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INTERVENTIONS: NEW STUDIES IN MEDIEVAL CULTURE
ETHAN KNAPP, SERIES EDITOR

Fashioning Change

THE TROPE OF CLOTHING
IN HIGH- AND LATE-MEDIEVAL ENGLAND



Andrea Denny-Brown



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To Matt and Lucy

Imagine (if possible) a woman dressed in an endless garment, one that is woven of everything the magazine of Fashion says, for this garment without end is proffered through a text which is itself unending.

—Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*

The mind is a metaphor of the world of objects which is itself but an endless circle of mutually reflecting metaphors.

—Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*

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Culture in the Fifteenth Century, ed. Lisa H. Cooper and Andrea Denny-Brown (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 35–56.

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ABBREVIATIONS



- EETS Early English Text Society (o.s., Original Series, e.s., Extra Series, s.s. Supplementary Series)
- MED *The Middle English Dictionary*. Edited by Hans Kurath et al. 13 vols. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1952–2001. Available at: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>.
- OED *The Oxford English Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Edited by J. A. Simpson and E. S. C. Weiner. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- PL *Patrologiae cursus completus, series Latina*. Edited by J.-P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1841–65. Reprint Tournhout: Brepols, 1985–88.
- SAC *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*
- SR *The Statutes of the Realm*. Edited by T. E. Tomlins et al. 11 vols. 1810–28. Reprint London: Dawsons, 1963.

INTRODUCTION



Nakid thei wer[e]n fairest on to see;
For whil thei stood in staat off innocence,
Thei hadde off clothyng noon experience.

—John Lydgate, *Fall of Princes*, speaking of Adam and Eve¹

The “experience” of clothing in late-medieval England, to borrow John Lydgate’s wording, was the experience of change. Clothing, as his *Fall of Princes* (1431–39) reminds us, marked not only Adam and Eve’s radical turn from the static state of grace and innocence—*thei stood in staat*—into the falling, erring, mutable material realm of “deth and pouerte” (658), but also marked the origins of self-generated change in human history, the first instance of “[c]haungyng thestate” (657), of altering the form or circumstance of something from its original condition. A similar point was more recently made by Elaine Scarry, who asserts that Adam and Eve’s fig leaves symbolize “their first cultural act wholly independent of God,” and that they present one example of “the capacity for cultural self-transformation through artifice.”² For Lydgate, however, and for many of the poets that I will discuss in this book, this biblical scene is less about the act of artifice that turned fig leaves into garments than it is about the inherently transformative phenomenon of clothing itself. Lydgate dwells on the issue of changeability in this moment of his text, speaking in rapid succession of Adam and Eve’s “sodeyn chaung” (659), of their “onwar myscheeff” [sudden misfortune] (659), and of their “onhappi transmutacioun” (660) even as he also situates their altered vestimentary status as the symbol and narrative starting point for the larger interconnected history of earthly power and worldly mutability that is the focus of his monumental poem.

Lydgate’s treatment of humanity’s first sartorial event nicely demonstrates the primary subject of this book, which is the capacity of clothing

to organize ideas about cultural change, something that fascinated medieval poets and their audiences. I have chosen as my primary site of study a place and time in which the cultural pressures surrounding changes in clothing were overt: as scholars have shown, the period from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries marked a particularly innovative stage of vestimentary development in Europe, a period whose novel and ever-changing aesthetic sensibilities generated long moralizing castigations by homilists, satire and ridicule from moralists, and the first widespread wave of sumptuary laws that attempted to stabilize individual practices of consumption and appearance. The important cultural phenomenon that Roland Barthes called the “fashion system”—loosely defined as the rapid, systemic change of diverse forms of clothing—has recently been shown to have emerged and thrived in this period, a fact that offers seemingly irrefutable evidence of the important role that clothing played in the cultural formulations of change.³ Moreover, throughout high- and late-medieval Europe, the persistent association of clothing with stylistic novelty and its objects—imported fabrics, embroideries, and colors with ever-changing styles, shapes, and designs—was underscored by the highly symbolic role that particular garments played in transformative events, from the legendary sartorial episodes in the Fall and the Crucifixion and the celebrated rites of religious and secular investiture (and divestiture) to more ordinary material demonstrations of economic prosperity and downfall, socioeconomic and political mobility, and daily practices of consumption and self-fashioning.

As I will illustrate, English writers perceived these contemporary changes in distinctive ways: with a particularized conception of vacillating fashions as a governing national characteristic; with a deep investment in the (Boethian) philosophy of the changeable material world; and with a curiosity about the way emerging practices in vernacular writing, and especially vernacular lyric, might correspond to stylistic innovations in material culture. As they trace the developments of these ideas, the chapters of this book reveal that, despite their associations with frivolity and vanity, clothing and fashion were often understood to be philosophically and phenomenologically significant objects of study, engaging weighty issues of their culture, often under the guise of superficiality and caprice. Through their association with change, I will argue, clothing and fashion became important tropes for exploring the processes of material transience; correspondingly, through its association with clothing, the notion of change in effect became reified as an aesthetic act, an identifiable practice that could be observed, analyzed, and poeticized. To give a sense of the scope of these critical developments, in this introduction I provide two examples of the type of unexpected analytic depth that clothing offers two

very different texts: one an uncharacteristic treatise by the Church patriarch, Tertullian, and the other a virtually forgotten anecdotal lyric by the English poet Chaucer. I will then turn to discussing in detail the current state of scholarship on medieval fashion and the special currency that the topic of vestimentary changeability had in high- and late-medieval England.

THE *PALLIUM* AND THE *PILCHE*: THEORIZING CLOTHING AND CHANGE

Postmodern theorists in a variety of fields have discussed clothing's unique status as one of the most radically innovative forms of material culture, as a material practice whose extraordinary capacity for change gives rise to an equally powerful ability to mediate cultural experience and meaning. Roland Barthes was one of the earliest to theorize this potential in his discussion of the inherent "ambiguity" of fashion's anthropological enterprise: "simultaneously unpredictable and systematic, regular and unknown, aleatory and structured, [Fashion] fantastically conjoins the intelligible without which men could not live and the unpredictability attached to the myth of life."⁴ Cultural theorist Grant McCracken argues that clothing in itself brings both change and continuity, giving form to otherwise volatile historical moments: "clothing can be used as a historical operator which serves not only to reflect changing historical circumstances but also as a device which creates and constitutes this change in cultural terms."⁵ While for McCracken clothing establishes and organizes cultural change, making it visible, palpable, and open for scrutiny or debate, anthropologist Webb Keane describes the change that is effected *by* clothing through what he calls the "unrealized future" of sartorial semiotics—the cultural expectation that clothing *changes* people, and the fact that new clothing "makes possible or inhibits new practices, habits, and intentions."⁶ In clothing historian Gilles Lipovetsky's mind, aesthetic ingenuity in clothing demonstrates the important role that change plays in notions of human autonomy: "fashion attests to the human capacity to change, the ability of men and women to invent new modes of appearance . . . [and] the effort of human beings to make themselves masters of the conditions of their own existence."⁷

Whether in the generic sense of the word "clothing" used by McCracken and Keane, or in regard to the larger system of meaning called "fashion" used by Barthes and Lipovetsky—a distinction of terms that I will revisit later in this introduction—the theoretical value of clothing described by these critics was not lost on early writers. My first textual example can be

found in an unlikely place: the work of the third-century Church father Tertullian. In addition to his oft-cited scathing comments about the unnaturalness of female ornament and attire, Tertullian—who was fascinated, if not, as R. Howard Bloch has suggested, “obsessed” with the moral concerns generated by ornamentation—wrote a treatise about his own attire that made an argument for a natural law of sartorial change.⁸ Finding the need to defend publicly his own sartorial shift from wearing the Roman toga to the Greek philosophers’ *pallium*, a square, simple garment that eventually usurped the toga in Roman usage, Tertullian presented a treatise to the men of Carthage that situated ever-changing fashions within a universal law of change. Tertullian’s attitude in this speech is surprising considering his well-known moralizing position in other texts devoted to clothing. Here, he champions sartorial change. All the world, Tertullian declares, invoking Plato’s theory of forms, is versiform, or shape-changing [totum uersiforme est].⁹ Human changes in clothing style should not be criticized, he argues, but should rather be seen in the context of the world’s celebrated and numerous natural changes, which include vacillations of atmosphere, geography, and vegetation; animals who change their forms, hues, and sexes; and the *translatio* of human power and fortune. Tertullian’s defense of sartorial change as a human practice and a historical process lays the groundwork for later discussions about the importance of clothing as an interpretive lens for understanding human self-knowledge and human history. Pointing out the critical role of clothing changes in various creation myths, for example, he describes in detail Adam and Eve’s vestimentary progression from nakedness at birth to fig leaves and eventually to skins; then, broadening the discussion for his non-Christian listeners, he connects this tale to the mythical origins of clothing in the work of Mercury, Minerva, and Arachne. After defending vestimentary change as an ontological category, Tertullian turns to the everyday experience and local history of the garments in question: not only is the toga, unlike the *pallium*, an unwieldy, uncomfortable, and impractical garment that one throws off as soon as entering one’s house, he declares, but also its elevated association with Roman style disguises its checkered past as the dress of the Pelagians and Etruscans. At the end of the text he declares the *pallium* to have a new, improved philosophical purpose—to adorn Christians: “gaude pallium et exsulta! melior iam te philosophia dignata est ex quo Christianum vestire coepisti” [Be glad, O *pallium*, and exult! Now a better philosophy has considered you worthy, since you began to clothe the Christian].¹⁰

Tertullian’s text nicely demonstrates, through its deconstructive thoroughness and associational breadth, the way culture interpolates symbolic mean-

ing *into* the experience of material objects: what does it *mean* to change “a toga ad pallium”? [from toga to *pallium*], the text asks.¹¹ It means the origin of life, the fall from grace, the law of nature, *translatio imperii*, religious purpose, and a lighter load on one’s shoulders on a hot Carthage day. The multiple registers of meaning associated with dress work together here to establish the unique capabilities of clothing as an object of theoretical study: at once allegorical and material, old and new, public and private, clothing stretches to encompass the overlapping and ever-changing experiences of the body, the intellect, and the soul. By publicly donning the rudimentary garment of the Greek philosophers, Tertullian symbolically strips himself of ornament and its associations, aligning himself, and ultimately all Christians, with the Stoic philosopher who eschews material distractions.¹² The *pallium* was subsequently to become the privileged attire of popes and archbishops and the garment that artists imagined to have dressed Christ and the early patriarchs; as Tertullian puts it, the sight, and even the thought of, the *pallium* makes vices blush.¹³

Yet while Tertullian ostensibly means his self-fashioning to perform sartorial constancy, he also seems to acknowledge that by exchanging his toga for a *pallium* he is following a type of fashion trend. He makes clear that it is not only followers of Philosophy who wear the garment; teachers, doctors, poets, musicians, and “all of liberal studies” [omnis liberalitas studiorum] have also chosen to dress themselves in this way. Tertullian further underscores the paradoxical allure of the *pallium* by drawing attention to the stylistic correlation between rhetorical and sartorial eloquence, and by arguing for the persuasive powers of his clothing: “etsi eloquium quiescat . . . ipse habitus sonat. Sic denique auditur philosophus dum uidetur” [although eloquence is mute . . . this garment resounds. A philosopher, in fact, is *heard* so long as he is *seen*].¹⁴ In this dramatic speech that powerfully and wittily performs a change of attire in front of a live audience—if he did not go so far as to change his garment during this speech, he was surely wearing the *pallium* throughout it—Tertullian effectively adds back rhetorically what he has taken away materially. Rather than removing himself and his garments from the cycles of fashion, his statement codifies and naturalizes human sartorial change and places the *pallium* within that larger system. At the same time, he brings intense focus to the status of the novel vestimentary object itself, demonstrating that even the most plain, simple, and modest garment can still evoke a plethora of cultural associations and interpretive possibilities, often far beyond the local history or social standing of the individual who wears it. Tertullian’s *pallium* makes philosophy fashionable, and his *De Pallio* makes clothing, and changing clothes, philosophical.

A similar curiosity about sartorial change drives my second example. One of his shortest and possibly least-read poems, Chaucer's "Proverbe" offers a preliminary glimpse at how a philosophical English poet imaginatively engaged with the problem of sartorial diversity in the fourteenth century. Even in the mundane, daily use of clothes, this poem suggests, we are always negotiating the conceptual predicaments brought up by vestimentary change. The poem reads, in its entirety:

What shul these clothes thus manyfold,
 Lo this hote somers day?
 After grete hete cometh cold;
 No man caste his pilche away.

Of al this world the large compass
 Yt wil not in myn armes tweyne;
 Who so mochel wol embrace,
 Litel therof he shal distreyne.
 (1–8)¹⁵

These short verses infuse the English preoccupation with abundance and variety in clothing with a clear interest in how material change influences self-knowledge and thus one's knowledge of the world. The blunt material problem posed by the opening question—*what shall be done with so many clothes / on this hot summer day?*—invokes any number of practical dilemmas posed by seasonal clothing such as proper storage, socially appropriate seasonal attire, and physical comfort in a changing climate.¹⁶ The issue of wearing excessive clothing for fashion's sake regardless of season was especially timely when Chaucer was writing. The 1363 sumptuary legislation's withdrawal of the right of any subject to wear fur in the summer months, for example, shows how prevalent such practices were.¹⁷ Read alone, the opening line's evident problematic regarding "manifold" clothing directly engages with the issue of English *varietas vestium* [variety of clothing] a topic that I will discuss in more depth below, and that has been proven to be particularly germane in Chaucer's works. As Laura F. Hodges puts it, in the *Canterbury Tales* Chaucer provides "the widest range (quality and value) of contemporary fabric names in a single English literary work in the Middle Ages."¹⁸ What shall be done with so many clothes, indeed?

Both countering and complementing the initial material concerns of the opening question, the second stanza of Chaucer's short poem invokes the rhythms and lived experiences of material life. The circular movement and

thematic of lines 3 through 8 address the intangible things of life: in the turning of the seasons, the related *abab cdcd* rhyme pattern, and the “compass” of the world encircled in two arms, we are led to contemplate life’s inevitable temporalities, our own nostalgic awareness regarding past lessons learned, and the wholesale optimism of summer giving way to the privation of winter. Layers and quantities of clothing are used as a metaphor for change here, but a change that is not wholly unexpected; one’s outer garment or “pilch” works as yet another subtle reminder of the cyclical nature of our material existence: after warmth and abundance will inevitability come colder, darker times. And as in life, the restrained impulse to “caste . . . away” unwanted garments in the first part of the poem is replaced in the second with the insatiable desire for “so mochel” more. Whether this expansive appetite is purely material—in the medieval sense of *coveitise*—or an abstract ambition, or both, the short poem does not clarify.¹⁹ The overall message, however, clearly regards the conflict between desire and necessity: while one *wants* the world, one *needs* a winter coat.

But the poem is even more complicated. The “pilche,” a common outer jacket made of fur or skins and worn by both men and women in this period, had clear associations with the coat of skins with which Adam and Eve are clothed in Genesis 3:21, as the Latin Vulgate *tunicas pellicias* (from *pellicius*, made of skins) becomes *pilche* in texts such as the Middle English *Story of Genesis and Exodus*.²⁰ Sermonizers disagreed about the ramifications of these garments. While the influential preacher John Bromyard (d. 1352) describes them as an early ideal of sartorial simplicity, a clothing standard—much like the nakedness of Christ on the Cross, he declares—from which people should learn to cast away their own excessively various attire, Chaucer’s later contemporary Robert Rypon claims that the garments of skins given by God to replace the self-styled fig leaves represent the shameful and sinful nature of postlapsarian humanity.²¹ By situating this popular proverb about clothing in relation to the vacillating material world, Chaucer probes both the theoretical implications and the moral parameters of clothing, pointing out the fundamental irreconcilability of the ‘all covet all lose’ message with the material practices of daily life. He insists, much like Tertullian centuries earlier, that we keep in mind the ‘natural’ cycles of clothing usage before criticizing fashion’s excessive variability, and yet he also makes sure that we recognize a paradox about clothing in his culture: that while one might be able to cast away superfluous clothes at the end of a season, one will never be able to remove one’s “pilch,” the material burden of Adam and Eve that is played out over and over in our own vestimentary vacillations.

FASHION AND *VARIETAS VESTIUM* IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

My argument in this book is that clothing has historically provided an important way to index and to comment on forms of cultural change, and that this symbolic function becomes intensified during a period of particularly radical vestimentary changes in high- and late-medieval England. In the previous examples I have tried to demonstrate how theoretically provocative *clothing* was for early writers as a cultural signifier of change; now, because it has historically been so important in the integration of clothing into the thematics of change, I will establish the place of *fashion* as a related but distinct concept in the medieval world.

The scholarly interest in fashion as a cultural system has compelled a provocative yet relatively fluid retreat into history. Since the iconic studies by Thorstein Veblen and Fernand Braudel, fashion has been inextricably linked with the development of consumption, and as the point of origins for consumer economies has lately been pushed further and further back into the modern, early modern, and finally premodern periods, so have the origins of fashion.²² The most vigorous scholarly debate involves the exact period when and place where “fashion” first emerged as a cultural system. While older critical models focused on nineteenth-century France and eighteenth-century England, recent studies argue for earlier and earlier junctures: sixteenth-century England, fifteenth-century Florence, fourteenth-century England, fourteenth-century Burgundy, and, most recently, thirteenth-century France.²³ The vast majority of recent scholarship on medieval costume locates the birth of Western fashion in the virtual revolution of European dress that emerged in and around the 1340s, when the rounded, loose, toga-inspired, less emphatically gendered garments that had been worn for centuries suddenly became tighter, tailored, padded, and variously colored, with fitted sleeves and torsos, conspicuous hip belts and accessories, elongated limbs and pointed hats, dramatically shortened and stuffed doublets for men, and a penchant for slitted and slashed extremities. As one anonymous sermonizer describes it, dress in this period consisted of “dyvers atyre, as of strayt clothes and schorte, and daggede hodes other typpes, chausures dysgysed and y-tyed up streyt in thre stedes, baudrykes and baselardes and crakowes of half a fote longe, harlotes and laddes and other dysgysynges” [diverse attire, as of straight clothes and short, and dagged hoods and other tippets, boots disguised and tied up straight in three places, belts, ornamental daggers, crackows (long pointed shoes) of half a foot long, shoe thongs and other disguisings].²⁴

Recent studies have challenged this scholarly consensus regarding the

fourteenth-century emergence of fashion as phenomenon. Returning to the type of structuralist model of fashion analysis used by Barthes and Baudrillard, for example, Sarah-Grace Heller's *Fashion in Medieval France* persuasively identifies a clear fashion system in thirteenth-century France, a culture that demonstrates the existence of all ten of the author's specialized "criteria" for fashion's existence.²⁵ Heller's is the first book-length literary study to turn its full attention to the problem of 'the birth of fashion' in the Middle Ages, and she discusses the extent to which this subject has been previously skewed by the predominant use of visual, rather than textual, evidence to make historical claims.²⁶ Declaring that "a shift in methodology is in order" for understanding fashion as a cultural phenomenon, Heller calls not only for further analysis of clothing symbolism in literary texts but also for a more concerted effort to understand fashion as a systemic whole rather than as a series of isolated social, material, and economic developments.²⁷ Importantly, even as her meticulous structuralism maps out the codes of medieval fashion as an emergent (twelfth-century) and existing (thirteenth-century) cultural system occurring much earlier than previously thought, Heller proposes an end to misguided scholarly quests for origins, carefully avoiding any claim of her historical finding as a definitive cultural starting point.²⁸

If early literary texts have been undervalued in identifying historical models of ever-changing fashion, the same cannot be said for the influence of fashion studies on medieval literary and cultural studies. The emergence of fashion has served as the backdrop for a rich interdisciplinary discussion about cultural formations of identity in medieval Europe to which literary scholars have substantially added. Claire Sponsler's groundbreaking work on medieval dress and consumption, for example, reveals that the meticulous social stratification of late-medieval English regulatory discourses ironically generated numerous possibilities for using dress as a medium of cultural resistance.²⁹ Susan Crane's study of ritualized courtier performances in England and France makes the discovery that medieval selfhood was often understood to exist in *external* public performances such as costume, rather than in interior consciousness.³⁰ Likewise, E. Jane Burns, in her two substantial studies on dress in twelfth- and thirteenth-century French courtly love literature, finds that fashionable garments often operate against the grain of textual and social expectations, as cultural crossing points that disrupt paradigms regarding internality and externality, gender roles and relations, and East-West interactions.³¹

A common argumentative thread in these generative studies by Sponsler, Crane, and Burns is that medieval clothing symbolism often gives rise to the critically *unexpected*: it offers, respectively, resistance instead of regula-

tion, identity instead of pretense, and disruption instead of categorization. This potential for unexpectedness speaks to clothing's symbiotic relationship with change in this period—to the “unpredictability” that Barthes attributes to the fashion system. As Crane points out, unpredictability was an important part of the consumer culture built around the demand for fashionable clothes; the endless reshaping of clothing silhouettes in the fourteenth century, she states, made “change itself an aspect of consumption.”³² With fashion as either the text or the subtext of most recent critical studies on medieval clothing, the link between dress and changeability appears everywhere within them—from modern definitions of fashion's inherent mutability, to actual changes in clothing color, style, and shape, to the changing social codes that follow changing styles, to the myriad personal and social transformations that medieval vestimentary performances are said to bring about. Yet the cultural association between clothing and change described by medieval writers has not yet generated a study that undertakes the topic in its own regard. My methodological interest in medieval fashion, by contrast, lies precisely in its consummate demonstration of clothing's troping of change, a topic that I trace in this book from late-antique discussions about the changeable material world to late-medieval depictions of changing aesthetic practices more broadly.

In high- and late-medieval England, the ubiquitous discourses about fashion's changeability performed a particular type of cultural work. While moralists and satirists throughout medieval Europe deplored the ‘alien’ nature of new fashions in their midst whether those fashions were in fact of foreign origin or not, in late-medieval England this discourse reached the proportions of a national pastime.³³ Sometimes the foreign fashions blamed were those worn by the French during the Hundred Years War; sometimes they were connected with specific foreign courtiers in the English court during this period, such as those who arrived with Philippa of Hainault when she married Edward III, as I discuss below. In most cases, imitation of foreign fashions served as the incentive for a discussion of England's self-identified vice of *varietas vestium* [variety of clothing], wherein England's sartorial diversity was associated with myriad other kinds of cultural mutability.³⁴ This pervasive narrative about the national penchant for *varietas vestium* is found in late-medieval sermons, chronicles, aristocratic clothing accounts, and poems, and it encompasses both the visual impression of England's diverse aesthetic and the frequency with which that aesthetic changed: fashions were said not only to *look* new, strange, and unstable but also literally to change every year, every week, every day, or even several times a day. Likewise, the deleterious effects of wearing these fashions ranged in intensity from disrupting categories of

social status, to effecting personal misfortune or death, to fulfilling prophecies of national disaster regarding military and economic failings, plague, revolution, or apocalypse.

Andrew Galloway has identified the Benedictine monk Ranulph Higden's popular chronicle of English history, the *Polychronicon* (1330s–40s), as a major source text for many circulating ideas regarding English *varietas vestium* as a national feature.³⁵ Higden's influential discussion of English diversity in dress, Galloway argues, helped to create the trope of English social instability as "a set feature of national ideology," ensuring that the stereotype of reckless, variable Englishmen who (in Higden's words) "squeamishly despise their own things, and commend those of others," and who "freely transfigure themselves into what pertains to others" became a mark of national self-consciousness.³⁶ We can see this impulse when English sermonizers denounce the long-term evolution of clothing through the ages, decrying the change from Adam and Eve's tunics of skins to the increasingly luxurious and foreign contemporary garments—"diversely decorated," in Robert Rypon's words, "in an infinite variety of ways."³⁷ English chroniclers connected England's *varietas vestium* to more recent historical events. A representative example can be seen in John of Reading's entry for 1344 in his *Chronica*, which (written in hindsight in 1366–68) blames English mutability in dress on Philippa of Hainault's influence and also positions this mutability as the cause for the plague of 1348–49:

Anglici tum insaniae alienigenarum adhaerentes velut de adventu Hannoniensium, annis quasi xviii praeelapsis, annuatim varias deformitates vestium mutantes, longorum largorumque indumentorum antiqua honestate deserta, vestibus curtis, strictis, frustratis, scissis, omni parte laqueatis, corrigiatis, botonatis cum manicis ac tipeitis supertunicarum et caputiarum nimis pendulis, tortoribus et, ut verius dicam, daemonibus tam indumentis quam calciamentis similiores quam hominibus. Et si clerici seu religiosi aliquibus dictorum usi sunt, non regulares sed irregulares judicentur. Mulieres enim in praedictis et aliis curiosius fluxerunt, adeo stricte vestitae, ut ad anos celandos caudas vulpinas vestibus inferius consutas penderent. Quorum forte superbia futuris praetendit infortunia.

[Ever since the arrival of the Hainaulters about eighteen years ago the English have been madly following outlandish ways, changing their deformed varieties of clothing yearly. They have abandoned the old, decent style of long, full garments for clothes which are short, tight, impractical, slashed, every part laced, strapped or buttoned up, with the sleeves of the

gowns and the tippetts of the hoods hanging down to absurd lengths, so that, if truth be told, their clothes and footwear make them look more like torturers, or even demons, than men. Clerics and other religious adopted the same fashions, and should be considered not “regulars,” but “irregulars.” Women flowed with the tides of fashion in this and other things even more eagerly, wearing clothes that were so tight that they wore a fox tail hanging down inside their skirts at the back, to hide their asses. The sin of pride manifested in this way must surely bring down misfortune in the future.]³⁸

Like the Latin chroniclers, vernacular writers also used specific keywords concerning English sartorial imitation, mutability, and variety and their moral implications: clothing is above all else *dyvers*, a word around which a plethora of synonyms and related words, such as *desgysede*, *countrefete*, *excessyf*, and *manifold* are usually clustered.³⁹ As we see in the later *Brut* chronicle, which echoes Reading’s almost word for word, *varietas vestium* turns into England’s “diuers schappis”: “þey [the English] ordeyned and chaungyd ham euery zere diuers schappis of disgynges of cloping.”⁴⁰

As the growing vocabulary depicting vestimentary change in late-medieval England attests, the culture of change encompassing English clothing in this period also took root at the level of the English language itself. Most significantly, and despite earlier studies that state the contrary, the English term “fashion” as a word meaning rapidly changing dress clearly existed in fourteenth-century England. A satirical poem dated to 1380 on manners and costume that I discuss in depth in chapter 5, for example, describes the “newe facoun” (alternate spelling, “newe fascion”) of the English people in this period as not only “now shorte and now longe” but, like its wearers, “now is here, now goon.”⁴¹ Also captured in this important linguistic moment in England is evidence of the larger conceptual connection between clothing and change that I address in this book, as seen in the usage of the Middle English words “chaunge” and “chaungen”: for a person to “change,” as we say in modern colloquial English, using a phrase that emerges in the fifteenth century, meant then, as it does now, “to change clothes.”⁴²

England’s self-perpetuating reputation for sartorial imitation, appropriation, variety, and mutability serves as the backdrop for the arguments that I make in this book. Medieval writers who treated the subject of clothing during the rise of the fashion system had to contend not only with the capricious spectacle of novelty that they witnessed around themselves—evidence of new technologies, new tailoring, new silhouettes, shapes, fabrics, and terms, all of which had the potential to change faster than the texts describing them could be written and copied—but also with a cultural tradition telling them that

clothing's inherent changeability was a cipher for more important questions about the instability of English identity, and of human existence in the material world more generally. The trope of the Englishman consumed with his own "diuers schappis" provided one way of inquiring into the myriad workings of cultural change. Its importance is suggested not only by its prevalence in medieval culture but also by its historical staying power, as it went on to become a controlling trope in the early modern period, where the stereotype took on new and equally fascinating cultural resonances.⁴³

THIS BOOK'S DESIGN

Much of this book examines the trope of change within literary descriptions of contemporary clothing that were either written by or read by medieval English subjects. It begins, however, with a somewhat inverted critical approach, which is to examine the trope of *clothing* in the source text that represents that culture's most ubiquitous theory of *change*. Chapter 1 effectively positions the sartorial symbolism of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* as a type of textual prehistory to medieval English notions of sartorial changeability, suggesting that the conceptual framework within which later writers understood the phenomenon of fashion already existed in late-antique discourses about the changeable material world. The *Consolatio* begins with a philosophical question similar to Tertullian's question about his *pallium*, albeit in a very different context: what does it mean, the text asks, to be suddenly stripped of all one's material goods, to change from wearing the robe of a *magister officiorum* to that of a prisoner under penalty of death? Boethius's influential book, I argue, implicitly presents its most crucial argument in sartorial terms: worldly changeability is both symbolized by and experienced through Fortune's infamous manipulation of her subjects' attire. Unlike Tertullian, Boethius does not focus on the social history and context of his change in dress, but rather uses the abstract philosophical connection between clothing and being—inherited from the Aristotelian concept of the *habitus*—to structure more broadly his discussion of human happiness in the face of material mutability.

In chapter 2 I argue that writers throughout high- and late-medieval Europe created in Boethius an authority for the moral and philosophical questions surrounding the use of dress and ornamentation in daily life, and created in Fortune, his most famous character, an icon for myriad explorations and reimaginings of fashion as a purveyor of change. I draw attention to a little-known text from the thirteenth century, *De disciplina scholarium*

[On the Training of Scholars], which was attributed to Boethius and which was used by the Dominican friar Nicholas Trevet in his influential early-fourteenth-century commentary on the *Consolatio*, to analyze Boethius's understanding of luxury ornament in general and self-fashioning in particular. I also discuss how, in a parallel development, writers in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France and in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England used Fortune's association with fashion to explore the connection between self-fashioning and free will. When writers such as Jean de Meun, Chaucer, Lydgate, and Charles d'Orléans associate Fortune with the most fashionable garments of the day and ascribe to her control over the nuances of style and novelty, they also, I argue, begin to scrutinize the experience of fashion as a mechanism of self-control, and the corresponding ability of the fashionable to take charge of their own material destinies.

Chapter 3 returns to the thirteenth century to begin examining other paradigms of vestimentary change—in this case, the contentious subjects of fashion and self-fashioning in ecclesiastical dress. One important garment, the episcopal *capa* (cape or cope), came under the scrutiny of two very different kinds of texts, a monumental liturgical treatise (William Durand's *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, or *Rationale for the Divine Offices*), and a little-known goliardic lyric called “Song upon the Tailors.” These texts address a growing problem at the heart of contemporary Church attire: how the changing fashion of actual garments worn by the clergy no longer accorded with the biblical instructions that gave those ecclesiastical garments their authority. While Durand attends to this problem by theorizing and categorizing the types of change made available to him through allegorical exposition, the anonymous satirical poet turns instead to the larger culture of change he sees in his immediate sociopolitical context. Parodying both the biblical trope of God as a tailor and the stasis of Old Testament law, the sartorial “law of metamorphosis” presented by this poet compares the tailor's godlike ability to sartorially transform bodies and subjectivities with the tremendous vesting power of the bishop, who transforms his subjects through practices of investiture or divestiture, and also transforms himself through the ritualized donning of sacred—although fashionable—attire. In this way changes in clothing once again frame questions of one's own material destiny in the face of divine design.

Turning to one of the most popular tales of the fourteenth century, chapter 4 examines the moralized rhetoric of vestimentary change that underlies Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale* and *Envoy*. In the sartorially challenged figure of Griselda resides a clerkly comment on the heated debates of the day with respect to female consumption, ownership, and attire. Chaucer's version of

the tale explicitly accentuates its material context: while Griselda's stoicism reads like a Boethian manual on how to endure the fluctuations of Fortune's goods, for instance, her quiescent antimaterialism is challenged by the aggressive dressing and spending habits of the *Envoy's* contemporary "arch wives," and by the Clerk's own vestimentary and rhetorical frugality, which betrays an excessiveness equal to the ornament that he shuns. This chapter moves the provocative subject of sartorial mutability from the realm of spiritual order to that of socioeconomic development, mapping out the Clerk's strategy of associating aesthetic novelty with the mercantile *nouveaux riches*.

My final chapter examines the revolutionary ethos of change represented by the medieval English *galaunt*. This critically neglected figure of fashion epitomizes English *varietas vestium*, encapsulating in his very name the imitation of French fashions at the heart of that national trait. A parody of English mutability in dress, the medieval galaunt's ever-changing foreign fashions, stuffed codpieces, and empty pockets appear to mark him as a stock figure of mirth and moral depravity. A look at the evolution of this figure as a literary trope, however, demonstrates his profound ability to mediate the cultural experience of aesthetic turmoil. The galaunt's celebration of aesthetic upheaval organizes ideas about sociopolitical upheaval; his changing fashions are repeatedly linked with a mysterious prophecy about the future downfall of England, and emerge in association with two violent episodes of insurrection—in the fourteenth century, the Uprising of 1381, and in the fifteenth century, the Jack Cade rebellion. The late-medieval impulse to historicize this figure, I argue, reframes the galaunt as an "event," a phenomenon of historical consequence that lingers in the workings of both cultural memory and poetic aesthetics.

Together, these chapters uncover two main categories of cultural change. The first type concerns the phenomenological meaning of clothing symbolism in high- and late-medieval culture, its tendency to reveal what Lydgate, to return to the epigraph of this introduction, calls the "experience" of clothing. Many of the texts that I explore in these chapters use change and variety in clothing to reveal and examine the mundane structures and patterns of lived experience, whether daily routines of dressing and undressing; seasonal changes in attire; social mobility upward or downward; practices of consumption, possession, and loss; or changes of style and appearance. Writers also frequently depict the experience of change through incessant rhythms and cycles of clothing vacillations, a literary-cultural phenomenon that Barthes calls the "endless garment": whether falling, rising, turning, cycling, mutating, metamorphosing, or shape-shifting, the garments described by medieval writers and explored in this book connote a sense of inexhaustible novelty

and variation.⁴⁴ Part of my argument, therefore, is that these recurring patterns of vestimentary meaning manifest a heightened awareness of the mutable material world, allowing medieval writers and readers to actively engage with the relationship between their own changeability and that of the world around them. In the same way that Fortune's wheel provided a rhythmic pattern through which to understand the highs and lows of material life, I argue, so the daily stripping and donning of garments—and the associated cycles of quickly changing fashions—offered a convenient, easily accessible trope for the constitutive experience of material acquisition, ownership, and loss.

A second, related, category of change that I explore here is that of poetic aesthetics. Chaucer's "Proverbe," which I discuss above, comments on aesthetic excess through its relative absence of poetic ornament: the poem is manifestly spare, with its extreme brevity, regular rhyme scheme, short lines, and dominance of unisyllabic words (the key term "manyfold" [many and various] in line 1 is, appropriately, the only word longer than two syllables). Several of the texts in this book display similar aesthetic strategies, discussing clothing and other material goods in ways that overtly resist engaging the poetic practices (and pleasures) of excessive ornamental imagery or technical detail. Other poems that I consider take the opposite approach and instead mimic the mannered artifice of their fashionable subjects by, for example, using excessive lists of fashion terms or descriptions, by including Frenchified vocabulary that echoes the English imitation of French fashions, by employing acrostics and other highly ornamental poetic forms to convey a self-conscious aesthetic style, or by writing the text in macaronic and alternating mixed-language poetic forms that perform verbally and even visually the diverse and transitory nature of the clothes they describe. Together these poems illustrate a growing interest in the aesthetics of change, and in presenting change as an aesthetic event or action that can be observed, examined, and practiced through literary means. Through a wide range of genres and time periods, therefore, the texts in these chapters tell a surprisingly consistent story, which is that the literary trope of vestimentary change stages powerful questions about the *experience* of the changeable material world, and that these questions are often presented through variable and hybrid literary forms which themselves recreate the material and stylistic changeability that is also their subject.

CONCLUSION



The chapters of this book have treated the symbolic function of clothing in medieval literature and culture by examining the theoretical roots and the material circumstances of a single multifaceted trope—vestimentary change—in high- and late-medieval Europe. After demonstrating the importance of this trope to the dominant medieval theory of material change, that of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, I turned my attention to tracing the literary development of vestimentary change as an organizing principle for the perception and experience of ornamentation from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries. I have in effect mapped this historical development twice: first, in chapter 2, through a discussion of the high- and late-medieval transformations of Boethius's theory into praxis, as evidenced by the practical reception of his text and by the changing ornament and function of the goddess Fortune as the Middle Ages progress. I then revisited this evolution more slowly and from different perspectives in chapters 3 through 5 by examining a particular cultural tension in each century that is explored through the trope of vestimentary changeability: standards of ecclesiastical dress in the thirteenth century, powers of wifely consumption in the fourteenth century, and cultural aesthetics of excess in the fifteenth century.

Throughout these chapters my central aim has been to reveal *alteration* as one of the enduring structural elements of the medieval experience and perception of clothing and ornament. The intrinsic ability of clothing both to symbolize and to enact change existed before it became the primary agent of systemic change in the fashion system that took root during the period

of this study, but its codification in this system magnified and accelerated its properties of changeability in a way that seems to have been especially provocative and fascinating for English writers of the period, who found in fashion's ceaseless diversity an unexpectedly powerful and negotiable cultural trope. On the one hand, I have shown how writers used the trope of clothing to examine the way changing ideas in their cultures were materially manifested: how certain clothing styles became associated with the goddess Fortune, or how transformations in ecclesiastical dress reflected current ideas about comfort, style, and status. On the other hand, I have shown how these writers used clothing to explore the effects of the material world more generally upon high- and late-medieval ideologies: for example, how material mutability gets taken up as a prompt for thinking through ideas about English national identity, about bourgeois aesthetics, about poetic style, and about the concept of "change" itself in the medieval imaginary.

The findings about clothing in this study can be usefully extended to material culture at large. Recent work in material culture has explored the potency of material objects as intermediaries of the material world that make meaning in their own right. The "new materialism" popularized by Bill Brown demands that we turn our critical attention to the ways in which unsung material objects "organize our public and private affection."¹ Daniel Miller has similarly described the importance of examining our habitual cultural practices and beliefs involving material objects, a critical method that he calls "the ethnographic experience of the mundane," of which he offers as a prime example "the intimate relationship . . . between ourselves and our clothing."² Webb Keane also uses clothing as an important example for understanding the way objects guide our cultural practices and the ideologies connected to those practices. Keane is especially interested in what he calls "the openness" of things and their historicizing significations: the ability of an object to signify meaning beyond the subject who interprets it or the historical moment in which it exists.³ While the many meanings of medieval clothing have been the subject of substantial critical work, especially in the last decade, *Fashioning Change* is the first study to situate medieval vestimentary discourses within this larger conversation about the potential of material objects to make cultural meaning not only legible, but possible. If this material potentiality is brought upon our understanding of objects as they figure in literary texts, then we have greater means at our disposal to think through more traditional literary uses of clothing symbolism, such as in allegorical hermeneutics, and how these uses cohabit with other modes of signification within a text. Rethinking the multivalences of medieval material objects in literary texts reveals that there is not as much of a gap between the literary

world of objects and the material world of objects as there was once thought to be. This kind of consideration allows us to reexamine the symbolic function of objects in high- and late-medieval Europe, a culture that could signal its fascination with patient Griselda's clothing, for example, but that refused unilateral interpretations of that clothing, preferring instead to offer multiple perspectives—in Chaucer's case, as an allegory of the Christian soul *and* as a commentary on the dressing and spending habits of bourgeois wives. Likewise, it allows us to conceive of a culture in which Tertullian's *pallium*, Boethius's prison garb, Bishop Durand's *capa*, Chaucer's *pilch*, and the differentiated black garments of Lydgate and Charles d'Orléans could speak simultaneously to those individuals' experiences with regard to material objects and to their philosophical and poetical pursuit of immaterial knowledge in a material world.

Finally, the historical period that I study in this book marks an important shift in the cultural perspective about ornament and change that will develop more profoundly in later periods. In high- and late-medieval English culture, what seems trivial—fashion and its objects—becomes an occasion for re-envisioning and reinvention. The cult of novelty embraced by late-medieval galaunt poems is the most dramatic illustration of this impulse, but even where I use examples of writers who explicitly resist sartorial change, such as in Durand's *Rationale*, or who depict infelicitous changes, such as in Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*, clothing still effectively functions as a way of embracing change, in that the garments described are themselves modified to signal types of permanence. This paradoxical gesture, which moralizes changing fashions on the one hand and delights in using clothing to effectuate change on the other, can help to shed light on other historical moments in which we see the most resistance to material change. Turning our attention to the ways in which reform is being materially signaled in these early texts, for example, allows us to see a connection between the changing fashions in the late-medieval period and the reforms of the early modern period, in which the condemnation of ornament features so prominently. The Reformation and pre-Reformation “stripping of the altars”—which, as late as the nineteenth century, was blamed for England's subsequent dearth of ornamental style—makes explicit the connection between politics, aesthetics, and literary style that can be found implicitly in high- and late-medieval England.⁴ Looking forward to the large-scale changes in material practices brought about by the Reformation provides further evidence that clothing was understood not simply in terms of superficial garb and interpretation but rather as a serious literary and worldly object, whose criticality becomes even more evident when it becomes targeted as the medium of material corruption.

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).

2. Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain: The Making and Unmaking of the World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 209.

3. Roland Barthes, *The Fashion System*, trans. Matthew Ward and Richard Howard (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

4. Barthes, 300.

5. McCracken, *Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 61.

6. Webb Keane, "Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning: On the Social Analysis of Material Things," in *Materiality*, ed. Daniel Miller (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2005), 193. See also Peter Corrigan, "Interpreted, Circulating, Interpreting: The Three Dimensions of the Clothing Object," in *The Socialness of Things: Essays on the Socio-Semiotics of Objects*, ed. Stephen Harold Riggins (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994), 435–52, esp. 435, 443–46. See also E. Jane Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed: Reading through Clothes in Medieval French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), 15–16.

7. Gilles Lipovetsky, *The Empire of Fashion: Dressing Modern Democracy*, trans. Catherine Porter (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 24.

8. R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 39.

9. *De Pallio*, PL 2:1029–50B. "On the Pallium," trans. S. Thelwall, in *The Ant-Nicene Fathers*, vol. 4, ed. Alexander Roberts, James Donaldson, and Arthur Cleveland Coxe (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2007), 5–12. On Tertullian's use of Plato, see Paul McKechnie, "Tertullian's *de Pallio* and Life in Roman Carthage," *Prudentia* 24, no. 2 (1992): 44–66, esp. 56.

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 occurso 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.
18. Laura F. Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume: The Secular Pilgrims in the General Prologue* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 233.
19. Later renditions of this proverb by Lydgate, Idley, and Henryson make clear that they address *coveitise* (Whiting and Whiting, A91).
20. *MED*, s.v. "pilch(e)" (n.) 1b. *The Story of Genesis and Exodus*, ed. Richard Morris, EETS 7 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1865), 377.
21. Both sermons are discussed by G. R. Owst, in *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1933; repr. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961), 404–5.
22. Select studies on the rise of consumer society that address fashion are Neil McKendrick, *The Birth of a Consumer Society: The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (London: Europa Publications, 1982); Robert Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950–1350* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976);

Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and *An Age of Transition? Economy and Society in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

23. Relevant studies on fashion and clothing include (listed chronologically): Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 1980); John Scattergood, "Fashion and Morality in the Late Middle Ages," in *England in the Fifteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1986 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Daniel Williams (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1987), 255–72; Elizabeth Wilson, *Adorned in Dreams: Fashion and Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 1–67; Diane Owen Hughes, "Regulating Women's Fashions," in *Silences of the Middle Ages*, ed. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Lipovetsky, 1–54; Anne Hollander, *Sex and Suits: The Evolution of Modern Dress* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); Françoise Piponnier and Perrine Mane, *Dress in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Beamish (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), and "Narrating the Social Order: Medieval Clothing Laws," *CLIO* 21 (1992): 265–83; Susan Mosher Stuard, "Gravitas and Consumption," in *Conflicted Identities and Multiple Masculinities: Men in the Medieval West*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (New York: Garland, 1999), 215–42; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Laura Hodges, *Chaucer and Costume and Chaucer and Clothing: Clerical and Academic Costume in the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005); Susan Crane, *The Performance of Self: Ritual, Clothing, and Identity during the Hundred Years War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002); Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, and *Sea of Silk: A Textile Geography of Women's Work in Medieval French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), and Burns, ed., *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004); *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Press, 2004); Carole Collier Frick, *Dressing Renaissance Florence: Families, Fortunes, and Fine Clothing* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005); Sarah-Grace Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2007); Margaret Scott, *Medieval Dress and Fashion* (London: British Library, 2007); Special issue, "Cultures of Clothing in Later Medieval and Early Modern Europe," ed. Margaret F. Rosenthal, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39, no. 3 (Fall 2009); and Monica Wright, *Weaving Narrative: Clothing in Twelfth-Century French Romance* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010). A helpful discussion of the different arguments regarding fashion's emergence can be found in Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 46–60.

24. London, British Library, MS Harley 2398, fol. 9.

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.

26. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 10, and chapter 2.

27. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 52.

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

29. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, esp. 1–23; and "Narrating the Social Order," 265–83.

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. Burns'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.

35. Andrew Galloway, "Latin England," in *Imagining a Medieval English Nation*, ed. Kathy Lavezzo (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 41–95; esp. 59–65. In chapter 2, pp. 58–59, I suggest that Boethius's text also played an important role in the prevalence of this concept in England.

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.

38. John of Reading, *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis 1346–1367*, ed. James Tait (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1914), 89; my emphasis. Translation based on that of Rosemary Horrox, *The Black Death* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 131.

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,"

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.

40. *The Brut, or The Chronicles of England*, ed. Friedrich W. D. Brie, EETS o.s. 136.2 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1908), 296–97.

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. “chaunge” (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.

Thomas Heywood, *The Rape of Lucrece* (Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey English Verse Drama Full-Text Database, 1994), lines 1615–22.

44. Barthes, 42.

CHAPTER ONE

1. I.pr.4.45; translation mine, based on Green, 14. All Latin quotations of Boethius are from James J. O’Donnell, *Boethius “Consolatio Philosophiae”* (Bryn Mawr, PA: Bryn Mawr Commentaries, 1990). Unless otherwise noted, English translations are from Richard H. Green, *The Consolation of Philosophy* (New York: Macmillan, 1962). I have

occasionally preferred to use the translations of V. E. Watts, *Consolation of Philosophy* (New York: Penguin, 1969), or to offer a substitution of my own, with consultation of J. F. Niermeyer and C. Van de Kieft, eds., *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus* (Leiden: Brill, 2002). Such decisions are cited in my notes.

2. *Bien Advisé et Mal Advisé* (Paris: Anthoine Vêrard, 1498), Bibliothèque Nationale, Réserve Vélins, 602, quotation 85. Accessible online at the Bibliothèque Nationale at <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k111047q.image.f85.langFR>. My awareness of Fortune's role in this play is indebted to Alan H. Nelson's article, "Mechanical Wheels of Fortune, 1100–1547," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 43 (1980): 227–33, at 229–31. See also discussions in Louis Petit de Julleville, *Répertoire du théâtre comique en France au moyen-âge* (Geneva: Slatkine Reprints, 1967), 39–41, 325, 329; and Werner Helmich, *Die Allegorie im Französischen Theater des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 1976), 211–13.

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.

4. On this tradition, see Richard A. Dwyer, "The Tempting Integument," in *Boethian Fictions: Narratives in the Medieval French Versions of the "Consolatio Philosophiae"* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1976), 51. See also Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden: Brill, 1974), 15–32; and A. J. Minnis and A. B. Scott, "Poetic Fiction and Truth: William of Conches, 'Bernard Silvester,' Arnulf of Orléans, and Ralph of Longchamps," in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100–c.1375*, ed. Minnis and Scott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 113–64.

5. The most in-depth studies of medieval Fortune's symbolism are Howard R. Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974); Jerold C. Frakes, *The Fate of Fortune in the Early Middle Ages: The Boethian Tradition* (New York: Brill, 1988); Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Emmanuelle Métry, eds., *La Fortune: Thèmes, Représentations, Discours* (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 2003); the compiled illuminations in Tamotsu Kurose, *Miniatures of Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Manuscripts* (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1977); Larry Scanlon, "Sweet Persuasion: The Subject of Fortune in *Troilus and Criseyde*," in *Chaucer's "Troilus and Criseyde": "Subgit to alle Poesy"; Essays in Criticism*, ed. R. A. Shoaf and Catherine S. Cox (Binghamton, NY: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1992), 211–23; L. O. Aranye Fradenburg, "My World's Blisse: Chaucer's Tragedy of Fortune," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 98 (Summer 1999): 563–92; and Maura Nolan, "The Fortunes of *Piers Plowman* and Its Readers," *The Yearbook of Langland Studies* 20 (2006): 1–41. Of the extensive larger critical bibliography on Boethius, I have found most useful Pierre Courcelle, *La Consolation de philosophie dans la tradition littéraire: Antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1967); Joachim Gruber, *Kommentar zu Boethius, De Consolatione Philosophiae* (New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1978, 2nd ed. 2006); Henry Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology, and Philosophy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981); Margaret Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981); F. Anne Payne, *Chaucer and Menippean Satire* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1981); Seth Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue: Literary Method in "The Consolation of Philosophy"* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985); Ann Astell, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994); John Marenbon, *Boethius* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Mark Miller, *Philosophical Chaucer:*

Love, Sex, and Agency in the Canterbury Tales (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), esp. chapter 3; Joel C. Relihan, *The Prisoner's Philosophy: Life and Death in Boethius's Consolation* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006); and Noel Harold Kaylor Jr. and Philip Edward Phillips, eds., *New Directions in Boethian Studies* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007).

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.

8. *Boece* II.pr.2.70–72. Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, 409–10.

9. D. Vance Smith, *Arts of Possession* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 193.

10. Description based on that of David M. Robinson, "The Wheel of Fortune," *Classical Philology* 41 (October 1946): 207–16, esp. 207.

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.

12. *Phaedo* 81e; in *Plato: Complete Works*, ed. John M. Cooper (Indianapolis, IN: Hackett Publishing, 1997), 71.

13. J. Walsh, trans., *The Consolation of Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), xxvii.

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

15. *The Seminar of Jacques Lacan*, book 7, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959–60*, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller, trans. Dennis Porter (New York: Norton, 1992), 101–14, esp. 110. Žižek discusses the death drive throughout *The Ticklish Subject* (New York: Verso, 1999), esp. 65–66, 172, 289–94.

16. Stephen J. Gould, "An Asian Approach to the Understanding of Consumer Energy, Drives and States," *Research in Consumer Behavior* 5 (1991): 33–59.

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.

21. For an informative article elucidating those exceptions, see Alexander Alexakis, "Was There Life Beyond the Life Beyond? Byzantine Ideas on Reincarnation and Final Restoration," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 55 (2001): 155–77.

22. On the wheel of life as a "variant" of the wheel of Fortune, see Elizabeth Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 144.

23. Morton W. Bloomfield, *Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices, 1100–1500 A.D.* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1979), 103, 199, 307; Patch, 173. One late-medieval version of Boethian instruction, Petrarch's popular 1366 self-help manual *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* (translated as "The Remedies of Fortune Fair and Foul"), in which everything from fine bodies to fine furniture is offered up as an example of the never-ending battle between virtuous actions and Fortune's corrupting gifts, makes explicit the connection between the image of the turning wheel and the human passions. Citing Walter Map's discussion of Ixion's fiery wheel of lust, Petrarch concludes, "we all have our Ixions." Conrad H. Rawski, *Petrarch's Remedies of Fortune Fair and Foul: A Modern English Translation of De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae, with a Commentary* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991), 26. See also *A Dialogue Between Reason and Adversity: A Late Middle English Version of Petrarch's 'De Remediis'*, ed. F. N. M. Diekstra (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1968).

24. *Menippus*, in Lucian, ed. and trans. A. M. Harmon, K. Kilburn, and M. D. MacLeod, vol. 4 (London: Loeb Classical Library, 1913–67), 99–101. For Boethius's use of Lucian in Book II of the *Consolatio*, see Payne, esp. 38–54, 58–62.

25. Lucian, *Menippus*, 99.

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 horribly 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.

29. *The Holy Bible, Translated from the Latin Vulgate . . . at Douay A.D. 1609 . . . at Rheims, A.D. 1582*, ed. Richard Challoner (Rockford, IL: Tan Books and Publishers, 1989). The Vulgate reads "nudus egressus sum de utero matris meae et nudus revertar il-luc Dominus dedit Dominus abstulit." *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatum versionem*, ed. Robert Weber et al., 4th ed. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1994). On the connection to Job, see Alexander Murray, *Reason and Society in the Middle Ages* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 99–100; Relihan, esp. 12–14, 40–41; and Astell's book-length work on the subject. Boethius's ambiguous use of scriptural allusions in this text has been a somewhat contentious critical topic, as discussed by Lerer in his review of Astell's book, *Job, Boethius, and Epic Truth*, in *Speculum* 70 (1995): 869–71.

30. Marcia Colish, "Cosmetic Theology: The Transformation of a Stoic Theme," *As-says* 1 (1981): 3–14. Bloch, 37–64.

31. For an instructive synopsis of clothing trends and terms in the late-antique period, see *Late Antiquity: A Guide to the Postclassical World*, by Glen Warren Bowersock, Peter Brown, and Oleg Grabar (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1999), 381–82. See also Larissa Bonfante, “Introduction,” in Judith Lynn Sebesta and Larissa Bonfante, *The World of Roman Costume* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), 3–12; on the late-antique magnification of the importance of clothing, see 6.

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.

33. My discussion here relies on Bourdieu’s section “The Dialectic of Objectification and Embodiment,” in *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 87–95.

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).

35. Bourdieu, “Dialectic,” 94, 86. Italics are Bourdieu’s.

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).

37. Daniel Miller, *Material Culture and Mass Consumption* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1987), 85–108; quotation 5; Bill Brown, ed., *Things* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), 122; McCracken, esp. 130–37.

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).

40. Bruce Holsinger has recently brought to light Bourdieu’s reliance on the medieval scholarship of Panofsky in his early formulations of *habitus*. It seems important to point out the role Boethius’s texts had in this chain of borrowing. Aquinas’s understanding of the term, which Panofsky later studies, relied in turn on Boethius’s translations and commentaries of Aristotle, the very cornerstone of that medieval scholasticism recycled by later theorists. Bruce Holsinger, *The Premodern Condition: Medievalism and the Making of Theory* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005), 94–151; esp. 107ff. For a useful general discussion of Boethius’s influence on medieval thinkers, see Marenbon, 164–82. For Aquinas’s specific use of Boethius, see Ralph McInerny, *Boethius and Aquinas* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1990). On the historical notion of the *habitus*, see Bourdieu, “The Genesis of the Concepts of Habitus and Field,” trans. C. Newman, *Sociocriticism* 2 (December 1985): 11–24; and Charles Camic, “The Matter of Habit,” *American Journal of Sociology* 91 (March 1986): 1039–87.

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).

50. Bill Brown, 4.

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

tentative connection between the use of personifications and the notion of Nominalism in his discussion of Anima in *Piers Plowman* (137–38). See also Angus Fletcher, *Allegory: Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1964), 26–35; and, in a different tradition, the role of allegorical tropes in theoretical discussions about the phenomenology of signification by Walter Benjamin and Paul de Man. See Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*, trans. John Osborne (London: New Left Books, 1977), 233; de Man, *Aesthetic Ideology*, ed. Andrzej Warminski (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 142. A good synopsis of these ideas can be found in Tom Cohen, J. Hillis Miller, and Barbara Cohen, “A ‘Materiality without Matter’?” in *Material Events: Paul de Man and the Afterlife of Theory*, ed. Tom Cohen, Barbara Cohen, J. Hillis Miller, and Andrzej Warminski (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), vi–xxv. I have also discussed elsewhere Philosophy’s connection to the inextricably intertwined and gendered notions of mind and matter, of philosophical and sexual “secrets,” in late-antique and medieval representations of female personifications. See my article “How Philosophy Matters: Sex, Death, Clothes, & Boethius,” in *Medieval Fabrications: Dress, Textiles, Clothwork, and Other Cultural Imaginings*, ed. E. Jane Burns (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 273–94.

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

54. Joel Fineman, “The Structure of Allegorical Desire,” in *Allegory and Representation*, ed. Stephen J. Greenblatt (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 26–60, at 45.

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).

56. See Chadwick, “Theta on Philosophy’s Dress in Boethius,” *Medium Aevum* 49, no. 2 (1980): 175–79; and Chadwick, *Boethius*, 225.

57. Harriet I. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), esp. 32–59. See also O’Donnell’s notes to *Consolatio* 1.p.1.

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

59. Boethius delves into the image of the dramatic masks when elucidating the substance and definition of “person” as a category in his theological tractates. Boethius, “Contra Eutychen et Nestorium” [A Treatise Against Eutyches and Nestorius], in *The Theological Tractates. The Consolation of Philosophy*, Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. F. Stewart, E. K. Rand, and S. J. Tester (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 85–87.

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.

61. *Xenophon: Memorabilia*, trans. E. C. Marchant and O. J. Todd, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1923), I.VI.3. Jacques Soullillou has recently discussed the link between ornament and freedom, stating that throughout human history ornament has manifested the fundamental opposition “between a free man (*eleutheros*) and he who is not.” Soullillou, “Ornament and Order,” trans. Mark Heffernan, in *Crime and Ornament: The Arts and Popular Culture in the Shadow of Adolf Loos*, ed. Bernie Miller and Melony Ward (Toronto, ON: YYZ Books, 2002), 87–100, at 93.

62. Plato, *Phaedo*, 114E; Cooper, 97.

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 necesse est cum se in mentis diuinæ speculatione conseruant, minus uero cum dilabuntur ad corpora, minusque etiam cum terrenis artubus colligantur. Extrema uero est seruitus cum uitii deditae rationis propriae possessione ceciderunt. Nam ubi oculos a summae luce ueritatis ad inferiora et tenebrosa deiecerint, mox inscitiae nube caligant, perniciosius turbantur affectibus, quibus accedendo consentiendoque quam inuexere sibi adiuuant 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.

70. While Plato argued against the notion of private property in favor of communal ownership, for example, Aristotle argued for private property in part on the grounds that human nature thrives on the equalization of desire, rather than of wealth. Cicero and Seneca also engaged the ethics of private property in relation to equality, justice, and communal ownership; both described private property in Stoic terms as countering the common law of nature because it goes beyond mere necessity. On Augustine in particular, see Richard Schlatter, *Private Property: The History of an Idea* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1951), 37–38. See also James O. Grunebaum, *Private Ownership* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), esp. 25–46; and Schlatter, esp. 21–26.

71. Justinian *Institutes* I.2.11. *The Institutes of Justinian*, ed. and trans. Thomas Cooper (Philadelphia: P. Byrne, 1812). See also Schlatter’s discussion, 21–32.

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.

74. PL 1:1312B; "On the Apparel of Women," 17.

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 adiungunt, utique ab adversario artifice sumentes 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,

1966), I.64; trans. Calvin M. Bower, ed. Claude V. Palisca, as *Fundamentals of Music* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

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.

CHAPTER TWO

1. I.pr.4.18–19; Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, 401.

2. For an astute summary of some of these aspects, see Tony Hunt, "The Christianization of Fortune," *Nottingham French Studies* 38 (Autumn 1999): 95–113; 101–2. For a broader outlook on the medieval translation and reception of Boethius, see Courcelle, 29–66; *The Medieval Boethius: Studies in the Vernacular Translations of "De Consolatione Philosophiae,"* ed. A. J. Minnis (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1987); *Boethius in the Middle Ages: Latin and Vernacular Traditions of the "Consolatio Philosophiae,"* ed. Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen and Lodi Nauta (New York: Brill, 1997); and Kaylor and Phillips, 53–169. More specialized studies include Dwyer, *Boethian Fictions*; Tim William Machan, *Techniques of Translation: Chaucer's Boece* (Norman, OK: Pilgrim Books, 1985); and the extensive work by Minnis, including "Aspects of the Medieval French and English Traditions of the *De Consolatione Philosophiae*," in *Boethius: His Life, Thought and Influence*, ed. Margaret Gibson (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981), 312–61, esp. 312–15; "Updated Approaches to the Classics: William of Aragon, Nicholas Trevet, Giovanni del Virgilio, and Pierre Bersuire," in Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary*, 314–72; and "'Glosynge is a glorious thyng': Chaucer at Work on the Boece," in *Medieval Boethius*, ed. Minnis, 106–24.

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 fashionability 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.

8. *Pseudo-Boèce, De disciplina scoliarium*, ed. Olga Weijers (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1976); Edda Ducci, *Un saggio de pedagogia medievale*: Il "De disciplina scoliarium" dello Pseudo-Boezio (Torino: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1967). An outline of the text is given by Eva Matthews Sanford, "De Disciplina Scholarium: A Mediaeval Handbook on the Care and Training of Scholars," *The Classical Journal* 28 (November 1932): 82–95.

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 scoliarium*," *Speculum* 12 (January 1937): 81–84, esp. 81.

10. H. F. Sebastian, "William Wheteley's Commentary on the Pseudo-Boethius Tractate *De disciplina scoliarium* and Medieval Grammar School Education" (unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1970); A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 3:2030–31. On the strong possibility that the author of the *De disciplina* was an Englishman, see Steiner, 82–84.

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

12. I quote Trevet's commentary from an unpublished edition that I have consulted on microfilm by E. T. Silk, *Nicholas Trevet on Boethius. Expositio Fratris Nicolai Trevethi Anglici Ordinis Predicatorum super Boecio De Consolacione*, 253. Portions of Trevet's text, including the entirety of his commentary on II.m.5, have been translated by Minnis and Scott in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism c.1100–1375: The Commentary Tradition*, revised edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 336–37. My translation here very closely follows that of Minnis and Scott, p. 337. On the popularity of Trevet's text see Lodi Nauta, "The Scholastic Context of Trevet's Commentary," in Hoenen and Nauta, 41.

13. *OED*, s.v. "luxury." Bloomfield, *The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1967), 59, 65, 69. Bloomfield describes a more specific link between Boethius and the seven deadly sins in the tenth-century Provençal "Boethius Poem," which he cites as one of the earliest

references to the seven sins in vernacular literature (Bloomfield, 120). Trevet'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.

14. On this twofold connotation of luxury, see Rosemond Tuve, *Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), 207–11.

15. Jean de Meun uses the phrase “Il ne se destruiet 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 Trevet'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.

19. Galloway, “Latin England,” 59–65. I discuss in more detail Galloway's scholarship on the concept of *varietas vestium* in my introduction, p. 11.

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).

21. Murray, *Reason and Society*, 98–101; quotation 100. By comparison, Tony Hunt's study, “The Christianization of Fortune,” strives to historicize Fortune's reception in the early fourteenth century.

22. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*. While Heller addresses fashion as a system throughout her book, her first chapter, “The *Sine qua non* of a Fashion System,” most rigorously engages the main features of the concept (15–45). Chapter 3, “Desire for Novelty and Unique Expression,” discusses the important role that desire for novelty and distinction play in the process (61–94).

23. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 8–9.

24. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 9, criterion 4; Lipovetsky, 29.

25. *Anticlaudianus*. *PL* 210:560A, section VIII.45–47; *PL* 210:561B–C, section VIII.114–15. Trans. James J. Sheridan, *Anticlaudianus or The Good and Perfect Man* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1973), 190, 193. As I discuss in my

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.

26. Guillaume de Lorris et Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, Tome II, ed. Félix Lecoy (Paris: Champion, 1970), 187–88; 11. 6089–108; 6115–34. Trans. Frances Horgan, *The Romance of the Rose* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 94.

27. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 9.

28. Lipovetsky, 29. Michael Camille, *The Medieval Art of Love: Objects and Subjects of Desire* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998), 27–49; quotation 32. For a different reading of the self-gaze depicted in this passage, see Daniel Heller-Roazen, *Fortune's Faces: The "Roman de la Rose" and the Poetics of Contingency* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), 88–89.

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).

30. Heller, "Limiting Yardage and Changes of Clothes: Sumptuary Legislation in Thirteenth-Century France, Languedoc, and Italy," in Burns, *Medieval Fabrications*, 121–36, quotation 127. Heller also discusses these laws and the importance of "changes of clothes" in *Fashion in Medieval France*, 64–66; and she discusses the overlapping concerns of the *Roman de la Rose* and thirteenth-century sumptuary laws in "Anxiety, Hierarchy, and Appearance in Thirteenth-Century Sumptuary Laws and the Romance of the Rose," *French Historical Studies* 27, no. 2 (Spring 2004): 311–48.

31. Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 20.

32. Lecoy, 128–29; lines 20907–19; 20922–27. Horgan, 323.

33. On Pygmalion's lady see Burns, *Courtly Love Undressed*, 47, 84, 181–82, 208; and Heller, "Fashioning a Woman: The Vernacular Pygmalion in the *Roman de la Rose*," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 27 (2000): 1–18.

34. Quotation from Lopez, *The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages*. See also the seminal studies by Sylvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300–1500* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948); Fernand Braudel, *Capitalism and Material Life 1400–1800*, trans. Miriam Kochan (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); Joel Kaye, *Economy and Nature in the Fourteenth Century: Money, Market Exchange, and the Emergence of Scientific Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); and the latest in a series of studies on the subject by Dyer, called *An Age of Transition?*

35. Aage Brusendorff, *The Chaucer Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1925), 199–200. On this critical discussion, see Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, 1084.

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.
41. “Former Age,” lines 17–18. Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, 650–51.
42. Baldwin, 60.
43. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 23.
44. 37 Edward III; *SR* 1:380.
45. *MED*, s.v. “colour”; “peinture” 1d. Chaucer borrows this trope from Guillaume de Machaut; see James I. Wimsatt, “Chaucer, Fortune, and Machaut’s ‘Il m’est avis,’” in *Chaucerian Problems and Perspectives. Essays Presented to Paul E. Beichner*, ed. Edward Vasta and Zacharias Thundy (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979), 122–24. On Machaut’s use of Boethius more generally, see Sarah Kay, *The Place of Thought: The Complexity of One in Late Medieval French Didactic Poetry* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 95–122, 176.
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)].
47. O. Purdon, “Chaucer’s Use of Woad in The Former Age,” *Papers on Language and Literature* 25 (1989): 216–19. Andrew Scott Galloway, “Chaucer’s Former Age and the Fourteenth-Century Anthropology of Craft: The Social Logic of a Premodernist Lyric,” *ELH* 63, no. 3 (Fall 1996): 535–54.
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.
51. Bloch, 37–74.
52. On the scholarly attribution of this poem to Chaucer, see Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, 1089.
53. Guillaume de Machaut, *Le Livre dou Voir Dit (The Book of the True Poem)*, ed. Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York: Garland, 1998), 11. 5235–832.
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.
55. Other good examples include Lydgate’s *The Assembly of Gods: or, The Accord of Reason and Sensuality in the Fear of Death*, ed. Oscar Lovell Triggs. EETS, e.s. 69 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, and Trübner, 1896); repr. London: Oxford University Press, 1957, lines 316–22; and *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall and K. B. Locock. EETS e.s. 77, 83, 92. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899–1904), lines 19473–78.
56. Piponnier and Mane, 70–76, esp. 71–73.
57. Piponnier and Mane, 70–76. As costume historian Mary G. Houston puts it, “[i]n the fifteenth century we are confronted with change and variation which almost

defy description." *Medieval Costume in England and France: The 13th, 14th, and 15th Centuries* (New York: Dover Publications, 1996), 139.

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.

61. Michel Pastoureau, *The Devil's Cloth: A History of Stripes*, trans. Jody Gladding (New York: Washing Square Press, 2001), 17, 105n20.

62. Piponnier and Mane, 133–34. Chaucer himself received just such an outfit, including red and black hose, from Elizabeth de Burgh when he worked as a page in her household in 1357. See *Chaucer Life Records*, ed. Martin M. Crow and Clair C. Olsen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 14.

63. Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 57–74, 179–85; Frédérique Lachaud, "Liveries of Robes in England, c. 1200–c. 1330," *English Historical Review* 111 (1996): 279–98.

64. A group that included Alice Chaucer, Geoffrey Chaucer's granddaughter. For more details regarding Charles's prolonged captivity, see William Askins, "The Brothers Orléans and Their Keepers," in *Charles d'Orléans in England, 1415–1440*, ed. Mary-Jo Arn (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), 27–45. Notably similar English descriptions of Fortune's attire include those in the *Morte Arthure* and James I's *Kingis Quair*. See comparisons made by Mary-Jo Arn in her edition *Fortunes Stabilnes: Charles of Orleans's English Book of Love* (New York: Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1994), 513–15. All quotations of the text are taken from this edition.

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.

66. Piponnier and Mane, 71–73. See also Michel Pastoureau, *Black: The History of a Color*, trans. Jody Gladding (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), esp. 45–112.

67. *MED*, s.v. "nice" (adj.)

68. Arn, 515.

69. Arn, 515–16. On the English love of dagged garments, see my article "Rips & Slits: Fashion and the Medieval Self," in *Clothing Culture 1300–1600*, 223–38.

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.

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.

74. Spoken by "kingmaker" Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. *The Mirror for Magistrates: Edited from Original Texts in the Huntington Library*, ed. Lily B. Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1938), 205; lines 8–10. My gratitude to Lisa H. Cooper for directing me to this reference.

CHAPTER THREE

1. "Song Upon the Tailors," in Thomas Wright, *Political Songs of England [PSE]* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 51–56; quotation lines 15–18.

2. Timothy M. Thibodeau, "From Durand of Mende to St. Thomas More: Lessons Learned from Medieval Liturgy," in *Ritual, Text, and Law: Studies in Medieval Canon Law and Liturgy Presented to Roger E. Reynolds*, ed. Kathleen G. Cushing and Richard F. Gyug (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing, 2004), 83–94, at 84. All citations of Durand's text are from *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, 3 vols., ed. A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995–2000). Four of the books of the *Rationale* have been translated into English. The Proem and Books 1–3 have recently been translated by Timothy M. Thibodeau, *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum of William Durand of Mende: A New Translation of the Prologue and Book One* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007); and *William Durand On the Clergy and Their Vestments: A New Translation of Books 2–3 of the Rationale divinorum officiorum* (Chicago, IL: University of Scranton Press, 2010). Older translations of Book I and Book III have also recently been reprinted, along with a new translation of the Proem and Book IV by Rama Coomaraswamy, in *The Rationale Divinorum Officiorum: The Foundational Symbolism of the Early Church, Its Structure, Decoration, Sacraments, and Vestments, Books I, III, and IV* (Louisville, KY: Fons Vitae, 2007). These reprinted translations are from *The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments: A Translation of the First Book of the "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum,"* trans. John Mason Neale and Benjamin Webb (Leeds: T. W. Green, 1843); and *Durand on the Sacred Vestments: An English Rendering of the Third Book of the "Rationale Divinorum Officiorum" of Durand, Bishop of Mende, A.D. 1287*, trans. T. H. Passmore (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1899). My citations refer to Thibodeau's Latin edition of the whole text and to his translations. I also cite Passmore's helpful notes in his earlier translation of Book III. Citations are to the Latin edition by page number, along with the respective translations by section number and page number.

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).

4. Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development*, 2 vols. (Westminster, MD: Christian Classics, 1986), 1:113. See also James F. White, "Durand and the Interpretation of Christian Worship," in *Contemporary Reflections on the Medieval Christian Tradition: Essays in Honor of Ray C. Petry*, ed. George H. Shriver (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1974), 41–52, at 45–46, who proposes that the

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

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

6. Alexander Lawson, *Anatomy of a Typeface* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1990), 19–20.

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.

9. While isolated examples of Church regulations did exist prior to the thirteenth century, the legislative energy that Innocent III put toward clothing regulation has been shown to mark the beginning of a more ambitious and pointed legislative program. See Cordelia Warr, "De Indumentis: The Importance of Religious Dress during the Papacy of Innocent III," in *Innocenzo III: Urbs et Orbis: Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998*, ed. Andrea Sommerlechner, 2 vols (Rome: Istituto storico italiano per il medio evo, 2003), 1:489–502; See also *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils*, ed. H. J. Schroeder (St. Louis, MO: B. Herder, 1937), 151, 199–200; and *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. Norman P. Tanner (London: Sheed & Ward, and Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1990), 1:242–44. For an admirably succinct discussion of a similar escalation in thirteenth-century regulation of secular attire, see Heller, "Limiting Yardage and Changes of Clothes," esp. 123–25.

10. As Michael Camille states, the ape in medieval marginalia is "always a *signe*, 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.

11. On the use of actual vestments in Renaissance theater, see Stephen Greenblatt, "Resonance and Wonder," *Bulletin of the American Academy of the Arts and Sciences* 43 (1990): 11–34, at 11–12.

12. See Wharton B. Marriott, *Vestiarum Christianum: The Origin and Gradual Development of the Dress of Holy Ministry in the Church* (London: Longman, Green, & Co., 1868).

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

14. Jerome, *Against the Pelagians*, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*. Second Series. Edited by Philip Schaff and Henry Wace. Volume VI: St. Jerome Letters and Select Works. Book I, chapter 9 (New York: The Christian Literature Company, 1893).

15. Innocent III, *De Missarum Mysteriori*, PL 217:773B–916A. See also Anko Ypen-ga, "Innocent III's *De Missarum Mysteriori* Reconsidered: A Case Study on the Allegorical Interpretation of Liturgy," in Sommerlechner, 1:323–39.

16. Durand, *Rationale*, Book I, Prohemium, 4–5.

17. Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 177; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 1.131.

18. Durand, *Rationale*, Book I, Prohemium, 10; trans. Thibodeau, Prologue, 6.

19. The Christian use of the *rationale* began in the early twelfth century and died out in the fourteenth. See R. A. S. Macalister, *Ecclesiastical Vestments: Their Development and History* (London: Eliot Stock, 1896), 110–12; Janet Mayo, *A History of Ecclesiastical Dress* (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, 1984), 167. See also Niermeyer, *Mediæ Latinitatis*, s.v. “rationalis.” Earlier in the century, John of Garland describes the *rationale* as “an ornament of a bishop, called in another fashion ‘logion,’” and subsequently presents the description given in Exodus 28. *The Dictionarius of John de Garlande and the Author’s Commentary*, trans. Barbara Blatt Rubin (Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1981), 66–69.

20. Durand, *Rationale*, Book I, Prohemium, 10; trans. Thibodeau, Prologue, 6.

21. Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 179; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 5.134–35.

22. Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 179; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 5.135.

23. Albertus Magnus, *De sacrificio missæ (On the Sacrifice of the Mass)*, in *Albert the Great. Opera Omnia*, ed. A. Bourgnat, 38 vols. (Paris: Ludovicum Vivès, 1890–95), 38:1–189. See also White, 46; and Jungmann, 1:113.

24. Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 178–79; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 3.132–33.

25. Elliott, 58; Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 182.

26. The passages discussed in this paragraph can be found in Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 181.

27. Elliott, 56.

28. Mayo, 45–46; Herbert Norris, *Church Vestments: Their Origin and Development* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1950), 168. Both the Council of Cologne, in 1260, and the canons of the Church of Liège, in 1287, stipulate the importance of the surplice. See Durand, trans., Passmore, 15–16n2.

29. All citations regarding the surplice can be found in Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 182; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 10–13, pp. 138–39.

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; Houston, 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. Houston, 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).

34. Mayo, 39, 48–49; Macalister, 164–65.

35. Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. Henry R. Luard, Rolls Series, 7 vols. (London: Longman, 1874), vol. 4.546. On the emergence of *Opus Anglicanum* in this period, see Donald King, ed., *Opus Anglicanum: English Medieval Embroidery* (London:

Arts Council, 1963). Published in conjunction with the exhibition shown at the Victoria and Albert Museum; A. G. I. Christie, *English Medieval Embroidery: A Survey of English Embroidery Dating from the Beginning of the Tenth Century until the end of the Fourteenth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938); Mayo, 50–52; Houston, 68–71. A more general example of the association of priest's attire with wealth can be found in John of Garland's *Dictionarius*, in which the author describes weavers of rich silk and gold cloth who "make the belts and headbands of rich women and the priests' stoles" (trans. Blatt, 71).

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.

38. Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 182–83; trans. Thibodeau, Book III, Prologue 13.140. Biblical quotation from 1 Corinthians 13:12. I have substituted for the word *imperfecti* used in Davril and Thibodeau's edition the alternate wording of *perfecti* from Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 721, and Springfield, MA, City Library Associates, MS 091–D 93. See Davril and Thibodeau, *Rationale*, 183n.

39. Durand, *Rationale*, Book III, Prohemium, 183 and n.

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; mysticus tamen eorum intellectus mutatus non est, unde non dicitur lex mutata quamvis 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."

42. *The Goliard Poets: Medieval Latin Songs and Satires*, ed. and trans. George F. Whicher (New York: New Directions, 1949), 1–6, 281; and A. G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 146–48. I have translated the key phrase *lex metamorphoseos* in line 18 of the poem as "law of metamorphosis" (rather than the plural *metamorphoses*, following Ovid's text) because of its Greek genitive singular form. On the common misperception among medieval thinkers that Ovid's title was meant to be singular rather than plural, see Edgar F. Shannon, "Chaucer's *Metamorphoseos*," *Modern Language Notes*, vol. 35, no. 5 (May, 1920): 288–91.

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-

tions with more accurate folio numbers can be found in C. L. Kinsford, ed., *Song of Leues* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), vii–xviii; and Tony Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), 101–4.

45. On Henry III's policy of royal absolutism and sacredness, see M. T. Clanchy, "Did Henry III Have a Policy?" *History* 53 (1968): 207–19; and *England and Its Rulers 1066–1272* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 158–65. For a counterargument, see D. A. Carpenter, *The Reign of Henry III* (London: Hambledon Press, 1996), 75–106. For background on the baron's war, I have found most helpful R. E. Treharne and I. J. Sanders, *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258–1267* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973); E. F. Jacob, *Studies in the Period of Baronial Reform and Rebellion, 1258–1267* (New York: Octagon Books, 1974); and J. R. Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

46. See W. R. Jones, "Bishops, Politics, and the Two Laws: The Gravamina of the English Clergy, 1237–1399," in *Speculum* 41, no. 2 (April 1966): 209–45; and Maurice Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), esp. 120, 456.

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.

48. See Clanchy, *England and Its Rulers*, 163, 170, 200.

49. Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 1:1 (Loeb Classical Library) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916). Translation by A. D. Melville (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 1.

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.

51. *MED*, s.v. "taillour," and *OED*, s.v. "tailor." The earliest example in the *MED* is the word "tailorie," from 1230. On the development of the tailor profession in England, see M. P. Davies, *The Tailors of London and Their Guild: 1300–1500* (unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Oxford, 1994).

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, blist 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 . . . off 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.

53. Heller, *Fashion in Medieval France*, 8.

54. Niermeyer, s.v. "figura," I. See Erich Auerbach's essay, "Figura," in *Scenes from the Drama of European Literature: Six Essays*, Theory and History of Literature, vol. 9 (New York: Meridian Books, 1959; repr. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1984), 11–78.

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 egeno et inopi iuste facite / salvate inopem et pauperem de manu impiorum liberate / non cognoscunt nec intellegunt in tenebris ambulant movebuntur omnia fundamenta terrae / *ego dixi dii estis* et filii 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.

58. Canons 14–16 in particular deal with clerical excesses. See Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:242–44.

59. See Warr, "De Indumentis: The Importance of Religious Dress during the Papacy of Innocent III," in Sommerlechner, 1:489–502. See also Schroeder, 151, 199–200; and Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:242–44. This rise in legislation corresponds to the escalation of secular regulation in the thirteenth century discussed by Heller, "Limiting Yardage and Changes of Clothes," 123–25.

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*.

61. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:236–37; quotation 236.

62. Powicke, 451, 455.

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 est operibus Christi, circumdedit, ut similitudinem maioris, 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 Houston, 30–31, 70–71; and Norris, 160.

68. Mayo, 46; also A. W. N. Pugin, *Glossary of Ecclesiastical Ornament and Costume* (London: B. Smith, 1868).

69. London, British Library, MS Harley 978, fol. 84v. Wright, *PSE*, 27–36; quotations 32–33.

70. London, British Library, MS Harley 978, fol. 84v. Wright, *PSE*, 30.

71. London, British Library, MS Harley 978, fol. 84v. Wright, *PSE*, 31.

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 *chappelle*—the etymological origin of the chapel. *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum* VII.37.1; discussed in Passmore, 31n1.

75. See Sophia Menache, “Faith, Myth, and Politics: The Stereotype of the Jews and their Expulsion from England and France,” in *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, New Series, 75, no. 4 (April 1985): 351–74; and “Matthew Paris’s Attitudes toward Anglo-

Jewry," in *Journal of Medieval History* 23, no. 2 (1997): 139–62; Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews in England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1941), esp. 9, 21, 45, 55–56, 78. On circumcision in Christian art, see B. Blumenkranz, *Le Juif médiéval au miroir de l'art Chrétien* (Paris: Études Augustiniennes, 1966), 77, 135.

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.

78. Tanner, ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 1:267. For discussion of a 1268 bull in which Pope Clement IV complained about converts reverting to Judaism, see *Other Middle Ages: Witnesses at the Margins of Medieval Society*, ed. Michael Goodich (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 62.

79. Niermeyer, s.v. "cappa," 5.

80. Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), esp. 2–3.

81. Exodus 31:18. Roth, 95–96.

82. Daniel Miller, "Materiality: An Introduction," *Materiality*, 28.

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*

Canterbury Tales (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 189–90. On the specific theme of interpretation, see also Kevin Brownlee, “Commentary and the Rhetoric of Exemplarity: Griseldis in Petrarch, Philippe de Mézières, and the *Estoire*,” *South Atlantic Quarterly* 91, no. 4 (1992): 865–90; and Emma Campbell, “Sexual Poetics and the Politics of Translation in the Tale of Griselda,” *Comparative Literature* 55, no. 3 (2003): 191–216.

3. See Dudley David Griffith, *The Origin of the Griselda Story* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1931), esp. 92–93; Elizabeth Salter, *Chaucer: The “Knight’s Tale” and the “Clerk’s Tale”* (London: Edward Arnold, 1962), 47–48; John P. McCall, “The Clerk’s Tale and the Theme of Obedience,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1966): 260–69; and Dolores Warwick Frese, “Chaucer’s *Clerk’s Tale*: The Monsters and the Critics Reconsidered,” *The Chaucer Review* 8 (1973): 133–46.

4. Most recently, Sarah Stanbury describes the transformation of Griselda through the lens of sacramental ritual, demonstrating how Chaucer’s Griselda becomes “an object of pilgrimage.” “Translating Griselda,” in *The Visual Object of Desire in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 122–52; quotation 131. Kathy Lavezzo discusses Griselda’s materialism as it is reflected through the theme of death as another form of luxury consumption. “Chaucer and Everyday Death: The Clerk’s Tale, Burial, and the Subject of Poverty,” *Studies in the Age of Chaucer* 23 (2001): 255–87. Susan Crane has illuminated the historicity of Griselda’s sartorial symbolism, pointing out the way that her reclothing by Walter and Janicula spoke to fourteenth-century court rituals of marriage and divorce in *The Performance of Self*, 21–38. Christiane Klapisch-Zuber has found that the popularity of the Griselda theme in the art and literature of Renaissance Florence coincided with rituals of marriage and the steady erosion of women’s property rights, in “The Griselda Complex: Dowry and Marriage Gifts in the Quattrocento,” in *Women, Family, and Ritual in Renaissance Italy*, trans. Lydia Cochrane (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 213–46. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass describe the use of guild liveries as a type of “translation” of Griselda in the early modern dramatic versions of the tale in *Renaissance Clothing*, 220–44.

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;

also *The Logic of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 112–21.

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

8. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xix, 29–42.

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

10. Lee Patterson, *Chaucer and the Subject of History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991), 324.

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

12. “There are only four images of color in the entire poem,” Charles Muscatine declares in his influential study of Chaucerian style, *Chaucer and the French Tradition* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 192.

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 thyng 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.

14. Jill Mann, *Chaucer and Medieval Estates Satire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 74–85.

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 Coueitise), 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.

20. Macrobius. *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. William Harris Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), 1.2.11. Geoffrey of Vinsauf, *Poetria Nova*, trans. Margaret F. Nims (Toronto: Pontifical Institute, 1967), 36–38.

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/>.

23. Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, "Explanatory Notes," 879.

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.

26. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 23.

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.

31. In Aers and Staley, 236. See also Lynn Staley Johnson, "The Prince and His People: A Study of the Two Covenants in the Clerk's Tale," *The Chaucer Review* 10.1 (Summer 1975): 17–29.

32. Susan Yager, "Chaucer's *Peple* and *Folk*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 100 (April 2001): 211–23.

33. Yager, 221. Also see Paul Strohm's discussion of the "swarm of 'folk'" who gape at the marvelous gifts in the *Squire's Tale*, in *Social Chaucer* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 170; and David Aers's discussion of "the people" as Mede's followers in *Piers Plowman*, in "Vox populi and the Literature of 1381," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 432–53, esp. 439. For additional ramifications of this public gaze, see Sarah Stanbury, "Regimes of the Visual in Premodern England: Gaze, Body, and Chaucer's *Clerk's Tale*," *New Literary History* 28, no. 2 (1997): 261–89.

34. Muscatine, 192.

35. According to the *MED*, the word "likerous" 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. “likierous.”

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).

37. *MED*, s.v. “bisen,” v. 5b.

38. See John M. Ganim, “The Noise of the People,” in *Chaucerian Theatricality* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 108–20.

39. Newton, 14–18, 38.

40. McCracken, 117.

41. See Lillian M. Bisson, “All That Glitters: Trade, Industry, and the Money Economy,” in *Chaucer and the Late Medieval World* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), 165–87, at 169; and J. L. Bolton, *The Medieval English Economy, 1150–1500* (London: Dent, 1985), 144, 285.

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:

Harvard University Press, 1915), 199–200; Michael D. Cherniss, “The *Clerk’s Tale* and *Envoy*, the Wife of Bath’s Purgatory, and the *Merchant’s Tale*,” *The Chaucer Review* 6 (1972): 235–54; Frese, 133–46; Thomas J. Farrell, “The ‘Envoy de Chaucer’ and the *Clerk’s Tale*,” *The Chaucer Review* 24 (1990): 329–36; Ganim, “Carnival Voices in the Clerk’s *Envoy*,” in *Chaucerian Theatricality*, 79–91; and Howell Chickering, “Form and Interpretation in the *Envoy* to the *Clerk’s Tale*,” *The Chaucer Review* 29 (1995): 352–72.

48. See Paul A. Olson’s reading of this passage as the Clerk’s attempt to associate the Wife with the flagrant materialism of the Epicurean sect, in *The “Canterbury Tales” and the Good Society* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), 235–75. On the possible legal meaning of “secte” in this passage, see Joseph L. Baird, “The ‘Secte’ of the Wife of Bath,” *The Chaucer Review* 2 (1968): 188–90, and “Secte and Suit Again: Chaucer and Langland,” *The Chaucer Review* 6 (1971): 117–19; and Lillian Herlands Hornstein, “The Wyf of Bathe and the Merchant: From Sex to ‘Secte,’” *The Chaucer Review* 3 (1968): 65–67.

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

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

51. Roberta L. Krueger, “‘Nouvelles choses’: Social Instability and the Problem of Fashion in the *Livre du Chevalier de la Tour Landry*, the *Ménagier de Paris* and Christine de Pizan’s *Livre des trois vertus*,” in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 49–85, esp. 76–81.

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

53. Klapisch-Zuber, esp. 228–29.

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’Emprises*—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*

Europe, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 145–64, quotation 146.

55. See, for example, “A Statute Concerning Diet and Apparel,” 37 Edward I (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.

56. *Wimbledon's Sermon “Redde Rationem Villicationis tue”: A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Ione Kemp Knight (Pittsburg, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1967), lines 523–26.

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 dessous 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.

65. See my article “Lydgate's Golden Cows: Appetite and Avarice in *Bycorne and Chychevache*” in Cooper and Denny-Brown, eds., *Lydgate Matters*, 35–56.

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,

1927), 113–15. See also Malcolm Jones, “Monsters of Misogyny: Bigorne and Chichevache—Suite et Fin?” in *Marvels, Monsters, and Miracles: Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Imaginations*, ed. Timothy S. Jones and David A. Sprunger (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2002), 203–21; and Steven M. Taylor, “Monsters of Misogyny: The Medieval French ‘Dit de Chincheface’ and the ‘Dit de Bigorne,’” *Allegorica* 5 (Winter 1980): 99–124. See also Lydgate’s poem *Bycorne and Chychevache*, in *The Minor Poems*, 2:433–37.

67. MED, s.v. “chinchehede.”

68. William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman. A Critical Edition of the B-Text Based on Trinity College Cambridge MS B.15.17*, ed. A. V. C. Schmidt (London: Everyman, 1995), V.72.

69. On the meaning of “Vache” in this poem and its connection to Sir Philip de la Vache, see Edith Rickert, “Thou Vache,” *Modern Philology* 11 (1913–14): 209–25. For interpretations of the word in terms of biblical allegory, see David E. Lampe, “The Truth of a ‘Vache’: The Homely Homily of Chaucer’s ‘Truth,’” *Papers on Language and Literature* 9 (1973): 311–14; Alfred David, “The Truth about ‘Vache,’” *The Chaucer Review* 11 (1977): 334–37; and Heiner Gillmeister, *Chaucer’s Conversion: Allegorical Thought in Medieval Literature* (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), 1–59.

70. “Distreyne thy lust” replaces “Hold the heyte 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.

72. On “wantonly adorned” women who capture souls and deceive men, see Owst, 390–404, quote 395. On the preambles of sumptuary laws that agonize over women’s “excessive expenditures on wicked and impractical” attire that “consumes their husbands and sons,” see Stanley Chojnacki, “The Power of Love: Wives and Husbands in Late Medieval Venice,” in *Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1988), 126–40, at 131.

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.

74. Alan Hunt, *Governance of the Consuming Passions: A History of Sumptuary Law* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1996), 265.

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.

79. See the *Merchant's Tale*, lines 2057–62, especially: “A scorpioun; that makith fair semelaunt with the face, and prickith with the tail; so a wicked womman drawith by flaterynge, and prickith til to deth” (CT 4.2062). See also gloss from Ecclesiasticus 26:10 in the Wycliffite 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.

81. See Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, “Explanatory Notes,” 884.

82. Newton, 8.

83. Henry Knighton, *Knighton's Chronicle, 1137–1396*, ed. and trans. G. H. Martin (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 92–95. See also Newton's discussion of Galvano della Flamma's descriptions of Milanese amazons in golden girdles, 10–11.

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 “wepying 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 “cursednesse” (CT 4.1220, 1225, 1239). On Chaucer's likely canceling of the Host's stanza, see Benson, gen. ed., *Riverside Chaucer*, “Explanatory Notes,” 884.

86. *Bycorne and Chychevache*, in *The Minor Poems*, 2:433–38. On Lydgate's London poems, see Derek Pearsall, *John Lydgate (1371–1449): A Bio-Bibliography*, English Literary Studies 71 (Victoria, BC: University of Victoria, 1997), 28–31. In a related matter, Lydgate seems to take up the Clerk's ascetic ethos when he describes his pilgrim persona, in the *Siege of Thebes*, as wearing a “thredbare hood” (90).

87. Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 2:433.

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.

90. See, for example, his “Letabundus” (Lydgate, *The Minor Poems*, 1:49–59), line 179, and John Lydgate, *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, 3 vols., ed. F. J. Furnivall and Katherine B. Locock, EETS e.s. 77, 83, 92 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1899–1904), 5356.

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.”

92. On the need for moderation from “excesse or scarsete” in diet, see Lydgate, “A Dietary, and a Doctrine for Pestilence,” in *The Minor Poems*, 2:702–9; especially lines 77–80. On the larger discourse of moderation in this poem, see Claire Sponsler, “Eating Lessons: Lydgate's ‘Dietary’ and Consumer Conduct,” in *Medieval Conduct*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Robert L. A. Clark (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 1–22.

93. See, for example, *Le Pardonneur, Le Triacleur et La Taverniere*, in André Tissier, *Recueil de farces (1450–1550)*, tome 5 (Geneva: Droz, 1989), 247, line 35 and note.

94. Lydgate, “A dyte of womenhis hornys,” titled “Horns Away,” in *The Minor Poems*, 2:662–65.

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.

97. Owst, 403. One early-fourteenth-century French poem likewise finds its objections to women’s horns on the fact that women wear such clothes “por tuer les homes,” to kill the men. According to the poem, this marital conflict is encouraged by the Bishop of Paris, who will give ten days’ pardon to anyone who condemns horned ladies in public with the phrase “push, ram,” in reference to the Exodus passage. See “Des Cornetes,” in Frederick W. Fairholt, *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* (London: Percy Society, 1849), 29–39, line 22. Men can also be seen defending themselves with a sword and shield from a woman wearing a horned headdress in a medieval misericord in a parish church in Ludlow, reproduced in Francis Bond, *Wood Carvings in English Churches I: Misericords* (Oxford: Henry Frowde, 1910), 180.

98. Bromyard, s.v. “Ornatus,” *Summa Praedicatorum*; discussed in Owst, 403.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. “On the Corruption of Public Manners,” *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Wright, 2:251. This poem has been analyzed and renamed by Wendy Scase in her article “‘Proud Gallants and Popeholy Priests’: The Context and Function of a Fifteenth-Century Satirical Poem,” *Medium Aevum* 63, no. 2 (1994): 275–86. Scase aptly suggests that the title phrase of her article presents a more appropriate title for the poem.

2. Refrain to the late-fifteenth-century “Huff! A Galaunt,” from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson 34, fol. 4v, published in Rossell Hope Robbins, *Historical Poems of the XIV and XV Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 138–39.

3. *MED*, s.v. “galaunt” (n.).

4. The two most comprehensive studies of the early modern gallant focus on the figure’s connections to drama. See Tony Davenport, “‘Lusty fresche galaunts,’” in *Aspects of Early English Drama*, ed. Paula Neuss (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1983), 111–28; and Amanda Bailey, *Flaunting: Style and the Subversive Male Body in Renaissance England* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), especially chapters 2 and 5. Jean Howard discusses the relationship between the gallant’s ever-changing fashion and ever-growing debt in *Theatre of a City: The Places of London Comedy, 1598–1642* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 2007), esp. 6, 84–88; Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass also discuss the figure in relationship to what they call the “banking system” of stolen, pawned, and used clothing in the culture and literature of the early modern theater, in *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, 193–94.

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 *varietas 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).

9. *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn, MLA Monograph 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1935), II.B.50–51. On Idley's use of the galaunt figure see Matthew Giancarlo, "Dressing up a 'galaunt': Traditional Piety and Fashionable Politics in Peter Idley's 'translacions' of Mannyng and Lydgate," in *After Arundel* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 429–48.

10. Marjorie Garber, *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 32.

11. *Dictionnaire de l'ancien français*, s.v. "galer."

12. British Library Manuscripts Catalogue Online, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/> (accessed October 22, 2009). See Margaret Connolly, *John Shirley: Book Production and the Noble Household in Fifteenth-Century England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), Table 1; Ralph Hanna, "John Shirley and British Library, MS Additional

16165," *Studies in Bibliography*, 49 (1996): 95–105. 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.

13. Connolly, 14–23, esp. 19–20.

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 Iack 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 [harmd] 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.

18. On the contemporary abuse of retainers of maintenance and favor and the related perception that liveried retainers cause social disorder in England in the 1380s, see Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow*, 57–74, 179–85. Crane discusses liveries in a different context, focusing on the use of Maying liveries and liveries of chivalric orders in *The Performance of Self*, 40–41, 107–39. See also Lachaud, 279–98.

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

20. Green, "A Poem of 1380," 336–39.

21. Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. H. T. Riley, 2 vols., Rolls Series 28 (London: Longman, Green, 1863–64), 1:435; Green, "A Poem of 1380," 336.

22. *MED*, s.v. "jakke," n.1a.

23. *Piers Plowman*, *Prologue*, lines 146–208.

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

25. Green, "A Poem of 1380," 335.

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.

28. Printed in Robert P. Miller, *Chaucer: Sources and Backgrounds* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 169.

29. Also *Colossians* 3:8–15. See Miller, *Chaucer: Sources*, 169.

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.

31. Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986), esp. 17, 116. Nolan, "Beauty," in *Middle English: Oxford 21st Century Approaches to Literature*, ed. Paul Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 207–21; esp. 217.

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 scholarium* 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 scholarium*, PL 64:1233D–38D; quotation 1228B.

35. Scarry, *On Beauty and Being Just*, 28.

36. Andrew Galloway, "Latin England," 41–95; esp. 59–65.

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.

40. See Montgomery Bohna, "Armed Force and Civic Legitimacy in Jack Cade's Revolt, 1450," *English Historical Review* 118, no. 477 (June 2003): 563–82; and Isabel M. W. Harvey, *Jack Cade's Rebellion of 1450* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

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 Impressi 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 Treatyse 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

Hope Robbins, "Poems Dealing with Contemporary Conditions," in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. A. E. Hartung, vol. 5, no. 160 (New Haven, CT: Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1975), 1469–70.

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).

49. Galloway, "Latin England," 59–65.

50. Quoted and translated in Galloway, "Latin England," 60.

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 dewyllys aray wythowt and wythin as a prowde galonte." *Wisdom*, ed. Mark Eccles, *The Macro Plays*, EETS 262 (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), 125.

57. Robbins, *Historical Poems*, 138.

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 “enbraseth 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 prideful “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 Mannyng 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 Mannyng’s tale, differs greatly in language. Mannyng’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 “þe newē 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 prideful 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).

67. *Mary Magdalene*, line 506 (italics mine). Bevington, 705.

68. Baudelaire, *The Painter of Modern Life*, 9.

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

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.

72. See Patch, *The Goddess Fortuna*, 81; Gerda Reith, *The Age of Chance: Gambling in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 1–24; Thomas M. Kavanagh, *Dice, Cards, Wheels: A Different History of French Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 16–20; 40. Kavanagh slightly mischaracterizes the medieval iconography of Fortune.

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 dise, 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, dous e as / Unt a plusurs 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

mistaken belief in personal profit at the expense of others—his “misplaced faith in games” rather than in fair exchange. *Power Play: The Literature and Politics of Chess in the Late Middle Ages* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 114–17; quotation 117.

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 thyng here dothe chaunge and varye, / Nowe feythe, 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*.

CONCLUSION

1. “Thing Theory,” Brown, *Things*, 7.
2. Miller, “Materiality: An Introduction,” in Miller, *Materiality*, 41, 31.
3. Keane, “Signs Are Not the Garb of Meaning,” in Miller, *Materiality*, 186–90.
4. I borrow the well-used term “stripping of the altars” from Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). The nineteenth-century architect Owen Jones complains that ever since the Reformation, “England has not had anything like a style of her own.” *Lectures on the Results of the Exhibition*, no. 11 (London: Royal Society of Arts, 1852), 401. Quoted and discussed in James Trilling, *Ornament: A Modern Perspective* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), 152.

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