New Music, Notions of Genre,
and the *Manuscrit du Roi* circa 1300

by

Judith Ann Peraino

B.A. (University of Chicago) 1987
M.A. (University of California at Berkeley) 1990

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Music

in the

GRADUATE DIVISION

of the

UNIVERSITY of CALIFORNIA at BERKELEY

Committee in charge:

Professor Richard L. Crocker, Chair
Professor Richard F. Taruskin
Professor R. Howard Bloch

1995

UMI Number: 9602703

UMI

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, MI 48103

This dissertation of Judith Ann Peraino is approved:

_____   8 May 1995
            Chair   Date

_____   8 May 1995
                                                 Date

_____   March 17, 1995
                                                 Date

University of California at Berkeley

1995

New Music, Notions of Genre,

and the *"Manuscrit du Roi"* circa 1300

Copyright 1995

by

Judith Ann Peraino

Table of Contents

Volume I

Appendix: Transcriptions of the Thirty-Seven Additions
         to fr.844 in Folio Order

Abbreviations and Pitch References

The secondary musicological and philological literature uses different systems of sigla according the repertory under discussion. The MS Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale fonds français* 844 contains three distinct repertories— *troubadour chansons, trouvère chansons*, and French motets— and scholars refer the each by a different sigla; W, M, and R respectively. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I will refer to *chansonniers* throughout this dissertation in the manner of the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980). However, because so many manuscripts considered here reside in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* in Paris, I will refer to these MSS by the abbreviation "fr." for *"fonds français" or* "n.a." for *"nouvelle acquisition"* followed by their call numbers. Motet MSS other than fr.844 will be referred to by the sigla given below. For the convenience of readers who are familiar with the *trouvère* and *troubadour* MS sigla, I provide here a table of those MSS cited in the dissertation.

1. *Trouvère* MSS Sigla

```
C       Berne, Stadtbibliothek, 389
I       Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 308
K       Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, 5198
k       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 12786
M       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 844
N       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 845 (Cangé)
O       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 846
```

```
R       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 1591
T       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 12615
U       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 20050
V       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 24406
W       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 25566
X       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, n.a. fr. 1050
Z       Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, H.X. 36
```

2. Sigla for *F-Pn* MSS in Numerical Order

```
fr.844          M
fr.845          N
fr.846          O
n.a.fr.1050     X
fr.1591         R
fr.12615        T
fr.12786        k
fr.20050        U
fr.24406        V
fr.25566        W
```

3. *Troubadour* MSS Sigla

```
C       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 856
D       Modena, B. Estense, a, R, 4, 4
E       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 1749
I       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 854
K       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 12473
M       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 12474
N       Cheltenham, Library of Mr. T. Fitz-Roy Fenwick, 8335
Q       Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2909
R       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 22543
W       Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f.fr. 844
```

4. Motet MSS Sigla

```
Ba      Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek Ed. IV. 6
Bes     Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale Ms I, 716
F       Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana,
            Pluteo 29,1
fr.844  Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, f.fr. 844
Mo      Montpellier, Bibliothèque de l'Ecole de Médecine
            H 196
MùA     Münich, Staatsbibliothek mus. 4775
Tu      Turin, Reale Biblioteca Mss. vari 42
```

5. Abbreviations of Indexes and References

Boogaard #   Boogaard, Nico. *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe*
                 siècle au début du XIVe. Paris:
                 Klincksieck, 1969.

G-mot.   *Bibliographie der Ältesten Französischen und*
                 Lateinischen Motetten, ed. Friedrich
                 Gennrich (1969)

P-C.   *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, ed. A. Pillet,
                 revised H. Castens (1968).

R-Sp.   *Bibliographie des Alfranzösischen Liedes*, ed.
                 G. Raynauds, revised H. Spanke (1955)

The New Grove *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and*
                 Musicians, (London: MacMillan Publishers
                 Ltd., 1980)

6. Technical Abbreviations

c.o.p.   *cum opposita proprietate*
f.   folio
ff.   folios
m.   measure
mm.   measures

7. Pitch References

                    middle c
                       |
    A B C D E F G a b c d e f g a'

A Note on the Transcriptions in Volume II

All transcriptions of the mensural notation use a
quarter note to equal a breve ($\blacksquare$ = $\downarrow$). I have transcribed
lines drawn through one or more spaces on the staff as
measured rests. The majority of these line or strichs
appear at the ends of phrases, with the exception of the
setting of "echo-rhymes" in the *descorts*. In a few cases,
notably *Se j'ai chanté sanz* (#19), where the note values
filled out a perfection at the end of phrase, or as in
stanza III and IV of *Ki de bons est* (#28), where the strichs
are drawn through the entire staff, I have interpreted the
strichs as unmeasured phrase markings, serving to separate
one line from the next. I have transcribed the climacus and
its variants according to the rhythmic patterns and word-
setting specific to each composition. In many of the
examples and transcriptions I show the original note shapes
and strichs above the staff to illustrate my arguments or to
point out an ambiguous situation in the notation.

I have made exact transcriptions of the spelling and
capitalization of the words, and have added punctuation only
to facilitate word recognition within an elision, such as
qu'ieu. The words of refrains appear italicized. The
Appendix presents transcriptions of the thirty-seven

additions to fr.844 arranged according to the order of the folios as reconstructed by Jean Beck (1938).

Acknowledgements

This dissertation marks not only the completion of my graduate studies at the University of California, but also the retirement of my mentor Professor Richard L. Crocker. I am fortunate and honored to have had the opportunity to explore medieval music under his enthusiastic guidance. His thorough engagement with musical performance and his practical yet imaginative approach to music history have been sources of inspiration and insight for me. I would like to express my deep gratitude to Professor Crocker for directing my studies and research over the past seven years.

I would also like to thank my readers, Professor Richard F. Taruskin and R. Howard Bloch, for their support; and I especially thank R. Howard Bloch for his help with the translations of Old French. In my first year of graduate school, I participated in a seminar on medieval monophonic songs taught by Professor John Stevens of Cambridge University. I would like to thank Professor Stevens for his suggestion that I expand a somewhat naïve seminar paper into a Ph.D. dissertation. The questions I set forth in that original paper eventually required that I view a number of manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. I owe

much to John Emerson for his generosity, advice, contacts, maps, and "coaching" in this enterprise. I would also like to thank Madame Jaqueline Schlafer and Madame Florence Callu at the Bibliothèque Nationale for allowing me to examine several restricted-access manuscripts.

Many friends and family members have contributed to this Ph.D. First and foremost I would like to thank my parents, Carl and Nancy Peraino, and my constant companion Paula White for their love, endurance, and generous support. I would also like to acknowledge those I have called upon time and again for sympathy and motivation, including Susan Alexander, Elaine Scott Banks, Tom Brothers, David Code, Campbell Crabtree, Rosemary Delia, Willyce Kim, Mitchell Morris, Renato Rodolfo-Sioson, Rebecca Simon, and Mary Springfels.

Introduction

In a 1947 article describing the thirteenth-century *chansonnier* fr.844, Hans Spanke wrote:

> Of great interest for the musicologist are the
> additions which later scribes recorded in the
> ample space left blank. Their younger age is
> shown in the handwriting, in the musical style,
> and in the preferred genres—rondeaux and lais.
> Their insertion in the history of music of the
> Middle Ages is a worthwhile problem for
> musicology.[1]

This dissertation considers the thirty-seven mensural, monophonic pieces added to the thirteenth-century *chansonnier* fr.844, and addresses the circumstances that led to their recording. These additions provoke both specific musicological topics, such as history of mensural monophony, the rise of the *formes fixes*, and notions of genre circa 1300, as well as more general topics, such as the growth of literacy and the changing conception of lyric anthologies. The thirty-seven monophonic compositions added to fr.844 are visually distinct in that they do not conform in format,

---

[1] "Von hohem Interesse für den Musikhistoriker sind die Nachträge, die jüngere Schreiber auf dem reichlich frei gebliebenen Raume der Handschrift aufzeichneten. Ihr jüngeres Alter zeigt sich in der Schrift, dem musikalischen Stil und den bevorzugten Gattungen: Rondeaux und Lais. Ihre Eingliederung in die Musikgeschichte des Mittelalters ist eine lohnende Aufgabe der Musikhistorie" (Spanke 1947, 92).

notation, or musical style to the corpus of monophonic songs
planned for and partially realized by the original compil-
ers. These thirty-seven pieces, though scattered throughout
the manuscript and written by many hands, form a loose but
perceptible group not only by virtue of their idiosyncracies
relative to the planned corpus of the *chansonnier*, but also
in relation to musical trends prevailing in both the thir-
teenth century and the fourteenth century.

Scholars of thirteenth-century music have ignored these
additions, presuming them to have been recorded in the four-
teenth-century, while scholars of fourteenth-century music
have likewise ignored the additions because of their
thirteenth-century vocabulary of note shapes and unvirtuosic
or unsophisticated melodies. The very fact that these
additions lie outside, or rather between, present-day
scholarly categories, necessitates a reevaluation of our
current picture of medieval musical culture.

As a group, these pieces seem to demonstrate a
purposeful and collective avoidance of the strophic, non-
mensural musical idiom of the *troubadours* and *trouvères*,
showing instead a full deployment of Franconian notation,
and a predilection for two remote melodic types: melodies of
the first type use clear repetition schemes, written in one
of the *forme fixe*; melodies of the second type do not use
repetition to index the flow of phrases (henceforth referred
to as "continuous melody"). The continuous-melody type

appears in both "single stanza" and multi-stanza composi-
tions. But while the words may appear in stanzas, each with
the same syllable-count, every stanza of text receives new
music, thus showing an application of the "continuous
melody" principle on a larger structural scale.

What relates these added pieces most to one another,
however, is their apparent lack of relation, in genre and
notation, to the original corpus, which included both
monophonic songs and polyphonic motets. In general terms,
the purpose of this dissertation is to gain understanding of
the musical and historical impetus which lay behind the
seemingly haphazard recording of these thirty-seven
idiosyncratic examples of mensural monophony in an elaborate
chansonnier, and to use that understanding to reevaluate
present-day ideas about thirteenth and fourteenth-century
notions of musical genres, aesthetics and performance
practices.

While the primary focus of this dissertation is the
thirty-seven added musical compositions, their situation
provokes questions concerning conceptions of genre.
Therefore Chapter I examines present-day formulations of
medieval lyrical genres and compares these with fourteenth-
century writings about secular monophonic music. Chapters
II through VII direct the discussion to the additions.
These chapters examine issues of handwriting, notation, and
form, and propose a range of models and experiences that

influenced the various scribes in their act of composition or recording. The additions document both the musical imagination and the musical experiences of the scribes who wrote them into the manuscript. Chapter VIII reconsiders genres of music circa 1300 in light of the musical experiences suggested by the thirty-seven additions.

Chapter I

Notions of Genre, Present and Past

The attempt to determine and define genres of music circa 1300 raises philosophical and psychological questions as well as methodological dilemmas. How should one proceed? Is it a legitimate and meaningful enterprise to proceed without historical conscience, hence risking anachronism? The scholar may reason, "I know what I see now, I do not know what they saw then." History exists in the present, after all: our perceptions and interpretations of artifacts are current, and need only be meaningful to the present-day audience, not the imagined historic audience. But if sufficient traces of the contemporaneous audiences's perceptions survive, is it not the historian's duty to explicate these? to enfold these perceptions into our presentation of "history?"

What, then, constitutes (or is constituted in) a perception of genre? To what end is the perception and determining of genre? Certainly for the present-day historian, determining and labeling artifacts is fundamental to the creation of history (or, to be more conservative, the recovery of history). We historians label for our own convenience, so that we may have "characters" for our

narratives. The perception of musical genres for a person of the thirteenth-century would have had an entirely different significance, if any significance at all. And this significance may have changed depending on the context in which he or she (not to discount gender as another important factor in perception) encountered the impulse to categorize and define. For example, one may recognize the category of *grande chanson*, but is there a distinction between *grandes chansons* which appear in any anthology versus those which appear interpolated into thirteenth-century prose romances? Ought we to distinguish between interpolated lyrics and collected lyrics based on their different functions? Would a medieval scribe have recognized these as two separate categories or separate but related categories?

Another possible generic distinction not usually recognized by present-day historians but which may have been relevant to medieval consumers of books is the identity of a piece as part of the original conception of the book versus the identity of a piece as a later addition—its identity as a parasite, defilement of, or a rubric to the planned text. Can "added pieces" be a generic category? If we observe the literal relationship between the terms "genre" and "generic," factors such as the function of a piece and the conditions of its survival become as important as musical form in the process of categorizing a musical composition.

The historian's understanding of a medieval label may not take into account all the resonances of the single word (or, conversely, the historian may attach more meaning to a word than recognized by the medieval audience). The word *lai* is a case in point as Bloch (1991, 132) points out.

> Even the word lai itself is a kind of linguistic trap, for no syllable demonstrates more explicitly the polysemantic plasticity of the Old French language, or the sense in which the infinite semantic resources of orality are restrained by writing.

In his 1969 survey of the word *lai* in medieval Provençal poetry and treatises, Richard Baum (1969) found twelve distinct valences, summarized below (see p. 43):

1. Melody
2. Melody played on an instrument
3. A sound
4. A song
5. A specific genre of song as distinguished from *grande chanson, vers,* or *descort*
6. An irregular musico-poetic structure consisting of the repetition of certain melodic and metric versicles
7. A pious or moral song containing isometric strophes
8. An epic poem
9. A poem
10. Bird song
11. Language, speech, dialogue
12. Vernacular narrative poem

One could argue that all members of the genre '*lai*' invite these associations. Whether or not a person was literate would also effect the perceived significance of the generic label. The perception of the term *lai* would be different for thirteenth-century audiences than for fourteenth-century

audiences. Perhaps to fourteenth-century audiences and writers, for whom the *lai* represented a hold-over from the thirteenth-century, the *lai* accrued such connotations of "fixing" and "rewriting" and the consciousness of history which these connotations imply. What does it mean, for example, that Machaut, hid his new polyphonic *lais* within the an old monophonic format? Or that their decoding depended on a knowledge of the form of the thirteenth-century monophonic *lai?*

Twentieth-Century Scholars

Thirteenth-century musical compositions using vernacular poems fall obviously into two musical categories—monophony and polyphony. These two categories can be further described according to the rhythmic information provided by the notation used in their presentation. The notation of secular monophony, in most cases, does not encode information about measurement of duration; the notation of secular polyphony does encode such information, beginning with modal patterns. Scholars in the first half of the twentieth century made further analyses of these two basic categories based primarily on formal aspects of the words and music which are seen as having an articulative function or effect, such as the use of a

refrain. However, the work of Page and Stevens on secular monophony, and Everist on thirteenth-century polyphony threaten to overturn, or at least reconfigure, such long-standing concepts and categories.

Past and present scholarship often contrast "motet" and "*chanson*" as categories of music that imply opposite features. The designation "*chanson*" implies non-mensural notation, regular phrase lengths, structural repetition of music (and occasionally words), and a stanzaic structure. The designation "motet" implies mensural notation, irregular phrase lengths, the lack of structural repetition of words and melody, and a single unit of words. Under these categories, neither a second voice nor mensural notation need be present in order to identify a piece as a "motet" if the piece meets the remaining specifications.[1] The categorical separation of motet and *chanson* is supported by the general autonomy of motet and *chanson* sources, the segregation of motets and *chansons* in the few sources which contain both, and by the differing styles of notation as-sociated with monophony and polyphony.

Early twentieth-century scholars such as Gennrich and

---

[1] Thus Ludwig (1923), Gennrich (1958), Boogaard (1969), and Tischler (1985) considered all monophonic continuous melodies (fifteen pieces in fr.845 and the seven additions to fr.844) as motet voices because of they lack clear repetition schemes, in spite of the fact that the manuscripts do not indicate a second voice. However, in his facsimile edition of fr.844, Beck (1938) did not consider the seven pieces as motet parts, but rather labelled them as *chanson* entée.

Ludwig analyzed the motet and *chanson* into sub-categories that, for them, represented distinct "genres." In their analyses, the motet and *chanson* approach one another. The "*rondeau* motet" is a case in point. The term was invented by early twentieth-century scholars to categorize a type of polyphony which showed the melodic form of a rondeau, a type of monophony.[2] It is by no means clear nor necessary that the musical form rondeau should imply monophony; the implication stems from the long-held principle that monophony necessarily predates polyphony. The sources show, however, that polyphonic and monophonic realizations of the rondeau form appear at approximately the same moment in the thirteenth century.

The secondary literature discusses rhythm, form, genre, and style as if they were parameters that may or may not have implicational relationships to one another. One may well ask to what extent were these four terms meaningful categories or parameters around 1300? In this chapter, I will first consider three twentieth-century typologies of secular monophony and attempt to explicate the relationship of rhythm, form, genre and style with each typology. I will then consider three early fourteenth-century writings on secular music and address the many factors, musical or otherwise, that inform their conceptions.

---

[2] Gennrich first identified this phenomenon in 1921. See Everist (1988, 4) for a discussion of the term "*rondeau motet*."

Gennrich (1932) constructed a typology of *trouvère*
chansons according to large-scale forms and Latin counter-
parts. Reese (1940) adopted Gennrich's scheme and assertion
that all secular vernacular monophony, both folk and "upper
class," was derived from sacred Latin archetypes. Table I.1
gives the Gennrich/Reese typology of thirteenth-century
chanson.

Table I.1: Gennrich/Reese Typology of Secular Song

Litany	Rondel
chanson de geste	*rondeau*
laisse	*virelai*
rotrouenge	*ballade*
chanson avec des refrains	
Sequence	**Hymn**
lai	*vers*
estampie	*chanson*
notula	rounded *chanson*

In generating the formal categories, Reese explains:

> In penetrating to the essence of the troubadour
> and trouvère songs, it is necessary, as Gennrich
> has shown, for musicology and philology to make a
> joint approach. Music and text are here one
> entity, and a full understanding of either's form
> is impossible without a comprehension of the
> other's. . . we shall not speak of "two-" and
> "three-" part song-forms. As Gennrich points out,
> these tags hint only at superficial characteris-
> tics; they give no clue to those differences in
> the structure of individual "parts" that
> constitute the real basic distinction between one

type and another. (p. 219)

In their typology, Gennrich and Reese invoke the parameter of form, understanding form as the key to the "structure" of individual parts and the generic distinction of songs.[3] What Reese means by "structure" is unclear, but I would venture to guess that Reese means the schematic identity of a given part—the address of a phrase of music within the form. Crucial to this conception of genre is the use of alphabetical formulae to describe patterns of melodic and poetic repetition which, for Gennrich and Reese, constitute the form. For example, a sequence is a song type with many parts that are organized in a typical form, illustrated as aa bb cc etc. Each part can be described as having a certain structure—frequently a double versicle structure. Thus the type "sequence" implies a certain structuring of each part. Any given phrase can be understood schematically or as having an address within the form (line five of *Veni Sanctus Spiritus* lives in the first versicle position of the third double versical of the sequence.) For the dance-song or "rondel" forms any given phrase would also have an address; phrase B in a *rondeau* lives in the second phrase of a refrain with a two-part structure.

Reese is not concerned with the details of a melodic

---

[3] Given the prevailing theories of rhythm and secular song at the time of Reese's book, the parameter of rhythm and its relation to form, genre, and style was not an issue.

progression or the rhetoric of the words. In other words, the Gennrich/Reese typology is blind to style, as evident in the stylistic diversity, both poetic and musical, encompassed by each category. For Gennrich and Reese, the form of a given piece does not imply style, but does imply a finite number of genres and a specific historical ante- cedent. Reese believes these antecedents served as models or principles of composition for the *troubadours* and *trouvères*. The secular pieces listed under a sacred antecedent do not exactly conform to its form; in some cases a given secular form seems very far removed from its sacred antecedent, as *chansons avec des refrains* are from and litanies. Instead Reese believes the secular forms conform to an abstract principle of melodic construction. Reese does not spell out the four abstract principles, however, and they are difficult to ascertain, given the formal and stylistic variety of pieces grouped together.

The poetic text, in the Gennrich/Reese typology, serves only to clarify the form. Reese explains:

> a piece may consist of two musical sections, each
> immediately repeated, and be either a rotrouenge,
> or a lai-segment. One cannot tell without
> recourse to the text. (p. 219)

On the same page Reese asserts:

> It should be stressed that the names used for the
> poetic types give no clue to the structure of the
> music, e.g. "pastourelle" refers only to the
> subject-matter of the text, never to the musical

form.

Thus for Reese, form implies genre, and stylistic aspects such as melodic character, subject matter, and rhetoric, are variables which do not affect the perception or conception of genre. In contrast, Christopher Page holds that the rhetoric of a given poem and the style of its musical setting determines form and genre, as well as auxiliary issues concerning the appropriateness of instrumental accompaniment, even the applicability of contemporary principles of art and aesthetics.

In his book *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* (1986), Page presents what he believes is evidence of a hierarchy of implied relationships. The hierarchy begins with the distinction of a High Style and a Low Style, thus capitalized throughout the book. The making of these terms into proper nouns asserts that the concepts of High Style and Low Style have some historic or platonic truth. "High Style" and "Low Style" (sometimes the latter appears as "Lower Style,") come from Page's reinterpretation of the term *grand chant courtois*, introduced by Roger Dragonetti in 1960.

> Any attempt to place instrumental accompaniment
> within the genre system of troubadour and trouvére
> poetry must take its bearings from the genre which
> dominates the surviving corpus of lyrics; the
> elaborate love-song which Dragonetti has termed
> the *grand chant courtois*. I shall also refer to
> it as the High Style song. Throughout the later
> twelfth and thirteenth centuries this kind of

> song, which the trouvères inherited from their
> predecessors in Occitania, was the 'classic' form
> of the courtly songwriter's art. (p. 12)

Here Page first implies that a "genre system" was a conceptual reality in the minds of thirteenth-century *troubadours* and *trouvères*, and then proceeds to conflate genre with style. For Page, the High Style song is a genre, one with a prescribed set of parameters. In describing the High Style, Page does not refer initially to forms or contemporary generic names, but rather attempts to summarize the character and essence of High Style music and poetry. His summary is based on empirical evidence; his inter- pretation of the evidence is less well anchored. Page describes the melodic character of High Style songs as "essentially rhapsodic" but with conventional "patterning." The "patterning" to which Page refers is the couplet- epilogue, or *pedes-cauda* structure common to *trouvère* songs. Page points out that further melodic resemblances cut across the conventional pattern and are effectively disguised.

> These relationships do not necessarily strike us
> when we hear the first stanza; they gradually
> materialize as we hear the full song . . [the]
> focus in the rhapsodic flow of the music becomes
> more pronounced. This is part of what is *grand*
> about the *grand chant courtois*: these songs reject
> the conspicuous and short-ranged patterns that
> give an easy and instant tunefulness to dance-
> songs such as the *rondet de carole*. (p. 14)

Page's description begins to falter at the point where he

assigns agency to the *grand chant courtois*. To say that

High Style songs actively "reject" the "short-ranged pat-

terns," and "instant tunefulness" which Page associates with

dance-songs not only creates the impression of categorical

opposition, but categorical imperative as well. Page makes

a leap into the abstract with his conclusion.

> In contrast to dance-songs . . .the essence of a
> High Style song like Arnaut's canso is that it
> makes us aware of the voice which is singing to
> us. In a performance of a dance-song like *C'est
> la gieus en mi les préz*, the voice of the singer
> dissolves into the voices of the dancers (who sing
> the refrains) . . . (p. 14)
>
> Indeed the idea of the [High Style] song as the
> composition of a self-conscious artist is
> constantly kept in the listener's mind and is a
> crucial element of the *grand chant* manner. (p. 15)

With these two statements, Page introduces form into his

argument, not as a determining factor of genre, but rather

as a vehicle which conveys style, genre, and aesthetics.[4]

Refrain forms that invite the listener to join the performer

in song create a communal rather than solo performance. A

communal performance is antithetical to what Page believes

is the High Style performance aesthetic—an emphasis on

individual, self-conscious artistry. In his discussion of

the *descort* and *dansa*, Page claims that:

---

[4] Page explicitly states that the "trivial ephemeral
and perhaps even popular form" of *dansas*, "would prevent
them from becoming the vehicle of a High Style lyric genre"
(p. 24).

> [e]ach one, in its own way, subverts the High
> Style manner as represented above all by the
> *canso*. The *descort* was a polymorphous lyric in
> which each subdivision of the text had its own
> metrical form and musical setting. Its form
> therefore subverted the dignity of the *canso* in
> which each stanza has the same form and the same
> melodic setting. (p. 23)

Here Page implies that musical forms have social and even moral connotations and attributes. The *canso* is dignified, the *descort* is subversive. Let me stress that Page is attributing these social and moral connotation to their poetic and melodic structure, to the form itself—not to the semantic content of the poems.

The rhetoric of the poem does play a part in Page's scheme of implicational categories, however. In his discussion of *dansa* poems Page writes, "for the most part the surviving *dansa* poems are courtly in the sense that they are love lyrics which exploit the conventions of literary love whose natural home is the *canso*" (p. 24). With the words "natural home," Page asserts that courtly *dansa* poems used rhetoric which was not indigenous to the *dansa* genre. The categories High Style and Low Style thus imply two distinct poetic registers or rhetorical stances. Page summarizes the differences in a chart on page 16, basing his summary on two exemplars, an Old French *rondeau* poem and a Provençal *canso*. High Style poetry is exclusively lyric whereas Low style poetry often uses a narrative framework. High Style poetry rarely names the Beloved or protagonist

whereas Low Style poetry often names both. Low Style poetry
invites the listener to join the performer, High Style does
not. These factors taken all together make a basic
difference in ethos.[5] As Page's discussion of the *dansa*
poems admits, however, a Low Style form can assume High
Style rhetoric. Given this fact, Page posits a channel of
influence and exchange between the categories—a channel
which can flow in either direction, but only one way at a
time. For example, courtly rhetoric can flow down from the
High Style to a Low Style form, or narrativity and refrains
can flow up from the Low Style to a High Style form, but in
doing so these rhetorical conventions leave their "natural
home." The alternative point of view (which Page does not
hold) is that these formal and rhetorical conventions of
genre coexist in the muddy waters of the channel: the
channel is a continuum between lofty discourse (on the High
end) and jovial story-telling (on the Low end).

Page buttresses his argument for the mutual exclusivity
of his stylistic categories with the dichotomy between the
body and the mind. Page writes:

> The distinction between High and Lower Styles in
> lyric, together with the patterns of instrumental
> usage appropriate to them, is not a distinction
> between what is courtly on one hand and what is
> uncourtly on the other. A Lower Style song with a
> simple, refrain-based melody, sung to the fiddle

---

[5] By association with *dansa* and *descort*, "instrumental
accompaniment did not have a High Style ethos" (p.25).

for dancing at court, would not be an 'uncourtly'
song; indeed the fresh and primaveral ethos of
most aristocratic dancing lay very close to the
essence of court-culture in the twelfth and thir-
teenth centuries . . . Courtliness is not the main
issue here, but art. While any simple *dansa* could
be as courtly as a High Style troubadour song, its
appeal was not to good taste or judgement but to
the feet. In the same way narrative songs,
whether in the form of epic or lyric like the
chanson de toile, catered for a basic human de-
sire—the desire for stories—in a way that the High
Style songs of the *troubadours* and *trouvéres*
refused to do. (p. 38)

For Page, if a composition caters to corporeal desire (among

which he includes dancing and the "desire for stories"), it

does not appeal to the mind (i.e. good taste or judgement),

or rather, appealing to the mind was not the primary objec-

tive of the composition, and therefore the composition is

not art. In sum, style represent a set of platonic prin-

ciples of aesthetics—an ethos of composition. The roots of

the two styles lie in a mind/body dichotomy. Genre is style

manifested; forms are the vehicles for genres.

Published in the same year as Page's *Voices and Instru-

ments of the Middle Ages*, John Steven's *Words and Music in

the Middle Ages* (1986) also attempts to explicate the

relationship between style, genre, and performance practice.

Like Page, Stevens recognizes two stylistic categories but

rather than describing these as "high" and "low," Stevens,

following the work of Peter Dronke, distinguishes between

"courtly" and "popular"—thus adding a nuance that indicates

the original realm of performance for a given composition or

genre. With regard to dance songs Stevens writes:

> Dronke emphasizes that we do not have to believe
> they must have been 'composed in the first
> instance by uncultivated men and women.' And this
> is surely true. But it would be quite in keeping
> with the evidence to allow that in some form or
> other many dance-songs (one thinks of 'Bele Aaliz'
> for instance) may have originated 'below,' to be
> later taken up by courtly writers and musicians
> and given the shapes we know today. Certainly in
> later periods courtly-popular songs were all the
> vogue. . . . *Carole* and *rondeau* as we know them
> are courtly-popular, and sometimes fully courtly,
> forms, but behind them we can sense, touch and
> hear dances and dance-songs with deeper roots,
> wider appeal, and greater popularity (in more than
> one sense of the word). (p. 162-3)

Here Stevens, much like Page, associates "popular"/"low"

style melodies with a corporeality—a sensuality—which is not

a part of the original "courtly"/"high" aesthetic. Stevens

implies that once dance-songs are "taken up" from "below,"

their appeal to the body is somehow covered up or submerged,

though not entirely eradicated. Stevens believes, we can

"sense" the baser origins—the "deeper roots"—of dance songs.

It is difficult to understand exactly what songs Stevens is

referring to here. The musical and poetic vocabulary of

Machaut's polyphonic *rondeaux* share little with the

polyphonic *rondeaux* of Adam de la Halle. Perhaps the stabil-

ity of their generic classification despite such a radical

change in style and function provides the clue to their

connection.

I believe, however, that Stevens is alluding more to a

time before any *carole* and *rondeaux* were written down. As

he explains, the extant traces of *caroles* and *rondeaux* first

appear in thirteenth-century sources that show them to be

fully operating in court society. Therefore these dance-

songs are already "courtly," though their musical and poetic

style is clearly distinct from the strophic *grande chanson*

of the *troubadours* and *trouvères*.[6]

Later in the book Stevens makes more explicit

statements regarding the essential physical appeal of dance

songs, and links this appeal to metrical rhythms. He

writes:

> I assume it as axiomatic that all choral dance-
> songs, dances sung and performed in company, must
> have a metrical base, an underlying regular
> rhythm—and not so very *under*-lying, since it must
> be immediately recognizable by the dancers. (p.
> 188)

> It is a physical thing, basic and close to
> ordinary human experience. Granted the rightness
> of my initial assumption, that 'all choral dance-
> songs, all dances sung and performed in company,
> must have a metrical base'—a strictly measured
> regular rhythm—words as well as music are likely
> to contribute to this effect. And they do: either
> by being themselves accentually measured, or by
> allowing themselves to be used as if they were.
> (p. 196-7)

Here, Stevens attributes the words with agency in the choice

to allow itself to be metricalized (brought down?) or not.

Recall that Page (1986, 14) assigned agency to the *grande*

---

[6] Following the above quote, Stevens (pp. 163-71)
discusses the function of the *carole* in court society.

chanson which "rejects the conspicuous and short-ranged patterns" of dance songs. Taking Steven's argument a step further, it would seem that the words of *grandes chanson*s are not, by their own choice, metrical, even if they can easily fit within "a strictly measured regular rhythm." Rather these *chanson* poems are, in Stevens' words, "numerical." Indeed, the principal agenda of Stevens book is to explicate what he feels is a fundamental medieval musical and poetic aesthetic—the "aesthetic of Number" (p. 158).

> So it may be that the relationship between words and music in serious art-song (*chanson* and cantio) should be regarded as *metaphysical* rather than physical—it goes beyond the 'musical potential of the poem' into the realm of the Ideal. In plain language, the musician did not set the words of the poem to music; he set its pattern. It was this pattern, a purely numerical structure of stanzas, lines and syllables, which preceded both the melody and the poem. . . .But it might be better to say that the *numeri*, the rhythmic proportions and relations, took precedence over the melody and the poem rather than that they necessarily preceded them both in time . . . The notes and the words are not so much related to one another as related both to a single numerical Ideal.
> This hypothesis is not put forward as a possible philosophical basis for the aesthetic of courtly song. It is intended as a practical suggestion about the way trouvère songs in the high style came into being and about the way we should study and hear them. (p. 499)

Herein lies the main argument and the main stumbling block of Stevens' study. The adjective "numerical" is not readily associated with descriptions of a visceral experience such as listening to or performing music. It is difficult to

imagine how a medieval listener and performer might have perceived an "ideal" configuration of numbers—more specifically, proportions—when they heard or performed a *grande chanson*. Stevens goes on to juxtapose "numerical" with "metrical" and proposes that these two "rhythmic" categories correspond to generic classification.

> The principal distinction of genre is between
> dance-songs of the courtly-popular tradition and
> *chansons* in a high style. This distinction
> corresponds to one between the two main rhythmical
> traditions, *musica metrica* (measured) and *musica
> ritmica* (number-syllabic). (p. 465)

Whether dance songs or "measured" genres participate in or somehow oppose the "aesthetic of Number" remains unclear. Stevens never satisfactorily explains why or how numerical and metrical should be antithetical categories. What does literally appear as antithetical are the two traditions of notation that coexisted in the second half of the thirteenth century—undifferenciated note shapes used to record *grandes chansons*, and clearly differentiated note shapes used to record motets and refrains. For Stevens, this constitutes the physical presentation, or rather the execution, of an intellectual distinction and aesthetic.

"Metrical" or "measured" music can be considered another manifestation of number in sound. A clear meter produces, to my ear, a more audible and persuasive rendering of number patterns in sound than the "isosyllabic" performance

that Stevens advocates for the *grande chanson* in which we are meant to hear a "double melody," "two parallel synchronous shapes," one of words, one of music (p. 500). In contrast, Stevens argues that for the medieval ear, measured song forefronts rhythm to the neglect of all other "melodies."

> . . . dance-song and related forms exist primarily to realize a rhythm; even pitches are not absolutely essential, and words are little more than pretty appurtenances except in so far as they articulate rhythm, the regular pulse of the dance. (p. 501)

Here Stevens completely reduces dance songs to an elaborated metrical drum beat. Does genre even matter in this formulation? Such a reduction again conjures the mind/body dichotomy which seems to undergird the genre theories of Page and Stevens. Both imply that intellectual stylistic distinctions have an organic basis. How does the body respond? Can you dance to it? Is there a story to follow? Yet both Page and Stevens discuss this corporeal or intellectual appeal as if the matter were beyond human control—in the "hands" of the words, the notation, or the form. For Page, High Style *grandes chanson*s "reject" musical and poetic features that cause the listener to loose awareness of the separate voice of the performer/composer, either by joining in with the refrain, dancing, or by following a third-person narrative. Page's High Style aes-

thetic is an appeal to the cult of the individual—whereby
the artwork and the artist maintains an integrity distinct
from the audience. For Stevens, the words, melody and
notation either direct themselves to our intellectual sense
of "number," or to our physical sense of pulse. (Again, why
and how these two responses are opposed is not clear.)

The composer, of course, directs his composition to one
pole or the other, or perhaps somewhere in between. The
questions remain whether his choice of genre, text, and
notation implies a certain appeal or aesthetic, and whether
genres and associated aesthetics are at all fixed or
definite concepts in the mind of the composer or listener.
In the absence of first-hand accounts of composers or the
preservation of dance songs, both Stevens and Page rely on
medieval theoretical and literary sources to support their
hypotheses. Though few thirteenth-century treatises discuss
vernacular secular poetry, three early fourteenth-century
treatises discus thirteenth-century and early fourteenth-
century lyric genres—Dante Alighieri's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*
(circa 1305); *Las Leys D'Amour* (Toulouse, complied after
1324); and Johannes de Grocheio's *De Musica* (Paris, circa
1300). Given that no tradition of analyzing secular music
prefigures the contemplations of these writers, each made
his own foray into uncharted intellectual territory. Thus
the geographical origin of the treatise and authors proves
to be a more important consideration than their relative

chronology. In the following discussion, I progress from South to North, and address the influence of geography and political events on the various theoretical attitudes put forth in these treatises.

Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*

One of the most detailed and, ironically, most tangled discussions of vernacular poetry is Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, written about 1305. Philologists and musicologists have turned to this treatise as an authentic portrait of how generations of poets, from the *troubadours* to Dante himself, conceived of and composed their lyrics—particularly lyrics in an elevated style. Both Stevens's conception of the "aesthetics of Number," and Page's division of medieval lyrics into High and Low stylistic categories use Dante's treatise as their foundation and authority.[7]

Dante claims that his purpose in *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is to instruct the common man in "correct and elegant use of the vernacular" (I, i); but only begins to treat vernacular

---

[7] Though Page does not refer explicitly to Dante's *De vulgaris eloquentia*, he does follow Roger Dragonetti's conception of the *grand chant courtois* as put forth in his 1960 study *La technique poetique des trouvères dans la chanson courtoise*. Dragonetti uses Dante's writing about vernacular poetry as the primary source and starting point for his discussion of *troubadour* and *trouvère* lyrics.

lyrics and the high style *canzone* in the second "incomplete" book of four planned books.[8] Dante sets the stage for this discussion in the nineteen chapters of Book I by recounting the history and superiority of the Italian vernacular. He begins with God's gift of speech to Adam (I, ii-vi), then discusses the multiplication of language after the fall of Babel (I, vii-ix), and follows with a search or "hunt" for the most polished and beautiful vernacular, by arguing the pros and cons of various Romance languages and Italian dialects, (I, x-xv). Dante ironically concludes that the vernacular he "hunts" is not, in fact, spoken anywhere but is, rather, an ideal to be found in the works of poets (such as himself) who do not write in dialect. Thus Dante seems to forsake his original proposition, to educate the common man and improve his vernacular, embarking instead on an impossible quest—to capture and describe an ideal language that exists only in the artificial world of lyric poetry.

Book II contains the discussion of poetic style and form that has caught the attention of philologists and musicologists who themselves "hunt" for medieval theoretical treatments of vernacular lyric genres. Throughout Book II, Dante promises to discuss all lyric forms, beginning with the noblest genre, the *canzone*, and leaving the "mediocre" genres for later chapters. However, the treatise comes to

---

[8] All my quotations are taken from Warman Welliver's 1981 edition, translation, and commentary of *De Vulgari Eloquentia*.

an abrupt end a short way into chapter fourteen. With
regard to the question of genre theory, Dante's treatise
offers only a tantalizing glimpse of a hierarchical division
of lyric types based on theme, function, and ethos.

> . . . what are greatest should obviously be
> treated in the grandest manner and consequently in
> the greatest vernacular. But we must examine what
> the greatest are. And first: if we subtly
> consider the intent of all who seek the useful, we
> will find it to be nothing other than survival.
> Secondly, with regard to the pleasing: in this
> matter I say that that is most pleasing which
> pleases as being the dearest object of desire; and
> this is love. Thirdly, with regard to the good:
> in this matter no one doubts that it is virtue.
> Hence these three, namely survival, love, and
> virtue, are clearly those marvelously great things
> which must be treated in the grandest style—that
> is to say, those things which most pertain to
> them, namely prowess in arms, the kindling of
> love, and uprightness of will.[9] (I, ii; p. 95)

Dante goes on to cite several *troubadour* and Provençal
incipits as examples of subjects "sung in the loftiest
vernacular" (*que canenda sint vulgari altissimo
innotescunt).* At this point, Dante seems to be equating (or

---

[9]   . . . que maxima sunt maxime pertractanda videntur,
et per consequens maximo vulgari. Sed disserendum est que
maxima sint. Et primo in eo quod est util: in quo, si
callide consideremeus intentum omnium querentium utilitatem,
nil aliud quam salutem inveniemus. Secundo in eo quod est
delectabile: in quo dicimus illud esse maxime delectabile
quod per pretiosissimum ɔbiectum appertitus delectabile quod
per pretiosissimum obiectum appertitus delectat: hoc autem
venus est. Tertio in eo quod est honestum: in quo nemo
dubitat esse virtutem. Quare hec tria, salus videlicet,
venus et virtus, apparent esse illa magnalia que sint maxime
pertractanda, hoc est ea que maxime sunt ad ista, ut armorum
probitas, amoris accensio et directio voluntatis.

at least linking) rhetoric with dialect, yet throughout the
treatise Dante include citations from *troubadours*,
trouvères, as well as Italian authors, most notably himself.
Thus, paradoxically, the specific vernacular (French,
Provençal, or Italian) *does not* seem to matter to his
conception of an Ideal vernacular. Dante seems more
concerned with an Ideal usage, rather than a particular
language.

In chapter iii, Dante presents a hierarchical break-
down of vernacular lyric genres.

> . . . writers of vernacular poetry have brought
> forth their poetry in many ways: some in *canzoni*,
> some in ballads, some in sonnets, and some in
> other forms that are incorrect and irregular, as I
> will show below. But of these forms I consider
> the form of the *canzone* to be the most
> excellent.[10] (II, iii; p. 97)

Dante then discusses five points that distinguish and
elevate *canzoni* from other forms and, in the process,
discloses some information about the "ordering" and function
of the other lyric forms.

1) "while any poem we write is a song, only to canzoni has
it fallen to receive this word for themselves—which

-----

[10] . . . vulgariter poetantes sua poemata multimode
protulerunt, quidam per cantiones, quidam per ballatas,
quidam per sonitus, quidam per alios inlegitimos et
inregulares modos, ut inferius ostendetur. Horum autem
modorum cantionum modum excellentissimum esse putamus . . .

certainly did not happen without the forethought of antiquity."

(cum quicquid versificamur sit cantio, sole cantiones hoc vocabulum sibi sortite sunt; quod nunquam sine vetusta provisione processit.)

2) "whatever accomplishes by itself that end for which it was made, is obviously more noble than what needs something extraneous. But *canzoni* accomplish by themselves everything that they should, which ballads do not, for they require the dancers for whom they are produced: hence it follows that *canzoni* must be considered nobler than ballads and consequently that their form is the noblest of all, since no one doubts that ballads excel sonnets in nobility of form."

(sed cantiones per se totum quod debent efficiunt quod ballate non faciunt—indigent enim plausoribus, ad quos edite sunt: ergo cantiones nobiliores ballatis esse sequitur extimandas, et per consequens nobilissimum aliorum esses modum illarum, cum nemo dubitet quin ballate sonitus nobilitate modi excellant.)

3) "Furthermore, those things which afford more honor to their maker are clearly more noble. But *canzoni* devolve more on their makers than ballads; therefore they are nobler"

(Preterea: illa videntur nobiliora esse que conditori suo magis honoris afferunt; sed cantiones magis deferunt suis conditoribus quam ballate: igitur nobiliores . . .)

4) "Furthermore, what are noblest are most affectionately preserved; but among those things which are sung *canzoni* are the most affectionately preserved, as is clear to anyone who frequently consults books."

(Preterea: que nobilissima sunt carissime conservantur; sed interea que cantata sunt, cantiones carissime conservantur, ut constat visitantibus libros)

5) "among things made according to an art the most noble is that which embraces the whole art. Therefore, since things which are sung are made according to an art and since only in *canzoni* is the whole art embraced, *canzoni* are the noblest . . . And that the whole art of singing in poetry is embraced in *canzoni* is evident from this, that whatever of art is found in all the others is found also in the *canzoni*, but not vice versa."

(in artificiatis illud est nobilissimum quod totam comprehendit artem; cum igitur ea que cantantur artificiata

*existant, et in solis cantionibus ars tota comprehendatur,
cantiones nobilissime sunt . . . Quod autem tota
comprehendatur in cantionibus ars cantandi poetice, in hoc
palatur, quod quicquid artis reperitur in omnibus aliis, et
in cantionibus reperitur; sed non converitur hoc.)*[11]

These five points surprisingly do not invoke form or
theme to distinguish *canzoni* from other lyric genres.
Rather, Dante uses cultural and historical arguments, the
first two of which seem tautological. Essentially *canzoni*
are lofty by agreement of history and culture—because the
name is descriptive and generic (though it would seem that
ballate is also an appropriately descriptive generic name);
because it is a genre complete unto itself (though sonnets
may also be so).

The next two points show Dante's response to observable
facts and to the weight of recorded history. Dante notes
that more *canzoni* have survived in written sources than any
other genre—the same observation which begins Page's discus-
sion of the High Style *chanson* (1986, 12). Here Dante
suggests that the *written* lyric—not necessarily composed on
paper, but more importantly preserved on paper—ratifies and
confirms a cultural consensus of the form's primacy and
loftiness. However, the population who "frequently consults
books" describes a select group—contrary to the "common man"
to whom Dante initially addressed the treatise. Here,
loftiness and elitism walk hand in hand. Recognition and

---

[11] Pp. 96-9.

exaltation of the author is still another by-product of writing and literacy. Written records provide for a stable association of lyric and author.

With the fifth point Dante seems to be recognizing musical style as a part of the "whole art of singing in poetry." Like a one-way valve, melodic traits flow from top to bottom, but not from bottom to top—that is, lower forms can incorporate more sophisticated melodic and poetic elements, but high style *canzoni* never sacrifice or skimp on any aspect of the whole—melody or poetry.

Alongside these five distinguishing features put forth in chapter iii, Dante places *canzone* within a three-tiered hierarchy of style, which is the subject of chapter iv. It is this particular division which serves as a chief model and authority for the hierarchy of lyric genres elucidated by Page and Stevens. Dante writes:

> Furthermore, regarding those matters which suggest
> themselves as subjects, we must attain
> discrimination whether they are to be sung in
> tragic or comic or elegiac vein. By tragedy I
> imply a higher style, by comedy a lower, by elegy
> I understand the style of the unhappy. If it
> seems that they should be sung in a tragic vein,
> then the illustrious vernacular should be adopted
> and, consequently, binding together a *canzone*.
> But if in comic vein, then let sometimes the
> mediocre, sometimes the low, vernacular be used;
> and the choice of this I am saving to show in the
> fourth of this. If, on the other hand, in elegiac

vein, we must use only the lowly.[12] (p. 101)

Having identified the themes (survival, love, virtue),
the vehicle *(canzone)*, and style (tragic) suitable for the
Ideal vernacular expression, Dante finally turns to matters
of construction. In chapters v-vii Dante discusses low-
level attributes of the "tragic" style—that is, vocabulary
and syllable count. When the topic of form arises, however,
Dante seems to lose his grip on the "sticks and bindings"
which he made ready for "making the bundle" which is the
canzone (p. 113). Indeed, chapter viii undoes many of the
generic distinctions Dante careful erects in chapters iii-
vii, suddenly proclaiming the need to reexamining "what that
bundle is which we intend to bundle" *(qui sit iste fascis
quem fasciare intendimus videamus*, p. 113)

The first "stick" Dante picks to re-examines is music.
In a digression concerning the etymology of *canzone*, Dante
ironically calls into question the need to have music to
identify the genre *canzone*, even though the generic meaning
of the word *canzone* necessarily includes music. Here, Dante

-----

[12] Deinde in hiis que dicenda occurrunt debemus
discretione potire, utrum tragice, sive comice, sive
elegiace sint canenda. Per tragediam superiorem stilum
inducimus, per comediam inferiorem, per elegiam stilum
intelligimus miserorum. Si tragice canenda videntur, tunc
assumendum est vulgare illustre, et per consequens cantionem
ligare. Si vero comice, tunc quandoque mediocre quandoque
humile vulgare sumatur: et huius discretionem in quarto
huius reservamus ostendere. Si autem elegiace, solum humile
oportet nos sumere.

alludes to the performance practice of reciting lyric poetry without music.

> [T]he word *cantio* can be understood in two ways:
> in one way as that which is composed by its
> author, and thus it is an action—and in this way
> Vergil says in the first *Aeneid,* "Arms and a man I
> sing"; in the other way as that which, already
> composed, is recited either by the author or any
> other person whatever, whether it be recited with
> a musical setting or not.[13] (p. 113)

Dante goes on to explain that the term *canzone* never describes an instrumental composition—that is music without words. The term only implies the concept of music, or at the very least, an attention paid to the sound, if only of the words themselves (*verbum armonizatorum*). Performance is not even necessary. Indeed, Dante emphasizes the validity of identifying a *canzone* as the silent, written record of a potential or past performance.

> and we even call *canzoni* such words lying on
> sheets of paper and lacking someone to recite
> them. Thus a *canzone* clearly is nothing else than
> the completed action of one who composes words
> arranged in harmonious relation for a musical

---

[13] quod cantio dupliciter accipi potest: uno modo
secundum quod fabricatur ab autore suo, et sic est actio—et
secundum istum modum Virgilius primo Eneidorum dicit "Arma
viumque cano"— alio modo secundum quod fabricata profertur
vel ab autore vel ab alio quicunque sit, sive cum soni
modulatione proferatur, sive non . . .

setting.[14] (p. 115)

In fact, all lyric genres could be called *canzoni* because
the term is generic and need not imply a particular form.

> . . . ballads, and sonnets and all words harmo-
> niously composed in any form and according to
> rules, all these, we will say, are *canzoni.*[15] (p.
> 115)

To rectify his confused and serpentine digression, Dante
leaps to the next structural level—-that of form—to qualify
his search and to distinguish his ideal genre from the
mediocre.

> Since what has been defined is clearly generic to
> several things, let me take up again the general
> word already defined and distinguish by certain
> differences the sole thing that I am seeking. I
> say, then, that the *canzone*, insofar as it is
> called that *par excellence*—which is what I, too,
> am seeking—is a linked series of equal stanzas in
> the tragic style without a refrain and for a
> single train of thought . . . (And the reason why
> I say "a linked series in the tragic style" is
> that, when this series is in the comic style, we

---

[14] . . . et etiam talia verba in cartulis absque
prolatore iacentia cantiones vocamus. Et ideo cantio nichil
aliud esse videtur quam actio completa dicentis verba
modulationi armonizata.

[15] . . . quam ballatas et sonitus et omnia cuicscunque
modi verba sunt armonizata vulgariter et regulariter
cantiones ess dicemus.

call it by the diminutive "canzonetta"[16]   . . .
(p. 115)

Thus in the end, only form unequivocally distinguishes *canzone* from ballads and sonnets, and only style distinguishes the *canzone par excellence* from *canzonetta*. Furthermore, the single formal distinction Dante makes between high style and low style forms is the presence or absence of a refrain.

The rest of *De Vulgari Eloquentia* treats the multifarious poetic and melodic constructions of *canzoni*. No further considerations of genres other than the *canzone par excellence* appear, though at various times in Book II Dante relates his plan to treat the lower forms in later books. For unspecified reasons, however, Dante never completed this treatise, and thus remained silent concerning the details of formal and stylistic distinction among the existing vernacular genres.

Can we trust that Dante describes a shared perception of style, form, and genre? Can we take what he says at face value, as philologists and musicologists have done, despite his confusing and back-tracking digressions? Traditional

---

[16] Et quoniam quod difinitum est pluribus generale videtur, resumentes diffinitum iam generale vocabulum per quasdam differentias solum quod petimus distinguamus. Dicimus ergo quod cantio, in quantum per superexcellentiam dicitur, ut et nos querimus, est equalium stantiarum sine responsorio ad unam sententiam tragica coniugatio . . . Quod autem dicimus 'tragica coniugatio' est quia, cum comice fiat hec coniugatio, cantilenam vocamus per diminutionem . . .

exegesis of *De Vulgari* considers the work as an interrupted or failed pedagogical treatise glorifying and elucidating vernacular lyric poetry. However, Warman Welliver (1981) has put forth the hypothesis that Dante's treatise operates as an allegorical autobiography in the form of a tragic epic in which Dante the hero struggles to recover language/himself from the wreckage of a fractured society (Babel/Florence).

> The first book begins with the verbal Paradise of the paragon of language presented to man by God. Enter the villain: Nimrod's hybris causes man to lose this precious treasure. . . . Enter the hero: Dante, another mighty hunter (I, xi, 1; xv, 7; xvi, 1 and 4) begins to hunt for a new paragon of language in this forest of tongues. . . In his paradise regained he reigns, like Adam, supreme and alone . . . In Book Two our hero sets out to govern . . . Enter trouble, at the middle: he digresses from his program, moves ever farther away, and at his first step back falls silent. . . and thus the whole work, as it stands, has a clear and finished dramatic form: the hero appears on the troubled scene, too easily triumphs, then falters, fails, and disappears. (p. 12-13)

Welliver maintains that the many anomalies in the text—the most striking of which is Dante's failure to carry out his plan to treat all the vernacular genres in four books—as well as structural parallels with the design of the *Comedy* and, notably, the *Inferno,* strongly suggests that Dante intended to confuse and frustrate the reader with carelessness and seeming incapacity (p. 10). Regarding the "incomplete" nature of the treatise Welliver writes:

What an extraordinary coincidence that Dante, for whom the number thirty-three was to be the foundation of the design of the *Comedy*, should abandon the *De Vulgari* in its thirty-third chapter! What an extraordinary coincidence that this man who left the right road, got lost, and sank to a nadir of despair and the contemplation of suicide at the middle of his journey through life (Inf. I, 1-7), should leave the itinerary of discussion of the *De Vulgari* at its midpoint, get lost in a maze of ever more minute detail and specious argument, and, just as he reaches a nadir of incoherence, fall silent! And what an extraordinary coincidence that the work should end with the words "que circa sinistra sunt verba [semper] ad extremum festinent, et alia decenti prolixitate passim veniant ad extremum!" (*words which are about the bad let them ever hast to the end; and let the others come spread out in decorous profusion to an end*) (p. 14)

The treatise taken as a narrative, parallels Dante's own fall from his rocketing political success. As in the treatise, departure, or "digression"—that is Dante's capacity as an envoy to the Pope, which Welliver (p. 18) notes is "a *digressio* in the literal sense"—caused him to leave Florence for a futile journey to negotiate with the Pope. On his journey home, Dante found that "this party had been violently overthrown and he could not return. Like his sudden disappearance as he turned back toward his program at the end of the *De Vulgari*, his political career abruptly disappeared as he turned back toward Florence" (p. 18).

Welliver believes that *De Vulgari* is at the core, an "angry" and deceitful autobiography that places him alongside the autobiographers portrayed in his *Inferno*.

> If Dante is action in the same way, is it not a
> very good guess that he is in the same place?
> Does the *De Vulgari* not mark his term in Hell—in a
> metaphorical and prehumous Hell, to be sure, but a
> Hell where his suffering must have been no less
> painful than . . .the real and posthumous one? . .
> . With his usual zeal to excel, Dante followed, in
> writing the *De Vulgari*, the very first angry exile
> and the first and greatest of the deceivers. (p.
> 19)

Thus, Welliver charges that Dante is far from sincere at the
point in the treatise that is most sensitive and important
for future generations and posterity—when the reader must
trust Dante's instruction concerning vernacular rhetoric,
given few if any other authorities to consult on this
matter. Dante, the angry politician who lost his "voice"
upon exile, inflicts the same upon his readers by willfully
losing his voice again.

From this it seems clear that Dante does not report
the conceptions and perceptions of the "vernacular" culture
at large, especially considering that Dante's hierarchical
distribution of lyric genres depends upon literacy and
fluency in Italian, Provençal, and Old French.

Las Leys d'Amors

Sometime after the first meeting of the "Academy of Gai
Saber" at Toulouse in 1324, Guillem Molinier compiled this
substantial and comprehensive treatise on Provençal language

and lyric poetry. The treatise survives in several
versions, one heavily annotated, and represents a *Summa* of
courtly lyric poetry.[17] Though the Occitan culture was
essentially destroyed by the Albigensian crusades of 1209-
29, and the inquisition thereafter, the fourteenth-century
literati of Toulouse attempted to revive Occitan poetry by
establishing poetry competitions, known as the "floral
games." *Las Leys d'Amors* is one of the most important
product of that largely unsuccessful spirit of revival.

The introduction to *Las Leys d'Amors* offers a summary
of the five-part treatise. Unlike Dante's top-down approach
to language (from God to words), the Molinier begins with
the smallest part of language and builds upwards, although
the section that discusses forms and genre seems misplaced
in part II. The parts are as follows:

   I. Vowels, consonance, Dipthongs, Syllables, elision,
accents
  II. Lines, pauses, stanzas, various poetic forms
("*verses, chansos, dansas, sirventes, e dautres dictatz
principals*")
III. Parts of speech, verb conjugation and noun declension
 IV. Rhetorical figures.
  V. How to compose rhymes

Part two discusses the form and sound of eleven poetic

---

[17] For a discussion of the MSS tradition, see Page
1986, 42, and 250, note 6. The Gatien-Arnoult (Toulouse,
1841-3) edition of this text conflates the main text and
annotations found in MS *F-TL Academie des Jeux Floraux*, MS
500.007.

genres in depth, first in one long prose section, then again in a series of verses. Table I.2 presents a summary of the features of each genre treated in the prose passages.[18]

Table I.2: Genres in *Las Leys d'Amour*

Genre	Themes	Music	Form
Vers	morals/truths	slow, sedate, new, beautiful, melodious ascents & descents, with pleasant pauses	5-10 stanzas 1 or 2 *tornadas*[19]
Chanso	love, praise, with beautiful words, pleasing & gracious ideas	sedate, just as the *vers*	5-7 stanzas
Sirvente	chastise or satire drunkards and wicked men,	same as *vers* and *chanso*	stanzas comparable in "measure" to *vers* and *chanso*

---

[18] Important to the discussion of lyric forms is the concept of the "*coblas*" or stanza that contains at least five lines, at most sixteen, and forms a "*clausa*"—a unit of text that makes "complete sense " (*una clauza que sen complit e perfeig pauza*)(Gatien-Arnoult p. 198). Stanzas with five lines should have eight syllables per line; stanzas with sixteen lines should have seven syllables or less per line. The refrains of *dansas* are an exceptions, having at least three lines, at most five lines. The lines of *dansas* should have eight syllables. An exception to this is the *redondels* (*rondeaux*) and the (*mandelas*) which have shorter "measures" (pp. 202-204).
"Measures" come in three categories: minor (*menors*) for lines with seven syllables or less; middle (*mejanciers*) for lines with eight or nine syllables; and major (*majors*) for lines with ten or more syllables.

[19] Surprisingly, most of the discussion of the *vers* concerns the formation of the *tornadas*. According to this treatise, any work can have one or two *tornada*. The "measure" (*compas*) and rhyme of the *tornada* should match the length of half the final stanza. Two successive *tornadas* do not have to have the same number of lines (see Gatien-Arnoult, p. 340).

fates of war

Dansa	love	graceful, joyous and gay (for the dancer); less slow than *vers* & *chanso* not like a *redondel* with the minims and semibreves of a *motetz*[20]	a refrain or response, 3 stanzas that end with the "measure" of the refrain or 1 "measure" different; 8 syllables per line[21]
Descort	love, praise or lover's complaints	very diverse; stanzas differ in rhyme, melody, and language	5-10 distinct stanzas; same or different "measures;" "discordant" rhymes; can have *tornadas*
Tenso	discussion or debate	not necessary to set to music; any song type usable, or an old air.	20-30 new rhymes, or 6-10 stanzas; 2 *tornadas*
Partiment	a question considered by 2 parties (differing from the *tenso* in the impersonal nature of the debate.	same as for *tenso*	uses foreign languages

---

[20] In describing the music of the *dansa*, the author makes a point of contrasting his notion of the *dansa* with the current trends in performance which wrongly make the *dansas* sound like the *redondel* (northern French *rondeau*) and motet. This passage will be discussed in greater detail below.

[21] The description of the *dansa* form is one of the most convoluted and confusing of these prose passages, listing rules for rhyme and syllable count, and possible exceptions and seeming contradictions. For example, the author first states that the lines of *dansas* should have no more than eight syllables, but when such occurs, the *dansa* is "irregular" or "abnormal," and does not have the proper "measure." The three stanzas must "seem" (*semblans*) like the refrain in measure and rhyme, though they can be one "measure" different, and should be different in rhyme. I believe the author may be trying to describe a similarity of internal construction between the refrain and the couplets with his word "*semblans*." (see Gatien-Arnoult, p. 342)

Pastorela	delightful banter, no gross words, dishonest expressions or portraits of indecent behavior (a common fault) between women and cowherds, gardners shepherds, knights, swineherds, etc.	always a new song pleasing and happy not as slow as the *vers* or *chanso*, but quick and leaping	6, 8, or 10 stanzas, no more than 30
Retrancha	as general as the *vers*, treats morals, love, precepts, satirical language to chasen the wicked	not the same as *vers*, *chanso*, or *dansa* that use *retrancha* stanzas	5 to 10 retrancha stanzas (those that repeat the same word or lines)
Plang	great sorrow, over loss adversity	a new song, pleasing, but plaintive and slow; always destroyed by abuse when sung to the melodies of *vers*, and *chanso*[22]	the same "measure" as the *vers* i.e. 5 to 10 stanzas
Escondig	justifications for accusations against the author made by a woman or man	a song of the same "measure" as the *chanso*	stanzas of the same "meausre" as the *chanso*

In the course of this discussion, two Northern genres, *rondeaux* (*redondel*) and motet (*motetz*), appear by way of comparison to the *dansa.* The next two sections, much of

---

[22] The author reluctantly condones the borrowing of *vers* and *chanso* melodies for *plang* because it is hard to find a singer or another person who can make a song suitable for this poem
(*se pot cantar quis vol. en los so del vers. o de la chanso. . . quar apenas pot hom trobar huey cantre ni autre home que sapia be endevenir et far propriamen un so. segon que requier aquest dictaz*, Gatien-Arnoult, p. 348).

which appears as margin annotations (see Page 1986, 46),
further expand the list of genres. In the course of writing
about the making and appropriate naming of genres (p. 348-
50), the treatise lists seventeen more names, five of which
are discussed briefly. The first twelve are, indeed,
presented as a list of names meant to illustrate the idea
that pieces (*dictatz*) should be named in agreement with
their property or nature (*tal noms que sia consonans. et
acordam. a la cauza*), rather than the number and type of
stanzas. Judging by the names listed such as *rebecz*
(rebec), *desplazers* (displeasure), *conortz* (comfort), and
relays (performance), the treatise here prescribes that a
composer make up a generic name for his piece on the basis
of the most salient quality of that piece. Notably,
however, none of the names listed in this section describe a
poetic or melodic form. The names rather describe a sound,
a performance feature, poetic mood, or, in the case of
conortz, an effect.

Five more genres, *bals*, *estampida*, *garip*, *redondels* and
viandelas are treated in detail. Table I.3 summarizes their
attributes.

Table I.3: Additional Genres in *Las Leys d'Amour*

Genre	Theme	Sound	Form
Bals	love, praise, honest subjects	quicker melody than the *dansa* more suitable for instruments; melody composed first on instruments	made like a *dansa* with a refrain, with 10 or more stanzas
Garip	without words	for instruments	of no concern
Estampida	without or with words that treat love & praise in the manner of a *chanso* or *vers*	for instruments	can have a *tornada* or repeat a stanza from the beginning or the end.
Redondel and *Viandelas*	written in the language *frances*	not treated because authors unknown	not treated be because their "measure" is not known

We learn a number of important things from this brief treatment of five genres. On one hand they are ancillary genres—literally anonymous marginalia in light of the eleven major genres expounded upon in the treatise. On the other hand, these five genres represent the "next generation" of *chanson*—the Northern dance songs with refrains (*ballade, rondeau, virelai, estampie*) that grew from an anonymous and largely unwritten tradition in the thirteenth-century to dominate secular composition in the fourteenth-century. At the time of the compilation of *Las Leys*, in fact, these genres were beginning to make a their mark on the music

scene in the regions of Paris, Artois, and Picardy.[23]

Further evidence that the Molinier and his annotators knew current Northern French forms appears in a remark that contrasts the sound of the *dansa* with the *rondeaux*. The author criticizes the current tendency of singers to perform the *dansa* too fast, effectively changing the *dansa* into something that sounds like the *redondel* (*han mudat lo so de dansa en so de redondel am lors minimas et am lors semibreus de lors motetz,* p. 342). Here, not only does the writer describe sound, but, to reenforce his point, he also mentions the notation that encodes fast note values, such as the divisions of the *longa* into semibreve and minim. Such notation and rapid melodic style is characteristic of the *Ars Nova* motets and *chanson* (especially the monophonic pieces by Jehan de Lescurel) that developed in Paris around 1300. This mention of notation suggests that the readers would be familiar with musical notation and how to read and perform the rhythm of the note shapes. It is both the rapid melodic style and the note shapes used to record the *Ars Nova* style that distinguish the genres—or rather that ought to distinguish the genres, for the writer was clearly anxious about the collapse of distinction between the Southern *dansa* and Northern *redondel et motetz.*

The disdain for modernity expressed by the author's

---

[23] See Chapter V for a discussion of the *rondeaux* and *virelais* added to fr.844.

suspicion of the *Ars Nova* melodic style seemingly
contradicts the explicit description/prescription that the
melody of the *vers, pastorela,* and *plang* aught to be "new."
However, many *troubadour* and *trouvère chanson* advertise
themselves as "new songs." Although *troubadour* and *trouvère
chanson* often discuss the act of composing, the adjective
"new" appears most often to modify words which imply music
such as *chant* or *son.* Thus the "new song" poetic theme
calls attention to the sonic delivery of the words, and it
is this aspect that is taken up by the author of *Las Leys.*
Yet his usage of the "new melody" trope presents an
unsophisticated, literal (mis)understanding of a significant
metaphor. Below are examples of this trope culled from two
present-day anthologies of *troubadour* and *trouvère* poetry.[24]
The theme appears most often in the first line or stanza of
the *chansons.*

1) William IX (d. 1127), first line:
   Farai chansoneta nueva

2) Giraut de Borneil (fl. 1165), first line:
   "Can lo glatz e.l frechs e la neus,"
   the *tornada* begins:
   "Joglars, ab aquestz sos noveus t'en vai"

3) Peire Cardenal (fl. 1270), first line:
   Un sirventes novel vueill comensar

4) Anonymous *trouvère* (R-Sp. 1900), first line:
   Chanter voil un novel son

---

[24] Press 1971 and Rosenberg and Tischler 1981.

5) Henri III, Duc de Brabant (d. 1261), first four lines read:

L'autrier estoie montez
Seur mon palefroi anblant
Et pris m'estoit volentez
De trouver un nouviau chant.

6) Perrin d'Angicourt (fl. 1250), first four lines read:

Quant partiz sui de Prouvence
Et du tens felon
Ai voloir que je conmence
Nouvele chançon

7) Adam de la Halle (fl. 1270), first two lines read:

Dame vos hom vous estrine
D'une nouvele canchon

In all seven examples, the notion of a "new song" serves to raise the value of the song by emphasizing the creative effort of the composer. But what exactly is meant by "new?" Two additional examples from the *troubadour* repertory offer some clues to the significance of this theme.[25]

1) Marcabrun (fl. 1140), first four lines read:

Alson desviat chantaire
Veirai si puosc un vers faire
De fals'amistat menuda
C'aissi leu pren e refuda

(Singing on borrowed tune, I'll see if I can make a poem about false, mean-minded friendship which takes as readily as it refuses)

2) Guilhem de Montanhagol (d. circa 1260), first two stanzas read:

I.
Non an tan dig li primier trobadour
Ni fag d'amor

---

[25] All translations by Alan R. Press.

Lai el temps qu'era guays
Qu'enquera nos no fassam, apres lor,
Chans de valor,
Nous, plazaens e verais;
Quar dir pot hom so qu'estat dig no sia,
Qu'estiers non es trobaires bos no fis
Tro fai sos chans guays, nous e gent assi,
Ab nöels digz de nova mäestria.

(The early *troubadours* have not said and composed so much on the subject of love, in the past when times were gay, that we may not still, after them, compose songs worthwhile, new, pleasant, and true; for one can say what may not have been said, and in not other way is a *troubadour* good or fine.)

II.
Mas en chantan dizo.1 comensador
Tant en amor
Que.1 nous dirs torn'a fays.
Pero nou es, quan dizo li doctor
So que alhor
Chantan no dis hom mais,
E nou, qu'ieru dic qu'auzit non avia;
E nou, qu'ieu dic razo qu'om mais no dis,
Qu'amors m'a dat saber, qu'aissi.m noiris
Que s'om trobat non agues, trobaria.

(But in song the first poets say so much inspired by love that to say anything new becomes difficult. Yet new it is when the experts say that which nowhere else has been said in song before, and new if someone says what he has never heard; and new when I say things which no one has said, for love has given me the knowledge and so instructs me that, had no one made poetry, I would a poet be.)

Both examples assign an ethical significance to the word "new." In the first poem, Marcabrun calls for a "borrowed tune"—the opposite of "new"—which corresponds with the poetic theme of falsity. It follows, then, that a "new song" represents a genuine, truthful expression. Thus the claim of a "new song" signals not only sincerity, but an ethical position as well.

By way of contrast, the poem by Guilhem de Montanhagol

expresses an anxiety and obsession with the notion of "newness." In the first two stanzas of this poem, Guilhem struggles to find a concept of "newness" that will allow himself and his creation to take a place on the ethical dichotomy between falsity and truthfulness, metaphorically encoded as "borrowed" and "new." However, by pondering his position in a long tradition of lyric composition, Guilhem also calls into question the practicality of this metaphor. How is it possible to create "new things to say with new art" within the highly idiomatic repertory of *troubadour* poetry and music? His answer: the quality of "newness" is a function of both intention and sensual experience, i.e. hearing and performing.

The "new song" theme in these *chansons* does not seem to connote a notion of "modernity," or any stylistic prescription—only an ethical and perhaps aesthetic posture. However, two thirteenth-century verse romances do use this theme to advertise modernity. Jean Renart introduces his *Guillaume de Dole* as a "*une novel chose, et s'est des autres si divers*" indicating that the interpolation of musical numbers into his verse narrative is a novel form which gives the audience or reader a novel experience—that of reading and singing ("*Car, s'en vieult, l'en i chante et lit*"). Jean Renart goes on to claim that not only is his creation novel, but that the romance will always be new to those who hear it read and sung ("*Qui chanter et lire l'orront, Qu'il*

lor sera noviaus toz jors"). Herein lies a paradox, however. How can the romance always be new? On one hand, Jean Renart's impossible claim of perpetual novelty satirizes the poetic ethic of the "new song"—one of many incredulities woven into this rye romance about blind love and falsehoods. Yet, on the other hand, the shifts between "read and sung" text do present words in a constantly "new" sound medium.

Thirteenth-century motets present another "new" sound medium for courtly poems. These lyrics used the rhetoric and themes of the *grandes chansons* compressed into a single stanza. Though many motet lyrics describe the activity of composition, the "new song" theme appears infrequently compared to *troubadour* and *trouvère chansons*. In Mo, two lyrics use the adjective "new" to amplify the act of composing a song.

1. Mo #50, motetus:
   Fole acoustumance me fet que ge chant;
   car nus ne m'avance par assoutillance ne par chant.
   Mes en remembrance ai fet un nouvel deschant

(It is only a crazy habit which makes me sing, for I make no headway either by wit or by song. But in memory of times past I have composed a new discant)[26]

2. Mo # 95, triplum
   Encontre le tans de Pascour,

---

[26] Translation taken from Tischler's 1978 edition of Mo with translations by Susan Stakel and Joel C. Relihan. I modified their translation by substituting their translation of *"deschant"* as "song" with the word "discant."

> *que toz amans mainent joie et baudor*
> *plus n'i demeur, que ne soie renvoisiés*
> *et plains de joie*
> *et d'amour sans sejor voeil fere un noviou chant.*

(At Eastertime all lovers live in joy and happiness, but I am no longer with them because I am not lighthearted and full of love and joy' I want to compose a new song without delay.)

In both these lyrics, the poet offers the idea of "newness" as a means of counter-acting painful memories—an attempt at rejuvenation. A consciousness about the newness of polyphonic motets as a medium for courtly expression—a musical rejuvenation as it were—appears in the more precise vocabulary used to describe the song. In Mo #50, the poet used the word *deschant* instead of the commonly used words "*chant*" and "*chanson*." At least two other lyrics specify voice parts or a polyphonic texture.

1. Mo #30, quadruplum
   Cest quadruble sans reison n'ai pas fet en tel seison
   qu'oisel chanter n'ose

(I didn't compose this quadruplum with no reason at all in a season during which even birds dare not sing)

2. Mo #116, motetus
   De jolif cuer doit venir de fair un treble p[l]esant

(A pleasing three-part sont must come from a merry heart)

Like Jean Renart, Guillaume de Lorris introduces his *Roman de la Rose* by advertising that his creation is novel: "*La matiére est bone et nueve*" (ln. 39). Though the "form"

of his verse narrative is not new, the "material" is—a novel first person allegorical dream narrative. Thus both romances and thirteenth-century motet lyrics illustrate a shift in the use of the "new song" theme—emphasizing the notion of novelty of the form for entertainment's sake rather than as a proof of sincerity. "Truth in advertising" necessarily substitutes for "truth in expression" and thus turns the rhetorical plea of the *troubadours* and *trouvères* into a clerical boast. In *Las Leys*, the poetic theme of the "new song" shows up in yet another guise—as a prescription for melodic composition. Thus the author of this treatise codifies the ethical stance as a generic musical trait. In this way Molinier and the annotators of *Las Leys* hope to ensure the sincerity of the boast. Certain genres, however, the author explicitly exempts from this prescription—the *tenso* and *partiment* specifically, and reluctantly, the *plang.*

Though the author values the quality of "newness" and distinction, the descriptions of the eleven main genres are vague and inexplicit by comparison to the preceding section which attempts an exhaustive account of stanza construction. Whereas the discussion of stanzas provides specific names and illustrations for each type, the discussion of genres relies on the comparison of each song-type to a standard, namely the *vers* which, coincidentally, treats morals and truths. Despite the attempt at clarity, the whole

discussion of song-types paints a picture of fluid rather than rigid notions of genre. Formal traits are barely distinguishable among the eleven song-types; only the *dansa* and *retrancha* stand out with their use of refrains, and the *descort* for its use of contrasting rhymes. The discussion of the music of each genre lapses into vague comparisons of tempo and ethos. The themes of the lyrics offer the best key for generic identity, except in the case of the three formally distinctive genres for which theme seems to be less distinctive.

The collapse of the clear, coherent, and detailed discussion at this mid-point in the treatise perhaps signals that the Molinier does not consider the notion of genre to be fundamental to an explication of the lyric art of the *troubadours*. The degree to which he does or does not adequately explain a concept serves as a measure of the importance of that concept to the author's overarching agenda. For Molinier, the integrity of a song-type depends on a confluence of factors, some are more defining than others. His theory of genre depends on the perception of salient features that change categorically from song-type to song-type—sometimes theme, sometimes form, sometimes musical composition or performance. Such perceptions occur independent of the language of the words, and herein lies the reason for the Molinier's relative disinterest. The primary objective of this treatise is to codify and preserve

the Provençal language, as is evident from the detail he
lavishes on the language-specific topics such as stanza
construction and the parts of speech. The impure nature of
genre—the infiltration of other languages, anonymous
composer's, performance variables, and instrumental
music—only challenges the primacy of the language and thus
receives only cursory treatment.

Johannes de Grocheio

About twenty-five years before *Las Leys d'Amors* was
compiled in Toulouse, Johannes de Grocheio wrote *De musica*—a
treatise that describes both the sacred and secular music of
Paris.[27] Grocheio's detailed taxonomy of music has been the

---

[27] Grocheio's dates are vague. John Stevens (1986:
429) explains, "Grocheo seems to have lived and worked in
Paris in the latter part of the twelfth century; the
earliest text of his treatise survives in a manuscript
copied some hundred years or so later." But in a footnote
(n.42: 429) Stevens states "he seems to have been active c.
1300." In *The New Grove Dictionary* (1980) under "Johannes
de Grocheo" this 100 year discrepancy also appears: "(fl.
c1300). French music theorist. His treatise *Ars musice*
implies that he was working in Paris at the end of the 12th
century." It is likely that the latter date is a misprint,
although it is curious that Stevens followed and even tried
to reconcile the mistake. Gordon Anderson does not mention
this discrepancy in the body of the *New Grove* article.
Ernst Rohloff (1972:11,171) and Gilbert Reaney (MGG, 1958,
7:col.95) both mention that Grocheio held an academic
position at the *Collegium Sorbonicum* c. 1275. Citations of
Garlandian and Franconian notational systems as well as
other thirteenth-century theorists and repertories offers
further evidence for a late thirteenth to fourteenth-century
Grocheio.

subject of many recent articles and chapters.[28] His
tendency to classify music according to explicit categories
and contrasts (i.e. *musica vulagris/musica mensurata/musica
ecclesiastica*; music performed in *voce humana* or in *instrumentis artificalibus*; *cantus/cantilena*), undergirds the
High/Low or courtly/popular stylistic dichotomies found in
the work of present-day scholars such as Page and Stevens.

Grocheio's agenda is to elucidate briefly the science
of music (*doctrina musicali*) for his friends who have asked
him to do so. Thus, in contrast to the *De Vulgari* and *Las
Leys*, Grocheio's treatise does not treat the text, but
rather focuses specifically on music. Furthermore, Grocheio
eschews an abstract, theoretical approach, and uses instead
an explicitly Aristotelian method of building typologies
according to the interpretation of empirical facts and personal observation.

Grocheio rejects as illogical and unnatural the
traditional theoretical/Boethian division of music into
musica mundana (of the spheres), *musica humana* (of the body
and soul), *musica instrumentalis* (sound). For Grocheio,
musica instrumentalis is the only music that can be
experienced and therefore classified. A division of music
ought to reflect audible and environmental
differences—"*diversos usus, diversa idiomata vel diversas

---

[28] McGee (1989), Fladt (1987), Page (1986, 1989, 1993a
and 1993b), Stevens (1986), Stockmann (1983).

linguas in civitatibus vel regionibus diversis" (Rohloff 1972, 124). Thus faced with many possible ways to divide music, Grocheio chooses a practical scheme "according to how the men of Paris use it" (*secundum quod homines Parisiis ea utuntur*).

Grocheio reports that the music as practiced by the men in Paris can be organized into three general categories or, borrowing from Aristotelian taxonomy, three *genera*. Table I.4 below shows Grocheio's three *genera* of music, divided into musical subcategories and "species" or genres.

Table I.4: Grocheio's Divisions of Music

I.Simplex	II.Composita	III.Ecclesiastica
IN VOCE HUMANA	PER EXPERIENTIAM	MATINA
Cantus:	quintus	invitatorium
gestualis	discantus	venite
coronatus	(or duplum	hymnus*
versiculatus	organum)	antiphona*
Cantilena:	PRAECISE MENSURATUS	psalmus
rotunda	motetus	responsorium
stanipede	organum	(cum versiculo)
ductia	(including	HORAS
entata *or*	conductus)	hymnus
cantus insertus	hoquetus or	antiphona
INSTRUMENTIS	cantus abscisus	psalmus
all forms		responsorium
cantus *coronatus*		MISSA
ductia		officium or
stantipede		introit
		kyrie*
		gloria*
		responsorium*
		alleluia*
		sequentia*
		credo*
		offertorium*
		secreta
		praefatio*
		sanctus
		pater noster*
		canones missae
		agnus
		communio*
		post com-
		munionem

As Page (1993a) elucidates, Grocheio's *genera* reflect not only musical categories, but practitioner categories as well. Grocheio matches the musical terms *simplex* and *composita* with the social terms *civilis* and *canonica*. Page writes:

> Grocheio is employing the terms *musica civilis* and
> *musica canonica* exactly as the lawyers of his day
> used 'lex civilis' (civil law, governing the
> laity) and 'lex canonica' (canon law, governing

the clergy). (p. 80)

In elucidating the three *genera,* Grocheio also evokes three distinct social milieus. His discussion of the first *genera* of music, which Grocheio introduces as "*simplex musica vel civilis quam vulgaris musica*" covers not only genres, but also performance practices, such as the use of instruments, appropriate to the social world of lay persons. His discussion of the second *genera,* introduced as "*musica composita vel regularis vel canonica quam appellant musicam mensuratam,*" covers not only polyphonic genres, but also music theorists and a system of notation indicative of the social world of the literate cleric.[29] The third *genera* "*ecclesiastica*" Grocheio presents a utopic idea of all music's shared purpose. Introduced as "*ex istis duobus efficitur et ad quod ista duo tamquam ad melius ordinantur .*

---

[29] Page (1993a) writes:

"We have already seen that 'the music of those governed by civil law' seems to be one apt translation for *musica civilis* as Grocheio both describes and illustrates it: the *vulgares laici,* the laity as a whole. A closer look at the forms of *musica canonica* suggests that 'the music of those governed by canon law' may be a telling translation of this term. The forms of *musica canonica* demand a specialized knowledge of notation from those who wish to compose, perform, or copy them; they are reinforced by a literature of the treatises, to which Grocheio briefly alludes. These were interests and skills that must have been largely confined to those who had received a preliminary education in grammar and plainchant and who had then built upon it." (p. 81)

. . ad laudandum creatorem" ("from these two made and to
which these two are best ordained . . . for praising the
Creator"), Grocheio illustrates this theme of unity of
secular and clerical musics/societies by frequently
establishing analogues or cross-references between secular
and sacred musical genres (those chants marked with * in
Table I.4). Thus Grocheio uniquely positions secular music
as the point of reference for discussing all other musical
genres.

Grocheio divides the *genera simplex* or secular music
into two subcategories according to performance practice,
i.e. vocal or instrumental music. Vocal music is further
articulated by two families of song: *cantus* and *cantilena*.
Page (1993a) considers these two families as

> a distinction of register: the Cantus register
> being the more excellent and demanding, the
> Cantilena register requiring a little less
> accomplishment and seriousness of purpose. This
> registration is a delicate one. It does not
> provide a means of filing songs into generic
> categories but evokes stylistic *tendencies* within
> songs and, beyond that, implies varying degrees of
> formality and dignity for their performance.
> (p. 76)

Instrumental music, however, seems to escape this nuanced
articulation by register. This is because Grocheio is
particularly interested in the theme and ethos of the lyrics
which, for him, provide salient "stylistic" distinction.
These "stylistic" registers are, in fact, "societal"

registers—reflecting how the genres participate in

society.[30] Grocheio both prescribes the societal function

of each genre, and describes their distinguishing musical

features. These are summarized in Table I.5.

Table I.5: Secular Vocal Music Genres According to Grocheio

Genre	Social Function	Form/Music
CANTUS: *gestualis*	recites the deeds of heroes and lives of martyrs; to inspire the aged, civic laborers and average people	undetermined number of stanzas made from many versicles that may or may not rhyme; the melody ought to repeat in all versicles
coronatus	crowned by masters and and students for excellence of words and melody; composed by and for kings and nobles to move their souls to boldness, bravery, liberality and generosity; about serious and delightful subjects, friendship and charity	made from all perfect longs; 7 stanzas (*versus*) made from many phrases (*punctas*) and rhymes
versualis	sometimes considered a *cantilena*; less excellent words and concords; for youths	undetermined number of stanzas which are similar

---

[30] See Page 1989, pp. 171-9. Page states that part of
Grocheio's aim is not only to classify musical forms, but
also "to show how they contribute to the stability of the
civitas." (p. 171). Page notes that Grocheio writes about
secular music with a legislative tone, having himself no
authorities to cite. Page further warns,

> "Grocheio is certainly an 'intellectual colonist',
> defining the boundaries of laymen's music as he
> sees fit and imposing value judgements upon it in
> line with clerical concepts of social good. We
> should not overlook the political nuances of
> Grocheio's treatment of secular music. (p. 172)

	to prevents idleness	to those of a *cantus coronatus*
CANTILENA: *rotunda*	sung in the region of Normandy by young men and girls to ornament festivals and gatherings	turns back on itself as does a circle, begins as it ends *rotunda* refers to only those songs that do not have a different melody from the refrain melody; sung in a slow tempo just as a *cantus coronatus*
stantipes	causes the souls of young men and girls to stand still on account of its difficulty and diverts them from improper thinking	diversity in its parts and refrain as in its poetic rhyme and melody; certain verses *(additamenta)* agree with the refrain, others differ
ductia	sung by young men and girls in *carole;*[31] influences the hearts of young men and girls; removes vanity, and has force against erotic passion	light, rapid in ascent and descent; certain verses *(additamenta)* agree with the refrain, others differ
entata (or *cantus insertus*)	—	begins in the manner of a *cantilena* and is closed by the end of the *cantilena*

---

[31] The Latin is *choreis* which Seay (1967, 17) translates as "chorus." Later in the text, however, Grocheio writes of "*ductiis et choreis*" in reference to songs that accompany dance (Rohloff 1972, 136). Grocheio's reference to singing *in choreis* probably best translates as "in the choral dance" known as the *carole* in the vernacular. See also McGee (1989, 506-7) for a more comprehensive argument with the same conclusion.

Several curious details surface in Table I.5. Each genre is assigned a distinct social function with the notable exception of the *cantilena entata*. This omission is perhaps due to Grocheio's unfamiliarity with the genre, or with his inability to place the genre in one family or the other—signaling his discomfort with the idea of mixture of *cantus* and *cantilena*. In general, the social function of *cantus* is inspirational, whereas the social function of *cantilena* is preventative (including the *cantus versualis* which is sometimes considered a *cantilena*). It is difficult, then, to imagine how a single genre, though a musical mixture of *cantilena* and *cantus*, could both inspire and prevent.

Although on opposite ends of the spectrum, Grocheio singles out the *cantus coronatus* and the *rotunda* to comment upon tempo. Only the *rotunda* represents pure entertainment. Grocheio, however, geographically isolates this societal "anomaly" by describing that such pieces are sung in the region of Normandy. Quite by surprise we learn that *rotunda* are slow songs, comparable to the *cantus coronatus.* Recall, however, that the author of *Las Leys* complained that *dansas* were often performed too fast, as if they were Northern *redondel.* Perhaps Grocheio's specific mention of the *rotunda's* tempo betrays an anxiety over the tendency toward the purely musical invention and virtuosity which this genre, and genres like it, attracted—an anxiety echoed

twenty-five years or so later by a writer in Toulouse.

Grocheio simplifies his discussion of instrumental music considerably by restricting his focus to only the most "subtle" family of musical instruments (strings) and most "powerful" (*praevalere*) species of instruments—the *vielle*. According to Grocheio, the *vielle* aids in a thorough understanding of all musical forms, and that a good performer generally "introduces" (*introduit*) all *cantilenae* and *canti* (Rohloff 1972, 136). But he further restricts his survey of instrumental music to three genres commonly performed before wealthy company (*cantus coronatus, ductia, and stantipedes*), and of these he dismisses the *cantus coronatus* as having received enough attention. For present-day scholars and performers, Grocheio's silence on this matter teases and ultimately frustrates attempts to understand the musical practices and aesthetic that informed the "writing" of so many *troubadour* and *trouvère chanson*s, to the neglect of other secular monophonic genres. We learn, however, that *vielle* players around 1300 often provided preludes for all of the vocal genres, and that three vocal genres had notable instrumental counterparts. In discussing the instrumental *ductia* and the *stantipes*, Grocheio seems to state the obvious, noting that neither has a text, though they can be written down. This detail, however, may distinguish these two pieces from the possibly texted *cantus coronatus* as performed with a *vielle*. Table

I.6 summarizes the distinguishing features of instrumental *ductia* and *stantipes*.[32]

Table I.6: Instrumental *Ductia* and *Stantipes*

Genre	Social Function	Form/Sound
Ductia	excites the souls of man to move ornately according to the art of dance, measured in the *ductia* and *choreis*	measured with an appropriate percussive beat; usually three phrases long
Stantipes	difficulty makes the soul of performer and listener stand still, and diverts the souls of the wealthy from depraved thoughts	has a difficult discretion of concords as determined by the phrases (*puncta*), lacks the percussive beat of the *ductia*, and is known only by the distinction of the phrases; six or seven phrases long

The difference between these instrumental genres and their vocal counterparts does not reside in their social function as one might expect from the conclusions of Christopher Page (1986). Indeed, the social functions are identical for instrumental and vocal versions. Rather, Grocheio uses the instrumental genres to focuses on several low-level aspects of musical sound—percussive verses non-percussive beats, musical phrases, and "open" and "closed" endings common to both *ductia* and *stantipedes*. Grocheio calls instrumental music "*artificialis in eis generati*" and

---

[32] Rohloff 1972, p. 136.

instrumentalists "*artifex*" (Rohloff 1972, 136) which suggests that Grocheio conceives of this type of music as essentially constructed, like the instruments themselves. Thus a discussion of musical building blocks such as beats, phrases, and cadences is entirely appropriate to a description of instrumental genres.

Like the literary/political agenda in Dante's *De Vulgaris* and the Provençal revival agenda of *Las Leys*, Grocheio's particular discussion of secular music stems from the Parisian clerical tradition of preaching and pedagogy. Yet Grocheio departs from his clerical predecessors in two significant ways: 1) by choosing seclar music as his primary pedagogical focus; 2) by using secular music as a tool for preaching moral good and as a standard of comparison. For the most part, Grocheio holds to an Aristotelian empiricism except for his reckoning of a genre's social function which betrays his pontifical motives. Grocheio's treatment of secular music becomes abstract, however, in the course of his discussion of ecclesiastical chant. Here Grocheio audaciously compares sacred chant to secular song, suggesting a dangerous transgression of boundaries. But significantly, Grocheio uses only three secular genres—*cantus coronatus, ductia, stantipes*—to compare with twelve important chants.

Table I.7: Grocheio's Ecclesiastica and Vulgaris Analogues

Chant	Song(s)	Terms of Comparison
Hymn	*cantus coronatus*	beautiful concords ornately ordered in the manner of a *cantus coronatus*
Antiphona	*cantus coronatus* or *stantipes*	often includes a *cauda* as is played on a *vielle* after a *cantus coronatus* or a *stantipes*
Kyrie and Gloria	*cantus coronatus*	sung slowly in perfect longs in the manner of a *cantus coronatus*
Responsory and Alleluia	*cantus coronatus* or *stantipes*	sung in manner of a *cantus coronatus* or *stantipes* so that devotion and humility will be established in the heart of the hearer
Sequence	*ductia*	leads them and makes them rejoice and receive correctly the words of the New Testament
Credo	*ductia*	lightly ascends and descends in the manner of a *ductia*
Offertorium	*ductia* or *cantus coronatus*	sung in the manner of a *ductia* or *cantus coronatus* so that the hearts of the faithful will be aroused to devout offering
Preface:	*ductia*	simple song with concords like a *ductia*
Pater Noster	*ductia* or *stantipes*	has two parts in the manner of the phrases (*puncti*) of *ductia* and *stantipes*
Communio	*ductia* or *stantipes*	closes the Mass in a like manner of the closed endings (*puncti clausi*) of *ductia* or *stantipes*

Grocheio's comparison of twelve chants to only three song types, and these often times doubled up, effectively and curiously levels the profile of secular music which he so industriously delineated earlier. What might be the

reasoning behind his distillation of secular music into these three genres? Either the social function or a musical property forms the point of comparison; both aspects are treated with equal significance. Although Grocheio could have used the other secular genres to create more obvious descriptive analogies (such as the *cantus gestualis* for *psalmus*, *rotunda* for *introit* or *cantus versiculatus* for *sequentia*), Grocheio uses instead the three secular genres that represent both vocal and instrumental music. Together these three genres encompass the most salient "generic" aspects of all music.

1) **Form**: *ductia* and *stantipes* (two parts, two endings)
2) **Melody**: *ductia* (ascends and descends)
3) **Virtuosity**: *stantipes* (awe inspiring, establishing humility)
4) **Beauty and Perfection**: *cantus coronatus* (beautiful concords, sung in perfect longs)[33]
5) **Persuasion**: *ductia* and *cantus coronatus* (leading to devout offering)

Grocheio approaches music as an early fourteenth-century Information Scientist (or "librarian" if you will) with a mission to gain control of music—to catalog, cross

---

[33] Perfection as it is manifested in the literal, or rather, the literally "figurative" sense—that is being sung in "perfect longs." Grocheio describes writing music as "*in figuras repraesentari*" (Rohloff 1972, 136). Thus to describe the *cantus coronatus* and the *Kyrie* and *Gloria* as being sung in "perfect longs" is to attribute both musical aesthetic perfection and literal perfection. Although Grocheio compares the slow tempos of *rotunda* to the *cantus coronatus*, he does not use the word *perfectis*.

reference (sacred and secular music), and make accessible a complex and powerful medium of communication. Genre, for Grocheio, represents an access point, or a point of reference. But Grocheio's treatise is also a sociological study of the "library patrons"—what people use what music, and to what music any given person should be directed. Grocheio writes at a time when literacy is on the rise, and when middle class intellectuals, such as himself, are becoming a powerful economic force with an investment in education and an interest in aspects of their vernacular culture. As he states in his introduction, he writes this treatise to meet the demands for knowledge of his "friends"—that is people like himself, consumers of books.

In this chapter I have presented six profiles of secular music as practiced around 1300—three from the twentieth century and three from the early fourteenth century. All six views stem from scholars and literati who have intellectualized about secular music and who take part in a scholastic tradition of analytical thought and authoritative description. The question remains to what extent such intellectual frameworks reflect the "state of the art" around 1300—that is, do any of these six views articulate the experience of the non-intellectualized practice of music. What experience of genre might the performers, composers, and consumers of music around 1300

have?

Scholars in the twentieth century face insurmountable dilemmas in pursuit of such historical reconstruction. The extant sources present a highly distorted, lop-sided and polarized view of secular musical life due to the nearly exclusive preservation of a single genre, the *grande chanson*. In order to fill in the gaps, these scholars used two problematic approaches. The "objective" formalistic analysis of secular music proposed by Gennrich/Reese on one hand equalized the various musical genres despite the manuscript situation, while on the other hand neglects the meaning and function of the music in the society that produced and consumed it. The "historically sensitive" analysis of Page and Stevens attempts to recover the social valences of secular music by paying attention to the manuscript situation and by relying on medieval writers such as Dante, Grocheio, and the various points of view represented in *Las Leys* as witnesses to the music-scape of the society at large. However, the tendency here is to be uncritical or insensitive to the situation of these medieval thinkers who, in their literary endeavors, express strong anxieties about the changing social and political situation in their various regions around 1300. Their impetus to write about music stems as much from a need to portray the "state of the state" or their own "state of mind" as to describe the "state of the art."

That said, we can still ask to what extend the three medieval writers do in fact describe a continuous musical "tradition?" All three medieval treatises show a consensus on two "generic" types:

1) the "noble" strophic song, which serves as an ideal song-type in form and ethos, and is referred to by the generic designation "song" (*chanson*, chanso, cantus) in all languages.

2) a "festive" refrain form, called by various names (*cantilena* by Dante, *dansa* in *Las Leys*, *rotunda* and *ductia* by Grocheio) and with a certain flexibility of form.

The explicit recognition of these two formal types by the medieval writers also betrays their historical consciousness. By 1300, the monophonic *chanson* type is no longer an influential or prevalent part of the musical landscape, but rather has become a part of musical and cultural history. The locus of musical creativity shifts in the fourteenth century to refrain forms and polyphony. These medieval writers are poised on the cusp of this change, looking forward by looking backward.

I have thus far discussed the various factors that have informed past and present-day evaluations of monophonic music that have led to rigid notions of generic and stylistic categories. However, within or despite the highly analytical intellectual environment of 1300, survive examples of monophonic secular music from this time that reflect concurrent notions of extreme generic and stylistic

flexibility. The practitioners of music, though literate, did not necessarily participate in the same medieval intellectual tradition as the treatise writers examined in this chapter. The rest of this dissertation will examine thirty-seven monophonic compositions that communicate notions of musical genre that are very distinct from those put forth by the six writers examined here. In the following chapters, I examine the various factors that informed the writing of monophonic music by ten anonymous composer/scribes who recorded their pieces sometime around 1300, in the available spaces of the thirteenth-century *chansonnier* fr.844. Their musical endeavors offer the best commentary on the "state" of monophonic music at the beginning of the fourteenth-century.

Chapter II

Descriptions: The Anthology, the Additions

The Contents of fr.844

The manuscript fr.844 transmits a number of distinct repertories of thirteenth-century music. A medieval table of contents, made prior to the compilation of the manuscript, reveals the planned inclusion of the following items, in the order listed.

1)   4   vernacular songs to the Virgin Mary
2) 428   *trouvère* songs
3) 51   *troubadour* songs
4) 49   motets
5)   3   *lais* (2 in Provençal)

The table of contents provides both the name of the poet or composer and the incipit of the poem.[1] The rubric *"Les motes"* distinguishes the fourth repertory from the rest. Spaces for rubrics appear, however, between the last song to the Virgin Mary and the name of the first *trouvère*, and also before the title of each *lai* at the end of the list. At present, the leaves of the MS appear bound in the wrong order and mixed with an unrelated collection of

---

[1] An attribution is provided for every *trouvère* song but not every *troubadour* song.

chansons (designated Mt). In 1938 Jean Beck published a
photo-facsimile of the MS that shows the order of the leaves
according to the table of contents. Eighteen folios
containing fifty-six pieces are missing, and the order of
the *trouvère* pieces in the manuscript does not strictly
follow the order of the table of contents; but the order of
the *troubadour* songs and the motets does follow it.[2]

The table of contents appears in a two-column format,
spanning four folios. None of the later contributors added
titles to this original list, and only a single correction
appears on f.4r, column 1, where the original scribe placed
the title "*Lautrier quant jors*" in the open space between
the columns adjacent to the title "*Lautrier pastore seort,*"
which appears in line with the rest of the list. Although
"*Lautrier pastore seort*" is not crossed out, "*Lautrier quant
jors*" appears to be a substitution or correction since
"*Lautrier pastore seort*" does not appear anywhere in the
manuscript and "*Lautrier quant jors*" appears in its place.[3]

---

[2] See Beck 1938, 2:203-5 for a list of missing folios
and pieces, and 1:xi-xxv for the restored order of the
manuscript and how it relates to the table of contents.

[3] A modern hand has appended the name Gilles d.
Beaumont to the end of the list followed by the folio number
49. Beck (1938, 2:2) believes that the Arabic folio numbers
date from the eighteenth century. The hand that added
Gilles d. Beaumont appears to be later—possibly from the
nineteenth or early twentieth century. Gilles d. Beaumont
does appear in the manuscript (Beck f.46r) preceding the
chanson "*Cil qui d'amors a dorite*" (f.46v). Neither the
song nor the composer appears in the table of contents.

Hendrik van der Werf (1984, 21) has noted that the compilers of fr.844 had an unusually precise plan for their anthology and that they must have had a majority of the pieces either in some written form or committed to memory before production began. In spite of the orderly and seemingly authoritative table of contents, many of the *chansons* appear under different authors in the body of the anthology. Thus the table of contents must have been written before the execution of the compilation, designed as a "wish list" rather than reflecting the contents of the anthology. The words for the songs of the planned corpus of the manuscript was written by a single scribe sometime between 1246 and 1277.[4] The scribe left many spaces for strophes and entire songs which were planned for but unavailable to him. Staves were drawn for every song, and notes entered by a single scribe, who left the staves of sixty-seven monophonic songs blank.

The manuscript contains three distinct layers of additions. The first layer consists of three songs added to the planned corpus by the original scribe. These songs appear fully integrated into the original collection of pieces in the manuscript and are to be reckoned as additions only

---

[4] See Everist 1989a, 184-5 for a discussion of the date based on heraldry of Robert d'Anjou.

because they are not accounted for in the table of contents.[5] The inclusion of the three songs does not constitute a layer of additions distinct from the production of the original corpus, but does signify an initial expansion of the planned collection.[6]

The second layer of additions, on the other hand, does not expand the collection as planned. Later hands added music to twenty-eight of the sixty-seven songs whose staves were left blank by the original scribe. All these additions were made with brown ink, which is common in the fourteenth-century manuscripts. The notation, however, is similar in shape and dimension to that of the original music scribe (Everist 1989a, 184). These twenty-eight additions can be divided into two groups based on the note-shapes the scribes used. Twenty-one pieces show a combination of puncta with long tails, comparable to a virga or long, and unmodified ligatures; seven show clearly differentiated longs and breves, and modified ligatures.[7] Both of vocabularies of

---

[5] See Beck 1938 2:1 xi-xxv. The pieces are: *Quant flours et glais* (R-Sp.1779) Beck f.31v, *Cil qui d'amors a droit* (R-Sp.245) Beck f.46v, and *Li miens chanters ne puet* (R-Sp.1813) Beck f.65v.

[6] It is possible that the incipits of these songs were accidentally omitted in the table of contents.

[7] Beck (1938 2:157-8) divided the twenty-eight additions into three groups that he characterized by features of notation: 1) "nota quadrata," which includes those pieces comprised of longs and unmodified ligatures, 2) "punctum divisionis," which includes those pieces in mensural notation, 3) "breves et longae," which includes pieces Beck felt were not as sophisticated in their mensural

note-shapes—"longs" and ligatures, and fully differentiated
mensural notation—stand out in comparison to the practices
of the original music scribe. The seven pieces that contain
modified ligatures must have been added sometime after 1280,
the approximate date of the treatise *Ars cantus mensurabilis*
of Franco of Cologne, in which such ligatures are described
and their rhythmic interpretation codified.[8] The *terminus
post quem* of 1280 for the seven mensural *chansons* thus
serves as a *terminus ante quem* for the twenty-one pieces
using longs.[9]

The third layer of additions consists of thirty-seven
monophonic pieces. This layer expands the planned
collection, and all the pieces use mensural notation with
modified ligatures. These thirty-seven pieces are scattered
throughout the *trouvère* and motet sections of the manuscript

---

notation as the "punctum divisionis" pieces. The "punctum
divisionis" and the "breves et longae" pieces, however,
share the use of modified ligatures and show no significant
differences in the vocabulary of note-shapes employed.

[8] In the twenty-one pieces in fr.844 that show "longs"
and ligatures, a reading of the ligatures modally yields a
nonsensical flow of rhythm. One must interpret the notation
of these pieces as following in the tradition of using
undifferentiated note-shapes to record *troubadour* and
trouvère songs.

[9] Van der Werf (1984, 22) noted that some of the
chansons with added melodies have concordances in other
sources and that, with one possible exception, the melodies
added to fr.844 have no relation to the melodies found for
the same poem
in the other sources. This fact could be interpreted as
evidence of a later date, unrelated traditions, or new com-
position.

(sections 2 and 4). Various hands have added both text and music either on folios that were ruled and left empty or partially empty by the original scribe, or on folios that were added. A number of immediately observable features distinguish this third layer from the second.

1) The dimension of the note-shapes are larger than those of the original corpus and the second layer.

2) Many do not adhere to the two-column format of the original corpus, but use staves that span the entire width of the page.

3) Many of the texts are written in a sloppy, cursive hand rather than the formal book hand employed by the original scribe.

Table II.1 below summarizes the three layers of additions with their distinguishing physical and notational traits.

Table II.1: Layers of Additions to fr.844

Layer	Number	Traits
1	3	added by original scribe between 1246-77; mensurally undifferentiated note-shapes, expands planned corpus.
2a	21	music added by later hand(s) to empty staves before ca. 1280; mensurally undifferentiated "longs" and unmodified ligatures; does not expand planned corpus [ff.18v, 19v, 23, 28, 28v, 32, 34v, 52, 60v, 61, 61v, 85, 86v, 132, 154, 156v(2), 157v, 160(2), 162]
2b	7	music added by later hand(s) to empty staves after ca. 1280; longs, breves, and modified ligatures; does not expand planned corpus [ff.22v, 61, 84v, 94v, 105, 142v, 161v,]
3	37	words and music added by later hands to empty staves and inserted leaves after ca. 1280; longs, breves, modified ligatures; expands planned corpus [See Table III.1]

The *troubadour* and *trouvère* repertory in fr.844, and the extant *troubadour* and *trouvère* repertory in general, is dominated by one form, called by several names: *grande chanson*, *grand chant* or *canso*. *Chanson* lyrics contain from two to seven strophes, each sung to the same music. The melodies of *chanson* typically show a two-part melodic pattern often described as A A B; the first part contains four phrases comprised of a two-phrase melodic unit and its literal repeat, the second part is of variable length and

may or may not contain melodic repetition. In contrast, the third layer of additions presents a wide variety of forms which either lie at the periphery of the troubadour and trouvère repertory, or do not figure in that repertory at all.[10]

    4 *rondeaux* (words in Old French)
    4 *virelais* (words in Provençal)
    2 *lais* (words in Old French)
    3 *descorts* (words in Provençal)
    8 pieces labeled '*estampies*' without words
    1 piece labeled '*dansse real*' without words
    1 unlabeled *estampie* without words
    1 piece labeled '*danse*' without words
    1 single stanza *pastourelle* (words in Old French)
    9 single stanza *motets entés*

Along with these thirty-four *unica*, three more *trouvère* *chansons* have been added, whose words have concordances and musical settings in other *chansonniers*. In fr.844, however, the three *chansons* appear with music that, in contrast to other extant settings, provides a unique melody for each strophe of the poem. Considering the variety of forms represented by the additions, it is surprising that Spanke mentioned only the *rondeaux* and *lais* in his call for an investigation of these additions (see the Introduction). Thus his suggestion takes on more urgency once all the additions are taken into account.

---

[10] The *descort* and *lai* are the only forms in the list cultivated by *troubadours* and *trouvères*, although not to the extent of the *grande chanson*. In addition the three *lais* found in the table of contents and at the end of the manuscript, seven *descorts* in Old French appear in the body of the anthology.

As previously mentions, some of the later contributors
to fr.844 added folios to the anthology in order to complete
an addition begun on an original folio, or to insert their
compositions in between songs of the original corpus. Beck
recognized that two folios of an inferior quality parchment
were inserted after f.170 (numbered as 170*bis* and 170*ter* by
Beck, which I will refer to as 170+ and 170++). Four more
pages may also have been added—5, 109, 204, and 209. Though
the quality of the parchment is the same as that of the
original corpus, no lacunae appear in the original corpus,
according to the medieval table of contents, to suggest that
the folios were intended to be filled by the original
scribe. Folios 5 and 204 were added so that songs begun on
the empty staves of an original folio could be completed;[11]
folios 109 and 209 both contain songs that occupy the entire
recto and verso sides of the leaves.[12] Three of the four
inserted folios—5, 204, and 209—do not disturb to order of
the *chansons* as given in the table of contents. Only f.109
appears at a point in the anthology where the order of the
chansons does not conform to the order given in the table of
contents. Nevertheless, the apparently missing *chansons*

---

[11] F.5 does not show the same dry-point ruling as the
pages of the original corpus.

[12] F.209, which contains the added *lai Ki de bons est*
(#28), follows the last page of the original corpus, f.208,
which completes the Provençal *lai* that appears as the last
item in the table of contents as well. Thus f.209 must have
been added later.

under the name Willaumes le Viniers in the table of contents (items 247-265) all appear in the body of the anthology under the name Audefrois li Bastars. Though out of sequence, no songs are actually missing, thus allowing for the possibility that f.109 was indeed added later to the MS.

The added of folios reveal the fact that the anthology was unbound for some time. Since the last folio, 209, must be an added leaf, and contains a composition clearly written in the fourteenth-century, one can reconstruct the probable scenario that all thirty-seven additions were made before the anthology was bound. Indeed, the MS may never have been bound in the correct order due to a shuffling of leaves by medieval hands. The MS does not appear in any registry or library until the middle of the seventeenth century when the MS appears in the library of Cardinal Mazarin.[13]

Scholarly Studies of the Additions to fr.844

At present no scholar has produced a comprehensive study or transcription of the contents of fr.844. The most extensive examination the manuscript to date remains the photofacsimile edition published with a volume of commentary

---

[13] See Everist 1989a, 181-2

by Jean and Louise Beck in 1938.[14] While admirable in its
successful presentation of the original order and number of
the folios and its thorough description of the contents, the
volume of commentary is plagued by misconceptions and
unsubstantiated hypotheses regarding the additions. Beck
believed, for example, that the second layer of additions
were made by the original scribe—despite the radically
different style of notation employed. Beck also believed
that the third layer of additions were "autographes" in the
sense that the words and music were entered directly into
the manuscript by the composers. Given the sloppiness of
some of the later entries, it may be true that the scribe
and the composer were one and the same. Beck, however,
makes no temporal or qualitative distinction between the
original corpus of songs in non-mensural notation, which are
attributed, and the mensural "autographes," all of which are
anonymous.

The manuscript has been inventoried and described by
various musicologists and philologists throughout the late
nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The following
discussion will consider only those studies that make some
mention of the third layer of additions.[15] The earliest
significant mention of the additions in the secondary

---

[14] The later reprints of this publication contain no
revisions.

[15] Those not considered in the following discussion are
Schwan 1886, Jeanroy 1918, Raynaud/Spanke 1955.

literature appears in Raynaud's 1883 collection and transcription of motet poems from thirteenth-century sources. In this collection Raynaud included twelve of the twenty-eight additions—the four *rondeaux*, and eight of the ten single stanza pieces—with no commentary as to his criteria. Pierre Aubry made a short study and transcription of the wordless and presumably instrumental pieces in his 1907 publication *Estampies et Danses Royales*, suggesting a *terminus ante quem* of 1325 based on the absence of minims (p. 12). Gennrich in his 1921 compilation of thirteenth-century *rondeaux*, *virelai*, and *ballades* included transcriptions of the four *rondeaux* and, in his 1958 companion collection of late thirteenth-century pieces in Provençal, Gennrich included the four *virelais*. In 1927 Gennrich published an anthology of refrains with melodies for which he extricated the quoted refrains from the ten single stanza additions. These early publications, with the exception of Aubry's monograph, were designed as anthologies rather than critical investigations, and thus do not include historical analyses of their items.

Ludwig, in his 1923 inventory of sources for the oldest layer of thirteenth-century motets, followed Raynaud in identifying the eight single stanza pieces as motet parts lacking tenors or tenor incipits. To the eight poems transcribed by Raynaud, Ludwig added the remaining two single stanza pieces. Beck's 1938 volume of commentary in-

cluded occasional transcriptions of the *chanson* texts, and in his section on the "autographe," pieces, only the words of two *lais* appear. Beck, however, did not identify the single stanza pieces as motet parts, but rather considered them to be novel monophonic forms. Spanke's (1947) review of Beck's publication provided an inventory of each gathering, comparing Beck's reordering of the folios to the actual state of the manuscript. In a separate section of his essay, Spanke included commentary and a few transcriptions of the poems for the mensural additions. Spanke gave the form and bibliography for each piece, and even attempted to date the handwriting. Unfortunately, Spanke followed Raynaud and Ludwig in identifying the ten single stanza pieces as motet parts.

The sporadic treatment and apparent neglect of these thirty-seven pieces in the literature on thirteenth-century music has resulted from the often opposing trends in scholarly thought that have arisen and solidified in the twentieth century. Twentieth-century scholars of thirteenth-century music fall into two camps: some focus on the monophonic repertory and others on the polyphonic repertory. The situation of the extant sources for thirteenth-century music, as discussed above, provides some justification for this division. The apparently contemporaneous segregation of the repertories has re-enforced a segregation of scholarly purviews.

In the second half of the twentieth century, references
to and transcriptions of the third layer of additions have
appeared primarily as adjuncts to examinations of the motet
or *trouvère* repertories preserved in the manuscript.
Theodore Karp's 1984 article "Three Trouvère Chansons in
Mensural Notation" concerns specifically two *lais* from the
third layer of additions. Karp's selection, however, was
predicated on the assumption that the musical form and poems
of these two *lais* (both unica) can be related securely to
older examples of the genre within the *trouvère* repertory.
Hendrik van der Werf's 1984 transcriptions of the extant
troubadour melodies and Mark Everist's monograph on the
sources for thirteenth-century polyphony (1989a) provide two
useful but cursory descriptions of the second and third
layers of additions, but do not venture into any discussion
of the issues that their presence in the manuscript
provokes. In his 1992 article "A Unique and Remarkable
Trouvère Song," Hans Tischler published a useful transcrip-
tion of the re-written *trouvère chanson Quant je voi plus
felons* (#18, R-Sp.1503). Unfortunately in his brief
analysis of the piece, Tischler does not consider the
circumstance of the addition itself, but rather offers the
mensuralized *chanson* as evidence for his opinion that all
"late medieval monophonic songs" were "metric-rhythmic in
concept" (p. 110). In his 1982 edition of all early thir-
teenth-century motets, Tischler included the ten single

stanza pieces without comment, thus implying that he agreed with the traditional view that these pieces are motet parts.

Scholarly Interpretations of Late Thirteenth-Century Music

The thirteenth century saw a rapid development of polyphonic forms and precise rhythmic notation, as well as a sudden interest in book production and the preservation of older musical repertories. Thus thirteenth-century musical sources provide a rich but tangled array of current and retrospective forms, genres, and notational practices. Polyphonic French motets and monophonic *troubadour* and *trouvère* songs represent two seeming musical poles: motets are a new genre, with precisely measured rhythmic values, undergoing constant development; *troubadour* and *trouvère* songs are a genre at least a century old by the time of the first anthologies, persistently notated in undifferentiated note-shapes, and whose development and cultivation had declined markedly. Intersecting these two repertories is the elusive and largely unwritten repertory of "dance" songs whose characteristic use of structural repetition and association with dancing have led scholars to assume that these pieces were measured. Repetition schemes associated with "dance" songs and fourteenth-century *formes fixes* appear in both monophonic and polyphonic forms beginning in

the late thirteenth-century.

The anthologies of *troubadour* and *trouvère* songs began to appear around 1250—about the same time as the compilation of F, the largest extant collection of Notre Dame polyphony and early Latin motets. In most cases, manuscripts preserving *troubadour* and *trouvère chansons* do not preserve motets, and vice versa. The manuscript fr.844 and a few other *chansonniers* (including fr.12615, a manuscript closely related to fr.844) are exceptional in their inclusion of polyphony. Furthermore, the motet repertory is mostly anonymous, whereas the majority of monophonic *chansons* are attributed. Only the names of Adam de la Halle (fl. 1290) and Jehan de Lescurel (fl. 1300) are attatched to both monophony and polyphony.

Despite this segregation, scholars in the early twentieth century, such as Pierre Aubry and Jean Beck, attempted to transfer the procedures for reading modal rhythm, associated with the earliest motets, to the repertory of monophonic *chanson*. The use of such procedures with regard to monophony gained support from the handful of *chansons* that survive in mensural notation. For the most part, however, these scholars produced transcriptions that grafted modal rhythm onto a notation which was clearly not modal.

Scholarship in the second half of the twentieth century focussed increasingly on the rhythmic dilemma of the

troubadour and *trouvère* repertory. The work of Hendrik van der Werf, John Stevens, and Christopher Page has attacked and discredited the entrenched belief that the *troubadour* and *trouvère* repertory utilized modal rhythm. Stevens and Page in particular have gone one step further and hypothesized an association between rhythmic practices of performance and contemporaneously operating concepts of genre and their specific stylistic registers. The most compelling evidence which supports such a hypothesis is in the various notational practices used by a scribe in the MS fr.25566. This MS contains a collection of monophonic and polyphonic pieces by Adam de la Halle as well as the *romance Renart le Nouvel*, which contains fully notated refrains—hypothetically from dance songs—interpolated into the text. In this MS, one and the same scribe used undifferentiated note-shapes for the monophonic *chansons*, and mensural notation for the polyphony and the interpolated refrains. From this evidence Stevens concludes that the persistent use of undifferentiated note-shapes for Adam's *chanson* despite the availability of mensural notation reflects a categorical distinction between genres which utilize mensural rhythm and those which do not. Thus a new scholarly understanding of the *troubadour* and *trouvère* repertoire as essentially non-modal and non-mensural arose. As a consequence, however, clearly mensuralized monophonic pieces, such as the thirty-seven additions to fr.844, have come to be considered as

peripheral and inconsequential to an understanding of the
art and aesthetic of monophonic song.

While Stevens and Page move toward a solidification of
notions of genre and stylistic register, both in their
scholarship and in their projection backwards onto thir-
teenth-century thought, the recent work of Everist regarding
the thirteenth-century motet repertory has moved in the
opposite direction—tearing down the myriad generic
subcategories of the thirteenth-century motet that had been
"recognized" and often times constructed by Gennrich, Lud-
wig, and others. One such category, *motet enté*, does have
some legitimacy since the term appears as a rubric in
several thirteenth-century sources, although it is not at
all clear whether the term refers to monophony or polyphony.
In at least one of the sources the rubric is followed by
monophonic pieces.

The defining characteristic of *motets entés* is the ap-
pearance of a two-line refrain that has been split so that
the first line appears at the beginning and the second line
appears at the end. Despite the ambiguities of the term
"*motet enté*" Ludwig, Gennrich, and their followers have con-
sidered monophonic pieces that show this construction to be
motet voices somehow severed from their tenors. Nine single
stanza pieces among the additions to fr.844 do show this
split-refrain construction and have been consistently
labeled as *motets entés* in the secondary literature.

As previously mentioned, the recent scholarship of Everist has challenged the usefulness of such generic categories for understanding the thirteenth-century motet. Unfortunately Everist's solution is to wipe out all such categories because of their ambiguity—even those, such as *motet enté*, that have legitimacy. I would argue that the category "*motet enté*," precisely because of its ambiguity, offers an entry for an investigation of the relationships among motets, *chansons*, and dance songs.

Chapter III

Handwriting and Production: Adding to fr.844

The original corpus of music visually communicates
careful, consistent, and single-minded production. The
thirty-seven additions, by contrast, present a wide variety
of distinct "personalities" conveyed by handwriting, format,
and production procedures. Most of these scribes made no
attempt to produce and record compositions that visually or
aurally resembled those of the original corpus. Thus the
additions convey a sense of scribal volition born from a
desire to create and record, and to exercise (musical)
literacy. Because of the element of scribal volition
communicated by the additions, an examination of the
appearance of these compositions can help us under-
stand—indeed piques our curiosity about—the musical
attitudes and environment which inspired these compositions.
What happened to fr.844 after the original music scribe
ceased his dealings with the manuscript? Did the manuscript
travel, or did it spend time in a center of musical activity
where various literate musicians had access to the
manuscript, the materials, and the compunction to write?

The purpose of studying the handwriting of the scribes
who entered the thirty-seven additions is not necessarily to

establish a chronology of events, at best hypothetical, but rather to investigate possible correspondences between genre and scribal production procedures. The visual appearance of each composition or group of compositions provokes questions as to 1) whether scribe knew in advance the piece or the kind of piece he was to add; that is, whether he had any exemplars or models; 2) whether the entering of certain pieces represents direct composition; 3) and ultimately, whether some notion of genre played a part in the selection and preservation of these pieces.

An examination of the scripts and the ink color of the additions reveals that at least ten hands recorded the thirty-seven pieces. Table III.1 shows the thirty-seven additions in folio order; Table III.2 shows the additions grouped according to scribal hand. The pieces within each group seem to me to have been recorded by the same hand, or hands whose characteristics are so close as to be practically indistinguishable. Other aspects of the entries, such as the use of Provençal lyrics, the predilection for certain genres or forms, and details of production (I am defining production as the plans and actions executed to produce a physical record of a composition) correlate with and thus corroborate my proposed grouping.[1]

---

[1] In Table III.1, the numbers with a v = verso; + and ++ etc. indicate added pages according to Beck.

Table III.1: The Additions in Folio Order

Scribe	Fol.	Add.#	Incipits	Genre
9	3	1	U despit des envieus	Rondeau
1	3v	2	Donna pos vos ay chausida	Virelai
2	3v	3	Pos qu'ieu vey la fualla	Virelai
3	4v	4	J'aim bele dame	Motet enté
3	4v	5	[Dorme cuer ou]	Motet enté
3	5	6	Hé très douce amouretes	Motet enté
3	5	7	L'autrier lés une fontaine	Pastourelle
5	5v	8	Bone amourete m'a souspris	Motet enté
6	5v	9	Vous le deffendés l'amer	Motet enté
7	6v	10	J'ai un chapelet d'argent	Motet enté
7	6v	11	Trop ai esté lonc	Rondeau
6	7	12a-b	[Estampie] and Danse	Estampies
6	7v	13	Joliement du cuer, du cuer	Motet enté
8	7v	14	J'ai bele dame amée	Rondeau
9	7v	15	Se je chant et sui	Rondeau
10	41	16	La plus noble emprise	Lai
1	109	17	Bella donna cara	Descort
7	129	18	Quant je voi plus felons	R-Sp.1503
5	145v	19	Se j'ai chanté sans	R-Sp.1789
1	170	20	Qui la ve en ditz	Descort
1	+170	21	Ben volgra s'esser poges	Virelai
1	+170v	22	Sens alegrage	Descort
2	++170v	23	Amors m'art con fuoc am	Virelai
2	176v	24a-d	Four Estampies	Estampies
8	177v	24e-i	Estampies and Dansse real	Estampies
6	203	25	A mon pooir ai servi	R-Sp.1081
3	204v	26	Jolietement m'en vois	Motet enté
4	204v	27	J'aim loiaument en espoir	Motet enté
10	209	28	Ki de bons est	Lai

Table III.2: The Additions Grouped by Scribe

Scribe	Fol.	Add.#	Incipits	Genre
1	109	17	Bella donna cara	Descort
	170	20	Qui la ve en ditz	Descort
	+170	21	Ben volgra s'esser poges	Virelai
	+170v	22	Sens alegrage	Descort
	3v	2	Donna pos vos ay chausida	Virelai
2	3v	3	Pos qu'ieu vey la fualla	Virelai
	++170v	23	Amors m'art con fuoc am	Virelai
	176v	24a-d	Four Estampies	Estampies
3	4v	4	J'aim bele dame amée	Motet enté
	4v	5	[Dorme cuer ou]	Motet enté
	5	6	Hé très douce amouretes	Motet enté
	5	7	L'autrier lés une fontaine	Pastourelle
	204v	26	Jolietement m'en vois	Motet enté
4	204v	27	J'aim loiaument en espoir	Motet enté
5	5v	8	Bone amourete m'a souspris	Motet enté
	145v	19	Se j'ai chanté sans	R-Sp.1789
6	5v	9	Vous le deffendés l'amer	Motet enté
	7	12a-b	[Estampie] and Danse	Estampies
	7v	13	Joliement du cuer, du cuer	Motet enté
	203	25	A mon pooir ai servi	R-Sp.1081
7	6v	10	J'ai un chapelet d'argent	Motet enté
	6v	11	Trop ai esté lonc	Rondeau
	129	18	Quant je voi plus felons	R-Sp.1503
8	7v	14	J'ai bele dame amée	Rondeau
	177v	24e-i	Estampies and Dansse real	Estampies
9	3	1	U despit des envieus	Rondeau
	7v	15	Se je chant et sui	Rondeau
10	41	16	La plus noble emprise	Lai
	209	28	Ki de bons est	Lai

Table III.2 shows my suggested reconstruction of the temporal sequence and chronology based on model scripts,

degrees of formality, and apparent events.[2] My working hypothesis is that each scribe began his search first for an adequate space to record his piece(s) at the beginning of the anthology. Early contributors to the MS would have searched for a place not too obtrusive to the original layout or design of the book. Here I am assuming that features of a hand which show a sensitivity to the format and formality of the original corpus indicates an earlier dating, and that sloppiness indicates a depreciation of the book and its contents over time. By this logic, early additions will appear more often as the first or second compositions on a page, thus filling leaves left empty by the original compilers. As space becomes scarce, later contributors will add pieces at the end of nearly filled pages. Exceptions to this hypothetical reconstruction of events, as well as anomalous production procedures raise questions as to the motivation, intent, and forethought lying behind the efforts of the various scribes.

The most persistent procedural anomaly is, however, the initial ruling of the folio prior to the entry of the words. In the production of the great *chanson* anthologies, a first scribe entered the words of the opening strophe, allowing room for the ruling of the staves. The remaining strophes

---

[2] I will be following the definitions of M. B. Parkes (1969, xxvi) with regard to terms *script* and *hand*. "A *script* is the model which the scribe has in his mind's eye when he writes, whereas a *hand* is what he actually puts down on the page."

follow the initial strophe, written as prose with dots separating one verse from the next. Finally a second "music scribe" entered the notes on the staves. Typically, only the initial strophe receives music. Throughout fr.844, *troubadour* and *trouvère* chansons appear in various stages of production and provide evidence for the standard procedure. For example, only the words of the first three strophes for the chanson *D'amours vient joie et honours* by Vidames de Chartres are preserved in fr.844 (f.14). The first scribe left space on the folio for additional strophes which were never added. Neither staves nor music was provided. Another *chanson*, *L'an que fine fueille et flor* by Me Sire Gasse (f.23v) shows the entry of six strophes plus the *envoi*, and the entry of staves but no notes. Occasionally in the *trouvère* section, and frequently in the *troubadour* section, staves and music were entered for the initial strophe despite the unexecuted intention of the first scribe to enter more strophes.

In contrast to the standard procedure of *chansonnier* production, many of the later contributors to the MS began by ruling the folio with four and five line staves. Evidence for this lies in the phenomenon of excessive ruling (and the utilization of the excess staves by later contributors) as well as two examples of insufficient ruling indicates a number important aspects. From such misrulings, it follows that the scribe did not have a written exemplar,

and so miscalculated the song's length. Thus the scribe was writing from memory or perhaps composing <u>just prior</u> to recording the piece, or <u>as</u> he recorded the piece in the MS. The ruling of the page prior to the entry of the words also implies a shift in the conceptualization of the piece. The MSS which preserve the *trouvère* and *troubadour* repertory show that the poetry was given primacy over the music. This can be surmised by the number of extant lyrics that exceed the number of extant melodies, and by anthologies of lyrics that do not provide space for music. The provision of staves prior to the entry of the words marks an important shift in the conception of the salient aspects of the recorded song. For most of the later contributors to fr.844, a song necessarily implied music, not just a lyric poem. Thus the procedures for adding a song into the MS began with the provision for staves.

The thirty-seven additions show a range of production that can be placed on a continuum. At one end lies the carefully executed placement of pieces in a two-column format, recorded in a formal book hand with ruled red staves, and a fully executed initial. At the other end of the continuum lie pieces that show hand-drawn staves in brown ink, cursive script, and simple initials in place of decorated initials; these are the pieces that appear to have been carelessly recorded, and may represent direct composition.

The emergence of a faster cursive writing in book production began early in the thirteenth century and was often combined with aspects of the then developing gothic "textura" script, resulting in a wide variety of hybrid scripts. Other features involve national styles or scribal training; monastic hands, for instance, tend toward heavier calligraphic scripts, whereas curial, notarial and scholastic hands tend toward faster cursive forms. Such factors must be taken into account in an interpretation of the various hands. These hybrid scripts can be placed more easily on a continuum of formality than on one of chronology; still, a comparison with dated manuscripts exhibiting a similar scripts will provide a range of possible dates for these entries.[3] The following sections presents a description of the salient characteristics of the each of the ten scribal hands, as well as the degree of production shown in each piece.

Scribe 1

Scribe 1 recorded four *descorts* and one *virelai*—all with Provençal verses. The five pieces are recorded on red staves with dark to medium brown ink used for the words and notes. The four *descorts* reproduce the four-line staves and

---

[3] See Parkes (1980, xiv).

two-column format of the original corpus, and also feature fully produced, two-tone initial letters. Although of a different style and color scheme than the initials of the original corpus, the decorated initials complete a four-stage production (staves, words, music, initials). Two leaves of inferior parchment (ff.+170 and ++170) were added for the completion of the second *descort Qui la ve en ditz* (#20) and the addition of two more *Ben volgra s'esser* (#21) and *Sens alegrage* (#22).

The usual order of events is first the entry of the words, followed by the ruling of the staves and finally the entry of the music. The fact that the staves were ruled before the words were entered in the case of scribe 1 is made obvious by the extra staves following the end of his entries. In the case of *Ben volgra s'esser* the scribe had to add the remaining strophes between the lines of the obviously preexisting staves. This reversal of production stages raises the question as to whether the scribe(s) knew ahead of time what piece were to be entered. Did they have an exemplar? Did they have any plan at all? It is particularly curious in the case of these first additions since they represent the most highly produced entries aside from the original corpus. These questions will be taken up at various times throughout this dissertation.

In contrast, the *virelai Donna pos vos* (#2) was not written in the two-column format but rather across the page

on red five-lines staves. Nor does this *virelai* show a
fully produced initial, but rather a modest initial that
uses the small space between the capital and the ensuing
letter. The more casual recording of this piece suggests a
later entry, while its position at the beginning of the
codex suggests an early entry. Other details of handwriting
inconsistent with the four *descorts* suggests the possibility
of another hand very close in style to the scribe of the
descorts. I suggest that the *descorts*, which show the most
convincing attempt to blend with the format of the original
corpus, were entered first. The *descorts* also represent an
older and perhaps more venerable genre.[4]

A comparison of *Qui la ve en ditz*, which starts in the
right column following the *trouvére* song that ends in the
left column, immediately demonstrates the similarity of the
scripts. Both scripts show minute, angular letters with
tight or compact spacing that bespeak a formal Gothic
textura script. Each letter is formed from a series of
similar but discrete strokes (minims), and many letters
appear fused together.[5] The text of the original corpus and
the five pieces added by Scribe 1 show a mid thirteenth-
century form of the letter **"a"**, with a minimal top loop, and

---

[4] *Virelai* forms appear in the thirteenth-century
Spanish *Cantiga* and Italian *Lauda* repertories, but do not
make a strong showing in French vernacular repertory until
the fourteenth century.

[5] See Nesbitt 1957, 36-49; Shailor 1991, 30-5; Parkes
1980, xiv-xix.

"t", for which the horizontal bar lies just below the top of
the ascender. Both the scribe of the original corpus and
the scribe of these five pieces use the upright **"s"**
predominantly, although the round **"s"** appears occasionally
in the final position in the five additions—a tendency
indicative of late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century
practice. Several other late thirteent hand early four-
teenth century traits distinguish the hand of Scribe 1 from
that of the original scribe. These are: the dotting of the
letter **"i"** with a hair line, the frequent two-stroke,
figure-eight **"g"**, and split or trailing ascenders for the
letters **"b,"** **"l,"** and **"h."**[6]

Scribe 2

The second group of six additions—two *virelais* with
Provençal lyrics, and four *estampies*—were added in close
proximity to the first group of additions. The two *virelais*
appear in the blank staves ruled but left unused by Scribe
1, and the *estampies* appear in the "next available space,"
on the folios which follow the added leaves. All six
additions are written in light brown ink and begin with
simple initials rather than fully executed, decorated

---

[6] The *virelai Donna pos vos ay*, shows more exaggerated
split ascenders perhaps occasioned by the greater amount of
space provided for the words on f.3v.

initials. The handwriting of scribe 2 is close to that of scribe 1, but with the a number distinguishing features. In general the strokes are softer and more rounded (compare column a with column b on folio ++170v). Scribe 2 most often uses a Carolingian single-loop **"a"** and occasionally the figure-eight **"g"**, making equal use, however, of the curved and upright **s** in final position. The verticals for the letters **"b,"** **"l,"** and **"h"** are high but unsplit.

The spatial proximity of the first two groups of additions, along with their similarity in script, and use of Provençal, suggests a chronological proximity in their entry. It seems likely that scribe 2 added his pieces shortly after scribe 1, not only taking advantage of the preexisting staves, but also taking care to attach his pieces to the small core of previously added pieces rather than utilizing other more distant available space. Furthermore, as might be expected, the degree of production has lessened with this second group of additions as the lack of decorated initials indicates. However, the staves added for the *estampies* were ruled in red, thus implying at least three stages of production (staves, words or titles, and music).

Scribes 3 and 4

The next two contributors to the MS added a total of six "single stanza" pieces with Old French words. All six appear on red five-line staves ruled in two columns, comparable to the format of the original corpus. Five line staves were commonly used to record polyphonic motets and conductus in late thirteenth-century and fourteenth-century collections, but not monophony. The majority of the additions, however, show five-line staves. Scribe 3 intended at least two of his additions (*Hé très douce amouretes* and *L'autrier lés une fontaine*), to receive decorated initials. For these, scribe 3 left space and instructions, although the initials were never executed. The remaining four complete pieces show monochrome, modestly decorated initials made with a brown pen but placed a small distance away from the first vowel, thus giving the impression of a separate "initialing" stage of production.

The handwriting of scribe 3 and 4 differ considerably from that of the first two scribes. These later entries show well spaced, rounded letters with modest ascenders and descenders that bend right, and occasionally trail off in hair-line serifs. The handwriting of scribe 3 is more casual and exhibits a combination of early cursive and calligraphic traits. His letter **"a"** shows a large top loop that occasionally extends above the horizontal level of the

other letters, or closes completely to form two chambers. The final and internal letter **"t"** is connected to the preceding letter with an approach stroke. The general impression of this hand is one of careful but less uniform or regular strokes. By comparison, the handwriting of scribe 4, who added his single piece on f.204v in the staves left empty by scribe 3, shows a greater degree of formality. The script of *J'aim loiaument en espoir* is compact and small, and carefully maintains upper and lower horizontal levels. Both scribes consistently use a figure-eight **"g,"** and the curved **"s"** in final position. Finally, both scribes distinguish the **"f"** from the upright **"s"** with a pronounced horizontal stroke for the former and a "thorn" at left of shaft for the latter.

A comparable hybrid gothic/cursive script appears manuscript dated 1286 from Ghent (MS Douai, Biblioteca Municipal, ms. num. 639).[7] The form of the **"a," "f,"** and the softer minims of the **"m"** and **"n"** are particularly close between the Ghent MS and the hand of scribe 3. In contrast to the original scribe of fr.844, the scribe of the Ghent MS and scribe 3 frequently use the abbreviations **"z"** for *et* and a **"p"** with a stroke through the descender for *par*. Another manuscript dated 1286, from Paris (Brussels, Biblioteca Real, Ms. num. II, 934, II, f.35), shows a hand comparable

---

[7] Canellas 1974, plate LI. Canellas labels this script *gotica notular* and describes it as without a defined style (p. 52).

to that of scribe 4.[8] Both hands are tightly compressed,
with more angular, well-defined strokes—particularly similar
are the gothic two-stroke "**r**," the angular "**o**" and "**e**," and
the ligated "**de**." Thus the year 1286 marks an approximate
terminus post quem for the entries of scribe 3 and 4 judging
on the basis of script alone. The tendencies shown in the
hand of scribe 4 can be found in manuscripts of the early
fourteenth century as well,[9] but I have not been able to
find another example of a script that matches the hand of
scribe 3 as closely as the example from Ghent.

Scribe 5

Scribe 5 entered two continuous melody songs on two
blank verso pages. The *motet enté Bone amourete m'a
souspris* (#8) follows the four additions entered by scribe
4. As discussed in Chapter II, f.5 on which *Bone amourete
m'a souspris* was added may have been added by scribe 3 to
complete his entries. The leaf shows no entries by the
original scribe, nor signs of the dry-point ruling char-
acteristic of the original leaves. *Bone amourete* was
entered in three stages: first the ruling of the five-line

---

[8] See Canellas 1974, plate XLVII. Canellas calls this
script *gotica textual redonda*.

[9] See Canellas 1974, plate XLVIII of a MS dated circa
1310 from Oxford.

staff in red; then the entry of the words beginning with a
simple capital; and finally entry of the notes. Several
staves were left blank by scribe 5 and later filled by
scribe 6.

Se j'ai chanté sans (#19) appears on the verso of an
original leaf (f.145). In contrast to *Bone amourete m'a
souspris* (#8), the words were added first in two columns
before the ruling of the red four-line staves, as made
evident by the fact that the ruling of the staves terminates
with the completion of the verse. Furthermore, the lower
right hand corner of the page is left blank and unruled.
The typical production procedures suggests that the scribe
was more familiar with this piece than with *Bone amourete
m'a souspris*. Indeed, *Se j'ai chanté sans* is a *chanson* by
the *trouvère* Robert du Chastel, transmitted in more than ten
MSS. Here scribe 5 wrote out two strophes of the *chanson*,
and provided each with new music. The visual appearance of
this addition suggests somewhat curious circumstances. The
normal production procedures suggest that this scribe knew
or had an exemplar for the piece he was adding. In contrast
to most of the other additions, scribe 5 knew exactly how
much of the poem was to be set before the staves were ruled.
Thus the scribe was familiar with the most unfamiliar aspect
of the piece—that is, he knew that the two strophes would
receive different music. This aspect of *Se j'ai chanté sans*
stands in contradistinction with all the other versions of

this *trouvère chanson*, and the *trouvère* repertory as a whole. To further confuse matters, another hand entered the words of two strophes of *Se j'ai chanté sans* on f.143v—two leaves before the notated entry of the same. Folio 143v was never ruled for music, and the script is considerably more casual than that of addition *Se j'ai chanté sans*.[10] Given the fact that the excessive ruling for *Bone amourete m'a souspris* implies that scribe 5 recorded that piece from memory, it follows that the precise ruling for *Se j'ai chanté sans* implies a written exemplar. I posit that the written exemplar for *Se j'ai chanté sans* was the two stanzas entered on f.143v. Of course there is no way of knowing whether the two scribes had the same music in mind, but the coincidence of the same stanzas plus the proximity of the two additions suggest that with *Se j'ai chanté sans*, scribe

---

[10] In contrast to handwriting of scribe 5 on f.145v, the same two stanzas written on f.143v is written in a very small, narrow, and compact script. The letters are imprecisely and inconsistently formed—sometimes cursive, sometimes separate. The scribe seems to have been unfamiliar with the piece, as evidenced by several attempts to correct his mistakes. For the first strophe the scribe maintained a left-hand margin with the exception of the penultimate word. The scribe originally wrote "*sont douz amour*" rather than "*sont douz sanz amour*" and then corrected his error by adding "*sanz*" in the margin. The scribe then proceeded to write the first line of the second strophe, thus failing to distinguish the second strophe from the first. Having realized his error, the scribe crossed-out the words and rewrote the opening line of the second strophe on a new line. Later in the second strophe, the scribe erased almost a full line of verse (see the first line of column B). The scribe's unfamiliarity not only with the verse, but also with the strophic construction of the verse, implies that the scribe was attempting to record a piece for which he had no models; in other words, a "new" genre.

5 was completing the intention of an earlier contributor, and that the intentions of the earlier scribe sufficiently matched the knowledge and intention of scribe 5.[11]

Several features distinguish the hand of scribe 5. Every letter is formed carefully with thick, soft lines that have a uniform light brown color. The scribe consistently uses the letter **"k"** to stand for the **"qu"**, e.g. *ke*, *ki*, and *kil*, and he used two forms of the letter **"a;"** the single chambered **"a"** often appears alone and preceding the letter **"m,"** while the **"a"** with top loop appears in most other cases. The ascender of the **"d"** is short and severely angled left, whereas, the ascenders for the **"b,"** **"l,"** and **"h,"** are

---

[11] Despite their contrasting degree of formality, it can be argued that the two hands that recorded the verse *Se j'ai chanté sans* are coeval. Folio 122 from the MS Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 2395 (see Thomson, plate 67), written in Naples in 1289, shows a comparable discrepancy of coeval scripts. The main text is a compact gothic book hand whereas the marginalia is written in a notarial cursive script. Here, as with the two entries of *Se j'ai chanté sans*, the contrasting scripts lie on a synchronic rather than diachronic continuum of formality.

Another interpretation of events might be that the text on f.143v represents a later entry, copied from the model on f.145. There copying errors would have resulted in the scribe not correctly remembering the lines as he flipped from one page to the next. The music to be added would have distinguished the two versions. This situation would imply a measure of competition—of intentional rewriting for intended comparison. I believe this scenario to be less likely, however, primarily because the presumed competitive impulse to rewrite the music was subsequently not strong enough to be fulfilled. The eliding of the second strophe with the first also seems an impossible mistake if the model were indeed addition *Se j'ai chanté sans* because the second strophe is clearly marked with an elaborate capital. Furthermore, the text on f.143v does not use the **"k"** but rather **"qu"** for words such as *que* and *qu'il*.

straight and with little or no calligraphic serifs. Both the **f** and the upright **s** are formed by a vertical stroke and a horizontal stroke which protrudes at a distinctive ninety-degree angle from the top of the vertical line.

The handwriting style of scribe 5 shows a strong Italian influence manifested in a retention of the Carolingian rounded, well-spaced, and strongly horizontal letter-shapes.[12] Examples of such traits appear in Italian manuscripts that date from the mid-thirteenth-century to the first quarter of the fourteenth century. A Bolognese manuscript dating from 1241 (Oxford, Lat.th.b.4, main text hand) provides an early example of a script that compares to that of scribe 5.[13] Both show thick, rounded minims, minimal ascender and descenders with no serifs, and similar ninety-degree horizontal strokes capping the "**f**" and the upright "**s**." A later Bolognese MS written in 1322 (Oxford, Laud Misc. 651, f.51) attests to the persistence of these characteristics into the fourteenth century.[14] The compact, rounded and strongly horizontal features associated with Italian scripts do occasionally appear in manuscripts originating from France. One such manuscript (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica, Vat. lat. 162, f.91) was produced in

---

[12] See Nesbitt 1957, 64-67 and Whalley 1984, 21.

[13] See Watson 1984, 2: plate 105.

[14] See Watson 1984, plate 164.

Paris in 1329.[15]   The evidence of the script that points to
an origin of *Bone amourete m'a souspris* and *Se j'ai chanté
sans* in Italy or Southern France conflicts with the spelling
(i.e. the occasional use of **"k"** for **"qu"**) and the Old French
lyrics that are closely linked with the Northern *trouvére*
tradition.[16]   Thus it is possible that our scribe 5 was
indeed from Northern France but was professionally
influenced by Italian prehumanistic styles of writing.

So far the handwriting of scribes 1 through 5 discussed
above have been of a professional caliber, although not
rigidly formal.   The letters are by-and-large discrete with
occasional cursive junctures.   The stages of production have
included the execution of a decorated initial or at least an
elaborate capital.   In contrast, the next group of scribes
(6 through 9) tend toward cursive, informal and, in the case
of scribe 9, unprofessional jottings.   These four scribes
wrote in a style often called *"lettre bâtarde."*   This script
can be best described as a literary cursive or a cursive
Gothic.   Varieties and hierarchies of this utilitarian
script abound;[17] however, a notable characteristic of this

---

[15] See Thomson 1969, plate 16.

[16] The verse of *Bone amourete m'a souspris* uses a
refrain whose words and melody appears in a *rondeau* of Adam
de la Halles.   See Chapter VI

[17] See M. B. Parkes 1980, xiv.   Parkes notes:
"Eventually the varieties of cursive usurped the functions
of other scripts in the copying of all kinds of books and

style script is the blotchiness of the upright **"s"** and **"f"** caused by the scribe bearing down on the quill, and an overall shaded and speckled effect.[18]

Scribe 6

Scribe 6 added a total of five pieces to the manuscript—two single stanza pieces, two wordless pieces, and one *trouvére chanson* for which, like *Se j'ai chanté sans*, each strophe receives a new musical setting. The words are written in a light brown ink. The two 'single stanza' pieces are written across the page whereas the instrumental pieces and the through-composed *trouvère chanson* are written in a two-column format. The handwriting of scribe 6 shows strong cursive tendencies: the letters **"m," "n," "i,"** and **"u,"** are made in one fluid stroke (as opposed to the joining of discrete minims), and the ascender of the **"d"** loops around to form the following letter. The **"s"** in final position is also a closed figure-eight or made with a closed lower loop and an open upper loop (as in the number 6: see *A mon pooir ai servi* (#25) for instances of

---

documents. Some of these varieties lost their cursive nature, but all of them betray their cursive origin in the shapes of the letter forms and in the character of their calligraphy."

[18] See Nesbitt 1957, 48;

the latter). Many of the letters also show calligraphic effects. The initial and final **"m,"** **"z,"** **"g,"** **"h,"** and **"y"** show descenders with serifs that curve right while his letters **"b,"** **"l,"** and **"h"** show ascenders with serifs that curve left.

One unusual characteristic in *Vous le deffendés l'amer* is the occasional appearance of a simplified letter **"a"** based on the capital form and made with a single figure-eight stroke. The top loop is formed first with an ascending line that doubles around to form a lower loop. The absence of this form of the letter **"a"** does not preclude the grouping of *Vous le deffendés l'amer* with the other three examples of this hand. The handwriting of a single scribe writing in the same MS may show radical swings between a most formal and calligraphic script to an economical and irregular cursive script. Parkes (1969, 21) presents a series of three plates taken from a fifteenth-century MS (ff.1v, 2v, 30v in London: Society of Antiquaries. MS. 223) to illustrate this point. The first plate in the series shows a calligraphic book-hand using carefully formed and spaced letters with occasional broken strokes. Here the scribe used the more formal single-looped **"a."** In the third plate, however, the scribe abandoned all attempts at calligraphy and formality, resorting to a sprawling, irregular cursive, and utilizing the capital form of the letter **"a"** in the initial position of words. Indeed,

the four additions which I have assigned to scribe 6 can be placed on a continuum of formality. *A mon pooir ai serv* (#25), the through-composed *trouvère chanson*, is the most formal of the group with carefully executed and spaced letters that tend toward discrete but joined letters rather than cursive strings of letters. On the other end of the continuum lies *Vous le deffendés l'amer*, which presents a more thoroughly cursive script, the more casual capital form of the letter "**a**," and erratic sizes and spacing of words.

This condition of the script correlates with other features of production and their degree of formality and planning. For *Vous le deffendés l'amer*, scribe 6 utilized the staves left empty by scribe 5 on f.5v. Like scribe 5, however, scribe 6 also misjudged the length of this single stanza piece and ruled a final staff of four lines by hand (attested by the waviness of the lines) with his pen in order to complete the piece. For his other single stanza piece, scribe 6 again misjudged the length of his piece *Joliement du cuer du cuer* (#13) and ruled an extra two and half five-line staves in red ink. In contrast, scribe 6 knew exactly the length of the two dance pieces and the through-composed *trouvère chanson*, although it is apparent, in the case of *A mon pooir ai servi* (#25), that the folios were ruled prior to the entry of the words. In column a of f.203, three five-line staves presumably ruled for but left empty by scribe 6 follow the preceding *trouvère chanson*.

The words and music, however, begin at the top of column B
and end with the last staff in column B on f.204. Thus the
trouvère chanson not only shows more formal writing but also
an exact ruling of the staves, possibly indicating that the
words were entered before the ruling of the staves, as is
normal for professionally produced *chansonniers*. The two
single stanza pieces, however, show less formal scripts and
evidence that the page was ruled before the words were
entered and, furthermore, that the length of the pieces was
misjudged as is evident from the ruling—excessive for
Joliement du cuer du cuer (#13), insufficient for *Vous le
deffendés l'amer* (#9).

The handwriting of scribe 6 shows cursive and casual
traits that became acceptable in bookhands only in the late
fourteenth and fifteenth century. Two manuscripts—Oxford,
Laud Misc. 203 written in Avignon in 1344 (Watson 1984,
plate 187), and Oxford: Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 181
(Parkes 1969, plate 3, ii), written in England between 1487
and 1497—present comparable scripts to the additions entered
by scribe 6. The scribes of these MSS also combined the
compact and efficient "*lettre bâtarde*" script with
decorative calligraphic serifs to create a type of "mid-
range" script, that is a professional yet economical script,
emphasizing a conservation of space and time. Only the fif-
teenth-century English MSS discussed above, however, show
the simple capital-based letter "**a**"—a practice seemingly

more popular in England and Italy in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than earlier.[19]

Although originating in France, literary cursive scripts had a "widespread and distinctively English use."

> It first appeared in England in the 12th century
> as a correspondence hand, was in general use by
> the end of the 13th century, predominated until
> close on the middle of the 15th century, and
> survived in a degenerate cursive form until the
> 16th century. (Petti 1977, 14).

This history accounts for the predominantly late medieval English examples of such casual scripts. In France, however, functional cursive scripts retained their informal status until the mid fourteenth-century, used primarily for legal documents, business records, and to transcribe books, "particularly those composed in vernacular languages" (Shailor 1991, 35). On one hand, given the relatively haphazard and informal entry of pieces by scribe 6, one would not expect the words to be recorded in a careful Gothic bookhand. Even the less carefully written entries of scribe 6, however, show certain calligraphic effects that indicate the development of functional cursive into a more acceptable formal script. One hypothesis might be that a lay-scribe, whose usual duties required a hybrid functional/formal cursive, entered these pieces sometime in

---

[19] For examples of the simple cursive capital **a** see also Watson (1984:2) plates 212 (North-east Italy, 1377) 329 (Ireland, 1427), 332 (English, 1428).

the early fourteenth century, and modified his hand according to the formality indicated by the other elements of production. For the less well planned or opportunistic entries (such as *Vous le deffendés l'amer*), the scribe did not bother to write carefully or consistently.

The additions made by scribe 5 and 6 present a correlation of genre with degrees of scribal formality in conjunction with degrees of familiarity, as manifested in all the stages of production. It appears that the single stanza pieces caused the most problems in that the scribes were least familiar with these pieces, not in terms of their words and music, but rather in terms of their visual format and spacial layout. Thus the scribes, presumably operating without exemplars or models for these pieces, consistently mistook the number of staves necessary to record them. Furthermore, the normal procedures and format for chanson production (the initial entry of the words in two columns, then the ruling of the staves, finally the entry of the notes) were modified in such a way as to imply a fundamentally new conception of the entry—one that necessarily included music. As mentioned above, for the single stanza pieces, the ruling of the staves across the page preceded the entry of the words. In contrast, both scribe 5 and 6 followed the traditional format for their *trouvère* songs and wrote these in the two-column format.

Three possible circumstances might explain the

relaxation and transposition of normal procedures for the
single stanza entries:

> 1) the experimental or anomalous status of the pieces
>
> 2) the lack of exemplars (either written or conceptual)
>
> 3) "opportunism," that is the opportunistic use of
>   staves left empty by preceding contributors.

The mere presence of the excessive staves from *Bone amourete
m'a souspris* may have been the sole prompt for the entry of
Vous le deffendés l'amer. *Vous le deffendés l'amer* bears the
earmarks of an unplanned, off-the-cuff entry—use of left-
over staves, casual cursive script, misjudged length. The
following scenario illustrates one possible explanation of
events. A scribe is faced with the task of entering several
pieces, either of his own accord or for another party. Some
pieces he knows better and can record them in a regular
fashion. These pieces are also conceptually entrenched—one
a *trouvère* song, the other a set of dance pieces. The
single stanza pieces are less familiar to him, representing
a new type of piece (whether he has composed them himself or
has received them from another). For the pieces that are
not *conceptually entrenched*, he discards the normal
procedures and formality.

Scribes 7, 8, and 9

The additions made by these three scribes illustrate a
transition and eventual shift from the experimental
continuous melody *trouvère chanson*, and single stanza pieces
toward a concentration on dance songs. The three
compositions added by scribe 7 present, along with the
contributions of scribe 6, a mix of experimental pieces with
dance-songs. Scribe 7 added one *rondeau*, *Trop ai esté lonc*
(#11), one single stanza piece, *J'ai un chapelet d'argent*
(#10), and one *trouvère chanson*, *Quant je voi plus felons*
(#18) which, like *Se j'ai chanté sans* (#19) and *A mon pooir
ai servi* (#25), has new music provided for each strophe of
the poem. The additions entered by scribe 8, a *rondeau*,
J'ai bele dame amée (#14), four *estampies* and one "*Dansse
real*" (#24e-i), and the two *rondeaux* entered by scribe 9, *Un
despit des envieus* (#1) and *Se je chant et sui* (#15),
represent a complete move away from the experimental pieces
and their traces of thirteenth-century poetic and musical
features, toward dance songs, specifically *rondeaux*, which
became a locus of complexity and experimentation among the
fourteenth-century *formes fixes*. Although the *rondeaux*
recorded in fr.844 are not very sophisticated, their
preservation here nevertheless can be interpreted as a
recognition of the form's potential.

Scribe 7 used five-line staves for his three pieces,

ruled not in the standard red ink, but rather in a brown ink comparable to, if not the same as, the ink used for the words and notes. This scribe apparently knew the amount of staff necessary for his single stanza piece but not for the *trouvère chanson* or the *rondeau*. For *J'ai un chapelet d'argent* and *Quant je voi plus felons*, the staves were ruled with a rastrum, straight and precise, spanning the width of the page. The *rondeau*, however, is written on hand-ruled staves below *J'ai un chapele d'argent* (#10). Whereas no extra staves appear either before or after *J'ai un chapele d'argent*, the verse of the *rondeau* appears written over the extra length of staff following the music of the *rondeau*. For the *trouvère chanson, Quant je voi plus felons*, all the staves are ruled with a rastrum in brown ink with the exception of the last staff (f.129v) which is not only ruled by hand, but also extends past the right margin as dictated by a vertical line drawn down the page. Whereas the other staves adhere to the margin lines, the words often spills over the right by a letter or two. Thus the margin lines seem to have been guides for the initial ruling stage.

The precise ruling for *J'ai un chapele d'argent* indicate that the words were entered before the staves as is normal for professionally produced *chansonniers*. In contrast to the single stanza piece, which has staves ruled with a rostrum, and elaborate capitals, the *rondeau* appears to have been added hastily and without care or

professionalism.[20] The motivation behind this entry (not even prompted by the opportunity of left-over staves) seems to have been simply the desire to record the piece—perhaps the scribe's own composition.

Scribe 8 entered his *rondeau J'ai belle dame* (#14) on the excess staves following *Joliement du cuer du cuer* (#13), and his five instrumental pieces on a pre-ruled page on the verso of the four *estampies* (#24a-d) entered by scribe 2. The identical format and ruling of these two pages in two columns each comprised of eleven five-line staves suggests that f.177v was ruled at the same time as f.177r, and that scribe 2 intended to fill the verso with music.[21] Scribe 8 not only realized the "program" of scribe 2 by merely adding more instrumental pieces, but he also titled his pieces in association with those of scribe 2; that is, he continued the ordinal numbers assigned to each *estampie*. Thus scribe

---

[20] Although the difference in the degree of formal production between *J'ai un chapelet d'argen* (#10) and *Trop ai esté* (#11) calls into question whether the same scribe recorded both pieces, the ink color and characteristic of the scripts, as well as the vocabulary and dimension of the note shapes are so close that distinctions are imperceptible. The issue, here, is not whether a particular scribe could be fastidious at one time and sloppy at another, but rather that the impetus to produce somewhat formal and calculated written records of experimental pieces coexisted with the impetus to jot down casually a dance song.

[21] It is also evident that the two-column format may not have been what scribe 8 would have preferred. The notes of his piece are crowded together and often spill over the right margin. By contrast, the first group of estampies entered by scribe 2 are neat and spacious with open space on the staves to better delimit first and second endings.

2 left off with "*La quarte estampie royal*" and scribe 8 began his series with "*La quinte estampie real*."[22]

The two *rondeaux* entered by Scribe 9 seemingly point to two different notions of his contributions. *U despit des envieus* (#1) appears boldly on an early folio (3r) in the space left blank by the original scribe. Scribe 10 ruled one and a half staves in the same brown ink of the words. The half staff corresponds precisely to the length of the refrain and suggests that perhaps the words were entered first. The words, however, are written sloppily, and the words of the stanza spill into right margin and below the setting of the refrain.

This rather conspicuous intrusion into the original corpus, with no attempt to blend visually with the preceding piece or the original format, contrasts with the appearance of *Se je chant et sui* on f.7v. For this addition, scribe 9 tucked his piece onto the left-over staff following two other additions (*Joliement du cuer du cuer* entered by scribe 6, and *J'ai bele dame*, entered by scribe 7), and wrote the words in the lower margin of the page below the setting of the refrain. This entry on f.7v suggests a more modest

---

[22] It is interesting to note that while scribe 8 obviously took as a model the titles of the preceding estampies and retained the spelling of the generic term "estampie," he used his own spelling for the descriptive adjective: scribe 2 writes "royal" or "roial" whereas scribe 8 writes "real." This detail perhaps points to a difference in dialect between the two scribes, and certainly signifies an assertion of individuality on the part of scribe 8, despite his motivation to fulfill the plan of scribe 2.

appraisal of his contribution than does his bold entry on
f.3. However his use of the earlier leaves in the codex
suggests the haste or impatience with which he made his con-
tributions. He did not bother to page through the MS to
find a "better fit" for his pieces, but was content to use
the first available space. If one posits that scribe 9
entered *U despit de envieus* first, then the question arises
why he did not utilize the left-over staves on the verso of
the very same folio (3v). It is possible that he entered *Se
je chant et sui* first, following the *rondeau* of scribe 8,
then paged back to find a larger space for *U despit de
envieus* since he had barely enough space to enter the
complete verse of *Se je chant et sui*.[23]

The main feature that distinguishes the hands of scribe
7 and 8 is the dimension of their pen strokes. The letters
of scribe 7 show thick, irregular lines that often increase
in thickness as a function of the ascending stroke (e.g. the
shaft of the "**b**," "**d**," "**h**," and "**l**"). By contrast, scribe 8
used a fine-tipped pen which yielded clear, uniform lines.
However, both the handwriting of scribe 7 and 8 show a
tendency toward calligraphy and the formation of discrete

---

[23] The appearance of *U despit des envieus* (#1) raises
the question of why the scribe did not to utilize the ample
space available to write out the stanza of the rondeau in a
more legible hand and format. Instead, he chose to write
the stanza beginning along the side of the music, resulting
in some confusion as to the flow of the words from left to
right. Is it possible that the scribe was saving room to
make further contributions? This may be another reason why
the scribe did not use the blank staves on f.3v.

letters rather than cursive strings of letter which more aptly describes the handwriting of scribe 9. Scribes 7 and 8 show a form the letter **"a"** with an exaggerated top lobe which extends above the level of the other letters. All three scribe form the **"g"** with elaborate tails which bend left and form two loops below the top chamber. Similarly, all three scribes use calligraphic decorations in the ascenders of the **"b,"** **"h,"** and **"l,"** that loop to the right and trail off into hair-line serifs. The initial **"v"** of scribe 7 are made quite distinct from the **"u"** with the left side of the fork extending above the level of the other letters and completed with a serif which curves right. The **"h"** and the **"m"** are similarly elaborated with descenders that curve right. The hand of scribe 9 shows a far less elegant combination of cursive and calligraphic features. Peculiar to this hand is left-turning descenders of the **"p,"** long **"s,"** and **"y."** In comparison with the other hands, the entries of scribe 9 give the impression of automation—that is, the calligraphic traits accorded certain letters appear to be normal for the letter shape itself rather than decorative.

Scribe 7 added elaborate initials for his single stanza piece and for the initial word of each strophe of his through-composed *trouvère chanson* as a final stage of production, whereas for their *rondeaux* scribes 8 and 9 provided modestly decorated capitals as called for when

entering the words. In general, the hands of scribes 8 and 9 are more casual and show more signs of haste than the hand of scribe 7. Comparable examples of this type of decorative, semi-formal script survive from the mid to late thirteenth century (see Stiennon 1960, 357-60, figures 350-5). However, more examples of this type of script survive from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (see Canellas 1974, plates LII and LIII). Thus based on probability alone, it is most likely that scribes 7-9 entered their pieces sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century.

With the two pieces entered by scribe 10 we come full circle—back, that is, to the use of a formal bookhand and professional production comparable to the efforts of scribe 1. Addition #16, *La plus noble*, was entered on five-line staves ruled in red, beginning in the b column on f.41, alongside a piece from the original corpus. The piece continues on the verso in the two-column format, but ends rather abruptly at the bottom of the page. Notably absent is a double or single bar through the staff indicating the close of some musical unit. The following folio contains more of the original corpus, so it seems unlikely that the scribe planned to continue the piece, unless he also planned to add leaves for that purpose.

Scribe 10 entered the words for *Ki de bons est* (#28) in

a dark brown ink before the ruling of the red, four-line staves. Evidence for this lies not only in the precise ruling (which includes one extension of words and music into the right margin) but also in the spillage of red ink over the initial "**k**." By extension, I am assuming that the words of *La plus noble* was also entered first, although there is no clear evidence to support this. Both pieces are written in a very neat bookhand with well spaced words and discrete letters. The letters show a soft, rounded quality, but with strongly vertical ascenders for the "**b**," '**f**," and long "**s**." These traits are comparable to the Italianate hand of scribe 5. Similarly, scribe 10 frequently uses "**k**" for "**qu**." Ascenders and descenders are relatively unelaborate with oc-casional, modest serifs. The top loop of the "**a**' and the figure-eight "**g**" are likewise modest—in contrast to the hand of scribes 7 and 8.

While the notation of *Ki de bon est*—the only piece of the thirty-seven additions showing a syllabic use of semi-breves—places scribe 10 sometime after second decade of the fourteenth-century, examples of scripts comparable to that used by scribe 10 can be found as early as the date of the original corpus (circa 1270). Indeed, the hand of scribe 10 and that of the original scribe appear to be based on the same model (i.e. gothic textura script) although the hand of scribe 10 shows less angularity and more rounding of the letters. As mentioned above, this "relaxed" formal bookhand

is a characteristic of Italian scribes and the humanistic
wedding of Gothic and Carolingian script that produced a
script (often referred to as rotunda) that persisted well
into the fifteenth century. Thus hands comparable to that
of scribe 10 can be found in Italian MSS as late as 1399
(Watson 1984:2, plate 240).

For *La plus noble*, all stages of professional
production were planned for and realized. Each stanza
begins with a decorated and colored initial; the first with
blue filigree surrounding a red letter, the second with the
colors reversed, and so forth. Some scheme of decorated
initials was at least in the planning stages for *Ki de bon
est*, as evidenced by the cues for the initials in left
margin of f.209. Such an elaborate plan and professional
execution for these two late entries seems odd in the light
of the presumably earlier, more casual entries. Perhaps
this scribe conceived of his entries as more in line with
the original corpus than with the later contributions—that
is pieces that were well known examples of an established
genre. Another possible explanation for the elaborate
production of *La plus noble* and *Ki de bons est* is that,
despite the evidence of the notation, these pieces may have
been added earlier rather than later; that is before the
manuscript had been "marred" by casual entries. The fact
that only *Ki de bons est* uses syllabic semibreves does not
necessarily indicate that that level of rhythmic

sophistication was unavailable to the other scribes.

This discussion of scribal hands reveals the precariousness of dating based on model scripts. Nearly all the model scripts for the contributors were in existence by the end of the thirteenth century, and continued throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Does the situation of the hand tell us anything about the possible date of the contribution? A single scribe has at his disposal several vocabularies of scripts ranging from a formal bookhand to a functional, more practical cursive. The date of the entry may partially determine the style of writing the scribe chooses. Cursive and hybrid scripts clearly became more acceptable in book production in the fourteenth century. Thus additions which show a cursive style (as with scribe 6) or a decorated hybrid style (scribe 7 for example), may attest to professional scribal habits developed in line with current ideas of acceptable bookhands. However, the opportunistic rather than planned circumstance of the entries suggests that the scribe may not have felt at all compelled to use "his best." I believe this to be the case with scribe 6 and his entry of the single stanza pieces, and be the case with scribe 9, whose agenda seems to have been one of spatial economy rather than legibility.

When combined with an examination of the production procedures and genres, the discussion of hands and scripts

provides an index of formality and professionalism which in turn provides clues as to the conception and motivation which lay behind the various contributions. We can view each addition as representing a confluence of six aspects. These aspects, presented in Figure III.1, relate to one another as do a series of computer menus. Options appear as either a choice between two distinct variables, or as continuum of choices. The design of Figure 1 follows a logical progression of questions provoked by observable facts.

Figure III.1

1) Scribal hand: continuum of appearance

    formal <———————————————— > casual

2) Scribal hand: variables of execution

      a) scribal habit   b) scribal choice

```
     a) scribal habit                  b) scribal choice
                |                                |
      _____|                        _____|_____
     |                                  |                 |
     |     training, nationality,       |              value
     |      & occupation of scribe      |              of MS
     |                                  |
acceptable                             |
formal scripts                         |
                              _____|_____
                             |                   |
                        conceptually         conceptually
                         entrenched           experimental
                           genre                 genre
```
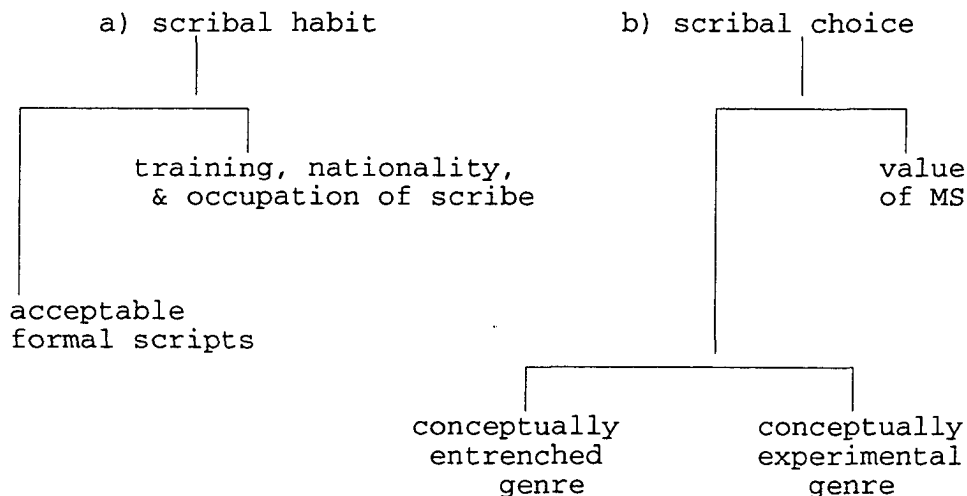
3) Production and Format: continuum of appearance

```
     standard <————————————————> anomalous
             |                            |
             |_____available material & space_____|
```

4) Production: continuum of execution

    written exemplar <———————memory——— > direct composition

5) Production and Format: variables of intention

        a) preservation   b) creation

6) Production and Format: variables of motivation

        a) assignment   b) opportunity

Figure III.1 maps the confluence of choices and
variables that constitute the situation of each added
piece. The array of options disseminate from the two fields
of observable aspects examined in this chapter—the
handwriting of the scribes, and the production and format of
the music. Line 1 represents an observable continuum; any
node on this continuum yields the 'options' on line 2.
Likewise, line 3 also represents an observable continuum
which yields the 'options' on lines 4-6, though mitigated by
material concerns.[24] These two aspects of execution (line
2: scribal habit/choice at the top and line 4: written ex-
emplar/direct composition) describe the 'cause' behind the
observable 'effects.' The branches stemming from the
variables presented in line 2) are factors which bear upon
the outcome of the script. The actual date of the addition
may or may not have influenced the flow of events. The
nationality of the scribe or the geographical location of
the MS, for example, could have been equally determining.

---

[24] Crucial to the production of all the additions is
the variables of space and materials which may have not been
'options' for the scribe, but which would have possibly in-
fluenced his ability to record compositions according to
professional standards. For most of the additions, however,
space and materials seem not to have been a deciding factor
in the formats chosen by the scribes, except in the
instances where excess staves were used opportunistically.
The red ink to rule the staves and the device to rule the
staves straight were either unavailable to some of the
scribes, or decidedly not employed (perhaps for reasons of
haste).

The setup of Figure III.1 implies a polarity of factors—the flow of terms on the left depicts the norm whereas the flow of terms on the right depicts atypical events with unpredictable and anomalous results. The terms under the headings of "intention" and "motivation," however, should also be considered as the pure or extreme ends of a continuum, and by no means exclusive. Few of the additions line up neatly according to the poles. The single stanza piece *Bone amourete m'a souspris* is an example of an experimental genre written with a somewhat formal script, but produced in an unconventional or unprofessional format (across the page) without a written exemplar (as shown by the excessive ruling). The use of a formal script could have been the result of either scribal habit or scribal choice; the music could have been produced from memory or direct composition (although the later is unlikely given the lack of erasures and the clean presentation of the words and notes).

The intention and motivation behind the additions must be gleaned from taking in all the material evidence and the various "options." A likely scenario for *Bone amourete m'a souspris* might be that a scribe, who was in the habit of writing an Italian formal-style script, took the advantage of the available space to record an odd little piece he knew by heart. The *rondeau U despit des envieus* provokes a different scenario. The scribe may have taken the advantage

of the available space to compose directly onto the parchment—thus implying a devaluing of the MS by using a sloppy, functional cursive to record his ideas quickly. First he entered the words of the refrain, then ruled the staves and entered the music.[25] He then composed the rest of the words alongside and below what he had just written, either to save space for further additions, or because he was concerned more with the act of creation that of preservation. Perhaps he composed quickly and sacrificed legibility for speed and convenience; or perhaps he contemplated the music as he composed the rest of the verse, and jotted down words as they came to him, not disrupting the process by placing pen farther down the page.

It is tempting to read chronological significance and developmental force in the arrangement of the additions in Table III.2. The pieces could be viewed as presenting a microcosm of the history of monophonic song. Table III.2 presents the additions in an order which implies the following progression:

1) the formal contributions of scribes 1 and 2, who recorded pieces with Provençal verses and forms that have strong connection with thirteenth-century reper-tories of southern France (*descort*), Italy (*lauda*),

---

[25] The rhythmic notation of this short piece poses some problems for transcription and may thus point toward direct composition by virtue of the careless use of the Franconian note-shapes.

and Spain (*cantigas*)

2) the experimental single stanza pieces and through-com
   posed trouvère chanson (varying in formality)

3) the hastily recorded rondeau and instrumental
   estampies—forms which appear more abundantly in the
   fourteenth-century

4) formally recorded *lais*, which point toward the *lais* of
   Machaut and the historical consciousness they
   represent.

Twentieth-century musicologists, with the benefit of
hindsight, have perceived (devised?) a continuum based on
presently-held notions of genre and their position on a time
line (see Figure III.2).

Figure III.2

13th C genres <————————————————————— > 14th C genre

canso/chanson   *ballade*
lais   *lai* (hold-over)
descort   *virelai*
laudae   *rondeau*
cantigas
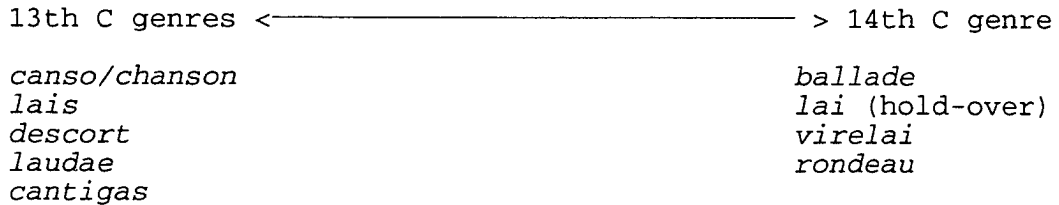
The additions to fr.844 would appear as nodes along this
continuum in the following manner (see Figure III.3):

```
                            Figure III.3
13thC <─────────────────────────────────────────────── >14thC
                                 │
                               1300

scribes:  1  2      3  4  5    6    7    8    9      10

          descorts   experimental        estampies  lais
          virelais   single stanza       rondeaux
          estampies  & rewritten
                     chansons
```
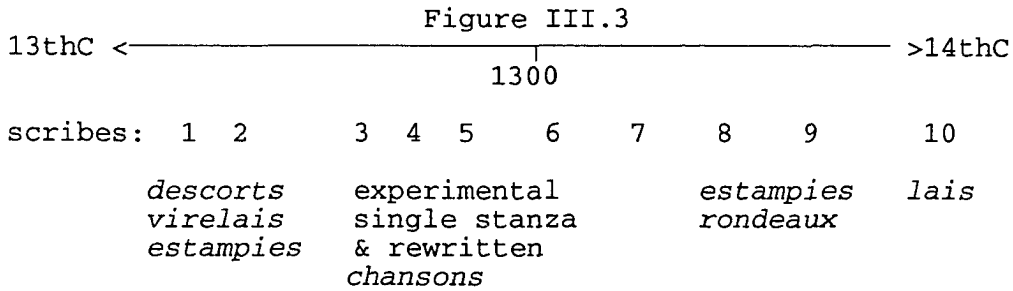
But how accurate or appropriate for genres is this
diachronic continuum? Do such notions of genre have any
basis in concept contemporaneous with the compositions (or
the recording of those compositions)? And how do our
present-day notions of progress and goal orientation skew
our perception of the repertory and intrude upon our
recovery of medieval music and musical thought?

     Neither the notation nor the scripts of the thirty-
seven additions (independently or in conjunction) lends
support or in any way buttresses the chronology put forth in
Figure III.3. In other words, only traditional notions of
historical progress supports such a mapping. Another way to
view Figure III.3, then, is as a model that likens the flow
of genres over time to a continuum of color (i.e. black
/gray/ white).[26] This chromatic metaphor, when taken as a
diachronic progression, merely supports our entrenched

─────────────────

     [26] My choice of the specific colors black/gray/white is
also meant to engage their metaphorical use as descriptions
of the conceptually clear (black and white) or unclear
(gray).

notions of goal-oriented development. The traditional view of music history teaches that the development of musical forms and their generic expression flows from one point of clarity to the next through a transitional or gray period. But if this chromatic model is disengaged from time—that is, if the "black, gray, and white" compositions were considered to exist at the same time, then such a heuristic suggests a richer, less bounded, and more dynamic field of musical thought.

In order to situate the additions better with respect to time and within contemporaneous categories of music, Chapter IV will investigate the notation of the thirty-seven additions, which proves to be relatively consistent in their vocabulary of note shapes and rhythmic levels (with the exception of *Ki de bons est*). In contrast to the variety and temporal open-endedness of the scripts, the notation is entirely datable, although this may itself prove to be a misleading issue.

Chapter IV

The Notation of the Additions and Writing Music circa 1300

The differentiated, mensural note-shapes of the thirty-seven monophonic additions to fr.844 presents a striking visual contrast to undifferentiated note-shapes of the original corpus. Notation both separates the thirty-seven additions from the original corpus, and binds the additions together as a perceptible group. In the last decade, Stevens, Van der Werf, and Page have argued that the undifferentiated note-shapes used to record the music of the *troubadours* and *trouvères* in *chansonniers* represent a meaningful scribal convention that communicates a rhythmic practice associated with the style of the *grande chanson* genre. However, the indiscriminate use of mensural notation for the additions to fr.844, equalizes, as it were, the dance songs, *trouvère chansons*, and the more experimental single stanza pieces. This "equalization" reveals a permeability of stylistic and generic categories to mensural rhythmic and notational practices over the course of the thirteenth-century.

Given the large collection of monophony and polyphony notated with undifferentiated note-shapes in the original corpus, why did these ten scribes use mensural notation?

Were these scribes notating performance practice, or their own notions of melody? Or were they caught in a general paradigm shift from conventional systems of rhythm and notation to new flexible but explicit systems of rhythm and notation? In his examination of *Quant je voi plus felons* (#18), Hans Tischler (1992) argues that the mensural notation represents a corrective measure—a refined means of recording a metrical/modal performance practice that had been previously obscured by the conventional use of undifferentiated note-shapes.

> Another remarkable feature emerges in the
> regularity of the incidence of ornaments, which
> emphasizes the longer elements in the modal
> patterns and thereby furnishes an important aid
> for the interpretation of premensurally notated
> melodies. For whereas the meter is determined by
> the poetry, the rhythm in premensurally notated
> melodies very often depends on the evidence
> offered by the regularity of ornamentation to
> suggest the modal pattern. Thus the notation of
> this song strongly supports the argument for a
> metric-rhythmic reading of trouvère songs.
> (p. 109)

Among other problems with this passage, Tischler does not take into account the context of the other thirty-six mensural additions, within which the *trouvère chansons* genre constitutes a minority. Nor does Tischler concern himself with the completely different melody preserved for *Quant je voi plus felons* in fr.12615, recorded in undifferentiated note-shapes. An understanding of the notation of these

thirty-seven additions as somehow corrective neglects the experimental impulse and seemingly conscious distance from the original corpus of *chansons* that characterizes these melodies. Tischler searches for vestigial rhythmic modes in this mensurally notated *chanson* so as to argue that the performance practice of a modal rhythm pre-dated the notational convention of differentiated note-shapes. However, the system of mensural notation provides for unpatterned rhythms, or shifts from one pattern to another. *Qui je voi plus felons* in fact shows frequent shifts of the underlying pattern of breves and longs, both within and between stanzas. Thus based on the evidence of *Quant je voi plus felons,* Tischler offers a contradictory conclusion that late medieval songs are "metric-rhythmic in concept and at the same time highly flexible within this firm framework" (p. 110). The substitution of "metric-rhythmic" for "modal" merely allows for the inconsistent patterns of longs and shorts, while maintaining that the framework of the perfect long is "firm." The framework of a perfect long, however, is an entrenched aspect of Franconian notation, and not an entrenched aspect of the genre.

The relationship between the terms "rhythm" and "notation" has often been misrepresented. "Rhythm" is an aspect of musical performance; it is produced physically for auditory comprehension. "Notation" is short-hand for a performance practice—the attempt to record an aural

experience by means of a visual code; thus notation is always already inadequate. Scholars traditionally associate the terms "modal" and "mensural" with "rhythm" and "notation" in the formulations: "modal rhythm" and "mensural notation."[1] However, the distinct parameters delimited by the terms "rhythm" and "notation" have been conflated in discussions of thirteenth-century music. A perceived evolution in rhythmic performance practice of polyphonic and monophonic melodies is presented as tandem to, if not somehow influenced by, the greater refinement of the notational system. Does a notational system have a generative force? The answer may be "yes," though, the question then becomes whether a complex dialectic or a simple trajectory links the evolution of rhythmic practices with the evolution of notation. This question touches on two intersecting issues. The first issue concerns the general transparency of notation with regard to performance practices; the second, more specific issue concerns whether the notion of "evolution" from lesser to greater determinacy in notation is appropriate or necessary for understanding rhythmic practices in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Just as a scribe had a variety of styles of handwriting

---

[1] For example see the entries "Modal, rhythmic" and "Mensural notation" in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music* (ed. Don Randel, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

appropriate for various occasions, the manuscript evidence shows that music scribes were also familiar with a variety of notations that could be employed for the appropriate repertory. As Stevens (1981) has pointed out, this was precisely the case in the MS fr.25566, where a single scribe use undifferentiated note-shapes for the *chansons* and mensural notation for the polyphony and the independent refrains interpolated into of *Renart le nouvel*. The use of mensural notation for the new monophonic songs added fr.844 suggest a conscious deployment of this system, over and against the established conventions. The fact that ten different scribes dispensed with the convention suggests a strong new communal impulse to write monophony in clearly measured rhythms.

The use of Franconian mensural notation implies a certain degree of education and experience which no doubt influenced the extent of the paradigm shift in the composition of new monophony. Both modal and mensural notation and the use of finve-line staves point to a familiarity with polyphonic compositions and written anthologies of motets from the late thirteenth century. In the motet collections such as Ba and the first six fascicles of Mo, tenors appear written for the most part, in notes and ligatures taken from liturgical chant but which require an understanding of modal rhythm to be read correctly. The upper parts, however, appear written in mensural notation

that requires mastering the execution of more graphic signs
as well as the "reading" rules for alteration, imperfection,
and for determining the propriety and perfection of a
ligature. Advances in the paradigms of reading and writing,
like any technological advances, brings a force to bear on
the existing conventions or paradigms, most often resulting
in an eventual supplanting of the old paradigm with the new.
A present-day analogous situation has taken place in the
technology for making sound recordings whereby the more
precise digital means of recording sound as a series of
pulses and spaces (easily manipulatable by computer) has
supplanted the more fluid analog means of reproducing the
whole sound wave as grooves on a disc or as magnetized
particles on tape. Just as the new technology of
digitalizing sound has led to new types of compositions that
integrate unrelated "samples" of music, the new technology
of mensural notation led to new compositions that allowed
for the integration of polyphonic and monophonic musical
attributes, and provided a more precise means of recording
dance songs that have a strong rhythmic profile.

The mensural additions to fr.844 additions show a
complete replacement of the conventional undifferentiated
note-shapes associated with monophony by the mensural note-
shapes associated with polyphony. However, in comparison to
the complexities of musical notation under development in
Paris at roughly the same time, the additions show a

limited, "common" vocabulary of note-shapes, and a retention of modal rhythmic patterns which suggests a regional, slower rate of change in the paradigm shift.

Modal Patterns in the Additions

David Hiley (1980: 357) writes "the system of modal rhythm outlined by the theorists is a mental abstraction from flexible practice." In the simplest and most practical terms, then, "modal rhythm" refers to a pattern of alternating long and short rhythmic values in the top voice(s) of a polyphonic texture, specifically the discant clausulae, in coordination with the notes of the tenor which proceed in measurably equal durations. The typical ratio of two top notes coordinated with one tenor note also describes the low level rhythmic relationship between the two top notes—that is the long value equals two of the short value. Thus the tenor note equals a total of three short values.

The polyphonic context within which modal rhythm developed also brought to the fore associated notions of mensuration—that is, the notions that the flow of long and short values had a typical beginning and ending that were defined by an alignment with the tenor. Thus the upper level rhythm of equal durations (the perfect long) was partitioned into unrelenting patterns that alternate two

unequal slots of time according to melodic phrases which were dependent upon their polyphonic context. Theoretical descriptions of modal rhythmic practice add the proviso that modal rhythmic patterns should end "with the first element of the modal foot" (Knapp 1990, 570). However, the most "salient" or characteristic feature of modal rhythm is the dictate of the modal foot as characterized by the beginning of the pattern. Given a flow of alternating long and short durations, the division into metrical "feet" becomes a matter of coordination with the upper voices. The issue of coordinating specific notes in a melody with a background of perfect longs is moot in the case of monophonic compositions. Franconian mensural notation nevertheless graphically encodes relative note values assuming the framework of the perfect long, tenor or no tenor. Thus the foundation of modal rhythm undergirds mensural notation. However, Tischler's blanket proposition of "metric-rhythmic" performances of *chansons* requires an in-place background of perfect longs as abstracted from performances of polyphony before the advent of that abstraction in Franconian notation.

Vestiges of modal rhythm do indeed lie beneath the additions. Such rhythmic patterns, though superimposed onto monophony, need not have originated from the performance practice of *trouvère chansons*. The vocabulary of note shapes used by the ten scribes adding to fr.844 shows

surprising uniformity; surprising given the wide variety of scripts and the broad spectrum of formal to casual entries presented by the thirty-seven additions. All of the pieces use clearly differentiated longs and breves, and modified ligatures as described by Franco of Cologne (c. 1280). Patterns of alternating longs and breves that recall modal rhythm organizes the low-level flow of rhythm. Syllables are set according to the pattern of breves and longs, with the single exception of *Ki de bons est* (#28), which will be discussed below.

On one end of the spectrum lies a strict patterning of the rhythm such as appears in the *virelai, Ben volgra s'esser poges* (#21), which I have attributed to scribe 1.[2] *Ben volgra s'esser* shows the most straightforward use of modal rhythmic patterns of the all the thirty-seven additions, rendered clearly with alternating longs and breves, and the occasional *c.o.p* ligature and plicated note. Many pieces begin with a flow of rhythms that suggest a persistent modal pattern, but at some point shift the pattern by means of an explicit signal. On the other end of the spectrum from *Ben volgra s'esser poges* lies the *virelai Donna pos vos ay chausida* (#2) which uses dots and text

---

[2] The contrast between the free rhythmic practice transmitted by *Donna pos vos* and the more patterned rhythms of the three *descorts* calls into question whether *Donna pos vos* should indeed be included among the pieces entered by scribe 1. The Provençal text, the form, and the script places *Donna pos vos* at least close to if not alongside the other four pieces.

setting to toggle between "measures" of mode one and mode two (see Example IV.1) A *punctis divisionis* in the first phrase of the refrain effects the shift in the pattern from long-breve to breve-long. In the first phrase of the couplet, ligature patterns and syllable settings mark constant shifts in the alternation of breve and long so that a notion of an organizing modal background does not seem to apply. However, the second phrase settles into a long-breve pattern. Such low-level rhythmic play characterizes the majority of these additions.

Ki de bons est (#28) shows the most advanced vocabulary of notation of all the additions. Theodor Karp (1984, 479-81) has suggested that the predominant rhythmic pattern of each stanza may have been an illustration of the current gamut of modal rhythm and the corresponding mensural notation as treated by the theorists Lambertus. The underlying rhythmic organization of each stanza actually correspond well to Franco's own descriptions of the modes.[3] The Franconian modal correspondences for the rhythmic patterns are summarized below.

_____

[3] Karp appeals to later theorist Lambertus in order to account for the discrepancies in stanza IV.

Stanza

I.	Mode 1: Perfect longs and long/breve patterns.
II.	Mode 2: Breve/long
III.	Mode 3: Long/breve/breve
IV.	Mode 4: Breve/breve/long
V.	Mode 5: Breves and semibreves
Envoi:	Ligatures

Example IV.2 shows the incipits of each stanza and the
envoi. This correspondence makes a tidy explanation for the
rhythmic extremes shown in the syllabic longs of stanza I
and the syllabic semibreves of stanza V. Though the modal
patterns do provide a fundamental rhythmic organization
specific to each stanza, the low-level flow of rhythm,
especially in stanzas IV and V, shows much more irregularity
than one would expect from a systematic illustration of
theory. In stanza V, dots pair the semibreves suggesting an
alteration of the second semibreve to produce a short-long
rhythmic pattern (see Example IV.3). However, the mix of
semibreves, breves, and rests rarely "add up" to a neat
number of complete perfect longs. The metrical ambiguities
and copious erasures in the music suggest that the scribe
did not have a good command of this level of metrical
division nor the system of rests. The complete lack of
syllabic semibreves in the other additions suggests that
such notation was not yet common to that area or that
echelon of scribes. Another possibility is that the
superimposition of a matrix of perfect longs may be
inappropriate for this stanza, which is "about" breves and

semibreves and not longs. Rather than search for a theorist to fit the illustration as Karp has done, I conclude that the variations from the modal patterns simply prove that illustration of theory was clearly not the intention of the composer, but that theory and, more importantly, notation, provided a starting point for the melodic composition of each stanza.[4] No doubt the composer consciously employed all rhythmic patterns and procedures of mensural notation known to him.

Several additions show patterns of note-shapes that require altering the breve to render a modal pattern. In these pieces, the scribes used the notation breve-long/breve-breve-long or simply breve-breve-long consistently throughout the melody. The rules of Franconian notation dictate that the second of two successive breves must be altered, so that the graphic breve is "read" as a long. As previously mentioned, Franconian notation assumes the perfect long as an metric organization,[5] but without the need to coordinate with a tenor, this assumption need not be

---

[4] The nine-mode theory of Lambertus, in which he includes hybrid modes, most likely represents the expansion of Franconian modal theory based on observable practice, to which *Ki de bon est* bears witness.

[5] Both alteration and imperfection result in the reading of a value "two" where the obvious reading would yield a value of either one or three. But these rules for reading arrive at the same value via two different operations upon two different symbols—altering a breve by addition, or imperfecting a long by subtraction.

implemented. A reading of the note-shapes based on purely graphic cues would thus yield radically different interpretations of the notation.

In the case of *J'aim bele dame* (#4) such a reading actually produces an equally convincing transcription. The rule of imperfection dictates that a long followed by a breve must be imperfected by that breve unless a dot indicates that the long should be perfect. Example IV.4 shows two possible transcriptions of *J'aim bele dame*—the top solution uses strict Franconian rules whereas the lower transcription follows the graphic cues. Line 4 begins a series of five phrases, all of which use the same sequence of note-shapes: two breves/long+breve/three-note ligature *c.o.p.* or a climacus comprised of a punctum and two rhomboid currentes. In the top transcription, the first two breves require that the second become altered in order to fill out a perfection. The following long-breve succession requires an imperfecting of the long. However, this imperfection always results in a need to alter the final breve in the last ligature of pattern which makes this strict solution less desirable.[6] Most of the altered, ligated breves in the top solution could be read as simple breves if those longs were read as perfect longs. Then the following breve would become part of the next perfection.

---

[6] Franco does state, however, that the rules of imperfection and alteration do apply to ligatures as well as simple notes (Strunk 1950, 148-9).

One problem remains even with this interpretation. In lines 8, a two-note modified ligatures is written with propriety but without perfection (a podatus whose top note has been turned to the right). This modification suggests a reading of two equal breves, however, neither the preceding nor the following note-value provides the third breve needed to complete a perfection with these modified ligatures. Why did the scribe write a modified podatus only to have that graphic read as if it were unmodified (that is, breve/long)? Which type of "reading" has priority—a reading of the modal pattern, or a reading of the graphic?

The lower solution, which follows the graphic cues, requires that the long and breve be assigned fixed relative values—in this case I have used a constant of two breves to one long, since no explicit perfect longs appear in the piece, and all ligatures span an imperfect long. This fixed ratio of breves to longs produces a slight, appealing syncopation in those five phrases. Another modification found in the lower solution is the reading of the climacus according to the shapes rather than according to convention.

The Climacus and Independent Semibreves

All ten scribes use some form of the climacus—most often in its traditional chant configuration of a virga plus

two currentes, but also in several altered forms, such as a breve plus two currentes, or groups of three independent currentes appearing with and without a concluding breve. Another variation which appears in *A mon pooir ai servi* (#25) is a virga with a left stem followed by two currentes. This particular variation of the climacus is described in the *Regule* of the English theorist Robertus de Handlo (Lefferts 1991, 145). *Jolietement m'en vois* (#26) uses the traditional form of the climacus as well as currentes conjoined to modified ligatures. These various configurations of note-shapes pose problems for trans-cription in light of the strong modal background to these additions. At what point was the rhomboid semi-breve shape of the currentes and the initial virga or the concluding breve read independently—that is, when did the graphic shape encode the rhythmic value independent from the modal con-text?

The various forms of the climacus and other ligatures with *currentes* that appear in the additions form a continuum from the traditional forms to transitional forms that indicate an independent reading of the currentes. Anonymous IV describes the convention of reading the climacus as two initial short durations followed by a longer one.[7] Franco,

---

[7] Anonymous IV actually describes the currentes as splitting the "formal" long into smaller note values in such a way that the whole ligature equals a perfect long. The relative durations of the three notes within the climacus is not specified, however. Thus a splitting of the formal long

however, advocates reading the duration of the notes-shapes as if they were *simplice*.[8]   Table IV.1 below plots the distribution of the additions with regard to the common forms of the climacus that appear among them.

Table IV.1: Forms of the Climacus in the Additions

Scribe	¶ ◆◆	■◆◆	◆◆◆	◆◆◆■	other
1	17	2 22		2	
2	3	23			
3	26	4 5 6	7		26
4				27	
5	19	8			
6			9 13 25		25
7	18	10 18			
9			1		
10		16	16		16

Table IV.1 shows that from left to right, the initial figures in the ligature indicate smaller and smaller durational values—from a long, to a breve, to a semibreve.

---

into two unequal durations—such as a breve followed by two semibreves—is theoretically possible.   See Dittmer 1959, 25-7.

[8]   See Strunk 1950, 149 and Cserba 1935, 244 (Latin).

In all cases where the traditional form appears, the ligature fills the slot of a perfect long; where the first figure is a breve, the ligature fills the slot of an imperfect long; where the first figure is a semibreve, the ligature fills the slot of a breve. Thus the succession of introductory figures corresponds to the total duration that the ligature fills. Despite this tendency toward greater clarity in the system of writing, the manner of reading the value of the notes within the ligature itself could still be controlled by convention. The sequence of five phrases in *J'aim bele dame* uses either a *c.o.p* ligature or a punctum-currentes combination as the penultimate ligature of the phrase (see Example IV.2, mm.13, 17, 21, and 37). Given that these two ligatures appear in the same position of rhythmically identical phrases, and given that the *c.o.p.* ligature must be read with an initial two semibreves, the conventional reading for the climacus would follow suit with the *c.o.p.* ligatures and be the most logical solution.

In *Se j'ai chanté sanz* (#19), however, the modal pattern requires an unconventional reading of the traditional virga-currentes combination (see Example IV.5). The notation shows a strict mode-two pattern throughout the piece. At the ends of phrases, the scribe frequently used two-note ascending ligatures with perfection but without propriety, thus yielding a long-breve reading that bridges two modal feet (see mm.10-11, 27-28, 48-49, 59-60). However,

in the last two instances, the scribe used the virga-
currentes climacus which must be read as a long followed by
two semibreves (see mm.64-65, 71-72). Thus the division of
the climacus into short and long values is context
dependent. The virga-currentes climicus in the context of
Se j'ai chanté sanz must be read as ♩ ♪♪ , whereas the

punctum-currentes climacus in the context of *J'aim bele dame*
is best read as ♪♪♩ .

  Three additions—*Bon amourete m'a souspris* (#8), *La
plus noble emprise* (#16) and *Ki de bons est* (#28)—illustrate
various stages of uses of the independent currentes that
approach the concept of distinct semibreves. *Bone amourete
m'a souspris* uses three independent currentes as ligated
semibreves dividing a breve. *La plus noble emprise* shows
three currentes linked to a following breve. In these
configurations, the note-shapes of the ligature
unambiguously specifies a reading three of equal semibreves.
Finally, the fifth stanza *Ki de bons est* shows fully
independent, syllabic semibreves, grouped into pairs by dots
or *signum perfectionis.* According to Franco of Cologne, the
pairs are to be read as unequal divisions of the breve,
following the same rules of alteration. As previously
mentioned, the scribe seemed to dispense with any modal or
metrical background for this stanza, creating instead chains
of semibreve pairs occasionally interrupted by one or more

breves.

The context-dependent forms and readings of the climacus bear witness to a flexible and practical system of notation, but one that nevertheless depends on a background of modal rhythm that ultimately determines the reading of the graphics. When this modal background is no longer explicit, as in the fifth stanza of *Ki de bons est*, the scribe appears to be on uncharted territory. Indeed, of all the thirty-seven additions, *Ki de bons est* shows the most erasures, and the majority of these are concentrated in the fifth stanza.

Apparently there is a schism between the fourteenth-century casual handwriting and the thirteenth-century modal patterns and vocabulary of note-shapes of the thirty-seven additions to fr.844. However, it is important to keep in mind that these contributors to fr.844 bring together several traditions—a tradition of hearing music, a tradition of reading and writing music, and possibly a tradition of performing music. We must conceive of the contributors as both listening and reading, and their material as part of a visual as well as ans aural tradition.

What was the musical and intellectual environment that spawned these additions to fr.844? How were these scribes trained? All of the scribes seem quite deft at executing Franconian note-shapes; the additions in general show few

erasures, with the exceptions of *Ki de bons est*, and many
appear to have been written hastily, impling a solid command
of the notation. A clue to what constituted a common
knowledge of notation can be found in Grocheio's treatise.
Grocheio's discussion of polyphonic music begins with a
digest of mensural notation. This includes three topics:

1) A discussion of the modes in which Grocheio summarizes
   and criticizes the theories of Lambertus and Franco,
   concluding that there are six modes.

2) A list of the simple note-shapes (long, breve, semibreve,
   and minim) including altered breves and imperfected
   longs.

3) A description of perfection and propriety in modified
   ligature.

At the end of his digest, Grocheio makes two very
important claims. Rather than presenting an exhaustive
account of how to read and write music, Grocheio has chosen
to present only the "universal rules."

> We do not intend to tell of all the variations nor
> to go into all the particulars, but to treat [the
> universal rules of the musical art] according to
> what we are able just as Galen treated the
> universal art of medicine in his book called
> *Techne*.[9]

---

[9] *Nos vero hic non intendimus istorum diversitates
enarrare nec ad omnia particularia decendere, sed secundum
posse nostrum sicut in libro Galeni, qui dicitur Techne,
traduntur canones universales artis medicinae.* (p. 144)

Grocheio then contrasts his digest with other treatises on

the subject, defending his brevity by criticizing the detail

and diversity of theories concerning reading and writing

music.

> Moreover, these figures have been attributed with
> diverse significance. Hence knowing how to sing
> and to read songs according to one is not knowing
> according to another. Moreover, all of these
> diverse methods will appear to those who look into
> the various treatises of others . . . Going into
> too many details generates disgust and recalls
> many from knowing the truth. In the same way,
> most of the moderns at Paris use the figures just
> as they are given in the theory of Master
> Franco.[10]

Thus Grocheio bears witness to at least two tiers of

literate musicians—those who pay attention to the latest and

most detailed theories about musical notation (of which

there are many), and those who use the common "universal"

system of Franconian notation. Grocheio's treatise points to

a basic level of musical literacy consists of knowing

Franconian note shapes. He also bears witness to the

paradigm shift taking place in Paris, through which

Franconian notation has become the norm, presumably

---

[10] *Istis autem figuris diversimode significationem
tribuerunt. Unde sciens cantare et exprimere cantum
secundum quosdam, secundum alios non est sciens. Omnium
autem istorum diversitas apparebit diversos tractatus
aliorum intuenti. . . Nimius enim descensus circa
particularia fastidium generat et plures revocat a
cognitione veritatis. Plurimi tamen modernorum Parisiis
utuntur figuris, prout in arte magistri Franconis sumuntur.*
(p. 144)

supplanting undifferentiated note-shapes and modal ligature patterns.

Page (1993, 71-3) presents the hypothesis that Grocheio may have come from the Normandy region, hence his familiarity with Norman musical customs. This hypothesis places Grocheio closer to the traditions and musical environment of the Artois region, the presumed location of fr.844. Grocheio no doubt reports on musical practices of Paris for the benefit of a non-Parisian audience. His perfunctory treatment—indeed, non-treatment—of post-Franconian notational practices suggests that his audience would have little use for that level of detail and complexity. Grocheio's intention is not to teach the technological advances, but rather to comment on them.

Arras was a center of musical activity which, along with nearby Amiens, harbored a *pui*—a confraternity of musicians and poets. Page writes

> In cities like Arras, where the tradition of minstrelsy was strong, there existed a sense of communal welfare that could be guarded by piety—a sense that was so powerful in the cities of the later Middle Ages—and this drew the more prosperous minstrels together with local merchants and townsmen—to judge by the "Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras," whose origins may perhaps lie as early as the first decades of the twelfth century. (1990a, 214)

An obituary list of the members of this *Confrérie* survives

and includes names from the years 1194 to 1361. In his study of this source, Roger Berger (1970, 118) has found three generations of poets and musicians whose names appear elsewhere in various literary sources specific to the area. The first generation were professional *jongleaurs* such as Jean Bodel (d. 1210) while the second generation were comprised of clerics such as Gilles et Guillaume le Vinier, Pierre de Corbie, and Simon d'Authie. The third generation contains the most names and is dominated by members of the bourgeois class. By 1350, however, the number of musicians within the *Confrérie* were fixed, and travelling *jongleurs*, who never had more than a loose connection to the *Confrérie*, no longer became members (Berger 1970, 54).

The scribes who contributed the thirty-seven mensural additions to fr.844 were probably itinerant or even local clerics-turned musicians. Little or no information survives about how such individuals learned to read and write music. The most logical scenario is that these clerics learned through experience as apprentices. Such a scenario appears in medieval narratives, such as Gottfried von Strassburg's thirteenth-century romance *Tristan und Isolde* and in Heldris de Cornuälle's *Le Roman de Silence*. In both these narratives, the protagonists leave home in their youths and learn musical arts through apprenticeship. As writing and reading became more common in the thirteenth-century due to the expansion of urban centers, composing and writing became

congruent activities, as many of the medieval miniatures depict. Concerning a particular miniature in the MS, New York: Pierpont Morgan Library M819, f.63 (*troubadour* source N) Stephen Nichols (1991, 141) writes:

> We first encounter . . . a rather literal *bas-de-page* miniature of a poet—perhaps Folquet de Marseilles, whose work is represented on the folio—declaiming or singing (since the context is that of a troubadour song) at his writing desk. The stylus in his left hand, incorporated in the declamatory gesture symbolizing vocalization, is held immediately in front of his mouth (and eyes), above the parchment scroll.

The old corpus of fr.844 shows that the musicians of Arras cultivated both monophonic and polyphonic repertories. In such a rich environment, one can imagine that polyphonic "melodists" also wrote monophonic pieces. The transparent texture of two-voice motets, such as those in the original corpus of fr.844, gives the impression of an accompanied melody. These melodies, presumably performed with "modal" rhythm, must have left an impact on both monophonic and polyphonic "melodists" alike. The figure of Adam de la Halle illustrates that a composer could wear (or at least possess) two caps—monophonic and polyphonic.

Economic and employment factors may have played a significant part in the eventual paradigm shift to mensural notation. As the fashion for *grandes chansons* waned, clerics concentrated on acquiring the skills to write and

compose polyphonic music. Modal rhythm became an entrenched aspect of a melody that presumably grew out of that expanding polyphonic repertory. The original scribe of fr.844 may have been part of a *scriptorium* that produced books regularly and thus preserved conventions of the trade whereas the later contributors may represent independent "writers" who followed the newer conventions of a wide-spread paradigm shift. Evidence of a wide-spread paradigm shift in notation appears in other *chansonniers* and monophonic repertories. As discussed in Chapter II, the second layer of additions made to fr.844 involved the filling in of empty staves with melodies written in differentiated note-shapes and modified ligatures. This layer on one hand shows a disregard for the convention of notating *chansons* in undifferentiated note-shapes, while on the other hand shows a regard for the agenda of the original compiler. The *chansonnier "du roi de Navarre"* (also known as Mt) bound into fr.844, presents a small collection of sixty *chansons* which includes seven fully mensural additions added by a later hand. These additions use roughly the same vocabulary of note-shapes as the thirty-seven additions under consideration in this study.

The *chansonnier* fr.846 contains several features that bespeak the influence of polyphonic book production. Many of the songs show non-systematic differentiated longs and breves which have been interpreted as merely cosmetic,

bringing the look of the music "up to date with the most recent Parisian trends" (Everist 1989a, 203). This anthology presents the songs arranged alphabetically, as do several thirteenth-century motet collections, notably Ba). A single motet appears on f.21 of fr.846; it was not added later, but written into the corpus, using Franconian mensural notation—complete with modified ligatures and independent currentes just as in the additions to fr.846.

Mensural and pseudo-mensural monophonic repertories appear in Southern European collections produced around 1300. The elaborate monophonic songs from the *Las Huelgas* MS (Burgos, Monasterio de las Huelgas) use Franconian notation, but the melodic ornamentation occludes any vestigial modal rhythm. A regional, idiosyncratic rendition of Franconian notation appears in the manuscripts preserving the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. These pieces seem to flow in and out of a background of modal rhythm. Sometimes the notation appears highly organized, sometimes seemingly arbitrary. The *troubadour* MS fr.22543, which contains a concordance for *Qui la ve en ditz* (#20), contains examples of undifferentiated notation as well as pseudo-mensural notation that, like the *Cantigas*, do not adhere to a background of modal rhythm.

The cohabitation of mensural and non-mensural notation in these turn-of-the-century collections suggests a period of time in which scribes chose freely between two

conventions of notation. Did these notations reflect performance practice? We assume that mensural notation, because it is a more determined and therefore seemingly a more powerful means of recording duration, has greater transparency with regard to performance practice. However, just as square-notation erased many of the rhythmic nuances of chant recorded in the adiastemmatic signs of the earliest Graduales, the greater determinacy of mensural notation no doubt regularized and erased rhythmic nuances from secular monophony. The rise of polyphony coupled with developments in musical notation did indeed give rise to a of new mensural monophony with clear ties to modal rhythm, but also metrical and notational ambiguities that are the "privilege" of monophony.

Assuming, then, that the scribes adding to fr.844 used a "common practice" notation—a *lingua franca* derived from polyphony—their collective interest in writing new monophony becomes an intriguing point of focus. The extent to which a collective impulse can be discerned in the choice of genres and compositional techniques represented by these thirty-seven additions is the subject of the following chapters.

Chapter V
Repetitive Melodies: *Rondeau, Virelai, Estampie*

Present-day notions of genre rely heavily, though often precariously, on the perception of musical form determined primarily through patterns of words and musical repetition. Thus I want to begin my examination of the additions by focussing on the pieces that make clear use of musical repetition schemes. Of the thirty-seven additions, nineteen use formal repetition—four *virelais*, the four *rondeaux*, and the collection of eleven instrumental pieces showing a double versicle structure. The repetition of a melodic phrase or section provides an index for the listener—a means of comparing and evaluating aural events. The degree to which a composition is indexed may indicate the sophistication of the target audience or the composer himself. "Low style" or "popular" dance songs are characterized by a high frequency of repetition coupled with short melodic phrases. They are easy to comprehend and to remember. Over time, however, the same repetition schemes that signaled listening ease were expanded beyond their original accessibility. Longer phrases and more complex

rhythms elevated the style of dance songs.[1] The monophonic "dance songs" of Jehan de Lescurel (preserved in the *Roman de Fauvel* manuscript fr.146) are a case in point. Their complex rhythm and lengthy melismas render the melodies difficult to sing and learn. Does this elevation of style effect the perception of genre? The *rondeau U despit des envieus* (Example V.1) added to fr.844 and Lescurel's *rondeau A vous douce debonnaire* (Example V.2) share formal aspects but are stylistically unrelated.

Though stylistically distinct, these two *rondeaux* are contemporaries. Can they still be understood as two examples of the same genre? The *virelais* and instrumental compositions added to fr.844 provoke a consideration of word as an element of style or genre. The absence of words relegates certain additions to the category "instrumental genres," whereas the use of Provençal lyrics in the *virelais* is more easily understood as an aspect of style. But if the use of Provençal can be traced back to the origins of the form in Southern European countries (such as the Spanish *cantigas* and the Italian *laudae*), then these relatively late examples of Provençal language could be understood as an aspect of the genre or the generic history of the form.

---

[1] For a discussion of the stylistic evolution and elevation of dance songs see Lawrence Earp (1991)

Polyphony does not necessarily result in an elevation of style. The polyphonic *rondeaux* of Adam de la Halle show a transparent note-against-note style of counterpoint but retain the brevity of phrases and simplicity of rhythm associated with monophonic dance songs.

This implies that at the time of composition there remained an association of language with form. Guillaume de Machaut, however, associated this form with the specific function of dancing, and goes so far as to dispute and replace the generic term *virelai* with the term *chansons baladée*. In his *Prologue* Machaut writes:

> *Motès, rondiaus et virelais*
> *Qu'on claimme chansons baladèes* (V,- 14-15)[2]

(Motets, *rondeaux*, and *virelais*, which are called danced songs)

and in *Remede de Fortune* Machaut again writes:

> *Encommenchay ce virelay*
> *Que on claimme chançon balladee*
> *Ainssi doit elle estre clamee* (3448-50)[3]

(I began this *virelai*, which is called a danced song, thus it should be proclaimed)

I have translated "*chanson balladee*" as "danced song" to emphasize the specific generic/functional association which Machaut himself calls to the fore. Machaut's words, however, are ambiguous. The last line can be read as an introductory line to the *virelai*, or the line can be read as

---

[2] Ernst Hoepffner (1908). Hoepffner uses source G (fr.22546) as the base manuscript for his edition of the Prologue.

[3] Wimsatt and Kibler (1988). Wimsatt and Kiblear use source C as their base manuscript for *Remede*. This quote appears on f.51

expressing an opinion about the generic name of the following poem. Is Machaut saying that the term "*virelai*" is an insufficient or inappropriate term for the type of song he was writing, or did Machaut feel that his compositions that could be likened to *virelais* were, in fact, not appropriately compared with *virelais* as his audience understood that term? Or is Machaut lobbying to call his "danced songs" *virelais*? Is he saying "I call them *virelais*, everyone else calls them danced songs"? Whatever the case, Machaut's remarks open the door on both a general association of form and function, and his specific concern with generic designation.

Nineteen of the thirty-seven additions to fr.844 have clear repetitions schemes—clear to the point that the repeating elements are represented by way of abbreviation after their first appearance. Eight of these are "dance songs" with lyrics (four *rondeaux* and four *virelais*), and eleven are wordless instrumental compositions. I will begin my investigation of these pieces by looking first at the *rondeaux*. Although among last pieces to be entered in the manuscript, the *rondeaux* form has clear "dance song" antecedents in the *carole*, and, at the same time, clear associations with the more sophisticated motet.

The Four *Rondeaux*

Grocheio's description of a *cantilena rotunda* matches extant examples of *rondeaux.* For him, this genre of *cantilena* can be distinguished by a unique combination of two formal features:

1) the song begins and ends with the same material
2) the verse melody is the same as the refrain melody.

Yet this is the bare minimum needed to identify a *rotunda*. When Grocheio includes two further descriptive details, perhaps of specific pieces, he comes into conflict with extant examples and contemporaneous descriptions. His notion that *rotundas* are sung slowly, and mostly in the region of Normandy is clearly based on his experience with particular pieces or opinions.

The first question to ask of the *rondeaux* added to fr.844 is what kind of compositions are they? Complex or accessible? Danceable? What are the generic and stylistic parameters communicated by all four examples? To describe how these pieces work, I will use a term and concept usually applied to descriptions of present-day popular music. "The hook" is a readily identifiable and attractive lyric, melodic phrase, or rhythmic motive that grabs and

holds the listener's attention.[4] *Rondeaux* begin with a two-phrase refrain which acts as a memorable lyrical "hook." The listener anticipates the repetition of this refrain in part or in whole. The refrains found in *rondeaux* often appear in other musical and literary contexts. This phenomenon can be used to measure the effectiveness of the lyrical "hook" by measuring its popularity and longevity. However, none of the refrains of the four *rondeaux* added to fr.844 appear in other contexts, which implies that the composers either chose relatively unpopular refrains, or that they composed new refrains for their *rondeaux* instead of culling from the pool of precomposed, popular refrains. In any case, the lyrical "hook" of these refrains does not extend beyond the local musical context.

When discussing the effect of various melodic gestures, I assume that the composers of these melodies operated with a concept of pitch hierarchies, though perhaps not explicit or systematic. In the *rondeaux* form, the internal three-fold repetition of the A phrase risks monotony on purely melodic grounds. Assuming a communal performance practice, such as described for thirteenth-century *caroles* and *rondeaux*, texture changes from solo to group singing, or the

---

[4] Arnold Shaw, *Dictionary of American Pop/Rock* (New York; Schirmer Books, 1982) defines hook as:

> An appealing musical sequence of phrase, a bit of harmony or sound, or a rhythmic figure that grabs or hooks a listener. It can also be a lyric phrase of group of words. (p. 177)

anticipation of listening or singing that the audience experienced, would have counteracted the musically static situation of the three-fold repetition.

Along with changes in texture and participation, *rondeaux* composers sometimes used melodic and rhythmic "hooks" to avoid monotony. Carefully crafted melodies may point to a decrease in communal performances of *rondeaux*, and growing attention paid to the listener's experience of the music. The complex monophonic *rondeaux* and the polyphonic *rondeaux* of the fourteenth-century show a change in the notion of audience participation. As musical settings increased in complexity, and musical composition became a highly specialized endeavor, the role of the audience changed as well. Audiences who were active participants in the performances of *rondeaux* in the thirteenth century, became passive listeners in the fourteenth century.

Though added sometime in the late fourteenth century, the four *rondeaux* in fr.844 maintain the thirteenth-century aspect of musical accessibility. Scribe 9, a very late contributor to the MS, added only two eight-line *rondeaux* to the manuscript. The words are as follows:

Addition #1   Syllables

U despit des envieus   7
serai je toudis jolis   7
et si vuell estre amoureus   7
u despit des envieus   7
pour noble cors gracieus   7
car amours m'en a espris   7
U despit [des envieus   7
serai je toudis jolis]   7

Addition #15

Se je chant et sui envoisiès   8
printans le doit, et Amours s'i otroie   11
dont doi jon estre plus prisiés   8
se je chant et sui envoisiès   8
car tous cuers par droit seroit liès   8
de desirer che dont mes cuers a joie   11
Se je chant et sui [envoisiès   8
printans le doit, et Amours s'i otroie]   11

The rhythmic profiles of these *rondeaux* lyrics are distinct
and opposite. *U despit* uses isometric seven-syllable lines,
Se je chant et sui uses non-isometric lines differing by
three syllables. Whereas the *rondeau* form does not disrupt
the metrical predictability of *U despit*, the form has the
opposite effect on the non-isometric lines of *Se je chant et
sui*—that is, the *rondeau* form itself prevents a regular
alternation of the two line lengths.

The musical settings of *U despit* and *Se je chant et sui*
[see Examples V.1 and V.3] are not as virtuosic as are the
rondeaux of Jehan de Lescurel, yet neither are they simple-
minded. Both melodies avoid tonal and rhythmic monotony

despite the highly repetitious *rondeau* form. One aspect of
the "hook" found in both A phrases is the use of an open
cadence a third above the final—commonplace, perhaps, but
not unremarkable. The open cadences combine with other
melodic aspects to create long range tension with the final.
In *U despit*, the A phrase begins unpredictably on **g**—a step
below the phrase's open cadence on **a**, or, a step above the
final **F**. The initial shift away from the final with the
opening **g-C** descent keeps the repetitions of this phrase
fresh. In *Se je chant et sui*, the **b♮-c** climax to the A
phrase pulls the ear away from the **F** which opens the phrase.
To our modern ear, the A phrases seem to shift their tonal
focus from one end of the phrase to the other. The net
result is a tonal instability that "hooks" the ear. The B
phrases may begin by corroborating the tonal instability of
the A phrase (as does the **b♮-c** emphasis in *U despit*) or they
may re-orient the piece toward the final (as does the **b♭** in
Se je chant et sui).

These are simple but effective means of holding a
listener's interest with pitch content. The rhythm of these
two *rondeaux*, however, adds a layer of complexity and
ambiguity that also helps to avoid monotony and retain
interest. In *Se je chant et sui*, the scribe used two
successive breves followed by a long for the opening two
perfection. To read this in Franconian notation requires
that the second breve be altered so that the two breves

together form a perfection. Thus the pattern would begin as
if in mode 2 (short/ long).

The scribe is obviously familiar with various ways of
notating rhythms since his vocabulary of note shapes
includes longs, breves, semi-breves, and ligatures. The
long graphic calls attention to another aspect of the
melody. *U despit* does not use a patterned alternation of
long and short slots as in modal rhythm; rather, it freely
mixes the succession of longs and shorts in such a way as to
effect a subtle sense of syncopation. In both the A and B
phrases, the first bar begins with a short/long division of
the perfection only to be followed by a long/short division.
The long of this second perfection is clearly marked as a
long in the notation. The following rhythmic scheme
describes both the A and B phrases: ♩ ♩   ♩ ♩   ♩ ♩ ♩.

Moreover, in both phrases this distinct long rhythmically
emphasizes notes which direct the ear away from the final
F—C in the A phrase, and **b♮** in the B phrase. Thus in *U
despit*, the long graphic marks the moment of syncopation
which, in turn, corresponds to a moment of melodic tension.

For his second *rondeau*, *Se je chant et sui*, scribe nine
wrote a piece far less dynamic and flowing than
U despit—even static and halting by comparison. Instead of
using two phrases of equal length, the scribe set the eight-
syllable A section as one phrase lasting seven perfection,

and the eleven-syllable B section to two phrases; the first
lasting five perfections, the second lasting three. The
low-level rhythms are organized by a single rhythmic pattern
that spans two perfections and resembles rhythmic mode
four—the rare if not hypothetical mode described by
thirteenth-century rhythmic theorists. In this rondeau, the
pattern is notated consistently by two breves and a
following long which, according to Franconian notation,
yields a breve, breve altera, perfect long (in
transcription: ♩♩ | ♩.). The pattern breaks at the ends

of phrases and at the start of the B section. In both
positions, then, the scribe used longs to distinguish
graphically and rhythmically the formal joints of the piece.
Thus perfect longs frame each of three phrases of the
rondeau, creating frequent moments of repose—an odd rhythmic
characteristic for a dance song.

The jaunty *U despit* and the halting *Se je chant et sui*
make a curious pair, indicating room for conceptual play in
the scribe's notion of the genre *rondeau*, even given the
limited and unsophisticated musical vocabulary that these
pieces show. Both show poetic and musical expansion, yet
can be easily sung and remembered. Only *U despit* shows a
flowing and dynamic rhythm that, for present-day ears,
inspires and facilitates dancing. If our evaluation holds
true for that of a medieval listener, we can formulate two

divisions within the genre *rondeau* as indicated by these two pieces—a *rondeau*-type for singing and dancing, and a *rondeau*-type for just singing. Perhaps the halting nature of *Se je chant et sui* serves as a comical anti-dance in contrast and in dialogue with the danced *rondeau*.

The two remaining added *rondeaux* were written by different scribes, though both show more low-level rhythmic animation than the two *rondeaux* added by scribe nine. Neither of these scribes provided a musical nor poetic cue for the final repetition of the refrain. Nevertheless, I am assuming the final refrain repetition in my transcription of the words below, and in my musical analysis of the pieces. The final repetition of the refrain and the resultant poetic and musical rounding creates a more convincing composition.

In contrast to *Se je chant et sui*, *J'ai bele dame amée* [Example V.4] uses seven syllables for the A section and four-syllabled lines for the B section.

Addition #14

J'ai bele dame amée	7
qui mon cuer a	4
bele est et si m'agrée	7
J'ai [bele dame amée]	7
et si l'ai desirrée	7
de lonc tans a	4
[J'ai bele dame amée	7
qui mon cuer a]	4

The B section musically functions as a cadential tag rather

than an expansion as we saw in the previous two *rondeaux.* An essential element of the "hook" of this *rondeau* is the minimalistic melodic play with open and closed cadences. The four measure melody of the A section is cleverly organized to pull the ear from an initial **d** orientation to an **f** orientation via an open cadence on **c**. The two-measure B section "finishes" the phrase with a cadential flourish and a close on **f**. The play with open and closed cadences is also the essential "hook" element for the *estampies,* as noted by Grocheio in his description of instrumental *ductia* and *stantipes.* Indeed, this scribe wrote five *estampies,* which will be discussed further on.

The melody moves predominantly in breves and semibreves, though the beginnings and endings of phrases are marked with an imperfect long that follows an initial breve. The resultant short-long division of the perfection that ends each phrase points to the scribe's inexact use of "measured" notation, comparable to the succession of short-long / long-short divisions of perfections in *U despit.* These rhythmic anomolies show a departure from modal rhythmic patterns found in motets.

The *rondeau Trop ai esté* [Example V.5] expands the *rondeau*-form demonstrated by the other *rondeaux.* Like *Se je chant et sui,* and *J'ai bele dame amée,* the sections of *Trop ai esté* are non-isometric, with the A section consisting of a single seven-syllable phrase, and the B section divided

into two isometric, eight-syllable phrases.

Addition #11

Trop ai esté lonc tans mus	7
mais loiaumont me chastie	8
Amours qui me donne vie	8
Je m'en sui aperchèus	7
trop ai esté lonc tans mus	7
Ma dame m'a un ris sus	7
geté que ne l'obli mie	8
d'amer loiaument m'afie	8
[Trop ai esté lonc tans mus	7
mais loiaument me chastie	8
Amours qui me donne vie]	8

This expanded B section stands in direct contrast to the "tag" B section of *J'ai bele dame amée*. The melody uses clear melodic and rhythmic indices to organize the piece. Both the A and the B melodies keep the **D** final prepared and central in the ear of the listener. The A section does this by opening with a leap of a fifth from **D** to **a**, and by essentially decorating the ending on **a**. By repercussing the fifth above, the melody indirectly fortifies the pull of the final **D**. In the subsequent repetitions of the A section, the melody remains fresh because of the tension of the indirect reference to the final via the fifth above. The first phrase of the B section redirects the ear to another pitch set, emphasizing the fourth from **C** to **F**; the second phrase of this section maintains the **F** tonality for two perfections, then, via the transposition of a melodic motive

down a step, the tonal focus shifts back to the final **D**. The melodic construction and the manipulation of pitchsets of this piece are smooth and carefully measured to avoid both monotony and jarring shifts.

Corresponding to the careful organization of pitch, the rhythm of this rondeau shows a consistent use of a "mode two" alternation of breve/long slots. One particular rhythm, ♩ ♪ ♪ ♩, appears frequently, always in conjunction with a melodic neighbor-note ornamental figure. All phrases last four measures, or perfection, thus both structural and surface rhythms show consistency and flow—aided by a generous use of subdivisions into semibreves. The result is a quick-paced, eminently danceable and singable *rondeau*.

What models did these composers know that may have influenced their composition? What did they sing or hear or read? In considering the context of experience for all ten scribes, I will consider a broad spectrum of experiences. The four *rondeaux* bear witness to a fourteenth-century practice of recording, if not composing, relatively simple monophonic *rondeaux*. By simple I mean that none of the *rondeaux* use melismas or minim subdivisions of the breve that would suggest the influence of virtuosic *rondeaux* such as those composed by Jehan de Lescurel. The early

fourteenth-century *chansonnier I-Rvat* Reg. 1490 likewise
contains simple monophonic *rondeaux*—ten attributed to
Guillaume d'Amiens (fl. late thirteenth century), the cantus
of a polyphonic *rondeau* by Adam de la Halle, and two
rondeaux added to the MS at a later date.[5] This MS is the
only source for fully notated monophonic *rondeaux* collected
and transmitted explicitly as such. All these pieces are
recorded in non-mensural notation[6] and thus cannot disclose
possible models for notation and rhythmic patterns,
although, as John Stevens notes, "it is significant that in
the MS index *rondeaux* are not classed with *cançons* but with
motets (*ce sont motet et rondel*)" (1990, 399). The
rondeaux, though transmitted with undifferentiated neumes
and separated from the collection of more lofty monophonic
genres, are nevertheless associated with the clearly
rhythmized and "sophisticated" genre of the motet.[7]

The *rondeaux* melodies attributed to Guillaume d'Amiens
in *I-Rvat* Reg. 1490 show compositional variety and solutions
comparable to the four *rondeaux* added to fr.844. For
comparison I will discuss two pieces from this collection.

---

[5] See Wilkins, *The Lyric Works of Adam de la Halle,*
1967, xi. The *rondeau* is *Dame, or sui traïs* and appears on
f.55v as a part of the collection of 207 monophonic chansons
(ff.1-108v). Also among this collection appears the middle
voice—*Je n'os a m'amie aler* (f.93v)—of a three-part motet by
Adam de la Halle (*J'os bien a/je n'os a m'amie*/SECULUM.

[6] See Stevens 1986, 187.

[7] Recall that the author of *Las Leys d'Amors* associated
rondeaux and motets in his discussion of the *dansa*.

The *rondeau Prendès i garde* [Example V.6] looks most like *J'ai bele dame amée*. Both are simple melodies with a small range and economical use of material, distinguishing the A and B sections solely via the cadential tag.

John Stevens (1986, 189) has discussed this *rondeau* as a quintessential example of thirteenth-century dance songs, whose melodic characteristics he summarizes as thus:

> Short, concise phrases more or less of even length; the answering of one 'open' phrase by a 'closed' (e.g. phrases 1 and 2) . . . rhythmic balance of a rather obvious kind; a clearly defined tonality; a small melodic range; simple note-to-syllable relationship with virtually no melismas.

Amours me maint u cuer [Example V.7] compares closely with the more expansive *Trop ai esté* in shape (i.e. having a B section consisting of two phrases), use of three-note ornaments, and the tonal contrast set up between the A and the B sections. Indeed, in contrast to Steven's profile, many of Guillaume's ten *rondeaux* show varying of line lengths, and shifting tonality. A few, such as *Amours me maint u cuer*, show ranges of an octave with extensive leaps in the melody.

The second fourteenth-century source for monophonic *rondeaux* is the MS fr.146, which contains the monophonic dance songs of Jehan des Lescurel and those interpolated into the *Roman de Fauvel*. These pieces, however, incorporate the new rhythmic and melodic practices current

in the fourteenth-century "Ars Nova" motets. Lawrence Earp
(1991, 113) suggests that:

> around 1300, rhythmic innovations that had earlier
> been applied to the motet were now applied to the
> other genre that had historically been completely
> rhythmized, the dance song. A new melismatic and
> complex rhythmic style is seen in the monophonic
> lyrics of Jehan de Lescurel. There is also a
> single three-voice polyphonic rondeau by Lescurel
> in the highly melismatic style.

Earp posits that the incorporation of *Ars Nova* rhythm with
dance lyrics created music that was "too elaborate musically
to be danced" (p. 114). Not only did the application of the
new rhythmic style produce undanceable dance songs, the new
rhythmic style also opened the door for the cultivation of
lyrics that were never meant to be set to music. Earp
concludes:

> . . . since the musical stakes had been raised; one
> can no longer expect that a poet even of the 1330s
> would have had the expertise necessary to set his poem
> musically in accordance with the latest fashions of the
> Ars Nova. The musical training required was as great
> as that required in the thirteenth-century for motet
> composition. Thus, the existence of lyrics never
> destined to be set to music dates from near the
> beginning of the consolidation of the fixed forms. (p.
> 109-10)

It comes as no surprise that the dance songs of Lescurel
show a motet influence. As the index of *I-Rvat* Reg. 1490
illustrates, the spheres of motet and dance song have long

been associated. In comparison to these "Ars Nova"

monophonic *rondeaux*, the *rondeaux* of Guillaume d'Amiens and

those in fr.844 show a melodic style characteristic of the

thirteenth-century descriptions of the genre which portray

rondeaux as an accessible and communal song type. The four

rondeaux of fr.844 show that in some parts of the

population, the thirteen-century model of sung and danced

rondeaux co-existed with the new notions of the genre as

only sung or only read. Ironically, full illustrations of

this "thirteenth-century model" appear only in fourteenth

-century sources. Thus the flow of events that led to a

shift away from accessible, communal dance songs did not

effect all parts of the musically literate population in the

fourteenth century. However, in order to find thirteenth-

century models for these monophonic *rondeaux*, one must look

to less accessible and communal repertories—the polyphonic

rondeaux of Adam de le Halle and thirteenth-century motets

Adam de la Halle was active in Arras in the late

thirteenth century—the same time and geographical region

from which sprung fr.844. His sixteen *rondeaux* appear as a

collection in the late thirteenth-century MS fr.25566.

Often cited as the first polyphonic *rondeaux*,[8] these pieces

represent the earliest extant collection of *rondeaux* fully

notated and transmitted as a discrete genre. Though their

---

[8] See "*rondeaux*" in *The New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, edited by Don Randel. (Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 716.

transmission is largely due to the intention of the compilers to gather all the compositions of a single well-known *trouvère*, these *rondeaux* also document the genre in an already elevated condition. The principal melody, to be found in the middle voice, has been enhanced by the explicit addition of harmonizing voices above and below. Adam uses the note-against-note polyphonic style characteristic of conductus rather than the rhythmically individual lines of polyphonic motets. The note-against-note texture on one hand provides rhythmic clarity, and is perhaps the reason Adam chose this polyphonic style for his dance songs. On the other hand, the note-against-note style obscures the primary melody—the familiar tune—especially if all lines are sung with the words. The transmission of the cantus of *Dame or sui trais* as a monophonic *chanson* in *I-Rvat* Reg. 1490 suggests that monophonic versions of Adam's *rondeaux* circulated extensively. Further evidence that the middle voices circulated as monophonic *rondeaux* can be found in the musical and textual quotation of the middle voice of *Bonne amourete* in the single stanza piece from the additions to fr.844, *Bone amourete m'a souspris* (#8), and in Adam's own quotation of the middle voice of his *rondeaux Fi mari de vostre amour* in one of his own motets.

Adam's *rondeaux*, like those of Guillaume d'Amiens and the four added to fr.844, range from short and economical two-phrase compositions to more expansive melodies—though

none reach the rhythmic or melodic complexity of Jehan de Lescurel or the polyphonic *rondeaux* of Guillaume de Machaut. Correspondingly, Adam's polyphonic settings range from a straightforward harmonization using perfect intervals with passing dissonance, as in *Bonne amourette me tient gai* (Example V.8), to a high frequency of dissonance and the setting up of secondary tonal areas, as in *Dame or sui trais* (Example V.9). In the later *rondeau*, the short A section sets up and emphasizes the central sounding **F**, preparing the arrival with a lengthy pre-cadential dissonance **D-d-e**. Indeed, this crunch is part of the A section's appeal. The longer B section presents an alternate tonal area built on **a**. This secondary tonal area is established both rhythmically, at the beginning and ends of phrases, and harmonically, with support from the penultimate functioning sonorities such as **G-d** measure seven. As a result, the **F** cadence at the end of the B section comes as a pleasant if not wholly unexpected surprise.

In the monophonic version, of *Dame or sui trais* (consisting of only the middle voice of the polyphonic version) the final **F** comes as more of a surprise since only the final phrase of the piece ends on that note. Both the A and the B sections strongly establish **c** as their tonal anchor, which becomes the fifth in the **F-c-f** octave-fifth framework. This embedding of the **c** makes perfect contrapuntal sense, though the inner voice in no way

suggests **F** as a tonal focus until the end. Thus the polyphonic setting does not "follow" from the monophony. The two versions create completely different musical experiences.

Although embellished with composed harmonizing parts that preempt communal performance, Adam's polyphony still documents the notion of accessibility, and the option of monophony documents a continued parallel trend of communal performance. Thus, Adam's *rondeaux*, along with those of Guillaume d'Amiens, are possible models for the fourteenth-century *rondeaux* composers of fr.844. Adam could have easily chosen the motet as the polyphonic model to follow for setting his *rondeaux*. Mark Everist (1988) has examined various thirteenth-century attempts to join the form of the *rondeau* with the texture of the motet. Indeed, many examples of these hybrid compositions are part of the original corpus of fr.844. Three different solutions appear in thirteenth-century motet sources. Seven two-part motets recorded in the *chansonnier* fr.12615 ("*Noailles*"), five of these with lost concordances in fr.844, have both the motetus and the tenor melodies fashioned with melodic and poetic repetition that resembles a *rondeau*. The rhythmic patterns of the tenors are transparent—either perfect longs or mode one, with parts that rarely cross.[9] Ironically,

---

[9] The top-voices of these motets are written in undifferentiated note shapes as are the *chansons* in the collections. The tenor notes appear as simplices or in two

this transparent polyphonic texture, places the motetus
melody in the foreground more effectively than in the note-
against-note texture of Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux*. Since
the tenor notes also follow the repetition scheme, each
repetition of phrase is accompanied in the same manner.
Thus this hybrid "polyphonic" genre results in a texture of
accompanied melody—highlighting rather than obscuring the
effect of a single melodic line (see Example V.10).
Furthermore, the pre-existing chant tenors coupled with the
rondeaux repetition scheme and simple rhythmic patterns of
the ordo makes these "motets" more accessible for communal
performance than the polyphonic *rondeau* of Adam de la Halle.
It is perhaps no coincidence that the "*rondeau* motets" are
restricted to these two related *chansonniers* that originated
in the Artois region, perhaps the city Arras[10]—the same area
where Adam de la Halle flourished. Adam could have known
these pieces and attempted to fill-out the texture by adding
a third voice and creating more rhythmically active but not
obscuring parts.[11]

---

and three-note ligatures.

[10] See Everist 1988, 17.

[11] Everist (1988, 18-21) discusses two other attempts
to conflate the motet texture and *rondeau* form. Both appear
in Mo and related Parisian motet collections. One, Mo #138,
subsumes a six line *rondeau* into a three-part texture. Only
the motetus voice shows melodic and textual repetition that
approaches the *rondeau*. About the second piece (Mo #265)
Everist notes:

This motet, which includes the complete chanson

Given the isolation of the *rondeau* motets to these
Artesian sources, and the keen interest in *rondeaux*
exhibited by the local son Adam de la Halle, one can draw
the conclusion that the *rondeaux* had a strong presence in
the musical life of this region, and that the activity of
composing or recording *rondeaux* for a musically literate
scribe was not so unusual. The MS *I-Rvat* Reg. 1490 offers
further evidence that the *rondeaux* had a strong presence in
and around Artois. Ten *rondeaux* attributed to Guillaume
d'Amiens[12] appear in this *chansonnier,* as well as many
pieces by Adam de la Halle. The city Amiens is located just
inside the neighboring Picardie provence—about 60 kilometers
or less than forty miles southeast of Arras.   The stylistic
similarity between the *rondeaux* of these two composers and
the four *rondeaux* in fr.844 strongly suggests that fr.844
remained in the Artois region after 1300, when the *rondeaux*

> *Robin m'aime* as its motetus, is the only example
> outside the Artesian repertory of a piece with a
> tenor structure which exactly mirrors that of its
> motetus. However, the upper voice here does not
> match the six- or eight-line patterns of the
> rondeau motets . . . its seven-line musico-poetic
> structure is ABaabAB. Nor does its metric and
> rhyme structure concur with the pattern of one or
> two line lengths and two rhymes typical of both
> the *rondet de carole* and the rondeau. (p. 20)

[12] See "Guillaume d'Amiens, Paignour" in *The New Grove*
(1980). This entry, based on Friedrich Gennrich's *MGG*
entry, puts forth the hypothesis that the *I-Rvat* Reg. 1490
may have been prepared in Amiens based on the dialect of the
poems. "[A] remarkable illumination unlike anything else in
the manuscript" appears before Guillaume's compositions
which place him as a contemporary of Adam de la Halle.

were added. Keep in mind that these *rondeaux* were added by three of the latest hands of the additions, which attests to the continued popularity of this form in the Artois region well into the fourteenth-century.

By comparison, *rondeaux* may have been less present in the music-scape of Paris, or there may have been less stratification of skill levels among the musically literate. Thus a musically literate composer such as Jehan de Lescurel brought to the *rondeau* form, which was gaining popularity around 1300, the most up-to-date melodic style able to be recorded. The repetition of the *rondeau* form ensured some means of indexing for the listener, allowing for greater intricacy and length, and such extension of phrases would have met the demands of the new Ars Nova melodic style. What is less understandable is how two very different musical creations could co-exist and be subsumed under the genre "*rondeau*." A possible explanation for this is the notion of regional preferences and dialects.

The Four *Virelais*

The notion of "dialect" takes on greater significance in the case of the four Provençal *virelais*. In the collection of monophonic refrain songs by the Parisian Jehan de Lescurel, the *rondeaux* and the *virelais* appear as two

"dialects" of refrain songs, distinguishable solely on the basis of form and not at all by musical style. For Grocheio, the formal distinction of a *cantilena rotunda* from other *cantilena* lies in the fact that its verse music and verbal rhyme are the same as the refrain music. The distinguishing formal feature of the *virelai,* then, is the contrasting music and rhyme for the couplet that begins each verse. In the case of the four *virelais* added to fr.844, the formal distinction from *rondeaux* is reenforced linguistically, by the use of the Provençal language.

Scribes 1 and 2 each added two *virelais* to the manuscript along with other compositions. These four *virelais* are among the earliest additions to the MS—added at a time when blank leaves and staves were amply available. Three of the *virelais* preserve only a single stanza, just as happened with the *rondeaux* that were among the latest additions to the MS and were squeezed tightly onto leftover staves. The *virelai Ben volgra s'esser* (#21), however, does include the words for two additional stanzas (the couplet-epilogue or "bba" section) and three more *tornadas* that fit the epilogue music. For this *virelai*, the scribe followed the format of the *chanson* repertory—setting the first stanza to music and writing out the remaining stanzas in prose fashion below.

In writing out *Ben volgra s'esser*, the scribe did not cue a repetition of the refrain until the very end of the

piece, after the stanzas and *tornadas*. Indeed, only one other *virelai*, *Donna pos vos* (#2), cues a repetition of the refrain at the close of the first stanza, rendering the *virelai* in the form AbbaA, which appears among the lyrics of fourteenth-century Northern composers such as Lescurel and Machaut, and others. Thus, *Ben volgra s'esser* provides a model from which to argue that the scribe understood the form as Abba and that no final repetition of the refrain was intended. Furthermore, the final *tornada* of *Ben volgra s'esser* proclaims the pieces as a "*dansa*" written for a "*reys Karles*"—not a *virelai*.

This particular confluence of music and language provokes a number of important questions to consider:

1) Is the musical style of the four *virelais* comparable to that of the four *rondeaux?*

2) Is the repetition of the refrain at the close of each stanza a "salient generic property" or a performance option that may or may not be notated?

3) Was there a stable association of the *virelai* form with the language of Provençal?

4) Is there a contemporaneous connection or tension between the Southern term *dansa* and the Northern term *virelai?*

The first question—if and how the added *rondeaux* and *virelais* are related—on the surface suggests a comparison of apples and oranges. In contrast to the four *rondeaux*, the Provençal *virelais* have sections of greater musical and poetic dimension. The refrains for *Ben volgra s'esser*

(#21), *Donna pos vos* (#2), and *Amors m'art con fuco* (#23) alone are quatrains; the refrain for *Pos qu'ieu vey* (#3) is a tercet. Each half of the verse couplet is two or three lines long, thus the length of the verse couplet equals or exceeds the length of the refrain. The greater musical scale of the four *virelais* in comparison to the four *rondeaux* suggests that, for the scribes adding to fr.844, the *virela* and the *rondeau* were two quite distinct kinds of refrain song. The concept of the "hook" seems less applicable to the *virelais,* given that both the refrain and the verse are expanded musical "sentences" rather than a short phrase. As a result, the repetition of sections is not so intense and immediate to the listener.

However, the four *virelais*, like the four *rondeaux*, are very distinct from one another, and similarly offer a variety of possible renderings of a single genre. Two *virelais*, *Donna pos vos* and *Ben volgra s'esser*, lie at opposite ends of the spectrum of form and musical style available within a single genre. Even though the script and language of both pieces warranted my ascription of these to the same scribe, differences in form and musical style seriously challenges that conclusion. The question to keep in mind in comparing these two *virelais* is How different can "the same" be? Are there enough differences between these two *virelais* to warrant separate ascriptions of genre, or of scribe?

The musical profiles of the two *virelais* present two contrasting conceptions of rhythm and phrase. For the melody of *Ben volgra s'esser* (Example V.11), scribe 1 used a strict alternation of long and short rhythmic slots, akin to rhythmic mode 1. The longs and breves are occasionally subdivided into two—primarily by liquescent forms of the neume. Only two *c.o.p.* ligatures appear in the pieces. Thus the restricted or conservative use of note shapes further communicates an aesthetic of rhythmic regularity and simplicity. Every line of words consists of seven syllables.

This highly regular rhythmic organization contrasts with the rhythmic variety presented by the words and music of *Donna pos vos* (Example V.12). *Donna pos vos* follows here.

Donna pos vos ay chausida	8
faz me bel semblan	5
qu'ieu suy a tota ma vida	8
a vos tre coman	5
A vostre coman seray	7
a totz los jors de ma via	8
E ja de vos non partray	7
per degun autre que sia	8
Que erer non amet hereda	8
tan ni ysuetz tristan	5
con yeu vos donna grasida	8
qu'ieu am sens engan	5

Donna [pos vos ay chausida
faz me bel semblan
qu'ieu suy a tota ma vida
a vos tre coman]

Everly line abrings a syllable count different from the
preceding line. Analogous to this verbal rhythmic variety
is the scribe's use of *divisio modi* throughout the piece.
In the first phrase the scribe uses a dot to switch from a
long-short rhythmic pattern to a short-long rhythmic
pattern. The dot cues the "reader" to group the longs and
breves differently (see mm.2-3). In the first phrase of the
verse-couplet the scribe effects a similar switch of mode by
carefully placing rhythmically unambiguous *c.o.p.* ligatures
between rhythmically ambiguous longs and breves. This
together with clear placement of syllables indicates a
short/long, then long/short division of the perfection (see
mm.17-18 and 26-27).

Although the verse form of both *virelais* is Abba(A),
only the musical setting of *Ben volgra s'esser* follows suit.
The scribe set each line of the refrain quatrain and the
tercet half-couplet to distinct musical phrases, thus
creating a corresponding musical quatrain and tercet. The
quatrain refrain and the distich half-couplet of *Donna pos
vos*, however, allowed the scribe to superimpose an alternate
musical solution—one that is unique among the four *virelais*.
The music for *Donna pos vos* divides the verse into double
versicles with open and closed endings. Each versicle
contains two unequal phrases that correspond to the unequal
lines of the verbal couplet. The following diagram shows
the recycling of two melodic phrases (A and B) alongside the

words and syllable counts for each line.

A	*Donna pos vos ay chausida*	8
	faz me bel semblan	5
A	*qu'ieu suy a tota ma vida*	8
	a vos tre coman	5
B	A vostre coman seray	7
	a totz los jors de ma via	8
B	E ja de vos non partray	7
	per degun autre que sia	8
A	Que erer non amet hereda	8
	tan ni ysuetz tristan	5
A	con yeu vos donna grasida	8
	qu'ieu am sens engan	5
A	*Donna pos vos ay chausida*	8
	faz me bel semblan	5
A	*qu'ieu suy a tota ma vida*	8
	a vos tre coman	5

Thus *Donna pos vos* projects an aesthetic of musical economy as well as verbal/musical counterpoint on the larger rhythmic level of form, while indulging in low-level rhythmic variety.

Although the two *virelais* are stylistically distinct, both faithfully project the static or dynamic rhythm of the words on the appropriate rhythmic level. The projection of tonal focus in the *virelais* follows from the conception of the whole. The tonality of the refrain and couplet sections of *Ben volgra s'esser* is not clearly oriented to a central tone, but rather written so as to effect a smooth segue from one section to another, and to reduce monotony over the

course of the stanzas and *tornadas*. In the context of the
refrain melody alone, the opening phrase orients the ear to
a only to have this focus confounded with a switch to **c** for
the next two phrases. However, the initial **a** orientation
follows more logically after the last phrase of the couplet
which ends on **a** as an open cadence. Similarly, the final
phrase of the refrain shifts focus to a close on **F** which,
though unprepared by the previous phrases, nevertheless
provides a welcome and complementary respite from the **a**, and
serves to pull the tessitura down for the initial **a** of the
couplet.

Despite such attempts to obscure formal seams, the
melodic phrases of *Ben volgra s'esser* do not cohere
particularly well. The double-versicle construction of
Donna pos vos offers a more successful solution. The entire
melody spans the **C** to **c** octave, and presents a balanced
concentration on the lower end of the octave in the refrain
(**C-g**), and the upper end in the couplet (**a-c**). Each
versicle introduces a succinct melodic statement that
projects a central organizing pitch—**C** in the refrain, and **a**
in the couplet. The subsequent repetition of the versicle
reenforces the pull of the central organizing pitch. The
local melodic focal points, **C** and **a,** provide long-range
contrast (comparable to a move to a dominant harmony) to the
D final, suspended until the closed cadences of the refrain
and the couplet. As can be observed in the *rondeaux*, the

first cadence usually does not present the final, and notes related by step or by fifth are commonly used as preparation for the final. Medieval listeners of dance songs surely understood this cooperation of melodic form and functional pitch hierarchies.

The question of whether these two refrain songs coexisted in the mind of a single composer can never by answered conclusively. The fact remains, however, that these two compositions represent either the renderings of two poles within one generic category, or two different genres.[13] As previously mentioned, *Ben volgra s'esser dansa* identifies itself as a *dansa* in which an initial and final statement of a refrain frames an internal chain of verses and *tornadas*. In contrast, *Donna pos vos* includes only a single stanza with an explicit cue for a repetition of the refrain at the close of that stanza, implying a repeat of the refrain between subsequent stanzas. Such is the case with the *virelais* of Jehan de Lescurel preserved in fr.146 where there appears a single stanza and a cue for a concluding repetition of the refrain. The multi-stanza *virelais* of Guillaume de Machaut do cue a repeat of the refrain between every verse.

---

[13] The three Provençal *descorts* present a similar dilemma. All three were undisputably written by the same hand, but only *Sens alegrage* (#22) uses a double versicle melodic construction while for the other two, *Bella donna cara* (#17) and *Qui la ve en dutz* (#20), the scribe recorded vast continuous melodies (see Chapter VII).

Christopher Page (1986) makes a distinction between the Provençal *dansa* and the French *virelai* (p. 24), and in a footnote considering *Donna pos vos* (p. 247, note 22), Page discusses whether the repeat of the refrain between stanzas was or was not part of the "traditional" form of the *dansa*. The description of the *dansa* in *Las Leys d'Amors* sheds no more light on this ambiguity, but does clearly specify the Abba form and the inclusion of three stanzas. Furthermore, an annotator to this text mentions French "*redondels*" and "*viandelas*" which may refer to the distinct Northern forms of the *rondeau* and *virelai*.

Anxiety about how to identify the genre of the form AbbaA and its variations go back as far as Guillaume de Machaut. As discussed at the beginning of this chapter, on two occasions Machaut presented two generic names for the same form—*virelai* and *chanson baladée*. The translation of the latter as "danced song" comes close to the Southern generic name *dansa*. The etymology of the word *virelai* is most often given as originating in the Old French *virer*, meaning to turn or to twist, which implies an association of the form with dancing.[14] Although "*virelai*" and variants such as "*vireli*," "*virenli*," "*virela*" appear in thirteenth-century refrains, the word does not appear to have been used as a generic designation before Machaut's writing in the mid

---

[14] See Nigel Wilkins, "Virelai," in *The New Grove* (1980).

fourteenth-century (Bec 1977, 1:235-6). Thus it is quite possible that Machaut was cognizant of the Provençal name and form, and in asserting the name *chanson baladée* was in fact referring to the *dansa*. However, Machaut may have also been responding to a thirteenth-century Northern designation. The important late thirteenth-century source, *GB-Ob* Douce 308, preserves under the rubric "*ballettes*" verse without music that approximates the *virelai* form.

The earliest and most abundant sources for music written in a "*virelai*" form are the thirteenth-century vernacular and paraliturgical repertories that originated in Southern European countries such as Spain and Italy. The Italian *laude* repertory developed in the worship practices of religious confraternities. This fundamentally lay vernacular monophonic repertory shows the influence of the poetic and musical forms of the secular *ballata* repertory. A single thirteenth-century source of monophonic *laude* survives (*I-CT* 91), containing modest, largely syllabic settings of verse with music notated in note-shapes that defy any modal or mensural interpretation. The earliest source for monophonic *ballata* stems from the first half of the fourteenth-century and contains highly melismatic musical settings that can be compared to the *virelais* of Jehan de Lescurel more readily than to the Provençal pieces

in fr.844.[15] These fourteenth-century *ballata*, however, use a single line refrain, and single line couplets. Nevertheless, the term *ballata*, like *dansa* and *chanson baladée*, explicitly conveys an association with dancing.[16]

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, compiled under the auspices of Alfonso X (d. 1284), present a second Southern European repertory with formal ties to the *virelai*. Hoppin (1978: 321) summarizes:

> The greater majority of the poems begin with a refrain that is repeated before each stanza and again at the end of the poem. The music of the stanza proper begins with one or two new phrases that are repeated and then concludes with all or part of the refrain melody. The form common to many *Cantigas*, that is, may be represented as *A bba A bba A*, etc., the pattern of the French virelai, the Italian ballata, and some laude spirituali. . . It must be stressed here, however, that the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* are the first songs to make extensive use of the form that later became fixed in the French virelai and Italian ballata.

---

[15] For a summarial discussion and transcribed examples of the monophonic *laude* and *ballata*, see Yudkin 1989, pp. 297-301 and 523-5 respectively.

[16] In *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Dante mentions the *ballata* along with *sonitus* (sonnets) as less noble vernacular forms than the *canzone* of the *troubadours* and *trouvères* (see Chapter I).
Despite the differences in poetic and melodic style between the monophonic *virelais* and *ballata*, polyphonists of the mid fourteenth century—French and Italian alike-did recognize a formal similarity and found it entirely appropriate to Frenchify or Italianize the style of their composition, as is evident in the *ballata* of Francesco Landini and or in the florid mimetic *virelai Par maintes foys* by Vaillant.

Though this repertory is essentially devotional and not explicitly related to dance, the melodies (some of which are contrafacta of secular tunes) are notated in clearly differentiated neumes that encode rhythm, and the elaborate manuscripts include miniatures that depict instrumentalists, which suggests a plausible association with celebration and festivals.[17]

In addition to similarities in form and associations with dance, the four Provençal *virelais* and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* both use a "literary" vernacular for their verses. Though perhaps still active as regional dialects, the Gallego-Portuguese of the *cantigas* and the Franco-Provençal (see Page 1986, 23) of the *virelais* in fr.844 represent the choice of the composer to use a language other than the prevalent vernacular or official "documentary" language of the courts. Did the scribes adding to fr.844 use their own vernacular to record examples of a form indigenous to their region, or did they affect a dialect of Provençal for the *virelais* due to exposure to "Southern" repertories such as the *cantigas*, *ballata*, and *dansa*?

---

[17] See Jack Sage, "Cantiga," in *The New Grove* (1980). Sage writes:

> In sum, the miniatures seem to provide indispensable evidence that the *Cantigas* were sung by one or more voices variously accompanied by one, two, or a group of instruments and sometimes by dancers . . . the general effect of those illustrations containing instruments is not so much one of stylization as of precise, objective representation. (III: 728)

Although impossible to answer, the seven Franco-Provençal pieces (four *virelais* and the three *descorts*) show a consistent use of spelling and word forms that demonstrate a convincing familiarity with the language on the part of the scribes who recorded them.[18] Furthermore, two of the three *descorts* recorded by scribe 1 (*Qui la ve en ditz* and *Sens alegrage*) have abundant concordances for their texts as well as ascriptions in the extant collections of *troubadour* lyrics which suggests that at least scribe 1 had exposure to a variety of Provençal lyric genres.[19]

What music informed these two composers? A search for models for the four Provençal *virelais* or *dansas* results in surprisingly few examples. No verses for Provençal *dansas* survive prior to 1250, and one late *troubadour*, the Catalan Cerveri de Girona, left "an important body of *dansas* (none surviving with music)" (Page 1986: 247, note 23. See also p. 24). Only one other monophonic Provençal *virelai* or *dansa*, *Tant es gay et avinetz,* survives with music in the small collection of *chansons* (*Le chansonnier du roi de Navarre*) currently bound into the middle of fr. 844 but unrelated to the original corpus. The circumstance of this piece,

---

[18] The Franco-Occitan or Franco-Provençal region roughly follows the Saône river from Lyon in the South-East to Besançon in the North-West, and can be traced as far as the Bourbonnais region in Central France.

[19] Recall that the scribe for the original corpus had difficulty acquiring the melodies and stanzas for the *troubadour* section of his collection.

however, compares to that of the four *virelais* added to *le Manuscrit du roi*—that is, the *virelai* is a later mensural addition (probably early fourteenth-century) to a preexisting collection of *trouvère chansons*.

A second and earlier notated example showing a possible connection of *virelais* and Provençal language survives in the Montpellier Codex. The upper two voices of the thirteenth-century three-part motet *Li jalous/Tuit cil qui/Veritatem* (Mo #169) use *virelai* melodic forms while the two sets of words written in a "Gallicanized" Provençal.[20] This thirteenth-century motet bears witness to an existing Northern association of the *virelai* form with Southern cultures. The lengths of the musical sections are the same in each voice so that the counterpoint between the two voices also follows the *virelai* form. Although neither poem uses the corresponding *virelai* poetic form, both mention dancing, and the motetus is a *rondeau*.[21] This motet encapsulates the web of associations that link the *virelai*

---

[20] The only clearly Occitan word forms in the two texts are the past participles *fustat, huat, frapat,* and *enamourat.*

[21] The music for Mo #169 has a concordance in an earlier fascicle of the same codex, *Post partum virgo/Ave regina glorie/Veritatem* (Mo #64). The words of the two motets show some thematic interrelationships. The two sets of words for Mo #169 chastise jealous behavior and narrate that the "queen" commands the jealous to be driven away from the dance. Juxtaposed to this scenario, the triplum of Mo #64 marvels at the miracle of the virgin birth—specifically how Mary remained inviolate *post partum*, while the motetus proclaims Mary as "queen of glory and mirror of the angels" (*Ave, regina glorie, et angelorum speculum*).

musical form, Southern languages or dialects, and dancing—here given a particularly Northern twist in the motetus, which fits a *rondeau* poem written in Southern dialect into a *virelai* musical form.

The motet Mo #169 and the five extant Provençal *virelais*—the four added to the "*Manuscrit du roi*" and the one added to "*Le chansonnier du Roi de Navarre*"—attests to an association of Southern geographical regions, represented by Franco-Provençal texts or textual cues, with the *virelai* form. The five *virelais* reveal that this association lingered in the Northern Artois region of France in the fourteenth-century, at the same time that the *virelai* or *dansa* form was being assimilated into the Northern French and Parisian musical culture. The late thirteenth-century Northern composers Adam de la Halle and Guillaume d'Amiens both accommodate the *virelai* musical form to clearly Northern verse and musical procedures. Like the motetus of Mo #169, *C'est la fins koi* by Guillaume d'Amiens fits a *rondeau* poem into a *virelai* musical form. Adam de la Halle wrote two polyphonic pieces which, like the *ballettes* in *GB-Ob* Douce 308, approximate the *virelai* form.[22] *Dieus soit en cheste maison*, and *Fines amouretes ai* show a rhyme scheme

---

[22] In light of the earlier discussion of the repetition of the refrain after each stanza, it is worthy of note that the *ballettes* in *GB-Ob* Douce 308 are inconsistent in this matter. Cues for the refrain occasionally appear between stanzas, often times only at the beginning and end as in *Ben volgra s'essser*, and sometimes only at the end of each stanza, sometimes only at the end of one stanza.

that compares to the Spanish *cantigas* "known as the *zajal,* a Moorish verse form in which a repeated rhyme in each stanza is differentiated from the rhyme in the refrain; the last line of the stanza, however, anticipates the return of the refrain" (Yudkin 1989, 305). The musical form of *Dieus soit en cheste maison* is simply AbA, but the music of *Fines amouretes ai* comes closer to the *virelais* of the fourteenth-century, showing a musical pattern of ABccabAB.

Machaut's monophonic *virelais* show a wide variety of styles, including examples of Lescurel-like melismas and Machaut's idiosyncratic chromatic inflections. The majority, however, are similar to the four Provençal *virelais* added to fr.844 in poetic dimension and melodic style.[23] In light of the rest of his progressive oeuvre, the *virelais* present a particular locus of conservation—the retention or recollection of a rustic melodic directness. Although Machaut does not use regional dialects of French for his *virelais,* he may nevertheless invoke an association with dance as well as rural (perhaps Southern?) culture through the use of monophony, propulsive rhythms, and instrumental melodies. The *virelai Aymi dame de valour*

---

[23] Although Machaut's *virelais* are notated in minims and semibreves in contrast to the longs and breves of the *virelais* in fr.844, the retention of modal rhythmic patterns with occasional *fractio* and *divisi modi* in both sets of *virelais* suggests that the notation of these pieces on different rhythmic levels represents an inflation of rhythmic values rather than a shift of musical style or tempo.

(Example V.13), like *Donna pos vos*, does not adhere to any one rhythmic pattern, but does organize the low-level rhythms according to a constant flow or backdrop or alternating long and short note values.[24] The leaps of a fifth and greater in *Ay mi dame*, and the copious ornamental figures in *Donna pos vos* suggest music suitable for or inspired by instruments.

Throughout the discussion of the Franco-Provençal pieces added to fr.844, I am assuming that the MS did not itself travel South, but rather that the composers or scribes were residing in or passing through the Artois region where the MS was located. This scenario is suggested by the fact that these pieces entered the MS early (perhaps before the MS was bound, as the added folios indicate), and that the majority of Old French compositions were entered thereafter. Thus the Franco-Provençal lyrics would have been opaque to the indigenous inhabitants of the region but nevertheless would have invoked an association with a particular geographical region and its culture. I suggest that the first two scribes to contribute to fr.844 intended to continue the comprehensive "national" scope of the collection's original plan, which was to gather the major thirteenth-century French vernacular lyric genres—*troubadour* and *trouvère chanson*, motets, and *lais*. The *descorts* and

---

[24] Most of Machaut's *virelais* as well as the three other *virelais* added to fr.844 do not fluctuate from a single modal rhythmic pattern.

virelais expand the representation of the *troubadour* lyric and culture with examples of venerable as well as neglected genres. By including these, the first two scribes opened up the field for the other contributors to include a wide range of genres from simple *rondeaux,* to vast, continuous melodies.

The Instrumental *Estampies* and *Danses*

Among the neglected genres carefully recorded by the first two contributors there appears a set of four instrumental *estampies*—clearly numbered, labeled, and neatly executed. Like the *virelai*, the instrumental *estampie* was a genre neglected by the designers and compilers of *chansonniers* in the thirteenth century, only to spring Athena-like from the head and hand of the scribes in the fourteenth century—fully formed, standardized, and idiomatic. Of the total thirty-seven added pieces, the instrumental compositions are not only the most well represented genre (numbering eleven), but also ironically the most uniform set of additions despite the apparent lack of written models for the three scribes who recorded this genre.

All eleven instrumental compositions, whether labeled "*danse*," or "*estampie,*" use a double versicle structure with

open and closed endings. The two "*danses*" are shorter and
somewhat simpler than the "*estampies.*"[25] Both *Las Leys* and
Johannes de Grocheio mention the *estampie*, called
respectively *estampida* and *stantipes*, and describe the genre
as having both vocal and instrumental manifestations.
Written records of the vocal *estampie* does survive in *GB-Ob*
Douce 308 which contains nineteen *estampies* written in Old
French. These lyrics, like the instrumental pieces in
fr.844, are clearly labelled "*estampie.*" Concerning a
possible connection between the two collections, Hendrik Van
der Werf (1980, 257) writes:

> It is not very likely that any of these 19 poems
> were originally performed to any of the textless
> *estampies* . . . yet all but two of them could be
> performed to a melody of that type. The poems
> consist clearly of three or four double versicles
> of varying lengths.

The song *Kalenda maya* by the *troubadour* Raimbaut de
Vaqeiras (d. 1207) offers another well-known example of a
vocal *estampie*, fortunately preserved with both music and
razo. Like the instrumental *estampies*, the melody consists

---

[25] Yudkin (1989, 435) identifies the two *dansses* as
corresponding to Grocheio's instrumental *ductia*. Both
danses use open and closed endings and consist of three
double versicles that may indeed correspond to Grocheio's
description of the usual three "*puncta*" of the *ductia*. The
main distinction between the *ductia* and the *estampie*,
according to Grocheio, is the use of a "percussive beat" for
the *ductia* but not for the *estampie*. This may be a
performance practice which is not evident in the musical
style of the compositions in fr.844.

of three double versicles, two of which use *ouvert* and *clos*
endings; like the *estampie* lyrics in Douce 308, the lyrics
follow suit, for they can be parced into three double
versicles articulated by syllable count, rhyme, and syntax.
Given this early Southern witness to the vocal genre, one
could ask the same question that was asked of the *virelai*
and *dansa*—did the form originate in Southern or Northern
regions, and does the vocal *estampie* have any relationship
to the instrumental *estampie*? According to Raimbaut's *razo*,
the *troubadour* composed *Kalenda maya* to an instrumental
estampie performed in his presence by "two *jongleurs* from
Northern France" (Van der Werf 1980, 255). This story
provides a tidy explanation that subsumes all extant
examples and theoretical discussions: the *estampie* was a
Northern instrumental genres that was occasionally modified
(perhaps by Southern musicians first) into a lyric form in
the thirteenth-century.[26]

The earliest extant sources for instrumental
compositions support the hypothesis that instrumental music
in general, and the double versicle form associated with the
estampie genre in particular, was cultivated and adopted by
literate clerics first in the North. Two thirteenth-century
English sources (*GB-Lbm* Harl.978 and *GB-Ob* Douce 139)

---

[26] The late Catalan *troubadour* Cerveri de Girona also
wrote some *estampidas*. His *ouevre*, for which only texts
survive, include *dansas* among other forms which Page (1986,
247 note 23) describes as "notable for the high proportion
of late and traditionally minor forms."

preserve four wordless pieces that clearly predate those in fr.844, and that use various double-versicle constructions to organize the music on both large and small scale. The recording of these pieces, may have been for pedagogical purposes, however, rather than born of an impulse to record or compose examples of instrumental music.[27] The Robertsbridge Codex (*GB-Lbm* Add.28550), a third English source from the first half of the fourteenth-century, contains two complete dances in the form of *estampies*, along with three transcription of motets for a keyboard

---

[27]The MS *GB-Lbm* Harl.978, compiled from the second third of the thirteenth-century, preserves a succession of three two-part pieces. About the situation of these pieces, Wulf Arlt (1983, 83) writes:

> There are several reasons for believing that these pieces do not directly reflect an unwritten, *ad hoc* instrumental practice. . . the fact that there is a succession of various compositional techniques, extending through the three pieces, suggests that the layout of this small collection was thought out, that there was some specific purpose behind it.

Arlt proposes that the three pieces were either "meant to demonstrate particular features of instrumental music" or were simply wordless musical examples meant to "illustrate certain compositional techniques" (pp. 85-6). Both scenarios are in keeping with the didactic nature of the rest of the contents. The fourth wordless piece survives in the MS *GB-Ob* Douce 139, compiled in the last third of the thirteenth-century. This piece is predominantly monophonic but includes a sudden three-part section (one part provides a drone) in the last phrase which is then followed by more monophony. In his close examination of the layers of corrections made by the scribe, Arlt suggests that this piece presents a scribe "at work" either revising a preexisting piece, or offering a "collection of (primarily monophonic) procedures, to be used within an unwritten tradition" (p. 96).

instrument.[28]

The mixture of dance forms and instrumental transcriptions of motets presented by the Robertsbridge Codex illustrates a significant link in the "making written" of the unwritten tradition of instrumental music. Returning to the eleven textless pieces in fr.844, certain ingredients are needed in for the writing of these pieces to take place. First, the scribe had to be not only musically literate, but also familiar with notating wordless music. Given that instrumental music was not written down, the scribes needed some more abundant models of notating wordless music in Franconian ligatures. Many vernacular motet tenors and melismatic upper voices found in the seventh and eighth fascicle of Mo, and the polyphonic *In seculum* hockets at the end of the late thirteenth-century motet collection Ba provide just such models for notating stretches of wordless music.[29]

---

[28] The late fourteenth- or early fifteenth-century Italian MS *GB-Lbm* Add.29987 contains eight elaborate wordless monophonic pieces designated *istampitta*. Although these pieces use the double versicle form, their melodies are written in a more virtuosic, ornamented style than the *estampies* in fr.844. The stylistic difference between the French *estampies* and the Italian *istampitte* is analogous to the stylistic difference between the monophonic French *virelais* and the early monophonic Italian *ballate*. The *istampitte* may reflect an Italian assimilation of an originally Northern form or compositional technique, just as the Southern *dansa* was assimilated by Northern composers.

[29] See especially Mo #270, *Amours dont/L'autrier/Chose Tassin*, in which the secular tenor melody forms a large double versicle written in an uninterrupted flow of unpatterned rhythms. Another *Chose Tassin* tenor in Mo #294

Second, the scribe must have had contact with instrumentalists or must played an instrument himself. In other words, the musical environment had to be such that there was a strong presence of music for instruments, and a demand among literate clerics for that music to be preserved or transmitted. Of particular importance among the instrumental pieces preserved in Ba are two with the specific designations *In seculum viellatoris,* and *In seculum d'Amiens longum.* The modifier *viellatoris* suggests the type of instrument used, namely a *vielle,* while the modifier *d'Amiens* suggests a region of origin for that particular piece. As mentioned before regarding the *rondeaux* of Guillaume d'Amiens, the *In seculum d'Amiens* attests to the cultivation of instrumental music in a region close to the location of fr.844. Paris was another locus of burgeoning interest in instrumental music around 1300. At about the

---

also shows a large double versicle structure and rhythmic variety. In both tenors, the repeat of the versicle ends with a *clos* cadence. These double versicle structures do not necessarily reflect the influence of instrumental music practice. Rather such repetition reflects the impetus to find new solutions to large-scale organization of motets—an impetus that eventually leads to the *talea* and *color* tenor construction of isorhythmic motets. Yet both motets and instrumental music require a principle of organizing large blocks of music independent of text.

A third notable motet from Mo is #314, *Dieus comment puet/vo vair oel/*[Tenor]. This piece contains a melismatic motetus part with a *rondeau* text and a melodic repetition scheme. The tenor consists of two notes, **C** and **D**, held in alternation in the fashion of a drone, and organized into a transparent repetition scheme. This motet provides a clear example of the cross-fertilization of instrumental and vocal music practice.

same time and place that Grocheio included instrumental
music in his general survey of musical concepts, genres, and
forms, Jerome of Moravia, assuming a readership of literate
clerical *musicians*, compiled several technical music
treatises, one of which discusses tuning as well as
beginning and advanced playing techniques for the five-
string *viella* and *rubeba*.[30]   Thus a substantial demand for
both "writing for" and "writing about" instruments was
already in place in Northern Europe by the time the eleven
instrumental pieces were entered into fr.844.

However, in recording their instrumental pieces the
three scribes were not simply responding to demand, but they
were also responding to each other. The pieces project a
high degree of self-consciousness and conformity. For his
four *estampies*, scribe 2 first writes out both the *ouvert*
and *clos* endings, unlabeled but separated by lines drawn
through the entire staff. For subsequent phrases, he uses
only the first ligature or group of notes of the *ouvert*
ending to cue the repeat. Each *estampie* is separated by a
blank staff, and in most cases each phrase plus cue fits

---

[30] See Page (1979) for a discussion of the date and
provence of Jerome's treatise which he places between 1289
and 1306 in Paris.
In contrast to Grocheio's discussion of the
instrumental *stantipes* as a virtuosic instrumental genre,
Jerome's notion of advanced *viella* technique is in the
context of an ensemble in which the "fiddler should know how
to 'fifth' a given melody, played or sung by another
musician . . .it is difficult and specialized because it
involves literacy-based musical devices (albeit simple ones)
taken from the realm of the *discantor* (Page 1986, 72).

onto a single line with ample space separating the added music from the ending. The careful visual presentation of the pieces could suggest a degree of unfamiliarity with writing and reading these pieces, but the careful formatting also communicates a high degree of formality and planning as if these pieces were to be considered integral to the original collection of lofty *chansons*. Indeed, each *estampie* is named *estampie royal* and numbered as member in a finite or selected collection.

Scribe 6 added two instrumental pieces using the initial ligature of the *ouvert* ending to cue the repeat—the same notational cue established by scribe 2. Although only the second piece is labeled *danse*, both pieces have the initial statements of the two cadential endings identified as *"ouvert"* and *"clos."* The demarcation of endings represents a clarification of the format of the four *estampies* found on f.176, and perhaps certain trepidation about the convention of signifying the repeat, whether in direct response to the four *estampies* entered by scribe 2 or prompted from some outside influence. Although this scribe does not attempt to fit each versicle onto a single staff line, he does use double bars to signal the end of a versicle as does scribe 2.

The four *estampies* and one *danse* entered by scribe 8 show an obvious response to both sets of instrumental addition—first by continuing the following the naming and

numbering scheme of scribe 2 (but spelling *"royal"* to *"real"),* and by responding to the *"Danse"* of scribe 6 by writing his own *"Dansse real."* This scribe also solves any ambiguity of abbreviation by writing out both endings in full, one after another, separated by a line drawn through the entire staff. However, he neither identifies the endings nor writes out the repeat of the versicle, but rather follows scribe 2 in fitting each versicle onto a single staff (often a tight fit given his mistrust of abbreviations) and using double bars to signal a discrete versicle. Thus Scribe 8 clearly attempted to complete the musical and visual program of scribe 2.

How do the three sets of instrumental pieces compare musically? Given that this is a newly "written" genre of music, the very fact that these pieces were recorded in the same MS—and eight in succession by two different scribes—may constitute the extent of their connection. The succession of eight *estampies* in fact seem to present a maximum of variety of melodic and tonal construction. Scribe 2 used different finals for each of his *estampies*—G for the second, D for the third, and F for the fourth. Scribe 8 used primarily a and F finals, and scribe 6 used G for his two pieces. Relationships among the versicles in a single piece are difficult to detect, let alone among individual pieces. The two instrumental pieces entered by scribe 6, additions #12a and 12b, show possible musical connections. They not

only share the same final **G**, they also show versicles of the same unvarying length (equal to four measures in transcription), the same opening on **c**, and the same "first mode" rhythmic pattern to organize the low-level rhythm. In comparison to the eight successive *estampies* on ff.176v-177v, however, these two pieces are less rhythmically vigorous and may therefore represent the recording of a less virtuosic or a more bare-bones example of instrumental music

Generic and idiomatic connections are easier to identify. *La quarte estamipie royal* (Example V.14) entered by scribe 2 and *La quinte estampie real* (Example V.15) entered by scribe 6 are examples of two finely constructed *estampies*. In both pieces, the *ouvert* and *clos* endings begin the same and diverge only in the final part of the phrase. The *ouvert* cadence ends a third above the final of *clos,* and the ending are more tunefully constructed—with clearer tonal focus and sharper melodic profile—than the more tonally and rhythmically meandering versicles. The versicles begin in the low end or middle of the tessitura and expand into the higher end as the pieces progress. Phrase lengths vary from versicle to versicle. Idiomatic writing for instruments (most likely a *vielle*) is apparent in the frequent leaps of a fifth (as in m.1 of Example V.14, and m.13 of Example V.15) and semibreve runs. The held notes at the ends of phrases also provide occasions for ornamentation.

This chapter examined those additions which use specific patterns of repetition for their musical form. Although the specific patterns or forms provide a reliable means of distinguishing one genre from another, such a ready means of analysis obscures inflections to those musical forms which may tell us more about the conception and perception of genre than the specific pattern of repetition. In Chapter I we saw that in demarcating various genres, Grocheio and the author(s) of *Las Leys* were just as concerned with distinctions of *ethos*, function, geographic regions, melody type (i.e. new or borrowed, fast or slow) and musical idiom (i.e. instrumental or vocal music) as with form. As these two treatments of genre indicate, notions of genre encompass a complex of associations; thus "displays" of genre will also encompass a complex of inflections to form according to the agenda or impulse of the composer or scribe.

Although underrepresented in the thirteenth-century anthologies of secular music, the scribes that entered the *rondeaux, virelais,* and *estampies* had comparable antecedent and concurrent repertories that provided abundant possible formal models for their entries. Yet in addition to form, all three genres are distinguished by specific inflections: the *rondeaux* by an accessible or communal musical style distinctive of Artois as opposed to that of Paris; the *virelais* by the use of the Provençal dialect; the *estampies*

by virtue of the musical idiom. Most importantly, however, all eleven additions are inflected by individual but like-minded impulses to write three underrepresented genres into a collection of *troubadour* and *trouvère chansons*, and two-part motets.

These three genres—all forms which are highly indexed with repetition and cultivated in the fourteenth-century—make curious "bed-fellows" with the other type of music added to fr.844. The following chapter examines ten compositions that display an impulse to compose "continuous melodies"—melodic forms that are not at all indexed by melodic or textual repetition. This pronounced polarity suggests a conscious juxtaposition or an intended filling in of generic gaps in the original collection.

Chapter VI

Continuous Melodies Part 1: Refrain Quotation and the Motet

Ten of the thirty-seven additions are settings of a
single stanza of words that incorporate a refrain.[1] Nine of
these single stanza compositions notably do not use
repetition to index the flow of melody—only addition #7,
L'autrier les une fontaine, shows the *pedes-cauda* form
typical of *trouvère chansons*, and will be considered in
Chapter VII. Without schematic repetition, the notion of
form becomes problematic. A crisis of vocabulary arises
when our methods of reducing musical form to a tidy
alphabetic formula fails.[2] This dilemma forces us to re-
evaluate and refine our ideas about requirements for melodic

---

[1] In this chapter, I will not follow the convention of
italicizing the word "refrain" to distinguish between the
non-repeating quotation of an autonomous medieval French
phrase from the use of such a phrase as a structural
reprise. Scholars such as Stevens italicize the word
refrain when they mean to emphasize the words and their
presumed autonomy as opposed to the structural function of
the words, which may or may not comprise a repeating unit.
However, the pool of words and music for repeating and non-
repeating refrains is the same, as the sources bear witness.
Single refrains often appear in both guises, as refrain-
reprises and refrain-quotations. Thus to superimpose a
distinction of type where no such distinction originally
existed only distances us from understanding the nuances and
relatedness of the various refrain compostions.

[2] Indeed, the alphabetical reduction of musical forms
is precisely the locus where our notion of "form" and
"formula" fuse and confuse prescription and description.

unity and coherence, and the capacity for a medieval
audience to appreciate subtle relationships within and among
musical compositions.

Despite the absence of a melodic form that can be
summarized by an alphabetical formula (e.g. ABaAabAB for the
rondeau), these nine additions can be evaluated and placed
on a continuum of more to less coherence on the basis of
criteria such as the handling of cadences and pitchsets,
varied repetition of phrases, the use of motives etc.
Indeed, reduction of melodic analysis to a series of letters
that merely describe the repetition scheme does not take
into account the degree to which the individual phrases may
or may not cohere.

In the context of a *chansonnier* that also transmits
two-part motets, scholars such as Gennrich (1957) and
Tischler (1982) considered the mensural notation and non-
schematic forms evidence enough to identify these nine
pieces as motet parts that somehow became disassociated from
their companion voices despite the absence of tenor incipits
or any musical or codicological evidence of an additional
voice.

Although it would be a mistake to conclude that these
nine additions are "incomplete" polyphony, they nevertheless
resemble polyphonic motets in their mensural rhythm, melodic
style, and the quotation of refrains. As I hope to show in
this and the following chapter, thirteenth and early

fourteenth-century composers cultivated a "continuous melody" style that cut across monophonic and polyphonic genres. These nine continuous melody compositions developed parallel to the cultivation of dance-song forms that, by contrast, show intensive repetition.

In Chapter V, I presented the notion of a "hook" (a memorable and attractive lyric and/or melodic phrase) and suggested that the appearance of refrains in multiple lyrical and literary contexts measures the effectiveness of the refrain as a "hook." Although the refrains of the four *rondeaux* were not quoted elsewhere, the refrains quoted in the nine continuous melodies do appear in other contexts. Below is a table of the refrains and references to their various appearances according to Boogaard (1969).[3]

Table VI.1: Refrain Citations

Add.#	Folio	Incipit/(Refrain)	Boogaard References
4	4r	J'aim bele dame et de no[m]	(G-mot.1069)
5	4r	[Dorme cuers ou n'a nul bien] (ja n'i dormira le mien)	#596,(385). 1) G-mot.1070: fr.844
6	5r	*Hé, très douce amouretes* (a tort m'ocieis)	#873,(857). 1) R-Sp.2035 rf.4: C. 2) G-mot.1071 *enté:*

[3] In Table 6.1, the number following the "#" sign refers to the entry in Boogaard (1969); the number in parentheses provides a cross reference to a Boogaard entry identified as a related refrain. For the key to the MS abbreviations, see the list of abbreviations at the beginning of this dissertation.

			fr.844 3) G-mot.180: Mo 148v.
8	5v	*Bone amourete* m'a souspris (*me tient gai*)	#289 (935,1247). 1) rondeau 82: k, W 2) R-Sp.1390 rf.4: K, N, X, V, O. 3) G-mot.1073 *enté*: fr.844 4) *Renart le Nouvel*: fr.1593, v.2552
9	5v	*Vous le deffendés l'amer* (*més je n'en lerai mie*)	#1859 (1081). 1) G-mot.880: Mo 316r, Ba 32v, Bes Nr.29, Tu 28r 2) G-mot.1074 *enté*: fr.844 3) *Renart le Nouvel*: W, fr.372, fr.1581, fr.1593, v.6912 4) *Salut d'Amours*: fr.837, strophe 37.
10	6v	*J'ai un chapelet d'argent* (*et bele amie a mon talent*)	#985. 1) G-mot.1075 *enté*: fr.844 2) *La cour d'Amour*: n.a.fr.1731, rf.28.
13	7v	*Joliement du cuer, du cuer* (*servirai amouretes*)	#1162. 1) G-mot.1076 *enté*:
26	204r	*Joilietement m'en vois* (*jolietement*)	#1165 (1069). 1) G-mot.1076a *enté*: fr.844 2) *Le Tournoi de Chauvency*: GB-Ob Douce 308, v. 2524. 3) *Le Chastelaine de Saint Gille*: fr.837, strophe 32
27	204r	*J'aim loiaument en espoir* (*et amerai touz jourz*)	#955 (906). 1) G-mot.1076b *enté*: fr.844 2) *La cour d'Amour*: n.a. fr.1731, rf.24. 3) *Renart le Nouvel*: W, fr.372, fr.1581, fr.1593, v.1746

Table VI.1 shows that six continuous melodies use refrains that appear in other extant contexts, and three

(additions #4, #5, and #13) either do not quote a refrain at all, or quote a refrain that has no extant corroborating citations. Without multiple citations or verbal cues, the recovery of a refrain from the context of a continuous melody and lyric is impossible. Is the quotation of a refrain a defining trait of this continuous melody, single stanza genre? If yes, then the continuous melody might provide the key that informs the audience to search for the quotation—just as the repetition scheme of the *rondeau* or *virelai* informs the audience of distinction between verse and refrain. If no, then the quotation of a refrain is an element of style, embellishing a preexisting musical concept.[4]

Of the six refrains quoted in these continuous melodies, only *Bone amourete m'a souspris* includes a refrain that also appears in a *rondeau*—the polyphonic *rondeau* by Adam de la Halle, *Bone amourete me tient gai*. The rest appear as non-repeating, discrete musical moments embedded in either a non-musical context such as a verse romance, or musical contexts such as *chansons* with changing refrains or a motet part. The lack of *rondeaux* citations, despite the fact that the regions of Artois and Picardy cultivated *rondeaux,* can be attributed to the limited scope and

---

[4] Despite the lack of corroborating sources, both Boogaard (1969) and Gennrich (1958) assumed the quotation of a refrain for *Joliement du cuer du cuer*. Boogaard likewise assumed that *Dorme cuers ou n'a nul bien* contained a refrain quotation as well.

survival of written documents in the Middle Ages.[5] However, it is also probable that a separate or at least larger pool of refrains were composed and reused as stylized song quotations—meant to imply the singing of a song but not to refer to a specific song.

Gennrich (1957) identifies a slightly different set of continuous melodies as *motets entés* (labeled *enté* in Table VI.1).[6] Most scholars of thirteenth-century motets understand the *motet enté* as a sub-genre of motets that "graft" or "splice" (*enter*) a preexisting refrain onto a newly composed voice part by splitting a refrain into two sections and placing one section at the beginning and one section at the end.[7] Nearly 100 pieces have been labeled "*motet enté*" by twentieth-century scholars; most of these pieces are polyphonic, some are lyrics that survive without music. Twenty-two "*motets entés*", however, are notated as monophonic compositions—fifteen found in fr.845 (known as *trouvère chansonnier* N), and the seven in fr.844.

Unlike a generic designation such as "*rondeau-motet*," which was coined by musicologists, "*motet enté*" appears as a generic designation in three medieval sources. Perhaps the

---

[5] Boogaard's 1969 catalogue of *rondeaux* and refrains from the twelfth to early fourteenth centuries lists only 198 *rondeaux* and 1933 refrains.

[6] In the case of *Joliement du cuer du cuer*, Gennrich assumes the quotation of a refrain despite the lack of concordances for the presumed refrain.

[7] See also Ludwig (1910, 305), Rokseth (1935-9, 4:211).

earliest source for the term "*motet enté*" is fr.845, which dates from the second half of the thirteenth century. The rubric "*Ci Commencent li motet ente*" ("Here begin the *motet enté*") introduces a group of twenty complete monophonic pieces (plus one fragment) at the end of the collection, recorded in the undifferentiated notation and two-column format used in the rest of the *chansons*. The second source of the term "*motet enté*" is the anonymous *Li Jus du Pelerin*, written sometime after Adam's death as a prologue to Adam de la Halle's *Robin et Marion*.[8] This prologue appears only in the late thirteenth-century/early fourteenth-century MS fr.25566 (*trouvère chansonnier* W)—the most complete source for Adam's works, and a source for the interpolated romance *Renart le Nouvel*. *Li Jus de Pelerin* tells of the compositions of one "*maistre adan le clerc*," presumably Adam de la Halle.[9]

Nenil ains sauoit canchons faire	No one before knew (how) to make chansons,
Partures et motes entes	Partures and motets entés,
De che fist il agrant plentes	Of which he added a great amount,
Et balades ie ne sai quantes	And ballades, I don't know how many

---

[8] See Huot 1987, 68.

[9] See Rambeau (1886, 14), Langlois (1924, 73) and Hofmann (1970, 145). Everist mentions the prologue in his 1988 article (p.3) but did not mention this citation in his 1990 presentation.

The third reference to *"motet enté"* occurs in the early fourteenth-century manuscript *GB-Ob* Douce 308—a manuscript that contains only words, arranged and labeled by genre. Sixty-four short lyrics follow the heading *"motets entés"*.[10] No space is provided for the addition of music, nor is there any indication of an implied polyphonic interpretation. However, four of the *motet enté* lyrics in Douce 308 have appeared as monophonic pieces in the collection of *motets entés* in fr.845. These lyrics form part of a comprehensive registry and collection of monophonic genres, including *"Grans chans,"* *"Estampies,"* *"Jeus partis,"* *"Pastorelles,"* *"Balletes,"* *"Sottes chansons contre amours,"* *"Motets entés,"* and unlabeled *rondeaux*.

All three appearances of the term *motet enté* occur in the context of monophonic songs, either within a list of monophonic genres as in *Li jus du Pelérin* and in *GB-Ob* Douce 308, or as a subsection of a collection of monophonic songs as fr.845—the only appearance of the term *"motet enté"* accompanied by music with words. Fifteen of the of the twenty pieces which follow the rubric *"Ci commencent li motet ente"* are single stanza, continuous melodies.[11] Seven

---

[10] See Ludwig (1910, 307-13) and Everist (1988, 3). For the words see Raynaud (1883, II:1-38).

[11] Three labeled *lais* (the first of which is a fragment) and one *note* follow an initial string of fifteen *motets entés*. The *lais* are then followed by a monophonic composition that also appears as the motetus part of a two-voiced motet found in fascicle six of Mo (#179). This motetus part, curiously enough, does not contain any

of these fifteen use refrains that have concordances in other sources. Thus it is possible to discern that these seven pieces use the split-refrain or "grafting" compositional procedure described by Ludwig, Gennrich, and others. This procedure is also described and named by Johannes de Grocheio in his breakdown of secular vocal music. Johannes de Grocheio uses what appears to be two related Latin translations of *motet enté—cantilena entata* and *cantus insertus*—to describe a type of song "which begins and ends in the manner of a *cantilena*" (*qui ad modum cantilenarum incipit et earum fine clauditure vel finitur*, Rolhof 1972, 132). The two names he gives for this type of composition clearly suggests a hybrid monophonic genre made by "grafting" a *cantilena* to a *cantus*. Though Grocheio does

---

refrains.

One further piece must be mentioned; *Douce seson* (R-Sp.1641) appears on f.184 before the rubric "*motet enté*," occupying the entire left-hand column and two staves of the right-hand column. The piece is a continuos melody and no room is provided for additional stanzas of text. This description also applies to the compositions following the rubric "*motet enté*." Is *Douce seson* also a *motet enté*? The large and more elaborate initial of the first piece following the rubric, seems to announces the beginning of a new category of piece to the exclusion of *Douce seson*. Although Gennrich did not include this piece in his catalog, Spanke (1955) concluded that the piece was a motet part with no extant concordances. Raynaud (1884) included *Douce seson* in his list of anonymous *chansons* found at the end of the manuscript as does the *Catalogue des mansuscrits français* I (1868, 110). Spanke (1925, 254) also includes this piece in his study of anonymous chansons transmitted by the KNPX group, but revised his opinion of the piece in his 1955 revision of Raynaud (1884). Spanke (1955) has "corrected" Raynaud's designation of the piece as a *lai* (#1641, vol.2, 174) to that of an "apparent motet-part" (Anscheinend Motettenteil) (#1641, 228)

not describe "single stanza" or "continuous melody" forms, the particular manner of refrain quotation and the hybrid nature of the compositions he describes match the "*motets entés*" found at the end of fr.845 which, in turn, compare to the nine pieces added to fr.844.

For Ludwig, Gennrich, Hoppin, Yudkin, and Everist, understanding the genre "*motet enté*" hinges on the idea of the autonomous but context-dependent Medieval refrain.[12] Most refrains are syntactically complete, and are found either as structural reprises in a specific form, such as the *rondeau*, or as non-repeating quotations appended to or embedded in "host" genres, which may be lyrical or narrative. As a non-repeating quotation, refrains can be identified by three possible cues:

1) Contextual verbal cues: the use of an introductory phrase such as "This motet is my appeal" (*A cest motot me reclain*—F-Pn fr.846, f.119r) or "[he] sings with a sweet voice, not knowing *descort* and *lai*[13], but he has a refrain" (*et chante a vois serie, ne sai descort u lai, maiz il ot u refrai*—fr.844, f.100v).

---

[12] Medieval French refrains have been described variously—for example, as an autonomous favorite stich (Crocker 1990, 639),or a courtly aphorism, an amorous proverb (Stevens 1986, 172). Doss-Quinby (1984, 33-4) includes a class of refrains which are merely onomatopoeic or exclamatory. Doss-Quinby believes the onomatopoeic refrains are meant to imitate the sound of music or musical instruments. In support of her claim she points out that such refrains are prefaced by a reference to the composition or notating of a tune.

[13] *Descort* and *lai* are the names of two genres of medieval song.

2) Graphic cues: the appearance of a capital initial at the beginning of the refrain, or separate provisions for refrain music in the context of *chansons* with changing refrains.[14]

3) Linguistic and poetic cues: brief declamatory phrases and the use of personal pronouns or diminutive endings which indicate a courtly-popular poetic register.[15]

As stated before, however, none of these cues can prove unequivocally the presence of an autonomous refrain (as opposed to a newly composed refrain for a single context) without the corroboration of citations in multiple contexts.

Addition #8, *Bone amourete m'a souspris*, quotes the refrain *Bone amourete me tient gai*. Table VI.1 shows that this refrain appears in a total of four contexts. This table also shows that a majority of the refrains found in the *motets entés* also appear as brief musical moments inserted within verse narratives. *Bone amourete me tient gai* appears in one of the sources (fr.1593) for the late thirteenth-century romance *Renart le Nouvel* by Jacquemart Gielée (see Example VI.1). Two other refrains shown in Table 6.1 also appear quoted in *Renart le Nouvel*—the refrain *Vous le deffendés l'amer*, quoted in #9, and *J'aim loiaument*

---

[14] The use of a capital initial at the beginning of *refrains* is by no means reliable evidence in identifying a *refrain*. Even within a single song (see F-*Pn* fr.845, 157: R-Sp 157) the scribe may not have been consistent in his use of capitals for the refrains.

[15] See Doss-Quinby 1984, Chapter I for a discussion of the linguistic and poetic trait which typify *refrains*.

en espoir quoted in #27 (see Example VI.1).[16] As Example VI.1 shows, a phrase that names the genre or describes the activity of singing introduces nearly every refrain. The generic names *"rondet," "motet," "mot," "cant,"* and *"chancon" or "canchon,"* and the verbs *"cantant"* or *"disant"* appear as synonyms. Reader and listener, however, intellectually comprehend the interpolated refrain as a local poetic device—a musical component that represents the named whole.

A second source for the refrain is the polyphonic *rondeau* composed by Adam de la Halle (see Example V.8). Though the words of Adam's *rondeau* refrain is the same as the *Renart* interpolated refrain, the musical settings are different. Thus, the refrain in *Renart* does not refer to or cue this particular *rondeau*. The *rondeau* text follows:

---

[16] Only the refrain *Vous le mi deffendés* appears in all sources for the *romance*. The three melodies givne for this particular refrain in the notated sources *Renart le Nouvel* are nearly identical, though transposed. The melodies for the other two refrains in Example VI.1 do not match the melodies used in the additions. Furthermore, these two refrains do not appear in any other source for *Renart le Nouvel*.

Verse	Melodic phrase	Translation
1. *Bonne amourete*	A	Good love
2. *me tient gai*	B	keeps me happy
3. Ma compaignete	a	My little companion
4. *Bonne amourete*	A	Good love
5. Ma cançonnete	a	My little song
6. Vous dirai	b	I will say to you
7. Bonne amourete	A	Good love
8. me tient gai	B	keeps me happy.

The tone of Adam's *rondeau* is typical—light and popular rather than courtly, with a marked use of the diminutive ending for the primary rhyme. As in *Renart le Nouvel*, the refrain is preceded by a words that refer to the act of singing or to the refrain as a song. In lines 5 and 6 the refrain is specifically referred to as a *cançonnete*, the words of which are to be heeded by the addressee (*ma compaignete*).

The *motet enté Bone amourete m'a souspris* splits the same refrain text and music found in Adam's *rondeau*, and uses the two parts to begin and end a newly composed, single-stanza continuous melody. In contrast to the *rondeau*, the words of the *motet enté* uses the register of the courtly *chanson* (see Example VI.2, verse following).

1. *Bone amorete* m'a soupris	*Good love* captured me
2. D'amer bele dame de pris	To love a beautiful prized woman
3. Le cors a gent et cler le vis	With a beautiful body and shining face
4. Et por s'amor trai grant esmai	And for her love I endure great emotion
5. Et ne por quant je l'amerai	And nevertheless I will love her
6. Tant con vivrai de fin cuer vrai	with a fine true heart as as long as I live
7. Car l'esperance que j'ai	For the hope which I have
8. De chanter tous jors	Of always singing
9. *me tient gai*	*keeps me gay*

Here, the composer has purposely obscured the identity of the *refrain* as an autonomous verbal and musical item. Both music and words leads smoothly from and back to the two halves of the refrain. The composer even prepares the second half of the refrain musically by calling for an **F#** in the preceding melodic line (m.28). The act of singing is mentioned in the line, just before the concluding half of the refrain, but the refrain is not put forth as a "song". Nevertheless, the reference to singing preceding the concluding half of the refrain conceivably acts as a verbal cue, or a hint at the ensuing completion of the quoted refrain.

The above three sources for the refrain *Bone amourete me tient gai* are late examples of the *trouvère* tradition or, more precisely, examples of genres that appear only at the end of the thirteenth century—a time marked by the decline and disappearance of the *trouvère grande chanson* repertory. By 1300 the *grandes chansons* of the *trouvères* were

supplanted by the lyric forms of the Second Rhetoric—the so-called *formes fixes*, which use newly composed structural refrains or reprises. Both the *rondeau* and monophonic *motet enté* represent transitional pieces that use thirteenth-century poetic and musical vocabulary in newly written forms.

A close variant of the refrain—*Bone amours que j'ai me tient gay*—survives as one of four refrains in the *trouvère chanson Quant je vi l'erbe* (R-Sp.1390). This *chanson* belongs to the peculiar genre of medieval song, the *chanson* with changing refrains. Each strophe of such a piece ends with a different refrain. Thus the refrain is not a reprise, but a separable element appended to each strophe. Although five *chansonniers* (K, N, O, X, V) transmit this *chanson,* none preserve music for the words *Bone amourete que j'ai me tient gai.* Indeed, only two extant *chansonniers* (fr.844, and fr.12615) preserve separate music for the various refrains found in this type of *chanson*—the rest only provide melody for the first refrain. In general, discrepancies in the line length of the various refrains preclude the possibility that the melody of the first refrain was used for the other refrains. Without music, the relatedness of this refrain quotation to the three discussed above is impossible to determine.

As with many *chansons* of this type, the words that introduce the refrain prefigures the rhyme of the refrain,

and the first word or words of the following strophes echo the last word or words of the preceding refrain (see below, from fr.846, f.118.) Thus the author weaves the words of the refrain sonically into the construction of the whole, analogous to the sensical weaving of the two halves of a split refrain in a *motet enté*. Here, again, the first two strophes introduce the refrain as a *motet* whose words are to be heeded whereas the third refrain serves as a courtly aphorism to round out the strophe.

I.
1. Quant je vi l'erbe amatir	When I see the grass wither
2. Et le felon tens entrer	And bad weather return
3. Qui fait ces oiseax taisir	Which makes birds fall silent
4. Et laissier jolivetey	And cease the pleasure of love
5. Por ce n'ai je pas osté	For this I have not removed
6. Mon cuer de leal desir	My heart from its loyal desire
7. Mais por mon us maintenir	But in order to maintain my service
8. A cest motot me reclain	I turn to this motet
9. *Je sui joliz por ce que j'aing.*	*I am happy because of the one I love.*

II.
1. J'aing lëaument sanz trahir	I love loyally and without betrayal
2. Sanz foindre et sanz fauseté	Without deceit and without falseness
3. Cele qui me fait languir	The one who makes me languish
4. Sanz avoir de moi pité	Without having pity for me
5. Et bien set de verité	And she knows truly
6. Que je sui seins sanz guenchir	That I am hers without hesitation
7. Mais en espoir de merci	But in the hope of mercy
8. Li iert cist motoz chantez:	This motet will be sung to her
9. *Dame, merci! vos m'ociez*	*Lady, have mercy, you slay me*

III.
1. Vos m'ociez sanz raison	You slay me without reason
2. Dame, sanz humilité	Lady, without shame
3. Ne pert pas a vo façon	It does not seem from your manner
4. Qu'en vo cuer ait cruauté	That there may be cruelty in your heart
5. Mais grant debonaireté	Rather great goodness
6. Por ce sui je en sopeçon	And for this I am in doubt
7. Simple vis et cuer felon	Your natural face and cruel heart
8. M'ont mis en grant desconfort	Have put me in great discomfort
9. *Sa beautez m'a mort.*	*Her beauty brings me death.*

IV.
1. Mort m'a sanz point d'achoison	She has killed me without reason
2. Cele en cui j'ai atorné	The one in whom I place
3. Mon sen et m'entencion	My will and sentiment
4. Por faire sa volenté	In order to do her bidding
5. S'or le daignoit prendre en gré	If now she would exchange it willingly
6. Por tout autre guierredon	For another reward
7. Mis m'avroit hors de friçon	She willve stopped my shuddering
8. Si diroie sanz esmai:	And if I would say without fear
9. *Bone amours qui j'ai me tient gay.*	*The good love I have keeps me happy*

The rich assortment of contexts that quote the refrain *Bone amourete me tient gai* attests to that refrain's flexibility and attractivness for medieval composers. Part

of the "hook" of the genre *motet enté*–polyphonic as well as monophonic—could have been the possibility of a game of "refrain hide and seek." The wide variety of thirteenth-century polyphonic motets shows that motet composers experimented with types and configurations of texts—from poems devoted to Mary in Latin, to nonsensical collections of vernacular exclamations by street vendors advertising their goods. Thus motet composers exercised an option to quote refrains known from other contexts, or to make up quotable refrains themselves.

The question remains, however, whether the medieval understanding of the genre *motet enté* hinges on the quotation of a preexisting refrain, or whether other features of the words and music are more integral to the genre's identity. With regard to the twenty-four possible monophonic *motets entés*–nine single stanza pieces in fr.844 and the fifteen labeled "*motets entés*" in fr.845—only thirteen quote documentable refrains, though all are single stanza pieces, and all show continuous melodic constructions.

In his study of the *motets entés* from fr.845, Mark Everist notes that many of the pieces show an unsystematic use of "internal melodic repetition"—that is, melodic phrases or fragments of phrases used more than once to set different words. *Or ai je trop demore* is a case in point. The syllable count and the rhyme scheme of the words to this

motet enté are as follows.

	Rhyme	Syllables
Or ai je trop demore	a	7
hors de la contree	a	6
la ou j'ai mon cuer done	a	7
et ma desiree.	a	5
N'onques ma loial pensee	a	7
ne fu, s'a ma dame non.	b	7
Mais felon m'i ont trop greve:	a	8
por ce n'i ai pas este	a	7
trop redout l'apercevoir	c	7
S'ai je bone volente	a	7
de ma dame reveoir.	c	5

The unpatterned, non-isometric lines and rhyme scheme are akin to motetus and triplum parts. In Example VI.3, the letters in the left margins signal the four melodic phrases that are used more than once. Although the melodic repetition is not always exact, and does not suggest a predictable scheme, the final two phrases do create a melodic parallel with the first two, so that the piece is framed by the same two phrases, coming in the same order. Many of the pieces in fr.845 show less constructivistic uses of repetition and more echoing of smaller melodic fragments or motives.[17] Everist believes, however, that this use of melodic repetition distinguishes these monophonic *motets entés* from voices in polyphonic *motets entés* (as designated

---

[17] See Everist 1994, 87-8 for a discussion and "paradigmatic analysis" of the piece *Hé Dieus tant doucement*. Everist includes in his chart melodic quotations of as large as whole phrases and as small as four notes.

by Gennrich). Thus Everist proposes that:

> when the scribe of français 845 labelled these
> pieces *motets entés*, he was pointing out this
> specific musical characteristic of 'grafting'
> the same musical units on to the rest of the
> text. (p. 89)

Do the single stanza continuous melodies added to fr.844

also show this melodic "grafting?" The answer is no. The

fr.844 *motets entés* occasionally show two phrases that begin

the same and then diverge—a "varied repetition" more common

to melodies found in the context of thirteenth-century

polyphonic motets (see Example VI.2, mm.17-24).[18]

---

[18] Everist (1994, 86) considers this difference of
melodic construction reason enough to argue that the term
motet enté should not be used to designate a subgenre of the
thirteenth-century polyphonic motet, but only those pieces
in fr.845.

> Previous discussion has demonstrated the
> absence of melodic repetition in the newly
> composed sections, excluding the occasional
> refrains, of the thirteenth-century motet.
> Phrases may begin like the one two before it,
> for example, but it can be guaranteed that it
> will not continue in the same way. . . The
> repetition that can be witnessed in *Or ai je
> trop demoré* then represents a rather special
> approach to melodic construction. It stands
> apart from the more common melodic practices of
> the motet and for that matter in other species
> of discantus . . . .

Even though less common than "varied repetition," "exact" or
even "schematic repetition" in polyphonic motets, especially
two-part motets, are not difficult to find. See for example
Mo #186 from fascicle 6 (*Hui main au doz*-HEC DIES), which
uses a split-refrain quotation, a *pedes-cauda* structure, and
internal melodic "grafting" in the *cauda* section. The top
voice of this motet fits even Everist's restricted use of

What are the possible models that informed the writing and composition of the continuous melodies in fr.844? One place to look is in the romance *Renart le nouvel*, which provides a concordance for three of the refrains quoted by the pieces in fr.844. The author of *Renart le nouvel*, Jacquemart Gielée, apparently hailed from Lille, which lies about ten miles North of Arras—the presumed location of fr.844. Furthermore, a version of *Renart le nouvel* appears in the MS fr.25566—the most celebrated collection of Adam de la Halle's works, and as discussed above, a source for the term *motet enté*. Thus fr.844 was situated well within the sphere of influence of this romance. The contributors to fr.844, if not familiar with *Renart le nouvel* itself, at least participated in the same musical and literary environment.

The lyric insertions in *Renart le nouvel* take their place among a wide variety of literary registers and forms. Allegory, exempla, and well-known animal characters from Renart the Fox stories consort with verse narrative, prose love letters, and debates. However, refrains are the only kind of interpolated lyric. They number more than sixty-five in any one version. The three refrains quoted in the

---

the designation *motet enté*.
    The medieval sense of *motet enté* clearly does not refer exclusively to polyphony (or perhaps even monophony, for that matter). But Everist's proposed narrow usage of *motet enté* excludes the continuous melody pieces in fr.844—monophonic melodies that do look like motet voices and use a split-refrain quotation.

additions appear together in only one source of the romance—fr.1593. In fr.1593 a single hand contributed some thirty-eight refrains, often adding refrains and introductory lines in the margins. Though using brown ink and cursive script common to fourteenth century practices, this scribe chose to write his refrain melodies in undifferentiated neumes common to thirteenth-century *chansonniers*. The scribe's extensive effort to fill the empty staves, his conscious choice of notation, and coherent strings of melodies offer evidence of a thoughtful process of writing music.

Most of the refrains in *Renart le nouvel* appear in the last scene where over forty refrains occur within 256 lines of text. When contributing music to the MS, our scribe, intent on writing music, would have seen a page of blank staves interrupted by words. He would have proceeded from one staff to the next, most likely paying little attention to the written narrative in between. Example VI.4 presents a series of fifteen successive refrains as if they were phrases in a larger monophonic composition. The first fourteen were added by our diligent scribe, and the fifteenth added by a later hand. The "composition" comprised of the first fourteen refrains gives the impression of coherence and logic effected through a reiteration of a finite number of pitch-sets that are linked to the varied repetition of several melodic ideas (marked by capital

letters in the left margin). Thus in adding music to the MS, our scribe used long-range musical logic to guide his choice of notes for the refrain at hand. The ear as well as the eye can tell that another scribe added refrain 15. A **Bb** signature, the leap to and from high **e**, and the unprepared cadence on **g** ruptures the tonal coherence of the previous fourteen phrases.

Although on one hand this series of refrains is less well indexed by repetition than *Or ai je trop demoré* in fr.845, on the other hand the series is better indexed by repetition and arguably more tonally coherent than many motetus and triplum parts. Motet parts were nevertheless appreciated as melodies in their own right, as demonstrated by the recording of triplum or motetus as a monophonic piece in *chansonniers*,[19] and by the monophonic *motets entés* in fr.845 and fr.844, which show the influence of motet melodies. Indeed, motetus and triplum parts provide a large collection of single stanza, continuous melodies that could have served as models for the additions to fr.844.

The motetus of Mo #183 from fascicle 6, *En non Diu--FERENS* (also in W2, f.227-227v), appears as a monophonic piece in both fr.844 and the closely related MS fr.12615 (*"Noailles"*). In fr.844 the song is recorded in undifferentiated note-shaspes by the original scribe as part of the planned corpus. In *GB-Ob* Douce 308, f.258v, the text

---

[19] See Gennrich 1926-7.

appears under the rubric *motet enté*. Although the lyric does quote a documentable refrain at the beginning and end, the two quotations, "*En non Dieu c'est la rage, que li maus d'amors s'il ne ma soage*" (Boogaard #665) and "*quant la vi la vi la vi, la bele la blonde a li m'otroi*" (Boogaard #1447), do not appear together elsewhere. They are, in fact, two distinct and intact refrains connected by a composed verse.

The sources suggest that the polyphonic version of the melody *En non dieu c'est la rage* enjoyed popularity in the region of Paris, but that the monophonic version circulated in the northern regions of France. The song is attributed both in the index and in the body of fr.844 to "*Li moines de Saint Denis,*" which could refer to the famous abbey of Saint Denis just outside Paris, and thus reveal a Parisian origin for the melody.[20] However, the layout of the song in fr.844 reveals some confusion about the genre of the melody *En non Dieu*. In fr.844 the scribe left space for additional stanzas of words following the music setting. Two other strophic melodies that show a typical *pedes-cauda* structure follow *En non dieu c'est la rage*, and bear the same attribution. Thus the scribe, probably unfamiliar with the piece and cued by its monophonic state, expected *En non dieu c'est la rage* to have multiple strophes. To format the piece, then, he used the paradigm of the surrounding

---

[20] The same attribution appears in fr.12615.

chansons, though neither the words nor the melody follow suit with the *trouvère chanson* repertory. Does the monophonic version of *En non dieu c'est la rage* cease to be a "motet" simply because the composition lacks a tenor? Clearly, the original scribe understood the piece as a *chanson.*[21]

The monophonic version of *En non dieu c'est la rage* (see Example VI.5) looks nothing like a *trouvère chanson,* yet clearly a medieval audience—no doubt including both passive listeners and active performers—appreciated this continuous melody as monophony, without the support of a tenor. How would they have heard this piece? Present-day listeners are apt to run into a crisis of vocabulary when analyzing a melody such as *En non dieu.* More obvious than the musical elements that contribute to the melody's coherence is our perception of the incoherence caused by the lack of melodic repetition and non-isosyllabic lines. The rhyme scheme and syllable count of the words are as follows:

---

[21] It is possible that another stanza did exist. The motet voice *Quant vi le doz* appears as a monophonic piece with two stanzas in two *chansonniers*: fr.845, f.91, and *F-Pa* 5198, f.190.

In the version of *En non dieu c'est la rage* preserved in fr.12615, the scribe did not leave space for further stanzas, but did add a curious *envoi* that does not appear in fr.844. The words "*noul le vielle de gastinois et ces est de nostre dame*" appear beneath the setting of final refrain. The word "*vielle*" in this *envoi* should set off alarms for all scholars of thirteenth-century motets and *trouvère chansons.* Does this *envoi* imply a possible performance practice of rendering this melody (and other such melodies) on or with a *vielle*? Or does "*vielle*" stand for music in general?

	Rhyme	Syllables
En non dieu c'est la rage	a	7
que li maus d'amors s'il ne ma soage	a	10
ne puis soufrir son outrage	a	8
mon corage/en retrairai	b	7
de li partira	c	5
mais n'est pas par moi	d	5
car *quant la vi la vi la vi*	d	8
la bele la blonde a li m'otroi	d	9

Indeed, the melody is held together by nuances rather than structural pillars. Though *En non dieu* contains no exact melodic repetition, the melody does reiterate the melodic motif of an upper neighbor-note ornament, notated by a liquescent or a ligature. This motif appears in all but three lines of the melody, and always incorporates the highest note of the phrase. The melody can be parsed into pairs of lines that form musical antecedent/consequent phrases. These pairings are projected by melodic contour and by semblances of "ouvert" and "clos" melodic phrase endings. The melody strongly projects **G** as an organizing pitch with **d** as a secondary point of repose. Line 1 climbs from **G** to peak at the neighbor-note ornament **e-f-e**, then the second half of the phrase repercusses the ornament at the same pitch and falls gradually to a cadence on **G**. Line 3 begins as line 1 but pushes the range up a step, placing the ornament on **f-g-f**. Line 4 complements line 3 by descending to touch **G** in mid phrase, but then takes the melody back up to cadence on **d**. The next two iso-syllabic lines keep the melody in the upper fourth of central **G-g** octave. The final

two lines comprise the second quoted refrain and show a completely static, monotone melody that contrasts with the preceding undulating phrases. Thus the melody closes with a aural disjunction—literally a refrain "recitation."

Though written in undifferentiated neumes as if a *chanson*, *En non dieu* still presents the perfect precursor for the nine *motets entés* added later to the MS. That these later additions are written and conceived in mensural notation is not surprising. Literate musicians around 1300—singers and composers of polyphonic motets and new monophony—would have been amply familiar with and probably predisposed to mensural rhythm and notation. What is surprising is the appreciation and cultivation of continuous melodies common to polyphonic motets. This points to an apparent development, however brief or insular, of a corresponding taste for continuous "motet melodies." Those scribes who wrote mensural monophonic continuous melodies into fr.844 must have been informed by this particular taste.

So far we have seen three distinct types of musical compositions that feature refrains and express the taste for "motet melodies." The music examined thus far can be placed on a continuum of more to less musical coherence.

1) The labeled *motets entés* of fr.845, which use non-schematic but literal melodic repetition.

2) The refrains of *Renart le nouvel* in fr.1593, which use the varied repetition of phrases and the intensive repercussion of selected pitch-sets.

3) The monophonic version of the motet *En non dieu* in fr.844, which uses the repercussion of motives, and a flow of contours and phrase endings that suggest antecedent and consequent relationships.

The nine *motets entés* added to fr.844 represent an extension of the concurrent but independent trends of quoting refrains and composing continuous melodies. The three additions that quote refrains found in *Renart le nouvel*, MS fr.1593, provide a representative sample of these compositions. Though written by different scribes, these three appear to have been added nearly in succession (see Table I.1). *Bone amourete m'a souspris* (#8) and *Vous le deffendés l'amer* (#9) are written on the same page, and *J'aim loiaument en espoir* (#27), the first of this subset to be added, is written in a hand that is very similar to the scribe who added *Bone amourete m'a souspris*.

All three *motets entés* show more regular syllable counts and rhymes scheme than either *Or ai je trop demore* (Example VI.3) or *En non Dieu* (Example VI.5). The mensural musical phrases that correspond to each line of words superimpose a second metrical scheme. The rhyme scheme, syllable count, and musical phrase lengths (given in terms of perfections), of the three *motets entés* are as follows.

Addition #8

	Rhyme	Syllabes	Perfections
Bone amourete m'a souspris	a	8	4
d'amer bele dame de pris	a	8	4
le cors a gent et cler le vis	a	8	4
et pour s'amour trai gran esmai	b	8	4
et ne pour quant je l'amerai	b	8	4
tant con vivrai de fin cuer vrai	b	8	4
car l'esperance ke j'ai	b	7	4
de chanter toujours	c	5	3
me tient gai	b	3	2

Addition #9

	Rhyme	Syllabes	Perfections
Vous le deffendés l'amer	a	7	4
envieus et mesdisant	b	7	4
car le cuer aves amer	a	7	4
plain de mal entendement	b	7	4
or creves de cuer dolant	b	7	4
que j'aimg bele et avenant	b	7	4
qui m'adonne un baisier	c	7	4
amourous et sanz dangier	c	7	5
mis m'avez en grant esmay	d	7	4
mai par dieu je l'amerai	d	7	4

Addition #27

	Rhyme	Syllabes	Perfections
J'aim loiaument en espoir	a	7	4
d'avoir la grace d'amie	b	8	5
ne je ne m'en quier mouvoir	a	7	4
anthois viell toute ma vie	b	8	5
servir de cuer bonement	c	7	4
amors qui parfaitement	c	7	4
puet donner a ses sougis	d	7	4
joie qui dure toudis	d	7	4
j'ai droit en tant quo j'en ai	e	7	4
le cuer lie et le cors gai	e	7	4
se plus m'en avoie	f	6	4
s'est che assez por vivre en joie	f	9	5
de coi pe[r] les gre d'amour	g	7	4
ma dame je vous servirai	e	7	4
et amerai toujours	g	6	3

In most cases, the musical setting equalizes discrepancies in syllable count. Extreme differences, such

as the two short lines in *Bone amourete m'a souspris*, are nevertheless reflected. None of the complete *motets entés* in fr.844 contains iso-metric phrases. The one addition with absolutely strict syllable count, *Vous le deffendés l'amer* (#9) nevertheless contains one phrase that is longer than the rest. Such use of an occasional longer or shorter phrase in an otherwise iso-metric field of music stems from an impetus to regularize the phrasing so as to create a stronger sense of coherence from line to line–as coherence that had been compromised by the model of polyphonic motet melodies.

Bone amourete m'a souspris is a short, carefully designed melody that features a strong tonal anchor, reiterated motives, parallel constructions, varied repetition, and melodic allusions. These aspects index the melody in subtle but compelling ways. The first two phrases form an antecedent and consequent pair that immediately and firmly establish **G** as the tonal anchor. As previously mentioned, the words and music of the refrain are used in the middle part of Adam de la Halle's polyphonic *rondeau*, *Bonne amourte*. The *rondeau* uses a double leading-tone cadence (see Example V.8) which the composer of this *motet enté* retains not only as a part of the quoted melody (appearing as an **F#** at the end of the piece), but also as a melodic motive that fortifies the tonal centrality of **G**. The composer seems to have used the melodic material of the

refrain as a basis to explore the particular melodic effect
of *musica ficta*. In the first and last full phrases (lines
1 and 7), the **F#** appears as a glaring open cadence that
demands resolution (see mm.4 and 28). In both instances,
however, the resolution is delayed by a rest and then
frustrated by an immediate continuation of the melody.
These two **F#**'s only achieve full resolution upon the
completion of the larger melodic idea that spans two
phrases. In this way, the composer sets up long-range tonal
momentum and links the beginning two antecedent/consequent
phrases with the final two short phrases that end the piece.

 Bone amourete m'a souspris contains one instance of
"melodic grafting"—a compositional choice that appears with
more consistency in the *motets entés* of fr.845. Measures
30-1 restate the opening two measures of the refrain and
thus like *Or ai je trop demore* (Example VI.3) set up a
melodic parallel that reunites the melody of the split
refrain. Two instances of parallel melodic constructions
organize the middle portion of the melody. In the first
instance, two parallel half phrases unify the fourth line of
music. Measures 13 and 14 set up a rhythmic and melodic
progression—a single breve plus two ligated breves that
descend followed by breve imperfecting a long that ascend.
This two-measure progression is then repeated a step higher
and only slightly varied in mm.15-6 to complete the phrase.
The second instance of parallel melodic construction links

the fifth and sixth lines. The corresponding phrases of
music both open with the same striking leap of a fifth from
a to **D**.[22] Along with these subtle means of indexing the
melody, the composer has supplied a persistent rhythmic and
melodic motive comprised of three descending semibreves
(written as three independent *currentes*) followed by an
imperfect long. This motive occurs five times (see mm.7,
12, 24, 25-6 and 27-8) at different pitches and relates the
second, third, sixth and seventh lines—lines not otherwise a
part of parallel melodic constructions or reminiscences—by
way of surface rhythm and melodic gesture.

Addition #9, *Vous le deffendés l'amer* (see Example
VI.6), contains fewer melodic indexes and gives the
impression of a series of unrelated phrases of music rather
than a coherent song. One instance of "sequenced" melodic
construction appears in mm.17-20. Like the parallel half-
phrases found in mm.13-16 of *Bone amourete m'a souspris*,
this fifth line of music presents a two-measure rhythmic and
melodic idea which immediately repeats a pitch lower to
complete the phrase. The **Bb** in the "key signature" seems
incompatible with the refrain melody since a melodic tritone
is created twice in the last line of music between the **bb**
and liquescent **e♮** ornament to **d**. A **Bb** signature usually

---

[22] See also *J'ai .I. chapeler d'argent* (#10), mm.29 and
32 for another example of parallel phrases construction.
Here, the same notes and rhythm introduce two successive
three-measure phrases.

occurs in conjunction with a **G** or **F** as the final or organizing pitch,[23] yet neither pitch serves such a function here. Rather, **d** appears as a frequent beginning and ending pitch, though with little preparation, and so with little long-range organizing force.[24] The melody also features a melodic motive similar to that found in *Bone amourete m'a souspris*. A descending three-semibreve motive (written in the same manner as *Bone amourete m'as souspris* with three independent *currentes*) appears four times in *Vous le deffendés l'amer*, though its effect as a unifying device is limited without other supporting devices.

The present-day listener of this melody is left with the impression of disunity and disjunction from phrase to phrases. It is indeed difficult to understand the rational behind the choice of notes in this continuous melody. The only clear unifying feature is the constant succession of four-measure phrases—and even this familiar terrain is disturbed by a single extended line. The four-measure phrases impose a sense of continuity—at least for the present-day listener—through the implication of antecedent/consequent pairs. Yet this abstract rhetorical index is frustrated by constant shifts of pitch-sets. For

---

[23] See for example *Joliement du cuer* (#13), *Or ai je trop demore* (Example VI.3).

[24] See for example the unprepared open cadences on **d** in mm.12 and 37, or the leap of a sixth between the **F** in m.24 and the **d** in m.25.

example, the opening line seems to project **f** as the central pitch through a four-fold repetition of **f** and the half-cadence on **e**. However, the following phrase wrenches the listener away from the desired resolution to **f**, by beginning a third lower on **c**, and pulling the melody down to an abrupt cadence on **G**.

As much as *Bone amourete m'a souspris* projects continuity without schematic structural markers, *Vous le deffendés l'amer* projects disunity despite metrical regularity. Does such disunity suggest incompetence? This judgement is difficult to argue given our poor understanding of the aesthetic that informs these listeners and composers of *motets entés*. Was there an element of competition or emulation between the writers of addition #8 and #9? Several features imply this possible scenario: 1) the two additions both use refrains from a single source of *Renart le nouvel*; 2) both additions appear on the same page; 3) both additons use the descending *currentes* motive.

Between the two poles on the continuum of melodic coherence represented by *Bone amourete m'a souspris* and *Vous le deffendés l'amer* lies *J'aim loiaument en espoir* (#27, see Example VI.7). Like *Bone amourete m'a souspris,* this piece shows a strong tonal anchoring to a single pitch, **F**, and an intense use of a single rhythmic motive—here a liquescent breve followed by an imperfect long (see mm.5, 20, 25, 28, 40, 47). The composer also used melodic and metrical rhymes

to correspond to the "-ie" rhyme, extending the musical setting of lines two and four with two successive longs (see mm. 8-9 and 17-8). This particular cadential motive reappears with the setting of the related rhyme "-oie" in line eleven (see mm.43-6).

However, like *Vous le deffendés l'amer*, the *J'aim loiaument en espoir* includes only a single instance of varied repetition. Lines ten and eleven begin with the same two notes and form an audible pair. Also like *Vous deffendés l'amer*, *J'aim loiaument en espoir* shows a baffling use of B♭'s. Though not in the "key signature," B♭'s are written into certain melodic phrases for a specific effect. In line ten, **f** and **B** appear together to create a melodic tritone, whereas in line twelve, **B♭** appears in an ascending line to **c** in a phrase ending on **e** and where **f** is only briefly touched.

Did the medieval audience listening to or reading the various continuous melodies presented in this chapter engage their expectation for a *trouvère chanson* or a polyphonic motet?[25] Were they surprised, confounded, or familiar with these melodies? In his theory on aesthetic and reception,

---

[25] By analogy, one can compare the experience of listening to a symphony by Beethoven with listening to a symphonic poem by Richard Strauss. We are taught to approach the symphonic poem first as a deviation from the classical symphony, then to appreciate symphonic poems on their own terms, as their own genre.

Hans Robert Jauss posits that the perception of a new genre depends upon a dynamic interaction between the specific work of art and "horizon of expectations" and "horizon" of experiences brought to the work of art by both the author and the audience.[26]

> A literary work, even when it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum . . . [t]he psychic process in the reception of a text is, in the primary horizon of aesthetic experiences, by no means only an arbitrary series of merely subjective impressions . . . [t]he new text evokes for the reader (listener) the horizon of expectations and rules familiar from earlier texts, which are then varied, corrected, altered, or even just reproduced. Variation and correction determine the scope, whereas alteration and reproduction determine the borders of a genre-structure. (p. 23)

Thus *En non dieu c'est la rage* signals the formation within the paradigm of monophony of a new "motet aesthetic" that is not linked to *the condition of* polyphony, but rather to specifically melodic aspects *conditioned by* an original

---

[26] In his introduction to a the 1982 collection of Jauss's essays, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, Paul de Man (p. xii) explains that the term "horizon of expectations"

> derives from Husserl's phenomenology of perception in its application to the experience of consciousness. . . the "horizon of expectation" brought to a work of art is never available in objective or even objectifiable form, neither to its author nor to its contemporaries or later recipients.

polyphonic context. Singers and composers of polyphonic motets would have been familiar with continuous melodies and mensural rhythm, and hence predisposed to develop a "motet aesthetic." However, an original context of polyphony need not be posited as the foundation of a "motet aesthetic." As the series of refrains from *Renart le nouvel* in Example VI.4 shows, continuous melodies are associated with the term "motet" in an entirely monophonic context.[27]

"Motet" can be read (or heard) as the diminutive form of "mot," which means word or account. The sound and sense of the word motet compares to the English word motto—a summarial sentence appropriate to a circumstance.[28] In *Renart le nouvel*, then, the cue "motet" both predicts the ensuing refrain's status as a diminutive or summarial song, while at the same time connotes a larger piece, as does "*rondet*," "*cant*," and "*canchon*." Thus in thirteenth-century usage, the word motet referred to either a refrain or a polyphonic composition—two seemingly remote musical genres. Christopher Page (1993b) states

---

[27] See especially Klans Hofmann 1970—an important study concerning the medieval use of the word "motet" and "motetus." Hofmann finds a majority of instances where "motet" refers refrain.

[28] Page (1993a, 60) also uses the word "mottos" as a "better term" for "*refrains*." Page writes "this word not only implies brevity, quotability, and intermittently sententious quality of the *refrains*, it is also etymologically cognate with *motet*, a contemporary term for them."

there may be little reason to perpetuate the
musicological convention of limiting the
thirteenth-century term *motet enté* to denote
the texts of motets with refrain insertions
split between the beginning and end of a text;
as is well known, the meaning of the term *motet*
was quite broad in Old French, and in Old
French usage a *motet enté* may have been any
song, whether monophonic or polyphonic, that
contained *refrain* citations. (p. 27, footnote
41)

Everist (1994), in his chapter on *motet enté*,
concentrates on the second word in the term—*enté*—as the key
to the generic identity of the monophonic pieces in
fr.845.[29] Neither Everist nor Page consider that the very
polyvalence of the word *motet* may hold the greatest
significance for understanding "motet genres." The term
motet may not have a stable musical referent, but it may
consistently signal a shared aspect—that of "textuality."
The term "textuality" is associated with post-structuralist
methods of literary criticism. Terry Eagleton (1983)
summarizes:

all literature is 'intertextual'. A specific
piece of writing has no clearly defined
boundaries: it spills over constantly into the
works clustered around it . . . . When post-
structuralists speak of 'writing' or
'textuality', it is usually these particular
senses of writing and text that they have in

---

[29] See p. 81 where Everist discusses the two
compositions of Jehan de Lescurel introduced in fr.146 as
"diz entez sur les refroiz de rondeaux." This is the second
of two sources (including fr.845) for the word *enter*
associated with music.

> mind . . . It is a shift from seeing the poem
> or novel as a closed entity, equipped with
> definite meanings which it is the critic's task
> to decipher, to seeing it as irreducibly
> plural, an endless play of signifiers which can
> nover be finally nailed down to a single
> centre, essence or meaning. (p. 138)

Both the monophonic and polyphonic motets examined in this chapter manifest just such a "textuality"—a reference to surrounding lyrical and literary genres, and the planting of these references into a non-schematic field. Rather than projecting singularity, motet genres seem to encapsulate plurality—whether in the guise of polyphony with its multiple words and melodies sounding together, or in the guise of a series of distinct refrains interpolated into a narrative romance, or in the guise of the *motet enté* with its "grafting" together of motet and *chanson* melodic invention. Within and among monophonic and polyphonic motets, musical and verbal quotations, cross reference, allusions, polytexts, motifs, and grafting suffuse every composition. Like the subtle intra-textual melodic indexes used in the various types of continuous melodies examined in this chapter, the melodies themselves resemble and refer to each other.

If we can do without intellectual justification, we may find that the sensory experience of reading, performing and hearing a wide variety of compositions brings to the fore unpredictable resonances. No doubt the mensural *motets*

entés added to fr.844 were the creations of "well read" musicians. Given the select population of musically literate clerics and court musicians around 1300, refrains, motets, and *chansons* no doubt mingled and cross-fertilized in the minds of scribes, composers, singers, and listeners.

Chapter VII

Continuous Melodies Part 2: Rewriting Past Genres

The additions examined thus far present two poles of musical form—those with schematic repetition (*rondeaux, virelais, estampies*), and those with no schematic repetition (*motets entés*). As discussed in Chapter I, form has a significant impact on present-day interpretation of medieval genres and their accompanying aesthetic. The accessibility of forms which are well indexed by schematic repetition (*rondeaux, virelais,* and *estampies*) has been interpreted by scholars such as Page and Stevens as indicative of genres borne of a "low style" aesthetic, implying lower social class origins as dance-songs. In the fourteenth-century, these dance songs supplanted the more esoteric *grandes chansons* of the *trouvères* which were borne of a "high styled" aesthetic associated with the noble classes. In urban educational centers such as Paris, the intensive schematic repetition of the dance songs attracted accomplished literate musicians such as Jehan de Lescurel, enabling them to create expanded musical sentences and greater polyphonic complexities.

By way of contrast, the "formless" continuous melodies of the *motets entés* have been interpreted by scholars such

as Gennrich and Tischler as inaccessible, and therefore inscrutable without positing a missing tenor. Placing these monophonic compositions within the same generic realm of the polyphonic motet avoids their implications for theories of medieval notions of genre and melodic aesthetic. Mark Everist's effort to approach the *motets entés* of fr.845 as essentially monophonic compositions still suffer from his primary focus on what those pieces imply for the polyphonic motet. He concludes that the *motets entés* are not polyphonic and therefore of no consequence to the still safely esoteric (read "high style") thirteenth-century motet.

Yet both accessible and esoteric forms were simultaneously cultivated by literate musicians who may or may not have understood a socially marked stylistic distinction between "high" and "low." The addition of these two polar-opposite forms to a carefully executed "cosmopolitan" anthology of thirteenth-century genres (including monophonic secular songs from Northern and Southern regions, vernacular devotional pieces, and polyphonic motets and refrains) suggests a possible motivation to expand the collection of genres with new or under-represented examples. However, a third discernable group additions suggests that at least some of the contributors wrote with a historical consciousness and an intent to assert their own particular melodic aesthetic.

The pieces shown in Table VII.1 are *troubadour* and *trouvère* multi-stanza *chansons* set to unique, heterostrophic music.

Table VII.1: Multi-Stanza *Chansons*

Scribe	Fol.	Add.#	Incipits	Catalogs
1	109	17	*Bella donna cara*	P-C.461,37
	170	20	*Qui la ve en ditz*	P-C.10,41
	+170v	22	*Sens alegrage*	P-C.205,5
5	145v	19	*Se j'ai chanté sanz*	R-Sp.1789
6	203	25	*A mon pooir ai servi*	R-Sp.1081
7	129	18	*Quant je voi plus felons*	R-Sp.1503
10	41	16	*La plus noble emprise*	--
	209	28	*Ki de bons est*	--

Of these eight pieces, three—*Bella donna cara* (#17), *La plus noble emprise* (#16), and *Ki de bons est* (#28)—are anonymous and unique to fr.844; the remaining five appear in numerous sources with attributions.

The *Descorts*

Scribe 1 added three lengthy Provençal lyrics that have been identified as *descorts* in the secondary literature. In *Las Leys d'Amour* the *descort* is described the as:

> a lyric of great diversity, which can have from
> five to ten stanzas, and from five to ten lines
> within those stanzas. Each stanza should be
> distinct in rhyme, melody, and language. The
> stanzas (or lines) can have the same or different
> 'measure.'"[1]

Page (1986, 23) describes the *descort* as a "polymorphous lyric in which each subdivision of the text had its own metrical form and musical setting." Thus *descorts* are typically heterostrophic. The generic name "*descort*" means dissonance, discord, strife—as opposed to "*acort*," meaning harmony, resolution, or wishes—and this name conveys the common thematic content of these lyrics. Most *descorts* express the poet's melancholy, unrequited love, or discord with the beloved.[2]

Two of the three added Provençal *descorts—Qui la ve en ditz* (#20) and *Sens alegrage* (#22) survive with attributions in other contemporaneous sources (see Table VII.2 below, ♪ indicates surviving music).

---

[1] *Descortz es dictatz mot divers. e pot haver aytantas coblas coma vers sos assaber de. v. a. x. lasquals coblas devon esser singulars. dezacordablas. e variablas. en acort. en so. et en legatges. E devon esser totas dun compas o de divers.* (Gatien-Arnoult, 1:342)

[2] See Marshall's "Criterion 9" for identifying *descorts* 1981, 145. *Las Leys d'Amours* also describes the *descort* as treating "*de rancura quar mi dons no mi ama*" (the complaints of a lover against his lady when she does not love him, Gatien-Arnoult 1977, 1:342).

Table VII.2: Sources for Two Added *Descorts*

Add. #	Incipit	Sources and Attributions
20	*Qui la ve en ditz*	Aimeric de Peguillan: *F-Pn* fr.856 f.94 (C) fr.1749 f.78 (E) fr.854 f.54 (I) fr.12473 f.40 (K) fr.22543 f.49 (R)♪ *I-Moe* a,R,4,4 f.67 (D) *I-Fr* 2909, f.16 (Q) Anonymous: *F-Pn* fr.12474 f.250 (M) fr.844 f.170 (W)♪ *GB-Cheltenham* 8335 f.46 (N)
22	*Sens alegrage*	Guillem Augier Novella: *F-Pn* fr.856 f.370 (C) fr.854 f.54 (I) fr.12473 f.182 (K) fr.22543 f.28 (R) *I-Moe* a,R,4,4 f.75 (D) Peire Raimon de Toloza: *GB-Ob* Douce 269 f.239 (S) Anonymous: *F-Pn* fr.12474, f.249 (M) fr.844 f.+170v (W)♪ *GB-Cheltenham* 8335 f.51 (N)

With a few exceptions, these two songs appear in the same sources (see Table VII.3 below).

Table VII.3: Shared Sources

	Qui la ve en ditz	*Sens alegrage*
Attributed	C	C
	E	—
	I	I
	K	K
	R	R
	D	D
	Q	—
	—	S
Anonymous	M	M
	W	W
	N	N

According the Pillet-Casten's register of *troubadour* lyrics, the fifty-three poems attributed to the *troubadour* Aimeric de Peguillan enjoyed wide distribution and obvious popularity. By contrast, the seven poems attributed to the *troubadour* Guillem Augier Novella appear in few sources, often with differing attributions. Thus the wide distribution and relatively stable attribution of *Sens alegrage* is a notable exception.

Although these two Provençal *descorts* travelled together, their poetic structures and musical settings are dramatically different. In his important article on the anomalous isostrophic *descort*, J. H. Marshall (1981) presents *Sens alegrage* (#22) as a example of a typical

heterostrophic Provençal *descort*.[3]   The melody of *Sens alegrage* consists of eight double versicles with *ouvert* and *clos* endings, plus three concluding single versicles or *tornadas*. Marshall summarizes:

> The musical material of each versicle is independent of (i.e. does not repeat) that of any other. Within the versicle, the principle of a bipartite musical form is carried through consistently and rigorously . . . Musically, then, the eight versicles are governed by a principle of repetition from which the *tornadas* are free. (p. 140)

About the text Marshall writes

> that the metrical structure of the eight versicles reflects exactly . . . the musical construction of the piece is self-evident. In each case the text, like the tune, is constructed in two exactly symmetrical halves (or, in I and II, in two near-symmetrical halves). And it is obviously right to see in the musical structure the explanation and *raison d'être* of the versification, which, if divorced from the music, looks merely arbitrary and over-complicated. (pp. 140-1)

In his musico-metrical analysis of the *Sens alegrage*, Marshall ignores or diminishes the many disagreements between fr.844 and his "critical text" drawn from other sources for this poem, despite the fact that fr.844 is the only source to preserve music for the *descort*. Marshall's discussion of the "critical text" admits an asymmetrical

---

[3] See Marshall 1981, pp.137-43 for a critical edition of the text and a detailed poetic analysis of *Sens alegrage*.

construction for stanzas I and II. In fr.844, however, the words of stanza I "regularize" the two halves into two metrically equal versicles; the two versicles of stanza II are asymmetrical in fr.844, but in a manner differing from the variations described by Marshall. Marshall completely overlooks the fact that several lines are missing in stanza V of the musical setting as compared with his critical edition of the poem. The missing lines—one in the first versicle, two in the second versicle—result in an asymmetrical unit (see Example VII.1). The words of stanza V are as follows:

Marshall 1981, 138	fr.844
Va	**Va**
1 *Lonja endura*	1 *Longa endura*
2 *M'en agura*	2 *M'en agura*
3 *Aventura*	3 *Aventura*
4 *Tal si.m dura*	4 *Tals sim dura*
5 *Part mezura*	5 *Que.m pejura*
6 *Que.m pejura*	6 *Greus mals que m'ausi*
7 *.L grieu mal que m'auci*	7 *Si*
8 *Si*	
Vb	**Vb**
1 *Que drenchura*	1 *Que drechura*
2 *Ni falsura*	2 *Am falsura*
3 *Ni segura*	3 *Nom mellura*
4 *Fes c'om jura*	4 *Antz pejura*
5 *No meilhura*	5 *Cant la prec de mi*
6 *Anz s'atura*	6 *Ri*
7 *Quan la prec, de mi,*	
8 *Ri*	

Contrary to the "rigor" and "consistency" that Marshall imputes to the composer of the music, the asymmetry of stanzas I (according to Marshall's edition), II and V, and

the singular versicles IX, X, and XI, suggest that neither the poet nor the composer was very concerned with a rigid double versicle structure for the first eight stanzas.

Marshall notes that "the whole piece is a network of metrical cross-references" (p. 141). The metrical motive that has peculiar ramifications for the musical setting is a "one-syllable echo-rhyme" that connects the first versicle of stanza I, and double versicles V through VIII and the three *tornadas*. The musical setting of this verbal repercussion consists of a hocket-like isolation of the final syllable set to a long surrounded by breve rests. The composer of the three Provençal *descorts* seems to have been taken with this peculiar musical effect. Not only do all three additions feature such "melodic hockets," but the isolation of words and notes occurs occasionally without poetic provocation—that is, without a corresponding "echo rhyme." For stanza VIII of *Sens alegrage*, the composer set the first word of line three as if the single-syllable word (in bold) were an echo-rhyme of the previous line (see Example VII.2).

Marshall 1981, 139   fr.844

VIIIa   VIIIa
1 *Del maltraire*   1 *Del maltrayre*
2 *Mercejaire*   2 *Merceayre,* **suy**
3 *Sui e fis leals amaire*   3 *E fins leals amayre*
4 *E no.m vaire*   4 *el ben fayre*
5 *De ben faire*   5 *Sens estrayre*
6 *Qui.m sapcha grazir*   6 *Cuch sapcha grasir*
7 *Dir*   7 *Dire*

VIIIb
1 *No.us aus gaire*
2 *Mon vejaire*
3 *Que.l grans beutatz don es maire*
4 *M'en fai traire*
5 *Mon cor laire*
6 *En aquest cossir*
7 *Vir*

VIIIb
1 *Nou laus grayre*
2 *Mon velayre,* **quilz**
3 *Grantz beutatz don es mayre*
4 *Mi fay trayre*
5 *Mon cors layre*
6 *En aquest consir*
7 *Vir*

The composer created further musical links across the double versicles by superimposing a system of shared cadential formulas (see Example VII.1): stanzas I, III, V, VII, and VIII share the same *clos* cadence (a descending tetrachord from **F** to **C** ending on **D**). However, the three single versicles stand completely outside of this system of melodic repetition.

Marshall chose *Sens alegrage* because it is the only notated Provençal *descort* with a double versicle melodic construction. For his discussion of the music, however, Marshall relies heavily on the transcriptions of Maillard, Gennrich, and Spanke. In his reckoning of the "evolution" of the *descort* style (1981, 143), Marshall, perhaps due to his reliance on out-of-date musical analyses, does not consider the lateness of the entry of the *descort* into the MS, the thirteenth-century style mensural notation, nor the particular redaction of the poem as important factors in determining a history of the *descort* in general.

Most of the ten surviving Old French *descorts* preserved

with notation also show a double versicle melodic
construction. Eight Old French *descorts* appear in the
original corpus of fr.844, and all but one show a multiple
versicle construction.[4] Marshall's exclusive focus on the
troubadour repertory prevents him from considering the
possibility that the double versicle melodic structure may
have been a late practice resulting from contact with the
trouvère repertory.[5]

The melody of *Qui la ve en ditz* in fr.844 has no such
repetition scheme, but rather consists of one long
continuous melody parsed into subsections by means of the
poem. The scribe denoted four large divisions in the poem
by beginning the major sections on a separate staff and with
a capital. Changes in rhyme further subdivides each stanza
into three smaller sections. Contrary to the musical
setting preserved in fr.844, Marshall has shown that the
words of this *descort* in fact form an isostrophic poem.
Marshall explains:

---

[4] The seven *descorts* that use repetition show much
variety in the size of the repeating unit, and the number of
repetitions —from as small as two phrases repeated eight
times (as in *Trop est coustumiere amors*, stanza IV f.142) to
as large as whole stanzas comparable to *Sens alegrage*. The
descort La doce acordance (f.141) shows a continuous melody
in mensural notation added by a later hand over the words
entered by the original scribe.

[5] See Maillard 1961, 126-7 for a list of the "*Descorts
de langue d'oil.*"

> The composer of this type of poem, having written
> (say) three *descort*-versicles dissimilar from one
> another in tune and metrical structure, then
> repeated the structure and tune of those three
> versicles for the next set of three (and for the
> next three after that, etc.). Thus in an
> isostrophic *descort* the poet took a miniature
> *descort*-structure and repeated it strophically, so
> that a metrical analysis into relatively short
> versicles and one into relatively long stanzas are
> both possible. (p. 146)

As Table VII.2 shows, ten roughly contemporary sources preserve this *descort,* although in all of the sources except fr.844 the poem consists of nine versicles (or three stanzas) plus a *tornada.* The version preserved in fr.844 consists of the first six versicles (or first two stanzas) found in the other nine sources, plus six unique versicles (or two unique stanzas). Maillard (1961) believed that the unique versicles in fr.844 formed a separate piece—*Sill qu'es caps* (f.170v)—and that the scribe, out of ignorance, conflated the two *descorts*.[6] However the two unique stanzas in fr.844 reproduce the metrical structure of the first two stanzas of *Qui la ve en dit.* Marshall believes that the version preserved in fr.844 is not original but that

> the text furnished by W [fr.844] constitutes a
> unity, not an accidental bringing-together of
> disparate parts. The scribe of W [fr.844] thought
> that he was transcribing a single piece, and we
> have no compelling reason for arguing that he was
> mistaken. (p. 149)

---

[6] *Sill qu'es caps* is also listed separately in Pillet-Castens catalog.

Marshall concludes:

> thus an unknown person confected, from the first
> six versicles of Aimeric's piece plus six
> versicles and a *tornada* of his own composition, a
> new poetic entity. We can follow his mode of
> operation: He started in his first set of three
> versicles (i.e., the first three of *Sill qu'es
> caps*) to imitate exactly the rhyme-endings of
> Aimeric's first three versicles. He began to
> follow the same procedure in his fourth versicle,
> by reproducing the rhyme-ending of the *a*-rhyme of
> Aimeric's fourth versicle, but then abandoned the
> attempt and used rhyme-endings of his own for the
> rest of the piece. (p. 149)

Source R (fr.22543) preserves music for the first three versicles (or first stanza) of *Qui la ve en ditz*. The melody in fr.22543 is dramatically different from that in fr.844, showing a clear double versicle structure.[7] Example VII.3 shows the two different setting of the first pair of versicles. As shown below, the poem alternates five- and six-syllable lines (the latter created by the addition of an echo-rhyme attached to a five-syllable line).

---

[7] For a diplomatic transcription of the melody found in fr.22543, see Gennrich 1960, *Der Musikalishe Nachlass der Troubadours* II:158, #182.

	Rhyme	Syllables
I		
1 *Qui la ve en ditz*	a	5
2 *pos dyeus tant i mes, bes*	b	6
3 *en na Biatritz*	a	5
4 *non i es merces, ges*	b	6
5 *car tan gen noyritz*	a	5
6 *sos gays cors cortes, es*	b	6
7 *que sara fallitz*	a	5
8 *gautz que non l'ages, res*	b	6

In fr.25543, the musical repetition begins with line 5, at the half-way point in the stanza. Although the poem itself does not suggest a division of the stanza into two symmetrical halves, the melody of fr.25543 makes a pronounced leap of minor seventh from the cadence on **D** at the end of the first versicle, to the opening **c** of the repetition. In contrast, the setting in fr.844, like the poem, continues a sound pattern across the two halves—in this case, a repeated **a** or **D** (breve-long respectively) which then ascends a step. This low-level motive provides melodic continuity despite the absence of a repetition scheme.

The melody preserved in fr.844 shows the most obvious gesture toward continuity and melodic economy in the third stanza, *Sill qu'es caps e guitz*—the first unique stanza composed as a poetic *contrafactum* of *Qui la ve en ditz* (see Example VII.4). Here the composer used the same melodic phrase, with a slightly modified for the second statement, to set the five-syllable lines (C), with the exception of the opening line. Similarly, the six-syllable lines, with the exception of the last line of the stanza, end with the

same three-note cadential formula (B). To complete the melodic economy, the two exceptional framing lines are nearly identical (A). Thus a repetition scheme emerges: A B C B1 C1 B2 C A1.

To reiterate, no other stanza of the fr.844 melody shows such a high level of melodic indexing. Although the repetition scheme of *Sill qu'es caps e quitz* does not parse the stanza into two symmetrical versicles, the pattern of alternating melodic phrases does reflect the poem's metrical pattern of alternating five and six syllable rhymes. The poem itself does not necessarily suggest a double versicle melodic setting, and here the composer exercised the option to use melodic repetition and to match that repetition to a low-level metrical pattern of the poem.

Bella donna cara (#17) is the unique third *descort* added to fr.844 by the same scribe. The words of this piece provides an illustration of the lyrical, musical, and thematic diversity associated with this form. In stanza IV, given below, the words also identify the piece as an *acort*—an "anti-*descort*"—and the poet plays upon these two words throughout the lyric.

		Rhyme	Syllables
IV			
1	*So qu'al autres fans aymantz*	a	7
2	*es afantz*	a	3
3	*es ami guatz*	a	3
4	*e doussors*	b	3
5	*car amors*	b	3
6	*vol qu'ieu am sens*	c	4
7	*totz engrantz*	a	3
8	*totz mosantz*	a	3
9	*tals que sobre las gensors*	c	7
10	*m'es ausors*	c	3
11	*amors ben es mos acortz*	d	7
12	*qu **acortz***	d	3
13	***s'apel mos canz** totz tems mays*	e	7
14	*entrels fins aymans verays*	e	7
15	*cuy plas solatz e de portz*	d	7
16	*que **descortz***	d	3
17	*non deu far qui non s'irays*	e	7
18	*per qu'ieu lays*	e	3
19	***descortz***	d	2
20	*per far **acortz** gays*	e	5
21	*entrels gays*	e	3

Stanza IV shows no cycles of syllable count nor rhyme scheme, and no symmetrical poetic construction that would suggest a double versicle melodic setting. This lengthy stanza freely mixes mostly three and seven syllables lines, frequently introduces new rhymes, and sporadically recycles old rhymes.

As with the nine *motets entés* discussed in Chapter VI, each stanza of the *descort Bella donna cara* is set to a continuous melody comprised of disparate phrase lengths (see Example VII.5). None of the stanzas shares distinct musical motives, though all end on the same final **D**. Individual stanzas may set up a local pattern. Stanza III is a case in

point (see Example VII.6, the words follow).

		Rhyme	**Syllables**
III			
1	*Pos li dous consire*	a	6
2	*quem solon ausire*	a	6
3	*tenon mon cor gay, ay*	b	6
4	*ben dey motz eslire*	a	6
5	*per leys qu'ieu desire*	a	6
6	*qu'autr/amors non play, may*	b	6
7	*sos gay cors plasens, gentz*	c	6
8	*el syei bel semblan, man*	d	6
9	*que res non n'es mentz, sentz*	c	6
10	*mi fan dir cantan, can*	d	6
11	*e cantars plasens, gentz*	c	6
12	*sabes per qu'ieu can, tan*	d	6
13	*car fans entendentz, dentz*	c	6
14	*am e sens engan, blan*	d	6
15	*e quar blan gausentz, mentz*	c	6
16	*en prez mon afan, gran*	d	6

Here the composer sets a string of sixteen regular six-syllable lines to musical phrases lasting four perfections each. After the first five lines, the poem sets up a pattern of alternating rhymes, all of which receive an echo rhyme. For seven lines (1, 2, 8-10, 12 and 14) the composer used the same sequence of note-values, thus providing an analogous persistent musical rhythm to the persistent syllable count. In contrast to the more disjunct and capricious nature of stanzas IV, stanza III presents predictability and organization hinging on the sound pattern of the verse. Although the even number of lines in this stanza allows for the possibility of dividing the stanza into two symmetrical versicles, neither the rhymes (which bridge the two halves) nor the melodic setting suggests such

a division of the stanza. The composer clearly did not want to create another *Sens alegrage*-type piece.

Stanza III and stanza IV of *Bella donna cara* do not appear to be formally related in any way. Indeed, the three *descorts* added to fr.844 share only the use of echo-rhymes and the practice of continuous melodic and poetic invention. A fundamental paradox constitutes the notion of this genre—that is, unity in disunity. The same formal latitude operates in the *motet* genres examined in Chapter VI. Could these *descorts* have provided conceptual models for the *motets entés*? These *descorts* served appear as the first examples added to fr.844 of a structurally flexible fringe genre to capture the attention of literate musicians as a locus for writing new monophony. Already in place in the genre of the *descort* is the notion of continuous invention and resistance to strophic and schematic composition, even when the words suggest such a melodic setting as in the case of *Qui la ve en ditz*.

The *Lais*

The last pieces to be added to the MS are two unique *lais*—*La plus noble* (#16) and *Ki de bons est* (#28). Neither Grocheio, Dante, nor the authors of *Las Leys d'Amour* use the term *lai* or a cognate thereof in their discussions of song

forms, though the word appears often in medieval romances, lyrics, titles, and descriptions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[8] One such description appears in the *Doctrina de compondre dictatz*—written in Provençal in the thirteenth century. Like *Las Leys d'Amour*, this treatise on poetry describes the forms, themes, length and sometimes music of many poetic genres. Here the *lai* is compared to a *canço* with regard to themes (love, piety) and number of stanzas (5) plus *tornadas* (Baum 1969, 30). Maillard, Baum, Page, and Stevens all identify two main types of *lais*: the narrative or "Arthurian" type, and the lyrical or "independent" type. Melodic style, poetic construction, and context distinguish these two types from one another. The narrative *lai*, typically written in quatrains and set to highly repetitive or formulaic melodies, most often appear as a long interpolated lyrics within a romance narrative. The lyric *lai*, of primary concern to this study, compares to the *descort* in poetic construction—that is, the lyric *lai* is a multi-stanza, heterostrophic composition.

The addition *Ki de bons est* follows a series of three *lais* that conclude the original corpus.[9] Two of these

---

[8] See Baum 1969 and Page 1986, 20-2 for a discussion of the references in medieval literature to *lais*. See also Stevens 1986, 140-3 and 476-84 and Maillard 1963, 84-118.

[9] The medieval index lists three with space for rubrics announcing each *lai* separately, although only the last two survive. The Old French *descorts* scattered throughout the *trouvère* section of the original corpus do not have rubrics

original *lais* are settings of Provençal lyrics, identified
as *lais* in the first lines of the poems. As with the Old
French *descorts* in fr.844, the size of the melodic
repetition ranges from single phrases to on entire stanzas.
Also in both genres, the number of repetitions of a given
versicle varies greatly, from two to as many as four in the
lais. However, in contrast to the undulating melodic
contours of the Old French *descorts*, the two Provençal *lais*
show a preponderance of single-note, recitation-like
phrases. Stevens (1990, 429) attributes the tendency for
short, static melodic phrases in lyric *lais* to their close
relationship to the narrative *lais*, *planctus*, and religious
narrative songs which provided models and melodies for many
courtly, lyric *lais*.[10]

---

that separate them from the rest of the *chansons* either in
the index or in the body of the collection. Several *lais*
appear at the end of fr.845, each with special rubrics.
Furthermore, MS fr.12615, closely related to fr.844,
contains one of the largest extant collections of *lais*, each
given a special rubric and title just as in fr.845. This
special treatment of *lais* as opposed to *descorts* in
collections of secular songs offers a clue as to the
different conceptions of these two formally similar genres.
One piece—*Se chans ne descors ne lais*—appears with no
special rubric in fr.844 following another Old French
descort whose poem identify it as such. As the incipit *Se
chans ne descors ne lais* submits, this piece has been listed
variously—as an Old French *descort* by Maillard (1961, 127),
and as a *lai* in R-Sp.193. Given the absence of a rubric
announcing the piece in fr.844, I would agree with
Maillard's designation.

[10] The narrative origins of the *lai* distinguishes this
genre from the *descorts* which, as the name suggests,
originated as a locus for courtly sentiments and poetic and
melodic disjunction rather than cohesion.

Of the two added *lais*, the poem of *La plus noble emprise* compares closely to other extant Old French *lais*, though the music looks most like the two added *descorts* with continuous melodies—*Bella donna cara* and *Qui la ve en ditz*. The poem of *La plus noble empris* consists of three stanzas that differ in length and rhyming syllables. Each stanza uses two rhymes which tend to alternate line by line, though exceptions always occur. Despite the use of short line lengths throughout all the stanzas—the only feature which marks this piece as a *lai*—all three stanzas conclude with an eleven-syllable line. Contrary to the metrical, rhyming, and melodic consistency of most extant *lais*, poetic patterns in *La plus noble emprise* are brief and localized. The words of the first stanza, given below, show the longest interval of metrical patterning of the entire piece.

		Rhyme	Syllables
1	*La plus noble emprise*	a	7
2	*qui soit a empris*	b	5
3	*mes cuers car il prise*	a	7
4	*dame de haut pris*	b	5
5	*plaisans, bien aprise*	a	6
6	*amours m'a apris*	b	5
7	*si bien que la prise*	a	6
8	*sent dont je fui pris*	b	5
9	*vous pour moi reprise*	a	6
10	*ne seres ne je repris*	b	7
11	*pour vous car amours s'est mise*	a	8
12	*la ou nos ii cuers se sont mis*	b	8
13	*mais se par faintise*	a	6
14	*i cuers est d'amer faintis*	b	7
15	*seur tous autres le despris*	b	7
16	*certes j'ai droit car amours le desprise*	a	11

The first eight lines form two quatrains, each consisting of
a two-line couplet using the same pair of rhyming syllables;
the first couplet consists of a pair of 7+5 syllable lines,
the second couplet consists of a pair of 6+5 syllable lines.
Neither the second half of this stanza, nor any part of the
second and third stanzas show such a sustained metrical
pattern.

The music for this *lai* shows none of the recitational,
"narrative" melodic traits prevalent in most examples of
this genre. Indeed, the melody is especially angular and
active, full of leaps and melodic ornamentation, though as
with the heterostrophic *descort Bella donna cara*, the
composer created large-scale tonal coherence by ending every
stanza on the same pitch **D.** Stanza I (see Example VII.7)
opens with an especially angular melody, beginning with the
leap of a fifth and followed by a leap of a third. Though
the melody begins with longs and breves, the end of the
stanza begins to show a sprinkling of *c.o.p* ligatures,
plicas, and variations of the *climacus*. Measures 46, 50,
and 54 use the *c.o.p.* ligature as part of a melodic motive.
These measures start lines 13-15 with the same melodic
ornamenting of a single note. Stanza III illustrates a more
flamboyant melodic style (see Example VII.8). Note the
leaps of a fourth or fifth in mm.22-3, 33, and 50, and the
ornamental flourishes found in the last line.

In length and format, *Ki de bons est* resembles the two

Provençal *lais* from the original corpus immediately
preceding it. *Ki de bons est* consists of five stanzas and a
shorter concluding *envoi* that show distinct rhyme schemes
and metrical construction. Theodore Karp (1984) posits that
the last line of the *envoi*—"*Com li Prinches de Terre de
Labour*"—gives a clue as to the date and province of the
poem's creation.

> The "Terre de Laour" ("Terra di Lavoro") refers
> the southern Italian province of Caserta then part
> of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies . . .During the
> period, 1266-1285, the province was ruled by
> Charles d'Anjou . . . himself a trouvère and
> troubadour of minor distinction, as well as a
> patron of poet-composers and performers, and it is
> undoubtedly to him that reference is intended.
> (pp. 475-6)

Charles—also mentioned in the *dansa Ben volgra s'esser poges*
(#21)—died in 1285, thus providing a *terminus ad quem* for
the poems of both pieces. Karp suggests that the words and
music were written into the MS several decades apart; the
words entered "a decade or so before 1300, not too long
after the main body of the MS had been compiled" and the
melody "within three decades of its [the poem's]
composition" (p. 477). This order of events accounts for
the bleed of the red ink of the staff-lines onto the first

capital of the poem.[11] Quite a few erasures appear in the
music which also suggests a separation in time between the
creation of the poem and the melody.

As Karp points out (p. 477), the poet identifies his
piece as a *lai* in the first stanza (*Ai de mon lai si
parfaire*), though the poetic construction shows a complex
organization that refers to the *pedes-cauda* construction of
the *grande chanson*. Each of the five stanzas shows an AAB
melodic structure whereby the A sections (or *pedes*)
consistently span three lines, and the B sections (*caudas*)
vary in length from eight to ten lines (see Example VII.9)
This construction remains constant for every stanza and thus
provides a high-level structural linkage among the stanzas.
As with the heterostrophic *descort Bella donna cara*, and the
lai, La plus noble emprise, every stanza ends on the same
pitch **D,** which provides large-scale tonal coherence. Only
the first stanza shows a **B♭** signature, however,
counteracting this coherence.

The most intriguing aspect of this piece is the
encyclopedic variety of rhythmic patterns and levels used in
the musical setting of this multi-stanza poem. As discussed
in Chapter IV, each stanza presents a predominant low-level
rhythmic pattern which roughly corresponds to the rhythmic
modes discussed by Franco of Cologne. The first and fifth

---

[11] However, the ruling of four red staff lines for this
piece resembles the original ruling as compared to the five-
lines staves ruled for the other additions.

stanzas present two extremes of syllable flow and thus raise the question of relative tempos: stanza one shows syllabic perfect longs, stanza five, syllabic semibreves. That the composer imagined the same tempo for both stanzas seems unlikely. A single quick tempo is sufficient for the first four stanzas, rendering the sudden inflation of note values for the fifth stanza somewhat gratuitous. *Ki de bons est* appears to be a showcase, or at the very least a pastiche of formal, rhythmic, and poetic varieties all rolled into one grand *lai*—a rhythm "narrative," with *grandes chansons* for stanzas, and a *descort*'s heterostrophic structure.

It is curious that the original corpus of fr.844 should have a collection *lais* and *descorts* written in their lesser represented dialects (that is, Provençal for *lais* and Old French of the *descorts*), and that the added *lais* and *descorts* should "correct" the balance by contributing Old French *lais* and Provençal *descorts*. Whether the formal similarities between these two genres (with or without melodic repetition) represents coincidence or cross-fertilization ought to be handled on a case-by-case basis. The *descort* principle, taken to its logical extremes in the continuous melodies of *Bella donna cara* and *Qui la ve en ditz*, perhaps informed the composer of *La plus noble emprise* (and maybe even the composers of the *motets entés*). The double versicle structure of *Sens alegrage* could have in

turn been a result of contact with Old French *descorts* such as are found in the original corpus of fr.844.

The transformations of the *lai* found in fr.844 portend Guillaume de Machaut's conception of the form as a locus for hiding the new within the old—composing a surface which is inscrutable according to the thirteenth-century conventions of the genre, and hides the new polyphonic style within the old monophonic genre. As *Ki de bons est* illustrates, by 1300, the *lai* could be used as a field where old and new compositional techniques meet; in this case the thirteenth-century *pedes-cauda chanson* form with a self-conscious exploitation of the complete rhythmic system, and the fourteenth-century inflation of rhythmic values as demonstrated by the use of syllabic semibreves.

The added *lais* and *descorts* do not represent the expansion of an under-represented genre, as was the case with the *rondeaux, virelais, estampies* and *motets entés,* but rather represent the dissolution of two established genres. Though the *descorts* were among the first pieces added to the MS and the *lais* among the last, the scribes elevated both genres with decorated initials, bringing the picture of the creative impulse with these two "versicle" or stichic genres full circle—from double versicle, to free composition, to the venerable *pedes-cauda* construction of the *grandes chansons.*

The *Grandes Chansons* and the *Pastourelle*

Ki de bons est could just as easily be considered within the previous group of additions, all of which exploit or explode the strophic *pedes-cauda* form that is, according to Dante, the quintessential element of the most prestigious and prevalent genre of the *troubadours* and *trouvères.* As mentioned in Chapter I, Dante describes what he calls the *"canzone par excellence"* as a "linked series of equal stanzas in the tragic style without a refrain" (*equalium stantiarum sine responsorio ad unam sententiam tragica coniugatio,* Welliver 1981, 115). Those *canzoni* written in the "comic" style are called *canzonetta.* Dante describes three types of stanza construction (see Welliver, 117-9):

1) *oda continua*: stanzas that "proceed clear to the end in one uninterrupted melody, without the repetition of any musical phrase

2) *pedes-cauda*: two-part stanzas in which melodic repetition occurs in the first half of the melody. The stanza is said to have *pedes* or feet and a *cauda* or tail; "and it should have two, although sometimes three are made, though very rarely"

3) *frons-versus*: two-part stanzas in which repetition occurs in the second half of the melody. The stanza is said to have a *frons* or forehead, and *versus*.[12]

---

[12] Most musicologists have mis-read this famous description of Dante, concluding that the *frons* is comprised of two *pedes*, and that the *cauda* may be comprised of two *versus* (see, for example, Stevens 1986, p. 507 glossary entry for *"frons"*) However Dante actually describes three distinct organizations that are mutually exclusive: a *frons-versus* construction or a *pedes-cauda* construction.

The remaining four additions under consideration here all contend with, in one way or another, the two-part strophic *grande chanson* which Dante heralds as the *canzone par excellence*. Three of these *grandes chansons* have concordances in other sources, given below in Table VII.4.

Table VII.4: Concordances of the Three *Grandes Chansons*

Folio	Addition	Incipit	Sources

129	18	*Quant je voi plus*	Guiot de Dijon:
			  F-Pn fr.844 f.161 (M)
			      fr.12615 f.153v (T)
			Amauri de Craon:
			  CH-Besu 389 f.201v(C)
			Anonymous:
			  F-Pn fr.20050 f.71v (U)

145v	19	*Se j'ai chanté sanz*	Robert du Chastel:
			  CH-Besu 389 f.219 (C)
			  F-Pa 5198 f.262 (K)♪
			  F-Pn fr.845 f.128 (N)♪
			      fr.846 f.130 (O)♪
			      n.a.fr.1050 f.178(X)♪
			Anonymous:
			  F-Pn fr.844 f.143v (M)
			      fr.1591 f.86 (R)♪
			      fr.12581 f.232 (S)
			      fr.20050 f.169v(U)
			      fr.24406 f.112(V)♪
			  I-Sc H.X.36 f.23 (Z)

203	25	*A mon pooir ai servi*	Pierekin de la Coupele:
			  F-Pn fr.844 f.148 (M)
			      fr.12615 f.127 (T)

The terms *frons and cauda* are reserved for when the respective sections **do not** include the repetition.

Unlike the *descorts Qui la ve en ditz* and *Sens alegrage*, which share many of the same sources, the three *grandes chansons* show very distinct and unrelated "paper trails." However, a few complex relations pop out of a comparison of their sources.

Both *Quant je voi plus felons* and *Se j'ai chanté sanz* appear twice in fr.844. The original scribe included *Quant je voi plus felons* in the original corpus, though the music was never added. *Se j'ai chanté sanz* was not a part of the original corpus of *chansons*, but the words for the same two stanza that constitute the notated added *Se j'ai chanté sanz* were also added on another folio by a different hand.[13] No music was added to this second entry, although space for staves was provided. These two *chansons* also appear in fr.20050, considered one of the oldest collections of *trouvère chansons*. Though many hands added to this modest MS, an original layer of lyrics and staves can be distinguished from later additions which often appear without space for music. *Quant je voi plus felons* appears as part of the original corpus, though music was never added. Only the words to *Se j'ai chanté sanz* appear added to a blank page near the end of the MS.

A mon pooir ai servi and the single stanza *pastourelle*

---

[13] See Chapter III for a discussion of the handwriting of these two entries, and the problem establishing priority. The two entries suggest that the scribe was motivated by a competition, emulation, or correction.

L'autrier lés une fontaine have sparse documented histories by comparison. *A mon pooir ai servi* does not appear in the original corpus of fr.844, but does appear as an integral part of the related MS fr.12615, unfortunately without music. The scribes who added the *grandes chansons* to fr.844 were motivated to record pieces that circulated in the musical *milieu*, but were neglected by the original scribe. I have argued in previous chapters that this desire to "fill out" the anthology explains the concentration of unusual forms and under-represented genres.

Quant je voi plus felons is a *chanson* with changing refrains—that is, the last line or two of each stanza quotes a different refrain or refrain-like couplet. Only two anthologies, fr.844 and fr.12615, preserve distinct music for the separate refrains. The format of these pieces resembles the interpolated pages of *Renart le nouvel* (see Chapter V). After an initial block of music setting the first stanza, short examples of music visually interrupt the flow of words comprising the subsequent stanzas.[14] While the melody for the body of the stanzas remains the same, each refrain introduces a new ending. Thus this peculiar

---

[14] The resemblance in the format of these *chansons* with changing refrains in fr.844 and fr.12615 to the MSS of *Renart le nouvel* provides further evidence of a share musical and literary environment. The majority of *chansonniers* do not set each refrain separately. As argued in Chapters IV and V, MSS and compositions from the Northern region of France, especially Arras, show an interest in refrain quotation and composition.

sub-genre of the *grande chanson* already includes an element of continuous change on the level of the stanza.

The addition *Quant je voi plus felons* and the version preserved in fr.12516 and the original corpus of fr.844 show the same five stanzas and same five refrains with a few word-level modifications. MS fr.20050 preserves only the first three stanzas. Though space is not provided for refrain music in this MS, each refrain begins with a capital letter. The stability of the refrains is unusual. Table VII.5 shows the refrains and their concordances according to Boogaard (1969).

Table VII.5: Refrain Concordances for *Quant je voi plus felons*

Refrain	Boogaard Number and Citations
Amors font de moi lor voloir *j'endur les maus por bien avoir*	*#159* 1) G-mot.64: MüA f.6r
Se je l'aim, ne m'en blasmez mie *mes fins cuers ne pense aillors*	*#1684*
Encor soient ci me oeill *s'est mes cuers la ou je vueill*	*#648*
J'ai tot perdu por loiaument amer *n'onques n'en eu ne soulaz ne deport*	*#978*
Aler m'estuet el douz païs *ou je laissai m'amie*	*#91*

Table VII.5 shows that, with the exception of the first, none of the refrains associated with this particular *chanson* appeared in another context which suggests that the

composer of the *chanson* may also have composed the refrains. The concordance for the first refrain suggests that the composer may have begun the series of refrains with a well known couplet, thus cuing the audience to listen for the subsequent new refrains. Of course the priority of the sources cannot be determined. It is just as possible that the first refrain became the known because of the association with the first stanza of this *chanson*, or because of some other composition.

Example VII.10 compares the first stanza and the refrain melodies from fr.844 and fr.12615. The two versions do not resemble each other, though a few coincidental melodic correspondences appear in mm.26-9. The homostrophic version found in fr.12615 surprisingly does not show the *pedes-cauda* construction but rather a continuous melody, whereas the heterostrophic version found in fr.844 presents a veritable fantasia, or perhaps parody, on the form itself with five different *pedes-cauda* melodies. Stevens (1986, 467) argues that *chansons* with changing refrains show "an element of deliberate play . . . a disingenuousness, an assumed naiveté." In most cases, the refrains contrast with the rest of the stanza in syllable count, rhymes-scheme, and melodic focus. As Example VII.10 shows, the refrain for stanza I introduces a contrasting rhyme, and the subsequent refrains show a wide variety of rhymes and syllable counts. The refrains in fr.12615 also present a variety of finals.

However, the composer minimized the contrast of the refrains by writing melodies which use the same final **D**. For Stevens, refrains introduce the carnivalesque to the *grande chanson,* and open the door to play, parody, and satire. Thus the *ad nauseam* replication of the traditional *pedes-cauda* in the fr.844 version of *Quant je voi plus felons* can be understood as parody, occasioned by the nature of the genre.

Whereas the added version of *Quant je voi plus felons* superimposes the *pedes-cauda* construction onto a lyric that had been set in fr.12615 as a continuous melody, the added *Se j'ai chanté sanz* (#19) presents the opposite situation. Though this *chanson* does not appear in fr.12615, the piece enjoyed a wide circulation among the major *trouvère* anthologies. In fr.846, the attribution of *Se j'ai chanté sanz* to "Robert dou Chastel d'Arraz" provides further evidence that the collection of pieces added to fr.844 have strong associations with Arras. The two version preserved in fr.844 appear in the midst of a collect of *chansons* by Robert de la Pierre, whom Linker (1979, 231) believes is the same as Robert du Chastel. Thus the scribes may have consciously chosen an appropriate place to enter *Se j'ai chanté sanz.*

A representative sample of versions of *Se j'ai chanté sanz* show a stable association of melody and poem. The sources fr.846, fr.845, *F-Pa* 5198 all transmit the same

melody and five stanzas; fr.845 and 846 include an *envoi* as well. This melody shows the traditional *pedes-cauda* construction with no refrains, and does not resemble the version preserved in fr.844 in any way (see Example VII.11). The two stanzas in fr.844 share the same cadence formula, **F** final, and pattern of phrase lengths (see example VII.12). Beyond that, single short melodic gestures pervade and connect the stanzas. Plicated breves or *c.o.p.* ligature followed by a long appears frequently, isolated or in sequence (see stanza I, mm.3, 6-7, 16, 24, 26, 30, 35 and stanza II, mm.43, 46-8, 52, 55-6, 58, 64).

Just as in the *motet enté, Bone amourete m'a souspris*, which I have attributed to the same hand, melodic parallels and sequences appear within the stanzas to create melodic coherence. The poem already contains metrical parallels in the *pedes*, comprised of two pairs of 10+11 syllable phrases. In stanza I, the composer alludes to the poetic parallel by beginning each eleven-bar phrase with a similar melodic gesture and caesura on **E** (see mm.6-7 and mm.17-18) that links the first half of those six-bar phrases. In stanza II, a melodic parallel linking the mm.44-6 and mm.50-52, creates the effect of a double versicle with *ouvert* and *clos* endings. The construction of a phrase using parallel half-phrases, also found in *Bone amourete m'a souspris,* occurs in stanza I, line four, where the melodic idea presented in mm.23-4 is varied and repeated for mm.25-6.

These details of melodic construction suggest that the inspiration for the melody of *Se j'ai chanté sanz* found in fr.844 came from the same creative impulse and "motet aesthetic" that spawned *Bone amourete m'a souspris* as well as the *motets entés* in general. Heretofore, refrains have been a constant in the Old French continuous melodies added to fr.844. The absence of a refrain in this *chanson* implies a disassociation of this type of melodic construction from refrain quotations—a complete "grafting" of the "motet" melody-type onto the lyrics of a *trouvère chanson.*

A mon pooir ai servi presents a peculiar conflation of three formal types: the *grande chanson*, the *rondeau* and the *motet enté.* The *chanson* consists of four equal stanzas plus two shorter stanzas. All six stanzas conclude with the words and music of the same refrain, *"Diex que ferai se l'amour n'ai, de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai"* (Boogaard #558) which has no other concordance. Each stanza begins with the same phrase of music and, together with the refrain, these two stable melodic phrases frame new melodic material (see Example VII.13, stanzas I and II). On one hand, the construction of each stanza compares to the split-refrain technique of the *motets entés*, which added newly composed material between two halves of a pre-existing refrain. On the other hand, the strophic repetition of certain melodic blocks resembles the *grande chanson* and *rondeau*, both of which recycle the same music for new words. The melodic

repetition can be understood as a gesture to the homostrophic *chanson*, though a more likely explanation is that the composer, familiar with both continuous melodies and melodies with formal repetition, set himself a challenge of reconciling stable and changing musical elements in a large-scale form. Just as the composer of *Quant je voi plus felons* used the *pedes-cauda* structure to relate the stanzas of that *chanson* formally, the composer of *A mon pooir ai servi* used the formula AxB as a framework to relate the six stanzas both formally and musically.

The single-stanza *pastourelle L'aurtrier lés une fontaine* does not appear in the in R-Sp. index of *trouvère chansons*, but does appear indexed as a motet voice without a tenor by Gennrich (G-mot.1072). The piece ends with a refrain (*Triquedondele, jai amé la pastourele* (Boogaard #1802) which has a single concordance for the words in the interpolated romance *La cour d'Amour*.[15] Unfortunately, no concordance for the music of the refrain has survived. The melody of this *pastourelle* shows the *pedes-cauda* construction of a *chanson*, however the lines of the poem, given below, show a variety of syllable counts that compares to the *motets entés*.

---

[15] This *romance* has a single extant source: *F-Pn* n.a.fr.1731. The refrain shared by *L'autrier lés une fontaine* appears as refrains #14.

	Rhyme	Syllables
1 L'autrier lés une fontaine	a	8
2 trouvai bergere le	b	6
3 ou son pastouriau l'en maine	a	9
4 les une praele	b	6
5 chantant la demaine	a	6
6 disant "Marotele	b	6
7 baisier une foi"	c	6
8 puis chantons a hautte voi	c	7
9 "*triqudondele*	a	5
j'ai ame la pastourele"	b	8

The poem includes the typical markers which define the *pastourelle* genre according to Stevens (1986, 472): short line lengths and economic rhyme patterns, narrative, flirtatious dialogue or singing, and refrains. Stevens calls the musico-poetic style of the *pastourelle* "quasi-popular" (p. 473) and "courtly-popular" (p. 476). Most *pastourelles* show rigid syllable count and sophisticated word play akin to the *grandes chansons*, coupled with tonally focused, syllabic melodies that compare to *rondeaux* or the economic narrative music of the *lai* (p. 472-4). The original corpus of fr.844 contains a number of strophic *pastourelles*. Example VII.14 shows a typical "rustic" *pastourelle*, *Hui main par un ajournant* (R-Sp.293, f.65v) attributed to Thibaut de Blaison. The melody contains a high degree of single-note repetition and an almost *rondeau-*like pattern or repeating phrases, yielding the pattern AABAB'. The melodic range only spans a fourth from **f** to **B♭**, maximizing tonal focus. *L'autrier lés une fontaine*, however, shows a sophisticated, urbane rather than "rustic"

melodic style (see Example VII.15). A liberal use of accidentals constantly changes the quality of the **b,** and deflects a sense of tonal focus; musical *enjambement* between lines five and six and eight and nine disturbs the metrical flow; and the **E** final of the refrain comes as a complete surprise.

Polyphonic motets of the thirteenth-century provides another source for *pastourelles*. Motet #270 from fascicle seven of Mo, *Amours dont je sui/L'autrie au douz moi/Chose Tassin*, contains a similarly sophisticated *pastourelle* as the motetus see (Example VII.16). The poem (see below) uses a single rhyme, but various long line lengths. The music, however, equalizes the line lengths, setting each to the equivalent of six measure phrases.

		Syllables
1 L'autrier au douz mois d'avril main me levai		11
2 pensis a mes amours jouer m'en alai		11
3 dont trop m'es mai quar ne sai se ja joie m'en alai		13
4 ne pour quant plus jolis en serai et s'en chante rai		14
5 *"J'ai ame la sade blondete et amerai"*		11
6 ne ja de li aimer ne me re pentirai		12
7 mes con ses loiaus ame tous jours la servirai		13

Such a regular phrase structure does not occur often in the motet repertory. Although obscured by the polyphonic environment, the regularity nevertheless points to a cross-fertilization with highly regular monophonic *pastourelle* settings. In turn, the uneven line lengths of *L'autrier lés*

une fontaine my have been informed by the many motets which use *pastourelle* lyrics.

The motetus also shows a curious use of *musica ficta*, comparable to the changing quality of the **b** in *L'autrier lés une fontaine*. In line six, a **c♯** and **f♯** completely disrupts the **c** tonal focus that organized the pitches of the previous phrases.[16] However, the composer used a single pervasive motive—in this case, a long followed by three descending breves—to links all the phrases. We have met with this compositional technique recently in *Se j'ai chanté sanz* and with the *motets entés*. Both *L'autrier lés une fontaine* and *L'autrier au douz mois* introduce musical abstruseness into this "quasi-popular" genre. The curious use of *musica ficta* and the selection of certain formal features that recall typical *pastourelles*—such as the *pedes-cauda* construction, or regular line lengths—counter the forthright "rustic" narratives and accessible refrains. This disjunction intensifies the element of parody in these *pastourelles*.

The additions discussed in this chapter all show a creative impulse to expand or experiment with the genres that are well-represented in the *troubadour* and *trouvères* repertory of the original corpus. The "high style,"

---

[16] The polyphonic environment does not demand the sharping of the **c** or **f** at that particular moment. All three voices show a sudden alteration of notes, provoked by the **c♯** of the motetus which appears over an **a** and below an **E**.

strophic ideal of the *troubadour canso*, lauded by Dante, presented a force to be reckoned with for younger generations of composers. But once you make a strophic *grandes chanson* non-strophic, does that new composition still belong to the genre lauded by Dante? or does the composition assume a new generic identity? And how do we understand genre in light of *Ki de bons est,* a *lai* that looks more like a *grande chanson*, or the essential concept of disunity paradoxically unifying the *descorts*? The additions to fr.844 demonstrate that for the composers of this new monophony, the notion of genre itself provides a starting place for invention.

In the thirteenth and fourteenth century, composers and writers became increasingly self-conscious about the acts of writing and reading. Sylvia Huot (1987, 64) studied the arrangement and miniatures in several *chansonniers* and discovered an increasing emphasis on author identity and valorization of the clerk-poet over and against the knight. Huot singles out fr.844 as one of three *chansonniers* that offer a particularly telling program of illuminations. As previously mentioned, the *trouvère* corpus of fr.844 is organized on the basis of class, beginnings with authors of nobility and ending with anonymous pieces. As you move from front to back in the anthologies, the miniatures clearly distinguish aristocratic *trouvères,* depicted as knights, from non noble writers, singers, and musicians, who are

shown in the act of performance or composition. The concern for "providing an image for each new lyric persona," whether knightly or bourgeois, contributes to "the sense of distinct poetic identity, and the integrity of the author corpus as a textual entity" (p. 57). Huot writes, "the figure of the author that emerges from the *chansonniers* is of profound importance for the eventual emergence of the fourteenth-century author-compilers like Guillaume de Machaut and Jean Froissart" (p. 63).

The re-fashioned *chansons* added to fr.844 provide a musical corollary to the miniatures. Although anonymous, the heterostrophic new melodies nevertheless represent a bold self-assertion, and a specifically musical one at that. These additions occupy an enormous amount of space within the anthology as compared to pieces of the original corpus,[17] and the detail of the rhythmic notation shows a heightened awareness of the technology of writing music. The conscription of pre-existing poems or poetic-types for new melodic composition directly challenges the older generation of composers and their notions of genre. Previous generic edifices become the subjects of parody or conscious abandonment, and in their place, the composers

---

[17] Although *L'autrier lés une fontaine* is a single-stanza composition that takes relatively little space, the scribe who entered that *pastourelle* also entered a total of five successive single-stanza pieces, as if a suite of new music. Together, these single-stanza represent a similarly bold assertion of the anonymous composer.

used melodic features culled from the motet and the *rondeau.*
The Provençal *descorts,* among the first and boldest
additions to the *chansonnier*—generically encompass the
impulse toward dis-assembling and disunity that underlie the
added *lais* and *grandes chansons.* Deemed the "anti-*canso*" by
Page and others (1986, 23), the model of structural freedom
offered by these *descorts* seemingly paved the way for
further "anti-*canso*" compositions that contributed to a
dissolution of the thirteenth-century monophonic genres.

Chapter VIII

Genre and Creativity

Most general histories of music communicate a bias toward recognizing and contemplating a canon of "masterworks" composed by individuals. A name immediately helps quantify and organize information pertaining to the compositions. Human agency and development thus become the true subject behind the contemplation of the art object. In the absence of a clear records of individual achievement, scholars of medieval thirteenth-century music have placed genre in the spotlight. Describing and quantifying genre became the occupation of scholarship of the first half of the twentieth-century, best represented by the work of Ludwig, Gennrich, and Reese. In the last two decades, the work of Stevens, Van der Werf, and Page have focused on performance practice and notation as an aspect of genre. The thirty-seven anonymous additions to fr.844 form a less than tidy collection of monophonic genres. Their idiosyncracies in the face of the generic categories and traits recognized by scholars make them especially transparent as human achievements. The questions "who?" and "why?" thus become an integral part of understanding what these compositions communicate about genre and creativity

circa 1300.

The hodge-podge of genres included among the thirty-seven mensural monophonic additions to fr.844 point to two important transformations of musical culture taking place around 1300:

1) The breaking apart of associations between monophonic genres and conventions of non-mensural notation, and, by implication, non-mensural performance practice.

2) An increase in the musically literate population which occasioned the shift to a "common practice" mensural notation, as well as the transmission of fluid notions of genres and experimentation with form.

In Chapters V through VII, I have also suggested that certain motivations specific to the community of musicians in Arras compelled the creation the additions. The contributors to fr.844 responded to the anthology *qua* anthology—that is, the scribes sought to complete the compendium of monophonic compositions with new and neglected genres that formed a part of the local musical scene. In this way, the contributors entered into a dialogue with the collection, changing the *channsonier* from a static anthology to a dynamic repository. The additions do not represent a devaluing of collection, but rather represent individual musicians valuing their own compositions as much as the *trouvère chansons* by writing themselves into the collection. These are literate musicians who decided to exercise their musical literacy. The rich community of musicians working

in Arras and Northern France provided a pool of contributors who were caught up in a collective impulse to record their music alongside the compositions of older generations and contemporaries.

The restriction to thirteenth-century Franconian nota-tion and to the breve-level setting of syllables (with the single exception of the poorly executed fifth stanza to *Ki de bons est*) suggests that the additions are best understood as "common monophony," analogous to the "common polyphony" or "simple polyphony" found in the fourteenth-century MSS such as *Las Huelgas*. However, as I have shown in my analyses of the melodies, these examples of "common monophony" are simple in terms of rhythmic levels, but quite sophisticated in terms of form and melodic invention. For Parisian musicians, the polyphonic textures and rapid, low-level melodic rhythm became the loci of experimentation. In Arras and the Northern regions of France, the additions to fr.844 indicate that form and genre became the comparable loci of experimentation. Thus notions of genre appear not to have been hard and fast in the provinces circa 1300. Within presently-held notion of genre and style, however, the "common monophony" added to fr.844 seems most uncommon.

Structuralist literary theory describes genre as a dynamic process rather than a static category. Hans Jauss (1982, 81) writes:

> Literary forms and genres are thus neither
> subjective creations of the author, nor merely
> retrospective ordering-concepts, but rather
> primarily social phenomena, which means that they
> depend on functions in the lived world.

The additions betray a wide range of musical and scribal experiences, culling melodic style from polyphonic motets, reprise-forms from *rondeaux*, grafting and interpolating procedures from interpolated romances, and heterostrophic freedom from the *descort*. Each entry encompasses a dynamic play of forms and styles, with no apparent regard to segregating categories of "high" or "low" style, mensural or non-mensural performance. The additions indicate that the dynamics of genre were a primary arena of innovation for composers in Northern France, as opposed to the "savant" innovations of low-level rhythm and texture taking place in Paris. In Paris, demand for greater performance virtuosity produced an eventual division of labor between the poet and musician. The additions to fr.844 represent a different echelon of musician—a musician who has mastered the "common practice" Franconian notation, who is not up-to-date or comfortable with the latest *Ars nova* rhythmic divisions, but who nevertheless has desire to create new music.

Bibliography

I. Editions and Transcriptions

Anglés, Higino, ed. *El Codex musical de las Huelgas*. 3 vols.
     Publicaciones de la section de Musica 6. Barcelona:
     Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1931.

_____, ed. *La Musica de las Cantigas de Santa Maria del Rey
     Alfonso el Sabio: Codice j.b.2 de el Escorial*.
     Publicaciones de la section de musica 19. Barcelona:
     Biblioteca Central, 1964.

Aubry, Pierre. *Estampies et Danses Royales*. Paris: Librairie
     Fischbacher, 1907.

Beck, Jean. *Le chansonnier Cange, manuscrit francais no. 846
     de la Bibliotheque nationale de Paris*. Corpus
     Cantilenarum Medii Aevi Ser. I. 2 vols. Paris: H.
     Champion, 1927.

_____, and Louise, eds. *Le manuscrit du roi, fonds francais
     no.844 de la Bibliotheque nationale, reproduction
     phototypique*. Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi, Ser. II.
     2 vols. Philadelphia : University of Pennsylvania
     Press, 1938.

Boogaard, Nico. *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début
     du XIVe*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1969.

Cserba, Simon M. *Der Musiktraktat des Hieronymus Moravia*.
     Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1935.

Dittmer, Luther, trans. *Anonymous IV*. Brooklyn: Institute of
     Medieval Music, 1959.

Gatien-Arnoult, M., ed. *Las flors del gay saber estier
     dichas Las Leys d'amors*. 3 vols. Toulouse: Monuments de
     la littérature romane, 1841-43; reprint ed., Genève:
     Slatkine Reprints, 1977.

Gennrich, Friedrich. *Rondeaux, Virelai, und Balladen*. 2
     vols. Dresden: Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur 43
     (1921), 47 (1927).

_____. *Der Musikalische Nachlass der Troubadours*. Darmstadt: Friedrich Gennrich, 1958.

Meyer P. and Raynaud G. *Le chansonnier francais de Saint-Germain-des-Pres (Bibl. nat. fr. 20050); reproduction phototypique avec transcription*. Paris: Societe des anciens textes francais 1892.

Press, Alan R., ed. and trans. *Anthology of Troubadour Lyric Poetry*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971.

Rambeau, A. *Die Dem Trouvere Adam de la Hale Zugeschribene Dramen*. Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der Romanischen Philologie 58, ed. E. Stengel. Martburg: N. G. Elwert'sche, 1886.

Raynaud, Gaston. *Recueil de motets français des XIIe et XIIIe siecles*. Paris: F. Vieweg, Libraire-Editeur, 1883.

Rosenberg, Samuel N. and Tischler, Hans, eds. *The Monophonic Songs in the Roman de Fauvel*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

Roussel, H, ed. *Renart le Nouvel by Jacquemart Gielée*. Paris: Société des Anciens Textes Français, 1961.

Rohloff, Ernst. *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheio*. Liepzig: Deutschen Verlag für Musik, 1972.

Rokseth, Y. *Polyphonies du XIIIe siecle : le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculte de medecine de Montpellier*. 3 vols. Paris: Editions de l'Oiseau Lyre, Louise B.M. Dyer, 1935-1939.

Strunk, Oliver. *Source Readings in Music History*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1950.

Tischler, Hans, ed. *The Montpellier Codex*. Recent Researches in the Renaissance, vols. 2-8. Madison: A&R Editions Inc., 1978.

_____, ed. *The Earliest Motets*. 2 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1982.

Werf, Hendrik van der. *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouveres; a Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems*. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972.

_____. *Trouvères-Melodien*. 2 vols. Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi XI and XII. Kassel: Barenreiter, 1977-79.

_____, ed. *The Extant Troubadour Melodies*. New York: Hendrik van der Werf, 1984.

Welliver, Warman ed. *Dante in Hell: The "De Vulgari Eloquentia," Introduction, Text, Translation, Commentary*. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1981.

Wilkins, Nigel. *The Works of Jehan de Lescurel*. Corpus Mensurabilis Musicae 30. American Institute of Musicology, 1966.

II. Bibliographies and Catalogs

Boogaard, Nico. *Rondeaux et refrains du XIIe siècle au début du XIVe*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1969.

Gennrich, Friedrich. *Bibliographie der Ältesten Französischen und Lateinischen Motetten*. Summa Musicae Medii Aevi 2. Darmstadt: Friedrich Gennrich, 1957.

Jeanroy, A. *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français du moyen age*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1918.

Linker, Robert White. *A Bibliography of Old French Lyrics*. Romance Monographs 31. University, MS, 1979.

Ludwig, Friedrich. *Repertorium organorum recentioris et motetorum vetustissimi stili, I. Bd. Catalogue raissonné der Quellen*. Halle: Niemeyer, 1910

Raynaud, Gaston. *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des XIIIe et XIVe siècles*. 2 vols. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1884. Reprint Osnabrück: Biblio Verlag, 1971.

Schwan, Eduard. *Die Altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1886.

Spanke, Hans. *Eine Altfranzösischen Liedersammlung der Anonyme Tiel der Liederhandschriften KNPX*. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1925.

_____. *Raynauds Bibliographie des Altfranzösischen Liedes*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1955.

III. Books and Articles

Arlt, Wulf. "The 'reconstruction' of instrumental music: the interpretation of the earliest practical sources." in *Studies in the performance of late medieval music*, edited by Stanley Boorman, 75-100. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983.

Baum, Richard. "Les troubadours et les lai," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 85 (1969): 1-44.

Bec, Pierre. *La Lyrique Française au Moyen Âge*. 2 vols. Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1977-8.

Beck, Jean and Louise, eds. *Le manuscrit du roi, fonds francais no. 844 de la Bibliotheque nationale, reproduction phototypique*. Corpus Cantilenarum Medii Aevi, Ser. II. 2 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938.

Bloch, R. Howard. *Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991.

Butterfield, Ardis. "Repetition and Variation in the Thirteenth-Century Refrain," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 116 (1991): 1-23.

Coldwell, Maria V. "Guillaume de Dole and Medieval Romances with Musical Interpolations." *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981): 55-85.

Crocker, Richard. "French Polyphony of the Thirteenth-Century," in *The New Oxford History of Music: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, edited by Richard Crocker and David Hiley, 636-63. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Doss-Quinby, Eglal. *Les refrains chez les trouveres du XIIe siecle au debut du XIVe*. New York: P. Lang, 1984.

Dragonetti, Roger. *La technique poetique des trouveres dans la chanson courtoise*. Brugge: De Tempel, 1960.

Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.

Eagleton, Terry. *Literary Theory: An Introduction*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1983.

Earp, Lawrence. "Lyrics for Reading and Lyrics for Singing in Late Medieval France: The Development of the Dance Lyric from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut" in *The Union of Words and Music in Medieval Poetry*, 101-31. Edited by Rebecca A. Baltzer, Thomas Cable, and James Wimsatt. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991.

Everist, Mark. "The Rondeau Motet: Paris and Artois in the Thirteenth Century." *Music and Letters* 69 (1988): 1-22.

_____. *Polyphonic Music in Thirteenth-century France: Aspects of Sources and Distribution*. New York: Garland, 1989a.

_____. "The Refrain Cento: Myth or Motet?." *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 114 (1989b): 164-88.

_____. *French Motets in the Thirteenth-century: Music, Poetry, Genre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Fallows, David. S.v. "Sources: III-Secular Monophony." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 1980.

Gennrich, Friedrich. *Rondeaux, Virelai, und Balladen*. 2 vols. Dresden: Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur 43 (1921), 47 (1927).

_____. "Trouvèrelieder und Motettenrepertoire." *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 9 (1926-27): 8 & 66.

_____. *Grundriss einer Formenlehre des mittelalterlichen Liedes*. Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1932.

Gérold, Théodore. *La musique au moyen age*. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1932.

Hofmann, Klaus. "Zur Enstehungs und Frühgeschichte des Terminus Motette." *Acta Musicologica* 42 (1970):138.

Hoppin, Richard. *Medieval Music*. New York and London: W. W. Norton & Co., 1978.

Huot, Sylvia Jean. *From Song to Book: the Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987a.

Jeanroy, A. *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France*. Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1889.

Jauss, Hans Robert. *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception.* Translated by Timothy Bahti. Introduction by Paul de Man. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982.

Karp, Theodore. S.v. "Troubadours, trouvères: Music." *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians.* London: Macmillan Publishers Ltd., 1980.

_____. "Three Trouvère Chansons in Mensural Notation," in *Gordon Athol Anderson (1929-1981): In Memoriam*, 2: 474-493. Henryville, PA: Institute for Mediaeval Music Ltd., 1984.

Knapp, Janet. "Polyphony at Notre Dame of Paris," in *The New Oxford History of Music: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, edited by Richard Crocker and David Hiley, 557-635. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Lefferts, Peter. *Robertus de Handlo, Regule and Johannes Hanboys Summa: A New Critical Text and Translation.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991.

Ludwig, Friedrich. "Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils." *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1923): 185.

McGee, Timothy J. "Medieval Dances: Matching the Repertory with Grocheio's Descriptions." *Journal of Musicology* 17 (1989): 498-517.

Maillard, Jean. *Evolution et esthétique du lai lyrique: des origines à la fin du XIVe siècle.* Paris: University of Paris, 1961.

Marshall, J. H. "The Isostrophic *descort* in the Poetry of the Troubadours." *Romance Philology* 35 (1981): 130-57.

Nichols, Stephen G. "Voice and Writing in Augustine and in the Troubadour Lyric." *Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages.* Edited by A. N. Doane and Carol Braun Pasternack, 137-61. Madison: Wisconsin University Press, 1992.

Page, Chrisopher. "Jerome of Moravia on the Rubela and Viella." *Galpin Society Journal* 32 (1979): 77-98.

_____. *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages.* Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1986.

_____. *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100-1300.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989.

_____. "Court and City in France, 1100-1300. In *Music and Society: Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, edited by James McKinnon, 197-217. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1990.

_____. *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music & Culture in Medieval France*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993a.

_____. "Johannes de Grocheio on Secular Music: A Corrected Text and a New Translation." *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2 (1993b): 17-41.

Reese, Gustave. *Music in the Middle Ages*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1940.

Saponow, Michail. "Ductia und cantus insertus bei Johannes de Grocheio," *Beiträge zur Musikwissenschaft* 32 (1990): 296-99.

Spanke, Hans. "Der Chansonnier du Roi." *Romanische Forschungen* 57 (1943): 38-104. Reprint, Leichtenstein: Kraus reprint, 1978.

Stevens, John. "The Manuscript Presentation and Notation of Adam de la Halle's Courtly Chansons," in *Source Materials and the Interpretation of Music: a Memorial Volume to Thurston Dart*, edited by I. Bent, 29-84. London: Steiner and Bell, 1981.

_____. *Words and Music in the Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

_____. "Medieval Song," in *The New Oxford History of Music: The Early Middle Ages to 1300*, edited by Richard Crocker and David Hiley, 357-451. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.

Stockmann, Doris. "Musica vulgaris bei Johannes de Grocheio (Grocheo)," *Beiträge zur Musicwissenschaft* 25 (1983): 3-56.

Tischler, Hans. "A Unique and Remarkable Trouvère Song," *Journal of Musicology* 10 (Winter 1992): 106-112.

Welliver, Warman ed. *Dante in Hell: The "De Vulgari Eloquentia," Introduction, Text, Translation, Commentary*. Ravenna: Longo Editore, 1981.

Werf, Hendrik van der. "The Trouvère Chansons as Creations of a Notationless Musical Culture," *Current Musicology* 1 (1965): 61-8.

_____. *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouveres; a Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems.* Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972.

Yudkin, Jeremy. *Music in Medieval Europe.* Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1989.

Zumthor, Paul. *Toward a Medieval Poetics.* Translated by Philip Bennett. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1992.

IV. Handwriting and Paleography Studies

Canellas, Angel. *Exempla Scriptuarum Latinarum in usum Scholarum.* 2 vols. Zaragoza: Universidad Zaragoza Institucion, 1974.

Drogin, Marc. *Medieval Calligraphy.* New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1980.

Glenisson, Jean, ed. *Le livre au moyen age.* Presses du CNRS, 1988.

Nesbitt, Alexander. *The History and Technique of Lettering.* New York: Dover Publications Inc., 1957.

Parkes, M. B. *English Cursive Book Hands 1250-1500.* University of California Press, 1980.

Petti, Anthony G. *English Literary Hands from Chaucer to Dryden.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1977.

Shailor, Barbara A. *The Medieval Book.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.

Stiennon, Jacque. *L'ecriture diplomatique dans le diocèse de Liège du XI au milieu du XIII siècle.* Paris: Sociètè d'Edition "Les Belles Lettres," 1960.

Thomson, S. Harrison. *Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages, 1100-1500.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Watson, Andrew G. *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts, c.700-1600 in Oxford Libraries,* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Whalley, Joyce Irene. *The Student's Guide to Western Calligraphy: An Illustrated Survey*. Boulder: Shambhala, 1984.

New Music, Notions of Genre,

and the "*Manuscrit du Roi*" circa 1300

by

Judith Ann Peraino

Volume II: Examples and Appendix

University of California at Berkeley

1995

Example IV.1: Donna pos vos

A

Don - na pos vos ay chau - si - da

faz me bel sem - blan

qu'ieu suy a to - ta ma vi - da

a vos - tre co - man

b

A vos - tre co - man se - ray

a totz los jors de ma vi - a

b

e ja de vos non par - tray

per de - gu - n'au - tre que si - a

Example IV.2: Incipits for Ki de bons est

Example IV.3: Ki de bons est, Stanza V

A

Gens cuers loi - aus plains d'a - mour

chiez qui sert a bon sei - gneur doit a - men - der

A

en vo gent cors de va - lour

ser - vir sans pen - ser dou - lour per - se - ve - rer -

B

weil mais je ne puis mous - trer en fait n'en par - ler

comment il m'est dont je pri-a/a-mour - s'ele on - quesdou - ner

fist mer-chi que je le jour voi - e que sa - vou - rer

le puisse au gre de vous da - me vis cler -

Example IV.4: J'aim bele dame

Example IV.5: Se j'ai chante sanz

Si dou — ce-ment mi sont a-mours do - lor

kil m'est a - mis cil ment par tri - che ri - e

qui dit qu'a-mours font bien [?] re - che - noir

mais bone a-mours est par du - ra - ble ni - e

ki bien ai - me il ne li grie - ve mi - e

sil a tra-veil de veil - lier de pen-ser

c'est fins de-duis d'a-mi - e de - sir - er

Example V.1: U despit des envieus

Et si vuell estre amoureus
U despit des envieus
pour noble cors gracieus
car amours m'en a espris
U despit

Example V.2: A vous douce debonnaire

vo vair euil mi font atraire
A vous dame debonnaire
ne ja ne m'ein quier retraire
ains vous servire
Tant com vivre

A vous douce debonnaire
ai mon cuer deonne
ja non partire

Example V.3: Se je chant et sui

Dont doi jon estre plus priseies
Se je chant et sui envoisies
Car tous cuers par droit seroit lies
de desirer che dont mes cuers a joie
Se je chant et sui

Example V.4: J'ai bele dame amee

J'ai be - le da - me/a - me - e
qui mon cuer a
Bele est et si m'a - gre - e
J'ai
et si l'ai de - si - re - e
de lonc tans a

Example V.5: Trop ai este lonc
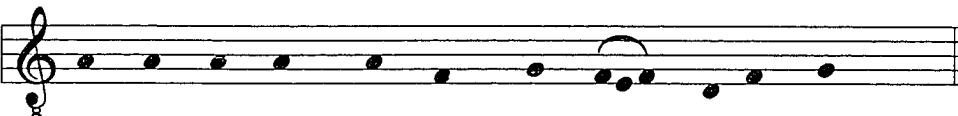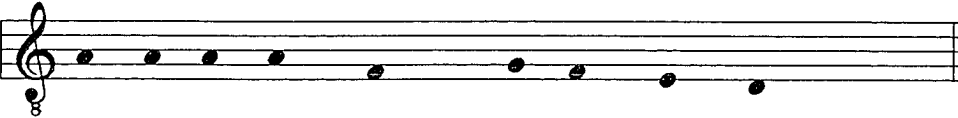
Trop ai es - te lonc tans mus

mai loi - au - ment me chas - ti - e

am - ours qui me don - ne vi - e

Je m'en sui apercheus
Trop ai este
ma dame m'a .i. ris sus
gete que ne l'oubli mie
d'amer loiaument m'afie

Example V.6: Prendes i garde

A — Pren - des   i   re - gar - de   s'on   mi   re - gar - de

B — S'on   mi   re - gar - de   di - tes   le   moi

Example V.7: Amours me maint

Example V.8: Bonne amourete me tien gai

Bonne a - mou - re - te me tient gai

ma compaignete
Bonne amourete
ma caconnete
Bonne amourete
me tient gai

Example V.9: Dame or sui trais

Dame   or   sui   tra   -   is

par   l'o   -   coi   -   son   de   vos

iex   qui   sont   pri   -   ve   la   -   ron

Example V.10: Mes cuers est / ET PRO

Mes cuers est em-pri-so-ne en

ET PRO

trop cru-el pri-son

mer-ci da-me qui l'a-vez

Mes cuers est em-pri-so-ne

Example V.11: Ben volgra s'esser

A. Ben vol - gra s'es - ser po - ges
c'a - mors si gar - des d'ay - tan
que non fr - ses fin ar - man
chau - sir en luec quel pla - ges

b. E per que car per pla - ser
qu'ieu cre - sia de vos a - ver
don - na vos mi fes chau - sir

b. A - mors don a - via es - per
que mi de - ges - ses va - ler
del joy don ieu tant so - spir

a. Ar m'a - ves a tal punch mes

que tot jorn vaue de - si - ran

la mort don ay do - lor gran

car non faitz so c'a - mors fes

a

A - mors vos mi fer

e chausir vostre cor car   (b)
e nostra beautatz plasen
per plaser mas geus ancar   b
non ay mas dol e pensar
e non truep nul garmen
e pos per plaser ay pres   a
 pena dolor er asfan
amors meri amon dan
qua rebusan a pales
E tenray mab desamor   b
et avay cauch e socor
e jay e plaser entier
e qui si vullaia mor   b
quel nivra ab gran dolor
et jeu ab gran alegrier
e si daysso suy repres   a
sapcha via rason enan
c'amors van contrarian
per so ayl contrari pres
Mon deliech non vos vuell ges   a
nas mon desplaser deman
e si as el mi coman
jeu avray tot cant obs mes
E mal an puesquesser mes   a
que amors servira tan
con afah desay enan
car non fan so que dretz es
Dansa car jeu ay apres   a
quel rey charles fay gent chan
per a quo asel aman
car de fin pres es apres
ben volgra s'esser poges   A

Example V.12: Donna pos vos

A

Don - na pos vos ay chau - si - da

faz me bel sem - blan

qu'ieu suy a to - ta ma vi - da

a vos - tre co - man

b

A vos - tre co - man se - ray

a totz los jors de ma vi - a

b

e ja de vos non par - tray

per de - gu - n'au - tre que si - a

a Que erer non a - met he - re - da tan ni yseutz tris - tan con yeu vos don - na gra - si - da qu'ieu am sens en - gan

A *Don - na*

Example V.13: Ay mi dame de valour

Ay mi da - me de va- lour

que j'aim et de - sir

de vous me vient la do- lour

qui me fait lan - guir

Tres dou- ce cre - a - tu - re

com - ment puet vo fi - ne dou - cour

Example V.14: La Quarte Estampie Royal

Example V.15: La Quinte Estampie Real

Quoted in Addition #8,
unique source: F-Pn fr.1593, f.18v.

Apres le ro ne canta
Renars, qui de fin cuer l'ama
Ceste chancon ci de cuer gai

Bonne a - mou - ret - te mi tient gai

Quoted in Addition #9,
source: F-Pn fr.1593, f.52r.

Canterel a amer, ce mot
En cantant d'amour cuer gay

Vous le mi def - fen - des l'a mer

mais par dieu je a - me - rai

Quoted in Addition #27,
unique source: F-Pn fr.1593, f.13v.

Vint dame Enme, car les nouveles
Li ot dit une camberiere,
Devant vint ne mie derriere
Chantant car bien en sot les tourz

J'aim loi - au - ment et a - me - rai touz jourz

Example VI.2: Bone amourete m'a souspris

Bone a - mou - re - te m'a sous - pris

d'a - mer be - le da - me de pris

le cors a gent et cler le vis

et pour s'a - mour trai grant es - mai

et ne pour quant je l'a - me - rai

tant con vi - vrai de fin cuer vrai

car l'es - per - an - ce - ke j'ai

de chan - ter tou - jours

me tient gai

Example VI.3: Or ai je trop demore (fr.845)

A — Or ai je trop de - mo - re

B — hors de la con - tre - e

la ou j'ai mon cuer do ne

C — et ma de - si - re - e

D — n'on - que ma loi - al - pen - se - e

ne fu s'a ma da - me non

mais fe - lon m'i ont trop gre - ve

D — por ce n'i ai pas - e - stre

C — trop re - dout l'a - par - ce - voir
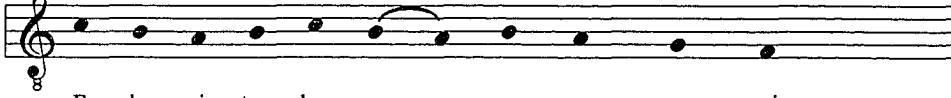
A — s'ai je bon - ne vol - en - te

B — de ma da - me re - ve - oir

Example VI.4: Fifteen Refrains from fr.1593

f. 50r-51r

A — E dex si tres dous non a en a - mi

A — A boi - ne da - me loi - aus sui don - nes
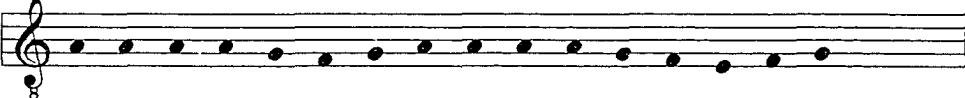
A — Faus - se/a - mour je vous doins con - gie j'ai plus loi - aus trou - ve - e

B — He a - mou - re - tes m'o - cir - res vous dont

J'ai a - me et tous jhour a - mo - rai

B — De cha - pe - let de per - ven - che no - ve - let a - mi fe - rai

A — A ma da - me ser - vir ai mis mon cuer et moi

C — Diex je me ma - ri - ai trop tos de moi ma - ri - er fis que fols

C — Dont vien li maus d'a - mer ki m'o - chi - ra

A — Da - me et a - mours li - e - ment vous fach de mon cors pre - sent

B — De no com - pai - ni - e ne soit aus s'il n'ert a mans

B — Pi - tes et a - mous pur mi proi - ies ma da - me mer - chi

A — Je cui doi - e/a - voir a - mi or i or i mais je ai a tout fail - li

A — J'a pe - le - rai se diex me gart de tra - i - son vo - stre re - gart

Dous a - mis a vous le ai mes - di - sant sont no - stre a - ne - mi

Example VI.5: En non dieu c'est la rage

fr.844, f.153r

1. En non dieu c'est la ra - ge
2. que li maus d'a-mors s'il ne ma so - a ge
3. ne puis sou - frir son ou - tra - ge
4. mon co - ra - ge/en re - trai - rai
5. de li par - ti - ra
6. mais n'est pas par moi
7. car quant la voi la voi la voi
8. la be - le la blonde a li m'o - troi

Example VI.6: Vous le deffendes

Vous le def - fen - des l'am - mer

en - vi - eus et mes - di - sant

car le cuer a - ves a - mer

plain de mal en - ten - de - ment

or cre - ves de cuer do - lant

que j'aimg bele et a - ve - nant

qui m'a - don - ne .I. bai - sier

a - mo - rous et sanz dan - gi - er

mis m'a - vez en grant es - may

mai par dieu je l'a - mer - ai

Example VI.7: J'aim loiaument en espoir

J'aim loi - au - ment en es - poir

d'a - voir la gra - ce d'a - mi - e

ne je ne m'en quier mou - voir

an - thois veill tou - te ma vi - e

ser - vir de cuer bo - ne - ment

a mors qui par fai - te - ment

puet don - ne a ses sou - gis

joi - e qui du - re tou - dis

j'ai droit en tant quo j'en ai

le cuer lie et le cors gai

se plus m'en a voi - e

s'est che as - sez por vi - vre/en joi - e

de coi pe les gre d'a - mour

ma da - me je vous ser - vi - rai

et a - me - rai tou - jours

Example VII.1: Sens alegrage, Stanza V

lon - ga'en - du - ra m'en a - gu - ra

a - ven - tu - ra tals sim du - ra

quem pe - j - ura

greus mals que m'au - si si

que dre - chu - ra am fal - su - ra

nom mel - lu - ra antz pe - j ura

cant la prec de mi ri

Example VII.2: Sens alegrage, Stanza VII

del   mal   tray - .   re

mer - ce   ay - re   suy

e   fin   le   als   a - may - re

el   ben   fay - re
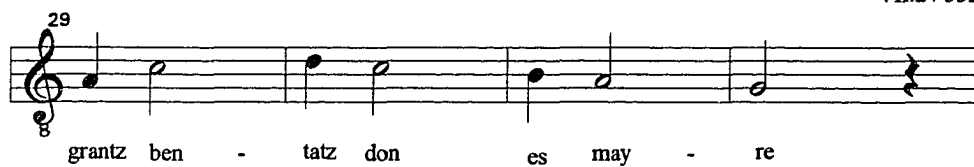
sens   es - tray - re

tuch   sap - cha   gra - sir   dir

Non   laus   gray - re

mon   ve - lay   re   quilz

grantz ben - tatz don es may - re

mi fay tray - re

mon cors lay - re

en a quest con sir vir

Example VII.3: Qui la ve en ditz, Stanza I

Example VII.4: Qui la ve en ditz, Stanza III

Example VII.5: Bella donna cara, Stanza IV

So qu'al au - tres fins ay mantz

es a - fantz

es a - mi gautz

e dous - sors car a - mors

vol qu'ieu am sens

totz en - grantz totz mo - santz

tals que so - bre las gen - sors

m'es au - sors

a mors ben es mos a - cortz

que a cortz

s'a - pel mos canz totz tems mays

en - trels fins ay - mans ve - rays

cuy plas so - latz e de portz

que des - cortz

non deu far qui non si - rays per qu'ieu lays

des - cortz

per far a - cortz gays en - tre.ls gays

Example VII.6: Bella donna cara, Stanza III

el syei bel sem - blan man

que res non n'es mentz sentz

mi fan dir can - tan can

e can - tars pla - sens gentz

sa - bes per qu'ieu can tan

Car fins en - ten - dentz dentz

am e sens en - gan blan

E quar blan gau - sentz mentz

en prez mon a - fan gran

Example VII.7: La plus noble emprise, Stanza I

La plus no - ble em - prise

qui soit a em - pris

mes cuers car il pri - se

da - me de haut pris

plai - sans bien a pris - se

a - mours m'a a - pris

si bien que la pri - se

sent dont je fui pris

vous pour moi re - pri - se

ne se - res ne je re - pris

pour vous car a - mours s'est mi - se

la/ou nos ii cuers se sont mis

mais se par fain - ti - se

i cuers est d'a - mer fain - tis

seur tous au - tres le des - pris

cher - tes j'ai doit car a - mours

le des pri - se

Example VII.8: La plus noble emprise, Stanza III

Mais tele est ma des - ti - ne - e

ne sai ke l'a des - ti - ne

c'on - kes ne me fu do - ne - e

mer - cis tant eus - se dou - ne

le mien cuer ne ma pen - se - e

en da - me mais j'ai pen - se

que puis k'a - mours as - se - ne

m'a par son gre

ke gra - ce

me se - ra et as - se ne - e

de che - le dont de - sir - re

l'ai lonc tans a he dou-che de - sir - re - e

mer - chi vous pri

se mal dit per - dou - ne me

soit de vous

ou mer - chis par - dou - ne - e

Example VII.9: Ki de bons est, Stanza I

ke la dou - ce de - bo - nai - re

ki mon cuer en son cuers a

me vau - sit gra - ce par - fai - re

des biens d'a - mours por - roi - e plus re - trai - re

Example VII.10: Quant je voi plus felons

Quant je voi plus fe - lons ri - re

et en - noi - sier et chan - ter

et voi qui chas - cuns sou - spi - re

faus - se - ment par miex gui - ler

lors me faut des - con - for - ter

a - mours que mes maus em - pi - re

et ma da - me tel mar - ti - re

qui sans mo - rir me fait do - lor

Refrain I

A - mors   font   de -   moi   lor   va -   lor

Jen - dur   les   maus   pour   miex   va - lour

joie   a - mour   -

Refrain II

Se   je   lam   ne   me   blas - mes   mi   -   e

mes   fins   cuers   ne   tres   se   al - lours

pen - se/ail   -   lers

Refrain III

En cor soi - ent ci mi ouel

s'est mes cuers la en je vueil

Refrain IV

J'ai tout per - du pour loi - au - ment a - mer

n'on- ques n'en euch ne sou - las de - port

Refrain V

A - ler m'e - stuet ou dous pa - is

ou je lais - sai m'a - mi - e

mor - vaz deu vi - e

Example VII.11: Se j'ai chante sanz (fr.846)

Se j'ai chan - te sanz guier - re - don a voir

tout mon vi - vant por ce ne doi je mi - e

Mon chant lais - sier ainz doi en bon es - poir

a - mors ser - vir car la mieuz en sei - gni - e

qui soit ou mont de sen de cor - toi - si - e

me fait a mors si de fin cuer a mer

que toit mi mal me sont douz sanz a - mer

Example VII.12: Se j'ai chante sanz

Se j'ai chan-te sanz guer - re-don a - voir

tout mon vi - vant pou-r ee ne doi je mi - e

mon chant lais-sier ains vuell en bon es - poir

a - mour ser - vir car la miex en - se-gni - e

ki sort u - mont de sens de-cour - toi-si - e

me sont a - mours si de fin cuer a - mer

ke tout mi mal me sont douz sans a - mer

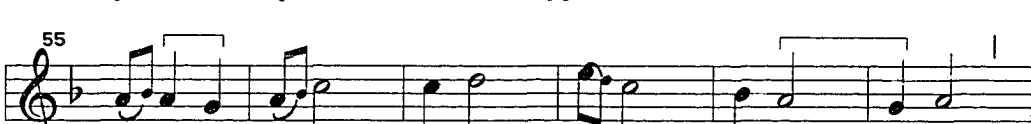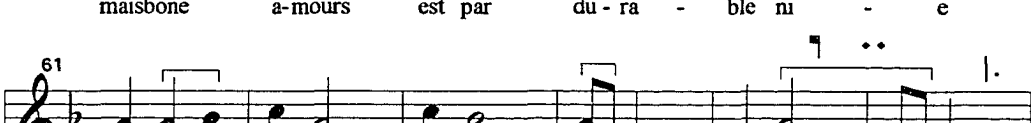**39** Si dou - ce-ment mi sont a-mours do - lor

44 kil m'est a - mis cil ment par tri - che ri - e
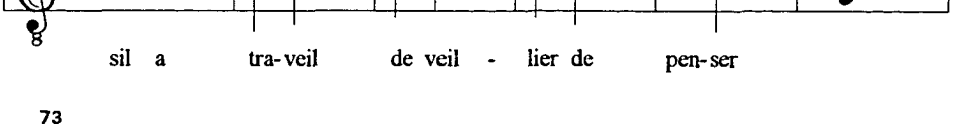
50 qui dit qu'a-mours font bien [?] re - che - noir

55 maisbone a-mours est par du - ra - ble ni - e

61 ki bien ai - me il ne li grie - ve mi - e

67 sil a tra-veil de veil - lier de pen-ser

73 c'est fins de-duis d'a-mi - e de - sir - er

Example VII.13: A mon pooir ai, Stanza I & II

A mon poo - ir ai ser - vi

ma dame et de vo - len - te

diex doint quil me soit me - ri

et quel - le men sa - che gre

mis y ai tout mon a - e

cuer et cors ent pen - see au - si

se par li nai re - con - ure

san - te dont sai je de fi

ja de mes maus ne gu - ar - rai

Diex que fe - rai se la' - mour n'ai

de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai

II

Cer - tes aint ne de fer - mi
que je - us se son mal tre
ne pour quant fe - lon haz y
mi ont main - tes foiz gre - ne
ja ne leur soit par don - ne
de mon ne de dieu au - si
tra - veil lie mont et pe - ne
de dieu soi - ent il hon - ni
tres tous les jours que je vi - vant
Diex que fe - rai se l'a - mour nai
de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai

Example VII.14: Hui main par

fr.844, f.65v

A Hui main par un a - jour nant

che - vau - chai les un buis - son

A ies l'o - rie - re d'un pen - dant

guar - doit be - stes Ro - be - con

B quant le vi mis l'a rai - son

"Bre - gier se Dieus bien te dont

A e - us ainc en ton vi - vant

pour a - mour ton cuer joi - ant

B quar je n'en ai se mal non"

Example VII.15: L'autrier les une fontaine

Example VII.16: Motetus, L'autrier au douz mois

Mo 270

1. L'au - trier au douz mois d'a - vril main me le - vai

2. pen - sis a mes a - mours jou - er m'en a - lai

3. dont trop m'es mai quar ne sai se ja joie en a - rai

4. ne pour quant plus jo - lis en se - rai et s'en chan - te rai

5. "J'ai a - me la sa - de blon - dete et a - me - rai

6. ne ja de li ai - mer ne me re pen - ti - rai

7. mes con ses loi - aus a - me tous jours la

ser - vi - rai

Appendix

Transcriptions of the Thirty-seven Additions to fr.844

in Folio Order

U despit des envieus (Add. 1)

Et si vuell estre amoureus
U despit des envieus
pour noble cors gracieus
car amours m'en a espris
U despit

Donna pos vos (Add. 2)

Don - na pos vos ay chau - si - da

faz me bel sem - blan

qu'ieu suy a to - ta ma vi - da

a vos - tre co - man

A vos - tre co - man se - ray

a totz los jors de ma vi - a

e ja de vos non par - tray

per de - gu - n'au - tre que si - a

Que erer non a - met he - re - da
tan ni Yseutz Tris - tan
con yeu vos don - na gra - si - da
qu'ieu am sens en - gan
Don - na

Pos qu'ieu vey la fualla (Add. 3)

Pos qu'ieu vey la fual - la
ver - de - ar en - tre la flor
chan - tar vual per fin' - a - mor
Quar fin' - a - mor mi ten gay
e mi fay
viu - re tot jorn sens con - si - re
Per qu'ieu d'a - mar non par - tray
leys quem play
tant qu'ieu mais ren non de - si - re

Mas sol qu'el - la vual - la

que de sa va - lent va - lor

paus - cha chan - tar a s'o - nor

J'aim bele dame (Add. 4)

[Dorme cuers ou n'a nul bien] (Add. 5)

a de - sir

si ai - me la plus plai - sant

qui soit our mon - de vi - vant

qui mon cuer a en - tre - pris

car sa va - lour et son pris

si me fait sou - vent vueil - lier

et chan - ter et en - voi - sier

dor - me cuers ou n'a nul bien

ja ni dor - mi - ra le mien

Hes tres douce amouretes (Add. 6)

L'autrier les une fontaine (Add. 7)

L'au - tri - er les une fon - tai - ne

trou - vai ber - ge - re - le

ou son pas - tou - ri - au l'en maine

les u - ne pra - e - le

chan - tant la de - mai - ne

di - sant "Ma - ro - te - le

bai - si - er u - ne fois

puis chan - tons a haut - te vois

tri - qu - don - del - e j'ai am - e la pas - tou - re - le

Bone amourete m'a souspris (Add. 8)

Bone a - mou - re - te m'a sous - pris
d'a - mer be - le da - me de pris
le cors a gent et cler le vis
et pour s'a - mour trai grant es - mai
et ne pour quant je l'a - me - rai
tant con vi - vrai de fin cuer vrai
car l'es - per - an - ce - ke j'ai
de chan - ter tou - jours
me tient gai

Vous le deffendes (Add. 9)

1 f.5v

Vous le def – fen – des l'am – mer

en – vi – eus et mes – di – sant

car le cuer a – ves a – mer

plain de mal en – ten – de – ment

or cre – ves de cuer do – lant

que j'aimg bele et a – ve – nant

qui m'a – don – ne .I. bai – sier

a – mo – rous et sanz dan – gi – er

mis m'a – vez en grant es – may

mai par dieu je l'a – mer – ai

J'ai .I. chapelet d'argent (Add. 10)

plai - sant   a   tou - te gent

se   je l'aim   loi - au - ment

fols   est   qui   m'en   re - prent

pour   quoi   je   di   vrai - e - ment

que   j'ai   kan - qu'a - mours   a - tent

et   bele   a - mie   a   mons   tal - lent

Trop ai este lonc (Add. 11)

Trop ai   es - te   lonc tans   mus

mai loi - au - ment   me chas - ti - e

am - ours   qui me   don - ne   vi - e

Je m'en sui apercheus
Trop ai este
ma dame m'a .i. ris sus
gete que ne l'oubli mie
d'amer loiaument m'afie

[Estampie] (Add. 12a)

Danse (Add. 12b)

Joliement du cuer (Add. 13)

Jo - li - e - ment du cuer du cuer

vuell a mon poo - ir ser - vir

boine a - mour ne ja a nul fuer

n'en quier ne ne vuell par - tir

ains vuell sans ja de - fail - lir

ses dous que - man - de - mens fai - re

j'ai droit car je puis a - trai - re

sa gra - ce en che fai - sant

dont trop faus se - roi - e

se par de fau - te per - doi - e

a a - voir joi - e si grant

et pour ce d'ore en a - vant

dus - ques a - dont qu'a - mes soi - e

d'au - cu - ne de ces tou - se - tes

ser - vi - rai a - mou - re - tes

J'ai bele dame amee (Add. 14)

J'ai be - le da - me/a - me - e

qui mon cuer a

Bele est et si m'a - gre - e

J'ai

et si l'ai de - si - re - e

de lonc tans a

Se je chant et sui (Add. 15)

Se je chant et sui en — voi — sies prin — tans le doit et a — mours s'i o - toi - e

Dont doi jon estre plus priseies
Se je chant et sui envoisies
Car tous cuers par droit seroit lies
de desirer che dont mes cuers a joie
Se je chant et sui

La plus noble emprise (Add. 16)

La plus no - ble em - prise

qui soit a em - pris

mes cuers car il pri - se

da - me de haut pris

plai - sans bien a pris - se

a - mours m'a a - pris

si bien que la pri - se

sent dont je fui pris

vous pour moi re - pri - se

ne se - res ne je re - pris

pour vous car a - mours s'est mi - se

la/ou nos ii cuers se sont mis

mais se par fain - ti - se

i cuers est d'a - mer fain - tis

seur tous au - tres le des - pris

cher - tes j'ai doit car a - mours

le des pri - se

f.41v

Pour - tant sui jou en a - gait

k'au - cun fe - lon cuers a - gai - te

Pour trou - ver en moi mes - fait

et sus - po - se ke mes fai - te

se soit che - le ki per - fai - te

est en tour bien et s'est fai - te

au gre d'a - mours ki la fait

mais ja n'i a - ra re - trait

de nous ii ne dit ne fait

dont e - le puist es - stre

d'ou - neur re - trai - re

III

Mais tele est ma des - ti - ne - e

ne sai ke l'a des - ti - ne

c'on - kes ne me fu do - ne - e

mer - cis tant eus - se dou - ne

le mien cuer ne ma pen - se - e

en da - me mais j'ai pen - se

que puis k'a - mours as - se - ne

m'a par son gre

ke   gra - ce

me se - ra et   as - se   ne - e

de - che - le dont   de - sir - re

l'ai lonc   tans a   he dou-che de - sir - re - e

mer - chi   vous   pri

se mal   dit   per - dou - ne   me

soit   de   vous

ou mer - chis   par - dou - ne - e

Bella donna cara (Add. 17)

I

1   f.109

Bel - la don - na ca - ra

on   pos   dyeus   tro - bar

tant   de   beu - tat   cla - ra
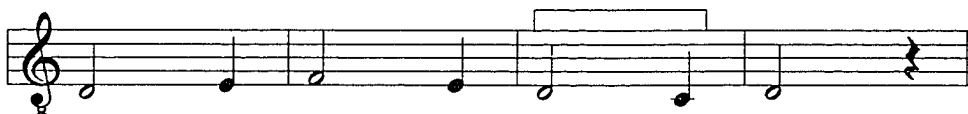
quant   vos   for - met   sens   par

Qu'e - nans   ni   an - qua   ra

non   vole   nul   au - tra   far

am   tan   bel - la   ca - ra

ni   am   tint   bel   es - gar

31 E qui ben es - ga - ra

35 so que dyeus vole mielz far

39 mi - ra no - stra ca - ra

43 el nos - tre bel cor car

46 Pla - sent don - na ca - ra

50 dou - sa sens tot a - mar

54 nous a - ma ben a - ra

58 nulz oms ni o pot far

II f.109

Pos am fi - na mor ma cort
que am fort
pla - sent don - na ga - ya
ben dey far pla - sent a cort que des - cort
non tan qu'ieu re tra - ya
C'a - mors m'a mes a tal port
on de - port
mon cors dor quem pla - ya
ben tinch de mon fin a - cort port
l'on - rat port
que.ls ay - mans a - pa - ya

III f.109

Pos li dous con - si - re
quem so - lon au - si - re
te - non mon cor gay ay
ben dey motz es - li - re
per leys qu'ieu de - si - re -
qu'au - tra mors non play may
sos gay cors pla - sens gentz
el syei bel sem - blan man

IV

So qu'al au - tres fins ay mantz
es a - fantz
es a - mi gautz
e dous - sors car a - mors
vol qu'ieu am sens
totz en - grantz totz mo - santz
tals que so - bre las gen - sors
m'es au - sors
a mors ben es mos a - cortz

Quant je voi plus felons (Add. 18)

I f.129

Quant je voi plus fe - lons ri - re

et en - noi - sier et chan - ter

et voi qui chas - cuns sou - spi - re

faus - se - ment par miex gui - ler

lors me faut des - con - for - ter

a - mours que mes maus em - pi - re

et ma da - me tel mar - ti - re

qui sans mo - rir me fait do - lor

A - mans font de - moi lor va - lor

Jen - dur les maus pour miex va - lour

II f.129

Mout par est cru - ens li si - re
com sort de cuer de faus - ser
qui se cou - rou che et ai - rel
quant li doit guer - te dou - ner
mais tous tans fait a blas - mes
ma dame ou mes cuers se mi - re
la un eu - dre con puist es lire
la plus vail - las des meil - lours
Se je lam ne me blas - mes mi - e
mes fins cuers ne tres se al - lours

f.129-129v

Tant re - dout son es - con di - re

et son or - guel - lons par - ler

quant la voi si nos riens di - re

plain - dre ne mi - chi cri - er

si me sou - las en pen - ser

car al - lours mes cuer ne ti - re

si chant quant plus la re - mi - re

si men lo et plus men duerl

En cor soi - ent ci mi ouel

s'est mes cuers la en je vueil

IV

Mout est a - mours fi - ere et dure
a chiaus que font son ta - lent
et main i trou - ve me - su - re
cil que la sert boi - ne - ment
a - mours plus ne vous de - mant
de tous vos biens fors droi tu - re
et que ne me puis - sent nui - re
faus et se - lon qui mont mort
J'ai tout per - du pour loi - au - ment a - mer
n'on - ques n'en euch ne sou - las de - port

f.129v

Uns dous e - spoirs m'as se - u - re
qui me re - fo - ist sou - vent
c'ainc tant be - le cre - a - tu - re
n'a - ma - nus en son vi - vant
riens ne faut en son cors gent
ne en sa sim - ple fi - gu - re
fors tant que de moi n'a cu - re
dont je mor - rai d'en - vi - e
A - ler m'e - stuet ou dous pa - is
ou je lais - sai m'a - mi - e

Se j'ai chante sanz (Add. 19)

II

Si dou - ce-ment mi sont a-mours do - lor

kil m'est a - mis cil ment par tri - che ri - e

qui dit qu'a-mours font bien [?] re - che noir

maisbone a-mours est par du - ra - ble ni - e

ki bien ai - me il ne li grie - ve mi - e

sil a tra-veil de veil - lier de pen-ser

c'est fins de - duis d'a - mi - e de - sir - er

tant di - ri - a si.n cre - si - a

de leys mon cor ian tan

qu'e - ne - mi - a m'en se - ri - a

la bel - la c'a - man blan

que.m va - l - ri - a s'ieu per - di - a

leys qu'ieu am sens en - gan tan

qu'ieu pen - ri - a e m'a - mi - a

des - tric e.i syeu am gran

II

f.170v

Anc de nul - ha gen non fon a tro - batz natz

que tan fi - na - men a - mes de - za - matz fatz

suy car non la ren joy

ni non nes datz gratz

se - gun fal - li - men say que suy sen natz patz

e vol - gra e - sa - cort fort

suy en engoy sos blos

suy seus tot con - fort tort

n'an gran sas fay - sons qu'enluec de con - fort port

al cor a - be - dos sos

III

f.170v

Sill qu'es caps e guitz on ve - ra mer - ces es

don qu'ieu sia au - sitz d'un joy que pro - mes m'es

c'un gentz cors gra - sitz ma am pla-sen bres pres

donc syeu suy tra - itz pe - chatz e non fes es

c'au - tres pla-sers cars ars non pot far so - cors sors

m'a-gra'un dous bay - sars pars fo - ra dels mel - lors pors

fe - ra chan - tars clars di-sent las lau - sors plors

m'es a - ral pre - sars cars non say si las mors

am quem li - a - mi val - ri - a

sa - ten - di - a

a- man   tan   e se - ri   a   cor- te   si - a

sim len - ges la   fan   gran   car sun   di - a

m'a- co   ri   a -   d'un joy   quiel de - man   tan

non cal - ri - a   sieu mo - ri - a

pueys d'a - qui e - nan   l'an -

IV

Dont dic a la gen qui man - don cro - sar ar

qu'ieu non ay ta - len - ni cor de pas - sar mar

neys sil mo-nu - men sa - bi - a co - brar car

sel - la mo de - fen de prez non a - par car

gara con - sin l'au - ray nay - pon-na col de - sir vir

am leys non fa - ray may un per dyeu mo - rir

c'am si.m tem a.m fort ca - de - na c'am pueys qu'ieu la vic tric

d'a-mor ben a'm dou sa pe - na

tant mal non se - tic dic say si - me-na non mes - tre - na

con le - yal a - mic gic mas qui - spe - ra

tro - bar me - na -

d'aur per i - star ric pic

blanc e - le - na das m'es - tre - na

quels vos - tre pres ric cric -

Ben volgra s'esser (Add. 21)

f.+170

Ben vol - gra s'es - ser po - ges

c'a - mors si gar - des d'ay - tan

que non fr - ses fin ar - man

chau - sir en luec quel pla - ges

E per que car per pla - ser

qu'ieu cre - sia de vos a - ver

don - na vos mi fes chau - sir

a - mors don a - via es - per

que mi de - ges - ses va - ler

del joy don ieu tant so - spir

Ar m'a - ves a tal punch mes

que tot jorn vaue de - si - ran

la mort don ay do - lor gran

car non faitz so c'a - mors fes

A - mors vos mi fer

e chausir vostre cor car   (b)
e nostra beautatz plasen
per plaser mas geus ancar   b
non ay mas dol e pensar
e non truep nul garmen
e pos per plaser ay pres   a
 pena dolor er asfan
amors meri amon dan
qua rebusan a pales
E tenray mab desamor   b
et avay cauch e socor
e jay e plaser entier
e qui si vullaia mor   b
quel nivra ab gran dolor
et jeu ab gran alegrier
e si daysso suy repres   a
sapcha via rason enan
c'amors van contrarian
per so ayl contrari pres
Mon deliech non vos vuell ges   a
nas mon desplaser deman
e si as el mi coman
jeu avray tot cant obs mes
E mal an puesquesser mes   a
que amors servira tan
con afah desay enan
car non fan so que dretz es
Dansa car jeu ay apres   a
quel rey charles fay gent chan
per a quo asel aman
car de fin pres es apres
ben volgra s'esser poges   A

Sens alegrage (Add. 22)

I

f.+170v

Sens a - le - gra - ge

chant per a - gra - da - ge fol - la - ge

faz car mon co - ra - ge

sec lay on s'es mes

canc plus sal - va - ge

re - clus de bos ca - ge de - sta - ge

del mieu sen - no - ra - ge

non fon nulz oms pres

II

cay   si   fors   pre - sa

del   mal   que   m'a - de - sa

mal - me - sa

car   mi   fay   lan - gir

mas   on   er   que - sa

mer - ces   ni   fran - que - sa

pos   li   plus   cor - te - sa

vol   sens   tort   au - sir

III

per mielz au - si - re

mi tor - net en ay

de lonc con - si - re

pueys do - bla.m l'es - may

so - nen m'ar - bi - re

que tot m'en par - tray

e cant m'en vi - re

jeu truep mon cor lay

V

f.++170

lon - ga'en - du - ra   m'en   a - gu - ra

a - ven - tu - ra   tals   sim   du - ra

quem   pe - j - ura

greus   mals   que   m'au - si   si

que   dre - chu - ra   am   fal - su - ra

nom   mel - lu - ra   antz   pe - j   ura

cant   la   prec   de   mi   ri

VI

cans vol - ri - a sol que mi - a

fos un di - a e ma vi - a

non da - ri - a ma fol - li - a

per ca - tor - ze sentz venz

e cuh si - a que m'em - bri - a

do - nes fad - ia m'en pen - ri - a

sim po - di - a ma so.m li - a

coms ven - cutz su - frentz ventz

f.++170

Be.s tans ven - sa ben - vo - len - sa

ley - als que non chay lay

on se - men - sa de va - len - sa

flo - riys am ve - ray jay

man - te - nen - sa am su - fren - sa

car don - na syeus play say

que sil gen - sa co - no - y - sen - sa

que los sieus d'es - may tray

VIII

del mal - tray - re

mer - ce - ay - re suy

e fins le - als a - may - re

el ben fay - re sens es - tray - re

cuch sap - cha gra - sir dir

Nou laus gray - re

mon ve - lay re quilz

grantz beu - tatz don es may - re

mi fay tray - re mon cors lay - re

en a - quest con - sir vir

IX

pueys   volm   e.m   vi   -   re

en   a - quest   con - si - re

don   mays   am   mar - ti - re

que   d'au - tre   ga - sahn   mahn

X

gent   ga - sah - na   qui   que.s   plah - na

ma   don - na   vo - luent   re - mah - na

va - lors   mah - na   en   que.s   bah - na

sos   gays   cors   cor - tes   es

XI

pla - seutz gen - ta

ma - ta - len - ta

plus cal me - ge fals mals

Amors m'art con fuoc (Add. 23)

A - mors m'art con fuoc am fla - ma

e - nueg e jorn plus m'a - pren

per qu'ieu sai ben ve - ra - men

que del lueng co - nois qui a - ma

e leung vos sui dou - sa mi - a

so cre - son nos - tre guer - rier

mas non sa - bon jes con - fier

le cai - rells c'a - mors m'en vi - a

c'a totz jorns plus mens - li - a ma

com suis ne si - a pre - sen

e ja nom tro - ba dor - men

c'am vos non sie jos la ra - ma

Estampie fragment (Add. 24a)

La Seconde Estampie Royal (Add. 24b)

La Tierche Estampie Roial (Add. 24c)

La Quarte Estampie Royal (Add. 24d)

La Quinte Estampie Real (Add. 24e)

La Sexte Estampie Real (Add.24f)

La Septime Estampie (Add. 24g)

La Ultime Estampie Real (Add. 24h)

Dansse Real (Add. 24i)

I

A mon pooir ai servi (Add. 25)

f.203

A mon poo - ir ai ser - vi

ma dame et de vo - len - te

diex doint quil me soit me - ri

et quel - le men sa - che gre

mis y ai tout mon a - e

cuer et cors ent pen - see au - si

se par li nai re - con - ure

san - te dont sai je de fi

ja de mes maus ne gu - ar - rai

Diex que fe - rai se la' - mour n'ai

de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai

II f.203r

Cer - tes aint ne de fer - mi

que je - us se son mal tre

ne pour quant fe - lon haz y

mi ont main - tes foiz gre - ne

ja ne leur soit par don - ne

de mon ne de dieu au - si

tra - veil lie mont et pe - ne

de dieu soi - ent il hon - ni

tres tous les jours que je vi - vant

Diex que fe - rai se l'a - mour nai

de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai

III

f.203v

Ma dou - ce da - me quant vi

vo gent cors et vo biau - te

a donc nul mal ne sen ti

ne nulle au - tre/en - fer - me - te

mais de grant jo - li - ne - te

trou - vai me cuer si guar - ni

que pour vouz en ai chan - te

or me truis si es ba - hi

des - con - for - te si men es - mai

Diex que fe - rai se l'a - mour nai

de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai

IV

f.203v

Se je fui liez et do - lens

ne vous de nez mer - veil - lier

mais je doi blas - mer mon sens

quant ce me het que j'ai chier

a - cha - te sanz bar - guei - gnier

de mon cuer quell ha pens

com - ment se puet es - loi - gnier

de moin si faiz ju - ge mens

quant ce que deus - se a - nen n'ai

Diex que fe - rai se l'a - mour n'ai

de la bele ou mon cuer mis ai

V

Da - me   touz   en   sei - gnei - nes

s'est   mis   sanz   moi   con - seil - lier

en   vos - tre   cors   est   m'a - mans

ce   quinz   ne   mi   voult   an - dier

sou - vent   me   fair   so - loi - er

vo - stre   re - gars   vo   sam - blans

pour   ce   vouz   proi   et   re - quier

tres   douce   da - me   vail - lans

mer - ci   se   j'a   joie   av - rai

Diex   *que*   *fe - rai*   *se*   *l'a - mour*   *n'ai*

de   *la*   *bele*   *ou*   *mon*   *cuer*   *mis*   *ai*

VI

Pier - re   kins   a   tons   a - mans

en chan - con vuelt   en - noi - er

et si   da - me   qui   lonc - tans

la te - nu en   son   dan - gier

et ten - drai si   l'a - me - rai

Diex   *que fe*   *rai*   *se l'a - mour*   *n'ai*

de   la   *bele*   *ou*   *mon cuer*   *mis cuer*   *ai*

Jolietement m'en vois (Add. 26)

Jo - li - e - te - ment m'en
car j'en ai boine o - choi - son
quant che - le cui j'ai fait don
de mon cuer sans re - pen - tir
ma par son tres dous plai - sir
re - te - nu pour son a - mant
et se fe lon mes - di - sant
seur moi a - tort en - vi - eus

sont se se - rai je a - mou - reus

puis k'a - mours d'a - mer m'es - prent

de cuer Jo - li - e - te - ment

J'aim loiaument es espoir (Add. 27)

J'aim loi - au - ment en es - poir

d'a - voir la gra - ce d'a - mi - e

ne je ne m'en quier mou - voir

an - thois veill tou - te ma vi - e

ser - vir de cuer bo - ne - ment

a mors qui par fai - te - ment

puet don - ne a ses sou - gis

joi - e qui du - re tou - dis

j'ai droit en tant quo j'en ai
le cuer lie et le cors gai
se plus m'en a voi - e
s'est che as - sez por vi - vre/en joi - e
de coi pe les gre d'a - mour
ma da - me je vous ser - vi - rai
et a - me - rai tou - jours

Ki de bons est (Add. 28)

Ki de bons est sou - ef flai - re
ne ja de cuer de bo - nai - re
fe - lon dit n'is - tra
prou - ve l'ai si ke es - sem - plai - re
ai de mon lai si par - fai - re
ke ja n'i a - ra
re - trait fors si comme il va
de mes a - mours mais se ja
par ser - vir po - oi - e fai - re

ke la dou - ce de - bo - nai - re
ki mon cuer en son cuers a
me vau - sit gra - ce par - fai - re
des biens d'a - mours por - roi - e plus re - trai - re

II

main - tiens   gens

gra - ces   bons en - ten - de - mens

a - ves   tant ke   tou - te   gens

de - si - rent vo   sei - gnou - ri - e

don - ques   n'ai je   mi - e

se je   vous aim   en fo - li - e

coi c'on   di - e   mis mon   sens

III

[D]a - me je ne vous puis ren - dre

les biens k'a - mours ma fait pren - dre

en vo jo - li cors ser - vir

mais peu sai si weil a - pren - dre

k'a - mours ne me puist re - pren - dre

ne pren- dre ai seul fa - lir

k'aut - tre - ment de mon de - sir

ne puis jo - ir

mais tant sai je bien en - ten - dre

IV

f.209v

[M]ais tele est la mie-nes es - per-an - che

que de tous mes maus a - le - gan - che

de vous a - ve - rai

se che non je sui en ba - lan - che

de mort ou de de - ses-pe ran - che

mais con - fort pris ai

en che que de cher - tain sai

que vous es - tes noble en fran - che

pour che vous de - non- che - rai

que che que grief et cou - fran - che

pour vous a - mer trai

je le tieng a pour-ve - an - che et ten - rai

d'a-voir l'a - mour de vo jo - li cors gai

V

[G]ens cuers loi - aus plains d'a - mour
chiez qui sert a bon sei - gneur doit a - men - der
en vo gent cors de va - lour
ser - vir sans pen - ser dou - lour per - se - ve - rer
weil mais je ne puis mous - trer en fait n'en par - ler
comment il m'est dont je pri-a/a-mour - s'ele on - ques dou - ner
fist mer-chi que je le jour voi - e que sa - vou - rer
le puisse au gre de vous da - me vis cler

VI

[S]e j'ai nul mal dit weil - lies a men - der dou - che da - me car nou - vel chant trou - ver i vuet si no - ble sei - gnour com li prin - che de ter - re de la - bour