

TERMS OF ADDRESS

WE HAVE SEEN alongside our examination of the use of generic descriptors that the poems attributed to Jehan are replete with verbs of hearing and speaking, such as *oïr*, *entendre*, *escouter*, *dire*, *raconter*, *recorder*, and *(r)amentevoir*. These were first observed by Morawski (1939), and are not the only hallmarks of orality that we find in Jehan's poems. Further examples often appear in the texts' prologues and epilogues, and include appeals to an audience to come close ("Tuit cil soient benei de Dieu et de sa Mere / Qui se trairont en sa et orront ma matere," *Pommes*, vv. 1–2), calls for silence ("s'il vous plaisoit a taire," *Mescreant*, v. 18), and the use of terms to directly address an audience ("bone gent," *Chevalier et escuier*, v. 1).

While these features could, as has been established for many other medieval texts, be a mere imitation of orality,¹ their prevalence was enough to convince Morawski, no doubt drawing on the work of Edmond Faral (1910), that Jehan's texts were "sans doute destinés à la récitation publique, sur une place,

I Cf. Marnette (1998), amongst others.

ABSTRACT This chapter explores how the texts we have attributed to Jehan navigate the relationship between narrator and audience, identifying idiosyncratic uses of terms of address which support the shared-author hypothesis. Through comparison with the *A-* and *F-corpora*, for example, I show that Jehan's preference for addressing his audience as *bone gent* is unusual, and provides the clearest evidence so far for the inclusion of *Robert*, *Richard*, and *Jehan Paulus* in his *œuvre*. Additionally, using digital methods I challenge previous assertions about Jehan's use of *seigneur*, showing that, when used to address an audience, it has an egalitarian sense that broadens Jehan's potential audience, rather than serving as a marker of social hierarchy. A further, particularly significant piece of evidence in support of the shared-author hypothesis appears in Jehan's formulaic use of *tous et toutes* and *ceulz et celles*, which emphasizes Jehan's aim to address all sections of society, regardless of sex or status, and which is especially unusual across our reference corpora. In this chapter, I largely exclude the *B-*, *P-*, and *R-corpora* from our analysis, since their diverse contents do not consistently address their audience in the same way as is observed for the *J-*, *A-*, and *F-corpora*.

un carrefour, le dimanche ou aux jours de foire" (1939, 343).² Munk Olsen (1978, xiii) agrees, arguing that the texts appear to have been written to be "récités en plein air sur la place publique après la messe ou un jour de foire."³

Whether we go so far as to take all these features at face value, in the way that previous scholarship has done, it is nevertheless still clear that Jehan's texts are suited to performance. It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that the poems of the *J-corpus* sit comfortably alongside most other short poetic texts from the fourteenth century and earlier, in that they were, at least on occasion, experienced by audiences through an aural medium.

bone gent

With this orality in mind, digital textual analysis can give us a greater and more concrete understanding of the interaction of the *J-corpus* narrator with his audience, particularly in comparison to other texts which are equally likely to have been performed, such as the *fabliaux*. In doing so we gain a clearer picture of the specificity, or rather the specific generality, of Jehan's targeted audience, which goes some way to support Munk Olsen's suggestion (1978, xiii) that the poems were composed to be "récités en plein air sur la place publique,"⁴ and enhances the associations between the texts of the *J-corpus*, and thus our hypothesis that they share an author.

Beginning first with the phrase *bone gent*, which Morawski (1939, 344) identifies as being used by Jehan to refer to his audience, we observe six instances of the phrase in this use, as seen in Table 16, with a reasonably even spread across texts. Notable here is the frequency with which *bone gent* appears at the beginnings and ends of lines, in an emphatic position that allows Jehan to better engage his audience, but also, particularly in the latter case, one which lends itself to the inclusion of words for reasons of rhyme or metre.

Within the *A-corpus* of narrative poems written in alexandrine monorhyme quatrains which have not previously been attributed to Jehan, we observe a further twenty-eight uses of *bone gent*, of which nine are used in a vocative sense, as a term of address for an audience, as displayed in Table 17.

² "undoubtedly intended for public recitation, in a square, at a crossroads, on Sundays, or on fair days."

³ "recited outdoors in a public square after mass, or on a fair day."

⁴ "recited outdoors in a public square."

Table 16. Uses of *bone gent* as a means of referring to the audience within the *J-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Pommes</i>	217		Bonne gent	or oiez pour saint Pere de Romme
<i>Chevalier et escuier</i>	1	Moult est bone acointance d'estoire	bone gent	
<i>Cordouanier</i>	9	Mais en quelconque leu que je sai	bone gent	
<i>Mescreant</i>	17		Bone gent	je vous veil moustrer une examplaire
<i>Anelés</i>	509		Bonne gent	par un mot qu'elle dist par folie
<i>Anelés</i>	549	"[...] Car du corps ne me chaut"	bonne gent	or oez

Table 17. Uses of *bone gent* as a means of referring to the audience within the *A-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Alexis</i>	473		Bonnes gens	mout fessoit ce saint corps a prizier
<i>Jehan Paulus</i>	61		Bonnes gens	escoutés com le prudons fut pris
<i>Sebastien</i>	214	Et pour tant	bonnes gens	que le chevecier doit
<i>Robert</i>	6		Bonne gent	il n'est roy prince ne connestable
<i>Robert</i>	313		Bonne gent	a cel temps que Robert fu el bois
<i>Robert</i>	404		Bonne gent	qui fait mal droiz est qu'il le compere
<i>Robert</i>	664	Par amours	bonne gent	oez que Robert fist
<i>Richard</i>	1		Bonnes gens	qui avez ouÿ de maint histoire
<i>Richard</i>	248		Bonnes gens	en ce temps que vous m'oés noncer

In this case, we note that all but two of them appear within *Robert*, *Richard*, and *Jehan Paulus*, three of the four texts which we have proposed for inclusion in Jehan's *œuvre*. Given the frequent appearances of *bone gent* in these texts now attributed to Jehan, it is striking that we do not observe the same frequency of use in the rest of the *A-corpus*, nor indeed in the *F-corpus* of *fabliaux*, which also contain numerous direct appeals to their audiences, including requests to come close and for silence. Across the 101 texts of the latter corpus, with a total word count greater than that of either the *J-* or *A-corpus*, there are only six uses of *bone gent*, of which none are used

to refer to the text's audience.⁵ This suggests that the term was not a particularly standard means of addressing an audience in a text intended for performance, and that the texts in which we have observed this feature are unusual in their vocative use of *bone gent*.

We may therefore argue that Jehan had a clear, individual preference for this phrase when used to address an audience, resulting in arguably the clearest evidence in favour of the shared author hypothesis so far, and adding to our growing body of evidence for the inclusion of *Robert*, *Richard*, and *Jehan Paulus* in Jehan's *œuvre*. While these indicators alone are not enough to reach certainty on the attribution of these texts to Jehan, they certainly point in that direction, and in our later analysis we will elucidate further areas where the texts display features which overlap with the pre-attributed texts of the *J-corpus*, supporting a shared attribution.

To return for now, however, to the *J-corpus* of poems previously attributed to Jehan, it is worth also considering the uses of *bone gent* beyond references to a text's audience. By examining the contexts of these twelve such instances, presented in Table 18, we can come to a clearer understanding of whom Jehan may have meant by the term when using it to refer to his audience. The instances of *bone gent* presented here are distinct from the examples used as a term of address for audience members in that they never appear at the very start or end of a line, again supporting the suggestion that the vocative uses of the phrase in the *J-* and *A-corpora* are to some extent reflexes used for reasons of metre and/or rhyme. They also differ collectively from the uses directed at an audience in that they appear alongside *toutes* with a frequency of 50%, while no such epithets appear in the data in Table 16 or Table 17.

Jehan's uses of *bone gent* to refer directly to his audience therefore differ from more narrative ones, but the latter still have some utility in helping us comprehend the apparent possible meanings of this phrase for Jehan. It is possible to distinguish sub-groups within the narrative uses, again presented in Table 18. In the first category (A), we find four examples which

5 Beyond the *J-* and *A-corpora*, notable use of *bone gent* appears within *Le Dit de Menage*, another poem in alexandrine monorhyme quatrains found within fr. 24432, which contains four instances of the phrase, of which three refer to the text's audience. For an edition and brief study, see Dows-Miller (2025a). The poem is structured as a debate in which three speakers discuss the merits and disadvantages of married life, and as such shares few similarities of content with the *J-corpus*. It is therefore likely in this case that the uses of *bone gent*, while evidence of a preference for the author of *Le Dit de Menage*, are not enough to support shared authorship with the *J-corpus*.

Table 18. Uses of *bone gent* within the *J-corpus* for purposes other than to address the audience.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
A	<i>Deux chevaliers</i>	1	A toutes	bones gens ne devoit pas despleire
	<i>Narbonne</i>	1	Toutes	bones gens doivent oïr le bien retraire
	<i>Mescreant</i>	1	A toutes	bones gens qui ont entendement
	<i>Pecherresse</i>	10	Que toutes	doivent bien escouter
B	<i>Enfant rosti</i>	178	Ainsint sont	bones gens du vrai Dieu secorus
	<i>Cordouanier</i>	83	De	bone gent deçoivre est forment convoitous
	<i>Florence</i>	830	Moult de	bonnes gens sueffrent a grant tort vilonnie
C	<i>Chevalier hermite</i>	29	A toutes	bones gens moult d'aumosnes faisoit
	<i>Anelés</i>	292	Devant les	bonnes gens levez haut le viaire
	<i>Anelés</i>	375	Qu'elle alast en la sale les	bonnes genz vëoir
	<i>Anelés</i>	751	Toutes les	bonnes gens qui la chose vëoient
	<i>Buef</i>	41	Ou temps qu'il fu jadiz .ii.	bonnes gens estoient

represent an oblique method of referring to the audience using the third-person, and are thus comparable to the examples in Table 16 other than the fact that with these examples, there is a stronger sense of moral obligation attached to the phrases, given the use of forms of *devoir* in three out of four cases. It is notable also that the uses in category A all appear in prologues, and in three cases in the very first hemistich of the text, suggesting again that this was a structure familiar to Jehan, which he may have relied on as a dependable way to begin his texts.

Looking at the second category (B), we find forms which refer in a general way to those who are morally “good,” yet suffer from sin. From such references, we are reminded of Jehan’s claims elsewhere that his audience are “Pechëeurs pecheresses qui pechent mortelment” (*Buef*, v. 2), thereby setting up *bone gent* as a universalizing term for all who sin, and thus all who live.

Meanwhile, in the third category (C), we find the most significant examples for our understanding of what Jehan might have meant when using *bone gent* to refer to his audience. These instances are used to refer to specific characters within the narrative, and can therefore give us a sense of the kinds of people who were deemed worthy of the term. Notably, we observe an apparent contrast between the use of the term in a noble context

as a generic phrase indicating members of the aristocracy (the first two instances in *Anelés* and that in *Buef*),⁶ and as a term quite clearly referring to poor members of the third estate (*Chevalier hermite*). This, combined with the more general use in the third instance observed for *Anelés*, suggests that the phrase was considered appropriate both for the highest and lowest members of Christian society, as an egalitarian term used regardless of the social status of its referents.

Jehan's use of *bone gent* to refer to his audience therefore functions in some senses as flattery, in that it is a term that would be appropriate for addressing nobility, and yet overall the term is used in a broader sense to apply to his whole audience. The consistency of the use of *bone gent* across many of the texts of the *J-corpus* therefore bind the poems together in a way that strengthens the sense that they are the work of a single author. Further, the frequent use of what appears to be an egalitarian term reinforces the universality of Jehan's intended audience, which heightens the possibility that the texts were indeed conceived to be performed, as Morawski and Munk Olsen have suggested, in a public place in front of a crowd that encompassed all sections of society.

Comparing the *J-corpus* to the nineteen narrative uses of *bone gent* in the *A-corpus*, we find that category A uses appear to be a particular feature of Jehan's writing, since no such structure appears in the texts of the *A-corpus*. The inverse is true, meanwhile, for instances in which *bone gent* is used vocatively by a character within the narrative to address an assembled audience, which does not appear in the *J-corpus* but appears on five occasions in the *A-corpus* (once in *Dieudonnée*, and four times in *Jehan Ewangeliste*). There are just two category B uses in the *A-corpus*, with the remaining twelve examples falling within category C, both of the high- and low-status variety.

In keeping with the vocative uses of *bone gent* we observed in *Robert* in Table 17, the narrative uses of this phrase also align with those of the *J-corpus*, reinforcing the sense that *Robert* is also the work of Jehan. Within the text, we find one example of type B and two of type C, one of which refers to members of the aristocracy, and the other to pious churchgoers. We once again get the impression that the author behind *Robert* had a similar interpretation of *bone gent* to Jehan, reinforcing the suggestion that

⁶ This use appears to differ from that suggested for *bone gent* by Stowell (1908, 155), who claims that the phrase "is never used by nobles as a title of respect for their fellows of equal rank."

these are indeed the same person. A category C narrative use of the phrase also appears in *Guillaume*, the other poem of the *A-corpus* that appears in fr. 24432, and which we also now attribute to the same author, meaning that examples of *bone gent* appear in uses aligned with the *J-corpus* across all four of our newly attributed texts.

seigneur

Alongside Morawski's observation of the use of *bone gent*, Munk Olsen (1978, xiii) also argues that Jehan's texts are characterized by the presence of several uses of *seigneur*. Citing Per Nykrog's analysis of the use of *seigneur* in the *fabliaux* (1957, 21), he suggests that the poet's use of the term can tell us something about the intended audience for these poems, namely that it suggests Jehan's audience was a low-status one, with the term used not as a marker of a high-status audience, but rather "pour désigner un public de vilains ou de bourgeois tout en le flattant un peu" (1978, xiii).⁷

Munk Olsen's interpretation of *seigneur* would therefore certainly contrast with what we have already observed for *bone gent*, in which a term appropriate for nobility is used in a more universalizing way, and it does also differ somewhat from Nykrog's argument that *seigneur* was often used in the *fabliaux* as a general term, referring "indifféremment à un groupe de vilains, de bourgeois ou de nobles" (1957, 21).⁸ As we shall see from a digitally facilitated textual analysis of Jehan's texts, it is Nykrog's interpretation which bears out under scrutiny when applied to the *J-corpus*, such that Jehan's use of *seigneur* can be said to reinforce the image of his audience gained from *bone gent* as one intended to span all of society.

Looking at Table 19, we find that Jehan's uses of *seigneur* are notable in their rarity, despite Munk Olsen's insistence on their significance to the *J-corpus*.⁹

⁷ "to designate an audience of peasants or bourgeois while flattering them a little."

⁸ "indiscriminately to a group of peasants, bourgeois, or nobles."

⁹ We may choose to repeat one of Munk Olsen's own observations here, made in a critique of Morawski's (1939, 350) conclusions drawn from Jehan's use of religious language, that "[i]l ne faut pas oublier que les *Dits* comptent presque 5.000 vers si bien qu'un mot qui se retrouve deux ou trois fois n'est pas nécessairement un mot 'que l'auteur affecte beaucoup'" ("it should not be forgotten that the *Dits* contain almost 5,000 lines, so a word that appears two or three times is not necessarily a word 'that the author uses a lot,'" 1963b, 155n17).

There are ninety-one uses of the word across Munk Olsen’s corpus of Jehan’s poems, yet only three are direct appeals to the audience.¹⁰

Table 19. Uses of *seigneur* as a means of referring to the audience within the *J-corpus*.

Text	Line	KW	RH
<i>Pommes</i>	237	Seigneurs	or escoutez que Diex vous soit amis
<i>Juitel</i>	1	Seigneur	je di pour voir qui a entendement
<i>Mescreant</i>	101	Seigneur	cel mescreant dont je vous conte cy

The remaining eighty-eight instances occur within the tales themselves, either during moments of narration (sixty-one, 70.45%) or direct discourse (twenty-seven, 29.55%). Of the examples used in direct discourse, twenty-two are used as terms of address, which may themselves be useful to our interpretation of what Jehan meant by the term when using it to address his audience.¹¹ We may separate these examples into two categories of usage: hierarchical and egalitarian. Instances of the former category, found in Table 20, offer the use of the term favoured by Munk Olsen, namely as a means of address by an individual of relative social inferiority towards an individual of higher status.

Table 20. Hierarchical uses of *seigneur* within the direct discourse of the *J-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Narbonne</i>	117	“	Seignor	” dist li varlez “Or oez que dirai
<i>Narbonne</i>	125	“[...] Encor vous pri	seigneur	que un po m’escoutez
<i>Merlin</i>	55	“A mon	seigneur	Merlin je me met au chemin
<i>Merlin</i>	61	“Mon	seignour	granz mercis je vendrai volentiers
<i>Merlin</i>	91	“Ha mon	seigneur	Merlin ou m’esperance est toute
<i>Merlin</i>	98	“A mon	seigneur	Merlin que je fusse prevost
<i>Merlin</i>	101	“Mon	seigneur	grant mercis ci a noble secours
<i>Merlin</i>	166	“[...] Doucement m’apellaz ‘ha mon	seignour	Merlin’
<i>Anelés</i>	94	“Mon chier	seigneur	par amour vous requier

10 It is worthy of note that *Robert* matches this usage, containing ten uses of *seigneur* of which none appear in a direct address to the audience. *Guillaume* contains a further twenty, which again do not appear in a vocative sense.

11 Of the five uses of *seigneur* within direct discourse which are not used as terms of address, there are two references to God (*Juitel* and *Mescreant*), two to a woman’s husband (*Florence* and *Anelés*), and one to a speaker’s *suzerain* (*Pommes*).

In the category of egalitarian uses of *seigneur* in Table 21, meanwhile, we observe the use of *seigneur* as a polite term which shows respect for one's interlocutor(s), but not in a way that acknowledges any difference in social status. In some examples, such as the latter two uses in *Respon*, the use of the term is in fact inverted from what Munk Olsen appears to indicate, with *seigneur* used by a suzerain to refer to his vassals.

Table 21. Egalitarian uses of *seigneur* within the direct discourse of the *J-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Respon</i>	150	Et dient l'un a l'autre "	Seigneurs	alons nous en
<i>Respon</i>	171	"[...]	Seigneurs	je sui vos sire par Dieu de paradis"
<i>Respon</i>	176	"	Seigneurs	" dist le chanoinne le roi de maesté
<i>Chanoignes</i>	33	"	Seigneurs	par celle foi que vous a Dieu devez
<i>Chanoignes</i>	47	"	Seigneur	" dist li ainsnés "entendez mon recort
<i>Chevalier et escuier</i>	50	"	Seignor	comment vous est" ce dit li ennemis
<i>Florence</i>	103	Quant son frere leur dist "	Seignours	lessiez ester"
<i>Florence</i>	122	"	Seignours	" dist il "pour Dieu la vengeance prenez
<i>Anelés</i>	221	"Biau	seigneurs	vous veés ci endroit en present
<i>Anelés</i>	273	Et dist "	Seigneurs	je jure par les sains qui sont ci
<i>Anelés</i>	309	"	Seigneurs	or entendez pour Dieu granz et petiz
<i>Anelés</i>	410	"	Seigneurs	ne savés pas pourquoi vos ai mandés
<i>Anelés</i>	450	Et dist "	Seigneurs	ma fame est de vostre lignage

Comparing the two categories, it is notable firstly that there are a greater number of egalitarian than hierarchical uses of *seigneur* in Jehan's presentations of direct speech (thirteen of twenty-two). Indeed, six of the nine hierarchical uses of *seigneur* appear within *Merlin*, a text which revolves almost entirely around questions of respectful means of addressing one's social superior, telling a story of how a *vilain's* ingratitude towards his patron Merlin results in his fall from grace. "Seigneur" is the first form of address used by the *vilain*, when he is at his most polite, and before the fall in register takes place in his later speech, and so it is unsurprising that the term would be used in this way so often within the text. We can therefore argue that the data are skewed by the inclusion of *Merlin* in the corpus, and thus that Jehan's primary understanding of *seigneur* is as a polite, but fundamentally egalitarian term.

Relevant to the question of Jehan’s uses of *seigneur* to address the audience is also the fact that his egalitarian uses within direct discourse are exclusively in the plural, while in the hierarchical uses of *seigneur* the only plural forms are the two appearances of the term in *Narbonne*, and the others are singular. When Jehan uses *seigneur* in the plural to refer to his audience, as he does in the three examples in Table 19, we may thus argue that he does so for egalitarian purposes, treating his entire audience equally, regardless of their social status. Ultimately, this contrasts with Munk Olsen’s interpretation of the term, and once again reinforces the unity of the *J-corpus* through the suggestion that Jehan, in his texts, is not interested in isolating groups of possible listeners, rather he is keen for all individuals to come and hear his moral lessons.

Table 22. Uses of *seigneur* as a means of referring to the audience within the *A-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Basile</i>	1	Or escoutés	seigneur	que Dieus vous beneïe
<i>Grégoire</i>	1	Or entendez	seigneurs	que Jhesus vous beneye

As for how unique this feature is to Jehan’s texts, we find that uses of *seigneur* by the narrator to address his audience are similarly rare in the *A-corpus*, with only two such examples, as in Table 22.¹² Of the twelve vocative uses of the term within direct discourse, here the examples are split equally between hierarchical and non-hierarchical uses, with all five of the singular forms tending towards the former, and all but one of the seven plural forms towards the latter.

Turning also to the *F-corpus*, we find that this further supports Nykrog’s claim, itself made of the *fabliaux*, that *seigneur* can be used “indifféremment à un groupe de vilains, de bourgeois ou de nobles” (1957, 21),¹³ while also supporting our observation that in short narrative texts, *seigneur* is not

12 We may wonder in passing, given the similarity of these two lines, whether *Basile* and *Grégoire* share an author, even if this is not Jehan. The full stanzas bear comparison in their entirety:

Or escoutés , seigneur! Que Dieus vous beneïe, Le glorieus dou ciel, li fils sainte Marie! Je vous voel raconter de la vierge Marie Une mout haute istore qui doit bien estre oïe.	Or entendez seigneurs, que Jhesus vous beneye, Le glorieux du ciel, filz de sainte Marie! Si orez de Gregoire, et l'ystoire et la vie. Pour paradis avoir, souffry grande hachie.
(<i>Basile</i> , vv. 1–4)	(<i>Grégoire</i> , vv. 1–4)

13 “indiscriminately to a group of peasants, bourgeois, or nobles.”

particularly widespread as a term of address for one's audience.¹⁴ Of the 174 instances that appear across the *F-corpus*, only sixteen are used directly by a narrator. As with the *J-* and *A-corpora*, while the examples within direct speech in the *F-corpus* to address an interlocutor vary from distinctly hierarchical uses, such as addresses to God, to sardonically polite non-hierarchical uses against a group of ne'er-do-wells, the non-hierarchical uses are predominantly in the plural. We thus gain a similar interpretation to that found in the *J-* and *A-corpora*, namely that plural uses of *seigneur* are polite, but can be addressed to individuals across society, whereas singular uses may be more hierarchical. Thus, while the use of *seigneur* observed in the *J-corpus* does little to reveal a unique approach to the term within Jehan's texts, it has nevertheless allowed us to support Nykrog's original claim from a more concrete, falsifiable standpoint, which in turn allows us to gain a more nuanced understanding of the fact that Jehan's texts are united in their attempts to apply to all members of society, regardless of social status.

tous et toutes and ceulz et celles

This universality of Jehan's intended audience, inclusive of all who wish to listen, is emphasized perhaps most of all within his direct addresses to his audience by his use of the phrases *tous et toutes* and *ceulz et celles*, given in Table 23, which reinforce that his moral messages are for the betterment of both sexes, and therefore of society at large.¹⁵

The position of all but one of these phrases in the final three syllables of the first hemistich, often following the phrase *si/or prions*,¹⁶ suggests that this is a formulaic phrase used to fill out a line, but it also aligns nicely with the didactic and parenetic intentions behind Jehan's texts, given that his objective is apparently the edification of all. What is particularly surprising about *tous et toutes* is that no examples of the same phrase appear in the *F-* or *R-corpora*, and while there are some thirty-eight examples in the

¹⁴ Anecdotally, at least, it does appear to be more common in the *Chansons de geste*.

¹⁵ Note also the variant "Touz ceus et toutes celles," used in an oblique reference to Jehan's audience in the first line of *Beguine*, and in *Buef* (v. 781), as well as the comparable phrase "chascuns et chascune" in *Chanoines* (v. 2), *Povre chevalier* (v. 159), and *Eaue et vergier* (v. 162). Examples of such universalizing phrases are thus found in eleven of the twenty-four poems of the *J-corpus*.

¹⁶ Morawski (1939, 330) also observes as particularly frequent use of this phrase in Jehan's epilogues. Indeed, some kind of first-person singular imperative (usually *prions*) appears in twenty-one of the twenty-four texts of the *J-corpus*. The texts in which it does not appear are *Narbonne*, *Enfant sauva mere*, and *Merlin*.

B-corpus, in the *J-corpus* *tous et toutes* and *ceulz et celles* are used exclusively as terms of address for the audience, whereas in the *B-corpus* just one example is used in this way.¹⁷ Jehan therefore appears to be particularly unusual in his use of these terms to refer to his audience.

Table 23. Uses of *tous et toutes* and *ceulz and celles* as means of addressing the audience in the *J-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Chanoines</i>	409	Si prions	touz et toutes	a la Vierge Marie
<i>Narbonne</i>	5	Vous savez	tous et toutes	qui sert sainte Marie
<i>Narbonne</i>	221		Ceulz et celles	qui ont ce miracle escouté
<i>Cordouanier</i>	149	Or prions	tous et toutes	la Dame glorieuse
<i>Juitel</i>	161	Or prions	tous et toutes	de bon cuer le Seigneur
<i>Enfant sauva mere</i>	25	Entre vous	tous et toutes	je vous pri et requier
<i>Eaue et vergier</i>	6	Or metez	tous et toutes	les cuers a retenir
<i>Mescreant</i>	201	Si prions	tous et toutes	a la Virge Marie
<i>Florence</i>	4	Gart trestouz	ceulz et celles	qui nous voudront oïr

Turning to the *A-corpus*, we observe eleven such structures, of which six are used to directly address the audience, as in Table 24. Of these, it is once again notable that examples are found within *Guillaume*, *Jehan Paulus*, and *Richard*, further reinforcing the attribution of these texts to Jehan.

Table 24. Uses of *tous et toutes* and *ceulz and celles* as means of addressing the audience in the *A-corpus*.

Text	Line	LH	KW	RH
<i>Barbe</i>	446	Entendés	tous et toutes	ne vous retardés mye
<i>Jehan Paulus</i>	367	Si prions	touz et toutes	a la Vierge Marie
<i>Confesseur</i>	141	Pour Dieu escoustez	tous et toutes	ma raison
<i>Guillaume</i>	2	Dieu gart touz	ceulz et celles	dont seray entendus
<i>Richard</i>	816	Or prions	tous et toutes	au Roy de Paradis
<i>Déz</i>	120	Quar i nous convendra	tous et toutes	mourir

Guillaume, the first text in fr. 24432, contains an instance of *ceulz et celles* which is especially comparable to the similar structure found in *Florence*, another text of the “long-text” sub-group, both in its content invoking God’s protection for the speaker’s audience, and also in the fact that the structure

¹⁷ From the late-fifteenth-century *Ressource de la chrestienté*.

appears at the beginning of the poem. This use of the phrase, while again not enough to confirm authorship on its own, therefore adds to the evidence for the claim that *Guillaume* ought to sit within Jehan's *œuvre*.

Looking beyond *Guillaume*, the most striking of the examples in Table 24 are the two uses of *tous et toutes* in *Jehan Paulus* and *Richard*, which align almost exactly with examples observed in *Chanoines*, *Cordouanier*, *Juitel*, and *Mescreant* in the *J-corpus*. In all six examples across both corpora, the structure appears in the final stanza of the poem, and in the case of *Jehan Paulus* and *Cordouanier*, forms part of a larger parallel structure, first observed by Morawski (1940, 515–16):

Si prions, touz et toutes, a la Vierge Marie,
Qui en ces flans porta le disgne fruit de vie,
Que tel oroyson soit de nous bouches parties,
Qu'avoir puissions des anges la sainte compaygnie.

(*Jehan Paulus*, vv. 367–70)

Si prions, touz et toutes, a la Vierge Marie,
Qui en ces flans porta le tres dous fruit de vie,
Qu'il nous doint si ouvrier en ceste mortel vie,
Par quoi aions des angres la sainte compaignie.

(*Chanoines*, vv. 409–12)

A similar parallelism is observed between the exhortatory epilogue of *Richard*, containing the same phrase, and that of *Pecherresse* within the *J-corpus*. While the epilogue to *Pecherresse* does not make use of *tous et toutes*, and the points of overlap here are more echoes than outright copies, the final lines of both poems do still share notable similarities:

[...]
Or prions tous et toutes au Roy de Paradis,
Et a la doulce Vierge, qui est de moult hault pris,
Que tous puissions avoir des saintz cieulx les delis.

(*Richard*, vv. 816–18)

Prions a cele Dame, qui tant est de hault pris,
Qu'ele soit nostre escu entre nos ennemis,
Et nous doinst si ouvrier et en fais et en dis,
Que nous puissions conquerre nos lieux en paradis.

(*Pecherresse*, vv. 149–52)

Morawski (1940) identifies both points of similarity, but excludes *Jehan Paulus* and *Richard* from Jehan's *œuvre* based on their use of possessive adjectives. We will discuss this linguistic question in the following chap-

ter below, but for now suffice it to say that it is indeed a cogent argument against the inclusion of these texts in Jehan's *oeuvre* in their current form. Of course, we ought also to note in these examples that it is plausible that the similarities are due to copying and influence between authors, rather than one author reusing previous material (in the case of *Jehan Paulus* and *Chanoines*) or a case of self-influence (as in *Richard* and *Pecherresse*).

The gradual accumulation of evidence that will proceed throughout the remainder of this study, however, which we have already encountered in part, reveals that *Jehan Paulus* and *Richard* share a surprising number of other similarities with the *J-corpus*. We must, therefore, consider a third way between Morawski's outright rejection of these texts and a straightforward single-author hypothesis that would be suggested by these data alone: *Richard* and *Jehan Paulus*, as they survive today, cannot simply be the work of Jehan, rather both are lightly reworked versions of earlier texts which Jehan did compose, produced by some later poet. They are thus echoes of other works, alerting us to a once more expansive poetic repertoire which has since been lost. It is this hypothesis, as we shall observe, that enables us to account for why the poems align with the *J-corpus* in striking ways on some metrics, and yet are more divergent in others. As we do so, it will be possible to pass broader comment on what elements of Jehan's earlier texts were considered suitable for *remaniement*, and which were not.

Statistical and digital methods have therefore helped us to gain a greater understanding of Jehan's intended audience through analysis of the words he uses, in ways that have both reinforced and caused us to bring into question more qualitative interpretations of the texts. We have, as a result, been able to come to firmer conclusions regarding Jehan's intended audience and mode of reception, namely that Jehan's texts appear most likely to have been intended for oral performance, and were directed at as broad a range of social groups as the performer could convince to listen.

Alongside this, and as in previous chapters, an important observation for our overarching question of the attribution of authorship remains the unity brought to the *J-corpus* by Jehan's use of certain forms of address. The consistency we have seen throughout in Jehan's approach to his audience ultimately allows us to be more confident in our assertion that the texts of the *J-corpus* which contain these features likely all share a single author.

Perhaps most excitingly of all, the analysis within this chapter has also greatly increased the volume of evidence in favour of direct inclusion of *Guillaume* and *Robert* in Jehan's *œuvre*, alongside the status as later versions of texts composed by Jehan granted to *Richard* and *Jehan Paulus*. The evidence given so far is not enough on its own to prove the shared-author hypothesis,

but even by identifying these texts as possible candidates for inclusion, we have also shown the value of the bespoke statistical and digital approaches presented in this analysis as a means of identifying possible shared authorship, with implications which reach more broadly into other research questions concerning the attribution of medieval texts.

Building the Case for the Shared-Author Hypothesis

The analysis of terms of address presented in this chapter provides the most significant evidence for the shared-author hypothesis thus far. The *J-corpus* displays idiosyncratic use of *bone gent* as a term by which to address an audience, and this is also replicated in *Robert*, *Richard*, and *Jehan Paulus*, adding further arguments in support of both the cohesion of the *J-corpus*, and the inclusion of these additional texts within Jehan's *œuvre*. This evidence is compounded by the formulaic use of *tous et toutes* and *ceulz et celles* in the *J-corpus* as well as in *Guillaume*, *Jehan Paulus*, and *Richard*, which is a phrase that Jehan appears to have especially favoured, but which is largely absent elsewhere. The use of these structures, meanwhile, brings our attention back to the near-identical closing stanzas shared between *Jehan Paulus* and *Chanoines*, as well as notable parallels between *Richard* and *Pecherresse*. These examples reveal the presence of Jehan's authorial voice within these previously unattributed texts even if, as appears likely for *Richard*, the surrounding material has been subsequently reworked.

Methodological Contribution

The analysis of this chapter moves beyond a purely qualitative examination of orality, quantifying the frequency of use of terms of address, and testing them against reference corpora containing with similar oral features. My analysis demonstrates that terms of address are not simply interchangeable filler phrases, but can instead be highly specific indicators of an author's relationship with their audience. Further, by combining a data-driven approach with the close reading of individual examples, I have shown how the examination of vocative terms used within a narrative can inform our understanding of the function of such terms when they are used to address an audience.

