows him to express his love for Diane, which he cannot say outright in words because she believes him to be a woman. Diane's musical skill heightens her erotic appeal to Agesilan, causing her to seem sexually desirable by enchanting her listeners with music.⁹⁷

Making the poetic insertions song texts not only adhered to the use of poetry in the original Spanish cycle and was an easy way to weave them into the narrative seamlessly, but it also adhered to sixteenth-century ideas concerning the inherent link between text and music. Prominent literary figures, such as Pierre de Ronsard, believed that poetry reached its fullest potential to move its audience only when set to music and that, likewise, music could only gain meaning through words. Howard Mayer Brown summarizes Ronsard's belief as "words give music meaning; without them music becomes mere sound."⁹⁸ With these thoughts in mind, Ronsard and other

⁹⁶ Bowen, 533.

⁹⁷ The proceeding information was taken from Brooks, 1226, 1229, 1234-1235, 1239.

⁹⁸ Howard Mayer Brown, "'Ut Musica Poesis': Music and Poetry in France in the Late Sixteenth-Century," *Early Music History* 13 (1994): 7.

poets of La Pléiade advocated the unification of poetry and music.⁹⁹ While Gohory's translations do not contain any music notation, the detailed descriptions he gave of how the poems were performed by characters make it clear that he adhered to this philosophy and intended his poetic insertions to be thought of as song texts.¹⁰⁰

Jeanice Brooks theorizes that Gohory thought of his song text interpolations as more than just a dramatic plot element, but as a means of inserting his occult philosophies on music into the *romance*. She depicts his use of music as an occult element by displaying its abilities to connect souls, to heal the human spirit, and to delight or ravish those who hear it. In occult philosophy, the physical phenomenon of the sympathetic vibration of strings is extended into the spiritual realm. On the astral plane, music is a medium for the synthetic vibration of souls because it is able to channel emotions, especially love, from one person to another. Gohory uses this idea to engage Agesilan and Diane de Guindaye in Neo-Platonic love. Through singing to one another, they are able to connect erotically, but also at a spiritual level, since Agesilan's disguise as Daraïde forbids them to engage in physical intimacy.¹⁰¹

The idea of music serving as a vehicle for the transfer of emotions or energy between mediums was also the foundation for the concept of healing through music. Music was thought to have power over the mind by conveying good morals and restoring mental health in listeners. An example of musical healing in *Amadis* occurs

⁹⁹ The proceeding information was taken from Brown, 6, 82.

¹⁰⁰ Brooks, 1209.

¹⁰¹ The proceeding information was taken from Brooks, 1208, 1217-1218, 1242-1243.

when Agesilan, disguised as Daraïde, is overcome with lovesickness for Diane and faints. Diane plays the lute for him/her and he/she is revived.¹⁰²

The most prevalent occult quality of music in Gohory's translation of *Amadis* is its ability to either "delight" or "ravish" its audience. When a listener is delighted, it is as if that person is bound by chains. The person is physically bound by the music, in a trance-like state, and rendered unable to move. An example of this occurs when Diane first performs in her garden and entrances all who hear her. Ravishment was considered to be of a higher order than delight because it affected the soul. When a person is ravished, his or her soul disconnects from his or her body and drifts away. An example of this can be observed when Daraïde and Garaye – Agesilan and Arlanges – serenade Queen Sidonie below her balcony, and she is so ravished that the song "literally sucks her soul through her ears."¹⁰³

While Brooks's argument that Gohory's song texts were used to infuse *Amadis* with his occult philosophies has much to recommend it, I believe that this was only a minor motivation for Gohory and that the main reason he added songs to his translations was to appeal to his patrons at the French court. Music occupied an important place in the lives of Henri II and Diane de Poitiers, and, given Gohory's ambitions to gain a position at court, it is surely no coincidence that the book dedicated to Diane is the one that contains the most song insertions. Diane and Henri had both received musical training as part of the standard education of the day. Diane sang and played the lute and spinet. She always traveled with the latter and employed

¹⁰² The proceeding information was taken from Brooks, 1215, 1233.

¹⁰³ The proceeding information was taken from Brooks, 1216, 1235, 1236, 1239. The quote is from page 1240.

a particular servant to take care of it.¹⁰⁴ Henri sang, read music treatises, and played the guitar. He also gave publishing privileges to the firm of Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard,¹⁰⁵ the publishers of Gohory's *Amadis* translations and numerous lute, guitar, and chanson publications.¹⁰⁶ Not only did Diane and Henri have individual interests in music, it was a meaningful part of their relationship. Henri was known to have played the guitar for Diane during their private time together,¹⁰⁷ an activity similar to their reading of *Amadis* aloud to one another. By combining the couple's love for music with a text in which the main character shared her name with the king's beloved, Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* would have had double appeal to the couple.

Just as Gohory's song texts can be studied through their usefulness in pleasing Henri and Diane and serving the book's narrative, they can also be studied according to their merit as independent works. Settings of two of the poems survive, and, through the medium of music, the poems gain meaning, becoming more than simple textual insertions. The following chapter examines the song texts in detail, especially the two that are known to have been set to music.

¹⁰⁴ Isabelle Cazeaux, *French Music in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1975, 26.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 23.

¹⁰⁶ François Lesure and Geneviève Thibault, *Bibliographie des Éditions d'Adrian Le Roy et Robert Ballard, 1551-1598*, Paris: Heugel, 1955.

¹⁰⁷ Cazeaux, 23.

Chapter 6: Song Texts and Settings

The song texts in Jacques Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* can be divided into three major categories: insertion of a poem composed by one of Gohory's contemporaries, adaptations of poems in the original Spanish text, and newly created poems written by Gohory. The only poem Gohory indicates was not original to the text or written by himself is "D'en aymer trois m'est force et contrainte."¹⁰⁸ Prosper Blanchemain credits Mellin de Saint-Gelais with "D'en aymer trois" in his 1873 edition of the poet's works.¹⁰⁹ However, Claude Chappuys is the author of this poem. Bowen cites Louis P. Roche's *Claude Chappuys (?-1575), poète de la cour de François Ier* as a source for Claude Chappuys's authorship of "D'en aymer trois,"¹¹⁰ and Aline Mary Best includes the poem in her 1967 edition of Claude Chappuys's *Poésies Intimes*.¹¹¹

The two poems Gohory translated from Spanish are "Comme l'argentine face" and "Nonobstant qu'Amadis esprouve." The rest of the poems are original works by Gohory: "O combien est heureux," "Deux vifs soleils," "De jour en jour ma vie diminue," "Las vain desir, interdite esperance," "Qui dames chantera si je ne

¹⁰⁸ Gohory, 111r.

¹⁰⁹ Mellin de Saint-Gelais, *Œuvres complètes de Melin de Saint-Gelays*, ed. Prosper Blanchemain, Paris: P. Daffis, 1987, 281.

¹¹⁰ Bowen, 531. Louis P. Roche, *Claude Chappuys (?-1575), poète de la cour de François Ier*, Paris, 1929, Rpt. in Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1970.

¹¹¹ Claude Chappuys, *Poésies Intimes*, ed. by Aline Mary Best, Textes littéraires français 133, Genève: Librairie Droz, 1967, 228-229.

chante,” and “Arlang parfoi, travaux et larmes” for which Gohory supplied the title “Chanson d’Arlanges.”¹¹²

“D’en aymer trois m’est force et contrainte,” the seventh song in *L’Onzieme Livre*, is the only song whose text is believed not to have been an original composition or adaptation by Gohory. As stated above this text was likely written by Chappuys,¹¹³ but in *L’Onzieme Livre* Gohory does not give the name of the poet. He simply labels it “composée par un des meilleurs poetes de son temps.”¹¹⁴ The song is sung for Rogel by the three ladies Sinide, Galinde, and Sirese, after he has saved them from three knights, and is on the subject of love.¹¹⁵

The third song, “Comme l’argentine face,” is original to the Spanish text, but was shortened and adapted by Gohory. This song is an example of the ravishment discussed in the previous chapter. When Queen Sidonie has stepped onto her balcony overlooking the sea to gaze at the moon and mourn the loss of her beloved, Agesilan and Arlanges (disguised as Daraïde and Garaye) overhear her laments and are compelled by sympathy to sing this song. The beauty of their performance ravishes her and allows her to forget her pain for a short time.¹¹⁶ The fourth song in the text, “Nonobstant qu’Amadis esprouve,” is also an adaptation from the Spanish *romance*. Gohory’s text is a paraphrase of the first lines of Feliciano de Silva’s original poem,

¹¹³ Bowen cites Louis P. Roches’s *Claude Chappuys* as a source for further information on this song text.

¹¹⁴ Gohory, 111r. In English, “composed by one of the better poets of his time.”

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 111r.

¹¹⁶ Brooks, 1240.

which was thirty lines long.¹¹⁷ In this song, Daraïde (Agesilan) sings of her/his love for Diane de Guindaye and is able to connect to her and arouse mutual feelings of longing in her through music, an example of the sympathetic vibration of souls through music discussed above.¹¹⁸

The rest of the songs are all original compositions by Gohory. The first song text to appear in *L'Onzieme Livre* is “O combien est heureux.” Heleine sings this chanson as she reclines under a tree and sings of her, as Gohory describes it, “rural contentement.”¹¹⁹ Agesilan sings the second song in the text, “Deux vifs soleils.” He has just seen an image of Diane for the first time and has fallen in love with her at first glance.¹²⁰ The fifth and sixth songs in the text, “De jour en jour ma vie diminue” and “Las vain desir, interdite esperance” appear as a pair. The first is sung by Diane as she accompanies herself on the lute, and the following is a response by Daraïde (Agesilan).¹²¹ “Qui dames chantera si je ne chante” is the eighth song in the text and is sung by Queen Sardenie, who is in love with Rogel. In the song she expresses the joy she feels from being able to sing about her love.

The last song in *L'Onzieme Livre* deserves special attention since it is the longest song in the text. Filling an entire page, “Arlang parfoy, travaux et larmes” is the only one given a formal title – “Chanson d’Arlanges.” It is also thought to be an

¹¹⁷ Bowen, 542.

¹¹⁸ Brooks, 1239.

¹¹⁹ Gohory, 15v.

¹²⁰ Bowen, 540.

¹²¹ Ibid., 542.

original work by Gohory. The song deviates from the Spanish model and appears in chapter fifty-eight, one of the chapters added by Gohory.¹²² In the chapter, Arlanges and Queen Cleofile consummate their love outside of marriage. Queen Cleofile regrets this act and wants to put their physical relationship on hold, but Arlanges sings this song to her, recounting the beauty of their union, and she gives in to him. The song is successful in achieving Arlanges's goal, because it spiritually ravishes Queen Cleofile and reminds her of the ecstasy she felt in her lover's arms.¹²³

As the descriptions of the songs' functions in the narrative above show, they played an important dramatic role in the story, but they can also be taken out of the context of Gohory's translation and studied as individual works. The following chart lists the song texts in the order in which they appear in *L'Onzieme Livre* and shows what type of poetic form they represent, by whom they were written, if the song text was set to music, and, if it was set, by whom.

Table 1: Song incipits, poetic forms, authors, and music settings

Title or Incipit	Poetic Form	Author	Set to Music?/If so, by whom
O combien est heureux	Chanson	Jacques Gohory	Yes, Guillaume Costeley
Deux vifs soleils	Rommant	Jacques Gohory	No
Comme l'argentine	Chanson	Feliciano de Silva, adapted by Jacques Gohory	Yes, Jacques Arcadelt
Nonobstant qu'Amadis esprouve	Chanson	Feliciano de Silva, adapted by Jacques Gohory	No

¹²² Brooks, 1245.

¹²³ Brooks, 1243-1245.

Title or Incipit	Poetic Form	Author	Set to Music?/If so, by whom
De jour en jour ma vie diminue	Dixain	Jacques Gohory	No
Las vain desir, interdite esperance	Sonnet	Jacques Gohory	No
D'en aymer trois m'est force et contrainte	Chanson	Claude Chappuys	No
Qui dames chantera si je ne chante	Chanson	Jacques Gohory	No
Arlang parfoy, travaux et larmes/Chanson d'Aranges	Chanson	Jacques Gohory	No

As the above table shows, most of the poems are chansons, with the exception of the *rommant*,¹²⁴ “Deux vifs soleils,” the *dixain*, “De jour en jour ma vie diminue,” and the sonnet, “Las vain desir, interdite esperance.” It is not certain why Gohory chose to use the poetic forms of *rommant*, *dixain*, and sonnet instead of chanson for these specific song texts, but it is likely that his decision to write a sonnet was a nod to his friends in La Pléiade. (The group had been focusing a great deal of its attention on studying and writing sonnets since the late 1540s.¹²⁵) The table also shows that the only two song texts from *L'Onzieme Livre* that were set to music were chansons. This fact may suggest that Gohory was more skilled at writing and adapting chansons than other poetic forms. Gohory's original chanson, “O combien est heureux,” was set by

¹²⁴ A *rommant* is a type of story or fable.

¹²⁵ Brooks, 1219-1220.

Guillaume Costeley (1530-1606), and his adaptation “Comme l’argentine face” was set by Jacques Arcadelt (1507-1568).¹²⁶

The chanson “O combien est heureux” is about the joys of living contently with what nature provides. A translation is shown below:

O combien est heureux Celuy qui se contente, Des biens si plantureux Que nature presente: Autre biens que ceux cy, Soit pleins de grief soucy. I’ay tout sufisance Que la vie requiert: Qui abonde en cheuance Pour autruy en aquiert. Tresors de plus qu’assez, En vain sont amassez Qui se fonde en l’honneur A Fortune se ioue, Qui du haut de bon heur Iette au bas de sa roue, Plus la foudre tousiours Frappe les hautes tours. Guerre, dol, ny enuie.	O how blessed Is he who is content, With goods so lush That nature presents Other goods than these, Are full of grievous worry. I have all the self-sufficiency That life requires: That abounds in fortune For other in acquisition. Treasures more than enough, In vain are amassed He who has honor Enjoys good fortune, From the highest good fortune Thrown to the bottom of the wheel. Moreover lightning always Hits the highest towers. [Neither] War, misrepresentation, nor envy. Haunt this place: It is mine this life [that] Is very similar to God. The man who is all to himself Lives happier than a king.
Ne repaire en ce lieu: Qui meine cette vie Est fort semblable a Dieu. L’homme du tout a soy, Vit plus heureux qu’un Roy. ¹²⁷	–translated by K.R. ¹²⁸

¹²⁶ I am fairly certain that both Costeley and Archadelt took the texts of “O combien est heureux” and “Comme l’argentine face” directly from Gohory’s *L’Onzieme Livre d’Amadis de Gaule* since there is no known alternative source that includes the chanson texts. The texts in *L’Onzieme Livre* and the editions shown in this paper vary slightly with regards to spellings, but I do not know if the inconsistencies come from the source texts or from editorial changes.

¹²⁷ Gohory, 17v-18r. The letters “i” and “j,” “i” and “y,” “z” and “s,” and “u” and “v” have been rendered exactly as they appear in the original source.

¹²⁸ With help from Richard King.

The chanson advocates enjoying the simple pleasures nature provides, instead of striving to acquire vain goods and honors that are subjected to the whims of fate, as a way to find true happiness. The form is closely modeled on Mellin de Saint-Gelais's chanson "O combien est heureuse,"¹²⁹ but the content is very different. Saint-Gelais's text focuses on love between a man and a woman – it mentions flaming hearts –, providing quite a different tone from Gohory's introspective and philosophical text. Bowen has suggested that the chanson is a summary of Gohory's personal outlook on courtly life and that he uses it as an opportunity to lay out his reasons for retiring to a quiet country life.¹³⁰ Bowen's assertion is supported by Gohory's apparent disdain for court life and early retirement from his political career (both of which are discussed above in the second chapter).

Costeley's setting of "O combien est heureux" was first printed in *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*,¹³¹ a collection of chansons published in 1570 by Le Roy et Ballard and dedicated to Catherine de Clermont, her husband, the Comte de Retz, and King Charles IX, Henri II's son.¹³² Since the popularity of *Amadis* and chivalrous ideas in general greatly declined after Henri II died during a joust in 1559 – Mottola eloquently states that "the lance that killed Henri II also delivered the death blow to knighthood in France"¹³³ – the inclusion of a song text from Gohory's *L'Onzieme*

¹²⁹ Brooks, 1219.

¹³⁰ Bowen, 539-540.

¹³¹ Guillaume Costeley, *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*, Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1570, fol. 41.

¹³² Guillaume Costeley, *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*, ed. Henry Expert, Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française XIX, Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1904, 47-49.

¹³³ Mottola, 133.

Livre seems out of place at first glance. However, when one recalls that Catherine de Clermont was the patroness who commissioned Gohory's *Trezieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, which would be published the year after *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*, the poem's inclusion makes sense. Catherine was a long time patron of Costeley,¹³⁴ and he would certainly have wanted to appeal to her tastes. He may have chosen to use this song text over others in Gohory's translations because it addresses a non-romantic subject, finding joy in simple pleasures, that would have appealed to all courtiers, including those who had no interest in poetry about chivalrous topics.

Costeley's setting of "O combien est heureux" was edited by Henry Expert, as part of his 1904 publication of *Musique de Guillaume Costeley* (see Musical Example 1 below). The edition was part of the series *Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française* and is an interesting source in that Expert included images of the original dedications, liminary poems,¹³⁵ preface, and two portraits of Costeley from the book's original publication. These reproductions give the reader a taste of the style of the 1570 print. Expert does not include any information about the text in his critical notes and does not name the authors of the chanson texts. The text of "O combien est heureux" has been anonymous until now, but this paper is able to provide that missing information by identifying Jacques Gohory as the author. A copy of Expert's edition of "O combien est heureux" is included below:

¹³⁴ Brooks, 1214.

¹³⁵ Bowen, 49.

Musical Example 1: "O combien est heureux," Guillaume Costeley, *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*, ed. by Henry Expert, Les Maîtres Musiciens de la Renaissance Française XIX, ed. by Henry Expert, Paris: Alphonse Leduc, 1904, 47-49.¹³⁶

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IX

O COMBIEN EST HEUREUX

NOTATION ORIGINALE

Musical notation for the original score, showing four parts: SUPERIUS, CONTRATENOR, TENOR, and BASSUS. Each part has a vocal line and the lyrics "O combien est heu - reux".

Musical notation for the vocal parts, showing four parts: Mezzo-Soprano, Haute-Contre, Baryton élevé, and Baryton. Each part has a vocal line and the lyrics "O combien est heu - reux Ce_luy qui se con - ten - te Qui se fonde en l'hon - neur A for_tu - ne se jou - e,".

Musical notation for the vocal parts, showing four parts: Mezzo-Soprano, Haute-Contre, Baryton élevé, and Baryton. Each part has a vocal line and the lyrics "Des biens si plan - tu - reux Que na - tu - re pre - sen - te, Qui du haut du bon - heur Jette au bas de sa rou - e,".

A.L. 11,114.

¹³⁶ Photocopy downloaded from IMSLP Petrucci Music Library, http://japanese.imslp.info/files/imglnks/usimg/6/69/IMSLP87310-PMLP178470-Costeley_O_combien_est_heureux.pdf, accessed May 8, 2014.

Au tres biens que ceux cy Sont pleins de grief sou cy, Au tres biens que ceux -
 Plus la foul dre tous jours Fra pe les hau tes tours, Plus la foul dre tous -

Au tres biens que ceux cy Sont pleins de grief sou cy, Au tres biens que ceux -
 Plus la foul dre tous jours Fra pe les hau tes tours, Plus la foul dre tous -

Au tres biens que ceux cy Sont pleins de grief sou cy, Au tres biens que ceux -
 Plus la foul dre tous jours Fra pe les hau tes tours, Plus la foul dre tous -

- cy Sont pleins de grief sou cy. J'ay tou te suf fi -
 - jours Fra pe les hau tes tours. Guer re, dol, ny en -

- cy Sont pleins de grief sou cy. J'ay tou te suf - fi - san -
 - jours Fra pe les hau tes tours. Guer re, dol, ny en - vy -

- cy Sont pleins de grief sou cy. J'ay tou te suf fi - san -
 - jours Fra pe les hau tes tours. Guer re, dol, ny en - vy -

- san ce Que la vi e re quiert, Qui a bon de en che -
 - vy e Ne re pai re en ce lieu, Qui mei ne ce ste van -

- ce Que la vi e re quiert, Qui a bon de en che van -
 - e Ne re pai re en ce lieu, Qui mei ne ce ste vi -

- ce Que la vi e re quiert, Qui a bon de en che van -
 - e Ne re pai re en ce lieu, Qui mei ne ce ste vi -

- van - ce Pour au - truy en ac - quiert. Tre - sors de plus qu'as - sez
vi - e Est fort sem - blable à Dieu. L'hom - me du tout à soy

- ce Pour au - truy en ac - quiert. Tre - sors de plus qu'as - sez
- e Est fort sem - blable à Dieu. L'hom - me du tout à soy

- ce Pour au - truy en ac - quiert. Tre - sors de plus qu'as - sez Sont
- e Est fort sem - blable à Dieu. L'hom - me du tout à soy Vit

Pour au - truy en ac - quiert. Tre - sors de plus qu'as - sez
Est fort sem - blable à Dieu. L'hom - me du tout à soy

Sont en vain a - mas - sez, Tre - sors de plu qu'as -
Vit plus heu - reux q'un roy, L'hom - me du tout à

Sont en vain a - mas - sez, Tre - sors de plu qu'as -
Vit plus heu - reux q'un roy, L'hom - me du tout à

en vain a - mas - sez, Tre - sors de plu qu'as -
plus heu - reux q'un roy, L'hom - me du tout à

Sont en vain a - mas - sez, Tre - sors de plu qu'as -
Vit plus heu - reux q'un roy, L'hom - me du tout à

- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.

- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.

- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.

- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.
- sez Sont en vain a - mas - sez. roy.

The only other chanson in Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre* known to have been set to music was "Comme l'argentine face." Jacques Arcadelt set Gohory's version of the text, which is more of an adaptation of the original Spanish poem than a translation. Gohory shortened the original poem and adapted the text for French tastes.¹³⁷ I was unable to access the original Spanish version in order to compare it to Gohory's adaptation, but Bowen gives the first line in his discussion of Gohory's poetic insertions: "Sobre los profundos mares Diana resplandecia para mayor hermosura faltava la luz del dia"¹³⁸ (Over the deep seas Diana gleamed; only in the light of day would she have appeared more beautiful).¹³⁹ In contrast, Gohory's chanson begins "Comme l'argentine face de la lune du ciel, rend l'onde puis haute puis basse par son aspect differend," (As the silver face of the moon in the sky, renders the wave now high, now low by her different appearance). Through comparing the opening line of De Silva's Spanish poem to the first line of Gohory's chanson, the adaptations Gohory made are already apparent. De Silva's text begins with a flattering comparison of the lady who is the object of the singers' attention, while Gohory's adaptation uses a personification of the moon to paint a scenic picture – a demonstration of the sixteenth-century idea of painting a picture with words. Gohory goes on to compare the power of Diane over the hearts of men to the power of the moon over the tide, as is seen in the full translation of the text included below:

¹³⁷ Bowen, 541.

¹³⁸ Ibid., 541.

¹³⁹ I wish to thank Prof. Fernando Rios for helping me to refine this translation.

Comme l'argentine face
 De la Lune du ciel, rend
 L'onde puis haute puis basse
 Sur son aspect differend.
 Ainsi ma Diane en terre,
 Qui mon cuer lye et desserre,
 Le plongeant de ioye en deuil:
 Les mouuements de mon ame,
 Agite en glace et en flame,
 Par traitz diuers de son oeil.¹⁴⁰

As the silver face
 Of the moon in the sky, renders
 The wave now high, now low
 On its different appearance.
 Likewise my Diane on earth,
 Who binds and loosens my heart
 Plunging it in the joy of sorrow:
 The movements of my soul,
 Wavering in ice and in flame,
 By the diverse traits of her eye.

–translated by K.R.¹⁴¹

Gohory's decision to make the moon a central object of his adaptation and a mirror of the power beautiful women have over their lovers would have been a way to flatter the patroness of his translation, Diane de Poitiers, who employed the moon as one of her symbols. Through his creative manipulation of the text to suit his own needs, Gohory was able to make "Comme l'argentine face" a chanson that was stylistically French and suited to be set by one of the most prominent composers of the sixteenth century, Jacques Arcadelt.

Arcadelt's setting of "Comme l'argentine face" was first printed in the *Tiers Livre de Chansons*, published by Le Roy et Ballard in 1554¹⁴² – the same year as Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre*. Arcadelt likely chose to set Gohory's translation of "Comme l'argentine face," because he knew of Henri and Diane's interest in *Amadis* and because the text would have appealed to the royal couple since it includes

¹⁴⁰ Gohory, 36v. The letters "i" and "j," "d" and "t," "z" and "s," and "u" and "v" have been rendered exactly as they appear in the original source. However, the symbol "&" as it appeared in the original has been replaced with the word "et."

¹⁴¹ With help from Richard King.

¹⁴² Adrian Le Roy and Robert Ballard, *Tiers Livre de Chansons, Nouvellement Mises en Musique à Quatre Parties, Par Bons et Scavans Musiciens, Imprimées en Quatre Volumes*, Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1554, fol. 5.

references to the heroine Diane de Guindaye, whom Gohory associated with Diane de Poitiers, and the moon, one of Diane's symbols. Although Henri was not known to be a direct employer of Arcadelt, the two men were connected through their mutual relationship with the Guise family. The Dukes de Guise were close advisors to Henri and patrons of Arcadelt. One could imagine that Arcadelt would have wanted to appeal to Henri's tastes when choosing the source texts for his chansons to further the ambitions of his employers, if not just for his personal gain.¹⁴³ It is also possible that Arcadelt formed a friendship with Gohory while they were both in Italy during the early 1550s,¹⁴⁴ and chose the chanson text because of their personal relationship.

"Comme l'argentine face" has been edited by Everett B. Helm in *The Chansons of Jacobus Arcadelt*, Volume 1¹⁴⁵ and by Albert Seay in *Jacob Arcadelt: Opera Omnia*, Volume 8 (see Musical Example 2 below).¹⁴⁶ Neither edition lists an author or adaptor for the text of "Comme l'argentine face." Helm goes so far as to write, "Little can be said about the texts [of the chansons in this volume]. As

¹⁴³ Further information about Arcadelt's ties with the Guise family can be found in Jeanice Brooks's article "Italy, the Ancient World and the French Musical Inheritance in the Sixteenth Century: Arcadelt and Clereau in the Service of the Guises," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 121/2 (1996): 147-190.

¹⁴⁴ Bowen, 29. Brooks, "Italy, the Ancient World...", 153.

¹⁴⁵ Jacques Arcadelt, *The Chansons of Jacobus Arcadelt*, Vol. 1 (*Le Roi et Ballard 1553-1559*), ed. Everett B. Helm, Smith College Music Archives V, North Hampton, MA: Smith College, 1942. Helm cites Le Roy and Ballard's *Tiers Livre de Chansons*, Paris: Le Roy et Ballard, 1554, as the source text for his edition of this chanson.

¹⁴⁶ *Jacob Arcadelt: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 8, ed. Albert Seay, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 318, American Institute of Musicology in collaboration with the American Musicological Society, 1965-1970. Seay lists the source for his edition of this chanson as RISM 1554²⁷, *Tiers livre de chansons, nouvellement mises en musique...*, Paris: Le Roy et Ballard. *Tiers livre de chansons* was reissued in 1557, 1561, 1567, and 1573. Seay also found this chanson was used as a religious contrafactum in Jacques Arcadelt, *L'Excellence des Chansons Musicales*, Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1586, as "C'est la clarté de ta face." He also lists three musical variants, but no textual variants.

literature they are of no great consequence. Nearly all are anonymous, and even their sources are unknown.”¹⁴⁷ This study has shown that not only was the text of “Comme l’argentine face” of known authorship, written by Feliciano de Silva and adapted by Gohory, but it was also from a piece of literature highly valued at the French court and of personal importance to the French king and his lady.

¹⁴⁷ Helm, iii.

Musical Example 2: "Comme l'argentine face," *Jacob Arcadelt: Opera Omnia*, Vol. 8, ed. by Albert Seay, Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 318, American Institute of Musicology in collaboration with the American Musicological Society, 1965-1970, 57-58.

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The musical score is presented in three systems, each with four staves representing different vocal parts (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, and Bass). The music is in a simple, homophonic style characteristic of the early 16th century. The lyrics are in French and are written below the staves, aligned with the notes.

System 1:

Com - me l'ar - gen - ti - ne fa - ce, De la lu - ne
 Com - me l'ar - gen - ti - ne fa - ce, De la lu - ne
 Com - me l'ar - gen - ti - ne fa - ce, De la lu - ne
 Com - me l'ar - gen - ti - ne fa - ce, De la lu - ne

System 2:

du ciel rend, L'on - de puis hau - te puis bas - se, Par son a - spect
 du ciel rend, L'on - de puis hau - te puis bas - se, Par son a - spect
 du ciel rend, L'on - de puis hau - te puis bas - se, Par son a - spect
 du ciel rend, L'on - de puis hau - te puis bas - se, Par son a - spect

System 3:

dif - fé - rent, Ain - si ma Di - ane en ter - re, Qui mon cœur lye
 dif - fé - rent, Ain - si ma Di - ane en ter - re, Qui mon cœur lye
 dif - fé - rent, Ain - si ma Di - ane en ter - re, Qui mon cœur lye
 dif - fé - rent, Ain - si ma Di - ane en ter - re, Qui mon cœur lye

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et dés-ser-re, Le plon-geant de joye en dueil, Les mou-ve-ments de mon

et dés-ser-re, Le plon-geant de joye en dueil, Les mou-ve-ments de mon

et dés-ser-re, Le plon-geant de joye en dueil, Les mou-ve-ments

et dés-ser-re, Le plon-geant de joye en dueil, Les mou-ve-ments

25

â-me, A-gite en glace et en flam-me, Par traits

â-me, A-gite en glace et en flam-me, Par traits

de mon â-me, A-gite en glace et en flam-me,

de mon â-me, A-gite en glace et en flam-me, Par traits

30

di-vers de son œil, Par traits

di-vers de son œil, Par traits

Par traits di-vers de son œil,

di-vers de son œil, Par traits

1. œil, Par traits 2. œil.

œil, Par traits œil.

œil, Par traits œil.

œil, Par traits œil.

Costeley's setting of "O combien est heureux" and Arcadelt's setting of "Comme l'argentine face" give life to Gohory's poetry, a feat that Ronsard and other La Pléiade poets believed could only be accomplished through music. Although both these texts have been anonymous until now, giving them authorship puts them in a historical and literary context and provides insight into how composers chose texts – Costeley had cause to use chansons from *Amadis* because his patroness was interested in the story, and Arcadelt may have had a personal relationship with Gohory, since both men were in Rome at the same time. The fact that the chansons are from the widely known *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, but have not been identified before this study, suggests that many song texts thought to be anonymous may be from prominent works of literature, a possibility that perhaps should be investigated further by musicologists.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Until now, the texts for Guillaume Costeley's chanson "O combien est heureux" and Jacques Arcadelt's "Comme l'argentine face" have been considered anonymous. The poems for both chansons were taken from Jacques Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule*. The first chanson is an original work of Gohory's and the second was an adaptation of a poem originating in the Spanish version of the text, *Rogel de Grecia*, written by Feliciano de Silva as a continuation of the Spanish *Amadis de Gaula romance*.

The choice of texts from Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre* by both Costeley and Arcadelt was a way for the composers to appeal to sixteenth-century French courtiers. *Amadis* is believed to have been first brought to France by François I, and interest in it reached its peak during the reign of Henri II. The cycle was widely read as both a means of entertainment and as a courtesy book. The widespread dissemination of *Amadis* ensured that most of the chansons' intended audience would be familiar with the text.

Costeley's patroness Catherine de Clermont, Comtesse de Retz, one of the dedicatees of his *Musique de Guillaume Costeley*, in which "O combien est heureux" first appeared, displayed her particular interest in the *Amadis* cycle when she commissioned Gohory to translate its thirteenth book. His *Trezieme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* was published the year after Costeley's music, but it is likely Catherine's interest in the cycle was known to Costeley before that date.

Arcadelt may have been motivated by his ties with the Guise family, who were close advisors to Henri II, to appeal to Henri and Diane de Poitiers's tastes. They held

Amadis in high regard. They were known to read the story aloud to one another in their free time and associated themselves with the cycle's heroes and heroines. Henri II was compared to Amadis de Gaule by the royal court in acknowledgment of his athletic prowess, and Diane was equated with the heroine of *L'Onzieme Livre*, Diane de Guindaye, because the two women shared a name and because they were both renowned for their beauty.

As a couple, Henri and Diane equated their love to the relationships formed by *Amadis*'s knights and ladies. Those relationships were at times Neo-Platonic in nature, meaning that intimacy was achieved on a spiritual level, rather than a physical one. Even when these relationships were consummated outside of marriage, they were given moral absolution because of the greatness of the couples' love. These traits helped support Henri and Diane's claim that their love was founded on more than physical attraction and gave credence to their extramarital affair. The couple's attachment to *Amadis* made the text a natural choice for Arcadelt to turn to in order to look for a poem to set as a chanson. Arcadelt's choice to use a text from *L'Onzieme Livre* could also have been personally motivated, since he may have formed a friendship with Gohory while the two men were serving abroad in Rome.

My research into Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre* and search of chanson incipits has led to the identification of two chanson texts set by prominent sixteenth-century composers that were previously anonymous. Further research might be done into the *Dixiesme Livre d'Amadis de Gaule* and the *Trezieme Livre* to determine if any of the song text insertions in those volumes were also set to music. Other French literary works that contain poetic insertions could be studied as well. Perhaps translations

have been overlooked because they are not widely considered to be unique works, but rather imitations of an original. However, when looked at through the lens of the sixteenth-century practice of free translation, they are creative adaptations that have been made into something different from their source texts by skillful translators. Translation in the sixteenth century was a creative act that required careful manipulation of a source text, so that its meaning in the original language would not be lost and so that it would appeal to the tastes of its target audience. The latter aim led to changes in writing style, characterization, and textual insertions. These insertions are a previously untapped resource that could potentially be used to identify authorship, or at least additional source concordances, of many chanson texts now designated as anonymous.

Identifying authorship of chanson texts and putting them in the context of their original sources can aid in the understanding of the meaning behind the poetry. Knowing a chanson text comes from a certain work of literature and the place of the poem within that piece of literature can affect the interpretation of the text and help performers relate to it. Locating a chanson text within a *romance* such as *Amadis* provides the poem with a narrative context that is usually only found in works with a plot or other recognizable circumstance. For example, out of context, the text of Arcadelt's "Comme l'argentine face," which describes a beautiful woman whose changing expressions can grant her lover joy or misery, might be interpreted as a bitter text about the fickleness of women. Putting the piece in the context of Gohory's *L'Onzieme Livre* reveals that the chanson is sung for a queen as she is lamenting the loss of her lover and is meant to be comforting. A singer who did not know this

context would have to make an uninformed decision about the nature of the text and, thus, would be in danger of arriving at an interpretation contrary to the intentions of both the poet and the composer. Work done by musicologists to identify sources of chanson texts could be furthered by inquiring into the poetic insertions translators, such as Gohory and his colleagues, included in their French adaptations. These translations could prove a rich resource for scholars to use when identifying authorship and context of chanson lyrics.

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