Christine de Pizan's Dit de la pastoure: Pastoral Poetry, and the Poetics of Loss

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Christine de Pizan is the foremost woman of letters in the medieval French tradition, and the first to live by her pen. Her output contains some thirty titles equally distributed between verse and prose. Two cycles of love lyrics, the *Cent balades* (composed between 1399 and 1402), and the *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* (1410), frame the bulk of her activity, during which she produced, focusing mainly on the theme of love, a series of *dits* (verse narratives) and debate poems, and made a significant epistolary contribution to the famous *querelle* over the misogynist views of Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*, before turning to didactic and allegorical writing.

Though Christine has often been recognized for her didactic works rather than for her verse, the latter has received critical attention and acclaim more recently. It is significant that she returned, toward the close of her most intense period of literary activity, to the lyric forms with which she launched her career. The *Cent balades d'amant et de dame* of 1410 took up again the theme of courtly love and its effects on the lady, justifying the attention it received in Christine's *Cent balades, dits* and debate poems. It is one of the *dits*, the *Dit de la pastoure*, dated 1403, which concerns us here. This study explores Christine's furthering of her position on courtly love through the revival of an archaic verse form, the *pastourelle*, which, by fusing narrative and lyric, gave voice to the female protagonist. With this *dit*, Christine created in effect a masterful synthesis of the older *pastourelle* and the contemporary *pastorale*, fashioning, with a deftness as much a tribute to her education as it is to her creative powers, this obsolete genre into an ideal medium for her message to women. It will be our task here to understand, through a narratological approach to the *Dit de la pastoure*, how Christine recast the older *pastourelle* to present an eloquent poetic argument against *fin'amor*, and to situate the poem within the larger history of the medieval *pastourelle*, in effect as its last manifestation.

The *pastourelle* of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was a lyric-narrative hybrid playing out Andreas Capellanus' concern with love across social boundaries, particularly his admonitions on the love of peasants. The *pastourelle* genre usually staged an anti-courtly encounter between an aristocratic male narrator and a shepherdess; attracted by her singing, he would seek to seduce her, with varying degrees of success. The outcome of the adventure was directly linked to the narrative complexity of the genre, for as this intricacy increased over the course of the thirteenth century, the narrator's predatory energies were defused and his suit foundered. This development did not obscure the inherent danger for the *lousete* (girl), danger fueled on a literary plane, at least, by the unequal social status of the protagonists. In the next century, however, the position of the shepherdess herself changed, with a concomitant shift in the focus of pastoral poetry.

In the fourteenth-century *pastorale*, as exemplified in the works of Jean Froissart and Eustache Deschamps, the original clash between protagonists was replaced by a bucolic portrait where shepherds held the moral high ground. The countryside, formerly portrayed derisively as a primitive "otherworld," was now celebrated as a *locus amoenus* whose inhabitants enjoyed a
simple, harmonious existence close to nature. Robin (the stock male rustic and partner to Marion) became the spokesperson for a life of virtue unencumbered by greed and intrigue, and the exemplary conduct of the pastoral community was held up as a foil against which to view the depravity of the court. In addition, the narrator, once a primary actor in the drama of the pastourelle, was reduced to the status of observer⁵. Thus a somewhat marginal subgenre in the thirteenth century, the objective pastourelle, in which the narrator described a scene of pastoral revelry without participating in the festivities, was raised in the fourteenth century to the status of primary pastoral form⁷. Moreover, in its later form, the conversation of the shepherds and shepherdesses assumed an unprecedented political dimension, as their talk disparaged the Anglo-French war, for example, commented on royal progressions, or turned to the latest fashions. It is into this context that Christine interjected the older pastoral form, effecting a fusion of pastourelle and pastorale, but favoring the former as a lyric-narrative hybrid which offered the shepherdess a voice of her own.

Christine's preference for the pastourelle, which had fallen into disuse by her day, is curious, and merits careful consideration. In examining her use of the archaic form as well as the contexts from which the Dit's lyrical interludes – three bergerettes (shepherdess songs), four ballades and a rondeau - are drawn, it will be possible for us not only to view her utilization and reworking of this genre as a tribute to the breadth of her education, but to understand the pastourelle as an effective medium for expressing her position on courtly love⁸. This essay will thus view Christine's Dit de la pastoure as a final chapter in the history of the pastourelle⁹ and examine the ways in which the Dit contributes to her feminizing of love lyric, as well as to her didactic works on the topic of courtly love.

Christine's Dit de la pastoure was composed less than a year after the completion of her collection Cent balades and shared with the latter not only the theme but the poetic form: the link between these works is established through her reuse of several ballades and a rondeau as lyric insertions in her pastoral tale¹⁰. It is this appropriation, furthermore, of her fictionalized poetic voice by another je in a different context which offers insight into Christine's choice of genre for the Dit.

Some of the poems in both Cent balades (1402) and in her later Cent ballades d'amant et de dame (1410) focused on the grief of widowhood. Likewise, the je in the prologue of the Dit de la pastoure states unequivocally that the composition of the Dit was to work through her sorrow following the death of a dear one (vv.5-14):

Combien que pou entremettre
M'en sache, mais pour desmettre
Aucunement la pesance
Dont je suis en mesaisance,
Qui jamais ne me fauldra;
Car oublier impossible
M'est le douz et le paisible
Dont la mort me separa,
Ce deuil tousjours m'apparra.

Even though I am poorly equipped
For this task, it will reduce
Somewhat the grief
Which discomfits me
And which will never leave me.
For it is impossible to me to forget
The gentle, peaceful one
From whom death separated me.
This grief will be with me always¹¹.
In the ballade collections, attention is soon shifted away from the initial, putatively autobiographical portion to focus on a series of poems chronicling the life cycle of a love affair, and Christine herself cautions the reader, in Ballade 50 of *Cent balades*, against conflating the speaking subject of the lyric poems with their author. Likewise, the *Dit*, in passing from prologue to tale, shifts the narrative voice from Christine's double to Marote, the protagonist of the narrative. The poem then recounts Marote's tale of loving and losing a *chevalier*, a theme reflecting Christine's view that courtly love is ultimately inauspicious for the lady involved.

The courtly *chanson* typically focused on loss, but from the male perspective, on being deprived of a relationship which often existed more in the heart and mind of the lover than in reality. For Christine, as for other women lyric poets in the European tradition, the lament concerned instead an existing, once reciprocal relationship. Indeed, in male-authored *troubadour* and *trouvère* lyric, the inception of the relationship was rarely explored, a lacuna which Christine remedied by reviving a lyric genre which focused on courtship and seduction. Significantly, in the archaic *pastourelle* the female protagonist had a voice, as stated above, thus making it ideally suited for Christine's transferal of lyric authority. While the *pastorale* contributed to the *Dit de la pastoure*, in particular to the poem's tone, by establishing Marote's world as a *locus amoenus*, it is significant that Christine did not choose this genre as her dominant medium. Rather, she elevated the shepherdess of the earlier *pastourelle* to the status of both protagonist and narrator, erasing the objective distance between her reader-listener and the pastoral world.

The effect of this procedure, as in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion* (1283-84), is our immediate identification with the pastoral world and its characters; yet we experience a greater sympathy, a deeper bond with Marote than with Robin and Marion, because of the infusion of the fourteenth-c. *locus amoenus* into the older pastoral setting. The bucolic revelry occupying the first 450 lines of Christine's *Dit* is devoid of the buffoonery and jealousies which characterize Adam's *Jeu* or the *pastourelles* of Jean Erart, a *trouvère* from Artois (d. 1259). In Marote's community of young shepherds and shepherdesses the atmosphere remains unfailingly harmonious: sexual tensions are sublimated in competitions where the men seek to outdo each other in dancing and footraces. We become Marote's confidants on an equal footing with her friend Lorete, and, in fact, share Marote's plight more intimately than Lorete does. For with the initial invitation "Antendez man aventure, vrais amans" [hear my adventure, true lovers], a series of judiciously placed minstrel formulas renews our commitment to Marote at every stage of the narrative: "or diray je que m'avint" [now I will tell what happened to me]; "or avez vous entendu. .." [now you have heard]; "or diray comme or me va. .." [now I'll tell how things are today].

We therefore find ourselves students of the pastoral life, as Marote describes in exacting detail the tasks at which she excels, the clothing which she and her companions wear, and the festivities and dalliance of their lives, proving Christine to be an excellent reader not only of older and contemporary pastoral poetry, but of Jean de Brie's 1379 compendium *Le Bon Berger*. Yet, the realism of this portrait is balanced by an eerie detachment from actuality: the entire charming scene is painted in the imperfect, making it clear even at this point in the narrative that we are viewing the *locus amoenus* through a veil. The *locus* already belongs to the past, as we learn from our protagonist, and its joys have faded so that it is only recoverable in memory.
As the main part of the tale begins, with a shift to the preterit, Marote states her position that women are victims of the god of Love. True, but whereas the anonymous shepherdess of a medieval *pastourelle* is the hapless target of a roving knight, here Love punishes Marote's fickleness, who has hitherto refused all suitors among her peers, and offers her a consensual relationship of mutual respect. This section begins, albeit recounted by Marote and from her point of view, with a song. A company of young noblemen is attracted by her singing, and request another melody. Two *bergierettes* praising the pastoral life ensue, creating a curious "pastourelle en abîme,"\(^{15}\) and constitute a further incursion of the *pastorale* into our *pastourelle*, for the kind of didactic promotion of the pastoral life visible in these *bergierettes* is characteristic of the *pastorale* rather than of earlier pastoral poetry. The charms of the *locus amoenus* are not lost on the young lord, any more than they are on us, for when Marote begs leave to return home, he helps her gather her sheep.

Here the mingling of the world of a shepherdess and a lord begins and with it Marote's estrangement from her own surroundings. Lorete's misgivings over the budding relationship between Marote and her noble suitor, for which she remonstrates with Marote over the course of thirty lines, are not allayed when the young gentleman assures Lorete that he is a shepherd, as well as her friend and servant. Marote refutes this statement immediately through her description of the man's sumptuous clothing, yet it is by his sharing of her world in these initial encounters that he begins to draw her into his sphere. Significantly, the lyric insertions serve as the locus of this transformation. We hear from Marote herself (v. 834) that "Ainsi man chant me traÿ" [Thus did my song betray me]- and this assessment is reinforced by her suitor, who enjoins her at their second encounter "De chanter sans plus long plait Car vostre chant moult me plait" [ ... to sing without further delay, for your song is greatly pleasing to me].

A third *bergierette*, (vv. 1218-1239), recounting what has just befallen Marote, addresses the psychodynamics of love, and admits what the girl has hitherto denied: that the gentleman's visits were more to her than pleasant distractions. The ensuing discussion between Lorete and Marote, in which the latter defends herself by claiming that a *dame* should not be blamed for loving such a knight, is laden with allusions to classical mythology, and reveals Marote's father to be a learned man who has willingly shared his library with the entire village. The full impact of Marote's metamorphosis is realized with the next lyric insertion, for when she breaks into song again, in v. 1552, it is in a sophisticated dialogue with Love personified, in the form of a *ballade*.\(^{16}\) When her suitor returns, moreover, they discuss her jealousy, his constancy, and the rules of love in entirely courtly terms: once he has kissed her (v. 1750), she truly belongs to him body and soul, and there is no longer any chance that she can return to the life she has known. The post-*bergierette* lyric interpolations, consisting of four *ballades* and a *rondeau*, not only signal the shift of Marote's voice to the aristocratic register, but are in fact taken from Christine's lyric works written between 1399 and 1402.

All the lyrics in the *Dit* are of course composed by Christine, and it is certainly by design that the *bergierettes* are unique to this *pastourelle*. As expressions of the life Marote can no longer fully share, as representatives of the early, happy stages of the courtship, these songs belong to the remote past, as does the *pastourelle* itself. For the love story, as well as the *pastourelle* in which it is set, is essentially finished by v. 1885; Marote lifts us out of the story with the words "or avez vous entendu / Coment j'avoye attendu ... " [now you have heard how I had
waited] (vv. 1886-87), and we henceforth dwell primarily in the narrative present, no longer reliving the experience with Marote but only sharing her reminiscences of it. There is a curious disjuncture between narrative and lyric at this point, because while the narrative looks back periodically to her lover's increasingly lengthy absences, the *ballades* and *rondeau* focus on Marote's current state of mind, highlighting the emotional damage this adventure has caused her. Her jealousy and fear are expressed succinctly in the repeating refrain "*A vous et abandonné*" of the first *ballade*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ja ne veuille consentir</th>
<th><em>May your great nobility of spirit</em></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vostre trés noble courage</td>
<td><em>Never allow you to turn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Que mon cuer en deuil partir</td>
<td><em>My heart away in grief</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faciez, plein de telle rage</td>
<td><em>Full of such rage</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com d'apercevoir mestrait</td>
<td><em>As if false measure were apparent</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>En vous qui l'avez attrait,</td>
<td><em>In you, who attracted it</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Si qu'il s'est tout ordonné</td>
<td><em>Such that it granted you everything</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A vous et abandonné.</td>
<td><em>And gave itself up to you.</em> (vv. 1922-29)</td>
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Obviously, an uneasy hierarchical relationship has developed between Marote and her suitor: though he ennobles her with the epithet "belle dame" in v. 1723, he cannot integrate her into his class, and she is left suspended between two worlds. Her sorrow is thus compounded by social alienation. The last of the lyric insertions, the *balade Quant je voy ces amoureux* (v. 20 12-2036), occurs well after the *rondeau Pourquoi m'avez-vous ce fait* (vv. 1964-1975), and comes at a moment when the *pastourelle* proper is concluded and Marote is consumed, in an extra-diegetic present, by grief at the absence of her lover.

We may trace Marote's transformation from simple *pastoure* to *dame lyrique* in the narrative space between two betrayals. Her song, which we have seen described as the catalyst for the *pastourelle*, and the kiss, which completes her surrender to Love, are described in the same terms: *Ainsi mon chant me traï* [thus did my song betray me] (v. 834) and *Mais ce baisier me trahy* [but this kiss betrayed me] (v. 1738). Furthermore, Marote uses a pastoral image to link her former life as shepherdess with her current life as abandoned lover. Whereas she once provided her sheep with the necessary *pasture*, now her beloved has become the *pasture* (my emphasis) that would sustain her (vv. 2252-62):

| Miculx me vaulsist en *pasture* | *I would be better off* |
| Encor mes aigniaux gurder | *Stiff pasturing my sheep* |
| Et d'amours bien me garder | *And protecting myself from love* |
| Que d'am'er un tel sans faile, | *Than to love such a one unfailingly,* |
| Combien qu'il mieulx de moy vaille, | *No matter how much worthier he is than I,* |
| Qu'en souffrir si faile peine, | *For I suffer such great pain* |
| Que, se Dieux tost ne l'ameine, | *That if God does not bring him to me soon,* |
| Il en est pic de rna vie! | *I am done for!* |
| Car sanz lui je n'ay envie | *For without him I have no desire* |
| De vivre: il est la *pasture* | *To live: he is my pasturage* |
| Sans qui de vivre n'ay cure. | *Without whom I do not care to live.* |

The double sense of *pasture* is striking because it makes of her Love's lost lamb, and in her former rise from rustic to noble lady, she has undergone a simultaneous descent from mistress of
her own small world to hapless servant of a fickle god – a deity in whose service, Christine argues through Marote, women are bound to be hurt.

With the *Dit de la pastoure*, Christine has created a narrative frame for her own lyric of loss, a frame offering a new context for these few *ballades* and single *rondeau*. Indeed, in the narrative setting of the *Dit*, the original tone of these lyrics is altered in subtle yet significant ways. The first *ballade* Marote sings, "Aime le; si feras sage" (vv. 1552-1585), from Christine's short collection *Ballades d'estranges façons*, is the last of a set of three whose theme is the life cycle of a love affair. The onset of the relationship, expressed from the lady's point of view, occupies a *Ballade a rimes reprises* immediately followed by two *Ballades a responses*. The first of these, "-Voire aux loiaulz. -Tu as dit voir" captures a moment of tender equality between male and female voices, while the phase of decline is featured in the dialogic lament between the lady and Love which Christine has recast as Marote's. The dynamic expressed in the two *ballades a responses* in particular is accurately mirrored in the larger narrative in Marote's experience, and Love's advice to the lady to commit herself to the relationship justifies Marote's cautious optimism at this point in the tale. Her hope is overshadowed, however, by the reader's knowledge, afforded by Marote's constant shifts in and out of diegetic time, of her ultimate fate. The onset of the relationship, expressed from the lady's point of view, occupies a *Ballade a rimes reprises* immediately followed by two *Ballades a responses*. The first of these, "-Voire aux loiaulz. -Tu as dit voir" captures a moment of tender equality between male and female voices, while the phase of decline is featured in the dialogic lament between the lady and Love which Christine has recast as Marote's. The dynamic expressed in the two *ballades a responses* in particular is accurately mirrored in the larger narrative in Marote's experience, and Love's advice to the lady to commit herself to the relationship justifies Marote's cautious optimism at this point in the tale. Her hope is overshadowed, however, by the reader's knowledge, afforded by Marote's constant shifts in and out of diegetic time, of her ultimate fate. In the same way, the balance between joy and sorrow effected by the context of the other *ballades* is shifted, in the *Dit*, in favor of a pervasive pessimism. The next *ballade*, "Vostre douceur me meine dure guerre" (vv. 1758-1788), likewise figures, in the compilation *Autres Balades*, as one of a pair of laments, the first featuring the lover and the second the lady. In the *Dit*, we are party only to Marote's sorrow, and are deprived of any reassurance, without the accompanying male disquisition, that her suitor shares her feelings. Marote's final *ballade*, "A pou que man cuer ne font!" (vv. 20 12-2036) is unquestionably the most poignant, and the dark mood with which it colors the *Dit* is again achieved by isolating it from its companion "En ce jolis plaisant doulz mays de May". The latter *ballade* is an exhortation to all young lovers to ring in the May. Immersed in this atmosphere of celebration, the reader's sympathy for the plight of the narrator of "A pou" finds itself somewhat mitigated. The sorrow of a single individual, particularly an anonymous one, is not able to overpower the collective expression of joy observed by both reader and speaking subject, and the reader, sharing in this mood, is inspired to comfort the grieving lady. When this individual is as intimately familiar as is Marote, on the other hand, and "ces amoureux", not necessarily visible at the moment, are her lifelong companions, whom we know and from whom she is now estranged, an entirely different atmosphere is created. Marote's readers are rendered mute by the depths of her pain, and a familiar poem has acquired a new, more urgent focus. Thus, by creating a new frame for some of her own lyric, by appropriating older material and reworking it to new effect - a process in which she engaged throughout her active life – Christine made a literary case for her position on courtly love as strong as any taken in her didactic writings.

As a prime example of this reworking and renewal of literary genres, Christine's revival and transformation of the older *pastourelle*, infused with the contemporary *pastorale*, produced a new poetic form, a kind of anthology of older and current pastoral motifs. She designed her *pastourelle* as a medium through which Marote’s bereavement is seen as inevitable: the failure of the relationship seals the inauspicious fate of women in courtly love. Nonetheless, by writing the threat of rape, the sense of danger, out of the *pastourelle* and by replacing it with the idyllic atmosphere of contemporary bucolic verse, she imbued her hybrid pastoral poem with an ethereal, if temporary, delicacy.
In the *Dit*, the grieving lyric lady speaks in the present tense, whereas the shepherdess Marote and her happiness belong to an irretrievable past, both literally and grammatically. Just as Marote can no longer return to her former life, her instrument for recalling and recounting those experiences, the *pastourelle*, is incapable of addressing the present. As Christine argued in her writings on the *Romance of the Rose*, the equality between the sexes promised by courtly love is but an ephemeral ideal which offers no durable benefit for women. The impermanence of love and the ultimate and inevitable isolation of women through it is no better expressed than in this remarkable fusion of pastoral and courtly lyric. The medieval *pastourelle* did not enjoy a revival following the composition of this *dit*; rather, Christine's experiment constituted an isolated example in the otherwise uninterrupted evolution of the *pastorale*. For Christine, the use of the *pastourelle* expresses her contention that if there ever was a period in which courtly love offered benefits for women, it is now over by her day: happiness was also over for Marote, and indeed was threatened from the moment she was truly in love. As the medieval *pastourelle* could not be rewritten so that the shepherdess acquired control of her voice and her destiny, the lyric lady could not serve Love without losing both honor and happiness. By writing that loss through the *pastourelle*, Christine fused form and content into a highly effective message to women, but also laid the medieval *pasteurelle* to rest forever.

**Notes**

1. Marie de France's *Lais* notwithstanding, Christine is the first woman writer who, in her prolific and varied output, championed the cause of women's education, engaged in ethical debates and addressed contemporary politics, all from a feminine point of view. In addition to producing a formidable corpus of lyric poetry - some three hundred ballades, seventy rondeaux and twenty virelais. She enjoyed over Marie, of course, the advantage of the fourteenth century's developing ethic of authorial self-reflection and self-promotion. She also benefited quite clearly from her father's position at court as well as from his enlightened views on women and learning. Nonetheless, Christine's achievements are remarkable in that they are unparalleled in future centuries.


3. The first collection of Christine's works, the *Livre Christine*, in which she played an active role, was completed about 1404. *Le Dit de la pastoure* appeared as folio 21 of this compilation. It was later revised for inclusion in the more sumptuous manuscripts of her work, the Duke of Berry's Manuscript of 1408/09 and again in 1410 or 1411 in the Queen's Manuscript. See James Laidlaw, "Christine de Pizan - A Publisher's Progress," *The Modern Language Review 82* (1987), 35-75.

4. While the presence of refrains voicing the shepherdess supports the narrator's purpose -the more pertinent to the dialogue are her sung utterances, the greater is the likelihood that his rhetorical skills will wear down her resistance -the shift, in the late thirteenth century,
from multiple to repeating refrains had the opposite effect: the suitor's efforts seemed to be deflected by the theatricality of the poem itself. See Christopher Callahan, "Hybrid Discourse and Performance in the Old French Pastollrelle," *French Forum* 27.1 (2002), 1-22.

5. i.e., delightful place - a topos adapted from Virgilian Bucolic verse.


10. The technique of weaving stanzas of lyric verse into narrative and making them integral to the plot was the innovation of Jean Renart, whose pioneering *Roman de la Rose* all de Guillaume de Dole dates from c. 1230. Lyrico-narrative verse continued to be a favored genre through the end of the Middle Ages, with lyric insertions surviving even in the prosified romances favored by the fifteenth-century Burgundian court. For a survey of the entire lyrico-narrative corpus and discussion of the relations between lyric and narrative, see Maureen Boulton, *The Song of the Story. Lyric insertions in French Narrative Fiction 1200-1400* (Philadelphia: U. Penn Press, 1993.)


14. Charity Cannon Willard (above. note 2), 69. states that Brie's treatise had been commissioned by Charles V for the royal library in 1379.


16. She attributes her mastery of this aristocratic lyric form, as she introduces the second ballade (vv. 1758-1788), to the company of her beloved, for she declares (vv. 1748-55):

   Ainsi en ce bois rame       Thus in this leafy wood
   J'acointay man bien ame       I came to know my beloved
   Et devins loute change       and became quite changed
   Et de paslours estrange,     And from the shepherds estranged,
   Ou je souloic hanter         Where I was wont to dwell
   Autres chanrrons a chanter    Other songs I learned to sing
   Que celles qu'ains oz apris,  Than those I had once sung
   Et ceste balade apris ...    And this ballad I learned...

17. At the juncture where Marote begins to sing Christine's ballades, it is important to resist the identification of the character with her creator and that of Marote's father, Lehan Burote, with Thomas de Pizan (or even, as Bill Paden has ventured - see note 8 -, with Etienne de Castel, Christine's late husband). We must maintain our focus on Christine's message, and on her elaborate intertextual construct as a vehicle for expressing it.

18. Marote's third ballade, "A vow; et abandonne" (quoted above), does not appear in any of Christine's other collections. The sole rondeau (vv. 1964-1975), for its part, does not lend itself to the case being made here.

Additional Resources


