Chapter 7

Savoy and the Marquisate of Saluces

DENIS RENEVEY

Savoy's territorial and political apogee was reached under the leaderships of Amédée VI (1343–83) and Amédée VII (1383–91), and was pursued further by Amédée VIII (1391–1439). After the conclusion of a peace treaty that ended a two hundred year conflict with the Dauphiné, Amédée VI took possession of the Faucigny and the Pays de Gex. In 1359 he bought the Pays de Vaud and the Pays du Bugey from Guillaume de Namur and Catherine of Savoy, his cousin. Up to that point, the Pays de Vaud was a barony. After a *grande chevauchée* through the Pays de Vaud organized to impress his new subjects, Amédée VI came to Morges on 14 July to receive homage due to him by his vassals and the most important noblemen of the Pays de Vaud, including the Grandson family.[1] Further expansion took place south of Savoy with the acquisition of Fossano in 1362, Biella in 1379, Cuneo in 1382 (following a twenty-year war against the Marquisate of Saluces), Montferrat, and Milano.[2] These acquisitions marked a desire for expansion towards the Mediterranean, which culminated with the appropriation of the counties of Nice and Vintimille by Amédée VII in 1388–91. Amédée VII, the Red Count, whose epithetical *redness* possibly hinted at the blood tainting his coat of arms (following his return from battles against the English), shared with his father, the Green Count, a taste for chivalric ideals. Amédée VI had created the Order of the Collar of Savoy in 1362, less than two decades after the creation of the Order of the Garter by Edward III of England in 1347, and the Order of the Star by John the Good of France in 1352. The founding of the Order of the Collar by Amédée coincided with his commitment to join a European crusade to the Holy Land against the Turks, following a visit to Savoy by the archbishop of Crete and Philippe de Mézières. The Order of the Collar was meant to strengthen bonds between the count and some of his close and faithful comrades-in-arms. They included Guillaume de Grandson, who had been

[1] See Andenmatten, *La Maison de Savoie*, 242–8; see also Cox, *Green Count*, 132–6.
[2] See Cox, *Green Count*, 296–300.

FIGURE 7 Castle of Grandson, home of the Grandson family.

Photo: Denis Renevey.

with the count at Lanzo in 1361 and Saluces (Saluzzo) in 1363. From 1347, Guillaume, father of Othon III de Grandson, and the count had become inseparable.[3]

Amédée VIII extended Savoyard territories further with the appropriation of the county of the Genevois in 1401 and the acquisition of the seigniory of Domodossola in 1406. Another of his feats was the foundation of the University of Turin (Torino) in 1405. However, apart from long-lasting homage paid by the marquis of Saluces in 1418, Amédée VIII's military expeditions in Piedmont brought minimal success.

After a period of semi-religious retreat at his residence of Ripaille (1434–9), on the south shore of Lake Geneva, Amédée, receiving the support of Cardinal Louis Aleman, accepted election as Pope Felix V at the Council of Basel in 1439. Amédée gave up the pontifical function ten years later, in 1449, but this unexpected election would not have been possible without the establishment of very close ties between the house of Savoy and the papacy during the Avignon period (1309–78) and the Great Schism (1378–1418).[4]

[3] See Cox, *Green Count*, 177–86. Alphonse Delbène, abbot of Hautecombe, praised Amédée's crusading spirit in his *Amédéide*, written between 1580 and 1588; a late nineteenth-century monument celebrating Amédée's deeds against the Turks is on display in the Piazza Palazzo di Città, Turin.

[4] See Galland, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 305–418; see also http://www.sabaudia.org/v2/index.php

If religious interests and political expansion generally pointed southwards, Savoy nonetheless maintained long-standing relationships further away from its moving borders. The Francophone aristocracy of thirteenth-century England had entertained privileged relationships with the house of Savoy: the marriage of Henry III with Eléonore of Provence in 1236 brought to London Guillaume, Boniface, Thomas, and Pierre II of Savoy, all uncles to Eléonore, daughter of their sister Béatrice of Provence.[5] That relationship continued further when responsibility for the political education of the future Edward I (1239–1307) was given to Pierre II of Savoy (*c.*1203–68). Pierre's annual royal revenues in the years 1255/56 were above the sum of £3,000.[6] Savoyard presence at the English court reached its climax under the reigns of Henry III and Edward I, with about 170 Savoyards present between 1247 and 1258. The number of families originating from Savoy amounts to 300 individuals when one considers both reigns.[7] From this extensive number, only a few originated from the Pays de Vaud. One of them, Pierre de Grandson, received royal annuities of around 20 pounds from 1241, and for a period of fifteen years. Edward I chose as his favourite another knight from the same Vaudois family, Othon I de Grandson (*c.*1238–1328), whose presence in England is attested from 1265 up to the death of the king in 1307. This strong link between the Grandson family and the English court is the reason for the long-lasting presence of members of the Grandson family in England from that time onwards. These included the knight poet Othon III de Grandson (*c.*1340–97), who attended the court of Edward III from 1372 to 1386, and who was present again in England from 1392 to 1396 following accusations of involvement in the supposed murder of Amédée VII in 1391. Like many Savoyard knights before him, Othon III de Grandson served the English king in important functions, for almost twenty years, such as courtier, diplomatic envoy, and crusading knight during the Hundred Years War. Othon III's father, Guillaume de Grandson, was closely involved in Amédée VI's most ambitious chivalric ventures; as the chivalric and poetic careers of his son attest, the chivalric ideals that he shared with his lord were emulated by Othon III a few decades later, both on European battlefields and in literary productions.

More generally, literary production originating in or near the County of Savoy between 1348 and 1418 was part of a broader engagement in cultural matters, an activity that drew artists to Savoy from Italy, Burgundy, and other regions while Savoyards themselves contributed significantly at the court of Savoy and abroad.[8] Transformed in the years of the last quarter of the fourteenth century from a hunting lodge into a residence designed for comfort rather than military defence, the residence of Ripaille became a significant Savoyard centre of artistic accomplishments. Bonne de

[5] See Andenmatten, *La Maison de Savoie*, 333.

[6] Andenmatten, *La Maison de Savoie*, 333. Henry III also gave Pierre land along the Strand by the Thames; Pierre built the Savoy Palace there in 1263.

[7] Andenmatten, *La Maison de Savoie*, 334.

[8] For more information on the artistic productions of Savoy in the medieval period, see the bibliography offered at: http://www.sabaudia.org/v2/dossiers/savoie1032-1536/scientifique2.php

Bourbon, wife of Amédée VI, patron of the arts and herself an accomplished harpist, particularly favoured this residence.[9]

The period from 1348 to 1418 marked a political and cultural apogee for Savoy, which was elevated from county to duchy status by the emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg in 1416. Interestingly, vernacular productions in or near the duchy emerge exactly within this period. The first chronicle dedicated to the duchy as a whole, the vernacular chronicle of Savoy by Jean d'Orville, nicknamed Cabaret, was conceived in 1416 under the patronage of Amédée VIII, and was handed in at the 'Trésor des Chartes' of Chambéry in 1419.[10] The neighbouring marquisate of Saluces also produced a vernacular chronicle, the *Cronaca di Saluzzo*, attributed to Gioffredo della Chiesa, but at a much later date.[11] This Saluzzo (Saluces) chronicle nevertheless provides interesting information about the way in which the refined courts of King Charles V and his successor seem to have had a strong influence on the idealistic chivalric tastes of Thomas III of Saluces, as they appear in his *Livre du Chevalier Errant*, written between 1394 and 1396, and revised between 1403 and 1405 during his stay in Paris.[12] Such reinvention of chivalric quest and ideals is already noticeable in the early part of the second half of the fourteenth century throughout the medieval West. The creation of various orders attests to this renewed interest in chivalric culture that the European nobility attempts to emulate. Othon III de Grandson, knight of the Pays de Vaud and close comrade to Amédée VII of Savoy, as well as regular attendant of the English court under Edward III, displays this re-energized chivalric spirit in his life and writings. This chapter offers a context for the vernacular writings of Othon III de Grandson, Thomas III of Saluces, and Jean d'Orville; it aims to demonstrate the productive and influential output of the Duchy of Savoy (annexed to France only in 1860) and one of its border territories, the Marquisate of Saluces, between 1348 and 1418.

Together with *La Chronique de Savoye*, these works reflect and circulate an ideology marked by a strong emphasis on chivalric and courtly values, newly fashioned according to the demands of the second half of the fourteenth century. Moreover, the traffic of people and ideas between regions, either forced or intentional (consider the large amount of prison literature produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries), shows also that if the *first* impulses for new developments in the international language of love often emerged in the French language, the circulation of influence was multi-directional and altogether more complex than one might anticipate. This chapter certainly aims to situate Othon de Grandson's and Thomas III's contributions to the European literary scene, but it also suggests that in focusing exclusively upon uni-directional translation (from source to target language, from original to imitation

[9] See Cox, *Green Count*, 287–9.

[10] See *La Chronique de Savoye de Cabaret*, ed. Chaubret, 11. All references to the chronicle will be to this edition.

[11] For brief reference to this chronicle, see Tommaso III di Saluzzo, *Il Libro*, 7; for additional information on Gioffreddo della Chiesa, see the entry in the online *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*.

[12] See Arlima entry at: http://www.arlima.net/qt/tommaso_3_di_saluzzo.html

in the form of translation) we may miss complex degrees of influence and interaction linking different authors from different regions. And although such authors may be working at the same moment at the same European court, they may nevertheless be attempting to satisfy the cultural needs of their patrons in different languages, with different levels of expertise, and different tastes. In that context, the term 'French' is misleading if understood to refer to a single homogeneous linguistic group. This linguistic fallacy often leads one to consider *nation* as the socio-geographical space occupied by such a linguistic group, when in fact such unity and uniformity is far from the norm in the medieval period.[13] Appreciation of literary and cultural productions according to *regions* (rather than *nations*) provides an altogether different picture of the medieval literary landscape of Francophone Europe: this chapter therefore also considers the way in which the career of Othon de Grandson, *La Chronique de Savoye*, and the *Livre du Chevalier Errant* reflect and inspire a European literary tradition forged by flourishing cultural contacts and exchanges between regions.

La Chronique de Savoye is an interesting case in point, as it conveys information about local and international events that involved the house of Savoy and its allies. It is therefore interesting to note how Othon de Grandson, a knight-poet of international reputation, becomes the topic of *La Chronique* as he is embroiled in local affairs that will lead to his downfall:

> Mort le conte Amé de Savoye, fut pris maistre Johan celluy phisicien d'Orient et mené en la presence de l'evesque de Maurianne, du sire de Cossonay, de messire Octhe de Granczon, du sire de Saint Moris, de messire Johan de Conflens et pluseurs aultres des conseilliers du conte, et il leur seut si bien parler qu'il le licencierent et le fit acompaignier messire Octhe de Granczon pare messire Pierre desoubz la Tour jusques hors du païs de Waud, et le mit en la contee de Bourgoyne, dont ceulx qu'avoyent ouÿ parler le conte en sa maladie et les pluseurs du peuple donnerent grand blasme a messier Octhe de Granczon et disoient qu'il estoit consentant que le phisicien heut fait morir le conte.[14]
>
> Following the death of the count Amédé of Savoy, master Johan, doctor of physics from the Orient, was arrested and led in front of the bishop of Maurianne, the lord of Cossonay, the lord Othon de Grandson, the lord of Saint Maurice, the lord Johan de Conflens and several other advisors to the count; and he spoke so well to them that they released him and the lord Othon de Grandson had him accompanied by lord Pierre de La Tour outside of the Pays de Vaud, and placed him in the county of Burgundy. As a consequence those who had heard about the count's sickness and several from the crowd blamed lord Othon de Grandson severely and said that he had consented to the physician's bringing about the death of the count.

Following the death of Amédée VII, probably due to a wound from a hunting accident which did not heal and led to tetanus, rumours about poisoning grew and forced the physician Johan of Grandville to seek refuge on Othon de Grandson's territory. The

[13] See Butterfield, *Familiar Enemy*, pp. xix–xxx.

[14] *La Chronique de Savoye*, 282; unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

latter was then accused of complicity in the murder of Amédée VII, and this accusation was taken up six years later by the lord Gérard d'Estavayer, leading to a judicial duel in which Othon was killed, in 1397.[15] His career and dramatic death offer useful information on the range of international connections one could sustain as a member of a regional noble family on the periphery of international centres of influence. Although some of the literary legacies of Othon may be due to accidental circumstances, his imprisonment in Spain nevertheless forms part and parcel of the adventurous lifestyle of courtiers in the service of European courts. Othon de Grandson was made prisoner by the Spanish after fighting at the battle of La Rochelle in 1372 under the leadership of the earl of Pembroke, son-in-law of the English king and his lieutenant in Aquitaine. He spent two years in captivity in Castile, being freed only after payment of a ransom, probably by Edward III himself. Following his Spanish captivity, Grandson resumed service in England and worked for John of Gaunt in 1374, receiving from him an annual payment of 100 'marcs' per year.

It is most likely that Grandson composed his well-known 'Cinq balades ensuyvans' before serving Gaunt, and while being held prisoner in Castile.[16] These pieces appear in Barcelona, Biblioteca Catalunya, MS 8, which is probably a copy of an autograph manuscript.[17] If the 'Cinq balades ensuyvans' were composed during the years of Othon's Spanish captivity in Castile, it is not impossible that some of the other eighteen pieces found in MS 8 and attributed to Grandson were also composed during this period.[18] The same manuscript also contains the 'Pseudo-Tençon entre Oton de Granson et Florimont de Lesparra';[19] Florimont de Lesparre, lord of Guyenne and fighting for the English cause, was also made prisoner and confined in Burgos, the capital of Castile, at the same time as Othon de Grandson.[20] The textual tradition of this 'pseudo-tençon' is complicated by the fact that the stanzas attributed to Grandson in this poem also appear in his 'La Complainte de l'an nouvel', also extant, among other places, in Barcelona, Biblioteca Catalunya, MS 8; its presence in MS 8, however, given that Grandson and Florimont de Lesparre spent two years together as comrade prisoners, makes the composition of this piece in Castile most likely.[21] Even if Grandson's imprisonment may not have been the sole catalyst for the circulation and popularity of his writings on Iberian soil—he was also in contact with the Portuguese court—from the fourteenth century onwards, the level of his influence, considered superior to that of Machaut on the Iberian peninsula, is certainly due in part to his physical presence there.[22]

[15] See Galland, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 339–42; for an account of the duel between Othon de Grandson and Gérard d'Estavayer, which led to Othon's death, see Berguerand, *Le duel d'Othon de Grandson*.

[16] Grenier-Winther (Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*), quoting James Wimsatt, 106.

[17] Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 29 and 110; for Grandson's influence upon Iberic literature, see Pagès, *La poésie française*, 89–93.

[18] Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 29–30, 110.

[19] Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 509–13; see also p. 110.

[20] See Bordier, 'Notice sur Florimont', 292–4.

[21] Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 289–92.

[22] Pagès, *La poésie française*, 84–101; Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 108.

The Iberian case suggests that Othon de Grandson's writings targeted a reading public of international dimensions well equipped to engage with literary conventions circulating between different European courts. Grandson wrote in a language that showed no trace of the dialect spoken in the Pays de Vaud; his writings were not aimed at local knights, such as Gérard d'Estavayer, who were unfit to appreciate the conventions of the international language of love. The literary commodification of the St Valentine's tradition equally circulated among a literary European elite. Grandson undoubtedly played a very significant role in its propagation among courtly societies: at the court of the counts of Savoy, certainly, but perhaps even more so among Iberian and English courtly poets. The number of poems from his corpus dedicated to this tradition or making reference to St Valentine is considerable and covers his entire writing career.[23] 'Le Songe Saint Valentin', an octosyllabic lyric poem of four hundred and fifty lines, compares the state of birds that 'a leur gré choisissent' ('choose according to their own will', 329) to that of human lovers whose love, more often than not, is not reciprocated. The narrator, embracing the cause of desolate lovers, expresses his empathy towards 'tous amans, | Soyent englois ou alemens, | De France né ou de Savoye' ('all lovers, be they English or German, born in France or Savoy', 403–5). These lines point to an (idealized) circle of literary aristocratic lovers from different nations and regions bound together by aesthetic considerations in matters of love. The figure of the desolate and lonely St Valentine lover constructed in several of Grandson's poems is imitated and appropriated in Catalan and Castilian literature, with the 'cabalero de la trista figura' represented in the corpus of several major fourteenth- and fifteenth-century poets.[24] The presence of Grandson in Iberia attests to intense exchanges between European courtiers as they travelled and circulated ideas and fed the international language of love beyond national and language boundaries.

Grandson's influence in the invention and spread of the Valentine literary tradition extended to other areas, such as England and France. While Iberian poets particularly fed on the new figure of the melancholic black knight and inserted him into a new context,[25] English and French poets, in dialogue with Grandson's poetic output, appropriated and further developed the Valentine tradition in its entirety. 'Le Songe Saint Valentin', combined with lines 1195–1364 of *Le Livre messire Ode*, one of Othon's major pieces, shares significant affinities with Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls*.[26] The bird lover of *Le Livre*, on the Monday morning following St Valentine's day (1245–6), laments the loss of his 'esprevier' ('sparrowhawk', 1250) as a result of the bird lover's infatuation with a peregrine falcon, who in turn falls for a 'tiercellet' ('tercelet', 1299). The bird lover's relationship to the triad of birds of prey—standing for three different women—recalls Chaucer's variation of this triangular pattern, with his female formel

[23] Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 111–21.

[24] Grenier-Winther mentions the following poets: the marquis of ~~Satillane~~, Jacme Escrivà, the count d'Alva, Ausiàs March, Luys de Biuero, Lluis de Vilarasa, Alonsa de Cardona, Lupe de ~~Estuñiga~~, Juan Álvarez Gato, Diego López de Haro, Hernan Mexia de Jaen, as well the Portuguese Garcia de Resende; see Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 108.

[25] See Pagès, 'Le thème de la tristesse amoureuse', 29–43.

[26] Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 198–212 and 383–473.

eagle refusing to choose between three noble bird lovers on St Valentine's day. 'Le Songe Saint-Valentin', another dream poem as its title suggests, presents an orchard where an assembly of all species of birds ('petiz et grans, tous y estoient'; 'small and large birds, all were present', 41) have gathered to find a mate. Both poems problematize the Valentine idea of choosing a partner for only a year in interesting ways, against the courtly principle of devoting one's love to a single character, and forever. The degree of Othon's engagement with the Valentine tradition, together with the early dating of some of his Valentine poems, places him as a leading voice in the establishment of this new poetic invention, ahead of Chaucer and some of his contemporaries.[27] Elsewhere Chaucer shows his indebtedness to Grandson as he creatively appropriates his 'Cinq balades ensuyvans' for composing his *Complaint of Venus*, in which Grandson receives from Chaucer the flattering accolade of 'flour of hem that make in Fraunce' (82).[28]

Valentine literary activities at the French royal court also owe much to Othon de Grandson. 14 February 1400 marks the foundation of the loving court ('la cour amoureuse') of Charles VI, which unequivocally associates the saint with love.[29] In 1401, in her *Dit de la Rose*, Christine de Pizan describes the foundation of the Order of the Rose by Louis of Orléans, father of Charles, on St Valentine's day. Christine de Pizan later writes two ballades and one *virelai* on the theme of St Valentine. She is followed by Jean de Garencières, who imitates the 'Balade de Saint Valentin Double' by Grandson in his Ballade XV.[30] In both texts, the St Valentine tradition becomes rhetorically instrumental in confirming to the lady the lover's choice, already made seven years before. The St Valentine celebration is thus recuperated to function as a token declaration of constancy and long-term devotion to an elected lady.[31]

The praise for poetic achievement directed towards Grandson by Chaucer, followed by Christine de Pizan's commendation of Othon as the epitome of chivalric values in 'Le Débat de deux amans', and his posthumous praise a few years later in 'L'Epistre au Dieu d'Amours', contrasts with the loss of sympathy that Othon experienced in the Pays de Vaud in the fourth quarter of the fourteenth century.[32] The long period of time

[27] Grenier-Winther is more careful in assessing Grandson's precedence over Chaucer: see Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 120.

[28] *Riverside Chaucer*, 649. [29] Bozzolo and Loyau, *La Cour amoureuse*, i. 1–6.

[30] The double ballade is made from Ballades 24 and 30 in Grenier-Winther's edition, pp. 195–6 and 222–3.

[31] Lydgate composes three poems on the theme, inventing a new genre, the 'valentin'. Guillaume Fredet, René d'Anjou, Guillaume de Monceau, Jean d'Estouteville, and the poet Aznar Pardo from Valence write poems dedicated to the literary celebration of St Valentine. Charles of Orléans, who owned a manuscript of Othon de Grandson, also writes a dozen Valentine poems; see Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies*, ed. Grenier-Winther, 114. For a summary of the most important points developed by Oruch, 'St Valentine', see pp. 111–14.

[32] For reference to Christine de Pizan's praise, see Braddy, 'Sir Oton de Graunson', 11–12; for further praise, this time voiced from Iberia by the marquis of Santillana in his letter to the Constable of Portugal in the middle of the fifteenth century, see Pagès, *La poésie française*, 90; for Grandson's influence on Auzia March, see Pagès, *Ausiàs March*, 184.

spent away from the Pays de Vaud, either in the service of Amédée VII in Savoy or at the court of Edward III, had the unfortunate effect of depriving Othon of any support in his own locality. His poetic reputation, attested among elite literary circles, was probably not appreciated by the local knights of the Pays de Vaud, and did not serve his cause. So the judicial duel that Othon was forced to enter became a *cause célèbre* largely because so powerful a knight as Othon was forced to fight a much younger and local rival with no international reputation over facts that remained obscure.[33] The accidental death of Amédée VII had seen Othon lose support within the Savoy court; his lack of contact with the local nobility, despite his international reputation as knight-poet and the support of the king of France, who vouched for his innocence, left Othon unable to extricate himself from Gérard d'Estavayer's challenge.[34] Although Othon was no longer in the position to dictate his views to his detractors, it is symptomatic that his end came through an ancestral practice that progressively became superseded by written legislation influenced by Roman law. His tragic but chivalric end in the judicial duel at Bourg-en-Bresse on 7 August 1397 perfectly reflects Othon's knightly trajectory, marked by nostalgia for crusading and for chivalric quests that might bring the best European knights to Palestine. Othon had taken part in an expedition to Prussia and Palestine, from 24 July 1392 to 5 July 1393, under the leadership of the future king, Henry IV of Lancaster.[35]

More locally, *La Chronique de Savoye* by Jean d'Orville relates the following event as the Savoyard army and its allies, led by Count Amédée VII, prepare an assault on the city of Sion in Valais:

> Armés et apprestés les gens, vint ung ancien chivalier qui se nommoit messier Guillaume de Granczon et dit au conte de Savoye: 'Sire, il vous es tent devenir chivalier au nom de Dieu et de saint George.'—'J'en suis content, respond le conte.' Sy sacha l'espee du feurre et la bailla au dit messier Guillaume de Granczon, quy luy bailla la colee en luy donnand l'Ordre de chivalerie . . . et avant que l'assault commenczast a eschaufer furent creés plus de cent et quarentes chivaliers.[36]
>
> Once everyone was armed and ready, an experienced knight called Guillaume of Grandson came and said to the count of Savoy: 'Lord, it is time for you to become knight in the name of God and Saint George.'—'I'm pleased with it', replied the count. He unsheathed his sword and offered it to the said knight Guillaume de Grandson who dubbed him giving him the Order of chivalry . . . and before the assault began more than one hundred and forty knights were created.

La Chronique de Savoy, written at the request of Amédée VIII by his Picard secretary Jean d'Orville between 1417 and 1419, is a foundational text. It is the first chronicle for the Savoy to be written in the vernacular and it is also the first to offer a 'grand récit' for

[33] I am paraphrasing Berguerand, *Le duel*, 100. [34] See Berguerand, *Le duel*, 103.
[35] See Berguerand, *Le duel*, 14. [36] *La Chronique de Savoye*, 269–70.

the Savoy as a whole. The founding legend of the House of Savoy concerns Berold, a member of the Ottonian imperial family who restored the Germanic Empire in 962 and thus gave the House of Savoy its reputable foundation. The chronicle also relates the story of the sacred ring that had been handed over to every new Savoyard prince from the time of Pierre II. The ring belonged to St Maurice, leader of a Theban Roman legion, who in the third century refused to fight Christians, probably after he and his legion had converted to the Christian faith. In retaliation for this act of imperial disobedience, the Emperor ~~Maximillian~~ had Maurice and his entire legion slaughtered. The Saxon founding myth and the passing on of the sacred relic as a token of religious sanctification of the House of Savoy are two significant elements in its construction as a European house whose founding myth and history places it next to some of the most prestigious aristocratic families of the late fourteenth century.[37] The episode above which saw the dubbing of more than one hundred and forty knights, and which crucially involved Othon's father, Guillaume de Grandson, equally participates in the construction of the 'grand récit' serving to emphasize the ongoing reputation of the new count, Amédée VIII, for whom Cabaret writes around 1417–19.[38] *La Chronique* quite faithfully recounts events from the second half of the fourteenth century, with the count taking part in events of various kinds, from local territorial annexation to reports of Amédée VI's successful journey in 1366–7 to Constantinople—via Piedmont, Pavia, and Venice—where several comrades-in-arms and their men joined him in successfully defending the city.[39] The detailed account of the Constantinople expedition shows Amédée in a positive light, as a successful supporter of the Christian faith trying to bring the Greek Church back into the Latin fold. *La Chronique* reads as a noteworthy document establishing the political credentials of the House of Savoy on the European scene. The same account of this 'Savoyard Crusade' also addresses far less grand purposes, as in the account of a young Savoyard knight who is found sleeping with the daughter of his host. One wonders whether Jean d'Orville's sense of irony is not at work when, ending his description of the way in which Amédée, following customs from Constantinople, punishes his knight by cutting his beard publicly on the square in front of St Sophia, he dubs the count as 'l'ung des plus vailliant justicier du monde' ('one of the boldest upholders of the law in the world').[40]

The need to glorify the Savoyard dynasty and provide propaganda on the grandeur of the newly appointed duchy makes *La Chronique* a captivating document in which 'grand récit' is shaped by anecdotes, fiction blends with reality, and historical characters are idealized to such an extent that they become similar to their fictional counterparts.

Although constructed on an axis emphasizing interpersonal relationships and subjectivity, *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant*'s self-fashioning similarly exploits fictional and

[37] *La Chronique de Savoye*, 11–32.

[38] Andenmatten sees no reason to doubt reports of events by Cabaret that occur only a few decades from his time of writing in 1417–19: see Andenmatten, *La Maison de Savoie*, 302.

[39] *La Chronique de Savoye*, 195–214.

[40] *La Chronique de Savoye*, 210.

historical material. Notwithstanding concerns with political and religious issues similar to those of *La Chronique*, *Le Livre* reveals the anxieties faced by an independent political entity towards the end of the late medieval period. It also testifies to the complex web of socio-political influences shaping the European cultural and political scene. The expansion of Savoy with the acquisition of the County of Nice in 1388, and the pressure of the powerful city of Turin (Torino), fief of the Savoy Achaie princes in the north, strangled the Marquisate of Saluces, which was itself part of the Dauphiné.[41] No longer able to maintain a politically independent agenda for its territory, Thomas III had to look for an ally in order to prevent its absorption into the powerful Duchy of Savoy. He turned to Charles VI, King of France, and paid several visits to his court between 1389 and 1390 in order to ensure that his allegiance was owed to no one else *but* the king.[42] His mother, Béatrix of Geneva, married to Frederic II of Saluces (Saluzzo) was francophone, and Thomas's taste for French culture may have been initially triggered by this familial attachment. So Thomas III was both politically and culturally inclined to expect that support could come his way from the king of France in his wars against Savoy.[43] However, the French king failed to come to his help, and Thomas III of Saluces was imprisoned for two years (1394–6) in Turin by the Savoy Achaie prince. The Marquisate was temporarily annexed by Savoy a few decades later, and its history is marked by several later attempts at annexation by Savoy in the following centuries.[44]

Le Livre du Chevalier Errant is Thomas III's single known literary contribution, written during the years of his imprisonment in Turin, and revised in 1403–5. Inspired by the tradition of quest literature, *Le Livre* portrays the quest of an errant knight who represents Thomas III. The work is divided into three parts, each marked by visits to allegorical figures—Love, Fortune, and Knowledge—who accompany the errant knight in his growing aspirations. From an initial desire to possess a lady, the errant knight is led to an understanding of Fortune's inconstancy through the narratives of several historical characters and including an account of Thomas III's own imprisonment. Following dialogic exchanges with Knowledge, the errant knight is led finally to understand his chivalric and aristocratic quest in the larger context of a Christian ideology.[45]

Le Livre marks the end of the knight's wandering, and points to the beginning of the quest.[46] While *Le Livre* has only recently attracted much scholarly interest, one can

[41] See also Tommaso III di Saluzzo, *Il Libro*, 9.

[42] See Tommaso III di Saluzzo, *Il Libro*, 9.

[43] For reference to the conflictual relationships between the Marquisate and Savoy, see *La Chronique*, esp. pp. 191–2, 245.

[44] Charles-Emmanuel I (1580-1630), duke of Savoy, wages war against the Marquisate on 27 August and conquers it on 2 December 1588: see Devos, 'Un siècle en mutation', 186–7.

[45] For a study of *Le Livre* within the context of the knightly spiritual quest, see Nievergelt, 'Spiritual Knighthood', 66–76.

[46] Nievergelt, 'Spiritual Knighthood', 75.

already assess its significant contribution to a larger European ideology carried by the international language of love.[47] Inclusion of this brief discussion on *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant* can again but point to the complexity of defining *locale* and itineraries in shaping a literary history of Europe. *Le Livre* also serves as a remarkable example of the multiple literary and historical influences that shaped this eclectic piece, written by a bilingual speaker. At the confines of the Dauphiné, close to Northern Italy and its Trecento flowering, yet also under the pressure of the expanding Savoyard Duchy, the Marquisate of Saluces stands as an interesting peripheral *locale*, politically and culturally insignificant in comparison to its powerful neighbours, but fascinating nonetheless because of its liminal, 'isoglossic' quality. In *Le Livre*, Thomas III of Saluces recasts imaginatively some of the most interesting literary productions that shape medieval culture, from Virgil to Boccaccio, including the *Roman de la Rose* and the *Tristan en prose* (from which he borrows to shape his Saracen knight, Palamède).[48] If Arthurian material evidently fills in important parts of the 'court of love' in *Le Livre*, it is also used to exemplify the workings of Fortune. The short account of the beheading game taking place at the court of Arthur is preceded by a series of narratives which, whether fiction or based on historical facts, all trace various life trajectories marked by significant changes of fortune. This game episode, played by Caradoz, is preceded by a narrative of the election of Robert of Geneva, a distant relative of Thomas III, as Pope Clement VII, which led to the Great Schism of 1378.[49] Ancestral preoccupations may account for this narrative sequence: the extensive rendering of the story of Grisildis and her marriage to the marquis Gaultier of Saluces partakes of further familial considerations and may express Thomas's anxiety about the instability of his own possession and his political grip on the Marquisate. After a move back to his original narrative about the fate of exemplary kings, such as Alexander the Great, Thomas once again returns to more contemporary events with an account of the tensions between Savoy and the Marquisate. This is the point of inclusion of the beheading game, which is followed a little bit further on by a second take on the Great Schism.[50]

The personal quest of the errant knight frames and gives meaning to what would otherwise be a series of unrelated and eclectic episodes. From this perspective, they reveal the wealth of literary material available to border and 'isoglossic' areas such as Saluces. Its absorption into Savoy in the generation following Thomas III, followed by its integration into the Italian Piedmont area at a later stage, is evidence of its political instability. However, its bordering on a larger political entity (Savoy) which itself is territorially challenged by a more powerful cultural and political power (the French

[47] See, among others, the work of Florence Bouchet, Robert Fajen, and Marco Piccat (Tommaso III di Saluzzo, *Il Libro*) in the Bibliography.

[48] See Maupeu, 'Voies allégoriques', 179–202; Ward, 'Another Occurrence', 371–89; Yoder, 'Late Medieval Tale', 543–9; on the character of Palamède and the extensive influence of the *Tristan en prose*, see Ceppi, 'Et au derrain tout a esté pour neant'.

[49] See Galland, *Les papes d'Avignon*, 305–61.

[50] See *Le Livre*, ll. 5250-76, 5611–6111, 6602–701, 6845–91, 7140–230.

kingdom) positions the Marquisate as a fascinating *region* on an itinerary that witnesses the transference of literary material by an author equally immersed in Italian and French languages and literatures.

Thomas III of Saluces' *Le Livre du Chevalier Errant* compels us to look beyond cultural highways that are fairly easy to spot in tracing itineraries in late medieval Europe. Marginal border areas, seemingly insignificant when considered from the broad perspective of a European literary tradition, yield unexpected results when approached as a web of exchanges between regions. If the court of Charles VI, with its centripetal force, may have been the milieu where Thomas III of Saluces found material for the construction of his own conception of love, the specific geographic and linguistic characteristics of his Marquisate nonetheless significantly shaped his own contribution to knightly quest literature.

Further understanding of the intrinsic literary values of areas such as Savoy and its small neighbour, the Marquisate of Saluces, should help us better appreciate the web of culturally prolific exchanges between *locales* that still partly escapes our present vision of this rich period.

Bibliography

Andenmatten, Bernard, *La Maison de Savoie et la noblesse vaudoise (XIII*è*–XIV*è *s.): supériorité féodoale et autorité princière* (Lausanne, 2005).

Arden, Heather, 'Othon de Granson and Christine de Pizan: Love's Martyrs', in Kosta-Théfaine (ed.), *Othon de Granson chevalier et poète*, 103–21.

Attwood, Catherine, 'La dialectique amoureuse chez Othon de Granson', in Kosta-Théfaine (ed.), *Othon de Granson chevalier et poète*, 85–102.

Baud, Henri, 'Apogée et décadence, le duché de Savoie', in Paul Guichonnet (ed.), *Nouvelle histoire de la Savoie* (Toulouse, 1996), 157–76.

Berguerand, Claude, *Le duel d'Othon de Grandson (1397): mort d'un chevalier-poète vaudois à la fin du Moyen-âge* (Lausanne, 2008).

Bordier, Henri, 'Notice sur Florimont, sire de Lesparre . . . par Mr Rabanis', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 5/1 (1844), vol. 5, pp. 292–4. See reference below to the online *Gascon Rolls Project (1317–1468).*

Bouchet, Florence, 'Lire, voir, écrire au XIVè siècle: étude du Livre du Chevalier errant de Thomas de Saluces', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1995).

Bouchet, Florence, 'Voyage et quête de soi: *Le Livre du chevalier errant* de Thomas de Saluces', in Alain Labbé, Daniel W. Lacroix and Danielle Quéruel (eds), *Guerres, voyages et quêtes au Moyen Âge: mélanges offerts à Jean-Claude Faucon* (Paris, 2000), 31–42.

Bouchet, Florence, 'De la lecture à l'écriture: quelques modes de transfert dans le *Chevalier errant* de Thomas de Saluces', *Bien dire et bien aprandre*, 13 (1995), 217–35.

Bozzolo, Carla, and Loyau, Hélène, *La Cour amoureuse dite de Charles VI*, 3 vols (Paris, 1982–92).

Braddy, Haldeen, 'Sire Oton de Graunson : "Flour of Hem that Make in Fraunce"', *Studies in Philology*, 35 (1938), 10–24.

Butterfield, Ardis, *The Familiar Enemy: Chaucer, Language and Nation in the Hundred Years War* (Oxford, 2009).

Ceppi, Marie, '"Et au derrain tout a esté pour neant": espoirs et désillusions de Palamède dans le *Livre du Chevalier errant* de Thomas III de Saluces' (unpublished Lausanne Master's thesis, 2010).

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford, 1987).

La Chronique de Savoye de Cabaret, ed. Daniel Chaubret (Chambéry, 2006).

Colonna d'Istria, Robert, *Histoire de la Savoie* (Paris, 2002).

Corbellari, Alain, 'Les mythologies d'Othon de Grandson', *Le Moyen Français*, 62 (2008), 51–61.

Cox, Eugene L., *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton, 1967).

Devos, Roger, 'Un siècle en mutation (1536-1684)', in Paul Guichonnet (ed.), *Nouvelle histoire de la Savoie* (Toulouse, 1996), 177–205.

Fajen, Robert, *Die Lanze und die Feder: Untersuchungen zum Livre du Chevalier errant von Thomas III. Markgraf von Saluzzo*, Imagines Medii Aevi, 15 (Wiesbaden, 2003).

Galland, Bruno, *Les papes d'Avignon et la maison de Savoie (1309–1409)*, Collection de l'École française de Rome, 247 (Rome, 1998).

Jean d'Orville, *dit* Cabaret, *La Chonique de Savoie*: *traduction-adaptation en français moderne*, tr. Daniel Chaubet (Les Marches, 1995).

Kelly, Henry Ansgar, *Chaucer and the Cult of St. Valentine*, Davis Medieval Texts and Studies, 5 (Leiden, 1986).

Kosta-Théfaine, Jean-François (ed.), *Othon de Granson chevalier et poète*, *Medievalia*, 63 (Orléans, 2007).

Kosta-Théfaine, Jean-François, 'Le *Livre Messire Ode* d'Othon de Granson ou l'écriture fragmentaire d'un discours amoureux', *Germanische-Romanistische Monatschrift*, 53 (2003), 355–61.

Maupeu, Philippe, 'Voies allégoriques et stratégies narratives de l'oubli (Guillaume de Deguillevile, Thomas de Saluces)', *Etudes de lettres*, 1–2 (2007), 179–202.

Nievergelt, Marco, 'Spiritual Knighthood, Allegorical Quests: The Knightly Quest in Sixteenth-Century England' (unpublished Oxford D.Phil. dissertation, 2007).

Oruch, Jack B., 'St Valentine, Chaucer, and Spring in February', *Speculum*, 56 (1981), 534–65.

Othon de Grandson, *Oton de Grandson: sa vie et ses poésies*, ed. Arthur Piaget (Lausanne, 1941).

Othon de Grandson, *Les poésies d'Oton de Granson*, ed. Joan Grenier-Winther (Paris, 2010).

Pagès, Amédée, *Auzias March et ses prédécesseurs: essai sur la poésie amoureuse et philosophique en Catalogne aux XIV^{è} et XV^{è} siècles* (Paris, 1911).

Pagès, Amédée, *La poésie française en Catalogne du XIIIè siècle à la fin du XV^{è}* (Toulouse, 1936).

Pagès, Amédée, 'Le thème de la tristesse amoureuse en France et en Espagne du XIV^{è} au XV^{è} sièce', *Romania*, 58 (1932), 29–43.

Pearsall, Derek, *The Life of Geoffrey Chaucer: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1992).

Tommaso III di Saluzzo, *Il Libro del Cavaliere Errante (BnF ms. fr. 12559)*, ed. Marco Piccat (Boves, 2008).

Wallace, David, *Premodern Places: Calais to Surinam, Chaucer to Aphra Behn* (Oxford, 2008).

Ward, Marvin J., 'Another Occurrence of the Virgil Legends: Thomas III, Marquis de Saluces' *Le livre du Chevalier Errant*, and Gossouin de Metz' *L'Image du Monde*', *Medioevo romanzo*, 10/3 (1985), 371–89.

Yoder, Lauren W., 'The Late Medieval Tale: The Example of "La Dame et les trois papegaulz "', *French Review*, 53/4 (1980), 543–9.

Internet resources

ARLIMA: Archives de littérature du Moyen Âge http://www.arlima.net/index.html#

Dictionnaire Historique de la Suisse (DHS) http://www.hls-dhs-dss.ch/index.php

Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani http://www.treccani.it/catalogo/catalogo_prodotti/la_biografia_italiana/dizionario_biografico_degli_italiani.html

The Gascon Rolls Project (1317–1468) http://www.gasconrolls.org

Histoire, patrimoine, archives des pays de Savoie http://www.sabaudia.org/v2/index.php