

**“A Reading of *La Chanson du Mal-Aimé* as a Medieval Romance.”
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This paper will address the problem of reading and making sense of the *Chanson du Mal-Aimé*, as part of the long-standing debate around its organisation. The first difficulty to catch the reader's eye is a disjunction between the title, “la chanson du mal-aimé,” and the epigraph's “et je chantais cette romance.” Reading on, the disjunction is recalled by the fourth and fifth lines of stanza 19, “la romance du mal aimé / et des chansons pour les sirènes.” As stanza 19 is repeated in stanza 59, the final one, *chanson* and *romance* are key parts of an important refrain. Some critics spot this *chanson/romance* disjunction, but then dismiss it as a serious problem, due to some combination of three erroneous misperceptions. First, *romance* and *chanson* are misread as interchangeable.¹ Second, they are seen as just representing any old dead genres. Third, romance is viewed as a purely narrative form and interchangeable with heroic epic. Whilst falling into the second pitfall,² Claude Morhange-Bégué offers a clue to solve the *chanson/romance* problem, in her fine and meticulous analysis of the poem's organisation around similarity and difference.

Such a double-natured structure prompted me to read the *Mal-Aimé* as a romance, itself an essentially double genre within which the structures of similarity can be identified with the narrative part of romance, and those of difference with its lyric part.³ The lyric parts of romance, especially its central “hidden treasure,” are more enigmatic than the narrative parts, and have been labelled as disruptive. The resemblance is striking to what Apollinaire himself calls “intermèdes intercalés” in the *Mal-Aimé*.⁴ One, the *Sept Épées*, has proven of great attraction to literary critics because of its trickster secretive word-play. I shall extend the lyric parts to include the “Moi qui sais...” refrain stanzas (19 and 59), in which I include its fragmentary/echo use in the title and epigraph (stanza 0), and in stanzas 40-41. A refrain acts as the key to unlock its lyric poem, acting like a romance's centre. The “Moi qui sais” refrain is doubly important, as it is both such a key and such a hidden treasure when it names the “Mal-Aimé.”

It seems reasonable to read the romance, amongst other Medieval references, into the *Mal-Aimé*. Apollinaire was an accomplished Medieval reader. As a schoolboy, he was already well-versed in all that was considered Classical for the French educational establishment. I use “Classical” in the literal sense of material taught in classes in schools and so transmitted as common cultural heritage. The *patrimoine national* melting-pot includes Medieval literature as it stems from the first time when distinctly French culture came into being, through the first use of the vernacular for cultural purposes such as writing. Apollinaire also appears to have been extraordinarily well-read outside the usual standards, first as an adolescent then via peregrinations in the Paris libraries, including the Bibliothèque Nationale with its vast Medieval holdings.⁵

A first part of the paper is on romance and lyric refrain, in general and then as applied to the *Mal-Aimé*. Principal themes common to romance and to the *Mal-Aimé* are set up: duplicity, fragmentation, multiplications of dissemination and dissemblance. The second part, on dissemination, is a close reading, retracing my steps from the end of the poem backwards, from that moment of dawning realisation that the last stanza was a refrain. Reading itself becomes a present lyric moment with full consciousness of past and future. In a final part, I look at the *Mal-Aimé* part of the title. Articulated through the continuing dissemination theme and also through dissemblance, the main message of the poem is the poet's consciousness through finding his identity as "Guillaume Apollinaire," the new poet of the new dawn, inside his renewed poetry.

I. ROMANCE AND REFRAIN

Romance, interchangeably *roman* or *romance*, is understood and used here in the sense of the 12th - 15th century works with which Apollinaire would have been familiar.⁶ The genre is characteristically slippery. To be fair to those critics just accused of ignorance or misreading, much research has been done on romance during and since their time, but findings have probably been restricted to a Medievalist readership. Certain basic features of romance have, nonetheless, remained constant throughout the last two centuries' scholarship. It is a verse form, and it is long.⁷ Metrically, it is almost always octosyllabic. It may or may not show separation between parts, whether of a more narrative episodic character, or in *laissez*, which seem of a fluid or fused narrative and lyric character, or in something approximating stanzas. Structurally, it is circular and chiasmic, built around a centre from which frames unfold.⁸ Usually, these unfolding layers move from a centre concerned with deep inner themes: truth, meaning, a question, or a revelation, often of identity. Movement of the frames is towards the outside world, the apparently and superficially real. Periods of flow, temporal continuity, movement, adventure and quest contrast with moments of rupture, temporal stasis of stationary contemplation, immediate and question, such as the centre. The whole work is of a dual nature, narrative and lyric. Morhange-Bégué's structures of similarity map onto the narrative-quest aspect of romance, structures of difference onto the lyric-question parts.⁹

This dualism echoes the central figure's dual nature: outer, narrative man of action and adventure; and inner, lyric man of thought and feeling. narrative-movement-quest and lyric-moment-question.¹⁰ The central figure's dual nature stresses the fact that Medieval romance is far from being just about action-hero knights and only about adventure. That is a common misconception, in part the result of a superficial reading which misses half the point, by missing the lyric part of romance. It is also simplistic to read the narrative-adventure-quest part of romance as a linear progression from beginning to end. Adventure, as its *ad + venire* etymology

suggests, may be about the quest of “getting somewhere” and “getting something,” attaining a goal.¹¹ The romance will be more concerned with the means of getting there, with the *parvenir* in addition to the *avenir*. Furthermore, arrival and some sense of completion of the quest do not happen at the end, as would be expected in a plain adventure, but about half way through.

What happens at the centre will change the nature of the quest, or reveal that it was actually about something else all along, or otherwise start up the action again, regenerate or renew the romance. It may be new knowledge. More usually, it is renewed knowledge, in the form of something whose existence antedated that of the rest of the romance, but was unknown to it until that point, say because it was hidden. It may be the renewed knowledge of an obvious truth staring characters and reader in the face all along.

In the second half of a romance it becomes clear to the reader that chiasmic frames are in operation, as each repeat/echo is encountered. While the reader is conscious of the circularity of design, she is also conscious that the design traced is not an exact circle. The second half of the romance is not a mirror image, a precise replica of itself in its first half. The middle was a turning-point whose new knowledge also inflects the purpose and meaning of what preceded it, and changes the central figure and the whole romance (and indeed the reader herself), through reading and remembering. We thus have a structure of *souvenir* to add into *avenir* and *parvenir*.

The romance’s second half is not one of repetition nor of complete novelty, then, but of renewal. As the reader continues, her reading of each succeeding part is informed not only by the new material unfolding in front of her, but also by its parallel in the first half. The new knowledge of the central event affects both her perception of the old parallel part, and the new one. Each stage of reading in this second half is rich multiple. Multiple and simultaneous readings work like any other inter-textual reference. Further enrichments to the reading will continue with repeated readings: the romance actually grows. Indeed this additional renewal in reading is what makes the romance alive in an organic sense unique to the genre. The structure is therefore not the closed circle of a belt-buckle, but an open circle or spiral.

The earliest romances¹² are a “conflation” or fusion of old and new, in that they use old material - the *matières de Thèbes, de Rome et de Bretagne* - in a new way. The new way may involve mingling aspects of more than one *matière*, and sometimes not so much those of more distant pasts, bordering on if not fully in “myth,” but rather of closer history, such as that of France. The end result is the creation of an Other World. Inter-textual reference enriches the text. It can be detected in the metaphoric and metonymic use of the chosen *matière* itself (which refers to all other works in that same tradition, say of *Bretagne*), in the citation of phrases from other works seamlessly interwoven into this particular romance, and indeed in almost any single word used as allusively portentous. These romances are also characterised by renewal, or renaissance, as they are written not in the old literary language, Latin, but in the new vernacular; hence the

name *romance*, as the first ones known were written in Old French. They themselves also refer to renewal self-consciously.¹³

These older romances are often hardest to categorise as they involve a fusion not only of narrative and lyric material but also style and language. Narrative aspects are those related to the older heroic epic poems, lyric aspects to prayer, song, love-song. These two sets of older forms are all associated with oral performance - at earlier stages of their history, but also at the time of romance's blossoming, and indeed even now in popular music. Oral character is noteworthy in contrast to romance as a fundamentally written and read genre (probably with a strong element of reading aloud), visible in a strong theme of writer and writing, of lyric association.

Through the 13th century, roughly speaking, new developments appear in romance.¹⁴ First, further confluences occur in the increased fusion of the *trois matières classiques* in building the Other World, and in the increased admixture of places and persons from more immediate history, closer to the external world at the time of writing. The resulting romance's factual and/or fictional nature becomes more fluid, the borders between worlds of story, myth and history fuzzier. It is easier for the reader to step into this closer imaginary sphere. The work is more believable, more *vraisemblable*: a feature of newness, renewal, renaissance.

Secondly, and further accentuating the new and renewed features, there is a move away from a smooth fusion of narrative and lyric with the insertion of lyric poems within the *récit*. Sometimes these are entire poems; more often, they are fragments; they may be refrains. They are often older, and sometimes in a different language - temporally and spatially different from the main body, giving textual and textural contrast, depth and richness, in a three-dimensional and sensual way. They will often be subtly interwoven, and while they produce textural contrast, they do not simply make the rest of the romance look more straightforwardly narrative. Lyric inserts highlight the lyric aspects present (otherwise dormant) in the narrative, by picking out shared motifs such as individual words. They weave a lyric narrative of their own through the romance, a thread moving from repetition to repetition, refrain to refrain, acting as a refrain does within a lyric poem. Romance's lyric character is emphasised.

Like the lyric fragment in a romance, the refrain may be a fragment within its shorter lyric poem, often imported into a poem from another poem elsewhere, often the oldest part, around which a poem is built. Lyric inserts will often function as smaller-scale lyric moments of revelation and truth, just like the largest central one. They add smaller spirals as offshoots to the main spiral of the romance as a whole, built around its centre. Like the central lyric moment, they will influence the reading of what follows them and of what precedes. Like the romance as a whole, the refrain has a dual nature, as it possesses several characteristics of simultaneous similarity and difference. It is both attached to what it follows and concludes it. At once part of the rest of the poem and independent, it is the most essential part as it weaves the poem together

as a whole. The refrain acts as a structuring device on two levels. At that of inner structure, it signals the end of the stanza and separates one stanza from the next. It divides the poem into stanzas, each of which ends with the refrain and is so an independent poem in its own right, just as is the refrain; after its first use, the poem could end, as what will turn out to be the refrain is at this stage simply the last stanza. This would be especially true of a formally different refrain. But instead the poem continues, with further stanzas, at the end of each of which the poem could also come to an end. At the level of outer structure, of the poem as a whole, the refrain finally ends it.¹⁵ Only in its first repetition is an otherwise unremarkable stanza identified as a refrain. In its repetition, the refrain draws attention to itself through similarity and difference, as the stanza itself remains the same, but each time it reappears it follows different stanzas, changing meaning in the light of what precedes it. It also changes the meaning of what follows it in the next section of the poem, giving a kind of “astrological ascendant sign” governing the poem as a whole. It thus forms a section of the poem, and, in its repetition and independence of that section, especially in its last repetition, the refrain is usually what ends a poem. The last repetition also acts as an opening, in that there is always the possibility of continuing the pattern with further verses and refrains, *ad infinitum*.¹⁶ The refrain renews the poem.

The *Mal-Aimé* features all the above features of Medieval romance, including all the different uses of lyric inserts, in several superimposed layers. Working from the outside inwards, here is a rough sketch of how it works as all historical types of romance simultaneously, in three complementary readings. The first focuses on chiasmic structures, as layers of different realities unfold. An outer frame of apparently straight narrative, historical reality opens into the poem and depicts events in London (stanzas 1-5) and Paris (stanzas 55-59).¹⁷ Movement inwards is through passages punctuated by the “Voie lactée” stanzas, refrains dividing off those shorter pieces within the whole and bringing the shorter pieces together. This “swimming” frame (stanzas 6-14 and 49-54) has been well studied as oneric and Orphic.¹⁸ It could be read as older-style fused lyric and narrative. Arguably, the lyric inserts could be included here, as waves in this moving water, producing movement-sections of stanzas 6-17 and 42-54. The “Voie lactée” acts as a transition zone between narrative and lyric, outside and inside, appropriate to the transitional state of being in dream-narrative. Persons and places are also no longer of the outside world, but not yet of the most distant worlds: they, too, are in between. A next frame pairs two lyric inserts, the *Aubade* of 15-17 and the *Sept Épées* of 42-48. Persons present indicate that we are now in the distant world of various fused mythologies. The increasingly evident contrast between worlds, and the mixture of references, most obviously to the Classical-pagan and to the Christian, recalls *translatio* and the three degrees of conflation. Then comes a passage of lyric moment, revelation and poetic self: stanzas 18-41. (Its surrounding borders are hazy; stanzas 18 and 41 seem to be the commonly accepted ones.) The section is usually seen as central, and as a descent into chaos, lunacy, death,

despair and destruction followed by the poet's rebirth, by both the "depressed and hopeless" school of biographical interpretation (Breunig, Adéma) and the "hopeful" school (Décaudin). This image is not inconsistent with its romance reading, as the principal, and structurally central, lyric-narrative fusion, a slowed-down moment of rebirth through death, of the poetic voice's rediscovery of itself. The romance has moved into the innermost world, inside the poet. Like the central part of any romance, we see here central question, naming and revelation of identity. I would go further and identify a central pivot within the passage of stanzas 18-41, a deep inner revelation: truth ("en vérité"), decision and will ("je ne veux jamais l'oublier") in stanzas 30-32.

Secondly, the *Mal-Aimé* can be read as modelled on the later type of romance, as a patchwork that juxtaposes alternating narrative and lyric sections, and with a different centre. Clearly marked lyric inserts are present: the *Aubade*, *Réponse* and *Sept Épées* each have a title, are physically separate on different pages, and are in different typeface. Unfortunately, the *Réponse* does not fit neatly, as it looks like a central point, falling close to line 30, but its content is not sufficiently central.¹⁹ It seems facile and simplistic to explain this away as experimental stream-of-consciousness.²⁰ The problematic section around stanzas 18-41 might be a deliberate random juxtaposition that has been successful in confusing all readers; themes of rupture are thus central. This fits with a perception of Apollinaire as rebel destroyer of all that is old, to supplant it with the new, as opposed to the view of him as renewing the old, which I would favour.

A third structure, a more refined form of the later romance, is more useful in making more sense of the poem: it is the basis of the second part of this paper. The first structure's approximate divisions by degree of otherworldliness are maintained, with the questing-navigating movement. There will be a different centre, however, and a new feature becomes apparent: the refrain. A refrain-based symmetrical arrangement is at work in the *Mal-Aimé*, with the refrain occurring in the title and epigraph, then at stanza 19, then in 40 and 41, then 59, the final one. At the same time, the structure is even more open-ended than in most romance, as the title and epigraph are not a part of the actual text but of the paratext. The final refrain is uncertainly tied to the stanzas preceding it, closing them off and closing off the poem as a whole; or else opening the poem out for further continuation, and thus for perpetuation and further renewal. As "la *romance* du mal-aimé," this poem of rereadings and remembering has a character of return with change, of rebirth and renaissance. Its structure could be visualised as a fractal spiral, with a principal looping structure and embedded sub-loops which sprout off and rejoin the main one. It is like the nebula-image of the "Voie lactée" refrain-stanza. The three dimensions of the astronomical formation may be reflected in a further dimension of looping, returns to the beginning and rereadings, on (or between?) each of which the poem changes. Once again, we see not a closed circle but a more fluid spiralling cycle of movement, change and renewal.

The refrain subtly weaves a lyric thread through the romance as a whole, whilst supporting a structure of disjunction. Spiral-loop-reading, revelation and renewal are highlighted in lyric moments which punctuate the poem as a whole, and which are all related to a main refrain, that also names the poem and the poet, “le mal-aimé.” The poet's naming ties in with other scattered fragments of his naming. He is dismembered and disjointed. The scattering of these fragments has to do with remembering, not least in its absolute and literal sense of “re-member-ing,” putting pieces back together into a whole. As remembering is in an act of renaissance, the pieces are not put back together into a blind repetition of the old whole, but creatively, into a renewed one. Fragmentation, self-remembering and self-creation are vital themes in the *Mal-Aimé*. Fragmentation and remembering, simultaneous though opposite actions, are disjunctive and double, as are the *mal aimé*'s fragmentation and his multiplications in dissemination (see second part below) and dissemblance (see third part). The slippery and double-natured romance is the ideal shape for the *Mal-Aimé* to take, perfect mirror in its own severally double nature, the closest genre that can be imposed on such a rich and rebellious work.

II. DISSEMINATION

STANZA 19:

*Moi qui sais des lais pour les reines
Les plaintes de mes années
Des hymnes d'esclave aux murènes
La romance du mal aimé
Et des chansons pour les sirènes*

“Sais” is a very important word here, as it sets up several uncertainties questioning *savoir* and points towards an answer in a new knowledge in a new poetic identity. The poetic self knows these poetic forms, but does not necessarily ever sing them (or write them, or otherwise exteriorise this internal knowledge). The first person lyric voice is silent, at least externally. These forms are dead poetic knowledge, compared to the living poem now being uttered. They are also dead knowledge as antiquated forms. The stanza is a *reste*, a ruin, fragment, archaeological layer left to enrich the texture of the poem, like a gem in a piece of jewellery. It is a remnant: only remaining shade, *ombre* of the past, mainly lost, only partially remembered. The archaeological image fits neatly with re-member-ing, as the thing in question is found in a fragmented state then put back together again. There is a note of nostalgia, of the failure to remember the past. The stanza may be here as a *memento mori* with reference to the present. The present will in turn become past, be partly lost and be read with similar regret at having lost so much and preserved so little, just enough to imagine what was there – half a jawbone, say. As a fragmentary ruin, it adds texture to the poem, through different content and flavour, its own fragmentary nature, and allusion to a different time.

I would suggest (supporting Maurice Piron)²¹ that the *Mal-Aimé* is not a last traditional poem by Apollinaire before a great break into the unknown, a last look back with fond regret, a melancholy farewell to old poetry, now dead. Rather, it is a first sign, in the use of the fragmentary and dislocation, of the disrupted collage techniques (of Anarchist/Dadaist *tendance*) of *Calligrammes*. It is a Cubist attempt to see, simultaneously, in all three spatial dimensions, and in all three temporal ones, and in motion. And there are strong Surrealist hints in the need to read such a stanza in a more free-associating way. On closer examination there is also a note of hope, although not the hope of exact reconstruction, slavish rebuilding, straightforward resurrection: see also the “dieux morts” later, or rather earlier (in a time lapse) in stanza 18. Old material is put to new uses, in a rebirth through reuse, recycling and renewal. After all, Apollinaire himself resisted his labelling as “symbolist” at the time, preferring “new symbolist” and he writes of renewal, and bringing back the divine truth lying dormant beneath the successive layers of old gods.

Two forms of poetry are contrasted here, two further forms of “savoir” are distinguished and so two forms of poetic activity: “lais,” “hymnes” and “chansons”; “complaintes” and “romance.” The *lais*, *hymnes* and *chansons* are fundamentally oral forms, though written down very early. They are attached to indefinite articles. They may actually be partitive articles, so the poet does not know all of them but just some of them, or even some part(s) of them – and so his knowledge is fragmentary in a further sense. They are also attached to specific external persons, for whom each genre is appropriate, and who are grammatically ambiguous: intended audience (and possessor of that type of poem), intended performer, and /or original creator. The form of *savoir* involved is ambiguous, to return full circle to the start of this section, as it contrasts the two meanings, the passive silent “knowing” and the active “actually singing.”

The other two types of lyric are distinguished by their definite articles (hence completeness of knowledge) and by their particular and personal nature, close to the bone and to questions of identity. Both are longer verse forms, and of a more written nature.²² They involve narrative – of the self over a long time – and lyric – the self, again, and in the present moment. *Complaintes* known to Apollinaire would probably include those of Rutebeuf (12th c.) and Villon (15th). *Romances*, as seen above, would span from Chrétien de Troyes to the last verse romances of the late 13th century before fashion changed to prose *remaniements*.

Romance is further highlighted, with respect to the rest of the stanza, as it is the sole genre mentioned which is in the singular. It is thus distinguished within these two more particular and personal genres as the most absolutely singular, that of the one and only Mal-Aimé: the poet himself. We thus have a refrain alluding to the poet. The allusion is in perfectly correct Medieval form not naming him outright, instead playing guessing-games with the reader, in a natural extension of the principal joke-field, the noun (via *adnominatio*).²³

There is one further little game played with the refrain, however, which must not go unmentioned. Grammatically, the *mal aimé* could be “the badly loved one,” with an ambiguity as to how well the lover loves in return, and whether this might explain why he is badly loved. He could be, in the traditional *complainte* sense, beloved by ill-fortune, badly augured, dogged by bad luck following him everywhere, another aspect of the ever-present haunting *ombre*. In a topic much beloved of Medieval love-lyric, the syntax also leaves unclear whether the object of love is neither an individual nor an abstracted Type, but rather love itself, and/or, as in stanza 14, the masturbatory and Narcissistic image of “ma joie bien-aimée” which opens out into the *Aubade*.

STANZA 0:

*La Chanson du Mal-Aimé**A Paul Léautaud*

Et je chantais cette romance
 En 1903 sans savoir
 Que mon amour à la semblance
 Du beau Phénix s’il meurt un soir
 Le matin voit sa renaissance

On even the most basic level of reading, words in the title and epigraph bring back those of the “Moi qui sais...” refrain. “Sans savoir” echoes “moi qui sais”; “chanson” and “je chantais” map onto all the lyric genres plus “des chansons pour les sirènes”; “cette romance” to “la romance”; “mal-aimé” and “amour” onto the “Mal-Aimé” himself.

Title, dedication and epigraph also allude to archaeological fragments left in the text, such as the refrain, and through this *reste* - ruin or wreck - to the process of writing a poem and the role of editing and publishing in this same writing. This is particularly obvious in the French double use of *épaves* for both “shipwreck” and “pre-publication proof.” In the 1913 version, we thus have the deliberate inclusion of several layers of composition, which could have been covered up or rebuilt but which have instead been left naked. Certainly, this has something to do with a refusal to rebuild the past by repeating it slavishly. Instead, we have the fragmentary approach which puts the fragments *en évidence, en haut relief* as compared, say, to the *Roman de la Rose*’s stone *bas-relief* depicting allegorical figures, and as compared to these figures later coming to life. This naked presentation has something to do with the themes of marginality, bastardy and making up one’s own identity (see further in third part). When fragments could have been covered up, and so rendered respectable by the usual, accepted (old and dead) standards and the outside world’s norms, they are instead left naked, and proud of it in a rebellious way.

The inclusion of these layers of composition, themselves ruins, all that is left in the text of past readings, would hint back to the use of archaeological layers in the start, with the clash between the uses of *romance* and of *chanson*. Working forwards in time, there are roughly three versions of the poem. First, there are the various stages of its composition between 1902 and 1909, which would seem to have been in fragments expanded, contracted, juxtaposed, rearranged

and so on, and thus in a looping movement of writing not dissimilar to that involved in reading the current version of the *Mal-Aimé*. The exact pattern of this genesis is not known, although as it is known that some parts appear alone in earlier manuscripts, it would follow that these are older, such as the *Aubade* (allegedly the very oldest part).²⁴ Next, there is the poem published in the *Mercure de France* on May 1, 1909. Finally, there is the version appearing in *Alcools* in 1913.

The poem as it stood before its first publication in 1909 is a “roman.” In reviewing a poem published in *Gil Blas* (*Le Pyrrhé*, which would become *Le Brasier*), Gustave Khan writes, just before the *Mal Aimé*’s publication in the *Mercure de France* (May 1, 1909): “Monsieur Guillaume Apollinaire figure avec autorité parmi les nouveaux symbolistes, qui, en affirmant leur personnalité propre, se réfèrent au Symbolisme, c’est à dire à la recherche du mouvement et du style. En octobre, il donnera un volume, le *Roman du Mal-Aimé*.” The 1913 epigraph echoes: “et je chantais cette romance / en 1903.” As Apollinaire composed whilst singing and walking, thereby also giving a work a natural rhythm rendering punctuation superfluous, “je chantais” makes sense as describing the work’s genesis. “Je chantais” does not clash with “romance,” but is used as would be *écrire*, *composer*, the older *trouver*, Provençal *trobar*, or any other verb of poetic activity rather than the noun attached to the finished form.

The *Mal-Aimé*’s title on first publication (May 1, 1909, in the *Mercure de France*) names it as a “chanson.” Given that the refrain, with its reference to “la romance du mal-aimé,” already appears in the oldest portions of the *Mal-Aimé* (Décaudin), it seems likely that this disjunction was already intended in the poem submitted to *Mercure de France* in 1909. We therefore have a first change, from pre-1909 “roman” to 1909 “chanson,” and a retrospective comment in 1913, which keeps “romance” as part of the poem’s identity as a whole, sum of all its prior incarnations.

The dedication and epigraph will then be added prior to publication in *Alcools* in 1913, in the first proof sent to the publishers. The *Mal-Aimé* was the collection’s first poem, its threshold, the dawn of the new book.²⁵ The dedication to the 1909 editor responsible for its publication in *Mercure de France* looks like a joke about *épaves*, bad reading, loss and memory. It was Paul Léautaud who mislaid the manuscripts of poems which Apollinaire had sent to him and which he had forgotten to publish, of which he was reminded when the two met by chance, after which he found them again and published the *Mal-Aimé* as the best of the bunch. The poet was clearly *mal aimé* by his editor. Themes of retrospection and remembering recur, and reference to reading.

The epigraph’s “et je chantais cette romance” could have been avoided by omitting the epigraph or by changing the title. “1903” would seem to refer to the relationship with Annie Playden. Either it was a painful and pointless non-starter that just went from bad to worse,²⁶ or it had moments of hope but dragged on in an unconstructive manner before fizzling out.²⁷ The former view is associated with reading the *Mal-Aimé* as a poem of death and despair, and the latter with hope. Both views read the *Mal-Aimé* as that poem, or version of it, written in or around

1903, during or at the end of the affair. While that historical-biographical layer is still present in this poem of simultaneous layers, it would seem more productive to read the latest version of the poem, given that this is the age of printing and that printing changes writing, fixing it irrevocably and so finishing the work. The first publication in 1909 produced such a final, finished poem. As a “renaissance” of love had taken place in 1907 with Marie Laurencin, reading the poem as that of 1909 would suggest a final message of hope and renewal. The circumstances of the 1909 publication then cast doubt on the finality of publication, with the poem's disappearance and the editor's forgetting. During its loss at the publishers', the poem was at once finished and not finished. That additional factor enables Apollinaire to play once again with the very idea of a work being finished at all, in his attempt to produce an open text carrying within itself all possible avenues for self-renewal. The epigraph and dedication of 1913 are a far deeper in-joke with the editor, on the sinister side of an open and living work. Two words stick out: “sans savoir.” It is the past unknowing of editor and poet. It is also the present unknowing of the poem and its uncertainty of its own future, if the past is anything to go by, as the poem's existence depends on unknown future readers, who may or may not be as haphazard as Paul Léautaud. The new flowering of love also ends in 1913. Depending on the state of the union at the time of *Alcools*'s publication, a note of uncertainty could creep into all strata of the poetic self, including the external-biographical. The poem's present mood is uncertain, as is whether uncertainty is positive or negative: the entire poem is left open.

The title, dedication and epigraph, read together, seem to be part of an additional “super-refrain” - paired with the final stanza - which acts as a superstructure for the whole work, tying it together as a whole. The title itself functions as a second-level refrain within this initial refrain, then the epigraph added in as third-level refrain, like echoes of each other and, together, of the closing stanza's full refrain. A multiple but fragmented refrain is thus produced at the beginning of the work. Reading, retrospective rereading and editing are alluded to, as are reading in loops (as the epigraph is at once postscript - as absent in 1909 and present in 1913 - and prologue - preceding the poem). We thus have, reading the preliminary paratext in the present, simultaneous reference to past and to future with respect to the present of the text: future reference to past, and apparent past reference to future. The different times of the poem's composition all being included in the title and epigraph mean that the poem itself no longer has one present, but several, all simultaneously present, like naked historical strata. The reading of tenses is further confused and multiplies in relation to the poem's other present, the present of its reading. With no fixed present of its own, which would then become the past, and opening up further on every rereading, the whole poem could be said to exist in an absolute present.

The perception of time is not complete, on a first reading, but is fragmented. There is a sense of premonition and of foreshadowing, but also that they are only partial (Orphic prediction,

by his dismembered head), and that the picture to which the reader has access at the moment of first reading is incomplete. Words of the title and epigraph will haunt the reading, even before they appear together in the refrain, hinted at out of the corner of the eye particularly by words of haunting: *re-* compounds, shades, *ombres*. A present self looks back on past self who claimed to know something but did not, as such knowledge could only be revealed in the future. This suggests that the pre-1913 lyric voice was that of Orpheus just after he looked back at Eurydice, that moment of pure presence, being there in the present, realising what was about to happen as he looked at her, and regretting it (and feeling loss for her, the past) all at once. Which heralded his dismemberment at the hands of the Maenads, not dead but immortal in the most twisted way, in his metamorphosis into prophesying head, floating forever and spouting poetry the while. His was already a partially-remembered self in 1909, given the work done not just in constructing the *Mal-Aimé* as a whole, between the first known manuscript fragments and the version published in the *Mercur de France*, in terms of writing new stanzas; but also the choice of stanzas to include and to discard, and their ordering, in and as a work of fitting together pieces in a collage. The new, renewed lyric voice here is conscious and self-conscious. It is no longer a fragment (of partial memory, and of being a disembodied head). It has, however, kept the fragmentary collage-structure of the poem, like archaeological layers, and like the way the “Moi qui sais” refrain works.

A final aspect of the textual past of the *Mal-Aimé* also opens up in reading and rereading: its relationship to the poem before it, and to *Alcools* as a whole. Immediately preceding the title of the *Mal-Aimé* was the end of *Le Pont Mirabeau* and its refrain, which prophesies and heralds the new day of the *Mal-Aimé* and the existence of the poet in a perpetual present, immortal:

Vienne la nuit sonne l'heure
Les jours s'en vont je demeure

As the poem's organisation by refrains has been extended to include the start of the poem, attention is drawn to a second structural frame, that of the refrain's use at beginning and end. Rereading the poem from the beginning highlights the refrain's presence at the beginning (0) then in stanza 19. While rereading, the reader has at the back of her mind the memory of the refrain's occurrence at the end, in stanza 59 (a reading simultaneously of present and past). All the while bearing in mind these three occurrences - stanzas 0, 19 and 59 - after she has read stanza 19, the reader predicts a pattern of repetition around every 20 lines, and so she expects a repetition around stanza 39 (in a reading now simultaneously of present, past and future). A repetition of the refrain around stanza 39 does not occur in terms of a simple repetition nor of variation in the use of the same lexical terms (“chanson/chanter,” “romance,” “mal,” “aimer”). It occurs in a more subtle way, in a confluence of lexical near-relatives and semantic synonyms in stanzas 40-41:

Et moi j'ai le cœur aussi gros
Qu'un cul de dame damascene
O mon amour je t'aimais trop

*Et maintenant j'ai trop de peine
Les sept épées hors du fourreau

Sept épées de mélancolie
Sans morfil ô claires douleurs
Sont dans mon cœur et la folie
Veut raisonner pour mon malheur
Comment voulez-vous que j'oublie*

“Aimé” is here as a lexical parallel (and *adnominatio*) in “O mon amour je t’aimais trop” and semantically in “le cœur,” “mon cœur.” “Mal,” similarly, is in the exactly lexical “mélancolie” and “malheur,” then in the semantic equivalents “trop de peine” and “douleurs.” “Chanson/chanter” appears in the tense and time shift to the present, and to a present of pure consciousness, a lyric moment. This is produced through the use of verbs in the present and of very present, immediate sensation, and in the first-person, with further emphasis through possessive and emphatic pronouns: “et moi”; “j’ai le cœur aussi gros”; “mon amour”; “j’ai trop de peine”; “mon cœur”; “que j’oublie.” Stanzas 40-41’s change, as it articulates the *chanter* term back in the tropes of its traditional lyric use, also suggests it be another inserted piece of lyric poetry, and a lyric insert aspect to the main refrain. The lyric parts of the romance thus spread outside their expected bounds, inflecting (or infecting) the work at the microscopic level of individual words. And stanzas 40-41 use a variety of shades of lyric echo – here, from lexical identity to semantic equivalence – in a similar way to the romance as a whole uses a variety of kinds, colours and textures of lyric.

Reading the “Moi qui sais” refrain, and reading the title and epigraph, led to multiple rereadings, re-membering the text by pulling together other fragments completely disconnected on a first reading but turning into echoes, shadows and fragmented parts of the whole refrain on later readings. This form of reading, always one of looking back over the shoulder, is not unlike the moment of Orpheus’ gaze back over his shoulder: perpetually conscious of past and future simultaneously. Unlike his, this gaze can escape entrapment in infinite regression, a freezing in time – the dead lyric moment. It is always a look backwards and/or forwards accompanied by change, the change of increasing consciousness of both times and of the present: an increasingly knowing gaze. The gaze is one of increase, growth and fertility, and thus more of a living lyric moment, of change and movement, and of perpetual renewal.

STANZAS 14-18:

*Je me souviens d’une autre année
C’était l’aube d’un jour d’avril
J’ai chanté ma joie bien-aimée
Chanté l’amour à voix virile
Au moment d’amour de l’année*

AUBADE
CHANTÉE À LÆTARE UN AN PASSÉ

C'est le printemps viens-t'en Pâquette
 Te promener au bois joli
 Les poules dans la cour caquètent
 L'aube au ciel fait de roses plis
 L'amour chemine à ta conquête

Mars et Vénus sont revenus
 Ils s'embrassent à bouches folles
 Devant des sites ingénus
 Où sous les roses qui feuillolent
 De beaux dieux roses dansent nus

Viens ma tendresse est la régente
 De la floraison qui paraît
 La nature est belle et touchante
 Pan sifflote dans la forêt
 Les grenouilles humides chantent

*Beaucoup de ces dieux ont péri
 C'est sur eux que pleurent les saules
 Le grand Pan l'amour Jésus-Christ
 Sont bien morts et les chats miaulent
 Dans la cour je pleure à Paris*

The repetition of stanza 19 at the very end of the poem indicated it was a refrain. The reader remembered its first use, and then returned and reread the poem, up to the point of the refrain's first occurrence. The reader had realised that the poem was not a haphazard *coup de dés* when she met the first refrain ("Voie lactée," stanzas 13, 27, 49). Now a second refrain has become apparent, and so the reader had returned to its first use (stanza 19), reading in loops. Continuing to read in loops, the reader sees a smaller-scale loop occur just before this refrain, the *Aubade* lyric insert. The *Aubade* is not just important as it precedes a refrain. It is doubly important as an instance of the refrain itself, as its title and content mark it as an *aubade*, a form of old-style lyric poetry, and so related to the various old, indeed now antiquated, forms listed in the "Moi qui sais" refrain.

The *aubade*, or dawn-song, is a very ancient form.²⁸ It lies at the dawn of European vernacular literature, in the form of the first Romance lyric fragment, the bilingual *Aube de Fleury*,²⁹ It is the moment of dawn, at which lovers must part. This is at the actual dawn, *l'aube*, moment between the night and the day. The night is that of existence outside the World, in that the *rendez-vous* is illicit, with at least a hint of impropriety if not downright adultery, and so socially marginalized. Due to these constraints, the encounter may be the only one ever. It is the purest of passions. Spatially, the couple are enclosed in their nest-retreat at once at the very inside – physically encoupled - and in a bedroom or a garden. Emphasis is on the other-worldly. The day is a return to normality, light, everyday life. The night will be but a memory, a melancholy regret rendered the more painful as memory fades under the bright light of day. The dawn is a pure lyric moment of present, as the movement of the sun can actually be seen and followed, from partial to full presence in the sky, and as the light strengthens from barely perceptible glow to full

brightness. In the dawn, the sun is moving slowly, and so, therefore, is time. The moment is one of aching torment, in the regret that time does not stop altogether, in that long moment on the brink of the new day. A second feature of the dawn's growing light is that shadows can be seen (and which have been the oldest means of measuring time): a reminder of Eurydice, the shadow of the self, and the haunting by the other. The dawn comes, either plainly and simply (as in the Ovidian personification with her rosy fingers) or as heralded by an impersonal professional, marginal character neither on the side of the lovers, inside world and night, nor on that of the outside. This could be a night-watchman, a friend guarding the bedroom/bower door, a go-between figure who set the whole thing up. The lovers must part. They foresee looking back on this moment with regret (at least, the man/active lover does, while his significant other is usually silent). There is contrast with the outside world they must rejoin. And (usually in the last or second-last stanza) rejoin it they must, as a threat looms: the return of the jealous husband, the forces of gossip, and other enemy forces of the outside world.

Apollinaire's *Aubade* sings the remembrance of times past, and nostalgia for the death of the Gods (stanza 18); but with a note of cyclical renewal, of new life after death: this is particularly evident in the line "Mars et Vénus sont revenus," which recalls the frequent use of the re- prefix, prefigured insistently beforehand, in yet another instance of prophesy remembered, in the epigraph's "renaissance," the opening stanza's "ressemblait," "rencontre," "regard"; stanza 6's "revînt," stanza 7's "se réjouit," "retrouva," stanza 9's "regrets," 10's "revienne," and 12's "je ne reverrai plus." Mars and Venus are fitting persons to place in this *Aubade*, as these most notorious illicit lovers of Classical mythology do not meet once then part tearfully for ever. Here, too, they "sont revenus." They are also associated with the dawn, and with the question of when a thing begins and ends. In their first reported act of adultery, they were spotted at dawn by the rising sun who reported back to Vulcan, Venus's husband. How long the adultery had been going on beforehand is unknown: what counts is when it is viewed from outside, in a parallel with reading and when a poem becomes a poem, as picked up by Apollinaire in the dedication and epigraph. A similar act of reading which creates takes place in the second catching-in-the-act, when Vulcan entraps the lovers in a fine bronze net (reminiscent, as an image, of the dawn) at dawn, but now in front of all the Gods.

Here, as happens in the odd other *aubade*, the spring opening topos, *locus amoenus*, is fused with the dawn in the season of new life and new love, "à l'aube d'un jour d'avril." Just like the dawn, the spring, and more exactly April as this season of growth and renewal is already consciously presented by Medieval poets as a cultural fusion of festivals and rebirths Christian (Easter, and resurrection), Classical and indigenous-pagan. Here, we see a soft palette of dawn pinks and spring greens, in the gentle new light of spring. The freshest of greens are painted in the "bois joli," "la nature est belle et touchante," "la forêt," and "les grenouilles humides." The

daintiest of pinks are in “l’aube ...roses plis,” “les roses,” and in “ma tendresse est la régente de la floraison qui paraît.” In the first of its ambiguities and *double-entendres*, “touchante” brushes the skin delicately, uncertainly the touch of nature or by the human. Sensuous freshness and delicacy also appear in sexual associations with the rhyme schemes of stanzas 15 and 16. “Joli / plis” is based on “lit.” “Revenus / ingénus / nus” is based on “nus.” Flowing through the three stanzas are textures of human flesh which so strongly resemble this surrounding flora and fauna as to be indistinguishable, as nature in turn shows human carnal aspects, and so human flesh and nature are fused as one: “roses plis,” “s’embrassent à bouches folles,” “de beaux dieux roses dansent nus,” “ma tendresse,” finally “belle et touchante.”

There is a complete absence of active first person verbs, which is actually quite unusual in an *aubade*: the nearest is in the use of the second singular (addressing Pâquette), and the first person is only present in a single pronoun, “ma tendresse est la régente de la floraison qui paraît,” and so only present in fragmented form, as this “tendresse” can be seen either as a physical part of the whole person (on which more later), or as a personification. It is “traditionally lyric” in that the piece, now written down one year later, was sung, as the title indicates: “chantée ... un an passé.” As it is sung by a single person, in the strictest sense this *Aubade* is a piece of first-person lyric, the music of a single voice, and so “pure” in this sense of absolute singularity (as opposed, say, to a poem of at least two voices such as a *debat*, or a *descort*): it is pure lyric, and as it is monophonic, it must be melodious (and there is no possibility of its not being harmonious). This *Aubade* is not as pure, simple and “ingénu” as it might seem, however. The only acts of singing which take place are not by a single lyric first person, given that there are no such verbs here, such as “je chante,” but rather by several persons: “Pan sifflote,” “les grenouilles ... chantent,” “la nature est belle et tout chante” (pun on *touchante*). It is uncertain whether this will result in harmony or cacophony. Were all the voices concerned to be *singing*, perhaps with all using the same verb, *chanter*, this might be less dubious: but one of the singing voices is that of frogs, more famed for their croaking. Their song looks parodic, and so the whole *aubade* looks mocked, the old form undermined by the angry young man, the old destroyed and supplanted by the new.

A closer look at the stanza (17) reveals, rather, a resurgence of the theme of renewal. The first two stanzas seemed like a perfectly standard *aubade*, and associated with all that is old and dead – the “beaucoup de ces dieux ont péri” of stanza 18, just after the end of the *Aubade*. Stanza 17 continues in formal orthodoxy, as Pan is positioned in the same place, with respect to a central couple of lovers, as would be the watchman-figure, the usual only other figure present in an *aubade*, voyeur third party. Both he and Pan are outsiders, marginal, ambiguous and antediluvian figures. Pan makes his appearance between two uses of *chanter* (the pun “la nature est belle et touchante”; “les grenouilles humides chantent”). Such a between-ness is appropriate. Ever the rebel and marginal figure, between men and gods, he lives in the woods, and is usually active in

half-lit glades and in the gloaming. Furthermore, he is an older god, older than the Olympian pantheon (and their Latin / Ovidian representatives here), closest link to the older divinity underlying all more recent layers and for which Apollinaire appears to have searched.³⁰ He “siffote.” The less jarring “siffle” would not draw the eye so much, but his “siffote” is a mocking parody of fine and proper song, of *chanter*. Pan draws attention to the double-entendres already present in what seemed up until his appearance to be a fairly proper, clean song. He acts as reader and commentator within the poem. He triggers the reader rereading to catch what made him cackle, those furtive glimpses of impropriety out of the corner of the eye that might pass from the flirtation of playing to the reader’s entrapment in “conquête,” as he is had or enjoyed.

Pan’s exact point of entry into the *Aubade*, immediately after “touchante,” also stresses his highly sexed side, picking up on “touchante” as a multiple *double-entendre*. Just before Pan burst in on the scene, there was a suggestion that the first person could be present as a masked *persona*, hiding behind “ma tendresse.” However masked and secretive this persona is, there is certainly a first person presence in “ma tendresse” in some kind of personification form. As a personification, “ma tendresse qui est régente” is the true core of poet-lover: that most tender, sensitive centre of a human being is presented here in full fettle. This could be a disembodied phallus wandering the leafy glades, an other and unexpectedly positive side of images of castration (via Saturn’s castration, and this first creative dissemination in the universe, as described by Lucian and Ovid) and decapitation (Orpheus, and the disembodied, passive, prophetic head). The phallus could of course not be disembodied at all, but still firmly attached to the poet, sceptre held proudly in hand as he sits enthroned. It, and so the whole final stanza, become a final image of fused, conflated nature and flesh. “Ma tendresse” is a burgeoning rose. *Rose* and allies are present in the other stanzas but absent in this final stanza, except for the more indirect allusions of “tendresse,” “floraison” and “belle et touchante.” I see here abundant allusions to the Rose of the *Roman de la Rose*, in its blossoming and as male sexual metaphor.³¹ The phallus as shared theme also reinforces the *Aubade-Sept Épées* structural symmetry.

“Ma tendresse” is responsible for “la floraison”: the great disseminator renews nature by hand. Vessel for a more human “floraison,” he ejaculates (“qui paraît”) in blissful transport accompanied by song in full surround stereo. The exact moment is at “touchante”: the pun slips between the *touchante* of “touching” and *tout chante*, “all sings.” “Touchante” also recalls *toucher* and so the masturbatory act at hand, very human and individual. It is singular in form. As adjectival complement to “la nature,” it is a present participle used in the predicative/copulative structure “la nature est belle et touchante,” a structure of purest being. It is passive or non-active, still. “Tout chante,” on the other hand, includes all creation, and the individual’s participation in it. It is plural in form, but also including the singular, so includes this first person of “ma tendresse” and its owner. It is in the present tense, in a subject-active verb phrase: active, alive. It

is a cry, noticeably the first sound in the *Aubade*. The sudden sound contrasts with the oneric feel of stanzas 15 and 16, slipped into so seamlessly through stanza 14's nostalgia for this time past, a seamless shift which had nevertheless seemed slightly odd, given the lyric nature of any *aubade* and the insistence on singing in 14: "j'ai chanté ma joie bien-aimée," "chanté l'amour à voix virile." Appropriate to the phallic and creative context, in a double grammatical structure and a double pun, out of one word spurts a fertile multitude of senses.

It is after the pun that Pan appears: the extreme example of lust as single purpose in life, completely guided and ruled by desire; and proud bearer of the quintessential prime genital specimen. Pan pops up, fairylike, as agent of reality check, bringing the poet back down to earth, through his mocking whistle of tool, process and result. Pan comments here as expert on such matters, and so acts in a second way as judge, reader and figure of retrospection, just as he does with respect to singing. The atmosphere becomes less misty-dewy and spring-like, as things are seen in the true light of day. Pan's appearance and its positioning is very like that, in the Classical and Medieval dawn-song, of a second figure outside the lovers' couple: the jealous husband to whom his possession must be returned. Pan's mocking is followed by the appearance of the "grenouilles humides." Their mention brings to mind those of Marcabru's *Bel m'es quan la rana chanta*, a Provençal poem of twisted spring opening: instead of the poet singing while (and because) all is green and blooming, it is a frog who does so.³² These frogs are also "humides": the rose-tinted spectacles are off, we are out of the idealised nature and back into the real and raw, in which "la nature" ceases to be one and lush, and returns to being composed of beasts which do not sing but utter harsh ugly cries. And the luxuriant "tendresse" returns, through the textural reference to frogs' skin, to being damp, sweaty and a little icky. The lyric voice is no longer separated from the rest of himself (fragmented Orpheus) and in union with all creation; jolted out of this lyric moment, it is back in the human whole, and cut from holistic transcendence.

STANZAS 55-58:

*Juin ton soleil ardent lyre
 Brûle mes doigts endoloris
 Triste et mélodieux délire
 J'erre à travers mon beau Paris
 Sans avoir le cœur d'y mourir*

*Les dimanches s'y éternisent
 Et les orgues de Barbarie
 Y sanglotent dans les cours grises
 Les fleurs aux balcons de Paris
 Penchent comme la tour de Pise*

*Soirs de Paris ivres de gin
 Flambant de l'électricité
 Les tramways feux verts sur l'échine
 Musiquent au long des portées
 De rails leur foile de machines*

*Les cafés gonflés de fumée
 Crient tout l'amour de leurs tziganes
 De tous leurs siphons enrhumés
 De leurs garçons vêtus d'un pagne
 Vers toi que j'ai tant aimée*

The reader is suddenly swept back into the present of contemporary life, in the brilliant scorching light of high summer and of the ever-lit city. A historical continuity is also here, in references to the same palette of colours used earlier in the poem, now stronger and more dramatic. Pinks turn to red, greens intensify: flowers (albeit dying in the heat), “soirs...flambant de l'électricité,” “feux verts,” the vibrantly multicoloured “tziganes” and “pagnes.” “Barbarie,” “tziganes” and “pagnes” refer at once to an original geographical origin which has now become subsumed into a new object associated with the city – organ-grinders, Gitane cigarettes, long wrap-around aprons. Working backwards, the “pagnes,” “siphons enrhumés” and the “fumée” also bring to mind the opium-den, through the connection between “pagnes” and the Golden Triangle of south Asia, the then French Indochina. We thus have two sets of apparently unrelated allusions to drugs and to the colours red, green and white. The two sets of allusions and a third, to passion, turn out to be a significant link connecting stanzas 55-58, the “intermèdes intercalés” of the *Aubade* and the *Sept Épées*, and both the “Moi qui sais” and “Voie lactée” refrains.

First, then, stanza 58's drug reference acts as another kind of lyric, in another form of transcendental moment of pure presence: intoxication. A direct link is forged back to lyric aspects of the “Voie lactée” refrain-stanzas (13, 27, 49). The liquid course and flow here have been linked to the more obvious Odyssean journey and to swimming in/inside woman. It would be absurd to avoid the obvious, given that this is *Alcools*: they are also a lyric moment of intoxication.

*Voie lactée ô sœur lumineuse
 Des blancs ruisseaux de Chanaan
 Et des corps blancs des amoureuses
 Nageurs morts suivrons-nous d'ahan
 Ton cours vers d'autres nébuleuses*

The most direct image of this stanza, lying on one's back looking up at the clear night sky, is already a fine lyric in its own right. Intoxication, however, is often the original reason for engaging in this activity and heightens its effects. The resulting detached absolute present is a sensation of no longer being on the earth, nor even of the earth still existing, but of being in the night sky, whether a star oneself or a divine being looking down. Apollinaire becomes Apollo the sun, inside the spiral form of the Milky Way, a form similar to that of the *Mal-Aimé* and perhaps of *Alcools* as a whole, in that it is nearly a closed circle but not quite. The spiral galaxy is the shape most like movement, but it is fixed; though moving, it does so imperceptibly, like the dawn. The aspatiality and atemporality of intoxication transfix through the momentary suspension of time and space. In a parallel dawn, an individual teeters in a cognitive transition zone, in the moment of forgetting at dawn while memory starts to return in a fragmentary fashion and accompanied by that most lethal combination, the dawning of increased consciousness and an

increased sense of lost memory. The self is mentally fragmented. The ensuing headache and sense of the self as physically fragmented provide a decisive Orphic echo.

Second, the colours red, green and white strengthen the reference to intoxication, recall other lyric and connect to themes of renewal. Stellar mention above recalls the *Divine Comedy*, whose narrative course is marked by the rising of the morning star - dawn strikes again. Another *Divine Comedy* marker, this one more spatial though also affecting the temporal, is to those offshoots of the Edenic water of life, Lethe and Eunoë, waters of forgetting (and so purifying, in a return to the pre-lapsarian condition) and of remembering (and restoration), yet another form of cognitive threshold, like the dawn and the centre of a romance.³³ Waters of life bring to mind the initial title for *Alcools: Eau de vie*. One of the two principal sorts would be the clear aniseed-based ones that turn a milky white with the addition of water. The other would be the green ones, such as absinthe and Chartreuse, and similar liqueurs distilled in other Benedictine monasteries, along the Rhine and in southern Bavaria, as probably encountered by Apollinaire during his stay in Germany and so pertinent to *Alcools*. In the milky floating, there is also a hint of opiates (picked up in stanza 58). Finally, there is the red of wine and of blood, the human “voie,” and the channel through which all these various intoxicants course. Red, white and green are highly suitable colours to use in another form of structuring the *Mal-Aimé* “Medievally,” by cardinal virtues.³⁴ All three colours coincide neatly with themes of renewal. Red is that of *caritas* or *amor*, the twin passions of “mal” and “aimé.” It is also the wine/blood of transubstantiation. Green is for *spes*, hope and renewal. White is *fides*, also linked, through the purity of faith, to other purities, cleansing, starting anew. Through cleansing and renewal, white feeds back into Lethe and Eunoë. The *Aubade*, furthermore, is also coloured by white in the dawn itself. The *aubade*, a later term for the poetic form, is an *aube* in Old French. *Aube* is used in Old and Modern French for “dawn.” Both words are directly related to the (Occitan and) Latin *alba*: the poetic form, the dawn, and “white.”³⁵

Third, through the effects of intoxication, the “Voie lactée” stanza is a lyric one in a present moment of passion, in both senses of pain and pleasure. As painful passion, it is the blinding pain of intoxicated whiteout, an absolute present of suspended animation in time outside time. The other most clear example of a lyric insert of painful passion is the *Sept Épées* (stanzas 42-48). Its lyric moment of pain had actually started with stanzas 40 and 41. The same lyric passions are picked up in stanzas 55-58. In particular, stanza 41 is reflected in stanza 55. Here they are side by side:

*Sept épées de mélancolie
Sans morfil ô claires douleurs
Sont dans mon cœur et ma folie
Veut raisonner pour mon malheur
Comment voulez-vous que j'oublie*

*Juin mon soleil ardent délire
Brûle mes doigts endoloris
Triste et mélodieux délire
J'erre à travers mon beau Paris
Sans avoir le cœur d'y mourir*

Paired terms are picked up, rather as happened between the “Moi qui sais” refrain and stanzas 40 and 41, ranging from identical lexical repetition to semantic equivalence. The refrain’s “mal” appears in “mélancolie – mélodieux,” “douleurs – endoloris,” the mixed “malheur – triste,” and extended to the lugubrious “morfil – mourir.” “Aimé” is here in “cœur” and the double and ambiguous, painful and pleasurable, blazing red, amorous burning of “ardent” and “brûle.” Somewhere between the similarly contrary “mal” and “aimé,” or indeed avatars of the “mal-aimé” himself, we have the paired “folie-délire” and “j’oublie – j’erre,” forgetting and forgotten. Stanzas 40 and 41, already an extension of the “Moi qui sais” refrain, thus also link that refrain to the other, the “Voie lactée.” As a moment of pleasant and pleasurable passion, the “Voie lactée” stanza is of sexual enjoyment, including the self-evident imagery of milky liquid: “voie lactée” and “blancs ruisseaux,” with “Chanaan” providing one of the *Mal-Aimé*’s many hints to a persistent love-lyric intertext (especially in Medieval literature), the *Song of Solomon*. Ejaculation connects the “Voie lactée” to the *Aubade*, and to stanza 40’s moment on the climactic edge: “j’ai le cœur aussi gros” – not to mention that it is sufficiently full to bursting and sufficiently substantial to fill “un cul de dame damascene.” Stanza 40’s tumescence continues, through 41:

*O mon amour je t’aimais trop
Et maintenant j’ai trop de peine
Les sept épées hors du fourreau

Sept épées de mélancolie
Sans morfil ô claires douleurs
Sont dans mon cœur ...*

Stanzas 40 and 41 are now also part of the running theme of joyful dissemination, and part of the associated phallic theme linking the *Aubade* and the *Sept Épées*. “Trop de peine” and “ô claires douleurs” pick up the ambiguous distinction between painful and pleasurable passion, reinforcing the refrain’s “mal-aimé” connection.

The above interlude is highly significant to reading the *Mal-Aimé* as a poem of self-multiplication. The first occurrence of the refrain, in stanza 19, referred back to what immediately preceded it, a first overt Medieval and lyric interlude, stanzas 15-17’s *Aubade*. The second, in stanza 59, referred back not only to stanzas 55-58 immediately preceding it, but back in a second loop to the “Voie lactée” refrain-stanzas. The “Voie lactée” loop also links together the two refrains, and so links together the structures of moment and of movement. The final refrain therefore creates multiple loops backwards, and so the poem multiplies itself. Furthermore, the backwards loops conjured up by the final stanza join up with previous loops, in a structure which can be visualised like an interweaving knotwork-style pattern. In a Medieval romance, especially a very long and complex one, visualising such an interlace structure is the easiest way to keep multiple chiasmic layers in mind.³⁶ The structural parallels between Medieval romance and the *Mal-Aimé* are thus further reinforced.

After the brief interlude, we return to stanzas 55-58. Certain words (“Barbarie,” “tzigane”) were seen to refer to geographical origin, reference which, in the big new cosmopolitan city, has come to be not just denotative but newly connotative. Words are also borrowed from other languages and neologisms – “gin,” “électricité,” “tramways” - and Apollinaire uses old words in new situations: “musiquent,” “pagnes” (14th and 16th century respectively). Words change, double and multiply their meanings, alive in their reproduction and regeneration. The very living cacophony of the end of the *Aubade* returns, in the chorus (itself a form of refrain) of many voices and in the new strident song of new technology, in the raw cry of the ever-renewing city, international melting-pot of peoples: “orgues de Barbarie, tramways musiquent ... folie de machines, les cafés ... crient tout l’amour de leurs tziganes ... de leurs garçons vêtus d’un pagne.” The last stanza of the *Aubade* (17) is recalled, with its cacophonous return to life, and harsh animal cry. These, in turn, recall also the title and epigraph, and look forward to the refrain’s use of song, *chanson*.

Use of the refrain immediately after this burst of new life, the refrain with its studiedly old terms and concepts, draws attention to the contrast between old and new. Ending with the refrain could too easily be interpreted as conclusion in the old. Lost hope for the new, return to the old, being stuck in the same old rut, would fit with a biographical interpretation of the poem as one of melancholy loss and despair, of death, rejection, rupture with the past. Given the manner what precedes always colours what follows, however, I would read it as ending on a note of hope, new life and renewal. Stanzas 56-58 have written the new Paris in a renewed French. The final stanza renews the old terms involved (and especially with reference to title and epigraph), particularly “romance.” Romance itself was the genre at the dawn of French literature, a literature of renewal in a new language. It is surely most appropriate for romance to be renewed at this new dawn of a new century, in the dawn of renewed language for the renewed world.

III. DISSEMBLANCE

Reading the *Mal-Aimé* as a romance has hinted at, but not focused on, a centre of truth, question and identity. As in many Medieval romances, games are played with the reader, involving the naming of the author, otherwise anonymous but for the odd punning hint. Knowing the self is the full and true knowledge, the hidden treasure at the centre of a labyrinth of games, play, trickery, deceit and disguise. In the *Mal-Aimé*, a trickster central part (stanzas 18-41) falls between the *Aubade* and the *Sept Épées*. This central part can be not only accepted but verily embraced as being slippery, deceitful, self-contradictory and otherwise duplicitous and double. Reading the three together - the centre in the light of the two either side - produces a central poetic figure of wily guile, or a “Guillaume,” with either side the parts - Mars, Venus, Pan, Hermes - which will come together to form “Apollinaire.” The poet creates himself, as new and glorious bastard.

“Guillaume” is the eternal wily trickster of the middle part of his poem (stanzas 18-41). The trickster-figure is universal. He is present in the Medieval pan-European *fabliaux* and the *Renard* and *Espiègle* cycles. Both of these characters are linguistically linked to “Guillaume”: the Old French fox, *goupil*, is linked through a Germanic root to “guile,” “wile,” “wily” and to the names *Wilhelm*, “William,” and *Guillaume*. *Till Eulenspiegel* / *L’Espiègle* is another “William”, and shares some of his stories with William Tell. These two story-groups go back through the Aesopian fabular tradition, the Arabian Nights, and those Sanskrit tales with which Apollinaire would have been familiar,³⁷ to an untraceably remote past, at the dawn of human time. The trickster and the dawn could even be the most universal literary characters (universal in space and in time).³⁸ Fox and William are masters of trickery and disguise, of no fixed identity, and so they are able to pass everywhere. They are like the first-person voice of *Zones*, and like other marginal, transient figures scattered through *Alcools*, such as prostitutes and immigrants. The trickster is also related to other rootless transients who walk Medieval and Early Modern literature: wandering Jew, magician/magus, Faustian figures. All of these are marginal with respect to their surrounding norms, free and independent, self-creating in a process of self-mythification: very Apollinarian.

As for “Apollinaire:” The go-between figure of the *aubade* is, or is often identified with Nature, descended from older figures along the Indo-European and Middle Eastern mythic family trees: like Pan, an antediluvian character. She is divine servant and go-between, messenger between Gods and men, motive force for creativity and procreation. She is a slippery figure, also changing gender as need be, as in the (male) watchman. Her presence here in the *Aubade* in Pan, procreator *par excellence*, is entirely appropriate. As a further gender-bending complication, Pan is also famous for shafting anything that moves, regardless of gender. This bisexed / bisexual aspect may be hinted at in the *Sept Épées* insert, fitting back in through stanza 44’s mention of Hermes, another intermediary between Gods and men. Hermes also feeds into a running autobiographical theme of the bastard, as he and Aphrodite engendered the double-gendered hermaphrodite.

The go-between’s sexual fluidity (as figure-type) also recalls that of the momentarily hermaphrodite poetic voice in the *Sept Épées* lyric insert.³⁹ A second go-between is mentioned in the *Sept Épées*: Iris, the rainbow, in stanza 43. Her most important actions are as jealous Hera’s messenger. As goddess of marriage and thus of legitimised and legitimate procreation, Hera is also linked, within the same stanza, to further elaboration on the “arc-en-ciel,” as “les dieux s’en servent à leurs noces.” Hints are being dropped, pointing towards thematic parallels between the two stanzas in the presence of persons who created bastards, as in the *Aubade* we saw the re-coupling of Mars and Venus, grand illicit lovers. The *Aubade* and *Sept Épées* references cross-fertilise to produce “Apollinaire.”

“Apollinaire” is the new supreme mortal poet. He must by rights be a divine/mortal bastard, not so much supplanting Orpheus (child of Calliope, the muse of poetry, and of a mortal king) as subsuming him into himself in yet another instance of renewing old material, through making Orpheus part of himself, as he builds himself out of pre-existing myth, in self-creation through self-mythification. *Zone* ended on:

Adieu Adieu

Soleil cou coupé

Parricidal overtones are at work here. Apollo and Diana killed their father, Jupiter, in what is seen (Campbell, Graves et al) as the passage from one generation of gods to the next. The same happened when Saturn was castrated and the Titans exterminated, before Jupiter’s own generation. Here, Apollinaire generates himself, in an act forced on Apollo of Saturnian universal dissemination, combining the near-homophones “cou coupé” and “couilles coupées.” They also recall one of the principal running themes of Jean de Meun’s *Roman de la Rose*, and its link to language. Near the start, Reason speaks on the randomness of the word “testicles” being attached to its signified object, rather than “relic.” There is repeated reference, throughout, to the twinned castration tales of Saturn and Abelard. Near the end comes the commandment to man, with much joking around *outils* of pilgrimage, writing and biological generation, to “use them or lose them.”

“Apollinaire” is also “Apollon + Lunaire,” Sun + Moon. He is the product of Apollo-Old Lyric and Silenus-Oldest Lyric, as Silenus, more or less interchangeable with Pan, is the “moon man.” Apollinaire’s identity as “new poetry” is reinforced as he includes in his genealogy (that is, his past, and that which is past) metaphors for “old poetry” and “oldest poetry.” The inclusion of these two terms must surely also be the clearest example of Apollinaire’s attempt to renew poetry and language, not through throwing away all that is old, past and dead, but through reusing it, using it in a new way, which brings it back to life. In the same way as happened in the “Moi qui” refrain stanza, and for a similar reason to its extension into other fragmentary as archaeological layers, the return is not to the old life, in repetition, but to a new life.

One aim of the *Mal-Aimé*, ill-loved of his world and marginalized by it, is to change the world so as to be part of it, and to do so by renewing language. The language at hand is French. Apollinaire is writing at a time of intense nationalist politicisation of linguistics and literature in his language, part of the 19th century obsession with origins, genealogy and evolution. A darker side of the new “science” of philology facilitates the presentation of qualitative opinions as quantitative fact. A good example would be the writings of the (otherwise undeniably great) contemporary Romance philologist Gaston Paris. In (otherwise ground-breaking, still major and relevant) works claiming to treat of all Medieval French literature, he concentrates on works glorifying the new *patrimoine national*, such as the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Chanson du pèlerinage de Charlemagne à Constantinople*. Such works are deemed the highest forms of

creation. Other works, especially those less pure as less *français de souche*, are rejected as degenerate and (so) second-rate. Apollinaire, as a Medieval reader not only of impure bastard descent but an international one at that, would have been particularly sensitive to such material. He would have found it all around him. First he would have met it in selections of texts in anthologies, *chrestomathies* and *trésors*, such as he would have been faced with at school in preparing for the *bac humanités*. He would have encountered it later in further editions (many of which were similar collections at the time), in introductions and commentaries, and in the arrangement and cataloguing of texts in libraries, under the new systems brought in at that time and in that same 19th century new spirit organising all of the human sciences.

Through his use of Medieval intertextual allusion in the *Mal-Aimé*, Apollinaire sidesteps and subverts the contemporary orthodox perception of that Medieval literature. He undermines one of the foundations on which his contemporary world rests, and so finds a way around its rejection of him, bastard of no acceptable fixed identity and non-person. One of the intertexts, alluded to is in the poem's title and refrain, and provides a significant clue to the purpose of the *Mal-Aimé*: Apollinaire renames himself. When he renames himself, he invents a new word in French. He has thus become part of the old language whilst changing it, reshaping it to include him inside it when previously he was outside. A first reaction would be to call him a cheat. It is a false integration as he has bent the rules, in typical trickster behaviour. He has actually altered all norms by abused the link between language and identity (via propriety and the normative), perverted language itself to insinuate himself in the guise or form of a new word in French. It is a fundamental change to operate, changing the world through changing perception of it through language. Given the links between language and identity or being, it is also a renewal. The language cried out for renewal at the time, disjoined from the reality it was supposed to reflect of this new age and new century, where even Paris, the heart of all things French and monolithically metropolitan, was now cosmopolitan and international: previously shown in the last stanza's use of new words and new uses of words.

In a second link to the renewed "Guillaume Apollinaire," a very useful Medieval intertext ties together the *Aubade* and its watchman-figure; the refrain; romance as a quest, search for the central question, for identity itself; and problematic texts. A very early *aubade* exists in Old French. Like the *Mal-Aimé*, there are some problems around its title, as it has no title in its manuscripts;⁴⁰ worse still, it is also anonymous. Like most such poems it is therefore usually referred to by its refrain line, "je suis li povres Gaterés" ("watchman/watcher/guardian"). Modern French translations call it *La Chanson du Mal-Aimé*. It is only a chanson in the broadest sense. Like the *Mal-Aimé* it is generically puzzling, as it is usually referred to as a *ballette* (precursor of the *ballade*), due to having a refrain. "Chanson" and "Mal-Aimé" do not actually appear directly at all in the poem, albeit the *mal-aimé* is indirectly present as one of its main themes:⁴¹

Il a tel en cest païs qui a belle mie,
 Mais je n'en puet point avoir, dont je ne ri mie.
 Et si pert de con que g'i met:
 Je suis li povres Gaterés.

Je l'amasse volontiers; s'elle moi doignest amer,
 Je fusse ses escuiers. Por faire sa volentet
 Donasse li mon anelet:
 Je suis li povres Gaterés.

Ancor li voil je prieir qu'elle soit m'amie:
 Elle ne vourroit ja pix de ma compaignie,
 Et j'an serai plus joliés:
 Je suis li povres Gaterés.

Douce dame a qui je suis, por Deu je vos prie
 Que de moi aiez merci, belle, douce amie,
 Car mon guerredon sor vos met:
 Je suis li povres Gaterés.

The “Gaterés” of the refrain is enigmatic. He could be a generic watchman, *gaitte* or *guetteur*, who will, incidentally, suggest the later Apollinairian *Guetteur mélancolique*. He is the guardian of the central treasure of truth in the poem, in a strengthening of the lyric/narrative contrast in the romance, with “guetteur” pitted against “quêteur.” “Gaterés” could be his name. More likely it is the name which he has given himself. It is a fitting non-name for the lover who has lost all previous identity, a hollow shell of his former self, now defined only as “he who watches,” filled only with the emptiness of unrequited desire for the “belle douce amie.” This self-creation is already very like that of “Guillaume Apollinaire” by himself. “Gaterés” then changes the nature of his own identity, from passive to active, from sufferer to imposer of sufferings, by exploiting a linguistic loophole in “watching.” Like “Guillaume Apollinaire,” “Gaterés” is digging new meaning out of old words to create a place for himself.⁴² The mechanism is a work of finesse. “Elle” becomes less abstracted, distant, lofty and superior and more his as the poem progresses, from stanza to stanza: from no mention of her, except as an absence, the “belle mie” whom others have but he does not; to “elle moi doignast amer,” associated with things belonging to her – “je fusse ses escuiers,” “sa volentet.” Through an action by the (otherwise passive and complaining) poet, who gives her his “anelet,” she then becomes “qu'elle soit m'amie,” in a desired hypothesized future were she to hear his prayers and grant him “merci,” before she becomes the “belle douce mie” of the final stanza, followed by a non-hypothetical and rather threatening reversal of the second stanza’s proprietorial theme, “car mon gueredon sor vos met.”

The “Gaterés” thus moves away from distance and passivity, the other side of neutrality, towards an active gaze in which the love-object is his. He moves from an external neutrality of appearances, to the internal truth of desire to possess: his essential nature thus changes, from passive emptiness to having some filling, this obligation that he has imposed on “elle.” He gains identity, strength and leverage in the relationship (or rather the non-relationship, or the

completely imaginary relationship) through a fiction of property that then twists reality because both worlds share the same language. He uses all the multiple senses of *trobar*: he “makes”; he “invents” and “finds” himself; he does so inside, while and by composing his poem. He reconstructs, reinvents and finds again, echoed in the identical complete poetic act committed by “Guillaume Apollinaire” and in this paper’s themes of archaeology, remembering and renewal.

In naming himself, Apollinaire further resembles Pan in his Silenus form, apparently “earth-born” so antedating creation, independent of it and of the Gods’ control over their work. Apollinaire, like Pan, creates himself out of the material of his world; he is “poem-born.” An outsider to the order of things in the world, with no place in the hierarchy of Gods and their creation, he is a marginal figure. Guillaume Apollinaire thus also has a double identity in marginality and placelessness, articulated through wily trickster and Silenus. These aspects of placelessness and marginality are part of the bastard’s lack of identity, if identity is defined as belonging, associated with property. There is the property of belonging to a family, through the patriarchal and genealogical order, which defines name. There is the property of belonging to place, in a long chicken-and-egg relationship in which it is uncertain which came place, coming from a place or the place belonging to you, by right of inheritance. The bastard, by virtue of his parentage being uncertain, possesses neither aspect of property and belonging, and so he is outside of the usual order of things: his identity is marginal.

The relationship to Silenus reinforces the Orphic connection, as Silenus was the tutor of Dionysus, whose Maenads dismembered Orpheus. In an older Greek tradition, Orpheus *is* Dionysus and is one of the old king-new king figures ritually killed at the end of the old year and reborn at the beginning of the new year. This links to the Janus figure, in turn linking back to Silenus as double-natured⁴³. The double figures also connect to stanza 34:

*Douleur qui doubles les destins
La licorne et le capricorne
Mon âme et mon corps incertain
Te fuient ô bûcher divin qu’orient
Des astres des fleurs du matin*

The sign Capricorn, like Janus, is the marker governing the threshold of the year: end of December to late January; “destins” and “astres” recall the astrological. The double figure looks both ways, just like the dawn, the watchman / Gaterés, Orpheus, the poet and the reader, in the lyric moment of looking both back to old year/night/past and forward to new year/day/future. “Doubles” also appears here of “corps” and “âme,” which remind of the “doubles les destines” and Orpheus and Eurydice, poet and *ombre*. The “fleurs du matin” recall the dawn. Stanza 34 also recalls the *Aubade*’s “Mars et Vénus sont revenus,” returned to the idyll, in renewal. Their return had been presaged in other re- prefixed verbs earlier. It is now echoed in this dawn and the “capricorne,” astrological sign of renewal, paired with the “licorne,” a similar dawn-figure that

gives the renewal of eternal life if it is killed and its blood drunk while it is on the threshold of death.

We thus have here a multitude of images of the new poet who rebirths himself in the new dawn, in his own poetry, and is the living embodiment of the new poetry itself. In this new universalism, the poet and poetry must be all things to all men, including being both male and female, in the new world at the dawn of a new century, a larger more international world, opened up and speeded up with new technologies. And this is still of course a renewal, as the old poetry had a similar universalism, but for a smaller universe (literally, “the whole world,” “turned into one,” from *uni-* + *vertere, versus*). Apollinaire the bastard, wandering, displaced and placeless in the outside world, has *trobat*, has now “found” his place of belonging and his identity in poetry.

The *aubade*'s go-between, in her female incarnation, will appear as a *maquerelle*, as lady's maid, as nurse, as the sexual facilitators of the *fabliaux*, and as the strange, otherworldly and ambiguous *fées* in the *matière bretonne* of Marie de France's *Lais* and Chrétien de Troyes's romances. She is a facilitator: enabling encounters to take place between lovers, and without whom they are condemned to separation. She is also indispensable in the generation and composition of the poem, which would not exist without the bringing together of the lovers. Through the poem, in turn, she is indispensable to the bringing together of writer (and other textual creators, many and of fluid roles in the Medieval context) and of reader in a similar communicative action, inside the poem. She has strong links to the fusion of the roles of internal (with respect to the text) writer and external reader, in her powers over creation and continuity, enabling the creative act to take place and monitoring/commenting on it from outside. Such a textual communication or communion being a sexual metaphor is already played on in much Medieval lyric.⁴⁴

The *Mal-Aimé* gives much importance to the fusion between reading and writing, given the importance of rereading and of reading actively. That is, in a reader making sense of the poem through writing (and writing himself into) it, and in the original writer also being present in the poem as a reader. The Apollinaire of 1913 revisits his poem in the epigraph as a rereader, making new sense of it, writing new sense into it in this new - or, rather, renewed - (re)reader's role. Something similar happens to any reader who accepts the *Mal-Aimé* on its own terms, as a romance requiring reading and rereading. It needs rereading in such complex patterns of loops, backwards and forwards, bearing such an ever-increasing number of past loops in mind, that the reader becomes herself transported to a lyric moment of temporal simultaneity. Such a considerate reader, in taking the *Mal-Aimé* on its own terms, will also act, coincidentally, like a good lover, and thus transform the *mal aimé* into a *bien aimé*, in the act of textual congress.⁴⁵

¹ A very interesting side-set of scholarship looks at “romance” as the Romantic *Lied*, such as Heine, which, as a song, it would be perfectly sensible to interchange with the *chanson*. James Lawler sees a relationship to Lamartine’s *Adieu à la poésie*, in his article “Apollinaire et la *Chanson du Mal-Aimé*,” in *Australian Journal of French Studies* 1 (1964), 272-93. Claude Morhange-Bégué sees a similar link to Musset’s *Souvenir*, in “*La Chanson du Mal-Aimé*” d’Apollinaire.: *Essai d’analyse structurale et stylistique* (Paris: Minard, 1970): 25 footnote 3.

² “‘Chanson’ rappelle le sens original du terme de poésie lyrique... refus, chez l’auteur, de toute dramatisation ou recours au pathétique – le terme étant celui dont la connotation est la plus neutre parmi tous ceux qui désignent une forme ou une autre du chant.” : 25.

³ Reading the *Mal-Aimé* as a Medieval-style text offers another reason for the lack of punctuation in *Alcools*. Punctuation was scarce or non-existent in Medieval manuscripts. Its use increases with that of the literary nature of texts. Literary: that is, texts which are meant to be read, and so received visually, rather than meant to be read or otherwise performed aloud and so received aurally. For similar oral/aural reasons, a lack of punctuation is tied to Apollinaire’s composition methods of singing whilst walking.

⁴ Apollinaire writes to Madeleine Pagès in 1915,: “*Aubade* n’est pas un poème à part mais un intermède intercalé dans la *Chanson du Mal-Aimé*.” Apollinaire, *Tendre comme un souvenir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1952).

⁵ For precise biographical details, see Marcel Adéma, *Guillaume Apollinaire le mal-aimé* (Paris: Plon, 1952). Besides more *recherché* library works, Apollinaire would have had access to the following more readily available standard (even now) anthologies, treasuries etc.: Karl Bartsch’s *Chrestomathie de l’ancien français* (Leipzig: 1870) and *Chrestomathie provençale* (Eberfeld: 1880); Paul Meyer, *Recueil d’anciens textes bas-latins, provençaux et français* (Paris: 1877); Gaston Paris and Ernest Langlois, *Chrestomathie du moyen âge* (Paris: 1880s); François-Juste-Marie Raynouard, *Choix de poésies originales de troubadours* (Paris: 1816-21).

⁶ For romance as it was perceived in Apollinaire’s time, see: Karl Bartsch and Adolf Hornig, *La Langue et la littérature françaises depuis le XIe jusqu’au XIVe siècles* (Paris: 1887); Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen-Âge: études de littérature française et comparée* (Paris: 1889); Gaston Paris, *La Poésie du Moyen Âge: leçons et lectures* (Paris: 1885); his *Manuel d’ancien français, tome 1: la littérature française au Moyen Âge (XIe – XIVe)* (Paris: 1888). For romance’s current state, see relevant entries in Peter France’s *The New Oxford Companion to Literature in French* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996) and in Alex Péminger and T.V.F. Brogan’s *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

⁷ Morhange-Bégué spots this characteristic in the *Mal-Aimé*, but without going further to see why it might be: “À noter l’élément de surprise qui dérive de la longueur du poème, laquelle excède les dimensions habituelles des chansons”: 25.

⁸ Without noticing the structural similarity between romance and the *Mal-Aimé*, certain critics find the same circular and chiasmic patterns: Breunig looks at parallel scenes of place (the London and Paris sections, respectively stanzas 1-5 and 55-59), persons (the *rois heureux* of stanzas 6-9, the *rois secoués par la folie* of 51-54), and two of the “intermèdes” (*Aubade* and *Sept Épées*, stanzas 15-17 and 42-49), in his biographical article “Le Roman du Mal-Aimé,” *Table Ronde* 57 (September 1952): 117-23. Philippe Renaud also remarks on the circular structure in *Les Trajets du Phénix: de la “Chanson du Mal-Aimé” à l’ensemble d’“Alcools”* (Paris: Lettres Modernes, 1983): 28.

⁹ The combination of similarity and difference, and the ruptures within the *Mal-Aimé*, are also noted by Breunig, who sees an alternation between passages of dramatisation and of confession. Renaud observes circular structures. In *The Drama of Self in Guillaume Apollinaire’s “Alcools”* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), Richard Howard Stammelman observes double structures as allied to one main theme of shadows (that of the self, thus divided; Eurydice) and sees ruptures, especially the *Sept Épées* interlude, as cathartic memory and re-membering.

¹⁰ By accident, quite contrary to his intent, as he is operating under the mistaken assumption that romance is narrative, Renaud also produces a fine description of romance as a combination of narrative and lyric elements: “On sait qu’Apollinaire a songé à intituler son poème ‘le ROMAN du mal-aimé’. Comme l’ont vu certains critiques, il y a là une claire référence au roman médiéval. Dans ce poème en partie narratif, cette espèce de roman, Apollinaire utilise, comme bien des romanciers médiévaux, l’octosyllabe. Mais il dispose les vers en strophes, introduisant de ce fait une circularité de type ‘lyrique’, qui va à l’encontre de la linéarité narrative”: 28.

¹¹ Etymological references are from: Jean Dubois, Henri Mittérand and Albert Dauzat, *Dictionnaire étymologique et historique du français* (Paris: Larousse, 1995); Algirdas Julien Greimas, *Dictionnaire de l’ancien français* (Paris: Larousse, 1992); Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969); the *Oxford English Dictionary* (<http://dictionary.oed.com>).

¹² Some 12th c romance, and other early fused lyric-narrative verse genres: Chrétien de Troyes’ romances; *Floire et Blancheflor*; Marie de France, *Lais*; the *Tristan et Iseut* cycle.

¹³ Romance self-referentiality is usually, most evidently and most richly present in prologues, such as those of Chrétien de Troyes’s *Chevalier de la Charrette* and *Cligés*.

¹⁴ Some 13th century romances and associates, featuring lyric “archaeological fragments”: *Aucassin et Nicolette*; *La Châtelaine de Vergy*; Dante’s *Divina commedia*; Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*; Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*; *Le Roman de Renart*.

¹⁵ This is particularly clear in the manuscript transmission of Old French and Occitan poetry, fertile field in which the borderline between copying, varying, rewriting and writing becomes very fluid – except in the case of poems using refrains. Although stanza order may change significantly from one variant to another, structuring by refrain remains constant, and stanzas can only be shuffled around within their self-imposed division. See Ruth Verity Sharman, *The Cansos and Sirventes of Giraut de Borneil: A Critical Edition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989) and Payen, *Le Prince d’Aquitaine: Essai sur Guillaume IX, son œuvre et son érotique* (Paris: Champion, 1980).

¹⁶ Continuing the poem *ad infinitum*: see Arnaut Daniel’s and Dante’s sestinas; and Giorgio Agamben, *The End of the Poem: Studies in Poetics* (Stanford: Meridian, 1999, translated by Daniel Heller-Roazen)

¹⁷ Breunig

¹⁸ The conflation into the *Mal-Aimé*’s questing hero of Orpheus as floating dismembered hero and Odysseus as navigating displaced hero is finely described by Lockerbie.

¹⁹ It is hard to argue for the *Réponse* as a turning-point. It is a pivot between oldest dead kings (stanzas 6-9) and less old dead kings (50-52-54); here, another lyric voice enters the poem, as a voice of revolt shouts back insults at the Sultan-king. This could be a moment of rupture.

²⁰ In fairness, stanzas 18-41 were printed as one continuity in the 1909 version, which would support a reading of this section as one continuous flow. Morhange-Bégué (20-21) cites Breunig: “La suite des strophes passionnées (18-41) qui furent d’ailleurs imprimées comme une unité dans la version originale.”

²¹ Maurice Piron adds new biographical details to move away from Breunig’s view of the *Mal-Aimé* as romantic failure and despair towards one of hope, in his edition and commentary of the poem, *La Chanson du Mal-Aimé* (Paris: Nizet, 1987), threads which will be picked up in “Sur quelques passages . . . ,” threads first spun in the article of the same name in the *Revue des Lettres Modernes* 85-89 (1963): 90-100.

²² The division between oral and written is far from cut and dries in Medieval literature; the 12th century, for instance, was a time of much shifting and fluidity in such textual concepts. There may also be a close and complex relationship between the *complainte* and the *romance*, strengthening romance’s lyric aspect.

²³ See: Troubadour lyric poetry; Jean de Meun and Jean Renart. Much romance and lyric is anonymous but for the odd such punning hint, and indeed one of the difficulties with Medieval literature is separating deliberate from historically-accidental anonymities. Deliberate anonymity is frequently used. It is part of a larger categories of audience-specific in-jokes and general finesse, in turn part of extensive deliberate play with the reader. The modern reader therefore finds herself wondering how conscious this play is with regard to future readers. It also tempts her own reading to cross the fine line between literary criticism and imaginative writing. She is made aware of that hazy line between reading and writing as a continuation of that in the Medieval manuscript tradition.

²⁴ Décaudin, *Dossiers d' "Alcools"* (Geneva: Droz, 1960)

²⁵ As distinct from the last-minute second 1913 version of *Alcools* (in a sense a fourth version of the *Mal-Aimé*), whose biggest change moves the *Mal-Aimé* to follow *Le Pont Mirabeau* and the brand new *Zones*. The silent change is significant: it shows a perception of the position and context of the poem as part of its meaning. Such a displacement may also be related to themes of dismemberment.

²⁶ Breunig, "Apollinaire et Annie Playden," in *Mercur de France* 1064 (1952): 638-52.

²⁷ Michel Décaudin, "De Quelques idées reçues," in *Littératures contemporaines*: 285-69.

²⁸ The most comprehensive work on dawn-songs is Arthur Hatto's *Eos: An Enquiry into the Theme of Lovers' Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry* (The Hague: Mouton, 1965), a monumental collection of all dawn poetry known of at the time, across all times and cultures, with translations and commentaries. Of specific relevance here would be B. Woledge's chapter, "Old Provençal and Old French": 344-89.

²⁹ The *Aube de Fleury* is one of the oldest known lyric in any Romance language in Christian Western Europe (10th c.). The main body of the poem's stanzas is in Latin, and its refrain-line is in some mysterious form of Romance. Like antecedent use of Romance in the lyric refrain (*khardja*) in Mozarabic-Andalusian poetry (6th-9th c., in the *muwashshahah*), culturally dominant, the socio-politically standard language is contrasted with the marginal one. Paul Zumthor, *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane (XIe – XIIIe siècles)* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1963); "Archaïsme et fiction: les plus anciens documents de langue 'romane'," in *La Linguistique fantastique*, edited by Sylvain Auroux *et al* (Paris: Denoël, 1985).

³⁰ Apollinaire, *Tendre comme un souvenir*: "Si nous savions, tous les dieux s'éveilleraient. Nés dans la connaissance profonde que l'humanité retenait d'elle-même, les panthéismes adorés qui lui ressemblaient se sont assoupis. Mais malgré les sommeils éternels, il y a des yeux où se reflètent des humanités semblables à des fantômes divins et joyeux. Ces yeux sont attentifs comme des fleurs qui veulent toujours contempler le soleil. O joie féconde, il y a des hommes qui voient avec ces yeux." Also, on "renewed reading," see this paper's conclusion, which picks up: "ce qui paraît le plus fantaisiste est souvent le plus vrai. C'est un naturalisme supérieur, plus sensible, plus vivant et plus varié que l'ancien, un surnaturalisme ... et la fantaisie de Guillaume Apollinaire n'a jamais été autre chose qu'un grand souci de vérité."

³¹ This Rose frequently changes gender through the course of the two parts of the romance, and is arguably mostly male in Guillaume de Lorris's part (the first) and in Jean de Meun's, it has a propensity for the female but can still be very ambiguously gendered.

³² Marcabru, an exemplary lyric parodist, also has a poem of perverse Spring opening: *Contra l'ivern que s'enansa*, which ties in with the lyric topos of Spring/Winter contrast. The external parallels the poetic voice's internal climate, à la Lear's "winter of my discontent." It may be alluded to in other parts of the *Mal-Aimé* on the great white death

³³ These lie between the forest, transition zone at the edge of Purgatory, and the Garden of Eden. They must be crossed and the traveller must drink of them before he can leave Purgatory, meet with Beatrice (herself another blinding avatar of the dawn) and move towards Paradise.

³⁴ Dante reappears as a key intertext: *Purgatory* IX. There is a further connection here to the red, green and white in the *Sept Épées* stanzas (42-48), not insignificant as symmetrically paired with the *Aubade* as another overtly Medieval and lyric interlude.

³⁵ *Alba* is a very lyric word in its own right. It brings together metaphoric layers of meaning, and so simultaneously exists in the outside and inside worlds, including both the inside world of abstract thought (which sees patterns of similarity across white things, and extends “white” to new ones encountered) and that of writing and reading.

³⁶ Henry Adams, *Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres* (London: Penguin, 1986); Erwin Panofsky, *Gothic Architecture and Scholasticism* (New York: Meridian, 1957); Eugène Vinaver, *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

³⁷ See the “époux royal de Sacontale” reference. Apollinaire would certainly have been familiar with the tales of the *Pankhatantra*, in turn the oldest known “genealogical” source for the Medieval *fabliaux*.

³⁸ Joseph Campbell, *The Hero with Thousand Faces* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949); C.G. Jung, *Collected Works: Vol 5: Symbols of Transformation; Vol 9 part I: The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious; Vol 13: Alchemical Studies* on the Faustian Paracelsus and Mercury; Mircea Eliade, *Images and Symbols* (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961, translated by Philip Mairet), etc.

³⁹ On hermaphroditism in the *Sept Épées* insert, see Pol-P. Gossiaux, “Recherches sur les ‘Sept Épées’,” in *Revue des Lettres Modernes* 146-149 (1966): 41-81. In a move similar to that of Stammelman’s catharsis, he traces a genesis of the new poetic voice, which he sees as dividing the *Sept Épées* into the following narrative episodes: failure (stanzas 42-43) – state of suspension, vacillation and images of hermaphroditism (44) – a transition-phase (45) – a decision to be male and to declare himself a poet (46-47). Gossiaux concludes: “Apollinaire s’y libère de ses souffrances de mal-aimé, il y exorcise ses craintes de l’amour et son obsession de l’échec. Il s’y choisit poète. [...] y trouvant] une unité supérieure permettant de transcender l’incohérence de sa situation d’amoureux.”: 73-74

⁴⁰ It is principally to be found in the mainly late 13th century mixed Provençal-Old French *chansonniers*, many of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Given that Apollinaire apparently frequented the Bibliothèque Nationale, including its manuscript collections, it is very possible that he knew the poem.

⁴¹ Jean Dufournet’s edition and punctuation, in *Anthologie de poésie lyrique des XIIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris: Gallimard, 19): 72. He suggests it date to the second half of the 12th c.

⁴² On the idea of linguistic “creuser,” see Gilles Deleuze, *Critique et clinique* (Paris: Minuit, 1993).

⁴³ Erasmus, *Adages*; Montaigne, *Essais* – “De la physiognomie.”

⁴⁴ Marcabru and Cercamon, for example.

⁴⁵ And, concurring with studies of the *Mal-Aimé* as a siren-song, the poem might have set out in the first place, with its duplicitous trickery and snares, to enchant and seduce.