

# Melodic exchange and musical violence in the thirteenth-century *jeu-parti*

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## Abstract

The thirteenth-century *jeu-parti* was a sung debate between two or more poet singers. In the *jeu-parti*, singers exchanged stanzas composed to the same melody, rhyme scheme and syllable count. What else was exchanged in the composition, performance and inscription of the *jeu-parti*? Grounded in a definition of violence as the non-consensual deployment of power on a subject, this thesis investigates whether any modes of exchange in the *jeu-parti* were non-consensual, and therefore violent. The form of the *jeu-parti* has the potential for what Žižek calls ‘symbolic violence’, in which the structures and meaning of one trouvère’s song are appropriated and undermined by their opponent. This symbolic violence is discussed throughout the thesis. Several early *jeux-partis* are contrafacts of other trouvère songs. They were created in an aristocratic milieu that was deeply, and often violently, divided; contrafacture stages these aristocratic disputes and animates the form of the *jeu-parti*, which itself was created in a process of successive contrafacture. Later *jeux-partis* do not have the same context of aristocratic dispute, but are nevertheless a platform for symbolic violence. This is manifest in *jeux-partis* melodies, which are frequently tonally divided. In the interaction between textual structures and divided tonal structures, trouvères were able to enact symbolic violence against one another by subverting their opponent’s tonal arguments. Furthermore, the *jeu-parti* was performed and created in a cultural context that praised violent acts. Set against the cultural backdrop of chivalric literature and rituals, the *disputatio*, the trial by inquest, the tournament, the joust, and scientific and lyric definitions of sound as the product of a violent act, the *jeu-parti* was a genre through which violent practices could be praised, defined, and censured.

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# Introduction

‘[Serious sport] is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting’.<sup>1</sup> So wrote George Orwell in an article published in *Tribune* on 14<sup>th</sup> December 1945. Orwell’s readership had just experienced, at first hand, years of bloodshed and violence on the front line in Europe’s war zones and on the Home Front.<sup>2</sup> They had also heard and read about the war in reports in the papers and on the wireless. Orwell knew that his readers would be fearful of the group mentality of the fascist states that had perpetrated such terrible acts of violence. By arguing that the group mentality of fascism is also the spirit of team sports, Orwell suggests that games of sport have the potential to incite violence. But Orwell also highlights a phenomenon that is as morally uncomfortable and as relevant today as it was for Orwell: watching a game can be a pleasurable voyeuristic experience of violence.

This study asks what it meant to be a voyeur of a violent game in thirteenth-century France, to feel pleasure when faced with the pain of another, to desire the defeat of one player and the victory of another. Tempting as it might be to believe that play and violence are inherent to human nature, this study views both games and violence as cultural phenomena.<sup>3</sup> As cultural phenomena, games, play and violence have definitions that are

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<sup>1</sup> George Orwell, ‘The Sporting Spirit’, in *George Orwell: Essays*, ed. Sonia Orwell and Ian Angus, 321–4 (London: Penguin in association with Secker & Warburg, 2005), 323.

<sup>2</sup> On the context of Orwell’s article, see Peter J. Beck, “‘War Minus the Shooting’: George Orwell on International Sport and the Olympics”, *Sport in History* 33/1 (2013), 72–94.

<sup>3</sup> John Morgan O’Connell argues that the definition of conflict is ‘dependent on cultural factors’ in ‘Introduction: An Ethnomusicological Approach to Music and Conflict’, in *Music and Conflict*, ed. John Morgan O’Connell and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, 1–14 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), 3. Some anthropologists have argued that violent play is inherent in human behaviour: see Johan Huizinga, *Homo ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), 89–104; Roger Caillois, *Man, Play and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (London: Thames and Hudson, 1962), esp. 14–17.

contingent on their historical context. Chess, for example, was a game with a quite different set of meanings in the thirteenth century from the practice of chess today. Chess was one important thirteenth-century context of violence and play, since it allowed its players to simulate battle.<sup>4</sup> Daniel E. O’Sullivan writes that chess ‘quickly became a requisite part of a knight’s education’, since the game allowed knights to develop strategies for use on the battlefield.<sup>5</sup> The game was not without its critics.<sup>6</sup> Louis IX of France is known, for example, to have tried to ban chess because it could lead to violence.<sup>7</sup> Louis was not wrong: the London Eyre of 1276 records that

David de Bristoll and Juliana wife of Richard le Cordwaner were playing chess together in Richard’s house, with several others present; a quarrel arising between them, David struck Juliana in the thigh with a sword, so that she died forthwith.<sup>8</sup>

Not only representations of battle and didactic models for knights, chess games could also turn violent.

The subject of this study is a thirteenth-century musical game, the *jeu-parti*. Literally a ‘divided game’, the *jeu-parti* was a genre of trouvère song practised in Northern France during the thirteenth century. Over 180 *jeux-partis* are copied in at least 25

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<sup>4</sup> The allegorical and contextual meanings of chess are very wide-ranging: for an overview see Daniel E. O’Sullivan, ‘Introduction: “Le beau jeu nottable”’, in *Chess in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Fundamental Thought Paradigm of the Premodern World*, ed. Daniel E. O’Sullivan, 1–16 (Boston: De Gruyter, 2012). The most comprehensive studies of medieval chess are Richard Eales, *Chess: The History of a Game* (London: Batsford, 1985); Harold James R. Murray, *A History of Chess* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913). On board games and dice, see Malcolm Vale, *The Princely Court: Medieval Courts and Culture in North-West Europe, 1270–1380* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 170–9.

<sup>5</sup> O’Sullivan, ‘Introduction: “Le beau jeu nottable”’, 3.

<sup>6</sup> On clerical criticisms of chess, see Robert Bubczyk, ““Ludus inhonestus et illicitus?” Chess, Games and the Church in Medieval Europe”, in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature*, ed. Serina Patterson, 23–43 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). The criticisms cited here mainly concern the vanity of playing games.

<sup>7</sup> Jean-Michel Mehl, *Les jeux au royaume de France: Du XIII<sup>e</sup> au début du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 345.

<sup>8</sup> John Marshall Carter, ‘Sports and Recreations in Thirteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Eyre and Coroners’ Rolls—A Research Note’, *Journal of Sport History* 15/2 (1988), 167–73: 169. See also the discussion of chess inciting violence in Eales, *Chess*, 55.

thirteenth- and early fourteenth-century sources.<sup>9</sup> The defining feature of the *jeu-parti* is that it is a sung debate between two or more poet-singers. In each *jeu-parti*, one poet-singer proposes a dilemma question to the other, often a question about a love. The second poet-singer chooses a side of the debate to defend, leaving the other side of the debate to the first poet-singer. All stanzas are sung to the melody and rhyme scheme established by the first trouvère; the versification pattern is often that of *coblas doblas*. This much is clear from the written evidence, but what of the style of the performance of these songs, the aesthetic values of the genre, and the cultural work that the creation, copying and performance of *jeux-partis* achieved? Within the musical game-sphere of the *jeu-parti*, poet-singers exchanged musical and poetic forms, relationships of text to music, and ideas and arguments. The central theme of this thesis is that the practice of *jeu-parti* performance and composition involved different types of exchange.<sup>10</sup> These modes of exchange did not always have the consent of both parties: the *jeu-parti* could therefore facilitate exchange that was violent, and could thematise, stage and sublimate the physical violence and discourses of violence in the world outside the sphere of musical play. I start from a definition of violence as the exertion of power on a subject without that subject's consent; the remainder of this introduction will challenge and nuance this definition.<sup>11</sup>

Characterisations of the Middle Ages as a violent epoch are common in current popular culture and, as Hannah Skoda explains, misleading: 'attitudes towards violence in

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<sup>9</sup> Arthur Långfors et al. include 182 in their complete edition: Arthur Långfors, Alfred Jeanroy, and Louis Brandin, *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*, 2 vols. (Paris: É. Champion, 1926). To these may be added RS333, RS1074a, RS1111, RS1282, RS1290 and RS1675.

<sup>10</sup> The theme of exchange in the *jeu-parti* has been explored in relation to capital in Eric Matheis, 'Capital, Value, and Exchange in the Old Occitan and Old French *Tenson* (Including the *Partimen* and the *Jeu-Parti*)' (Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 2014).

<sup>11</sup> Bruce Johnson and Martin Cloonan define musical violence as 'the attempted exercise of power over someone else and the soundscape': *Dark Side of the Tune: Popular Music and Violence* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 147. Their definition fails to distinguish between power, which can be consensual, and violence, which I suggest is non-consensual.

the Middle Ages were, in fact, sophisticated, and interacted in complex ways with the actual perpetration of violence'.<sup>12</sup> By labelling medieval violence as barbaric, writers have been able to tell a grand narrative of the decline of violence in the West,<sup>13</sup> although as Michel Foucault has famously shown, the deployment of state-sanctioned violence on subjects' bodies has been transformed into instrumentalised power, rather than disappearing completely.<sup>14</sup> Paradoxically, music of the Middle Ages has barely been considered in relation to violence, although traditional narratives of music history have cast medieval music as primitive, implying a shared lack of civility between musical practice and the perceived violence of medieval societies.<sup>15</sup> As a discipline, musicology has shown some resistance to critiques of violence.<sup>16</sup> When Susan McClary described Beethoven's Ninth Symphony as rape and 'one of the most horrifyingly violent episodes in the history of music', the outcry was vehement.<sup>17</sup> The reluctance of some musicologists to view music in

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<sup>12</sup> Hannah Skoda, *Medieval Violence: Physical Brutality in Northern France, 1270–1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 1.

<sup>13</sup> On grand narratives for the decline of violence, see Steven Pinker, *The Better Angels of our Nature: Why Violence has Declined* (New York: Penguin Books, 2011).

<sup>14</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1991), esp. 3–31.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, nineteenth-century descriptions of medieval harmony as painful to the senses or as a deformity in Daniel Leech-Wilkinson, *The Modern Invention of Medieval Music: Scholarship, Ideology, Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 158–60.

<sup>16</sup> It is notable that the only monograph to tackle medieval music's relation to physical violence is by a scholar outside the discipline: Bruce W. Holsinger, *Music, Body, and Desire in Medieval Culture: Hildegard of Bingen to Chaucer* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001). Other scholars have touched on the relationship between sound and violence. Alison Cornish interprets the sounds of the suicides in Dante's *Inferno* as a violent sonic rendering of the unnatural attempt to separate body from soul: see Susan Boynton et al., 'Sound Matters', *Speculum* 91/4 (2016), 998–1039: 1015–26. Emma Dillon characterises *charivari* as the 'aggressive and sometimes violent outbursts of civic protest', whose sound was chaotic in comparison with the sonic order and unity that musical performance aimed to achieve: *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 92.

<sup>17</sup> Susan McClary, *Feminine Endings: Music, Gender, and Sexuality* (Minneapolis; London: University of Minnesota Press, 2002; first publ. 1991), 128. One well-known example of such outcry is by Pieter C. van den Toorn, who defends the concept of aesthetic autonomy: 'Politics, Feminism, and Contemporary Music Theory', *The Journal of Musicology* 9/3 (1991), 275–99: 285. For a critique of van den Toorn, see Ruth A. Solie, 'What Do Feminists Want? A Reply to Pieter van den Toorn', *Journal of Musicology* 9/4 (1991), 399–410.

violent terms is due to the belief that beauty is incompatible with violence.<sup>18</sup> This stance has its roots in the nineteenth-century metaphysics of Eduard Hanslick and others, who viewed music as divorced from all social context.<sup>19</sup>

This study aims to position itself in the relatively recent musicological field of music and violence, and within the well-established and richly discussed field of the history of medieval violence. Musicological enquiry into music and violence has tended to focus on instances of violence in the last two centuries, especially in war, or in colonial and post-colonial contexts.<sup>20</sup> Such work testifies to the fact that violence is contextually defined, and therefore constructed by cultural practices such as music. This study considers music and violence from a new perspective, examining violence in a pre-modern culture. Historical

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<sup>18</sup> Philip V. Bohlman notes that McClary's critique verged, for some, on 'blasphemy' because it questioned the 'sacred' identity of music: see 'Musicology as a Political Act', *Journal of Musicology* 11/4 (1993), 411–36: 417. In a similar vein, Suzanne Cusick comments that some musicologists have asked whether her work on music in detention camps is musicological because music is used as 'sheer noise': see 'Musicology, Torture, Repair', *Radical Musicology* 3 (2008), accessed 27 Sep. 2017, <http://www.radical-musicology.org.uk/2008/Cusick.htm>.

<sup>19</sup> Hanslick describes musical beauty as 'ein Schönes, das unabhängig und unbedürftig eines von Außen her kommenden Inhaltes, einzig in den Tönen und ihrer künstlerischen Verbindung liegt' ('a beauty that is self-contained and in no need of content from outside itself, that consists simply and solely of tones and their artistic combination'): Eduard Hanslick, *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen: Ein Beitrag zur Revision der Aesthetik der Tonkunst*, 1st ed. (Leipzig: Rudolph Weigel, 1854), 32; translation from W. Oliver Strunk, ed., and Leo Treitler, rev. ed., *Source Readings in Music History*, rev. ed. (New York; London: Norton, 1998), 1203. The metaphysical view of music bears some similarities to Huizinga's concept of the 'magic circle'. Huizinga does discuss some agonistic games, but considers them to be cut off from everyday activity: Huizinga, *Homo ludens*, 9. Huizinga features heavily in Michèle Gally's study of the *jeu-parti*: see Michèle Gally, *Parler d'amour au puy d'Arras: Lyrique en jeu* (Orléans: Paradigme, 2004), 25.

<sup>20</sup> For an overview of the field see Susan Fast and Kip Pegley, *Music, Politics, and Violence* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2012). On music and war, see Suzanne G. Cusick, 'Music as torture/ Music as Weapon', *TRANS-Transcultural Music Review* 10 (2006), accessed 27 Sep. 2017, <http://www.sibetrans.com/trans/article/152/music-as-torture-music-as-weapon>; Glenn Watkins, *Proof through the Night: Music and the Great War* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 2003); Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). On music and violence in colonial and post-colonial contexts, see Samuel Araújo, 'Conflict and Violence as Theoretical Tools in Present-Day Ethnomusicology: Notes on a Dialogic Ethnography of Sound Practices in Rio de Janeiro', *Ethnomusicology* 50/2 (2006), 287–313; Jessica A. Schwartz, 'A "Voice to Sing": Rongelapese Musical Activism and the Production of Nuclear Knowledge', *Music and Politics* 6/1 (2012), 1–21. On music as violent protest against the nation state, see Judith Butler and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Who Sings the Nation-State?: Language, Politics, Belonging* (London; New York: Seagull Books, 2007). A notable study that considers music and violence as cultural phenomena is Johnson and Cloonan, *Dark Side of the Tune*.

studies of medieval violence are numerous and are discussed below; music is largely absent from these accounts, a lacuna that this study attempts to address.<sup>21</sup> In approach, I resist the de-politicised view of music that is characterised by van den Toorn's critique of McClary; in discussing music in relation to violence, I treat music as a practice embedded in culture, complicit in the power relations of a culture that privileged violence and discourses of violence. In contextualising and interpreting the text and music of *jeux-partis*, I explore the ways in which music can enact violence and might participate in discourses around violence that sublimate, negate or critique physical brutality.

## Chivalry and discourses of violence

Scholarly studies of physical violence in medieval France are abundant, in part because violence was so prominent in twelfth- and thirteenth-century ways of thinking.<sup>22</sup> Chivalry, for which violence was central, was one of the most influential constellations of ideas in medieval France; Maurice Keen, grappling with the definition of so broad a concept, describes chivalry as both an 'ethos' and a 'way of life'.<sup>23</sup> First explored by Léon Gautier (1884), chivalry has occupied an important place in discussions between historians and literary scholars as to the relationship between life and art.<sup>24</sup> Twelfth- and thirteenth-century literature abounds with descriptions of exemplary chivalric figures in roughly three phases. Following David Crouch, they can be outlined as follows:

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<sup>21</sup> One exception to this is R. Howard Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 167–89. Bloch discusses *trouvère* and *troubadour* song, but considers only aspects of their poetry.

<sup>22</sup> Recent studies include Warren Brown, *Violence in Medieval Europe* (Harlow: Longman, 2011); Skoda, *Medieval Violence*.

<sup>23</sup> Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1984), 16–7.

<sup>24</sup> For a historiographic overview of chivalry, see David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France 900–1300* (Harlow: Pearson, 2005), 8–28.

1. Before the twelfth century, certain great men were lauded for their skill as knights. Praise of them is recorded in Latin hagiographical essays, written by clerics after these men had taken holy orders at or towards the end of their lives.<sup>25</sup>
2. From the twelfth century, the term *preudhomme* (sometimes *prozdom*), a contraction of ‘preu d’homme’, came to describe exemplary laymen. For Philip Augustus, for example, *preudhomme* was differentiated from ‘homme preu’ to designate an exemplary man, rather than a man who was merely ‘preu’ (brave, daring, hardy).<sup>26</sup> The *Chanson de Roland*, the earliest example of the French romance tradition, contains several references to *prozdom*.<sup>27</sup> There are numerous examples of the characteristics of a *preudhomme* in French romances: particularly favoured by historians of chivalry are the romances of Chrétien de Troyes and other Arthurian romances. Alongside the romance tradition was the lyric tradition, of which evidence survives first (according to the date of creation, not the date of extant sources) for the troubadours and later for the trouvères and Minnesinger.<sup>28</sup>
3. In the thirteenth century, the exemplary characteristics of knights came to be codified in treatises of chivalry, such as *Libre que es de l’ordre de cavalleria* by Raimon Llull, *Livre de chevalerie* by Geoffrey de Charny, *Des Quatre Tenz*

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<sup>25</sup> Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 37–40.

<sup>26</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. L. A. Manyon, foreword by M. M. Postan (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 306.

<sup>27</sup> David Crouch, *Tournament* (London: Hambledon and London, 2005), 149.

<sup>28</sup> See Aldo D. Scaglione, *Knights at Court: Courtliness, Chivalry, and Courtesy from Ottonian Germany to the Italian Renaissance* (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 89–111.

*d'Aage d'Ome* by Philip de Novara, *Livres des Manières* by Stephen de Fougères, and the anonymous *Ordene de Chevalerie*.<sup>29</sup>

From the twelfth century, chivalry thus emerged as an important set of values and attributes that were later codified.

Richard Kaeuper argues that chivalry gained force as an idea in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries because of a general concern with public order.<sup>30</sup> In literary accounts of chivalric deeds, the first in lists of chivalric attributes is *proece*, the capability of a knight to fight in hand-to-hand combat. A knight who was 'preu' (full of *proece*) could achieve superhuman feats of arms, was reckless and daring, and was also of noble lineage.<sup>31</sup> So important was a knight's *proece* that 'prowess often stands as a one-word definition of chivalry' in twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts.<sup>32</sup> The ideal of *proece* ensured that knights would aspire to be the most effective and daring warriors, while only permitting those of noble birth to practise physical violence. This was essential for the defence of territory or the crusades of the Church, both of which needed capable warriors whose loyalty, through ties of family relationship, vassalage and marriage, could be guaranteed. But chivalry was a constellation of ideas, and the violent attribute of *proece* was tempered by other attributes such as generosity (*largesse*), loyalty (*loyauté*) or courtliness (*courtoisie*). By restricting the definition of sanctioned violence to the concept of *proece* and by tempering *proece* with the other attributes of chivalry, writers created a tightly controlled discourse around violence. This aimed to ensure public order through the moral framework of chivalry.

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<sup>29</sup> See discussion in Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 80–5.

<sup>30</sup> Richard W. Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

<sup>31</sup> For a detailed analysis of *proece* in medieval literature, see *ibid.*, 129–60; John W. Baldwin, *Aristocratic Life in Medieval France: The Romances of Jean Renart and Gerbert de Montreuil, 1190–1230* (Baltimore; London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2000), 68–97.

<sup>32</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 135.

The ability of literature to regulate social relations depends on whether knights really did read courtly literature. Elspeth Kennedy and Kaeuper both argue strongly that chivalric literature did affect the behaviour of knights: Kennedy shows that the *Prose Lancelot* directly influenced chivalry manuals, while Kaeuper points to chivalric ceremonies and rituals that originate in literature.<sup>33</sup> For thirteenth-century writers and readers there was ‘no gap between the actions ... describe[d] in chronicle or biography and those in imaginative literature’.<sup>34</sup> Aristocratic practitioners of the *jeu-parti*, such as Thibaut de Champagne, Raoul de Soissons or the Duke of Brittany, would have viewed themselves as chivalric figures, or would at least have aspired to the attributes of chivalry, foremost of which is the bloody violence of *proece*. But this also means that physical violence and its associated prestige must have been central to aristocratic ways of thinking in the thirteenth century, including the interpretations and aesthetic sensibilities that aristocrats would have brought to bear on performances of trouvère song. Discourses of violence are therefore highly relevant to any interpretation of the *jeu-parti*.

Historians have argued that thirteenth-century agents could also simulate violence through cultural performances that were not necessarily predicated on physical bloodshed. The prestige associated with bloody physical acts in romances was sought by real-life aristocrats through rituals such as the tournament or the joust, in which they could play the role of the ideal knight.<sup>35</sup> Tournaments and jousts were also popular in civic festivals, as

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<sup>33</sup> Elspeth Kennedy, ‘The Knight as Reader of Arthurian Romance’, in *Culture and the King: The Social Implications of the Arthurian Legend: Essays in Honor of Valerie M. Lagorio*, ed. James P. Carley and Martin B. Shichtman, 70–90 (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994); Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 30–9.

<sup>34</sup> *Chivalry and Violence*, 31.

<sup>35</sup> Scholarly accounts of the tournament are numerous; see, for example, Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages*, trans. Thomas Dunlap (Berkeley; Oxford: University of California Press, 1991), 247–73; Crouch, *Tournament*. On aristocratic rituals based on Arthurian romance, see Juliet Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry: Chivalric Society and its Context, 1270–1350* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1982), 16–20.

the prestige of violent acts was also sought by urban elites.<sup>36</sup> Although tournaments and jousts were ostensibly about violence, the relation of the tournament to physical violence was complex. As a simulation of hand-to-hand combat, the tournament was distinguished from warfare. In an infamous episode in 1273 or 1274 for example, Edward I of England competed in a tournament against the Count of Châlons, who tried to bring the king to the ground. Thomas of Walsingham writes that due to the king's physical strength—a sign of his *proece*—the king overpowered the count.<sup>37</sup> A 'little war' (*parvum bellum*) then broke out between the two groups of knights.<sup>38</sup> Thomas of Walsingham's account suggests that there is a difference of intent between the tournament and warfare: the tournament is simulated play, although it could descend into real violence. According to the definition of violence that I presented above, the tournament is not violent. Participants of the tournament entered into the event willingly. Because they consented to receiving the blows of a brutality that was only simulated, these acts became non-violent. In Thomas of Walsingham's account, it is when one party fails to consent—when Edward I overpowers the count—that play spills over into violence. One of the social functions of the tournament was to control physical brutality by applying rules and regulations. In the game-sphere of the tournament, violent acts are thus transformed into non-violent ones. This does not mean that the participants of tournaments viewed their behaviour as non-violent: the prestige of *proece* meant that jousters and tourneyers would have continued to describe their practice as violent, even if the consent of both parties meant that such simulated violence was only a game.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup> On the tournament in civic contexts, see Vale, *Princely Court*, 184–200; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 25–41.

<sup>37</sup> Thomas Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana: Quondam monachi S. Albani*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley, 2 vols., (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1863), i, 11.

<sup>38</sup> Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 9.

<sup>39</sup> Participants in the tournament were not immune from injury, and it was only in the late thirteenth century that the blunting of weapons seems to have become standard: Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 257–8.

Two other cultural practices of the thirteenth century have been treated by historians as mechanisms that transformed physical violence in complex ways: the judicial trial and the disputation. The ban on trial by combat, instituted by Louis IX in the 1250s, aimed to replace the violent settlement of disputes with settlements determined by a court, for which the judicial trial was one means.<sup>40</sup> Similar restrictions were placed on the aristocratic practice of settling disputes through private war.<sup>41</sup> More than any of his forebears, Louis IX successfully imposed legal structures on his vassals, structures that replaced their violent deeds with the king's judgement. Prior to the injunctions of Louis IX, inquisitory methods of settling conflict were used to settle aristocratic disputes, and aristocrats could in some cases choose the form of settlement that they employed. Louis IX's injunctions attempted to take away this choice through the implementation of his structures of justice.<sup>42</sup> R. Howard Bloch argues that 'for the potential violence of clannish vendetta—the violence of some against some—royalty attempted to impose a violence of all against one'.<sup>43</sup> For the inquest to be accepted as a just means to settle disputes, it had to enact at least a comparable level of violence against the perpetrator of a crime. This the inquest achieved, not just in its systemised deployment of power on a non-consenting subject through an inspection and investigation of the perpetrator's behaviour, but also through the verbal fireworks of the courtroom, which functioned as a substitute for physical *proece*.

Parallel to the development of the inquest was the rise in popularity of the clerical disputation in the universities and schools. In the disputation, a dialectical question (*quaestio disputata*) of conflicting pieces of scripture, doctrine, or other subject matter was

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<sup>40</sup> Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law*, 120.

<sup>41</sup> Private wars could be replaced by a judgement from the monarch, and under Louis IX this was sometimes done without the consent of the warring parties: *ibid.*, 114–5.

<sup>42</sup> Bloch notes that Louis's reforms were not wholly successful: *ibid.*, 121. In a famous case in 1259, Enguerrand de Coucy refused to be tried by the king, claiming his right to trial by combat: Elizabeth M. Hallam, *Capetian France, 987–1328* (London: Longman, 1980), 244.

<sup>43</sup> Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law*, 128.

advertised in advance of the debate.<sup>44</sup> Two students (*opponens* and *respondens*) would exchange debate (*disputatio*) on the question, taking opposite sides. The debate would be brought to a close by the presiding master, who at the end of the debate or at some later point would give his judgement (*determinatio*) on the matter. In the second quarter of the thirteenth century, the *disputatio de quodlibet*, a debate on a miscellaneous (as opposed to strictly theological or doctrinal) topic, gained such popularity that university business was often put on hold. In the *quodlibet*, the master did not know in advance what the topic of debate would be, and answers were improvised and written down only later. These ‘ritualized spectacles’ were a platform for young men to demonstrate their verbal and argumentative dexterity.<sup>45</sup> These were men to whom ritualised physical combat may not have been available, given that clerics were forbidden from causing injuries in which blood was shed. Ruth Karras has argued that rather than constructing their masculinity through demonstrations of *proece* in the tournament or in battle, these young men treated the disputation as ritualised combat.<sup>46</sup> Prominent churchmen such as John of Garland and Vincent of Beauvais explicitly compared the disputation to armed combat, both for its prestige and for its questionable morality.<sup>47</sup>

I draw attention to the tournament, inquest and disputation here not in order to suggest that the *jeu-parti* derives directly from these cultural forms.<sup>48</sup> Although the *jeu-parti* would seem to share many similarities with the formal procedures of the tournament,

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<sup>44</sup> On the form of the disputation, see Brian Lawn, *The Rise and Decline of the Scholastic “Quaestio disputata”*: With Special Emphasis on its Use in the Teaching of Medicine and Science (Leiden; New York; Köln: Brill, 1993), 13–7; John Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150–1350): An Introduction* (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), 19–20.

<sup>45</sup> Alex J. Novikoff, *The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 143.

<sup>46</sup> Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formation of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 90–2.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.

<sup>48</sup> I explore the relationship of the *jeu-parti* to the disputation and to the tournament in **Chapter 5**.

inquest and disputation—similarities that will be explored throughout this study—the crucial point is that aristocrats, urban elites and clerics showed a marked tendency to understand and discuss the tournament, inquest and disputation in terms that relate to physical violence. They did this because of the prestige associated with the foremost attribute of chivalry: *proece*. When thirteenth-century participants used violent metaphors and terminology for acts that were not physically violent, they were engaged in wider philosophical, legal, medical and lyric discourses that aimed to define what violence was and what kinds of violence were permissible. For example, when John of Garland called disputation ‘verbal conflict’, he was concerned that the disputers were showing the unseemly bravado that characterised tournaments, whereas Peter Abelard’s comparisons of the conflict of disputation to physical combat imply that disputation was a moral alternative to physical violence.<sup>49</sup> That two thirteenth-century masters could use the same metaphor to such different ends shows that thirteenth-century ideas surrounding violence were complex and contradictory, and were swayed by the motivations of those who wished to control physical brutality, such as the clergy or the king.

Cultural practices that simulated physical violence enabled participants to gain the prestige of *proece* without risking physical injury or death. Nevertheless, there is evidence that non-physical acts were sometimes perceived as injurious and violent in the Middle Ages. Helen Solterer outlines the concern with ‘verbal transgression’ in medieval treatises of language, stressing that verbally injurious acts were catalogued in treatises and were judged to be deserving of corporal punishments.<sup>50</sup> Karras claims that disputers used ‘words as weapons’, while Carol Symes has argued that in Arras ‘those whose social status might have denied them the right to bear arms ... could fight with words against the men who

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<sup>49</sup> See discussion in Helen Solterer, *The Master and Minerva: Disputing Women in French Medieval Culture* (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1995), 28–9.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 12.

were usually armed with swords'.<sup>51</sup> Practices such as the disputation or the *jeu-parti* were not just simulations of violence: they could also be acts of violence. This study explores the ways in which the *jeu-parti* negotiated the ideas surrounding violent acts. The *jeu-parti* could in itself be violent, or could simulate physical violence, taking on the prestige associated with *proece* but without the risk of physical injury. The *jeu-parti* could also be ostensibly non-violent, even if its structure and origins were saturated with violent practice. To explore how these levels of violence and non-violence might be related, I draw on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Slavoj Žižek.

## Theoretical definitions of violence

The corpus of theoretical literature that deals with violence is huge, in part perhaps because philosophers felt the need to process the shocking violence and barbarity of the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>52</sup> Several theorists have discussed violence and the relationship between the subject and the sovereign power of nation states; since these theories are based on the modern nation state, I do not discuss them here.<sup>53</sup> Recent theories about violence are also grounded in modern definitions of the body; a definition of medieval violence needs to consider medieval conceptions of the body, when and how bodies could be injured or healed, and the ethics associated with bodies and pain.<sup>54</sup> The theories of Bourdieu and Žižek

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<sup>51</sup> Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 91; Carol Symes, *A Common Stage: Theater and Public Life in Medieval Arras* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2007), 27.

<sup>52</sup> Ann Murphy has noted the extent to which violence permeates French twentieth-century thought in *Violence and the Philosophical Imaginary* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2012).

<sup>53</sup> Hannah Arendt discusses the relationship between power and violence in the bureaucracy of the modern state in *On Violence* (London: Allen Lane, 1970). Michel Foucault charts the transformation of violent punishment into disciplines and surveillance in *Discipline and Punish*. Judith Butler and Giorgio Agamben theorise the violence done to those who are not designated subjects by nation states: Giorgio Agamben, *Homo sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Judith Butler, *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence* (London: Verso, 2004). Frantz Fanon considers violence to be at the heart of colonial power: 'Concerning violence', in *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Contance Farrington, 27–84 (London: Penguin, 2001).

<sup>54</sup> Medieval experiences of pain are not explored in detail here. Recent studies include Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 2009);

are concerned with interpersonal exchange and violence, although both have a problematic application to the culture of thirteenth-century France. Above, I showed the tendency in thirteenth-century France for practices that were not physically violent to be discussed as if they were violent and to stand in the place of physical violence. What are the social mechanisms by which this could have happened and how might we understand the exchange of melody, poetic structure and ideas in the *jeu-parti* to be a kind of violence?

Bourdieu argues that violence can become ‘euphemized’ or ‘symbolic’ within systems of exchange and debt.<sup>55</sup> Since the *jeu-parti* is a sung debate between two poet-singers, I take it as axiomatic that the *jeu-parti* is a musical exchange.<sup>56</sup> Bourdieu argues that through the modes of exchange of debt and gifts, relationships of domination are formed.<sup>57</sup> In exercising this domination, the powerful party can use overt violence (Bourdieu gives the example of a landholder seizing his tenant farmer’s crops) or ‘symbolic’ violence (for example, the system of protection via a code of honour that binds master to servant). Crucially, Bourdieu states that these two methods of domination are ‘interchangeable ways of performing the same function’, with symbolic violence being deployed because of socially sanctioned legislation or belief that prohibits physical violence.<sup>58</sup> There is a problem with Bourdieu’s theory, which he himself recognises

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Robert Mills, *Suspended Animation: Pain, Pleasure and Punishment in Medieval Culture* (London: Reaktion, 2005); Donald Mowbray, *Pain and Suffering in Medieval Theology: Academic Debates at the University of Paris in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2009).

<sup>55</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 191.

<sup>56</sup> All music can be thought of as exchange, since there is an exchange of sound and ideas between performer and presumed listener. Nicholas Cook makes this point when he describes a musical score as a ‘script ... choreographing a series of real-time, social interactions between players’: see ‘Between Process and Product: Music and/as Performance’, *Music Theory Online* 7/2 (2001), accessed 7 Aug. 2017, <http://www.mtosmt.org/issues/mto.01.7.2/mto.01.7.2.cook.html>. The *jeu-parti* gives a unique insight onto medieval musical exchange because traces of listeners’ response are preserved in the written record of these songs: these traces are the musical responses of the opponent singers.

<sup>57</sup> Bourdieu builds on Marcel Mauss’s seminal work *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. W. D. Halls, foreword by Mary Douglas (Abingdon: Routledge, 2002).

<sup>58</sup> Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 192.

(although does not consider it to be problematic): agents can be complicit in their subjection to symbolic violence.<sup>59</sup> If an agent is complicit in their violation, then the act ceases to be violent.

Žižek reformulates Bourdieu's symbolic violence by distinguishing between subjective and objective violence. For Žižek, the subjective and objective cannot be discussed together, because overt violence is only distinguishable against a background of apparent non-violence. This non-violent background, Žižek argues, is in fact riven with a symbolic and systemic violence that is overlooked when overt violence is perceived.<sup>60</sup> I want to probe the intersections between these different layers of violence in the *jeu-parti*; although Žižek argues that these types of violence cannot be discussed together, I suggest that through discussions of overt violence and through other antagonistic exchanges in the *jeu-parti*, poet-singers may have constructed and critiqued a discourse of violent speech and musical acts through metaphor, allegory and association.

Many *jeux-partis* contain insults such as 'you are speaking as if you are a child', a statement that is intended to do damage to an opponent's reputation.<sup>61</sup> Such explicit antagonism stands out because of the non-violent background of the game. The rules of the *jeu-parti*, which make up the objective background against which subjective violence is noticeable, are imbued with symbolic violence. In every *jeu-parti*, the first singer establishes the melody and rhyme scheme of the debate, thus setting the terms of engagement. The voice of the second speaker is therefore always refracted through that of the first, because they must take on the rhyme scheme and melody established by the first singer. In retaliation, the second singer chooses the side of the debate that they will argue

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<sup>59</sup> Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Cambridge: Polity, 1992), 167.

<sup>60</sup> Slavoj Žižek, *Violence: Six Sideways Reflections* (London: Profile, 2008).

<sup>61</sup> 'Parlés a guise d'enfant' [RS1331, l. 29].

for, forcing his opponent, the first singer, to defend the remaining alternative.<sup>62</sup> The first singer, from the third stanza onwards, is in a position of subjugation because they speak only to defend what has been chosen for them. The singers stand in a reciprocal relationship of control and subjugation, exactly the conditions of exchange that Bourdieu identifies as being violent.

The exchange of stanzas in the *jeu-parti* also entails symbolic violence since the terms of debate that the first trouvère establishes are reused, appropriated and made to mean in a different way by the second trouvère. Two poets debate whether one alternative is better than another, and in doing so they often redefine key terms in the debate. For example, in *Princes del Pui, mout bien savés trouver* (RS899) the two trouvères consider their side of the debate to hold more joy for the lover.<sup>63</sup> Jehan de Grieviler associates joy with requited love by using ‘joïr’, a close relation to ‘joie’, to outline the dilemma in stanza 1. In stanza 2, Jehan Bretel describes the songs of the unrequited lover as ‘jolis’, which Grieviler rebuts in stanza 3 by calling the passionate heart ‘liement’. By the end of stanza 3, Bretel and Grieviler have used two synonyms for ‘joie’ and avoid struggling over the definition of the term. From stanza 4, this all changes. In stanza 4, Bretel describes the ‘joie’ of studying for the cleric who has yet to be made a canon, stating that for the requited lover joy is satisfied, whereas for the aspiring lover joy grows and increases. Grieviler inverts this formulation at the end of stanza 5, arguing that it is laughter that increases joy, while Bretel states in stanza 6 that abundance banishes any desire for joy. In each of their *envois*, Bretel and Grieviler restate the basic premise that they are defending, each using the term ‘joie’. Joy is thus the contested symbolic territory of the debate, especially in the second half of the song, where Bretel and Grieviler specifically use ‘joie’ rather than

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<sup>62</sup> This is the case for the overwhelming majority of *jeux-partis*, though not all.

<sup>63</sup> A transcription and translation of RS899 is given in **Appendix §9**.

synonyms. In every instance that their opponent uses the term ‘joie’, Bretel and Grieviler are subjected to symbolic violence because their contextual meaning attached to ‘joie’ is subverted or contradicted.

This symbolic violence is part of the conventions of the *jeu-parti*. It is systematised, but not systemic in the sense that Žižek implies. If systemic violence occurs in ‘the often catastrophic consequences of the smooth functioning of our economic and political systems’, then Žižek’s definition of systemic violence is not directly applicable to the pre-capitalist economy of the thirteenth-century.<sup>64</sup> This study is therefore principally concerned with the types of symbolic violence in the *jeu-parti*, deployed in more or less systematic ways. One systematic deployment of symbolic violence is the lyric paradigm of courtly love. Scholars of troubadour and trouvère lyric note the close connection between a singer’s song and their subjectivity. According to Sarah Kay, ‘the “I” of the text, its first-person subject, is produced within language’, rather than preceding it.<sup>65</sup> Because the lyric chanson relates the singing voice closely to subjectivity, the clash of subjects in the *jeu-parti* make it an inherently violent struggle. Song *is* subjectivity, and therefore taking another’s song constitutes a violent attack on the subject. By taking another’s song through the exchange of stanzas that share music and poetic form, as in the *jeu-parti*, antagonists rob each other of their subjectivities. Žižek’s discussion implicitly avoids the pitfall of Bourdieu’s theorisation of symbolic violence—the issue of consent. The symbolic violence that occurs when two lyric subjects contest one another is violent regardless of their consent because the violence is ‘embodied in language and its forms’.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Žižek, *Violence*, 1.

<sup>65</sup> Sarah Kay, ‘Desire and Subjectivity’, in *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, ed. Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, 212–27 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 213.

<sup>66</sup> Žižek, *Violence*, 1.

It is worth pausing for a moment to ask whether by subjecting past victims of violence to scrutiny, this study also commits an act of violence against them. Žižek asserts that ‘there is a sense in which a cold analysis of violence somehow reproduces and participates in its horror’.<sup>67</sup> By arguing that the *jeu-parti* could function as an act of violence—symbolic or otherwise—I am not trying to trivialise the suffering of victims of medieval physical brutality. On the contrary, by reconstructing the ways in which violence was discussed and thought about in the thirteenth century through this study of the *jeu-parti*, I hope to recover in a small way the contexts for violence and the experience of its victims. Žižek’s point is that violence cannot be confronted head on; it must be considered side-on out of respect for its victims. A study of violence in the *jeu-parti* is just such a sideways approach to medieval violence.

## Chapter outline

This study traces how melodic exchange could become musical violence. Following Žižek, I understand violence to operate at different levels of meaning in the *jeu-parti*. Each of the chapters demonstrates the various ways in which the *jeu-parti* has an invisible background of objective violence. In many of the *jeux-partis* discussed, the trouvères make the violence of their composition explicit, enabling interpretations that connect the objective violence in the background of a *jeu-parti* to its specific historical context. The *jeu-parti* was also a form in which trouvères could play at being violent, even if the consensual participation in a *jeu-parti* precluded any violence from being inflicted. Furthermore, the performance of these *jeux-partis* means that the violence inherent to *jeux-partis* had an affective, dramatic aspect, and was subject to aesthetic and moral critiques of violence. While acknowledging a violent background common to all *jeux-partis*, this study will treat two parts of the

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<sup>67</sup> Žižek, *Violence*, 3.

repertory individually: 1) early *jeux-partis*, centred on (but not limited to) the *jeux-partis* of Thibaut de Champagne; 2) *jeux-partis* composed in Arras, ostensibly for the Arras *puy*.

**Chapter 1** gives a survey of the ways in which the *jeu-parti* has been defined, from the use of the term in the thirteenth century to the assumptions that have been made about the genre in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I show that the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ had a performative purpose, causing the state of dilemma that facilitates debate. I also consider theories for the origins of the genre, showing the *jeu-parti* to be one practice among many that was predicated on agonistic exchange.

In **Chapter 2**, a corpus-wide analysis of *jeu-parti* melodies is presented and discussed. I use the term ‘tonal space’, proposed by Peter Lefferts, to describe the tonal choices that were available to composers of the *jeu-parti*.<sup>68</sup> I seek out a middle position between the ‘tonal types’ that Lefferts uses to codify Machaut’s chansons and the ‘temporal projection of pitch relationships’ that Sarah Fuller espouses.<sup>69</sup> As a *jeu-parti* unfolds in live performance, it creates its tonal space in the process. However, the tonal conventions of the genre mean that certain tonal relationships are expected, while others are unconventional. Four case studies show that through the processual creation of tonal space, *trouvères* could exploit oppositional pitch structures latent in the melody. By opposing primary and secondary pitches and aligning these with poetic structure or ideas, *trouvères* created a divided tonal space that is symptomatic of an agonistic performance culture and that facilitated conflictual exchange.

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<sup>68</sup> Peter M. Lefferts, ‘Signature-systems and tonal types in the fourteenth-century French chanson’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 4/2 (1995), 117–47: 122. In using the adjective ‘tonal’, I do not imply that *jeu-parti* melodies adhere to the system of tonality that has governed Western Art Music since the end of the sixteenth century. ‘Tonal’ here means pitches that are ordered in a hierarchy. I prefer ‘tonal’ to ‘modal’ because *jeux-partis* do not adhere to the modes of Gregorian chant (see discussion in **Chapter 2**).

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*; Sarah Fuller, ‘Exploring Tonal Structure in French Polyphonic Music of the Fourteenth Century’, in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, 61–86 (New York; London: Garland, 1998), 61.

**Chapters 3 and 4** focus on early *jeux-partis* and their original context in political conflict. Several early *jeux-partis* share their melodies with other songs: they are contrafacts.<sup>70</sup> The process of contrafacture is at the heart of the *jeu-parti* since in any *jeu-parti*, each successive stanza is arguably a new contrafact: the opponents in a *jeu-parti* must add texts to a pre-existent melody. In the early *jeu-parti*, the process of contrafacture went deeper, since the melody of a *jeu-parti* was borrowed from a pre-existent chanson. Contrafacture was a process that could enact symbolic violence. In sharing their melodies with other songs, these *jeux-partis* open themselves up to intertextual readings that allow the reader or listener to interpret the *jeux-partis* in light of specific historical and political contexts. In **Chapter 3**, I argue that patterns of melodic transmission demonstrate that singers and scribes knew *jeux-partis* to be contrafacts, and that they could strip the text of a chanson and add the *jeu-parti* text themselves, performing the symbolically violent act of contrafacture. In **Chapter 4**, I outline three *jeux-partis* whose historical context show them to be emblematic of violent aristocratic disputes. The performance of these *jeux-partis* staged political conflict.

**Chapter 5** shifts focus to the *jeux-partis* created in the second half of the thirteenth century in Arras and explores whether *jeux-partis*, in addition to being symbolically violent, could also be physically violent. In performance, *jeux-partis* could have been understood by listeners and poets as a sonic form of violence thanks to contemporary scientific and aesthetic theories of sound. Two *jeux-partis* that discuss song-making are considered, in order to interrogate how trouvères might have thought about the melodies that they were singing. I then analyse five *jeux-partis* whose violent subject matter invites a reading of musical violence.

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<sup>70</sup> I use the anglicised ‘contrafact/s’ rather than the Latin ‘contrafactum/a’.

Most of the manuscript sources discussed in this thesis are trouvère chansonniers dating from the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These are referred to by an upper- or lowercase letter in bold type, following the designation of sources in Hans Spanke's catalogue of trouvère song; when sources are listed, those that transmit no music notation are placed in brackets.<sup>71</sup> All other manuscript sources are designated by their RISM siglum to avoid confusion with the letter designations of other genre catalogues: for example, manuscript **o** of Gautier de Coinci's miracles (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 2193), which also contains devotional trouvère song, is referred to as **F-Pn fr. 2193**. All trouvère songs are referred to by their Raynaud-Spanke number in Spanke's index of trouvère song.<sup>72</sup> Troubadour songs are given their numerical designation (PC) according to Pillet and Carstens, and conducti have an A number according to Anderson's catalogue.<sup>73</sup> In accordance with the conventions of literary scholarship, syllable counts have a prime (e.g. 10') when the line ending is paroxytonic. (Musically, this designation makes little sense, as an unstressed syllable in a paroxytonic line ending still requires its own pitch or group of pitches.) Figures, tables and appendices are referred to in bold type.

In analyses of *jeux-partis*, I refer to lyric persona by name for clarity of expression. There is a difference between a historical figure and the lyric persona that they present in poetry, and I do not wish to imply that the apparent intentions of the lyric persona are also the intentions of the historical figure. For example, 'Bretel sets the first part of the dilemma to the falling figure' means that the melody sung by the lyric persona Bretel in a *jeu-parti* behaves in this way. When the gender of a historical figure cannot be ascertained, I use the

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<sup>71</sup> Hans Spanke and Gaston Raynaud, *G. Raynauds Bibliographie des altfranzösischen Liedes* (Leiden: Brill, 1955), 1–11.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup> Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle (Saale): Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1933); Gordon Anderson, ed., *Notre-Dame and Related Conductus: Opera omnia*, 10 vols. (Henryville: Institute of Medieval Music, 1979–).

singular pronoun ‘they’, for example for ‘a scribe’ or ‘an opponent in a *jeu-parti*’. Song texts are, where possible, taken from Hans Tischler’s complete edition of trouvère song and I include Tischler’s editorial punctuation; I have added accents to past participles, thus ‘amée’ where Tischler has ‘amee’, and capitalise the start of each poetic line.<sup>74</sup> Transcriptions are from individual sources, and I do not attempt to construct an *Urtext* for songs with variant readings. Songs are transcribed in unstemmed, non-rhythmic note heads; I do not wish to imply that trouvère songs were sung without rhythm, but an engagement with the debates on the rhythm of trouvère song is beyond the scope of this study. Ticks in musical examples are used to mark line or page breaks in the music notation of the source.

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<sup>74</sup> Hans Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies: Complete Comparative Edition*, 15 vols. (Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology; Hänssler-Verlag, 1997).

## Chapter 1 | Definitions and origins

There are several contrasting definitions for the *jeu-parti*. Paul Remy gives one definition, arguing that the term *jeu-parti* is found principally in three twelfth- and thirteenth-century French contexts that share the element of difficult or unfavourable choice: (1) in the romance, an impossible decision for a character; (2) in descriptions of chess problems; (3) as the name for a genre of song.<sup>1</sup> However, recent scholarship relies largely on a different definition of the *jeu-parti*, given by Arthur Långfors et al. (1926):

a song [*pièce lyrique*] of six stanzas followed by two *envois*: in the first stanza, one of two partners poses a dilemma-question to the other and, the other having made his choice, argues for the alternative [in the dilemma] left available to him. In the two *envois*, each of the two partners names a judge. In the texts, there is no trace of any judgement that might have been given.<sup>2</sup>

Långfors's description of the genre's formal characteristics was motivated by his aim to provide an exhaustive edition of all *jeux-partis*. This definition is a checklist of features for the class of songs that, in his opinion, constituted the genre. Surprisingly, there is almost no reference to *jeux-partis* being set to music. Långfors uses only the verifiable features of textual form to define the *jeu-parti*. His definition therefore restricts our understanding of what the *jeu-parti* might have meant to those who practised the genre in the thirteenth century.

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<sup>1</sup> Paul Remy, 'De l'expression "partir un jeu" dans les textes épiques aux origines du jeu parti', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 17/68 (1974), 327–33.

<sup>2</sup> 'une pièce lyrique de six couplets suivis de deux envois: dans le premier couplet, l'un des deux partenaires propose à l'autre une question dilemmatique et, celui-ci ayant fait son choix, soutient lui-même l'alternative restée disponible. Dans les deux envois, chacun des deux partenaires nomme un juge. Il n'y a dans les textes aucune trace d'un jugement que ceux-ci auraient prononcé.' Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, v–vi.

Långfors based his definition on all *jeux-partis*, but for the trouvères who created the first *jeux-partis* in the first half of the thirteenth century, there was no fixed definition of the genre. Throughout the thirteenth century, expectations of what the *jeu-parti* was and what it ought to be—what Hans Robert Jauss has termed ‘the horizon of the genre’—would have been shifting.<sup>3</sup> A genre’s horizon consists of those characteristics that are considered and expected (by writers, scribes, performers, and readers) to be immanent to the genre. According to Jauss, the history of a genre is ‘the continual founding and altering of horizons, ... the non-teleological playing out of a limited number of possibilities’.<sup>4</sup> While Långfors’s definition enabled him to include all *jeux-partis* in his complete edition, it represents a twentieth-century horizon of the genre. In this chapter, I explore the reasons for which Långfors’s definition has come to dominate the field of study and consider what other horizons the genre might have had during the thirteenth century, both in uses of the term in songs and manuscripts, and in the origins of the genre.

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<sup>3</sup> Hans Robert Jauss, *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, trans. Timothy Bahti, introduction by Paul de Man (Brighton: Harvester, 1982), 94.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

## Medieval evidence

### Uses of the term ‘jeu-parti’

Remy’s account of the term ‘jeu-parti’ addresses an assumption in earlier scholarship that the term was first used in medieval literature to refer to a literary game: the sung *jeu-parti*.<sup>5</sup> Disagreement between scholars arises from the evidence, which, as Eric Matheis explains, appears contradictory.<sup>6</sup> No clear origin of the term emerges from romances, chess manuals or *jeux-partis*. Although chess manuals are the latest form of documentary evidence of the three, they reflect the oldest practice.<sup>7</sup> The first written source of the term, an early troubadour song by William VII of Poitou (1071–1127), uses the phrase ‘partetz un joc’ before any extant *tensos* or *jeux-partis* were composed.<sup>8</sup> Although extant chess manuals were copied later, chess appears earlier in *jeux-partis* and romances as an analogy for a dilemma. Remy and Matheis therefore argue that ‘jeu-parti’ must have been used first in chess and romances and later to describe the musical genre. Both scholars view chess as the origin of the term, the former understanding chess as a mental paradigm through which scenarios in romances were understood, and the latter stating that the metaphor of a ‘jeu’ would first need the context of a real ‘jeu’, chess, to gain currency. Matheis argues that the mention of the term ‘jeu-parti’ in songs—something that Remy overlooks—had the purpose of emphasising the ludic aspect of

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<sup>5</sup> Remy, ‘De l’expression “partir un jeu”’, 329.

<sup>6</sup> Matheis, ‘Capital, Value, and Exchange’, 239–47.

<sup>7</sup> The earliest chess treatises of the period date from the 1270s: see Tony Hunt, *Les gius partiz des eschez: Two Anglo-Norman Chess Treatises* (London: Published by the Anglo-Norman Text Society from Birkbeck College, 1985).

<sup>8</sup> PC 183.2, l. 11: Gerald A. Bond, ed. and trans., *The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine* (New York: Garland, 1982), 24. Eero Ilvonen suggested this may refer to a ‘juec d’amor’, played in the twelfth century and consisting of love questions that later become *tensos* and *jeux-partis*: ‘Les demandes d’amour dans la littérature française du moyen âge’, *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 14 (1912), 128–44: 129.

the genre.<sup>9</sup> In many uses of the term in trouvère song, however, the meaning of the term is less prescribed than Matheis suggests.

**Table 1.1** below gives selected examples of the phrase ‘*jeu-parti*’ in *jeux-partis*, as well as other generic terms such as *tenson* or *parture*. Frequently in *jeux-partis*, the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ is used to describe a state of dilemma, an impossible choice from which the opponent in the debate must select one side, and different to the ludic meaning that Matheis ascribes. For example, Gilles li Vinier opens his *jeu-parti* with his brother, Guillaume, with the following challenge:

Brother, which is more to be prized? Here’s a *jeu-parti* for you of two lovers who without deceit have set their hearts in love.<sup>10</sup>

Here, Gilles could be using the term *jeu-parti* to mean the song he is singing, as a generic label. The term could equally be translated as ‘dilemma’ or ‘impossible decision’; this is the sense of the term for several instances in **Table 1.1**. In other cases, the term clearly refers to the genre of songs. In the chanson RS711, for example, Thibaut de Champagne states that he will ‘write (*fere*) many a *jeu-parti*, and many a *sonet* and *reverdie*’.<sup>11</sup> Listing the *jeu-parti* next to the *sonet* and *reverdie* here shows that Thibaut is using the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ as a generic label. Frequently the opening stanza of a *jeu-parti* makes reference to it being a ‘*jeu*’, and in many other cases the verb ‘*partir*’ is used to point to a decision that must be made. In combining a noun and a verb, the term *jeu-parti* could thus act as a generic label (‘*jeu*’) and as a provocation to decision (‘*partir*’). *Parture* and *tenson*, by contrast, only appear to have functioned as generic labels.

<sup>9</sup> Matheis, ‘Capital, Value and Exchange’, 247.

<sup>10</sup> ‘Frere, qui fait mieuz a proisier? / A vous en est li gieus partis / De deus amans qui sanz trichier / Ont en amours lor cuers assis.’ [RS1293, ll. 1–4]

<sup>11</sup> Kathleen J. Brahney, ed. and trans., *The Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne* (New York: Garland, 1989), 115.

RS339	‘L’autre nuit en mon dormant / Fui en grant doutance / D’un jeu parti en chantant / Et en grant balance’ [ll. 1–4]
RS668	‘Grieviler, vostre ensient / Me dites d’un ju parti’ [ll. 1–2]
RS711 (=1067)	‘Quant par le gré ma dame m’en chasti, / Meilleur reson n’i truis a ma partie.’ [ll. 23–4] ‘Si cuit je fere oncor main jeu parti / et maint sonet et mainte raverdie’ [ll. 31–2]
RS842	‘Thumas, je vos voel demander / Un giu’ [ll. 1–2]
RS899	‘Sire Bretel, mout bien savés trouver / Ce m’est avis, partures et chançons’ [ll. 1–2]
RS938	‘Quens d’Anjo, prenez / De ce jeu partie’ [l. 1]
RS1097	‘Cuens, je vos part un geu’ [l. 1]
RS1423a	‘Sire, löez moi a choisir / D’un jeu! Li queius doit mielz valoir’ [ll. 1–2]
RS1443	‘Compains Jehan, un gieu vos vueill partir’ [l. 1]
RS1672	‘Robert de le Piere, respondés moi: / Deus jeus vous part, et le meillour prendés.’ [ll. 1–2] ‘Jehan Bretel, grant guerredon vous doi, / Qant si bele parture me partés.’ [ll. 10–1]

Table 1.1 Generic terms in trouvère songs

The term ‘jeu-parti’ was also used to organise some extant chansonniers through rubrics, marginal writing and indices (see **Table 1.2** below).<sup>12</sup> These methods of organising a codex could be carried out by different scribes later than the copying of song texts, and show scribes imposing onto the trouvère repertory an organisational system of genres and genre labels.<sup>13</sup> Codices therefore demonstrate different scribes’ conceptions of genre.

<sup>12</sup> For an overview of the sources of trouvère song, see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987), 46–80; John Haines, *Eight Centuries of Troubadours and Trouvères: The Changing Identity of Medieval Music* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 13–32; Mary J. O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 13–52; *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Sources, MS’, by Stanley Boorman et al., accessed 27 Sep. 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/50158pg3>.

<sup>13</sup> Ardis Butterfield makes the point that in the late thirteenth century, scribes and compilers of chansonniers directly connected genre to the physical layout of a codex, in part because different genres needed to be presented

MS	Annotation	Paratextual label
<b>a</b>	Index	4r: ‘Ce sont partures’ in index hand (fourteenth-century) (Start of <i>jeu-parti</i> section is missing.) <sup>14</sup>
	Annotation	181v: ‘Fin du livres (?) des partures’ (later hand)
<b>b</b>	Annotation	150r: ‘chansons en dialogue de jeu parti d’amours’ (later hand)
	Rubric	170r: ‘Ici faut la merancolie dou ieu do[n]t amours est partie’ (original hand)
<b>C</b>	Rubric	2r, 2v, 24v, 37v, 40v, 50v, 97r: ‘Jeus partis’,
	Rubric	3r, 24v: ‘Jugemans damour’
<b>I</b>	Index	141r: ‘vesci labecelaire des ieus partis’
	Rubric	178r: ‘vesci la becelaire des ieus p[ar]tis.’ (Atchison 259)
	Explicit	195v: ‘D[es] Jeu partis’ (later hand, faded brown ink) <sup>15</sup>
<b>P</b>	Index (later)	Br: ‘Jeux-partis’ (in de Cangé’s hand)
	Rubric	201v ‘Cest el chant dou gieu parti. li q[ue]ns de bretaigne’ (in thirteenth- or fourteenth-century hand)
<b>Q</b>	Running title	319v ‘Jeux partis’ (later hand)
<b>T</b>	Rubrics	11v ‘parture li rois de navarre’ and ‘demande li rois de navarre’
<b>W</b>	Index	1r ‘Les cancons adan de la hale / Ses partures’
	Rubric	23v Les partures adan

Table 1.2: paratextual indications of genre in trouvère sources

In the late thirteenth-century chansonnier **W**, an index contemporary with the codex lists chansons under the heading ‘les cancons’ and *jeux-partis* under the heading ‘ses partures’. The index of the early fourteenth-century chansonnier **a** also uses headings to distinguish ‘partures’ from ‘cancons’, ‘pastourelles’, ‘motet’, ‘roondel’ and ‘chancons de n[ost]re dame’.<sup>16</sup> Later

with a different *mise-en-page*: *Poetry and Music in Medieval France: From Jean Renart to Guillaume de Machaut* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 171–3.

<sup>14</sup> Chansonnier **a** is rigidly organised by genre and many of the openings of genre sections begin with rubrics that match the rubrics of the index; it is likely that the *jeu-parti* section also opened with such a rubric.

<sup>15</sup> Mary Atchison states that this explicit (and others in the manuscript) is in a different hand to any other text in the source: *The Chansonnier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 220.

<sup>16</sup> The part of the index for *jeux-partis* in **a** is at the end of the index and was probably copied separately from the rest of the index.

marginal annotations demonstrate that in the seventeenth century, the terms *jeu-parti* and *parture* were both used: Cangé's index to **P** lists three songs under the heading 'jeux-partis', while in **a** (f. 181v), 'fin du livre des partures' has been written in a later hand.

In the various uses of the term, it is apparent that the definition of the *jeu-parti* was not fixed during the thirteenth century. The term was used in songs to signify both genre and a state of dilemma. By the time these songs were written down—in chansonniers that frequently postdate the poets of these *jeux-partis* by a number of decades—scribes were using the term to refer to a genre of song, but were also using other terms such as 'parture' or 'demande'. This complicates a simple narrative for the term 'jeu-parti' solidifying into a classificatory label.

### **Scribal organisation**

Whether scribes did or did not include the term 'jeu-parti', their organisation of songs also indicates their awareness of different genres of song. In **aAMRVWZ(Qbc)**, *jeux-partis* are presented in their own section or consecutively, demonstrating that scribes considered these songs to be of the same genre. To mark these physically discrete units, illustrations of debaters sometimes open the sections (see **Fig. 1.1** below).



b (f. 139v)<sup>17</sup>



W (f. 23v)<sup>18</sup>



I (f. 178r)<sup>19</sup>



I (f. 187v)<sup>20</sup>



A (f. 136r)<sup>21</sup>

**Fig. 1.1: Depictions of the jeu-parti**

<sup>17</sup> 'Manuscript—Reg.lat.1522', Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, accessed 20 Sep. 2017, [http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS\\_Reg.lat.1522/0286](http://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Reg.lat.1522/0286).

<sup>18</sup> 'Chansonnier et mélanges littéraires', Bibliothèque nationale de France, last modified 6 Aug. 2013, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b54002413d/f52.image.r=fr>. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

<sup>19</sup> 'Trouvère poetry', MS Douce 308, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, accessed 20 Sep. 2017, <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/s/5p92b0>.

<sup>20</sup> 'Trouvère poetry', MS Douce 308, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, accessed 20 Sep. 2017, <http://bodley30.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/s/akq4d8>.

<sup>21</sup> Alfred Jeanroy and Bibliothèque d'Arras, *Le Chansonnier d'Arras: Reproduction en phototypie* (Paris: E. Champion, 1925).

In the illustrations from **AbW**, these figures are the speakers of the debate. Each picture shows two men facing one another, arms raised as if gesticulating; no listeners are depicted. In **A** the men are clearly clerical, judging by their tonsures, whereas the status of the men in **bW** are less discernible (although one of those depicted in **W** is probably Adam de la Halle).<sup>22</sup> In the illustrations from **I**, the second illustration depicts the anonymous *sire* and *dame* of the *demandes d'amour*, but the first illustration unusually depicts the alternatives of the dilemma question of the first *jeu-parti* of the section.

The physical presentation of *jeux-partis* can tell us as much about a developing genre system as rubrics, since genre was increasingly 'rendered as a visual and spatial concept' through the thirteenth century.<sup>23</sup> In **MV**, almost the same group of *jeux-partis* by Thibaut de Champagne are copied, suggesting perhaps a tradition of copying these songs together from one or more *libelli* that only contained these *jeux-partis*.<sup>24</sup> At an earlier point in the copying tradition, the genre of these *jeux-partis* was an important enough feature for them to be presented together. In other chansonniers, the generic identity of *jeux-partis* is also foregrounded by additional aspects of their copying. In **QR**, *jeux-partis* have no music notation, and no space has been left for staves. This contrasts with the chansons in these chansonniers, which are presented with staves and notation. In these cases, the generic difference of the *jeux-partis* is also ontological: chansons have been deemed deserving of music notation, while *jeux-partis* have not. Finally, the generic difference of *jeux-partis* is

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<sup>22</sup> On the foregrounding of the clerical status of the trouvères in **A**, see Jennifer Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras', *Viator* 43/2 (2012), 147–64.

<sup>23</sup> Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 171.

<sup>24</sup> The presentation of Thibaut de Champagne's *jeux-partis* in discrete sections in some chansonniers and within sequences of *jeux-partis* in other sources is discussed by Daniel E. O'Sullivan in 'Words with Friends, Courtly Edition: The *Jeux-Partis* of Thibaut de Champagne', in *Games and Gaming in Medieval Literature*, ed. Serina Patterson, 61–78 (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

apparent in such cases where two authors are attributed to a *jeu-parti* in a rubric. This occurs throughout the *jeu-parti* section of **R**, but also in other chansonniers in isolated cases, such as in **T** (ff. 31r–31v), where two *jeux-partis* are attributed to the brothers Guillaume li Vinier and Gilles li Vinier.

How did scribes and compilers distinguish between *jeux-partis* and other similar poetic genres? In large part, this question is impossible to answer, since it demands evidence for what scribes did *not* produce. Only one manuscript, for example, contains both *jeux-partis* and *demandes d'amour*: chansonnier **I**. In this early fourteenth-century source, *demandes d'amour* are copied in the same section as the *jeux-partis*, which suggests that the compiler considered *demandes* and *jeux-partis* to be closely related: some *jeux-partis* have a first stanza that is closely modelled on or identical to a *demande d'amour*, and the copying of *demandes d'amour* in the middle of the *jeu-parti* section, straddled by *jeux-partis*, points to a perceived generic similarity.<sup>25</sup> This section of the chansonnier presents *jeux-partis* by a certain Rolant de Reims first, then *demandes d'amour*, then more classic *jeux-partis* by Gillebert de Berneville or Thibaut de Champagne alongside *jeux-partis* by Rolant de Reims once again. The section is arranged in this way to convince the reader that Rolant de Reims, who was probably well known in Metz where **I** was copied, was only the latest practitioner of a genre that stretched back to such prestigious figures as Thibaut de Champagne. The *demandes d'amour* are headed by a miniature (see above), perhaps to show the generic difference between *jeux-partis* proper and *demandes*. The combination of *jeux-partis* and *demandes d'amour* under the heading

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<sup>25</sup> I am grateful to Elizabeth Eva Leach for sharing her work on the organisation of the *jeu-parti* section of this source.

‘Jeus-partis’, however, demonstrates that the compiler considered the chief attribute of the genre to be the dilemma question.

The close similarity between a number of *jeux-partis* and *demandes d’amour* has led scholars to speculate that the *jeu-parti* might have originated in the *demande*. In some *jeux-partis*, the first stanza is almost identical to a *demande d’amour*, while in other cases a *demande* has been elaborated to form a *jeu-parti*, or a *jeu-parti* has been condensed to form a *demande*. Twentieth-century scholars have proposed different chronologies for this relationship, which are difficult to prove because all sources for the *demandes* date from after 1300, and most *jeux-partis* sources are securely dated before 1320.<sup>26</sup> This does not mean that the *jeu-parti* preceded the *demande*. Felberg-Levitt proposes that the ‘essential constructive element for a number of games and literary works’ could have been the *demandes*.<sup>27</sup> Given the unclear history of the *demandes d’amour* before the fourteenth century, a distinction between the *demande d’amour* (a genre) and a love question (a ‘constructive element’) might usefully be drawn: the love question was undoubtedly an important element in thirteenth-century literature and is likely to have given rise to both the *jeu-parti* and the *demande d’amour*. The relationship between the genres of *jeu-parti* and *demande d’amour* may also have been dynamic during the thirteenth century, with *jeux-partis* being transformed into *demandes* and vice versa.

No source survives in which scribes needed to differentiate between a *jeu-parti* and the Occitan *partimen*, but scribes did have to choose whether songs that contained debate but did not adhere to the *jeu-parti* norm should be considered *jeux-partis*. Thibaut’s debate with an anonymous ‘dame’, *Dame merci une rien vos demant* (RS335), is copied within the section of

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<sup>26</sup> For an overview, see Margaret Felberg-Levitt, *Les demandes d’amour: Édition critique* (Montréal: CERES, 1995), 10–11.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

songs attributed to Thibaut in **M** (f. 67v) but two folios before the start of the series of *jeux-partis* by Thibaut (f. 69v). **KTV** also separate RS335 from the *jeux-partis*, whereas in **aA**, the debate is included in the series of *jeux-partis*. In **X**, RS335 is copied in a section of songs attributed to Thibaut de Champagne, as for **MKTV**, but the debate has been copied immediately before the group of *jeux-partis* by Thibaut, suggesting that the compiler of **X** may have considered RS335 to have been generically close (if not identical) to the *jeux-partis*. RS335, then, is one example that demonstrates the ways in which scribes and compilers negotiated the parameters of the genre of the *jeu-parti*: to some compilers the song was generically distinct from Thibaut's *jeux-partis* with other men, while others considered the presence of dialogue and the similarity of form between RS335 and other *jeux-partis* to be sufficient criteria for the genre. Each of the manuscripts in which the song was copied had a specific historical context and purpose, and may have drawn on assumptions from specific performance conditions and conventions. Thus, the generic codification in **aA** not only resulted in a particular definition of the *jeu-parti* that fitted RS335, but also indicates a synoptic approach to song more generally. As performers and scribes encountered songs composed and first performed several decades before, their definitions of genre would have changed, perhaps resulting in the different scribal perceptions of RS335.

## Modern definitions

### Earliest accounts

Descriptions and uses of the term ‘jeu-parti’ in writings up to the late nineteenth century fall into the following broad categories:<sup>28</sup>

1. Accounts of French poetry and language, often with the express purpose of linking literary history to concepts of nation: Claude Fauchet (1581), Guillaume Massieu (1739), Marquis de Paulmy (1778), Paulin Paris (1833), Frances Trevelyan (1850), Charles Aubertin (1876);
2. Compendia of trouvères according to region: Arthur Dinaux (1837–1863), Prosper Tarbé (1850), Auguste Scheler (1879);
3. Accounts and editions of an individual trouvère: Lévesque de la Ravallière (1742), Edmond de Coussemaker (1872);
4. Accounts of music history: Jean de la Borde (1780).

In the earliest accounts of the *jeu-parti*, writers did not distinguish the *jeu-parti* clearly from other genres. The earliest treatment of the *jeu-parti* is by Claude Fauchet, bibliophile and collector of a number of trouvère chansonniers.<sup>29</sup> The second volume of Fauchet’s *Recueil* lists trouvères and other poets, with a summary of their biography and output. The term ‘jeu-parti’ is used to designate debate songs with a dilemma question: ‘Jehan Bretel, or Bretiaux, was the grand master of *jeux-partis*: that is to say questions

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<sup>28</sup> I propose the late nineteenth century (c. 1880–1890) as a point of transition in the historiography of the *jeu-parti*, partly because of the greater scrutiny that the *jeu-parti* received as a genre after this time, and partly too because of the formation of the Société des Anciens Textes Français in 1875, of which several of the writers discussed here were members.

<sup>29</sup> Claude Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine de la langue et poesie françoise, ryme et romans: Plus les noms et sommaire des auvres de cxxvii poetes françois, viuans auant l'an M. CCC* (Paris, 1581).

[*demandes*], for which it was, in all likelihood, permissible to debate for and against'.<sup>30</sup>

While often using 'jeu-parti' as a generic label, Fauchet sometimes used 'un dialogue', 'chansons en jeux partis', or 'chansons de ieu party', suggesting that the *jeu-parti* was a subset of the *chanson*, or a technique sometimes employed in the *chanson*.<sup>31</sup> Frequently, Fauchet simply states that a *trouvère* 'asks' (*demande*) another *trouvère* a question, without distinguishing debate songs from love songs.

Similar fluidity in usage is to be seen in de la Borde's *Essai sur la musique* (1780). Like Fauchet, de la Borde lists a number of *trouvères* with biographical information and examples of lyric texts.<sup>32</sup> He also presents songs without musical notation and with a translation into modern French. De la Borde identifies two genres of song: the *chanson* and the *pastourelle*.<sup>33</sup> Only one *jeu-parti* (RS840) is presented and is introduced as a 'chanson' but described as 'un *jeu parti*' in a footnote.<sup>34</sup> De la Borde's only other use of the term is in his account of Jehan Bretel, who according to de la Borde had created 'chansons en *jeux partis*'.<sup>35</sup> Like Fauchet, de la Borde appears to have viewed *jeu-parti* as a technique of composition, rather than strictly as a genre.

Commonly, these early writers use the term 'jeu-parti' to refer to a song in dialogue, and therefore used 'dialogue' and 'jeu-parti' as interchangeable terms. De la Ravallière notes that the *tenso* and *jeu-parti* are both 'une chanson en dialogue' in which 'after one of the

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<sup>30</sup> 'Jehan Bretel, ou Bretiaux, fut grand maistre de ieux partis: c'est à dire demandes, lesquelles il est loysible de disputer probablement pour & contre': Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine*, 184.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 148, 85, 91 respectively.

<sup>32</sup> Jean de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne*, 4 vols. (Paris: Impr. de Ph.-D. Pierres, 1780), ii, 141–352.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 148–9.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 176.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, 178.

interlocutors has proposed a question on some subject of gallantry, the other chooses the position that he wants to defend'.<sup>36</sup> Tarbé implicitly distinguishes between *dialogue* and *jeu-parti*, using the former for a song between Perrin d'Angecourt and the figure of love, and the latter for a song between Perrin and Jehan Bretel.<sup>37</sup> *Demande* and *question* are also terms commonly employed to describe the *jeu-parti*.<sup>38</sup> This appears to have led to some confusion for Massieu, who suggested that in a *jeu-parti*, one speaker proposes a question (*doute*) and the other gives the solution.<sup>39</sup> Massieu thus confused the form of the *jeu-parti* with that of the *demande d'amour*, for which an answer is frequently given;<sup>40</sup> his confusion may have arisen from Fauchet's *Recueil*, which gives summaries of *jeux-partis* in the form of a love-question followed by the first speaker's response.<sup>41</sup> De la Ravallière rectifies Massieu's mistakes, though still quoting (without citation) Massieu's description of the debate in the *jeu-parti* as 'pour [et] contre'.<sup>42</sup> Throughout these writings, neither terminological nor generic specificity was a concern of these writers.

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<sup>36</sup> 'l'un des Interlocuteurs, ayant proposé une question sur quelque sujet de galanterie, l'autre choisit la maxime qu'il veut défendre': Lévesque de la Ravallière, *Les poésies du roy de Navarre: Avec des notes & un glossaire françois ...*, 2 vols. (Paris: H.L. Guerin & J. Guerin, 1742), i, 228. The term *dialogue* is also to be found in the following places: 'un jeu-parti dialogué': Marc-Antoine-René de Voyer d'Argenson, Marquis de Paulmy, 'Choix des Chansons', *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December, 1778): 208; 'pièce dialoguée': Arthur Martin Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens* (Paris: Técheur, 1843), 146; 'les chansons dialoguées': Alexis Paulin Paris, *Le romancero françois, histoire de quelques anciens trouvères et choix de leurs chansons, recueilli par P. Paris* (Paris: Techener, 1833), 153.

<sup>37</sup> Prosper Tarbé, *Les Chansonniers de Champagne aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Reims, 1850), xiv.

<sup>38</sup> *Demande* is first used by Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine*, 184.

<sup>39</sup> Guillaume Massieu, *Histoire de la poésie française: Avec une défense de la poésie*, ed. de Sacy (Paris: Prault fils, 1739), 153.

<sup>40</sup> Felberg-Levitt, *Les demandes d'amour*, 9.

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, Fauchet's summary of Jehan Bretel's *jeux-partis* in *Recueil de l'origine*, 184–90. John Haines notes that Fauchet's account of the trouvères was the foundation for studies of the trouvères until the nineteenth century: see *Eight Centuries*, 52.

<sup>42</sup> Massieu, *Histoire de la poésie*, 155; de la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, i, 229. De la Ravallière may have taken this phrase from Massieu, whom he cites shortly afterwards on p. 232.

These early accounts implicitly separate the *jeu-parti* into three periods (early, middle and late), with Jehan Bretel as the *jeu-parti* composer *par excellence*. This may in part be due to his title, ‘prince of the *Puy*’, by which he is hailed in a number of his *jeux-partis*, but must also be thanks to the large number of *jeux-partis* in which he participated. Fauchet calls Bretel the ‘grand maistre des ieux partis’ and lists 37 *jeux-partis* by Bretel, each with a description of the love question.<sup>43</sup> Though not the longest account of a single trouvère (the accounts of earlier trouvères such as Blondel, Gace Brulé and Thibaut de Navarre are far longer), the entry for Bretel gives the most prominence to the *jeu-parti* of any in the volume. Massieu (1739) singles out Bretel, stating ‘but above all of the others, Jehan Bretel upheld [the *jeu-parti*]’,<sup>44</sup> while de la Borde’s (1780) only use of the term ‘jeu-parti’ is with regard to Bretel.<sup>45</sup> By the mid-nineteenth century, the association appears to have strengthened. Dinaux (1839) had mentioned ‘true *jeux-partis* of the type [*genre*] of those most widely known by J. Bretel’,<sup>46</sup> but was more effusive in his praise in his later volume on Artesian trouvères (1843). Bretel was ‘le rimeur de *jeux-partis*’, ‘une autorité recommandable en poésie contentieuse’; ‘le grand maitre de ce genre de poésie’ excelled (*excellait*) at the genre, and must even have been the true author of *jeux-partis* by women, since he had the ‘physiologie d’amour’.<sup>47</sup> Jeanroy (1896) describes three schools of *jeu-parti* production, the second of which was ‘the Artesian society of bourgeois poets where, among the more tireless competitors, the “prince of the Puy”, Jehan

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<sup>43</sup> Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine*, 184.

<sup>44</sup> ‘mais Jean Bretel l’emportoit sur tous les autres’: Massieu, *Histoire de la poésie*, 153.

<sup>45</sup> De La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, ii, 178.

<sup>46</sup> Arthur Martin Dinaux, *Les trouvères de la Flandre et du Tournaisis* (Paris: Téchener, 1839), 299.

<sup>47</sup> Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens*, 264, 68, 302, 285.

Bretel, distinguished himself<sup>48</sup>. Bretel's songs were thus woven into a narrative of centre and periphery, in which Bretel was the archetype.

This narrative can also be traced through the differences in discussion of the early *jeux-partis* by Thibaut de Champagne and contemporaries, or those in **I** and the trouvère Rolant de Reims. The early *jeux-partis* are discussed by a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century authors for their biographical detail, for example *Robert veez de Perron* (RS1878, a *serventois* often mistaken for a *jeu-parti*),<sup>49</sup> *Bernart a vous vueil demander* (RS840),<sup>50</sup> *Gasse par droit me respondez* (RS948),<sup>51</sup> or *Dame merci un rien vos demant* (RS335).<sup>52</sup> By contrast, the *jeux-partis* of **I** are rarely discussed: Jeanroy omits them from his 1889 account of the *jeu-parti*, which states that the *jeu-parti* proceeded from Thibaut's court to the Artesian school.<sup>53</sup> In his 1896 account he admitted in a footnote that the *jeux-partis* of **I** were under-researched.<sup>54</sup> Thus, early

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<sup>48</sup> 'la société artésienne de bourgeois poètes où se distingua, parmi les plus infatigables joueurs, le "prince du Pui", Jean Bretel': Alfred Jeanroy, 'Les Chansons', in *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française des origines à 1900*, ed. L. Petit de Julleville, 345–404 (Paris: A. Colin & Cie, 1896), 385. Adam de la Halle is often placed at the end of this historical trajectory and as Bretel's artistic heir: see Charles Aubertin, *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises au moyen âge: D'après les travaux les plus récents*, 2 vols. (Paris: E. Belin, 1876), i, 359; Charles Edmond Henri de Coussemaker, *Oeuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle: Poésies et musique* (Paris: A. Durand & Pédone-Lauriel, 1872), xlii; C. P. S., 'The Trouvères of the Thirteenth Century and Their Songs', *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 28/528 (1887), 75–78: 77–8.

<sup>49</sup> De la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, ii, 81; Paris, *Romancero français*, 153; Pierre Aubry, *Trouvères and Troubadours: A Popular Treatise*, trans. Claude Aveling (New York; London: G. Schirmer, 1914), 86.

<sup>50</sup> Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine*, 152; de la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, ii, 56; Marc-Antoine-René de Voyer d'Argenson, 'Choix des Chansons', 175; de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, ii, 176; Paris, *Romancero français*, 160.

<sup>51</sup> Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine*, 153; Jeanroy, 'Les Chansons', 386.

<sup>52</sup> De la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, i, 66.

<sup>53</sup> Alfred Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au Moyen Age: Études de littérature française et comparée, suivies de textes inédits*, 1st ed. (Paris: Hachette, 1889), 47.

<sup>54</sup> Jeanroy, 'Les Chansons', 386. Early twentieth-century attempts to address this neglect include Maurice Delbouille, 'A propos des jeux-partis lorrains du chansonnier Douce 308', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 12/1–2 (1933), 132–40; Fritz Lubinski, 'Die Unica der Jeux-partis der Oxforder Liederhandschrift (Douce 308)', *Romanische Forschungen* 22/2 (1908), 506–98; Pierre Marot, 'Identifications de quelques partenaires et juges des "unica" des jeux-partis du Chansonnier d'Oxford', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 88 (1927), 266–74. See also Mélanie Lévêque, 'Les trouvères lorrains: acteurs d'une identité régionale au cœur de la Lotharingie', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Université de Sherbrooke* 5/1: Réseaux sociaux: relations, influences et espaces

*jeux-partis* increasingly came to be treated as politically charged but isolated examples of the genre in its infancy, Artesian *jeux-partis* were treated as archetypes, and *jeux-partis* from I were neglected, ignored, or considered oddities of a tradition in decline.

A second narrative in these early accounts concerns the courts of love. The myth has its roots in *De Amore* by Andreas Capellanus (fl. 1182–6), the second book of which discusses love questions and the judgements of courtly women, including Marie de Champagne and Eleanor of Aquitaine.<sup>55</sup> Massieu (1739) was the first to hypothesise the existence of ‘tribunaux’, whose role was not only to judge poetic contests but also to adjudicate lovers’ quarrels.<sup>56</sup> The proposition was rebutted soon afterwards by de la Ravallière, who states that the *jeux-partis* were ‘certainly not real’ and ‘only the imagination of the poet’—the invention of a single poet that was never performed by two singers.<sup>57</sup> Raynouard (1817) equated the *jeu-parti* with the troubadour *tenso* and considered both genres to be records of the courts of love,<sup>58</sup> whose existence he gleaned from the sixteenth-century account of the troubadours by Jean de Nostredame.<sup>59</sup> Dinaux was the next writer to associate the *jeu-parti* with the courts of love. He argued that although the courts of love had no formalised existence as in the Midi, French

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communicationnels, December (2012), accessed 20 Dec. 2017, <http://www.rhus.association.usherbrooke.ca/wp-content/articles/515.pdf> .

<sup>55</sup> An English translation of this work is Andreas Capellanus, *The Art of Courtly Love*, trans. and ed. John Jay Parry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990). Love questions are also found as games in a number of literary works that have a courtly setting, for example *Le Roi qui ne ment*, *Le Jeu au Roix et Reines* and *Le Jeu des demandes et responses d’amour*, as well as less formalised games based on love questions such as in the *Tournoi de Chauvency* or the *Jeu de Robin et Marion*. See Felberg-Levitt, *Les demandes d’amour*, 16–26; Emma Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue: Alain Chartier in his Cultural Context* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006), 35–40; Gally, *Parler d’amour*, 56–7.

<sup>56</sup> Massieu, *Histoire de la poésie*, 155–6.

<sup>57</sup> ‘n’ont point été réels; ils n’étoient qu’une imagination du Poète’: de la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, i, 233.

<sup>58</sup> François-Juste M. Raynouard, *Choix des poésies originales des troubadours*, 6 vols., (Paris: Didot, 1817), ii, lxxxv.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, lxxxviii.

noblemen and women would meet informally to discuss questions of love, the ‘spirit’ of which was to be found in the *tenso* and *jeu-parti*.<sup>60</sup> Later, Dinaux quotes and reworks Massieu’s account of the courts of love (without citation): he claims that Jehan Bretel was ‘one of the most famous trouvères to have recited poetry before these tribunals of women’.<sup>61</sup> Trevelyan, in a footnote, also repeats the trope of the courts of love: ‘while her lord was engaged, his lady frequently held what was called a “Court of Love,” for the recitation of the Tenson, and the adjudication of the palm of superiority in this mode of composition’.<sup>62</sup>

The existence of the courts of love was called into question from 1825, when Friedrich Diez published his essay *Über die Minnehöfe*, translated into French in 1842.<sup>63</sup> The lasting appeal of the idea of the courts of love may have been due to its convenient explanation of a wide range of historical evidence: *jeux-partis*, *tensos*, *demandes d’amour*, judgements of love such as Andreas Capellanus’s *De Amore* or Martial d’Auvergne’s fifteenth-century *Arrêts d’amour*, and literary accounts of courtly dialogue games such as in *Le Roi qui ne ment*. The similarity of content between the *jeu-parti* and these other forms is striking, while the judgements and court setting in these accounts provided answers to the mysterious unknowns of *jeu-parti* practice. Remy is unequivocal: ‘there is no evidence that the courts of love did in

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<sup>60</sup> Dinaux, *Les trouvères de la Flandre et du Tournaisis*, 46–8.

<sup>61</sup> ‘un des plus fameux trouvères portant la parole devant ces tribunaux féminins’: Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens*, 285.

<sup>62</sup> Frances Trevelyan, ‘Introductory Lecture: State of Language and Literature in Europe during the Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in *Historical Lectures on the Early British, Anglo-Saxon and Norman Period*, i–1 (London: J. T. Hayes, 1850), xxxviii.

<sup>63</sup> Paul Remy, ‘Les "cours d’amour": légende et réalité’, *Revue de l’université de Bruxelles* 7 (1955), 179–97: 184.

fact exist'.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, the courts of love continue to hold a popular appeal, surfacing in writing on the trouvères as recently as 2006.<sup>65</sup>

### Early editions

What definition do the earliest editions of the *jeu-parti* imply? These editions, and the assumptions that their editors made, tacitly shaped definitions of the genre.<sup>66</sup> Editions of Adam de la Halle's output are a case in point.<sup>67</sup> The structure of Coussemaker's edition, for example, reflects his interest in Adam as a composer of polyphony, and therefore a writer of harmony rather than melody alone: Coussemaker divides Adam's œuvre by this binary distinction, placing chansons, *jeux-partis* and pastourelles in 'compositions mélodiques', and motets and *rondeaux* in 'compositions harmoniques'.<sup>68</sup> Thus, Coussemaker's edition implicitly treated the *jeu-parti*, along with other monophonic song, as less notable than Adam's polyphonic works. If, as John Haines argues, Adam was valorised by Coussemaker because of his composition of polyphony, Coussemaker's binary of melody and harmony implicitly favoured the polyphonic (harmonic) over the monophonic (melodic) because it allowed Coussemaker to tell a musical narrative of the development of harmony.

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<sup>64</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>65</sup> The *jeu-parti* is explicitly connected to courts of love by O'Neill in *Courtly Love Songs*, 8.

<sup>66</sup> One early edition of the *jeu-parti* is by the Marquis de Paulmy, Marc-Antoine-René de Voyer d'Argenson: 'Choix des Chansons', *Bibliothèque universelle des romans* (December 1778), 162–212: 176–7 and 208–9. For the attribution of authorship to the Marquis de Paulmy, see Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 105. The second *jeu-parti*, RS491, is presented in the same format as plays of the time; this *mise-en-page* is replicated by Paulin Paris in his edition of RS840: *Romancero français*, 160.

<sup>67</sup> The interest in this trouvère during the nineteenth century has been documented by John Haines, who argues that Adam de la Halle became the most celebrated trouvère, first through his plays, and later for his polyphonic rondeau and motets: see Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 167–78.

<sup>68</sup> Coussemaker, *Oeuvres complètes*, lvi; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 177.

Other editions of Adam de la Halle's *jeux-partis* privilege text over music.<sup>69</sup> Whereas Coussemaker presented the melodies of Adam's *jeux-partis*, Nicod presented only the texts.<sup>70</sup> This was a common practice in early editions of *jeux-partis*: Dinaux (1837–63), Raynaud (1877), Scheler (1879), Fiset (1905), Schulz-Gora (1905 and 1908), Lubinski (1907) and Långfors et al. (1926) also present editions of *jeux-partis* without melodies.<sup>71</sup> In some cases, this was unavoidable, since *jeux-partis* are sometimes copied without music notation.<sup>72</sup> In other cases, however, musical notation was available to the editors; they simply chose not to include it.<sup>73</sup> One possible reason for the neglect of music and music notation in some early editions was the attitude of the editors towards the musical reliability of sources.<sup>74</sup> For later writers, a more rigorous approach to sources and variants discouraged the inclusion of music. Nicod, arguing that the study of the complicated interaction between text and melody could prove

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<sup>69</sup> For a complete list of editions pertaining to Adam de la Halle, see Gally, *Parler d'amour*, 169.

<sup>70</sup> Léon Paul Émile Nicod, *Les Partures Adan: Les Jeux-partis d'Adam de la Halle: Texte Critique avec introduction, notes et glossaire* (Paris: É. Champion, 1917).

<sup>71</sup> Arthur Martin Dinaux, *Les trouvères cambrésiens* (Paris: Técheiner, 1837); *Les trouvères de la Flandre et du Tournaisis*; *Les trouvères artésiens*; Arthur Martin Dinaux, *Les trouvères brabançons, hainuyers, liégeois et namurois* (Paris: J. Techener, 1863); Tarbé, *Les Chansonniers de Champagne*; Gaston Raynaud, 'Deux jeux-partis inédits d'Adam de la Halle', *Romania* 6 (1877), 590–3; Auguste Scheler, *Trouvères belges (nouvelle série): Chansons d'amour, jeux-partis, pastourelles, satires, dits et fabliaux par ...* (Louvain: Impr. de P. & J. Lefever, 1879); Franz Fiset, 'Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti', *Romanische Forschungen* 19/2 (1905), 407–544; O. Schultz-Gora, 'Vier unedierte Jeux-partis', in *Bausteine zur romanischen Philologie: Festgabe für A. Mussafia*, 90–107 (Halle: Niemeyer, 1905); Lubinski, 'Die unica der jeux-partis.'; O. Schultz-Gora, 'Einige unedierte Jeux-partis', *Romanische Forschungen* 23/1 (1907), 497–516; Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*.

<sup>72</sup> Schulz-Gora, for example, presents *jeux-partis* that are only copied in **b**, which has no notation. In the preface to Långfors's edition, Jeanroy notes that Pierre Aubry, who by 1926 had died, had intended to provide melodies to accompany Långfors's edition: *Recueil général*, i, vii.

<sup>73</sup> The legacy of such text-only editions continued in the later twentieth and twenty-first centuries in Michel-André Bossy, ed. and trans., *Medieval Debate Poetry: Vernacular Works* (New York: Garland, 1987); Brahney, *Lyrics of Thibaut de Champagne*; Pierre Bec, *La joute poétique: De la tenson médiévale aux débats chantés traditionnels* (Paris: Les Belles lettres, 2000); Ruth Harvey et al., *The Troubadour Tensos and Partimens: A Critical Edition*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2010).

<sup>74</sup> Some early writers did include music notation. De la Ravallière appends his second volume of songs by Thibaut de Navarre with a selection of songs with music notation, while de la Borde gives isolated transcriptions of songs throughout his discussion of the trouvères: de la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, ii.

fruitful, admits that the ‘contradictory’ musical readings of *jeux-partis* permitted him to present text only.<sup>75</sup> Friedrich Ludwig referred to the phenomenon of several melodies copied to the same *jeu-parti* text in different sources as a ‘contentious *jeux-partis* problem’.<sup>76</sup> For these editors, large-scale variation was particularly troubling: the same *jeu-parti* could have two melodies that bore no relation to one another, and these posed problems within prevalent methods of music editing.<sup>77</sup> Margaret Switten argues that medieval music and its notation was considered barbaric by many in the nineteenth century, despite the attempts by Coussemaker and others to explain the intricacies of music notation.<sup>78</sup> This suggests that the superiority of the text of *jeux-partis* over the music may have been self-evident to the early editors.

The three early editions of *jeux-partis* that do provide music notation testify to the perceived barbarity of medieval song. De la Ravallière notes that the original thirteenth-century copies of the songs of Thibaut de Navarre are incomplete, and that he has added *b*-naturals where they have been ‘forgotten’ and has maintained the same clef throughout.<sup>79</sup> Coussemaker, as de la Borde had done in 1780, presents a transcription of the first stanza of each *jeu-parti* first in square notation and then in modern notation.<sup>80</sup> After this, the complete text of the song is presented. C. P. S. offers transcriptions of the first stanza of a number of

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<sup>75</sup> ‘contradictaires’: Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*, 29.

<sup>76</sup> ‘umstrittene Jeux partis-Problem’: Friedrich Ludwig, ‘Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils’, *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* 5/3 (1923), 185–222: 208.

<sup>77</sup> On the Lacmannian and ‘best manuscript’ methods of music editing, see Margaret Louise Switten, *Music and Poetry in the Middle Ages: A Guide to Research on French and Occitan Song, 1100–1400* (New York; London: Garland, 1995), 47. Both editorial methods assume that a single origin for a song may be found, but in the case of many *jeux-partis* this was impossible. Even in cases where stemmas could be drawn for the music and text of a song, these stemmas often suggested different relationships between sources: see O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 15.

<sup>78</sup> Switten, *Music and Poetry*, 48.

<sup>79</sup> ‘oubliés’: de la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, ii, 303. De la Ravallière gives the first stanza of *Phelipe, je vous demant* (RS333) with its melody in stemless square notation: *ibid.*, 314.

<sup>80</sup> See for example de La Borde, *Essai sur la musique*, ii, 265.

songs from **Z**, on which their four articles focus.<sup>81</sup> Both scholars betray their conceptions of trouvère song in the ways that they present the melodies. C. P. S. speaks of the difficulty faced when transcribing trouvère song from medieval notation, especially because of the melodic ‘flourishes’, which C. P. S. believes should be ‘rational[ised]’ and ‘adapt[ed] ... to modern requirements, in harmony with the character, spirit and rhythm of the poem’.<sup>82</sup> C. P. S. rhythmicises the songs by transcribing them into crotchets and quavers, adding key and time signatures (either 3/4 or 4/4), tempo indications, and articulation markings. Part of C. P. S.’s motivations stem from a desire to make the songs legible to a late nineteenth-century readership, but the alterations also aim to strip away melodic flourishes that C. P. S. deems superfluous and reminiscent of the operatic music of France and Italy. In this discussion, C. P. S. thus invokes the nineteenth-century discourse, which Carl Dahlhaus later diagnosed as the ‘twin styles’, of the Mediterranean character as frivolous and decadent, as opposed to teutonically serious and rational.<sup>83</sup>

Cousse-maker also adapts trouvère melodies to suit his aesthetic preferences. He explains his reasons for transcribing the melodies into modern notation: 1) the principles of notation have been securely attested; and 2) so that modern readers unfamiliar with medieval notation do not have to learn to read medieval notation.<sup>84</sup> He argues that the notation of Adam’s chansons and *jeux-partis* is not Franconian, and that these songs were therefore composed

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<sup>81</sup> C. P. S. first wrote for *The Musical Times* in 1880 and published articles with the journal until 1892. I have not been able to find any other information about this writer.

<sup>82</sup> C. P. S., ‘The Trouvères of the Thirteenth Century and Their Songs (Concluded)’, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 28/530 (1887), 204–7: 204.

<sup>83</sup> Carl Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, trans. J. Bradford Robinson (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, 1989), 8. Most articles written by C. P. S. for *The Musical Times*, indeed, are reports of Italian opera.

<sup>84</sup> Cousse-maker, *Oeuvres complètes*, x.

before Adam's polyphonic *rondeaux* and motets, for which Adam would have needed to have learnt Franconian notation.<sup>85</sup> In addition to characterising Adam's monophony as immature, Coussemaker describes the melodies of the chansons and *jeux-partis* as 'natural' and 'simple'.<sup>86</sup> The binary he draws between melody and harmony is thus matched by the binaries of popular/civilised, free/controlled, and irrational/rational. The imposition of these binaries onto Adam's different genres may account for Coussemaker's editorial approach to the *jeu-parti* melodies. Coussemaker frequently redistributes the pitches at the end of each line so that a two-note ligature on a final syllable is transcribed only with its second note, its first note being incorporated into a melisma on the penultimate syllable (see **Fig. 1.2**). This principle, which Coussemaker assiduously deployed, suggests that Coussemaker believed that this redistribution of pitches better suited the stress-patterns of the poetry. His transcriptions also betray a sceptical approach to the notation of monophony, which he viewed as immature and irrational. In this edition, Coussemaker thus presented the *jeu-parti* as an inferior and frivolous musical genre.

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<sup>85</sup> Coussemaker, *Oeuvres complètes*, lxiii.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, lxiv.

VIII

ADAN, VOUS DEVÉS SAVOIR.

Ms. 1109.

A - dan, vous devés sa - voir Canque il es-  
quiet en a - mour; Or me di - tes donques  
voir Dou quel doit plus grant pa - our Avoir fins  
a-mis, ou d'es-tre es - con - dis, Quant à se  
Da - me pro - ï - e Ou quant il a fait  
a - mi - e Dou re - per - dre en au - cun  
tans Or n'en soi - - és pas men - tans.

Fig. 1.2: Redistribution of pitches in *Adan, vous devés savoir* (RS1817)<sup>87</sup>

### Play-based definitions

Before Långfors's landmark edition of *jeux-partis*, a number of definitions had been proposed. Jeanroy (1889 (rev. 1925) and 1896) differentiated between the *débat* and the *jeu-parti*, arguing that the distinction between types of debate song also applied to the genres of *partimen* and *tenso* in troubadour song.<sup>88</sup> What differentiated the *jeu-parti/partimen* from the *débat/tenso* was, for Jeanroy, the presence of the dilemma question: the key feature of the *jeu-parti* (and *partimen*) was that the poet who begins the debate makes two contradictory propositions and

<sup>87</sup> Taken from Coussemaker, *Oeuvres complètes*, 161–2. Coussemaker redistributes pitches at the end of poetic lines throughout, especially in the final line of songs.

<sup>88</sup> This distinction was made at least as early as 1871 by Paul Meyer, *Les derniers troubadours de la Provence: D'après le chansonnier donné à la Bibliothèque impériale par M. Ch. Giraud* (Paris: A. Franck, 1871), 66–7. Harvey and Paterson state that the distinction between the *partimen* and the *tenso* in the troubadour corpus was first made by Gatien-Arnoult in his edition of *Las Leys d'Amors*: Harvey et al., *Troubadour Tenso*, xix.

leaves his opponent to make a choice.<sup>89</sup> Jeanroy points out that this distinction between the *tenso* and the *partimen* is corroborated by *Las Leys d'Amor*.<sup>90</sup> Jeanroy stated that while the troubadours practised the *tenso* more than the *partimen*, the trouvères favoured the *jeu-parti* over the *débat*.<sup>91</sup>

Jeanroy was right to consider the dilemma question to be the defining feature of the genre, as this reflects the etymology of the term 'jeu-parti', designating an unfavourable or impossible decision in chess or in a romance. In using the presence or absence of the dilemma question to distinguish between the genres of *débat* and *jeu-parti*, Jeanroy also told a number of other narratives about the *jeu-parti*. First, because the dilemma question was so fundamental to the identity of the *jeu-parti*, it was the part of the *jeu-parti* that displayed the most originality.<sup>92</sup> By implication, the rest of the *jeu-parti* was unoriginal, even formulaic. Jeanroy's second claim, related to the first, was that the *jeu-parti* was fundamentally a game. For Jeanroy, the power-play of the dilemma—in which one poet decides the theme and the other poet decides their preference—was the most important aspect of the genre: it was underpinned by a ludic character (*jeu d'esprit*) which other pre-war scholars also emphasised.<sup>93</sup>

Jeanroy drew a comparison between the *tenso* of the troubadours, which was 'often the expression of serious hostility or the echo of bitter grudges',<sup>94</sup> and the *jeu-parti*, a

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<sup>89</sup> Jeanroy, 'Les Chansons', 384; *Les origines*, 45.

<sup>90</sup> *Les origines*, 45.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, 61.

<sup>92</sup> 'Les Chansons', 387. Harold Bloom claimed that artists felt an 'anxiety of influence' that drove the nineteenth-century preoccupation with originality: see Harold Bloom, *The Anxiety of Influence: A Theory of Poetry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973). In relation to nineteenth-century music, see Dahlhaus, *Nineteenth-Century Music*, 27–8; Jim Samson, 'The musical work and nineteenth-century history', in *The Cambridge History of Nineteenth-Century Music*, ed. Jim Samson, 1–28 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 4.

<sup>93</sup> Jeanroy, *Les origines*, 46.

<sup>94</sup> 'souvent l'expression d'une sérieuse hostilité ou l'écho d'âpres rancunes': 'Les Chansons', 385.

‘divertissement’, disingenuous, and a harbinger of the ruin of the courtly love lyric.<sup>95</sup> Portraying the *jeu-parti* as a game, Jeanroy implied an absence of serious content which the therefore superior troubadour *tenso* had supposedly possessed, and a decay of lyric poetry to an empty shell that was far more about pleasure than intellectual or emotional expression. The idea that the *jeu-parti* was an epigone of the troubadour *tenso* was present at least as early as de la Ravallière’s edition (1742) and has persisted tenaciously.<sup>96</sup> Jeanroy stated that the *jeu-parti* and other lyric forms were ‘pure and simple imitations of Provençal literature’.<sup>97</sup> As Matheis has argued, however, the dating of the first *jeux-partis* and earliest *partimens* is unclear, meaning that the first extant *jeu-parti* could have preceded the first extant *partimen*.<sup>98</sup> Although many *tenso*s were almost certainly created before the first *jeux-partis*, the unclear chronology of early *partimens* and *jeux-partis*, and the dating of extant troubadour and trouvère sources deny a simplistic narrative of imitation by the trouvères; cultural exchange between France and the Midi was a more dynamic process than Jeanroy’s account suggests.

Jeanroy considered the *jeu-parti* to be a game that played with the tenets of courtly love, thereby implying that the chanson was the centre against which the peripheral *jeu-parti*

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<sup>95</sup> Jeanroy, ‘Les Chansons’, 385, 387. C. P. S makes a similar comparison between the chanson (serious) and the *jeu-parti* (entertainment) in C. P. S, ‘The Trouvères of the Thirteenth Century and Their Songs (Continued)’, *The Musical Times and Singing Class Circular* 28/529 (1887), 141–3: 143.

<sup>96</sup> De la Ravallière, *Les poésies*, i, 228. De la Ravallière’s assertion cut across the prevailing denigration of the troubadours at the time, as explained by Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 96. Bec’s trans-historical and trans-locational edition of debate poetry centres on the *tenso*, implying that the *jeu-parti* derives from the *tenso*: Bec, *La joute poétique*. Van der Werf’s *Oxford Music Online* article (2016, first published 2001) for the *jeu-parti* treats the *joc-partit* and *partimen* as the same genre as the *jeu-parti*, with terminology in Occitan, opening his account of the *jeu-parti* with an analysis of *Las Leys d’Amor*, a late treatise on troubadour poetry: *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Jeu-parti’, by Hendrik van der Werf, accessed 27 Sep. 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/14288>.

<sup>97</sup> ‘pures et simples imitations de la littérature provençale’: Jeanroy, ‘Les Chansons’, 384.

<sup>98</sup> Matheis, ‘Capital, Value and Exchange’, 37.

should be read.<sup>99</sup> Jeanroy rightly points to the similarities between the *jeu-parti* and other genres of trouvère song. Styled as internalised monologue, the chanson is formally similar to the *jeu-parti*; the *je* frequently addresses the Lady (often in the third or fourth stanza) or the figure of Love, and speaks in the dialectical language of the inquest and disputation.<sup>100</sup> The *pastourelle* also bears similarities to the *jeu-parti*, often containing a conversation between the shepherdess and the knight that changes speaker for every stanza. But Jeanroy does more than note the similarities of the genres: he views the *jeu-parti* as a ludic parody of *grand chant* because the courtliness of *grand chant* was at odds with the urban realities of Arras.<sup>101</sup> For Nicod and Jeanroy, this had been a reason to denigrate the trouvères for being derivative, a bias that continued in later scholarship.<sup>102</sup> Michèle Gally (1986), for example, views the *jeu-parti* as an interim genre between *grand chant* and a true parody of courtly love, since the *jeu-parti* cannot parody the trope when its success is judged on the values that sustain the trope.<sup>103</sup> Images and metaphors from the courtly love tradition are juxtaposed with mercantile metaphors and quasi-clerical proverbs that, according to Gally, are symptomatic of a ‘running out of steam’ (*essoufflement*) in which the discourse of courtly love fails to express everyday

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<sup>99</sup> Jeanroy, ‘Les Chansons’, 387.

<sup>100</sup> Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law*, 178. Tony Hunt has found patterns of dialectical reasoning in the romances of Chretien de Troyes and in Andreas Capellanus’s *De Amore*, which, Hunt argues, formulates the trope of courtly love as the dialectical playing out of opposites: ‘Aristotle, Dialectic, and Courtly Literature’, *Viator* 10 (1979), 95–130: 128.

<sup>101</sup> In her seminal study of the cultural history of Arras, Marie Ungureanu argues that the *jeu-parti* adds concrete images to the courtly love trope in an expression of bourgeois spirit: *La bourgeoisie naissante: Société et littérature bourgeoises d’Arras aux XII<sup>e</sup> et XIII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (Arras: N.p, 1955), 152. Joseph A. Dane responded to the claims of Ungureanu and views Arrageois literature as parodic and satirical works by an urban patriciate: ‘Parody and Satire in the Literature of Thirteenth-Century Arras, Part I’, *Studies in Philology* 81/1 (1984), 1–27; ‘Parody and Satire in the Literature of Thirteenth-Century Arras, Part II’, *Studies in Philology* 81/2 (1984), 119–44.

<sup>102</sup> Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*, 9.

<sup>103</sup> Michèle Gally, ‘Disputer d’amours: Les arrageois et le jeu-parti’, *Romania* 107 (1986), 55–76.

experience.<sup>104</sup> Gally's critique is problematic because she implies that the *jeu-parti* is of less aesthetic worth than *grand chant*; this was clearly not the case for scribes and compilers of chansonniers, who considered *jeux-partis* to be worthy of copying.<sup>105</sup>

Although not the first to consider the *jeu-parti* a game, Jeanroy's emphasis on the ludic was influential, and for several contemporaneous and subsequent writers, the metaphor of play was extended to descriptions of the *jeu-parti* as a duel.<sup>106</sup> In his edition of Adam de la Halle's output, Coussemaker (1872) quotes the definition of Louis Passy (1859) that the *jeu-parti* is

a veritable literary tournament between two named competitors, and even sometimes between three or four. One throws down the gauntlet, the other picks it up. They provoke each other, they fight; they charge at each with strophes.<sup>107</sup>

Passy's description is based on form—who initiates, how the debate proceeds, how it ends—but is couched in language of play and violence. Less romanticised but in the same vein, Fiset's account characterises the *jeu-parti* as the 'blow and counterblow of verses',<sup>108</sup> while Dinaux talks of struggle,<sup>109</sup> and Nicod opens his edition of Adam de la Halle's *jeux-partis* with the phrase 'the literary jousts of the middle ages'.<sup>110</sup> Carol Symes (2007) takes up this

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<sup>104</sup> Gally, 'Disputer d'amour', 69. In a similar demonstration of this bias, Gally describes the *jeu-parti* as empty of semantic content in 'Le chant et la dispute', *Argumentation* 1/4 (1987), 379–95: 392. On the *jeu-parti* as parody, see also Patrice Uhl, 'Du rebond parodique: Les pièces CLXXIV et CLXXV du *Recueil général des jeux-partis français*', *Cahiers des Recherches Médiévales et Humanistes* 15 (2008), 129–43.

<sup>105</sup> Gally also misrepresents the genre, arguing that in any *jeu-parti*, 'the first proposition is always from the area of courtly love' ('la proposition initiale est donc toujours du domaine du tradition courtoisie'): Gally, 'Disputer d'amours', 73. This is not always the case.

<sup>106</sup> As early as 1581, Fauchet describes the *jeu-parti* as a 'pastime' ('passer les temps'): Fauchet, *Recueil de l'origine*, 184. Trevelyan refers to *jeux-partis* as 'amusements': Trevelyan, 'Introductory Lecture', xxxvii.

<sup>107</sup> 'un véritable tournoi littéraire à deux et même quelquefois à trois ou quatre tenants. L'un jette le gant, l'autre le relève. On s'échauffe, on lutte; on se charge à coup de strophes': Coussemaker, *Oeuvres complètes*, xlii.

<sup>108</sup> 'durch Strophen Hieb und Gegenhieb': Fiset, 'Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti', 409.

<sup>109</sup> 'luttèrent': Dinaux, *Les trouvères artésiens*, 146.

<sup>110</sup> 'les joutes littéraires du moyen âge': Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*, 3.

characterisation, referring to the *jeu-parti* as a ‘musical sparring match’ and describing the element of surprise that might have been one aspect of performance.<sup>111</sup>

Violent metaphors in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century accounts had a specific context, however. Far from being an activity of a bygone age, duelling was practised actively until the First World War, as shown by early twentieth-century societies in opposition to duelling.<sup>112</sup> In France, duelling was ‘a memento of former greatness’ for the French aristocracy who would engage in duels for show, in which there was little risk of death.<sup>113</sup> In Germany, duelling became a locus for constructions and performances of masculinity in student fraternities and the army. In these all-male environments, vigorous physicality, immediate reaction to slights on honour or character, and bravado in the face of pain and injury were essential attributes of masculinity: ‘male honour was virtually identical with acclamation for courage and contempt for death among the upper classes’.<sup>114</sup> Ute Frevert notes that, far from being praised for not taking part, women were frequently blamed for being the cause of duels.<sup>115</sup>

In applying the metaphor of single combat to the *jeu-parti*, Jeanroy, Fiset and Nicod invoked the homosociality of combat prevalent in Europe before the First World War. The paradigm of the duel is demonstrably at work in the ‘footnote quarrels’ of German and French musicologists at the start of the twentieth century, whose blows and counterblows in their

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<sup>111</sup> Symes, *Common Stage*, 225.

<sup>112</sup> Ute Frevert, *Men of Honour: A Social and Cultural History of the Duel*, trans. Anthony Williams (Cambridge: Polity, 1995); V. G. Kiernan, *The Duel in European History: Honour and the Reign of Aristocracy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988).

<sup>113</sup> *Duel in European History*, 317.

<sup>114</sup> Frevert, *Men of Honour*, 177.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 188.

retaliatory publications and footnotes are reminiscent of verbal sparring.<sup>116</sup> Jeanroy, Fiset and Nicod defined the *jeu-parti* as a combative, robustly masculine genre, in which poetic skill could be equated with bravura and violence. The misogyny of late romantic duellers could map neatly onto the subject of many dilemma questions in *jeux-partis*: how best to please one's Lady. In defining the genre in this way, women were excluded as possible interlocutors and, as a result, the genre has since been treated as principally masculine.<sup>117</sup>

In the work of other pre-war scholars, a move away from the metaphor of the joust and towards formalism is discernible. Nicod (1917), in his edition of Adam de la Halle's *jeux-partis*, outlines the form of the *jeu-parti*, placing emphasis on the first two stanzas (posing of a question and response of the partner) and the ending, in which the *envois* are used for 'calls for judgement'.<sup>118</sup> Nicod also draws attention to the dynamics of initiating debate and responding that Jeanroy had foregrounded. Långfors, like Jeanroy, distinguishes between the *tenso* and the *jeu-parti*, the key difference being the presence of a dilemma question: he thus shifts the focus of Jeanroy's distinction from its emphasis on the acts, initiatives, and responses of the two poets to a focus on form. The presence of a dilemma question becomes a regulative parameter of the genre: Långfors questions whether all of the texts included in his edition are true *jeux-partis*.<sup>119</sup> Strikingly, little attention is paid to the intervening stanzas by Långfors in his definition of the *jeu-parti*. The discussions of these three scholars chart a gradual shift in

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<sup>116</sup> The rumours following Pierre Aubry's suicide of death by duelling further highlights the prevalence of the paradigm and hints at a romanticised medievalism. See John Haines, 'The Footnote Quarrels of the Modal Theory: A Remarkable Episode in the Reception of Medieval Music', *Early Music History* 20 (2001), 87–120: esp. 115.

<sup>117</sup> Several *jeux-partis* in **I**, including the first of the *jeu-parti* section of the chansonnier, have female interlocutors; this could be a reason for the scholarly neglect of the *jeux-partis* in **I**.

<sup>118</sup> 'appels au juge': Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*, 8.

<sup>119</sup> Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, viii.

emphasis in definitions of the *jeu-parti*. While the presence of the dilemma question is an essential aspect of the genre for all three scholars, for Jeanroy the most important result of the dilemma is the joust-like conflict that it provokes. For Nicod, this playful character is still important, but is muted by formal concerns, especially the uniformity of Adam's *jeux-partis*. Nearly a decade later, Långfors is concerned principally with form, and his definition is of a normative model of the number of stanzas, *envois*, and structure of debate.

### **Långfors's edition**

More than any other publication, Långfors's edition (1926) defined the genre of the *jeu-parti* for modern scholarship. As Jeanroy states in the preface to Långfors's edition, the book was the result of an edition promised in *Romania* in 1901, which would be produced by Jeanroy, Louis Brandin and Georg Steffens.<sup>120</sup> These three men collated examples from different manuscripts, but the death of Steffens (to whose memory the volume is dedicated) and 'distraction' by Jeanroy and Brandin put a halt to the project.<sup>121</sup> The younger Långfors provided, according to Jeanroy, 'resourcefulness of zealous youth and already-consummate experience' to the project, and it was Långfors who edited the texts, with the help of Jeanroy and Brandin.<sup>122</sup> Published under the auspices of the Société des Anciens Textes Français, the edition was the first publication that claimed to present all works within the genre exhaustively. In the 1925–6 bulletin of the Société, Jeanroy praises the comprehensiveness of the edition,

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<sup>120</sup> E. Bouillon, 'Chronique', *Romania* 30 (1901), 155–60: 157.

<sup>121</sup> 'détourné': Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, vii.

<sup>122</sup> 'les ressources d'un zèle juvénile et d'une expérience déjà consommé': *ibid.*, viii.

which, unlike previous editions published by the Société, placed all of the critical apparatus and exegesis adjacent to the relevant song.<sup>123</sup>

Although the statutes of the society, published in the 1875 bulletin of the society, make no specific mention of an aim for comprehensiveness,<sup>124</sup> Jeanroy's comments in the 1925–6 bulletin suggests that the society was beginning to favour an editorial method of quasi-scientific classification.<sup>125</sup> This desire for classification is corroborated by Isabel DiVanna's examination of the work of Joseph Bédier. DiVanna argues that Bédier espoused a more 'scientific' approach to philology because the mix of poetry and history practised by his former scholarly predecessors was rooted in the German idealist tradition of Grimm and Herder, a tradition that could have no place in the French academy following the national rivalries of the Franco-Prussian War.<sup>126</sup> Indeed, it was an edition by Bédier that Jeanroy singled out as the model for the *Recueil général des jeux-partis*.<sup>127</sup> In striving for comprehensiveness, Långfors made claims about the genre that were over-general, some of which were immediately criticised by Spanke (1929).<sup>128</sup> Spanke opens his critique in praise of the *Recueil*, understanding it to be a landmark in the study of the genre.<sup>129</sup> The omission of any music notation in the edition has already been mentioned, and was a point on which Spanke commented. In particular, Spanke was concerned that Långfors had overlooked several early *jeux-partis* that

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<sup>123</sup> Alfred Jeanroy, 'Assemblée générale ordinaire, tenue à l'Ecole de Chartres, le 7 Mai 1926', *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français* 51–2 (1925–6), 78–87: 83.

<sup>124</sup> Société des anciens textes français, 'Statuts', *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français* 1 (1875), 1–5: 1.

<sup>125</sup> Jeanroy, 'Assemblée générale ordinaire', 83.

<sup>126</sup> Isabel Divanna, *Reconstructing the Middle Ages: Gaston Paris and the Development of Nineteenth-Century Medievalism* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 79–80.

<sup>127</sup> Jeanroy, 'Assemblée générale', 83.

<sup>128</sup> H. Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 52/1/3 (1929), 39–63.

<sup>129</sup> Spanke's use of 'nunmehr' ('henceforth') shows that he considered the *Recueil* to be a turning point: *ibid.*, 39.

were contrafacts of trouvère chansons.<sup>130</sup> Spanke also questioned Långfors's failure to point out certain noteworthy elements of the transmission history of the *jeu-parti*, including the earliest datable *jeu-parti* and the transmission of *jeux-partis* by Thibaut de Navarre. The remainder of Spanke's account is given over to disputing Långfors's historical account.

Långfors's *Recueil* consists of an introduction, discussion of texts, a presentation of *jeux-partis* texts, each with editorial apparatus, in nine sections, and a number of tables and a glossary. As the foundation of *jeu-parti* scholarship, the *Recueil* is worth examining for the assumptions and implications it makes through the ways it presents *jeux-partis*. The volumes' aim for comprehensiveness is reflected in the introduction, which provides a synoptic table and a definition of the genre, and in the tables at the end of the second volume, which allow the reader to determine the frequency of appearance of certain words, poets, judges, and versification patterns in the corpus. After the introduction, each section of the edition is discussed, presenting biographical detail that justifies the chronological presentation of *jeux-partis*.<sup>131</sup> The earliest *jeux-partis* and those by Thibaut de Champagne are presented first, followed by the *jeux-partis* in chansonnier **R**, which Långfors considered to be chronologically close. In the centre of the volume are three large sections for Bretel, Bretel's contemporaries in Arras, and Adam de la Halle. The volume ends with *jeux-partis* from chansonniers of eastern provenance (**CIOU**). Given the emphasis placed on Jehan Bretel and the Artesian *jeux-partis* in writings before 1926 discussed above, it appears that Långfors adhered to the centre-periphery model of the genre by arranging the *jeux-partis* chronologically.<sup>132</sup> Finally, the

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<sup>130</sup> Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', 41.

<sup>131</sup> Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, xi.

<sup>132</sup> Fiset adheres to the same chronology, leaving the *jeux-partis* from chansonnier **I** to the end of his account: Fiset, 'Das altfranzösische Jeu-Parti.'

information provided at the start of each *jeu-parti* (sources, editions, versification, partners, judges, love question) highlights the beginning and end of each song, providing little explanation of the inner stanzas.

### Form-based definitions

The definition of the *jeu-parti* primarily in terms of its textual form is common in twentieth-century writing on the *jeu-parti*. One consequence of this textual focus has been accounts that compare the *jeu-parti* to spoken debate forms, such as the scholastic disputation. Alexander M. Novikoff draws on the work of Jennifer Saltzstein, who argues that clerical trouvères used *jeux-partis* to highlight their literacy and gain cultural prestige for themselves.<sup>133</sup> Both writers, as well as Emma Cayley, emphasise the linguistic and formal similarities between the *disputatio de quodlibet* and the *jeu-parti* such as the use of proverbs, the alternation of two opponents debating a contradictory question, and the call for judgement (*determinatio*) at the end.<sup>134</sup> Novikoff and Saltzstein attribute this similarity to the spread of scholastic reasoning outside of Paris and the desire to authenticate French vernacular culture.<sup>135</sup> It is clear from the work of these scholars that the *jeu-parti* had much in common with the *disputatio*, but less clear is how the *disputatio* directly influenced the genre. (For further discussion, see **Chapter 5**.) Several Arrageois trouvères such as Lambert Ferri or Jehan de Grieviler would certainly have had clerical training, but trouvères of earlier *jeux-partis* such as Thibaut de Champagne are unlikely to have been well-versed in scholastic principles.

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<sup>133</sup> Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras', 158.

<sup>134</sup> Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*, 18.

<sup>135</sup> Another possible clerical origin for the *jeu-parti* is Latin debate poetry. For an overview of recent scholarship, see *ibid.*, 28. For an account of the divergent hypotheses regarding the origin of the *tenso* and its possible Latin forebears, see Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law*, 175.

In recent literature, scholars retain a formalist bent while challenging the view that the *jeu-parti* was principally scholastic. For Georges Lavis and Gally, the dilemma question ensures that the *jeu-parti* is a display of argumentative skill and a form of competitive play.<sup>136</sup> They identify linguistic structures that they understand to be the result of an adversarial stance such as this. For Lavis, the deployment of terms such as ‘mais’, which place two linguistic segments in opposition with each other,<sup>137</sup> is indicative of combative behaviour that ‘stimulate[s] the inventiveness of the trouvère and sharpens the acuity of his argumentative talent’.<sup>138</sup> Gally discusses the structure of stanzas, noting that proverbs, maxims and metaphors are stated for effect rather than as part of logical argument.<sup>139</sup> Symes and Jody Enders also challenge accounts that compare the texts of *disputationes* and *jeux-partis* by discussing the performance contexts of both forms. Enders aims to complicate the distinction drawn by historians of drama between the scholastic and the dramatic, interpreting the *quodlibet* as ‘a participatory ritual’ in which students and masters ‘indulged in the inherently mimetic ritual struggle around which so much medieval drama revolves’.<sup>140</sup> Symes similarly resists conceiving of the *jeu-parti* purely as literature, reimagining its compositional context to emphasise its ritualistic aspects.<sup>141</sup> What the comparison of the *jeu-parti* to the *disputatio* ignores, above all, is the role of melody, the heightened, affective powers of persuasion and impression that music can add.

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<sup>136</sup> G. Lavis, ‘Le jeu-parti: Jeu de réfutation, d’opposition et de concession’, *Medioevo romanzo* 16 (1991), 21–128: 23; Gally, ‘Disputer d’amours’, 55.

<sup>137</sup> Lavis, ‘Le jeu-parti’, 23.

<sup>138</sup> ‘stimuler l’inventivité du trouvère, et d’aiguiser l’acuité de son talent argumentatif’: *ibid.*, 63.

<sup>139</sup> Gally, ‘Le chant et la dispute’, esp. 384.

<sup>140</sup> Jody Enders, ‘The Theater of Scholastic Erudition’, *Comparative Drama* 27/3 (1993), 341–63: 344.

<sup>141</sup> Symes, *Common Stage*, 224–6.

Musicological study of the *jeu-parti* has been hampered by a dismissal of medieval melody that stems from nineteenth-century bias (see above): Hendrik van der Werf writes, for example, that ‘since all [*jeux-partis*] are strophic, the music does not reflect the form of the debate’.<sup>142</sup> Approaches to the music of the *jeu-parti* have focused on its formal characteristics: Biancamaria Brumana Pascale and Michelle Stewart provide in-depth statistical surveys on formal aspects of the genre.<sup>143</sup> Notably, both scholars go further in their formal analyses, Stewart providing a statistical analysis of many aspects of *jeu-parti* melodies, and Brumana Pascale presenting a table of metrical and musical schemes after an account that raises many pertinent questions about the historical situation of the *jeu-parti*. Maillard, in his edition of Adam de la Halle’s works, draws on the statistical data gathered by these scholars, mentioning first the number of strophes and *envois* (the model of six strophes and two *envois* given by Långfors), then treating poetic structure, melodic structure, the numbers of *jeux-partis* copied with or without notation, and the distribution of melodies.<sup>144</sup>

## Working definition for the *jeu-parti*

Rather than adhering to a definition of the *jeu-parti* based solely on its form, this thesis understands the *jeu-parti* as a musical form embedded in cultural practice. The genre system of trouvère song consisted of a set of regulative concepts that changed and developed throughout the thirteenth century, influencing the behaviour of poet-composers and scribes, who defined what the *jeu-parti* was and what it should be. The cultural practice of the *jeu-parti*

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<sup>142</sup> van der Werf, ‘Jeu-parti’.

<sup>143</sup> Biancamaria Brumana Pascale, ‘Le musiche nei jeux-partis francesi’, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia: Università degli Studi di Perugia* 13 (1975–6), 509–72; Michelle F. Stewart, ‘The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century “Jeux-Partis”’, *Acta Musicologica* 51/1 (1979), 86–107.

<sup>144</sup> Jean Maillard, *Adam de La Halle: Perspective musicale* (Paris: H. Champion, 1982), 67–9.

and its role in thirteenth-century life gave rise to the norms of the genre that came to be regulatory. Central to the genre throughout its history is the presence of the dilemma: the ‘*jeu parti*’ that some songs mention. This element of the *jeu-parti* is shared by the *demandes d’amour* and sets the *jeu-parti* apart from other songs that are formally similar, such as the *pastourelle* or the *débat*. Jeanroy and others emphasised the presence of the dilemma question because of the narratives that they wanted to tell about the *jeu-parti* as play, a genre empty of content, or a genre that marked the decline of the courtly lyric—narratives whose teleological assumptions I find problematic. These scholars were nevertheless right to point to the dilemma question as the defining feature of the genre.

Since the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ could refer to a genre of song and to an irresolvable choice, the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ could be performative. According to J. L. Austin’s concept of illocutionary speech acts, a performative utterance is that for which ‘the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action—it is not normally thought of as just saying something’.<sup>145</sup> The term ‘*jeu-parti*’ is performative because it invokes a state of dilemma, forcing the second speaker to make a decision. To take an example given above, Gilles li Vinier sings the following to his brother Guillaume:

Brother, which is more to be prized? Here’s a *jeu-parti* for you of two lovers, who without deceit have set their hearts in love.<sup>146</sup> [RS1293, ll. 1–4]

The term ‘*jeu-parti*’ could be constative (to use Austin’s terminology) in the utterance ‘here’s a *jeu-parti* for you’, meaning that it describes and signifies an object: the song. The utterance as a whole is performative because it describes the act of singing *and* causes the dilemma in

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<sup>145</sup> J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words: The William James Lectures delivered at Harvard University in 1955*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), 6.

<sup>146</sup> See footnote 10.

being stated. In this example, the term 'jeu-parti' may also (and, I would argue, should) be understood as performative. When Gilles says, 'here's a jeu-parti for you', he does not simply mean 'here's a song for you'. He also means 'here's a dilemma for you (from which you are going to have to choose)'. The term 'jeu-parti' thus invokes a state of indecision or dilemma, as witnessed by the use of the term in romances and in chess problems, explained by Remy and outlined above.

While the use of the term 'jeu-parti' is clearly performative for utterances at the opening of *jeux-partis*, the use of the term in rubrics and indices is less obviously performative. In the utterance 'here's a jeu-parti' discussed above, the meaning of 'jeu-parti' was ambiguous: it could have been interpreted as constative or performative. If we take it as axiomatic that, during the time in which *jeux-partis* were written and performed, every use of the term 'jeu-parti' shaped the definition of the genre, then the different uses of the term as constative and performative are a way of charting the changes in the way the genre was understood and regulated by the term 'jeu-parti'. Following Jauss's formulation (outlined above), the different uses of the term reflect the shifting 'horizon of the genre'. Jauss's formulation avoids the pitfalls of the organicist narratives of Jeanroy and his contemporaries, while also accounting for the process by which genre becomes regulative over time. For the earliest *jeux-partis*, the horizon of the genre may have been the presence of the dilemma question, for which the term 'jeu-parti' was performative and enacted a state of dilemma. As more *jeux-partis* were created, disseminated, sung and heard, characteristics (for example, versification, form, presence of envois) that *jeux-partis* frequently had in common but had not been considered immanent to the genre might have come to constitute a new horizon of expectation. Thus, the performative

function of the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ transformed into a constative function. By contrast, the term ‘*parture*’ always had a constative function.

RS335, the dialogue song between Thibaut de Champagne and an anonymous lady, exemplifies these shifting horizons. As discussed above, **MKTV** transmit the debate several folios before the group of *jeux-partis* by Thibaut de Champagne, **X** has the debate immediately before Thibaut’s *jeux-partis*, and **Aa** include the debate within their sequence of *jeux-partis* by various trouvères. This codicological evidence suggests that the compilers of **MKTV** did not consider RS335 to be a *jeu-parti*, whereas the compilers of **Aa** did. RS335 does not have an explicit dilemma question: Thibaut asks what happens to love after one dies, expressing, unusually for the first stanza of a *jeu-parti*, that he believes that love comes to an end. After this first stanza, Thibaut and the lady alternate, each defending their side of the debate in the customary structure of a *jeu-parti*. The song is therefore an unusual case, adhering to certain characteristics of the genre and not others. For the compilers of **MKTV**, a number of reasons could have prompted scribes to discount RS335 as a *jeu-parti*: the absence of a dilemma question; the lack of address to a named interlocutor; or the presence of a female interlocutor. By contrast, for the compilers of **Aa**, there were enough recognisable and expected characteristics in RS335 that adhered to their definition of the *jeu-parti*. The absence of a dilemma was not enough to exclude RS335 from the genre, suggesting that for these compilers, the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ had a constative, rather than performative, function—or, at the very least, the sources through their organisation imply this definition of the *jeu-parti* to readers, even if the sources were organised thus for different reasons.

The shifting horizon of the definition of the *jeu-parti* is not adequately addressed by Långfors in his *Recueil* of 1926: this study attempts to address this historiographical problem

by placing individual *jeux-partis* in their historical context. The drive to define the formal characteristics of *jeu-parti* texts, embodied by the *Recueil*, has also caused three significant lacunae in the study of the *jeu-parti* that emerge from this historiographical survey. First, Hans Spanke (1929) points out that several early *jeux-partis* are contrafacts.<sup>147</sup> The unusually high proportion of early *jeux-partis* that share their melody with another song is discussed in **Chapters 3** and **4** of this study. Second, the phrase ‘*jeux-partis* problem’ was coined by Friedrich Ludwig to describe the relatively large number of *jeux-partis* texts that are copied with more than one melody.<sup>148</sup> This so-called ‘problem’ has led to the neglect of *jeu-parti* melodies, which I address in **Chapter 2**. Finally, numerous writers have characterised the *jeu-parti* as a duel in words and music in the last two centuries. Långfors’s focus on textual form has excluded discussions of the cultural significance of *jeu-parti* practice, leading to the prevailing treatment of the genre as a form of play. This study reflects on the intersections between violence and the *jeu-parti* throughout, and in **Chapter 5** explores whether the performance of *jeux-partis* could be musically violent.

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<sup>147</sup> Spanke, ‘Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti’.

<sup>148</sup> Ludwig, ‘Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils’, 208.

## Chapter 2 | Tonal norms and deformations in the *jeu-parti*

Friedrich Ludwig, writing about the transmission of motets in chansonnier **a**, relegated to a footnote a problem of transmission that he considered to be particularly troubling. Ludwig pointed out that, of the 28 *jeux-partis* transmitted with a melody in both **a** and **A**, only five texts were copied with the same melody in both sources. Ludwig found this all the more troublesome, given that **a** and **A** may have even been copied by the same music scribe. He named this phenomenon, along with other ‘contentious’ questions, the ‘Jeux-Partis-Problem’.<sup>1</sup> For Ludwig, what was problematic was that more than one melody could be given for a song by the same authors. He was also concerned with the status of *jeux-partis* as songs that were *written*. He was troubled by the existence of several melodies for the same text because he wanted to know which melody was first written to each text, and which was therefore the true original. Authorship and writing were central to Ludwig’s definition of the musical work.

Ludwig’s diagnosis of a ‘problem’ in *jeu-parti* transmission is a symptom of a dogmatic and anachronistic approach to music of the distant past. The existence of several melodies for the same *jeu-parti* text does pose some challenges for the analysis of trouvère song, however, signalling that the identity of a song and its melody was more fluid in the thirteenth century than we might assume. But if a text was not written for a particular melody, or a melody created for a particular text, does this mean that text and melody could not have shaped the meaning of one another in a song? To understand how text-melody relationships could have created meaning, the emphasis must be shifted away from what

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<sup>1</sup> ‘umstrittene’: Ludwig, ‘Die Quellen der Motetten ältesten Stils’, 208.

the authors intended, and onto the judgements made by listeners. The presentation of text and melody together, either in a manuscript or in a live performance, could have allowed for myriad interpretations based on the assumptions of authorship or on the meanings that listeners brought to bear on the music, according to their experiences and position in society. What this chapter aims to do is to establish the principles by which *jeu-parti* texts and melodies were created and understood.

## Approaches to analysis

Some analytical approaches to trouvère song have attempted to understand text-music relations without resorting to simplistic imagery or word painting.<sup>2</sup> Theodor Karp and Michelle Stewart offer taxonomies of the conventions and structures of repetition in trouvère song.<sup>3</sup> Leo Treitler and Mary J. O'Neill conceive of trouvère melody in terms of pitch structures (3<sup>rd</sup> chains, finals, pitch centres) that are hierarchical, thus suggesting directional movement between loci.<sup>4</sup> Daniel E. O'Sullivan and O'Neill both examine the interplay between interlocking structures of melody, rhyme and metre,<sup>5</sup> while O'Neill also segments trouvère melodies in quasi-paradigmatic analyses.<sup>6</sup> While each of these approaches yields analytical results, it is questionable whether they '[recover], to the

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<sup>2</sup> For a summary of analysis of trouvère song before 1975, see Theodore Karp, 'Interrelationships between Poetic and Musical Form in *Trouvère Song*', in *A Musical Offering: In Honour of Martin Bernstein*, ed. Edward H. Clinkscale and Claire Brook, 137–61 (New York: Pendragon, 1977), 138.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.; Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"'.

<sup>4</sup> O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 110; Leo Treitler, 'Medieval Lyric', in *Music before 1600*, ed. Mark Everist, 1–19 (Oxford: Blackwell Reference, 1992); 'Once More, Music and Language', in *Essays on Medieval Music in Honor of David G. Hughes*, ed. Graeme M. Boone, 441–69 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Department of Music, 1995). Schenkerian analysis has been applied only once to trouvère song: Fiona Wylie McAlpine, 'A Hard Look at Trouvère Melodic Style: Sacred and Secular Music c.900–c.1600', in *Songs of the Dove and Nightingale*, ed. Greta Mary Hair and Robyn E. Smith, 145–59 (Basel, Switzerland; New York: Gordon and Breach, 1995).

<sup>5</sup> O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 105–7; Daniel E. O'Sullivan, 'Text and Melody in Early Trouvère Song: The Example of Chrétien de Troyes's "D'Amors qui m'a tolu a moi"', *Text* 15 (2003), 97–119.

<sup>6</sup> Mary O'Neill, 'L'art mélodique dans "les chanz fors et pesans" de Gautier de Dargies', *Revue de Musicologie* 81/2 (1995), 165–90; O'Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 111.

greatest extent possible, the work's own grammatical sense, in terms proper to it', as Margaret Bent demands.<sup>7</sup> Although Bent's account ignores the extent to which musical grammar is socially imbued, I find her concept of musical grammar to be convincing, since it acknowledges that music may operate in a sphere of play that has rules and conventions.

Discursive evidence that can tell us how trouvères and their listeners thought about the grammar of their melodies is scant. Johannes de Grocheio writes about the audiences and performance settings appropriate to certain genres of monophonic song, though unfortunately not the *jeu-parti*. The opinions of Grocheio, who may have hailed from Normandy and was probably writing in Paris around 1300, are at best only one man's view of music-making, and at worst the provincial writings of someone who had little experience of the musical practices of Artois and, more especially, Arras.<sup>8</sup> Little help, too, are the mentions of *jeux-partis* or *partures* in the poetry of the trouvères. When Jehan Bretel states that 'happy tunes and fair words' are capable of pleasing one's lady, we are left guessing as to quite what it meant for the text and melody of a song to be 'happy' or 'fair': were well-composed songs able to make the listener happy, or enable him to speak and act fairly?<sup>9</sup> Written accounts that describe, prescribe or proscribe musical practices would aid any interpretation of the melodies of *jeux-partis*. However, the absence of written accounts need not preclude analysis or interpretation of these melodies. The lack of a verbal articulation of musical meaning does not mean that music lacks any meaning.

Lawrence Kramer makes this point forcefully in his manifesto for musical hermeneutics (1990).<sup>10</sup> Drawing on Austin's theory of illocutionary speech acts, Kramer

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<sup>7</sup> Margaret Bent, 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis', in *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, ed. Cristle Collins Judd, 15–59 (New York; London: Garland, 1998).

<sup>8</sup> Johannes de Grocheio, *Ars musicae*, ed. and trans. Constant J. Mews, John N. Crossley, Catherine Jeffreys et al. (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2011), 3–6.

<sup>9</sup> 'jolis chans et biaux mos' [RS899, l. 14].

<sup>10</sup> Lawrence Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice, 1800–1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

aims to situate utterances in the contexts in which they are performed. Kramer argues that for the interpreter, the way in which a speech act performs is as important as the information that the speech act contains. Illocutionary force—the way that the speech act performs—is a non-verbalised creation of meaning, and is therefore a particularly helpful tool for interpreting non-verbal but meaningful acts, in Kramer’s case, nineteenth-century French and German instrumental music. Kramer’s concept of the ‘structural trope’ is closely related to the illocutionary force of speech acts. For Kramer, a structural trope is ‘a structural procedure, capable of various practical realizations, that also functions as a typical expressive act within a certain cultural/historical framework’.<sup>11</sup> Interpretation is therefore contextualisation: if a speech act has illocutionary force through its exertion of power within a historical context, the interpreter must reconstruct the field of power to understand how and why the speech act can perform as it does, and what that speech act means.

Historical accounts of thirteenth-century Arras, where most *jeux-partis* were copied into chansonniers and probably first performed, help in this contextualisation. Scholars are unanimous in connecting *jeux-partis* to the famous *puy* of Arras. *Puys* were guilds, generally devoted to the cult of the Virgin Mary, that likely patronised song composition.<sup>12</sup> The Arras *puy* may have been the same institution as the *Carité des ardents*, a confraternity that consisted of *jongleurs* and bourgeois; *jongleurs* were either from within the city (*dedans*) or from without (*dehors*).<sup>13</sup> In addition to providing burial ceremonies for its

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<sup>11</sup> Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Anne F. Sutton has discussed the phenomenon of *puys* in medieval Europe, suggesting that the Arras *puy* may have been particularly influential for the formation of *puys* in Amiens, Lille, and London: ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony: the London *Puy* and its French and London Contexts, circa 1300’, *The London Journal* 17/1 (1992), 1–17.

<sup>13</sup> On the *carité* (also known as the *Confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d’Arras*) and *puy*, see Roger Berger, *Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d’Arras (1194–1361)*, 2 vols. (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1963), ii, 247–63; Gally, *Parler d’amour*, 35–40; Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, 1: xxvi–xxviii; Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*,

members, the confraternity gathered three times each year. At their meeting after Trinity, known as the *grand siège*, the *jongleurs* elected three mayors, processed with the famous candle of Arras and held a feast, which may have included the performance of *jeux-partis*.<sup>14</sup> The bourgeois first gained power in the confraternity in 1221, after which a bourgeois mayor and an entrance fee were introduced.<sup>15</sup>

In general, scholars agree that two trouvères would have taken part in a *jeu-parti* performance. This was Långfors's opinion, although his reference to 'hypotheses' about a single poet and improvisation suggests that not all scholars were in agreement in the early twentieth century.<sup>16</sup> No consensus on improvisation has been reached: some scholars such as Långfors consider *jeu-parti* poetry to be too complicated to have been improvised, while others such as Symes hypothesise a mode of composition closer to improvisation.<sup>17</sup> Långfors suggests that the two trouvères named in a *jeu-parti* would meet in private before the *grand siège* at the *puy* to compose the song, which they would then perform in front of the assembly.<sup>18</sup> Symes argues that much of the effect of the performance of a *jeu-parti* would have been its immediacy and the impression of surprise, risk or chance; she imagines that the respondent in a *jeu-parti* might be given a fixed time to come up with their

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8–9; Gérard Gros, *Le poète, la vierge et le prince du Puy: Étude sur les Puys marials de la France du Nord, du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle à la Renaissance* (Paris: Klincksieck, 1992), 30–9; Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: Les chansons et dits artésiens* (Arras: Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais 1981), 111–6; Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 133–8; Symes, *Common Stage*, esp. 80–126, 216–227; Ungureanu, *La bourgeoisie naissante*, 75–80, 84–90, 149–50. Berger, Ungureanu and Butterfield consider the *puy* and *carité* to be different institutions for different social classes. See also Dane, 'Parody and Satire, Part I', 4. Symes convincingly argues that the institutions were one and the same: *Common Stage*, 217–8.

<sup>14</sup> Butterfield, *Poetry and Music*, 137.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, vii. Much of Långfors's discussion about the *puy* is corroborated by Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*.

<sup>17</sup> Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', 40; Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, vii; Nicod, *Les Partures Adan*, 9.

<sup>18</sup> Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, vii.

response.<sup>19</sup> Opinion is also divided on the role of the judges: Långfors and others consider the naming of judges to be an act of homage, while others such as Saltzstein believe the judges named in *envois* to have decided on a winner, of whom no record survives.<sup>20</sup>

Scholarly literature has reconstructed some aspects of the historical context for the *jeu-parti*. Discussions of the social and political make-up of the *puy/carité* show that the class and political allegiance of *jeu-parti* singers would have been in the minds of those listening to or performing a *jeu-parti*. The confraternity distinguished between *jongleurs* and *bourgeois*. The *jeu-parti* may therefore have been the site for the performance or resolution of political disagreements, personal animosity, or class struggle. And while we cannot know for sure whether *jeux-partis* were created in writing or orally, or a mixture of these two modes, the debates about the composition of *jeux-partis* in scholarly literature demonstrates that listeners could have been drawn to different aspects of a song. In some cases, the intricate word-play, intellectual rigour, or structure of a text may have been recognised. In other cases, the immediacy of performance, a surprising response, the anticipation of a singer's risky move or the violent attack on an opponent's reputation may have been the most telling aspect of a performance.

While historical accounts provide outside context for the cultural practice of the *jeu-parti*, Kramer suggests that the interpreter can also look inside a musical work for its context. Characterising a structural trope as 'the body language of an interpretive community', he argues that cultural objects are replete with gestures and structures that arise from the interpretative expectations of readers.<sup>21</sup> Such expectations, it follows, are the

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<sup>19</sup> Symes, *Common Stage*, 225. For an appraisal of scholarly literature on improvisation in the *jeu-parti*, see Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras', 148. Gally's hypothesis that the *jeu-parti* was improvised is refuted by Lavis: Lavis, 'Le jeu-parti', 22.

<sup>20</sup> See, for example, Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*, i, xxvii; Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras', 148. Brumana Pascale believes songs to have been judged by a jury: 'Le musiche nei jeux-partis francesi', 527.

<sup>21</sup> Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 12.

result of the repetition of a trope that comes to be normative. The tropes of a genre may lose their explicit social significance, becoming what Bourdieu describes as ‘objective structures’.<sup>22</sup> These objective structures are ‘history turned into nature’, patterns of behaviour once triggered by certain historical conditions that lose their historical significance and become conventional.<sup>23</sup> Thus, musical grammar can exist within a sphere of rules and conventions that have become objective, and whose social significance is therefore implicit.<sup>24</sup>

While Kramer’s theory accounts for the deep meaning of a musical grammar, an analysis of *jeux-partis* also needs to account for moments of deformation of stylistic convention. In their study of sonata form, James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy propose a theory of form that is concerned with repeatable phenomena, that is, norms and deformations. They define a ‘norm’ as the first choice a composer would make in a pre-established hierarchy of options; a deformation occurs when a composer ‘reject[s] all of the default choices altogether, in pursuit of a *deformation* of that compositional moment’.<sup>25</sup> Hepokoski and Darcy state that they conceive of their model as ‘dialogic’: any composition is ‘a musical utterance that is set (by the composer) into a dialogue with implied norms’ and is therefore a ‘process’ of choices made against a background of conventions.<sup>26</sup> On the one hand, Hepokoski and Darcy’s theory of form does not sit comfortably with Kramer’s concept of structural tropes: Hepokoski and Darcy seek meaning in the moment of

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<sup>22</sup> Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 78.

<sup>24</sup> Although the explicit social meaning of a musical grammar might become implicit over time, the structural characteristics of a musical grammar make certain musical gestures more likely than others. Musical structures afford certain compositional choices: on affordance theory, see James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception* (New York: Psychology Press, 2015), 119.

<sup>25</sup> James A. Hepokoski and Warren Darcy, *Elements of Sonata Theory: Norms, Types, and Deformations in the Late-Eighteenth-Century Sonata* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 10. Italics in the original.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*

deformation, whereas Kramer seeks meaning in repeated phenomena. On the other hand, both studies conceive of an interpretive background created by repeated gestures against which a work may be read.

Neither the theory of Kramer nor the work of Hepokoski and Darcy solves all of the analytical challenges of the *jeu-parti*. How can we decide what constitutes a norm or a deformation in the *jeu-parti*? It could be that only the most interesting melodies with deformations were thought worthy of being committed to parchment. The repeatable phenomena that constitute a structural trope may also be absent. The statistical analyses presented in this chapter will attempt to address these problems. The focus on instrumental music of both Kramer's study and that of Hepokoski and Darcy is also problematic: what is the role of the text in shaping interpretation of a melody and how can these models account for strophic song? As far as can be surmised from surviving evidence, the melody of a *jeu-parti* was never conceived without a text. The melody of a *jeu-parti* was not an autonomous entity, but was shaped by its different texts from stanza to stanza in different ways. However, the melody of a particular *jeu-parti* will suit some textual structures better than others.

Peter Lefferts and Sarah Fuller have grappled with the difficulty of establishing stylistic norms in medieval music. Lefferts sets out to delineate 'the paradigms or fundamental givens, the constraints understood at the outset, the range of choices available to the composer', with a particular focus on tonal behaviour.<sup>27</sup> He then sketches out 'tonal space', analysing various tonal parameters across fourteenth-century ballades and noting which combinations of compositional choices were most common.<sup>28</sup> For Fuller, this categorisation goes too far. Fuller argues that tonal space is revealed in a 'process of

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<sup>27</sup> Lefferts, 'Signature-systems and tonal types', 117.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 123.

definition' when a song is performed, and that while Lefferts's approach may be justified when applied to some songs, salient musical details are overlooked in his method.<sup>29</sup> One of Fuller's principal objections is that the search for a system of tonal types is self-fulfilling.<sup>30</sup> I seek a middle ground between these two extreme positions. If fourteenth-century chansons frequently adhere to the same small set of tonal types, as Lefferts would argue, this suggests that listeners might expect a song to employ a common tonal type, rather than an uncommon one. The tonal type system would then shape a listener's experience of a song's unfolding tonal space, allowing the listener to judge particular tonal choices to be expressive against a backdrop of convention. Further, the establishment of norms of tonal behaviour, such as those described by Lefferts, is a symptom of enshrined cultural practices that were meaningful. I argue that music can be meaningful at different levels, whether this be in conventional structures that enshrine cultural practices or in musical gestures that defy convention. The close readings of Fuller and the broad taxonomisation of Lefferts are both necessary to account for the multiple ways in which music can mean.

A similar approach to the form of medieval music is taken by Fritz Reckow.<sup>31</sup> By analysing the terminology of music-theoretical accounts, Reckow argues that listeners experienced the thirteenth-century conductus as a process (*processus/Ablauf*). Terms such as *diversitas* or *varietas* imply that composers of the conductus strove to maintain interest for listeners: they therefore conceived of the conductus processually. The motet, by contrast, had 'architectonic' (*architektonisch*) structure according to Reckow; it was conceived of as a building whose sections needed to fit together for the building to stand

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<sup>29</sup> Fuller, 'Exploring Tonal Structure', 65.

<sup>30</sup> Fuller also argues that Lefferts's results are unrepresentative because of his anachronistic use of key signatures: *ibid.*, 78–9.

<sup>31</sup> Fritz Reckow, '*Processus und structura: Über Gattungstradition und Formverständnis im Mittelalter*', *Musiktheorie* 1/1 (1986), 5–29.

up.<sup>32</sup> If Reckow's methodology is applied to the *jeu-parti*, a mixed picture emerges. On the one hand, the verb used by poets to describe the act of composition is 'to find' (*trouver*).<sup>33</sup> This implies that trouvères thought of their melodies as objects with a form that could be found. On the other hand, trouvères frequently call for their opponent in a *jeu-parti* to reply (*responder*) or to advise (*conseillier*) in the debate. They look forward to the unfolding process of the debate. Structurally, listeners' experience of the *jeu-parti* would have been shaped by their expectations of the genre, expectations that are structured by melodic gestures of varying likelihood. Trouvères also set up interlocking structures of music and text. As a *jeu-parti* unfolded, these structures could be exploited or subverted in a trouvère's response to an earlier stanza. The *jeu-parti* is therefore a negotiation of structure and process.

The most extensive study of *jeu-parti* melodies to date is found in the work of Michelle Stewart. Having analysed all *jeux-partis*, Stewart presents statistics for the occurrence of certain melodic gestures. In particular, she focuses on melodic formulae at the beginnings and ends of poetic lines, cadential approaches to the final pitch of a line, and the relationship between the end of one line and the start of the next. She concludes that trouvères could draw on a stock of musical formulae when composing *jeux-partis* and considers this to be evidence of a 'strong and continuous oral tradition'.<sup>34</sup> For some of the melodic parameters that Stewart tests, the statistical significance of her results persuasively demonstrates a common stylistic trait. For example, in her analysis of mode, Stewart shows

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<sup>32</sup> Reckow, 'Processus und structura', 25. Christopher Page critiques the application of architectural metaphors to the motet in *Discarding Images: Reflections on Music and Culture in Medieval France* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1997), 1–42.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, *Sire Bretel, mout savés bien trouver* (RS899) in **Appendix §9**.

<sup>34</sup> Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"', 101.

that *E* was rarely the *finalis* of a mode, occurring in only 3.5% of melodies, while *D* was the *finalis* in 38% of melodies.<sup>35</sup>

For other parameters, the results were far less conclusive. Stewart shows, for example, that 56% of cadences descend to the final pitch of a line and 44% of cadences rise.<sup>36</sup> Statistically, this is significant because it differs markedly from plainsong melodies, which fall to the final in most cases. For understanding normative practice in the *jeu-parti*, though, Stewart's taxonomisation of cadences does not show what is common, unusual, expected and unexpected. One of the weaknesses of her study is her indiscriminate deployment of some statistical tests. By testing the cadential direction of all line endings (1855 cases), Stewart treats every line ending as a cadence and assumes that the poetic line is the basic structuring principle not only for a song's text but also for its melody. While this is often the case for the *frons* of a *jeu-parti* (65% of melodies have identical poetic and musical structure in their first four lines), the same cannot be said for the *cauda* of *jeux-partis*, in which motivic expansion and repetition across line breaks is common, as discussed further below. Stewart is similarly indiscriminate in her treatment of the sources of melodies. She includes melodies from all manuscripts in her study, and in doing so implies that the corpus is transmitted in a uniform way across all sources. An analysis of melody that accounts for different sources leads to a more complex picture of musical practice than Stewart permits.

Since Stewart's study is not wholly successful, the parameters of the *jeu-parti* must be investigated with a more nuanced method. But what qualifies as 'sufficient' statistical significance? In the taxonomising approach of the study presented here, the aim is to establish the norms of tonal practice that the listener would have expected to hear, and

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<sup>35</sup> Stewart, 'The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century "Jeux-Partis"', 91.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 98.

which the performance of a song, through its unfolding of a tonal space, could confirm or subvert. The expectation of a musical feature is not the only aspect of performance, however. Doubt or uncertainty over a tonal space could be just as important to shaping a listener's experience of a song. Further, it is not certain that the melodies that have been recorded in chansonniers are representative of the tonal practice of all *jeux-partis* (assuming that some have not been written down or were recorded in sources that have been lost). By dint of being written down, the *jeux-partis* available for study are exceptional, which may or may not be the case for their tonal practice. Finally, quantitative significance is not the same as qualitative significance. This was the principal failing of Stewart's study, which examined all instances of a musical gesture together. In her study of cadences, Stewart treated line endings in the *frons* and *cauda* together. Since line endings in the *frons* are more structurally significant than line endings in the *cauda* (other than the final cadence of a song), results of greater statistical significance, reflecting qualitative experience, may emerge. The corpus-wide study of *jeux-partis* that I have undertaken aims to nuance the quantitative with the qualitative, so that statistically significant musical gestures may be understood as not only conventional, but also expressive and meaningful.

## **Analytical outline**

In this study, 167 melodies for *jeux-partis* were analysed; melodies were included if designated as a *jeu-parti* in Tischler's complete edition of trouvère song. In most cases, Tischler's assumption of the basic similarity of a melody copied in more than one source was followed. In one case, the *jeu-parti* had no music notation in the source but could be established as a contrafact to another song with sufficient certainty; in this case, the melody

of the related song was analysed.<sup>37</sup> As its guiding principle, this study understands tonal practice both to be shaped by the conventions of monophonic song and to be established in a processual manner in performance. A tonal hierarchy is established in a song by the placement of pitches at structurally significant moments, through the repetition of those pitches, and through conventional melodic gestures. For all of the parameters that were analysed here, repetition was the key tenet for analysis. Repetition—whether it be structural or in terms of pitch—plays a central role in setting up the expectation of the listener, and the search for repetition yields rich results, suggesting that a thirteenth-century listener could have been attuned to such repetitions and have found them meaningful.

Because I view the processual creation of tonal space as the establishment of a hierarchy of pitches through various means, analyses were carried out that combine parameters, rather than treating only a single parameter. For example, when the statistical occurrence of *frons* ambitus was calculated, through-composed melodies and *pedes-cum-cauda* melodies were also tested separately. On the one hand, this leads to small sample sizes and results that could be skewed or unreliable. On the other hand, the combination of parameters reveals striking patterns. I have also analysed melodies according to the source in which they are presented. The melodies recorded in chansonniers **R**, **V** and **W** are sufficiently different in style to those presented in chansonniers **MTaAZKNP XO** that they may be considered outliers (see below). The difference in basic structure of most songs in **RVW** suggests that these sources transmit the compositional practices of different musical communities.

A further methodological concern was the treatment of melodic variants. Some variants were clearly errors and could be immediately discounted.<sup>38</sup> In other cases, the

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<sup>37</sup> *Une chose*, Baudoin (RS332) is copied in **MOT** without music notation. The version of the melody for its contrafacts (RS699 and RS700) in chansonniers **MOT** was used for this study.

<sup>38</sup> I discuss errors in trouvère melodies at length in **Chapter 3**.

melodic variance involved a slight alteration to the melody transmitted in another source, be it in the distribution of syllables to pitches or in slight embellishments of the same melodic outline. When such embellishments occurred, they did not interfere with the parameters, which were chosen because of their structural significance and because they lie at a ‘deeper’ level than surface play.<sup>39</sup> The third type of melodic variance, in which the variance occurred at significant structural moments, was more difficult to accommodate in the methodology here. When a melody differed significantly, it was analysed as a different melody. RS1340, for example, is transmitted in **aZ** with the identical melody in the *frons* but very different melodies in the *cauda*. Because the variance is articulated at a structural level, these two renditions of the song were treated as different melodies. At other times, it was deemed appropriate to treat the variant melody as an outlier and not include it in the analysis. In RS335, for example, only **M** gives *F* as the final pitch of line 2, whereas **KNX** give *D*. Because this was the only difference between the melodies, the melody in **M** was not treated as a separate melody and the variance was ignored. The statistical analysis of melodies is therefore a compromise, and the statistics that have been generated from this study should not be considered completely accurate. In any case, the difficulties of dealing quantitatively with qualitative data, the risks of skewing in small data sets and the inherent resistance of some melodies to classification in this scheme calls for the exercise of caution when interpreting the results of this study. Nevertheless, some broad trends appear that will aid the interpretation of *jeu-parti* melodies.

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<sup>39</sup> This is not to say that such melodic variance does not matter, or did not affect listeners’ understanding of a melody, as I explore further in **Chapter 3**. My belief is that such detail is beyond the scope of a systematic treatment of trouvère song and requires individual examination of the songs.

## Structure

Melodies were sorted into two categories: through-composed (tc) and *pedes-cum-cauda* (pcc). The pcc category mainly contains songs whose melodic form is exactly **ababx**, but other songs with close repetition in their opening quatrain or sestet (for both of which I use the term *frons*) were also included.<sup>40</sup> These songs demonstrated a clear structural break between *frons* and *cauda*. The tc category contains melodies that demonstrate no structural repetition in their opening section. For the sake of comparison, tc melodies were also analysed as bipartite, treating the end of the fourth line as the most significant structural break.

## Primary pitch

Primary pitch is defined as a tonal centre experienced by the listener as the most important pitch in the hierarchy of the tonal space. The primary pitch of a melody (or section of a melody) plays the most important role in defining the tonal space of a melody. This may or may not differ from the final pitch of the section or the final pitch of the song (a criticism that Fuller directs at Lefferts in his taxonomy), although in most cases, the final pitch of a melody is the same as the primary pitch of the *cauda*.<sup>41</sup> The term primary pitch differs from the term ‘tonal centre’ in that the *frons* or *cauda* of a *jeu-parti* may have more than one tonal centre that is emphasised at different times during a melody, but has only one primary pitch, the most significant tonal centre in a section. For each melody, the primary pitch of the *frons* was recorded, both as a letter name and as its solmization name in the hexachord. This attempted to account for characteristics shared between songs that are copied at different pitch levels. The primary pitch was also recorded for the *cauda* of each melody. I

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<sup>40</sup> I use *frons* to refer to the opening quatrain of a melody rather than *pedes*, which implies two identical pairs of melodic lines, each called a *pes*.

<sup>41</sup> Fuller, ‘Exploring Tonal Structure’, 61.

determined the primary pitch of a *frons* or *cauda* by comparing line endings, cadences, the placement of melodic leaps, and the frequency of pitches in a melody. The discussion of RS1042 below exemplifies this comparison. This aspect of the study was very subjective and the primary pitch was sometimes difficult to determine. I consider this difficulty further in my discussion of RS1774 below.

### **Ambitus**

Once the primary pitch had been established for the *frons* and *cauda* of each melody, it was possible to analyse the melodic ambitus for both sections of the melody. The ambitus was recorded as authentic, plagal, either, or both, corresponding to terminology used to describe the modes of Gregorian chant.<sup>42</sup> The labels ‘authentic’ and ‘plagal’ are used here to signal where in the tonal space the primary pitch sits. The ambitus was labelled authentic when the melody extended more than a 6<sup>th</sup> above the primary pitch and not more than a tone below. An ambitus was considered plagal when the melody reached no more than a 6<sup>th</sup> above the primary pitch and extended more than a tone below. For melodic sections whose ambitus did not extend higher than a 6<sup>th</sup> above the primary pitch and not lower than a tone below it, the ambitus was labelled ‘either’. Melodic sections that required both plagal and authentic ambitus were labelled ‘both’.

### **Final pitch**

The final pitches of lines 1–4 and the final pitch of the song were recorded as their letter names only.<sup>43</sup> These finals were selected for their structural significance, and to avoid giving too great a significance to line endings within moments of enjambment in the *cauda*.

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<sup>42</sup> I acknowledge that *jeu-parti* melodies are not adequately described by terminology from plainchant, since mode in plainchant includes both the range and hierarchy of possible tones and a set of common melodic formulae that signal the mode to the singer/listener. See Stewart, ‘The Melodic Structure of Thirteenth-Century “Jeux-Partis”’, 90. I use these terms here as a shorthand.

<sup>43</sup> An exception was made to this for melodies that had the form **abcabcx**, in which case the finals of lines 1, 3, 4 and 6 were recorded instead.

This choice aimed to recognise the hierarchical importance of pitches at these structurally significant points. If the primary pitch of a song is to be established for the listener in performance, a melody must be heard as the processual creation of a hierarchy of tones that points out the primary pitch's primacy in that hierarchy. Since the *frons* is sung first, expectations of tonal centre are set up in the *frons*. Further, because of the placement of rhyme words, the end of the lines in the *frons* are moments of particular significance. Since the listener waits for the arrival of the rhyme sound, they also wait for the arrival of a pitch in such a way that inflects their view of the tonal space in which the song sits.

### **Cadences in the first line**

One of the hypotheses to be tested was the establishment of the primary pitch close to the opening of a melody. For each melody, it was tested whether there was a cadence on the primary pitch, a cadence on a pitch other than the primary pitch, or no cadence. This was compared with the pitch on which the opening address of a *jeu-parti* ends. Most *jeux-partis* open with the naming of a *trouvère*, which in most cases does not take up the whole of the first line. The end of this naming therefore marks the first syntactic break that the first *trouvère* makes in a *jeu-parti* melody.

### **Motive**

I use the term 'motive' to refer to a string of pitches that, for listeners, would have had a recognisable identity. A motive becomes recognisable through repetition or through transformation. When first stated, a motive may not be recognised as significant by a listener. As more of the melody is heard, a pitch string may gain the significance of a motive, causing the listener to hear an earlier part of the melody (when repeated in subsequent stanzas) as a statement of that motive. The recognisability of a motive also depends on breaks in the text: a motive that begins in the middle of a *melisma* might be less recognisable than a motive that begins at the start of a clause in the text, for example.

Listeners may have expected certain parts of a *jeu-parti* melody, such as the very opening, to have motivic identity: I explore this further in my discussion of RS375 below.

## Large-scale structure: *frons and cauda*

### Repetition

On the largest structural scale, pcc structure is significantly more common than through-composed structure. Of the 207 melodies that Stewart analyses, 77% have the poetic structure **ababx**, 17% have the poetic structure **abbax**, and 6% have another form. Melodically 70% of her 207 melodies have some kind of pcc structure and 26% are through-composed. On a closer examination of the melodic behaviour exhibited by certain sources, the prevalence of pcc structure is more pronounced. Of the 167 melodies analysed here, 72% were in pcc structure and 28% were through-composed. However, **RVW** do not reflect these tendencies. Of the 16 melodies in **W**, nine are through-composed, while in **V** nine of the ten melodies are through-composed, and only one of **R**'s three melodies has a pcc structure. By contrast, of the 140 melodies transmitted in **KNOPXMTaAZ**, 81% have pcc structure and only 19% are through-composed. This suggests that the melodies transmitted in **RVW** reflect a melodic practice different from that found in the other sources. For this reason, the melodies of **RVW** have not been considered in the following analyses and require further study.

In *jeu-parti* melodies in **KNOPXMTaAZ** (which I refer to from this point forward as 'all melodies'), the prevalence of pcc structure suggests that listeners are likely to have been attuned to the bipartite structure of *jeux-partis* in pcc form. Even for the small proportion of songs that are through-composed (19%), I argue that listeners would have treated the end of the fourth line as an important structural break, judging whether the music that they had just heard adhered to the more common pcc form. The bipartite structure of

pcc form is articulated by different kinds of repetition. The *frons* in a pcc structure consists of a pair of lines that is repeated. The rhyme sound at the end of each line draws attention to line endings, while the repetition of the first pair of lines means that the line is the most significant musical unit. Repetition in the *cauda* tends to occur in a different way. Instead of the repetition of whole lines, it is melodic cells that are repeated, often bridging the end of one line and the start of another. The line is not as important a melodic unit in the *cauda* as it is in the *frons*. The different characters of *frons* and *cauda*, caused by different types of repetition, suggest that listeners would have expected particular patterns of repetition, and would have used these patterns to understand the unfolding of a *jeu-parti* melody.

The different types of repetition are to be seen, for example, in *Lambert, il sont doi amant d'un sens* (RS296, see **Appendix §2**). The song is in pcc form, as its opening quatrain shows (**Fig. 2.1**).

1. Lam - bert il sont doi a - mant  
3. S'ai - ment deus da - mes d'un grant

2. D'un sens et d'u - ne pois - san - che  
4. D'un pris et d'u - ne vail - lan - che

**Fig. 2.1: Frons of RS296**

There is one instance of motivic repetition in the quatrain: the pitch string  $F-E-D-C-D-F$  at the start of lines 1 and 3 is also found in the middle of lines 2 and 4, although ligated and framed differently. The most obvious repetition of the quatrain, though, is the exact repetition of the opening two lines. The *cauda* of RS296, by comparison, is constructed from smaller melodic cells. **Fig. 2.2** presents RS296 in full, and motivic cells have been labelled to show the patterns of repetition.

Lines 1 and 2 unfold with three motives, labelled in **Fig. 2.2** as **p**, **q** and **r**, of which **p** is repeated in line 2. On hearing the opening four lines, the listener might recognise that motive **p** is repeated twice, but would not necessarily consider motives **q** and **r** to be motivically significant, especially since these motives both bridge the break between lines 1 and 2. From line 5, it becomes clear that these line-bridging motives are significant. Line 5 consists of motive **q** followed by motive **r**. In lines 1 and 2, these motives are overlapping, but in line 5 they have been separated, thus taking up more musical time. The statement of motives **q** and **r** in line 5 alters the way that lines 1 and 2 are heard. In lines 1 and 2, the repetition of motive **p** means that the motive is heard as a closing gesture, thanks to its closure onto the primary pitch, *D*. Lines 3 and 4, a repetition of lines 1 and 2, present the motives **p**, **q**, **r** and **p**, but line 5 continues the sequence with **q** and **r** again. At the end of line 4, motive **p** no longer acts as a closing gesture, but is part of the progression of motives **p**, **q** and **r**.

1. L'am - bert, il sont doi a - mant 2. D'un sens et d'u - ne ne pois - san - che,  
 3. S'ai - ment deus da - mes d'un grant, 4. D'un pris et d'u - ne ne vail - lan - che.

5. Li uns aime en tel ma - nie - re 6. Qu'il n'a po - oir qu'il re - quie - re

7. Sa da - me de vi - lou - ni - e, 8. Et li au - tres n'e - stu - di - e

9. Fors a chou qu'il en ait ses vo - len - tés. 10. Li kieus est plus a droit en - a - mou - rés?

Annotations:  $q$ ,  $r$ ,  $p$ ,  $q'$ ,  $r^{(+1)}$ ,  $r^{(+2)}$ ,  $r^{+p}$ ,  $p^{(+1)}$ ,  $r'$ ,  $r''$

Fig. 2.2: RS296

The exploration of motives continues from line 6, as two abbreviated versions of **q** are stated, **r** is heard up a tone, and then repeated at its original pitch. Lines 9 and 10 explore motive **r** further and the motive is heard at its highest pitch yet (up a 3rd) in line 10, before it is combined with **p** in the original combination found in line 2, which is a closing gesture appropriate to the end of the *cauda*. The motivic repetition and elaboration of the *cauda* differentiates the section from the *frons*. Motivic statements bridge the breaks between lines in the *cauda* in a way that was not immediately obvious in the *frons*. The differences in melodic behaviour between the sections would therefore suggest that the divisions between *frons* and *cauda* were important structural moments for listeners.

### Ambitus

Length and type of repetition is not the only feature to characterise the *frons* and *cauda*. The conventional ambitus of the melody in the *frons* is different from the conventional ambitus of the *cauda*. **Table 2.1** outlines the ambitus of the *frons* in all melodies and in melodies with pcc structure.

	Either ambitus	Authentic ambitus	Plagal ambitus	Spans both ambitus
<i>Frons</i> of all melodies (140)	52%	23%	24%	1%
<i>Frons</i> of pcc melodies (114)	57%	18%	25%	1%

**Table 2.1: *Frons* ambitus for all melodies and for pcc melodies**

A significant proportion (52%) of all melodies have a *frons* that could have either authentic or plagal ambitus, a proportion that is even more significant (57%) for pcc melodies. In these melodies, the *frons* extends no more than a tone below the primary pitch and no more than a 6<sup>th</sup> above the primary pitch. In RS296, for example, *D* is the primary pitch of the *frons* and the melody extends only a tone below *D* and no higher than *a* (see **Fig. 2.3**).

1. Lam - bert, il sont doi a - mant  
 3. S'ai - ment deus da - mes d'un grant,

2. D'un sens et d'u - ne pois - san - che,  
 4. D'un pris et d'u - ne vail - lan - che.

Fig. 2.3: RS296, ll. 1–4

The melody here could belong to a tonal space that is either authentic ((C)–D–a–d–(e)) or plagal ((F)–A–D–a–(b)). The proportion of all melodies whose *frons* has an authentic ambitus (23%) is approximately equal to the proportion of those with plagal ambitus (24%), and this is not significantly different among melodies with a pcc structure (18% and 25% respectively). Only one melody (RS1331) had a *frons* that spanned more than an 11<sup>th</sup>.

The *cauda* has tendencies that are different to the *frons* (see **Table 2.2**).

	Either ambitus	Authentic ambitus	Plagal ambitus	Spans both ambitus
<i>Cauda</i> of all melodies (140)	11%	62%	23%	4%
<i>Cauda</i> of pcc melodies (114)	11%	64%	20%	4%

Table 2.2: *Cauda* ambitus for all melodies and for pcc melodies

62% of all melodies and 64% of pcc melodies had a *cauda* whose ambitus was authentic, while only 23% of all melodies and 20% of pcc melodies had a plagal ambitus in their *cauda*. The proportion of melodies whose *cauda* was confined to the range of a 6<sup>th</sup>, and could therefore be either authentic or plagal, was much smaller (11%) than the proportion of *frons* melodies that could be either plagal or authentic (52%). The proportion of melodies with a *cauda* that spanned both ambitus was higher (4%) than the proportion of melodies whose *frons* spanned both (1%). Of the 73 melodies whose *frons* could be either plagal or authentic, 61 (84%) had a *cauda* that was larger in compass (authentic, plagal or both) than

the *frons*. In general, the distribution of types of ambitus of the *cauda* suggests that audiences would expect the ambitus of the *cauda* of a *jeu-parti* to be larger than the ambitus typically found in the *frons* of a *jeu-parti*. A closer look at the relationships between the ambitus of the *frons* and the *cauda* shows that this happens in different ways.

	[frons ambitus]–[cauda ambitus]															
	a-e	a-a	a-p	a-b	b-e	b-a	b-p	b-b	e-e	e-a	e-p	e-b	p-e	p-a	p-p	p-b
all (140)	0	26 19%	6 4%	0	0	1 1%	0	0	12 9%	49 35%	10 7%	2 1%	3 2%	11 8%	17 12%	3 2%
pcc (114)	0	18 16%	2 2%	0	0	1 1%	0	0	10 9%	44 39%	9 8%	2 2%	3 3%	10 9%	12 11%	3 3%

a=authentic; b=both; e=either; p=plagal

**Table 2.3: Frequency of relationships between the ambitus of *frons* and *cauda***

As **Table 2.3** shows, the *cauda* of a melody is only ‘either’ (within the range of a 7<sup>th</sup>) in ambitus when preceded by a plagal *frons* (2% of all melodies) or by a *frons* that could be either plagal or authentic (9% of all melodies). An authentic *frons* never leads to a *cauda* that could have either plagal or authentic ambitus. What this suggests is that the upper limit of the ambitus was never lowered when moving from *frons* to *cauda*, but that the lower limit could be. Indeed, for the six melodies whose *frons* was authentic and whose *cauda* was plagal, there was a change of primary pitch from *frons* to *cauda*:

	<i>Frons</i>		<i>Cauda</i>	
	Primary pitch	Ambitus	Primary pitch	Ambitus
RS				
8	<i>F</i> -ut	Authentic	<i>c</i> -ut	Plagal
494 (in A)	<i>C</i> -ut	Authentic	<i>G</i> -ut	Plagal
915	<i>C</i> -ut	Authentic	<i>G</i> -ut	Plagal
1085 (in A)	<i>C</i> -ut	Authentic	<i>G</i> -ut	Plagal
1097 (in DKMOX)	<i>D</i> -re	Authentic	<i>F</i> -ut	Plagal
1354 (in A)	<i>G</i> -ut	Authentic	<i>c</i> -ut	Plagal

**Table 2.4: Melodies with an authentic *frons* and a plagal *cauda***

In each of these six melodies, the range of the *frons* was replicated in the *cauda* because the shift to a plagal ambitus was accompanied by the move to a new, higher primary pitch. All melodies with an authentic *frons* effectively maintain the same ambitus throughout the *cauda*. For the 11 melodies that have a plagal *frons* and an authentic *cauda*, eight have a lower primary pitch in the *cauda* and seven maintain the same overall ambitus (see **Table 2.5**). For the three melodies that have a plagal *frons* and a *cauda* that could be either plagal or authentic, two had a lower primary pitch in the *cauda* in order to maintain the same overall compass, and the other melody (RS335 in **O**) maintained its primary pitch but did not descend as far in its *cauda*, thereby reducing its compass for the *cauda*. The upper limit of the melodic compass is never lower in the *cauda* than it is in the *frons* of any *jeu-parti* melody.<sup>44</sup>

RS	<i>Frons</i>			<i>Cauda</i>		
	Primary tone	Ambitus	Compass	Primary tone	Ambitus	Compass
203	G-ut	plagal	B-d	C-ut	authentic	B-d
335 (in <b>Aa</b> )	F-ut	plagal	C-d	F-ut	authentic	E-f
335 (in <b>KMNX</b> )	F-ut	plagal	C-d	F-ut	authentic	E-f
668 (in <b>A</b> )	c-ut	plagal	a-f	G-ut	authentic	F-f
703	d-re	plagal	G-f	a-mi	authentic	G-f
842	c-ut	plagal	G-g	G-ut	authentic	G-g
942	D-re	plagal	A-a	D-re	authentic	C-c
1191	b-mi	plagal	G-g	G-ut	authentic	G-g
1674 (in <b>A</b> )	F-ut	plagal	B-b	C-ut	authentic	B-b
1675 (in <b>A</b> )	a-mi	plagal	F-e	D-re	authentic	C-c
1687	c-ut	plagal	G-aa	G-ut	authentic	G-aa
335 (in <b>O</b> )	F-ut	plagal	C-c	F-ut	either	F-d
596 (in <b>A</b> )	E-mi	plagal	C-c	D-re	either	C-bfa
1584 (in <b>a</b> )	F-ut	plagal	C-bfa	D-re	either	C-bfa

**Table 2.5: Melodies with a plagal *frons* and a different ambitus in the *cauda***

<sup>44</sup> One case, RS1331, appears in the data set to have a smaller compass in its *cauda* (authentic ambitus) than its *frons* (both ambitus), but there is a change of primary pitch and the overall compass of the *cauda* is in fact as large as it is in the *frons*.

In comparing the types of repetition found in the *frons* and *cauda* and the conventions of melodic ambitus and compass of both sections, I have shown that the *cauda* tended to be more varied—both in repetition and in compass—than the *frons*. It could even be argued that the *cauda* is a space for the development of the tonal space and melodic ideas introduced in the *frons*. Although the poetic line is only the unit of musical repetition for the *frons* of melodies in pcc form, the prevalence of pcc melodies, especially when the melodies of chansonniers **RVW** are omitted, suggests that listeners might expect the end of the fourth line of a through-composed melody to be a structural break, just as it would be in a pcc melody. Further, the *cauda* tends to have the same or larger compass than the *frons*, and in cases where a change of ambitus occurred (for example, plagal followed by authentic), there is most frequently also a change of primary pitch, with the result that the overall compass of the melody does not change. Where the compass of a melody is reduced from the *frons* to the *cauda*, only the compass below the primary pitch is reduced; the upper limit of the compass is never lower in the *cauda*.

## Outlining tonal space

### Mode

Hendrik van der Werf contends that in trouvère song, there are really only two scales, ‘one scale [that is] “major” and the other “minor” in character’.<sup>45</sup> Of the 140 melodies analysed here, 71 (51%) had the primary pitch ut in the *frons* and 64 (46%) had the primary pitch re. Only five melodies had a primary pitch on mi. With 96% of melodies based either on ut or re, van der Werf’s contention that there are only two basic scales in trouvère song is

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<sup>45</sup> Hendrik van der Werf, *The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and their Relation to the Poems* (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972), 55.

justified, even if he uses anachronistic terminology. I use the terms ‘ut-’ and ‘re-type’ melodies as a more neutral and less teleological alternative.

An analysis of line endings in the *frons* sheds some light on what listeners might have understood the tonal space of the *jeu-parti* to be. The final pitches of lines 3 and 4 were compared, both for the 96 songs in a strict pcc form (in which lines 3 and 4 are an exact repetition of lines 1 and 2) and for the 114 songs in any kind of pcc form. **Table 2.6** gives the frequency for which an interval between the final pitch of line 3 and the final pitch of line 4 occurs. ‘Lower’ indicates that the final pitch of line 4 is lower than the final pitch of line 3: e.g. when the final of line 3 is *a* and the final of line 4 is *G*, the song would fall in the category ‘tone lower’.

Relation of final of line 4 to final of line 3	Songs in strict pcc form			Songs in any pcc form		
	No. (96)	%	Cumulative frequency	No. (114)	%	Cumulative frequency
Same pitch	22	23%	23%	29	25%	25%
3 <sup>rd</sup> lower	18	19%	42%	21	18%	43%
Tone lower	18	19%	61%	19	17%	60%
Tone higher	12	13%	74%	15	13%	73%
5 <sup>th</sup> lower	8	8%	82%	11	10%	83%
4 <sup>th</sup> lower	6	6%	88%	6	5%	88%
3 <sup>rd</sup> higher	5	5%	93%	5	4%	92%
5 <sup>th</sup> higher	4	4%	97%	4	4%	96%
4 <sup>th</sup> higher	2	2%	99%	2	2%	98%
7 <sup>th</sup> lower	1	1%	100%	1	1%	99%
7 <sup>th</sup> higher	0	0%	100%	1	1%	100%

**Table 2.6: Relationships between the final pitches of lines 3 and 4**

As **Table 2.6** shows, the most frequent intervals were the same pitch, followed by a 3<sup>rd</sup> lower, tone lower, tone higher and 5<sup>th</sup> lower. While no single interval occurs with a sufficient frequency to be considered conventional, the cumulative frequency of the five most frequent intervals between final pitches of lines 3 and 4 is above 80% in both strict pcc-form melodies and in all pcc-form melodies, suggesting that these five relationships were conventional.

The primary pitch of the *frons* affects which relationship between the final pitches of lines 3 and 4 is more likely.

Interval between final of line 4 and final of line 3	Total no. of songs	Ut	Re	Mi
Same pitch	22	15	7	0
3 <sup>rd</sup> lower	18	5	11	2
Tone lower	18	14	4	0
Tone higher	12	4	8	0
5 <sup>th</sup> lower	8	5	2	1

**Table 2.7: Most likely relationships between finals of lines 4 and 3 for tonal centres ut, re and mi in strict pcc-form songs**

Where the finals of lines 3 and 4 are the same pitch, or the final pitch of line 4 is a tone or a 5th below the final pitch of line 3, the primary pitch is more likely to be ut. Where the final of line 4 is a 3rd below or a tone above the final pitch of line 3, the primary pitch is more likely to be re. To complicate the picture, the final pitch of line 4 is not always the tonal centre for the *frons*. Of the 140 melodies that were analysed, the final pitch of line 4 was also the tonal centre of the *frons* in 113 melodies (81%). In the 114 melodies in some kind of pcc form, the final pitch of line 4 was different to the tonal centre of the *frons* in 14 melodies (12%). Four of these 14 melodies were not in strict pcc form (RS950 in **a**, RS927 in **Z**, RS1675 in **a**, RS949); the difference between the final pitch of line 4 and the tonal centre of the *frons* is due to the inexact repetition of lines in these cases. Of the 11 remaining melodies—those whose *frons* contained an exact repetition of the opening two lines—nine melodies had a tonal centre in the *frons* that was stated at the end of line 3. For pcc melodies, therefore, it is very common for the tonal centre to be stated at the end of the *frons*, or at the end of line 3. It is very rare for the tonal centre not to be stated at the end of a line in the *frons*.

## Cadences

One way to set up the primary pitch of the *frons* is in the choice of pitches at the end of lines 1 to 4. Another way that a melody might delineate tonal space is through cadences. A cadence might be a turn around a central pitch that ends on that pitch, as in the version of RS1042 in **a** (see **Fig. 2.4**). Cadences are marked in the figure by fermata.

The figure shows two staves of music in a single system. The top staff contains the first two lines of the melody, and the bottom staff contains the last two lines. Each line of music is aligned with its corresponding lyrics. Fermatas are placed above the final note of each line to indicate cadences. The lyrics are: 1. Cu - ve - lier et vous Fer - ri 2. Et vous aus - si Grie - vi - ler: 3. Tout troi res - pon - des a mi 4. Car je vous voeil de - man - der

**Fig. 2.4:** *Frons* of RS1042<sup>46</sup>

RS1042 demarcates its tonal space very clearly through several cadences. All four lines end with a cadence on *D*, each time using a turn figure. In lines 1 and 3, this five-note figure (*D–E–D–C–D*) centres on the primary pitch, *D*. In lines 2 and 4, the turn is only a three-note figure (*D–C–D*). However, the primary pitch of the melody is reached before the end of the first line. The melody descends to *D* at the third syllable of the first line, establishing *D* as the tonal centre at the earliest opportunity. Each of these cadences coincides with a syntactic break in the text. Although the first three notes of line 1 are a cadence on *D*, these same three notes in line 3 do not function as a cadence because *D* is in the middle of the word ‘respondés’. A cadence must take account of the text in order for there to be a closing melodic gesture.

RS1042 exemplifies the two most common forms of cadence: a turn on a pitch and a descent to a pitch. However, trouvères did not always take advantage of a potential

<sup>46</sup> **a**142r erroneously transmits parts of lines 2 and 3 a 3<sup>rd</sup> higher.

cadence in melody. In the version of RS1340 in **a** (Fig. 2.5 below), there are two possible cadence points in the first line: on ‘-ri’ and on ‘vous’.

1.Fer - ri - - se vous bien a - - miés  
 3.[Et] tout - - de fi se - ü - - siés

2.Dame u da - moi - - se - - le  
 4.Que ja de le - - be - - le

Fig. 2.5: *Frons* of RS1340

If the cadence were on the fourth syllable of the line, the turn-figure around *D* in the first four syllables of the line would establish *D* as the primary pitch, and the cadence would be marked as a distinct structural break by the leap to *F* immediately after. Instead, Jehan Bretel opens the song with the two-syllable address ‘Ferri’; *D* is established as the primary pitch, but less convincingly than if there had been a syntactic break after the fourth syllable of the line.<sup>47</sup> At the end of the first line and the start of the second line, *F* is briefly established as a new tonal centre, thanks to the descent to *F* at the end of line 1. This tonal centre is short-lived, as the melody descends to *D* in line 2 and confirms *D* as the primary pitch with a final cadence.

When considered without text, many *jeu-parti* melodies have one or more potential cadences before the end of the first line. 57 (41%) of the 140 melodies were deemed to have a potential cadence on the primary pitch of the *frons* in the first line of the song, and 43 (31%) had a potential cadence on a pitch different to the primary pitch. Only 29% of melodies had no identifiable cadence. The level of significance is even greater for pcc

<sup>47</sup> In the second stanza of RS1340, Lambert Ferri does exploit the potential cadence on the fourth syllable of line one by placing a syntactic break there.

melodies: 41% of melodies had a potential cadence on the primary pitch, 32% had a potential cadence on a pitch other than the primary pitch, and 26% had no identifiable cadence in their first line. When the text of the first line is taken into account, the picture changes significantly. Of the 140 melodies in **KNOPXMTaAZ**, 24 (17%) ended the address (for example, ‘Ferri’) in the first line on the primary pitch. Even if the 10 melodies that could not be measured in this way are excluded, the proportion of melodies that cadence on the primary pitch is only 18%.<sup>48</sup> These proportions are the same for pcc melodies. This suggests a number of conclusions. First, the frequency of potential cadences points to a stylistic convention in *jeu-parti* melodies, in which tonal centres could be established through cadential figures. Listeners might have attended to cadences to orient themselves in the tonal space of a melody: this would mean that cadences within and at the end of lines had a structural significance for listeners. Secondly, the use of cadences on pitches other than the primary pitch would suggest that *jeu-parti* melodies have primary and secondary pitch centres. Finally, as cadences with a syntactic break in the text occur on the primary pitch relatively infrequently, trouvères did not always exploit potential cadences in a melody. Other considerations such as text-setting may be the cause of this.

Both melodies for the text *Lambert, se vous amiés bien loiaument* (RS704) have a secondary pitch centre. The text unusually has the rhyme scheme **abcabddd**. In both melodies (one in **a** and one in **Z**), the melodic structure matches this rhyme scheme by repeating the melody of lines 1–3 for lines 4–6. In the melody of RS704 in **a**, the secondary tonal centre is explored in the middle line of the opening tercet (**Fig. 2.6**).

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<sup>48</sup> Melodies that had no clear syntactic break within their first line were excluded from this test.

1. 4 only

1. Lam - bert se vous a - miés bien loi - au - ment  
4. U e - le vous a - mast sou - fi - sau - ment

2. u - ne da - me qui fust sage et vail - lans  
5. et au - tres fust del cors de li te - nans

1. 6 only

3. le quel a - riés vous plus\_ kier?  
6. et l'e - üst prise a\_\_\_\_\_ mol - lier,

Fig. 2.6: RS704, ll. 1–6

Line 1 establishes *D* and *C* as the most important pitches of the song: whether *D* or *C* is the primary pitch is not clear. Although the address ‘Lambert’ ends on *F*, the turn figure that ends on ‘amiés’ could be heard as a cadence onto *D*. This potential cadence occurs on the sixth syllable, marking the conventional division of a ten-syllable poetic line into six and four syllables, or four and six syllables.<sup>49</sup> This causes *D* to be heard as the primary pitch, supported by the pitch *A* on ‘loi-’, which maps out a plagal tonal space. The first line ends on *C*, an open pitch whose resolution to *D* is expected. *D* is confirmed as the primary pitch in line 2 thanks to the cadence on ‘dame’, the end of a clause. After this point of closure, the melody leaps by a 3<sup>rd</sup>; *F/G* are heard as the secondary pitch centre of the song as the melody rises in an arc above *F*, closing onto *G* at the end of the line. This is the first time that *G* and *a* have been heard. Just as *C* is expected to rise to *D* in line 1, *F* rises to *G* at the end of line 2. Line 3 then draws on the melody of line 1, firmly centred on the pitches *D* and *C*. The brevity of the *F/G* pitch centre in lines 2 and 5 casts doubt on whether it really

<sup>49</sup> On the conventions of decasyllabic poetry, see Joseph A. Dane, *The Long and the Short of It: A Practical Guide to European Versification Systems* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), 44–9.

is a pitch centre. However, the expansion of lines 2–3 in the *cauda* (lines 7–8) would suggest otherwise. Lines 7 and 8 magnify the melodic gestures of the *frons* so that, for example, the pitch string  $F-G-a-G-F$  in line 2 is expanded to  $F-G-a-b-a-G-F$  in line 7 (see **Fig. 2.7** below). In a similar way, the descent from  $G$  to  $D$  between lines 2 and 3 is increased to a descent that spans a 5<sup>th</sup> in line 8, from  $a$  to  $D$ . Since the *cauda* draws on the  $F/G$  pitch centre set out in line 2, the  $F/G$  centre is marked as significant.

**Fig. 2.7:** RS704, ll. 7–8

The hypothesis that  $F/G$  is a secondary pitch centre in this melody is strengthened further by the text of the first stanza. At two places in the first stanza, the word ‘other’ (‘autre’ [l. 5], ‘autrui’ [l. 7]) is mentioned. In line 5, it is another man who controls the Lady’s body and marries her. In line 7, the Lady chooses to give her love to another while the protagonist marries the Lady. Moving to the  $F/G$  pitch centre, the melody in lines 5 and 7 matches the narrative of the text, moving away from  $D$  and  $C$  to another pitch centre. In each of the proposed scenarios, the protagonist lacks control over another person, whether it be the rival lover in line 5 or the Lady in line 7. This contrasts to the protagonist who, according to line 1, ‘loves really loyally’.<sup>50</sup> The stability of the loyal lover is set to the  $D/C$ -centred part of the tonal space in line 1, and this narrative stability is matched by both words that refer to marriage: ‘a mollier’ (line 6) and ‘espoussée’ (line 8). Both of these words fall on a cadence on  $C$ . The first stanza of RS704 (as transmitted in **a**) therefore

<sup>50</sup> ‘vous amiés bien loiaument’ [l. 1].

aligns hierarchies of pitch in the tonal space of the melody with the alternatives of the dilemma: the poetic idea of stability or permanence is set to music that is centred on *C* and *D*, while text relating to uncontrollable others triggers an alternative pitch centre, *F/G*.

The statistical frequency of line endings in the *frons* that state the primary pitch of the *frons* suggests that the *frons* of a *jeu-parti* aimed to establish tonal centres strongly. Sometimes the tonal space was also defined by a cadence on the primary pitch within the first line, although trouvères did not always exploit potential cadences in this way. It is not surprising that the *frons* serves to establish tonal hierarchies: if a tonal space is created in the process of performance, drawing on the conventions of the form, it follows that the opening of a melody serves an important role in creating the tonal space. In the case of *jeu-parti* melodies, the purpose of the opening of a *jeu-parti* was to establish the tonal basis of a song, from which the *cauda* could then deviate. This corroborates the evidence for the relationship between the *frons* and the *cauda*, discussed above. The ambitus of the *cauda* is never smaller than that of the *frons* in any given *jeu-parti*, and there is frequently an increase in ambitus as the melody moves from *frons* to *cauda*. What is established in the *frons* is explored in the *cauda*. The tonal security of the *frons* supports this characterisation of the two sections of a melody: by establishing tonal centres in the *frons*, a *jeu-parti* melody can explore in its *cauda* the expectations of tonal resolution that are set up by the *frons*. Further, tonal hierarchies in a melody could be aligned with poetic ideas in the text.

## Tonal norms and scribal awareness

Were the stylistic parameters that have been presented apparent to scribes and compilers? This may seem a strange question to ask. Accounts of the compilation of musical books have most often focused on manuscripts whose compilation tells a narrative through the side-by-side placement of texts and images.<sup>51</sup> On a smaller scale, Jennifer Saltzstein argues that the order in which *jeux-partis* are presented in **A** indicates the compiler's aim to portray the *jeu-parti* as a clerical genre.<sup>52</sup> Physical and material decisions made by a compiler could therefore shape readers' understandings of a text (or texts). However, the concerns that shaped the compilation of a manuscript need not have been solely material. Proposing the emergence of a concept of vernacular musical authorship that was based on writing and compilation, Sylvia Huot has shown that the genre and the attribution of a song were two categories by which trouvère chansonniers were organised. She implies that **a** was intended to be a comprehensive book that, through its codification of songs by genre and its lavish decoration and inclusion of music notation, was 'a first step toward the establishment of an Old French lyric canon'.<sup>53</sup>

Tonal characteristics may also have shaped decisions of compilation. Similarities between the melodic statistics for each chansonnier would suggest that the compilers of some chansonniers aimed to present a representative sample of *jeux-partis*. Instead of making use of a narrative of compilation, in which the reader might interpret a literary item

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<sup>51</sup> Emma Dillon gives an interpretation of a fourteenth-century reader's material encounter with music writing in her study of *F-Pn fr. 146*, characterising the strategies of compilation in the manuscript as a 'narrative': *Medieval Music-Making and the Roman de Fauvel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 6. Elizabeth Eva Leach interprets the placement of songs in **I** as a means of bridging romance works copied before the songs and the apocalyptic works that come after: 'A courtly compilation: the Douce Chansonnier', in *Manuscripts and Medieval Song: Inscription, Performance, Context*, ed. Elizabeth Eva Leach and Helen Deeming, 221–46 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 226.

<sup>52</sup> Saltzstein, 'Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras', 153–5.

<sup>53</sup> Huot, *From Song to Book*, 53.

in light of what precedes it, the compilers of **a**, **A** and **Z** compiled *jeux-partis* in order to demonstrate a range of tonal forms. **Table 2.8** presents some of the most striking results.

	<b>KMNOXPTaA</b> <b>Z</b> (140)	<b>a</b> (76)	<b>A</b> (32)	<b>Z</b> (23)
Structure:				
pcc	81%	79%	78%	83%
tc	19%	21%	22%	17%
Ambitus of <i>frons</i>	All Pcc (114)	All Pcc (60)	All Pcc (25)	All Pcc (19)
either	52%   57%	53%   57%	50%   60%	65%   68%
authentic	23%   18%	22%   18%	22%   8%	26%   21%
plagal	24%   25%	24%   22%	25%   28%	4%   5%
both	1%   1%	1%   2%	3%   4%	4%   5%
Ambitus of <i>cauda</i> <sup>54</sup>				
either	11%   11%	12%   12%	13%   16%	0%   0%
authentic	62%   63%	59%   62%	63%   64%	78%   79%
plagal	23%   20%	25%   20%	25%   20%	17%   16%
both	4%   5%	4%   5%	0%   0%	4%   5%
<i>Frons</i> ambitus is either, <i>cauda</i> is	(73)	(40)	(16)	(15)
either	16%	20%	19%	0%
authentic	67%	62%	69%	73%
plagal	14%	15%	13%	20%
both	3%	3%	0%	7%
Primary tone of <i>frons</i>	(140)	(76)	(32)	(23)
ut	51%	50%	59%	48%
re	44%	49%	31%	52%
mi	4%	1%	9%	0%
Relation to last pitch of line 4:				
Same	81%	78%	84%	87%
Different	19%	22%	16%	13%

**Table 2.8: Similarities in distribution of tonal characteristics across Aza**

The similarity in results between **a** and **KMNOXPTaAZ** is not unexpected. Chansonnier **a** contains 76 *jeu-parti* melodies, which is a sample size sufficiently large that one would expect it to have a similar distribution of melodic parameters to the distribution of the whole corpus. What is more surprising is that **A** and **Z**, with their smaller sample

<sup>54</sup> One melody (RS1282 in **A**) is incomplete, but of the two complete lines in the *cauda* that are transmitted, the *cauda* appears to be plagal.

sizes of 32 and 23 melodies respectively, also show striking similarities in distribution to the distribution patterns of the whole corpus. This is even more significant given that **aAZ** mostly transmit melodies that are unica. Of the 32 melodies in **A**, 26 are found only in **A**. Of the 23 melodies in **Z**, 17 are unica, while in **a**, 61 of the 76 melodies are unique to the source. The similarities in distribution are not, therefore, the result of the copying of the same melody across several sources. Nor is it the case that the same song text was set to different melodies that shared basic features (such as ambitus, form or primary pitch); for many songs that were copied with different melodies in different sources, the melodies differ markedly. Rather, the data suggests that the compilers selected melodies so as to give a representation of the range of melodic choices, and the extent to which a parameter was conventional or unusual.

In the ambitus of the *frons*, for example, all three chansonniers showed relatively similar distributions. **Aa** were exactly representative of the distribution of ambitus in the whole corpus. Both chansonniers included only one *jeu-parti* with a *frons* that spanned both plagal and authentic ambitus (RS1331). **Z** shows a slight preference for melodies that have a *frons* that is either authentic or plagal, and by consequence has a lower proportion of melodies with a plagal *frons*. Like **aA**, **Z** also included one melody whose *frons* spanned both a plagal and an authentic ambitus: *De cou, Robert de la Piere* (RS1331). Was RS1331 copied in all three chansonniers because each of the compilers wanted to include a *jeu-parti* whose *frons* demonstrated this unusual characteristic? This hypothesis is supported by the fact that RS1331 is only one of two melodies to be copied in all three chansonniers.

This statistical examination of *jeu-parti* melodies has demonstrated that the genre did abide by certain melodic conventions such as types of repetition, ambitus and compass, or the establishment of tonal centres. In contradiction to Ludwig, who considered the transmission of *jeux-partis* to be problematically varied, the melodies of *jeux-partis* are

relatively stylistically uniform. Although a text could be set to more than one melody, the collections of *jeux-partis* presented in **aAZ** are all fairly representative of the distribution of melodic features in the whole corpus. This demonstrates not only a scribal awareness of the norms of tonal practice, which informed their choices of what to include in their chansonniers, but also that there were stylistic conventions. It is these stylistic conventions that support the interpretations of *jeux-partis* included in this thesis. There is undoubtedly much more to learn about the melodic conventions of different sources, but that is beyond the scope of this study.

### **Dilemma in words and in tonal behaviour: four case studies**

So far, I have suggested what the ‘structural tropes’, to use Kramer’s term, might be for the *jeu-parti*. The following case studies aim to piece together the meanings that listeners could have found in *jeux-partis* thanks to these structural tropes. Some structural tropes of the poetry of *jeu-parti* have been explored by Michèle Gally and Georges Lavis. For Gally, *jeu-parti* poetry is polemical rather than logical, structured less by an appeal to reason than by distinct statements that strive to persuade the listener through their effect rather than through their content.<sup>55</sup> Gally points out that maxims, proverbs and metaphors are placed in succession in *jeux-partis* but are not connected by logic. Lavis shows that *jeux-partis* make frequent use of the conjunctions ‘but’ (*mais*) and ‘to the contrary’ (*ains*).<sup>56</sup> Like their poetry, the melodies of *jeux-partis* can be divided into segments that are placed side by side and contrast to one another, rather than following logically from one another. Poetic ideas are placed in opposition to each other and can be aligned with melodic segments that also have the potential to oppose one another. These segments may be based on repetition,

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<sup>55</sup> Gally, ‘Le chant et la dispute’, 381.

<sup>56</sup> Lavis, ‘Le jeu-parti’, 31.

tonal centre or register, and a melody may be segmented in different ways. A performer could imply one division of the melody in one stanza, and a different division in another. Moreover, the variable length of syntactic units in *jeu-parti* poetry means that the text of one stanza will imply a particular division of the melody into segments. Through the analysis of the relationship between the structure of a text and the structure of a melody in any given stanza, it becomes possible to establish the ways in which trouvères understood the meaning of melodic structures.

### Sweet division

‘Lambert Ferri, since you have divided this so sweetly for me, you know well that I’ll take the better alternative, for it cannot be otherwise’.<sup>57</sup> Phelipot Verdierie responds with these words to the opening stanza of *Biau Phelipot Verdierie, je vous proi* (RS1674, see **Appendix §15**), in which Lambert Ferri presents Phelipot with the following scenario: a Lady asks her lover to meet her in secret, but they will be overheard by slanderers; does he sin more by going or not? Phelipot argues that the lover sins less by defying the Lady’s will and by not going to meet her; Lambert supports the lover who does as his Lady commands. Phelipot describes the dilemma of the *jeu-parti*, that which has been divided (‘parti’ [l. 12]) as ‘kindly’ or ‘favourable’ (‘deboinairement’ [l. 12]). At one level, Phelipot is referring to the choice of sides that he must take in the debate: he sees one alternative as more defensible than the other, and chooses it. At another level, Phelipot’s use of the adverb ‘deboinairement’ to describe the way in which Lambert has set out the dilemma in the first stanza suggests that the musical and poetic setting of the first stanza is in some way also ‘deboinaire’, which might translate as ‘sweet’ or ‘noble’. If Lambert ‘sweetly divided’ the

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<sup>57</sup> ‘Lambert Ferri, sachiés bien, puis k’a moi / Avés parti si deboinairement, / Jou prendrai, ner puet estre autrement, / Kar bien puis prendre la meillour partie’. [RS1674, ll. 11–14]

dilemma of the opening stanza, he might also have ‘sweetly divided’ the melody in a way that an analytical discussion of the melody will elucidate.

One source of the sweetness of Lambert’s first stanza could be the interaction of poetic and musical structures. The rhyme scheme of RS1674 is **abbccbbddc** and each line has 10 syllables, except lines 4, 5 and 10 (rhyme **c**), which have 10' syllables. The melody is in pcc form, only slightly altered in line 4 to include one extra syllable. The rhyme scheme would suggest a structural break after line 5, giving a *frons* of **abbcc**, and the melody matches this by repeating motives from the first four lines in line 5. **Fig. 2.8** shows lines 1–6 of RS1674 and labels four motives, **p**, **q**, **r** and **s**, that make up lines 1–4.

1. Biau Phe - li - pot Ver - die - re, je vous proi

2. Ke res - pon - dés se - lonc vostre en - sī - ent:

3. Il est uns hom ki ai - me loi - au - ment,

4. De cuer en - tir, sans point de tre - che - ri - e,

5. Et sa da - me li com - mande et li pri - e

6. K'il voist a li par - ler pri - vé - e - ment

**Fig. 2.8:** RS1674, ll. 1–6

In each melodic *pes*, the melody states motives **p**, **q**, **r** and **s** in succession and finishes with motives **p** and **r**. Motive **p** is introduced first as a possible cadence onto the primary pitch *F* on ‘Biau Phelipot’ and is then stated as a cadential motive at the end of line 2, where there is both a structural and a syntactic break. At the end of line 4, motive **p** does not have the same closing function. Since it is followed by motives **q** and **s** (truncated) in line 5, the melody continues from line 4 to line 5 with almost the same succession of motives that were set out at the opening of the *jeu-parti*. (Line 5 omits motive **r**.) As a result, the statement of motive **p** at the end of line 4 sounds not like the end of a phrase but, rather, like the start of a new one. Line 5 ends with an extended version of motive **p**, and is followed in line 6 by a truncated version of motive **p**: by placing two statements of motive **p** next to one another, Lambert acknowledges that the end of line 5, like the end of line 2, is a structural break determined by the rhyme scheme. On the other hand, the extension and truncation of motive **p** at the end of line 5 and start of line 6 respectively demonstrates that, melodically, the *cauda* has begun. This is the type of motivic play that distinguishes the *cauda* from the *frons*, as demonstrated above in the discussion of RS296. It also enables the complicated interaction of melodic and poetic structure that Phelipot might have considered to be ‘deboinairement’.

There is another way to interpret Phelipot’s description of the first stanza as ‘sweetly divided’: the melody itself is tonally divided. As the melody of the first stanza continues, it becomes less clear what the tonal centre for the song is. In lines 1–4, the primary pitch is *F*. Not only is *F* the final pitch of all four lines, but its primacy is also emphasised by the cadences at the start of lines 1 and 3 and at the end of lines 2 and 4 on *F*. *D/C* is set up as a secondary pitch centre by motive **s**, which rises from and returns to *D*, and then falls to *C*. Lines 1–4 of the song set up the expectation that *D* will fall to *C*, and it is this expectation that lines 5–10 play upon (see **Fig. 2.9**).

5. Et sa da - me li com - mande et li pri - e

6. K'il voist a li par - ler pri - vé - e - ment

7. En se - cré lieu, mais il set vrai - e - ment

8. Ke s'il i va, k'il se - ra per - che - üs

9. De mes - di - sans. Au quel mes - fait il plus,

10. Se il i va u se il n'i va mi - e?

Fig. 2.9: RS1674, ll. 5–10

Throughout the *cauda*, *C* is the primary pitch, and the expectation that *D* should fall to *C* propels the melody of lines 6–10. In line 6, the melody falls to *B* with an abbreviated version of motive *r* that does not rise to *C*, as one would expect: in the *frons*, motive *r* is stated a 4<sup>th</sup> higher and rises from *E* to *F*. Potential cadences onto *C* later in lines 6 and 8 do not coincide with syntactic breaks, with the result that motive *r* is not heard as a closing gesture. The final two lines consist of very limited motivic material as the melody obsessively cadences repeatedly onto *C* using motive *s*. By the end of the stanza, it is clear that *C* is the primary pitch of the *cauda*.

This shift in primary pitch is accompanied by a change in the compass of the melody for lines 5–10. The pitch *b* (in motive *q*) is not heard after line 5, while line 6 introduces the pitch *B* for the first time in motive *r*, stated four times in lines 5–10 in either its exact

form or in a modified version. The introduction of *B* demands a shift in ambitus. In lines 1–4, the melody was centred on *F* and, descending only to *C*, was plagal. With the *B* in line 6, the listener is forced to hear the melody in a new tonal space that is centred on *C* and is authentic in ambitus. The presence of two tonal centres, one for the *frons* and a different one for the *cauda*, is not in itself problematic, as Jennifer Bain has similarly argued for the analysis of Machaut’s songs.<sup>58</sup> At the risk of rehearsing well-worn arguments, the search for unity in music analysis—in this case, unity of tonal centre—can be circular and freighted with the ideology of the organic in music.<sup>59</sup> As RS1674 demonstrates, a *jeu-parti* could have more than one tonal centre. But even if aesthetic questions about unity are problematic or moot, I want to suggest that the division of a melody into one or more pitch centres or tonal spaces could resemble the division of a love question into two equally desirable or undesirable alternatives: the result of the ‘parti’ (division) of a *jeu-parti*.

The text of RS1674 does indeed suggest that Phelipot and Lambert recognised the split between tonal centres in the melody of the song. Phelipot not only responds to Lambert’s opening stanza with the laudatory remark that Lambert has ‘sweetly split’ the song for him but also spends the opening quatrain of his stanza (stanza 2) dwelling on the song as a dilemma. In line 3, Phelipot states that he ‘would take that which cannot be otherwise’, emphasising his full advocacy of one side of the dilemma and opposition to the other.<sup>60</sup> He goes on to reiterate that he will ‘take the better side’ in the dilemma.<sup>61</sup> Phelipot’s repeated references to the split nature of the dilemma fills lines 1–4 (the *frons*) of the melody. Until the end of line 4, the melody remains centred on *F*; it is only after line

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<sup>58</sup> Bain proposes ‘a theory of tonal structure ... that allows for multiple tonal centres within a song’ in “‘Messy Structure’? Multiple Tonal Centers in the Music of Machaut”, *Music Theory Spectrum* 30/2 (2008), 195–237: 197.

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, the critique of analysts’ search for unity in Fuller, ‘Exploring Tonal Structure’, 61.

<sup>60</sup> ‘Jou prendrai, ner puet estre autrement’ [l. 13].

<sup>61</sup> ‘prendre la meillour partie’ [l. 14].

4 that the tonal centre becomes less easy to discern. Phelipot only begins to address the love question itself in the *cauda* of the melody, where *F* and *D/C* tonal centres are pitted against one another. In lines 5–7, Phelipot states that the lover who disobeys his Lady is guilty of treachery. In lines 7–10, he argues that the alternative in the dilemma, meeting the Lady in the presence of the slanderers, is even worse.

To contrast the two sides of the dilemma, Phelipot uses the conjunction ‘mais’, which has an important structural function in *jeu-parti* poetry, as Lavis has shown.<sup>62</sup> Phelipot places ‘mais’ at the start of motive **p** in line 7, just as Ferri had done in the previous stanza. Before the start of motive **p** here, the melody was centred on *D*, thanks to the repetition of motive **s** in line 6 (see **Fig. 2.10** below). Motive **p**, on the other hand, is centred on *F*. By placing the structurally important ‘mais’ at the start of motive **p**, Phelipot introduces the second alternative of the dilemma at the same time as the melody is wrenched out of a *D*-centred tonal space and into an *F*-centred space. Like his use of the conjunction ‘mais’, Phelipot uses the different tonal centres of the melody to place the two sides of the dilemma in opposition.

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<sup>62</sup> Lavis, ‘Le jeu-parti.’

6. K'il voist a li par - ler pri - vé - e - ment

7. En se - cré lieu, mais il set vrai - e - ment

16. Ki d'a - ler a a li com - man - de - ment,

17. Se il n'i va; mais chil trop plus mes - prent

Fig. 2.10: RS1674, ll. 6–7 and 16–17

RS1674 is also based on uncertainty, whether this be poetic or tonal. By the end of the first stanza, the melody has decisively shifted from a tonal space centred on *F* to one centred on *D/C*, but it is unclear where this shift happens. In lines 1–4, the listener can be sure that the melody is centred on *F*. One sign for the departure of the melody from the tonal space centred on *F* is that *b* is not heard after line 5. On first hearing the melody, though, a listener would not know that the *b* in line 5 was the last of the stanza: the listener might spend the remainder of the melody listening out for the return of *b* that would signal a return to the tonal centre *F*. The contrast between the certainty of lines 1–4 and the uncertainty of lines 5–10 is exploited by Lambert and Phelipot. In lines 1–4 of his first stanza, Lambert hails Phelipot and describes the lover, who ‘loves loyally’ and has a ‘heart without any dishonesty at all’.<sup>63</sup> It is only at line 5, where the demands of the Lady are introduced, that the uncertainty of the dilemma is mentioned. In a similar way, Phelipot

<sup>63</sup> ‘aime loiaument’ [l. 3]; ‘sans point de trecherie’ [l. 4].

points to the uncertainty facing the lover in lines 18–19 (lines 8–9 of the melody), since the lover cannot be sure if those eavesdropping on his meeting with the Lady intend to act treacherously. Later in the song, Phelipot describes the slanderers as ‘those of dishonourable heraldry (i.e. repute or status)’ and Lambert accuses the lover who disobeys his Lady of showing ‘such empty signs’.<sup>64</sup> Both of these descriptions are evidence of the poets’ concern for what cannot be known. The slanderers and the disloyal lover present signs that may or may not indicate the truth. This indeterminacy of knowledge matches the disoriented experience of the listener, who does not know what the tonal centre of the melody is supposed to be. As if to highlight this uncertainty, both poets utilise the opposition of *frons* and *cauda* to set out the poetic themes of certain knowledge and of trickery.

In songs where there is more than one tonal centre, the effect is not necessarily one of disorientation. In this case, it is the meaning of the text that prompts this particular reading, thanks to the ways in which tonal division map onto poetic ideas in the text. The sweet division of RS1674 enables this alignment, and the division of tonal space that it exemplifies is common to many *jeux-partis*.

### **Division as metapoetry**

In RS1674, there were several ways that Lambert Ferri could have ‘sweetly divided’ the text and music of the *jeu-parti*. Another *jeu-parti*, *Lambert Ferri, je vous part* (RS375, see **Appendix §4**), also draws attention to the act of division that singing a *jeu-parti* entails. Jehan Bretel opens his first stanza with a challenge: ‘Lambert Ferri, I’ll divide [this] for you; now tell me your opinion’.<sup>65</sup> The dilemma that Bretel divides is as follows: if a man

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<sup>64</sup> ‘li de honte escus’ [l. 38]; ‘si povre enseignement’ [l. 42].

<sup>65</sup> ‘Lambert Ferri, je vous part; / Or respondés vostre avis’ [ll. 1–2].

receives sweet looks and his smiles from his Lady for a whole year but no physical pleasure, should he be happy or sad in his pain? Bretel's placement of the verb 'divide' (*partir*) is musically significant because the melody moves to a different tonal space after Bretel's use of the verb: musically and textually, Bretel draws attention to his act of division. Just like many openings to *jeux-partis*, the verb *partir* is used performatively, not only in setting up the dilemma but also in dividing the text into two alternatives and the melody into different tonal centres (see **Chapter 1**).

The placement of certain words at important structural points in a melody lends significance to such moments. Mikhail Lopatin has shown that trecento songs frequently employ terms that are common to courtly love poetry but that can also describe the features that constitute the musico-poetic form of a song. Words such as 'diviso' (divided) or 'dipartire' (to depart) are used by the courtly subject to describe his separation from the Lady, but at the same time these metapoetic terms offer a lexicon for the discussion of musical form.<sup>66</sup> In RS375, Bretel places the verb 'partir' (to divide) at the end of the first line (**Fig. 2.11**).

1. Lam - bert Fer - ri, je vous part;

2. Or res - pon - dés vostre a vis;

**Fig. 2.11:** RS375, ll. 1–2

<sup>66</sup> Mikhail Lopatin, 'From broken heart to divided song: 'divisio' at the intersection of poetry and music in the Due- and Trecento' (paper presented at the Seminar in Medieval and Renaissance Music, Oxford, 26th January 2017).

Up to this point, the melody appears to be centred on *F*, although the limited melodic range of line 1 (a 4<sup>th</sup>) means that a number of tonal centres could be possible. By the end of line 2, it is clear that the primary pitch of the *frons* is, to the contrary, *D*. In a telling coincidence of the poetic and the metapoetic, the verb ‘part’ marks the division between two tonal spaces, one that is centred on *F* and one that is centred on *D*.

Although there could be a cadence on *F* on the third syllable of line 1, the syntactic break after ‘Ferri’ and the leap of a 3<sup>rd</sup> from *E* to *G* suggest that *E* is the cadence within the first line. It was noted above that the *frons* of *jeux-partis* in pcc form frequently spans an ambitus that could be either plagal or authentic (57%). In many melodies, the tonal space is defined by the primary pitch and the pitch a tone below it, which is the lowest pitch of the ambitus. In the first line of RS375, which is in pcc form, the lowest pitch is *E*: given the frequency of *frons* melodies that could have either plagal or authentic ambitus, this would imply that the primary pitch of the *frons* will be *F*. The *G* on ‘part’ at the end of line 1 is therefore heard as an open pitch that must eventually close to *F*. Line 2 opens with a turn figure on *D* (‘-pon-’), a brief exploration of a secondary tonal centre that is not initially established by a cadence. Instead of returning to *F* at the end of line 2, as might be expected, the melody cadences once again onto *D*, repeating the motive that bridges lines 1 and 2. The listener must reinterpret line 1 not as *F*-centred, but as *D*-centred. A motivic analysis of the opening two lines demonstrates how this reinterpretation occurs (see **Fig. 2.12**).

1. Lam - bert Fer - ri, je vous part;

2. Or res - pon - dés vostre a vis;

Fig. 2.12: RS375, ll. 1–2

The opening motive, labelled **p** in Fig. 2.12, is repeated and extended from the end of line 1 to the start of line 2 as motive **p'**. Motive **p'** is repeated at the end of line 2. Because of the repetition and extension of motive **p**, motive **p** is expected to fall to *D* by the end of line 2. The version of motive **p** at the start of line 1 must be reinterpreted as an incomplete version of the motive. Rather than functioning as the lower neighbour note to *F*, *E* is actually the upper neighbour note to *D*, with *C*, a tone below *D*, defining the ambitus of the *frons* after it is heard for the first time in line 2. Motive **q** is not an affirmation of the primary pitch, but constitutes instead a secondary tonal centre based on *F*. Bretel's placement of the verb 'part' emphasises that the melody is split into two tonal spaces. The verb not only divides *F* from *D*, but also divides expectation from realisation—the expectation that *G* will resolve to *F* and the realisation that *D* is in fact the primary pitch. *D* is not a usual primary pitch for the *frons*, as illustrated by the statistical distribution of line endings. In other pcc melodies, when the final pitch of line 1 is *G* (22 melodies), the final pitch of line 2 could be *a* (3 melodies), *F* (4), *G* (10), *E* (2), *C* (2) or *d* (1). RS375 is the only melody in pcc form whose first line ends with *G* and second line with *D*. This suggests that listeners would have been surprised by the revelation that *D* is the primary pitch of the *frons*.

The division that Bretel sets up in the opening two lines is reflected in the musico-poetic structure of the remainder of the stanza. Given that *D* was an unexpected final pitch

for line 2, the final pitches of the other lines deserve close examination (see **Fig. 2.13**). Lines 3 and 4 have the same finals as lines 1 and 2, since the melody is in pcc form. Line 5 elaborates on the *D*-centred music of line 4, stating two abbreviated versions of motive **p'** and ending on *D*. The end of line 5 is a structural break in the melody, which centres on *F* in lines 6 and 7, rising to *b* for the first time. After line 5, *D* is heard several times, but not as the final pitch of a line until the very end. Although it is common in a *jeu-parti cauda* for the primary pitch to be the final pitch of a line only in the final line, the noteworthy combination of final pitches in lines 1 and 2 lends particular significance to this case. By delaying the coincidence of *D* and a rhyme sound, Bretel makes the listener wait, just as the lover of the dilemma is waiting for a year without the consummation of his love.

5. De tres bo - ne - vo - len - té

6. Tout l'i - ver et tout l'e - sté,

7. Ca - scun jour u - ne fe - ï - e

8. Sans nul au - tre driu - e - ri - e,

9. Et dont l'a - mast loi - au - ment,

10. A - roit il mal - vai - se - ment

11. U bien sa paine em - plo - ï - e?

**Fig. 2.13:** RS375, ll. 5–11

Poetically, too, Bretel forces the listener to wait. The conjunction ‘u’ (or), that separates the two alternatives of the dilemma in any *jeu-parti*, is placed unusually late in the first stanza; in other *jeux-partis*, ‘u’ normally occurs before the final line. The listener must wait until the very end of the stanza until they find out what the dilemma will be. As a result, the two alternatives of the dilemma are not set to distinct, large-scale melodic segments. However, the opposition between *D* and *F* is used by Bretel to reinforce structural oppositions of the text. Lines 6–7, centred on *F*, describe the joy that the Lady brings, whereas lines 8–9, centred on *D*, oppose this with the lack of physical consummation that the Lady offers. Lines 6–7 pile up the words that describe regularity: ‘all’ and ‘every’.<sup>67</sup> Line 8 opens with the phrase ‘not any at all’, as if to emphasise the stark contrast in poetic content that also coincides with a change of tonal centre.<sup>68</sup> Although these musico-poetic events are not strictly metapoetic, they nevertheless offer textual and structural hermeneutic windows on the way that a *jeu-parti* melody can be meaningful.

## Choice

The two case studies outlined above focus primarily on the way that tonal space is divided in the first stanza of a *jeu-parti*. At the start of a *jeu-parti*, the tonal space of a song is created for the first time, setting up hierarchies of pitch and the relationships between pitches. In the second stanza, the opponent in the *jeu-parti* must choose how to respond. The second stanza is the opponent’s own voicing of his subjectivity, his first opportunity to stake his claim on the sonic and performative space. In this first moment of exchange, the second *trouvère* must choose how to use the melody that his opponent has provided for him; it is the first opportunity for symbolic violence. Choice was therefore an important

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<sup>67</sup> ‘tout’ [l. 6]; ‘cascun’ [l. 7].

<sup>68</sup> ‘sans nul autre’ [l. 8].

structural trope of the *jeu-parti*. *Or coisisiés Jehan de Grieviler* (RS861, see **Appendix §8**) draws particular attention to the first moment of exchange. When Jehan de Marli hails Jehan de Grieviler, he tells him to ‘choose’ between two alternatives: to have your Lady naked in your arms every night but in your dreams; or to have the solace and company of your Lady in reality but for only one day in your whole life. At the start of the second stanza, Grieviler has several choices to make, not only which side of the dilemma to choose, but also which tonal relationships to utilise or subvert in the way that he sets his text.

By analysing how Grieviler responds to the opening stanza, it is possible to understand which features of a melody were particularly salient to listeners. Grieviler’s response amounts to a thirteenth-century analysis of this melody. What choices did Grieviler make, for example, when faced with the uncertain tonal centre of RS861? By comparing the treatment of the melody by Marli and Grieviler, it is possible to reconstruct how each of the poets interpreted the tonal structure of the song. At the opening, *F* or *G* could be the tonal centre. The first four pitches (*F–G–G–F*) could be interpreted either as a cadence on *G* or on *F*, but since the end of the word ‘coisisiés’ falls on *F* (marked in **Fig. 2.14** by a fermata), *F* is heard as the tonal centre of the opening. The repetition of motive **p** (see **Fig. 2.14**) as a cadence on *G* at the end of line 1 causes the opening of the line to be heard differently: *G* might be the tonal centre after all. Furthermore, it was noted in the analysis of RS375 that the tonal centre of melody is frequently one step above the lowest pitch of the melody. *F* is the lowest pitch in line 1, further evidence that *G* might be the tonal centre. Line 2 opens with an arc that returns to *G* on ‘tout’, retaining from line 1 the 3<sup>rd</sup> between *b* and *G* visually (through the use of a plica on ‘ert’), if not sonically (motive **q** in **Fig. 2.14**). From ‘adés’, the melody leaves the tonal region centred on *G*. Repeating motive **q** a 5<sup>th</sup> lower, the melody falls a 3<sup>rd</sup> from *E* to *C* and cadences on *C* at the end of the

line using motive **p**. By the end of line 2, it becomes clear that *C* is the tonal centre of the melody, rather than or in addition to *G*.

1. Or coi - si - siés, Je - han de Grie - vi - ler:

2. A - vis vous ert tout a - dés en dor - mant

Fig. 2.14: RS861, ll. 1–2

The division of the tonal space into two tonal centres (*F/G* and *C*) continues in the *cauda*. Fig. 2.15 presents the whole melody of RS861 aligned by pitch, with a dotted red line that marks the division between the two tonal centres. Overall, the *cauda* moves from high to low, with the exception of line 6. The tonal process of the opening two lines is thus also preserved in the *cauda*. Although *C*, the closing pitch of the *frons*, is reached in line 7, there is no statement of motive **p** (*C–B–C*) until the end of line 8. It is a common procedure in *jeux-partis* for the lower neighbour note to the primary pitch, having been heard in the *frons*, to be deferred until the end of the *cauda*.

HIGHER (*F-c*)

LOWER (*B-G*)

1. Or coi - si - sies, Je - han de Grie - vi - ler: 2. A - vis vous ert tout a - dés en dor - mant,

3. Que vous ten - rés vostre a - mie au vis cler 4. Nue en vos bras, toute a vos - tre con - mant,

5. Sans plus a - voir en tres - tout

6. U un seul jour en

7. A - rés de li sou - las et

8. Sans re - fu - ser:

ni - e

Fig. 2.15: Paradigmatic analysis of RS861

The *cauda* of RS861 is also typical in its use of repetition. **Fig. 2.15** shows that the *cauda* repeats and elaborates small portions of the melody. Melodic fragments are not always presented in the order in which they appear in the *frons*, and the beginning of melodic fragments do not always coincide with the start of a poetic line. Only one poetic line does not coincide with the start of a melodic fragment: line 6. Here, Marli exploits the division of the tonal space into a *G/F*-centred area and a *C*-centred area. By placing the structurally important conjunction ‘u’ (or) at precisely the point that the melody moves into the lower pitch area (marked in **Fig 2.15** by the red line), Marli aligns poetic division with melodic division. Foreshadowing this placement of ‘u’, Marli has placed the word ‘tout’ at the end of the motive *c–b–a–G* in lines 2, 4 and 5. He sonically marks the division of the melody in each of these lines with a word that sounds like ‘u’, the conjunction that divides the alternatives of the dilemma.

If listeners might have wondered whether *G* or *F* was the tonal centre at the opening of the melody, the *cauda* of the first stanza would have left them in no doubt. Line 5 opens with motive **p**, reiterating *G* as the tonal centre and *F* as its subordinate. The motive *F–G–G–F* that opens lines 1 and 3 bridges the end of line 7 and start of line 8, but because of the distribution of syllables and the coincidence of the rhyme word in line 7 with *G*, the motive does not function as a cadence on *F*. What, then, of Grieviler’s choice? Perhaps predictably, Grieviler chooses to subvert the tonal hierarchy established by Marli. In the first line of stanza 2, the *F–G–G–F* motive functions as a cadence on *F* because of the sense of the text: *F* falls at the end of the word ‘Jehan’ (see **Fig. 2.16** below). More significant, though, is the setting of the motive *F–G–G–F* in the third line of stanza 2. In his opening address, Grieviler thanks Marli for ‘hold[ing] me in such high esteem that you divide [this] for me’.<sup>69</sup> This part of Grieviler’s response ends with the *F–G–G–F* motive, after which

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<sup>69</sup> ‘vous me prisiés tant / Que me partés’ [ll. 10–11].

Grieviler states the side of the dilemma that love makes him desire more greatly. Grieviler's opening response ends with the word 'partés', meaning 'you divide'. He thus makes syntactic division to coincide with the verb 'divide', at the same time as he makes the melody cadence on *F*, rather than on *G*. Marli opens the *jeu-parti* with the exhortation that Grieviler must choose, implying that he must choose how to set Marli's melody to his side of the dilemma. Grieviler chooses to reverse the tonal hierarchy that Marli sets up in the first stanza, in which *F* is subordinate to *G*. In doing this, Grieviler not only divides the tonal space in a different way to Marli, but he also divides himself *from* Marli.

[1.] 9. Mais - tre Je - han de Mar - li, mer - ci - er

[2.] 10. Vous veul de cou\_ que vous me pri - siés tant

[3.] 11. Que me par - tés; çou que plus\_ de - si - rer

[4.] 12. Me fait A - mours\_ vous di - rai main - te - nant:

Fig. 2.16: RS861, *frons* of stanza 2

## Divided spaces

The previous three case studies show that *jeux-partis* can be interpreted through metapoetic words and the mutual commentary of text and music. The division of a *jeu-parti* is manifest in its dilemma, its poetic structure and its splitting of tonal space, thanks to the use of the specific term 'parti' in RS1674 and RS375. If division was a structural trope of the *jeu-parti* in general, what were the cultural meanings that this structural trope enshrined and reinforced? To draw on Bourdieu's 'structuring structure' that he refers to as *habitus*, what

social meanings have been forgotten in ‘the forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second nature of the habitus’?<sup>70</sup> Were these social meanings even forgotten? Was the division of the *jeu-parti* recognised and articulated by its practitioners and listeners?

Symes has argued that spatial and political division characterised thirteenth-century Arras, the presumed original performance and copying setting for many *jeux-partis*. Arras was split between the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Abbey of St Vaast in the east, and the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in the west. Ecclesiastical power corresponded to municipal government, as the *cit * in the west was answerable to the bishop, a vassal to the King of France, while the *ville* in the east was governed by twelve * chevins*, drawn from the wealthy merchant families of Arras. Symes argues that the *Carit  des ardents*, which she equates to the Arras *puy*, was at the heart of the competition for space and power in Arras because of its ties to the cathedral.<sup>71</sup> In the founding miracle of the *Carit *, the Blessed Virgin Mary appeared to two jongleurs and the Bishop of Arras and presented a candle to them. This candle was believed to possess the miraculous power to cure outbreaks of ergotism. The fame of the candle of Arras, which gave prestige to the cathedral and the *Carit *, was much resented by the Abbey of St Vaast: in the mid-twelfth century, the abbey disputed claims that the candle had cured cases of ergotism and insisted that their relics, which had been taken in procession through Arras, were responsible for the miracle.<sup>72</sup> The cathedral and abbey struggled for control of space and power in many other ways throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; this political division is one interpretive context for division in the *jeu-parti*.

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<sup>70</sup> Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice*, 72, 78.

<sup>71</sup> Symes, *Common Stage*, 80–98.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 90.

Symes points out that the dispute between the abbey and the cathedral over miracles and relics was fought through ‘the skilful manipulation of ritual’, in this case liturgy.<sup>73</sup> Dispute was staged so that the violent acquisition of space by the cathedral or the abbey was enacted symbolically. Through the performance of symbolic violence, the monks of St Vaast or the chapter of the cathedral were able to contest their opponent’s claim to power. As a performed event, the *jeu-parti* was also a site for the contestation of power in symbolic terms. In *Ferri, se ja dieus vous voie* (RS1774, see **Appendix §17**), Lambert Ferri and Jehan Bretel debate whether it is better to have the pleasure of one’s Lady ten times a year in safety or three times a week in fear of one’s life. While the dilemma appears to be trivial, the allegiances of Ferri and Bretel to the factions of Arras would suggest that in performance this *jeu-parti* consisted of a similar symbolic violence to that which underscored the liturgical struggles of the 1150s.

Bretel occupied a hereditary position at the abbey of St-Vaast, which his father and grandfather had held before him. From the death of his father in 1244 and presumably until his death in 1272, Bretel was ‘sergens iretavles de la revière de Saint-Vaast’, in which he (along with seven others) oversaw the water rights to the abbey-controlled parts of the river Scarpe.<sup>74</sup> His death is recorded in the 1272 entry in the Necrology of the *Carité*.<sup>75</sup> From his 89 *jeux-partis*, the largest number attributed to a trouvère, it may be assumed that he was an important figure in the *Carité*: he is frequently addressed as ‘Sire’, despite not being an aristocrat, and on occasion he is named as the ‘Prinche del Pui’. Less is known about Lambert Ferri. In 1268 he was a clerk at the Benedictine monastery of St Leonard in the Pas-de-Calais region and in 1282 he is mentioned as canon and deacon at the same

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<sup>73</sup> Symes, *Common Stage*, 97.

<sup>74</sup> *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Bretel, Jehan’, by Theodore Karp, accessed 27 Sep. 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/03952>.

<sup>75</sup> Berger, *Le nécrologe de la confrérie*, i, 54.

monastery.<sup>76</sup> Anne F. Sutton claims that Ferri was also a canon of Arras cathedral.<sup>77</sup> A certain ‘Lambers Ferris’ is mentioned in the 1302 entry of the Necrology, evidence that Lambert may have died in 1302 or early in 1303.<sup>78</sup> With their allegiances to the abbey and cathedral respectively, Bretel and Ferri might have been viewed as representatives of their factions by those listening to RS1774.

The melody of RS1774 is structured with the potential for symbolic contest between Bretel and Ferri. In the first stanza, the melody is divided into two pitch-sets:  $G-c$  (the higher pitch-set) and  $C-G$  (the lower). In the *frons*, the first line and first two pitches of the second line map out the higher pitch-set (see **Fig. 2.17**). The lower pitch-set is set out by the remainder of line 2.

The figure shows two staves of musical notation in G-clef and 8/8 time. The first staff is labeled 'higher pitch set' and contains the notes G4, A4, B4, C5, B4, A4, G4. The lyrics below are '1. Fe - rri, se ja Dieus vous voi - e,'. The second staff is labeled 'lower pitch set' and contains the notes G4, F4, E4, D4, C4, B3, A3, G3. The lyrics below are '2. Li quieu vaut mieus, a vo sens:'. Brackets above the notes indicate the pitch sets.

**Fig. 2.17:** RS1774, ll. 1–2

Having outlined these pitch sets in the *frons*, the melody continues to oppose the higher and lower pitch sets in the *cauda* (see **Fig 2.18**). In line 5, the pitch string  $G-a-c-b-G$  (labelled **p** in **Fig. 2.18**), which was first heard in line 1 and belongs to the higher pitch-set, is stated and then repeated in an embellished form (motive **p'**). The final two pitches of line 7 and first three of line 8 are a slight embellishment on the opening of the song, leading the listener to expect the higher pitch-set to follow with its characteristic motive that is

<sup>76</sup> *Grove Music Online*, s.v. ‘Ferri, Lambert’, by Ian R. Parker, accessed 27 Sep. 2017, <http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/09540>.

<sup>77</sup> Sutton, ‘Merchants, Music and Social Harmony’, 7.

<sup>78</sup> Berger, *Le nécrologe de la confrérie*, i, 66.

manipulated in lines 5 and 6. Instead, the melody falls down to its lower pitch-set and cadences on the elusive *C* that also occurs in lines 5 and 7.

Fig. 2.18: RS1774, ll. 5–8

Like many *jeux-partis*, RS1774 contains the formulation ‘which seems better to you’ in its introduction to the dilemma.<sup>79</sup> Bretel places the word that triggers the dilemma, ‘li quieu’, at the point that the melody switches from the higher to the lower pitch set. Just as the term ‘jeu-parti’ has a performative function by not only describing but also invoking the state of dilemma, so too is the word ‘which’ given a performative function here. Before the alternatives of the dilemma have been presented, Ferri and the audience know that they will have to choose between two alternatives, and that two melodic alternatives have just been outlined. The formulation ‘li quieu’ and the opposition between low and high pitch sets in lines 1 and 2 predispose Bretel and Ferri to align opposing poetic ideas with opposing pitch sets. Indeed, Bretel continues his first stanza by setting infrequent but safe loving to the higher pitch set in lines 5 and 6, and opposes this with frequent but dangerous loving in lines 7 and 8, which fall within the lower pitch set. As if to draw greater attention

<sup>79</sup> ‘Li quieu vaut mieus’ [l. 2].

to the opposition, Bretel places the conjunction ‘u’ (or) at the start of line 7, where the melody has jumped down a 3<sup>rd</sup> from the higher to the lower pitch set.

Tonally, too, the opposition of poetic ideas fits well to the melody. The opening pair of lines establishes the expectation that the higher pitch set will give way to the lower pitch set, a procedure confirmed by lines 3 and 4. The first alternative of the dilemma (safe but infrequent loving) is set to lines 3 to 6. Just like the lover who must wait between safe encounters with his Lady, the listener is forced to wait for the higher pitch set to cede to the lower pitch set after it has been reached in line 4; in lines 5 and 6, the melody is spun out by the embellishment of motive **p** so that the lower pitch set is deferred. By contrast, lines 7 and 8 have no such tonal waiting. Like the lover who dangerously meets his Lady every other day, the melody is almost over before it has begun. The second alternative in the dilemma is set to only two poetic lines, in contrast to the first alternative, which was set to four poetic lines. Dangerous and frequent loving is shown to be swift and easily accomplished. In stanza three, Bretel characterises the two alternatives in exactly these terms, preferring ‘great pleasure that one has slowly’ to the lack of pleasure that the ‘hasty’ lover does not have.<sup>80</sup>

In stanza 2, Ferri must choose how to use the oppositional pitch sets that Bretel has introduced. Ferri immediately claims the higher pitch-set for his side of the debate (frequent and dangerous loving) with ‘mieus loeraie’ (line 1) and ‘les trois fois’ (line 3). His opposition to infrequent loving is marked by the setting of the words ‘que les dix’ to the lower pitch-set in line 4. Ferri thus inverts the associations that Bretel had set up by choosing the higher pitch set for the idea of dangerous loving and the lower pitch set for safe but infrequent loving. Ferri then boasts using the higher pitch-set (lines 5–6) and discusses distant love using the lower pitch-set (line 7). By reversing Bretel’s associations

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<sup>80</sup> ‘grant deduit qui fust lens’ [l. 18]; ‘bien hastieu’ [l. 19].

between pitch set and alternative in the dilemma, Ferri commits symbolic violence against Bretel. This symbolic violence is enabled by division of the tonal space into two pitch sets, a tonal space that, like the spaces of Arras, is contested through ritualised performance.

While RS1774 is typical of *jeux-partis* in its form, placement of repetition and overall tonal trajectory, the song has an unusual number of leaps and its primary pitch is difficult to determine. RS1774 is an example of a melody that shows the problems of the corpus-wide study that this chapter has attempted. The song ends on *C*, making *C* a possible candidate for primary pitch. *C* is first reached at the start of line 5; because it is approached by step and followed by a leap, this is a potential cadence. Even though *C* is only heard three times during the melody, at least two of these instances could therefore be cadences, since the final pitch of the melody is by definition a cadence. The most common pitch is *G*, which is stated 18 times in the melody. Lines 1 and 6 end with a cadence onto *G*, and there is a cadence on *G* at the opening of line 1. The final pitch of lines 2 and 4 would, in other *jeux-partis*, be a possible primary pitch. *E* is an uncommon final for lines 2 and 4 of pcc melodies, occurring in only 3 *jeu-parti* melodies. From the end of line 2 to the start of line 3, the melody falls from *E* to *D*, suggesting that *D* might be the primary pitch of the *frons*, albeit a primary pitch that is evaded at the end of lines 2 and 4.

None of the pitches *C*, *D* or *G* is clearly the primary pitch of RS1774. *C* is reached by a potentially strong cadence, followed by a leap, at the start of line 5, but none of the six stanzas of the song sets this cadence to a syntactic break in the text. At the start of line 3, the arrival on *D* could be heard as a cadence, since it is approached by step. But none of the stanzas has a syntactic break after this syllable, and at the start of line 5 any apparent primacy is subverted by the melody's fall beyond *D* to *C*. *G* is a strong tonal centre throughout lines 1, 3, 5 and 6, but its absence from the end of lines 2, 4 and 8 (the final line) where the primary pitch would usually be placed is suspicious. The lack of a clear

primary pitch would only be problematic if the analytical method applied here demanded tonal unity. RS1774 thus demonstrates the limits of a systematic study of tonal norms.

Even though RS1774 does not contain metapoetic reference to division, the principle of tonal division is nonetheless applicable to the relationship between text and melody in the song. The expression ‘*li quieu vaut mieus*’ demands that Ferri and listeners to RS1774 judge which of the two pitch sets should be used to defend one or other side of the dilemma. The ubiquity of this expression in *jeux-partis* does not mean that instances of it are meaningless; on the contrary, the repeated comparison of alternatives in *jeux-partis* includes not only the alternatives of the dilemma, but also the alternatives of tonal centre and pitch set in a tonal space that is, like the dilemma question, divided. This tonal space was the space in which symbolic violence could be accomplished. If Bretel and Ferri were representatives for the *ville* and the *cit * respectively, their contest would have held symbolic significance for their listeners. If Ferri and Bretel did not represent different factions—a possibility that must be entertained given the paucity of biographical evidence for the two men—their contest nevertheless took place in a city whose space could be claimed by ritual or cultural performances. In contesting the tonal space of their *jeu-parti*, Bretel and Ferri demonstrate the kind of symbolically violent exchange that would have been familiar to the literate members of the Arras *puy*.

## Conclusion

The four case studies of this chapter support a number of assertions. First, the combination of a corpus-wide analysis with the close reading of individual songs is a powerful method of analysis that understands the *jeu-parti* as a processual negotiation of conventional musical structures between two poet singers. Second, the tonal space of a *jeu-parti* could be divided into oppositional pitch structures. These pitch structures could be aligned with poetic ideas, and poets used these music-text relationships to heighten the efficacy of their argument and to strengthen the opposition between poetic ideas. Third, trouvères could draw attention to tonal division through metapoetic terms such as ‘partés’. These terms had a performative function, just like the use of the term ‘jeu-parti’ that was outlined in **Chapter 1**. By dividing the tonal space of a *jeu-parti*, trouvères also used melody as a performative device, performing out the dilemma through the opposition of pitches. Finally, the potential that these melodies hold for oppositional exchange would suggest that the *jeu-parti* could have functioned as a form of ritualised conflict in Arras. In the performance of a *jeu-parti*, the spectacle of two poet-singers trying to undermine the efforts of their opponent would have gained further significance if the two trouvères were from rival factions in the city. The *jeu-parti* could have been a performance space in which rivalry was explored without the risk of real violence, loss of territory or assets. I suggest that the political and territorial conflicts of Arras were part of the cultural dialogue that constructed the structural trope of tonal division in the *jeu-parti*. Conflicts could be explored through performances that, I tentatively suggest, enacted symbolic violence. The relation between symbolic and real violence will be explored in **Chapters 3, 4 and 5** to support this final assertion.

This chapter began with the diagnosis by Ludwig of a ‘problem’ in the *jeu-parti* repertory. The systematic study of *jeu-parti* melodies outlined here provides no easy answers to Ludwig’s complaint, although the existence of multiple melodies for a single *jeu-parti* text is only problematic if one believes in a single compositional origin for a *jeu-parti*. A statistical analysis of the repertory shows definite trends in transmission: chansonniers **RVW** transmit significantly different melodies to those transmitted in **MTaAZKNPXO**. **RVW** are the products of different musical communities, while **MTaAZKNPXO** transmit melodies with the same musical conventions. For the musical community of **MTaAZKNPXO**, a text did not need to be tied to only one melody. This does not mean that the different melodies to a single *jeu-parti* text invalidate interpretations of the music-text relations for one melodic version. The more melodies there are, the greater chance there is for meaning to be found in the alignment of textual and melodic structure. In any case, the existence of several melodies does not seem to have troubled the scribes of **aAZ**, who copied series of *jeux-partis* that are surprisingly representative (given the small sample sizes) of the stylistic trends of the genre.

## Chapter 3 | Contrafacture, violence, and the early *jeu-parti*

When reviewing Arthur Långfors's edition of *jeu-parti* texts in 1929, Hans Spanke complained of a major omission in the edition's preface: several *jeux-partis* share their melodies with other songs.<sup>1</sup> Spanke argued that Långfors had failed to account for the rise of the *jeu-parti* as a genre and had misrepresented the stability of the corpus. By drawing attention to the contrafacts of a selection of *jeux-partis*, Spanke aimed to connect the *jeu-parti* to the Occitan genre of the *tenso*, which, according to the thirteenth-century *Doctrina de compondre dictats* cited by Spanke, borrowed its melody from the *canso*. Spanke implies that the *jeu-parti* had a similar relationship to *grand chant*. These claims raise important questions about the ontology of the *jeu-parti*. Since several early *jeux-partis* were contrafacts of chansons, I argue that contrafacture was central to the ontology of the early *jeu-parti*. Through a discussion of instances of contrafacture and the detailed examination of melodic variants in the contrafact network of *Cuens, je vos part* (RS1097), I explore how contrafacts were made, and what this might suggest about the socio-cultural significance of contrafacture. A detailed discussion of the network for *Bons rois, Thiebaut* (RS1666) questions the experience of a listener who recognises a melody but not the text of a song, and what assumptions the listener might make. Ultimately, I argue that acts of contrafacture could be acts of appropriation rather than homage, whose symbolic violence is mirrored in the aesthetic experience of the listener.

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<sup>1</sup> Långfors, Jeanroy, and Brandin, *Recueil général*; Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', 41–4.

## Defining Contrafacture

The definition of the term ‘contrafact’ has not been constant. Robert Falck points out that when used in texts before the fourteenth century, the Latin terms *contrafactum* or *contrafacere* had the negative sense of the English word ‘counterfeit’.<sup>2</sup> The first instance of the term in a published musicological text was by Friedrich Gennrich, who likely borrowed the term from an unpublished dissertation by Kurt Hennig.<sup>3</sup> Gennrich consciously defined the term neutrally, aiming to avoid any negative associations with epigonism: ‘songs ... that copy some famous or well-known model consciously in its style [*bewusster Anlehnung*]’, specifically concerning shared melody.<sup>4</sup> In this chapter, I adhere to a strict definition of contrafacture: a song that was created when the text of one song was removed and different words were added to its melody. I only consider contrafact networks of *jeux-partis* for which the contrafact and its model are notated with the same (or partially the same) melody in the same source or different sources. This shared melody guarantees that one song in a network was the model, directly or indirectly for the others. I discuss ‘networks’ of songs to account for the range of intertextual interpretations that readers could make when acquainted with all of the songs in a network: the chronology of composition within a network would influence readers’ interpretations less than the assumptions that readers made about the relationships between songs in a network. **Table 3.1** shows the contrafact networks that contain *jeux-partis*.

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<sup>2</sup> Robert Falck, ‘Parody and Contrafactum: A Terminological Clarification’, *The Musical Quarterly* 65/1 (1979), 1–21: 12.

<sup>3</sup> Hennig had found the term in the rubrics of a fifteenth-century manuscript that transforms a bawdy satirical song into a sacred song by replacing some of the words. *Ibid.*, 13, 18. For a summary of philological work on allusion and shared poetic form before Gennrich, see Meghan Quinlan, ‘Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 2017), 30–32.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Lieder ... die in bewusster Anlehnung an irgend ein berühmtes oder bekanntes Vorbild nachgebildet wurden’: Friedrich Gennrich, ‘Die Musik als Hilfswissenschaft der romanischen Philologie’, *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 39/3 (1918), 330–61: 333. Falck believes Gennrich’s choice of terminology to be motivated by a desire to appear scientific: ‘Parody und Contrafactum’, 20.

<i>Jeu-parti</i>	Incipit	Participants	Date	Sources	Related songs	Incipit	Attribution	Date	Sources
RS332	Une chose, Baudoin	Thibaut de Champagne Baudoin	<1234	(MOT)	RS700	Je chantaisse volentiers	Châtelain de Couci	<1203	AKMOP TVXa(CH)
					RS669	Je chantaisse volentiers	Hue de la Ferré	1220– 1235	MT
					RS1887	On ne porroit de mauvese			V (U)
RS334	Phelipe, je vos demant	Thibaut de Champagne Phelipe (de Nanteuil?)	<1234	KMORVX (ST)	RS739	Ne me dones pas talent	Moniot d'Arras	1213– 1239	KMORUXa (CHT)
					RS713	Mere au roi omnipotent	Richard de Fournival	<1260	a
RS365	Amis, quelx est li mieux	Amis Amie		O (IC)	PC4.3	Can vei la lauzeta	Bernart de Ventadorn	<1200	See footnote <sup>5</sup>
					AK52	Quisquis cordis et oculi	Philip the Chancellor?	<1236	See footnote
					RS1934	Plain d'ire et de desconfort			U (C)
					RS349	Le cuer se vait de l'oil	Philip the Chancellor?		XP (O)
RS491	He Gilebert dites	Gillebert de Berneville Duke of Brabant	1250– 1270	KMNPX (CIUb)	RS488	Au comenceir de l'amor			KX
RS840	Bernart a vous vueil	Count of Brittany Bernart de la Ferré	1237<	KNOPX	RS1588	Longnement ai esté pensis	Count of Brittany		(P)

Table 3.1: Jeux-partis with verifiable contrafacta and their related songs

<sup>5</sup> *Can vei la lauzeta* is widely distributed with and without music notation: see Pillet and Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours*, 59. *Quisquis cordis et oculis* is widely distributed with and without music notation: for a full list see David Murray, 'The clerical reception of Bernart de Ventadorn's "Can vei la lauzeta mover" (PC 70, 34)', *Medium Ævum* 85/2 (2016), 259–77: 275.

<i>Jeu-parti</i>	Incipit	Participants	Date	Sources	Related songs	Incipit	Attribution	Date	Sources
RS943	Rois Thiebaut, enchantant	Baudoin Thibaut de Navarre	1234–1253	<b>KMNOVX</b> (C)	RS671	Merci clamans de mon fol	Châtelain de Couci	<1203	<b>AKMOPRVX</b> (CFU, <i>A-Wn</i> Cod. ser. n. 285 Han)
RS1097	Cuens, je vos part	Gui Thibaut de Champagne	<1234	<b>DKMOVX</b> (T)	RS1227	Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie	Blondel de Nesle	<1200	<b>KMNORUVXZ</b> (CH)
					RS1147	Gent de France			<b>K</b>
					RS1187	Un jeu vos pairt	Andrieu Roi d'Aragon	<1206 (?)	(C)
					RS1236	Quant je sui em perilleuse vie			( <i>F-Pn</i> fr. 2193)
RS1191	Thumas Herier partie	Gillebert de Berneville Thumas Herier	1250–1270	<b>T (Q, NL-Lu Ltk. 577)</b>	RS490	Li dous terminés m'agrée	Moniot d'Arras	1213–1239	<b>KMNRTUVX</b> (HD)
					AL147	Dic, qui gaudes prosperis			<i>F-EV 2, F-EV 39</i>
RS1293	Frere qui fait	Gilles le Vinier Guillaume le Vinier	<1245	<b>AMTa</b> (CIRYb)	RS1272	A che que je weil comencier			( <i>F-Pn</i> fr. 2193)
RS1423a	Sire loez moi a choisir	Raoul de Soissons Thibaut de Navarre	1234–1253	<b>KMNOVX</b>	RS1410	Mauves arbres ne puet florir	Thibaut de Navarre	1234–1253	<b>BKMORVX</b> (ST)
RS1442a	Gautier un jeu vos veul partir	Bestorné Gautier	<1231	(CU)	RS1448	Quant je voi mon cuer		<1231	(CU)
RS1666	Bon rois Thibaut	Clers Thibaut de Navarre	1234–1253	<b>AKMNOVXa</b> (IT)	RS2063	Rois de Navarre et sires de vertu	Raoul de Soissons	1234<	<b>KMNPRTVX</b> (HUC)
					RS321	Ma derreniere veul fere en chantant	Oede de la Couroierie	<1294	<b>KN</b>

(Table 3.1 continued)

The networks for RS334, RS365, RS491, RS943, RS1097, RS1191, RS1423a, and RS1666 adhere to Gennrich's strict definition of contrafacture. Of the possible contrafacts that were suggested by Spanke, several are omitted from **Table 3.1** because they are not transmitted with a melody that is also notated in another song.<sup>6</sup> However, some *jeux-partis* have been included in **Table 3.1**, even though the *jeux-partis* and their assumed models are not notated with the same melody. Three *jeux-partis* are copied without music notation but are likely to be contrafacts: RS 332, RS1187 and RS1442a. All three *jeux-partis* share their versification only with the other songs in their respective, putative contrafact networks. Further, the close proximity of RS332 to the contrafact *jeu-parti* RS943 in **MV**, and of RS700 (the probable model for RS332) to RS671 (RS943's confirmed contrafact) in **MKP** might also indicate contrafacture. These parallel patterns of transmission suggest either that exemplars transmitting both chansons were retexted to create exemplars that transmitted both *jeux-partis*, or that knowledge that these *jeux-partis* were contrafacts shaped the decisions of compilers in assembling these songbooks. Although neither RS1442a nor its suggested contrafact, RS1448, are copied with music notation, the intercalation of RS1442a at the end of RS1448 in both extant versions (**CU**) of the songs supports Eduard Schwan's hypothesis that the songs were presented together on a single written exemplar.<sup>7</sup> Given this unusual presentation of RS1442a and RS1448 in **CU**, and the fact that RS1442a and RS1448 share their versification scheme with no other extant songs, it is likely that one song was a contrafact of the other.

Two other *jeux-partis* in **Table 3.1**, RS840 and RS1293, are copied with music notation but their related song is not. RS1588, the song related to RS840, is copied only in

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<sup>6</sup> Spanke speculates that the following *jeux-partis* may also be contrafacts: RS294, RS333, RS547, RS669, RS830, RS1025, RS1185, RS1340, RS1678, RS1878 and RS2094.

<sup>7</sup> Eduard Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften: ihr Verhältniss, ihre Entstehung und ihre Bestimmung, eine litterarhistorische Untersuchung* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1886), 181.

**P** and without space for music notation. A rubric states that ‘this is the tune of the *jeu-parti* by the Count of Brittany’, referring to RS840, which is copied a few folios previously.<sup>8</sup> RS1272 is copied with a melody different to its possible model (or contrafact), RS1293. However, it appears that the music scribe had little knowledge of music notation. In the source, two stave lines have been drawn above the first stanza of the song in the space left by the text scribe for music notation. A clef is placed inconsistently at the start of only some lines, and the overall range of the notated melody (a 3<sup>rd</sup>) likely means that the notation does not transmit the original melody of the song. The unusual rhyme and metrical scheme, which the two songs share, suggests that the text of RS1272 is based on that of RS1293.<sup>9</sup> The refrain ‘et s’est touz fis’ in the first stanza of RS1293 becomes ‘et Jhesucris’ in the first stanza of 1272: the exact match of vowel sounds makes it highly probable that RS1293 was the model for the text of RS1272. Whether RS1272 is a musical as well as textual contrafact is impossible to ascertain.

### **Ontology of melody**

The varying degree of certainty of contrafacture in the *jeux-partis* in **Table 3.1** and in Spanke’s account demonstrates the difficulty in knowing whether one song is related to another. This holds true for the modern-day scholar, since melodies have not always been notated for this corpus. But this may also have been the case for the medieval reader or listener. If two songs shared a common melody and a listener had heard both songs, that listener might recognise or assume that one song was a reworking of the other. If two songs shared a metrical scheme but not a melody, a listener was probably less likely to recognise the relationship between two songs. This is exemplified by the network for the *jeu-parti*

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<sup>8</sup> ‘Cest el chant dou gieu parti. li q[ue]ns de bretagne.’: **P**, f. 201v.

<sup>9</sup> The versification scheme is 7’7’7’7’7’7’3’7’7’ and the rhyme scheme is **ababbaabcca**. See discussion in Paul Meyer, ‘Types de quelques chansons de Gautier de Coinci’, *Romania* 17/67 (1888), 429–37: 430–1.

RS1097 (see **Appendix §10**).<sup>10</sup> Of the seventeen notated instances of the chanson *Quant je pluz sui en paour* (RS1227), the *jeu-parti* *Cuens, je vos part* (RS1097) and the history song *Gent de France* (RS1147), only two of the notated melodies are unrelated to the rest of the group (see **Table 3.2**): these two melodies (one each for RS1227 and RS1097) are transmitted in **V**. It is not unusual for **V** to transmit melodies that are different to those found in other chansonniers. Nevertheless, the two melodies from **V** demonstrate that because a song could be copied with a new melody, its status as a contrafact in its other notated versions might not have been recognised by listeners.

RS	Incipit	Sources
1227	<i>Quant je pluz sui en paour de ma vie</i>	<b>K109, M137r, N40r, O112v, R119v, T86v, U12v, V114v, X77v, Z8r (C198r, H227v)</b>
1097	<i>Cuens je vos part un geu par aatie</i>	<b>D no. 1, K39, M70v, O23v, V20v, X39v (T19v)</b>
1147	<i>Gent de France, mult estes esbahie!</i>	<b>K366</b>

**Table 3.2: Contrafact network for the *jeu-parti* RS1097**

The different degrees of similarity between these melodies complicate the question of listeners' recognition. Some melodies are clearly related, but a listener may recognise only later that they are the same melody, or recognise them to be partly the same and partly different. The similarities and differences between the melodies can be seen most clearly in lines 5 and 6 of the three songs. **Fig. 3.1** gives a parallel transcription of lines 5 and 6, aligned by pitch, for a group of melodies (group 1) that are very closely related.

<sup>10</sup> The political context for the contrafact network of RS1097 is discussed extensively in Quinlan, 'Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song', 100–53.

**K366**  
 (RS1147)  
 5. Car vous es - tes par en - ques - te ju - giez.

**K109**  
**N40r**  
**X77v**  
 (RS1227)  
 5. S'e - le m'o - cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez.

**O112v**  
 (RS1227)  
 5. S'e - le m'o - cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez.

**O23v**  
 (RS1097)  
 5. Et li au - tres guille mult du - re - ment.

**K366**  
 (RS1147)  
 6. Quant def - fens - se ne vos puet fere a - i - e,

**K109**  
**N40r**  
**X77v**  
 (RS1227)  
 6. Trop a douz nom pour fai - re vi - le - ni - e,

**O112v**  
 (RS1227)  
 6. Trop a douz nom pour fai - re vi - le - ni - e,

**O23v**  
 (RS1097)  
 6. Li queus tret pis, de Deus vos be - ne - i - e,

**Fig. 3.1:** Lines 5–6, group 1 melodies for the contrafact network of RS1097

The differences between these melodies are very slight. The melody of RS1227 in **KNX** and the melody of RS1147 in **K** are identical, while the melodies for RS1227 and RS1097 transmitted in **O** have slight differences of syllable distribution and neighbour note figures. The only significant difference between melodies is the setting of the words ‘guille mult’ in line 5 of RS1097 in **O**.

A second closely related group of melodies (group 2) is presented in **Fig. 3.2**. This parallel transcription is also aligned by pitch to show changes of syllable distribution across a shared melodic contour.

The figure displays two systems of musical notation, each with six staves. The first system (lines 5-6) features the following lyrics: "5.S'e - le m'o-cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez." and "5.Et li au - tres gui - le mult du - re - ment." The second system (lines 6-7) features the following lyrics: "6.Trop a douz nom pour fai - re vi - le - ni - e," and "6.Li queus tret pis, de Deus vos be - ne - i - e,". Each staff includes a manuscript reference (e.g., U12v, Z8r, M137r, T86v, M70v, K39/X39v) and a folio reference (e.g., RS1227, RS1097). The notation is in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line staff.

Fig. 3.2: Lines 5–6, group 2 melodies for the contrafact network of RS1097

Just as for group 1, the melodies in group 2 are very similar. The melodic contour is identical in each version, and they differ only in the distribution of syllables and use of passing or neighbour notes. Melodic identity is thus the same, despite some small differences. This suggests that the melody need not be wholly identical to a known melody

for a listener to recognise it. This might also be reflective of how a medieval listener measured ‘sameness’ in music: small differences between versions point to a flexible attitude to the performance of these songs in which small embellishments or changes did not affect a song’s identity.

Despite their small differences, the melodies within each of the groups are remarkably homogeneous. A group 1 melody is noticeably different from a group 2 melody, as can be seen from **Fig. 3.3**.

The figure displays two pairs of musical staves, each pair representing a different line of a song. Each pair consists of a Group 1 melody (top staff) and a Group 2 melody (bottom staff). The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words underlined to indicate syllable boundaries. The first pair of staves corresponds to line 5 of the song, and the second pair corresponds to line 6. The Group 1 melodies are marked with 'K109' and 'Group 1 (RS1227)', while the Group 2 melodies are marked with 'M137r' and 'Group 2 (RS1227)'. The notation shows that while the melodies are similar, there are distinct differences in pitch and rhythm between the two groups, particularly in the middle of each line.

**Fig. 3.3:** Comparison of ll. 5–6 of melodies in group 1 and group 2 for the contrafact network of RS1097

The melodies are not wholly different: line 5 ends in exactly the same way in both melodies, and line 6 ends in a similar way in both, although the group 1 melody descends to *D* rather than *C*. Both versions of line 5 begin with a stepwise melody that ascends by a 3<sup>rd</sup> and then descends by 4<sup>th</sup>, but on different pitches; after this, the melodies diverge. These marked differences, I suggest, make it less likely that a medieval listener would experience these melodies as the same. In this network, the opening four lines of all versions of the melodies for RS1097, RS1227 and RS1147 (except those in **V**) begin in recognisably the

same way. Reaching line 5, a listener accustomed to the group 1 melody would have to interpret the group 2 melody as an altered or mistaken version of the melody that they knew. The listener would assume a deliberate or mistaken alteration of the melody.

This moment of decision for the listener—confronted with a musical instance that is half-familiar and half-new—is encapsulated by Sarah Kay’s use of the Lacanian concept of the ‘subject supposed to know’. In theorising practices of citation and quotation in the Middle Ages, Kay argues that since recognition of a quotation supposes a subject that recognises, the meaning of a quotation is indeterminate and ‘a subject is free to forge his or her relation to it in a new way’.<sup>11</sup> When a listener recognises that a song is a contrafact, they must first suppose that the maker of the contrafact took another song as the model and intended the listener to recognise that the melody is shared, to account for why contrafacture has taken place, and to read the two texts against one another. Recognition involves a series of suppositions on the part of the listener.

Kay categorises the relationships that a subject might forge in an intertextual moment as either the parrots’ way or the nightingales’ way; while the parrot quotes verbatim, displaying the language of the original source, the nightingale subsumes the words of another into his song.<sup>12</sup> The nightingales’ way is symbolically violent because the author of the original source is ignored or erased. Kay’s binary of the parrot and the nightingale is only partly applicable to musical contrafacture. A musical contrafact follows the nightingales’ way in so far as a new text is written according to the poetic and musical form of a model. On the other hand, by re-using a melody that is freighted with the text and associations of an earlier song, a melodic contrafact brings some of its past meanings into its new setting. Whether the listener chooses to hear a contrafact as more a nightingale’s

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<sup>11</sup> Sarah Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales: Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 22.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 14.

song (symbolically violent) than a parrot's song (homage) depends on the listener's suppositions and on the way the new text interacts with the model texts.

### Sources and Transmission

The *jeux-partis* in **Table 3.1** are found across the chansonniers **MTKXNORV**. Except for RS1293 and RS1666, none is found in **AaZ**, which are major repositories for the *jeu-parti*.<sup>13</sup> As I showed above with the contrafact network of RS1097, the patterns of transmission of a song can be complicated. A melody may be notated in substantively the same way across several sources, but with slight differences of syllable distribution or notation: two syllables might be distributed differently across a string of four pitches, for example, or an ascending plica might be used in place of a pes. A copying error might be found in the same place in several sources, suggesting a shared exemplar (or exemplars) containing that error. A melody might be rendered differently in different sources, adding or omitting neighbour notes and melodic decoration, perhaps depending on the taste of the scribe or the exemplar from which they were working. Further still, a melody might be substantively the same in parts but differ significantly in others. At the most extreme, a text may be copied with a different melody, a phenomenon especially prevalent in **RV**.

The range of differences between notated melodies in the *trouvère* corpus is the result of a complex interaction of oral and written practices.<sup>14</sup> Mary O'Neill makes the important point that *trouvère* sources postdate the authors whose songs they contain by several decades. For O'Neill, the melodic variants of the *trouvère* tradition indicate that

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<sup>13</sup> RS1293 and RS1666 are in **A** and **a**.

<sup>14</sup> On the problems of scholarly accounts that distinguish between literacy and orality, see Simon Gaunt, 'Fictions of Orality in Troubadour Poetry', in *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: Essays on a Conjunction and its Consequences in Honour of D.H. Green*, ed. Mark Chinca, Christopher Young, and D. H. Green, 119–38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), esp. 121–27.

transmission was principally oral.<sup>15</sup> John Haines argues that, to the contrary, scribal corrections to music notation in chansonniers would suggest that, at least at the time that songs were copied down, transmission was principally written.<sup>16</sup> I propose that transmission is likely to have been a mixture of the written and the oral, since oral and written modes are not discrete, as Leo Treitler has argued. In his consideration of fixity in the earliest chant sources, Treitler posits that singing chant ‘was not a superhuman feat of instant memorization but the normal performance of a trained singer who knew the rules and constraints, and had only to hear the subject and the story outline to produce what seemed like a replica of what he had heard’.<sup>17</sup> A medieval singer could have in mind the structure of a song, its salient features and tonal profile, and reconstruct (to use Treitler’s term) the song from this knowledge and from knowledge of customary melodic style. This could also describe the process of a scribe, whose writing constitutes a performance of a song.

The variants between versions of RS1097 and its related songs tell a complicated story of transmission and illustrate this discussion. I showed above that lines 5 and 6 of the melodies of RS1097, RS1227 and RS1147 diverge, but that the differences can be divided into two groups of melodies. **Table 3.3** summarises this information.

	Group 1 melodies	Group 2 melodies
<i>Cuens je vos part</i> (RS1097)	<b>O23v</b>	<b>K39, M70v, X39v</b>
<i>Quant je pluz sui</i> (RS1227)	<b>K109, N40v, O112v, X77v</b>	<b>M137r, T86v, U12v, Z8r</b>
<i>Gent de France</i> (RS1147)	<b>K366</b>	

**Table 3.3: Distribution of group 1 and 2 melodies, ll. 5–6**

<sup>15</sup> O’Neill, *Courtly Love Songs*, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 26.

<sup>17</sup> Leo Treitler, ‘Homer and Gregory: The Transmission of Epic Poetry and Plainchant’, in *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made*, 131–85 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), esp. 150–1.

Some sources transmit melodies for only one group, for example **O** for group 1 or **M** for group 2. Other sources contain melodies for both groups, such as **K**. This suggests that the scribes for **K** copied RS1097 and RS1227 from exemplars that had both text and music notation for which the melodies differed. The scribe for RS1097 in **K** did not take the exemplar for RS1227, strip it of its words and copy the words of RS1097 instead. The scribe might not have been aware that one song is a contrafact of another; if they did know the songs shared a melody, they did not go to the effort of ensuring that the melody was copied identically for both.<sup>18</sup>

The fact that both RS1097 and RS1227 are transmitted with a group 1 melody and with a group 2 melody suggests, rather, that the act of contrafacture took place much earlier in the songs' transmission than the moment that surviving deluxe chansonniers were copied. One possible chronological explanation for this is as follows. Two distinct melodic groups for RS1227 (the earlier of the songs) crystallised at some point before or after RS1097 was created. A version of RS1227—for the sake of this argument, a group 1 melody—was taken and given new words (RS1097, group 1). Elsewhere, a singer or scribe acquired a copy of the text to RS1097 and either followed a rubric that instructed RS1097 to be sung to the melody of RS1227, or knew that RS1097 was created from a retexting of RS1227. This singer or scribe knew (by memory or from an exemplar) the group 2 melody of RS1227 and set the text of RS1097 to the melody. In the hypothetical scenario just outlined, any of the processes of transmission could have taken place orally or in writing. It need not have been RS1227 that existed first in two melodic groups: RS1097 could have been transmitted with two melodies, which were then applied to RS1227. Crucially, the existence of group 1 and group 2 melodies for both RS1097 and RS1227 means that a

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<sup>18</sup> The identical notation in **K** of RS1227 (p. 109) and RS1147 (p. 366) might suggest that the notation for RS1147 was directly copied from p. 109 of **K** or from the exemplar for this version of RS1227. Cleffing and placement of accidentals is identical, but line breaks fall in different places.

scribe or singer recognised that one was a contrafact of the other and applied the melody that they knew to a different text.

The differences between the melodies of group 1 and group 2 point to further possible intricacies of oral and written transmission. Lines 5 and 6 are rendered differently in the two groups, but are still related (see **Fig. 3.4**).

The figure displays two musical staves for each of two lines of text. The top staff for each line is labeled 'K109 (Group 1)' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Z8r (Group 2)'. The text for line 5 is '5.S'e - le m'o - cit, suens en iert li pe - chiez.' and for line 6 is '6.Trop a douz nom pour fai - re vi - le - ni - e,'. In the Group 1 staves, the notes for 'm'o - cit,' and 'iert li pe' are positioned on a higher line than in the Group 2 staves. These differences are enclosed in black boxes. The Group 2 staves show the notes for 'm'o - cit,' and 'iert li pe' on a lower line, indicating a 3rd error relative to the Group 1 version.

**Fig. 3.4:** Comparison of group 1 and 2 melodies for RS1227, ll. 5–6

In **Fig. 3.4**, the melodies have been aligned by pitch rather than syllable: this takes account of the tendency in trouvère melodies to vary in their distribution of syllables across a single melody. Boxes mark passages for which the melody in group 1 is a 3<sup>rd</sup> above or below the group 2 melody, a relatively common scribal error in trouvère sources. One reason for this error is changes of clef, which the music scribe might not notice, especially if the line endings of the exemplar and the copy are different. A 3<sup>rd</sup> error could also be due to the way that a scribe segments a melody when copying it. Visually, the error of a melody displaced by a 3<sup>rd</sup> is not immediately noticeable: pitches are on lines or in spaces as they would be in the exemplar. A scribe could quite easily produce a 3<sup>rd</sup> error by starting to copy a segment of a melody a 3<sup>rd</sup> higher or lower than the exemplar shows.

This might explain the differences between the two groups of melodies for RS1227 and RS1097. The pitches of the first four syllables of line 5 are very likely a 3<sup>rd</sup> error, as are the syllables in the box in line 6 (see **Fig. 3.4**). The boxed pitches close to the end of line 5 may not differ because of a 3<sup>rd</sup> error; this part of the melody logically follows from what precedes it in both versions. If the differences between the lines are due to 3<sup>rd</sup> errors in the written transmission of the melody, this means that a written exemplar (or exemplars) and a written copy were involved in the transmission of the melody before both melodic versions of RS1097 existed (or RS1227, if the copying error was made in the written transmission of RS1097). Once the error had been made, transmission need not have been wholly written. Singers could have learned the melody from an erroneous exemplar and used this learned melody to carry out the act of contrafacture, either by following a rubric instruction that the melody for RS1097 was the same as the melody for RS1227, or from their knowledge that the two songs share a melody.

For some *jeux-partis* in surviving sources, the reader is left to reconstruct the melody entirely from memory. Several *jeux-partis* are copied without music notation, but this in itself is not unusual. Many trouvère songs are copied either with staves that have been left blank (for example, all of **C**) or with no space set aside for staves (as in, for example, **I**). What is notable is the copying of *jeux-partis* in some chansonniers without space left for staves, given that staves have been included for other genres of song. In **R**, the section containing *jeux-partis* is conspicuous because of its lack of music notation.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, in **Q** Adam de la Halle's *chansons* are copied with music notation but his *jeux-partis*, presented together as a section with a running title, are given no space for music staves.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> ff. 16r–27r.

<sup>20</sup> ff. 319v–325v.

This would suggest that scribes distinguished between genres when they planned the *ordinatio* of a songbook. The *jeu-parti* was given no music notation by some scribes, perhaps because they considered the *jeu-parti* to be a less prestigious genre than the *chanson*. The absence of music notation in some chansonniers is also evidence that the genre had an ontology quite distinct from the *chanson*: the melody of the *jeu-parti* did not need to be copied because it was to be taken from elsewhere. Although written in the fourteenth century and in a different geographical context from the *jeu-parti*, the treatise on troubadour song *Las Leys d'Amor* corroborates this hypothesis, stating that the *tenso* need not have a new melody composed for it, whereas the *canso* must have an original melody.<sup>21</sup> Haines has even hypothesised that exemplars of trouvère song carrying music notation without words may have existed, although this cannot be proven, given that no such music exemplars survive.<sup>22</sup> If melody and text were separated and separable in their transmission, new combinations of text and melody could easily be made. This might also explain the different alignment of pitches and syllables between versions of the same song.

One important feature of the transmission of the early *jeu-parti* is the groups of songs by Thibaut de Champagne in several chansonniers, the most remarkable of which is the Thibaut *libellus* of **M**, ff. 58r-78v.<sup>23</sup> This section of the manuscript was clearly not copied within the same process as the rest of the chansonnier and is likely to have circulated separately. Of the eleven consecutive *jeux-partis* on ff. 69v-73v, six are related to other

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<sup>21</sup> See discussion in Matheis, 'Capital, Value, and Exchange', 55–6.

<sup>22</sup> Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 15. A small roll, **G**, on which seven songs are copied without space for staves or music notation, is the most complete source of the kind that Haines is describing. Of the seven songs, five are *jeux-partis*. The roll is attached to a string, which Haines argues would have allowed the roll to be attached to a belt. The source offers a tantalising glimpse onto the mobility of song in the thirteenth century.

<sup>23</sup> **T** (ff. 1r–20r) opens with a *libellus* of 55 songs attributed to Thibaut, of which only four have music notation. All other songs have staves that are blank. 8 *jeux-partis* and one satirical song (*Robert, veez de Perron*, mistaken by scribes for a *jeu-parti* because its opening hails a named person) by Thibaut are copied successively in **V** (ff. 19r–22v) in the same order as they appear in the **M** *libellus*. Haines remarks that the phenomenon of sections dedicated to Thibaut, Gace Brulé and Adam de la Halle in some chansonniers indicates that small single-author booklets circulated in the thirteenth century: *ibid.*, 18.

songs. This would suggest that among Thibaut and his contemporaries there was a conscious practice of creating *jeux-partis* from the melodies of chansons. That these songs have been compiled in close proximity could also suggest a more particular or prestigious status of these songs. For example, Daniel E. O’Sullivan has argued that as the series of *jeux-partis* address Thibaut as ‘sire’, ‘cuens’ and finally ‘roi’, the *libellus* charts the political ascendancy of Thibaut; in other chansonniers, the separation of this distinct group of *jeux-partis* downplays the prestige of Thibaut.<sup>24</sup> O’Sullivan’s interpretation of the group of *jeux-partis* in **M** is convincing, but its significance is deepened when one takes into account the number of contrafacts in this group. Thibaut’s prestige arises not only from the compilation of his songs into a discrete author unit, but also from his status as a *trouvère* who could skilfully rework earlier songs into *jeux-partis*.

This examination of the sources and transmission of the early *jeu-parti* demonstrates that singers and scribes in the decades before the production of extant deluxe chansonniers would have been aware that *jeux-partis* were frequently contrafacts of other *trouvère* songs. The *jeu-parti* was produced by the complex oral and literate interactions between singers, scribes and lost written sources that constituted the process of contrafacture. The genre, in its early examples, was therefore defined by its melodic indeterminacy: a single melody was not necessarily fixed to one text. The case of RS1097 shows that singers or scribes carried out acts of contrafacture themselves in the knowledge that a text ought to be sung to the melody of another song. The singer or scribe supposes that the author of the contrafact text had re-written a model song into a contrafact. If we assume that these contrafacts were performed, this moment of supposition would happen for listeners and the singer each time the song was performed. Given that the performance setting for *trouvère* song was the homosocial *sale* of the court, as Christopher Page has

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<sup>24</sup> O’Sullivan, ‘Words with Friends’, 68–70.

argued, the performance of contrafacts would have been politically charged as men with competing ambitions, claims and desires tried to understand the reasons for contrafacture.<sup>25</sup> As dialogues between men for a male audience, but also as dialogues with songs from the past, contrafact *jeux-partis* would have been replete with political significance. In the next section, I consider one contrafact network in detail to show how such interpretations may have played out.

### When the clerk meets the king: RS1666 and its contrafacts

*Bons rois Thiebaut, sire, conseiliez moi* (RS1666, see **Appendix §14**) is a *jeu-parti* between Thibaut de Champagne, King of Navarre, and an unnamed cleric (*clers*). In its opening lines, a cleric (whose social position is only revealed at the start of the second stanza) asks King Thibaut for advice about the pains of his love that he cannot disclose to his Lady: ‘Do [true lovers] suffer such great distress, or do they talk about the pains of loving?’<sup>26</sup> The cleric of RS1666 is possibly the same as Gui in RS1097, who became chancellor of Champagne in 1234.<sup>27</sup> The song shares its melody with two others: *Rois de Navarre, sires de vertu* (RS2063), a love song attributed to Raoul de Soissons and addressed to Thibaut, and *Ma derreniere vuel fere en chantant* (RS321), a love song by Oede de la Couroierie.<sup>28</sup> RS1666 is concerned with the trustworthiness of signs, such as words and looks: can the lover trust what he sees and hears? The troubling indeterminacy of signs is also brought out in RS2063 and RS321, both of which employ the allegory of the mirror and its reflection. In the mirror, just as in a performance of RS1666, the onlooker is invited to ask whether the reflection that they see—or the performance that they hear—

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<sup>25</sup> Christopher Page, ‘Listening to the Trouvères’, *Early Music* 25/4 (1997), 639–59: 645.

<sup>26</sup> ‘Suesfrent il tuit ausi si grant dolor, / Ou il d’ient le mal q’il ont d’amor?’ [RS1666, ll. 8–9].

<sup>27</sup> See A. Wallensköld, *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne, roi de Navarre: Édition critique* (Paris: Champion, 1925), 138.

<sup>28</sup> RS2063 is attributed to Raoul in **KMPTX** and to Thierrri de Soissons in **N**.

is a true reflection of what they know. After showing how RS1666 relates to its contrafacts, I explore the allegory of the mirror in medieval literature to understand what contrafacture meant to thirteenth-century readers and its relevance to the ontology of the *jeu-parti*.

### Chronology and relationship of sources

Since Thibaut is addressed as ‘roi’ in both RS1666 and RS2063, both songs must have been created after 1234, when Thibaut acceded to the throne of Navarre. Although Raoul did not die until 1270, Thibaut’s death in 1253 must be the *terminus ante quem* for the songs. Oede de la Couroierie was a clerk and administrator for Robert II, count of Artois. First mention of Oede is made in a letter dated 30th June 1270, stating that he was to be sent to the papal court.<sup>29</sup> Letters and records also show Oede to have been an active administrator in the Artois in the 1270s and 1280s.<sup>30</sup> All five songs attributed to Oede are contrafacts, two based on songs by Gace Brulé and one based on a song by Blondel de Nesle. Given that Gace Brulé and Blondel de Nesle predate Oede, it seems likely that Oede used Thibaut’s *jeu-parti* or Raoul’s love song as a model for his love song. Possible contrafact networks are therefore:

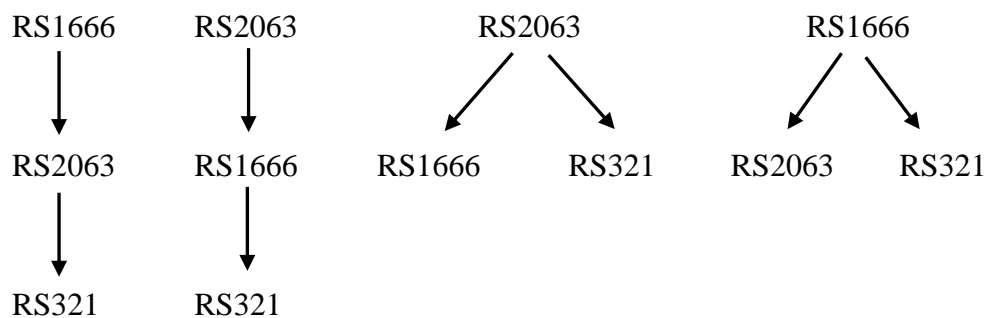


Fig. 3.5: Possible contrafact networks for RS1666

<sup>29</sup> Johannes Spanke, ‘Die Gedichte Jehan’s de Renti und Oede’s de la Couroierie’, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur* 32 (1908), 157–218: 163.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 163–5.

Because Raoul and Thibaut were contemporaries, biographical information does not show conclusively which hypothetical network is the most likely. The relationships between texts and melodies would suggest that RS321 was created from RS2063. RS321 is melodically similar to RS2063, while RS1666 is transmitted with a slightly different melody (explored in detail below). Although all three songs share the same rhyme scheme within each stanza, the way that the rhyme sounds change from stanza to stanza is different for each song (see **Table 3.4** below). RS2063 follows the scheme *coblas capcaudadas*: the last rhyme sound of a stanza becomes the first rhyme sound in the next, while the other two rhyme sounds are constant. RS1666 uses different rhyme sounds and has a *coblas doblas* scheme—pairs of stanzas with the same rhyme sounds. RS321 has no supra-stanza scheme.

		ababbccdd						bccdd	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	E <sub>1</sub>	E <sub>2</sub>
RS1666	<b>a</b>	-oi	-oi	-ez	-ez	-is	-is		
	<b>b</b>	-ée	-ée	-ance	-ance	-ise	-ise	-ise	-ise
	<b>c</b>	-ant	-ant	-ir	-ir	-iez	-iez	-iez	-iez
	<b>d</b>	-or	-or	ient	ient	-oir	-oir	-oir	-oir
RS2063	<b>a</b>	-u	-er	-er	-i	-our	-ié		
	<b>b</b>	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	
	<b>c</b>	-on	-on	-on	-on	-on	-on	-on	
	<b>d</b>	-er	-er	-i	-our	-ié	-ir	-us	
RS321	<b>a</b>	-ant	-öer	-aing	-er	-ors			
	<b>b</b>	-ance	-endre	-ainte	-aine	-iengne			
	<b>c</b>	-on	-ir	-er	-ié	-u			
	<b>d</b>	-er	-é	-ïer	-oint	-oit			

**Table 3.4: Rhyme sounds in the contrafact network for RS1666**

As **Table 3.4** shows, RS1666 and RS2063 share very few rhyme sounds. By contrast, the first stanza of RS321 shares three rhymes with the first stanza of RS2063, indicative that RS321 was created through the retexting of RS2063. This is corroborated by the placement of the same word (or its cognates) at the same place in a stanza in RS321 and RS2063, as if the text of RS2063 is bleeding through into Oede’s contrafact. For example, the first lines of the second stanzas of RS2063 and RS321 are ‘Amours me fait

son poir esprouver’ (RS2063, l. 10) and ‘Amors ont fet de moi grant miröer’ (RS321, l. 10). Oede copies Raoul’s opening of ‘Amours ... fait’ at exactly the same point in his text.

**Table 3.5** details other shared words and phrases between the songs.

RS2063	RS321
‘mort’ [l. 6]	‘morir’ [l. 6]
‘Amours me fait’ [l. 10]	‘Amours ont fet’ [l. 10]
‘en ramenbrance’ [l. 14]	‘en ramenbrance’ [l. 2]
‘Douce dame, merci’ [l. 28]	‘de merci crïer’ [l. 28]
‘pitié’ [l. 45]	‘pitié’ [l. 34]
‘Narcissus’ [l. 59]	‘miröer’ [l. 10]

**Table 3.5: Words shared between RS2063 and RS321**

The resemblances between the texts of RS2063 and RS321 are mostly the common words of the courtly love lyric and some of the shared words would not necessarily indicate that RS2063 was a model for RS321 if they occurred in isolation. However, the phrases ‘Amours me/ont fait’ [l. 10] at exactly the same point in the poetry and the cry for mercy in line 28 are an unusual level of similarity, while the image of a mirror in line 10 of RS321 and in the allegory of Narcissus in RS2063 is likely an allusion made by Oede to Raoul’s song. Taken together, the impression of the whole is that RS2063 is memorially present in RS321.

The melodies transmitted for the three songs fall into two broad groups: the melodies for RS1666 that are transmitted in **KNXaOM** (group 1); and the melodies transmitted for RS2063 and RS321 in **KNPX** (group 2). The melodies for RS2063 that are transmitted in **MT** are in group 1 for lines 1–5 and in group 2 for lines 6–9. Versions transmitted in **AVR** are not discussed here as the melodies are substantially different. This is summarised in **Table 3.6**.

	Group 1	Group 2	Other
RS1666	<b>aOMKNX</b>		<b>AV</b>
RS2063	<b>MT</b> (ll. 1–5 only)	<b>KNPX</b> <b>MT</b> (ll. 6–9 only)	<b>VR</b>
RS321		<b>KN</b>	

Table 3.6: Distribution of group 1 and group 2 melodies

Within group 1, **KNX** form one subgroup and **aOM** another. Fig. 3.6 shows an example of these subgroups, presenting line 2 of RS1666 as it is transmitted in **KNX** and **aOM**.<sup>31</sup>

M  
U - ne dame ai mult a lonc tens a - mé - e

a  
U - ne dame ai mult a lonc tens a - mé - e

O  
U - ne dame ai mult a lonc tens a - mé - e

KNX  
X only KN only  
KN: U - ne dame ai mult a lonc tens a - mé - e  
X: U - ne dame ai mult a lonc tens a - mé - e

Fig. 3.6: Group 1 melodies for RS1666, line 2

There are also slight differences between the group 1 melodies at the end of line 3, in line 6, in the distribution of syllables in line 8, and in the final pitch of line 9. Group 2 is very homogeneous, with only slight differences between versions of the melody. The close similarity of **KPNX** melodies for both RS2063 and RS321 strongly indicates that RS321

<sup>31</sup> This difference is caused by a scribal error in the **KNX** group, since line 4 is identical in **KNXaOM** and according to the norms of pcc form, line 4 should be the same as line 2, as it is in **aOM**. It appears that the scribe for the exemplar of **KNX** started copying a 3<sup>rd</sup> too low on the fourth syllable 'ai', perhaps because of a line break, and then over-compensated for this error. As a result, the end of line 2 in **KNX** is a 3<sup>rd</sup> higher than it should be.

was a contrafact of RS2063. Given the dating of **KPNX** to the 1270s and 1280s, it is probable that these sources would have existed when Oede de la Couroierie was alive and possible that he may have had access to one or more of these chansonniers when composing his song.

How different are the melodies of group 1 and group 2? In his comparative edition of the melodies transmitted for these three songs (no. 1175), Tischler implies that the group 1 melodies are closely related to the group 2 melodies, only displaced by a step in lines 1–4. Tischler presents the group 1 melodies for RS1666 (**KNXaOM**) a perfect 4<sup>th</sup> lower than they appear in the manuscripts so that the group one melodies open with a *b–c* ascent, matching the opening of melodies for RS2063 transmitted in **MT**. The parallel transcription of all of the transmitted melodies in **Appendix §14** suggests that Tischler was at least partly correct, although the situation is more complex than Tischler’s edition would imply.

Tischler is right to consider the melodies of group 1 and group 2 to be related: they are sometimes extremely similar. For line 9, for example, the group 1 melodies (RS1666) are almost identical to the versions of line 9 in group 2 (RS2063 and RS321), but notated a 4<sup>th</sup> higher; the only significant difference is that the melodies for RS1666 in **KNX** end a step higher than all of the other melodies. The group 1 and group 2 versions of lines 5, 6 and 8 are also closely related (taking into account the notation of group 1 melodies a 4<sup>th</sup> higher), which becomes evident when the melodies are reduced to their principal contours. **Figs. 3.7–3.9** align pitches (rather than syllables) to show the basic similarities and differences of contour between versions. Reductions of the melodies have also been presented to demonstrate their similarity and aim to show the high and low points of the melodies; pitches in brackets do not occur in all melodies. These comparisons show that while no group 1 melody is identical to a group 2 melody, all melodies share a general contour and move, mostly in conjunct motion, between the same high and low points.

Group 1 (RS1666/2063)  
(KNXaOM notated a 4<sup>th</sup> lower than in mss)

Group 2 (RS2063/321)

Reduction

Reduction

(a) (b)

(a): K200 has *F*; (b) K140 has *F*.

Fig. 3.7: Comparison and reduction of line 5 of group 1 and group 2 melodies

Group 1 (RS1666)  
(notated a 4<sup>th</sup> lower than mss)

Group 2 (RS2063/321)

Reduction

Reduction

6.Et de la mort - con - fort et grant gua - ri - son.

6.Et de la mort - con - fort et grant gua - ri - son.

6.De li l'a - mors - qui me des - traint sou - vent.

6.De li l'a - mors - qui me des - traint sou - vent.

X only

Fig. 3.8: Comparison and reduction of line 6 of group 1 and group 2 melodies

Group 1 (RS1666)  
(notated a 4<sup>th</sup> lower than mss)

Group 2 (RS2063/321)

The figure displays two columns of musical notation. The right column, labeled 'Group 1 (RS1666) (notated a 4<sup>th</sup> lower than mss)', contains five staves with lyrics: '8. So - frent il tuit aus - si si grant do - lor, do - lor.', '8. So - frent il tuit aus - si si grant do - lor, lor.', '8. So - frent il tuit aus - si si grant do - lor, lor.', '8. So - frent il tuit aus - si si grant do - lor, lor.', and '8. So - frent il tuit aus - si si grant do - lor, lor.'. The left column, labeled 'Group 2 (RS2063/321)', contains five staves with lyrics: '8. Qu'A - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser, ser.', '8. Qu'A - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser, ser.', '8. Qu'A - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser, ser.', '8. Qu'A - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser, ser.', and '8. Qu'A - mours fait bien le ri - che do - lou - ser, ser.'. Above the Group 1 staves is a bracket labeled 'Reduction' with a downward arrow. Above the Group 2 staves is a bracket labeled 'Reduction' with a downward arrow. A small '(a)' is placed above the first staff of Group 2. At the bottom left, a note reads '(a): X96v has c.'

Fig. 3.9: Comparison and reduction of line 8 of group 1 and group 2 melodies

There are significant differences between the melodies too, deviations that result not from recomposition but from scribal transmission. I have noted throughout this

discussion that the melodies for RS1666 in group 1 (**KNXaOM**) frequently bear close resemblance to the melodies for RS2063 and RS321 when notated a 4<sup>th</sup> lower than their appearance in their manuscripts.<sup>32</sup> The melody could thus be copied at different pitch levels, and versions of lines 1–5 of the group 1 melody are at the higher level (RS1666, **KNXaOM**) and at the lower level (RS2063, **MT**). At first glance, this lower-level group 1 melody looks very similar to the group 2 melody in lines 1–4. For example, line 1:

M85v  
Group 1  
(RS2063)

1. Rois de Navarre, sires de vertu,

K140  
Group 2  
(RS2063)

1. Rois de Navarre, sires de vertu,

Fig. 3.10: Comparison of line 1 of a lower-level group 1 melody and a group 2 melody

Here, the melody in **M** is almost identical to the melody in **K**, displaced by one step. A comparison of line 1 of a group 2 melody to a group 1 melody at the higher pitch level shows that a scribal error could have led to this difference:

M85v  
Group 1  
(RS2063)

1. Rois de Navarre, sires de vertu,

K42  
Group 1  
(RS1666)

1. Bons rois Thiebaut, sire, conseiliez moi!

Hypothetical exemplar

K140  
Group 2  
(RS2063)

1. Rois de Navarre, sires de vertu,

Fig. 3.11: Comparison of line 1 of group 1 melodies (lower- and higher-level) and a group 2 melody

<sup>32</sup> I deliberately avoid the term ‘transposition’ here, since without fixed absolute pitch, a melody could be notated at different levels in the gamut if the correct placement of semitones was retained.

Firstly, the group 1 melodies in **Fig. 3.11** are not identical, but when they are aligned by pitch (at the interval of a 4<sup>th</sup>) their similarity is clear. Secondly, the hypothetical exemplar that I have presented (from a range of hypothetical possibilities) is closely related in pitch content to both group 1 melodies in **Fig. 3.11**. I have not given words to this hypothetical exemplar in order to avoid a particular distribution of syllables, given that syllables can be distributed across a melodic line in various ways. Thirdly, the hypothetical exemplar is a 3<sup>rd</sup> above the group 2 melody for its entirety. If the scribe for the group 2 melody had an exemplar such as the hypothetical exemplar given in **Fig. 3.11**, it is not improbable that the scribe miscopied the melody by misplacing a C clef.<sup>33</sup>

All of the group 2 melodies open with a C3 clef. If the exemplar had a C2 clef, as for the group 1 melodies for RS1666 in **OM**, the copy would be visually identical to the exemplar but would produce the discrepancy in pitches because of the scribe writing a C3 rather than a C2 clef (see **Fig. 3.12**).



**Fig. 3.12:** Openings of RS1666 from O (f. 14v) and RS2063 from K (p. 140)<sup>34</sup>

<sup>33</sup> The different versions of line 2 of the group 1 melodies (see footnote 30) demonstrates that a 3<sup>rd</sup>-error was common in the transmission of trouvère song.

<sup>34</sup> Images taken from 'Chansonnier, dit Chansonnier Cange', Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed 28 Sep. 2017, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b6000950p/f56.item.r=cange%20chansonnier>; 'Recueil de chansons du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, avec musique notée', Bibliothèque nationale de France, accessed 28 Sep. 2017, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b550063912/f166.image.r=5198>. Source gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France.

In group 2 melodies (**KPNX**), lines 1–4 continue from this hypothetical mis-cleffing until line 5. Although the group 2 melodies begin line 5 on *a*, a 3<sup>rd</sup> below the starting pitch of line 5 for the higher-level group 1 melodies, the group 2 melodies have by the third syllable of line 5 been adjusted to match the melodic profile of the other melodies (see **Fig. 3.7** above). It is possible that the scribe noticed their error at this point in the copying process and either procured an exemplar at the lower pitch level or notated the remainder of the song a 4<sup>th</sup> below the melody of the exemplar.

The notation of the melody at pitch levels a 4<sup>th</sup> apart also accounts for the other significant melodic divergence between groups 1 and 2. **Fig. 3.13** below compares line 7 of the group 1 melody to RS1666 in **O** with the group 2 melody of RS2063 in **K**, which are chosen as representative examples of the two melodic groups.

The figure shows two musical staves. The top staff is for Group 1 (O, RS 1666) and the bottom staff is for Group 2 (KNX, RS 2063). Both are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The Group 1 melody starts on G4 and has a contour of G4-A4-B4-C5-B4-A4-G4. The Group 2 melody starts on G3 and has a contour of G3-A3-B3-C4-B3-A3-G3. The lyrics are written below the notes, with horizontal lines indicating syllable boundaries.

**Fig. 3.13: Comparison of line 7 of group 1 and group 2 melodies**

This is the line that diverges the most between groups. Other than the slight similarity of the end of the line (*c-b-a-b* for group 1 and *e-d-c-d-(c)* for group 2), the contour of the lines is very different. This would suggest that line 7 was composed afresh for at least one of the groups. In group 2 melodies, line 7 is the melodic apogee of the song, rising to *g*. The pitch level of the group 2 melodies is the same as the lower pitch level for group 1 melodies; leaving aside the complicated relationship between lines 1–4 of both groups, lines 5, 6 and 8 of group 2 share similar melodic material with the group 1 melodies,

displaced by a 4<sup>th</sup>. If line 7 of the group 1 melody at the higher pitch level were to match line 7 of the group 2 melodies (as might be expected), it would read:



**Fig. 3.14: Hypothetical higher-pitch melody for line 7, RS2063 (based on K)**

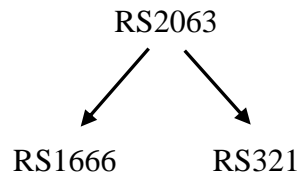
The pitches *bb* and *cc* are at the upper limit of notation in trouvère chansonniers. At some point during the transmission history of RS2063 and RS1666, a music scribe (or singer) decided that these pitches were too high, perhaps because they required a C1 clef. The scribe (or singer) therefore created a new melody for line 7 that was less extreme in tessitura.

The complicated relationships of similarity and divergence between the melodies of RS1666, RS2063 and RS321 are symptomatic of the multi-layered transmission of trouvère song. As for the contrafact network for RS1227 discussed above, the melodic transmission for this network combines the written and the oral. Syllables could be distributed across a melody in multiple ways, as line 5 of RS1666 and RS2063 demonstrates (see **Fig. 3.7** above). This variation would suggest that scribes did not always copy verbatim from an exemplar: at some point in the history of the transmission of these songs, scribes committed a sung melody to parchment, fitting syllables to pitches in different ways, perhaps according to local or individual performance practice. These small differences in the setting of text to melody would not, I suggest, be considered problematic by readers or performers. The versions of RS1666 in **KNXaOM** are recognisably the same song, and readers, it seems, did not require an exact match of syllable to pitch to recognise a song or to sing correctly from the written version.

The transmission of RS1666 and its contrafacts also shows that some scribes did copy verbatim from their exemplars—sometimes leading them to make large-scale copying errors. This is the case for lines 1–4 of RS2063, where the displacement of the melody of by a 3<sup>rd</sup> occurred because of the written transmission of RS1666 and RS2063 at two different pitch levels. If the scribe for RS2063 in **KNX** (or for an earlier exemplar) did not notice their error for more than four musico-poetic lines, it follows that scribes did not always check that what they were writing corresponded to the sound of a song. Conversely, the correction of the melody in line 5 of RS2063 demonstrates that a scribe could check the accuracy of a melody against the sound of a song in their memory. The case of the two melodies for line 7 of RS1666 and RS2063 shows that a scribe could act more creatively than merely checking their own work, creating a solution to a notational problem by writing a melody that is stylistically credible.

The transmission of both melodic groups in several sources indicates that both melodies were viable options for a performer of RS1666 and its contrafacts. Even if one or more of the melodies was initially the result of a scribe's error, these variant melodies gained a popularity of their own and, it would seem, were accepted as valid versions of the melody. Chronologically, the melodic variants do not conclusively show a clear history of transmission. While the versions of RS2063 in **MT** are the only melodies that have not been ostensibly affected by problems of written transmission, this does not mean that they are the earliest melodies. RS2063 and RS321 in **KNX** are copied with the scribal error of lines 1–4, for which the melody was copied at the higher-pitch level a 3<sup>rd</sup> too low and then adjusted to agree with the lower-pitch level melody; the copies of RS1666 in **KNXaOM** are transmitted at the higher-pitch level and their version of line 7 was the result of the limitations of *trouvère* notation. However, from this it cannot be concluded that RS2063 was written first and that RS1666 was created as its contrafact. I showed for the contrafact

group of RS1227 that contrafacture was a dynamic process, and that a reader or singer who knew two songs to be contrafacts could replace the text of one song with the text of its contrafact. The versions of RS2063 in **MT** could have been derived from an exemplar or oral performance of RS1666 that did not have either of the scribal alterations, as long as the scribes of **MT** knew to replace the text of RS1666 with the text of RS2063. However, given that a number of Thibaut's *jeux-partis* are based on pre-existent songs, it is more probable that RS2063 was the pre-existent song and that RS1666 was its contrafact (**Fig. 3.15**).



**Fig. 3.15: Probable relation of RS1666 to its contrafacts**

### **The deception of signs**

This analysis of the melodic transmission of this network shows that most of the melodies for the three songs (with the exception of those in **AVR**) are recognisably the same; their differences derive from scribal errors or from minor variation in the distribution of syllables. In a performance of the *jeu-parti* between Thibaut and his cleric (RS1666), a listener who recognised the melody of Raoul's love song (RS2063) would have been in the position of the 'subject supposed to know', which I outlined above.<sup>35</sup> In recognising the creative act that constitutes a melodic quotation, the reader might also recognise a destructive process in the act of quotation: the dismembering of an aesthetic whole and the imposition of a new text onto it. This process need not be a violent one. Kay's model of the

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<sup>35</sup> See footnote 11.

parrot and the nightingale theorises quotation as a kind of homage (the parrot) or as appropriation (the nightingale). Kay encapsulates her framework through Derrida's juxtaposition of the doubleness/duplicity of signs; quoting a sign can be an act of remembering or of dismembering, of alluding to an author or of eluding that author's intended meaning.<sup>36</sup> The potential of signs to mislead readers would not have been lost on thirteenth-century readers, and is a theme played upon by all three songs in the contrafact network of RS1666.

Thibaut and the cleric debate the nature of signs in RS1666 after the cleric asks whether the true lover should suffer the pains of love in silence or communicate his desire to his Lady. Thibaut argues that the cleric should stay silent and demonstrate his love through his deeds. Additionally, the cleric should use 'disguised words and a prudent appearance and through signs ... reveal the truth' of his feelings.<sup>37</sup> The cleric counters Thibaut's orthodox statement of *fine amours* by drawing attention to the immoral deception that Thibaut advocates: 'you know that disguised words and signs and such poses come from deception; it's easy to find someone who knows how to feign true love without feeling great pain'.<sup>38</sup> This theme is picked up, too, in the contrafacts of RS1666. Both RS2063 and RS321 draw on the allegory of a mirror:

But my tears are ever-present when I cannot see the one whom I love the most;

Narcissus never loved his reflection more than in such times.<sup>39</sup> [RS2063, ll. 57–9]

Love has made a great mirror of me: he who is wise can learn much from this example.<sup>40</sup>

[RS321, 10–11]

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<sup>36</sup> Kay, *Parrots and Nightingales*, 17.

<sup>37</sup> 'Par moz couvers et par cointe semblant / Et par signez doit on monter avant' [ll. 15–6].

<sup>38</sup> 'moz couvers et signez, ce savez, / Et tel semblant vient de decevance. / Assez trove on qui set fere semblance / De bien amer sanz grant dolor sosfir' [ll. 21–4].

<sup>39</sup> 'Maiz mi plourer sunt adés en saison, / Quant je ne puis veoir ce que j'aim plus; / Ainc n'ama tant son ombre Narcissus'.

<sup>40</sup> 'Amors ont fet de moi grant miröer: / Qui sages est, grant essample i puet prendre'.

The allegory of the mirror and reflection invites the reader to ask if they can trust what they see and hear. This is especially pertinent given that the three songs share a melody. The songs are musical and poetic mirrors of one another, and yet are not the same.

Mirrors were a powerful allegory in medieval literature.<sup>41</sup> In Christian theology, words were like mirrors that, in a post-lapsarian world, could be as deceptive as they were revealing.<sup>42</sup> While gazing at his reflection, Narcissus realises that the figure that he sees and desires is an image, a deception. The twelfth-century version of Ovid's tale, *Narcissus* reports that 'the water lies to him: ... it is his own beauty that he sees there, and he is deceiving himself'.<sup>43</sup> Narcissus cannot trust what his senses tell him: he can see his beloved's lips moving but cannot hear what they say; his surroundings are warm but he grows cold; he tries to embrace the image but cannot take hold of it.<sup>44</sup> Gazing into a mirror can cause the viewer to be deceived by his senses and to fall into sin.<sup>45</sup> The protagonist of the *Roman de la Rose* knows this when he comes across Narcissus's pool.<sup>46</sup>

Oede describes a perfect mirror in his song, one that can teach the wise onlooker. By contrast, Raoul's mirror allegory implies that he, like Narcissus, is caught in his own gaze. Poetically, Raoul is sealed in his lyric world by the form of his text. The versification of RS2063 is *coblas capcaudadas*:

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<sup>41</sup> For an overview of discussions of mirrors in medieval literature, see Nancy M. Frelick, 'Introduction', in *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections*, ed. Nancy M. Frelick, 1–30 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016).

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, 6.

<sup>43</sup> Frederick Goldin, *The Mirror of Narcissus in the Courtly Love Lyric* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967), 26.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 28–35.

<sup>45</sup> Alain of Lille gives an allegory of the three-fold mirror, comparing a truthful mirror to reason and two distorting mirrors to sensuality and carnality: Frelick, 'Introduction', 9.

<sup>46</sup> For the dreamer's encounter with Narcissus's fountain, see Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, ed. Daniel Poirion (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1974), ll. 1425–1614.

Stanza \ Rhyme	1	2	3	4	5	6	Envoi
<b>a</b>	-u	-er	-er	-i	-our	-ié	
<b>b</b>	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance	-ance
<b>c</b>	-on	-on	-on	-on	-on	-on	-on
<b>d</b>	-er	-er	-i	-our	-ié	-ir	-us

Table 3.7: Rhyme sounds for RS2063

As **Table 3.7** shows, the **b** and **c** rhymes remain constant throughout the song, while the **d** rhyme of one stanza becomes the **a** rhyme of the next. The structure, *coblas capcaudadas*, is metaphorically a mirror: the end of the first stanza matches the opening rhyme of the second. However, this mirroring is imperfect because the first rhyme of the first stanza is not mirrored in the last line of the second. At another level, the mirror-rhymes of the poetry are all encompassing. The final rhyme of the song, ‘-us’, is the same as the rhyme of the first line of the song. The term *coblas capcaudadas*, literally meaning ‘head-tailed’, precisely describes the versification structure. Because the final rhyme of the song matches the first rhyme sound of the song, the sonic effect of the song’s ending is of a snake biting its own tail. The song has come full circle, as if ready to begin again. To emphasise this, the final rhyme word of the song is ‘Narcissus’. Like Narcissus, Raoul is trapped in a self-reflective loop, both structurally and lyrically.

By using the melody of RS2063 for their *jeu-parti*, Thibaut and the cleric bring the themes of RS2063 into the frame of interpretation for RS1666. Thibaut encourages the cleric to stay silent, like Raoul in RS2063, who cannot confess his love to his Lady.<sup>47</sup> The melody of RS2063 suits Thibaut’s argument well, since Raoul’s text was an exemplary expression of the *fine amours* that Thibaut is advocating. Thibaut’s use of the melody of RS2063 is a form of homage, acknowledging Raoul’s authority as a poet-singer and lover,

<sup>47</sup> ‘For when my body loses speech, my heart thinks “Sweet Lady, mercy”’ (‘Quar quant mes cors la parole perdi, / Pensa mes cuers: “Douce dame, merci!”’) [RS2063, ll. 26–7].

just as Raoul acknowledges Thibaut at the start and end of RS2063. The cleric's criticism of *fine amours* makes use of the troubling allegory of Narcissus in RS2063. If *fine amours* is an exercise in self-deception, as Raoul's comparison of his plight to that of Narcissus would imply, then Thibaut is also recommending deception. In his opposition to the deception of *fine amours*, the cleric sings his counter-argument to the melody of RS2063, subverting its original association. Since the melody RS2063 was associated with *fine amours*, the cleric commits an act of symbolic violence by setting his opposition to deception to this melody. But in doing so the cleric is also being deceptive. He creates a mirror image of RS2063 that is deceptively different in both text and meaning. The deceptive mirroring of text and music characterises the cleric's relationship to RS2063, but also the relationship between the cleric and Thibaut. Each of their stanzas is also a deceptive mirror image of the other.

### **Homage, *disputatio*, or violence?**

In labelling RS1666 a 'contrafact' of RS2063, I use a term that does not occur as a generic label in music sources of the thirteenth century.<sup>48</sup> The terminology is important here. To describe RS1666 as a 'gloss' on RS2063 or to call RS2063 a 'model' for RS1666 would suggest that the relationship of RS1666 to RS2063 is one of homage. To call RS1666 a 're-texting' of RS2063 would imply a neutral relation between the two. However, I maintain that there is something 'contra' in the act of making RS1666 from RS2063. As I have shown, the themes of RS1666 are in common with the description of *fine amours* in RS2063. The cleric's characterisation of *fine amours* as deception undercuts the truth of RS2063: his re-texting of RS2063 is deliberately contrary.

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<sup>48</sup> Falck, 'Parody und Contrafactum', 20.

For Marie-Geneviève Grossel, drawing on the work of Suzanne Thoulier, contrafacture is adversarial and causes ‘aesthetic rupture’:<sup>49</sup>

a melody and a formal structure that come from elsewhere are set against a personal, *original* text; a text can never aspire to harmony between its components, its significance is in this case born of the tension that it creates between the two.<sup>50</sup>

It is the difference in register between the prior text and the new text in a contrafact that Grossel views as the cause of this rupture. She writes that the new text is ‘set against’ (*s’opposent*) the previous text. Grossel is writing specifically about the *serventois*, a genre of satirical song with a political or personal bent. She discusses *serventois* composed in France in the 1220s and 1230s, showing that the creation of contrafact *serventois* was a manifestation of political conflict.

Grossel shows that *serventois* such as those by Hue de la Ferté gained their political power through the aesthetic rupture of contrafacture. These songs were oppositional, written against the regent Blanche de Castile and her ally, Thibaut de Champagne.<sup>51</sup> Hue’s *serventois* entitled *Je chantaisse volentiers liëment* (RS699) and dating to the 1220s is a reworking of an earlier *chanson*, *Je chantaisse volentiers liëment* (RS700) by the Châtelain de Couci.<sup>52</sup> Hue’s *serventois* begins with exactly the same two lines as the Châtelain’s song and, with its borrowed melody, it would seem to the listener to be the Châtelain’s song until

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<sup>49</sup> ‘esthétique de la rupture’: Marie-Geneviève Grossel, ‘Quand le monde entre dans la chanson [En ligne]’, *Cahiers de recherches médiévales* 11 (2004), published electronically 10 October 2007, doi:10.4000/crm.1863.

<sup>50</sup> ‘s’opposent une mélodie et une structure formelle venues d’ailleurs, et un texte personnel *original*; partant, jamais un tel texte ne saurait prétendre à une harmonie entre ses composantes, la valeur naît cette fois de la tension qui se crée entre les deux’: *ibid.* Italics in the original.

<sup>51</sup> On propaganda written against Blanche and Thibaut, see Jean Richard, *Saint Louis: Crusader King of France*, trans. Jean Birrell, ed. Simon Lloyd (Cambridge; Paris: Cambridge University Press; Éditions de la Maison des sciences de l’homme, 1992), 17; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, trans. Gareth Evan Gollrad (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2009), 61–2, 293–4; Gérard Sivéry, *Blanche de Castille* (Paris: Fayard, 1990), 147–52.

<sup>52</sup> RS699 and RS700 are discussed at length in Quinlan, ‘Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song’, 59–99.

the text changes. At line 3, the aesthetic rupture of the abrupt shift of content and register would cause a listener to question why a familiar song has been given a new text: in this case, the listener might conclude that RS699 was sung to the melody of RS700 because of Hue's political affiliations, which I discuss further in **Chapter 4**.

If contrafacts had a political or satirical purpose in the first half of the thirteenth century as Grossel suggests, the high proportion of *jeux-partis* from the first half of the thirteenth century that are contrafacts is telling.<sup>53</sup> Because contrafacture was therefore central to the definition of the early *jeu-parti*, the genre would have been associated in the first half of the thirteenth century with opposition, that is, texts that are written in opposition to other texts. Such opposition also governs the internal structure of a *jeu-parti*. The aesthetic rupture experienced by a listener who recognises a song to be a contrafact also permeates the *jeu-parti*, since each stanza in a *jeu-parti* is a contrafact of the previous. Because the *jeu-parti* was associated with contrafacture and therefore with an oppositional mode of composition in the first half of the thirteenth century, this opposition would have coloured listeners' experience of a *jeu-parti*. Listeners, I argue, would have been inclined to interpret *jeux-partis* as manifestations of political conflict. The network of RS699 and RS700 illustrates this most clearly, since RS699 and RS700 probably shared their melody with the *jeu-parti*, *Une chose Baudoin* (RS332) by Thibaut de Champagne.<sup>54</sup> On recognising that the melody of *Une chose Baudoin* is the same as the melody for RS699, a listener would recall the political motivations for Hue de la Ferté's contrafact.

While the political opposition of contrafacture can be brought straightforwardly into the frame of interpretation for RS332, thanks to its shared melody with RS699, the

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<sup>53</sup> 16 *jeux-partis* can be dated before 1253. Of these, 7 are included in **Table 3.1**. Two *jeux-partis* by Thibaut de Champagne cannot be verified as contrafacts: RS1185 and RS294. 7 *jeux-partis* by Guillaume li Vinier and Gilles li Vinier are not contrafacts, as far as can be ascertained.

<sup>54</sup> The likelihood of a shared melody between RS699, RS700 and RS332 is discussed above.

case of RS1666 is less clear: RS1666 does not share its melody with a politically charged *serventois*. At first, indeed, RS1666 does not present itself as oppositional. The *jeu-parti* opens with a scene of homage, in which the cleric seeks Thibaut's advice. Like RS1666, RS2063 is also cast as a song of homage. Raoul addresses Thibaut as the 'lord of courage', justifying his song as a response to Thibaut, who has apparently told Raoul 'that love has such power'.<sup>55</sup> Both songs cast Thibaut as a *magister amoris*, an authority on love.<sup>56</sup> Because RS1666 begins with a cleric addressing a *magister amoris*, the opening of the song is scholastic in character, as if the song is a musical *disputatio*.

Throughout RS2063, Thibaut is treated as an authority on love and his merciful judgement requested in the *envoi*. By contrast, the tone of RS1666 changes as the debate continues. Forced by the form of the *jeu-parti* to oppose Thibaut's arguments, the cleric becomes increasingly agitated in his language. In stanza 3, the cleric is measured and rational, whereas in stanza 5 he insults Thibaut, stating that Thibaut 'feels little' and does not know the rules of love.<sup>57</sup> Thibaut is just as combative, accusing the cleric in stanza 4 of acting hastily, a symptom of the clerical inability to stay chaste. In stanza 6, Thibaut goes further, attributing the cleric's desire to declare his love to kidney trouble, a bodily imbalance that has nothing to do with love. By the end of the *jeu-parti*, the illusion of homage and scholastic debate has been shattered: Thibaut concedes to the cleric's demands, reversing the socially correct relationship of status that the opening of the song exemplifies.

RS1666 thus exposes the artifice of clerical *disputatio*. Although the *jeu-parti* begins as if it is a scholastic exercise, the disinterested logic of disputation is unsustainable.

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<sup>55</sup> 'sires de vertus'; 'qu'Amours a tel poissance' [RS2063, ll. 1–2].

<sup>56</sup> Alistair J. Minnis has traced thirteenth-century authorities on love, emphasising the importance of Ovid as an authority taken up by Jean de Meun, Richard de Fournival and others: *Magister amoris: The Roman de la Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001). On the reception of Ovid in twelfth- and thirteenth-century France, see also Jean Leclercq, *Monks and Love in Twelfth-Century France: Psycho-Historical Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

<sup>57</sup> 'po sentez' [l. 37]; 'Ne savez pas comment Amors justise / Ce que sien est et en sa commandise' [ll. 40–1].

At the end of the *jeu-parti*, Thibaut accuses the cleric of ‘waging such war’ against him, employing a violent analogy to describe their sung exchange.<sup>58</sup> Written accounts of *disputatio* aimed to provide textual ‘clarity and authority’ that future disputers could use.<sup>59</sup> Jody Enders suggests that, as a result, such written accounts conceal the drama and caprice of the live, performed event.<sup>60</sup> Thibaut’s analogy of his *jeu-parti* as ‘war’ points to the affect of the performance of the *jeu-parti*: it was not just oppositional, but violently so. RS1097, discussed above, is also described in violent terms. Gui ‘divide[s] a game by conflict (*ahaitie*)’, an Old French term meaning ‘animosity’, ‘disagreement’ or ‘battle’.<sup>61</sup> Gui thus opens his debate with Thibaut in a specifically violent expression of opposition. These descriptions of the character of opposition in the *jeu-parti* go beyond the depersonalised aesthetic of the *disputatio*. Instead of functioning as generalised debates that readers could draw on for authority (as accounts of the *disputatio* were), RS1666 and RS1097 emphasise their status as live events characterised by violent exchange.

Do these oppositional analogies refer only to the character of the debate in a *jeu-parti*? The analogies of war and animosity in RS1666 and RS1097 could also refer to the act of contrafacture that produced these *jeux-partis*. In RS1666, the cleric has not only undermined Thibaut’s reputation as an authority on *fine amours* by accusing him of ignorance (stanza 5). He has also done so by making a contrafact of RS2063, subverting a song that sets Thibaut up as an authority. The ‘war’ that Thibaut considers to be RS1666 is a twofold attack, not only in the cleric’s insults but also in the pointed melodic reference to Thibaut’s lyric legacy. In RS1097, the debate is described as ‘par ahaitie’: Gui says that he

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<sup>58</sup> ‘tel guerre emprise’ [RS1666, l. 60].

<sup>59</sup> Enders, ‘Theater of Scholastic Erudition’, 346.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 345.

<sup>61</sup> ‘part un jeu par ahaitie’ [RS1097, l. 1]; see the definitions given by the *Dictionnaire Moyen Français*, version 2015 (DMF 2015), ATILF-CNRS & Université de Lorraine, accessed 10<sup>th</sup> July 2017, <http://www.atilf.fr/dmf/definition/aatie>.

is dividing the game ‘by opposition/conflict’. Given that RS1097 is a re-texting of RS1227, the aesthetic rupture that could be experienced by the listener at the start of RS1097 might be the opposition or conflict to which Gui is referring. As these examples show, the association of contrafacture with political opposition, to be seen especially in the genre of the *serventois*, gained a specifically violent characterisation in the *jeu-parti*.

One of the central concerns throughout this chapter has been the way that clerics—whether they be the scribes of chansonniers or the lyric personas in RS1666 and RS1097—have responded to the songs of aristocratic trouvères. The scribes responsible for copying *jeux-partis* and their contrafacts into chansonniers were part of a complicated process of oral and written transmission. Sometimes these scribes made mistakes in their copying, and these mistakes became accepted variants of a melody that may have been widely performed as legitimate versions of a song. These scribes acted creatively, not necessarily copying verbatim from an exemplar. At one point during the transmission history of RS1097 and RS1227, for example, a scribe must have known that the two songs were related as contrafacts and retexted the melody because they knew that one song was to be sung to the melody of another. In RS1666 and RS2063, scribes circumvented the constraints of their notational system by composing new parts of the melody. The melodic variants of the songs discussed here show that scribes were also sometimes unable or unwilling to fully control the oral events that they were notating. Differences in the distribution of syllables across a melody attest to a performance culture in which melodies and texts did not need to be absolutely fixed.

Both RS1666 and RS1097 stage a lyric encounter between a cleric and an aristocrat. These songs with clerical personas were copied by clerics into their manuscript sources; arguably, RS1666 and RS1097 are therefore expressions of clerical identity. In thirteenth-century literate practice, clerical identity could be expressed when scribes inserted

themselves into narratives and took on an authorial voice. Sylvia Huot argues that the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries witnessed a shift towards the scribe as the author and lyric protagonist, exemplified by the dream scene at the start of the *Roman de la Rose*: '[the dream] makes of the "I" a dual entity: romance narrator and romance protagonist'.<sup>62</sup> Given the similar combination of writer and protagonist in the scribal performances of RS1666 and RS1097, the clerical identity that is expressed in these songs is surprising. In RS1097, Gui (possibly a cleric of Thibaut) opts for a form of debate based on violence rather than on scholasticism. RS1666 opens with the pretence of being a *disputatio*, but by the end of the song it has become a war of words. The scribes of RS1666 and RS1097 do not show themselves to be experts in scholastic disputation by sanitising the verbal violence of the two *jeux-partis*; rather, they are active participants in the oppositional stance of these songs.

This chapter has aimed to demonstrate that contrafacture was fundamental to the ontology of the early *jeu-parti*. Since so many early *jeux-partis* were contrafacts, the cultural significance of contrafacture would have been central to the way that *jeux-partis* were perceived. Contrafacts could be, and often were, songs written *against* their models. Processes of contrafacture also govern the composition of *jeux-partis*, which consist of the successive contrafacture of stanzas by individuals opposed to one another. In this way, the exchange of stanzas in the *jeu-parti* was imbued with the political and social opposition that contrafacture made manifest. In **Chapter 4**, three contrafact networks are examined to exemplify such political and social opposition, an opposition that was fed by the ideology of chivalry and the aristocratic valorisation of violence.

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<sup>62</sup> Huot, *From Song to Book*, 86. See also Karl D. Uitti, 'From *Clerc* to *Poète*: The Relevance of the *Roman de la Rose* to Machaut's World', in *Machaut's World: Science and Art in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Madeleine Pelner Cosman and Bruce Chandler, 209–16 (New York: New York Academy of Sciences 1978), 211–2.

## Chapter 4 | The *jeu-parti* and aristocratic politics under Louis IX

In the previous chapter, I asserted that the ‘aesthetic rupture’ experienced by listeners of contrafact *jeux-partis* reflected the symbolic violence of contrafacture, and that this violence was sometimes recognised by the creators of contrafacts.<sup>1</sup> By examining the contrafact networks around three *jeux-partis* from the first half of the thirteenth century, this chapter aims to show how aesthetic rupture in song was employed by prominent aristocrats for political ends. These *jeux-partis* are born of an aristocratic milieu in which nobles struggled for power and control of territory, sometimes resorting to armed combat. It is also significant that the contrafacts created are *jeux-partis*. The trouvères discussed in this chapter could have caused aesthetic rupture by making contrafacts that were love songs or devotional songs. Instead, they chose to make *jeux-partis*, which suggests that the genre was associated with conflict: they chose a genre that was overtly confrontational in performance. As early examples of the genre, these songs therefore established the *jeu-parti* as a genre whose ontology is rooted in violent struggle.

In my interpretations of these networks, the order in which songs were created cannot be proven from the historical evidence. When an interpretation is made that involves the motives of the creators of the songs, the conclusions are therefore speculative. My interpretations are also concerned with the reception of these songs; once all songs in a contrafact network had been created, any listener who knew the model song and its contrafact could interpret the two songs together, based on an assumption of which song was the first to be created.

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<sup>1</sup> ‘esthétique de la rupture’: Grossel, ‘Quand le monde entre dans la chanson’.

## Historical context

The political events of the first half of the thirteenth century have been well documented by historians. Here, I outline in brief the key events, relationships and disagreements to contextualise three *jeux-partis* between Thibaut de Champagne, Phelipe de Nanteuil, Raoul de Soissons, the Duke of Brittany and Bernart de la Ferté. The sources available to historians are partisan, written in order to legitimise the French crown and its acquisition of power and territory under Louis IX. Historians have tended to tell a story of struggle between factions of the nobility and the crown, here vested in Louis IX and the regent, his mother Blanche de Castile. The problems of Thibaut de Champagne's relationships with Louis IX, Blanche, and the other French barons begin with his disagreements with the father of Louis IX and husband to Blanche, King Louis VIII of France.<sup>2</sup> When Louis IX acceded to the throne of France, Thibaut was an opponent of the crown. He had suffered financially from Louis VIII's laws against Jewish money lenders and did only the minimum service required of him during the Albigensian crusade in 1226.<sup>3</sup> Louis VIII threatened Thibaut with confiscation of his fiefs and with armed attack, and Louis's death was rumoured to have been the result of poison administered by Thibaut.<sup>4</sup>

Thibaut formed a coalition with Pierre Mauclerc, Duke of Brittany, and Hugh le Brun, Count of La Marche, against the crown, which may have accounted for their absence from the coronation of Louis IX at Reims in Advent 1226.<sup>5</sup> The coalition between Thibaut, the Duke of Brittany and the Count of La Marche was soon thwarted when Thibaut reneged and allied himself with the regent, Blanche, setting the stage for the events of the next

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<sup>2</sup> The background to this episode is explored in Richard, *Saint Louis*, 20–40.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Le Goff, *Saint Louis*, 55–6.

decade.<sup>6</sup> According to the chronicler Joinville, the other barons, led by Pierre Mauclerc, mounted their opposition to Thibaut.<sup>7</sup> The families of Dreux, Châtillon and Coucy persuaded Philip Hurepel, brother to Louis VIII, to claim the regency for himself; meanwhile Pierre Mauclerc, himself a member of the Dreux family and Duke of Brittany, was in continual conflict with the French crown and forged alliances with the English.

Sustained hostility remained between Thibaut and the Dreux dynasty, in part because of his faithful support of Blanche de Castile and Louis IX. From 1226 to 1235, the ‘solid cabal’ consisting of Pierre Mauclerc, Robert III de Dreux, Jehan de Braine, the Count of Mâcon, and Henry, archbishop of Reims, as well as Enguerrand de Coucy and the Counts of Bar and Roucy, relations by marriage of Robert III, worked to tarnish Thibaut’s reputation and compromise his power.<sup>8</sup> In the late 1220s, Thibaut was the victim of a propaganda campaign, of which three *serventois* by Hue de la Ferté are examples.<sup>9</sup> Thibaut was accused of having an affair with Blanche de Castile, a rumour that later became legend.<sup>10</sup> Thibaut was not a passive victim in this war of words and song: in his *serventois Robert, veez de Perron* (RS1878), Thibaut complains of Pierre Mauclerc’s attempts to have his daughter, Yolande de Dreux, marry Henry III of England.<sup>11</sup>

In 1227, Thibaut faced a challenge to his own rule of Champagne from Alix, Queen of Cyprus and later wife of Raoul de Soissons. Alix, whom Pierre Mauclerc had planned

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<sup>6</sup> For more detailed discussion of the events outlined here, see Richard, *Saint Louis*, 8–19, 41–7.

<sup>7</sup> Jean Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. and trans. Jacques Monfrin (Paris: Dunod, 1995), 39–43.

<sup>8</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, 32.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 16; Sivéry, *Blanche de Castille*, 140–52. For a discussion of these songs, see Quinlan, ‘Contextualising the Contrafacta of Trouvère Song’, 59–99.

<sup>10</sup> Mention of this affair appears first in Roger Wendover’s *Flores historiarum* around 1235 and was taken up by Matthew Paris in *Historia anglorum*. The *jeu-parti Dame, merci, une riens vous demant* (RS335) between Thibaut and an unnamed ‘Dame’ is attributed to Thibaut in all sources except trouvère chansonnier **b**, in which it is accompanied by the rubric ‘le roi de navarre a la roine blanche’, indicating the scribe’s belief in the rumoured affair. For all of these, see Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 34–5. See also Eglal Doss-Quinby et al., *Songs of the Women Trouvères* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2001), 30–2.

<sup>11</sup> Sidney Painter, ‘The Historical Setting of Robert veez de Perron’, *Modern Language Notes* 52/2 (1937), 83–7: 86.

to marry, was supported in her claims by the Dreux family.<sup>12</sup> As the elder cousin of Thibaut IV de Champagne, whose father had been the younger brother of Alix's father, Henry II de Champagne and King of Jerusalem, Alix had a valid claim to the counties of Champagne and Blois. Spurred on by Thibaut's rival barons in the Dreux family, Alix contested Thibaut's inheritance, only renouncing her claim when in 1234 Thibaut bribed her with 40,000 *livres tournois* and 2,000 *livres* in rent annually, a huge sum that Thibaut could only raise through the sale of the viscounty of Châteaudun and the counties of Blois, Chartres and Sancerre to Louis IX;<sup>13</sup> Alix returned to Syria in 1235.<sup>14</sup>

Thibaut also faced a direct military threat from the Dreux and their allies. Duke Hugh IV of Burgundy had agreed in a treaty with Thibaut that he would not marry into the Dreux, Brittany, La Marche, Boulogne or St Pol families, or marry a daughter of Robert de Courtenay or Enguerrand de Coucy; Hugh's defiant marriage to Yolande de Dreux provoked retaliation from Thibaut.<sup>15</sup> In 1230, these political struggles came to a head for Thibaut when his territory was attacked from the north by members of the Dreux family and Philip Hurepel, and from the south by the Duke of Burgundy. Thibaut was defended by Louis IX himself at the head of the royal army: the barons were obliged to retreat because they could not fight against Louis IX, to whom they had done homage. Thibaut's conflict with the Dreux dynasty seems only to have been resolved in 1235 when Thibaut had his daughter, Blanche de Navarre, married to Duke John I of Brittany, son of Pierre Mauclerc.

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<sup>12</sup> See Richard, *Saint Louis*, 54; Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, 43.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Lower, *The Barons' Crusade: A Call to Arms and Its Consequences* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 98–9.

<sup>14</sup> Ineke Hardy, 'Les chansons attribuées au trouvère picard Raoul de Soissons' (Ph. D. thesis, University of Ottawa, 2009), 13.

<sup>15</sup> Richard, *Saint Louis*, 44.

After the marriage of Thibaut's daughter to John I of Brittany, Thibaut and Pierre appear to have become close allies; both men were important figures in the Barons' Crusade of 1239, on which they were joined by Raoul de Soissons and Phelipe de Nanteuil. Christopher Tyerman suggests that for many prominent French barons the crusade was an attempt to make amends for their disloyalty to the regent and King Louis IX in the 1220s and 1230s.<sup>16</sup> The 1239 crusade is documented by William of Tyre in the *Rothelin Continuation*.<sup>17</sup> During the crusade, Pierre Mauclerc convened a raiding party, of which Raoul de Soissons was a member, to plunder a Mamluk convoy of livestock, against the wishes of Thibaut de Navarre: Raoul himself led one of two parties on the raid.<sup>18</sup> The chronicle reports that Mauclerc won himself great popularity with the men for having plundered so much meat, but angered the rival lords in the company for having gained this advantage. As a result, Amalric de Montfort and Henry de Bar gathered a second party to raid a castle at Ascalon. This raiding party was intercepted by a group of nobles, including Thibaut de Navarre and Pierre Mauclerc, who argued that the raid was foolhardy. The chronicle reports that the raid failed and that several barons were taken hostage to Gaza, including Amalric de Montfort and Phelipe de Nanteuil.<sup>19</sup> The Count of Bar was missing, believed dead.<sup>20</sup> Thibaut left for France in 1240, but arranged a truce with the Sultan of Babylon (according to the chronicler) that led to the release of the captured barons.

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<sup>16</sup> Christopher Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin, 2007), 759.

<sup>17</sup> See Janet Shirley and William of Tyre, *Crusader Syria in the Thirteenth Century: The Rothelin Continuation of the History of William of Tyre with Part of the Eracles or Acre Text* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

<sup>18</sup> Lower, *Barons' Crusade*, 168.

<sup>19</sup> Shirley and Tyre, *Crusader Syria*, 50.

<sup>20</sup> The *Rothelin Continuation* reports that the Count of Bar may have been tied up in the desert and left to die. See *ibid.*, 58.

After the crusade, Raoul de Soissons (of whom little is known before 1239) remained in the Outremer and married Alix, Queen of Cyprus.<sup>21</sup> Frederick II, the Holy Roman Emperor, demanded that his son Conrad be made King of Jerusalem when he reached majority. When Conrad did reach majority in 1242 or 1243, though, Alix was given governorship of the Holy Land by the High Court, on the grounds that Conrad would never come to the Holy Land to claim the territory. Taking advantage of the absence of Frederick II's representative in Tyre, Richard Filiangieri, the Ibelins besieged Tyre and captured the city. Raoul and Alix are reported to have heard of this siege and to have ridden to Tyre to demand the city for themselves: in this they were thwarted.<sup>22</sup> According to the *Eracles Continuation*, 'this was one of the reasons why [Raoul] de Soissons went away'.<sup>23</sup> Raoul returned to France in anger, leaving Alix in Cyprus. In 1246, Alix died and Raoul married the Contesse d'Hangest.

### **Thibaut de Champagne and Phelipe de Nanteuil: RS334**

The animosity between Thibaut, Blanche and Louis on the one hand, and the Dreux family on the other, is the political context for the first contrafact network to be discussed. *Ne me doune pas talent* (RS739), the *jeu-parti* *Phelipe je vos demant* (RS334) and the devotional song *Mere au roi omnipotent* (RS713) share the same melody in sources **KMOXUa** (see **Appendix §3**).<sup>24</sup> RS739 is a love song by Moniot d'Arras (literally 'monk of Arras') and is sent to the nobleman Jehan de Braine in an *envoi* at the end of the song. RS334 is a *jeu-parti* between Thibaut de Champagne, and Phelipe, assumed by several editors to be

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<sup>21</sup> On the political significance of Alix's marriage to Raoul, see Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 327–8; Tyerman, *God's War*, 325–6.

<sup>22</sup> Shirley and Tyre, *Crusader Syria*, 129.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 130.

<sup>24</sup> Since they are very different, I do not discuss the melody of RS739 transmitted in **R** and the melodies of RS334 copied in **RV**.

Phelipe de Nanteuil, a lower-ranked nobleman.<sup>25</sup> RS713 is a devotional Marian song attributed in its only source, **a**, to Richard de Fournival, a cleric at Amiens cathedral.

	RS739	RS334	RS713
<b>a</b>	✓♪ 'mounios'	-	✓♪ 'maistres ricars de fournival'
<b>M</b>	✓♪	✓♪	-
<b>T</b>	✓ 'monios'	✓ 'li rois de Navare'	-
<b>K</b>	✓♪	✓♪ 'li rois de Navare'	-
<b>X</b>	✓♪	✓♪ 'Li rois de navarre'	-
<b>O</b>	✓♪	✓♪	-
<b>R</b>	✓♪	✓♪	-
<b>V</b>	-	✓♪	-
<b>C</b>	✓ 'Moinies d'Aures'	-	-
<b>U</b>	✓♪	-	-
<b>H</b>	✓	-	-
<b>S</b>	-	✓	-

✓=copied in manuscript; ♪=copied with music notation

**Table 4.1: Sources for songs in the contrafact network for RS334**

RS739, RS334, and RS713 certainly belong to the same contrafact network. All of the songs have the same syllable counts and rhyme scheme within each stanza (**abababac**), and there is some sharing of rhyme sounds. The melodies transmitted in **MKOUXa** diverge only in their distribution of syllables (see, for example, **Fig. 4.1**). The melodic contour is almost identical between these versions of the melody and there is only one obvious scribal error.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Tarbé implies that Phelipe de Nanteuil was frequently the partner of Thibaut in *jeux-partis*: *Les Chansonniers de Champagne*, 48. The assumption had certainly gained credence by the time Wallensköld was collecting Thibaut's songs. See Wallensköld, *Les chansons de Thibaut de Champagne*, xxiv.

<sup>26</sup> This is in the version of RS334 in **K** at the beginning of line 7.

O95v  
Phe - lip - pe, ie vos de - mant:

K37  
X38r  
Phe - li - pe, ie vous de - mant:

M69v  
Phe - li - pe, ie vos de - mant:

a121r  
Mere au roi om - ni - po - tent,

M118r  
[missing] - ne pas ta - lent

K400  
X256v  
Ne me do - ne pas ta - lent

O95v  
Ne me do - ne pas ta - lent

a45r  
(transposed)  
Ne mi dou - ne pas ta - lent

U52r  
Ne me do - ne pas ta - lent

Fig. 4.1: Comparative transcription of line 1 of RS334 and its contrafacts

Fig. 4.1 shows that no version of the melody for RS739 is the same as the versions of RS334 or RS713. While clearly closely related, the melodies do not indicate the chronology of contrafacture. As with all of the songs discussed in this chapter, RS739, RS334 and RS713 cannot be firmly dated. The identical rhyme sounds in the first stanzas of RS739 and RS334 suggest that one was the model for the other, but the versification of RS713 does not show how it relates chronologically to the other songs. The biographical

evidence for the trouvères of these songs is also of little help for establishing the order of contrafacture. Moniot's output is dated 1213–1239 by Holger Dyggve Petersen, who states that since RS739 is dedicated to Jehan de Braine, rather than Jehan de Mâcon, it was composed before Jehan gained the county of Mâcon through his marriage in 1224.<sup>27</sup> RS739 was thus composed between 1213 and 1224. RS334, in which Thibaut is addressed as 'cuens', was probably composed before 1234. Thibaut gained the kingdom of Navarre in 1234 and would have been addressed from that year as 'roi'.<sup>28</sup> This means that RS334 was created before Thibaut and Pierre Mauclerc reconciled through the marriage of their children in 1235. RS713 was composed by Richard de Fournival, whose dates are 1201–1260. It is therefore possible that all three songs were written before 1224, since the *termini post quem* for the three songs do not help to establish a certain chronology. Petersen first put forward the hypothesis that RS739 was composed first, followed by RS334 and then RS713, which I adopt here. While Petersen does not explain his reasoning, the arguments below make a logical narrative sense of this chronology.<sup>29</sup>

The political discord between Thibaut de Champagne and the Dreux family during the 1220s and 1230s explains why Thibaut might have taken Moniot d'Arras's love song as a model for his *jeu-parti*. Moniot d'Arras's final stanza, in which he sends his song to Jehan de Braine—member of the Dreux family and brother to the dissident Duke of Brittany, Pierre Mauclerc—could indicate that Moniot was affiliated with Thibaut's political enemies. In RS739, Moniot sends his song with the common formulation 'chanson, va t'en maintenant', addressing the song and bidding it act as his messenger.

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<sup>27</sup> Holger Dyggve Petersen, *Moniot d'Arras et Moniot de Paris, trouvères du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle; Édition des chansons et étude historique*, (Helsinki: Société néo-philologique de Helsinki, 1938), 34. See also Alain Guerreau, 'Jean de Braine: Trouvère et dernier comte de Mâcon (1224–1240)', *Annales de Bourgogne* 43/170 (1971), 81–96: 82.

<sup>28</sup> Petersen, *Moniot d'Arras*, 13, 74; Spanke, 'Zur Geschichte des altfranzösischen Jeu-parti', 52.

<sup>29</sup> *Moniot d'Arras*, 13, 74.

Moniot's choice to send his song to Jehan indicates that Moniot's songs were to be sung among a network of aristocrats. Moniot mentions a number of aristocrats in his songs, including Philip Hurepel the Count of Boulogne, the Count of Dreux (presumably Robert III de Dreux), and the Vidame of Amiens (Enguerrand I of Picquigny or Gérard III of Picquigny).<sup>30</sup> At least two of these men were allied against Blanche and Louis IX: Robert III of Dreux aided Philip Hurepel in attempting to usurp Louis IX (1228).

When Moniot sends his song to Jehan, he enacts a process of exchange, implicitly expecting something in return. The feudal system functioned through processes of exchange such as vassalage and marriage, which were tied to the granting or retention of territory, wealth and power. Other processes of exchange such as the dedication of songs could have similarly binding consequences. In her discussion of *tornadas* in troubadour song and *envois* in trouvère song, Judith Peraino argues that *tornadas* and *envois* create an 'imminent subjectivity' with which scribes, compilers, and listeners engage.<sup>31</sup> *Envois* bind the sender to the recipient in a relationship of reciprocity that Marcel Mauss theorises in his study of gift exchange.<sup>32</sup> The dedication by Moniot d'Arras to Jehan de Braine indicates a network of relationships which are performed through dedications such as in RS739. These dedications tell us something about the feudal ties of loyalty and allegiance between trouvères and their dedicatees in early thirteenth-century French aristocratic circles.

In making a contrafact from RS739, Thibaut and Phelipe engage in a different type of exchange. Both poets fashion their lyric selves in the image of Moniot, but do not name him. His subjectivity is erased in what Sarah Kay calls the nightingale's way of quotation.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Petersen, *Moniot d'Arras*, 39–53.

<sup>31</sup> Judith Ann Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 35. Peraino, drawing on the work of Louis Althusser, argues that the turn of the subject is an interpellation of power. In being hailed, the subject is brought into a system of reciprocal obligations.

<sup>32</sup> Mauss, *The Gift*.

<sup>33</sup> See discussion on pp. 140–1.

In recognising RS334 as a contrafact of RS739, listeners would have made a choice: was this an act of dedication or an act of appropriation? Given that between 1227 and 1234 Thibaut was widely known to be in conflict with the Dreux, to whom RS739 is dedicated, I suggest listeners are likely to have interpreted RS334 as a politically charged act.

### ***Fine amours on trial***

In the fourth stanza of RS739, transmitted only in **MTUCHa**, Moniot d'Arras describes the effect of the Lady's power on his heart: 'my heart splits itself open with sighing'.<sup>34</sup> The situation that has caused the poet's heart to split in two is a classic formulation of *fine amours*. The poet fears the coercive power of his Lady, but it is the pain of such interactions with his Lady that give him pleasure. It is not clear in RS739 whether the poet's love is requited. In the first stanza of RS739, the poet states that his desire to sing comes from the new comfort that he has received: his Lady has accepted him and he need search no further.

Ne me doune pas talent  
de chanter li mois de mai  
maiz amours, de qui descent  
uns nouviauz confors que j'ai,  
quant cele qui longement  
m'a tenu en grant esmai  
recoit mon service et prent  
et je pluz ne li quier mie.

[5]

The month of May does not give me  
the desire to sing, but rather it is love,  
from whom comes a new comfort that  
I have, when she, who has long held  
me in great consternation, receives my  
service and takes [me] and I do not  
search at all for anything more.

Desire to sing comes from the fulfilment of the poet's wishes and the acceptance of his Lady, which he does not have to search for any longer. Throughout RS739, the metaphor of love-service is explored, as the poet serves his lady, references to service appearing repeatedly in the song: 'service' [l. 2], 'servir' [l. 10, l. 39], 'servant' [l. 37]. The Lady has power over and status above the poet: she rebukes him when he does wrong [ll. 11–2], she

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<sup>34</sup> 'Mes cuers s'en part souspirant' [l. 31].

has his heart in her power [l. 32] and his love for her is his sovereign [l. 24]. The poet does not experience unambiguous joy: he also seems to revel in a masochistic enjoyment of frustrated desire. Even though the poet has been accepted by his Lady, he still dwells on several frustrations: his wrongdoing for which he must beg for mercy (stanza 2); the tests of love on the lover (stanza 3); the pains of love under the gaze of the Lady (stanza 4); the need for help and pity (stanza 5); and the slander of others (stanza 6). RS739 expresses the tension inherent in much trouvère poetry: joy in suffering. It is this tension that divides the poet's heart.

A fleeting allusion to the poet's allegory of his divided heart is made at the end of RS334, where Phelipe calls on Rodrigue le Noir to give judgement on 'who is right in this *partie*'.<sup>35</sup> The term *partie* is a genre label for the song that Phelipe and Thibaut have sung, but it is also literally a 'division' or 'splitting'. The *partie* between Phelipe and Thibaut is described in the same way as the poet's heart in RS739. RS334 is therefore an elaboration on the divided subject of RS739, dividing the contradictory themes of Moniot's opening stanza into two sides of the debate. In RS334, Thibaut poses the dilemma: who should advance more, the one who already has his desire or the one who is trying to get what he wants? Two themes of RS739, desire and seeking, are placed in opposition in RS334: 'talent' [l. 5] and 'quier' [l. 16].<sup>36</sup> In RS334, the one who is loved ('amez' [l. 8]) has all that he desires ('tot son talent' [l.5]), while the one who entreats ('prie' [l. 8]) is put to the test ('à l'essai' [l. 6]).

In drawing directly on the themes of RS739, RS334 acts as a trial of *fine amours*. Michèle Gally argues that the purpose of the whole genre of the *jeu-parti* was to play out

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<sup>35</sup> 'Qui a droit de la partie' [l. 56].

<sup>36</sup> RS739 and RS334 share some vocabulary, but given that the words shared are common to the poetic tropes of trouvère *grand chant*, I have not listed them here.

the possibilities of courtly love.<sup>37</sup> Although, as I argued in **Chapter 1**, Gally problematically takes a teleological approach to *grand chant* and the *jeu-parti*, her argument is useful for understanding the relationship between RS334 and RS739. Because RS334 and RS739 are certainly related by contrafacture, one is a transformation of the other. Depending on which song was created first, the close similarity of poetic topoi in the two songs means that RS334 is a discussion of the courtly love expressed in RS739. But this discussion is not only the playful parody that Gally would suggest. The material expression of Moniot's desire—his song—is used in RS334, but without its text. Moniot states at the opening of RS739 that love gives him the desire to sing.<sup>38</sup> Further, in his *envoi* Moniot invests his song with the ability to speak on his behalf. If Moniot's subjectivity is his song, then Moniot's *fine amours* is not merely debated; it is put on trial in RS334.

The form of the trial by inquest is a useful comparison to the *jeu-parti* because it consists of a set of verbal forms and procedures that embody the power of the state. It is both personal in that it treats the case of an individual, and impersonal in that power is subsumed in the legal and administrative structures of the court and the law. As I showed in the **Introduction**, the trial by inquest was a verbal and legal replacement for the physically violent settlement of disputes. It achieved this in three ways: 1) maintaining the opposition of a dispute, but in the form of all (the state) against one (the accused); 2) the deployment of symbolic violence in the place of physical violence by investigating the actions of the accused;<sup>39</sup> and 3) in the 'verbal struggle' of the inquest.<sup>40</sup> RS334 deploys

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<sup>37</sup> Gally, 'Le chant et la dispute', 392.

<sup>38</sup> RS739, ll. 1–3.

<sup>39</sup> It is clear that investigation in an inquest was considered a form of symbolic violence. In the 1259 royal inquest of Enguerrand de Coucy, Enguerrand insisted on his right to trial by battle because 'this inquest harmed his character, his honour and his inheritance' ('cele enquete touchast sa persone, s'enneur et son heritage'): Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Vie de Saint Louis* in Edmond Faral, 'Le procès d'Enguerran IV de Couci', *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 4<sup>e</sup> s., 26 (1948), 213–58: 220.

<sup>40</sup> Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law*, 140.

similar symbolic violence. By making a contrafact of RS739, Thibaut subjects the lyric figure of Moniot to a systematised form of symbolic violence. Since this contrafact is a *jeu-parti*, Thibaut ensures that the symbolic violence of contrafacture is made apparent to the listener by using a combative genre of song. The lyric persona with the divided heart that Moniot presents in RS739 is dismembered by Thibaut and Phelipe, who dispute each other's right to the ownership of Moniot's melody. This amounts to an aggressive appropriation of Moniot's song that is acted out in performance.

My conceptual framing of RS334 as a kind of inquest or verbalised violence is supported by an analysis of the melody of RS334 and RS739. The melody alternates between two pitch axes: the *D/a* pitch axis (closed) and the *C/G* pitch axis (open). This division of tonal space in this melody exemplifies the tonal division of melody that was discussed in **Chapter 2**. *D* is the primary pitch of the melody, while *C* is a secondary pitch. **Fig. 4.2** below shows the first stanza of RS739 as it is transmitted in **X**. The opening pair of lines establish *D* as the primary pitch thanks to the cadence at the end of line 2. *C* is the secondary pitch, since it is heard on the rhyme word at the end of line 1. The opening is typical of a *frons* that could have either plagal or authentic ambitus: the primary pitch is a step above the lowest pitch of the melody.

1. Ne me dou - ne pas ta - lent

2. De chan - ter li mois de mai

3. Maiz a - mours, de qui des - cent

4. Uns nou - viauz con - fors que j'ai,

5. Quant ce - le qui lon - ge - ment

6. M'a te - nu en grant es - mai

7. Re - çoit mon ser - vice et prent,

8. Et je pluz ne li quier mi - e.

Fig. 4.2: Transcription of the melody of RS739 transmitted in chansonnier X f. 256v

The melody is characterised by conjunct phrases that often fall by a 5<sup>th</sup>, outlining the *D/a* and *G/C* axes. In **Fig. 4.2**, square brackets have been placed over conjunct descents from *G* to *C* to show the frequency of this figure. In some places, the *G–C* descent is made prominent by the division of the text: in line 8, ‘et je pluz ne’ and ‘li quier’ are each set to a descending figure, a striking repetition of the *G–C* that propels the melody towards its final cadence on *D*. In line 7, by contrast, the *G–C* figure begins and ends in the middle of words. The descending figure *a–D* is much more prominent here, starting on ‘service’ and reaching *D* at the beginning of the word ‘prent’. With these structures latent in the melody

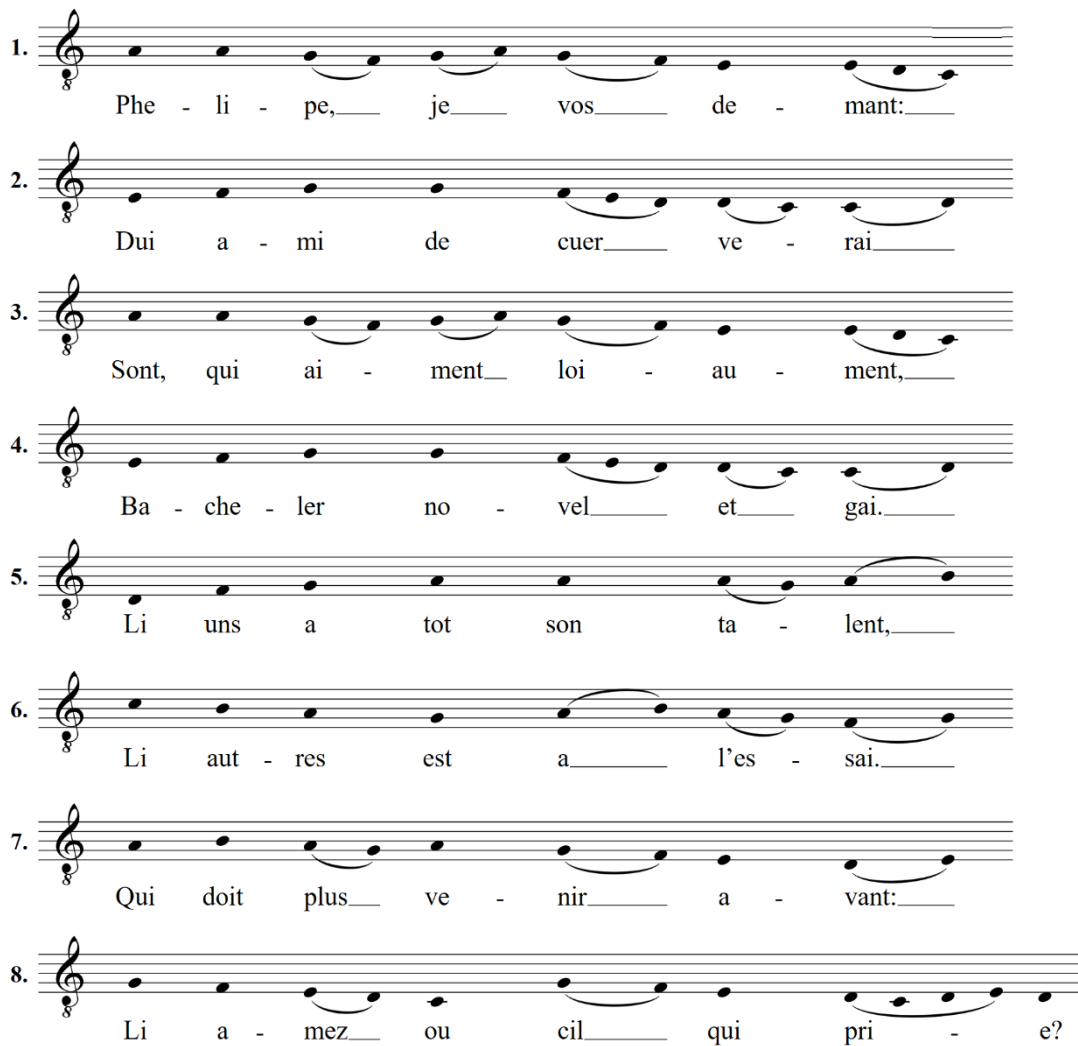
of RS739, different texts can shape the melody in new ways, bringing one pitch axis to the fore according to the division of the melody by the words.

The text-setting of the first stanza of RS739 exploits the opposition of the two pitch axes. Constrained by the rhyme scheme, Moniot opens the song with convoluted syntax:

Fig. 4.3: RS739, ll. 1–2

‘Li mois de mai’, the subject, is placed at the end of the clause, while the object ‘talent de chanter’ is placed in the middle of the clause. However, this syntax makes sense of the melody. ‘Ne me doune pas’ and ‘li mois de mai’ both fall into the *D/a* pitch axis, while ‘pas talent de chanter’ can be heard in the *C/G* axis. This sonic alignment of speech particles with pitch axes makes it clear that ‘li mois de mai’ is the subject of the verb ‘doune’ and that ‘talent de chanter’ is a subsidiary idea within the sentence. In lines 3 and 4 of the first stanza, a similar process takes place: ‘maiz amours’ traces *a–F*, while the clause that follows moves from *C/G* [l. 3] to *D/a* (l. 4), cadencing onto *D* at the end of ‘confors’. ‘Que j’ai’ is grammatically separate because of the relative pronoun ‘que’. By placing ‘que j’ai’ after *D* has already been reached, this tiny clause is made distinct, grammatically and melodically. Although only two notes, *C* and *D*, it is a simple cadence onto the primary pitch *D*. The mutual reinforcement of ideas in the text and structures in the melody continues throughout the *jeu-parti*.

I have argued that Thibaut and Phelipe take the conflicting ideas of Moniot's lyric and divide them to form two sides of their debate, creating an inquest in which Moniot is the accused. This process is played out in the melodic choices of Thibaut and Phelipe too. Although made up of several clauses, the first stanza of Moniot's song is one sentence (see translation above). An important theme, that of seeking no longer, is delayed until the end of the stanza. The melody to RS739 supports this by piling up *G–C* conjunct descents in the final line, delaying tonal closure onto *D*. Not all stanzas of RS739 are as extreme in their enjambment, so the first stanza is particularly striking. In RS334, by contrast, the melody is divided by oppositional clauses (see **Fig. 4.4**).



1. Phe - li - pe, je vos de - mant:

2. Dui a - mi de cuer ve - rai

3. Sont, qui ai - ment loi - au - ment,

4. Ba - che - ler no - vel et gai.

5. Li uns a tot son ta - lent,

6. Li aut - res est a l'es - sai.

7. Qui doit plus ve - nir a - vant:

8. Li a - mez ou cil qui pri - e?

Figure 4.4: RS334, stanza 1

Whereas Moniot's first stanza consisted of a single sentence set to a single tonal trajectory, Thibaut's first stanza is segmented. In the closing quatrain of the first stanza of RS334, Moniot's melody begins to be dismembered. The end of line 4 is a syntactic break, as well as a melodic one. Further, the end of line 4 is a conventional point of division for a melody in pcc form: the *frons* and *cauda* of RS739 each show the characteristic treatment of repetition and ambitus that was demonstrated in **Chapter 2**. Thibaut makes use of the division between opening and closing quatrain by introducing the dilemma. Lines 5–8 are each discrete syntactic units, dividing the melody. The text of line 5 stands in opposition to line 6, and melodically line 6 is an inexact palindrome of line 5 (see **Fig. 4.5**).

5. Li uns a tot son ta - lent, \_\_\_

6. Li aut - res est a \_\_\_ l'es - sai. \_\_\_

Fig. 4.5: RS334, ll. 5–6

The ascent  $F-G-a$  in line 5 is reversed at the end of line 6, while the motive  $a-G-a-b$  at the end of line 5 is heard first in line 6. By making use of this quasi-palindrome, Thibaut shows the two alternatives in the dilemma to be the inverse of another and irreconcilable. Lines 5–6 are also distinct from the question that follows in lines 7–8. Thibaut makes use of the different tonal centres of lines 5–6 and lines 7–8 to emphasise this. In lines 5–6, the ambitus is mostly  $F-c$ , a third pitch axis that is unique to these lines. Lines 7–8 return to the familiar alternation of  $D/a$  and  $C/G$  axes, making a musically distinct section.

In his division of Moniot's melody, Thibaut commits an act of symbolic violence against Moniot by replacing Moniot's conception of melodic structure with his own.

Instead of creating a text that emphasises the wholeness of Moniot's melody, Thibaut splits up the melody and imposes a structure in which segments of text oppose one another. This act of violence has a greater symbolic depth because of the way that Moniot describes the nature of his song. Moniot's conflicted state of love and divided heart cause him to desire to sing, and it is his song that acts on his behalf, carrying a message to Jehan de Braine in his place. In dividing Moniot's conflicted existence of joy and servitude to form opposite poles of the *jeu-parti*, Thibaut effectively erases Moniot's subjectivity. As an erased subject, the lyric figure of Moniot cannot consent: this contrafacture is a non-consensual and therefore violent act. However, the violence of this contrafacture is not all Thibaut's doing. Because of the formal demands of the genre, Thibaut must divide the dilemma into two opposites to make a *jeu-parti*. By discussing Moniot's case in the abstract without naming him, RS334 impersonally commits Moniot and his song to the anonymised, systemic violence of the *jeu-parti* and its related disputational genres.

This interpretation assumes RS739 to be the model and RS334 its contrafact. Although not described by Phelipe or Thibaut as an inquest, nor couched in legalistic language, RS334 subjects Moniot to symbolic violence in similar ways to the trial by inquest. However, if RS334 was assumed by listeners to be the model for RS739, the interpretation of the two songs would be different. If Moniot created RS739 from RS334, he skilfully combined the two sides of the dilemma of RS334 into a coherent lyric subject that leaves no room for any other voice. Stylistically, the melody of RS334 is very typical of *jeu-parti* melodies. Its division of tonal space, ambitus of *frons* and *cauda*, and relative lack of melisma are characteristic of the *jeu-parti*; it is beyond the scope of this study to ascertain whether such stylistic conventions extend to *grand chant*. That the melody is so well suited to the oppositional structure of a *jeu-parti* text might be an indication that

RS334 was the model, or that Thibaut was drawn to RS739 as a model for his *jeu-parti* because of this potential.

Whatever the chronology of contrafacture, the aristocratic politics of the 1220s and 1230s support an interpretation of the relationship between RS739 and RS334 as violent contrafacture. As explored at the start of this chapter, Thibaut had a conflicted relationship between and the other French barons, particularly the Dreux family, of which Jehan de Braine was a member. In making a contrafact of RS739, Thibaut appropriated networks of dedication and exchange among a particular group of aristocrats that included several of Thibaut's political opponents. RS334 may have been Thibaut's response to the virulent propaganda campaign launched against him in the form of politically charged songs in the late 1220s.<sup>41</sup> By transforming Moniot's song into a debate on the themes that Moniot expressed, Thibaut metaphorically puts Moniot on trial, subjecting him to a system of verbal violence.

### **In the service of our Lady**

The theme of love service that RS739 and RS334 share is ubiquitous in trouvère song. For listeners, the theme could have had even greater significance since Thibaut de Champagne had a reputation for his service to one particular lady: Blanche de Castile. The propaganda of the late 1220s against Thibaut accused him of an affair with Blanche, and the campaign was so effective that the myth of Thibaut's affair with Blanche persisted in accounts far later than the thirteenth century.<sup>42</sup> Thibaut's defence in RS334 of the vassal who seeks mercy from a hierarchically superior Lady could—and would, I argue—have been read as

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<sup>41</sup> Sivéry, *Blanche de Castille*, 147–52. Lindy Grant argues that chroniclers exaggerated the extent of this propaganda: *Blanche of Castile: Queen of France: Power, Religion and Culture in the Thirteenth Century* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 81–3.

<sup>42</sup> See Grant, *Blanche de Castille*, 142–6; Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 35.

a defence of his loyalty to Blanche, and an indictment of those barons who opposed Blanche.

Viewed in light of the third song in this contrafact network, this reading seems more credible still. RS713 is a devotional song to the Blessed Virgin Mary who, as mother to a child king, was analogous to Blanche as regent. In RS713, in common devotional style, the poet offers his service to the Virgin: ‘to serve you with good devotion pleases me’.<sup>43</sup> The Virgin Mary is named as ‘queen’ [l. 6], as well as mother of the all-powerful king [l. 1]. Once again, the poet is at the Lady’s (in this instance Mary’s) mercy, as he says that he can only receive comfort if it is her intention to give it to him [ll. 19-20]. The poet’s situation is, by implication, likened to that of Theophilus, who Mary saved from damnation, a reference also to the prison of sin discussed in the second stanza.

When the themes of RS713 are read against RS739 and RS334, the first line of RS713 particularly stands out: ‘Mother of the king’. Christ is not mentioned until line 4, and Mary is not mentioned by name until line 8. This initial ambiguity could have led the listener to think that the song was directed at Blanche de Castile, mother of Louis IX. André Poulet notes that the medieval conception of womanhood was via the dual paradigm of Eve (corrupting wife) and Mary (obedient mother), and that mothers were trusted as regents more than wives in Capetian succession.<sup>44</sup> With the ambiguous language at the opening of RS713 and the association of queenly attributes with Mary, it is possible that RS713 could have been understood as an allegory of regency, as well as a devotional song. The poet wishes to serve Mary with sweet devotion, which could be reinterpreted as a call for faithful service to Blanche. The poet submits to Mary, seeking mercy in stanza 2 for sins, an echo of stanza 2 of RS739 and stanza 4 of RS334, where the poets similarly dwell on their sin

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<sup>43</sup> ‘a vous servir m’acort / Par boine devocion’ [ll. 17–18].

<sup>44</sup> André Poulet, ‘Capetian Women and the Regency: The Genesis of a Vocation’, in *Medieval Queenship*, ed. John Carmi Parsons, 93–116 (New York: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 94–5, 111.

and need for mercy. Listeners might have interpreted this as a call for submission to Blanche, who could forgive the misdeeds of the disloyal barons surrounding Pierre Mauclerc. The song's final images of a mother faithfully bearing her son so that he can fulfil his duty and the unanimous approval of the king could all be indictments to recognise Louis as the rightful king of France and to view Blanche as the channel through which he acted. Richard might also have been ironic, implying that as Moniot serves his Lady faithfully, he ought to serve Blanche faithfully too.<sup>45</sup>

Around three songs that share one melody, I have woven a story about political discord between French barons and the crown, an alleged illicit affair between Thibaut de Navarre and the regent Blanche de Castile, and about service to a superior Lady. The lacunae in what is known about French political exchanges in the 1220s and 1230s make it impossible to reach any firm conclusions, but when all three songs are taken together, devotion to the Lady—heavenly or otherwise—would very likely have been interpreted as devotion to Blanche de Castile. The royalist sympathies of Thibaut and Richard de Fournival make this connection likely, and their songs ironise Moniot's devotion to his Lady. Listeners are likely to have known that the recipient of Moniot's song, Jehan de Braine, was a member of an aristocratic cabal that had tried to undermine Blanche's power. This circumstantial evidence supports the hypothesis that listeners would have attributed the contrafacture of RS739 by Thibaut and Phelipe to the animosity between Thibaut and

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<sup>45</sup> Richard, whose father was surgeon to Philip Augustus, probably had royalist sympathies. The (likely) earliest source for his *Bestiaire d'Amours* may have been a gift for Thibaut IV de Champagne's son and Louis IX's daughter on the occasion of their marriage in 1255, indicating that Richard moved in royal circles: see Xenia Muratova, 'Un nouveau manuscrit du Bestiaire d'amours de Richard de Fournival', in *Bestiaires médiévaux: Nouvelles perspectives sur les manuscrits et les traditions textuelles. Communications présentées au XV<sup>e</sup> Colloque de la Société Internationale Renardienne*, ed. Baudouin Van den Abeele, 265–81 (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 2005), 280.

the other barons. In lyric terms, Thibaut acts on this animosity by putting the lyric figure of Moniot on trial.

### Thibaut de Navarre and Raoul de Soissons: RS1423a

The *jeu-parti Sire, loez moi a choisir* (RS1423a=RS1393, see **Appendix §12**) is a debate between Thibaut IV de Champagne and King of Navarre, and Raoul de Soissons. In the debate, Thibaut and Raoul argue whether it is better to be able to see and speak to one's lover without ever touching or kissing her, or to be able to touch and kiss her but without ever seeing or speaking to her. The debate is transmitted in **KMNOVX**. It shares its melody with the devotional song *Mauves arbres ne puet florir* (RS1410), transmitted in **BKMOVRX(ST)** and attributed to 'li rois de Navarre' in **KX(T)**.<sup>46</sup> The song reflects on love for an earthly Lady in contrast to love for the heavenly Lady, Mary. No clear direction of contrafacture can be established.

Dating RS1423a and RS1410 is difficult because the sources for the songs postdate their composition by a number of decades, although historical evidence provides some clues. Thibaut de Champagne gained the territory of Navarre in 1234 following the death of Sancho VII of Navarre, his mother's brother. Since Thibaut is addressed as 'roi' in stanza 5 of RS1423a, the *jeu-parti* must have been written in or after 1234. With only speculative dating for RS1423a, the events of the 1239 crusade and Raoul's subsequent dealings in the Outremer may not be relevant to interpreting the composition of the *jeu-parti* between Thibaut and Raoul. However, the story, recorded by chroniclers, could have influenced the reception of the song in later contexts. The contestation of Thibaut's inheritance of

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<sup>46</sup> The melody for RS1423a in **V** is substantially different from the melody of the other sources and will not be considered here. The source distribution for RS1410 is more complicated than for RS1423a: see Tischler, *Trouvère Lyrics with Melodies*, no. 804. The first *envoi* is transmitted in **BMORVXT**, while the second *envoi*, which is addressed to Phelipe (probably de Nanteuil), is found only in **S**.

Champagne by Alix, Queen of Cyprus is likely to have been widely known to audiences of this *jeu-parti*, and Raoul's marriage to Alix may also have been widely known. With this common point of contact between the two men, the irony-laden contest between the two men could have taken on a heightened meaning. Furthermore, Thibaut's address to Phelipe de Nanteuil in the second envoi of RS1410 (in **S**) could have been a reference to Phelipe's disobedience to Thibaut in the disastrous second raid of 1239, led by the Count of Bar and Amalric de Montfort. The relationships enacted here in song could have had wider political resonance in performance for audience members who knew of the men's dealings during their time in the Holy Land from 1239 to 1243.

In recognising that RS1423a and RS1410 are related by contrafacture, a listener of RS1423a would have been likely to interpret the debate in light of the poetic content of RS1410. That listeners knew these songs to be related is clear from the transmission of RS1423a and RS1410 in chansonniers. After summarising the theological, literary and scientific context for the poetic themes of RS1410, I shall argue that the intertext between the two songs invites a reading of Thibaut as an impotent old man. This accusation is not just personal; it may also be read as a criticism of Thibaut's impotence to act during the Barons' crusade to the Outremer in 1239.

### Melodic transmission

An analysis of the melodic variants in versions of RS1423a and RS1410 would suggest that the two songs were known to share a melody, since most of the transmitted melodies can be placed in one of two groups, each of which contains versions of RS1423a and RS1410.<sup>47</sup> In the written sources that survive for these songs, RS1410 is copied at a pitch level a 5<sup>th</sup> higher than that of RS1423a (see **Fig. 4.6** and the parallel transcription in **Appendix §12**).<sup>48</sup>

K27  
1. Mau - ves ar - bres ne puet flo - rir,

K43  
N10r  
X42r  
1. Si - re lo - ez moi a choi - sir

**Figure 4.6: RS1410 (K) and 1423a (KNX), line 1**

In general, the versions of RS1423a in **KNX** and the version of RS1410 in **K** are very closely related and make up group 1 of melodies. Group 2 consists of the version of RS1423a in **M** and the versions of RS1410 in **MX**. Group 1 and group 2 melodies differ only in lines 3, 5, 6 and 7. The melodies for RS1423a and RS1410 in **O** are sometimes aligned with groups 1 or 2, and sometimes differ significantly from both melodic groups. This information is summarised in **Table 4.2**.

<sup>47</sup> Melodies transmitted in **RV** are omitted from this analysis.

<sup>48</sup> For subsequent figures pertaining to RS1423a and RS1410, I present RS1410 a 5<sup>th</sup> lower than its written pitch for ease of comparison.

Line	RS1423a			RS1410		
	Group 1	Group 2	Divergent	Group 1	Group 2	Divergent
1	<b>KNX</b>		<b>MO</b>	<b>K</b>		<b>MXO</b>
2	<b>KNXM</b>		<b>O</b>	<b>KMXO</b>		
3	<b>KNXMO</b>				<b>KMXO</b>	
4	<b>KNXM</b>		<b>O</b>	<b>KMXO</b>		
5	<b>KNXO</b>	<b>M</b>		<b>O</b>	<b>KMX</b>	
6	<b>KNX</b>	<b>M</b>	<b>O</b>		<b>KMX</b>	<b>O</b>
7	<b>KNXO</b>	<b>M</b>			<b>KMXO</b>	
8	<b>KNXMO</b>			<b>KMXO</b>		
9	<b>KNXMO</b>			<b>KMXO</b>		
10	<b>KNXM</b>		<b>O</b>	<b>KMX</b>		<b>O</b>
11	<b>KNXM</b>		<b>O</b>	<b>KMX</b>		<b>O</b>

Table 4.2: Melodic groups for RS1423a and RS1410

**Table 4.2** shows that the versions of RS1423a and RS1410 in **O** do not always conform to either group 1 or group 2 melodies. For example, the version of RS1410 in **O** is identical to group 1 melodies in line 5, different from any other version of line 6, and closely related to group 2 melodies in line 7. Further, the versions of RS1423a and RS1410 in **O** often diverge from each other. This would suggest that the music scribe for **O** was not aware that one song is a contrafact of the other, or was not troubled by variants between different versions of the same melody. In sum, the melodies copied in this late source attest to a complex transmission history that could have included various written and oral interactions.

Evidence for this complex transmission history is to be seen in lines 5, 6 and 7, the most divergent for the two groups. In line 5, the difference between the melodic groups is only slight: group 1 melodies descend to *F* whereas group 2 melodies descend only to *G* (see **Fig. 4.7**).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>49</sup> This compares RS1423a melodies with RS1410 at a 5<sup>th</sup> lower than they are copied. For the remainder of this discussion, any reference to the pitch content of RS1410 melodies refers to the pitch a 5<sup>th</sup> lower than notated.

The figure shows a musical score for two groups of variants. Group 2 consists of two staves: the top staff has variants K27, M75v, and X25v with the text '5.Fleur et fruit de coin - te sem - blant'; the bottom staff has variant M72r with the text '5.Sanz par - ler et sanz plus a - voir'. Group 1 consists of three staves: the top staff has variant O128r with the text '5.Sanz par - ler et sanz plus a - - voir'; the middle staff has variants K43, N10r, and X42r with the text '5.Sanz par - ler et sanz plus a - - voir'; the bottom staff has variant O81r with the text '5.Fleur et fruit de coin - te sem - blant'. All staves are in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notes are connected by slurs, and there are rests indicated by horizontal lines.

Fig. 4.7: Comparison of group 1 and group 2 melodies, RS1423a and RS1410 line 5

Both melodic groups end the line with a conjunct descending figure outlining a 3<sup>rd</sup>. This begins on ‘semblant’ (RS1410) or ‘avoir’ (RS1423a). Group 2 melodies begin this figure a step higher than group 1 melodies, which would suggest that this variant is an alternative version of the melody, rather than the result of a copying error. (Displacement by a 3<sup>rd</sup> would indicate a written error.) Because there are versions of RS1410 and RS1423a in both melodic groups, a singer or scribe must have known that one song was a contrafact of the other. If a scribe had only the text for RS1410 but knew it to be a contrafact of RS1423a, they could copy its music from the music exemplar for RS1423a and the text of RS1410 from their text exemplar.<sup>50</sup> The same process could have occurred orally: a singer who knew RS1423a could sing the words of RS1410 from a text-only exemplar to the melody they knew.

<sup>50</sup> This hypothetical process is discussed in greater detail in **Chapter 3**.



4<sup>th</sup>. By contrast, group 2 melodies rise to *f*, a 6<sup>th</sup> above the start of the line. The two melodies in **O** are a compromise of the two melodic groups, rising to *e*, a 5<sup>th</sup> above *a*. In **Fig. 4.8**, the melodies are aligned by pitch: group 1 and group 2 appear to be very different. When group 1 and group 2 melodies are aligned by syllable, they look more similar (see **Fig. 4.9**).

Figure 4.9: A group 1 and a group 2 melody aligned by syllable, RS1423a line 6

Although both melodic groups begin line 6 with the pitches *a-b-c*, distributed differently across the syllables, for the words ‘de ses amors’ the two melodic groups are a 3<sup>rd</sup> apart. I showed in **Chapter 3** that the transmission of two versions of a melody a 3<sup>rd</sup> apart is likely to have been the result of a copying error. This is clearly the case for line 7 of RS1423a and RS1410, whose group 1 melodies are copied a 3<sup>rd</sup> lower than their group 2 melodies (**Fig. 4.10**).

Fig. 4.10: Parallel transcription of RS1423a and RS1410, line 7



intertextually. This combined reading would have drawn on the poetic, doctrinal and scientific meanings of trees, flowers and fruit, which Thibaut uses as an allegory for his love in RS1410.

### **Trees, flowers and fruit in RS1410**

In RS1410, Thibaut explores different kinds of love through the extended metaphors of fruit, flowers and trees. A tree without blossom is like a man withered through lack of love (stanza 1), while in stanza 4 Thibaut compares himself to a child who swings on the branches of a tree but never climbs it. The Fruit of Nature is an allegory for the Virgin Mary (stanza 1), and good and ripe fruit is equated to love for God (stanza 5), experienced through the Virgin Mary (*envoi* 1). The first fruit through which sin entered the world in the Fall (stanza 2) contrasts to this good fruit. Thibaut finds sinful fruit within his own orchard (his heart and body, stanza 3) and he boasts that he has tasted more of this bad fruit than any other man (*envoi* 1). The allegory of fruit refers to the common medieval exegesis which contrasts Eve, fallen Woman, to Mary, obedient virgin raised up by God to be Queen of Heaven. Thus, in stanza 2 the untimely eating of the first fruit which was provoked by Eve is contrasted to the good fruit that God prepares through the Virgin Mary and is given at the proper time. Thibaut prays that love for Mary will sate him and lead him to repentance for his gorging on bad fruit.

Since it is unusual for a trouvère song to use such an extended allegory, the arboreal subject matter of RS1410 warrants contextualisation in the broader lyric tradition of the garden. Linked to the garden of Eden and the Song of Songs, the *hortus conclusus* of many motet texts was constructed as the setting for an encounter with a courtly lady, be it an

earthly one or the heavenly Lady, Mary.<sup>51</sup> Through Mary, the garden of the Song of Songs and the garden of Eden are combined. The erotic love poetry of the Song of Songs was read as lessons in the Office during the octaves of the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary, and was interpreted as an allegory for Mary's love for Christ.<sup>52</sup> Mary was also the key to salvation, since she bore the Messiah, who had come to rectify the sin committed through and by the first woman, Eve. Gardens are also frequently the settings for amorous encounters, most famously in the *Roman de la Rose* (c. 1225–40, continued 1275), but also in the *Roman de la Poire* (before 1260s), *Le Bel Inconnu* (1191–1225), *Cligès* (c. 1176) and the *Roman du Vergier et de l'arbre d'amours* (before c. 1270).<sup>53</sup>

### **Exegeses of the Song of Songs**

Given the connection between the garden trope and the Song of Songs, it is not surprising to find points of contact between RS1410 and the biblical book, especially chapter 2, verses 3–7, in which the beloved is compared to an apple tree. Several of the Church Fathers and scholars throughout the Middle Ages compared Christ's love, salvation and transforming power to the benefits that the apple tree bestows on its neighbours: Gregory of Nyssa, for example, emphasises that apples invigorate the senses and the grafting of an apple tree branch onto a tree can make that tree bear fruit.<sup>54</sup> The teaching of Christ is sweet like the fruit of the apple tree, and knowledge of doctrine is compared to the knowledge of good

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<sup>51</sup> On the development of the *hortus conclusus* trope see Elizabeth A. Augspach, *The Garden as Woman's Space in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Literature* (Lewiston; Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004) and Sylvia Huot, *Allegorical Play in the Old French Motet: The Sacred and the Profane in Thirteenth-Century Polyphony* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997), 86–99.

<sup>52</sup> Brian E. Daley, 'The "Closed Garden" and the "Sealed Fountain": Song of Songs 4:12 in the Late Medieval Iconography of Mary', in *Medieval Gardens*, ed. Elisabeth B. MacDougall, 255–279 (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1986), 264.

<sup>53</sup> See Ardis Butterfield, '"Enté": A Survey and Reassessment of the Term in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Music and Poetry', *Early Music History* 22 (2003), 67–101: 71–2.

<sup>54</sup> Richard A. Norris, *The Song of Songs: Interpreted by Early Christian and Medieval Commentators* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Cambridge: W. B. Eerdmans, 2003), 99.

and evil, whose Tree in the garden of Eden was the setting for the Fall.<sup>55</sup> Sweet fruit is, by extension, knowledge that is doctrinally correct.

RS1410 reflects these themes of love, salvation and knowledge. The man who does not know love, in Thibaut's account, is withered [ll. 1–2], just as for Cyril of Alexandria ignorant sin leads to wasting by locusts.<sup>56</sup> If Thibaut's heart is an orchard [l. 30], the implication is that it must be tended by Christ the gardener for it to bear ripe fruit rather than wither away. Thibaut knows that the earthly love that he has experienced is a fruit that will never ripen [l. 28], being the fruit of original sin. Central to Thibaut's allegory is his own bodily experience. First, his heart is the site of an orchard in which unripe fruit will never ripen, just as love for his lady has filled his heart and body [l. 32]. Second, it is through his bodily senses that Thibaut experiences the fruit, tasting it [ll. 12, 34, 47, 57] and eating it [ll. 20, 49]. And third, Thibaut states that he must give his heart and body to God [ll. 14–15] in order to receive the good fruit. This bodily emphasis connotes the Eucharist, not least because the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Garden of Eden has a parallel in the True Cross, the tree whose fruit was Christ's body. Thibaut appears to suggest that in order to receive the good fruit, he himself must sacrifice his body, in an almost Christ-like way, to God [ll. 14–5].

### **Contradictory allegories of Mary as a tree**

Thibaut's allegory of trees, fruit, and gardens may be read as contradictory. On the one hand, the discussion of ripe fruit emphasises fertility. On the other hand, the setting of the garden reflects an exegetical tradition on the Song of Songs that connects the garden to Mary's virginity. The *hortus conclusus* mentioned in Song of Songs (4:12) was first

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<sup>55</sup> Cyril of Alexandria emphasises the sweetness of 'the fruits of true religion and the trees of a correct love of knowledge': see *ibid.*, 194.

<sup>56</sup> Norris, *The Song of Songs*, 193.

connected to Mary by St Jerome, and the allegory was extended by Ambrose to include a connection to earthly paradise.<sup>57</sup> By the twelfth century, the title *hortus conclusus* had been established for Mary, hymns had been composed for her, and the major Marian feasts had been formalised. Commentaries on the Song of Songs began to be written that equated Mary with everything in the Song of Songs that pertained to the figure of the Bride. The image of the walled garden, though still retaining its association with Mary's virginity, was also used as an allegory for the whole character of Mary.

The setting of the garden, which is implied in RS1410, is thus already saturated with associations with Mary and virginity. Mary is also frequently described as a tree or flower. One such metaphor was the Root of Jesse from Isaiah, which describes a branch growing from Jesse's root, and growing from that branch a flower.<sup>58</sup> Joel M. Upton points to one thirteenth- and fourteenth-century negotiation of Mary as both virgin and fertile, which was to see the immaculate conception of Mary as a branch grafted onto Jesse's root.<sup>59</sup> Since Mary's mother, Anna, was barren, the birth of Mary is treated as the grafting of a healthy branch to a withered trunk by Deguileville in *Pelerinage de l'âme*, written in the 1330s.<sup>60</sup> Indeed, the prophet Ezekiel foretells the Incarnation as a dry tree that has been made to blossom.<sup>61</sup> Upton also describes the later characterisation of Mary as the Dry Tree,

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<sup>57</sup> Augspach, *The Garden as Woman's Space*, 33–5.

<sup>58</sup> Isaiah 11:1. For more on Jesse's root and its relation to Marian devotion, see Margot Fassler, 'Mary's Nativity, Fulbert of Chartres, and the Stirps Jesse: Liturgical Innovation circa 1000 and Its Afterlife', *Speculum* 75/2 (2000), 389–434; Marie-Pierre Gelin, 'Stirps Jesse in capite ecclesiae: Iconographic and Liturgical Readings of the Tree of Jesse in Stained-Glass Windows', in *The Tree: Symbol, Allegory, and Mnemonic Device in Medieval Art and Thought*, ed. Pippa Saloni and Andrea Worm, 13–33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 25–30.

<sup>59</sup> Joel M. Upton, *Petrus Christus: His Place in Fifteenth-Century Flemish Painting* (University Park; London: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), 61.

<sup>60</sup> Guillaume de Deguileville, *Le Pelerinage de l'âme*, ed. J. J. Stürzinger (London: Nichols and Sons, 1895), ll. 5674–700.

<sup>61</sup> Ezekiel 17:24; Hugo van der Velden, 'Petrus Christus's *Our Lady of the Dry Tree*', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 60 (1997), 89–110: 92.

in which Mary, because of her virginity, is symbolised as a dry tree with no leaves.<sup>62</sup> This became an image of devotion for the Guild of the Dry Tree in Bruges, probably founded in 1396 in the Franciscan friary.<sup>63</sup> There is thus a varied and at times contradictory treatment of Mary as a dry tree because of her virginity or as a fruitful tree because she bore Christ.

Thibaut implicitly compares his heart and body to an orchard in the third stanza of RS1410. Given the associations of orchards with virginity, and the allegory of Mary as a tree that is dry, this third stanza might be an admission of impotence, and even of infertility. Thibaut links his unripe fruit, which fills his orchard, to Original Sin. As Mary and her fruit—that is, Christ—are the redemption for sinful, carnal love, so Thibaut's love for his Lady must be cured. But the unrequited nature of Thibaut's love, intrinsic to the courtly love lyric, alters how the allegory functions. Given that his love is equated with the sinful act of consummation and linked to the Fall, unrequited love becomes equated to a lack of consummation. The never-ripening fruit [l. 28], which fills his orchard [l. 30] and that will never leave him [l. 33] is thus a thinly veiled allegory for impotence. Thibaut is in a position of subjugation to his courtly Lady, impotent in both physical and poetic terms. Impotence logically leads to devotion to Mary, since earthly love has become impossible for Thibaut. The message sent by this stanza appears to be that salvation requires a kind of self-castration, placing oneself in a position of subjugation so that one is rendered impotent.

### **Trees as sexual symbols**

Although the associations of gardens, trees and fruit may have been primarily with Marian readings of the Song of Songs, a significant undercurrent of gardens associated with sexual activity runs through some works of medieval literature and art. First, trees could be

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<sup>62</sup> See, for example, Petrus Christus's painting of Mary of the Dry Tree: Upton, *Petrus Christus*, 61.

<sup>63</sup> Andrew Brown, *Civic Ceremony and Religion in Medieval Bruges c. 1300–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 140.

interpreted as symbols for the phallus. Much iconography for the Root of Jesse has Jesse lying supine with a trunk growing out of his abdomen or his groin. The biological metaphor used to show Mary's descent from David, the tree, emphasises the act of reproduction. Jesse's tree consists of a series of men, each of whom through an act of copulation begat their successor on the path to the Messiah. In medical accounts, writers from Hippocrates, Aristotle and Galen onwards used the word 'semen'—literally, seed—to describe the process of human procreation.<sup>64</sup> The sexual act was therefore partly understood through a horticultural metaphor.

Second, gardens are frequently the site for romantic encounters in medieval literature. The trope has a long pedigree, at least as far back as Ovid's account of Pluto and Proserpina, which was an allegory for temptation by the devil in the Middle Ages: gardens were associated with temptation, as well as fertility, since the rape of Proserpina led to famine, equated with impotence.<sup>65</sup> The most influential literary account of a romantic garden was the *Roman de la Rose*, where the dreamer enters an allegorical garden, falls in love with a rose and must engage with the allegorical figures of love and his companions. The association of gardens with love-making was far more pervasive, however. In *Cligès*, it is underneath a grafted tree in a walled garden that Cligès and Fenice have intercourse, for example.<sup>66</sup> In Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, the wife covers her adultery in the branches of a tree with the excuse of picking fruit.<sup>67</sup> In the *Roman de la Poire*, the central romantic encounter involves the lady offering a pear to her lover in a gesture reminiscent of the Fall.

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<sup>64</sup> Joan Cadden, *Meanings of Sex Difference in the Middle Ages: Medicine, Science, and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 12.

<sup>65</sup> Helen Philips, 'Gardens of Love and the Garden of the Fall', in *A Walk in the Garden: Biblical, Iconographical and Literary Images of Eden*, ed. Paul Morris and Deborah Sawyer, 205–19 (Bloomsbury, 1992), 214.

<sup>66</sup> Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, (Berlin; New York: de Gruyter, 2006). ll. 6393–6586. See also Lucie Polak, 'Cligès, Fenice, et l'arbre de l'amour', *Romania* 93 (1972), 303–16.

<sup>67</sup> Philips, 'Gardens of Love and the Garden of the Fall', 213.

Apple and pear trees had to be cultivated through grafting, a technique of insertion that carried sexual overtones.<sup>68</sup> As Penny Simons has suggested, pears could symbolise female breasts or the phallus, and evoked erotic encounter, such as that in *Bérenger au long cul* or in *Joufroi de Poitiers*.<sup>69</sup> All of these examples point to the erotic evocations that fruit trees could carry.

Less commonly, phalluses were also directly related to trees. A manuscript of the *Roman de la Rose*, dating from the fourteenth century, features two images of a tree bearing fruit in the form of the phallus.<sup>70</sup> Sylvia Huot argues that the second of these illustrations plays on the image of the Tree of Life in the Garden of Eden, which has resonances both of the sacred (Christ's crucifixion) and of the profane (carnal fecundity).<sup>71</sup> In the passage that this illustration accompanies, the Tree of Life and its fruits of salvation are described by Genius, while the Rose is allegorised both as a site of devotion for the pilgrim of love and as a symbol of the woman's genitals. The illustration of the phallus tree confirms the slippage in the allegory of the tree, which could be read in both sacred and obscene ways.

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<sup>68</sup> Butterfield, "'Enté": A Survey and Reassessment of the Term', 72.

<sup>69</sup> Penny Simons, 'Rural Space and Transgressive Space in *Bérenger au long cul*', in *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Christopher R. Clason, 313–49 (Berlin; Boston: De Gruyter, 2012), 324; Jessica Turnbull and Penny Simons, 'The Pear-Tree Episode in *Joufroi de Poitiers*', *French Studies Bulletin* 21/75 (2000), 2–4: 3.

<sup>70</sup> **F-Pn fr. 25526**, ff. 106v and 160r. Sylvia Huot, *The Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 292–301. A thirteenth-century mural in Massa Marittima, Italy, discovered in the early 2000s, depicts a tree whose fruit are phalluses. See Adrian S. Hoch, 'Duecento Fertility Imagery for Females at Massa Marittima's Public Fountain', *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 69/4 (2006), 471–88; Johan J. Mattelaer, 'The Phallus Tree: A Medieval and Renaissance Phenomenon', *The Journal of Sexual Medicine* 7/2, Part 1 (2010), 846–51. Phallus trees appear to have gained currency from the thirteenth century onwards, even being depicted on pilgrim's badges in the later middle ages. See A. M. Koldeweij, 'A Barefaced *Roman de la Rose* (Paris, B.N., ms. fr. 25526) and Some Late Medieval Mass-Produced Badges of a Sexual Nature', in *Flanders in a European Perspective: Manuscript Illumination around 1400 in Flanders and Abroad: Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven, 7–10 September 1993*, ed. Maurits Smeyers and Bert Cardon, 499–516 (Leuven: Peeters, 1995).

<sup>71</sup> Huot, *Romance of the Rose*, 297.

In addition, the gendered illustration expresses an anxiety about women's power over men. The nuns who are plucking phalluses are in a position of power, harvesting their obscene fruit of disembodied male members. The power demonstrated by these nuns reflects the concern in medieval medical treatises over the role of witchcraft in impotence. Although writers such as Constantine the African did suggest other causes of impotence such as a defective liver or incorrect temperature and moisture in the man in question, female power was a source of concern. In the eleventh century, Constantine the African, for example, described magic as the cause of impotence, while Gratian and Peter Lombard both attributed impotence to magical causes.<sup>72</sup> The idea of women causing impotence had overtones of witchcraft and even Satanism, a religious and doctrinal aspect that may have informed some contemporary readings of RS1410.<sup>73</sup>

It is thus possible that trees and fruit could, in the case of RS1410, have been read as phallic symbols. Biblical and medical discourse about procreation frequently used horticultural metaphors, while picking fruit, in the case of the literary examples cited above such as Chaucer's *The Merchant's Tale*, could have connotations of adulterous love that is consummated. In the images of phallus trees, trees feature both as symbols of male fertility and as symbols of male impotence caused by women.

### **Impotence**

In RS1423a, Raoul and Thibaut debate the merits of talking and looking versus touching, embracing and kissing. Much of the song consists of rebuttals and insults for humorous effect. Thibaut argues that speech and sight are more important in love (stanza 2), to which Raoul replies that those actions are naturally more important to Thibaut, since he is so fat

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<sup>72</sup> See discussion in Catherine Rider, *Magic and Impotence in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), esp. 58–71, 160–79.

<sup>73</sup> Mattelaer, 'The Phallus Tree', 849–50.

that he would not be able to reach his lover to touch her (stanza 3). Thibaut rebuts Raoul, asking him what would happen if his lady accidentally grabbed his walking stick (stanza 4). Thibaut calls the debate to a close in stanza 6, saying that he and Raoul would do better to end courteously rather than insulting one another.

One recurring theme in the debate is darkness. Thibaut imagines the unseeing lover to be in the dark, in bed with his Lady at night (stanza 4). The lover is unable to light a candle and is in distress. In stanza 5, Raoul counters this by saying that darkness is no obstacle to enjoying his Lady's embraces (l. 50), while in stanza 6 Thibaut makes another reference to 'groping around in the dark'.<sup>74</sup> The image plays on the relationship between knowledge or reason, and sight. The behaviour of the unseeing lover is potentially irrational, which is reflected in the lover's discomfort. The themes of darkness, light and vision are also references to heresy. Given that Thibaut and Raoul were on crusade together fighting those they considered to be heretics, these references would have been clear to listeners. To tie the debate to the theme of heresy, Thibaut states his desire not to appear as a 'mere Mellin', possibly a rendering of *miramolīn*, the French rendering of the Arabic title *Amir al-mu'minīn*, referring to an Arabic military commander.<sup>75</sup>

Light and darkness are themes frequently used in the Bible, whether it be the moment of creation in Genesis as the creation of light, the prophecy of Isaiah, foretelling the coming of Christ as a great light, seen by people walking in darkness, descriptions of Christ as Light, or descriptions of Satan as the prince of darkness.<sup>76</sup> The opposition was taken up in discussions about heresy, such as in Frederick II's *Liber Augustalis*.<sup>77</sup> The

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<sup>74</sup> 'en tenebres tastoner' [l. 66].

<sup>75</sup> On the title *Amir al-mu'minīn*, see *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, s.v. 'Amīr al-Mu'minīn', by H.A.R Gibb, accessed 26 September, 2017, [http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912\\_islam\\_SIM\\_0617](http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_islam_SIM_0617).

<sup>76</sup> Genesis 1:25; Isaiah 9:2; Luke 2:32; Ephesians 6:12.

<sup>77</sup> Edward Peters, ed., *Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation* (London: Scolar Press, 1980), 208. The opposition of darkness and light was criticised by orthodox writers in the way it was used by dualist sects such as the Cathars: see *ibid.*, 133.

association of good fruit with correct knowledge of doctrine links RS1410 to RS1423a. Further, Thibaut's rejection of carnal love in RS1410 is matched by his defence in RS1423a of seeing and looking, rather than touching. The intertextual comparison to RS1410 means that Raoul's way of loving is portrayed as sinful. Through association of darkness with heresy, Thibaut also attempts to accuse Raoul of defending the heretics that they had been fighting in the Outremer.

A second reading of the two texts draws on the network of associations that trees, flowers, and fruit might have had for the thirteenth-century listener. Given the associations of fruit with fecundity, Thibaut's lack of ripe fruit in RS1410 suggests a lack of male sexual prowess. In the allegory of Mary as the Dry Tree, dryness equates to a lack of sexual intercourse, whereas Mary as a fruitful tree equated fruit to her fertility in bearing Christ. Whereas Mary is paradoxically both dry and fruitful, Thibaut must choose between states in RS1410, since his unripe fruit is symbol of impotence. In RS1423a, Raoul tells Thibaut that he cannot perform sexually because of his large stomach. Thibaut retorts by describing a nocturnal scene in stanza 4, euphemistically referring to Raoul's anxiety in being able to perform: 'troubled, without being able to get it up'.<sup>78</sup> Having made this innuendo, the next few lines take on a sexually-charged hue. The 'tears' of line 39 might suggest the weeping male member, while the grief [l. 43] caused by the lady touching his 'staff' [l. 42] is echoed by the pilgrim's staff, symbolising the lover's penis, at the close of the second part of the *Roman de la Rose*.<sup>79</sup>

Given the thirteenth-century phenomenon of phallus trees, which betrays an anxiety of female power over the male genitals, Thibaut's impotence might have been attributed to female influence. In RS1410, Thibaut's lack of ripe fruit (impotence) was due to his

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<sup>78</sup> 'li pensis. / La ou l'en ne puet alumer' [ll. 36–7].

<sup>79</sup> Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose*, ll. 21346–21538.

subjugation to the courtly lady. In RS1423a, Thibaut seems to suggest that Raoul might fear what would happen when the lady touches back, an anxiety that is mirrored in wider discourses on male impotence. Raoul replies that Thibaut is like a dog that has bitten his stick [ll. 45–7]—another euphemism—and that he (Raoul) can more easily ‘deliver from his staff’, in other words ejaculate, than Thibaut can rectify the source of his impotence, his stomach.<sup>80</sup> Thibaut’s impotence may also be a reference to the disastrous Barons’ crusade of 1239. Thibaut’s assertion of authority in the face of disobedience first from Raoul and later from Phelipe was a famous instance in which Thibaut appeared politically impotent.<sup>81</sup> The anxiety towards the female influence on male sexual impotence may also have been understood as an allegory for Thibaut’s relationship with Blanche de Castile.

The melody shared between these songs and the patterns of transmission are compelling evidence that RS1423a was widely known to have been a contrafact of RS1410, even though the two songs are copied at different pitches and in different versions by the scribes of **KOX**. On its surface, RS1423a seems to be a playful exchange between two aristocrats, whose attempts at debate turn into a sparring match of insults. With the additional intertext of RS1410, the debate takes on deeper meanings. If the songs could be dated with certainty to the period after Thibaut, Raoul and Phelipe de Nanteuil had returned from the Holy Land, the political significance of the debate would have been readily comprehensible. Whether the songs were written after the crusade or not, their continued performance, as testified to by the melodic variants in sources as late as the fourteenth century, could have evoked such associations for any audiences who knew of the events of the crusade, a likelihood given reports of the crusade in chronicles. These associations depend on the act of contrafacture, since the shared melody of the two songs would bring

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<sup>80</sup> ‘delivrer / De mon bordon’ [ll. 54–5].

<sup>81</sup> See Shirley and Tyre, *Crusader Syria*, 46–7.

their themes and associations into dialogue for audiences and singers. In taking the melody of RS1410 for RS1423a, Raoul also implies that Thibaut is musically impotent, vanquished by an act of symbolic violence.

## The Duke of Brittany and Bernart de la Ferté: RS840

In the first case study of this chapter, the aesthetic rupture of contrafacture was shown to be a musical rendering of aristocratic conflict. The third contrafact network to be explored draws on the associations of contrafacture with political animosity. The *jeu-parti Bernart a vous vueil demander* (RS840, see **Appendix §7**), whose named interlocutors are the Duke of Brittany ('cuens de Bretagne') and Bernart de la Ferté, is compiled in the large-scale chansonniers **KNXO** as the only song by the Duke of Brittany. In **P** the song opens a group of songs all attributed to the Duke which, other than RS840, are only found in **P**. In this group is *Longement ai esté pensis* (RS1588), a love song copied without notation. The song is accompanied by the rubric 'Cest el chant dou gieu parti', one of the only rubrics in trouvère sources that explicitly instructs the reader to make a contrafact.<sup>82</sup> I argue that by turning his *jeu-parti* into a love song, the Duke subverts the aesthetic rupture of contrafacture that the *jeu-parti* embodies. After outlining the historical background to the song, this case study will show that the contrafacture of RS840 is one aspect of the song's attempts to refashion the reputation of the Duke of Brittany.

### Historical background

I summarised at the start of this chapter the efforts of Pierre Mauclerc to usurp the power of the King of France and his regent, Blanche de Castile. Pierre was Duke of Brittany by

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<sup>82</sup> In **C**, several devotional contrafacts by Jacques de Cambrai have paratextual labels that indicate the song that was used as a model.

marriage until 1237, when his son John came of age. Pierre's vendetta against Blanche was supported militarily by a number of aristocrats; he also had support in the form of musical propaganda from Hue de la Ferté, whose three *serventois* were discussed in **Chapter 3**. Thanks to his political machinations, Pierre Mauclerc and the duchy of Brittany was infamous in the 1230s. Huon de Méry's *Li Tournoiementz Anticrit* is an example for this: written in the 1230s, the work opens with an account of the conflict between Thibaut de Champagne, King Louis IX of France, and Pierre Mauclerc, after which the tournament is to take place. Pierre Mauclerc, who is named 'Fors Mauclerc' in the poem, is described as 'cruelly violent' (*fiers*), and the source of much 'confusion' (*desroi*) and 'discord' (*descorde*).<sup>83</sup>

This is the political background to RS840, which is attributed to the 'cuens de Bretagne' in **KNP XO**. The opponent in the debate is Bernart de la Ferté, and the two judges hailed in the *envois* are Charles d'Anjou and 'cuens de Guelle'. The key question in interpreting RS840 is which Duke of Brittany is attributed in the song's rubrics. Joseph Bédier states that there are two possible historical figures to whom the title 'cuens de Bretagne' could have applied: Pierre Mauclerc and his son, John I of Brittany, otherwise known as John the Red.<sup>84</sup> Pierre Mauclerc ruled Brittany on behalf of his wife, Alix until her death in 1221, after which Pierre Mauclerc was *baillistre* for his son, John.<sup>85</sup> John came of age in 1237, after which Pierre Mauclerc referred to himself as 'Pierre de Braine, chevalier', although chroniclers such as Joinville continued to refer to him as the Duke of Brittany.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Huon de Méry, *Le tornoiement de l'Antéchrist*, ed. Prosper Tarbé (Reims: Impr. de P. Regnier, 1851), 2.

<sup>84</sup> Joseph Bédier, 'Les chansons du comte de Bretagne', in *Mélanges de linguistique et de littérature offerts à M. Alfred Jeanroy*, 477–96 (Paris: E. Droz, 1928; reprint, Geneva: Slatkine, 1972), 479.

<sup>85</sup> See Patrick Galiou and Michael Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), 199.

<sup>86</sup> Bédier, 'Les chansons', 479.

Significantly less is known about the rule of John I of Brittany than that of his father, principally because he had far less conflict with the crown. Whereas his father was constantly involved in political struggles, both with his local barons and with the royal court and powerful barons of France, John focused his efforts on consolidating his duchy, improving its administrative arm and raising his court's power and prestige at the expense of his most powerful vassals.<sup>87</sup> Pierre had supported King Henry III of England's invasion of France in 1230, as well as leading a coalition of barons that attempted to unseat Blanche de Castile as the regent for her son, King Louis IX of France.<sup>88</sup> In 1231, Louis IX had marched on Brittany with the royal army, while in 1235 a royal inquiry was launched to investigate Pierre Mauclerc's violation of the terms of suzerainty in his dealings with his vassals. John the Red, by contrast, sought the approval of Louis IX. In 1236, John married Blanche, daughter of Thibaut IV de Champagne, who had been an ally of the French crown and an enemy of Pierre Mauclerc. Although at first opposed by Louis IX and his mother, this union was arguably one step towards a greater cooperation between Brittany and the French crown. During John's reign of Brittany, he had minor conflicts with local barons such as Hervé de Léon, Olivier de Clisson and Eudo de Pontchâteau, but not (from what surviving records suggest) with Louis IX.<sup>89</sup> To the contrary, in 1240 John appealed to Louis for confirmation of his decision to expel all Jews from Brittany and to cancel all money owed to them, and later put in place a royal edict against usurers.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Michael Jones, *The Creation of Brittany: A Late Medieval State* (London: Hambledon, 1988), 5–6; Frédéric Morvan, *La chevalerie bretonne et la formation de l'armée ducal, 1260 à 1341* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 24.

<sup>88</sup> On Pierre Mauclerc's insubordination under Louis IX, see Elie Berger, *Histoire de Blanche de Castille: Reine de France* (Paris: Thorin, 1895); Sidney Painter, *The Scourge of the Clergy: Peter of Dreux, Duke of Brittany* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1937), 55–88; Richard, *Saint Louis*, 13–9.

<sup>89</sup> Galliou and Jones, *The Bretons*, 201; Morvan, *La chevalerie bretonne*, 21.

<sup>90</sup> Galliou and Jones, *The Bretons*, 201.

Bernart de la Ferté, the Duke's opponent in RS840, is less fully recorded by the chronicles.<sup>91</sup> Bernart de la Ferté was *seigneur de la Ferté* in Maine, now Ferté-Bernard.<sup>92</sup> Bernart IV had died by 1220 when Hue de la Ferté is named as the lord of Ferté. Hue died in 1232 and his widow Isabelle governed in place of her son, Bernart V, who was a minor until at least 1237. By 1250, Bernart V had been knighted and made seneschal of Anjou by Blanche de Castile, acting as regent while Louis IX was on crusade. Bernart V had close ties to Charles d'Anjou: not only was he Charles's seneschal, but he also accompanied Charles to Naples when the latter became King of Sicily.

The two judges in RS840 are the Count of Anjou and the Count of 'Guelle'. Bédier rightly assumes the Count of Anjou to be Charles I d'Anjou.<sup>93</sup> Charles was a younger brother of Louis IX and received the appanage of Anjou in 1246. The territories of Maine and Anjou had been confiscated from King John of England in 1204 and left to John (d. 1232), a younger son of Louis VIII in his will of 1225. Between 1232 and 1246 the county ceded directly to King Louis. Charles spent much of the period 1246–1265 on matters outside of Anjou, particularly in Provence, which he had gained through marriage in 1246, Hainault, and Piedmont, and on crusade with his brother, the King.<sup>94</sup> From 1265, Charles assumed rule of the kingdom of Sicily and focussed his attention on control of various parts of the Mediterranean, ruthlessly supplanting the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II's supporters, including his grandson Conradin, whom Charles executed in 1268.<sup>95</sup> Several French nobles accompanied Charles in these exploits.

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<sup>91</sup> Bédier states that in 1237 Bernart was under the tutelage of his mother but gives no source for this information.

<sup>92</sup> Léopold Charles, *Les sires de Ferté-Bernard au Maine, depuis le XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Le Mans, 1870), 32–43.

<sup>93</sup> Bédier, 'Les chansons', 478.

<sup>94</sup> Jean Dunbabin, *Charles I of Anjou: Power, Kingship and State-Making in Thirteenth-Century Europe* (London: Longman, 1998), 4.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, 5; Steven Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1958), 78–95, 115–6.

Bédier assumes the Count of ‘Guelle’ to be the Count of ‘Gueldre’ (Gelderland in the Netherlands). Given how distant the Netherlands is from Brittany, this attribution is unlikely. A more likely candidate is the Count of Goëлло, Henri I d’Avaugour, who was one of the most powerful barons in Brittany.<sup>96</sup> Henri had been engaged to Alix, duchess of Brittany and later Pierre Mauclerc’s wife, until their engagement was broken off by King Philip Augustus in order to form the engagement between Alix and Pierre Mauclerc. In recompense for this, and in return for loyal support of the French crown, Henri was guaranteed the inheritance of his father’s land, Treguier and Lamballe.<sup>97</sup> Throughout Pierre Mauclerc’s rule, Henri and Pierre struggled over territory and loyalty, and Pierre’s treatment of Henri was considered in the royal investigation of 1235, after Pierre Mauclerc wrested the lands of the seat of Penthievre from Henri.<sup>98</sup> The relationship between Henri and John I of Brittany has been little studied. The sale of land by Henri’s son, Alain II d’Avaugour, to John in 1265 led Henri to challenge the sale in the royal court, perhaps suggesting that vassal and suzerain continued to struggle for territory, power and allegiance.<sup>99</sup> Alain II d’Avaugour is known to have accompanied Charles d’Anjou on his campaign in Naples.<sup>100</sup>

Because there was no Count of Anjou between 1232 and 1246, RS840 must have been composed either side of these years. Given that Bernart V de la Ferté was a minor until at least 1237, it is likely that RS840 dates from 1246 or later. Bédier was therefore correct in asserting that the Duke of Brittany in RS840 is John I, and that the Count of

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<sup>96</sup> On Henri I d’Avaugour and his territory of Goëлло, see Frédéric Morvan, ‘La maison de Penthievre (1212–1334), rivale des ducs de Bretagne’, *Mémoires de la Société d’histoire et d’archéologie de Bretagne* 81 (2003), 19–54: 21–34.

<sup>97</sup> Painter, *Scourge of the Clergy*, 18.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>99</sup> Frédéric Morvan, *1265: Jean I<sup>er</sup>, duc de Bretagne, achète Dinan*, last modified 24 Mar. 2009, accessed 28 Sep. 2017, [www.tudchentil.org/spip.php?article563](http://www.tudchentil.org/spip.php?article563).

<sup>100</sup> Charles, *Les sires de Ferté-Bernard*, 49.

Anjou is Charles d'Anjou. The assumption that Bernart de la Ferté held Ferté-Bernart in Maine and the correction (to Bédier) that the Count of Guelle was Henri d'Avaugour or his son, Alain II d'Avaugour, places all four men in Brittany, Maine or Anjou, all in western France, in the mid-thirteenth century. Bernart and Henri (via his son, Alain) had connections to Charles d'Anjou, accompanying him on his Italian campaigns.

### ***Largece and proece***

In RS840, the Duke of Brittany and Bernart de la Ferté debate whether prowess (*proece*) or generosity (*largece*) is more highly valued. The Duke of Brittany poses the dilemma and, unusually for the first stanza of a *jeu-parti*, indicates his preferred side of the debate: he considers *proece* to be worth more. Bernart then defends *largece*. Bernart de la Ferté frequently uses the term *preudomme*, a word that, by the early thirteenth century, denoted an exemplary knight. At the end of the debate, the Duke of Brittany calls on the Count of Anjou to be a judge, while Bernart de la Ferté requests the judgement of the Count of Guelle (Goëlle). In the following discussion, I retain the terms *proece* and *largece* from RS840, since they have no direct translation and were terms that pervaded courtly and chivalrous discourse for at least three centuries.

In debating the relative merits of *proece* and *largece*, Bernart and the Duke of Brittany eschew the more usual topics of love casuistry found in the *jeu-parti*. Almost no mention is made of the ways in which these qualities might affect the success of the lover; emphasis is placed instead on abstract qualities of *preudommie*. Though an unusual subject for the *jeu-parti*, *preudommie* was a theme explored frequently in romances and chronicles. In the **Introduction** to this study, I showed that chivalry and violence were central to thirteenth-century thought. The widespread discussion and understanding of *preudommie*, as evinced by numerous literary accounts, would have made RS840 a readily

comprehensible discussion of chivalry to readers across thirteenth-century France. The following discussion outlines the integral role that the concepts of *proece* and *largece* played in the formation of the thirteenth-century knightly class. Historical agents could construct their identities on the same qualities of chivalry that literary figures possessed. If, say, the Duke of Brittany could paint himself as a real-life Lancelot, he would foster a prestige for himself within the established value-system of *preudommie*. For this reason, the Duke makes *preudommie* the subject of RS840.

*Proece* is the attribute of a knight that leads him to daring feats of combat. The *preudommes* of French romances tend to be strong men who are able to conquer their opponents through violent acts, and their authors take delight in describing these feats in gory detail. *Proece* was also usually an indicator of high lineage. Richard Kaeuper highlights the figure of Lancelot as the exemplary *preudomme*, frequently described in hyperbolic prose as a mighty warrior who could kill, strike down and split horses and men at a faster rate than any other.<sup>101</sup> The same tendencies are to be found in descriptions of knights by medieval biographers: the account of William Marshal states that he would ‘do chivalry’ (*faire chivalrie*), here referring to armed combat.<sup>102</sup> *Proece* and violent acts were central to a knight’s identity, but were also essential to the feudal hierarchy. The system of fiefs and vassalage that was used to control territory after the collapse of the Carolingian empire relied on knights who could successfully conquer opposing forces, be it in the acquisition or defence of territory.<sup>103</sup>

In RS840, the Duke of Brittany favours *proece* because it enables a knight to succeed in all deeds of arms (stanza 1) and to have success in everything he does (stanza 3). Using the metaphor of a fire to separate wheat from chaff, he contends that *proece* is at

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<sup>101</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 135–9.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>103</sup> See Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 91.

the heart of *preudommie*. Referring to a common procedure in thirteenth-century life, this metaphor would have prompted readers to recall the gospels of Luke and Matthew, in which John the Baptist compares Christ's coming to the separating of chaff from wheat and an unquenchable fire.<sup>104</sup> The man who is full of *proece* is thus a powerful judge, not only in deeds of arms, but also of the quality of human character. In stanza 5, the Duke claims that men will always be militarily minded (a statement that Bernart contradicts in stanza 6): for him, *proece* is the identity of a knight. The Duke argues that generosity 'and its equals' (stanza 5) have no power over the body.

*Largece*, on the other hand, was the capacity of a knight to give generously, even to the point of giving prodigally. *Largece* was often used as an indicator that a *preudomme* was of noble lineage, especially in the thirteenth century when, according to Kaeuper, a 'commercial and urban boom' was accompanied by the rise of a powerful merchant class that was less disposed to generous giving.<sup>105</sup> Lancelot's lineage was unknown in his early life, but his generosity marked him as a *preudomme*.<sup>106</sup> Like *proece*, *largece* was also integral to the feudal system. In bestowing gifts of land or money on his vassals, a baron secured their loyalty: in the prose *Lancelot*, for example, the anti-*preudomme* King Claudas has *largece* but only in so far as it will secure the dependence of his vassals.<sup>107</sup> The *proece* and loyalty shown by knights during the conquest of enemy territory would have been rewarded by a baron's *largece* in giving his vassals some of the spoils and fiefs from the conquest.

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<sup>104</sup> Luke 3:17; Matthew 3:12. Ironically, though, the verses shortly preceding the metaphor of a fire for chaff in Luke's gospel calls for acts of charity (Luke 3:10–14): this oblique reference to *largece* could have been apparent to listeners of the song.

<sup>105</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 194. Crouch argues that *largece* was in contrast not only to mercantile meanness but also mean-spirited nobles: *Birth of Nobility*, 68.

<sup>106</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 195.

<sup>107</sup> Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 48.

The morality of *largece* was also frequently discussed, especially in the thirteenth century. Aldo D. Scaglione argues that an emphasis on *largece* was ‘part of the civilising process contained in the clerical education of curial and courtly candidates’.<sup>108</sup> *Largece* was listed among the attributes of *preudommie* by the twelfth century, but was given a new significance by thirteenth-century writers. Considered to be an antidote for the vices of avarice and greed, *largece* marked the *preudomme* out specifically as a Christian warrior, as Bernart emphasises in RS840:<sup>109</sup> Joinville, the biographer of Louis IX, for example, distinguishes between knights that have valour, an attribute not limited to Christianity, and the attributes particular to *preudommie*, including *largece*.<sup>110</sup> But *largece* could also be dangerous if practiced prodigally: excessive *largece*, while morally laudable, threatened the financial security of the aristocratic courts.

Bernart argues in RS840 for *largece* because of the benefits in social harmony that it yields. *Largece*, he states, creates peace and allows a knight to seek pardon from his enemies (stanza 5). Bernart turns the concept of richness on its head, arguing that generosity not only makes a man rich but also enables him to conquer all, since loyalty comes from *largece* (stanza 4). Twice he uses a quasi-proverbial expression that a man is rich when he gives generously. In stanza 4, a man who has generosity in his house is said to be rich, while in stanza 6 he states that without generosity a man loses everything, whereas with generosity one can conquer all. Bernart also emphasises the Christian aspect of *largece*: stanza 2 suggests that *largece* is the means to gaining God’s love, while stanza 6 states that *largece* is the virtue that comes from God. This draws on Christ’s command to the rich young man in the gospels of Luke and Matthew: ‘sell your possessions and give

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<sup>108</sup> Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 79.

<sup>109</sup> Crouch, *Birth of Nobility*, 69.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, 37.

to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven'.<sup>111</sup> *Largece* is contrasted to meanness, associated with mercantile bourgeois and tight-fisted nobles.

When the attributes of *proece* and *largece* are compared in thirteenth-century accounts, they are frequently treated as mutually dependent and equally important attributes of *preudommie*. In a common narrative stratagem, historical personages or fictional figures are described with a list of qualities, in which *proece* and *largece* are almost always present. *Proece* and *largece* are connected by the need for loyalty, which was, as Kaeuper puts it, 'the rudder which steered the great vessel of prowess into acceptable channels'.<sup>112</sup> Without the ties of loyalty to an overlord, powerful knights would be able to inflict violence in an uncontrolled and potentially anarchic fashion. Through the reciprocal obligations of gift exchange, knights were bound by the concept of loyalty, which was not only a requirement of knighthood but also a virtue. This conceptualisation of *largece*, *proece* and loyalty underpinned the feudal framework and exemplified ideal social relations.

As well as being taken as mutual attributes of chivalry, *proece* and *largece* are given hierarchical value in texts other than RS840. Most frequently *proece* is the favoured attribute of authors, who emphasised and exaggerated the physical strength and daring feats of knights in romances and biographies. Kaeuper describes the phenomenon as an 'almost obsessional emphasis placed on personal prowess as the key chivalric trait', to the extent that the term *proece* often stands for all chivalric values.<sup>113</sup> Despite this, there are examples in which *largece* is considered to be the most important aspect of *preudommie*. *Proece* and *largece* are configured as attributes of the body and the heart/mind in *Lancelot do lac*: in her explanation to Lancelot of the most important attributes of a knight, the Lady of the

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<sup>111</sup> Matthew 19: 21 (NIV). See also Luke 18:22.

<sup>112</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 185.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*

Lake lists *largece* as an attribute of the heart, without which one cannot be a knight.<sup>114</sup> In some cases, then, *largece* is considered the attribute to be valued above all others in a knight. Emphasis on virtues of the heart over those of the body could have been the result of a clerical drive to reform violence. Since clerics were prohibited from drawing blood, the attribute of *proece* was denied to them, whereas *largece* was a virtue that could be preached because it was sanctioned by God. For the troubadours, this clerical emphasis on *largece* was also part of a wider trend to privilege learning and a cultivated courtliness over brute strength.<sup>115</sup>

Since both *proece* and *largece* were essential attributes of the *preudomme*, debating which characteristic is better may seem to be a pointless exercise. However, the way in which the Duke of Brittany and Bernart occupy the extreme positions in the debate could have had emblematic significance. By giving Bernart the choice of sides in the dilemma, the Duke is demonstrating *largece*, but by arguing for *proece* and for the primacy of violence, he also portrays himself as full of *proece*. The Duke thus exploits the form of the *jeu-parti* to display himself as an exemplary *preudomme*. His *proece* is seen musically in the way that he sets his first stanza to music. The first two lines of the song emphasise *G* as the primary tone through a cadence at the end of line 2 (see **Fig. 4.12**). The secondary tone is *a*, which is fleetingly reached in the middle of line 2, before the melody returns to the primary tone *G* at the end of the line. The two pitches are related: *a* falls to *G* at the cadence onto *G*.

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<sup>114</sup> Elspeth Kennedy, *Lancelot do lac: The Non-Cyclic Old French Prose Romance*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), i, 141–2. A similar point is made in *Cligès*: ‘where largess’s gifts are cast, all other virtues are surpassed’: Chrétien de Troyes, *Cligès*, trans. Ruth Harwood Cline (Athens; London: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 7. The rise of romances of Alexander, the epitome of *largece*, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also points to the increased importance of *largece*.

<sup>115</sup> Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, 100.

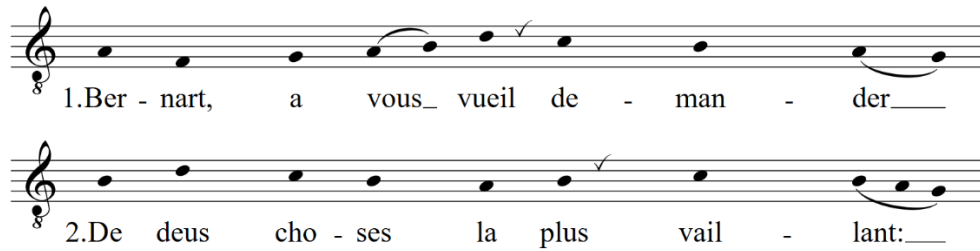


Figure 4.12: RS840, ll. 1–2

The Duke sets up a similar relationship between the primary tone and secondary tone in lines 5 to 9 of the song, but in this section the primary tone is *d*, a 5<sup>th</sup> higher than the primary tone of lines 1 and 2. This new primary tone is immediately established in line 5 with a cadence on ‘*si m’ en dites*’ (see **Fig. 4.13**). Like lines 1 and 2, the range of lines 5 to 9 is a 6<sup>th</sup> (*c–aa*). Unlike lines 1 and 2, though, the range of lines 5 to 9 is extreme. The pitch *aa*, heard in lines 7 and 9, is the highest of the pitches defined by the system of modes in Gregorian chant. The modal system contains the pitches *A–g* within the authentic and plagal versions of the four modes, with a tone either side available to the singer. Because the melody of RS840 rises to *aa*, a pitch at the highest extreme of modal classification, the melody pushes the boundaries of what is musically defined. By going beyond what is melodically normal, the gesture is therefore a kind of musical *proece*. This act of musical *proece* occurs as soon as *d* is established as the new primary tone. Just as the ambitus of lines 1 and 2 extends by a 5<sup>th</sup> (to *d*) above the primary tone (*G*), the repeated cadence at the start of line 5 implies that the ambitus of the following lines will also extend by a 5<sup>th</sup> (to *aa*) above the new primary tone (*d*). The Duke of Brittany sets his act of musical *proece* to the poetry that asserts his support of *proece*: ‘for I have always judged that, without *proece*, no knight who wants to take up arms can get very far’.<sup>116</sup> By singing in a way that

<sup>116</sup> ‘Car j’ai touz iorz oï conter / Sanz proece ne puet monter / Nul chevalier tres bien avant / Qui d’armes soit entremetant’ [RS840, ll. 6–9].

exemplifies musical *proece*, the Duke of Brittany performs the chivalric value that he is espousing.

5. Si m'en di - tes vos - tre sen - blant.\_\_\_\_

6. Car j'ai touz jorz o - i con - ter\_\_\_\_

7. Sanz prö - e - ce ne puet mon - ter\_\_\_\_

8. Nul che - va - lier tres bien a - vant\_\_\_\_

9. Qui d'ar - mes soit en - tre - me - tant.

Fig. 4.13: RS840, ll. 5-9

In addition to the Duke's portrayal, the poetry of Bernart and the Duke uses established literary tropes to demonstrate that they are well-versed in the attributes of *preudommie*. *Proece* and *largece* were powerful concepts used in chivalric discourse to shape the behaviour of the knightly class, as shown by the discussion of literary uses of the terms above. For RS840, what is telling is that the two men debate this topic at all, especially since the usual topic of a *jeu-parti* was a question of love casuistry. The conclusion that the listener or reader might reach is that these two poets are themselves *preudommes*, given their insight into the subject. If RS840 aimed to show that Bernart de la Ferté and the Duke of Brittany were *preudommes*, I argue that its dissemination makes it a piece of propaganda.

### Palaeography of the Duke of Brittany section in chansonnier P

One of the most remarkable aspects of RS840 is its transmission. RS840 is the only song by the Duke of Brittany to be copied outside of **P**. In **P**, it is the opening song of a series of six songs by the Duke of Brittany; these songs are presented as if they are a *libellus*, a single-author booklet copied at the end of the chansonnier. The group of six songs by the Duke of Brittany sits at the end of **P**, which was copied and compiled in at least six stages:

Section	Folios	Contents	Copying Stage
ii	1r–134v	Chansons and <i>jeux-partis</i> grouped by attributed trouvère (rubricated)	A
iii	135r–198v	Chansons and <i>jeux-partis</i> not grouped by attribution	
iv	199r–210v	Six songs attributed to the Duke of Brittany (beginning at the end of f. 198 <sup>v</sup> ) <sup>117</sup>  <i>Li roman du vergier [et] de l'arbre d'amours</i>	B
			C
v	211r–218v	Chansons and <i>jeux-partis</i> attributed to Adam de la Halle	D
	219r–228v		E
i	Ar–Bv	A title page and an index of attributed trouvères	F
vi	(NP)	Alphabetical index of incipits	

Fig. 4.14: Contents of P

The bulk of the chansonnier consists of a series of songs organised by trouvère (section ii), followed by a series of unattributed songs (section iii), of which only five are duplicated

<sup>117</sup> The sixth song of the section has no attribution, but given that the initials of stanzas are also missing for this song (which, following the previous decoration scheme, would have been the work of the rubricator), it is likely that the attribution to the Duke of Brittany was intended to be copied here.

from section ii.<sup>118</sup> The Duke of Brittany *libellus* (section iv) was then copied by a new group of scribes. Given that the first song in the Duke of Brittany section begins on f. 198v, immediately after the final anonymous song of section iii, section iv must have been copied after section iii.<sup>119</sup>

Section iv (see **Table 4.3** below), which contains the Duke of Brittany's songs and *Li roman du vergier*, is not, in the strict sense, a *libellus*: it is not a physically discrete gathering of parchment. The section begins at the end of f. 198v, rather than at the start of the quire, but the section forms a discrete unit of six songs, all by the same trouvère and copied by a group of text scribes (at least four) and music scribes (perhaps two or more) who did not copy anything else in the chansonnier. In its presentation, the Duke of Brittany section has the same function as a *libellus*, even if in codicological terms it is not. Single-trouvère collections are not unprecedented: aside from the common organisational strategy in chansonniers to group songs by trouvère, *libelli* dedicated solely to the songs of Thibaut of Navarre are included in **MT**, and to Adam de la Halle in **PTW**, not to mention the complete works of Adam de la Halle, which comprise the main body of **W**.<sup>120</sup> The single author corpus came to hold, Sylvia Huot has argued, 'a certain integrity as a textual unit' as the thirteenth century drew on and became a means of authorising a poet.<sup>121</sup> The Duke

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<sup>118</sup> Elizabeth Aubrey dates this copying, which was all carried out by two text scribes and one music scribe, to the 1270s: Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS'.

<sup>119</sup> At some later time, possibly in the eighteenth century, section v was appended to the manuscript. Section v, containing songs by Adam de la Halle copied in the late thirteenth century, is a compilation of gatherings from two different groups of scribes, neither of which played any part in copying the rest of **P**. For a discussion of the relationship of these quires to a quire appended to the start of **W**, see Dorothy Keyser, 'Oracy, literacy and the music of Adam de la Halle: the evidence of the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale f. fr. 25566' (Ph. D. dissertation, University of North Texas, 1996), 147–58. In the early eighteenth century, folio numbers, a title page and two indices were added by the bibliophile Jean-Pierre-Imbert Châtre de Cangé: Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS'. On Cangé and other bibliophiles, see Elizabeth Aubrey, 'Medieval Melodies in the Hands of Bibliophiles of the *Ancien Régime*', in *Essays on Music and Culture in Honor of Herbert Kellman*, ed. Barbara Haggh, 17–34 (Paris: Minerve, 2001).

<sup>120</sup> See Haines, *Eight Centuries*, 18; Huot, *From Song to Book*, 64–74; Peraino, *Giving Voice to Love*, 135–8.

<sup>121</sup> Huot, *From Song to Book*, 50.

of Brittany *libellus* therefore attempts to give the Duke of Brittany poetic authority. And yet, the Duke of Brittany section is presented differently from other *libelli* that are appended to a chansonnier in that the Duke of Brittany songs are made to appear as if they belong to the rest of the songbook.

Folio	Item	Attribution
198v	‘Bernart a vous vueil demander’ (RS840)	li q[ue]ns de bretagne
199v	‘Chanter me fet ma dame’ (RS357)	li q[ue]ns de bretagne
201r	‘Nouviaument m’est pris envie’ (RS1141)	li q[ue]ns de bretagne
201v	‘Longuement ai esté pensis’ (RS1588)	li q[ue]ns de bretagne
202r	‘Haute chancon de haute estoire di’ (RS1037)	li que[n]s de bretagne
202v	‘Je ferai chancon nouvelle’ (RS597)	
204r	<i>Li romans du vergier [et] de l’arbre d’amours</i>	Erased?

Table 4.3: Contents of the Duke of Brittany section of P

The internal evidence of the *libellus* indicates that it may not have been copied in the order in which it now exists. *Nouviaument m’est pris envie* (RS1141), the third song of the section, begins at the start of f. 201r and is immediately preceded by a blank space that fills the second half of the right-hand column on f. 200v. This suggests that *Nouviaument m’est pris envie* was initially intended to be the first song of a *libellus*. Other evidence would suggest that the compiler of the *libellus* then intended to append the *libellus* to the series of over 300 songs that comprise sections ii and iii of the songbook. Aiming to make the *libellus* appear as a continuation of the songbook, the scribes of the *libellus* began to copy the *jeu-parti* RS840 on the final folio of section iii. This required that two extra leaves be added to the gathering that had begun with *Nouviaument est pris envie*, turning a quaternion into a sesternion, possibly with the intention to include *Li roman du vergier*

after the songs by the Duke of Brittany, as Aubrey has suggested.<sup>122</sup> The scribes then filled the two extra leaves placed around the original quaternion with the remainder of RS840 and the second song in the section, *Chanter me fet ma dame* (RS357). The scribes' attempts to fill these extra leaves is witnessed by the unusual spacing of the text at the start of f. 199v and by the change from 29 lines in the text block on f. 199r to 27 lines on f. 199v. Although not entirely successful, the scribes of the *libellus* attempted to present the songs by the Duke of Brittany as a continuation of the chansonnier.

By presenting the *libellus* as a continuation of the chansonnier, the scribes of the *libellus* made the Duke of Brittany songs more authoritative. Because they are read as if they had always belonged to the chansonnier, the songs take on the authority of the whole chansonnier, an authority drawn from the act of compilation that the book demonstrates.<sup>123</sup> Although the Duke of Brittany section has not been completed (the last two songs in the section lack music staves, music notation and red initials and the last song in the section, *Je ferai chancon nouvelle* (RS597) is certainly copied in a different hand to those found in the rest of the section), the codicological evidence points to a scribal intention to authorise these songs by the Duke of Brittany to maximum effect, not only by placing the songs together in an author corpus, but also by co-opting the authority of the chansonnier as a whole. Further, the placement of RS840 at the start of the Duke of Brittany section in **P** sets the tone for the collection of songs, making the exemplary chivalric character of the Duke of Brittany apparent to the reader.

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<sup>122</sup> Boorman et al., 'Sources, MS'.

<sup>123</sup> On the authority created by compilation, see Alastair Minnis, '*Nolens auctor sed compilator reputari: The Late-Medieval Discourse of Compilation*', in *La méthode critique au Moyen Âge: Études réunies*, ed. Gilbert Dahan and Mireille Chazan, 47–63 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

### Refashioning through song

Taken together, the scribal efforts to present the Duke of Brittany as an author and the Duke's own attempts in RS840 to present himself as a *preudomme* suggest that the *libellus* in **P** was created with the aim of refashioning the reputation of the Duke of Brittany. That such a refashioning might have been necessary is clear from the reputation of John I's father, Pierre Mauclerc, in historical accounts. To refashion his reputation, John I engages directly with his father's past political machinations. His choice of Bernart V de la Ferté as a debating partner in RS840 is significant, since Hue de la Ferté (Bernart's father) penned three *serventois* that attack Thibaut de Champagne and Blanche de Castile, and thus supported Pierre Mauclerc's revolt against the crown. In choosing Bernart as his debate partner in RS840, John I makes implicit reference to the political treachery of Pierre and Hue. For example, in his *serventois* *En talent ai ke je die* (RS1191), Hue accuses Thibaut of failing to 'act chivalrously' and that he would be better suited to studying 'medicine', hinting (as rumour had it) that Thibaut had been responsible for poisoning Louis VIII.<sup>124</sup> In RS840, the Duke of Brittany plays on the metaphor of medicine found in Hue's *serventois*. The Duke argues that when the body is sick, *largece* can achieve nothing, nor can a physician or surgeon. When he debates the topics of *largece* and *proece* in RS840, John extols the values of the *preudomme*, exactly that for which his father could have been criticised.

Further, the *jeu-parti* is directed to the Count of Anjou and to the Count of Goëlle for judgement. John praises the value of *proece* by comparing it to good judgement in stanza 3. In sending the song to Charles of Anjou, John implies that the Count is a good judge of ideal knighthood, thus suggesting that he must be an ideal knight, which Bernart

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<sup>124</sup> 'faire chevalerie' [RS1191, line 27]; 'sirurgie' [RS1191, line 30].

then confirms: ‘his whole heart is steeped in prowess’ [ll. 66–7]. John thus praises the King’s younger brother, an act of verbal homage that reverses the treachery shown by his father towards the King. Bernart sends the song to the Count of Goëlle for judgement, Henry I d’Avaugour, whom Pierre Mauclerc had dispossessed of territory and bride. By hailing the Count, Bernart recognises him, as for the Count of Anjou, as an honourable knight. The inclusion of the Count of Goëlle counteracts the enmity between the previous Duke and his vassal in 1210–1235.

The refashioning of reputation goes further, however, and is enacted through contrafacture. The fourth song in the Duke of Brittany section of **P**, ‘Longuement ai esté pensis’ (RS1588), is accompanied by the rubric ‘Cest el chant dou gieu parti. li q[ue]ns de bretagne’. No space has been left for music staves: the implication is that the melody has already been notated in the *jeu-parti* that opens the section. RS840 and RS1588 have identical rhyme schemes and metre (nine octosyllabic lines following the rhyme scheme **ababbccb**), and identical rhyme sounds in their first stanzas. The scribe of RS1588 clearly recognised that the chanson was a contrafact of RS840, and has pointed out this fact to the reader. This takes on a deeper meaning with the knowledge that all three of Hue de la Ferté’s *serventois* are contrafacts of high-register chansons.

Given that contrafacture could stand for political conflict, the pointed reference to contrafacture in the rubric of RS1588 is significant. The lack of staves and the presence of an explanatory rubric emphasise that RS1588 is a later refashioning of RS840. But in this case, the political connotation of contrafacture is subverted. Instead of transforming a love song into satire, as Hue de la Ferté had done in the 1220s, the Duke of Brittany refashions his *jeu-parti* into a chanson that has no express political or satirical purpose. In the chanson, the lyric *je* tells of the pain he is made to feel by his Lady, who is full of good sense and beauty, and whose mercy can be his only relief. The song presents itself in a hermetic lyric

world and the poet looks only inward to the prison in which he finds himself. Further, the *chanson* repeats many of the tropes of courtly love found in other *chansons* and is a perfect model of lyric expression.

By refashioning his debate, which has so many intertextual references with earlier satirical songs and political revolt, the Duke of Brittany transforms himself into a *preudomme* and exemplary lyric subject. This transformation is also enacted on another level. In RS840, the Duke of Brittany is in verbal conflict with Bernart de la Ferté, who argues against the violent acquisition of territory that *proece* encourages (stanza 4). Although the stalemate and violence of the *jeu-parti* is not resolved within the song, the contrafact RS1588 might be interpreted as a resolution of the conflict. In turning the *jeu-parti* into a *chanson*, violence is converted into lyric desire and, by extension, the Duke of Brittany is transformed from violent antagonist to literate, authorial *preudomme*.

## Conclusion

From the three contrafact networks explored here it may be inferred that in early instances of the genre, the *jeu-parti* was bound up with violent conflict on a large scale. Not all contrafacts were motivated by violence, as Oede de la Couroierie's *chanson* contrafact of RS2063 (see **Chapter 3**) demonstrates; trouvères could create a contrafact in order to capitalise on the popularity of a widely disseminated song, implicitly paying homage to the creator of their model. In the three *jeux-partis* explored in this chapter, however, contrafacture is viewed as a form of violence. In RS334, Thibaut de Champagne puts the vassal of the Dreux family, Moniot d'Arras, on trial. In RS1423a, Raoul de Soissons accuses Thibaut de Navarre of sexual impotence, which may also refer to Thibaut's military failures in the Outremer. RS840 was a means for the Duke of Brittany to show himself as an exemplary *preudomme*, while his contrafact of the *jeu-*

*parti*, RS1588, reverses the violence of contrafacture by turning the ritualised conflict of the *jeu-parti* into a monologic chanson. In each of these cases, contrafacture was a form of non-consensual aggression against the author of the model song, an aggression that was enacted at a symbolic level through aesthetic rupture. The violence of these *jeux-partis* would also have been apparent in the symbolic violence that trouvères deployed against one another in the performance of these songs. Since these songs are early examples of the genre, I suggest that this symbolic violence, which was a direct surrogate for political animosity and aggression, fed into the ideological meaning of the structural tropes of the *jeu-parti*.

## Chapter 5 | Violence in the Arras *jeux-partis*

One throws down the gauntlet, the other picks it up. Things get heated, they struggle; they deal out strophes on each other; they wound each other with ridicule; they strike each other with insults. The battle is determined and it does not seem as if we can predict the result.<sup>1</sup>

Louis Passy's blow-by-blow description of the *jeu-parti* (as he imagined it) is vivid in its portrayal of violence. Reading his account of two combatants, the reader might at first be fooled into thinking that Passy was watching two boxers or—more likely in nineteenth-century France—two fencers sizing each other up, posturing, feinting, fighting, dripping with sweat in front of a crowd that was simultaneously delighted by the spectacle of violence and passionate in support of their champion. Whether this was the reality of performances of *jeux-partis* cannot be known on account of the scarcity of evidence for the Arras *puy* and other thirteenth-century contexts of performance. Nineteenth-century accounts of the *jeu-parti*, as I showed in **Chapter 1**, frequently make recourse to metaphors of combat or violence in describing the genre. Whether they be metaphors for the structure of *jeux-partis* or for the performance and intent of these songs, these nineteenth-century characterisations of the genre need not be dismissed merely as anachronistic projections of a romanticised medievalism. The conceit of this chapter is that a metaphor of violence, thoroughly grounded in thirteenth-century literary

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<sup>1</sup> 'L'un jette le gant, l'autre le relève. On s'échauffe, on lutte; on se charge à coup de strophes; on se perce avec des railleries; on se frappe avec des injures. La bataille est acharnée, et il ne semble pas qu'on puisse en prévoir la fin.' Louis Passy, 'Fragments d'histoire littéraire à propos d'un nouveau manuscrit de chansons françaises', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 20 (1859), 465–502: 496.

and philosophical contexts, is apposite for exploring the ways in which trouvères and their listeners understood the purpose and meaning of the structure and performance of *jeux-partis*.

The reticence among scholars to connect *jeux-partis* to thirteenth-century violent practices is in part due to the historic metaphysical and formalist biases of musicology, which I discussed in the **Introduction**. A tendency to read the sources of *jeux-partis* in an over-literal way has also caused scholars to view *jeux-partis* as abstract literary exercises, rather than as violent sounding events. Collections of *jeux-partis* were clericalised, written refractions of a nexus of music-making practices and aimed to control the unruliness of the live, performed musical event by presenting a uniform and fixed record.<sup>2</sup> A pertinent point of comparison is the *disputatio*, the formulised genre of debate popular in thirteenth-century universities, especially in Paris (see **Introduction**). Despite differences between the genres, the *jeu-parti* and *disputatio* had much in common, leaving some scholars to speculate that the *jeu-parti* derived from scholastic practice.<sup>3</sup>

One aspect shared by the genres, I suggest, was their staging of verbal (or musical) violence that their written sources attempted to conceal. Cayley, Enders and Karras have all questioned the purpose of written accounts that purport to be a record of sounding events. Cayley postulates the existence of ‘collaborative debating communities’ behind single-

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<sup>2</sup> Jennifer Saltzstein argues, for example, that the presentation of *jeux-partis* in **A** aims to foreground their literate aspect, emphasising the clerical status of the named trouvères: ‘Cleric-Trouvères and the Jeux-Partis of Medieval Arras’, 152–5.

<sup>3</sup> The two genres differ significantly: the *jeu-parti* is set to music and the dilemma question is proposed by one of the participants, while the *disputatio de quodlibet* was a spoken genre that started with a dilemma proposed by a member of the audience. Further, the sources for the genres served different purposes: written accounts of the *disputatio* emphasise the authority and orthodoxy of the master’s judgement by reporting this in full, demonstrating to students how best to solve theological conundrums. *Jeux-partis* sources do not record judgement, leaving the dilemma unsolved, perhaps to facilitate further debate. Alex J. Novikoff explicitly connects the *jeu-parti* to the *disputatio* without showing how Parisian disputational culture could have infused Arras song composition: *Medieval Culture of Disputation*, 152–3.

authored texts, and Enders argues that the written record of *disputationes* aimed to rationalise a messier reality and more theatrical performance.<sup>4</sup> As mentioned in the **Introduction** to this study, Ruth Karras shows that thirteenth-century descriptions of *disputationes* cast clerical debate as ‘a sort of ceremonial combat’, contested rationally rather than physically.<sup>5</sup> To support this assertion, Karras outlines numerous complaints by thirteenth-century clerics that the disputation had become a vehicle for pride and ostentatious display. No such admonitions have been recorded for the practice of the *jeu-parti*, but singers themselves sometimes described their *jeu-parti* in violent terms (see **Chapter 3**). The genre’s similarities with the *disputatio* and obvious liveness as musical performances suggests that singers and listeners of the *jeu-parti* understood the genre as a performance of sublimated violence.<sup>6</sup> While written sources for the *jeux-partis* sometimes emphasise the scholastic potential of these songs, as Saltzstein has shown, the composition and performance of those *jeux-partis* may have been open to a wider range of interpretative possibilities.

This chapter takes up the scepticism of Cayley, Enders and Saltzstein, aiming to uncover traces of an alternative interpretive paradigm of violence in *jeux-partis* that is attuned to sound and sounding events. While acknowledging that the sounds and performances of *jeux-partis* are irretrievable, discourses of sensory perception and judgement offer evidence for the ways in which sound might have been understood by the performers and audience of *jeux-partis*. First, two debates about song-making are analysed to demonstrate the ways in which sound, song, singer and violence were connected in the trope of *fine amours*. Both debates

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<sup>4</sup> Cayley, *Debate and Dialogue*, 50; Enders, ‘Theater of Scholastic Erudition’, 345.

<sup>5</sup> Karras, *From Boys to Men*, 90.

<sup>6</sup> Carlyn Abbate argues that the distinction between the abstract/written and the affective/aural has limited musicological enquiry in ‘Music—Drastic or Gnostic?’, *Critical Inquiry* 30/3 (2004), 505–36.

suggest that the violently conflicted state of the courtly *je* is what allows the lover to sing. Second, I discuss a group of debates that thematise physical brutality. I argue that violent metaphors would have been central to listeners' interpretation of these songs. Thanks to their violent subject matter, these *jeux-partis* invite an interpretation of the genre as a physically and symbolically violent exchange; they enact violence at both the subjective and objective levels of Žižek's theory of violence (see **Introduction**). The current chapter builds on the assertions of **Chapters 2, 3 and 4**, tracing the ways in which songs move between the levels of subjective violence (enacted through melody and divided tonal space) and the symbolic violence of contrafacture. *Jeux-partis* traversed these different kinds of violence because scientific and literary accounts constructed a discourse in which violence on the senses and on morality was equated to physical violence. The interpretations that are presented demonstrate that *jeux-partis* were composed and performed according to an aesthetic that both lauded violently competitive musical acts and censured songs that were composed for contest rather than for love.

## Invigorating the heart to sing

In two *jeux-partis* that address the process of song-making, their trouvère authors question whether requited or unrequited love leads to the best singing. Both songs ask what it means to sing well, and are therefore debates about their own making. The arguments put forward by the trouvères and the choices that they make in their melodies are evidence for the values and meanings that *jeu-parti* melodies could carry. *De cou, Robert de la Piere* (RS1331, **Appendix §11**) is a debate between the cleric Lambert Ferri and bourgeois Robert de la Piere about the course of love after a couple marries. Ferri opens by expressing his surprise that Robert has stopped singing: 'it seems really astounding to me that you have lost your character and that

of your song'.<sup>7</sup> He then asks, 'if a Lady takes her lover and he her in marriage, does love diminish?'<sup>8</sup> The implication is that Robert has himself recently married and has not composed any songs since. Robert argues that he still loves his wife, despite ceasing to sing. According to Robert, one sings when one is pursuing a lover, and before he had his wife, he 'served her in singing'.<sup>9</sup> Singing is 'beseeching', 'desiring' and 'dreaming', accompanying the 'pursuit' to 'conquer' and the 'pilgrimage' of love.<sup>10</sup> Robert claims that he has stopped singing because he has a 'complete' love that will last 'forever' and in which he fears no 'harm'.<sup>11</sup> Although love after marriage is proposed as the dilemma in this debate, the real topic of discussion is about singing, the sign of desire.

*Sire Bretel, mout bien savés trouver* (RS899, **Appendix §9**) also treats the connection between desire and song. In RS899, the cleric Jehan de Grieviler and bourgeois Jehan Bretel debate whether the lover who has love at his command or he who lives in hope makes the 'more loving songs'.<sup>12</sup> Bretel argues that the lover whose love is unrequited makes songs that are 'joyous' with 'fitting words, short and long' that 'please' the lady.<sup>13</sup> To illustrate the loss of desire and song after the lover achieves his love, Bretel uses several allegories, including the nightingale [stanza 4]. Grieviler is left to argue for requited love, which he suggests is the more joyous state to find oneself in. Unrequited love stifles joy [stanza 3, stanza 5], whereas requited love leads to joy in which the heart can rejoice, from which follows (by implication) joyous song. In both *jeux-partis*, it is love—requited or otherwise—that leads to song, and for

<sup>7</sup> 'Me vois mout esmervillant / K'avés perdu la maniere / De vous et de vostre cant' [ll. 2–4].

<sup>8</sup> 'S'amie prent son amant / Et il li par mariaje, / S'amours en va dekaant' [ll. 6–8].

<sup>9</sup> 'Je le servi en cantant' [l. 14].

<sup>10</sup> 'proiere' [l. 30]; 'desirant' [l. 31]; 'dasant' [l. 35]; 'querant' [l. 33]; 'conquis' [l. 32]; 'pelerinage' [l. 36].

<sup>11</sup> 'entiere' [l. 10]; 'a iretage' [l. 16]; 'son damage' [l. 54].

<sup>12</sup> 'plus amouereus sons' [l. 4]; 'sa dame plaisant' [l. 15].

<sup>13</sup> 'jolis chans et biaus mos cours et lons, / Ki puissent estre a sa dame plaisant' [ll. 14–15].

all four of the trouvères, the aesthetics of melody and the relation of melody to desire are the subjects of their debate.

Unrequited and required love are about the fulfilment of desire. For Bretel, it is the unfulfilled desire of unrequited love that leads to the best songs, whereas Grieviler argues that sated desire leads to the best singing. If desire is as closely connected to singing as both trouvères suggest, it follows that the fulfilment and deferral of desire may be read into the melody of RS899. In the opening quatrain of the song (see **Fig. 5.1** below), *G* is strongly established as the primary pitch. The opening address, ‘Sire Bretel’, is set to a cadence on *G*, while the descent from *e* to *G* in line 2 is followed by another cadence on *G* (‘partures et chansons’). Immediately following the cadence on *G* at the beginning of line 1, the melody leaps by a 5<sup>th</sup> to *d* and oscillates around *d*, which is the last pitch of line 1. The clause ‘mout bien ... avis’ therefore establishes *d* as the secondary pitch centre. To cast this description as a narrative of desire: the desired state is established (cadence on *G*, line 1), the melody moves to a secondary attraction, which defers the fulfilment of desire (cadence on *d*, line 1). The melody then falls from this deferred state to melodic fulfilment (descent *e*–*G*, line 2) and enjoys the fulfilment of its desire (cadence on *G*, line 2).

The figure shows two staves of music in G-clef. The first staff contains the lyrics: "1. Si - re Bre - tel, mout bien sa - vés trou - ver,". Above the staff, a bracket labeled "Cadence onto primary pitch" spans the first four notes (Si, re, Bre, tel). Another bracket labeled "Secondary pitch centre" spans the last four notes (sa, vés, trou, ver). The second staff contains the lyrics: "2. Ce m'est a - vis, par - tu - res et chan - çons;". Above the staff, a bracket labeled "Return to primary closing pitch" spans the first five notes (Ce, m'est, a, vis, par). Another bracket labeled "Affirmatory cadence onto primary closing pitch" spans the last four notes (tu, res, et, çons).

**Fig. 5.1:** RS899, ll. 1–2

In the remainder of the stanza, the melody continues to fulfil or defer desire for the closing pitch, *G* (see **Fig. 5.2** below). In lines 5 to 8, the two alternatives of the dilemma are introduced, the first of which is stated in line 5. The interval of a 3<sup>rd</sup> is heard for the first time in the song, rising from a brief cadence on *G* to *d*, the secondary pitch centre. The second alternative is given in lines 6 to 8. Line 6 compresses the melody at the end of line 1 and start of line 2, oscillating around *d* and then falling from *e* to *a* (see **Fig. 5.3** below).

5. U quant il a s'a - mie a son com - mant,

6. U quant il sert\_ en es - poir, de - si - rant\_

7. K'il puist jo - ïr de s'a - mi - e.

8. En cas - cun a bon - ne vi - e,

Fig. 5.2: RS899, ll. 5–8

(1.) bien sa - vés\_ trou-ver, 2. Ce m'est a - vis, par-tu-res et chan çons;

6. U quant il sert\_ en es poir, de - si - rant

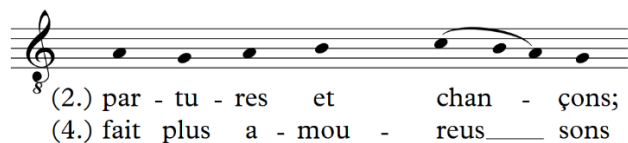
7. K'il puist jo-ïr de s'a - mi - e.

8. En cas - cun a bon - ne vi - e,

Fig. 5.3: RS899, ll. 1–2 and 6–8 aligned by pitch

In line 2, the descent continued to *G*, a point of fulfilment, but in line 6 this fulfilment is deferred: rather than falling to *G* after line 6, the melody oscillates once again around *d* in line 7, an expanded version of the cadence on *d* in line 1. Line 8 is then a compressed version of line 2, falling from *e* to *a* before cadencing in an arc-like gesture onto *G*. Lines 5 to 8 thus play on the fulfilment and deferral set up by the first two lines of the song. Because line 5 ends, like line 1, on *d*, the listener would expect the melody to fall to *G*, as in line 2. Instead, line 6 defers the arrival on *G*, which is further deferred by line 7. Only line 8 follows the expected scheme, returning—at last—to *G*, whose long-awaited arrival is analogous to the pain of the courtly lover awaiting the attentions of his Lady. By successively repeating portions of lines 1 and 2, lines 6 to 8 make the deferral of tonal closure the reason for the continuing melody: frustrated desire for fulfilment causes song, a musical rendering of what the text describes in lines 6 to 8.

The text and the melody therefore comment on each other: the text outlines the opposition of fulfilment and deferral which the listener can map onto the melody, while the melody aligns ideas in the text with the musical states of fulfilment and deferral. For example, in stanza 1, both ‘*jeux-partis* and songs’ and ‘loving sounds’ are sung to a cadence on *G* (see **Fig. 5.4**).<sup>14</sup>



**Fig. 5.4: Cadence on *G*, RS899, ll. 2 and 4**

<sup>14</sup> ‘partures et chansons’ [l. 2], ‘amoureux sons’ [l. 4].

Setting up the rhyme scheme in stanza 1, Grieviler places the rhyme ‘-ons’ on the cadence on *G* at the end of lines 1 and 3. When Grieviler has his turn again in the debate at the start of line 3, he chooses to retain the rhyme sounds of the opening two stanzas, rather than changing the sounds to follow the versification structure of *coblas doblas* used in most *jeux-partis*. Grieviler thus ensures that in each stanza the ‘-ons’ rhyme will fall on *G*, so that the listener is reminded that ‘sounds’ and ‘songs’ are associated with tonal closure. The creation of a song is accompanied by music that is tonally fulfilled, suggesting that the fulfilment of desire, too, is what produces song.

Bretel manipulates this association between song-making and fulfilment in stanza 2. In line 13, ‘hope of getting [love]’ is set to the oscillation around *d*, while ‘find[ing] joyous songs and fitting words, short and long’ are sung to the descent to *G* (Fig. 5.5).<sup>15</sup>

13. Ke cil ki sert en es - poir d'a - chie - ver

14. Truist jo - lis chans et biaux mos cours et lons,

Fig. 5.5: RS899, ll. 13–14

These lines draw on the expectation that the listener has: just as the listener expects the *d*-centred music to be followed by a descent to *G*, so joyous songs are a consequence of waiting for love. Bretel continues to play with the expectations of the listener throughout stanza 2.

<sup>15</sup> ‘espoir d’achever’ [l. 13], ‘truist jolis chans et biaux mos cours et lons’ [l. 14].

16. Car cil ki est a - més a pris a - vant, \_\_\_\_\_

17. Et de cau - se ga - aig - ni - e

18. Ne puet il ca - loir c'on di - e.

Fig. 5.6: RS899, ll. 16–18

In lines 16 to 18, Bretel argues that he who is loved by his Lady speaks with empty words (**Fig. 5.6** above). This is contradicted by the melody, which sets ‘gain’ to a cadence on *d* and ‘what he says’ to a cadence on *G*.<sup>16</sup> The association of *d* with deferral and *G* with fulfilment goes directly against the text of lines 17 and 18, showing the words of the required lover to be hypocrisy. Further, because the cadence on *G* in line 18 is undermined by the text, the listener is still waiting for textual and musical fulfilment. This eventually comes at the end of line 20, where ‘awaiting reward’ coincides with the final cadence on *G*.<sup>17</sup> Bretel demonstrates that waiting for love is what produces a song, because his stanza is constructed through waiting for the meaning of text and melody to coincide. By creating this narrative of waiting, Bretel makes a compelling argument for his side of the debate, and also demonstrates that he can justify his singing through a clear rationale.

In RS899, Bretel makes a strong case, both musically and poetically, that waiting for love produces the best songs. His case is supported by the justification for singing that is given in lyric chansons: desire. The central principle of love from afar (*amour de loin*) in trouvère

<sup>16</sup> ‘gaaigne’ [l. 17], ‘c’on die’ [l. 18].

<sup>17</sup> ‘atendant loier’ [l. 20].

lyric poetry ensures that the desire expressed by a courtly *je* is always for something that is lacking.<sup>18</sup> This is one of the contradictions of the courtly love doctrine: paradoxically, it is out of the desire for love that is unrequited and impossible that song is created. In one sense, the *jeu-parti* is also predicated on the desire for something lacking. In a *jeu-parti*, the second *trouvère* normally chooses between two alternatives that are equally unpalatable. Since neither alternative in a *jeu-parti* is fully desirable or complete, the dilemma of the *jeu-parti* ensures that both *trouvères* advocate, sing of, and thus desire a scenario that is in some way lacking. The dilemma of the courtly lover, which might be termed his ‘*jeu-parti*’, is therefore closely related to the dilemma facing both singers in a *jeu-parti*. Further, because desire, dilemma and singing are causally related in the lyric *chanson*, the dilemma of the *jeu-parti* is the justification for *trouvères* to sing the debate. The *jeu-parti* was more than just a means to ‘contest the courtly *doxa*’ through parody, as Patrice Uhl argues; it was a way for *trouvères* to perform the state of dilemma that was said to provoke the courtly *je* to sing.<sup>19</sup>

*Grand chant* employs a sophisticated system of metaphors and images that describe the aesthetics of song, one of which is powerlessness. The ‘*jeu-parti*’ state of the courtly *je* is characterised by a simultaneous desire to sing and an incapability to communicate with the Lady, and it is this contradiction that RS899 plays upon. In RS899, Jehan de Grieviler characterises the plight of the courtly lover thus: ‘the young lover prays to his love, fearing

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<sup>18</sup> Lacan theorised this poetic trope as a manifestation of the big Other: see Kay, ‘Desire and Subjectivity’, 215. In his seminar on courtly love, Jacques Lacan states that ‘what man demands, what he cannot help but demand, is to be deprived of something real’. For Lacan, the figure of the Lady exists only in the Symbolic order, which attempts to cover the symbolic emptiness of the Real. Jacques Lacan, *The Ethics of Psychoanalysis, 1959–1960: The Seminar of Jacques Lacan. Book 7*, trans. Dennis Porter, ed. Jacques-Alain Miller (London: Tavistock/Routledge, 1992), 150.

<sup>19</sup> ‘contestation de la *doxa* courtoise’: Uhl, ‘Du rebond parodique’, 132.

that she will refuse him, for hardship is his master'.<sup>20</sup> The young lover is portrayed as powerless, unsure whether his advances will be accepted or rejected, and fearful of his Lady's violent retribution. He cannot act, and is therefore experiencing the paralysis typical of the 'jeu-parti' state. In part, the powerlessness of the courtly *je* is due to the 'fearful regime' of lyric poetry: in some cases, the lover fears what slanderers will say, but in other cases it is the Lady who is the cause of the poet's fear.<sup>21</sup>

Frequently, the courtly lover is at the mercy of his lady who might do him 'harm' (*damaje*) and for whom he must fight. In Thibaut de Champagne's *Ausi conme unicorne sui* (RS2075), for example, the lover is compared to the unicorn, slain after falling into the Lady's lap. Expanding on his torment, Thibaut describes the attack of the slanderers (*lausengiers*):

Who could endure the beatings and assaults of such wardens? Never did Roland or Oliver win such ruthless battles; they won by fighting, but only humility can defeat these foes. Suffering is the standard-bearer in the battle that I am speaking of, and only mercy can bring deliverance.<sup>22</sup>

Thibaut uses an unresolved, conflictual allegory here to describe his vocal powerlessness, showing his song to be the product of violence. The effects of this violence, whether at the hands of his Lady or the slanderers, are seen in the way the *je* relates to language. He cannot speak, while others slander him: the slanderers commit violence against him by denying his

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<sup>20</sup> 'Amis geüns prie amie en doutant / K'ele ne li escondie, / Car disete le maistrise' [ll. 46–8].

<sup>21</sup> Kay, 'Desire and Subjectivity', 215.

<sup>22</sup> 'Qui porroit souffrir la tristors / Et les assaus de ces huissiers? / Onques Rollans ne Oliviers / Ne vainquirent si fors estors; / Il vainquirent en combatant, / Mais ceus vaint on humiliant. / Soufrirs en est gonfanoniers; / En cest estor dont je vos di, / N'a nul secors que de merci.' [RS2075, ll. 28–35] in Samuel N. Rosenberg, Margaret Switten, and Gérard Le Vot, eds., *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères: An Anthology of Poems and Melodies*, (New York; London: Garland, 1998), 308.

voice and defining him as someone he is not. He is caught in a violent power-play of speaking and silencing—a violence that causes him to sing.

Power and powerlessness, speaking and silencing: these are forms of violence that involve taking on (or over) the voice of another in both symbolic and systemic realms. The anxiety over speech acts that the lyric subject feels in the courtly chanson is focused on how others—the *lausengiers* and the Lady—treat his words. The *jeu-parti* is also motivated by the way in which others treat the words of a singer: a trouvère's opponent alters his song by stripping it of its text and adding new, contradictory words to the melody. This is an example of systematised symbolic violence, according to Žižek's definition. The verbal violence surrounding the courtly *je* was therefore part of the invisible background of the *jeu-parti*. It is an aesthetic aspect of trouvère song, of which trouvères themselves may not have been aware. If we apply the definition of violence with which I opened this study—the non-consensual deployment of force against an individual—then the singer of a *jeu-parti* or a courtly chanson cannot be subjectively violated: trouvères consented to singing. What they did not consent to was the violence of the structures of language, which trouvères did not discuss explicitly but which was made manifest in the *lausengiers* in *grand chant*.

The words of another could therefore be symbolically violent. I showed in the **Introduction** that the word 'joie' is used throughout RS899 by both trouvères to enact symbolic violence against one another.<sup>23</sup> Symbolic violence can also be seen in the frequent calls for judgement throughout *jeux-partis*. Most *jeux-partis* end with a turn to two judges, who are asked to decide which side of the argument is more convincing. Because judgement of the competition is based on the success of the debaters in their use of words, judgement in

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<sup>23</sup> See p. 17–8.

the *jeu-parti* depends on the efficacy of symbolic violence. In calling for judgement, trouvères also invite a symbolic violence to be inflicted on their opponent by those judging, whether that be listeners or judges. R. Howard Bloch points out that the Lady in the courtly chanson, the locus of the poet's fear, is a metaphorical judge for his song.<sup>24</sup> The judge of song was figured in the chanson as a point of anxiety that could unvoice a singer. In calling for judgement, trouvères invite a similar unvoicing of their opponent, a silencing enacted by the system of aesthetics and values that listeners would use to judge the efficacy of a trouvère's performance.

The trouvères of RS1331 and RS899 invite judgement on their melodies by invoking the allegory of the nightingale. As Elizabeth Eva Leach has shown, the nightingale frequently inspires poets to sing, and in high-register chansons signified desire.<sup>25</sup> In the *Bestiaire d'amours*, for example, Richart de Fournival explains that the nightingale's propensity to sing itself to death is analogous to the lover's willingness to die for his Lady.<sup>26</sup> This is the nightingale of RS899, who falls silent after 'reconciliation'.<sup>27</sup> In RS1331 by contrast, this idea is parodied as the nightingale lives on after gaining possession of his lover, but loses the beauty of his song and is only able to 'whistle'.<sup>28</sup> In discussing where Robert's song has gone, Ferri compares Robert to the whistling nightingale, suggesting that he has turned 'savage'.<sup>29</sup> The analogy is principally a slur on Robert's masculinity, implying that Robert, now married, has lost the sexual virility that the nightingale's song signals. If the analogy is interpreted further, Robert also loses the ability to sing a naturally beautiful song that consists of discrete pitches,

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<sup>24</sup> Bloch, *Medieval French Literature and Law*, 176.

<sup>25</sup> Elizabeth Eva Leach, *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), 91–2.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 94.

<sup>27</sup> 'd'abiter' [l. 33].

<sup>28</sup> 'siflant' [l. 44].

<sup>29</sup> 'sauvage' [l. 43].

producing instead a sound that is firmly within the category of *vox inarticulata*.<sup>30</sup> The reason for this is that the nightingale has lost the desire that provoked its song, but with this transformation of desire comes a transformation of his rationality. As the nightingale's song becomes unwritable, we are also reminded that the nightingale is not human, and that its song is not rational. Robert thus lacks desire as much as he lacks the rational ability to sing. Grieviler uses a similar analogy to opposite effect in RS899: 'the hungry dog goes howling to eat'.<sup>31</sup> In comparing the aspiring lover's song to 'howling', Grieviler implies that it, like the dog's howl, lacks rationality.

The concern with rationality in both debates reflects a wider concern in the *jeu-parti*: judgement. The dangerous lack of rationality, to which the animal allegories in RS899 and RS1331 allude, chimes with medieval debates on the rationality of music. As the competitors turn to judges at the end of their debates, the audience are also implicitly asked to judge the competition, and with it to rationalise the sounds they have just heard. In RS1331, judgement and the application of rationality to sounding event are combined, since Lambert has depicted Robert as a nightingale that can no longer sing rationally. In the competition between Lambert and Robert, the audience is judging whether Robert has combined words and music in a sufficiently rational way. This is therefore a judgement of musical and poetic aesthetics.

On the one hand, the melody of RS1331 could be judged to be highly rational. In the version of RS1331 in **A**, the melody is structured by tessitura.<sup>32</sup> Lines 1 and 3 rise from *c* to *f*

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<sup>30</sup> On Priscian's fourfold definition of *vox*, see Leach, *Sung Birds*, 33.

<sup>31</sup> 'Li chiens famis vait al mengier ullant' [l. 45].

<sup>32</sup> The melody to RS1331 is rendered almost identically in **AaZ**. In **aZ**, line 4 ends on *D* because of an extra *D* pitch on the fifth syllable of the line. Given that opening quatrains usually consist of two pairs of poetic lines set to the same melody, it is likely that the scribe of the exemplar for **aZ** made a mistake here or that the scribe of **A** corrected what they thought was a mistake.

before falling a 7<sup>th</sup> to *G*. Lines 2 and 4 are set to a lower pitch range, *C* to *F*. This high-low binary is explored throughout the remainder of the song. **Fig. 5.7** presents the melody of RS1331 (version in **A**), aligned by pitch.

1. De çou, Ro-bert de le Pie-re, 2. Me vois mult es-mer-vil-lant  
 3. K'a-vés per-du la ma-nie-re 4. De vous et de vos-tre cant;  
 5. Et por çou je vous de-mant,  
 6. S'a-mi-e prent son a-mant  
 7. Et il li par ma-ri-a-je,  
 8. S'a-mours en va de-ka-ant.  
 9. Or me fai-tes de-çou sa-ge!

**Fig. 5.7:** RS1331 in **A** aligned by pitch

The first sense unit of stanza 1 ends at the end of line 5, when Ferri's address to Robert finishes; lines 6 to 9 consist of the question. Ferri marks this break in three ways. First, line 5 elaborates on the motivic material of line 4, connecting itself musically to the opening four lines. Second, the melody leaps an octave from the end of line 5 to the start of line 6, the largest leap in the song and a shift from the low tessitura to the high tessitura, as established in the division of

tonal space in the opening quatrain. Finally, the melody gradually moves down in pitch, starting in the highest register of the song (*c* to *f*) in line 6 and staying only within the lower pitch range *C* to *F* in line 9. **Fig. 5.7** above shows that in lines 6 to 9, each line gradually explores more of the melodic contour of the opening two lines of the song. The motivic elaboration of lines 5 to 9 therefore rationally reflects the structure of the first stanza.

On the other hand, this melody is unusual in a number of ways. RS1331 is the only *jeu-parti* melody to have a *frons* that spans both plagal and authentic ambitus. If *F* is taken to be the primary pitch of the opening quatrain (as for the version in **A**), the melody extends a 4<sup>th</sup> below and an octave above the primary pitch. The extreme range of this opening would be more characteristic of the *cauda* of a melody, which tends to have a larger ambitus (see **Chapter 2**). The melody is also unusual in that the final pitches of lines 2, 4 and 9 do not match in any versions. Of itself this is not problematic, but the transmission of the melody in different versions in **A** and in **aZ** suggests that scribes or singers might have viewed this melody as irrational. In all versions, line 2 ends on *F* and line 9 ends on *D*. The sources disagree on the ending of line 4. In **aZ** line 4 ends on *D*, and in **A** it ends on *F* (see **Fig. 5.8**).

The figure displays three staves of musical notation in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a common time signature (C). The notes are connected by slurs, indicating a melodic line. The lyrics are written below the notes.

- aAZ:** The first staff shows line 2: "2.Me\_\_ voit\_\_ mout es - mer - veil - lant". The melody starts on a high note (F) and descends through the staff, ending on a note (F) that is an octave above the starting note. A double-headed arrow at the end of the staff indicates this octave range.
- A:** The second staff shows line 4: "4.De\_\_ vous\_\_ et\_\_ de\_\_ vos - tre\_\_ cant;". The melody starts on a note (D) and descends, ending on a note (F) that is an octave above the starting note.
- aZ:** The third staff shows line 4: "4.De\_\_ vous\_\_ et\_\_ de\_\_ vos - tre\_\_ cant;". The melody starts on a note (D) and descends, ending on a note (D) that is an octave above the starting note.

**Fig. 5.8:** RS1331, ll. 2 and 4

The difference in final pitch of line 2 and line 9 is explained by the melody of line 3: to avoid an awkward leap of a 7<sup>th</sup> up to the start of line 3, line 2 must end on *F*. The scribes (or singers) of the versions of RS1331 therefore had to choose whether the end of line 4 should match the end of line 2 or the end of line 9. The melody in **A** adheres the tonal norm for the *frons*, maintaining *F* as the primary pitch until the end of line 4. As a result, the cadence onto *F* at the end of line 7 has a sense of finality, which the final two lines lack because they maintain *D* as the most important pitch. In the version of RS1331 in **aZ**, *D* is the primary pitch throughout and *F* is a secondary pitch centre, but these pitches are emphasised in the wrong places: *F* is treated as if it is the primary pitch because it is heard at the end of line 2. Both versions of the melody are jarringly irrational.

When he sings the first stanza of RS1331, Ferri tells Robert that ‘you have lost your *maniere* and that of your song’.<sup>33</sup> *Maniere* means ‘way of appearing’ or, perhaps, ‘style’; Ferri is drawing attention to the style of their *jeu-parti*. The irony of Ferri’s accusation is that his melody is stylistically odd. The melody of RS1331 has discernible repetitions, patterns and pitch hierarchies that would suggest a rational conception, particularly the way in which lines 6 to 9 work through and expand on the melody of lines 1 and 2 in order. However, the confusion over the primary pitch of the song would suggest that the melody lacks rationality. Because line 2 ends on *F* and line 9 ends on *D*, the ending of line 4 must in one way or the other flout the conventions of tonal practice. Could this melody represent what Robert has ‘lost’? As listeners of this *jeu-parti*, we never find out, because Robert sings his stanzas to the melody that Ferri has constructed. By forcing Robert to sing an irrational melody, Ferri ensures that Robert loses the style of his song, transforming Robert’s singing into the whistling of a

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<sup>33</sup> ‘K’avés perdu la maniere / De vous et de vostre cant’ [ll. 3–4].

nightingale. Robert is violently stripped of voice—the sign that he is a rational subject—thanks to the style and construction of Ferri’s melody.

Without contemporary accounts that comment on the rationality of the melodies of *jeux-partis*, it is impossible to be sure whether a trouvère would have considered the melodies of RS899 and RS1331 to be a rational rendering of sound. Nevertheless, the concern in the texts and structure of *jeux-partis* with judgement indicates a preoccupation with rationality, which may have been a response to the hidden types of violence that constitute the form and content of *jeux-partis*. In RS1331 and RS899, the singers practise symbolic violence against each other in a number of ways. A concern with the proper source—or rational justification—of the *jeu-parti* is addressed in these songs by Lambert Ferri and Jehan Bretel, who insist that singing derives from the dilemma faced by the courtly *je* in lyric poetry. Just as that courtly *je* fears the violence of others, most particularly in their slanderous speech acts, so too do the practitioners of the *jeu-parti* engage in a violence that causes each other to sing.

## A violent blow



Fig. 5.9: Lid of Casket with scenes of romances (c. 1310–30)<sup>34</sup>

The ivory casket shown in **Fig. 5.9** was made in France between 1310 and 1330, and depicts scenes from several romances. On the lid of the casket, the central two panels show two jousters facing one another, about to strike, while trumpeters herald their joust, watched from above by banqueters. On the left, a couple elopes as a sword is brandished above them, and on the right, roses are catapulted in a siege on the castle of love. United by the theme of violence, the different scenes on the casket lid invite the viewer to understand love as an activity that is ridden with conflict. In the elopement, the couple are threatened by those who look on, the *lausengiers*, who are also the besiegers of the castle of love in the right-hand panel. In other

<sup>34</sup> Image taken from ‘Casket with scenes from romances’, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed 29 Sep. 2017, <http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/464125>.

depictions of the castle of love in art and literature, hopeful male lovers besiege a castle guarded by ladies who wield swords and deal blows with impunity.<sup>35</sup> All of the depictions on the casket in **Fig. 5.9** show an unresolved situation, demanding that the viewer dwell on the uncertainty of outcome that also characterises the performance of a *jeu-parti*. The activity and noisiness of the scenes depicted bombard the senses, drawing the viewer into the affective scenario through sensory besiegement.

The visual spectacle of these scenes invites the viewer to reflect on the role of vision in each of the events. In the left-hand panel, the gaze of the three uppermost figures matches the direction of the sword wielded by the central figure. In the joust, the two knights look in the same direction as their jousting poles, while in the siege on the castle of love, men and women assault each other not only with their roses but also with their vision. The violence of vision was a popular allegory in medieval romance and lyric, and also in scientific discourse. Theories of perception in the thirteenth century were dominated by Aristotle's *De Anima*, which discusses each of the senses in turn.<sup>36</sup> Aristotle, whose works were made available to the medieval West from the mid-twelfth century, understood vision to be intromissive because the eye passively received images that were subsequently transmitted to the faculties of perception and intellection. This differed from Plato's theory of extromissive vision, which held that the eye emits fiery rays that return an image of an object to the eye. Dana E. Stewart suggests that Aristotle's theory of intromissive vision was adapted to become the trope of the dart of love in Chrétien de Troyes's *Cligès*: 'the arrow of Love is actually the image of the

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<sup>35</sup> Timothy Husband and Gloria Gilmore-House, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1980), 71–3.

<sup>36</sup> For an overview of the reception of Aristotle in medieval universities, see Marenbon, *Later Medieval Philosophy (1150–1350)*, esp. 50–65 and 95–107.

beloved, which has entered his eyes and is lodged in his heart'.<sup>37</sup> The violence inflicted through vision is a source of unease for Alexander, the victim in *Cligès*, who compares his heart and eyes to enemies that want to execute him or treacherous servants that aim to deceive him.<sup>38</sup> Alexander's feelings of helplessness, disempowerment and abuse reveal a concern with his lack of rational control or ability to judge the images that penetrate his heart. Literary and scientific accounts were therefore part of a discourse that defined what violence meant to the thirteenth-century reader. Violence was not just inflicted by striking the skin: it could also be wielded via the senses.

Sight is not the only sense explored in the ivory engraving in **Fig. 5.9**. A common feature on ivory caskets that depict the siege on the castle of love, trumpeters are the overtly musical and sonic elements of the scene. Their protruding instruments, analogous in shape to the swords and jousting poles of combatants, perhaps invite the viewer to equate physically violent actions with the sounds that accompany violence. Just as the image of another could wound the heart through the eye, so too was sound an assault on the senses. Aristotle characterises sound as 'of something striking against something else in a medium' and as the result of 'a sudden and violent blow'.<sup>39</sup> He goes on to explain that hearing is caused by a striking of air, including the air within the ear. Distinguishing between different kinds of sounds, Aristotle uses a potentially violent analogy: 'the sharp stabs, so to speak, but the blunt pushes its way in'.<sup>40</sup> Aristotle's understanding of sound as a striking of air was taken up by a

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<sup>37</sup> Dana E. Stewart, *The Arrow of Love: Optics, Gender, and Subjectivity in Medieval Love Poetry* (Lewisburg; London: Bucknell University Press; Associated University Presses, 2003), 43.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, 45–6.

<sup>39</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima* II.8, 419b9–11 and 22–3. The translation is from Aristotle, *On the Soul; Parva naturalia; On Breath*, trans. W. S. Hett, Rev. ed. (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press; Heinemann, 1957), 111.

<sup>40</sup> Aristotle, *De Anima* II. 8, 420b2–3. The translation is from Aristotle, *On the Soul*, 115.

number of later writers, including Donatus, Priscian, Cassiodorus and Petrus Helias.<sup>41</sup> The formulation of sound as a ‘striking’ was also present in the widely disseminated myth of Pythagoras, who was said to have discovered the arithmetic rationality of music when hearing the different pitches made by the hammers of blacksmiths. These theories of sound were still prevalent in thirteenth-century France, as demonstrated by Johannes de Grocheio, who states that ‘every sound is produced by striking’ and alludes to Aristotle.<sup>42</sup>

What might a medieval viewer have made of the trumpeters that flank the joust depicted on top of this casket? The emphasis on physical blows in each of the scenes might remind the viewer that sound, too, was caused by striking and blows, and was therefore in itself caused by an act that had the potential to be violent. If sound was more generally understood to be the result of a fundamentally violent event, it follows that the *jeu-parti* might have been understood as a performed event in which singers bombarded each other with sound. The sense portrayed by *jeu-parti* texts is that sound is directed at one’s opponent. At the start of almost all stanzas in *jeux-partis*, an opponent is hailed so that the ensuing stanza is sung at the opponent. The violence inflicted on the opponent is physical, an assault on the ears via the air. If *jeu-parti* performance was physically violent, then it might also have been understood as violent in other ways, and a rationale of violence could have been extended from the physical to the semantic, symbolic and syntactic. The violence of sound, I propose, infused the

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<sup>41</sup> Aelius Donatus, ‘Ars maior’, in *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475*, ed. Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, 87–99 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 87; Priscian, ‘Institutiones grammaticae’, *ibid.*, 171–85, 172; Cassiodorus, ‘*Institutiones* Book 2, Secular letters’, *ibid.*, 221–32, 222; Petrus Helias, ‘Summa super Priscianum’, *ibid.*, 448–60, 449.

<sup>42</sup> ‘omnis sonus percutiendo causetur’: Christopher Page, ‘Johannes de Grocheio on secular music: a corrected text and a new translation’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 2/1 (1993), 17–41: 30.

different levels of meaning in the *jeu-parti*, which opponents utilised in competition against one another.

*Lambert Ferri, une dame est amée* (RS496), a *jeu-parti* between Jehan Bretel and Lambert Ferri, takes the violence of sensory perception as its theme (see **Appendix §5**). Set in the context of the crusade of the Italian peninsula and Sicily by Charles of Anjou, the *jeu-parti* asks which of two alternatives a Lady ought to take: to see her lover marry another Lady, or to be parted from him while he goes crusading. Ferri argues for the former, leaving Bretel to defend the latter. For Ferri, the Lady who loses her lover to another Lady will be comforted by the sight of him: this prevents their love from ‘dying’ and ‘placates her afflicted heart’.<sup>43</sup> Seeing her lover puts her at ‘peace’ and ‘reduces her troubles’.<sup>44</sup> Bretel counters this by suggesting that sight is the source of pain. Seeing her lover would cause love to be ‘excited’ in the Lady so often that her lover might turn on her and reject her:<sup>45</sup> the excessive sensory stimulation of seeing her lover would lead to ‘really great danger’ for the Lady.<sup>46</sup> Even though her love is renewed whenever she sees her lover, she cannot rejoice and experiences ‘pain’, ‘displeasure’ and ‘grief’.<sup>47</sup> Bretel ties the Lady’s experience to her physicality, stating that her experience is like another tasting the food that had nourished her.<sup>48</sup> The Lady’s plight is thus portrayed by Bretel as a quasi-physical affliction that is as severe as the violent affliction faced by the lover on crusade. The pain of the impossibility of love is experienced through violence

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<sup>43</sup> ‘perie [l. 14]; ‘apaise cuer mari’ [l. 28].

<sup>44</sup> ‘apaisie’ [l. 30]; ‘ses pensers descrieus’ [l. 47].

<sup>45</sup> ‘tariast’ [l. 22].

<sup>46</sup> ‘mout grans perieus’ [l. 23].

<sup>47</sup> ‘a mal’ [l. 34]; ‘desagrée’ [l. 35]; ‘griété’ [l. 39].

<sup>48</sup> ‘Quant autre got de ce k’ele a nourri’ [l. 36].

towards the senses—in this case sight and taste—in a way that bears resemblance to contemporary theories of sound and hearing, as shall be explored further below.

The struggles for control over the Italian peninsula and Sicily in the 1260s are the historical backdrop to RS496.<sup>49</sup> Manfred, the illegitimate son of Frederick II of Hohenstaufen, wrested Apulia from pope Alexander IV's control and by 1258 had usurped Conradin as King of Sicily.<sup>50</sup> By 1261, Manfred's machinations had given him control over most of the Italian peninsula, leaving the Pope vulnerable. Seeking an alternative ruler of Sicily, the Pope settled on Charles of Anjou for the kingship of Sicily in June 1263. In May 1265 Charles and his troops left Marseilles for Rome. The conflict with Manfred, who had retreated to Apulia for hunting, culminated in the Battle of Benevento in February 1266. Charles had mustered three groups of cavalry: around 900 from Provence, led by the Marshal of France and Philip of Montfort; around 1,000 from central France and the Languedoc, led by Charles himself; and at the rear a group from northern France and Flanders led by Robert of Flanders and Giles Le Brun.<sup>51</sup> Manfred was killed, while Charles was victorious and became King of Sicily.

Why might Bretel have made such a specific reference to the crusade in Apulia? Rutebeuf's exhortations in the *Dit de Pouille* and *Chanson de Pouille* to join Charles on crusade in Apulia demonstrate the widespread concern over Charles's military pursuits during the 1260s. Nancy F. Regalado contends that Rutebeuf's work aimed 'to rouse public opinion in favour of increasingly unpopular crusades'.<sup>52</sup> Charles was certainly known in Arras, since

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<sup>49</sup> This was first noted by Gaston Raynaud in 'Les chansons de Jean Bretel', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes* 41 (1880), 195–214: 220.

<sup>50</sup> Steven Runciman, *Sicilian Vespers*, 35.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 93.

<sup>52</sup> Nancy F. Regalado, 'Rutebeuf', in *Medieval France: An Encyclopedia*, ed. William W. Kibler and Grover A. Zinn (New York; London: Garland, 1995), 830.

he is named as a judge in several *jeux-partis* and is an opponent in one.<sup>53</sup> The debate in RS496 therefore taps into a context for violence that was well known to the audience of RS496. The debate could have been interpreted as a criticism of Charles's crusade: given that a *jeu-parti* by its definition contrasts two equally undesirable alternatives, crusading with Charles is depicted as a scenario that is as unpleasant as witnessing one's lover with someone else. Since crusading is based on violence, the listener is invited to consider the alternative—witnessing one's lover—as a similar violence, albeit against the senses. Love, as we have seen in the ivory casket in **Fig. 5.9**, was often allegorised as warfare. Bretel's criticism of the violence and pain in experiencing unrequited love could therefore be extended to a criticism of violence more widely, and a criticism of Charles's crusade.

One way in which the trouvères make their comparison between physical violence and sensory perception is through their discussion of pain. Ferri and Bretel depict sensory experience as pleasure or pain respectively, and their arguments invite an interpretation of the sensory experience of listening to RS496 as similarly pleasurable or painful. By aligning the poetic theme of pain with aspects of the melody of RS496, Ferri and Bretel construct an aesthetic in which music could be painful, as well as pleasurable. This pain permeates the melody of RS496, which thwarts tonal expectations and does violence to the norms of tonal practice in trouvère song.

Given the norms of *jeu-parti* melodies established in **Chapter 2**, a listener might expect a tonal space to be constructed like that exemplified by RS899 (see **Fig. 5.10** below).

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<sup>53</sup> Jean Maillard, 'Charles D'Anjou Roi-Trouvère du XIIIème siècle', *Musica Disciplina* 21 (1967), 7–66: 24.

1. Si - re Bre - tel, mout bien sa - vés trou - ver,

2. Ce m'est a - vis, par - tu - res et chan - çons;

Annotations: Cadence onto primary pitch, Secondary pitch centre, Return to primary closing pitch, Affirmatory cadence onto primary closing pitch.

Fig. 5.10: Expected tonal procedure, RS899, ll. 1–2

1. Lam - bert Fer - ri, u - ne dame est a - mé - e

2. Bien par a - mours et s'aim-me bien aus - si;

Fig. 5.11: RS496, ll. 1–2

In RS899, the primary pitch is established by the middle of line 1 and the melody moves to a secondary pitch centre by the end of the line. The second line consists of a return from the secondary pitch centre to the primary pitch, followed by a cadence that reaffirms the primary pitch centre. RS496 does not follow this norm. Line 1 opens with a step-wise ascent from *G* to *c*, set to the address ‘Lambert Ferri’ (see **Fig. 5.11** above). After a brief descent to *G*, the line cadences on *c* on ‘amée’. With two cadences on the same pitch in the first line, *c* is established as the primary pitch. In line 2, the melody falls to *a* on ‘amours’, which seems to be a secondary pitch centre. If the melody were to follow the tonal trajectory of RS899 (**Fig. 5.10**), it would return to the primary pitch established at the opening, in the case of RS496, *c*.

Instead, line 2 ends with a cadence on *a* rather than rising to *c*. What seemed to be the primary pitch, *c*, is in fact a secondary pitch. The primacy of *a* is confirmed by cadences at the end of line 4, the start of line 5 and the end of line 8 (the end of the stanza).

By playing on the listener's expectations in lines 1 and 2, the melody of RS496 inflicts violence on the listener's senses. It achieves this violence, just like the violence inflicted on the Lady in RS496, by going tonally *elsewhere*. In music theory of the Middle Ages, pitches were understood to be loci within the gamut of the so-called Guidonian hand, whose earliest manuscript version dates to the eleventh century.<sup>54</sup> Pitches were given place and order on the hand, following the principles of medieval mnemonic techniques.<sup>55</sup> When the primary pitch of RS496 is heard to be *a* rather than *c*, this is conceptually a spatial, as well as sonic, reorientation. Furthermore, the didactic model of the hand equates the haptic (letters inscribed on the skin) to the auditory (the sound of pitches).<sup>56</sup> This sensory slippage parallels the comparison of the violence of crusade to the sensory pain experienced by the Lady when she sees her lover with another woman. In both sides of the *jeu-parti*, the pain experienced by the Lady is caused by her lover being somewhere else, be it in Apulia or with another Lady: haptic and non-haptic pain is seen to be the same.

The two trouvères create different tonal schemes in subsequent stanzas by using the text to emphasise different pitches. **Fig. 5.12** shows the opening pair of lines for each of the stanzas, marking textual breaks with fermata.

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<sup>54</sup> See Karol Berger, 'The Hand and the Art of Memory', *Musica Disciplina* 35 (1981), 87–120: 115–8.

<sup>55</sup> See Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 183.

<sup>56</sup> Bruce Holsinger sees a residue of the disciplinary violence of medieval musical pedagogy in the Guidonian hand: *Music, Body, and Desire*, 267–82.

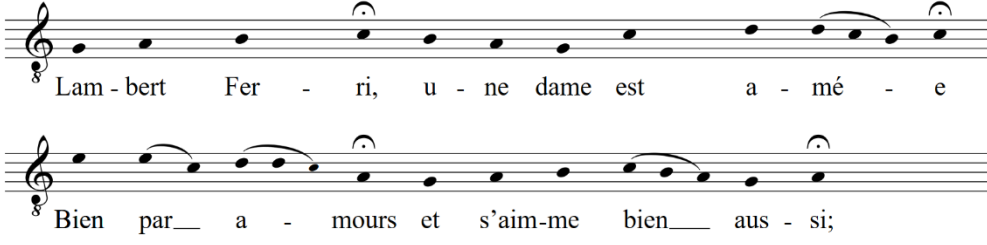
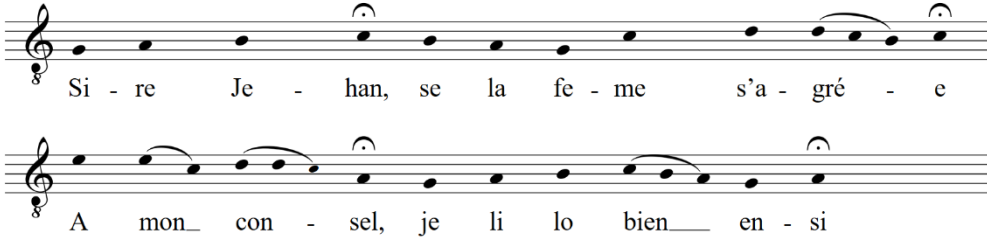
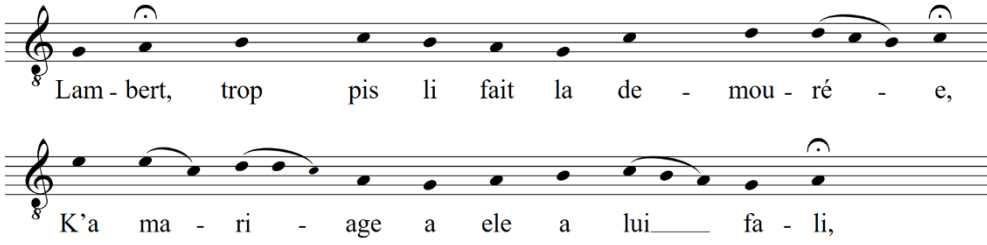
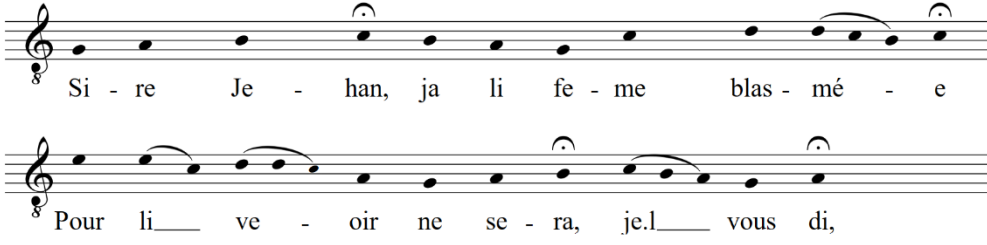

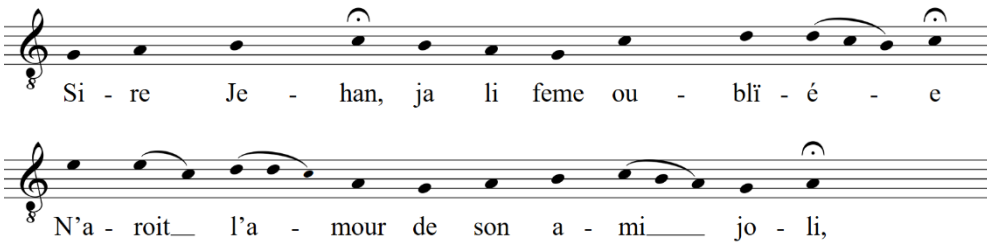
Stanza 1 (Bretel)	 <p>Lam - bert Fer - ri, u - ne dame est a - mé - e      Bien par__ a - mours et s'aim-me bien__ aus - si;</p>
Stanza 2 (Ferri)	 <p>Si - re Je - han, se la fe - me s'a - gré - e      A mon__ con - sel, je li lo bien__ en - si</p>
Stanza 3 (Bretel)	 <p>Lam - bert, trop pis li fait la de - mou - ré - e,      K'a ma - ri - age a ele a lui__ fa - li,</p>
Stanza 4 (Ferri)	 <p>Si - re Je - han, ja li fe - me blas - mé - e      Pour li__ ve - oir ne se - ra, je.l__ vous di,</p>
Stanza 5 (Bretel)	 <p>Lam - bert, a - diés li est re - nou - ve - lé - e      L'a - mours de__ lui, dont ele a mal__ go - ĩ,</p>
Stanza 6 (Ferri)	 <p>Si - re Je - han, ja li feme ou - bli - é - e      N'a - roit__ l'a - mour de son a - mi__ jo - li,</p>

Fig. 5.12: Opening pair of lines, RS496, stanzas 1–6

In the first two stanzas, there is a syntactic break after the fourth syllable of lines 1 and 2. In the first line of these stanzas, *c* is treated as the most important pitch, and in the second line of both stanzas, *a* is established as the primary pitch by two cadences. In his response to Bretel, Ferri chooses in stanza 2 to maintain the same tonal confusion that Bretel had set up in stanza 1. After stanza 2, Bretel changes the tonal emphasis of the opening line by placing the syntactic break after the first two syllables of line 1. By addressing Ferri as ‘Lambert’ in stanzas 3 and 5, *a* is established initially as the primary pitch. This gives the opening two lines of these stanzas greater tonal coherence. The pitch *c* is heard as a secondary tonal centre and is emphasised at the point of the melody where the secondary pitch centre is normally heard: the end of the first line. Ferri maintains the tonal confusion of the opening lines by continuing to address his opponent as ‘Sire Bretel’ in stanzas 4 and 6.

One interpretation of these tonal choices is that the two trouvères use the melody to imply the opposite of what they are arguing. Bretel opts for the normative tonal process to create a melody that is easy on the listener’s ears; the melody does what is expected. Ferri repeats the tonal confusion at the start of each stanza, recreating the jarring moment of realisation in the listener that the primary pitch is not what it at first seemed. In adjusting their listening to make sense of the change of tonal focus, the listener must accommodate the change physically (through the mnemonic device of the Guidonian hand). Ferri creates a musical sensation of discomfort, but it is Bretel who argues that sensory discomfort—seeing one’s lover with another Lady—is worse than one’s lover being sent away to war. Bretel smooths over the potential sensory discomfort that the melody while arguing that sensory pain is hard to bear.

Ferri argues that sensory pain need not be wholly unpalatable: the ‘little consolation’ of seeing one’s lover is ‘worth more than nothing’.<sup>57</sup> Even though Ferri’s melodic choices make listening to RS496 a physically uncomfortable experience, Ferri’s point is perhaps that sensation can be pleasurable and painful at the same time. Johannes de Grocheio writes, for example, that music could ‘soften the sufferings to which all men are born’.<sup>58</sup> This musical masochism seems to trouble Bretel, who from stanza 3 makes the melody conform to the tonal norms. Bretel ensures that the melody is pleasurable without any pain. This is just one interpretation for the contradictory use of tonal procedures that the trouvères use. Perhaps they also enjoyed the irony of expressing positions in the debate that were directly contradicted by their musical choices. The dissonance between music and poetry is in itself a kind of violence, a breaking apart of a union that was considered to be not just sonic but actually physical.<sup>59</sup> Alternatively, Ferri and Bretel may have set their stanzas this way because of practical constraints such as metre or syllable count, resulting in a contradiction of tonal schemes that was accidental.

The pleasure of pain is also explored in *Mahieu, jugiez: se une dame amoie* (RS1687, see **Appendix §16**). This *jeu-parti* presents the following dilemma: should you suffer for your Lady or watch her suffer for you? Henry asks Mahieu whether it would be better to be hit (*batre*) by one’s Lady in the presence of her husband or to be present while one’s Lady is being hit by her husband. As well as thematising domestic violence, the song addresses perception: is physical or perceived violence worse? Pain is shown to be the means to gaining pleasure,

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<sup>57</sup> ‘Pau de confors’ [l. 28]; ‘Mieus vaut un pau ke niens’ [l. 29].

<sup>58</sup> Page, ‘Johannes de Grocheio on secular music’, 22.

<sup>59</sup> For example, Dante Alighieri describes a song as a ‘bundle’ that is bound together: Dante Alighieri, *De vulgari eloquentia*, trans. Steven Botterill, ed. Steven Botterill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 71.

and pain can be experienced as pleasurable in a way that borders on martyrdom. When read against theories of sound that understand sonic events as violent acts, the debate invites the reader to see pleasure in the pains of love, and to find a masochistic enjoyment in music. The performance of the *jeu-parti* could have become a site for violence suffered through song, a violence that is pleasurable, but that also requires rational judgement.

In debating whether it is better to beat or to be beaten, Mahieu and Henry also weigh up the themes of mastery and submission. Mahieu, arguing that being beaten is the better course, recommends that Henry ‘endure quietly and honestly’ the blows of his Lady.<sup>60</sup> Henry contends that to ‘chastise’ one’s Lady is not dishonourable and that the honest course of action is to ‘beat and harm and master’ her.<sup>61</sup> Worried about being in a submissive position, Henry emphasises the frequency and variety of blows he expects to receive, all because of the ‘intent’ and ‘whims’ of his Lady.<sup>62</sup> Henry advocates the position of mastery and domination in the dilemma, but this also extends to his contest with Mahieu. In the battery of the senses by sound, the poets indirectly debate whether it is better to deal out sonic blows—by singing—or to suffer in silence. Mahieu tells Henry to be quiet when struck by his Lady, an implicit incitement that Henry should suffer the musical blows that he, Mahieu, is dealing out. Mahieu attempts to silence Henry, robbing him of his voice and condemning him to sonic assault. In part, Mahieu is able to achieve this because he is given the choice of sides in the dilemma; he exploits the power play of the opening pair of stanzas in the *jeu-parti* and argues that Henry should submit to him. Yet it is in forcing Henry into a submissive position—having no choice

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<sup>60</sup> ‘souffroiz en pes et bonement’ [l. 12].

<sup>61</sup> ‘chastoie’ [l. 18]; ‘bat et fiert et mestroie’ [l.21].

<sup>62</sup> ‘encient’ [l. 30]; ‘diverse courioie’ [l. 35].

in which side of the debate to defend—that Mahieu must submit to Henry’s sonic assault. Henry’s side of the debate allows him to advocate his own acts of musical violence.

The themes of violence, mastery and submission offer a metaphor within which to interpret the melody of RS1687. The structure of any *jeu-parti* implicates the two poet-singers in mutual mastery and submission, since one dictates the rhyme scheme and melody to be used, and the other chooses which side of the debate to defend. Henry is the first to sing the melody in RS1687, and his attempts to master Mahieu are discernible in the melodic choices he makes. Unusually, the song starts on *g* at the upper limit of the ambitus of the melody (see **Fig. 5.13** below). This extreme melodic gesture acts as a kind of sonic challenge by Henry, who names Mahieu in this high tessitura. The whole of the first line remains in the high tessitura, cadencing on *c* and rising to *g*. Line 2 echoes the opening aggressive gesture, stating it a 4<sup>th</sup> lower before cascading from *f* to *F* with two figures that, like the very opening, descend by a 4<sup>th</sup>. As if to exaggerate the extreme tessitura of the opening, the melody jumps an octave from line 2 to 3 in a feat of vocal bravado.

1. Ma - hieu, ju - giez: Se u - ne dame a - moi - e

2. Et e - le moi de cuer en - tie - re - ment,

3. Li quels se - roit plus en mon gre - ve - ment,

Figure 5.13: RS1687, ll. 1–3

Later in the song, Henry makes further vocal posturing. Line 5, like lines 2 and 4, descends from *d* and then rises to *f*, but instead of tumbling down to *F* and *G*, rises to *g* on the rhyme ‘-ent’. As a result, line 6 begins at the top of the melodic ambitus, repeating the *g–d* gesture of the song’s opening and then rising yet further to *aa*. Line 7 barely provides any respite from this vocal assault, rising to *g* for one final statement of the *g–d* descending motif before cadencing on *G* (see **Fig. 5.14**).<sup>63</sup>

4. Ou\_\_ ce\_\_ que je pour li\_\_ ba - tuz\_\_ se - roi - e

5. De\_\_ ma\_ fa - me de - vant li\_\_ en pre - sent,

6. Ou que ba - tre pour\_\_ moi vi - lai - ne - ment\_\_

7. De son\_ ma - ri\_\_ de - vant\_\_ moi la ver - roi - e?\_\_

**Fig. 5.14: RS1687, ll. 4–7**

The extreme choices of tessitura are a kind of vocal prowess as Henry pushes the melody to the extremes of what can be notated. I noted in the **Introduction** that the chivalric attribute of *proece* was characterised by extreme acts of physical brutality. Henry’s tessitura is extreme, not only physically for the singer but also in music-theoretical terms. He challenges Mahieu to match his vocal prowess, since he sings this melody first, forcing Mahieu to use his melody. This puts Mahieu in a submissive position, matching the sides of the debate that Mahieu and

<sup>63</sup> See comments in **Appendix §16** for the probable mistake in line 7.

Henry each advocate. Henry supports the man who beats his wife, and by extension praises his own acts of sonic violence.

Both trouvères discuss the pain of physical violence, and this may be read as a comment on the pain of listening to musical violence. On the one hand, bodily pain can be endured but pains of the heart are unbearable. In stanza 4, Mahieu states that bodily pain is transformed into joy by love, which throughout courtly literature is paradoxically the cause and the healer of pain.<sup>64</sup> In the *Roman de la Rose*, for example, Love provides an ointment that soothes the pain of his arrow's entry into the lover's heart via his eye.<sup>65</sup> Mahieu portrays bodily pain as an evil done to the body that is only pleasurable because of the heart's reward.<sup>66</sup> For Henry, on the other hand, physical blows can themselves be pleasurable. He experiences his Lady's unpredictable actions sometimes as pain and sometimes as pleasure.<sup>67</sup> Further, the torment in which Henry finds himself has the potential to lead to good things.<sup>68</sup> There is thus a suggestion that Henry enjoys the pain that will eventually lead to his Lady's favours. The positions of both poets draw on the masochistic stance of the courtly *je* in *grand chant*, who dwells on his experience of pain with a desire that is close to ecstasy. If the conflicted psychological state of the courtly lover is a kind of dilemma state or 'jeu-parti', as I argued above, then the pleasure that Mahieu and Henry both find in pain is also a pleasure to be found in the state of dilemma that they are performing. The masochistic desire of the courtly *je* is transformed by both poets into a desire for their conflicted and violent singing. Their *jeu-parti* is configured as both painful and pleasurable.

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<sup>64</sup> l. 25.

<sup>65</sup> 'd'un oignement precieus' [l. 1848], Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Roman de la Rose*, 87.

<sup>66</sup> l. 27.

<sup>67</sup> l. 34.

<sup>68</sup> l. 31.

Bodily pleasure was concerning for theorists of music, expressed most famously by St Augustine:

I confess, I still surrender to some slight pleasure in those sounds to which your words give life, when they are sung by a sweet and skilled voice ... But the gratification of the flesh—to which I ought not surrender my mind to be enervated—frequently leads me astray, for the senses are not content to accompany reason by patiently following it, but after being admitted only for the sake of reason, they seek to rush ahead and lead it.<sup>69</sup>

Augustine's concern is with the processes of sensory perception: the senses should be used in support of reason, rather than for bodily pleasure. The senses risk clouding judgement because bodily pleasure is more immediate than rationality. This concern is also reflected in the *jeu-parti* between Mahieu and Henry. Mahieu criticises Henry's sonic posturing, suggesting that Henry's 'ability' has been 'perverted'.<sup>70</sup> In RS1687, the perversion of the norms of melodic ambitus is what Mahieu is criticising; there is something unnatural about Henry's extreme vocal posturing. The rhyme sounds of the song are also perverse and dangerously unnatural. Throughout the song, the rhyme sounds '-oie' and '-ent' are retained. The rhyme '-oie', heard first at the end of line 1, is a wail of pain, especially at the top of the voice. This sound of pain is an irrational and involuntary voicing that constitutes *vox inarticulata*. Each time the '-oie' rhyme is heard, it is sung to a melisma, with the result that the sonic presence of the word obscures its syntactic meaning.

The other rhyme, '-ent', is most frequently found in RS1687 in words ending with '-ment' which, taken on its own, is a part of the verb 'to lie' (*mentir*). The rhyme sound of each line, to which the ear is drawn, therefore alternates between a wail of pain and the cry of 'I/he/she/it lie(s)!'. It is unclear, though, who is lying. The verb 'ment' could be first person or

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<sup>69</sup> Strunk and Treitler, *Source Readings in Music History*, 132–3.

<sup>70</sup> 'poors vos desvoie' [l. 39].

third person, meaning that the trouvères take it in turn to sing ‘I lie’ or ‘he lies’. In the confusion of accusations and admissions of dishonesty, the listener would not know whom to believe. This may be a feature that Henry points out: in his *envoi*, he asks Vilain d’Arras to judge which of the singers has ‘deviated more in their mistakes’.<sup>71</sup> Henry uses the same verb, ‘desvoie’, as Mahieu had used in the previous stanza to criticise Henry’s extreme melodic choices. Both singers have literally ‘de-via-ted’—gone off the path of rational melody—in their singing. In his *envoi*, Henry is demanding that the irrationality of his extreme melody and unnatural rhyme sounds be subjected to judgement.

This call for judgement is not limited to the *envois*, permeating the whole *jeu-parti*. Henry’s opening invective is for Mahieu to judge, and in stanza 3 Henry accuses Mahieu of judging badly.<sup>72</sup> Mahieu responds in stanza 4 by judging the pain of the heart to be worse than the pain of bodily violence: ‘for an evil done to the body, a hundred good things are given in return, and love sends relief for hardship’.<sup>73</sup> He argues that the lover should respond rationally to the sensation of physical pain, tolerating outward pain in order to be free from inward pain. This binary of heart and body, or inner pain and outer pain, draws on discourses about the soul and the body. Alison Cornish points out that the soul is what Aristotle says is necessary for an animate object to have *vox* rather than merely *sonus*.<sup>74</sup> Soul, as Leach argues, was also necessary to the process of intellection that occurred when sense information was transmitted and sorted through the various chambers of the brain.<sup>75</sup> Inner feeling and outer sensation also had a moral dimension. In his *De musica*, Augustine inveighs that we should ‘not place our

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<sup>71</sup> ‘folie plus desvoie’ [l. 46].

<sup>72</sup> l. 19.

<sup>73</sup> ‘Car pour un mal de cors cent bontez rent / Et por travail alegement envoie’ [ll. 27–8].

<sup>74</sup> Boynton et al., ‘Sound Matters’, 1021.

<sup>75</sup> Leach, *Sung Birds*, 22.

joys in carnal pleasure, or in the honours or praises of men, or in the exploration of things which reach the body from outside, since we have God inside, where everything that we love is certain and unchangeable'.<sup>76</sup> Although the love in RS1687 is courtly rather than devotional, it has a similar ethical quality to the love that Augustine discusses. In stanza 6, Mahieu thus accuses Henry of abandoning love in order to take pleasure in beating his wife and—by extension—beating his opponent, Mahieu, with sonic blows. The recurrence of judgement and rationality in this *jeu-parti* reflects a concern with the pleasure in inflicting musical violence and in feeling musical pain.

This is not to say that the melody of RS1687 lacks any discernible rationality. As for many *jeux-partis*, the melody of this debate plays with repetition and overlapping structures that change from stanza to stanza. The structure of the poetry reflects a concern for rationality in the way that it measures the melody. Of the 50 lines in the song, only lines 32, 42, 44 and 48 begin with words that do not clearly mark the start of a syntactic unit. The striking frequency of syntactic breaks at the end of lines suggests that Mahieu and Henry construct their text in syntactic units that are each the same length as poetic line. To achieve this, they would have counted syllables and pitches simultaneously, disciplining the melody with the structure of their texts. If this song had the potential to delight, gratify, or even wound the flesh in a way that would have been morally concerning to medieval philosophers, one way to control the risk of carnality seems to have been the rational measurement of each line according to divisions in the text. Such segmentation was a key aspect of memorisation, a process rooted in

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<sup>76</sup> 'Quam ob rem neque in uoluptate carnali, neque in honoribus et laudibus hominum, neque in eorum exploratione, quae forinsecus corpus adtingunt, nostra gaudia conlocemus habentes intimum Deum, ubi certum est et incommutabile omne, quod amamus' [XIV.48, linea 18]: Martin Jacobsson, 'Aurelius Augustinus *De musica* liber VI: A Critical Edition with a Translation and an Introduction' (Doctoral thesis, Stockholms universitet, 2002), 99. I am grateful to Timothy Farrant for drawing my attention to this passage.

rationality. If the debate between Mahieu and Henry was a testimony to the alluring pleasure experienced through musical violence, the rational approaches by Mahieu and Henry were an attempt to strike a balance between the violently pleasurable and the controllably rational.

The central premise of my interpretations of RS496 and RS1687 has been the medieval scientific understanding of sound as a kind of physical violence that strikes the body. In RS496, the pain of seeing one's lover with another Lady was mirrored by the sensory pain experienced by listeners hearing a melody that violently flouts tonal norms. In RS1687, Mahieu and Henry discuss what it feels like to be beaten, the pleasure of physically assaulting a woman and the inward pain of the heart when witnessing an assault. Both songs ask for judgement on how sensory violence affects the body, and this in turn could have led listeners to judge the effect of the sonic violence of the *jeu-parti* on the bodies of the opponents and listeners in a *jeu-parti*. The trouvères of RS496 and RS1687 slip between criticisms of physical brutality and violence inflicted against morality, the soul, or the heart, suggesting that their definition of violence was not limited to the physical realm. Whether these trouvères consented to being violently assaulted by sound is harder to ascertain: if their participation in these *jeux-partis* was with their consent, the acts of sonic bombardment would not have been violent. Nevertheless, the subject matter of these *jeux-partis* argues strongly for an interpretation of these melodies as a form of musical violence. I return to this seeming contradiction in the conclusion to this chapter.

## Tournaments in sound

Two popular contexts for competitive, violent display in the thirteenth century were tournaments and jousting. The tournament centred on the *mêlée*, in which two groups of knights, often allied to geographic regions or towns, would fight. Jousts, on the other hand, took place between two knights at a time.<sup>77</sup> Three *jeux-partis* take the themes of the tournament and chivalry as their subject matter. One of these, *Robert del Caisnoi, amis* (RS1514), is a *jeu-parti* between the cleric Lambert Ferri and the *bourgeois* Robert del Caisnoi (see **Appendix §13**). Ferri asks the following dilemma: is it better to have praise and rewards for deeds of arms and tournaments, or to have all the pleasure of being with your Lady, in secret so that there is no risk of loss of reputation? Robert chooses to defend secret love, leaving Ferri to advocate renown through deeds of arms.

One of the central dichotomies of the dilemma in RS1514 is public performance versus private action. Two genres of trouvère song, *grand chant* and the *jeu-parti*, are also distinguished by their private and public performance respectively. Regardless of their real performance contexts, both genres construct an imagined performance situation. In *grand chant*, the poet often sings to his Lady, who keeps the poet in torment.

My Lady, my song will ask you for your love, which I have long desired ... My Lady,  
I have long kept my love a secret, but it will now be revealed to you.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>77</sup> For an overview of the tournament and the joust in a courtly context, see Bumke, *Courtly Culture*, 247–73.

<sup>78</sup> ‘Dame, en chantant vous iert demandee / Vostre amors, ke j’ai tant desiree / ... Dame, lonc tans vos avrai celee / Ceste amor, mais or vos ert mostree’ [RS503, ll. 10–11, 19–20], Rosenberg, Switten, and Le Vot, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 298–99.

His song is directed at her, and she does not accept what the poet says. Instead of listening, the cruel Lady often laughs and does not grant the poet's wishes. In other cases, the poet sings to himself, unable to speak in his Lady's presence:

I am so abashed by her beauty that in her sight I am tongue-tied and mute.<sup>79</sup>

The lyric situation is also private because the poet fears what slanderers will say. Acknowledging this trope, the dilemma of RS1514 includes secrecy because of the risk of 'lost praise' and 'blame and slander'.<sup>80</sup> The privacy of love that Robert defends therefore draws on the supposed privacy of performance of *grand chant*.<sup>81</sup> Courtly lyric implies either no listener, or a listener who will not listen: the Lady.

By contrast, the tournament was an event at which many were present. In the dilemma, deeds of arms and tournaments are said to lead to 'praise and reward', which implies an audience that witnesses the event and speaks about the winner afterwards.<sup>82</sup> Like the tournament, the performance context of the *jeu-parti*—at least as implied by the poetry of *jeux-partis*—was witnessed by more than one person. Although very little can be surmised of the historical performance setting of the *jeu-parti*, the performance context implied by the lyric scenario of the *jeu-parti* involved at least two singers and often two judges. The purpose of the genre was to be heard by several people, and, possibly, to be discussed after the *trouvères* call for judgement from the two judges. Like the knights in a tournament, then, the opponents in a

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<sup>79</sup> 'Car sa biauté me fet si esbahir / Que je ne sai devant li nul langage' [RS40, ll. 13–14], Rosenberg, Switten, and Le Vot, *Songs of the Troubadours and Trouvères*, 254.

<sup>80</sup> 'vos los perdus' [l. 10]; 'de blasme ne de mesdis' [l. 34].

<sup>81</sup> Gally argues that the *jeu-parti* tests the rules of loving that are established in *grand chant*. She overstates the extent to which *jeux-partis* have courtly themes, but is correct to view the *fine amours* of *grand chant* as an important point of reference for listeners to the *jeu-parti*: 'Le chant et la dispute', 380.

<sup>82</sup> 'los et pri' [l. 4].

*jeu-parti* sought ‘praise and reward’ and ‘to be at the top’—to win.<sup>83</sup> The dilemma question of RS1514 invites a comparison of the tournament to the *jeu-parti* so that the ensuing debate comments both on the values of the tournament and, by association, on the values of the *jeu-parti*.

As I showed in the **Introduction**, the thirteenth-century tournament was a means for aristocrats and urban elites to perform and re-inscribe the values of chivalry that they had read about in courtly literature. Chivalry permeated fictional and biographical accounts and was encouraged as a practice by real knights such as Edward I, King of England. Juliet Vale notes that Edward I cultivated his chivalric status by actively encouraging tournaments, which his father, Henry III, had discouraged. To some extent, knights at tournaments were acting out the deeds of chivalry that were narrated in romances and *chansons de geste*. Edward I, for example, created an ‘Arthurian cult’, even holding a round table at tournaments.<sup>84</sup> As a result, the tournament was saturated with chivalric ideology: the implicit comparison of the tournament to the *jeu-parti* in RS1514 brought chivalric values to bear on the aesthetics of the *jeu-parti* as well.

The practice of chivalry was not limited to the aristocratic classes. Vale suggests that the aristocracy of Northern France had a well-documented tradition of chivalric practices, which may have influenced the practice of jousting and other forms of combat at urban festivities called *festes*. Towns such as Arras played host to urban nobles such as the Châtelain d’Arras, leading Vale to speculate that the merchant classes are likely to have emulated noble

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<sup>83</sup> ‘estre au desus’ [l. 19].

<sup>84</sup> Ruth Harvey, *Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), 130; Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 19.

practices of chivalry.<sup>85</sup> At the *festes* a king was elected each year, who competed against the previous year's king in the most important joust of the festivities. In a number of ways, the *jeu-parti* was therefore similar to the tournament or to the joust. Both were performed for an audience, both involved the election of a monarch (in the *puy*, Jehan Bretel, often addressed in *jeux-partis* as 'prinches del pui'), and both may have been enjoyed by the same mercantile and urban aristocratic demographic. Heralds for town tournaments might even have been participants at the *puy*.<sup>86</sup> In RS1514 the judges that were hailed—Edward I, King of England, and Charles of Anjou—were both exemplary chivalric figures who each had a widespread reputation as a warrior-king. The choice of these two men as judges in RS1514 further ties the *jeu-parti* to the theme of chivalry. The language used to describe the qualities of knights and tournaments in RS1514 offers a discourse through which the *jeu-parti* can be examined.

In many respects, the ethos of chivalry imbued the tournament and, by extension, the *jeu-parti*. Above all, it was *proece* that participants in a tournament aimed to demonstrate. In RS1514, the successful tourneyer is said to be 'preu d'armes', suggesting that he is both skilled and recklessly brave; Ferri later associates the tournament with 'prowess and hardiness'.<sup>87</sup> *Proece*, as I showed in the **Introduction** and in **Chapter 4**, was integral to the code of chivalry that defined the knightly class from the twelfth century. In light of the characteristics for which tourneyers are praised in RS1514, the competitive spirit of the *jeu-parti* could also have been based on a notion of *proece*. In musico-poetic terms, this could mean a certain daring stance in trying to outdo one's opponent in the most impressive manner. *Proece* is what leads to renown. Even though Robert is arguing against the tournament, he concedes that tourneyers

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<sup>85</sup> Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 26.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>87</sup> 'pris d'armes' [l. 26]; 'chevaliers de jouvent' [l. 28]; 'proëce ne hardement' [l. 57].

can be ‘famous for deeds of arms’, and thus have good fortune.<sup>88</sup> According to Robert, if one goes to a tournament, one wants to end up on top.<sup>89</sup> In this, Robert suggests that a spirit of competition motivated tourneyers. The renown held by a tourneyer, Ferri argues, is such that he would be ‘worth much more in all honourable ways than all the lords in Artois’.<sup>90</sup> This compares to the lover, who can expect the negative of renown: slander. Robert points out that even though the true lover cares nothing for ‘blame nor slander’, the longer the lover lives ‘the more he is hated and rejected’.<sup>91</sup> The emphasis on reputation, competition and reward in RS1514 is perhaps evidence for the motivations of the singers of *jeux-partis*. If the *jeu-parti* was anything like the tournament, the praise and renown garnered from an audience would have motivated trouvères to feats of musical *proece*, perhaps of the kind seen in RS1687 above.

RS1514 is also concerned with love as a motivation for combat. Robert and Ferri question whether love leads to victory in the tournament, or whether love and combat oppose one another. For Robert, love is ‘a far greater undertaking’ that cannot be achieved simply through winning a tournament.<sup>92</sup> Ferri responds to this assertion, rejecting a knight who is ‘cowardly’ when it comes to fighting:<sup>93</sup> rewards for combat are only the ‘accessories’ of love.<sup>94</sup> Robert replies that the man who has received the good things of love has metaphorically ‘surmounted and conquered the warrior [*preu d’armes*] and every man’,<sup>95</sup> and that the chivalric values of *proece* and *hardement* are worth more in the service of love than in a tournament.<sup>96</sup>

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<sup>88</sup> ‘d’armes ... alosés’ [l. 13].

<sup>89</sup> ll. 18–19.

<sup>90</sup> ‘Vaut mult mieus en tous endrois / En hounour que se d’Artois / Estoit sires ligement’ [ll. 45–7].

<sup>91</sup> ‘de blasme ne de mesdis’ [l. 34]; ‘plus est despis et sieunés’ [l. 52].

<sup>92</sup> ‘trop plus grans espois’ [l. 15].

<sup>93</sup> ‘faintis’ [l. 24].

<sup>94</sup> ‘conrois’ [l. 26].

<sup>95</sup> ‘preu d’armes et toute gent / a seurmontés et vencuss’ [ll. 38–9].

<sup>96</sup> ll. 56–8.

All of these statements probe the propriety of loving as a motivation for fighting, or fighting as a motivation for loving.

This concern with propriety is brought out most strongly in the second *envoi*, when Robert addresses the Count of Anjou: ‘it is not proper for a *bourgeois* to be the Count of Blois, nor in my opinion is love suited to whatever one sees or whatever one feels’.<sup>97</sup> Robert’s implication is that just as a *bourgeois* man can never become an aristocrat, ‘sovereign’ love can never serve the purpose of fighting for renown.<sup>98</sup> Robert’s concern that tourneyers privilege renown over love is a criticism of the singers of the *jeu-parti*. Given that love is the primary justification for singing in *grand chant*, Robert implies that love is being used improperly in the *jeu-parti*, where a desire for renown and reward is the justification for singing. His argument thus becomes a morally charged critique of the whole genre. Singers who sing without love risk being ‘fake’, just as tourneyers who fight without love are cowardly.<sup>99</sup> The *jeu-parti* dangerously favours outward appearance over inner understanding or proper motivation. Like the proverbial *cantor*, who sings ‘by habit of practice alone, and not because of rational understanding of the rules’, the singers of the *jeu-parti* could be criticised for not singing according to the code of *fine amours*.<sup>100</sup>

The theme of propriety can also be seen to infuse the melody of the song. The first stanza, sung by Ferri, divides the melody into three distinct sections. In lines 1 to 5, Ferri hails Robert and presents one side of the dilemma. The melody stays within the range of a 5<sup>th</sup> and has relatively little variation, since line 5 is an elaborated version of line 4. The structure of

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<sup>97</sup> ll. 67–71.

<sup>98</sup> ‘souveraine’ [l. 72].

<sup>99</sup> ‘faintis’ [l. 24].

<sup>100</sup> Leach, *Sung Birds*, 45.

the melody in the first five lines is therefore **ababb'**. The pitch *d* is set up as the central pitch of the section by cadences at the end of lines 2 and 5. Lines 1 and 3 introduce *c* as a secondary pitch with cadences on *c* at the end of each line. The first five lines thus establish *d* as the primary pitch and *c* as a secondary tonal goal (**Fig. 5.15** below). The pitch *f* briefly seems as if it may be important because it is the final pitch in the address 'Robert del Caisnoi'.

1. Ro - bert del Cais - noi, a - mis, 2. Je vous de - mant, res - pon - dés:  
 3. Li quels se - ra mieus vos \_\_\_ grés, 4. U a a - voir los \_\_\_ et pri  
 5. D'ar - mes et de \_\_\_ tous  
 tour - nois,

Fig. 5.15: RS1514, ll. 1–5

Line 5 is separated from line 6 by the conjunction 'or' (*ou*) and the presentation of the alternative in the dilemma (**Fig. 5.16** below). *F* is established at the end of the line as the new pitch centre by the succession of descending figures, first to *a*, then *G*, and finally *F*. The melody rises in line 7 to the tessitura of the opening five lines, cadencing on *f* at the end of the line. Since *f* was briefly reached by cadence in line 1, the establishment of *f/F* as a tonal centre in lines 6 and 7 challenges the perceived primacy of *d* and *c* at the opening. What was strongly established appears to have been undermined by this new tonal area.



Fig. 5.16: RS1514, ll. 6–7

In line 8, a new poetic section is introduced by the conjunction ‘but’ (*mais*). Rather than staying at the higher pitch of line 7, the melody falls to a cadence on *G* at the end of line 8, which is elaborated in the first four neumes of line 9. From the second half of line 9 to the end of the song, *G* and *a* are the two tonal goals, and the final cadence confirms that *a* is primary and *G* subsidiary. While *F* was set up as the central pitch in lines 6 and 7, the central pitches of the final three lines are *G* and *a*, mirroring the pair of *c* and *d* in the opening five lines (Fig. 5.17 below).

Fig. 5.17: RS1514, ll. 8–10

By the end of the first stanza, *F* has been exposed as a false centre: when compared to the probable expectations of the listener, lines 6 and 7 seem improper and unfitting. Robert exploits the impropriety inherent to Ferri’s melody in his *envoi*. He illustrates the impropriety of a *bourgeois* becoming a count by setting it to the part of the melody that sets up *F* as a tonal centre. Arriving on the true tonal centre of the second half of the song, *a*, on ‘amour’ in line

71, Robert shows that love is the proper justification for singing, while things of improper worth, such as violence, are a vain and improper imitation. Robert is condemning violence that is meted out for praise and glory, but in doing so he also questions the morality of the *jeu-parti*, in which poet-singers would sing in order to gain praise and reward.

In the second *jeu-parti*, *Jehan de Grieviler, deus dames sai* (RS101, see **Appendix §1**), which is transmitted without music notation, Bretel asks Grieviler which of two ladies loves her lover more: the one who against her lover's will keeps him from jousting in Ghent, or the one who forces him to joust in Ghent against his will. Vale notes the regularity of *festes* in towns such as Ghent, Lille, Douai and Bruges in the later thirteenth century. These celebrations, which in addition to jousting consisted of processions, music, feasts and religious services, lasted one or two days. In this public spectacle, the *behourt*, or jousting, 'formed the most important distinct element of the *feste*'.<sup>101</sup>

The popularity of jousting is attested by the admonitions and edicts of churchmen in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Ruth Harvey notes that as early as 1130, the Church was concerned with the waste of life and money in tournaments that could be put to use in crusading.<sup>102</sup> Further, tourneying had become 'a species of obsession' among aristocrats on whom monarchs relied for armed feudal support:<sup>103</sup> although generally not controlled by the French monarchy, tourneying in France was banned by Louis IX in 1260 for two years, and again in 1280 by Philip III because of '[interference] with the waging of national wars'.<sup>104</sup> Tourneying and jousting could spill over into actual violence, as the account of Edward I and

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<sup>101</sup> Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 25.

<sup>102</sup> Harvey, *Moriz von Craûn and the Chivalric World*, 113–4.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, 127.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, 136.

the Count of Châlons in the **Introduction** shows. In 1284, groups from Douai and Lille attacked each other violently, and Vale points out that tournaments and jousts ‘provided a pretext for the continuation of private quarrels’.<sup>105</sup> Jousts and tournaments, while popular among both the aristocracy and the *bourgeois*, were also opportunities for less controlled forms of violence that could be dangerous to those participating.

Injury in the joust is one of the concerns of RS101. Grieviler argues that the better lover would prevent her lover from jousting because it risks him ‘dying or being gravely injured’.<sup>106</sup> The jouster is not in control of what happens in the joust, and is not in control of what happens to his body. The same could be said for the *jeu-parti*. In singing a *jeu-parti*, the two singers make themselves vulnerable to verbal assault that could confuse the senses and cause an injury that, if not visibly physical, was morally injurious in its irrationality. As an alternative to the dangers of violence, Grieviler argues that one should ‘both take pleasure in and safeguard’ love and one’s lover.<sup>107</sup> Could this be an ethical critique of the *jeu-parti*? Bretel identifies the jouster three times as ‘courageous’, arguing that jousting is ‘for [the lover’s] betterment’ and aims ‘to prove valour’.<sup>108</sup> Proving valour, which equates to the competitive terms of the *jeu-parti*, is depicted as a potentially dangerous activity. Grieviler suggests that the woman who sends her lover away wants to have her desire ‘elsewhere’, with another lover.<sup>109</sup> Jousts are accompanied by the threat of cheating and deceit, actions that defy morally sanctioned behaviour and judgement. Thus, jousts and, by extension, the *jeu-parti*, are criticised because they privilege competitive actions over well-judged actions that speak of moral integrity.

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<sup>105</sup> Vale, *Edward III and Chivalry*, 31–2.

<sup>106</sup> ‘ocirre ou afoier’ [l. 63].

<sup>107</sup> ‘et joïr et sauver’ [l. 52].

<sup>108</sup> ‘preus’ [ll. 20, 45, 58]; ‘pour son avancement’ [l. 23]; ‘pour vaillance ... prouver’ [l. 26].

<sup>109</sup> ‘qu’aillours’ [l. 35].

A third *jeu-parti*, *Grieviler, vostre pensées* (RS546, see **Appendix §6**), does not take the tournament itself as its theme, although it is concerned with the attributes of chivalry. RS546 is a debate between Jehan de Grieviler and Jehan Bretel over the merits of the better lover. Grieviler chooses to defend the courageous lover, leaving Bretel to defend the timid lover. The way in which epithets are listed for the courageous lover—‘hardy’, ‘courageous’, ‘valiant’, ‘savage’, ‘happy’, ‘desiring’, ‘powerful’, ‘without bile’, ‘courtly’ and ‘noble’—is characteristic of descriptions of *preudhommes* in romances, as demonstrated in the **Chapter Four**.<sup>110</sup> Added to this list are ‘arrogance’ and ‘pride’, which Bretel and Grieviler agree to condemn; Bretel attributes these to the courageous lover, which Grieviler rejects.<sup>111</sup> In contrast to these descriptions, the timid lover is described as ‘noble’, ‘fearful’, ‘timid’, ‘humble’, ‘sincere’, ‘opposed to harm’, ‘wise’, ‘discreet’, and ‘without intrigue or slander’.<sup>112</sup>

The two lovers are further characterised by their actions, since the courageous lover is said to act in a manner that verges on violence, while the timid lover impotently and passively receives the actions of his Lady. The courageous lover is well served in the *mêlée* thanks to his characteristics of savageness and courage.<sup>113</sup> Further, the courageous lover is able to ‘seize’ things, implying that he ‘seizes’ love from his lady.<sup>114</sup> The courageous lover secures his Lady’s love, perhaps even through sexual violence. By contrast, the timid lover prioritises his Lady’s wellbeing over his own, since he is ‘opposed to misdoings against her’.<sup>115</sup> His heart must be

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<sup>110</sup> ‘hardi’ [l. 6, l. 13, l. 30, l. 36, l. 38]; ‘preu’ [l. 13, l. 16]; ‘vaillant’ [l. 13]; ‘aspres’ [l. 16, l. 31]; ‘jolis’ [l. 16]; ‘volentius’ [l. 17]; ‘desirant’ [l. 31]; ‘poissant’ [l. 20]; ‘sans fielée’ [l. 30]; ‘courtois’ [l. 35]; ‘gentieus’ [l. 35].

<sup>111</sup> ‘orguel’ [l. 22, l. 28]; ‘beubant’ [l. 22]; ‘posnée’ [l. 28].

<sup>112</sup> ‘fins’ [l. 8]; ‘cremans’ [l. 8, l. 23]; ‘doutieus’ [l. 8]; ‘humles’ [l. 26]; ‘pieus’ [l. 26]; ‘mesfaire eskieus’ [l. 27]; ‘sage’ [l. 41]; ‘celant’ [l. 41]; ‘sans outrage et sans mesdis’ [l. 42].

<sup>113</sup> ll. 37–8.

<sup>114</sup> ‘saisis’ [l. 34].

<sup>115</sup> ‘de li mesfaire eskieus’ [l. 27].

‘conquered’ and must ‘bow down’ to his Lady, a posture that, according to Grieviler, allows the Lady to ‘[give] her love by striking a small blow’.<sup>116</sup> This violence renders the lover impotent with fear.<sup>117</sup> Grieviler figures love as a kind of warfare, in which the courageous lover has control and the timid lover must be subservient.

The theme of control and subservience has relevance too for the performance of the *jeu-parti*. Sound, as I have shown, consisted of one thing striking another, just like the ‘small blow’ that the Lady gives to the lover in stanza 6. The timid lover is implicitly equated to the listener, who is subject to the violent striking of sound, while the courageous lover, who seizes what he wants, is the singer, assaulting the listener. When Grieviler sings of the Lady’s violence against her lover, he is also inflicting sonic violence on one of his listeners: Bretel. He situates Bretel as the timid lover, and by implication aligns himself with the qualities of the courageous lover: he attributes hardiness, prowess and all of the other values of *preudommie* to himself. These qualities are also what allow him to sing, qualities which, according to Bretel, enable success in the *mêlée*, the main event of combat during a tournament. Bretel confirms Grieviler’s stance as the courageous singer, metaphorically bowing down to him, just as the timid lover ought to. Bretel and Grieviler thus engage in a kind of lyric role-play, mimicking the attributes of the lovers that each defends. Instead of competing directly against one another, Bretel assumes a subservient position in the debate. But does this mean that Bretel is, like the timid lover, ‘conquered’ by Grieviler?<sup>118</sup> Arguably, by choosing to adopt the subservient position, Bretel has not been vanquished by Grieviler at all. He has willingly relegated himself

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<sup>116</sup> ‘conquis’ [l. 43, l. 45]; ‘cuer humeliant’ [l. 40]; ‘s’amor donée / A niche mal dosnoiant’ [ll. 48–9].

<sup>117</sup> ‘abaubis’ [l. 51].

<sup>118</sup> ‘conquis’ [l. 43].

to the position of subservience, thus subverting the systematised symbolic violence that the competition of *jeu-parti* singing normally entails.

As in RS1514, RS546 juxtaposes private devotion to one's Lady with the outward display of valour and skill, drawing on the binary of *grand chant* and *jeu-parti* that was applicable to RS1514. Like RS101, RS546 also demonstrates a moral concern with the performance of the *jeu-parti*. Grieviler lists the values of the courageous lover and aligns himself as a singer with these same values. For Bretel, the character of the courageous lover (or singer) is also proud and arrogant. Unlike the pose of the humble and subservient lover, whose unrequited desire causes him to sing in *grand chant*, the courageous lover/singer seizes what they want in a manner that Bretel considers to be proud. This was a common clerical criticism of the tournament. David Crouch points out that the principal justifications given by clergy for their condemnation of the tournament was Vulgate Psalm 145, which calls for the defence of the poor and helpless.<sup>119</sup> Bernart of Clairvaux, for example, 'heap[ed] scorn on the combination of vanity and violence in chivalry'.<sup>120</sup> Clerics argued against the tournament by comparing it to combat in the service of God; the knights that clerics condemned had 'only the outward appearance of knighthood' and their knighthood was 'utterly empty, only a shell'.<sup>121</sup> Pride and arrogance were born of a disconnect between inner truth or meaning and outward display, a dishonest portrayal of inner character.

The criticism of the courageous lover as proud or arrogant derives from the medieval concern with an incongruity between inner value and outward appearance. Applied to the *jeu-parti*, the criticism of pride and arrogance depicts the genre as music that lacks a fitting

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<sup>119</sup> Crouch, *Tournament*, 152.

<sup>120</sup> Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, 76.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 77.

motivation or rationality. In the case of *grand chant*, the reason for singing was love: since this is missing in the formulation of the *jeu-parti*, Bretel seems to express a moral concern for singers who are purported to be courageous, hardy and violent. While some associations of the *jeu-parti* with chivalry aimed to bring prestige to the genre, other associations—with pride and arrogance, for example—questioned the genre’s morality.

Pride and arrogance can also be seen in the relationship between melody and text in RS546.<sup>122</sup> Although the closing pitch of lines 2, 4, 8 and (logically) 9 is *a*, the melody is tonally ambiguous. The structural importance of the end of the last line and of lines 2 and 4 in most *trouvère* songs in pcc form would suggest that *a* should be the most important pitch centre of the song. The first half of line 1 does not have a cadence onto *a*, with the result that *a* is not immediately established as the tonal centre. True, *a* is the single pitch on the first syllable of ‘pensée’ in line 1, but because it is flanked by the motif *b–a–G* on either side, *G* is heard as the central pitch. Further, the opening motif, *d–d–b*, points out the intervals of a 3<sup>rd</sup> implied by voice leading in the remainder of the line: *d–b* and *b–(a)–G*, heard as the principal 3<sup>rd</sup> chain, and *c–(b)–a* and *a–f* acting as a subsidiary 3<sup>rd</sup> chain. Finally, in a melody with a *frons* that spans a 6<sup>th</sup>, as the *frons* does in RS546, the primary pitch tends to be the pitch above the lowest note; in this case *F* is the lowest note, implying that *G* should be the primary pitch. Line 2 negates the centrality of *G* by cadencing onto *a* on the fourth syllable, which in stanza 1 is at the end of ‘respondés’. Because *a* is reached at a break between words, the figure *c–b–a* is heard as a cadence. The melodic turn on ‘maintenant’, centred on *a*, then confirms this cadence on *a*.

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<sup>122</sup> The melody is transmitted only in **a**; the edition of the song, provided in **Appendix §6**, corrects two errors.

1. Grie - vi - ler, vos - tre pen - sé - e

2. Me res - pon - dés main - te - nant:

Fig. 5.18: RS546, ll. 1–2

In lines 5 to 9, the ambiguity of tonal centre is further explored. Because the rhyme scheme of lines 1–5 is **ababb**, the end of line 5 sounds as if it should be the structural break between *pedes* and *cauda*. To confuse matters further, line 5 finishes on *G*, the expected tonal centre of the opening quatrain: it seems as if tonal closure has finally coincided with rhyme sound. Line 5 eschews *a*, rising to *d* and then repeating an altered version of line 1, a repetition which finishes at the fourth neume of line 6 (see Fig. 5.19).

1. Grie - vi - ler, vos - tre pen - sé - e

5. U ce - le qui a a - mant

6. Qui en a - mour est har - dis

Fig. 5.19: RS546, ll. 1, 5–6

Instead of falling to *F*, as in line 1, the melody cadences on *G* and then leaps up by a 4<sup>th</sup>, reinforcing the start of line 6 as a cadence. In lines 7 to 9, different intervals of a 3<sup>rd</sup> are explored (see Fig. 5.20). The new interval *c–e* is outlined at the end of line 6 and start of line 7, which then appears to cadence onto *G* on ‘amis’ before rising by a 3<sup>rd</sup> at the end of the line on *a–c*. In line 8, *b–G* is outlined, then *a–c*, and finally a stepwise ascent up a 5<sup>th</sup>, outlining the 3<sup>rd</sup> chain *G–b–d*. Line 9 then concludes with two instances of a 3<sup>rd</sup>, *c–(b)–a* and *b–(a)–g*, finally

cadencing onto *a*. Lines 8 and 9 alternate between the *G–b–d* chain and the *a–c* 3<sup>rd</sup>, playing on the ambiguity that was set up at the very opening.

7. U ce - le dont li a - mis

8. Est fins cre - mans et dou - tieus

9. En a - mour? Li ques vaut mieus?

Fig. 5.20: RS546, ll. 7–9

The ambiguity of tonal centre in the song reflects the moral ambiguity of the genre that Bretel implies. Since the song starts by outlining the 3<sup>rd</sup> chain *G–b–d*, the move to *a* as the tonal centre in line 2 has the feel of an unnecessary extension, a forced melodic move that is not justified by normal melodic style and what the listener expects. The move to *a* is therefore a kind of arrogance, privileging outward show over inner rationale and assaulting the listener's expectations in an act of symbolic violence. All this is clear in the way that Bretel sets up the opposition between hardiness and fearfulness. In line 6, 'est hardis' is set to the pitches *c–d–e*, which are approached by a leap. This leap, the largest interval heard so far in the song, violently wrenches the melody out of its *G*-centred tonal space onto the 3<sup>rd</sup> *c–e*, which is related to *a* by the 3<sup>rd</sup> chain *a–c–e*. This feat of violent melodic prowess highlights the violence of the hardy lover and acts by rising to *e*, the highest pitch of the song. The hardy lover is placed sonically on top of his Lady, who only rises to *d* on 'cele' in line 5. By contrast, the Lady whose lover is fearful is placed at the top of the song's range ('u cele', line 7), while 'en amour'

in line 9 rises only to *d*, safely within the *G*-centred tonal space that the listener expects. In lines 7 to 9, the Lady is shown to dominate her lover, both in poetic content and in terms of pitch. This is not a pictorial representation of domination: higher pitches could suggest domination, as in RS1687 (above). In **Chapter 2**, it was shown that in all *jeux-partis*, the *cauda* never has an upper limit lower than that of the *frons*: Bretel makes use of the normative changes of ambitus in *jeu-parti* melodies to express the two sides of the dilemma.

Bretel exploits the relationship between pitch centres further in stanza 3. In lines 21–22, Bretel argues that ‘love is not made up of pride, nor of ostentatious arrogance’.<sup>123</sup> The participle ‘*conpassé*’ also has the sense of ‘surrounded by’, and its placement in the schema of *a*- and *G*-centred melodic figures is significant. Line 21, which starts with ‘*amours*’, emphasises the pitch centre *G* but is surrounded on either side in lines 20 and 22 by music that treats *a* as its tonal centre. By exploiting the tonal ambiguity in this way, Bretel associates love, and its relationship in the courtly-love paradigm to song, with *G*. Pride and arrogance are linked to *a*, the pitch centre that does violence to the expectations of the listener and the norms of *trouvère* melodic style. As a result, the listener is invited to hear the tonal violence in the melody of RS546 as a symptom of the pride and arrogance that *jeu-parti* performance entails. Bretel uses this moral critique of the genre to his own ends. Grieviler chooses to defend violence, and by extension the tonal violence in the melody of RS546: he does this to validate his own acts of vocal prowess when he sings, aiming to force Bretel to submit to his sonic blows. Since Bretel has composed the melody, Grieviler is forced to make his case with a melody that points out the troubling morality of singing violently rather than for love. Because Grieviler chooses to defend hardness, his own arrogance is revealed, which perhaps was

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<sup>123</sup> ‘*Amours n’est pas compassée / Par orguel ne par beubant*’ [ll. 21–2].

Bretel's intention all along. Bretel thus denigrates the very motivations for which Grieviler is singing and questions the whole enterprise of singing for show.

## Conclusion

Throughout the *jeux-partis* examined here, violence and conflict have proven themselves to be rich metaphors for the structure and performance of the *jeu-parti*. According to Aristotelian thought, sound was formed from a violent striking, while in trouvère lyric, the state of dilemma experienced by the courtly *je* was shot through with the threat of violence. Combining the violence of the dilemma state with the violence of sounding event, the violence of *jeu-parti* performance may have been evident to its listeners. On entering into a joust (or a *jeu-parti*, by extension), a participant was vulnerable to unpredictable assault (RS101). Since participants did not know how their opponent would act in the contest, they could only consent to a certain extent, and it is possible that participants could have changed their minds part way through a contest, making the acts of their opponent non-consensual. The distinction between a violent and a non-violent act is very fine.

Arguably, trouvères who consensually participated in *jeux-partis* were not victims of musical violence. Although they were being physically struck by the sound of their opponent according to contemporaneous scientific theory, the arguments of the trouvères discussed in this chapter speak of a complicated array of views towards physical and musical brutality. The consensual simulation of violence in these *jeux-partis* contributed to an aesthetic in which a melody could be experienced as painful, pleasurable, or both (RS496 and RS1687). Trouvères could take pleasure in assaulting their opponents (RS1687) and in the renown that their success would garner (RS1514). Like the tournament, the *jeu-parti* drew on the values of chivalry, particularly the value of *proece*, which was discernible through extreme musical gestures that

violated tonal norms and, most likely, the expectations of listeners (RS1514, RS101 and RS546). Practitioners of the *jeu-parti* also criticise forms of violence that privilege outward display over the rational and justified singing that is found in *grand chant*. In part this was due to fears about what sensory stimuli and violence would do to the listener's body. In judging the *jeu-parti*, listeners were not only measuring the efficacy of the violence enacted through poetic and musical structure: they were also judging the moral propriety of the genre.

## Conclusion | Playing at violence or violently playing?

I saw it, I'm sure, and I seem to see it still: a body with no head that moved along, moving no differently from all the rest; he held his severed head up by its hair, swinging it in one hand just like a lantern, and as it looked at us it said: "Alas!" Of his own self he made himself a light, and they were two in one and one in two.<sup>1</sup>

Dante Alighieri describes in gory detail the fate of the troubadour Bertran de Born in the eighth circle of Hell. Bertran calls his punishment 'the perfect *contrapasso*', a divine retribution that mirrors the sin for which he finds himself in Hell.<sup>2</sup> His body has been split in two, his head separated from his torso and his wits from his heart as punishment for the discord that he sowed during his life. That a poet-singer was represented by Dante as the sower of political discord *par excellence* demonstrates the political power of words and song from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. Dante gives a prominent place to Bertran in the *Commedia* because he believed Bertran's songs to have damaged the plight of 'poets and poetry in the quest for civic peace'.<sup>3</sup> Bertran's *vida* recounts that he pitted the Young King Henry against his father Henry II of England and his brother Richard of Poitou (later Richard the Lionheart), dividing those who ought to be together.<sup>4</sup> His violence against the body politic is compared by Dante to the bodily violence that Bertran suffers in Hell. Words and song, as the weapons of sowers of discord, are treated as if they are a violence that divides the body.

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<sup>1</sup> Canto XXVIII, ll. 118-125, Dante Alighieri, *Dante's Inferno: The Indiana Critical Edition*, trans. and ed. Mark Musa (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, c. 1995), 206.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 207.

<sup>3</sup> Ronald Martinez, 'Italy', in *A Handbook of the Troubadours*, ed. F. R. P. Akehurst and Judith M. Davis, 279-94 (Berkeley; London: University of California Press, c1995), 285.

<sup>4</sup> Bertran's two *vidas* are edited in Jean Boutière and Alexander H. Schutz, *Biographies des troubadours: Textes provençaux des XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, 2.e edition, refondue, augmentée d'une appendice, d'un lexique, d'un glossaire et d'un index des termes concernant le 'trobar' / par Jean Boutière avec la collaboration de I.-M. Cluzel ed. (Paris: Nizet, 1973), 65-71.

Throughout this study, I have tried to show that the aesthetics and hermeneutics of the *jeu-parti* were bound up with the idea that words and music, like those of Bertran de Born, could inflict violence. I do not assert that ideas of violence are the only interpretive context for the *jeu-parti*; violence was one discourse among many that would have shaped the ways in which creators and listeners to the *jeu-parti* thought about the genre. Violence is also an aspect of *jeu-parti* aesthetics that has not been represented in recent scholarly literature. This violence was not necessarily thought of as physical. Seen to be enacted on a symbolic level, the violence that Žižek calls ‘objective’ was part of the invisible background against which physical violence is defined.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the symbolic violence of some *jeux-partis* was not invisible in the way that Žižek would suggest. **Chapters 3 and 4** showed that several early *jeux-partis* were contrafacts of other trouvère songs, and that the reason for contrafacture in three of these *jeux-partis* was political conflict between major figures of the French aristocracy. Not limited to the symbolic realm, the conflict experienced by these aristocratic trouvères was also brutally physical; Thibaut de Champagne faced a threat of invasion from Pierre Mauclerc and his allies in 1230, and several of the poets of these early *jeux-partis* took part in the Barons’ crusade of 1234. The conflicts between these men could be violent, both physically and symbolically. The symbolic violence of contrafacture was acknowledged by the poets of RS1666 and RS1227, who describe their debates in violent terms (see **Chapter 3**). Symbolic violence was therefore not invisible: trouvères really did see their songs as violent.

The overt violence of contrafacture infused the structural fabric of the *jeu-parti*. In *jeux-partis* that were contrafacts of other songs, the opponents recreated the act of contrafacture from which the first stanza had been created: a *jeu-parti* is, in one sense, a series of contrafacts between two opponents. Furthermore, the dilemma question ensured

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<sup>5</sup> Žižek, *Violence*, 2.

that two singers in a *jeu-parti* would oppose one another. Just as contrafact *jeux-partis* were written against their models, a trouvère in a *jeu-parti* would sing contrafact stanzas against their opponent. Although the exchange in the *jeu-parti* was named as violent in early cases of the genre, this violence became part of the conventions of the genre. In a similar way, the performative use of the term ‘*jeu-parti*’ (**Chapter 1**) created moments of dilemma that were made manifest in the musical style of *jeux-partis* (**Chapter 2**). The division of tonal space caused by this dilemma means that *jeu-parti* melodies could be read as structures of oppositional pitches, which poet-singers exploited to further their arguments and undermine those of their opponent. Although the violence of contrafacture and oppositional division of tonal space was not discussed by trouvères in later *jeux-partis*, contrafacture and division were—to use Lawrence Kramer’s terminology—the ‘structural tropes’ of the *jeu-parti*.<sup>6</sup>

*Jeux-partis* can be read as the products of a practice that tried to negotiate between the overtly and the covertly violent, between violent play and playing at violence. The key concepts in my definition of violence in the **Introduction** were power and consent. That relations of power, systematic or personal, existed between poet-singers and listeners of the *jeu-parti* I take as axiomatic. But what of the concept of consent? The contrafacture of entire songs, I would argue, is a kind of violence because it is non-consensual. When a chanson by Moniot d’Arras (RS739) was turned into a *jeu-parti* by Thibaut de Champagne and Phelipe de Nanteuil (RS334), Moniot is unlikely to have consented to the transaction. However, the exchange within a *jeu-parti* is not necessarily non-consensual. Trouvères presumably gave their consent to taking part in a *jeu-parti*, and although they might have withdrawn their consent if the debate went in a direction that they did not want, the evidence would suggest that the *jeu-parti* was a game whose rules were consensually

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<sup>6</sup> Kramer, *Music as Cultural Practice*, 10.

followed. On the other hand, *trouvères* could not consent to the objective violence that manifests itself in the structural tropes of the *jeu-parti*, because that violence was not discursively articulated.

To complicate matters, the *jeu-parti* and other cultural practices were discussed as violence even when their participants consented to the rules of the game. The *disputatio* and the tournament were arguably non-violent games because their players willingly took part. As I showed in the **Introduction** and in **Chapter 5**, medieval commentators liked to describe these games as forms of violence because of the prestige that was associated with violent deeds, or to criticise them for their dubious morality. These cultural practices allowed their participants to play out fantasies of violent combat in a space where violence would not be committed. To some extent, the *jeu-parti* was also a space in which poet-singers could play the role of the daringly brave and reckless fighter, albeit in words and music rather than with weapons. They could treat the *jeu-parti* as a physically violent contest because of the lyric and scientific discourses that treated sound as violent (**Chapter 5**). Although an aesthetic of chivalry was not articulated by *trouvères* in words, it was a fundamental idea that underpinned rituals in both aristocratic and urban settings. I argue that their songs would have been interpreted through the lens of contemporaneous discourses of violence, as both prestigious and as morally concerning.

The *jeu-parti* was therefore part of a cultural dialogue that defined what violence meant to the thirteenth-century person. The ways in which violence was spoken about defined what violence was, a constellation of ideas that included chivalry and *proece*, bodily and symbolic injury, the moral and legal propriety and purposes of armed force, and the aesthetic and musical acts that could be read as violent. On the flipside, the instances of physical brutality and non-consensual deployment of power that were ignored or that were not spoken of also contributed to thirteenth-century definitions of violence. I have

discussed at length the types of violence in *jeu-parti* practice that went unspoken but were central to the structure of songs and the choices made by its proponents. It is these findings that, I believe, open future avenues of enquiry.

Hendrik van der Werf states that the musical style of *jeux-partis* is ‘indistinguishable’ from that of other genres of trouvère song.<sup>7</sup> The statistical study in **Chapter 2** has already demonstrated this to be untrue: different chansonniers reflect different musical styles and preferences. The method of melodic analysis outlined in **Chapter 2** could be extended to all trouvère song, although the magnitude of this task makes it beyond the scope of this study. Similarities in melodic style would allow for similar readings to be made of *grand chant*, *pastourelles* and other genres of song, based on the processual creation of tonal space and the negotiation of tonal conventions. If *grand chant* was a point of reference for the *jeu-parti*, as Michèle Gally has proposed, the ideas and aesthetics of the *jeu-parti* were also of relevance to *grand chant*.<sup>8</sup> Oppositional pitch structures in the *grand chant* melodies could also have been aligned with poetic ideas to support or ironically undermine the words of a song. In the *pastourelle*, the sung exchange between the knight and the shepherdess sometimes bears a strong formal resemblance to the *jeu-parti*. As a genre of song that celebrates the deployment of sexual violence by an aristocratic man on a lower-class woman, the *pastourelle* is another genre caught in a cultural dialogue that defined violence. Scholarly understanding of the *pastourelle* would be enriched by a study of the ways in which music contributed to this genre’s meaning.

This study has largely ignored the third type of violence in Žižek’s schema of violence. Žižek’s discussion of systemic violence is the least easily applicable to the thirteenth century because it centres on the systems of capitalism and neo-liberal

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<sup>7</sup> van der Werf, ‘Jeu-parti’.

<sup>8</sup> Gally, ‘Le chant et la dispute’, 380.

government. Tentatively, I suggest that there were systems of thought in the thirteenth century that were the causes of systemic violence in which music was complicit. Women, for example, are rarely given a voice in the *jeu-parti*, with the exception of the *jeux-partis* transmitted in I.<sup>9</sup> They are called on as judges more often than they participate as named opponents, but the genre is nevertheless mainly a musical game sung by men and often about women. If there were female poet-singers whose debates are not recorded, we must assume that they were written out of chansonniers and out of history. In celebrating chivalry and the value of *proece*, *jeux-partis* were also complicit in systems of violence deployed by the aristocracy. In providing a space for urban elites to play out fantasies of chivalry, the practice of the *jeu-parti* may have ensured that urban elites did not pick up real weapons, although Hannah Skoda's account of medieval violence shows that the towns of Northern France were violent places.<sup>10</sup> Some forms of physical brutality remained the preserve of the aristocratic elite, maintaining some aspects of the feudal class system and ensuring the subjugation of many people of lower classes.

Systemic violence in the thirteenth century is the most difficult and most problematic to discuss, and is well beyond the scope of this study. But in making tentative suggestions as to the ways in which the *jeu-parti* might have contributed to the systemic violence of thirteenth-century life, I invite comparisons with other musicological studies of music and violence. Through its defining, critiquing and inflicting, thirteenth-century song was embedded in the cultural practices of violence. Music, as cultural practice, was and is implicated in violence in other historical contexts in ways that musicologists have yet to show.

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<sup>9</sup> On female participants in *jeux-partis*, see Eglal Doss-Quinby, 'Rolan, de ceu ke m'avez/parti dirai mon samblant: The Feminine Voice in the Old French Jeu-parti', *Neophilologus* 83/4 (1999), 497–516.

<sup>10</sup> Skoda, *Medieval Violence*.

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