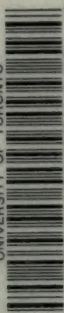


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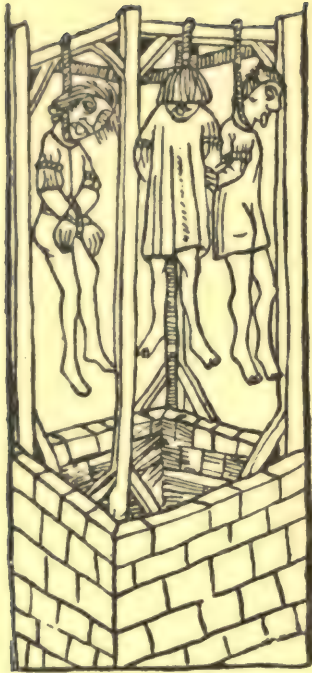
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THE POEMS OF MASTER FRANÇOIS
VILLON OF PARIS

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*THE POEMS OF MASTER FRANÇOIS
VILLON OF PARIS NOW FIRST
DONE INTO ENGLISH VERSE IN THE
ORIGINAL FORMS WITH A BIOGRAPH-
ICAL AND CRITICAL INTRODUCTION
BY JOHN PAYNE*



*PRINTED FOR THOMAS B MOSHER AND
PUBLISHED BY HIM AT XLV EXCHANGE
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BALLADE À JOHN PAYNE, TRADUCTEUR
DE VILLON

A TOI salut, cher Payne! En vers Anglais
Tu mets Villon, que notre vigne inspire?
Entre les fous, aïeux de Rabelais,

O bons rhythmeurs du pays de Shakspeare,
Vous en pouviez, je crois, choisir un pire.
Ce doux railleur, au plaisir assidu,
N'aima rien tant que le fruit défendu;
Son perruquier farouche était la brise,
Et son bumeur celle d'un chien perdu.
Prenez Villon, c'est une bonne prise.

Ce vagabond, pareil aux feux-follets,
Contre la faim se débat et conspire.
Épris du luth moins que des flageolets,
C'est à charmer Jeanneton qu'il aspire.
Un cabaret fut son joyeux empire:
Il se montrait, en son rire éperdu,
Si bon garçon qu'il fut presque pendu.
Chez les buveurs il obtint la maîtrise,
Humant le piot, toujours le cou tendu.
Prenez Villon, c'est une bonne prise.

BALLADE

*Il eut du fiel moins que les oiselets
Et l'égantier qui dans les bois respire.
Loin des bouffons de cour et des valets,
Que l'ennui mord ainsi qu'un noir vampire,
Il festoyait, fier comme un roi d'Épire.
Avec Margot sur la paille étendu,
Estimant fort son cbignon bien tordu
Et son sein lourd aux rougeurs de cerise,
Il cajolait son cou ferme et dodu.
Prenez Villon, c'est une bonne prise.*

ENVOI

*La soif l'avait en plein gosier mordu,
Et par surcroît il fut esclave du
Cruel archer qui tous nous martyrise.
Il s'en allait, comme un compas fendu.
Prenez Villon, c'est une bonne prise.*

THÉODORE DE BANVILLE.

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FOREWORD

"Some charitable critics see no more than a *jeu d'esprit*, a graceful and trifling exercise of the imagination, in the grimy ballad of Fat Peg (*Grosse Margot*). I am not able to follow these gentlemen to this polite extreme. Out of all Villon's works that ballad stands forth in glaring reality, gross and ghastly, as a thing written in a contraction of disgust. M. Longnon shows us more and more clearly at every page that we are to read our poet literally, that his names are the names of real persons, and the events he chronicles were actual events. But even if the tendency of criticism had run the other way, this ballad would have gone far to prove itself. I can well understand the reluctance of worthy persons in this matter; for of course it is unpleasant to think of a man of genius as one who held, in the words of Marina to Boulton—

'A place, for which the pained'st fiend
Of hell would not in reputation change.'

But beyond this natural unwillingness, the whole difficulty of the case springs from a highly virtuous ignorance of life. Paris now is not so different from the Paris of then; and the whole of the doings of Bohemia are not written in the sugar-candy pastorals of Murger. It is really not at all surprising that a young man of the fifteenth century, with a knack of making verses, should accept his bread upon disgraceful terms. The race of those who do is not extinct; and some of them to this day write the prettiest verses imaginable. . . . After this, it were impossible for Master Francis to fall lower: to go and steal for himself would be an admirable advance from every point of view, divine or human."—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON (*Familiar Studies of Men and Books*).

FOREWORD



HIS reprint of the Poems of François Villon is based upon three distinct editions :

- I. *The Poems of Master Francis Villon of Paris, now first done into English Verse, in the original forms, by John Payne.* London :

Printed for the Villon Society, for Private Distribution, MDCCCLXXVIII. Fcap 4to. Full vellum gilt.

Pp. xxiv : 1-187.

From this, the *editio princeps*, we have reproduced the frontispiece, also facsimiles of a fifteenth century MS. and a black letter form of Ballad. In one instance the earlier reading of a single line was adopted in preference to the later version. The *Ballade à John Payne* by Théodore de Banville deserved preservation.¹ This was in response, as may be presumed, to the dedication which Mr. Payne prefixed to his translation : *To my friend Théodore de Banville, the reviver of the Ballad.*²

¹ Found also in the 1881, but omitted from the 1892, edition.

² Retained in the 1881 edition. In 1892, De Banville having died the previous year, the dedication reads as follows :

To the memory of my friend Théodore de Banville, one of the sweetest souls that ever sanctified humanity, I dedicate this new edition of a book which was dear to him.

FOREWORD

11. *The poems of Master Francis Villon of Paris, now first done into English Verse, in the original forms, by John Payne.* London: Reeves and Turner, 196 Strand, MDCCCLXXXI. Crown 8vo. Boards. Pp. XCVI: 1-150.

This, with an Introduction which appears for the first time, differs in one important respect from the preceding edition, as the following extract from Mr. Payne's Prefatory Note makes evident:

"The limited issue (in 1878) of my translation of Villon's poems was found to be so completely inadequate to the demand, and the interest of the reading classes in the famous poet of latter mediæval France has of late years so steadily increased, that it has been thought well to publish the version in such a form as will place it within the reach of the general public. For this purpose it has been necessary to omit altogether three of the ballads, and to alter or suppress a few passages in the body of the Testament. These expurgations are, after all, inconsiderable;¹ and although I cannot but regret the necessity of this sacrifice to the somewhat illogical squeamishness of the day, I do not feel that it detracts in any considerable degree from the value, such as it is, of the version as a complete presentment to English readers of Villon's work."

¹ Less than twenty lines all told, in the body of *The Greater Testament*, and three ballads, to wit: *Ballad of Slandrous Tongues*, *Ballad of Villon and la Grosse Margot*, and *Ballad of Ladies' Love*, No. 2. As to this last ballad, it is very doubtfully ascribed to Villon.

FOREWORD

III. *The Poems of Master François Villon of Paris, now first done into English Verse, in the original forms, with a Biographical and Critical Introduction, by John Payne.* London: MDCCCXCII. Printed for the Villon Society, by Private Subscription and for Private Circulation only. Octavo. Full vellum. gilt. Pp. CVI: 1-158.

Here at last is the *édition définitif*, the entire translation and notes having been rewritten and revised, while the Introduction is brought down to a date which gives what may be considered the latest, perhaps the final information we are likely to obtain concerning Villon.¹

This text with the few exceptions above noted, is the one we now place before the American reader. The slight omissions (necessary if the translation was not to remain a sealed book to the public at large) are of small moment weighed against the possession of a hitherto almost inaccessible version of this old world poet. Compared with the few scholars who can read Villon in his archaic French there are hundreds of cultured men and women who will never come to know him save in a translation. What Symonds has done

¹ Since these words were written a long wished for addition to our knowledge of Villon has been announced: *Le Petit et Le Grand Testament de François Villon, Les Cinq Ballades en Jargon et des Poésies du cercle de Villon, etc.* Reproduction facsimile du manuscrit de Stockholm, Avec une introduction de Marcel Schwob. Paris, 1905. (Issued to subscribers at 100 francs in a limited edition by Honoré Champion, 9, Quai Voltaire.)

FOREWORD

to reveal the soul of poetry with a depth of human passion unsuspected almost, in the period covered by his Medieval Latin Student Songs, that Payne has accomplished in his present researches. Through these studies and the version of the poems, we are brought face to face with François Villon and that "long vanished world of sorry men and women, wherein 'our sad bad glad mad brother' lived and held his perilous way, and was at last engulfed." To have achieved such a rehabilitation is a work of supreme power, and to this work it is now time to turn our attention.

T. B. M.

PREFATORY NOTE



PREFATORY NOTE



THE original version of my translation of Villon's Poems was made in 1874, at a time when the critical study of the old poet was far from having reached its present stage of comparative advancement; indeed, four modern editions only (viz. those of M. Prompsault, 1832, M. Paul Lacroix, better known as *Le Bibliophile Jacob*, 1854 and 1866, and M. Jannet, 1867) of his works had then been published, all very incomplete and radically faulty in being founded mainly upon the printed texts, which are known to be terribly garbled and corrupt, and not upon the only sound basis, namely, a minute and critical collation of the various manuscript texts in existence. M. Lacroix's third edition (1877) and that of M. Moland (1879), though an improvement upon their predecessors, added little to our knowledge of Villon and an authoritative and definitive text of the poems was thus still lacking at the time (1880) when I revised my translation for republication in a popular

PREFATORY NOTE

form. In 1882-3, however, M. Bijvanck published his Essay on the Lesser Testament, perhaps, on the whole, the most important contribution yet made to the literature of the subject and a work of such value and suggestiveness (despite occasional extravagations of the *perfervidum ingenium Batavorum*) as to give great cause for regret that the accomplished Dutch scholar has not yet fulfilled his promise of giving the world the further results of his great erudition and critical ingenuity, as applied to the Greater Testament and the rest of the poems; and the researches of MM. Vitu, Longnon, Schwob, Schöne, Gaston Paris and others may be said to have in a manner revolutionized the study of Villon. The new material thus brought to light has for the most part been digested and incorporated by M. Longnon in his definitive edition (published in the early part of the current year) of the Poems, in which he has given us the result of twenty-two years' labour and has at length provided us with a fairly representative critical text, marred, however, by no few defects, both of omission and commission, especially in the *Vocabulaire-Index*, which sadly requires completion and correction. On these latter, however, it would be ungracious to lay overmuch stress, in view of the material additions

PREFATORY NOTE

which the learned editor has made to our knowledge of Villon and of the many positive merits of his work. Indeed; so many and so important are the emendations and restorations effected, — whether of their own motion or at the instance of the many able scholars who have lately turned their attention to the subject — by these two latest editors of the old Parisian poet and so many passages have they rescued for us from what had long been regarded as hopeless corruption and confusion that Villon may be said to be now by their means for the first time presented to the world in something like his true shape. It is much to be regretted that my late friend, M. Auguste Vitu, should have died without putting the finishing touch to his life-long labours upon the same subject, as it is evident, from the taste of his quality which he has given us in his study of the Jargon,¹ (forming the third volume of his intended edition of Villon) that the complete work must have taken the highest rank in its own special line and it is to be hoped that his literary executors may yet find it possible to publish a part, if not the whole, of the remaining three volumes of his magnum opus. Under these circumstances I

¹ Le Jargon du XV^e Siècle, par Auguste Vitu, Paris, 1884.

PREFATORY NOTE

have found it necessary minutely to revise (and indeed in great part to re-write) my translation, so as to bring it into accordance with the labours of the above-mentioned scholars, the results of whose researches, in so far as they cast new light upon the work and personality of Villon, I have embodied in the additional notes appended to the Introduction and the text. Notwithstanding the achievements of modern scholarship and the great revival of interest in French fifteenth-century literature which has marked the last twenty years, the text of Villon is still, in many places, terribly corrupt and obscure and we have yet but a minimum of information as to the detail and circumstance of his life, such as might avail to throw light upon doubtful or enigmatical passages. This being the case, I cannot, of course, hope to have altogether succeeded in avoiding errors and misreadings and must ask the indulgence of my readers for those points of rendering upon which I have been obliged to trust to conjecture.

A word as to those of the poems passing under Villon's name which I have left untranslated. M. Longnon follows the example of MM. Moland and Bijvanck in classing with the genuine work of our author the two pieces of verse (I cannot bring myself

PREFATORY NOTE

to dignify them with the name of *poems*) known as "Le Dit de la Naissance Marie" and "Double Ballade;" but I cannot conceive how anyone acquainted with Villon's style can for a moment incline to pay him the ill compliment of attributing to him the authorship of these two pointless pieces, which are, indeed, the merest schoolboy doggerel. The first-named editor also adds to the "Poésies Diverses" a couple of ballads ("Des Contre-Verités" and "De Bon Conseil") first published by M. Bijvanck, which are (as he allows) worse than mediocre. These I have omitted, as they seem to me to be wrongly ascribed to Villon, upon the very insufficient evidence of the appearance of his name *en acrostiche* in the refrain, and to be saltless imitations of some of his genuine pieces, such as the Ballade des Proverbes and that in which he imagines himself hanged with his fellow-rogues. Under the rubric "Poems Attributed to Villon," M. Moland prints eighteen Roundels and twelve Ballads, besides the Monologue of the Frank-Archer of Baignolet, the Dialogue of Mallepaye and Baillevant and the collection of *picaresque* anecdotes in verse, known as "Les Repues Franches," all of which M. Longnon very rightly rejects as spurious additions. Of the roundels and ballads, some of

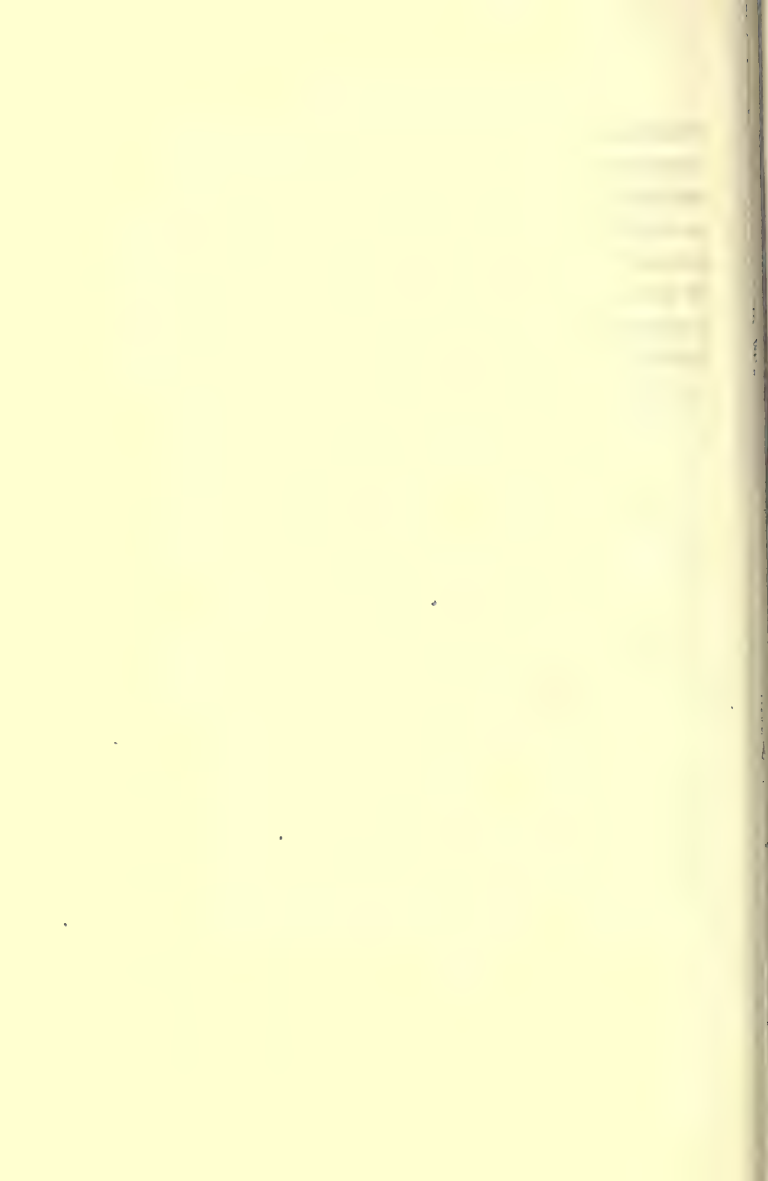
PREFATORY NOTE

considerable merit, none seems to me to bear the least trace of Villon's hand, save the "Merry Ballad of Vintners," which may, perhaps, be an early production of his and which, together with a roundel and three other ballads, I have translated. Nor can the two quasi-dramatic pieces (of which the Monologue is a rather amusing *fanfaronnade*) with any greater probability be ascribed to the Parisian poet, whilst a glance at the "Repues Franches" is enough to show that, though Villon is the hero, it is in no way pretended that he is the author of these "merrie gestes."

It was my wish to add to the present edition a metrical version of the seven ballads in thieves' slang, known as the Jargon or Jobelin; but I have found it impossible to carry out my intention, owing to the immature state of this special branch of Villon-literature. Notwithstanding the fact that M. Marcel Schwob has at last identified, as the patter or lingo of the Coquillarts, the language in which the jargonesque pieces in question are written, the various scholars who have occupied themselves with this portion of Villon's work have hitherto been unable to agree upon any sufficient explanation of the countless difficulties and obscurities with which they abound, nor have they even succeeded in establishing a fairly satisfactory

PREFATORY NOTE

critical text of them. Under these circumstances, I have deemed it prudent to leave the Jargon unattempted, a result the less to be regretted that, so far as can be gathered from the tentative translations given us by M. Vitu and others, the (so-called) ballads of which it consists show little or no trace of the special qualities which distinguish the poet's better-known compositions.



INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION ¹



HERE are few names in the history of literature over which the shadow has so long and so persistently lain as over that of the father of French poetry. Up to no more distant period than the early part of the year 1877, it was not even known what was his real name, nor were the admirers of his genius in possession of any other facts relative to his personal history than could be gleaned, by a laborious process of inference and deduction, from such works of his as have been handed down to posterity. The materials that exist for the biography of Shakespeare or Dante are scanty enough, but they present a very harvest of fact and suggestion compared with the pitiable fragments which have so long represented our sole personal knowledge of Villon. That he had been twice condemned to death for unknown offences; that his father was dead

¹ The following essay was written in 1878 and was first published in 1881, by way of introduction to the expurgated edition of the Poems. I have thought it best to leave it substantially unaltered, incorporating such supplementary matter as is necessary to bring it up to date in the form of additional notes, distinguished by brackets.

INTRODUCTION

and his mother still living at the time he reached his thirtieth year; that he attended the courses of the University of Paris in the capacity of scholar and presumably attained the quality of Licentiate in Arts, entitling him to the style of Dominus or Maître; above all, that his companions and acquaintances were of the lowest and most disreputable class and, indeed, that he himself wasted his youth in riot and debauchery and scrupled not to resort to the meanest and most revolting expedients to furnish forth that life of alternate lewd plenty and sheer starvation which, Bohemian in grain as he was, he preferred to the decent dullness of a middleclass life; and that he owed his immunity from punishment partly to accidents, such as the succession of Louis XI to his father's throne, and partly to the intervention of influential protectors, probably attracted by his eminent literary merits, amongst whom stood prominent his namesake and supposed relative, Guillaume de Villon;—such were the main scraps and parings of information upon which, until the publication of M. Longnon's "*Étude Biographique*,"¹ we had alone to rely for our conception of the man in his habit as he lived. Even now the facts and dates, which M. Longnon has so valiantly and so ingeniously rescued for us from the vast charnelhouse of mediæval history,

¹ *Étude Biographique sur François Villon, d'après les documents inédits conservés aux Archives Nationales.* Par Auguste Longnon. Paris, 1877.

INTRODUCTION

are in themselves scanty enough, and it is necessary to apply to their connection and elucidation no mean amount of study and labour before anything like a definite framework of biography can be constructed from them. Such as they are, however, they enable us for the first time to catch a glimpse of the strange mad life and dissolute yet attractive personality of the wild, reckless, unfortunate Parisian poet, whose splendid if erratic verse flames out like a meteor from the somewhat dim twilight of French fifteen century literature.

It is to be hoped that the example so ably set by M. Longnon will not be allowed to remain unfollowed and that new seekers in the labyrinth of mediæval archives and records will succeed in filling up for us those yawning gaps in Villon's history which are yet too painfully apparent.¹ M. Longnon, indeed, seems to imply a promise that he himself has not yet said his last word upon the subject; and we may fairly look, within the next few years, for new help and guidance at the hands of M. Auguste Vitu, when he at last gives to the world his long and anxiously awaited edition of the poems, a work which, considering the special qualifications and opportunities of the editor and the devotion with which he has applied himself

[¹The hopes expressed in the above paragraph have now to a certain extent been realised by the labours of MM. Bijvanck, Schwob, Paris, Schöne and others, as well as by those of M. Longnon himself; but much yet remains to be done. See Prefatory Note.]

INTRODUCTION

to the task, may be expected to prove the definitive edition of Villon.¹

In putting together the following pages I should be sorry to allow it to be supposed that I contemplated any exhaustive study of the man or of his work. My sole object has been to present the facts and hypotheses, of which we are in possession on the subject, in such a plain and accessible form as may furnish to those readers of the translation of his strange and splendid verse who (and we know that they are as yet many) are unacquainted with the poems, and perhaps even with the name of Villon,² some unpretentious

¹ I owe to the kindness of M. Vitu the following particulars of the scheme of his forthcoming edition of Villon, which will serve to show the great scope and importance of the work, now in an advanced stage of preparation. It will form four volumes, the first of which will consist wholly of notices upon Villon and his contemporaries, completing and correcting all that has been hitherto published on the subject. The second volume will comprise the complete text of Villon, augmented by several authentic poems hitherto unknown, an appendix containing pieces written in imitation of the old poet and a short treatise upon mediæval prosody and versification, in correction of the errors and laches of modern scholars. The text presented will be founded wholly upon the manuscripts, the gothic editions being all, according to M. Vitu, incorrect, garbled and incomplete. The third volume will comprise the "Jargon," with the addition of five unpublished ballads, besides a philological interpretation and a history of the work; and the fourth will contain an exhaustive glossary. [Since the above note was written (in 1881), M. Vitu has died, leaving his work uncompleted. See Prefatory Note.]

² The uncertainty that has so long obscured every detail of Villon's life has extended even to the pronunciation of the name

INTRODUCTION

introduction, as well to his personality and habit of thought as to the circumstance and local colouring of his verse. The rest I leave to more competent hands than my own, content if I have, in the following sketch and in the translation to which it is intended to serve as preface, set ajar one more door, long sadly moss-grown and ivy-hidden, into that enchanted wonderland of French poetry, which glows with such spring-tide glory of many-coloured bloom, such autumn majesty of matured fruit.

by which he is known to posterity. It has been, and still is, the custom to pronounce the poet's adoptive name *Vilon*, as if written with one *l*, and it is only of late years that this error (no doubt due to the proverbial carelessness of the French, and more especially of the Parisian public, with regard to the pronunciation of proper names) has been authoritatively corrected. As M. Jannet remarks, it is only in the Midi that folk know how to sound the *ll mouillés* or liquid *ll*. It has now, however, been conclusively demonstrated that the correct pronunciation of the name is *Vilion*, the poet himself (as was first pointed out by M. Jannet) always rhyming it with such words as *pavillon*, *tourbillon*, *bouillon*, *aiguillon*, etc., in which the *ll* are liquid; and a still more decisive argument is furnished by M. Longnon, who has noted, in the course of his researches, that the Latin form of the patronymic, as it appears in contemporary documents, is *Villione*, and that the name is spelt in error *Vignon* in a record of the Court of Parliament, dated 25th July, 1425, in which Guillaume de Villon is shown by internal evidence to be the person referred to, thus proving by inference that the *ll* of the name, apparently imperfectly caught from dictation, must necessarily have been liquid; otherwise they could hardly have been mistaken for another liquid, *gn*. Moreover (and this information also we owe to M. Longnon) the name of the village which gave birth to the Canon of St. Benoît is to this day pronounced *Vilion*.

I

The year 1431 may, without impropriety, be styled the grand climacteric of French national life. After a hundred years' struggle for national existence against the great soldiers produced in uninterrupted succession by England, apparently with no other object than the conquest of the neighbouring continent, as well as against far more dangerous and insidious intestine enemies; after having seen three-quarters of the kingdom, of which Charles VI was the nominal king, bowed in apparently permanent subjection to the foreign foe, the French people had at last succeeded in placing on the head of Charles VII the crown of his fathers, thanks to the superhuman efforts of two of the noblest women that ever lived, Jeanne d'Arc and Agnes Sorel, and to the unselfish devotion of the great-hearted patriot Jacques Cœur. On the 31st of May 1431 the heroine of Domrèmy consummated the most glorious life of which the history of womankind affords example by an equally noble death upon the pyre of Rouen; not, however, before she had fulfilled her sublime purpose. Before her death she had seen the achievement of the great object, the coronation of Charles VII at Rheims, which she had originally proposed to herself as the term of her unparalleled political career; and the English, driven out of stronghold after stronghold, province after province, were now obliged to concentrate their efforts

INTRODUCTION

on the retention of the provinces of Normandy and Guienne. Nor was it long ere even this limited purpose was perforce abandoned. Paris, after sixteen years of foreign occupation, opened her gates to her legitimate king and four or five more years sufficed to complete the permanent expulsion of the English from France. The heroic peasant girl of Lorraine had not only recovered for the Dauphin his lawful inheritance; she had created the French people. Until her time France had been inhabited by Bretons, Angevins, Bourbonnais, Burgundians, Poitevins, Armagnacs; at last the baptism of fire through which the land had passed and the breath of heroism that emanated from the Maid of Orleans had welded together the conflicting sections and had informed them with that breath of patriotism which is the beginning of all national life. France had at length become a nation. The change was not yet complete: there remained yet much to be done and suffered before the precious gift so hardly won could be definitively assured: Louis XI, with his cold wisdom and his unshrinking determination, was yet to consolidate by the calculated severity of his administration and the supple firmness of his domestic and foreign policy (long so grossly misunderstood and calumniated) the unity and harmony of the young realm. Still the new national life had been effectually conquered and it only remained for time and wisdom to confirm and substantiate it.

One of the most salient symptoms of a national impulse of regeneration is commonly afforded by the

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consolidation and individualisation of the national speech. I should say rather, perhaps, that such a phenomenon is one of those most necessary to such a popular movement and therefore most to be expected from it, though it may not always be possible to trace the correspondence of the one with the other. However, it is certain that the converse generally holds true, and it was undoubtedly so in the present instance. Up to the middle of the fifteenth century France can scarcely be said to have possessed a *national* language; the Langue d'Oil, for want of writers of supreme genius, had hardly as yet become fashioned into an individual tongue. It is to poets rather than to prose writers that we must look for the influences that stimulate and direct the growth of a national speech, and there is, perhaps, no instance in which the power of a true poet is more decisively visible than in his control over the creation and definition of a language, especially during periods of national formation and transition. Up to the time of which I speak, this influence had been wanting in France. During the fourteenth century and the earlier part of the next, her poetic literature had consisted mainly of imitations of the elder poets, especially of Guillaume de Lorris and Jehan de Meung, of the *Chansons de Geste* and other heroic romances and probably also of the Troubadours or poets of the Langue d'Oc. Abundance of sweet singers had arisen and passed away, most of them modelled upon the *Roman de la Rose*, whose influence had been as that of the plane, beneath which, it is

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said, no corn will ripen. Under its shadow there had sprung up abundance of flowers, but they were those rather of the hothouse and the garden than the robuster and healthier denizens of the woods and fields. There was hardly any breath of national life in the singers of the time: Guillaume de Machau, Eustache Deschamps, Jehan Froissart, Christine de Pisan, Alain Chartier, Charles d'Orléans, were indeed poets of the second order, of whom any country might be proud; but they were poets who (if one should excerpt from their verse its accidental local colouring) might, for all that they evince of national life and national spirit, have been produced in any country where a like and sufficient culture prevailed. The thirteenth century had indeed produced one poet, Rutubeuf, in whose "Complaintes" ran some breath of popular feeling, sorely limited, however, by deficient power and lacking inspiration in the singer; and in some of the productions of the poets I have named above, notably in Deschamps' fine ballad on the death of the great Constable du Guesclin, in Christine de Pisan's pathetic lament over the madness of Charles VI and the state of the kingdom and in the anonymous poem known as "Le Combat des Trente," there breathes some nobler and stronger spirit, some distant echo of popular passion; nor is the sweet verse of Charles d'Orléans wanting in patriotic notes, touched, unfortunately, with too slight a hand. But these are few and far between; the subjects usually chosen are love and chivalry, questions of honour, gallantry and

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religion, treated allegorically and rhetorically after the extinct and artificial fashion of the Roman de la Rose. Beautiful as is often the colour and cadence of the verse, we cannot but feel that it is a beauty and a charm which belong to a past age and which have no living relation to that in which they saw the light. In perusing the poetry of the time, one seems to be gazing upon interminable stretches of antique tapestry, embroidered in splendid but somewhat faded hues, wherein armed knights and ladies, clad in quaintly-cut raiment and adorned with ornaments of archaic form, sit at the banquet, stray a-toying in gardens, ride a-hawking in fields or pass a-hunting through woods, where every flower is moulded after a conventional pattern and no leaf dares assert itself save for the purpose of decoration. Here everything is prescribed: the bow of the knight as he kneels before his lady, the sweep of the châtelaine's robe through the bannered galleries, the fall of the standard on the wind, the career of the war-horse through the lists, the flight of the birds through the air, the motions of the deer that stand at gaze in the woods,—all are ordered in obedience to a certain strictly prescribed formula, in which one feels that nature and passion have ceased to have any sufficient part. Whether one wanders with Charles d'Orléans through the forest of Ennuyeuse Tristesse, conversing with Dangier, Amour, Beaulté d'Amours, Faux Dangier, Dame Merencolie and a host of other allegorical personages, or listens to Guillaume de Machau, as, with a thousand quaint

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conceits and gallant devices, he compares his lady to David's harp with its twenty-five strings, one feels that one is gazing upon phantoms and moving in a dead world, from which the colour and the glory are hopelessly faded. It is not poets of the *trouvère* or *troubadour* order who can have any decisive effect upon the new growth of a nation, as it emerges from the fiery furnace of national regeneration; it is for no mere sweet singer that the task of giving to the national speech that new impulse which shall correspond with its political and social advance is reserved. The chosen one may be rude, lacking in culture, gross in thought or form, but he must and will come with lips touched with the fire of heaven and voice ringing with the accents of a new world. Such a poet was called for by the necessities of the time and such an one was provided, by the subtle influences which order the mechanism of national formation, in the very year that saw the consecration of French nationality by the death of the Martyr of Rouen.

II

François de Montcorbier, better known as Villon, from the name of his lifelong patron and protector, was born in the year 1431, within a few weeks or days of the capital political event of which I have just spoken. It is uncertain what place may claim the honour of his birth, but the probabilities appear to be in favour of his having been born at some village near (or at least in the diocese of) Paris, entitling him to the style of *Parisiensis* or *de Paris*, which he commonly adopts, and also, combined with residence and graduation at the Paris University, to certain municipal and other privileges of citizenship, such as the right of voting at the election of *Échevins* or notables. It seems probable that he belonged to a decayed and impoverished branch of the noble family of Montcorbier, who took their name from a fief and village (since disappeared) in the Bourbonnais, and that to this connection with the duchy he was indebted for the moderate countenance and assistance which he seems to have received at the hands of the Princes of the ducal family of Bourbon. The only fact certainly known about his relatives is that he had an uncle, a priest established at Angers in Anjou, to whom he paid at least one visit with a sufficiently questionable purpose, and that the rest of his family (with the exception of his mother, as to whom we possess no biographical details whatever) utterly and consistently

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refused to recognise him,—according to his own story, because of his lack of means,—but, it may rather be assumed, on account of the very unsavoury nature of his connections and the incessant scandal of his life. Decent people (as we may presume these relatives of his to have been) might well be allowed to consider their connection with Master François Villon of brawling, wenching, lock-picking and cheating notoriety as anything but a desirable one, and history will hardly reproach them with their unwillingness to cultivate it. However this may be, it is certain that the only relative who appears to have had any share in Villon's life was his mother; and it is little likely that she, whom he describes as a poor old woman, unlettered and feeble, and who (as he himself confesses) suffered on his account "bitter anguish and many sorrows," could have exercised any considerable influence over her brilliant, turbulent, ne'er-do-weel son. Yet he seems always, in the midst of the mire of his life, to have kept one place in his heart white with that filial love which outlasts all others and which has so often been to poets the perfume of their lives. In the words of Théophile Gautier, his love for his mother shines out of the turmoil and ferment of his life like a white and serene lily springing from the heart of a marsh. His father he only mentions to tell us that he is dead, when or how there is nothing to show, and to state that he was poor and of mean extraction, nor have we any information as to his condition or the position in which he left his

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family. We do not even know whether Villon's mother inhabited Paris or not, but it would appear probable that she did, from his mention in the ballad that bears her name of the *monstier* or convent church (probably l'Eglise des Celestins¹) in which she was wont to say her orisons and which was decorated with paintings little likely to have then existed in any of the villages about Paris. However, the want of living and available family connections was amply compensated to Villon by the protecting care of a patron who seems to have taken him under his wing and perhaps even adopted him at an early age. Guillaume de Villon, the patron in question, was a respectable and apparently well-to-do ecclesiastic, belonging to a family established at a village of the same name (which I believe still exists), Villon, near Tonnerre, in the dominions of the ducal house of Burgundy, and the worthy priest appears to have turned his origin to good account in securing the patronage of that

¹ I cannot agree with M. Longnon in considering the Abbé Valentin Dufour wrong in his suggestion that the church to which Villon makes his mother refer might have been l'Eglise des Celestins, which was decorated with pictures of heaven and hell precisely answering to the description in the ballad. The very word used by Villon (*monstier*, i. e. *monasterium*, the old form of the modern *moultier*) points to the probability of the church having been a conventual one; and we need not read the words "dont je suis paroissienne" as meaning more than that the convent where she made her orisons was situated in her own parish or that she was a regular attendant at the services held there and so looked upon it as practically her parish church.

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princely family, which in all probability he was able in some measure to divert to the benefit of his protégé. We first hear of Messire Guillaume as one of the chaplains of the parish church of the little village of Gentilly, near Paris, during his occupancy of which cure he probably formed an acquaintance with the poet's family, which afterwards led to his undertaking the charge of their son. About the year of François' birth, Messire Guillaume obtained a long-awaited promotion: through the influence, probably, of the Burgundian family he was appointed to a stall in the cathedral church of St. Benoît le Bétourné or Bientourné at Paris, a lucrative benefice, involving, besides a handsome residence called L'Hotel de la Porte Rouge, in the Close or Cloister of St. Benoît, a considerable piece of land and a stipend enabling him to live at his ease. In addition to his official income, he must have had some private fortune, as he possessed, to our knowledge, at least two houses in the neighbourhood, which he let out to tenants, and a considerable rent-charge upon a third, which latter, however, the good easy man appears hardly to have troubled himself to collect, as, at the time it is mentioned in the archives of the Chapter, we find it stated that no less than eight years' rent was then in arrear. In this position he remained till his death, which occurred in 1468; and there is every reason to believe that he survived his protégé, towards whom, during the whole of his life, he appears never to have relaxed from untiring and unobtrusive benevolence.

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The disreputable nature of the poet's life and the perpetually recurring troubles in which he became involved seem to have had no effect in inducing the good Canon to withdraw his protection from so apparently unworthy an object, and (according to Villon himself) he was the ordinary *Deus ex machinâ* to whom the poet looked for deliverance from the consequences of his own folly and misconduct. Of no other person does Villon speak in the same unqualified terms of grateful affection as of the Canon of St. Benoît, calling him "his more than father, who had been to him more tender than mothers to their sucking babes." Indeed, such honour and affection did he bear him that we find him on one occasion (with a consideration little to have been expected from such a scapegrace) actually begging the good Canon to leave him to his fate and not compromise his own reputation by taking any steps in the interest of so disreputable a connection.

Of the early life of Villon we know nothing whatever, except that he must have entered at the University of Paris about the year 1446, when he was fifteen years of age. In March 1449 he was admitted to the Baccalaureate and became Licentiate in Theology or Ecclesiastical Law and Master of Arts in the summer of 1452. During the six years of his studies, it is probable that he resided with Guillaume de Villon at L'Hotel de la Porte Rouge, which adjoined the College de Sorbonne, and that the weekly payment of two sols Parisis, which as a scholar he was bound to make to the collegiate authorities, and the fees incurred on

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the occasion of his proceeding to his degrees were provided by his patron. It frequently happened in mediæval times, when colleges were far less richly endowed than is now the case, that the want of official means for providing such aids as exhibitions and bursaries for the education of poor scholars was supplied by private charity, and this was, indeed, a favourite mode of benefaction with rich and liberal-minded folk. The special college at which Villon followed the courses of the University was probably not the College de Sorbonne, notwithstanding its immediate neighbourhood to L'Hotel de la Porte Rouge, but (and this I am inclined to suppose from the intimate knowledge he displayed of its internal arrangements on a later occasion) the College de Navarre, also in close vicinity to the Canon's residence. It is possible that the latter intended Villon for the church, in which direction lay the interest he could command: if so, his intentions were completely frustrated, for Villon never (as he himself tells us) achieved the necessary theological degree; and subsequent events, hardly to be called beyond his own control, completely diverted him from the pursuit of the liberal professions and caused him to become the wolf that watches for an opportunity of spoiling the fold, rather than the shepherd whose duty it is to guard it. The interval between the matriculation of Villon and the year 1455 is an almost complete blank for us, the only materials we have to enable us to follow him being the allusions and references to be

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gleaned from a study of his poems; but it was certainly during this period of his life that he contracted the acquaintances, disreputable and otherwise, which exercised so decisive an influence over his future history. Amongst those belonging to the former category may be specially cited René de Montigny, Colin de Cayeux, Jehan le Loup, Casin Chollet and Philip Brunel, Seigneur de Grigny, all scoundrels of the first water; and for women, Huguette du Hamel, Abbess of Port Royal or Pourras, as shining a light in debauchery as any of his male friends, and la petite Macée of Orleans, his first mistress ("avoit ma ceinture," says he), whom he characterises as "très mauvaise ordure," a thoroughly bad lot, to say nothing of the obscure rogues, sharpers and women of ill-fame who defile in so endless a procession through his pages. The two first mentioned, who were fellow-students of our poet, were indeed rogues of no mean eminence and appear both to have attained that distinction of "dying upright in the sun" which was at once so fascinating and so terrible a contingency to Villon. René or Regnier de Montigny was the son of a man of noble family at Bourges, who, possessing certain fiefs in the neighbourhood of Paris and a charge in the royal household, accompanied Charles VII to his capital, on its reduction in 1436, and there died shortly after, leaving his family in poor circumstances. Regnier, who was two years older than Villon, early distinguished himself by criminal exploits, pursuing an ever ascending scale of gravity. In August

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1452 he was banished by the Provost of Paris for a disreputable nocturnal brawl, in which he had beaten the sergeants of the watch before the hostelry of La Grosse Margot; whereupon he betook himself to the provinces, and after there exercising his peculiar talents to such effect as to be imprisoned for various offences at Rouen, Tours, Bordeaux and Poitiers, he once more ventured to Paris, where he speedily again came under the notice of the authorities. After a condemnation for the comparatively trifling offence of card-sharpping, he was sentenced to death as accessory to a murder committed in the Cemetery of the Innocents; but for this he succeeded in obtaining the royal pardon. This narrow escape, however, seems to have produced no salutary effect on him, for in 1457, after having escaped punishment for various offences by virtue of his quality of clerk, of which he availed himself to claim protection at the hands of the Bishop of Paris, he was again condemned to death for divers sacrilegious thefts from the Parisian churches, and under this condemnation, notwithstanding a pardon obtained by family influence, which appears to have been quashed for irregularity, it seems certain that the world was at last made rid of him by that "longitudinal death" he had so richly deserved; and it is even possible that he had the honour of being the first to make essay of a new gibbet in that year erected by the city of Paris and afterwards known as le Gibet de Montigny.

Colin de Cayeux was no less eminent as a scoundrel. The son of a Parisian locksmith, he made use

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of his knowledge of his father's trade to become one of the most artistic thieves presented by the criminal annals of Paris; and it is in this his especial quality of picklock that we shall again come across him in connection with Villon. After a long career of crime, he was in 1460 condemned to death as (in the words of the Procureur du Roi) "an incorrigible thief, picklock, marauder and sacrilegious scoundrel," unworthy to enjoy the much-abused benefit of clergy, by which he and rascals of his kidney had so often profited to escape the consequences of their crimes. Nevertheless, the sentence was, for reasons unknown, not carried into effect, and he appears even to have been set at liberty. But his immunity was not of long duration; we know from Villon himself that, certainly not later than the next year, his infamous companion was broken on the wheel for "esbats" or gambols (as he euphemistically styles them), the least of which appears to have been rape or highway robbery, perpetrated at the villages of Rueil near Paris and Montpippeau near Orleans.

Of the Seigneur de Grigny we know little but through Villon himself, who places him in the same category as Montigny by bequeathing to him the right of shelter in various ruins round Paris, which were then the favourite resorts and strongholds of the choicest thieves and vagabonds of the time, and speaks of him in such terms as leave little doubt that his "lay" or criminal specialty was the coining and uttering of false money.

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Jehan le Loup and Casin Chollet were scoundrels of a lower rank or "sneak-thieves," dealing chiefly in petty thefts of poultry and other eatables: the former appears to have been a bargee and fisherman in the service of the municipality of Paris, by whom he was employed to keep the moats and wet ditches of the city clean and free from weeds, an occupation which afforded him peculiar facilities for marauding among the numerous herds of ducks and geese kept by the corporation and the adjacent commoners of the city upon the waters which he traversed in his dredging boat; the latter, by the operation of that curious law of reciprocal attraction between the police and the criminal classes, of whose prevalence in countries of the Latin race so many instances exist, after a turbulent early life, became tipstaff at the Châtelet prison and was in 1465 deprived of his office, flogged at the cart's tail and imprisoned, for having spread false reports (probably with a professional eye to plunder) of the entry into Paris of the Burgundians, who then lay leaguer at the gates, under the command of Charles the Rash.

The Abbess of Port Royal is another curious figure in the history of criminality. Of a good family and holding a rich abbacy, she early distinguished herself by leading a life of unbridled licentiousness, associating with all the lewd characters of her time, frequenting houses of ill-fame and debauchery in male attire, brawling and fighting in the streets, holding orgies in the convent itself, which remind us of the legends of

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Gilles de Retz, and selling the nuns under her control for the purposes of prostitution. So notorious were her excesses and misconduct in Paris that she became the subject of a satirical popular song, whose author she caused to be beaten to death. For these and many other shameless acts she was at last brought to account, imprisoned and finally, after many shifts of litigation, definitively deprived of her abbey, when she doubtless sank to the lowest depths of degradation. By reason of her wanton way of life, the people appear to have corrupted her title and to have dubbed her *Abbesse de Poilras* or *Shaven-poll*, a slang name then given to women of ill-fame who had been pilloried and had their heads shaved. We know from Villon himself that she was a companion of his on at least one occasion, and it was probably during one of her excursions in man's attire that she and the poet in 1455 paid their famous visit to Perrot Girard, the unfortunate barber of Bourg la Reine, near Paris, and lived for a week at his expense and that of his brood of sucking pigs.

However, besides these disreputable acquaintances, Villon seems to have become intimate with many persons to whom his merry, devil-may-care disposition, and perhaps also his wit and genius, made him acceptable whilst he and they were young: of these some were fellow-students of his own, others apparently people of better rank and position, those "gracious gallants," "so fair of fashion and of show, in song and speech so excellent," whom, as he himself tells us, he

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frequented in his youth. Some of these, says he, after became "masters and lords and great of grace;" and it was no doubt to the kindly remembrance which these latter cherished of the jolly, brilliant companion of their youth that he owed something of his comparative immunity from punishment for the numberless faults and follies which he committed at a subsequent and less favoured period. Of these (M. Longnon has discovered for us) were Martin Bellefaye, Lord of Ferrières en Brie, afterwards Advocate at the Châtelet and Lieutenant-Criminel of the Provost of Paris; Pierre Basanier, Notary and afterwards Clerc-Criminel at the Châtelet; Pierre Blaru, Guillaume Charriau, Robert Valée, Thomas Tricot, all men of some importance in law or trade at Paris; and (possibly through his son) Robert d'Estouteville, Provost of Paris, to whom Villon, in his student-days, dedicated the curious ballad on the subject of his marriage with Ambroise de Loré. It is by no means impossible that from this time of pleasant companionship and comparative respectability dates Villon's connection with the royal poet, Charles d'Orléans; and that he may also have become known to the then Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI) is almost equally likely, in view of the habits of familiar intercourse of the latter with the burghers and clerks of Paris and his well-known love of and taste for literature. It appears certain that Louis had some knowledge of and liking for Villon, founded probably on admiration of his wit and genius; and it was assuredly owing to this, and not to any

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general amnesty *de joyeux avènement*, that the poet owed his last remission of the capital penalty at the hands of so severe a monarch as the titular author of the "Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles," for which he shows (in the Greater Testament) so special and personal a gratitude as almost to preclude the idea of its having been granted otherwise than as a matter of peculiar and personal favour.

This early period of Villon's life, extending at least up to his twenty-fourth year, appears to have been free from crime or misconduct of any very gross character. Although he himself laments that he had neglected to study in his youth, whereby he might have slept warm in his old age, and expressly states that he fled from school as bird from cage, we have seen that, if he did not achieve the presumable object of his college career, namely, the *Maîtrise* or Doctorate of Theology, he yet paid sufficient attention to his studies to enable him to acquire the title of Master of Arts, and it would appear that he had even been presented to what he calls a simple-tonsure chapelry, possibly one of the numerous quasi-sinecure offices connected with the churches or ecclesiastical machinery of the diocese of Paris, which were reserved as prizes for the more industrious and deserving scholars. M. Longnon is of opinion that he eked out the small revenue of this office by taking pupils, and amongst them the three poor orphans to whom he so frequently alludes; but I confess I see no ground for this supposition with regard to the latter, of whom he always speaks in such

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terms as to lead us to suppose them to have been actually foundlings dependent wholly upon his bounty. In 1456 he describes them as "three little children all bare, poor, unprovided orphans, shoeless and helpless, naked as a worm," and makes provision for their entertainment for at least one winter; and I am unable, therefore, to discover how M. Longnon justifies his hypothesis that they were young men of good or well-to-do families confided to Villon's tuition. On the other hand it is by no means impossible that some of the numerous unidentified persons mentioned in the Testaments may have been pupils of the poet at the period of which I speak. At all events, however he may have earned his living, it seems certain that up to the early part of the year 1455 he committed no act which brought him under the unfavourable notice of the police; and we find, indeed, in a subsequent document under the royal seal, his assertion, that "he had till then well and honourably governed himself, without having been attaint, reproved or convicted of any ill case, blame or reproach," accepted without question, as would certainly not have been the case had he been previously unfavourably known to the authorities. Yet it is evident, both on his own showing and on the authority of popular report, especially of the curious collection of anecdotes in verse known as "Les Repues Franches" or "Free Feeds" (of which he was the hero, *not* the author, and in which one phase of his many-sided character and career is recorded), that his life during this interval, if not actually trenching upon the limits

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of strictly punishable offences, was yet one of sufficiently disreputable character and marked by such license and misconduct as would assuredly, in more settled and law-abiding times, have early brought his career to a disgraceful close. He himself tells us that he lived more merrily than most in his youth; and we need only refer to the remarkable list of wine-shops, rogues and women of ill-fame with which he shows so familiar an acquaintance, to satisfy ourselves that much of his time must have been spent in debauchery and wantonness of the most uncompromising character. It is not likely that the supplies of money he could have obtained from legitimate sources, such as the kindness of Guillaume de Villon, the practice of tuition and the offices he may have gained as prizes during his scholastic career, would have sufficed for the prodigal expenditure naturally consequent upon his depraved tastes. On his own showing, he possessed a happy combination of most of the vices which lead a man to fling away his life in the quagmires of dissipation;—amorous, gluttonous, a drunkard, a spendthrift and a gambler,—no thought of future consequences seems ever to have been allowed to intervene between him and the satisfaction of his debased desires; and it was only in the intervals of disaster and depression (naturally of frequent occurrence in such a life) that the better nature of the man breaks out in notes of bitter anguish and heartfelt sorrow, of which it is difficult to doubt the genuineness, although the mercurial humour of the poet quickly allows them to merge

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into mocking cadences of biting satire and scornful merriment.

It was therefore to provide for the satisfaction of his inclinations towards debauchery that he became gradually entangled in complications of bad company and questionable dealings which led him step by step to that maze of crime and disaster in which his whole after-life was wrecked. In "Les Repues Franches" — a work not published till long after his death, whose assertions, apparently founded upon popular tradition (for Villon, quickly as his memory faded after the middle of the next century, seems to have been a prominent and favourite personality among his contemporaries of Paris) are amply endorsed by the confessions of the poet himself — we find him represented as the head of a band of scholars, poor clerks and beggars, "learning at others' expense," all "gallants with sleeveless pourpoints," "having perpetual occasions for gratuitous feeds, both winter and summer," who are classed under the generic title of "Les Sujets François Villon," and into whose mouth the author puts this admirable dogma of despotic equality — worthy of that hero of our own times, the British working-man himself — "Whoso hath nothing, it behoves that he fare better than anyone else." "Le bon Maître François Villon" comforts his "compaignons," who are described as not being worth two sound onions, with the assurance that they shall want for nothing, but shall presently have bread, wine and roast-meat à *grant foyson*, and proceeds to practise a

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series of tricks after the manner of Till Eulenspiegel, by which, chiefly through the persuasiveness of his hon-eyed tongue, he succeeds in procuring them where-withal to make merry and enjoy great good cheer. Provided with stolen bread, fish, meat and other victual to their hearts' desire, the jolly scoundrels re-member that they owe it as a duty to themselves to get drunk and that if they would fain arrive at that desirable consummation, they must needs furnish themselves with liquor at some one else's expense. Master François is equal to the occasion; taking two pitchers of precisely similar appearance, one filled with fair water and the other empty, he repairs to the celebrated tavern of the Fir Apple, situate in the Rue de la Juiverie, (of which and its landlord, Robin Turgis, mention is so often made in Villon's verse), and requests to have the empty pitcher filled with the best of their white wine. This being done, in a twinkling the accomplished sharper changes the pitchers and pretending to examine the contents, asks the tapster what kind of wine he has given him, to which he replies that it is white wine of Baigneux. "Do you take me for a fool?" cries Villon. "Take back your rubbish. I asked for good white wine of Beaune and will have none other." So saying, he emp-ties the pitcher of water into the cask of Baigneux wine — the tapster of course supposing it to be the liquor with which he had just served him — and makes off, in triumph, with the pitcherful of white wine, which he has thus obtained at the unlucky vintner's expense.

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The landlord of the Fir Apple seems to have been a favourite subject for the roguish tricks of the poet, who confesses in his Greater Testament that he had stolen from him fourteen hogsheads of white wine of Aulnis and adds insult to injury by offering to pay him, if he will come to him, but (says he slyly) "if he find out my lodging, he'll be wiser than any wizard." This colossal theft of wine was probably perpetrated on a cartload on its way to Turgis, and perhaps furnished forth the great Repue Franche alluded to in Villon's Seemly Lesson to the Wastrils or Good-for-Noughts, apropos of which he so pathetically laments that even a load of wine is drunk out at last, "by fire in winter or woods in summer."

From tricks of this kind, devoted to obtaining the materials for those orgies in which his soul delighted, there is no reason to suppose that he did not lightly pass to others more serious or that he shrank from the employment of more criminal means of obtaining the money which was equally necessary for the indulgence of the licentious humours of himself and his companions. In the words of the anonymous author of "Les Repues Franches," "He was the nursing mother of those who had no money; in swindling behind and before he was a most diligent man." So celebrated was he, indeed, as a man of expedients, that he attained the rare honour of becoming a popular type and the word "villonnerie" was long used among the lower classes of Paris to describe such sharpening practices as were traditionally attributed to

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Villon as the great master of the art; even as from the later roguish type of Till Eulenspiegel, *Gallicé* Ulespiègle (many of the traditional stories of whose rogueries are founded upon Villon's exploits), is derived the still extant word "espièglerie."

Villon, indeed, appears to have at once attained the summit of his roguish profession: ready of wit, eloquent of tongue, he seems to have turned all the resources of his vivid poetical imagination to the service of his debauched desires and so generally was his superiority admitted that, when he afterwards more seriously adopted the profession of "hook and crook," he seems to have been at once recognised by the knights of the road and the prison as, if not their actual chief, at least the directing and devising head, upon whose ingenious and methodical ordering was dependent the success of all their more important operations.

At this period, in all probability, came into action another personage, whose influence seems never to have ceased to affect Villon's life and who (if we may trust to his own oft-repeated asseverations) was mainly responsible for his ill-directed and untimely-ended career. This was a young lady named Catherine de Vaucelles or Vaucel and (according to M. Longnon's plausible conjecture) either the niece or cousin of one of the Canons of St. Benoît, Pierre de Vaucel, who occupied a house in the cloister, within a door or two of L'Hotel de la Porte Rouge. Her family inhabited the Rue St. Jacques, in which stood the Church of St. Benoît; and it is very probable that she may have

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altogether resided with her uncle for the purpose of ordering his household, in accordance with a custom of general prevalence among ecclesiastics, on whom celibacy was enforced, — or that through her connection with the cloister was afforded to Villon the opportunity of forming an intimate acquaintance with her, which speedily developed into courtship. Catherine de Vaucelles would appear (if we may accept Villon's designation of her as a *demoiselle*) to have been a young lady of good or at least respectable family and it would seem also that she was a finished coquette. Throughout the whole of Villon's verse the remembrance of the one chaste and real love of his life is ever present and he is fertile in invective against the cruelty and infidelity of his mistress. According to his own account, however, the love seems to have been entirely on his side; for, although she amused him by feigned kindness and unimportant concessions, he himself allows that she never gave him any sufficient reason to hope, reproaching her bitterly for not having at first told him her true intent, in which case he would have enforced himself to break the ties that bound him to her. She appears, indeed, to have taken delight in making mock of him and playing with his affections; but, often as he bethought himself to renounce his unhappy attachment, to

“Resign and be at peace,”

he seems, with the true temper of a lover, to have always returned before long to his vainly-caressed hope. No assertion does he more frequently repeat

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than that this his early love was the cause of all his misfortunes and of his untimely death. "I die a martyr to love," he says, "enrolled among the saints thereof;" and the expression of his anguish is often so poignant that we can hardly refuse to believe in the reality of his passion. Nevertheless, he does not accuse the girl of having favoured others at his expense. "Though I never got a spark of hope from her," he says, "I know not nor care if she be as harsh to others as to me;" and indeed he seems to imply that she was too fond of money to be accessible to any other passion. One of the persons mentioned in the poems was perhaps a rival of his, as he tells us, in his Ballad of Light Loves, that a certain Noé or Noel was present when he (Villon) was beaten as washerwomen beat clothes by the river, all naked, and that on account of the aforesaid Catherine de Vaucelles; and as he says "Noel was the *third* who was there," assuming the other person present to have been the lady, we may fairly suppose that Noel was a more favoured lover of Catherine's, by whom was administered to Villon the correction of which he speaks so bitterly, probably on the occasion of a sham rendezvous, in the nature of a trap, devised by Catherine to get rid of an importunate lover. This presumption is strengthened by the fact that in the Lesser Testament, speaking of his unhappy love affair, he says, "Other than I, who is younger and can rattle more coin, is in favour with her;¹" and that in the Greater Testament

¹ I quote a variant of Oct. vii.

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he bequeaths to Noel le Jolys (who may fairly be taken to be the Noé mentioned above) the unpleasant legacy of two hundred and twenty strokes, to be handsomely laid on with a handful of green osier rods by Maître Henriot, the executioner of Paris. It is possible that Catherine may, for a while, have encouraged Villon out of cupidity, and after getting all she could out of him, have thrown him off for a better-furnished admirer; but of this we find no assertion in his poems, although, if we may believe in the authenticity of certain pieces attributed to him in the "Jardin de Plaisance," he accuses her of compelling him to be always putting his hand in his pocket to purchase her good graces, now asking for a velvet gown and now for "high headgear" (*haults atours*) or the like costly articles of dress; and (in a ballad coming under the same category) he speaks of her "corps tant vicieux" and reproaches her with having sold him her favours for twenty rose-crowns and having, after draining him dry, transferred her interested affections to a hideous but rich old man, although (says he) "I was so devoted to her, that had she asked me to give her the moon, I had essayed to scale the heavens." However, these pieces seem to be wrongly assigned to Villon; and in despite of the epithet, "foul wanton," applied to her, probably in a passing fit of irritability and jealousy, — such as at times overcomes the most respectful and devoted of unrequited lovers, — all the authentic evidence we possess points to the conclusion that the young lady was guilty of no serious misconduct towards

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Villon beyond that ordinary coquetry and love of admiration, and perhaps of amusement, which may have led her to give some passing encouragement to the merry, witty poet of the early days; and this hypothesis he himself confirms by the pure and beautiful ballad which he dedicates to her, prefacing it, however, with the delicately deprecatory qualification that he had composed it to acquit himself towards Love rather than her, — a ballad which breathes the chastest and most romantic spirit of wistful love and anticipates for us Ronsard, as he pictures his lady in her old age, sitting with her maidens at the *veillée* and proudly recalling to herself and her companions that she had been celebrated by her poet-lover “*du temps que j'étais belle.*”

True and permanent as was the love of Villon for Catherine, it does not seem to have restrained him from the frequentation of those light o' loves, whose names so jostle each other in his pages. La Belle Heaulmière, Blanche the Slippermaker, Guillemette the Upholsteress, Macée of Orleans, Katherine the Spurnmaker, Denise, Jacqueline, Perrette, Isabeau, Marion the Statue, tall Jehanne of Brittany, a cloud of lorettes and grisettes, trip and chatter through his reminiscences; and with two of them, Jehanneton la Chaperonnière and La Grosse Margot, he appears to have formed permanent connections. No doubt the *femmes folles de leur corps*, with whom Paris has ever abounded, were not wanting at the fantastic revels carried on by our Bohemian and his band of

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scapegraces in the ruins of Nygeon, Billy and Bicêtre, or the woods to be met with at a bowshot in every direction round the Paris of his time. "Ill cat to ill rat," as he himself says; the feminine element was hardly likely to be wanting for the completion of the perfect disreputable harmony of his surroundings.

III

This early period of comparative innocence, or at least obscurity, was now drawing to a close and its conclusion was marked for Villon by a disaster which in all probability arose from his connection with Catherine de Vaucelles and which fell like a thunderbolt on the careless merriment of his life. On the evening of the 5th June 1455, the day of the Fête-Dieu, Villon was seated on a stone bench under the clock-tower of the Church of St. Benoît, in the Rue St. Jacques, in company with a priest called Gilles and the girl Isabeau above mentioned (who is noted in the Greater Testament as making constant use of a particular phrase, "Enné" or "Is it not?"),¹ with whom he had supped and sallied out at about nine o'clock to enjoy the coolness of the night air. As they sat talking, there came up to them a priest called Philippe Chermoye or Sermoise and a friend of his named Jehan le Merdi, a graduate of the University. Chermoye, who was probably a rival of Villon for the good graces of Catherine de Vaucelles, appeared in a furious state of exasperation against the poet and swaggered up to him, exclaiming, "So I have found you at last!" Villon rose and courteously offered him room to sit down; but the other pushed him rudely back into his

¹ *Lat.* Anné? Isabeau would probably have used the French equivalent of "Ain't it?"

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place, saying, "I warrant I'll anger you!" To which the poet replied, "Why do you accost me thus angrily, Master Philip? What harm have I done you? What is your will of me?" and would have retired into the cloister for safety; but Chermoye, pursuing him to the gate of the close, drew a great rapier from under his gown and smote him grievously on the lower part of the face, slitting his underlip and causing great effusion of blood. At this Gilles and Isabeau took the alarm and apparently fearing to be involved in the affray, made off, leaving Villon alone and unsupported. Maddened by the pain of his wound and by the blood with which he felt himself covered, the latter drew a short sword that he carried under his walking cloak and in endeavouring to defend himself, wounded his aggressor in the groin, without being at the time aware of what he had done. At this juncture Jehan le Merdi came up and seeing his friend wounded, crept treacherously behind Villon and caught away his sword. Finding himself defenceless against Chermoye, who persisted in loading him with abuse and sought to give him the finishing stroke with his long sword, the wretched François looked about for some means of defence and seeing a big stone at his feet, snatched it up and flung it in the priest's face with such force and precision that the latter fell to the ground insensible. Villon immediately went off to get his wounds dressed by a barber named Fouquet, who, in accordance with the police regulations affecting such cases, demanded of him his name and that of his assailant.

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To him Villon accordingly related the whole affair, giving his own name as Michel Mouton and stating his intention on the morrow to procure Chermoye's arrest for the unprovoked assault. Meantime, some passers-by found the priest lying unconscious on the pavement of the cloister, with his drawn sword in his hand, and carried him into one of the houses in the close, where his wounds were dressed and whence he was next day transferred to the Hospital of L'Hotel Dieu, where on the Saturday following he died; the words of the record ("pour faute de bon gouvernement ou autrement") leaving it doubtful whether his death was not rather due to unskilful treatment than to his actual wounds. Before his death, however, he had been visited and examined by one of the apparitors of the Châtelet, to whom he related the whole affair, expressing a wish that no proceedings should be taken against Villon, to whom, he said, he forgave his death, "by reason of certain causes moving him thereunto;" words which seem to tell strongly in favour of the hypothesis that the quarrel bore some relation to Catherine de Vaucelles. However, Villon was summoned before the Châtelet Court to answer for Chermoye's death, but (as the record says) "fearing rigour of justice," he had availed himself of the interval to take to flight and appears to have left Paris. No record of the proceedings against him appears to be extant, but the probabilities point to his having been convicted in his absence and condemned, in default, to banishment from the kingdom. However, his exile did not

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last long. In January 1456 he presented a petition to the Crown, setting forth that up to the time of the brawl "he had been known as a man of good life and renown and honest conversation and had in all things well and honourably governed himself, without having been attaint, reprov'd or convicted of any other ill case, blame or reproach whatsoever," and praying the king, in view of this and of the fact that the dead man had deprecated any proceedings against his adversary, to impart to him his grace and mercy in the remission of the sentence. Thanks, no doubt, to the assistance of Villon's powerful friends, as well as to the circumstances of the case, which appears to have been an unusually clear one of justifiable homicide in self-defence, reflecting no blame whatever on the poet, letters of grace and remission were in the same month accorded to him by Charles VII and he presently returned to Paris, where he perhaps endeavoured to resume his former life of comparative respectability; at all events, we may be sure that he so far resumed his old habits as to renew his acquaintance with Catherine de Vaucelles.

The six months of his banishment, which had in all probability been passed in the company of the thieves and vagabonds who infested the neighbourhood of Paris, had, however, sufficed hopelessly to compromise his life. It is impossible to suppose that he can, in the interval, have supported himself by any honest means; and it is clearly to this period that may be traced his definitive affiliation to the band or bands of

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robbers of which Guy Tabarie, Petit Jean, Colin de Cayeux and Regnier de Montigny were the most distinguished ornaments and of which he himself was destined to become an important member.¹ It is to this time of need that Villon himself assigns the raid upon the barber of Bourg-la-Reine, in company with Huguette du Hamel; and excursions of this kind were doubtless amongst the least reprehensible of his expedients to keep body and soul together. On his return to Paris, he appears to have been badly received by his lady-love and in despair quickly reverted to the habits of criminality which had now obtained a firm hold on him. We have it, on undoubted authority,

[¹ The researches of M. Marcel Schwob have brought to light the fact that the language, hitherto unidentified, in which the "Jargon" or "Jobelin" of Villon is written, was a thieves' slang or lingo peculiar to a notable association of robbers and outlaws known as the Coquillarts or Compagnons de la Coquille, a title probably derived from the circumstance that the Company was largely recruited from the swarms of false palmers or professional visitants to various shrines and especially to that of St. James of Compostella (whose emblem was the scallop or cockleshell habitually worn in the hat as a token of accomplishment of the pilgrimage to his shrine—hence the term *coquillart* or cockle-shell wearer vulgarly applied to the palmer—) who availed themselves of the quasi-sacred character of the pilgrim to rob and murder with impunity on all the high roads of mediæval France. Of this lawless association Villon's comrades Montigny and Cayeux are known to have formed part and the poet himself doubtless became affiliated to the Company during his six months of exile. The generic name (Coquillarts) of the Companions of the Cockleshell figures in the poems composing the "Jargon," which were doubtless written expressly for the members of the band.]

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that during the eleven months which followed his return to Paris he was concerned in three robberies committed or attempted by his band, — namely, a burglary perpetrated on the house of a priest called Guillaume Coiffier, by which they netted five or six hundred gold crowns; an attempt (frustrated by the vigilance of a dog) to steal the sacred vessels from the Church of St. Maturin; and the breaking open of the treasury of the Collège de Navarre, whence they stole another five or six hundred gold crowns, thanks to the intimate knowledge of its interior acquired by Villon during his scholastic career and to the lock-picking talents of Colin de Cayeux. These were doubtless but a few of the operations undertaken by the band of desperadoes with whom Villon was now inseparably associated; and as they rejoiced in such accomplices as a goldsmith, who made them false keys and melted down for them their purchase or booty, when it assumed the inconvenient form of holy or other vessels, and in the protection of the Cloister of Notre Dame, of which sanctuary they seem to have made their headquarters, besides other refuges, to which they could flee when hard pressed, in the houses of priests and clerks, of whom several seem to have been affiliated to the band, the poet and his companions appear for a while to have pursued their hazardous profession to highly lucrative account. The successful attempt upon the Collège de Navarre took place shortly before Christmas 1456 and almost immediately afterwards the poet, who seems to have thrown

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himself heart and soul into his new vocation and to have gained such appreciation among his comrades as led them to entrust him with the more delicate and imaginative branches of the craft, left Paris for Angers, where an uncle of his was (as I have already said) a priest residing in a convent; according to Villon's own account (see the Lesser Testament) in consequence of the despair to which he was driven by Catherine's unkindness and which led him to exile himself from Paris, for the purpose of endeavouring, by change of scene and occupation, to break away from the "very amorous bondage" in which he felt his heart withering away; but in reality (as we learn from irrecusable evidence) with the view of examining into the possibility of a business operation upon the goods of a rich ecclesiastic of the Angevin town and of devising such a plan as should, from a careful artistic study of the localities and circumstance, commend itself to his ingenious wit, for the purpose of enabling the band to relieve the good priest of the five or six hundred crowns¹ which they believed him to possess. Whether this scheme was carried out or not we have no information; however this may be, it does not appear that Villon returned to Paris for more than two years afterwards and his long sojourn in the provinces is probably to be accounted for on the supposition that he received warning from some of his

¹ "Five or six hundred gold crowns" was decidedly the sacramental sum with the Companions, who apparently disdained to fly at more trifling game.

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comrades of the discovery of the burglary committed at the Collège de Navarre and feeling himself inconveniently well known to the Parisian police, thought it best to remain awhile in hiding where he was less notorious.

The discovery and consequent (at least temporary) break-up of the band was due to the drunken folly of Guy Tabarie, who could not refrain from boasting, in his cups, of the nefarious exploits of himself and his comrades, who (he said) possessed such powerful and efficient instruments of effraction that no locks or bolts could resist them. By a curious hazard, a country priest, the Prior of Paray-le-Moniau, a connection of Guillaume Coiffier, to whose despoilment by Villon and his companions I have already referred, became the chance recipient of the drunken confidences of Tabarie, whilst staying in Paris and breakfasting at the Pulpit Tavern on the Petit Pont, and by feigning a desire to take part in his burglarious operations, succeeded in eliciting from him sufficient details of the affaire Coiffier and that of the Collège de Navarre to enable him to procure Tabarie's arrest and committal to the Châtelet prison in the summer of 1458. Claimed by the Bishop of Paris in his quality of clerk, he was transferred to the prison of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and after suffering the question ordinary and extraordinary, made a full confession, denouncing the various members of the band and naming Villon and Colin de Cayeux as the acting chiefs. This happened more than two and a half years after the poet's departure

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from Paris, nor is it known when he was arrested in consequence of the revelations of Guy Tabarie; but it is probable, looking at the comparatively full manner in which his time may be accounted for between that date and 1461, that his arrest took place shortly afterwards. It is certain, on his own showing, that he was again tried and condemned to death, after having undergone the question by water, and that he made an appeal (the text of which has not reached us) to the High Court of Parliament, which, being probably supported by some of his influential friends, resulted in the commutation of the capital penalty into that of perpetual exile from the kingdom. It was apparently in the interval between the pronouncement of his condemnation to death and the allowance of the appeal that he composed the magnificent ballad, in which he imagines himself and his companions in infamy hanging dead upon the gibbet of Montfaucon, with faces dented with bird-pecks, alternately dried up and blackened by the sun and blanched and soddened by the rain, and in whose lines one seems to hear the grisly rattle of the wind through the dry bones of the wretched criminals "done to death by justice," as they swing to and fro, making weird music in "the ghosts' moonshine." This poem establishes the fact that five of his band were condemned with him and it is probable that these unhappy wretches, less fortunate than himself in possessing influential friends, actually realised the ghastly picture conjured up by the poet's fantastic imagination.

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On receiving notification of the judgment commuting his sentence, he addressed to the Parliament the curious ballad (called in error his Appeal),¹ requesting a delay of three days for the purpose of providing himself and bidding his friends adieu, before setting out for the place of his exile, and presently left Paris on his wanderings. Of his itinerary we possess no indications save those to be laboriously culled from his poems; but, by a process of inference, we may fairly assume that he took his way to Orléans and followed the course of the Loire nearly to its sources, whence he struck off for the town of Roussillon in Dauphiné, a possession of the Duke of Bourbon, who had lately made gift of it to his bastard brother, Louis de Bourbon, Mareschal and Seneschal of the Bourbonnais, supposed to be the Seneschal to whom Villon alludes as having once paid his debts. Under the wing of this friend, he probably established his headquarters, during the term of his exile, at Roussillon, making excursions now and then to other places — notably to Salins in Burgundy, where it seems he had managed to establish the three poor orphans of whom he speaks in the Lesser Testament. In the Greater Testament

[¹ M. Longon is manifestly in error in attributing the composition of this Ballad and that last before mentioned to the interval between Villon's condemnation for the homicide of Chermoye and his pardon, as is sufficiently evident from the fact that he describes himself in the latter as one of six done to death by justice. M. Longnon's statement of the judicial consequences of the prosecution in question is also at variance with the terms of the letters of remission, as set out in his appendix.]

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he represents himself as having visited them, referring to them in such terms as to leave no doubt that they were still children, and moreover makes a bequest for the purpose of completing their education and buying them cates. To this period of exile (or perhaps, rather, to the time of his preceding visit to Angers) must also be assigned his stay at St. Generoux in the marches of Poitou, where he made the acquaintance of the two pretty Poitevin ladies — “filles belles et gentes,” as he calls them — who taught him to speak the Poitou dialect; and his visit to Blois, where Charles d'Orléans was then residing and where Villon took part in a sort of poetical contest established by the poet-prince, from which resulted the curious ballad, “Je meurs de soif auprès de la fontaine,” composed (as were poems of a like character by a number of other poets¹) upon the theme indicated by the refrain and offering a notable example of the inferiority to which a great and original poet could descend, when forced painfully to elaborate the unsympathetic ideas of others and to bend his free and natural style to the artificial conceits and rhetorical niceties of the other rhymers of the day. A well-known anecdote of Rabelais attributes to the poet, at this period of his life, a voyage to England, where he is said to have ingratiated himself with the then regnant king and to have made him a celebrated speech distinguished equally by wit and patriotism; but the story carries

¹ Cf. *Les Poésies de Charles d'Orléans*. Ed. Guichard, 1842, pp. 128-138.

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in itself its own refutation and M. Longnon has shown that it is a mere modernisation of a precisely similar trait attributed to another French scholar of earlier date, Hugues le Noir, who is said to have taken refuge at the court of King John of England in the thirteenth century. It may be remarked, by the by, as a curious instance of the vitality of these old popular jests, that the trait above alluded to has, in our own times, become the foundation of one of the wittiest of modern Yankee stories. There is nothing whatever either in the works of Villon or in any contemporary documents, in which his name is mentioned, to show that he at any time visited England. Had he done so, the effect of so radical a change in his habits and surroundings would certainly have left no inconsiderable trace in the verse of so shrewd and keen an observer of men and manners: and it is probable that the whole story arose from the fact of his banishment from the kingdom of France, the concoctor forgetting at that later period that the France of Villon's time was a comparatively small country, from which banishment was possible into many independent or tributary states, which afterwards became an integral portion of the French realm.

During the term of his banishment, Villon does not appear to have been under any kind of police supervision. At that time there existed no court exercising supreme authority over the whole kingdom; each province, nay, each ecclesiastical diocese possessed its own independent civil and criminal jurisdiction, having

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little or no connection with the better organised tribunals of Paris, which city had not yet begun to be that nucleus of centralisation it afterwards became. So that he appears to have been comparatively free to move about at will : and from a passage in his Greater Testament, in which he speaks of himself as "pauvre mercerot de Rennes"—poor hawker or pedlar of Rennes—it seems possible that he eked out the scanty doles to be obtained from the kindness of friends (such as Duke de Bourbon, who lent him six crowns and to whom we find him again applying for a loan, and Jean le Cornu, a Parisian ecclesiastic, of whom says Villon, "he has always furnished me in my great need and distress") by traveling as a pedlar from town to town,—and this would explain his wanderings hither and thither.¹ However, if he ever

[¹ Since the above was written, M. Vitu has shown in his learned introduction to his great work on the "Jargon" that the *mercerots* or *mercelots* formed the lowest grade of the great trade-guild of the *Merciers* and were mostly rogues and vagabonds of the lowest order, whose misdeeds, committed under the convenient cover of the pedlar's pack, were winked at and to whom protection was extended by the powerful parent society in consideration of the large addition to its revenues derived from the *redevances* or annual dues paid by them. The name of *mercelot* or pedlar appears to have been, indeed, practically synonymous with "sturdy rogue and vagabond;" many of the class were secretly affiliated to such criminal associations as the Gueux and the Coquillarts and it seems probable, therefore, that Villon's adoption of a nominally honest calling was only a mask for a continuation of the career of lawlessness to which he must long have been irretrievably committed. Rennes was doubtless the headquarters of the provincial branch of the Mercers' Guild to which he was directly affiliated.]

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really essayed this honest and laborious existence, he quickly tired of it and there is no doubt that before long he came again in contact with some of his old comrades in crime — members of the dispersed band, either exiled like himself or hiding from justice in the provinces — and was easily led to resume in their company that career of dishonesty and turbulence which had so fatal an attraction for him. Among these was notably Colin de Cayeux, in whose company he no doubt assisted at some of those “esbats” for which, in the year 1461, his old master in roguery was (as he tells us in the Second Ballad of the Jargon) at last subjected to the extreme penalty of the law, being broken on the wheel, probably at Montpippeau near Orleans, where the crimes for which he suffered and of which rape seems to have been the most venial were committed. At this last-named place, Villon again appears in the centre of France, trusting apparently to lapse of time for the avoidance of his banishment; and here it was not long before he again came in collision with the authorities. In the early part of the year 1461 we find him, in company with others of unknown condition, committing a crime (said to have been the theft of a silver lamp from the parish church of Baccon near Orleans) for which he was arrested by the police of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and brought before the tribunal of the Bishop of Orleans, that Jacques Thibault d'Aussigny against whom he so bitterly inveighs in the Greater Testament. We have no record of his conviction, but it

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cannot be doubted that he was again condemned to death, although (with his usual luck) a more powerful protector than had ever before intervened in his favour appeared in time to prevent the execution of the sentence. It appears from his own statements that he was, during the whole summer of 1461, confined in what he calls a "fosse" in the castle of Meung-sur-Loire — a name reserved for the horrible dens without light or air, dripping with water and swarming with rats, toads and snakes, adjoining the castle moat. Here he was (if we may credit his own statements) more than once subjected to the question or torture by water and (what seems to have been a more terrible hardship than all the rest to a man of Villon's passionate devotion to rich and delicate eating and drinking) he was "passing scurvily fed" on dry bread and water. At Meung, it can hardly be doubted, he composed the curious ballad in which he presents his heart and body, or soul and sense, arguing one against the other, and sets before us, in a pithy and well-sustained dialogue, the sentiments of remorse and despair — not unrelieved by the inevitable stroke of covert satire — which seem to have formed the normal state of his mind during any interval of enforced retirement from the light of the sun and the pursuit of his nefarious profession. To this period also belongs the beautiful and pathetic ballad, in which he calls upon all to whom Fortune has made gift of freedom from other service than that of God in Paradise, all for whom life is light with glad laughter and

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pleasant song, to have compassion on him as he lies on the cold earth, fasting feast and fast-days alike, in the dreary dungeon, whither neither light of levin nor noise of whirlwind can penetrate for the thickness of the walls that enfold him like the cerecloths of a corpse. From an expression in this ballad, it would seem that there were no steps to Villon's cell, but that he was let down into it by ropes, as was the prophet Jeremiah in the dungeon of Malchiah the son of Hammelech, in the reign of Zedekiah king of Judah. Here, too, he seems to have been chained up in fetters ("enferré") and (if we may believe him when he accuses the bishop of having made him chew many a "poire d'angoisse") gagged to prevent his crying out. To all this were added the tortures of hunger, for even the wretched food supplied to him seems to have been so small in quantity ("une petite miche," says he) as barely to stave off starvation,—a wretched state of things for a man who had always, on his own confession, too well nourished his body; and it is very possible that, had his imprisonment been of long duration, hardship and privation might have ended his life. However, this was not destined to be the case. In July 1461 the old King Charles VII died and was succeeded by the Dauphin, Louis XI; and on the 2nd October following, the latter remitted Villon's penalty and ordered his release by letters of grace dated at Meung-sur-Loire, where he had probably learnt the fate of the poet, whilst passing in the course of the royal progress customary on a new

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king's accession. It seems probable that he remembered Villon's name as that of an old acquaintance, if not as that of a brilliant and ingenious poet; and the saying is indeed traditionally attributed to Louis XI, whose taste in literature was of the acutest, that he could not afford to hang Villon, as the kingdom could boast of 100,000 rascals of equal eminence, but not of one other poet so accomplished in "gentilz dictz et ingénieux sçavoir." At all events, it is certain that Charles d'Orléans, to whom most commentators have ascribed the merit of procuring Villon's release by intercession with the king, could not have successfully intervened, as he was at that time in disgrace with the new monarch, between whom and himself a bitter personal hostility had long existed: and "Le Dit de la naissance Marie d'Orléans"—by which poem, addressed to the father of the new-born princess, Villon is conjectured to have secured his good offices—is most assuredly the production neither of Villon nor of any one else in any way worthy of the name of poet.

IV

Immediately upon his release, Villon seems to have returned to Paris and there appears to be some little warrant for the supposition that he endeavoured to earn his living as an *avoué* or in some similar capacity about the ecclesiastical courts. However this may be, he was probably speedily obliged to renounce all efforts of this kind on account of the failing state of his health and the exhaustion consequent upon the privations he had undergone and the irregularity of his debauched and licentious life. It would appear, too, from an allusion in his later verse, that his goods, little as they were ("even to the bed under me," says he), had been seized by three creditors, named Moreau, Provins and Turgis, in satisfaction apparently of debts due by him to them, or to reimburse themselves for thefts practised at their expense, at the time of "Les Repues Franches," two of which, carried out at Turgis's cost, I have already noticed: and as the scanty proceeds of the execution are not likely to have satisfied any considerable portion of his liabilities, it would seem that his creditors took further proceedings against him, from the consequences of which he was compelled to seek safety in some place of concealment, whither he defies Turgis to follow him. That he did not take refuge with Guillaume de Villon is obvious (as is also the honourable motive that prompted him to hold aloof from his old friend and patron) from Octave 77

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of the Greater Testament, in which he begs his "more than father," who was (says he) saddened enough by this last scrape of his protégé, to leave him to disentangle himself as best he could. It is possible that he may have retired to one of the hiding-places before mentioned, whither he and his comrades were wont to resort when hard pressed by the police; but (*pace* M. Longnon) it seems to me that the probabilities are in favour of his having sheltered himself with the woman whom he calls "La Grosse Margot" and who, he implies, had alone retained a real and faithful attachment to him. That attachments of such a nature have never been rare among women of her class ("poor liberal girls!" as Villon calls them), in whom the very nature of their terrible trade seems to engender an ardent longing for real and unselfish affection which has often led them to the utmost extremities of devotion and self-sacrifice, none can doubt who knows anything of their history and habits as a class; and one need go no further than Dufour's curious History of Prostitution or Dumas' sympathetic study, "Filles, Lorettes et Courtisanes," for touching instances of the pathetic abnegation of which these unhappy creatures are capable. M. Longnon has endeavoured, with a motive in which all admirers of the poet must sympathise with him, to contend that Villon's connection with La Grosse Margot had no real existence and that his most explicit references to it should be taken as nothing but a playful and figurative description of his presumed devotion to some tavern, for which a

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portrait of the woman in question served as sign. With all respect for M. Longnon's most honourable intention and all possible willingness to accept any reasonable conjecture that might tend to remove from the poet's name a stigma of which his lovers must be painfully sensible, I am yet utterly at a loss to discover any warrant for the above-mentioned theory. It is of course possible that the ballad in which Villon so circumstantially exposes the connection in question may have been intended as a mere piece of bravado or mystification; but, failing evidence of this, I defy any candid reader to place such a construction upon the text as will justify any other conclusion than the very unsavoury one usually adopted.

Rejected by the only woman of his own rank whom he seems to have loved with a real and tender passion and even cast off by his sometime mistress Jehannton la Chaperonnière, one can hardly blame Villon for not refusing the shelter of the one attachment, low and debased as it was, which remained to him.

In this retirement, whatever it was, deserted by all his friends and accompanied only by his boy-clerk Frémin,¹ Villon appears to have at once addressed himself to the composition of the capital work of his life, the Greater Testament. He had now attained the age of thirty, and young as he still was, he felt that he had not much longer to live. The terrible life of debauchery, privation and hardship he had led

¹ Possibly (and even probably) an imaginary character.

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had at last begun to produce its natural effect. To the maladies contracted in his youth and to the natural exhaustion caused by an incessant alternation of the wildest debauch and the most cruel privation, appears now to have been added some disease of the lungs, probably consumption, which caused him to burn with insatiable thirst and to vomit masses of snow-white phlegm as big as tennis-balls (the student of our own old poets will recall the expression "to spit white," so commonly applied to those attacked with a fatal affection of the lungs, consequent upon excess), a disorder probably contracted in the reeking dungeon of the castle of Meung and aggravated by the terrible effects of the question by water, which he had so often undergone and from which the patient rarely entirely recovered. Indeed, he expressly attributes these latter symptoms to his having been forced by the Bishop of Orléans to drink so much cold water. He tells us, at the commencement of his Greater Testament, that his youth had left him, how he knew not, and that, though yet in reality a cockerel, he had the voice and appearance of an old rook. Sad, dejected and despairing, with face blacker, as he says, than a mulberry for stress of weather and privation, without hair, beard or eye-brows, bare as a turnip from disease, with body emaciated with hunger ("The worms will have no great purchase thereof," says he; "hunger has waged too stern a war on it;") and every limb one anguish for disease, with empty purse and stomach, dependent on charity for subsistence, so sick at heart and feeble

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that he could hardly speak, his eyes seem at last to have been definitively opened to the terrible folly of his past life. He renounces at last those delusive pleasures for which he retains neither hope nor capacity: "No more desire in me is hot," he cries; "I've put my lute beneath the seat:" travail and misery have sharpened his wit: he confesses and repents of his sins, forgives his enemies and turns for comfort to religion and maternal love, consoling himself with the reflection that all must die, great and small, and that after such a life as he has led, an honest death had nothing that should displease him, seeing that in life, as in love, "each pleasure's bought with fifty pains." After a long and magnificent prelude, in which he laments the excesses of his youth, justifying himself by his favourite argument that necessity compels folk to do evil, as want drives wolves out of the brake, and sues for the favourable and compassionate consideration of those whose lot in life has placed them above necessity, — interrupted by numerous episodes, some humorous, some pathetic, the individual beauty of which is so great that (like the so-called diffuse digressions which abound in the music of Schubert) one cannot quarrel with their want of proportion to the general theme, — he commends his soul to the various persons of the Trinity in language of the most exalted piety and proceeds, in view of his approaching death, to dictate to his clerk what he calls his Testament, being a long series of huitains or eight-line octosyllabic stanzas, in each of which he

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makes some mention, humorous, pathetic or satirical, of some one or more of the numerous personages who had trodden with him the short but vari-coloured scene of his life. Many are the men, women, places and things he sets before us in a few keen and incisive words, from which often spring the swiftest lightnings of humour and the most poignant flashes of pathos, blending together in extricable harmony, with a careless skill worthy of Heine or Laforgue, the maddest laughter and the most bitter tears. Lamartine or De Musset contains no tenderer or more plaintive notes than those which break, like a primrose, from the Spring-ferment of his verse, nor is there to be found in Vaughan or Christina Rossetti a holier or sweeter strain than the ballad which bears his mother's name. Among the lighter pieces, by which his more serious efforts are relieved, I may mention the delightfully humorous orison for the soul of his notary, Master Jehan Cotard; the brightly-coloured ballad called "Les Contredictz de Franc-Gontier," in which, with comic emphasis, he denounces the so-called pleasures of a country life; and the tripping lilt that he devotes to the praise of the women of Paris. In the Ballad of La Grosse Margot, he gives us a terrible picture of the degrading expedients to which he was forced by the frightful necessities of his misguided existence and dedicates to François Perdryer above named "The Ballad of Slandorous Tongues," perhaps the most uncompromising example of pure invective that exists in any known literature. Towards the end of

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his poem, in verses pregnant with serious and well-illustrated meaning, he addresses himself to the companions of his crimes and follies — “ill souls and bodies well bestead,” as he calls them — and bids them beware of “that ill sun which tans a man when he is dead,” warning them that all their crimes and extravagances have brought them nothing but misery and privation, with the prospect of a shameful death at last, that ill-gotten goods are nobody’s gain, but drift away to wanton uses, like chaff before the wind, and exhorting them to mend their lives and turn to honest labour. When he has to his satisfaction exhausted his budget of memories, tears and laughter, he strikes once more the fatalist keynote of the whole work in a noble “mediation” on the equality of all earthly things before the inexorable might of Death and adds a Roundel, in which he deprecates the further rigour of Fate and expresses a hope that his repentance may find acceptance at the hands of God. Finally, he names his executors, gives directions for his burial, orders an epitaph to be scratched over him, to preserve his memory as that of a good honest wag (“un bon folâtre”), and concludes by determining, in view of his approaching death, to beg forgiveness of all men, which he does in a magnificent ballad, bearing the refrain, “I cry folk mercy, one and all” (from which, however, he still excepts the Bishop of Orléans), winding up with a second ballad, in which he solemnly repeats his assertion that he dies a martyr to Love and invites all lovers to his funeral.

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No work of Villon's, posterior to the Greater Testament, is known to us, nor is there any trace of its existence; indeed, from the date, 1461, with which he himself heads his principal work, we entirely lose sight of him: and it may be supposed, in view of the condition of mental and bodily weakness in which we find him at that time, that he did not long survive its completion. Indeed (as M. Longnon justly observes), in the case of so eminent a poet, there could be no stronger proof of his death than his cessation to produce verses. The Codicil (so named by some compiler or editor after the poet's death) is a collection of poems which contain internal evidence of having been composed at an earlier period; and the other pieces — *Les Repues Franches*, the *Dialogue of Mallepaye and Baillevent* and the *Monologue of the Franc Archier de Baignolet* — which are generally joined to the Testaments and Codicil, bear no trace whatever of Villon's handiwork. They were not even added to his works until 1532 and were in the following year summarily rejected as spurious by Clément Marot from his definite edition, prepared by order of Francis I. Nevertheless, I do not entirely agree with M. Longnon in supposing that Villon died immediately after 1461. This would be to assume that the whole of the Greater Testament was written at one time: and for this assumption there seems to me to be no warrant. On the contrary, even as the interpolated ballads and rondeaux bear for the most part signs of an earlier origin, there seems to me to exist in the

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body of the Greater Testament internal evidence that the principal portion of the poem (*i. e.*, that written in huitains) was composed at four or five, perhaps more, different returns; and it is, therefore, probable that Villon survived for two or three years after his release from Meung gaol.¹ Rabelais, indeed, states in his "Pantagruel" that the poet, in his old age, retired to St. Maixent in Poitou, where, under the patronage of an honest abbot of that ilk, he amused himself and entertained the people with a representation of the Passion "en gestes et en langage Poitevins;" but this tradition (if tradition it be) which Rabelais puts into the mouth of the Seigneur de Basché, is as completely improbable, destitute of confirmation and unworthy of serious attention as that of Villon's journey to England and seems to me to prove nothing, save, perhaps, that Villon at that time (1550), when his works had already begun to fall into disuse, had become a mere traditional lay-figure, on which to hang vague stories of "villonneries," adaptable to all kinds of heroes and mostly suggested by the Repues

[1 The opinion expressed in the above lines (which were written in 1878) has recently been completely confirmed by the terms of a judicial document discovered in the Archives Nationales and first published by M. Longnon (1892), to wit, the Letters of Remission granted by Louis XI in November 1463 to Robin Dogis for the wounding of one François Ferrebouc, in an affray which took place near the church of St. Benoît and at which Villon is mentioned as having been present, though not implicated therein, thus proving that the poet was still alive in 1463, two years after the date of the Greater Testament.]

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Franches. There occurs also, in a Gazetteer published in 1726, an assertion that Villon was burnt for impiety; but, although to a reader of his works this would seem by no means unlikely — not by reason of any real impiety on the part of Villon (for it is evident that, as is so often the case with men of loose and even criminal life, his faith in religion was sincere and deep-seated), but because of the continual jests and sarcasms he permits himself at the expense of the monks and secular clergy, always far more ready to pardon actual heresy or infidelity than such personal attacks, having no relation to religion, as tend to discredit themselves among the people — yet, looking at the utter want of confirmation and of any previous mention of the alleged fact and considering the grotesque ignorance of the eighteenth century with regard to the old writers and especially the old poets of France, we are fully justified in treating the assertion as an absurd invention.

No edition of Villon's works is extant which is known to have been published in his lifetime and to which we might therefore have turned for information. The first edition, though undated, was evidently published without his concurrence and almost certainly after his death; and the second, published in 1489, affords no clue to the date of that event, though printed after the year mentioned as an extreme limit by those of his commentators who have ascribed to him the longest life. It is much to be regretted that the will of Guillaume de Villon is not extant, as it would

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almost certainly have contained some reference to the good canon's unhappy protégé, whether dead or alive, — in the latter case, for the purpose of making some provision for him, and in the former, with some mention of his death and some pious wish for the repose of his soul. It probably perished, with many other valuable records and archives, — from which we might have fairly expected to glean important supplementary information relative to Villon, — in the Saturnalia of criminal and purposeless destruction which disgraced the French Revolution.

V

There can be no doubt that Villon was appreciated at something like his real literary value by the people of his time. Little as we know of his life, everything points to the conclusion that his writings were highly popular during his lifetime, not only among those princes and gallants whom he had made his friends, but among that Parisian public of the lower orders, with which he was so intimately identified. Allusions here and there lead us to suppose that his ballads and shorter pieces were known among the people long before their publication in a collective form and it is probable, indeed, that they were hawked about in manuscript and afterwards printed on broadsheets in black-letter, as were such early English poems as the *Childe of Bristowe* and the *History of Tom Thumb*. For many years after his death the Ballads were always distinguished from the rest by the descriptive headings of the various editions, in which the printers announce "The Testaments of Villon *and his Ballads*," as if the latter had previously been a separate and well-known specialty of the poet's. We may even suppose them to have been set to music and sung, as were the odes of Ronsard a hundred years later, and indeed many of them seem imperatively to call for such treatment. Who cannot fancy the Ballad of the Women of Paris — "Il n'est bon bec que de Paris" — being carolled about the streets by the students and street-boys of

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the day, or the Orison for Master Cotard's Soul being trolled out as a drinking-song by that jolly toper at some jovial reunion of the notaries and "chicquanous" of his acquaintance?

The thirty-four editions, known to have been published before the end of the year 1542,¹ are sufficient evidence of the demand (probably for the time unprecedented) which existed for his poems during the seventy or eighty years that followed his death; and it is a significant fact that the greatest poet of the first half of the sixteenth century should have applied himself, at the special request of Francis I (who is said to have known Villon by rote), to rescue the works of the Parisian poet from the labyrinth of corruption and misrepresentation into which they had fallen through the carelessness of printers and the indifference of the public, who seem to have had his verses too well by heart to trouble themselves to protest against misprints and misreadings. In the preface to this edition (of which twelve reprints in nine years sufficiently attest the estimation in which Villon was held by the cultivated intellects of the early Renaissance period) Marot pays a high tribute to "le premier poëte parisien," as he styles Villon, declaring the better part of his work to be of such artifice, so full of fair doctrine and so emblazoned in a thousand bright colours, that Time, which effaces all things, had not thitherto succeeded in effacing it nor should still less efface it

[¹ See M. Longnon's *Bibliographie des Imprimés.*]

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thenceforward, so long as good French letters should be known and preserved. Marot's own writings bear evident traces of the care and love with which he had studied the first poet of his time, who indeed appears to have given the tone to all the rhymers — Gringoire, Henri Baude, Martial D'Auvergne, Cretin, Coquillart, Jean Marot, Roger de Collerye, Guillaume Alexis — who continued, though with no great brilliancy, to keep alive the sound and cadence of French song during the latter part of the fifteenth and the first years of the sixteenth centuries. The advent of the poets of the Pleiad and the deluge of Latin and Greek form and sentiment with which they flooded the poetic literature of France seem at once to have arrested the popularity of the older poets: imitations of Horace, Catullus, Anacreon, Pindar took the place of the more spontaneous and original style of poetry founded upon the innate capacities of the language and that "esprit Gaulois" which represented the national sentiment and tendencies. The memory of Villon, *enfant de Paris*, child of the Parisian gutter, as he was, went down before the new movement, characterised at once by its extreme pursuit of refinement at all hazards and its neglect of those stronger and deeper currents of sympathy and passion, for which one must dive deep into the troubled waters of popular life and activity. For nearly three centuries the name and fame of the singer of the Ladies of Old Time remained practically forgotten, buried under wave upon wave of literary and political movement, all apparently equally hostile

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to the tendency and spirit of his work. We find, indeed, the three greatest spirits of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Rabelais, Regnier and La Fontaine, evincing by their works and style, if not by any more explicit declaration, their profound knowledge and sincere appreciation of Villon; but their admiration had no effect upon the universal consent with which the tastes and tendencies of their respective times appear to have decreed the complete oblivion of the early poet. The first half of the eighteenth century, indeed, produced three several editions of Villon; but the critics and readers of the age were little likely to prefer the robust and high-flavoured food, that Villon set before them, to the whipped creams, the rose and musk-scented confections with which the literary pastry-cooks of the day so liberally supplied them; and it was not until the full development, towards the end of the first half of the present century, of the Romantic movement (a movement whose causes and tendencies bore so great an affinity to that of which Villon in his own time was himself the chief agent), that he began to be in some measure restored to his proper place in the hierarchy of French literature. Yet we can still remember the compassionate ridicule with which the efforts of Théophile Gautier to revindicate his memory were received and how even that perfect and noble spirit, in whose catholic and unerring appreciation no spark of true genius or of worthy originality ever failed to light a corresponding flame of enthusiasm, was fain to dissimulate

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the fervour of his admiration under the transparent mask of partial deprecation and to provide for his too bold enterprise of rehabilitation a kind of apologetic shelter by classing the first great poet of France with far less worthy writers, under the title of "Les Grotesques." In the country of his birth, Villon is still little read, although the illustrious poet Théodore de Banville did much to expedite the revival of his fame by regenerating the form in which his greatest triumphs were achieved; and it is perhaps, indeed, in England that his largest public (scanty enough as yet) may be expected to be found. However, better days have definitively dawned for Villon's memory: he is at last recognised by all who occupy themselves with poetry as one of the most original and genuine of European singers; and the spread of his newly-regained reputation can now be only a matter of time.

The vigorous beauty and reckless independence of Villon's style and thought, although a great, have been by no means the only obstacle to his enduring popularity. A hardly less effectual one has always existed in the evanescent nature of the allusions upon which so large a part of his work is founded. In the preface to the edition above referred to, Clément Marot allows it to be inferred that, even at so comparatively early a period as 1533, the greater part of his references to persons and places of his own day had become obscure, if not altogether undecipherable, to all but those few persons of advanced age, who may be said to have been almost his contemporaries.

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In Marot's own words, "To sufficiently understand and explain the industry or intention of the bequests he makes in his Testament, it is necessary to have been a Parisian of his time and to have known the places, things and people of which he speaks, the memory whereof, as it shall more and more pass away, so much the less shall be comprehended the poet's intention in the references aforesaid." It is indeed difficult and in many cases impossible to understand the intent, based upon current and purely local circumstance, with which the poet made so many and such grotesque bequests to his friends and enemies. One can, by a stretch of imagination, to some extent catch his meaning, when he bequeaths to this and that hard drinker some of the numerous taverns or wine-shops—the White Horse, the Mule, the Diamond, the Jibbing Ass, the Tankard, the Fir-cone, the Golden Mortar—with whose names his verse bristles, or the empty casks that once held the wine stolen from this or the other vintner; to his roguish companions, the right of shelter in the ruins around Paris, a cast of cogged dice or a pack of cheating cards; to poultry-sneaks and gutter-thieves, the long gray cloaks that should serve to conceal their purchase; to his natural enemies, the sergeants of the watch, cotton nightcaps,¹ that they might sleep in comfortable ignorance of his nocturnal misdeeds; and to others of his dearest foes, the Conciergerie and Châtelet prisons,

[1 *Cornetes*. This word should perhaps be read in its older sense of "tippet" or "bandelet."]

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with a right of rent-charge on the pillory, "three strokes of withy well laid on and prison lodging all their life;" to his barber, the clippings of his hair and to his cobbler and tailor, his old shoes and clothes "for less than what they cost when new." And we can more or less dimly appreciate his satirical intention, when he bequeaths to monks, nuns and varlets the means of dissipation and debauch, of which he had good reason to know they so freely availed themselves without the need of his permission; to notaries of the Châtelet the good grace of their superior the Provost; to his friend the Seneschal and Maréchal de Bourbon, the punning qualification of *maréchal* or blacksmith and the right of shoeing ducks and geese (probably a hit at the prince's amorous complexion¹) to a butcher a fat sheep belonging to some one else and a whisk to keep the flies off his meat; to the women of pleasure, the right to hold a public school by night, where masters should be taught of scholars to one of his comrades, nicknamed (as is sure to be the case in almost every band of thieves) "the Chaplain," his "simple-tonsure chaplaincy;" or to the three hundred blind mutes of the Hospital de Quinze-Vingts and the Cemetery of the Innocents, his spectacles, that, in the churchyards where they served they might see to separate the bad from the good these all have yet for us some glimmer, more or less

[¹ Or perhaps at his simplicity, *ferrer les oies* being an old phrase meaning "to waste time in trifling, to spend both time and labour very vainly." — *Cotgrave*.]

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sufficient, of sense and meaning. But why he should bequeath to three different persons his double-handed or battle-sword—an article it is not likely he ever possessed, the tuck^r or dirk being the scholar's weapon of the time; why he should gratify a clerk to the Parliament with a shop and trade, to be purchased out of the proceeds of the sale of his hauberk (another article, by the by, which he certainly never owned); why he should give to a respectable Parisian citizen the acorns of a willow plantation and a daily dole of poultry and wine; to René de Montigny three dogs, and to Jehan Raguyer, a serjeant of the provostry of Paris, one hundred francs; to his proctor Fournier, leather ready cut out for shoes and caps; to a couple of thieves, "bacon, peas, charcoal and wood;" to two échevins of Paris each an eggshell full of francs and crowns; to three notaries of the Châtelet a basketful each of stolen cloves; why he should will to his barber, Colin Galerne, an iceberg from the Marne, to be used as an abdominal plaster, or direct the joiner of Mount Valerien to Montmartre;—all these and others of the same kind—though no doubt full of pertinence and meaning at the time when the persons, things and places referred to were still extant or fresh in the memory of their contemporaries—are now for us enigmas of the most hopeless kind, hidden in a darkness which may be felt and which it can hardly

[^r Tuck (Old Irish *tuca*), a clerk's short sword or hanger, not the long narrow thrusting weapon (rapier) after known by the same name.]

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be hoped that time and patience, those two great revealers of hidden things, will ever avail to penetrate with any sufficient light of interpretation.¹

Nevertheless, when we have made the fullest possible allowance for obscurity and faded interest, there still remain in Villon's surviving verse treasures of beauty, wit and wisdom enough to ensure the preservation of his memory as a poet what while the French language and literature endure.²

That which perhaps most forcibly strikes a reader for the first time studying Villon's work is the perfect absence of all conventional restrictions. He rejects:

[1 The antithetical interpretation proposed by M. Bijvauck according to which Villon may be supposed to have intended to annul each legacy by the succeeding words, taken in their secondary meaning, seems hardly satisfactory; but see my notes to the Poems, *passim*.]

2 I take this opportunity to protest against the fashion which prevails among editors and critics of Villon, of singling out certain parts of his work, notably his Ballads, for laudation, to the detriment of the rest of his poems. No one is less inclined than myself to begrudge his splendid Ballads the full tribute of admiration they deserve; but, magnificent as they are, it is not (it seems to me) in them, but in the body of the Greater Testament, that Villon's last word as a poet is to be sought. Here he put forth his full force and it is here (and more especially in the magnificent passage, octaves xii to lxii inclusive) that his genius shines out with a vigour and plenitude thitherto unexampled in French verse. The long passage last referred to is one uninterrupted flow of humour, satire and pathos, glowing with the most exquisite metaphor and expressed in a singularly terse and original style; and seems to me beyond question that this was, if not his last, at least his most mature effort.

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nothing as common or unclean and knows — none better — how to draw the splendid wonder of poetic efflorescence from the mangrove swamps of the truanderie and the stagnant marish of the prison or the brothel. His wit and pathos are like the sun, which shines with equal and impartial light upon the evil and the good, alike capable of illustrating the innocent sweetness of the spring and summer meadows and of kindling into a glory of gold and colour the foul canopy of smoke which overbroods the turmoil of a great city. He is equally at home when celebrating the valour of the heroes of old time or when telling the sorry tragedy of some ne'er-do-weel of his own day. His spirit and tendency are eminently romantic, in the sense that he employed modern language and modern resources to express and individualise the eternal elements of human interest and human passion, as they appeared, moulded into new shapes and invested with new colours and characteristics by the shifting impulses and tendencies of his time. He had indeed, in no ordinary degree, the capital qualification of the romantic poet : he understood the splendour of modern things and knew the conjurations which should compel the coy spirit of contemporary beauty to cast off the rags and tatters of circumstance, the low and debased seeming in which it was enchanted, and flower forth, young, glorious and majestic, as the bewitched princess in the fairy tale puts off the aspect and vesture of hideous and repulsive eld, at the magic touch of perfect love. The true son of his time, he

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rejected at once and for ever, with the unerring judgment of the literary reformer, the quaint formalities of speech, the rhetorical exaggerations and limitations of expression and the Chinese swathing of allegory and conceit that dwarfed the thought and deformed the limbs of the verse of his day and reduced the art of poetry to a kind of Tibetan prayer-wheel, in which the advent of the Spring, the conflict of Love and Honour, the cry of the lover against the cruelty of his mistress and the glorification of the latter by endless comparison to all things fit and unfit, were ground up again and again into a series of kaleidoscopic patterns, wearisome in the sameness of their mannered beauty, from whose contemplation one rises with dazzled eyes and exhausted sense, longing for some cry of passion, some flower-birth of genuine sentiment, to burst the strangling sheath of affectation and prescription. Before Villon the language of the poets of the time had become almost as pedantic, although not so restricted and colourless, as that of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By dint of continual employment in the same grooves and in the same formal sense, the most forceful and picturesque words of the language had almost ceased to possess individuality or colour; for the phosphorescence that springs from the continual contact of words with thought, and their reconstruction at the stroke of passion, was wanting not to be supplied or replaced by the aptest ingenuity or the most untiring wit. Villon did for French poetic speech that which Rabelais afterwards performed for

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its prose (and it is a singular coincidence, which I believe has not before been remarked, that the father of French poetry and the father of French prose were, as it were, predestined to the task they accomplished by the name common to both — *François* or *French* par excellence). He restored the exhausted literary language of his time to youth and health by infusing into it the healing poisons, the revivifying acids and bitters of the popular speech, disdaining no materials that served his purpose, replacing the defunct forms with new phrases, new shapes wrung from the heart of the spoken tongue, plunging with audacious hand into the slang of the tavern and the brothel, the cant of the highway and the prison, choosing from the wayside heap and the street gutter the neglected pebbles and nodules in which he alone divined the hidden diamonds and rubies of picturesque expression, to be polished and faceted into glory and beauty by the regenerating friction of poetic employment. None better than he has known how to call forth the electric flash which has long lurked dormant, hidden in its separate polarities, till the hand of genius should bring into strange and splendid contact the words which had till then lain apart, dull and lifeless.

Villon was the first great poet of the people: his love of the life of common things, the easy familiarity of the streets and highways, his intimate knowledge and love of the home and outdoor life of the merchant, the hawker, the artisan, the mountebank, nay, even the thief, the prostitute and the gipsy of his time,

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stand out in unequivocal characters from the lineaments of his work. The cry of the people rings out from his verse,—that cry of mingled misery and humour, sadness and cheerfulness, which, running through Rabelais and Régnier, was to pass unheeded till it swelled into the judgment-thunder of the Revolution. The sufferings, the oppression, the bonhomie, the gourmandise, the satirical good-humour of that French people which has so often been content to starve upon a jesting ballad or a mocking epigram, its gallantry, its perspicacity and its innate lack of reverence for all that symbolises an accepted order of things,—all these stand out in their natural colours, drawn to the life and harmonised into a national entity, to which the poet gives the shape and seeming of his own individuality, unconscious that in relating his own hardships, his own sufferings, regrets and aspirations, he was limning for us the typified and foreshortened image and presentment of a nation at a cardinal epoch of national regeneration. “He builded better than he knew.” His poems are a very album of types and figures of the day. As we read, the narrow, gabled streets, with their graven niches for saint and Virgin and their monumental fountains stemming the stream of traffic, rise before us, gay with endless movement of fur and satin clad demoiselles, “ruffed and rebatoed,” with their heart or diamond shaped head-dresses of velvet and brocade, fringed and broidered with gold and silver; sad-coloured burghers and their wives distinguished by the bongrace or *chaperon à*

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bouurrelet, with its rolled and stuffed hem; gold-laced archers and jaunty clerks, whistling for lustihead, with the long-peaked hood or liripipe falling over their shoulders and the short bright-coloured walking-cloak letting pass the glittering point of the dirk; shaven, down-looking monks, "breeched and booted like oyster-fishers," and barefooted friars, purple-gilled with secret and unhallowed debauchery; light o' loves, distinguished by the tall helm or *hennin* and the gaudily coloured tight fitting surcoat, square-cut to show the breasts, over the sheath-like petticoat, crossed by the demicinct or *châtelaine* of silver, followed by their esquires or bullies armed with sword and buckler; artisans in their jerkins of green cloth or russet leather; barons and lords in the midst of their pages and halberdiers; ruffling gallants, brave in velvet and embroidery, with their boots of soft tan-coloured cordovan falling jauntily over the instep; as they press through a motley crowd of beggars and mountebanks, jugglers with their apes and carpet, *culs-de-jatte*, lepers with clapdish and wallet, mumpers and chanters, truands and gipsies, jesters, fish-fags, cutpurses and swash-bucklers, that rings anon with the shout of "Noël! Noël!" as Charles VII rides by, surrounded by his heralds and poursuivants, or Louis passes with no attendants save his two dark henchmen, Tristan the Hermit and Oliver the Fiend, and nothing to distinguish him from the burghers with whom he rubs elbows save the row of images in his hat and the eternal menace of his unquiet eye. Anon we see the

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interior of the convent church at vespers, with its kneeling crowd of worshippers and its gold-grounded frescoes of heaven and hell, martyrdom and apotheosis, glittering vaguely from the swart shadow of the aisles. The choir peals out and the air gathers into a mist with incense, what while an awe-stricken old woman kneels apart before the altar in the Virgin's chapel, praying for that scapegrace son who has caused her such bitter tears and such poignant terrors. Outside, on the church steps, sit the gossips, crouched by twos and threes on the hem of their robes, chattering in that fluent Parisian speech to which the Parisian poet gives precedence over all others. The night closes in; the dim cressets swing creaking in the wind from the ropes that stretch across the half-deserted streets, whilst the belated students hurry past to their colleges, with hoods drawn closely over their faces "and thumbs in girdle-gear," and the sergeants of the watch pace solemnly by, lantern-pole in one hand and in the other the halberd wherewith they stir up the shivering wretches crouched for shelter under the abandoned stalls of the street hawkers or draw across the ways the chains that shall break the escape of the nocturnal brawler or the stealthy thief. Thence to the Puppet wine-shop, where truand and light o' love, student and soldier, hold high revel, amidst the clink of beakers and the ever-recurring sound of clashing daggers and angry voices; or the more reputable tavern of the Pomme de Pin, where sits Master Jacques Raguyer, swathed in his warm mantle, with his feet to

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the blaze and his back resting against the piles of faggots that tower in the chimney-corner; or the street in front of the Châtelet, where we find Villon gazing upon the great flaring cressets that give light over the gateway of the prison with whose interior he was so well acquainted. Anon we come upon him, watching with yearning eyes and watering mouth, through some half-open window or door-chink, the roaring carouses of the debauched monks and nuns, or listening to the talk of La Belle Héaulmière and her companions in old age, as they crouch on the floor, under their curtains spun by the spiders, telling tales of the good times gone by, in the scanty short-lived flicker of their fire of dried hempstalks. Presently, Master Jehan Cotard staggers past, stumbling against the projecting stalls and roaring out some ranting catch or jolly drinking-song, and the bully of La Grosse Margot hies him, pitcher in hand, to the Tankard Tavern, to fetch wine and victual for his clients. Anon the moon rises, high and calm, over the still churchyard of the Innocents, where the quiet dead lie sleeping soundly in the deserted charnels, ladies and lords, masters and clerks, bishops and water-carriers, all laid low in undistinguished abasement before the equality of death. Once more, the scene changes and we stand by the thieves' rendezvous in the ruined castle of Bicêtre or by the lonely gibbet of Montfaucon, where the poet wanders in the "silences of the moon," watching with a terrified fascination the shrivelled corpses or whitened skeletons of his whilom comrades,

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as they creak sullenly to and fro in the ghastly aureole of the midnight star. All Paris of the fifteenth century relives in the vivid hurry of his verse: one hears in his stanzas the very popular cries and watchwords of the street and the favourite oaths of the gallants and women of the day. We feel that all the world is centred for him in Paris and that there is no landscape can compare for him with those "paysages de métal et de pierre" which he (in common with another ingrain Parisian, Baudelaire) so deeply loved. Much as he must have wandered over France, we find in his verse no hint of natural beauty, no syllable of description of landscape or natural objects. In these things he had indeed no interest: flowers and stars, sun and moon, spring and summer, unrolled in vain for him their phantasmagoria of splendour and enchantment over earth and sky: men and women were his flowers and the crowded streets of the great city the woods and meadows wherein, after his fashion, he worshipped beauty and did homage to art. Indeed, he was essentially "the man of the crowd:" his heart throbbèd ever in unison with the mass, in joy or sadness, crime or passion, lust or patriotism, aspiration or degradation.

It is astonishing, in the midst of the fantastic and artificial rhymers of the time, how quickly the chord of sensibility in our poet vibrates to the broad impulses of humanity; how, untainted by the selfish provincialism of his day, his heart warms towards the great patriot, Jacques Cœur, and sorrows over his disgrace;

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how he appreciates the heroism of Jeanne d'Arc and denounces penalty upon penalty, that remind us of the 70,000 pains of fire of the Arabian legend, upon the traitors and rebels "who would wish ill unto the realm of France;" with what largeness of sympathy he anticipates the modern tenderness over the fallen and demonstrates how they "were once honest, verily," till Love, that befools us all, beguiled them to the first step upon the downward road; with what observant compassion he notes the silent regrets of the old and the poignant remembrances of those for whom all things fair have faded out, glosing with an iron pathos upon the "nessun maggior dolore" of Dante, in the terrible stanzas that enshrine, in pearls and rubies of tears and blood, the passion and the anguish, the "agony and bloody sweat" of La Belle Héaulmière.

The keenness of his pathos and the delicacy of his grace are as supreme as what one of his commentators magnificently calls "the sovereign rudeness" of his satire. When he complains to his unyielding mistress of her "hypocrite douceur" and her "felon charms," "la mort d'un pauvre cœur," and warns her of the inevitable approach of the days when youth and beauty shall no more remain to her, we seem to hear a robust-er Ronsard sighing out his "Cueillez, cueillez votre jeunesse;" when he laments for the death of Master Ythier's beloved, "Two were we, having but one heart," we must turn to Mariana's wail of wistful yet undespiteous passion for a sweeter lyric of regretful tenderness, a more pathetic dalliance with the

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simplicity of love; and when he appeals from the dungeon of Meung or pictures himself and his companions swinging from the gibbet of Montfaucon, the tears that murmur through the fantastic fretwork of the verse are instinct with the salt of blood and the bitterness of death. Where shall we look for a more poignant pathos than that of his lament for his lost youth or his picture of the whilom gallants of his early memories that now beg all naked, seeing no crumb of bread but in some window-place? Where a nobler height of contemplation than that to which he rises, as he formulates the unalterable laws that make king and servant, noble and villein, equal in abasement before the unbending majesty of death, or a holier purity of religious exaltation than breathes from the ballad wherein, with the truest instinct of genius, using that mother's voice which cannot but be the surest passport to the divine compassion, he soars to the very gates of heaven on the star-sown wings of faith and song? He is one more instance of the potentiality of grace and pathos that often lurks in natures distinguished chiefly for strength and passion. Like the great realistic poet¹ of nineteenth-century France, he knew how to force death and horror to give up for him their hidden beauties; and if his own *Fleurs du Mal* are often instinct with the poisons that suggest the marshy and miasmatic nature of the soil to which they owe their resplendent colourings, yet the torrent of

¹ Baudelaire.

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satire, mockery and invective, that laves their tangled roots, is often over-arched with the subtlest and brightest irises of pure pathos and delicate sentiment. "Out of the strong cometh sweetness," and in few poets has the pregnant fable of the honeycomb in the lion's mouth been more forcibly exemplified than in Villon.

Humour is with Villon no less pronounced a characteristic than pathos. Unstrained and genuine, it arises mainly from the continual contrast between the abasement of his life and the worthlessness of its possibilities and the passionate and ardent nature of the man. He seems to be always in a state of humorous astonishment at his own mad career and the perpetual perplexities into which his folly and recklessness have betrayed him; and this feeling constantly overpowers his underlying remorse and the anguish which he suffers under the pressure of the deplorable circumstances wherein he continually finds himself involved. The *spiel-trieb* or sport-impulse, which has been pronounced the highest attribute of genius, stands out with a rare prominence from his character, never to be altogether suppressed by the most overwhelming calamities. The most terrible and ghastly surroundings of circumstance cannot avail wholly to arrest the ever-springing fountain of wit and bonhomie that wells up from the inmost nature of the man. In the midst of all his miseries, with his tears yet undried, he mocks at himself and others with an astounding good-humour. In the dreary dungeon of the Meung

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moat, we find him bandying jests with his own personified remorse; and even whilst awaiting a shameful death, he seeks consolation in the contemplation of the comic aspects of his situation, as he will presently appear, upright in the air, swinging at the wind's will, with face like a thimble for bird-pecks and skin blackened of "that ill sun which tans a man when he is dead." It is a foul death to die, he says, yet we must all die some day, and it matters little whether we then find ourselves a lord rotting in a splendid sepulchre or a cutpurse strung up on Montfaucon hill. He laughs at his own rascality and poverty, lustfulness and gluttony, with an unexampled naïveté of candour, singularly free from cynicism, yet always manages to conciliate our sympathies and induce our pity rather than our reprobation. "It is not to poor wretches like us," says he, "that are naked as a snake, sad at heart and empty of paunch, that you should preach virtue and temperance. As for us, God give us patience. You would do better to address yourselves to incite great lords and masters to good deeds, who eat and drink of the best every day and are more open to exhortation than beggars like ourselves that cease never from want."

His faith in the saving virtues of meat and drink is both droll and touching. One feels, in all his verse, the distant and yearning respect with which the starveling poet regards all manner of victual, as he enumerates its various incarnations in a kind of litany or psalm of adorations, in which they resemble the

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denominations and attributes of saints and martyrs to whom he knelt in unceasing and ineffectual prayer. Wines, hypocras, roast meats, sauces, soups, custards, tarts, eggs, pheasants, partridges, plovers, pigeons, capons, fat geese, pies, cakes, furmenty, creams, pasties and other "savoureux et friands morceaux" defile in long and picturesque procession through his verse, like a dissolving view of Paradise, before whose gates he knelt and longed in vain. His ideal of perfect happiness is to "break bread with both hands," a potentiality of ecstatic bliss which he attributes to the friars of the four mendicant orders: no delights of love or pastoral sweetness, "not all the birds that singen all the way from here to Babylon" (as he says) could induce him to spend one day amid the hardy and sober fare of a country life; and the only enemy whom he refuses to forgive at his last hour is the Bishop of Orleans, who fed him so scurvily a whole summer long upon cold water and dry bread not even manchets, says he piteously). If he cannot come at his desire in the possession of the dainties for which his soul longs, there is still some sad pleasure for him in caressing in imagination the sacrosanct denominations of that "bienheureux harnoys de veule," which hovers for him, afar off, in the rosy mists of an apotheosis. In this respect, as in no few others, he forcibly reminds one of another strange and noteworthy figure converted by genius into an eternal type, that *Neveu de Rameau*, in whom the *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole sensualist philosophy of the

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eighteenth century was crystallised by Diderot into so poignant and curious a personality. Like Jean Rameau, the whole mystery of life seems for Villon to have resolved itself into the cabalistic science "de mettre sous la dent," that noble and abstract art of providing for the reparation of the region below the nose, of whose alcahest and hermetic essence he so deplorably fell short; and as we make this unavoidable comparison, it is impossible not to be surprised into regret for the absence of some Diderot who might, in like manner, have rescued for us the singular individuality of the Bohemian poet of the fifteenth century.

With all his faults, a most sympathetic and attractive personality detaches itself from the unsparing candour of his confessions. One cannot help loving the frank witty, devil-may-care poet, with his ready tears and his as ready laughter, his large compassion for all pitiable and his unaffected sympathy with all noble things. Specially attractive is the sweetness of his good humour: so devoid of gall is he that he seems to cherish no enduring bitterness against his most cruel enemies, content if he can make them the subject of some passing jest or some merry piece of satire. He has no serious reproach for the cold-hearted woman to whom he attributes his misspent life and early death nor does he allow himself the solace of one bitter word against the cruel creditors who seized the moment of his deliverance from Meung gaol, exhausted, emaciated and dying, to strip him of the little that he possessed. Thibault d'Aussigny, the author of his

INTRODUCTION

duresse in Meung gaol, and François Perdryer, at the nature of whose offence against him we can only guess, are the only ones he cannot forgive, and his invectives against the former are of a half-burlesque character, that permits us to suspect a humorous exaggeration in their unyielding bitterness.

Looking at the whole course of Villon's life and at the portrait which he himself paints for us in such crude and unsparring colours, we can hardly doubt that, under different circumstances, had his life been consecrated by successful love and the hope of those higher things to whose nobility he was so keenly though unpractically sensitive, he might have filled a worthier place in the history of his time and have furnished a more honourable career than that of the careless bohemian, driven into crime, disgrace and ruin by the double influence of his own unchecked desires and the maddening wistfulness of an unrequited love. Still, whatever effect change of circumstance might have had in the possible ennobling of the sorry melodrama of his life, *we* at least cannot complain of the influences that presided over the accomplishment of his destiny; for they resulted in ripening and developing the genius of a great and unique poet. The world of posterity is always and rightly ready to accept the fact of a great artistic personality, even at the expense of morality and decency; and instances are not wanting in which moral and material amelioration has destroyed the mustard-seed of genius, that poverty and distress, those rude and sober nurses,

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might have fostered into a mighty tree, giving shelter and comfort to all who took refuge under its branches. To quote once more the words of the greatest critic¹ of the nineteenth century, "We might perhaps have lost the poet, whilst gaining the honest man; and good poets are still rarer than honest folk, though the latter can scarce be said to be too common."

¹ Théophile Gautier.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

Here Beginneth the Lesser Testament of
Master François Villon

I



HIS fourteen six and fiftieth year,
I François Villon, clerk that be,
Considering, with senses clear,
Bit betwixt teeth and collar-free,
That one must needs look orderly
Unto his works (as counselleth
Vegetius, wise Roman he),
Or else amiss one reckoneth,—

II

In this year, as before I said,
Hard by the dead of Christmas-time,
When upon wind the wolves are fed
And for the rigour of the rime
One hugs the hearth from none to prime,
Wish came to me to break the stress
Of that most dolorous prison-clime
Wherein Love held me in duresse.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

III

Unto this fashion am I bent,
Seeing my lady, 'neath my eyes,
To my undoing give consent,
Sans gain to her in any wise :
Whereof I plain me to the skies,
Requiring vengeance (her desert)
Of all the gods with whom it lies,
And of Love, healing for my hurt.

IV

If to my gree, alack, I read
Those dulcet looks and semblants fair
Of such deceitful goodlihead,
That pierced me to the heart whilere,
Now in the lurch they've left me bare
And failed me at my utmost need :
Fain must I plant it otherwhere
And in fresh furrows strike my seed.

V

She that hath bound me with her eyes
(Alack, how fierce and fell to me!),
Without my fault in any wise,
Wills and ordains that I should dree
Death and leave life and liberty.
Help see I none, save flight alone :
She breaks the bonds betwixt her and me
Nor hearkens to my piteous moan.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

VI

To 'scape the ills that hem me round,
It were the wiser to depart.
Adieu! To Angers I am bound,
Since she I love will nor impart
Her grace nor any of her heart.
I die — with body whole enough —
For her; a martyr to Love's smart,
Enrolled among the saints thereof.

VII

Sore though it be to part from her,
Needs must I go without delay.
(How hard my poor sense is to stir!)
Other than I with her's in play;
Whence never Bullen herring aye
Was drouthier of case than I.
A sorry business, wellaway,
It is for me, God hear my cry!

VIII

And since (need being on me laid)
I go and haply never may
Again return, (not being made
Of steel or bronze or other way
Than other men: life but a day
Lasteth and death knows no relent);
For me, I journey far away;
Wherefore I make this Testament.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

IX

First, in the name of God the Lord,
The Son and eke the Holy Spright,
And in her name by whose accord
No creature perisheth outright,
To Master Villon, Guillaume hight,
My fame I leave, that still doth swell
In his name's honour day and night,
And eke my tents and pennoncel.

X

Item, to her, who, as I've said,
So dourly banished me her sight
That all my gladness she forbade
And ousted me of all delight,
I leave my heart in deposite,
Piteous and pale and numb and dead.
She brought me to this sorry plight:
May God not wreak it on her head!

XI

Item, my trenchant sword of steel
I leave to Master Ythier
Marchant — to whom myself I feel
No little bounden — that he may,
According to my will, defray
The scot for which in pawn it lies
(Six sols), and then the sword convey
To Jehan le Cornu, free of price.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XII

Item, I leave to Saint Amand
The Mule and eke the Charger White;
And to Blaru, my Diamond
And Jibbing Ass with stripes bedight;
And the Decretal, too, that hight
Omnis utrius — that, to wit,
Known as the counter-Carmelite —
Unto the priests I do commit.

XIII

To Jehan Tronne, butcher, I devise
The Wether lusty and unpolled
And Gad to whisk away the flies,
With the Crowned Ox, that's to be sold,
And Cow, whereon the churl hath hold,
To hoist it on his back. If he
To keep the beast himself make bold,
Trussed up and strangled let him be.

XIV

To Master Robert Vallée (who,
Poor clerkling to the Parliament,
Owns valley neither hill,) I do
Will first, by this my Testament,
My hose be giv'n incontinent,
Which on the clothes-pegs hang, that he
May tire withal, 'tis my intent,
His mistress Jehanne more decently.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XV

But since he is of good extract,
Needs must he better guerdoned be
(For God His Law doth so enact)
Though featherbrained withal is he ;
They shall, I have bethoughten me,
Since in his pate he hath no sense,
Give him the Art of Memory,
To be ta'en up from Misprepense.

XVI

And thirdly, for the livelihood
Of Master Robert aforesaid
(My kin, for God's sake, hold it good !)
Be money of my hauberk made
And (or most part thereof) outlaid,
Ere Easter pass, in purchasing
(Hard by St. Jacques) a shop and trade
For the poor witless lawyerling.

XVII

Item, my gloves and silken hood
My friend Jacques Cardon, I declare,
Shall have in fair free gift for good ;
Also the acorns willows bear
And every day a capon fair
Or goose ; likewise a tenfold vat
Of chalk-white wine, besides a pair
Of lawsuits, lest he wax too fat.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XVIII

Item, a leash of dogs I give
To young René de Montigny;
And let Jehan Raguyer receive
One hundred francs, shall levied be
On all my goods. But soft; to me
Scant gain therefrom I apprehend:
One should not strip one's own, perdie,
Nor over-ask it of one's friend.

XIX

Item, to Baron de Grigny
The ward and keeping of Nygeon,
With six dogs more than Montigny,
And Bicêtre, castle and donjon;
And to that scurvy knave Changon,
A spy that holds him still in strife,
Three strokes of withy well laid on
And prison-lodging all his life.

XX

Item, I leave Jacques Raguyer
The 'Puppet' Cistern, peach and pear,
Perch, chickens, custards, night and day,
At the Great Figtree choice of fare
And eke the Fircone Tavern, where
He may sit, cloaked in cloth of frieze,
Feet to the fire and back to chair,
And let the world wag at his ease.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXI

Item, to John the foul of face
And Peter Tanner I devise,
By way of gift, that baron's grace
That punishes all felonies;
To Fournier, my proctor wise,
Leather cut out for caps and shoes,
That now at the cordwainer's lies,
For him these frosty days to use.

XXII

The Captain of the Watch, also,
Shall have the Helmet, in full right;
And to the crimps, that cat-foot go,
A-fumbling in the stalls by night,
I leave two rubies, clear and bright,
The Lantern of La Pierre au Lait.
'Deed, the Three Lilies have I might,
Haled they me to the Châtelet.

XXIII

To Pernet Marchand, eke, in fee,
(Bastard of Bar by sobriquet)
For that a good-cheap man is he,
I give three sheaves of straw or hay,
Upon the naked floor to lay
And so the amorous trade to ply,
For that he knows no other way
Or art to get his living by.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXIV

Item, to Chollet I bequeath

And Loup, a duck, once in a way
Caught as of old the walls beneath
Upon the moat, towards end of day ;
And each a friar's gown of gray —
Such as fall down beneath the knees —
My boots with uppers worn away,
And charcoal, wood, bacon and peas.

XXV

Item, this trust I do declare

For three poor children named below :
Three little orphans lone and bare,
That hungry and unshodden go
And naked to all winds that blow ;
That they may be provided for
And sheltered from the rain and snow,
At least until this winter's o'er.

XXVI

To Colin Laurens, Jehan Moreau

And Girard Gossain, having ne'er
A farthing's worth of substance, no,
Nor kith nor kindred anywhere,
I leave, at option, each a share
Of goods or else four blanks once told.
Full merrily they thus shall fare,
Poor silly souls, when they are old.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXVII

Item, my right of nomination
Holden of the University,
I leave, by way of resignation,
To rescue from adversity
Poor clerks that of this city be, —
Hereunder named, for very ruth
That thereunto incited me,
Seeing them naked all as Truth.

XXVIII

Their names are Thibault de Vitry
And Guillaume Cotin — peaceable
Poor wights, that humble scholars be.
Latin they featly speak and spell
And at the lectern sing right well.
I do devise to them in fee
(Till better fortune with them dwell)
A rent-charge on the pillory.

XXIX

Item, the Crozier of the street
Of St. Antoine I do ordain,
Also a cue wherewith folk beat
And every day full pot of Seine
To those that in the trap are ta'en,
Bound hand and foot in close duresse;
My mirror eke and grace to gain
The favours of the gaoleress.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXX

Item, I leave the hospitals
My curtains spun the spiders by ;
And to the lodgers 'neath the stalls
Each one a buffet on the eye
And leave to tremble, as they lie,
Bruised, frozen, drenched, unshorn and lean,
With hose shrunk half way up the thigh,
Gowns all to-clipt and woeful mien.

XXXI

Unto my barber I devise
The ends and clippings of my hair ;
Item, on charitable wise,
I leave my old boots, every pair,
Unto the cobbler and declare
My clothes the broker's, so these two
May when I'm dead my leavings share,
For less than what they cost when new.

XXXII

Unto the begging Orders four,
The nuns and sisters (tidbits they
Dainty and prime) I leave and store
Of flaws, poult, capons, so they may
Break bread with both hands night and day
And eke the Fifteen Signs declare :
Monks court our neighbours' wives, folk say,
But that is none of my affair.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXXIII

To John o' Guard, that grocer hight,
The Golden Mortar I make o'er,
To grind his mustard in aright ;
Also a pestle from St. Maur ;
And unto him that goes before,
To lay one by the legs in quod,
St. Anthony roast him full sore !
I'll leave him nothing else, by God.

XXXIV

Item, to Mairebeuf, as well
As Nicholas de Louvieux,
Each one I leave a whole eggshell
Full of old crowns and francs, and to
The seneschal of Gouvieux,
Peter de Ronseville, no less ;
Such crowns I mean, to tell you true,
As the prince giveth for largesse.

XXXV

Finally, being here alone
To-night and in good trim to write,
I heard the clock of the Sorbonne,
That aye at nine o'clock of night
Is wont the Angelus to smite :
Then I my task did intermit,
That to our Lady mild I might
Do suit and service, as is fit.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXXVI

This done, I half forgot myself,
What while I felt Dame Memory
Take in and lay upon her shelf
(The wit, as 'twere, being bound in me,
Though not for wine-bibbing, perdie),
Her faculties collateral,
Th' opinative in each degree
And others intellectual.

XXXVII

And on likewise th' estimative,
— Whereby prosperity we gain, —
Simulative and formative,
By whose disorder folk remain
Oft lunatic, to wit, insane,
From month to month; which aforesaid
I mind me often and again
In Aristotle to have read.

XXXVIII

Then did the sensitive upleap
And gave the cue to fantasy,
That roused the organs all from sleep,
But held the sovereign faculty
Still in suspense for lethargy
And pressure of oblivion,
Which had dispread itself in me,
To show the senses' union.

THE LESSER TESTAMENT

XXXIX

Then, when my senses in due course
Grew calm and understanding clear,
I thought to finish my discourse,
But found my inkpot frozen sheer
And candle out, nor far nor near
Fire might I find, so must of need,
All muffled up for warmer cheer,
Get me to sleep and end my rede.

XL

Done at the season aforesaid
Of the right well-renowned Villon,
Who eats nor white nor oaten bread,
Black as a malkin, shrunk and wan.
Tents and pavilions every one
He's left to one or t'other friend;
All but a little pewter's gone,
That will, ere long, come to an end.

*Here endeth the Lesser Testament of
Master François Villon*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Here beginneth the Greater Testament of
Master François Villon

I



IN the year thirty of my age,
Wherein I've drunk so deep of
shame,
Neither all fool nor yet all sage,
For all my misery and blame —
Which latter all upon me came
Through Bishop Thibault d'Aus-
signy:
(If bishop such an one folk name;
At all events, he's none for me:

II

He's nor my bishop nor my lord;
I hold of him nor land nor fee,
Owe him nor homage nor accord,
Am nor his churl nor beast, perdie).
A summer long he nourished me
Upon cold water and dry bread;
God do by him as he by me,
Whom passing scurvily he fed.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

III

If any go about to say
I do miscall him — I say no :
I wrong him not in any way,
If one aread me rightly. Lo!
Here's all I say, nor less nor mo ;
If he had mercy on my dole,
May Christ in heaven like mercy show
Unto his body and his soul !

IV

And if he wrought me pain and ill
More than herein I do relate,
God of His grace to him fulfil
Like measure and proportionate !
But the Church bids us not to hate,
But to pray rather for our foes :
I'll own I'm wrong and leave his fate
To God that all things can and knows.

V

And pray for him I will, to boot,
By Master Cotard's soul I swear !
But soft : 'twill then be but by rote ;
I'm ill at reading ; such a prayer
I'll say for him as Picards' were.
(If what I mean he do not know —
Ere 'tis too late to learn it there —
To Lille or Douai let him go).

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

VI

Yet, if he needs must have't that I
Should, willy nilly, for him pray,
(Though I proclaim it not on high)
As I'm a chrisom man, his way
He e'en shall get; but, sooth to say,
When I the Psalter ope for him,
I take the seventh verse alway
Of the psalm called "Deus laudem."

VII

I DO implore God's blessèd Son,
To whom I turn in every need,
So haply my poor orison
Find grace with Him — from whom indeed
Body and soul I hold — who's freed
Me oft from blame and evil chance.
Praised be our Lady and her Seed
And Louis the good King of France!

VIII

Whom God with Jacob's luck endow,
And glory of great Solomon!
Of doughtiness he has enow,
In sooth, and of dominion.
In all the lands the sun shines on,
In this our world of night and day,
God grant his fame and memory wonne
As long as lived Methusaleh!

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

IX

May twelve fair sons perpetuate
His royal lineage, one and all
As valorous as Charles the Great,
Conceived in matrix conjugal,
As doughty as Saint Martial!
The late Lord Dauphin fare likewise;
No worser fortune him befall
Than this and after, Paradise!

X

FEELING my self upon the wane,
Even more in goods than body spent,
Whilst my full senses I retain,
What little God to me hath sent
(For on no other have I leant),
I have set down of my last will
This very stable Testament,
Alone and irrevocable.

XI

Written in the same year, sixty-one,
Wherein the good king set me free
From the dour prison of Mehun
And so to life recovered me:
Whence I to him shall bounden be
As long as life in me fail not:
I'm his till death; assuredly,
Good deeds should never be forgot.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Here beginneth Willon to enter upon matter
full of erudition and of fair knowledge

XII

NOW is it true that, after years
Of anguish and of sorrowing,
Travail and toil and groans and tears
And many a weary wandering,
Trouble hath wrought in me to bring
To point each shifting sentiment,
Teaching me many another thing
Than Averrhöes his Comment.

XIII

However, at my trials' worst,
When wandering in the desert ways,
God, who the Emmäus pilgrims erst
Did comfort, as the Gospel says,
Showed me a certain resting-place
And gave me gift of hope no less ;
Though vile the sinner be and base,
Nothing HE hates save stubbornness.

XIV

Sinned have I oft, as well I know ;
But God my death doth not require,
But that I turn from sin and so
Live righteously and shun hellfire.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Whether one by sincere desire
Or counsel turn unto the Lord,
HE sees and casting off HIS ire,
Grace to repentance doth accord.

XV

And as of its own motion shows,
Ev'n in the very first of it,
The noble Romaunt of the Rose,
Youth to the young one should remit,
So manhood do mature the wit.
And there, alack! the song says sooth:
They that such snares for me have knit
Would have me die in time of youth.

XVI

If for my death the common weal
Might anywise embettered be,
Death my own hand to me should deal
As felon, so God 'stablish me!
But unto none, that I can see,
Hindrance I do, alive or dead;
The hills, for one poor wight, perdie,
Will not be stirred out of their stead.

XVII

WHILOM, when Alexander reigned,
A man that hight Diomedes
Before the Emperor was arraigned,
Bound hand and foot, like as one sees

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

A thief. A skimmer of the seas
Of those that course it far and nigh
He was, and so, as one of these,
They brought him to be doomed to die.

XVIII

The emperor bespoke him thus :
‘ Why art thou a sea-plunderer ? ’
The other, no wise timorous :
‘ Why dost thou call me plunderer, sir ?
Is it, perchance, because I ear
Upon so mean a bark the sea ?
Could I but arm me with thy gear,
I would be emperor like to thee.

XIX

‘ What wouldst thou have ? From sorry Fate,
That uses me with such despite
As I on no wise can abate,
Arises this my evil plight.
Let me find favour in thy sight
And have in mind the common saw :
In penury is little right ;
Necessity knows no man’s law.’

XX

Whenas the emperor to his suit
Had hearkened, much he wonderèd ;
And ‘ I thy fortune will commute
From bad to good,’ to him he said ;

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

And did. Thenceforward Diomed
Wronged none, but was a true man aye.
Thus have I in Valerius read,
Of Rome styled Greatest in his day.

XXI

If God had granted me to find
A king of like greatheartedness,
That had fair fate to me assigned,
Stooped I thenceforward to excess
Or ill, I would myself confess
Worthy to die by fire at stake.
Necessity makes folk transgress
And want drives wolver from the brake.

XXII

MY time of youth I do bewail,
That more than most lived merrily,
Until old age 'gan me assail,
For youth had passed unconsciously.
It wended not afoot from me,
Nor yet on horseback. Ah, how then?
It fled away all suddenly
And never will return again.

XXIII

It's gone, and I am left behind,
Poor both in knowledge and in wit,
Black as a berry, drear and dwined,
Coin, land and goods, gone every whit ;

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Whilst those by kindred to me knit,
The due of Nature all forgot,
To disavow me have seen fit,
For lack of pelf to pay the scot.

XXIV

Yet have I not my substance spent
In wantoning or gluttony
Nor thorow love incontinent ;
None is there can reproach it me,
Except he rue it bitterly ;
I say it in all soothfastness —
Nor can you bate me of this plea —
Who's done no wrong should none confess.

XXV

True is it I have loved whilere
And willingly would love again :
But aching heart and paunch that ne'er
Doth half its complement contain,
The ways of Love allure in vain ;
'Deed, none but those may play its game
Whose well-lined belly wags amain ;
For the dance comes of the full wame.

XXVI

If in my time of youth, alack !
I had but studied and been sage
Nor wandered from the beaten track,
I had slept warm in my old age.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

But what did I? As bird from cage,
I fled the schools; and now with pain,
In setting down this on the page,
My heart is like to cleave in twain.

XXVII

I have construed what Solomon
Intended, with too much largesse,
When that he said, ' Rejoice, my son,
In thy fair youth and lustiness :'
But elsewhere speaks he otherguess ;
' For youth and adolescence be '
(These are his words, nor more nor less)
' But ignorance and vanity.'

XXVIII

Like as the loose threads on the loom,
Whenas the weaver to them lays
The flaming tow, burn and consume,
So that from ragged ends (Job says)
The web is freed,— even so my days
Are gone a-wand'ring past recall.
No more Fate's buffs nor her affrays
I fear, for death assuageth all.

XXIX

WHERE are the gracious gallants now
That of old time I did frequent,
So fair of fashion and of show,
In song and speech so excellent?

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Stark dead are some, their lives are spent ;
There rests of them nor mark nor trace :
May they in Heaven have content ;
God keep the others of His grace !

XXX

Some, Christ-a-mercy, are become
Masters and lords of high degree ;
Some beg all naked and no crumb
Of bread save in some window see ;
Some, having put on monkery,
Carthews, Celestines and what not,
Shod, breeched like oystersfishers be ;
Look you, how divers is their lot !

XXXI

God grant great lords to do aright,
That live in luxury and ease !
We cannot aught to them requite,
So will do well to hold our peace.
But to the poor (like me), that cease
Never from want, God patience give !
For that they need it ; and not these,
That have the wherewithal to live, —

XXXII

That drink of noble wines and eat
Fish, soups and sauces every day,
Pasties and flaws and roasted meat
And eggs served up in many a way.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Herein from masons differ they,
That with such toil their bread do earn :
These need no cupbearer, folk say,
For each one pours out in his turn.

XXXIII

TO this digression I've been led,
That serves in nothing my intent.
I am no Court, empannellèd
For quittance or for punishment :
I am of all least diligent.
Praised be Christ! May each man's need
By me of Him have full content!
That which is writ is writ indeed.

XXXIV

So let that kite hang on the wall
And of more pleasing subjects treat ;
For this finds favour not with all,
Being wearisome and all unsweet :
For poverty doth groan and greet,
Full of despite and strife alway ;
Is apt to say sharp things in heat
Or think them, if it spare to say.

XXXV

POOR was I from my earliest youth,
Born of a poor and humble race :
My sire was never rich, in sooth,
Nor yet his grandfather Erace ;

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Want follows hard upon our trace
Nor on my forbears' tombs, I ween,
(Whose souls the love of God embrace!)
Are crowns or sceptres to be seen.

XXXVI

When I of poverty complain,
Ofttimes my heart to me hath said,
'Man, wherefore murmur thus in vain?
If thou hast no such plentihead
As had Jacques Cœur, be comforted:
Better to live and rags to wear
Than to have been a lord, and dead,
Rot in a splendid sepulchre.'

XXXVII

(Than to have been a lord! I say.
Alas, no longer is he one;
As the Psalm tells of it, — to-day
His place of men is all unknown.)
As for the rest, affair 'tis none
Of mine, that but a sinner be:
To theologians alone
The case belongs, and not to me.

XXXVIII

For I am not, as well I know,
An angel's son, that crowned with light
Among the starry heavens doth go:
My sire is dead — God have his spright!

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

His body's buried out of sight.
I know my mother too must die —
She knows it too, poor soul, aright —
And soon her son by her must lie.

XXXIX

I know full well that rich and poor,
Villein and noble, high and low,
Laymen and clerks, gracious and dour,
Wise men and foolish, sweet of show
Or foul of favour, dames that go
Ruffed and rebatoed, great or small,
High-tired or hooded, Death (I know)
Without exception seizes all.

XL

Paris or Helen though one be,
Who dies, in pain and drearihead,
For lack of breath and blood dies he,
His gall upon his heart is shed;
Then doth he sweat, God knows how dread
A sweat, and none there is to allay
His ills, child, kinsman, in his stead,
None will go bail for him that day.

XLI

Death makes him shiver and turn pale,
Sharpens his nose and swells his veins,
Puffs up his throat, makes his flesh fail,
His joints and nerves greatens and strains.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Fair women's bodies, soft as skeins
Of silk, so tender, smooth and rare,
Must you too suffer all these pains?
Ay, or alive to heaven fare.

BALLAD OF OLD-TIME LADIES

I

*T*ELL me where, in what land of shade,
Bides fair Flora of Rome, and where
Are Thaïs and Archipiade,
Cousins-german of beauty rare,
And Echo, more than mortal fair,
That, when one calls by river-flow
Or marish, answers out of the air?
But what is become of last year's snow?

II

*Where did the learn'd Heloïsa vade,
For whose sake Abelard might not spare
(Such dole for love on him was laid)
Manhood to lose and a cowl to wear?
And where is the queen who willed whilere
That Buridan, tied in a sack, should go
Floating down Seine from the turret-stair?
But what is become of last year's snow?*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

III

*Blanche, too, the lily-white queen, that made
Sweet music as if she a siren were ;
Broad-foot Bertha ; and Joan the maid,
The good Lorrainer, the English bare
Captive to Rouen and burned her there ;
Beatrix, Eremburge, Alys, — lo !
Where are they, Virgin debonair ?
But what is become of last year's snow ?*

ENVOI

*Prince, you may question how they fare
This week, or liefer this year, I trow :
Still shall the answer this burden bear,
But what is become of last year's snow ?*

BALLAD OF OLD-TIME LORDS

(FOLLOWING ON THE SAME SUBJECT)

NO. I

I

*WHERE is Calixtus, third of the name,
That died in the purple wiles ago,
Four years since he to the tiar came ?
And the King of Aragon, Alfonso ?
The Duke of Bourbon, sweet of show,
And the Duke Arthur of Brittain ?
And Charles the Seventh, the Good ? Heigbo !
But where is the doughty Charlemain ?*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

II

*Likewise the King of Scots, whose shame
Was the half of his face (or folk say so),
Vermeil as amethyst held to the flame,
From chin to forehead all of a glow ?
The King of Cyprus, of friend and foe
Renowned ; and the gentle King of Spain,
Whose name, God 'ield me, I do not know ?
But where is the doughty Charlemaine ?*

III

*Of many more might I ask the same,
Who are but dust that the breezes blow ;
But I desist, for none may claim
To stand against Death, that lays all low.
Yet one more question before I go :
Where is Lancelot, King of Behaine ?
And where are his valiant ancestors, trow ?
But where is the doughty Charlemaine ?*

ENVOI

*Where is Du Guesclin, the Breton prow ?
Where Auvergne's Dauphin and where again
The late good duke of Alençon ? Lo !
But where is the doughty Charlemaine ?*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

BALLAD OF OLD-TIME LORDS

No. 2

I

*W*HERE are the holy apostles gone,
Alb-clad and amice-tired and stoled
With the sacred tippet and that alone,
Wherewith, when he waxeth overbold,
The foul fiend's throttle they take and bold?
All must come to the self-same bay;
Sons and servants, their days are told:
The wind carries their like away.

II

Where is he now that held the throne
Of Constantine with the bands of gold?
And the King of France, o'er all kings known
For grace and worship that was extolled,
Who convents and churches manifold
Built for God's service? In their day
What of the honour they had? Behold,
The wind carries their like away.

III

Where are the champions every one,
The Dauphins, the counsellors young and old?
The barons of Salins, Dôl, Dijon,
Vienna, Grenoble? They all are cold.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*Or take the folk under their banners enrolled,—
Pursuivants, trumpeters, heralds, (hey!
How they fed of the fat and the flagon trolled!)
The wind carries their like away.*

ENVOI

*Princes to death are all foretold,
Even as the humblest of their array:
Whether they sorrow or whether they scold,
The wind carries their like away.*

XLII

SINCE, then, popes, princes great and small,
That in queens' wombs conceived were,
Are dead and buried, one and all,
And other heads their crownals wear,
Shall Death to smite poor me forbear?
Shall I not die? Ay, if God will.
So that of life I have my share,
An honest death I take not ill.

XLIII

This world is not perpetual,
Deem the rich robber what he may:
Under death's whittle are we all.
Old men to heart this comfort lay,
That had repute in their young day
Of being quick at jest and flout,—
Whom folk, if, now that they are gray,
They should crack jokes, as fools would scout.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

XLIV

Now haply must they beg their bread,
 (For need thereto doth them constrain ;)
Each day they wish that they were dead ;
 Sorrow so straitens heart and brain
 That, did not fear of God restrain,
Some dreadful deed they might essay ;
 Nay, whiles they take HIS law in vain
And with themselves they make away.

XLV

For if in youth men spoke them fair,
 Now do they nothing that is right ;
(Old apes, alas ! ne'er pleasing were ;
 No trick of theirs but brings despite.)
 If they are dumb, for fear of slight,
Folk them for worn-out dotards hold ;
 Speak they, their silence folk invite,
Saying they pay with others' gold.

XLVI

So with poor women that are old
 And have no vivers in the chest,
When that young wenches they behold
 Fare at their ease and well address,
 They ask God why before the rest
Themselves were born. They cry and shout :
 God answers not ; for second best
He'd come off at a scolding-bout.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

THE COMPLAINT OF THE FAIR HELM- MAKER GROWN OLD

I

*Metthought I heard the fair complain
— The fair that erst was helm-maker —
And wish herself a girl again.
After this fashion did I bear :
' Alack ! old age, felon and drear,
Why hast so early laid me low ?
What binders but I slay me here
And so at one stroke end my woe ?*

II

*' Thou hast undone the mighty thrall
In which my beauty held for me
Clerks, merchants, churchmen, one and all :
For never man my face might see,
But would have given his all for fee, —
Without a thought of his abuse, —
So I should yield him at his gree
What curis for nothing now refuse.*

III

*' I did to many me deny
(Therein I showed but little guile)
For love of one right false and sly,
Whom without stint I loved erewhile.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*Whomever else I might bewile,
I loved him well, sorry or glad :
But he to me was harsh and vile
And loved me but for what I bad.*

IV

*' Ill as he used me, and how'er
Unkind, I loved him none the less :
Even had he made me faggots bear,
One kiss from him or one caress,
And I forgot my every stress.
The rogue ! 'twas ever thus the same
With him. It brought me scant liesse :
And what is left me ? Sin and shame.*

V

*' Now is he dead this thirty year,
And I'm grown old and worn and gray :
When I recall the days that were
And think of what I am to-day
And when me naked I survey
And see my body sbrunk to nought,
Withered and shrivelled, — wellaway !
For grief I am well-nigh distraught.*

VI

*' Where is that clear and crystal brow ?
Those eyebrows arched and golden bair ?
And those bright eyes, where are they now,
Wherewith the wisest ravished were ?*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*The little nose so straight and fair ;
The tiny tender perfect ear ;
Where is the dimpled chin and where
The pouting lips so red and clear ?*

VII

*' The shoulders gent and strait and small ;
Round arms and white bands delicate ;
The little pointed breasts withal ;
The haunches plump and high and straight,
Right fit for amorous debate ;
Wide hips * * *
* * * * *
* * * * **

VIII

*' Brows wrinkled sore and tresses gray ;
The brows all fall'n and dim the eyne
That wont to charm men's hearts away ;
The nose, that was so straight and fine,
Now bent and swerved from beauty's line ;
Chin peaked, ears furred and banging down ;
Faded the face and quenched its shine
And lips mere bags of loose skin grown.*

IX

*' Such is the end of human grace :
The arms grown short and hands all thrown ;
The shoulders bowed out of their place ;
The breasts all shrivelled up and gone ;*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*The haunches like the paps withdrawn ;
The thighs no longer like to thighs,
Witbered and mottled all like brawn,*
* * * * *

X

*' And so the litany goes round,
Lamenting the good time gone by,
Among us crouched upon the ground,
Poor silly bags, to-buddled by
A scanty fire of bempstalks dry,
Kindled in haste and soon gone out ;
(We that once held our heads so high !)
So all take turn and turn about.'*

THE DOCTRINE OF THE FAIR HELM- MAKER TO THE LIGHT O' LOVES

I

*Now think on't, Nell the glover fair,
That wont my scholar once to be,
And you, Blanche Slippermaker there,
Your case in mine I'd have you see :
Look all to right and left take ye ;
Forbear no man ; for trulls that bin
Old have nor course nor currency,
No more than money that's called in.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

II

*You, Sausage-buckstress debonair,
That dance and trip it brisk and free,
And Guillemette Upholstress, there,
Look you transgress not Love's decree :
Soon must you shut up shop, perdie ;
Soon old you'll grow, faded and thin,
Worth, like some old priest's visnomy,
No more than money that's called in.*

III

*Jenny the batter, have a care
Lest some false lover hamper thee ;
And Kitty Spurmaker, beware ;
Deny no man that proffers fee ;
For girls that are not bright o' blee
Men's scorn and not their service win :
Foul eld gets neither love nor gree,
No more than money that's called in.*

ENVOI

*Wenches, give ear and list (quo' she)
Wherefore I weep and make this din ;
'Tis that there is no help for me,
No more than money that's called in.*

XLVII

THIS lesson unto them gives she,
The bellibone of days gone by.
Ill said or well, worth what they be,
These things enregistered have I

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

By my clerk Fremin (giddy fry!),
Being as composed as well I may.
I curse him if he make me lie:
Like clerk, like master, people say.

XLVIII

Nay, the great danger well I see
Wherein a man in love doth fall . . .
Suppose that some lay blame on me
For this speech, saying, ' Listen, all:
If this do make you love miscall,
The tricks of wantons named above,
Your doubts are too chimerical,
For these are women light o' love.

XLIX

' For if they love not but for gain,
Folk do but love them for a day;
In sooth, they roundly love all men,
And when purse weeps, then are they gay:
Not one but questeth after prey.
But honest men, so God me spare,
With honest women will always
Have dealing, and not elsewhere.'

L

I put it that one thus devise:
He doth in nothing me gainsay;
In sooth, I think no otherwise,
And well I ween that one should aye

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

In worthy place love's homage pay.
But were not these, of whom I rhyme
(God wot) and reason all the day,
Once honest women aforetime ?

LI

Aye, they *were* honest, in good sooth,
Without reproach or any blame ;
But, in her first and prime of youth,
Ere she had loren her good name,
Each of these women thought no shame
To take some man for her desire,
Laic or clerk, to quench love's flame,
That burns worse than St. Anthony's fire.

LII

Of these, as Love ordains, they made
Their lovers, as appeareth well :
Each loved her gallant in the shade
And none else had with her to mell.
But this first love's not durable ;
For she, that loved but one erewhen,
Soon tires of him to her that fell
And sets herself to love all men.

LIII

What moves them thus ? I do opine,
Without their honour gainsaying,
That 'tis their nature feminine,
Which tends to cherish everything :

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

No other reason with the thing
Will rhyme, but if this saw it be,
That everywhere folk say and sing:
Six workmen do more work than three.

LIV

The shuttlecock light lovers be;
Their ladie-loves the battledore.
This is love's way in verity:
Spite clips and kisses, evermore
By constancy it sets small store.
For everyone this wise complains
Of dogs and horses, love and war:
Each pleasure's bought with fifty pains.

DOUBLE BALLAD TO THE LIKE PURPORT

I

*Serve love and ladies day and night,
Frequenting feasts and revelries;
You'll get nor profit nor delight,
But only broken heads and sighs:
Light loves make asses of the wise,
As witness Solomon, God wot;
And Samson thereby lost his eyes.
Happy is he who knows them not.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

II

*Orpheus, the minstrel fair and wight,
That fluted in such dulcet guise,
Did hardly 'scape the deadly bite
Of Cerberus, in love's emprize ;
Narcissus did so idolize
His own fair favour, that (poor sot)
He drowned himself, as none denies.*
Happy is he who knows them not.

III

*Sardana also, the good knight,
That conquered Creté, did disguise
Him as a wench and so bedight,
Span among maids ; and on like wise
David the king, for palliardize,
The fear of God awhile forgot
At sight of white well-shapen thighs.*
Happy is he who knows them not.

IV

*And David's son, that Ammon bight,
Deflowered his sister, for with lies,
Feigning desire for manchets white,
Incest most foul he did devise ;
And Herod (bistory testifies)
Paid with John Baptist's head the scot
For a girl's dancing deviltries.*
Happy is he who knows them not.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

V

*And even I, poor silly wight,
Was beaten as linen is that lies
In washers' tubs for bats to smite ;
And who gat me this sour surprise
But Vaucel's Kate, the cockatrice ?
And Noël, too, his good share got
Of cuffs at those festivities.
Happy is he who knows them not.*

VI

*And yet before a young man might
Be brought to leave this merchandise,
Well might you burn him bolt upright,
Witch-like that on a besom flies.
Above all, wenches doth he prize :
But there's no trusting them a jot ;
Blonde or brunette, this rhyme applies,
Happy is he who knows them not.*

LV

IF she whom I did serve of old
So whole of heart and loyally,
For whom I wasted years and gold
And only won much misery,—
If she at first had told to me
(But no, alas!) her true intent,
I had essayed assuredly
To cast off my entanglement.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LVI

Whatever I to her would say
She always ready was to hear
Nor ever said me ay or nay ;
Nay more, she suffered me draw near,
Sit close and whisper in her ear,
And so with me played fast and loose
And let me tell my all to her,
Intending only my abuse.

LVII

She fooled me, being in her power ;
For she did make me think, alas !
That one was other, ashes flour,
That a felt hat a mortar was ;
Of rusty iron, that 'twas brass ;
Of double ace, that it was trey.
So would she make a man an ass
And lead him by the nose away.

LVIII

On this wise did she me persuade,
Till heaven a brazen canopy,
The clouds of calfskin to be made
And morning evening seemed to be ;
Ill beer new wine, a hank of three
A halter, navews cabbage-plant,
A sow a windmill was for me
And a fat priest a pursuivant.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LIX

THUS Love hath wrought me to deceive
And bandied me from cold to hot:
There is no man, I do believe,
Were he as cunning as I'm not,
But he would leave with Love for scot
Pourpoint and hose, and fare as I,
That everywhere am called, God wot,
The lover flouted and laid by.

LX

Love now and wenches I forswear;
War to the knife to them I mete;
For death (and not a rap they care)
Through them treads hard upon my feet.
I've put my lute beneath the seat;
Lovers no longer I'll ensue:
If ever I with them did treat,
I'm none henceforward of their crew.

LXI

'Gainst Love my standard I've unfurled;
Let those that love him follow still;
I'm his no longer in this world;
For I intend to do my will.
Wherefore if any take it ill
That I Love venture to impeach,
Let this content him, will or nill,
'A dying man is free of speech.'

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXII

I FEEL the droughts of death draw nigh;
Gobbets of phlegm, as white as snow
And big as tennis-balls, spit I;
By token Jehanneton no mo'
Doth me for squire and servant owe,
But for a worn-out rook. Ah, well!
I have the voice and air, I know;
Yet am I but a cockerel.

LXIII

Thanks be to God and Jacques Thibault,
Who made me drink of water cold
So much within a dungeon low
And also chew gags manifold.
When on these things I think of old,
I pray for him, . . . et reliqua;
God give him . . . what at heart I hold
To be his due . . . et cætera.

LXIV

Yet do I mean no ill to him
Or his lieutenant; nought but well
Of his official eke I deem,
Who's merry and conformable.
Nor with the rest have I to mell,
Save Master Robert . . . Great and small,
As God loves Lombards, sooth to tell,
I love the whole lot, one and all.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXV

I DO remember (so God please)
In the year '56 I made,
Departing, sundry legacies,
That some without my leave or aid
To call my Testament essayed.
(Their pleasure 'twas, and theirs alone.
But what? Is't not in common said
That none is master of his own?)

LXVI

And should it happen that of these
Some peradventure be unpaid,
I order, after my decease,
That of my heirs demand be made.
Who are they? If it should be said;
To Moreau, Provins and Turgis
By letters sealed I have conveyed
Even to the mattress under me.

LXVII

Towards the Bastard de la Barre
Compassion still at heart I bear.
Beside his straw, (and these words are
His old bequest, though more it were,
Not to revoke) I do declare
I give him my old mats for seat:
Well will they serve him to sit square
And keep him steady on his feet.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXVIII

In fine, but one more word I'll say
Or ever I begin to test :
Before my clerk, who hears alway
(If he's awake), I do protest
That knowingly I have opprest
No man in this my ordinance :
Nor will I make it manifest
Except unto the realm of France.

LXIX

I feel my heart that's growing dead
Nor breath for further prate have I.
Fremin, sit down close to my bed,
And look that no one us espy.
Take pen, ink, paper, by and by
And what I say write thou therein ;
Then have it copied far and nigh :
And this is how I do begin.

Here beginneth Wilton to test

LXX

In the eternal Father's name
And His that's present in the Host,
One with the Father and the same,
Together with the Holy Ghost, —

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

[By whom was saved what Adam lost,
And in the light of heaven arrayed,
(Who best believes this merits most,)
Dead sinners little gods were made :

LXXI

Dead were they, body and soul as well,
Doomed to eternal punishment :
Flesh rotted, soul in flames of hell,
What way soe'er their lives were spent.
But I except, in my intent,
Prophets and Patriarchs all and sheer :
Meseems they never could have brent
With over-muckle heat arear.

LXXII

If any ask, ' What maketh thee
With questions such as this to mell,
That art not of theology
Doctor, or therein capable ?'
'Tis Jesus His own parable,
Touching the rich man that did lie,
Buried in burning flames of hell,
And saw the leper in the sky.

LXXIII

If he had seen the lazar burn,
He had not asked him, well I wot,
To give him water or in turn
To cool his dry and parchèd throat.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

There folk will have a scurvy lot
That to buy drink their hosen sell;
Since drink is there so hardly got,
God save us all from thirst in hell !]

LXXIV

Now, in God's name and with His aid
And in our Lady's name no less,
Let without sin this say be said
By me grown haggard for duresse.
If I nor light nor fire possess,
God hath ordained it for my sin ;
But as to this and other stress
I will leave talking and begin.

LXXV

First, my poor soul (which God befriend)
Unto the blessed Trinity
And to our Lady I commend,
The fountain of Divinity,
Beseeching all the charity
Of the nine orders of the sky,
That it of them transported be
Unto the throne of God most high.

LXXVI

Item, my body I ordain
Unto the earth, our grandmother :
Thereof the worms will have small gain ;
Hunger hath worn it many a year.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Let it be given straight to her;
From earth it came, to earth apace
Returns; all things, except I err,
Do gladly turn to their own place.

LXXVII

Item, to Guillaume de Villon, —
(My more than father, who indeed
To me more tenderness hath shown
Than mothers to the babes they feed,
Who me from many a scrape hath freed
And now of me hath scant liesse, —
I do entreat him, bended-kneed,
He leave me to my present stress, —)

LXXVIII

I do bequeath my library, —
The " Devil's Crake " Romaunt, whilere
By Messire Guy de Tabarie, —
A right trustworthy man, — writ fair.
Beneath a bench it lies somewhere,
In quires. Though crudely it be writ,
The matter's so beyond compare
That it redeems the style of it.

LXXIX

I give the ballad following
To my good mother, — who of me
(God knows !) hath had much sorrowing, —
That she may worship our Ladie :

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

I have none other sanctuary
Whereto, when overcome with dole,
I may for help and comfort flee;
Nor hath my mother, poor good soul!

BALLAD THAT VILLON MADE AT THE REQUEST OF HIS MOTHER, WHERE- WITHAL TO DO HER HOMAGE TO OUR LADY

I

*Lady of Heaven, Regent of the earth,
Empress of all the infernal marshes fell,
Receive me, Thy poor Christian, 'spite my dearth,
In the fair midst of Thine elect to dwell:
Albeit my lack of grace I know full well;
For that Thy grace, my Lady and my Queen,
Aboundeth more than all my misdemean,
Withouten which no soul of all that sigh
May merit Heaven. 'Tis sooth I say, for e'en
In this belief I will to live and die.*

II

*Say to Thy Son I am His,— that by His birth
And death my sins be all redeemable,—
As Mary of Egypt's dole He changed to mirth
And eke Theophilus', to whom befell
Quittance of Thee, albeit (so men tell)*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*To the foul fiend he had contracted been.
Assoilzie me, that I may have no teen,
Maid, that without breach of virginity
Didst bear our Lord that in the Host is seen.
In this belief I will to live and die.*

III

*A poor old wife I am, and little worth :
Nothing I know, nor letter aye could spell :
Where in the church to worship I fare forth,
I see Heaven limned, with harps and lutes, and Hell,
Where damned folk seethe in fire unquenchable.
One doth me fear, the other joy serene :
Grant I may have the joy, O Virgin clean,
To whom all sinners lift their hands on high,
Made whole in faith through Thee their go-between.
In this belief I will to live and die.*

ENVOI

*Thou didst conceive, Princess most bright of sheen,
Jesus the Lord, that hath nor end nor mean,
Almighty, that, departing Heaven's demesne
To succour us, put on our frailty,
Offering to death His sweet of youth and green :
Such as He is, our Lord He is, I ween !
In this belief I will to live and die.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXXX

Item, upon my dearest Rose
Nor heart nor liver I bestow:
Thereat she would turn up her nose,
Albeit she hath coin eno', —
A great silk purse, as well I know,
Stuffed full of crowns, both new and old.
May he be hanged, or high or low,
That leaves her silver aught or gold!

LXXXI

For she without me has enow:
To me it matters not a jot:
My salad days are past, I trow;
No more desire in me is hot:
All that I leave unto Michot,
That was surnamed the good gallant —
Or rather to his heirs; God wot,
At St. Satur his tomb's extant.

LXXXII

This notwithstanding, to acquit
Me toward Love rather than her,
(For never had I any whit
Of hope from her: I cannot hear,
Nor do I care, if a deaf ear
To all she turns as well as me;
But by Saint Maudlin I aver,
Therein but laughing-stuff I see.)

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXXXIII

This ballad shall she have of me,
That all with rhymes in R doth end :
Who shall be bearer? Let me see :
Pernet the Bastard I will send,
Provided, if, as he doth wend,
He come across my pugnosed frow,
This question he to her commend ;
' Foul Wanton, wherefrom comest thou ?'

BALLAD OF VILLON TO HIS MISTRESS

I

*False beauty, that bath cost me many a sigh ;
Fair-seeming sweetness in effect how sour ;
Love-liking, harder far than steel, that I
May sister name of my defeasance dour ;
Traitorous charms, that did my heart devour ;
Pride, that puts folk to death with secret scorn ;
Pitiless eyes, will rigour ne'er allow her,
Ere worse betide, to succour one forlorn ?*

II

*Well were it for me elsewhere to apply
For succour : well I know that in her bower
The load of love I never shall lay by ;
Sure 'twere no shame to fly from such a stoure.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*Haro ! I cry — both great and small implore.
But what avails me ? I shall die outworn,
Without blow struck, excepting pity bow her,
Ere worse betide, to succour one forlorn.*

III

*A time will come to wither and make dry,
Yellow and pale, thy beauty's full-blown flower :
Then should I laugh, if yet my heart were high.
But no, alas ! I then shall have no power
To laugh, being old in that disastrous hour.
Wherefore drink deep, before the river's frorne ;
Neither refuse, whilst grace is still thy dower,
Ere worse betide, to succour one forlorn.*

ENVOI

*Great God of Love, all lovers' governour,
Ill falleth thy disfavour to be borne :
True hearts are bound, by Christ our Saviour,
Ere worse betide, to succour one forlorn.*

LXXXIV

Item, to Master Ythier,
To whom I left my sword of yore,
I give (to set to song) this lay,
Containing verses half a score ;
Being a De profundis for
His love of once upon a day :
Her name I must not tell you, or
He'd hate me like the deuce away.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LAY OR RATHER ROUNDEL

*Death, of thy rigour I complain,
That hast my lady torn from me
And wilt not yet contented be,
Save from me too all strength be ta'en,
For languishment of heart and brain.
What harm did she in life to thee,
Death?*

*One heart we had betwixt us twain;
Which being dead, I too must dree
Death, or, like carven saints we see
In choir, sans life to live be fain,
Death!*

LXXXV

Item, a new bequest I will
To make to Master Jehan Cornu;
Who in my need hath helped me still
And done me favours not a few;
Wherefore the garden him unto
I give that Peter Bobignon
Leased me, so but he hang anew
The door and fix the gable on.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXXXVI

I there did lose, for lack of door,
A hone and handle of a hoe :
Thenceforward, falcons half a score
Had not there caught a lark, I trow.
The hostel's safe, but keep it so.
I put a hook there in sign-stead :
God grant the robber nought but woe,
A bloody night and earthen bed !

LXXXVII

Item, considering that the wife
Of Master Peter St. Amant
(Yet if therein be blame or strife,
God grant her grace and benison)
Me as a beggar looks upon,
For the White Horse that will not stir,
A Mare, and for the Mule, anon,
A Brick-red Ass I give to her.

LXXXVIII

Item, I give unto Denis
(Elect of Paris) Hesselin,
Of wine of Aulnis, from Turgis
Taken at my peril, casks fourteen.
If he to drink too much begin,
That so his wit and sense decline,
Let them put water therewithin :
Many a good house is lost by wine.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

LXXXIX

Item, upon my advocate,
Whose name is Guillaume Charriau,—
Though he's a chapman by estate,
My sword, (without the scabbard, though,)
And a gold royal I bestow,
In sous, to swell his purse's space,
Levied on those that come and go
Within the Temple cloister-place.

XC

Item, my proctor Fournier
Shall handfuls four— for all his pain
And travail for me night and day,—
Have from my purse; for suits amain
He hath ywrought to gar me gain,—
Just ones, by Jesus be it said!
Even as the judgment did ordain:
The best of rights has need of aid.

XCI

Item, to Jamy Raguyer
The Muckle Mug in Grève give I,
Provided always that he pay
Four placks for livery of it; ay,
Even though what covers calf and thigh
To make the money up sell he
And fare each morn bare-legged thereby
Unto the Fir-cone Hostelry.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

XCII

Item, for Mairebeuf (I vow)
And Nicholas de Louviers,
I give them neither ox nor cow,
For drovers neither herds are they,
But folk that ride a-hawking may,
(Think not I'm making mock of you)
Partridge and plover night and day
To fake from Mother Maschicoue.

XCIII

Item, if Turgis come to me,
I'll pay him fairly for his wine :
But soft ; if where I lodge find he,
He'll have more wit than any nine.
I leave to him that vote of mine,
As citizen of Paris see :
If sometimes I speak Poitevine,
Two Poitou ladies taught it me.

XCIV

Damsels they were, both fair and free,
Abiding at St. Generou,
Hard by St. Julian of Brittany
Or in the Marches of Poitou.
Natheless, I tell you not for true
Where all their days and nights they dwell ;
I am not fool enough, look you,
My loves to all the world to tell.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

XCv

Item, Jehan Raguyer I give
(That's Sergeant, — of the Twelve, indeed)
Each day, so long as he shall live,
A ramakin, that he may feed
Thereon and stay his stomach's need;
(From Bailly's table be it brought).
Let him not ask for wine or mead,
But at the fountain quench his drought.

XCvI

Item, I give the Prince of Fools
A master-fool, Michault du Four,
The jolliest jester in the Schools,
That sings so well 'Ma douce amour.'
With that of him I'll speak no more.
Brief, if he's but in vein some jot,
He's a right royal fool, be sure,
And still is witty, where he's not.

XCvII

Item, I give unto a pair
Of sergeants here whose names I've set —
For that they're honest folk and fair —
Denis Richer and Jehan Vallette,
A tippet each or bandelet,
To hang their hats of felt unto;
I mean *foot-sergeants*, for as yet
Nought with the horse have I to do.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

XCVIII

Item, to Pernet I remit

For that he is a cogging jack,
(The Bastard of La Barre, to wit,)
Three loaded dice or else a pack
Of cheating cards, marked on the back,
To arms, in lieu of bend. But what?
If he be heard to fyst or crack,
The quartan ague catch the sot!

XCIX

Item, I order that Chollet

No longer hoop or saw or plane
Or head up barrels all the day.
Let him his tools change for a cane
(Or Lyons sword), so he retain
The cooper's mall; for, sooth to tell,
Though noise and strife to hate he feign,
At heart he loves them but too well.

C

Item, I give to Jehan le Loup—

For that he's lean and lank and spent,
(Though good-cheap man and comrade true)
And Chollet too, is slow of scent,
A setter, young, but excellent,
(No chick he'll miss afield, I trow)
And a long cloak, 'gainst 'spial meant
To cover them from top to toe.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CI

Item, to Duboys, goldworker,
An hundred cloves, both head and tail,
Of Saracenic zinziber ;
Not cases therewithal to nail

*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*	*

CII

To Captain Riou, as a treat
For him and for his archers too,
I give six wolvis-heads (a meat
No swineherds' fare that is, look you)
Coursed with great dogs and set to stew
In tavern wine. In sooth, to feed
Upon these dainties rare and new,
One might do many an ill deed.

CIII

'Tis meat a trifle heavier
Than either feathers, cork or down :
For folk afield 'tis famous fare,
In camp or leaguer of a town.
But (failing dogs to hunting boun)
An if the beasts in trap be ta'en,
The skins, to fur his winter gown,
As a right tanner, I ordain.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CIV

Item, to Robinet Troussecaille
(Who's thriven rarely in his trade;
He scorns to go afoot like quail,
But sits a fat roan stoutly made)
My platter, that he is afraid
To borrow, I on him bestow;
So will he now be all arrayed:
He needed nothing else, I know.

CV

To Perrot Girard I will well
(That's barber sworn at Bourg la Reine)
Two basins and a fish-kettle,
Since he's so eager after gain.
Six years ago, the man was fain
For seven whole days (God have his soul!)
Me with fat porkers to sustain;
Witness the Abbess of Shaven-poll.

CVI

Item, unto the Begging Frères,
The Devotees and the Beguines,
At Paris, Orleans and elsewhere,
Both Turpelins and Turpelines, —
Of stout meat soups with flaws beseen
I make oblation. * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CVII

NAY, 'tis not I that give them this;
But from their loins all children spring
Through God that guerdons them ywis
For their much swink and travailing.
Each one of them must live, poor thing, —
E'en monks of Paris, if they go
Our cummers still a-pleasuring,
God wot, they love their husbands so.

CVIII

Whatever Master Jehan Poullieu
Missaid of them, et reliqua,
Constrained in public place thereto,
His words perforce he did unsay:
Meung of their fashion in his day
Made mock, and Matheolus too:
But honour unto that alway
Which God's Church honoureth is due.

CIX

So I submit me, for my part,
In all that I can do or say,
To honour them with all my heart
And yield them service, as I may.
Fools only will of them missay:
For or in pulpit or elsewhere
None needeth to be told if they
Are wont their enemies to sparé.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CX

Item, I give to Brother Baude,
In the Mount Carmel Convent who
Good cheer doth make and his abode,
A morion and gisarms two,
Lest anything Decosta do
To steal from him his wench away.
He's old; unless he quit the stew,
There'll be the deuce and all to pay.

CXI

Item, for that the Chancellor
Hath chewed fly-droppings off and on
Full many a time, his seal yet more
(I give and grant) be spat upon ;
And let him sprain his thumb anon,
(Him of the diocese,¹ I mean,)
To put my wishes all in one :
God keep the others all from teen.

CXII

I give my Lords the Auditors
Wainscot to make their chamber fair ;
And each whose buttocks in the wars
Have been, a hollow-bottomed chair,
Provided that they do not spare
Macée of Orleans, who, God wot,
Had my virginity whilere,
For she's a thoroughly bad lot.

¹ Of Orleans.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CXIII

To Master Francis (if he live),
Promoter de la Vacquerie,
A Scotchman's collaret I give,
Of hemp without embroidery;
For, when he put on chivalry,
God and St. George he did blaspheme
And ne'er hears speak of them but he
Doth with mad laughter shout and scream.

CXIV

I give Jehan Laurens, whose poor eyes
Are still so red and weak, (I ween,
The fault o't with his parents lies,
Who drank withouten stint or mean),
My hose-linings, to wipe them clean
O' mornings, lest they waxen blear;
Had he of Bourges archbishop been,
He had had sendal; but that's dear.

CXV

Item, to Master Jehan Cotard,
My Church-court proctor, since some groat
Or two for fees yet owing are,
(That had till now escaped my thought)
When action 'gainst me Denise brought,
Saying I had miscallèd her,—
I have this Orison ywrought,
So God to heaven his soul prefer.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

BALLAD AND ORISON

I

*NOAH, that first the vine plantéd ;
Lot, too, that in the grot drank bigh,*

* * * * *
* * * * *
* * * * *

*Arbitriclinus, learn'd in the bowl, —
I pray you all three to set in the sky
Good Master Cotard, honest soul.*

II

*He was of your lineage born and bred ;
He drank of the best and dearest ; ay,
Though he'd never a stiver to stand him in stead,
The best of all topers he was : for why,
Never good liquor found him shy,
None could the pot from his grasp cajole.
Fair Lords, do not suffer in hell to sigh
Good Master Cotard, honest soul.*

III

*I've seen him oft, when he went to bed,
Totter for tippie as like to die ;
And once he gat him a bump on the head
'Gainst a butcher's stall, as he staggered by.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*Brief, one might question far and nigh
For a better fellow the cup to trowl.*

Let him in, if you bear him the wicket try :
Good Master Cotard, honest soul.

ENVOI

*He scarce could spit, he was always so dry,
And ever ' My throat's like a red-hot coal !'
Parched up with thirst, he was wont to cry ;*
Good Master Cotard, honest soul.

CXVI

Item, henceforth young Merle shall still
Manage my change (for evermo'
God wot, it is against my will
With change I intermeddle) so
Full change he give to high and low, .
Three crowns six half-crowns, and two small
Angels one great one; for, you know,
A lover should be liberal.

CXVII

Item, I've seen with my own eyes
That my poor orphans, all the three,
Are grown in age, and wit likewise.
No sheepsheads are they, I can see;
From here to Salins none there be
That better bear them at the schools:
Now, by the Confraternity,
Lads of this fashion are no fools.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CXVIII

I will that they to college go :
Whither? To Master Pierre Richer.
Donatus is too hard, I trow :
Thereat I will not have them stay.
I'd rather they should learn to say
An Ave Mary and there stand,
Without more letters ; for alway
Scholars have not the upper hand.

CXIX

Let them learn this and there leave off ;
I do forbid them to proceed :
Meseems it is too hard and tough
For boys to understand the Creed.
I halve my long gray tabard wede
And will one half thereof to sell
And buy them pancakes : for indeed
Children did ever love cates well.

CXX

I will that they well grounded be
In manners, though it cost them dear :
Close hoods shall they wear, all the three,
And go with thumbs in girdle-gear,
Humble to all that come them near,
Saying, ' Eh, what? . . . Don't mention it !'
So folk shall say, when they appear,
' These lads are gently bred,' to wit.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CXXI

Item, unto my clerkings lean, —
To whom my titles and degree
(Seeing them fair and well beseen
And straight as reeds) I gave in fee,
And also, without price and free,
I did my rent and charge assign,
To levy on the pillory,
As safe and sure as if 'twere mine :

CXXII

(Though they be young and of good cheer,
In that they nothing me displease :
Come twenty, thirty, forty year,
They will be other, so God please.
Ill doth he that maltreateth these,
Since fair they are and in their prime :
Fools only will them beat and pheeze ;
For younglings grow to men in time,) —

CXXIII

The purses of the Clerks Eighteen
They'll have, although my back I break :
They're not like dormice, that grow lean
With three months' sleep before they wake.
Ill fares he that his sleep doth take
In youth, when rise and work should he,
So that he needs must watch and wake
In age, when he should sleeping be.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CXXIV

Thereof unto the Almoner
Letters to like effect I write.
If they to pray for me demur,
Let pull their ears for such despite.
Folk often marvel all their might
Why by these twain such store set I;
But, fast or feast days, honour bright,
I never came their mothers nigh.

CXXV

To Michault Culdou I bespeak,
As also to Charlot Taranne,
One hundred sols. Let neither seek
Whence; 'twill be manna to each man:
Also my boots of leather tan,
Both soles and uppers, sundry pair;
So they forgather not with Jehanne
Nor any other like to her.

CXXVI

Unto the Seigneur de Grigny,
To whom I left Bicêtre of yore,
I give the castle of Billy;
Provided window, gate and door
He 'stablish as they were before,
That so in good repair it be.
Let him make money evermore;
For coin I lack and none has he.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CXXVII

To Thibault de la Garde, no less, . . .
(Thibault? I lie: his name is John)
What can I spare, without distress?
I've lost enough this year bygone:
May God provide him! . . . and so on.
What if I left him the Canteen?
No: Genevoys's the elder one
And has more nose to dip therein.

CXXVIII

Item, I give to Basanier,
The judge's clerk and notary,
A frail of cloves, which levied may
On Master Jehan de Rueil be:
Mautainct and Rosnel the like fee
Shall have, which them I trust will stir
To serve with courage brisk and free
The Lord who serves Saint Christopher;

CXXIX

On whom the Ballad following
For his fair lady I bestow: . . .
If love to us no such prize fling,
I marvel not; for, whiles ago,
He bore her off from high and low,
At that tourney King René made:
Hector or Troilus ne'er, I trow,
So much performed, so little said.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

BALLAD THAT VILLON GAVE TO A
NEWLY MARRIED GENTLEMAN TO SEND
TO HIS LADY, BY HIM CONQUERED AT
THE SWORD'S POINT

I

*THE falcon claps bis wings at break of day,
For noble usance, ay, and lustibead ;
Frolics for glee and strikes and rends bis prey ;
Stoops to bis mate and does of her bis need.
So now to-you-ward doth desire me lead
Of that all lovers long for joyously ;
Know, Love hath so ordained it in bis rede ;
And to this end we twain together be.*

II

*Queen of my heart, unquestioned and alway,
Till death consume me, thou shalt be indeed.
Clary, that purgest my chagrins, sweet bay,
That still as champion for my right dost plead,
Reason ordains that I should ne'er be freed
(And therewithal my pleasure doth agree)
From thy sweet service, while the years succeed ;
And to this end we twain together be.*

III

*And what is more, when dule doth me essay,
Through Fate that oftime lowers, with all speed
Thy dulcet looks her malice do away,
As wind disperses smoke from bill and mead.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*In no wise, sweetest, do I lose the seed
Sown in thy field, when the fruit likeneth me ;
God wills me delve and fatten it and weed ;
And to this end we twain together be.*

ENVOI

*Princess, I pray, to my discourse give heed :
My heart shall not dissever aye from thee
Nor thine from me, if it aright I read :
And to this end we twain together be.*

CXXX

Item, I give Jehan Perdryer nought,
And to his brother Frank the same ;
Though still to help me they have wrought
And make me sharer in their game ;
(Tongues have they, sharp and fierce as flame)
And too, my gossip Frank, of yore,
Without command or prayer, my name
At Bourges commended passing sore.

CXXXI

Let them in Taillevent go see
The chapters that of frying treat,
If they can find my recipe
For dressing up this kind of meat :
'Twas Saint Macaire, I once did meet,
Cooking a devil, skin and all,
That so the roast should smell more sweet
Gave me this Recipe, that I call

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

BALLAD OF SLANDEROUS TONGUES :

CXXXII

To Andry Courault, next, give I
The Counterblast to Franc-Gontier ;
As for the Tyrant, set on high,
I've nought, indeed, to him to say :
Wisdom forbids that in affray
With mighty men poor folk should strive,
Lest they spread nets across the way,
To catch the vauntards in alive.

CXXXIII

I fear not Gontier, that no men
Has nor is better off than I :
But now strife is betwixt us twain ;
For he exalteth poverty :
Good luck he deemeth it, perdie,
Winter and summer to be poor.
Myself, I hold it misery.
Who's wrong ? Be you judge, I conjure.

This Ballad is omitted for the reasons stated in the Foreword.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

III

*They eat coarse bread of barley, sooth to say,
And drink but water from the heavens shed :
Not all the birds that singen all the way
From here to Babylon could me persuade
To spend one day so harboured and so fed.
For God's sake let Franc-Gontier none deny
To play with Helen 'neath the open sky !
Why should it irk me, if they love the leas ?
But, vaunt who will the joys of husbandry,
There is no treasure but to have one's ease.*

ENVOI

*Prince, be you judge betwixt us all : for my
Poor part I mind me (so it none displease)
Whilst yet a child, I heard folk testify,
There is no treasure but to have one's ease.*

CXXXIV

Item, since Madame de Bruyères
Her bible knows, to publish it
(Barring the Gospels) unto her
And to her damsels I commit,
To bring each glib-tongued wanton chit
To book ; but be the preachment not
Within the churchyards ; far more fit
'Twere in the net-market, God wot.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT
BALLAD OF THE WOMEN OF PARIS

I

THOUGH folk deem women young and old
Of Venice and Genoa well eno'
Favoured with speech, both glib and bold,
To carry messages to and fro ;
Savoyards, Florentines less or mo,
Romans and Lombards though folk renown,
I, at my peril, I say no ;
There's no right speech out of Paris town.

II

The Naples women (so we are told)
Can school all comers in speech and show ;
Prussians and Germans were still extolled
For pleasant prattle of friend and foe ;
But hail they from Athens or Grand Cairo,
Castille or Hungary, black or brown,
Greeks or Egyptians, high or low,
There's no right speech out of Paris town.

III

Switzers nor Bretons know how to scold,
Nor Provence nor Gascony women : lo !
Two fishfags in Paris the bridge that hold
Would slang them dumb in a minute or so.
Picardy, England, Lorraine, (beigbo !
Enough of places have I set down ?)
Valenciennes, Calais, wherever you go,
There's no right speech out of Paris town.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

ENVOI

*Prince, to the Paris ladies, I trow,
For pleasant parlance I yield the crown.
They may talk of Italians ; but this I know,
There's no right speech out of Paris town.*

CXXXV

Look at them there, by twos and threes,
Upon their gowns' hem seated low,
In churches and in nunneries :
Speak not, but softly near them go
And speedily you'll come to know
Such judgments as Macrobius ne'er
Did give. Whate'er you catch, I trow,
'Twill all some flower of wisdom bear.

CXXXVI

Item, unto Mount Martyr hill
(Old past the memory of man)
Let them adjoin (it is my will)
The knoll called Mount Valerian :
I give it for a quarter's span
The indulgences from Rome I brought ;
Whence shall the convent, where no man
Might come, of many now be sought.

CXXXVII

Item, to serving men and maids
Of good hostels (in no despite),
Pheasants, tarts, custards and croustades
And high carousal at midnight :

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Seven pints or eight, the matter's slight,
Whilst sound asleep are lord and dame :

* * * * *
* * * * *

CXXXVIII

Item, to honest wenches who

Have fathers, mothers, aunts . . . 'Fore God!
I've nothing left to give to you :

All on the servants I've bestowed.

Poor silly wantons, they had showed
Themselves with little satisfied !

Some scraps might well have gone their road
Of all the convents cast aside.

CXXXIX

Cistercians and Celestines,

Though they be railed off from the rest,
They eat rich meats and drink sweet wines,
Whereof poor whores know not the zest :

As Jehanne and Perrette can attest
And Isabeau that says "Is't not ?"

Since they therefor are so distrest,
One scarce were damn'd for it, God wot.

CXL

Item, to sturdy stout Margot,

Of face and favour fair and feat,
A pious creature, too, eno',—
I' faith, by God Almighty be't,

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

I love her well, the proper peat,
As she (sweet chuck) loves me indeed :
If any chance with her to meet,
Let him this Ballad to her read.

BALLAD OF VILLON AND MUCKLE MEG¹

CXLI

Item, to Marion (Statue hight)
And to tall Jehanne of Brittany,
I give to keep a school by night,
Where masters taught of scholars be :
A thing you everywhere may see,
Except in Mehun gaol alone.
Wherefore I say, Out on the fee !
Since that the trick is so well known.

CXLII

Item, to Noel Well-beseen
No other gift I do ordain
Than both hands full of osiers green,
Out of my garden freshly ta'en :
(One should to chastisement be fain ;
In sooth it is fair almsgiving :)
Eleven score strokes laid on amain,
Of Master Hal's administ'ring.

¹ This ballad is omitted for the reasons stated in the Foreword.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

CXLIII

Item, the Hospitals unto

What to bequeath I hardly know :
Here jests are neither right nor due,
For sick poor folk have ills eno' :
Let each man's leavings to them go.
The Mendicants have had my goose :
Nought but the bones they'll get, I trow ;
The poor can seldom pick and choose.

CXLIV

I give my barber, (an he list) —
By name that Colin Galerne hight,
Near Angelot's the Herbalist, —
A lump of ice: let him apply't
Upon his paunch and hold it tight,
So he may freeze as seems him meet :
If thus o' winter deal the wight,
He'll not complain of summer heat.

CXLV

Item, I leave the Foundlings nought :
But to the Lostlings comfort's due,
Who should, if anywhere, be sought
Where lodges Marion the Statue.
A lesson of my sort to you
I'll read: 'twill soon be overpast.
Turn not, I pray, deaf ears thereto,
But listen sadly: 'tis the last.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

SEEMLY LESSON OF VILLON TO THE GOOD-FOR-NOUGHTS

I

*F*AIR sons, you're wasting, ere you're old,
The fairest rose to you that fell.
You, that like birdlime take and hold,
When to Montpippeau or Ruel
(My clerks) you wander, keep you well :
For of the tricks that there be played,
Thinking to 'scape a second spell,
Colin of Cayeux lost his bead.

II

No trifling game is this to play,
Where one stakes soul and body too :
If losers, no remorse can stay
A shameful death from ending you ;
And even the winner, for his due,
Hath not a Dido to his wife.
Foolish and lewd I bold him who
Doth for so little risk his life.

III

Now all of you to me attend :
Even a load of wine, folk say,
With drinking at last comes to an end,
By fire in winter, in woods in May.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

*If you have money, it doth not stay,
But this way and that it wastes amain :
What does it profit you, any way ?
Ill-gotten good is nobody's gain.*

BALLAD OF GOOD DOCTRINE TO THOSE OF ILL LIFE

I

*P*EDDLE indulgences, as you may :
Cog the dice for your cheating throws :
Try if counterfeit coin will pay,
At risk of roasting at last, like those
That deal in treason. Lie and glose,
Rob and ravish : what profits it ?
Who gets the purchase, do you suppose ?
Taverns and wenches, every whit.

II

*Rhyme, rail, wrestle and cymbals play :
Flute and fool it in mummers' shows :
Along with the strolling players stray
From town to city, without repose ;
Act mysteries, farces, imbroglios :
Win money at gleeck or a lucky bit
At the pins : like water, away it flows ;
Taverns and wenches, every whit.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

III

*Turn from your evil courses I pray,
That smell so foul in a decent nose :
Earn your bread in some honest way.
If you have no letters, nor verse nor prose,
Plough or groom horses, beat hemp or toze.
Enough shall you have if you think but fit :
But cast not your wage to each wind that blows ;
Taverns and wenches, every whit.*

ENVOI

*Doublets, pourpoints and silken hose,
Gowns and linen, woven or knit,
Ere your wede's worn, away it goes ;
Taverns and wenches, every whit.*

CXLVI

Companions in debauchery,
Ill souls and bodies well bestead,
Beware of that ill sun (look ye)
That tans a man when he is dead :
'Tis a foul death to die, I dread.
Keep yourselves from it, so you may ;
And be this still rememberèd,
That all of you must die some day.

CXLVII

Item, I give the Fifteen-score —
(Three hundred just as well 'tmight be) —
For that by them I set great store,
(Paris, not Provins ones, for me) —

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

My goggles (sans the case, perdie)
So in the churchyards where they serve,
They may the bad to sever see
From honest folk that well deserve.

CXLVIII

HERE¹ silence doth for ever reign :
Nothing it profiteth the dead
On beds of satin to have lain
And drunk from gold the vine-juice red
And lived in glee and lustihead.
Soon all such joys must be resigned :
All pass away, and in their stead
Only the sin remains behind.

CXLIX

When I consider all the heads
That in these charnels gathered be,
Those that are sleeping in these beds
May have (for aught that I can see)
Been mighty lords of high degree,
Bishops and dames, — or else poor churls :
There is no difference to me
'Twixt watercarriers' bones and earls.

CL

These ladies all, that in their day
Each against each did bend and bow,
Whereof did some the sceptre sway,
Of others feared and courted, — now

¹ *i. e.* in the churchyards.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Here are they sleeping all a-row,
Heaped up together anydele,
Their crowns and honours all laid low.
Masters or clerks, there's no appeal.

CLI

Now are they dead, God have their sprights!
As for their bodies, they are clay:
Once they were ladies, lords and knights,
That on soft beds of satin lay
And fed on dainties every day.
Their bones are mouldered into dust,
They reckon not now of laugh or play:
Christ will assoilzie them, I trust.

CLII

I make this ditty for the dead:
The which I do communicate
To Courts and Pleas, ill doers' dread,
That unjust avarice do hate;
That for the welfare of the state
Do work their bones and bodies dry:
God and St. Dominick abate
Their sins unto them when they die.

CLIII

Item, Jacques Cardon nought of me
(For nought I have for him) shall get,
— Not that he'd throw't away, perdie —
Except this roundel; if 'twere set

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

To some such tune as "Marionette,"
Composed for Marion Slow-to-come,
Or "Hold your door open, Guillemette,"
It might belike the vogue become.

ROUNDEL

On my release *from prison strait,*
Where I have left my life well-nigh,
If Fate still look at me awry,
Judge if she be inveterate!
Reason meseemeth, past debate,
Her malice she should mollify
On my release.

Full of unreason is this Fate,
Which willeth but that I should die:
God grant that in His house on high
My soul be ravished from her hate,
On my release.

CLIV

THIS gift shall Lomer have of me,
— As sure as I'm a fairy's son,—
That he shall 'well-belovèd' be,
But wench or woman love he none

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Nor lose his head for any one,
And that an hundred times a night
The trick for nought of him be done,
In spite of Holger the good knight.

CLV

To lovers sick and sorrowful,
(As well as Alain Chartier's Lay,)
At bedhead, a benature-full
Of tears I give, and eke a spray
Of eglatere or flowering May,
(To sprinkle with) in time of green ;
Provided they a *Psalter* say.
To save poor Villon's soul from teen.

CLVI

To Master James, that day and night
Himself at hoarding wealth doth kill,
I give as many girls to plight
(But none to marry) as he will.
For whom doth he his coffers fill ?
For those that are his kin, alack !
That which the sows' was, I hold ill
Should to the porkers not go back.

CLVII

Unto the Seneschal I bequeath, —
(Who once from debt did me release)
Besides the quality of Smith, —
The right of shoeing ducks and geese.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

I send him all these fooleries,
To help him pass away the time,
Or make him spilletts if he please :
One wearies of the best of rhyme.

CLVIII

The Captain of the Watch, also —
Two proper youths to serve as page ;
Marquet the Stout and Philippot,
Who for the most part of their age
Have served (whence are they the more sage)
The Blacksmiths' Provost. Wellaway !
If they should chance to lose their wage,
They must go shoeless many a day.

CLIX

Item, to Chappelain let there pass
My simple-tonsure chapelry,
Charged but with saying a low mass :
There little letters needed be.
My cure of souls he should of me
Have had ; but no one to confess
(To go by what he says) cares he,
Save chambermaids and mistresses.

CLX

Since my intent he well doth know,
To Jehan de Calais — (worthy wight !
Who saw me thirty years ago
And hath not since on me set sight,

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Indeed, nor knoweth how I hight) —
If in this Testament befall
Or hitch or doubt, I give full right
To solve and mend them, one and all:

CLXI

To glose upon it and comment,
Define, eliminate, prescribe,
Diminish aught or aught augment,
To cancel it or it transcribe
With his own hand, although no scribe
He be; such sense as he thinks fit,
At pleasure, good or bad, ascribe
Thereto: I sanction all of it.

CLXII

And if, perchance, some legatee,
Without my knowledge, should be dead,
It shall at the discretion be
Of Jehan de Calais aforesaid
To see my will interpreted
And otherwise the gift apply
Nor take it for himself instead:
I charge him on his soul thereby.

CLXIII

Item, my body, I ordain,
Shall at St. Avoye buried be:
And that my friends may there again
My image and presentment see,

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Let one the semblant limn of me
In ink, if that be not too dear.
No other monument, perdie:
'Twould overload the floor, I fear.

CLXIV

Item, I will that over it
That which ensues, without word more,
In letters large enough be writ:
If ink fail (as I said before),
Let them the words with charcoal score,
So they do not the plaster drag:
'Twill serve to keep my name in store,
As that of a good crack-brained wag.

Epitaph

CLXV

HERE LIES AND SLUMBERS IN THIS PLACE
ONE WHOM LOVE WREAKED HIS IRE UPON:
A SCHOLAR, POOR OF GOODS AND GRACE,
THAT HIGHT OF OLD FRANÇOIS VILLON:
ACRE OR FURROW HAD HE NONE,
'TIS KNOWN HIS ALL HE GAVE AWAY;
BREAD, TABLES, TRESSELS, ALL ARE GONE.
GALLANTS, OF HIM THIS ROUNDEL SAY.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

ROUNDEL

*Æternam Requiem dona,
Lord God, and everlasting light,
To him who never had, poor wight,
Platter, or aught thereon to lay!
Hair, eyebrows, beard all fallen away,
Like a peeled turnip was his plight.
Æternam Requiem dona.*

*Exile compelled him many a day
And death at last his breech did smite,
Though, 'I appeal,' with all his might
The man in good plain speech did say.
Æternam Requiem dona.*

CLXVI

Item, I will they toll for me
The 'Belfry' Bell, that is so great
Of voice, that all astonied be
When he is tolled, early or late.
Many a good city, of old date,
He saved, as every one doth know;
Thunder or war, all ills abate
When through the land his voices go.

CLXVII

Four loaves the ringers' wage shall be:
If that's too little, six: (that is
What rich folk wont to give for fee:)
But they St. Stephen's loaves, ywis,

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Shall be. Let Vollant share in this;
A man that earns his living hard:
'Twill furnish forth a week of his.
The other one? Jehan de la Garde.

CLXVIII

Item, to carry out this all,
As my executors I name
Men who are good to deal withal
And never shirk an honest claim:
They're no great vauntards, all the same,
Though they've good cause for it, perdie;
They shall fulfil my thought and aim:
Write, I will name six names to thee.

CLXIX

First, Master Martin de Bellefaye,
The King's Lieutenant-criminel.
Who shall be next? Whom shall I say?
It shall be Messire Colombel:
If, as I think, it like him well,
He'll undertake this charge for me.
The third one? Michel Jouvenel:
I give the office to these three.

CLXX

Natheless, in case they should excuse
Themselves therefrom, for fear of fees,
Or altogether should refuse,
I name as their successors these,

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Good men and true in their degrees :
Philip Brunel, the noble squire,
For next, his neighbour (an he please),
Master Jacques Raguyer, I desire.

CLXXI

Master Jacques James shall be the third :
Three men of worth and good renown,
That for believers in God's Word
And right God-fearing souls are known ;
Far rather would they spend their own
Than not my full intent fulfil.
No auditor on them shall frown :
They shall do all at their own will.

CLXXII

The Register of Wills from me
Shall have nor quid nor quod, I trow :
But every penny of his fee
To Tricot, the young priest, shall go ;
At whose expense gladly eno'
I'd drink, though it my nightcap cost :
If but he knew the dice to throw,
Of Perrette's Den I'd make him host.

CLXXIII

Guillaume du Ru, for funeral,
Shall see the chapel duly lit ;
And as to who shall bear the pall,
Let my executors order it.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

And now, my body every whit
(Groin, eyebrows, hair and beard and all)
Being racked with pain, the time seems fit
To cry folk mercy, great and small.

BALLAD CRYING ALL FOLK MERCY

I

*F*RERES, be they white or be they grey ;
Nuns, mumpers, chanters awry that tread
And clink their pattens on each highway ;
Lackeys and handmaids, apparellèd
In tight-fitting surcoats, white and red ;
Gallants, whose boots o'er their ankles fall,
That vaunt and ruffle it unadread ;
I cry folk mercy, one and all.

II

Wantons who all their charms display,
That so more custom to them be led,
Brawlers and jugglers and tumblers gay ;
Clowns with their apes and carpet spread ;
Players that whistle for lustibead,
As they trudge it 'twixt village and town and hall ;
Gentle and simple, living and dead, —
I cry folk mercy, one and all.

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

III

*Save only the treacherous beasts of prey,
That garred me batten on prison bread
And water, many a night and day.
I fear them not now, no, not a sbred;
And gladly (but that I lie a-bed
And have small stomach for strife or brawl)
I'd have my wreak of them. Now, instead,
I cry folk mercy, one and all.*

ENVOI

*So but the knaves be ribroastéd
And basted well with an oaken maul
Or some stout horsewhip weighted with lead,
I cry folk mercy, one and all.*

BALLAD, BY WAY OF ENDING

I

***H**ERE is ended (both great and small)
Poor Villon's Testament! When he is dead,
Come, I pray, to his funeral,
Whilst the bell tinkles overhead.
Coms in cramoizin garmented;
For to Love martyr did he die.
Thereof he swore on his manlibead,
Whenas he felt his end draw nigh.*

THE GREATER TESTAMENT

II

*For me, I warrant it true in all ;
For of his love, in shameful stead,
He was beaten off, like a bandy-ball.
From here to Roussillon as he fled,
There's ne'er a bramble but tore some shred
Of hose or jerkin from hip or thigh ;
So, without leasing, Villon said,
Whenas he felt his end draw nigh.*

III

*In such ill places his life did fall,
He had but a rag when he was sped :
And (yet more luckless) when death did call,
Love's prickle galled him ; its wounds still bled
In him. His heart was heavy as lead
And salt tears stood in his dying eye :
At his despair we were wonderèd,
Whenas he felt his end draw nigh.*

ENVOI

*Prince, that art gent as a yearling gled,
Hear what he did with his latest sigh :
He drank a long draught of the vine-juice red,
Whenas he felt his end draw nigh.*

Here endeth the Greater Testament of
Master François Villon

DIVERS POEMS

Here follow Divers Poems of Master Fran-
çois Villon, not being part of his Lesser
and Greater Testaments

BALLAD OF VILLON IN PRISON

I



HAVE pity, friends, have pity now, I
pray,
If it so please you, at the least,
on me!
I lie in fosse, not under holm or may,
In this duresse, wherein, alas! I
dree

Ill fate, as God did thereanent decree.
Lasses and lovers, younglings manifold,
Dancers and mountebanks, alert and bold,
Nimble as quarrel from a crossbow shot;
Singers, that troll as clear as bells of gold, —
Will you all leave poor Villon here to rot?

II

Clerks, that go carolling the livelong day,
Scant-pursed, but glad and frank and full of glee;
Wandering at will along the broad highway,
Harebrained, perchance, but wit-whole too, perdie:
Lo! now, I die, whilst that you absent be.

DIVERS POEMS

Song-singers, when poor Villon's days are told,
You will sing psalms for him and candles hold ;
Here light nor air nor levin enters not,
Where ramparts thick are round about him rolled.
Will you all leave poor Villon here to rot ?

III

Consider but his piteous array,
High and fair lords, of suit and service free,
That nor to king nor kaiser homage pay,
But straight from God in heaven hold your fee !
Come fast or feast, all days alike fasts he,
Whence are his teeth like rakes' teeth to behold :
No table hath he but the sheer black mould :
After dry bread (not manchets), pot on pot
They empty down his throat of water cold :
Will you all leave poor Villon here to rot ?

ENVOI

Princes and lords aforesaid, young and old,
Get me the King his letters sealed and scrolled
And draw me from this dungeon : for, God wot,
Even swine, when one squeaks in the butcher's fold,
Flock around their fellow and do squeak and scold.
Will you all leave poor Villon here to rot ?

DIVERS POEMS

THE QUATRAIN THAT VILLON MADE
WHEN HE WAS DOOMED TO DIE

FRANÇOIS am I,—woe worth it me!
At Paris born, near Pontoise citie,
Whose neck, in the bight of a rope of three,
Must prove how heavy my buttocks be.

VARIANT OF THE FOREGOING EPITAPH

FRANÇOIS am I,—woe worth it me!
—Corbier my surname is aright:
Native of Auvers, near Pontoise citie;
Of folk for sobriquet Villon hight.
But for the gallant appeal I made,
My neck, in the bight of a rope of three,
Had known ere this what my buttocks weighed.
The game scarce seemed to me worth to be played.

DIVERS POEMS

THE EPITAPH IN BALLAD FORM THAT
VILLON MADE FOR HIMSELF AND HIS
COMPANIONS, EXPECTING NO BET-
TER THAN TO BE HANGED IN
THEIR COMPANY

I

BROTHERS, that after us on life remain,
Harden your hearts against us not as stone ;
For, if to pity us poor wights you're fain,
God shall the rather grant you benison.
You see us six, the gibbet hereupon :
As for the flesh that we too well have fed,
'Tis all devoured and rotted, shred by shred.
Let none make merry of our piteous case,
Whose crumbling bones the life long since hath fled :
The rather pray, God grant us of His grace !

II

Yea, we conjure you, look not with disdain,
Brothers, on us, though we to death were done
By justice. Well you know, the saving grain
Of sense springs not in every mother's son :
Commend us, therefore, now we're dead and gone,
To Christ, the Son of Mary's maidenhead,
That he leave not His grace on us to shed
And save us from the nether torture-place.
Let no one harry us : forsooth, we're sped :
The rather pray, God grant us of His grace !

DIVERS POEMS

III

We are whiles scoured and soddened of the rain
And whiles burnt up and blackened of the sun :
Corbies and pyets have our eyes out-ta'en
And plucked our beard and hair out, one by one.
Whether by night or day, rest have we none :
Now here, now there, as the wind shifts its stead,
We swing and creak and rattle overhead,
No thimble dinted like our bird-pecked face.
Brothers, have heed and shun the life we led :
The rather pray, God grant us of His grace !

ENVOI

Prince Jesus, over all empoweréd,
Let us not fall into the Place of Dread,
But all our reckoning with the Fiend efface.
Folk, mock us not that are forspent and dead ;
The rather pray, God grant us of His grace !

THE REQUEST OF VILLON, PRESENTED TO THE HIGH COURT OF PARLIAMENT IN BALLAD FORM

I

ALL my five senses, in your several place,
Hearing and seeing, taste and touch and smell,
Every my member branded with disgrace, —
Each on this fashion do ye speak and tell :
' Most Sovereign Court, by whom we here befell,

DIVERS POEMS

Thou that deliveredst us from sore dismays,
The tongue sufficeth not thy name to blaze
Forth in such strain of honour as it should :
Wherefore to thee our voices all we raise,
Sister of angels, mother of the good!

II

Heart, cleave in sunder, or in any case
Be not more hardened and impermeable
Than was the black rock in the desert-space,
Which with sweet water for the Jews did swell ;
Melt into tears and mercy cry, as well
Befits a lowly heart that humbly prays :
Give to the Court, the kingdom's glory, praise, —
The Frenchman's stay, the help of strangerhood,
Born of high heaven amidst the empyreal rays :
Sister of angels, mother of the good!

III

And you, my teeth, your sockets leave apace ;
Come forward, all, and loudlier than bell,
Organ or clarion, render thanks for grace
And every thought of chewing now repel.
Bethink you, I was doomed to death and hell,
Heart, spleen and liver palsied with affrays :
And you, my body, (else you were more base
Than bear or swine that in the dunhill brood,)
Extol the Court, ere worser hap amaze ;
Sister of angels, mother of the good!

DIVERS POEMS

ENVOI

Prince, of thy grace deny me not three days
To bid my friends adieu and go my ways :
Without them, I've nor money, clothes nor food.
Triumphant Court, be't as thy suppliant says ;
Sister of angels, mother of the good !

BALLAD OF VILLON'S APPEAL

I

GARNIER, how like you my appeal ?
Did I wisely, or did I ill ?
Each beast looks to his own skin's weal :
If any bind him, to keep or kill,
He does himself free to the best of his skill.
When then, sans reason, to me was sung
This pleasant psalm of a sentence, still
Was it a time to bold my tongue ?

II

Were I of Capet's race somedele
(Whose kin were butchers on Montmartre hill)
They had not bound me with iron and steel
Nor forced me to swizzle more than my fill :
(You know the trick of it, will or nil ?)
But, when of malice prepense and wrong,
They doomed me to swallow this bitter pill,
Was it a time to bold my tongue ?

DIVERS POEMS

III

Think you that under my cap I feel
Not reason nor ableness thereuntil,
Sufficient to say, ' I do appeal ' ?
Enough was left me (as warrant I will)
To keep me from holding my clapper still,
When jargon, that meant ' You shall be hung'
They read to me from the notary's bill :
Was it a time to hold my tongue ?

ENVOI

Prince, had I had the pip in my bill,
Long before this I should have swung,
A scarecrow hard by Montfaucon mill !
Was it a time to hold my tongue ?

BALLAD OF PROVERBS

I

GOATS scratch until they spoil their bed :
Pitcher to well too oft we send :
The iron's heated till it's red
And hammered till in twain it rend :
The tree grows as the twig we bend :
Men journey till they disappear
Even from the memory of a friend :
We shout out 'Noël' till it's here.

DIVERS POEMS

II

Some mock until their hearts do bleed :
Some are so frank that they offend :
Some waste until they come to need :
A promised gift is ill to spend :
Some love God till from church they trend :
Wind shifts until to North it veer :
Till forced to borrow do we lend :
We shout out 'Noël' till it's here.

III

Dogs fawn on us till them we feed :
Song's sung until by heart it's kenned :
Fruit's kept until it rot to seed :
The leagured place falls in the end :
Folk linger till the occasion wend :
Haste oft throws all things out of gear :
One clips until the grasp's o'erstrained :
We shout out 'Noël' till it's here.

ENVOI

Prince, fools live so long that they mend :
They go so far that they draw near :
They're cozened till they apprehend :
We shout out 'Noël' till it's here.

DIVERS POEMS

BALLAD OF THINGS KNOWN AND
UNKNOWN

I

FLIES in the milk I know full well :
I know men by the clothes they wear :
I know the walnut by the shell :
I know the foul sky from the fair :
I know the pear-tree by the pear :
I know the worker from the drone
And eke the good wheat from the tare :
I know all save myself alone.

II

I know the pourpoint by the fell
And by his gown I know the frère :
Master by varlet I can spell :
Nuns by the veils that hide their hair :
I know the sharper and his snare
And fools that fat on cates have grown :
Wines by the cask I can compare :
I know all save myself alone.

III

I know how horse from mule to tell :
I know the load that each can bear :
I know both Beatrice and Bell :
I know the hazards, odd and pair :

DIVERS POEMS

I know of visions in the air :
I know the power of Peter's throne
And how misled Bohemians were :
I know all save myself alone.

ENVOI

Prince, I know all things : fat and spare,
Ruddy and pale, to me are known
And Death that endeth all our care :
I know all save myself alone.

BALLAD OF POOR CHIMNEYSWEEPS

I

MEN talk of those the fields that till ;
Of those that sift out chaff from corn ;
Of him that has, will he or nill,
A wife that scoldeth night and morn, —
As folk hard driven and forlorn :
Of men that often use the sea ;
Of monks that of poor convents be ;
Of those behind the ass that go :
But, when all things consider we,
Poor chimneysweeps have toil eno'.

DIVERS POEMS

II

To govern boys and girls with skill,
God wot, 's no labour lightly borne :
Nor to serve ladies at Love's will ;
Or do knight suit at sound of horn,
Helmet and harness always worn,
And follow arms courageously :
To joust and tilt with spears, perdie,
And quintain play, is hard, I know :
But, when all things consider we,
Poor chimneysweeps have toil eno'.

III

God wot, they suffer little ill
By whom wheat's reaped and meadows shorn ;
Or those that thresh grain for the mill
Or plead the Parliament beforene ;
To borrow money's little scorn ;
Tinkers and carters have to dree
But little hardship, seemeth me ;
Nor does Lent irk us much, I trow :
But, when all things consider we,
Poor chimneysweeps have toil eno'.

[ENVOI *deest.*]

DIVERS POEMS

BALLAD OF FORTUNE

I

I OF old times by makers Fortune hight, —
Whom, François, thou dost rail at and decry, —
Far better men than thou, poor nameless wight,
I grind into the dust with poverty
And gar them delve i' the quarries till they die :
Wherefore complainest thou ? If thou live ill,
Thou art not singular : so, peace, be still.
Think but how many mighty men of yore
I've laid stark dead to stiffen in their gore,
By whom thou'rt but a scullion knave, perdie.
Content thee, then, and chide thy fate no more ;
I rede thee, Villon, take it all in gree.

II

Oft have I girded me to wreak my spite
Upon great kings : lo, in the days gone by,
Priam I slew ; and all his warlike might
Availed him nought, towers, walls nor ramparts high.
'Gainst Hannibal no less did I apply,
Who was attaint in Carthage by my skill :
And Scipio Africanus did I kill :
Great Cæsar to the Senate I gave o'er
And wrecked stout Pompey upon Egypt shore :
Jason I drowned by tempest on the sea
And burned both Rome and Romans heretofore :
I rede thee, Villon, take it all in gree.

DIVERS POEMS

III

Nay, Alexander, that renownèd knight,
Who longed to reach the backward of the sky
And shed much blood, with poison did I blight;
I made Arphaxad on the field to lie,
Dead, by his royal standard. Thus did I
Full many a time and yet more will fulfil:
Nor time nor reason can awry my will.
Huge Holophernes, too, that did adore
Strange gods, whom Judith with his sword of war
Slew as he slept; and Absalom, as he
Fled, by the love-locks hanged I that he wore.
I rede thee, Villon, take it all in gree.

ENVOI

Poor François, set my rede in thy heart's core:
If I could aught without God's leave or lore,
I'd leave no rag to one of all that be;
For each ill done I'd compass half a score:
I rede thee, Villon, take it all in gree.

BALLAD AGAINST THOSE WHO MISSAY OF FRANCE

I

LET him meet beasts that breathe out fiery rain,
Even as did Jason hard by Colchis town;
Or seven years changed into a beast remain,
Nebuchadnezzar-like, to earth bowed down;

DIVERS POEMS

Or suffer else such teen and mickle bale
As Helen's rape on Trojans did entail;
Or in Hell's marshes fallen let him fare
Like Tantalus and Proserpine or bear
A grievouser than Job his sufferance,
Prisoned and pent in Dædalus his snare, —
Who would wish ill unto the realm of France.

II

Four months within a marish let him plain,
Bittern-like, with the mud against his crown;
Or sell him to the Ottoman, to chain
And harness like an ox, the scurvy clown!
Or thirty years, like Maudlin, without veil
Or vesture, let him his misdeeds bewail;
Or with Narcissus death by drowning share;
Or die like Absalom, hanged by the hair;
Or Simon Magus, by his charms' mischance;
Or Judas, mad with horror and despair, —
Who would wish ill unto the realm of France.

III

If but Octavian's time might come again,
His molten gold should down his throat be thrown,
Or 'twixt two millstones he should grind for grain,
As did St. Victor; or I'd have him drown
Far out to sea, where help and breath should fail,
Like Jonah in the belly of the whale;

DIVERS POEMS

Let him be doomed the sunlight to forswear,
Juno her goods and Venus debonair,
And be of Mars oppressed to utterance, —
As was Antiochus the king, whilere, —
Who would wish ill unto the realm of France.

ENVOI

Prince, may winds bear him to the wastes of air
Or to the mid-sea woods and sink him there :
Be all his hopes changed to deseperance ;
For he deserves not any fortune fair
Who would wish ill unto the realm of France.

BALLAD OF THE DEBATE OF THE HEART AND BODY OF VILLON

I

WHAT is't I hear? — 'Tis I, thy heart; 'tis I
That hold but by a thread for frailty,
I have nor force nor substance, all drained dry,
Since thee thus lonely and forlorn I see,
Like a poor cur, curled up all shiveringly. —
How comes it thus? — Of thine unwise liesse. —
What irks it thee? — *I suffer the distress.*
Leave me in peace. — Why? — I will cast about. —
When will that be? — When I'm past childishness. —
I say no more. — And I can do without. .

DIVERS POEMS

II

What deemest thou? — To mend before I die. —

At thirty years? — 'Tis a mule's age, perdie. —

Is't childhood? — Nay. — 'Tis madness, then, doth ply

And grip thee? — Where? — By the nape. — Seemeth me

Nothing I know? — Yes, flies in milk, maybe :

Thou canst tell black from white yet at a press. —

Is't all? — What words can *all* thy faults express? —

If 't's not enough, we'll have another bout. —

Thou'rt lost. — I'll make a fight for't none the less. —

I say no more. — And I can do without.

III

Dule have I, pain and misery thou thereby :

If thou wert some poor idiot, happily

Thou mightst have some excuse thy heart anigh.

Lo, foul and fair are all alike to thee.

Or harder is thy head than stone by sea

Or more than honour likes thee this duress.

Canst thou say aught in answer? Come, confess. —

I shall be quit on't when I die, no doubt. —

God! what a comfort 'gainst a present stress!

I say no more. — And I can do without.

IV

Whence comes this evil? — Surely, from on high :

When Saturn made me up my fardel, he

Put all these ills in. — 'Tis a foolish lie :

Thou art Fate's master, yet its slave wilt be.

Thereof see Solomon his homily ;

DIVERS POEMS

The wise, he says, no planets can oppress :
They and their influence own his mightiness. —
Nay, as they've made me, so shall it fall out. —
What sayst thou ? — 'Tis the faith that I profess. —
I say no more. — And I can do without.

ENVOI

Wilt thou live long ? — So God vouchsafe me, yes. —
Then must thou — What ? — Repent ; forswear idlesse
And study — What ? — The lore of righteousness. —
I'll not forget. — Forsake the motley rout
And to amendment straightway thee address :
Delay not till thou come to hopelessness.
I say no more. — And I can do without.

BALLAD

WRITTEN BY VILLON UPON A SUBJECT PROPOSED BY CHARLES
DUC D'ORLEANS

I

I DIE of thirst, although the spring's at hand ;
Hot as a fire, my teeth with cold do shake ;
In my own town, I'm in a foreign land ;
Hard by a burning brazier do I quake ;
Clad like a king, yet naked as a snake.

DIVERS POEMS

I laugh through tears, expect sans hope soe'er
And comfort take amidleward despair ;
Glad, though I joy in nought beneath the sun,
Potent am I, and yet as weak as air ;
Well entertained, rebuffed of every one.

II

Nought's dim to me save what I understand ;
Uncertain things alone for sure I take ;
I doubt but facts that all unquestioned stand ;
I'm only wise by chance for a whim's sake ;
'Give you good-night !' I say, whenas I wake ;
Lying at my length, of falling I beware ;
I've goods enough, yet not a crown to spare ;
Leave off a loser, though I still have won ;
Await bequests, although to none I'm heir ;
Well entertained, rebuffed of every one.

III

I care for nought, yet all my life I've planned
Goods to acquire, although I've none at stake ;
They speak me fairest, by whom most I'm banned,
And truest, who most mock of me do make :
He is my friend, who causes me mistake
Black ravens for white swans and foul for fair ;
Who doth me hurt, I hold him debonair ;
'Twixt truth and lying difference see I none ;
Nought I conceive, yet all in mind I bear ;
Well entertained, rebuffed of every one.

DIVERS POEMS

ENVOI

Most clement Prince, I'd have you be aware
That I'm like all and yet apart and rare;
Much understand, yet wit and knowledge shun :
To have my wage again is all my care;
Well entertained, rebuffed of every one.

BALLAD OF VILLON'S REQUEST TO THE DUC DE BOURBON

I

GRACIOUS my lord and prince of mickle dread,
Flower of the Lily, Royal progeny,
François Villon, whom dule and teen have led
To the blind strokes of Fate to bend the knee,
Sues by this humble writing unto thee,
That thou wilt of thy grace to him make loan.
Before all courts his debit he will own :
Doubt not but he thy right will satisfy,
With interest thereunder due and grown :
Nothing but waiting shalt thou lose thereby.

II

Of no prince has thy creature borrowéd,
Save of thyself, a single penny fee :
The six poor crowns were wholly spent in bread,
That whiles thy favour did advance to me.
All shall be paid together, I agree,

DIVERS POEMS

And that right soon, ere many days be flown ;
For if in Patay wood are acorns known
Or chestnuts thereabouts folk sell and buy,
In season thou shalt have again thine own :
Nothing but waiting shalt thou lose thereby.

III

If I could sell my youth and lustihead
Unto the Lombards, usurers that be,
Lack-gold has brought me to such piteous stead,
I do believe I should the venture dree,
In purse or belt no money can I see :
I wonder what it is, by God His throne !
For unto me, save it be wood or stone,
No cross at all appears, — I do not lie :
But, if the true cross once to me be shown,
Nothing but waiting shalt thou lose thereby.

ENVOI

Prince of the Lys, that lov'st good deeds alone,
Think'st thou it has not cost me many a groan
That I can not to my intent draw nigh ?
Give ear, if it so please thee, to my moan :
Nothing but waiting shalt thou lose thereby.



SUNDRY POEMS
ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON



Here follow sundry Poems commonly
attributed to Master François Villon

ROUNDEL



AREWELL, I say, with tearful eye.

Farewell, the dearest sweet to see!

Farewell, o'er all the kindest she!

Farewell, with heavy heart say I.

Farewell, my love, my soul, good-bye!

My poor heart needs must part
from thee:

Farewell, I say, with tearful eye.

Farewell, by whose default I die

Deaths more than told of tongue can be:

Farewell, of all the world to me

Whom most I blame and hold most high!

Farewell, I say, with tearful eye.

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON

A MERRY BALLAD OF VINTNERS

I

BY dint of dart, by push of sharpened spear,
By sweep of scythe or thump of spike-set mace,
By poleaxe, steel-tipped arrow-head or shear
Of double-handed sword or well-ground ace,
By dig of dirk or tuck with double face,
Let them be done to death; or let them light
On some ill stead, where brigands lurk by night,
That they the hearts from out their breasts may tear,
Cut off their heads, then drag them by the hair
And cast them on the dunghill to the swine,
That sows and porkers on their flesh may fare,
The vintners that put water in our wine.

II

Let Turkish quarrels run them through the rear
And rapiers keen their guts and vitals lace;
Singe their perukes with Greek fire, ay, and sear
Their brains with levins; string them brace by brace
Up to the gibbet; or for greater grace,
Let gout and dropsy slay the knaves outright:
Or else let drive into each felon wight

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON

Irons red-heated in the furnace-flare :
Let half a score of hangmen flay them bare ;
And on the morrow, seethed in oil or brine,
Let four great horses rend them then and there,
The vintners that put water in our wine.

III

Let some great gunshot blow their heads off sheer ;
Let thunders catch them in the market-place ;
Let rend their limbs and cast them far and near,
For dogs to batten on their bodies base ;
Or let the lightning-stroke their sight efface.
Frost, hail and snow let still upon them bite ;
Strip off their clothes and leave them naked quite,
For rain to drench them in the open air ;
Lard them with knives and poniards and then bear
Their carrion forth and soak it in the Rhine ;
Break all their bones with mauls and do not spare
The vintners that put water in our wine.

ENVOI

Prince, may God curse their vitals ! is my prayer ;
And may they burst with venom all, in fine,
These traitorous thieves, accursèd and unfair,
The vintners that put water in our wine.

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON

BALLAD OF THE TREE OF LOVE

I

I HAVE within my heart of hearts a tree,
A plant of Love, fast rooted therewithin,
That bears no fruit, save only misery;
Hardship its leaves and trouble its flowers bin.
But, since to set it there Love did begin,
It hath so mightily struck root and spread
That, for its shadow, all my cheer is fled
And all my joys do wither and decay:
Yet win I not, of all my lustihead,
Other to plant or tear the old away.

II

Year after year, its branches watered be
With tears as bitter and as salt as sin;
And yet its fruits no fairer are to see
Nor any comfort therefrom can I win:
Yet pluck I them among the leavis thin;
My heart thereon full bitterly is fed,
That better had lain fallow, ay, or dead,
Than to bear fruits of poison and dismay:
But Love his law allows me not instead
Other to plant or tear the old away.

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON

III

If, in this time of May, when wood and lea
Are broidered all with leaves and blossoms sheen,
Love would vouchsafe this succour unto me, —
To prune away the boughs that lie between,
That so the sun among the buds be seen,
And imp thereon some graft of goodlihead, —
Full many a pleasant burgeon would it shed,
Whence joy should issue, lovelier than the day;
And no more were despair solicitèd
Other to plant or tear the old away.

ENVOI

Dear my Princess, my chiefest hope and dread,
Whom my heart serves in penitential stead,
The woes that harrow it do thou allay
And suffer not thy constant thought be led
Other to plant or tear the old away.

BALLAD OF LADIES' LOVE

No. I

I

WELL enough favoured and with substance still
Some little stored, chance brought me 'neath
love's spell
And day and night, until I had my will,
I pined in languor unendurable:
I loved a damsel more than I can tell;

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON

But, with good luck and rose-nobles a score,
I had what men of maids have had before.
Then, in myself considering, I did say :
'Love sets by pleasant speech but little store;
The wealthy gallant always gains the day.'

II

So chanced in that, whilst coin my purse did fill,
The world went merry as a marriage bell
And I was all in all with her, until,
Without word said, my wanton's loose eyes fell
Upon a graybeard, rich but foul as hell :
A man more hideous never woman bore.
But what of that? He had his will and more :
And I, confounded, stricken with dismay,
Upon this text went glosing passing sore :
'The wealthy gallant always gains the day.'

III

Now she did wrong; for never had she ill
Or spite of me: I cherished her so well
That, had she asked me for the moon, my skill
I had essayed to storm heaven's citadel.
Yet, of sheer vice, her body did she sell
Unto the service of that satyr hoar:
The which I seeing, of my clerkly lore
I made and sent to her a piteous lay:
And she: 'Lack-gold undid thee:' words but four.
The wealthy gallant always gains the day.

POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON

ENVOI

Fair Prince, more skilled than any one of yore
In pleasant speech, look thou have coin galore
Within thy pouch: as Meung that clerk so gay
And wise, hath told us, in the amorous war
The wealthy gallant always gains the day.

BALLAD OF LADIES' LOVE:

No. 2

Here endeth the Book of the Poems of
Master François Villon

1 This Ballad is omitted for the reasons stated in the Foreword.



NOTES

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IN preparing the following, I have endeavoured, as far as possible, to avoid encumbering the book with a quantity of unnecessary notes, bearing upon information within the reach of every educated person, and have confined myself to throwing light, to the best of my ability, upon such points as must of necessity be obscure to all but a special student of the old poet. Even this limited scheme must unavoidably be but imperfectly carried out: many of Villon's allusions to persons, places and things are at the present day hopelessly obscure and inexplicable, owing to our defective acquaintance with his life and times, and I have chosen to leave untouched the passages wherein they occur, rather than hamper the text with a mass of vague and purely conjectural explanations, which my readers are perfectly well qualified to suggest for themselves. Those admirers of the poet, who are desirous of making themselves more minutely acquainted with the labours of modern criticism, should consult the monographs of MM. Bijvanck, Longnon and Vitu and the editions cited in my prefatory note, where they will find all that is at present known or conjectured on the subject ably and impartially stated and discussed.

NOTES TO THE LESSER TESTAMENT

Octave i. line 7. — *Vegetius*. Flavii Vegetii Epitome Rei Militaris, the translation (or rather paraphrase) of which by Jehan de Meung, under the title of "L'Art de Chevalerie selon Vegesse," is frequently cited by mediæval writers.

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Oct. ix. — Villon seems here to burlesque the customs of chivalry, feigning himself a knight and bequeathing the paraphernalia of knighthood to some relative charged to maintain the honour of the name.

Oct. xii. — *The White Horse, Mule, Diamond and Striped Ass* were probably signs of well-known taverns. The Decretal *Omnis utrius sexus* was (according to M. Prompsault) one ordering all Christians to confess at least once a year to their parish priest and had lately been revived against the Mendicant Orders, by the repeal of an intermediate Bull authorising the latter to receive confessions in detriment to the rights of the regular clergy.

Oct. xiii. — *The Wetber, Gad, Crowned Ox and Cow and Churl*. Probably also tavern signs.

Oct. xv. — *The Art of Memory*. Probably either the *Ars Memorativa* or the *Ars Memorix* of Jacobus Publicius, popular mnemonic treatises of the middle ages. *Misprepense*. Malpensé, probably as M. Bijvanck suggests, a farce-type or personification of a harebrained witless man, of the family of Maugouverne, Malavisé Malduit, Malemort, etc., in the popular stage-pieces, farces, *sotties*, moralities and mysteries of the time. Villon here, according to his usual practice, first makes a bequest and then virtually annuls it, giving the legatee the book called *the Art of Memory*, but directing it to be procured from Malpensé, the one person of all others who would not possess it. It may be noted, once for all, that this underlying contradiction in terms is the motive of most of the fantastic legacies contained in the poet's two Testaments.

Oct. xvi. l. 7. — Clément Marot suggests that the shop in question was to be that of a scribe or public writer. *Also the acorns willows bear*. Another instance of an illusory bequest as willows of course bear no *glands* or acorns.

Oct. xix. — According to M. Lacroix, the Castle of Nygeon and Bicêtre near Paris were both in ruins in Villon's time and the haunt of numerous bands of thieves and vagabonds. They were probably well known to the poet, who facetiously bequeaths the right of shelter in them to Montigny and Grigny, fellow-rogues of his.

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Oct. xx.—*The 'Puppet' Cistern.* L'Abreuvoyr Poupin, a well-known resort of rogues and vagabonds on the Pont Neuf, apparently a sort of succursal to the more celebrated Cour des Miracles. The text may, perhaps, be read as referring to a low tavern situate in the neighbourhood. *The Fir-cone* (or *Fir Apple*) *Tavern.* Le Cabaret de la Pomme de Pin, the most famous of its time in Paris, situate in the Rue de la Juiverie and mentioned by many writers of the day. *Back to chair.* Le doz aux rains, *i. e.*, le dos aux reins, lit. "back to loins," *i. e.*, lying back in an unceremonious attitude of comfortable abandon in his chair. *Rains* may also be read as for *rains*, an old French form of *rameaux*, branches, often used in the sense (v. Diez, Ducange, etc.) of "faggots," in which case *le doz aux rains* would mean "with his back to the faggots piled up beside the fire." M. Bijvanck's proposal to read "le doz aux rais," *i. e.*, back to the rays of the sun, is too far-fetched for adoption. This octave is one of the most garbled in the whole work and has been a favourite battle-ground of the commentators.

Oct. xxi. l. 3.—*That baron's grace.* The baron alluded to appears to have been the Lieutenant-Criminel of Paris. Jehan Mautainct and Pierre Basanier were officials of his (the Châtelet) Court.

Oct. xxii.—*The Helmet.* Apparently a tavern sign. *La Pierre au Lait*, according to M. Longnon, was an old name for the Rue des Ecrivains (formerly) near St. Jacques de la Boucherie. *The Three Lilies.* Les Trois-Lis, supposed by some commentators to have been the name of a dungeon (perhaps Les Trois-Lits, the Three Beds) in the Châtelet Prison; but a reference is probably meant to some tavern sign.

Oct. xxiii.—Some sort of play appears to be here intended upon the word *Barre*, in its heraldic sense of bend sinister or sign of illegitimacy and its mediæval meaning of merchant's bar or counter. *Goodcheap man* or Chapman. Un bon marchand, a cant name for a thief; who, getting goods cheap, *i. e.*, for nothing, can afford to sell them again at a low price. The legatee seems to have been a *souteneur* or prostitutes' bully; hence the gift of straw, which was used by women of ill fame in lieu of carpet. Some

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versions of this passage read *marquand* for *marchant*, in which case Villon may be supposed to have intended a play upon the word *marque*, a mediæval slang equivalent for our *doxy* or *blowen*; thus *marquand* might mean dealer in *marques* or wenches, which would accord with the legatee's character.

Oct. xxiv. — Chollet and Jehan le Loup. Thieves of Villon's acquaintance. *A duck*. It seems uncertain whether the poet refers to the ducks and geese kept by the city of Paris and adjacent commoners upon the water-moats, or to the prostitutes (known by the cant names of *oies* and *canettes*) who used to haunt the dry moats after sundown.

Oct. xxvii. l. 1. — *My right of nomination*. "Les nominations étaient une certaine quantité de prebendes attribuées aux gradués des Universités par l'Article 15 de la Pragmatique." Coquillart, Ed. Héricault I., p. 131, n. 2.

Oct. xxix. l. 1. — *The Crozier of the street Of St. Antoine*. A tavern sign, evidently introduced for the sake of a play upon the words *crosse* (crozier) and *on crosse* (folk beat or butt, strike the ball with the cue).

Oct. xxx. — *The lodgers 'neath the stalls*, i. e., the beggars and vagabonds who used to lie under the street-booths or stalls by night. *Each one a buffet on the eye*. Chacun sur l'œil une grongnée. "Groignet, gourmade, coup de poing sur l'œil ou visage." — *Ducange*.

Oct. xxxii. l. 6. — *The Fifteen Signs*. Les Quinze Signes du Jugement dernier, a favourite theme of mediæval homily and morality.

Oct. xxxiii. — *Le Mortier d'Or*. Probably the sign of some well-known shop or tavern at Paris, facetiously bequeathed to Jehan de la Garde, in allusion to his nickname of 'Epicier.' *To grind his mustard*. Broyer sa moutarde, according to M. Bijvauck, anciently meant "to chew upon one's ill humour or chagrin." The *pestle from St. Maur* would seem to have been a gibbet. (The legatee, as a sergeant of the watch, was of course one of Villon's natural enemies.) I believe the double-handed pestle was at one time called *potence*, on account of its resemblance to an ordinary cross-barred gallows. M. Moland thinks it may have meant one of the

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crutches hung up *ex-voto* in the Church of St. Maur. In the seventh line of the same stanza Villon says, *St. Anthony roast bim full sore!* alluding to the erysipelatous disease known as St. Anthony's fire.

Oct. xxxiv. — *Gouvieux* (says M. Lacroix) was a castle on the Oise, of which Peter de Ronseville was probably governor. It is possible that Villon had been imprisoned there and made this bequest to the gaolers, in derisive memory of his sufferings at their hands. *Such crowns . . . as the prince giveth for largesse*, i. e., none at all, princes in general (or perhaps some contemporary prince in particular renowned for his closefistedness) being in the habit of promising much, but giving little.

Octaves xxxvi-viii. — These three octaves appear to be a clumsy paraphrase (or perhaps parody) of some popular mediæval abstract or digest of Aristotle *de Animâ* in use in the schools.

Oct. xl. l. 7. — *Pewter*. Billon, i. e., base or small coin, other than silver.

NOTES TO THE GREATER TESTAMENT

Oct. v. — *I'm ill at reading*, i. e. prayers. Some texts have *lire*, others *dire*, but the two expressions are practically synonymous and signify the act of supplication, prayers in the Middle Ages being always read. *'Twould be but such as Picards' were*; i. e. none at all, the Picards or heretics of the Walloon country being popularly credited with dispensing altogether with prayer, probably from the fact that they eschewed prayers for the dead.

Oct. vi. ll. 7 and 8. — *The seventh verse . . . Of the Psalm Deus laudem*. This is the *eighth* verse of Psalm six. of the English version (*Hold not Thy tongue, O God of my praise!*) and stands thus, *Let his days be few and another take his office*. Villon's intention in applying it to the Bishop of Orleans is still more obvious when we compare the Vulgate version, '*Fiant dies ejus pauci et episcopatum ejus accipiat alter.*'

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Oct. x. l. 6. — *The late Lord Dauphin*, i. e. Louis XI himself, who bore the title of Dauphin of Viennois during his father's lifetime.

Oct. xii. l. 8. — *Averrhodes bis Comment*, i. e. upon Aristotle.

Oct. xx. ll. 7-8 — *Valerius . . . Of Rome styled Greatest*. Valerius Maximus. The anecdote of Diomedes and Alexander appears to have been taken *not* from Valerius, as stated in the text, but from a fragment of Cicero de Republicâ, quoted by Nonius Marcellus, in which the corsair's name is not given.

Oct. xxx. l. 7. — *Sbod, breeched like oyster-fishers*, i. e. bare-legged and footed?

Oct. xxxvi. l. 5. — *Jacques Cœur*. The great French merchant and patriot, whose liberality enabled Charles VII to accomplish the reconquest of France and who afterwards fell into disgrace through Court intrigues.

Oct. xxxvii. l. 2. — *Alas, no longer is he one!* Alluding of course to Jacques Cœur, who died at Chio, Nov. 25, 1456.

Oct. xxxix. ll. 5, 7. — *High-tired or hooded*, i. e. ladies of quality or women of the middle class.

BALLAD OF OLD-TIME LADIES, ii, 5. — *The queen who willed, etc.* Marguerite de Bourgogne, wife of Louis le Hutin, King of France. Cf. Dumas' famous drama, *La Tour de Nesle*.

FIRST BALLAD OF OLD-TIME LORDS, iii. 6. — *Lancelot, King of Behaine*. This appears, at first sight, to refer to the fabulous hero of La Mort d'Arthur, Lancelot du Lac, King of Bayonne or Behaine; but the commentators are probably correct in supposing the person whom the poet had in view to be Wladislaw, King of Bohemia, who died in 1457.

THE COMPLAINT OF THE FAIR HELM-MAKER. — *La Belle Heaulmière*. Opinions differ as to whether this personage was a woman of loose life, so called from the tall cap, *helm* or *hennin*, said to have been worn by her class, or a grisette whose occupation was the manufacture or sale of such articles or of actual helmets. iv. l. 3. — *Even had he made me faggots bear*. Et m'eust il fait les rains trayner. A possible alternative reading is "Even had he made me drag my loins," i. e. ground me to the earth with hard work and ill usage.

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Oct. lvii. l. 4.—*That a felt hat a mortar was.* The *mortier* or square cap worn by the Judges of the Parliament is probably meant.

Oct. lxiii. ll. 2 and 3.—*Made me drink of water cold So much.* An allusion to the question by water, which Villon appears to have more than once undergone during his confinement in Meung gaol.

Oct. lxiv. l. 7.—*As God loves Lombards, etc.* It may, perhaps, be necessary to remind the reader that the Lombards, as the usurers of the middle ages and the inventors of banking and pawn-broking, bore much the same evil repute as the Jews of our own day.

Oct. lxviii. ll. 7 and 8.—*Nor will I make it manifest Except unto the realm of France.* It appears to have been in Villon's time obligatory, or at all events customary, to deposit (or *manifest*) wills with an ecclesiastical official during the lifetime of the testator. Villon afterwards (see Oct. clxxii.) expresses his intention of cheating the Registrar of Wills of his fees.

Oct. lxxviii. l. 2.—*"The Devil's Crake" Romaunt.* Le Rommant du Pet-au-Diable. The researches of M. Marcel Schwob in the Archives Nationales of France have brought to light the judicial record of the protracted litigation between the University and the Provostry of Paris, consequent upon the measures taken by the latter for the putting down of certain riotous proceedings of the undergraduates, which kept the city in an uproar for the greater part of three years (1451-3) and which had their origin in the carrying-off by the students of a great *borne*, (a curb- or mere-stone, intended, in the absence of a footpath, to protect the front of the house before which it was planted against passing vehicles,) called "Le Pet-au-Diable" and belonging to the *hôtel* or town residence of a widow lady of quality, by name Catherine de Béthisy, Damoiselle de Bruyères. Villon doubtless bore his full share in this riotous frolic of his contemporaries at the University and we may reasonably suppose the "Romaunt" in question (which appears to be irretrievably lost) to have been a burlesque epic (probably a parody of the Chansons de Geste) of his fashion, celebrating his own and his fellow-students' exploits in the matter of the famous *borne*. Cf. Oct. cxxxiv, post.

BALLAD THAT VILLON MADE AT THE REQUEST OF HIS MOTHER, ETC.—*Mary of Egypt.* V. Jac. de Voragine, Leg.

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Sanctorum (Leg. Aurea), Vit. Sanctæ Mariæ Ægyptiacæ. *And eke Theophilus*. Theophilus, Vicar-general (*vicedominus*) of the diocese of Adana in Cilicia in the sixth century, being deposed by his bishop, sold himself to the devil to have his office again, but, being presently seized with remorse, besought the Virgin, for whom he had always (like the late Cardinal Newman) professed an especial devotion, with such instance that she, remembering her of his past good service, intervened on his behalf and compelled the Evil One to restore the contract. This legend was the subject of numerous mediæval poems and mysteries, of which the most celebrated, *Le Miracle de Théophile*, was the composition of the thirteenth-century trouvère Rutubeuf, who also left a poem on "La Vie de Sainte Marie L'Egipcienne."

Oct. lxxxvii. — *The White Horse, Mare, Mule, Brick-red Ass*. Tavern signs.

Oct. lxxxviii. l. 3 and 4. — *Of wine of Aulnis, from Turgis Taken at my peril, casks fourteen*. *Prins à mes perilz* may also mean "taken up at my charges." Robin Turgis was the host of the Pomme du Pin, on whom Villon is reputed to have played the Baigneux wine trick mentioned in the Repues Franches; (cf. Introduction, p. 40).

Oct. lxxxix. — *Though he's a chapman by estate*. Chapman (*marcband*) may here mean "thief." See my previous note on this word, Lesser Testament, Oct. xxiii. *My sword, without the scabbard*. *Branç*, the word here used for sword, probably because of its similarity in sound to *bran* or *bren*, merda. The intention is obvious. *Levied on those that come and go Within the Temple cloister-place*. A good instance of an illusory bequest. The "Cousture du Temple" being private property and enclosed, there would be no comers and goers there to be assessed.

Oct. xci. l. 2. — *The Muckle Mug in Grève*. The Grand Godet de Grève, apparently a wine-shop in the Place de Grève.

Oct. xcii. l. 8. — *Mother Maschicoue*. A well-known *rôtisseuse* or vendor of ready-roasted poultry, etc., whose shop was in La Porte Paris, near the Grand Châtelet.

Oct. xcix. l. 6. — *The cooper's mall*. — *Le hutinet*. This word, in another sense, is the diminutive of *butin*, n. and a., brawling,

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quarrelsomeness, contention, also quarrelsome, contentious ; hence the equivoque of the following lines.

Oct. c. l. 3. — *Good-cheap man*, i. e., thief. See previous notes.

Oct. ci. l. 2. — *An hundred cloves*. Cent clouz. An untranslatable play of words upon the word *clou*, in its double meaning of *nail* and *clove*.

Oct. cv. l. 8. — *The Abbess of Shaven-poll*. Huguette du Hamel, Abbess of Port Royal or Pourras, near Paris, a dissolute woman, whose shameless debaucheries earned her the popular perversion of her title to *Abbesse de Poil-Ras* or *Shaven-poll*, the cant name for a prostitute who had been pilloried.

Oct. cvi. l. 8 — *Contemplation*. Contemplation . . . the equivoque intended in the use of the French word is sufficiently obvious.

Oct. cvii. — *Nay, 'tis not that I give them this, But from their loins all children spring, Through God*. Mais de touz enfans sont les meres En Dieu. This is a hoplessly obscure passage and one can only guess at the meaning. *They love their husbands so*. Ilz ayment ainsi leurs maris, i. e., this is their (the monks') way of showing their love for the husbands. M. Longnon makes the unaccountable remark on this passage that *ilz* is here used for *elles*.

Oct. cviii. l. 5. — *Meung*. Jehan de Meung, one of the authors of the *Roman de la Rose*. *Jehan Poullieu*. Johannes de Poliaco, a theologian of the fourteenth century, who wrote against the Mendicant Friars and whose writings were condemned by Pope John XXII. *Matbeolus*. A Latin poet of Boulogne-sur-Mer in the thirteenth century.

BALLAD AND ORISON, i. 6. — *Arbitriclinus*. *Ἀρχιτρικλῖνος*, the Greek designation of the *governor of the feast* at the marriage in Cana, mistaken by Villon for a proper name.

Oct. cxviii. l. 3. — *Donatus*. The Latin grammar of the day, *ÆLIUS DONATUS de octo partibus orationis*.

Oct. cxiii. l. 1. — *The Clerks Eighteen*. Le Collège des Dix-Huit at Paris was founded in the time of St. Louis for the education of poor students.

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Oct. cxxvi. — *The Castle of Billy* was doubtless in the same ruinous and thief-haunted state as Nygeon and Bicêtre. Grigny seems to have been a coiner.

Oct. cxxvii. l. 3. — *The Canteen*. Le Barillet, probably a tavern sign.

Oct. cxxviii. l. 8. — *The Lord who serves St. Christopher*. The nobleman here alluded to is Robert d'Estouteville, Provost of Paris, in honour of whose marriage with Ambroise de Loré Villon composed the Ballad which follows, presumably in his student-days. The Provost appears to have made some special vow of service to St. Christopher (who was supposed to protect his devotees against *malemort*, i. e., death unshriven), according to frequent mediæval custom.

Oct. cxxix. l. 6. — *That tourney King René made*. A celebrated tournament or *pas d'armes* held by René of Anjou at Saumur in 1446.

BALLAD FOR A NEWLY MARRIED GENTLEMAN, ii. 3 and 4. — *Clary* . . . *sweet bay*, Olivier franc, . . . Lorier souef. An evident punning allusion to the name of the bride, which, by the way, is reproduced, *en acrostiche*, in the initial letters of the first fourteen lines of the original ballad. *Ambroise* is the old French name of the clary or wild sage (*O. E.* Ambrose) which was apparently also known as *Olivier franc*, wild olive. *Loré* is an old form of *laurier*, laurel or sweet bay.

Oct. cxxx. — The Perdryers were apparently fellow-thieves or comrades of Villon's, who had betrayed or cheated him in some unexplained way; perhaps turned King's evidence against him in respect of one or other of the nefarious transactions in which they were jointly concerned. The latter part of the octave seems to point to an information laid by François Perdrier against the poet in consequence of which the latter was punished for some one of his numerous escapades by the Parliament of Bourges.

Oct. cxxxi. l. 1. — *Taillevent*. *Le Viandier de Maître Taillevent*, cook to Charles VII, was the popular cookery-book of the time.

BALLAD ENTITLED THE COUNTERBLAST TO FRANC-GONTIER. — *Les Dictz de Franc-Gontier*, by Philippe de Vitré, Bishop of

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Meaux, was a popular pastoral romance of the fourteenth century, celebrating the delights of a country life : it was imitated in another book, entitled *Les Contredictz de Franc-Gontier*, in which are set forth the discomforts of a pastoral life and the hardships that arose from the oppression of the squires and seigneurs of the time, personified in a character called *le Tyran* and modelled upon some great nobleman of the day.

Oct. cxxxiv. — *Madame de Bruyères*. Catherine de Béthisy, *Damoiselle de Bruyères*. See ante, note to Oct. lxxviii.

Oct. cxxxv. l. 6. — *Macrobius*. The Latin rhetorician and grammarian, author of the well-known Commentary upon the *Somnium Scipionis* of Cicero and of other books in great repute during the Middle Ages.

Oct. cxxxviii. ll. 1 and 2. — *Wenches who Have fathers, mothers, aunts . . . i. e.*, prostitutes. Brothel-keepers and procuresses have always borne some such name as *tante*, expressing their relation to the unfortunates under their control.

Oct. cxxxix. l. 8. — *Metbinks, one scarce were damn'd for it ; i. e.*, for diverting a part of the superfluity of the monks and nuns to the benefit of the needy *filles de joie*.

[BALLAD OF VILLON AND MUCKLE MEG. — “The spirit of Villon is still living in the literature of France. Fat Peg is oddly of a piece with the work of Zola, the Goncourts, and the infinitely greater Flaubert ; and, while similar in ugliness, still surpasses them in native power. The old author, breaking with an *éclat de voix*, out of his tongue-tied century, has not yet been touched on his own ground, and still gives us the most vivid and shocking impression of reality. Even if that were not worth doing at all, it would be worth doing as well as he has done it ; for the pleasure we take in the author's skill repays us, or at least reconciles us to the baseness of his attitude. Fat Peg (*La Grosse Margot*) is typical of much ; it is a piece of experience that has nowhere else been rendered into literature ; and a kind of gratitude for the author's plainness mingles, as we read, with the nausea proper to the business. I shall quote here a verse of an old students' song, worth laying side by side with Villon's startling ballade. This singer, also, had an unworthy mistress, but he did not choose to

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share the wages of dishonour; and it is thus, with both wit and pathos, that he laments her fall:—

‘ Nunc plango florem
 Ætatis teneræ
 Nitidiorem
 Veneris sidere :
 Tunc columbinam
 Mentis dulcedinem,
 Nunc serpentinam
 Amaritudinem.
 Verbo rogantes
 Removes ostio,
 Munera dantes
 Foves cubiculo,
 Illos abire præcipis
 A quibus nihil accipis,
 Cæcos claudosque recipis,
 Viros illustres decipis
 Cum melle venenosa.’ ” 1

— ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON (*Preface to Familiar Studies of Men and Books*).]

Oct. cxlii. — *Master Hal*. Maître Henriot, the executioner of Paris. *Noel Wellbeseen*, Noel Joliz, the object of the unpleasant bequest made by this octave, is conjectured by some commentators to have been the poet's favoured rival with Catherine de Vaucelles and the person to whom he owed the beating mentioned in Stanza v of the Double Ballad of Light Loves. (q. v.).

Oct. cxlvii. l. 1. — *The Fifteen-Score*. The name (Quinze-Vingts) of a hospital at Paris founded by St. Louis for the reception of three hundred poor blind men, who were bound by the terms of their foundation to furnish mourners for all funerals taking place in the adjoining Cemetery of the Innocents.

Oct. cliii. — The transposition (now first made by M. Longnon from the MSS.) of this octave, which stands in all previous editions

1 *Gaudeamus: Carmina vagorum selecta*. Leipsic. Trübner. 1879.

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as Oct. cliv., from *after* to *before* the Roundel, "On my release," restores a very corrupt passage to its original sense, making it evident that the *lais* or ditty dedicated to the dead is, not (as seemed to be the case under the former arrangement) the Roundel aforesaid (which now appears in its true character, as the *lais*, mod. *legs*, given to Jacques Cardon) but the three elegiac octaves cxlix-cl. This restoration shows us how the old editors blundered into entitling the Roundel "Lais ou plutôt Rondeau" (two very different things), being misled by the introversion into mistaking *lais*, lay, for *lais*, legacy, the word having both meanings in old French.

Oct. clv. l. 2. — *Alain Chabrier's Lay*. L'Hôpital d'Amour.

Oct. clvi. ll. 7 and 8. — There appears to be some equivocal intended here upon the popular meaning of the word *truie*, i. e., prostitute.

Oct. clvii. — *The Seneschal* here mentioned appears to have been Louis de Bourbon, Seneschal et Mareschal du Bourbonnais, who is thought to have sheltered Villon, during his second exile, at his town of Roussillon in Dauphiné. The third line contains a play of words upon his title of *Mareschal* (technicè, *blacksmith*), and the fourth a possible allusion to the Prince's amorous disposition, *oies et canettes* being (as before mentioned) cant terms for women of loose life.

Oct. clviii. l. 6. — *The Blacksmiths' Provost*. Tristan l'Hermite.

Oct. clix. l. 1. — *Chappelain*. Probably a member of Villon's gang, upon whose name or nickname he plays.

Oct. clxiii. l. 2. — According to M. Lacroix, the Convent of St. Avoye was the only one at Paris which was situate on the second floor and consequently contained no burial-place.

Oct. clxvi. l. 2. — *The 'Belfry' Bell*. The largest of the bells of Notre Dame, called *Le Beffroi* and rung only on great occasions.

Oct. clxvii. l. 4. — *St. Stephen's loaves*, i. e., stones.

Oct. clxx. l. 6. — *Philip Brunel*. Supposed to have been the Seigneur de Grigny twice previously named by Villon, i. e., L. T., Oct. xviii. and G. T. Oct. cxxvi.

Oct. clxxii. l. 8. — *Perrette's Den*. Le Trou Perrette, a low cabaret and gambling-hell at Paris.

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NOTES TO DIVERS AND SUNDRY POEMS

BALLAD OF VILLON IN PRISON. — Apparently written in Meung gaol.

VARIANT, &C. — This is undoubtedly a spurious amplification of the foregoing Quatrain, but it is so well known that I have thought it well to leave it in its usual place among the occasional poems.

EPITAPH IN BALEAD-FORM. — Apparently written whilst awaiting execution for the burglary committed at the Collège de Navarre in 1456. (The two following Ballads appear to have been composed on the same occasion. The actual appeal to the Parliament against the sentence of death has not been handed down to us.)

BALLAD OF VILLON'S APPEAL, i. 1. — *Garnier*. Etienne Garnier, not (as hitherto supposed) the procureur or proctor who defended Villon on this occasion but (according to a note in the Stockholm MS.) the *clerc du guichet* or head gaoler of the Conciergerie Prison.

Do., ii. 1 and 2. — The *Chanson de Geste* of Hugues Capet, the founder of the Bourbon dynasty, represents him as the son of Richer, Sire de Beaugency, and of Beatrix, the daughter of a butcher of Montmartre. Dante also adopts the popular tradition to the same effect, putting into the mouth of the shade of the hero the words, *Figliuol fui d'un beccaio di Parigi*. (*Purg.* xx. 52). *Figliuol* may be read in its wider sense of "lineal descendant," but another version of the legend represents Capet's father himself as a butcher of great wealth, who married the widowed Duchess of Orleans. The whole story, however, appears to have had no foundation in fact.

BALLAD OF PROVERBS. — It is hardly necessary to note that the point of the refrain lies in the contemporary use of the word *Noël* (Christmas) as an exclamation in the sense of *Hurrah!* or *Vivat!* etc. ii. 1. 5. — *Some love God till from church they trend*. On reconsideration, I am convinced that this line should read *fuyt* (not *suyt*) *l'Eglise*. The substitution of the long *s* for the *f* is the commonest of copyists' blunders and the rectification is indicated by the intention of the line, which is manifestly antithetical.

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BALLAD OF THINGS KNOWN AND UNKNOWN, iii. 7. — *How misted Bobemians were.* The allusion here is supposed to be to the Hussite movement.

BALLAD AGAINST THOSE WHO MISSAY OF FRANCE, iii. 1. 1. — The "Octovien" named in this line is not, as supposed by M. Longnon, the Roman Emperor Augustus, whose adoptive name was Octavianus and who was a comparatively mild and beneficent ruler, but the imaginary tyrant of mediæval romance, the *Kaiser Octavianus* of Tieck and the old legends.

THE DEBATE OF VILLON'S BODY AND SOUL. — Probably written in Meung gaol.

BALLAD OF VILLON'S REQUEST, ii. 7. — According to M. Prompsault, there never was a wood at or near Patay. iii. 7, 8, 9. — An audacious play of words, founded upon the double meaning of the word *croix*, i. e., *cross* and *money*, e. g., the well-known phrase, *Il n'a ni croix ni pile* — 'He has not a rap.' The obverse of the coin of the time, now distinguished by the portrait of the prince issuing it, was then generally stamped with a cross, the reverse being called *pile*, a name which still survives. An apt instance of the old English use of the word 'cross' in the sense of the more modern 'rap' occurs in Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Faithful Friends*, act i. sc. 2;

Const. Pray, gentlemen, will you pay your reckoning there?

Snip. Not a *cross*, by this hand!

The mention of *the true cross* in the ninth line is a daring allusion to the famous *Vraie croix de St. Lô* to which Louis XI professed a special devotion.

SUNDRY POEMS ATTRIBUTED TO VILLON. — These (with the possible exception of the Ballad of Vintners) are certainly not by Villon; but as they have considerable merit of their own and are generally included in his works, I have thought it well to let them stand. The Ballad of the Tree of Love has recently been identified as the composition of Alain Chartier, whilst the two Ballads of Ladies' Love are probably of considerably later date, possibly altogether comparatively modern imitations of the ancient style. The Merry Ballads of Vintners is the only one that bears any trace

NOTES

of Villon's hand and may possibly be an early or inferior specimen of his work. As for the Roundel, the authorship of this tender little piece may perhaps be assigned to Eustache Deschamps, whose style it much resembles; cf. the Champenois poet's very similar *Rondeau des adieux à sa dame*, "Adieu, mon cuer; adieu, ma joye," etc.

FACSIMILES

J'aveo humains qui apert nous vint
 Nais les curus contre nous enduiz
 Cap se pitie de nous pouvoit auz
 Dieu en aura plus tost de bonz mesz
 Vouez nous bonz et atachés enq. sup
 Quant delashant q trop anone nonore
 Elle est prout de voir & pouvoit
 Et nous les os de l'endos sandre e poulda
 De nos mal pe forme n' s'aveit
 Mais pour dieu q tunc no' balle ab fouldr

De bons elamons fuz par men denz
 Auor de parz q nor q s'isines ome
 Par l'astur toudes fuz deus s'avez
 Et bons hommes nous par des s'aveit
 J'aveo de nous de men passie
 Enuoz les filz de l'aveo m'aveit
 Q'aveo pour nous n' s'aveit
 Enuoz par s'aveit de l'aveo fouldr
 Nous s'aveit de nous de nous s'aveit
 Mais pour dieu q tunc no' balle ab fouldr

L'apuz nonne a de bucy p l'ame,
Et l'estant d'us d'ha, p' noiony
p'vo corbeamp nonne onie l'ob y'ulp canoy
Et arach- labarba p' l'oe son fuy
Y'auaro mil bonuyt no l'ue f'amez affib
p'ue ca p'ma l' - unum - et l'ue d'auit
p' p' n' plaisir f'amez affib - nous ch'ave
p' l'ue l'uey'ro d'ou f'amez q' d'oz acouit d' -
Ne f'amez d'ou d'ou f'amez conf'ave
M'ne p'uz dieu q' f'amez no d'ou l'ue - et f'amez

De l'ame l'ue qui f'amez f'amez f'amez
Gardez que n' f'amez d'ou f'amez f'amez
L'uy n'ayone q' f'amez m' f'amez
L'oum'ob y'one f'amez d'ou f'amez
M'ne p'uz dieu q' f'amez no d'ou l'ue - et f'amez

Freres humains q apres nous vives
 Navez les cueurs cõtre no^r endureis
 Car se pitie de nous pouvez avez
 Dieu en aura plus tost de vo^r mercis
 Vous no^r voies cy ataches cinq sie
 Quãt de la char q trop auds nourrie
 Ellest pieca deuouree & pourrie
 et no^r les os deuenõs cẽdres & pouls
 De nre mal psonne ne sen tie (Die
 Mais pes dieu q to^r no^r vneille abs
 foudre.

Ses freres vo^r clãnde: pas ne deuez
 Auoir desdaing quoy q fumes occis
 Par iustice touteffois vous scãves
 Que to^r hdes nãt pas bon sẽs rãssie
 Excuses no^r pais que sãmes trãsis
 Enuers le filz de la vierge marie
 Que sa grace ne soit pour no^r tãtie
 No^r preseruãt d infernalle foudre
 Nous sãmes mors ame ne no^r harie
 Mais pes dieu q to^r no^r vneille abs
 (foudre

La pluye nous a brues et laines
Et le soleil deseches & noirciz
pies corbeaux no⁹ ont les penes car
et attacher la barbe les soartiz (uez
iamais nul teps no⁹ ne sommes rassis
Puis capuis la cõme le vent varie
A son plaisir sans cesser nous charie
pl⁹ becõtes d'oiseaux q̄ bez a consõie
Homme icy na point de moquerie
Mais pes bien q̄ to⁹ no⁹ vneille abs.
(soulõie

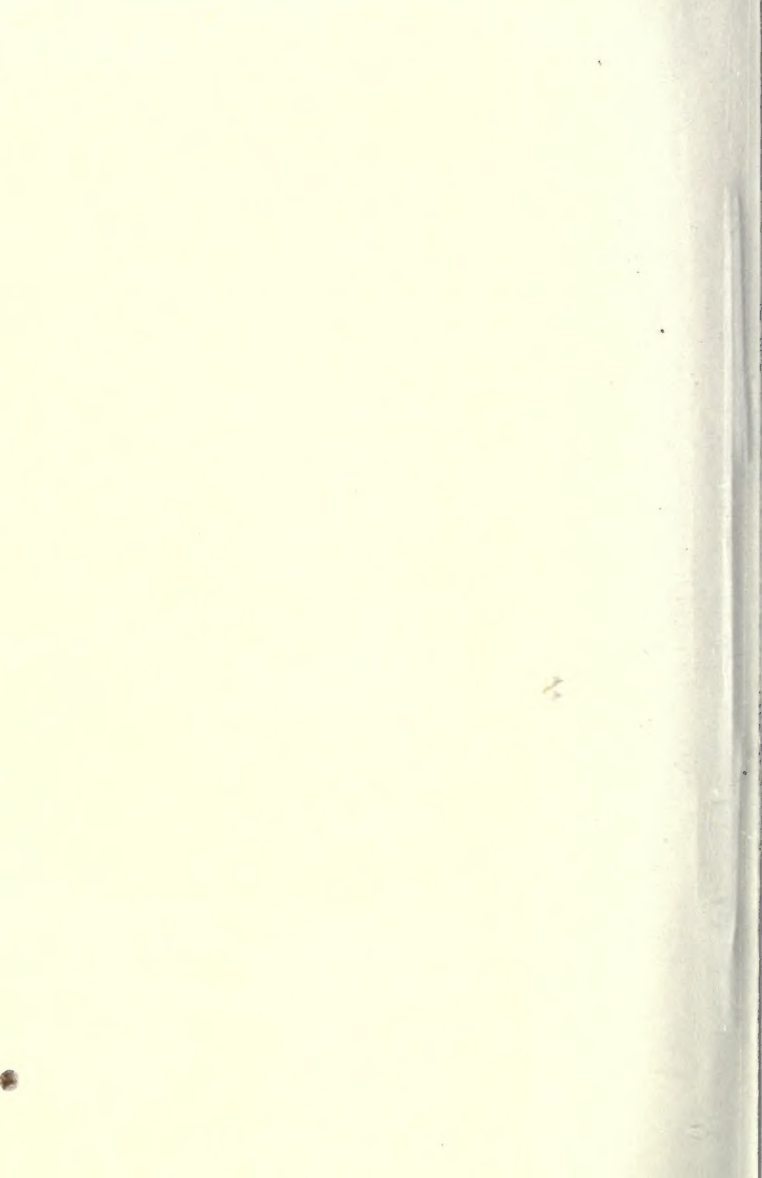
Prince iesus qui sur to⁹ seigneurie
gardes quẽfer naõt de no⁹ la maistrie
A sup naids que faire que ne soulõie
Ne soies donc de nostre confrainie
Mais pes bien que tous nous vneil
le absoulõie



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